Eighteenth-Century Cholón
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CHOLÓN

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door

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geboren te Batu (Indonesië)
in 1943
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In loving memory of my uncle Frederik H. Hermans
and my mother Mary
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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 translated 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 Híbito (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, Hibitoan and Cholonan are mentioned as different isolated families. This is repeated later (1948:600, 601) where Híbito 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 Híbito 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 Híbito 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 Híbito 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 Amazonstrome [...] (1836, II: 320-337) Pöppig claims that the Híbito 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 Híbito not to be related, in an article dating from 1949 about some unknown languages of South-America, Loukotka treats Cholón and Híbito 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 Híbito 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 Híbito, supposed to be extinct. Tovar (1984:184-185) claims that Cholón and Híbito 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 Híbito 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 Cholonian family composed of Cholón and Híbito. In his classification Cholonan 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), Cholonan, 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 Cholonan to be part of the macro-Paesan 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 of 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 Cholonan 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-Paesan.
Table 1.1: The affiliation and classification of Cholón and Híbito

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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 morphonological processes in the language. In this chapter attention is also paid 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 *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, x, g/hj, m, n, ñ, ng(u), l, ll, b/hu/u/y, i/y* (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; Bonavia 1990:248-261; The Handbook of South American Indians 1948-1950, III, VI, Steward, ed.). The information given by Pöppig, Herndon & Gibbon, and Bonavia 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 archives and the library 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 the 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. Epoca 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 Bonavia. 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 Tránsito del Perú ([1783] 1978, I). It shows the conversiones (‘missions’) of Guaiillas or Huayllillas 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 achiote. 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 achiote [cf. Tovar’s achiote], from which a red colour is extracted. The fact that the Híbito painted their faces blue and red, colours obtained from huitoc and achiote, 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 cushmas. 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 lazyness (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. Bonavía
(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 Abiseo 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 sweet 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
that, in case of an epidemic, a smallpox epidemic for instance, the Cholón retired to the mountains where they led a secluded life. In addition to the cultivation of crops, the Cholón kept chickens, a few guinea pigs, and some pigs.

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 side\(^1\) 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, RíoMaría 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 Sión). 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

\(^1\) According to Herndon and Gibbon, this is the Infidel side where the Cashibo live; Izaguirre writes that the Cashibo, Conibo, Seteno 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 kilograms 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, *copaliba* 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 Marañón 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 christian-ize 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 (Gutierres) de Porres, founded the village of Jesús de Ochanache and of San Buenaventura de Apisonchuc, respectively. In Jesús de Ochanache were gath-ered the Híbito, and in San Buenaventura de Apisonchuc the Cholón. Both Joseph de Araujo and Fray 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 mis-sions.

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, Huaylillas, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cholón Settlements</th>
<th>Spanish Names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apizoncho</td>
<td>‘Yervas’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xunante</td>
<td>‘Pacaya’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utchinaman</td>
<td>‘Palma Real’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chalamuy</td>
<td>‘Junta de Tigres’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chillancuy</td>
<td>‘Tierra como Sangre’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The list of Híbito settlements consist of the following names:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Híbito Settlements</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ochañache</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chillonya</td>
<td>‘Arbol’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putonya</td>
<td>‘Arbol’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ziumich</td>
<td>‘Palmas’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juanjui</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 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, Buldibuio, 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 HSAl 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, Sión 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. HSAl, 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 HSAl, 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, Sión, 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 Sión, 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, Lumasillo, Isonga and Pizana) housed 500 Híbito and the district of Tingo María 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, Sión 30, Achiras 16, Lupuna 15, Shepti 12, Bijoa 4, Challuyacu 3. The total number of persons was estimated at 1350: five per family. Tessmann, citing J.W. Harmston, notes that the Híbito are living in the woods behind the Bombonaje River. These Híbito seem to have populated the Pajatén area. In his book, Tessmann also gives a list of Híbito and Cholón words. The Híbito 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 Cholonal family is held to be extinct by Suárez. This is repeated in the next edition (Volume 22, p. 792). In her paper "Languages of
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</th>
<th>S.P. de Chonta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>835 habitants</td>
<td>1940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>1091 habitants</td>
<td>1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>4040 habitants</td>
<td>1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>4961 habitants</td>
<td>1981</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>Village</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>Achirás</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></td>
<td>85</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bijao</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Challuayacu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huicunga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juanjui</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>500</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jucusamba</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lupuna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pajatén/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>358</td>
<td>3004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pachiza</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pampa Hermosa/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>246</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tocache</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shepti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sión</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>205</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uchiza</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>376</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicoplaya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>84</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playa Grande</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>204</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tingo María</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></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 amalgamated 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 Chavin 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 descendants 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 auc-tion. 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cholón</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sho-de-ga-chu</td>
<td>la main sanglante</td>
<td>‘the bleeding hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seet-se-be</td>
<td>le soleil du midi</td>
<td>‘the midday sun’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mong-shong-shan</td>
<td>le cypres incliné</td>
<td>‘the arched cypress’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hee-la’h-deh</td>
<td>la pure fontaine</td>
<td>‘the pure fountain’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Hibito, and who, with apostolic zeal, initiated them into the Mysteries of the Holy Faith”. Concerning the notation of what he calls guturaciones ‘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 Gutierrez 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 Hibito 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-ktaŋ, ko ta n'ant-te a-n-iglesia-wo-ktaŋ
2s Pedro 2ss-be-IA this stone face-AD 1sp-rel-church-VB-F-IA
‘You are Peter, [and] on this stone I shall build my church.’

kol oco ixiwah a-kot-ŋ, ut'a-wa kol i-mit-ŋ
death big bad 3ss-be-IA sin-TO death 3sA-3sO.exceed-IA
‘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 Technē ‘art’, Dionysius the Thracian, +/- 200-100 B.C. (Lallot, 1989: 40-65) distinguished seven vowels: a, e, ê, i, o, ê, 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’ Technē, 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 *Technē*), *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 recours 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 text edition 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 prohibitive 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 conjugation 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 Arte de la Lengua Cholona and the matching folio number

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>About non-familiar sounds, the declination of the noun, number and gender</td>
<td>About the noun</td>
<td>About the translation of certain Latin adjuncts and subordinate clauses</td>
<td>About the postposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About the verb</td>
<td>About the numerals</td>
<td>About the comparative</td>
<td>About the adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About the transitive verb</td>
<td>About the compound noun</td>
<td>About the superlative</td>
<td>About the interjection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>About the comparative</td>
<td>About the diminutive</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fol. 1</td>
<td>fol. 23</td>
<td>fol. 105</td>
<td>fol. 153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fol. 55</td>
<td>fol. 87</td>
<td>fol. 108</td>
<td>fol. 167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fol. 99</td>
<td>fol. 105</td>
<td>fol. 111</td>
<td>fol. 170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fol. 93</td>
<td>fol. 112</td>
<td>fol. 118</td>
<td>fol. 194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fol. 134</td>
<td></td>
<td>fol. 197</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fol. 207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fol. 240</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3.2: Moods, tenses and nominalized forms

Indicative: 5 paradigms: present, preterite imperfect + perfect, preterite pluperfect, future imperfect, future perfect

Imperative: 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, prohibitive, dubitative

Optative: 5 paradigms: 3 present and preterite imperfect paradigms, 2 preterite perfect and pluperfect paradigms

Subjunctive: 2 paradigms

Infinitive: 3 paradigms: present, preterite, future

Participle: 7 paradigms: 1 present, 2 preterite, 4 future; 1 third person present form

Gerund: genitive, dative and accusative: 2 paradigms each; ablative: 2 forms

Supine I: 2 paradigms

Supine II: 1 paradigm
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 “guturación” (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 I, esto es, que es ni E claro, ni I. La O la pronuncian entre O y U”\textsuperscript{3}. 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 $g$\textsuperscript{4} 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 â veces como J y â veces apenas se percibe”\textsuperscript{5}. 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 sinco A E I O U”\textsuperscript{6}. In continuation, he provides the reader with five examples of gutturalization followed by each of these vowels:

- $\text{n$g$\ddot{a}$an}$ (1) ‘he makes me’ ($a$)
- $\text{n$g$ue$ch}$ (2) ‘his mother’ ($e$)
- $\text{n$g$ix}$ (3) ‘something dry’ ($i$)
- $\text{m$l$ongo$que}$ (4) ‘you would have made it’ ($o$)
- $\text{n$g$uch}$ (5) ‘his father’ ($u$)

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\textsuperscript{7}.

\textsuperscript{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’.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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’.

\textsuperscript{6} ‘Gutturalization is used with all five A E I O U’

\textsuperscript{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 orthografia de esta lengua es la que estas 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 [...] gutturalizations, 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:

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

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

of the ALC in Appendix 2).
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, ň, ň, ng(u), ňg(u), ňg(u), ňg, ňn, ňñ, pp, qu, ss, tt, tz, yy. The bisegmental symbol or digraph hu employed as a notational variant of the symbols b, u, v 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, ĝ, n, ng, ň. 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</td>
<td>i/y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>tz/z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>g (non-‘guttural’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s/ss</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>s/z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>g/~g/g/ng/g/ng/g/ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g/ng/h</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>g/ng/g~n</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>e</td>
<td>cc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>chch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>jj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>ll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ll</td>
<td>llll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n (non-‘guttural’)</td>
<td>nn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñ/n (non-‘guttural’)</td>
<td>ññ/nñ/nñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>pp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>tt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>xx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>yy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In some cases, the substitutions can lead to ambiguity. For instance, the replacement of ng/ng by ñ/n, indicating a ‘guttural’ sound, may give rise to misinterpretations, because elsewhere, the grapheme ñ/n 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 Vche (VcS + -he ‘benefactive’) may wrongly be interpreted as [Vce], whereas, in this case, it should be read as [Vkhe] or [Vkxe]. The replacement of Vche by Vcge 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 a 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/h/j, i/y, l, ll (non-doubled), m (non-guttural), n (non-guttural), ñ (non-guttural), ñ (non-guttural), h/h (non-'guttural'), p, s/z, t, tz, x, and ng(u)/m/n representing a ‘guttural’ sound (represented also by the symbols g/h/j~g/mg/ng/ng/ñ/ñ/h/hng/h/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 ñ/h (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 before b, and e, i, o, u not after hu, the five vowel symbols a, e, i, o, u are however encountered after u/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, añ/h, ba, bi, bo, hue, hui, huo, huu, go, gu, ka, ko, ku, qua, quo, quu, 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’), ñ/h (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’), ñ/h (non-‘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=ðh/j, respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>before</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>u</th>
<th>after</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<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>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>ñ/h (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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>main (3155)</td>
<td>(ma-in)</td>
<td>‘not yet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maecqui (2186)</td>
<td>(m-a-ec-qui)</td>
<td>‘Give me!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aotzan (1006)</td>
<td>(a-o-it-z-an)</td>
<td>‘I am made’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>micolehauch (1785)</td>
<td>(mi-cole-ha-uch)</td>
<td>‘your (p) lover’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tonliam (654)</td>
<td>(a-ton-li-an)</td>
<td>‘I sit down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aytaj! (2195)</td>
<td>(ayte-aj)</td>
<td>‘Be quiet!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cothuâ (1588)</td>
<td>(cot-hu-â)</td>
<td>‘being’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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/^n (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 hua, 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 llahuam ‘he goes’ in Appendix 4.1).

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

Table 4.3: Minimal pairs with the vowel symbol a

| a ~ i: yap | ‘wild pig’ -- yip | ‘house’ |
| a ~ e: atpan | ‘I walk’ -- atpen | ‘I let walk’ |
| a ~ o: pan | ‘mother’ -- pon | ‘group’ (classifier) |
| a ~ u: pac | ‘eight’ -- puc | ‘digestible’ (classifier) |

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:
i ~ y : into (2521) ~ ynto (2428) ‘how’, ‘what’, ‘where’
    : iel-lo (1452) ~ yel-lo (1452) ‘together’, ‘in pairs’
    : eitza (2794) ~ aycha (1420) ‘meat’

In a later section (fol. 10), de la Mata specifies: “la Y [...], si hiere en la letra que le sigue, es ypsilon ó consonante [...], pero si no hiere, es I vocal”*. 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 atonlian ‘I sit down’ in section 4.2.2 above, and the examples below:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mi\texte{n}an} & : (m-i-e-n-an) \quad \text{‘you gave yourself’} \\
\text{mi\textit{ot}z\texte{a}n} & : (m-i-o-it\text{-}z-an) \quad \text{‘you are made’} \\
\text{goli\texte{y\=e}in\textco} & : (goli\text{-}y\-\text{\=e}in\textco) \quad \text{‘he who had died’} \\
\text{hayu\textit{lou}} & : (hayu\text{-}i\text{-}lou) \quad \text{‘the man’s’, ‘of the man’}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
i & \sim e: \ z\texti{p} \quad \text{‘his house’} & \sim \ z\texte{p} \quad \text{‘meat’} \\
i & \sim a: \ y\texti{p} \quad \text{‘house’} & \sim \ y\texte{p} \quad \text{‘wild pig’} \\
i & \sim o: \ q\texti{u} \quad \text{‘we’} & \sim \ c\textu \quad \text{‘there’} \\
i & \sim u: \ j\texti{l} \quad \text{‘word’} & \sim \ j\textu \quad \text{‘pine cone’}
\end{align*}
\]

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

---

* ‘Y [...], if it ‘hits’ the letter that follows, is an upsilon or consonant [...], but if it does not ‘hit’, it is a vowel.”
pedro de la mata says also about 'preterite' and 'pluperfect' (fol. 24): "[...] el preterito perfecto e imperfecto se terminan en iy, ey, iy, oy, ou. [...] el preterito plusquamperfecto se forma del preterito perfecto, añadiéndole, si acaba en y ye, 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' iy, ey, oy, ou may represent a glide: y a palatal glide [y] and u a bilabial glide [w]. In the remark about 'pluperfect', the 'preterite' ending is again indicated by means of the symbols (y and v), which assumedly 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.

actiye (302) (a-ct-i-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 postconsonantally:

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

Pedro de la Mata says also about the preterite perfect and the preterite imperfect end in ay, ey, i or yi, oy, ou. [...] The preterite pluperfect is formed by adding ye to the preterite perfect, if it ends in iy, and ve, if it ends in y. The symbol iy presumably symbolize a sequence of a high front vowel [i] plus a palatal glide [y].

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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 postconsonantally:
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 $o$:

- hayuilou (22) \((hayu-i-lou)\) ‘the man’s’, ‘of the man’
- cothuá (1588) \((cot-hu-á)\) ‘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>$u$</th>
<th>$i$</th>
<th>$e$</th>
<th>$a$</th>
<th>$o$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$u$</td>
<td>jul ‘pine cone’</td>
<td>jil ‘word’</td>
<td>$u$</td>
<td>le ‘teeth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$u$</td>
<td>$e$</td>
<td>lu ‘intestines’, ‘inside’</td>
<td>$e$</td>
<td>pac ‘eight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$u$</td>
<td>$a$</td>
<td>puc ‘digestible’ (classifier)</td>
<td>$a$</td>
<td>-cho ‘already’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$u$</td>
<td>$o$</td>
<td>-chu ‘negative’, ‘diminutive’</td>
<td>$o$</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 [t] (an intermediate sound between the vowels [e] and [i]), to [e] (the open counterpart of [e]), or, possibly, to an unrounded central vowel [ø].

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 nasalization. However, if we compare the words in which the symbols ee and ē 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-ŋup ‘tree’ is transcribed as e or as ē by Tessmann in the forms pel ‘moon’ and mgē ‘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 pē-y ‘earth’ has a long e, and Aurelia Gutiérrez also pronounced the word [pē-y:kuta’] ‘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 presumably 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-ŋup ‘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-ŋup ‘tree’, because, according to the transcription of Tessmann, the Cholón word for ‘tree’, mgē, 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 vēt ‘fire’, we may note the following. Pedro de la Mata transcribes the word for ‘fire’ as et and Tessmann transcribes it as utmō. In both transcriptions, an indication of nasalization is missing. Nasalization is also missing in the word [u:t] ‘fire’, as pronounced by Aurelia Gutiérrez and José Santos Chapa. I therefore assume that the tilde does not symbolize nasalization. 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’: utmō, and by Aurelia Gutiérrez’s and José Santos Chapa’s [u] in their expression for ‘fire’: [u:t]. So if Martínez Compañón’s
basic symbol e represented a mid front unrounded vowel [e] or [ɛ], his symbol ̃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 [ɛ]. 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.:

é French être, German Bär
e 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’ (the narrow counterpart is marked by a superscript 1, as e’): 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 ̃e is therefore likely to represent an open-mid front unrounded [ɛ], and his lexical item meliš ‘canoe’ should thus be read as [meʃ].

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 meliš ‘canoe’. In this word, the symbol ̃e thus stands for an ‘only aspirated’ sound, or it may stand for a slightly pronounced, ‘whispered’ [e]. The same lexical item meliš ‘canoe’ is transcribed as melius by Pedro de la Mata. In his transcription, Tessmann’s ̃e appears as u, which probably symbolizes a high back vowel [ʊ]. The vowel represented by Tessmann’s symbol ̃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 \( u \) (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 [\( \theta \)] (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 \( i \)\( e \), as \( i \) followed by \( e \) with an arch underneath (!).

Therefore, Tessmann’s sequence \( ie \) in the word melod is likely to represent a rising diphthong. The ‘only aspirated’ vowel symbolized by his \( e \) 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 [\( \theta \)] 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 [\( \theta \)] 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 [\( i\text{cref}a\)] ‘legs’ for instance. A long vowel was perceived in the words [\( \text{pg:ykuta} \)] ‘peccary’ and [\( \text{se:ykutak} \)] ‘peccary’, and a schwa in the expression [\( \text{mnto kilakttr} \)] ‘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 [\( e \)], [\( e:\) ], [\( e\) ], and probably as a central [\( \theta \)] (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 [\( \theta \)]. 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: [\( i \)], [\( i:\) ], [\( e \)], [\( e:\) ], [\( \theta \)].

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 [ə], it is plausible that the central vowel which, assumably, was represented by de la Mata’s symbol ɛ and Martínez Compañón’s ɛ was also a mid central [ə].

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 the forest</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[montə kilakit[i]</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>[gışmun]/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[gışmun]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old woman</td>
<td>hila</td>
<td>[hiladjis]/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[hiladjis]</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></td>
<td>[čile-fa]</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>melišs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chicken</td>
<td>atelpa/</td>
<td>atejwá</td>
<td>[atš̱ba]/</td>
<td>[atš̱ba]/</td>
<td>[atš̱ba]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>earth</td>
<td>pey/pei</td>
<td>lluspey</td>
<td>pey</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peccary</td>
<td>[peykut]</td>
<td>[sε:kutak]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>kinjelšé</td>
<td>[n'ačt]</td>
<td>[n'ačt]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head</td>
<td>setch</td>
<td>mutšitšé</td>
<td>[čučt]</td>
<td></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>vėt</td>
<td>utmō</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>kimonžéi</td>
<td>[mont'zey]</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:

- goliyéinco (1465) (gol-i-yé-inco) ‘he who had died’
- aytéaj! (2195) (ayte-aj) ‘Be quiet!’
- acoleuch (1783) (a-cole-uch) ‘my lover’
- mienan (2076) (mi-e-n-an) ‘you gave yourself’
- aenan (2076) (a-e-n-an) ‘I gave myself’
- apoecthehe (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 $e$

$e \leftrightarrow i$:  
- zep ‘meat’  \leftrightarrow zip ‘his house’

$e \leftrightarrow a$:  
- atpen ‘I let walk’  \leftrightarrow atpan ‘I walk’

$e \leftrightarrow o$:  
- nem ‘day’  \leftrightarrow nom ‘something’

$e \leftrightarrow u$:  
- le ‘teeth’  \leftrightarrow 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, [θ], 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 [ə], 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, ō

T:  
- o, ō, ɔ ɔ̃

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 [ɔ] 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 [ɔ] in an open syllable and an open-mid back rounded [ɔ] in a closed syllable.

Concerning Martínez Compañón’s symbol ō, the sound that is transcribed as ō in the lexical item quōt ‘water’ is unlikely to be a nasalized sound, because this same lexical item is transcribed as kōōt by Tessmann and is pronounced as [kʊʊt] by Mrs. Gutiérrez and Mr. Santos Chapa, without nasalization. However, just as in the case of the lexical item vēt ‘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 *vêt* 'fire' and *quòšt* 'water' as a linking mark in order to connect the vowel symbols ă and ô with the preceding symbols *v* and *u*, respectively. The symbols *v* and *u* may have stood for [ui], and the lexical items *vêt* and *quòšt* may be read as [u°õi] and [ku°õi], respectively.

---

10 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 *vêt* 'fire' and *quòšt* 'water' as a linking mark in order to connect the vowel symbols ă and ô with the preceding symbols *v* and *u*, respectively. The symbols *v* and *u* may have stood for [ui], and the lexical items *vêt* and *quòšt* may be read as [u°õi] and [ku°õi], respectively.
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>[aʃɔt]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>cot</td>
<td>Quõt</td>
<td>[kɔt]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaguar</td>
<td>cot</td>
<td>Quõt</td>
<td>[kɔt]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiger</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[ʃɔh]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red monkey</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[ʃɔmɔh]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>chaplón</td>
<td>tšaplió</td>
<td>[ʃapliɔ]</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 [ʊ], 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 ō, and Tessmann’s o, ō  ō  ō, 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], [ɔː], [a], [ʊ]. Tessmann noticed the vowels [o], [oː], [ɔː], and a short [æ], probably, [æ]. An open-high [ʊ], a close-mid [o], a long close-mid [oː] and an open-mid [ɔ] 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]/[ʊː], open-mid back [o]/[oː], and a mid central rounded [ʌ]. 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

PM o [ø], [ɔː] MC o [o], [oː] T o [o]  
[ø], [ɔː]  
[ø], [ɔː]  
[ø], [ɔː]  
[ø], [ɔː]  
AG/JSC [o], [oː]  
[ŋ] (in a closed syllable)  
[ŋ] (in an open stressed syllable)

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.

aoitzan (1006) (a-o-it-z-an) ‘I am made’  
mipoecqui (1454) (mi-po-equ-i) ‘give them’  
mioitzan (1007) (mi-o-it-z-an) ‘you are made’  
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>o</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>co- ‘here’</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>gui- ‘we’</td>
<td>→</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>moc ‘oh, if’</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>mec ‘all’</td>
<td>→</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>pon ‘group’</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>pan ‘mother’</td>
<td>→</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>-cho ‘already’</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>-chu ‘negative’, ‘diminutive’</td>
<td>→</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ē, the notational variant of ē, has been left out, as well the symbols g and ē 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, x, g, h, j, m, n, ē, ng, l, ll, b, hu, u, v, i, y, in a syllable.

|   | i   | e   | a   | o   | u   | p | t | c | k | qu | tz | ch | s | x | g | h | j | m | n | ē | ng | (u) | l | ll | b | hu | u | v | i | y |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|---|---|---|---|----|----|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|---|----|---|----|---|---|---|---|
| b: | +   | +   | +   | +   | -   | +  | + | + | + | +  | +  | +  | + | + | + | + | + | +  | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  |
| a: | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +  | + | + | + | +  | +  | +  | + | + | + | + | + | +  | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  |
| b: | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +  | + | + | + | +  | +  | +  | + | + | + | + | + | +  | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  |
| a: | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +  | + | + | + | +  | +  | +  | + | + | + | + | + | +  | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  |
| b: | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +  | + | + | + | +  | +  | +  | + | + | + | + | + | +  | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  |
| a: | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +  | + | + | + | +  | +  | +  | + | + | + | + | + | +  | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  |
| b: | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +  | + | + | + | +  | +  | +  | + | + | + | + | + | +  | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  |
| a: | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +  | + | + | + | +  | +  | +  | + | + | + | + | + | +  | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  | + | +  |
Table 4.14: The vowel symbols and their tentative value

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pedro de la Mata’s graphemes</th>
<th>possible values</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>[a], [a:]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>[i], [i:], [ɛ], [ɛ:], [o]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>[i], [i:]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>[o], [o:], [o], [o:], [u]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>[u], [u:]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).

Table 4.15: Hypothetical distinctive vowels assumedly symbolized by Pedro de la Mata’s vowel symbols.

```
[i]   [u]
[i:]  [o]
[a]
```

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” (ALC, fol. 247). Nonetheless, sequences of same vowel symbols are found in the 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 [ʔ]. The sequences ii and 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 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 [V’V] or [V*V];
2c: a bi-syllabic structure with an intermediate glottal stop: [V’ʔV];
3: a falling diphthong: [Vy/w];

---

12 ‘in this language there is no measure is short syllables or long syllables’
4: a consonant-vowel sequence: [y/wV] (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 ‘1s’ or another prefix ending in a;
III  *maall* ‘nothing more’ which consists of the intensifier ma ‘very’ + the suffix -all ‘only’, ‘nothing else’;
IV  *-ochaauam* ‘the (variety of) fruit?’ (*ochaau* ‘(variety of) fruit’ + -am ‘question marker’);
V  *-alluaanco* ‘I who go’; *analiuaam* ‘How many species?’; *maacaquinco* ‘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)  á-amo-ct-an (1512)  (2)  a-an-an (2333)
1ss-eat-F-IA  1ss-come-IA
‘I shall eat’  ‘I come’

II (3)  ng-a-a-an (2948)  (4)  a-m-a-a-an (2728)
3s1-1s-o-make-IA  1ss-2s-o-apl-do/say-IA
‘he makes me’  ‘I do something for you’, ‘I tell you’

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

In the form *ochaauam* (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. *analiuaam/analiuuam* below.

IV (6)  *ochaau-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 the same morpheme, and because the elements *aanco, (u)aa* and *maac* are normally spelled with one *a*: cf. *actanco* ‘I who am’; *annaliuam* ‘How many colours?’; *maasaietan* ‘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.*

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
V (7) & a-lulu-aan-co (1189) \\
& 1sS-go-IA-DEM \\
& ‘I who go’ \\
& (8) ana-liu-aam (1424) \\
& how many-Cl:multiform/coloured-QM \\
& ‘How many colours?’ \\
& (9) a-maacs-a-gui-an-co (1634) \\
& 3S-happiness-be/become-IA-DE \\
& ‘he who rejoices’
\end{array}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
(10) & che-e-n-an (2076) \\
& 3Sps-give-RFL-IA \\
& ‘they give themselves’ \\
& (11) me-etzo-lam (1503) \\
& 2SS-steal-FN1 \\
& ‘your stealing’ \\
& (12) me-etzo-u-ynco (2007) \\
& 2SS-steal-PST-DEM \\
& ‘you who stole’ \\
& (13) eee, heey (2863) \\
& yes \\
& ‘yes’ \\
& (14) ñeetz (2990) \\
& 3Spos-mother \\
& ‘someone’s mother’
\end{array}
\]

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 *meetzouynco* may be interpreted as an uninterrupted [i] vowel sequence, as a sequence with an intervening glide: [ryi], or as a sequence interrupted by a glottal stop: [r’i].
As far as the words eey/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 [sɛːykutə] ~ [sɛːykutak] ‘peccary’ with a long mid front vowel followed by the palatal glide [y].

The ee cluster may thus symbolize the sequences [ɪɪ], [ɪyɪ], [yɪ], if it is divided by a morpheme boundary, and a long vowel [ɪː], [ɛː], or [eː], if the segments belong to one morpheme.

4.2.7.3. ii sequences
The combination ii may be interpreted as [iː], [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 quiimejjuch ‘our teacher’;
IV - the forms a(c)quií or a(c)quiî, atoniilie, atzachiitan and cotíinco, 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-piyp-an)
  3ps-work-IA
  ‘they work’

(16) meip-an (2867)
  3ss-work-IA
  ‘he works’

(17) piip-o (1183, 1575, 2874)
  work-FN2
  ‘supine’

(18) piip-pacna (1575)
  work-NE.NOM
  ‘negation’

(19) piip-te-ge (2783)
  work-INF.BEN
  ‘gerund’

The orthography of chi-piyp-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: *[piypStSh/tʃ]. 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 \textit{ii} combination - in the verb \textit{piip(o)} - as a long vowel, a falling diphthong or a CV combination, what remains is the reading of \textit{ii} as a ‘vowel-vowel’, a ‘vowel-glide-vowel’ or a ‘vowel-glottal stop-vowel’ sequence, as [ii], [iyi] or [i'î], respectively.

Accordingly, the \textit{ei} sequence in \textit{meipan} ‘he works’ may be read as [ii], [iyi] or [i'î]. In the case of \textit{piip(o)} there is still the possibility of another reading. The \textit{ii} sequence may be interpreted as a ‘vowel-glide’ sequence [iy] which, in order to avoid a cluster of two consonants ([yp]) within a syllable, was followed by a shwa. The form \textit{piip(o)} may then be read as \[piyp(o)\].

II (20) \textit{mi-ip-o-an} (1886) \hspace{1cm} (21) \textit{qui-ip-o-an} (1886)
\begin{align*}
2s\text{-house-}\text{VB-IA} & \hspace{1cm} 1ps\text{-house-}\text{VB-IA} \\
‘you make your house’ & \hspace{1cm} ‘we make our house’
\end{align*}

(22) \textit{mi-iep-o-u-ja-n} (1886) \hspace{1cm} (23) \textit{iip-o-c} (1889)
\begin{align*}
2s\text{-house-}\text{VB-PST-IA} & \hspace{1cm} \text{house-}\text{VB-IMP} \\
‘you (p) make your (p) house’ & \hspace{1cm} ‘Make a house!’
\end{align*}

The \textit{ii} sequence in the first two words may have been composed of the final \textit{i} of the person marker \textit{mi} + the stem vowel \textit{i} with the suppression of the initial glide of \textit{yip-an}. However, according to the other data in the \textit{ALC}, consonant suppression does not occur in Cholón. It is rather the stem vowel that is elided (cf. \textit{me-kt-an} < *\textit{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 \textit{i} of the verb \textit{yip(o)} has been elided, and the second element of the sequence \textit{ii} should probably be interpreted as a palatal glide, the initial \textit{y} of \textit{yip-an}. 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 [iyi] composed of \textit{i} (the ending of the person marker) + \textit{yi} (the first two elements of \textit{yip-an}), giving us [miypan]/[miypan] and [kiypan]/[kiypan]. The form \textit{miiepoujan} occurs only once in the \textit{ALC}. The second grapheme of the \textit{ii} sequence in this form apparently symbolizes the initial palatal glide of \textit{yip-an}. The word \textit{miiepoujan} should therefore be read as [miypowhan] or [miypowxan]. (The reading of \textit{miiepoujan} as [miypowhan] or [miypowxan] should not be excluded either). The imperative form \textit{iipoc} is regularly composed from the morphemes \textit{iip ‘house’} + (\textit{o}) ‘(to) make’ + the imperative ending \textit{c}, and can be read as [yipök]. In both forms, \textit{miiepoujan} as well as \textit{iipoc}, the \textit{ii} sequence may thus be interpreted as a CV combination.

III (24) \textit{qui-imej-uch} (81)
\begin{align*}
1p\text{-teach-AG} & \\
‘our teacher’
\end{align*}

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

IV (25) $a(c)qui(1868)/a(c)qui(247)$

1sS-be/became-PST
‘I was’, ‘I became’

(a-(c)qui-i/i)

(26) $atonliiye(676)$

1sS-sit.down/stay-PST-ANT
‘I had sat down’, ‘I had stayed’

(a-tonli-iy-e)

(27) $cotiinco(1458)$

3sS-be-PST-DEM
‘he who was’

(a-cot-i-inco)

(28) $azchiitan(254)$

1sA-3sO-SE-F-IA
‘I shall see him/her/it’

(a-zch-ii-t-ian)

In the first four forms, the $ii$ sequence is divided by a morpheme boundary, and the second element of the $ii$ cluster 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 $a(c)qui$ and $atonliiye$, and a ‘diphthong-vowel’ sequence $[yi]$ in the $cotiinco$. If this is correct, the words $a(c)qui$, $atonliiye$ and $cotiinco$ may be read as $[akiy]$, $[atoniyyi]$ and $[kotiyinko]$, respectively. By contrast, the circumflex accent on the final $i$ in the form $a(c)qui_i$ may have indicated a glottal stop. If so, the $ii$ cluster may have represented a ‘vowel-glottal stop-diphthong’ sequence, so that $a(c)qui$ may be read as $[akiy]$. 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: $[ii]$, $[i'i]$ or $[i']$, 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 [yi]. When the second element of the cluster is accentuated by a circumflex, it may even represent a VCVC sequence [i’iy].

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)   
| i-mo-o-nɡo (1515) | qui-po-o-nɡo (2495) |
| 3sA-3pO-make-FN2 | 1pA-3pO-make-FN2 |
| ‘he has to make them’ | ‘we have to make them’ |

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 [iɔi], as a vowel-glide-vowel sequence [i̯ɔ], or as a vowel-glottal stop-vowel sequence [i̯ɔ].

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

(30)   
| mi-tzooz (143) (replacement of *michooh*) |
| 2sPPOS-guinea.pig |
| ‘your guinea pig’ |

(31)   
| qui-zooz (143) (replacement of *quichooh*) |
| 1pPPOS-guinea.pig |
| ‘our guinea pig’ |

(32)   
| y-tzooz (143) (replacement of *ychooh*) |
| 3pPPOS-guinea.pig |
| ‘their guinea pig’ |

In favour of the assumption that double *oo* could represent a long vowel, there is first the fact that [ɔː] has been attested in the utterances of José Santos Chapa. He pronounced the word for ‘red monkey’ as [YNAMO:], 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*, *quichooh* 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".

In the paradigm mi-tzoz, 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 [ɔɔ], [ɔːo] and [ɔ'ɔ].

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) uchuu! (2935) ‘How warm!’
(38) uñuu! (2945) ‘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 uchuu is elsewhere namely written as uchu, with a single final u; and uñuu had originally also been written with a single final u as uñu. The later hand has added the symbol u to uñu. 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 [uː] 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”12. Therefore, a final syllable does not need to be marked as such. The interjection acuu! ‘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 uchuu! and uñuu! may thus be read as a diphthong [uw] or as a long high back vowel [uː].

---

12 “[...] there is only one accent, on the last syllable, in nouns as well as in verbs”.
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 [eː], [oː] 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: [VyV], or as a sequence interrupted by a glottal stop: [VːV].

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 [yi]. In ‘preterite’ forms, the ii cluster, divided by a morpheme boundary, may also represent a [VyV] sequence (cf. cotilinco [kotiyinko]), and a [V'V'y] 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>[VyːV]</th>
<th>[V'V]</th>
<th>[V'y/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 [e] 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) [ew] leu (1907)  ‘worm’
(42) [ey] pey (1399)  ‘earth’
(43) [ay] ayte! (2194)  ‘Quiet!’
(44) [ow] ouhum (1637)  ‘snake’
(45) [oy] aloy (963)  ‘I wet’
(46) [uy] atzi (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>e</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pair</th>
<th>Original Meaning</th>
<th>New Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>liu</td>
<td>‘painting’</td>
<td>leu ‘worm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liu</td>
<td>‘painting’</td>
<td>lou ‘something made’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ney</td>
<td>‘firewood’</td>
<td>nai ‘someone’s backside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ay</td>
<td>‘backside’</td>
<td>oy ‘exclamation of concession’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- [iy]
- [iw], [ey]
- [ow], [oiy]
- [ay]

In addition, in the words recorded in the area, the following diphthongs were attested: [ey], [ay], [oiy], [iw], [ow]:

(48) [s$:ykuta]/[s$:ykutak] ‘peccary’
(49) [ay] ‘exclamation to frighten someone’
(50) [oy] ‘exclamation to confirm something’
(51) [kitiw] ‘ear’
(52) [alkusew]/[alkusow] ‘a variety of fish’
(53) [how] ‘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) llavi (2467) ~ llaui (79) ‘he went’
(55) illven (905) ~ alluen (905) ‘I went’ ~ ‘they went’
(56) -va (1853) ~ -ua (1630) ‘topic marker’
(57) -voch (2373) ~ -uoch (1042) ‘verbalizer -vo/-uo + factivizer -(e)ch’
(58) -vusch (1445) ~ -uusch (1444) ‘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
fricative, 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 \textit{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 \textit{v}. The consonant symbol \textit{v}, namely, does never appear syllable-finally after a vowel symbol, only \textit{u} is found in this position (cf. Appendix 4.1). Since the symbol \textit{u} has a consonantal status when it appears in this position and since it occurs in complementary distribution with \textit{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 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:

symbols section  
\textit{b} (in non-borrowed words), \textit{hu}, \textit{u/v} 4.3.2  
\textit{c}, \textit{qu}, \textit{k} 4.3.3  
\textit{ch}, \textit{tz/z} 4.3.4  
\textit{u/v} 4.3.5  
\textit{l}, \textit{ll} (non-doubled) 4.3.6  
\textit{m}, \textit{n}, \textit{n}/\textit{t} (non-‘guttural’), and \textit{nc} 4.3.7  
\textit{p}, \textit{t} 4.3.8  
\textit{s}/\textit{z}, \textit{x} 4.3.9  
\textit{g} (non-‘guttural’), \textit{h, j} 4.3.10  
\textit{g} (‘guttural’), \textit{\tilde{g}}(\textit{u}/\textit{g}(\textit{u}). \textit{\tilde{g}}. \textit{ng}, \textit{\tilde{ng}}(\textit{u}/\textit{ng}(\textit{u}), \textit{\tilde{ng}}, \textit{\tilde{ng}}, \textit{n}/\textit{\tilde{ng}}(\textit{u}/\textit{n}(\textit{u}), \textit{\tilde{n}}) 4.3.11  
symbols restricted to loan words: \textit{b}, \textit{d}, \textit{f}, \textit{r} 4.4

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

\textsuperscript{13} ‘In this language, F, whether strong or soft, is not pronounced’.
sequence, \( u\nu \), 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, 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 \( b, hu, u\nu \)

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 \( b\)em ‘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 \( u\nu \) 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 \([golewu]\), and \( b\)em, on the analogy of \( \sim \)golebuch, as \([wem]\).

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 complementizing suffix -hu, [hu], cf. section 4.2.2).

The combination \( hua \) has been found in the following forms:

\[
(59) \quad ol \quad i-l\-u-a\-hua\-m \quad co-á (96)
\]

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: ‘In this language, F, whether strong or soft, is not pronounced’.

In the word i-lou-hua-m-co-à, 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 [waliw]. 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) ~ llai (78) ‘he went’
- illven (905) ~ alluen (905) ‘they went’ ~ ‘I went’
- -va (6) ~ -va (77) ‘topic marker’
- -vo-ch (2097) ~ -uo-ch (1042) ‘verbalizer-factitive’
- -vach (1782) ~ -uuch (1444) ‘agentive’

Being employed alternatively in this position, the graphemes u and v apparently refer to the same sound. The sound they refer to cannot 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”15. 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).

15 ‘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) \( a-m-p(i)ce-n \) (1173)  
\( 1sA-2sO-ask-PST-IA \)  
‘I asked you’

(70) \( mi-chace-n-lé \) (2969)  
\( 2ss-joke-IA-QM \)  
‘Are you joking?’

The former verb - \( p(i)js \) ‘(to) buy/ ask’, \( m(i)js \) ‘(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 \( mi-chace-n-lé \) 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) ‘1p0-AP’  
(72) \( co \) (1292) ‘here’, ‘this’

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

(73) \( oc \) (1268) ‘I,’ ‘me’  
(74) \( cu \) (109) ‘our’

(75) \( qui-quill \) (117)  
\( 1pP0S-wall \)  
‘our wall’

(76) \( que-chesmiñ \) (120)  
\( 1pP0S-cedar \)  
‘our cedar’

(77) \( cu-pul \) (141)  
\( 1pP0S-son \)  
‘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 kenna ‘stars’ the symbol k has been used instead of qu. The prefix ki ‘lp’ in ki-tzmehj-o is normally written as qui with qu instead of k. The item kenna 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 /_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’ — ngot (114) ‘his water’
(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: yPOCH ‘six’ > ypszok; and in some cases it alternates with the symbols s and x: ich~ is-lix~ ‘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 [ɾ].

(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 furthermore occurs in borrowings (cf. eitza ‘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:

(85) Sch > Sz:: chipiou > zipiou (121) ‘a (variety of) fruit’
(86) -ch > -z:: michipiou > mizipiou (121) ‘your (variety of) fruit’
(87) -ch > -tz:: ichipiou > itzipiou (121) ‘their (variety of) fruit’
(88) -ch$/ > -tz$/michmen > mitzmen (944) ‘you teach’

In a number of cases, the symbol ch’ is only replaced by z:

(89) chel > zel (1082) ‘numeral classifier for big objects and quadrupeds’, ‘numeral classifier for one human being’
(90) ypchoe > ypzok (1087) ‘six’

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.,

(91) Sch:: chipiou (121)
   3sPOS-fruit
   ‘his fruit’
(92) -ch:: mi-chipiou-ha (121)
   2POS-fruit-PL
   ‘your (p) fruit’

(93) -ch$/:: ychmen (944)
   3SA-3SO.know-CAU-IA
   ‘he teaches’

(94) an-chel xê (7)
   one-CL.truncal
   haired
   ‘one human hair’
(95) ypchoe-o ypchoe-o (1137)
   six-DIS
   six-DIS
   ‘in sixes’
Occasionally, the symbol \( ch' \) alternates with the symbols \( s \) and \( x \), which represent the sibilants [s] and [ʃ], respectively (see section 4.3.9):

\[
\begin{align*}
(96) & \quad ich- (94) \sim is-/ ix- (1084/1094) \quad \text{‘three’} \\
(97) & \quad -che (94) \sim -xe (1095) \quad \text{‘numeral classifier for round objects’}
\end{align*}
\]

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 [č], \( ch' \) 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 [tʃ]. 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: [tʃ] > [s].

The fact that palatal [č] is interchangeable with alveolar [tʃ] 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 [lʲ] in syllable-final position (cf. section 4.3.6), and the alveolar fricative [s] as a palatal fricative [ʃ] (cf. the example \( is \sim is \) ‘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 Geronímo 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 [ɛ] which was shifting into a palatal [č]; the symbol \( ch' \) possibly represented a palatal affricate [č] which was losing its palatal articulation and was changing into an alveolar affricate [tʃ]. 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 [t’s] 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’
mizaluch (119) ‘your black man’ mizipiou (121) ‘your fruit’
zaluch (119) ‘his black man’ chipiou (121) ‘his fruit’
quitzaluch (119) ‘our black man’ quichipiou (121) ‘our fruit’
mizaluchga (119) ‘your black man’ michipiouha (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, \([t']\). 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 \(ich-\sim is-\) ‘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 \([t']\) as well, we may assume that \([t']\) also fluctuated with \([s]\). The more so since both sounds, \([t']\) 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 \([t']\) and with fricative \([s]\), as \([kat'sik]\) and as \([kasik]\), respectively. The \([t']\) \sim \([s]\) fluctuation gives evidence that fricative \([s]\) can function as an allophone of \([t']\). It is therefore possible that the symbol \(z\) used in the ALC, by analogy with the affricate \sim 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 \(michooh\), \(quichooh\) 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 Huarochiri (Adelaar, 1988) the symbol \(h\) is often found instead of \(ch\) in syllable-final position, e.g., \(ahca\) [ačka] ‘many’, \(ychah\) [ičča] ‘maybe’, \(pičca\) [pičča] ‘five’. It is therefore possible that \(-ooh\) should be read as \([o:]\). (The sequence of double \(o\) in the endings \(-ooh\) 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 \([t']\) 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:

\[(100)\quad atzuch (144) ‘my alfalfa’ \sim zuch (144) ‘his alfalfa’ \sim yuch (144) ‘alfalfa’\]
4.3.5. The symbol i/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 i/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 i/y, can be relevantly distinguished from other palatal sounds symbolized by other graphemes. The last pair shows that the sound represented by the symbol i/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’ -- chan (1744) ‘(to) attach’
      -- ñan (80) ‘sleep’
(102) yach (186) ‘(to)see’ -- hach (1681) ‘field’

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 й]. 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’ -- llu (133) ‘peacock’
(104) lan (2671) ‘(to) do/make something’ -- nan (2165) ‘reflexive verb ending’
      -- tan (308) ‘future’

When the symbol ll occurs in initial and in final position, it obviously represents a palatal lateral sound. However, when appearing between vowel symbols, it can also symbolize a sequence of two non-palatal liquids. For example, the Cholón word alec ‘ten’ is sometimes written as allec. In this item, the symbol ll does not represent a palatal lateral [l й], but rather a sequence of two same non-palatal liquids. For the interpretation of doubled consonants occurring between two vowel symbols, see section 4.3.12. Sometimes the two segments of the sequence are divided by a hyphen (often introduced afterwards). This sequence has also been encountered word-finally:

(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 $[l']$, and wanted it to be interpreted as the representation of two alveolar liquids.

In the lexical item $jul-l$, 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 $jul-l$, 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 $[l']$.

However, in the case of $jul-l$, 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 $[t']$ and $[k']$ (section 4.3.4.2), and of the fricatives $[s]$ and $[ş]$ (section 4.3.10).

The fact that in the lexical items $colol$ and $el$ palatal $[l']$ was changed into alveolar $[l]$ and that both articulations were possible as far as the word $jul-l$ 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 $[n]$, 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:

(107) $\begin{align*}
\text{man} \quad \text{(2009) ‘sow’} & \quad \sim \quad \text{nan} \quad \text{(342) ‘come’} & \quad \sim \quad \text{ñan} \quad \text{(80) ‘sleep’}.
\end{align*}$

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

(108) $\begin{align*}
\text{bilabial:} & \quad m \sim p: & \quad \text{ma} \quad \text{(1226) ‘intensifier’} & \quad \sim \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{(139) ‘father’} \\
\text{alveolar:} & \quad n \sim l: & \quad \text{nan} \quad \text{(414) ‘go’} & \quad \sim \quad \text{lan} \quad \text{(2038) ‘do/make it’} \\
\text{palatal:} & \sim \text{t}: & \quad \text{lu} \quad \text{(1039) ‘interior’} & \quad \sim \quad \text{-tu} \quad \text{(17) ‘adessive’} \\
\text{palatal:} & \sim \text{ch}: & \quad \text{ñan} \quad \text{(80) ‘sleep’} & \quad \sim \quad \text{chan} \quad \text{(1744) ‘(to) attach’} \\
\text{il:} & \quad ñu \quad \text{(54) ‘daughter’} & \quad \sim \quad \text{llu} \quad \text{(133) ‘peacock’}
\end{align*}$
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) pullen (60) $\sim$ pullen (53) ‘corresponding consort’
(112) pun (2440) $\sim$ pun (1973, 1811) ‘dust’, ‘flour’
(113) xum (1449) $\sim$ 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 [$\eta$]. 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 [$\eta$], 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 oncea ‘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 [$\eta$]). In order to represent this sound in a prevocalic position de la Mata employed, among others, the symbols $m\bar{g}$, $g(u)$, $ng$, $n\bar{g}(u)$, $\bar{n}g(u)$. 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:

- **chan (1103) ‘bundled’ (classifier)**: $\rightarrow cha$ + $am$ (1433) ‘bundled + question marker’
- **pan (140) ‘mother’**: $\rightarrow pang + a$ (1341) ‘mother + topic marker’
- **pon (1106) ‘group’ (classifier)**: $\rightarrow pong + am$ (1442) ‘troop + question marker’
- **xum/ xun (1449/1107) ‘accumulations’ (classifier)**: $\rightarrow xun + am$ (1448) ‘heap + question marker’
- **chan (1744) ‘(to) attach’**: $\rightarrow mipoch + i$ (1744) ‘you attached them’
- **ton (507) ‘he has/is’**: $\rightarrow to\bar{g} + i$ (513) ‘he had/was’
- **aton (782) ‘I have’**: $\rightarrow at\bar{g} + i$ (647) ‘I had’
- **pan (588) ‘negative verb ending’**: $\rightarrow llacpang + in$ (1180) ‘he does not go yet’

The appearance of a symbol representing a ‘guttural’, assumedly a velar nasal [$\eta$], 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 *c/ku* 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:

\[(114) \quad \text{nem} [\text{nem}] (1186) \text{‘day’} - \text{nen} [\text{ne} \text{ŋ}] (73) \text{‘hand’} \]

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 [t’s]. 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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sax</td>
<td>xax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onsa</td>
<td>oncxa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imseposan</td>
<td>imxeposan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chexmiñ</td>
<td>chesmiñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maxou</td>
<td>maxzi</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 [saʃ] and as [ʃixya], respectively, with a palatal fricative; and they
were spelled as xax and as xih in the ALC. In these forms, analogous to the spoken data, the symbol x possibly represents a palatal fricative [š].

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]i 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 mucac ‘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 [š].

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 [š], represented by s/z and x, respectively, are relevantly distinctive from other alveolar and palatal sounds:

(127) sdba ‘3s’ -- pa (139) ‘father’
  -- ta (1906) ‘stone’
  -- ca (558) ‘1p applicative’
  -- -la (696) ‘3p’
  -- -na (2838) ‘negation’
  -- ñan (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 \( #g/e,i = j = \text{soft} = \text{foreign} = \text{sometimes} \ h \) 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 \( i \):

\begin{align*}
128) & \quad -ge (15) \quad \text{‘dative case’} \\
129) & \quad allgi (2652) \quad \text{‘something sweet’}
\end{align*}

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 \text{ 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., \( muger \sim mujer ‘woman’\), 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:

| (130) | castigan (1631) | ‘to punish’ |
| (131) | domingo (1575) | ‘sunday’ |
| (132) | alguacil (400) | ‘police officer’ |
| (133) | iglesia (2815) | ‘church’ |
| (134) | gratia (2859) | ‘grace’ |

(The symbol $g$ may furthermore represent a ‘guttural’ sound, the velar nasal [$\eta$], 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 $\alpha$.

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’  
- -Je (279) ‘interrogation marker’

hil (2203) ‘word’  ~ sil (1127) ‘his word’
llahan (2072) ‘bring’  ~ llahuan (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 ø, if it occurs in syllable final position after the vowel symbol a, and in syllable initial position before e:

heey, jey, ecy (2863-61)  ‘yes’
inchanma, inchammah (1352, 2719)  ‘What’s the matter?’
-jina, -jinah, -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 ø 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 ~ ø 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 jañan ‘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, ǧ, ġ, ǧ, ǧ, ng, ńg, ngh, ń, h, ṭ, ṭ, ṭ, ṭ, ńg are used. The symbols g, ġ, ng, ńg occur most frequently, whereas ~g, ngh, ṭ, ńg 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 \( \sim \) (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 \([^g]\),
- a uvular nasal \([N]\),
- a velar nasal \([\eta]\).

The fact that \( \tilde{g} \) alternates with \( \tilde{n} \) and \( \tilde{t} \) 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 \( g/\tilde{g}/g/\tilde{g}/g^\sim /\tilde{g}/g/\tilde{g}/n^\sim /\tilde{g}/n^\sim /\tilde{g}^\sim /gn/\tilde{g}/gn/\tilde{g} \) 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’
\( n\tilde{got} \) (114) ‘his water’

The suppletive third person forms \( nguch \) ‘his father’ and \( n\tilde{g}ue\tilde{t}z/n\tilde{e}\tilde{t}z \) ‘his mother’ have the symbols \( ng \) and \( n\tilde{h} \), 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 Hibito \( cotc \) ‘father’ and \( que\tilde{c}c \) ‘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 \([\eta]\).

Apparently, the author of the ALC found it difficult to symbolize a velar nasal, because in Spanish \([\eta]\) is only a distributional variant of \([n]\). It occurs in combination with \([x]\), \([g]\) or \([k]\) (e.g., \( \tilde{a}ngel, angustia, banco \)), 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 \( ng \) 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’, \( sum \) ‘accumulation’ in section 4.3.7. Regarding the distinctive nature of the sound symbolized, we have seen that the velar nasal sound \([\eta]\) can be semantically distinguished from the velar stop \([k]\); cf. \( [\tilde{g}ot] \) ‘his water’ —
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[kot] ‘water’ above and in section 4.3.3, and from the bilabial nasal [m]: cf. [neį] ‘hand’ -- [nem] ‘day’ (section 4.3.7).

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:

(143) apon + p superscript > appon (1106) ‘one herd/flock/troop’
(144) atuj + t superscript > attuj (1098) ‘one joint/articulation’
(145) achan + ch superscript > achchan (1435) ‘one heap or pile’
(146) acotan + c superscript > accotan (555) ‘I have’
(147) anguisiiñ + s superscript > anguisiñiñ (240) ‘I cheat/decieve/betray’
(148) alic + l superscript > alic (1142) ‘ten’
(149) ylami + m superscript > ylamiñi (87) ‘he killed someone’
(150) manap + n superscript > mannap (1219) ‘from’, ‘between’, ‘more’
(151) coñap + ĉ superscript > coññap (1384) ‘this size’

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) yxxê (1360) ‘three round (things)’ < yx-xê ‘three-roundness’ <*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 cottan, the imperative micotti, the ‘gerund’ cott o + 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 (cotan > cottan ‘he will be’), the double consonant symbol is never the result of a superscript double. In the forms with cottan, 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)t(e). 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 cott o, because in such forms the double consonant symbol is not intersected by a morpheme boundary. The words micotti and cott o 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 cott o ‘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:

\[(153) \quad a\text{-}che + t \text{ superscript} > atche \text{ (1095)} \text{ ‘one round thing’} \]

Word internal gemination seems to underlie the doubling of the consonant symbols, as well as the consonant symbol combinations in words such as *atche* ‘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 *atche* as \([t\text{e}]\) -, 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:

\[(154) \quad que\text{-}tn\text{ deleted} + c \text{ superscript} > que\text{-}cng\text{-}i\text{-}ø\text{-}te \text{ (19)} \]

\( \text{iPs\text{-}be.seated-PST\text{-}NOM\text{-}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 ssimilation with the contiguous consonant is possibly the reason why \( [t] \) is replaced by \([k]\) symbolized by \( c \); \([t\text{n}] > [k\text{n}]\).

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 \([l'\text{y}]\). Intervocically, 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 \( ll \) > *olllle*. It occurs more than fifty times in the manuscript, and concerns the following lexical items.
Table 4.20: The combination of $ll +$ superscript $ll$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>callan</td>
<td>‘order’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c(o)ll</td>
<td>‘(to) love’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>illaca</td>
<td>‘their coloured object’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>illacan</td>
<td>‘(to) love’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alla</td>
<td>‘(I) bring’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aillaun</td>
<td>‘(I) become’, ‘(I) go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llu</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ullu</td>
<td>‘their peacock’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mells</td>
<td>‘canoe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oll</td>
<td>‘saliva’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quimjollo</td>
<td>‘we reach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulluc</td>
<td>‘spear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yammollan</td>
<td>‘(to) leave behind’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The superscript symbol leaves no other interpretation than that of a geminate palatal for $llll$. Therefore, I suppose the double $l$ in the cases listed above to be univalent and to stand for $[l']$, Spanish $ll$. In other cases, however, the interpretation of double $l$, is uncertain. It may either refer to palatal lateral $[l']$, 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 | $baptismo$ (9984) | ‘baptism’
       | $domingo$ (793)  | ‘sunday’
       | $fiesta$ (1575)  | ‘feast’
(156) Que | $rasu/lasu$ (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 bem ‘sweet potato’ should be read as $[wem]$, and the Spanish loan word $vaca$ ‘cow’, transcribed as $baca$ 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 \( ø \) or to [h]. Originally, in Spanish the glottal fricative [h] was pronounced. As a notational variant of \( j \) it has the same value as \( g'/e \) and \( i \), and symbolizes an unvoiced velar fricative [x] or glottal [h];
- the symbol \( qu \) corresponds to [k]. In the word \( quatretemporas \) ‘ Ember day’, however, the sequence \( qu \) corresponds to [kw];
- in the sequence \( gua \) in the word \( alguacil \) ‘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. Truxillo > Trujillo). Otherwise it may symbolize an unvoiced palatal sibilant [ʃ]. The lexical item \( vexa \) ‘sheep’ may thus have been pronounced as [weʃa]; compare old Spanish [oβeʃa] and Tarma Quechua [u:ʃa] ‘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 \( camayoc \) ‘holder of a certain position/post’ is a borrowing from Quechua). E.g.:

(157) Ch   Sp
\baca camayoc\ (1155)   baquero ‘cowherd’
\vexa camayoc\ (1154)   pastor de obejas ‘shepherd’
\cuatrotemporas\ (2793)   \cuatrotemporas\ ‘Ember day’
\vigilia\ (2793)   \vigilia\ ‘vigil’
\rezan qui/ (1738)   \rezar\ ‘(to) pray’
\rezan qui\ (1638) ‘qui ‘to be’, ‘to become’, ‘to do’

(158) Ch   Que
\lasumuillan\ (2201)   \rasu\ ‘snow’ ‘(to) hail’
\( muillan \) ‘fall down’, ‘bury’)\n\rasumuilli\ (1198) ‘It hailed’.
\utza\ (1204/1222)   \huça ‘fault’, ‘guilt’, ‘sin’

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 [β] and [b] were changed into \( w \). Other phonetic adaptations are depalatalization and lateralization. The word for ‘guilt’ shows that palatal \( c/e \), represented by the symbol \( ch \), has been depalatalized and changed into [t']. The borrowing \( lasumuillan \) ‘to hail’ shows that the non-native vibrant [t] of Quechua \( rasu \) ‘snow’ was replaced by the more familiar lateral [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 \([n^γ]\). Usually, the Spanish preposition \( â\) ‘to’, as well as the conjunctions \( ê\) ‘and’ and \( ô\) ‘or’, are also written with a circumflex accent. In these cases, the circumflex accent apparently indicates that the preposition \( a\), and the conjunctions \( e\) and \( o\) 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 \([n^γ]\) and a velar nasal \([η]\). The palatal nasal \([n^γ]\) can thus be symbolized by \( ñ\), as well as by \( ñ\); the velar nasal \([η]\) can for instance be symbolized by the digraphs \( g̃\), \( g\), \( ng\), \( ñ\), \( h\), \( ng\), and \( ñg\). 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 \([n^γ]\) is symbolized by the digraph \( ñ\), rather than by \( ñ\); the velar nasal \([η]\) is represented by the symbols \( g̃\) and \( ng\), rather than by \( g\) and \( ñg\).

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:

(159) mallā (2979) ‘something raw’
(160) llīn (2980) ‘something green’
(161) llêz (2982) ‘alfalfa’
(162) patōx (2981) ‘remnant’, ‘residue’

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

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. damoctan \([a'amonktan]\) ‘I shall eat’, 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 "quevàm ‘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 [r], 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 $cc$, $chch$, $gh/gj/hg/jg/jh/jj$, $ll$, $lll$, $mm$, $nn$, $ññ/^n^n$, $pp$, $ss/zz$, $tt$, $uv$, $xx$ and $yy$ may have the value of geminated consonants: [kk], [čč], [bh][xx], [ll], [lšš] or [mm], [nn], [nšš], [pp], [ss], [tt], [ww], [šš] and [yy], 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>Consonant Symbols</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>[k]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$/_{-}e, i$</td>
<td>[s]</td>
<td>[s]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ch$</td>
<td>[č]</td>
<td>[č]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ch – tz/z$</td>
<td>[tʰ]</td>
<td>[tʰ]</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>$/S, i, e$</td>
<td>[x], [h]</td>
<td>[x]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$g$ (‘guttural’), ñ/ⁿ (‘guttural’), ňg/ng/ng</td>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$h$</td>
<td>[x], [h]</td>
<td>[h], [o]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$l_{ey}!$</td>
<td>[h], [o]</td>
<td>[h], [o], [ʰ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$l_{a}!$</td>
<td>[h], [o], [ʰ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$hu/S_a$</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>[h], [o]</td>
<td>[h], [o]</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>$ll/_{-}S$</td>
<td>[tʰ]</td>
<td>[tʰ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$llll$</td>
<td>[tʰ]</td>
<td>[tʰ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$m$</td>
<td>[m]</td>
<td>[m]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$m – n / _#$</td>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
<td>[ŋ], [ŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$n$</td>
<td>[n]</td>
<td>[n], [ŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$l _#$</td>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
<td>[ŋ], [ŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$/Sc._Squ$</td>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$nc/_S$</td>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ñ/ⁿ$ (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>[ɾ]</td>
<td>[ɾ]</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>[tʰ]</td>
<td>[tʰ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$u/_{-}V, V-$</td>
<td>[w]</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$/Sg_-$</td>
<td>[w]</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$v$</td>
<td>[w]</td>
<td>[β], [b], [w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$x$</td>
<td>[s]</td>
<td>[x], [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 4.22: The inventory of consonants

<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>stops</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unvoiced</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>[β/b]</td>
<td>[d]</td>
<td>g</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>tʰ</td>
<td>ċ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ṅ</td>
<td>ŋ</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>lʰ</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], [tʰ], [č], [s]/[š], [x]/[h], [m], [n], [ṅ], [ŋ], [l], [lʰ], [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/v, it appears to have a low functional load. Syllable-finally, 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/v; 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 [wuće] ‘agentive marker’, also written as -uch or -vuch; -va/-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, -u, -(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 [č] 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 [s];
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 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 tz;  
b, it is interchangeable with the symbol x representing [s];  
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 [s];  
f, it is represented by the consonant s in the table below.  

As for the palatal fricative [s] 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] ~ [s] alternation in the prefix is-  
[is]- ~ ćis- [iš]- ‘three’ (see section 4.3.4).  

Reconsidering the observations above, the following consonants are proposed  
as possible phonemes: [p], [t], [k], [t'], [ć], [s], [x], [m], [n], [n'], [ŋ], [l], [l'], [w],  
[y]. The consonants [š] 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>stop</th>
<th>labial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>glottal</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>t</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>ALC’s symbols</th>
<th>spelling proposed</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
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<tr>
<td>b; hu/ a; u/S_V, V_S; v</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c; k; qu</td>
<td>k</td>
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<tr>
<td>e/ e, i; s; z ~ s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>č</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch ~ tz/z, tz, z ~ ch/tz</td>
<td>t’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g (‘guttural’), ģ, ģ’ ~ g, māg, nāg, nāg, ngāg, ngāg, n̄/h (‘guttural’), n̄g, h̄g, h̄g; m ~ n̄/h; ncl/S; n/ S ~ ‘guttural’; nS/ c, q; n#</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g (non-‘guttural’)’/ a</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i, y/S (C)S</td>
<td>i</td>
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<tr>
<td>i/S V, V S; y</td>
<td>y</td>
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<tr>
<td>i/i/i’ ‘perfective aspect’</td>
<td>iy</td>
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<td>l</td>
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<tr>
<td>ll/S_V, V_S</td>
<td>l’</td>
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<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
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<tr>
<td>n̄/h (non-‘guttural’)</td>
<td>n’</td>
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<tr>
<td>o</td>
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<td>p</td>
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<td>t</td>
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<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
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<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>s</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
5. Morphonology

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$lan (2138)  ‘I do/make something’
(2)  a$fhi (1033)  ‘something sweet’
(3)  ê$še (2034)  ‘silver’
(4)  ku$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$Sa$mman (2054)  ‘I eat’

As for a form such as <atupiajtan> ‘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$tu$Sp$i$Sah$Stan, as a$tu$Sp$i$Syah$Stan, or as a$tup$Syah$Stan. Final syllables also tend to be consonant-initial, but syllables consisting of a vowel or a VC sequence, such as $e and $in in the words m$e ‘falsely’ and m$in ‘not yet’ occasionally occur in
word-final position. The words <mae> and <main> may, respectively, be interpreted as ma$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$me$n $y$o$ha$ki$ah$te$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 -min 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-o (1550) ‘I make a house’

(11) cêcô (2034) ‘silver’ > cêcô-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 avoidance 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 *maksayiktaj <maacsaitan > ‘he shall rejoice’ and the verb stem šayš/ šayeq <xaix/ xaich> ‘(to) whip’. Elsewhere, the verb ‘to rejoice’ is transcribed as <maacsaiqtan > maaksakian/maaksakiyan, a form which does not contain the cluster <ic > yk. It is possible that the <ic > sequence in the word <macsaictan > was a slip of the pen and that the transcriber intended to write *<maacsacitan>. It is also possible that the word <maacsaitan > should be interpreted as maksayiktaj or maksaiiktaj. The verb stem šayš/ šayeq is obviously a case of onomatopoeia. However, the possibility of interpreting this stem as šayiš/ šayeq or šašeq/ šašeq cannot be excluded.

Consonant clusters mainly appear at syllable boundaries (cf. the cluster t’m <tzm> in the example et-mint <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 <ts>/<tz>, respectively - is not distinctive. <s>, <x>, <tz> and <ts> do not normally occur together in a boundary cluster: *<tsz/tzz>, *<sx>. However, in the orthography used in the Arte, clusters such as <sx>, <sxz>, <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 <sx> and <sxz> have been found in the words kilišso kilišso <quilixsô quilixsô> ‘in sevens’ and kilištel <quilixtel> ‘seven’ (+ the classifier t’sel ‘truncal object’). A t’s sequence, symbolized by the graphemes <tz> and <tzz>, has been found in the verbal forms at’itzitzian <atzitzsiyan> ‘I return’ and met’itzitzay <metzitzziay> ‘you returned’. These sequences of obstruents - the sequences sš <sx>, šš <sxsz> and t’s <titssz> - may indicate that the consonants s <sz> 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’, atončeelho <atonchého > ‘my having to roam’. It is certainly true for -t’siyay <tzitzziay>, which is alternatively spelled as -<chichchiay> with double <ch>. Above we have seen that the doubling of a consonant may have designated length. Thus the clusters <zx>, <sxz> and <tsz/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 \( mn \) and \( nm \) (and double \( m \) and \( n \)). The \( n'm < nm > \) sequence found in the form \( sin'milowha < sin'milouhan > \) ‘you (p) wasted’ has not been taken into account, because this form consists of two words: a noun \( sin \) ‘waste’ and a verbal form \( milowha \) ‘you (p) did’, so that the sounds \( n' < ñ > \) and \( m < m > \) are separated by a word boundary.

Conversely, the expression \( mahal' liw < mahall liu > \) ‘many different things’, written in two words, must be analyzed as one form consisting of a word indicating quantity (\( mahal' \)) + a classifier (\( liw \)). In the Arte, classifiers are generally suffixed to the quantifier: cf. \( alliw < alliu > \) ‘one different, coloured thing’, \( mahal' pok < mahallpok > \) ‘many times’. Therefore, de la Matas separated forms \( < mahall liu > \) are to be interpreted as \( mahal' liw \), and the sequence \( ël < ëll > \) 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, \( ë \) occurs in seven boundary clusters. In these clusters it is preceded by the segments \( p, s, n, g, l, y \). However, the case marker \(-pok-pat \) ‘because of’ can be suffixed to any noun, and, since nouns may end in any segment mentioned in Table 5.1, the boundary clusters \( t'ë, kl', ël', ëë, së', ml', n'l', ël', wë \) may very well have occurred.
Table 5.1: The matrix of consonantal boundary clusters

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<tr>
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<th>k</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 cannot be subject to suppression, nor are the third person plural marker *ér* 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)  *mi-kil* (117)  
2sPOS-wall  
‘your wall’

*mi-šaš* (125)  
2sPOS-armadillo  
‘your armadillo’

*mi-kot* (114)  
2sPOS-water  
‘your water’
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-pen(o)-wuč (1065) < pen(o) ‘(to) want’
    2sO-want-AG
    'your lover'

(19) mi-men’ (1059) < pen(o) ‘(to) want’
    2sPOS-wish
    'your wish'

(20) mi-ye-lam (2965) < ye ‘(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-ŋ (955)
    2ss-drink-RE-IA
    'you drink again'

(22) mi-men’-aŋ (807)
    2sA-3sO-want-IA
    'you want him/her/it'

(23) mi-ø-lah-ŋ (917)
    2sA-3sO-bring-IA
    'you bring something'

(24) mi-ø-lo-ŋ (962)
    2sA-3sO-wet-IA
    'you wet something'

(25) mu-ø-lup-ŋ (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) ē-e-n-a (2076)  
3ps-give-RFL-IA  
‘they give themselves’

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

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

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

(30) me-o-n-eštek-o-ap (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 ø-kot-a (2806)  
1pA-3sO-pity-NE.NOM 3ss-be-IA  
‘He does not deserve to be pitied by us’.

(32) ē-pul-y (1414)  
3ps-fall-PST  
‘they fell’

(33) me-łt-ia-y (2445)  
2ss-come-RE-PST  
‘you return’

(The stem <-tzitzia-> of the last word is a replacement of <-cheichia->, which has e instead 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-ap (291) < *mi-kot-ap  
2ss-be-IA  
‘you are/have’

(b) once before an elided a-stem:

(35) ke-łw-ey (2887) < *ke-ław-ey  
1ss-go-PST  
‘we went’

(c) four times before the stem l(a)/ to ‘(to) do’:

...
The person marker \textit{po-} is employed to indicate a third person object. This is possibly why the vowel \textit{o} can not be copied in vowel harmony. Prefixes of the type \textit{C-a-} 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: \textit{o-pokot-te-ke} and \textit{o-pokot-o-ke}, meaning `that it was’. According to Pedro de la Mata both are optative forms of \textit{pak(o)t} ‘(to) be (there)’. In the forms \textit{o-pokot-te-ke} and \textit{o-pokot-o-ke}, an original, non-inserted vowel \textit{a} is harmonized with the following stem vowel \textit{o}. The \textit{ALC} contains two more examples of verb stems with two vowels of which the second vowel is \textit{o} and in which harmonization of the preceding vowel with \textit{o} takes place. In the first example it is the vowel \textit{e} which harmonizes with \textit{o}, in the second example the vowel \textit{u} assimilates with \textit{o}:

\begin{itemize}
  \item (40) \textit{mi-pen`o-w-la} (406) < \textit{mi-pen`o-w-la} \[2s0-love-PST-3pA\]
  \hspace*{1cm} ‘they (p) loved you’
  \item (41) \textit{o-lopo(h) (2171) < lup(o)h} ‘(to) do/make’ \[3s0-do/make-IMP\]
  \hspace*{1cm} ‘Do it!’ ‘Make it!’
\end{itemize}

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

\begin{itemize}
  \item (42) \textit{l-o-pul-e-nap} (2174) \[3s0-do-stop-SE-SEQ\]
  \hspace*{1cm} ‘after having stopped doing it’
\end{itemize}
Regularly, the stem vowel of a main verb does not assimilate with the stem vowel of a bound verb. In the form *a-l-u-pu*l-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

(43) me-kt-ag (291) < *mi-kot-ag
    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:

(44) *a-tala > a-tla (148)    (45) *a-taw-ag > a-tw-ag (904)
    lspos-wife    1ss-go-IA
    ‘my wife’     ‘I go’

(46) *a-makuplew > a-mkuplew (135)
    lspos-passion.fruit
    ‘my passion fruit’

(47) *a-mana-yae-ag > a-mna-yaye-ag (1895)
    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) a-m-kol-ag (1646)    (49) a-m-a-pahat-iy (1728)
    1sA-2sO-love-IA    1sA-2sO-APL-bring-PST
    ‘I love you’      ‘I brought for you’

(50) m-a-kole-ki (1698)
    2sA-1sO-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. *tera* ‘name’, *che-rera* ‘my name’, *hera* ‘his name’ (Adelaar, 96: 5).

