

(125) čóʔo čìì bína xíʒaa=Ø
 go.HORT because now be.located=Ø
 'Let's go, because she's there now'

(126) ndéʔe čìì síʒa wáá ndata
 look because chair the break
 'Be careful because the chair is going to break'

The word meaning 'because' is homophonous with the word for 'stomach' (both are čìì). Whether there is in fact a relationship between the two is unclear to me. However, we can note that other dialects of Mixtec use a variety of other body part terms for 'because' (or as part of a phrase meaning 'because'). For example, Ayutla Mixtec uses the phrase šaʔàʔ à nà, literally 'foot its it' (Hills 1990:235), Jamiltepec Mixtec uses the phrase čàʔà čà vátyí, literally 'foot COMP because' (Johnson 1988:130), and Ocoatepec Mixtec uses two phrases which include body part terms: síkì xà, literally 'nape COMP', and xéʔè xà, literally 'foot COMP' (Alexander 1988:284). I will continue to gloss Chalcatongo Mixtec čìì as 'because', but it should be borne in mind that it may in fact be another extended use of a body part term.

TOPICS IN LEXICAL SEMANTICS

A number of topics in Mixtec lexical semantics have been explored in various works (see, e.g., Kuiper and Merrifield 1975; Brugman 1983; Macaulay 1985; Brugman and Macaulay 1986; De León 1986). This chapter addresses three of these topics with respect to the Chalcatongo dialect: §8.1 presents the verbs of motion and arrival, §8.2 presents the body part terminology (used in the marking of locative and other relationships), and §8.3 discusses verbs of position and location, and the ways in which they interact with the system of body part terms.

8.1. Verbs of Motion and Arrival

Recall from Chapters 3 and 4 that Mixtec verbs have two stems—one for realis and one for potential aspect—and that the realis stem can be further inflected for completive aspect. The verbs of motion are exceptional in that they make several more aspectual distinctions than do other verbs, while the verbs of arrival actually make less. The former have distinct potential, imperative, progressive, and habitual stems and allow affixation of the completive prefix for a fifth possibility. The latter (the verbs of arrival) have only potential and completive forms, with no prefixed realis stem in use, for reasons which are described below.

Mixtec verbs of motion were first discussed in depth by Kuiper and Merrifield (1975), and further work has been done on the topic by Pickett (1976), Speck and Pickett (1976), Macaulay (1982, 1985), and Merrifield (1992). In the present section I briefly sketch out the semantics of these verbs in Chalcatongo Mixtec as well as consider the morphological characteristics of the most complex of this set of verbs.¹

Table 13 lists the forms of the verbs of motion and arrival in Chalcatongo Mixtec. The first point to note is that in this language, verbs of motion are "round trip," that is, they code the progress of an agent to and from some goal. As a consequence, use of the

¹See Macaulay (1982, 1985) for further detail.

Table 13: Verbs of Motion and Arrival

	CP	HAB	PROG	POT	IMP
Go ₁ (home)	ni-nóʔo	—	k ^w a-noʔo	noʔo	k ^w a-noʔo
Go ₂	ni-xáʔá	xáʔá	k ^w áʔá	kíʔi	k ^w áʔá
Come	ni-kii	ndíí	bèi	kii	ñáʔá
Arrive There ₁ (home)	ni-na-xáa	—	—	na-xaà	—
Arrive There ₂	ni-xaà	—	—	xaà	—
Arrive Here	ni-čaà	—	—	čaà	—

KEY: 1 = GOAL IS BASE
2 = NEUTRAL GOAL

completive with these verbs is only appropriate when the agent has gone to the goal *and returned*. Compare (1) and (2):

- (1) ni-xáʔá=Ø nundùa íkú
CP-go₂=3 Oaxaca yesterday
'She went to Oaxaca yesterday (and has returned)'
- (2) k^wáʔá=Ø nundùa íkú
go₂.PROG=3 Oaxaca yesterday
'She went to Oaxaca yesterday (and has not returned)'

Example (1) is only appropriate for use when the agent has gone to Oaxaca and returned. When the trip is underway (i.e., when the agent has left but has not yet come back), the progressive form is used, as in (2). The progressive form, however, does not tell us whether the agent has arrived at the goal, that is, in (2) the agent might still be on the way to Oaxaca or might be on the way back. (2) would be appropriate until the subject returned to the starting point.

