Universiteit Leiden
The Netherlands

Eighteenth-century Cholón

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Citation

Alexander- Bakkerus, A. (2005, December 12). *Eighteenth-century Cholón*. *LOT dissertation series*. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3772

Version:	Not Applicable (or Unknown)
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Downloaded from:	https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3772

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Eighteenth-Century Cholón

Published by
LOT
Trans 10
3512 JK Utrecht
The Netherlands

phone: +31 30 253 6006
fax: +31 30 253 6000
e-mail: lot@let.uu.nl
http://wwwlot.let.uu.nl/

Cover illustration: H. Alexander, Oerwoudimpressie.

ISBN 90-76864-86-1
NUR 632

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EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CHOLÓN

Proefschrift
ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus Dr. D.D. Breimer,
hoogleraar in de faculteit der Wiskunde en
Natuurwetenschappen en die der Geneeskunde,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op maandag 12 december 2005
klokke 15.15

door

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

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Acknowledgements

This book has been achieved thanks to the assistance of a number of institutions, and the support of many people.

I am greatly indebted to the Netherlands Foundation for the Advancement of Tropical Studies (WOTRO) and to the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) for their financial support. WOTRO granted me a travelling scholarship which gave me the opportunity to be put in contact with Cholón descendants and to record some Cholón lexical items and expressions. NWO awarded me a replacement grant enabling me to take a sabbatical year for the elaboration of this book and to carry out research in several libraries in the USA. I am equally indebted to Research School of Asian, African, and American Studies (CNWS) for their hospitality and for the many facilities provided during the sabbatical year, such as a quiet, well-equipped place to work; and to the Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (LUCL), which generously defrayed the costs of the printing of this book, and facilitated and helped with editing. I also owe special thanks to the Phonetics Laboratory of Leiden University for the assistance provided with regard to the analysis of the recordings made in Peru.

Many thanks are owed to the people in Peru who received me so friendly and who willingly gave me all kind of information: Sr. Reynaldo Bao Ritchle, mayor of Juanjui; Sr. Wilson León Bazán, librarian; Sra. Cirila Cabrera Avila, my guide in Tingo María and Monzón; Prof. Dr. Luís Jaime Cisneros, professor at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú; Sr. Guillermo Pahuelo Storko; Sr. Wilson Pérez Iglesias; Dr. Víctor Antonio Rodríguez Suy Suy; Sr. Silverio Rodríguez De la Matta; Sr. Alberto Ruíz Tuesta, my guide in Juanjui and surroundings; Dr. Gustavo Solís Fonseca, director of the Centro de Investigación de Lingüística Aplicada of the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos; Dr. David John Weber; Dr. Mary Ruth Wise; Sra. Martha Pérez Valderrama and her daughter Karina Angulo Pérez; and, most of all, Sra. Aurelia Gutiérrez Cerquera and Mr. José Santos Chappa Ponce, who tried as hard as they could to remember the language once spoken by their grandparents and who kindly shared their knowledge of this language with me.

With thankfulness and pleasure I recall the many signs of interest and the many pieces of advice given during congresses, workshops and talks, or during informal discussions held after these meetings, by those concerned with indigenous languages all over the world. Their expressions of concern and valuable instructions formed a source of inspiration.

I am most grateful to my friends and my beloved family, my children Varja and Arvid in particular, for their deep-rooted conviction in my capacities, and for their sympathy and empathy. Their faith and encouragements meant a lot to me. It helped me, in moments of despair, not to abandon, but to continue. Most thanks I owe to Halewijn Alexander, who most actively assisted me. The moments in which I was mentally absent and in which he had to share my attention with this book were countless. I thank him for his practical assistance, his understanding and his moral support.

In loving memory of my uncle Frederik H. Hermans
and my mother Mary

Table of contents

Abbreviations and symbols 17

1. Introduction 21
   1.1 Linguistic data 21
   1.2. Affiliation and classification 22
   1.3. Structure of the book 24
2. The Cholón people 27
   2.1. Sources 27
   2.2. Main features of the Cholón 28
   2.3. Habitat and living conditions 29
      2.3.1. Housing 30
      2.3.2. Fishing and hunting 30
      2.3.3. Farming 31
      2.3.4. Trade 32
   2.4. Cholón and Híbito territories 33
      2.4.1. Habitat and speakers 34
      2.4.2. Descendants 39
3. The *Arte de la Lengua Cholona,* a colonial grammar 41
   3.1. Introduction 41
   3.2. The manuscript 41
      3.2.1. History 41
      3.2.2. Characteristics 42
      3.2.3. Hands and transcribers 42
   3.3. The description of Cholón 43
      3.3.1. Spelling 44
      3.3.2. Purpose and register 44
      3.3.3. Tradition and model 45
4. Sounds and symbols 51
   4.1. Introduction 51
      4.1.1. Pedro de la Mata's observations on the symbols 51
         4.1.1.1. Evaluation 53
      4.1.2. Symbols employed 54
      4.1.3. Conclusion 56
   4.2. Vowel symbols 56
      4.2.1. Introduction 56
      4.2.2. Symbol *a* 58
      4.2.3. Symbol *i/y* 58
      4.2.4. Symbol *u* 60
      4.2.5. Symbols *e* and *o* 61
         4.2.5.1. Symbol *e* 61
            4.2.5.1.1. Positions and use 66
         4.2.5.2. Symbol *o* 67

4.2.5.2.1. Positions and use 70
4.2.6. Evaluation: tables and diagrams 70
4.2.7. Sequences of similar vowel symbols 72
4.2.7.1. *aa* sequences 73
4.2.7.2. *ee* sequences 74
4.2.7.3. *ii* sequences 75
4.2.7.4. *oo* sequences 78
4.2.7.5. *uu* sequences 79
4.2.7.6. Conclusion 80
4.2.8. Diphthongs 81
4.3. Consonant symbols 83
4.3.1. Introduction 83
4.3.2. The symbols *b, hu, u/v* 84
4.3.3. The symbols *c, qu, k* 86
4.3.4. The symbol *ch* 87
4.3.4.1. The symbol *ch* without replacement 87
4.3.4.2. The symbol *ch* with replacement 88
4.3.4.3. The symbols *tz* and *z* as substitutes for *ch* 90
4.3.5. The symbol *i/y* 92
4.3.6. The symbols *l, ll* 92
4.3.7. The symbols *m, n, ñ/n̂*, and *nc* 93
4.3.8. The symbols *p, t* 95
4.3.9. The symbols *s/z, x* 96
4.3.10. The symbols *g, h, j* 97
4.3.10.1. The symbol *g* 98
4.3.10.2. The symbol *h* 99
4.3.10.3. The symbol *j* 100
4.3.11. Pedro de la Mata's guttural 100
4.3.12. Sequences of similar consonant symbols 102
4.4. The transcription of loan words 104
4.5. The use of diacritics 106
4.6. Concluding remarks 107
4.6.1. The consonant symbols and their most likely value 107
4.6.2. Inventory of consonants 109
4.6.3. Distinctiveand non-distinctive differences 109
4.7. A practical spelling 111
5. Morphonology 113
5.1. Introduction 113
5.2. Syllable structure 113
5.3. Consonant clusters 114
5.4. Vowel harmony and suppression in non-borrowed forms 117
5.4.1. Vowel harmony 117
5.4.2. Vowel suppression 121
5.5. Stem alternation 122

5.6. Consonant dissimilation and assimilation 126
5.7. Morphonological processes in loan words 127
6. Nominal morphosyntax 129
6.1. Introduction 129
6.2. Possessive person markers 129
6.3. Collective marker 133
6.4. Suffixes 133
6.4.1. Anteriority marker -*(k)e* 133
6.4.2. Case markers 135
6.4.2.1. Ablative -*(a)p* 135
6.4.2.2. Benefactive -*he* 136
6.4.2.3. Terminative -*le* 136
6.4.2.4. Inessive -*man* 137
6.4.2.5. Comparative -*(mi)n*^{y} 137
6.4.2.6. Perlative -*nake* 138
6.4.2.7. Prolative -*nayme* 139
6.4.2.8. Comitative -*nik* 139
6.4.2.9. Instrumental -*pat* 140
6.4.2.10. Allative -*pi* 141
6.4.2.11. Non-personal adessive -*te* 142
6.4.2.12. Personal adessive -*tu* 143
6.4.3. Fixed combinations 143
6.4.3.1. Suffix combination -*man-ap* ‘ablative’ 143
6.4.3.2. Suffix combination -*pat-le* ‘terminative’ 144
6.4.3.3. Suffix combinations -*te-p* ‘instrumental’, ‘elative’ 145
6.4.3.4. Suffix combination -*tu-p* ‘agent’, ‘focus’; ‘source’; ‘from someone’s house or place’; ‘at’ 146
6.4.3.4.1. Suffix combination -*tu-p* ‘agent’, ‘focus’ 146
6.4.3.4.2. Suffix combination -*tu-p* ‘source’ 148
6.4.3.4.3. Suffix combination -*tu-p* ‘from someone’s house or place’ 149
6.4.3.4.4. Suffix combination -*tu-p* in temporal expressions 149
6.4.3.5. Suffix combination -*tu-p-e* ‘provenance’ 149
6.4.4. Overviews 150
6.4.5. Other suffixes 151
6.4.5.1. Restrictive -*(a)l*^{y} 151
6.4.5.2. Diminutive -*ču* 153
6.4.5.3. Plural marker -*lol* 154
6.4.5.4. Adjectivizer -*(k)o* 155
6.4.5.5. Indefinite -*pit* 155
6.4.5.6. Natural pair marker -*pul*^{y}*eŋ* 156
6.4.5.7. Overview 157
6.5. Personal pronouns 158

6.6. Periphrastic possessive pronouns 158
6.7. Demonstratives 159
6.7.1. Demonstratives *ko, iŋko, pe* 160
6.7.2. Demonstrative pronoun *into-ŋko* 161
6.8. Question words 162
6.8.1. Interrogative stem *ana* 162
6.8.2. Interrogative *inča* 165
6.8.3. Interrogative stem *into* 167
6.8.4. Interrogative demonstrative pronoun *into-ŋko* 169
6.8.5. Interrogative pronoun *ol* 169
6.8.6. Conclusion 170
6.9. Indefinite pronouns 172
6.9.1. Indefinite pronoun *alum* 172
6.9.2. Indefinite pronoun *an-t^{s}el* 173
6.9.3. Indefinite pronoun *inča* 173
6.9.4. Indefinite pronoun *mek* 174
6.9.5. Indefinite pronoun *n^{y}anmak* 175
6.9.6. Indefinite pronoun *ol* 176
6.10. Numerals and classifiers 176
6.10.1. Cardinal, ordinal and distributive numbers 177
6.10.2. Numeral classifiers 179
6.11. Derived nouns 182
6.12. Nominal constructions 184
6.12.1. Genitive constructions 184
6.12.2. Adjectival use of nouns 185
6.12.3. Comparison 188
6.12.4. Gender indication 190
6.12.5. Number 191
7. Verbal morphosyntax 193
7.1. Introduction 193
7.2. Personal reference 196
7.2.1. Subject markers 202
7.2.2. Agent markers 205
7.2.3. Object markers 208
7.2.4. Prefix order 210
7.2.5. Applicative 211
7.2.6. Person markers *t-* and *p-/ m-* 213
7.2.7. Overview 214
7.3. Stems 214
7.3.1. Reducible stems 215
7.3.2. Irregularities 222
7.3.3. Compound stems 232
7.3.3.1. Compound stems formed by means of a noun 232
7.3.3.2. Compound stems formed by means of a bound verb 233

7.3.4. Derived stems 237
7.3.4.1. Derivational suffix -*it*ˢ ‘passive’ 238
7.3.4.2. Derivational suffix -*ka(h)* ‘indirect causative’ 239
7.3.4.3. Derivational suffix -*(k)e(h)* ‘causative’ 239
7.3.4.4. Derivational suffix -*(k)ia(h)* ‘reiterative’ 240
7.3.4.5. Derivational suffix -*n(o)* ‘reflexive’ 241
7.3.4.6. Excursus on the passive voice 241
7.4. Inflexional suffixes 242
7.4.1. Incompletive aspect marker -*(a)ŋ* 242
7.4.2. Stem extension and past tense markers 243
7.4.2.1. Stem extender and past tense marker -*(i)y/-w* 243
7.4.2.2. Stem extender and past tense marker -*(e)y* 246
7.4.3. Anteriority marker -*(k)e* 248
7.4.4. Future marker -*(k)t(e)* 249
7.4.5. Imperative markers -*(k)(i)* and -*(k)he* 250
7.4.6. Nominalizers 251
7.4.6.1. Nominalizer -*(e)č* ‘factivizer’ 252
7.4.6.2. Nominalizer -*(k)te* ‘infinitive’ 253
7.4.6.3. Nominalizer -*lam* ‘future nominalizer 1' 255
7.4.6.4. Nominalizer -(*ŋ)o* ‘future nominalizer 2' 258
7.4.6.5. Nominalizer -*(w)uč* ‘agentive’ 263
7.4.6.6. Deictics *ko* and *iŋko* 263
7.4.6.6.1. Nominalizer -*ko* 264
7.4.6.6.2. Nominalizer -*iŋko* 265
7.4.6.7. Overview 266
7.4.7. Subordinators 268
7.4.7.1. Subordinator -*hu* ‘different subjects’ 268
7.4.7.2. Subordinator -*(k)he* ‘simultaneity’ 270
7.4.7.3. Subordinator -*(n)ap* ‘sequence’ 271
7.4.7.4. Subordinator -*((k)t-)eč* ‘purpose’ 274
7.4.7.5. Overview 274
7.4.8. Finite verb forms followed by case markers 275
7.4.8.1. Case marker -*(lʸak-)pat* ‘because’ 276
7.4.8.2. Case marker -*(lʸak-)te-p* ‘after’; ‘as’, ‘like’; ‘because’ 277
7.4.8.3. Case marker -*man-ap* ‘after’; ‘besides’; ‘than (in comparisons)’ 277
7.4.8.4. Case marker -*(mi)nʸ* ‘as’, ‘like’; on the verge of’ 278
7.4.8.5. Case marker -*te* ‘when’, ‘where’ 279
7.5. Impersonal verbs 279
7.6. Neutral verbs 280
7.7. Verbs derived from nouns 280
7.8. Fixed expressions 281
8. Adverbs 287
8.1. Underived adverbs 287

8.2. Adverbalizer -*(a)lʸ* 293
9. Interjections 295
10. Discourse markers 301
10.1. Speech markers 301
10.1.1. Reportative -*(a)č* 301
10.1.2. Indirect speech marker -*he* 303
10.1.2. Quotative -*na* 303
10.2. Exclamation markers 305
10.2.1. Exclamation marker -*a(h)* 305
10.2.2. Exclamation marker -*ham* 305
10.2.3. Exclamation markers -*nah* and -*nay* 306
10.3. Question markers 306
10.3.1. Question marker -*(a)m, -wam* 306
10.3.2. Question marker -*le* 307
10.3.3. Question marker -*na* 308
10.4. Vocative markers -*ey* and -*pey*; -*ma* and -*pa* 309
10.5. Emphasis marker -*sim* 309
10.6. Topic marker -*(w)a* 310
10.7. Adverbial markers -*ate, -čin, -čo, -čot, -hin, -in, -mok* 313
10.8. Co-ordinator -*pit* 316
11. Negation 319
11.1. Negator *ma* 319
11.2. Negator -*čin* 320
11.3. Negator -*mu* 321
11.4. Negator -*na-* 321
11.5. Negator -*nik* 322
11.6. The use of -*čin*, -*mu, -nik* 322
11.7. Negator -*(p)e* 323
12. Complex sentences 329
12.1. Co-ordination 329
12.1.1. Juxtaposition 329
12.1.2. Co-ordinator -*pit* 330
12.2. Correlation 332
12.3. Subordination 333
12.4. Relative clauses 341
12.5. Nominal predicate constructions 344
12.6. Irrealis or hypothetical clauses 345
13. Dictionary 347
13.1. Introduction 347
13.2. Lexicon 349
References 375
Index of authors and subjects 381
Appendices 391
1. Maps 391

2. Folios 396
3. Overview of the Cholón forms and examples encountered in the *ALC* 399
3.1 Cholón phrases, words, morphemes found in the different books, chapters, paragraphs of the *ALC* 399
3.2 Declination of the noun *hayu* 'man' and conjugation of the verbs *k(o)t* 'to be', *ŋole*/*ŋolʸ* 'to love someone/something', and *menʸ(o)* 'to want someone/something' 504
4. Vowel positions and consonant clusters 511
4.1. Examples with vowel positions 511
4.2. Overview of consonant clusters 514
5. Corpus of Spanish and Quechua loan words 518
6. Index of proper names and geographical names in the *ALC* 520
7. Word lists 521
7.1. Word list of Martínez Compañón 521
7.2. Word list of Tessmann 522
7.3. Data of Greenberg 523
7.4. Lists of words and expressions given by Mrs. Gutiérrez Cerquera and Mr. Chapa 524
7.4.1. List of words and expressions of Mrs. Aurelia Gutiérrez Cerquera 525
7.4.2. List of words and expressions of Mr. José Santos Chapa Ponce 527
7.5. Word list of Loukotka 529
Summary in Dutch 531
Curriculum vitae 533

Abbreviations and symbols

A	agent
ABL	ablative
AD	adessive
ADJ	adjectivizer
AEO	attributive extension of the object
AG	agentive
AL	allative
ALC	*Arte de la Lengua Cholona*
ANT	anteriority marker
APL	applicative
ATT	attributive
ADV	adverb
B	beneficiary
BEN	benefactive
BV	bound verb
C	consonant
CA	causativizer
CAC	causative clause
CCO	copula complement
CE	conditional exclamation marker
Ch	Cholón
CL	numeral classifier
CMP	comparative
COC	contrastive clause
COL	collective
COM	comitative
CON	connective particle
COR	co-ordinator
CQ	conditional question marker
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DIS	distributive
DUB	dubitative marker
EMP	emphasis marker
EX	exclamation marker
f	feminine
F	future
FA	factivizer
FN1	future nominalizer -*lam*
FN2	future nominalizer -*(ŋ)o*
FOC	focus marker
H	Híbito

I	interjection
IA	incompletive aspect
ICA	indirect causativizer
IMP	imperative
INES	inessive
IND	indefinite marker
INDP	indefinite pronoun
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental (clause)
INT	intensifier
INTJ	interjection
IS	indirect speech marker
IV	intransitive verb
m	masculine
N	noun
NE	negativizer
NF	nominalized form
NOM	nominalizer
NR	non-reduced
NUM	numeral
O	object
p	plural
POS	possessive marker
PAS	passivizer
PER	perlative
PERM	permissive
PL	plural marker
PLU	pluperfect marker
PRB	prohibitive
PRO	prolative
PRON	pronoun
PST	past
PURP	purpose (clause)
QUE	Quechua
QM	question marker
QUOT	quotation marker
QW	question word
RE	reiterative
REC	reciprocal
REP	reportative
REL	relational form marker
RES	resultative clause
RFL	reflexive
RST	restrictive

S	subject
s	singular
SE	stem extension
SEQ	sequential
SIM	simultaneity
Sp	Spanish
SPA	spatial
SR	switch-reference
SUB	subject clause
TEMP	temporal (clause)
TERM	terminative
TOP	topic marker
TV	transitive verb
V	vowel
	verb
VB	verbalizer
VOC	vocative

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
8.	morpheme boundary
$	syllable boundary
#	word boundary
/	in the neighbourhood of
_	before or after
*	constructed form
//	phoneme indication
~	varies with
↔	distinctive from and vice versa
[ ]	between square brackets: insertion or phonetic transcription/form
< >	between angled brackets: forms written in de la Mata's spelling
>	resulting in
<	derived from
“ ”	literal citation
‘ ’	gloss

1. **Introduction**

The main purpose of this book is to give a description of the Cholón language as represented in the *Arte de la Lengua Cholona*, an eighteenth century grammar written by a Franciscan friar, named Pedro de la Mata. This grammar can be consulted in the British Library (Manuscripts Department, Shelfmark: Additional 25322) in London (United Kingdom). Nowadays, the Cholón language is probably extinct. It was spoken in the Huallaga Valley (department of San Martín and Huánuco) in northern Peru. Cholón formed a small language family together with the neighbouring language Híbito. So far, no wider relationship has been established. In 1996 I visited the valley of the Huallaga River, in order to look for possible surviving speakers of Cholón and Híbito (Alexander-Bakkerus, 1998). There had been reports that in that area, especially in the town of Juanjui and surroundings, Cholón was still used by a very small number of speakers. However, the descendants living in that sector of the river only remembered a few lexical items and expressions from the language of their grandparents. According to my spokesmen, Cholón was no longer spoken in that area. In the higher part of the valley, in the region of Tocache and Monzón, the Cholón language also seems to be extinct.

1.1. Linguistic data

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

been published so far, however. Pedro de la Mata's grammar is thus the only extensive available source of information about the language. Therefore, the present description of Cholón will mainly be based on the material provided by this grammar.

1.2. Affiliation and classifications

Cholón or Seeptsá has been classified in a small language family together with Híbito (alternatively Chíbito, Hívito, Ibito, Jíbito, Xévito, Xíbito, Zíbito). 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 men-tioned 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 lan-guage 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 Cholonan family composed of Cholón or Seeptsá and Híbito, supposed to be extinct. Tovar (1984:184-185) claims that Cholón and Híbito are two unrelated lan-guages 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 classfies 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 Cholonan 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.orp/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 Gutierres de Porres y Fr. Joseph de Araujo. It is therefore possible that de la Mata's *Arte* is composed of Cholón (Gutierres' 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

	Ch/H	A	Chb	Ch/C	Ch+Q	H+P	mP
Brinton	-			(+)			
Chamberlain	+						
Greenberg	+	+					
Jijón y Caamaño	+		+				
Kaufman	+						
Loukotka	+		(+)			+	
Muysken	+						
Pöppig	-						
Beuchat & Rivet	+		+				
SIl	-						
Suárez	+						
Swadesh	+						+
Tessmann	-				+	+	
Torero	-						
Tovar	-						

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 de-scribed. 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 Len-gua 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 payed to the syllable structure. In chapter 6 nominal structures are examined, and in chapter 7 the verbal complex. Chapter 8 treats the adverbs found in de *ALC*; chapter 9 the interjections; and chapter 10 the discourse markers. They are followed by a discussion about negation (chapter 11) and complex sentences (chapter 12). A lexicon closes our analysis of the language as described by de la Mata. The examples which appear in the chapters 4 - 12 are followed by a number in parentheses. This number corresponds with the number of the page or folio of the *ALC* on which the Cholón

form at issue occurs. The appendices contain maps (Appendix 1); a copy of the first and the last folios of the manuscript *Arte de la Lengua Cholona* (Appendix 2); a survey the Cholón forms and examples encountered in the *ALC* (Appendix 3); words showing the positions of the vowel symbols *i, e, a, o, u* with regard to the consonant symbols *p, t, c/k/qu, tz, ch, s/z, x, g/h/j, m, n, ñ, ng(u), l, ll, b/hu/u/v*, 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; Bonavía 1990:248-261; *The Handbook of South American Indians* 1948-1950, III, VI, Steward, ed.). The information given by Pöppig, Herndon & Gibbon, and Bonavía is first hand. Pöppig and Herndon & Gibbon have traveled in the Huallaga Valley, where they got in touch, amongst others, with the Cholón and the Híbito. Bonavía is an archaeologist who in 1966 participated in an expedition to the archaeological site of Pajatén (supposed to be an ancient centre of the Cholón or the Híbito). Amich mainly got his information from the reports and journals that Franciscan priests wrote during their voyages. These reports and diaries are kept in the 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 Bonavía. In addition Fabre (1994:291, 289), Loukotka (1949:65-66, 1968:155), Suárez (1976:107), Solís Foseca (1987:A1 47/4), Tauro (1987, II:677 and Wise (1985:208) have been consulted. The places named in this section can be looked up in Map II - IV in Appendix 1. On Map II the habitats of the Híbito and the Cholón are indicated (Izaguirre 1922, VI:99). Map III is from Martínez Compañón's *Truxillo del Perú* ([1783] 1978, I). It shows the *conversiones* ('missions') of Guailillas or Huaylillas with the village of Caxamarquilla or Cajamarquilla

(modern Bolívar) (see section 2.3.4 and 2.4.1): the missions of Jesús de Pajatén and Jesús de Monte Sión for the Híbito people, and the missions of San Buenaventura del Valle and Pisano or Pampa Hermosa, where the Cholón were brought together. Map IV shows the basin of the Huallaga River embedded between the Cordillera Central and the Cordillera Oriental. Map IV has been made by Father Manuel de Sobreviela on the occasion of his trip through the Huallaga Valley in 1790. It contains some rectifications made in 1830 by Amédée Chaumette des Fossés, consul of France in Peru (see also section 3.2).

Names wich 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 *achote* [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 *achote*, respectively, is also mentioned in the *HSAI*. In addition, Steward (1948, III:521) writes: "Seemingly all the tribes of Perú and Ecuador stain their teeth black by chewing certain herbs and ashes, which produces a stain that lasts several days (Chantre y Herrera, 1901:63) [...] All tribes formerly painted their faces and bodies, often as much for protection against insects as for ornamentation [...]. *Chagua* juice [cf. Tovar's term *jagua*] was used to allay itching".

About their clothing, Amich ([1854] 1975:85), Steward (1948, III:520) and Izaguirre (1922-29, XII:392) mention that in the seventeenth century the Cholón and Híbito country dwellers, men as well as women, were clad in *cusmas* or *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 childeren. They lived in isolation or with a few related families in a community of at most three or four huts, widely separated from each other: some 100 yards to a few miles (Herndon & Gibbon). (The absence of big family houses and the rectangular shape of the dwellings seem to be in contradiction with the ruins of the big, round houses found in the archeological site of Abiseo. The *HSAI* observes that some Tacanan and Arawakan houses were round). These dwellings were not furnished. The Cholón had no stools, beds, nor platforms like some other tribes of the Montaña region. They slept on mats made of palm leaves. The Híbito seemed to have mosquito nets rigged on canoes. For the preparation of the meals, the Cholón women had kitchenware at their disposal, which consisted of calabashes, and of large cooking pots, jars and bowls of earthenware. The pottery was rather rough, and sometimes it was painted red and decorated with simple, crude, white geometric figures. Animals were cooked in their skin. To carry their goods the Cholón and the Híbito used baskets made by themselves. The Cholón also made carrying nets and pouches for small objects.

2.3.2. Fishing and hunting

Isolated family groups used to move frequently, leading a somewhat nomadic existence. For their living the Cholón fished, hunted, gathered wild fruits, honey and cotton, cultivated some crops, and traded. To catch fish they used poison and spears. The *HSAI* mentions that fish lines were made at the end of the eighteenth century. Izaguirre also mentions the use of fyke nets. For hunting (and warfare) the Cholón used blowguns, bows and poisoned arrows, spears, traps, and clubs. They hunted armadillos, capibaras or river hogs, deer, land turtles, monkeys, peccaries or wild hogs, pumas, snakes and all kinds of birds (such as cormorants, wild ducks, a great variety of parrots, wild turkeys and toucans). However, the killing of armadillos,

capibaras, snakes and black and yellow birds with poisoned arrows appeared to be forbidden. It would namely spoil the hunting poison. According to the *HSAI* this was also the case when hawks and vultures were killed. Deer was also forbidden game for the Cholón, because it was believed to be a reincarnated soul. The *HSAI* furthermore mentions that to kill a snake with a blowgun would make the blowgun crooked, and that the hunt on ant-eaters, caimans and iguanas was not allowed either. Killing a caiman with a rifle would ruin the rifle. For their protection and for the safeguard of the hunting, Cholón hunters carried small nets or pouches with all sorts of herbs, and amulets: stones or pits carved with glyphs.

2.3.3. Farming

The Church encouraged farming and stimulated the Indians to settle down, and in the late eighteenth century farming and fishing were the most important sources of food. The fields on which the Cholón cultivated their crops were obtained by slashing and burning a piece of jungle. (The *HSAI* observes that after the clearing of the ground the Híbito had a celebration in which much *chicha* or *masato*, an alcoholic beverage, was involved, and which was accompanied by dance and the music of drums and fifes of reed. The Cholón also employed these instruments to make music. Other musical instruments were bone flutes, horns, jingles and trumpets (Herndon & Gibbon, 1853-54, Izaguirre, 1922-29). With the arrival of the missionaries many new plants (bananas, rice and sugarcane, for instance) were introduced. The Cholón people grew fruits (avocados, bananas, *chirimoyas*, figs, guavas, oranges, papayas, pineapples), spices (cinnamon, ginger, laurel, pepper, vanilla), trees (acacia, palm, cinchona), vegetables (beans, maize, pumpkins, *sacha-papas* or potatoes of the woods, yam or sweat potatoes, yucca or sweet manioc), and other crops, such as, coca, 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

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[1] According to Herndon and Gibbon, this is the Infidel side where the Cashibo live; Izaguirre writes that the Cashibo, Conibo, Setebo and Shipibo lived in that region, and that they spoke *pano* which was the lingua franca of the Montaña; Pöppig remarks that it were the Chuncho who lived there. This could mean that the term of Chuncho was the generic name for the tribes living in that area, and that Chuncho was synonymous to Infidel (see also section 3).

still is measured by *cocadas* 'the effectiveness of a mouthful of coca leaves'. The effectiveness of chewed coca leaves is 35 - 40 minutes, viz. a walking distance of three kilometres in the open field. Working hours are also regulated by *cocadas*: every two hours, workers take a break of a quarter of an hour to chew some coca leaves. In days of old, people from the villages of Valle and Sión, and the surrounding areas used to undertake a trip of eight days to the high mountains, to the village of Cajamarquilla, in order to exchange coca leaves for garments and iron tools. The coca leaves were transported in long baskets which could contain three *arrobas*, some 33 kilogrammes (one *arroba* equals eleven kilogrammes approximately).

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

2.4. Cholón and Híbito territories

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

Anyhow, in the Huallaga Valley and the surrounding mountains, concentrations of speakers have been observed in several places through the ages. In section 2.4.1 we shall see that the different sources are not always in agreement concerning the concentrations of Cholón and Híbito, and their number of speakers. Section 2.4.2 will report on my findings in the Huallaga Valley. G. Solís Fonseca, director of the CILA (Centro de Investigación de Lingüística Aplicada) of the San

Marcos University in Lima mentioned in 1987 that there were one or two Cholón speakers in the neighbourhood of Sión, a village situated on the left bank of the Huallaga River. These speakers appear to have been the consultants of Sofía Latorre. In the summer of 1996, I made a trip to this region to search for speakers of Cholón (and, if possible, of Híbito).

2.4.1. Habitat and speakers

Schjellerup (1990: 236-247) mentions that the Inca conquest of the *Ceja* started from the northeast, and that round 1473 they had reached, for instance, the Bombonaje River, an affluent of the Jelache, a tributary of the Huayabamba River (see Map II). The discovery of a stele and some stone structures show in addition that there had been a flourishing culture in the region before the arrival of the Inca. According to Amich, however, the first peaceful contact with the Híbito took place about 1670, when a cowherd from the province of Cajamarquilla (Pataz, Map III) penetrated into their territory (Amich [1845] 1975: 84). After this encounter two Jesuits from Quito, a priest and a secular cleric, successively entered the territory. Their enter-prise to convert the people failed and they retraced their footsteps. In 1676 three Franciscan friars, Father Juan Campos and two lay brothers, Juan Martínez and Jerónimo Caballero, succeeded in their attempt to 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 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:

Apizoncho		Xenquiman	'Yervas'
Xuñante	'Pacaya'	Jallipñatch	'Cerro de Palo Fuerte'
Utchinaman	'Palma Real'	Itziuat	
Chalamuy	'Junta de Tigres'	Zalcot	'RíoMaría Negro'
Chillancuy		Jopeyte	'Tierra como Sangre'

The list of Híbito settlements consist of the following names:

Ochañache	
Chillonya	'Arbol'
Putonya	'Arbol'
Ziumich	'Palmas'
Juanjui	

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

The missions in the valley of the Huallaga, the "conversiones de Huaylillas" or "Guaylillas", belonging to the diocese of Trujillo, came under the supervision of the College of Santa Rosa of Ocopa after the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. The guardian of this convent, Fray Manuel de Sobreviela, made a tour of the Huallaga region in 1787. A year after, Fray Francisco Álvarez de Villanueva also visited the region. (cf. section 2.1). During his round trip Villanueva decided to relocate a number of villages, Pajatén, Valle, Sión, and the former Jesuit missions Playa Grande and Chicoplaya near the Monzón River (Map II and IV), from the inland to the riverside. Thus, Pachiza was founded for the indigenous people of Pajatén, and Tocache for those of Pampa Hermosa. He also decreed that on Wednesdays and on Fridays the instruction of the christian doctrine should be given in Spanish, and that all the children should learn to read Spanish. In his diary, Sobreviela declares that the villages of Pajatén, Valle, Sión, Pampa Hermosa, Playa Grande and Chicoplaya contained 1597 souls, of which 376 were living in Valle and 84 in Chicoplaya. According to Izaguirre there was a concentration of Cholón people in the neighbourhood of Monzón at that time; and according to a certain Father Gabriel Sala (Izaguirre, 1924, VI:501), there were 138 Cholón inhabitants around Chicoplaya. Other Híbito or Cholón zones named in the reports of Sobreviela and Villanueva are Palma Real (cf. Pedro de la Mata's Utchinaman), the river Pisan or Mixiollo, Buldibuyo, Jucusbamba, Parcoy (a mining place), Soledad (also

mentioned in Pedro de la Mata's grammar, see above), Tayabamba and Uchiza. In addition, the village of Lupuna is mentioned by Izaguirre as being a Híbito settlement. He also gives an overview of the villages and of the number of Indian inhabitants made by Sobreviela in 1791 (p. 497). According to this list or "Estado del Colegio de Ocopa y de todas sus misiones del Peru y Chiloe, sus hospicios, distancias, pueblos y almas", Pampa Hermosa has 246 inhabitants, Uchisa 100, Sion 205, Valle 372, Pajatén 358, Jucusbamba 28, Pachisa 100, Playa Grande 204 and Chicoplaya 110. Concerning Pampa Hermosa, Valle and Pajatén, the *HSAI* gives deviant figures: 205, 378 and 325 respectively. According to the census of Mainas, carried out in 1814 (Izaguirre, 1924, XII:371), Pachiza, Pajatén and Jalopachi together had 3004 inhabitants, Valle de Apichoncho 277, 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. *HSAI*, III: 600 and VI: 192, respectively). Presumably, not the entire population spoke Cholón or Híbito, the more so since after Sobreviela's decree in 1787 the children had to read Spanish, and the religious doctrine was taught in Spanish.

In the *HSAI*, VI:192, the Híbito language is said to have become extinct about 1825, and the Híbito reportedly mixed with the Conibo. Pöppig observes that in 1836 there were 288 Cholón families in the missions of Pachiza, 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, Lamasillo, 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, Challuayacu 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 María, 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 Cholonan 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:

Huánuco:	1940	835 habitants	S.P. de Chonta:	1940	184 habitants
	1961	1091 habitants		1961	120 habitants
	1972	4040 habitants		1972	188 habitants
	1981	4961 habitants		1981	175 habitants

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)

	A	S	V	M	P	H&G
	1767	1788	1791	1814	1836	1854
Achiras						80
Balsayacu				85		
Bijao						20
Challuayacu						15
Huicunga						150
Juanjui						500
Jucusbamba			28			
Lupuna						75
Pajatén/	+	+	358	3004	+	400
Pachiza			100			
Pampa Hermosa/	+	+	246	185	+	500
Tocache						
Shepti						60
Sión	+	+	205	204	+	150
Uchiza			100	250	+	
Valle	+	376	372	277		400
Chicoplaya		84	110	200	+	
Playa Grande		+	204	170	+	
Tingo María						188
total	4800	1597	1723	4375	900/1000	2538

As we have seen, there is some confusion concerning the habitat and the language area of the Cholón and the Híbito. Pisana and Tocache, known as Cholón missions, are regarded as Híbito settlements by Herndon & Gibbon. The Híbito villages of Pachiza and Sión are said to have had a Cholón population by Pöppig. This is repeated by Tessman and by Fabre, according to whom Cholón was also spoken in Pachiza (Tessmann) and in Sión (Fabre). And the people from Juanjui believe that Pajatén, which is generally regarded as the cradle of the Híbito, had been populated by the Cholón. The confusion about the habitat of both people is presumably caused by the fact that the Franciscans had gathered the Cholón and the Híbito together in the same mission, and that they have amalgated by intermarriage. By this cohabitation and amalgation 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 meet-ing 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 de-scendants living in the Lower Huallaga region seem to have dissociated themselves from the way their grandfathers had lived, and to have adapted themselves to a *mestizo* way of life. The people I met in Juanjui, Sión and environs were living in brick houses furnished with beds, chairs, tables, audio and video equipment.

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

It is possible that there is still a small number of Cholón speakers left. They may be living in the remote, mountainous areas west and east of the river Huallaga. The original territory of the Cholón is so extensive and it has so many impassable, impenetrable areas, of which some are still uncharted, that the presence of Cholón

speakers could remain unnoticed. It is also probable that there are speakers of Cholón living in less remote and more accessible areas or in villages, who refuse to speak the *idioma* 'language', because they are ashamed of it, and because they are afraid to be considered as primitives and savages, if they would speak it. Furthermore, it is not impossible that there are still de-scendants 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:

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

3.2.3. Hands and transcribers

The transcription of the Cholón language can be attributed to at least three persons: the Franciscan friars Pedro de la Mata and Gerónimo Clota, and a later transcriber. At least two hands can be distinguished in the *Arte*: first, the hand of Gerónimo Clota, the copyist of Pedro de la Mata's grammar; second, that of the later transcriber. In his copy Gerónimo Clota clearly indicates Pedro de la Mata as the author of the *Arte de la Lengua Cholona*. It is therefore likely that we owe the transcription of the Cholón data primarily to Pedro de la Mata. In the last paragraph of the grammar, Pedro de la Mata refers to his predecessors, Fray Joseph de Araujo

and Fray Francisco Gutiérrez de Porres, who "converted and baptized many Cholón and Híbito, and who, with apostolic zeal, initiated them into the Mysteries of the Holy Faith". Concerning the notation of what he calls *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 Gutierres used to, so that both priests can be held responsible for the rendering of de la Mata's guttural. (It can not be excluded that Pedro de la Mata, for his part, copied parts of the *artes* made by Araujo and Gutiérrez [see Introduction, Linguistic data], when he composed his own *arte*). In the *Arte de la Lengua Cholona*, a number of symbols employed to transcribe Cholón sounds and a number of Cholón words have been rectified or replaced. The handwriting of most of the replacements and, in the majority of cases, the colour of the ink are similar to the handwriting of the copy and to the ink used. Since it is Gerónimo Clota who wrote the copy, these rectifications were apparently his work. Gerónimo Clota can therefore be considered as the second transcriber of the Cholón language described in the *ALC*. In some cases, the handwriting is the same, but the colour of the ink is different. In those cases, the difference may be due to fading or to the fact that it concerns a later rectification for which Gerónimo Clota used another sort of ink. The handwriting of a small number of replacements and the handwriting of the list of non-converted Cholón and Híbito villages added at the end of the grammar differs from the handwriting of Gerónimo Clota. The colour of the ink also differs. These replacements and the list of villages are clearly from another hand, viz. a third, anonymous, transcriber. However, it is not sure whether the handwriting of all these replacements and of the added list are from one and the same person. It is also possible that the list of non-converted settlements and part of the replacements are from different hands. For convenience sake, all the later replacements, rectifications and additions of which the handwriting differs from that of Gerónimo Clota are tentatively ascribed to the second hand, viz. the third transcriber.

3.3. The description of Cholón

The *Arte de la Lengua Cholona* is an eighteenth-century grammar and is typically a product of its time. It has some characteristics in common with other colonial grammars, such as the use of an inconsistent orthography, of a certain register and of a specific grammatical model. These characteristics have repercussions for the description of the language (Alexander-Bakkerus, 2000). In the following sections we shall glance at the spelling employed for the transcription of Cholón, at the register used (which is the result of the purpose for which the grammar had been composed), and at the model according to which the language is described.

3.3.1. Spelling

In the eighteenth century orthography was not standardized yet, so that words could be written in different ways. A sound could thus be represented by different graphemes or symbols, and, vice versa, one symbol could refer to different sounds. This makes the interpretation of symbols employed for the transcription of the language difficult. In Pedro de la Mata's *Arte de la Lengua Cholona*, for example, the third person singular beneficiary is indicated by the forms *ha, sa,* or *xa;* the ablative case alternates between the forms *-ge, -he, -je*; and the word for 'to speak' is transcribed as *hilan, jilan, silan, xilan*. At first sight, the symbols *g, h, j, s, x* seem to refer to the same sound. After a thorough analysis it appears that the graphemes *h* and *j* indeed symbolize the same sound, if they occur in initial position; that this sound is also represented by the symbol *g* before *i* and *e*; and that the symbols *s* and *x* refer to different sounds that are not relevantly distinctive from each other. Furthermore, to represent a so-called 'guttural', viz. a velar nasal, several symbols are used, amongst which the symbol *ñ*. However, this symbol is bivalent and is also employed to represent a palatal nasal. (For the analysis and the values of the consonant symbols mentioned above, see chapter 4).

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

3.3.2. Purpose and register

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

with many other *artes* is the language register which is used in the examples. Since the grammar was written with the objective to preach the Gospel, the register of the phrases which illustrate all kinds of grammatical facts is predominantly religious and the tone is often moralistic (the spelling of the following example is the one as proposed in chapter 4):

mi Pedro me-kt-aŋ, ko ta nʸan-te a-n-iglesia-wo-kt-aŋ
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 očo ixiwah ø-kot-aŋ, utˢa-wa kol i-mit-aŋ
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 *Technè* 'art', Dionysius the Thracian, +/- 200-100 B.C. (Lallot, 1989: 40-65) distinguished seven vowels: a, e, ē, i, o, ō, u; five moods: indicative, imperative, optative, conjunctive, infinitive, and divided the sentence into eight constituents: noun, pronoun, verb, participle, article, preposition, adverb, conjunction. In addition, he gives the complete conjugation of a verb. Latin philosophers such as Varro, 116- 26 B.C. (Collart, 1954), Donatus, +/- 350 A.D. (Keil, 1864, IV: 353-402), Priscian, +/- 600 A.D. (Keil, 1855-59, II-III) adopted Aristotle's philosophical observation about time consisting of past, present and future, and crystallized these notions into tenses, subdividing the past into *praeteritum perfectum, imperfectum* and *plus-quam-perfectum*. Like Dionysius the Thracian, they also distinguished five moods and eight *partes orationis* 'parts of the sentence' including the interjection but excluding the article. The works in question of the philosophers mentioned above, except for Dionysius' *Technè*, are purely theoretical. In the books concerned the writers philosophize about grammatical questions; they do not give paradigms. (Dionysius was the first theoretician who gave a paradigm as an illustration). This is because language teaching was not the aim; their writings were not meant to be used as grammars. Rather, their first objective was to teach poetics and poetic diction. The second objective was to teach the reader to value poetry. As a consequence, these works have a specific structure. Since knowledge of the structure of the language was a pre-requisite for poetic diction, the philosophers began the book with a

dissertation about voice and sounds or 'elements'. The chapter about voice and elements was followed by chapters in which the syllable, the word and the sentence were successively discussed. The last part of the book, the largest part, was devoted to prosody and to poetry itself. In this part, fragments of works of great poets were shown in order to illustrate the beauty and supremacy of the art of poetry. The same objectives and the same ordering (voice/ sounds - syllables - words - sentences - prosody/ poetry) are encountered in the first non-Latin grammar: the *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana* written by Antonio de Nebrija in the year of 1492. However, besides the ambition to teach and promote Spanish poetry, Nebrija also sought to teach the Spanish language to those who did not have Spanish as their mother tongue. He wrote the last book of his grammar (Book V) "for those who want to learn Spanish". Therefore, Nebrija gives, among other things, a thorough analysis of the Spanish vowels and consonants, an adapted version of the current spelling, several nominal paradigms, and the conjugation of a verb (like Dionysius did in his *Technè*), *casu quo* the verb *amar* 'to love'. The Spanish noun and verb are still treated, partly, after the Latin model. Nebrija declines the Spanish noun and attributes to it the same cases (nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, ablative, vocative) as Latin has - he does the same with the adjectives, the pronouns and the relatives -, and, as far as the verb is concerned, he also distinguishes five moods (indicative, imperative, optative, subjunctive, infinitive) and five tenses (see below).

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

Nevertheless, Nebrija's *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana* undeniably marks a new era in which a grammar was no longer considered as a book of art (in the Middle Ages, grammar belonged to the seven *artes liberales* 'liberal arts': grammar, rhetoric, dialectics, geometry, arithmetics, astronomy and music) written for the benefit of poetry, but as a book written for the benefit of language teaching. The reputation of Nebrija as an innovator is not only based on the fact that he wrote the first non-Latin grammar and the first book with the object to teach a language, but also on the fact that he introduced new perceptions and new elements into his language description (see the adapted orthography, for instance). Another innovation is that Nebrija classifies the gerund, the infinitive and the participle in one mood, the infinitive mood, consisting of three forms: a gerund, a *nombre participial infinitivo* 'infinitive participle noun' and a participle. Since the participle belongs to the eight parts of the sentence, Nebrija considers the gerund and his infinitive participle noun also as parts of the sentence. In Spanish he then

distinguishes ten *partes orationis* instead of eight: noun, pronoun, article, verb, participle, gerund, *nombre participial infinitivo* 'infinitive participle noun', preposition, adverb, conjunction. Furthermore, Nebrija is the first linguist who explicitly points out that Latin has actually two future tenses (Quilis, 1980: 40): a *futurum imperfectum* and *perfectum*, versus languages such as Spanish which have only one. Another improvement is that Nebrija preferably uses a non-Latin terminology in his description of Spanish. He designates the tenses by Spanish names and employs the terms *no acabado* 'not finished' and *acabado* 'finished' to indicate the concepts 'imperfect' and 'perfect', respectively. Nebrija thus distinguishes the following tenses: *presente* 'present', *passado no acabado* 'imperfect', *passado acabado* 'perfect', *passado más que acabado* 'pluperfect', *venidero* 'future'. In addition to the past tenses of the indicative, optative and subjunctive, Nebrija also gives alternative paradigms which express the same notions *por rodeo* 'by a roundabout way' and/or *en otra manera* 'in another way'. The forms of these paradigms are usually composite forms consisting of a finite form of the auxiliary *ser* 'to be' or *haber* 'to have' followed by the past participle of a verb. For instance, for the perfect tense of the indicative, a paradigm which begins with the form *amé* 'I loved', Nebrija gives two alternative paradigms: first, *el mesmo tiempo, por rodeo* 'the same tense, by a roundabout way' beginning with the form *e amado* 'I have loved'; second, *el mesmo tiempo, por rodeo en otra manera* 'the same tense, by a roundabout way in another way' which begins with the form *ove amado* 'I have loved'.

Traces of this long tradition of language description are found in the *Arte de la Lengua Cholona*. Pedro de la Mata also opens his grammar with sounds and he also ends with prosody. In the first paragraph of the *ALC* de la Mata talks, among other things, about unfamiliar sounds and at the end of the grammar there is a remark about stress. Traditionally, he distinguishes five moods and five tenses and declines the noun as a Latin noun producing a paradigm with six cases (nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, ablative, vocative). In addition, Pedro de la Mata often uses the Latin terminology, for instance, to designate the tenses: *praesens, imperfectum, perfectum, plus quam perfectum, futurum*. Like the Latin grammarians Pedro de la Mata distinguishes in Cholón:

(a) eight parts of the sentence: noun, pronoun, verb, participle, postposition, adverb, interjection, conjunction (since Cholón has no prepositions - directives, locatives and the like are suffixed to a noun or a nominal form - Pedro de la Mata replaced the preposition with the postposition);

(b) a gerund and a participle which are not considered as separate parts of the sentence;

(c) four gerund cases: genitive, dative, accusative and ablative;

(d) supines I and II;

(e) two indicative future tenses: imperfect and perfect.

It is understandable that de la Mata recurs to Latin and to the Latin paradigms in his description of Cholón. As a priest, he was familiar with Latin and the Latin grammar. He was probably also influenced by Nebrija. In an article about colonial

grammars of indigenous Colombian languages, Christine Dümmler (1997: 413-432) remarks that these grammars are based on Nebrija's *Introductiones Latinae* from 1481; and that the writers of the colonial grammars analyzed by her had taken Nebrija's description of Latin as a model in order to describe the Amerindian language. In the introduction of their textedition of the *Introductiones Latinae* from 1488, a bilingual Latin - Spanish grammar, Esparza and Calvo (1996: xxiv) remark that Nebrija himself makes a distinction between an "orden natural de la gramática" 'natural order of grammar', which is used to describe the own language, and an "orden de la doctrina" 'doctrinaire order', which is used for the description of a foreign langauge. The former order starts with a complete explanation of the 'letters' (sounds) followed by that of syllables, words and the parts of the sentence in order to end with a discussion about belles-lettres. The latter starts with a short overview of the 'letters', syllables and parts of the sentence, and ends with paradigms illustrating the declension and conjugation of words and verbs. On page xxiii Esparza and Calvo show that this is indeed the order which Nebrija employs when he - in Book V of his *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana* - teaches Spanish to non-Spanish speakers. As we have seen, this order is more or less followed by Pedro de la Mata. However, conversely to what Nebrija prescribes, he does not end with paradigms. Paradigms are found in different sections, and de la Mata ends with some observations about structure of the sentence, accent, pronunciation and orthography. The influence of Nebrija's *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana* is mainly noticeable in the fact that, like Nebrija, de la Mata also adds alternative paradigms to the five tenses, representing them in *otra manera* 'another way'; and that he also uses the words *o si* 'oh if' and *ojalá* 'I hope' to form an optative. Pedro de la Mata furthermore distinguishes a permissive, a prohibitative and a dubitative. As a consequence, his conjugation of a verb presents a large amount of paradigms (36) and forms (219, including a participle form and 2 gerund forms which do not occur in a paradigm, but appear as independent forms). Table 3.2 gives an overview of Pedro de la Mata's arrangement of the verb. It gives evidence of the profusion of paradigms (and forms) distinguished by de la Mata.

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

With regard to the verb, the Latin model does not satisfy either. For instance, Pedro de la Mata mentions an imperfect and a perfect tense. However, both Latin tenses are represented by the same paradigm, so that we may conclude that there is

no distinction between imperfect and perfect in Cholón. In addition, de la Mata's 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

First book	
About non-familiar sounds, the declination of the noun, number and gender	fol. 1
About the verb	fol. 23
About the transitive verb	fol. 55
Second book	
About the noun	fol. 87
About the numerals	fol. 93
About the compound noun	fol. 99
About the comparative	fol. 105
About the superlative	fol. 108
About the diminutive	fol. 111
About the pronouns	fol. 112
About the relative and interrogative pronoun	fol. 118
About the translation of certain Latin adjuncts and subordinate clauses	fol. 134
Third book	
About the transitive verb	fol. 153
About the intransitive verb	fol. 167
About the compound and derivative verb	fol. 170
About the defective verbs	fol. 194
Fourth book	
About the postposition	fol. 197
About the adverb	fol. 207
About the interjection	fol. 240

About the conjunction fol. 241

Fifth book

About positioning, accent, pronunciation and orthography fol. 245

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, prohibitative, 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 responsable 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 "guturacion" (henceforth 'guttural-ization').

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

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[2] "No se pronuncia en esta lengua las letras B, D, F, y la R, [...]" 'In this language, the letters B, D, F and R, [...] are not pronounced'.

symbols *g, h,* and *j*. Concerning the vowel symbols *e* and *o*, he writes: "La E la pronuncian entre E y Y, esto es, que es ni E claro, ni Y. La O la pronuncian entre O y U"[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[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"[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"[6]. In continuation, he provides the reader with five examples of gutturalization followed by each of these vowels:

ñgaan (1)	'he makes me'	(*a*)
ñguech (2)	'his mother'	(*e*)
ñgix (3)	'something dry'	(*i*)
milongoque (4)	'you would have made it'	(*o*)
ñguch (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[7].

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[3] 'E is pronounced between E and I, i.e. it is neither a clear E, nor I. O is pronounced between O and U'.

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

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

[6] 'Gutturalization is used with all five A E I O U'

[7] At the end of the *ALC*, in a paragraph named "Dela orthografia", Pedro de la Mata refers to his opening statement about the pronunciation of gutturalizations, and he writes: "La orthografia de esta lengua es la que esta puesta en todas las declinaciones, conjugaciones, oraciones y exemplos hasta aqui escritos y quanto â 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*/_*e*, *i* = *j* = soft = foreign = sometimes *h*
#*g* = sometimes *c*
h = sometimes *j*
h = sometimes almost ø

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

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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, g̃(u), ĝ(u), ~g, hu, jj, ll, llll, m̃g, mm, nc, ñ, n̂, ng(u), ñg̃(u), ñĝ(u), ñg̃n̂, ñg(u), n̂g(u), n̂g̃, ññ, n̂n̂, pp, qu, ss, tt, tz, yy*. The bi-segmental 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, g̃, n, ng, n̂*. These symbols and their replacements are represented in the table below.

Table 4.1: Original symbols and their replacements

original symbols		replacements
e	>	*i/y*
o	>	*u*
ch	>	*tz/z*
h	>	*g* (non-‘guttural’)
s/ss	>	*x*
x	>	*s/z*
g	>	*g̃/ĝ/ng/ng̃/ñg/ñg*
g̃/ng/ñ	>	*ng̃*
n	>	*g/ng/ng̃*

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

original symbols		modified counterparts
c	>	*cc*
ch	>	*chch*
j	>	*jj*
l	>	*ll*
ll	>	*llll*
m	>	*mm*
n (non-‘guttural’)	>	*nn*
ñ/ñ (non-‘guttural’)	>	*ññ/ññ*
p	>	*pp*
t	>	*tt*
x	>	*xx*
y	>	*yy*

In some cases, the substitutions can lead to ambiguity. For instance, the replacement of *ng̃/ng* by *ñ/ñ*, indicating a ‘guttural’ sound, may give rise to misinterpretations, because elsewhere, the grapheme *ñ/ñ* 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 V*c* is useful, because the symbol sequence V*che* (V*c*$ + -*he* ‘benefactive’) may wrongly be interpreted as [Vče], whereas, in this case, it should be read as [Vkhe] or [Vkxe]. The replacement of V*che* by V*cge* 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/u/v, c/k/qu, ch, g* (non-'guttural'), *g/h/j, i/y, l, ll* (non-doubled), *m* (non-guttural), *n* (non-guttural), *ñ/ñ̃* (non-'guttural'), *p, s/z, t, tz, x,* and *ng̃(u)/m/n* representing a 'guttural' sound (represented also by the symbols *g/g̃/ĝ/~g/mg̃/ng/ng̃/ngĝ/ngñ̃/ñ/ñ̃/ñg/ñg̃/ñg̃/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/ñ* (non-'guttural');
(vi) *a, e, i, o, u* are never found before *ng̃*, they are found before *m/n* instead;
(vii) *a, o, i* are not encountered after *b*, and *e, i, o, u* not after *hu*, the five vowel symbols *a, e, i, o, u* are however encountered after *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 *ng̃(u)*.
The sequences V*b/hu/v, ig, og, ug,* V*k/qu, añ/ñ, ba, bi, bo, hue, hui, huo, huu, go, gu, ka, ko, ku, qua, quo, quu,* V*ng̃, m/n*V 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*), *ng̃(u)/m/n* ('guttural'), *ñ/ñ* (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*), *ng̃(u)/m/n* ('guttural'), *ñ/ñ* (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=h/j*, respectively.

	a	*e*	*i*	*o*	*u*		*a*	*e*	*i*	*o*	*u*
before						after					
b/hu/v	-	-	-	-	-	*b*	-	+	-	-	+
u	+	+	+	+	+	*hu*	+	-	-	-	-
c	+	+	+	+	+	*u/v*	+	+	+	+	+
k/qu	-	-	-	-	-	*c*	+	-	-	+	+
g=h/j	+	+	-	-	-	*k/qu*	-	+	+	-	-
h/j	+	+	+	+	+	*g=h/j*	-	+	+	-	-
g (n-g; ≠ *h/j*)	-	-	-	-	-	*h/j*	+	+	+	+	+
ng̃ (g)	-	-	-	-	-	*g* (n-g; ≠ *h/j*)	+	-	-	-	-
m/n (g)	+	+	+	+	+	*ng̃* (g)	+	+	+	+	+
ñ/ñ (n-g)	-	+	+	+	+	*m/n* (g)	-	-	-	-	-

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*:

main (3155)	(*ma-in*)	'not yet'
maecqui (2186)	(*m-a-ec-qui*)	'Give me!'
aoitzan (1006)	(*a-o-itz-an*)	'I am made'
micolehauch (1785)	(*mi-cole-ha-uch*)	'your (p) lover'
tonlian (654)	(*a-ton-li-an*)	'I sit down'
ayteaj! (2195)	(*ayte-aj*)	'Be quiet!'
cothuâ (1588)	(*cot-hu-â*)	'being'

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

Regarding the occurrence of the vowel symbol *a* + a consonant symbol within a syllable, *a* has been found to occur before and after the consonant symbols or a variant/equivalent of the consonant symbols named in section 4.2.1, except before the symbol *ñ/ñ* (non-'guttural'), cf. section 4.2.1. No other restrictions concerning the occurrence of *a* before and after a consonant symbol have been found but for the restrictions mentioned in section 4.2.1. In the example *cothuâ* 'being', the form *huâ* consists of two syllables and the following morphemes: *hu* 'nominalization suffix' + *a* 'topic marker'. The symbol sequence *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 *llahuan* '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 ypsylon ô consonante [...], pero si no hiere, es I vocal"[8]. From the exam-ples 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:

mienan (2076)	(*mi-e-n-an*)	'you gave yourself'
mioitzan (1007)	(*mi-o-itz-an*)	'you are made'
g̃oliyêinco (1465)	(*g̃oliy-ê-inco*)	'he who had died'
hayuilou (22)	(*hayu-i-lou*)	'the man's', 'of the man'

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*

i ↔ *e*:	*zip*	'his house'	↔	*zep*	'meat'
i ↔ *a*:	*yip*	'house'	↔	*yap*	'wild pig'
i ↔ *o*:	*qui-*	'we'	↔	*co*	'there'
i ↔ *u*:	*jil*	'word'	↔	*jul*	'pine cone'

In a number of 'preterite' forms, 'preterite' is indicated by a postconsonantal *i*:

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[8] 'Y [...], if it 'hits' the letter that follows, is an upsilon or consonant [...], but if it does not 'hit', it is a vowel'.

acti (296) (*a-ct-i*) 'I was', 'I have been'
an~golli (691) (*a-n~goll-i*) 'I loved him/her/it', 'I have loved him/her/it'

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

actiye (302) (*a-ct-iy-e*) 'I had been'.

If 'preterite' would have ended in a vowel [i], it would have been followed by *que*, not by *e*. The former is namely used postvocalically, and the latter postconsonantally:

an~golliye (697) (*a-n~goll-iy-e*) 'I had loved him/her/it'
min~gollihaque (701) (*mi-n~goll-i-ha-que*) 'You (p) have loved him/ her/ it'

Pedro de la Mata says also about 'preterite' and 'pluperfect' (fol. 24): "[...] el preterito perfecto ê imperfecto se terminan en *ay*, *ey*, *i* l. *yí*, *oy*, *ou*. [...] El preterito plusquamperfecto se forma del preterito perfecto, añadiendole, si acaba en *y ye*, y si en *v ve*"[9]. According to this statement, a final glide is characteristic for 'preterite'. The last symbol of de la Mata's 'preterite endings' *ay, ey, oy, ou* may represent a glide: *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.

a(c)quii (1868) (*a-(c)qui-i*) [akiy] 'I became', 'I was'
acti (296) (*a-ct-i*) [aktiy] 'I was'

4.2.4. Symbol *u*

Like the grapheme *i*, *u* may be plurivalent and symbolize two sounds. Whenever *u* constitutes the nucleus of a syllable, it has vocalic status and may be equivalent to Spanish [u]. In syllable-initial and in syllable-final position, before or after a vowel symbol, it has a consonantal status, and may symbolize a bilabial glide [w]. The use of *u* as a consonant symbol will be analyzed in section 4.3.2.

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[9] '[...] the preterite perfect and the preterite imperfect end in *ay, ey, i* or *yí, oy, ou*. [...] The preterite pluperfect is formed by adding *ye* to the preterite perfect, if it ends in *y*, and *ve*, if it ends in *v*'.

The same restriction as in the case of the final *i* of an *ii* sequence - where the final *i*, although occurring after a vowel symbol, does not necessarily represent a glide - has to be made regarding the final *u* of a *uu* combination. It is not sure whether *u* symbolizes a glide in this position (cf. section 4.2.7.5).

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

hayuilou (22)	(*hayu-i-lou*)	'the man's', 'of the man'
cothuâ (1588)	(*cot-hu-â*)	'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*

u ↔ *i*:	*jul*	'pine cone'	↔	*jil*	'word'
u ↔ *e*:	*lu*	'intestines', 'inside'	↔	*le*	'teeth'
u ↔ *a*:	*puc*	'digestible' (classifier)	↔	*pac*	'eight'
u ↔ *o*:	*-chu*	'negative', 'diminutive'	↔	*-cho*	'already'

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 *Γ*", and that it is neither a "clear *E* nor *Γ*". It may have referred to [ɪ] (an intermediate sound between the vowels [e] and [i]), to [ɛ] (the open counterpart of [e]), or, possibly, to an unrounded central vowel [ə].

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:

MC: *e, ee, ẽ*
T: *e, ē, e̱, ę*

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 *ẽ* occur with the same words transcribed by Tessmann or recorded from Aurelia Gutiérrez and José Santos Chapa (see Table 4.6), both these interpretations seem unlikely.

The sound represented by double *ee* in Martínez Compañón's lexical items *peel* 'moon' and *mees-ñgup* 'tree' is transcribed as *e* or as *e̱* by Tessmann in the forms *pel* 'moon' and *me̱š* '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 *pēy* 'earth' has a long *e*, and Aurelia Gutiérrez also pronounced the word [pɛ:ykuta^{ʔ}] '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-ñgup* 'tree' may then stand for a close-mid front unrounded [e] or an open-mid front unrounded [ɛ]. The latter hypothesis could be true for the lexical item *mees-ñgup* 'tree', because, according to the transcription of Tessmann, the Cholón word for 'tree', *me̱š*, 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 *vẽt* '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 *ẽ* with a tilde may have represented a mid central unrounded vowel [ə].

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

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

ẽ̱ French *être,* German *Bär*
ĕ 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^2 (the narrow counterpart is marked by a superscript 1, as e^1) : Danish *træ,* German *Männer,* English *men*.

From the observations made by Lepsius and Sievers and from the examples given it can be deduced that, in German linguistic literature of that period, a wide *e* stood for an open-mid front unrounded [ɛ]. Tessmann's symbol *e̱* is therefore likely to represent an open-mid front unrounded [ɛ], and his lexical item *me̱š* tree' should thus be read as [mɛʃ].

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 *melie̯s* 'canoe'. In this word, the symbol *e̯* thus stands for an 'only aspirated' sound, or it may stand for a slightly pronounced, 'whispered' [e]. The same lexical item *melie̯s* 'canoe' is transcribed as *mellus* by Pedro de la Mata. In his transcription, Tessmann's *e̯* appears as *u,* which probably symbolizes a high back vowel [u]. The vowel represented by Tessmann's symbol *e̯* could thus be an intermediate vowel between the mid front unrounded vowel symbolized by Tessmanns'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 'sligthly 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, *ĭ* and *ŭ*. (Kemp, [1863] 1981: 168). In his transcription, the 'whispered' articulation is marked by a superscript breve. Sievers also mentions an 'unvoiced' vowel which is otherwise designated by the terms 'indefinite' and 'murmured'. According to Sievers, the 'unvoiced', 'indefinite', 'murmured' vowel is a shwa [ə] (Sievers, 1893: 103). Later, on page 140, he mentions the phenomenon of a "leisen Hauch" ('slight aspiration') and remarks that vowels can have a "leise gehauchter Einsatz" ('lightly aspirated onset'), which, for instance, can be heard in the transition between two vowels and in diphthongs. And he transcribes the rising diphthong [ye] as *i̯e̯,* as *i* followed by *e* with an arch underneath (!).

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

In our field data recorded in 1996 in Peru, an open-high front vowel [ɪ], instead of close-mid [e], is frequently heard. Since [ɪ] 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 [ɛ]. A close-mid [e] could be heard in an open syllable , in the word [cɪlef^{w}a] 'legs' for instance. A long vowel was perceived in the words [pɛ:ykuta^{ʔ}] 'peccary' and [sɛ:ykutak] 'peccary', and a schwa in the expression [mɔntə kilaktɪʤʊ] '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:], [ɛ], [ɛ:], and probably as a central [ə] (MC, T). Mrs. Gutiérrez and Mr. Santos Chapa pronounced the vowel corresponding to the grapheme *e* as an open-high [ɪ]. This vowel was also realized as a close-mid [e], as an open-mid [ɛ] and as a mid central [ə]. The vowel [ɛ] 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: [ɪ], [ɪ:], [ɛ], [ɛ:], [ə].

In Table 4.6, different transcriptions of the same words given by de la Mata, Martínez Compañón and Tessmann will be shown. They are followed by the transcription of words pronounced by Aurelia Gutiérrez and José Santos Chapa. In Table 4.7 the symbols used by de la Mata, Martínez Compañón and Tessmann and their possible value are represented together with the vowels as pronounced by the Cholón descendants in the Huallaga valley. Since the central vowel derivable from

the transcription of Tessmann and recorded in the speech of Aurelia Gutiérrez and José Santos Chapa is a mid central [ə], it is plausible that the central vowel which, assumedly, was represented by de la Mata's symbol *e* and Martínez Compañón's *ẽ* 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.

	PM	MC	T	AG	JSC
behind	monte				
let's go to the forest					[montə kilaktɪʤʊ]
body		acho-quez			
old man	ques/quez nun				[gɪsnun]/ [gɛsnun]
old woman	hila ques/quez				[hilagɪs]/ [hilagɛs]
bone	chel	chel			
foot	chel				[čɪlef^{v}a]
leg	chel				
canoe	mellus		meliẹ̱s		
chicken	atelpa/ atellpa		atejwá	[atɪʎba]/ [atɛʎba]	[atɪlba]/ [atɛlba]
earth	pey/pei	lluspey	pēy		
peccary				[pɛykutʔ]/ [sɛykutaʔ]	[sɛ:kutak]
eye			kinjelšé	[n^{y}ačɪ]	[n^{y}ačɪ]
head	setch		mutšitšẹ́	[čučɪ]	
roundness	che				
fire	et	vẽt	utmō	[u:t]	[u:t]

	PM	MC	T	AG	JSC
moon	pel	peel	pel		
tongue	monzey		kimonžéi	[mont^{s}ɛy]	
tree	mech	mees-ñgup			
branch	mech				
stick	mech		m<u>e</u>š		

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)

PM *e*	[ɪ], [ɪ:]	MC	e	[e], [e:]	T	e	[e]
	[ɛ], [ɛ:]		ee	[ɛ], [ɛ:]		ē	[e:]
	[ə]		ẽ	[ə]		<u>e</u>	[ɛ]
						e̱	[ə]
AG/JSC	[ɪ]						
	[ɛ], [ɛ:]	(in a closed syllable)					
	[e]	(in an open syllable)					
	[ə]						

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*:

g̃oliyêinco	(1465) (g̃ol-i-yê-inco)	'he who had died'
ayteaj!	(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'
apoectehe	(2796) (a-po-ec-te-he)	'that I shall give them'

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

In addition, the following minimal pairs are found showing that the symbol *e* has a distinctive use.

Table 4.8: Minimal pairs with *e*

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

Regarding the distinctive character of the symbol *e*, although this symbol appears to be distinctive in the *ALC* and to be in oppostion 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, [ʊ], 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 [ɞ], 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 Companón (MC) and Tessmann (T) we find the following transcriptions that can be related to the sound(s) symbolized by Pedro de la Mata's grapheme *o*:

MC: *o, õ*
T: *o, ō, o̱, ö̱*

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

Concerning Martínez Compañón's symbol *õ*, the sound that is transcribed as *õ* in the lexical item *quõt* 'water' is unlikely to be a nasalized sound, because this same lexical item is transcribed as *kö̱ta* by Tessmann and is pronounced as [kɔt] by Mrs. Gutiérrez and Mr. Santos Chapa, without nasalization. However, just as in the case of the lexical item *vẽt* 'fire' (section 4.2.5.1) where the tilde presumably indicates that the front unrounded vowel was centralized, in this case, the tilde could

also indicate that the sound was centralized[10]. As in the case of *vẽt* where a mid central vowel would function as an intermediary between a front vowel and a back vowel, in this case, a mid central vowel could also very well function as an intermediate between Tessmann's front vowel symbolized by *ö̲* without the superscript breve (see below) and Mrs. Gutiérrez' and Mr. Santos Chapa's back vowels [o] and [ɔ]. Since Martínez Compañón's symbol *o* without a tilde may represent a mid back rounded vowel, and since the tilde may refer to a short centralized variant (cf. *ẽ* with a tilde above which probably represents a short mid central unrounded vowel, a schwa), Martínez Compañón's *õ* with the tilde may symbolize a short mid centralized rounded vowel, [ɞ], a rounded counterpart of the schwa. It may also represent a less centralized, fronted back vowel [ʊ], the intermediate sound which is possibly symbolized by Mata's *o*.

Tessmann's plain symbol *o* probably symbolizes a close-back rounded [o]. Tessmann furthermore distinguishes a long mid back vowel [o:] transcribed as *ō*, a long open mid back vowel [ɔ:] transcribed as *ō̲*, and a vowel transcribed as *ŏ̲*. The superscript breve indicates that the vowel is briefly pronounced, the underline that the vowel has an open articulation. According to Kemp's analysis of the transcription used by Lepsius, the symbol *ö̲* may represent an open-mid front rounded [œ], Kemp (1981: 73*). (Sievers also describes the symbol *ö,* in the German word *Völker* 'people' for example, as an open-mid front rounded vowel). Therefore, Tessmann's symbol *ŏ̲* is likely to represent a short open-mid front rounded [œ]. Since his front rounded *ö̲* without the superscript breve corresponds to Gutiérrez' and Chapa's back rounded [ɔ] (which is assumedly also symbolized by de la Mata's *o*), his *ŏ̲* with the superscript breve may symbolize an intermediate rounded vowel. The short articulation may thus stand for an intermediate, schwa-like (short and neither front nor back) articulation with rounded lips. Tessmann's briefly pronounced [œ] may then be a close-mid central rounded [ɞ]. It is a short vowel and a rounded counterpart of the schwa (cf. Rietveld & Van Heuven's remark, 1997: 70, that the difference between a close-mid front vowel and the schwa is just a matter of lip rounding).

As has been noticed, Aurelia Gutiérrez and José Santos Chapa pronounced a close-mid back rounded [o] in an open syllable and an open-mid back rounded [ɔ] in a closed syllable. The vowel [ʊ] has been recorded in an open stressed syllabe. This may be the intermediate sound to which Pedro de la Mata is referring when he says that *o* is "pronounced between *o* and *u"*. A long close-mid back rounded vowel was pronounced in the word [camyo:h] 'red monkey', as in Table 4.9.

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[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 *vẽt* 'fire' and *quõt* 'water' as a linking mark in order to connect the vowel symbols *ẽ* and *õ* with the preceding symbols *v* and *u*, respectively. The symbols *v* and *u* may have stand for [u], and the lexical items *vẽt* and *quõt* may be read as [u^{w}ət] and [ku^{w}ɞt], 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)

	PM	MC	T	AG/JSC
brother	axot	Azot		[aʃɔt]
water	cot	Quõt	kö̆ta	[kɔt]
jaguar/			hōu	
tiger				[how] (JSC)
				[camyo] (AG)
red monkey				[čamyo:h] (JSC)
dog			aljgó	[aʎgo]/[aʎgʊ]
pan	chapllon		tšapliǒn	[capʎɔŋ]

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 *õ,* and Tessmann's *o, ō, ō̲, ö̲̆*, 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], [o:], [ɔ], [ɔ:], [ɞ], [ʊ]. Tessmann noticed the vowels [o], [o:], [ɔ], and a short [œ], probably, [ɞ]. An open-high [ʊ], a close-mid [o], a long close-mid [o:] 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]/[ʊ:], open-mid back [ɔ]/ [ɔ:], and a mid central rounded [ɞ]. 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*	[ʊ], [ʊ:]	MC	o	[o], [o:]	T	o	[o]
		[ɔ], [ɔ:]			[ɔ], [ɔ:]		ō	[o:]
		[ɞ]		õ	[ɞ], [ʊ]		o̲	[ɔ:]
							ŏ̲	[ɞ]
AG/JSC		[o], [o:]						
		[ɔ] (in a closed syllable)						
		[ʊ] (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-itz-an)	'I am made'
mipoecqui (1454)	(mi-po-ecqu-i)	'give them'
mioitzan (1007)	(mi-o-itz-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*

o ↔ *i*:	*co-* 'here'	↔	*qui-* 'we'
o ↔ *e*:	*moc* 'oh, if'	↔	*mec* 'all'
o ↔ *a*:	*pon* 'group'	↔	*pan* 'mother'
o ↔ *u*:	*-cho* 'already'	↔	*-chu* 'negative', 'diminutive'

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

4.2.6. Evaluation: tables and diagrams

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

Table 4.12: Sequences of vowel symbols

	i	*e*	*a*	*o*	*u*
i		+	+	+	-
e	+		+	-	+
a	+	+		+	+
o	+	+	-		-
u	+	-	+	+	

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 *ñ*, the notational variant of *ñ*, has been left out, as well the symbols *g* and *ñ* that do not represent a 'guttural' sound. This sound is represented by the complex symbol *ng̃(u)*. The symbol *g* stands for both '*g* non-guttural' and '*g* equal to *h/j*' (cf. Table 4.2.1). Examples of the positions that vowel symbols can take with regard to consonant symbols within a syllable are found in Appendix 4.1.

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

	p	*t*	*c*	*k/qu*	*tz*	*ch*	*s*	*z*	*x*	*g*	*h*	*j*	*m*	*n*	*ñ*	*ng̃(u)*	*l*	*ll*	*b*	*hu*	*u*	*v*	*i*	*y*
b: *i*	+	+	+	-		+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+
a:	+	+	-	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+
b: *e*	+	+	+	-		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)		+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+
a:	+	+	-	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+
b: *a*	+	+	+	-		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	(+)		+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+
a:	+	+	+	-		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
b: *o*	+	+	+	-		+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	(+)		+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+
a:	+	+	+	-		+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+
b: *u*	+	+	+	-		+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	(+)		+	+	-	-	+/-	-	+	+
a:	+	+	+	-		+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	-	+	-	(+)	+

Table 4.14: The vowel symbols and their tentative value

Pedro de la Mata's graphemes	possible values
a	[a], [aː]
e	[ɪ], [ɪː], [ɛ], [ɛː], [ə]
i	[i], [iː]
o	[ʊ], [ʊː], [ɔ], [ɔː], [ɑ]
u	[u], [uː]

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]
[ɪ] [ʊ]
[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"[11] (*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 [ˀ]. 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^{y}V] or [V^{w}V];
2c: a bi-syllabic structure with an intermediate glottal stop: [V^{ˀ}V];
3: a falling diphthong: [Vy/w];

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[12] 'in this language there is no mesure 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?'; *maacsaquianco* 'he who rejoices'.

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

I (1) *â-amo-ct-an* (1512)
1sS-eat-F-IA
'I shall eat'

(2) *a-an-an* (2333)
1sS-come-IA
'I come'

II (3) *ng̃-a-ø-an* (2948)
3sA-1sO-make-IA
'he makes me'

(4) *a-m-a-ø-an* (2728)
1sS-2sO-APL-do/say-IA
'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 [VˀV] 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 a same morpheme, and because the elements *aanco*, *(u)aa* and *maac* are normally spelled with one *a*: cf. *actanco* 'I who am'; *annaliuuam* 'How many colours?'; *macsaictan* 'he rejoices'. The doubling of *a* could therefore indicate length. However, it could also be a mistake, since there is no other evidence for long [a:] in the *ALC*.

V (7) *a-llu-aan-co* (1189)
1sS-go-IA-DEM
'I who go'

(8) *ana-liu-aam* (1424)
how.many-CL:multiform/coloured-QM
'How many species?'

(9) *ø-maacsa-qui-an-co* (1634)
3sS-happiness-be/become-IA-DE
'he who rejoices'

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

4.2.7.2. *ee* sequences
A sequence of two *e* is found in the words:

(10) *che-e-n-an* (2076)
3pS-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) *eey*, *heey* (2863)
yes
'yes'

(14) *ñeetz* (2990)
3sPOS-mother
'someone's mother'

The *ee* sequence is unlikely to represent a long vowel in the first three forms. In these words the combination is divided by a morpheme boundary, and what is more, the prefixes *che-* 'they' and *me-* 'you' are person markers that have assimilated with the vowel *e* of the stems *-e-* 'give' and *-etz-* 'steal'. Their neutral form is *chi-* and *mi-* respectively. The underlying structure of the *ee* sequence is thus an *i-e* sequence, presenting two different vowels. Intersected by a morpheme boundary, and fundamentally consisting of two non-similar vowels, the *ee* sequence in the forms *cheenan*, *meetzolam* and *meetzouynco* may be interpreted as an uninterrupted [ɪɪ] vowel sequence, as a sequence with an intervening glide: [ɪyɪ], or as a sequence interrupted by a glottal stop: [ɪˀɪ].

As far as the words *eey*/*heey* and *ñeetz* are concerned, they are alternatively spelled with one *e*, as *jey* (3595) and *ng̃uech* (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 [sɛ:ykutaˀ] ~ [sɛ:ykutak] 'peccary' with a long mid front vowel followed by the palatal glide [y].

The *ee* cluster may thus symbolize the sequences [ɪɪ], [ɪyɪ], [ɪˀɪ], if it is divided by a morpheme boundary, and a long vowel [ɪ:], [ɛ:], or [e:], if the segments belong to one morpheme.

4.2.7.3. *ii* sequences

The combination *ii* may be interpreted as [i:], [iy], [yi], [ii], [iyi] or [iˀi]. 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)quii* or *a(c)quiî*, *atonliiye*, *atzachiitan* and *cotiinco*, verbal forms, which - according to Pedro de la Mata - represent a preterite, a pluperfect (preterite + a pluperfect ending), a future and a past participle, respectively.

I (15) *chi-piip-an* (66) (also written *chi-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*: *[piyp$tɪ$hɪ/xɪ]. In Cholón a cluster of two consonants in a same syllable was not normally allowed, so that the reading of *ii* as a falling diphthong is unlikely. (Clusters of two consonant symbols in one syllable have only been encountered in one lexical item and in three verb forms, cf. section 4.3). This restriction is also in conflict with the phonetic interpretation of *ii* as a CV sequence [yi], because, in that case, the CCVC stem would also coincide with a syllable containing a combination of two consonants not separated by a syllable boundary. The form *meip-an* gives evidence that the *ii* sequence of the other forms of the verb does not represent one long vowel, but two

distinct vowels that can dissimilate. If we pass over the possibility to interpret the *ii* combination - in the verb *piip(o)* - as a long vowel, a falling diphthong or a CV combination, what remains is the reading of *ii* as a 'vowel-vowel', a 'vowel-glide-vowel' or a 'vowel-glottal stop-vowel' sequence, as [ii], [iyi] or [iʔi], respectively. Accordingly, the *ei* sequence in *meipan* 'he works' may be read as [ɪi], [ɪyi] or [ɪʔi]. In the case of *piip(o)* there is still the possibility of another reading. The *ii* sequence may be interpreted as a 'vowel-glide' sequence [iy] which, in order to avoid a cluster of two consonants ([yp]) within a syllable, was followed by a shwa. The form *piip(o)* may then be read as [piyəp(o)].

II (20) *mi-ip-ø-an* (1886)
2sS-house-VB-IA
'you make your house'

(21) *qui-ip-ø-an* (1886)
1pS-house-VB-IA
'we make our house'

(22) *mi-iep-o-u-ja-n* (1886)
2S-house-VB-PST-IA
'you (p) make your (p) house'

(23) *iip-o-c* (1889)
house-VB-IMP
'Make a house!'

The *ii* sequence in the first two words may have been composed of the final *i* of the person marker *mi* + the stem vowel *i* with the suppression of the initial glide of *yip-an*. However, according to the other data in the *ALC*, consonant suppression does not occur in Cholón. It is rather the stem vowel that is elided (cf. *me-kt-an* < **me-kot-an* in section 5.4.2, a section about vowel suppression). Presumably, this is what has occurred in both forms. Obviously, the stem vowel *i* of the verb *yip(o)* has been elided, and the second element of the sequence *ii* should probably be interpreted as a palatal glide, the initial *y* of *yip-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 *i* (the ending of the person marker) + *yi* (the first two elements of *yip-an*), giving us [miypaŋ]/[miyipaŋ] and [kiypaŋ]/[kiyipaŋ]. The form *miiepoujan* occurs only once in the *ALC*. The second grapheme of the *ii* sequence in this form apparently symbolizes the initial palatal glide of *yip-an*. The word *miiepoujan* should therefore be read as [miyɪpɔwhaŋ] or [miyɪpɔwxaŋ]. (The reading of *miiepoujan* as [miyəpɔwhan] or [miyəpɔwxan] should not be excluded either). The imperative form *iipoc* is regularly composed from the morphemes *iip* 'house'+ *(o)* '(to) make' + the imperative ending *c*, and can be read as [yipɔk]. In both forms, *miiepoujan* as well as *iipoc*, the *ii* sequence may thus be interpreted as a CV combination.

III (24) *qui-imejj-uch* (81)
1pA-teach-AG
'our teacher'

It has been derived from the verb *yam-e(h)* '(to) teach', which has an initial glide. In the form *quiimejjuch*, the stem vowel *a* has been suppressed (cf. *yip-an* above). The

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)quii* (1868)/*a(c)quiî* (247) (*a-(c)qui-i/î*)
1sS-be/became-PST
'I was', 'I became'

(26) *atonliiye* (676) (*a-tonli-iy-e*)
1sS-sit.down/stay-PST-ANT
'I had sat down', 'I had stayed'

(27) *cotiinco* (1458) (*ø-cot-i-inco*)
3sS-be-PST-DEM
'he who was'

(28) *azchiitan* (254) (*a-zch-ii-t-an*)
1sA-3sO-SE-F-IA
'I shall see him/her/it'

In the first four forms, the *ii* sequence is divided by a morpheme boundary, and the second element of the *ii* 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)quii* and *atonliiye*, and a 'diphthong-vowel' sequence [iyi] in the *cotiinco*. If this is correct, the words *a(c)quii*, *atonliiye* and *cotiinco* may be read as [akiy], [atɔŋliyyɪ] and [kotiyinko], respectively. By contrast, the circumflex accent on the final *i* in the form *a(c)quiî* may have indicated a glottal stop. If so, the *iî* cluster may have represented a 'vowel-glottal stop-diphthong' sequence, so that *a(c)quiî* may be read as [aki^{ʔ}iy]. 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], [iyi] or [i^{ʔ}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, *cotiinco* the cluster *ii* possibly symbolizes a VCV sequence [iyi]. When the second element of the cluster is accentuated by a circumflex, it may even represent a VCVC sequence [iˀiy].

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-ñgo* (1515)	*qui-po-o-ñgo* (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 [ʊʊ], as a vowel-glide-vowel sequence [ʊʷʊ], or as a vowel-glottal stop-vowel sequence [ʊˀʊ].

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*)
2sPOS-guinea.pig
'your guinea pig'

(31) *qui- zooz* (143) (replacement of *quichooh*)
1pPOS-guinea.pig
'our guinea pig'

(32) *y-tzooz* (143) (replacement of *ychooh*)
3pPOS-guinea.pig
'their guinea pig'

In favour of the assumption that double *oo* could represent a long vowel, there is first the fact that [o:] has been attested in the utterances of José Santos Chapa. He pronounced the word for 'red monkey' as [čamyo:h], with a long vowel. In this word, the articulation of a long vowel has assumedly been favoured by the following glottal fricative. Such pronunciation could possibly have been symbolized by the sequence *ooh* in the forms *michooh*, *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):

(33) *yotz* (143) (absolute form)
guinea.pig
'guinea pig'

(34) *a-tzotz* (143)
1SPOS-guinea.pig
'my guinea pig'

(35) *zotz* (143)
3SPOS.guinea pig
'his guinea pig'

(36) *mi-zotz-ja* (143)
2POS-guinea.pig-PL
'your (p) guinea pig'

In the paradigm *mi-tzooz*, *qui-zooz*, *y-tzooz*, double *o* may stand for [ʊ:] ~ [o:]. When intersected by a morpheme boundary, the sequence *oo* may stand for the sequences [ʊʊ], [ʊ^{w}ʊ] and [ʊ^{ʔ}ʊ].

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 [u:] was heard in the word [u:t] 'fire' as pronounced by Mr. Santos Chapa). However, the doubling of the last symbol in order to indicate that the vowel is stressed does not seem plausible, because in Cholón the last syllable was normally stressed, or, as Pedro de la Mata observes, "[...] no tiene mas [acentos] que uno en la ultima siylaba, assi en nombres como en verbos"[12]. Therefore, a final syllable does not need to be marked as such. The interjection *acu!* 'exclamation of affection', for example, also ends in a stressed high back vowel and is written with a single *u*, which is not doubled. The double *uu* in the expressions *uchuu!* and *uñuu!* may thus be read as a diphthong [uw] or as a long high back vowel [u:].

[13] "[...] 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 ([V:]). 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 [ɛ:], [o:] and [u:]. If the vowels of the sequences belong to different morphemes, they may have been pronounced separately as two successive vowels: [VV], as two vowels with an intermediate glide: [$V^{y/w}V$], or as a sequence interrupted by a glottal stop: [$V^{ʔ}V$].

An *ii* sequence is unlikely to represent a long vowel, even when not intersected by a morpheme boundary. It may, however, have represented a rising diphthong [yi] and a falling diphthong [iy]. In 'preterite' forms, the *ii* cluster, divided by a morpheme boundary, may also represent a [VyV] sequence (cf. *cotiinco* [kotiyinko]), and a [$V^{ʔ}Vy$] 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 *iî* 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*

	[V:]	[VV]	[$V^{y/w}V$]	[$V^{ʔ}V$]	[Vy/w]	[yV]	[VyV]
aa	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
a-a	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
ee	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
e-e	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
ii	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
i-i	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
oo	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
o-o	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
uu	+	-	-	-	+	-	-

4.2.8. Diphthongs

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

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

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

(47)	[aw]:	*allau!* (2938)	'How painful!'
		auca (2821)	'enemy'

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

Table 4.17: Vowels + off-glide

	[w]	[y]
[i]	+	+
[ɛ]	+	+
[a]	-	+
[ɔ]	+	+
[u]	-	+

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

liu	'painting'	↔ *leu*	'worm'
liu	'painting'	↔ *lou*	'something made'
ney	'firewood'	↔ *nai*	'someone's backside'
ay	'backside'	↔ *oy!*	'exclamation of concession'

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

Table 4.19: Tentative falling diphthongs

[iw]
[ɛw], [ɛy] [ɔw], [ɔy]
[ay]

In addition, in the words recorded in the area, the following diphthongs were attested: [ɛy], [ay], [ɔy], [iw], [ew]/[ɛw], [ow]:

(48)	[sɛ:ykuta$^{?}$]/[sɛ:ykutak]	'peccary'
(49)	[ay]	'exclamation to frighten someone'
(50)	[ɔy]	'exclamation to confirm something'
(51)	[kitiw]	'ear'
(52)	[alkusew]/[alkusɛw]	'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)	-*vuch* (1445)	~	-*uuch* (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"[13]. They presumably symbolize a bilabial glide [w].

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

4.3. Consonant symbols

4.3.1. Introduction

The symbols employed by the author and the transcriber(s) of the *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
b (in non-borrowed words), *hu, u/v*	4.3.2
c, qu, k	4.3.3
ch, *tz/z*	4.3.4
i/y	4.3.5
l, ll (non-doubled)	4.3.6
m, n, ñ/ñ̂ (non-'guttural'), and *nc*	4.3.7
p, *t*	4.3.8
s/z, x	4.3.9
g (non-'guttural'), *h*, *j*	4.3.10
g ('guttural'), *g̃(u)/ĝ(u), ~g, mg̃, ng, ng̃(u)/ngˆ(u), ng̃ñ̂*, *ñ/ñ̂* ('guttural'), *ñg(u)/ñ̂g(u), ñ̂g̃*	4.3.11
doubled symbols: *cc, chch, jj/gh/gj/hg/hj/jg/jh, ll, llll, mm*, *nn, ññ/ñ̂ñ̂, pp, ss/zz, tt, uu/uv, xx, yy*	4.3.12
symbols restricted to loan words: *b, d, f, r*	4.4

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

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[14] 'In this language, F, whether strong or soft, is not pronounced'.

sequence, *uv*, is never the result of a replacement, because neither one of the two symbols is found as a replacement of another.

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

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

4.3.2. The symbols *b, hu, u/v*

The grapheme *b* usually occurs in Spanish loan words (cf. section 4.4), where it supposedly stands for a 'softly pronounced' voiced bilabial fricative [β] (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 *g̃olebuch* 'lover', and *bem* 'sweet potato'. In these transcriptions *b* can not stand for [β], 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 *g̃olebuch* is written elsewhere as *g̃oleuuch* and *colevuch*. In these words the graphemes *u* and *v* alternate with *b*. Below, we shall see that the symbol *u*/*v* may be interpreted as a bilabial approximant [w] when it appears before or after a vowel symbol in a syllable. Since in the case of *g̃olebuch* 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 *g̃olebuch* should therefore be read as [ŋolewuč], and *bem*, on the analogy of *g̃olebuch*, 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 complementizeng suffix -*hu*, [hu], cf. section 4.2.2). The combination *hua* has been found in the following forms:

(59) *ol i-l-o-u-hua-m* *co-â* (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'.

(60) *ø-llahu-an* (904)
3sS-go-IA
'he goes'

(61) *i-llahu-an* (904)
3pS-go-IA
'they go'

(62) *hualiu* (1031)
strength/ beauty
'strong/beautiful'

In the word *i-lou-hua-m-co-â*, 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*:

(63)	*llavi* (905)	~	*llaui* (78)	'he went'
(64)	*illven* (905)	~	*alluen* (905)	'they went' ~ 'I went'
(65)	*-va* (6)	~	*-ua* (77)	'topic marker'
(66)	*-vo-ch* (2097)	~	*-uo-ch* (1042)	'verbalizer-factitive'
(67)	*-vuch* (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 can not be a voiced labiodental [v], because, according to de la Mata this sound does not occur in Cholón (fol. 1): "No se pronuncia en esta lengua [...] F [...] ni fuerte, ni suave"[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).

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[16] 'In this language, F, whether strong or soft , is not pronounced'.

The examples above show that both *u* and *v* can occur before the vowel symbols *i, e, a, o, u*; the examples in Appendix 4.1 give evidence that only *u* appears after these vowel symbols.

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

(68) *ll(a)u* (2072) '(to) go' ↔ *llah* (2072) '(to) bring'

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

4.3.3. The symbols *c, qu, k*

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

(69) *a-m-pic-e-n* (1173)
1SA-2SO-ask-PST-IA
'I asked you'

(70) *mi-chace-n-lê* (2969)
2SS-joke-IA-QM
'Are you joking?'

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

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

(71) *c-a-* (558) '1PO-AP'
(72) *co* (1292) 'here', 'this'
(73) *oc* (1268) 'I', 'me'
(74) *cu-* (109) 'our'

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

(75) *qui-quill* (117)
1PPOS-wall
'our wall'

(76) *que-chesmiñ* (120)
1PPOS-cedar
'our cedar'

(77) *cu-pul* (141)
1PPOS-son
'our son'

The examples show that the symbols *c* and *qu* are equivalent and symbolize the velar occlusive [k], because they are used in complementary distribution: *qu* before the vowel symbols *i* and *e*, *c* elsewhere.

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

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

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

(78)	*cot* (114)	'water'	↔	*ng̃ot* (114)	'his water'
(79)	*-c-a-* (558)	'1pO-AP'	↔	*-p-a-* (560)	'3pO-AP'
(80)	*co* (1292)	'this (one)	↔	*to* (1231)	'(to) do'

4.3.4. The symbol *ch*

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

4.3.4.1. The symbol *ch* without replacement (henceforth *ch*$^{-}$)

In a number of roots and morphemes, Pedro de la Mata's symbol *ch* has never been found replaced by the symbols *tz* and *z*, nor alternating with the symbols *s* and *x*. There is no compelling reason to assign to it any other value than that of Spanish *ch*, representing an unvoiced palatal affricate [č].

(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*^{s} (see section below) and to palatals represented by other symbols:

(84) *chi-* 'they' ↔ *tˢi* 'rain'
chan '(to) attach' ↔ *pʸan* 'go'
↔ *ñan* 'sleep'
↔ *yan* 'give'

4.3.4.2. The symbol *ch* with replacement (henceforth *ch*⁺)
The symbol *ch* has on many occasions been barred and replaced by both the symbol *tz* and the symbol *z*. This replacement mainly occurs in the relational forms which have *ch* in initial position and which have been derived from an absolute form with initial *y* (see section 5.5). The replacement *ch* > *tz/z* futhermore occurs in borrowings (cf. *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) $*ch-* > $*z-*: *chipiou* > *zipiou* (121) 'a (variety of) fruit'
(86) *-ch-* > *-z-*: *michipiou* > *mizipiou* (121) 'your (variety of) fruit'
(87) *-ch-* > *-tz-*: *ichipiou* > *itzipiou* (121) 'their (variety of) fruit'
(88) *-ch*$ > *-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) *ypchoc* > *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) $*ch-*: *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 hair
'one humain hair'

(95) *ypchocc-o* *ypchocc-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 [š], respectively (see section 4.3.9):

(96)	*ich-* (94)	~ *is-/ ix-* (1084/1094)	'three'
(97)	*-che* (94)	~ *-xe* (1095)	'numeral classifier for round objects'

The sound corresponding to *ch*$^{+}$ may have been identical to the one corresponding to *ch*$^{-}$, because both can be represented by the same symbol. Therefore, if *ch*$^{-}$ represented an unvoiced palatal affricate [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 [t^{s}]. This sound only differs from a palatal affricate by its place of articulation: alveolar versus palatal. It will furthermore appear that the symbol *z* may also have represented an unvoiced alveolar [s]. In addition, the *ch* ~ *s* alternation in the example *ich-* ~ *is-* 'three' shows that the sound represented by the symbol *ch*$^{+}$ could be replaced with [s]. In either case, the difference between the sounds symbolized by *ch*$^{+}$ and by *z* or *s* is not only a matter of palatality, but also of the presence of an obstruent element: [t^{s}] > [s].