Remember that the vowel $o$ of the person prefix *po/-mo-* is never suppressed (cf. the re-mark in the previous section):

(51) $mi$-$po$-$ko$o$-$ap$ (2914)

2s/-3p-$o$-love-$IA$

‘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. 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: $#V > n-$V/$S/_:

(52) $el$ (125) ‘cassava’ > $a-n-el$ ‘my cassava’

$me-n-el$ ‘your cassava’

$a-n-el$ ‘his/her/its cassava’

$ke-n-el$ ‘our cassava’

$me-n-el-ha$ ‘your (p) cassava’

$e-n-el$ ‘their cassava’

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

(53) $ut'a$ (3547) ‘sin’ $< Q$ hucha: $a-n-ut'a$ (2892) ‘his/her/its sin’

$a-n-ut'a$ (1626) ‘my sin’

(54) $anima$ (1490) ‘soul’ $< Sp$ anima: $a-n-anima$ (1204) ‘his/her/its soul’

$ki-n-anima$ (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 $n$:

(55) $eštek$ (2014) ‘cloth’

$a-n-eštek-w-ag$ (2015) ‘I make clothes’

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16 Vuarani 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. *tera* name, *che-rera* my name, *hera* his name (udelar, $a$ $v$: 1).
The \( p \)-initial, \( k \)-initial, \( y \)-initial and \( h \)-initial nouns alter the beginning of their stem. This alternation occurs as follows:

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

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

The nouns \( \text{pa ‘father’}, \text{paõ ‘mother’}, \text{pul ‘son’} \) and \( \text{pulu ‘husband’} \) are exceptional. They keep initial \( p \) in all forms but for the third person singular form. Third person singular of \( \text{pa} \) and \( \text{paõ} \) is derived from different stems: it is \( \text{ø-mu} \) ‘his father’ instead of \( \text{ø-ma} \) and \( \text{ø-pot} \) ‘his mother’ instead of \( \text{ø-map} \), respectively. In the case of \( \text{pul ‘son’} \) and \( \text{pulu ‘husband’} \) (possibly \( <\text{pul-u ‘son maker’} \) only third person singular has a regular relational form with \( m \) in initial position: \( \text{ø-mul ‘his son’} \); \( \text{ø-mulu ‘her husband’} \), respectively.

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

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

(57) \( \begin{align*}
\text{hil} & \ (1126) \ ‘\text{word’} \\
\text{ø-sil} & \ (1184) \ ‘\text{his word’} \\
\end{align*} \)

\[ \#y > ð/S : \text{nouns which begin with a central approximant } y \text{ alter this consonant into affricate } \tilde{c} \text{ (}<\text{ch}>=<\text{tz}>\sim<\text{z}>\text{, see section 4.3.4.3) in their relational forms. It appears that } <\text{tz}> \text{ and } <\text{z}> \text{ are not systematically distributed. However, third person singular forms beginning with the symbol } <\text{tz}> \text{ have not been found. They always have } <\text{z}> \text{ (or } <\text{ch}>\text{) in initial position:}
\]
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) a-tušam (145) ‘my armadillo’
    mu-tušam (145) ‘your armadillo’
    o-tušam (145) ‘his armadillo’
    ku-tušam (145) ‘our armadillo’
    mu-tušam-ha (145) ‘your (p) armadillo’
    u-tušam (145) ‘their armadillo’

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, $y > -m$, $k > -p$, $h > -s$, $y > -t$. Initial m, g, s, t then indicate that the subject or the direct object, respectively, is a third person singular:
(61) *g-a-po-g* (205)  \( \rightarrow \) *i-mo-g* (205)
3sA-1sO-burn-IA  \( \rightarrow \) 3sA-3sO.burn-IA
‘he (the sun) burns me’ \( \rightarrow \) ‘he burns him’

*a-per'-o-if'-ap* (991)  \( \rightarrow \) *men'o-if'-ap* (1018)
1ss-want-PAS-IA  \( \rightarrow \) 3sS.want-PAS-IA
‘I am wanted’ \( \rightarrow \) ‘he is wanted’

(62) *a-po-ko'-ap* (2913)  \( \rightarrow \) *a-pol'-ap* (685)
1sA-3pO.love-IA  \( \rightarrow \) 1sA-3sO.love-IA
I love them’ \( \rightarrow \) ‘I love him’

*pole-if'-ap* (997)
3ss.love-PAS-IA
‘he is loved’

(63) *a-p-hina-g* (2066)  \( \rightarrow \) *a-sina-g* (1741)
1sA-1sB-hear-IA  \( \rightarrow \) 1sA-3sO.hear-IA
‘I hear for myself’ \( \rightarrow \) ‘I hear him’

(64) *a-yoy-e-ag* (2060)  \( \rightarrow \) *a-foy-e-g* (2061)
1ss.cry-IA  \( \rightarrow \) 1sA-3sO.cry-CAU-IA
‘I cry’ \( \rightarrow \) ‘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) *mī-taš-t-ag* (1602)  \( \rightarrow \) *mi-taš-te* (1603)
2sA-3sO.see-F-IA  \( \rightarrow \) 2sA-3sO.see-F
‘you will see it’ \( \rightarrow \) ‘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):

\[
N + \#p \rightarrow \#m  \\
N + \#k \rightarrow \#t  \\
N + \#h \rightarrow \#s  \\
N + \#y \rightarrow \#r, t
\]

The prefixed nasal may be a dental-alveolar nasal \( n \) indicating ‘nominal relational form’ or a velar nasal \( g \) 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 i-’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 i- 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 i- 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-kol-ay (2068) < *ëi-p-kol-ay
   1ps-1pb/REC-love-IA
   we love ourselves (reciprocally)

   cf. ki-p-hina-ŋ (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) ëi-m-men’-ay (2069) < *ëi-p-men’-ay
   a-p-yalp-ay (2070)
   3ps-3ps/REC-want-IA
   1sA-1sB-gather-IA
   ‘they want themselves (reciprocally)’
   ‘I gather for myself’

The reflexive/reciprocal form ëi-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 > *palatnu; 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 > *palatnu
- syncope: *palatnu > *palatnu
- metathesis: *palatnu > *palatnu (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 -> i 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 -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 -(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 (ok, mi, pi, sa, ki-ha, mi-na-ha, ñ-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 (ko, ipko, pe, into-ìko, section 6.7), five question words or interrogative stems (ana, inca, into, into-ìko, ol, section 6.8), and six indefinite pronouns (alum, an-tel, inca, 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 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>(øi-)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(1)  
\[ a-\text{iš (131)} \] 'my monkey' (small variety)  
\[ ki-\text{iš (131)} \] 'our monkey'

(2)  
\[ a-\text{česmin (120)} \] 'my cedar'  
\[ ke-\text{česmin (120)} \] 'our cedar'

(3)  
\[ a-\text{takla (127)} \] 'my armadillo' (a variety)  
\[ ki-\text{takla (127)} \] 'our armadillo'

(4)  
\[ a-\text{kolol (113)} \] 'my kernel'  
\[ ki-\text{kolol (113)} \] 'our kernel'

(5)  
\[ a-\text{sup (126)} \] 'my deer'  
\[ ku-\text{sup (126)} \] 'our deer'

(6)  
\[ a-n-\text{atel’pa (100)} \] 'my chicken’  \[ < a\text{tel’pa} \] 'chicken'  
\[ ki-n-\text{atel’pa (103)} \] 'our chicken'

(7)  
\[ a-\text{mangala (136)} \] 'my turkey'  \[ < \text{pangala} \] 'turkey'  
\[ ki-\text{mangala (136)} \] 'our turkey'

(8)  
\[ a-\text{tip (2289)} \] 'my house'  \[ < \text{tip} \] 'house'  
\[ ki-\text{tip (173)} \] 'our house'

(9)  
\[ a-\text{tušam (145)} \] 'my armadillo’  \[ < \text{yušam} \] 'armadillo' (terrestrial variety)  
\[ ku-\text{tušam (145)} \] 'our armadillo'

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

(10)  
\[ \text{polol (113)} \] 'his kernel’  \[ < \text{kolol} \] 'kernel'

(11)  
\[ \text{sil (1184)} \] 'his word’  \[ < \text{hil} \] '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) $< kat'ok$ ‘box’, ‘case’, ‘chest’
    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) $< kešum$ ‘nose’
    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) $o$-$n-oře$ ‘his saliva’ (108) $< oře$ ‘saliva’ (n-insertion)
(17) $o$-$pakupl$-$eřv$ ‘his passion fruit’ (135) $< pakupl$-$eřv$ ‘passion fruit’ ($p > m$)
(18) $o$-$piř$ ‘his wall’, ‘his fence’ (117) $< kiř$ ‘wall’, ‘fence’ ($k > ř$)
(19) $o$-$tušam$ ‘his armadillo’ (145) $< yušam$ ‘armadillo’ (terrestrial)
    ($y > t$)
(20) $o$-$řot$ ‘his guinea pig’ (143) $< yot$ ‘guinea pig’ ($y > t$)
(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, č*ř*). The vocalic prefix *i-*, *e-*, *u-* appears before a relational stem beginning with an alveolar or a palatal consonant (*č, t, ℛ, s, š, n, n’, l, ř*): e.g.:

(22) $e$-$česmin$ (120) (no stem modification)
    3ppos-cedar
    ‘their cedar’
(23)  \textit{i-tip} (47) \hspace{1cm} < \textit{yip} : y > t'  \\
\hspace{1cm} \text{3pPOS-house} \hspace{1cm} \text{‘their house’} \\

(24)  \textit{i-šaš} (125) \hspace{1cm} \text{(no stem modification)}  \\
\hspace{1cm} \text{3pPOS-armadillo} \hspace{1cm} \text{‘their armadillo’} \\

(25)  \textit{e-n-el} (106) \hspace{1cm} < \textit{el} : n-insertion  \\
\hspace{1cm} \text{3pPOS-REL-cassava} \hspace{1cm} \text{‘their cassava’} \\

(26)  \textit{u-n'u} (154) \hspace{1cm} \text{(no stem modification)}  \\
\hspace{1cm} \text{3pPOS-daughter} \hspace{1cm} \text{‘their daughter’} \\

(27)  \textit{i-Fol'o} (132) \hspace{1cm} \text{(no stem modification)}  \\
\hspace{1cm} \text{3pPOS-tintinnabulum} \hspace{1cm} \text{‘their tintinnabulum’} \\

The possessive person marker \textit{či-} or \textit{ču-} occurs before relational stems with an initial bilabial (\textit{p-} and \textit{m-}) or velar (\textit{k-} and \textit{h-}): e.g.:

(28)  \textit{či-paŋ} (140) \hspace{1cm} \text{(no stem modification)}  \\
\hspace{1cm} \text{3pPOS-mother} \hspace{1cm} \text{‘their mother’} \\

(29)  \textit{ču-myup} (137) \hspace{1cm} < \textit{puyup} : p > m  \\
\hspace{1cm} \text{3pPOS-bridge} \hspace{1cm} \text{‘their bridge’} \\

(30)  \textit{či-kama} (111) \hspace{1cm} \text{(no stem modification)}  \\
\hspace{1cm} \text{3pPOS-illness} \hspace{1cm} \text{‘their illness’} \\

(31)  \textit{či-hač} (112) \hspace{1cm} \text{(no stem modification)}  \\
\hspace{1cm} \text{3pPOS-field} \hspace{1cm} \text{‘their fields’} \\

In the data the form \textit{če-} \textit{'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)  
\[
\text{pa-lew ušuš i- ꞎaw-ag (1979)}
\] 
\[
\text{COL-caterpillar butterfly 3ps-become-IA}
\] 
‘Caterpillars become butterflies’.

Cf.  
\[
\text{lew ušuš a- ꞎaw-ag (1975)}
\] 
\[
\text{caterpillar butterfly 3ss-become-IA}
\] 
‘The caterpillar becomes a butterfly’.

(33)  
\[
maha- ꞎ p-a- ꞎa ꞎey (1677)
\] 
\[
\text{INT-RST COL-fruit 2sfA-ISO_APL-3so-see-PST}
\] 
‘You (f) saw a lot of fruits for me’.

Cf.  
\[
\text{mo-ke- ꞎ (1164)}
\] 
\[
\text{fruit-ANT-RST}
\] 
‘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)l, diminutive -cu, plural marker -lo, adjectivizer -(k)o, indefinite marker -pi and natural pair marker -pul'ep, 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)e
The suffix -(k)e ‘from’, ‘of’ (-e after consonants, -ke after vowels) indicates ‘antioriity’, ‘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)e 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) \textit{kapi-ke} (156) \textit{ampal-e} (155)
\begin{itemize}
\item present.day-\textit{ANT}
\item yesterday-\textit{ANT}
\end{itemize}
‘today’s’ ‘yesterday’s’, ‘something of the old days’

(35) \textit{a-pa} \textit{pol-iy} \textit{a-kot-ap-ko-man-ap.}
\begin{itemize}
\item 1s\textit{POS-father}
\item 3ss\textit{die-PST}
\item 3ss\textit{be-IA-DEM-INES-ABL}
\end{itemize}
\textit{ok-e} \textit{a-\textit{kli}-iy} \textit{a-kot-te-he} \textit{a-men'o-po} (2784)
\begin{itemize}
\item 1s-\textit{ANT}
\item 1s\textit{die-PST}
\item 1s\textit{be-INF-BEN}
\item 1\textit{A-3S\textit{O.want-FN2}}
\end{itemize}
‘I would prefer to be dead, than that my father has died’.

(36) \textit{ko-ke} \textit{pap-o} (2593)
\begin{itemize}
\item this-\textit{ANT}
\item 3\textit{S\textit{O.take-IMP}}
\end{itemize}
‘Take from this!’

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

(37) \textit{mek-e}, \textit{mek-liw-e} \textit{pap-o} (157)
\begin{itemize}
\item all-\textit{ANT}
\item all-\textit{CL:multiform/coloured-\textit{ANT}}
\item 3\textit{S\textit{O.take/receive-IMP}}
\end{itemize}
‘Take/receive all sorts of things!’

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

(38) \begin{itemize}
\item \textit{cëcës-ke} (152)
\item \textit{meč-e} (2277)
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item silver-\textit{ANT}
\item tree/wood-\textit{ANT}
\end{itemize}
‘silver’, ‘made of silver’ ‘wooden’, ‘made of wood’

(41) \begin{itemize}
\item \textit{ta-ke} (2276)
\item \textit{stone-\textit{ANT}}
\end{itemize}
‘stone’, ‘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) \begin{itemize}
\item \textit{Luis-e}, \textit{Juana-ke u-nu} (154)
\item Luis-\textit{ANT}
\item Juana\textit{-ANT}
\item 3p\textit{POS-daughter}
\end{itemize}
‘the late Luis’ and the late Juana’s daughter’

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

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

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', perlatve -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)  igko-p-αŋ (2752)
mountain-ABL  that-ABL-RST
‘from the mountains’ ‘constantly’

pe-p  n'αn (2416)
yonder-ABL  face
‘on the other side’

Only once the suffix -(a)p was encountered after a pronoun:
(50) into-ŋko-pit muçaŋ a-l-o-kt-ap-iŋko, sa-p-sim
which-DEM-COR kiss 1sA-3sO-do-f-IA-DEM 3s-ABL-EMP
a-kot-ap, mi-t’ap-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)
1s-BEN
‘for me’

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

(54) ki-ha-he muçaŋ 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-ap (165)
maize-BEN 1ss-be-IA
‘I have a need for maize’.

(56) mi-he a-kot-p-ap (166)
2s-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:

\begin{align*}
(58) & \text{iglesia-man} \ (2395) \quad \text{church-INES} \\
& \text{\hspace{1cm}} \text{\textquoteleft in the church\textquoteright} \\
(59) & \text{mi-na-ha-man} \ (2396) \quad \text{2-CON-PL-INES} \\
& \text{\hspace{1cm}} \text{\textquoteleft in your (p) midst\textquoteright} \\
(60) & \text{a-n\textquoteright an-man-ap} \ (2290) \quad 3\text{POS-face-INES-RST} \\
& \text{\hspace{1cm}} \text{\textquoteleft in someone\textquotesingle s presence only\textquoteright}, \text{\textquoteleft face to someone only\textquoteright} \\
\end{align*}

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

\begin{align*}
(61) & \text{ok a-n\textquoteright an-man-te} \ (2287) \quad 1\text{s 1POS-face-INES-AD} \\
& \text{\hspace{1cm}} \text{\textquoteleft in my presence\textquoteright}, \text{\textquoteleft face to me\textquoteright} \\
\end{align*}

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

The suffix -(\textit{mi})\textit{n}\textit{v} functions as a comparative case marker \textquoteleft as\textquoteright, \textquoteleft like\textquoteright, \textquoteleft according to\textquoteright. Both allomorphs occur after demonstratives:

\begin{align*}
(62) & \text{ko-n\textquoteright} \ (2598) \quad \text{this.one-CMP} \\
& \text{\hspace{1cm}} \text{\textquoteleft like this one\textquoteright} \\
(63) & \text{ko-mir\textquoteright} \ (2597) \quad \text{this.one-CMP} \\
& \text{\hspace{1cm}} \text{\textquoteleft like this one\textquoteright} \\
(64) & \text{igko-n\textquoteright} \ (2747) \quad \text{that.one-CMP} \\
& \text{\hspace{1cm}} \text{\textquoteleft like that one\textquoteright} \\
(65) & \text{igko-mir\textquoteright} \ (994) \quad \text{that.one-CMP} \\
& \text{\hspace{1cm}} \text{\textquoteleft like that one\textquoteright} \\
(66) & \text{pe-n\textquoteright} \ (2738) \quad \text{that.one.yonder-CMP} \\
& \text{\hspace{1cm}} \text{\textquoteleft like that one yonder\textquoteright} \\
\end{align*}

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

\begin{align*}
(67) & \text{ko-n\textquoteright-ap} \ (2528) \quad \text{this-CMP-ABL} \\
& \text{\hspace{1cm}} \text{\textquoteleft of this size\textquoteright} \\
(68) & \text{ko-n\textquoteright-pi} \ (2408) \quad \text{here-CMP-AL} \\
& \text{\hspace{1cm}} \text{\textquoteleft to there\textquoteright} \\
\end{align*}
Everywhere else the form -"min‘ is the only one possible. It can be attached to nouns and pronouns:

(69) َلاکسَا َسُکَٰ-مَٰن‘ (2327)
‘light as a bird’

(70) َتْمَٰن‘ َعَلَى-تَكَا ُمَْتَ-عَ (2328)
‘He comes quietly as a thief’.

(71) َکَٰہ-مَٰن‘ (2495)
‘like us’

6.4.2.6. Perlative -"nake
The suffix -"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 -"nake indicates a cause or source of action, it is found after nouns and pronouns:

(72) َميِل-مَٰن‘ َأ-يَعْلَا-عَ (2385)
‘Because of your words, they laugh at me’.

(73) َمي-مَٰن‘ َأ-لْو-ضَا-لا-عَ (2386)
‘Because of you, they abhor me’.

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

(74) َکَٰہ-عَا َکِلَأ-پَكْنَا-عَکَ، َمي-مَٰن‘ َمِل-أ-عَ (2383)
‘What we could not do, you do’.

(75) َفِیِروُ َكَوْت-مَٰن‘ َسَنَتَا-پَیُتَ، َأ-نَعْشَک-پَیُتَ ُعْشَا-عَ (2382)
‘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) pana-nayme Soledad-te ki-ante-kte-he, Huayllillas-nayme
road-PRO Soledad-AD 1ps-arrive-INF-BEN Huayllillas-PRO
ki-pal’-aq (2304)
1ps-pass-IA
‘To arrive at Soledad by road, we pass through Huayllillas’.

(77) liman-nayme a-fi’-ia-t (2446)
mountain-PRO 1sS-go-RE-IA
‘I return through the mountains’.

(78) ko-nayme (2605) (79) pe-nayme (2606)
here-PRO there-PRO
‘through here’ ‘through there’

(80) into-nayme me-fi’-ia-y (2445)
where-PRO 2ss-go-RE-PST
‘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) hayu-nik (32) (82) sa-nik (214)
man-COM 3s-COM
‘with/in the company of the man’ ‘with him’

(83) ki-ha-nik (216)
1p-PL-COM
‘with us’

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

(84) čal-nik (1160) (85) n’ansik-nik (1042)
snot-COM effort-COM
‘snotty’ ‘laborious’
It can furthermore function as an instrumental ‘with’: e.g.:

(87) *inca*  *'uhlan-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) *me-pat*  *i-alowt-iy* (30)  
stick-INS  3ss-3sO-hit-PST  
‘He hit him with a stick’.

(89) *inca-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-ap* (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 o-pakt-ap-ko-pat ma n'ansik-pat*  
road bad  3ss-be-IAD-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) *kečwak a-kt-ap-ko-f'akj-pat, a-hleem*  
poor  1ss-be-IAD-DEM(NF)-INS  1sPOS-friend  2ss-be-NE-IA  
*mi-kot-p-ap* (411)  
‘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)’.
(93) *o-tu-pat mahak mi-ø-no-ki* (222)
3sPOS-direction-INS guard 2sS-do-RFL-IMP
‘Be on your guard against him!’

(94) *Dios o-tu-pat mi-ø-čkno-ki* (221)
God 3sPOS-direction-INS 2sS-3sO-fear-IMP
‘Fear God!’

(95) *ku-tu-pat u-n-uť a l-o-w-la-ŋ ko-lo* (220)
1pPOS-direction-INS 3pPOS-REL-sin 3sO-do-SE-3pA-IA-DEM-PL
‘those who commit a sin against us’

The suffix *-pat* is often found in combination with the form *-lak* (see the example *a-kt-aŋ-ko(-lak)-pat* ‘because I am’ above). This form may be a nominalized form of the verb *lak* ‘(to) go’: *-lak + -k* ‘nominalizer’. According to de la Mata’s ‘declination of the noun’ (fol. 3), *-lak-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:

(96) *inca-lak-pat-am m-a-lu-po* (189)
what-NF-INS-QM 2sA-ISO-interior-burn-IA
‘Why do you hate me?’

(97) *mi mi-lak-pat* (2368)  (98) *ko-lak-pat* (2602)
2s 2sNF-INS this-NF-INS
‘you, because of your agency’ ‘because of this’

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.:

(99) *teh-pi* (2412)  (100) *ampe-pi* (2411)
height/upper.course-AL bottom/lower.reaches-AL
‘to the upper course’ ‘to the bottom/lower reaches’

(101) *pe am-pi* (2410)  (102) *ko-pi* (2409)
yonder place-AL here-AL
‘to yonder’ ‘to here’

Allative *-pi* can also express a movement towards a certain moment or time, when suffixed to *ana* ‘when’:

Allative *-pi* can also express a movement towards a certain moment or time, when suffixed to *ana* ‘when’:
When? 'I do not know when'.

'When?/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) Pucala-te-pi-p (2452)
Pisana-AL-ABL Pucara-AD-AL-ABL
‘from Pisana’ ‘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-čip-te ke-tg-aŋ (173)
1pPOS-home-AD 1ps-sit/stay-IA
‘We are at home’.

Dios-te amhe-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-čw-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. o-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-ap (184) Pedro-AD 1ps-sit/stay-F-IA 3s-AD ‘We shall stay at Pedro’s’.
(113) sa-tu (219) ‘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-f-w-ap (183) Juan-AD 1ss-go-IA ‘I go to Juan’s’.
(115) a-pa-tu mi-pa-ha-tu-pit a-moh-n-ap (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-ču-nik kes Pedro o-kot-ap (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-iso-accompany-INF-BEN 1sa-2so-ask-PST
*puyup-pat-le-l na-he-pit m-a-pta-iy-pit’a* (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-čin* (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-l’w-ap* (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’.
145

(125) ana pel-pat-le-m mi-l-o-kloh-t-a (2262)
   how-many month-INS-TERM-QM 2SA-3SO-do-finish-F-IA
   ‘In how many months will you finish it?’

(126) kapi nem-te-p ipt'ok-mol-pat-le (2260)
   today day-AD-ABL six-CL:day-INS-TERM
   ‘From now in six days’.

6.4.3.3. Suffix combination -te-p ‘instrumental’, ‘elative’
The ending -te-p ‘by’ is composed of adessive -te and ablative -(a)p. 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 ko functioning as a relativizer ‘this one
which/who’ (see -pat, section 6.4.2.9):

(127) espiritú santo i-t’mey-te-p hayu
   Spirit Saint 3sPOS-3so.know-CAU-PST-AD-ABL man
   a-ki-ip (199)
   3ss-become-PST
   ‘He became a man by/ because of the work of the Holy Spirit’.

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

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

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

(131) keওwak a-kt-ap-ko(’ak)-te-p, a-h’em mi-kot-p-aŋ
   poor 1ss-beIA-DEM(-NF)-AD-ABL 1sPOS-friend 2ss-be-NE-IA (411)
   keওwak a-kt-ap-ko(’ak)-pat, a-h’em mi-kot-p-aŋ
   poor 1ss-beIA-DEM(-NF)-AD-ABL friend 2ss-be-NE-IA (411)
   ‘Since I am poor, you are not my friend’.

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

(132)  
man-PL-NF-AD-ABL
‘by the men’

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

The ending -tu-p is a combination of personal adessive -tu and ablative -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 -tu-p mostly functions as a focus marker (see section 6.4.3.4.1). Furthermore, -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, -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 -tu-p ‘agent’, ‘focus’

According to de la Mata the suffix -tu-p is an agent marker17, and he gives the following example:

(133)  
Juan-tu-p Pedro i-o-lam-iy (87)
Juan-AD-ABL Pedro 3sA-3sO-kil-l-PST
‘Juan killed Pedro’.

The ending occurs after nouns and pronouns:

(134)  
man-PL 3pPOS-REL-sin INT all 3ps-be-PST be-SEQ,
Dios-tu-p yam mo-o-w (777)
God-AD-ABL punishment 3sA,3sO-do-PST
‘Since the sins of the men were numerous, God punished them’.

17 “tup se pospone al nominativo, denotando siempre la persona que hace […] para distinguir la que hace de la que padece” (‘tup is postponed to the nominative, denoting always the person that acts […] to distinguish the agent from the patient’).
(135) **fiscal-tu-p-ač**  
\(i\)-k\(\dot{s}\)-š\(\acute{y}\)-ś-t-an-na,  
PublicProsecutor-AD-ABL-REP  3sA-1Po-whip-FIA-QUOT  
Estevan  3ss-speak-IA  
‘Estevan says: “They say that the public prosecutor will whip us”’.

(136) **mi-tu-p**  
\(ki\)-m-kol\(-a\)q (1664)  
2s-AD-ABL  1Po-2sA-love-IA  
‘You love us’.

(137) **mi-tu-p**  
\(m\)-a-hia-g (1647)  
2s-AD-ABL  2sA-1sO-wait for-IA  
‘You, you wait for me’.

The suffix -**tu-p** is also translated as ‘self’, ‘in fact’:

(138) **Dios-tu-p**  
\(hayu\)  \(i\)-t\(\acute{m}\)-e-y (1307)  
God-AD-ABL  man  3sA-3sO-know-CAU-PST  
‘God himself/in fact created the man’.

(139) **ok-tu-p** (2340)  
1s-AD-ABL  
‘I myself’

The use of a specific ending -**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 -**tu-p** occurs in thirty-four sentences as a ‘nominative’ or ‘agent’ marker: fourteen simple sentences and twenty-two compound sentences. In compound sentences, -**tu-p** can occur only once. The clause in which -**tu-p** then occurs may be the main clause (see the second example: \(Dios-tu-p\) \(yam\) \(mo-o-w\)) or a subordinate clause (see the third example: **fiscal-tu-p-ač** \(i\)-k\(\dot{s}\)-š\(\acute{y}\)-ś-t-aŋ-a). However, in two cases the use of an agent marker is necessary:

(i) when a first person plural marker \(ki\)- occurs together with a second person marker -\(m\). In a verb form, namely, \(ki\)- always precedes the second person marker, no matter whether \(ki\)- is the agent or the object. In the clause **mi-tu-p** \(ki\)-m-kol\(-a\)q ‘you love us’ (fourth example), for instance, the word \(ki\)-m-kol\(-a\)q by itself would be glossed as: 1Po-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 + -**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 -tu-p to mark an agent is redundant. The suffix -tu-p may there be used to mark a focus. In the following compound sentence (a variant of the previous example mel’us-pit insoney-tu-p i-a-n’antup-šipe-y ‘and the gulf nearly covered the boat’), for instance, the focus of the sentence, not the emphasis, is indicated by -tu-p. Emphasis is indicated by means of the suffix -sim:

(141) ko-sim-a an-śel ki-a-nano-śo očo kas mek here-EMP-TOP one-CL.truncal 1pA-3s-fear-FN2 big wind all kot-man o-tapač-iy. insoney-tu-p mel’us a-n’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’.

In the example below -tu-p marks the agent argument as contrastively focussed:

(142) mek-tu-p ė-hil-hu. ko-śt sil-p-ay(2662) all-AD-ABL 3ps-speak-SR this-RST 3sS.speak-NE-IA ‘Since all are speaking, only this one does not speak’.

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

(143) Dios-tu-p ĕ-čkn-ay(2830) God-AD-ABL 3ps-be.afraid/be.frightened-IA ‘They are afraid/frightened because of/by the agency of God’.
‘They fear God’.
6.4.3.4.3. 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 ipko ‘that’, followed by the word n’alok ‘time’, it means ‘at’. In this case, adessive -tu has a temporal use:

(145) ipko-tu-p n’alok (2786)
that-AD-ABL time
‘at that time’, ‘then’
(146) ipko-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) (149) 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) ñ-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'ak-pat, -l'ak-te-p, -man, -man-ap, -(mi)n', -nake, -{ap}, -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 -(ap), -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 -(ap) 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)

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<th>PRON</th>
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<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pi</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>-te</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tu</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
-tu-p  +  +  (+)
-tu-p-e  (+)  +  -

Table 6.3. Mutual combinability of the case markers -(a)p, -he, -le, -man, -(mi)n', -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'</th>
<th>-pat</th>
<th>-pi</th>
<th>-te</th>
<th>-tu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a)p</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>-he</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>-le</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-man</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(mi)n'</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-pat</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-pi</td>
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<tr>
<td>-te</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-tu</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</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 -c, plural marker -lol, adjectivizer -(k)o, indefinite -pit and natural pair marker -pulep. The suffixes -(a)l and -pit always occur word-finally (see Table 6.6, section 6.4.5.7). The suffix -pulep has a limited use.

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

18 Cf. Quechua -a ‘restrictive’.
It can also be preceded by the nominal past marker -(k)e:

(161) će-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’

(163) ipko-p-al' (2752)  
that/there-ABL-RST  
‘constantly’

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

(165) see-e-l' (1165)  
head-ANT-RST  
‘big head’, ‘stubborn’, ‘stubbornly’

According to the ALC, -(a)l' has the suffix -kapokal' as an equivalent. The form
-kapokal 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-man-ag (1174)
sweet.potato--RST 1SA-3S-O want-IA
‘I want sweet potatoes only’.

Cf.: wem-ag a-man-ag (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. It can be attached to nouns and demonstratives:

(168) ila-ču (1258) (169) inču-ču-pit ma (1351)
woman-DIM thing-DIM-IND not
‘little woman’ ‘[I have] nothing’.

(170) ko-ču-ap (2587) (171) ko-ču-te-p (2587)
here-DIM-ABL here-DIM-AD-ABL
‘from nearby’ ‘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) (173) ay-te-ču (2475)
this-AL-DIM bit background/backside-AD-DIM
‘a little bit closer’ ‘a little bit on the background’,
‘peaceful’

(174) ko-ču-te (2580) (175) ay-te-ču-al (2476)
here-DIM-AD background/backside-AD-DIM-RST
‘nearby’ ‘secretly’

\[1\] Cf. Quechua -ču ‘diminutive’.

---
Diminutive -ču also occurs in the lexicalized combinations inču ‘a small thing’ (< inču-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 pehču ‘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) ‘through the men’
(179) nun-lol-čak-pat (44) man-PL-NF-INS ‘through the men’
(180) šokot-lol-te (27) river-PL-AD ‘at/in the rivers’
(181) ol-lol-am ľe-kt-ap (1341) who-PL-QM 3ps-be-IA ‘Who are they?’
(182) inča inča mi-po-yě-iy-ha-p-kō, ľe-po-yě-ap-kō thing thing 2A-3po-see-PST-PL-IA-DEM 3pA-3po-see-IA-DEM ‘As for the eyes which see all the things you (p) saw, they are happy’. n’ače-lol-a pe mek makhay ľe-kt-ap (1471) eye-PL-TOP those all happiness 3ps-be-IA
(183) inča-pit pey a-n’an-te mi-o-čap-t-ap-igko, thing-IND earth 3POS-face-AD 2SA-3PO-bind-F-IA-DEM te senta-lol-pit mi-po-čap-iy a-kot-t-ap (1744) height heaven-PL-COR 2SA-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’ (nun-o ‘male’, ila-ko ‘female’), after cardinal numbers, and after the suffixes -(mi)n-ap in the forms ko-n’-ap-o ‘of this size’ and -min’-ap-o ‘as’, ‘like’. The form -o occurs postconsonantally, -(k)o 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-ta (1094) ‘three’ > iš-ta-ko iš-ta-ko ‘in/of threes’
Compare Mochica, where a suffix -\textit{o}~\textit{yo} functions as an adjectivizer (Adelaar, 2004: 333-34).

The use -\textit{pit} is similar to Quechua -\textit{pas} ‘(wh ...)ever’, ‘too’.

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 -(\textit{k})\textit{o} function as attributive adjuncts. The suffix -(\textit{k})\textit{o} is therefore likely to be an adjectivizer.

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

\begin{verbatim}
(186) atel\textit{pa} \&-\textit{min}-\textit{ap}-\textit{o} rasu mul-iy (1198)
chicken egg-CMP-ABL-ADJ hail 3ss.fall-PST
‘Hailstones as big as chicken’s eggs came down’.
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
(187) atel\textit{pa} \&-\textit{min} rasu mul-iy (1198)
chicken egg-CMP hail 3ss.fall-PST
‘Hailstones as big as chicken’s eggs came down’.
\end{verbatim}

6.4.5.5. Indefinite -\textit{pit}

The suffix -\textit{pit} functions, (i), as an indefinite marker ‘(wh ...)ever’, and, (ii), as a coordinating sentential marker ‘and’, ‘too’ (see section 10.6 and 12.1). When -\textit{pit} functions as an indefinite marker, it can be attached to nouns and pronouns. Examples in which -\textit{pit} is used as an indefinite marker are

\begin{verbatim}
(188) in\textit{ca}-\textit{pit} (1338) (189) ol-\textit{pit} (1337)
what-IND who-IND
‘whatever’ ‘whoever’
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
(190) into mek in\textit{ca} o-m-a-kot-ap, mek in\textit{ca}-\textit{pit}
which all thing 3ss-2so-APL-3IA all what-IND
mi-pri\textit{ch-la-kt-ap} (1366)
2so-leave-3PA-3IA
‘All the things you have, they all will leave you’.
\end{verbatim}

Indefinite -\textit{pit} has been found after the case markers -\textit{man} ‘inessive’, -\textit{pi} ‘allative’, -\textit{te} ‘adessive’; the nominal past marker -(\textit{k})\textit{e}; and after diminutive -\textit{ê}:

\begin{verbatim}
(191) into-te-ke-\textit{pit} (2538)
where-AD-ANT-IND
‘from wheresoever’
\end{verbatim}

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

22 The use -\textit{pit} is similar to Quechua -\textit{pas} ‘(wh ...)ever’, ‘too’.
\end{verbatim}
into-ŋko o-tʃip-man-pit o-tʃoŋle-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) ině-te-pit muč-o/ ině-te-pit muč-e-ki (2737)
thing-AD-IND 3so.put-IMP/ thing-AD-IND 3so.put-SE-IMP
'Put it in something whatsoever!'
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', -pul'ey '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 -pul'ey 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 6.5. The occurrence of -(a)l 'restrictive', -ču 'diminutive', -lol 'plural marker', -(k)o 'adjectivizer', -pit 'indefinite', -pul'ey 'natural pair marker' 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)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>-pul'ey</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.6. The occurrence of -(a)l' 'restrictive', -ču 'diminutive', -lol 'plural marker', -(k)o 'adjectivizer', -pit 'indefinite', -pul'ey 'natural pair marker' before and after case markers or combinations of case markers.

<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>-pi, -te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lol</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(k)o</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-(m)ił'ap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pit</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-(k)e, -man, -pi, -te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pul'ey</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>-i-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 <ilou>/<ylou> (“lou, declinandola con sus possessivos, signifika lo 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: <minahamilouha> or <minajamilouha>)
<chiha 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>- 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 ‘3sO-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-ha 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>ã-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)  
\[
\text{ok a-low } \text{p-a-\text{lah-ag}}(98) \\
1s 1spos-possession 3sa-1s.o.apl-take.away-1a \\
'He takes away what is mine'.
\]

6.7. Demonstratives
Cholón has four demonstratives: *ko* ‘(the one) here’, ‘this’; *igko* ‘(the one) there’, ‘that’; *pe* ‘(the one) yonder’; and *into-igko* ‘that one there’. The deictics *ko, igko, pe* can refer to an item or to a place. Deictic *into-igko* only refers to items. The demonstratives *ko, igko* and *into-igko* 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 \textit{ko}, \textit{ipko}, \textit{pe}

In Cholón three degrees of distance are distinguished. The forms employed to designate persons and objects situated in a deictic space are:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{ko} \textsuperscript{22} ‘this (one)’, ‘here’
  \item \textit{ipko} ‘that (one)’, ‘there’
  \item \textit{pe} ‘that one yonder’, ‘yonder’
\end{itemize}

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

\begin{itemize}
  \item \begin{array}{ll}
        (202) & \textit{ko putam-te-ke} (2284) \textsuperscript{(attributively used demonstrative)} \\
        \multicolumn{2}{l}{this village-AD-ANT} \\
        \multicolumn{2}{l}{‘from this village’}
        \end{array}
  \item \begin{array}{ll}
        (203) & \textit{ko ok a-low} (1298) \textsuperscript{(independently used demonstrative)} \\
        \multicolumn{2}{l}{this 1s 1sPOS-possession} \\
        \multicolumn{2}{l}{‘This is mine’}.
        \end{array}
\end{itemize}

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):

\begin{itemize}
  \item \begin{array}{ll}
        (204) & \textit{ko-ke} (2592) \textsuperscript{(attributively used demonstrative)} \\
        \multicolumn{2}{l}{here-ANT} \\
        \multicolumn{2}{l}{‘from here’}
        \end{array}
  \item \begin{array}{ll}
        (205) & \textit{ko-te-ke} (2589) \\
        \multicolumn{2}{l}{here-AD-ANT} \\
        \multicolumn{2}{l}{‘from here’}
        \end{array}
  \item \begin{array}{ll}
        (206) & \textit{ko-te-p pe-pat-le} (2594) \textsuperscript{(attributively used demonstrative)} \\
        \multicolumn{2}{l}{here-AD-ABL yonder-INS-TERM} \\
        \multicolumn{2}{l}{‘from here till yonder’}
        \end{array}
  \item \begin{array}{ll}
        (207) & \textit{ko-pi nom} (2595) \textsuperscript{(attributively used demonstrative)} \\
        \multicolumn{2}{l}{here-AL bit} \\
        \multicolumn{2}{l}{‘a (little) bit nearby’}
        \end{array}
  \item \begin{array}{ll}
        (208) & \textit{ko-te} (175) \\
        \multicolumn{2}{l}{here-AD} \\
        \multicolumn{2}{l}{‘here’}
        \end{array}
  \item \begin{array}{ll}
        (209) & \textit{ipko-te} (176) \textsuperscript{(attributively used demonstrative)} \\
        \multicolumn{2}{l}{there-AD} \\
        \multicolumn{2}{l}{‘there’}
        \end{array}
  \item \begin{array}{ll}
        (210) & \textit{pe-te} (177) \\
        \multicolumn{2}{l}{yonder-AD} \\
        \multicolumn{2}{l}{‘yonder’}
        \end{array}
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{22} There is a striking resemblance with demonstratives in Tupi-Guarani (e.g. Guarani \textit{ko} ‘this’ and \textit{pe} ‘that’).
To form expressions of time, the demonstrative *ipko* is used in combination with the suffixes -(a)p (see *ipko-p-al* ‘constantly’, section 6.4.2.1); -čot ‘then’, ‘thus’; -na < ana ‘when’ (cf. the example *ipko-na-pi* ‘then’ and *ipko-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 *ipko* in a few expressions (cf. *ipko-tu-p n' alok* ‘at that time’ in section 6.4.3.4):

(211)  *ipko-čot* (2746)  (212)  *ipko-na-pi-p* (2750)
that-then that-when-AL-ABL
‘that then’ ‘from then’

(213)  *ipko n' alok* (2734)  (214)  *ipko n' alok-te* (2735)
that time that time-AD
‘that time’, ‘then’ ‘at that time’

(215)  *ipko-tu-p n' alok-al* (2886)
that-AD-ABL time-RST
‘at that time only’, ‘then immediately’

6.7.2. Demonstrative pronoun *into-pko*

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

(216)  *into-pko-te-pit*  o-ča-khe (1345)
where/which-DEM-AD-IND 3sS-go-PERM
‘Let him go to no matter where, to no matter whom’.

(217)  *into-pko-pit* (1336)
which-DEM-IND
‘whatever/whoever/whichever’

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

(218)  *into-pko  o-čip-te-m  o-n' e-kta-p* (1343)
which-DEM 3SPOS-house-AD-QM 3ss-sleep-F-IA
‘In which of the houses will he sleep?’

Since the former element, *into*, is an interrogative stem (see section 6.8.3), the word *into-pko* 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’; *inču* ‘what’; *into* ‘where’, ‘which’; *into-yko* ‘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 *inču* 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)  
\[\text{ana-pimok-nik mi-t\textsuperscript{ip-a}}\]  
\[\text{how.many-CL:space-COM 2SPOS-house-TOP}\]  
‘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)  
\[\text{anak \textsuperscript{çap-am candela-wa}}\]  
\[\text{how.many bundle-QM candle-TOP}\]  
‘As for candles, how many bundles are there?’

The question marker -(a)m is attached to the elements that follow the stem:

(221)  
\[\text{ana-pat-le-m (2507)}\]  
\[\text{when-INS-TERM-QM}\]  
‘Until when?’

(222)  
\[\text{ana-tuh-am(1421)}\]  
\[\text{how.many-CL:detachable-QM}\]  
‘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’;

---

\[23\] 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.
(223)  *ana* mol-pat-le-he-m *mi-Ìw-ap* (2256)  
how. many day-INS-TERM-BEN-QM 2ss-go.away-IA  
‘For how many days will you go away?’

(224)  *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’:

(226)  *ana-te-pit* (2491)  
when-AD-IND  
‘whenever’ (also: ‘in whatever quantity’)

The examples *ana-pi-çin* ‘I do not know when’, *ana-pi-çô-m* ‘when?’ and *ana-pi-m mi-fa-kT-ap* ‘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:

(227)  *ana-he-m* (2876)  (238)  *ana-pi-pit* (2483)  
when-AL-BEN-QM when-AL-IND  
‘For when?’ ‘Whenever’.

(239)  *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*:

(230)  *ipi-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*:

(232)  *ana* mek-am (1405)  
how. many all-QM  
‘How many/much?’
(233)  ana  mek-am  hayu  â-kt-aŋ (1406)
how many all-QM man 3pS-be-IA
‘How many men are there?’

(234)  ana  mek atel-pa  â-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-a-lum-čik-iy-ha
how many all river-QM 2pA-3SOs-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-â-m  atel-pa (1412)
how many-CL:round-QM chicken
‘How many chickens?’

(238)  ana-â-m  a-čip-nik  putam-a
how many-CL:round-QM 3SPOS-house-COM village-TOP
a-kot-aŋ (1413)
3SsS-be-IA
‘How many houses does the village has?’

(239)  ana-â-pam  me-n-čtek  o-m-o-tag (1415)
how many-CL:portable-QM 2SPOS-REL-cloth 3SsS-2Ss-APL-be
‘How many clothes do you have?’

(240)  ana-â-pam  ašwa  â-pil-te  â-e-pul-i (1414)
how many-CL:portable-QM fish 3PPOS-net-AD 3ps-fall-PST
‘How many fish has fallen in their nets?’

(241)  piliv  n'amak  ana-puč-am  mi-hač-o-w-ha-n (1429)
year every how many-CL:completed-QM 2Ss-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:

(233)  ana  mek-am  hayu  â-kt-aŋ (1406)
how many all-QM man 3pS-be-IA
‘How many men are there?’

(234)  ana  mek atel-pa  â-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-a-lum-čik-iy-ha
how many all river-QM 2pA-3SOs-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-â-m  atel-pa (1412)
how many-CL:round-QM chicken
‘How many chickens?’

(238)  ana-â-m  a-čip-nik  putam-a
how many-CL:round-QM 3SPOS-house-COM village-TOP
a-kot-aŋ (1413)
3SsS-be-IA
‘How many houses does the village has?’

(239)  ana-â-pam  me-n-čtek  o-m-o-tag (1415)
how many-CL:portable-QM 2SPOS-REL-cloth 3SsS-2Ss-APL-be
‘How many clothes do you have?’

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how many-CL:portable-QM fish 3PPOS-net-AD 3ps-fall-PST
‘How many fish has fallen in their nets?’

(241)  piliv  n'amak  ana-puč-am  mi-hač-o-w-ha-n (1429)
year every how many-CL:completed-QM 2Ss-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-čap-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-arg (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-ešek me-mel'-arg (1439)
how many all-CL:space-QM 2sPOS-REL-cloth 2sA-3sO.see-IA
‘How many of your dresses do you see?’

(247) ana mek-šup-am putam-nayme mi-pal'-iy-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) (249) inča-m ki-l-o-kt-arg (2845)
what-then what-QM 1sA-3sO-do-F-IA
‘What then?’ ‘What shall we do?’

(250) inča-m Francisco liv i-sė-arg (2850)
what-QM Francisco book 3sA-3sO.see-IA
‘What does Francisco read?’

When interrogative inča is followed by a case marker, the use of question marker -(a)m is necessary:

(251) inča-be-m (161) (252) inča-te-m (2902)
what-BEN-QM what-AD-QM
‘Why?’ ‘What for?’
The question word inêa-m ‘what?’ may be followed by the interjection ah! ‘vocative’ and by the person markers ma ‘vocative 2s masculine’ and pa ‘vocative 2s feminine’:

\[(253)\] inêa-m-ah (2719) \(\text{what-QM-EX}\)
\‘What is the matter?’
\(\text{‘What do you say, man?’}\.\text{‘What do you want, man?’}\)

\[(254)\] inêa-m-ma (1352) \(\text{what-QM-2smVO}\)
\‘What do you say, woman?’. ‘What do you want, woman?’

The noun which most frequently occurs after the question word inêa ‘what?’ is yu ‘kind’, ‘species’, ‘type’, ‘variety’:

\[(255)\] inêa-m-pa (1353) \(\text{what-QM-2sfVO}\)
‘What do you say, woman?’. ‘What do you want, woman?’

The noun which most frequently occurs after the question word inêa ‘what?’ is yu ‘kind’, ‘species’, ‘type’, ‘variety’:

\[(256)\] inêa yu-am \(i-m-o-w\) (2727)
\text{thing kind-QM 3SA-2sO-do-PST}
‘What did he do to you?’

\[(257)\] inêa yu caballu-m ipko-wa (1396)
\text{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 inêa 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 inêa ‘(some)thing’, but rather the verbal form o-kot-p-a\(\text{õ}\) ‘he/she/it is not’:

\[(258)\] inêa o-kot-p-a\(\text{õ}\)-le (2722)
\text{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’;
\(\text{e.g.}\)

\[(259)\] 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:
Elements which can appear after *into* are perative *nayme* 'through', 'via' and non-personal adessive *te* 'at', 'in' + the combinations *te-ke* 'from', *te-p* 'from' and *te-pi* 'to':

(260)  
\[ \text{into-}n\text{-a-he-}m \quad \text{mu-n-a\text{-t'ak-pat-}le} \quad a\text{-}\text{šaš-la-po} \]  
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?’

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 *-ko* (see section 6.7.2). With the indefinite pronoun *mek* the concept of ‘quantity’ is expressed. E.g.:

(269)  
\[ \text{into \text{mek}-am} \]  
which all-QM  
‘how much?’

(270)  
\[ \text{into \text{mek}} \]  
which all  
‘so much’, ‘that much’

(271)  
\[ \text{into \text{mek-nik}} \]  
which all-COM  
‘so much more’

(272)  
\[ \text{into \text{mek-pit}} \]  
which all-IND  
‘no matter how many/much’

(273)  
\[ \text{into \text{mek-pok}} \]  
which all-CL:repeatable  
‘that many times’

(274)  
\[ \text{into \text{mek-te nom}} \]  
which all-AD bit  
‘so much less’
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-amp into-n’-am mi-kt-ap (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-0-pakna 0-kot-ap (390) which-CMP 1pa-3so-do-NE.NOM 3ss-be-IA ‘We can not do anything’.

(280) into-n’-a-p-am (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’-c0n (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 -c0 ‘already’:

(283) into-n’-c0-m a-pak-amp (2541) which-CMP-already-QM 3ss-be-IA ‘What time is it?’

The instance into-n’ ki-l-0-pakna 0-kot-ap above shows that the concept of ‘nothing’ can be expressed by means of a negative verb form (cf. inça, 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)

which-DEM(-QM)

‘Which?’

(285) into-ŋko(-m) a-ŋa-ktaŋ (1343)

which-DEM(-QM) 3ss-go-f-IA

‘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)

who-QM

‘Who?’

(288) ol-(am) mi-pa-aŋ (1340)

who-QM 2ss-come-IA

‘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-o-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-pap-a ol-am a-ŋa-ta ol-lol-am

1sPOS-mother-TOP who-QM 1sPOS-brother-TOP who-PL-QM

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):

\[(293)\]  
\[\text{mi-pot-iw-man-ap, ol-pit a-moh-p-aq}\]  
\[2sS-come-PST-INES-ABL, who-IND 3sS-come.up-NE-IA\]

‘After you came, nobody has come up’.

6.8.6. Conclusion

The words ana, inça, 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’, -ćen ‘I don’t know’ and the indefinite marker -pit ‘(wh ...)ever’, which, on the other hand, can directly be attached to inça, 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 -ćen and the indefinite marker -pit occur after some case markers (see the examples ana-pi-ćen, ana-pi-pit, ana-te-pit, into-te-ke-pit, into-n’-ćen in section 6.8.1 for ana and 6.8.3 for into).

The group ana, inça, 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 inça, 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 inça, into-gko and ol is concerned, inça 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*, *inča* and *into* 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 *-ŋo* ‘already’ (*into-ŋ* ‘what time’);
(c) ‘manner’ by means of the suffix *-ŋ* ‘like’;
(e) ‘cause’, ‘instrument’ and ‘purpose’ by means of the case markers *-he* ‘for the benefit of’, ‘by’, *-pat/-lak-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 *-ŋ* ‘like’ + adverbial ‘already’.

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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 *-ŋ* ‘like’ + adverbial ‘already’.
Table 6.9. Concepts and the words *ana, inča, into, into-ŋko* + added elements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concepts</th>
<th>ana</th>
<th>into</th>
<th>into-ŋko</th>
<th>inča</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>quantity</strong></td>
<td>mek, N, CL</td>
<td>mek</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>time</strong></td>
<td>N (period)</td>
<td>-ŋ-čo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>space</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>-naye, -ŋ', -te</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>manner</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ŋ'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>cause</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ŋ'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-he, -ŋ'ak-pat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>instrument</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ŋ'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-pat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>purpose</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ŋ'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-te</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.9. Indefinite pronouns

Cholón has the following indefinite pronouns:

*alum* ‘other’, ‘some’

*an-ŋel* ‘one’, ‘another’

*inča* ‘(some)thing’

*mek* ‘all’

*n’amak* ‘each’

*ol* ‘who’

6.9.1. Indefinite pronoun *alum*

The indefinite pronoun, *alum*, is used attributively:

(294) quaresma *alum* nem-te-wa, [...] ayča o-ŋ’up-la-pakna
Lent other day-AD-TOP [...] meat 3SO-eat-3PA-NENOM
3SS-be-IA

‘As for the other days of Lent, […] they are not allowed to eat meat’.

(295) *alum* nem-te-a-čo, eyča o-ŋ’up-la-pa-o ə-kt-ap (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-ŋel*

The word *an-ŋel* primarily functions as a numeral ‘one’. It is composed of the following morphemes: the numeral *an* ‘one’ and the numeral classifier *ŋel* ‘truncal object’ (for examples with numeral classifiers, see section 6.10.2). When *an-ŋel*
functions as an indefinite pronoun, it is used independently, viz. not followed by a countable noun:

(296) \textit{an-t\text{\text'-}el-sim} (1310)
\textit{one-CL:truncal-EMP}
\textit{\textquotesingle It is another one\textquotesingle}.

(297) \textit{an-t\text{\text'-}el a-\text{\text'-}rap-te-na sepeh-he-nake, an-t\text{\text'-}el}
\textit{one-CL:truncal 1sA-3sO.catch-F-QUOT say-SIM-PER one-CL:truncal}
\textit{i-\text{\text'-}p-ap} (2387)
\textit{3sA-3sO.catch-IA}
\textit{\textquotesingle Instead of catching one, he catches another one\textquotesingle}.
\textit{(lit. \textquotesingle By saying: \textquoteleft I shall catch one\textquoteright, he catches another one\textquoteright)}.

6.9.3. Indefinite pronoun \textit{in\text{\text'-}a}

The indefinite pronoun \textit{in\text{\text'-}a} \textit{\textquotesingle (some)thing\textquotesingle} is used for objects (cf. the pronoun \textit{ol} \textit{\textquotesingle who\textquotesingle}, which is used for persons). The indefinite pronoun \textit{in\text{\text'-}a} 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 \textit{mek} \textit{\textquotesingle all\textquotesingle}, indicating a \textit{\textquotesingle whole\textquotesingle} or a \textit{\textquotesingle plurality of things\textquotesingle}:

(298) \textit{mek in\text{\text'-}a} (1355)
\textit{all thing}
\textit{\textquotesingle everything\textquotesingle, \textquotesingle the whole thing\textquotesingle, \textquotesingle all the things\textquotesingle}

(299) \textit{mek in\text{\text'-}a Dios kama\text{\text'-}in o-\text{\text'-}ki-ap\text{\text'-}ko} (1866)
\textit{all thing God command 3sS-speak-IA-DEM}
\textit{\textquotesingle God who commands everything\textquotesingle}.

(300) \textit{mek in\text{\text'-}a \text{\text'-}epo-hina-y-e-a-te} (1473)
\textit{all thing 3pA-3pO-hear-PST-ANT-NOM-AD}
\textit{\textquotesingle after/from all the things they had heard\textquotesingle}

Plurality of things is also expressed by the reduplication of \textit{in\text{\text'-}a}. In addition, the reduplicated pronoun may be preceded by the indefinite pronoun \textit{mek}, and it may be followed by the noun \textit{yu} \textit{\textquotesingle kind\textquotesingle}, \textit{\textquotesingle species\textquotesingle}:

(301) \textit{in\text{\text'-}a in\text{\text'-}a mi-po-y\text{\text'-}e-ha-p-ko} (1471)
\textit{thing thing 2A-3pO-see-SE-PL-IA-DEM}
\textit{\textquotesingle all the things you see\textquotesingle}

(302) \textit{mek in\text{\text'-}a in\text{\text'-}a (1361) (303) mek in\text{\text'-}a in\text{\text'-}a yu (1363)}
\textit{all thing thing all thing thing kind}
\textit{\textquotesingle all the things\textquotesingle}
\textit{\textquotesingle all kinds of things\textquotesingle}
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 a-kot-ap (2697)

INT-INT-CL:firm/stony thing-COM 3SS-be-IA

‘He is rich, abundant in everything’.

(305) inča-te-pi a-šoh-ø (3398)/ inča-te-pi mi-a-šoh-i (2736)

thing-AD-AL 3SØ-pour-IMP thing-AD-AL 2SA-3SØ-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 inča ‘minimal thing’:

(306) inča-ču (1356) (307) mek inča inča-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 a-kot-p-ap (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-3SØ: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-ap (49)

all 2S-die-PL-F-IA

‘You (p) all will die’.

(312) Dios nep-te mek ke-tq-ap (2440)

God 1ps-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 mek*-kt-ap (1373)  
2s 1s all 2ss-be-IA

‘You are of my size’.

(314)  
*ko mek* (1368)  
this.one.here all

‘all the ones here’

(315)  
i*ko mek* (1368)  
that.one there all

‘all the ones there’

(316)  
*pe mek* (1368)  
yonder all

‘all the ones yonder’

(317)  
*ko mek-a* (2603)  
this.one.here all-RST

‘all the ones yonder’

‘all the ones here only’*/‘this is all’

When *mek* is used as a modifier, it can occur before or after a noun:

(318)  
*mek angel-a/angel mek-a spiritu-l* èe-kt-ap (2975)  
all angel-TOP/angel all-TOP spirit-RST 3ps-be-IA

‘As for all the angels, they are spirits only’.

6.9.5. Indefinite pronoun *n’nanmak*

The indefinite pronoun *n’nanmak* is the opposite of *mek*: *mek* ‘all’ pluralizes, whereas *n’nanmak* ‘each’, ‘every(one)’ individualizes. It is mainly employed attributively, and it can occur before or after a noun:

(319)  
*nem n’nanmak ki-am-a* (1186)  
day every 1ps-eat-IA

‘We eat every day’.

(320)  
*n’nanmak hayu i-tip-te i-t-of*  
every Indian/man 3ppos-house-AD 3ppos-guinea.pig

‘Every Indian has guinea pigs in his house’.

When the noun with which *n’nanmak* appears indicates a period of time, *n’nanmak* occurs after this noun (see also the example *nem n’nanmak* ‘every day’ above):

(321)  
*mahač n’nanmak* (2459)  
evening every

‘every evening’

(322)  
*semana n’nanmak* (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 \textit{a(C)}-, \textit{ip}-, \textit{iš/-is-}, respectively (\textit{iš} is found before classifiers with an initial \textit{t}, \textit{č}, \textit{s}, \textit{l}; \textit{iš}-before classifiers which begin with \textit{h} or \textit{p}; \textit{iš-} alternates with \textit{iš-} before the classifier \textit{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 \textit{a-} ‘one’ occurs as \textit{an-} in the word \textit{an-taš} ‘one man’ (< one-\textit{CL}:truncal object) and \textit{an-čap} ‘one book/cloth/knife’ (< one-\textit{CL}: portable object); and as \textit{at-} in the words \textit{at-če} ‘one egg’ (< one-\textit{CL}:round object), \textit{at-hil} ‘one word’ (< one-\textit{CL}:speech), \textit{at-kot-mul-}–\textit{ap-ko} ‘first’ (one-be-begin\textit{IA}-which), and \textit{at-waranga} ‘one thousand’. The Cholón words for the numerals four - nine are as follows:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
mir’ip & ‘four’ & kiliš & ‘seven’ \\
kikok & ‘five’ & pak & ‘eight’ \\
\textit{ipt’ok} & ‘six’ & \textit{okon} & ‘nine’ \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

These numerals are likewise followed by classifiers, except when indicating human beings. The concept of ‘ten(s)’ is indicated by the morpheme \textit{-lek}. This morpheme is suffixed to the units. E.g.:

(326) \textit{ip-lek} (1110) ‘twenty’
(327) \textit{iš-lek} (1111) ‘thirty’
(328) \textit{min’ip-lek} (1112) ‘forty’

To express intervening numbers tens are followed by units:

(329) \textit{a-lek} \textit{an-čaš} (1120) \textit{a-lek} \textit{ip-ta} (1121)
\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
one-ten & one-\textit{CL}:truncal & one-ten & two-\textit{CL}:firm/ stony \\
‘eleven men’ & ‘twelve men’ \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

(331) \textit{a-lek} \textit{min’ip} (1119)
\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
one-ten & four \\
‘fourteen men’ \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

The intervening numbers can also be formed by means of the suffix -\textit{nik} ‘with’ attached to the units:

(332) \textit{a-lek} \textit{ipt’ok-nik} (1123)
\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
one-ten & six-COM \\
‘sixteen’ \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

The Cholón expressions for ‘one hundred’ and ‘one thousand’ are *a-pičak* and *at-waranga*, respectively.\(^{25}\)

Ordinal numbers are formed by the interposition of the form *ø-kot-mul' -ap-ko* ‘the one here who/which is beginning’ between the numeral and the classifier. The form *ø-kot-mul' -ap-ko* contains two verb stems: *kot* ‘be’ and *mul’* ‘start an action’ followed by imperfective aspect -*ap* and the demonstrative/relativizer *ko*:

\[(333)\]  

\[\begin{array}{l}
\text{at-kot-mul' -ap-ko} \\
\text{hil (1127)} \\
\text{one-be-begin-IA-DEM word} \\
\text{‘the first command’}
\end{array}\]

The interposition of the form *ø-kot-mul' -ap-ko* can be omitted. When this is the case, ordinal numbers are equal to cardinal numbers as regards their form:

\[(334)\]  

\[(335)\]  

\[\begin{array}{l}
\text{at-hil (1126)} \\
\text{at-hil sil-ap (1131)} \\
\text{one-CL:speech} \\
\text{one-CL:speech 3sO.say-IA} \\
\text{‘one word’} \\
\text{‘the first command’}
\end{array}\]

It appears that numerals (followed by suffixed classifiers) are used as cardinal numbers and function as a determiner when they occur before a noun:

\[(336)\]  

\[\begin{array}{l}
iš-ta \\
\text{hayu atem-e ā-pal'-iy (1314)} \\
\text{three-CL:firm/stony man morning-ANT 3ps-pass-PST} \\
\text{‘Three men passed in the morning’}
\end{array}\]

They are used as ordinal numbers and function as an argument when they occur before a verb (see also the example *at-hil ø-sil-ap* ‘the first command above):

\[(337)\]  

\[\begin{array}{l}
ič-hil \\
\text{o-sil-ap (1129)} \\
\text{three-CL:speech 3sS.say-IA} \\
\text{‘the third command’}
\end{array}\]

The ordinal number ‘first’ may also be formed by means of the adverb *ašman* ‘before’, ‘first’, ‘rather’ + *ø-kot-mul' -ap-ko* ‘the one here who/which is beginning’:

\[(338)\]  

\[\begin{array}{l}
ašman ø-kot-mul' -ap-ko (1127) \\
\text{first 3sS-be-begin-IA-DEM} \\
\text{‘the one who/which is first’, ‘the first one’}
\end{array}\]

---

\(^{25}\) 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’
- mir’ip-o mir’ip-o ‘four by four’, ‘in fours’
- kio’ok-o kio’ok-o ‘five by five’, ‘in fives’
- ip’ok-o ip’ok-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-tš-o a-lek an-tš-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-tš ‘one man’
- ip-ta ‘two men’
- iš-ta ‘three men’
- mir’ip ‘four men’, etc.

The suffix tš ‘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>a³</td>
<td>bundles, bunches, (candles, firewood)</td>
<td>bundled objects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>birds, fruits, (eggs, grains, houses)</td>
<td>round objects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a³p</td>
<td>axes, books, clothes, combs, feathers, fish, knives, machetes, scissors, shoes</td>
<td>portable objects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hil</td>
<td>commands, orders, regulations, words</td>
<td>speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liv</td>
<td>colours, different things, (books, dresses, letters, paintings, parrots, writings)</td>
<td>multicoloured objects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pimok</td>
<td>heavens, hems, rooms, spaces, (skirts)</td>
<td>space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pok</td>
<td>times/turns, (sins)</td>
<td>repeatable events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poy</td>
<td>armies, herds, troops, (hogs)</td>
<td>groups of living beings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puć</td>
<td>fields, (periods of time)</td>
<td>completed/full entities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puk</td>
<td>bites</td>
<td>digestible chunks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’, piliw ‘solar year’, and semana (< Sp semana) ‘week’:

(339) at-mita (2558) one-CL:season ‘one season’
(340) poho-pat at-mol-e (2261) morning-INS one-CL:day-ANT ‘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 čap, 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-čap-am  me-n-eštek  a-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-a (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, čel, šu also appear as nouns, in which case če means ‘egg’, ‘grain’; hil means ‘word’; liw means ‘book’, ‘letter(s)’, ‘species’; šu means ‘heap’; čel means ‘stone’; čel 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’ > pole (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)o ‘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’
pole-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, -(w)uč 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’iteh-uč (1072) ‘magistrate’ < l’ite(h) ‘(to) correct’
ayça l’up-uč (1148) ‘eater of meat’ < l’u(p) ‘(to) swallow down’
lusay-e-uč(1150) ‘mercyful or pious man’ < lusay(?) ‘(to) pity’, ‘(to) have compassion’, ‘(to) be in distress’

pa’low a-o-wuč (1779) ‘my benefactor’ < (o) ‘(to) do’, ‘(to) make’
kama’in ki-wuč (1070) ‘ruler’ < kama’ 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 be charged with a duty’ (?), ‘(to) charged with’ (?)

a-psawoh-uč (1776) ‘my creator’ < *psawo(?) ‘(to) create’
ših-uč (1068) ‘drinker’ < ših/š(i)k ‘(to) drink’
Forms in -(e)č are normally translated as present participles or subordinate clauses. Only one form in -(e)č is used as a noun:

\( t'amo-č \) (2974) ‘wisdom’ \( < t'am(o) \) ‘(to) know something’

The word \( t'amo-č \) 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 ő, 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’:

\( 348 \) \( \text{be-FN1} \) \( \text{kot-lam} \) (1053) \( \text{1SpO-se-FN1} \) \( a-kul'ha} \ a-kot-lam (1051) ‘(the fact of) being’, ‘future being’ ‘my existence’, ‘the future being of my life’

\( 350 \) \( \text{3SO.want-FN1} \) \( \text{men'o-lam} \) (1057) \( 3SO.love-FN1 \) \( \text{pole-lam} \) (1061) ‘someone’s wish’, ‘someone’s future wishing’ ‘someone’s love’, ‘someone’s future loving’

\( 352 \) \( 1SA-3SO-drink-FN1 \) \( \text{a-o-ših-lam} \) (1067) ‘my drink’, ‘my future drinking’

The nominalizer -(g)iš 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)iš can function both as an adjective (cf. forms in -(k)iš 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>Suffix</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ablative -(a)p:</td>
<td>ow-tu-p (2588)</td>
<td>‘from afar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nominal past -(k)e:</td>
<td>ampal-e (2551)</td>
<td>‘yesterday’s’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lima-te-ke (2279)</td>
<td>‘from Lima’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ta-ke (22769)</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.:

(356)  šokot o-lol (34)  “the river mouth”
river 3sPOS-mouth

(357)  Pedro o-n-eštek (150)  “Pedro’s cloth(es)”
Pedro 3sPOS-REL-cloth
If the possessor is plural, the possessive relation is expressed by the possessive third person markers i- (or the copy vowels e- and u-) and ē- (or ē- ) preceding the head noun in its relational form (cf. section 5.4):

\[(359)\] hayu i- tôp (1187)  
man/Indian 3pPOS-house  
'the houses of the Indians'

\[(360)\] Luis-e María-ke ču-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". 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)i(o) (section 6.10):

comitative -nik:  šeš-či(1043)  ‘scabby’
theadjectivizer -(k)o:  num-o (235)  ‘male’
  ila-ko (236)  ‘female’
factivizer -(e)č  tamo-č(405)  ‘learned’
nominalizer -(g)i(o)  ki-t'am-č-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 num ‘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

\[27\] "[...] 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: oño (1235) ‘something large’, ‘large’
kunño (1254) ‘something small’, ‘small’
mosño (1263) ‘tinyness’, ‘tiny’
colour: éxcë (1389, 2621) ‘clarity’, ‘whiteness’, ‘white’
kisna (1846) ‘blueness’, ‘blue’
l’aka (1400) ‘something coloured’, ‘redness’, ‘red’
l’in (2980) ‘greenness’, ‘green’
pul (1401) ‘yellowness’, ‘yellow’
(f)i’it (1399) ‘blackness’, ‘black’
value: išiwah (1037) ‘badness’, ‘bad’
pun’a (1032) ‘softness’, ‘nice’
ptow (405) ‘goodness’, ‘good’
waliw (1031) ‘strength’, ‘something beautiful’, ‘beautiful’
taste: al’hi (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 possessive person prefix, which confirms that they are not adjectives, but nouns. The examples furthermore show that the adjectival nouns išiwah ‘bad’ and ptow ‘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 óño ‘greatness’. It has no relational form *n-ño, as would be expected. Ex.:

(362) mi-ño (2323) a-ño-išiwah (2323)
2POS-greatness 1POS-REL-badness
‘your greatness’ ‘my badness’

(364) l’aka (183) ‘something coloured’, ‘redness’, ‘red’:
a-l’aka ‘my coloured thing’
mí-l’aka ‘your (m) coloured thing’
l’aka ‘his/her coloured thing’
ki-l’aka ‘our coloured thing’
mí-l’aka-ha ‘your (p) coloured thing’
i-l’aka ‘their coloured thing’

(365) ptow (2642) ‘goods’, ‘advantage’, ‘good’:
a-mto ‘my good(s)’, ‘my advantage’
mi-małow  ‘your (m) good(s)’, ‘your advantage’
małow  ‘his/her good(s)’, ‘his/her advantage’
ki-małow  ‘our good(s)’, ‘our advantage’
mi-małow-ha  ‘your (p) good(s)’, ‘your (p) advantage’
či-małow  ‘their good(s)’, ‘their 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’,

According to Pedro de la Mata, the modifier may precede or follow the
modified element (“a veces se anteponen y a 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)
great wind
‘a great wind’

(367)  čče  kot  (2621)
white water
‘clear water’

(368)  išiwah  hayu  (1037)
bad man
‘a bad man’

(369)  ay-te-ču  hayu  (1041)
background-AD-DIM man
‘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)
death great badness 3Ss-be-IA
‘Death is a great evil’.

In his section about adjectival nouns, de la Mata gives only one example of a
postponed modifying noun:

(371)  ččel  kačiw  (1036)
foot/man cripple
‘someone with a lame foot’, ‘a cripple’

Another example of a postponed adjectival noun was given by José Santos Chappa:

(372)  ges  mun  --  hila  ges
old man  woman old
‘an old man’  ‘an old woman’
The opposite order, *nun ges and *ges hila, was rejected, so that the phrases ges nun and hila ges appeared to be fixed expressions. Since the expression čel kačiw is the only example given by de la Mata to illustrate that a modifier can be postponed, and since the expression *nun 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 hayu ‘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’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(373)</th>
<th>(374)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čel-le (1389)</td>
<td>lolše-sim (1390)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black-QM</td>
<td>Spanish/Spaniard-EMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Is it black?’</td>
<td>‘It is Spanish/It is a Spaniard’; ‘They are Spanish/They are Spaniards’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.12.3. Comparison

In the ALC degree of comparison is explained by means of the nouns očo ‘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’.

(375) očo (1235) ‘great/large’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ni-ču-nik</th>
<th>očo (1257)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bit-DIM-COM</td>
<td>great/large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘(a bit) greater/larger’</td>
<td>‘very great/large’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ma očo (1257)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INT great/large</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(376) kunču (1255) ‘small’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ni-ču-nik</th>
<th>kunču (1256)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bit-DIM-COM</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘(a bit) smaller’</td>
<td>‘very small’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ma kunču (1256)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INT small</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

28 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’).