Mixtec verbs of motion and arrival also specify the status of the goal with respect to the notion "base." Base can be thought of in general as a designated and nonarbitrary goal, which in practice is usually the agent's home (although temporary bases can also be designated). There are two verbs roughly meaning 'go': one means 'Go to base and return' ('go₁' in the table above), and the other means 'Go to nonbase and return' ('go₂'). Likewise, there are two verbs meaning 'arrive there': 'Arrive there at base' ('arrive there₁'), and 'Arrive there at nonbase' ('arrive there₂'). ('Come' and 'arrive here', however, are not made up of pairs differentiated according to the status of the goal.) Thus, we find contrasts like those in (3) and (4):

- (3) šíá ná-xaa=ná
tomorrow arrive.there₁=IPOL
'Tomorrow I'll arrive (home)'

- (4) šíá xaà táa=rí beʔe=ró
tomorrow arrive.there₂ father=1 house=2
'Tomorrow my father will arrive at your house'

As mentioned above, while the verbs of motion show more aspectual distinctions than is usual in Mixtec, the verbs of arrival show less. These verbs are "momentary" (the term is borrowed from Kuiper and Merrifield 1975), that is, they occur only in completive and potential aspects. The focus with these verbs is on the moment of initiation of action, with the verb in potential aspect if the action has not yet been initiated, and in completive once it has been. The bare realis stem is simply nonoccurring. (5) and (6) illustrate:

- (5) peðrú çaà záʔa bina núʔni
Pedro arrive.here here right.away
'Pedro will arrive here right away'
- (6) peðrú ni-čaà záʔa íkú
Pedro CP-arrive.here here yesterday
'Pedro got here yesterday'

The morphology of the verbs in this semantic domain is extremely unusual. For example, the progressive of 'go₁' (k^wa-noʔo) is formed with a reduced form of the progressive of 'go₂'. Use of contracted forms of the verbs of motion as auxiliaries is extremely common in Mixtec (and in fact some nonmotion verbs are used this way as well). The auxiliary form of one of these verbs is always monosyllabic, losing a syllable according to the rules of fast speech detailed in Chapter 2. (Verbs with nasalized vowels usually also lose their nasalization.) In this case, however, the reduced form of k^wáʔá is not an auxiliary, but is simply part of the progressive form of 'go₁'.

'Go₂' appears at first glance to be more regular, in that it has the prefixes xi- and ku- present in two of its stems (recall the discussion in §3.1.1). However, these prefixes appear in the habitual and progressive stems, while the potential form of this verb is suppletive.

The verb 'come' (kii in potential aspect) has a habitual stem which begins with nd.² As we saw in §3.1.2, the language has a set of statives which also have initial nd-. Habitual and stative are similar enough categories that we can posit a single prefix ndi- for these forms. The habitual stem of 'come', then, is formed with the prefix ndi- plus the same root as found in the potential stem, rather than the progressive stem. However, the habitual of 'go₂' (xáʔá) does not contain this prefix, but is instead clearly related to the progressive and imperative forms.

The form of 'arrive there₁' (which has base as goal) is formed with repetitive na- prefixed to the form which has a neutral goal ('arrive there₂'). This suggests a parallel analysis of the stem of 'go₁' (noʔo) as composed of repetitive na- plus oʔo, a vowel-initial

²The verbs for 'enter' and 'exit' also have habitual forms in ndi-, but lack the other aspectual forms found with the verbs of motion.

stem. If this is correct, the form would then be subject to Rule (12) from Chapter 3, Vowel Deletion, which would produce its surface form.

Finally, the three verbs of motion are not consistent with respect to which stem is chosen for affixation with the completive *ni-*. Both 'go₁' and 'come' use the potential stem for this function (which is quite unusual in light of the normal pattern in which the realis is used), while 'go₂' makes use of the habitual stem.

