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and his well traveled drum are already comfortably resettled back at the old pueblo.

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

VOCABULARIO MIXTECO DE SAN MIGUEL EL GRANDE. By Anne Dyk and Betty Stoudt. Serie de Vocabularios Indígenas Mariano Silva y Aceves, No. 12. México, D. F., 1965. Pp. 132.

TERRENCE KAUFMAN

This is a Mixtec-Spanish, Spanish-Mixtec vocabulary, of which the first part has 55 pages (and about 2700 main entries) and the second part 57 pages. There is a set of 6 appendices totaling 17 pages wherein a sketch is provided of segmental phonemes, tones and tonal morphophonemics, person markers, prepositional phrases, verbal inflections and some derivation, and numerals. Also in the appendices are Mixtec names for local currency, and geographical subdivisions of San Miguel. In the vocabulary proper there are 79 part-page illustrations and 6 full-page illustrations, as well as a full-page map of Oaxaca and another of Mexico.

The phonological notes and the items in the vocabulary, plus reference to Anne Dyk, *Mixteco Texts*,¹ suggest the following phonological re-statements:

A. Core phonology.

Segmentals: /t ĉ k kʷ, m n ñ, l r, s š h, y w, ʔ, i i u o a e/; tones: /high mid low/. The only consonant clusters are syllable-initial and include (1) /s/ + /t ĉ k kʷ/, (2) /š/ + /n ñ l r/ in which /r/ is a prenasalized stop [ʳd], (3) /n/ + /t ĉ k/ in which /t/ and /k/ are voiced, and probably /č/ as well (voicing of stops after nasals is a widespread phonetic feature in central and southern Mexico and in Central America, although the area in which this occurs is not always continuous: cf. Totonac, Mixe, Zoque, Xinka, Lenca). /nk/ does not occur word-initial; /nt/ and /nk/ in enclitics are denasalized but voiced. /ʔ/ does not occur

word-initial or word-final; only /ʔ/ or /n/ may close a syllable. When /ʔ/ occurs intervocally the two vowels are always the same, but they may have different tones. Vowel + syllable-final /n/ is realized as a nasal vowel; */en/ = [ẽ] is stated not to occur; /e/ does not occur word-initial in native words. VV sequences occur; geminate vowels are long. /kʷ/ is not specifically named as an element, but in the vocabulary <cu> before a vowel has the distribution of a simple consonant, and the <u> never has a tone mark.

Since neither /l/ nor /n/ ever occurs directly before a nasal, we may ask whether we might not interpret [n] as /l/ before nasal vowel, with /l/ as [n] absorbing all the nasality. This could further lead to the visually bizarre but structurally sound result of interpreting [ɲ] as /lk/, etc., i.e., /l/ before C or Vn is [n]. The other, possibly preferable alternative would be to define /n/ as a pre-nasalizer and voicer of following consonants and a nasalizer of preceding vowels. It is conceivable that [y] and [ñ] have a parallel distribution to that of [l] and [n]; [y] never occurs directly before a nasal vowel, nor does [ñ], which could be /y/ before /Vn/. [v] and [m] possibly are to be lumped under parallel conditions, since neither ever occurs before a nasal vowel; and, neither [mu] nor [vu] occurs. The problem with this hypothesis is that in the available transcriptions of forms, nasalized vowels occur only in the final syllable of a word. For [m] to be /w/ before /Vn/, and [n] to be /l/, and [ñ] to be /y/ under the same conditions, there would have to be some non-final nasal vowels, since <mV>, <nV>, and <ñV> all occur before medial syllables beginning with oral consonants; and since <vV>, <lV>, and <yV> all occur before medial syllables with <n + C> or <n/ñ + V>, there might have to be some internal junctures; if these could be motivated grammatically, all the better.