*pa-te-p* 

‘They make many fields’. ‘very, very good’

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):

*pa-te-p ma maha-l* 

‘many, many trees’

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-ča-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-ap (1221)  
2s-INES-ABL bit-DIM-COM old Pedro 3sS-be-IA  
‘Pedro is older than you’.

(384) mek ila-man-ap ma pa-kow-sim pe-kt-ap (202)  
all women-INES-ABL INT good-EMP 2sFS-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’eŋ mun (pan
manliness). The terms *nun* and *ila* can be followed by adjectivizer -(k)o (see 6.4.5.4):

(389)  
\begin{align*}
ul'ukiow & \quad nun-o \quad (235) \\
\text{partridge manliness-ADJ} & \quad \text{partridge femininity-ADJ} \\
\text{‘male partridge’} & \quad \text{‘female partridge’}
\end{align*}

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)  
\begin{align*}
\text{hayu} \quad (21) & \quad \text{hayu-lol} \quad (777) \\
\text{‘a (native) man’, ‘an Indian’,} & \quad \text{man-PL} \\
\text{‘(native) men’, ‘Indians’} & \quad \text{‘(native) men’, ‘Indians’}
\end{align*}

(391)  
\begin{align*}
\text{hayu} \quad i-t'ip & \quad \text{pusim-pat} \quad \text{o-n'antum-iy-la} \quad \text{če-kt-aį} \quad (47) \\
\text{Indian 3pROS-house} & \quad \text{straw-INS} \quad \text{3sO-cover-PST-3pA} \quad \text{3ps-be-IA} \\
\text{‘The houses of the Indians are covered with straw’}.
\end{align*}

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 *inča* ‘(some)thing’ (cf. *inča* section 6.9.3) and by means of a numeral (see section 6.10.1):

(392)  
\begin{align*}
\text{mek upa} \quad (1461) & \quad \text{mek inča} \quad (11355) \\
\text{all infant} & \quad \text{all thing} \\
\text{‘all the infants’} & \quad \text{‘all the things’}
\end{align*}

(394)  
\begin{align*}
\text{inča inča} \quad (1361) & \quad \text{ip-hil} \quad (1097) \\
\text{thing thing} & \quad \text{two-CL:speech} \\
\text{‘things’} & \quad \text{‘two words’}
\end{align*}

Plurality can furthermore be indicated by the intensifiers *ma* and *pa-te-p*, both designating a high degree, and the composites *maha-l*, *ma maha-l*, *ma-ma-ta*, *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):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a-tp-a-} & \quad(238) \quad \text{‘I walk’} \\
a-\text{šk-e-} & \quad(239) \quad \text{‘I cause to drink’} \\
a-\text{psi-i-} & \quad(240) \quad \text{‘I cheat’} \\
a-a-\text{lu-po-} & \quad(241) \quad \text{‘I abhor someone/something’} \\
a-\text{mu-} & \quad(242) \quad \text{‘I taste something’/‘I bring it to my mouth’}
\end{align*}
\]

However, the vowel *e* of de la Mata’s ‘present tense’ ending *-e-γ* above appears to be a separate suffix with a number of different functions (see section 7.4.2.2); the form *a-psi-i-‘* is the only ‘present tense’ form ending in a palatal nasal; and the vowels *i, o* and *u* of de la Mata’s endings *-in, -ap* and *-ug* are part of the verb stem. The ‘present tense’ is thus likely to end in *-(a)γ*. This suffix, however, appears to indicate incompletive aspect rather than a present tense. The complex behaviour of incompletive *-(a)γ* is discussed in 7.4.1.

De la Mata furthermore remarks that the preterite (both ‘perfect’ and ‘imperfect’) ends in *ap, ey, y/iy, oy, uy, or ow*. (The ending *y/iy* 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):

\[
\begin{align*}
a-\text{tp-} & \quad(238) \quad \text{‘I walk’} \\
\end{align*}
\]
The examples show that the preterite normally ends in -iy, but that it ends in -w after verbs ending in o, such as the verb a ‘(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 -t-ag is used after stems which end in a consonant (in p, t, č, k, ř, s, š, h, n, p, 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-ag, which then consist of the following elements: -(i)y ‘stem extension’, -t- ‘future’, -ag ‘imperfective aspect’. The forms in -(i)y-t-ag 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-ki(a(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-ag:

2: a-l-o-kloh-ia-y-t-ag (2178)
1SA-3SO-do-finish-RE-SE-F-IA
‘I shall finish doing it again’

3: a-l-o-č a-pať’a-ki(a-y-t-ag (2179)
1SA-3SO-do-FAC 3SS-take.all.day-RE-SE-F-IA
‘I shall do it continuously’
Actually, the verbs in question are "kole/kol\(y\) and "pen\(y\)\(o\). De la Mata concludes the third person object marker which consists in nasalization of the initial consonant.

Cf. \textit{a-l-o-kiah-t-ag} (2163)
\textit{1sA-3sO-do-RE-F-IA}
\textit{‘I shall do it again’}
\textit{a-l-o-pale-kiah-t-ag} (2177)
\textit{1sA-3sO-do-pace.up.and.down-RE-F-IA}
\textit{‘I shall do it pacing up and down’}

(ii): the future of \textit{f(\(a\)w\(f\)a) ‘(to) go (away)’} ends in -\textit{iy-t-ag} when the verb is used impersonally. The stem is then preceded by an applicative object:

\textbf{(4)} \textit{\(a\-k\-a\-\ell\)aw-\textit{iy-t-ag} (1824)}
\textit{3sS-1pO-APL-go.away-SE-F-IA}
\textit{‘it will go away from us’}
\textit{\textit{a-\ell\(a\-kt\)-ag} (907)}
\textit{3sS-go-F-IA}
\textit{‘he/she/it will go’}

(iii): verbs passivized with the derivational suffix \(it\)’ and the verb \textit{\(y\(a\)\(y\(a\)\(y\)\(a\)\)‘(to) see’ have an alternative future form in -\textit{iy-t-ag}.

\textbf{(5)} \textit{ki-kole-\textit{iy-t-ag} (1002)}
\textit{1ps-love-PAS-SE-F-IA}
\textit{‘we shall be loved’}
\textit{\textit{\(\ell\)-kole-\textit{t-ag} (1002)}
\textit{3ps-love-PAS-F-IA}
\textit{‘they will be loved’}

\textbf{(6)} \textit{a-pe\(\ell\)-\textit{iy-t-ag} (1022)}
\textit{1ss-want-PAS-SE-F-IA}
\textit{‘I shall be wanted’}

\textbf{(7)} \textit{a-\ell\(a\-\textit{iy-t-ag} (254)}
\textit{1sA-3sO-see-SE-F-IA}
\textit{‘I shall see him/her/it’}
\textit{\textit{a-\ell\(a\-\textit{t-ag} (254)}
\textit{1sA-3sO-see-F-IA}
\textit{‘I shall see him/her/it’}

cf. \textit{a-mna-y\(\ell\)-\textit{t-ag} (2030)}
\textit{1ss-way-see-F-IA}
\textit{‘I shall watch the way’}

Thereupon, Pedro de la Mata presents the conjugation of an intransitive verb, the verb \textit{k(o)t ‘(to) be’, and two transitive verbs: \textit{pole/pok ‘to love someone/something’ and \textit{mer(o) ‘(to) want someone/something}}\textsuperscript{28}. The conjugational 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,

\textsuperscript{28} Actually, the verbs in question are \textit{kole/kol\(f\) and \textit{pe\(r\(o\)\(o\). 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-mna-yé-t-ag ‘I shall watch the way’ above, which contains a nominal base, -mna-, as well as a verbal root, -yé-, 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 -yé-. < y(a)é ‘(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-t’aš-t-ag ‘I shall see him/her/it’ shows that the palatal occlusive articulation of the final segment of the non-reduced stem yač changes into an alveo-dental fricative articulation before an alveo-dental stop. In only one example -ač does not change into aš before t:

\[8\] mi-t’ač-te (764)
2sA-3so see
‘you will see it’

However, when the stem is reduced, it keeps its final palatal occlusive articulation and -č then does not change into š before alveo-dental t, see the example a-mna-yé-t-ag ‘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 i- or by a modified stem, and a third person plural subject is indicated by means of the prefix -la; cf. the following examples:
Reflexive verbs are treated as intransitives. For instance, the verb *kole*-n(0) ‘(to) love oneself’, consisting of the stem *kole* ‘(to) love’ + the derivational suffix -n(0) ‘reflexive’ is intransitive. The third person singular subject is referred to by means of a modified stem-initial *õ*, 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*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(9)</th>
<th>intransitive:</th>
<th>transitive:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>a-kot-ag</em> (292)</td>
<td>3sS-be-IA</td>
<td>3sA-3sO-drink-CAU-IA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘he is’</td>
<td>‘he causes him to drink’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(10)</th>
<th><em>pol-ag</em> (2761)</th>
<th><em>g-a-kole-khe</em> (1699)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3sS.die-IA</td>
<td>3sA-1sO-love-SIM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘he dies’</td>
<td>‘as he loves me’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(11)</th>
<th><em>i-top</em> (501)</th>
<th><em>o-lo-y-la-g</em> (962)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3pS.be.(seated)</td>
<td>3sO-wet-SE-3pA-IA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘they are/ sit’</td>
<td>‘they wet someone/something’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(12)</th>
<th><em>či-kole-it’-ag</em> (1000)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3pS-love-PAS-IA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘they are loved’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(13)</th>
<th><em>pole-n-ag</em> (1526)</th>
<th>cf. <em>i-pol’-ag</em> (687)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3sS.love-RFL-IA</td>
<td>3sA-3sO.love-IA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘he loves himself’</td>
<td>‘he loves someone’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(14)</th>
<th><em>ki-kole-n-ag</em> (1527)</th>
<th>cf. <em>ki-pol’-ag</em> (688)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1pS-love-RFL-IA</td>
<td>1pA-3sO.love-IA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘we love ourselves’</td>
<td>‘we love someone’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(15)</th>
<th><em>či-kole-n-ag</em> (1529)</th>
<th>cf. <em>pol’-iy-la-g</em> (690)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3pS-love-RFL-IA</td>
<td>3sO.love-SE-3pA-IA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘they love themselves’</td>
<td>‘they love someone’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-tp-ap(508)  (17)  o-k-a-kot-ap(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-ap(1646)
1sA-2sO-love-IA
‘I love you’

(19)  mi-sak-ha i-m-a-pu-iy-ha-ap(1692)
2POS-food-PL 3sA-2O-APL-put.down-SE-PL-IA
‘He puts down your (p) food for you (p).’

(20)  a-t-hil-ap(2136)
1sA-3sB-speak-IA
‘I intercede [for someone]’ (lit. ‘I speak for someone’)

A reference to three arguments can be observed with stems with a modified stem-initial consonant, such as tsa/taš ‘(to) see something’ < yaš ‘(to) see’. The modified stem-initial alveo-dental then designates a third person singular object:

(21)  maha-l pa-mo a-m-a-tač-ap(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-n'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) *ø-*tup-*a* (931) (24) *u*-ø-*p-*a* (2050)
     3sS-walk-IA     3sA-3sO-walk-IA
     ‘he walks’     ‘he causes him/her/it to walk’

(25) *u*-*tup-*a* (931) (26) *ø*-tup-*iy-la-* (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:

     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', *a*-'3s', *ki*-'1p', *mi-*...'2p', (*či*-'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*, *mi-*...-*ha* can refer to a subject, agent or object, and the third person markers *a* and (*či*) 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*-ø-*lup-*a* (1926) (30) *i*-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-*a* (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)g*:

(i) incomplete aspect forms ending in *(a)g*:

(32) *me-kt-iy-ha-g* (294)  
2S-be-SE-PL-IA  
‘you (p) are’

(33) *mi-pol'-iy-ha-g* (689)  
2A-3S0.love-SE-PL-IA  
‘you (p) love him/her/it’

(34) *mi-men’o-w-ha-g* (810)  
2A-3S0.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)  
2S-be-PST-PL  
‘you (p) were’

(36) *me-kt-iy-ha-ke* (297)  
2S-be-PST-PL-ANT  
‘you (p) had been’

(37) *mi-pol'-iy-ha* (695)  
2A-3S0.love-PST-PL  
‘you (p) loved him/her/it’

(38) *mi-men’o-w-ha-ke* (822)  
2A-3S0.want-PST-PL-ANT  
‘you (p) had wanted him/her/it’

(iii) three attested forms in *(e)é ‘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-l’aw-iy-ha-č* (1837)  
3S2O-APL-go.away-SE-PL-FAC/ 3S2O-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)g* and in the preterite
forms, -ha is then also preceded by the stem extenders -(i)y and -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/ -w. Examples of incompletive aspect second person plural forms:

(42) mi-men' o-ka-y-ha-ŋ (868)
   2A-3sO.want-ICA-SE-PL-IA
   'you (p) cause him/her/it to want’

(43) mi-ťøy-e-y-ha-ŋ (1921)
   2A-3sO.cry-CAU-SE-PL-IA
   'you (p) cause him/her/it to cry’

(44) mi-l-o-ko-li-y-ha-ŋ (2168)
   2A-3sO.do/make-finish-SE-PL-IA
   'you (p) finish doing/making it’

(45) mi-l-o-čupo-w-ha-ŋ (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 2s-love-PAS-PST-PL
   '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 -w:

(48) mi-men' o-ha-ki-a-ŋ (891) (49) mi-men' o-ha-ki-a-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-ki-a-t-aŋ (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 -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 \( \tilde{c}, \tilde{s}, n', \tilde{f} \). Below, examples of subject marking (left column) are contrasted with examples of possessive marking (right column):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(51)</th>
<th>a-kt-( \tilde{a} ) (290)</th>
<th>a-( \tilde{t} )la (148)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sS-be-( \Lambda )</td>
<td>1sPOS-wife</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I was’</td>
<td>‘my wife’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(52)</th>
<th>me-kt-( iy ) (297)</th>
<th>mi-pa( \tilde{\eta} ) (140)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2sms-be-PST</td>
<td>2sPOS-mother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘you (m) were’</td>
<td>‘your (m) mother’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(53)</th>
<th>pe-kt-( iy ) (315)</th>
<th>pu-pulu( \tilde{\epsilon} ) (149)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2sfS-be-PST</td>
<td>2sfPOS-husband</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘you (f) were’</td>
<td>‘your (f) husband’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(54)</th>
<th>o-kot-( iy ) (298)</th>
<th>o-n-( a\tilde{t}l)pa (102)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3sS-be-PST</td>
<td>3sPOS-REL-chicken</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘he was’</td>
<td>‘his chicken’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(55)</th>
<th>ke-kt-( iy ) (299)</th>
<th>ki-kot (114)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1ps-be-PST</td>
<td>1pPOS-water</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘we were’</td>
<td>‘our water’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(56)</th>
<th>me-kt-( iy)-ha (300)</th>
<th>me-n-( e)la-ha (106)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2s-be-PST-PL</td>
<td>2POS-REL-yucca-PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘you (p) were’</td>
<td>‘your (p) yucca’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(57)</th>
<th>( \tilde{\epsilon}-kt-( iy ) (301)</th>
<th>( \tilde{\epsilon})-mna (138)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3ps-be-PST</td>
<td>3pPOS-road</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘they were’</td>
<td>‘their road’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 1- which has the same function. It is used when the verb stem begins with a vowel:

(60) 1-am-ag (2054)  
3ss-eat-IA  
‘he eats’

(61) 1-e-n-ag (2076)  
3ss-give-RFL-IA  
‘he gives himself’

(2) A third person singular subject can furthermore be referred to by means of a modified stem-initial m, n, t, s:

(63) men’o-it-ag (1018) cf. a-per’o-it-ag (1016)  
3ss.want-PAS-IA 1ss.want-PAS-IA  
‘he is wanted’ ‘I am wanted’

(64) pol-iy (2784) cf. a-kl-iy (2784)  
3ss.die-PST 1ss.die-PST  
‘he died’ ‘I died’

(65) t’øy-ag (2060) cf. a-yoy-ag (2060)  
3ss.cry-IA 1ss.cry-IA  
‘he cries’ ‘I cry’

(66) sil-ag (1127) cf. mi-hil-mulo-pe-ê-ag (1621)  
3ss.speak-IA 2ss.speak-begin-NE-FAC-ABL  
‘he speaks’ ‘before you begin to speak’

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:

\[
* g + \#p > \#m \\
* g + \#k > \#g \\
* g + \#y > \#t \\
* g + \#h > \#s \\
\]

(3) another difference between the nominal possessor paradigm and the verbal subject paradigm is that third person plural marker \( i- \) 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 \( i- \), occurs before \( t \) and epenthetic \( n \). Compare:

(67) \( \dot{e}t-yoy-ag \) (1917) \( \dot{e}t-\dot{y}p \) (47)

3ps-cry-IA

‘they cry’

3pPOS-house

‘their hous(es)’

(68) \( \dot{e}t-am-ag \) (2054) \( i-n-atel\dot{p}a \) (105)

3ps-eat-IA

‘they eat’

3pPOS:REL-chicken

‘their chickens’

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(i)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m</td>
<td>m(i)-</td>
<td>m(i)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f</td>
<td>p(i)-</td>
<td>m(i)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>( \dot{e}t-_/p, k, m, y, h, V )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l/ _V</td>
<td>i/ _\dot{e}, t, r, s, š, n, n', l, f'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#m, #p, #t, #s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.2.2. Agent markers

The first and second person affixes a-, mi-, pi-, ki-, mi- ... -ha, and the third person plural affix é-, which are used to refer to a possessor or to a subject, can also be used to indicate an agent. However, the prefix é- is only used as an agent marker when the object is a third person plural. Examples:

(69) a-po'l-aq (685)
1sA-3sO.love-IA
‘I love him/her/it’

(70) mi-men'aq (807)
2sma-3sO.want-IA
‘you (m) want him/her/it’

(71) pi'l-o-w (2880)
2sfA-3sO.do-PST
‘you (f) did it’

(72) ki-po'l-aq (688)
1pa-3sO.love-IA
‘we love him/her/it’

(73) mi-men'o-w-ha-p (810)
2A-3sO.want-SE-PL-IA
‘you (p) want him/her/it’

In addition, Cholón has two different prefixes to indicate a third person singular agent: i- and y-, and one suffix to designate a third person plural agent: -la. The third person singular agent marker y- 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 *y ‘3sA’+ po ‘3pO’ (cf. *y + #p > #m, section 7.2.1):

(75) i-men'aq (808)
3sA-3sO.want-IA
‘he wants him/her/it’

(76) y-a-kole-kte i-men'aq (1748)
3sA-1sO-love-INF 3sA-3sO.want-IA
‘he wants to love me’

(77) y-a-hia-p (1648)
3sA-1sO-wait.for-IA
‘he waits for me’

In the latter, -la is also either not followed by any suffix, or followed by the anteriority marker -(k)e:

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).
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 -(k)a(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 -(n)o, because such verb forms are considered to be intransitive, and the third person plural subject marker of intransitive verbs is regularly -(č)i-):

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)  l-o-Čapo-w-la-g (2169)  3sO-do-do.tenderly-SE-3pA-IA
     ‘they do it tenderly’

(92)  l-o-kol-iy-la-g (2168)  3sO-do-finish-SE-3pA-IA
     ‘they finish doing it’

(*l-o-la-Čap-ag and *l-o-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)  l-o-kloh-a-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, ė- instead of -la is used. In one of them ė- occurs before a transitive stem with a modified initial consonant m indicating a third person singular object:

(95)  ė-mal ōw-e-g (2230)  (< pal ōw-e(h) ‘(to) benefit’)  
     3ps-3sO-benefit-VB-IA
     ‘they benefit him/her/it’

In the other example, ė- occurs before a stem beginning with p (cf. ė- = 3pA, when followed by po- ‘3pO’):

(96)  ė-a-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 ė- as an agent marker in ė-mal ōw-e-g and ė-a-paso-lam-he is disregarded).
Table 7.2. Agent markers

<table>
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<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<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>či-/ _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) ɛi-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-2-o-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, g, f, 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-IA ‘he burns/bites him/her/it’
(103) i-yol-ay (687) (< kole ‘(to) love’) 3sA-3so.love-IA ‘he loves him/her/it’
(104) a-sina-y (1741) (< hina ’(to) hear’)
2sA-3sO.hear-IA
‘I hear him/her/it’

(105) an-t’el i-t’p-ag (2481) (< yap ‘(to) catch/take’)
one-CL.truncal 3sA-3sO.catch-IA
‘He catches another one’.

A third person singular direct object can also be indicated by means of the prefixes l- and õ-o-. The former appears when the verb stem begins with a vowel:

(106) a-l-ø-a (2138)  (107) i-l-o-w (775)
1sA-3sO.make-IA 3sA-3sO-make-PST
‘I make it’ ‘he made it’

The prefix õ-o- 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 õ-o-. 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) õ-o-kole-khe a-kt-a (1796)  (109) õ-o-kole-khe õ-e-kt-a (1802)
3sO-love-SIM 1sA-be-IA 3sO-love-SIM 3p8-be-IA
‘I am loving him’ ‘they are loving him’

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-y (1926)
3sO.eat-SE-3sA-IA
‘they eat something’

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)-’3p0’ > m(o)-’3sA,3pO’.

(111) mo-lo-y (2220)  (112) mi-po-kol’-ag (2916)
3sA,3p0.wet-PST 2sA-3p0-love-IA
‘he wet them’ ‘you love them’

An interesting case is <incollan>, which, according to Pedro de la Mata, means ‘He loves us’: i-n-kol’-ag ‘3sA-1p0-love4A’. The prefix -n- should then refer to a first person plural, which would be anomalous. However, the form may be mistaken for
*i-poθ*-**ap**: 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>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>m(i)- ... -ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 fi</td>
<td>p(i)-</td>
<td>m(i)- ... -ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>o- \ iV</td>
<td>p(o)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#m, #ŋ, #f', #h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yo- / ... -(k)he + k(o)t</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: 1p-O-2A-stem(-SE)(-ha). This reversed order may cause ambiguity. For instance, the form

(113)  

*ki-m-kol*-**ap** (1664)  
1pO-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-puč*-**ap** (1689)  
1pPO-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 1pPO-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) \[ mi-tu-p \ ki-m-kol'-ap (1664) \]
\[ 2s-AD-ABL \ 1pO-2A-love-IA \]
‘You love us’.

(116) \[ mi-na-ha-tu-p \ ki-hač \ ki-m-a-tač-iy-ha (1681) \]
\[ 2POS-CON-PL-AD-ABL \ 1pPOS-field 1pO-2A-APL-3sO.see-SE-PL \]
‘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: | a- | + -(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 *y ‘3sO’ + p-a-ha:*

(117) \[ mučap m-a-ha-tiki-ap (2129) \]
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) \[ a-a-kot-ap (555) \]
\[ 3SS-1SO.APL-be-IA \]
‘it is for me’/ ‘I have’
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-to-p   ki-m-a-hi-t-y-ha-ŋ (1656)
2POS-CON-PL-AD-ABL 1po-2s-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.OAP’ 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-hil-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-y (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) ki-p-hin-ag (2067)
    1ps-1pREC-hear-IA
    ‘we hear each other’

(131) ki-m-kol-ag (2068)
    1ps-1pB-REC-love-IA
    ‘we love for ourselves/ each other’

(132) e1m-men-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 -g-, 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 g- ‘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>
<th></th>
<th>S</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>B</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3s:</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>i-</td>
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</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)y, the stem extension and past tense markers -(i)y and -e(y), or the derivational suffix -(k)e(h) ‘causativizer’. Regularly, the vowel of a consonantal stem is also suppressed when the stem is followed by the purposive subordinator -(e)ć. (The suffix -(e)ć 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’, ë ‘(to) give birth’, es ‘(to) enter’, lùyùm ‘(to) suffer’, l’up ‘(to) eat/swallow something’, puî ‘(to) fall’, ñayëñayë ‘(to) whip’, šepos ‘(to) blow’;
(ii) ki ‘(to) become’ or ending in ki: ayki ‘(to) stay’, haki ‘(to) think’, lusaki ‘(to) pity’, tiki ‘(to) be(come)’;
(iii) compound stems formed by means of the bound verbs -pit ‘(to) do while passing by’ and -pul ‘(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’, lùyù ‘(to) go (away)’ and t(o)ŋ ‘(to) be (seated)’ are used impersonally, their stem is kot, lù and tø, 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)o ‘incompletive aspect marker’, -(e)y ‘stem extension and past tense marker’, -(i)y/-w ‘stem extension and past tense marker’, -(e)c ‘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)o, -(e)y, -(i)y, -(e)c, 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)p ‘(to) walk’, do. Examples:

(133) a-kot-aŋ (292) ke-kt-e-g (293)
    3sS-be-IA  lps-be-PST-IA
    ‘he is’    ‘we were’

(135) me-kt-iy (297) a-kt-e (423)
    2sS-be-PST  lss-be-PURP
    ‘you were’  ‘so that I am’

(137) a-a-tp-eh-t-aŋ (934)
    1sA-3SO-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’, pîlë(h) ‘(to) break’, lo(h) ‘(to) wet’ and l’u(h) ‘(to) anoint someone/something’. These verbs drop the
ending h before the incompletive aspect marker -(a)g and stem extender -(i)y: *hiah-aq > hia-q, *hiah-iq > hia-y. Stem extender -(e)y does not occur with verbs of this class, and subordinator -(e)a is not directly suffixed to the verb stem, but to the future marker -(k)e(t). 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-milə-t-q (2859)
1sA-380-break-IA
‘I break him/her/it’

(139)  a-ø-lo-g (962)
1sA-380-wet-IA
‘I wet it’

(140)  a-ø-lo-y (963)
1sA-380-wet-PST
‘I wet it’

(141)  a-ø-loh-t-e (966)
1sA-380-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)g and by the stem extenders -(i)y and -(e)y; lateral l, the segment preceding the ending e, is then palatalized: *kole-(a)g > kol'-ag, *kole-(i)y > kol'-iy; *kole-e > kol'-e. The suffix -(e)a ‘factivizer’ is suffixed to the non-reduced stem in e and -(e)a ‘purposive subordinator’ to future marker -(k)e(t). Verbs of class 3 are transitive, and are causativized by means of the suffix -ka(h). Examples:

(145)  a-pol'-aq (685)  a-pol(e) ‘(to) love someone/something’
1sA-380-love-IA
‘I love him/her/it’

(144)  a-pol'-iy (691)
1sA-380-love-PST
‘I loved him/her/it’
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-š-y-e-g*) and -(i)y (*š-y-i-y*), viz. in past tense forms, or the ending -kt-ë, have not been encountered. Examples:

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 -(a)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 -(a)ë is attached to the non-reduced, vocalic stem. Subordinated forms in -ë-(k)t-ë 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:
5: verbs like *pen’(o) ‘(to) want’ with a vocalic stem ending in o. The stem drops the ending o when followed by the incomplete aspect marker -(a)ø. *pen’o-aø > pen’-aø. 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)ø is suffixed to the non-reduced stem in o and subordinator -(e)ø 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 -(k)e(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:

(158)  a-men’-aø (806)  < men’(o) ‘(to) want someone/something’
       1sA-3sO.want-IA
       ‘I want him/her/it’

(159)  p-a-a-aø (1)  (160)  a-l-o-w-e (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-aø (2162)
       1sA-3sO-do/make-ICA-IA
       ‘I cause him/her/it to do/make’.

(162)  a-men’o-kah-t-aø (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-po (863)  ‘(3s) having to be wanted by me’, ‘that he/she/it is having to be wanted by me’

(170)  mi-pen’o-wuc (1230)  ‘your lover’
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 7.5. Verbs of class 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and their stems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>class</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>reducible by the suppression of</th>
<th>before</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>consonantal</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>y, -iy, -e(y), -e ( \mathcal{E} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-(k)e(h)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>consonantal in h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>-(a)( \mathcal{E} ), -(i)y, -(k)e(h)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>vocalic in e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>-(a)( \mathcal{E} ), -(i)y, -(e)y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>vocalic in a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>-(i)y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>vocalic in o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>-(a)( \mathcal{E} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As regards the use of the subordinator and nominalizer -(e)\( \mathcal{E} \), we have seen that
(i) verbs of class 1 have only one form in -(e)\( \mathcal{E} \), a form in which -(e)\( \mathcal{E} \) ‘subordinator’ is suffixed to the reduced, consonantal stem;
(ii) class 2 verbs have also only one form in -(e)\( \mathcal{E} \): a form in which subordinator -(e)\( \mathcal{E} \) occurs after the future marker -(k)t(e);
(iii) verbs of class 3 and 5 have two forms in -(e)\( \mathcal{E} \): a nominalized form in which -(e)\( \mathcal{E} \) ‘factizer’ is attached to the non-reduced, vocalic stem; and a subordinated form in which -(e)\( \mathcal{E} \) ‘subordinator’ is suffixed to future marker -(k)t(e);
(iv) verbs of class 4 have one form in -(e)\( \mathcal{E} \). In this form nominalizer -(e)\( \mathcal{E} \) is also suffixed to the non-reduced, vocalic stem.

De la Mata names the forms in -(e)\( \mathcal{E} \) ‘subjunctives’, which he translates as ‘present participles’ or as subordinate 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 + swith 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:

(175) \[ mi-top-hu \quad (541) \]
1s\( \mathcal{E} \).be.(seated)-SR
‘(1s) being.(seated)’,
‘that I am (seated)’

(176) \[ a-o-loh-hu \quad (966) \]
1sA-3\\( \mathcal{E} \)s-O-wet-SR
‘(1s) wetting it’, ‘that I wet it’

(177) \[ pal'ov \quad mi-kot-hu, \quad ok-pit \quad pal'ov a-kot-t-\( \mathcal{E} \) \quad (399) \]
good 2s\( \mathcal{E} \).be-SR 1s-also good 1s\( \mathcal{E} \).be-f-IA
‘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</th>
<th>reduced stem</th>
<th>non-reduced stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>class 1</td>
<td>-(e)č ‘PURP’</td>
<td>-hu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>class 2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-(k)t-e č ‘PURP’</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)ŋ:

(178)  a-t'm-oŋ (938)
| 1sA-3sO.know-IA |
| ‘I know something’ |

cf. (939) a-t’m-o-e
| 1sA-3sO.know-FAC |
| ‘that I know something’ |

cf. (941) a-t'm-o-lam-he
| 1sA-3sO.know-FN1-BEN |
| ‘that I have to know something’ |

cf. (939) a-t’m-o-po-ke
| 1sA-3sO.know-FN2-ANT |
| ‘that I would have known it’ |

(ii) an o-stem which is extended by means of the stem extender and past tense marker -w:

(179)  a-t’m-o-w (939)
| 1sA-3sO.know-PST |
| ‘I knew something’ |

(iii) a nominalized form in -(e)č and a subordinated form in -kt-eč:

(180)  a-t’m-o-e (939)
| 1sA-3sO.know-FAC |
| ‘that I know something’ |

(181)  a-t’m-o-kt-eč (939)
| 1s8-3sO.know-F-PURP |
| ‘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:

\[(182)\]
\[
a-t\`am-ag (938)
3\text{S}-3\text{O}.know-\text{IA}
\]
\[
\text{cf. } mi-t\`am-ag (938)
2\text{S}-3\text{O}.know-\text{IA}
\]
\[
\text{‘he knows something’ ‘you know something’}
\]

(iii) it can be causativized by means of the derivational suffix \(-(ke)h\), attached to the reduced consonantal stem:

\[(183)\]
\[
i-t\`m-e-g (944)
3\text{A}-3\text{O}.know-CAU-\text{IA}
\]
\[
\text{‘he causes to know it’/‘he teaches it’}
\]

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 \(-(a)g\) ‘incompletive aspect’ and \(-(ke)h\) ‘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 \(t < y:\)
\[
t(a)m(o) < y(a)m \text{ ‘(to) know’\text{, normally indicating a third person direct object (see section 7.2.3), and it is causativized by means of the suffix -ka(h):}
\]

\[(184)\]
\[
a-t\`m-o-ka-g (942)
1\text{S}-3\text{O}.know-ICA-\text{IA}
\]
\[
\text{‘I cause to know something’}
\]

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 \(a-t\`am-ag\) ‘he knows something’ and \(i-t\`m-ag\) ‘they know something’ above). In addition, \(t(a)m(o)\) is also causativized by means of the suffix \(-(ke)h\), 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 \(i-t\`m-e-g\) ‘He causes to know it’/‘He teaches it’ above), and third person plural agent by means of the suffix \(-la\):
(185)  t'am-č-y-la-g (944)
   3s.o.know-CAU-SE-3PA-IA
   'they cause to know it'/
   'they teach it'

(186)  a-t'm-č-ha-g (944)
   1s.A-3s.o.know-CAU-F-IA
   'I shall cause to know it'/
   'I shall teach it'

(187)  a-t'm-č-ka-g (950)
   1s.A-3s.o.know-CAU-IC-A-IA
   'I cause to teach it'

(We may assume that the verb p(t)/y/t(o) '(to) swim', which only occurs once in the data, also belongs to the group of hybrids:

(188)  a-p't-o-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-ha-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-ap (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)  
\[ a-hila-ke-\]  
1sS-speak-CAU-IA  
‘I cause to speak’

(200)  
\[ opey-lo\]  
\[ mo-hina-ke-y \]  
\[ mo-hila-ke-y-pit \]  
\[ deaf-mutes-PL \]  
3sA.3p-hear-CAU-PST  
3sA.3p-speak-CAU-PST-COR  
‘The deaf-mutes, he made them hear and speak’.

3: The verb *hintiw/ hinti* ‘(to) talk’ has a long stem in \( w \) and a reduced stem in a vowel (cf. \( l'(a)w/ l'a \), 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 -(õ)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 nominalizer -(õ)o, regularly attached to a non-reduced stem:

(201)  
\[ mi-hintiw-iy \]  
2sS-talk-PST  
‘you talked’

(202)  
\[ a-hintiw-e-ka-\]  
1sS-talk-CAU-ICA-IA  
‘I am joking’

(203)  
\[ a-hinti-po \]  
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)õ ‘incompletive aspect marker’ and -(i)y ‘stem extender’. The stem *lamih* is found in the derived noun *ašwa lamih-uc* (fish kill-AG) ‘fisher’ (1423), the reflexive stem *lamih-n(o)* (kill-RFL) ‘(to) kill oneself’ (2139), and in the following example:

(204)  
\[ ašwa mi-po-lamih-te-he \]  
\[ mi-l'\]  
\[ a-pe-kt-ag \]  
\[ čoti \]  
2sA.3p-kill-INF-BEN  
2sS-go-NE-F-IA  
I.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)a:

(205)  *mućaŋt-p-a-ha-to-kt-aŋ* (2130)  cf.  *a-o-ta-kt-aŋ* (2119)
  prayer 1ps-3po-apl-pl-do-f-IA  1sa-3so-do-f-IA
  ‘we shall pray for them’  ‘I shall do it’

(206)  *mućaŋ ke-t-to-kt-aŋ* (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)  *a-maksai-kian-ko* (1634)  cf.  *a-maksay-kt-aŋ* (1633)
  3ss-be.happy-re-dem  3ss-be.happy-f-IA
  ‘he who rejoices’  ‘he will rejoice’

6: The verb *l(a)w/l(a)  ‘(to) go (away)’ also has two stems: *l(a)w* and *l(a). It is not the short stem *l(a) which occurs before the incompleted aspect marker -(a)ŋ and the stem extenders -e(y) and -(i)y, as might be expected, but the elongated stem, *l(a)w*. 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 ‘incompleted aspect marker’; (ii) by the stem extension and past tense markers -e(y) and -(i)y; (iii) the by purposive subordinator -(e)č (see the verbs of class 1):

(209)  *a-l’w-aŋ*  ‘I go’ (904)
(210)  *a-l’aw-aŋ*  ‘he goes’ (9045)
(211)  *a-l’w-iy*  ‘I went’ (905)
(212)  *ki-l’w-iy-e*  ‘we had gone’ (906)
(213)  *mi-l’w-e-ŋ*  ‘you went’ (905)
(214)  *a-l’w-eč*  ‘so that I go’ (914)

The short stem *l(a) is used before other suffixes, such as the imperative marker -(k)(i), the future marker -(k)t(e), and the nominalizers -(e)č, -lam, -(g)ő:
The verb \( \text{l(y)a-w/l(y)a} \) thus has three forms ending in -(e)č:
(i) a subordinated form and a nominalized form in which -(e)č is directly preceded by a the stem \( \text{l(y)a-w} \), see the examples \( \text{a-l(y)a-w-e} \) above;
(ii) a subordinated form and a nominalized form in which -(e)č is directly preceded by the stem \( \text{l(y)a} \), see the example \( \text{a-l(y)a-eč} \) above;
(iii) a subordinated form in which -(e)č is preceded by the stem \( \text{l(y)a} + \text{future marker -(k)t(e)} \) (see the example \( \text{a-l(y)a-ak-te-eč} \) above).

Unlike a verb of class 1, \( \text{l(y)a-w/l(y)a} \) 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-eč.

The verb \( \text{l(y)a-w/l(y)a} \) ‘(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)č is directly preceded by a the stem \( \text{l(y)a-w} \), see the examples \( \text{a-l(y)a-w-e} \) above;
(ii) a subordinated form and a nominalized form in which -(e)č is directly preceded by the stem \( \text{l(y)a} \), see the example \( \text{a-l(y)a-eč} \) above;
(iii) a subordinated form in which -(e)č is preceded by the stem \( \text{l(y)a} \) + future marker -(k)t(e) (see the example \( \text{a-l(y)a-ak-te-eč} \) above).

Unlike a verb of class 1, \( \text{l(y)a-w/l(y)a} \) 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-eč.

The verb \( \text{l(y)a-w/l(y)a} \) ‘(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)č is directly preceded by a the stem \( \text{l(y)a-w} \), see the examples \( \text{a-l(y)a-w-e} \) above;
(ii) a subordinated form and a nominalized form in which -(e)č is directly preceded by the stem \( \text{l(y)a} \), see the example \( \text{a-l(y)a-eč} \) above;
(iii) a subordinated form in which -(e)č is preceded by the stem \( \text{l(y)a} \) + future marker -(k)t(e) (see the example \( \text{a-l(y)a-ak-te-eč} \) above).

Unlike a verb of class 1, \( \text{l(y)a-w/l(y)a} \) 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-eč.
Impersonal *fa* is only found before the nominalizers -(e)č and -(j)ø:

(227)  o-a-l-a-č (1835)  (228)  o-a-l-a-go-ke (1827)

3s-1s.O.APL-go.away-FAC  3s-1s.O.APL-go.away-FN2-ANT

‘that it goes away from me’  ‘that it had gone away from me’

When *(a)w/*(a) is used impersonally, it thus also has two forms in -(e)č: a subordinated form (see the examples o-a-l-a-č ‘so that it goes away from me’) and a nominalized form (see the example o-a-l-a-č ‘that it goes away from me’); and it also has an irregular future form (see also section 7.1):

(229)  o-ha-l-aw-iy-t-aŋ (1824)

3s-3s.O.APL-go.away-SE-F-IA

‘it will go away from him’

(cf. hint‘iw/ hint‘i ‘(to) talk’ above. However, in the case of hint‘iw/ hint‘i, the long stem in w is not reduced before -(i)y, nor before -(k)e(h)).

7: The verb *(a)woh* ‘(to) carry’, ‘(to) take away’ does not drop the ending *h* before the incomplete aspect marker -(a)ŋ 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:

(230)  a-lah-ŋ (917)  ‘I carry’.
(231)  a-lah-iy (918)  ‘I carried’

The non-reduced stem *awoh* is used before other suffixes, as is usual; and, like a verb of class 2, *awoh* has a ‘present participle’ or ‘subjunctive’ form in -hu and a ‘second subjunctive’ form in -(k)t-eč:

(232)  a-lawoh-t-aŋ (919)  ‘I shall carry’
(233)  ‘aawoh-he (927)  ‘that he carries’
(234)  a-lawoh-lam (924)  ‘(1s) having to carry’, ‘my future carrying’, ‘that I have to carry’
(235)  a-lawoh-hu (923)  ‘that I carry’
(236)  a-lawoh-t-eč (923)  ‘so that I carry’

8: The verb ‘(to) sow’ has an irregular stem: m(ih) instead of *mi(h). 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)ŋ,
the past tense marker -(i)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)õ (past tense forms nor causative forms of m(ih) have not been found):

(237)  
\(a\)-m-\(a\)-g (2007)  
1sS-sow-IA  
‘I sow’

(238)  
\(m\)-m-\(a\)-g (2962)  
2sS-sow-IA  
‘you sow’

(239)  
\(a\)-mih-ia-\(a\) (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)õ, the stem extension and past tense markers -(i)y and -(e(y), and the causativizer -(k)e(h). Before other suffixes the stem ših is used:

(240)  
i-o-šk-\(a\)-g (951)  
3sA-3sO-drink-IA  
‘he drinks it’

(241)  
i-o-šk-\(i\)-y-\(a\)-g (951)  
2A-3sO-drink-SE-PL-IA  
‘they drink it’

(242)  
a-o-šk-\(c\)-y (952)  
1sA-3sO-drink-PST  
‘I drank it’

(243)  
a-o-šk-\(c\)-e (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-\(t\)-\(e\) (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-\(a\)-g (2781)  
1sA-3sO-take.away-IA  
‘I take it away’

(247)  
a-o-n'\(h\)-\(a\) (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 -(i)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'i/ň(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)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-g (955) cf. mi-o-ših-iah-ha-go-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) a-ših-la-kia-y (956) cf. a-ših-iah-la-č (960)
    3sO-drink-3PA-RE-PST
    ‘they drank it again’
    3sO-drink-RE-3PA-FAC
    ‘that they drank it again’

(250) a-ših-la-kiah-t-a (957) cf. a-ših-iah-la-kt-eč (960)
    3sO-drink-3PA-RE-F-IA
    ‘they will drink it again’
    3sO-drink-RE-3PA-F-PURP
    ‘so that they will drink it again’

11: The stem of the verb t(o)ŋ ‘(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 incompletive aspect marker -(a)y, the stem extension and past tense markers -(i)y and -(k)e(h), and the purposive subordinator -(e)č. However, third person singular and plural have irregular forms:
   (i): in the incompletive aspect form, third person singular and plural are not followed by the incompletive aspect marker -(a)y.
   (ii): in the incompletive aspect form and in a past tense form in -(i)y, third person plural has a non-reduced stem:

(251) a-tp-aŋ (505) ‘I am/sit’    a-tp-ţi (511) ‘I was/sat’
    a-top (507) ‘he is/sits’    i-top-ţi (516) ‘they were/sat’
    i-top (510) ‘they are/sit’    a-top-eč (515) ‘so that I am/sit’

When the verb toŋ is used impersonally, it has not only just one stem, but it also lacks the ending -(a)y in the incompletive aspect forms of first and third person singular and plural, and of second person singular:
12: Normally, the stem of the verb *t(u)p* '(to) walk' is regularly reduced before the imperfective aspect marker -(a)ŋ, 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-tup-aŋ* (931)  (258) *u-o-tup-eŋ* (933)  
3ps-walk-IA    3sa-3so-walk-cau-IA  
'they walk'     'he/she/it causes him/her/it to walk'  

In the causative paradigm, we find a second *u-o-tup-eŋ* 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 *ø-tup-eŋ-la* '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:

\[
\begin{array}{l}
a-tup-aŋ & \text{‘I walk’} \\
mu-tup-aŋ & \text{‘you walk’} \\
u-tuŋ-aŋ & \text{‘he/she/it walks’} \\
kə-tuŋ-aŋ & \text{‘we walk’} \\
mu-tuŋ-iŋ-ha-ŋ & \text{‘you (p) walk’} \\
tuŋ-iŋ-la-ŋ & \text{‘they walk’} \\
\end{array}
\]

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 \( u-\text{tp-ag} \) and the person suffix \(-la\) in \( \text{tup-iy-la-}g \) indicate, respectively, a third person singular agent and a third person plural agent. The regular intransitive counterparts of \( u-\text{tp-ag} \) and \( \text{tup-iy-la-}g \) would have been \( \text{tup-ag} \) (1151), as encountered in the first conjugation, and \( *u-\text{tp-ag} \), respectively. In addition, \( (f)u-\) ‘(to) walk’ does not have a purposive form in \(-e\) like the other class 1 verbs, but it does have a purposive form in \(-(k)j-e\)\(\tilde{c}\), which the other verbs of this class lack:

\[
\begin{align*}
(259) & \quad a-tu-\text{p-}_e\tilde{c} (932) \\
& 1\text{S-}\text{walk-F-PURP} \\
& \text{‘so that I walk’}
\end{align*}
\]

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 \( o-\text{i-}t \) ‘make-PAS’ (see the example above, and see the examples in section 7.3.4.1). In the latter, the stem \( lo-\text{i-}t \) instead of \( o-\text{i-}t \) is encountered:

\[
\begin{align*}
(260) & \quad a-\text{l-o-}i-t-a\tilde{g} (2161) \quad \text{‘I am made’} \\
(261) & \quad a-\text{l-o-}i-t-iy (2161) \quad \text{‘I was made’} \\
(262) & \quad a-\text{l-o-}i-t-a\tilde{g} (2161) \quad \text{‘I shall be made’}
\end{align*}
\]

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 \( e\-\text{i-}t \) ‘they are made’, instead of \( e\-o-\text{i-}t-a\tilde{g} \). The third person singular, on the other hand, has the regular form: \( l-o-\text{i-}t-a\tilde{g} \). It is possible that in the non-regular forms the initial segment \( I- \) 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 \( lo-\text{i-}t-la-\tilde{g} \) seems to favour the interpretation of \( I- \) 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 \( h: \text{lupoh-}, \text{pištoh-}, \text{t'-m-eh} \), 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:
(263)  a-ʾm-e-ka-g (950)
   1sA-3so.know-CAU-ICA-IA
   ‘I cause to let know it’, ‘I cause to teach it’

(264)  a-o-la-po-ka-g (972)
   1sA-3so-interior-burn-ICA-IA
   ‘I cause him/her/it to abhor’

(265)  a-mot  p-a-pišto-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)  mi-špo-w-t-ap (2949)  cf.  mi-špo-kt-ap (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 k, and in one form an element h were found inserted after a or o. In these forms, k and 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)  mi-kot-ha-k-lam-he (446)  (268)  a-ʾl-a-k-p-ap-ip (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)  mi-menʾo-k-ha-ki (835)  (270)  mi-menʾo-k-ha-k-t-ap (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)  menʾo-k-la-kah-t-ap (874)
   3sO.want-(k)-3PA-ICA-F-IA
   ‘they will make him/her/it want it’

(272)  a-paʾa-k-lam-he (2180)  (273)  u-ku-penʾo-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)  
\begin{align*}
&i-l-o-áap-ag (2169) \\
&3SA-3SO-do-do.tenderly-IA \\
&‘he does it tenderly’
\end{align*}

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-mma-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)  
\begin{align*}
&šal’a-maŋ kuka puč a-lu-kí-ap (1196) \\
&basket-INES coca accumulation 3SS-interior-be-IA \\
&‘There is plenty of coca in the basket’.
\end{align*}

(276)  
\begin{align*}
&al’hi a-lu-pakt-ap (2653) & (277) m-a-lu-po-p (190) \\
&sweet 1SS-interior-be-IA & 2SA-1SO-interior-burn-IA \\
&‘I am sweet’. & ‘you abhor me’
\end{align*}

The compound lu-pak(o)t/lu-pok(o) ‘be inside’ also means ‘(to) think’, ‘(to)
remember’, ‘(to) advise’:

(278)  
\begin{align*}
&ináa-m mu/pu-lu-pak-t-ap. Dios-he a-lu-pakt-ap (163) \\
&what-QM 2sm/2sf-intérieur-be-IA. God-BEN 1SS-interior-be-IA \\
&‘What do you (m/f) think of? ‘I think of God’.
\end{align*}

(279)  
\begin{align*}
&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-čēh-te-he & a-ťa-ki-ap-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’.
\end{align*}

lum ‘top’;
(280)  
\[ n\text{-}ansik-sim\text{-}\text{çot} \ ku-lum\text{-}t\text{ap-o} \]
work-EMP-thus  lPA-top-3sO.catch-FN2  
‘It is work that we thus have to embrace’.

(281)  
\[ ana \ mek \ šokot\text{-}am \ mu\text{-}lum\text{-}čk\text{-}iy\text{-}ha \ pana\text{-}te\text{-}wa \]
how.many all river-OM 2s-top-pass-PST-PL road-AD-TOP  
‘How many rivers did you pass on your road?’

(282)  
\[ n\text{'ammito} \ ‘the owner’ (2007) < a\text{-}n\text{'an\text{-}mit\text{-}o} \]
3sS-face-3sO.win-FN2  
lit.: ‘(3s) having to be face-won’

(283)  
\[ a\text{-}n\text{'an\text{-}puil\text{-}he} \]
3sS-face-fall-SIM  
‘as he is ashamed’

(284)  
\[ a\text{-}l\text{'a\text{-}lam} \ a\text{-}kot\text{-}nap \ a\text{-}n\text{'an\text{-}šip\text{-}ag} \]
1sS-go-FN1 3sS-be-SEQ 1sS-face-break.off-IA  
‘Because I have to go, I hurry’.

(285)  
\[ mel\text{‘us\text{-}pit} \ insoney\text{-}tu\text{-}p \ i\text{-}n\text{'an\text{-}tug\text{-}šipe\text{-}y} \]
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)\text{gui} ‘incompletive aspect’ and -(i)y ‘stem extender’, ‘past tense marker’. Bound verbs do not occur with the stem extender -(a)\text{gui}; but they may be followed by a derivational suffix, such as -(k)ia(h) ‘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)  
\[ -\text{č(h)} \ ‘(to) wander’ \]

(286)  
\[ a\text{-}l\text{‘o\text{-}č\text{‘e\text{-}g}} \]
1sA-3sO-do-wander-IA  
‘I do it while wandering’

(287)  
\[ a\text{-}l\text{‘o\text{-}č\text{‘e\text{-}h\text{-}t\text{-}ag}} \]
1sA-3sO-do-wander-F-IA  
‘I shall do it while wandering’

The bound verb -(č(h)) behaves like a verb of class 2: \( {\text{v}}_{h} > {\text{v}}_{i} \). -(a)\text{gui}. -(i)y. It is also found with the verbs t(o)\text{gui} ‘(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 múč(h) ‘(to) fulfil’:

\[
\text{mu-múč-eh-pale-kia-õ (2378)}
\]
\[
\text{2sA-3sO.put.down-CAU-pass.by-RE-IA}
\]
\[
\text{‘you fill up’}
\]

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):

\[
\text{kas male-pale-kia-õ (2378)}
\]
\[
\text{wind 3sO.pass.by-pass.by-RE-IA}
\]
\[
\text{‘The wind blows from all parts’}.
\]

When pale is used as a bound verb, it is always followed by -(k)ia(h).

3: -pit‘ (to) pass by’

\[
\text{a-l-o-pit-ag (2176)}
\]
\[
\text{1sA-3sO-do-pass.by-IA}
\]
\[
\text{‘I do it while passing by’}
\]

The stem of -pit‘ is never reduced. The bound verb -pit‘ is also found with other verbs:

\[
\text{a-l-o-pit-t-ag (2176)}
\]
\[
\text{1sA-3sO-do-pass.by-IA}
\]
\[
\text{‘I shall do it while passing by’}
\]
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*:

B. Manner

1. *-čap(o)* ‘(to) do tenderly’

2. *-k(o)l(oh)* ‘(to) finish’

The bound verb *-k(o)l(oh)* 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 *-k(o)l(oh)* can also occur with the suffix -(k)ia(h): -k(o)l(oh)-ia(h) ‘(to) finish a reiterative event’:
236

(306)  \textit{a-l-o-kloh-ia-p} (2178)
\begin{tabular}{l}
1SA-3SO-do/make-finish-RE-IA
\end{tabular}

‘I finish doing/making it again’

The bound verb \textit{-k(o)l(oh)} is also found with other stems:

(307)  \textit{a-a-shih-kol-ag} (2083)
\begin{tabular}{l}
1SA-3SO-drink-finish-IA
\end{tabular}

‘I finish drinking it’

(The stem \textit{k(o)l} is used as a non-bound verb, meaning ‘(to) die’).

2: \textit{-\textit{fuk(oh)}} ‘(to) have finished’

(308)  \textit{a-l-o-fuk-ag} (2173)
\begin{tabular}{l}
1SA-3SO-do-have.finished-IA
\end{tabular}

‘I have finished doing it’

(309)  \textit{a-l-o-fukoh-t-ag} (2173)
\begin{tabular}{l}
1SA-3SO-do-have.finished-F-IA
\end{tabular}

‘I shall have finished doing it’

Like \textit{-k(o)l(oh)}, \textit{-\textit{fuk(oh)}} also drops the segments \textit{oh} before \textit{-ag} and \textit{-iy}. The stem \textit{-\textit{fuk(oh)}} has not been found with other verbs, but it has been found functioning as a non-bound verb. In that case, the vowel \textit{u} stead of the segment \textit{oh} is suppressed when the stem is preceded by a person marker. (The suppressed stem vowel \textit{u} is then copied by the vowel of the person marker):

(310)  \textit{a-fuk-ag} (2548)
\begin{tabular}{l}
3SS-have.finished-IA
\end{tabular}

‘It finishes’

(311)  \textit{ku-a-l' koh-iy-nap} (2549)
\begin{tabular}{l}
1PA-3SO-have.finished-SE-SEQ
\end{tabular}

‘after having finished it’

3: \textit{-mul(o)} ‘(to) begin’, ‘(to) start’

(312)  \textit{a-l-o-mul-ag} (2172)
\begin{tabular}{l}
1SA-3SO-do-start-IA
\end{tabular}

‘I start doing it’

(313)  \textit{a-l-o-mulo-kt-ag} (2172)
\begin{tabular}{l}
1SA-3SO-do-start-F-IA
\end{tabular}

‘I shall start doing it’

The bound verb \textit{-mul(o)} behaves like a verb of class 5: \textit{o > o'/ -(a)g}. It has also been found with other verbs:

(314)  \textit{t'i mahat-mul-w} (2549)
\begin{tabular}{l}
rain 3SS.fall.down-start-PST
\end{tabular}

‘The rain started to fall down’.

(315)  \textit{a-selh-mul-ag} (2081)
\begin{tabular}{l}
3SS-grow-start-IA
\end{tabular}

‘it (seed) starts to grow’
4: -pul 'to rest from’

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:

7.3.4. Derived stems
Derived stems are formed by means of the derivational suffixes -it ‘passive’; -(k)e(h) ‘indirect causative’; -(k)ia(h) ‘reiterative’; -(p)e ‘negative’. (The use of negativizer -(p)e is treated in chapter 11 together with other negators, such as -ên, -mu, -nik). 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 -(k)ia(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)y ‘incompletive aspect marker’ and -(i)ly ‘stem extender’, ‘past tense marker’. Reflexive verbs composed with the suffix -(a)y behave like the verbs of class 5: o is dropped before -(a)y, 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 -\textit{it} ‘passive’

A passive verb can be formed by means of the suffix -\textit{it}. \textit{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:

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(321)] \textit{a-pol\-\textit{it}-ag} (685) \hspace{1cm} \textit{a-kole-it\-ag} (995)
\end{enumerate}

\begin{itemize}
\item 1\textit{S}\textit{A}-3\textit{O}\textit{.love-IA}
\item ‘I love him/her/it’
\item ‘I am loved’
\end{itemize}

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(322)] \textit{i-o-\textit{it}-ag} (2138) \hspace{1cm} \textit{l-o-\textit{it}-ag} (1008)
\end{enumerate}

\begin{itemize}
\item 3\textit{A}-3\textit{O}\textit{-make\-IA}
\item ‘he/she/it makes him/her/it’
\item ‘he/she/it is made’
\end{itemize}

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(323)] \textit{men'\-o-w-la-\textit{it}} (811) \hspace{1cm} \textit{\textit{e}t\-pen'\-o\-\textit{it}-ag} (1021)
\end{enumerate}

\begin{itemize}
\item 3\textit{O}.\textit{want\-SE\-3\textit{P}A\-IA}
\item ‘they want him/her/it’
\item ‘they (p) are wanted’
\end{itemize}

Derived stems with -\textit{it} may have an alternative future form in which future marker -(k)t(e) is not directly suffixed to the non-reduced stem -\textit{it}, but to the stem extender -(i)y (see also section 7.1). This has been found with the verbs \textit{kole/kol} ‘(to) love’ and \textit{pen'\-o} ‘(to) want’, but it may have occurred with other verbs as well:

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(i)] first person singular and plural, and second and third person singular of the verb \textit{kole/kol} ‘(to) love’;
\item[(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 \textit{pen'\-o} ‘(to) want’:
\end{enumerate}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{a-kole-it\-iy-t-ag} (1002) \hspace{1cm} ‘I shall be loved’
\item \textit{mi-kole-it\-iy-t-ag} (1002) \hspace{1cm} ‘you will be loved’
\item \textit{pole-it\-iy-t-ag} (1002) \hspace{1cm} ‘he/she/it is loved’
\item \textit{ki-kole-it\-iy-t-ag} (1002) \hspace{1cm} ‘we shall be loved’
\item \textit{a-pen'\-o\-it\-iy-t-ag} (1022) \hspace{1cm} ‘I shall be wanted’
\end{itemize}

Cf. \textit{mi-kole-it\-iy-ha-kt-ag} (1002) \hspace{1cm} ‘you (p) will be loved’

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{\textit{e}t-kole-it\-iy-t-ag} (1002) \hspace{1cm} ‘they will be loved’
\item \textit{a-o-it\-t-ag} (1013) \hspace{1cm} ‘I shall be made’
\end{itemize}

Verbs formed by means of the derivational suffix -\textit{it} ‘passivizer’, have no forms in -(e)\textit{\textit{e}/(k)t-e\textit{\textit{e}}, but they do have a form in -\textit{hu}:

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(324)] \textit{a-kole-it\-\textit{hu}} (1005)
\item[(325)] \textit{\textit{a}-o-it\-\textit{hu}} (1015)
\end{enumerate}

\begin{itemize}
\item 1\textit{S}S-love-PAS-\textit{SR}
\item ‘that I am loved’
\item 1\textit{S}S-make-PAS-\textit{SR}
\item ‘that I am made’
\end{itemize}
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-a (1941)
1SA-3SO-do-ICA-F-IA
‘I shall cause to do it’

(327) a-tuh-ka-g (980)
1SA-3SO-anoint-ICA-IA
‘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)
2s-walk-SE-PL-IA
‘you (p) walk’

(330) mu-a-tp-e-y-ha-g (933)
2A-3SO-walk-CAU-SE-PL-IA
‘you (p) cause him/her/it to walk’

(331) a-m-hinah-p-ag (1742)
1SA-3SO-hear-NE-IA
‘I do not hear you’

(332) a-o-hina-ke-p (1582)
1SA-3SO-hear-CAU-IA
‘I cause him/her/it to hear’

(333) a-a-l’up-ag (2048)
1SA-3SO-eat-IA
‘I eat something’

(334) a-a-l’up-e-y (1932)
1SA-3SO-eat-CAU-PST
‘I caused him/her/it to eat (something)’

In one case, -(k)e(h) is suffixed to the reduced stem of a verb of class 5:

(335) a-am-ag (2054)
1SA-eat-IA
‘I eat’

(336) a-l-am-e-y (2055)
1SA-3SO-eat-CAU-IA
‘I cause him/her/it to eat’

(337) mi-amo-w-ha-g (2054)
2S-eat-SE-PL-IA
‘you (p) eat’

(338) mi-l-am-e-y-ha-g (2055)
2A-3SO-eat-CAU-SE-PL-IA
‘you (p) cause him/her/it to eat’
(The verbs am(o) and l'up 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)  a-o-hila-ke-g (1583)  ( < 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'm-e-ka-g (950)  cf.  a-t'm-e-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)  (343)  a-o-loh-ia-g (970)
       2sA-3sO-do-RE-IMP  1sA-3sO-wet-RE-IA
       ‘Do it again!’  ‘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) \( a-o-no-\text{ê} \) (2167)  
1ss-make-RFL-FAC  
‘that I make myself’

(346) \( mi-o-no-k \) (2167)  
2ss-make-RFL-IMP  
‘Make yourself!’

(347) \( a-yoketeh-no-w \) (2833)  
1ss-revenge-RFL-PST  
‘I revenged myself’

(348) \( a-yoketeh-no-kt-ag \) (2833)  
1ss-revenge-RFL-F-IA  
‘I shall revenge myself’

(349) \( a-lu-poh-n-ag \) (1720)  
1ss-interior-burn-RFL-PST  
‘I abhor myself’

(350) \( a-n-eštek-o-n-ag \) (2063)  
1ss-REL-cloth-make-RFL-IA  
‘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) \( a-m-kol-\text{ê} \text{-iy} \) me-kt-\text{ê}y (984)  
1SA-2SO-love-PST  2SS-be-PST  
‘You were loved by me’. (lit. ‘I loved you, you were’).

(352) \( crus-te \text{-} l\text{-awin l-o-w-la} \text{-} a-kot-e-p \)  
cross-AD nail 3SO-do-PST-3PA 3SS-be-PST-IA  
\( pol-e-p \)  
mu-y-la-sim  a-kot-e-p (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)y, the stem extenders and past tense markers -(i)y/-w and -(e)y; future marker -(k)it(e)-; imperative markers -(k)iy 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)y
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 ey is in contradiction to what is shown in the conjugation of the verbs k(o)it ‘(to) be’ (class 1) and pole ‘(to) love’ (class 2). In these conjugations, ey is not the ending of the present tense, but a preterite ending (‘preterito imperfecto y perfecto’). The alleged present indicative in ey or, rather, in -g (we have seen that de la Mata’s ending ey should be interpreted as -e-y) 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 -y.

(353) ‘present indicative’ ‘imperfect and perfect indicative’
me-kt-iy-ha-y (294) me-kt-iy-ha-y (300)
2s-be-SE-PL-IA 2s-be-SE-PL-IA
‘you (p) are’ ‘you (p) were’

Apparently, when a verb form ends in -(a)y 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)y 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)y is also shown in the following examples (for more examples, see section 7.1 et seq.):

(354) a-šk-a-y (951)
1sS-drink-IA
‘I drink’

(355) a-šm-e-y (944)
1sA-3sO.know-CAU-IA
‘I cause to know it’/’I teach it’

(356) a-šlo-y (962)
1sA-3sO-wet-IA
‘I wet something’.

(357) a-lo-y-la-y (962)
3sO-wet-SE-3pA-IA
‘They wet him/her/it’.
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, -y, -ey, -w. The main options -i(y)/-w and -e(y) are used under different circumstances. In some cases, however, -e(y) functions as a substitute for -i(y)/-w.

7.4.2.1. Stem extender and past tense marker -i(y)/-w
The allomorphs of the stem extension and past tense marker -i(y)/-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 -i(y) occurs after the reduced stem of a verb of any other class (-iy after a consonant, -y after a vowel). When -i(y) is used after a derivational suffix, however, the derived stem is not reduced. The elements -i(y) 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)õ ‘incompletive aspect’:

(358)  mi-o-lam-iy-ha-õ (1980)  (359)  o-lam-iy-la-õ (2057)
  2A-3sO-kill-SE-PL-IA  3sO-kill-SE-3pA-IA
  ‘you (p) kill him/her/it’
  ‘they kill him/her/it’

(360)  mi-men’o-w-la-õ (810)  (361)  men’o-w-la-õ (811)
  2A-3sO.want-SE-PL-IA  3sO.want-SE-3pA-IA
  ‘you (p) want him/her/it’
  ‘they want him/her/it’

(362)  mi-kole-it’-iy-la-õ (999)  (363)  mi-men’o-ka-y-la-õ (868)
  2s-love-PAS-SE-PL-IA  2A-3sO.want-ICA-SE-PL-IA
  ‘you (p) are loved’
  ‘you (p) cause him/her/it to want’

(364)  men’o-kay-la-õ (868)
  3sO.want-ICA-SE-3pA-IA
  ‘they cause him/her/it to want’

It appears, however, that the forms me-kt-iy-ha-õ ‘you (p) are’ (385) and pol-iy-la-õ ‘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 -i(y) 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)/ć:

(365)  

\[me-kt-iy-ha-ć (423)\]
2s-be-SE-PL-PURP

\[me-tp-iy-ha-ć (544)\]
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)  

\[a\ h n’iy-iy-mu-a (2941)\]
INTJ touch-SE-NE-EX

‘Oh, do not touch it!’

(iv) before subordinator -(na)p ‘after’:

(368)  

\[išaki-pat ku-l koh-iy-nap, ũ i mahat-mulo-w (2549)\]
job-INS 1ps-finish-SE-SEQ rain 3ss.come.down-begin-PST

‘After we had finished the job, it started raining’.

In all other cases, -(i)y/-w functions exclusively as a past tense marker:

(369)  

\[a-pol’-iy (691)\]
1sA-3sO.love-PST

\[mi-pol’-iy-ha (695)\]
2A-3sO.love-PST-PL

‘I loved him/her/it’
‘you (p) loved him/her/it’

(370)  

\[a-men’o-w (812)\]
1sA-3sO.want-PST

\[men’o-w-la (817)\]
3sO.want-PST-3PA

‘I wanted him/her/it’
‘they wanted him/her/it’

(371)  

\[a-t’m-e-y (944)\]
1sA-3sO.know-CAU-PST

\[a-men’o-ka-y (869)\]
1sA-3sO.want-ICA-PST

‘I caused to know it’/ ‘I taught it’
‘I caused him/her/it to want’

(372)  

\[a-ših-ia-y (955)\]
1ss-drink-RE-PST

‘I drank again’

(373)  

\[baptizan a-ki-y-mu a-kot-ag (2656)\]
baptism 3ss-do-SE-NE 3ss-be-IA

‘He is without baptism’.

Past tense forms in -(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 ko(t). Both forms have the same subject:

(377)  
me-kt-iy-ha  me-kt-iy-ha-o (318)
2s-be-PST-PL  2s-be-SE-PL-IA  
’you (p) will have been’

(378)  
ki-pošt-iy  ke-kt-aŋ (712)
1pa-3so.love-PST  1ps-be-IA  
’we will have loved him/her/it’

(379)  
mi-men’a-w  me-kt-aŋ (831)
2sa-3so.want-PST  2ss-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)  
e-kt-iy  ø-(po)kot-te-ke/ø-(po)kot-o-ke (382)
3ps-be-PST  3ss-be-INF-ANT/3ss-be- FN2-ANT  
’they wished they had been’, ‘if only they had been’

(381)  
mi-pol’-iy  ø-(po)kot-te-ke/ø-(po)kot-o-ke (757)
2sa-3so.love-PST  3ss-be-INF-ANT/3ss-be- FN2-ANT  
’You wished you had loved him/her/it’.

(382)  
a-men’a-w  ø-(po)kot-te-ke/ø-(po)kot-o-ke (840)
1sa-3so.want-PST  3ss-be-INF-ANT/3ss-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 -(iy/-w can furthermore be followed by a zero-nominalizer and function
(i) as a 'past participle', translated as an agentive 'the one who ...':

(386)  *ke-kt-e-õ* (299)  (387)  *mi-poʃ-iy-õ* (799)
3s-1p-SEQ-NOM 2sA-3sO.PST-SEQ-NOM
'the one who was' 'you who loved him/her/it'

(388)  *a-men’o-w-o* (861)
1sA-3sO.want-PST-NOM
'I who wanted him/her/it'

(ii) as a noun:

(389)  ina’s-pat-am ki-kaʃ-o-it’-iy-õ-a  ku-μučh-t-aŋ (2858)
what-INS-QM 1s-1s-order-PAS-PST-NOM-TOP 1pA-3sO.fulfil-F-IA
'How shall we fulfil our obligation'.

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)õ:

(391)  *ke-kt-e-ŋ* (299)  (392)  *ki-poʃ-e-ŋ* (694)
1ps-be-PST-IA 1pA-3sO.PST-IA
'we were' '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)  
ma n’alok-al ke-l’w-ey (2887)  (394)  a-sk-ey (952)
INT time-RST 1pS-go-PST 1sS-drink-PST
“We went just at the same time”.

(395)  
an-gel-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-REFL-SEQ-NE-REP-IS-QUOT 3SA.3pO-word-VB-PST
‘and the angel said to them that they should not be afraid’

(396)  
sol-dado-tu-p putam t’ap-ey-la (2882)
soldier-AD-ABL 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)  
o-šik-ey-la-g (951)
3sO-drink-SEQ-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)  
top-e-nap (550)
be.(seated)-SEQ
‘(after) having been.(seated)’

(399)  
kaloč pey-te muč-e-nap, mu-tup-i
plate ground-AD 3sO.put-SEQ-2sS.walk-IMP
mi-net-pat paloš čh-a (2824)
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 l'aw 'to go away from' before the ending -khe 'imperative' (see section 7.4.5), the future marker -(k)t(e) (see section 7.4.4), and the nominalizer -(k)te ‘infinitive’ (see section 7.4.6.2):

(400) a-ha-l'aw-e-khe (1826) a-m-a-l'aw-e-ky-ha-kte (1826)
3sS-3sO.APL-go.away-SE-IMP 3sS-2sO.APL-go.away-SE-PL-F
'May it go away from him/her/it!' ‘May it go away from you (p)!'

(402) a-a-l'aw-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-t-p-e-kte-he a-l'aw-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) muć-e-ki (2728) t'ać-e-k (258)
3sO.put down-SE-IMP 3sO.see-SE-IMP
'Put it down!' ‘Look at it!'

(406) mi-l'ć-e-ki (258)
2sA-3sO.see-SE-IMP
‘Look at it!'

7.4.3. Anteriority marker -(k)ë
We saw that -(k)ë 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)ë also indicates ‘past’, or, rather, ‘anteriority’, when it is attached to past tense forms in (i)y/-w, and nominalized forms in -(k)te ‘infinitive’ and -(p)o ‘future nominalizer 2’. In the former case, -(k)ë is used to form a pluperfect. The ending -(k)ë can be replaced by -ate ‘then’, which can then also occur after the past tense marker -(e)y:

(407) a-pol-iy-e (697) a-pol-'cy-ate (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-kt-iy-e (305) ke-kt-iy-ate (305)
1ps-be-PST-ANT 1ps-be-PST-then
‘we had been’ ‘we had been’
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)  
a-faw-iy-e-wa,  into-n′-am  ki-l-o-go  a-kot-ap.  
3ss-go-PST-ANT-TOP which-CMP-QM 1pa-3so-do-FN2 3ss-be-IA  
pe-n′-af-Ø  a-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  a-ki-y-e.  pol-iy (872)  
marrige 3ss-do-PST-ANT 3ssS.die-PST  
‘After having married, he died’.

(414)  
pol-iy-e.  pinha-wo-w (873)  
3ssS.die-PST-ANT 3ssS.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 -(Ø) ‘future nominalizer 2’ (section 7.4.6.4), in order to form an irrealis. The endings -(k)te-ke and -(Ø)-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 -ap in order to form a future tense and before subordinator -(k)e in order to indicate a purposive clause (see subordinator -(k)t-(k)e’, section 7.4.6); the form -(k)te is used elsewhere. Forms with initial -(k)t- occur after a consonant, those with initial -(k)t- after a vowel. Some examples of the future tense are

(415)  
mi-kot-t-ap (309)  
‘you will be’

(416)  
mi-kot-ha-kt-ap (312)  
‘you (p) will be’

(417)  
mi-pole-kt-ap (704)  
‘you will love him/her/it’

(418)  
mi-men′o-kt-ap (825)  
‘you will want him/her/it’

(419)  
a-loh-la-kt-ap (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-pole-kte* (717) ‘May we love him/her/it!’
(424) *ki-men’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) *palow-mok a-kot-te ø-kot* (370)
    good-hopefully 1ss-be-F 3sS-be
    ‘I wished I had been good’.