8.2. Use of Body Part Terms as Locatives

Chalcatongo Mixtec has a few lexical items which function as prepositions (recall the discussions in §5.4 and §6.3), but for the most part locative relationships are coded with nouns which (in their primary use) refer to body parts. These locative expressions make use of the highly productive NP + NP construction described in §6.2. The system of body part terms in Chalcatongo Mixtec has been examined by Brugman (1983), who describes their uses as follows:

Body-part terms are used in at least four distinguishable ways: 1) to refer to parts of the body; 2) to refer to subparts of other objects, based on perceived similarities to the corresponding subparts of the body . . . ; 3) again to refer to subparts of other objects, but taking the named subpart as a location rather than as an entity . . . ; 4) to refer to areas outside the boundaries of the object, areas associated with the subpart named by the body-part term (1983:235).

For our purposes, Brugman's four categories can be reduced to the following two basic classes: those which describe objects (these can be parts of the body or parts of other objects) and those which describe locative relationships. This section presents primarily the latter uses, although some purely referential uses are noted as well.³

(7) presents the subset of body part terms which can be used in both ways:

(7)	čìl	'stomach'	šinì	'head'
	inì	'insides'	sikà	'back (animal)'
	nuù	'face'	xaʔà	'foot/leg'
	ndaʔa	'hand/arm'	žata	'back (human)'

In the use in which the construction describes an object, the body part term is generally the head of a genitive construction. (8) and (9) illustrate:

- (8) čìl kiti
stomach animal
'the stomach of an animal'

³It is impossible to do the subject of body part term locatives justice in such a short space. The reader is referred to Brugman (1983) for a detailed examination of this complex area. Examples which are taken from Brugman are noted as follows: B:date:(page number), so for example B:1983:(12) cites her example (12). Many of these have been recited, so the transcriptions may vary slightly.

- (9) ndaʔa žínú táʔnu
arm tree break
'The tree's branch is breaking' (B:1983:[16])

In order to explain the other use of body part terms (the locative use), I must first introduce some terminology. I use "figure" to refer to the object being located, and "ground" to refer to the entity relative to which a figure is located.⁴ A locative construction involving a body part term may refer either to an area on the ground or to an area near to but separate from the ground. Brugman has termed the former the "subregion locative" and the latter the "adjacent space locative." (10) and (11) illustrate the subregion use, while (12) and (13) show the adjacent space use:

- (10) kafé wáá xíndee inì kaxa
café the be.in insides caja
'The coffee is in the box'
- (11) xížaa=ðe šinì žuku
be.located=3MN head mountain
'He is at the top of the mountain' (B:1983:[46])
- (12) ni-ndečé ĩ saà šinì žínú
CP-fly one bird head tree
'A bird flew over the tree' (B:1983:[50])
- (13) xa-lúfi=ro xindee čìl mesa žaʔa
NOM-small=2 be.in stomach mesa that
'Your child is under that table'

In (10) and (11), the ground is the box and the mountain, respectively. The object that is being described (the coffee in the former and 'he' in the latter) is being located in (or on) some subregion of the ground, which is the area described by the body part term. That is, if the inside of a box is conceived of as its stomach, (10) places the coffee *in* the stomach. If the top of the mountain is conceived of as its head, (11) places the subject 'he' somewhere *on* that head. In these cases the physical object is in contact with the relevant subpart of the ground—hence the term "subregion locative." In (12) and (13), however, this is not the case. The ground is the tree in (12) and the table in (13). The top of the tree is again the 'head', but in this case the bird is not located on the head of the tree; rather, it is located in the space adjacent to the head. Likewise in (13), the underside of the table is its 'stomach', and the child is located in the space adjacent to the stomach, but not actually touching the underside. This is what is meant by the term "adjacent space locative."

⁴See Talmy (1985a, 1985b) for further discussion of figure and ground. In addition, Brugman and Macaulay (1986) discuss the use of these terms specifically with respect to Chalcatongo Mixtec data.