I suggest that such orthographic syllables as *naa*, *nii*, *nië*, *nuu*, *nahan*, *nihin*, *nihin*,

¹ SIL Linguistic Series, No. 3, 1959.

nohon, *nuhum* are to be interpreted *laan*, *liin*, *liin*, *luun*, *laʔan*, *liʔin*, *liʔin*, *loʔon*, *luʔun*; that *ñaa*, *ñii*, *ñuu*, *ñahan*, *ñihin*, *ñuhum* are to be interpreted *yaan*, *yiin*, *yuun*, *yaʔan*, *yiʔin*, *yuʔun*; and that *maa*, *mahan*, *mihin* be interpreted *waan*, *waʔan*, *wiʔin*. There are syllables *lii*, *loo*, *luu*; *yaa*, *yee*, *yii*, *yoo*, *yuu*, *yaha*, *yihii*, *yoho*, *yuhii*; *vaa*, *vee*, *vii*, *voo*, *vaha*, *vehe* which complement the above. This proposal eliminates /m/ and /ñ/ from the system of phonemes, leaving the following consonant system:

t	č	k	kʷ	?
s	š	h		n
l	y		w	
r				

B. Peripheral phonology

/p/ occurs word-initial in two regular <pahlā> *ancho y plano*, <pehlo> *terrón* and two sound-symbolic native morphemes <pāán> *kersplash!*, <pípi> *guajolotito* only; otherwise in loans. /np/ [ʔb] occurs word-initial in one loan, <mbāā> *compadre*. /f b d g ř/ occur in loans.

C. It is of course true that the prenasalized stops COULD be interpreted as unit phonemes, although it seems quite unnecessary. In this case [šʔd] would be interpreted /šʔd/.

D. Spelling (based on the first formulation of elements):

/č/ → <ch>, /k/ → <c/qu>, /kʷ/ → <cu>, /š/ → <x>, /h/ → <j>, /w/ → <v>, /ʔ/ → <h>, /np/ → <mb>, /nt/ → <nd/d>, /nk/ → <ng/g> (/nk/ happens not to occur before /i/ or /e/), /šr/ → <xnd>, /high/ → <V̂>, /mid/ is unmarked, /low/ → <V̄>. Other symbols remain unchanged.

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CHOL TEXTS ON THE SUPERNATURAL. By Arabelle Whittaker and Viola Warkentin. Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields, No. 13. Norman, 1965. Pp. 171.

TERRENCE KAUFMAN

This publication, in providing original folklore and ethnographic material, also

provides documentation of the Chol language in text. Both kinds of materials may be compared with similar materials for other Mayan groups with profitable results. The creation stories, especially, show important parallels, down to small details at times, with creation stories current among the Tzeltals and Tzotzils, and more distant parallels to episodes in the Popol Vuh. Judging from his own experience in collecting Tzeltal and Tzotzil traditional stories, this writer believes that there must be a much greater mass of Chol material which remains either unreported or uncollected.

The book includes twelve creation stories occupying forty-nine pages, nine descriptions of religious ceremonies occupying twenty-four pages, nineteen stories and descriptions relating to the spirit world and witchcraft occupying sixty-eight pages, and a vocabulary of sixteen pages having about twelve hundred entries. The format is in conformity with earlier issues in the SIL text series: two-thirds of each page is occupied by native language text, and one-third of each page is taken up by the English translation (in smaller type). Each word in the native text is numbered, and each word in the English translation has the same number as the native word of which it is a translation.

We are informed that there are two dialectal varieties of Chol, and that the present materials represent the Tumbalá variety. Judging by lists of field workers and their locations which the SIL has published, the other variety must be called Tila Chol. According to the preface, the basic analytic work on the language was done by Evelyn Woodward Aulie.

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HANDLING UNSOPHISTICATED LINGUISTIC INFORMANTS. By Alan Healey. Linguistic Circle of Canberra Publications. Series A—Occasional Papers, No. 2. Canberra: The Australian National University, 1964. Pp. 30, offset duplicated.