(b) *palow 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-F-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 -o, -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 -o, -i, -k, -ki are allomorphs; -o 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) *pole-k, mi-pole-ki* (715) ‘Love him/her/it!’
(430) *mi-pole-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) â-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 -(k)he may be attached to that preceding noun:

(438) santo ki-kot-he (346) ‘I wished we were saints’.
(439) santo-he ki-kot-ø (346) ‘I wished we were saints’.

(440) Dios pole-la-khe (737) ‘I wished they loved God’.
(441) Dios-he pole-la-k (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)é (section 7.4.6.1), -(k)te (section 7.4.6.2), -lam (section 7.4.6.3), -(g)ø (section 7.4.6.4), and -(w)uë (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)ø ‘supine’, and -(w)uë ‘present participle’. The suffix -(e)é 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)é, -lam, -(g)ø, and -(w)uë can be used as nouns, and that forms in -(e)é and -(g)ø can also function as adjectives. Forms in -(e)é, -(k)te, -lam, and -(g)ø 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)če ‘factivizer’
The suffix -(e)če can be used as a factivizer (‘the fact that ...’) in a subject or direct object clause; and it can be used to indicate an attributive extension of the direct object. In the latter case, -(e)če can also indicate ‘cause’. Nominalizer -(e)če (-če after a vowel and -eč 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)če, but they do have subordinated forms in -hu and -(k)t-eč instead, see also Table 7.6 and section 7.4.6). Ex.:

(442) a-pole-če (758) ‘(the fact) that I love him/her/it’
(443) mi-pole-ha-če (762) ‘(the fact) that you (p) love him/her/it’
(444) pole-la-če (762) ‘(the fact) that they love him/her/it’
(445) a-men’o-če (842) ‘(the fact) that I want him/her/it’
(446) mi-men’o-ha-če (845) ‘(the fact) that you (p) want him/her/it’
(447) men’o-la-čė (846) ‘(the fact) that they want him/her/it’

Forms in -(e)če 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-če a-paťa-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-če o-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)če ‘(to) see’ is a third person singular, so that the form mi-tač can be interpreted as ‘you see it’ or as ‘you see him’. In this case, the form in -(e)če, i-m-kole-če ‘(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:

(450)   a-pop-pat   i-l-a-č  a-po-yč-iy (1443)
       one-CL:group-INS 3ps-go-FAC 1sa-3po-see-PST
       ‘I saw them going in a troop’.

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-pop-pat   i-l-a-č  a-po-yč-iy (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’.

(452)   mitah-la-č  a-š-pa-yč-ag (2375)
       3sa.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-ap is translated as ‘before (that) ...’:

(453)   mi-l-a-pe-č-ap,  ko ašmaŋ  mi-l-o-ki (2925)
       2sa-go-NE-FAC-ABL this first 2sa-3so-do-IMP
       ‘Before you go, do this first!’

(454)   mi-hi-l-mulo-pe-č-ap  a-l-o-šuk-iy-čo
       2sa-speak-begin-NE-FAC-ABL 1sa-3so-do-finish-PST-already
       a-k-t-ag (1621)
       1ss-be-tA
       ‘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 mer(o) ‘(to) want’. The element -č is dropped after a consonant. Examples of nominalized forms in -(k)te occurring as a direct object of mer(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-l-em'ap-ap. mi-l'a-kt-ag (1806)
this 1SA-3SO-do-INF-BEN 2SA-1SO-help-SEQ 2SS-go-F-IA
‘You will go, after having helped me to do this’.

(457) ko kama-pat ki-kol-pe-kte-he-wa, inča yu-wa-m
this illness-INS 1PS-die-NE-INF-BEN-TOP kind-TOP-QM
ki-l-o-kt-ag (2843)
1PA-3SO-do-F-IA
‘What shall we do, so that we shall not die from this illness?’

(458) ki-am-ko-kte-he-wa ki-püp-o-f (1183)
1PS-eat-INF-BEN-TOP 1PS-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-čeh-te-he a-fw-ap-ko n'amak,
forest-AD 1SS-be-walk-INF-BEN 1SS-go-IA-DEM each.time
kama a-ki-ag (1189)
illness 1SS-become-IA
‘Every time I go out to walk in the forest, I fall ill.

(460) pakuplew a-m-e-kte-he a-na-q (1810)
passion.fruit 1SA-2SO-give-INF-BEN 1SS-come-IA
‘I come to give you passion fruits’.

(461) trigo puq a-mis-te-he a-mohna-q (1811)
wheat meal 1SA-3SO-buy-INF-BEN 1SS-go.up-IA
‘I go to the mountains to buy wheadmeal (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 -\textit{\textbackslash(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) \textit{inaham Dios a-pole-kte-ke} (738)  
EX: lamentation God 1sA-3sO.love-INF-ANT  
‘Oh, I wished I had loved God’.

(465) \textit{a-n\-ut\-\textbackslash (ap-t\-\textbackslash e-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) \textit{pa\-\textbackslash 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 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 -\textit{man-ap}, following a nominal stem. The sequence -\textit{man-ap} is then translatable as ‘than’. A comparative clause can be formed when -\textit{man-ap} is attached to a nominalized verb form in -\textit{kte}. The suffix combination -\textit{man-ap}, translated as ‘rather than’, ‘instead of’ can then be followed by the adverb \textit{a\-\textbackslash (sm)an\-y} ‘first’:

(467) \textit{a-n\-ut\-\textbackslash a a-l\-o-kte-man-ap, a\-\textbackslash (sm)an\-y a-kol-te}  
1sPOS-REL-sin 1sA-3sO-do-INF-INES-ABL first 1sS-die-INF  
a\-\textit{men\-ap} (1625)  
1sA-3sO.want-IA  
‘I prefer to die rather than to sin’.

7.4.6.3. Nominalizer -\textit{lam} ‘future nominalizer 1’
According to Pedro de la Mata the ending -\textit{lam} corresponds to the Latin ending ‘-	extit{rus’}. In Latin, -\textit{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 -\textit{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*’up-maŋ ki-hō-lam-a konfesion-sim  
this immersion-INES 1ps-be.submerged-FN1-TOP confession-EMP  
a-kot-aŋ (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 ka-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)*k(o)† ‘(to) be (there)’. Three types of clauses can then be distinguished:

(473)  
mi-l-o-lam, ohom-ab l-o-k (1489)  
2sA-3sO-do-FN1 without.pause-RST 3sO-do-IMP  
‘Do quickly what you have to do!’

(474)  
amheh na a-ki-lam, a-ym-e-h-a (1491)  
truth-QUOT 1sS-say-FN1 1sO-know-CAU-IMP  
‘Teach me what I have to believe’.

(iii): forms in -lam often occur in combination with the copula *(pa)*k(o)† ‘(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) poho at-mol-e iglesia-te ki-l’a-lam o-pakt-aŋ (1499)
    morning one-CL:day-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-l’a-lam ø-kot-nap a-n’an-šip-aŋ (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-γ-la-lam e-kt-aŋ (408)
    always 3pPOS-food 1so-give-3pA-FN1 3ps-be-IA
    ‘They always give me their food’.

(478) a-n-uť’a a-l-o-lam ø-kt-aŋ (1502)
    1sPOS-REL-sin 1sA-3so-do-FN1 1ss-be-IA
    ‘I am in the habit of sinning’.

(479) ki-l’a-lam ke-kt-aŋ (1504)
    1pss-go-FN1 1ps-be-IA
    ‘We can go’.

(iv) by omission of the copula (viz. of the form -k(o)t-aŋ), forms in -lam can also function as the predicate of a main clause, equivalent to forms in -aŋ ‘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-kiaŋ t’i
    power 2sPOS-being-PER wind 3ss,pass,by-pass,by-RE-IA rain
    mit-pale-kiah-lam, et-pit u-ku-per’o-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’.
(481) a-pa-tu-p lisensia p-a-y-iy/ p-a-e-lam,
1sPOS-father-AD-ABL permission 3sA-1sO-give-PST/ 3sA-1sO-give-FN1
kečwak limosna a-po-e-kte-he/ a-po-e-lam-he (2796)
poor alms 1sA-3pO-give-INF-BEN/ 1sA-3sO-give-FN1-BEN
‘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 -(kte-he) (see the example above), viz. it also expresses a goal or
purpose:

(482) Dios kapak kot ē-a-paso-lam-he, kama-pit
God reign being 3PA-3sO-preach-FN1-BEN patient-COR
ē-po-fukiow-a-lam-he, mo-pilm-iy (1581)
3PA-3sPO-medecin-do-FN1-BEN 3sA.3sO-send-PST
‘He sent them, so that they would preach the reign of God, and cure the
patients’.

(483) an-ťel Phariseo Jesus mučañ i-l-o-w sa-nik
one-CL:truncal Pharisee Jesus prayer 3sA-3sO-do-PST 3sC
l-am-o-lam-he/ l-am-o-kte-he (775)
3sS-eat-FN1-BEN/ 3sS-eat-INF-BEN
‘A Pharisee prayed Jesus to eat with him’.

(b) the case marker combinations -man-ap ‘from’ and -te-p ‘from’ in order to
express ‘avoidance’:

(484) ok a-hil-t-āp, into-n‘-am yam ki-o-lam-man-ap-a
1s 1sS-say-F-IA which-CMP-QM penance 1psPAS-FN1-INES-ABL-TOP
ki-špo-kt-āp (2847)
1sS-remain.free-F-IA
‘I shall say how we will remain free from penance’.

(485) into mek ku-n-uť’a ki-l-o-lam-te-p peh-ču
which all 1PPS-REL-sin 1PA-3sO-do-FN1-AD-ABL flight-DIM
ki-o-no-po o-kot-ap (2851)
1psDO-REL-FN2 3sS-be-IA
‘How can we escape from [our] sin?’

7.4.6.4. Nominalizer -(gjo) ‘future nominalizer 2’
The suffix -(gjo) is normally attached to a non-reduced stem: -o after a consonant-
final stem and -p after a vowel-final stem. Pedro de la Mata says that the suffix
-(gjo) is equivalent to the Latin ending ‘-dus’ (-ndus) of the ‘gerundive’. Forms in
-(ŋ)ő 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)  
\[ ki\text{-}a\text{č}े\text{-}o \text{ (1078)} \]
\[ 1\text{p}\text{-}3\text{S}\text{O}\text{.see}\text{-}\text{FN}2 \]
\[ \text{lit.: ‘something to be seen by us’ > ‘something visible’} \]
\[ > \text{‘visible’} \]

(487)  
\[ an\text{-}el \quad ki\text{-}a\text{-}n\text{a\text{-}n}o\text{-}po \quad o\text{č}o \quad k\text{as} \quad m\text{ek} \quad k\text{ot}\text{-}\text{map} \]
\[ \text{one-CL}\text{.truncal} \quad 1\text{p}\text{-}3\text{S}\text{O}\text{.fear}\text{-}\text{FN}2 \quad \text{big wind all water-INES} \]
\[ a\text{-}t\text{a}\text{p\text{a\text{-}ı}y} \text{ (779)} \]
\[ 3\text{S}\text{s}\text{-}\text{arise-IA} \]
\[ ‘\text{A fearful big wind arose on the sea’}. \]

(488)  
\[ ki\text{-}a\text{mo\text{-}po} \quad m\text{ita\text{-}č}o \quad a\text{-}p\text{a\text{kt}}\text{-}a\text{ŋ} \text{ (1519)} \]
\[ 1\text{p}\text{s}\text{-}\text{eat}\text{-}\text{FN}2 \quad \text{time\text{-}already} \quad 3\text{S}\text{s}\text{-}\text{be\text{-}IA} \]
\[ ‘\text{It is already time for dinner’}. \]

The nominalizer -(ŋ)ő has much in common with -lam. Both suffixes can indicate ‘obligation’ and ‘possibility’, are often used in combination with the copula (pak(o)t) ‘(to) be’, and can function as an attributive adjunct (see the examples above). In addition, like the forms in -lam, those in -(ŋ)ő 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)  
\[ pa\text{č}ow \quad ki\text{-}k\text{ot}\text{-}o \quad a\text{-}k\text{ot}\text{-aŋ} \text{ (455)} \]
\[ \text{good} \quad 1\text{p}\text{s}\text{-}\text{be}\text{-}\text{FN}2 \quad 3\text{S}\text{s}\text{-}\text{be\text{-}IA} \]
\[ ‘\text{We have to be good’}. \]

(ii) Forms in -(ŋ)ő can indicate a nominal predicate. In this sense there are two possibilities:

(a) The subject of the copula and that of the form in -(ŋ)ő may refer to the same person:

(490)  
\[ m\text{ek} \text{hayu} \quad ki\text{-}k\text{ol}\text{-}o \quad ke\text{-}a\text{ŋ} \text{ (1522)} \]
\[ \text{all men} \quad 1\text{p}\text{s}\text{-}\text{die}\text{-}\text{FN}2 \quad 1\text{p}\text{s}\text{-}\text{be\text{-}IA} \]
\[ ‘\text{All men are mortal’}. \]

(b) The subject of the copula and the object of the form in -(ŋ)ő may be co-referential. 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-tp  ki-ti-p  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-a-tatipeh-ha-ki,  poho-pat  ke
        today clay  2A-3sO-prepare-PL-IMP  morning-INS  wall
        ki-o-tah-o  o-kot-eće  (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 -(g)o 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)  ćap'og  i-t-o-go  ćam-ag  (1609)
        pan  3sA-3sO-do-FN2  3sS,know-IA
        ‘He knows [how] to make pans’.

(iv) Forms in -(g)o 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-yac-pakna  a-kot-o-tp  (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)  pi-ta-w-w-a,  into-n’am  ki-l-o-po  (389)
        3sS.wild-VB-PST-TOP  which-CMP-QM  1pA-3sO-do-FN2
        ‘If he has fled, what do we have to do with him?’

(497)  mi-yoyo-ha-k-pit,  into-n’am  a-ki-po  (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 one instance a form in -(g)o occurs in a clause which is apparently neither an exclamation nor a rhetorical question, although it may have to be interpreted as such:

I shall be able to teach you’.‘

Like the nominalizer -(k)te, future nominalizer -(g)o can be followed by -(k)e ‘antiority’ (see section 7.4.3). The combination -(g)o-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 -(g)o-ke can function

(a) as a main predicate:

Oh, I wished you were good!’‘

(b) as a subordinated predicate:

Everything you would give me, I shall give you [in return]’.‘

Thinking that he caught an armadillo in his hole, a snake bit him’.‘

If Juan were good, his son would also be good’.‘

However, in one instance a form in -(g)o-ke seems to express a reality:
into mek o'co Pasco a-kot-o-ke, into-gko-pit misa
which all big Easter 3sS-be-FN2-ANT which-DEM-IND Mass
i-sinah-pakna a-kot-o-le (2860)
3sA-3sO.hear-NE.NOM 3sS-be-FN2-QM
‘Easter being such a big [feast], would there be anybody not attending
Mass?’

The nominalizer -gjo can furthermore be followed by the following case
markers and suffix combinations: man-ap ‘(rather) than’, ‘instead of’; -pat-le ‘till’;
ete ‘(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’;

ohom-pat a-kot-o-man-ap-a, ni-nik-sim
idleness-INS 1sS-be-FN2-INES-ABL-TOP bit-COM-EMP
a-piyip-te-he a-men’ag (2783)
1sS-work-INE-BEN 1sA-3sO.want-IA
‘I prefer to work rather than to be idle’.

mi-l’a-po-pat-le-l (2251) (507) o-l’a-po-te (2238)
2sS-go-FN2-INS-TER-RST 3sS-go-FN2-AD
‘just till you go’ ‘when he goes’

ki-l-o-po-te-p peh-çu
which all 1pPOS-REL-sin 1pa-3sO-do-FN2-AD-ABL flight-DIM
ki-o-no-po a-kot-ag (2851)
1ps-do-REFL-FN2 3sS-be-IA
‘How can we escape from [our] sins?’

ke'wak ki-kot-o-tu-p-pit mu-omp'k siw me-kt-ag (457)
poor 1ps-be-FN2-AD-ABL-COR 2sPOS-riches lack 2sS-be-IA
‘Although we are poor, you are not rich [either]’.
No other instances of **kel** or **õel** '(to) look for' have been found.

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**7.4.6.5. Nominalizer -(w)uč ‘agentive’**

The suffix -(w)uč is an agentive marker: -(uč) occurs both after a consonant-final and a vowel-final stem, -(wuč) occurs only after a vowel-final stem. (It is possible that -(uč) after a vowel was in fact pronounced as -(wuč)). The suffix indicates the one who performs an action:

(512)  **kot-uč** (432) ‘the one who is’

(513)  **pole-uč** (974) ‘the one who loves him/her/it’

(514)  **pen’o-wuč** (861) ‘the one who wants’

Forms in -(w)uč mostly function as nouns (see section 6.10):

(515)  **pi-man-ap-sim kamat’in ki-o-uč mate-ktač**

2s-INES-ABL-EMP order 1p-do-AG 3ss.come.out-F-IA

a-putam Israel i-pal’o-kte-he (1467)

1sPOS-people Israel 3sA-3sO.reign-INF-BEN

‘From you will come out our ruler who will reign over my people Israel’.

(lit. From you will come the one who orders in order to reign over my people of Israel’).

(516)  **gel-čeh-uč**  **u-n-uč’o-weh-uč’pit**  **o-kot-ač** (1469)

3sO.search3s-wander-AG 3ss-REL-sin-VB-AG-COR 3ss-be-IA

‘There is the one who searches and the one who judges’.

(517)  **kešwak pole-wuč** (1147)

poor 3sO.love-AG

‘a charitable person’

---

**7.4.6.6. Deictics ko and ipko**

The demonstratives **ko** ‘this one’ and **ipko** ‘that one’ can be attached to a finite verb form and function as a nominalizer. The difference in use of **-ko** and **-ipko** is illustrated in section 7.4.6.6.1 and 7.4.6.6.2, respectively.

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30 No other instances of **kel** or **gel** '(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)g ‘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-pot-ap-ko (794)
1sS-be-IA-DEM  3SA-3S0.love-IA-DEM
‘I am’          ‘he who loves him/her/it’

(520)  a-men’-ap-ko (861)
1SA-380.want-IA-DEM
‘I who want him/her/it’

(521)  nonas-na  a-ki-ap-ko  hakol  l-o-if-t-ag
grandeur-QUOT 3SS-say-IA-DEM humbleness 3SS-do-PAS-F-IA
hakol  a-ki-ap-ko  očo  a-ki-kt-ag (1470)
humbleness 3SS-say-IA-DEM great 3SS-be-F-IA
‘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 -(l,yak-)pat:

(522)  pan a išiwah a-pakt-ap-ko-pat ma n’ansik-pat
road bad 3SS-be-IA-DEM-INS INT n’ansik-pat
mi-pahat-iy-ha me-kt-iy-ha-(320)
2s-descend-PST-PL 2SS-be-SE-PL-IA
‘Because the road was bad, you (p) have descended with much difficulty’.

(523)  i-k-han’-ap-ko-l’ak-pat (2372)
3SA-1PO-feel.affection.for-IA-DEM-NF-INS
‘because he feels affection for us’

(ii) the ablative case marker -man-ap, meaning ‘(rather) than’, ‘instead of’:

1sPOS-father 3SS.die-PST 3SS-be-IA-DEM-INES-ABL-TOP
ok-e  a-kl-iy  a-kot-te-he  a-men’o-po
1S-ANT 1SS-die-PST 1SS-be-INF-BEN 1SA-3S0.want-FN2 (2784)
‘I would have preferred to have died myself, rather than that my father had died’.

(iii) the comparative case marker -(mijn’. After the nominalizer -ko, the short form -n’ is used:
(525)  Dios p-a-kal-ag-ko-n'. a-pa yupey  
God 3SA-1SO-order-IA-DEM-CMP 1SPOS-father honour  
a-l-o-kt-ag (2852)  
1SA-3SO-do-FIA  
‘I shall obey my father, as God ordered me’.

(526)  ki-m-a-ag-ko-n' ki-l-o-kt-ag (2321)  
1po-2SA-say-IA-DEM-CMP 1pA-3SO-do-FIA  
‘We shall do it as you order us’.

7.4.6.6.2. Nominalizer -ipko  
The nominalizing deictic -ipko ‘that one’ is attached to a preterite form in -(i)y/-w, a  
‘pluperfect’ in -(k)ìe and a future form in -(k)ìt-ap. The forms in -(l)i-yipko/-w-ipko,  
-(kì)e-ìpko and -(kì)t-åp-ìpko 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 -ipko have an alternative  
form without this deictic. These alternative forms are apparently nominalized by  
means of a zero-marker:

(527)  a-men'ø-w-ipko (861) cf. a-men'ø-w-a (861)  
1SA-3SO.want-PST-DEM 1SA-3SO.want-PST-NOM  
‘I who wanted him/her/it’  ‘I who wanted him/her/it’

(528)  a-kot-iy-e-ipko (434) cf. a-kot-iy-e-a (434)  
3SS-be-PST-ANT-DEM 3SS-be-PST-ANT-NOM  
‘he who had been’  ‘he who had been’

(529)  i-pole-kt-ap-ipko (800) cf. i-pole-kt-ap-ø (800)  
3SA-3SO.love-FIA-DEM 3SA-3SO.love-FIA-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 -ipko:

(530)  a-pole-lam-ipko (802) cf. a-pole-lam (802)  
1SA-3SO.love-FN1-DEM 1SA-3SO.love-FN1  
‘I who shall love him/her/it’  ‘I who shall love him/her/it’

Like -ko, -ipko 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-ïpko  i-ôkn-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)  kalis a-o-ôih-lam-ïpko  mi-o-ôih-ha-go-le  
chalice 1SA-3SO-drink-FN1-DEM 2A-3SO-drink-PL-FN2-QM  
me-kt-iy-ha-p (1490)  
2s-be-SE-PL-IA  
‘Can you (p) drink the chalice which I have to drink?’

Forms without -ïpko, 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-o  ãup-o  n’o  mi-po-ôhk-ey-pit  
3SA-2SO-carry-PST-NOM  womb-TOP  breast 2SA-3PO-suck-PST-COR  
pe  mek  makhay  âe-kt-ap (1472)  
that all 3ps-be-IA  
‘The womb that carried you and the breast which you sucked, they are happy’.

(534)  ko  hil  i-o-ôit-iy-o  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(-ïpko),  ojom-al  i-o-k (1489)  
2SA-3SO-do-FN1-DEM  idle-RST  3SO-do-IMP  
‘Do quickly what you have to do’.

Forms in -ïpko 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)â, -(k)te, -lam, -(g)ïo, and the finite form nominalizers -ko and -ïpko. 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)â, -(k)te, -lam, -(g)ïo, -ko when followed by the suffixes -he, -(k)ï, -(l’ak)-pat, -man-ap, -(mi)nï, -(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 -(ap/-nap, if preceded by the negator -p(e).

Table 7.7. Phrase types formed by means of -(e)č, -(k)te, -lam, -(go), -(ko)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-(e)č</th>
<th>-(k)te</th>
<th>-lam</th>
<th>-(go)</th>
<th>-(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, -(go), -ko + the suffixes -he, -(k)e, -(l'ak)pát, -man-ap, -(mi)n', -(a)p/-nap, -te, -te-p, -tu-p, -tu-p(-ham)-pít and the different clause types formed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>suffix</th>
<th>-(e)č</th>
<th>-(k)te</th>
<th>-lam</th>
<th>-(go)</th>
<th>-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>
<td>indirect complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(l'ak)-pát</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>avoidance</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>
<td>temporal</td>
</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>causal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tu-p(-ham)-pít</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 -(go), 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 (+ -(nap); four by means of -(k)te (+ suffixes); four by means of -ko (+ suffixes); and only one, a relative clause, by means of -ko and -(ko).
7.4.7. Subordinators
The following suffixes and suffix combinations indicate subordination: -hu, -(k)he, -(n)ap, and -eč 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, -hu, -(k)he, -(n)ap and -eč/-(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 -efy) (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 -hu, -(k)he and -(n)ap is explicitly associated with a change or non-change of subject. Subordinator -eč/-(k)t-eč has a restricted use, as we shall see.

7.4.7.1. Subordinator -hu ‘different subjects’
The use of -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 -hu as a causal subordinator:

(536) tì mahat-te a-pokot-hu, učah a-pokt-aŋ (416)
    rain 3s-fall-f 3s-be-SR warmth 3s-be-IA
    ‘It is warm, because it will rain’.

In the following sentences -hu functions as a temporal subordinator ‘when’:

(537) p-o-ym-eh-uc₂ o-kot-hu, mi-n‘o a-kt-iy (421)
    3p-OPL-know-CAU-AG 2s-be-SR 2sPOS-disciple 1s-be-PST
    ‘When you were a teacher, I was your disciple’.

(538) resat s-ki-y-o o-kot-hu, iglesiate mi-n-iy-haŋ (422)
    prayer 3ps-say-PST-already 3s-be-SR church-AD 2s-go-PL-IA
    ‘You (p) go to church, when they have already said [their] prayers’.

Subordination in -hu is only found with verbs of class 1 and 2. For other classes (3, 4, 5) this function is suppled by nominalized forms in -(e)č (see Table 7.6 and section 7.4.6.1). The suffix -hu must be preceded by a consonant, so that it can neither be suffixed to plural marker -ha, nor to the third person plural agent marker -la. After these suffixes an element -č is found instead of -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) \textit{a-kot-hu} (392) ‘as I am’
(540) \textit{mi-kot-hu} (393) ‘as you are’
(541) \textit{mi-kot-ha-č} (396) (*\textit{mi-kot-ha-hu}) ‘as you (p) are’

(542) \textit{i-ø-ših-iah-hu} (960) ‘as he drinks it again’
(543) \textit{ki-ø-ših-iah-hu} (960) ‘as we drink it again’
(544) \textit{ø-ših-iah-la-č} (960) (*\textit{ø-ših-iah-la-hu}) ‘as they drink it again’

A form, such as \textit{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 \textit{mas(o)} ‘(to) take all night’ and \textit{pat(a)} ‘(to) take all day’:

(545) \textit{a-tiip-te a-top-hu a-pat'-iy} (2094)
\hspace{1cm}1sPOS-house-AD 1ss-be-SR 3ss-take.all.day-PST
\hspace{1cm}‘All day long I was at home’. (lit. ‘The day went by while I was at home’).

(546) \textit{ki-ve-pakna ki-top-hu a-mas-ag} (2099)
\hspace{1cm}1ps-sleep-NE.NOM 1ps-be-SR 3ss-take.all.night-1A
\hspace{1cm}‘All night long we did not sleep’.

(547) \textit{m-a-yač-hu a-pat'a-kia-y} (2102)
\hspace{1cm}2sA-1so-see-SR 3ss-take.all.day-RE-1A
\hspace{1cm}‘You see me constantly’.

(ii) have been encountered in the function of an attributive extension of the object with the verb \textit{y(a)čy(a)š} ‘(to) see’:

(548) \textit{hul e-k, pol-hu mi-taš-te} (1603)
\hspace{1cm}pine.cone give-IMP 3ss.die-SR 2sa-3so.see-F
\hspace{1cm}‘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) *paľow kot-he, †amo-č a-kot-t-ag (405)*

good be-SIM know-FAC 1sS-be-F-IA

‘Because I am good, I shall be learned’.

(ii) temporal:

(550) *an-tel Phariseo Jesus mučtaŋ i-l-o-w.*

one-CL:truncal Pharisee Jesus prayer 3SA-3SO-do-PST
*a-nek mi-am-ki-na ki-khe (776)*

1sPOS-company 2sS-eat-IMP-QUOT say-SIM

‘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) *paľow me-kt-eč, i-m-pas-ap-sim, mu-lu-poh-he-pit-o (425)*

good 2sS-be-PURP 3SA-2SO-advise-IA-EMP 2sS-interior-burn-SIM-NE-FN2

‘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) *ip-tel mi-tel-nik ip-tip mi-nep-nik*

two-CL:truncal 2sPOS-foot-COM two-CL:pieces 2sPOS-hand-COM
*mi-kot-hu tepat et-map mi-čem-il’-iy-o-man-ap,*

2sS-be-SR eternally fire-INES 2sS-throw-PAS-PST-NOM-INES-ABL
*me-l’-iy, mi-laš-iy te putam makhay kuł’ha-map*

2sS-weaken-PST 2sS-lame-PST high village joy life-INES
*mi-estel-he ašmaŋ paľow o-kot-ag (1632)*

2sS-enter-SIM first good 3sS-be-IA

‘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 ayču a-ľ up-he i-toŋ (1315)  
two-CL: firm/stony-AL meat 3S0-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)  
2S-sleep-PST do-SIM-ABL day 3S-dawn-PST  
‘After you got up, the day dawned’.

(ii) perlative -nake ‘instead of’ (contrastive), ‘while’:

(555) an-t el a-t ap-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 3S-be.born-RE-SIM-INS 1pPOS-God-TOP  
mul-iy-pi r-o, ni-ču-nik-sim ku-n-ut’a  
3Ss.be.satisfied-PST-NE-FN2 bit-DIM-COM-EMP 1pPOS-REL-sin  
l-o-khe ma a t iv kama ki-ki-po ke-kt-iy  
3Ss-do-SIM INT often illness 1ps-become-FN2 1ps-be-PST  
a-ko t-nap, t’ac-he, [...] kama’m in o-ki-y [...] (1204)  
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-čeh-ap (669)  
be-wander-SEQ  
‘(after) having wandered’

(558)  ko  a-lo-ktc-he  m-a-ľemt'ap-ap.  mi-ľa-kt-ap (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-ap-pit,  sukusil'  č-an-nap  neg-te  
tree 3SS-become-IA-COR  bird 3PS-come-SEQ  branche-AD  
i-tople-kt-čć (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-t'el  meč  n'an-te  pilmoh-no-nap  
elephant-TOP  one-CL:trunca  tree face-AD  lean.on-RFL-SEQ  
a-n'-ag (80)  
3SS-sleep-IA  
‘The elephant sleeps leant against a tree’.

(561)  hayu  pol-nap-a,  mu-mpuš-tu-p  inča-te-m  
man 3SS-die-SEQ-TOP  2SSPOS-riches-AD-ABL  thing-AD-QM  
i-mal'ow-eh-t-ag (2903)  
3SA-3SO.benefit-VB-F-IA  
‘How can your riches be profitable, when a man dies’.

(562)  učavka  pita-wo-nap-al',  soldado-tu-p  putam  čap-cy-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)  kał'ok  a-ľm-eh-koloh-nap-al',  o-n'anmito  
box 1SA-3SO.know-CAU-finish-SEQ-RST  3POS-owner  
i-ľa-ľah-ty (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-npuš-nik  kot-e-nap,  yupey-nik  a-kot-t-ag (404)
    1sPOS-riches-COM be-SE-SEQ esteem-COM 1s-be-F-IA
    ‘Being rich, I shall be esteemed’.

(566) liv  t’ač-e-nap,  a-kuč-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-l  a-’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) t’itu-p  p-u-lo-y  o-kot-nap,  kama  a-ki-ag (967)
    rain-AD-ABL 3sA-1sO-wet-PST 3ss-be-SEQ illness 1s-be-IA
    ‘I am ill, because the rain wet me’.

(569) hayu-lol  u-n-u’a  pe  mek  ã-kt-iy  o-kot-nap,
    man-PL 3pPOS-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-eh-e-nap-nake,
    iron.tools 1sA-3sO.buy-INF-BEN-QUOT 3sO.ask-CAU-SE-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 -(k)t-ecê ‘purpose’

The suffix -(k)t-ecê 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 -(k)t-ecê is found after reduced verb stems of class 1; -(k)t(e) (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-ecê is not found with a class 4 verb stem. This may be attributed to a lack of data). The -(k)t-ecê forms occurring with class 1 verbs can refer both to a purpose and to a result:

(571) paî ow me-kt-ecê, i-m-pas-ap-sim, mu-lu-poh-he-pit'-o (425)
good 2Ss-be-PURP 3SA-2So-adviso-IA-EMP 2Ss-interior-burn-SIM-NE-FN2

‘He advises you, so that you will be good, not to abhor you’.

(572) oyna-ço a-kî-ecê, 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-ecê forms have only been found referring to a purpose:

(573) kal sok-he mi-l-o-ki, mi-tesah-la-kt-ecê (853)
benevolence-BEN 2SA-3So-do-IMP 2So-thank-3pA-F-PURP

‘Do it with benevolence, so that they thank you’.

(574) i-m-kal'-zpko-nî mi-l-o-ki, Dios-tu-p
3SA-2So-order-IA-DEM-CMP 2SA-3So-do-IMP God-AD-ABL
i-m-kole-kt-ecê (764)
3SA-2So-love-F-PURP

‘Do as God orders you, so that he loves you’.

(575) a-m-pen' o-kt-ecê (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: AEO ‘attributive extension of the object’, CAC ‘causal clause’, CCO ‘copula complement’, COC ‘contrastive clause’, INS ‘instrumental clause’, PURP ‘purposive clause’, RES ‘resultative clause’, SUB ‘subject clause’, T ‘temporal clause’.
Table 7.9. Subordinators and clauses

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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 ipko ‘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

- (ã)ak-pat ‘with’, ‘because of’, ‘by’;
- (ã)ak-te-p ‘by’, ‘through’;
- man-ap ‘after’, ‘from’;
- (m)in ‘as’, ‘like’;
- te ‘at’, ‘in’.

In one special case, -(m)in 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 -l_yak-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)nº, -pat, -te-p, -l_yak-te-p, -te

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<th>verbal interpretation</th>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>-te</td>
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7.4.8.1. Case marker (-l_yak)-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 -l_yak-, and that -l_yak-pat has a causal meaning. When instrumental -pat occurs after nominalized finite verb forms, it also has a causal meaning:

(576) šalam me-kt-ap-o-pat a-m-lu-po-g (190)
weak 2ss-be-IA-NOM-INS 1sA-2so-interior-burn-IA
‘I abhor you, because you are weak’.

(577) hayu-lol u-n-u’t’a pe mek čé-kt-i-y-a-l(l_yak)-jpat,
man-PL 3POS-REL-sin that all 3ps-be-PST-NOM-(NF)-INS
God-AD-ABL punishment 3sA,3po-do-PST
‘Because the sins of men where that many, God punished them’.

The suffix sequence -l_yak-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-a-l(l_yak)-pat čé-po-šay-ē-ag (2374)
3so.miss-PST-3PA-NOM-NF-INS 3pa-3po-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 -(lak)-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 -(ap), 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-at iy mi-ki-y-a-te-p ki-l-a-ap (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 -lyak (for an interpretation of the element -lak, see section 6.4.2.9,
6.4.3.3, and section 7.4.8.1 above). The sequence -(lak)-te-p can also occur after a
nominalized form in -ko. In its causal reading -(lak)-te-p is synonymous with
-(lak)-pat and ø-kot-nap:

(582) keövák a-kt-ap-kol(lak)-pat, a-hi' em mi-kot-p-ap (411)
poor 1ss-IA-DEM-(NF)-INS 1sPOS-friend 2ss-be-NE-IA
‘Because I am poor you are not my friend’.

(583) keövák  ke-kt-iy ø-kot-nap, ku-pulua-y-la (412)
poor 1ps-be-PST 3ss-be-SEQ 1po-abhor-PST-3pA
‘Because we are poor, they abhorred us’.

(584) a-m-kol-ap ko ø-kot-nap (1763)
1sA-2so-loveIA-DEM 3ss-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 -(ap), see
section 6.4.2.1) can have a temporal meaning, indicating that the event takes place
before another event (cf. -(l)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 -(i)y:
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(585) mi-pot-i-y-a-man-ap. ol-pit a-moh-p-ag (203)
2ss-come-PST-NOM-INES-ABL who-IND 3ss-go.up-NE-IA
‘After you came, nobody has come [up]’.

The inessive-ablative case marker combination -man-ap can then also mean ‘besides’:

(586) owlum Martin i-tah-i-y-a-man-ap i-mo-y (1637)
nake 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)he and -(g)h; 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)y of the imperfective aspect or -(ii)j/-w ‘past tense’:

(587) Dios-tu-p hayu castigaŋ mo-o-w-a-man-ap.
God-AD-ABL men punishment 3SA.3PO-do-PST-NOM-INES-ABL
ašmaŋ perdonaŋ mo-o-w (1631)
first forgiveness 3SA.3PO-do-PST
‘God rather forgave men than that he punished them’.

(588) təyo-kt-ap-o-man-ap ašmaŋ a-moksa-kt-ag (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 -mir’ is always found:

(589) kamaŋk’iŋ mi-ki-y-a-mir’ (2320)
order 2ss-do-PST-NOM-CMP
‘as you ordered’

However, when the nominalized finite verb form + -mir’ is followed by the suffix -ço ‘already’, and the form in -mir’-ço is used in combination with the verb forms kol-he and a-kol-hu, the suffix sequence -mir’-ço can have a temporal connotation and be translated as ‘on the verge of’:
(590) \[ i-ø-ag-ag-min'Ø\] \( a-kot-hu \) \( kuö-wa, \]
3sA-3sO-pig-IA-NOM-CMP-already 3sS-be-SR pig-TOP
\( ki-ø-lam-iy\) (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. Assumedly, the stem is then also nominalized by means of a zero-nominalizer:

(591) \[ õol-ø-min\] \( y\]
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)’:

(592) \( ki-y-iy-ø-te\) (180) (593) \( ki-l-y-a-pit-s-iy-ø-te\) (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:

(594) \( mise\ a-pakt-ap\) (2196)
cold 3sS-be-IA
‘It is cold’.

The ‘irrealis’ forms in -(k)te-ke and -(pi)o-ke (see section 7.4.6.2 and 7.4.6.4, respectively) 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) a-m-a-lam-ö-ap (1816)
3sS-2sO-API.-go-IA
‘it goes away on behalf of/from you’

(598) a-ha-tiki-ap (1843)
3sS-3sO-API.-become/concern-IA
‘it concerns him’

(599) kač o-m-a-pakt-ö-le (276)
maize 3sS-2sO-API.-be.there-IA-QM
‘Do you by any chance have maize?’

(600) a-k-ar-tog (285)
3sS-1pO-API.-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) and class 2 (-eh > -e / -(a)p, -e), respectively (see section 7.3.1). The forms -w(o) and -w(e(h), normally found after a vowel, can also occur after a consonant. (The form -w(e(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-čcko-w-öap (2035) (602) a-čcko-weq (1900)
1sS-silver-VB-IA 1sS-silver-VB-IA
‘I make silver’ ‘I make silver’

(603) a-pypap-öap (1875) (604) a-yap-o-w (1887)
1sS-bridge-VB-IA 1sS-house-VB-PST
‘I make a bridge’ ‘I made a house’

(605) a-nčšok-w-öap (2015) (606) a-pul’kš-w-öap (2055)
1sS-REL-cloth-VB-IA 1sS-gold-VB-IA
‘I make my cloth(es)’ ‘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 ęe-kt-iy o-kot-nap, into-n’ ki-po-wο-pakna
that all 3ps-be-PST 3ss-be-SEQ which-CMP 1pa-3po-do-NE.NOM
ęe-kt-ąp (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-a-n-eštek-a-ąp (2064)
1sA-3sO-REL-cloth-do-IA
‘I clothe him/her/it’

(611) a-a-n-eštek-eh-t-ąp (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 -(o) ‘reflexive’:

(612) a-n-eštek-o-n-ąp (2063)
1ss-REL-cloth-do-RFL-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 idiomatoc 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’, ń(aj)w ‘(to) become’, ‘(to) turn into’, t(a)/to ‘(to) do’, ‘(to) make’ and tiki ‘(to) become’. The verbs ki and k(o)j are copula; the verb ń(aj)w, usually an intransitive verb meaning ‘(to) go away’ (see section 7.3), here also functions as a copula; the verb t(a)/ to 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)/ to 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-a* (1862)

fat(ness) 1SS-become-1A

‘I become fat’.

(614) *kama a-ki-a* (1854)

ill(ness) 1SS-be-1A

‘I am ill’.

(615) *kes a-ki-a* (1860)

age 1SS-become-1A

‘I grow’.

(616) *l’ok a-ki-a* (1859)

nudity 1SS-be-1A

‘I am naked’.

(617) *mise a-ki-a* (1855)

cold 1SS-be-1A

‘I am cold’.

(618) *oyna a-ki-a* (1858)

health 1SS-be-1A

‘I am healthy’.

(619) *siw a-ki-a* (1856)

need 1SS-become-1A

‘I am needy’.

(620) *učah a-ki-a* (1857)

warmth 1SS-be-1A

‘I am warm’.

(621) *yosil’ a-ki-a* (1861)

humble(ness) 1SS-be-1A

‘I am humble’.

(622) *hayu ø-ki-y* (1961)

man 3SS-become-PST

‘He became a man’.

When the idiomatic expression is formed by means of the copula k(o)t, noun and verb take the same person marker:

(623) *akul’ha a-kt-a* (1851)

1POS-life 1SS-be-1A

‘I live’.

(624) *tup’ha ø-kot-a* (1852)

3POS,lif 3SS-be-1A

‘He lives’.

(625) *kapak a-ku’ha a-kt-a* (1852)

ruler 1POS-life 1SS-be-1A

‘I reign’.

In expressions with l(a)w, like in those with ki, the copula complement is not marked for person:

(626) *pey a-l’w-ag* (1905)

earth 1SS-become-1A

‘I become earth’.

(627) *ta mi-l’w-ag* (1906)

stone 2SS-become-1A

‘You become stone’.
pa-lew ušuš i-l'aw-ag (1979)
col.-caterpillar butterfly 3ps-become-IA
‘Caterpillars become butterflies’.

uf'a-uč ke-kt-iy-e, santo ki-l'aw-ag (1908)
sin-AG 1ps-be-PST-ANT saint 1ps-become-IA
‘We have been sinners, [but] we become saints’.

hawey mi-l'aw-iy-ha-g (1909)
incorruptible.man 2s-become-SE-PL-IA
‘You (p) become incorruptible men’.

yel kot o-l'aw-ag (1913)
salt water 3ss-become-IA
‘The salt becomes water’/ ‘The salt dissolves’.

un'ep kot o-l'aw-iy (1981)
wax water 3ss-become-PST
‘The wax melted’.

hostia tanta o-kot-iy-e, konsegrasion hil-pat
host bread 3ss-be-PST-ANT consecration word-INS
ki-pa Jesu Christo a-mata o-ki-y (1968)
1pos-father Jesus Christ 3pos-body 3ss-become-PST
‘With the words of the consecration, the host, which had been bread,
became the body of our father Jesus Christ’.

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:

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’.

mesa a-ta-g (2115)  (637)  Dios mučag a-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:

(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’.
When agent and beneficiary are the same person, the preceding noun takes personal reference. The possessive marker then corresponds to the agent marker:

(641)  
a-n-eštek  a-o-ta-g (2118)  
1sPOS-REL-cloth 1sA-3sO.APL-do-IA  
'I make my clothes'.

(642)  
a-yelam  a-o-ta-g (2114)  
1sPOS-bed 1sA-3sO-APL-do-IA  
'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)  
a-t'la  kama  ø-a-tiki-ap (1841)  
1sPOS-wife ill(ness) 3sS-1sO.APL-become-IA  
'My wife falls ill'.

(644)  
a-t'el  mise  ø-ha-tiki-ap (1843)  
1sPOS-foot cold 3sS-3sO.APL-become-IA  
'My foot becomes cold'.

(645)  
l'aka  o-k-a-tiki-ap (1844)  
red/colour 3sS-1pO.APL-become-IA  
'We colour'.

(646)  
t'it'al  o-m-a-tiki-y-ha-g (1845)  
black 3sS-2O.APL-become-SE-PL-IA  
'You (p) turn black'.

\begin{verbatim}
(638)  
\textit{mučaŋ}  \textit{ki-m-a-to-ha-kt-ap} (2132)  
prayer 1pA-2O.APL-do-PL-F-IA  
'We shall pray for you (p)'.

(639)  
\textit{Dios}  \textit{mučaŋ}  \textit{a-m-a-la-g} (2121)  
God prayer 1sA-2sO.APL-do-IA  
'I recommend you to God'.

(640)  
\textit{Dios}  \textit{mučaŋ}  \textit{g-a-la-g} (2125)  
God prayer 3sA-1sO.APL-do-IA  
'He prays for me'.
\end{verbatim}
(647) kisna  ø-p-a-ha-tiki-aŋ (1846)
    blue  3ss-3po-APL-PL-become-IA
    ‘They turn blue’.

(648) pul al' ø-a-tiki-aŋ (1847)
    yellow 3ss-1so.APL-become-IA
    ‘I turn yellow’.

The noun muçaŋ ‘prayer’, which we have seen together with the verb t(a)/ t(o) ‘(to) do/make’, can also occur with tiki. When this is the case, 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 t-:

(649) muçaŋ a-t-tiki-aŋ (2134)
    prayer 1sa-3sh-do-IA
    ‘I pray/ intercede for someone’.

(650) Dios muçaŋ a-m-a-tiki-y-haŋ (2122)
    God prayer 1sa-2o.APL-do-SE-PL-IA
    ‘I recommend you (p) to God’.

(651) Dios muçaŋ a-p-a-ha-tiki-aŋ (1223)
    God prayer 1sa-3po-APL-PL-do-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-ri ved by means of the restrictive case marker -(a)l ‘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-k t-a y.
    sunday-PL-AD feast-PL-AD-COR 1ps-work-NE.NOM 1ps-be-IA
    alum nem-te-a ampek ki-piyip-o ke-k t-ay (1575)
    other day-AD-TOP allright 1ps-work-FN2 1ps-be-IA
    ‘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-ay
    mountain-AD 1ss-go-FN2-ANT 2sPOS-direction 1ss-come-IA
    m-a-lu-pokot-te-he empek-le a-l’a-po (2799)
    2sA-ISO-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: ašmaq ‘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-č-ap ko ašmaq 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 ašmaq 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) ašmaq mi-he pa’ow o-kot-ay (1632)
    first 2s-BEN good 3ss-be-I A
    ‘This is better for you’.
3: *at’iw* ‘frequently’:

(6) \[\ldots] ma at’iw kama ki-ki-po ke-kt-i\-y
\[\ldots\] INT frequently disease 1ps-become-FN2 1ps-be-PST
kot-nap \[\ldots\] (1204)
be-SQ \[\ldots\]
‘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-čn (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 -\((a)l\) 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-ap (32)
maybe morning-INS Francisco 3ss-come-f-IA
‘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-čn (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-n ‘like that’:

(15) ihna (2738) ‘thus’

cf. pe-n (2738) that-CMP
‘thus’

(16) ina-če-he (2710)

pe-n’-ače-he (2711)

thus-REP-IS that-CMP-REP-IS
‘they say that [it is] thus’ ‘they say that [it is] thus’

8: ina(h)am ‘I wish’:

(17) inam pašow mi-kot-o-ke, atih (354)

I.wish good 2s5-be-FN2-ANT alas
‘Alas, I wish you would have been good!’.

(18) inaham pašow a-kot-o-ke (352)

I.wish good 1s5-be-FN2-ANT
‘I wish I would have been good’.

(19) inaham pašow a-kot-te-ke (352)

I.wish good 1s5-be-INF-ANT
‘I wish I would have been good’.

9: ihna ‘quick’:

(20) ihna-ča (1087)

ihna k-a-t-hil-uč (2707)

quick-DIM quick 1pO-APL-3sb-speak-AG
‘Hurry up’. ‘Come on, lawyer!’

10: kapi ‘now’, ‘today’:

(22) kapi ūa-k (2691)

now go-IMP
‘Go now!’

31 Cf. Quechua hin a ‘as’, ‘like’
(23) kapi mi-l’a-kte mi-ki-go-ke-wa, ampek mi-l’a-go
now 2ss-go-f 2ss-do-FN2-ANT-TOP allright 2ss-go-FN2
me-kt-aŋ (387)
2ss-be-IA
‘If you want to go now, allright, you may go’.

(24) kapi a-pok mek-te patili p-a-pun-aŋ (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: ɛm ‘still’:

(25) ɛm saaŋ (1177)
still 3ss.make/cultivate.a.field-IA
‘He is still making/cultivating a field’.

12: lumitup ‘intentionally’, ‘on purpose’:

(26) lumitup ə-ki-aŋ (2757)
intentionally 3ss-do-IA
‘He says [it] intentionally’.

13: ma ‘not’ (presumably pronounced as [ma’], see section 11.1):

(27) ə-rip-te ma a-pakt-aŋ (489)
3sPOS-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 INT midnight
‘very wide’ ‘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-’, 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-’ (1239) (31) ma-ma-ta (2697)
INT-RST INT-INT-CL:form/stony
‘a lot of’ ‘many’
15: *mae* ‘falsely’ (possibly pronounced as [ma’]) is found in the expression:

(34) *ma pa mae* (2689)
\[\text{INT INT mae}\]
‘very falsely’

16: *malewohčěč* (2682) ‘excessively’ (examples are missing);

17: *none* ‘yet’ is found in the expression:

(35) *ma-le none* (2501)
\[\text{no-QM none} \text{INT INT} \text{yet} \text{INT INT} \text{yet} \text{NO-QM} \text{INT INT} \]
‘not yet’

18: *pahat* ‘yesterday’:

(36) *pahat ma a-pakt-ag-na o-ki-y, kapi-pit ma* yesterday no 3S-bE-IA-QUOT 3S-say-PST today-COR no o-pakt-ag-na o-ki-ag-sim-al’ (2743)
\[\text{almost-already 3S-bE-IA-QUOT 3S-say-IA-EM-RST} \]
‘Yesterday he said: “There is nothing”; today as well he says “There is just nothing at all”.

19: *paľ着手et* (2623) ‘the other way round’ (examples are missing);

20: *payam* ‘almost’ is often found together with the suffix -č’o ‘already’:

(37) *payam-č’o a-paľ’a-kt-ag* (2543)
\[\text{almost-already 3S-bE-evening.F-IA} \]
‘It is almost evening already’.

(38) *payam-č’o-č’e-he* (1589)
\[\text{almost-already-REP-IS} \]
‘They say that it is almost there already’.

(39) *payam a-puľšipe-y* (2424)
\[\text{almost 1sS-fall-nearly.do-PST} \]
‘I almost fell’.
21: pišaŋ ‘thus’:

(40) pe-n’ pišan-na a-haki-aŋ (1597)
    that-CMP thus-QUOT 1ss-think-IA
    ‘I think that it is like that’.

22: payaka (2686) ‘on purpose’ (examples are missing);

23: seke ‘again’, ‘another time’:

(41) avka mi-po-čap-te-he, seke mi-ľa-pe-ktaŋ čoti (2821)
    enemy 2SA-3PO-catch-INF-BEN again 2SS-go-NE-IA 1bet
    ‘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)l (see section 8.2). Examples:

(42) ma šipna-l (2669) (43) šipna-l a-nan-t-aŋ (2670)
    INT quick-RST quick-RST 3ss-come-F-IA
    ‘very quickly’   ‘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: teľ ‘still’ (cf. ľem ‘still’ above):

(45) teľ sač-a-aŋ (1177)
    still 3ss.field-do-IA
    ‘He is still making/cultivating his field’.

27: tepat ‘eternally’, ‘for ever’:

(46) [ ... ] a-n-ųťa-pit a-ńan-man-a a-kot-aŋ 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-maŋ mi-ľem-it-iy-man-aŋ [ ... ] (1632)
    [ ... ] eternally fire-INES 2SS-ban-PAS-PST-INES-ABL [ ... ]
    ‘[ ... ] rather than to have been banned into the eternal fire [ ... ]’
28: *tepuć* ‘intentionally’, ‘on purpose’:

(48)  
```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i-t'ip-te</th>
<th>tesim</th>
<th>i-sak</th>
<th>a-l' a-lam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
```

on.purpose-RST  tesim  on.purpose  S

intentionally  always 3p

‘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)  
```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i-t'ip-te</th>
<th>tesim</th>
<th>i-sak</th>
<th>a-l' a-lam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
```

3pPOS-house-AD isS-be-SR always 3pPOS-food 1sS-go-FN1

3ps-be-IA

‘Since I have been in their house, they always used to give me their food’.

8.2. Adverbalizer *(a)l*y
Adverbs can be derived from noun stems by means of the restrictive case marker *(a)l*y ‘only’, ‘nothing else but’, functioning as an adverbalizer:

(51)  
```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mi-l-o-lam(-iko)</th>
<th>ohom-alb</th>
<th>l-o-ki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
```

2sA-3sO-do-FN1(-DEM) idleness-RST 3sO-do-IMP/

‘What you have to do, do it immediately’.

In addition, it can be suffixed to
(i) a noun (phrase):

(52)  
```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mi-l-o-lam(-iko)</th>
<th>ohom-alb</th>
<th>l-o-ki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
```

2sA-3sO-do-FN1(-DEM) idleness-RST 3sO-do-IMP/

‘What you have to do, do it immediately’.

(53)  
```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>amehe-ke-l</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
```

truth-ANT-RST

‘really’, ‘truly’

---

32 Cf. Quechua *-a* ‘restrictive’
(ii) a verb form in -(k)he ‘simultaneity’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(54)</th>
<th>lu-pokot-he-ı' (2639)</th>
<th>yehono-khe-ı' (2636)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>interior-be-SIM-RST</td>
<td>hide-SIM-RST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘considerately’, deliberately’</td>
<td>‘secretely’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iii) adverbial stems:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(56)</th>
<th>mi-l-o-lam(-iţko) šipna-ı' l-o-ı' mi-l-o-ki (1489)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2sA-3sO-do-FN1(-DEM) quickly-RST 3sO-do-IMP/ 2sA-3sO-do-IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘What you have to do, do it quickly’.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(57)</th>
<th>ihna-ı' ihna-ı' (2709)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>quickly-RST quickly-RST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘overhasty’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The intensifier *maha* can also be adverbalized by means of this suffix:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(58)</th>
<th>maha-ı' (1496)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>INT-RST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘much’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:** alaláw (2953)
- **Heat:** učatu (2935)
- **Pain:** alayáw (2938)

They occur clause-finally:

(1) anirw, ina-ham liman-te a-moh-t-ag. alew (1556)
    INTJ: anticipation thus-CE mountain-AD 1ss-go.up-F-IA INTJ: cold
    ‘[Oh] What if I have to go up into the mountains? [Brrr!]’

(2) anirw, ina-ham ampe putam-maj a-pat-t-ag. uču (1557)
    INTJ: anticipation thus-CE depth world-INES 1ss-descend-F-IA INTJ: heat
    ‘[Oh] What if I have to descend into the underworld? [Pff!]’

(3) anirw, ina-ham a-šayš-laikt-ag alayw (1558)
    INTJ: anticipation thus-CE Iso-whip-3pA-F-IA INTJ: pain
    ‘[Oh] What if they are going to whip me? [Ouch!]’

The expression *alew* can also be used as a noun meaning ‘cold’. It then occurs clause-initially:

(4) heey, alew-na a-ki-ag (2955)
    INTJ cold-QUOT 1ss-be-IA
    ‘Yes, I am cold’.

2: Interjections indicating a state of mind or feeling. They also usually occur clause-finally, but for *anih*, expressing ‘surprise’, and *anirw* ‘anticipation’, which are found clause-initially:

(5) anih into-n'am a-ki-ag (2779)
    INTJ: surprise which-CMP-QM 1ss-be-IA
    ‘[Oh] What will befall me?’

---

32 Cf. Quechua alaláw ‘brrr!’

34 Cf. Quechua 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’m 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!’

*ani’iw: anticipation, when occurring clause-initially (see the examples above). It can then also be used to express ‘I wish’, ‘I desire’:

(8) *a-am’o-khe ani’iw* (2777) (9) *a-l’a-khe ani’iw* (2778)

1ss-eat-IMP 1wish

‘Oh, I wish to eat!’ ‘Oh, I wish to go!’

(10) *tanta a-l-o-khe ani’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!”’).

*ag* (2951): amazement (examples are missing);

*atih: distress:

(11) *ina tam pa’ow mi-kot-a-ke, atih* (354)

hopefully good 2ss-be-FN2-AN INTJ:distress

‘I whished you would have been good. [Ah!]’

*iča(kay)* (2937): disdain (examples are missing);

*ičey* (2956) fear (examples are missing). (It may have been pronounced as [ičiyej];

*iči*: horror:

(12) *ani’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 *iš*):

(13)  
\begin{verbatim}
peh-ča-ah, išiw (2950)  
distance-DIM-EX villain

‘Go away, villain!’
\end{verbatim}

The noun *išiwah* ‘badness’ is obviously related to *išiw*).

*onev*: anger (examples are missing). The form *onev* can also mean ‘harm’ and function as a noun:

(14)  
\begin{verbatim}
onev-ah p-a-o-ag (2948)  
wrong-EX 3SA-1SO-do-IA

‘He harms me!’
\end{verbatim}

*un’u* (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-ča-ah išiw* ‘Go away, villain!’ above, and see section 10.2.1):

(15)  
\begin{verbatim}
ah, Dios (2930) (16) ah, o-n’ip-iy-mu-ah (2941)  
O! God boo! 3sO-touch-PST-NE-EX

‘O God!’ ‘Boo, do not touch it!’
\end{verbatim}

*aha* ‘Aha!’, used when catching someone red-handed:

(17)  
\begin{verbatim}
aha, ampašleq (2932)  
aha! scoundrel

‘Aha, scoundrel
\end{verbatim}

*čoti* ‘I bet!’:

(18)  
\begin{verbatim}
aswa mi-pa-lamih-te-he mi-la-pe-kt-ag, čoti (2820)  
fish 2SA-3PO-kill-INF-BEN 2SS-go-NE-FA 1bet

‘You will not go out fishing, I bet!’
\end{verbatim}

*eey, heey, hey* ‘yes!’: 
(19)  eey  pol-t-an-na  a-haki-ap (1596)
yes  3sS.die-F-IA-QOT  1sS-think-IA
‘I think: “Yes, he will die”.

(20)  kač  o-m-a-pakt-ap-le.  heey.  o-a-pakt-ap (276)
maize  3ss-2sO-AP-be-IA-QM.  Yes,  3ss-1sO.AP-be-IA
‘Do you have maize? Yes, I have’.

(21)  hey.  amehe (2861)
yes,  truth
‘Yes, [it is] the truth’.

hay.  haya (2188) ‘I do not know!’ (examples are missing);

ma ‘no!’:

(22)  ma-na  a-l-a-ap (1578)
no-QOT  1sA-3sO-do-IA
‘I say ‘no’ to him’.

oy (2939) ‘O.K.’! (examples are missing).

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)  (24)  čim  mi-top-i (2189)
please!  2sPOS-bread  please!  2ss-sit.down-IMP
‘Please, give me (your) bread!’  ‘Please, sit down!’

‘Please, take a seat!’

(25)  čim  mi-amo-ki (2190)
please!  2ss-eat-IMP
‘Please, eat a little bit!’.

2: n’amo ‘come!’:

(26)  n’amo  ki-l’-a-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)č, -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 abverbial markers -ate, -čin, -čo, -čot, -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 -čin can be suffixed to temporal marker -čo, 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)č, -he and -na. The speech marker -(a)č indicates reported speech, -he an indirect discourse, and -na a direct discourse.

10.1.1. Reportative -(a)č
The ending -(a)č 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 -č is found after vowels and -ač after consonants. The speech marker -(a)č is often followed by -he (see paragraph 10.1.2) without a significant difference in meaning. The simple form -(a)č has been found:

(i) after personal pronouns:

1. (1) ok-ač (1317) 1s-REP
   ‘it is said that I’
   (2) sa-ač (1319) 3s-REP
   ‘it is said that he’

2. (3) ki-ha-č (1320)
   1p-PL-REP
   ‘it is said that we’

(ii) after a noun + agentive marker -tu-p in the following example:

3. (4) fiscal-tu-p-ač i-k-šayś-t-ag-na, Estevan public.prosecutor-AD-ABL-REP 3S-1PO-whip-F-IA-QUOT Estevan o-ki-ag (1323)
   3S-say-IA
   ‘Estevan says that the public prosecutor will whip us’.

The combined form -(a)č-he has been found:
(i) after personal pronouns:

(5) ok-ač-he (1331)  
1p-REP-IS  
‘it is said that I’

(6) mi-č-he (1342)  
2s-REP-IS  
‘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) Maria-lol či-n-iy, či-ha-sim-af-č-he angel  
Maria-PL 3ps-come-PST 3p-PL-EMP-RST-REP-IS angel  
či-po-yè-iy-na ki-khe, ko-lol-ač-he Jesuchristo kinha  
3pa-3po-see-PST-QUOT say-SIM this-PL-REP-IS Jesus Christ life  
ø-kot-am-na či-ki-ŋ (1586)  
3sS-be-IA-QUOT 3ps-say-IA  
‘The Marias came, saying that they too have seen angels which say that Jesus is alive’. (lit. ‘The Marias came, saying that they had seen angels, and that these are saying that Jesus is alive’).

(iii) after adverbs:

(11) kunču-af-č-he (1589)  
small-RST-already-REP-IS  
‘They said that little [is missing]’.

(12) ni-ču-al-č-he (1589)  
bit-DIM-RST-already-REP-IS  
‘They said that little [is missing]’.

(iv) after or before the speech marker -na (cf. 10.1.3):
Other elements with the shape -na are found after interrogative stems (10.3.3.) and in the pronoun mi-na-ha ‘2p’ (6.4).

(15)    angel-pit          mo-šl-ey-na-č-he,
        angel-COR  3SA.3PO-speak-PST-QUOT-REP-IS
    čik-no-w-mu-č-he-na        mo-hil-w-ey (1587)
    be.afraid-REFL-SE-NE-REP-IS-QUOT  3SA.3PO-word-VB-PST
‘and the angel said to them that they should not be afraid’
(lit. ‘And it is said that the angel spoke to them giving them the message
that they should not be afraid’).

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-a    hayu, yopup-e    me-kt-ap-he   yopup-af-pat
        interior-be-IMP  man dust-ANT  2SS-be-IA-IS dust-RST-INS
    mi-la-kt-ap (1973)
    2SS-go-F-IA
‘Remember man, dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return’.

(17)    a-nut'a        a-l-o-w-he        a-o-lusa-kia-g (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-g (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-kšayš-t-ap-he,    Estevan
        public.prosecutor-AD-ABL-REP  3SA-1PO-whip-F-IA-IS Estevan
    a-ki-ag (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’34:

34 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*  
public.prosecutor-AD-ABL-REP 3sA-1p0-whip-F-IA-QUOT  
*Estevan*  
o-ki-ap (1323)  
3sS-say-IA  
‘Estevan says that the public prosecutor will whip us’.

(21) *an-tel*  
Phariseo Jesus  
*mučam i-l-o-w,*  
one-CL:truncal Pharisee Jesus prayer 3sA-3sO-do-PST  
a-nek  
mi-am-o-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-ap (169)  
1sS-eat-IMP-QUOT 1sS-say-IA  
‘I want to eat’. (lit.: ‘I say; “Let me eat”’).

(23) *l-a-k-čin-na*  
i-pal’-ap (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 o-tepho-kte-he-na*  
i-pal’-ap (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*  
*či-n-iy,*  
*či-ha-sim-ač-he*  
angel  
María-PL 3ps-come-PST 3p-PL-EMP-RST-REP-IS angel  
či-po-yë-iy-na  
ki-khe (1586)  
3pA-3p0-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-ap (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-ap (1576)  
not-QUOT 1sA-3sO-do/say-IA  
‘I say ‘no’ to him’.
(28)  *alew-na  mi-ki-ap-le* (2954)
cold-QUOT  2sS-say-IA-QM
‘Are you cold?’ (lit.: ‘Do you say: “Brrrr”?’).

As stated, -na can be preceded by the endings -(a)ê-he and -he, and it can also be
followed by -(a)ê-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)  *inê-m-ah* (2719)  (30)  *ay-te-ah* (2195)
thing-QM-EX  back-AD-EX
‘What [is the matter]!’  ‘Quiet!’

(31)  *ah  o-n’ip-iyu-mu-a* (2941)  (32)  *onew-ah  a-l-o-aq* (2947)
INTJ 3sO-touch-SE-NE-EX  harm-EX 1SA-3sO-do-IA
‘Oh, do not touch it!’  ‘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)  (34)  *pol-t-ap-ham* (2631)
this.one-CE  3sS-die-IA-CE
‘What if [it is] this one!’  ‘What if he should die!’

(35)  *pol-o-ke-ham* (2632)
3sS-die-FN2-ANT-CE
‘What if he had died!’

(36)  *a’iw  ina-ham  a-sayš-la-kt-agh  alaw* (1558)
INTJ:anticipation thus-CE  1sO-whip-3pA-F-IA 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) amhe-na mi-ki-pe-ē-a mi-ē-a-t-ap-ham-pit (2774)
truth-QUOT 2sS-do-FAC-TOP 2sA-3sO-see-F-I1A-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-yač-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) avka mi-po-čap-te-he, seke mi-ē-a-pet-ap ēoti.
enemy 2sA-3pO-catch-INF-BEN again 2sS-go-NE-F-I1A 1.bet
into-nay, a-ē-a-t-ap (2822)
which-EX 1sS-go-F-I1A
‘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) inē-m (1347)
what-QM
‘What?’

(42) ol-(lo)l-am (1339, 1360)
who-(PL)-QM
‘Who (p)?’
(43) *Pukala-te-wa inča yu pey-am o-pakt-αŋ* (1398)
    Pucara-AD-TOP what kind earth-QM 3ss-be.there-IA
    ‘As for Pucara, what kind of earth is there?’

(44) *ana-č’el meč-am* (1408)
    how.much-CL-truncal tree-QM
    ‘How many trees?’

(45) *into-n’-č’o-m o-pakt-αŋ* (2541)
    which-CMP-already-QM 3ss-be.there-IA
    ‘What time is it?’

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-uʃ’a konfessan mi-kí-ap-le* (2862)
    2sPOS-REL-sin confession 2sA-do-IA-QM
    ‘Do you confess your sins?’
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(50) *kuč-le me-kt-ag, el mi-l-a-po-wa* (2983)
pig-QM 2sS-be-I A yucca 2s A-3sO-eat-FN2-TOP
‘Are you a pig that you eat yucca?’

(51) *mi-yelam-te-p-a atem-e-l* y mi-tpa… iy-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) *čč-le, t' al-le* (1389) (53) *mi-le, ok-le ki-l'a-kt-ag* (2502)
white-QM black-QM 2s-QM 1s-QM 1ps-go-F-I A
‘Is it white or black?’ ‘You or me? [Which of us] will go?’

(54) *kač'an-pat mi-čase-p-le, amehe-ke-le mi-hl-äp* (2969)
words-INS 2sA-play-I A-QM truth-ANT-QM 2sA-speak-I A
‘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-I A
‘What [kind of] news is there?’

(56) *inča-na, mu-n'ar'a-l'ak-pat-le a-sayč-la-śo* (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-I A
‘What is your name?’

(58) *inča-na-m čč-ki-āp* (1965)
what-QM-QM 3sS-say-I A
‘What do they say?’
“What do you want me to 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 em mi-sia-g (2877)
when-AL-QM-QM 2sPOS-friend 2sA-3sO.expect-IA
‘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 inča-m ‘what?’:

(66) inča-m-ma (1352) ‘Hey man, what is the matter?’
(67) inča-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) losše-sim (1389)
Spanish-EMP
‘It/he/she/they is/are Spanish/Spaniards’.
(69)  ko 'up-mag  ki-hō-lam-a  konfession-sim
this immersion-INES 1ps-be.submerged-FN1-TOP confession-EMP
a-kot-ap (1205) 3ss-be-IA
‘This immersion in [which] we are submerged is the sacramental
confession.’

(70)  paš'ow me-kt-eč  i-m-pas-ap-sim,  mu-lu-poh-he-pit'-o (425)
good 2ss-be-PURP 3sa-2so-advice-IA-EMP 2ss-interior-burn-SIM-NE-
FN2
‘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!’:

(71)  ko-sim-a (779)
here-EMP-TOP
‘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:

(72)  mek-lu-p  Dios-a  ki-pole-po  a-kot-ag (1567)
all-AD-ABL God-TOP 1pa-3so.love-FN2 3ss-be-IA
‘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):

(73)  mi-man-ap ok ašmag  a-mso-w  ok-a (1627)
2s-INES-ABL 1s first 1ss-be.born-PST 1s-TOP
‘I was born before you [were born]’.

(74)  ok a-low  ko-wa (1295)
1s 1sPOS-possession this-TOP
‘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) \textit{ok-tu-p a-m-a-ym-eh-ha-kt-aŋ into-n’am ko}
\begin{itemize}
  \item 1s-AD-ABL 1sA-2O-API-know-CAU-PL-F-IA
  \item which-CMP-QM this
  \item n’ansik ki-mo-pakna o-kot-aŋ.
  \item work 1PA-3SO.know-NOM 3SS-be-IA-TOP
  \item mi-mako-ha-lam-he/mi-mako-ha-kte-he (2906)
  \item 2A-3SO.understand-PL-FN1-BEN/2A-3SO.understand-PL-INF-BEN
\end{itemize}
‘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) \textit{qi-ta-wo-w-a, into-n’yam ki-l-o-po (389)}
\begin{itemize}
  \item 3SS.wild-VB-PST-TOP
  \item which-CMP-QM 1PA-3SO-do-FN2
\end{itemize}
‘If he has escaped, what can we do?’

(78) \textit{kuč-e le me-kt-aŋ, el mi-l-a-po-wa}
\begin{itemize}
  \item pig-QM 2SS-be-IA 2yucca 2SA-3SO-eat-FN2-TOP/
  \item kuč-e le me-kt-aŋ, maš a mu-ø-lup-o-wa (2983)
  \item pig-QM 2SS-be-IA something.raw 2SA-3SO-eat-FN2-TOP
\end{itemize}
‘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 -\textit{(w)a} is furthermore found after subordinators, after a nominalized verb form in -\textit{(k)he} and -\textit{(n)ap}, and after nominalized verb forms ending in -\textit{(k)te-he}, -\textit{lam-he} and -\textit{lam-man-ap}:

(79) \textit{hayu pol-nap-a, mu-mpuš-tu-p inč-a-te-m}
\begin{itemize}
  \item man 3SS.die-SEQ-TOP 2SSPOS riches-AD-ABL thing-AD-QM
  \item i-maš ow-eh-t-aŋ (2903)
  \item 3SA-3SO.good-VB-F-IA
\end{itemize}
‘How can riches be profitable, when a man dies?’

(80) \textit{ko kama-pat ki-kol-čin-he-wa, into-n’am ki-a-ki-kt-aŋ (2844)}
\begin{itemize}
  \item this illness-INS 1PS.die-NE-SIM-TOP which-CMP-QM 1PA-3SO-do-F-IA
\end{itemize}
‘What shall we do, [so that] we do not die from this illness?’
We learn to read with big effort.

What shall we do, in order to be liberated/remain free from this illness?

I shall tell how we are to be liberated/remain free from punishment.

If Juan had been good, his son would also have been good.

If you had been good, I would also have been good.