The fact that palatal [č] is interchangeable with alveolar [t^{s}] is in line with the alveolar/palatal equivalence observed in the liquids and the sibilants. The alveolar lateral [l] may optionally be articulated as a palatal [l^{y}] in syllable-final position (cf. section 4.3.6), and the alveolar fricative [s] as a palatal fricative [š] (cf. the example *is* [is] ~ *ix* [iš] '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.c. 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 [ȼ] 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 [t^{s}]. An analogous development occurred in Ancash Quechua. Quechua originally

distinguished retroflex [ȼ] from palatal [č]. The latter changed into affricate [tˢ], whereby the apical ↔ palatal opposition was removed. Since the place occupied by palatal [č] became free, retroflex [ȼ] could shift into palatal [č], replacing the former retroflex ↔ palatal opposition with a palatal ↔ alveolar opposition (Torero, 1964).

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

(98) *yip* 'house' ↔ *-chip/-tzip/-zip* 'somebody's house'

4.3.4.3. The symbols *tz* and *z* as substitutes for *ch*

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

(99)	*azaluch* (119)	'my black man'	*azipiou* (121)	'my fruit'
	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'
	mitzaluchja (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, [tˢ]. In section 4.3.9, however, we shall see that *z* was also used as a notational variant of *s*, symbolizing [s]. The symbol *z* may also have represented this sound when it was employed as a substitute for the symbol *ch*⁺. This assumption seems plausible, if we consider the fact that the affricate sound represented by the symbol *ch*⁺ could be replaced by fricative [s] (cf. the example *ich-* ~ *is-* 'three' in section 4.3.4.2), and that the former, the affricate sound, was not relevantly distinctive from [s]. As a consequence, since the palatal affricate symbolized by *ch*⁺ not only fluctuated with [s], but with [tˢ] as well, we may assume that [tˢ] also fluctuated with [s]. The more so since both sounds, [tˢ] 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 [tˢ] and with fricative [s], as [katˢik] and as [kasik], respectively. The [tˢ] ~ [s] fluctuation gives evidence that fricative [s] can function as an allophone of [tˢ]. It is therefore possible that the symbol *z* used in the *ALC*, by analogy with the affricate ~ sibilant fluctuation observed in the speech of Chapa, also represented a sibilant [s] when it alternated with the symbol *tz*.

Concerning the use of the symbol *z*, we should furthermore mention that this symbol can also replace the symbol *h*, when employed as an alternative for *tz*. In the words *mitzooz*, *quizooz* and *ytzooz* - replacements of the forms *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* [ičač] 'maybe', *pihca* [pičqa] 'five'. It is therefore possible that *-ooh* should be read as [o:č]. (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 [tˢ] symbolized by *tz* and *z*, and its possible counterpart, the sibilant [s] symbolized by *z*, are relevantly distinctive from the palatal glide [y] (cf. section 4.3.4.2). The distinctive character of these sounds with regard to palatal [y] is also illustrated by the following oppositions:

(100) *atzuch* (144) 'my alfalfa' ↔ *zuch* (144) 'his alfalfa' ↔ *yuch* (144) 'alfalfa'

4.3.5. The symbol *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^y]. Both graphemes can appear before and after a vowel symbol (cf. Appendix 4.1).

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

(103)	*lu* (1039) 'interior'	↔ *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^y], 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 [lʸ], 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 [lʸ].

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 [tˢ] and [č] (section 4.3.4.2), and of the fricatives [s] and [š] (section 4.3.10).

The fact that in the lexical items *colol* and *el* palatal [lʸ] 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/ñ̀* (non-'guttural'), and *nc*

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

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

(107) *man* (2009) 'sow' ↔ *nan* (342) 'come' ↔ *ñan/ñ̀an* (80) 'sleep'.

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

(108)	bilabial:	*m* ↔ *p*:	*ma* (1226) 'intensifier'	↔ *pa* (139) 'father'
(109)	alveolar:	*n* ↔ *l*:	*nan* (414) 'go'	↔ *lan* (2038) 'do/make it'
		↔ *t*:	*lu* (1039) 'interior'	↔ *-tu* (17) 'adessive'
(110)	palatal:	*ñ/ñ̀* ↔ *ch*:	*ñan* (80) 'sleep'	↔ *chan* (1744) '(to) attach'
		↔ *y*:		↔ *yan* (2521) 'give'
		↔ *ll*:	*ñu* (54) 'daughter'	↔ *llu* (133) 'peacock'

Despite the fact that the symbols *m* and *n* normally refer to sounds that are relevantly distinctive, a number of lexical items present *m* ~ *n* fluctuation in word-final position. For example, the following lexical items are alternatively written with final *m* or *n*:

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

It seems as if in these cases the opposition between *m* and *n* has been neutralized. There are reasons to assume that these symbols, when occurring syllable-finally, do not necessarily refer to a bilabial and an alveolar nasal, respectively, but that they can also refer to another nasal, viz. the velar nasal [ŋ]. The lexical item *nen* 'hand', for instance, is also spelled as *nenc*. The symbol combination *nc* indicates that the sound represented by it had been a nasal (indicated by the symbol *n*) + a velar (indicated by *c* [k], see section 4.3.3) point of articulation (see also section 4.3.11). Thus, the sound represented by the symbol *n* in final position was not an alveolar nasal but rather a velar nasal [ŋ], the sound for which Pedro de la Mata had no unequivocal symbol and which he designated by the term of 'guttural' (cf. section 4.3.11). (Compare the *nc* sequence in the lexical item *oncxa* 'deep well', which was originally spelled as *onsa*. Presumably, the symbol *n* has been replaced by the digraph *nc* in order to indicate that the sound in question was a velar nasal [ŋ]). In order to represent this sound in a prevocalic position de la Mata employed, among others, the symbols *mg̃, g̃(u), ng, ng̃(u), ñg(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)	> *chag̃* + *am* (1433) 'bundled + question marker'
pan (140) 'mother'	> *pang̃* + *a* (1341) 'mother + topic marker'
pon (1106) 'group' (classifier)	> *pong̃* + *am* (1442) 'troop + question marker'
xum/ xun (1449/1107) 'accumulations' (classifier)	
	> *xumg̃* + *am* (1448) 'heap + question marker'
	axung̃ + *all* (2490) 'together', 'one heap only'
chan (1744) '(to) attach'	> *mipochg̃u* + *i* (1744) 'you attached them'
ton (507) 'he has/is'	> *tog̃u* + *i* (513) 'he had/was'
	> *tong̃u* + *iye* (519) 'he has had/had been'
	> *tong̃* + *in* (1181) 'he is still [at home]'
aton (782) 'I have'	> *atñgu* + *i* (647) 'I had'
pan (588) 'negative verb ending'	> *llacpang* + *in* (1180) 'he does not go yet'
	> *miquipang* + *in* (2836) 'you are not yet'

The appearance of a symbol representing a 'guttural', assumedly a velar nasal [ŋ], as a substitute for a final *m* or *n* indicates that these graphemes in final position may

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

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

(114) *nem* [nem] (1186) 'day' ↔ *nen* [neŋ] (73) 'hand'

Like the symbols *m* and *n*, the grapheme *ñ/ñ* also has two values. It generally symbolizes a palatal nasal [n^{y}], 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:

(115)	*p*	↔ *t*:	*pa* (139) 'father'	↔ *ta* (1906) 'stone'
(116)	*p/t*	↔ *ch*:	*pan* (462)/*tan* (308) 'negative/future verb form'	↔ *chan* (1744) (to) attach'
		↔ *c*:	*pan/tan* (see above)	↔ *can* (868) 'causative verb form'
(117)	*p*	↔ *m*:	*pa* (139 'father'	↔ *ma* (1226) 'much'
(118)	*t*	↔ *l*:	*ta* (1906) 'stone'	↔ *lan* (2038) 'to do/make something'
(119)	*t*	↔ *n*:	*tan* (308) 'future ending'	↔ *nan* (342) '(to) go'

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* func-tions 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*:

	original	replacement	
(120)	*sipnall*	> *xipnall* (1189)	'quickly'
(121)	*sax*	> *xax* (125)	'armadillo'
(122)	*onsa*	> *oncxa* (2463)	'deep well'
(123)	*imsseposan*	> *imxeposan* (2227)	'It (the wind) is blowing at you'.
(124)	*chexmiñ*	> *chesmiñ* (120)	'cedar'
(125)	*maxou*	> *masou* (2181)	'he was born'
(126)	*amxi*	> *amzi* (68)	'I bought'

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 [š]. In the modern data, for instance, the word for 'armadillo' and the exhortation 'drink!' were pronounced as [šaš] and as [šixya], 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)l* and *sa* could also be spelled with *x*.

In a number of cases the symbol *x* never alternates with *s, ss* or *z*. The word *muxac* 'sun', for instance, never appear as **musac/mussac/muzac*. We may assume that in these cases the symbol *x* also refers to an unvoiced palatal sibilant [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)	*sa*/*xa* '3s'	↔ *pa* (139)	'father'
		↔ *ta* (1906)	'stone'
		↔ *c-a* (558)	'1p appicative'
		↔ *-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 incertainties, 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* = soft = foreign = sometimes *h* in section 4.1.1.4).

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

(128)	-*ge* (15)	'dative case'
(129)	*allgi* (2652)	'something sweet'

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

The symbol *g*/_ *e,i* and the alternative symbol *j* may represent a similar sound as the corresponding symbols in Spanish, because they are used in the same way as in Spanish. In the Spanish text, the symbol *g* before *e* and *i*, and the symbol *j* are also equivalent, e.g., *muger* ~ *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 [ŋ], see section 4.3.1 and 4.3.11).

4.3.10.2. The symbol *h*

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

In the *Arte*, the symbol *h* is used as a notational variant of *j*, and is found before and after the vowel symbols *a, e, i, o, u* (cf. Appendix 4.1). The following minimal pairs show that the symbol is distinctively used.

(135)	*-he* (15) 'benefactive'	↔ *-te* (16) 'adessive', 'directive'
		↔ *-le* (279) 'interrogation marker'
(136)	*hil* (2203) 'word'	↔ *sil* (1127) 'his word'
(137)	*llahan* (2072) 'bring'	↔ *llahuan* (1814) 'go'
(138)	*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*:

(139)	*heey*, *jey*, *eey* (2863-61)	'yes'
(140)	*inchamma*, *inchammah* (1352, 2719)	'What's the matter?'
(141)	*-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 [ˀ]. 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, g̃, ĝ, mg̃, ng, ng̃, nĝ, ng̃ñ, ñ, ñ, ñg, ñg, ñg̃* are used. The symbols *g, g̃, ng, ng̃* occur most frequently, whereas *~g, ng̃ñ, ñg̃, mg̃* appear only once. In his discussion of gutturalization Pedro de la Mata generally uses the symbol *ng̃(u)*.

The designation ‘guttural’ indicates that this sound was probably pronounced at the back of the oral cavity, as a velar or uvular. In the representations of this ‘guttural’ we also find the indication of nasality: the consonant symbol *n* and the tilde ~ (or its notational variant the circumflex accent). Because of the combination ‘nasality’ + ‘uvular or velar articulation’, the most likely candidates are:
- a prenasalized velar stop [ᵑg],
- a uvular nasal [N],
- a velar nasal [ŋ].

The fact that *g̃* alternates with *ñ* and *ñ̂* 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/g̃/ĝ/~g/ng/ng̃/nĝ/ng̃ñ̂/ñ/ñ̂/ñg/ñ̂g/ñ̂g̃* 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’
ng̃ot (114) ‘his water’

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

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

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

[kot] ‘water’ above and in section 4.3.3, and from the bilabial nasal [m]: cf. [neŋ] ‘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)	*anɡ̃uisiñ* + *s* superscript	> *anɡ̃uissiñ* (240) ‘I cheat/decieve/betray’
(148)	*alec* + *l* superscript	> *allec* (1142) ‘ten’
(149)	*ylami* + *m* superscript	> *ylammi* (87) ‘he killed someone’
(150)	*manap* + *n* superscript	> *mannap* (1219) ‘from’, ‘between’, ‘more’
(151)	*coñap* + *ñ* 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’ *cotto* + derived forms are written with double *t*. These forms are never alternatively spelled with single *t*, and, with the exception of only one future tense form (*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 *cotto*, because in such forms the double consonant symbol is not intersected by a morpheme boundary. The words *micotti* and *cotto* are composed of the verb root *cot* + an imperative ending *-i* and a ‘gerund’ ending *-o*, respectively. Analytically spoken, they should have been written with single *t*. Furthermore, it should be noticed that the form *cotte* ‘infinitive’ and its derivatives are sometimes

written with single *t*, whereas they should be spelled with double *t*. The word *cotte*, namely, consists of a root *cot* + the ending *-(k)te* 'infinitive'. This seems to indicate that in the paradigm of the verb *c(o)t* '(to) be' the symbols *t* and *tt* are interchangeable and that the latter is not distinctive from its single counterpart.

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

(153) *a-che* + *t* superscript > *atche* (1095) 'one round thing'

Word internal gemination seems to underlie the doubling of the consonant symbols, as well as the consonant symbol combinations in words such as *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 [tč] -, was pronounced sustainedly, and perceived as a long consonant.

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

(154) *que-tng̃uti-i-te*: *t* deleted + *c* superscript >
que-cnguti-i-ø-te (19)
1pS-be.seated-PST-NOM-AD
'where we were'

The substitution of the symbol *c* for *t* is rather strange, because the form is derived from a verb with an initial *t*: *tong̃* '(to) be seated'. Velar sssimilation with the contiguous consonant is possibly the reason why [t] is replaced by [k] symbolized by *c*: [tŋ] > [kŋ].

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 [lʸ]. Intervocalically, however, the double consonant can be interpreted either as a geminate [l] or as [lʸ] (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*

callan	'order'
c(o)ll	'(to) love'
illaca (< *llaca* 'coloured object')	'their coloured object'
(*a*)-*llahan*	'(I) bring'
(*a*)-*llahuan*	'(I) become', '(I) go'
lla-	'go'
ullu (< *llu* 'peacock')	'their peacock'
mellus	'canoe'
olle	'saliva'
quimjollo	'we reach'
ulluc	'spear'
yammollan	'(to) leave behind'

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^y], Spanish *ll*. In other cases, however, the interpretation of double *l*, is uncertain. It may either refer to palatal lateral [l^y], 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 *j* and as *g*/_ *e* and *i*, and symbolizes an unvoiced velar fricative [x] or glottal [h];
- the symbol *qu* corresponds to [k]. In the word *quatrotemporas* '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 [š]. The lexical item *vexa* 'sheep' may thus have been pronounced as [wešа]; compare old Spanish [oβešа] and Tarma Quechua [u:ša] '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'
	quatrotemporas (2793)	*cuatrotemporas*	'Ember day'
	vigilia (2793)	*vigilia*	'vigil'
	resan 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')		
	rasumuilli (1198)		'It hailed'.
	utza/uza (1204/1222)	*huča*	'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 [č], represented by the symbol *ch*, has been depalatalized and changed into [tˢ]. The borrowing *lasumuillan* 'to hail' shows that the non-native vibrant [r] 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 *n̂* indicates that the nasal in question is palatal [nʸ]. 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 [nʸ] and a velar nasal [ŋ]. The palatal nasal [nʸ] can thus be symbolized by *n̂*, as well as by *ñ*; the velar nasal [ŋ] can for instance be symbolized by the digraphs *ĝ*, *g̃*, *nĝ*, *ng̃*, *ñ*, *n̂*, *n̂g*, 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 [nʸ] is symbolized by the digraph *n̂*, rather than by *ñ*; the velar nasal [ŋ] is represented by the symbols *g͡* and *ng͡*, rather than by *ĝ* and *nĝ*.

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)	*mallâ* (2979)	'something raw'
(160)	*llín* (2980)	'something green'
(161)	*llêz* (2982)	'alfalfa'
(162)	*patôx* (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. *âamoctan* [aˀamoktan] 'I shall eat', section 4.2.7.1). (The glottal stop might also have been represented by the symbol *c*, 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 *quexùm* '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/hj/jg/jh/jj*, *ll, llll, mm*, *nn*, *ññ/ĥĥ, pp*, *ss/zz*, *tt*, *uv*, *xx* and *yy* may have the value of geminated consonants: [kk], [čč], [hh]/[xx], [ll], [$l^y l^y$], [mm], [nn], [$n^y n^y$], [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	most likely value	
	Cholón	borrowings
b	[w]	[β], [b], [w]
c	[k]	[k]
/$_*e*, *i*	[s]	[s]
ch	[č]	[č]
ch ~ *tz/z*	[t^s]	[t^s]
d		[d]
f		[f]
g (non-'guttural')	[g]	[g]
/$_*i*, *e*	[x], [h]	[x]
g ('guttural'), *g̃/ĝ/~g*, *mg̃*, *ng/ng̃/nĝ/ng̃ĥ*, *ñ/ĥ* ('guttural'), *ñg/ĥg/ĥg̃*	[ŋ]	
h	[x], [h]	[h], [ø]
/_*eey!*	[h], [ø]	
/a_#	[h], [ø], [ˀ]	
hu/$_a	[w]	[w]
i /$-V, V-$	[y]	[y]
j	[x], [h]	[x]
/_*ey!*	[h], [ø]	
k	[k]	
l	[l]	[l]
ll/$_, _$	[l^y]	
llll	[l^y]	
m	[m]	[m]
m ~ *n* /_#	[ŋ]	
n	[n]	[n]
/_#	[n], [ŋ]	[n], [ŋ]
/_$*c*, _$*qu*	[ŋ]	
nc/_$	[ŋ]	
ñ/ĥ (non-'guttural')	[n^y]	[n^y]
p	[p]	[p]
qu	[k]	[k], [kw]
r		[r]
s	[s]	[s]
t	[t]	[t]
tz	[t^s]	[t^s]
u /$_V, V_$	[w]	[w]
/$*g*_		[w]
v	[w]	[β], [b], [w]
x	[š]	[x], [š]
y /$_V, V_$	[y]	[y]

z ~ s	[s]	[s]
z ~ *ch/tz*	[t^s]	[t^s]

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 [ˀ] 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

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
stops					
unvoiced	p	t		k	ˀ
voiced	[β/b]	[d]		g	
fricatives					
unvoiced	[f]	s	š	x	h
affricates	t^s		č		
nasals	m	n	n^y	ŋ	
vibrants	[r]				
laterals	l		l^y		
approximants	w		y		

4.6.3. Distinctive and non-distinctive differences

The sounds [p], [t], [k], [t^s], [č], [s]/[š], [x]/[h], [m], [n], [n^y], [ŋ], [l], [l^y], [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^{y}aw] ‘(to) go’; and in the following suffixes: -*buch* [wuč] ‘agentive marker’, also written as -*uuch* 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*, -*a,* -*(o)*, respectively, when used after a consonant-final stem); its function seems to be that of a euphonic element meant to avoid a hiatus bewteen 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~~e~~t* 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~~e~~t* ‘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^{s}] and [s] otherwise symbolized by *tz* and *z*, respectively; as a result it is not distinctive from [t^{s}] 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]^{1} and [č]^{2}, respectively. The former may have had a retracted articulation (see section 4.3.4.2), the latter had the alveolar affricate [t^{s}] and the alveolar sibilant [s] as alternatives. In the tentative phoneme chart represented Table 4.23, the former affricate, [č]^{1}, is represented by palatal č; the latter affricate, [č]^{2}, by the alveolar affricate t^{s}.

The symbol *z* is also used ambiguously. First, the symbol *z* is employed as a replacement of the symbol *ch*$^{+}$. In this function,

a, it alternates with the symbol *tz*;

b, it is not interchangeable with the symbol *x* representing [š];

c, it not only refers to the affricate [t^{s}], 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^{s}];

f, it is represented by the consonant t^s 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 [š];
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 [š];
f, it is represented by the consonant s in the table below.

As for the palatal fricative [š] 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] ~ [š] alternation in the prefix *is*- [is]- ~ *ix*- [iš]- 'three' (see section 4.3.4).

Reconsidering the observations above, the following consonants are proposed as possible phonemes: [p], [t], [k], [t^s], [č], [s], [x], [m], [n], [n^y], [ŋ], [l], [l^y], [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

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
stop	p	t		k	?
affricate		t^s	č		
fricative		s		x	
nasal	m	n	n^y	ŋ	
lateral		l	l^y		
approximant	w		y		

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

the *ALC*'s symbols	spelling proposed
a	*a*
b; *hu*/_*a*; *u*/$_V, V_$; *v*	*w*
c; *k*; *qu*	*k*
c/_*e*, _*i*; *s*; *z* ~ *s*	*s*
ch	*č*
ch ~ *tz/z, tz, z* ~ *ch/tz*	*t*^{s}
e	*e*
g ('guttural'), *g̃, ĝ, ~g, mg̃, ng, ng̃, ng̃, ng̃ĥ, ñ/ĥ* ('guttural'), *ñg, ĥg, ĥg̃*; *m* ~ *n*/_#; *nc*/_$; *n*/_$ ~ 'guttural'; *n*$/_ *c, q*; *n*#	*ŋ*
g (non-'guttural')/_*a*	*g*
g (non-'guttural')/_*i*, _*e*, _$; *h*; *j*	*h*
i; *y*/$_(C)$	*i*
i/$_V, V_$; *y*	*y*
i/ii/yi 'perfective aspect'	*iy*
l	*l*
ll/$_V, V_$	*l*^{y}
m	*m*
n	*n*
ñ/ĥ (non-'guttural')	*n*^{y}
o	*o*
p	*p*
t	*t*
u	*u*
x	*š*

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$lan* (2138) 'I do/make something'
(2) *alʸ$hi* (1033) 'something sweet'
(3) *če$čo* (2034) 'silver'
(4) *kulʸ$ha* (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$a$man* (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 *atupiahtan,* as *atupiyahtan*, or as *atupyah$tan*. Final syllables also tend to be consonant-initial, but syllables consisting of a vowel or a VC sequence, such as $*e* and $*in* in the words *ma*$*e* 'falsely' and *ma*$*in* 'not yet'occasionally occur in

word-final position. The words <mae> and <main> may, respectively, be interpreted as *ma$e* and *ma$in*, as *ma$ˀe* and *ma$ˀin*, and as *ma$ye* and *ma$yin*. However, since the syllables *ma, e, in* refer to dif-ferent 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) *paŋ* (140) 'mother'

The maximum number of syllables per word found in the *ALC* appears to be eight: *mimenʸohakiahte$ke*/*mi$me$nʸo$hakiyahteke* <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 *-lʸ* 'only', 'nothing else but' has an allomorph *-alʸ* after a final consonant. In addition, the suffix *-nʸ* 'as', 'like' has *-minʸ* as allomorph, when suffixed to a word ending in a consonant. Not all suffixes exhibit this type of alternation, however.

(9) *Luis* (78) 'Luis' > *Luis-a* (79) 'as for Luis'
Pedro (79) 'Pedro' > *Pedro-wa* (78) 'as for Pedro'

(10) *yip* (1550) 'house' > *a-yip-aŋ* (1550) 'I make a house'
pana (2012) 'road' > *a-mna-w-aŋ* (2013) 'I make my road'

(11) *čečo* (2034) 'silver' > *čečo-lʸ* (1173) 'only silver'
wem (1174) 'sweet potato' > *wem-alʸ* (1174) 'only sweet potato'

(12) *ko* (1292) 'this' > *ko-nʸ* (2493) 'like this'
etˢ (2328) 'thief' > *etˢ-minʸ* (2328) 'like a thief'

5.3. Consonant clusters

Clustering of consonants within one syllable hardly ever occurs in Cholón. The avoid-ance of consonant clusters within a syllable is most convincingly illustrated by the way Spanish words were adapted to Cholón. In the following example, the Spanish 'muta cum liquida' sequence is broken up by the insertion of a copy vowel (see anaptyxis, section 5.7):

(13) Sp plátano ‘banana’ > *palantu* (1454) ‘banana’

We have only found two examples of a sequence of two consonants in the same syllable: the verb form *maksayktaŋ* <macsaictan > ‘he shall rejoice’ and the verb stem *šayš/ šayč* <xaix/ xaich> ‘(to) whip’. Elsewhere, the verb ‘to rejoice’ is transcribed as <maacsaquian> *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 *<macsactan>. It is also possible that the word <macsaictan> should be interpreted as *maksayiktaŋ* or *maksaˀiktaŋ*. The verb stem *šayš/ šayč* is obviously a case of onomatopoeia. However, the possibility of interpreting this stem as *šayiš/ šayič* or *šaˀiš/ šaˀič* can not be excluded.

Consonant clusters mainly appear at syllable boundaries (cf. the cluster *tˢm* <tzm> in the example *etˢ-minʸ* <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 *tˢ* - symbolized in the *Arte* by <s>/<z>, <x> and <tz>/<z>, respectively - is not distinctive. <s>, <x>, <tz> and <z> do not normally occur together in a boundary cluster: *<stz/ztz>, *<sx>. However, in the ortho-graphy used in the *Arte*, clusters such as <zx>, <xs>, <xz>, <tzs> and <tzz> have been encountered. In the paradigm of the lexical item *yušam* <yuxam> ‘armadillo’, the rela-tional forms are spelled as <tuzxam> with a <zx> sequence. Combinations represented by the symbols <xs> and <xz> have been found in the words *kilišso kilišso* <quilixsô quilixsô> ‘in sevens’ and *kilištˢel* <quilixzel> ‘seven’ (+ the classifier *tˢel* ‘truncal object’). A *tˢs* sequence, symbolized by the graphemes <tzs> and <tzz>, has been found in the verbal forms *atˢitˢsiyaŋ* <atzitzsian> ‘I return’and *metˢitˢsiyay* <metzitzziay> ‘you returned’. These sequences of obstruents - the sequences *sš* <zx>, *šs* <xs/xz> and *tˢs* <tzs/tzz> - may indicate that the consonants *s* <s/z>, *š* <x>, and *tˢ* <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’, *atončehho* <atonchejjo> ‘my having to roam’. It is certainly true for -*tˢitˢsiyay* <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>, <xs/xz> and <tzs/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* <mn> and *nm* <nm> (and double *m* <m> and *n* <n>). The *nʸm* <ñm> sequence found in the form *sinʸmilowhaŋ* <siñmilouhan> 'you (p) wasted' has not been taken into account, because this form consists of two words: a noun *sinʸ* 'waste' and a verbal form *milowhaŋ* 'you (p) did', so that the sounds *nʸ* <ñ> and *m* <m> are separated by a word boundary.

Conversely, the expression *mahalʸ liw* <mahall liu> 'many different things', written in two words, must be analyzed as one form consisting of a word indicating quantity (*mahalʸ*) + a classifier (*liw*). In the *Arte,* classifiers are generally suffixed to the quantifier: cf. *alliw* <alliu>'one different, coloured thing', *mahalʸpok* <mahallpoc> 'many times'. Therefore, de la Matas separated forms <mahall liu> are to be interpreted as *mahalʸliw*, and the sequence *lʸl* <lll> 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, *lʸ* occurs in seven boundary clusters. In these clusters it is preceded by the segments *p, s, n, ŋ, l, y.* However, the case marker *-lʸak-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 *tlʸ, klʸ, tˢlʸ, člʸ, šlʸ, mlʸ, nʸlʸ, lʸlʸ*, *wlʸ* may very well have occurred.

Table 5.1: The matrix of consonantal boundary clusters

	p	*t*	*k*	*tˢ*	*č*	*s*	*š*	*h*	*m*	*n*	*nʸ*	*ŋ*	*l*	*lʸ*	*w*	*y*
p	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
t	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
k	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
tˢ	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
č	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
s	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-
š	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
h	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
m	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+
n	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
nʸ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ŋ	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
l	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
lʸ	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+
w	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
y	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

5.4. Vowel harmony and suppression in non-borrowed forms

Vowel harmony and vowel suppression are frequent phenomena in Cholón. The vowel *i* of a personal reference prefix can either be assimilated or suppressed. A stem vowel can also be suppressed. A prefix consisting of only one vowel can not be subject to suppres-sion, nor are the third person plural marker *či-* 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-kilʸ* (117)
2SPOS-wall
'your wall'

mi-šaš (125)
2SPOS-armadillo
'your armadillo'

mi-kot (114)
2SPOS-water
'your water'

(15) *me-lʸes* (130)
2sPOS-yucca
'your yucca'

(16) *mu-pul* (141)
2sPOS-son
'your son'

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-penʸo-wuč* (1065) < *penʸ(o)* '(to) want'
2sO-want-AG
'your lover'

(19) *mi-menʸ* (1059) < *penʸ(o)* '(to) want'
2sPOS-wish
'your wish'

(20) *mi-ye-lam* (2965) < *y(e)* '(to) sleep'
2sS-sleep-FN1
'your bed'

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

(21) *mi-ših-ia-ŋ* (955)
2sS-drink-RE-IA
'you drink again'

(22) *mi-menʸ-aŋ* (807)
2sA-3sO.want-IA
'you want him/her/it'

(23) *mi-ø-lʸah-aŋ* (917)
2sA-3sO-bring-IA
'you bring something'

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

(25) *mu-ø-lʸup-aŋ* (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) *če-e-n-aŋ* (2076)
3pS-give-RFL-IA
‘they give themselves’

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

(28) *e-šepos-aŋ* (2229)
3pS-blow-IA
‘they blow’

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

(30) *me-ø-n-eštek-ø-aŋ* (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-ø-lusay-pakna ø-kot-aŋ* (2806)
1pA-3sO-pity-NE.NOM 3sS-be-IA
‘He does not deserve to be pitied by us’.

(32) *če-pulʸ-iy* (1414)
3pS-fall-PST
‘they fell’

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

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

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

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

(35) *ke-lʸw-ey* (2887) <**ke-lʸaw-ey*
1sS-go-PST
‘we went’

(c) four times before the stem *t(a)/ to* ‘(to) do’:

(36) *e-t-ta-ŋ* (2119)
3sA-3sB-do-IA
'he does in behalf of him/her/it'

(37) *ke-t-ta-ŋ* (2119)
1pA-3sB-do-IA
'we do in behalf of him/her/it'

(38) *me-ø-t-iy-ha-ŋ* (2119)
2A-3sO-do-PST-PL-IA
'you (p) do it'

(39) *mučan ke-t-to-kt-aŋ* (2131)
prayer 1pA-3sB-do-F-IA
'We shall pray for someone'.

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

(40) *mi-pon^{y}o-w-la* (406) < *mi-pen^{y}o-w-la*
2sO-love-PST-3pA
'they (p) loved you'

(41) *ø-lopoh-ø* (2171) < *lupo(h)* '(to) do/make'
3sO-do/make-IMP
'Do it!' 'Make it!'

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

(42) *l-o-pul-e-nap* (2174)
3sO-do-stop-SE-SEQ
'after having stopped doing it'

Regularly, the stem vowel of a main verb does not assimilate with the stem vowel of a bound verb. In the form *ø-l-u-pul-e-nap*, however, the stem vowel of the main verb *(o)* '(to) do/make' does harmonize with that of the bound verb *pul* '(to) stop'.

5.4.2. Vowel suppression

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

(43) *me-kt-aŋ* (291) < **mi-kot-aŋ*
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-tˢala* > *a-tˢla* (148)
1sPOS-wife
'my wife'

(45) **a-lʸaw-aŋ* > *a-lʸw-aŋ* (904)
1sS-go-IA
'I go'

(46) **a-makuplew* > *a-mkuplew* (135)
1sPOS-passion.fruit
'my passion fruit'

(47) **a-mana-yač-aŋ* > *a-mna-yč-aŋ* (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-kolʸ-aŋ* (1646)
1sA-2sO-love-IA
'I love you'

(49) *a-m-a-pahat-iy* (1728)
1sA-2sO-APL-bring-PST
'I brought for you'

(50) *m-a-kole-ki* (1698)
2sA-1sO-love-IMP
'Love me!'

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-kolʸ-aŋ* (2914)
2SA-3PO-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[16]. The relational form appears in the possessive paradigm of a noun, where it occurs after a prefixed person marker or in the zero-marked third person singular form.

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

(52)	*el* (125) 'cassava'	>	*a-n-el*	'my cassava'
			me-n-el	'your cassava'
			ø-n-el	'his/her/its cassava'
			*ke-n-e*l	'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)	*utˢa* (3547) 'sin'	< Q hucha:	*ø-n-utˢa*	(2892) 'his/her/its sin'
			a-n-utˢa	(1626) 'my sin'
(54)	*anima* (1490) 'soul'	< Sp anima:	*ø-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-aŋ (2015)	'I make clothes'

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[16] Yuarani also has nouns that distinguish an absolute form from a relational form. Θhese nouns also have a stem-initial alternation. Θhey 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. Ɛ.g. *tera* nameę, *che-rera* my nameę, *hera* his nameę (ɑdelaar, œ ɐ: ɨ).

The *p*-initial, *k*-initial, *y*-initial and *h*-initial nouns alter the beginning of their stem. This alternation occurs as follows:

#p > *m*/$_: nouns with a stem-initial bilabial stop *p* change *p* into nasal *m* in their relational forms:

(56) *pana* (138) 'road'

a-mna	'my road'	*ki-mna*	'our road'
mi-mna	'your road'	*mi-mna-ha*	'your (p) road'
ø-mana	'his road'	*či-mna*	'their road'

The nouns *pa* 'father', *paŋ* 'mother', *pul* 'son'and *puluč* 'husband' are exceptional. They keep initial *p* in all forms but for the third person singular form. Third person singular of *pa* and *paŋ* is derived from different stems: it is *ø-ŋuč* 'his father' instead of **ø-ma* and *ø-ŋet*^{s}'his mother' instead of **ø-maŋ*, respectively. In the case of *pul* 'son' and *puluč* 'husband' (possibly < *pul-uč* 'son maker') only third person singular has a regular rela-tional form with *m* in initial position: *ø-mul* 'his son'; *ø-muluč* 'her husband', respectively.

#k > *ŋ*/$_: nouns with the stop *k* in initial position have only one relational form, which is also the third person singular form. In this form, velar *k* changes into the velar nasal *ŋ*: see the example *kot* 'water' > *ø-ŋot* 'his water'in section 4.3.3 and 4.3.11. This *k* > *ŋ* substitution may also explain the deviant forms *ø-ŋuč* 'his father' and *ø-ŋeč* 'his mother' in the paradigm of *pa* 'father' and *paŋ* 'mother', respectively. The lexical items *pa* 'father' and *paŋ* 'mother' may be newly introduced forms, whereas the deviant forms *ø-ŋuč* 'his father' and *ø-ŋet*^{s} 'his mother' may reflect absolute forms in disuse with a velar *k* in initial position: **kuč* and **keč*, respectively. On the other hand, instead of being inherited elements, the deviant forms *ø-ŋuč* and *ø-ŋet*^{s} could also be borrowings from Híbito. In Híbito the words for 'father' and 'mother' have been recorded as *cotc* and *queec*, respectively (Martínez Compañón, 1783). We may venture to interpret these Híbito words as *kot*^{s}*/kut*^{s} and *ket*^{s}*/kɛt*^{s} (cf. chapter 4, section 4.2.5), respectively. They do have the stem-initial *k* which in Cholón regularly changes into *ŋ* in the third person singular form. While adopting these forms, Cholón could have changed the final segment of both **ø-ŋot*^{s}*/ø-ŋut*^{s} and**ø-ŋet*^{s}*/ø-ŋɛt*^{s} into palatal *č* (see also section 4.3.11, footnote 3) or it may reflect a previous phase of Híbito.

#h > *s*/$_: nouns which begin with a velar or glottal fricative *h* (see section 4.3.10.2), have a relational third person singular form which begins with fricative *s*:

(57) *hil* (1126) 'word' > *ø-sil* (1184) 'his word'

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

(58) *yap* (142) 'wild pig'

a-tˢap	<a-zap>	'my wild pig'
mi-tˢap	<mi-zap>	'your wild pig'
ø-tˢap	<zap>	'his wild pig'
ki-tˢap	<ki-chap>	'our wild pig'
mi-tˢap-ha	<mi-zap-ha>	'your (p) wild pig'
i-tˢap	<y-zap>	'their wild pig'

(59) *yučˇ* (144) 'alfalfa'

a-tˢučˇ	<a-tzuch>	'my alfalfa'
mu-tˢučˇ	<mu-tzuch>	'your alfalfa'
ø-tˢučˇ	<zuch>	'his alfalfa'
ku-tˢučˇ	<ku-zuch>	'our alfalfa'
mu-tˢučˇ-ha	<mu-zuch-ha>	'your (p) alfalfa'
u-tˢučˇ	<u-tzuch>	'their alfalfa'

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 *tˢ* in a relational form. The fact that in this case absolute *y* does not alternate with relational *tˢ* 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, ŋ, s, tˢ*, 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 posi-tion that modifies this central approximant into *t* in its relational forms. This is the lexical item *yušam* 'armadillo', which occurs as *tušam* <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'
ø-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 *tˢ* for initial *y* in the word *mi-ye-lam* 'your bed', intransitive and transitive stems alternate in the same way as nominal stems do, namely, *#p > -m*, *#k > -ŋ*, *#h > -s*, *#y > -tˢ*. Initial *m, ŋ, s, tˢ* then indicate that the subject or the direct object, respectively, is a third person singular:

(61) *ŋ-a-po-ŋ* (205)
3sA-1sO-burn-IA
'he (the sun) burns me'

i-mo-ŋ (205)
3sA-3sO.burn-IA
'he burns him'

a-pen^{y}o-it^{s}-aŋ (991)
1sS-want-PAS-IA
'I am wanted'

men^{y}o-it^{s}-aŋ (1018)
3sS.want-PAS-IA
'he is wanted'

(62) *a-po-kol^{y}-aŋ* (2913)
1sA-3pO-love-IA
I love them'

a-ŋol^{y}-aŋ (685)
1sA-3sO.love-IA
'I love him'

ŋole-it^{s}-aŋ (997)
3sS.love-PAS-IA
'he is loved'

(63) *a-p-hina-ŋ* (2066)
1sA-1sB-hear-IA
'I hear for myself'

a-sina-ŋ (1741)
1sA-3sO.hear-IA
'I hear him'

(64) *a-yoy-aŋ* (2060)
1sS-cry-IA
'I cry'

a-t^{s}oy-e-ŋ (2061)
1sA-3sO.cry-CAU-IA
'I cause him to cry'

In two consecutive examples with the verb *y(a)č/ y(a)š* '(to) see', *-t* instead of *-t^{s}* is found (cf. absolute *yušam* > relational *tušam* above):

(65) *mi-taš-t-aŋ* (1602)
2sA-3sO.see-F-IA
'you will see it'

mi-taš-te (1603)
2sA-3sO.see-F
'you will see it'

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

N + #*p* > #*m*
N + #*k* > #*ŋ*
N + #*h* > #*s*
N + #*y* > #*t^{s}, t*

The prefixed nasal may be a dental-alveolar nasal *n* indicating 'nominal relational form' or a velar nasal *ŋ* 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 *či*-'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 *či*- 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 *či*- 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^{y}-aŋ* (2068) < **či-p-kol^{y}-aŋ*
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) *či-m-men^{y}-aŋ* (2069) < **či-p-men^{y}-aŋ*
3pS-3pB/REC-want-IA
'they want themselves (reciprocally)'

a-p-yalp-aŋ (2070)
1sA-1sB-gather-IA
'I gather for myself'

The reflexive/reciprocal form *či-m-men^{y}-aŋ* above has a transitive stem *-men^{y}*- '3sO.want' instead of an intransitive stem *-pen^{y}*- '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 *ŋ*, it may be the result of assimilation of *p* with the preceding benefactive person marker *m*-.

5.7. Morphonological processes in loan words

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

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

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

(76) Sp padre 'father':

- devoicing:	padre	>	*patri
- anaptyxis:	*patri	>	*patiri
- lateralization:	*patiri	>	*patili* (2787)

(77) Sp plátano 'banana':

- anaptyxis:	plátano	>	*palatanu
- syncope:	*palatanu	>	*palatnu
- metathesis:	*palatnu	>	*palantu* (1454)

The examples give evidence that - following the general pattern - in the case of anaptyxis the inserted vowel is a copy harmonizing with the following vowel. They also show that the Spanish mid-vowels [e] and [o] in final position were highered when they were adapted to Cholón: *e* > *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, či-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, iŋko, pe, into-ŋko*, section 6.7), five question words or interrogative stems (*ana, inča, into, into-ŋko, ol*, section 6.8), and six indefinite pronouns (*alum, an-tˢel, inča, mek, nʸanmak, 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

	singular	plural
1	*a-*	*ki-*
2m	*mi-*	*mi- ... -ha*
2f	*pi-*	*mi- ... -ha*
3	*ø-*	*(č)i-*

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

(1)	*a-lʸiš* (131)	'my monkey'	(small variety)
	ki-lʸiš (131)	'our monkey'	
(2)	*a-česminʸ* (120)	'my cedar'	
	ke-česminʸ (120)	'our cedar'	
(3)	*a-takla* (127)	'my armadillo'	(a variety)
	ki-takla (127)	'our armadillo'	
(4)	*a-kolol* (113)	'my kernel'	
	ki-kolol (113)	'our kernel'	
(5)	*a-sup* (126)	'my deer'	
	ku-sup (126)	'our deer'	
(6)	*a-n-atelʸpa* (100)	'my chicken'	< *atelʸpa* 'chicken'
	ki-n-atelʸpa (103)	'our chicken'	
(7)	*a-mangala* (136)	'my turkey'	< *pangala* 'turkey'
	ki-mangala (136)	'our turkey'	
(8)	*a-tˢip* (2289)	'my house'	< *yip* 'house'
	ki-tˢip (173)	'our house'	
(9)	*a-tušam* (145)	'my armadillo'	< *yušam* 'armadillo' (terrestrial variety)
	ku-tušam (145)	'our armadillo'	

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

(10)	*ŋolol* (113)	'his kernel'	< *kolol* 'kernel'
(11)	*sil* (1184)	'his word'	< *hil* 'word'

The second person singular is special in that the possessive form is specified for gender: *mi* for masculine and *pi* for feminine: e.g.:

(12) *mi-kt^{s}ok* (1275) < *kat^{s}ok* 'box', 'case', 'chest'
2smPOS-box
'your (m) box, case, chest'

(13) *pi-kt^{s}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) *ø-šaš* 'his armadillo' (125) < šaš 'armadillo' (aquatic) (no change)
(16) *ø-n-ol^{y}e* 'his saliva' (108) < *ol^{y}e* 'saliva' (*n*-insertion)
(17) *ø-makupl^{y}ew* 'his passion fruit' (135) < *pakupl^{y}ew* 'passion fruit' (*p* > *m*)
(18) *ø-ŋil^{y}* 'his wall', 'his fence' (117) < *kil^{y}* 'wall', 'fence' (*k* > *ŋ*)
(19) *ø-tušam* 'his armadillo' (145) < *yušam* 'armadillo' (terrestrial) (*y* > *t*)
(20) *ø-t^{s}ot^{s}* 'his guinea pig' (143) < *yot^{s}* 'guinea pig' (*y* > *t^{s}*)
(21) *ø-so* 'his blood' (1204) < *ho* 'blood' (*h* > *s*)

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

(22) *e-česmin^{y}* (120) (no stem modification)
3pPOS-cedar
'their cedar'

(23) *i-t^{s}ip* (47) < *yip* : *y* > *t^{s}*
3pPOS-house
'their house'

(24) *i-šaš* (125) (no stem modification)
3pPOS-armadillo
'their armadillo'

(25) *e-n-el* (106) < *el* : *n*-insertion
3pPOS-REL-cassava
'their cassava'

(26) *u-n^{y}u* (154) (no stem modification)
3pPOS-daughter
'their daughter'

(27) *i-l^{y}ol^{y}o* (132) (no stem modification)
3pPOS-tintinnabulum
'their tintinnabulum'

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

(28) *či-paŋ* (140) (no stem modification)
3pPOS-mother
'their mother'

(29) *ču-myup* (137) < *puyup* : *p* > *m*
3pPOS-bridge
'their bridge'

(30) *či-kama* (111) (no stem modification)
3pPOS-illness
'their illness'

(31) *či-hač* (112) (no stem modification)
3pPOS-field
'their fields'

In the data the form *če-* '3p' is not attested before a nominal stem, but it does occur as a verbal prefix (see section 5.4.1 and chapter 7).

6.3. Collective marker

A collective is indicated by means of the morpheme *pa-*, prefixed to nouns:

(32) *pa-lew* *ušuš* *i-lʸaw-aŋ* (1979)
COL-caterpillar butterfly 3pS-become-IA
'Caterpillars become butterflies'.

Cf. *lew* *ušuš* *ø-lʸaw-aŋ* (1975)
caterpillar butterfly 3sS-become-IA
'The caterpillar becomes a butterfly".

(33) *maha-lʸ* *pa-mo* *p-a-tˢač-iy* (1677)
INT-RST COL-fruit 2sfA-1sO.APL-3sO.see-PST
'You (f) saw a lot of fruits for me'.

Cf. *mo-ke-lʸ* (1164)
fruit-ANT-RST
'full of fruit'

6.4. Suffixes

Nouns, pronouns, demonstratives and question words can be followed by different types of suffixes, such as, a nominal past marker, case markers and discourse markers. The nominal past marker, case markers and special combinations of case markers are analyzed in section 6.4.1, 6.4.2, and 6.4.3, respectively. Section 6.4.4 contains three overviews: a table showing the occurrence of case markers and combinations of case markers after nouns, pronouns and demonstratives; a table concerning the combinability of case markers with each other; and a table presenting a canonical order of case markers. Other suffixes, restrictive *-(a)lʸ*, diminutive *-ču*, plural marker *-lol*, adjectivizer *-(k)o*, indefinite marker *-pit* and natural pair marker *-pulʸeŋ*, 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 'anteriority', '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) *kapi-ke* (156)
present.day-ANT
'today's'

(35) *ampal-e* (155)
yesterday-ANT
'yesterday's', 'something of the old days'

(36) *a-pa* *ŋol-iy* *ø-kot-aŋ-ko-man-ap,*
1sPOS-father 3sS.die-PST 3sS-be-IA-DEM-INES-ABL
ok-e *a-kl-iy* *a-kot-te-he* *a-menʸo-ŋo* (2784)
1s-ANT 1sS-die-PST 1sS-be-INF-BEN 1sA-3sO.want-FN2
'I would prefer to be dead, than that my father has died'.

(37) *ko-ke* *ŋap-ø* (2593)
this-ANT 3sO.take-IMP
'Take from this!'

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

(38) *mek-e*, *mek-liw-e* *ŋap-ø* (157)
all-ANT all-CL:multiform/coloured-ANT 3sO.take/receive-IMP
'Take/receive all sorts of things!'

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

(39) *čečo-ke* (152)
silver-ANT
'silver', 'made of silver'

(40) *meč-e* (2277)
tree/wood-ANT
'wooden', 'made of wood'

(41) *ta-ke* (2276)
stone-ANT
'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) *Luis-e,* *Juana-ke* *u-nʸu* (154)
Luis-ANT Juana-ANT 3pPOS-daughter
'the late Luis' and the late Juana's daughter'

When the suffix *-(k)e* appears after a place name or a noun designating a locality, it is often preceded by the adessive case marker *-te* 'at', 'in':

(43) *España-te-ke* *a-kt-aŋ* (2280)
Spain-AD-ANT 1sS-be-IA
'I am from Spain'.

(44) *ko-te-ke* *a-kt-aŋ* (2283)
here-AD-ANT 1sS-be-IA
'I am from here'.

(45) *Lima-te-ke* (2279)
Lima-AD-ANT
'from Lima'

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

(46) *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)nʸ*, perlative -*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 -*lʸak-pat,* -*lʸak-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.:

(47) *liman-ap* (1728)
mountain-ABL
'from the mountains'

(48) *iŋko-p-alʸ* (2752)
that-ABL-RST
'constantly'

(49) *pe-p* *nʸan* (2416)
yonder-ABL face
'on the other side'

Only once the suffix -*(a)p* was encountered after a pronoun:

(50) *into-ŋko-pit* *mučaŋ* *a-l-o-kt-aŋ-iŋko,* *sa-p-sim*
which-DEM-COR kiss 1sA-3sO-do-F-IA-DEM 3s-ABL-EMP
ø-kot-aŋ, mi-tˢap-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-aŋ* (164)
Dios-BEN 1sS-interior-be-IA
'I think of God'.

(54) *ki-ha-he* *mučan 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-aŋ* (165)
maize-BEN 1sS-be-IA
'I have a need for maize'.

(56) *mi-he* *a-kot-p-aŋ* (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 -*man*

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

(58) *iglesia-man* (2395)
church-INES
'in the church'

(59) *mi-na-ha-man* (2396)
2-CON-PL-INES
'in your (p) midst'

(60) *ø-nʸan-man-alʸ* (2290)
3SPOS-face-INES-RST
'in someone's presence only', 'face to someone only'

Inessive -*man* is often followed by the ablative case marker -*(a)p* (see -*man-ap*, section 6.4.3.6). It can futhermore be followed by the non-personal adessive case marker -*te* 'at', 'in':

(61) *ok a-nʸan-man-te* (2287)
1s 1SPOS-face-INES-AD
'in my presence', 'face to me'

6.4.2.5. Comparative -*(mi)nʸ*

The suffix -*(mi)nʸ* functions as a comparative case marker 'as', 'like', 'according to'. Both allomorphs occur after demonstratives:

(62) *ko-nʸ* (2598)
this.one-CMP
'like this one'

(63) *ko-minʸ* (2597)
this.one-CMP
'like this one'

(64) *iŋko-nʸ* (2747)
that.one-CMP
'like that one'

(65) *iŋko-minʸ* (994)
that.one-CMP
'like that one'

(66) *pe-nʸ* (2738)
that.one.yonder-CMP
'like that one yonder'

The form -*nʸ* can be followed bij the ablative case marker -*(a)p* and the allative case marker -*pi*:

(67) *ko-nʸ-ap* (2528)
this-CMP-ABL
'of this size'

(68) *ko-nʸ-pi* (2408)
here-CMP-AL
'to here'

Everywhere else the form -*min*^{y} is the only one possible. It can be attached to nouns and pronouns:

(69) *l*^{y}*aksa* *suku-min*^{y} (2327)
lightness bird-CMP
'light as a bird'

(70) *et*^{s}*-min*^{y} *ay-te-ču* *mit*^{s}*-aŋ* (2328)
thief-CMP background/backside-AD-DIM 3sS.come-IA
'He comes quietly as a thief'.

(71) *ki-ha-min*^{y} (2495)
1p-PL-CMP
'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) *mi-hil-nake* *a-yey-la-ŋ* (2385)
2sPOS-word-PER 1sO-laugh-3pA-IA
'Because of your words, they laugh at me'.

(73) *mi-nake* *a-lu-po-y-la-ŋ* (2386)
2s-PER 1sO-interior-burn-SE-3pA-IA
'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) *ki-ha-wa* *ki-l-o-pakna-ke,* *mi-nake* *mi-l-ø-ŋ* (2383)
1p-PL-TOP 1pA-3sO-do-NE.NOM-ANT 2s-PER 2sA-3sO-do-IA
'What we could not do, you do'.

(75) *fierro* *kot-nake* *sinta-pit,* *ø-n-eštek-pit* *i-ms-aŋ* (2382)
iron.tools being-PER ribbon-IND 3sPOS-REL-cloth-IND 3sA-3sO.buy-IA
'Instead of iron tools, he buys clothes and ribbons'.

6.4.2.7. Prolative -*nayme*

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

(76) *pana-nayme* *Soledad-te* *ki-ante-kte-he*, *Huaylillas-nayme*
road-PRO Soledad-AD 1pS-arrive-INF-BEN Huaylillas-PRO
ki-pal^{y}-aŋ (2304)
1pS-pass-IA
'To arrive at Soledad by road, we pass through Huaylillas'.

(77) *liman-nayme* *a-t^{s}it^{s}-ia-ŋ* (2446)
mountain-PRO 1sS-go-RE-IA
'I return through the mountains'.

(78) *ko-nayme* (2605)
here-PRO
'through here'

(79) *pe-nayme* (2606)
there-PRO
'through there'

(80) *into-nayme* *me-t^{s}it^{s}-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)
man-COM
'with/in the company of the man'

(82) *sa-nik* (214)
3s-COM
'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) *čul-nik* (1160)
snot-COM
'snotty'

(85) *n^{y}ansik-nik* (1042)
effort-COM
'laborious'

(86) *šeš-nik* (1043)
scabies-COM
'scabby'

It can furthermore function as an instrumental 'with': e.g.:

(87) *inča* *lʸuhlam-nik-am* (2811)
thing objective-COM-QM
'With what objective?'

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

(88) *meč-pat* *i-ø-lowtˢ-iy* (30)
stick-INS 3sS-3sO-hit-PST
'He hit him with a stick'.

(89) *inča-pat-am* *m-a-lu-po-ŋ* (189)
what-INS-QM 2sA-1sO-interior-burn-IA
'Why do you hate me?'.

(90) *mi-pat* *a-luyum-aŋ* (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* *ø-pakt-aŋ-ko-pat* *ma* *nʸansik-pat*
road bad 3sS-be-IA-DEM-INS INT effort-INS
mi-pahat-iy-ha *me-kt-iy-ha-ŋ* (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-aŋ-ko(-lʸak)-pat,* *a-hlʸem* *mi-kot-p-aŋ* (411)
poor 1sS-be-IA-DEM(-NF)-INS 1sPOS-friend 2sS-be-NE-IA
'Since I am poor, you are not my friend'.

Instrumental *-pat*, when suffixed to the noun *tu* 'direction', also means 'in'. The combination *tu-pat* can be translated as 'against', 'for', 'of', 'to(wards)':

(93) *ø-tu-pat* *mahak* *mi-o-no-ki*(222)
3sPOS-direction-INS guard 2sS-do-RFL-IMP
'Be on your guard against him!'

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

(95) *ku-tu-pat* *u-n-utˢa* *l-o-w-la-ŋ-ko-lol* (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 *-lʸak-* (see the example *a-kt-aŋ-ko(-lʸak)-pat* 'because I am' above). This form may be a nominalized form of the verb *lʸa/lʸ(a)w* '(to) go': *-lʸa* + *-k* 'nominalizer'. According to de la Mata's 'declination of the noun' (fol. 3), *-pat* and *-lʸak-pat* are synonyms. However, *-lʸak-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) *inča-lʸak-pat-am* *m-a-lu-po-ŋ* (189)
what-NF-INS-QM 2sA-1sO-interior-burn-IA
'Why do you hate me?'

(97) *mi* *mi-lʸak-pat* (2368)
2s 2s-NF-INS
'you, because of your agency'

(98) *ko-lʸak-pat* (2602)
this-NF-INS
'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)
height/upper.course-AL
'to the upper course'

(100) *ampe-pi* (2411)
bottom/lower.reaches-AL
'to the bottom/lower reaches'

(101) *pe am-pi* (2410)
yonder place-AL
'to yonder'

(102) *ko-pi* (2409)
here-AL
'to here'

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

(103) *ana-pi-čo-m* (2485)
when-AL-already-QM
'When?'

(104) *ana-pi-čin* (2482)
when-AL-NE
'I do not know when'.

(105) *ana-pi-m* *mi-lʸa-kt-aŋ* (1971)
when-AL-QM 2sS-go-F-IA
'When will you go?'

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

(106) *Pisana-pi-p* (2451)
Pisana-AL-ABL
'from Pisana'

(107) *Pucala-te-pi-p* (2452)
Pucara-AD-AL-ABL
'from Pucara'

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

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

(108) *ki-tˢip-te* *ke-tŋ-aŋ* (173)
1pPOS-home-AD 1pS-sit/stay-IA
'We are at home'.

(109) *Dios-te* *amehe-na* *a-ki-aŋ* (178)
God-AD truth-QUOT 1sS-speak-IA
'I say: "The thruth is in God"/"I believe in God"'.

(110) *ko-te* (175)
this-AD
'here'

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

(111) *putam-te* *a-lʸw-aŋ* (174)
village-AD 1sS-go-IA
'I go to the village'.

6.4.2.12. Personal adessive *-tu*

The suffix *-tu* 'at', a derivation of the noun *tu* 'direction' (cf. *ø-tu* 3sPOS-direction 'his/her/its direction'), is attached to nouns and pronouns. It indicates that the location is someone's house or place (cf. section 6.4.1):

(112) *Pedro-tu* *ki-toŋ-t-aŋ* (184)
Pedro-AD 1pS-sit/stay-F-IA
'We shall stay at Pedro's'.

(113) *sa-tu* (219)
3s-AD
'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-lʸw-aŋ* (183)
Juan-AD 1sS-go-IA
'I go to Juan's'.

(115) *a-pa-tu* *mi-pa-ha-tu-pit* *a-moh-n-aŋ* (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

The case markers *-(a)p* 'ablative', *-le* 'terminative', *-man* 'inessive', *-pat* 'instrumental', *-te* 'non-personal adessive', *-tu* '(personal) adessive' frequently occur together in fixed combinations. Non-personal adessive *-te* + ablative *-(a)p*, and instrumental *-pat* also occur in combination with the suffix *-lʸak*. The combinations thus formed are *-lʸak-pat* 'causal'; *-lʸak-te-p* 'instrumental'; *-man-ap* 'ablative'; *-pat-le* 'terminative'; *-te-p* 'instrumental', 'elative'; *-tu-p* 'agent, 'focus', 'source', 'from someone's house or place', 'at'; *-tu-p-e* 'provenance'.

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* *ø-kot-aŋ* (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 ø-maso-w* (201)
virgin Saint Mary-INES-ABL 3sS-be.born-PST
'He was born from the virgin Saint Mary'.

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

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

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

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

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

(123) *ana-pat-le-m. ana-pat-le-čɨn* (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-lʸw-aŋ* (2257)
how.many day-INS-TERM-BEN-QM 2sS-go-IA.
ip-semana-pat-le (2878)
two-CL:week-INS-TERM
'For how many days do you go?' 'For two weeks'.

(125) *ana* *pel-pat-le-m* *mi-l-o-kloh-t-aŋ* (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^{s}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) *espiritu* *santo* *i-t^{s}mey-te-p* *hayu*
Spirit Saint 3sPOS-3sO.know-CAU-PST-AD-ABL man
ø-ki-iy (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) *kečwak* *a-kt-aŋ-ko(-l^{y}ak)-te-p,* *a-hl^{y}em* *mi-kot-p-aŋ*
poor 1sS-be-IA-DEM(-NF)-AD-ABL 1sPOS-friend 2sS-be-NE-IA (411)
kečwak *a-kt-aŋ-ko(-l^{y}ak)-pat,* *a-hl^{y}em* *mi-kot-p-aŋ*
poor 1sS-be-IA-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 *-l^{y}ak-*, assumedly a nominalized verb form consisting of a stem *l^{y}a* + a nominalizer *-k* (see *l^{y}ak-pat*, section 6.4.2.9). According to de la Mata, *-l^{y}ak-te-p* is synonymous with *-te-p* (and with *-pat* and *-l^{y}ak-pat*). Both *-te-p* and *-l^{y}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 -*lʸak-te-p* can not be used in that way and is mainly suffixed to nouns:

(132) *nun-lol-lʸak-te-p* (44)
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 marker[17], and he gives the following example:

(133) *Juan-tu-p* *Pedro* *i-ø-lam-iy* (87)
Juan-AD-ABL Pedro 3SA-3SO-kill-PST
'Juan killed Pedro'.

The ending occurs after nouns and pronouns:

(134) *hayu-lol* *u-n-utˢa* *pa* *mek* *če-kt-iy* *kot-nap,*
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.3pO-do-PST
'Since the sins of the men were numerous, God punished them'.

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[18] "*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-šayš-t-an-na,*
public.prosecutor-AD-ABL-REP 3sA-1pO-whip-F-IA-QUOT
Estevan *ø-ki-aŋ* (1323)
Estevan 3sS-speak-IA
'Estevan says: "They say that the public prosecuter will whip us"'.

(136) *mi-tu-p* *ki-m-kolʲ-aŋ* (1664)
2s-AD-ABL 1pO-2sA-love-IA
'You love us'.

(137) *mi-tu-p* *m-a-hia-ŋ* (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-tˢm-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-šayš-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-kolʲ-aŋ* 'you love us' (fourth example), for instance, the word *ki-m-kolʲ-aŋ* by itself would be glossed as: 1pA-2sO-love-IA 'we love you'; viz. first person plural would be considered the agent and second person plural the object. Therefore, in this clause, the pronoun + *-tu-p* is obligatory, and can not be omitted;
(ii) in the following clause in which the agent follows the object:

(140) *mel^{y}us-pit insoney-tu-p i-ø-n^{y}antuŋ-šipe-y* (781)
boat-COR gulf-AD-ABL 3sA-3sO-cover-nearly.do-PST
'and the gulf nearly covered the boat'

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^{y}us-pit insoney-tu-p i-ø-n^{y}antuŋ-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-t^{s}el ki-ø-nano-ŋo očo kas mek*
here-EMP-TOP one-CL:truncal 1pA-3sO-fear-FN2 big wind all
kot-man ø-tapači-iy, insoney-tu-p mel^{y}us ø-n^{y}antuŋ-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 či-hil-hu, ko-l^{y} sil-p-aŋ* (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 i-čikn-aŋ* (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-aŋ* (2333)
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 *iŋko* ‘that’, followed by the word *nʸalok* ‘time’, it means ‘at’. In this case, adessive -*tu* has a temporal use:

(145) *iŋko-tu-p* *nʸalok* (2786)
that-AD-ABL time
‘at that time’, ‘then’

(146) *iŋko-tu-p* *nʸalok-alʸ* (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)
1s-AD-ABL-ANT
‘mine’, ‘my family/people’

(149) *mi-na-ha-tu-p-e* (2336)
2-CON-PL-AD-ABL-ANT
‘yours’, ‘your (p) family/people’

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

(151) *či-pahat-aŋ-ko* *ki-ha-tu-p-e* *če-kt-aŋ-le* (2335)
3pS-descend-IA-DEM 1p-PL-AD-ABL-ANT 3pS-be-IA-QM
'Are those who are descending ours?'

6.4.4. Overviews

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

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

	N	PRON	DEM
-(a)p	+	+	+
-man-ap	+	+	+
-te-p	+	+	+
-lʸak-te-p	+	-	-
-he	+	+	-
-le	+	-	-
-pat-le	+	+	+
-man	+	+	-
-(mi)nʸ	+	+	+
-nake	+	+	+
-nayme	+	-	+
-nik	+	+	-
-pat	+	+	-
-lʸak-pat	+	+	+
-pi	+	-	+
-te	+	-	+
-tu	+	+	-

-tu-p	+	+	(+)
-tu-p-e	(+)	+	-

Table 6.3. Mutual combinability of the case markers *-(a)p, -he, -le, -man, -(mi)n^{y}, -pat, -pi, -te, -tu*

	(a)p	*-he*	*-le*	*-man*	*-(mi)n^{y}*	*-pat*	*-pi*	*-te*	*-tu*
(a)p		-	-	x	x	-	x	x	x
-he	-		x	-	-	-	-	-	-
-le	-	x		-	-	x	-	-	-
-man	x	-	-		-	-	-	x	-
-(mi)n^{y}	x	-	-	-		-	x	-	-
-pat	-	-	x	-	-		-	-	-
-pi	x	-	-	-	x	-		x	-
-te	x	-	-	x	-	-	x		-
-tu	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

6.4.5. Other suffixes

Other suffixes, besides discourse markers (see chapter 10), found after nouns, pronouns and demonstratives, are restrictive *-(a)l^{y}*, diminutive *-ču*, plural marker *-lol*, adjectivizer *-(k)o*, indefinite *-pit* and natural pair marker *-pul^{y}eŋ*. The suffixes *-(a)l^{y}* and *-pit* always occur word-finally (see Table 6.6, section 6.4.5.7). The suffix *-pul^{y}eŋ* has a limited use.

6.4.5.1. Restrictive *-(a)l^{y}*[18]

The suffix *-(a)l^{y}* functions as a restrictive 'nothing else but', 'only'. It is encountered after nouns and demonstratives. The suffix *-(a)l^{y}* is then often preceded by case markers: *-(a)p* 'ablative', *-man* 'inessive', *-nik* 'comitative', *-pat* 'instrumental', *-pat-le* 'terminative', *-pi* 'allative', *-te* 'adessive'. It has never been encountered before a case marker. The form *-l^{y}* usually occurs after a vowel, *-al^{y}* after a consonant.

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[19] Cf. Quechua *-l^{y}a* 'restrictive'.

(152) *čečo-lʸ* *a-m-pis-e-ŋ* (1173)
silver/money/coin-RST 1sA-2sO-ask.for-PST-IA
'I asked you for coins only'.

(153) *iŋko-lʸ* (2749)
that-RST
'only that one'

(154) *pe-nʸ-ap-alʸ* (1386)
that-CMP-ABL-RST
'only from that size'

(155) *a-lu-man-alʸ* *a-lu-pakt-iy* (2572)
1sPOS-interior-INES-RST 1sS-mind-be-PST
'Only in my interior I thought'.

(156) *čow-nik-alʸ* (1161)
louse-COM-RST
'with lice only', 'very lousy'

(157) *yehono-pat-alʸ* (2636)
secret-INS-RST
'with secrecy only', 'secretly'

(158) *šokot-pat-le-lʸ* (2252)
river-INS-TERM-RST
'only as fas as the river'

(159) *iŋko-na-pi-lʸ* (2884)
that-when-AL-RST
'just at that very moment', 'at that same time'

(160) *sa gracia-te-lʸ* (2859)
3s grace-AD-RST
'only in the grace of him'

It can also be preceded by the nominal past marker -*(k)e*:

(161) *če-ke-lʸ* (1163)
grain-ANT-RST
'full of grains', 'only grains'

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

(162) *amehe-ke-lʸ* (2713)
truth-ANT-RST
'really', 'truly'

(163) *iŋko-p-alʸ* (2752)
that/there-ABL-RST
'constantly'

(164) *ko-nʸ-sim-alʸ* (2599)
this-CMP-EMP-RST
'in the same manner/way'

(165) *seč-e-lʸ* (1165)
head-ANT-RST
'big head', 'stubborn', 'stubbornly'

According to the *ALC*, -*(a)lʸ* has the suffix -*kapokalʸ* as an equivalent. The form

-kapokalʸ is not explained. It presumably consists of an element *kapok* and the suffix *-alʸ*. The combination *kapok-alʸ* has been found as a suffix after the noun *wem* 'sweet potato' and after the case marker *-man* 'in':

(166) *wem-kapok-alʸ* *a-menʸ-aŋ* (1174)
sweet.potato-?-RST 1sA-3sO.want-IA
'I want sweet potatoes only'.

Cf.: *wem-alʸ* *a-menʸ-aŋ* (1174)
sweet.potato-RST 1sA-3sO.want-IA
'I want sweet potatoes only'.

(167) *a-lu-man-kapok-alʸ* *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*[19]. It can be attached to nouns and demonstratives:

(168) *ila-ču* (1258)
woman-DIM
'little woman'

(169) *inča-ču-pit* *ma* (1351)
thing-DIM-IND not
'[I have] nothing'.

(170) *ko-ču-ap* (2587)
here-DIM-ABL
'from nearby'

(171) *ko-ču-te-p* (2587)
here-DIM-AD-ABL
'from nearby'

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

(172) *ko-pi-ču* *nom* (1296)
this-AL-DIM bit
'a little bit closer'

(173) *ay-te-ču* (2475)
background/backside-AD-DIM
'a little bit on the background', 'peaceful'

(174) *ko-ču-te* (2580)
here-DIM-AD
'nearby'

(175) *ay-te-ču-alʸ* (2476)
background/backside-AD-DIM-RST
'secretly'

---

[19] Cf. Quechua *-ča* 'diminutive'.

Diminutive *-ču* also occurs in the lexicalized combinations *inču* 'a small thing' (< *inča-ču* 'something small', see section 6.9.3), *kunču* 'something small', *mosču* 'some-thing tiny or small' and *ni-ču* '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)
man-PL-INS
'through the men'

(179) *nun-lol-lʸak-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* *če-kt-aŋ* (1341)
who-PL-QM 3pS-be-IA
'Who are they?'

(182) *inča inča* *mi-po-yč-iy-ha-ŋ-ko,* *či-po-yč-aŋ-ko*
thing thing 2A-3pO-see-PST-PL-IA-DEM 3pA-3pO-see-IA-DEM
nʸače-lol-a *pe* *mek* *makhay* *če-kt-aŋ* (1471)
eye-PL-TOP those all happiness 3pS-be-IA
'As for the eyes which see all the things you (p) saw, they are happy'.

(183) *inča-pit* *pey* *ø-nʸan-te* *mi-ø-čaŋ-t-aŋ-iŋko,*
thing-IND earth 3sPOS-face-AD 2sA-3sO-bind-F-IA-DEM
te senta-lol-pit *mi-po-čŋ-iy* *ø-kot-t-aŋ* (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)nʸ-ap* in the forms *ko-nʸ-ap-o* 'of this size' and *-minʸ-ap-o* 'as', 'like'. The form *-o* occurs postconsonantally, *-ko* postvocalically. 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'

(185) *pak* (1094) 'eight' > *pak-o pak-o* 'in/of eights'

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

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

(186) *atel^{y}pa* *če-min^{y}-ap-o* *rasu* *mul^{y}-iy* (1198)
chicken egg-CMP-ABL-ADJ hail 3sS.fall-PST
'Hailstones as big as chicken's eggs came down'.

(187) *atel^{y}pa* *če-min^{y}* *rasu* *mul^{y}-iy* (1198)
chicken egg-CMP hail 3sS.fall-PST
'Hailstones as big as chicken's eggs came down'.

6.4.5.5. Indefinite *-pit*

The suffix *-pit* functions, (i), as an indefinite marker '(wh ...)ever', and, (ii), as a co-ordinating sentential marker 'and', 'too'[21] (see section 10.6 and 12.1). When *-pit* functions as an indefinite marker, it can be attached to nouns and pronouns. Examples in which *-pit* is used as an indefinite marker are

(188) *inča-pit* (1338)
what-IND
'whatever'

(189) *ol-pit* (1337)
who-IND
'whoever'

(190) *into* *mek* *inča* *ø-m-a-kot-aŋ,* *mek* *inča-pit*
which all thing 3sS-2sO-APL-be-IA all what-IND
mi-pn^{y}eh-la-kt-aŋ (1366)
2sO-leave-3pA-F-IA
'All the things you have, they all will leave you'.

Indefinite *-pit* has been found after the case markers *-man* 'inessive', *-pi* 'allative', *-te* 'adessive'; the nominal past marker *-(k)e*; and after diminutive *-ču*:

(191) *into-te-ke-pit* (2538)
where-AD-ANT-IND
'from wheresoever'

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[21] Compare Mochica, where a suffix *-o* ~ *-yo* functions as an adjectivizer (Adelaar, 2004: 333-34).

[22] The use *-pit* is similar to Quechua *-pas* '(wh ...)ever', 'too'.

(192) *into-ŋko* *ø-tˢip-man-pit* *ø-toŋle-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) *inča-te-pit muč-ø/* *inča-te-pit* *muč-e-ki* (2737)
thing-AD-IND 3sO.put-IMP/ thing-AD-IND 3sO.put-SE-IMP
'Put it in something whatsoever!'

(195) *inča-ču-pit* *ma* (1351)
thing-DIM-IND not
'I have nothing'

6.4.5.6. Natural pair marker *-pulʸeŋ*

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

(196) *ŋuč-pulʸeŋ* (51)
3sPOS.father-pair
'father and son'

(197) *mul-pulʸeŋ* (52)
3sPOS.son-pair
'son and father'

(198) *ŋetˢ-pulʸeŋ* (53)
3sPOS.mother-pair
'mother and daughter'

(199) *ø-nʸu-pulʸeŋ* (54)
3sPOS-daughter-pair
'daughter and mother'

(200) *muluč-pulʸeŋ* (55)
3sPOS.husband-pair
'husband and wife'

6.4.5.7. Overview

Table 6.5 below shows the combinability of the suffixes *-(a)lʸ* 'restrictive', *-ču* 'diminutive', *-lol* 'plural marker', *-(k)o* 'adjectivizer', *-pit* 'indefinite marker', *-pulʸeŋ* '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)lʸ, -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)lʸ*, *-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 *-pulʸeŋ* 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)lʸ,* 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)lʸ* 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)lʸ* 'restrictive', *-ču* 'diminutive', *-lol* 'plural marker', *-(k)o* 'adjectivizer', *-pit* 'indefinitive', *-pulʸeŋ* 'natural pair marker' with nouns (N), pronouns (PRON) and demonstratives (DEM).

	N	PRON	DEM
-(a)lʸ	+	-	+
-ču	+	-	+
-lol	+	-	+
-(k)o	+	-	-
-pit	+	+	-
-pulʸeŋ	+	-	-

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

	before	after
-(a)lʸ	-	*-(a)p, -(k)e, -man, -nik, -pat(-le), -pi, -te*
-ču	+	*-pi*, *-te*
-lol	+	-
-(k)o	-	*-(mi)nʸ-ap*
-pit	-	*-(k)e, -man, -pi, -te*
-pulʸeŋ	-	-

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

	singular	plural
1	*ok*	*ki-ha*
2m	*mi*	*mi-na-ha*
2f	*pi*	*mi-na-ha*
3	*sa*	*či-ha*

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 posessivos, sifnifica 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: <minahamimilouha> 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-ø* '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

	singular	plural
1	*ok a-low*	*ki-ha ki-low*
2	*mi mi-low*	*mi mi-low-ha*
3	*sa i-low*	*či-ha low-la*

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

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

(201) *ok a-low* *ŋ-a-lʸah-aŋ* (98)
1s 1sPOS-possession 3sA-1sO.APL-take.away-IA
'He takes away what is mine'.

6.7. Demonstratives

Cholón has four demonstratives: *ko* '(the one) here', 'this'; *iŋko* '(the one) there', 'that'; *pe* '(the one) yonder'; and *into-ŋko* 'that one there'. The deictics *ko, iŋko, pe* can refer to an item or to a place. Deictic *into-ŋko* only refers to items. The demonstratives *ko, iŋko* and *into-ŋko* are also used as relative pronouns with the meaning 'this one who', 'that one who' and 'that one which/who/whom', respectively (for relative clauses, see chapter 10).

6.7.1. Demonstratives *ko, iŋko, pe*

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

ko 'this (one)', 'here'
iŋko 'that (one)', 'there'
pe 'that one yonder', 'yonder'[22]

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

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

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

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

(204) *ko-ke* (2592)
here-ANT
'from here'

(205) *ko-te-ke* (2589)
here-AD-ANT
'from here'

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

(207) *ko-pi nom* (2595)
here-AL bit
'a (little) bit nearby'

(208) *ko-te* (175)
here-AD
'here'

(209) *iŋko-te* (176)
there-AD
'there'

(210) *pe-te* (177)
yonder-AD
'yonder'

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[3] There is a striking resemblance with demonstratives in Tupi-Guaraní (e.g. Guaraní *ko* 'this' and *pe* 'that')

To form expressions of time, the demonstrative *iŋko* is used in combination with the suffixes *-(a)p* (see *iŋko-p-alʸ* 'constantly', section 6.4.2.1); *-čot* 'then', 'thus'; *-na* < *ana* 'when' (cf. the example *iŋko-na-pi* 'then' and *iŋko-na-pi-lʸ* 'just at that very moment' in section 6.4.5.1); and with the word *nʸalok* which is only found together with *iŋko* in a few expressions (cf. *iŋko-tu-p nʸalok* 'at that time' in section 6.4.3.4):

(211) *iŋko-čot* (2746)
that-then
'that then'

(212) *iŋko-na-pi-p* (2750)
that-when-AL-ABL
'from then'

(213) *iŋko nʸalok* (2734)
that time
'that time', 'then'

(214) *iŋko nʸalok-te* (2735)
that time-AD
'at that time'

(215) *iŋko-tu-p nʸalok-alʸ* (2886)
that-AD-ABL time-RST
'at that time only', 'then immediately'

6.7.2. Demonstrative pronoun *into-ŋko*

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

(216) *into-ŋko-te-pit* *ø-lʸa-khe* (1345)
where/which-DEM-AD-IND 3sS-go-PERM
'Let him go to no matter where, to no matter whom'.

(217) *into-ŋko-pit* (1336)
which-DEM-IND
'whatever/whoever/whichever'

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

(218) *into-ŋko* *ø-tˢip-te-m* *ø-nʸe-kt-aŋ* (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-ŋko* can also function as an interrogative pronoun 'which?' (see section 6.8.4).

6.8. Question words

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

6.8.1. Interrogative stem *ana*

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

(219) *ana-pimok-nik* *mi-tˢip-a* (1440)
how.many-CL:space-COM 2sPOS-house-TOP
'As for your house, how many rooms [has it]?'

The interrogative stem *ana* always occurs with other elements: nouns, numeral classifiers (see the example above), case markers or other suffixes. When *ana* is not followed by a suffix, it may have had an alternative form *anak* (possibly *anaʔ*)[23]:

(220) *anak* *čaŋ-am* *candela-wa* (1433)
how.many bundle-QM candle-TOP
'As for candles, how many bundles are there?'

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

(221) *ana-pat-le-m* (2507)
when-INS-TERM-QM
'Until when?'

(222) *ana-tuh-am*(1421)
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':

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[24] It occurs as <annac> in Pedro de la Mata's spelling, final <c> may be read as [ʔ] or [k], see section 4.3.3.

(223) *ana* *mol-pat-le-he-m* *mi-lʸw-aŋ* (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)
how.many month-AD-QM
'After/In how many months?'

(225) *ana* *piliw-te-m* (2266)
how.many year-AD-QM
'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-čin* 'I do not know when', *ana-pi-čo-m* 'when?' and *ana-pi-m mi-lʸa-kt-aŋ* '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-pi-he-m* (2876)
when-AL-BEN-QM
'For when?'

(238) *ana-pi-pit* (2483)
when-AL-IND
'Whenever'.

(239) *ana-pi-m* *ko-te* *mi-toŋ-t-aŋ* (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) *iŋko-na-pi* (2486)
that-when-AL
'then', 'when'

(231) *mi-kot-o-na-pi* (2479)
2sS-be-FN2-when-AL
'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* *če-kt-aŋ* (1406)
how.many all-QM man 3pS-be-IA
'How many men are there?'

(234) *ana* *mek* *atelʸpa* *če-m* (1411)
how.many all chicken egg-QM
'How many chicken's eggs?'

(235) *ana* *mek* *šiptet-am* (1409)
how.many all anona-QM
'How many anonas?'

(236) *ana* *mek* *šokot-am* *mu-ø-lum-čik-iy-ha*
how.many all river-QM 2pA-3sO-top-come.over-PST-PL
pana-te-wa (1446)
way-AD-TOP
'How many rivers did you (p) cross on the way?'

(2) by a numeral classifier:

(237) *ana-če-m* *atelʸpa* (1412)
how.many-CL:round-QM chicken
'How many chickens?'

(238) *ana-če-m* *ø-tˢip-nik* *putam-a*
how.many-CL:round-QM 3sPOS-house-COM village-TOP
ø-kot-aŋ (1413)
3sS-be-IA
'How many houses does the village has?'

(239) *ana-čup-am* *me-n-eštek* *ø-m-a-toŋ* (1415)
how.many-CL:portable-QM 2sPOS-REL-cloth 3sS-2sO-APL-be
'How many clothes do you have?'

(240) *ana-čup-am* *ašwa* *či-pilʸ-te* *če-pulʸ-iy* (1414)
how.many-CL:portable-QM fish 3pPOS-net-AD 3pS-fall-PST
'How many fish has fallen in their nets?'

(241) *piliw* *nʸanmak* *ana-pač-am* *mi-hač-o-w-ha-n* (1429)
year every how.many-CL:completed-QM 2S-field-make-SE-PL-IA
'How many fields do you (p) make every year?'

(3) by nouns other than those indicating a period of time:

(242) *ana lʸo-m* (1447)
how.many gorge-QM
'How many gorges?'

(243) *ana putam-te-m* (1445)
how.many village-AD-QM
'In how many villages?'

The combination of *ana* + *mek*, meaning 'how many?', can also be followed by a numeral classifier:

(244) *ana mek-čup-am mu-cuchillo-nik* (1417)
how.many all-CL:portable-QM 2SPOS-knife-COM
'How many knives [have you]?'

(245) *ana mek-puč-am mi-hač-nik me-kt-aŋ* (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-eštek me-melʸ-aŋ* (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-šuŋ-am putam-nayme mi-palʸ-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)
what-then
'What then?'

(249) *inča-m ki-l-o-kt-aŋ* (2845)
what-QM 1SA-3SO-do-F-IA
'What shall we do?'

(250) *inča-m Francisco liw i-sč-aŋ* (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-he-m* (161)
what-BEN-QM
'Why?'

(252) *inča-te-m* (2902)
what-AD-QM
'What for?'

The question word *inča-m* 'what?' may be followed by the interjection *ah!* 'vocative' and by the person markers *ma* 'vocative 2s masculine' and *pa* 'vocative 2s feminine':

(253) *inča-m-ah* (2719)
what-QM-EX
'What is the matter?'

(254) *inča-m-ma* (1352)
what-QM-2smVO
'What do you say, man?'.
'What do you want, man?'

(255) *inča-m-pa* (1353)
what-QM-2sfVO
'What do you say, woman?'. 'What do you want, woman?'

The noun which most frequently occurs after the question word *inča* 'what?' is *yu* 'kind', 'species', 'type', 'variety':

(256) *inča yu-am i-m-o-w* (2727)
thing kind-QM 3sA-2sO-do-PST
'What did he do to you?'

(257) *inča yu caballu-m iŋko-wa* (1396)
thing species horse-QM the.one.there-TOP
'As for the one there, what species of horse is it?'

In the following example, the noun *inča* does not function as a question word, although it occurs in a clause with the disjunctive question marker -*le* 'or?'. This is because the question does not concern the noun *inča* '(some)thing', but rather the verbal form *ø-kot-p-aŋ* 'he/she/it is not':

(258) *inča ø-kot-p-aŋ-le* (2722)
something 3sS-be-NE-IA-QM
'Isn't there any news?'

6.8.3. Interrogative stem *into*

The interrogative stem *into* refers to a location: 'where', 'which location', 'which'; 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*:

(260) *into-nʸ-a-he-m* *mu-n-utˢa-lʸak-pat-le* *a-šaiš-la-ŋo* (2855)
which-CMP-?-BEN-QM 2sPOS-REL-fault-NF-INS-QM 1sO-whip-3pA-FN2
'What? Through your fault, I am to be whipped by them?'

Elements which can appear after *into* are perlative *-nayme* 'through', 'via' and non-personal adessive *-te* 'at', 'in' + the combinations *-te-ke* 'from', *-te-p* 'from' and *-te-pi* 'to':

(261) *into-nayme-m* (2431)
where-PRO-QM
'Through where?'

(262) *into-te-m* (2467)
where-AD-QM
'Where?'

(263) *into-te* (2430)
where-AD
'in there'

(264) *into-te-ke-pit* (2537)
where-AD-ANT-IND
'from anywhere'

(265) *into-te-p-am* *mi-n-aŋ* (2438)
where-AD-ABL-QM 2sS-come-IA
'Where do you come from?'

(266) *into-te-p* (22429)
where-AD-ABL
'from there'

(267) *into-te-pi-m* *mi-lʸw-aŋ* (2447)
where-AD-AL-QM 2sS-go-IA
'Where do you go to?'

(268) *into-te-pi* (2432)
where-AD-AL
'to there'

However, the elements most frequently encountered after interrogative *into* are the indefinite pronoun *mek* 'all', the comparative case marker *-nʸ* 'like', and the demonstra-tive/relativizer *-ŋko* (see section 6.7.2). With the indefinite pronoun *mek* the concept of 'quantity' is expressed. E.g.:

(269) *into mek-am* (1364)
which all-QM
'how much?'

(270) *into mek* (1427)
which all
'so much', 'that much'

(271) *into mek-nik* (2518)
which all-COM
'so much more'

cf. *into mek ni-ču-nik* (1380)
which all bit-DIM-COM
'the more'

(272) *into mek-pit* (1379)
which all-IND
'no matter how many/much'

(273) *into mek-pok* (2514)
which all-CL:repeatable
'that many times'

(274) *into mek-te nom* (1377)
which all-AD bit
'so much less'

(275) *into mek m-a-y-aŋ, into mek-al^{y} a-m-e-kt-aŋ* (2521)
which all 2sA-1sO-give-IA which all-RST 1sA-2sO-give-F-IA
'As much as you give me, that much I shall give you'.

The concept of manner is expressed by the suffix *-n^{y}* . The derived form *into-n^{y}* means 'how':

(276) *into-n^{y}-am* (2907)
which-CMP-QM
'How?'

(277) *into-n^{y}-am me-kt-aŋ/ into-n^{y}-am mi-ki-aŋ* (2540)
which-CMP-QM 2sS-be-IA/ which-CMP-QM 2sS-be-IA
'How do you do?'

(278) *into-n^{y}-am i-m-o-w* (2524)
which-CMP-QM 3sA-2sO-do-PST
'What did he do to you?'

(279) *into-n^{y} ki-l-o-pakna ø-kot-aŋ* (390)
which-CMP 1pA-3sO-do-NE.NOM 3sS-be-IA
'We can not do anything'.

(280) *into-n^{y}-ap-am* (1383)
which-CMP-ABL-QM
'Of which size?'

(281) *into-n^{y}-pit-hin-ah* (2463)
which-CMP-IND-maybe-EX
'I do not know anything!'

(282) *into-n^{y}-čin* (2531)
where/which-CMP-NE
'I do not know how'. 'I do not know where'.

Time can be expressed when *into-n^{y}* is followed by the suffix *-čo* 'already':

(283) *into-n^{y}-čo-m ø-pakt-aŋ* (2541)
which-CMP-already-QM 3sS-be-IA
'What time is it?'

The instance *into-n^{y} ki-l-o-pakna ø-kot-aŋ* above shows that the concept of 'nothing' can be expressed by means of a negative verb form (cf. *inča*, section 6.8.3 and *ol*, section 6.8.5).

6.8.4. Interrogative demonstrative pronoun *into-ŋko*

Interrogative *into-ŋko(-m)* 'which?' refers both to humans and non-humans, whereas its counterpart, the interrogative pronoun *ol* 'who?' (see section 6.8.5), only refers to humans. Like the counterpart *ol* 'who?', interrogative *into-ŋko(-m)* can be followed by the plural marker *lol* when it is used to ask for people:

(284) *into-ŋko(-m)* (1342)
which-DEM(-QM)
'Which?'

(285) *into-ŋko(-m)* *ø-ᶠa-kt-aŋ* (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-ps-aŋ* (1340)
who-QM 2sS-come-IA
'Who is coming?'

(289) *ol* *i-l-o-w-ø(-am)* (1289)
who 3sA-3sO-make-PST-NOM(-QM)
'Whose?'

(290) *ol* *i-l-o-w-ø-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-paŋ-a* *ol-am* *a-šot-a* *ol-lol-am*
1sPOS-mother-TOP who-QM 1sPOS-brother-TOP who-PL-QM
če-kt-aŋ (1351)
3pS-be-IA
'Who is my mother, and who are my brothers?'.

The concept of 'nobody' is obtained by adding a negation marker (cf. *into*, section 6.8.3 and *inča*, section 6.8.3). This suffix is attached to a verb of which *ol*

'somebody' is the subject (a negative verb form of which *ol* is the object has not been found):

(293) *mi-pot-iy-man-ap, ol-pit ø-moh-p-aŋ* (203)
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, inča, into, into-ŋko, ol* belong together insofar that all five can be used as interrogatives. However, the interrogative stem *ana* is normally followed by -*(a)m* when used in questions. It has only once been encountered without a question marker while functioning as an interrogative. The stems *ana* and *into* have some points in common:

(i), both stand apart in that the presence of one or more additional elements is required (*ana* is normally followed by nouns, by the indefinite pronoun *mek* 'all', by numeral classifiers, or by case markers; *into* is followed by the indefinite pronoun *mek* 'all', or by case markers);

(ii), they can not directly be followed by the discourse markers -*(a)m* 'question marker', -*čin* 'I don't know' and the indefinite marker -*pit* '(wh ...)ever', which, on the other hand, can directly be attached to *inča, into-ŋko* and *ol* without the interposition of another element. In the case of *ana* and *into*, the question marker -(*a)m* occurs after one of the elements mentioned in point (i); the discourse marker -*čin* and the indefinite marker -*pit* occur after some case markers (see the examples *ana-pi-čin, ana-pi-pit, ana-te-pit, into-te-ke-pit, into-nʸ-čin* in section 6.8.1for *ana* and 6.8.3 for *into*).

The group *ana, inča, into, into-ŋko, ol* can thus be divided into two parts: bound and free. The bound stems *ana* and *into* on the one hand, and the free stems *inča, into-ŋko* and *ol* on the other. In some points, however, the words *ana* and *into* differ from each other:

(1) *into* may be used as a question word without the occurrence of the question marker -*(a)m*, which is rarely the case with *ana*;

(2) *ana* refers to human beings as well as to objects, whereas *into* refers to places and objects.

As far as the reference to human beings and objects of the words *inča, into-ŋko* and *ol* is concerned, *inča* only refers to objects, *into-ŋko* 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

	humans	non-humans
ana	+	+
inča	-	+
into	-	+
into-ŋko	+	+
ol	+	-

As for the concepts 'quantity', 'time', 'manner', 'space', 'cause', 'instrument', 'purpose', we have seen that they can be expressed by the words *ana, into* and *inča* by adding certain elements. The idea of quantity can be expressed by *ana, inča* and *into*; the idea of time can be indicated by *ana* and *into*; the concept of space by *into* and *into-nko* (see the example *into-ŋko-te-pit* 'no matter where' in section 6.8.2); the concept of manner by *into*; and the notions of cause, instrument and purpose by *inča*. Those concepts are indicated by means of the following elements:
(a) 'quantity' by means of the element *mek* 'all' (*ana mek, into mek*), of nouns (*ana* +several nouns), and of numeral classifiers (*ana* + several numeral classifiers);
(b) 'time' by means of nouns (*ana* + nouns indicating a period of time); of case markers (*ana* + *-patle* 'until', *-pi* 'to', *-te* 'at', 'in'; and of the suffix *-čo* 'already' (*into-n^{y}-čo* 'what time');
(c) 'manner' by means of the suffix *-n^{y}* 'like';
(d) 'space' by means of the suffixes *-nayme* 'through', 'via' and *-n^{y}* 'like'; or of spatialcase markers: *-te* 'at', 'in', *-te-ke* 'from', 'of', *-te-pi* 'to', *-te-p* 'from';
(e) 'cause', 'instrument' and 'purpose' by means of the case markers *-he* 'for the benefit of', 'by', *-pat/-l^{y}ak-pat* 'with', and *-te* 'to', respectively.
The fact that *ana, inča, into, into-ŋko* refer to different concepts as different elements are added to them, distinguishes them from *ol*. The word *ol* is an independent pronoun and refers to a third person singular or plural. The group *ana, inča, into, into-ŋko, ol* may thus again be split up into two parts: the words *ana, inča, into, into-ŋko* referring to variable concepts against the pronoun *ol* referring exclusively to a '3s/p'.

Table 6.9 presents an overview of the above mentioned concepts expressed by *ana, inča, into, into-ŋko* by mediation of added elements. The elements shown are the indefinite pronoun *mek* 'all', nouns (N), numeral classifiers (CL), case markers, and the suffix sequence *-n^{y}-čo* (comparative 'like' + adverbial 'already').

Table 6.9. Concepts and the words *ana, inča, into, into-ŋko* + added elements

	ana	*into*	*into-ŋko*	*inča*
quantity	*mek*, N, CL	*mek*	-	+
time	N (period) *-pat-le, -pi, -te*	*-n^{y}-čo*	-	-
space	-	*-nayme*, *-n^{y}*, *-te, -te-ke*, *-te-pi, -te-p*	*-te*	-
manner	-	*-n^{y}*	-	-
cause	-	-	-	*-he*, *-l^{y}ak-pat*
instrument	-	-	-	*-pat*
purpose	-	-	-	*-te*

6.9. Indefinite pronouns
Cholón has the following indefinite pronouns:

alum	'other', 'some'
an-t^{s}el	'one', 'another'
inča	'(some)thing'
mek	'all'
n^{y}anmak	'each'
ol	'who'

6.9.1. Indefinite pronoun *alum*
The indefinite pronoun, *alum*, is used attributively:

(294) *quaresma alum nem-te-wa,* [...] *ayča ø-l^{y}up-la-pakna*
Lent other day-AD-TOP [...] meat 3sO-eat-3pA-NE.NOM
ø-kot-aŋ (2793)
3sS-be-IA
'As for the other days of Lent, [...] they are not allowed to eat meat'.

(295) *alum nem-te-a-čo, eyt^{s}a ø-l^{y}up-la-ŋo če-kt-aŋ* (2794)
other day-AD-TOP-now meat 3sO-eat-3pA-FN2 3pS-be-IA
'Now, as for the other days, they may eat meat'.

6.9.2. Indefinite pronoun *an-t^{s}el*
The word *an-t^{s}el* primarily functions as a numeral 'one'. It is composed of the following morphemes: the numeral *an* 'one' and the numeral classifier *t^{s}el* 'truncal object' (for examples with numeral classifiers, see section 6.10.2). When *an-t^{s}el*

functions as an indefinite pronoun, it is used independently, viz. not followed by a countable noun:

(296) *an-tˢel-sim* (1310)
one-CL:truncal-EMP
'It is another one'.

(297) *an-tˢel* *a-tˢap-te-na* *sepeh-he-nake,* *an-tˢel*
one-CL:truncal 1SA-3SO.catch-F-QUOT say-SIM-PER one-CL:truncal
i-tˢp-aŋ (2387)
3SA-3SO.catch-IA
'Instead of catching one, he catches another one'.
(lit. 'By saying: "I shall catch one", he catches another one').