The remainder of this section is devoted to description and exemplification of each of the body part terms which are used as locatives in Chalcatongo Mixtec. Subregion uses and adjacent space uses are both described.

8.2.1. 'Stomach': 'Under, Beneath'

The body part term *ɕi* 'stomach' is used to describe the underside of objects, and is translated into English as 'under' or 'beneath' in virtually all examples. We have already seen one use of it in (13); (14) provides another example, this time a subregion use:

- (14) *ndixã=rí káisikú ɕi tekeé wãã*
 shoe=1 be.located.PL stomach blanket that
 'My shoes are under that blanket'

8.2.2. 'Insides': 'In, Into'

The form *inl* 'insides' refers to interior locations. With stative verbs it simply describes an interior location and translates as 'in', as in (10). With verbs of motion, it locates the endpoint of the motion ('into') as in (15):

- (15) *kʷáʔá inl beʔe*
 go insides house
 'Go into the house'

It has been difficult to decide on appropriate English glosses for *inl* and for *ɕi*; consultants tend to translate both as *estómago* 'stomach'. The distinction seems to be that *inl* is used for 'stomach' in the internal sense while *ɕi* is used for the external area.⁵ Brugman settled on 'stomach' for *inl* and 'belly' for *ɕi*, but I use 'insides' and 'stomach' (respectively) here in order to communicate the internal/external distinction between the two.

⁵Pérez Jiménez (1988:14) translates *inl* as 'heart', but my consultants have indicated that while they are aware of this as an archaic use of the word, they do not use it in that sense themselves (instead they use the Spanish borrowing *aní* [from *ánima* 'soul']). There is documentation that in the sixteenth century *inl* meant both 'stomach' and 'heart': Arana and Swadesh list the sixteenth-century Mixtec form *ini* as meaning '*dentro, entre, interior, semilla, estómago, corazón, mente*' ('inside, among, interior, seed, stomach, heart, mind') (1965:91). However, all of my consultants said that the term is never used to mean 'heart' by modern speakers.

8.2.3. 'Face': 'To, Into, From, In, On, Of', etc.

'Face' (*nuð*) is the body part term used most often as a locative, with the widest range of senses.⁶ While the actual body part referred to by the term is the face—that is, the front part of the head—most locative uses of *nuð* generalize this to any surface facing the speaker. (It also has uses not captured by this characterization, such as for planar surfaces which are not vertically oriented, as described below.) Starting first with one of the simplest uses of *nuð*, in (16)–(17) we see it marking indirect objects. Here, the transfer of possession described is conceived of as going toward the front, or facing surface, of the goal (or recipient) argument:

- (16) *kʷaʔa=ní n̄=kà ità nuð=na*
 give=2POL one=ADD flower face=1POL
 'Give me another flower, please'
- (17) *n̄-xanú=rí ndoʔo=rí nuð=∅*
 CP-loan=1 basket=1 face=3
 'I loaned him my basket'

Other types of goals (both abstract and concrete) are also coded with *nuð*, as in (18)–(21):

- (18) *keè sif̄u=ró nuð=rí*
 say name=2 face=1
 'Tell me your name'
- (19) *n̄-ɕaa=rí n̄ carta nuð táa=rí*
 CP-write=1 one carta face father=1
 'I wrote a letter to my father'
- (20) *ni-xika=∅ nuð=rí n̄ favor*
 CP-ask=3 face=1 one favor
 'She asked me a favor'
- (21) *ndeʔé nuð maría*
 look face María
 'Look at María'

In general, verbs of transfer, speaking, and sight take arguments marked with *nuð*. However, it would not be accurate to conclude that the function of *nuð* is to mark only goal arguments. We can see this in examples like (22)–(23), in which it codes source:

⁶See Hollenbach (1995) for discussion of the semantic extensions of this term in eight other Mixtec dialects, as well as in Trique and Cuicatec.