Luis went away, but Pedro is/stays at home.
10.7. Adverbial markers -ate, -ən, -čō, -čot, -hin, -in, -mok

The sentential suffixes -ate, -ən, -čō, -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 ‘antioriity’, section 7.4.3):

(87) pe-kt-iy-ate (303)
2sf-be-PST-then
‘you (f) were then’
‘you had been’

(88) a-gol’-ey-ate (697)
1SA-3SG.love-PST-then
‘I then loved him/her/it’
‘I had loved him/her/it’

2: -ən ‘maybe’ (cf. -čn ‘negator’, section 11.2) functions as a dubitative marker,
(i) when it occurs in combination with a question word:

(89) in-č(-pit)-ən (2731)
thing(-IND)-DUB
‘I do not know what it is’.
‘I do not know what you say’.

(90) into-n’-ən (2531/2532)
which-CMP-DUB
‘I do not know where’.
‘I do not know how’.

(91) ana-pi-ən (2489)
when-AL-DUB
‘I do not know when’.

(ii) when attached to a nominal stem:

(92) mi-ən mi-hint’iw-iy (1328)
2s-DUB 2ss-talk-PST
‘Maybe you talked’.

(93) Pedro-ən a-kot-aŋ (1329)
Pedro-DUB 3SS-be-IA
‘Maybe it is Pedro’.

(94) kapi nem-ən a-nan-t-aŋ (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 -čn ‘already’:

(95) ut’a-ač Dios-te i’ey-čn-ən (2890)
sin-AG God-AD 3SS.be.converted-PST-already-DUB
‘Maybe the sinner has already been converted to God’.

3: -čo ‘already’, ‘now’:

(96) ụt'a-uc ọ-n-ụt'a i-l-o-lam-man-ap-a, yam
sin-AG 3POS-REL-sin 3SA-3SO-do-FN1-INES-ABL-TOP amend
a-ki-y-čo-čo (2892)
3SS-make-PST-already-DUB
‘Maybe the sinner has already made amends’.

3: -čo ‘already’, ‘now’:

(97) ụs a-u…ø-n-ụt'sa i-l-o-lam-man-ap-a, yam
sin-AG 3POS-REL-sin 3SA-3SO-do-FN1-INES-ABL-TOP amend
a-ki-y-čo-čo (2892)
3SS-make-PST-already-DUB
‘Maybe the sinner has already made amends’.

3: -čo ‘already’, ‘now’:

(97) ụs a-u…ø-n-ụt'sa i-l-o-lam-man-ap-a, yam
sin-AG 3POS-REL-sin 3SA-3SO-do-FN1-INES-ABL-TOP amend
a-ki-y-čo-čo (2892)
3SS-make-PST-already-DUB
‘Maybe the sinner has already made amends’.

3: -čo ‘already’, ‘now’:

(97) ụs a-u…ø-n-ụt'sa i-l-o-lam-man-ap-a, yam
sin-AG 3POS-REL-sin 3SA-3SO-do-FN1-INES-ABL-TOP amend
a-ki-y-čo-čo (2892)
3SS-make-PST-already-DUB
‘Maybe the sinner has already made amends’.

3: -čo ‘already’, ‘now’:

(97) ụs a-u…ø-n-ụt'sa i-l-o-lam-man-ap-a, yam
sin-AG 3POS-REL-sin 3SA-3SO-do-FN1-INES-ABL-TOP amend
a-ki-y-čo-čo (2892)
3SS-make-PST-already-DUB
‘Maybe the sinner has already made amends’.

3: -čo ‘already’, ‘now’:

(97) ụs a-u…ø-n-ụt'sa i-l-o-lam-man-ap-a, yam
sin-AG 3POS-REL-sin 3SA-3SO-do-FN1-INES-ABL-TOP amend
a-ki-y-čo-čo (2892)
3SS-make-PST-already-DUB
‘Maybe the sinner has already made amends’.

3: -čo ‘already’, ‘now’:

(97) ụs a-u…ø-n-ụt'sa i-l-o-lam-man-ap-a, yam
sin-AG 3POS-REL-sin 3SA-3SO-do-FN1-INES-ABL-TOP amend
a-ki-y-čo-čo (2892)
3SS-make-PST-already-DUB
‘Maybe the sinner has already made amends’.

3: -čo ‘already’, ‘now’:

(97) ụs a-u…ø-n-ụt'sa i-l-o-lam-man-ap-a, yam
sin-AG 3POS-REL-sin 3SA-3SO-do-FN1-INES-ABL-TOP amend
a-ki-y-čo-čo (2892)
3SS-make-PST-already-DUB
‘Maybe the sinner has already made amends’.

3: -čo ‘already’, ‘now’:

(97) ụs a-u…ø-n-ụt'sa i-l-o-lam-man-ap-a, yam
sin-AG 3POS-REL-sin 3SA-3SO-do-FN1-INES-ABL-TOP amend
a-ki-y-čo-čo (2892)
3SS-make-PST-already-DUB
‘Maybe the sinner has already made amends’.

3: -čo ‘already’, ‘now’:

(97) ụs a-u…ø-n-ụt'sa i-l-o-lam-man-ap-a, yam
sin-AG 3POS-REL-sin 3SA-3SO-do-FN1-INES-ABL-TOP amend
a-ki-y-čo-čo (2892)
3SS-make-PST-already-DUB
‘Maybe the sinner has already made amends’.

The suffix -čo often occurs in combination with the adverb payam ‘almost’:

(101) payam-čo (2423)
almost-already
‘almost [everything] [is] already [there]’; ‘few things are lacking’

4: -čot ‘then’, ‘thus’:

(102) inča-čot (2866) (103) ipka-čot (2746)
what-then that-then
‘What then?’ ‘That then/thus’.

36 Cf. Quechua  k’its and Tarma Quechua kita ‘wild’
315

(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-n'-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)  o-t'ip-te  o-top-in (1181)
  3sPOS-house-AD 3sS-be-still
  ‘He is still at home’.

(109)  un'ah  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-pole-kte a-kot (750)
  God-hopefully 1sA-3sO.love-INF 3sS-be
  ‘I wished I had loved God’.

(112)  Dios  a-pole-kte-mok  a-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
0.8. 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. pel(e)h-u(e) a-nu(a)-weh-u(e)-pit a-kot-ag(1469)
3sO.search-AG 3sS-REL-sim-VB-AG-COR 3sS-be-IA
‘There is the seeker and the sinner’.

114. mi-pit, Pedro-pit e(c)eo sin’ mi-l-o-w-ha-p(2958)
2s-COR Pedro-COR money waste 2A-3sO-do-SE-PL-IA
‘You and Pedro waste your money’.

115. angel mek spiritu-l(e) e(-k)-a(pl) re. re. yo-pit
angels all spirit-RST 3ps-be-IA flesh bone blood-COR
a-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 in(e)k a-po-hina-y-e-o-te,
all thing 3pA-3pO-hear-PST-NOM-AD
ci-po-y’-iy-e-o-te-pit, Dios mu’-ah l-o-khe (1473)
2pA-3pO-see-PST-NOM-AD-COR God praise 3sO-do-SIM
‘They praised God in everything they heard and saw’.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{37}}\text{ Cf. Quechua "pas" ‘too’, ‘whatever’.}\]
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>g 'imperfective aspect'. The adverb is placed before this form:

(1) a-čip-te mol-maŋ ma o-pakt-aŋ (2399)
1sPOS-house-AD ground-INES not 3s-be-IA ‘He is not in the environment of my house’.

(2) tanta o-kot-ap-le. ma o-pakt-aŋ (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-ap-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-aŋ (1500)
1ps-interior-VB-FN1 not 3ss-be-IA ‘We do not have to be sad’.

(5) ma o-a-pakt-ap (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’in] ‘not yet’
(7) ma-in-le (2501) ‘not yet?’
(8) ma-alp (2672) [ma’alp] ‘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) t̚i-tu-p g-a-loh-čin-na ki-khe, a-rip-te
rain-AD-ABL 3sA-1sO-wet-NE-SIM say-SIM 1sPOS-house-AD
a-t-p-ag (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-ag (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-1sO-catch-NE-SIM-TOP what-QM
ki-l-o-kt-ag (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 -k can be added:

(13) hêp-tap išiwaḥ mi-kot-čin (339)
beware bad 2sS-be-IMP-NE
‘Beware, do not be bad!’

(14) hâpit mi-pole-čin (730)
beware 2sA-3sO-love-IMP-NE
‘Beware, do not love him/her/it’.

(15) mi-lčin (2506)
2sS-go-IMP-NE
‘Do not go!’

(9) ma-al’-čo (2673)
‘there is nothing left’
11.3. Negator -mu
The suffix -mu is always preceded by an extended stem in -(i)yi/-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-pul-eč o-masa-y (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-po-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-i-y-mu (481)  (20) l-o-w-mu (2504)
be-SE-NE 3sO-do-SE-NE
‘Do not be!’  ‘Do not do it!’

(21) angel-pit mo-šl-ey-na-č-he,
angel-COR 3sA.3po-speak-PST-QUOT-REP-IS
čik-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) kunču-na-pit (2612)  (23) an-čel-na-pit (2613)
small-NE-COR one-CL:truncal-NE-COR
‘not even a little bit’  ‘not even one’
(24) *na-he-piṭ* (2838)  
NEG-BEN-COR  
‘not even’

In two examples the suffix combination *-na-piṭ* means ‘neither’, ‘nor’, and is used to co-ordinate two correlated, negative alternatives:

(25) *maḥa-l-na-piṭ, kunča-na-piṭ* (2674)  
INT-RST-NE-COR small-NE-COR  
‘neither much, nor a little’

(26) *kunča-na-piṭ, maḥa-l-na-piṭ* (2675)  
small-NE-COR INT-RST-NE-COR  
‘neither a little, nor much’

In the nominalized verb form *-na-* is followed by instrumental *-paṭ* ‘because’ (see section 7.4.8.1):

(27) *Dios kamāṭiy o-ki-y sil*  
God order 3s-do-PST 3sPOS.word  
*a-milē-n-o-na-paṭ* sa *gratia-al a-yō-e-y* (2859)  
1sA-3sO,.break-IA-NOM-NE-INS 3s grace-RST 1sA-3sO,be-CA-IA  
‘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) *mi-połe-k-nik* (729)  
2sA-3sO,love-IMP-NE  
‘Do not love him!’

(29) *mi-l-o-k-nik* (2160)  
2sA-3sO-do-IMP-NE  
‘Do not do it!’

11.6. The use of *-čīn, -mu, -nik*  
A negative imperative or prohibitive can be formed by means of the suffixes *-čīn*, *-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) *-čīn* and *-mu* are used with both transitive and intransitive verbs, whereas *-nik* has only been found with transitive verbs;

(ii) *-čīn* and *-nik* are suffixed to imperative forms, whereas *-mu* is suffixed to the extended verb stem in *(i)y/-w*;

(iii) *-čīn* 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 -ción 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 -ción, -mu and -nik is shown in the following table. In this table the abbreviations tr. and intr. stand for ‘transitive’ and ‘intransitive’, respectively.

Table 11.1 Overview of the use of the negators -ción, -mu and -nik and of the prohibitives formed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>person</th>
<th>form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ción</td>
<td>tr./ intr.</td>
<td>2s/p, 3s/p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mu</td>
<td>tr./ intr.</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nik</td>
<td>tr.</td>
<td>2s</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)jg ‘incompletive aspect’, future in -(kt)-ap, nominalizations in -(e)c -(kt)e and -(lam), and subordination in -(kh)e and -(nap) 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-a (2160) ‘I do not do/make it’
(31) a-l-o-pe-kt-ap | ‘I shall not do it’
(32) a-l-o-pec | ‘that I do not do it’
(33) a-l-o-pe-kte | ‘that I do not do it’
(34) a-l-o-pe-lam | ‘that I do not have to do it’
(35) a-l-o-pe-khe | ‘as I do not do it’
(36) a-l-o-pe-nap | ‘(after) (1s) not having done it’

In one example sentence, -p(e)- was found before the past tense marker -(i)y:

(37) ipko-te a-tog-pe-y-ate (2386) there-AD 3ss-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 -p(ê)-o.
The latter may be analyzed as a negative stem consisting of -p(e)- ‘negation’, -it‘passivizer’ and the nominalizing ending -(ty)o. Like -(ty)o, -pi’t-o can be followed by the nominal past marker -(k)je, and by the suffix combination -tu-p-pit (-tu-p-pit is only used in combination with -(ty)o, see section 7.4.8.4). The forms in -pi’t-o-ke indicate an unreal (hypothetical) situation; those in -tu-p-pit a concession:

\[(38) \quad \text{pol-i-ty-pi’t-o (125)} \quad (39) \quad \text{a-sina-y-pi’t-o (218)}
\]

\begin{align*}
3\text{sss}. & \text{die-PST-NE-FN2} \\
1\text{sA}. & \text{hear-PST-NE-FN2}
\end{align*}

‘he did not die’

‘I did not hear’

\[(40) \quad \text{alkalde a-kt-i-ty-pi’t-o-ke-wa, mi-\text{t}e\text{m}\text{t}-\text{ap-la-}p\text{aka}\text{-ke (558)}}
\]

\begin{align*}
1\text{sS}. & \text{be-PST-NE-FN2-ANT-TOP} \\
2\text{sO}. & \text{help-3\text{pA}.NE-NOM-ANT}
\end{align*}

‘If I had not been mayor, they would not have helped you’.

\[(41) \quad \text{o-k-nik mi-l’a-kt-e-he mi-men’o-w-pi’t-o-tu-p-pi’t,}
\]

\begin{align*}
1\text{s-COM} & \text{2\text{sS}.go-INF-BEN} \\
2\text{sA}. & \text{3\text{sO}.want-PST-NE-FN2-AD-ABL-COR}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{ok-a mi-nek} & \text{a-t’w-ag (2841)} \\
1\text{p-TOP} & \text{2\text{sPOS-company} 1\text{sS}.go-IA}
\end{align*}

‘Although you did not want to go with me, I go with you’.

In one example negator -pi’t-o is used with a non-past meaning, the ending -w to which it is suffixed only functions as a stem extension marker:

\[(42) \quad \text{a-t’mo-w-pi’t-o} \quad (2655) \quad \text{a-kt-ag (466)}
\]

\begin{align*}
1\text{sA}. & \text{3\text{sO}.know-SE-NE-FN2} \\
1\text{sS}. & \text{be-IA}
\end{align*}

‘I do not know it’.

\begin{align*}
\text{cf.} & \quad \text{a-kt-i-ty-pi’t-o} \\
1\text{sA}. & \text{be-PST-NE-FN2}
\end{align*}

‘I had not been’

The suffix -pi’t-o can be attached to a subordinated form in -(k)he ‘simultaneity’ to indicate negative subordination:

\[(43) \quad \text{kot-he-pi’t-o (469)}
\]

\begin{align*}
\text{be-SIM-NE-FN2}
\end{align*}

‘as he is not’

\[(44) \quad \text{pa’ol ow me-kt-e\text{c} i-m-pa-sa-g-sim.}
\]

\begin{align*}
\text{good} & \quad 2\text{sS}.be-PURP \\
3\text{sA}. & \text{2\text{sO}.advise-IA-EMP}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{mu-la-poh-he-pi’t-o (425)} \\
2\text{sS}. & \text{interior-burn-SIM-NE-FN2}
\end{align*}

‘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 -čn, -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 -tjo. A form such as *(p)e-go has not been encountered *(p)e-fo, 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-aŋ (487)
      2sS-be-NOM  2sS-be-IA
‘you cannot be’

(46)  ki-o-cëm-pakna  o-kot-aŋ (2809)
      1pA-3sO-exile-NOM  3sS-be-IA
‘He cannot be exiled’.

(47)  pe  mek  è-kt-iy  o-kot-nap,  into-n’,  ki-po-wo-pakna
      that all  3ps-be-PST  3ss-be-SEQ which-CMP  1pA-3po-do-NOM
è-kt-aŋ (60)
      3ps-be-IA
‘Since they were that many, they could not be counted’.

Sometimes a form in -pakna expresses ‘inadmissibility’:

(48)  mi-a-ławoh-pakna  me-kt-aŋ mi-yelam-a (1574)
      2sA-3sO-carry-NOM  2sS-be-IA  2sPOS-bed-TOP
‘You may not carry your bed’.

(49)  quaresma  alum  nem-tê-wa,  [...]  ayêla  a-ğup-la-pakna
      Lent other day-AD-TOP [...] meat  3sO-eat-3pA-NOM
a-kot-aŋ (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-a-lusay-pakna  a-kot-aŋ (2806)
      1pA-3sO-pity-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-ðko-pit misa
which all Easter 3sS-be-FN2-ANT which-DEM-IND Mass
i-sinñh-pakna ø-ayki-go-le (2860)
3s%A-3sO.attend-NE.NOM 3sS-be.there-FN2-QM
’[Easter] being such a big feast, could there be anyone not attending Mass?’

Like -pit-o, -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) ipko-te ø-top-pakna-ke/ ø-top-pit’-o-ke,
there-AD 3sS-be-NE.NOM-ANT/ 3sS-be-PST-FN2-ANT
i-tpe-kte-he ø-faw-iy (2388)
3s%A-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. -(k)e, 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 y ki-l-o-pakna ø-kot-aŋ (390)
which-CMP 1pA-3sO-do-NE.NOM 3sS-be-IA
’There is no remedy [for that]’, (< ‘It cannot be done by us’).

(55) ø-kot-pakna ø-kt-aŋ (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:
The suffixes -pit-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 -pit-o are rarely followed by the verb k(o)t ‘(to) be’, those in -pakna are regularly followed by this copula;
(iii), forms in -pit-o mainly function as main predicates. They only occur in a subordinate clause when -pit-o is preceded by the subordinator -(k)he (cf. the example mu-lu-poh-he-pit-o ‘not because you are abhorred’ above), or followed by the suffix sequence -ke-wa (see the example alcalde a-kt-iy-pit-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)io 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)io, 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)io and in -pakna can occasionally function as main predicates;
(iii), like -(g)io, -pakna can express different modalities (see above), in positive -(g)io and in negative -(pakna) interpretations:

- (g)io -pakna
obligation inadmissibility
possibility impossibility
worthyness unworthyness

However, there are also a few differences in the use of -(g)io and -pakna:
(i), forms in -(f)jo can occur in an attributive extension of the subject and in object clauses (see section 7.4.7.7); (ii), -(f)jo is mainly used to express the modality of ‘obligation’, whereas -pakna is more often used to express ‘impossibility’; (iii), unlike forms in -(f)jo, which can be used attributively as adjectives or independently as nouns, those in -pakna are only found as nominal complements of 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-č o-kot-a mita mita mo-o-w, mušak
God 3ss.know-FAC 3ss-be-TOP time time 3ss.3po-do-PST sun
nem-te, pel mahač-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 ‘María ... ki-khe’ and ‘ko-lol-ač ... e-ki-ag’ are juxtaposed, in the second example the clauses ‘baptismo-te ... ña-he’ and ‘ki-n-anima ... i-k-a-ñah-te-he’:
(2) Maria-lol &-n iy, &-ha-sim-at&-e&-he angel
Maria-pl. 3ps-come-pst 3p-pl-emp-rst-rep-is angel
&-po-y&-t&-iy-na ki-khe, ko-lol-a&-he Jesuschristo kinha
3pa-3po-see-pst-quot say-sim this-3pl-rep-is Jesus Christ life
a-kot-an-na &-ki-ag (1586)
3ss-be-ia-quot 3ps-say-ia
‘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 latter) say that Jesus
Christ is alive’.

(3) baptismo-te hayu o-maso-kiah-he-pat, ki-Dios-a
baptism-ad man(kind) 3ss-be-born-rep-sim-ins 1pos-God-top
mul-iy-pit-o, ni-ka-nik sim ku-nut'a
3ss-be satisfied-pst-ne-fn2 bit-dim-com-emp 1pos-rel-sin
l-o-khe, ma a'ti'v kama ki-ki-po ke-kt-iy o-kot-nap.
3s-do-sim int frequently illness 1ps-do-fn2 1ps-be-pst 3ss-be-seq
t'a&-he, ki-n-anima mek pama u-tupat
3s.o-see-sim 1pos-rel-soul all 3s.illness 3pos-direction
u-k-ku'h&a-veh-o ra'kio kama't'in o-ki'y, ki-pa
3s-a-1ps-life-vb-fn2 medicin order 3ss-do-pst 1pos-father
Jesuschristo t'o-ke-ak-pat t'am-eh-he.
Jesus Christ 3spos.blood-ant-nf-ins 3ss.know-cau-sim
o-manhi&-khe, ki-sal't o mek
3s-a-3s.o.submerge-sim 1pos-soul 3spos.blood all
i-k-a-ka'moh-te-he (1204)
3s-a-1ps-apl-3s.o.know-inf-ben
‘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) *mec* ø-ki-ap-pit, sukusił | ɬ-ɬ’a-nap, nep-te
    tree 3sA-be.made-IA-COR  bird 3ps-come-SEQ  branch-AD
    i-tonle-kte-č (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)
    deaf-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) *mec* ø-ki-ap-sim-al’ sukusił-pit &-n-ap.
    tree 3ss-be.made-IA-EMP-RST  bird-COR 3ps-come-IA
    nep-te-pit i-topli-ap (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-ap, mi-pit mi-yoy-ap-sim-al’ (2964)
    1s 1ss-cry-IA 2s-COR  2ss-cry-IA-EMP-RST
    ‘I cry and you cry [also]’.

(8) into mek ø-kot-he-pit, into mek ø-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-a (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 iko-na-pit’, Juan-pit ø-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) l’a-k-pit, mi-l’a-kiah-i-pit/ l’a-kiah-o-pit (2959)
    go-IMP-COR 2ss-go-RE-IMP-COR/ go-RE-IMP-COR
    ‘Come back or go!’ (lit. ‘Go or come back!’)
(12) kunču  a-kot-hu-pit,  maha-’  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-pu/  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-t’-a-kt-ap-sim (238)
cry-IMP-COR 1sS-go-F-IA-EMP
‘Even though you cry, I shall go’.

(15) e-m-ečiah-khe-pit (2869)  (16) l-o-w-mu-pit (2678)
3sA-2sO-defeat-IMP-COR 3sO-do-NE-IA-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 -(o)tu-p(-ham)-pit ‘future nominalizer 2’. (After nominalizer -(o), the ending -pu-p(-ham)-pit is used in order to indicate ‘concession’, see section 7.4.5.4). Examples:

(17) išiwah  ki-kot-hu-pit,  palow  mi-kot-p-ag (402)
bad 1sS-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-tpolc-št-pit  i-o-tesah-p-ag (765)
3sA-3sO.love-FACT-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: *iŋko* *mek* ‘that much/many’; *iŋko-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’; *iŋko* ‘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, *iŋko-min’-al’ correlates with -(mi)n’; *iŋko* *mek*, *into* *mek(-al)’, and *pe* *mek* with *into* *mek:*

(20) *mi-pa-ha* ęk-kt-iy-min’, *iŋko-min’-al’* me-kt-iy-ha-na (417)
    2POS-father-PL 3Ss-be-PST-CMP that-CMP-RST 2Ss-be-SE-PL-IA
    ‘Like your fathers were, so are you’.

(21) *into* *mek* *pok* *mi-he* a-lu-pakt-aŋ, *iŋko* *mek* *pok*
    which all time 2s-BEN 1Ss-interior-be-IA that all time
    Dios mučan a-m-a-t-aŋ (2514)
    God prayer 1SA-2SO-APL-do-IA
    ‘Whenever I think of you, I recommend you to God’.

(22) *into* *mek* m-a-y-aŋ, *into* *mek(-al)’* a-m-e-kt-aŋ (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-aŋ, *pe* *mek* mi-miš-to-kaŋ (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’, *iŋko-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 -(e)é 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)é ‘factive’ (section 7.4.6.1), -(k)te ‘infinitive’ (section 7.4.6.2), -lam ‘future nominalizer 1’ (section 7.4.6.3), -(g)io ‘future nominalizer 2’ (section 7.4.6.4) and -uc ‘agentive’ (section 7.4.6.5); and finite forms by means of the deictics ko ‘this one’ and ipko ‘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)’; -fak-pat ‘because’; -fak-te-p ‘because’; -man-ap ‘after’, ‘besides/ not only/ on top of’, ‘than (comparison)’; -(mi)n ‘as/like’, ‘on the verge of’; -(n)ap ‘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 -hu ‘switch-reference’ (section 7.4.7.1), -(k)he ‘simultaneity’ (section 7.4.7.2), -(n)ap ‘sequence’ (section 7.4.7.3), and -(f)it-eé ‘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)ap ‘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)é, -hu:

(25) i-fa-é m-i-po-yé-yé-le (1601)
3ps-go-FAC 2sa-3po-see-PST-QM
‘Did you see them going?’

(26) i-ti-p-te i-top-hu a-po-yé-yé (1599)
3pop-house-AD 3ps-be-SR 1sa-3po-see-PST
‘I saw them in their houses’.

(ii) avoidance: -lam-man-ap, -lam-te-p, -(g)io-te-p:

(27) a-sayš-la-lam-man-ap a-špeh-no-kt-aŋ čōti (2374)
1so-whip-3pa-FNI-INES-ABL 1ss-liberate-RFL-FIA 1.bet
‘I bet that I shall liberate myself from the whips’.
(lit. ... from them whipping me).
How can we escape from our sins?

They put him in the stocks, because he fled.

Because I have stayed in their house, they used to give me their food.

Because I know my disgrace, I shall always be mindful of my sins.

Because the road is bad, you (p) descended with great effort.

You (f) are happy, because your husband came.
(36) into-n'am a-m-pako-kt-ap, a-m-yac-pakna
which-CMP-QM 1sA-2sO-know-F-IA 1sA-2sO-see-N Trên
a-kot-o-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-(l'ak)-pat/-l'ak-)te-p.
man-PL 3pPOS-REL-sin INT all 3pS-be-PST-NOM-(NF-)INS/-NF-JAD-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)jo-man-ap, -o-man-ap:

(38) p-a-ym-eh-uc-a i't'm-e-p-k0-man-ap-pit
3p-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-1-o-kt-e-man-ap, a-kt-o a-kt-aŋ (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' -ag (2783)
1sA-3sO.want-IA
‘I prefer to work rather than to be idle’.

(41) Dios-tu-p hayu yam mo-o-w-o-man-ap.
God-AD-ABL man punishment 3SA.3p-do-PST-NOM-INES-ABL
asman mo-šp-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-ap-k0-n' a-te t-o-if'-he (2322)
2sS-say-IA-DEM-CMP 1s-AD 3sS-do-PAS-IMP
‘Let it be done to me as you say’. 
(43) kama’tiŋ mi-kį-y-o-min’ (2320)  
order 2ss-do-PST-NOM-CMP  
‘as you ordered’

(vi) concessive: -(k)he-pit, -(g)o-tu-p(-ham)-pit, -pakna-tu-p-pit:

(44) mosču kot-he-pit, kes o-ki-kt-aŋ (407)  
little be-IMP-COR age 3ss-become-F-IA  
‘Even though he is small, he will grow’.

(45) šayapi-ke a’l’ha a-kot-o-tu-p-pit l’iš-a into-n’-am  
forest-ANT animal 3ss-be-FN2-AD-ABL-COR monkey-TOP which-CMP-QM  
tanta i-l-a-po o-t’am-aŋ (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,  
1s-COM 2ss-go-INF-BEN 2SA-3SO.want-PST-NE-FN2-AD-ABL-COR  
ok-a mi-nek a’t’w-ap (2841)  
1s-TOP 2s-company 1s-go-IA  
‘Even though you did not want to go with me, I do accompany you’.

(47) santo ą-kot-o-tu-p-ham-pit Dios ø-nano-w-la-ŋ (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-tel a’ťap-te-na a-sep eh-he-nake,  
one-CL:truncal 1SA-3SO.catch-F-QUOT 3ss-pretend-CAU-SIM-PER  
an-tel i-t’p-ap (2387)  
one-CL:truncal 3SA-3SO.catch-IA  
‘Instead of catching one, he catches another one’.  
(lit. By pretending: “I am going to catch one”, he catches another one’).
(50) 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].’

(ii) direct object: -(e)č, -(k)te, -(lam), -(y)o:

(51) i-m-kole-č mi-ta-e-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-l’a-po-čo mi-t’-m-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 1pos-God-TOP mul-iy-pit-o 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-tp-iy-o-te 181 1ps-be-PST-NOM-AD
‘where we were’

(xi) ‘not alone … but also’: -o-man-ap:

(57) resap ki-ki-y-o-man-ap, misa ki-sina-y 1ps-do-PST-NOM-INES-ABL Mass 1pA-3sO.attend-PST
‘Besides praying, we have [also] attended Mass’. 
(xii) purposive: -(e)ê-(k)it-eê - (k)te-he, -lam-he:

(58)  i-m-kaf'-ap-ko-nì  kama  pa'òw  l-o-k,
      Dios-tu-p  i-m-kole-kt-eê  i-m-kole-po  o-kot-eê(772/773)
God-AD-ABL 3sA-2sO-order-IA-DEM-CMP patient good 3sO-do-IMP
‘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-pal'-ap (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-nì'-am
this illness-INES-ABL 1ps-free-RFL-FN1-BEN-TOP which-CMP-QM
ki-ki-kt-ap (2843)
1ps-do-F-IA
‘What shall we do to free ourselves from this illness’.

(xiii) resultative: -eê.

(61)  oyna-ê  a-kt-eê,  p-a'-ukiow-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)ê, -(k)je, -lam, -(g)jo:

(62)  a-l-e-ê  a-pat'a-kia-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-map
2ss-weaken-PST 2ss-be.lame-PST height city joy life-INES
mi-esteh-he ašmag  mi-he  pa'òw  a-kot-ap [...] (1632)
2ss-enter-SIM first 2s-BEN good 3sS-be-IA
‘It is better for you to enter into heaven weak and lame [...]’.

(64)  a-ta-lam  a-kot-nap,  a-n'an-šip-ag (916)
1sS-go-FN1 3sS-be-SEQ 1sS-face-break.off-IA
‘Because I have to go, I hurry’.
(65) palöw ki-kot-o a-kot-ap (455)  

We have to be good.

(xv) temporal: -hu, -(k)he, -(k)he-nap, -(n)ap, -(g)o-patle, -(g)o-te, -o-man-ap, -o-te,

-ø-te-p:

(66) a-mpuš-nik kot-he, yupey-nik a-kot-t-a  

Being rich, I shall be esteemed.

(67) mi-ye-y ki-khe-nap, nem ø-poho-w (1622)  

After you finished sleeping, the day dawned.

(68) uťa-uč ke-kt-ap-ko-te-p, ičam-e penitensia l-a-nap.  

From sinners that we are, we will become saints after having done true penitence.

(69) a-kol-o-pat-le (2246)  

till I die  

a-řa-po-te (2238)  

when he goes

(71) hayu a-šu-č ěš-kot-te-ø-te, a-yipo-kt-a (2490)  

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  

and in Jesus Christ, his only son, who became a man after 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 -(e)čé and the ablative case marker -(a)ip (see also section 7.4.5.1):
(73) kasalag mi-ki-pe-č-ap, mi-l-o-ap-ko t’ač-o (1635)
    marriage 2s-do-NE-FAC-ABL 2sA-3sO-do-IA-DEM 3sO.see-IMP
    ‘Before you marry, look what you do’.

(b) -o-minus-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 a-liš-o-minus-čo o-kot-hu, t’amol-iy-la (1561)
    tree 3s-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-ıg o-kot-ty-ıgko, sa-p-sim
    1sS-be-NE-FAC-ABL-still 3sS-be-PST-DEM 3sS-ABL-EMP
    a-kot-ap, a-n-ay o-n-an-t-ap-ıgko (1458)
    3sS-be-IA 1sPOS-REL-back 3sS-come-F-A-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 condicional clause is formed by means
    of the topic marker -(w)a:

(76) pačow me-kt-ıy-a, ok-pit pačow a-kt-ıy o-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 -(g)io, the
    nominalizing deictics -ko ‘this one’ and -ıpko/-a ‘that one’, the demonstrative
    -into-ıpko ‘which’ and the indefinite pronoun ol ‘who’. Forms in -lam and -(g)io can
    be used attributively before -(lam as well as -(g)io) or after a head -(lam). In the ALC
    headless relative clauses also occur. De la Mata analyzes them as ‘participles’. 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 l’up-mag ki-ho-ılam-a konfession-sim
    this immersion-INES 1ps-be.submerged-FN1-TOP confession-EMP
    a-kot-ap (1205)
    3sS-be-IA
    ‘This immersion is the sacramental confession’. (lit. ‘This immersion in
    which we are submerged is the sacramental confession’).
ki-tel-pat ku-tup-lam pana (2317)
1PPoS-foot-INS 1Ps-walk-FN1 road
‘a footpath’ (lit. ‘a road which we have to walk by our feet’)

Those formed by means of -(gi) precede the head (see section 7.4.5.4):

ko posilw-o putam-te (2976)
this 3Ss.go.round-FN2 world-AD
‘in this beautiful world’ (lit. ‘in this world which goes round’)

u-k-kul y ha-weh-o tukiow (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)ig; ipko is found optionally with verbs marked for past or future tense,
and with nominalizer -lam:

a-polap-ko (795)
1sA-3sO.love-1A-DEM
‘I who love him/her/it’

a-pol-iy-ipko (698)
a-pol-iy-o (798)
1sA-3sO.love-PST-DEM 1sA-3sO.love-PST-NOM
‘I who loved him/her/it’ ‘I who loved him/her/it’

a-pole-kt-an-ipko (801)
a-pole-kt-ipko (801)
1sA-3sO.love-F-1A-DEM 1sA-3sO.love-F-1A-NOM
‘I who shall love him/her/it’ ‘I who shall love him/her/it’

a-pole-lam-ipko (802)
a-pole-lam (802)
1sA-3sO.love-FN1-DEM 1sA-3sO.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:

nonas-na a-ki-ap-ko hakol l-a-iti-t-ap (1470)
glory-QUOT 3sS-speak-1A-DEM humble 3sS-do-PAS-F-1A
‘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-įgko* (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 čąp-a, n’o mi-po-šk-ey-pit, pe*  
3SA-2SS-carry-PST womb-TOP breast 2SA-3PO-drink-PST-COR that  
*mek makhay čę-kt-ąj* (1472)  
all bliss 3PS-be-IA  
‘The womb that carried you, and the breasts that you drank from, they are  
blissful’.

(88) *into-įgko-pit mučaq a-l-o-kt-ap-įgko sa-p-sim*  
which-DEM-IND kiss 1SA-3SS-do-F-IA-DEM 3SS-ABL-EMP  
a-kot-ap, *mi-r’ap-ha-ki* (1475)  
3SS-be-IA 2A-3SS-catch-PL-IMP  
‘Whoever I shall kiss, catch him, he is the one’.

(89) *ko hil l-o-ił-įy, ki-taš-te* (1463)  
this word 3SS-make-PAS-PST 1PA-3SS-see-F  
‘Let us see the word which was made’.

The head of a form in *-įgko* is the object:

(90) *mi-l-o-λam(-i)šipna-l mi-l-o-ki* (1489)  
2SA-3SS-do-FN1(-DEM) quick-RST 2SA-3SS-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 *into-įgko* or the indefinite *ol*  
play the role of a relative pronoun:

(91) *įgko n’alo oo into-įgko Jesus i-gol-iy*  
that disciple who/which-DEM Jesus 3SA-3SS-love-PST  
a-n-ąj mir-hu i-tčę-iy,  
3SPOS-REL-back 3SS.come-SR 3SA-3SS-see-PST this-EMP great  
lamolam-te o-lu-č’el  
meal-AD 3SPOS-interior-CL:truncal face-AD 3SS.lean.over-REL-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’, -(q)io ‘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-ã (1617)
   1ss-interior-burn-FN1 1ss-be:IA
   ‘I used to abhor’.

In the case of -(q)io and -pakna, the negative counterpart of -(q)io, the subject of the copula can either be identical to or different from that of the nominalized form in -(q)io and -pakna. When the subjects are identical, the sentence is in the active voice:

(93) ašmaŋ mi-l’a-go me-kt-ã mi-wa (1080)
   first 2ss-go-FN2 2ss-be:IA 2s-top
   ‘You have to go first’.

(94) mi-l’awoh-pakna me-kt-ã mi-yelam-ã (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 -(q)io or -pakna, the sentence is passive:

(95) mi’ip-ë & real Juan mi-l-e-ã
   four-CL:round quarter.of.a.peseta Juan 2sa-3sO-give-FN2
   a-kot-ã (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 &e-kt-ã-k0-ãk-pat, into-n’ ki-po-wa-pakna
   that all 3ss-be:IA-DEM-NF-INS which-CMP 1pa-3po-do-NE.NOM
   &e-kt-ã (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)ê, attached to a nominalized form in -(k)te ‘infinitive’ (see section 7.4.5.2), -(q)io ‘future nominalizer 2’ (see section 7.4.5.4), or -pakna, the negative counterpart of -(q)io (see section 11.7). We have seen that the endings -(k)te-ke, -(q)io-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) inaham 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-õ-o-ke (467) 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 -(q)io-ke precedes the one in -(k)te-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 -pit-o-ke precedes the clause with -pakna-ke:

(102) yel a-kot-iv-pit-o-ke-wa, ayča ki-mtihi-pakna-ke (504)
salt 3ss-be-PST-NE-FN2-ANT-TOP meal 1PA-salt-NL.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<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 have 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(g) (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’aj’ in the following form: ikhan’atokol’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’aj could also be an imperfecIVE aspect form which could be derived of han’a(h) (class 2); han‘ han’ (class 3); han’ (class 4); han’ (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
may belong. Hybrids like *(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 *aŋ, suffix -i(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 kiśi(h) ‘(to) cheat’ below has been derived from the irregular imperfective aspect form a-písí-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(N)n’e(h) ‘(to) leave’ also only occurs in one form:

\[ mi-p’e-h-la-kt-aŋ (1366) \]
\[ 2sO-leave-3pa-k-A \]
\[ ‘they will leave you’ \]

The stem p(N)n’e(h) may have been derived from a hybrid verb *p(N)n’i(o), cf. *t(a)m(o) ‘(to) know’ (1 + 5) > *t(a)m(eh) ‘(to) teach’ (2). Since the verb has a consonantal stem ending in h, we may assume that it behaves as a class 2 verb.
13.2. Lexicon

A

\(a/-\ an/-\ at-\) NUM
\(a\) (NR) V
\(ah!\) INTJ

\(aha!\) INTJ

\(ahwiya\) INTJ
\(akinga\) INTJ
\(aku!\) INTJ

\(alkalde\) (Sp) N
\(alew\) INTJ
\(algwasil\) (Sp) N
\(alo\) N
\(alum\) INDP
\(al\ aw\) QUE INTJ
\(al\ ha\) N
\(al\ hi\) N
\(am\) N
\(amehe\) N
\(am(o)\) (5) V
\(lamolam\) N
\(ampal\) N
\(ampa\) N
\(ampe(h)\) N
\(ampeh\) putam N
\(ampek/\ empek\) ADV
\(ana\) QW
\(a(n)\) (IR) V

one
(to) do, (to) say; (to) eat
interjection to hail someone or to give someone a fright
interjection used when catching someone red-handed
hang on!
wait!
interjection expressing lovingness and pity
mayor
interjection of cold
public prosecutor
outside
another, other(s)
interjection of pain
animal
sweetness
food; place
truth
(to) eat
meal
something old
unfortunate; scoundrel
depth; downside
underworld, hell
good, alright
how many; when
(to) come
angel (Sp) N
anih! INTJ

anima (Sp) N
ar'iw! INTJ

an-tel INDP
ar' INTJ
ap(a) (4) V
apičak (QUE) N
asma ADV
ašwa N
ate QW
atelpa N
atelpa mulupču N
atem N
atemel ADV
atih! INTJ
at'iw ADV
awka (QUE) N
ay N
aye N
ayte ATT
aytel ADV
ayteču ATT
aytečval ADV
ayča' ey'ća (QUE) N
ayki (NR) V
ayunaj (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

secretly

meat

(to) stay

fast
B

*baptismo/ baptisay* (Sp) N  baptism
*Bielén (Sp) N*  Bethlehem
*bihiliya (Sp) N*  vigil
*birhen (Sp) N*  virgin
*byernes (Sp) N*  Friday

Č

č(e) (3) V  (to) give birth
čam N  chain
čay N  bundle
-čayı CL  bundled object
č(a)ją (1) V  (to) bind
čapłoŋ N  pan
čase(h) (2) V  (to) chat
  kačanpat čase(h) (2) V  (to) fool, (to) joke
č(a)s(o) (1 + 5) V  (to) play
če N  egg
-če CL
  čekelí ATT  round object
čeč N  excellent
cę N  clearness, white
cędo N  silver, money
cędo 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
čia(h) (2) V  (to) win
čia(h) V  (to) defeat
čikn(o) (5) V  
čiknopo  
čiknahn(o) (5) V  
čim! INTJ  
čin' N  
čit (1, or NR) V  
čoćol (2, 4, 5, or NR) V  
čol N  
čoti! INTJ  
čov N  
čol N  
čup N  
-čup CL  
-čup(o) (5) BV  
(to) be afraid  
fearful, fearsome  
(to) be amazed, (to) be surprised  
please!  
gray  
(to) lose  
(to) twinkle  
flash, flicker, light, twinkle  
I bet!  
louse  
mucus  
belly  
portable object  
(to) do tenderly  

D  
doktrina (Sp) N  
doktrina leić  
(to) recite the doctrine  
(lit. the doctrine is given)  
domingo (Sp) N  
sunday  

E  
e/’y (2) V  
(h)jeey!/ hey! INTJ  
el N  
elefante (Sp) N  
ex (NR) V  
espiritu (Sp) N  
esšek N  
extešeka(h) (2) V  
extešekon(o) (5) V  
(to) give  
yes!  
yucca  
elephant  
(to) enter  
(Holy) ghost  
cloth  
(to) cloth somenone  
(to) cloth oneself
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
hawey N incorruptible man
hay(a)! INTJ ‘I do not know!’
hayu N man
he(e)y! INTJ yes!
helak N relative
henap ADV taking care; by accident
henat ADV then
het (4), or NR V
hia(h) (2) V
hil N
hil N
-hil CL
h(i)l(a) (IR) V
hili N
hina(h) (2) V
hint'we/ hint'i (IR) V
   hint'weka(h) (2) V
ho N
h(o) (5) V
hok N
hoqkesj N
hostia (Sp) N
h(N)lem N
hul N
hulap N
hulum N

ho la
ho la
ho la
ho la
ho la
ho la
ho la
ho la

ič- iš- NUM
ištako ištako ADV
iču/kaju! INTJ
ičam N
ič! INTJ
ičey! INTJ
iglesia (Sp) N
ihna ADV
ila N
   ila pulupču N
   ilaču N

   (to) release
   (to) wait
mosquito
word
speech
(to) speak, (to) say
fault
(to) hear
(to) talk
   (to) fool, (to) joke
blood
(to) dig
clarity
something large
Eucharist
friend
pine cone
wideness
fatness, thickness

three
in three
interjection expressing disdain
truth
interjection expressing horror
interjection expressing fear
church
quickly
woman
girl
little girl
ilo ADV
i(h)na ADV
ina(haj)m ADV
inča INDP, N; QW
  inča inča N
  inčaču N
  inčaN
iptkDEM
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
iťak N

K

kabaľo (Sp) N
kaćw N
kahapey N
  kahapey matiaŋ
kalis (Sp) N
kaľ (o) (5) V
  kaľoir'iŋy 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>Term</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kal'sok N</td>
<td>willingness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaloč N</td>
<td>plate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kama N</td>
<td>evil, harm, illness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamat ty (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>kasalaj' kasaraq (Sp) N</td>
<td>marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kasm(o) (5) V</td>
<td>(to) snow, (to) storm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kastigaj (Sp) N</td>
<td>punishment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kasa N</td>
<td>needle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kal'aj N</td>
<td>words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kal'ok N</td>
<td>box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kečwak (Q?) N</td>
<td>poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke (1, or NR) V</td>
<td>(to) look for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kel(e)hućN</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(th) (2) V</td>
<td>(to) walk, (to)stroll, (to)ramble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitha) 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>kil' 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
doing
kol N
death
kole/kol (3) V
(to) love
pole(lam) N
love
kolewuč N
lover
-k(o)lo(oh) (IR) BV
(to) finish
kolol N
almond, pip, stone
kolw(o) (5) V
(to) feed
konfesay/konfesion (Sp) N
confession
konsegrasion (Sp) N
consecration
kosi(f)wo(o) (5) V
(to) surround
kot N
water
k(o)j (1) V
(to) be
kotlam N
existence
kotuč N
living being
kotčal N  gravel bed, pebble(d) beach
kotpo(h) (2) V  (to) be
krus (Sp) N  cross
kučč (Sp) N  pig
kučččo (Sp) N  knife
kuka (QUE) N  coca leafs
kul N  ball of cotton
kule/kul* (3) V  (to) lay down
kulma N  ball
kul’a N  louse
kul’a ha N  life
kun (only found in combination with diminutive -ču, cf. mos and ni) N  something (small)
kup(e)pen’ N  tepidness
kwatrotemporas (Sp) N  Ember day

L

lam(a) (4) V  (to) kill
lamihuč N  killer, murderer
lasu/ rasu (QUE) N  hail
las* (3, 4, or NR) V  (to) be lame
layam (NR) V  (to) doubt
le N  tooth
lek NUM  ten
aleko aleko ADV  in ten
alek ant elo alek ant elo ADV  in eleven
lek N  underside
let N  season
lew N  caterpillar
lik (1, or NR) V  (to) weave
lima N  mountains, highland
lmosna (Sp) N  alms
lizensia (Sp) N  license
liš (1, or NR) V  (to) fall
lite(h) (2) V  (to) correct
litehuč N  judge
liw N  letter, book, painting
-šČN  multiform/ multicoloured object
-lo(h) (2) V  (to) write
-lo(h) (2) V  (to) wet
-lo N  (river) mouth
-loške N  Spaniard
-log N  publicity
-lopo(h) (2)/ lapo(h) (2) V  (to) do/make something
-low(N)/š (1) V  (to) hit
lu N  interior, intestines
-luk(o)š (1) V  (to) be (in)
lupak(o)š (1)/ lupok(o)š (1) V  (to) think, (to) seem, (to) remember
-lupo(h) (2) V  (to) abhor
-lušČl  breast
-luw(o) (5) V  (to) be sad
-luwolam N  grief
luško N  sadness, effort, difficulty
topo N
lušu N  top
tumfuš ap(o) (5) V  (to) embrace
lušitup ADV  intentionally
-ščes (Sp) N  monday
lusakš/ lusay (IR) V  (to) pity
lusakšewohn(o) (5) V  (to) offend
lusayeuč N  merciful person
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>layum (NR) V</td>
<td>(to) suffer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>layum N</td>
<td>work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luv(e)(h) (2) V</td>
<td>(to) prevent, (to) stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l(N)it (1) V</td>
<td>(to) weaken</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

L'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fa(h) (2) V</td>
<td>(to) loam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faka N</td>
<td>colour, something coloured, red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faks N</td>
<td>lightness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatipe(h) (2) V</td>
<td>(to) prepare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faaw/ Faa (IR) V</td>
<td>(to) go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fawig N</td>
<td>nail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa(w)o(h) (IR) V</td>
<td>(to) bring, (to) take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem (see also tel') ADV</td>
<td>still</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Femtap(o) (5) V</td>
<td>(to) help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fes N</td>
<td>alfalfa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F(e)jt (1) V</td>
<td>(to) be weak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig N</td>
<td>green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fis N</td>
<td>little kind of monkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fok N</td>
<td>nudity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PoPo N</td>
<td>tintinabulum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fom N</td>
<td>crevice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fu N</td>
<td>peacock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuhlam N</td>
<td>purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F(u)k(oh) (IR) V</td>
<td>(to) finish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-F(u)k(oh) (IR) BV</td>
<td>(to) finish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fup (NR) V</td>
<td>(to) eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fupuč N</td>
<td>eater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fup N</td>
<td>immersion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
M

ma ADV
ma! INTJ
mae ADV
maestro N
ma(ha) (cf. pa) N
mahac N
mahac N
mak/ makhay N
mak hay/mak say (NR) V
mak haki (NR) V
mala N
malevohček (ADV)
man N
(man)hič(o) (5) V
mas(o) (5) V
mas(o) (1 + 5) V
masowmaško N
mata N
meč N
mek INDP
mešus N
mesa (Sp) N
mi PRON
mi(h) (IR) V
mitl'ak N
mitl'akwe(h) (2) V
min'ip NUM
minaha PRON
misa (Sp) N

not
no!
falsely
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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mise</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mita</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mita CL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo(h) (2) V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mohn(o) (5) V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pilmohn(o) (5) V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mol</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mol CL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atmole atmole ADV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mon</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mos (only found in combination with diminutive -ču, cf. kun and ni) N</td>
<td>something (tiny)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mot</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muč</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mučay (QUE) N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu(h) (2) V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mula (Sp) N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mul(o) (5) BV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mušak</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nalo</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nan (IR) V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nan(o) (5) V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>napa</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>napu</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neit’ (NR) V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nem</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemlup</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- cold
- time
- time
- (to ascend)
- (to go up)
- (to lean on/against)
- (solar) day
- (solar) day
- from day to day
- ground
- back
- name
- (hot) pepper
- honour, prayer
- (to bring into the mouth, (to) taste;
- (to) bury
- mule
- (to) begin
- sun
- disciple
- (to come)
- (to be afraid)
- parrot
- (our) Lord
- (to embark)
- day
- midday
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>neg</em> N</td>
<td>hand, branch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mi</em> (only found in combination with comitative -<em>nik</em> and diminutive -<em>ču</em>, cf. <em>kun</em> and <em>mos</em>) N</td>
<td>something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nonas</em> N</td>
<td>grandeur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>none</em> ADV</td>
<td>yet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nuh</em> N</td>
<td>hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nuk</em> N</td>
<td>box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nun</em> N</td>
<td>male person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>n’ače</em> N (cf. <em>če</em>)</td>
<td>eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>n’alok</em> N</td>
<td>ordinary (time)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>n’amo!</em> INTJ</td>
<td>come!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>n’anmak</em> INDP</td>
<td>each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>n’anšik</em> N</td>
<td>effort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>n’an(ta)</em> N</td>
<td>face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>n’anmito</em> N</td>
<td>owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>n’anpuil</em> N (cf. <em>puil</em> ‘(to) fall’)</td>
<td>shame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>n’anšip</em> (2, 4, 5, or NR) V</td>
<td>(to) haste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>n’antum</em> (NR) V</td>
<td>(to) cover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>n’apa</em> N</td>
<td>parrot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>n’(e) (3) V</em></td>
<td>(to) sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>n’(i)k/n’ih</em> (IR) V</td>
<td>(to) fetch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>n’ip</em> (1, or NR) V</td>
<td>(to) touch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>n’o</em> N</td>
<td>breast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>n’u</em> N</td>
<td>daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Lojë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>someone’s mother</td>
<td>ëet N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>someone’s father</td>
<td>ëuc N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>something soft</td>
<td>ëun’a N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(to) do, (to) make</td>
<td>o (5) V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>something big</td>
<td>oço N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idleness</td>
<td>ohom N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>immediately</td>
<td>ohomaf ADV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>ok PRON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nine</td>
<td>okon' NUM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>who</td>
<td>ol INDP, QW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oil</td>
<td>olio (Sp) N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extreme Unction</td>
<td><em>Santo Olio</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saliva</td>
<td>ofe e N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chatterbox, talker</td>
<td>on'B'capla N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interjection expressing anger</td>
<td>onew! INTJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>well, pit</td>
<td>onja N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deaf-mute</td>
<td>opey (QUE) N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snake</td>
<td>owluum N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distance</td>
<td>ow N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.K.!</td>
<td>oy! INTJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>health</td>
<td>oyna N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
pa N  father
pa N  high degree
paha PRON  they
pah(a) (4) V  (to) separate
pahat N  yesterday
pahat(o) (5) V  (to) come down, (to) bring along from

pagalaŋ (Sp) N  the mountain
pak NUM  payment
pak(o) (5) V  eight
pak(o)j (1) V  (to) know
pakuplōw N  (to) be
palam N  passion fruit
palantu (Sp) N  field, square
-pale/pal (3) V  banana
palol/ palog N  (to) pass by
paľow N  (to) pass by
pan N  door, gate
pana N  beauty, goodness
pana N  mother
pangala N  road
papayu (Sp) N  forest turkey
Pasco (Sp) N  papaya
pas(o) (5) V  Easter, big feast
pasol N  (to) advise, (to) preach
pata N  summer
p(V)ha (1) V  body
pate/pat (3) V  (to) accompany
patili N  (to) go out, (to) leave

father, priest
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
(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
repeatabl 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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Cham Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>son</td>
<td>pul(up) N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husband</td>
<td>puluč N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(to) marry (a man)</td>
<td>puluč(о) (5) V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to abhor</td>
<td>pulawa(h) (2) / pulaw(о) (5) V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>pul(о) (5) V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to ask</td>
<td>pun(о) (5) V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reed</td>
<td>pusim N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>village, world</td>
<td>putam N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on purpose</td>
<td>payaka ADV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bridge</td>
<td>payup N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(to) obtain, (to) reach</td>
<td>p(Ν)ho(ř) (1) V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(to) leave</td>
<td>p(Ν)ne'e(ḥ) (2) V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(to) make, (to) commit</td>
<td>p(Ν)sa(ḥ) (1) V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>creator</td>
<td>p(Ν)sawohuč N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(to) spin</td>
<td>p(Ν)saw(о) (1 + 5) V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(to) salt</td>
<td>p(Ν)ti(h) (2) V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(to) swim</td>
<td>p(Ν)ti(o) (1 + 5) V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hail</td>
<td>rasu (see also lasu) (QUE) N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quarter of a peseta</td>
<td>real (Sp) N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prayer</td>
<td>resap (Sp) N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he, she, it</td>
<td>sa PRON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>something old</td>
<td>sa N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saturday</td>
<td>sabado (Sp) N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(to) carry</td>
<td>sah (1, 4, or NR) V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>food</td>
<td>sak N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
sakramento (Sp) N sacrament
sal’ N all, whole; soul
santo/ santu (Sp) N saint
sastre (Sp) N tailor
sayapi/ šayapi N forest
seč N head
seke ADV again, another time
semana (Sp) N week
-semana CL week
sep (2, 4, 5, or NR) V V (to) lie
sepek N lie
sepu (Sp) N stocks
sinta (Sp) N ribbon
sin’ N waste
siw N lack
soldado (Sp) N soldier
somek N wound
s(t)uk (1) V (to) laugh
suku(sil’) N bird
sup N roebuck
supey (QUE) N devil

Š

šahan N first
šala N basket
šalam N weakness, lazyness
šam N couple, pair
šaš N kind of armadillo
šay(o) (5) V (to) fast
šayš/sayč N whip
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ěle (1, 4, or NR) V</td>
<td>(to) be pregnant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěpek N</td>
<td>impotent, sterility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěpēs (NR)/ ěpēs(o) (5) V</td>
<td>(to) blow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěpēs N</td>
<td>scabies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěpēs (IR) V</td>
<td>(to) drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěpēs(h) (2) V</td>
<td>(to) get drunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěpēs(h) (2) V</td>
<td>(to) let someone get drunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěpēs(h) (2) V</td>
<td>drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěpēs(h) (2) V</td>
<td>drinker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěpēs(h) (2) V</td>
<td>(to) nearly do, (to) nearly happen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěpēs(h) (2) V</td>
<td>quickly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěpēs(h) (2) V</td>
<td>kind of fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěpēs(h) (2) V</td>
<td>river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěpēs(h) (2) V</td>
<td>(to) pour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěpēs(h) (2) V</td>
<td>brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěpēs(h) (2) V</td>
<td>village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěpēs(h) (2) V</td>
<td>accumulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěpēs(h) (2) V</td>
<td>together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěpēs(h) (2) V</td>
<td>Our Redeemer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěpēs(h) (2) V</td>
<td>our redemption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěpēs(h) (2) V</td>
<td>stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěpēs(h) (2) V</td>
<td>firm/stony object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěpēs(h) (2) V</td>
<td>(to) do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěpēs(h) (2) V</td>
<td>hipbone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěpēs(h) (2) V</td>
<td>kind of armadillo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěpēs(h) (2) V</td>
<td>stone on which maize, etc. is ground</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tanta (QUE) N bread
t(a)pač (1) V (to) rise
tapt (1, 2, 4, or 5) V (to) be
teh(h) N height, top
teh(o) (5) V (to) fill
tele ADV continuously
tel’ ADV (cf. ñem ‘still’) still
e(n)om N bit
tepiš (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, or NR) V (to) spin
tepat ADV always, eternally, for ever
teph(o) (5) V (to) keep watch
tepuče ADV intentionally, on purpose
tesa(h) (2) V (to) thank
t(e)senta N paradise
tesim ADV always
tiki (NR) V (to) be(come), (to) have
tin’e(h) (2) V (to) give splendour
-tip CL (small) piece
t(o)jg (1) V (to) be (seated)
togče(h) (2) V (to) hang around,(to) wander around
tole/ topf (3) V (to) sit down
trigo (Sp) N wheat
tua N cockatoo
-tuh CL detachable object
t(uj)jg (1) V (to) say to
t(uj)p (1) V (to) walk
tupuč N walker
tušuh N eagle
tušam (< yušam) N kind of armadillo
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T</th>
<th>Sense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ˈala N</td>
<td>married woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ˈ(a)law(o) (5) V</td>
<td>(to) marry (a woman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ˈak N</td>
<td>chicha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ˈaluč N</td>
<td>Ethiopian negro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ˈ(a)ip (1) V</td>
<td>(to) catch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ašwa ˈapuč N</td>
<td>fisherman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ˈel N</td>
<td>foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ˈel kačw N</td>
<td>bandy-legs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kit elpat kutuplam pana</td>
<td>footpath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ˈel CL</td>
<td>truncal object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ˈep N</td>
<td>meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ˈi N</td>
<td>rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ˈi let N</td>
<td>winter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ˈimus (2, 4, 5, or NR) V</td>
<td>(to) drizzle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ˈiy(N)sit (1) V</td>
<td>(to) clear up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ˈi)ˈal N</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ˈipiow N</td>
<td>kind of tree and its fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ˈifia(h) (2) V</td>
<td>(to) come back (to) return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ˈofok N</td>
<td>trousers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ˈuh(h) (2) V</td>
<td>(to) anoint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ˈukiow N</td>
<td>medicine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>U</th>
<th>Sense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uć(QUE) N</td>
<td>hot pepper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uća! INTJ</td>
<td>interjection of heat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ućuah N</td>
<td>warmth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulukiow N</td>
<td>partridge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uľ'uk</td>
<td>N (throwing-)spear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>un'ep</td>
<td>N wax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>un'uh</td>
<td>N health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>un'uw!</td>
<td>INTJ interjection of admiration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utja</td>
<td>(QUE) baby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ušus/</td>
<td>ušus N butterfly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uš N</td>
<td>N gourd; enemy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uľ'a</td>
<td>(QUE) N sin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uľ'auč</td>
<td>N sinner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uľ'aweh</td>
<td>(2) (to) judge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uľ'awehuč</td>
<td>judge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waka</td>
<td>(Sp) N cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wallw</td>
<td>(QUE) N something strong/beautiful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waranga</td>
<td>(QUE) N thousand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weha/</td>
<td>weša (Sp) sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wem</td>
<td>N yam, sweet potato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y(a)č</td>
<td>(1) N (to) see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yah</td>
<td>(4, or NR) N (to) bite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yalp</td>
<td>(1, 2, 4, or 5) N (to) gather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yam</td>
<td>N punishment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yamkuila</td>
<td>N diligence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y(a)m(o)</td>
<td>(1 + 5) N (to) know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y(a)mcel</td>
<td>(2) N (to) teach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ki)jemhuč</td>
<td>N (our) master, teacher, creator</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
savour, 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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Index of authors and subjects

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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 Gerómimo 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 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.
Histo de la Lengua Cholona

No se pronuncia  ni  en esta lengua las letras B, D, H, y la R, ni se diferencian, ni se acentúan las E y la O, lo que ni es claro ni se apercibe. Las pronunciaciones entre O y U, la G, en la escritura de los nombres, y demás veces, la pronunciación como G y como C, la J, la pronunciación como los acentos y las G antes de E y de la Y, la pronunciación de las vocales como U, la K, y en otras veces como Y, que se pronuncian como Y, y otras veces se pronuncian como E, la misma razón que apercibido de que la G solo se pronuncia en las dos vocales O y E, como en los nombres, que se pronuncian, cuando la pronuncian, las otras veces A, O, U y otras con todas cinco vocales. A esto se debe que aquel me haga, atiendan sumamente, digan como A, que tomen de ellos, las vocales, ni las otras palabras ni la lengua que lo hizieran. Mejor se advierte desde esta observación.

De la Dedicatoria del Nombre

Los capos de los nombres pertenecen por razón de las vocales, Luza el R, en su nombre, el g, en este, según los otros. Luza Corresponde a los llnombres.
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’, gule/gol ‘(to) love someone/something’ and men(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. (Matthaus ‘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 l (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
11 qui, quiha : primera persona de plural
12 miha : segunda
13 chi, chiha : tercera
14 ylou : genitivo
15 he, ge : dativo
16 te : acusativo de movimiento á lugar
17 tu : acusativo de movimiento á persona
18 ey, pey : vocativo: ey para hombres y pey para mugeres
19 ah! : vocativo
20 te, tep, llactep, pat, llacpat, nic, nec : ablativo

Exemplo de la declinacion
21 jayu, jayutup : el hombre ó gente
22 jayu ilou : del hombre ó de la gente
23 jayuhe/ge : para el hombre &
24 jayu te/tu : al hombre
25 jayu ey/pey : ola hombre, óla muger
26 jayu te : en el hombre
27 nun tep : ex viro, de varon, por obra de varon
28 jayu pat/llacpat/llactep : por ó por amor ó por causa del hombre
29 pat : ‘con’ instrumental
30 mech pat illoutzi : lo apaleò ó dio con palo
31 mannap : ex vel de
32 jayu nic/(n)nec : de compañia con el hombre

Del numero plural
33 lol : plural
34 xocotlolte : boca, orilla de rio
35 chijalol : ad*inbicem, mutuamente ó entre si
36 nunlol : los varones
37 nunlol loula : de los varones
38 nunlodge : para los varones
39 nunlolte/tu : a los varones
40 ah nun! : o varones
41 numey : ola varones
42 yl-la pey : ola mugeres
43 nunlolte : en los varones
44 nunlolte/pat/llactep, pat/llacpat : por ó por amor ó por causa de los varones
45 nunlollmannap : de los varones
46 nunlol (n)nec : con los varones
De otras particulas que según su construccion pluralizan los nombres
con que se juntan sin la particula lol

47 liman "né jayú yzip pusim " pat : las casas de los indios de la sierra
(a)ñantumilá chectan : están cubiertas con paja

48 mec : omnis et omne
49 mec-micolhactan : omnes moriæmíni: todos vosotros
morireis

50 pullem : denota correlacion y union con el otro extremo

51 nguch "pullem : padre è hijo
52 mul " pullem : hijo y padre
53 ngñetz " pullen : madre è hija
54 ñu " pullem : hija y madre
55 mul-luch " pullem : marido y mujer
56 co * mec, ynco * mec, pe * mec : cantidad
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[ç]tan : ay tantos como estos
60 pe * mec cheçi cot " naj, entoñ : ay tantos que no se pueden contar
qui " poño " paena chectan/pe * mec
chectancò " llacpat, entoñ &

61 mammënì, mamontë, matë, matëll : igualdad, calidad, igualdad con accion
62 mammënì chech chectan : igualmente son ó están blancos
63 matë chal-l chectan : igualmente son ó están negros
64 mammënì chim "(g) [ç]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 compré mis calzones

69 xê : cabellos, lanas ó pelos y plumas
70 axê : mis cabellos
71 ñachë : ojos
72 añache : mis ojos
73 nen : manos
74 nen : 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 Ilauí, Pedrovâ zipte ton : Luis se fue, pero Pedro en casa está
79 Pedro Ilauí, Luis " sá zipte ton : Pedro se fue, pero Luis en casa está
402
elefante: el elefante duerme recostado sobre un
pilmoh: un árbol

81
quiimej:juch Dios: nuestro criador Dios no se contentó
(mosau): solo con hacer que el hombre naciesse

82
a, uâ: particula exo[rt]ativa, condicional

83
liu quit: aprendemos a leer con grande trabajo
mocte: para distinguir la que haze de la que
he, ochô: nuestro criador Dios no se contentó

84
mimeñanco: si quieres

85
mimeñongoque: si quisieras

86
tup: nominativo, la persona que haze y

87
Juan: Juan mató á Pedro

88
lou: meus, mea, meum

89
oc alou: mio

90
mi•milou: tuyo

91
sa•ilou: suyo

92
quih•quilou: nuestro

93
minaja•milouha: vuestro

94
chiha•loula: suyo de ellos

95
ol: pronombre ynterrogativo

96
ol ylouha: cuio es esto?

97
oc álou: mio &

98
oc alou ngallajen: 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
e: el

anel, menel, nel, quenel, menelja, ennel

107
yp: cierta raíz comestible, papa del monte

anip, minip, nip, quinip, minipha, ynnip

108
ollê: saliva

anollê, minollê, nollê, quinollê, minollêha, ynnollê

109
ulluc: chuso ó dardo, lança

anullûc, munullûc, nullûc, cumullûc, munullucja, unnullûc
Regla segunda [en la tercera persona de singular: #c ò #q > #nğa, #nğue, #nğo]

110 camà : enfermedad ò enfermo
111 acamà : mi enfermedad
micamà, nğamà, quicamà, micamahà, chicamà
112 cach : maiz
micach, nğach, quicach, micachja, chicach
113 colol : almendra
acolol, micolol, ngòtol, quicolol, micololahà, chicocolol
114 cot : agua
acot, micot, ngòt, quicot, micotha, chicot
115 cochue : maiz
acochue, micochuê, ngòchuê, quicochuê, micochuêha, chicochuê
116 cach : maiz
acullà, mucullà, ngullà, cucullà, mucullahà, chuculla
117 quill, quell : quincha, paret
aquill, miquill, nguill, quiuill, miquiilla, chiquill
118 quexùm : nariz
aquexùm, miquexùm, nguexùm, quiuexùm, miquexùmha, chiquexùm

Regla tercera [#za, #che, #zi, #zô, #chu]

119 zaluch : negro etiope
azaluch, mizaluch, zaluch, quitzaluch, mitzaluchja, ytzaluch
120 chesmiñ : cedro
achesmiñ, mechesmiñ, quechesmiñ, mechesmiñha, echesmiñ
121 zipiou : una fruta y su arbol
azipiou, mizipiou, chipiou, quichipiou, michipiouha, ytzipiou
122 zochoc : calzones
azochoc, mizocho, zochoc, quizochoc, mizadochoc, ytzochoc
123 nallô : discipulo
anllô, minllô, nallô, quinllô, minllôha, ynnallô
124 sall : alma
azall, mizall, sall, quizzall, mizallha, ytzall
125 xax : armadillo pescado de rio
axax, mixax, xax, quixax, mixaxha, yxax
126 sup : corzo ó cerbicabra
asup, musup, sup, cusup, musupha, ussup
127 tacla : otra especie de armadillo
atacla, mitacla, tacla, quitacla, mitaclaha, yttaca
128 taca : quadril ó hueso de la cadera
atâca, mitaca, taca, quitaca, mitaccaha, ytaca
129 tamxe : batan de tabla sobre que muelen maiz
atamxe, mitamxe, tamxê, quitamxe, y otras cosas
mitamxeha, yttamxe
130 llles : lucerna pequeña y el rastrojo
alles, melles, lles, quelles, mellesha, elles
131 llix : mono pequeño
   allix, millix, llix, quillix, millixha, yllix
132 lollô : cascabel
   allollô, millollô, lollô, quillollô, millollôha, yllollô
133 llu : pauji
   allu, mullu, llû, cullu, mulluha, ullu
134 llaca : cosa colorada
   allacà, millacà, llacà, quillacà, millacahà, yllacà

   Regla quarta [p > m]
135 pacuplêu : tumbo y toda especie de granadillas
   amcuplêu, mumcuplêu, macuplêu, mumcuplêuha, chumcuplêu
136 pangala : paba del monte
   amangala, mimangala, mangala, quimangala, mimangalaha, chimangala
137 puyup : puente
   amyup, mumyup, muyup, cumyup, mamyupja, chumyup
138 panâ : camino
   amnâ, mimnâ, manâ, quimna, mimnâha, chimnâ

   Excepcion [en la tercera persona de singular: 1: p > ng; 2: p > m]
139 pa : padre
   apa, mipa, nguch, quipâ, mipahâ, chipa
140 pan : madre
   apan, mepan, ñetz, quipan, mepanha, chipan
141 pul : hijo
   apul, mupul, mul, cupul, mulpulha, chupul

   Regla quinta [y > z]
142 yap : animal quadrupedo que come•lo que
   azap, mizap, zap, quichap, mizapha, siembran en las chacras
   yzap
143 yotz : cui
   azotz, mitzooz, zotz, quizooz, mitzotja, ytzooz
144 yuch : racacha
   atuzuch, mutuzuch, zuch, cuzuch, muzuchja, utzuch

   [y > t]
145 yuxam : armadillo de tierra
   atuxam, mutuxam, tuxan, cutuxan, mutuxanha, utuxan
146 azipê acotan : S tengo en casa > Ch tengo en mi casa
minente macotan : S tienes en la mano > Ch tieneslo en tu mano

zalâ : mujer 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 posession en la tercera persona: el vestido de Pedro ya está viejo

e, que : expresa la materia de que es ò se hace alguna cosa

: significa personas difuntas

: especifica el tiempo

chechôque caloch : plato de plata

petz nuc puillquitz : la caxeta de tabaco es de oro

Luis ê, Juanaque uñu : hija de Luis y de Juana difuntos

ampal ê : cosa de tiempo pasado

capique : cosa de tiempo presente, cosa nueva

mecque/mec liuve ngap : lleva ò recibe de todo

g, je : para, dativo de daño ò provecho

ocge : para mi

Juanje : para Juan

ynchajem mini? : ut quid venisti?: para que has venido?

atzmoctege, atzmolamge : ut discam: para aprender

yncham mulupactan/pulupactan? : que piensas?