6.9.3. Indefinite pronoun *inča*

The indefinite pronoun *inča* '(some)thing' is used for objects (cf. the pronoun *ol* 'who', which is used for persons). The indefinite pronoun *inča* also functions as an interrogative stem (see section 6.8.2). When it does not function as an interrogative stem, it is often preceded by the indefinite pronoun *mek* 'all', indicating a 'whole' or a 'plurality of things':

(298) *mek inča* (1355)
all thing
'everything', 'the whole thing', 'all the things'

(299) *mek inča Dios kamatˢin ø-ki-aŋ-ko* (1866)
all thing God command 3SS-speak-IA-DEM
'God who commands everything'.

(300) *mek inča či-po-hina-y-e-ø-te* (1473)
all thing 3PA-3PO-hear-PST-ANT-NOM-AD
'after/from all the things they had heard'

Plurality of things is also expressed by the reduplication of *inča*. In addition, the reduplicated pronoun may be preceded by the indefinite pronoun *mek*, and it may be followed by the noun *yu* 'kind', 'species':

(301) *inča inča mi-po-yč-iy-ha-ŋ-ko* (1471)
thing thing 2A-3PO-see-SE-PL-IA-DEM
'all the things you see'

(302) *mek inča inča* (1361)
all thing thing
'all the things'

(303) *mek inča inča yu* (1363)
all thing thing kind
'all kinds of things'

The following suffixes have been encountered after *inča*: comitative -*nik* 'with', adessive -*te* 'in' (see the example *inča-te-pit muč* 'Put it in something whatsoever!' in section 6.4.5.5), and allative -*pi* 'to' when suffixed to -*te*:

(304) *ma-ma-ta* *inča-nik* *ø-kot-aŋ* (2697)
INT-INT-CL:firm/stony thing-COM 3sS-be-IA
'He is rich, abundant in everything'.

(305) *inča-te-pi* *ø-šoh-ø* (3398)/ *inča-te-pi* *mi-ø-šoh-i* (2736)
thing-AD-AL 3sO-pour-IMP thing-AD-AL 2sA-3sO-pour-IMP
'Pour it into something!'

The indefinite pronoun *inča* can also be followed by the diminutive marker -*ču*. The form *inča-ču* can be reduced to *inču* 'minimal thing':

(306) *inča-ču* (1356)
thing-DIM
'something small'

(307) *mek inču* *inču-pit* (1362)
all thing.DIM thing.DIM-IND
'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)
thing(-DIM)-IND not
'I have nothing'.

(309) *inča* *ø-kot-p-aŋ* (2723)
thing 3sS-be-NE-IA
'There is nothing'. 'Nothing matters'. 'It doesn't matter'.

(310) *inča* *a-sina-y-pit^{s}-o* (2725)
thing 1sA-3sO.hear-PST-NE-FN2
'I heard nothing'.

6.9.4. Indefinite pronoun *mek*

The indefinite pronoun *mek* 'all' can be employed both as a head and as a modifier. In the following examples the pronoun *mek* is used independently:

(311) *mek mi-kol-ha-kt-aŋ* (49)
all 2S-die-PL-F-IA
'You (p) all will die'.

(312) *Dios* *neŋ-te* *mek ke-tŋ-aŋ* (2440)
God hand-AD all 1pS-be-IA
'We all are in the hands of God'.

The word *mek* can also appear after an attributive pronoun or demonstrative. Its function as a head is shown in the following examples:

(313) *mi ok mek me-kt-aŋ* (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) *iŋko mek* (1368)
that.one.there all
'all the ones there'

(316) *pe mek* (1368)
yonder all
'all the ones yonder'

(317) *ko mek-al*^{y} (2603)
this.one.here all-RST
'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 espiritu-l*^{y} *če-kt-aŋ* (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*^{y}*anmak*

The indefinite pronoun *n*^{y}*anmak* is the opposite of *mek*: *mek* 'all' pluralizes, whereas *n*^{y}*anmak* 'each', 'every(one)' individualizes. It is mainly employed attributively, and it can occur before or after a noun:

(319) *nem n*^{y}*anmak ki-am-aŋ* (1186)
day every 1pS-eat-IA
'We eat every day'.

(320) *n*^{y}*anmak hayu i-t*^{s}*ip-te i-t*^{s}*ot*^{s}
every Indian/man 3pPOS-house-AD 3pPOS-guinea.pig
ø-p-a-ha-kot-aŋ (1187)
3sS-3pO-APL-PL-be.there-IA
'Every Indian has guinea pigs in his house'.

When the noun with which *n*^{y}*anmak* appears indicates a period of time, *n*^{y}*anmak* occurs after this noun (see also the example *nem n*^{y}*anmak* 'every day' above):

(321) *mahač n*^{y}*anmak* (2459)
evening every
'every evening'

(322) *semana n*^{y}*anmak* (2460)
week every
'every week'

(323) *pel* *n^{y}anmak* (2461)
month every
'every month'

In one example *n^{y}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^{y}anmak-o* *an-t^{s}el* *palantu* *mi-po-e-ki* (1454)
3pPOS-each-DIS one-CL:truncal banana 2sA-3pO-give-IMP
'Give one banana to each one of them!'

6.9.6. Indefinite pronoun *ol*

The pronoun *ol* which is mainly used as an interrogative pronoun (see section 6.8.5) can also function as the indefinite pronoun 'somebody/someone', 'who':

(325) *ol-pit* (1337)
who-IND
'whoever', 'anyone', 'everybody'

6.10. Numerals and classifiers

Pedro de la Mata distinguished cardinal numbers, ordinal numbers and distributive numbers. The numbers 'one', 'two', 'three' always occur with classifiers; the numbers 'four' - 'nine' also appear with classifiers, but for one exception, viz. when they quantify human beings. The cardinal, ordinal and distributive numbers are treated in section 6.10.1; the classifiers in section 6.10.2.

6.10.1. Cardinal, ordinal and distributive numbers

The cardinal numbers 'one', 'two' and 'three' are indicated by the morphemes *a*(C)-, *ip-, ič-/iš-/is-*, respectively (*ič-* is found before classifiers whith an initial *t, č, š, l*; *iš*-before classifiers which begin with *h* or *p*; *is-* alternates with *iš-* before the classifier *ta* 'firm/stony object', see also section 4.3.4 and 4.3.9). These morphemes never appear independently; they are always followed by a classifier. The numeral *a-* 'one' occurs as *an-* in the word *an-tˢel* 'one man' (< one-CL:truncal object) and *an-čup* 'one book/cloth/knife (< one-CL: portable object); and as *at-* in the words *at-če* 'one egg' (< one-CL:round object), *at-hil* 'one word' (< one-CL:speech), *at-kot-mulʸ-aŋ-ko* 'first' (one-be-begin-IA-which), and *at-waranga* 'one thousand'. The Cholón words for the numerals four - nine are as follows:

minʸip	'four'	*kiliš*	'seven'
kiok	'five'	*pak*	'eight'
iptˢok	'six'	*okonʸ*	'nine'[24]

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

(326) *ip-lek* (1110) 'twenty'
(327) *iš-lek* (1111) 'thirty'
(328) *minʸip-lek* (1112) 'forty'

To express intervening numbers tens are followed by units:

(329) *a-lek* *an-tˢel* (1120)
one-ten one-CL:truncal
'eleven men'

(330) *a-lek* *ip-ta* (1121)
one-ten two-CL:firm/ stony
'twelve men'

(331) *a-lek* *minʸip* (1119)
one-ten four
'fourteen men'

The intervening numbers can also be formed by means of the suffix *-nik* 'with' attached to the units:

(332) *a-lek* *iptˢok-nik* (1123)
one-ten six-COM
'sixteen'

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[25] The Cholón numerals for 6 to 9 are reminiscent of the respective Ayacucho Quechua numerals: *iptˢok* 'six', A. Que. *soqta*; *kiliš*'seven', A.Que. *qančis*; *pak* 'eight', A. Que. *pusaq*; *okonʸ* 'eight', A. Que. *isqon*.

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-mulʸ-aŋ-ko* ‘the one here who/which is beginning’ between the numeral and the classifier. The form *ø-kot-mulʸ-aŋ-ko* contains two verb stems: *kot* ‘be’ and *mulʸ* ‘start an action’ followed by imperfective aspect *-aŋ* and the demonstrative/relativizer *ko*:

(333) *at-kot-mulʸ-aŋ-ko* *hil* (1127)
one-be-begin-IA-DEM word
‘the first command’

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

(334) *at-hil* (1126)
one-CL:speech
‘one word’

(335) *at-hil* *sil-aŋ* (1131)
one-CL:speech 3sO.say-IA
‘the first command’

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) *iš-ta* *hayu* *atem-e* *či-palʸ-iy* (1314)
three-CL:firm/stony man morning-ANT 3pS-pass-PST
‘Three men passed in the morning’.

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-aŋ* ‘the first command above):

(337) *ič-hil* *ø-sil-aŋ* (1129)
three-CL:speech 3sS.say-IA
‘the third command’

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

(338) *ašman* *ø-kot-mulʸ-aŋ-ko* (1127)
first 3sS-be-begin-IA-DEM
‘the one who/which is first’, ‘the first one’

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[26] They are borrowings from Quechua *pačak* ‘hundred’ and *waranqa* ‘thousand’.

Distributive numbers are usually formed by means of reduplication of the numeral and the suffix *-(k)o*, attached to each reduplicated element. The form *-o* is found after a consonant, *-ko* after a vowel. The numeral 'one' occurs as *il* or *yel* when it is employed as a distributive. In this case, the numeral is not followed by a classifier and neither are the numerals 'four' and higher. They are immediately followed by the suffix *-(k)o*. The classifier which is suffixed to the numerals 'two' and 'three' when they are used as distributives is the classifier *ta* 'firm/stony object':

il-o, yel-o yel-o	'one by one', 'in ones'
ip-ta-ko ip-ta-ko	'two by two', 'in twos'
iš-ta-ko iš-ta-ko	'three by three', 'in threes'
min^{y}ip-o min^{y}ip-o	'four by four', 'in fours'
kiok-o kiok-o	'five by five', 'in fives'
ipt^{s}ok-o ipt^{s}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^{y}-o okon^{y}-o	'nine by nine', 'in nines'
a-lek-o a-lek-o	'ten by ten', 'in tens'
a-lek an-t^{s}el-o a-lek an-t^{s}el-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-t^{s}el	'one man'
ip-ta	'two men'
iš-ta	'three men'
min^{y}ip	'four men', etc.

The suffix *t^{s}el* '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)

classifiers	objects:	classes:
čaŋ	bundles, bunches, (candles, firewood)	bundled objects
če	birds, fruits, (eggs, grains, houses)	round objects
čup	axes, books, clothes, combs, feathers, fish, knives, machetes, scissors, shoes	portable objects
hil	commands, orders, regulations, words	speech
liw	colours, different things, (books, dresses, letters, paintings, parrots, writings)	multicoloured/ multiform objects
pimok	heavens, hems, rooms, spaces, (skirts)	space
pok	times/turns, (sins)	repeatable events
poŋ	armies, herds, troops, (hogs)	groups of living beings
pač	fields, (periods of time)	completed/full entities
puk	bites	digestible chunks

classifiers	objects	classes
šuŋ	places, posts, villages, (heaps)	accumulations
ta	human beings, (rocks, stones)	firm/stony objects
tip	halves, hunks, (meat)	(small) pieces
tuh	fragments, joints, knots, remnants	detachable objects
tˢel	large things, quadrupeds, (bananas, legs, feet, hands, human being, trees)	truncal objects

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'

(342) *ič-pel-pat-le* (2263)
three-CL:month-INS-TERM
'in/for three months'

(343) *a-piliw-pat-le* (2995)
one-CL:year-INS-TERM
'in/for one year'

(344) *ip-semana-pat-le* (2257)
two-CL:week-INS-TERM
in/for two weeks'

The use of a classifier depends on the angle from which the object is looked at, viz. on the property which is singled out. A dress, for example, may be considered as something portable, as something colourful or as something which contains air or space, depending on whether the speaker wants to accentuate the fact that the dress is something which can be worn, or whether it is the multicolouredness or the spaciousness of the garment which catches the eye of the speaker. In the first case the dress is classified into the category 'portable things' by the classifier *čup*, in the second case it is classified into the category 'colourful things' by the classifier *liw*, in the third case it is classified into the category 'space' by the classifier *pimok*:

(345) *ana-čup-am* *me-n-eštek* *ø-m-a-toŋ* (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-aŋ* (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, tˢel, šuŋ, ta* also appear as nouns, in which case *če* means 'egg', 'grain'; *hil* means 'word'; *liw* means 'book', 'letter(s)', 'species'; *šuŋ* means 'heap'; *ta* means 'stone'; *tˢel* 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/kolʸ '(to) love' > *ŋole* (1061) 'love'
k(o)t '(to) be' > *kot* (1044) 'being', 'essence'
penʸ(o) '(to) wish' > *menʸ* (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)uč* 'agentive' and *-(e)č* 'complementizer'; 2, the nominalizers *-lam* 'future participle' and *-(ŋ)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 rela-tive clause:

kot-uč (432) 'he/she who is' > 'a being'
ŋole-uč (749) 'he/she who loves somebody/something' > 'a lover'
penʸo-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 postvocalically, *-wuč* only postvocalically. Examples:

a-kole-(w)uč (1062)	'my lover'	< *kole/kolʸ* '(to) love'
mi-kole-uč (1063)	'your lover'	< *kole/kolʸ* '(to) love'
kot-uč (1046)	'a being'	< *k(o)t* '(to) be'
ašwa lamih-uč (1490)	'killer of fish'	< *lam(a)* '(to) kill'
lʸiteh-uč (1072)	'magistrate'	< *lʸite(h)* '(to) correct'
ayča lʸup-uč (1148)	'eater of meat'	< *lʸup* '(to) swallow down'
lusay-e-uč (1150)	'mercyful or pious man'	< *lusa(y)* '(to) pity', '(to) have compassion', '(to) be in distress'
palʸow a-o-wuč (1779)	'my benefactor'	< *(o)* '(to) do', '(to) make'
kamatˢin ki-wuč (1070)	'ruler'	< *kamatˢin ki* '(to) rule'
a-penʸo-wuč (1064)	'my lover'	< *penʸ(o)* '(to) want'
mi-penʸo-wuč (1065)	'your lover'	
pihih-uč (1158)	'tailor' (?), 'someone	< **pihi(h)* '(to) sew' (?), '(to) be charged with a duty' (?)charged with' (?)
a-psawoh-uč (1776)	'my creator'	< **psa(wo)h* '(to) create'
ših-uč (1068)	'drinker'	< *ših/š(i)k* '(to) drink'

ki-šp-eh-uč (1187)	'our Redeemer'	< *šp-e(h)* '(to) liberate'
ašwa tˢap-uč (1152)	'catcher of fish', 'fisherman'	< *y(a)p* '(to) catch'
tup-uč (1151)	'walker'	< *t(u)p* '(to) walk'
utˢa-uč (1908)	'sinner'	< *utˢa* 'a sin'
a-n-utˢa-weh-uč (1181)	'my judge'	< *utˢa-we(h)* '(to) judge'
ki-ym-eh-uč (1186)	'our creator'	< *yam-e(h)* '(to) let know'
p-a-ym-eh-uč (421)	'teacher'	< *y(a)m-e(h)* '(to) let know', '(to) teach'

Forms in *-(e)č* are normally translated as present participles or subordinate clauses. Only one form in *-(e)č* is used as a noun:

tˢamo-č (2974)	'wisdom'	< *tˢam(o)* '(to) know something'

The word *tˢamo-č* can also be used as an adjective with the meaning 'learned' (39, 111). Another form in *-(e)č*, also derived from a verb stem in *o*, which is also translated as an adjective is the word

nʸansik-wo-č (1041)	'laborious'	< *nʸansik-w(o)* '(to) work'

The nominalizer *-lam*, a future 'participle' ending, is suffixed to a non-reduced stem. It indicates that something has to be done or is going to happen. When *-lam* occurs in a nominal form, it can be translated as 'future':

(348) *kot-lam* (1053)
be-FN1
'(the fact of) being',
'future being'

(349) *a-kulʸha* *a-kot-lam* (1051)
1sPOS-life 1sS-be-FN1
'my existence',
'the future being of my life'

(350) *menʸo-lam* (1057)
3sO.want-FN1
'someone's wish',
'someone's future wishing'

(351) *ŋole-lam* (1061)
3sO.love-FN1
'someone's love',
'someone's future loving'

(352) *a-ø-ših-lam* (1067)
1sA-3sO-drink-FN1
'my drink', 'my future drinking'

The nominalizer *-(ŋ)o* 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 *-(ŋ)o* can function both as an adjective (cf. forms in *-(k)o* 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:

(353) *ki-ø-čikno-ŋo* (1076)
1pA-3sO-fear-FN2
'frightening', 'something frightening'

(354) *ku-ø-puluwo-ŋo* (1074)
1pA-3sO-disgust-FN2
'abominable', 'something abominable'

(355) *ki-tˢač-o* (1078)
1pA-3sO.see-FN2
'visible', 'something visible'

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:

ablative *-(a)p*:	*ow-tu-p* (2588)	'from afar'
nominal past *-(k)e*:	*ampal-e* (2551)	'yesterday's'
	Lima-te-ke (2279)	'from Lima'
	ta-ke (22769)	'made of stone'

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 ø-lol* (34)
river 3sPOS-mouth
'the river mouth'

(357) *Pedro ø-n-eštek* (150)
Pedro 3sPOS-REL-cloth
'Pedro's cloth(es)'

(358) *Dios* *tˢamo-č* *ø-kot* (2974)
Dios 3sS.know-FAC 3sPOS-being
'God's wisdom'

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 *či-* (or *ču-*) preceding the head noun in its relational form (cf. section 5.4):

(359) *hayu* *i-tˢip* (1187) (*tˢip* < *yip* 'house')
man/Indian 3pPOS-house
'the houses of the Indians'

(360) *Luis-e* *Maria-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"[26]. However, we have seen that attributive expressions can be formed by means of the suffixes *-nik* (section 6.4.2.8), *-(k)o* (section 6.4.5.4), *-(e)č* (section 6.10), and *-(ŋ)o* (section 6.10):

comitative *-nik*:	*šeš-nik* (1043)	'scabby'
adjectivizer *-(k)o*:	*nun-o* (235)	'male'
	ila-ko (236)	'female'
factivizer *-(e)č*	*tˢamo-č* (405)	'learned'
nominalizer *-(ŋ)o*	*ki-tˢač-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 *nun* '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:	*očo* (1235)	'something large', 'large'
	kunču (1254)	'something small', 'small'
	mosču (1263)	'tinyness', 'tiny'
colour:	*čeč* (1389, 2621)	'clarity', 'whiteness', 'white'
	kisna (1846)	'blueness', 'blue'
	lʸaka (1400)	'something coloured', 'redness', 'red'
	lʸin (2980)	'greenness', 'green'
	pulʸ (1401)	'yellowness', 'yellow'
	(tˢi)tˢal (1399)	'blackness', 'black'
age:	*kes* (1630)	'matureness', 'oldness', 'old'
value:	*išiwah* (1037)	'badness', 'bad'
	ŋunʸa (1032)	'softness', 'nice'
	palʸow (405)	'goodness', 'good'
	waliw (1031)	'strength', 'something beautiful', 'beautiful'
taste:	*alʸhi* (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 *palʸow* '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 *očo* 'greatness'. It has no relational form **n-očo*, as would be expected. Ex.:

(362) *mi-očo* (2323)
2SPOS-greatness
'your greatness'

(363) *a-n-išiwah* (2323)
1SPOS-REL-badness
'my badness'

(364) *lʸaka* (183) 'something coloured', 'redness', 'red':
a-lʸaka 'my coloured thing'
mi-lʸaka 'your (m) coloured thing'
lʸaka 'his/her coloured thing'
ki-lʸaka 'our coloured thing'
mi-lʸaka-ha 'your (p) coloured thing'
i-lʸaka 'their coloured thing'

(365) *palʸow* (2642) 'goods', 'advantage', 'good':
a-malʸow 'my good(s)', 'my advantage'

mi-malʸow	‘your (m) good(s)’, ‘your advantage’
malʸow	‘his/her good(s)’, ‘his/her advantage’
ki-malʸow	‘our good(s)’, ‘our advantage’
mi-malʸow-ha	‘your (p) good(s)’, ‘your (p) advantage’
či-malʸow	‘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’, *ončaplʸa* ‘talker’, *šep* ‘infertility’, *yamkuyla* ‘diligence’.

According to Pedro de la Mata, the modifier may precede or follow the modified element (“a veces se anteponen y â 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) *čeč* *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* *ø-kot-aŋ* (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) *čel* *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 nun* ↔ *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':

(373) *tˢal-le* (1389)
black-QM
'Is it black?'

(374) *lolše-sim* (1390)
Spanish/Spaniard-EMP
'It is Spanish/It is a Spaniard'; 'They are Spanish/They are Spaniards'.

6.12.3. Comparison

In the *ALC* degree of comparison is explained by means of the nouns *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'[27]. (The word *ni-nik* 'a.bit-COM', which is synonymous with *ni-ču-nik* and which also means 'more', does not occur in comparisons). The superlative is formed by a preposed element *ma*, an intensifier indicating a high degree. A superlative of *mosču* is not given.

(375) *očo* (1235) 'great/large'

ni-ču-nik *očo* (1257)
bit-DIM-COM great/large
'(a bit) greater/larger'

ma *očo* (1257)
INT great/large
'very great/large'

(376) *kunču* (1255) 'small'

ni-ču-nik *kunču* (1256)
bit-DIM-COM small
'(a bit) smaller'

ma *kunču* (1256)
INT small
'very small'

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[28] Cf. Ayacucho Quechua: *as-wan* 'more': a.little.bit-with.

(377) *mosču* (1263) 'scanty/tiny'

ni-ču-nik *mosču* (1264)
bit-DIM-COM scanty/tiny
'(a bit) scantier/tinier'

A high degree is not only expressed by the intensifier *ma*, but also by the following related forms: *maha-lʸ*, *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').

(378) *pa-te-p* *či-hač-aŋ* (1243)
INT-AD-ABL 3pS-field.make-IA
'They make many fields'.

(379) *pa-te-p* *ma* *palʸow* (1246)
INT-AD-ABL INT good
'very, very good'

The form *pa-te-p* can also occur together with the expressions *maha-lʸ* and *ma-ma-ta*. The forms *maha-lʸ* and *ma-ma-ta* are synonyms and designate 'a large amount' or 'a large quantity'. In the former term, the element *-lʸ* 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)':

(380) *maha-lʸ* *ayča* *u-ø-lʸup-aŋ* (1239)
INT-RST meat 3sA-3sO-eat-IA
'He eats much meat'.

(381) *pa-te-p* *ma* *maha-lʸ* *meč* (1250)
INT-AD-ABL INT INT-RST tree
'many, many trees'

(382) *ma-ma-ta* *sak-nik* (1242)
INT-INT-CL:firm/stony food-COM
'with a lot of food'

Comparisons in which two objects are compared are formed by means of the case marker combination *-man-ap* 'after', '(starting) from'. In such constructions the object of reference or object of comparison (X) precedes the compared object (Y), and the case marker combination *-man-ap* is suffixed to the object of comparison:
1. 'X-from ...er Y is'
2. 'X-from the ...est Y is'
The comparative degree in comparison 1 is formed by means of the word *ni-ču-nik* (see above), and the superlative in comparison 2 by means of an intensifier such as

ma, pa-te-p, or a combination of both. The word *ni-ču-nik* and the intensifiers are then followed by a noun indicating the property or quality compared.

(383) *mi-man-ap* *ni-ču-nik* *kes* *Pedro* *ø-kot-aŋ* (1221)
2s-INES-ABL bit-DIM-COM old Pedro 3sS-be-IA
'Pedro is older than you'.

(384) *mek* *ila-man-ap* *ma* *palʸow-sim* *pe-kt-aŋ* (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; whith 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 *čapʸoŋ nun* (pan

manliness). The terms *nun* and *ila* can be followed by adjectivizer -*(k)o* (see 6.4.5.4):

(389) *ulʲukiow nun-o* (235)
partridge manliness-ADJ
'male partridge'

ulʲukiow ila-ko (236)
partridge femininity-ADJ
'female partridge'

In section 6.4.5.4 we have seen that a morpheme -*(k)o* is found as a distributive after cardinal numbers. In this case, occurring after the words *nun* and *ila*, the suffix -*(k)o* is likely to function as an adjectivizer.

6.12.5. Number

The suffixes -*ha* and -*lol* are used to indicate pronominal (see section 6.2 and 6.5) and nominal (see section 6.4.5.3) plurality, respectively. In the latter case, indication of number is optional. Usually, an unmarked noun can be singular as well as plural and the numerical interpretation depends on the context:

(390) *hayu* (21)
'a (native) man', 'an Indian',
'(native) men', 'Indians'

hayu-lol (777)
man-PL
'(native) men', 'Indians'

(391) *hayu i-tˢip pusim-pat ø-nʸantum-iy-la če-kt-aŋ* (47)
Indian 3pPOS-house straw-INS 3sO-cover-PST-3pA 3pS-be-IA
'The houses of the Indians are covered with straw'.

Plural can also be indicated by means of the indefinite determiner *mek* 'all' (cf. section 6.9.4), by means of the reduplication of the indefinite pronoun *inča* '(some)thing' (cf. *inča* section 6.9.3) and by means of a numeral (see section 6.10.1):

(392) *mek uŋa* (1461)
all infant
'all the infants'

(393) *mek inča* (11355)
all thing
'all the things'

(394) *inča inča* (1361)
thing thing
'things'

(395) *ip-hil* (1097)
two-CL:speech
'two words'

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

a-tp-a-ŋ (238)	'I walk'
a-šk-e-ŋ (239)	'I cause to drink'
a-ŋisi-n^{y} (240)	'I cheat'
a-ø-lu-po-ŋ (241)	'I abhor someone/something'
a-mu-ŋ (242)	'I taste something'/'I bring it to my mouth'

However, the vowel *e* of de la Mata's 'present tense' ending *-e-ŋ* above appears to be a separate suffix with a number of different functions (see section 7.4.2.2); the form *a-ŋisi-n*^{y} 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*^{y}*, -oŋ* and *-uŋ* are part of the verb stem. The 'present tense' is thus likely to end in *-(a)ŋ*. This suffix, however, appears to indicate incompletive aspect rather than a present tense. The complex behaviour of incompletive *-(a)ŋ* is discussed in 7.4.1.

De la Mata furthermore remarks that the preterite (both 'perfect' and 'imperfect') ends in *ay, 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):

a-sina-y (244)	(< *sinah* '(to) hear')	'I heard someone/something'
a-šk-e-y (245)		'I drank/ I caused to drink'
a-kt-iy (246)		'I was'
kama a-ki-y (247)		'I was ill'
a-ø-lu-po-y (248)	(< *lu-poh* '(to) abhor')	'I abhorred someone/something'
u-mu-y (249)	(< **muh* '(to) taste/ bring to the mouth')	'he tasted'/ 'he brought to his mouth'

An example with the ending *ow* is not given, but the examples above can be supplemented with the following form:

(1) *a-l-o-w* (2139)
1SA-3SO-do/make-PST
'I did it'/'I made it'

The examples show that the preterite normally ends in *-(i)y*, but that it ends in *-w* after verbs ending in *o*, such as the verb *o* '(to) do/make' in the example above; *-iy* is used after a consonantal stem and *-y* after a vocalic stem or a stem in *h*, which is then lost; the vowels *a, o, u* belong to the verb stem, and the vowel *e* is a separate suffix.

De la Mata also says that the simple future tense ends in <ctan>, <htan>, <ptan>, <itan>. These 'endings' actually consist of three elements: 1: the stem endings *k/h/p/y*, respectively; 2: the future marker *-(k)t(e)*; 3: the incompletive aspect marker *-(a)ŋ*. De la Mata's indications reflect the fact that the short ending *-t-aŋ* is used after stems which end in a consonant (in *p, t, č, k, tˢ, s, š, h, n, ŋ, w, y*; stems ending in *m* have not been found), whereas *-kt-aŋ* is found after stems ending in a vowel. The ending <itan> can also be interpreted as *-(i)y-t-aŋ*, which then consist of the following elements: *-(i)y* 'stem extension', *-t-* 'future', *-aŋ* 'imperfective aspect'. The forms in *-(i)y-t-aŋ* are less common. They only occur in the following cases:
(i): the derived verbs *k(o)loh-ia(h)* '(to) finish again' and *patˢa-kia(h)* '(to) be busy continuously', which are formed by means of the derivational suffix *-(k)ia(h)* 'reiterative', have a future form in *-y-t-aŋ*:

(2) *a-l-o-kloh-ia-y-t-aŋ* (2178)
1SA-3SO-do-finish-RE-SE-F-IA
'I shall finish doing it again'

(3) *a-l-o-č* *ø-patˢa-kia-y-t-aŋ* (2179)
1SA-3SO-do-FAC 3SS-take.all.day-RE-SE-F-IA
'I shall do it continuously'

Cf. *a-l-o-kiah-t-aŋ* (2163)
1sA-3sO-do-RE-F-IA
'I shall do it again'

a-l-o-pale-kiah-t-aŋ (2177)
1sA-3sO-do-pace.up.and.down-RE-F-IA
'I shall do it pacing up and down'

(ii): the future of *lʸ(a)w/lʸa* '(to) go (away)' ends in *-iy-t-aŋ* when the verb is used impersonally. The stem is then preceded by an applicative object:

(4) *ø-k-a-lʸaw-iy-t-aŋ* (1824)
3sS-1pO-APL-go.away-SE-F-IA
'it will go away from us'

cf. *ø-lʸa-kt-aŋ* (907)
3sS-go-F-IA
'he/she/it will go'

(iii): verbs passivized with the derivational suffix *itˢ* and the verb *y(a)č/y(a)š* '(to) see' have an alternative future form in *-iy-t-aŋ*:

(5) *ki-kole-itˢ-iy-t-aŋ* (1002)
1pS-love-PAS-SE-F-IA
'we shall be loved'

cf. *či-kole-itˢ-t-aŋ* (1002)
3pS-love-PAS-F-IA
'they will be loved'

(6) *a-penʸo-itˢ-iy-t-aŋ* (1022)
1sS-want-PAS-SE-F-IA
'I shall be wanted'

(7) *a-tˢč-iy-t-aŋ* (254)
1sA-3sO.see-SE-F-IA
'I shall see him/her/it'

cf. *a-tˢaš-t-aŋ* (254)
1sA-3sO.see-F-IA
'I shall see him/her/it'

cf. *a-mna-yč-t-aŋ* (2030)
1sS-way-see-F-IA
'I shall watch the way'

Thereupon, Pedro de la Mata presents the conjugation of an intransitive verb, the verb *k(o)t* '(to) be', and two transitive verbs: *ŋole/ŋolʸ* 'to love someone/ something' and *menʸ(o)* '(to) want someone/something'[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,

[29] Actually, the verbs in question are *kole/kolʸ* and *penʸ(o)*. De la Mata oncludes 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-yč-t-aŋ* 'I shall watch the way' above, which contains a nominal base, *-mna-*, as well as a verbal root, *-yč-*, 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 *-yč-, < y(a)č* '(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-tˢaš-t-aŋ* '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-tˢač-te* (764)
2SA-3SO.see-F
'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-yč-t-aŋ* 'I shall watch the way').

Personal reference is analyzed in section 7.2; stems, bound verbs and derivational suffixes are examined in section 7.3; the remaining suffixes in 7.4. The analysis of suffixes is followed by sections about impersonal verbs, neutral verbs and verbs derived from nouns. A section about fixed expressions completes the chapter.

7.2. Personal reference

In Cholón verb forms several affixes referring to persons and objects that play a role in the expressed event can be distinguished. These affixes or person markers may function as subject (S) of an intransitive verb form; agent (A) of a transitive verb form; direct or indirect object (O) (indirect objects are marked by the additional presence of an applicative marker); beneficiary (B) of a transitive verb form. (The distinction between subject, agent and object and the indications S 'intransitive subject', A 'transitive subject', and O 'transitive object' are taken from Dixon, 1994: 6. In our description, however, O may refer to a direct object as well as to an indirect object). Intransitive forms can be distinguished from transitive forms by the absence (intransitive) or presence (transitive) of a direct object and by the use of different third person markers. In an intransitive form, a third person singular subject is either not marked, or it is indicated by means of the prefix *l-* or by a modified stem, and a third person plural subject is indicated by means of the prefix *(č)i-*. In a transitive form, a third person singular subject is marked by means of the prefixes *i-* or *ŋ-*, and a third person plural agent is referred to by means of the suffix *-la*; cf. the following examples:

	intransitive:	transitive:
(9)	*ø-kot-aŋ* (292) 3sS-be-IA 'he is'	*i-ø-šk-e-ŋ* (953) 3sA-3sO-drink-CAU-IA 'he causes him to drink'
(10)	*ŋol-aŋ* (2761) 3sS.die-IA 'he dies'	*ŋ-a-kole-khe* (1699) 3sA-1sO-love-SIM 'as he loves me'
(11)	*i-toŋ* (501) 3pS-be.(seated) 'they are/ sit'	*ø-lo-y-la-ŋ* (962) 3sO-wet-SE-3pA-IA 'they wet someone/something'
(12)	*či-kole-it^{s}-aŋ* (1000) 3pS-love-PAS-IA 'they are loved'	

Reflexive verbs are treated as intransitives. For instance, the verb *kole-n(o)* '(to) love oneself', consisting of the stem *kole* '(to) love' + the derivational suffix *-n(o)* 'reflexive' is intransitive. The third person singular subject is referred to by means of a modified stem-initial *ŋ*, and the third person plural subject is indicated by means of the prefix *či-*. If the verb would have been transitive, (i) the stem-initial *k* of *kole/ kol^{y}* would have been changed into a stem-initial velar nasal *ŋ* indicating a third person singular object; (ii) this stem-inital *ŋ* would occur in combination with another person marker, viz. an agent marker; (iii) a third person singular agent would have been marked by means of the prefix *i-,* and third person plural by means of the suffix *-la*:

(13)	*ŋole-n-aŋ* (1526) 3sS.love-RFL-IA 'he loves himself'	cf.	*i-ŋol^{y}-aŋ* (687) 3sA-3sO.love-IA 'he loves someone'
(14)	*ki-kole-n-aŋ* (1527) 1pS-love-RFL-IA 'we love ourselves'	cf.	*ki-ŋol^{y}-aŋ* (688) 1pA-3sO.love-IA 'we love someone'
(15)	*či-kole-n-aŋ* (1529) 3pS-love-RFL-IA 'they love themselves'	cf.	*ŋol^{y}-iy-la-ŋ* (690) 3sO.love-SE-3pA-IA 'they love someone'

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-tŋ-aŋ* (508)
1pS-be.(seated)-IA
'we are/ sit'

(17) *ø-k-a-kot-aŋ* (558)
3sS-1pO-APL-be.there-IA
'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-kolʸ-aŋ* (1646)
1sA-2sO-love-IA
'I love you'

(19) *mi-sak-ha* *i-m-a-puč-iy-ha-ŋ* (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-aŋ* (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 *tˢač/tˢaš/taš* '(to) see something' < *yač/yaš* '(to) see'. The modified stem-initial alveo-dental then designates a third person singular object:

(21) *maha-lʸ* *pa-mo* *a-m-a-tˢač-aŋ* (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-nʸanta-ha* *ki-m-a-tˢač-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-aŋ* (931)
3sS-walk-IA
'he walks'

(24) *u-ø-tp-aŋ* (2050)
3sA-3sO-walk-IA
'he causes him/her/it to walk'

(25) *u-tup-aŋ* (931)
3pS-walk-IA
'they walk'

(26) *ø-tup-iy-la-ŋ* (2050)
3sO-walk-SE-3pA-IA
'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 incompletive aspect paradigm of this verb, an intransitive third person singular and a transitive third person plural form are encountered:

(27) *ø-n-eštek-w-aŋ* (2015)
3sS-REL-cloth-VB-IA
'he makes (his) cloth(es)'

(28) *ø-n-eštek-wo-w-la-ŋ* (2015)
3sO-REL-cloth-VB-SE-3pA-IA
'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', *ø-* '3s', *ki-* '1p', *mi-* ... *-ha* '2p', *(č)i-* '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 *ø-* and *(č)i-* 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-ˡʸup-aŋ* (1926)
3sA-3sO-eat-IA
'he eats something'

(30) *i-k-kole-khe* (1713)
3sA-1pO-love-IMP
'may he love us'

(31) *m-a-kole-kte* *mi-menʸ-aŋ* (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) incompletive aspect forms ending in *-(a)ŋ*:

(32) *me-kt-iy-ha-ŋ* (294)
2S-be-SE-PL-IA
'you (p) are'

(33) *mi-ŋolʸ-iy-ha-ŋ* (689)
2A-3sO.love-SE-PL-IA
'you (p) love him/her/it'

(34) *mi-menʸo-w-ha-ŋ* (810)
2A-3sO.want-SE-PL-IA
'you (p) want him/her/it'

(ii) preterite forms (*-ha* can then be followed by the anteriority marker *-(k)e*) (section 6.4.1 and 7.4.3):

(35) *me-kt-iy-ha* (300)
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-ŋolʸ-iy-ha* (695)
2A-3sO.love-PST-PL
'you (p) loved him/her/it'

(38) *mi-menʸo-w-ha-ke* (822)
2A-3sO.want-PST-PL-ANT
'you (p) had wanted him/her/it'

(iii) three attested forms in *-(e)č* 'factivizer'; 'purposive subordinator':

(39) *me-kt-iy-ha-č* (423)
2S-be-SE-PL-FAC/ 2S-be-SE-PL-PURP
'that you (p) are'/ 'so that you (p) are'

(40) *me-tŋ-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) *ø-m-a-lʸaw-iy-ha-č* (1837)
3sS-2O-APL-go.away-SE-PL-FAC/ 3sS-2O-APL-go.away-SE-PL-PURP
'that he/she/it goes away from you (p)'/ 'so that he/she/it goes away from you (p)'

When the plural marker *-ha* occurs with a derivational suffix or a bound stem, it regulary follows them. In the incompletive aspect forms in *-(a)ŋ* 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^{y}o-ka-y-ha-ŋ* (868)
2A-3sO.want-ICA-SE-PL-IA
'you (p) cause him/her/it to want'

(43) *mi-t^{s}oy-e-y-ha-ŋ* (1921)
2A-3sO.cry-CAU-SE-PL-IA
'you (p)cause him/her/it to cry'

(44) *mi-l-o-kol-iy-ha-ŋ* (2168)
2A-3sO-do/make-finish-SE-PL-IA
'you (p) finish doing/making it'

(45) *mi-l-o-čʉpo-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^{y}o-ka-y-ha* (860)
2A-3sO.want-ICA-PST-PL
'you (p) caused him/her/it to want'

(47) *mi-kole-it^{s}-iy-ha* (1001)
2S-love-PAS-PST-PL
'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^{y}o-ha-kia-ŋ* (891)
2A-3sO.want-PL-RE-IA
'you (p) want him/her/it again'

(49) *mi-men^{y}o-ha-kia-y* (892)
2A-3sO.want-PL-RE-PST
'you (p) wanted him/her/it again'

(50) *mi-men^{y}o-ha-kiah-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 *či-* and *i-* to indicate a third person plural: *či-* 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}, s, n, l*, including the palatalized counterparts *č, š, n^{y}, l^{y}*. Below, examples of subject marking (left column) are contrasted with examples of possessive marking (right column):

(51)	*a-kt-aŋ* (290) 1sS-be-IA 'I was'	*a-t^{s}la* (148) 1sPOS-wife 'my wife'
(52)	*me-kt-iy* (297) 2smS-be-PST 'you (m) were'	*mi-paŋ* (140) 2sPOS-mother 'your (m) mother'
(53)	*pe-kt-iy* (315) 2sfS-be-PST 'you (f) were'	*pu-puluč* (149) 2sfPOS-husband 'your (f) husband'
(54)	*ø-kot-iy* (298) 3sS-be-PST 'he was'	*ø-n-atel^{y}pa* (102) 3sPOS-REL-chicken 'his chicken'
(55)	*ke-kt-iy* (299) 1pS-be-PST 'we were'	*ki-kot* (114) 1pPOS-water 'our water'
(56)	*me-kt-iy-ha* (300) 2S-be-PST-PL 'you (p) were'	*me-n-el-ha* (106) 2POS-REL-yucca-PL 'your (p) yucca'
(57)	*če-kt-iy* (301) 3pS-be-PST 'they were'	*či-mna* (138 3pPOS-road 'their road'

(58) *či-m-kolʸ-aŋ* (64)
3pA-3pB/REC-love-IA
'they love each other'

(59) *i-toŋ-iy* (516)
3pS-be.(seated)-PST
'they were (sitting)'

e-lʸes (130)
3pPOS-alfalfa
'their alfalfa'

However, there are some differences between the nominal possessor paradigm and the verbal subject paradigm:
(1) In addition to the non-marked third person singular, there is a subject prefix *l-* which has the same function. It is used when the verb stem begins with a vowel:

(60) *l-am-aŋ* (2054)
3sS-eat-IA
'he eats'

(61) *l-e-n-aŋ* (2076)
3sS-give-RFL-IA
'he gives himself'

(62) *l-o-n-aŋ* (2167)
3sS-make-RFL-IA
'he makes himself'.

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

(63) *menʸo-itˢ-aŋ* (1018)
3sS.want-PAS-IA
'he is wanted'

cf. *a-penʸo-itˢ-aŋ* (1016)
1sS-want-PAS-IA
'I am wanted'

(64) *ŋol-iy* (2784)
3sS.die-PST
'he died'

cf. *a-kl-iy* (2784)
1sS-die-PST
'I died'

(65) *tˢoy-aŋ* (2060)
3sS.cry-IA
'he cries'

cf. *a-yoy-aŋ* (2060)
1sS-cry-IA
'I cry'

(66) *sil-aŋ* (1127)
3sS.speak-IA
'he speaks'

cf. *mi-hil-mulo-pe-č-ap* (1621)
2sS-speak-begin-NE-FAC-ABL
'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 *ŋ(o)* (see below), the nasal which underlies the modified initial consonant of an intransitive verb stem may have been a velar nasal as well:

*ŋ + #p > #m
*ŋ + #k > #ŋ
*ŋ + #y > #t^s
*ŋ + #h > #s

(3) another difference between the nominal possessor paradigm and the verbal subject paradigm is that third person plural marker *či-* 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^s or take an epenthetic *n* in their relational forms, respectively (see section 5.5); and (ii) *i-*, not *či-*, occurs before t^s and epenthetic *n*. Compare:

(67)	*či-yoy-aŋ* (1917) 3pS-cry-IA 'they cry'	*i-t^sip* (47) 3pPOS-house 'their hous(es)'
(68)	*či-am-aŋ* (2054) 3pS-eat-IA 'they eat'	*i-n-atel^ypa* (105) 3pPOS-REL-chicken 'their chickens'

The following table shows the subject markers:

Table 7.1. Subject markers

	singular	plural
1	*a-*	*k(i)-*
2 m	*m(i)-*	*m(i)- ... -ha*
2 f	*p(i)-*	*m(i)- ... -ha*
3	*ø-*	*či- / _ p, k, m, y, h, V*
	l / _V	*i / _ č, t, t^s, s, š, n, n^y, l, l^y*
	#m, #ŋ, #t^s, #s	

7.2.2. Agent markers

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

(69) *a-ŋolʸ-aŋ* (685)
1sA-3sO.love-IA
'I love him/her/it'

(70) *mi-menʸ-aŋ* (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-ŋolʸ-aŋ* (688)
1pA-3sO.love-IA
'we love him/her/it'

(73) *mi-menʸo-w-ha-ŋ* (810)
2A-3sO.want-SE-PL-IA
'you (p) want him/her/it'

(74) *čɨ-po-hia-ŋ* (1661)
3pA-3pO-wait.for-IA
'they wait for them'

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

(75) *i-menʸ-aŋ* (808)
3sA-3sO.want-IA
'he wants him/her/it'

(76) *ŋ-a-kole-kte* *i-menʸ-aŋ* (1748)
3sA-1sO-love-INF 3sA-3sO.want-IA
'he wants to love me'

(77) *ŋ-a-hia-ŋ* (1648)
3sA-1sO-wait.for-IA
'he waits for me'

(78) *mo-kolʸ-aŋ* (2151)
3sA.3pO-love-IA
'he loves them'

The suffix *-la* '3pA' is used when the object is not a third person plural. Like the plural marker *-ha*, third person plural marker *-la* is preceded by the stem extenders and preterite markers *-(i)y* and *-w* when occurring in incompletive aspect forms and preterite forms (see the remarks about the use of plural marker *-ha* in section 7.2.1). In the former, *-la* is then also followed by the incompletive aspect marker *-(a)ŋ*; in the latter, *-la* is also either not followed by any suffix, or followed by the anteriority marker *-(k)e*:

(79) *ŋolʲ-iy-la-ŋ* (690)
3sO.love-SE-3pA-IA
'they love him/her/it'

(80) *ŋolʲ-iy-la* (696)
3sO.love-PST-3pA
'they loved him/her/it'

(81) *ŋolʲ-iy-la-ke* (702)
3sO.love-PST-3pA-ANT
'they had loved him/her/it'

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:

(82) *ŋole-la-č* (763)
3sO.love-3pA-FAC
'that they love him/her/it'

(83) *menʸo-la-č* (846)
3sO.want-3pA-FAC
'that they want him/her/it'

In a derived verb form, -*la* '3pA', like the plural marker -*ha*, occurs before the derivational suffix -*(k)ia(h)* 'reiterative' but after the derivational suffixes -*(k)e(h)* 'causative' and -*ka(h)* 'causative', which are then followed by stem extension (-*(k)e-y,* -*ka-y*). (It can not appear in a derived form with passivizer -*itˢ* 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-*):

(84) *menʸo-la-kia-ŋ* (891)
3sO.want-3pA-RE-IA
'they want him/her/it again'

(85) *menʸo-ka-y-la-ŋ* (868)
3sO.want-ICA-SE-3pA-IA
'they cause him/her/it to want'

(86) *tˢam-e-y-la-ŋ* (944)
3sO.know-CAU-SE-3pA-IA
'they cause to know it'/ 'they teach it'

In forms composed with a bound verb, -*la* usually precedes the bound verb (the plural marker -*ha* normally follows the bound verb):

(87) *l-o-la-lʲuk-aŋ* (2173)
3sO-do-3pA-finish-IA
'they finish doing it'

(88) *l-o-la-pul-aŋ* (2174)
3sO-do-3pA-stop/interrupt-IA
'they stop/interrupt doing it'

(89) *l-o-la-mul-aŋ* (2172)
3sO-do-3pA-start-IA
'they start doing it'

(90) *ŋole-la-čup-aŋ* (2113)
3sO.love-3pA-do.tenderly-IA
'they love him/her/it tenderly'

In two attested cases, *-la* follows the bound verb, which then undergoes stem extension:

(91) *l-o-čupo-w-la-ŋ* (2169)
3sO-do-do.tenderly-SE-3pA-IA
'they do it tenderly'

(92) *l-o-kol-iy-la-ŋ* (2168)
3sO-do-finish-SE-3pA-IA
'they finish doing it'

(**l-o-la-čup-aŋ* and **l-o-la-kol-aŋ* 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-ia-y-la-ŋ* (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-ŋ* (1660)
2O-wait.for-SE-3pA-PL-IA
'they wait for you (p)'

In two examples, *či-* instead of *-la* is used. In one of them *či-* occurs before a transitive stem with a modified initial consonant *m* indicating a third person singular object:

(95) *či-malʸow-e-ŋ* (2230) (< *palʸow-e(h)* '(to) benefit')
3pS-3sO.benefit-VB-IA
'they benefit him/her/it'

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

(96) *či-ø-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 *či-* as an agent marker in *či-malʸow-e-ŋ* and *či-ø-paso-lam-he* is disregarded).

Table 7.2. Agent markers

	singular	plural
1	*a-*	*k(i)-*
2 m	*m(i)-*	*m(i)- ... -ha*
2 f	*p(i)-*	*m(i)- ... -ha*
3	*i-*	*či-*/ _3pO
	ŋ-/ _*a-* ‘1sO’	*-la*

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) *tˢi-tu-p* *i-k-lo-y* (2218)
downpour-AD-ABL 3sA-1pO-wet-PST
‘The downpour wet us’.

(101) *i-m-lo-y-ha* (2219)
3sA-2O-wet-PST-PL
‘he wet you (p)’

A third person singular direct object can be referred to by means of a modified stem-initial *m, ŋ, tˢ, s*, due to an underlying **ŋ* ‘3sO’ (see section 7.2.1 and 7.2.2):

(102) *i-mo-ŋ* (2223) (< *po* ‘(to) burn/bite’)
3sA-3sO.burn-IA
‘he burns/bites him/her/it’

(103) *i-ŋolʸ-aŋ* (687) (< *kole* ‘(to) love’)
3sA-3sO.love-IA
‘he loves him/her/it’

(104) *a-sina-ŋ* (1741) (< *hina* ‘(to) hear’)
2sA-3sO.hear-IA
‘I hear him/her/it’

(105) *an-tˢel* *i-tˢp-aŋ* (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 *ŋo-*. The former appears when the verb stem begins with a vowel:

(106) *a-l-ø-aŋ* (2138)
1sA-3sO-make-IA
‘I make it’

(107) *i-l-o-w* (775)
3sA-3sO-make-PST
‘he made it’

The prefix *ŋo-* 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 *ŋo-*. 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) *ŋo-kole-khe* *a-kt-aŋ* (1796)
3sO-love-SIM 1sS-be-IA
‘I am loving him’

(109) *ŋo-kole-khe* *če-kt-aŋ* (1802)
3sO-love-SIM 3pS-be-IA
‘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) *ø-lʸup-iy-la-ŋ* (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)-*: **ŋ-* ‘3sA’ + *p(o)-* ‘3pO’ > *m(o)-* ‘3sA.3pO’.

(111) *mo-lo-y* (2220)
3sA.3pO-wet-PST
‘he wet them’

(112) *mi-po-kolʸ-aŋ* (2916)
2sA-3pO-love-IA
‘you love them’

An interesting case is <*incollan*>, which, according to Pedro de la Mata, means ‘He loves us’: *i-n-kolʸ-aŋ* ‘3sA-1pO-love-IA’. The prefix *-n-* should then refer to a first person plural, which would be anomalous. However, the form may be mistaken for

i-ŋolʸ-aŋ: 3sA-3sO.love-IA 'he loves him/her/it'. Another possibility would be that *-k-k* is automatically replaced by *-ŋ-k*).

In the following table the object markers are summarized.

Table 7.3. Object markers

	singular	plural
1	*a-*	*k(i)-*
2 m	*m(i)-*	*m(i)- ... -ha*
2 f	*p(i)-*	*m(i)- ... -ha*
3	*ø-*	*p(o)-*
	l- / _ V	
	#m, #ŋ, #tˢ, #h	
	ŋo- / ... -(k)he + k(o)t	

7.2.4. Prefix order

As stated before, in a verb form personal reference markers occur before the verb stem, and agent markers normally precede object markers: A-O-stem. However, when the agent is a second person and the object the first person plural, the latter precedes the former: 1pO-2A-stem(-SE)(*-ha)*. This reversed order may cause ambiguity. For instance, the form

(113) *ki-m-kolʸ-aŋ* (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-aŋ* (1689)
1pPOS-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 1pPOS-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-kolʸ-aŋ* (1664)
2s-AD-ABL 1pO-2sA-love-IA
'You love us'.

(116) *mi-na-ha-tu-p* *ki-hač* *ki-m-a-tˢač-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:	*ø-*	+ *-(h)a-*		> *ha-*
1p:	*k(i)-*	+ *-(h)a-*		> *k-a-*
2p:	*m(i)- ... -ha*	+ *-(h)a-*		> *m-a- ... -ha*
3p:	*p(o)-*	+ *-(h)a-*	> *p-a-* + PL *-ha*	> *p-a-ha*
	m(o)-	+ *-(h)a-*	> *m-a-* + PL *-ha*	> *m-a-ha*

Like *mo-*, *m-a-ha* is a nasalized form, the result of a merger of **ŋ* '3sO' + *p-a-ha*:

(117) *mučaŋ m-a-ha-tiki-aŋ* (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) *ø-a-kot-aŋ* (555)
3sS-1sO.APL-be-IA
'it is for me'/ 'I have'

(119) *a-čečo* *m-a-pen^{y}-aŋ* (1732)
1sPOS-money 2sA-1sO.APL-want-IA
'You want my money (from me)'.

(120) *liman-ap* *kaša* *a-m-a-pahat-iy* (1728)
mountain-ABL needle 1sA-2smO-APL-bring-PST
'From the mountains I brought you (m) needles'.

(121) *pi-sak* *p-a-puč-iy-la-ŋ* (1696)
2sfPOS-food 2sfO-APL-put.down-SE-3pA-IA
'They put down your (f) food for you (f)'.

(122) *ø-ha-toŋ* (643)
3sS-3sO.APL-be
'it is for him'/ 'he has'

(123) *mi-n^{y}anta-ha* *ki-m-a-t^{s}ač-iy-ha* (1680)
2POS-face-PL 1pA-2O-APL-3sO.see-PST-PL
'We saw your (p) faces (for you)'.

(124) *i-t^{s}ip* *mi-p-a-ha-t^{s}ač-iy-ha-kt-aŋ* (1684)
3pPOS-house 2A-3pO-APL-PL-3sO.see-SE-PL-F-IA
'You (p) will see their houses for them'.

However, in the case of the inversion of second person subject or agent and first person plural object (see section 7.2.4) the applicative marker *-(h)a*, indicating that the event takes place to the benefit/detriment of the object, is then not suffixed to the object marker but to the subject or agent marker (see also the examples in section 7.2.4):

(125) *mi-na-ha-tu-p* *ki-m-a-hia-y-ha-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* '3sO.AP' which indicates a third person singular indirect object, prejudiced person or beneficiary, Cholón also disposes of a third person singular beneficiary marker: *t-*. The difference between *-ha* and *t-* is that the former can indicate both a beneficiary and a non-beneficiary, and that it is anaphoric. It refers to a person which has been mentioned before. The latter, on the other hand, indicates a beneficiary only, and it is non-anaphoric:

(126) *a-t-hil-aŋ* (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*^{y} 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-ɨ* (2066)
1sS-1sB-hear-IA
'I hear for myself'

(128) *a-p-yalp-aŋ* (2070)
1sS-1sB-gather-IA
'I gather for myself'

(129) *a-p-l*^{y}*ah-aŋ* (2072)
1sS-1sB-take-IA
'I take for myself'

(130) *ki-p-hin-aŋ* (2067)
1pS-1pREC-hear-IA
'we hear each other'

(131) *ki-m-kol*^{y}*-aŋ* (2068)
1pS-1pB/REC-love-IA
'we love for ourselves/ each other'

(132) *či-m-men*^{y}*-aŋ* (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*^{y}*-*. 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*^{y}*-*. 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 *ŋ-*, indicating a third person singular, also represents the underlying velar nasal of the modified stem-initials *m, ŋ, tˢ, s.* Since the form *m(o)-* '3pO' equals *p(o)-* '3pO' + an underlying *ŋ-* '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-*

		S	A	O	B			S	A	O	B
3s:	*ø-*	+	-	+	-	3p:	*i-*	+	-	-	-
	l-/ _V	+	-	+	-		*(č)i-*	+	+	-	-
	ŋ(o)-	+	+	+	-		*-la-*	-	+	-	-
	i-	-	+	-	-		*p(o)-*	-	-	+	-
	t-	-	-	-	+						

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)ŋ,* 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)č.* (The suffix *-(e)č* can also function as a factivizer. When it is used as such it is attached to a non-reduced stem, see below and section 7.4.6.4).

Stems which are not reduced are the following:

(i) *a* ‘(to) do’, *č* ‘(to) give birth’, *es* ‘(to) enter’, *luyum* ‘(to) suffer’, *lʸup* ‘(to) eat/swallow something’, *puilʸ* ‘(to) fall’, *šayč/šayš* ‘(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 *-pitˢ* ‘(to) do while passing by’ and *-pul* ‘(to) rest from’;
(iv) derived stems formed by means of the suffix *-itˢ* ‘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’, *lʸ(a)w/lʸa* ‘(to) go (away)’ and *t(o)ŋ* ‘(to) be (seated)’ are used impersonally, their stem is *kot, lʸaw/lʸa* and *toŋ*, respectively.

On the basis of their morphological behaviour (the shape of their stems, the way they are reduced and the use of the suffixes *-(a)ŋ* ‘incompletive aspect marker’, *-e(y)* ‘stem extension and past tense marker’, *-(i)y/-w* ‘stem extension and past tense marker’, *-(e)č* ‘factivizer’, ‘purposive subordinator’, *-(k)e(h)* ‘causativizer’) verbs with a reducible stem can be divided into five classes:
1: verbs like *k(o)t* ‘(to) be’, with a consonantal stem other than *h*. They can be reduced by vowel suppression when the stem is preceded by a person marker indicating the subject and followed by the suffixes *-(a)ŋ*, *-e(y)*, *-(i)y*, *-(e)č*, functioning as a purposive subordinator, or *-(k)e(h)*. Verbs of this class have an intransitive stem which can be transitivized by means of causativizer *-(k)e(h)*. The verb *k(o)t* ‘(to) be’ never occurs with causativizer *-(k)e(h)*, but other verbs, such as *t(u)p* ‘(to) walk’, do. Examples:

(133) *ø-kot-aŋ* (292)
3sS-be-IA
‘he is’

(134) *ke-kt-e-ŋ* (293)
1pS-be-PST-IA
‘we were’

(135) *me-kt-iy* (297)
2sS-be-PST
‘you were’

(136) *a-kt-eč* (423)
1sS-be-PURP
‘so that I am’

(137) *a-ø-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’, *pilči(h)* ‘(to) break’, *lo(h)* ‘(to) wet’ and *tˢu(h)* ‘(to) anoint someone/something’. These verbs drop the

ending *h* before the incompletive aspect marker *-(a)ŋ* and stem extender *-(i)y*: **hiah-aŋ > hia-ŋ*, **hiah-iy > hia-y.* Stem extender *-e(y)* does not occur with verbs of this class, and subordinator *-(e)č* is not directly suffixed to the verb stem, but to the future marker *-(k)t(e).* Class 2 verbs can be transitive as well as intransitive. An intransitive stem can be causativized by *-(k)e(h)* 'causativizer', a transitive stem by *-ka(h)* 'indirect causativizer'. The latter suffix is regularly attached to a non-reduced stem. (Although preterite forms of verbs in *i(h)* have not been found, we may assume that they also drop *h* before *-(i)y*). Examples:

(138) *a-milči-ŋ* (2859)
1sA-3sO.break-IA
'I break him/her/it'

(139) *a-ø-lo-ŋ* (962)
1sA-3sO-wet-IA
'I wet it'

a-ø-lo-y (963)
1sA-3sO-wet-PST
'I wet it'

(140) *a-ø-tˢu-ŋ* (974)
1sA-3sO-anoint-IA
'I anoint him/her/it'

a-ø-tˢu-y (976)
1sA-3sO-anoint-PST
'I anointed him/her/it'

(141) *a-ø-loh-t-eč* (966)
1sA-3sO-wet-F-PURP
'so that I wet him/her/it'

(142) *a-hina-ke-ŋ* (1582)
1sS-hear-CAU-IA
'I cause to hear'

a-ø-tˢuh-ka-ŋ (980)
1sA-3sO-anoint-ICA-IA
'I cause him/her/it to anoint'

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)ŋ* and by the stem extenders *-(i)y* and *-e(y)*; lateral *l*, the segment preceding the ending *e*, is then palatalized: **kole-(a)ŋ > kolʸ-aŋ*; **kole-(i)y > kolʸ-iy*; **kole-e > kolʸ-e*. The suffix *-(e)č* 'factivizer' is suffixed to the non-reduced stem in *e* and *-(e)č* 'purposive subordinator' to future marker *-(k)t(e)*. Verbs of class 3 are transitive, and are causativized by means of the suffix *-ka(h).* Examples:

(143) *a-ŋolʸ-aŋ* (685) < *ŋol(e)* '(to) love someone/something'
1sA-3sO.love-IA
'I love him/her/it'

(144) *a-ŋolʸ-iy* (691)
1sA-3sO.love-PST
'I loved him/her/it'

(145) *a-ŋolʸ-e-ŋ* (691)
1sA-3sO.love-PST-IA
'I loved him/her/it'

(146) *a-ŋole-č* (758)
1sA-3sO.love-FAC
'that I love him/her/it'

(147) *a-ŋole-kt-eč* (766)
1sA-3sO.love-F-PURP
'so that I love him/her/it'

(148) *a-ŋole-ka-ŋ* (867)
1sA-3sO.love-ICA-IA
'I cause him/her/it to love'

The verb *e* '(to) give' also belongs to this class: *e* is also replaced by a palatal articulation and becomes *y* before *-(a)ŋ*. Forms of the verb *e* containing the stem extenders *-e(y)* (**a-l-y-e-ŋ*) and *-(i)y* (**y-iy*), viz. in past tense forms, or the ending *-kt-eč*, have not been encountered. Examples:

(149) *a-l-y-aŋ* (2004)
1sA-3sO-give-IA
'I give something'

(150) *a-l-e-ka-ŋ* (2075)
1sA-3sO-give-ICA-IA
'I cause him/het/it to give'

(151) *a-l-e-č* *ø-patˢa-kia-ŋ* (2100)
1sA-3sO-give-FAC 3sS-take.all.day-RE-IA
'I continuously give it'.

4: verbs with a vocalic stem ending in *a*, such as *lam(a)* '(to) kill' and *patˢ(a)* '(to) take all day'. They lose their vocalic ending before the stem extender *-(i)y*. Before *-(a)ŋ* their final vowel is merged with that of the suffix. They are neither encountered with the stem extender *-e(y)*, nor with causativizer *-(k)e(h)*. Factivizer *-(e)č* is attached to the non-reduced, vocalic stem. Subordinated forms in *-eč/-(k)t-eč* have not been found, possibly due to lack of data. Verbs belonging to class 4 can be transitive as well as intransitive. Transitive verbs are causativized by means of the suffix *-ka(h)*. No cases of an intransitive verb in *a* that is causativized have been found. Examples:

(152) *a-ø-lama-ŋ* (2057)
1sA-3sO-kill-IA
'I kill him/her/it'

(153) *ø-lam-iy-la-ŋ* (2057)
3sO-kill-SE-3pA-IA
'they kill him/her/it'

(154) *a-ø-lama-ka-ŋ* (2058)
1sA-3sO-kill-ICA-IA
'I cause him/her/it to kill'

(155) *ø-patˢa-ŋ* (2094)
3sS-take.all.day-IA
'it takes the whole day'

(156) *ø-patˢ-iy* (2094)
3sS-take.all.day-PST
'it took the whole day'

(157) *a-l-o-č* *ø-pat^{s}a-č* (2180)
1sA-3sO-do-FAC 3sS-take.all.day-FAC
'that I do it all day long'

5: verbs like *pen^{y}(o)* '(to) want' with a vocalic stem ending in *o*. The stem drops the ending *o* when followed by the incompletive aspect marker *-(a)ŋ*: **pen^{y}o-aŋ* > *pen^{y}-aŋ*. 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^{y}(o)* are extended by means of the suffix *-w*. This extension marker is suffixed to the stem without omission of the final *o*. Nominalizer *-(e)č* is suffixed to the non-reduced stem in *o* and subordinator *-(e)č* to the future marker *-(k)t(e)*. Verbs of this class are transitive and, like those of class 3, they can be causativized by means of the derivational suffix *-ka(h)* which is also added to a non-reduced stem. The verb *(o)* '(to) do/make', which consists of only one segment, also belongs to this class. (This verb can also function as a verbalizer, see section 7.7). Examples:

(158) *a-men^{y}-aŋ* (806) < *men^{y}(o)* '(to) want someone/something'
1sA-3sO.want-IA
'I want him/her/it'

(159) *ŋ-a-ø-aŋ* (1)
3sA-1sO-make-IA
'he/she/it makes me'

(160) *a-l-o-w-e* (2140)
1sA-3sO-do/make-PST-ANT
'I had done/made him/her/ it'

(161) *a-l-o-ka-ŋ* (2162)
1sA-3sO-do/make-ICA-IA
'I cause him/her/it to do/make'.

(162) *a-men^{y}o-kah-t-aŋ* (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-ŋole-khe* (723)	'May I love him/her/it (!)'
(165)	*a-ø-loh-hu* (966)	'(1s) wetting him/her/it', 'that I wet it'
(166)	*mi-ø-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^{y}o-ŋo* (863)	'(3s) having to be wanted by me', 'that he/she/it is having to be wanted by me'
(170)	*mi-pen^{y}o-wuč* (1230)	'your lover'

(171) *a-kole-it^{s}-aŋ* (995) 'I am loved'
(172) *a-t^{s}uh-ia-ŋ* (981) 'I anoint him/her/it again'
(173) *a-e-n-aŋ* (2082) 'I give myself'
(174) *a-kot-p-aŋ* (462) 'I am not'

Most of the Cholón verbs belong to class 5. The stems of the five classes of verbs and their characteristics are shown in the table below.

Table 7.5. Verbs of class 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and their stems

class	stem	reducible by the suppression of	before
1	consonantal	stem vowel	*-aŋ, -iy, -e(y), -eč* 'PURP' *-(k)e(h)*
2	consonantal in *h*	*h*	*-(a)ŋ, -(i)y, -(k)e(h)*
3	vocalic in *e*	*e*	*-(a)ŋ, -(i)y, -e(y)*
4	vocalic in *a*	*a*	*-(i)y*
5	vocalic in *o*	*o*	*-(a)ŋ*

As regards the use of the subordinator and nominalizer *-(e)č*, we have seen that
(i) verbs of class 1 have only one form in *-(e)č*, a form in which *-(e)č* 'subordinator' is suffixed to the reduced, consonantal stem;
(ii) class 2 verbs have also only one form in *-(e)č*: a form in which subordinator *-(e)č* occurs after the future marker *-(k)t(e)*;
(iii) verbs of class 3 and 5 have two forms in *-(e)č*: a nominalized form in which *-(e)č* 'factivizer' is attached to the non-reduced, vocalic stem; and a subordinated form in which *-(e)č* 'subordinator' is suffixed to future marker *-(k)t(e)*;
(iv) verbs of class 4 have one form in *-(e)č*. In this form nominalizer *-(e)č* is also suffixed to the non-reduced, vocalic stem.
De la Mata names the forms in *-(e)č* 'subjunctives', which he translates as 'present participles' or as subordinates clauses. According to his description, verbs of class 1 and 2 have a second 'subjunctive' in *-hu*, also translated as a 'present participle' or a subordinate clause. The suffix *-hu* (in fact a subordinator + 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-toŋ-hu* (541)
1sS-be.(seated)-SR
'(1s) being.(seated)',
'that I am (seated)'

(176) *a-ø-loh-hu* (966)
1sA-3sO-wet-SR
'(1s) wetting it', 'that I wet it'

(177) *pal^{y}ow mi-kot-hu, ok-pit pal^{y}ow a-kot-t-aŋ* (399)
good 2sS-be-SR 1s-also good 1sS-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

	reduced stem	non-reduced stem	
class 1	*-(e)č* 'PURP'	*-hu*	-
class 2	-	*-hu*	*-(k)t-eč* 'PURP'
class 3 + 5	-	*-(e)č* 'FAC'	*-(k)t-eč* 'PURP'
class 4	-	*-(e)č* 'FAC'	-

Verbs like *tˢ(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, *tˢ(a)m(o)* e.a. have (i) a vocalic stem in *o* which is dropped before the suffix *-(a)ŋ*:

(178) *a-tˢm-aŋ* (938)
1sA-3sO.know-IA
'I know something'

cf. *a-tˢmo-č* (939)
1sA-3sO.know-FAC
'that I know something'

cf. *a-tˢmo-lam-he* (941)
1sA-3sO.know-FN1-BEN
'that I have to know something'

cf. *a-tˢmo-ŋo-ke* (939)
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-tˢmo-w* (939)
1sA-3sO.know-PST
'I knew something'

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

(180) *a-tˢmo-č* (939)
1sA-3sO.know-FAC
'that I know something'

(181) *a-tˢmo-kt-eč* (939)
1sS-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, *tˢ(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) *ø-tˢam-aŋ* (938) cf. *mi-tˢm-aŋ* (938)
3sS-3sO.know-IA 2sS-3sO.know-IA
'he knows something' 'you know something'

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

(183) *i-tˢm-e-ŋ* (944)
3sA-3sO.know-CAU-IA
'he causes to know it'/'he teaches it'

In addition, *tˢ(a)m(o)* has the following particularities:
(i): a stem consisting of two parts: a consonantal part: *tˢ(a)m*, and a vocalic part: *o*;
(ii): the consonantal part is not only reduced when it is followed by *-(a)ŋ* 'incompletive aspect' and *-(k)e(h)* 'causative', but also when it is followed by the vocalic part *o* or by other suffixes;
(iii): although it looks like a transitive verb, it partly behaves like an intransitive verb. Like a transitive stem, it has a modified stem-initial consonant (*tˢ* < *y: tˢ(a)m(o)* < *y(a)m* '(to) know'), normally indicating a third person direct object (see section 7.2.3), and it is causativized by means of the suffix *-ka(h)*:

(184) *a-tˢmo-ka-ŋ* (942)
1sA-3sO.know-ICA-IA
'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 *ø-tˢam-aŋ* 'he knows something' and *i-tˢm-aŋ* 'they know something' above). In addition, *tˢ(a)m(o)* is also causativized by means of the suffix *-(k)e(h)*, which is usually limited to intransitive verbs. It then behaves as a regular transitive verb: the modified stem-initial consonant then indicates a third person singular object; third person singular agent is indicated by means of the prefix *i-* (see the example *i-tˢm-e-ŋ* 'He causes to know it'/'He teaches it' above), and third person plural agent by means of the suffix *-la*:

(185) *tˢam-e-y-la-ŋ* (944)
3sO.know-CAU-SE-3pA-IA
'they cause to know it'/
'they teach it'

(186) *a-tˢm-eh-ta-ŋ* (944)
1sA-3sO.know-CAU-F-IA
'I shall cause to know it'/
'I shall teach it'

(187) *a-tˢm-e-ka-ŋ* (950)
1sA-3sO.know-CAU-ICA-IA
'I cause to teach it'

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

(188) *a-pto-kte-he* (2900)
1sS-swim-INF-BEN
'that I swim').

7.3.2. Irregularities
The following stems present some irregularities:
1: The verb *(a)n(a)/nan* '(to) come' has three stems: a regular stem *n(a)*, and two irregular stems: *an* and *nan*. The stem *n(a)*, *n* before the past tense marker and stem extender *-(i)y* and *na* elsewhere, is used with the first and second person singular and plural, and with the third person plural. Examples:

(189) *a-na-ŋ* (2451)
1sS-come-IA
'I come'

(190) *a-n-iy* (2886)
1sS-come-PST
'I came'

(191) *mi-na-e-ha-ŋ* (2813)
2S-come-SE-PL-IA
'you (p) come'

(192) *mi-n-iy-ha-ŋ* (422)
2S-come-SE-PL-IA
'you (p) come'

(193) *či-na-ŋ* (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-aŋ* (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:

(197) *ø-nan-iy* (2649)
3sS-come-PST
'he came'

(198) *ø-nan-t-aŋ* (342)
3sS-come-F-IA
'he will come'

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-ŋ* (1583)
1sS-speak-CAU-IA
'I cause to speak'

(200) *opey-lol* *mo-hina-ke-y* *mo-hila-ke-y-pit* (1584)
deaf-mutes-PL 3sA.3pO-hear-CAU-PST 3sA.3pO-speak-CAU-PST-COR
'The deaf-mutes, he made them hear and speak'.

3: The verb *hint^{s}iw/ hint^{s}i* '(to) talk' has a long stem in *w* and a reduced stem in a vowel (cf. *l^{y}(a)w/ l^{y}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 *-(ŋ)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 nominlizer *-(ŋ)o*, regularly attached to a non-reduced stem:

(201) *mi-hint^{s}iw-iy* (1328)
2sS-talk-PST
'you talked'

(202) *a-hint^{s}iw-e-ka-ŋ* (2052)
1sS-talk-CAU-ICA-IA
'I am joking'

(203) *a-hint^{s}i-ŋo* (1612)
1sS-talk-FN2
'that I talk'

4: The verbs *lam(a)* '(to) kill' and *t(a)* '(to) do' (class 4) also have a second stem: *lamih* and *to*, respectively. This second stem does not occur before a stem reducing suffix, such as *-(a)ŋ* 'incompletive aspect marker' and *-(i)y* 'stem extender'. The stem *lamih* is found in the derived noun *ašwa lamih-uč* (fish kill-AG) 'fisher' (1423), the reflexive stem *lamih-n(o)* (kill-RFL) '(to) kill oneself' (2139), and in the following example:

(204) *ašwa* *mi-po-lamih-te-he* *mi-l^{y}a-pe-kt-aŋ* *čoti* (2820)
fish 2sA-3pO-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) *mučaŋ ki-p-a-ha-to-kt-aŋ* (2130)
prayer 1pS-3pO-APL-PL-do-F-IA
'we shall pray for them'

cf. *a-ø-ta-kt-aŋ* (2119)
1sA-3sO-do-F-IA
'I shall do it'

(206) *mučaŋ 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 combina-tion 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-ŋ* (1568)
1sS-be.sad-RE-IA
'I regret'

cf. *m-a-lusay-ki* (2323)
2sS-1sO.APL-be.sad-IMP
'Pity me!'

(208) *ø-maksa-kian-ko* (1634)
3sS-be.happy-RE-DEM
'he who rejoices'

cf. *ø-maksay-kt-aŋ* (1633)
3sS-be.happy-F-IA
'he will rejoice'

6: The verb *lʸ(a)w/lʸa* '(to) go (away)' also has two stems: *lʸ(a)w* and *lʸa*. It is not the short stem *lʸa* which occurs before the incompletive aspect marker *-(a)ŋ* and the stem extenders *-e(y)* and *-(i)y*, as might be expected, but the elongated stem, *lʸ(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* 'incompletive 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-lʸw-aŋ* 'I go' (904)
(210) *ø-lʸaw-aŋ* 'he goes' (9045)
(211) *a-lʸw-iy* 'I went' (905)
(212) *ki-lʸw-iy-e* 'we had gone' (906)
(213) *mi-lʸw-e-ŋ* 'you went' (905)
(214) *a-lʸw-eč* 'so that I go' (914)

The short stem *lʸa* is used before other suffixes, such as the imperative marker *-(k)(i)*, the future marker *-(k)t(e)*, and the nominalizers *-(e)č*, *-lam*, *-(ŋ)o*:

(215) *ˡʸa-k* (909)
go-IMP
'Go!'

(216) *a-ˡʸa-kt-aŋ* (907)
1sS-go-F-IA
'I shall go'

(217) *a-ˡʸa-kt-eč* (914)
1sS-go-F-PURP
'so that I go'

(218) *a-ˡʸa-č* (913)
1sS-go-FAC
'that I go'

(219) *a-ˡʸa-lam ø-kot-nap* (916)
1sS-go-FN1 3sS-be-SEQ
'because I have to go'

(220) *a-ˡʸa-ŋo-ke* (911)
1sS-go-FN2-ANT
'that I had to go'

The verb *ˡʸ(a)w/ˡʸa* 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 *ˡʸ(a)w-* , see the examples *a-ˡʸw-eč* above;
(ii) a subordinated form and a nominalized form in which *-(e)č* is directly preceded by the stem *ˡʸa-*, see the example *a-ˡʸa-č* above;
(iii) a subordinated form in which *-(e)č* is preceded by the stem *ˡʸa* + future marker *-(k)t(e)* (see the example *a-ˡʸak-te-eč* above).
Unlike a verb of class 1, *ˡʸ(a)w/ˡʸa* 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 *ˡʸ(a)w/ˡʸa* '(to) go (away)' can also function as an impersonal verb when preceded by an applicative object (see section 7.2.3):

(221) *ø-a-ˡʸaw-aŋ* (1815)
3sS-1sO.APL-go.way-IA
'it goes away from me'

(222) *ø-m-a-ˡʸaw-iy* (1827)
3sS-2sO-APL-go.away-PST
'it went away from you'

(223) *ø-a-ˡʸaw-eč* (1836)
3sS-1sO.APL-go.away-PURP
'so that it goes away from me'

Before the imperative marker *-(k)he*, the future marker *-(k)t(e)*, and the nominalizer *-(k)te*, the form *ˡʸaw-e(y)*, consisting of the stem *ˡʸaw* + stem extender *-e(y)*, is encountered:

(224) *ø-k-a-ˡʸaw-e-khe* (1826)
3sS-1pO-APL-go.away-SE-IMP
'May it go away from us!'

(225) *ø-m-a-ˡʸaw-ey-ha-kte* (1826)
3sS-2O-APL-go.away-SE-PL-F
'it will go away from you (p)'

(226) *ø-p-a-ha-ˡʸaw-e-kte-ke* (1828)
3sS-3pO-APL-PL-go.away-SE-INF-ANT
'that it had to go away from them'

Impersonal *ˡʸa* is only found before the nominalizers *-(e)č* and *-(ŋ)o*:

(227) *ø-a-ˡʸa-č* (1835)
3sS-1sO.APL-go.away-FAC
'that it goes away from me'

(228) *ø-a-ˡʸa-ŋo-ke* (1827)
3sS-1sO.APL-go.away-FN2-ANT
'that it had gone away from me'

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

(229) *ø-ha-ˡʸaw-iy-t-aŋ* (1824)
3sS-3sO.APL-go.away-SE-F-IA
'it will go away from him'

(cf. *hintˢiw/ hintˢi* '(to) talk'above. However, in the case of *hintˢiw/ hintˢi*, the long stem in *w* is not reduced before *-(i)y*, nor before *-(k)e(h)*).

7: The verb *ˡʸa(wo)h* '(to) carry', '(to) take away' does not drop the ending *h* before the incompletive 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-ˡʸah-aŋ* (917) 'I carry'.
(231) *a-ˡʸah-iy* (918) 'I carried'

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

(232) *a-ˡʸawoh-t-aŋ* (919) 'I shall carry'
(233) *ˡʸawoh-he* (927) 'that he carries'
(234) *a-ˡʸawoh-lam* (924) '(1s) having to carry', 'my future carrying', 'that I have to carry'
(235) *a-ˡʸawoh-hu* (923) 'that I carry'
(236) *a-ˡʸawoh-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)ŋ* (past tense forms nor causative forms of *m(ih)* have not been found):

(237) *a-m-aŋ* (2007)
1sS-sow-IA
'I sow'

(238) *mi-m-aŋ* (2962)
2sS-sow-IA
'you sow'

(239) *a-mih-ia-ŋ* (2008)
1sS-sow-RE-IA
'I sow again'

9: The verbs *ših* '(to) drink' and *nʸih* '(to) take away' have a second stem: *š(i)k* and *nʸ(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)ŋ*, 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-ø-šk-aŋ* (951)
3sA-3sO-drink-IA
'he drinks it'

(241) *mi-ø-šk-iy-ha-ŋ* (951)
2A-3sO-drink-SE-PL-IA
'they drink it'

(242) *a-ø-šk-ey* (952)
1sA-3sO-drink-PST
'I drank it'

(243) *mi-ø-šk-e-ŋ* (953)
2sA-3sO-drink-CAU-IA
'you caused him/her/it to drink'

(244) *a-ø-ših-hu* (965)
1sS-3sO-drink-SR
'that I drink it'

(245) *a-ø-ših-t-eč* (952)
1sA-3sO-drink-F-PURP
'so that I drink it'

In the case of the verb *nʸih/nʸ(i)k* '(to) take away', only two forms have been encountered: one form with the reducible stem *nʸ(i)k* and another form with the non-reducible stem *nʸih*. The former has been found in a first person incompletive aspect form, the latter in an imperative form:

(246) *a-ø-nʸk-aŋ* (2781)
1sA-3sO-take.away-IA
'I take it away'

(247) *ø-nʸih-ø* (2782)
3sO-take.away-IMP
'Take it away!'

By analogy with *ših/š(i)k* '(to) drink (something)', it is likely that *nʸ(i)k*, the second stem of *nʸih*, 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)ŋ* (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 *nʸih/nʸ(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-ø-ših-ha-kia-ŋ* (955) 2A-3sO-drink-PL-RE-IA 'you drink it again'	cf.	*mi-ø-ših-iah-ha-ŋo-ke* (959) 2A-3sO-drink-RE-PL-FN2-ANT 'that you (p) drank it again'
(249)	*ø-ših-la-kia-y* (956) 3sO-drink-3pA-RE-PST 'they drank it again'	cf.	*ø-ših-iah-la-č* (960) 3sO-drink-RE-3pA-FAC 'that they drink it again'
(250)	*ø-ših-la-kiah-t-aŋ* (957) 3sO-drink-3pA-RE-F-IA 'they will drink it again'	cf.	*ø-ših-iah-la-kt-eč* (960) 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)ŋ*, the stem extension and past tense markers -*e(y)* and -*(i)y*, 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)ŋ*;
(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-tŋ-aŋ* (505)	'I am/sit'	*a-tŋ-iy* (511)	'I was/sat'
	ø-toŋ (507)	'he is/sits'	*i-toŋ-iy* (516)	'they were/sat'
	i-toŋ (510)	'they are/sit'	*a-tŋ-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)ŋ* in the incompletive aspect forms of first and third person singular and plural, and of second person singular:

(252) *ø-a-toŋ* (641)
3sS-1sO.APL-be
'it is there for me'/
'there is for me'/ 'I have'

(253) *ø-m-a-toŋ* (642)
3sS-2sO-APL-be
'there is for you'/ 'you have'

(254) *ø-ha-toŋ* (643)
3sS-3sO.APL-be
'there is for him'/ 'he has'

(255) *ø-k-a-toŋ* (644)
3sS-1pO-APL-be
'there is for us'/ 'we have'

(256) *ø-p-a-ha-toŋ* (646)
3sS-3pO-APL-PL-be
'there is for them'/ 'they have'

cf. *ø-m-a-toŋ-iy-ha-ŋ* (945)
3sS-2O-APL-be-SE-PL-IA
'there is for you (p)'/ 'you (p) have'

12: Normally, the stem of the verb *t(u)p* '(to) walk' is regularly reduced before the imperfective aspect marker *-(a)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)
3pS-walk-IA
'they walk'

(258) *u-ø-tup-e-ŋ* (933)
3sA-3sO-walk-CAU-IA
'he/she/it causes him/her/it to walk'

In the causative paradigm, we find a second *u-ø-tup-e-ŋ* 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-e-y-la-ŋ* 'they cause him/her/it to walk', as indicated in the second conjugation of *t(u)p* '(to) walk'.

In the second conjugation we find, on the other hand, the following irregular paradigm:

a-tup-aŋ	'I walk'
mu-tup-aŋ	'you walk'
u-tp-aŋ	'he/she/it walks'
ku-tup-aŋ	'we walk'
mu-tup-iy-ha-ŋ	'you (p) walk'
tup-iy-la-ŋ	'they walk'

This paradigm is irregular because

(i) first and second person singular and plural also have a non-reduced stem instead of a reduced one;
(ii) third person singular and plural have the shape of transitive forms:
the person prefix *u-* in *u-tp-aŋ* and the person suffix *-la* in *tup-iy-la-ŋ* indicate, respectively, a third person singular agent and a third person plural agent. The regular intransitive counterparts of *u-tp-aŋ* and *tup-iy-la-ŋ* would have been *tup-aŋ* (1151), as encountered in the first conjugation, and **u-tp-aŋ*, respectively. In addition, *t(u)p* '(to) walk' does not have a purposive form in *-(e)č* like the other class 1 verbs, but it does have a purposive form in *-(k)t-eč*, which the other verbs of this class lack:

(259) *a-tup-t-eč* (932)
1sS-walk-F-PURP
'so that I walk'

13: In his grammar, de la Mata presents two conjugations of the passive verb '(to) be made': a regular conjugation, occurring at the beginning of his grammar, in Book 1, fol. 85/86, and a second, irregular, conjugation in Book 3, fol. 189. In the former conjugation, the derived stem is regularly *o-itˢ* 'make-PAS' (see the example above, and see the examples in section 7.3.4.1). In the latter, the stem *lo-itˢ* instead of *o-itˢ* is encountered:

(260) *a-lo-itˢ-aŋ* (2161) 'I am made'
(261) *a-lo-itˢ-iy* (2161) 'I was made'
(262) *a-lo-itˢ-t-aŋ* (2161) 'I shall be made'

In addition, the third person plural of the imperfective aspect has an active form, viz. it contains the third person plural agent marker *-la*, instead of *či-* 'pS': *lo-itˢ-la-ŋ* 'they are made', instead of *či-o-itˢ-aŋ*. The third person singular, on the other hand, has the regular form: *l-o-itˢ-aŋ*. It is possible that in the non-regular forms the initial segment *l-* of the stem *lo-* was no longer considered as a grammatical element, indicating a third person singular object, but rather as an inseparable part of the (intransitive) stem. By contrast, the third person plural agent marker *-la* in the irregular third person plural passive form *lo-itˢ-la-ŋ* seems to favour the interpretation of *l-* as an object marker. (The existence of competing forms for the passive of *(o)* '(to) do' leaves open the possibility that some of these forms may have been constructed by the author).
14: Normally, the derivational suffix *-ka(h)* 'indirect causativizer' is suffixed to a non-reduced stem. However, three stems in *h*: *lupoh-, pištoh-, tˢm-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-tˢm-e-ka-ŋ* (950)
1sA-3sO.know-CAU-ICA-IA
'I cause to let know it', 'I cause to teach it'

(264) *a-ø-lu-po-ka-ŋ* (972)
1sA-3sO-interior-burn-ICA-IA
'I cause him/her/it to abhor'

(265) *a-mot* *ŋ-a-pišto-ka-ŋ* (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-aŋ* (2949)
2sS-be.free-SE-F-IA
'you will be free'

cf. *mi-špo-kt-aŋ* (2849)
2sS-be.free-F-IA
'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)
2S-be-PL-(k)-FN1-BEN
'that you are having to be'

(268) *ø-lʲa-k-p-aŋ-iŋ* (930)
3sS-go-(k)-NE-IA-yet
'He has not gone yet'.

(269) *mi-menʲo-k-ha-ki* (835)
2A-3sO.want-(k)-PL-IMP
'Want (p) him/her/it!'

(270) *mi-menʲo-k-ha-kt-aŋ* (828)
2A-3sO.want-(k)-PL-F-IA
'you (p) will want him/her/it'

(271) *menʲo-k-la-kah-t-aŋ* (874)
3sO.want-(k)-3pA-ICA-F-IA
'they will make him/her/it want it'

(272) *ø-patˢa-k-lam-he* (2180)
3sS-take.all.day-(k)-FN1-BEN
'that it should take all day'

(273) *u-ku-penʲo-h-lam* (2378)
3sA-1pO-want-(h)-FN1
'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-yč-aŋ* 'I watch the way' in section 7.1);

2, compound stems consisting of a verb stem and a bound stem:

(274) *i-l-o-čup-aŋ* (2169)
3sA-3sO-do-do.tenderly-IA
'he does it tenderly'

7.3.3.1. Compound stems formed by means of a noun

A compound stem can be formed by the incorporation of a nominal stem into the verb. The incorporated noun undergoes the same processes of vowel reduction and stem alternation as a free noun (see the form *a-mna-yč-aŋ* < **a-pana-yč-aŋ* '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) *šalʲa-maŋ kuka puč ø-lu-kt-aŋ* (1196)
basket-INES coka accumulation 3sS-interior-be-IA
'There is plenty of coca in the basket'.

(276) *alʲhi a-lu-pakt-aŋ* (2653)
sweet 1sS-interior-be-IA
'I am sweet'.

(277) *m-a-lu-po-ŋ* (190)
2sA-1sO-interior-burn-IA
'you abhor me'

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

(278) *inča-m mu/pu-lu-pakt-aŋ. Dios-he a-lu-pakt-aŋ* (163)
what-QM 2smS/2sfS-interior-be-IA. God-BEN 1sS-interior-be-IA
'What do you (m/f) think of? 'I think of God'.

(279) *m-a-lu-pokot-te-he mu-tu a-an-aŋ,*
2sS-1sO.APL-interior-be-INF-BEN 2sPOS-direction 1sS-come-IA
empek-le a-ki-čeh-te-he a-lʲa-kt-aŋ-a (2798)
good-QM 1sS-do-wander-INF-BEN 1sS-go-F-IA-TOP
'I come to you so that you advise me, whether it would be a good idea that I should go for a walk'.

lum 'top':

(280) *nʸansik-sim-čot ku-lum-tˢap-o* (2864)
work-EMP-thus 1pA-top-3sO.catch-FN2
'It is work that we thus have to embrace'.

(281) *ana mek šokot-am mu-lum-čik-iy-ha pana-te-wa* (1446)
how.many all river-QM 2S-top-pass-PST-PL road-AD-TOP
'How many rivers did you pass on your road?'

nʸan (< *nʸanta*) 'face':

(282) *nʸanmito* 'the owner' (2007) < *ø-nʸan-mit-o*
3sS-face-3sO.win-FN2
lit.: '(3s) having to be face-won'

(283) *ø-nʸan-puilʸ-he* (2660)
3sS-face-fall-SIM
'as he is ashamed'

(284) *a-lʸa-lam ø-kot-nap a-nʸan-šip-aŋ* (916)
1sS-go-FN1 3sS-be-SEQ 1sS-face-break.off-IA
'Because I have to go, I hurry'.

(285) *melʸus-pit insoney-tu-p i-nʸan-tuŋ-šipe-y* (781)
boat-COR wave-AD-ABL 3sA-face-cover-break.off-PST
'and the wave nearly covered the boat'

7.3.3.2. Compound stems formed by means of a bound verb
Bound verbs occur in combination with other verb stems and are attached to the non-reduced form of the latter. Most bound stems are regularly reduced before the suffixes *-(a)ŋ* 'incompletive aspect' and *-(i)y* 'stem extender', 'past tense marker'. Bound verbs do not occur with the stem extender *-e(y)*; but they may be followed by a derivational suffix, such as *-(k)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) *-če(h)* '(to) wander'

(286) *a-l-o-če-ŋ* (2175)
1sA-3sO-do-wander-IA
'I do it while wandering'

(287) *a-l-o-čeh-t-aŋ* (2175)
1sA-3sO-do-wander-F-IA
'I shall do it while wandering'

The bound verb *-če(h)* behaves like a verb of class 2: V*h* > V/ _ *-(a)ŋ, -(i)y*. It is also found with the verbs *t(o)ŋ* '(to) be (seated)' and *ki* '(to) do':

(288) *a-toŋ-če-ŋ* (653)
1sS-be-wander-IA
'I am wandering'

(289) *či-ki-če-ŋ* (2393)
3pS-be-wander-IA
'they are walking'

2: *-pale-kia(h)* 'pace up and down'

(290) *a-l-o-pale-kia-ŋ* (2177)
1sA-3sO-pass.by-RE-IA
'I do it while pacing up and down'

(291) *a-l-o-pale-kiah-t-aŋ* (2177)
1sA-3sO-do-pass.by-RE-F-IA
'I shall do it while pacing up and down'

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 *muče(h)* '(to) fulfil':

(292) *mu-muč-eh-pale-kia-ŋ* (2378)
2sA-3sO.put.down-CAU-pass.by-RE-IA
'you fill up'

The verb *pale* '(to) pass by' is also used as a non-bound verb. Its reduced stem is *pal*^{y}, and it belongs to class 2: cf. *kole* '(to) love', reduced stem *kol*^{y}. When *pale/pal*^{y} is used as a non-bound stem, it can be followed by the bound stem *-pale-kia(h)*:

(293) *kas* *male-pale-kia-ŋ* (2378)
wind 3sO.pass.by-pass.by-RE-IA
'The wind blows from all parts'.

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

3: *-pit*^{s} '(to) pass by'

(294) *a-l-o-pit*^{s}*-aŋ* (2176)
1sA-3sO-do-pass.by-IA
'I do it while passing by'

(295) *a-l-o-pit*^{s}*-t-aŋ* (2176)
1sA-3sO-do-pass.by-IA
'I shall do it while passing by'

The stem of *-pit*^{s} is never reduced. The bound verb *-pit*^{s} is also found with other verbs:

(296) *a-l^{y}a-pit^{s}-iy-pit^{s}-o* (793)
1sS-go-pass.by-NE-NOM
'I did not go'

(297) *a-ø-tuŋ-pit^{s}-aŋ* (2087)
1sA-3sO-say-pass.by-IA
'I say it to him while passing by'

(298) *a-t^{s}ač-pit^{s}-aŋ* (2086)
1sA-3sO.see-pass.by-IA
'I see it while passing by'

The verb *pit^{s}* '(to) pass by' also occurs as a non-bound verb. It may then be followed by a bound verb. In the example below, *pit^{s}* is followed by its synonym *pale*:

(299) *t^{s}i mit^{s}-pale-kiah-lam* (2378)
rain 3sS.pass.by-pass.by-RE-FN1
'that the rain will pour down from all sides'

B. Manner
(1) *-čup(o)* '(to) do tenderly'

(300) *a-l-o-čup-aŋ* (2169)
1sA-3sO-do-do.tenderly-IA
'I do it tenderly'

(301) *mi-l-o-čupo-kt-aŋ* (2169)
2sA-3sO-do-do.tenderly-F-IA
'you will do it tenderly'

The bound verb *-čup(o)* behaves like a verb of class 5: *o > ø/ _ -(a)ŋ*. It also occurs with other verbs, such as, *kole/kol^{y}* '(to) love' and *pen^{y}(o)* '(to) want':

(302) *a-ŋole-čup-aŋ* (2109)
1sA-3sO.love-do.tenderly-IA
'I love him/her/it tenderly'

(303) *a-men^{y}o-čup-aŋ* (2110)
1sA-3sO.want-do.tenderly-IA
'I want him/her/it tenderly'

C. Course of event
(1) *-k(o)l(oh)* '(to) finish'

(304) *a-l-o-kol-aŋ* (2168)
1sA-3sO-do-finish-IA
'I finish doing it'

(305) *a-l-o-kloh-t-aŋ* (2169)
1sA-3sO-do-finish-F-IA
'I shall finish doing it'

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)loh-ia(h)* '(to) finish a reiterative event':

(306) *a-l-o-kloh-ia-ŋ* (2178)
1sA-3sO-do/make-finish-RE-IA
'I finish doing/making it again'

The bound verb *-k(o)l(oh)* is also found with other stems:

(307) *a-ø-ših-kol-aŋ* (2083)
1sA-3sO-drink-finish-IA
'I finish drinking it'

(The stem *k(o)l* is used as a non-bound verb, meaning '(to) die').