- (22) saà wáá ni-kéndá=Ø nuù žúnú wáá
bird that CP-exit=3 face tree that
'That bird flew out of that tree' (B:1983:[59])
- (23) ni-kexá?á=rí núú=rí nuù žúnú žá?a
CP-begin=1 descend=1 face tree this
'I began to climb down from/out of the tree'

In examples like these, instead of having an action directed (either literally or metaphorically) toward some goal, we find that the action is directed away from a source argument. All that is coded by *nuù*, then, is that one of the arguments involved presents a planar surface. In the cases immediately above, the tree is presented as a surface out of which a bird emerges (as in [22]), or down which the subject climbs (as in [23]). The direction of the action is made clear by the semantics of the verb: 'exit' in (22) and 'descend' or 'climb down' in (23).

The relevant planar surface, however, does not even have to be vertically oriented, as one might expect from the canonical position of a face on a body. Consider the uses of *nuù* in (24)–(26):

- (24) kanda nuù ndúča
dive face water
'Dive into the water'
- (25) žučì xížaa=Ø nuù mesa
knife be.located=3 face mesa
'The knife is on the table'
- (26) čúkū wáá xíka=Ø nuù tečú
fly the walk=3 face techo
'The fly is walking on the ceiling'

In (24) and (25), the planar surface faces up, while in (26) it faces down. Other purely locational uses of *nuù*, with varying orientations of the surface in question, are illustrated in (27)–(29):

- (27) rùžù xíndii=rí nuù maría
I stand=1 face María
'I'm standing in front of María (facing her)'
- (28) kiti=ró ká?íi=Ø nuù nū?ū=rí wáá
animal=2 be.located.PL=3 face land=1 that
'Your animals are in my fields'

- (29) nuù žúku wáá žaa ří bážù
face mountain the reside one coyote
'In the mountains lives a coyote'

nuù also has a partitive use. These constructions usually consist of a quantifier followed by a NP + NP construction containing *nuù* and another NP, as in (30)–(32):

- (30) tá?a=Ø k'w'ažà šáá nuù k'w'é?e
suffer=3 many much face illness
'He suffers from many illnesses'
- (31) te nod kú xátá?ā=ka=ro nuù ndéndú
and which COP like=ADD=2 face both
'And which is the one that you like the best of both?'
- (32) ndéžé=rí kūū núu kiti
see=1 four face animal
'I see four animals'

Example (33) shows that the second NP may be omitted when it is clear from context:

- (33) tú=k'witi nuù (Ø) žéé=rí ří kiù bína
NEG=little face (Ø) eat=1 one day today
'I haven't eaten anything today'

Another, probably related construction expresses the notion 'per', as in (34)–(35). This construction is similar to the partitive but, instead of a quantifier, contains a quantified expression of time preceding *nuù*.

- (34) ná-kúčì=žé nūžú žá?a unì xá?a nuù kiù
MOOD-bathe=3MN earth this three time face day
'He should bathe with this earth three times a day'
- (35) pežrú xá?ā nundūa ří xa?a nuù k'wíža
Pedro go.and.return Oaxaca one time face year
'Pedro goes to Oaxaca once a year'

A number of other uses of *nuù* are illustrated below. (36) shows its use as 'about' (possibly a partitive use), (37) as 'in place of' or 'instead of', (38) meaning 'first', (39) as part of an iterative adverbial, and (40) in a comparative:

- (36) kašúžú ndíží xa=xiní=ro nuù ndatíú ža?á
tell all COMP=know=2 face thing this
'Tell (me) everything that you know about this thing'

- (37) ni-xača?á=rí nuù moníka
CP-dance=1 face *Mónica*
'I danced in place of/instead of Monica'
- (38) rù?ù kuní=rí xa=xížaa núu
I want=1 COMP=be.located face
'I want the first one'
- (39) táa=rí ká-kii ndè?e rú?u k^wíža nuù k^wíža
parent=1 PL-come see me year face year
'My parents come to see me every year'
- (40) rù?ù síkú=rí tí?a nuù=ro
I tall=1 a.little face=2
'I am a little taller than you'