Dios ge alupactan : pienso en Dios ò me acuerdo de Dios

cachge actan : tengo necesidad de maiz

mige acotpan : no tengo necesidad de ti

Dios gracia ge quectan : tenemos necesidad de la gracia de Dios

quihage muchan qui pa*(t-)tocqui : ruega por nosotros

aamocge-na acquian : quiero, estoy aparejado, dispuesto, tengo gusto, voluntad, y gana de comer

llacge : vaia el

yllacge : vayan ellos

te : in

quizipte quetgan : estamos en nuestra casa

putam te alluan : voy al pueblo

cotê : aqui

incotê : alli

petê : aculla

Dios te amehena acquian : creo en Dios

Dios te confessan acquian : me confieso á Dios

quiyi ê : donde dormimos
406

181 que(c)tnúgu(t)iì’tê : donde estubimos
182 quillapitzi’tê : quando nos partimos
183 Juan’tu alluan : voy donde Juan
184 Pedro’tu quitontan : estaremos donde Pedro ô en casa de Pedro
185 pat : ‘con’ instrumental
186 amonzey’pat ahlæn : S hablo con la lengua > Ch hablo con mi lengua
187 pat, llacpat : propter, por amor ô por causa : qua*re
188 mipat/mi•millacpat aluyuman : por ti, por tu amor ô por tu causa padesco
189 ynchapatam/ynchallacpatam malupon? : porque me riñes ô me aborrezes?
190 xalam mectan’pat/mectanco’llacpat : riñote por que eres floxo amlupon
191 ah! : ‘a’ exclamativa
192 ah Dios! : a Dios!, o Dios!
193 pey, ey : ola: pey para hombres, ey para mugeres
194 ylapay : ola muger ô à muger
195 jayuey : ola hombre
196 Maliapay : a Maria
197 Juaney : a Juan
198 tep, llactep : instrumentales : ex vel de
199 espiritut santo icmey’tep jayu qui : conceptus est de spiritu santo: fue concebido por obra del espiritu santo
200 mannap : ex l. de, post, qua* tenus, entre, despues, en•quanto, demas &
201 virgen santa Maria’mannap masôu : natus ex Maria virgen: nacio de Sta Maria virgen
202 mec ila’mannap ma pallou’sim pectan : eres la mas excelente entre las mugeres ô de todas las mugeres
203 mi’poti’mannap, olpit (i)mohpan : despues que veniste, no ha venido nadie
204 quinapu Jesuchristo Dios cot’tanáppa goli’pitzzo, jayu cot’tanáppa ngoli : Christo Sr. Ntro. no murio en quanto Dios, sino en quanto hombre
205 oûlum itzaji’mannap imon : demas de averle mordido la vivora, tiene calentura
206 actán + mannap : at[t]inet, pertenecer
207 Dios cot’tanáppa chectanco’vâ, co’sim chectan : los que pertenecen à la divinidad son estos
208 Jesuchristo Dios quinapu jayú : los que pertenecen á la santa humanidad de Ntro. Señor Jesuchristo son estos.
209 hayu’ mannap : en quanto hombre
210 jayu cot’ mannap : en quanto el ser de hombre
211 nic, nec : ‘con’ de compañía
212 oc’ nic : con el migo
213 mî’ nic : contigo
214 sanic : con el
215 Pedro’ nic : con Pedro
216 quihanic, quinec : con nosotros
217 minahanic, minecja : con vosotros
218 ynecc : con ellos
219 atû : a mi
220 cutupat unutza loulancolol : los que pecan contra nosotros ó nos hacen agravio
221 Dios tupat michienocqui : teme á Dios
222 tupat majac mionoqui : guardate del

Del modo de suplir los generos

223 nun : varon ó macho
224 yla : muger ó hembra
225 nun jayu, jayu• nun : hombre
226 yla• jayu, jayu yla : muger
227 nun pullup : muchacho ó muchachos
228 yla pullup : muchacha ó muchachas
229 cuchi nun : puerco
230 cuchi yla : puerca
231 atellpa• nun : gallo
232 atellpa yla : gallina
233 papayu• nun : papayo macho
234 papayu• yla : papayo hembra

[con animales del genero epizeño: nun + o, yla + co]
235 ulluquiu nunó : perdigon
236 ulluquiu yla : perdiz

Del verbo
De su division, terminacion y romances que tiene. De su terminacion
237 an, en, yn, un : presente de indicativo
238 atpan : andar
239 axquin : hazer beber ó dar de beber
240 aŋguissiñ : engañar con alevosia
241 alupon : aborrecer
242 amun : provar la comida y llevar en la boca
243 ay, ey, i/yi, oy, ou : preterito perfecto è imperfecto
244 asinnay : yo oí
245 axquei : di de beber
246 actî, acten : fui ó estuve
247 cama acquiî/acquien : estuve enfermo
248 alupoy : le aborreci
249 umui, umuyen : llevaba en la boca
250 ye, ve : preterito plusquamperfecto: preterito perfecto en y > ye; preterito perfecto en v > ve
251 que : preterito plusquamperfecto: 2a persona de plural y la tercera de plural en la
252 ctan, hitan, ptan, itan : futuro ymperfecto
253 aschan : ver
254 atzaxtan, azchiitan : futuros de aschan
255 atzachian : visitar
256 apaichan : mirar
apaichi, apiaxtan
257 tzach, mitzachi(chi) : miralo tu
258 tzache, mischecqui : vealo tu
259 actî actan : preterito perfecto del verbo + presente de cotan: yo avre sido
260 agolli actan : yo avrê amado
261 acotte : obtativo y subjuntivo presente: raiz del futuro ymperfecto + te: yo sea
: presente de infinitivo : futuro imperfecto
262 mi`cotte : tu seas
263 toque, joque, ngoque : primero obtativo y subjuntivo preterito
ymperfecto
264 teque : segundo obtativo y subjuntivo preterito ymperfecto
265 acottoque, acotteque : yo fuera
266 agolengoque, agolectque : yo le amara
267 asinahoque, asinahtequ : yo le oyera
268 atzachoque, atasteque : yo lo viera

De los verbos substantivos y su conjugacion
269 actan : verbo substantivo personal: sum, es, est, fui, ser, aver, estar
270 pactan : verbo ympersonal
271 actan + nic : tener
272 checho "nic actan : tengo plata
273 ynchanam mi mot "nic mectan?: quod nomen habes vel quod nomen est tibi?: que nombre tienes ó como te llamas?
274 Pedro (n)amot "nic actan : llamome Pedro
275 appactan : < pactan: verbo neutro personal: tener
276 cach mappactan "le? heey, appactan : si, tengo
277 ma appactan : no tengo
278 accotan : < actan: tener
279 menel maccotanle? : tienes yuca?
280 atgan : estar sentado
281 aton : < atan: tener
282 atton : tengo
283 matton : tienes
284 jatton : tiene
285 catton : tenemos &
286 actan + ziu : sine, sin
287 checho ziu, puillquitz ziu "pit actan : argentum et aurum non est mihi, Act. Cap. 3: no tengo plata ni oro
288 m : segunda persona de singular para hombres
289 p : segunda persona de singular para mugeres

Verbo substantivo actan por 'ser'

290 actan : modo yndicativo: presente: yo soy
291 mectan, pectan : tu eres
292 cotan : aquel es
293 quectan : nosotros somos
294 mectihan : vosotros sois
295 chectan : aquellos son
296 acti, acten : preterito imperfecto y perfecto: yo era, fui, he sido y have sido
297 mecti, mecten : tu eras, fuiste &
298 coti, coten : aquel era, fue &
299 quecti, quecten : nosotros eramos &
300 mectiha, mectihan : vosotros erais &
301 checti, checten : aquellos eran &
302 actiyê, actiate : preterito plusquam perfecto: yo avia sido
303 mectiyê, pectiyê):te : tu avias sido
304 cotié, cotiate : aquel avia sido
305 quectiyê, quectiâ:te : nosotros aviamos sido
306 mectihaque : vosotros aviais sido
410
cotech, cotecháte: aquellos avian sido
307
acottan: futuro ymperfecto: yo seré
308
micottan, picottan: tu serás
309
cottan: aquel será
310
quicottan: nosotros seremos
311
micothactan: vosotros seréis
312
chicottan: aquellos serán
313
acti actan: futuro perfecto: yo avré sido
314
mecti/pecti mectan: tu avrás sido
315
quicottan: nosotros seremos
316
micothactan: vosotros seréis
317
chicottge: sean aquellos
318
yncham acotte?: que será de mi?
319
acotte: futuro ymperfecto: yo seré
320
micothac, micothacqui: sed vosotros
321
cotec: sea aquel
322
micotte: tu serás
323
micothac-ge: sed vosotros
324
cotive: sea aquel
325
micotte: tu serás
326
quicotte: nosotros seremos
327
chicotte: aquellos serán
328
micothac-gepit: mas que vosotros sean
329
acotge}: romance permissivo: mas que yo sea
330
micotge: mas que tu seas
331
quicotte: nosotros seremos
332
micothac: mas que vosotros seais
333
micothac-gepit: mas que vosotros seais
334
quicotgepit, cotge: mas que aquel sea y sea entre buena
335
micothac-gepit: mas que vosotros seais
336
micothac-gepit: mas que aquellos sean
337
genap ixivaj micot’chin: romance prohibitivo: guarda te, mira
338
do cosa que seas malo
339
hap’pit etz micotha-chinnmiñ: no sea que seas ladrones
340
ap’pit: duvitativa: acaso, por ventura, puede ser
341
hap’pit pojo’pat Francisco nantan: puede ser que venga mañana
342
Francisco
santo ge acot, santo acotge: modo obtativo presente y preterito imperfecto: la cosa que se desea + ge ò
  ymperativo + ge: o*si, ojala yo sea,
  fuera, seria y fuese santo
santo he micot, santo micothe: o*si, ojala tu seas, fueras &
santo he cot, santo cothe: o*si, ojala aquel sea, fuera, seria y
  fuese santo
santo he quicot, santo quicothe: o*si, ojala nosotros seamos, fueramos &
  santos
santo he micothac, santo micothac-he: o*si, ojala vosotros seais, fuerais,
  seriais & santos
santohe chicot, santo chicot he: o*si, ojala aquellos sean, fueran,
  serian, & santos
Dios tup santo gaoc-he: Dios me haga santo
Dios tup santo imoc-he: Dios te haga santo
ynnaham, ynnam: ojala
ynnaham pollo micottoque/acottoque: ojala yo sea, fuera, seria y fuese
  bueno
attij, anij, añiu: expressa mas el deseo
ynnaham pollo micottoque añiu: ojala tu seas, fueras, seriias y fuesses
acuian: desear
na + acquian: para preguntar por el obtativo
santu he micot na miquian le?: desean ser santo hombre?
santu micot he na miquian le?:
ynnam pollo micottoque na miquianle?
ynnam pollo micottoque na miquianle?: desean ser bueno?
ynnam santo acottoque añiu na acquian: digo que quisiera ser santo
acottoque, acottoque: optativo llano presente y preterito ym-
  perfecto: yo sea, fuera, seria y fuese
cicottoque, micottoque: tu seas, fueras, seriias y fuesses
cottoque, cotteque: aquel fuera, seria y fuese
quicottoque, quicotteque: nosotros seamos, fueramos &
michohtangoque, michocteque: vosotros seais, fuerais &
iccottoque, chicotteque: aquellos sean, fueran &
uu: ‘si’ condicional
pallou micottoque va, ampeñocteque: si fueras bueno, yo te quisiera
Juan pallou cottoque ua, mulpit pallou cottoque: si Juan fuera bueno, su hijo tambien lo
  fuera
moc: o*si! ojala!
pallou moc acotte cot, pallou: preterito perfecto et plusquam perfec-
  to:
| 371 | acotte•moc•cot | o•si, ojala yo aya, huviera, avria y huviesse sido bueno |
| 372 | pallou•moc micotte•cot, pallou moc cot | o•si, ojala tu ayas, huvieras, avrias y huvieses sido bueno |
| 373 | Pedrò•moc santo cotte cot, Pedro santo cotte moc cot | o•si, ojala Pedro aya, huviera, avria y huviesse sido santo |
| 374 | quihamoc santo quicot•cot, santo quicot•moc cot | o•si, ojala nosotros ayamos, huvieramos & sido santos |
| 375 | minah•moc, micothacte cot, micothacte•moc cot | o•si, ojala vosotros ayais sido |
| 376 | chи•moc chicotte•cot, chicotte•moc cot | o•si, ojala aquellos ayan, huvieran, avrian & sido |
| 377 | acti cottoque, acti cottoque, acti pocottoque, acti pocotteque | preteritos perfecto y pluscuamperfecto llano compuesto: preterito perfecto de indicativo + tercera persona del imperfecto de obtativo: yo aya, huviera, avria y huviesse sido |
| 378 | mecti cottoque, mecti co[t]teque, mecti pocottoque, mecti pocotteque | tu ayas, huvieras y huviesse sido |
| 379 | coti cottoque, coti cottoque, coti pocottoque, coti pocotteque | aquel aya, huviera & sido |
| 380 | quecti pocottoque & | nosotros ayamos, huvieramos & sido |
| 381 | mectiha pocottoque & | vosotros ayais, huvieran & sido |
| 382 | chemt cottoque & | aquellos ayan, huvieran & sido |
| 383 | pocottoque, pocotteque | preterito imperfecto de pactan |
| 384 | pallou mectiha, oc•pit pallou acti cottoque | romance condicional: preterito perfecto de indicativo + ya: si tu huvieras sido bueno, yo tambien lo huviera sido |
| 385 | pitzô + que + va | negacion |
| 386 | alcalde mectipitzoque•ua, acti cottoque | si no fueras ô huvieras sido alcalde, yo lo huviera sido |
| 387 | capi millacte miquin~goque | si quisieres irte oy, bien puedes ir |
| 388 | llavi•yê •vâ, entoñam quilongo cottan, peñallcho cothe que se vaya | si se fue, que le hemos de hazer, dexas que se vaya |
| 389 | nguita•vou(va)vâ, entoñam quilongo? | si se huyô, que le hemos de hazer? |
| 390 | entoñ quilopacna cotan | no tie[ne] remedio |
| 391 | quitallcho cotle | dexas que se huya ô que sea cimarrone |

Modo subjuntivo [siendo, en siendo, aviendo sido, como, quando, aunque]

| 392 | acothu | yo sea, fuera, seria y fuesse, aya, huviera, avria, huviesse y huvieres sido |
Romances deste modo
[1: dos oraciones con supuesto distinto]
398 capitán micothu, misoldado actan : siendo tu capitán, soy tu soldado
399 palou micothu, oc’pit pallou acottan : como tu seas bueno, yo tambien lo seré
400 Pedro alcalde cothu, nalguacil micottan : quando Pedro sea alcalde, tu serás su alguacil
401 pit : aunque
402 yxivaj quicothupit, pallou micotpan : aunque nosotros seamos malos, tu no eres bueno

[2: dos oraciones con uno supuesto]
403 cotge, cotenap : gerundio de ablativo
404 ampuxnic cothe/cotenap, yupey’nic acottan : siendo yo rico, seré estimado
405 palou cothe, zamoch acottan : como yo sea bueno, seré docto
406 ochô miquinap, mipoñoulam micottan : en siendo tu grande, serás querido
407 mozhû/cunchu cothe/pit, ques : aunque es chiquito, crecerá
408 ytzipte acothu, tesim izsac allalam quictan : como yo esté en su casa, siempre me suelen dar de su comida
409 pat, llacpat, tep, llactep, cotnap : ‘como’ causal
410 cotnap : preterito de infinitivo
411 quechuac actancò pat/llacpat, tep/lactep, agllem micotpan : como fuimos pobres, nos abominaron; porque fuimos pobres, nos abominaron
412 quechuac quecti cotnap, cupuluaylà : como fuimos pobres, nos abominaron; porque fuimos pobres, nos abominaron
413 miñ, iñ, ñ : ‘como’ comparativo
414 minancoñ, miilactan : te iras, como te vienes
415 tutujmiñ mectan : eres como un águila
416 yncomiñ, yncomiñall, yncoñ, incoñisimall, yncomiñisimall : ‘como’ en oraciones de correspondencia son sus correlativas
417 mipaha chectimiñ, yncomiñall mectihan : sicut patres vestri, ita et vos, Act. Cap 7: como fueron vuestros padres, soys vosotros
418 anam : ‘como’ comparativo
419 anam mijlancoñ, yncomiñall loc : como hablas, assi obras
te, inconapi : quando
paymejhuch mecti “tè/paymejhuch : quando fuistes maestro, fui tu
mecti “inconapi/paymejhuch, discípulo
micothu minllô acti
rezan chiquii “chô cothu, iglesia “te : venis a la iglesia, cuando han acabado
minijan ya de rezar

Segundo subjuntivo [para que, de suerte que]
[1: segundo preterito de indicativo + ch: acten > actech]
[2: ynfitivo + ch: aγollectech > angollectech]

actech, mectech, cotech, quetech, mectihach, chectech
ynachô actech, gatzuquiovou : me curò, de suerte que ya estoy bueno
pallou mectech, impazzan “sim, mulupoje “pitzo : te aconseja, para que seas bueno, no

cotte : infinitivo: presente: ser

cotonap : preterito: por aver sido
acti cotnap : preterito perfecto de indicativo: por aver sido yo
mecti cotnap & : por aver sido tu
cotlam : futuro: aver de ser
acotlam, micotlam, cotlam & : aver de ser yo &

Participios [presente: + co; preteritos: + ø/ynco; futuros: + ynco]
cotanco, cottoch : presente: el que es
coti, cotiynco : preterito ymperfecto: el que era, fue &
cotiyeynco : preterito plusquam perfecto: el que avia sido
cottan, cottanynco : futuro: el que serâ
cotanco : yo que soy
tu que eres

cotlam “ynco : otro futuro: lo que ha de ser
cotlamynco : tu que has de ser
cotlamynco : aquel que ha de ser
cotlamhe, acottehe : gerundios de genitivo, dativo y acusativo: de ser, para ser, â ser yo
micotlamge, micottoch : de ser, para ser, a ser tu
cotlamhe, cotthte : de ser, para ser, a ser aquel
quicottoch : de ser, para ser & nosotros
micotha(lo)mge, micothactege : de ser & vosotros
chicotlamge, chicottege : de ser & aquellos
cotge : ablativo: siendo
cotteni : aviendo sido, en siendo
acotlamhe, acottehe : supinos: a ser
Del verbo negativo ó de las negaciones del verbo

- acotpan, acotpanco: indicativo presente: ymperativo + pa + n: yo no soy
- pitzo: preteritos de yndicativo y futuro perfecto; preterito plusquam perfecto de obtativo y gerundio de ablative
- acti°pitzô: yo no era &
- actiyé°pitzô: yo no avia sido
- acti°pitzo actan: yo no avre sido
- acti°pitzoque: yo no huviera sido
- alcalde actipitzo°que°vâ, millem°aplapacnaque ayudaran
- cotge°pitzo: no siendo
- pe: futuro ymperfecto, segundo preterito ymperfecto de obtativo, tiempo de subjuntivo, ynfinitivo, circumloquios, gerundios, primer supino, ynfinitivo
- acotpectan: yo no serê
- acotpecteque: yo no fuera
- acotpech: no siendo yo ò antes de ser yo
- cotpe: no ser
- cotpennap: no aver sido
- cotpelam: no aver de ser
- acotpelamhe, acotpectehe: de no ser, para no ser &
- cotpennap: en no siendo, no aviendo sido
416

479 payatz cotpechap : antes que sea tarde
480 mu, chin : imperativo
481 cotimu micotti, micotchin : no seas
482 cotchin : no sea aquel
483 quicot’chin : no seamos nosotros
484 pacna : obtativo: primero preterito ymperfecto y segundo supino
485 acotpacnaque : yo no fuera &
486 acotpacna actan : yo no puedo ser
487 micot’pacna 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 sera 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, estubio &
494 pactive : 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 pocothu, pactech : subjuntivo: estando &
500 zi•majat’te pocothu, uchuaj pactàn : porque quiere llover, haze calor
501 ma : negacion de este verbo
502 pitzô : negacion en los preteritos
503 ma•pacti, pactipitzo
504 yel cotipitzoquévá, aycha : si no huviera sal, no pudieramos salar
      quimitij’ pacnaque : la carne

Del verbo atgàn y su conjugacion
505 atgàn : estar y aver: presente: yo estoy y (aver) [he]
506 metgàn : tu estas
507 ton : aquel
508 quetgàn : nosotro
509 metguihan : vosotros
510 ytton : aquellos
511 atgui : preteritos: yo estaba, estube &
512 metgui : tu
| 513 | togui       | : aquel    |
| 514 | quelgui     | : nosotros |
| 515 | metguihui   | : vosotros |
| 516 | yttongui    | : aquellos |
| 517 | atguiye     | : plusquam perfecto: yo avia estado |
| 518 | metguiye    | : tu       |
| 519 | tonguiye    | : aquel    |
| 520 | quelguiye   | : nosotros |
| 521 | metguihaque | : vosotros |
| 522 | yttonguiye  | : aquellos |
| 523 | atontan     | : futuro ymperfecto: yo estaré |
| 524 | mitontan    | : tu       |
| 525 | tontan      | : aquel    |
| 526 | quitontan   | : nosotros |
| 527 | mitonhactan | : vosotros |
| 528 | yttontan    | : aquellos |
| 529 | atgui actan | : futuro perfecto: yo avré estado |
| 530 | metgui mectan & | : tu |
| 531 | ton, mitongui | : ymperativo: esta tu |
| 532 | atongoque, atonteque | : obtativo: yo estuviera, estaria & |
| 533 | mitongoque, mitonteque, | |
| 534 | tongoque, tonteque, | |
| 535 | quitongoque, quitonteque, | |
| 536 | mitonhangoque, mitonhactequen | : vosotros |
| 537 | yttongoque, yttonteque | : aquellos |
| 538 | atgui cottoque/cotteque, | : preteritos: yo aya, huviere, avria y |
| 539 | metgui cottoque & | : tu ayas, huviere, 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 | ytonhu, ytonguech | : estando aquellos |
| 546 | atonlamhe, atontehe | : gerundios: de estar, para estar, à estar yo |
| 547 | mitonlamhe, mitontehe | : tu |
| 548 | tonlamhe, tontehe & | : aquel |
| 549 | tonhe | : ablativo: estando |
| 550 | tonguenap | : aviendo estado |
| 551 | atonlamhe, atontehe & | : supinos: acusativo: a estar yo |
| 552 | tongo cotan | : digno de estar |
De otros tres verbos que se deriban de los tres precedentes [acctan: < actan; apactan: < pactan; aton: < atgan]

acctan ‘tener’

acctan : yo tengo
maccotan : tu
hacotan : aquel
caccotan : nosotros
maccotihan : vosotros
pahacotan : aquellos
accoti, accoten : preteritos: yo tenia &
macoti, macoten : tu
hacoti, hacoten : aquel
cacoti, cacoten : nosotros
macotiha : vosotros
pahacotiye : aquellos
acctan : futuro ymperfecto: yo tendrê
maccottan : tu
hacottan : aquel
cacottan : nosotros
macothactan : vosotros
pahacottan : aquellos
acoti actan : futuro perfecto: yo avre tenido
macoti mectan : tu
hacoti cotan : aquel
cacoti quectan : nosotros
macothia mectihan : vosotros
pahacoti chectan : aquellos
macotti : ymperativo presente y futuro: ten tu
hacotge : aquel
cacotte : nosotros
macothacqui : vosotros
pahacotge : aquellos
acottoque, acotteque : obtativo: presente imperfecto: yo tenga, tubiera, tendria y tubiesse
591 macottoque, macotteque, : tu
592 hacottoque, hacotteque : aquel
593 cacottoque, cacotteque : nosotros
594 macothangoque, macothacteque : vosotros
595 pahacottoque, pahacotteque : aquellos
596 acoti cottoque & : preterito perfecto y plusquam perfec-
to: yo aya, huviera, avria y huviesse
597 tenido
598 macoti cottoque & : tu
599 hacoti cottoque & : aquel
600 cacoti cottoque & : nosotros
601 macotilha cottoque & : vosotros
602 pahacoti cottoque & : aquellos
603 acothu, acottech : subjuntivo: teniendo &
604 macothu, macottech : tu
605 hacothu, hacotte[c]h : aquel
606 cacothu, cacottech : nosotros
607 macothach, macothactech : vosotros
608 pahacothu, pahacottech : aquellos
609 acotte : ynfinitivo: tener yo
610 macotte : tu
611 hacotte : aquel
612 macotacte : nosotros
613 pahacotte : aquellos
614 hacotenap : preterito: aver tenido
615 acoti cotnap & : tu
616 macoti cotnap & : tu
617 hacotlam : futuro: aver de tener
618 acotlam cotnap : por aver de tener yo
619 macotlam cotnap : tu
620 hacotlam cotnap & : aquel
621 acotanco : participio: presente: yo que tengo
622 macotanco : tu
623 hacotanco : aquel
624 acoti `ynco : preterito: yo que tenia & y lo que yo
625 tenia
626 hacoti `ynco : aquel
627 acottan`ynco & & : futuro: yo que tendre
628 acotlamhe, acottehe & : gerundios: de tener, para tener &
629 acotla[m]he, acottehe : supinos: a tener yo
630 macotlamhe, macottehe : tu
631 acotto actan : segundo supino: digno de tener
632 acotto actan : yo puedo tener
macotto mectan: tu puedes tener

appactan: yo tengo
mapactan: tu
hapactan: aquel
cappactan: nosotras
mapactihan: vosotras
pahapactan: aquellos
apacti &: preterito: yo tenia &
appocottan &: futuro

aton: yo tengo
matton: tu
hatton: aquel
catton: nosotras
matton: vosotras
pahatton: aquellos
attongui: preterito: yo tenia &
matogui &: tu
attontan: futuro: yo tendre
matontan: tu
hattontan: aquel
atongoque: yo hubiera &
atonchen: < atgan: estar vagueando de una parte a otra
atonhan: < atgan: sentarse
atonchen: yo estoy vagueando
mitonchen: tu
tonchen: aquel
quitonchen: nosotras
mitoncheyhan: vosotras
yonchen: aquellos
atonche,atoncheyiê: preteritos: yo
atonchejan, mitonchejhan, tonchejhan, quitonchejhan, ytonchejhan: futuro ymperfecto
atonchey actan: futuro perfecto
tonchej, mitoncheji: ymperativo
atonchejoque, tonchejteque: obtatativo
atonchey pocotteque / pocotteque: preteritos
atonchihu, atonchejtech: subjuntivo
atoncheje, mitoncheje: ynfininitivo
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>English</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>669</td>
<td>atonchejamhe, mitonchejtehe, tonchejhe, tonchejjap, atonchejjo</td>
<td>gerundio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>670</td>
<td>atonlian</td>
<td>yo me siento</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>671</td>
<td>mitonlian</td>
<td>tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>672</td>
<td>tonlian</td>
<td>aquel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>673</td>
<td>quitonlian</td>
<td>nosotros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>674</td>
<td>mitonliihan</td>
<td>vosotros</td>
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<tr>
<td>675</td>
<td>ytonlian</td>
<td>aquellos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>676</td>
<td>ato[ln]ii, atonliien; atonliiye</td>
<td>preteritos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>677</td>
<td>atonlectan</td>
<td>futuro</td>
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<tr>
<td>678</td>
<td>atonlii actan</td>
<td>perfecto</td>
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<td>679</td>
<td>tonlec, mitonlequi</td>
<td>ymperativo</td>
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<tr>
<td>680</td>
<td>atonlengoque, atonlecteque</td>
<td>obtativo</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>atonlii cottoque/cotteque</td>
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<td>681</td>
<td>atonlech, atonlectech</td>
<td>subjuntivo</td>
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<td>682</td>
<td>atonlecte, mitonlecte</td>
<td>infinitivo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>683</td>
<td>atonlelamhe, atonlectehe</td>
<td>gerundios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tonle(c)che, tonlenap, tonlenpo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>684</td>
<td>atonlengo actan</td>
<td>puedo sentarme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Del verbo activo. Qual sea y su conjugacion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>685</td>
<td>angollan</td>
<td>‘amar’, ‘tener lastima, piedad y compasion’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>686</td>
<td>mingollan</td>
<td>modo indicativo: presente: yo le amo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>687</td>
<td>ygollan</td>
<td>tu le amas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>688</td>
<td>quigollan</td>
<td>aquel le ama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>689</td>
<td>migollihan</td>
<td>nosotros le amamos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>690</td>
<td>gollilan</td>
<td>vosotros le amais</td>
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<tr>
<td>691</td>
<td>agolli, agolllen</td>
<td>aquellos le aman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>agollani, agolllen</td>
<td>preterito imperfecto y perfecto: yo amaba, amé, he amado y huve amado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>692</td>
<td>migolli, migollen</td>
<td>tu &amp;</td>
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<tr>
<td>693</td>
<td>ygolli, igolllen</td>
<td>aquel &amp;</td>
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<td>694</td>
<td>quigolli, quigollen</td>
<td>nosotros &amp;</td>
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<td>695</td>
<td>migollilha</td>
<td>vosotros &amp;</td>
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<tr>
<td>696</td>
<td>gollila, gollilan</td>
<td>aquellos</td>
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<tr>
<td>697</td>
<td>agollliye, agolleyate</td>
<td>preterito plusquam perfecto: yo avia amado</td>
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<tr>
<td>698</td>
<td>migolliliye</td>
<td>tu</td>
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<tr>
<td>699</td>
<td>ygolliliye</td>
<td>aquel</td>
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<td>700</td>
<td>quigolliliye</td>
<td>nosotros</td>
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<td>701</td>
<td>migollihaque</td>
<td>vosotros</td>
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<td>gollilaque</td>
<td>aquellos</td>
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1000
ynaham Dios iʊgolengoque/ýgolecteque: o*$si, ojala aquel ame &
ynaham Dios quiʊgolengoque/quigolecteque: o*$si, ojala nosotros amemos &
ynaham Dios migolehangoque/migolehacteque: o*$si, ojala vosotros ameis &
ynaham Dios golelangoque/ golelacteque: o*$si, ojala aquellos amen &
agolengoque, agolecteque: presente y preterito ymperfecto llano:
yo ame, amara, amaria,
migolengoque, migolecteque: tu
ýgolengoque, igolecteque: aquel
quigolengoque, quigolecteque: nosotros
migolehangoque, migolehacteque: vosotros
golelangoque, golelacteque: aquellos
Dios’ moc agolecet cot/ Dios agolecet ’moc ’cot: preterito perfecto y plusquam perféc
to: o*$si, ojala yo aya, huviera y huviesso amado á Dios
Dios’ moc migolecet ’cot/Dios migolecet ’moc ’cot: o*$ssi, ojala tu &
Dios’ moc ígolecet ’cot/Dios igolecet ’moc ’cot: o*$si, ojala aquel &
Dios’ moc quiɡolecet ’cot/Dios quiɡolecet ’moc ’cot: o*$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, huviera, avria y huvi[j]se amado
migolli cottoque & angolech: modo subjuntivo: amando, aviendo amado, como, quando, aunque yo ame, amara, amaria y amasse
migolech: amando te
ýgolech: amando aquel
q[u]ýgolech: nosotros
migolehach: vosotros
golelach: aquellos
imcallancoñ, milocqui, imcolech: hazlo segun ó como te•lo manda y mitzachte: veras como te ama
424

765 yngolech’s hit, itesajpan : aunque le haya amado, no se lo agrade-
cce
766 agolectech : segundo subjuntivo: para•que ame •
de suerte que ame yo
767 mi•golectech : tu
768 y•golectech : aquel
769 quigolectech : nosotros
770 mi•golectach : vosotros
771 go•lelactech : aquellos
772 y•callancoñ, cam•a pallou loc, Dios’s •up incolectech : cuida al enfermo, como le manda,
de suerte que Dios te ame • te•lo
773 y•callancoñ cam•a pallou loc, Dios’s •up incolengo cotech : lo mismo de otro modo: supino en n•
774 capi pey milla•tejhacqui, pohö•pat : hazed oy el barro, para•que mañana
quell quillajjo cotech : podamos embarrar la quincha

Como corresponden en esta lengua las oraciones de subjuntivo

Precepto 1°
[pedir, rogar, ex•hortar y amonestar + ut: 1: L ut + subjuntivo > Ch gerundio de
dativo en he]
775 anzel phariseo Jesus muchan ilou, sanic lamolamhe/lamoc-tehe : Luc. C. 7: rogabat Jesum quidam phariseus, ut manducaret cum illo:
rogaba á Jesus un phariseo que
776 anzel phariseo Jesus muchan ilou, : un phariseo rogò á Jesus diciendole:
anec miamocquina quiche : "come con <migo" ò diciendole que
777 hayulol unutza pa•mec, pe•mec, ento•mec chec•pat/lacapat, chec•t ep/lactep, chec•cotnap, Dios’s•up iám•moou : adeo, tam, tanta, talia fuerunt pecata
hominum, ut Deus illos puniverit: fue-

Precepto segundo
[L adeo, tam, tantus, talis + subjuntivo > Ch ento•mec, pa•mec, pe•mec +
yndicativo]
778 hayulol unutza pa•mec, pe•mec, ento•mec chec•pat/lacapat, chec•t ep/lactep, chec•cotnap, Dios’s•up iam•moou : adeo, tam, tanta, talia fuerunt pecata
hominum, ut Deus illos puniverit: fue-

Precepto segundo
[L adeo, tam, tantus, talis + subjuntivo > Ch ento•mec, pa•mec, pe•mec +
yndicativo]
778 hayulol unutza pa•mec, pe•mec, ento•mec chec•pat/lacapat, chec•t ep/lactep, chec•cotnap, Dios’s•up iam•moou : adeo, tam, tanta, talia fuerunt pecata
hominum, ut Deus illos puniverit: fue-

Precepto segundo
[L adeo, tam, tantus, talis + subjuntivo > Ch ento•mec, pa•mec, pe•mec +
yndicativo]
Precepto tercero

[L ita + subjuntivo y ita ut ‘assi•que, de suerte que, de•manera•que’ > Ch 2o subjuntivo]

778 incoñâ, inna : ita
779 cosim ’â anzel quinanmongo ocho caz•mec*[c]otman tapachii, ynsoneytup mellus fiântu(n)[m]lactech : Math. C.: et ecce motus magnus factus fluctibus: veis aqui se levanto un gran huracan en el mar, de suerte•que las olas cubrian la varquilla ò navecilla
780 mech quian’pit, zucussill chiannap, nente itonlectech :
    Math. C. 13: et fit arbor, ita•ut voluces c[a]eli veniant et habitent in ramis c[i]us: y se haze arbol, de suerte que vienen los paxaros y se sientan en sus ramas

[L ita ut + subjuntivo > Ch pit + indicativo]

781 cosim ’â anzel quinanmongo ocho caz•mec*[c]otman tapachii mellus pit insoneytup fiântumxipey : preterito ymperfecto de indicatibo de añantuman + xipen
782 fiântumlaixipey : casi ò por poco
783 xipen : y
784 pit : ...
785 mech quian’simall zucussillpit chinan, nente’pit ittonlian : [...] y los paxaros vienen [...]
786 angolecete : infinitivo: presente: amar yo
787 migolecete : amar tu
788 ygolecte : amar aquel
789 agolli cotnap : preterito: por averle amado yo
790 migolli cotnap & : tu
791 agleoleam : futuro: aver de amar yo
792 migolelam & : tu
793 domingo’te missa asinajlam : por aver de oir missa el domingo no pacti•cotnap, maatem mell allapitzi’pitzo
    me sali muy de mañana
794 ygollanco, goleuch : participio: presente: el que ama
795 agollanco : yo que amo
796 migollanco & : tu
| 797 | ygolli, ygolli 'ynco | : preterito: el que amó |
| 798 | agolli, agolli 'ynco | : yo que amé |
| 799 | migolli & | : tu |
| 800 | (a)[i]golectan, (a)[i]golectan 'ynco | : futuro: el que amará |
| 801 | golectan, golectan 'ynco & | : yo que amaré |
| 802 | agolelam, agolelam 'ynco | : otro futuro: el que le ha de amar |
| 803 | a<golelamhe, agolectege | : gerundios de genitivo, dativo y acusativo: de amarle yo, para amarle yo, a amarle yo |
| 804 | goleche | : ablativo: amandole |
| 805 | golenap | : aviendo amado |

Segunda conjugacion: ameñan 'querer'

<p>| 806 | ameñan | : presente: yo quiero |
| 807 | mimeñan | : tu |
| 808 | ymeñan | : aquel |
| 809 | quimeñan | : nosotros |
| 810 | mimeñouhan | : vosotros |
| 811 | meñoulan | : aquellos |
| 812 | ameñou | : preteritos perfecto y imperfecto: yo quería, quise, he querido y huve querido |
| 813 | mimeñou | : tu |
| 814 | ymeñou | : aquel |
| 815 | quimeñouha | : nosotros |
| 816 | mimeñouha | : vosotros |
| 817 | meñoulu | : aquellos |
| 818 | ameñouve | : futuro ymperfecto: yo avía querido |
| 819 | mimeñoulouse | : tu |
| 820 | ymeñouve | : aquel |
| 821 | quimeñouve | : nosotros |
| 822 | mimeñouhaque | : vosotros |
| 823 | meñoulauqué | : aquellos |
| 824 | ameñoctan | : futuro ymperfecto: yo queré |
| 825 | mimeñoctan | : tu |
| 826 | ymeñoctan | : aquel |
| 827 | quimeñoctan | : nosotros |
| 828 | mimeñochactan | : vosotros |
| 829 | meñolacltan | : aquellos |
| 830 | ameñou actan | : futuro perfecto: yo avre querido |
| 831 | mimeñou mectan &amp; | : tu |
| 832 | meñoc, meñocqui | : ymperativo: quiere tu |
| 833 | ymeñoc-he | : aquel |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Código</th>
<th>Explicación</th>
<th>Forma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>834</td>
<td>quimeñocte</td>
<td>nosotros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>835</td>
<td>mimeño(c)hacqui</td>
<td>vosotros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>836</td>
<td>meñolace</td>
<td>aquellos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>837</td>
<td>ameñongoque, ameñocteque</td>
<td>obtativo: yo quiera, quisiera, querría y quisiesse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>838</td>
<td>mimeñongoque, mimeñocteque</td>
<td>tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>839</td>
<td>ynajam imeñongoque/imeñocteque</td>
<td>si, ojala aquel quiera &amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>840</td>
<td>ameñou cottoque/cotteque, ameñou pocottoque/pocotteque</td>
<td>perfecto: yo aya, huvierra, avria, huviesse querido</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>841</td>
<td>ocmoc ameñoc-te•cot/ameñoctemoc•cot</td>
<td>ojala yo aya, huvierra, avria &amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>842</td>
<td>ameñoch</td>
<td>subjuntivo: queriendo, en queriendo yo &amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>843</td>
<td>mimeñoch</td>
<td>tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>844</td>
<td>quimeñoch</td>
<td>nosotros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>845</td>
<td>mimeñohach</td>
<td>vosotros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>846</td>
<td>meñolach</td>
<td>aquellos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>847</td>
<td>ameñoctech</td>
<td>segundo subjuntivo: de suerte que, de manera que lo quiera yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>848</td>
<td>mimeñoctech</td>
<td>tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>849</td>
<td>imeñoctech</td>
<td>aquel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>850</td>
<td>quimeñoctech</td>
<td>nosotros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>851</td>
<td>mimeñohactech</td>
<td>vosotros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>852</td>
<td>meñolactech</td>
<td>aquellos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>853</td>
<td>callssoche milocqui, mitesajlactech</td>
<td>hazlo con voluntad, de suerte que te lo agradezcan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>854</td>
<td>ameñocte</td>
<td>ynfinitivo: presente: querer yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>855</td>
<td>mimeñocte</td>
<td>tu &amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>856</td>
<td>meñonnap</td>
<td>preterito: aver querido</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>857</td>
<td>ameñou•cotnap</td>
<td>por aver de quer[er] yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>858</td>
<td>mimeñou•cotnap &amp;</td>
<td>tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>859</td>
<td>ameñolam</td>
<td>futuro: aver de querer yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>860</td>
<td>ameñolam cotnap</td>
<td>por aver de querer yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>861</td>
<td>ameñanco, peñovuch; ameñou/inco, ameñolamynco</td>
<td>participios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>862</td>
<td>ameñolamhe/ameñoctehe, meñoche, meñonnap</td>
<td>gerundios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>863</td>
<td>quimeñolamhe/quimeñoctehe, quimeñongo</td>
<td>supinos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Conjugacion de verbos compuestos**

<table>
<thead>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>864</td>
<td>agolec</td>
<td>infinitivo de agollan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>865</td>
<td>agollan</td>
<td>yo amo á aquel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
améñocan 'yo hago que lo quiera'

améñocan, mimeñocan, ymeñocan, quimeñocan, mimeñocayhan, meñocaylan

améñocay, mimeñocay, ymeñocay, : preteritos quimeñocay, mimeñocayha, meñocayla

améñocayié, mimeñocayié, : plusquam perfecto ymeñocayié, quimeñocayié, mimeñocayhaque, meñocaylaque

yê : post, después
casaran quiiyê, goli : murio después de casado
goliyê ūñiñjavou : resucito después de muerto

ameñocajtan, mimeñocajtan, : futuro ymperfecto ymeñocajtan, quimeñocajtan, mimeñocajhactan, meñ(o)cacajtan

améñocay actan & : futuro perfecto
meñocac/acimeñocacj, meñocaj-he : ymperativo
ameñocaj-joque/ameñocajteque, : optativo mimeñocaj-joque/mimeñocajteque, ymeñocaj-joque/ymeñocajteque, quimeñocaj-joque/quimeñocajtke, mimeñocaj-hangoque/mimeñocajhteqe, meñolacaj-joque/meñolacajteque

ameñocay cotoque/cotteque, : plusquam perfecto
ameñocay pocotoque &; oc`moc ameñocajte•cot, ameñocajtemoc•cot &

ameñocajhu, ameñocajtech, : subjuntivo mimeñocajh, mimeñocajtech, imeñocajh, ymeñocajtech, quimeñocajhú, quimeñocajtech, mimeñocajhach/mimeñocajhactech, meñolacajhu/meñolacajtech

ameñocajte, mimeñocajte, : ynfinutivo ymeñocajte, quimeñocajte, mimeñocajhacte, meñolacajte

ameñocay cotnap, : preterito mimeñocay•cotnap &

ameñocajlam : futuro

ameñocancoc, ameñocajhuch : participios de presente
ameñocay`ynco : preterito ameñocajtan`ynco : futuro
ameñocajlamhe/ameñocajtehe & : gerundios meñocajhe, meñocajap : ablativo ameñocajlamhe/ameñocajtehe & : supinos ameñocaj-jo

[infinitivo ó imperativo + y + an: reiterar la accion de su simple]
améñocu, ameñocu, ameñocu, ameñocu, ameñocu, ameñocu, ameñocu : meñoc-i + an: yo vuelvo á querer
ameñoquian, mimeñoquian, ymeñoquian, quimeñoquian, mimeñoquian, meñoquian

ameñoquiay, mimeñoquiay, : preteritos
ymeñoquiay, quimeñoquiay, mimeñoquian, meñoquianay; ameñoquiayiê, mimeñoquiayiê, ymeñoquiayiê, quimeñoquiayiê, mimeñoquiayiê, meñoquiayiê

ameñoqiaytan, mimeñoqiaytan, : futuro ymperfecto
ymeñoqiaytan, quimeñoqiaytan, mimeñoquiaytan, meñoquiaytan

ameñoquiay actan, mimeñoquiay : futuro perfecto
mectan &

meñoqiay/mimeñoqiay-ji, : ymperativo
meñoquiayhe, quimeñoquiayte, mimeñoquiay-jji, meñoquiayhe

ameñoqiay-joque/ameñoqiayteque; : obtativo presente ê ymperfecto
mimeñoqiay-joque/mimeñoqiayteque, ymeñoqiay-joque/ymeñoqiayteque, quimeñoqiay-joque/quimeñoqiayteque, mimeñoquiay-joque/mimeñoquiayteque, meñoquiay-joque/meñoquiayteque

oc moc ameñoquiayteq cot, : preterito perfecto et plusquamperfecto
ameñoquiayte[moc]cot to: o*ssi, ojala yo aya, huviera, huviesse &

ameñoquiay cottoque & : llano

ameñoquiayhu, mimeñoquiayhu, : subjuntivo
ymeñoquiayhu, quimeñoquiayhu, mimeñoquiayhu, meñoquiayhu

ameñoquiay-joque/ameñoquiayteque, : segundo subjuntivo
ymeñoquiayteque, quimeñoquiayteque, mimeñoquiayteque, meñoquiayteque

ameñoquiayte & : ynfinitivo

ameñoquiay cotnap

ameñoquiaylam, ameñoquiaylamhe/ameñoquiaytehe, meñoquiayhe, mñoquiayhehe, meñoquiayhennap, mñoquiaynap

alluan 'yr'

alluan : presente: yo voy
milluan, llahuán, quilluan, milluihan, yllahuán

alluy/alluen, millui/milluen, : preteritos
llavi/llaven, quillui/quilluen, milluiha/milluihan, yllavi/yllven

alluyê, milluiyê, llauiyê, quilluiyê, : plusquam perfecto
milluihaque, yllauye

allactan, millactan, llaactan, quillactan, millhactan, yllactan

allui actan, millui(-)*mectan, llavi
cotan &

llac/millacqui, llac-he, quillacte, millahacqui, yllac-he

ymeperativo
liman-he allac, liman allac-he: obtativo: tengo gana o deseo ir á la
acquian sierra
ynaham allangoque/ allacteque &
allui pocotoque/pocotteque, : perfecto y plusquam perfecto
millui cottoque &; oc moc allacte cot &
allach, millach, llach, quillach, : subjuntivo
millahach, yllach
alluech/allactech, milluech/ : segundo subjuntivo
millactech, llavech/lactech, quilluech/quillactech, ylluech/yllactech
allacte, millacte &; allui cotnap & : infinitivo
allalam cotnap, añanxipan : por averme de ir, me doy prisa
allajan : infinitivo + j + an final: llevar:
millajan, illajan, quillajan, presente: yo llevo
millajihan, llajlan
allaji, millaji & : preteritos
allavojtan, millavojtan & : futuro
llavoj, millavoj-ji : imperativo
allavojoque/allavojteque, : optativo
millavojoque/ millavojteque, yllavojoque/yllavojteque, quillavojoque &,
millavojhangoque, llamvajangoque;
oc moc allavojte cot &
allavoju, allavojtech, : subjuntivo
millavoju, millavojtech &
allavoje &, allaji cotnap, allavojlam : ynpinitivo
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, millalaquian, yllacquian [& como
ameñoquian]

[atpan]
atpan : yo ando
mutpan, tupan, cutpan, mutpihan, uttupan
atpi, mutpi &; atuptan; tup, mutuppi; atuppoque, atupteque; atuphu,
atuptech; atupte; atuplamhe/atuptehe, tuphe, tupnap
atpen : 'a del final > e: hacer andar: yo le
mutpen, utupen, cutpen, mutpeihan, hago andar
uttupen
atpey, mutpey &; atpejtan, mutpejtan &; tupej, mutpej-ji &; atpej-joque,
atpejteque; atpejhu, atpe(c)htech;
atpejte, mutpejte & atpey cotnap, atpejlam; atpenco; atpejlamhe/atpejtehe, tupejhe, tupejhap; atpejo, mutpejo

atupian : volver andar: yo vuelbo â andar
mutupian, tupian, cutupian, mutuphaquian, uttupian

atupiay, mutupiay & atupiajtan & tupiaj & como ameñquian

atzman 'saber'
atzman : yo se
mitzman, zaman, quitzman, mitzmuhan, ztaman

atzmou, mitzmou &; atzmocstan; zamoc, mitzmocqui;
atzmongoque/atzmocque; atzmocote; atzmoch, atzmoctech;
atzmolamhe/achmoctehe, zamoche, zamonnape
atzmoccan : hacer saber
atzmocquian : vuelbo â saber
atzmen : enseñar
mitzmen, ychmen, quitmen, michmeihan, zameylan; achmey; achmejtan

atzmej-joque; achmejhu, achmejtech; atzmije, atzmy cotnap;
atzmej-lamhe; atzmenco, at[z]mey 'inco &';
atzmejlamhe/atzmjtehe, zamejhe, zamejhap

atzmejjian : buelbo â enseñar
atzmocquian : vuelvo â saber
atzmeccan : hazer enseñar

axcan : yo bebo
mixcan, yxcan, quixcan, mixquihan, xiqueilan

axquei; axijtan; axij-joque &; axijhu & axijtech &
auxen : hazer beber
mixquen, yxquen, quixquen, mixqueyhan, xiqueylan

axquey; axquejtan; xiquej; axquej-joque &
auxijian : vuelbo â beber
mixxian, yxiian, quixxian, misijhacquian, xijlaquian

axijiar, mixxijar, yxijiar, quixxijar, mixxijaquian, xijlaquian

axxijaran, mixxijaratan, quixxijaratan, mixxijaquarian, xijlaquian
xijiar, mixxijari
axxijar-joque & mixxijar-joque/misijjaiteque, yxijar-joque, quisijjaiteque, misijjaitequeh, xiijlaquian

axxijahu, axxijajtech, mixxijahu, mixxijajtech, yxijahu, yxijajtech, quixxijahu, quixxijajtech, mixxijajhach, mixxijajtech, xijjajlach, xijjajtech

axxijate & axxijay cotnap & axxijalam cotnap & axxiijanco & axxijalamhe, axxijajtehe, xijjaihe, xijjajhap
alon 'mojar con agua'

| 962  | alon                           | : yo lo mojo        |
|      | alon, ylon, quilon, miloihan, loilan |
| 963  | aloy, miloi, yloi, quilo, miloia, loila |
| 964  | alojtan, milojetan, ilojtan, quilojtan, milojahactan, lojlapan |
| 965  | alojque/alojteque, milojoque/milojteque, ilojteque, ilojteque/ilojteque, quilojque/quilojteque, milojahactequo, lojlangoque |
| 966  | alojhu, alojte; lojte, miloje &; aloy cotnap |
| 967  | zitup galoy cotnap, cama acquian : por averme mojado el aguazero, estoy enfermo |
| 968  | zitup galoj"chin" na quiche, azipte : porque no me moge el aguazero, estoy en casa |
| 969  | alojcan : hazer mojar |
| 970  | alojian : volver a mojar |

[alupon]

| 971  | alupon : aborrecer |
| 972  | alupocan : hazer aborrecer |
| 973  | alupojian : volver a aborrecer |

atzun 'ungir, untar'

| 974  | atzun                           | : yo unto ò ungo |
|      | atzun, uchun, cutzun, mutzuhihan, zuilan |
| 975  | atzu, mutzu & : preteritos |
| 976  | atzuhan : futuro |
| 977  | zui, mutzuiji : ymperativo |
| 978  | atzujoque : obtativo |
| 979  | atzujoque : hazer untar |
| 980  | atzujuan : volver a untar |
| 981  | santo olio"pat atzu : ya le di el st ooleo |
| 982  | yppoc santo oliopat atzuiai : segunda vez le volvi a dar el sto oleo |

De la passiva del verbo activo

[1: con el participio de preterito + actan 'ser']

| 984  | amcolli mect/mecten : tu fuiste amado por mi |
| 985  | a : la persona que haze |
| 986  | m : la persona que padece |
| 987  | cruz"te llavinloula coten, golen, muila"sim coten : crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus: fue crucificado, muerto y sepultado |
[2: ynfinitivo del verbo + itz + an final]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>988</th>
<th>989</th>
<th>990</th>
<th>991</th>
<th>992</th>
<th>993</th>
<th>994</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| alan | aloitzan | ameñan | apernoitzan | agollan | acoleitzan | anam
baptismo |
| aloitzan | ameñan | apernoitzan | agollan | acoleitzan | anam
baptismo |

acolei(c)tzan ‘yo soy amado’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>995</th>
<th>996</th>
<th>997</th>
<th>998</th>
<th>999</th>
<th>1000</th>
<th>1001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>micoleichan</td>
<td>goleichan</td>
<td>quicoleichan</td>
<td>micoleichihan</td>
<td>chicoleichan</td>
<td>acoleitzitzi, micoleichi, goleichi,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>micoleitzi, micoleichi, goleichi,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>: presente: yo soy amado</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

quicoleichi, micole(h)i(c)ziha, chicoleichi

coleitz, goleitzge, quicoleitzte, |
| : futuro ymperfecto |

goleitzitan, micoleitzitan, |
| : futuro ymperfecto |

micoleitzjacqui, chicoleitzge

coleitzque/acolecteque, |
| : optativo |

micoleitchoque/micoleichteque, goleitchoque/goleichteque, quicoleitchoque/ |
| quicoleichteque, micoleichhangoque/micoleichhacteque, |
| chicoleichhangoque/chicoleich(c)teque |

acaoleitzu, micoleichhu, goleichhu, : subjuntivo |
| quicoleichhu, micoleichhach, chicoleich(lach)[hu] |

verbo aloitzan ‘ser hecho’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1002</th>
<th>1003</th>
<th>1004</th>
<th>1005</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>acoleitzitan, micoleitzitan,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>: futuro ymperfecto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

goleitzitan, micoleitzitan, |
| : futuro ymperfecto |

chicoletzge

coleitzque/acolecteque, |
| : optativo |

micoleitchoque/micoleichteque, goleitchoque/goleichteque, quicoleitchoque/ |
| quicoleichteque, micoleichhangoque/micoleichhacteque, |
| chicoleichhangoque/chicoleich(c)teque |

acaoleitzhu, micoleichhu, goleichhu, : subjuntivo |
| quicoleichhu, micoleichhach, chicoleich(lach)[hu] |

aloitzan |
| : yo soy hecho |

mioitzan |
| : tu |

loychan |
| : aquel |

quitoichan |
| : nosotros |

mioitzihan |
| : vosotros |

chioitzan |
| : aquellos |

aoitzi |
| : preterito |

aoitztan |
| : futuro |

aoitzque |
| : optativo |

aoitzhu |
| : subjuntivo |
verbo apeñoitzan 'ser querido'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1016</th>
<th>apeñoitzan</th>
<th>yo soy querido</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1017</td>
<td>mipeñoitzan</td>
<td>tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1018</td>
<td>meñoitzan</td>
<td>aquel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1019</td>
<td>quipeñoitzan</td>
<td>nosotros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1020</td>
<td>mipeñoitzihan</td>
<td>vosotros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1021</td>
<td>chipeñoitzan</td>
<td>aquellos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1022</td>
<td>apeñoitzitan</td>
<td>futuro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1023</td>
<td>apeñoitzoque &amp;</td>
<td>optativo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1024</td>
<td>apeñoitzhu, mipeñoitzhu &amp;</td>
<td>subjuntivo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Libro segundo: De las partes de la oración. Del nombre. De su división.

[nombre substantivo: nombre propio]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1025</th>
<th>muxac</th>
<th>el sol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1026</td>
<td>pel</td>
<td>la luna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[nombre apellativo]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1027</th>
<th>nun</th>
<th>el varon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1028</td>
<td>xocot</td>
<td>el rio</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[nombre colletivo: muchedumbre]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1029</th>
<th>kennà</th>
<th>las estrellas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1030</td>
<td>cotchal</td>
<td>el cascajal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Del uso del nombre substantivo. Del nombre quasi adjectivo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1031</th>
<th>hualiu</th>
<th>cosa fuerte</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1032</td>
<td>ñguñà</td>
<td>cosa suave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1033</td>
<td>allhi</td>
<td>cosa dulce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1034</td>
<td>xep</td>
<td>ympotente ó esteril</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1035</td>
<td>oñchaplla</td>
<td>hablador ó parlero, y los semejantes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1036</td>
<td>chel cachiu</td>
<td>patituerto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1037</td>
<td>ixivaj hayu</td>
<td>mal hombre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1038</td>
<td>yamcuila hayulolhe</td>
<td>para los hombres diligentes ó hazendosos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1039</td>
<td>pal-lou lunic</td>
<td>tiene buen natural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1040</td>
<td>yxivaj lunic</td>
<td>es de mala condicion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1041</td>
<td>aytechu hayu</td>
<td>hombre pacifico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1042</td>
<td>ñanzicnic/uoch</td>
<td>trabajoso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1043</td>
<td>xex“nic</td>
<td>carachoso &amp;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Del nombre verbal
[nombre verbal: 1: el infinitivo, 2: el infinitivo + alguna partícula, 3: la raíz: infinitivo sin te]

1044 cot : < cot: el ser o esencia
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 o estar
1049 gullha : vida
1050 gullha cotlam : el estado de vida
1051 aculilha 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 + ync: 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 o gana
1061 agole, agolelam : < aollan: mi amor
1062 acoleuch : mi amador
1063 micoleuch : 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 acuian : governar
1070 camatzin quivuch : el governador
1071 allitten : corregir
1072 llittejuch : el corregidor

[4: supinos en ngo ljo: verbales en bilis]

1073 apul-luan : abominar
1074 cupul-luongo : abominable
1075 achi(x)[c]nan : temer
1076 quichicnongo : cosa formidable, temerosa
1077 azchan : ver
Del nombre numeral. De su division.
[los cardinales]

1082 anzel : para cosas largas y todo animal
quadrupedo: uno
1083 ypzel : dos
1084 yssel : tres
1085 miñipzel : quatro
1086 quioczel : sinco
1087 ypzoc’zel : seis
1088 quilixzel : 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, quilix, pac, ocoñ, alec
: para contar gente ô hombres
1095 atche, ypcche, yxxê, miñipche, quiocche, ypzoc’che, quilixche,
apache, ocoñche, aleccche : para cosas redondas y todo genero de
aves, frutas &
1096 anchup, ypchup, yxchup, miñipchup, quiocchup, ocoñchup,
al-lec’ chup : para ropas, vestidos, hachas, mache
tes, peces & libros, plumas, tigeras,
cuchillos, peynes, sapatos, medias
1097 athil, yphil, ych-hil, miñiphil, quiocchil, ypzochil, quilixhil, pachil,
ocoñhil, al-lechil : para palabras, preceptos, mandamien
tos, ordena[n]zas &
1098 attuj, yptuj, yxtuj, miñiptuj, quiocptuj, ypzocptuj &
: para retazos, pedazos, ñudos, junturas
&
1099 attip, ypptip, yxtip, miñiptip &
: para mitades, mendrugos &
1100 alliu, ypliu, yxliu &
: para cosas diversas & y colores &
1101 appoc, ypec, ychpoc, miñippoc &
: para vezes
1102 appuch, yppuch, ychpuch &
: para chacaras &
1103 atchan, yphchan, yxchan &
: para haces, manojos, atados &
1104 appuc, yppuc, ychpuc : para vacados
1105 appimoc, yppimoc, ychpimoc, miñippimoc, quiocpimoc &
: para cielos, entre suelos, quartos de
casa, divisiones, doblezes de ropa &
1106 appon, yppon, ychpon, miñippon &
: para tropas, compañias, exercitos,
manadas &
axun, ypxun, ychxun, miñipxun, quiocxun

miñip lec: miñip + al-lec: quarenta
al-lec: diez
ylec: veinte
yxlec: treinta
miñiplec: quarenta
quioclec: cincuenta
ypzoe lec: sesenta
quilix lec: setenta
pac lec: ochenta
yoñ lec: noventa
nic: conjuncion de los numeros
alec miñip: alec + miñip: catorce
al-lec anzel: once
al-lec ypta: doze
al-lec yxta: trece
al-lec ipzoc nic: diez y seis
pi: igualdad en accion
ypta pi miolah: hacetlo los dos juntos

Del numeral ordinal [1: ordinal = cardinal + cotmullanco; 2: ordinal = cardinal]
at hil: una palabra
at cotmullanco hil silan: el primer mandamiento
yp hil silan: el 2o
yp hil silan &: el 3o
axman cot mullanco: el 1o y el que esta primero
at hil silan: el primer mandamiento

Del numeral distributivo [distributivo = cardinal + o/co]
yl-lo: de uno en uno
yptaco iptaco: de dos en dos
yxtao yxtaco: de tres en tres
miñippô miñippô: de cuatro en cuatro
quiocco quiocco: de cinco en cinco
ypchocco ipchoco: de seis en seis
quilixsô quilixsô: de siete en siete
paceo pacco: de ocho en ocho
ocoññô ocoññô: de nueve en nueve
al-leccô alleccô: de diez en diez
al leccô al-leccô: de onze en onze &

Del nombre compuesto
De los que se componen de participios [1: participio en co, 2: participio en uch l. juch]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Código</th>
<th>Expresión</th>
<th>Significado</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1143</td>
<td>cotanco, cottuch</td>
<td>el que es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1144</td>
<td>ygpollanco, goleuuch</td>
<td>el que ama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1145</td>
<td>acolevuch</td>
<td>mi amador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1146</td>
<td>quechuac</td>
<td>el pobre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1147</td>
<td>quechuac golebuch</td>
<td>el amador del pobre, que ama el pobre, caritativo o misericordioso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1148</td>
<td>aycha Lluppuch</td>
<td>comedor de carne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1149</td>
<td>axuà lammijuch</td>
<td>matador de pescado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1150</td>
<td>pal-lusayeuch</td>
<td>&lt; al-luzacquian: misericordioso o piadoso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1151</td>
<td>tuppuch</td>
<td>&lt; atupan: andariego</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1152</td>
<td>axuà zappuch</td>
<td>pescador</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

De otras partículas con que se componen los nombres substantivos [camayoc, nic l nicall, ziu, all, ell, quell, sall, ll, miñ, miñapô, capoc l capocall, ñanmac, puch]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Código</th>
<th>Expresión</th>
<th>Significado</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1153</td>
<td>camayoc</td>
<td>el oficio ó cargo [de]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1154</td>
<td>vexa camayoc</td>
<td>pastor de obejas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1155</td>
<td>baca camayoc</td>
<td>baquero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1156</td>
<td>palol camayoc</td>
<td>portero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1157</td>
<td>checho camayoc</td>
<td>el que tiene el cargo de plata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1158</td>
<td>sastrcamayoc, pijijuch</td>
<td>el sastre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1159</td>
<td>nie, nicall</td>
<td>exceso ó muchedumbre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1160</td>
<td>chulnic, chulnicall</td>
<td>mocoso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1161</td>
<td>chounicall</td>
<td>piojoso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1162</td>
<td>ell, quell</td>
<td>exceso, abundancia de cosas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1163</td>
<td>chequell</td>
<td>muy granado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1164</td>
<td>moquell</td>
<td>todo fruta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1165</td>
<td>set(t)chell</td>
<td>cabezon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1166</td>
<td>taquell pañâ pactan</td>
<td>es camino pedragoso &amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1167</td>
<td>ziu</td>
<td>niega la posesion con exageracion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1168</td>
<td>alè ziu</td>
<td>no tengo dientes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1169</td>
<td>sall</td>
<td>niega la posesion con exageracion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1170</td>
<td>el-le sall ziu</td>
<td>del todo estoi desdentado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1171</td>
<td>quisac sall ziu</td>
<td>de todo punto no tenemos que comer ó comida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1172</td>
<td>ll, all, capocall</td>
<td>solum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1173</td>
<td>checholl ampicen</td>
<td>pidote solamente plata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1174</td>
<td>bem”all, bem”capocall ameñan</td>
<td>no quiero mas que camotes ó solamente quiero camotes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1175</td>
<td>quipalli”all</td>
<td>solamente passamos, esto es, sin detenernos, ni hacer otra cosa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Il, all, tell, llem : + presente: continuacion de la accion

sachan *all, tell sachan, llem sachan : todavia chacarea ò està haziendo chacara

tengixanall : todavia esta hilando
yn : todavia
lla(c)pangin : todavia no se va, todavia no se ha ido
zipte tongin : todavia esta en casa
Il : + optativo ò jerundio: precision
qui *amocteheva, quipiipoll : para comer, precisamente hemos de trabajar

qui *amocteheva, Dios camazin qui : para salvarnos, necesitadamente hemos de guardar los mandamientos de Dios
sil mahac quilocoll : cada dia ó todos los dias comemos

ñanmac : unas vezes haze colectivos a los nombres de tiempo, otras vezes singulariza

ñanmac quiaman : cada dia ó todos los dias comemos
ñanmac hayu itzipete itzotz : cada indio tiene cuies en su(s) casa(s)
pahacotan

ñanmac : + participios: cada vez

ñanmac, cama acquian : cada vez que voy â pasear al monte, caygo enfermo
puch : + numerales: entero o cabal

al-lec *puch : diez enteros ó cabales
anem *pu(t)ch atpeii : caminè todo un dia

apelpuch puttamte atñgui : un mes entero he estado en el pueblo
apotippe apilui *puch ò chos pactan : un año entero ha que vine
chapllon ò man ò(c)zac *puch telan : la olla está llena de chicha
xallaman cuca *puch luctan : el canasto está lleno de coca
miñ, miñapo : igualdad entre dos nombres quantitativos

muilli de gallina
attellpa *che *miñ/miñapo rasu : cayô granizo tan grande como huevo
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 puillquitz imeñan : quiere mas oro
baptismote jayû masoqiajhe pat, no se ha contentado Dios con que el
que Dios zâ mulipitzo, hombre renasca en el sto Bautismo, mas
quiquingo quecti cotnap, tzach he, ha instituido un remedio contra todas y
quinahima mec gama utupat des las cuales podra contraer pecando,
uccullhavejo zuquio umatzin un baño saludable para tod[as] las llag-
qui, qui pa Jesuchristo zque Ilapat zamejhe, manjichoche, gas de nuestra alma
quisall zommec icazamojtehe
co llup man quicholamma este baño es la confession sacramental
confession sim cotan
1206 tupat + mannap el nexo de las oraciones comparativas
1207 mannap inter
1208 yla tep chimsov mannap, San Juan
Bautista tupat, nichunic ocho
tapachii pitzo, San Juan
1209 atupat que yo
1210 mutupat
1211 tupat que aquel
1212 Pedro tupat que Pedro
1213 cutupat que nosotros
1214 mutuhapat que vosotros
1215 utupat que aquellos &
1216 tupat adversum, contra
1217 atupat xajlan habla contra mí &
1218 mutupat guixuan se enoja contra [te] &
1219 mannap en quanto
1220 qui pa Jesu-Chriss Dios
1221 mimannap nichunic ques Pedro
1222 col mannap uzavâ nichunic ixivaj
1223 quimta mannap quinahima va
1224 supey mannap nichunic zepan
1225 ma, patep, mamata, ma patep, miente mas que el diablo
ma ocho 

Del modo que se forman los superlativos
1225 ma, patep, mamata, ma patep, valde, muy, exceso en grado
ma ocho superlativo
441

ma : excesso superlativo
ma hualiu : fortissimo
ma julap : larguissimo
ma nem’te : muy de dia
ma piaz, 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
ma ocho : cosa grande
ma + ocho : excesso quantitativo
ma ocho guelou, ma ocho lleti : ha engordado mucho
ma majall : mucho en quantidad, cantidad numeral
ma majall aycha ullampan : come mucha carne
ma majall axuà cotman chectan : ay muchos peces en el agua
mamata mumpuchnic hayu cotanco : es hombre que tiene muchas riquezas
mamata sacic : tiene muchissimas comidas
patep chihachan : hacen muchissimas chacaras
patep quigolengo : amabilissimo ó muy amable
patep quichicnono : temerosissimo ó muy temeroso
patep ma pallou : bonissimo con grande excesso
patep uccullhavejo : muy saludable
patep : + quantidad: excesso de comparacion
patep mamanta checho : muchissima plata con grande excesso
patep ma majall mech : muchissima plata con grande excesso
mec’mannap patep zamoch : omnium doctissimus, doctissimo entre
todos ó el mas docto de todos
mec’mannap patep ma hualiu : fortissimo entre todos
mec alhà’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,
ma cunchu : menor, minimo
ocho, nichunic ocho, ma ocho : magnus, mayor, maximus
yla’chu : mugercilla
nun pul’chu : mozuelo
nun pulup’chu : muchachillo
ila pullup’chu : muchachilla
nun’chu : hombrecillo
moschu : poquito
<p>| | |</p>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1264</td>
<td>nichunic moschu : mas poquito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1265</td>
<td>ma cunchu : muy poquito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1266</td>
<td>atellpa mullup&lt;sup&gt;°&lt;/sup&gt;chu : pollito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1267</td>
<td>cuchi mullup&lt;sup&gt;°&lt;/sup&gt;chu : Cochinito</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Del pronombre. De su division

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1268</td>
<td>oc, mi, sa : pronombres primitivos: yo, tu, el: ego, tu, ys</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Del plural destos primitivos

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1269</td>
<td>quija : nosotros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1270</td>
<td>minaja : vosotros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1271</td>
<td>chiha : ellos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

De los pronombres posessivos

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1272</td>
<td>a : meus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1273</td>
<td>aczoc : mi caja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1274</td>
<td>m : tuus para hombre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1275</td>
<td>miczoc : tu caja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1276</td>
<td>p : tuus para muger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1277</td>
<td>piezoc : tu caja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1278</td>
<td>Juan gazoc : suus = genitivo de posession: la caxa de Juan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural:

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1279</td>
<td>quija quiczoc, quiczoc : nuestra caja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1280</td>
<td>miczoc-ja : vuestra caja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1281</td>
<td>chic-zoc : la caja dellos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1282</td>
<td>oc alou : pronombre primitivo + la particula lou: mio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1283</td>
<td>mi•milou : tuyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1284</td>
<td>sa ilou : suyo del</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1285</td>
<td>quiha quilou : nuestro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1286</td>
<td>minaha•(mi)milouha, mi•milouha : vuestro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1287</td>
<td>chiha loula : suyo dellos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1288</td>
<td>ol : nombre ynterrogativo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1289</td>
<td>ol ilou, ol ilouam? : cuyo es?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1290</td>
<td>oc alou : mio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1291</td>
<td>Juan illou : de Juan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

De los pronombres demostrativos

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1292</td>
<td>co : este de aqui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1293</td>
<td>ynco : aquel de alli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Número</td>
<td>Explicación</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1294</td>
<td>pe          : aquel de aculla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1295</td>
<td>oc alou co’uâ : esto mío ó esto es mío</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1296</td>
<td>mi•milou ynco’uâ : aquello tuyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1297</td>
<td>sa ilou pe’vâ : aquello suyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1298</td>
<td>co oc alou : esto es mío</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1299</td>
<td>tup : egomet, yo mismo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>: nominativo de persona que hace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1300</td>
<td>oc’tup : yo mismo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1301</td>
<td>mi’tup : tu mismo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1302</td>
<td>sa’tup : el mismo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1303</td>
<td>quiija’tup : nosotros mismos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1304</td>
<td>minajatup : vosotros mismos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1305</td>
<td>chija’tup : ellos mismos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1306</td>
<td>Juan tup : Juan mismo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1307</td>
<td>Dios’ tup jayu itzmei : Dios ó Dios mismo crió al hombre &amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1308</td>
<td>entoñam ampacocotan, amiachpacna : tup + obtativo = pues: como te conoce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>: ceré, pues no te puedo ver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1309</td>
<td>al-lum : los otros ó algunos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1310</td>
<td>anzel’sim : es otro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1311</td>
<td>ache ipman tonlii : posó en otra casa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1312</td>
<td>pi : + numeral: ambo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1313</td>
<td>Pedro Juan’ nic ypta’pi illaluan : Pedro y Juan, ambos á dos van juntos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1314</td>
<td>yxta jayu atemmé chipalli : tres hombres juntos pasaron de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mañana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1315</td>
<td>ypta’pi aycha llupilan, ypta’pi : ambos á dos están comiendo carne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aycha lluphe iton, ypta’pi zep llupilan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

De algunas partículas que se usan con los pronombres primitivos

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Número</th>
<th>Explicación</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1316</td>
<td>ach, ch : diz•que</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1317</td>
<td>oc’ach : diz•que yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1318</td>
<td>mich : diz•que tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1319</td>
<td>sach : diz•que él</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1320</td>
<td>quihach : diz•que nosotros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1321</td>
<td>minahach : diz•que vosotros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1322</td>
<td>chihach : diz•que ellos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1323</td>
<td>fiscal tupach icxaixtanna/he, Estevan : Estevan dizque el fiscal nos ha de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>quian azotar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1324</td>
<td>yncoñ, peñ : assi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1325</td>
<td>yncoñachge, peñachge : assi dizque es, assi dizen que es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1326</td>
<td>chin : quizas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1327</td>
<td>oc’chin asepan : quizas yo miento</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1328</td>
<td>michin mijinziui : quizas tu hablaste</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1329 Pedro chin cotan : quizas es Pedro
1330 capi nem chin nantan : quizas vendra oy
1331 oc achge : dice que yo o dicen que yo
1332 michge : dice que tu
1333 sachge : dize que el &