2: *-lʸuk(oh)* '(to) have finished'

(308) *a-l-o-lʸuk-aŋ* (2173)
1sA-3sO-do-have.finished-IA
'I have finished doing it'

(309) *a-l-o-lʸukoh-t-aŋ* (2173)
1sA-3sO-do-have.finished-F-IA
'I shall have finished doing it'

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

(310) *ø-lʸuk-aŋ* (2548)
3sS-have.finished-IA
'It finishes'

(311) *ku-ø-lʸ koh-iy-nap* (2549)
1pA-3sO-have.finished-SE-SEQ
'after having finished it'

3: *-mul(o)* '(to) begin', '(to) start'

(312) *a-l-o-mul-aŋ* (2172)
1sA-3sO-do-start-IA
'I start doing it'

(313) *a-l-o-mulo-kt-aŋ* (2172)
1sA-3sO-do-start-F-IA
'I shall start doing it'

The bound verb *-mul(o)* behaves like a verb of class 5: *o* > *ø*/ _ *-(a)ŋ*. It has also been found with other verbs:

(314) *tˢi mahat-mulo-w* (2549)
rain 3sS.fall.down-start-PST
'The rain started to fall down'.

(315) *ø-seh-mul-aŋ* (2081)
3sS-grow-start-IA
'it (seed) starts to grow'

4: *-pul* ‘(to) rest from’

(316) *a-l-o-pul-aŋ* (2174)
1sA-3sO-do-rest.from-IA
‘I rest from doing it’

(317) *a-l-o-pul-t-aŋ* (2174)
1sA-3sO-do-rest-F-IA
‘I shall rest from doing it’

The stem of *-pul* is never reduced. It has only been found with the verb *(o)* ‘(to) do’.

5: *-šipe/*-šipeh* ‘(to) break off’, ‘(to) nearly do’
A non-reduced stem of *-šipe* has not been found. It may be **-šipeh*. The stem *-šipe* has not been found with the verb *(o)* ‘(to) do’. The following examples illustrate the use of *-šipe/*-šipeh* ‘(to) break off’/’(to) nearly do’ with other verb stems:

(318) *a-tˢap-šipe-ŋ* (2091)
1sA-3sO.catch-nearly.do-IA
‘I nearly catch him’

(319) *a-sinah-šipe-ŋ* (2093)
1sA-3sO.hear-nearly.do-IA
‘I nearly hear him’

(320) *a-kol-šipe-y* (2427)
1sS-die-nearly.do-PST
‘I nearly died’

7.3.4. Derived stems
Derived stems are formed by means of the derivational suffixes *-itˢ* ‘passive’; *-ka(h)* ‘indirect causative’; *-(k)e(h)* ‘direct causative’; *-(k)ia(h)* ‘reiterative’; *-n(o)* ‘reflexive’; *-p(e)* ‘negative’. (The use of negativizer *-(p)e* is treated in chapter 11 together with other negators, such as *-čin, -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 *-itˢ* 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 *-ka(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)ŋ* ‘incompletive aspect marker’ and *-(i)y* ‘stem extender’, ‘past tense marker’. Reflexive verbs composed with the suffix *-n(o)* behave like the verbs of class 5: *o* is dropped before *-(a)ŋ*, and the stem is extended by means of the suffix *-w* ‘stem extender’, ‘past tense marker’, attached to a non-reduced stem. In section 7.3.4.1-7.3.4.5 we take a closer look at the derivational suffixes. In section 7.3.4.7 we go more closely into the passive voice.

7.3.4.1. Derivational suffix -*it*^{s} 'passive'

A passive verb can be formed by means of the suffix -*it*^{s}. Passivizer -*it*^{s} is only used with transitive verbs. It turns the transitive verb into an intransitive verb, i.e. the agent of the transitive verb is suppressed and the direct object of the transitive verb becomes the subject of the passive verb:

(321)	*a-ŋol*^{y}*-aŋ* (685) 1sA-3sO.love-IA 'I love him/her/it'	*a-kole-it*^{s}*-aŋ* (995) 1sS-love-PAS-IA 'I am loved'
(322)	*i-l-ø-aŋ* (2138) 3sA-3sO-make-IA 'he/she/it makes him/her/it'	*l-o-it*^{s}*-aŋ* (1008) 3sS-make-PAS-IA 'he/she/it is made'
(323)	*men*^{y}*o-w-la-ŋ* (811) 3sO.want-SE-3pA-IA 'they want him/her/it'	*či-pen*^{y}*o-it*^{s}*-aŋ* (1021) 3pS-want-PAS-IA 'they (p) are wanted'

Derived stems with -*it*^{s} may have an alternative future form in which future marker -*(k)t(e)* is not directly suffixed to the non-reduced stem -*it*^{s}, but to the stem extender -*(i)y* (see also section 7.1). This has been found with the verbs *kole/kol*^{y} '(to) love' and *pen*^{y}*(o)* '(to) want', but it may have occurred with other verbs as well:
(i): first person singular and plural, and second and third person singular of the verb *kole/kol*^{y} '(to) love';
(ii): first person singular - and possibly also first person plural and second and third person singular and plural (the data are missing) - of the verb *pen*^{y}*(o)* '(to) want':

a-kole-it^{s}*-iy-t-aŋ* (1002)	'I shall be loved'
mi-kole-it^{s}*-iy-t-aŋ* (1002)	'you will be loved'
ŋole-it^{s}*-iy-t-aŋ* (1002)	'he/she/it is loved'
ki-kole-it^{s}*-iy-t-aŋ* (1002)	'we shall be loved'
a-pen^{y}*o-it*^{s}*-iy-t-aŋ* (1022)	'I shall be wanted'

Cf.	*mi-kole-it*^{s}*-iy-ha-kt-aŋ* (1002)	'you (p) will be loved'
	či-kole-it^{s}*-t-aŋ* (1002)	'they will be loved'
	a-o-it^{s}*-t-aŋ* (1013)	'I shall be made'

Verbs formed by means of the derivational suffix -*it*^{s} 'passivizer', have no forms in -*eč/(k)t-eč*, but they do have a form in -*hu*:

(324)	*a-kole-it*^{s}*-hu* (1005) 1sS-love-PAS-SR 'that I am loved'	(325)	*a-o-it*^{s}*-hu* (1015) 1sS-make-PAS-SR 'that I am made'

7.3.4.2. Derivational suffix *-ka(h)* 'indirect causative'
The suffix *-ka(h)* causativizes transitive verbs. It does not occur with intransitive verbs:

(326) *a-l-o-kah-t-aŋ* (1941)
1sA-3sO-do-ICA-F-IA
'I shall cause to do it'

(327) *a-tˢuh-ka-ŋ* (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 *lʸup* '(to) eat something'. The form *-e(h)* is attached to a consonant; *-ke(h)* to a vowel:

(329) *mu-tp-iy-ha-ŋ* (931)
2S-walk-SE-PL-IA
'you (p) walk'

(330) *mu-ø-tp-e-y-ha-ŋ* (933)
2A-3sO-walk-CAU-SE-PL-IA
'you (p) cause him/her/it to walk'

(331) *a-m-hinah-p-aŋ* (1742)
1sA-2sO-hear-NE-IA
'I do not hear you'

(332) *a-ø-hina-ke-ŋ* (1582)
1sA-3sO-hear-CAU-IA
'I cause him/her/it to hear'

(333) *a-ø-lʸup-aŋ* (2048)
1sA-3sO-eat-IA
'I eat something'

(334) *a-ø-lʸup-e-y* (1932)
1sA-3sO-eat-CAU-PST
'I caused him/her/it to eat (some thing)'

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

(335) *a-am-aŋ* (2054)
1sS-eat-IA
'I eat'

(336) *a-l-am-e-ŋ* (2055)
1sA-3sO-eat-CAU-IA
'I cause him/her/it to eat'

(337) *mi-amo-w-ha-ŋ* (2054)
2S-eat-SE-PL-IA
'you (p) eat'

(338) *mi-l-am-e-y-ha-ŋ* (2055)
2A-3sO-eat-CAU-SE-PL-IA
'you (p) cause him/her/it to eat'

(The verbs *am(o)* and *lʸup* 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-ø-hila-ke-ŋ* (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-tˢm-e-ka-ŋ* (950)
1sA-3sO.know-CAU-ICA-IA
'I cause to know it'/ 'I teach it'

cf. *a-tˢm-eh-ia-ŋ* (948)
1sA-3sO.know-CAU-RE-IA
'I teach it again'

The direct causativizer -*(k)e(h)* can also be followed by a bound verb:

(341) *a-tˢm-eh-koloh-nap-alʸ* (2883)
1sA-3sO.know-CAU-finish-SEQ-RST
'just after I had finished it'

The suffix -*(k)e(h)* can furthermore function as a verbalizer (see section 7.7).

7.3.4.4. Derivational suffix -*(k)ia(h)* 'reiterative'
Reiterative verbs are formed by means of the suffix -*(k)ia(h)*:

(342) *mi-l-o-kiah-i* (2163)
2sA-3sO-do-RE-IMP
'Do it again!'

(343) *a-ø-loh-ia-ŋ* (970)
1sA-3sO-wet-RE-IA
'I wet it again'

(344) *tˢoyo-kia-ŋ* (2002)
3sS.cry-RE-IA
'he cries again'

7.3.4.5. Derivational suffix *-n(o)* 'reflexive'
A reflexive verb can be formed by means of the suffix *-n(o)*, attached to transitive stems. Reflexive verbs are intransitive:

(345) *a-o-no-č* (2167)
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-aŋ* (2833)
1sS-revenge-RFL-F-IA
'I shall revenge myself'

(349) *a-lu-poh-n-aŋ* (1720)
1sS-interior-burn-RFL-PST
'I abhor myself'

(350) *a-n-eštek-o-n-aŋ* (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*^{s}, 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*^{y}*-iy* *me-kt-iy* (984)
1sA-2sO-love-PST 2sS-be-PST
'You were loved by me'. (lit. 'I loved you, you were').

(352) *crus-te* *l*^{y}*awin* *l-o-w-la* *ø-kot-e-ŋ,*
cross-AD nail 3sO-do-PST-3pA 3sS-be-PST-IA
ŋol-e-ŋ, *mu-y-la-sim* *ø-kot-e-ŋ* (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*^{s} and *k(o)t* is that when *-it*^{s} 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 kind 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)ŋ*; the stem extenders and past tense markers -*(i)y/-w* and -*e(y)*; future marker -*(k)t(e)-*; imperative markers -*(k)(i)* and -*(k)he*; nominalizers (+ case markers); and subordinators (+ case markers). A verb form can also be followed by discourse markers or sentential suffixes (chapter 10).

7.4.1. Incompletive aspect marker -*(a)ŋ*

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 *eŋ* is in contradiction to what is shown in the conjugation of the verbs *k(o)t* '(to) be' (class 1) and *ŋole* '(to) love' (class 2). In these conjugations, *eŋ* is not the ending of the present tense, but a preterite ending ('preterito imperfecto y perfecto'). The alleged present indicative in *eŋ* or, rather, in -*ŋ* (we have seen that de la Mata's ending *eŋ* should be interpreted as -*e-ŋ*) 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 -*ŋ*:

(353)	'present indicative'	'imperfect and perfect indicative'
	me-kt-iy-ha-ŋ (294)	*me-kt-iy-ha-ŋ* (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)ŋ* 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)ŋ* 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)ŋ* is also shown in the following examples (for more examples, see section 7.1 et seq.):

(354)	*a-šk-aŋ* (951)	(355)	*a-tˢm-e-ŋ* (944)
	1sS-drink-IA		1sA-3sO.know-CAU-IA
	'I drink'		'I cause to know it'/'I teach it'
(356)	*a-ø-lo-ŋ* (962)	(357)	*ø-lo-y-la-ŋ* (962)
	1sA-3sO-wet-IA		3SO-wet-SE-3pA-IA
	'I wet something'.		'They wet him/her/it'.

(357) *men^{y}o-w-la-ŋ* (811)
3sO.want-SE-3pA-IA
'They want 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, -e, -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)ŋ* 'incompletive aspect':

(358) *mi-ø-lam-iy-ha-ŋ* (1980)
2A-3sO-kill-SE-PL-IA
'you (p) kill him/her/it'

(359) *ø-lam-iy-la-ŋ* (2057)
3sO-kill-SE-3pA-IA
'they kill him/her/it'

(360) *mi-men^{y}o-w-ha-ŋ* (810)
2A-3sO.want-SE-PL-IA
'you (p) want him/her/it'

(361) *men^{y}o-w-la-ŋ* (811)
3sO.want-SE-3pA-IA
'they want him/her/it'

(362) *mi-kole-it^{s}-iy-ha-ŋ* (999)
2S-love-PAS-SE-PL-IA
'you (p) are loved'

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

(364) *men^{y}o-ka-y-la-ŋ* (868)
3sO.want-ICA-SE-3pA-IA
'they cause him/her/it to want'

It appears, however, that the forms *me-kt-iy-ha-ŋ* 'you (p) are' (385) and *ŋol^{y}-iy-la-ŋ* '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)č*:

(365) *me-kt-iy-ha-č* (423)
2S-be-SE-PL-PURP
'that you (p) are'

(366) *me-tŋ-iy-ha-č* (544)
2S-be.(seated)-SE-PL-PURP
'that you (p) are (seated)'

(iii) before the negator -*mu*, when functioning as a prohibitive marker '(do) not':

(367) *ah* *nʸip-iy-mu-a* (2941)
INTJ touch-SE-NE-EX
'Oh, do not touch it!'

(iv) before subordinator -*(n)ap* 'after':

(368) *išaki-pat* *ku-lʸkoh-iy-nap,* *tˢi* *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-ŋolʸ-iy* (691)
1sA-3sO.love-PST
'I loved him/her/it'

(370) *mi-ŋolʸ-iy-ha* (695)
2A-3sO.love-PST-PL
'you (p) loved him/her/it'

(371) *a-menʸo-w* (812)
1sA-3sO.want-PST
'I wanted him/her/it'

(372) *menʸo-w-la* (817)
3sO.want-PST-3pA
'they wanted him/her/it'

(373) *a-tˢm-e-y* (944)
1sA-3sO.know-CAU-PST
'I caused to know it'/ 'I taught it'

(374) *a-menʸo-ka-y* (869)
1sA-3sO.want-ICA-PST
'I caused him/her/it to want'

(375) *a-ših-ia-y* (955)
1sS-drink-RE-PST
'I drank again'

(376) *baptizan* *ø-ki-y-mu* *ø-kot-aŋ* (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 *k(o)t*. Both forms have the same subject:

(377) *me-kt-iy-ha* *me-kt-iy-ha-ŋ* (318)
2S-be-PST-PL 2S-be-SE-PL-IA
'you (p) will have been'

(378) *ki-ŋolʲ-iy* *ke-kt-aŋ* (712)
1pA-3sO.love-PST 1pS-be-IA
'we will have loved him/her/it'

(379) *mi-menʲo-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) *če-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-ŋolʲ-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-menʲo-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 *-(ŋ)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'

(384) *a-ŋolʸ-iy* *ø-kot-nap* (789)
1sA-3sO.love-PST 3sS-be-SEQ
'for I have loved him/her/it'

(385) *a-menʸo-w* *ø-kot-nap* (858)
1sA-3sO.want-PST 3sS-be-SEQ
'for I have wanted him/her/it'

Past tense forms in *-(i)y/-w* can furthermore be followed by a zero-nominalizer and function
(i) as a 'past participle', translated as an agentive 'the one who ...':

(386) *ø-kot-iy-ø* (433)
3sS-be-PST-NOM
'the one who was'

(387) *mi-ŋolʸ-iy-ø* (799)
2sA-3sO.love-PST-NOM
'you who loved him/her/it'

(388) *a-menʸo-w-ø* (861)
1sA-3sO.want-PST-NOM
'I who wanted him/her/it'

(ii) as a noun:

(389) *inča-pat-am* *ki-kalʸo-itˢ-iy-ø-a* *ku-mučeh-t-aŋ* (2858)
what-INS-QM 1sS-order-PAS-PST-NOM-TOP 1pA-3sO.fulfil-F-IA
'How shall we fulfil our obligation'.

(390) *a-l-o-w-ø* (89)
1sA-3sO-make-PST-NOM
'my making' (< '(1s) made' < 'I have made it')

Nominalized past tense forms can be followed by case markers (see section 7.4.7).

7.4.2.2. Stem extender and past tense marker *-e(y)*
The suffix *-e(y)* primarily functions as a past tense marker. It is then suffixed to a reduced stem of a verb of class 1 and 2 and followed by the incompletive aspect marker *-(a)ŋ*:

(391) *ke-kt-e-ŋ* (299)
1pS-be-PST-IA
'we were'

(392) *ki-ŋolʸ-e-ŋ* (694)
1pA-3sO.love-PST-IA
'we loved him/her/it'

In four examples, -*e(y)* functions as a past tense marker, although it is not followed by the incompletive aspect marker -*(a)ŋ*. In these forms, -*e(y)* is used as a variant of -*(i)y*:

(393) *ma nʸalok-alʸ ke-lʸw-ey* (2887)
INT time-RST 1pS-go-PST
'We went just at the same time'.

(394) *a-šk-ey* (952)
1sS-drink-PST
'I drank'

(395) *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 said to them that they should not be afraid'

(396) *soldado-tu-p putam tˢap-ey-la* (2882)
soldier-AD-ABL village 3sO.take-PST-3pA
'The soldiers took the village'.

In the following attested form, -*e(y)* also replaces -*(i)y*. However, in this example it apparently functions as a stem extender, since it does not indicate a past tense:

(397) *ø-šik-ey-la-ŋ* (951)
3sO-drink-SE-3pA-IA
'they drink it'

In addition, an element -*e*- can be recognized in the ending -*e-nap*. Verb forms in -*e-nap* occur in temporal subordinate clauses. The ending -*e-(n)ap* indicates a previous event, a sequence, and can also be translated as 'after':

(398) *toŋ-e-nap* (550)
be.(seated)-SE-SEQ
'(after) having been.(seated)'

(399) *kaloč pey-te muč-e-nap, mu-tup-i*
plate ground-AD 3sO.put-SE-SEQ 2sS-walk-IMP
mi-neŋ-pat paloŋ čih-ø (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 *lʸaw* ‘(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) *ø-ha-lʸaw-e-khe* (1826)
3sS-3sO.APL-go.away-SE-IMP
‘May it go away from him/her/it!’

(401) *ø-m-a-lʸaw-ey-ha-kte* (1826)
3sS-2O-APL-go.away-SE-PL-F
‘May it go away from you (p)!’

(402) *ø-a-lʸaw-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-tˢp-e-kte-he* *ø-lʸaw-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) *muč-e-ki* (2728)
3sO.put down-SE-IMP
‘Put it down!’

(405) *tˢač-e-k* (258)
3sO.see-SE-IMP
‘Look at it!’

(406) *mi-tˢč-e-ki* (258)
2sA-3sO.see-SE-IMP
‘Look at it!’

7.4.3. Anteriority marker *-(k)e*

We saw that *-(k)e* 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)e* 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 *-(ŋ)o* ‘future nominalizer 2'. In the former case, *-(k)e* is used to form a pluperfect. The ending *-(k)e* can be replaced by *-ate* ‘then’, which can then also occur after the past tense marker *-e(y)*:

(407) *a-ŋolʸ-iy-e* (697)
1sA-3sO.love-PST-ANT
‘I had loved him/her/it’

(408) *a-ŋolʸ-ey-ate* (697)
1sA-3sO.love-PST-then
‘I had loved him/her/it’

(409) *ke-kt-iy-e* (305)
1pS-be-PST-ANT
‘we had been’

(410) *ke-kt-iy-ate* (305)
1pS-be-PST-then
‘we had been’

(411) *men^{y}o-w-la-ke* (823)
3sO.want-PST-3pA-ANT
'they had wanted him/her/it'

When the anteriority marker -*(k)e* occurs after -*(i)y* in a subordinated clause, it indicates that the event has taken place before another event, and it can often be translated as 'after':

(412) *ø-l^{y}aw-iy-e-wa,* *into-n^{y}-am* *ki-l-o-ŋo* *ø-kot-aŋ,*
3sS-go-PST-ANT-TOP which-CMP-QM 1pA-3sO-do-FN2 3sS-be-IA
pe-n^{y}-al^{y}-čo *ø-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* *ø-ki-y-e,* *ŋol-iy* (872)
marriage 3sS-do-PST-ANT 3sS.die-PST
'After having married, he died'.

(414) *ŋol-iy-e,* *ŋinha-wo-w* (873)
3sS.die-PST-ANT 3sS.life-VB-PST
'After having died, he resuscitated'.

The anteriority marker -*(k)e* can also be suffixed to the nominalizers -*(k)te* 'infinitive' (section 7.4.6.2) and -*(ŋ)o* 'future nominalizer 2' (section 7.4.6.4), in order to form an irrealis. The endings -*(k)te-ke* and -*(ŋ)o-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 -*aŋ* in order to form a future tense and before subordinator -*eč* in order to indicate a purposive clause (see subordinator -*(k)t-eč* , section 7.4.6); the form -*(k)te* is used elsewhere. Forms with initial -*t-* occur after a consonant, those with initial -*kt-* after a vowel. Some examples of the future tense are

(415) *mi-kot-t-aŋ* (309) 'you will be'
(416) *mi-kot-ha-kt-aŋ* (312) 'you (p) will be'
(417) *mi-ŋole-kt-aŋ* (704) 'you will love him/her/it'
(418) *mi-men^{y}o-kt-aŋ* (825) 'you will want him/her/it'
(419) *ø-loh-la-kt-aŋ* (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-ŋole-kte* (717) 'May we love him/her/it!'
(424) *ki-men^{y}o-kte* (834) 'May we want him/her/it!'

(ii) an optative mood or irrealis by means of the suffix *-mok* 'hopefully', 'I wished' and the verb form *ø-kot* 'it is'. The suffix *-mok* can be attached to the future marker *-(k)te* or to a noun preceding the form in *-(k)te*. Impersonal *ø-kot* 'it is' always follows the form in *-(k)te(-mok)*:

(425) (a) *pal^{y}ow-mok* *a-kot-te* *ø-kot* (370)
good-hopefully 1sS-be-F 3sS-be
'I wished I had been good'.

(b) *pal^{y}ow a-kot-te-mok* *ø-kot* (370)
good 1sS-be-F-hopefully 3sS-be
'I wished I had been good'.

(426) (a) *Pedro-mok santo* *ø-kot-te* *ø-kot* (373)
Pedro-hopefully saint 3sS-be-F 3sS-be
'If only Pedro had been a saint'.

(b) *Pedro santo* *ø-kot-te-mok* *ø-kot* (373)
Pedro saint 3sS-be-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 *-ø, -i, -k* or *-ki*. Person marking can be omitted in a second person singular form; it is necessary in a second person plural form. The endings *-ø, -i, -k, -ki* are allomorphs; *-ø* or *-i* are used after a consonant, *-k* or *-ki* after a vowel:

(427) *kot, mi-kot-i* (321) 'Be!'
(428) *mi-kot-ha-k, mi-kot-ha-ki* (324) 'Be (p)!'
(429) *ŋole-k, mi-ŋole-ki* (715) 'Love him/her/it!'
(430) *mi-ŋole-ha-ki* (718) 'Love (p) him/her/it!'

(431) *men^{y}o-k, men^{y}o-ki* (832) 'Want him/her/it!'
(432) *mi-men^{y}o-ha-ki* (835) 'Want (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) *ø-kot-he* (335) 'Let him be'.
(434) *i-men^{y}o-khe* (833) 'May he want him/her/it!'
(435) *i-ŋole-khe* (167) 'May we love him him/her/it'.
(436) *či-kot-he* (338) 'Let them be'.
(437) *ŋole-la-khe* (719) 'May they love him/her/it!'

The imperative forms in *-(k)he* can be used to express a wish. If the verb in question is preceded by a noun (object or nominal predicate) the element *-he* may be attached to that preceding noun:

(438) *santo ki-kot-he* (346)
saint 1pS-be-IMP
'I wished we were saints'.

(439) *santo-he ki-kot-ø* (346)
saint-BEN 1pS-be-IMP
'I wished we were saints'.

(440) *Dios ŋole-la-khe* (737)
God 3sO.love-3pA-IMP
'I wished they loved God'.

(441) *Dios-he ŋole-la-k* (737)
God-BEN 3sO.love-3pA-IMP
'I wished they loved God'.

7.4.6. Nominalizers

In Cholón we can distinguish two kinds of nominalization:
(i): nominalization of the stem;
(ii): nominalization of finite forms.

Stem nominalization takes place by means of the suffixes *-(e)č* (section 7.4.6.1), *-(k)te* (section 7.4.6.2), *-lam* (section 7.4.6.3), *-(ŋ)o* (section 7.4.6.4), and *-(w)uč* (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', *-(ŋ)o* 'supine', and *-(w)uč* 'present participle'. The suffix *-(e)č* is used in constructions labeled 'ablativus absolutus' or 'subjunctive' by de la Mata, and translated as a present participle or as a subordinate clause. In section 6.10 we have seen that forms in *-(e)č, -lam, -(ŋ)o,* and *-(w)uč* can be used as nouns, and that forms in *-(e)č* and *-(ŋ)o* can also function as adjectives. Forms in *-(e)č, -(k)te, -lam*, and *-(ŋ)o* 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 *-(ŋ)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 *iŋko* 'that one' (section 7.4.6.6). These deictics can also be followed by specific case markers.

7.4.6.1. Nominalizer *-(e)č* 'factivizer'

The suffix *-(e)č* 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)č* can also indicate 'cause'. Nominalizer *-(e)č* (*-č* 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)č*, 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-ŋole-č* (758)	'(the fact) that I love him/her/it'
(443)	*mi-ŋole-ha-č* (762)	'(the fact) that you (p) love him/her/it
(444)	*ŋole-la-č* (762)	'(the fact) that they love him/her/it'
(445)	*a-men^{y}o-č* (842)	'(the fact) that I want him/her/it'
(446)	*mi-men^{y}o-ha-č* (845)	'(the fact) that you (p) want him/her/it'
(447)	*men^{y}o-la-č* (846)	'(the fact) that they want him/her/it'

Forms in *-(e)č* function as subject clauses when the main verb is *mas(o)* '(to) take all night' or *pat^{s}(a)* '(to) take all day':

(448) *a-pšawo-č* *ø-pat^{s}a-ŋ* (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-č* *ø-mas-aŋ* (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)č* '(to) see' is a third person singular, so that the form *mi-t^{s}ač* can be interpreted as 'you see it' or as 'you see him'. In this case, the form in *-(e)č*, *i-m-kole-č* '(the fact) that he loves you' functions as a direct object clause:

(450) *i-m-kalʸ-aŋ-ko-nʸ* *mi-l-o-ki,* *i-m-kole-č*
3sA-2sO-order-IA-DEM-CMP 2sA-3sO-do-IMP 3sA-2sO-love-FAC
mi-tˢač-te (764)
2sA-3sO.see-F
'Do as he orders you, [and] you will see that he loves you'.

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-poŋ-pat* *i-lʸa-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'. Here again, the object of the main verb and the subject of the nominalized verb must be co-referential:

(452) *mitah-la-č* *či-po-šayč-aŋ* (2375)
3sO.miss-3pA-FAC 3pA-3pO-whip-IA
'They whip them, because they miss it'.

The suffix *-(e)č* can be followed by the ablative case marker *-(a)p* meaning 'after' and preceded by the negation *pe-*. The suffix combination *-pe-č-ap* is translated as 'before (that) ...':

(453) *mi-lʸa-pe-č-ap,* *ko* *ašmaŋ* *mi-l-o-ki* (2925)
2sS-go-NE-FAC-ABL this first 2sA-3sO-do-IMP
'Before you go, do this first!'

(454) *mi-hil-mulo-pe-č-ap* *a-l-o-lʸuk-iy-čo*
2sS-speak-begin-NE-FAC-ABL 1sA-3sO-do-finish-PST-already
a-kt-aŋ (1621)
1sS-be-IA
'Before you began to speak, I had already finished it'.

7.4.6.2. Nominalizer *-(k)te* 'infinitive'
The suffix *-(k)te* is frequently used as a complementizer with the verb *menʸ(o)* '(to) want'. The element *-k* is dropped after a consonant. Examples of nominalized forms in *-(k)te* occurring as a direct object of *menʸ(o)* are:

(455) *a-lʸa-kte* *a-menʸ-aŋ* (1605)
1sS-go-INF 1sA-3sO.want-IA
'I want to go'.

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-lʸemtˢap-ap,* *mi-lʸa-kt-aŋ* (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 what kind-TOP-QM
ki-l-o-kt-aŋ (2843)
1pA-3sO-do-F-IA
'What shall we do, so that we shall not die from this illness?'

(458) *ki-amo-kte-he-wa* *ki-piyp-o-lʸ* (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-lʸw-aŋ-ko* *nʸanmak,*
forest-AD 1sS-be-walk-INF-BEN 1sS-go-IA-DEM each.time
kama *a-ki-aŋ* (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-ŋ* (1810)
passion.fruit 1sA-2sO-give-INF-BEN 1sS-come-IA
'I come to give you passion fruits'.

(461) *trigo* *puŋ* *a-mis-te-he* *a-mohna-ŋ* (1811)
wheat meal 1sA-3sO.buy-INF-BEN 1sS-go.up-IA
'I go to the mountains to buy wheatmeal (for you)'.

The form in *-(k)te-he* can furthermore be a complement of the verb *menʸ(o)* '(to) want' or, occasionally, of other verbs of thinking. The subjects of the two verbs need not be identical:

(462) *mi-lʸa-kte-he* *a-menʸ-aŋ* (1606)
2sS-go-INF-BEN 1sA-3sO.want-IA
'I want you to go'.

(463) *a-lu-pakt-aŋ* *palʸow-alʸ* *mi-lʸa-kte-he* (2800)
1sS-interior-be-IA good-RST 2sS-go-INF-BEN
'I think that you may very well go'.

The ending *-(k)te-ke*, described by de la Mata as an optative ending, is used to form an irrealis. It indicates in fact a 'future in the past', and it expresses a wish or an event that could or would take/have taken place:

(464) *inaham* *Dios* *a-ŋole-kte-ke* (738)
EX: lamentation God 1sA-3sO.love-INF-ANT
'Oh, I wished I had loved God'.

(465) *a-n-utˢ* *a-tˢap-te-ke* *m-a-luwe-y* (2899)
1sPOS-REL-enemy 1sA-3sO.catch-INF-ANT 2sA-1sO-prevent-PST
'You prevented me from catching my enemy'.

(466) *palʸow mi-kot-o-ke-wa* *a-m-penʸo-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 *-man-ap*, following a nominal stem. The sequence *-man-ap* is then translatable as 'than'. A comparative clause can be formed when *-man-ap* is attached to a nominalized verb form in *-(k)te*. The suffix combination *-man-ap*, translated as 'rather than', 'instead of' can then be followed by the adverb *ašmaŋ* 'first':

(467) *a-n-utˢa* *a-l-o-kte-man-ap,* *ašmaŋ a-kol-te*
1sPOS-REL-sin 1sA-3sO-do-INF-INES-ABL first 1sS-die-INF
a-menʸ-aŋ (1625)
1sA-3sO.want-IA
'I prefer to die rather than to sin'.

7.4.6.3. Nominalizer *-lam* 'future nominalizer 1'
According to Pedro de la Mata the ending *-lam* corresponds to the Latin ending '*-rus*'. In Latin, *-turus* is the ending of future of the infinitive or of the future participle, and it indicates that the event expressed by the verb is bound to take place. Forms in *-lam* are nominal forms referring to an event in the future or an obligation:

(468) *a-kot-lam* (431, 1051)
1sS-be-FN1
'my future being', 'my having to be', 'that I shall be'

(469) *a-ŋole-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-menʸo-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'

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:

(471) *ko lʸup-maŋ ki-hčo-lam-a konfesion-sim*
this immersion-INES 1pS-be.submerged-FN1-TOP confession-EMP
ø-kot-aŋ (1205)
3sS-be-IA
'This bath is the [sacramental] confession'.
(lit. 'This immersion in wich we are submerged is the confession').

(472) *mula lum-te ku-tup-lam pana* (2316)
mule top-AD 1pS-walk-FN1 road
'a mulepath' (lit. 'a road which we have to walk on a mule')

(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:

(473) *mi-l-o-lam, ohom-alʸ l-o-k* (1489)
2sA-3sO-do-FN1 without.pause-RST 3sO-do-IMP
'Do quickly what you have to do!'

(474) *amehe-na a-ki-lam, a-ym-eh-ø* (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)t* '(to) be (there)'. Three types of clauses can then be distinguished:

(a) a subject clause of a main verb *(pa)k(o)t* ‘(to) be’. In this case, subject of the copula is an impersonal third person singular, while the subject of the form in *-lam*, meaning ‘obligation’, is another person:

(475) *poho* *at-mol-e* *iglesia-te* *ki-lʸa-lam* *ø-pakt-aŋ* (1499)
morning one-CL:day-ANT curch-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-lʸa-lam* *ø-kot-nap* *a-nʸan-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-y-la-lam* *če-kt-aŋ* (408)
always 3pPOS-food 1sO-give-3pA-FN1 3pS-be-IA
‘They always give me their food’.

(478) *a-n-utˢa* *a-l-o-lam* *a-kt-aŋ* (1502)
1sPOS-REL-sin 1sA-3sO-do-FN1 1sS-be-IA
‘I am in the habit of sinning’.

(479) *ki-lʸa-lam* *ke-kt-aŋ* (1504)
1pS-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 *-(a)ŋ* ‘imperfective aspect’ or *-(i)y/-w* ‘past tense’. According to the context, such predicates may indicate an event in the present or in the past:

(480) *kapak* *mi-kot-nake,* *kas* *male-pale-kia-ŋ* *tˢi*
power 2sPOS-being-PER wind 3sS.pass.by-pass.by-RE-IA rain
mitˢ-pale-kiah-lam, *et-pit* *u-ku-penʸo-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* *ŋ-a-y-iy/* *ŋ-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 -*(k)te-he* (see the example above), viz. it also expresses a goal or purpose:

(482) *Dios* *kapak* *kot* *či-ø-paso-lam-he,* *kama-pit*
God reign being 3pA-3sO-preach-FN1-BEN patient-COR
či-po-tˢukiow-o-lam-he, *mo-pilm-iy* (1581)
3pA-3pO-medecin-do-FN1-BEN 3sA.3pO-send-PST
'He sent them, so that they would preach the reign of God, and cure the patients'.

(483) *an-tˢel* *Phariseo Jesus* *mučaŋ* *i-l-o-w* *sa-nik*
one-CL:truncal Pharisee Jesus prayer 3sA-3sO-do-PST 3s-COM
l-amo-lam-he/ *l-amo-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-aŋ,* *into-nʸ-am* *yam* *ki-o-itˢ-lam-man-ap-a*
1s 1sS-say-F-IA which-CMP-QM penance 1pS-do-PAS-FN1-INES-ABL-TOP
ki-špo-kt-aŋ (2847)
1sS-remain.free-F-IA
'I shall say how we will remain free from penance'.

(485) *into* *mek* *ku-n-utˢa* *ki-l-o-lam-te-p* *peh-ču*
which all 1pPOS-REL-sin 1pA-3sO-do-FN1-AD-ABL flight-DIM
ki-o-no-ŋo *ø-kot-aŋ* (2851)
1pS-do-RFL-FN2 3sS-be-IA
'How can we escape from [our] sin?'

7.4.6.4. Nominalizer -*(ŋ)o* 'future nominalizer 2'
The suffix -*(ŋ)o* is normally attached to a non-reduced stem: -*o* after a consonant-final stem and -*ŋo* after a vowel-final stem. Pedro de la Mata says that the suffix -*(ŋ)o* is equivalent to the Latin ending '-*dus*' (-*ndus*) of the 'gerundive'. Forms in

-*(ŋ)o* refer to a possibility or an obligation and can be used attributively (see also section 6.10). Attributive adjuncts thus formed are marked for first person plural agent and third person object with transitive stems, or first person plural subject with intransitive stems:

(486) *ki-tˢačˇ-o* (1078)
1pA-3sO.see-FN2
lit.: 'something to be seen by us' > 'something visible'
> 'visible'

(487) *an-tˢel* *ki-ø-nano-ŋo* *očo* *kas* *mek* *kot-maŋ*
one-CL:truncal 1pA-3sO-fear-FN2 big wind all water-INES
ø-tapačˇ-iy (779)
3sS-arise-IA
'A fearful big wind arose on the sea'.

(488) *ki-amo-ŋo* *mita-čo* *ø-pakt-aŋ* (1519)
1pS-eat-FN2 time-already 3sS-be-IA
'It is already time for dinner'.

The nominalizer -*(ŋ)o* has much in common with -*lam*. Both suffixes can indicate 'obligation' and 'possibility', are often used in combination whith the copula *(pa)k(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)o* can
(i) indicate a subject clause when the copula is the main verb and the subject of the copula is an impersonal third person singular:

(489) *palʲow* *ki-kot-o* *ø-kot-aŋ* (455)
good 1pS-be-FN2 3sS-be-IA
'We have to be good'.

(ii) Forms in -*(ŋ)o* can indicate a nominal predicate. In this sense there are two possibilities:
(a) The subject of the copula and that of the form in -*(ŋ)o* may refer to the same person:

(490) *mek hayu* *ki-kol-o* *ke-kt-aŋ* (1522)
all men 1pS-die-FN2 1pS-be-IA
'All men are mortal'.

(b) The subject of the copula and the object of the form in -*(ŋ)o* 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-tu-p* *ki-ŋole-ŋo* *ø-kot-aŋ* (1514)
God-AD-ABL 1pA-3sO.love-FN2 3sS-be-IA
'God is to be loved by us'.

(492) *kapi pey* *mi-ø-lʸatipeh-ha-ki,* *poho-pat* *kelʸ*
today clay 2A-3sO-prepare-PL-IMP morning-INS wall
ki-ø-lʸah-o *ø-kot-eč* (774)
1pA-3sO-loam-FN2 3sS-be-PURP
'Prepare the clay today, so that we shall be able to loam the wall tomorrow'. (lit. 'Prepare the clay today, so that the wall can be loamed by us tomorrow').

A form in *-(ŋ)o* can then also express 'dignified/worthy to be':

(493) *ki-m-tesah-o* *me-kt-aŋ* (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) *čaplʸoŋ* *i-l-o-ŋo* *tˢam-aŋ* (1609)
pan 3sA-3sO-do-FN2 3sS.know-IA
'He knows [how] to make pans'.

(iv) Forms in *-(ŋ)o* can be used as a main predicate (presumably by omission of the third person singular form *-kot-aŋ*, see also *-lam* section 7.4.6.3). Such forms occur as a main predicate in exclamations and rhetorical questions:

(495) *a* *Dios,* *into-nʸ-am* *a-m-pako-ŋo* *a-kot-o,*
INTJ God which-CMP-QM 1sA-2sO-know-FN2 1sS-be-FN2
a-m-yač-pakna *a-kot-o-tu-p* (1521)
1sA-2sO-see-NE.NOM 1sS-be-FN2-AD-ABL
'O God, how shall I be able to know you, for I can not see you!'

(496) *ŋita-wo-w-a,* *into-nʸ-am* *ki-l-o-ŋo* (389)
3sS.wild-VB-PST-TOP which-CMP-QM 1pA-3sO-do-FN2
'If he has fled, what do we have we to do with him?'

(497) *mi-yoyo-ha-k-pit,* *into-nʸ-am* *a-ki-ŋo* (2895)
2S-cry-PL-IMP-IND which-CMP-QM 1sA-do-FN2
'Cry (p), what does that matter to me?'

(498) *a-pa* *ŋol-iy* *ø-kot-aŋ-ko-man-ap-a,*
1sPOS-father 3sS.die-PST 3sS-be-IA-DEM-INES-ABL-TOP
ok-e *a-kl-iy* *a-kot-te-he* *a-men^{y}o-ŋo* (2784)
1s-ANT 1sS-die-PST 1sS-be-INF-BEN 1sA-3sO.want-FN2
'I would have preferred to have died myself than that my father had died'.

However, in the following example, the form in *-(ŋ)o* occurs in a clause which is apparently neither an exclamation nor a rhetorical question, although it may have to be interpreted as such:

(499) *a-m-a-ym-eh-o* *a-kot-o* (1520)
1sA-2sO-APL-know-CAU-FN2 1sS-be-FN2
'I shall be able to teach you'.

Like the nominalizer *-(k)te*, future nominalizer *-(ŋ)o* can be followed by *-(k)e* 'anteriority' (see section 7.4.3). The combination *-(ŋ)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 *-(ŋ)o-ke* can function
(a) as a main predicate:

(500) *inam pal^{y}ow* *mi-kot-o-ke* *atih* (354)
hopefully good 2sS-be-FN2-ANT INTJ
'Oh, I wished you were good!'

(b) as a subordinated predicate:

(501) *into* *mek* *m-a-e-ŋo-ke,* *pe* *mek* *a-m-e-kt-aŋ* (1367)
which all 2sA-1sO-give-FN2-ANT that all 1sA-2sO-give-F-IA
'Everything you would give me, I shall give you [in return]'.

(502) *nuh-maŋ* *yušam* *a-t^{s}ap-te-na* *ø-ki-ŋo-ke,*
hole-INES armadillo 1sA-3sO.catch-F-QUOT 3sS-say-FN2-ANT
owlam-tu-p *i-t^{s}ah-iy* (2389)
snake-AD-ABL 3sS-3sO.bite-PST
'Thinking that he caught an armadillo in his hole, a snake bit him'.

(503) *Juan* *pal^{y}ow* *ø-kot-o-ke-wa,* *mul-pit* *pal^{y}ow*
Juan good 3sS-be-FN2-ANT-TOP 3sPOS.son-COR good
ø-kot-te-ke (368)
3sS-be-INF-ANT
'If Juan were good, his son would also be good'.

However, in one instance a form in *-(ŋ)o-ke* seems to express a reality:

(504) *into mek očo Pasco ø-kot-o-ke, into-ŋko-pit misa*
which all big Easter 3sS-be-FN2-ANT which-DEM-IND Mass
i-sinah-pakna ø-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 *-(ŋ)o* can furthermore be followed by the following case markers and suffix combinations: *man-ap* '(rather) than', 'instead of'; *-pat-le* 'till'; *-te* '(at the time) when'; *-te-p* 'from (avoidance)' (cf. *-lam-te-p* 'from (avoidance)', section 7.4.6.3); *-tu-p* 'for', 'since'; *-tu-p(-ham)-pit* 'although':

(505) *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^{y}-aŋ (2783)
1sS-work-INF-BEN 1sA-3sO.want-IA
'I prefer to work rather than to be idle'.

(506) *mi-l^{y}a-ŋo-pat-le-l^{y}* (2251)
2sS-go-FN2-INS-TER-RST
'just till you go'

(507) *ø-l^{y}a-ŋo-te* (2238)
3sS-go-FN2-AD
'when he goes'

(508) *into mek ku-n-ut^{s}a ki-l-o-ŋo-te-p peh-ču*
which all 1pPOS-REL-sin 1pA-3sO-do-FN2-AD-ABL flight-DIM
ki-o-no-ŋo ø-kot-aŋ (2851)
1pS-do-RFL-FN2 3sS-be-IA
'How can we escape from [our] sins?'

(509) *into-n^{y}-a a-m-pako-kt-aŋ, a-m-yač-pakna*
which-CMP-QM 1sA-2sO-know-F-IA 1sA-2sO-see-NE.NOM
ø-kot-o-tu-p (1308)
3sS-be-FN2-AD-ABL
'How shall I know you, for I can not see you'.

(510) *kečwak ki-kot-o-tu-p-pit mu-mpuš siw me-kt-aŋ* (457)
poor 1pS-be-FN2-AD-ABL-COR 2sPOS-riches lack 2sS-be-IA
'Although we are poor, you are not rich [either]'.

(511) *santo* *či-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/
santo *či-kot-o-tu-p-ham-pit* *Dios-tu-p* *i-čikn-aŋ*
saint 3pS-be-FN2-AD-ABL-CE-COR God-AD-ABL 3pS-fear-RFL-IA
'Even the saints fear God'!
(lit. 'Even though they are saints, they fear God').

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) *ŋole-uč* (974) 'the one who loves him/her/it'
(514) *pen^{y}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^{s}in* *ki-o-uč* *mate-kt-aŋ*
2s-INES-ABL-EMP order 1pO-do-AG 3sS.come.out-F-IA
a-putam *Israel* *i-ŋal^{y}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) *ŋel-čeh-uč* *u-n-ut^{s}a-weh-uč-pit* *ø-kot-aŋ* (1469)
3sO.search[29]-wander-AG 3sS-REL-sin-VB-AG-COR 3sS-be-IA
'There is the one who searches and the one who judges'.

(517) *kečwak* *ŋole-wuč* (1147)
poor 3sO.love-AG
'a charitable person'

7.4.6.6. Deictics *ko* and *iŋko*
The demonstratives *ko* 'this one' and *iŋko* 'that one' can be attached to a finite verb form and function as a nominalizer. The difference in use of *-ko* and *-iŋko* 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 *ŋel* '(to) look for' have been found.

7.4.6.6.1. Nominalizer *-ko*

Nominalizer *-ko* 'this one' is attached to a present tense form in *-(a)ŋ* 'imperfective aspect'. Forms in *-(a)ŋ-ko* are analyzed as present participle forms in the *ALC*, and function as headless relative clauses 'the one who ...':

(518) *a-kt-aŋ-ko* (436)
1sS-be-IA-DEM
'I who am'

(519) *i-ŋolʸ-aŋ-ko* (794)
3sA-3sO.love-IA-DEM
'he who loves him/her/it'

(520) *a-menʸ-aŋ-ko* (861)
1sA-3sO.want-IA-DEM
'I who want him/her/it'

(521) *nonas-na* *ø-ki-aŋ-ko* *hakol* *l-o-itˢ-t-aŋ*
grandeur-QUOT 3sS-say-IA-DEM humbleness 3sS-do-PAS-F-IA
hakol *ø-ki-aŋ-ko* *očo* *ø-ki-kt-aŋ* (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 *-(lʸak-)pat*:

(522) *pana* *išiwah* *ø-pakt-aŋ-ko-pat* *ma* *nʸansik-pat*
road bad 3sS-be-IA-DEM-INS INT difficulty-INS
mi-pahat-iy-ha *me-kt-iy-ha-ŋ* (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-hanʸ-aŋ-ko-lʸak-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':

(524) *a-pa* *ŋolʸ-iy* *ø-kot-aŋ-ko-man-ap-a,*
1sPOS-father 3sS.die-PST 3sS-be-IA-DEM-INES-ABL-TOP
ok-e *a-kl-iy* *a-kot-te-he* *a-menʸo-ŋo*
1s-ANT 1sS-die-PST 1sS-be-INF-BEN 1sA-3sO.want-FN2 (2784)
'I would have preferred to have died myself, rather than that my father had died'.

(iii) the comparative case marker *-(mi)nʸ*. After the nominalizer *-ko*, the short form *-nʸ* is used:

(525) *Dios* *ŋ-a-kal^{y}-aŋ-ko-n^{y},* *a-pa* *yupey*
God 3sA-1sO-order-IA-DEM-CMP 1sPOS-father honour
a-l-o-kt-aŋ (2852)
1sA-3sO-do-F-IA
'I shall obey my father, as God ordered me'.

(526) *ki-m-ø-aŋ-ko-n^{y}* *ki-l-o-kt-aŋ* (2321)
1pO-2sA-say-IA-DEM-CMP 1pA-3sO-do-F-IA
'We shall do it as you order us'.

7.4.6.6.2. Nominalizer *-iŋko*

The nominalizing deictic *-iŋko* 'that one' is attached to a preterite form in *-(i)y/-w*, a 'pluperfect' in *-(k)e* and a future form in *-(k)t-aŋ*. The forms in *-(i)y-iŋko/-w-iŋko, -(k)e-iŋko* and *-(k)t-aŋ-iŋko* 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 *-iŋko* have an alternative form without this deictic. These alternative forms are apparently nominalized by means of a zero-marker:

(527) *a-men^{y}o-w-iŋko* (861) cf. *a-men^{y}o-w-ø* (861)
1sA-3sO.want-PST-DEM 1sA-3sO.want-PST-NOM
'I who wanted him/her/it' 'I who wanted him/her/it'

(528) *ø-kot-iy-e-iŋko* (434) cf. *ø-kot-iy-e-ø* (434)
3sS-be-PST-ANT-DEM 3sS-be-PST-ANT-NOM
'he who had been' 'he who had been'

(529) *i-ŋole-kt-aŋ-iŋko* (800) cf. *i-ŋole-kt-aŋ-ø* (800)
3sA-3sO.love-F-IA-DEM 3sA-3sO.love-F-IA-NOM
'he who will love him/her/it' 'he who will love him/her/it'

A future 'participle' or agentive can also be formed by means of a nominalized form in *-lam*, whether or not followed by the demonstrative *-iŋko*:

(530) *a-ŋole-lam-iŋko* (802) cf. *a-ŋole-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*, *-iŋko* 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-iŋko* *i-čikn-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-ø-ših-lam-iŋko* *mi-ø-ših-ha-ŋo-le*
chalice 1sA-3sO-drink-FN1-DEM 2A-3sO-drink-PL-FN2-QM
me-kt-iy-ha-ŋ (1490)
2S-be-SE-PL-IA
'Can you (p) drink the chalice which I have to drink?'

Forms without *-iŋko*, viz. forms which are nominalized by means of a zero-marker or the suffix *-lam* (see section 7.4.6.3) can also indicate a relative clause. In the former case, the antecedent of the clause can then also be either the subject or the object; in the latter case, the antecedent is the object:

(533) *i-m-sah-iy-ø* *čup-a* *nʸo* *mi-po-šk-ey-pit*
3sA-2sO-carry-PST-NOM womb-TOP breast 2sA-3pO-suck-PST-COR
pe *mek* *makhay* *če-kt-aŋ* (1472)
that all happiness 3pS-be-IA
'The womb that carried you and the breast which you sucked, they are happy'.

(534) *ko* *hil* *l-o-itˢ-iy-ø* *ki-tˢaš-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(-iŋko),* *ojom-alʸ* *l-o-k* (1489)
2sA-3sO-do-FN1(-DEM) idle-RST 3sO-do-IMP
'Do quickly what you have to do'.

Forms in *-iŋko* followed by a case marker or case marker combination have not been found.

7.4.6.7. Overview

Table 7.7. presents a survey of the different phrase types formed by means of the stem nominalizers *-(e)č, -(k)te, -lam -(ŋ)o,* and the finite form nominalizers *-ko* and *-iŋko*. In this table the following abbreviation is used: attr. ext. dir. obj. 'attributive extension of the direct object'. Table 7.8. presents a survey of the different types of clauses formed by means of *-(e)č, -(k)te, -lam, -(ŋ)o, -ko* when followed by the suffixes *-he, -(k)e, -(lʸak-)pat, -man-ap, -(mi)nʸ, -(n)ap, -pat-le, -te, -te-p*, *-tu-p* and

-tu-p(-ham)-pit. Note, however, that the nominalizer *-(e)č* can only be followed by the case marker *-(a)p/-nap*, if preceded by the negator *-p(e)*.

Table 7.7. Phrase types formed by means of *-(e)č, -(k)te, -lam, -(ŋ)o, -(iŋ)ko*

	-(e)č	*-(k)te*	*-lam*	*-(ŋ)o*	*-(iŋ)ko*
subject clause	+	-	+	+	-
direct object clause	+	+	+	+	-
attr. ext. dir. obj.	+	-	-	-	-
main predicate	-	-	+	+	-
nominal predicate	-	-	+	+	-
causal clause	+	-	-	-	-
relative clause	-	-	+	+	+

Table 7.8. Nominalizers *-(e)č, -(k)te, -lam, -(ŋ)o, -ko* + the suffixes *-he, -(k)e, -(lʸak-)pat, -man-ap, -(mi)nʸ, -(a)/-nap, -pat-le, -te, -te-p, -tu-p, -tu-p(-ham)-pit* and the different clause types formed

suffix	*-(e)č*	*-(k)te*	*-lam*	*-(ŋ)o*	*-ko*	clause
-he }	-	+	+	-	-	purposive
	-	+	-	-	-	indirect complement
-(k)e	-	+	-	+	-	irrealis
	-	+	-	+	-	main predicate
-(lʸak-)pat	-	-	-	-	+	causal
-man-ap }	-	+	-	+	+	comparative
	-	-	+	-	-	avoidance
-(mi)nʸ	-	-	-	-	+	comparative
-(a)p/-nap	+	-	-	-	-	temporal
-pat-le	-	-	-	+	-	temporal
-te	-	-	-	+	-	temporal
-te-p	-	-	+	+	-	avoidance
-tu-p	-	-	-	+	-	causal
-tu-p(-ham)-pit	-	-	-	+	-	concessive

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 *-(ŋ)o*, whether or not followed by suffixes; that seven can be formed by means of a nominalization in *-lam* (+ suffixes); five by means of the nominalizer *-(e)č* (+ *-(n)ap*); four by means of *-(k)te* (+ suffixes); four by means of *-ko* (+ suffixes); and only one, a relative clause, by means of *-ko* and *-iŋko*.

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 *-e(y)* (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 explicitely 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) *tˢi mahat-te ø-pokot-hu, učuah ø-pakt-aŋ* (416)
rain 3sS.fall-F 3sS-be-SR warmth 3sS-be-IA
'It is warm, because it will rain'.

In the following sentences *-hu* functions as a temporal subordinator 'when':

(537) *p-a-ym-eh-uč mi-kot-hu, mi-nlʸo a-kt-iy* (421)
3pO-APL-know-CAU-AG 2sS-be-SR 2sPOS-disciple 1sS-be-PST
'When you were a teacher, I was your disciple'.

(538) *resaŋ či-ki-y-čo ø-kot-hu, iglesia-te mi-n-iy-ha-ŋ* (422)
prayer 3pS-say-PST-already 3sS-be-SR church-AD 2S-go-SE-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 suppleted 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)	*a-kot-hu* (392)		'as I am'
(540)	*mi-kot-hu* (393)		'as you are'
(541)	*mi-kot-ha-č* (396)	(**mi-kot-ha-hu*)	'as you (p) are'
(542)	*i-ø-ših-iah-hu* (960)		'as he drinks it again'
(543)	*ki-ø-ših-iah-hu* (960)		'as we drink it again'
(544)	*ø-ših-iah-la-č* (960)	(**ø-ših-iah-la-hu*)	'as they drink it again'

(A form, such as *me-kt-iy-ha-č*, with a reduced class 1 verb stem + stem extension, followed by the plural marker *-ha* and the ending *-č*, has been attested. However, in those cases the reduced stem + stem extender + *-ha-č* indicate 'purpose' or 'result' (see section 7.4.7.4).

Like the nominalized forms in *-(e)č*, forms in *-hu*
(i) can be followed by the verbs *mas(o)* '(to) take all night' and *patˢ(a)* '(to) take all day':

(545) *a-tˢip-te* *a-toŋ-hu* *ø-patˢ-iy* (2094)
1sPOS-house-AD 1sS-be-SR 3sS-take.all.day-PST
'All day long I was at home'. (lit. 'The day went by while I was at home').

(546) *ki-ye-pakna* *ki-toŋ-hu* *ø-mas-aŋ* (2099)
1pS-sleep-NE.NOM 1pS-be-SR 3sS-take.all.night-IA
'All night long we did not sleep'.

(547) *m-a-yač-hu* *ø-patˢa-kia-ŋ* (2102)
2sA-1sO-see-SR 3sS-take.all.day-RE-IA
'You see me constantly'.

(ii) have been encountered in the function of an attributive extension of the object with the verb *y(a)č/y(a)š* '(to) see':

(548) *hul* *e-k,* *ŋol-hu* *mi-taš-te* (1603)
pine.cone give-IMP 3sS.die-SR 2sA-3sO.see-F
'Give [him] pine cones, [and] you will see him die'.

7.4.7.2. Subordinator -*(k)he* 'simultaneity'
The subordinator -*(k)he* indicates that the event expressed by the verb takes place simultaneously with the event expressed by the main verb. The semantic relation between both verbs can be
(i) causal:

(549) *palʸow kot-he, tˢamo-č a-kot-t-aŋ* (405)
good be-SIM know-FAC 1sS-be-F-IA
'Because I am good, I shall be learned'.

(ii) temporal:

(550) *an-tˢel Phariseo Jesus mučaŋ i-l-o-w,*
one-CL:truncal Pharisee Jesus prayer 3sA-3sO-do-PST
a-nek mi-amo-ki-na ki-khe (776)
1sPOS-company 2sS-eat-IMP-QUOT say-SIM
'A Pharisee prayed 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) *palʸow me-kt-eč, i-m-pas-aŋ-sim, mu-lu-poh-he-pitˢ-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-tˢel mi-tˢel-nik ip-tip mi-neŋ-nik*
two-CL:truncal 2sPOS-foot-COM two-CL:pieces 2sPOS-hand-COM
mi-kot-hu tepat et-maŋ mi-čem-itˢ-iy-ø-man-ap,
2sS-be-SR eternally fire-INES 2sS-throw-PAS-PST-NOM-INES-ABL
me-lʸt-iy, mi-laš-iy te putam makhay kulʸha-maŋ
2sS-weaken-PST 2sS-lame-PST high village joy life-INES
mi-esteh-he ašmaŋ palʸow ø-kot-aŋ (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* *ayča* *ø-lʸup-he i-toŋ* (1315)
two-CL:firm/stony-AL meat 3sO-eat-SIM 3pS-be.INCOM
'Both are eating meat'.

Subordinator *-(k)he* can be followed by the following case markers:
(i) ablative *-(a)/ -nap* 'after':

(554) *mi-ye-y* *ki-khe-nap,* *nem ø-poho-w* (1625)
2sS-sleep-PST do-SIM-ABL day 3sS-dawn-PST
'After you got up, the day dawned'.

(ii) perlative *-nake* 'instead of' (contrastive), 'while':

(555) *an-tˢel* *a-tˢap-te-na* *sepeh-he,* *an-tˢel*
one-CL:truncal 1sA-3sO.catch-F-QUOT claim-SIM-PER one-CL:truncal
i-tˢp-aŋ (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* *ø-maso-kiah-he-pat* *ki-Dios-a*
baptism-AD man 3sS-be.born-RE-SIM-INS 1pPOS-God-TOP
mul-iy-pitˢ-o, *ni-ču-nik-sim* *ku-n-utˢa*
3sS.be.satisfied-PST-NE-FN2 bit-DIM-COM-EMP 1pPOS-REL-sin
l-o-khe *ma* *atˢiw* *kama* *ki-ki-ŋo* *ke-kt-iy*
3sO-do-SIM INT often illness 1pS-become-FN2 1pS-be-PST
ø-kot-nap, *tˢač-he,* [...] *kamatˢin* *ø-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 elswhere: e.g.:

(557) *toŋ-čeh-ap* (669)
be-wander-SEQ
'(after) having wandered'

(558) *ko a-l-o-kte-he m-a-lʸemtˢap-ap, mi-lʸa-kt-aŋ* (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 ø-ki-aŋ-pit, sukusilʸ či-an-nap neŋ-te*
tree 3sS-become-IA-COR bird 3pS-come-SEQ branche-AD
i-toŋle-kt-eč (780)
3pS-sit.down-F-PURP
'A tree is made, so that the birds come to sit down on the branches'.

(560) *elefante-wa a-tˢel meč nʸan-te pilmoh-no-nap*
elephant-TOP one-CL:truncal tree face-AD lean.on-RFL-SEQ
ø-nʸ-aŋ (80)
3sS-sleep-IA
'The elephant sleeps leant against a tree'.

(561) *hayu ŋol-nap-a, mu-mpuš-tu-p inča-te-m*
man 3sS.die-SEQ-TOP 2sPOS-riches-AD-ABL thing-AD-QM
i-malʸow-eh-t-aŋ (2903)
3sA-3sO.benefit-VB-F-IA
'How can your riches be profitable, when a man dies'.

(562) *uč/awka ŋita-wo-nap-alʸ, soldado-tu-p putam tˢap-ey-la* (2862)
enemy 3sS.wild-VB-SEQ-RST soldier-AD-ABL city 3sO.take-PST-3pA
'Just after the enemy has fled, the soldiers took the city'.

In two examples *-nap* is suffixed to a stem in *h*:

(563) *menʸo-kiah-nap* (903)
3sO.want-RE-SEQ
'(after) having wanted again'

(564) *katˢok a-tˢm-eh-koloh-nap-alʸ, ø-nʸanmito*
box 1sA-3sO.know-CAU-finish-SEQ-RST 3sPOS-owner
i-ø-lʸah-iy (2883)
3sA-3sO-take.away-PST
'Just after I had finished making the box, the owner took it away'.

The form is furthermore encountered after a non-reduced stem followed by the stem extension marker *-e(y)* (see section 7.4.2.2). We have not found a difference in meaning between *-nap* and *-e-nap*:

(565) *a-mpuš-nik* *kot-e-nap,* *yupey-nik* *a-kot-t-aŋ* (404)
1sPOS-riches-COM be-SE-SEQ esteem-COM 1sS-be-F-IA
'Being rich, I shall be esteemed'.

(566) *liw* *tˢač-e-nap,* *a-kulʸe-kt-aŋ* (2823)
writing 3sO.see-SE-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 *ø-kot-nap* has been lexicalized with the meaning 'because':

(567) *domingo-te misa* *a-sinah-lam* *ø-pakt-iy ø-kot-nap,*
sunday-AD Mass 1sA-3sO.hear-FN1 3sS-be-PST 3sS-be-SEQ
ma atem-e-lʸ *a-lʸa-pitˢ-iy-pitˢ-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) *tˢi-tu-p* *ŋ-a-lo-y* *ø-kot-nap,* *kama* *a-ki-aŋ* (967)
rain-AD-ABL 3sA-1sO-wet-PST 3sS-be-SEQ illness 1sS-be-IA
'I am ill, because the rain wet me'.

(569) *hayu-lol* *u-n-utˢa* *pe mek* *če-kt-iy* *ø-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-aŋ* (2381)
ribbon 1sA-3sO.buy-IA
'I falsely asked permission to buy iron tools, [but] I buy ribbons [instead]'.

7.4.7.4. Subordinator *-eč/-(k)t-eč* 'purpose'

The suffix *-eč/-(k)t-eč* is used to form a resultative or a purposive clause. When this suffix is used, the subject of the main verb and the subordinated verb are not co-referential. The form *-eč* is found after reduced verb stems of class 1; *-(k)t-eč* (which contains the future marker *-(k)t(e)*) is encountered after non-reduced verb stems of class 2, 3 and 5 (see Table 7.6). (The ending *-(k)t-eč* is not found with a class 4 verb stem. This may be attributed to a lack of data). The *-eč* forms occurring with class 1 verbs can refer both to a purpose and to a result:

(571) *pal^{y}ow me-kt-eč, i-m-pas-aŋ-sim, mu-lu-poh-he-pit^{s}-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'.

(572) *oyna-čo a-kt-eč, ŋ-a-t^{s}ukiow-o-w* (424)
health-already 1sS-be-PURP 3sA-1sO-medicine-do-PST
'He cured me, so that I am already healed'.

The *-(k)t-eč* forms have only been found referring to a purpose:

(573) *kal^{y}sok-he mi-l-o-ki, mi-tesah-la-kt-eč* (853)
benevolence-BEN 2sA-3sO-do-IMP 2sO-thank-3pA-F-PURP
'Do it with benevolence, so that they thank you'.

(574) *i-m-kal^{y}-aŋ-ko-n^{y} mi-l-o-ki, Dios-tu-p*
3sA-2sO-order-IA-DEM-CMP 2sA-3sO-do-IMP God-AD-ABL
i-m-kole-kt-eč (764)
3sA-2sO-love-F-PURP
'Do as God orders you, so that he loves you'.

(575) *a-m-pen^{y}o-kt-eč* (2909)
1sA-2sO-want-F-PURP
'so that I want you'

7.4.7.5. Overview

Table 7.9 below presents a survey of the subordinators treated above + the different types of clauses indicated by them. In this table the following abbreviations occur: 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

	AEO	CAC	CCO	COC	INS	PURP	RES	SUB	T
-hu	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	x
-(k)he	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	x	x
-(k)he-nake	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-
-(k)he-nap	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x
-(k)he-pat	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-
-(n)ap	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	x
-(n)ap-nake	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-
-eč/	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	-	-
-(k)t-eč	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-

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 *iŋko* '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

-(lʸak-)pat 'with', 'because of', 'by';
-(lʸak-)te-p 'by', 'through';
-man-ap 'after', 'from';
-(mi)nʸ 'as', 'like';
-te 'at', 'in'.

In one special case, *-(mi)nʸ* 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 *-lʸak-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)nʸ, -pat, -te-p*, *-lʸak-te-p, -te*

	nominal interpretation			verbal interpretation			
	CMP	INS	SPA	CAU	CMP	SPA	T
-man-ap	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
-(mi)nʸ	+	-	-	-	+	-	+
-pat	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
-te-p	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
-lʸak-tep	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
-te	-	-	+	-	-	+	+

7.4.8.1. Case marker *(-lʸak)-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 *-lʸak-,* and that *-lʸak-pat* has a causal meaning. When instrumental *-pat* occurs after nominalized finite verb forms, it also has a causal meaning:

(576) *šalam me-kt-aŋ-ø-pat a-m-lu-po-ŋ* (190)
weak 2sS-be-IA-NOM-INS 1sA-2sO-interior-burn-IA
'I abhor you, because you are weak'.

(577) *hayu-lol u-n-utˢa pe mek če-kt-iy-ø-(lʸak-)pat,*
man-PL 3pPOS-REL-sin that all 3pS-be-PST-NOM-(NF-)INS
Dios-tu-p yam mo-o-w (777)
God-AD-ABL punishment 3sA.3pO-do-PST
'Because the sins of men where that many, God punished them'.

The suffix sequence *-lʸak-pat*, when occurring after nominalized finite verb forms, is synonymous with *ø-kot-nap* (see also section 7.4.6.3):

(578) *mita-y-la-ø-lʸak-pat či-po-šayč-aŋ* (2374)
3sO.miss-PST-3pA-NOM-NF-INS 3pA-3pO-whip-IA
'They whip them, because they missed it'.

(579) *mita-y-la ø-kot-nap* (2374)
3sO.miss-PST-3pA 3sS-be-SEQ
'because they missed it'

7.4.8.2. Case marker *(-lʸak)-te-p* ‘after’; ‘as’, ‘like’; ‘because’
The suffix sequence *-te-p*, a combination of the non-personal adessive case marker *-te* and the ablative case marker *-(a)p*, can have a temporal meaning when it is suffixed to a zero-nominalized finite verb form:

(580) *hayu a-kt-iy-ø-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) *kamatˢiŋ mi-ki-y-ø-te-p ki-l-ø-aŋ* (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 *-lʸak*, see section 6.4.2.9, 6.4.3.3, and section 7.4.8.1 above). The sequence *(-lʸak)-te-p* can also occur after a nominalized form in *-ko*. In its causal reading *(-lʸak)-te-p* is synonymous with *(-lʸak)-pat* and *ø-kot-nap*:

(582) *kečwak a-kt-aŋ-ko(-lʸak)-pat, a-hlʸem mi-kot-p-aŋ* (411)
poor 1sS-be-IA-DEM(-NF-)INS 1sPOS-friend 2sS-be-NE-IA
‘Because I am poor you are not my friend’.

kečwak a-kt-aŋ-ko(-lʸak)-te-p a-hlʸem mi-kot-p-aŋ (411)
poor 1sS-be-IA-DEM(-NF)-AD-ABL 1sPOS-friend 2sS-be-NE-IA
‘Because I am poor, you are not my friend’.

(583) *kečwak 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-kolʸ-aŋ-ko ø-kot-nap* (1763)
1sA-2sO-love-IA-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 *-(a)p*, see section 6.4.2.1) can have a temporal meaning, indicating that the event takes place before another event (cf. *-(k)e* ‘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*:

(585) *mi-pot-iy-ø-man-ap,* *ol-pit* *ø-moh-p-aŋ* (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-tˢah-iy-ø-man-ap* *i-mo-ŋ* (1637)
snake Martin 3sA-3sO.bite-PST-NOM-INES-ABL 3sA-3sO.burn-IA
'The snake, besides having bitten Martin, is [also] giving him a fever'.

In section 7.4.6.2 and 7.4.6.4, respectively, we have seen that a comparative clause is formed when *-man-ap* is suffixed to a nominalized verb form in *-(k)te* and *-(ŋ)o*; 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)ŋ* of the imperfective aspect or *-(i)y/-w* 'past tense':

(587) *Dios-tu-p* *hayu* *castigaŋ* *mo-o-w-ø-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) *tˢoyo-kt-aŋ-ø-man-ap* *ašmaŋ* *ø-maksa-kt-aŋ* (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)nʸ* 'as', 'like'; 'on the verge of'
As stated, the comparative case marker *-(mi)nʸ* can also be suffixed to a nominalized finite verb form, retaining its comparative meaning. With these verb forms, the long form *-minʸ* is always found:

(589) *kamatˢiŋ* *mi-ki-y-ø-minʸ* (2320)
order 2sS-do-PST-NOM-CMP
'as you ordered'

However, when the nominalized finite verb form + *-minʸ* is followed by the suffix *-čo* 'already', and the form in *-minʸ-čo* is used in combination with the verb forms *kot-he* and *ø-kot-hu*, the suffix sequence *-minʸ-čo* can have a temporal connotation and be translated as 'on the verge of':

(590) *i-ø-č-aŋ-ø-min^{y}-čo* *ø-kot-hu* *kuči-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) *ŋol-ø-min^{y}-čo* *kot-he,* *i-ø-č-ey* (1559)
3sS.die-NOM-CMP-already be-SIM 3sA-3sO-pig-PST
'Being on the verge of dying, she gave birth'.

7.4.8.5. Case marker -*te* 'when', 'where'
When the impersonal adessive case marker -*te* is suffixed to a nominalized finite form, it can have temporal meaning: '(at the time) when', alongside its spatial meaning: 'in/at (the place where)':

(592) *ki-y-iy-ø-te* (180)
1pS-sleep-PST-NOM-AD
'where we slept'

(593) *ki-l^{y}a-pit^{s}-iy-ø-te* (182)
1pS-go-do.incidentally-PST-NOM-AD
'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* *ø-pakt-aŋ* (2196)
cold 3sS-be-IA
'It is cold'.

The 'irrealis' forms in -*(k)te-ke* and -*(ŋ)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* *ø-kot-te-ke/* *ø-pokot-te-ke* (377)
1sS-be-PST 3sO-be-INF-ANT/ 3sO-be-INF-ANT
'that I had to be'

(596) *a-kt-iy* *ø-kot-o-ke/* *ø-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) *ø-m-a-lʲaw-aŋ* (1816)
3sS-2sO-APL-go-IA
‘it goes away on behalf of/from you’

(598) *ø-ha-tiki-aŋ* (1843)
3sS-3sO.APL-become/concern-IA
‘it concerns him’

(599) *kač ø-m-a-pakt-aŋ-le* (276)
maize 3sS-2sO-APL-be.there-IA-QM
‘Do you by any chance have maize?’

(600) *ø-k-a-toŋ* (285)
3sS-1pO-APL-be.there
‘it is there for us’/’we have’

7.7. Verbs derived from nouns

Verbs can be derived from nouns by means of the suffix *-(w)o/ -(w)e(h)*, meaning ‘(to) do’, ‘(to) make’. They then behave like verbs of class 5 (*-o > -ø/_ -aŋ*) and class 2 (*-eh > -e / _ -(a)ŋ, -y*), respectively (see section 7.3.1). The forms *-w(o)* and *-we(h)*, normally found after a vowel, can also occur after a consonant. (The form *-we(h)* may be an amalgamation of the verbalizer *-(w)o* + causativizer *-(k)e(h)*, which can also be used as a verbalizer, see below). The forms *-o* and *-e(h)*, are only found after a consonant:

(601) *a-čečo-w-aŋ* (2035)
1sS-silver-VB-IA
‘I make silver’

(602) *a-čečo-we-ŋ* (1900)
1sS-silver-VB-IA
‘I make silver’

(603) *a-pyup-ø-aŋ* (1875)
1sS-bridge-VB-IA
‘I make a bridge’

(604) *a-yp-o-w* (1887)
1sS-house-VB-PST
‘I made a house’

(605) *a-n-eštek-w-aŋ* (2015)
1sS-REL-cloth-VB-IA
‘I make my cloth(es)’

(606) *a-puilʲkitˢ-w-aŋ* (2055)
1sS-gold-VB-IA
‘I make gold’

(607) *a-ŋol-w-aŋ* (2056)
1sA-3sO.death-VB-IA
'I kill' (lit.: 'I make a death')

(608) *a-ŋol-we-y* (2056)
1sA-3sO.death-VB-PST
'I killed'

In one example verbalizer *-(w)o* is used as a verb meaning '(to) do'and translated as '(to) count':

(609) *pe mek če-kt-iy ø-kot-nap, into-nʸ ki-po-wo-pakna*
that all 3pS-be-PST 3sS-be-SEQ which-CMP 1pA-3pO-do-NE.NOM
če-kt-aŋ (60)
3pS-be-IA
'Since they were that many, they could not be counted [by us]'.

Causativizer *-(k)e(h)* can also function as a verbalizer. It forms a transitive verb, and it can function as an alternative for *(o)* '(to) do'. In the paradigm of the derived verb *n-eštek-(o)/ n-eštek-eh* '(to) clothe someone', for instance, both *(o)* and *-(k)e(h)* are encountered:

(610) *a-ø-n-eštek-ø-aŋ* (2064)
1sA-3sO-REL-cloth-do-IA
'I clothe him/her/it'

(611) *a-ø-n-eštek-eh-t-aŋ* (2064)
1sA-3sO-REL-cloth-VB-F-IA
'I shall clothe him/her/it'

A reflexive verb '(to) clothe oneself' is then regularly formed by means of the derivational suffix *-n(o)* 'reflexive':

(612) *a-n-eštek-o-n-aŋ* (2063)
1sS-REL-cloth-do-RFL-IA
'I clothe myself'.

7.8. Fixed expressions

In the *ALC*, much attention is payed 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)t* '(to) be', *lʸ(a)w* '(to) become', '(to) turn into', *t(a)/to* '(to) do', '(to) make' and *tiki* '(to) become'. The verbs *ki* and *k(o)t* are copula; the verb *lʸ(a)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)t* and *t(a)/ to* may be accompanied with a possessive

marker. When fixed expressions are formed by means of the verbs *ki*, *lʸ(a)w* and *tiki* the preceding noun or subject complement is never accompanied by a possessive marker:

(613) *hulum* *a-ki-aŋ* (1862)
fat(ness) 1sS-become-IA
'I become fat'.

(614) *kama* *a-ki-aŋ* (1854)
ill(ness) 1sS-be-IA
'I am ill'.

(615) *kes* *a-ki-aŋ* (1860)
age 1sS-become-IA
'I grow'.

(616) *lʸok* *a-ki-aŋ* (1859)
nudity 1sS-be-IA
'I am naked'.

(617) *mise* *a-ki-aŋ* (1855)
cold 1sS-be-IA
'I am cold'.

(618) *oyna* *a-ki-aŋ* (1858)
health 1sS-be-IA
'I am healthy'.

(619) *siw* *a-ki-aŋ* (1856)
need 1sS-become-IA
'I am needy'.

(620) *učuah* *a-ki-aŋ* (1857)
warmth 1sS-be-IA
'I am warm'.

(621) *yosilʸ* *a-ki-aŋ* (1861)
humble(ness) 1sS-be-IA
'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) *a-kulʸha* *a-kt-aŋ* (1851)
1sPOS-life 1sS-be-IA
'I live'.

(624) *ŋulʸha* *ø-kot-aŋ* (1852)
3sPOS.lif 3sS-be-IA
'He lives'.

(625) *kapak* *a-kulʸha* *a-kt-aŋ* (1852)
ruler 1sPOS-life 1sS-be-IA
'I reign'.

In expressions with *lʸ(a)w*, like in those with *ki*, the copula complement is not marked for person:

(626) *pey* *a-lʸw-aŋ* (1905)
earth 1sS-become-IA
'I become earth'.

(627) *ta* *mi-lʸw-aŋ* (1906)
stone 2sS-become-IA
'You become stone'.

(628) *pa-lew* *ušuš* *i-lʸaw-aŋ* (1979)
COL-caterpillar butterfly 3pS-become-IA
'Caterpillars become butterflies'.

(629) *utˢa-uč* *ke-kt-iy-e,* *santo* *ki-lʸw-aŋ* (1908)
sin-AG 1pS-be-PST-ANT saint 1pS-become-IA
'We have been sinners, [but] we become saints'.

(630) *hawey* *mi-lʸw-iy-ha-ŋ* (1909)
incorruptible.man 2S-become-SE-PL-IA
'You (p) become incorruptible men'.

(631) *yel* *kot* *ø-lʸaw-aŋ* (1913)
salt water 3sS-become-IA
'The salt becomes water'/ 'The salt dissolves'.

(632) *unʸep* *kot* *ø-lʸaw-iy* (1981)
wax water 3sS-become-PST
'The wax melted'.

(633) *hostia* *tanta* *ø-kot-iy-e,* *konsegrasion* *hil-pat*
host bread 3sS-be-PST-ANT consecretion word-INS
ki-pa *Jesu* *Christo* *ø-mata* *ø-ki-y* (1968)
1pPOS-father Jesus Christ 3sPOS-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:

(634) *kes* *a-ta-ŋ* (2117)
age 1sA-make-IA
'I breed/ bring up/ raise'.

(635) *kot* *a-ta-ŋ* (2116)
water 1sA-do-IA
'I fetch water'.

(636) *mesa* *a-ta-ŋ* (2115)
table 1sA-do-IA
'I lay the table'.

(637) *Dios* *mučaŋ* *a-t-ta-ŋ* (2120)
God prayer 1sA-3sB-do-IA
'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:

(638) *mučaŋ* *ki-m-a-to-ha-kt-aŋ* (2132)
prayer 1pA-2O-APL-do-PL-F-IA
'We shall pray for you (p)'.

(639) *Dios* *mučaŋ* *a-m-a-ta-ŋ* (2121)
God prayer 1sA-2sO-APL-do-IA
'I recommend you to God'.

(640) *Dios* *mučaŋ* *ŋ-a-ta-ŋ* (2125)
God prayer 3sA-1sO.APL-do-IA
'He prays for me'.

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-ø-ta-ŋ* (2118)
1sPOS-REL-cloth 1sA-3sO-do-IA
'I make my clothes'.

(642) *a-yelam* *a-ø-ta-ŋ* (2114)
1sPOS-bed 1sA-3sO-do-IA
'I make my bed'.

In expressions formed with the verb *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 *tiki* indicate an indirect or applicative object: the person affected by the event. Examples:

(643) *a-tˢla* *kama* *ø-a-tiki-aŋ* (1841)
1sPOS-wife ill(ness) 3sS-1sO.APL-become-IA
'My wife falls ill'.

(644) *a-tˢel* *mise* *ø-ha-tiki-aŋ* (1843)
1sPOS-foot cold 3sS-3sO.APL-become-IA
'My foot becomes cold'.

(645) *lˀaka* *ø-k-a-tiki-aŋ* (1844)
red/colour 3sS-1pO-APL-become-IA
'We colour'.

(646) *tˢitˢal* *ø-m-a-tiki-y-ha-ŋ* (1845)
black 3sS-2O-APL-become-SE-PL-IA
'You (p) turn black'.

(647) *kisna* *ø-p-a-ha-tiki-aŋ* (1846)
blue 3sS-3pO-APL-PL-become-IA
'They turn blue'.

(648) *pulʸalʸ* *ø-a-tiki-aŋ* (1847)
yellow 3sS-1sO.APL-become-IA
'I turn yellow'.

The noun *mučaŋ* '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) *mučaŋ* *a-t-tiki-aŋ* (2134)
prayer 1sA-3sB-do-IA
'I pray/ intercede for someone'.

(650) *Dios* *mučaŋ* *a-m-a-tiki-y-ha-ŋ* (2122)
God prayer 1sA-2O-APL-do-SE-PL-IA
'I recommend you (p) to God'.

(651) *Dios* *mučaŋ* *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-rived by means of the restrictive case marker *-(a)lʸ* 'only', 'nothing else but' (see section 6.4.5.1). Adverbs occur before the verb phrase or clause-initially.

8.1. Underived adverbs

The underived adverbs found in de la Mata's data are the following:

1: *ampek, empek* 'good', 'allright':

(1) *domingo-lol-te fiesta-lol-te-pit ki-piyip-pakna ke-kt-aŋ,*
sunday-PL-AD feast-PL-AD-COR 1pS-work-NE.NOM 1pS-be-IA
alum nem-te-a ampek ki-piyip-o ke-kt-aŋ (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-lʸa-ŋo-ke mu-tu a-an-aŋ*
mountain-AD 1sS-go-FN2-ANT 2sPOS-direction 1sS-come-IA
m-a-lu-pokot-te-he empek-le a-lʸa-ŋo (2799)
2sA-1sO-interior-be-INF-BEN allright-QM 1sS-go-FN2
'Since I want to go to the mountains, I come to you, so that you can advise me if it is allright for me to go'.

2: *ašmaŋ* 'first. With this suffix a comparison can be formed. It then often correlates with *-man-ap* 'than' (see section 6.11.3):

(3) *mi-lʸa-pe-č-ap ko ašmaŋ 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 ašmaŋ 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) *ašmaŋ mi-he palʸow ø-kot-aŋ* (1632)
first 2s-BEN good 3sS-be-IA
'This is better for you'.

3: *at^{s}iw* ‘frequently’:

(6) [...] *ma* *at^{s}iw* *kama* *ki-ki-ŋo* *ke-kt-iy*
[...] INT frequently disease 1pS-become-FN2 1pS-be-PST
kot-nap [...] (1204)
be-SQ [...]
‘because very frequently we contracted diseases’

4: *hanap*, *henap* ‘take care’, when followed by an imperative or by an exclamation marker:

(7) *hanap* *mi-ŋole-k-nik* (730)
take.care 2sA-3sO.love-IMP-NE
‘Take care, do not love him!’

(8) *henap-ah* (2626)
take.care-EX
‘Look out!’

(9) *henap* *išiwah* *mi-kot-čin* (339)
take.care bad 2sS-be-NE
‘Beware, do not be bad!’

Elsewhere, *henap* means ‘by accident’ (*hanap* has not been found elsewhere). The form *henap* can then be followed by the restrictive case marker and adverbalizer -*(a)l^{y},* or by co-ordinator -*pit* ‘also’:

(10) *henap-al^{y}* (2610) ‘by accident’
(11) *henap-pit* (2628) ‘by accident’

5: *hapit* ‘maybe’:

(12) *hapit* *poho-pat* *Francisco* *ø-nan-t-aŋ* (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-ŋole-čin* (342)
beware 2sA-3sO.love-NE
‘Beware, do not love him/her/it!’.

(14) *hapit* *i-ŋole-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’[30]. The adverb *i(h)na* is equivalent to *pe-nʸ* ‘like that’:

(15) *ihna* (2738) ‘thus’ cf. *pe-nʸ* (2738)
that-CMP
‘thus’

(16) *ina-č-he* (2710)
thus-REP-IS
‘they say that [it is] thus’

pe-nʸ-ač-he (2711)
that-CMP-REP-IS
‘they say that [it is] thus’

8: *ina(ha)m* ‘I wish’:

(17) *inam palʸow mi-kot-o-ke, atih* (354)
I.wish good 2sS-be-FN2-ANT alas
‘Alas, I wish you would have been good!’.

(18) *inaham palʸow a-kot-o-ke* (352)
I.wish good 1sS-be-FN2-ANT
‘I wish I would have been good’.

(19) *inaham palʸow a-kot-te-ke* (352)
I.wish good 1sS-be-INF-ANT
‘I wish I would have been good’.

9: *ihna* ‘quick’:

(20) *ihna-ču* (1087)
quick-DIM
‘Hurry up’.

(21) *ihna k-a-t-hil-uč* (2707)
quick 1pO-APL-3sB-speak-AG
‘Come on, lawyer!’

10: *kapi* ‘now’, ‘today’:

(22) *kapi lʸa-k* (2691)
now go-IMP
‘Go now!’

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[31] Cf. Quechua *hina* ‘as’, ‘like’

(23) *kapi mi-ˡʸa-kte* *mi-ki-ŋo-ke-wa,* *ampek* *mi-ˡʸa-ŋo*
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* *ŋ-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: *ˡʸem* 'still':

(25) *ˡʸem* *sač-aŋ* (1177)
still 3sS.make/cultivate.a.field-IA
'He is still making/cultivating a field'.

12: *lumitup* 'intentionally', 'on purpose':

(26) *lumitup* *ø-ki-aŋ* (2757)
intentionally 3sS-do-IA
'He says [it] intentionally'.

13: *ma* 'not' (presumably pronounced as [ma^{ʔ}], see section 11.1):

(27) *ø-tˢip-te* *ma* *ø-pakt-aŋ* (489)
3sPOS-house not 3sS-be-IA
'He is not at home'.

14: *ma* 'high degree'. The morpheme *ma* is an intensifer indicating a high degree:

(28) *ma* *hulap* (1228)
INT wide
'very wide'

(29) *ma* *pulkup* (1233)
INT midnight
'in the midst of the night'

It is used to form a superlative (see section 6.11.3). A high degree is also expressed by means of the forms *maha-ˡʸ*, *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-ˡʸ* (1239)
INT-RST
'a lot of'

(31) *ma-ma-ta* (2697)
INT-INT-CL:form/stony
'many'

(32) *ma pa-te-p* (1225)
INT INT-AD-ABL
'very'

(33) *pa-te-p ma* (1246)
INT-AD-ABL INT
'very'

15: *mae* 'falsely' (possibly pronounced as [ma^{ʔ}]) is found in the expression:

(34) *ma pa mae* (2689)
INT INT falsely
'very falsely'

16: *malewohček* (2682) 'excessively' (examples are missing);

17: *none* 'yet' is found in the expression:

(35) *ma-le none* (2501)
no-QM yet
'not yet'

18: *pahat* 'yesterday':

(36) *pahat ma ø-pakt-aŋ-na ø-ki-y, kapi-pit ma*
yesterday no 3sS-be-IA-QUOT 3sS-say-PST today-COR no
ø-pakt-aŋ-na ø-ki-aŋ-sim-al^{y} (2743)
3sS-be-IA-QUOT 3sS-say-IA-EM-RST
'Yesterday he said: "There is nothing"; today as well he says "There is just nothing at all".

19: *pat^{s}an^{y}wet^{s}et* (2623) 'the other way round' (examples are missing);

20: *payam* 'almost' is often found together with the suffix *-čo* 'already':

(37) *payam-čo ø-pat^{s}a-kt-aŋ* (2543)
almost-already 3sS-be.evening-F-IA
'It is almost evening already'.

(38) *payam-čo-č-he* (1589)
almost-already-REP-IS
'They say that it is almost there already'.

(39) *payam a-puil^{y}-šipe-y* (2424)
almost 1sS-fall-nearly.do-PST
'I almost fell'.

21: *pišaŋ* ‘thus’:

(40) *pe-n^{y}* *pišan-na* *a-haki-aŋ* (1597)
that-CMP thus-QUOT 1sS-think-IA
‘I think that it is like that’.

22: *puyaka* (2686) ‘on purpose’ (examples are missing);

23: *seke* ‘again’, ‘another time’:

(41) *awka* *mi-po-t^{s}ap-te-he,* *seke* *mi-l^{y}a-pe-kt-aŋ* *čoti* (2821)
enemy 2sA-3pO-catch-INF-BEN again 2sS-go-NE-F-IA I.bet
‘I bet, you are not going off again in order to catch enemies’.

24: *šipna* ‘quick’, a synonym of *ihna* ‘quick’ above. De la Mata gives four examples of the use of *šipna*. In these examples *šipna* is followed by the restrictive case marker and adverbalizer *-(a)l^{y}* (see section 8.2). Examples:

(42) *ma* *šipna-l^{y}* (2669)
INT quick-RST
‘very quickly’

(43) *šipna-l^{y}* *ø-nan-t-aŋ* (2670)
quick-RST 3sS-come-F-IA
‘He will come quickly’.

25: *tele* ‘constantly’, ‘without stopping’. (It may contain the suffix *-le* ‘question marker’):

(44) *tele* *mi-l^{y}a-ha-ki* (2755)
without.stopping 2S-go-PL-IMP
‘Go without stopping!’

26: *tel^{y}* ‘still’ (cf. *l^{y}em* ‘still’ above):

(45) *tel^{y}* *sač-ø-aŋ* (1177)
still 3sS.field-do-IA
‘He is still making/cultivating his field’.

27: *tepat* ‘eternally’, ‘for ever’:

(46) [...] *a-n-ut^{s}a-pit* *a-n^{y}an-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-čem-it^{s}-iy-man-ap* [...] (1632)
[...] eternally fire-INES 2sS-ban-PAS-PST-INES-ABL [...]
‘[...] rather than to have been banned into the eternal fire [...]’

28: *tepuč* 'intentionally', 'on purpose':

(48) *tepuč-alʸ* (2688)
on.purpose-RST
'intentionally'

(49) *tepuč* *a-m-a-ø-aŋ* (2758)
on.purpose 1sA-2sO-APL-do/say-IA
'I do [it] for you on purpose'.
'I say [it] to you on purpose'.

29: *tesim* 'always'. (It may contain the emphasis marker -*sim*):

(50) *i-tˢip-te* *a-kot-hu,* *tesim* *i-sak* *a-lʸa-lam*
3pPOS-house-AD 1sS-be-SR always 3pPOS-food 1sS-go-FN1
če-kt-aŋ (408)
3pS-be-IA
'Since I have been in their house, they always used to give me their food'.

8.2. Adverbalizer -*(a)lʸ*
Adverbs can be derived from noun stems by means of the restrictive case marker -*(a)lʸ* 'only', 'nothing else but', functioning as an adverbalizer[31]:

(51) *alʸhi-alʸ* (2646)
sweetness-RST
gently, softly

In addition, it can be suffixed to
(i) a noun (phrase):

(52) *mi-l-o-lam(-iŋko)* *ohom-alʸ* *l-o-k/*
2sA-3sO-do-FN1(-DEM) idleness-RST 3sO-do-IMP/
mi-l-o-lam(inko) *ohom-alʸ* *mi-l-o-ki* (1489)
2sA-3sO-do-FN1(-DEM) idleness-RST 3sO-do-IMP
'What you have to do, do it immediately'.

(53) *amehe-ke-lʸ* (2713)
truth-ANT-RST
'really', 'truly'

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[32] Cf. Quechua -*lʸa* 'restrictive'

(ii) a verb form in *-(k)he* ‘simultaneity’:

(54) *lu-pokot-he-lʸ* (2639)
interior-be-SIM-RST
‘considerately’, deliberately’

(55) *yehono-khe-lʸ* (2636)
hide-SIM-RST
‘secretely’

(iii) adverbial stems:

(56) *mi-l-o-lam(-iŋko)* *šipna-lʸ* *l-o-k/ mi-l-o-ki* (1489)
2SA-3SO-do-FN1(-DEM) quickly-RST 3SO-do-IMP/ 2SA-3SO-do-IMP
‘What you have to do, do it quickly’.

(57) *ihna-lʸ* *ihna-lʸ* (2709)
quickly-RST quickly-RST
‘overhasty’

The intensifier *maha* can also be adverbalized by means of this suffix:

(58) *maha-lʸ* (1496)
INT-RST
‘much’

9. **Interjections**

Pedro de la Mata mentions several interjections in his *Arte*. He also distinguishes a small number of 'defective verbs' which we may consider as interjections. The interjections mentioned by de la Mata can be divided into three categories:

1: interjections expressing a physical experience:

cold:	*alew*[32] (2953)
heat:	*uču(u)* (2935)
pain:	*al^{y}aw*[33] (2938)

They occur clause-finally:

(1) *an^{y}iw, ina-ham liman-te a-moh-t-aŋ, 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) *an^{y}iw, ina-ham ampe putam-maŋ a-pat-t-aŋ, 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? [Pfff!]'

(3) *an^{y}iw, ina-ham a-šayš-la-kt-aŋ al^{y}aw* (1558)
INTJ:anticipation thus-CE 1sO-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-aŋ* (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 *an^{y}iw* 'anticipation', which are found clause-initially:

(5) *anih into-n^{y}-am a-ki-aŋ* (2779)
INTJ:surprise which-CMP-QM 1sS-be-IA
'[Oh] What will befall me?'

---

[33] Cf. Quechua *alaláw* 'brrr!'

[34] Cf. Quechua *ayáw, ayayáw* 'ouch!'

(6) *anʸiw* *into-nʸ-am* *a-ki-aŋ* (2779)
INTJ:anticipation which-CMP-QM 1sA-be-IA
'[Oh] What will befall me?'

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-nʸ-am a-ki-aŋ* '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!'

anʸiw: anticipation, when occurring clause-initially (see the examples above). It can then also be used to express 'I wish', 'I desire':

(8) *a-amo-khe* *anʸiw* (2777)
1sS-eat-IMP I.wish
'Oh, I wish to eat!'

(9) *a-lʸa-khe* *anʸiw* (2778)
1sS-go-IMP I.wish
'Oh, I wish to go!'

(10) *tanta* *a-l-o-khe* *anʸiw-na* *a-ki-aŋ* (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!").

aŋ (2951): amazement (examples are missing);

atih: distress:

(11) *inam* *palʸow* *mi-kot-o-ke,* *atih* (354)
hopefully good 2sS-be-FN2-AN INTJ:distress
'I whished you would have been good. [Ah!]'

ača(ka)y (2937): disdain (examples are missing);

ičiey (2956) fear (examples are missing). (It may have been pronounced as [ičiyey];

ači: horror:

(12) *anʸiw,* *ina-ham* *mek* *ki-kol-t-aŋ,* *ači* (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 *ičí*):

(13) *peh-ču-ah,* *išiw* (2950)
distance-DIM-EX villain
‘Go away, villain!’

The noun *išiwah* ‘badness’ is obviously related to *išiw*).

onew: anger (examples are missing). The form *onew* can also mean ‘harm’ and function as a noun:

(14) *onew-ah* *ŋ-a-ø-aŋ* (2948)
wrong-EX 3SA-1SO-do-IA
‘He harms me!’

un^{y}uu (2945): admiration (examples are missing).