Del nombre relativo e interrogativo
1334 ol, olam : quis, quien
1335 ynhâ, ynhâm : quid, que cosa
1336 yntonco, yntoncopit, yntoncom : quisquis, quilibet, qual o cualquiera
1337 olpit, entoncopit : quicumque, qualquiera que
1338 ynhapit : quodcumque, qualquiera cosa que

Del uso destos relativos [+ interrogativos]
1339 ol, olam : pregunta de persona
1340 ol/olam mipzan? : quien viene?
1341 apangâ olam, axottâ ol-lolam chectanpit?: quae est mater mea? et qui sunt fratres mei?: 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 irâ?
1344 yntonco zip tem ñeckan : en qual casa dormirâ?
1345 yntoncotepit llac-he : vaya cualquiera?
1346 yntonco zip ñeckanpit : posse en cualquiera casa
1347 ynhâ, ynhâm : pregunta [de] cosas
1348 ynhâm yno ñeckanpit : que es eso?
1349 ma : nada
1350 ynhâm maccotan : que tienes?
1351 ynhapit (mâ)/yncha ñeckapit/ ynhcha yupit mâ acotpan : no tengo nada
1352 ynhampa? : que dices o que quieres hombre?
1353 ynhampa? : que dices o que quieres muger?
1354 mec : omnis
1355 mec ynhcha : toda la cosa
1356 ynhachu : cosa pequena
1357 yu : calidad
1358 ynhcha yuam ñeckan : que o de que calidad es esto?
1359 ol-lolam?: quienes?
1360 entoncololam? : quales?
1361 mec ynhcha ynhcha : todas las cosas
1362 mec ynhcha ynhcha, mec ynhcha ynhapit : todas las cosas minimas
1363 mec ynhcha ynhcha yu : todo genero y calidad de cosas
ynto•mecam : quanto, cosas de cantidad ó cantidad
mimixtocan

ynto•mec mimojllan, pe•mec
mimixtocan

mimixtocan

ynto•mec inchá maccotan, mecmimixtocan

mimixtocan

ynto•mec maengoque, pe•mec
mimixtocan

co•mec, yncm•mec, p(a)[e]•mec
mimixtocan

ynto•mec? : tautos?

ynto•mec? : quanto?

ynto•mec•cin
mimixtocan

ynto•mec call
mimixtocan

mi, oc mec mectan : tu eres de mi estatura ó tamaño
mimixtocan

ynto•mec : quan, quan
mimixtocan

ynto•mec pallou Dios cotan/ento•mec pallou cotan Dios zá
mimixtocan

ynto•mec mac-jai mectan : quan dichoso eres
mimixtocan

ynto•mec ixivaj cotan sepec•cá : quan mala es la mentira
mimixtocan

ynto•mec + tenom : menos
mimixtocan

ynto•mec tenom : tanto menos
mimixtocan

ynto•mec•pit
mimixtocan

ynto•mec nichunic
mimixtocan

ynto•mec nichunic axua : cuanto mas pescado cogieras, será
mimixtocan

miztapoque, mejor nichunic pallou cottan
mimixtocan

ynto•mec cothepit, ynto•mec
cothupit
mimixtocan

yntoñapam? : de que tamaño?

yntoñap, yntoppo : deste tamaño
mimixtocan

coñapall : deste tamaño, no mas
mimixtocan

peñapall : de aquel tamaño solamente
mimixtocan

yncha•yù : para preguntas de calidad de personas
mimixtocan

yncha•yù hayuam ynco•á? : de que especie, laya, condicion, suerte
mimixtocan

yncha•yù : para preguntas de calidad de personas
mimixtocan

yncha•yù hayuam ynco•á? : de que especie, laya, condicion, suerte
mimixtocan

yncha•yù hayuam ynco•á? : de que especie, laya, condicion, suerte
mimixtocan

yncha•yù hayuam ynco•á? : de que especie, laya, condicion, suerte
mimixtocan

kncha•yù caballum ynco•ú? : de que laya ó color es esse caballo?

kncha•yù caballum ynco•ú? : de que laya ó color es esse caballo?

kncha•yù caballum ynco•ú? : de que laya ó color es esse caballo?

kncha•yù caballum ynco•ú? : de que laya ó color es esse caballo?

kncha•yù caballum ynco•ú? : de que laya ó color es esse caballo?

kncha•yù caballum ynco•ú? : de que laya ó color es esse caballo?

kncha•yù caballum ynco•ú? : de que laya ó color es esse caballo?
1399 zal pey pactan : es [tierra] negra
1400 llaca*pey pactan : es tierra colorada
1401 pull*pey*sim : es tierra amarilla
1402 yecha*yu chem co*uâ : que grano ó huevo es este?
1403 cach chê*sim : es grano de maíz
1404 llù chê*sim : es huevo de paujil
1405 ann*meccam? : quántos en numero
1406 ana*meecm jayu chectan : quántos hombres son ó estan?
1407 ana*meecm illactan? : quántos iran?
1408 annazel mecharm? : quántos arboles?
1409 ana*meec xiptetam : quántas anonas?
1410 ana*meec ochauam : quántos caymitos?
1411 ana*meec atelppachem? : quántos huevos de gallina?
1412 anachem atelppa? : quántas gallinas?
1413 anachem zipnic puttam* mà cotan? : quántas casas tiene el+pueblo?
1414 annachupam axua chipillte : quántos pezes cayeron en la nasa? chepulli?
1415 anachupam menextec matton? : quántos vestidos tienes?
1416 annapucham mihachnic mectan : quántas hachas tienes?
1417 ana*mecchupam mucuchillu*nic : quántos [s] cuchillos tienes?
1418 Dios camatzin quiil sil : quántos son los mandamientos de anna?meecjilam? Dios?
1419 alllec jil-all : solamente diez
1420 ana*meec*tipam aycha mulupi? : quántos pedazos de carne comiste?
1421 annatujam? : quántos nudos ó junturas?
1422 ana*meectujam mima maccotan? : quántas junturas tiene tu cuerpo?
1423 annaliuam menextec*câ : de quántas colores es tu vestido?
1424 ñappá analiuuaam chectan : quántas especies ay de papagayos?
1425 ana*meclivam chectan tua*ât : quántas castas ay de loros?
1426 annapocam munutza milou? : quántas veces has pecado?
1427 ynto*meec : tantas vezes
1428 majallpoc, mamatapoc : muchas veces
1429 piliu ñanmac annapucham michachuhan? : quántas chacaras hazeis cada año?
1430 mahall*puch : muchas
1431 cach puch, peim puch : de mani
1432 am puch : de todo genero de comidas
1433 annac chaqam candela*vâ? : quántos mazos ay de velas?
1434 ana*meec*chaqam veiya mumchan : quántas haszes has puesto de leña?
1435 aachan : uno
1436 ypchan : dos
1437 ana*meec*pucam menqlejtan? : quántos vocados tragarás?
1438 appuc : un vocado &
1439 ana*meec*pimocam mennextec : quántas ropas vistes?
memel-lan?
1440 annapimoc'nic mizip'pá : quantos quartos tiene su casa?
1441 annapimocam zentà chectan : quantos ciegos ay?
1442 annaponqam quetà'á mipoichi? : quantos manadas ò tropas de jabalies has visto?
1443 apon'pat illach apoiichi : los vi ir de tropa
1444 anna*mece'ugam putam naime : por quantos pueblos a veis passado?
mipalilha?
1445 ana*puttamtem mectijà? : en quantos pueblos estubisteis?
1446 anna*mece xocotam mulumchiquiha : quantos rios a veis passado en el pana'te'và? camino?
1447 anna*llom? : quantas quebradas?
1448 anna*mece'xum gàngimmollayha? : quantos montones a veis juntado?
1449 axxum : uno
1450 anna*xam? : quantos pares?
1451 anna*mece 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 yptaco iptaco : de dos en dos
1454 yññanmacco anzel palantu : dales á cada uno un platano mipoecqui
1455 mamonte mamonte : uno tras otro

Del modo de usar y suplir á qui, quae, quod

Precepto 10 [por el pronombre demostrativo co]
1456 Jesu-Christo sa mulall : y en Jesu-Christo, su único hijo, el quinapù'te'pit, cosim Espiritu qual se hizo hombre por obra del Espi-
Santo itzmey'tep jayu quii ritu Sto

Precepto 2o [por los relativos ol l yntonco]
1457 yanco nellô, ol l yntonco Jesus igolli nai mitju izchi, co'sin majach lamolam'te luchel ñante milmojnou

: Ioan. C. 21: vidit illum discipulum, quem diligebat Jesus, sequentem, qui recubuit in coena super pectus eius: vio á aquel dicipulo, á quien amaba Jesus, que le seguia, el qual se recostò sobre su pecho en la cena
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Precepto 3o [por el participio de futuro y de preterito]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 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, 
| | el cual fue antes que yo fuesse |
| 1459 nantan’ynco | : participio de futuro |
| 1460 cotiinco | : participio de preterito |
| 1461 mec uga Belen’té itogui’ynco, molammi | : Math. C. 2: occidit [omnes] pueros, 
| | qui erant in Bethl[eh]em: mato todos 
| | los niños de leche que estavan en Belen |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prosigue la propia materia</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Precepto 1o [qui es nominativo: la oracion se•haze por los participios]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 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, quixaxte | : Luc. 2 v. 15: et videamus hoc verbum, 
| | quod factum est: veamos esta palabra 
| | que fue hecho |
| 1464 mec sinaylånynco, ichicnejnou | : preterito perfecto: Luc. C. 2: omnes 
| | qui au-dierunt, mirati sunt: todos los 
| | que oyeron, se admiraron |
| 1465 goliyënco ojomall matiei | : preterito plusquam perfecto: Ioan. C. 
| | 11: statim prodiit 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 matectan, aputam Isrrael igalloctehe | : (subjuntivo) [gerundio]: Math. 2: ex te 
| | enim exiet dux, qui regat populum 
| | meum Isr(r)ael: de ti saldrà el capitan o 
| | gobernador, que rija mi pueblo de 
| | Ysrra[e]l |
| 1468 apatian | : salir |
| 1469 guelchejuch, unutzavejuch’pit | Ioan. 8: est qui queraet, et iudicet: ay 
| cotan | quien busque y juzgue |
| 1470 nonasna quianco, hacol-loitztan, | futuro: Mat.: qui autem se exaltaverit, 
| haco quianco, ochò quietan | humiliabitur; et qui se humiliaverit, ex- 
| | altabitur: empero el que se engrandecie-
| | ra, será humillado y el que se humillare, 
| | se engrandecerá |
Precepto 2o

[el relativo qui es acusativo ò caso de verbo: la oracion se hace por los mismos participios]

1471 yncha yncha mipoyclhanco, chipoichanco ñachelol lâ, pê mec macjaï 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 pâ, ñô mipoxquê pît, pemec macjaï chectan

: preterito perfecto: Luc. 11 v. 27: beatus venter qui te portavit et ubera quae suxisti: bienaventurado el vientre que te tuvo en sí y los pechos que mamaste

1473 mec yncha chipohinaiye te, chipoitziyete pît, Dios muchan loche v. 20: laudantes Deum in omnibus quae audierant et viderant: alabando á Dios en todas las cosas que avian oido y visto

1474 yntonco pît muchan alocynynco, sap sim cotan, mitzaphacqui muchan

: futuro: Math. C. 26: quercumque osculatus fuero, ipse est, tenete eum: cualquiera que besare, el mismo es, prendedle

1475 alolamynco, mitzaphacqui, sap sim cotan

: futuro en lam: quercumque osculatus fuero &

1476 caliz axijlamynco mixijhangole mectihan?

: 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 particio

1477 acolebuch

: infinitivo + uch/buch: amator, amador

1478 axpen

: salvar

1479 axpejuch

: mi salvador

1480 anutzaven

: justgar

1481 anutzavejuch

: mi juez ò justgador

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 quiymejuch cotan Dios’sâ

: 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 + posesivos y transiciones)

1489 milolam/milolamynco, xipnall/ ojomall loc/milocqui: quod facturus es[t], fac citius: lo que has de hacer, haslo presto
1490 caliz axijlaminco, mixijhangole mechí?n?: Math. C. 20: podeis beber el caliz que yo he de ó tengo de beber?
1491 amehena acuilam, aymej: enseñame lo que he de creer
1492 alolam atun: dime lo que he de hacer
1493 atonlelam aychoj: muestrame donde he de posar ó 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 ó tener obligacion
1499 pojó atmolle yglesia*te quillalam: pasa(n)do mañana tenemos que ir á la pactan/cotan iglesia ó debemos &
1500 culuvolam ma*pactan: no ay de que tener pesadumbre
1501 lam + actan: suelo, tengo costumbre: possum, poder
1502 anutza alolam actan: yo suelo ó tengo costumbre de pecar
1503 meetzolam mecti &: tu solias ó tenias costumbre de hurtar
1504 quillalam quectan: nosotros podemos ir
1505 millahalam: vosotros podeis ir
1506 acotto actan: supino en to, ngo l jo, chô: possum, poder: yo puedo ser
1507 allaquiajo actan: yo me puedo volver
1508 atzacho actan: yo puedo ver
1509 allango actan: yo puedo ir &
1510 lam: si
1511 alolam cothu”uã, aloctan: si tuibiere que hazer, lo hare
1512 aamolam cothu”ã, âamoctan: si tuviere que comer, comeré
1513 confessan miquilam cothu”uã, confessan quic: si tuvieres que confessar, confiessate quic

Del circumloquio en dus [dus = 2o supino]

1514 Dios quigolengo cotan: 2o supino + cotan = obligacion: Deus amandus est nobis: Dios deve ser amado por nosotros
1515 Juan pagalan imoon go cotan: Juan le debe pagar
1516 miñipche real Juan milengo cotan: tu debes dar á Juan quatro reales
1517 quimtesajo mectan: 2o supino + actan = dignus: eres digno ó mereces que te lo agradescamos
1518 mixaichlango mectan: mereces que te azoten
1519 quiamonqo mittacho pactan : 2o supino + pactan + cho: el tiempo de hacer la cosa que el verbo significa: ya es tiempo de comer
1520 amaymefo acotto : 2o supino = possum: yo podre enseñarte
1521 a Dios, entonqam ampacong acotto, amaychpacna acotto”tup? : como te podrè conocer Dios mio, pues no te puedo ver?
1522 mec jayu quicol-lo quectan : 2o supino = bilis: todos los hombres somos mortalis

De los romances de me, te, se
1523 na : me, te, se
1524 acollenan : yo me amo
1525 micollenan : tu te amas
1526 ngollenan : aquel se ama
1527 quicollenan : nosotros nos amamos
1528 micollenouhan : vosotros os amais
1529 chicollenan : aquellos se aman
1530 yupey aonan : yo me estimo
1531 yupey mionan : tu te estimas
1532 yupey lonan : aquel se estima
1533 yupey quionan : nosotros nos estimamos
1534 yupey mionouhan
1535 yupey chionan : aquellos se estiman
1536 ayojnan : purgar el vientre
1537 azcan : me rio
1538 muzcan : te ries
1539 uscan : se rie
1540 cuscan : nos reimos
1541 muzquihan : vosotros os rieis
1542 zuquilan : aquellos se rie
1543 yosill acquian : me hago mesquino
1544 na : mihi
1545 ayiponan : yo hago casa para mi
1546 miyiponan : tu hazes casa para ti
1547 ajachonan : yo hago chacara para mi
1548 mijachonan : tu hazes chacara para ti
1549 ajachan : hago mi chacara
1550 ayipan : ago mi casa
1551 miyipan : hazes tu chacara &

Romances del modo potencial
[añiu ynajam + futuro ymperfecto + ynterjecciones: que he de, que es posible que]
1552 ychi : ynterjecion de temor
uchû : ynterjeccion de calor
aleû : ynterjeccion de frio
anû ynajam mec quicoltan ychi? : que todos hemos de morir?
anû ynajam limante amoijtan aleu? : que es possible que he de ir á la sierra?
anû ynajam ampe•puttaman apattan uchû?
anû ynajam axaix lactan allau? : que me han de açotar?

Romances de "estando para"
[infinutivo + miñ + actan en gerundio de ablativo ó en subjuntivo: estando para]
gol’miñchô cothe, ychei : estando para morir, pario
ychan’miñ’chô cothu cuchi’vâ, quilammi : estando para parir la puerca, la matamos
mech lix’miñ’chô cothû, zammollî’lâ : dexaron el arbol estando para caer

Romances impersonales
chipiypan : trabajan
chian : duermen
chiquian, chijlan, etzeitzian : dicen
yllahuan : vanse
yllaquian : buelvense
mec”tup Diosza quigolengo cotan : 2º supino = obligacion: todos tenemos obligacion de amar á Dios

Del uso del infinitivo
Precepto 1o [dolerse, pesarse, holgarse, maravillarse, espantarse & + ge l gena]
apopsajige/gena alusacquian : Gen. C. 6: p[o]enitet me fecisse eos: pesame que los hize
apopsajancoge aluvan : pesame que los hago
coloctangena alusacquian : pesame que ha de hazer ó harâ esto
anutza alouge alusacquian : pesame de aver pecado
yxivaj mectancogena achicnejnan : me espanto ó maravillo de que seas malo
apuilli’gena [mi]mac-(mi)hacquii : alegraste ‘te de que cai
Precepto 2o [convenir, vedar, prohibir + pacna y actan]

1574 millavojpacna mectan miyelam’mà : Ioan. C. 5: non licet tibi tollere l. ut
tollas gra[b]atum tuum

1575 domingololte, fiestaloltepit
quiipiippacna quectan, al-lum
nem’mà ampec quipiippo quectan
: no te es lícito que lleves tu cama: los
domingos y fiestas no es lícito
trabajar, pero los demás días nos es lícito:
los domingos y fiestas no podemos
trabajar, pero los demás días bien pode-
mos

1576 mana alan : vedar ò prohibir
1577 llacchin’na alou : mandele ò dixe que no fuesse
1578 mana alan : digole que no

[mendar + gerundio de dativo]

1579 palol camayoc tepjoctegena ingallou : Marc. C.: janitori pr[a]ec pepit, ut
genaret: mandò al portero que velase
1580 llacchin’na ingallan : mandele que no vaya

Precepto 3o [primer supino ð gerundio de acusativo + verbos de movimiento]

1581 Dios capac cot chipazzolamhe,
camapit chipotzu’quiolumhe,
mopimli
: Luc. C. 9: misit illos pr[a]edicare
[regnum Dei] et sanare infirmos:
enbiolos que predi cassen el reyno
de Dios y que sanasen los enfermos:
enbiolos a predicar y a sanar los
enfermos

Precepto 4o [la raiz + ]k + en: hazer]

1582 ajinnaquen : hazer oir
1583 ajil-laquen : hazer hablar
1584 opeylol mojinacqueî,
mojil-lacquei’pit
: Marci. C. 7: surdos fecit audire, et
mut[u]os loqui: hizo que oyessen los
sordos y que hablassen los mudos

Precepto 5o

1585 achge, ch : dezir, referir
1586 Marialol chini, chiha’simall’achge
angel chipoiichina quiche,
colochge Jesuchristo quinja
cotan’na chiquian diciendo
: Luc. 24: venerunt, dicentes se etiam
visionem angelorum vidisse, qui dicunt
eum vivere: vinieron las Marias, que
eellas tambien avian visto angeles, los
quales dicen que vive Jesu-Christo
1587 angel' pit moxleysnachhe, : et dixit angelus: nolite timere: y el
chicoumuuchhe' na mo[p][h]ilvey
1588 quiamongo cothuâ, quiamonge'chô : quando sea tiempo de comer,
comaremos
1589 cuñchual'chochge, : dize que falta poco
nichual'chochge, payam'chochge

Precepto 6o
1590 na + aschan : videor, videris, parecer, ver
1591 Dios migollanna amaichan : pareceme que amas á Dios
1592 ampal pallou hayu mectina amaichan : antes pareciome que eres bueno, pero
capi'vâ'cho ixivaj mectanna : aora veo que eres malo
amaichan
1593 alupactan : pensar, parecer
1594 meclan'na alupactan : pareceme ó pienso que te mueres
1595 goltan'na mulupactan : parecete que morira?
1596 eey, goltananna ajacquian : si, justo, imagino, pienso, sospecho, a
lo que me parece, morirá
1597 peñ*pixan'na ajacquian : así me parece que es
1598 aschan : ver
1599 ytzip'te ittonhu, apoichi : vilos estar ó 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 >
voltad: quiero comer
1605 allacte ameñan : infinitivo + ameñan 'querer': quiero
irse
1606 millalamje/millactege ameñan : ameñan + gerundio de dativo = querer
que: quiero ó pretendo ó gusto que
vayas
1607 llactege/llalamje ameñan : quiero que vaya
1608 acolpat acquiî, macolvouha, anexii
maxqueiha : 'dar' + transiciones = hacer ó dar +
mihi man- ducare; sitivi, et dedistis
mihi bibere: tube ambre y me distis de
comer, tube sed y me distis de beber
1609 chapll(t)on il(i)[a]nrego zaman : segundo supino en go l jo + atzman =
saber + infinitivo: sabe hazer ollas
1610 xayapique alija cotto'up'pit llix'â : como siendo bestia ó animal del monte
Precepto 8 [supino en no l jo &: poder, facilitar]

1611 liman “te millango´chô mitzmanle? : sabes ya ir á la sierra?

1612 aqinzingo actan : puedo hablar
1613 mijinzingo mectan & : puedes ó te es facil hablar
1614 llangoll cotan : supino + II = facilidad ó frecuencia:
                   vayse frecuentemente ó facilmente
1615 quipahatpacna quectan : no podemos vajar
1616 entoñ quiampacna : entoñ + supino + pacna > ympossibility: 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 chumulpojo chectan : tienen costumbre de aborrecerse ad invicem
1619 alupojlam actan : lo suelo aborrecer de quando en quando
1620 chumulpojo 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/ alocol-li´chô actan : pe + gerundio de ablativo en ap/nap =
antes que: antes que comiences á hablar, ya yo lo avre acabado de hazer
1622 miyei•quichenap, nem pohou : gerundio de ablativo = despues•que: despues que te levantaste, amanece:
postquam surrexisti, dies illuxit
1623 mannap [...] axman : primero [...] que, antes [...] que, quam
1624 axman : primero, antes
1625 anutza aloctemannap, axman acolte ameñan : primero quiero morir que pecar
1626 anutza aloctemannap acol-lo actan : primero he de morir que pecar
1627 mimannap oc axman amsou oc`cá : yo naci primero que tu
1628 axot´mannap, xahanné 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’ tup jayu castigan : antes perdonó Dios que castigó á los hombres
moou’ mannap, axman perdonan yam• moou’ mannap, axman moxpei
1632 ipzel michel’ nic iptip(nen) : Math. C. 18: bonum est tibi ad vitam
minenc’ nic, micothu, tepat et’ man ingredi debilem, vel claudum, quam
michemiczi’ mannap, mel-iti, duos manus vel duos pedes habentem
milaxi te• puttam macjai mitti in ignem aeternum: bien es para ti
cullha’ man mientege 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 olgará que llorará
macsaictan
1634 maacsaquianco’ mannap axman : antes llora que se alegra
zoyan
1635 casalan miquipecap, milanco zach : antes que te cases, mira lo que hazes
1636 mannap : demas de
1637 oolum Martin ytzjii’ mannap imon : demas de averle mordido la vivora á
Martin, tiene calentura
1638 rezan quiqii’ mannap, missa quisinnay
quismán

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
1541 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 amcollenan : 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 á la misma persona = n: yo me aguardo
1651 quicolenan : nosotros nos amamos
1652 quijijnan : nosotros nos aguardamos
1653 acollenan : yo me amo
1654 micollenan : tu te amas
De otros verbos que tienen alguna diferencia en las transiciones

1673 aschan : ver
1674 atzachan : ver lo que tiene
1675 majall much amatzachan : veo que tienes mucho aji
1676 majall pamō amatzachan : transicion de singular â singular: veo que tienes mucha fruta ò veote mucha fruta
1677 majall pamō matzachi/patzachi : te me viste mucha fruta
1678 Pedro majall cach ~ gatzachi : Pedro me vio mucho maíz
1679 minattellpa imatzaxtan, pinattellpa yatzaxtan : aquel te verà tus gallinas
1680 miñantaja quimatzachijâ : transicion de plural â plural: nosotros os vimos vuestras chacaras
1681 minaja tuppí sac quimatzachijâ : vosotros nos aveis visto nuestras chacaras
1682 qui sac catzaxlactan : aquellos nos veran nuestras comidas
1683 majall utz quipajatzachi : nosotros les vimos muchos zapallos
1684 yzip mipajatzachihactan : vosotros les vereis sus casas
1685 majall chicach chipajatzachi : aquellos les vieron mucho maíz
1686 mizipja matzachlajactan : aquellos os veran vuestras casas
misac-ja amapuchihan : transición de singular á plural; apuchan < amchan 'poner': yo os pongo la comida
ysac apahapuchan : yo les pongo su comida
quisac quimapuch(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 : transición de plural á singular: aquellos me ponen mi comida
asac mapuchihan : vosotros me poneis la comida
misac mapuchilan, pisac papuchilan: aquellos te ponen tu comida
sac hapuchilan : aquellos le ponen su comida
acolec, macolecqui : transición de ymperativo de singular á singular: amame tu
gacolec-he : ameme aquel
ymcolec-he, ipcolec-he : amete aquel
quimcolehacte : transición de plural á plural: nosotros os amemos
quipocolec-he : amemos á aquellos
quimcolehacqui : amad nos vosotros
mipocolecqui : amad vosotros á aquellos
quicolelacet-he : amen nos aquellos
micolelahac-he : amen os aquellos
chipocolec-ge : amense aquellos entre sí
amcolehacte : transición de singular á plural: ame os yo
apocolec-he : ame los yo
quimcolecque, mitup quimcolec : ama nos tu
mipocolecqui : amalos tu
ymcolehac-he : ameos aquel
icolec-he : amenos aquel
mocolec-he : ame los aquel
quimcolecte : transición de plural á singular: amemos te nosotros
macolehacqui : amadme vosotros
acolelac-he : amenme aquellos
micolelac-he : amente aquellos

Nota [n = la misma persona; l > ; m > p; p > p; ll > y; ll > ll; s > j; no > co]
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
1729 ameñan : quiero
1730 a.1-m.2-peñan.3 : m > p: yo.1 te.2 quiero.3
1731 apeñan : codicio
1732 a.4-checko.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 multup.9 : yo.1 juro.3 te.2 por Dios.4 que.5 te.6 amecatan.7[+6]"na.5 Diospat.4 daré.7 un.8 pollo.9 a.1-ma.2-penchijnan.3
1735 allan : dar
1737 azmen : enseñar
1738 resan aquiteche.4 m.1-a.2-ymen.3 : tz > y: tu.1 me.2 enseñas.3 a*rezar.4
1739 alajan : llevar
1740 Pedro"tup mupllup ymallajan : ll > ll: Pedro te lleva tu hijo
1741 asinnan : oir
1742 amjinajpan : s > j: no te oyo
1743 asettan : desatar
1744 yncha"pit pey ñante michantanyco,: quod cumque ligaveris super terra, erit
te sentalolpit mipochgui cottan, solutum et in caelis
ynchapit pey ñantê mipojetan"ynco,
te sentalol"te mipojeti cottan"simall
1745 amcolecte ameñan : modo infinitivo < anollan: no > co: yo quiero amarte
1746 macolecte mimeñan : tu quieres amarte
1747 angolecete ameñan : yo quiero amar á aquel
1748 ngacolecte imeñan : el quiere amarme
1749 Dios qui-ngocyte quimeñan : queremos amar á Dios
1750 Dios tup iccolecte ymeñan : Dios nos quiere amar
1751 quimcolecte quimeñan : queremos amarte
1752 quimcolecte mimeñan : tu nos quieres amar
1753 quimcolecte quimeñan : nosotros os queremos amar
1754 quimcolecte mimeñouhan : vosotros nos queréis amar
1755 quipcolecte quimeñan : queremos amarlos
1756 quicolecte meñoulan : ellos quieren amarnos
1757 mipoalohecte mimeñouhan : vosotros queréis amarlos
1758 micolelahaclt meñoulan : aquellos á vosotros
460  
1759 acolelacte meñoulan : ellos me quieren amar  
1760 micolelacte meñoulan : aquellos te quieren amar  
1761 apocolecte amenan : yo los quiero amar  
1762 mipocolecete mimeñan : tu los quieres amar  
1763 amcollanco cotnap : preterito: porque te amo  
1764 macollam : porque me amaste  
1765 amcollanco cotnap : porque nos esta amando  
1766 mipocoleche chectan : porque te estaban amando  
1767 micoleche checti cotnap : porque te estaban amando  
1768 agolelam : futuro: aver de amarle yo  
1769 macolelam : 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/apcollanco actan : yo soy el que te amo  
1775 quicollila, quicollilaynco : los que nos amaron  
1776 apsavojyuch mectan : tu eres mi criador  
1777 quipsavojyuch mectan : tu eres nuestro criador  
1778 quinapu Jesu-Christo quixojyuch cotan : Christo nuestro Señor es nuestro  
1779 pallou aovuch mectan : eres mi bien "hechor  
1780 pallou movuch actan : yo soy tu bien "hechor  
1781 pallou movuch cotan : aquel es tu bien "hechor  
1782 pallou lovuch mectan : tu eras su bien "hechor  
1783 acoleuch mectan : tu eres mi amador  
1784 acoleuch chectan : aquellos son mis amadores  
1785 micolehauch actan : yo soy vuestro amador  
1786 chicoleuch mectan : tu eres su amador de ellos  
1787 mipocolecactan : futuro: tu que los amarás  
1788 amcolehactan "ynco : yo que os amaré  
1789 macolehauch "ynco : vosotros que me amareis  
1790 yeccoleactan "ynco : aquel que nos amará  
1791 ngacolectan "ynco : el que me amará  
1792 acoleactan "ynco : los que me amarán  
1793 mijachà amapahat(to)lamge : gerundio de genitivo: vengo de la  
1794 liman nap apa(t)jatan : sierra de traerte tu acha  
1795 axua alluplutege amenan : gerundio de dativo: quiero el pescado  
1796 liman allactege amenan : acusativo: queiro ir a la sierra  
1797 micoleche actan : ablativo: yo te estoy amando  
1798 micolejachà actan : yo le estoy amando  
1799 micolechà actan : yo os estoy amando  
1799 micolechà actan : yo los estoy amando
| 1800 | acoleche mectihan | vosotros me estais amando |
| 1801 | acoleche chectan | aquellos me estan amando |
| 1802 | nicoleche chectan | aquellos te estan amando |
| 1803 | ngcoleche chectan | aquellos le estan amando |
| 1804 | quicoleche chectan | aquellos nos estan amando |
| 1805 | chimcoleche chectan | aquellos se estan amando, ad invicem |
| 1806 | macolejache mectihan | vosotros os estais amando, ad in[v]icem |
| 1807 | co aloceteg mallemzappap | segundo gerundio: en ayudandome a |
| 1808 | amcolenap | hazer esto, te iras |
| 1809 | mf[i]acolenap | en amandote, amandote, en amadote, |
| 1810 | Dios ngacolenap, mac-jai acottan | cuando te ame |
| 1811 | pacuplleu amectege anan | amandome, en aviendome amado, |
| 1812 | trigo pum amiztege amojnan | como, quando tu me ames |
| 1813 | tanta amapiztege alluan | voy a la sierra a comprar arina de |
| 1814 | a”Dios, amcolengo mectan | voy a comprarte pan |

Del verbo neutro

| 1815 | allahuan | vaseme como pollo, perro, enfermedad, & |
| 1816 | allahuan | presente: vaseme |
| 1817 | mallahuan | vase”te |
| 1818 | callahuan | vasele |
| 1819 | callahuan | vasenos |
| 1820 | mallaviihan | vaseos |
| 1821 | pahallauan | va”se”les |
| 1822 | allavi | preterito: fue”se”me |
| 1823 | allaviyè | plus quam perfecto: avia”se”me ido |

| 1824 | allavitan | futuro: yraseme |
| 1825 | allavi actan | perfecto: avrase”me ido |
| 1826 | mallavec-ge | ymperativo: vaya”se”te |
| 1827 | allaveche | obtativo: vayaseme |

| 1828 | mallaveche, callaveche, mallaveyha(ce)[ge], pahallavec-ge | |
| 1829 | mallavec, hallavec, callavec, mallaviha(ce), pahallavec, pallavec | |
Del verbo compuesto y derivativo

Qual sea y de quantas maneras se componga [1: verbo + nombre]

1850 ngullha : vida
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>año</th>
<th>frase</th>
<th>traducción</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>ngullha + actan</td>
<td>vivir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>acullha + actan</td>
<td>yo vivo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mucullha nectan, ngullha cotan, cucullha quectan, mucullhaha mectihan, chucullha chectan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>capac acullha actan</td>
<td>reynar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>acquian</td>
<td>hazerse, dezir, ordenar, mandar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>cama acquian</td>
<td>estoy enfermo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>misse acquian</td>
<td>tengo frio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>ziu acquian</td>
<td>tengo necesidad, carencia desto ô del otro &amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>uchuaj acquian</td>
<td>tengo calor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oyna acquian</td>
<td>estoy con salud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lloc acquian</td>
<td>estoy desnudo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>quez acquian</td>
<td>cresco &amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yosill acquian</td>
<td>hagome mezquino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>júlum acquian</td>
<td>engordo ô hagome gordo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jayu quii</td>
<td>hizose hombre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>eeýna chiquian</td>
<td>dicen que si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>qui&quot;pa Jesu-Christo mec sacramento: Jesu-Christo N.S. ordenò todos los camatzin quií</td>
<td>sacramentos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>camatzin quií</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>acquian, miquian, quian, quiuian, miquijan, chiquian</td>
<td>presente</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>acquian, miquian, acquiiye</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>miquijan, chiquian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>acquii, miquii, acquiiye</td>
<td>preteritos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>acquictan, miquictan &amp;</td>
<td>futuro ymperfecto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>acqui actan &amp;</td>
<td>futuro perfecto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>quiec/miquie, quiec-he, quiuicte &amp;</td>
<td>ymperativo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>acquiete, acquitecte, quicte &amp;</td>
<td>infinitivo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>acquitecte, acquitecte, quiue, quiche, quinmap</td>
<td>gerundios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>[2: nombre + an, uan = hazer para si + nombre]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>appiupan, ou, poctan</td>
<td>hago mi puente</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>apnauan</td>
<td>hago mi camino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>aniglesiauan</td>
<td>hago mi iglesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>mi Pedro mectan, co ta ñante</td>
<td>tu es Petrus et super hanc petram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aniglesia&quot;uoctan</td>
<td>[a]edificabo ecclesiam meam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>aney</td>
<td>mi leña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>aneyan</td>
<td>hago mi leña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>zala</td>
<td>muger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>mulluch</td>
<td>marido</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>aslauan</td>
<td>mi caso, uxorem duco</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1885 apul-luchan : casarse la mujer, marito nubo
1886 aipan : pr[a]ses [de yi-p-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, aipocteque & : op[t]ativo
1891 oc’moc aipocte cot, aipocte-moc[c]*cot & aipou pocottoque/pocotteque &
1892 aipoch, miipoch & : subjuntivo
1893 aipocte : ynfinitivo
1894 aipoctehe/aipolamge, chipoche, ziponnap
1895 amnaychan : aguaitar o vigiar camino
 amnaychi, amnai(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: volverse ô convertirse en lo que el nombre significa
1904 alluan : ir
1905 pey alluan : me convierto ô buelho tierra
1906 ta milluan : te buelles piedra
1907 leu uxus llahu[an] : 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 illahuian : se buelven santos
1911 lluan : + cosas que se liquidan: derretirse
1912 cot : agua
1913 yel-l cot llahu[an] : la sal se derrite ô hace agua &
1914 acqian : convertirse
1915 tanta cotiye, consegraci[o]n jil’[p]at
 Christo mata qui : de pan que avia sido ô que antes era,
 con las palabra[s] de la consegracion se
 convirtio en cuerpo de Christo
1916 camà hallavi’cho : ya se•le quito el mal
 [3: ynfinitivo + e l c l que: hacer hacer]
1917 ayoyan : yo lloro
miyoyan, choyan, quiyoyan, miyoyoujan, chiyoyan
1918 ayoyou & : preterito
1919 ayooyctan & : futuro
1920 yoyoc : imperativo: llora tu
1921 atzoyen : yo le hago llorar
  mitzoyen, ytzoyen, quitzoyen, mitzoyeihan, zoyeilan
1922 atzoyey & : preterito
1923 atzoyejtan : futuro
1924 zoyej, mitzoyej-ji : ymperativo
1925 allúpan : como carne, pescado, maiz, mani y
  otras cosas
1926 allupan : yo como carne
  mulluppan, ullupan, culluppan, mullupihan, llupilan
1927 allupi & : preterito
1928 alluptan : futuro
1929 llup : ymperativo
1930 allupen : llup + en: hagole comer carne ó doyle
  á comer carne
1931 alluppen : presente: hagole que coma carne
  mullup[en], ulluppen, culluppen, mulluppeyhan, lluppeylan
1932 alluppey & : preterito
1933 alluppejtan : futuro
1934 lluppej & : ymperativo
1935 ameñan : querer
1936 meñoc : ymperativo
1937 ameñoccan : hagole que lo quiera
1938 alan : hago
1939 alloccan : < aloc: hagole que lo haga
1940 alloccan, milocccan, yolocccan,
  quilocccan, milocccayjan, loccaylan
  : presente
1941 alloccajtan : (preterito) [futuro]
1942 loccaj, miloccajhi : ymperativo
1943 pallou alan : cuydolo ó tengo cuydado del
1944 alan : dezir
1945 pittec ʻall amaan : digote la verdad

Otro modo de compuestos
Del verbo compuesto y deribativo. Qual sea y de quantas maneras se componga

Modo primero [con nombres]
1946 culija : la vida
1947 aculija actan, acullja acotpon : yo estoy vivo ó vivo
1948 mu/pucullija mectan/micotpon : tu vives
1949 ngullija cotan/cotpon : aquel vive
cucullja quectan/quicotpon, mucullja mechtian/micotpoyjan, chucullja chectan/chicotpon

1950 capac acullja actan : reyno
1951 capac mucullja mectan : tu reynas &
1952 acquian : hazerse, dezir &
1953 cama acquian : estoy enfermo
1954 oyna micquan : estás con salud
1955 missè quian : tiene frio
1956 uchuaj quiqian : tenemos calor
1957 ziu•micquiejian : estás pobres necessitados
1958 lloc chiqian : están desnudos
1959 ques acquian : creci ó he crecido
1960 yosill miqii : te hiziste ó volbiste misero, mesquino
1961 hayu qui : se hizo hombre
1962 camatzin acquian : mando, ordeno

1963 qui’pa Jesu-Christo mec sacramento: N.S. Jesu-Christo ordeno, ynstituyò camatzin qui : camatzin qui todos los sacramentos
1964 mee yncha Dios camatzin qui@anco : todo lo que Dios manda
1965 ynchanam chiqian? : que dicen?
1966 heeyna chiqian : dicen que si
1967 acquian : convertir
1968 hostia tanta cotiye, consagracion jil’pat, qui’pa Jesu-Christo matà qui : la hostia de pan, que avia sido ó que era antes, con las palabras de la consagracion 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 convierte ó vuelbo tierra
1973 lupocot jayu, yopunne mectan”he, yopummall’pit millactan reverteris : memento quia pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris
1974 ta milluan : te vuelbes piedra
1975 leu uxux llahuan : el gusano se convierte en mariposa
1976 utzauch quectanco’tep, ychamme penitencia lonap, santo quillactan verdadera penitencia, nos volbemos santos
1977 javey millajactan : os volvereis palos incorruptibles
1978 javey millajapectan : no os volvereis palos incorruptibles
1979 paleu uxux illahuan : los gusanos se convierten en mariposas
1980 yl-l cot llahuan : la sal se derrita ó vuelbe agua
1981 uñep cot llavi : la cera se derritió

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, micottiian, chicottian
1985 agollan : yo le amo
1986 ngolec, migolecqui : amale tu
1987 aoglequian : yo le vuelbo á amar
 migôlequian, yöglequian, quigoglequian, migôlequiajyan, ngolelacquian
1988 atzmen : le enseño
1989 zamej, mitzmehji : enseñale tu
1990 atzmejian : yo le vuelbo á enseñar
 mitzmejian, itzmejian, quitzmejian, michmejiyhan, zamejiylan
1991 alan : hagolo
1992 loc, milocqui : haslo tu
1993 alocquian : vuelvo á hazerlo
 milocquian, iloquian, quilocquian, milocquiajyan, locajalacquian
1994 alon : mojar
1995 loj, miloji : mojalo tu
1996 alojian : yo le vuelvo á mojar
 milojián, ilojian, quilojian, milojijyhan, lojijyjan
1997 allupan : como carne, pescado &
1998 llup, millupi : come tu
1999 allupian : yo vuelbo á comer carne &
mullupian, ullupian, cullupian, mullupiajyan, lllupiajyjan
2000 aoyyan : lloro
2001 yoyoc, miyoyocqui : llora tu
2002 ayoyoquian : vuelvo á llorar
 miyoyoquian, zoyoquian, quyoyoquilan, 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 meetzouynco, ñanmitto : volviste lo que hurtaste á su dueño?
milequiay*le?
2008 aman : siembro
2009 [aj]migian : reciembro

Otro modo [nombre + an, uan: hazer lo que el nombre significa]

2010 puyup : puente
2011 apyyupan : hago mi puente
 mipyupan, put(p)yupan, cupyupan, mipyupouhan, chipyupan
2012 paná : 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[c] 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

2025 apuluchan: yo, muger, me caso

2026 pupuluchan: tu te casas

2027 muluchan: aquella se casa &
cupuluchan, mupuluchouhan, cupuluchan

2028 azipan: hago me casa

2029 mitzipan: hazes &

2030 amnaychan: exploro ô vigio el camino
mimmaychan, manaychan, quimmaychan, mimnaychihan, chimnaychan;
amnaychi, amnayc[h]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 aachechovan: plateo
michechovan, chechovan, quichechovan, michechovouhan, ychechovan;
aachechou, aachechoctan &

2036 puillquitz: oro

2037 apuillquitzuan: yo doro
mipuillquitzuan, puillquitzuan, quipuillquitzuan, mipuillquitzuouhan,
chipuillquitzuan &

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

ameñan : lo quiero
meñoc : quierelo tu
ameñocan : hago que lo quiera
mimeñocan, quimeñocan, mimenocayhan, menocaylan

[an > en]

axcan : bebo
axquen : doy de beber ó mamar
mixquen, ixquen, quixquen, mixqueyhan, xiqueylan
axacan : me embriago
axaquin : embriagó á otro
mixaquen, ixaquen, quixaquen, mixaqueyhan, xaqueylan
allupan : como carne, pescado &
allupen : doy á comer carne, pescado &
mullupen, ullupen, cullupen, mullupeyhan, llupeylan
atupan : ando
mutupan, utpan, cutupan, mutupihan, tupilan
atpen : hagole andar
mutpen, utpen, cutpen, mutpeyhan, tupeylan
ahlan : hablo
asinzivecan : hazer burla
misinizivecan, ysinzivecan, quisinchivecan, misinizivecayhan, sinzivecaylan
aaman : como
miaman, laman, quiaman, miamouhan, chiaman
alammen : hagole comer
milamen, ilamen, quilamen, milameyhan, lameylan
angoluan, angolvey, angolvectan
alamman : matole, maltratole, aporreole
milamman, ylamman, quilaman, milamihan, lammilan
alammacan : mandar ó hazerle matar
milammacan, ilammacan, quilammacan, milammacayhan, lammacaylan
anglehan : le mato ó hago morir
menglehan, englehan, quinglehan, miglejihan, (e)n[0]lejilan; golejilan
ayoyan : lloro
miyoyan, zoyan, quiyoyan, miyoyouhan, chiyoyan
atzoyen : hagole llorar
mitzoyen, ytzoyen, quitzoyen, zoyeylan
atzoyegtan; choyeg, mitzoiieghi
atzoyegjian : otra vez le hago llorar
michoyegjian, ychoyejian
anexteconan : yo me visto
Quinto modo de compuestos [pronombres + p/m + verbo: reciprocacion, ad invicem]

2065 asinnan : oygole
2066 aphinnan : lo mismo
2067 quiphinnan : nos oimos los unos a•los otros
2068 quimcollan : nos amamos
2069 chimmeñan : se quieren ad invicem
2070 apialpan : recojo ô junto para mi
2071 allajan : llevo
2072 apllahan : llevo para•mi

allavohtan; llavoj, millavohji

Sexto modo de composicion con algunas particulas

2073 allan : le doy
2074 alequian : le torno â dar
2075 alecan : le hago ô mando dar
2076 aenan : me doy, me entrego, me ofresco
mienan, lenan, quienan, mienoujan, cheenan

[emperativo + mullan: principiar la accion]
2077 alomullan : empiezoo comienzo â hazerlo
2078 axihmullan : empiezo â beber
2079 axinahmullan : comienzo â oir
2080 ameñomullan : empiezo à quererle
2081 sehmunllan : empiezo à nacer lo sembrado

[emperativo + col-lan: concluir ô acabar de hacer la accion]
2082 alocol-lan : acabo de hazerlo
milocolan, ilocolan, quilocolan, milocolihan, locolilan
aloclo(c)ihan:
2083 axihcolan : acabo de beberlo
2084 asinahcolan : acabo de oirlo
2085 mec ytzzac quixihcolliicho : ya acabamos de beber todala chicha

[emperativo + pitzan: accion de passada ô â la propartida]
2086 atzachpitzan : lo veo de passada
2087 atumpitzan : le digo à•la despedida ô propartida
2088 axilpitzan : bebo de•passada
2089 asinahpitzan : oygole de pasada
misinahpitzan, ysinahpitzan
asihpitzi, misihpit[z]i

2090 paleche, atzachpitzan : passando lo acabo de ver

[emperativo + xipen: hazer casi ó por poco]
2091 atzapxipen : casi ó por poco lo cojo
atzapxipey
2092 atzachxipen : casi lo veo
2093 asinnahxipen : casi lo oygo

[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 é 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 (á) [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 frecuentemente
2102 amiachju*patzaquian : te veo continuamente
2103 mayachju*patzaquian : me ves frecuentemente
2104 acullha acothu*patzaquian : vivo siempre
2105 capac acullha acothu patzaquian : reyno siempre
2106 capac nguinha cothu patzaquiyatan : reynara para siempre
2107 cuñutza quiloche*patzaquian : continuamente pecamos
2108 achasoch*pat[za]quian : siempre, continuamente juego

[ymerativo + chupan: disminuir la accion]
2109 agolechupan : le amo tiernamente, hagole amoritos
2110 ameñochupan : lo quiero con ternura
2111 alochupan : lo hago con gusto
2112 asinachupan : lo oyo un poquito
2113 agolechupa, migolechupa, ygolechupa, migolechúpouhan, ngolechúpan
agolechupoctan; ngolechúpo/migolechúpocqui

[nombres + atan: la accion de ellos]
2114 ayelam atan : hago la cama
2115 messa atan : pongo la messa
2116 cot attan : traigo agua
2117 ques attan : le crio
2118 anextec attan : hago ó compongo mi vestido
2119 zip atan : hagole ó compongole su casa
2120 Dios muchan attan : ruego por el â Dios, le encomiendo â Dios
2121 Dios muchan amattan : te encomiendo â Dios
2122 Dios muchan amattiquihan : os encomiendo â 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 [ti]
2127 muchan icattan : aquel por nos[o]tros
2128 imattiquihan : aquel por vosotros
2129 muchan mahattiquian : aquel por aquellos
2130 muchan quimattoctan : rogaremos por ti
2131 muchan quimattoctan : por aquel
2132 muchan quimattoctan : por vostros
2133 muchan quimattoctan : por aquellos
2134 muchan aticoquian : ruego, intercedo por el
2135 ahlan : hablo
2136 athilan : ahlan + t: intercedo
2137 atnan : anan + t: digole
2138 alan : yo le hago
milan, ylan, quilan, milouhan, loulan
2139 alou : preterito ymperferfecto: yo le hacia, hize
2140 alouve : plusquamperfecto: le havia hecho
2141 alocan : futuro: le haré
2142 alou cactan : le avrè hecho
2143 loc, miloquis : ymperativo: hazlo tu
2144 alocte, aloge : agalo yo
2145 alongo que, alocteque : obtativo: yo lo hiziera, haria y hiziesse
2146 alou cottoque/cotteque : preterito plusquamperfecto: yo lo huviere, avria y huviesse hecho
2147 aloch : subjuntivo: haziendolo, aviendo lo hecho, quando lo haga, en haziendolo &
2148 alocte : infinitivo: hazerle
alou cotnap: por haverlo hecho
alolam: aver de hazerlo
alolam cotnap: por aver de hacerlo
alou, alouinco: participios: yo que*
lo hago
alouve, alouveinco: yo que*
lo hize, yo que*
lo avia hecho
aloctan, yno: yo que*
lo hare
alolamynco: yo que lo he de hazer
alotche, alolamhe: gerundios: para hazerlo, de hazerlo y à
ha[ce]rlo yo &
lochche: haziendo, ol en haziendo &
lonnap: aviendo ô en aviendo hecho
alongo: factible ô lo que yo puedo hazer
alopan: no lo hago
aloipito, alouepito, aloupeito; alopeitan, aloupito actan; lounui/miiionci/milochin,
alopecte, alopecge;
apacnaque/aloepecteque, alopito cottoque/cotteque; alopech; alopecte;
alopelamhe/alopectehe,
lochche”pito, lopennap; quilopaca
alotzan: yo soy hecho
milotizan, loizan, quiloichan, miloitzihan, (loitzilan) [iloitzan]
aloihi, aloihiye; aloichan, aloichi actan; loich, aloichte, aloiche;
aloihochque/aloihchteque, aloichi cottoque/coteque; aloich; loichte; l[oi]ich;
aloihchamhe, aloihte, loitzenap
alocan: hazer lo haga, mandarlo hazer
milocan, ylocan, milocayan, locayan
alocai, alocayye, milocayye, ylocayye, quilocayye, milocayhaque,
locaylaque
alocah, alocay actan; locah/miloquiahji, alocahe, alocahe;
alocaqhe/o locahque/coteque;
alocahju; alocalhe; alocamhe/alocahtehhe, locahge, locahgenap;
quilocahj; locahju
alocquian: rehazerlo, volver â hazerlo
milocquian, ylocquian, [quilocquian], (qu)miloquiahyan, lolaquian
aloquiy, aloquiye; aloquiyactan, aloquiy actan; loquiah/miloquiahji,
aloiqah; aloqahhe; aloqahhe/o aloquiahe, aloqiahe/coteque; aloquiah;
aloiqahhe/o aloqahhe, lolaqahhe, lolaqahgenap
Dios muchan alanco: reverencio, venero y adoro â Dios
milanco, ilanco, quilanco, milouhanno, loulanco
alouinco, aloctan
aonan: me hago
pallou mionan: te hazes bueno
yxivah lonan: se*hace malo
quionan, mionouhan, chionan
aonou, aonouve; aonoctan, aonou actan; aonongoque/aonocteque, aonou cottoque/ cotteque; aonocge, onoc/mionocqui, aonocte; aonoch; aonolamhe/aonocthe, onoche, ononnap

2168 alocol-lan : concluir ó acabar de hazer lo comen-
milocollan, ilocol-lan, quilocol[ol]lan, zado
milocolihan, lo(lo)colilan
alocoli; alocolhtan; aloclojhoque/aloclohteque, alocoli cottoque/cotteque;
alclojiju &

2169 alochùpan : hagole poquito
milochùpan, ylochupan, quilochupan, milochupoulan, lochupulan
alochupou, alocoupouve; alocoupoctan, alocoupou actan; lochupoc/milochupocqui, alocoupocte, alocupoce; alocupongoque/alocupocteque, alocoupou cottoque/cotteque; alocupoch; alocupocte;
alochupolamge/alochupoct[el]he, lochupoche, lochuponap

2170 alupon : [hazer]

2171 mulupon : tu lo hazes
ylupon, quilopon, milopoyhan, lopoylan
alupoy, alupoyye; alupohtan, alupoy actan; lopoh/mulupohji, alポイte, alophge; alophhoque/alophteque,
alpoy cottoque/cotteque; alophhu; alophthe; alophhlamhe, alophhtehe

2172 alomullan : comienzo ó empiezo à hazerlo
milomullan, ylomullan, quilomullan, milomullouhan, lolamullan
alomullou, alomullouve; alomulloctan, alomullou actan;
lomulloc/milomullocqui, alomullocte, alomullocge;
amomullongoque/alomullocteque, alomullou cottoque/cotteque; alomulloch;
alomullocte; alomullolamhe/alomulloctehe, alomullocge, alomullonap;
amomullovuch

2173 alollucan : concluyo, acabo de hacerlo
milollucan, ylollucan, quilollucan, milolluquihan, lolollucan
alomullqui, alolluquiye; alollucohtan, alollqui actan; lollucoh/milollucohji, alollucothe, alollucohge;
amollucohoque/alollucohteque, alolluqui cottoque/cotteque; alollucojiju;
alollucothe; alollucohlamhe/alollucothe[ge]; alollucojho; lollucohe, lollucohenap; lollucovuch

2174 alopul-lan : descanso, ceso ó dexo de hazerlo
milropol-lan, yloplulan, quiloplulan, milopolihan, lolapulan
aloplui, alopluiye; aloplultan, aloplui actan; loplul, milopl-li;
amopuloque/aloplulteque, aloplui cottoque/cotteque; aloplulte, aloplulhe;
aloplulou; alopulte; aloplul-lamhe/aloplultehe, loplulhe, lupul-lennap

2175 alochen : lo ando haziendo
milochen, ylochen, quilochen, milochevhan, lolachen
alochey, alocheyye; alochehtan, alocheh actan; locheh/milocheji, alochehte, alochehe; alochehjooke/alochehhteque, alochey cottoque; alochehju; alochehte; alochehlahme/alochehhtehe; alochehjo; lochehge, lochehjennap; lochehjuch

2176 alopitzan: hagolo de passado ô â la despedida milopitzan, ylopitzan, quilotitzan, milopitzihan, lolapichan alopiçi, alopiçiyeye; alopiçtzan, alopiçhi actan; lo(c)piç/milo(c)pitzi, alo(c)piç[x]tz[j]te, alopiçhege; alo(c)piçzoque/al(o)cpiç[x]tz[j]teque, alopipichi cottoque/ cottoque; alo(c)pitz; alo(c)pichlamhe, alopiç[x]tz[j]tehe; alopiçho; alopiçtze, alopitzennap; lo(c)pichju(ch)

2177 alopalequ[i]ian: lo ando haziendo de aquí para allí milopalequian, ylopaletian, quilotalequian, milopalequiyhan, lolapalequian alopalaequiy, alopalaequiaiye; alopalaequiajtan, alopalaequiy actan; lopalequi-aj/ milopalequiahji, alopalaequiahhte, alopalaequiahge; alopalequiahjoque/alopalequiahhteque, alopalaequiy cottoque/cottoque; alopalequiahju; alopalequiahht; alopalequiahlamhe, alopalequiahhtehe; alopalequiahju; lopalequiahge, lopalequiahgennap; lopalequiahjuch

2178 aloclojian: concluyo ô acabo de rehazerlo miloclohjian, yloclohjian, quiloclohjian, miloclohjaiyhan, loclohjaiylan aloclohjiay, aloclohjiayye; aloclohjiaytan, aloclojiay actan; loclojiaj/miloclohjiajji, aloclohjiayhte, aloclohjiayhe; aloclohjiahjoque/loclohjiiajteque, aloclohjiay cottoque/cottoque; aloclohjiayht; aloclohjiaylamhe, aloclohjiayhtehe; aloclojiayho; loclohjiayge, loclohjiaygennap; loclohjiayjuch

2179 aloch[ ]patsaquian: lo hago continuamente miloch[ ]patsaquian, yloch[ ]patsaquian, quiloc[ ]patsaquian, miloch[ ]patsaquiyhan, loloch[ ]patsaquian aloch[ ]patsaquiy, aloch[ ]patsaquiyeye; aloch[ ]patsaquiytan, aloc[ ]patsaqiay actan; loch[ ]patsaquiah/miloch[ ]pachaquiahji, aloc[ ]pachaquiahhe, aloch[ ]patsaquiahhe; aloch[ ]patsaquiahjoque/ aloc[ ]pachaquiahhteque, aloc[ ]pachaqaiy cottoque/cottoque; aloc[ ]pachaquiahju; aloc[ ]pachaquiaht; aloc[ ]pachaquiahlamhe, aloc[ ]pachaquiahht; aloc[ ]pachaquiahje; iloch[ ]pachaquiahhe, iloch[ ]pachaquiahgenap &

2180 aloch[ ]patsan: lo hago todo el día miloch[ ]patsan, yloch[ ]patsan, quiloc[ ]patsan, miloch[ ]patsihan, loloch[ ]pachen aloch[ ]patsi, aloch[ ]patsiye; aloch[ ]pachactan, aloch[ ]pachi actan; loch[ ]pachac/miloch[ ]pachaqui, aloc[ ]pachate, aloch[ ]pachage; aloc[ ]pachangoque/aloch[ ]pachactequ; aloc[ ]pachi cottoque/ cottoque;
2181 aloch•masan: lo hago toda la noche
miloch•massan, yloch•masan, quiloc•masan, miloch•masouhan, loloch•masan
aloch•masou, aloch•masouve; aloch•masohtan, aloch•masou actan;
loch•masoc/miloch•masocqui;
aloch•masongoque/aloch•masocteqe, aloch•masou cottoque/cotteque;
aloch•masoch; aloch•masongo;
aloch•masoqt; aloch•masolamhe/aloch•masocteqe, loch•masoche,
loch•masoquentap

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)[]hacqui: dame de vuestro pan
2188 jay, jaya, entoñpitjina: no se
2189 chim mitongui: estate ó sientate un poco
2190 chim miomocqui: come un poco
2191 ñammo quillacte/quillacte: vamos
2192 aquinajjâ: esperame
2193 ajiuiain: espera todavía
2194 auye: calla
2195 ayteaj: callad vosotros
2196 misse pactan: haze frio
2197 muxac maichan: haze sol
2198 zı•mahattan: llueve
2199 zimusan: lluvizna ó está lloviznando
2200 casmanc: ventea ó ventisca
2201 lasu•muilllan: n[j]eva ó graniza
2202 cajapey matian: yela
2203 pulum jilan: truena
2204 pachol-lan: relampaguea
2205 pellip•lepan: lo mismo
2206 ziysitan: escampa ó dexa de llover
2207 paxlan: haze verano
2208 zı•mitta pactan: tiempo de aguas
2209 zı•let: ybierno
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 : acà en la tierra
2237 millavite : quando te fuiste
llango"te : quando 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 Pedro.4 neitzi.3 : 1.a•1a 2.noche 3.se entro ó embarco 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 mientras viviere
aquinha acottomatle : dum vixero : mientras yo viva
patle + ll : coarta la accion o prescribe el termino
millango"pat"ll : hasta que te vayas no mas
xocot"patllell : no mas que hasta el rio
tep : correlativa [de patle]
petep copatle : de alli hasta aqui
mi"tep oc"patle : desde ti hasta mi
yp"semana"patle : por dos semanas
ych"pel"patle : por tres meses ó lunas
appilu"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?
annapiliutem : en quantos años?
outu : procul, peregre, lejos
outu puttamte alluan : voy á lejas tierras
co"tep outu : lejos de aqui
co"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 l de, la materia de que es la cosa : los que ya son muertos
puillquitz"ê cham : cadena de oro
chechoque pixcam : vaso de plata
taque : de"piedra
mech`chê : de madera ó de palo
puillquitz`ê at`cham acotan : tengo una cadena de oro
España`teque actan : soy de España
Ochanach`chê : de Ochanache
limanne : de la sierra
coteque actan : soy de aqui
co putamteque : de este pueblo
Limateque : soy de Lima
Ochanach : tengo una cadena de oro
España : soy de España
Limanne : de la sierra
coteque actan : soy de aqui
coputamteque : de este pueblo
Luisé Maria` que chupul : hijo de Luis y de Maria difuntos
mi`hanman `te : delante de ti
hanmante, quiñamante, miñanjamante, yñanmante
atzip `hanman `te Juan zip taptan : la casa de Juan esta delante ó en frente de la mia
`hanman `all : presencialmente
Dios `hanman `te : en presencia de Dios
mon + te : retro, post, pone, tras ó detras
amonte : detras de mi
mi/pimonte : detras de ti
monte mitzan : viene tras el
quimonte, mimonhate, chimonte
amonte (i)mohnan : detras de mi viene subiendo
monte llactan : yrase tras el
mon + nay : por [detras]
chimon`nay chipzan : vienen por detras de ellos
yglesia monte Juan zip taptan : detras de la iglesia está la casa de Juan
nay : post, per, por detras, por
anay mitzan : viene en pos de mi ó detras de mi
minay, nay, quinay, minayha, ynay
nay, nayme : per, por, per viam, por el camino
pana nayme Soledad `te : para llegar a la Soledad, passamos por Huaylillas
quiñectehe, Huaylillas nayme Huaylillas quipallan
lumte, ñante : super, supra, sobre, encima
añante : sobre mi
miñante : sobre ti
lapan : trepa sobre si ó se sube encima de si
mesa ñante : sobre la mesa
quiñante : sobre nosotros
miñanha`te : sobre vosotros
yñante : sobre ellos
alumte : sobre mi
mulumte : sobre ti
mech lumte : sobre el arbol o madero
culunte, mulumhate, ulumte

mulam mantute cutuplam pana : camino de mulas
quichel’ pat cutup- lam pana : camino de a pie
mula lumte cutuplam pana pactan : ay camino de mulas

miñ, ñ : secundum, segun
camatzin miqiuí miñ : segun mandaste û ordenaste
qui’ maancoñ qui loctan : haremos lo segun û como nos lo
mandas

mihlancon miñ ate loitzge : Luca. 1: fiat mihi secundum verbum
tuun: hagase en mi segun tu palabra

mallusai quei, ã pa Dios, mi’ ocho
mipc olelam ‘miñ, mahal
mipc ole lammiñpit anixivah
mapixtohi

miñ, ñ : instar, a semejanza û a modo
culma’ ten cul ‘miñ : redondo, como ovillo de algodon

quizna cotan, zen ta’ miñ : esta azul, como el cielo
llaczà zucu ‘miñ

et’ miñ aitechu mitzan : viene á escondidas como ladron
cuchillo’ miñ ighñitan : corta como cuchillo
tu

tu + p : de donde
a’ pa’ tu mipaha’ tu’ pit amohnan : ascendo ad patrem meum et patrem
vestrum: asciendo â donde mi padre y
vuestro padre

tu + pe : lo que es nuestro, de nuestra
compañia, nacion, parentela

chipahattanco quiha’ tuppë
chectan’ lé?

minha’ tuppe : de vosotros
chihatuppe : delos de aquellos
oc’ tuppe : son de los mios
tup

c’ tupp : met
oi’ tupp : yo mismo
mi’ tupp : tu mismo
sa’ tupp : aquel mismo
ay : detrás, postrero
ay mitzan : viene detrás
anay minan: vienes detrás de mí
minay, nay, quinay, minayha, ynay

anay cotan: es menor que yo

anay masou: nacido después del postrero que yo

ayall: finalmente

ayall quilocollan: finalmente lo acabamos de hacer

xahanne: el que nace primero

ayè: contrario de xahanne

axahanne axot: mi hermano mayor

anayye axot: mi hermano menor

he, ge: + dolerse & de de ¿

axahanne axot: mi hermano mayor

amquixajige aluzaquievohnan: pesame de que te ofendí o de averte

ayè: contrario de xahanne

axahanne axot: mi hermano mayor

he, ge: + dolerse & de de ¿

amquixajige aluzaquievohnan: pesame de que te ofendí o de averte

Dios: de Dios

Dios: Dios que quiciotlam quin tep: de Dios por virtud de Dios hemos recibido el ser

Juan: de Dios que xeli cotan: esta preñada de Juan

camatzin miquii: tep, quilan: hacemoslo como segun lo mandaste

cote: desde aquí

capitep: desde aora

capi nem: desde oy

Pisanatep: desde Pizana

Lima: desde Lima

llacpat: ob, propter, proterea, quia, quoniam, por, por causa, por amor

Dios: de Dios que llacpat: por amor de Dios

mimilacpat: por amor de ti que llacpat: por amor de Dios

anixivah amacanco: contraparte de la iniquidad, tengo presente mi pecado siempre

anixivah amacanco: contraparte de la iniquidad, tengo presente mi pecado siempre

ymcollanco llacpat: participios de presente + llacpat = porque: porque te ama

ycpeñanco llacpat: porque nos quiere

icjañanco llacpat: porque nos tiene cariño

llavi cotnap: pretérito + cotnap = participio de presente + llacpat: porque se fue

mitayla llacpat/cotnap chipoxaichchan: los azotan porque faltaron

mi[tah]lach chipoxaichchan: porque faltaron, los azotan
Fiñtavoch, zepu"man muchiila: porque se huyó ó por cimarron lo pusieron en el zepo

cotnaque: por industria, disposicion, providencia, en vez de, en lugar de

capac micotnaque, caz"malépalequian, zí"mitzapalequialam, et"pit uccupeñohlam mecot, xocotlolpit, cochmi ngullha"cotlam mitup mumuchepalequian

mi"micotnaque oyna axua apolamman: por tu causa ó consejo mato bastante pescado

mi"micotnaque oyna amsan: por tu industria ó direccion hago buena compra

fierro amiztege"na misege-napnaque, cinta amsan: en lugar ó en vez de comprar fierro, compra cintas y ropa

fierro"cotnaque cinta"pit, nextecpit ymzan: pedi licencia con engaño y mentira para ir á comprar fierro, y compré cintas

quiñava quilopaquaque, minaqué milan: lo que nosotros no pudieramos hazer, tu lo hazes

minahava milohapaquaque, ocaquenalan: lo que vosotros no podeís hazer, hagolo yo

mihil"naque, ayeilan: por lo que tu hablaste ó dixiste, me riñen

minaque alupoylan: por tu causa me aborrecen

anzel azapte"na sepeh-ge"naque, anzle ytzpan: por coger uno, coge otro ó queriendo coger uno, coge otro

ynco"te tonpeyá"te/tonpaquaque/ togui"pitò"que, ytzpectege llavi: sin que huviese estado allí ó sin aver estado allí ó sin que pudiesse estar allí, lo fue á ver

nuhman yuxam ázaptena quingoque: pensando ó pareciéndole que prendía oulam"tup itzahi: cogía un armadillo en su cueba, le mordió una culebra

culuyum"pacaquaque muluyummihan: sin que, ni para qué, sin causa ni razón padeceís

quiñilpaquaque mihlihan: hablais lo que no se debe

quellpac: alrededor

aquellpac chiqui(c)chen: andan alrededor de mi

man: intus, inter, intra, dentro, entre

iglesiasian: dentro de la iglesia

minahaman: entre vosotros

culumián: intra praecordia, dentro de las entrañas

mol: solar ó ambito de la casa
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2399 azip molman ma°pactan : no esta en el plan de mi casa
2400 xâllâman luctan : està dentro del canasto
2401 mimillac : cerca

2402 xocot mimillac : cerca del rio
2403 oc aminllac°te majall jill chiquichen: cerca de mi andan muchos mosquitos
2404 aminllacven : acercarse
    miminllacven, yminllacven, quiminllacven, miminlla[c]veyhan, mimllacveylan
2405 aminlla[c]vehtan : futuro
2406 pi : azia
2407 copi•pitz : ven aqui ó aca
2408 coñpi : como azia aqui
2409 copi : acia aqui
2410 pe•ampi : acia alla, acia aculla
2411 ampepi : acia âuajo, acia lo profundo
2412 tehpi : azia arriba
2413 cop•ňan : de esta parte ó banda
2414 pep•ňan : de•la otra parte ó banda
2415 xocot cop•ňan : de esta banda del rio
2416 xocot pep•ňan : de•la otra banda del rio
2417 lec : sub, subter, debajo
2418 alecte : debajo de mi
2419 milecte : debajo de ti
2420 messa lecman ô lecte : debajo de•la messa
2421 chapllon lecémán : debaxo de la olla
2422 payam : casi ó por poco
2423 payamcho : ya falta poco
2424 payam apuílxipey : 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 yntotep : 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 : aqui esta
2435 yncote ton/cotan : alli esta
2436 zipte ton : esta en casa
yntotepam minan? : unde, de donde vienes?
yglesia’t ep o Dios zip’m annan: de la iglesia ó de la casa de Dios
ahach’t ep anan : vengo de mi chacara
yntotem milluan? : quo, a donde vas?
mech’man alluan : voy al monte ó a la montaña
liman’t e alluan : voy a la sierra
aquicheltecte alluan : voy a pasear
yntonaymem metze[t]itzziay? : qua, por donde volviste?
liman’ayne atze[t]itzsian, ay, ajtan: por la sierra
yntotepim milluan? : quorsum, acia donde vas?
puyupte[pi] alluan : voy hacia la puente
mumutamha’t e alluan : voy hazia a vuestro pueblo
yntotepipam minan? : de hazia donde vienes?
Pisanapip anan : de hazia Pisana
Pucalatepip anan : de hazia Pucará