3: interjections motivated by or reacting to the situation. These interjections occur clause-initially, except for *čoti* ‘I bet!’. Situational interjections include

a(h) ‘O!’ ‘Hey!’: to hail someone; ‘Boo!’: to give someone a fright. This interjection can also occur as a suffix and be used as an exclamation marker (see also the word *peh-ču-ah išiw* ‘Go away, villain!’ above, and see section 10.2.1):

(15) *ah, Dios* (2930)
O! God
‘O God!’

(16) *ah,* *ø-n^{y}ip-iy-mu-ah* (2941)
boo! 3SO-touch-PST-NE-EX
‘Boo, do not touch it!’

aha ‘Aha!’, used when catching someone red-handed:

(17) *aha,* *ampašleŋ* (2932)
aha! scoundrel
‘Aha, scoundrel

čoti ‘I bet!’:

(18) *ašwa* *mi-po-lamih-te-he* *mi-l^{y}a-pe-kt-aŋ,* *čoti* (2820)
fish 2SA-3PO-kill-INF-BEN 2SS-go-NE-F-IA I bet!
‘You will not go out fishing, I bet!’

eey, heey, hey ‘yes!’:

(19) *eey ɣol-t-an-na a-haki-aŋ* (1596)
yes 3sS.die-F-IA-QUOT 1sS-think-IA
'I think: "Yes, he will die'.

(20) *kač ø-m-a-pakt-aŋ-le. heey, ø-a-pakt-aŋ* (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, thruth
'Yes, [it is] the truth'.

hay, haya (2188) 'I do not know!' (examples are missing);

ma 'no!':

(22) *ma-na a-l-ø-aŋ* (1578)
no-QUOT 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)
please! 2sPOS-bread
'Please, give me (your) bread!'

(24) *čim mi-toŋ-i* (2189)
please! 2sS-sit.down-IMP
'Please, sit down!'
'Please, take a seat!'

(25) *čim mi-amo-ki* (2190)
please! 2sS-eat-IMP
'Please, eat a little bit!'.

2: *nʸamo* 'come!':

(26) *nʸamo ki-lʸa-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, indica-tion 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) *ok-ač* (1317)
1s-REP
'it is said that I'

(2) *sa-č* (1319)
3s-REP
'it is said that he'

(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:

(4) *fiscal-tu-p-ač* *i-k-šayš-t-aŋ-na,* *Estevan*
public.prosecutor-AD-ABL-REP 3SA-1PO-whip-F-IA-QUOT Estevan
ø-ki-aŋ (1323)
3sS-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-al^{y}-ač-he* *angel*
María-PL 3pS-come-PST 3p-PL-EMP-RST-REP-IS angel
či-po-yč-iy-na *ki-khe,* *ko-lol-ač-he* *Jesuchristo* *kinha*
3pA-3pO-see-PST-QUOT say-SIM this-PL-REP-IS Jesus Christ life
ø-kot-an-na *či-ki-aŋ* (1586)
3sS-be-IA-QUOT 3pS-say-IA
'The Marías came, saying that they too have seen angels which say that Jesus is alive'. (lit. 'The Marías came, saying that they had seen angels, and that these are saying that Jesus is alive').

(9) *iŋko-n^{y}-ač-he* (1325)
that-CMP-REP-IS
'it is said that [it is] like that'

(10) *pe-n^{y}-ač-he* (1325)
yonder-CMP-REP-IS
'it is said that [it is] like that'

(iii) after adverbs:

(11) *kunču-al^{y}-čo-č-he* (1589)
small-RST-already-REP-IS
'They said that little [is missing]'.

(12) *ni-ču-al^{y}-čo-č-he* (1589)
bit-DIM-RST-already-REP-IS
'They said that little [is missing]'.

(13) *payam-čo-č-he* (1489)
little-already-REP-IS
'They said that little [is missing]'.

(14) *ina-č-he* (2710)
thus-REP-IS
'it is said that [it is] thus'

(iv) after or before the speech marker -*na* (cf. 10.1.3):

(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-RFL-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-ø* *hayu, yopuŋ-e* *me-kt-aŋ-he* *yopuŋ-al^{y}-pat*
interior-be-IMP man dust-ANT 2SS-be-IA-IS dust-RST-INS
mi-l^{y}a-kt-aŋ (1973)
2SS-go-F-IA
'Remember man, dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return'.

(17) *a-n-ut^{s}a* *a-l-o-w-he* *a-ø-lusa-kia-ŋ* (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-ø-lusa-kia-ŋ* (1568)
1SA-3PO-commit-PST-IS-QUOT 1SA-3SO-feel-RE-IA
'I regret that I have committed them'.

(19) *fiscal-tu-p-č* *i-k-šayš-t-aŋ-he,* *Estevan*
public.prosecutor-AD-ABL-REP 3SA-1PO-whip-F-IA-IS Estevan
ø-ki-aŋ (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^{y}* '(to) order'[34]:

[35] Other elements with the shape -*na* are found after interrogative stems (10.3.3.) and in the pronoun *mi-na-ha* '2p' (6.4).

(20) *fiscal-tu-p-ač* *i-k-šayš-t-an-na,* *Estevan*
public.prosecutor-AD-ABL-REP 3sA-1pO-whip-F-IA-QUOT Estevan
ø-ki-aŋ (1323)
3sS-say-IA
'Estevan says that the public prosecutor will whip us'.

(21) *an-tˢel* *Phariseo Jesus* *mučan i-l-o-w,*
one-CL:truncal Pharisee Jesus prayer 3sA-3sO-do-PST
a-nek *mi-amo-ki-na* *ki-khe* (776)
1sPOS-company 2sS-eat-IMP-QUOT say-SIM
'A Pharisee prayed to Jesus, saying: "Eat with me!"'

(22) *a-amo-khe-na* *a-ki-aŋ* (169)
1sS-eat-IMP-QUOT 1sS-say-IA
'I want to eat'. (lit.: 'I say: "Let me eat"').

(23) *lʸa-k-čin-na* *i-ŋalʸ-aŋ* (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* *ø-tepho-kte-he-na* *i-ŋalʸ-aŋ* (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-alʸ-ač-he* *angel*
María-PL 3pS-come-PST 3p-PL-EMP-RST-REP-IS angel
či-po-yč-iy-na *ki-khe* (1586)
3pA-3pO-see-PST-QUOT say-SIM
'The Marías - 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-aŋ* (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-ø-aŋ* (1576)
not-QUOT 1sA-3sO-do/say-IA
'I say 'no' to him'.

(28) *alew-na* *mi-ki-aŋ-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)č-he* and -*he*, and it can also be follow-ed by -*(a)č-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) *inča-m-ah* (2719)
thing-QM-EX
'What [is the matter]!'

(30) *ay-te-ah* (2195)
back-AD-EX
'Quiet!'

(31) *ah* *ø-nʸip-iy-mu-a* (2941)
INTJ 3sO-touch-SE-NE-EX
'Oh, do not touch it!'

(32) *onew-ah* *a-l-ø-aŋ* (2947)
harm-EX 1sA-3sO-do-IA
'I molest him!'

10.2.2. Exclamation marker -*ham*

The exclamation marker -*ham* indicates a hypothetical situation and can be translated as 'what if':

(33) *ko-ham* (2630)
this.one-CE
'What if [it is] this one!'

(34) *ŋol-t-aŋ-ham* (2631)
3sS.die-F-IA-CE
'What if he should die!'

(35) *ŋol-o-ke-ham* (2632)
3sS.die-FN2-ANT-CE
'What if he had died!'

(36) *anʸiw* *ina-ham* *a-šayš-la-kt-aŋ,* *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) *amehe-na mi-ki-pe-č-a mi-tˢaš-t-aŋ-ham-pit* (2774)
truth-QUOT 2sS-do-NE-FAC-TOP 2sA-3sO.see-F-IA-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) *awka mi-po-tˢap-te-he, seke mi-lʸa-pe-kt-aŋ čoti.*
enemy 2sA-3pO-catch-INF-BEN again 2sS-go-NE-F-IA I.bet
into-nay, a-lʸa-kt-aŋ (2822)
which-EX 1sS-go-F-IA
'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) *inča-m* (1347)
what-QM
'What?'

(42) *ol-(lol)-am* (1339, 1360)
who-(PL)-QM
'Who (p)?'

(43) *Pukala-te-wa* *inča* *yu* *pey-am* *ø-pakt-aŋ* (1398)
Pucara-AD-TOP what kind earth-QM 3sS-be.there-IA
'As for Pucara, what kind of earth is there?'

(44) *ana-tˢel* *meč-am* (1408)
how.much-CL:truncal tree-QM
'How many trees?'

(45) *into-nʸ-čo-m* *ø-pakt-aŋ* (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* *iŋko-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* *iŋko-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-utˢa* *konfessan* *mi-ki-aŋ-le* (2862)
2sPOS-REL-sin confession 2sA-do-IA-QM
'Do you confess your sins?'

(50) *kuči-le* *me-kt-aŋ,* *el* *mi-l-a-ŋo-wa* (2983)
pig-QM 2sS-be-IA yucca 2sA-3sO-eat-FN2-TOP
'Are you a pig that you eat yucca?'

(51) *mi-yelam-te-p-a* *atem-e-lʸ* *mi-tpač-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) *čeč-le,* *tˢal-le* (1389)
white-QM black-QM
'Is it white or black?'

(53) *mi-le,* *ok-le* *ki-lʸa-kt-aŋ* (2502)
2s-QM 1s-QM 1pS-go-F-IA
'You or me? [Which of us] will go?'

(54) *katˢan-pat* *mi-čase-ŋ-le,* *amehe-ke-le* *mi-hl-aŋ* (2969)
words-INS 2sA-play-IA-QM truth-ANT-QM 2sA-speak-IA
'Are you joking, or do you say the truth?'

10.3.3. Question marker -*na*

The question marker -*na* is mainly used in combination with the interrogative stem *inča* 'what':

(55) *inča-na* *sil-a* *ø-pakt-aŋ* (2724)
thing-QM 3sP.word-TOP 3sS-be.there-IA
'What [kind of] news is there?'

(56) *inča-na,* *mu-n-utˢa-lʸak-pat-le* *a-šayč-la-ŋo* (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-aŋ* (273)
what-QM-QM 2sPOS-name-COM 2sS-be-IA
'What is your name?'

(58) *inča-na-m* *či-ki-aŋ* (1965)
what-QM-QM 3pS-say-IA
'What do they say?'

(59) *inča yu-na-m* *a-m-o-kte* *mi-menʸ-aŋ* (2730)
what kind-QM-QM 1SA-2SO-say-INF 2SA-3SO.want-IA
'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-hlʸem* *mi-sia-ŋ* (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) *lolše-sim* (1389)
Spanish-EMP
'It/he/she/they is/are Spanish/Spaniards'.

(69) *ko* *lʸup-maŋ* *ki-hčo-lam-a* *konfession-sim*
this immersion-INES 1pS-be.submerged-FN1-TOP confession-EMP
ø-kot-aŋ (1205)
3sS-be-IA
'This immersion in [which] we are submerged is the sacramental confession.'

(70) *palʸow me-kt-eč* *i-m-pas-aŋ-sim,* *mu-lu-poh-he-pitˢ-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 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-tu-p* *Dios-a* *ki-ŋole-ŋo* *ø-kot-aŋ* (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* *ašmaŋ* *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'.

(75) *ko-sim-a* *an-tˢel* *ki-ø-nano-ŋo* *očo* *kas* *mek*
here-EMP-TOP one-CL:truncal 1pA-3sO-fear-FN2 big wind all
kot-maŋ *ø-tapač-iy* (779)
water-INES 3sS-rise-PST
'Look here, a big, frightful wind, rose on the sea'.

It is also found after finite verb forms (imperfective aspect forms and preterite forms) and non-finite verb forms:

(76) *ok-tu-p* *a-m-a-ym-eh-ha-kt-aŋ* *into-nʸ-am* *ko*
1s-AD-ABL 1sA-2O-APL-know-CAU-PL-F-IA which-CMP-QM this
nʸansik *ki-tˢmo-pakna* *ø-kot-aŋ-a,*
work 1pA-3so.know-NE.NOM 3sS-be-IA-TOP
mi-mako-ha-lam-he/ *mi-mako-ha-kte-he* (2906)
2A-3sO.understand-PL-FN1-BEN/ 2A-3sO.understand-PL-INF-BEN
'I shall explain how to understand the difficulties'. ('Since we do not know how [to do] this work/ Since this work is non-understandable, I, I shall teach you (p) so that you (p) will understand it').

(77) *ŋita-wo-w-a,* *into-nʸ-am* *ki-l-o-ŋo* (389)
3sS.wild-VB-PST-TOP which-CMP-QM 1pA-3sO-do-FN2
'If he has escaped, what can we do?'

(78) *kuči-le* *me-kt-aŋ,* *el* *mi-l-a-ŋo-wa*
pig-QM 2sS-be-IA yucca 2sA-3sO-eat-FN2-TOP/
kuči-le *me-kt-aŋ,* *malʸa* *mu-ø-lup-o-wa* (2983)
pig-QM 2sS-be-IA something .raw 2sA-3sO-eat-FN2-TOP
'Are you a pig, [that] you eat yucca?'/' Are you a pig [that] you eat something raw?' (lit.: 'Are you perhaps a pig [that] yucca/ something raw is having to be eaten by you?').

Topic marker *-(w)a* is furthermore found after subordinators, after a nominalized verb form in *-(k)he* and *-(n)ap*, and after nominalized verb forms ending in *-(k)te-he, -lam-he* and *-lam-man-ap*:

(79) *hayu* *ŋol-nap-a,* *mu-mpuš-tu-p* *inča-te-m*
man 3sS.die-SEQ-TOP 2sPOS-riches-AD-ABL thing-AD-QM
i-malʸow-eh-t-aŋ (2903)
3sA-3sO.good-VB-F-IA
'How can riches be profitable, when a man dies?'

(80) *ko* *kama-pat* *ki-kol-čin-he-wa,* *into-nʸ-am* *ki-ø-ki-kt-aŋ* (2844)
this illness-INS 1pS-die-NE-SIM-TOP which-CMP-QM 1pA-3sO-do-F-IA
'What shall we do, [so that] we do not die from this illness?'

(81) *liw* *ki-tˢmo-kte-he-wa,* *očo* *nʸansik-pat* *ki-ym-eh-n-aŋ* (83)
letter 1pA-3sO.know-INF-BEN-TOP big effort-INS 1pS-know-CAU-RFL-IA
'We learn to read with big effort'.

(82) *ko* *kama-man-ap* *ki-šip-eh-no-lam-he-wa,*
this illness-INES-ABL 1pS-be.liberated/remain.free-CAU-RFL-FN1-BEN-TOP
into-nʸ-am *ki-ø-ki-kt-aŋ* (2843)
which-CMP-QM 1pA-3sO-do-F-IA
'What shall we do, in order to be liberated/remain free from this illness?'

ko kama-man-ap *ki-šp-eh-no-lam-he-wa*
this illness-INES/ABL 1pS-be.liberated/remain.free-CAU-RFL-FN1-BEN-TOP
inča-m *ki-l-o-kt-aŋ* (2843)
what-QM 1pA-3sO-do-F-IA
'What shall we do, in order to be liberated/ remain free from this ilness?'

(83) *ok* *a-hil-t-aŋ,* *into-nʸ*-am yam
1s 1sS-say-F-IA which-CMP-QM penance
ki-o-itˢ-lam-man-ap-a *ki-špo-kt-aŋ* (2847)
1pS-do-PAS-FN1-INES-ABL-TOP 1pS-be. liberated/ remain.free-F-IA
'I shall tell how we are to be liberated/ remain free from punishment'.

Topic marker -*(w)a* can also mean 'if' and indicate a conditional clause (see also the examples [...] *ki-tˢmo-pakna ø-kot-aŋ-a* [...] '[...] since we do not know [...]' and *ŋita-wo-w-a* [...] 'if he has escaped [...]' above):

(84) *Juan* *palʸow ø-kot-o-ke-wa,* *mul-pit* *palʸow ø-kot-te-ke* (368)
Juan good 3sS-be-FN2-ANT-TOP 3sP.son-COR good 3sS-be-INF-ANT
'If Juan had been good, his son would also have been good'.

(85) *palʸow me-kt-iy-a,* *ok-pit* *palʸow a-kt-iy* *ø-kot-te-ke* (384)
good 2sS-be-PST-TOP 1s-COR good 1sS-be-PST 3sS-be-INF-ANT
'If you had been good, I would also have been good'.

In a coordinate clause, the suffix -*(w)a* expresses a contrastive topic:

(86) *Luis* *lʸaw-iy,* *Pedro-wa* *ø-tˢip-te* *ø-toŋ* (78)
Luis go-PST Pedro-TOP 3sPOS-house-AD 3sS-sit/stay
'Luis went away, but Pedro is/stays at home'.

10.7. Adverbial markers *-ate, -čin, -čo, -čot, -hin, -in, -mok*

The sentential suffixes *-ate, -čin, -čo, -čot, -hin, -in* and *-mok* have adverbial functions. Their use is as follows:

1: *-ate* 'then'. This suffix is attached to a past tense form in *-(i)y* or *-ey* in order to form a pluperfect (cf. *-(k)e* 'anteriority', section 7.4.3):

(87) *pe-kt-iy-ate* (303)
2sfS-be-PST-then
'you (f) were then'
'you had been'

(88) *a-ŋolʸ-ey-ate* (697)
1sA-3sO.love-PST-then
'I then loved him/her/it'
'I had loved him/her/it'

2: *-čin* 'maybe' (cf. *-čin* 'negator', section 11.2) functions as a dubitative marker,
(i) when it occurs in combination with a question word:

(89) *inča(-pit)-čin* (2731)
thing(-IND)-DUB
'I do not know what it is'.
'I do not know what you say'.

(90) *into-nʸ-čin* (2531/ 2532)
which-CMP-DUB
'I do not know where'.
'I do not know how'.

(91) *ana-pi-čin* (2489)
when-AL-DUB
'I do not know when'.

(ii) when attached to a nominal stem:

(92) *mi-čin mi-hintˢiw-iy* (1328)
2s-DUB 2sS-talk-PST
'Maybe you talked'.

(93) *Pedro-čin ø-kot-aŋ* (1329)
Pedro-DUB 3sS-be-IA
'Maybe it is Pedro'.

(94) *kapi nem-čin ø-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 *-čo* 'already':

(95) *utˢa-uč Dios-te tˢeyč-iy-čo-čin* (2890)
sin-AG God-AD 3sS.be.converted-PST-already-DUB
'Maybe the sinner has already been converted to God'.

(96) *utˢa-uč* *ø-n-utˢa i-l-o-lam-man-ap-a,* *yam*
sin-AG 3sPOS-REL-sin 3sA-3sO-do-FN1-INES-ABL-TOP amend
ø-ki-y-čo-čin (2892)
3sS-make-PST-already-DUB
'Maybe the sinner has already made amends'.

3: -*čo* 'already', 'now':

(97) *tˢi* *mita-čo* *ø-pakt-aŋ* (2559)
rain time-already 3sS-be-IA
'It is already the rainy season'.

(98) *Juan-wa-čo* *into-te-m* *ø-lʸaw-iy* (2467)
Juan-TOP-now which-AD-QM 3sS-go-PST
'Now, as for Juan, where did he go?'

(99) *kita*[35]*-lʸ-čo* *ø-kot-he* (354)
wild-RST-now 3sS-be-IMP
'Let go free now'.

(100) *pu-puluč* *ø-nan-t-aŋ-iŋko-na-pi-wa,* *itˢak*
2sfPOS-husband 3sS-come-F-IA-DEM-when-AL-TOP chicha
pi-l-o-w-čo *ø-kot-iy* (2880)
2sfA-3sO-do-PST-already 3sS-be-PST
'When your husband comes home, the chicha has already been made by you'.

The suffix -*čo* often occurs in combination with the adverb *payam* 'almost':

(101) *payam-čo* (2423)
almost-already
'almost [everything] [is] already [there]'; 'few things are lacking'

4: -*čot* 'then', 'thus':

(102) *inča-čot* (2866)
what-then
'What then?'

(103) *iŋko-čot* (2746)
that-then
'That then/thus'.

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[36] Cf. Quechua *kʔita* and Tarma Quechua *kita* 'wild'

(104) *luyum-sim-čot* *ku-lum-sap-o* (2864)
effort/work-EMP-then 1pS-top-grasp-FN2
'It is the effort/work then/thus which we have to embrace'.

5: -*hin* 'maybe' is found in one complex expression:

(105) *into-n^{y}-pit-hin(-ah)* (2463)
which-CMP-IND-maybe(-EX)
'Maybe!'. 'I do not know!'.

6: -*in* 'yet', 'still':

(106) *ma-in(-le)* (2501)
not-yet(-QM)
'Not yet (?)'.

(107) *ni-nik-in* (2677)
bit-COM-yet
A little bit more yet'.

(108) *ø-t^{s}ip-te* *ø-toŋ-in* (1181)
3sPOS-house-AD 3sS-be-still
'He is still at home'.

(109) *un^{y}uah* *mi-ki-ey-pit^{s}-o-in* (2835)
health 2sS-become-PST-NE-FN2-yet
'Are you not yet cured?'

(110) *oyna* *mi-ki-p-aŋ-in* (2836)
good 2sS-become-NE-IA-yet
'Are you not healthy yet?'

7: -*mok* 'hopefully', 'I wish/ wished':

(111) *Dios-mok* *a-ŋole-kte ø-kot* (750)
God-hopefully 1sA-3sO.love-INF 3sS-be
'I wished I had loved God'.

(112) *Dios* *a-ŋole-kte-mok* *ø-kot* (750)
God 1sA-3sO.love-INF-hopefully 3sS-be
'I wished I had loved God'.

The suffix -*ate* has only been found after the past tense markers -*(i)y* and -*ey*; -*čin* has been found after nouns and verbs forms in -*i(y)-čo*; -*čo* has been encountered after nouns, verbs and after the adverb *payam* 'almost'; -*čot* has only been encountered after nominal stems; -*in* has been found after nouns, verbs and after the adverb *ma* 'no'; and -*mok* occurs after nouns as well as after verbs. When -*čo* occurs after a nominal stem, it can be preceded by a case marker and by the suffix -*(w)a*

'topic marker'; when *-in* occurs after nominal stems, it can also be preceded by a case marker. The sentential suffixes *-čin* 'not', *-mu* 'do not' and *-nik* 'not', which indicate a negation are treated in chapter 11.

10.8. Co-ordinator *-pit*

The suffix *-pit*, meaning 'and', 'also', 'or', is used to co-ordinate constituents and clauses. (In section 6.4.4.5 we have seen that *-pit* can also function as an indefinite marker 'wh ... ever'[36]). Co-ordinator *-pit* can also have a concessive interpretation and mean 'although'. When *-pit* co-ordinates constituents it can occur after nouns, pronouns, nomininalized 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) *ŋelčeh-uč* *u-n-utˢa-weh-uč-pit* *ø-kot-aŋ* (1469)
3sO.search-AG 3sS-REL-sin-VB-AG-COR 3sS-be-IA
'There is the seeker and the sinner'.

(114) *mi-pit,* *Pedro-pit* *čečo* *sinʸ* *mi-l-o-w-ha-ŋ* (2958)
2s-COR Pedro-COR money waste 2A-3sO-do-SE-PL-IA
'You and Pedro waste your money'.

(115) *angel* *mek* *spiritu-lʸ* *če-kt-aŋ* *tˢep,* *tˢel,* *yo-pit*
angels all spirit-RST 3pS-be-IA flesh bone blood-COR
ø-p-a-ha-kot-p-aŋ (2975
3sS-3pO-APL-PL-be-NE-IA
'All angels are spirits, they have no flesh, no bones, nor blood'.

(116) *mek* *inča* *či-po-hina-y-e-ø-te,*
all thing 3pA-3pO-hear-PST-ANT-NOM-AD
ci-po-ytˢ-iy-e-ø-te-pit, *Dios* *mučaŋ* *l-o-khe* (1473)
2pA-3pO-see-PST-ANT-NOM-AD-COR God praise 3sO-do-SIM
'They praised God in everything they heard and saw'.

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[37] Cf. Quechua *-pas* 'too', 'whatever'.

(117) *i-mo-ŋ-ko* *mušak-pit,* *ki-menʸo-ŋo* *pel*
3sA-3sO.burn-IA-DEM sun-COR 1pA-3sO.want-FN2 moon
meleta-ŋ-ko-pit, *te* *senta* *kisna* *palam-te*
3sS.shine-IA-DEM-COR height/high sky blue field-AD
i-čočol-aŋ-ko *kena-nik-pit,* *ko* *ŋosilʸwo*
3pS-twinkle-IA-DEM star-COM-COR this 3sP.spinning.movement
putam-te *ø-tinʸeh-la-kte-he,* *Dios-tu-p*
world-AD 3sO-give.splendour-3pA-INF-BEN God-AD-ABL
mo-pč-iy (2976)
3sA.3pO-put-PST
'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)ŋ* 'imperfective aspect'. The adverb is placed before this form:

(1) *a-tˢip-te* *mol-maŋ* *ma* *ø-pakt-aŋ* (2399)
1sPOS-house-AD ground-INES not 3sS-be-IA
'He is not in the environment of my house'.

(2) *tanta* *ø-kot-aŋ-le.* *ma* *ø-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* *ø-pakt-aŋ-na* *ø-ki-y,* *kapi-pit* *ma*
yesterday not 3sS-be.there-IA-QUOT 3sS-say-PST today-COR not
ø-pakt-an-na *ø-ki-aŋ-sim-alʸ* (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* *ø-pakt-aŋ* (1500)
1pS-interior-VB-FN1 not 3sS-be-IA
'We do not have to be sad'.

(5) *ma* *ø-a-pakt-aŋ* (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 [maˀ]:

(6)	*ma-in* (2501)	[maˀin]	'not yet'
(7)	*ma-in-le* (2501)		'not yet?
(8)	*ma-alʸ* (2672)	[maˀalʸ]	'no more'

(9) *ma-al^{y}-čo* (2673) 'there is nothing left'

11.2. Negator *-čin*

The suffix *-čin* 'not' is regularly suffixed to a non-reduced stem. It indicates a negative optative or exhortative:

(10) *t^{s}i-tu-p* *ŋ-a-loh-čin-na* *ki-khe,* *a-t^{s}ip-te*
rain-AD-ABL 3sA-1sO-wet-NE-QUOT say-SIM 1sPOS-house-AD
a-tŋ-aŋ (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-aŋ* (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-t^{s}ap-čin-he-wa,* *inča-m*
this ilness-AD-ABL 3sA-1pO-catch-NE-SIM-TOP what-QM
ki-l-o-kt-aŋ (2845)
1pA-3sO-do-F-IA
'What shall we do, so that this illness does not catch us?'

The suffix *-čin* can also negate an imperative. If the stem ends in a vowel the imperative marker *-k* can be added:

(13) *henap* *išiwah* *mi-kot-ø-čin* (339)
beware bad 2sS-be-IMP-NE
'Beware, do not be bad!'

(14) *hapit* *mi-ŋole-ø-čin* (730)
beware 2sA-3sO.love-IMP-NE
'Beware, do not love him/her/it'.

hapit *i-ŋole-k-čin* (731)
beware 3sA-3sO.love-IMP-NE
'Beware, let he/she/it not love him/her/it!'

(15) *mi-l^{y}a-ø-čin* (2506)
2sS-go-IMP-NE
'Do not go!'

l^{y}a-k-čin-na *i-ŋal^{y}-aŋ* (1593)
go-IMP-NE-QUOT 3sA-3sO.order-IA
'He orders him not to go!'

11.3. Negator *-mu*

The suffix *-mu* is always preceded by an extended stem in *-(i)y/-w*. Forms in *-mu* have no personal reference. They can be followed by a main verb. In this case, the subject of the form in *-mu* is the same as that of the main verb. A possible translation is 'without ... ing':

(16) *ye-y-mu* *a-ŋul^{y}-eč* *ø-masa-ŋ* (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* *ø-ki-y-mu* *ø-kot-aŋ* (2056)
baptism 3sS-be-SE-NE 3sS-be-IA
'He is without baptizing'.

(18) *into-ŋko* *hayu-pit* *misa* *sina-y-mu* *ø-ayki-ŋo-le* (2860)
which-DEM man-IND Mass 3sO.attend-SE-NE 3sS-be-FN2-QM
'Would there be anyone not attending Mass?'

When the verb to which *-mu* is suffixed is a main verb, *-mu* functions as a prohibitive marker 'do not'. The subject of the form in *-mu* is then a second person singular or plural:

(19) *kot-iy-mu* (481)
be-SE-NE
'Do not be!'

(20) *l-o-w-mu* (2504)
3sO-do-SE-NE
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)
small-NE-COR
'not even a little bit

(23) *an-t^{s}el-na-pit* (2613)
one-CL:truncal-NE-COR
'not even one'

(24) *na-he-pit* (2838)
NEG-BEN-COR
'not even'

In two examples the suffix combination -*na-pit* means 'neither', 'nor', and is used to co-ordinate two correlated, negative alternatives:

(25) *maha-l^{y}-na-pit, kunču-na-pit* (2674)
INT-RST-NE-COR small-NE-COR
'neither much, nor a little'

(26) *kunču-na-pit, maha-l^{y}-na-pit* (2675)
small-NE-COR INT-RST-NE-COR
'neither a little, nor much'

In the nominalized verb form -*na*- is followed by instrumental -*pat* 'because' (see section 7.4.8.1):

(27) *Dios kamat^{s}iŋ ø-ki-y sil*
God order 3sS-do-PST 3sPOS.word
a-milči-n-ø-na-pat sa gratia-al^{y} a-ŋt-e-ŋ (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-ŋole-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 -*čin, -mu, -nik*

A negative imperative or prohibitive can be formed by means of the suffixes -*čin, -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) -*čin* and -*mu* are used with both transitive and intransitive verbs, whereas -*nik* has only been found with transitive verbs;

(ii) -*čin* and -*nik* are suffixed to imperative forms, whereas -*mu* is suffixed to the extended verb stem in -*(i)y/-w*;

(iii) -*čin* occurs with a second or third person imperative and is optionally preceded by the imperative marker -*k* when used after a vocalic stem; the forms in -*mu* are not

marked for person; -*nik* occurs with second person singular imperative, is used with vocalic stems and is always preceded by the imperative marker -*k*;
(iv) forms in -*čin* can indicate a second or third person singular prohibitive, forms in -*mu* a second person singular or plural prohibitive, and those in -*nik* a second person singular prohibitive.

The difference in meaning and use between the suffixes -*čin,* -*mu* and -*nik* is shown in the following table. In this table the abbreviations tr. and intr. stand for 'transitive' and 'intransitive', respectively.

Table 11.1 Overview of the use of the negators -*čin,* -*mu* and -*nik* and of the prohibitives formed

	verb	person	form	
-*čin*	tr./ intr.	2s/p, 3s/p	IMP in -*ø*/ C_ IMP in -*(k)*/ V_	> 2s/p, 3s/p prohibitive
-*mu*	tr./ intr.	ø	in -*(i)y/-w*	> 2s/p prohibitive
-*nik*	tr.	2s	IMP in -*k*	> 2s prohibitive

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)ŋ* 'incompletive aspect', future in -*(k)t-aŋ*, nominalizations in -*(e)č,* -*(k)te* and -*lam*, and subordination in -*(k)he* and -*(n)ap* are formed regularly. In these forms, -*p(e)*- is attached to a non-reduced stem and followed by the ending at issue:

(30) *a-l-o-p-aŋ* (2160) 'I do not do/make it'
(31) *a-l-o-pe-kt-aŋ* 'I shall not do it'
(32) *a-l-o-pe-č* '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) *iŋko-te* *ø-toŋ-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 -*pit*^{s}*-o.*

The latter may be analyzed as a negative stem consisting of *-p(e)-* 'negation', *-it*^{s} 'passivizer' and the nominalizing ending *-(ŋ)o*. Like *-(ŋ)o*, *-pit*^{s}*-o* can be followed by the nominal past marker *-(k)e*, and by the suffix combination *-tu-p-pit* (*-tu-p-pit* is only used in combination with *-(ŋ)o*, see section 7.4.8.4). The forms in *-pit*^{s}*-o-ke* indicate an unreal (hypothetical) situation; those in *-tu-p-pit* a concession:

(38) *ŋol-iy-pit*^{s}*-o* (125)
3sS.die-PST-NE-FN2
'he did not die'

(39) *a-sina-y-pit*^{s}*-o* (218)
1sA-3sO.hear-PST-NE-FN2
'I did not hear'

(40) *alkalde a-kt-iy-pit*^{s}*-o-ke-wa, mi-l*^{y}*emt*^{s}*ap-la-pakna-ke* (558)
mayor 1sS-be-PST-NE-FN2-ANT-TOP 2sO-help-3pA-NE.NOM-ANT
'If I had not been mayor, they would not have helped you'.

(41) *ok-nik mi-l*^{y}*a-kte-he mi-men*^{y}*o-w-pit*^{s}*-o-tu-p-pit,*
1s-COM 2sS-go-INF-BEN 2sA-3sO.want-PST-NE-FN2-AD-ABL-COR
ok-a mi-nek a-l^{y}*w-aŋ* (2841)
1p-TOP 2sPOS-company 1sS-go-IA
'Although you did not want to go with me, I go with you'.

In one example negator *-pit*^{s}*-o* is used with a non-past meaning, the ending *-w* to which it is suffixed only functions as a stem extension marker:

(42) *a-t*^{s}*mo-w-pit*^{s}*-o a-kt-aŋ* (2655)
1sA-3sO.know-SE-NE-FN2 1sS-be-IA
'I do not know it'.

cf. *a-kt-iy-pit*^{s}*-o a-kt-aŋ* (466)
1sA-be-PST-NE-FN2 1sS-be-IA
'I had not been'

The suffix *-pit*^{s}*-o* can be attached to a subordinated form in *-(k)he* 'simultaneity' to indicate negative subordination:

(43) *kot-he-pit*^{s}*-o* (469)
be-SIM-NE-FN2
'as he is not'

(44) *pal*^{y}*ow me-kt-eč i-m-pasa-ŋ-sim,*
good 2sS-be-PURP 3sA-2sO-advise-IA-EMP
mu-lu-poh-he-pit^{s}*-o* (425)
2sS-interior-burn-SIM-NE-FN2
'He advises you, so that you will be good, not to abhor you'.

Negative verbs formed by means of the derivational suffix *-(p)e* do not have a negative imperative or prohibitive. A prohibitive is expressed by means of the suffixes *-čin, -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 *-(ŋ)o*. A form such as **pe-ŋo* has not been encountered (*-pit^{s}-o*, see above, and *-pakna*, see below, are used instead). According to de la Mata, negative verbs have a 'second supine', viz. a nominalized form in *-pakna*. (This ending may be a combination of *-p(e)-*, an undentified 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-NE.NOM 2sS-be-IA
'you cannot be'

(46) *ki-ø-čem-pakna* *ø-kot-aŋ* (2809)
1pA-3sO-exile-NE.NOM 3sS-be-IA
'He cannot be exiled'.

(47) *pe mek če-kt-iy* *ø-kot-nap, into-n^{y},* *ki-po-wo-pakna*
that all 3pS-be-PST 3sS-be-SEQ which-CMP 1pA-3pO-do-NE.NOM
če-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-ø-l^{y}awoh-pakna* *me-kt-aŋ* *mi-yelam-a* (1574)
2sA-3sO-carry-NE.NOM 2sS-be-IA 2sPOS-bed-TOP
'You may not carry your bed'.

(49) *quaresma alum nem-te-wa,* [...], *ayča* *ø-l^{y}up-la-pakna*
Lent other day-AD-TOP [...] meat 3sO-eat-3pA-NE.NOM
ø-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-ø-lusay-pakna* *ø-kot-aŋ* (2806)
1pA-3sO-pity-NE.NOM 3sS-be-IA
'He does not deserve it that we pity him'.

In one example the form in *-pakna* is not followed by *k(o)t* '(to) be', but by a verb with a similar meaning:

(51) *into mek Pasco ø-kot-o-ke, into-ŋko-pit misa*
which all Easter 3sS-be-FN2-ANT which-DEM-IND Mass
i-sinah-pakna ø-ayki-ŋo-le (2860)
3sA-3sO.attend-NE.NOM 3sS-be.there-FN2-QM
'[Easter] being such a big feast, could there be anyone not attending Mass?'

Like *-pitˢ-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) *iŋko-te ø-toŋ-pakna-ke/ ø-toŋ-pitˢ-o-ke,*
there-AD 3sS-be-NE.NOM-ANT/ 3sS-be-PST-FN2-ANT
i-tˢpe-kte-he ø-lʸaw-iy (2388)
3sA-3sO.see-INF-BEN 3sS-go-PST
'He could not be there/ he was not there, [and] he went to see him'.
(lit. 'Although he was not there, he went to see him').

(53) *mi-l-o-pakna-tu-p-pit* (2686)
2sA-3sO-do-NE.NOM-AD-ABL-COR
'although you do not do it'

Forms in *-pakna* occur in subject clauses when the subject of *k(o)t* '(to) be' (or *ayki* 'there is') is a third person singular referring to a third person singular object of the form in *-pakna*; and in nominal parts of the predicate when the subjects of the forms in *-pakna* and that of *k(o)t* are the same (cf. *-(ŋ)o*, 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-nʸ 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) *a-kot-pakna a-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:

(56) *into-n^{y}* *ki-amo-pakna* (1616)
which-CMP 1pS-eat-NE.NOM
'It is impossible to eat'.

(57) *mi-čem-it^{s}-iy* *mi-kot-t-an-na-wa* *ku-layam-pakna* (2904)
2sS-exile-PAS-PST 2sS-be-F-IA-QUOT-TOP 1pS-doubt-NE.NOM
'There can be no doubt that you will be exiled'.

(58) *into-ŋko* *hayu-pit* *misa* *i-sinah-pakna-le* (2860)
which-DEM man-IND Mass 3sA-3sO.attend-NE.NOM-QM
'Is there anyone not attending Mass?'

The suffixes *-pit^{s}-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^{s}-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^{s}-o* mainly function as main predicates. They only occur in a subordinate clause when *-pit^{s}-o* is preceded by the subordinator *-(k)he* (cf. the example *mu-lu-poh-he-pit^{s}-o* 'not because you are abhorred' above), or followed by the suffix sequence *-ke-wa* (see the example *alcalde a-kt-iy-pit^{s}-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 *-(ŋ)o* 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 *-(ŋ)o*, 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 *-(ŋ)o* and in *-pakna* can occasionally function as main predicates;
(iii), like *-(ŋ)o*, *-pakna* can express different modalities (see above), in positive (*-(ŋ)o*) and in negative (*-pakna*) interpretations:

-(ŋ)o	*-pakna*
obligation	inadmissibility
possibility	impossibilty
worthyness	unworthyness

However, there are also a few differences in the use of *-(ŋ)o* and *-pakna*:

(i), forms in *-(ŋ)o* can occur in an attributive extension of the subject and in object clauses (see section 7.4.7.7);
(ii), *-(ŋ)o* is mainly used to express the modality of 'obligation', whereas *-pakna* is more often used to express 'impossibilty';
(iii), unlike forms in *-(ŋ)o*, 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 section11.4. 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 tˢamo-č ø-kot-a mita mita mo-o-w, mušak*
God 3sS.know-FAC 3sS-be-TOP time time 3sA.3pO-do-PST sun
nem-te, pel 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 '*Maria ... ki-khe*' and '*ko-lol-ačhe ... či-ki-aŋ*' are juxtaposed, in the second example the clauses '*baptismo-te ... tˢač-he*' and '*ki-n-anima ... i-k-a-tˢamoh-te-he*':

(2) *Maria-lol* *či-n-iy,* *či-ha-sim-alʸ-ač-he* *angel*
María-PL 3pS-come-PST 3p-PL-EMP-RST-REP-IS angel
či-po-yč-iy-na *ki-khe,* *ko-lol-ač-he* *Jesuchristo* *kinha*
3pA-3pO-see-PST-QUOT say-SIM this-PL-REP-IS Jesus Christ life
ø-kot-an-na *či-ki-aŋ* (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 lattery) say that Jesus Christ is alive'.

(3) *baptismo-te* *hayu* *ø-maso-kiah-he-pat,* *ki-Dios-a*
baptism-AD man(kind) 3sS-be.born-RE-SIM-INS 1pPOS-God-TOP
mul-iy-pitˢ-o, *ni-ču-nik-sim* *ku-n-utˢa*
3sS.be.satisfied-PST-NE-FN2 bit-DIM-COM-EMP 1pPOS-REL-sin
l-o-khe, *ma* *atˢiw* *kama* *ki-ki-ŋo* *ke-kt-iy ø-kot-nap,*
3sO-do-SIM INT frequently illness 1pS-do-FN2 1pS-be-PST 3sS-be-SEQ
tˢač-he, *ki-n-anima* *mek* *ŋama* *u-tupat*
3sO.see-SIM 1pPOS-REL-soul all 3s.illness 3pPOS-direction
u-k-kulʸha-weh-o *tˢukiow* *kamatˢin* *ø-ki-y,* *ki-pa*
3sA-1pO-life-VB-FN2 medicin order 3sS-do-PST 1pPOS-father
Jesuchristo *tˢo-ke-lʸak-pat* *tˢam-eh-he,*
Jesus Christ 3sPOS.blood-ANT-NF-INS 3sS.know-CAU-SIM
ø-manhičo-khe, *ki-salʸ* *tˢo* *mek*
3sA-3sO.submerge-SIM 1pPOS-soul 3sPOS.blood all
i-k-a-tˢamoh-te-he (1204)
3sA-1pO-APL-3sO.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) *meč ø-ki-aŋ-pit, sukusilʸ či-lʸa-nap, neŋ-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) *meč ø-ki-aŋ-sim-alʸ sukusilʸ-pit či-n-aŋ,*
tree 3sS-be.made-IA-EMP-RST bird-COR 3pS-come-IA
neŋ-te-pit i-toŋli-aŋ (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-aŋ, mi-pit mi-yoy-aŋ-sim-alʸ* (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) *palʸow mi-kot-hu, ok-pit palʸow a-kot-t-aŋ* (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 iŋko-na-pi-lʸ, 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 coordinator 'or', providing that it occurs in both clauses (cf. the use of *-le* as a disjunctive question marker 'or?', section 10.3.2):

(11) *lʸa-k-pit, mi-lʸa-kiah-i-pit/ lʸa-kiah-ø-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 ø-kot-hu-pit, maha-lʸ ø-kot-hu-pit, mek*
small 3sS-be-SR-COR INT-RST 3sS-be-SR-COR all
mi-ŋap-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-nʸ-am a-ki-ŋo/ a-ki-kt-aŋ* (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-lʸa-kt-aŋ-sim* (238)
cry-IMP-COR 1sS-go-F-IA-EMP
'Even though you cry, I shall go!'.

(15) *e-m-ečiah-khe-pit* (2869)
3sA-2sO-defeat-IMP-COR
'Just let him defeat you'.

(16) *l-o-w-mu-pit* (2678)
3sO-do-SE-NE-COR
'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 *-(ŋ)o* 'future nominalizer 2'. (After nominalizer *-(ŋ)o*, the ending *-tu-p(-ham)-pit* is used in order to indicate 'concession', see section 7.4.5.4). Examples:

(17) *išiwah ki-kot-hu-pit, palʸow mi-kot-p-aŋ* (402)
bad 1pS-be-SR-COR good 2sS-be-NE-IA
'Even though we are bad, you are not good [either]'.

(18) *mi-menʸo-pakna-ke-pit* (2681)
2sA-3sO.want-NE.NOM-ANT-COR
'although you would not have wanted it'

(19) *i-ŋole-č-pit i-ø-tesah-p-aŋ* (765)
3sA-3sO.love-FAC-COR 3sA-3sO-thank-NE-IA
'Even though he loves him, he does not thank him'.

12.2. Correlation

In section 7.4.8.2 we have seen that the suffix combination *-te-p* 'as', 'like' can correlate two clauses, and in section 11.4 that the suffix combination *-na-pit* is used to render the double negation 'neither ... nor'. (The suffix sequence *-na-pit* is then

attached to both parts of the negation). In addition, correlative constructions can be formed by means of the following elements: *iŋko mek* 'that much/many'; *iŋko-min^{y}-al^{y}* 'like that', 'so', 'likewise'; *into mek(-al^{y})* 'as much/ many', 'that much/many (as)'; *-(mi)n^{y}* 'like', 'as'; and *pe mek* 'that much/ many'. (For the discussion about the elements *-(a)l^{y}* 'restrictive', 'only'; *into* 'which'; *iŋko* 'that one'; *mek* 'all'; *-(mi)n^{y}* '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^{y}-al^{y}* correlates with *-(mi)n^{y}*; *iŋko mek, into mek(-al^{y})*, and *pe mek* with *into mek*:

(20) *mi-pa-ha* *če-kt-iy-min^{y}*, *iŋko-min^{y}-al^{y}* *me-kt-iy-ha-ŋ* (417)
2POS-father-PL 3sS-be-PST-CMP that-CMP-RST 2S-be-SE-PL-IA
'Like your fathers were, so are you'.

(21) *into* *mek pok* *mi-he* *a-lu-pakt-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^{y}* *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^{y}-aŋ,* *pe* *mek* *mi-mišto-ka-ŋ* (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-aŋ-ko-n^{y}*, *iŋko-min^{y}-al^{y}* *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 *-(ŋ)o* can indicate a direct object or a subject clause, and subordinator *-(k)he* can indicate a causal or a temporal clause. This is because the exact nature of a subordinative relation is not necessarily expressed by means of a particular nominalizer or subordinator, but rather by the context.

In chapter 7 we have seen that verb stems can be nominalized by means of the nominalizers *-(e)č* 'factive' (section 7.4.6.1), *-(k)te* 'infinitive' (section 7.4.6.2), *-lam* 'future nominalizer 1' (section 7.4.6.3), *-(ŋ)o* 'future nominalizer 2' (section 7.4.6.4) and *-uč* 'agentive'(section 7.4.6.5); and finite forms by means of the deictics *ko* 'this one' and *iŋko* '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)'; *-lʸak-pat* 'because'; *-lʸak-te-p* 'because'; *-man-ap* 'after', 'besides/ not only/ on top of', 'than (comparison)', 'from (avoidance)'; *-(mi)nʸ* 'as/like', 'on the verge of'; *-((n)a)p* 'after'; *-pat* 'because'; *-pat-le* 'till'; *-te* 'when', 'where'; *-te-p* 'after', 'because', 'from (avoidance)'; *-tu-p* 'for (cause)'; *-tu-p(-ham)-pit* 'although', 'even though', a suffix combination consisting of adessive *-tu*, ablative *-p,* and the co-ordinator *-pit* 'also'. We have also seen that a verb stem can be subordinated by means of the subordinators *-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 *-((k)t-)eč* 'resultative', 'purpose' (section 7.4.7.4). Subordinated forms in *-(k)he* and *-(n)ap* can be followed by the case marker *-nake*, indicating a contrastive clause, and subordinator *-(k)he* can furthermore be followed by the case markers *-pat* 'instrumental' and *-((n)a)p* 'after'. It appears that the different types of subordinate clauses mentioned above can be indicated by means of the following endings:
(i) attributive extension of the object: *-(e)č*, *-hu*:

(25) *i-lʸa-č* *mi-po-yč-iy-le* (1601)
3pS-go-FAC 2SA-3pO-see-PST-QM
'Did you see them going?'

(26) *i-tˢip-te* *i-toŋ-hu* *a-po-yč-iy* (1599)
3pPOS-house-AD 3pS-be-SR 1SA-3pO-see-PST
'I saw them in their houses'.

(ii) avoidance: *-lam-man-ap, -lam-te-p*, *-(ŋ)o-te-p*:

(27) *a-šayš-la-lam-man-ap* *a-špeh-no-kt-aŋ* *čoti* (2374)
1SO-whip-3pA-FN1-INES-ABL 1SS-liberate-RFL-F-IA I.bet
'I bet that I shall liberate myself from the whips'.
(lit. ... from them whipping me).

(28) *into mek ku-n-utˢa ki-l-o-lam-te-p peh-ču*
which all 1pPOS-REL-sin 1pA-3sO-do-FN1-AD-ABL distance-DIM
ki-o-no-ŋo ø-kot-aŋ (2851)
1pS-do-RFL-FN2 3sS-be-IA
'How can we escape from our sins?'

(29) *into mek ku-n-utˢa ki-l-o-ŋo-te-p pehču*
which all 1pPOS-REL-sin 1pA-3sO-do-FN2-AD-ABL distance-DIM
ki-o-no-ŋo ø-kot-aŋ (2851)
1pS-do-RFL-FN2 3sS-be-IA
'How can we escape from our sins?'

(iii) causal: *-(e)č, -hu, -(k)he, -ko-(lʸak-)pat, -(n)ap, -(ŋ)o-tu-p, -ø-(lʸak-)pat, -ø-(lʸak-)te-p*:

(30) *ŋita-wo-č sepu-maŋ muč-iy-la* (2376)
3sS.wild-VB-FAC stocks-INES 3sO.put-PST-3pA
'They put him in the stocks, because he fled'.

(31) *i-tˢip-te a-kot-hu, tesim i-sak a-y-la-lam*
3pPOS-house-AD 1sS-be-SR always 3pPOS-food 1sO-give-3pA-FN1
če-kt-aŋ (408)
3pS-be-IA
'Because I have stayed in their house, they used to give me their food'.

(32) *mulup ŋol-hu tˢač-he, lulo-pat ŋol-aŋ* (2761)
3sPOS.son 3sS.die-SR 3sO.see-SIM distress-INS 3sS.die-IA
'He dies of distress, because he sees that his son dies'.

(33) *a-n-išiwah a-mak-aŋ-ko-lʸak-pat, a-n-utˢa-pit*
1sPOS-REL-badness 1sA-3sO.know-IA-DEM-NF-INS 1sPOS-REL-sin-COR
a-nʸan-man-a a-kot-t-aŋ tepat (2369)
1sPOS-face-INES-TOP 1sS-be-F-IA always
'Because I know my disgrace, I shall always be mindful of my sins'.

(34) *pana išiwah ø-pakt-aŋ-ko-pat ma nʸansik-pat mi-pahat-iy-ha*
road bad 3sS-be-IA-DEM-INS INT effort-INS 2S-descend-PST-PL
me-kt-iy-ha-ŋ (320)
2S-be-SE-PL-IA
'Because the road is bad, you (p) descended with great effort'.

(35) *pu-puluč ø-nan-iy ø-kot-nap, alʸhi pe-kt-aŋ* (2649)
2sfPOS-husband 3sS-come-PST 3sS-be-SEQ happy 2sfS-be-IA
'You (f) are happy, because your husband came'.

(36) *into-n^{y}-am* *a-m-pako-kt-aŋ,* *a-m-yač-pakna*
which-CMP-QM 1sA-2sO-know-F-IA 1sA-2sO-see-NE.NOM
ø-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^{s}a* *pa* *mek* *če-kt-iy-ø-(l^{y}ak-)pat/-(l^{y}ak-)te-p,*
man-PL 3pPOS-REL-sin INT all 3pS-be-PST-NOM-(NF-)INS/-(NF-)AD-ABL
Dios *yam* *mo-o-w* (777)
God punishment 3sA.3pO-do-PST
'Because the sins of men were that many, God punished them'.

(iv) comparative: *-ko-man-ap,-(k)te-man-ap, -(ŋ)o-man-ap, -ø-man-ap*:

(38) *p-a-ym-eh-uč-a* *i-t^{s}m-e-ŋ-ko-man-ap-pit*
3pO-APL-know-CAU-AG-TOP 3sA-3sO.know-CAU-IA-DEM-INES-ABL-COR
ni-ču-nik *meyip-aŋ* (2867)
bit-DIM-COM 3sS.work-IA
'The teacher works harder than the disciple'.

(39) *a-n-ut^{s}a* *a-l-o-kte-man-ap,* *a-kol-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^{y}-aŋ (2783)
1sA-3sO.want-IA
'I prefer to work rather than to be idle'.

(41) *Dios-tu-p* *hayu* *yam* *mo-o-w-ø-man-ap,*
God-AD-ABL man punishment 3sA.3pO-do-PST-NOM-INES-ABL
ašmaŋ *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^{y}*, *-ø-min^{y}*:

(42) *mi-hil-aŋ-ko-n^{y}* *a-te* *l-o-it^{s}-he* (2322)
2sS-say-IA-DEM-CMP 1s-AD 3sS-do-PAS-IMP
'Let it be done to me as you say'.

(43) *kamat^{s}iŋ mi-ki-y-ø-min^{y}* (2320)
order 2sS-do-PST-NOM-CMP
'as you ordered'

(vi) concessive: *-(k)he-pit*, *-(ŋ)o-tu-p(-ham)-pit, -pakna-tu-p-pit*:

(44) *mosču kot-he-pit, kes ø-ki-kt-aŋ* (407)
little be-IMP-COR age 3sS-become-F-IA
'Even though he is small, he will grow'.

(45) *šayapi-ke al^{y}ha ø-kot-o-tu-p-pit l^{y}iš-a into-n^{y}-am*
forest-ANT animal 3sS-be-FN2-AD-ABL-COR monkey-TOP which-CMP-QM
tanta i-l-a-ŋo ø-t^{s}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-l^{y}ak-te-he mi-men^{y}o-w-pit^{s}-o-tu-p-pit,*
1s-COM 2sS-go-INF-BEN 2sA-3sO.want-PST-NE-FN2-AD-ABL-COR
ok-a mi-nek a-l^{y}w-aŋ (2841)
1s-TOP 2s-company 1sS-go-IA
'Even though you did not want to go with me, I do accompany you'.

(47) *santo či-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-t^{s}el a-t^{s}ap-te-na ø-sep-eh-he-nake,*
one-CL:truncal 1sA-3sO.catch-F-QUOT 3sS-pretend-CAU-SIM-PER
an-t^{s}el i-t^{s}p-aŋ (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-aŋ (2381)
1sA-3sO.buy-IA
'I falsely asked permission to buy iron tools, [but] I buy ribbons [instead]'.

(viii) direct object: *-(e)č, -(k)te, -lam*, *-(ŋ)o*:

(51) *i-m-kole-č* *mi-tˢač-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-menʸ-aŋ* (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-lʸa-ŋo-čo* *mi-tˢm-aŋ-le* (1611)
mountain-AD 2sS-go-FN2-already 2sA-3sO.know-IA-QM
'Do you know [how] to go to the mountains?'

(ix) instrumental complement: *-(k)he-pat*:

(55) *baptismo-te* *hayu* *maso-kiah-he-pat* *ki-Dios-a*
baptism-AD man 3sS.be.born-RE-SIM-INS 1pPOS-God-TOP
mul-iy-pitˢ-o (1204)
3sS.be.satisfied-PST-NE-FN2
'God was not satisfied with [the fact] that man was born again in baptism'

(x) locative: *-ø-te*:

(56) *ke-tŋ-iy-ø-te* (181)
1pS-be-PST-NOM-AD
'where we were'

(xi) 'not alone ... but also': *-ø-man-ap*:

(57) *resaŋ* *ki-ki-y-ø-man-ap,* *misa* *ki-sina-y* (1638)
prayer 1pS-do-PST-NOM-INES-ABL Mass 1pA-3sO.attend-PST
'Besides praying, we have [also] attended Mass'.

(xii) purposive: *-(e)č/-(k)t-eč, -(k)te-he, -lam-he*:

(58) *i-m-kalʸ-aŋ-ko-nʸ* *kama* *palʸow* *l-o-k,*
3sA-2sO-order-IA-DEM-CMP patient good 3sO-do-IMP
Dios-tu-p *i-m-kole-kt-eč/* *i-m-kole-ŋo* *ø-kot-eč* (772/773)
God-AD-ABL 3sA-2sO-love-F-PURP/ 3sA-2sO-love-FN2 3sS-be-PURP
'Take care of the patient, as he orders you, so that God will love you'.

(59) *pana-nayme* *Soledad-te* *ki-ante-kte-he,* *Huaylillas-nayme*
road-PRO Soledad-AD 1pS-arrive-INF-BEN Huaylillas-PRO
ki-palʸ-aŋ (2304)
1pS-pass.by-IA
'In order to arrive at Soledad by road, we pass Huaylillas'.

(60) *ko* *kama-man-ap* *ki-špeh-no-lam-he-wa,* *into-nʸ-am*
this illness-INES-ABL 1pS-free-RFL-FN1-BEN-TOP which-CMP-QM
ki-ki-kt-aŋ (2843)
1pS-do-F-IA
'What shall we do to free ourselves from this illness'.

(xiii) resultative: *-eč*:

(61) *oyna-čo* *a-kt-eč,* *ŋ-a-tˢukiow-o-w* (425)
health-already 1sS-be-PURP 3sA-1sO-medicin-VB-PST
'He cured me, so that I am healthy now'.

(xiv) subject: *-(e)č, -(k)he, -lam*, *-(ŋ)o*:

(62) *a-l-e-č* *ø-patˢa-kia-ŋ* (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* *kulʸha-maŋ*
2sS-weaken-PST 2sS-be.lame-PST height city joy life-INES
mi-esteh-he ašmaŋ *mi-he* *palʸow* *ø-kot-aŋ* [...] (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-lʸa-lam* *ø-kot-nap,* *a-nʸan-šip-aŋ* (916)
1sS-go-FN1 3sS-be-SEQ 1sS-face-break.off-IA
'Because I have to go, I hurry".

(65) *pal^{y}ow ki-kot-o ø-kot-aŋ* (455)
good 1pS-be-FN1 3sS-be-IA
'We have to be good'.

(xv) temporal: *-hu, -(k)he, -(k)he-nap, -(n)ap, -(ŋ)o-patle, -(ŋ)o-te, -ø-man-ap, -ø-te, -ø-te-p*:

(66) *a-mpuš-nik kot-he, yupey-nik a-kot-t-aŋ* (404)
1sPOS-riches-COM be-SIM esteem-COM 1sS-be-F-IA
'Being rich, I shall be esteemed'.

(67) *mi-ye-y ki-khe-nap, nem ø-poho-w* (1622)
2sS-sleep-PST do-SIM-ABL day 3sS-dawn-PST
'After you finished sleeping, the day dawned'.

(68) *ut^{s}a-uč ke-kt-aŋ-ko-te-p, ičam-e penitensia l-o-nap, santo ki-l^{y}a-kt-aŋ* (1796)
sin-AG 1pS-be-IA-DEM-AD-ABL truth-ANT penitence 3sO-do-SEQ saint 1pS-become-F-IA
'From sinners that we are, we will become saints after having done true penitence'.

(69) *a-kol-o-pat-le* (2246)
1sS-die-FN2-INS-TERM
'till I die'

(70) *ø-l^{y}a-ŋo-te* (2238)
3sS-go-FN2-AD
'when he goes'

(71) *hayu a-šuŋ-al^{y} či-kot-te-ø-te, a-yipo-kt-aŋ* (2490)
man one-CL:accumulation-RST 3sS-be-F-NOM-AD 1sA-work-F-IA
'I shall make [it], when the men are together'.
(lit. 'I shall work, when the men are together').

(72) *Jesu-Christo sa mul-al^{y} ki-napu-te-pit, ko-sim Espiritu Santo i-t^{s}m-e-y-ø-te-p hayu ø-ki-y* (1456)
Jesus Christ 3s 3sPOS.son-RST 1pPOS-father-AD-COR this-EMP Ghost Holy 3sA-3sO.know-CAU-PST-NOM-AD-ABL man 3sS-become-PST
'and in Jesus Christ, his only son, who became a man by the work of the Holy Ghost' (lit. 'and in our Father's only son, Jesus Christ, who became a man after the Holy Ghost acknowledged him')

A temporal clause can also be formed by means of the suffix sequences:
(a) *-pe-č-ap,* consisting of negator *-p(e)-*, nominalizer *-(e)č* and the ablative case marker *-(a)p* (see also section 7.4.5.1):

(73) *kasalaŋ mi-ki-pe-č-ap, mi-l-ø-aŋ-ko tˢač-ø* (1635)
marriage 2sS-do-NE-FAC-ABL 2sA-3sO-do-IA-DEM 3sO.see-IMP
'Before you marry, look what you do'.

(b) *-ø-minʸ-čo*, consisting of a zero-nominalizer, the comparative case marker *-(mi)nʸ* and the adverb *-čo* 'already', when followed by *kot-he/-hu* 'being' (see also section 7.4.7.5):

(74) *meč ø-liš-ø-minʸ-čo ø-kot-hu, tˢamol-iy-la* (1561)
tree 3sS-fall.down-NOM-CMP-already 3sS-be-SR 3sO.leave-PST-3pA
'They left the tree, which was on the verge of falling down'.

(75) *a-kot-pe-č-ap-iŋ ø-kot-iy-iŋko, sa-p-sim*
1sS-be-NE-FAC-ABL-still 3sS-be-PST-DEM 3s-ABL-EMP
ø-kot-aŋ, a-n-ay ø-nan-t-aŋ-iŋko (1458)
3sS-be-IA 1sPOS-REL-back 3sS-come-F-IA-DEM
'The one who was before I was, that is the one who will come after me'.

(xvi) conditional. As stated in section 10.6, a condicional clause is formed by means of the topic marker *-(w)a*:

(76) *palʸow me-kt-iy-a, ok-pit palʸow a-kt-iy ø-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 *-(ŋ)o*, the nominalizing deictics *-ko* 'this one' and *-iŋko/-ø* 'that one', the demonstrative *-into-ŋko* 'which' and the indefinite pronoun *ol* 'who'. Forms in *-lam* and *-(ŋ)o* can be used attributively before (*-lam* as well as *-(ŋ)o*) 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 lʸup-maŋ ki-hčo-lam-a konfession-sim*
this immersion-INES 1pS-be.submerged-FN1-TOP confession-EMP
ø-kot-aŋ (1205)
3sS-be-IA
'This immersion is the sacramental confession'. (lit. 'This immersion in which we are submerged is the sacramental confession').

(78) *ki-tˢel-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 *-(ŋ)o* precede the head (see section 7.4.5.4):

(79) *ko* *ŋosilʸw-o* *putam-te* (2976)
this 3sS.go.round-FN2 world-AD
'in this beautiful world' (lit. 'in this world which goes round')

(80) *u-k-kulʸha-weh-o* *tˢukiow* (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 *-iŋko* (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)ŋ*; *iŋko* is found optionally with verbs marked for past or future tense, and with nominalizer *-lam*:

(81) *a-ŋolʸ-aŋ-ko* (795)
1sA-3sO.love-IA-DEM
'I who love him/her/it'

(82) *a-ŋolʸ-iy-iŋko* (6)98
1sA-3sO.love-PST-DEM
'I who loved him/her/it'

a-ŋolʸ-iy-ø (798)
1sA-3sO.love-PST-NOM
'I who loved him/her/it'

(83) *a-ŋole-kt-an-iŋko* (801)
1sA-3sO.love-F-IA-DEM
'I who shall love him/her/it'

a-ŋole-kt-aŋ-ø (801)
1sA-3sO.love-F-IA-NOM
'I who shall love him/her/it'

(84) *a-ŋole-lam-iŋko* (802)
1sA-3sO.love-FN1-DEM
'I who shall love him/her/it'

a-ŋole-lam (802)
1sA-3sO.love-FN1
'I who shall love him/her/it'

In relative clauses in *-ko* the head of the form in *-ko* is the subject:

(85) *nonas-na* *ø-ki-aŋ-ko* *hakol* *l-o-itˢ-t-aŋ* (1470)
glory-QUOT 3sS-speak-IA-DEM humble 3sS-do-PAS-F-IA
'He who gloryfies himself will be humiliated'.

In relative clauses in *-iŋko* the head can be either a subject or an object:

(86) *pi-man-ap santo maso-kt-aŋ-iŋko* (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 čup-a, nʸo mi-po-šk-ey-pit, pe*
3sA-2sO-carry-PST womb-TOP breast 2sA-3pO-drink-PST-COR that
mek makhay če-kt-aŋ (1472)
all bliss 3pS-be-IA
'The womb that carried you, and the breasts that you drank from, they are blissful'.

(88) *into-ŋko-pit mučaŋ a-l-o-kt-aŋ-iŋko sa-p-sim*
which-DEM-IND kiss 1sA-3sO-do-F-IA-DEM 3s-ABL-EMP
ø-kot-aŋ, mi-tˢap-ha-ki (1475)
3sS-be-IA 2A-3sO.catch-PL-IMP
'Whoever I shall kiss, catch him, he is the one'.

(89) *ko hil l-o-itˢ-iy, ki-tˢaš-te* (1463)
this word 3sS-make-PAS-PST 1pA-3sO.see-F
'Let us see the word which was made'.

The head of a form in *-lam(-iŋko)* is the object:

(90) *mi-l-o-lam(-iŋko) šipna-lʸ mi-l-o-ki* (1489)
2sA-3sO-do-FN1(-DEM) quick-RST 2sA-3sO-do-IMP
'What you have to do, do it quickly'.

A relative clause of which the object is the antecedent, can also be expressed by a syntactic construction in which the demonstrative *into-ŋko* or the indefinite *ol* play the role of a relative pronoun:

(91) *iŋko nʸalo ol/ into-ŋko Jesus i-ŋolʸ-iy*
that disciple who/ which-DEM Jesus 3sA-3sO.love-PST
ø-n-ay mitˢ-hu i-tˢč-iy, ko-sim mahač
3sPOS-REL-back 3sS.come-SR 3sA-3sO.see-PST this-EMP great
lamolam-te ø-lu-tˢel nʸan-te milmoh-no-w (1457)
meal-AD 3sPOS-interior-CL:truncal face-AD 3sS.lean.over-RFL-PST
'He saw the disciple whom Jesus loved following him (Jesus), [and] this one rested on his chest at the Last Supper'.

12.5. Nominal predicate constructions

Nominalized forms in *-lam* 'future nominalizer 1', *-(ŋ)o* '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-aŋ* (1617)
1sS-interior-burn-FN1 1sS-be-IA
'I used to abhor'.

In the case of *-(ŋ)o* and *-pakna*, the negative counterpart of *-(ŋ)o*, the subject of the copula can either be identical to or different from that of the nominalized form in *-(ŋ)o* and *-pakna*. When the subjects are identical, the sentence is in the active voice:

(93) *ašmaŋ* *mi-lʸa-ŋo* *me-kt-aŋ* *mi-wa* (1080)
first 2sS-go-FN2 2sS-be-IA 2s-TOP
'You have to go first'.

(94) *mi-lʸawoh-pakna* *me-kt-aŋ* *mi-yelam-a* (1574)
2sS-carry-NE.NOM 2sS-be-IA 2sPOS-bed-TOP
'You may not carry your bed'.

When the subject of the copula corresponds to the object of the form in *-(ŋ)o* or *-pakna*, the sentence is passive:

(95) *minʸip-če* *real* *Juaŋ* *mi-l-e-ŋo*
four-CL:round quarter.of.a.peseta Juan 2sA-3sO-give-FN2
ø-kot-aŋ (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* *če-kt-aŋ-ko-lʸak-pat,* *into-nʸ* *ki-po-wo-pakna*
that all 3sS-be-IA-DEM-NF-INS which-CMP 1pA-3pO-do-NE.NOM
če-kt-aŋ (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)e*, attached to a nominalized form in *-(k)te* 'infinitive' (see section 7.4.5.2), *-(ŋ)o* 'future nominalizer 2' (see section 7.4.5.4), or *-pakna*, the negative counterpart of *-(ŋ)o* (see section 11.7). We have seen that the endings *-(k)te-ke, -(ŋ)o-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 pal^{v}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^{s}-o-ke* (467)
1sS-be-NE-FN2-ANT
'I would not have been'

(99) *a-kot-pakna-ke* (485)
1sS-be-NE.NOM-ANT
'I would not have been'

(100) *mi-ha-wa mi-l-o-ha-pakna-ke, ok-nake a-l-ø-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 *-(ŋ)o-ke* precedes the one in *-(k)te-ke*:

(101) *pal^{v}ow mi-kot-o-ke-wa, a-m-pen^{v}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^{s}-o-ke* precedes the clause with *-pakna-ke*:

(102) *yel ø-kot-iy-pit^{s}-o-ke-wa, ayča ki-mtih-pakna-ke* (504)
salt 3sS-be-PST-NE-FN2-ANT-TOP meal 1pA-salt-NE.NOM-ANT
'If there had not been salt, we could not salt the meat'.

13. **Dictionary**

13.1. Introduction

The lexicon below (section 13.2) contains the nouns (N), demonstratives (DEM), numerals (NUM), numeral classifiers (CL), pronouns (PRON), indefinite pronouns (INDP), question words (QW), verbs, bound verbs (BV), adverbs (ADV), interjections (INTJ), derived items, such as attributives (ATT), and expressions found in the *ALC*. Some items have a second, alternative form. Alternative forms are separated by a slash: *ampek/ empek* 'good', 'allright'. Items borrowed from Spanish or Quechua are respectively indicated by means of the abbreviations Sp and QUE, put in parentheses.

In the lexicon, nouns which make a distinction between an absolute form and a relational form are represented in their absolute form, i.e. in the form with a stem-initial vowel or stem-initial *k, p, h, y*. Remember that nouns which begin with a vowel take *n* in their relational forms; stem-initial *k* and *h* change into *ŋ* and *s*, respectively, in the third person singular possessive form; and stem-initial *p* and *y* change into *m* and t^s, respectively, in all the relational forms (see section 5.5). In chapter 5 we have also seen that nouns can be subject to vowel reduction (section 5.4.2) and that the vowel *i* of a person prefix harmonizes with the stem vowels *e* and *u* (section 5.4.1). In the *ALC*, a small number of nouns only occur in a reduced form, i.e. with a suppressed stem vowel. The identity of this vowel can not be discovered when the person prefix of the noun at issue is a first person singular *a-*, or when the person prefix does not have a copy vowel. Non-identifiable suppressed stem vowels are represented by means of a capital V, 'vowel', in parentheses: e.g. *h(*V*)l*^{y}*em* 'friend'.

As regards the verbs, we have seen in section 7.4.1 that a minority of stems retain their full shape under all circumstances. Most of the verb stems can be reduced by means of vowel suppression or consonant suppression: class 1 verbs have a consonantal stem with a suppressable internal vowel (cf. *k(o)t* '(to) be'); class 2 verbs have a stem with a suppressable final *h* (cf. *lo(h)* '(to) wet'); the stem of class 3 verbs ends in *e*, which can be reduced to a non-syllabic palatal sound (cf. *kole/ kol*^{y} '(to) love'); the stem of class 4 verbs have a suppressable final *a* (cf. *pat*^{s}*(a)* '(to) take all day'); class 5 verbs end in *o*, which is suppressed before the imperfective marker *-(a)ŋ* (cf. *pen*^{y}*(o)* '(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*^{y}*aŋ*' in the following form: *ikhan*^{y}*aŋkol*^{y}*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*^{y}*aŋ* could also be an imperfective aspect form which could be derived of *han*^{y}*a(h)* (class 2); *hane/ han*^{y} (class 3); *han*^{y}*(a)* (class 4); *han*^{y}*(o)* (class 5); *han*^{y} (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 *y(a)m(o)* '(to) know'(see section 7.3.1), which partly behave as a class 1 verb and partly as a class 5 verb, are indicated by means of the numbers 1 + 5. A non-reducible stem is indicated by means of the abbreviation 'NR' and irregular stems by means of the abbreviation 'IR' (see section 'Irregularities' 7.3.2, and section 7.3.3.2 for the irregular stems of bound verbs). The numbers of the possible verb classes and the abbreviations 'NR' and 'IR' are put in parentheses after the bare verb form, viz. the form stripped of its ending *aŋ*, suffix *-(i)y*, nominalizers, or subordinators: e.g.: *han*^{y} (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 *kiši(h)* '(to) cheat' below has been derived from the irregular imperfective aspect form *a-ŋisi-n*^{y} 'I deceive', 'I cheat', the only form of this verb found in de la Mata's data, and, the only imperfective aspect form ending in a palatal nasal. Imperfective aspect forms regularly end in a velar nasal (see section 7.1). The verb *p(*V*)n*^{y}*e(h)* '(to) leave' also only occurs in one form:

mi-pn^{y}*eh-la-kt-aŋ* (1366)
2sO-leave-3pA-F-IA
'they will leave you'

The stem *p(*V*)n*^{y}*e(h)* may have been derived from a hybrid verb **p(*V*)n*^{y}*(o)*, cf. *t*^{s}*(a)m(o)* '(to) know' (1 + 5) > *t*^{s}*(a)me(h)* '(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	one
a (NR) V	(to) do, (to) say; (to) eat
ah! INTJ	interjection to hail someone or to give someone a fright
aha! INTJ	interjection used when catching someone red-handed
ahwiyain! INTJ	hang on!
akinah(a)! INTJ	wait!
aku! INTJ	interjection expressing lovingness and pity
alkalde (Sp) N	mayor
alew! INTJ	interjection of cold
algwasil (Sp) N	public prosecutor
aloŋ N	outside
alum INDP	another, other(s)
alʸaw! (QUE) INTJ	interjection of pain
alʸha N	animal
alʸhi N	sweetness
am N	food; place
amehe N	truth
am(o) (5) V	(to) eat
lamolam N	meal
ampal N	something old
ampašleŋ N	unfortunate; scoundrel
ampe(h) N	depth; downside
ampeh putam N	underworld, hell
ampek/ empek ADV	good, allright
ana QW	how many; when
(a)n(a) (IR) V	(to) come

angel (Sp) N	angel
anih! INTJ	interjection expressing surprise, or malicious pleasure
anima (Sp) N	soul
an^{y}iw! INTJ	interjection expressing anticipation, or 'I wish!'
an-t^{s}el INDP	one, another
aŋ! INTJ	interjection expressing amazement
ap(a) (4) V	(to) climb
apičak (QUE) N	hundred
ašmaŋ ADV	first
ašwa N	fish
ate QW	when
atelpa N	chicken
atelpa mulupču N	chick
atem N	morning
atemel^{y} ADV	early in the morning
atih! INTJ	interjection expressing distress
at^{s}iw ADV	frequently
awka (QUE) N	enemy
ay N	back(side)
aye N	younger
ayte ATT	quiet
aytel^{y} ADV	quietly
ayteču ATT	peaceful
aytečual^{y} ADV	secretely
ayča/ eyt^{s}a (QUE) N	meat
ayki (NR) V	(to) stay
ayunaŋ (Sp) N	fast

B

baptismo/ baptisaŋ (Sp) N	baptism
Belén (Sp) N	Bethlehem
bihiliya (Sp) N	vigel
birheŋ (Sp) N	virgin
byernes (Sp) N	Friday

Č

č(e) (3) V	(to) give birth
čam N	chain
čaŋ N	bundle
-čaŋ CL	bundled object
č(a)ŋ (1) V	(to) bind
čapl^{y}oŋ N	pan
čase(h) (2) V	(to) chat
kat^{s}anpat čase(h) (2) V	(to) fool, (to) joke
č(a)s(o) (1 + 5) V	(to) play
če N	egg
-če CL	round object
čekel^{y} ATT	excellent
čeč N	clearness, white
čečo N	silver, money
čečo kamayok N	silver keeper, money keeper
-če(h) (2) BV	(to) wander
čem (NR) V	(to) ban
česmin^{y} N	cedar
či(h) (2) V	(to) open
čia(h) (2) V	(to) win
ečia(h) V	(to) defeat

čikn(o) (5) V	(to) be afraid
čiknoŋo ATT	fearful, fearsome
čiknehn(o) (5) V	(to) be amazed, (to) be surprised
čim! INTJ	please!
čin^{y} N	gray
čit (1, or NR) V	(to) lose
čočol (2, 4, 5, or NR) V	(to) twinkle
čol N	flash, flicker, light, twinkle
čoti! INTJ	I bet!
čow N	louse
čul N	mucus
čup N	belly
-čup CL	portable object
-čup(o) (5) BV	(to) do tenderly

D

doktrina (Sp) N	doctrine
doktrina leit^{s}	(to) recite the doctrine
	(lit. the doctrine is given)
domingo (Sp) N	sunday

E

e/y (2) V	(to) give
(h)eey!/ hey! INTJ	yes!
el N	yucca
elefante (Sp) N	elephant
es (NR) V	(to) enter
espiritu (Sp) N	(Holy) ghost
eštek N	cloth
nešteka(h) (2) V	(to) cloth somenone
neštekon(o) (5) V	(to) cloth oneself

et N	fire
et^{s} 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^{s} (NR) V	(to) be humiliated
hanap ADV	taking care
han^{y} (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	(to) release
hia(h) (2) V	(to) wait
hil N	mosquito
hil N	word
-hil CL	speech
h(i)l(a) (IR) V	(to) speak, (to) say
hili N	fault
hina(h) (2) V	(to) hear
hint^{s}iw/ hint^{s}i (IR) V	(to) talk
hint^{s}iweka(h) (2) V	(to) fool, (to) joke
ho N	blood
h(o) (5) V	(to) dig
hok N	clarity
hoŋ(kes) N	something large
hostia (Sp) N	Eucharist
*h(*V*)l^{y}em* N	friend
hul N	pine cone
hulap N	wideness
hulum N	fatness, thickness

I

ič-/ is-/ iš- NUM	three
ištako ištako ADV	in three
ača(ka)y! INTJ	interjection expressing disdain
ačam N	truth
ači! INTJ	interjection expressing horror
ačiey! INTJ	interjection expressing fear
iglesia (Sp) N	church
ihna ADV	quickly
ila N	woman
ila pulupču N	girl
ilaču N	little girl

ilo ADV	one by one
i(h)na ADV	thus
ina(ha)m ADV	I wish
inča INDP, N; QW	(some)thing; what
inča inča N	things
inčaču N	something small
*inču*N	something minimal
*iŋko*DEM	that (one), there
insoney N	wave
into QW	which
ip N	kind of edible root
ip- NUM	two
iptapi NUM	both together
iptako iptako ADV	in two
ipt^{s}ok NUM	six
ipt^{s}oko ipt^{s}oko ADV	in six
Israel N	Israel
išak(i) N	difficulty, effort
išiw N	villain
išiwah N	badness
it^{s}ak N	chicha*k*

K

kabal^{y}o (Sp) N	horse
kačiw N	cripple
kahapey N	ice, frost
kahapey matiaŋ	it is freezing
kalis (Sp) N	chalice
kal^{y}(o) (5) V	(to) order
kal^{y}oit^{s}iy N	obligation

kalʲsok N	willingness
kaloč N	plate
kama N	evil, harm, illness
kamatˢiŋ (QUE) N	commandment
kamayok (QUE) N	care, control
kandela (Sp) N	candle
k(a)p (1) V	(to) catch, (to) obtain
kapa (Sp) N	cape
kapak (QUE) N	authority, power, reign, ruler
kapi ADV	today
karesma (Sp) N	Lent
kas N	wind
kasalaŋ/ kasaraŋ (Sp) N	marriage
kasm(o) (5) V	(to) snow, (to) storm
kastigaŋ (Sp) N	punishment
kaša N	needle
katˢaŋ N	words
katˢok N	box
kečwak (Q?) N	poor
kel (1, or NR) V	(to) look for
kelčehuč N	searcher
kel(o) (5) V	(to) thicken, (to) put on weight
kelʲpak N	surrounding(s)
kena N	star
kes N	age
kešum N	nose
keta N	wild boar
ki (NR) V	(to) do
kiče(h) (2) V	(to) walk, (to)stroll, (to) ramble
ki(ha) PRON	we
kiliš NUM	seven
kilišo kilišo ADV	in seven
kilʲ N	wall
kinha N	

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
kol N	death
kole/kolʸ (3) V	(to) love
ŋole(lam) N	love
kolewuč N	lover
-k(o)l(oh) (IR) BV	(to) finish
kolol N	almond, pip, stone
kolw(o) (5) V	(to) feed
konfesaŋ/konfesion (Sp) N	confession
konsegrasion (Sp) N	consecration
kosilʸw(o) (5) V	(to) surround
kot N	water
k(o)t (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
kuči (Sp) N	pig
kučil^{y}o (Sp) N	knife
kuka (QUE) N	coca leafs
kul N	ball of cotton
kule/kul^{y} (3) V	(to) lay down
kulma N	ball
kul^{y}a N	louse
kul^{y}ha N	life
kun (only found in combination with diminutive -*ču*, cf. *mos* and *ni*) N	something (small)
kup(e)pen^{y} N	tepidness
kwatrotemporas (Sp) N	Ember day

L

lam(a) (4) V	(to) kill
lamihuč N	killer, murderer
lasu/ rasu (QUE) N	hail
laš (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^{s}elo alek ant^{s}elo ADV	in eleven
lek N	underside
let N	season
lew N	caterpillar

lik (1, or NR) V	(to) weave
limaŋ N	mountains, highland
limosna (Sp) N	alms
lisensia (Sp) N	license
liš (1, or NR) V	(to) fall
lite(h) (2) V	(to) correct
litehuč N	judge
liw N	letter, book, painting
-liw CL	multiform/ multicoloured object
liwe(h) (2) V	(to) write
lo(h) (2) V	(to) wet
lol N	(river) mouth
lolše N	Spaniard
loŋ N	publicity
lopo(h) (2)/ *lupo(h)* (2) V	(to) do/make something
*low(*V*)tˢ* (1) V	(to) hit
lu N	interior, intestines
luk(o)t (1) V	(to) be (in)
lupak(o)t (1)/ *lupok(o)t* (1) V	(to) think, (to) seem, (to) remember
lupo(h) (2) V	(to) abhor
lutˢel N	breast
luw(o) (5) V	(to) be sad
luwolam N	grief
lulo N	sadness, effort, difficulty
lum N	top
lumtˢap(o) (5) V	(to) embrace
lumitup ADV	intentionally
lunes (Sp) N	monday
lusaki/ lusay (IR) V	(to) pity
lusakiyewohn(o) (5) V	(to) offend
lusayeuč N	merciful person

luyum (NR) V	(to) suffer
luyum N	work
luwe(h) (2) V	(to) prevent, (to) stop
*l(*V*)t* (1) V	(to) weaken

L^{y}

l^{y}a(h) (2) V	(to) loam
l^{y}aka N	colour, something coloured, red
l^{y}aksa N	lightness
l^{y}atipe(h) (2) V	(to) prepare
l^{y}(a)w/ l^{y}a (IR) V	(to) go
l^{y}awiŋ N	nail
l^{y}a(wo)h (IR) V	(to) bring, (to) take
l^{y}em (see also *tel^{y}*) ADV	still
l^{y}emt^{s}ap(o) (5) V	(to) help
l^{y}es N	alfalfa
l^{y}(e)t (1) V	(to) be weak
l^{y}iŋ N	green
l^{y}iš N	little kind of monkey
l^{y}ok N	nudity
l^{y}ol^{y}o N	tintinabulum
l^{y}om N	crevice
l^{y}u N	peacock
l^{y}uhlam N	purpose
l^{y}(u)k(oh) (IR) V	(to) finish
-l^{y}(u)k(oh) (IR) BV	(to) finish
l^{y}up (NR) V	(to) eat
l^{y}upuč N	eater
l^{y}up N	immersion

M

ma ADV	not
ma! INTJ	no!
mae ADV	falsely
maestro N	master
ma(ha) (cf. *pa*) N	high degree
mahac N	guard
mahač N	night
mak/ makhay N	happiness
makhay/maksay (NR) V	(to) be happy, (to) rejoice
mak haki (NR) V	(to) rejoice
mala N	something raw
malewohček (ADV)	excessively
man N	equal
(man)hič(o) (5) V	(to) be submerged
mas(o) (5) V	(to) take all night
m(a)s(o) (1 + 5) V	(to) be born
masowmaško N	birth
mata N	body
meč N	tree, branch, stick, wood
mek INDP	all
mel^{y}us N	canoe
mesa (Sp) N	table
mi PRON	you
m(ih) (IR) V	(to) sow
miŋl^{y}ak N	neighbourhood
miŋl^{y}akwe(h) (2) V	(to) approach
min^{y}ip NUM	you (p)
minaha PRON	four
misa (Sp) N	mass

mise N	cold
mita N	time
-mita CL	time
mo(h) (2) V	(to) ascend
mohn(o) (5) V	(to) go up
pilmohn(o) (5) V	(to) lean on/against
mol N	(solar) day
-mol CL	(solar) day
atmole atmole ADV	from day to day
mol N	ground
mon N	back
mos (only found in combination with diminutive *-ču,* cf. *kun* and *ni*) N	something (tiny)
mot N	name
muč N	(hot) pepper
mučaŋ (QUE) N	honour, prayer
mu(h) (2) V	(to) bring into the mouth, (to) taste; (to) bury
mula (Sp) N	mule
-mul(o) (5) BV	(to) begin
mušak N	sun

N

nalo N	disciple
nan (IR) V	(to) come
nan(o) (5) V	(to) be afraid
napa N	parrot
napu N	(our) Lord
neit^{s} (NR) V	(to) embark
nem N	day
nemlup N	midday

neŋ N	hand, branch
ni (only found in combination with comitative -*nik* and diminutive -*ču*, cf. *kun* and *mos*) N	something
nonas N	grandeur
none ADV	yet
nuh N	hole
nuk N	box
nun N	male person

N^{y}

n^{y}ače N (cf. *če*)	eye
n^{y}alok N	ordinary (time)
n^{y}amo! INTJ	come!
n^{y}anmak INDP	each
n^{y}ansik N	effort
n^{y}an(ta) N	face
n^{y}anmito N	owner
n^{y}anpuil^{y} N (cf. *puil^{y}* '(to) fall')	shame
n^{y}anšip (2, 4, 5, or NR) V	(to) haste
n^{y}antum (NR) V	(to) cover
n^{y}apa N	parrot
n^{y}(e) (3) V	(to) sleep
n^{y}(i)k/n^{y}ih (IR) V	(to) fetch
n^{y}ip (1, or NR) V	(to) touch
n^{y}o N	breast
n^{y}u N	daughter

ŋ

ŋet^{s} N	someone's mother
ŋuč N	someone's father
ŋun^{y}*a* N	something soft

O

o (5) V	(to) do, (to) make
oč̌o N	something big
ohom N	idleness
ohomal^{y} ADV	immediately
ok PRON	I
okon^{y} NUM	nine
ol INDP, QW	who
olio (Sp) N	oil
Santo Olio	Extreme Unction
ol^{y}*e* N	saliva
on^{y}*čapl*^{y}*a* N	chatterbox, talker
onew! INTJ	interjection expressing anger
oŋša N	well, pit
opey (QUE) N	deaf-mute
owlum N	snake
ow N	distance
oy! INTJ	O.K.!
oyna N	health

P

pa N	father
pa N	high degree
paha PRON	they
pah(a) (4) V	(to) seperate
pahat N	yesterday
pahat(o) (5) V	(to) come down, (to) bring along from the mountain
pagalaŋ (Sp) N	payment
pak NUM	eight
pak(o) (5) V	(to) know
pak(o)t (1) V	(to) be
pakupl^{y}ew N	passion fruit
palam N	field, square
palantu (Sp) N	banana
pale/pal^{y} (3) V	(to) pass by
-pale/pal^{y} (3) BV	(to) pass by
palol/ paloŋ N	door, gate
pal^{y}ow N	beauty, goodness
pan N	mother
pana N	road
pangala N	forest turkey
papayu (Sp) N	papaya
Pasco (Sp) N	Easter, big feast
pas(o) (5) V	(to) advise, (to) preach
pašol N	summer
pata N	body
*p(*V*)ta* (1) V	(to) accompany
pate/pat^{y} (3) V	(to) go out, (to) leave
patili N	father, priest

patoš N	garbage, litter, waste
pat^{s}(a) (4) V	night is falling; (to) take all night
pat^{s}an^{y}wet^{s}et ADV	the other way round
payam ADV	almost
payat^{s} N	afternoon
pe DEM	the one yonder, yonder
peh (always followed by diminutive *-ču*) N	distance, flight
peim N	peanut
pel N	moon
-pel CL	lunar month
pele/ pel^{y} (3) V	(to) meet
peleta(h) (2) V	(to) shine
pelipl^{y}ep (2, 4, 5, or NR) V	lighten, there are flashes of lightning
penčihn(o) (5) V	(to) swear
penitensia (Sp) N	penitence
pen^{y}(o) (5) V	(to) want
men^{y} N	desire, will
men^{y}olam N	desire, liking
pen^{y}owuč N	lover
perdo(na)ŋ (Sp) N	pardon
pet^{s} N	tobacco
pey N	earth
pičak N	hundred
pilči(h) (2) V	(to) break
piliw N	year
-piliw CL	year
pilm (1, or 4) V	(to) send
-pimok CL	space
pil^{y} N	fyke, net

p(i)s (1) V	(to) ask, (to) buy
pišaŋ ADV	thus
piškam N	vase
pišt(o) (5) V	(to) leave
pišto(h) (2) V	(to) destroy
pit (1, 4, or NR) V	(to) win
pita(h) (2) V	(to) miss; (to) be absent
pitek N	truth
p(i)t^{s} (1) V	(to) come
-pit^{s} (NR) BV	(to) do while passing by
p(i)yip (1) V	(to) work
pihihuč N	worker
po(h) (2) V	(to) burn, (to) give a fever
poho N	morning
poh(o) (5) V	day breaks
pok N	time, turn
-pok CL	repeatable events
poŋ N	group
-poŋ CL	group of living beings
pot (4, or NR) V	(to) come
-puč CL	completed, full entity
p(u)č (1) V	(to) put down
pučе(h) (2) V	(to) fulfil
puil^{y} (NR) V	(to) fall
puil^{y}*kit*^{s} N	gold
-puk CL	digestable chunks
pul (1, 2, 4, or NR) V	(to) be satisfied
-pul (NR) BV	(to) stop
pulkup N	midnight
pulum N	thunder

pul(up) N	son
puluč N	husband
puluč(o) (5) V	(to) marry (a man)
puluwa(h) (2)/ *puluw(o)* (5) V	(to) abhor
pul^{y} N	yellow
pun(o) (5) V	(to) ask
pusim N	reed
putam N	village, world
puyaka ADV	on purpose
puyup N	bridge
*p(*V*)hol^{y}* (1) V	(to) obtain, (to) reach
*p(*V*)n^{y}e(h)* (2) V	(to) leave
*p(*V*)sah* (1) V	(to) make, (to) commit
*p(*V*)sawohuč* N	creator
*p(*V*)šaw(o)* (1 + 5) V	(to) spin
*p(*V*)ti(h)* (2) V	(to) salt
*p(*V*)t(o)* (1 + 5) V	(to) swim

R

rasu (see also *lasu*) (QUE) N	hail
real (Sp) N	quarter of a peseta
resaŋ (Sp) N	prayer

S

sa PRON	he, she, it
sa N	something old
sabado (Sp) N	saturday
sah (1, 4, or NR) V	(to) carry
sak N	food

sakramento (Sp) N	sacrament
sal^{y} 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	(to) lie
sepek N	lie
sepu (Sp) N	stocks
sinta (Sp) N	ribbon
sin^{y} N	waste
siw N	lack
soldado (Sp) N	soldier
somek N	wound
s(u)k (1) V	(to) laugh
suku(sil^{y}*)* 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

še N	hair
šel (1, 4, or NR) V	(to) be pregnant
šep N	impotent, sterility
šepos (NR)/ *šepos(o)* (5) V	(to) blow
šeš N	scabies
š(i)k/ ših (IR) V	(to) drink
šaka(h) (2) V	(to) get drunk
šake(h) (2) V	(to) let someone get drunk
šihlam N	drink
šihuč N	drinker
-šipe(h) (2) BV	(to) nearly do, (to) nearly happen
šipna ADV	quickly
šiptet N	kind of fruit
šokot N	river
šo(h) (2) V	(to) pour
šot N	brother
šuŋ N	village
-šuŋ CL	accumulation
ašuŋal^{y} ADV	together
š(V)*p(o)* (1 + 5) V	(to) be free, (to) be saved
kišpehuč N	Our Redeemer
kišpolam N	our redemption

T

ta N	stone
-ta CL	firm/stony object
t(a)/to (IR) V	(to) do
taka N	hipbone
takla N	kind of armadillo
tamše N	stone on which maize, etc. is ground

tanta (QUE) N	bread
t(a)pač (1) V	(to) rise
tapt (1, 2, 4, or 5) V	(to) be
te(h) N	height, top
teh(o) (5) V	(to) fill
tele ADV	continuously
telʸ ADV (cf. *lʸem* 'still')	still
(te)nom N	bit
teŋiš (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, or NR) V	(to) spin
tepat ADV	always, eternally, for ever
teph(o) (5) V	(to) keep watch
tepuč ADV	intentionally, on purpose
tesa(h) (2) V	(to) thank
(te)senta N	paradise
tesim ADV	always
tiki (NR) V	(to) be(come), (to) have
tinʸe(h) (2) V	(to) give splendour
-tip CL	(small) piece
t(o)ŋ (1) V	(to) be (seated)
toŋče(h) (2) V	(to) hang around,(to) wander around
toŋle/ toŋlʸ (3) V	(to) sit down
trigo (Sp) N	wheat
tua N	cockatoo
-tuh CL	detachable object
t(u)ŋ (1) V	(to) say to
t(u)p (1) V	(to) walk
tupuč N	walker
tutuh N	eagle
tušam (< *yušam*) N	kind of armadillo

Tˢ

tˢala N	married woman
tˢ(a)law(o) (5) V	(to) marry (a woman)
tˢak N	chicha
tˢaluč N	Ethiopian negro
tˢ(a)p (1) V	(to) catch
ašwa tˢapuč N	fisherman
tˢel N	foot
tˢel kačiw N	bandy-legs
kitˢelpat kutuplam pana	footpath
-tˢel CL	truncal object
tˢep N	meat
tˢi N	rain
tˢi let N	winter
tˢimus (2, 4, 5, or NR) V	(to) drizzle
tˢiy(V)sit (1) V	(to) clear up
(tˢi)tˢal N	black
tˢipiow N	kind of tree and its fruit
tˢitˢia(h) (2) V	(to) come back (to) return
tˢotˢok N	trousers
tˢu(h) (2) V	(to) anoint
tˢukiow N	medicine

U

uč (QUE) N	hot pepper
uču! INTJ	interjection of heat
učuah N	warmth
ulukiow N	partridge

ul^{y}uk N	(throwing-)spear
un^{y}ep N	wax
un^{y}uah N	health
un^{y}uw! INTJ	interjection of admiration
uŋa (QUE) N	baby
ušus/ ušuš N	butterfly
ut^{s} N	gourd; enemy
ut^{s}a (QUE) N	sin
ut^{s}auč N	sinner
ut^{s}awe(h) (2) V	(to) judge
ut^{s}awehuč N	judge

W

waka (Sp) N	cow
waliw (QUE) N	something strong/beautiful
waranga (QUE) N	thousand
weha/ weša (Sp) N	sheep
wem N	yam, sweet potato

Y

y(a)č (1) V	(to) see
yah (4, or NR) V	(to) bite
yalp (1, 2, 4, or 5) V	(to) gather
yam N	punishment
yamkuila N	diligence
y(a)m(o) (1 + 5) V	(to) know
y(a)me(h) (2) V	(to) teach
(ki)ymehuč N	(our) master, teacher, creator

tˢamoč N	savant, scholar
tˢamoč kot N	wisdom
tˢamokhelʸ ADV	intelligently, sensibly
yamolʸ (3, 4, or NR)	(to) leave
yap N	kind of quadruped
y(e) (3) V	(to) sleep
yelam N	bed
yehono N	secrecy
yehon(o) (5) V	(to) hide
yeitˢ (1, 4, or NR) V	(to) say; (to) be converted
tˢeitˢia(h) (2) V	(to) return
yel N	salt
yelo ADV	together
yelo yelo/ yelolʸ yelolʸ/ yeltelʸ yeltelʸ, yelpat yelpat, yelpatalʸ yelpatalʸ ADV	every man for himself
yey N	laughter
yip N	house
yohn(o) (5) V	(to) purge the stomach
yopuŋ N	dust
yoketehn(o) (5) V	(to) revenge
yosilʸ N	humbleness
yotˢ N	guinea pig
yoy(o) (5) V	(to) cry
yu N	categorie, type
yuč N	kind of edible plant
yupey (QUE) N	esteem
yušam N	kind of armadillo

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Index of authors and subjects

The names of the authors and the subjects mentioned below are followed by the number of the section or appendix in which they occur. The index of authors also includes the names of those which have not been consulted, but which were cited by others. The name of Fray Pedro de la Mata, the writer of the *ALC*, which occurs is almost every section, is not listed in the author index below.

Author index

Adelaar, W.F.H. 4.3.2, 4.3.4.3, 4.4, 5.5, 6.4.5.4
Alvarez de Villanueva, Fray F. 2.1, 2.3.3, 2.3.4, 2.4.1
Amich, Fray J. 1.1, 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4.1
Araujo, Fray J. de. 1.1, 1.2, 2.4.1, 3.1, 3.2.3, Appendix 2
Aristoteles. 3.3.3
Bonavía, D. 2.1, 2.3, 2.3.1
Brinton, D.G. 1.2, 2.1, 2.3.4
Chamberlain, A.F. 1.2
Chaumette des Fossés, A. 2.1, 3.2.1, 3.2.2, Appendix 1
Clota, Fray G. 2.4.1, 3.1, 3.2.1, 3.2.2, 3.2.3, 3.3.3, Appendix 1, Appendix 2
Collart, J. 3.3.3
Dionysos the Thracian. 3.3.3
Dixon, R.M.W. 7.2
Donatus. 3.3.3
Dümmler, C. 3.3.3
Fabre, A. 2.1, 2.4.1
Gibbon, L. 2.1, 2.2, 2.3.1, 2.3.3, 2.3.4, 2.4.1
Greenberg, J.H. 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, Appendix 7
Gutiérrez de Porres, Fray F. 1.1, 1.2, 2.4.1, 3.2.3, Appendix 2
Hartmann, R. Appendix 1
Herndon, W.L. 2.1, 2.2, 2.3.1, 2.3.3, 2.3.4, 2.4.1
Heuven, V.J. van. 4.2.5.2
Izaguirre, B. 2.1, 2.2, 2.3.1, 2.3.2, 2.3.3, 2.3.4, 2.4.1
Jijón y Caamaño, J. 1.2
Kaufman, T. 1.2
Keil, H. 3.3.3
Kemp, J.A.
Lallot, J. 3.3.3
Latorre, S. 1.1, 2.4, 2.4.1
Lepsius, C.R. 4.2.5.1, 4.2.5.2
Loukotká, Č. 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 2.1, 2.4.1, Appendix 7
Martínez Compañón, B.J. 1.1, 1.3, 2.1, Appendix 1, 7
Mendoza Ocampo, A. 2.3
Métraux, A. 2.2

Muysken, P.M. 1.2
Nebrija, A. de. 3.3.3
Peursen, C.A. van. 2.3.3
Plato, 3.3.3
Pöppig, E. 1.2, 2.1, 2.2, 2.3.1, 2.3.3, 2.4.1
Priscianus. 3.3.3
Protagoras. 3.3.3
Quilis, A. 3.3.3
Raimondi, A. 2.3
Rietveld, A.C.M. 4.2.5.2
Rivet, P. 1.2
Sala, Fray G. 2.4.1
Schjellerup, I. 2.4.1
Sievers, E.
Sobreviela, Fray M. de. 2.1, 2.4.1, 2.4.2
Solís Fonseca, G. 2.1, 2.4, 2.4.1
Steward, J.H. 1.2, 2.1, 2.2, 2.3.1, 2.3.2, 2.3.3, 2.3.4, 2.4, 2.4.1
Stiglich, G. 2.3
Störig, H.J. 3.3.3
Suárez, J.A. 1.2, 2.1, 2.4.1
Swadesh, M. 1.2
Tauro, A. 2.1, 2.4.1
Tello, J.C. 1.1
Tessmann, G. 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 2.1, 2.4.1, Appendix 1, 7
Torero, A. 1.2
Tovar, A. 1.2, 2.1, 2.2
Varron. 3.3.3
Wise, M.R. 2.1, 2.4.1

Subject index

a practical spelling 4.7
aa sequences 4.2.7.1
ablative -*(a)p/(n)ap* 6.4.2.6
adjectival use of nouns 6.11.2
adjectivizer -*(k)o* 6.4.5.4
adverbalizer -*(a)l'* 8.2
adverbial markers -*ate, -čin, -čo, -čot, -hin, -in, -mok* 10.7
adverbs 8
affiliation and classification 1.2
agent markers 7.2.2
allative -*pi* 6.4.2.10
anaptyxis 5.7
anteriority marker -*(k)e* 6.4.1

anteriority marker -*(k)e* 7.4.3
apocope 5.7
applicative 7.2.5
aspirated, aspiration 4.2.5.1
assimilation 4.3.12
benefactive -*he* 6.4.2.1
boundary clusters 5.1, 5.3
cardinal, ordinal and distributive numbers 6.9.1
case marker -*(mi)n*^{y} 'as', 'like'; on the verge of' after finite verb forms 7.4.8.4
case marker -*(l*^{y}*ak-)pat* 'because' after finite verb forms 7.4.8.1
case marker -*(l*^{y}*ak-)te-p* 'after'; 'as', 'like'; 'because' after finite verb forms 7.4.8.2
case markers 6.4.2
case marker -*te* 'when', 'where' after finite verb forms 7.4.8.5
case marker -*man-ap* 'after'; 'besides'; 'than (in comparisons)' after finite verb forms 7.4.8.3
characteristics of the *ALC* 3.2.2
Cholón habitat and speakers 2.4.1
Cholón and Híbito territories 2.4
Cholón descendants 2.4.2
Cholón phrases, words, morphemes found in the different books, chapters and paragraphs of the *ALC* Appendix 3.1
cluster simplification 5.7
co-ordination 12.1
co-ordinator -*pit* 10.8
co-ordinator -*pit* 12.1.2
collective marker 6.3
comitative -*nik* 6.4.2.8
comparative 6.11.3
comparative -*(mi)n*^{y} 6.4.2.4
complex sentences 12
compound stems 7.3.3
compound stems formed by means of a noun 7.3.3.1
compound stems formed by means of a bound verb 7.3.3.2
concluding remarks about the use of consonant symbols 4.6
conclusion question words 6.7.6
conjugation of the verbs *k(o)t* '(to) be', *ŋole/ŋol*^{y} '(to) love someone/something', and *men*^{y}*(o)* '(to) want someone/something' Appendix 3.2
consonant clusters 5.3
consonant dissimilation and assimilation 5.6
consonant symbols 4.3
consonant symbols and their most likely value 4.6.1
copy vowel 5.3
correlation 12.2
data of Greenberg Appendix 7.3

deictics *ko* and *iŋko* 7.4.6.6
demonstrative pronoun *into-ŋko* 6.6.2
demonstratives 6.7
demonstratives *ko, iŋko, pe* 6.6.1
depalatalization 4.3.4.2, 4.4, 5.7
derivational suffix *-(k)ia(h)* ‘reiterative’ 7.3.4.4
derivational suffix *-(k)e(h)* ‘causative’ 7.3.4.3
derivational suffixes 6.4.5
derivational suffix *-n(o)* ‘reflexive’ 7.3.4.5
derivational suffix *-ka(h)* ‘indirect causative’ 7.3.4.2
derivational suffix *-it*ˢ ‘passive’ 7.3.4.1
derived stems 7.3.4
derived nouns 6.10
description of Cholón in the *ALC* 3.3
devoicing 5.7
diminutive *-ču* 6.4.5.2
diphthong(s) 4.2.1, 4.2.5.1, 4.2.7, 4.2.7.3, 4.2.7.5, 4.2.7.6, 4.2.8, 4.6.3
ee sequences 4.2.7.2
emphasis marker *-sim* 10.5
evaluation of the use of the vowel symbols 4.2.6
evaluation of Pedro de la Mata’s remarks 4.1.1.1
examples with vowel positions Appendix 4.1
exclamation marker *-a(h)* 10.2.1
exclamation markers 10.2
exclamation markers *-nah* and *-nay* 10.2.3
exclamation marker *-ham* 10.2.2
excursus on the passive voice 7.3.4.6
farming 2.3.3
finite verb forms followed by case markers 7.4.8
fishing and hunting 2.3.2
fixed combinations with case markers 6.4.3
folios Appendix 2
fortition 5.7
future marker *-(k)t(e)* 7.4.4
gemination 4.3.12
gender indication 6.11.4
genitive constructions 6.11.1
glottal stop 4.1.1, 4.2.7, 4.2.7.1, 4.2.7.3, 4.2.7.4, 4.2.7.6, 4.3.3, 5.4, 4.6.2
habitat and living conditions of the Cholón 2.3
hands and transcribers of the *ALC* 3.2.3
history of the *ALC* 3.2.1
housing 2.3.1
idiomatic expressions 7.8
ii sequences 4.2.7.3

imperative markers -*(k)(i)* and -*(k)he* 7.4.5
impersonal verbs 7.5
incompletive aspect marker -*(a)ŋ* 7.4.1
indefinite pronoun *alum* 6.8.1
indefinite pronoun *mek* 6.8.4
indefinite pronouns 6.8
indefinite pronoun *an-tˢel* 6.8.2
indefinite pronoun *inča* 6.8.3
indefinite pronoun *ol* 6.8.6
indefinite -*pit* 6.4.5.5
indefinite pronoun *nʸanmak* 6.8.5
index of proper names and geographical names in the *ALC* Appendix 6
indirect speech marker -*he* 10.1.2
inessive -*man* 6.4.2.3
inflexional suffixes 7.4
instrumental -*pat* 6.4.2.9
interjections 9
interrogative stem *ana* 6.7.1
interrogative pronoun *ol* 6.7.5
interrogative demonstrative pronoun *into-ŋko* 6.7.4
interrogative *inča* 6.7.2
interrogative stem *into* 6.7.3
inventory of consonants 4.6.2
irrealis or hypothetical clauses 12.6
irregularities 7.3.2
juxtaposition 12.1.1
lateralization 4.4, 5.7
lexicon 13
linguistic data 1.1
list of words and expressions of Mr. José Santos Chapa Ponce Appendix 7.4.2
list of words and expressions of Mrs. Aurelia Gutiérrez Cerquera Appendix 7.4.1
lists of words and expressions given by Mrs. Gutiérrez Cerquera and Mr. Chapa Appendix 7.4
length/ long vowel(s) 4.2.5.1, 4.2.5.2, 4.2.6, 4.2.7, 4.2.7.1, 4.2.7.2, 4.2.7.3, 4.2.7.4, 4.2.7.5, 4.2.7.6, 4.2.8, 4.3.4.3, 5.3
main features of the Cholón 2.2
maps Appendix 1
metathesis 5.7
model of de la Mata's language description 3.3.3
morphonological processes in loan words 5.7
morphonology 5
natural pair marker -*pulʸeŋ* 6.4.5.6
negation 11
negator -*čin* 11.2

negator -*mu* 11.3
negator -*nik* 11.5
negator -*(p)e* 11.7
negator *ma* 11.1
negator -*na*- 11.4
neutral verbs 7.6
nominal constructions 6.11
nominal predicate constructions 12.5
nominal morphosyntax 6
nominalizer -*(k)te* 'infinitive' 7.4.6.2
nominalizer -*(e)č* 'factivizer' 7.4.6.1
nominalizer -(*ŋ)o* 'future nominalizer 2' 7.4.6.4
nominalizer -*(w)uč* 'agentive' 7.4.6.5
nominalizer -*iŋko* 7.4.6.6.2
nominalizer -*ko* 7.4.6.6.1
nominalizer -*lam* 'future nominalizer 1' 7.4.6.3
nominalizers 7.4.6
non-personal adessive -*te* 6.4.2.11
number 6.11.5
numeral classifiers 6.9.2
numerals and classifiers 6.9
object markers 7.2.3
oo sequences 4.2.7.4
overview of consonant clusters Appendix 4.2
overview of Cholón forms and examples encountered in the *ALC* Appendix 3
overview subordinators 7.4.7.5
overview derivational suffixes 6.4.5.7
overview nominalizers 7.4.6.7
overview personal reference 7.2.7
overviews case markers 6.4.4
Pedro de la Mata's guttural 4.3.11
Pedro de la Mata's observations on the symbols 4.1.1
periphrastic possessive pronouns 6.6
perlative -*nake* 6.4.2.5
person markers *t*- and *p-/ m*- 7.2.6
personal adessive -*tu* 6.4.2.12
personal pronouns 6.5
personal reference 7.2
plural marker -*lol* 6.4.5.3
positions and use 4.2.5.2.1
positions and use of symbol *e* 4.2.5.1.1
possessive person markers 6.2
possible value of the symbols employed in the *ALC* 4.1.3
prefix order 7.2.4

prohibitive 11.6
prolative -*nayme* 6.4.2.7
purpose of the *ALC* 3.3.2
question marker -*(a)m, -wam* 10.3.1
question markers 10.3
question words 6.7
question marker -*le* 10.3.2
question marker -*na* 10.3.3
quotative -*na* 10.1.2
reducible stems 7.3.1
register of de la Mata's description 3.3.3
relative clauses 12.4
relevant and non-relevant consonant distinctions 4.6.3
reportative -*(a)č* 10.1.1
restrictive -*(a)lʸ* 6.4.5.1
sentential suffixes 10
sequences of similar consonant symbols 4.3.12
sequences of similar vowel symbols 4.2.7
short (vowel) 4.3.4.3
sounds and symbols 4, 4.1
Spanish and Quechua loan words Appendix 5
speech markers 10.1
spelling 3.3.1
stem alternation 5.5
stem extender and past tense marker -*(i)y/-w* 7.4.2.1
stem extension and past tense markers 7.4.2
stem extender and past tense marker -*(e)y* 7.4.2.2
stems 7.3
stress 4.2.5.1, 4.2.5.2, 4.2.7.5, 4.5
structure of the book 1.3
subject markers 7.2.1
subordination 12.3
subordinator -*(k)he* 'simultaneity' 7.4.7.2
subordinator -*(n)ap* 'sequence' 7.4.7.3
subordinator -*((k)t-)eč* 'purpose' 7.4.7.4
subordinator -*hu* 'switch-reference' 7.4.7.1
subordinators 7.4.7
suffix combination -*tu-p* 'agent', 'focus'; 'source'; 'from someone's house or place'; 'at' 6.4.3.4
suffix combination -*pat-le* 'terminative' 6.4.3.2
suffix combination -*man-ap* 'ablative' 6.4.3.1
suffix combination -*tu-p* 'agent', 'focus' 6.4.3.4.1
suffix combination -*tu-p* 'from someone's house or place' 6.4.3.4.3
suffix combinations -*te-p* 'instrumental', 'elative' 6.4.3.3

suffix combination -*tu-p* in temporal expressions 6.4.3.4.4
suffix combination -*tu-p-e* ‘provenance’ 6.4.3.5
suffix combination -*tu-p* ‘source’ 6.4.3.4.2
suffixes 6.4
syllable structure 5.2
symbol *o* 4.2.5.2
symbol *i/y* 4.3.5
symbol *j* 4.3.10.3
symbol *ch* with replacement 4.3.4.2
symbol *ch* without replacement 4.3.4.1
symbol *h* 4.3.10.2
symbol *g* 4.3.10.1
symbol *a* 4.2.2
symbol *i/y* 4.2.3
symbol *u* 4.2.4
symbol *ch* 4.3.4
symbol *e* 4.2.5.1
symbols *e* and *o* 4.2.5
symbols *c, qu, k* 4.3.3
symbols *g, h, j* 4.3.10
symbols *b, hu, u/v* 4.3.2
symbols *p, t* 4.3.8
symbols *m, n, ñ/n̂*, and *nc* 4.3.7
symbols *tz* and *z* as substitutes for *ch* 4.3.4.3
symbols *l, ll* 4.3.6
symbols employed in the *ALC* 4.1.2
symbols *s/z, x* 4.3.9
syncope 5.7
terminative -*le* 6.4.2.2
the Cholón people 2
the *ALC* 3
topic marker -*(w)a* 10.6
trade 2.3.4
tradition of language description 3.3.3
transcription of loan words 4.4
underived adverbs 8.1
use of diacritics 4.5
uu sequences 4.2.7.5
verbal morphosyntax 7
verbs derived from nouns 7.7
vocative markers -*ey* and -*pey*; -*ma* and -*pa* 10.4
voicing 5.7
vowel assimilation 5.1, 5.4.1, 5.4.2, 5.5, 5.6
vowel harmony and suppression in non-borrowed forms 5.4

vowel positions and consonant clusters Appendix 4
vowel harmony/ harmonization 5.1, 5.4.1, 5.5
vowel symbols 4.2
vowel suppression 5.1, 5.4, 5.4.2
word list of Loukotká Appendix 7.5
word lists Appendix 7
word list of Martínez Compañón Appendix 7.1
word list of Tessmann Appendix 7.2

Appendices

1. Maps

Appendix 1 includes the maps referred to in chapter 1 - 3, four in sum. They represent the following areas:

Map I (Roswith Hartmann, 1987, XII, from Kauffmann Doig, 1982): Peru;

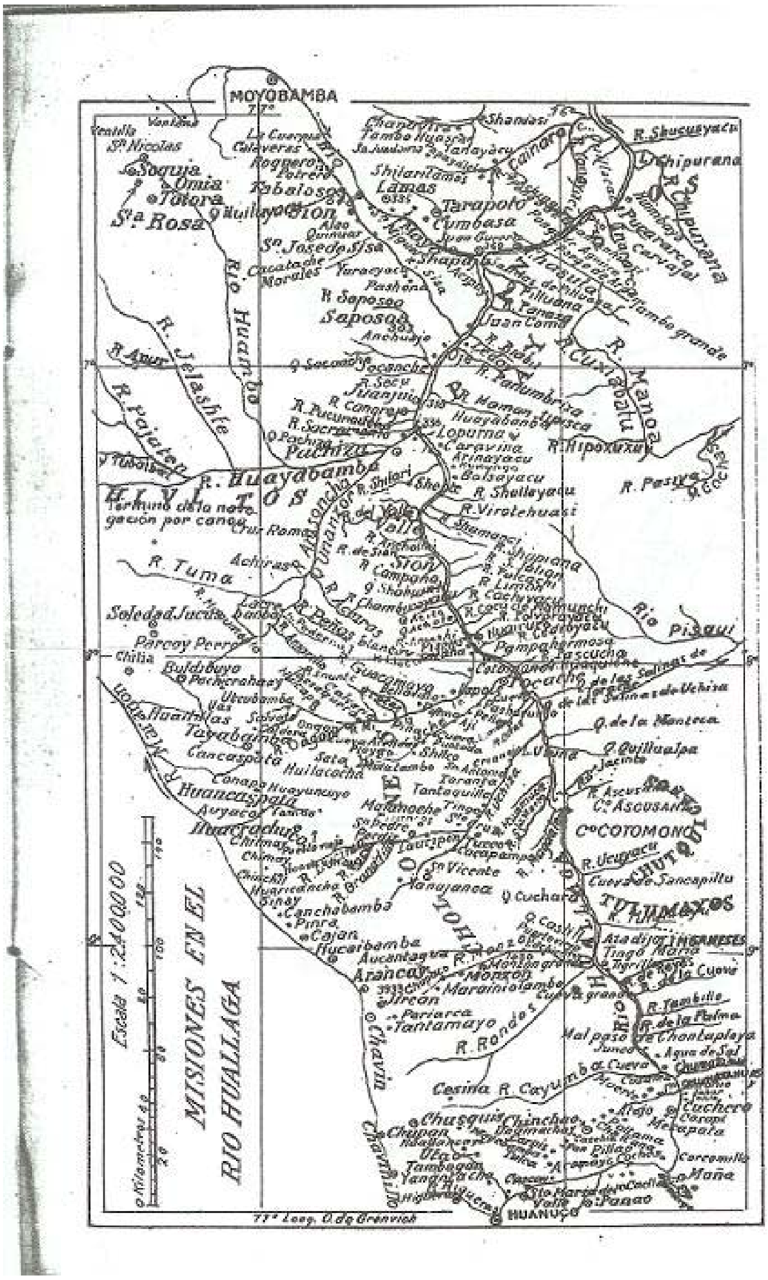
Map II (Izaguirre, 1922, VI: 99): the valley of the Huallaga river, the habitat of the Cholón people. The Cholón habitat stretched out, longitudinally, from the town of Juanjui in the north until Santa María del Valle in the south, and, latitudinally, from the Huallaga river to the Marañón river and the eastern slopes of the Andes. In addition to Juanjui and Santa María del Valle, the towns of (San Buenaventura del) Valle, Sión, Tingo María, Cachicoto, Monzón and Huánuco can be found on this map. (All the above-mentioned places were visited by me during my quest for Cholón speakers in 1996). Names of other ethnic groups can also be found on this map, such as the Hívito, i.e. Híbito, and the Tinganese. According to most linguists, Híbito is related to Cholón (see section 1.2); according to Tessmann, Tinganese is another name for Cholón;

Map III (Martínez Compañón, [1783] 1978, I): the former province of Pataz. The map shows the four missions where the Franciscans brought together the Cholón and Híbito people (see section 2.4.1): Jesus de Pajatén (Híbito), San Buenaventura del Valle (Cholón), Jesus de Monte Sion (Híbito) and Pisano or Pampa Hermosa (Cholón). The second mission, San Buenaventura del Valle, is the place where Gerónimo Clota copied de la Mata's *ALC* (see section 3.1 and Appendix 2);

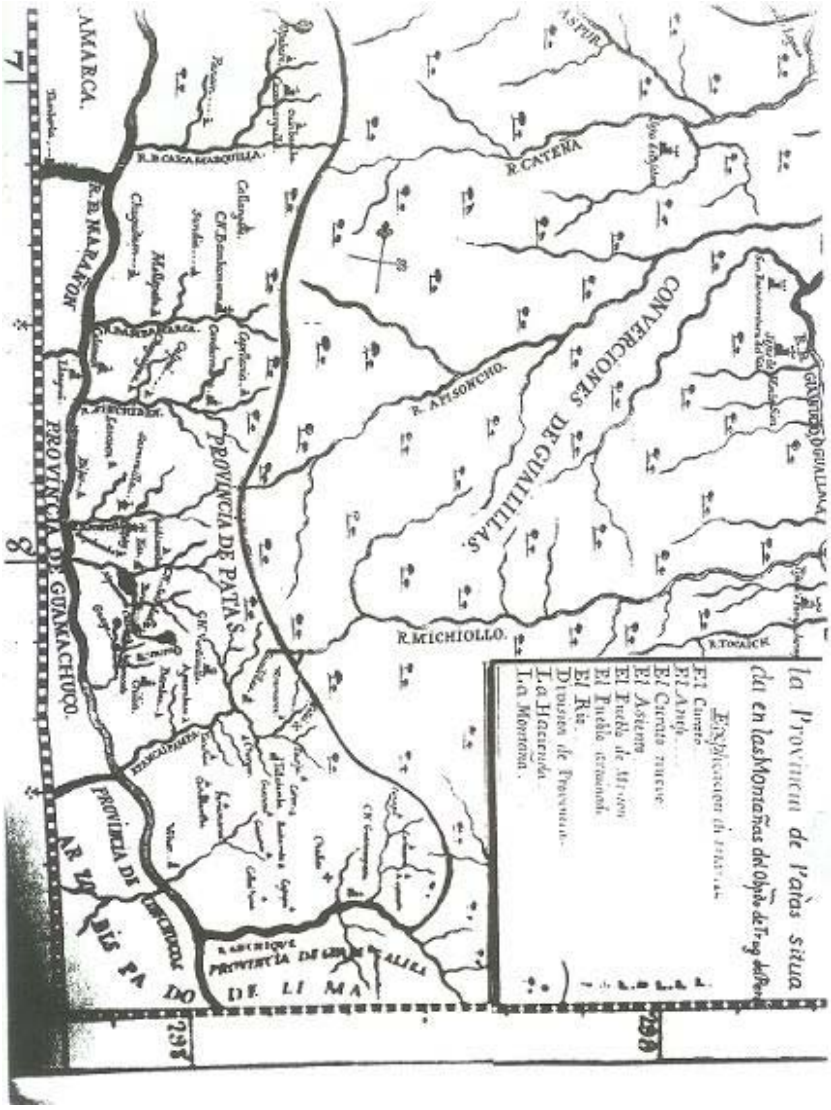
Map IV: the valleys of the rivers Huallaga and Ucayali. This map was made by Father Sobreviela in 1790 and corrected by Amedée Chaumette des Fossés in 1830 (see section 2.1).

Map I (Roswith Hartmann, 1987, XII, from Kauffmann Doig, 1982): Peru

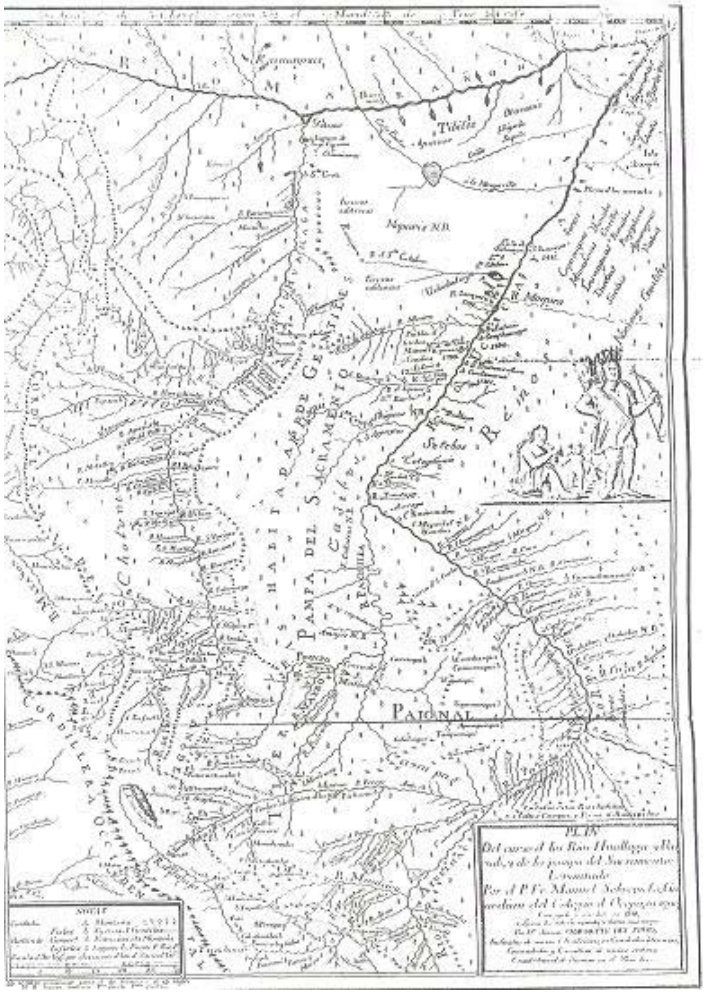
Map II (Izaguirre, 1922, VI: 99): the valley of the Huallaga river, the habitat of the Cholón people.



Map III (Martínez Compañón, [1783] 1978, I): the former province of Pataz.



Map IV: the valleys of the rivers Huallaga and Ucayali



2. Folios

Appendix 2 includes a copy of the beginning (folio 1) and the end (folios 248 and 249) of the *ALC*. We see that the *ALC* classically starts with some remarks about sounds (folio 1).

Folio 248 verso shows the name of the founder of the mission of San Buenaventura del Valle: Friar Francisco Gutiérrez de Porres, and that of the founder of the mission of Jesús de Ochanache: Friar Joseph de Araujo. It also shows the name of the author of the *ALC* (Friar Pedro de la Mata); the date on which de la Mata finished the *ALC* (October 21, 1748); and the name of the place where the *ALC* was written (Trujillo). Pedro de la Mata here states that the symbols which he used to represent the 'gutural sounds', viz. velar nasal, are the same as those used by Francisco Gutiérrez de Porres and Joseph de Araujo, and he praises both friars for the fact that they converted Cholones and Híbitos to the faith. This means that Francisco Gutiérrez de Porres and Joseph de Araujo spoke Cholón and Híbito, that they had already produced some writing in Cholón and Híbito, and that Pedro de la Mata made use of their work to write his grammar.

On folio 249 recto Friar Gerónimo Clota states that he copied the *ALC* in the village of San Buenaventura del Valle and that he finished the copy on February 19, 1772.

Folio 248 verso

Arte de la Lengua Cholona

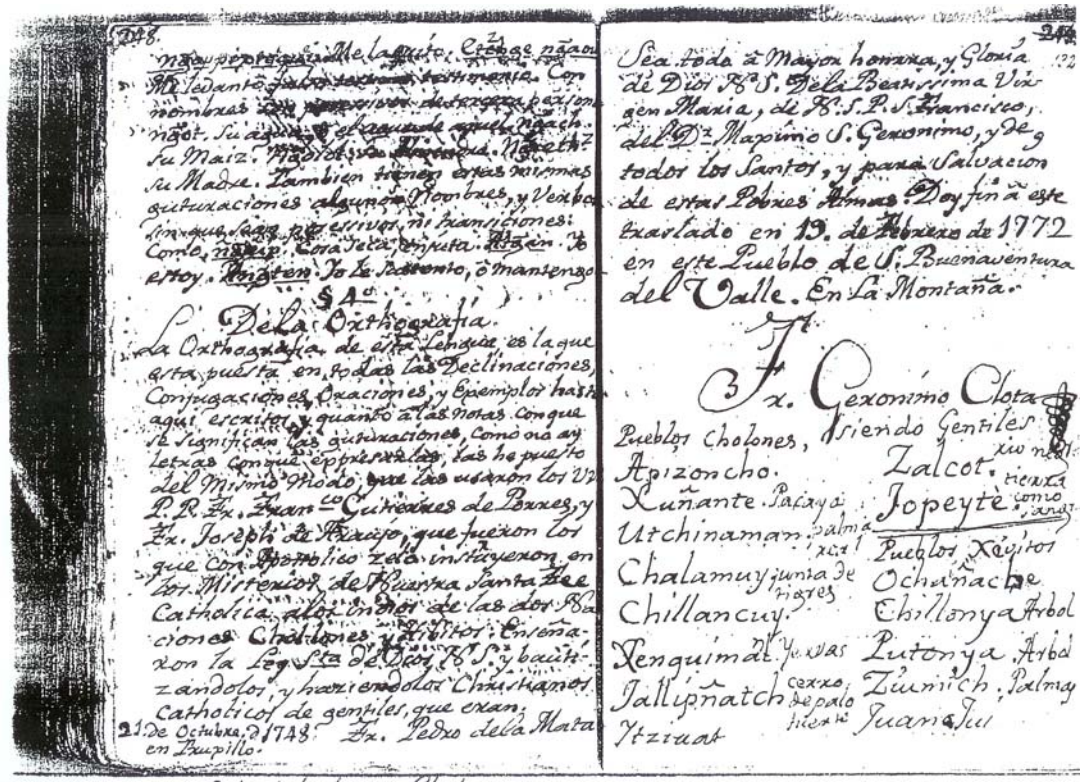
§ 1.

No se pronuncia en esta Lengua las letras B. D. R. F. y la R. ni fuerte, ni suave. La E la pronuncian entre E, y Y. (esto es) que ni es E. claro, ni Y. La O. la pronuncian entre O, y U. la G. en el principio de los nombres, y Verbos unas veces la pronuncian como G. y otras como C. La J. la pronuncian como los estrangeros. La G. antes de E, y de la Y. la pronuncian tan suave como J. La H. â veces como J. y â veces apenas se percibe. Por la misma razon, que dexo apuntada, de que la G. solo yere en las dos Vocales E, y Y. Usan guturacion, quando le preceden las otras tres A O. U. y aun con todas sinco A E I O U. Vg. ngaan aquel me haze. ngüech su madre. ngix cosa seca. Milongoque tu lo hizieras. nguch su Padre &c.

§ 2.

De la Declinacion del Nombre

Los casos de los Nombres se Varian por adicion de Particulas. Para el Nominativo se pone A, ô Vâ, segun los finales. Tup corresponde a los Pronombres



248.

[illegible] Me lagüito. Ctchac nãoo
Mi Tedanto [illegible] testimonia. Con
nombres [illegible] de [illegible] y [illegible]
nãot. Su agua [illegible] el [illegible] Nach.
su Maiz. Nãot. su [illegible] Nacth.
su Madre. Tambien tienen estas mismas
guturaciones algunos Nombres, y Verbos
sin que sean Reglas escritas, ni tradiciones:
Como, nãop. Cora Jela, enjuta. Nãan. Yo
estoy. Nãten. Yo la detengo, ò mantengo.

§ A.º

De la Orthografia.

La Orthografia de esta Lengua es la que
esta puesta en todas las Declinaciones,
Conjugaciones, Oraciones, y Epiemplos hasta
aqui escritos, y quanto a las notas con que
se significan las guturaciones, como son ay
letras con que expresarlas, las he puesto
del mismo modo que las usaron los Vn
P. R. Fr. Juan.co Guitierres de Barrez, y
Fr. Joseph de Arauajo, que fueron los
que con Apostolico zelo instituyeron en
los Misterios de Nuestra Santa Fee
Catholica, a los Indios de las dos Na
ciones Cholones, y Apizios: Enseña
ron la Leg.sta de Dios, N.S. y bauti
zandolos, y haziendolos Christianos
Catholicos de gentiles, que eran.
21. de Octubre, d 1748. Fr. Pedro de la Mata
en Bupillo.

249.

Sea toda à Mayor honra, y Gloria
de Dios N.S. de la Beatissima Vir
gen Maria, de N.S.P.S. Francisco,
del D.r Maximo S. Geronimo, y de
todos los Santos, y para Salvacion
de estas Pobres Almas. Doy fin à este
traslado en 13. de Febrero de 1772
en este Pueblo de S. Buenaventura
del Valle. En la Montaña.

Fr. Geronimo Clota

Pueblos Cholones, siendo Gentiles

Apizoncho. Zalcot. (ziu nel)

Kuñante. Pacaya. Jopeyte. (ricata como ana)

Utchinaman. (palma ricat)

Pueblos Xeqitos

Chalamuy (junta de Nares) Ochañac

Chillancuy. Chillon ya Arbol

Xenquimat. (Yucas) Puton ya Arbol

Jallipñatch (cerro de palo ricat) Zuuiich. Palma

Ytziuat Juan Jui

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', *ŋole/ŋolʸ* '(to) love someone/something'and *menʸ(o)* '(to) want someone/something' (Appendix 3.2). The spelling employed in the *ALC* has not been altered. In Appendix 3.1, however, separate words which in the grammar are written as one single word are separated by a triangle (▾); separately written elements and morphemes, on the other hand, which form one single word are joined together by means of a superscript circle (°); elements to omit have been put between round brackets, and those to insert between square brackets. Furthermore, abbreviated forms are written in full and the abbreviated elements have been underlined. An exception has been made for the names of the evangelists Ioan. (Ioannis 'John'), Luc. (Lucas 'Luke'), Marc., Marci. (Marcus 'Mark'), Math. (Matthaeus 'Matthew') and the name of the Bible book Gen. (Genesis 'Genesis'); for ecclesiastical forms of address such as Sta. (Santa 'Saint') and Sr. Ntro. (Señor Nuestro 'Our Lord'); and for a few Latin abbreviations, such as C. (Caput 'chapter') and 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	g̃aan	: aquel me haze
2	g̃uech	: su madre
3	ng̃ix	: cosa▾seca
4	milongoque	: tu lo hizieras
5	g̃uch	: su padre &

De la declinacion del nombre

6	a, va	: nominativo
7	tup	: idem, met

[el genitivo por▾los pronombres posessivos]

8	a	: primera persona
9	m, p	: segunda persona: m para hombres, p para mugeres
10	sa, pe &	: tercera persona de singulàr

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 â lugar
17	tu	: acusativo de movimiento â 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 ô gente
22	jayu▾ilou	: del hombre ô de▾la gente
23	jayuhe/ge	: para el hombre &
24	jayu°te/tu	: al hombre
25	jayu°ey/pey	: ola hombre, ôla muger
26	jayu°te	: en el hombre
27	nun°tep	: ex viro, de varon, por obra de varon
28	jayu°pat/llacpat/llactep	: por ô por amor ô por causa del hombre
29	pat	: ‘con’ instrumental
30	mech°pat illoutzi	: lo apaleò ô dio con palo
31	mannap	: ex vel de
32	jayu°nic/(n)nec	: de compañia con el hombre

Del numero plural

33	lol	: plural
		: boca, orilla de rio
		: ad▾inbicem, mutuamente ô entre si
34	xocotlolte	: en la ribera ô orilla del rio
35	chijalol	: ellos entre si ô mutuamente
36	nunlol	: los varones
37	nunlol loula	: de▾los varones
38	nunlolge	: para los varones
39	nunlolte/tu	: a▾los varones
40	ah nun!	: o varones
41	nuney	: ola varones
42	yl-la°pey	: ola mugeres
43	nunlolte	: en los varones
44	nunloltep/llactep, pat/llacpat	: por ô por amor ô por causa de▾los varones
45	nunlolmannap	: de▾los varones
46	nunlol (n)nec	: con los varones

De otras particulas que segun su construccion pluralizan los nombres con▾que se juntan sin la particula lol

47	liman°nê jayû yzip pusim°pat (a)ñantumilâ chectan	: las casas delos indios de▾la sierra estàn cubiertas con paja
48	mec	: omnis et omne
49	mec-micolhactan	: omnes moriemini: todos vosotros morireis
50	pullem	: denota correlacion y union con el otro extremo
51	ng̃uch°pullem	: padre ê hijo
52	mul°pullem	: hijo y padre
53	ng̃ñetz°pullen	: madre ê hija
54	ñu°pullem	: hija y madre
55	mul-luch°pullem	: marido y mujer
56	co▾mec, ynco▾mec, pe▾mec	: quantidad
57	ana▾meccam jayu putamte ytton?	: quantos indios ay en el pueblo?
58	ento▾mec, pe▾mec, pa▾mec	: tantos ay (con exageracion)
59	co▾mec che[c]tan	: ay tantos como estos
60	pe▾mec checti cot°nap, entoñ qui°poùo°pacna chectan/pe▾mec chectancò°llacpat, entoñ &	: ay tantos que no se pueden contàr
61	manmiñ, mamontê, matê, matêll	: igualdad, calidad, igualdad con accion
62	manmiñ chech chectan	: ygualmente son ô estàn blancos
63	matê chal-l chectan	: ygualmente son ô estàn negros
64	manmiñ chim°(g)[c]ollan	: igualmente se aman
65	matê chipzan	: vienen juntos
66	matell chipiipan	: igualmente trabajan
67	mamontell chipahattan	: vienen bajando juntos
68	allec libra cuca°pat atzochoc amzi	: con diez libras de coca comprê mis calzones
69	xê	: cabellos, lanas ô pelos y plumas
70	axê	: mis cabellos
71	ñachê	: ojos
72	añache	: mis ojos
73	nen	: manos
74	anen	: mis manos
75	anchel xê	: un cabello
76	anzel anente	: en una de mis manos

Explicase la significacion de las particulas de los casos

77	a, uâ	: autem, empero : el, la, lo
78	Luis llaui, Pedrovâ zipte ton	: Luis se fue, pero Pedro en casa está
79	Pedro llaui, Luis°sâ zipte ton	: Pedro se fue, pero Luis en casa está

80	elefante°vâ atchel mech ñante pilmoh°nonnap ñan	: el elefante duerme recostado sobre un arbol
81	quiimej°juch Dios°sâ jayu (mosau)[maso](u)]gje°na°patall mulii°pizô	: nuestro criadòr Dios no se contentò solo con hazer que el hombre naciesse
82	a, uâ	: particula exor[t]ativa, condicional
83	liu quitz°mocte°he°vâ, ochô	: aprendemos â leer con grande trabajo ñanzic°pat quiymehnan
84	mimeñanco°uâ	: si quieres
85	mimeñong̃oque°vâ	: si quisieras
86	tup	: nominativo, la persona que haze y para distinguir la que haze de la que padece
87	Juan°tup Pedro ylammi	: Juan matò â Pedro
88	lou	: meus, mea, meum
89	oc alou	: mio
90	mi▾milou	: tuyo
91	sa▾ilou	: suyo
92	quiha▾quilou	: nuestro
93	minaja▾milouha	: vuestro
94	chiha▾loula	: suio de ellos
95	ol	: pronombre ynterrogativo
96	ol ylouhuamco°â?	: cuio es esto?
97	oc âlou	: mio &
98	oc alou ng̃allajan	: me lleva lo mio ô lo que es mio

Nota [reglas para la practica de los nombres]

Regla primera [pronombre posessivo + n + #a, #e, #i, #o, #u]

99	attellpa	: gallina
100	anattellpa	: mi gallina
101	minattellpa	: tu gallina
102	nattellpa	: su gallina
103	quinattellpa	: nuestra gallina
104	minattellpaha	: vuestra gallina
105	ynnattellpa	: su gallina de ellos
106	el	: yuca
	anel, menel, nel, quenel, menelja, ennel	
107	yp	: cierta raiz comestible, papa del monte
	anip, minip, nip, quinip, minipha, ynnip	
108	ollê	: saliva
	anollê, minollê, nollê, quinollê, minolleha, ynnollê	
109	ulluc	: chuso ô dardo, lança
	anullûc, munullûc, nullûc, cunullûc, munullucja, unnullûc	

Regla segunda [en la tercera persona de singular: #c ô #q > #ng̃a, #ng̃ue, #ng̃o]

110 camà : enfermedad ô enfermo
111 acamà : mi enfermedad
micamà, ng̃amà, quicamà, micamahà, chicamà
112 cach : maiz
micach, ng̃ach, quicach, micachja, chicach
113 colol : almendra
acolol, micolol, ng̃olol, quicolol, micololha, chicolol
114 cot : agua
acot, micot, ng̃ot, quicot, micotha, chicot
115 cochue : mono grande negro
acochue, micochuê, ng̃ochuê, quicochue, micochuêha, chicochue
116 cullâ : piojo del cuerpo
acullà, mucullà, ng̃ullà, cucullà, mucullahà, chuculla
117 quill, quell : quincha, paret
aquill, miquill, ng̃uill, quiquill, miquillha, chiquill
118 quexùm : nariz
aquexùm, miquexùm, ng̃uexùm, quiquexùm, 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, mizochoc, zochoc, quizochoc, mizochocja, ytzochoc
123 nallô : discipulo
anllô, minllô, nallò, quinllô, minllôha, ynnallô
124 sall : alma
azall, mizall, sall, quizall, mizallha, ytzall
125 xax : armadillo pescado de rio
axax, mixax, xax, quixax, mixaxha, yxax
126 sup : corzo ô cerbicabra
asup, musup, sup, cusup, musupha, ussup
127 tacla : otra especie de armadillo
atacla, mitacla, tacla, quitacla, mitaclaha, yttacla
128 taca : quadril ô hueso de la cadera
atàca, mitaca, taca, quitaca, mitaccaha, ytaca
129 tamxê : batan de tabla sobre que muelen maiz
atamxe, mitamxe, tamxê, quitamxe, y otras cosas
mitamxeha, yttamxe
130 lles : lucerna pequeña y el rastrojo

alles, melles, lles, quelles, mellesha, elles
131 llix : mono pequeño
allix, millix, llix, quillix, millixha, yllix
132 llollô : cascabel
allollô, millollô, llollô, quillollô, millollôha, yllollô
133 llu : pauji
allu, mullu, llû, cullu, mulluha, ullu
134 llaca : cosa colorada
allacà, millacà, llacà, quillacà, millacahà, yllacà

Regla quarta [#p > $m]

135 pacupllêu : tumbo y toda especie de granadillas
amcupllêu, mumcupllêu, macupllêu, cumcupllêu, mumcupllêuha, chumcuplleu
136 pangala : paba del monte
amangala, mimangala, mangala, quimangala, mimangalaha, chimangala
137 puyup : puente
amyup, mumyup, muyup, cumyup, mumyupja, chumyup
138 panâ : camino
amnâ, mimnâ, manâ, quimna, mimnâha, chimnâ

Excepcion [en la tercera persona de singular: 1: #p > #ng̃; 2: #p > #m]

139 pa : padre
apa, mipa, ng̃uch, quipâ, mipahâ, chipa
140 pan : madre
apan, mipan, ñetz, quipan, mipanha, chipan
141 pul : hijo
apul, mupul, mul, cupul, mupulha, chupul

Regla quinta [#y > #z]

142 yap : animal quadrupedo que come▾lo que siembran en las chacras
azap, mizap, zap, quichap, mizapha, yzap
143 yotz : cui
azotz, mitzooz, zotz, quizooz, mizotzja, ytzooz
144 yuch : racacha
atzuch, mutzuch, zuch, cuzuch, muzuchja, utzuch

[#y > #t]

145 yuxam : armadillo de tierra
atuzxam, mutuzxam, tuzxan, cutuzxan, mutuzxanha, utuzxan
146 aziptê acotan : S tengo en casa > Ch tengolo en mi casa

147	minente macotan	: S tienes en la mano > Ch tieneslo en tu mano
148	zalâ	: muger casada
	azla, mizla, zala, quizla, mizlaha, ytzalâ	
149	mulluch	: marido
	apul-luch, pupul-luch, mulluch, cupul-luch, mupul-luchja, chupul-luch	
150	Pedro nextec sâcho cotan	: genitivo de posession en la tercera persona: el vestido de Pedro ya està viejo
151	e, que	: expressa la materia de que es ô se haze alguna cosa
		: significa personas difuntas
		: especifica el tiempo
152	chechôque caloch	: plato de plata
153	petz nuc puillquitz°chê cotan	: la caxeta de tabaco es de oro
154	Luis°ê, Juanaque uñu	: hija de Luis y de Juana difuntos
155	ampal°ê	: cosa de tiempo passado
156	capique	: cosa de tiempo presente, cosa nueva
157	mecque/mec liuve ng̃ap	: lleva ô recibe de todo
158	ge, je	: para, dativo de daño ô provecho
159	ocge	: para▾mi
160	Juanje	: para Juan
161	ynchajem mini?	: ut quid venisti?: para▾que has venido?
162	atzmoctege, atzmolamge	: ut discam: para aprender
163	yncham mulupactan/pulupactan?	: que piensas?
164	Dios°ge alupactan	: pienso en Dios ô me acuerdo de Dios
165	cachge actan	: tengo necessidad de maiz
166	mige acotpan	: no tengo necessidad de ti
167	Dios gracia°ge quectan	: tenemos necessidad de la gracia de Dios
168	quihage muchan qui°pa▾(t-)tocqui	: ruega por nosotros
169	aamocge-na acquian	: quiero, estoy aparejado, dispuesto, tengo gusto, voluntad, y gana de comer
170	llacge	: vaia el
171	yllacge	: vayan ellos
172	te	: *in*
173	quizipte quetg̃an	: estàmos en nuestra casa
174	putam°te alluan	: voy al pueblo
175	cotê	: aqui
176	incotê	: alli
177	petê	: aculla
178	Dios°te amehena acquian	: creo en Dios
179	Dios°te confessan acquian	: me confiesso â Dios
180	quiyi°tê	: donde dormimos

181	que(c)tng̃u(t)ii°tê	: donde estubimos
182	quillapitzî°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 ahlan	: 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 amlupon	: riñote por que eres floxo
191	ah!	: 'a' exclamativa
192	ah Dios!	: a Dios!, o Dios!
193	pey, ey	: ola: pey para hombres, ey para mugeres
194	ylapey	: ola muger ô â muger
195	jayuey	: ola hombre
196	Maliapey	: a Maria
197	Juaney	: a Juan
198	tep, llactep	: instrumentales : ex vel de
199	espiritu santo ichmey°tep jayu quii	: 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°mannappa g̃oli°pitzzo, jayu cot°mannap ng̃oli	: 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	actàn + mannap	: at[t]inet, pertenecer
207	Dios cot°mannap chectanco°vâ, co°sim chectan	: los que pertenecen â la divinidad son estos

208	Jesuchristo Dios quinapu jayû cot°man nap chectanco°vâ, cosim chectan	: los que pertenecen â▾la santa humani dad 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 compañia
212	oc°nic	: con°migo
213	mi°nic	: contigo
214	sanic	: con el
215	Pedro°nic	: con Pedro
216	quihanic, quinec	: con nosotros
217	minahanic, minecja	: con vosotros
218	ynec	: con ellos
219	atû mutu, tu/satu, cutû, mutûha, uttû	: a▾mi
220	cutupat unutza loulancolol	: los que pecan contra nosotros ô nos hazen agravio
221	Dios tupat michicnocqui	: teme â Dios
222	tupat majac mionoqui	: guardate del

Del modo de suplir los generos

223	nun	: varon ô macho
224	yla	: muger ô hembra
225	nun jayu, jayu▾nun	: hombre
226	yla▾jayu, jayu yla	: muger
227	nun pullup	: muchacho ô muchachos
228	yla pullup	: muchacha ô muchachas
229	cuchi nun	: puerco
230	cuchi yla	: puerca
231	atellpa▾nun	: gallo
232	atellpa yla	: gallina
233	papayu▾nun	: papayo macho
234	papayu▾ila	: papayo hembra

[con animales del genero epizeno: nun + o, yla + co]

235	ulluquiou nunô	: perdigon
236	ulluquiou ilaco	: perdiz

Del▾verbo

De su division, terminacion y romances que tiene. De su terminacion

237	an, en, yn, on, un	: presente de indicativo
238	atpan	: andar
239	axquen	: hazer beber ô dar de beber
240	añguissiñ	: engañar con alevosia

241	alupon	: aborrecer
242	amun	: provar la comida y llevar en la voca
243	ay, ey, i/yi, oy, ou	: preterito perfecto ê imperfecto
244	asinnay	: yo oî
245	axquei	: di de beber
246	actî, acten	: fui ô 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, htan, ptan, itan	: futuro ymperfecto
253	aschan	: ver
254	atzaxtan, azchiitan	: futuros de aschan
255	atzachian	: visitàr
256	apaichan apaichi, apiaxtan	: mirar
257	tzach, mitzachi(chi)	: miralo tu
258	tzachec, mischecqui	: vealo tu
259	acti actan	: preterito perfecto del verbo + presente de cotan: yo avre sido
260	ag̃olli 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, ng̃oque	: primero obtativo y subjuntivo preterito ymperfecto
264	teque	: segundo obtativo y subjuntivo preterito ymperfecto
265	acottoque, acotteque	: yo fuera
266	ag̃oleng̃oque, ag̃olecteque	: yo le amara
267	asinahjoque, asinahteque	: 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 ô 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	atg̃an	: 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 huve 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, pecti(yê)ate	: tu avias sido
304	cotiê, cotiate	: aquel avia sido
305	quectiyê, quectiâte	: nosotros aviamos sido
306	mectihaque	: vosotros aviais sido

307	chectiyê, chectiâte	: aquellos avian sido
308	acottan	: futuro ymperfecto: yo serê
309	micottan, picottan	: tu serâs
310	cottan	: aquel serâ
311	quicottan	: nosotros serêmos
312	micothactan	: vosotros serêis
313	chicottan	: aquellos serân
314	acti actan	: futuro perfecto: yo avrê sido
315	mecti/pecti mectan	: tu avras sido
316	coti cotan	: aquel avra sido
317	quecti quectan	: nosotros avremos sido
318	mectiha mectihan	: vosotros avreis sido
319	checti chectan	: aquellos avran sido
320	panâ ixivaj pactanco°pat ma▾ñanzic°pat mipahatiha mectihan	: por estàr malo el camino avreis venido bajando con mucho trabaxo
321	cot, micotti	: ymperativo: presente y futuro: se tu
322	cotge	: sea aquel
323	quicotte	: seamos nosotros
324	micothac, micothacqui	: sed vosotros
325	chicotge	: sean aquellos
326	yncham acotte?	: que serâ de mi?
327	acotte	: futuro ymperfecto: yo serê
328	micotte	: tu seràs
329	cotte	: aquel serà
330	quicotte	: nosotros seremos
331	micothacte	: vosotros sereis
332	chicotte	: aquellos seràn
333	acotge°pit	: romance permissivo: mas que yo sea
334	micotge°pit	: mas que tu seas
335	cotgepit, cotge	: mas que aquel sea y sea en ora buena
336	quicotge, quicotgepit	: mas que nosotros seamos
337	micothac-ge, micothac-gepit	: mas que vosotros seais
338	chicotge, chicotgepit	: mas que aquellos sean
339	genap ixivaj micot°chin	: romance prohibitivo: guar[da]te, mira no cosa que seas malo
340	hap°pit etz micotha-chinnmiñ	: no sea que seais ladrones
341	ap°pit	: duvitativa: acaso, por ventura, puede ser
342	hap°pit pojo°pat Francisco nantan	: puede ser que venga mañana Francisco

343	santo°ge acot, santo acotge	: modo obtativo presente y preterito imperfecto: la cosa que se desea + ge ô ymperativo + ge: o▾si, ojala yo sea, fuera, seria y fuesse santo
344	santo°he micot, santo micothe	: o▾si, ojala tu seas, fueras &
345	santo°he cot, santo cothe	: o▾si, ojala aquel sea, fuera, seria y fuesse santo
346	santo°he quicot, santo quicothe	: o▾si, ojala nosotros seamos, fueramos & santos
347	santo°he micothac, santo micothac-he	: o▾si, ojala vosotros seais, fuerais, seriais & santos
348	santohe chicot, santo chicot°he	: o▾si, ojala aquellos sean, fueran, serian, & santos
349	Dios°tup santo g̃aoc-he	: Dios me haga santo
350	Dios°tup santo imoc-he	: Dios te haga santo
351	ynnaham, ynnam	: ojala
352	innaham pollou acottoque/acotteque	: ojala yo sea, fuera, seria y fuesse bueno
353	attij, anij, añiu	: expressa mas el deseo
354	innam pallou micottoque attij; ynnaham pallou micotteque añiu	: ojala tu seas, fueras, serias y fuesses bueno
355	acquian	: desear
356	na + acquian	: para preguntar por el obtativo
357	santu°he micot°na miquian°le? santu micot°he°na miquian°le?	: deseas ser santo hombre?
358	ynnam pollou micottoque°na miquianle?	: deseas ser bueno?
359	innaham santo acottoque añiu°na acquian	: digo que quisiera ser santo
360	acottoque, acotteque	: optativo llano presente y preterito ymperfecto: yo sea, fuera, seria y fuesse
361	micottoque, micotteque	: tu seas, fueras, serias y fuesses
362	cottoque, cotteque	: aquel fuera, seria y fuesse
363	quicottoque, quicotteque	: nosotros seamos, fueramos &
364	micothan̄goque, micothacteque	: vosotros seais, fuerais &
365	chicottoque, chicotteque	: aquellos sean, fueran &
366	ua	: 'si' condicional
367	pallou micottoque°va, ampeñocteque	: si fueras bueno, yo te quisiera
368	Juan pallou cottoque°ua, mulpit pallou cotteque	: si Juan fuera bueno, su hijo tambien lo fuera
369	moc	: o▾si! ojala!
370	pallou°moc acotte▾cot, pallou	: preterito perfecto et plusquam perfecto:

371	acotte°moc▾cot	o▾si, ojala yo aya, huviera, avria y huviesse sido bueno
372	pallou°moc micotte▾cot, pallou micotte°moc cot	: o▾si, ojala tu ayas, huvieras, avrias y huviesses 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 quicotte▾cot, santo quicotte°moc cot	: o▾si, ojala nosotros ayamos, huvieramos & sido santos
375	minaha°moc, micothacte cot, micothacte°moc cot	: o▾si, ojala vosotros ayais sido
376	chiha°moc chicotte▾cot, chicotte°moc cot	: o▾si, ojala aquellos ayan, huvieran, avrian & sido
377	acti cottoque, acti cotteque, 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 huviesses sido
379	coti cottoque, coti cotteque, coti pocottoque, coti pocotteque	: aquel aya, huviera & sido
380	quecti pocottoque &	: nosotros ayamos, huvieramos & sido
381	mectiha cottoque &	: vosotros ayais, huvierais & sido
382	checti cottoque &	: aquellos ayan, huvieran & sido
383	pocottoque, pocotteque	: preterito imperfecto de pactan
384	pallou mectiya, oc°pit pallou acti cotteque	: 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 miquiñoque°va, ampec millañoqueva, ampec millaño mectan	: si quisieres irte oy, bien puedes ir
388	llavi°yê°vâ, entoñam q[u]iloño cottan, peñallcho cothe	: si se fue, que le hemos de hazer, dexa que se vaya
389	ñguitta°vou(va)vâ, entoñam quiloño?	: si se huyô, que le hemos de hazer?
390	entoñ quilopacna cotan	: no tie[ne] remedio
391	quittallcho cothe	: dexa que se huya ô que sea cimarron

Modo subjuntivo [siendo, en siendo, aviendo sido, como, quando, aunque]

392	acothu	: yo sea, fuera, seria y fuesse, aya, huviera, avria, huviesse y huviere sido

393	micothu	: siendo, en siendo, aviendo sido, como, quando, aunque tu seas, fueras, serias &
394	cothu	: siendo, en siendo aquel &
395	quicothu	: siendo, en siendo nosotros &
396	micothach	: siendo, en siendo vosotros &
397	chicothu	: siendo, en siendo, aquellos &

Romances deste modo

[1: dos oraciones con supuesto distinto]

398	capitan micothu, misoldado actan	: siendo tu capitan, soy tu soldado
399	pallou micothu, oc°pit pallou acottan	: como tu seas bueno, yo tambien lo serê
400	Pedro alcalde cothu, nalguacil micottan	: quando Pedro sea alcalde, tu serâs 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, serê estimado
405	pallou cothe, zamoch acottan	: como yo sea bueno, serê docto
406	ochô miquinap, mipoñoula micottan	: en siendo tu grande, seràs querido
407	mozchû/cunchu cothepit, ques quictan	: aunque es chiquito, crecerâ
408	ytzipte acothu, tesim izsac allalam chectan	: como yo estê 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/llactep, agllem micotpan	: como soy pobre, no eres mi amigo
412	quechuac quecti cotnap, cupuluaylâ	: como fuimos pobres, nos abominaron; porque fuimos pobres, nos abominaron
413	miñ, iñ, ñ	: ‘como’ comparativo
414	minancoñ, millactan	: te iras, como te vienes
415	tutujmiñ mectan	: eres como un aguila
416	yncomiñ, yncomiñall, yncoñ, incoñsimall, yncomiñsimall	: ‘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

420	te, inconapi	: quando
421	paymejhuch mecti°tê/paymejhuch mecti°inconapi/paymejhuch, micothu minllô acti	: quando fuistes maestro, fui tu discipulo
422	rezan chiquiî°chô cothu, iglesia°te miniijan	: venis â▾la iglesia, quando han acabado ya de rezar

Segundo subjuntivo [para▾que, de suerte▾que]
[1: segundo preterito de indicativo + ch: acten > actech][2: ynfinitivo + ch: ag̃ollecte > angollectech]

423	actech, mectech, cotech, quectech, mectihach, chectech	
424	oynachô actech, g̃atzuquiovou	: me curò, de suerte▾que ya estoy bueno
425	pallou mectech, impazzan°sim, mulupoje°pitzo	: te aconseja, para▾que seas bueno, no porque te aborrece
426	cotte	: infinitivo: presente: ser
427	cotnap	: preterito: por aver sido
428	acti cotnap	: preterito perfecto de indicativo: por aver sido yo
429	mecti cotnap &	: por aver sido tu
430	cotlam	: futuro: aver de ser
431	acotlam, micotlam, cotlam &	: aver de ser yo &

Participios [presente: + co; preteritos: + ø/ynco; futuros: + ynco]

432	cotanco, cottuch	: presente: el que es
433	coti, cotiynco	: preterito ymperfecto: el que era, fue &
434	cotiye, cotiyeynco	: preterito plusquam perfecto: el que avia sido
435	cottan, cottanynco	: futuro: el que serâ
436	actanco	: yo que soy
437	mectanco, pectanco	: tu que eres
438	cotlam°ynco	: otro futuro: lo que ha de ser
439	acotlamynco	: yo que he de ser
440	micotlamynco, picotlamynco	: tu que has de ser
441	cotlamynco	: aquel▾que ha de ser
442	acotlamhe, acottehe	: gerundios de genitivo, dativo y acusativo: de ser, para ser, â ser yo
443	micotlamge, micottege	: de ser, para ser, â ser tu
444	cotlamhe, cottehe	: de ser, para ser, â ser aquel
445	quicotla[m]ge, quicottege	: de ser, para ser & nosotros
446	micotha(c)lamge, micothactege	: de ser & vosotros
447	chicotlamge, chicottege	: de ser & aquellos
448	cotge	: ablativo: siendo
449	cottennap	: aviendo sido, en siendo
450	acotlamhe, acottehe	: supinos: a▾ser

451	hach camayoc acotlamhe, limannappa apahatan	: vengo de la sierra de ser chacarero
452	alcalde acottehe alluan	: voy â▾ser alcalde
453	cotto	: segundo supino latino: digno de ser
454	accotto, micotto, cotto, quicotto, micothanḡo, chicotto	
455	pallou quicotto cotan	: segundo supino + cotan: obligacion: tenemos obligacion de ser buenos
456	tuppit	: aunque
457	quechuac quicotto°tuppit, mumpux ziu mectan	: aunque nosotros somos pobres, tu no eres rico
458	acotto actan	: segundo supino + actan: possum, potes: yo puedo ser
459	micotto mectan	: tu puedes ser
460	cotto cotan	: aquel puede ser
461	quicotto quectan &	: nosotros podemos ser

Del verbo negativo ô de las negaciones del verbo

462	acotpan, acotpanco	: indicativo presente: ymperativo + pa + n: yo no soy
463	pitzo	: preteritos de yndicativo y futuro perfecto; preterito plusquam perfecto de obtativo y gerundio de ablativo
464	acti°pitzô	: yo ne era &
465	actiye°pitzo	: yo no avia sido
466	acti°pitzo actan	: yo no avre sido
467	acti°pitzoque	: yo no huviera sido
468	alcalde actipitzo°que°vâ, millemz°aplapacnaque	: si yo no huviera sido alcalde, no te ayudaran
469	cotge°pitzo	: no siendo
470	pe	: futuro ymperfecto, segundo preterito ymperfecto de obtativo, tiempo de subjuntivo, ynfinitivo, circumloquios, gerundios, primer supino, ynfinitivo
471	acotpectan	: yo no serê
472	acotpecteque	: yo no fuera
473	acotpech	: no siendo yo ô antes de ser yo
474	cotpe	: no ser
475	cotpennap	: no aver sido
476	cotpelam	: no aver de ser
477	acotpelamhe, acotpectehe	: de no ser, para no ser &
478	cotpennap	: en no siendo, no aviendo sido

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 pocottan	: oy es domingo, mañana sera lunes
489	zipte ma▾pactan	: no està en casa
490	tanta cotanle?	: ay pan?
491	ma pactan	: no ay
492	pactan	: presente: aquel està
493	pacti, pacten	: preterito ymperfecto y perfecto: aquel estaba, estubo &
494	pactiye	: plusquam perfecto
495	pacottan	: futuro ymperfecto: aquel estarà
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 cotipitzoquevâ, aycha quimtij°pacnaque	: si▾no huviera sal, no pudieramos salar la carne

Del verbo atg̃an y su conjugacion

505	atg̃an	: estar y aver: presente: yo estoy y (aver) [he]
506	metg̃an	: tu estas
507	ton	: aquel
508	quetg̃an	: nosotros
509	metg̃uihan	: vosotros
510	ytton	: aquellos
511	atg̃ui	: preteritos: yo estaba, estube &
512	metg̃ui	: tu

513	tog̃ui	: aquel
514	quetg̃ui	: nosotros
515	metguiha	: vosotros520
516	yttongui	: aquellos
517	atg̃uiye	: plusquam perfecto: yo avia estado
518	metg̃uiye	: tu
519	tong̃uiye	: aquel
520	quetg̃uiye	: nosotros
521	metg̃uihaque	: vosotros
522	yttong̃uiye	: aquellos
523	atontan	: futuro ymperfecto: yo estarê
524	mitontan	: tu
525	tontan	: aquel
526	quitontan	: nosotros
527	mitonhactan	: vosotros
528	yttontan	: aquellos
529	atg̃ui actan	: futuro perfecto: yo avrê estado
530	metg̃ui mectan &	: tu
531	ton, mitong̃ui	: ymperativo: esta tu
	tonhe, quitonte, mitonhacqui, yttonhe	
532	atong̃oque, atonteque	: obtativo: yo estuviera, estaria &
533	mitongoque, mitonteque,	
534	tongoque, tonteque,	
535	quitongoque, quitonteque,	
536	mitonhang̃oque, mitonhacteque	: vosotros
537	yttongoque, yttonteque	: aquellos
538	atg̃ui cottoque/cotteque,	: preteritos: yo aya, huviera, avria y
	atgui pocottoque/pocotteque	huviesse estado
539	metgui cottoque &	: tu ayas, huvieras, huviesses & sido
540	atonhu, atg̃uech	: subjuntivo: estando, en estando, avien-
		do estado, como, quando yo este &
541	mitonhu, metguech	: estando tu
542	tonhu, toñg̃uech	: estando aquel
543	quitonhu, quitong̃uech	: estando nosotros
544	mitonhach, metguihach	: estando vosotros
545	yttonhu, ytonguech	: estando aquellos
546	atonlamhe, atontehe	: gerundios: de estàr, para estar, â estar
		yo
547	mitonlamhe, mitontehe	: tu
548	tonlamhe, tontehe &	: aquel
549	tonhe	: ablativo: estando
550	tong̃uenap	: aviendo estado
551	atonlamhe, atontehe &	: supinos: acusativo: a estar yo
552	tongo cotan	: digno de estàr

553	atongo actan	: yo puedo estàr
554	mitongo &	: tu

De otros tres verbos que se deriban de los tres precedentes [accotan: < actan; apactan: < pactan; aton: < atgan]

acotan 'tener'

555	accotan	: yo tengo
556	maccotan	: tu
557	haccotan	: aquel
558	caccotan	: nosotros
559	maccotihan	: vosotros
560	pahaccotan	: aquellos
561	accoti, accoten	: preteritos: yo tenia &
562	macoti, macoten	: tu
563	hacoti, hacoten	: aquel
564	cacoti, cacoten	: nosotros
565	macotiha	: vosotros
566	pahacoti, pahacoten	: aquellos
567	acotiyê	: plusquam perfecto: yo avia tenido
568	macotiyê	: tu
569	hacotiyê	: aquel
570	cacotiyê	: nosotros
571	macotihaque	: vosotros
572	pahacotiye	: aquellos
573	accottan	: futuro ymperfecto: yo tendrê
574	maccottan	: tu
575	hacottan	: aquel
576	cacottan	: nosotros
577	macothactan	: vosotros
578	pahacottan	: aquellos
579	acoti actan	: futuro perfecto: yo avre tenido
580	macoti mectan	: tu
581	hacoti cotan	: aquel
582	cacoti quectan	: nosotros
583	macotiha mectihan	: vosotros
584	pahacoti chectan	: aquellos
585	maccotti	: ymperativo presente y futuro: ten tu
586	hacotge	: aquel
587	cacotte	: nosotros
588	macothacqui	: vosotros
589	pahacotge	: aquellos
590	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 perfecto: yo aya, huviera, avria y huviesse tenido
597	macoti cottoque &	: tu
598	hacoti cottoque &	: aquel
599	cacoti cottoque &	: nosotros
600	macotiha cottoque &	: vosotros
601	pahacoti cottoque &	: aquellos
602	acothu, acottech	: subjuntivo: teniendo &
603	macothu, macottech	: tu
604	hacothu, hacotte[c]h	: aquel
605	cacothu, cacottech	: nosotros
606	macothach, macothactech	: vosotros
607	pahacothu, pahacottech	: aquellos
608	acotte	: ynfinitivo: tener yo
609	macotte	: tu
610	hacotte	: aquel
611	cacotte	: nosotros
612	macothacte	: vosotros
613	pahacotte	: aquellos
614	hacotenap	: preterito: aver tenido
625	acoti cotnap	: por aver tenido yo
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 tenia
625	hacoti°ynco	: aquel
626	acottan°ynco &	: futuro: yo que tendre
627	acotlamhe, acottehe &	: gerundios: de tener, para tener &
628	acotla[m]he, acottehe	: supinos: a tener yo
629	macotlamhe, macottehe	: tu
630	hacotto	: segundo supino: digno de tener
631	acotto actan	: yo puedo tener

632 macotto mectan : tu puedes tener

apactan

633 appactan : yo tengo
634 mapactan : tu
635 hapactan : aquel
636 cappactan : nosotros
637 mapactihan : vosotros
638 pahapactan : aquellos
639 apacti & : preterito: yo tenia &
640 appocottan & : futuro

aton

641 atton : yo tengo
642 matton : tu
643 hatton : aquel
644 catton : nosotros
645 mattoõguihan : vosotros
646 pahatton : aquellos
647 attonõgui : preterito: yo tenia &
648 matogui & : tu
649 attontan : futuro: yo tendre
650 matontan : tu
651 hattontan : aquel
652 atonõgoque : yo tubiera &
653 atonchen : < atgan: estar vagueando de una parte â otra
654 atonlian : < atgan: sentarse
655 atonchen : yo estoy vagueando
656 mitonchen : tu
657 tonchen : aquel
658 quitonchen : nosotros
659 mitoncheyhan : vosotros
660 ytonchen : aquellos
661 atonchey, atoncheyiê : preteritos: yo
662 atonchejtan, mitonchejtan, tonchejtan, quitonchejtan, ytonchejtan : futuro ymperfecto
663 atonchey actan : futuro perfecto
664 tonchej, mitoncheji : ymperativo
665 atonchejoque, tonchejteque : obtativo
666 atonchey▾pocottoque/p[o]cotteque : preteritos
667 atonchejhu, atonchejtech : subjuntivo
668 atonchejte, mitonchejte : ynfinitivo

669	atonchejlamhe, mitonchejtehe, tonchejhe, tonchejjap, atonchejjo	: gerundio
670	atonlian	: yo me siento
671	mitonlian	: tu
672	tonlian	: aquel
673	quitonlian	: nosotros
674	mitonliihan	: vosotros
675	ytonlian	: aquellos
676	ato[n]lii, atonlien; atonliiye	: preteritos
677	atonlectan	: futuro
678	atonlii actan	: perfecto
679	tonlec, mitonlecqui	: ymperativo
680	atonlen̄oque, atonlecteque atonlii cottoque/cotteque	: obtativo
681	atonlech, atonlectech	: subjuntivo
682	atonlecte, mitonlecte	: infinitivo
683	atonlelamhe, atonlectehe tonle(c)che, tonlenap, tonlen̄o	: gerundios
684	atonlen̄o actan	: puedo sentarme

Del verbo activo. Qual sea y su conjugacion.

ag̃ollan ‘amar’, ‘tener lastima, piedad y compasion’

685	an̄gollan	: modo indicatibo: presente: yo le amo
686	min̄gollan	: tu le amas
687	yg̃ollan	: aquel le ama
688	quig̃ollan	: nosotros le amamos
689	mig̃ollihan	: vosotros le amais
690	g̃ollilan	: aquellos le aman
691	ag̃olli, ag̃ollen	: preterito imperfecto y perfecto: yo amaba, amè, he amado y huve amado
692	migolli, migollen	: tu &
693	yg̃olli, igollen	: aquel &
694	quigolli, quig̃ollen	: nosotros &
695	mig̃olliha	: vosotros &
696	g̃ollila, g̃ollilan	: aquellos
697	ag̃olliye, agolleyate	: preterito plusquam perfecto: yo avia amado
698	migolliye	: tu
699	ygolliye	: aquel
700	quigolliye	: nosotros
701	mig̃ollihaque	: vosotros
702	g̃ollilaque	: aquellos

703	agolectan	: futuro imperfecto: yo le amarè
704	migolectan	: tu &
705	ygolectan	: aquel
706	quigolectan	: nosotros
707	migolehactan	: vosotros
708	g̃olelactan	: aquellos
709	agolli▾actan	: futuro perfecto: yo le avre amado
710	migolli▾mectan	: tu
711	ygolli cotan	: aquel
712	quigolli quectan	: nosotros
713	migolliha mectihan	: vosotros
714	g̃ollila chectan	: aquellos
715	g̃olec, mig̃olecqui	: ymperativo: presente: amale tu
716	ygolecge	: aquel
717	quigolecte	: nosotros
718	migolêhacqui	: vosotros
719	g̃olelacge	: aquellos
720	amcolecte	: futuro: yo te amarè
721	ymcolecte	: el te amarà
722	g̃acolecte	: el me amarà
723	angolec-he, angolec-he°pit	: romance permissivo: mas que yo le ame
724	mig̃olec-he/pit	: mas que tu le ames
725	ygolec-he, igolec-hepit	: mas que aquel le ame
726	quigolec-he/hepit	: mas que nosotros le &
727	migolehac-he/pit	: mas que vosotros le &
728	g̃olelac-he/hepit	: mas que aquellos le amen
729	mingollec°nic	: prohibitivo: no le ames
730	janap migollecnic, happit mig̃olechin	: guar[da]te, mira [no] cosa que le ames
731	happit igolec°chin, happit ig̃ollec°nic	: aquel
732	Dios°he angolec, Dios ag̃olec-he	: optativo: o▾si, ojala yo ame, amara, amaria y amasse a Dios
733	Dios°he mig̃olec, Dios mig̃olec-he	: o▾si, ojala tu ames &
734	Dios°he igolec, Dios igolec-he	: o▾si, ojala aquel ame &
735	Dios quig̃olec-he, Dios°he quig̃olec	: o▾si, ojala nosotros amemos &
736	Dios°he mig̃olehac, Dios mig̃olehac-he	: o▾si, ojala vosotros ameis &
737	Dios°he golelac, Dios golelac-he	: o▾si, ojala aquellos amen &
738	ynaham Dios ag̃olenḡoque/ ag̃olecteque	: de otro modo: o▾si, ojala yo ame, amara, amaria y amasse â Dios
739	ynaham Dios mig̃olengoque/ migolecteque	: o▾si, ojala tu ames &

740	ynaham Dios ig̃olen̄goque/ yg̃olecteque	: o▾si, ojala aquel ame &
741	ynaham Dios quig̃olen̄goque/ quigolecteque	: o▾si, ojala nosotros amemos &
742	ynaham Dios mig̃olehan̄goque/ mig̃olehacteque	: o▾si, ojala vosotros ameis &
743	ynaham Dios g̃olelan̄goque/ golelacteque	: o▾si, ojala aquellos amen &
744	ag̃olen̄goque, agolecteque	: presente y preterito ymperfecto llano: yo ame, amara, amaria,
745	mig̃olen̄goque, migolecteque	: tu
746	yg̃olen̄goque, ig̃olecteque	: aquel
747	quig̃olen̄goque, quigolecteque	: nosotros
748	migolehangoque, migolehacteque	: vosotros
749	g̃olelan̄goque, g̃olelacteque	: aquellos
750	Dios°moc ag̃olecte cot/ Dios agolecte°moc▾cot	: preterito perfecto y plusquam perfec to: o▾si, ojala yo aya, huviera y huviesse amado â Dios
751	Dios°moc mig̃olecte▾cot/Dios [m]ig̃olecte°moc▾cot	: o▾ssi, ojala tu &
752	Dios°moc yg̃olecte▾cot/Dios yg̃olecte°moc▾cot	: o▾si, ojala aquel &
753	Dios°moc quigolecte▾cot/Dios quigolecte°moc▾cot	: o▾si, ojala nosotros &
754	Dios°moc mig̃olehacte cot/Dios mig̃olehacte°moc cot	: o▾si, ojala vosotros &
755	Dios°moc g̃olelacte▾cot/Dios g̃olelactemoc▾cot	: o▾si, ojala aquellos &
756	angolli cottoque/cotteque, pocottoque/pocotteque	: preterito perfecto y plusquamperfecto llano compuesto: yo aya, huviera, avria y huvi[e]sse amado
757	migolli cottoque &	: tu
758	ang̃olech	: modo subjuntivo: amando, aviendo amado, como, quando, aunque yo ame, amara, amaria y amasse
759	mig̃olech	: amando tu
760	yg̃olech	: amando aquel
761	q[u]ig̃olech	: nosotros
762	mig̃olehach	: vosotros
763	g̃olelach	: aquellos
764	imcallancoñ, milocqui, imcolech mitzachte	: hazlo segun ô como te▾lo manda y veras como te ama

765	yngolech°pit, itesajpan	: aunque le aya amado, no se lo agradece
766	agolectech	: segundo subjuntivo: para▾que ame ô de suerte que ame yo
767	mig̃olectech	: tu
768	yg̃olectech	: aquel
769	quig̃olectech	: nosotros
770	mig̃olehactech	: vosotros
771	g̃olelactech	: aquellos
772	ymcallancoñ, camà pallou loc, Dios°tup imcolectech	: cuida al enfermo, como te lo manda, de suerte que Dios te ame ô te▾lo agradezca
773	ymcallancoñ camà pallou loc, Dios°tup imcoleng̃o cotech	: lo mismo de otro modo: supino en ng̃o l. jo l. to + segundo subjuntivo de actan en tercera persona de singular
774	capi pey millàtipejhacqui, pohò°pat quell quillajjo cotech	: hazed oy el barro, para▾que mañana podamos embarrar la quincha

Como corresponden en esta lengua las oraciones de subjuntivo

Precepto 1o

[pedir, rogar, ex[h]ortar 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 â Jesus un phariseo que comiesse con el

[2: L ut + subjuntivo > Ch imperativo + na + gerundio de ablativo quiche < acquian]

776	anzel phariseo Jesus muchan ilou, anec miamocquina quiche	: un phariseo rogò â Jesus diciendole: "come con°migo" ô diziendole que comi[e]sse con el

Precepto segundo

[L adeo, tam, tantus, talis + subjuntivo > Ch ento▾mec, pa▾mec, pe▾mec + yndicativo]

777	hayulol unutza pa▾mec, pe▾mec, ento▾mec checti°pat/llacpat, checti°tep/llactep, checti cotnap, Dios°tup iam▾moou	: adeo, tam, tanta, talia fuerunt pecata hominum, ut Deus illos puniverit: fueron tantos los pecados de▾los hombres, que los castigò Dios: porque fueran tantos los pecados de los hombres, los castigò Dios, ô bien: por aver sido tantos &

Precepto tercero

[L ita + subjuntivo y ita ut 'assi▾que, de suerte que, de▾manera▾que' > Ch 2o subjuntivo]

778	incoñâ, inna	: ita
779	cosim°â anzel quinannon̄go ocho caz▾mec▾[c]otman tapachii, ynsoneytup mellus ñantu(n)[m]lactech	: Math. C.: et ecce motus magnus factus est in mari, ita▾ut navicula operiretur fluctibus: veis aqui se levanto un gran huracan en el mar, de suerte▾que las olas cubrian la varquilla ô navecilla
780	mech quian°pit, zucusill chiannap, nente itonlectech	: Math. C. 13: et fit arbor, ita▾ut volucres c[a]eli veniant et habitent in ramis e[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 quinanon̄go ochò caz▾mec▾[c]otman tapachii melluspit insoneytup iñantumxipey	: levantose un gran huracan en el mar y las olas casi cubrian la barquilla
782	ñantumlaxipey	: preterito ymperfecto de indicatibo de añantuman + xipen
783	xipen	: casi ô por poco
784	pit	: y
785	mech quian°simall zucusillpit chinan, nente°pit ittonlian	: [...] y los paxaros vienen [...]
786	angolecte	: infinitivo: presente: amar yo
787	migolecte	: amar tu
788	ygolecte	: amar aquel
789	agolli cotnap	: preterito: por averle amado yo
790	migolli cotnap &	: tu
791	ag̃olelam	: futuro: aver de amar yo
792	migolelam &	: tu
793	domingo°te missa asinajlam pacti▾cotnap, ma atemmell allapitzi°pitzo	: por aver de oir missa el domingo no me sali muy de mañana
794	yg̃ollanco, g̃oleuch	: participio: presente: el que ama
795	ag̃ollanco	: yo que amo
796	mig̃ollanco &	: tu

797	ỹgolli, ygolli°ynco	: preterito: el que amò
798	agolli, ag̃olli°ynco	: yo que amè
799	migolli &	: tu
800	(a)[i]g̃olectan, (a)[i]g̃olectan°ynco	: futuro: el que amarà
801	agolectan, agolectan°ynco &	: yo que amarè
802	ag̃olelam, ag̃olelam°ynco	: otro futuro: el que le ha de amar
803	ag̃olelamhe, agolectege	: gerundios de genitivo, dativo y acusativo: de amarle yo, para amarle yo, a amarle yo
804	g̃oleche	: ablativo: amandole
805	g̃olenap	: aviendo amado

Segunda conjugacion: ameñan 'querer'

806	ameñan	: presente: yo quiero
807	mimeñan	: tu
808	ymeñan	: aquel
809	quimeñan	: nosotros
810	mimeñouhan	: vosotros
811	meñoulan	: aquellos
812	ameñou	: preteritos perfecto ê impe[r]fecto: yo queria, quise, he querido y huve querido
813	mimeñou	: tu
814	ymeñou	: aquel
815	quimeñouha	: nosotros
816	mimeñouha	: vosotros
817	meñoula	: aquellos
818	ameñouve	: p[r]eterito plusquam perfecto: yo avia querido
819	mimeñouvê	: tu
820	ymeñouvê	: aquel
821	quimeñouvê	: nosotros
822	mimeñouhaque	: vosotros
823	meñoulaquê	: aquellos
824	ameñoctan	: futuro ymperfecto: yo querê
825	mimeñoctan	: tu
826	ymeñoctan	: aquel
827	quimeñoctan	: nosotros
828	mimeño(c)hactan	: vosotros
829	meñolactan	: aquellos
830	ameñou▾actan	: futuro perfecto: yo avre querido
831	mimeñou mectan &	: tu
832	meñoc, meñocqui	: ymperativo: quiere tu
833	ymeñoc-he	: aquel

834	quimeñocte	: nosotros
835	mimeño(c)hacqui	: vosotros
836	meñolacge	: aquellos
837	ameñon̄goque, ameñocteque	: obtativo: yo quiera, quisiera, querria y quisiesse
838	mimeñongoque, mimeñocteque	: tu
839	ynajam imeñongoque/imeñocteque &: o▾si, ojala aquel quiera &	
840	ameñou cottoque/cotteque, ameñou pocottoque/pocotteque	: p[r]eteritos perfecto et plusquamperfecto: yo aya, huviera, avria, huviesse querido
841	ocmoc ameñoc-te▾cot/ ameñoctemoc▾cot	: o▾si, ojala yo aya, huviera, avria &
842	ameñoch	: subjuntivo: queriendo, en queriendo yo &
843	mimeñoch	
844	quimeñoch	: nosotros
845	mimeñohach	: vosotros
846	meñolach	: aquellos
847	ameñoctech	: segundo subjuntivo: de suerte que, de manera▾que lo quiera yo
848	mimeñoctech	: tu
849	imeñoctech	: aquel
850	quimeñoctech	: nosotros
851	mimeñohactech	: vosotros
852	meñolactech	: aquellos
853	callsoche milocqui, mitesajlactech	: hazlo con voluntad, de suerte que te lo agradezcan
854	ameñocte	: ynfinitivo: presente: querer yo
855	mimeñocte	: tu &
856	meñonnap	: preterito: aver querido
857	ameñou▾cotnap	: por aver de quer[er] yo
858	mimeñou▾cotnap &	: tu
859	ameñolam	: futuro: aver de querer yo
860	ameñolam cotnap	: por aver de querer yo
861	ameñanco, peñovuch; ameñou/inco, ameñolamynco	: participios
862	ameñolamhe/ameñoctehe, meñoche, meñonnap	: gerundios
863	quimeñolamhe/quimeñoctehe, quimeñongo	: supinos

Conjugacion de verbos compuestos

864	ag̃olec	: infinitivo de ag̃ollan
865	ag̃ollan	: yo amo â aquel

866 mi~gollan : tu amas â aquel &
867 a~goleccan : a~golec + an: hazer que ame

ameñoccan 'yo hago que lo quiera'
868 ameñocan, mimeñocan, ymeñocan, quimeñocan, mimeñoccayhan, meñoccaylan
869 ameñoccay, mimeñocay, ymeñocay, quimeñocay, mimeñocayha, meñocayla : preteritos

870 ameñocayiê, mimeñocayie, ymeñocayiê, quimeñocayiê, mimeñocayhaque, meñocaylaque : plusquam perfecto
871 yê : post, despues
872 casaran quiiyê, ~goli : murio despues de casado
873 ~goliyê ñuinjavou : resucito despues de muerto
874 ameñocajtan, mimeñocajtan, ymeñocajtan, quimeñocajtan, mimeñocajhactan, meño(c)lacajtan : futuro ymperfecto
875 ameñocay actan & : futuro perfecto
876 meñoccaj/mimeñoccaji, meñocaj-he : ymperativo
877 ameñocaj-joque/ameñocajteque, mimeñocaj-joque/mimeñocajteque, ymeñocaj-joque/ymeñocajteque, quimeñocaj-joque/quimeñocajteque, mimeñocaj-hangoque/ mimeñocajhacteque, meñolacaj-joque/meñolacajteque : optativo
878 ameñocay cottoque/cotteque, mi[me]ñocay pocottoque &; oc°moc ameñocajte▾cot, ameñocajtemoc▾cot & : plusquam perfecto
879 ameñoccajhu, ameñocajtech, mimeñocajhu, mimeñocajtech, imeñocajhu, ymeñocajtech, quimeñocajhù, quimeñocajtech, mimeñocajhach/mimeñocajhactech, meñolacajhu/ meñolacajtech : subjuntivo
880 ameñocajte, mimeñocajte, ymeñocajte, quimeñocajte, mimeñocajhacte, meñolacajte : ynfinitivo
881 ameñocay cotnap, mimeño°cay▾cotnap & : preterito
882 ameñocajlam : futuro
883 ameñoccanco, ameñocajhuch : participios de presente
884 ameñoccay°ynco : preterito
885 ameñoccajtan°ynco : futuro
886 ameñoccajlamhe/ameñoccajtehe & : gerundios
887 meñoccajhe, meñoccajap : ablativo
888 ameñoccajlamhe/ameñoccajtehe &, : supinos
889 ameñocaj-jo

[infinitivo ô imperativo + y + an: reiterar la accion de su simple]
890 ameñocquian : meñoc-i + an: yo buelvo â querer

891 ameñoquian, mimeñocquian, ymeñocquian, quimeñoquian, mimeñohaquian, meñolaquian

892 ameñoquiay, mimeñoquiay, : preteritos
ymeñoquiay, quimeñoquiay, mimeñohaquiay, meñolaquiay; ameñoquiayiê, mimeñoquiayiê, ymeñoquiayiê, quimeñoquiayiê, mimeñohaquiayiê, meñolaquiayiê

893 ameñoquiajtan, mimeñoquiajtan, : futuro ymperfecto
ymeñoquiajtan, quimeñoquiajtan, mimeñohaquiajtan, meñolaquiajtan

894 ameñoquiaî actan, mimeñoquiai : futuro perfecto
mectan &

895 meñoquiaj/mimeñoquiaj-ji, : ymperativo
meñoquiajhe, quimeñoquiajte, mimeñohaquiaj-ji, meñolaquiajhe

896 ameñoquiaj-joque/ameñoquiajteque,: obtativo presente ê ymperfecto
mimeñoquiaj-joque/mimeñoquiajteque, ymeñoquiaj-joque/ymeñoquiajteque, quimeñoquiaj-joque/quimeñoquiajteque, mimeñohaquiaj-joque/ mimeñohaquiajteque, meñolaquiaj-joque/meñolaquiajteque

897 oc°moc ameñoquiajte▾cot, : preterito perfecto et plusquamperfec
ameñoquiaj[te]moc▾cot to: o▾ssi, ojala yo aya, huviera, huviesse &

898 ameñoquiai cottoque & : llano

899 ameñoquiajhu, mimeñoquiajhu, : subjuntivo
ymeñoquiajhu, quimeñoquiajhu, mimeñohaquiajhu, meñolaquiajhu

900 ameño°quiajtech, mimeñoquiajtech, : segundo subjuntivo
ymeñoquiajtech, quimeñoquiajtech, mimeñohaquiajtech, meñolaquiajtech

901 ameñoquiajte & : ynfinitivo

902 ameñoquiai cotnap

903 ameñoquiajlam, ameñoquiajlamhe/ameñoquiajtehe, meñoquiajhe, meñoquiajhennap, meñoquiajnap

alluan 'yr'

904 alluan : presente: yo voy
milluan, llahuan, quilluan, milluihan, yllahuan

905 alluy/alluen, millui/milluen, : preteritos
llavi/llaven, quillui/quilluen, milluiha/milluihan, yllavi/yllven

906 alluiyê, milluiyê, llauiyê, quilluiyê, : plusquam perfecto
milluihaque, yllauiye

907 allactan, millactan, llactan, : futuro imperfecto
quillactan, millahactan, yllactan

908 allui actan, millui(-)▾mectan, llavi : futuro perfecto
cotan &

909 llac/millacqui, llac-he, quillacte, : ymperativo
millahacqui, yllac-he

910 liman-he allac, liman allac-he°na acquian : obtativo: tengo gana ô deseo ir â la sierra
911 ynaham allan̄goque/ allacteque &
912 allui pocottoque/pocotteque, millui cottoque &; oc°moc allacte▾cot & : perfecto y plusquam perfecto
913 allach, millach, llach, quillach, millahach, yllach : subjuntivo
914 alluech/allactech, milluech/ millactech, llavech/llactech, quilluech/quillactech, ylluech/yllactech : segundo subjuntivo
915 allacte, millacte &; allui cotnap & : infinitivo
916 allalam cotnap, añanxipan : por averme de ir, me doy prisa
917 allajan : infinitivo + j + an final: llevar:
millajan, illajan, quillajan, presente millajihan, llajlan : yo llevo
918 allaji, millaji & : preteritos
919 allavojtan, millavojtan & : futuro
920 llavoj, millavoj-ji : imperativo
921 allavoj-joque/allavojteque, : optativo
millavoj-joque/ millavojteque, yllavoj-joque/yllavojteque, quillavoj-joque &, millavojhangoque, llavojlangoque;
922 oc°moc allavojte cot &
923 allavojhu, allavojtech, millavojhu, millavojtech & : subjuntivo
924 allavojte &, allaji cotnap, allavojlam : ynfinitivo
925 millavojlam cotnap : por aver de llevarlo tu
926 allajanco & : participios
927 allavojlamhe/allavojtehe & : gerundios
928 llavojhe, llavojap
929 allavojlamhe/allavojtehe, allavoj-jo & : supinos
930 allaquian : me vuelvo
millaquian, llacquian, quillacquian, millahaquian, yllacquian [& como ameñoquian]

[atpan]

931 atpan : yo ando
mutpan, tupan, cutpan, mutpihan, uttupan
932 atpi, mutpi &; atuptan; tup, mutuppi; atuppoque, atupteque; atuphu, atuptech; atupte; atuplamhe/atuptehe, tuphe, tupnap
933 atpen : 'a' del final > e: hacer andar: yo le hago andar
mutpen, utupen, cutpen, mutpeihan, uttupen
934 atpey, mutpei &; atpejtan, mutpejtan &; tupej, mutpej-ji &; atpej-joque, atpejteque; atpejhu, atpe(c)htech;

935 atpejte, mutpejte &, atpey cotnap, atpejlam; atpenco; atpejlamhe/atpejtehe, tupejhe, tupejhap; atpejo, mutpejo
936 atupian : volver andar: yo vuelbo â andar
mutupian, tupian, cutupian, mutuphaquian, uttupian
937 atupiay, mutupiay &, atupiajtan &, tupiaj & como ameñoquian

atzman 'saber'

938 atzman : yo se
mitzman, zaman, quitzman, mitzmouhan, ytzaman
939 atzmou, mitzmou &; atzmoctan; zamoc, mitzmocqui;
940 atzmon̄goque/atzmocteque; atzmocte; atzmoch, atzmoctech;
941 atzmolamhe/achmoctehe, zamoche, zamonnap
942 atzmoccan : hacer saber
943 atzmoquian : vuelbo â saber
944 atzmen : enseñar
mitzmen, ychmen, quitzmen, michmeihan, zameylan; achmey; achmejtan
945 zamej, mitzmejhi : imperativo
946 atzmej-joque; achmejhu, achmejtech; atzmejte, atzmey cotnap;
atzmej-lamhe; atzmenco, at[z]mey°inco &;
947 atzmejlamhe/atzmejtehe, zamejhe, zamejhap
948 atzmejjian : buelbo â enseñar
949 atzmocquian : buelvo â saber
950 atzmeccan : hazer enseñar

[axcan]

951 axcan : yo bebo
mixcan, yxcan, quixcan, mixquihan, xiqueilan
952 axquei; axijtan; axij-joque &; axijhu &, axijtech &
953 axquen : hazer beber
mixquen, yxquen, quixquen, mixqueyhan, xiqueylan
954 axquey; axquejtan; xiquej; axquej-joque &
955 axijian : buelvo â beber
mixijian, yxijian, quixijian, misijhacquian, xijlaquian
956 axijiay, mixijiay, yxijiay, quixijiay, mixijhaquiai, xijlaquiai
957 axijiajtan, mixijiajtan, yxijiajtan, quixijiajtan, mixijhaquiajtan, xijlaquiajtan
958 xijiaj, mixijiajhi : buelve â beber &
959 axijiaj-joque &, mixijiaj-joque/misijiajteque, yxijiaj-joque, quisijiajteque, misijiajhangoque, sijiajlangoque
960 axijiajhu, axijiajtech, mixijiajhu, mixijiajtech, yxijiajhu, yxijiajtech, quixijiajhu, quixijiajtech, mixijiajhach, mixijiajhactech, xijiajlach, xijiajlactech
961 axijiajte &, axijiay cotnap &, axijiajlam cotnap &; axijianco &; axijiajlamhe, axijiajtehe, xijiajhe, xijiajhap

alon 'mojar con agua'

962	alon	: yo lo mojo
	milon, ylon, quilon, miloihan, loilan	
963	aloy, miloi, yloi, quiloi, miloiha, loila	
964	alojtan, milojtan, ilojtan, quilojtan, milojhactan, lojlactan	
965	alojoque/alojteque, milojoque/milojteque, ilojoque/ilojteque, quilojoque/quilojteque, milojhangoque/milojhacteque, lojlangoque	
966	alojhu, alojtech; lojte, milojte &; aloy cotnap	
967	zitup g̃aloy cotnap, cama acquian	: por averme mojado el aguazero, estoy enfermo
968	zitup g̃aloj°chin°na quiche, azipte atgan	: porque no me moge el aguazero, estoy en casa
969	alojcan	: hazer mojar
970	alojian	: bolver â mojar

[alupon]

971	alupon	: aborrecer
972	alupocan	: hazer aborrecer
973	alupojian	: bolver a aborrecer

atzun 'ungir, untar'

974	atzun	: yo unto ô ungo
	mutzun, uchun, cutzun, mutzuihan, zuilan	
975	atzui, mutzui &	: preteritos
976	atzujtan	: futuro
978	zuj, mutzuj-ji	: ymperativo
979	atzujoque	: obtativo
980	atzujcan	: hazer untar
981	atzujian	: bolver â untar
982	santo olio°pat atzui	: ya le di el sto oleo
983	yppoc santo oliopat atzujiai	: segunda vez le volvi â dar el sto oleo

De▾la passiva del verbo activo

[1: con el participio de preterito + actan 'ser']

984	amcolli mecti/mecten	: tu fuiste amado por mi
985	a	: la persona que haze
986	m	: la persona que padece
987	cruz°te llavinloula coten, g̃olen, muila°sim coten	: crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus: fue crucificado, muerto y sepultado

[2: ynfinitivo del verbo + itz + an final]

988 alan : hazer
989 aloitzan : soy hecho
990 ameñan : querer
991 apeñoitzan : soy querido
992 agollan : amo
993 acoleitzan : soy amado
994 anam baptismo sacramento°te mec cunutza perdonan quioitzan°coñ, incomiñ penitencia sacramento°te perdonan quioit(h)[z]an°simall : a▾la manera que en el sacramento del baptismo se nos perdonan todos los pecados, de la misma suerte se nos perdonan en el de la penitencia

acolei(c)tzan 'yo soy amado'

995 acoleitzan : presente: yo soy amado
996 micoleichan : tu eres amado
997 g̃oleichan : aquel es amado
998 quicoleichan : nosotros
999 micoleichihan : vosotros
1000 chicoleichan : aquellos
1001 acoleitzi, micoleichi, g̃oleichi, quicoleichi, micole(h)i(c)ziha, chicoleichi : preteritos
1002 acoleitzitan, micoleitzitan, g̃oleitzitan, quicoleitzitan, micoleitzihactan, chicoleitztan : futuro ymperfecto
1003 coleitz, g̃oleitzge, quicoleitzte, micoleitzjacqui, chicoleitzge : ymperativo
1004 acoleitzoque/acoleichteque, micoleichoque/micoleichteque, g̃oleichoque/g̃oleichteque, quicoleichoque/ quicoleichteque, micoleichhang̃oque/micoleichhacteque, chicoleichlang̃oque/chicoleich(c)teque : optativo
1005 acoleitzhu, micoleichhu, g̃oleichhu, quicoleichhu, micoleichhach, chicoleich(lach)[hu] : subjuntivo

verbo aloitzan 'ser hecho'

1006 aoitzan : yo soy hecho
1007 mioitzan : tu
1008 loychan : aquel
1009 quioichan : nosotros
1010 mioitzihan : vosotros
1011 chioitzan : aquellos
1012 aoitzi : preterito
1013 aoitztan : futuro
1014 aoitzoque : obtativo
1015 aoitzhu : subjuntivo

verbo apeñoitzan 'ser querido'

1016	apeñoitzan	: yo soy querido
1017	mipeñoitzan	: tu
1018	meñoitzan	: aquel
1019	quipeñoitzan	: nosotros
1020	mipeñoitzihan	: vosotros
1021	chipeñoitzan	: aquellos
1022	apeñoitzitan	: futuro
1023	apeñoitzoque &	: optativo
1024	apeñoitzhu, mipeñoitzhu &	: subjuntivo

Libro segundo: De las partes de▾la oracion. Del nombre. De su division.