De otros adverbios y modos de hablar con nombres y verbos a que se juntan
acû : de amor, de cariño, de lastima
acûna’yman : te dice que te ama ó acaricia
tesim, atziu : continuamente, frequentemente
ñammô quillacte : vamos
ñanmac : cada
dia
ñanmac : cada noche
ñanmac : cada semana
ñanmac : cada mes ó cada luna
ñanmac : cada año
pel ñanmac : cada mes ó cada luna
jai, jayah, yntoñpitjin, yntoñpitjina: 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 : estás quietecitos ó queditos
ayte’t chu, ayte’t chuall : a escondidas, de secreto
chu : diminutivo
aplull’chu : mi hijito
ayte’chu : de espacito
ayte’chulla : á escondidillas, de secreto
napi : quando
anapim cote mitontan?: cuando estarás aquí?
micotto’napi : quan[do] tu estés
| 2479 | anapi chiha                  | : en algún tiempo         |
| 2480 | anna·mittatem               | : no lo hará nunca        |
| 2481 | anapipit ilopectan          | : no se en·que tiempo     |
| 2482 | anapichin                   | : nunca jamas             |
| 2483 | anapipit                    | : ya nunca mas lo haré    |
| 2484 | anapichom yam·mi quictan?   | : cuando ó en que tiempo te has de enmendar? |
| 2485 | ynconapi                    | : entonces                |
| 2486 | te                          | : cuando                  |
| 2487 | atem miipoctan              | : cuando harás tu casa?   |
| 2488 | annapichin                  | : no se quando            |
| 2489 | jayu axungall chicotte ¨te, aipoctan | : harela, cuando la gente este junta |
| 2490 | annatepit                   | : cada y cuando           |
| 2491 | anam                         | : assi como               |
| 2492 | miñ, iñ, coñ, yncoñ, miñall, incoñall; de la misma suerte, modo, manera incoñsimall |
| 2493 | anam milancoñ, oc ¨pit alocantan | : assi como tu lo hazes, yo tambien lo haré |
| 2494 | anam Dios tupat cunutza quilou perdon iccoctehe, quimeñancoñ incomiñsimall, quihamiñ jayu cutupat unnutza loulaynco perdonan quipoongo cotan | : asi como nosotros queremos que nos perdone Dios nuestros pecados, de la misma manera hemos de perdonar las ofensas que nos han hecho nuestros proximos |
| 2495 | atupat nguixuan              | : se enoja ó esta enojado contra mi |
| 2496 | atupat miquix(x)ui mectan ¨lê? | : estas enojado conmigo? |
| 2497 | lê                           | : [n]terrogativo y disyuntivo |
| 2498 | ma                           | : negacion                |
| 2499 | malé nonne, main, mainlé    | : todavía no, aun no      |
| 2500 | milé, oclé?                  | : tu ò yo?                |
| 2501 | mu, nic, chin                | : de prohibir             |
| 2502 | lou ¨mu                      | : no lo hagas             |
| 2503 | munutza mil(a)[o]le ¨nic    | : no peques               |
| 2504 | millachin                    | : no te vayas             |
| 2505 | Diferentes modos de preguntar y responder |
| 2506 | annapatlem?                  | : hasta quando?           |
| 2507 | annapatle ¨chin              | : no se hasta quando      |
| 2508 | annapichin                  | : no se quando            |
| 2509 | annapocam?                   | : quantas veces?          |
| 2510 | appoc appocege               | : algunas vezes            |
| 2511 | appocall                     | : una vez solamente       |
| 2512 | appoc                        | : una vez                 |
ynto•mec•poc mige alupactan: quantas vezes me acuerdo de ti, tanto amathan

imo•mec•poc Dios muchan u otras tantas te encomiendo à Dios

mecam?: quanto? quantos en numero?

mec: tantos

mepoc Dios muchan u otras tantas te encomiendo à Dios amatann

inco•mec•poc: quanto vezes me acordo de ti, tanto amathan

mec: tantos

ynto•mec•poc Dios muchan u otras tantas te encomiendo à Dios amatann

mepoc Dios muchan u otras tantas te encomiendo à Dios amatann

mecam?: quanto? quantos en numero?

mec: tantos

mepoc Dios muchan u otras tantas te encomiendo à Dios amatann

mepoc Dios muchan u otras tantas te encomiendo à Dios amatann

mec: tantos

mecam?: quanto? quantos en numero?

mec: tantos

mepoc Dios muchan u otras tantas te encomiendo à Dios amatann

mepoc Dios muchan u otras tantas te encomiendo à Dios amatann

mec: tantos

mecam?: quanto? quantos en numero?

mec: tantos

mepoc Dios muchan u otras tantas te encomiendo à Dios amatann
ampal-le haju cotan : es hombre de la antigiedad
ampeh : abajo
ampetepi : hazia abaxo
ampeh : ondo, ondura
oncxa ampeh soul : zanja o pozo hondo
ampim niqhuian? : que hazes? desvarias? loqueas?
at’mita : una vez
zi*mita *cho pactan : ya es tiempo de aguas
paxol*mita : verano
capi mitta pactan : aora es tiempo de pescar, de fruta &
capill : aora, aorita
ma capill : en este instante
capi*nomall : aora poco a aora no mas
capi*nom : aora poco á
capi *tep : desde aora
capi *teppâ : de aqui adelante
capitep anamoltem? : de aqui á quantos dias?
cotep ipnemte/[...]/patle : de aqui á dos dias
capique : cosa nueva, de nuevo
capocall : solamente ó meramente
alumanall, aluman capoc *all alupacti: en mi interior solamente lo pense
chii aytapi : ellos dos juntos
chii aytall : ellos dos solos, no mas
cote : aqui
copi : acia aqui
copi pitz : ven aca
cotep : desde aqui
cochute : cerca
ma cochute : muy cerca
c : (esto) [este], esta, esto
cotep : despues de esto
c *montep : demas de esto
cosillvoch(ch)e cosillvoch(ch)e : andando alrededor
acosilluan : andando a la redonda
acosillvou, acosillvoctan : cerca redondando
quellpac : cerca redondando
cochutep, cochuap : de cerca
outup, outuppê : de lexos
coteque : de aqui, de aca
comannap : despues de esto
comannap nichunic pallou : mas bueno que esto
coque : de esto
coque ngap : coge de esto
| 2594 | cotepepepatle | : de aquí hasta allí |
| 2595 | copi•nom | : un poco cerca |
| 2596 | copichu•nom | : mas cerquita ó poco mas cerca |
| 2597 | comiñ | : como esto |
| 2598 | coñ | : de esta manera |
| 2599 | coñ•simall, yncôñsimall | : así tambien, de•la misma suerte |
| 2600 | collpitzosim | : no esto solamente |
| 2601 | collpitzosimmâ | : no solo esto |
| 2602 | collacpat | : por esto |
| 2603 | co•necall | : tanto como esto no mas |
| 2604 | ynto•naymem? | : por d(a)jonde? |
| 2605 | co•nayme | : por aquí |
| 2606 | pe•nayme | : por alli |
| 2607 | ampeh•nayme | : por abaxo |
| 2608 | teh•nayme | : por arriba |
| 2609 | culupacti•pitzo tell | : sin pensar, de repente |
| 2610 | genappall | : casualmente |
| 2611 | cunchu | : poquito, pequeño, pequeñito |
| 2612 | cunchu napit | : ni un tantito, ni un poquito |
| 2613 | anzel napit | : ni siquiera uno |
| 2614 | cunchu cunchuall | : un poquito no mas |
| 2615 | nichupat | : por poquito |
| 2616 | ma•nichu•pat | : por muy poco |
| 2617 | ma nichu•pat atzapxipey | : por poquito lo cogí ó agarré |
| 2618 | ngupeñ | : tibia, medio caliente |
| 2619 | cot ngupepeñ | : agua tibia |
| 2620 | nguppeñ nom | : algo tibia |
| 2621 | chech cot | : agua clara |
| 2622 | pojocpat pactan | : está claro y manifiesto |
| 2623 | patzañuetzet | : al reves |
| 2624 | jocpat alojte | : claramente, a•las claras |
| 2625 | alom•te pactan | : es publico |
| 2626 | genapah ô henapah | : mira lo que hazes |
| 2627 | genapâh | : ya lo vez, amedrentando ó reconvi-


| 2628 | genap•pit, henappit, chin, jappit | : quizas |
| 2629 | ham | : mas si es |
| 2630 | co•ham | : mas si es esto |
| 2631 | ngoltan•jam | : mas si se morirà |
| 2632 | ngolloquejama | : mas si se muriera, muriiesse |
| 2633 | jayu acti•tep | : desde que tengo ser de hombre |
| 2634 | jonc | : cosa ancha |
| 2635 | jon ques cotan | : e[s]tú ancho |
| 2636 | yejonopatall, yejonochell | : a escondidas |
zamochell : sabiamente
macochell : conocidamente, consideradamente
lupocothell : pensadamentemente
macjaichell : alegramente, dichosa, bienaventuradamente
pallou : cosa buena
amallou : mi bien ó provecho
mimallou, quimallou, mimallouha, chimallou
pallouvall : buenamente
amallouven : me aprovecha
allhi : cosa alegre, contenta, dulce, sabrosa
allhiall : dulcemente
allhiall ixcan : bebe con gusto
allhi allhiall : se va con gusto ó contento
pupuluch nani cotnap, allhi pectan : estas contenta, porque vino tu marido
mipaha limannap mahati cotnap, : estaís muy contentos, 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 : está sin bautismo ó sin bautisarse
patep : de•puro
patep Dios ngoleche, ngoli : murio de•puro amor de Dios
patep chicnoche : de puro temor
ñan•puillhe : de verguenza
xalamochche, xalam¨pat : 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 vendrá
ma : nada
ma allgi : nada mas
ma¨all¨cho : ya no ay mas
majallnapit cunchunapit : ni mucho, ni poco
cunchunapit mahallnapit : ni poco, ni mucho
ninic : mas
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2677 ninicqin : aun mas
2678 lou’mu’pit, milopacna’tup’pit : mas que no lo hagas
2679 milopan’in’le? : no lo hazes toda’via
2680 alopan’in : todavia no lo hago
2681 mimeño’pacnaque’pit : aunque no quieras
2682 malevojhece : demasiadamente, excepcivamente
2683 pehchu mipahac : apartaos un poco
2684 mipatehac : salid á fuera
2685 mipatehacqui : lo mismo
2686 puyaeca, tepuch : adrede, de proposito
2687 te’puchall : adredemente
2688 ma’ê : falsamente
2689 mapa*maê : muy falsamente
2690 capi : aora
2691 capi llac : vete aora
2692 ojomall llac : vete luego
2693 ma capill llac : vete aora en este instante
2694 ma atemme : muy de mañana
2695 ma’an*manaj’all : muy á escuras
2696 pojo’pechah : antes de amanecer
2697 mahall mupuch*nic/mamata : es rico, abundante en todo
yncha’nic cotan
2698 cu(i)chu cothupit, mahall cothupit, : aya poco ô mucho, coged lo todo 
mec migahacqui
2699 mahall cottu’tup’pit, mec quiqaptan : aunque aya mucho, todo lo cogeremos
ô recibiremos
2700 mon : detras
2701 amon’te (y)mohnan : viene subiendo detras de mi
mimonte, monte, quimonte, mimonhate, chimonte
2702 mamonte mamonte : unos detras de otros
2703 mon’man : detras
2704 mol : solar, pavimento ô espacio que ocupa una casa
2705 zip molman : dentro de su casa
2706 yhna, xipna : aprisa, eea*pues
2707 yhna cathil-luch : ea*pues, abogada nuestra
2708 yhna’chu : aprisita
2709 yhnall ihnhall : apresuradamente
2710 ynachge : esso ô assi dize
2711 pe(m)fñachge : assi, de essa manera
2712 ychamme, amehe : de verdad
2713 ychamme, amehequell : verdaderamente
2714 amehe”pat’le? : es creible, es verdad?
2715 ychamme : verdad es
yncha : algo
yncha cotpan : nada ymporta ò no ymporta
yncham’ma? : que dices?., preguntando al que llama ò 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 ò no ê oido cosa
yncham mimeñan : que quieres? que es lo que quieres?
inchayuum ymou : que te hizo?
yncham amaan, entoñam amaan? : que te hago?
yncham ymasian? : que te duele?
yncha yunam amocte mimeñan? : que quieres que te diga
ynchachin, ynchapit’chin : no se lo que es, no se lo que te digas
yncha’llaçapatam? : por qué?
yncha’patam? : con que?
yncoñnaloc, ynconapi : entonces
quilcol-lam ñall-locte : en la hora de nuestra muerte
yncha’tepi xoh/mixohgi : derramalo, viertalo ô trasiegalo en alguna cosa
yncha’tepit much/muchecqui : ponlo en alguna cosa
yjna, peñ : asii
yncoñña : del mismo modo, manera, suerte
yjna cotan : asii es
yncoñ amehe, incoñ sim cotan : asii es por cierta, sin duda
yncoñ simall : asii es tambien
yncoñ lam pactan’na quii, capi’pit, ma pactan’na quian’simall : ayer dixo que no avia ò no estava y oy tambien dice que no ay ò que no esta
chot, henat : pues
ynco’llacpat : por esso
ynco’chot, incolacpat’chot : por tanto
yncoñ : asii es
yncoñ mecall cotan : no es mas, ni menos
yncoll : aquello no mas, aquello solamente
ynconapip : desde entonces
yncoquell lec/milecqui : dale de esso solamente
yncopall : continuamente, sin cessar
yncopall extec liche mitongui : estate tegiendo seguidamente, sin parar
te-lê : continuamente
te-le millahacqui : idlos ò caminat sin deteneros
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2756 lumittup, tepuch : adredemente, de intento, de propuesto
2757 lumittup quian : lo dice adrede o de propuesto
2758 tepuch amaan : de propuesto te lo hago o digo
2759 lulô : pena
2760 lulô’pat nguinha cotan : vive penando
2761 mullup ngollhu zachge, lulôpat ngolan : se muere de pena, por ver que se muere su hijo
2762 mullup hacolhu zachge, luvoupat ngolan : muere 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 lec/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 o malaya
2773 jampit : alla lo verás, tu lo verás
2774 amehena miquipech’châ : si no lo crees, alla lo veras o tu lo veras
2775 ocjampit : ves aí que yo &
2776 añiu : de dezeo
2777 aamoege añiu : ojala comiera
2778 allaege añiu : ojala me fuera
2779 añih/añiu entoñam, peñ aquian, entoñam coñ aquian? : que me suceda esto? que me sucede?
2780 añih entoñam coñ miquian? : que te acontece o sucede?
2781 añih : ymper[aj]tivo del verbo añcan: sacamelo
2782 añih/miñih : sacalo tu

Modos de hablar en castellano, reducidos á esta lengua
2783 ojompat acotto ‘mannap’pâ, ninic’ sim apiptege ameñan : en comparacion de estarme ocioso, elegire trabajar: a mas quiero trabaxar que estar ocioso
2784 apa ngoli cotanco ‘mannap’pâ, oceqe aclí acottehe ameñongong : en comparacion de que mi padre aya muerto, quisiera averme muerto yo: mas quisiera averme muerto yo, que no que mi padre aya muerto
[1] la primera vez que ô una vez • que
[apoc, yy poc, & + mec + supino en no, jo, to + te]

2785 ypz oc poc mec limante allango • te, : la sexta vez que fui a • la sierra,
  zaluch atzachmullou/ empece á ver negros
  apoyachmullou

2786 capi, ync o napí, yncotup ŋ al-l ōc : nunc, tunc
2787 ync o napí / ŋ al-l ōc : aquella fue la quarta vez que el padre
  mi ŋ ip poc mec • te patili doctrina
  ngapunnou

2788 capi apoc mec • te patili ngapunnan /
  ngapunnanco pactan : esta es la primera vez que el padre me
  pregunto

2789 apapat : de parte de mi padre
2790 apapat : de parte de mi madre
2791 apapat cote mahall agelac chectan / : de parte de mi madre ay ô tengo aquí
  acotan muchos parientes

[2] Oraciones que corresponden á licet, licebat [supinos en ngo, jo, to, cho, po:
  licet, licebat, ser licito, poderse, tener obligacion ô deber hazerla]

2792 jayu chectanco • va, quaresma mec
  viernes nem • te, sabado santo
  vigilia • te, quipa Jesu Christo
  masoumaxco vigilia • te • pit, yxaiongo
  cotan/ ayunan chiqui ngo cotan

2793 quaresma allum nem • te • va, pilui
  mec viernes • te, quartotemporas • te
  vigiling • te, yxaionapa /
  ayunan chiquipacna cotto • tupit,
  aycha lluplapacna cotan

2794 al um nem • te • acho, eitza lluplango
  chectan : pero en los demas dias de quaresma,
  viernes del año, quatro • temporas y
  viglias, aunque no tienen obligacion de
  ayunar, estan obligados a no comer
  carne

2795 allan : dar
2796 apat licencia ngai/ngaelam,
  quechuac limosna apoectehe /
  apoelamhe : mi padre me daba licencia de que • yo
  diesse limosna á • los pobres

2797 al-lupactan : pedir licencia
2798 mal-lupocottehe mutu aanan,
  empece a quicheh tehe allactan • na /
  allangole? : vengo donde ti, para • que veas ô
  consideres si yrè ô podre ir á pasear,
  cazar &

2799 liman • te allangoque mutu aanan
  mal-lupocottehe empec • le allango?
  : quiero ir a • la sierra y vengo, para • que
  veas si puedo ir?

2800 al-lupactan pallouall • millactehe : bien puedes ir, ve en buena hora

[3] es factible, posible, facil de hazer, dificil, impossible &
[supinos en no, jo &]: es digno, merece &]

2801 quilongo cotan : es factible ó se puede hacer
2802 agolengo cotan, migolengo cotan & : es amable ó digno de que yo le ame ó que yo le estime ó que le tengo lastima
2803 kitzmehjo cotan : se puede enseñar
2804 quixaicho cotan : merece que lo azotemos
2805 puttam *tep quichemmo cotan : que lo hechemos ó desterramos del pueblo
2806 quigolepaca cotan, quel-lusaipaca : no merece que le tengamos lastima, compassion
2807 quitzmehpa cotan : no se puede enseñar
2808 quixai eighty pa cotan : no merece que le azotemos
2809 quichempacna cotan : no se puede desterrar

[ymerativo + ante + paña: dificil ó imposible]
2810 utzauch nixivah hacotan"co"va, mañanizc"pat : la desgracia del pecador es muy dificil de explicar
qui"hil"ante"paça"sim cotan

[4] a*que, a*que fin ó á fin de que, en orden á que, para*que
[1: ynchahem? yncha lluhlam*nicam?; 2: por el gerundio de dativo]
2811 ynchahem/yncha lluhlam*nicam/ yicha milohaítehem, cote : a*que ó á fin de que ó hazer que venis aquí?
mipahatihan?
2812 cuca quimiztehe quipahattan : venimos á comprar coca: venimos = venimos de arriba
2813 yicha milohaítehem, cote : a que o para que venis?
2814 quimiaxtehe quinan : venimos á verte
2815 iglesia*te quilluan, patili doctrina leizan iccaymehtehe : vamos á*la iglesia, a*que ó en orden a*que ó á fin 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 : mas que no vas ó apostemos que no choti
2821 auca mipotzaptehe, seque : mas que no vas otra vez á coger millapectan choti?
aucas?
2822 entonai, allactan : como que hombre, si ire

[5] antes ó antes bien
liu tzatchenap, acullectan: antes estudiare y luego me acostare:
antea studebo, moxque acumbam

caloch peyte muchenap, matuppi:
puen antes el plato en el suelo y abre la
minen“pat palon chih
puerta con las dos manos

milleapechap, co axman milocqui:
antes que te vayas, haz esto primero

nichunie“sim
im[m]o potius ò quin potius

anapipit anuch alupohtan,
nichunie“sim angolcetan
nunca aborrecere al enemigo, antes ò
antes bien le amare: nunquam inimicum
odoer, im[m]o potius l. quin potius
diligam

[6] aun y aun no [verbo + in: aun, ad-huc, continuacion de tiempo]
cama aquian“in
aun estoy enfermo: ad-[h]uc aegroto
tuphampit
exageracion, vel ó etiam
santo chicotto“tup“hampit Dios
aul los santos temen â Dios: vel
nannoulan/ Diostup icicnan
san[c]ti o etiam san[c]ti Deum timent
tuppit
quamvis

anuch amelengo“tuppit,
ayoquetejno pectan
aun encontrando ò aunque encontre á
mi enemigo, no me vengare: quamvis
offendam inimicum meum,
ne-quaquam ulciscar
ayoquetehnan
yo me*vengo
miocquetehnan, zoquetehnan, quiyocquetehnan, miyoquetehnouhan,
chiyorquetehnan
ayoquetehnoctan &
aun no, non dum
uñuah miquiei pit[z]o“in
aun no recobraste la salud: non dum
valetudinem instaurasti
uñuah miquipangin, oyna
aun no estas sano ó bueno?
miquì“pangin
yna miqian“cho“le?
ya estas bueno?
nahe“pit
vel•nec ó ne quidem
liman“patle muptatehe amisyey,
te pedi que me acompanñases hasta la
puyupatlell nahepit mpatati“pitzo
sierra y aun no me aco[m]pañaste hasta
el puente
tuppit
aunque no, quamvis non
ocnic/anecc millactehe
aunque no quisiste ir con“migo, yo
mimneñou“pitzo“tup“pit, occâ
voy contigo
mimerc mincc alluan

[7] como y como que
entoñam utzava quippacnava cotan?: de que modo podremos no pecar?
como se evitara el pecado?  
quo modo l. quo pacto peccatum vitatur?

2843 co cama `mannap quixpehnomamheva,; que haremos para librarnos de esta enfermedad ó epidemia?
entoñam quiquictan/yncham quioloctan?

2844 co cama `pat quicolpectehe `va/ quicoclinheva, ynchayuvam quioloctan/loctan/entoñam quiquitoctan?: que haremos para no morir con este contagio?

2845 co cama `tup iczapchin heva, yncham quioloctan?: que haremos para que esta enfermedad no se nos pegue?

2846 coñ/yncoñ/peñ uzava quilopacna cotan: asì ó de este modo no podremos pecar ó no nos libramos de pecar
coñ/yncoñ/peñ uzava quilopacna cotan?

2847 oc ahiltan, entoñam yam quiitozlam `mannappa: yo dire como nos libraremos de este castigo: dicam qui xpocat qui modo l. quo pacto liberabimus nos a suplicio

2848 incha `lacpatam/yncha cothum/ yncha ma `cothum munutza milou?: como se libraremos d(e) el
yncha Francisco liu izchan?: como Francisco lee?: quid Franciscus legit?

2849 munutza lou `mull, mixpoutan/ mixpocat:
yncham Francisco liu izchan?: como Francisco lee?: quid Franciscus legit?

2850 munucha ziu cothe, quipchitto `man miantecteha michic `nopan: como tienes buena conciencia no se te da nada de los riesgos: cum l. quod habes l habeas puram con[sc]ientiam, negligis pericula

2851 Dios ngcallancoñ, ápa yuvey alocatn/ ápa amegenam quioloctan:
do obedecere á mi padre como Dios manda: obediam patri meo, ut Deus praecipit vel non aliter ac Deus praecipit

2852 Dios ngcallancoñ, ápa yuvey alocatn/ ápa amegenam quioloctan:
do obedecere á mi padre como Dios manda: obediam patri meo, ut Deus praecipit vel non aliter ac Deus praecipit

2853 munucha ziu cothe, quipchitto `man miantecteha michic `nopan: como tienes buena conciencia no se te da nada de los riesgos: cum l. quod habes l habeas puram con[sc]ientiam, negligis pericula

2854 chechoua michitgepit:
como que pierda la plata, mas que pierda la plata

2855 entoñagem? ynchana?
munutza `lacpat `le axaichlango?: como que, por tu culpa me han de azotar?: quid, culpa tua vapulaturus sum?
con que

maestro "tup ympazanco/
ymaymenco, sinnah

: atiende â•los consejos con que el
maestro te instruye: attende consilia
quibus magister instruit te: oye, lo que
te aconseja ò enseña tu maestro

mi•mihil-li•(n)mimaccou "inco′
llacpat, yam miquingo′cho cotan

: has conocido tu yerro, con•que ya
debes enmendar: cognovisti errorem
tuum, yam ergo debes te corrigere

yncha′patam quicalloitzi′iâ'/
quilolam′mâcumuchehtan/
quiloctan?

: con que cumpliremos nuestra
obligacion?: qua ratione munus
nostrum
implebimus

Dios camatzin quiui sil
amilchin′na′pat, sa gratiall angten/conservo su gracia: cum non violem
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

[9] pues, pues que, supuesto que, ya•que

entor•mee ocho Pasco cottoque,
entoncopit/ entonco•hayupit misa misa?: Nunquid ullus l sacrum?: por
ysinahpacna"le′/ysinah′pacna/
sinay′mu ayquingole′/ysinah′pacna
fiesta tan grande, se avia de quedar
alguno ò alguna persona sin oir misa?

ey•jey amehe
munucha confessan miquirel?

: ita est ò ita quidem
confessaste tus pecados?: confessus
fuisti peccata tua?

ey, heey amehe

: pues: ita est, ita quidem: si ciertamente
con los trabajos.1 se alcanza.2 la
luyum.4′sim′chot/fianzic′sim′chot
labores igitur amplectendi sunt
luyum.4′sim′chot/fianzic′sim′chot allhi
macjaiche quicotto

macjai puttam′te mimotehe
mimeñan′chot, yncha pallou ma(t)
quixpolam cotanco loche cot

: pues ò supuesto que, ya•que, pues que
deseas el premio, no dexes de trabajar:
si•quidem í quando quidem pr[a]emium
exoptas, labora

ynchachot?

: pues que? quid ergo?
[10] mas que y por mas que
paymejhuch chá
itzmencó manmap pit nichunic
meipan discípulo: el maestro trabaxa mas que el
discípulo: magister laborat magis quam
discipulus
mechialace pit
emehchiage pit
millage pit
axaichlalam manmap
axpehnoctan chotti
mas que te vençan, vincaris
mas que te vença
mas que te vayás
mas que me libro de los azotes:
deponamus vel spondeamus me liberari
flagellis
mechialacge pit
emehchiage pit
millage pit
axaichlam manmap
axpehnoctan chotti
mas que te vença
mas que te vayás
mas que me libro de los azotes:
deponamus vel spondeamus me liberari
flagellis

anapinam anapihem para quando, ad quod tempus?
anapinam/anapihem mihllem para cuando aguardas â tu amigo? ad
mission? quod tempus expectas amicum tuum?
anapinam mihllem nantan? para quando vendrà?
ynconapi quando, cum ô quando
pupuluch nantan ynconapi va, yztac: para quando venga tu marido, ya avras
pilotu cho coti hecho chicha
mupul ocho quiqitan ynconapige, para quando tu hijo este grande, te doy
capa amàyan esta capa

[12] luego que, al punto que, assi que, al mismo tiempo que
[gerundio + all, ynconapill oh inconatup all-locall: luego que &, ubi, statim o sta-
tim atque, ut, ut primum ô quam primum]
uch/auca ñgitavonapall, luego que ô assi que ô al tiempo que el
soldado zapeila enemigo huyo, los soldados cogieron la
soldado tup puttam zapeila ciudad: ubi inimicus fugit, milites
expugnaverunt civitatem
caztoc atzmehe cohonapall, luego que, assi que, al punto, ynstante
ñanmittò illagi que acabé de hazer la caxa, la llevo ô se
caztoc atzmehe cohonapall, luego que, assi que, al punto, ynstante
ñanmittò illagi la llebò su dueño
mini ynconapill, yncoyup ñal-loc all: al mismo tiempo que tu veniste, vino
Juan pit nani Juan
mañallócal all minihan : a un mismo tiempo venis

mini ynconapill, ynco’tup ñal-local : al mismo tiempo que tu veniste, vino
tambien yo

mañall-local quelluey : a un mismo tiempo nos fuimos

[13] quiças, porventura
miyelam ’tep pâ atemmel
mitachile?:
por ventura te levantaste oy temprano?

le
nunquid, an, utrum ó ne

utzauch Dios ’te zeichchi ’chô’ chin
ya por ventura el pecador se convirtió:
iam forsisan peccator conversus est

chin
forte, fortasse, fortassis ó forsita[n]

ut[z]auch nutza ilolam ’mannappa,
yam’quii ’chô’ chin
quiças ó por ventura ya el pecador se
enmendo

[14] que y que*no
quisoldado chiquitavo pectan ’choti
que nuestros soldados (ó apostemos
que nuestros soldados) no huyen:
spondeamus milites nostros non fugere

choti
: apostar

miyoyojac ’pit/miyoyohangotuppit,
entoñam aquingo/entoñam
aquictan/oc ’ge ua ñanloc cotan
que llores, que se me da á mi?: fletis,
quid ad me?: mas que llores, nada se
me da ó se me dará

yoyoc ’pit allactan ’sim
mas que llores, me ire

yg[l]esia ’tep Pedro imitay ’pitzo
pixanna ajacquian
: jusgo que no faltó Pedro á la yglesia

Francisco iglesiate coti pixanna
ajacquian
: jusgo ó me parece que estuvo Fran

cisco en la yglesia

anuch atzapteque maluvey/mana
maou
: estorbasteme que no hiriesse á mi

enemigo: impediste*me, ut*ne vel
quominus ferirem inimicum meum

ahach ’te allacteque maluvey
: estorbasteme que no fuera á mi

chacara

aptoctehe allacteque, apatup
ngaluvey/mana ngaou
: me estorvo mi padre que no fuesse 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 ’tup
ynchatem ymallovehtan?
de que aprovecharan las riquezas,
quando el hombre muera? quid divitiae
proderunt cum homo moritur?
[que = verbo + na]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nro.</th>
<th>Expresión</th>
<th>Significado</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2904</td>
<td>michemí(c)zi micottanava</td>
<td>de*que ó que serás desterrado, no ay duda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2905</td>
<td>entoñam</td>
<td>de que modo, de que manera?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2906</td>
<td>oc*tup amaymehjactan entoñam coñanzic quitzmopacna cottanna, mimacohalamhe/mimacohacthe</td>
<td>yo explicare de que manera se han de entender las dificultades: explicabo quomodo ó qua ratione ó quo pacto dificultates intelligenda sint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2807</td>
<td>entoñam?</td>
<td>como?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2908</td>
<td>amtesahtech/amtesacjo cottech</td>
<td>de suerte que te lo estime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2909</td>
<td>ampeñöctech</td>
<td>de suerte que te quiera</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

La variedad de las terceras personas de plural [...] en las transiciones

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nro.</th>
<th>Expresión</th>
<th>Significado</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2910</td>
<td>mo</td>
<td>transicion de tercera persona de singular a tercera de plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2911</td>
<td>mocollan</td>
<td>aquel-los ama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2912</td>
<td>po</td>
<td>transicion de las demas personas á la tercera de plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2913</td>
<td>apocollan</td>
<td>yo los amo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2914</td>
<td>mipocollan</td>
<td>tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2915</td>
<td>quipocollan</td>
<td>nosotros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2916</td>
<td>mipocollijan</td>
<td>vosotros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2917</td>
<td>chipocollan</td>
<td>aquellos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2918</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>otra cosa que se incluye en la que padece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2919</td>
<td>ychac apajapuchan</td>
<td>yo les pongo su comida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2920</td>
<td>mipajapuchan</td>
<td>tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2921</td>
<td>ma(pa)japuchan</td>
<td>aquel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2922</td>
<td>quipajapuchan</td>
<td>nosotros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2923</td>
<td>mipajapuchij(act)an</td>
<td>vosotros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2924</td>
<td>chipajapuchan</td>
<td>aquellos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2925</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>tercera de plural á cualquiera otra persona que no sea tercera de plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2926</td>
<td>acollilan</td>
<td>aquellos me aman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>micollilan, ngollilan, quimgollilan, micollilajan</td>
<td>tercera de plural á tercera del mismo numero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2927</td>
<td>chi</td>
<td>aquellos los aman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

De la interjecion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nro.</th>
<th>Expresión</th>
<th>Significado</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2929</td>
<td>ah</td>
<td>exclama ó ymveca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2930</td>
<td>ah Dios!</td>
<td>a Dios!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
aha : interjección de el que coge haciendo cosa mala
ah[a]mpaxlen miquian! : a pobre, desdichado que te pondre!
anij empec, ma empec : d[e]le que se alegra del mal que acaeez a otro: bien empleado, me alegro!
ampaxlen : interjección de lastima y pena y compassion
uchuu : interjección d[e]le que se quema ó tiene calor
acú : interjección de cariño y tambien de lastima y compassion
ychay, ychacay : interjección de abominacion y desprecio
allau, attih : interjección de dolor
oy : interjección d[e]le que assiente ó concede lo que dicen
ah : tambien sirve para amedrentar á los niños
ah Ŧipimuâ! : no lo toques!
añiu : interjección de gana ó deseo
tantahe añiu! : tengo gana de pan!
tanta alacge añiu na aquian! : deseo comer pan!
uñuu : interjección de alabanza ó aficion de alguna cosa hermosa ó curiosa
oneu : interjección de enfado ó fastidio
oneuah alan! : le molesto, doy pena, enfado!
oneuah ñgaa! : me haze daño!
yxiu : malvado!
pachûaj ixiu! : quitate malbado!
an : interjección de admiracion
an! : que es assi?!
aleu : interjección de frio
aleu na miquian le? : tienes frio?!
heey, aleu na aquian! : interjección de pavor
ichiei : interjección de admiracion

De la conjuncion

pit : et y vel: tambien
mipit, Pedro pachêochô siñ•milouhan : tu y Pedro desperdiciais el dinero
llac"pit, millaquiahji "pit/ lllaquiah "pit : buelve ó vete
mi"le, oc"le? : tu ó yo?
Libro quinto
De la colocacion, acento, pronunciacion y orthografia de esta lengua

De la colocacion [genitivo - nominativo - caso del verbo]

 Dios zamoch cot’ tâ muxac nem ‘te, pel mahach ‘te meletahlamhe, mita mita camatzin moou; Dios zamoch cottâ mita mita camazin moou, muxac nemte, pel mahach ‘te meletahlamhe

[nominativo - verbo]

mec angelâ/angel mec ‘câ espiritull : los angeles todos son espiritus y no chectan, itzep ziu, 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 muxac ‘pit, quimeñongo pel: el sol que abrasa, la luna hermosa que meletancopit, te senta quizna alumbra y las estrellas que resplndecen palam ‘te ychocholanco en esse campo azul de los cielos puso kenna’ nic ‘pit, co ngossillo Dios para hermosura del mundo putam ‘te tîññejlactege, Dios ‘tup 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 neullha : aunque estimamos tanto el oro y la
cot[l]amte ento•mec yupei plata en esta vida, pero en muriendo,
quipoongo°tuppit, colhe°acho, nada llevamos, todo lo dexamos
ynchapit quillavohpan, mec inchapit
quipoyam(m)°p°ollan

Del acento [1: en la última sílaba]
2979 mallâ : cosa cruda
2980 llín : cosa verde
2981 patôx : desecho
2982 llêz : rastrojo y lucerna pequeña

[2: en la penúltima 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, nguí, nguo, ngu]
2984 amot ngappixtocan : aquel me quita mi honra
2985 ngappixtocquei : me la quito
2986 etzge ngaou : me levanté falso testimonio
2987 ngot : su agua o el agua de aquel
2988 ngach : su maíz
2989 ngolol : su almendra
2990 ñeetz : su madre
2991 ñix : cosa seca, enjuta
2992 atgan : yo estoy
2993 angten : yo le sustento o mantengo
3.2. Declination of the noun hayu ‘man’ and conjugation of the verbs k(o)t ‘(to) be’, pole/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>Declension</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nominativo</td>
<td>hayu/ hayu-tup</td>
<td>‘el hombre o gente’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genitivo</td>
<td>hayu i-l-o-w</td>
<td>‘del hombre o de la gente’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dativo</td>
<td>hayu-he</td>
<td>‘para el hombre o [para la gente]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acusativo</td>
<td>hayu-ey/ -te</td>
<td>‘al hombre’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vocativo</td>
<td>hayu-ey/ -te</td>
<td>‘olá hombre, olá muger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ablativo</td>
<td>hayu-te</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>hayu-pat/ -lak-pat/ -lak-te-p</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>hayu-nik/ hayu nek</td>
<td>‘de compañía con el hombre’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) a survey of his conjugation of the verbs k(o)t ‘(to) be’, pole ‘(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.

- k-o-t-uč ‘a being’, ‘the present person’
- p-o-le-uč ‘lover’
- m-e-n(o)-w-uč ‘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’:

**indicative: present:** 2s: me-kt-aŋ
                      mi-ŋp-ľ-aŋ
                      mi-men-aŋ

2p: me-kt-ųy-ľ-aŋ
    mi-ŋp-ľ-ųy-ľ-aŋ
    mi-men-Ľ-o-w-ľ-aŋ

**imperfect/perfect:** 1: 2s: me-kt-ųy
<table>
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<th>Person</th>
<th>Form 1</th>
<th>Form 2</th>
<th>Form 3</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Imperfect</td>
<td>1s</td>
<td>mi-kot</td>
<td>mi-pole-k</td>
<td>mi-men' o-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2s</td>
<td>mi-kot</td>
<td>mi-pole-k</td>
<td>mi-men' o-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2p</td>
<td>mi-kot-ha</td>
<td>mi-pole-ha</td>
<td>mi-men' o-ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>2s</td>
<td>me-kt-iy</td>
<td>me-kt-iy</td>
<td>mi-men' o-w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2p</td>
<td>me-kt-iy</td>
<td>me-kt-iy</td>
<td>mi-men' o-w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>me-kt-iy</td>
<td>me-kt-iy</td>
<td>mi-men' o-w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>1s</td>
<td>a-kot</td>
<td>a-pole-k</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pluperfect</td>
<td>1s</td>
<td>me-kt-iy</td>
<td>mi-pole-y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2s</td>
<td>me-kt-iy</td>
<td>mi-pole-y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2p</td>
<td>me-kt-iy</td>
<td>mi-pole-y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>1s</td>
<td>mi-kot</td>
<td>mi-pole</td>
<td>mi-men' o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2s</td>
<td>mi-kot</td>
<td>mi-pole</td>
<td>mi-men' o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2p</td>
<td>mi-kot-ha</td>
<td>mi-pole-ha</td>
<td>mi-men' o-ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>1s</td>
<td>a-kot</td>
<td>a-pole-k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1: 2s:  
  kot  
  pole-k  
  men’o-k

2: 2s: mi-kot-i  
  mi-pole-k-i  
  mi-men’o-k-i

3s: a-kot-he  
  i-pole-khe  
  i-men’o-khe

1p: ki-kot-te  
  ki-pole-kte  
  ki-men’o-kte

1: 2p: mi-kot-ha-k  
  [mi-pole-ha-k]  
  [mi-men’o-ha-k]

2: 2p: mi-kot-ha-k-i  
  mi-pole-ha-k-i  
  mi-men’o-ha-k-i

3p: ā-kot-he  
    pole-la-khe  
    men’o-la-khe

future: 2s:  
  mi-kot-te  
  mi-pole-kte  
  [mi-men’o-kte]

2p: mi-kot-ha-kte  
  mi-pole-ha-kte  
  [mi-men’o-ha-kte]

permissive: 2s:  
  mi-kot-he(-pit)  
  mi-pole-khe(-pit)  
  [mi-men’o-khe(-pit)]

2p: mi-kot-ha-khe(-pit)  
  mi-pole-ha-khe(-pit)  
  [mi-men’o-ha-khe(-pit)]

prohibitive: 1: 2s:  
  mi-kot-čin  
  mi-pole-čin/mi-pole-k-nik

-  

2p: mi-kot-ha-čin  
  [mi-pole-ha-(k)-čin/mi-pole-ha-k-nik]

-  

2: 2s: kot-iy-mu  
  [poř-iy-mu]
dubitative:

hapit 'may (it) be!' +

2s: mi-kot ø-t-äŋ
    mi-pole-k ø-t-äŋ
    mi-men’o-k ø-t-äŋ

2p: mi-kot-ha-k ø-t-äŋ
    mi-pole-ha-k ø-t-äŋ
    mi-men’o-ha-k ø-t-äŋ

optative: present/imperfect:

1: 2s: mi-kot(-he)
    mi-pole-k(-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-kte(-mok) kot
    mi-men’o-ha-kte(-mok) kot

2p: mi-kot-ha-kte(-mok) kot
    mi-pole-ha-kte(-mok) kot
    mi-men’o-ha-kte(-mok) kot

2: 2s: me-kt-iy ø-(po)kot-o-ke/ø-(po)kot-te-ke
    mi-pol’-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-pol’-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-pole-kte-č
mi-menʼo-kte-č

2p: me-kt-iy-ha-č
mi-pole-ha-kte-č
mi-menʼo-ha-kte-č

infinitive: present: 2s: [mi-kot-te]
mi-pole-kte
mi-menʼo-kte
2p: [mi-kot-ha-kte]
mi-pole-ha-kte
mi-menʼo-ha-kte

preterite: 2s: me-kt-iy o-kot-nap
mi-pole-iy o-kot-nap
mi-menʼo-w o-kot-nap
2p: me-kt-iy ha o-kot-nap
mi-pole-iy ha o-kot-nap
mi-menʼo-w ha o-kot-nap

future: 2s: mi-kot-lam [(o-kot-nap)]
mi-pole-lam [(o-kot-nap)]
mi-menʼo-lam (o-kot-nap)
2p: mi-kot-ha-k-lam [o-kot-nap]
mi-pole-ha-k-lam [o-kot-nap]
mi-menʼo-ha-k-lam (o-kot-nap)

participles: present: 2s: me-kt-a
mi-pole-a
mi-menʼ-a
2p: me-kt-iy-ha-p-ko
mi-pole-iy-ha-p-ko
mi-menʼo-w-ha-p-ko

imperfect: 2s: me-kt-iy(-ipko)
mi-pole-iy(-ipko)
mi-menʼo-w(-ipko)
2p: me-kt-iy ha(-ipko)
mi-pole-iy ha(-ipko)
mi-menʼo-w ha(-ipko)

pluperfect: 2s: me-kt-i-y-e(-ipko)
[mi-pole-iy-e(-ipko)]
[mi-menʼo-w-e(-ipko)]
2p: me-kt-i-y ha-ke(-ipko)
[mi-pole-iy ha-ke(-ipko)]
[mi-menʼo-w ha-ke(-ipko)]

future: 1: 2s: mi-kot o-t-ap(-ipko)
mi-pole-k o-t-ap(-ipko)
gerund: genitive, dative, accusative:

2p: mi-kot-ha-k o-t-arp(-ipko)
   mi-pole-ha-k o-t-arp(-ipko)
   [mi-men' o-ha-k o-t-arp(-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-kte-nap
    [mi-pole-ha-kte-nap]
    [mi-men' o-ha-kte-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: -iy/-w
- (im)perfect II: -(e-)m
- pluperfect I: (im)perfect I + -(k)e
- pluperfect II: (im)perfect in -iy or -y + -ate
- future: imperfect I: -(k)t-ap
- future: imperfect II: -(k)te
- future: perfect: (im)perfect I + ø-kot-ap

**imperative:**
- present 1s/p: -(k)te
- present 2s I: -(k)i
- present 2s II: -(k)he
- present 3s/p: -(k)te
- future: -(k)he

**permissive:**
- -(k)t-aŋ

**prohibitive:**
- -(k)he

**dubitative:**
- present I: -(k)he
- present II: -(ŋ)(o-ke, -(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
- -(e)č -(k)t-eč
- -(k)te

**subjunctive II:**
- -(k)t-č

**infinitive:**
- present: -(k)te
- past tense: (im)perfect I of indicative + ø-kot-nap
- future: -(k)he

**participle:**
- present: present of indicative + -ko
- imperfect: (im)perfect I of indicative + ipko
- pluperfect: pluperfect of indicative + ipko
- future: imperfect I of future of indicative + ipko

**gerund:**
- genitive: -(k)t-e-he
- dative: -(k)t-e-he
- accusative: -(k)t-e-he
- ablative I: -(k)he
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, qu, m, n, ñg(u), l, ll, b/lh/ui/v, iy, representing the sounds [p], [t], [k], [tʃ], [ʃ], [s], [x] or [h], [m], [n], [ŋ], [ŋ], [l], [ʃ], [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, š, x, h, j, k, l, ll, u, i, y within a syllable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cholón word</th>
<th>English meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yip</td>
<td>‘house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muntep</td>
<td>‘from the man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilanamnap</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>puillquiz</td>
<td>‘gold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>petz</td>
<td>‘box’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>payatz</td>
<td>‘late’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yots</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>hoppit</td>
<td>‘maybe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>et</td>
<td>‘fire’</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>ques</td>
<td>‘age’</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>xcmnic</td>
<td>‘with scabies’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xax</td>
<td>‘armadillo’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-choyeg!</td>
<td>‘let him cry!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aglem</td>
<td>‘my friend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cf. mihllem</td>
<td>‘your friend’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

represents the sounds [p], [t], [k], [tʃ], [ʃ], [s], [x] or [h], [m], [n], [ŋ], [ŋ], [l], [ʃ], [w], [y], respectively.
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, x, g, h, j, m, n, ñ, ng(u), l, ll, b, hu, u, v, i, y.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pit</td>
<td>‘and’</td>
<td>tip</td>
<td>‘piece’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pel</td>
<td>‘moon’</td>
<td>munep</td>
<td>‘from the man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pan</td>
<td>‘mother’</td>
<td>tacla</td>
<td>‘kind of armadillo’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poc</td>
<td>‘turn’</td>
<td>ton</td>
<td>‘he stays’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pul</td>
<td>‘son’</td>
<td>tuj</td>
<td>‘joint’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

mozhun ‘small thing’
moxpey ‘he liberated them’
muzcan ‘you laugh’
uxux ‘butterfly’
anih! ‘exclamation of desire’
anij! ‘exclamation of desire’
zamehji ‘learn!’
zeamej! ‘learn!’
ayteah! ‘quiet!’
ayteaj! ‘quiet!’
millavehji! ‘bring it!’
llavoj! ‘bring it’
rhunman ‘in his hole’
tuj ‘joint’
llom ‘abyss’
llin ‘green’
chesmiñ ‘cedar’
llin ‘green’
quingpi ‘we have received’
acten ‘I was’
pan ‘mother’
alon ‘I wet’
nun ‘man’
sil ‘his word’
pel ‘moon’
zal ‘black’
oll ‘mouth’
pul ‘son’
quimejuch ‘our creator’
quiymehnan ‘we learn’
p ‘earth’
pey ‘earth’
nai ‘behind him’
nay ‘behind him’
miolo ‘you wet’
aloy ‘I wet’
atzi ‘I anointed’
lit ‘letter’
leu ‘worm’
allau ‘exclamation of pain’
oll ‘he made it’
(chu) ‘how warm’

p, t, c, k, qu, tz, ch, s, z, x, g, h, j, m, n, ñ, ng(u), l, ll, b, hu, u, v, i, y.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kitzmehjo 'that we teach'</td>
<td>quizna 'bleu'</td>
<td>atzip 'my house'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kennà 'star(s)'</td>
<td>quell 'wall'</td>
<td>itzep 'their flesh'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ytzell 'their soul'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>itzochoc 'their trousers'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>utzuch 'their edible plant'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'that we teach'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quell 'wall'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itzep 'their flesh'</td>
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<td>ytzell 'their soul'</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>itzochoc 'their trousers'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utzuch 'their edible plant'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chicanan 'to fear'</td>
<td>sil 'his word'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chesmih 'cedar'</td>
<td>senta 'heaven'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cham 'chain'</td>
<td>sall 'soul'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chouunic 'with fleas'</td>
<td>lochmasoc 'do it the whole night!'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chap 'stomach'</td>
<td>sup 'deer'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xij! 'drink!'</td>
<td>allgi/allhi 'sweet'</td>
<td>hil 'word'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xep 'sterile'</td>
<td>jayuge 'for the man'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xax 'armadillo'</td>
<td>pangala 'wild turkey'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xot 'brother'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xum 'heap'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jil 'word'</td>
<td>mimillac 'near'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llalamie 'that he goes'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jach 'field'</td>
<td>aaman 'I eat'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pojo 'morning'</td>
<td>mot 'name'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alocloju 'that I finish doing it'</td>
<td>mul 'his son'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sil 'his word'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>senta 'heaven'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sall 'soul'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>lochmasoc 'do it the whole night!'</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>sup 'deer'</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xij 'drink!'</td>
<td>allgi/allhi 'sweet'</td>
<td>hil 'word'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jayuge 'for the man'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pangala 'wild turkey'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mimillac 'near'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aaman 'I eat'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mot 'name'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xum 'heap'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jil 'word'</td>
<td></td>
<td>hil 'word'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llalamie 'that he goes'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jach 'field'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pojo 'morning'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alocloju 'that I finish doing it'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mgix 'something dry'</td>
<td></td>
<td>liu 'letter'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nguech 'his mother'</td>
<td></td>
<td>leu 'worm'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngach 'his maize'</td>
<td></td>
<td>alan 'I make it'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngot 'his water'</td>
<td></td>
<td>lol 'mouth'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nguch 'his father'</td>
<td></td>
<td>lumte 'above'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llin 'green'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llies 'alfalfa'</td>
<td>bem 'sweet potato'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llac 'go!'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>llahu 'he goes'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llom 'abyss'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulluc 'lance'</td>
<td>golebuch 'lover'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llani 'he went'</td>
<td>llavi 'he went'</td>
<td>iipoc 'make a house!'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allien 'I went'</td>
<td>llaven 'he went'</td>
<td>iel-lo 'together'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mimehancoua 'if you want it'</td>
<td>Pedrova 'Pedro (topic)'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I shall'</td>
<td>a chechovoctan 'I shall'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aniglesiauoctan 'I shall'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
build a church’  make silver’  watch the way’

\[\text{goleuuch ‘lover’} \quad \text{acoleuuch ‘my lover’} \quad -\]

\[\text{yip ‘house’} \quad \text{yel-lo ‘together’} \quad \text{yam ‘punishment’} \quad \text{ayoyoctan ‘I shall cry’} \quad \text{yuch ‘edible plant’}\]

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 \(n\)\(y\) and \(n\)\(y\)\(š\), 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 \(okon\) + the numeral classifiers \(tuh ‘detachable object’\) and \(šuŋ ‘accumulation’, respectively.

\[
\begin{align*}
pp & \quad \text{ippok} & \text{‘two times’} \\
tp & \quad \text{kotpaŋ} & \text{‘he is not’} \\
\tilde{q}p & \quad \text{içpok} & \text{‘three times’} \\
kp & \quad \text{-l'akpat} & \text{‘for the sake of’} \\
t'p & \quad \text{t'i mitspalekian} & \text{‘the rain comes down from everywhere’} \\
sp & \quad \text{meʃ uspit} & \text{‘and the boat’} \\
šp & \quad \text{kiʃpoktehewa} & \text{‘in order to liberate/save us’} \\
hp & \quad \text{mohtpaŋ} & \text{‘he has not come’} \\
mp & \quad \text{ohompat} & \text{‘with idleness’} \\
np & \quad \text{numpulču} & \text{‘boy’} \\
n'p & \quad \text{kon'pi} & \text{‘till here, not any further’} \\
tp & \quad \text{appiy} & \text{‘I got him’} \\
lp & \quad \text{olpit} & \text{‘whoever’} \\
t'p & \quad \text{keʃ pak} & \text{‘surrounding(s)’} \\
wpt & \quad \text{luwwapat} & \text{‘with sorrow’} \\
yp & \quad \text{asinaypit'ə} & \text{‘I did not hear it’} \\
pt & \quad \text{atuptaŋ} & \text{‘I shall walk’} \\
tt & \quad \text{akotte} & \text{‘I shall be’} \\
\tilde{a}t & \quad \text{mahače} & \text{‘at night’} \\
kt & \quad \text{aktaŋ} & \text{‘I am’} \\
t't & \quad \text{čkolečt'əŋ} & \text{‘they will be loved’} \\
st & \quad \text{amistehe} & \text{‘that I buy’} \\
št & \quad \text{neštek} & \text{‘his cloth’}
\end{align*}
\]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ht</td>
<td>ašhataŋ</td>
<td>‘I shall drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mt</td>
<td>putamte</td>
<td>‘in the village’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nt</td>
<td>palantu</td>
<td>‘banana’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ţt</td>
<td>aţteŋ</td>
<td>‘I hold’, ‘I maintain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lřt</td>
<td>ana peltem</td>
<td>‘in how many days?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lřt</td>
<td>čepiľte</td>
<td>‘in their fyke net’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wt</td>
<td>owtu</td>
<td>‘far away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yt</td>
<td>aye!</td>
<td>‘quiet!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pče</td>
<td>ipče</td>
<td>‘two round things’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tče</td>
<td>atčan</td>
<td>‘one bundle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kče</td>
<td>kiočče</td>
<td>‘five round things’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sče</td>
<td>mosču</td>
<td>‘little’, ‘small’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šče</td>
<td>kilšče</td>
<td>‘seven round things’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hče</td>
<td>pehču</td>
<td>‘a little bit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mče</td>
<td>mumičan</td>
<td>‘you gather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nče</td>
<td>inčam?</td>
<td>‘what?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nře</td>
<td>inončetŋ</td>
<td>‘I don’t know where/how’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lče</td>
<td>nunpulču</td>
<td>‘little boy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lřče</td>
<td>maalčo</td>
<td>‘there is no more’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yče</td>
<td>seycuŋ</td>
<td>‘he is converted’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pk</td>
<td>kipkol’aŋ</td>
<td>‘you (f) love us’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sk</td>
<td>askan</td>
<td>‘I laugh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šk</td>
<td>piškam</td>
<td>‘jar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hk</td>
<td>ašihkolatŋ</td>
<td>‘I finish drinking’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mk</td>
<td>yamkyla</td>
<td>‘diligent’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ţk</td>
<td>ţko</td>
<td>‘this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lk</td>
<td>ma pulkup</td>
<td>‘late at night’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lřk</td>
<td>puľkit</td>
<td>‘gold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wk</td>
<td>awka</td>
<td>‘enemy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yk</td>
<td>akipole</td>
<td>‘is there someone who ...?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ptř</td>
<td>ipřok</td>
<td>‘six’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ktř</td>
<td>kioktel</td>
<td>‘five truncal objects’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sřt</td>
<td>ist’el</td>
<td>‘three truncal objects’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šřt</td>
<td>kiliš’el</td>
<td>‘seven truncal objects’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mtř</td>
<td>mil emt’appaknake</td>
<td>‘they would not have helped you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nřt</td>
<td>ant’el</td>
<td>‘one truncal object’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nřt</td>
<td>okon’el</td>
<td>‘nine truncal objects’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wrř</td>
<td>il’owři</td>
<td>‘he hit him’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yrř</td>
<td>eyr’a</td>
<td>‘meat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ps</td>
<td>apopsahiyhena</td>
<td>‘that I committed them’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ks</td>
<td>maksiytaj</td>
<td>‘he will be rejoiced’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ms</td>
<td>čimsoy</td>
<td>‘they were born’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ns</td>
<td>amonsey</td>
<td>‘my tongue’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n’s</td>
<td>inkimin’ sima†</td>
<td>‘entirely so’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l’s</td>
<td>kal sokhe</td>
<td>‘with pleasure’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pš</td>
<td>ipšuy</td>
<td>‘two heaps’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ġš</td>
<td>ițišuy</td>
<td>‘three piles, heaps, settlements’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kš</td>
<td>kiokišuy</td>
<td>‘five piles, heaps, settlements’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hš</td>
<td>asinahišpey</td>
<td>‘I scarcely hear it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mš</td>
<td>tamše</td>
<td>‘grindstone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nš</td>
<td>ar’anšipay</td>
<td>‘I make haste’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lš</td>
<td>loše</td>
<td>‘Spaniard(s)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l’š</td>
<td>apuíšipay</td>
<td>‘I nearly fell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ph</td>
<td>iphil</td>
<td>‘two words’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th</td>
<td>kothu</td>
<td>‘that he is’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēh</td>
<td>-(a)čehe</td>
<td>‘it is said that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kh</td>
<td>makhay</td>
<td>‘felicity’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r’h</td>
<td>loif’he</td>
<td>‘may it be done’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sh</td>
<td>mešesha</td>
<td>‘your alfalfa’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šh</td>
<td>mišašha</td>
<td>‘your (p) armadillo’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hh</td>
<td>aloksbhu</td>
<td>‘that I finish doing it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mh</td>
<td>mikesumha</td>
<td>‘your (p) nose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nh</td>
<td>ńinha</td>
<td>‘his life’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n’h</td>
<td>česmin’ he</td>
<td>‘your (p) cedar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭh</td>
<td>tophu</td>
<td>‘that he is seated’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lh</td>
<td>kolhe</td>
<td>‘that he dies’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l’h</td>
<td>aš’hi</td>
<td>‘happiness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wh</td>
<td>mumkup’ewha</td>
<td>‘your (p) passion fruit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yh</td>
<td>mítotçeyhař</td>
<td>‘you (p) wander’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pm</td>
<td>ńupmaŋ</td>
<td>‘in a bath’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tm</td>
<td>kotmaŋ</td>
<td>‘in the sea’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēm</td>
<td>kočni</td>
<td>‘sea’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>km</td>
<td>lékmaŋ</td>
<td>‘underneath’, ‘at the bottom’, ‘at the lowerside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’m</td>
<td>kit’mey</td>
<td>‘our work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sm</td>
<td>česmin’</td>
<td>‘cedar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šm</td>
<td>ašmaŋ</td>
<td>‘first’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hm</td>
<td>ašihmulaŋ</td>
<td>‘I start drinking’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mm</td>
<td>inčamma</td>
<td>‘what is the matter, man?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nm</td>
<td>n’amman</td>
<td>‘in the sight/face of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lm</td>
<td>nunlolmanap</td>
<td>‘of the men’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wm</td>
<td>masowmaško</td>
<td>‘birth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
<td>Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<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>tn</td>
<td>kōtnap</td>
<td>‘because’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēn</td>
<td>mihāčnik</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>amohnaŋ</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>ūn</td>
<td>maḥalnapiť</td>
<td>‘not much’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wn</td>
<td>čownikal'</td>
<td>‘lousy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yn</td>
<td>oyna</td>
<td>‘health’, ‘healthy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τŋ</td>
<td>atpiy</td>
<td>‘I was seated’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>κŋ</td>
<td>kekputiyte</td>
<td>‘where we were’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēŋ</td>
<td>mipoējiy</td>
<td>‘you released them’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>iplek</td>
<td>‘twenty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tl</td>
<td>šokotolote</td>
<td>‘in the mouth of the river’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēl</td>
<td>mišay çašpo</td>
<td>‘that they whip you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kl</td>
<td>takla</td>
<td>‘variety of armadillo’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'l</td>
<td>yam kiošlam</td>
<td>‘punishment’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sl</td>
<td>asla</td>
<td>‘my wife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šl</td>
<td>išliw</td>
<td>‘three different things’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hl</td>
<td>ahlāŋ</td>
<td>‘I speak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ml</td>
<td>amluŋoŋ</td>
<td>‘I laugh at you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nl</td>
<td>mainle</td>
<td>‘not yet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'l</td>
<td>ĉir'le</td>
<td>‘is he dapple?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūl</td>
<td>meplẹntaŋ</td>
<td>‘I shall bring’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ll</td>
<td>t'alle</td>
<td>‘is it black?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūl</td>
<td>maḥaliliw</td>
<td>‘many shall bring’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ws</td>
<td>sowla</td>
<td>‘they dug it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yl</td>
<td>kapuluwayla</td>
<td>‘they humiliated us’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl'</td>
<td>čap' oŋ</td>
<td>‘pan’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sl'</td>
<td>Dios'akpat</td>
<td>‘because of God’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hl'</td>
<td>miḥem</td>
<td>‘your friend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nl'</td>
<td>an' ô</td>
<td>‘my pupil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl'</td>
<td>amip'akte</td>
<td>‘around me’, ‘in my neighbourhood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ll'</td>
<td>nunoll'akpat</td>
<td>‘because of the men’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yl'</td>
<td>ĉekiti'akpat</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'
gael 'angel'
anima 'soul'
ayuna 'fast'
baptismo/baptisay 'baptism'
doktrina 'doctrine'
domingo 'sunday'
elofante 'elephant'
espiritu 'spirit'
fiero 'iron'
fiesta 'feast'
fiskal 'public prosecutor'
grasia/gratia 'grace'
ha'c 'axe'
hostia 'Eucharist'
iglesia 'church'
kaba'o 'horse'
kalis 'chalice'
kandelak 'candle'
kaza 'cape'
karesma 'Lent'
kasaraq/kasalaq 'marriage'
kastigaq 'punishment'
konfesaq/konfesion 'confession'
konsegrasion 'consecration'
kruz 'cross'
kuči
‘pig’
kučil’o
‘knife’
kwatrottemporas
‘Ember day’
lisensia
‘licence’
limosna
‘alms’
lunes
‘monday’
mesa
‘table’
misa
‘mass’
mula
‘mule’
oilo
‘oil’
pagalañ
‘payment’
palantu
‘banana’
papayu
‘papaya’
Pasko
‘Easter’
patili
‘father’
penitensia
‘penance’
perdoñ/perdonañ
‘pardon’
real
‘coin’, ‘money’
resañ
‘prayer’
sábado
‘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:

al’aw
‘exclamation of pain’
apichiak
‘hundred’
awka
‘enemy’
ayča, eit’a
‘meat’
kamañ
‘order’
kamayok
‘keeper’
kapak
‘ruler’
kita
‘wild’, ‘savage’
kuka
‘coca leaves’
| lasu, rasu | ‘hail’ |
| musañ | ‘honour’ |
| apey | ‘deaf-mute’ |
| supey | ‘devil’ |
| tanta | ‘bread’ |
| uc’ | ‘hot pepper’ |
| ura | ‘baby’ |
| ur’a | ‘sin’ |
| waranga | ‘thousand’ |
| yupey | ‘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:**
- Esteván
- Francisco
- Juan
- Juana
- Luis
- Malia/ Maria
- Martin
- Pedro

**Friars:**
- Esteván Araujo, Joseph de
- Francisco Clota, Gerónimo
- Juan Gutierres de Porres, Francisco
- Juana Mata, Pedro de la

**Names of places:**
- Apizoncho (Ch)
- Belem
- Chalamuy (Ch) ‘Junta de Tigres’
- Chillancuy (Ch)
- Chillonya (H) ‘Arbol’
- España
- Huaylillas
- Israel
- Itziuat (Ch)
- Jallipñatch (Ch) ‘Cerro de Palo Fuerte’
- Jopeyte (Ch) ‘Tierra como Sangre’
- Juanjui (H)
- Lima

- Ochahache (H)
- Pisana
- Pucala
- Putonya (H) ‘Arbol’
- San Buenaventura del Valle
- Soledad
- Truxillo
- Uitchinaman (Ch) ‘Palma Real’
- Xenquiman (Ch) ‘Yervas’
- Xuiñante (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 ?. 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>Ñgoli-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-ñgup
Tronco  Sangoch
Rama  Puchup
Flor  Ñuñap
Fruto  Queniya
Yerva  Pullo
Agua  Quőt
Mar  Socotloł
Rio  Quőt-ysoqueqt
Olas  Ygixsimam
Lluvia  Llisiac
Pez o Pescado  Asua

7.2. Word list of Tessmann

German:  Cholón:
Tscholon  Seeptsá
1. Zunge  kimonzéi
2. Zahn  kulu
3. Auge  kinjelsé
4. Ohr  mikitíu
5. Kopf  mutsitsé
6. Hand  kinén
7. Wasser  köta
8. Feuer  utmō
9. Sonne  musāpo
10. Mond  pel
11. Erde (Erdboden)  peij
12. Stein  tā
13. Haus (Wohn-)  hīp (hīpo)
14. Topf (Koch-)  tsaplión
15. Kanu  melies
16. Mann  lūno (lun)
17. Frau  hilá
18. Huhn  ateljwá
19. Hund  aljgó
20. Jaguar  hğu
21. Tapir  sas
22. Kaiman  - [lagarto]
23. Stock  
24. Maniok  
25. Mais  
26. Plante  
27. Tabak  
28. eins  
29. zwei  
30. drei  
31. weiss  
32. schwarz  
33. rot  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stock</th>
<th>Maniok</th>
<th>Mais</th>
<th>Plante</th>
<th>Tabak</th>
<th>eins</th>
<th>zwei</th>
<th>drei</th>
<th>weiss</th>
<th>schwarz</th>
<th>rot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mes</td>
<td>ul</td>
<td>kas</td>
<td>pandtū</td>
<td>masuū</td>
<td>answul</td>
<td>hipswul</td>
<td>hieswūl</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>ljagaulj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3. Data of Greenberg

"Andean Etymologies", pp. 100 - 106

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arrow</th>
<th>Aunt</th>
<th>Bad</th>
<th>Bird</th>
<th>Brother</th>
<th>Come</th>
<th>Die</th>
<th>Earth</th>
<th>Eat</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Food</th>
<th>Hurt</th>
<th>Inside</th>
<th>Laugh</th>
<th>Leg</th>
<th>Man</th>
<th>Mouth</th>
<th>Nose</th>
<th>Sea</th>
<th>See</th>
<th>Sister</th>
<th>Star</th>
<th>Sweet</th>
<th>Water</th>
<th>Worm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ujk</td>
<td>pan</td>
<td>išivāx</td>
<td>kumkoči</td>
<td>azot</td>
<td>(či-)pza-n</td>
<td>mi-kol</td>
<td>puts (Hivito)</td>
<td>a-mok</td>
<td>kuč</td>
<td>sak</td>
<td>kama</td>
<td>-man</td>
<td>kolxam (Hivito)</td>
<td>a-čel</td>
<td>num, non</td>
<td>lol</td>
<td>čul-nik</td>
<td>omium</td>
<td>a-mmaj-č-an</td>
<td>akiňiu</td>
<td>pel</td>
<td>aňhi</td>
<td>kot, kota</td>
<td>laua</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"The Dictionary", pp. 194 - 267

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Black</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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/ mexl ‘female’ and šalan/ šala ‘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 āmyo. According to the former āmyo means ‘tiger’, according to latter it means a ‘red kind of monkey’.
### 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'
- **inça milan mišoktek!**
  - 'come and drink some chicha!'
- **kigolole apšup!**
  - 'what a beautiful baby!'
- **kiphe?**
  - 'the fan!' (please)
- **hit'ak mišoktek!**
  - 'come and drink some chicha!'
- **mőnte kilaktejo žane žane!**
  - 'let’s go to the forest to make love!'
- **mišiktek kot!**
  - 'come and drink some water!'
- **waliw!**
  - 'how beautiful!'

#### Man and nature:

- **apš up**
  - 'son'
- **hila**
  - 'woman'
- **kot**
  - 'water'
- **mušak**
  - 'sun'
- **mën**
  - 'man'
- **pey**
  - 'tierra'

#### Body parts:

- **ali lol**
  - 'prepuce'
- **miliš šuš**
  - 'festering penis'
- **ćepončē**
  - 'testicles'
- **ćel**
  - 'foot'
- **ćučē**
  - 'head'
- **kitiw**
  - 'ear'
- **liņ**
  - 'penis'
- **liptu?**
  - 'neck'
- **lōl**
  - 'mouth'
- **mont ey**
  - 'tongue'
- **n’ačē**
  - 'eyes'
- **n’ašlo? n’ašl’o?**
  - 'eyes', 'mouth'
- **n’áwi**
  - 'eyes'
- **n’aču**
  - 'eyelash'
- **pešl ey' pešl iw**
  - 'penis'

#### Domestic animals:

- **al’ go**
  - 'dog'
- **atelba/ atel ba**
  - 'chicken'
- **atelba mušup**
  - 'poult'
- **atelba mun**
  - 'cock'
- **kal’ gał’**
  - 'turkey'
### Non-domestic animals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kaláŋgal hila?</th>
<th>‘female turkey’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kaláŋgal mof up</td>
<td>‘small turkey’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaláŋgal nun</td>
<td>‘male turkey’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuči</td>
<td>‘pig’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuči mufup</td>
<td>‘piglet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L’u?</td>
<td>‘turkey poult’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pangala</td>
<td>‘turkey’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waga</td>
<td>‘cow’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Ayčokuta/ Peykuta/? Seykuta?

| Aymyo           | ‘tapir’          |
| Čaš             | ‘tiger’          |
| Habok           | sachavaaca       |
| Huñt’ego        | ‘snail’          |
| Košwe           | ‘opossum’        |
| Mošta           | ‘monkey’         |
| Liš             | ‘toad’           |
| O. Ḥum           | ‘small white kind of monkey’ |
| Šobela?         | ‘tiger’          |
| Sup             | ‘deer’           |
| Yamu            | ‘boar’           |
| Yap             | ‘armadillo’      |

### Aquatic animals:

| Ašwa            | ‘fish’           |
| L’al’pi         | ‘kind of freshwater fish’ |
| Poŋ             | ‘kind of freshwater fish’ |
| Šaš muji        | ‘small aquatic kind of armadillo’ |
| Sunabi          | ‘kind of freshwater fish’ |
| Tolo?           | ‘kind of freshwater fish’ |

### Flora:

| Pantu           | ‘banana’ (< Sp. plátano) |
| Kis             | ‘kind of fruit’         |
| U:1             | ‘yucca’                |

### Household and feasts:

| Čapf onŋ         | ‘earthenware pot’       |
| Kibak tios      | ‘God’                   |
| Kéna            | ‘sort of drum’          |
| Koxlam          | ‘small jar’             |
Hibito:

alkusew  ‘kind of fish’
ane ane boroktek mónte kilaktejo!  ‘let’s go to the forest to make love!’
(Cholon: mónte kilaktejo ənə ənə, above)
köšwe  ‘medicinal plant (used against rheumatism)’
kotokčik  ‘kind of fish’ (cf. Ch. tolo?)
mul’up hila!  ‘hail when addressing to a girl with the intention to court her’
n’avli  ‘eyes’
palänča  ‘(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’ap kumali!  ‘see you soon, friend!’ (< Sp. ‘hasta luego comadre!’)
hãne, hãne, haboktek mónte kilaktejo!  ‘let’s go to the forest to make love!’
hisak mišiktek kumbati!  ‘come and drink some chicha, friend!’
kilaktejo!  ‘let’s go!’
oy!  ‘o.k.!’
šixya!  ‘drink!’

Man and nature:
asot  ‘brother’
ges nun  ‘old man’
hila ges  ‘old woman’
kot  ‘water’
palan  ‘Francisco’
yul  ‘salt’

Body parts (+ infirmities and characteristics):
阿里  ‘penis’
...}

Household:
apf on
koxlam
piškam
lol piškam
tuš

Flora:
n'yun'a
pantu
ul

Domestic animals:
á:l ygo
á:l ygo šal ygo
atélba muš up
kal kal
kal kal mexl am
kuč
pangala
yup

Non-domestic animals:
abogala?
ámyo: h/ámyo: h

'prepuce'
'fester 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
habok
ho:w
ka?ík/katsik
kośwe?
kaš
kutak/ k?uta?
liš
lopkatsik
migijiw
seykuta?
sup
yamu?
yamu hila
yap
yušam

Aquatic animals:
ašwa
'fish'
l'aypi
'kind of freshwater fish'
poj
'kind of freshwater fish'
sajiw
'crab'
šaš
'aquatic armadillo'
šaš muji?
'small aquatic armadillo'
sunabi
'kind of freshwater fish'
ta?kla
'kind of freshwater fish'

Terms of abuses:
altip mondoses pápa
'penis like a peeled potato'
sal'ap ga?a
'lazy people'
waga mexl'amsa!
'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-yosokot</td>
<td>père</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arbre</td>
<td>frère</td>
<td>azot</td>
<td>pleurer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boire</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>keniya</td>
<td>pluie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ciel</td>
<td>gai</td>
<td>augilubaktam</td>
<td>poisson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coeur</td>
<td>herbe</td>
<td>pullo</td>
<td>rameau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dieu (espagnol)</td>
<td>homme</td>
<td>num</td>
<td>régner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>douleur</td>
<td>lune</td>
<td>peel</td>
<td>soeur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eau</td>
<td>kot</td>
<td>manger</td>
<td>soleil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>amok</td>
<td>musak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>étoiles</td>
<td>ke-nac</td>
<td>mer</td>
<td>sokotlol</td>
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<td>--------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>femme</td>
<td>yla</td>
<td>mère</td>
<td>appan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feu</td>
<td>vet</td>
<td>mort</td>
<td>mikol</td>
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<td>fille</td>
<td>añu</td>
<td>mourir</td>
<td>ñgoli-co</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fils</td>
<td>apul</td>
<td>oiseau</td>
<td>zuksill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fleur</td>
<td>ñuñap</td>
<td>ondes</td>
<td>ypixsimam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Noordoost-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 Gerónimo 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 morfonomologie. 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 null-nominalizeerder 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 ontkennin. 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