[nombre substantivo: nombre proprio]

1025	muxac	: el sol
1026	pel	: la luna

[nombre apellativo]

1027	nun	: el varon
1028	xocot	: el rio

[nombre colletivo: muchedumbre]

1029	kennà	: las estrellas
1030	cotchal	: el cascajal

Del uso del nombre substantivo. Del nombre quasi adjectivo

1031	hualiu	: cosa▾fuerte
1032	ñguñà	: cosa suave
1033	allhi	: cosa dulce
1034	xep	: ympotente ô esteril
1035	oñchaplla	: hablador ô parlero, y los semejantes
1036	chel cachiu	: patituerto
1037	ixivaj hayu	: mal hombre
1038	yamcuila hayulolhe	: para los hombres diligentes ô hazendosos
1039	pal-lou lunic	: tiene buen natural
1040	yxivaj lunic	: es de mala condicion
1041	aytechu hayu	: hombre pacifico
1042	ñanzicnic/uoch	: trabajoso
1043	xex°nic	: carachoso &

Del nombre verbal

[nombre verbal: 1: el infinitivo, 2: el ynfinitivo + alguna particula, 3: el raiz: infinitivo sin te]

1044	cot	: < cot: el ser ô essencia
1045	jayu cot	: el ser del hombre
1046	cottuch	: cot + uch: participio de presente: el que es
1047	cotanco	: el que es
1048	lam	: el ser ô estar
1049	g̃ullha	: vida
1050	g̃ullha cotlam	: el estado de vida
1051	acullha acotlam	: mi estado
1052	casaran quii g̃ullha cotlam	: el estado de casado &
1053	cotlam	: circumloquio segundo, participio de futuro, rus
1054	acotlam°ynco	: circumloquio segundo, participio de futuro + ynco: yo que he de ser
1055	micotlam°ynco &	: tu que has de ser
1056	acotlamje, acotteje &	: je: gerundio de genitivo, dativo, acusativo y el supino
1057	meñ, ameñolam	: < ameñan: la voluntad
1058	ameñ	: mi voluntad
1059	mimeñ	: tu voluntad &
1060	ameñolam°pat	: por mi gusto ô gana
1061	ag̃ole, 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 acquian	: governar
1070	camatzin quivuch	: el governador
1071	allitten	: corregir
1072	llittejuch	: el corregidor

[4: supinos en ng̃o l jo: verbales en bilis]

1073	apul-luan	: abominar
1074	cupul-luongo	: abominable
1075	achi(x)[c]nan	: temer
1076	quichicnong̃o	: cosa formidable, temerosa
1077	azchan	: ver

	atzacho, mizacho, ytzacho, quitzacho &	
1078	quitzacho	: visible ô que lo podemos ver
1079	quig̃olengo	: digno de amar
1080	axman millango mectan miva	: tu tienes obligacion de ir primero
1081	aamong̃o actan	: yo puedo comer

Del nombre numeral. De su division.
[los cardinales]

1082	anzel	: para cosas largas y todo animal quadrupedo: uno
1083	ypzel	: dos
1084	yszel	: 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, ypche, yxxê, miñipche, quiocche, ypzoc°che, qu[i]lixche, pacche, ocoñche, alecche	: 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, quiochil, ypzochil, quilixhil, pachil, ocoñhil, al-lechil	: para palabras, preceptos, mandamien tos, ordena[n]zas &
1098	attuj, yptuj, yxtuj, miñiptuj, quioctuj, ypzoctuj &	: para retazos, pedazos, ñudos, junturas &
1099	attip, yptip, yxtip, miñiptip &	: para mitades, mendrugos &
1100	alliu, ypliu, yxliu &	: para cosas diversas & y colores &
1101	appoc, ypoc, ychpoc, miñippoc &	: para vezes
1102	appuch, yppuch, ychpuch &	: para chacaras &
1103	atchan, ypchan, 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 &

1107	axun, ypxun, ychxun, miñipxun, quiocxun	: para pueblos, lugares, puestos &
1108	miñip°lec	: miñip + al-lec: quarenta
1109	al-lec	: diez
1110	yplec	: veinte
1111	yxlec	: treinta
1112	miñiplec	: quarenta
1113	quioclec	: cincuenta
1114	ypzoc°lec	: sesenta
1115	quilix°lec	: setenta
1116	pac°lec	: ochenta
1117	ocoñ°lec	: noventa
1118	nic	: conjuncion de los numeros
1119	alec miñip	: alec + miñip: catorce
1120	al-lec anzel	: once
1121	al-lec ypta	: doze
1122	al-lec yxta	: trece
1123	al-lec ipzoc°nic	: diez y seis
1124	pi	: igualdad en accion
1125	ypta°pi milohac	: hacetlo los dos juntos

Del numeral ordinal [1: ordinal = cardinal + cotmullanco; 2: ordinal = cardinal]

1126	at°hil	: una palabra
1127	at°cotmullanco hil silan	: el primer mandamiento
1128	yp°hil silan	: el 2o
1129	ych°hil silan &	: el 3o
1130	axman cot°mullanco	: el 1o y▾el▾que esta primero
1131	at°hil silan	: el primer mandamiento

Del numeral distributivo [distributivo = cardinal + o/co]

1132	yl-lo	: de uno en uno
1133	yptaco iptaco	: de dos en dos
1134	yxtaco yxtaco	: de tres en tres
1135	miñippô miñippô	: de quatro en quatro
1136	quiocco quiocco	: de cinco en cinco
1137	ypchocco ipchoco	: de seis en seis
1138	quilixsô quilixsô	: de siete en siete
1139	pacco pacco	: de ocho en ocho
1140	ocoññô ocoññô	: de nueve en nueve
1141	al-leccò alleccò	: de diez en diez
1142	allec anzel-lô al-lec anchellô	: de onze en onze &

Del nombre compuesto

De▾los que se componen de participios [1: participio en co, 2: participio en uch l. juch]

1143	cotanco, cottuch	: el que es
1144	yg̃ollanco, g̃oleuuch	: el que ama
1145	acolevuch	: mi amador
1146	quechuac	: el pobre
1147	quechuac golebuch	: el amador del pobre, que ama el pobre, caritativo o misericordioso
1148	aycha lluppuch	: comedor de carne
1149	axuâ lammijuch	: matador de pescado
1150	pal-lusayeuch	: < al-luzacquian: misericordioso ô piadoso
1151	tuppuch	: < atupan: andariego
1152	axuâ zappuch	: pescador

De otras particulas con que se componen los nombres substantivos [camayoc, nic l nicall, ziu, all, ell, quell, sall, ll, miñ, miñapô, capoc l capocall, ñanmac, puch]

1153	camayoc	: el oficio ô cargo [de]
1154	vexa camayoc	: pastor de obejas
1155	baca camayoc	: baquero
1156	palol camayoc	: portero
1157	checho camayoc	: el que tiene el cargo de plata
1158	sastre camayoc, pijijjuch	: el sastre
1159	nic, nicall	: exceso ô muchedumbre
1160	chulnic, chulnicall	: mocoso
1161	chounicall	: piojoso
1162	ell, quell	: exceso, abundancia de cosas
1163	chequell	: muy granado
1164	moquell	: todo fruta
1165	se(t)chell	: cabezon
1166	taquell pañâ pactan	: es camino pedragoso &
1167	ziu	: niega la posession con exageracion
1168	alê ziu	: no tengo dientes
1169	sall	: niega la posession con exageracion
1170	el-le sall ziu	: del todo estoi desdentado
1171	quisac sall ziu	: de todo punto no tenemos que comer ô comida
1172	ll, all, capocall	: solum
1173	checholl ampicen	: pidote solamente plata
1174	bem°all, bem°capocall ameñan	: no quiero mas que camotes ô solamente quiero camotes
1175	quipalli°all	: solamente passamos, esto es, sin detenernos, ni hazer otra cosa

1176	ll, all, tell, llem	: + presente: continuacion de la accion
1177	sachan°all, tell sachan, llem sachan	: todavia chacarea ô està haziendo chacara
1178	teng̃ixanall	: todavia esta hilando
1179	yn	: todavia
1180	lla(c)pangin	: todavia no se va, todavia no se ha ido
1181	zipte tong̃in	: todavia esta en casa
1182	ll	: + optativo ô jerundio: precission
1183	qui°amocteheva, quipiipoll	: para comer, precissamente hemos de trabajar
1184	quixpocteheva, Dios camazin quii sil mahac quilong̃oll	: para salvarnos, necessariamente hemos de guardar los mandamientos de Dios
1185	ñanmac	: unas vezes haze colectivos a los nombres de tiempo, otras vezes singularisa
1186	nem ñanmac quiaman	: cada dia ô todos los dias comemos
1187	ñanmac hayu itzipte itzotz pahacotan	: cada indio tiene cuies en su(s) casa(s)
1188	ñanmac	: + participios: cada vez
1189	sayapi°te aquichejtehe alluaanco ñanmac, cama acquian	: cada vez que voy â pasear al monte, caygo enfermo
1190	puch	: + numerales: entero o cabal : + nombres de tiempo: todo : + vasos, ollas, calabazos, costales, talegas, canastos &: lleno
1191	al-lec°puch	: diez enteros ô cabales
1192	anem°pu(t)ch atpeii	: caminè todo un dia
1193	apelpuch puttamte atñgui	: un mes entero he estado en el pueblo
1194	apotiappa apilui°puch°cho pactan	: un año entero ha que vine
1195	chapllon°man i(c)zac°puch telan	: la olla està llena de chicha
1196	xallaman cuca°puch luctan	: el canasto està lleno de coca
1197	miñ, miñapo	: igualdad entre dos nombres quantitativos
1198	attellpa°che°miñ/miñapo rasu muilli	: cayô granizo tan grande como huevo de gallina

Del modo que se forman los comparativos en esta lengua

1199	nichunic, tupat, mannap	: magis, mas
1200	nichunic	: magis, mas, excesso de comparativo
1201	nichunic allhi	: mas dulce
1202	nichunic zamoch	: mas sabio
1203	nichunic puillquitz imeñan	: quiere mas oro

1204	baptismote jayû masoquiajhe°pat, qui°Dios°zâ mulipitzo, nichunic°sim cunutza loche, quiquiñgo quecti cotnap, tzach°he, quinanima mec g̃ama utupat uccullhavejo zuquiou camatzin quii, qui°pa Jesuchristo zoque°llapat zamejhe, manjichoche, quisall zommec icazamojtehe	: no se ha contentado Dios con▾que el hombre renasca en el sto Bautismo, mas viendo las frequentissimas enfermedades las quales podra contraer pecando, ha instituido un remedio contra todas y de▾la sangre de Christo ha hecho como un baño saludable para tod[a]s las llaggas de nuestra alma
1205	co llup°man quijcholamma confession°sim cotan	: este baño es la confession sacramental
1206	tupat + mannap	: el nexo de las oraciones comparativas
1207	mannap	: inter
1208	yla°tep chimsou°mannap, San Juan Bautista tupat, nichunic ocho tapachii°pitzo	: inter natos mulierum non surrexit maior Joanne Baptista: entre los nacidos de mugeres no se levanto maior que 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 mi &
1218	mutupat g̃uixuan	: se enoja contra [te] &
1219	mannap	: en quanto
1220	qui°pa Jesu-Christo Dios cot°mannap goli°pitzo, hayu cot°mannappall g̃oli	
1221	mimannap nichunic ques Pedro cotan	: Pedro es mayor ô mas viejo que tu
1222	col°mannap uzavâ nichunic ixivaj cotan	: el pecado es peor ô mas malo que la muerte
1223	quimta°mannap quinanima°vâ nichunic yupey chectan	: nuestras almas son de mas estima que nuestros cuerpos
1224	supey°mannap nichunic zepan	: miente mas que el diablo

Del modo que se forman los superlativos

1225	ma, patep, mamata, ma▾patep, ma ocho	: valde, muy, excesso en grado superlativo

1226	ma	: excesso superlativo
1227	ma hualiu	: fortissimo
1228	ma julap	: larguissimo
1229	ma nem°te	: muy de dia
1230	ma piatz, ma▾payatz	: muy tarde
1231	ma▾majach	: muy de noche
1232	ma▾nemlup	: muy â medio dia
1233	ma▾pulcup	: muy â media noche
1234	ma zitzall	: muy obscuro
1235	ocho	: cosa grande
1236	ma + ocho	: excesso quantitativo
1237	ma ocho g̃uelou, ma ocho lleti	: ha engordado mucho
1238	majall	: mucho en quantidad, cantidad numeral
1239	majall aycha ullupan	: come mucha carne
1240	majall axuà cotman chectan	: ay muchos peces en el agua
1241	mamata mumpuchnic hayu cotanco	: es hombre que tiene muchas riquezas
1242	mamata sac°nic	: tiene muchissimas comidas
1243	patep chihachan	: hacen muchissimas chacaras
1244	patep quig̃olengo	: amabilissimo ô muy amable
1245	patep quichicnong̃o	: temerosissimo ô muy temeroso
1246	patep ma pallou	: bonissimo con grande excesso
1247	patep uccullhavejo	: muy saludable
1248	patep	: + quantidad: excesso de comparacion
1249	patep mamata checho	: muchissima plata con grande excesso
1250	patep ma▾majall mech	: muy muchissimos arboles &
1251	mec°mannap patep zamoch	: omnium doctissimus, doctissimo entre todos ô el mas docto de todos
1252	mec°mannap patep ma▾hualiu	: fortissimo entre todos
1253	mec allhà°mannap patep ma ocho elefante°vâ cotan	: entre todos los animales el elefante es grandissimo

De los nombres diminutivos

1254	cunchu, chu	: particulas con▾que se disminuyen todas las cosas
1255	cunchu	: cosa pequeña
1256	cunchu, nichunic cunchu, ma▾cunchu	: parvus, minor, minimus: pequeño, menor, minimo
1257	ocho, nichunic ocho, ma ocho	: magnus, mayor, maximus
1258	yla°chu	: mugercilla
1259	nun pul°chu	: mozuelo
1260	nun▾pullup°chu	: muchachillo
1261	ila pullup°chu	: muchachilla
1262	nun°chu	: hombrecillo
1263	moschu	: poquito

1264	nichunic moschu	: mas poquito
1265	ma cunchu	: muy poquito
1266	atellpa mullup°chu	: pollito
1267	cuchi mullup°chu	: cochinito

Del pronombre. De su division

1268	oc, mi, sa	: pronombres primitivos: yo, tu, el: ego, tu, ys

Del plural destos primitivos

1269	quija	: nosotros
1270	minaja	: vosotros
1271	chija	: ellos

De▾los pronombres posessivos

1272	a	: meus
1273	aczoc	: mi caja
1274	m	: tuus para hombre
1275	miczoc	: tu caja
1276	p	: tuus para muger
1277	piczoc	: tu caja
1278	Juan gazoc	: suus = genitivo de posession: la caxa de Juan

Plural:

1279	quija quiczoc, quiczoc	: nuestra caja
1280	miczoc-ja	: vuestra caja
1281	chic-zoc	: la caja dellos
1282	oc alou	: pronombre primitivo + la particula lou: mio
1283	mi▾milou	: tuyo
1284	sa ilou	: suyo del
1285	quiha quilou	: nuestro
1286	minaha▾(mi)milouha, mi▾milouha	: vuestro
1287	chiha loula	: suyo dellos
1288	ol	: nombre ynterrogativo
1289	ol ilou, ol ilouam?	: cuyo es?
1290	oc alou	: mio
1291	Juan illou	: de Juan

De▾los pronombres demostrativos

1292	co	: este de aqui
1293	ynco	: aquel de alli

1294	pe	: aquel de aculla
1295	oc alou co°uâ	: esto mio ô esto es mio
1296	mi▾milou ynco°uâ	: aquello tuyo
1297	sa ilou pe°vâ	: aquello suyo
1298	co oc alou	: esto es mio
1299	tup	: egomet, yo mismo : nominativo de▾persona que haze
1300	oc°tup	: yo mismo
1301	mi°tup	: tu mismo
1302	sa°tup	: el mismo
1303	quija°tup	: nosotros mismos
1304	minajatup	: vosotros mismos
1305	chija°tup	: ellos mismos
1306	Juantup	: Juan mismo
1307	Dios°tup jayu itzmei	: Dios ô Dios mismo crio al hombre &
1308	entoñam ampacoctan, amiachpacna cotto°tup	: tup + obtativo = pues: como te conocerè, pues no te▾puedo ver
1309	al-lum	: los otros ô algunos
1310	anzel°sim	: es otro
1311	ache ipman tonliî	: posô en otra casa
1312	pi	: + numeral: ambo
1313	Pedro Juan°nic ypta°pi illahuan	: Pedro y Juan, ambos â dos van juntos
1314	yxta jayu atemmê chipalli	: tres hombres juntos passaron de mañana
1315	ypta°pi aycha llupilan, ypta°pi aycha lluphe iton, ypta°pi zep llupilan	: ambos â dos estan comiendo carne

De algunas particulas que se usan con los pronombres primitivos

1316	ach, ch	: diz▾que
1317	oc°ach	: diz▾que yo
1318	mich	: diz▾que tu
1319	sach	: diz▾que el
1320	quihach	: diz▾que nosotros
1321	minahach	: diz▾que vosotros
1322	chihach	: diz▾que ellos
1323	fiscaltupach icxaixtanna/he, Estevan quian	: Estevan dize que el fiscal nos ha de azotar
1324	yncoñ, peñ	: assi
1325	yncoñachge, peñachge	: assi dize que es, assi dizen que es
1326	chin	: quizas
1327	oc°chin asepan	: quizas yo miento
1328	michin mijinziui	: quizas tu hablaste

1329	Pedro°chin cotan	: quizas es Pedro
1330	capi nem°chin nantan	: quizas vendrà oy
1331	oc°achge	: dice que yo ô dicen que yo
1332	michge	: dice que tu
1333	sachge	: dize que el &

Del nombre relativo ê interrogativo

1334	ol, olam	: quis, quien
1335	ynchâ, ynchâm	: quid, que cosa
1336	yntonco, yntoncopit, yntoncom	: quisquis, quilibet, qual ô qualquiera
1337	olpit, entoncopit	: quicumque, qualquiera▾que
1338	ynchapit	: 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?	: Math. C. 12: 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 ziptem ñectan	: en qual casa dormirâ?
1345	yntoncotepit llac-he	: vaya qualquiera?
1346	yntonco zip°manpit tonlec-he	: posse en qualquiera casa
1347	ynchà, yncham	: pregunta [de] cosas
1348	ynchàm ynco°uâ?	: que es esso?
1349	ma	: nada
1350	yncham maccotan	: que tienes?
1351	ynchapit (mâ) /yncha°chupit/ yncha▾yupit mâ acotpan	: no tengo nada
1352	ynchamma?	: que dices ô que quieres hombre?
1353	inchampa?	: que dices ô que quieres muger?
1354	mec	: omnis
1355	mec▾incha	: toda la cosa
1356	ynchachu	: cosa pequeña
1357	yu	: qualidad
1358	yncha▾yuam co°â?	: que ô de que calidad es esto?
1359	ol-lolam?	: quienes?
1360	entoncololam?	: quales?
1361	mec yncha▾yncha	: todas las cosas
1362	mec yncha▾incha, mec ynchu▾ynchupit	: todas las cosas minimas
1363	mec incha▾yncha▾yu	: todo genero y calidad de cosas

1364	ynto▾mecam	: quanto, cosas de quantidad ô cantidad
1365	ynto▾mec mimojllan, pe▾mec mimixtocan	: quanto hallas, tanto pierdes
1366	ynto▾mec inchà maccotan, mec incha°pit mipñejlactan	: quanto tienes, todo te▾lo quitaràn
1367	ynto▾mec maengoque, pe▾mec amectan	: quanto me dieres, tanto te darè
1368	co▾mec, ynco▾mec, p(a)[e]▾mec	: tantus
1369	ynto▾mecam?	: quanto?
1370	ynto▾mec°chin	: no▾se quanto
1371	co▾mecall	: tanto como esto, no mas
1372	mi, oc mec mectan	: tu eres de mi estatura ô tamaño
1373	ynto▾mec	: quam, quan
1374	ynto▾mec pallou Dios cotan/ ento▾mec pallou cotan Dios°zâ	: quan bueno es Dios
1375	ynto▾mec mac-jai mectan	: quan dichoso eres
1376	ynto▾mec ixivaj cotan sepec°câ	: quan mala es la mentira
1377	ynto▾mec + tenom	: menos
1378	ynto▾mec tenom	: tanto menos
1379	ynto▾mec°pit	: quanto quiera y quanto quiera que
1380	ynto▾mec nichunic	: quanto mas
1381	ynto▾mec nichunic axua mitzappoque,	: quanto mas pescado cogieras, serà mejor nichunic pallou cottan
1382	ynto▾mec cothepit, ynto▾mec cothupit	: a▾lo mas mas
1383	yntoñapam?	: de que tamaño?
1384	coññap, coñappo	: deste tamaño
1385	coñapall	: deste tamaño, no mas
1386	peñapall	: de aquel tamaño solamente
1387	yncha▾yû	: para preguntas de calidad de personas y cosas
1388	yncha▾yu hayuam ynco°â?	: de que especie, laya, condicion, suerte ô calidad es esse hombre?
1389	le, zal°le?	: es blanco ô negro?
1390	lolxe°sim	: es español
1391	zamoch cotan	: es sabio
1392	hualiu jayu°sim	: es hombre fuerte
1393	xal-am jayu°sim	: es floxo, perezoso
1394	yxivaj jayu°sim	: es hombre malo &
1395	ñal-loc hayu°sim	: es indio ordinario
1396	yncha▾yu caballum ynco°uâ?	: de que laya ô color es esse caballo?
1397	zal-le? chiñ°le?	: es negro ô tordillo?
1398	Pucala°te°vâ yncha▾yu peyam pactan?	: como es la tierra de Pucara?

1399	zal pey pactan	: es [tierra] negra
1400	llaca▾pey pactan	: es tierra colorada
1401	pull▾pey°sim	: es tierra amarilla
1402	yncha▾yu chem co°uâ	: que grano ô huevo es este?
1403	cach chê°sim	: es grano de maiz
1404	llû chê°sim	: es huevo de paujil
1405	anna▾meccam?	: quantos en numero
1406	ana▾mecam jayu chectan	: quantos hombres son ô estan?
1407	ana▾mecam illactan?	: quantos iran?
1408	annazel mecham?	: quantos arboles?
1409	ana▾mec xiptetam	: quantas anonas?
1410	ana▾mec ochaauam	: quantos caymitos?
1411	ana▾mec atellpachem?	: quantos huevos de gallina?
1412	anachem atellpa?	: quantas gallinas?
1413	anachem zipnic puttam°mâ cotan?	: quantas casas tiene el▾pueblo?
1414	annachupam axua chipillte chepulli?	: quantos pezes cayeron en la nasa?
1415	anachupam menextec matton?	: quantos vestidos tienes?
1416	annapucham mihachnic mectan	: quantas hachas tienes?
1417	ana▾mecchupam mucuchillu°nic	: quanto[s] cuchillos tienes?
1418	Dios camatzin quii sil anna▾mec▾jilam?	: quantos son los mandamientos de Dios?
1419	allec jil-all	: solamente diez
1420	anna▾mec°tipam aycha mullupi?	: quantos pedazos de carne comiste?
1421	annatujam?	: quantos ñudos ô junturas?
1422	anna▾mectujam mimta maccotan?	: quantas junturas tiene tu cuerpo?
1423	annaliuuam menextec°câ	: de quantas colores es tu vestido?
1424	ñappâ analiuaam chectan	: quantas especies ay de papagayos?
1425	ana▾meclivam chectan tua°â	: quantas castas ay de loros?
1426	annapocam munutza milou?	: quantas vezes has pecado?
1427	ynto▾mec	: tantas vezes
1428	majallpoc, mamatapoc	: muchas vezes
1429	piliu ñanmac anapucham mihachouhan?	: quantas 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 chag̃am candela°vâ?	: quantos mazos ay de velas?
1434	ana▾mec°chagam veyiâ mumchan	: quantas haszes has puesto de leña?
1435	achchan	: uno
1436	ypchan	: dos
1437	anna▾mec°pucam meng̃lejtan?	: quantos vocados tragaràs?
1438	appuc	: un vocado &
1439	anna▾mec°pimocam menextec	: quantas ropas vistes?

	memel-lan?	
1440	annapimoc°nic mizip°pâ	: quantos quartos tiene su casa?
1441	annapimocam zentà chectan	: quantos cielos ay?
1442	annapong̃am quetâ°â mipoichi?	: quantas manadas ô tropas de jabalies has visto?
1443	apon°pat illach apoichi	: los vi ir de tropa
1444	anna▾mec°sug̃am putam naime mipalliha?	: por quantos pueblos aveis passado?
1445	ana▾puttamtem mectija?	: en quantos pueblos estubisteis?
1446	anna▾mec xocotam mulumchiquiha pana°te°vâ?	: quantos rios aveis passado en el camino?
1447	anna▾llom?	: quantas quebradas?
1448	anna▾mec°xumg̃am mimmollayha?	: quantos montones aveis juntado?
1449	axxum	: uno
1450	anna▾xam?	: quantos pares?
1451	anna▾mec iel-lom illactan?	: de quantos en quantos iran?
1452	yel-lo iel-lo, yel-loll iel-loll, yel-tell iel-tell, yel-pat iel-pat, yel-patall iel-patall	: cada uno de por si
1453	yptaco iptaco	: de dos en dos
1454	yññanmacco anzel palantu mipoecqui	: dales â cada uno un platano
1455	mamonte mamonte	: uno tras otro

Del modo de usar y suplir â qui, quae, quod

Precepto 1o [por el pronombre demostrativo co]

1456	Jesu-Christo sa mulall quinapû°te°pit, cosim Espiritu Santo itzmey°tep jayu quii	: y en Jesu-Christo, su unico hijo, el qual se hizo hombre por obra del Espiritu Sto

Precepto 2o [por los relativos ol l yntonco]

1457	ynco nallô, ol l yntonco Jesus ig̃olli nai mitzju izchi, co°sim majach lamolam°te luchel ñante milmojnou	: Ioan. C. 21: vidit illum discipulum, quem diligebat Iesus, sequentem, qui recubuit in coena super pectus eius: vio â aquel dicipulo, â quien amaba Jesus, que le seguia, el qual se recostò sobre su pecho en la cena

Precepto 3o [por el participio de futuro y de preterito]

1458	acot°pechap°in cotiinco, sap°sim cotan, anay nantan°ynco	: Ioan C. 1: ipse est qui post me venturus est, qui ante me factus est: el mismo es, el que vendrà despues de mi, el qual fue antes que yo fuesse
1459	nantan°ynco	: participio de futuro
1460	cotiinco	: participio de preterito
1461	mec ug̃a Belen°te itog̃ui°inco, molammi	: Math. C. 2: occidit [omnes] pueros, qui erant in Bethl[eh]em: mato todos los niños de leche que estavan en Belen

Prosigue la propia materia

Precepto 1o [qui es nominativo: la oracion se▾haze por los participios]

1462	axijlam ec ymanco	: participio de presente: Ioan. C. 4 v. 10: qui dicit tibi: da mihi bibere: el que te dice: dame de beber
1463	co jil loitzi, quizaxte	: Luc. 2 v. 15: et videamus hoc verbum, quod factum est: veamos esta palabra que fue hecho
1464	mec sinnaylâynco, ichicnejnou	: preterito perfecto: Luc. C. 2: omnes qui au-dierunt, mirati sunt: todos los que oyeron, se admiraron
1465	g̃oliyêinco 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, aputtam Isrrael ig̃alloctehe	: (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	g̃uelchejuch, unutzavejuch°pit cotan	: Ioan. 8: est qui quaerat, et iudicet: ay quien busque y juzgue
1470	nonasna quianco, hacol-loitztan, hacol quianco, ochò quictan	: futuro: Mat.: qui autem se exaltaverit, humiliabitur; et qui se humiliaverit, ex-altabitur: empero el que se engrandeciera, serà humillado y el que se humillare, se engrandecerà

Precepto 2o

[el relativo qui es acusativo ô caso de▾verbo: la oracion se▾haze por los mismos participios]

1471	yncha yncha mipoychihanco, chipoichanco ñachelol°lâ, pe▾mec macjai chectan	: presente: Luc. C. 10 v.: beati oculi qui vident quae vos videtis: bienaventurados los ojos que ven las cosas que vosotros veis
1472	ymsahi chup°pâ, ñô mipoxqueî°pit, pemec macjai chectan	: preterito perfecto: Luc. 11 v. 27: beatus venter qui te portavit et ubera quae suxisti: bienaventurado el vientre que te tuvo en si y los pechos que mamaste
1473	mec yncha chipohinaiye°te, chipoitziyete°pit, Dios muchan loche	: preterito plusquam perfecto: Luc. C. 2 v. 20: laudantes Deum in omnibus quae audierant et viderant: alabando â Dios en todas las cosas que avian oido y visto
1474	yntonco°pit muchan aloctanynco, sap°sim cotan, mitzaphacqui muchan	: futuro: Math. C. 26: quemcumque osculatus fuero, ipse est, tenete eum: a▾qualquiera▾que besare, el mismo es, prendedle
1475	alolamynco, mitzaphacqui, sap°sim cotan	: futuro en lam: quemcumque osculatus fuero &
1476	caliz axijlamynco mixijhan̄gole 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 participio

1477	acolebuch	: infinitivo + uch/buch: amator, amador
1478	axpen	: salvar
1479	axpejuch	: mi salvador
1480	anutzaven	: jusgar
1481	anutzavejuch	: mi juez ô jusgador
1482	pallou alan	: hago bien
1483	pallou aobuch	: mi bienhechor
1484	anutzavejuch mectan	: eres mi juez
1485	pallou aobuch cotan	: es mi bien°echor
1486	mi(qui)ymejuch cotan Dios°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 + posessivos y transiciones]

1489	milolam/milolamynco, xipnall/ojomall loc/milocqui	: quod facturus es[t], fac citius: lo que has de hazer, haslo presto
1490	caliz axijlaminco, mixijhangole mectihàn?	: Math. C. 20: podeis beber el caliz que yo he de ô tengo de beber?
1491	amehena acquilam, aymej	: enseñame lo que he de creer
1492	alolam atun	: dime lo que he de hazer
1493	atonlelam aychoj	: muestrame donde he de posar ô 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 ô tener obligacion
1499	pojò atmolle yglesia°te quillalam pactan/cotan	: pasa(n)do mañana tenemos que ir â la iglesia ô 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 ô tengo costumbre de pecar
1503	meetzolam mecti &	: tu solias ô 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 bolver
1508	atzacho actan	: yo puedo ver
1509	allan̄go actan	: yo puedo ir &
1510	lam	: si
1511	alolam cothu°uâ, aloctan	: si tubiere que hazer, lo hare
1512	aamolam cothu°â, âamoctan	: si tuviere que comer, comerè
1513	confessan miquilam cothu°uâ, confessan quic	: si tuvieres que confessar, confiessate

Del circumloquio en dus [dus = 2o supino]

1514	Dios quiḡolengo cotan	: 2o supino + cotan = obligacion: Deus amandus est nobis: Dios deve ser amado por nosotros
1515	Juan pagalan imoon̄go cotan	: Juan le debe pagar
1516	miñipche real Juan milengo cotan	: tu debes dar â Juan quatro reales
1517	quimtesajo mectan	: 2o supino + actan = dignus: eres digno ô mereces que te lo agradescamos
1518	mixaichlan̄go mectan	: mereces que te azoten

1519	quiamongo̅ mittacho pactan	: 2o supino + pactan + cho: el tiempo de hazer la cosa que el verbo significa: ya es tiempo de comer
1520	amaymejo acotto	: 2o supino = possum: yo podre enseñarte
1521	a Dios, entoñam ampacongo̅ acotto, amyachpacna 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	acolenan	: yo me amo
1525	micolenan	: tu te amas
1526	ngolenan	: aquel se ama
1527	quicolenan	: nosotros nos amamos
1528	micolenouhan	: vosotros os amais
1529	chicolenan	: 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 reis
1542	zuquilan	: aquellos se rien
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 casa &

Romances del modo potencial

[añiu ynajam + futuro ymperfecto + ynterjeciones: que he de, que es posible que]

1552	ychi	: ynterjecion de temor

1553	uchû	: ynterjecion de calor
1554	aleû	: ynterjecion de frio
1555	añiû ynajam mec quicoltan ychi?	: que todos hemos de morir?
1556	añiu ynajam limante amojtan aleu?	: que es possible que he de ir â▾la sierra?
1557	añiu ynajam ampe▾puttamman apattan uchû?	: es possible que me he de condenar?
1558	añiû ynajam axaix°lactan allau?	: que me han de açotar?

Romances de "estando para"

[infinitivo + miñ + actan en gerundio de ablativo ô en subjuntivo: estando para]

1559	g̃ol°miñchô cothe, ychei	: estando para morir, pario
1560	ychan°miñ°chô cothu cuchi°vâ, quilammi	: estando para parir la puerca, la matamos
1561	mech lix°miñ°chô cothû, zammolli°lâ	: dexaron el arbol estando para caer

Romances impersonales

1562	chipiypan	: trabajan
1563	chian	: duermen
1564	chiquian, chijlan, etzeitzian	: dicen
1565	yllahuan	: vanse
1566	yllaquian	: buelvense
1567	mec°tup Diosza quig̃olenḡo cotan	: 2o supino = obligacion: todos tenemos obligacion de amar â Dios

Del uso del infinitivo

Precepto 1o [dolerse, pesarse, holgarse, maravillarse, espantarse & + ge l gena]

1568	apopsajige/gena alusacquian	: Gen. C. 6: p[o]enitet me fecisse eos: pesame que los hize
1569	apopsajancoge aluvan	: pesame que los hago
1570	co iloctangena alusacquian	: pesame que ha de hazer ô harâ esto
1571	anutza alouge alusacquian	: pesame de aver pecado
1572	yxivaj mectancogena achicnejnan	: me espanto ô maravillo de que seas malo
1573	apuilli°gena [mi]mac-(mi)hacquii	: alegraste°te de que cai

Precepto 2o [convenir, vedar, prohibir + pacna y actan]

1574	millavojpacna mectan miyelam°mâ	: Ioan. C. 5: non licet tibi tollere l. ut tollas gra[b]atum tuum
1575	domingololte, fiestaloltepit quipiippacna quectan, al-lum nem°mâ ampec quipiippo quectan	: no te es licito que lleves tu cama: los domingos y fiestas no nos es licito trabajar, pero los demas dias nos es licito: los domingos y fiestas no▾podemos trabajar, pero los demas dias bien podemos
1576	mana alan	: vedar ô prohibir
1577	llacchin°na alou	: mandele ô dixele que no fuesse
1578	mana alan	: digole que no

[mandar + gerundio de dativo]

1579	palol camayoc tepjoctegena ing̃allou	: Marc. C.: janitori pr[a]ecepit, ut vigilaret: mandò al portero que velase
1580	llacchin°na ing̃allan	: mandale que no vaya

Precepto 3o [primer supino ô gerundio de acusativo + verbos de movimiento]

1581	Dios capac cot chipazzolamhe, camapit chipotzu°quiovolamhe, mopilmi	: 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 â predicar y â sanar los enfermos

Precepto 4o [la raiz + j l 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 chipoichina quiche, cololachge Jesuchristo quinja cotan°na chiquian diciendo	: Luc. 24: venerunt, dicentes se etiam visionem angelorum vidisse, qui dicunt eum vivere: vinieron las Marias, que ellas tambien avian visto angeles, los quales dicen que vive Jesu-Christo

1587	angel°pit moxleynachhe, chicnoumuchhe°na mo(p)[h]ilvey	: et dixit angelus: nolite timere: y el angel les dixo que no temiessen
1588	quiamong̃o cothuâ, quiamocte°chô	: quando sea tiempo de comer, comaremos
1589	cuñchuall°chochge, nichuall°chochge, payam°chochge	: dize que falta poco

Precepto 6o

1590	na + aschan	: videor, videris, parecer, ver
1591	Dios mig̃ollanna amaichan	: pareceme que amas â Dios
1592	ampal pallou hayu mectina amaichi, capi°vâ°cho ixivaj mectanna amaichan	: antes pareciome que eres bueno, pero aora veo que eres malo
1593	alupactan	: pensar, parecer
1594	meclan°na alupactan	: pareceme ô pienso que te mueres
1595	g̃oltan°na mulupactan	: parecete que morira?
1596	eey, g̃oltanna ajacquian	: si, jusgo, imagino, pienso, sospecho, a lo que me pareze, morirà
1597	peñ▾pixan°na ajacquian	: assi me parece que es
1598	aschan	: ver
1599	ytzip°te ittonhu, apoichi	: vilos estar ô que estaban en casa
1600	yllach, mipoichile?	: vistelos ir?
1601	heey, chihach°te illach apoichi	: si, vilos ir â sus chacras
1602	g̃olhu mitaxtan	: lo veras morir
1603	jul-l▾ec, g̃olhu mitaxte	: dale piña y veras como se muere

Precepto 7o

1604	aamocte acquian	: acquian + infinitivo presente > voluntad: quiero comer
1605	allacte ameñan	: infinitivo + ameñan 'querer': quiero irme
1606	millalamje/millactege ameñan	: ameñan + gerundio de dativo = querer que: quiero ô pretendo ô gusto que vayas
1607	llactege/llalamje ameñan	: quiero que vaya
1608	acolpat acquiî, macolvouha, anexii maxqueiha	: 'dar' + transiciones = hazer ô dar + infinitivo: Math. C.: esurivi, et dedistis 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]ng̃o zaman	: segundo supino en go l jo + atzman = saber + infinitivo: sabe hazer ollas
1610	xayapique allja cotto°tup°pit llix°â	: como siendo bestia ô animal del monte

	entoñam tanta ilan̄go zaman	el mono sabe comer pan
1611	liman°te millango°chô mitzmanle?	: sabes ya ir â la sierra?

Precepto 8 [supino en no l jo &: poder, facilitar]

1612	ajinzingo actan	: puedo hablar
1613	mijinzingo mectan &	: puedes ô te es facil hablar
1614	llan̄goll cotan	: supino + ll = facilidad ô frequencia: vase frequentamente ô facilmente
1615	quipahatpacna quectan	: no podemos vajar
1616	entoñ quiamopacna	: entoñ + supino + pacna > ympossibilidad: es impossible comer ô que lo comamos

[participio de futuro en lam y los supinos en no + actan: suelo ô tengo costumbre]

1617	alupojlam actan	: suelo aborrecer o tengo costumbre de aborrecer
1618	chumlupojo chectan	: tienen costumbre de aborrecerse ad invicem
1619	alupojlam actan	: lo suelo aborrecer de quando en quando
1620	chumlupojo chectan	: supino = mas frequencia, mayor costumbre: se aborrecen muy frequentamente

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 â hablar, ya yo lo avre acabado de hazer
1622	miyei▾quichenap, nem pohou	: gerundio de ablativo = despues▾que: despues que te levantaste, amanecio: postquam surrexisti, dies illuxit
1623	mannap [...] axman	: primero [...] que, antes [...] que, quam
1624	axman	: primero, antes
1625	anutza aloctemannap, axman acolte ameñan	: primero quiero morir que pecar
1626	anutza aloctemannap acol-lo actan	: primero he de morir que pecar
1627	mimannap oc axman amsou oc°câ	: yo naci primero que tu
1628	axot°mannap, xahannê actan	: de mis hermanos yo soi el mayor ô el▾primero
1629	axot°mannap, ayyê actan	: yo soy menor que mis hermanos ô el menor de mis hermanos
1630	Pedro°mannap, mi°ua ques°cho mectan	: tu eres mayor ô mas viejo que Pedro

1631	Dios°tup jayu castigan moou°mannap, axman perdonan moou/Dios°tup jayu yam▾moou°mannap, axman moxpei	: antes perdonô Dios que castigô â los hombres
1632	ipzel michel°nic iptip(nen) minenc°nic, micothu, tepat et°man michemiczi°mannap, mel-lti, milaxi te▾puttam macjai cullha°man miestege axman mige pallou cotan	: Math. C. 18: bonum est tibi ad vitam ingredi debilem, vel claudum, quam duas manus vel duos pedes habentem mitti in ignem aeternum: bien es para ti entrar al cielo flaco ô cojo que teniendo dos pies ô dos manos ser arrojados al fuego eterno
1633	choyoctan°mannap axman macsaictan	: antes se olgarâ que llorarâ
1634	maacsaquianco°mannap axman zoyan	: antes llora que se alegra
1635	casalan miquipechap, milanco zach	: antes que te cases, mira lo que hazes
1636	mannap	: demas de
1637	oulum Martin ytzajii°mannap imon	: demas de averle mordido la vivora â Martin, tiene calentura
1638	rezan quiquiî°mannap, missa quisinnay	: demas de rezar, oymos misa

Libro tercero

De otra construcion del verbo activo y de los neutros, compuestos y defectivos

Del verbo transitivo: Que sea verbo transitivo y del numero de▾las transiciones

1639	a	: la primera persona de singular
1640	m, ma	: la segunda para hombres
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	amcollan	: transicion de singular â singular: yo te amo
1647	mi°tup majian	: tu me aguardas
1648	g̃ajian	: aquel me aguarda
1649	ymajian	: aquel te aguarda
1650	ajiajnan	: transicion â la misma persona = n: yo me aguardo
1651	quicolenan	: nosotros nos amamos
1652	quijiajnan	: nosotros nos aguardamos
1653	acolenan	: yo me amo
1654	micolenan	: tu te amas

1655	quimajiayhan	: transicion de plural â plural: nosostros os▾esperamos
1656	minaha°tup quimajiayjan	: vosostros nos esperais
1657	quipojian	: nosostros los esperamos
1658	mipojiayjan	: vosostros los esperais
1659	quijiaylan	: aquellos nos esperan
1660	mijiaylajan	: aquellos os esperan
1661	chipojian	: aquellos los esperan
1662	amupchijan	: transicion de singular â plural: yo os pongo
1663	apopchan	: yo los pongo
1664	mitup quimcollan	: tu nos amas, cf. quimcollan: nosotros te amamos
1665	quipcollan	: tu nos amas: a muger
1666	mipocollan	: tu los amas
1667	mocollan	: aquel los ama
1668	i(n)[c]collan	: aquel nos ama
1669	quiha°tup quimcollan	: transicion de plural â singular: nosotros te amamos
1670	mapchihan	: vosotros me poneis
1671	allajilan	: aquellos me llevan
1672	millajilan	: aquellos te llevan

De otros verbos que tienen alguna diferencia en las transiciones

1673	aschan	: ver
1674	atzachan	: ver lo que tiene
1675	majall much amatzachan	: veo que▾tienes mucho aji
1676	majall pamô amatzachan	: transicion de singula[r] â singular: veo que tienes mucha fruta ô veote mucha fruta
1677	majall pamô matzachi/patzachi	: tu me viste mucha fruta
1678	Pedro majall cach g̃atzachi	: Pedro me vio mucho maiz
1679	minattellpa imatzaxtan, pinattellpa ypatzaxtan	: aquel te verà tus gallinas
1680	miñantaja quimatzachijâ	: transicion de▾plural â plural: nosotros os vimos vuestras caras
1681	minaja°tup qui°hach 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 chipajatzachî	: aquellos les vieron mucho maiz
1686	mizipja matzachlajactan	: aquellos os veran vuestras casas

1687	misac-ja amapuchihan	: transicion de singular â plural; apuchan < amchan 'poner': yo os pongo la comida
1688	ysac apahapuchan	: yo les pongo su comida
1689	quisac quimapu(c)chan	: tu nos pones nuestra comida
1690	ysac mipajapuchan	: tu les pones su comida
1691	quisac icapuchan	: aquel nos pone nuestra comida
1692	misac-ja imapuchijan	: aquel os pone vuestra comida
1693	ysac majappuch(j)an	: aquel les pone su comida
1694	asac apuchilan	: transicion de plural â singular: aquellos me ponen mi comida
1695	asac mapuchihan	: vosotros me poneis la comida
1696	misac mapuchilan, pisac papuchilan	: aquellos te▾ponen tu comida
1697	sac hapuchilan	: aquellos le ponen su comida
1698	acolec, macolecqui	: transicion de ymperativo de singular â singular: amame tu
1699	g̃acolec-he	: ameme aquel
1700	ymcolec-he, ipcolec-he	: amete aquel
1701	quimcolehacte	: transicion de plural â plural: nosotros os amemos
1702	quipocolec-he	: amemos â aquellos
1703	quimcolehacqui	: amad°nos vosotros
1704	mipocolehacqui	: amad vosotros â aquellos
1705	quicolelac-he	: amen°nos aquellos
1706	micolelahac-he	: amen°os aquellos
1707	chipocolec-ge	: amense aquellos entre si
1708	amcolehacte	: transicion de singular â plural: ame°os yo
1709	apocolec-he	: ame°los yo
1710	quimcolecqui, mitup quimcolec	: ama°nos tu
1711	mipocolecqui	: amalos tu
1712	ymcolehac-he	: ameos aquel
1713	iccolec-he	: amenos aquel
1714	mocolec-he	: ame°los aquel
1715	quimcolecte	: transicion de plural â singular: amemos°te nosotros
1716	macolehacqui	: amadme vosotros
1717	acolelac-he	: amen°me aquellos
1718	micolelac-he	: amente aquellos

Nota [n = la misma persona; l > ; m > p; p > p; ll, tz > y; ll > ll; s > j; no > co]

1719	alamijnan	: n = la misma persona: yo me mato
1720	alupojnan	: yo me aborresco
1721	alan	: yo hago

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 a.4-ma.3-ppajatti.5	: de.1 la sierra.2 te.3 he.4 traido.5 agujas.6
1729	ameñan	: quiero
1730	a.1-m.2-peñan.3	: m > p: yo.1 te.2 quiero.3
1731	apeñan	: codicio
1732	a.4-chechò.5 m.1-a.2-peñan(5)[3]	: p > p: tu.1 me.2 codicias.3 mi.4 plata.5
1733	apenchijnan	: jurar
1734	ache.8 attel-lpa mullup.9 amectan.7[+6]°na.5 Diospat.4 a.1-ma.2-penchijnan.3	: yo.1 juro.3 te.2 por Dios.4 que.5 te.6 darè.7 un.8 pollo.9
1735	allan	: dar
1736	tanta.4 a.1-ma.2-yan.(4)[3]	: ll > y: yo.1 te.2 doy.(4)[3] pan.[4]
1737	atzmen	: enseñar
1738	resan aquictehe.4 m.1-a.2-ymen.3	: tz > y: tu.1 me.2 enseñas.3 a▾rezar.4
1739	allajan	: llevar
1740	Pedro°tup mupllup ymallajan	: ll > ll: Pedro te lleva tu hijo
1741	asinnan	: oir
1742	amjinajpan	: s > j: no te oygo
1743	asettan	: desatàr
1744	yncha°pit pey ñante michantanynco, te sentâlolpit mipochg̃ui cottan, ynchapit pey ñantê mipojetan°ynco, te sentalol°te mipojeti cottan°simall	: quod cumque ligaveris super terra, erit solutum et in caelis
1745	amcolecte ameñan	: modo infinitivo < anollan: no > co: yo quiero amarte
1746	macolecte mimeñan	: tu quieres amar°me
1747	ang̃olecte ameñan	: yo quiero amar â aquel
1748	ng̃acolecte imeñan	: el quiere amarme
1749	Dios qui-ng̃olecte quimeñan	: queremos amar â Dios
1750	Diostup iccolecte ymeñan	: Dios nos quiere amar
1751	quimcolecte quimeñan	: queremos amarte
1752	quimcolecte mimeñan	: tu nos quieres amar
1753	quimcolehacte quimeñan	: nosotros os queremos amar
1754	quimcolehacte mimeñouhan	: vosotros nos quereis amar
1755	quipocolecte quimeñan	: queremos amarlos
1756	quicolelacte meñoulan	: ellos quieren amarnos
1757	mipocolehacte mimeñouhan	: vosotros quereis amarlos
1758	micolelâhacte meñoulan	: aquellos â vosotros

1759	acolelacte meñoulan	: ellos me quieren amar
1760	micolelacte meñoulan	: aquellos te quieren amar
1761	apocolecte ameñan	: yo los quiero amar
1762	mipocolecte mimeñan	: tu los quieres amar
1763	amcollanco cotnap	: preterito: porque te amo
1764	macolli cotnap	: porque me amaste
1765	quicoleche cotanco cotnap	: porque nos esta amando
1766	acoleche chectanco cotnap	: porque me estan amando
1767	micoleche checti cotnap	: porque te estaban amando
1768	ag̃olelam	: futuro: aver de amarle yo
1769	macolelam	: aver de amarme tu
1770	amcolelam	: aver de amarte yo
1771	ng̃acolelam	: 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	apsavojhuch mectan	: tu eres mi criador
1777	quipsavojhuch mectan	: tu eres nuestro criador
1778	quinapu Jesu-Christo quixpejhuch cotan	: Christo nuestro Señor es nuestro Redemptor
1779	pallou aovuch mectan	: eres mi bien°hechor
1780	pallou miovuch actan	: yo soy tu bien°hechor
1781	pallou miovuch 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	mipocolectan°ynco	: futuro: tu que los amarâs
1788	amcolehactan°ynco	: yo que os amarê
1789	macolehactan°ynco	: vosotros que me amareis
1790	yccolectan°ynco	: aquel que nos amarâ
1791	ng̃acolectan°ynco	: el▾que me amarâ
1792	acolelactan°ynco	: los que me amarân
1793	mijachà amapahat(to)lamge liman°nap apa(t)jatan	: gerundio de genitivo: vengo de la sierra de traerte tu acha
1794	axua alluptege ameñan	: gerundio de dativo: quiero el pescado para comer
1795	limàn allacteje ameñan	: acusativo: queiro ir a▾la sierra
1796	micoleche actan	: ablativo: yo▾te estoy amando
1797	ng̃ocoleche actan	: yo le estoy amando
1798	micolejache actan	: yo os estoy amando
1799	pocoleche actan	: yo los estoy amando

1800	acoleche mectihan	: vosotros me estais amando
1801	acoleche chectan	: aquellos me estan amando
1802	micoleche chectan	: aquellos te estan amando
1803	ng̃ocoleche chectan	: aquellos le estan amando
1804	quicoleche chectan	: aquellos nos estan amando
1805	chimcoleche chectan	: aquellos se estan amando, ad invicem
1806	macolejache mectihàn	: vosotros os estais amando, ad in[v]i-cem
1807	co aloctege mallemzappap, millactan	: segundo gerundio: en ayudandome â hazer esto, te iràs
1808	amcolenap	: en amandote, amandote, en amadote, quando te ame
1809	m(i)[a]colenap	: amandome, en aviendome amado, como, quando tu me ames
1810	Dios ng̃acolenap, mac-jai acottan	: amando Dios ô amandome Dios, sere dichoso
1811	pacuplleu amectege anan	: supino: vengo de darte granadillas
1812	trigo pum amiztege amojnan	: voy â la sierra â comprarte arina de trigo
1813	tanta amapiztege alluan	: voy â comprarte pan
1814	a°Dios, amcolenḡo mectan	: Dios mio, tu eres digno que yo te ame

Del verbo neutro

1815	allahuan	: vaseme como pollo, perro, enferme-dad, &
1816	allahuan	: presente: vaseme
1817	mallahuan	: vase°te
1818	hallahuan	: vasele
1819	callahuan	: vasenos
1820	mallaviihan	: vaseos
1821	pahallauan	: va°se°les
1822	allavi mallavii, hallavi &	: preterito: fue°se°me
1823	allaviyè mallaviye, hallaviye, callaviye, mallavihaque, pahallaviye	: plusquam perfecto: avia°se°me ido
1824	allavitan mallavitan, hallavitan, callavitan, mallavihactan, pahallavitan	: futuro: yraseme
1825	allavi actan mallavi mectan, hallavi cotan &	: perfecto: avrase°me ido
1826	mallavec-ge jallaveche, callaveche, mallaveyhac(te)[ge], pahallavec-ge	: ymperativo: vaya°se°te
1827	allavecte mallavecte, hallavecte, callavecte, mallaviihacte, pallavecte	: obtativo: vayaseme

1828	allanq̃oque/allvecteque, mallanq̃oque/mallavecteque, hallanq̃oque/hallavecteque, callanq̃oque/callavecteque, mallahanq̃oque/ mallahavecteque, pahallangoque/pahalla[ve]cteque	: preterito ymperfecto: fueraseme, yriaseme y fuesseme
1829	oc°moc allavecte cot/ allavecte°mo[c]▾cot,	: preterito perfecto y plusquamper- fecto: o si, ojala se me aya, huviera, avria y huviesse ido
1830	mimoc mallavecte cot/ mallavecte°mo[c]▾cot,	: 2a
1831	pe°moc hallavecte cot/ hallavecte°mo[c]▾cot	: 3a
1832	quiha°moc callavecte cot/ callavecte°mo[c]▾cot,	: 1a de plural
1833	minaja°moc mallavehacte cot/ mallavehacte°moc▾cot,	: 2a
1834	chihamoc pahallavecte cot &	: 3a
1835	allavi pocottoque/pocotteque mallavei cottoque/coteque	: tiempo llano compuesto: a▾mi se haya, huviera, avria y huviesse ido
1836	allach mallach, hallach, callach, mallahach, pahallach	: subjuntivo: en yendoseme, yendoseme &
1837	allavech mallavech, hallavech, callavech, mallavihach, pahallavech	: 2o subjuntivo: de suerte que, de forma que, de manera▾que se me vaya
1838	allavecte mallavecte, hallavecte, callavecte, mallavi-hacte, pahallavecte &	: ynfinitivo: yrseme
1839	ampalla majall misacja amatzachiha, capi°va tenom amaichihan	: (aora) [antes] dias os vi muchas comidas, pero aora menos os veo
1840	camà	: enfermedad
1841	camà atticquian	: me cae enfermo, como el hijo, la mujer &
1842	azlâ cama atticquian	: me cae enferma mi muger
1843	missê	: frio
1844	achel mise hatiquian	: se▾le enfria la pierna
1845	llaca cattiquian	: se nos haze ô vuelbe colorado
1846	zizall mattiquiihan	: se os haze ô buelve negro
1847	quizna pahattiquian	: se les buelve azul
1848	pullall attiquian	: se me buelve amarillo &
1849	muchan atticquian	: i[n]terceder

Del verbo compuesto y derivativo

Qual sea y de quantas maneras se componga [1: verbo + nombre]

1850	nq̃ullha	: vida

1851	ng̃ullha + actan	: vivir
1852	acullha▾actan	: yo vivo
	mucullha mectan, ng̃ullha cotan, cucullha quectan, mucullhaha mectihan, chucullha chectan	
1853	capac acullha actan	: reynar
1854	acquian	: hazerse, dezir, ordenar, mandar
1855	cama àcquian	: estoy enfermo
1856	misse acquian	: tengo frio
1857	ziu acquian	: tengo necessidad, carencia desto ô del otro &
1858	uchuaj acquian	: tengo calor
1859	oyna acquian	: estoy con salud
1860	lloc acquian	: estoy desnudo
1861	quez acquian	: cresco &
1862	yosill acquian	: hagome mezquino
1863	jùlum acquian	: engordo ô hagome gordo
1864	jayu quii	: hizose hombre
1865	eeýna chiquian	: dicen que si
1866	qui°pa Jesu-Christo mec sacramento: camatzin quii	Jesu-Christo N.S. ordenò todos los sacramentos
1867	mec incha Dios camatzin quiancò	: todo lo que Dios manda
1868	acquian, miquian, quian, quiquian, miquijan, chiquian	: presente
1869	acquii, miquii; acquiiye	: preteritos
1870	acquictan, miquictan &	: futuro ymperfecto
1871	acquii actan &	: futuro perfecto
1872	quic/miquiqui, quic-he, quiquicte &	: ymperativo
1873	aquing̃oque, aquicteque &	: obtativo
1874	acquicte, micquicte, quicte	: infinitivo
1875	acquictehe/acquilamhe, quichche, quinnap	: gerundios

[2: nombre + an, uan = hazer para si + nombre]

1876	appiupan, ou, poctan	: hago mi puente
1877	apnauan	: hago mi camino
1878	aniglesiauan	: hago mi iglesia
1879	mi Pedro mectan, co ta ñante aniglesia°uoctan	: tu es Petrus et super hanc petram [a]edificabo ecclesiam meam
1880	aney	: mi leña
1881	aneyan	: hago mi leña
1882	zala	: muger
1883	mulluch	: marido
1884	aslauan	: mi caso, uxorem duco

1885	apul-luchan	: casarse▾la mujer, marito nubo
1886	aipan	: pr[a]esens [de yip-an]: hago mi casa
	miipan, zipan, quiipan, miiepoujan, chiipan	
1887	aipou, aipouve &	: preteritos
1888	aipoctan, miipoctan; aipo[u▾a]ctan &: futuros	
1889	iip-oc/miipocqui, chiipoc-he &	: ymperativo
1890	aipongoque, aipocteque &	: op[t]ativo
1891	oc°moc aipocte cot,	: preteritos
	aipocte-mo[c]▾cot &	
	aipou pocottoque/pocotteque &	
1892	aipoch, miipoch &	: subjuntivo
1893	aipocte	: ynfinitivo
1894	aipoctehe/aipolamge, chipoche,	: gerundios
	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 buelvo tierra
1906	ta milluan	: te buelves piedra
1907	leu uxus llahuan	: el gusano se buelve mariposa
1908	utzauch quectiye, santo quilluan	: de pecadores que eramos, nos hazemos santos
1909	javey milluijan	: os bolveis palos incorruptibles
1910	santo illahuan	: se buelven santos
1911	llauan	: + cosas que se liquidan: derretirse
1912	cot	: agua
1913	yel-l cot llahu[a]n	: la sal se derrite ô haze agua &
1914	acqian	: convertirse
1915	tanta cotiye, consegraci[o]n jil°pat Christo mata quii	: 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: hazer hazer]

1917	ayoyan	: yo lloro

miyoyan, choyan, quiyoyan, miyoyoujan, chiyoyan

1918	ayoyou &	: preterito
1919	ayoyoctan &	: 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	allùpan	: 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 ô doyle â 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	aloccan	: < aloc: hagole que lo haga
1940	aloccan, miloccan, yloccan, quiloccan, miloccayjan, loccaylan	: presente
1941	aloccajtan	: (preterito) [futuro]
1942	loccaj, milocajhi	: ymperativo
1943	pallou alan	: cuydolo ô tengo cuydado del
1944	alan	: dezir
1945	pittec°all 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	cullja	: la vida
1947	aculja actan, acullja acotpon	: yo estoy vivo ô vivo
1948	mu/pucullja mectan/micotpon	: tu vives
1949	ng̃ullja cotan/cotpon	: aquel vive

cucullja quectan/quicotpon, mucullja mectihan/micotpoyjan, chucullja chectan/chicotpon

1950	capac acullja actan	: reyno
1951	capac mucullja mectan	: tu reynas &
1952	acquian	: hazerse, dezir &
1953	cama aquian	: estoy enfermo
1954	oyna micquian	: estàs con salud
1955	missè quian	: tiene frio
1956	uchuaj quiquian	: tenemos calor
1957	ziu▾micquieijan	: estais pobres necessitados
1958	lloc chiquian	: estan desnudos
1959	ques acquian	: creci ô he crecido
1960	yosill miquii	: te hiziste ô volbiste misero, mesquino
1961	hayu quii	: se hizo hombre
1962	camatzin aquian	: mando, ordeno
1963	qui°pa Jesu-Christo mec sacramento: camatzin quii	N.S. Jesu-Christo ordeno, ynstituyò todos los sacramentos
1964	mec yncha Dios camatzin quianco	: todo lo que Dios manda
1965	ynchanam chiquian?	: que dicen?
1966	heeyna chiquian	: dicen que si
1967	acquian	: convertir
1968	hostia tanta cotiye, consagracion jil°pat, qui°pa Jesu-Christo matâ quii	: la hostia de pan, que avia sido ô que era antes, con las palabras de la consegracion se convirtio en el cuerpo de Christo
1969	alluan	: voyme
1970	putam°te alluan	: voy al pueblo
1971	anapim millactan?	: quando te iras?
1972	pey alluan	: me convierto ô vuelbo tierra
1973	lupocot jayu, yopunne mectan°he, yopummall°pit millactan	: memento quia pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris
1974	ta milluan	: te vuelbes piedra
1975	leu uxus llahuan	: el gusano se convierte en mariposa
1976	utzauch quectanco°tep, ychamme penitencia lonap, santo quillactan	: de pecadores que somos, haziendo 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 ô vuelbe agua
1981	uñep cot llavi	: la cera se derritio

Otro modo [ymperativo en i + an: reiterar la accion: re-]

1982 actan : yo soy
1983 (a)cot, micotti : se tu
1984 acottian : yo vuelbo â ser
micottian, cottian, quicottian, micottiijan, chicottian
1985 agollan : yo le amo
1986 ngolec, migolecqui : amale tu
1987 ag̃olecquian : yo le vuelbo â amar
mig̃olecquian, yg̃olecquian, quig̃olecquian, mig̃olecquiayjan, ng̃olelacquian
1988 atzmen : le enseño
1989 zamej, mitzmehji : enseñale tu
1990 atzmejian : yo le vuelbo â enseñar
mitzmejian, itzmejian, quitzmejian, michmejiayhan, zamejiaylan
1991 alan : hagolo
1992 loc, milocqui : haslo tu
1993 alocquian : vuelbo â hazerlo
milocquian, iloquian, quilocquian, milocquiayhan, loccajlacquian
1994 alon : mojar
1995 loj, miloji : mojalo tu
1996 alojian : yo le vuelvo â mojar
milojian, ilojian, quilojian, milojiayhan, lojlajian
1997 allupan : como carne, pescado &
1998 llup, millupi : come tu
1999 allupian : yo vuelbo â comer carne &
mullupian, ullupian, cullupian, mullupiayhan, llupiaylan
2000 ayoyan : lloro
2001 yoyoc, miyoyocqui : llora tu
2002 ayoyoquian : vuelvo â llorar
miyoyoquian, zoyoquian, quiyoyoquian, miyoyoquiayhan, chiyoyoquian
2003 ayoyoquiay & : preterito
2004 allan : le doy
2005 lec, milecqui : dale tu
2006 alecquian : vuelvo â darle lo que me dio, vuelbole lo que me dio y tambien restituyole lo que es suyo
2007 meetzouynco, ñanmitto : volviste lo que hurtaste â su dueño?
milequiay°le?
2008 aman : siembro
2009 [a]migian : reciembro

Otro modo [nombre + an, uan: hazer lo que el nombre significa]

2010 puyup : puente
2011 apyyupan : hago mi puente
mipyupan, pu(p)yupan, cupyupan, mipyupouhan, chipyupan
2012 panâ : camino

2013	amnauan	: hago mi camino
	mimnavan, imnavan, quimnavan, mimnavouhan, chimnavan	
2014	extec	: vestido
2015	anextecuan	: hago mi vestido
	menextecvan, nextecvan, quenextecvan, menextecvouhan, nextecvoulan	
2016	aniglesiauan	: hago mi yglesia
2017	mi Pedro mectan, co ta ñante aniglesiauoctan	: tu es Petrus et super han[c] petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam: tu eres Pedro y sobre esta piedra edificarè mi iglesia
2018	ney	: leña
2019	aneyan	: hago mi leña
2020	zala	: muger
2021	muluch	: marido
2022	azlavan	: me caso, uxorem duco
2023	apuluchan	: marito, nubo
2024	mislavan	: tu te casas
	zalavan, quislavan, misla[v]ouhan, ytzalavan	
2025	apuluchan	: yo, muger, me caso
2026	pupuluchan	: tu te casas
2027	muluchan	: aquella se casa &
	cupulucchan, mupuluchouhan, cupuluchan	
2028	azipan	: hago me casa
2029	mitzipan	: hazes &
2030	amnaychan	: exploro ô vigio el camino
	mimnaychan, manaychan, quimnaychan, mimnaychihan, chimnaychan; amnaychi, amnayc[h]tan	
2031	liu	: libro, escrito, pintura
2032	alven	: pintar, escrivir
2033	liu alven	: pinto
	milven, ilven, quilven, milveyhan, liveylan; ylvey, quilvehtan &	
2034	checho	: plata
2035	achechovan	: plateo
	michechovan, chechovan, quichechovan, michechovouhan, ychechovan; achechovou, achechovoctan &	
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
2041 ameñan : lo quiero
2042 meñoc : quierelo tu
2043 ameñocan : hago que lo quiera
mimeñocan, quimeñocan, mimenocayhan, menocaylan

[an > en]

2044 axcan : bebo
2045 axquen : doyle de beber ô mamar
mixquen, ixquen, quixquen, mixqueyhan, xiqueylan
2046 axacan : me embriago
2047 axaquen : embriago â otro
mixaquen, ixaquen, quixaquen, mixaqueyhan, xaqueylan
2048 allupan : como carne, pescado &
2049 allupen : doyle â comer carne, pescado &
mullupen, ullupen, cullupen, mullupeyhan, llupeylan
2050 atupan : ando
mutupan, utpan, cutupan, mutupihan, tupilan
2051 atpen : hagole andar
mutpen, utpen, cutpen, mutpeyhan, tupeylan
2052 ahlan : hablo
2053 asinzivecan : hazer burla
mi(n)sinzivecan, ysinzivecan, quisinchivecan, misinzivecayhan, sinzivecaylan
2054 aaman : como
miaman, laman, quiaman, miamouhan, chiaman
2055 alammen : hagole comer
milamen, ilamen, quilamen, milameyhan, lameylan
2056 anõoluan, angolvey, angolvectan
2057 alamman : matole, maltratole, aporreole
milamman, ylamman, quilaman, milamihan, lammilan
2058 alammacan : mandar ô hazerle matar
milammacan, ilammacan, quilammacan, milammacayhan, lammacaylan
2059 anõlehan : le mato ô hago morir
menõlehan, enõlehan, quinõlehan, miõlejihan, (e)nõ[o]lejilan; golejilan
2060 ayoyan : lloro
miyoyan, zoyan, quiyoyan, miyoyouhan, chiyoyan
2061 atzoyen : hagole llorar
mitzoyen, ytzoyen, quitzoyen, zoyeylan
atzoyegtan; choyeg, mitzoiieghi
2062 atzoyegjian : otra vez le hago llorar
michoyegjian, ychoyejian
2063 anexteconan : yo me visto

2064 anextecan : yo le visto
menextecan, nextecan &
anextecquehtan; nextecqueh/menextecqueh-ji

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
mipialpan &
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 : empiezo ô comienzo â hazerlo
2078 axihmullan : empiezo â beber
2079 axinahmullan : comienzo â oir
2080 ameñomullan : empi[e]zo â quererle
2081 sehmullan : empi[e]za â 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)[h]tan
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 atunpitzan : le digo â▾la despedida ô propartida
2088 axihpitzan : 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 ô por poco]
2091 atzapxipen : casi ô 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 ô todo
atonhu▾patzi, atonhu▾patzactan el dia
2095 apxavoch▾patzan : todo el dia ê estado hilando
2096 miyech▾patzan : todo el dia duermes

[subjuntivo + masan: continuacion de toda una noche]
2097 aluvoch▾masan : toda la noche estoy triste y pesaroso
2098 yelmu agullech▾masan : toda la noche (â) [ê] estado acostado sin dormir
2099 quiyepacna quitonhu▾masan : estamos sin poder dormir toda la noche

[subjuntivo + patzaquian: continuar la accion sin intermission]
2100 alech pachaquian : le doy continuamente
2101 atzachju▾patzaquian : lo veo frequentamente
2102 amiachju▾patzaquian : te veo continuamente
2103 mayachju▾patzaquian : me ves frequentamente
2104 acullha acothu▾patzaquian : vivo siempre
2105 capac acullha acothu patzaquian : reyno siempre
2106 capac ng̃uinha cothu patzaquiaytan : reynara para siempre
2107 cunutza quiloch▾patzaquian : continuamente pecamos
2108 achasoch▾pat[z]aquian : siempre, continuamente juego

[ymperativo + chupan: disminuir la accion]
2109 agolechupan : le amo tiernamente, hagole amoritos
2110 ameñochupan : lo quiero con ternura
2111 alochupan : lo hago con gusto
2112 asinahchupan : lo oygo un poquito
2113 ag̃olechùpan, migolechùpan, ygolechùpan, migolechùpouhan, ng̃olelachùpan
ag̃olechupoctan; ngolechùpoc/migolechùpocqui

[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 ô compongo mi vestido
2119	zip atan	: hagole ô compongole su casa
	attan, mattan, ettan, quettan, metihan, hattilan	
	attactan; tac, mittacqui	
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 ng̃attan	: aquel ruega por mi
2126	muchan imattan	: por [ti]
2127	muchan icattan	: aquel por nos[o]tros
2128	imattiquijan	: aquel por vosotros
2129	muchan mahattiquian	: aquel por aquellos
2130	muchan quimattoctan	: rogaremos por ti
2131	muchan quettoctan	: por aquel
2132	muchan quimattohactan	: por vosotros
2133	muchan quipahattoctan	: por aquellos
2134	muchan aticquian	: ruego, intercedo por el
3135	ahlan	: hablo
2136	athilan	: ahlan + t: intercedo
2137	atnan	: anan + t: digole
	mutnan, utnan, cutnan, mutnihan, tuneilan	
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	aloctan	: futuro: le harê
2142	alou▾actan	: le avrè hecho
2143	loc, milocqui	: ymperativo: hazlo tu
2144	alocte, alocge	: agalo yo
2145	alon̄go°que, alocteque	: obtativo: yo lo hiziera, haria y hiziesse
2146	alou cottoque/cotteque	: preterito plusquamperfecto: yo lo huviera, avria y huviesse hecho
2147	aloch	: subjuntivo: haziendolo, aviendolo hecho, quando lo haga, en haziendolo &
2148	alocte	: infinitivo: hazerle

2149 alou cotnap : por haverlo hecho
2150 alolam : aver de hazerlo
2151 alolam cotnap : por aver de hacerlo
2152 alou, alouinco : participios: yo que▾lo hago
2153 alouve, alouveinco : yo que▾lo hize, yo que▾lo avia hecho
2154 aloctan°ynco : yo que▾lo hare
2155 alolamynco : yo que lo he de hazer
2156 aloctehe, alolamhe : gerundios: para hazerlo, de hazerlo y â ha[ce]rlo yo &
2157 lochche : haziendolo, en haziendolo &
2158 lonnap : aviendo ô en aviendolo hecho
2159 alon̄go : factible ô lo que yo puedo hazer
2160 alopan : no lo hago
aloupitzo, alouvepitzo; alopectan, aloupitzo actan; loumu/milacnic/milochin, alopecte, alopecge;
alopacnaque/alopecteque, aloupitzo cottoque/cotteque; alopech; alopecte; alopelamhe/alopectehe,
lochche°pitzo, lopennap; quilopacna
2161 aloitzan : yo soy hecho
miloitzan, loitzan, quiloichan, miloitzihan, (loitzilan) [iloitzan]
aloichi, aloichiye; aloichtan, aloichi actan; loich, aloichte, aloiche;
aloichoque/ aloichteque, aloichi cottoque/coteque; aloich; loichte; l[o]ich;
aloichlamhe, aloichge, loitzenap
2162 aloccan : hazer que lo haga, mandarlo hazer
milocan, ylocan, quilocan, milocayhan, locaylan
alocai, alocayye, milocayye, ylocayye, quilocayye, milocayhaque, locaylaque
alocahtan, alocay actan; locah/milocajgi, alocahte, alocahge; alocahjoque/ alocahteque, alocquiay cottoque/cotteque;
alocahju; alocahte; alocahlamge/alocahtehe, locahge, locahgenap;
quilocahjo; locahjuch
2163 alocquian : rehazerlo, bolver â hazerlo
milocquian, ylocquian, [quilocquian], (qu)[m]ilocquiayhan, lolaquian
aloquiay, aloquiayye; aloquiahtan, aloquiay actan; loquiah/miloquiahji, aloquiahte, aloquiahge;
aloquiahjoque/aloquiahteque, aloquiay cottoque/cotteque; aloquiahju;
aloquiahte; aloquiahlamhe/ aloquiahtehe, lolaquiahge, lolaquiahgenap
2164 Dios muchan alanco : reverencio, venero y adoro â Dios
milanco, ilanco, quilanco, milouhanco, loulanco
alouinco; aloctan
2165 aonan : me hago
2166 pallou mionan : te hazes bueno
2167 yxivah lonan : se▾hace malo
quionan, mionouhan, chionan

aonou, aonouve; aonoctan, aonou actan; aonong̃oque/aonocteque, aonou cottoque/ cotteque; aonocge,
onoc/mionocqui, aonocte; aonoch; aonolamhe/aonoctehe, onoche, ononnap

2168 alocol-lan : concluir ô acabar de hazer lo comenzado
milocollan, ilocol-lan, quiloc[ol]an, milocolihan, lo(lol)colilan
alocoli; aloclohtan; aloclojhoque/aloclohteque, alocoli cottoque/cotteque; aloclojju &
2169 alochùpan : hagole poquito
milochùpan, ylochupan, quilochupan, milochupouhan, lochupoulan
alochupou, alochupouve; alochupoctan, alochupou actan; lochupoc/milochupocqui, alochupocte,
alochupocge; alochupong̃oque/alochupocteque, alochupou cottoque/cotteque; alochupoch; alochupocte;
alochupolamge/alochupoct[e]he, lochupoche, lochuponap
2170 alupon : [hazer]
2171 mulupon : tu▾lo hazes
ylupon, quilopon, milopoyhan, lopoylan
alupoy, alupoyye; alopohtan, alopoy actan; lopoh/mulupohji, alopohte, alopohge; alopohjoque/alopohteque,
alopoy cottoque/cotteque; alopohju; alopohte; alopohlamhe, alopohtehe
2172 alomullan : comienzo ô empiezo â hazerlo
milomullan, ylomullan, quilomullan, milomullouhan, lolamullan
alomullou, alomullouve; alomulloctan, alomullou actan; lomulloc/milomullocqui, alomullocte, alomullocge;
alomullong̃oque/alomullocteque, alomullou cottoque/cotteque; alomulloch; alomullocte; alomullolamhe/alomulloctehe, alomullocge, alomullonap; alomullovuch
2173 alollucan : concluyo, acabo de hacerlo
milollucan, ylollucan, quilollucan, milolluquihan, lolallucan
alolluqui, alolluquiye; alollucohtan, alolluqui actan; lollucoh/milollucohji, alollucohte, alollocohge;
alollucohjoque/alollucohteque, alolluqui cottoque/cotteque; alollucojju; alollucohte; alollucohlamhe/alollucohte[ge]; alollucohjo; lollucohge, lollucohgenap; lollucovuch
2174 alopul-lan : descanso, ceso ô dexo de hazerlo
milopul-lan, ylopulan, quilopulan, milopulihan, lolapulan
alopuli, alopuliye; alopultan, alopuli actan; lopul, milopul-li;
alopuloque/alopulteque, alopuli cottoque/cotteque; alopulte, alopulhe; alopulhu; alopulte; alopul-lamhe/alopultehe, lopulhe, lupul-lennap
2175 alochen : lo ando haziendo
milochen, ylochen, quilochen, milocheyhan, lolachen

alochey, alocheyye; alochehtan, alochey actan; locheh/milocheji, alochehte, alochehge; alochehjoque/alochehteque, alochey cottoque; alochehju; alochehte; alochehlamhe/alochehtehe; alochehjo; lochehge, lochehgennap; lochehjuch

2176 alopitzan : hagolo de passado ô â▾la despedida
milopitzan, ylopitzan, quilopitzan, milopitzihan, lolapichan
alopichi, alopichiye; alopitztan, alopichi actan; lo(c)pich/milo(c)pitzi, alo(c)pi(x)[tz]te, alopichge; alo(c)pitzoque/alo(c)pi(x)[tz]teque, alopichi cottoque/ cotteque; alo(c)pitz; alo(c)pichlamhe, alopi(x)[tz]tehe; alopicho; alopitzge, alopitzennap; lo(c)pichju(ch)

2177 alopaleq[u]ian : lo ando haziendo de aqui para alli
milopalequian, ylopalequian, quilopalequian, milopalequiayhan, lolapalequian
alopalequiay, alopalequiaiye; alopalequiajtan, alopalequiay actan; lopalequi-aj/ milopalequiahji, alopalequiahte, alopalequiahge; alopalequiahjoque/alopalequiahteque, alopalequiay cottoque/cotteque; alopalequiahju; alopalequiahte; alopalequiahlamhe, alopalequiahtehe; alopalequiahjo; lopalequiahge, lopalequiahgennap; lopalequiahjuch

2178 aloclojian : concluyo ô acabo de rehazerlo
miloclohjian, yloclohjian, quiloclohjian, miloclohjiayhan, loclohjiaylan
aloclohjiay, aloclohjiayye; aloclohjiaytan, aloclojjiay actan; loclojjiah/miloclohjiahji, aloclohjiahte, aloclohjiahge; aloclohjiahjoque/aloclojjiahteque, aloclohjiay cottoque/cotteque; aloclohjiahju; aloclohjiahte; aloclohjiahlamge, aloclohjiahtehe; aloclohjiahjo; loclohjiahge, loclohjiahgennap; loclohjiahjuch

2179 aloch▾patzaquian : lo hago continuamente
miloch▾patzaquian, yloch▾patzaquian, quiloch▾patzaquian, miloch▾patzaquiayhan, lolach▾patzaquian
aloch▾patzaquiay, aloch▾patzaquiayye; aloch▾patzaquiaytan, aloch▾patzaquiay actan; loch▾patzaquiah/miloch▾pachaquiahjí, aloch▾pachaquiahte, aloch▾patzaquiahge; aloch▾patzaquiahjoque/ aloch▾pachaquiahteque, aloch▾pachaquiay cottoque/cotteque; aloch▾pachaquiahjú; aloch▾pachaquiahte; aloch▾pachaquiahlamhe, aloc[h]▾pachaquiahtehe; aloch▾pachaquiahjo; iloch▾pachaquiahge, iloch▾pachaquiahgenap &

2180 aloch▾patzan : lo hago todo el dia
miloch▾patzan, yloch▾patzan, quiloch patzan, miloch▾patzihan, lolach▾pachan
aloch▾patzi, aloch▾patziye; aloch▾pachactan, aloch▾pachi▾actan; loch▾pachac/miloch▾pachacqui, aloch▾pachacte, aloch▾pachacge; aloch▾pachangoque/aloch▾pachacteque, aloch▾pachi cottoque/ cotteque;

aloch▾patzach; aloch▾pachacte; aloch▾pachac-lamhe, aloch▾pachactehe; aloch▾pachanõgo; loch▾pachacge, loch▾pachacgenap

2181 aloch▾masan : lo hago toda la noche
miloch▾massan, yloch▾masan, quiloch▾masan, miloch▾masouhan, lolach▾masan
aloch▾masou, aloch▾masouve; aloch▾masoctan, aloch▾masou actan; loch▾masoc/miloch▾masocqui;
aloch▾masonõgoque/aloch▾masocteque, aloch▾masou cottoque/cotteque; aloch▾masoch; aloch▾masonõgo;
aloch▾masocte; aloch▾masolamhe/aloch▾masoctehe, loch▾masoche, loch▾masochenap

Del verbo defectivo que ay en esta lengua

2182 chim : dame
2183 chim menel : dame tu yuca
2184 chim mi°tanta : dame de tu pan
2185 allan : doyle
2186 chim mitanta ec/maecqui : dame pan
2187 chim mitantaha ma(c)[e]hacqui : dame de vuestro pan
2188 jay, jaya, entoñpitjina : no se
2189 chim mitongui : estate ô sientate un poco
2190 chim miamocqui : come un poco
2191 ñammo quillacte/quillacte°â : vamos
2192 aquinajjâ : esperame
2193 ajuiain : espera todavia
2194 ayte : calla
2195 ayteaj : callad vosotros
2196 misse pactan : haze frio
2197 muxac maichan : haze sol
2198 zi▾mahattan : llueve
2199 zimusan : llovizna ô està lloviznando
2200 casmanc : ventea ô ventisca
2201 lasu▾muillan : n[i]eva ô graniza
2202 cajapey matian : yela
2203 pulum jilan : truena
2204 pachol-lan : relampaguea
2205 pellip°llepan : lo mismo
2206 ziysitan : escampa ô dexa de llover
2207 paxlan : haze verano
2208 zi▾mitta pactan : tiempo de aguas
2209 zi▾let : ybierno

2210 paxol-let : verano
2211 uchuah pactan : haze calor
2212 misse acquian : tengo frio

2213 uchuah acquian : tengo calor
misse mi/piquian, quian, quiquian, miquiihan, chiquian
2214 alon : le mojo
2215 ñgaloy, zitup ng̃aloy : el aguacero me mojô
2216 zitup im/iploy : te mojo
2217 zitup iloy : le mojô ô le llovio
2218 zitup icloy : nos mojô
2219 zitup imloyha : os llovio
2220 zitup moloy : el aguacero los mojô
2221 amon : le quemo
2222 muxac ñgapon : el sol me quema ô abrasa
2223 ymon : le quema
2224 ympoy : [te] quemô
2225 amon : tener calentura
ng̃apon, ympon, ymon, icpon, impoyhan, mopon
ñgapoy, ympoy &
2226 atzan : me yelo de frio
mitzan, tazan, quitzan, mitzihan, yttassan
ataztan; tas, mitazi
2227 caz ng̃axeposan : me da el viento, me ayreo
cas imxeposan, cas yxeposan, icxeposan, ymxepozihan, moxeposan
ng̃axepossi; ng̃axepostan
2228 jay, jayya : no se ô ignoro
2229 axeposan : soplo el fuego
mixeposan, xeposan, quixeposa[n], mixeposijan, eseposan
aseposou, axepossi; axepostan; xepos, mixepossi
2230 amallouven : aprovechalo ô le hago bien
mimallouven, ymallouven, quimallouven, mimalloveyhan, chimallouven
2231 zuquiou ymallouvehpan : no le aprovecha al enfermo el remedio

Libro quarto

De▾las quatro partes restantes de la oracion. De▾la posposicion

2232 te : acusativo de movimiento, ablativo de quietud: en
: + participio: quando
2233 palam°te alluan : voy a la plaza
2234 alonte : a fuera
2235 te▾puttam°te : en el cielo
2236 co putam°te : acâ en la tierra
2237 millavite : quando te fuiste

2238	llan̄go°te	: quando se vaya
2239	minen°te	: en tu poder
2240	Dios nen°te mec quetgan	: todos estamos en poder ô en las manos de Dios
2241	mahach.2°te.1 mellus.6°man.5 Pedro.4 neitzi.3	: 1.a▾la 2.noche 3.se entro ô embarco 4.Pedro 5.en 6.la canoa
2242	2.nem°1.te°3.cho 4.llavi	: 4.se fue 3.ya 1,2.de dia
2243	le, patle	: usque, tenus, hasta
2244	liman°le, liman°patle	: hasta▾la sierra
2245	Truxillo°patle	: hasta Truxillo
2246	acol-lo°patle	: hasta que yo me muera
2247	le, patle	: donec, quantum, inquantum, dum
2248	nguinha cotto°patle	: dum vixerit: mientras viva ô mientre viviere
2249	aquinha acottopatle	: dum vixero : mientra yo viva
2250	patle + ll	: coarta la accion o prescribe el termino
2251	millango°pat°lell	: hasta que te vayas no mas
2252	xocot°patlell	: no mas que hasta el rio
2253	tep	: correlativa [de patle]
2254	petep copatle	: de alli hasta aqui
2255	mi°tep oc°patle	: desde ti hasta mi
2256	anamol°patlegem milluan?	: por quantos dias te vas?
2257	yp°semana°patle	: por dos semanas
2258	ych°pel°patle	: por tres meses ô lunas
2259	appiliu°patle	: por un año
2260	capi nem°tep ipztoc°mol°patle	: desde oy en seis dias
2261	pojo°pat at°mol-le	: pasa(n)do mañana
2262	anapel°patlem miloclohtan?	: en quantos meses lo acabaras de hazer?
2263	appel°patle	: en un mes
2264	annapatlem?	: hasta quando?
2265	annapeltem	: en quantos meses?
2266	annapiliutem	: en quantos años?
2267	outu	: procul, peregre, lejos
2268	outu puttamte alluan	: voy â lejas tierras
2269	co°tep outu	: lejos de aqui
2270	co°tep ma outu pactan	: està muy lejos de aqui
2271	outup, outuque	: de lexos
2272	outu puttam°teque cotan	: es de lexas tierras
2273	e, que, teque	: ex l de, la materia de que es la cosa : los que ya son muertos
2274	puillquitz°ê cham	: cadena de oro
2275	chechoque pixcam	: vaso de plata
2276	taque	: de°piedra

2277	mech°chê	: de madera ô de palo
2278	puillquitz°ê at°cham acotan	: tengo una cadena de oro
2279	Limateque	: soy de Lima
2280	España°teque actan	: soy de España
2281	Ochanach°chê	: de Ochanache
2282	limanne	: de la sierra
2283	coteque actan	: soy de aqui
2284	co putamteque	: de este pueblo
2285	Luissê Maria°que chupul	: hijo de Luis y de Maria difuntos
2286	ñanman + te	: coram, delante, enfrente, en presencia
2287	oc▾añanman°te	: delante de mi ô en mi presencia
2288	mi°ñanman°te	: delante de ti
	ñanmante, quiñanmante, miñanjamante, yñanmante	
2289	atzip ñanman°te Juan zip taptan	: la casa de Juan esta delante ô en°frente de la mia
2290	ñanman°all	: presencialmente
2291	Dios ñanman°te	: en presencia de Dios
2292	mon + te	: retro, post, pone, tras ô detras
2293	amonte	: detras de mi
2294	mi/pimonte	: detras de ti
2295	monte mitzan	: viene tras el
	quimonte, mimonhate, chimonte	
2296	amonte (i)mohnan	: detras de mi viene subiendo
2297	monte llactan	: yrase tras el
2298	mon + nay	: por [detras]
2299	chimon▾nay chipzan	: vienen por detras de ellos
2300	yglesia monte Juan zip taptan	: detras de la iglesia està la casa de Juan
2301	nay	: post, per, por detras, por
2302	anay mitzan	: viene en pos de mi ô detras de mi
	minay, nay, quinay, minayha, ynay	
2303	nay, nayme	: per, por, per viam, por el camino
2304	pana nayme Soledad°te	: para llegar â la Soledad, passamos por Huaylillas
	quiantectehe, Huaylillas nayme quipallan	
2305	lumte, ñante	: super, supra, sobre, encima
2306	añante	: sobre mi
2307	miñante	: sobre ti
2308	lapan	: trepa sobre si ô se sube encima de si
2309	mesa ñante	: sobre la mesa
2310	quiñante	: sobre nosotros
2311	miñanha°te	: sobre vosotros
2312	yñante	: sobre ellos
2313	alumte	: sobre mi
2314	mulumte	: sobre ti

2315	mech lumte culumte, mulumhate, ulumte	: sobre el arbol o madero
2316	mula▾lumte cutuplam pana	: camino de mulas
2317	quichel°pat cutup-lam pana	: camino de a▾pie
2318	mula lumte cutuplam pana pactan	: ay camino de mulas
2319	miñ, ñ	: secundum, segun
2320	camatzin miquii°miñ	: segun mandaste û ordenaste
2321	qui°maancoñ quiloctan	: haremos°lo segun ô como nos lo mandas
2322	mihilancoñ ate loitzge	: Luca. 1: fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum: hagase en mi segun tu palabra
2323	mallusaicqui, â°pa Dios, mi°ocho mipcolelam°miñ; mahall mipcolelammiñpit anixivah mapixtohi	: Psalm. 50: miserere mei, Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam; et secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum, dele iniquitatem meam: ten misericordia de mi, Sr Dios, segun tu grande misericordia; y segun la muchedumbre de tus misericordias, destruye mi maldad
2324	miñ, ñ	: instar, a semejanza ô a modo
2325	culma▾c°ten cul°miñ	: redondo, como ovillo de algodon
2326	quizna cotan, zenta°miñ	: esta azul, como el cielo
2327	llaczà zucu°miñ	: ligerito como pajaro
2328	etz°miñ aitechu mitzan	: viene â escondidas como ladron
2329	cuchillo°miñ igñitan	: corta como cuchillo
2330	tu	: acusativo â personas, ad
2331	a°pa°tu mipaha°tu°pit amohnan	: ascendo ad patrem meum et patrem vestrum: asciendo â donde mi padre y vuestro padre
2332	tu + p	: de donde
2333	a°pa°tup aanan	: vengo de donde mi padre
2334	tu + pe	: lo que es nuestro, de nuestra compañia, nacion, parentela
2335	chipahattanco quiha°tuppê chectan°lê?	: los que vienen baxando son de▾los nuestros ô de nuestra compañia?
2336	minaha°tuppe	: de vosotros
2337	chihatuppe	: delos de aquellos
2338	oc°tuppe	: son de▾los mios
2339	tup	: met
2340	oc°tup	: yo mismo
2341	mi°tup	: tu mismo
2342	sa°tup	: aquel mismo
2343	ay	: detras, postrero
2344	ay mitzan	: viene detras

2345	anay minan minay, nay, quinay, minayha, ynay	: vienes detras de mi
2346	anay cotan	: es menor que yo
2347	anay masou	: nacio despues ô postrero que yo
2348	ayall	: finalmente
2349	ayall quilocollan	: finalmente lo acabamos de▾hazer
2350	xahanne	: el que nace primero
2351	ayè	: contrario de xahanne
2352	axahanne axot	: mi hermano mayor
2353	anayye axot	: mi hermano menor
2354	he, ge	: + dolerse &: de ô de▾que
2355	amquixajige aluzaquievohnan	: pesame de que te ofendi ô de averte ofendido
2356	tep	: a, ab, ex, de, per, propterea, post, secundum
2357	Dios°tep	: de Dios
2358	Dios°tep quicotlam quin̄pii	: de Dios ô por virtud de Dios hemos recebido el ser
2359	Juan°tep xeli cotan	: esta preñada de Juan
2360	camatzin miquii°tep, quilan	: hacemoslo como ô segun lo mandaste
2361	cotep	: desde aqui
2362	capitep	: desde aora
2363	capi nem°tep	: desde oy
2364	Pisanatep	: desde Pizana
2365	Lima°tep	: desde Lima
2366	llacpat	: ob, propter, propterea, quia, quoniam, por, por causa, por amor
2367	Dios°llacpat	: por amor de Dios
2368	mimillacpat	: por amor de ti ô por tu causa
2369	anixivah amacanco°llacpat, anutza°pit añanman°nâ accotan tepat	: Psalm. 50: quoniam iniquitatem meam egocognosco, et pec[c]atum meum contra me est semper: porque conosco mi iniquidad, tengo presente mi pecado siempre
2370	ymcollanco°llacpat	: participios de presente + llacpat = porque: porque te ama
2371	ycpeñanco°llacpat	: porque nos quiere
2372	icjañanco°llacpat	: porque nos tiene cariño
2373	llavi cotnap	: preterito + cotnap = participio de presente + llacpat: porque se fue
2374	mitayla°llacpat/cotnap chipoxai(c)chan	: los azotan porque faltaron
2375	mi[tah]lach chipoxaichchan	: porque faltaron, los azotan

2376	ñittavoch, zepu°man muchiila	: porque se huyo ô por cimarron lo pusieron en el zepo
2377	cotnaque	: por industria, disposicion, providencia, en vez de, en lugar de
2378	capac micotnaque, caz▾malêpalequian zi▾mitzpalequiahlam, et°pit uccupeñohlam mecot, xocotlolpit, cochmi ñgullha▾cotlam mitup mumuchehpalequian	: por ô con tu poder, providencia, disposicion, soplan por todas partes los vientos, por todas partes llueve, y el fuego nos nos calienta y llenas los rios de pezes
2379	mi▾micotnaque oyna axua apolamman	: por tu causa ô consejo mato bastante pescado
2380	mi▾micotnaque oyna amsan	: por tu industria ô direccion hago buena compra
2381	fierro amiztege°na misege-napnaque, cinta amsan	: en lugar ô en vez de comprar fierro, compra cintas y ropa
2382	fierro°cotnaque cinta°pit, nextecpit ymzan	: pedi licencia con engaño y mentira para ir â comprar fierro, y compre cintas
2383	quihava quilopacnaque, minaque milan	: lo que nosotros no▾pudieramos hazer, tu lo hazes
2384	minahava milohapacnaque, ocnaque: alan	lo que vosotros no podeis hazer, hagolo yo
2385	mihil°naque, ayeilan	: por lo que tu hablaste ô dixiste, me riñen
2386	minaque alupoylan	: por tu causa me aborrecen
2387	anzel azapte°na sepeh-ge°naque, anzel ytzpan	: por coger uno, coge otro ô queriendo coger uno, coge otro
2388	ynco°te tonpeyâ°te/tonpacnaque/ toñui°pitzo°que, ytzpectege llavi	: sin que huviesse estado alli ô sin aver estado alli ô sin▾que pudiesse estar alli, lo fue â ver
2389	nuhman yuxam âzaptena▾quingoque, oulam°tup itzahi	: pensando ô pareciendole que prendia ô cogia un armadillo en su cueba, le mordio una culebra
2390	culuyum°pacnaque muluyummihan	: sin▾que, ni para▾que, sin causa ni razon padeceis
2391	quihilpacnaque mihlihan	: hablais lo que no se debe
2392	quellpac	: alrededor
2393	aquellpac chiqui(c)chen	: andan alrededor de mi
2394	man	: intus, inter, intra, dentro, entre
2395	iglesiaman	: dentro de▾la iglesia
2396	minahaman	: entre vosotros
2397	culuman	: intra praecordia, dentro de las entrañas
2398	mol	: solar ô ambito de la casa

2399 azip molman ma▾pactan : no esta en el plan de mi casa
2400 xâllâman luctan : està dentro del canasto
2401 mimllac : cerca

2402 xocot mimllac : cerca del rio
2403 oc amimllac°te majall jill chiquichen: cerca de mi andan muchos mosquitos
2404 amimllacven : acercarse
miminllacven, yminllacven, quiminllacven, miminlla[c]veyhan, minllacveylan
2405 aminlla[c]vehtan : futuro
2406 pi : azia
2407 copi▾pitz : ven aqui ô aca
2408 coñpi : como azia aqui
2409 copi : acia aqui
2410 pe▾ampi : acia alla, acia aculla
2411 ampepi : acia âvajo, acia lo profundo
2412 tehpi : azia arriba
2413 cop▾ñan : de esta parte ô banda
2414 pep▾ñan : de▾la otra parte ô banda
2415 xocot cop▾ñan : de esta banda del rio
2416 xocot pep▾ñan : 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 lec°man : debaxo de la olla
2422 payam : casi ô por poco
2423 payamcho : ya falta poco
2424 payam apuillxipey : casi ô por poco me cai
2425 xipey : significa lo mismo
2426 acolxipey : casi ô por poco me mori
micolxipey, ng̃olxipey, 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

2437 yntotepam minan? : unde, de donde vienes?
2438 yglesia°tep o Dios zip°mannap anan: de la iglesia ô de la casa de Dios
2439 ahach°tep anan : vengo de mi chacara
2440 yntotem milluan? : quo, a donde vas?
2441 mech°man alluan : voy al monte ô a▾la montaña
2442 liman°te alluan : voy a▾la sierra
2443 aquichehtehe alluan : voy â pasear
2444 yntonaymem metz[e]itzziay? : qua, por donde volviste?
2445 liman°nayme atz[e]itzsian, ay, ajtan: por la sierra
2446 yntotepim milluan? : quorsum, acia donde vas?
2447 puyuptepi alluan : voy hacia la▾puente
2448 mumutamha°te alluan : voy hazia â vuestro pueblo
2449 yntotepipam minan? : de hazia donde▾vienes?
2450 Pisanapip anan : de hazia Pisana
2451 Pucalatepip anan : de hacia Pucarà

De otros adverbios y modos de hablar con nombres y verbos a▾que se juntan

2452 acû : de amor, de cariño, de lastima
2453 acûna▾ỳman : te dice que te ama ô acaricia
2454 tesim, atziu : continuamente, frequentamente
2455 ñammô quillacte : vamos
2456 ñanmac : cada
2457 nem ñanmac : cada dia
2458 majach ñanmac : cada noche
2459 semana ñanmac : cada semana
2460 pel ñanmac : cada mes ô cada luna
2561 piliu ñanmac : cada año
2462 jay, jayah, yntoñpitjin, yntoñpitjinah: de dudar, no se
2463 nah : ea
2464 ayachon°nah : ea mirame
2465 acho : empero
2466 Juan llavi, mi°acho intotem mectan?: Juan se fue, pero tu, donde estas?
2467 ayte : quieto, quedo
2468 ayte ton : estate quieto
2469 aytell : quietecito
2470 aytell micothacqui : estaos quietecitos ô queditos
2471 ayte°chu, ayte°chuall : a escondidas, de secreto
2472 chu : diminutivo
2473 apllup°chu : mi hijito
2474 ayte°chu : de espacito
2475 ayte°chuall : â escondidillas, de secreto
2476 napi : quando
2477 anapim cote mitontan? : quando estaràs aqui?
2478 micotto°napi : quan[do] tu estès

2479	anapi chiha	
2480	anna▾mittatem	: en algun tiempo
2481	anapipit ilopectan	: no lo hara nunca
2482	anapichin	: no se en▾que tiempo
2483	anapipit	: nunca jamas
2484	anapipit alopectanallcho	: ya nunca mas lo harè
2485	anapichom yam▾mi°quictan?	: quando ô en que tiempo te has de enmendar?
2486	ynconapi	: entonces
2487	te	: quando
2488	atem miipoctan	: quando haràs tu casa?
2489	annapichin	: no se quando
2490	jayu axung̃all chicotte°te, aipoctan	: harela, quando la gente este junta
2491	annatepit	: cada y quando
2492	anam	: assi como
2493	miñ, iñ, coñ, yncoñ, miñall, incoñall, incoñsimall	: de la misma suerte, modo, manera
2494	anam milancoñ, oc°pit aloctan	: assi como tu lo hazes, yo tambien lo harè
2495	anam Dios tupat cunutza quilou perdon iccoctehe, quimeñancoñ incomiñsimall, quihamiñ jayu cutupat unnutza loulaynco perdonan quipoong̃o cotan	: assi como nosotros queremos que nos perdone Dios nuestros pecados, de la misma manera hemos de perdonar las ofensas que nos han hecho nuestros proximos
2496	tupat	: contra
2497	atupat ng̃uixuan	: se enoja ô esta enojado contra mi
2498	atupat miquix(x)ui mectan°lê?	: estas enojado conmigo?
2499	lê	: y[n]terrogativo y disyuntivo
2500	ma	: negacion
2501	malê nonne, main, mainlê	: todavia no, aun no
2502	milê, oclê?	: tu ô yo?
2503	mu, nic, chin	: de prohibir
2504	lou°mu	: no lo hagas
2505	munutza mil(a)[o]c°nic	: no peques
2506	millachin	: no te vayas

Diferentes modos de preguntar y responder

2507	annapatlem?	: hasta quando?
2508	annapatle°chin	: no se hasta quando
2509	annapichin	: no se quando
2510	annapocam?	: quantas vezes?
2511	appoc appocge	: algunas vezes
2512	appocall	: una vez solamente
2513	appoc	: una vez

2514	ynto▾mec°poc mige alupactan, inco▾mec°poc Dios muchan amattan	: quantas vezes me acuerdo de ti, tanto u otras tantas te encomiendo â Dios
2515	anna▾mecam?	: quanto? quantos en numero?
2516	ynto▾mec	: tantos
2517	ynto▾mec°pit, ynto▾mec°chin	: quanto quiera
2518	ynto▾mec°nic	: quanto mas
2519	ynto▾mec pallou cotan qui°Dios°sâ	: quan bueno es nuestro Dios y Señor
2520	ynto▾mec macjai°nic mectan?	: quan dichoso eres?
2521	ynto▾mec mayan, into▾mec°all amectan	: quanto me das, te dare
2522	ynto▾mec ixivah cotan?	: tan malo ô que malo es?
2523	ynto▾mec tenon	: tanto menos
2524	yntoñam?	: como?
2525	yntoñam ymou?	: que te hizo?
2526	yntoñam maoctan?	: que me haràs?
2527	yntoñam maon̄go?	: que me harias o hizieras?
2528	yntoñapam?	: de que temaño?
2529	conñap	: de este porte ô tamaño
2530	penñap	: como aquel &
2531	ynto?	: que es de ello, donde esta?
2532	yntoñ°chin	: no se donde
2533	yntoñ°chin	: no se como, dudando
2534	yntonco?	: qual
2435	entoncom cotan?	: qual es?
2536	yntoncopit	: qualquiera
2537	yntotepam minan?	: de donde vienes?
2538	yntoteque°pit	: de qualquiera parte
2539	yntotepam mectan?	: de donde eres?
2540	ynto puttamte°pam?	: de que pueblo?
2541	yntoñam mectan? yntoñam miquian?	: como estas ô te sientes?
2542	yntoñchom pactan?	: que hora es?
2543	payamcho pazactan	: breve ô de aqui a▾poco anochecerà
2544	yntonco mimeñanco	: qual tu quisieres
2545	ajacquian ajacquii, ajacquictan	: a▾mi parecer, a▾lo que mi parece
2546	quilon̄go pixan°na ajacquian	: a▾lo▾que me parece que se puede hazer
2547	yxxac	: dificil, trabajoso
2548	yxxacqui°pat llucan	: apenas, con dificultad se acaba
2549	yxxac°qui°pat cullcoj(in)ap, zi▾mahat°mullou	: aviendolo acabado con trabajo, empezò â llover
2550	ampal	: cosa antigua, de tiempo pasado

2551	ampal-le haju cotan	: es hombre de la antiguedad
2552	ampeh	: abajo
2553	ampetepi	: hazia abaxo
2554	ampeh	: ondo, ondura
2555	oncxa ampeh soula	: zanja ô pozo hondo
2556	ampim miquian?	: que hazes? desvarias? loqueas?
2557	atmol-le atmol-le	: de dia en dia, de mañana en mañana
2558	at°mitta	: una vez
2559	zi▾mita°cho pactan	: ya es tiempo de aguas
2560	paxol▾mita	: verano
2561	capi mitta pactan	: aora es tiempo de pescar, de fruta &
2562	capill	: aora, aorita
2563	ma capill	: en este instante
2564	capi▾nomall	: aora poco â aora no mas
2565	capi▾nom	: aora poco â
2566	capi°tep	: desde aora
2667	capi°teppâ	: de aqui adelante
2568	capitep anamoltem?	: de aqui â quantos dias?
2569	cotep ipnemte/[...]patle	: de aqui â dos dias
2570	capique	: cosa nueva, de nuevo
2571	capocall	: solamente ô meramente
2572	alumanall, aluman capoc°all alupacti	: en mi interior solammente lo pense
2573	chiha yptapi	: ellos dos juntos
2574	chiha yptall	: ellos dos solos, no mas
2575	cote	: aqui
2576	copi	: acia aqui
2577	copi pitz	: ven aca
2578	cotep	: desde aqui
2579	cochute	: cerca
2580	ma cochute	: muy cerca
2581	co	: (esto) [este], esta, esto
2582	cotep	: despues de esto
2583	co▾montep	: demas de esto
2584	cosillvoch(ch)e cosillvoch(ch)e	: andando alrededor
2585	acosilluan	: andando a▾la redonda
	acosillvou, acosillvoctan	
2586	quellpac	: cerca redondando
2587	cochutep, cochuap	: de cerca
2588	outup, outuppê	: de lexos
2589	coteque	: de aqui, de aca
2590	comannap	: despues de esto
2591	comannap nichunic pallou	: mas bueno que esto
2592	coque	: de esto
2593	coque ng̃ap	: coge de esto

2594	coteppepatle	: de aqui hasta alli
2595	copi▾nom	: un poco cerca
2596	copichu▾nom	: mas cerquita ô poco mas cerca
2597	comiñ	: como esto
2598	coñ	: de esta manera
2599	coñ°simall, yncoñsimall	: assi tambien, de▾la misma suerte
2600	collpitzosim	: no esto solamente
2601	collpitzosimmâ	: no solo esto
2602	collacpat	: por esto
2603	co▾mecall	: tanto como esto no mas
2604	ynto▾naymem?	: por d(a)[o]nde?
2605	co▾nayme	: por aqui
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 cogi ô agarre
2618	ng̃upeñ	: tibia, medio caliente
2619	cot ng̃upepeñ	: agua tibia
2620	ng̃uppeñ nom	: algo tibia
2621	chech cot	: agua clara
2622	pojocpat pactan	: està claro y manifiesto
2623	patzañuetzet	: al rebes
2624	jocpat alomte	: claramente, a▾las claras
2625	alom°te pactan	: es publico
2626	genapah ô henapah	: mira lo que hazes
2627	genapâh	: ya lo vez, amedrentando ô reconviniendo
2628	genap°pit, henappit, chin, jappit	: quizas
2629	ham	: mas si es
2630	co°ham	: mas si es esto
2631	ng̃oltan°jam	: mas si se morirà
2632	ng̃olloquejam	: mas si se muriera, muriesse
2633	jayu acti°tep	: desde que tengo ser de hombre
2634	jonc	: cosa ancha
2635	jon ques cotan	: e[s]tà ancho
2636	yejonopatall, yejonochell	: a escondidas

2637	zamochell	: sabiamente
2638	macochell	: conocidamente, consideradamente
2639	lupocothell	: pensadamente
2640	macjaichell	: alegramente, dichosa, bienaventura-damente
2641	pallou	: cosa buena
2642	amallou	: mi bien ô provecho
	mimallou, mallou, quimallou, mimallouha, chimallou	
2643	pallouvall	: buenamente
2644	amallouven	: me aprovecha
2645	allhi	: cosa alegre, contenta, dulce, sabrosa
2646	allhiall	: dulcemente
2647	allhiall ixcan	: bebe con gusto
2648	allhi°all llahuan	: se va con gusto ô contento
2649	pupuluch nani cotnap, allhi pectan	: estas contenta, porque vino tu marido
2650	mipaha limannap mahati cotnap, ma▾allhi mectihan	: estais muy contentos, porque vuestro padre vino de la sierra
2651	allhi actan	: estoy contento
2652	ma allgi actan	: [estoy] muy [contento]
2653	allhi alupactan	: estoy gustoso
2654	mu	: sin
2655	atzmou°pitzo actan	: estoy sin saberlo, sin noticia, lo ignoro
2656	baptizan quii°mu cotan	: està sin bautismo ô sin bautisarse
2657	patep	: de▾puro
2658	patep Dios ñgoleche, ñgoli	: murio de▾puro amor de Dios
2659	patep chicnoche	: de puro temor
2660	ñan▾puillhe	: de verguenza
2661	xalamochche, xalam°pat	: de floxo
2662	mec°tup chijilhu, coll silpan	: estando todos hablando, este solo no habla ô calla
2663	al-liu	: cosa diferente, diversa
2664	alliu cotan	: es otra cosa, diversa, diferente
2665	mahall°liu	: muchas cosas diferentes
2666	mayachge	: mirandose unos â otros
2667	ojomall	: luego
2668	xipnall	: presto
2669	ma xipnall	: muy presto
2670	xipnall nantan	: presto vendrà
2671	ma	: nada
2672	maall	: nada mas
2673	ma°all°cho	: ya no ay mas
2674	majallnapit cunchunapit	: ni mucho, ni poco
2675	cunchunapit mahallnapit	: ni poco, ni mucho
2676	ninic	: mas

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	malevojchec	: demasiadamente, excessivamente
2683	pehchu mipahac	: apartaos un poco
2684	mipatehac	: salid â fuera
2685	mipatehacqui	: lo mismo
2686	puyacca, 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°ma▾majach°all	: muy â escuras
2696	pojo°pechap	: antes de amanecer
2697	mahall mupuch°nic/mamata yncha°nic cotan	: es rico, abundante en todo
2698	cu(i)nchu cothupit, mahall cothupit, mec migaphacqui	: aya poco ô mucho, coged lo todo
2699	mahall cotto°tup°pit, mec quiãptan	: aunque aya mucho, todo lo cogeremos ô recibiremos
2700	mon	: detras
2701	amon°te (y)mohnan mimonte, monte, quimonte, mimonhate, chimonte	: viene subiendo detras de mi
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 ihnall	: apresuradamente
2710	ynachge	: esso ô assi dize
2711	pe(m)[ñ]achge	: assi, de essa manera
2712	ychamme, amehe	: de verdad
2713	ychammell, amehequell	: verdaderamente
2714	amehe°pat°le?	: es creible, es verdad?
2715	ychamme	: verdad es

2716	yncha	: algo
2717	yncha cotpan	: nada ymporta ô no ymporta
2718	yncham°ma?	: que dices?, preguntando al que llama ô grita
2719	yncham°ah?	: que es?
2720	ynchapit	: qualquiera cosa
2721	ynchachu°pit	: qualquiera cosita
2722	yncha cotpan°le?	: ay algo de nuevo?
2723	yncha cotpan	: no ay nada
2724	yncha°na silla pactan?	: que novedad ay?
2725	yncha asinay°pitzo	: nada ê oido ô no è oido cosa
2726	yncham mimeñan	: que quieres? que es lo que quieres?
2727	incha▾yuam ymou	: que te hizo?
2728	yncham amaan, entoñam amaan?	: que te hago?
2729	yncham ymasian?	: que te duele?
2730	yncha▾yunam amocte mimeñan?	: que quieres que te diga
2731	ynchachin, ynchapit°chin	: no se lo que es, no se lo que te digas
2732	yncha°llacpatam?	: por que?
2733	yncha°patam?	: con▾que?
2734	ynco▾ñaloc, ynconapi	: entonces
2735	quicol-lam ñall-locte	: en la hora de nuestra muerte
2736	yncha°tepi xoh/mixohgi	: derramalo, viertalo ô trasiegalo en alguna cosa
2737	yncha°te°pit much/muchecqui	: ponlo en alguna cosa
2738	yjna, peñ	: assi
2739	yncoññña	: del mismo modo, manera, suerte
2740	yjna cotan	: assi es
2741	yncoñ amehe, incoñ°sim cotan	: assi es por cierta, sin duda
2742	yncoñ°simall	: assi▾es tambien
2743	pahat ma pactan°na quii, capi°pit, ma pactan°na quian°simall	: ayer dixo que no avia ô no estava y oy tambien dice que no ay ô que no esta
2744	chot, henat	: pues
2745	ynco°llacpat	: por esso
2746	ynco°chot, incollacpat°chot	: por tanto
2747	yncoñ	: assi es
2748	ynco▾mecall cotan	: no es mas, ni menos
2749	yncoll	: aquello no mas, aquello solamente
2750	ynconapip	: desde entonces
2751	yncoquell lec/milecqui	: dale de esso solamente
2752	yncopall	: continuamente, sin cessar
2753	yncopall extec liche mitoñgui	: estate tegiendo seguidamente, sin parar
2754	te-lê	: continuamente
2755	te-le millahacqui	: i[d]os ô caminat sin deteneros

2756	lumittup, tepuch	: adredemente, de intento, de proposito
2757	lumittup quian	: lo▾dice adrede o de▾proposito
2758	tepuch amaan	: de proposito te lo hago ô digo
2759	lulô	: pena
2760	lulô°pat ñguinha cotan	: vive penando
2761	mullup ñgolhu zachge, lulôpat ñgolan	: se muere de pena, por ver que se muere su hijo
2762	mullup hacolhu zachge, luvoupat ñgolan	: muerese de pesar, por ver que se le muere su hijo
2763	nichù°nic	: un poco mas
2764	nichù°nic°in	: aun un poco mas
2765	nichùnic 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 ô malaya
2773	jampit	: alla lo veràs, tu lo veràs
2774	amehena miquipech°châ mizaxtan°hampit	: si▾no lo crees, alla lo veras ô tu lo veras
2775	ocjampit	: ves aî que yo &
2776	añiu	: de dezeo
2777	aamocge añiu	: ojala comiera
2778	allacge añiu	: ojala me fuera
2779	anih/añiu entoñam, peñ aquian, entoñam coñ aquian?	: que me suceda esto? que me sucede?
2780	añih entoñam coñ miquian?	: que te acontece ô sucede?
2781	añih	: ymper[a]tivo del verbo añcan: sacamelo
2782	ñih/miñih	: sacalo tu

Modos de hablar en castellano, reducidos â esta lengua

2783	ojompat acotto°mannap°pâ, ninic°sim apiiptege ameñan	: en comparacion de estarme ocioso, elegire trabajar: a mas quiero trabaxar que estàr ocioso
2784	apa ñgoli cotanco°mannap°pâ, ocque acli acottehe ameñongo	: en comparacion de que mi padre aya muerto, quisiera averme muerto yo: mas quisiera averme muerto yo, que no que mi padre aya muerto

[1] la primera vez que ô una vez▾que
[apoc, yppoc, & + mec + supino en no, jo, to + te]

2785	ypzoc°poc mec limante allango°te, zaluch atzachmullou/ apoyachmullou	: la sexta vez que fui â▾la sierra, empece â ver negros
2786	capi, ynconapi, yncotup ñal-loc	: nunc, tunc
2787	ynconapi/y[n]cotup ñal-loc miñip°poc mec°te patili doctrina ng̃apunnou	: aquella fue la quarta vez que el padre me preguntò la doctrina
2788	capi apoc mec°te patili ng̃apunnan/ ng̃apunnanco pactan	: esta es la primera vez que el padre me pregunto
2789	apapat	: de parte de mi padre
2790	apanpat	: de parte de mi madre
2791	apanpat cote mahall agelac chectan/ acotan	: de parte de mi madre ay ô tengo aqui muchos parientes

[2] Oraciones que corresponden â licet, licebat [supinos en ng̃o, 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 chiquing̃o cotan	: los indios estan obligados â ayunar en los viernes de sabado santo y en la▾vigilia de la natividad del Señor
2793	quaresma allum nem°te°va, pilui mec viernes°te, quatrotemporas°te, vigilialol°te°pit, yxaiopacna/ ayunan chiquipacna cotto°tupit, aycha lluplapacna cotan	: pero en los demas dias de quaresma, viernes del año, quatro°temporas y vigilias, aunque no tienen obligacion de ayunar, estan obligados â no comer carne
2794	alum nem°te°acho, eitza lluplango chectan	: supino + cotan: accion licita: los demas dias pueden y les es licito comer carne
2795	allan	: dar
2796	apa°tup licencia ng̃ai/ng̃aelam, quechuac limosna apoectehe/ apoelamhe	: mi padre me daba licencia de que▾yo diesse limosna â▾los pobres
2797	al-lupactan	: pedir licencia
2798	mal-lupocottehe mutu aanan, empecle aquichehtehe allactan°na/ allangole?	: vengo donde ti, para▾que veas ô consideres si yrè ô podre ir â pasear, cazar &
2799	liman°te allangoque mutu aanan mal-lupocottehe empec°le allang̃o?	: quiero ir a▾la sierra y vengo, para▾que veas si puedo ir?
2800	al-lupactan pallouuall▾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	quilon̄go cotan	: es factible ô se puede hazcer
2802	ag̃olengo cotan, mig̃olengo cotan &	: es amable ô digno de que yo le ame ô que yo le estime ô 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 ô desterremos del pueblo
2806	quig̃olepacna cotan, quel-lusaipacna: cotan	no merece que le tengamos lastima, compassion
2807	quitzmehpacna cotan	: no se puede enseñar
2808	quixaichpacna cotan	: no merece que le azotemos
2809	quichempacna cotan	: no se puede desterrar

[ymperativo + ante + pacna: dificil ô imposible]

2810	utzauch nixivah hacotan°co°va, ma▾ñanzic°pat qui°hil°ante°pacna°sim cotan	: la desgracia del pecador es muy dificil de explicar

[4] a▾que, a▾que fin ô â fin de que, en orden â que, para▾que
[1: ynchahem? yncha lluhlam°nicam?; 2: por el gerundio de dativo]

2811	ynchahem/yncha lluhlam°nicam/ yncha milohactehem, cote mipahattihan?	: a▾que ô â fin de que ô hazer que venis aqui?
2812	cuca quimiztehe quipahattan	: venimos â comprar coca: venimos = venimos de arriba
2813	ynchahem minaehan	: a que o para que venis?
2814	quimiaxtehe quinan	: venimos â verte
2815	iglesia°te quilluan, patili doctrina leizan iccaymehtehe	: vamos â▾la yglesia, a▾que ô en orden a▾que ô â▾fin de que ô 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	ñ̃gapiti choti	: mas que▾me gano, apostemos
2820	axua mipolamihtehe, millapectan choti	: mas que no vas ô apostemos que no vas â pescar
2821	auca mipotzaptehe, seque millapectan choti?	: mas que no vas otra vez â coger aucas?
2822	entonai, allactan	: como que hombre, si ire

[5] antes ô antes bien

2823	liu tzatchenap, acullectan	: antes estudiare y luego me acostare: antea studebo, moxque acumbam
2824	caloch peyte muchenap, matuppi minen°pat palon chih	: pon antes el plato en el suelo y abre la puerta con las dos manos
2825	millapechap, co axman milocqui	: antes que te vayas, haz esto primero
2826	nichunic°sim	: im[m]o potius ô quin potius
2827	anapipit anuch alupohtan, nichunic°sim angolectan	: nunca aborrecere al enemigo, antes ô antes bien le amare: nunquam inimicum odero, im[m]o potius l. quin potius diligam

[6] aun y aun no [verbo + in: aun, ad-huc, continuacion de tiempo]

2828	cama aquian°in	: aun estoy enfermo: ad[-h]uc aegroto
2829	tuphampit	: exageracion, vel ô etiam
2830	santo chicotto°tup°hampit Dios nannoulan/ Diostup ichicnan	: aun los santos temen â Dios: vel san[c]ti o etiam san[c]ti Deum timent
2831	tuppit	: quamvis
2832	anuch amelengo°tuppit, ayoquetejno pectan	: aun encontrando ô aunque encontre â mi enemigo, no me vengare: quamvis of[f]endam inimicum meum, ne-quaquam ulciscar
2833	ayoquetehnan	: yo me▾vengo
	mioquetehnan, zoquetehnan, quiyoquetehnan, miyoquetehnouhan, chiyoquetehnan	
	ayoquetehnoctan &	
2834	ma°in	: aun no, non dum
2835	uñuah miquiei pit[z]o°in	: aun no recobraste la salud: non dum valetudinem instaurasti
2836	uñuah miquipangin, oyna miqui°pangin	: aun no estas sano ô bueno?
2837	oyna miquian°cho°le?	: ya estàs bueno?
2838	nahe°pit	: vel▾nec ô ne quidem
2839	liman°patle maptatehe ampisey, puyuppatlell nahepit maptati°pitzo	: te pedi que me acompañasses hasta la sierra y aun no me aco[m]pañaste hasta el puente
2840	tuppit	: aunque no, quamvis non
2841	ocnic/anec millactehe mimeñou°pitzo°tup°pit, occâ minec minec alluan	: aunque no quisiste ir con°migo, yo voy contigo

[7] como y como que

2842	entoñam utzava quilopacnava cottan?: de que modo podremos no pecar?	

		como se evitara el pecado? quo▾modo l. quo▾pacto peccatum vitatur?
2843	co cama°mannap quixpehnolamheva, entoñam quiquictan/yncham quiloctan?	: que haremos para librarnos de esta enfermedad ô epidemia?
2844	co cama°pat quicolpectehe°va/ quicolchinheva, ynchayuvam quiloctan/loctan/entoñam quiquictan?	: que haremos para no morir con este contagio?
2845	co cama°tup iczapchin°heva, yncham quiloctan?	: que haremos para▾q[u]e esta enfermedad no se nos pegue?
2846	coñ/yncoñ/peñ uzava quilopacna cotan	: assi ô de este modo no podremos pecar ô no nos libraremos de pecar
2847	oc ahiltan, entoñam yam▾quioitzlam°mannappa	: yo dire como nos libraremos d(e)°el castigo: dicam quixpoctan quo▾modo l. quo pacto liberabimus nos a suplicio
2848	incha°llacpatam/yncha cothum/ yncha ma°cothum munutza milou?	: como has cometido el delito?: cur l. qua de causa commisisti delictum?
2849	munutza lou°mull, mixpoutan/ mixpoctan	: dum▾modo non pecces, salvus fies: como no peques, te salvaras: no pecando te salvaras
2850	yncham Francisco liu izchan?	: como Francisco lee?: quid Franciscus legit?
2851	ento▾mec utza°tep pejchu quionongo cotan? ento▾mec cunutza quilon̄go°tep/quilolam°tep pehchu quionon̄go cotan/ pejchu quionon̄go cotan/quiquitavon̄go cotan?	: como debemos huir del pecado: quam l. ut debemus fugere peccatum?
2852	Dios n̄gacallancoñ, âpa yupey aloctan/ âpa amegena aquictan	: obedecere â mi padre como Dios manda: obediam patri meo, ut Deus praecipit vel non aliter ac Deus praecipit
2853	munucha ziu cothe, quipchitto°man miantectehe michic°nopan	: como tienes buena conciencia no se te da nada de los riesgos: cum l. quod habes l habeas puram con[sc]ientiam, neglegis pericula
2854	chechoua michitgepit	: como que pierda la plata, mas que pierda▾la plata
2855	entoñagem? ynchana? munutza°llacpat°le axaichlan̄go?	: como que, por tu culpa me han de azotar?: quid, culpa tua vapulaturus sum?

[8] con que

2856	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 ô enseña tu maestro
2857	mi▾mihil-li▾(n)mimaccou°inco° llacpat, yam miquingo°cho cotan	: has conocido tu yerro, con▾que ya debes enmendarte: cognovisti errorem tuum, yam ergo debes te corrigere
2858	yncha°patam quicalloitzi°iâ/ quilolam°mâ cumuchehtan/ quiloctan?	: con que cumpliremos nuestra obligacion?: qua ratione munus nostrum implebimus
2859	Dios camatzin quii sil amilchin°na°pat, sa gratiall anḡten/ sa gracia°tell actehnan	: con que no quebrante la ley de Dios, 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

2860	ento▾mec ocho Pasco cottoque, entoncopit/ entonco▾hayupit ysinahpacna°le/ ysinah°pacna/ sinay°mu ayquinḡole/ ysinah°pacna cottole?	: pues avia alguno de dexar de oir misa?: Nunquid ullus l sacrum?: por ventura ô es posible que, siendo una fiesta tan grande, se avia de quedar alguno ô alguna persona sin oir missa?
2861	eey/jey amehe	: ita est ô ita quidem
2862	munucha confessan miquiile?	: confessaste tus pecados?: confessus fuisti peccata tua?
2863	eey, heey amehe	: pues: ita est, ita quidem: si ciertamente
2864	luyum°pat.1 macjai putam.3 quimjollo.2/ ñanzic°pat macjai puttam°te quiantengo, luyum.4°sim°chot/ñanzic°sim°chot culumzappo/luyum°pat°sim°chot/ ñanzic°pat°sim°chot allhi macjaiche quicotto	: con los trabajos.1 se alcança.2 la gloria.3, los trabajos.4 pues se han de abrazar: gloria per labores obtinetur, labores igitur amplectendi sunt
2865	macjai puttam°te mimohtehe mimeñan°chot, yncha pallou ma(t) quixpolam cotanco loche cot	: pues ô supuesto que, ya▾que, pues que deseas el premio, no dexes de trabajar: si▾quidem l quando quidem pr[a]emium exoptas, labora
2866	ynchachot?	: pues que? quid ergo?

[10] mas que y por mas que

2867	paymejhuch°châ itzmenco°mannap°pit nichunic meipan	: el maestro trabaxa mas que el discipulo: magister laborat magis quam discipulus
2868	mechiahlacge°pit	: mas▾que te▾vençan, vincaris
2869	emechiahge°pit	: mas que te vença
2870	millacge°pit	: mas que te▾vayas
2871	axaichlalam°mannap axpehnoctan°chotti	: mas que▾me libro de los azotes: apostemos que me libro de los azotes: deponamus vel spondeamus me liberari flagellis
2872	ma mi[x]pehnopectan	: no te libraras
2873	axpehnoctan	: si, me librare
2874	ninic mipiippo°tuppit, ynchapit macotpan/ mimjollpan/migappan	: por mas que procuras la honrra, no hallaràs ocasion: quantumvis conaris l. coneris adipi[s]ci honorem, nullo pacto nancisceris occasionem: aunque mas trabajes, nada tienes, hallas, recibes, tomas ô coges
2875	ninic tuppit	: quantumvis, aunque mas

[11] para cuando y cuando

2876	anapinam?, anapihem?	: para quando, ad quod tempus?
2877	anapinam/anapihem mihllem missian?	: para quando aguardas â tu amigo? ad quod tempus expectas amicum tuum?
2878	anapinam mihllem nantan?	: para quando vendrà?
2879	ynconapi	: quando, cum ô quando
2880	pupuluch nantan°ynconapi°va, yztac pilou°cho coti	: para quando venga tu marido, ya avras hecho chicha
2881	mupul ocho quictan°ynconapige, co capa amàyan	: para quando tu hijo este grande, te doy esta capa

[12] luego que, al punto que, assi▾que, al mismo tiempo que
[gerundio + all, ynconapill ô inconatup▾ñal-locall: luego que &, ubi, statim o statim▾atque, ut, ut primum ô quam primum]

2882	uch/auca ñgitavonapall, soldado°tup puttam zapeila	: luego que ô assi que ô al tiempo que el enemigo huyo, los soldados cogieron la ciudad: ubi inimicus fugit, milites expugnaverunt civitatem
2883	catzoc atzmeh[co]lohnapall, ñanmittô illagi	: luego que, assi▾que, al punto, ynstante que acabê de hazer la caxa, la llevo ô se la llebò su dueño
2884	mini ynconapill, yncotup ñal-loc°all Juan°pit nani	: al mismo tiempo que tu veniste, vino Juan

2885	ma▾ñalloc°all minihan	: a▾un mismo tiempo venis
2886	mini ynconapill, ynco°tup ñal-locall oc°pit ani	: al mismo tiempo que tu veniste, vino tambien yo
2887	ma▾ñal-locall quelluey	: a▾un mismo tiempo nos fuimos

[13] quiças, porventura

2888	miyelam°tep°pâ atemmell mitpachile?	: por ventura te levantaste oy temprano? an l utrum, nunquid l hodiene surre[x]isti mature?
2889	le	: nunquid, an, utrum ô ne
2890	utzauch Dios°te zeichchi°chô°chin	: ya por ventura el pecador se convirtio: iam forsitan peccator conversus est
2891	chin	: forte, fortasse, fortassis ô forsita[n]
2892	ut[z]auch nutza ilolam°mannappa, yam▾quiî°chô°chin	: quiças ô por ventura ya el pecador se enmendo

[14] que y que▾no

2893	quisoldado chiquitavo pectan°choti	: que nuestros soldados (ô apostemos que nuestros soldados) no huyen: spondeamus milites nostros non fugere
2894	choti	: apostar
2895	miyoyojac°pit/miyoyohangotuppit, entoñam aquingo/entoñam aquictan/oc°ge°ua ñanloc cotan	: que lloreis, que se me da â mi?: fletis, quid ad me?: mas que lloreis, nada se me da ô se me darà
2896	yoyoc°pit allactan°sim	: mas que llores, me ire
2897	yg[l]esia°tep Pedro imitay°pitzo pixanna ajacquian	: jusgo que no faltò Pedro â▾la yglesia
2898	Francisco iglesiate coti pixanna ajacquian	: jusgo ô me parece que estuvo Fran cisco en la yglesia
2899	anuch atzapteque maluvey/mana maou	: estorbasteme que no hiriesse â mi enemigo: impediste▾me, ut▾ne vel quominus ferirem inimicum meum
2900	ahach°te allacteque maluvey	: estorbasteme que no fuera â mi chacara
2901	aptoctehe allacteque, apatup ng̃aluvey/mana ngaou	: me estorvo mi padre que no fuesse â nadar

[15] de que, de▾que modo, de que manera, del modo que ô de▾la▾manera▾que

2902	ynchatem	: de▾que, quid
2903	jayu ng̃olnappâ, mumpux°tup ynchatem ymallouvehtan?	: de que aprovecharan las riquezas, quando el hombre muera? quid divitiae proderunt cum homo moritur?

[que = verbo + na]

2904	michemi(c)zi micottannava culayampacna	: de▾que ô que seràs desterrado, no ay duda
2905	entoñam	: de que modo, de▾que manera? quomodo ô qua ratione ô quo pacto
2906	oc°tup amaymehjactan entoñam co ñanzic quitzmopacna cottanna, mimacohalamhe/mimacohactehe	: yo explicare de que▾manera se han de entender las dificultades: explicabo quo▾modo vel qua▾ratione vel quo▾pacto dif[f]icultates intelligenda sint
2807	entoñam?	: como?
2908	amtesahtech/amtesa(c)jo cottech	: de suerte que te lo estime
2909	ampeñoctech	: de suerte que te quiera

La variedad de las terceras personas de plural [...] en las transiciones

2910	mo	: transicion de tercera persona de singular a tercera de plural
2911	mocollan	: aquel-los ama
2912	po	: transicion de las demas personas â▾la tercera de plural
2913	apocollan	: yo los amo
2914	mipocollan	: tu
2915	quipocollan	: nosotros
2916	mipocollijan	: vosotros
2917	chipocollan	: aquellos
2918	pa	: otra cosa que se incluye en la que padece
2919	ychac apajapuchan	: yo les pongo su comida
2920	mipajapuchan	: tu
2921	ma(pa)japuchan	: aquel
2922	quipajapuchan	: nosotros
2923	mipajapuchij(act)an	: vosotros
2924	chipajapuchan	: aquellos
2925	la	: tercera de plural â qualquiera otra persona que no sea tercera de plural
2926	acollilan	: aquellos me aman
	micollilan, ngollilan, quimgollilan, micollilajan	
2927	chi	: tercera de plural â tercera del mismo numero
2928	chipocollan	: aquellos los aman

De la interjecion

2929	ah	: exclama ô ynvoca
2930	ah Dios!	: a Dios!

2931	aha	: interjecion d[e]▾el que coge haziendo cosa mala
2932	aha▾[a]mpaxlen miquian!	: a pobre, desdichado qual te pondre!
2933	anij empec, ma empec	: d[e]▾el que se alegra del mal que acaeze â otro: bien empleado, me alegro!
2934	ampaxlen	: interjecion de lastima y pena y compassion
2935	uchuu	: interjecion d[e]▾el que se quema ô tiene calor
2936	acû	: interjecion de cariño ytambien de lastima y compassion
2937	ychay, ychacay	: interjecion de abominacion y desprecio
2938	allau, attih	: interjecion de dolor
2939	oy	: interjecion d[e]▾el que assiente ô concede lo que dicen
2940	ah	: tambien sirve para amedrentar â▾los niños
2941	ah ñipimuâ!	: no lo toques!
2942	añiu	: interjecion de gana ô dezeo
2943	tantahe añiu!	: tengo gana de▾pan!
2944	tanta alacge añiu°na aquian!	: deseo comer pan!
2945	uñuu	: interjecion de alabança ô aficion de alguna cosa▾hermosa ô curiosa
2946	oneu	: interjecion de enfado ô fastidio
2947	oneuah alan!	: le molesto, doy pena, enfado!
2948	oneuah ng̃aan!	: me haze daño!
2949	yxiu	: malvado!
2950	pehchûaj ixiu!	: quitate malbado!
2951	an	: interjecion de admiracion
2952	an!	: que es assi?!
2953	aleu	: interjecion de frio
2954	aleu°na miquian°le?	: tienes frio?!
2955	heey, aleu°na aquian!	
2956	ichiei	: interjecion de pavor

De▾la conjuncion

2957	pit	: et y vel: tambien
2958	mipit, Pedro°pit chechô siñ▾milouhan	: tu y Pedro desperdiciais el dinero
2959	llac°pit, millaquiahji°pit/ llaquiah°pit	: buelve ô vete
2960	mi°le, oc°le?	: tu ô yo?

2961	mipit	: tu tambien
2962	simall	: conjuncion de▾verbos: quoque, tambien
2963	pei mutuppan mimman°simall	: ara y siembra
2964	oc ayoyan, mi°pit miyoyan°simall	: yo lloro y tu tambien lloras
2965	a, va	: sed o autem
2966	col ocho ixivah cotan, utza°va col imitan	: la muerte es grande mal, pero el▾peca do la sobrepuja
2967	le	: que, vel
2968	mi°lê, oc°lê quillactan	: tu ô yo iremos
2969	catzan°pat michacenlê, amehequelê mihlan?	: burlas ô hablas de veras?
2970	uacho	: et, autem, sed
2971	oc allactan, minaha°uacho mumuttanha°te	: yo me ire, mas vosotros os estareis en vuestro pueblo
2972	miñip hilte°uacho	: y el quarto mandamiento
2973	Juan°uacho intotem llavi?	: y Juan, donde se▾fue?

Libro quinto

De la colocacion, acento, pronunciacion y orthografia de esta lengua

De▾la colocacion [genitivo - nominativo - caso del verbo]

2974	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	: la sabiduria de Dios ordeno los tiempos, para que el sol alumbrasse de dia y la luna de noche

[nominativo - verbo]

2975	mec angellâ/angel mec°câ espiritull chectan, itzep ziu, ychel ziu, chijo ziu°pit chectan; angel mec espiritull chectan, zep, chel, jô°pit pahacotpan	: los angeles todos son espiritus y no tienen carne ô huessos, ni sangre

los participios se anteponen y posponen, los substantivos y quasi adjectivos se▾ponen en un mismo caso]

2976	ymonco muxac°pit, quimeñongo pel meletancopit, te senta quizna palam°te ychocholanco kenna°nic°pit, co ng̃ossillvo putam°te tiññejlactege, Dios°tup mopchi	: el sol que abrasa, la luna hermosa que alumbra y las estrellas que resplsndecen en esse campo azul de los cielos puso Dios para hermosura del mundo

[adverbios: unos se anteponen y otras se posponen]

2977	puillquitz, checho°pit co cullha cot[l]amte patep yupei loitzzo°tup°pit, colheva, ynchapit quillavohpan, mec°sim ayquian	: aunque el oro y la plata se estima tanto en esta vida, pero en muriendo, nada llevamos, todo se queda
2978	puillquitz, chechopit co ncullha cot[l]amte ento▾mec yupey quipoongo°tuppit,colhe°acho, ynchapit quillavohpan, mec inchapit quipoyam(m)[p]ollan	: aunque estimamos tanto el oro y la plata en esta vida, pero en muriendo, nada llevamos, todo lo dexamos

Del acento [1: en la ultima siylaba]

2979	mallâ	: cosa cruda
2980	llín	: cosa verde
2981	patôx	: desecho
2982	llêz	: rastrojo y lucerna pequeña

[2: en la▾penultima en algunos tiempos]

2983	cuchi°le mectan, el-l milangova/ mallà mul[l]uppo°va?	: eres puerco que comes yuca cruda?

De la pronunciacion [guturaciones: ng̃a, ng̃ue, ng̃ui, ng̃uo, ng̃u]

2984	amot ng̃appixtocan	: aquel me quita mi honrra
2985	ng̃appixtocquei	: me la quito
2986	etzge ng̃aou	: me levantô falso testimonio
2987	ng̃ot	: su agua ô el agua de aquel
2988	ng̃ach	: su maiz
2989	ng̃olol	: su almendra
2990	ñeetz	: su madre
2991	ñix	: cosa seca, enjuta
2992	atg̃an	: yo estoy
2993	ang̃ten	: yo le sustento ô mantengo

3.2. Declination of the noun *hayu* ‘man’ and conjugation of the verbs *k(o)t* ‘(to) be’, *ŋole/ŋolʸ* ‘(to) love someone/something’, and *menʸ(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):

nominativo:	*hayu/ hayu-tup*	‘el hombre o gente’
genitivo:	*hayu i-l-o-w*	‘del hombre o de la gente’
dativo:	*hayu-he*	‘para el hombre o [para la gente]
acusativo:	*hayu-te/ -tu*	‘al hombre’
vocativo:	*hayu-ey/ -pey*	‘olá hombre, olá muger’
ablativo:	*hayu-te*	‘en el hombre’
	nun-te-p	‘ex viro’, ‘de varón o por obra de varón’, ‘por o por amor o por causa del hombre’
	hayu-pat/ -lʸak-pat/ -lʸak-te-p	
	-man-ap	‘ex/ de’
	hayu-nik/ hayu nek	‘de compañía con el hombre’

(ii) a survey of his conjugation of the verbs *kot* ‘(to) be’, *ŋole* ‘(to) love someone/ something’ and *menʸo* ‘(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*:

ø-kot-uč	‘a being’, ‘the present person’
ø-ŋole-uč	‘lover’
ø-menʸo-wuč	‘lover’

This form has not been listed, because it is not considered as a verb form, but as a derived noun (see section 6.10). The forms between square brackets are forms which do not occur in Pedro de la Mata’s conjugation of the verb in question, but which were constructed by analogy with the corresponding form of the verb below or above, or with that of another verb, for example, *(o)* ‘(to) do/make’:

indicative:	present:	2s:	*me-kt-aŋ*
			mi-ŋolʸ-aŋ
			mi-menʸ-aŋ
		2p:	*me-kt-iy-ha-ŋ*
			mi-ŋolʸ-iy-ha-ŋ
			mi-menʸo-w-ha-ŋ
imperfect/perfect:	1:	2s:	*me-kt-iy*

mi-ŋol^{y}-iy
mi-men^{y}o-w
2p: *me-kt-iy-ha*
mi-ŋol^{y}-iy-ha
mi-men^{y}o-w-ha

2: 2s: *me-kt-e-ŋ*
mi-ŋol^{y}-e-ŋ
-
2p: *me-kt-iy-ha-ŋ*
[mi-ŋol^{y}-iy-ha-ŋ]
-

pluperfect: 1: 2s: *me-kt-iy-e*
mi-ŋol^{y}-iy-e
mi-men^{y}o-w-e
2p: *me-kt-iy-ha-ke*
mi-ŋol^{y}-iy-ha-ke
mi-men^{y}o-w-ha-ke
2: 2s: *me-kt-iy-ate* (m)
pe-kt-iy-e-ate (f)
mi-ŋol^{y}-e-y-ate (< *-e-ŋ*)
-

future: imperfect: 1: 2s: *mi-kot ø-t-aŋ*
mi-ŋole-k ø-t-aŋ
mi-men^{y}o-k ø-t-aŋ

2p: *mi-kot-ha-k ø-t-aŋ*
mi-ŋole-ha-k ø-t-aŋ
mi-men^{y}o-ha-k ø-t-aŋ
2: 1s: *mi-kot-te*
[mi-ŋole-kte]
[mi-men^{y}o-kte]
2p: *mi-kot-ha-kte*
[mi-ŋole-ha-kte]
[mi-men^{y}o-ha-kte]

future: perfect: 2s: *me-kt-iy me-kt-aŋ*
mi-ŋol^{y}-iy me-kt-aŋ
mi-men^{y}o-w me-kt-aŋ
2p: *me-kt-iy-ha me-kt-iy-ha-ŋ*
mi-ŋol^{y}-iy-ha me-kt-iy-ha-ŋ
mi-men^{y}o-w-ha me-kt-iy-ha-ŋ

imperative: present: 1s: *a-kot-te*
[a-ŋole-kte]

			[a-men^{y}o-kte]
	1:	2s:	*kot*
			ŋole-k
			men^{y}o-k
	2:	2s:	*mi-kot-i*
			mi-ŋole-k-i
			mi-men^{y}o-k-i
		3s:	*ø-kot-he*
			i-ŋole-khe
			i-men^{y}o-khe
		1p:	*ki-kot-te*
			ki-ŋole-kte
			ki-men^{y}o-kte
	1:	2p:	*mi-kot-ha-k*
			[mi-ŋole-ha-k]
			[mi-men^{y}o-ha-k]
	2:	2p:	*mi-kot-ha-k-i*
			mi-ŋole-ha-k-i
			mi-men^{y}o-ha-k-i
		3p:	*či-kot-he*
			ŋole-la-khe
			men^{y}o-la-khe
future:		2s:	*mi-kot-te*
			mi-ŋole-kte
			[mi-men^{y}o-kte]
		2p:	*mi-kot-ha-kte*
			mi-ŋole-ha-kte
			[mi-men^{y}o-ha-kte]
permissive:		2s:	*mi-kot-he(-pit)*
			mi-ŋole-khe(-pit)
			[mi-men^{y}o-khe(-pit)]
		2p:	*mi-kot-ha-khe(-pit)*
			mi-ŋole-ha-khe(-pit)
			[mi-men^{y}o-ha-khe(-pit)]
prohibitive:	1:	2s:	*mi-kot-čin*
			mi-ŋole-čin/mi-ŋole-k-nik
			-
		2p:	*mi-kot-ha-čin*
			[mi-ŋole-ha-(k)-čin/mi-ŋole-ha-k-nik]
			-
	2:	2s:	*kot-iy-mu*
			[ŋol^{y}-iy-mu]

			-
		2p:	-
dubitative:			*hapit* ‘may (it) be!’ +
		2s:	*mi-kot ø-t-aŋ*
			mi-ŋole-k ø-t-aŋ
			mi-men^{y}o-k ø-t-aŋ
		2p:	*mi-kot-ha-k ø-t-aŋ*
			mi-ŋole-ha-k ø-t-aŋ
			mi-men^{y}o-ha-k ø-t-aŋ
optative: present/imperfect:			
	1:	2s:	*mi-kot(-he)*
			mi-ŋole-k(-he)
			[mi-men^{y}o-k(-he)]
		2p:	*mi-kot-ha-k(-he)*
			mi-ŋole-ha-k(-he)
			[mi-men^{y}o-ha-k(-he)]
	2:		*in(ha)m* ‘I wished!’ +
		2s:	*mi-kot-o-ke*, *mi-kot-te-ke*
			mi-ŋole-ŋo-ke, mi-ŋole-kte-ke
			mi-men^{y}o-ŋo-ke, mi-men^{y}o-kte-ke
		2p:	*mi-kot-ha-ŋo-ke*, *mi-kot-ha-kte-ke*
			mi-ŋole-ha-ŋo-ke, mi-ŋole-ha-kte-ke
			mi-men^{y}o-ha-ŋo-ke, mi-men^{y}o-ha-kte-ke
(plu)perfect:	1:	2s:	*mi-kot-te(-mok) kot*
			mi-ŋole-kte(-mok) kot
			mi-men^{y}o-kte(-mok) kot
		2p:	*mi-kot-ha-kte(-mok) kot*
			mi-ŋole-ha-kte(-mok) kot
			mi-men^{y}o-ha-kte(-mok) kot
	2:	2s:	*me-kt-iy ø-(po)kot-o-ke/ø-(po)kot-te-ke*
			mi-ŋol^{y}-iy ø-(po)kot-o-ke/ø-(po)kot-te-ke
			mi-men^{y}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-ŋol^{y}-iy-ha ø-(po)kot-o-ke/ø-(po)kot-te-ke
			mi-men^{y}o-w-ha ø-(po)kot-o-ke/ø(po)kot-te-ke
subjunctive:	1:	2s:	*mi-kot-hu*
			mi-ŋole-č
			mi-men^{y}o-č
		2p:	*mi-kot-ha-č*
			mi-ŋole-ha-č
			mi-men^{y}o-ha-č
	2:	2s:	*me-kt-e-č*

			mi-ŋole-kte-č
			mi-men^{y}o-kte-č
		2p:	*me-kt-iy-ha-č*
			mi-ŋole-ha-kte-č
			mi-men^{y}o-ha-kte-č
infinitive: present:		2s:	*[mi-kot-te]*
			mi-ŋole-kte
			mi-men^{y}o-kte
		2p:	*[mi-kot-ha-kte]*
			mi-ŋole-ha-kte
			mi-men^{y}o-ha-kte
preterite:		2s:	*me-kt-iy ø-kot-nap*
			mi-ŋol^{y}-iy ø-kot-nap
			mi-men^{y}o-w ø-kot-nap
		2p:	*me-kt-iy-ha ø-kot-nap*
			mi-ŋol^{y}-iy-ha ø-kot-nap
			mi-men^{y}o-w-ha ø-kot-nap
future:		2s:	*mi-kot-lam [(ø-kot-nap)]*
			mi-ŋole-lam [(ø-kot-nap)]
			mi-men^{y}o-lam (ø-kot-nap)
		2p:	*mi-kot-ha-k-lam [ø-kot-nap)]*
			mi-ŋole-ha-k-lam [(ø-kot-nap)]
			mi-men^{y}o-ha-k-lam (ø-kot-nap)
participles: present:		2s:	*me-kt-aɪŋ-ko*
			mi-ŋol^{y}-aɪŋ-ko
			mi-men^{y}-aɪŋ-ko
		2p:	*me-kt-iy-ha-ɪŋ-ko*
			mi-ŋol^{y}-iy-ha-ɪŋ-ko
			mi-men^{y}o-w-ha-ɪŋ-ko
imperfect:		2s:	*me-kt-iy(-iɪŋko)*
			mi-ŋol^{y}-iy(-iɪŋko)
			mi-men^{y}o-w(-iɪŋko)
		2p:	*me-kt-iy-ha(-iɪŋko)*
			mi-ŋol^{y}-iy-ha(-iɪŋko)
			mi-men^{y}o-w-ha(-iɪŋko)
pluperfect:		2s:	*me-kt-iy-e(-iɪŋko)*
			[mi-ŋol^{y}-iy-e(-iɪŋko)]
			[mi-men^{y}o-w-e(-iɪŋko)]
		2p:	*me-kt-iy-ha-ke(-iɪŋko)*
			[mi-ŋol^{y}-iy-ha-ke(-iɪŋko)]
			[mi-men^{y}o-w-ha-ke(-iɪŋko)]
future:	1:	2s:	*mi-kot ø-t-aɪŋ(-iɪŋko)*
			mi-ŋole-k ø-t-aɪŋ(-iɪŋko)

[mi-menʸo-k ø-t-aŋ(-iŋko)]

2p: *mi-kot-ha-k ø-t-aŋ(-iŋko)*
mi-ŋole-ha-k ø-t-aŋ(-iŋko)
[mi-menʸo-ha-k ø-t-aŋ(-iŋko)]

2: 2s: *mi-kot-lam-iŋko*
mi-ŋole-lam-iŋko
mi-menʸo-lam-iŋko

2p: *mi-kot-ha-k-lam-iŋko*
mi-ŋole-ha-k-lam-iŋko
mi-menʸo-ha-k-lam-iŋko

gerund: genitive, dative, accusative:

2s: *mi-kot-lam-he/mi-kot-te-he*
mi-ŋole-lam-he/mi-ŋole-kte-he
mi-menʸo-lam-he/me-menʸo-kte-he

2p: *mi-kot-ha-k-lam-he/mi-kot-ha-kte-he*
mi-ŋole-ha-k-lam-he/mi-ŋole-ha-kte-he
mi-menʸo-ha-k-lam-he/mi-menʸo-ha-kte-he

ablative: 1: *ø-kot-he*
ø-ŋole-khe
ø-menʸo-khe

2: *ø-kot-te-nap*
ø-ŋole-nap
ø-menʸo-nap

2s: *mi-kot-te-nap*
[mi-ŋole-kte-nap]
[mi-menʸo-kte-nap]

2p: *mi-kot-ha-kte-nap*
[mi-ŋole-ha-kte-nap]
[mi-menʸo-ha-kte-nap]

supine: 1: 2s: *mi-kot-lam-he/mi-kot-te-he*
mi-ŋole-lam-he/mi-ŋole-kte-he
mi-menʸo-lam-he/mi-menʸo-kte-he

2p: *mi-kot-ha-k-lam-he/mi-kot-ha-kte-he*
mi-ŋole-ha-k-lam-he/mi-ŋole-ha-kte-he
mi-menʸo-ha-k-lam-he/mi-menʸo-ha-kte-he

2: 2s: *mi-kot-o*
mi-ŋole-ŋo
mi-menʸo-ŋo

2p: *mi-kot-ha-ŋo*
mi-ŋole-ha-ŋo
mi-menʸo-ha-ŋo

The endings of the different moods and tenses are as follows:

indicative:	present		*-(a)n*
	(im)perfect I		*-iy/-w*
	(im)perfect II		*-(e-)n*
	pluperfect I	(im)perfect I +	*-(k)e*
	pluperfect II	(im)perfect in *-iy* or *-y* +	*-ate*
	future: imperfect I		*-(k)t-aŋ*
	future: imperfect II		*-(k)te*
	future: perfect	(im)perfect I +	*ø-kot-aŋ*
imperative:	present 1s/p		*-(k)te*
	present 2s I		*-ø/-k*
	present 2s II		*-(k)i*
	present 3s/p		*-(k)he*
	future		*-(k)te*
permissive			*-(k)he*
prohibitive:			*-čin*;
		(im)perfect I +	*-mu*; *-(k)-nik*
dubitative:			*-(k)t-aŋ*
optative:	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*
subjunctive II			*-(e)č, -(k)t-eč*
infinitive:	present		*-(k)te*
	past tense	(im)perfect I of indicative +	*ø-kot-nap*
	future		*-lam (+ ø-kot-nap)*
participle:	present	present of indicative +	*-ko*
	imperfect	(im)perfect I of indicative	(+ *iŋko*)
	pluperfect	pluperfect of indicative	(+ *iŋko*)
	future	imperfect I of future of indicative	(+ *iŋko*)
gerund:	genitive		*-lam-he, -(k)te-he*
	dative		*-lam-he, -(k)te-he*
	accusative		*-lam-he, -(k)te-he*
	ablative I		*-(k)he*

ablative II	*-(k)te-nap*
supine I	*-lam-he, -(k)te-he*
supine II	*-(ŋ)o*

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*, *tz, ch, s*/*z*, *x*, *g*/*h*/*j*, *m*, *n*, *ñ*, *ñg(u)*, *l*, *ll*, *b*/*hu*/*u*/*v*, *i*/*y*, representing the sounds [p], [t], [k], [tˢ], [č], [s], [š], [x] or [h], [m], [n], [nʸ], [ŋ], [l], [lʸ], [w], [y], respectively.

4.1. Examples with vowel positions

Table I below contains Cholón words with vowel symbols appearing before a consonant symbol. The occurrences of vowel symbols after a consonant symbol can be found in Table II. In these tables, only non-borrowed words have been used as examples, loan words have been left out. As regards the examples that have been bracketed and for further explanation, see the remarks after Table 12 in section 4.2.6.

Table I: The vowel symbols *i, e, a, o, u,* occurring before the consonant symbols *p, t, c, tz, ch, s, z, x, g, h, j, m, n, ñ, ñg, l, ll, u, i, y* within a syllable.

yip 'house'	*happit* 'maybe'	*jayunic* 'with the man'
nuntep 'from the man'	*et* 'fire'	*sepec* 'lie'
ilamannap 'from the woman'	*jayupat* 'by the man'	*pac* 'eight'
apopchan 'I put down'	*cot* 'water'	*poc* 'turn'
satup 'he himself'	*mutpan* 'you walk'	*puc* 'portion'
puillquitz 'gold'	*mich* 'it is said that you'	*ista* 'three men'
petz 'box'	*mech* 'tree'	*ques* 'age'
payatz 'late'	*cach* 'maize'	*cas* 'wind'
yotz 'guinea pig'	*zamoch* 'wisdom'	*moschu* 'small thing'
utz 'gourd'	*puch* 'whole'	*uscan* 'he laughs'
quizna 'blue'	*ñgix* 'something dry'	-
quez 'age'	*xexnic* 'with scabies'	*choyeg!* 'let him cry!'
caz 'wind	*xax* 'armadillo'	*agllem* 'my friend' cf. *mihllem* 'your friend'

mozchu ‘small thing’	*moxpey* ‘he liberated them’	-
muzcan ‘you laugh’	*uxux* ‘butterfly’	-
anih! ‘exclamation of desire’	*anij!* ‘exclamation of desire’	*chim!* ‘give me!’
zamehji! ‘learn!’	*zamej!* ‘learn!’	*nem* ‘day’
ayteah! ‘quiet!’	*ayteaj!* ‘quiet!’	*yam* ‘punishment’
millavohji! ‘bring it!’	*llavoj!* ‘bring it’	*llom* ‘abyss’
nuhman ‘in his hole’	*tuj* ‘joint’	*lumte* ‘above’
llin ‘green’	*chesmiñ* ‘cedar’	*quin$\tilde{g}$pii* ‘we have recieved’
acten ‘I was’	*peñ* ‘like that’	(*nen*) ‘hand’
pan ‘mother’	-	(*pan*) ‘mother’
alon ‘I wet’	*coñ* ‘like this’	(*pon*) ‘troop’
nun ‘man’	*cuñchu* ‘small thing’	(*xum*) ‘heap’
sil ‘his word’	*capill* ‘now’	*liu* ‘letter’
pel ‘moon’	*aytell* ‘very quietly’	*leu* ‘worm’
zal ‘black’	*ayall* ‘finely’	*allau!* ‘exclamation of pain!’
lol ‘mouth’	*coll* ‘only this’	*lou* ‘he made it’
pul ‘son’	*cullha* ‘life’	(*uchuu!*) ‘how warm!’
quiimejuch ‘our creator’	*quiymehnan* ‘we learn’	
pei ‘earth’	*pey* ‘earth’	
nai ‘behind him’	*nay* ‘behind him’	
miloi ‘you wet’	*aloy* ‘I wet’	
atzui ‘I anointed’	-	

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, n$\tilde{g}$(u), l, ll, b, hu, u, v, i, y*.

pit ‘and’	*tip* ‘piece’	-
pel ‘moon’	*nuntep* ‘from the man’	-
pan ‘mother’	*tacla* ‘kind of armadillo’	*caz* ‘wind’
poc ‘turn’	*ton* ‘he stays’	*cot* ‘water’
pul ‘son’	*tuj* ‘joint’	*cullha* ‘life’

kitzmehjo ‘that we teach’	*quizna* ‘bleu’	*atzip* ‘my house’
kennà ‘star(s)’	*quell* ‘wall’	*itzep* ‘their flesh’
-	-	*ytzall* ‘their soul’
-	-	*itzochoc* ‘their trousers’
-	-	*utzuch* ‘their edible plant’
chicnan ‘to fear’	*sil* ‘his word’	*zip* ‘his house’
chesmiñ ‘cedar’	*senta* ‘heaven’	*zenta* ‘heaven’
cham ‘chain’	*sall* ‘soul	*zall* ‘soul’
chounic ‘with fleas’	*lochmasoc* ‘do it the whole night!’	*zotz* ‘his guinea pig’
chup ‘stomach’	*sup* ‘deer’	*zucu* ‘bird’
xij! ‘drink!’	*allgi/allhi* ‘sweet’	*hil* ‘word’
xep ‘sterile’	*jayuge* ‘for the man’	*jayuhe* ‘for the man’
xax ‘armadillo’	*pangala* ‘wild turkey’	*hach* ‘field’
xot ‘brother’	-	*poho* ‘morning’
xum ‘heap’	-	*axijhu* ‘that I drink’
jil ‘word’	*mimllac* ‘near’	*jayunic* ‘with the man’
llalamje ‘that he goes’	*meñ* ‘wish’	*nem* ‘day’
jach ‘field’	*aaman* ‘I eat’	*anai* ‘behind me’
pojo ‘morning’	*mot* ‘name’	*nom* ‘something’
aloclojju ‘that I finish doing it’	*mul* ‘his son’	*nuc* ‘box’
ñih! ‘take it’	*ng̃ix* ‘something dry’	*liu* ‘letter’
uñep ‘wax’	*ng̃uech* ‘his mother’	*leu* ‘worm’
ñan ‘he sleeps’	*ng̃ach* ‘his maize’	*alan* ‘I make it’
meñoc! ‘love!’	*ng̃ot* ‘his water’	*lol* ‘mouth’
ñu ‘daughter’	*ng̃uch* ‘his father’	*lumte* ‘above’
llin ‘green’	-	-
lles ‘alfalfa’	*bem* ‘sweet potato’	-
llac ‘go!’	-	*llahuan* ‘he goes’
llom ‘abyss’	-	-
ulluc ‘lance’	*g̃olebuch* ‘lover’	-
llaui ‘he went’	*llavi* ‘he went’	*iipoc* ‘make a house!’
alluen ‘I went’	*llaven* ‘he went’	*iel-lo* ‘together’
mimeñancoua ‘if you want it’	*Pedrova* ‘Pedro (topic)’	*iam* ‘punishment’
aniglesiauoctan ‘I shall	*a chechovoctan* ‘I shall	*amnaioctan* ‘I shall

build a church’	make silver’	watch the way’
g̃oleuuch ‘lover’	*acolevuch* ‘my lover’	-

yip ‘house’
yel-lo ‘together’
yam ‘punishment’
ayoyoctan ‘I shall cry’
yuch ‘edible plant’

4.2. Overview of consonant clusters

This supplement presents an overview of consonantal boundary clusters found in the data of de la Mata, together with a form in which they occur. As stated in section 5.3, this overview, since it only contains forms attested in the *ALC*, is not exhaustive. For instance, the clusters *n^{y}t* 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^{y}* + the numeral classifiers *tuh* ‘detachable object’ and *šuŋ* ‘accumulation’, respectively.

pp	*ippok*	‘two times’
tp	*kotpaŋ*	‘he is not’
čp	*ičpok*	‘three times’
kp	*-l^{y}akpat*	‘for the sake of’
t^{s}p	*t^{s}i mitspalekiaŋ*	‘the rain comes down from everywhere’
sp	*mel^{y}uspit*	‘and the boat’
šp	*kišpoktehewa*	‘in order to liberate/save us’
hp	*mohpaŋ*	‘he has not come’
mp	*ohompat*	‘with idleness’
np	*nunpulču*	‘boy’
n^{y}p	*kon^{y}pi*	‘till here, not any further’
ŋp	*aŋpiy*	‘I got him’
lp	*olpit*	‘whoever’
l^{y}p	*kel^{y}pak*	‘surrounding(s)’
wp	*luwowpat*	‘with sorrow’
yp	*asinaypit^{s}o*	‘I did not hear it’
pt	*atuptaŋ*	‘I shall walk’
tt	*akotte*	‘I shall be’
čt	*mahačte*	‘at night’
kt	*aktaŋ*	‘I am’
t^{s}t	*čikoleit^{s}taŋ*	‘they will be loved’
st	*amistehe*	‘that I buy’
št	*neštek*	‘his cloth’

ht	*ašihtaŋ*	‘I shall drink’
mt	*putamte*	‘in the village’
nt	*palantu*	‘banana’
ŋt	*aŋteŋ*	‘I hold’, ‘I maintain’
lt	*ana peltem*	‘in how many days?’
lʸt	*čipilʸte*	‘in their fyke net’
wt	*owtu*	‘far away’
yt	*ayte!*	‘quiet!’
pč	*ipče*	‘two round things’
tč	*atčaŋ*	‘one bundle’
kč	*kiokče*	‘five round things’
sč	*mosču*	‘little’, ‘small’
šč	*kilišče*	‘seven round things’
hč	*pehču*	‘a little bit’
mč	*mumčaŋ*	‘you gather’
nč	*inčunam?*	‘what?’
nʸč	*intonʸčiŋ*	‘I don’t know where/how’
lč	*nunpulču*	‘little boy’
lʸč	*maalʸčo*	‘there is no more’
yč	*seyčaŋ*	‘he is converted’
pk	*kipkolʸaŋ*	‘you (f) love us’
sk	*askaŋ*	‘I laugh’
šk	*piškam*	‘jar’
hk	*ašihkolaŋ*	‘I finish drinking’
mk	*yamkuyla*	‘diligent’
ŋk	*iŋko*	‘this’
lk	*ma pulkup*	‘late at night’
lʸk	*puilʸkitˢ*	‘gold’
wk	*awka*	‘enemy’
yk	*aykiŋole*	‘is there someone who ...?’
ptˢ	*iptˢok*	‘six’
ktˢ	*kioktˢel*	‘five truncal objects’
stˢ	*istˢel*	‘three truncal objects’
štˢ	*kilištˢel*	‘seven truncal objects’
mtˢ	*milʸemtˢappaknake*	‘they would not have helped you’
ntˢ	*antˢel*	‘one truncal object’
nʸtˢ	*okonʸtˢel*	‘nine truncal objects’
wtˢ	*ilʸowtˢi*	‘he hit him’
ytˢ	*eytˢa*	‘meat’
ps	*apopsahiyhena*	‘that I committed them’

ks	*maksaytaŋ*	‘he will be rejoiced’
ms	*čimsow*	‘they were born’
ns	*amonsey*	‘my tongue’
nʸs	*inkominʸsimalʸ*	‘entirely so’
lʸs	*kalʸsokhe*	‘with pleasure’
pš	*ipšuŋ*	‘two heaps’
čš	*ičšuŋ*	‘three piles, heaps, settlements’
kš	*kiokšuŋ*	‘five piles, heaps, settlements’
hš	*asinahšipeŋ*	‘I scarcely hear it’
mš	*tamše*	‘grindstone’
nš	*anʸanšipaŋ*	‘I make haste’
lš	*lolše*	‘Spaniard(s)’
lʸš	*apuilʸšipey*	‘I nearly fell’
ph	*iphil*	‘two words’
th	*kothu*	‘that he is’
čh	*-(a)čhe*	‘it is said that’
kh	*makhay*	‘felicity’
tˢh	*loitˢhe*	‘may it be done’
sh	*melʸesha*	‘your alfalfa’
šh	*mišašha*	‘your (p) armadillo’
hh	*aloklohhu*	‘that I finish doing it’
mh	*mikešumha*	‘your (p) nose’
nh	*ŋinha*	‘his life’
nʸh	*česminʸha*	‘your (p) cedar’
ŋh	*toŋhu*	‘that he is seated’
lh	*kolhe*	‘that he dies’
lʸh	*alʸhi*	‘happiness’
wh	*mumkuplʸewha*	‘your (p) passion fruit’
yh	*mitoŋčeyhaŋ*	‘you (p) wander’
pm	*lʸupmaŋ*	‘in a bath’
tm	*kotmaŋ*	‘in the sea’
čm	*kočmi*	‘sea’
km	*lekmaŋ*	‘underneath’, ‘at the bottom’, ‘at the lowerside’
tˢm	*kitˢmey*	‘our work’
sm	*česminʸ*	‘cedar’
šm	*ašmaŋ*	‘first’
hm	*ašihmulaŋ*	‘I start drinking’
mm	*inčamma*	‘what is the matter, man?
nm	*nʸanman*	‘in the sight/face of’
lm	*nunlolmanap*	‘of the men’
wm	*masowmaško*	‘birth’

ym	*-nayme*	‘behind’, ‘via’, ‘after’
pn	*šipna!*	‘hurry up!’
tn	*kotnap*	‘because’
čn	*mihačnik*	‘with your axe’
kn	*-pakna*	‘negative nominalizer’
sn	*kisna*	‘blue’
šn	*šešnik*	‘with scabies’
hn	*amohnaŋ*	‘I climb’
mn	*amna*	‘my road’
ln	*čulnik*	‘with mucus’
lʸn	*mahalʸnapit*	‘not much’
wn	*čownikalʸ*	‘lousy’
yn	*oyna*	‘health’, ‘healthy’
tŋ	*atŋiy*	‘I was seated’
kŋ	*kekŋutiyte*	‘where we were’
čŋ	*mipočŋiy*	‘you released them’
pl	*iplek*	‘twenty’
tl	*šokotlolte*	‘in the mouth of the river’
čl	*mišayčlaŋo*	‘that they whip you’
kl	*takla*	‘variety of armadillo’
tˢl	*yam kioitˢlam*	‘punishment’
sl	*asla*	‘my wife’
šl	*išliw*	‘three different things’
hl	*ahlaŋ*	‘I speak’
ml	*amlupoŋ*	‘I laugh at you’
nl	*mainle*	‘not yet’
nʸl	*činʸle*	‘is he dapple?’
ŋl	*meŋlehtaŋ*	‘I shall bring’
ll	*tˢalle*	‘is it black?’
lʸl	*mahalʸliw*	‘many different things’
wl	*sowla*	‘they dug it’
yl	*kupuluwayla*	‘they humiliated us’
plʸ	*čaplʸoŋ*	‘pan’
slʸ	*Dioslʸakpat*	‘because of God’
hlʸ	*mihlʸem*	‘your friend’
nlʸ	*anlʸô*	‘my pupil’
ŋlʸ	*amiŋlʸakte*	‘around me’, in my neighbourhood’
llʸ	*nunlollʸakpat*	‘because of the men’
ylʸ	*čektiylʸakpat*	‘because they were’

čw	*kočwe*	'variety of monkey'
kw	*aneštekwaŋ*	'I make my clothes'
tˢw	*apuilᵛkitˢwaŋ*	'I gild'
šw	*ašwa*	'fish'
hw	*ahwiyain*	'hang on!'
mw	*ah! nʸipimwa*	'don't touch!'
lw	*makolwowha*	'you (p) fed me'
lᵛw	*alᵛwaŋ*	'I go'
py	*mipyupan*	'you make your bridge'
my	*amyup*	'my bridge'

5. Corpus of Spanish and Quechua loan words

This appendix contains the Spanish and Quechua loan words found in the *ALC*:

Spanish loan words:

alkalde	'mayor'
algwasil	'police officer'
angel	'angel'
anima	'soul'
ayunaŋ	'fast'
baptismo/baptisaŋ	'baptism'
doktrina	'doctrine'
domingo	'sunday'
elefante	'elephant'
espiritu	'spirit'
fiero	'iron'
fiesta	'feast'
fiskal	'public prosecutor'
grasia/gratia	'grace'
hač	'axe'
hostia	'Eucharist'
iglesia	'church'
kabalᵛo	'horse'
kalis	'chalice'
kandela	'candle'
kapa	'cape'
karesma	'Lent'
kasaraŋ/kasalaŋ	'marriage'
kastigaŋ	'punishment'
konfesaŋ/ konfesion	'confession'
konsegrasion	'consecration'
kruz	'cross'

kuči	‘pig’
kučilʸo	‘knife’
kwatrotemporas	‘Ember day’
lisensia	‘licence’
limosna	‘alms’
lunes	‘monday’
mesa	‘table’
misa	‘mass’
mula	‘mule’
olio	‘oil’
pagalaŋ	‘payment’
palantu	‘banana’
papayu	‘papaya’
Pasko	‘Easter’
patili	‘father’
penitensia	‘penance’
perdoŋ/perdonaŋ	‘pardon’
real	‘coin’, ‘money’
resaŋ	‘prayer’
sabado	‘saturday’
sakramento	‘sacrament’
santo/ santu	‘saint’
sastre	‘tailor’
semana	‘week’
sepu	‘stocks’
sinta	‘ribbon’
soldado	‘soldier’
trigo	‘wheat’, ‘grain’
waca	‘cowherd’
weha	‘shepherd’
wiernes	‘friday’
wigilia	‘vigil’
wirgen	‘virgin’

Quechua loan words:

alʸaw!	‘exclamation of pain’
apičak	‘hundred’
awka	‘enemy’
ayča, eitˢa	‘meat’
kamatˢiŋ	‘order’
kamayok	‘keeper’
kapak	‘ruler’
kita	‘wild’, ‘savage’
kuka	‘coca leaves’

lasu, rasu	'hail'
mučaŋ	'honour'
opey	'deaf-mute'
supey	'devil'
tanta	'bread'
uč	'hot pepper'
uɪŋa	'baby'
utˢa	'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
Luís
Malia/ Maria
Martín
Pedro

Friars:
Araujo, Joseph de
Clota , Gerónimo
Gutierres de Porres, Francisco
Mata, Pedro de la

Names of places:
Apizoncho (Ch)
Belem
Chalamuy (Ch) 'Junta de Tigres'
Chillancuy (Ch)
Chillonya (H) 'Arbol'
España
Huaylillas
Isrrael
Itziuat (Ch)
Jallipñatch (Ch) 'Cerro de Palo Fuerte'
Jopeyte (Ch) 'Tierra como Sangre'
Juanjui (H)
Lima
Ochaiñache (H)
Pisana
Pucala
Putonya (H) 'Arbol'
San Buenaventura del Valle
Soledad
Truxillo
Utchinaman (Ch) 'Palma Real'
Xenquiman (Ch) 'Yervas'
Xuñante (Ch) 'Pacaya'
Zalcot (Ch) 'RíoMaría 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 ʔ. 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

Spanish:	Cholón:
Dios	Dios
Hombre	Num
Muger	Yla
Alma	Xall
Cuerpo	Acho-quez
Corazon	Aluñach
Carne	Chep
Hueso	Chel
Padre	Appa
Madre	Appan
Hijo	Apul
Hija	Añu
Hermano	Azot
Hermana	Aquiñiu
Comer	Amoc
Beber	Xig
Reir	Chasam
Llorar	Yo-yam
Morir	Ñgoli-cho
Gozo	Allgiluvactan
Dolor	Ysiam
Muerte	Micol
Cielo	Centa
Sol	Musac
Luna	Peel
Estrella	Que-nac
Fuego	Vet

Viento	Mam
Pasaro	Zuccill
Tierra	Lluspey
Animal	Animal
Arbol	Mees-ñgup
Tronco	Sangoch
Rama	Puchup
Flor	Ñuñap
Fruto	Queniya
Yerva	Pullo
Agua	Quõt
Mar	Socotlol
Rio	Quõt-ysoquõt
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	kõta
8. Feuer	utmō
9. Sonne	musāpo
10. Mond	pel
11. Erde (Erdboden)	pēij
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	hõu
21. Tapir	sas
22. Kaiman	- [lagarto]

23. Stock	mes
24. Maniok	ul
25. Mais	kas
26. Plante	pandtū
27. Tabak	masuú
28. eins	answul
29. zwei	hipswul
30. drei	hieswúl
31. weiss	?
32. schwarz	?
33. rot	ljagaulj

7.3. Data of Greenberg

"Andean Etymologies", pp. 100 - 106

arrow	ujuk [ulluk]
aunt	pan 'mother'
bad	išivax
bird	kumkoči
brother	azot
come	(či-)pza-n
die	mi-kol
earth	puts (Hivito)
eat	a-mok
father	kuč
food	sak
hurt	kama 'sick'
inside	-man 'in'
laugh	kolxam (Hivito)
leg	a-čel
man	num, non
mouth	lol
nose	čul-nik 'snotty'
sea	omium 'wave'
see	a-mnajč-an 'watch'
sister	akiñiu
star	pel 'moon'
sweet	aʎhi 'sweet thing'
water	kot, køta
worm	laua 'larva'

"The Dictionary", pp. 194 - 267

black	čal

belly	kulu ‘guts’
daughter	añu, ñu
come	a-na-n
dry	paxo-let ‘dry season’
tooth	kulu
hair	pe
fire	a-mo-n ‘burn’
hate	a-puʎu-an
hear	a-sinn-an
all	mek
saliva	olle
shine	nem ‘day’
short	kunču ‘small’
sit	a-tg-an ‘be seated’
sun	kenna ‘stars’
two	ip
wind	kaz, kas, kaš
wish	men

"Grammatical Evidence for Amarind", pp. 271 - 320

p. 285	-kot	‘water’
	a-kot	‘my water’
	mi-kot	‘thy water’
	not	‘his, her water’
p. 286	pe	‘that’
p. 288	ok	‘I’
	ki-	‘our’
p. 303	-te	‘from’ (separative)
p. 310	-n-	(present)

7.4. List of words and expressions given by Mrs. Gutiérrez and Mr. Chapa

A large part of the words and expressions given by Mrs. Gutiérrez (7.4.1) and Mr. Chapa (7.4.2) were not elicited. Both Cholón descendants spoke freely, rambling from subject to subject. In the lists below their words have been ordered thematically and alphabetically. The Híbito words given by Mrs. Gutiérrez have also been listed. It should, furthermore, be noticed that Mrs. Gutiérrez’ and Mr. Chapa’s utterances show that a modifier can be preposed as well as postposed. The words *ges* ‘old’, *mexlam/ mexlʲam* ‘female’ and *šalam/ šalaŋ* ‘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 *čamyo*. According to the former *čamyo* means ‘tiger’, according to latter it means a ‘red kind of monkey’.

7.4.1. List of words and expressions of Mrs. Aurelia Gutiérrez Cerquera

Hails and exclamations:

ay, kibak tios!	'exclamation to hail a friar', 'exclamation to frighten someone'
inča milan mišoktek!	'come and drink some chicha!'
kigolole apl^{y}up!	'what a beautiful baby!
kiŋheʔ!	'the fan!' (please)
hit^{s}ak mišoktek!	'come and drink some chicha!'
mónte kilaktejo ʔane ʔane!	'let's go to theforest to make love!'
mišiktek kot!	'come and drink some water!'
waliw!	'how beautiful!'

Man and nature:

apl^{y}up	'son'
hila	'woman'
kot	'water
mušak	'sun
nun	'man'
pey	'tierra'

Body parts:

aliŋ lol	'prepuce'
miliŋ šuš	'festering penis'
čegonče	'testicles'
čel	'foot'
čuče	'head'
kitiw	'ear'
liŋ	'penis'
liptuʔ	'neck'
lol	'mouth'
mont^{s}ey	'tongue'
n^{y}ače	'eyes'
n^{y}ašloʔ/ n^{y}ašl^{y}oʔ	'eyes', 'mouth'
n^{y}áwi	'eyes'
n^{y}aču	'eyelash'
pešl^{y}eŋ/ pešl^{y}iw	'penis'

Domestic animals:

al^{y}go	'dog'
atelba/ atel^{y}ba	'chicken'
atelba mul^{y}up	'poult'
atelba nun	'cock'
kal^{y}gal^{y}	'turkey'

kalʸgalʸ hilaʔ	‘female turkey’
kalʸgalʸ molʸup	‘small turkey’
kalʸgalʸ nun	‘male turkey’
kuči	‘pig’
kuči mulʸup	‘piglet’
lʸuʔ	‘turkey poult’
pangala	‘turkey’
waga	‘cow’

Non-domestic animals:

ayčokuta/ peykutaʔ/ seykutaʔ	‘tapir’
čamyo	‘tiger’
čaš	sachavaca
habok	‘snail’
huʔlʸégo	‘opossum’
košwe	‘monkey’
mošta	‘toad’
liš	‘small white kind of monkey’
o:ʔlum	‘snake’
šobelaʔ	‘butterfly’
sup	‘deer’
yamu	‘agouty’
yap	‘boar’
yušam	‘armadillo’

Aquatic animals:

ašwa	‘fish’
lʸalʸpi	‘kind of freshwater fish’
poŋ	‘kind of freshwater fish’
šaš muji	‘small aquatic kind of armadillo’
sunabi	‘kind of freshwater fish’
toloʔ	‘kind of freshwater fish’

Flora:

pantu	‘banana’ (< Sp. plátano)
kis	‘kind of fruit’
u:l	‘yucca’

Household and feasts:

čaplʸoŋ	‘earthenware pot’
kibak tios	‘God’
kéna	‘sort of drum’
koxlam	‘small jar’

koxlam nun	'big jar'
piškam	'bowl made of the rind of the 'kis' fruit'
pixwánu	'sort of flute'
šaok	'venom (used for fishing)'
tuš	'earthenware bowl, plate'
tapyal	'house'
u:t	'candle'

Híbito:

alkusew	'kind of fish'
ane ane boroktek mónte kilaktejo!	'let's go to the forest to make love!' (cf. Cholon: *mónte kilaktejo ʔane ʔane*, above)
kóšwe	'medicinal plant (used against rheumatism)'
kotokčik	'kind of fish' (cf. Ch. *tolo ʔ*)
mulʸuŋ hila!	'hail when addressing to a girl with the intention to court her'
nʸawli	'eyes'
palánča	'(mountain) pass', 'crevice'
péyne	'carrier bag with four sticks to carry a baby'

7.4.2. List of words and expressions of Mr. José Santos Chapa Ponce

Hails and exclamations:

abislʸaŋ 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.!'
šíxya!	'drink!'

Man and nature:

ašot	'brother'
ges nun	'old man'
hila ges	'old woman'
kot	'water'
palaŋ	'Francisco'
yul	'salt'

Body parts (+ infirmities and characteristics):

aliŋ	'penis'

aliŋ lol	'prepuce'
milim šuš	'festering penis'
čelehwaʔoksogop	'skin (of limbs) like the tail of a fox', 'skin with white blotches'
čuče	'head'
kešum	'nose'
kitiw	'ear(s)'
liʔpiči	'neck with knobs'
lip:šiduʔ/lip:šiduk	'neck with a cicatrice'
lol	'mouth'
mexlam lol	'vagina'
nʸače	'eye(s)'
nʸače pislʸaʔ	'longing eyes'
nʸače pisidis	'oblique eyes'
oxwa	'mucus, slime'
oxwa ušu	'grey hair'

Household:

čaplʸoŋ	'pan'
koxlam	'earthenware jar'
piškam	'bowl made of the rind a particular fruit (see *kis*, Mrs. Gutiérrez) or a gourd'
lol piškam	'mouth of the 'kis' bowl or gourd bowl'
tuš	'(earthenware) bowl, plate'

Flora:

nʸunʸa	'flower'
pantu	'banana' (< Sp. 'plátano')
ul	'yucca'

Domestic animals:

á:lʸgo	'dog'
á:lʸgo šalʸaŋ	'lazy dog'
atélba mulʸup	'chicken'
kalʸkalʸ	'male turkey'
kalʸkalʸ mexlʸam	'female turkey'
kuči	'pig'
pangala	'turkey' (also called 'forest bird' by the speaker)
yup	'turkey poult'

Non-domestic animals:

abogalaʔ	'caiman'
čamyo:ʔ/čamyo:h	'red kind of monkey'

čas	'sachavaca'
habok	'big kind of snail'
ho:w	'jaguar'
kaʔsik/katsik	'bat'
košweʔ	'big kind of monkey'
kuš	'leech'
kutak/ kʰutaʔ	'wild boar'
liš	'small kind of monkey'
loŋkatsik	'ant'
migijiw	'tick'
seykutaʔ	'peccary'
sup	'deer'
yamuʔ	'agouty'
yamu hila	'female agouty'
yap	'boar'
yušam	'armadillo'

Aquatic animals:

ašwa	'fish'
lʸaypi	'kind of freshwater fish'
poŋ	'kind of freshwater fish'
šajiw	'crab'
šaš	'aquatic armadillo'
šaš mujiʔ	'small aquatic armadillo'
sunabi	'kind of freshwater fish'
taʔkla	'kind of freshwater fish'

Terms of abuses:

aliŋ mondoges pápa	'penis like a pealed potato'
šalʸaŋ galʸa	'lazy people'
waga mexlʸamsa!	'cow with a big vagina!'

7.5. Word list of Loukotka

French:	Cholón:	French:	Cholón:	French:	Cholón:
animal	(espagnol)	fleuve	kot-ysokot	père	appan
arbre	mees-ñgup	frère	azot	pleurer	yo-yam
boire	nig	fruit	keniya	pluie	llisiak
ciel	senta	gai	augilubaktam	poisson	asua
coeur	aluñac	herbe	pullo	rameau	pucup
dieu	(espagnol)	homme	num	régner	casam
douleur	ysiam	lune	peel	soeur	akiñiu
eau	kot	manger	amok	soleil	musak

étoiles	ke-nac	mer	sokotlol	terre	lluspey
femme	yla	mère	appan	tronc	sangoc
feu	vet	mort	mikol	vent	mam
fille	añu	mourir	ñgoli-co	viande	cep
fils	apul	oiseau	zuksill		
fleur	ñuñap	ondes	ypixsimam		

Samenvatting

Het Cholón vormt samen met het Híbito een kleine taalfamilie die in het algemeen als geïsoleerd zijnde wordt beschouwd (hoofdstuk 1). Het Cholón werd in Noord-Peru in de vallei van de Huallaga rivier gesproken. De Huallaga is een brede, snelstromende zijrivier van de Marañón (Amazone). Het taalgebied van de Cholones is tamelijk groot. Longitudinaal gezien strekt het zich uit vanaf de plaats Juanjui in het noorden tot aan het ongeveer 600 km. zuidelijker gelegen Huánuco; in de breedte strekt het zich uit vanaf de oostelijke hellingen van de Andes in het westen tot aan de Cordillera Oriental, die de grens vormt tussen de departementen San Martín en Loreto, in het oosten (hoofdstuk 2).

De enige bron van uitgebreide taalkundige informatie die van het Cholón overgeleverd is, is een grammatica uit de achttiende eeuw: de *Arte de la lengua cholona* (*ALC*) (hoofdstuk 3). De *ALC* werd in 1748 in Trujillo, een plaats aan de Noordperuaanse kust, geschreven door een franciscaner monnik, Pedro de la Mata genaamd. In 1772 werd de grammatica in de nederzetting San Buenaventura del Valle door Fray 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 morfonologie. Hierin wordt onder andere aandacht besteed aan syllabestructuren en aan fenomenen zoals vocaalsuppressie en -harmonisatie en stam-initiële consonantveranderingen.

Nominale en verbale morfosyntaxis komen in de hoofdstukken 6 en 7 respectievelijk aan bod. Het Cholón is een agglutinerende taal. Nominale en verbale stammen kunnen voorafgegaan worden door persoonsprefixen en gevolgd worden door derivationele en /of casus markeerders. De taal maakt in de tweede persoon enkelvoud een onderscheid in geslacht: het prefix *mi-* wordt gebruikt wanneer de geadresseerde een man is en *pi-* wanneer het een vrouw betreft. Een bijzonder nominaal achtervoegsel is het suffix dat achter de termen ‘vader’, ‘moeder’, ‘dochter’, ‘zoon’ en ‘echtgenoot’ gevoegd wordt en dat ‘paar’ of de natuurlijke tegenhanger aangeeft: moeder-paar = moeder en dochter, vader-paar = vader en zoon, etc. Net zoals een aantal andere Zuidamerikaanse talen kent het Cholón suffixen die achter een hoeveelheidswoord geplaatst kunnen worden en aangeven tot welke klasse het getelde woord behoort. Zo’n classificerend element geeft onder meer de vorm (rond), de samenstelling (groep levende wezens) of een eigenschap (draagbaar) van het gekwantificeerde aan. Werkwoordstammen kunnen al dan niet reduceerbaar zijn. De gereduceerde stam wordt onder andere gevolgd door de markeerder van het incompletief aspect. Derivationele suffixen, nominalizeerders en subordinatoren komen achter de onverkorte stam. Door middel van bepaalde derivationele achtervoegsels kunnen onder andere ontkennende, passieve en reflexieve verba gevormd worden. Door middel van nominalisaties kunnen verschillende bijzinnen gevormd worden: causale bijzinnen, subject- en objectzinnen en temporele

bijzinnen. Bijzinnen kunnen ook gevormd worden door middel van een nul-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 ontkenning. 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

Astrid Bakkerus werd op 4 november 1943 te Batu in Indonesië geboren. Samen met haar ouders emigreerde zij in 1955 naar Brazilië. In 1960 ging zij naar Nederland, waar zij de middelbare school afmaakte. In 1980 verwierf zij met een alleszins bevredigend resultaat het doctoraal diploma Franse taal- en letterkunde met Portugees als bijvak aan de Rijksuniversiteit Leiden en in 1996 met cum laude het doctoraal diploma Vergelijkende taalwetenschappen (Amerindische talen) eveneens aan de Rijksuniversiteit Leiden. Vanaf 1975 tot 2000 heeft zij Frans gedoceerd op verschillende middelbare scholen. Daarna heeft NT2-lessen (Nederlands als tweede taal) gegeven. Zij is nu als vrijwilligster werkzaam.