Finally, the contrast between (41) and (42), and (43) and (44), illustrates one last use of this body part term:

- (41) saà ndéčé=Ø síkà itú
bird fly=3 animal.back cornfield
'The bird is flying over the cornfield'
- (42) saà ndéčé=Ø nuù itú
bird fly=3 face cornfield
'The bird is flying among the corn in the cornfield'
- (43) ni-kanžáa=Ø inl ndúča
CP-drown=3 insides water
'Someone drowned in the water'
- (44) sučá=ró nuù nduča
swim=2 face water
'You will swim in the water'

Examples (42) and (44) illustrate an unusual case of the subregion use of a body part term. In each case, the action in question is performed through or under the surface of the ground, rather than *on* the surface. Brugman and Macaulay (1986) call this the "shallow subregion" use of a body part term, pointing out that some two-dimensional surfaces are allowed to have a small amount of depth. This only occurs when the ground has a relatively large amount of total depth, and the depth at the surface is only a small fraction of that total (as it is in a cornfield or a body of water). This use of *nuù* comes up again in §8.3, where the interaction of verbs of position and location with body part terms is discussed.

8.2.4. 'Hand, Arm': 'On (Long Object)'

The term *nda?a* 'hand, arm' is used as a locative with a very restricted range of meanings. Its uses include, first, reference to subparts of objects which branch off or stick out from the main body of the object. (45)–(46) illustrate:

- (45) nda?a žúnú
hand tree
'tree branch' (B:1983:[15])
- (46) nda?a žuča
hand river
'fork of a river' (B:1983:[13])⁷

Second, as Brugman (1983:243) shows, *nda?a* also has locative uses, but they are always of the subregion type:

- (47) ndukoo=rí nda?a žúnú
sit=1 hand tree
'I'm sitting on the branch of the tree' (B:1983:[17])

8.2.5. 'Head': 'On Top of, Above'

The word for 'head', *šinl*, is used to refer to the tops of things. We have already seen it in examples (11) and (12); (48) and (49) provide two more examples:

- (48) ni-kaa=rí šinl žúnú iku
CP-climb=1 head tree yesterday
'I climbed to the top of the tree yesterday' (B:1983:[49])
- (49) nde?e žod sa=xížaa=Ø šinl žúnú wáá
look moon how=be.located=3 head tree the
'Look at the moon, how it is above the tree!'

As with *nuù*, uses of *šinl* may abstract away from the canonical orientation of the human body; this is shown in (50) and (51), in which we see that *fingers and toes* are referred to with 'head'. Here, it is apparently the 'tip' aspect of *šinl* which is salient:

- (50) šinl ndá?á
head hand
'finger' (B:1983:[45])

⁷The glosses for this example and another were reversed in Brugman's text (1983:243); they have been put in the proper order here.

- (51) *šin̄l xáʔá*
head foot
'toe' (B:1983:[44])

This abstraction can even extend to time, as in (52):

- (52) *šin̄l žóo*
head month
'the end of the month'

8.2.6. 'Back (of Animal)': 'On Top of'

sik̄l 'back (of an animal)' describes a location which is long, planar, top, and horizontal. The difference between *sik̄l* 'back (animal)' and *žata* 'back (human)' is one of orientation. *sik̄l* refers to the horizontal plane, while *žata* refers to the vertical.⁸

The uses of *sik̄l* are distinguished from those of *šin̄l* 'head' also by virtue of the shape of the object functioning as ground: speakers use *sik̄l* to describe the top of something which has a significant dimension of length (such as a wall or a long table), while they use *šin̄l* for something with no such dimension, but instead with a top area which is smaller than (or roughly the same as) the rest of the object (such as a hilltop or a treetop). (53)–(54) illustrate uses of *sik̄l*:

- (53) *čusndée sik̄l carró*
put.on animal.back *carro*
'Put it on top of the bus'
- (54) *saà ndéčé=Ø sik̄l itú*
bird fly=3 animal.back field
'The bird is flying over the fields'

Brugman (1983:254) points out that the object named as ground must be perceived as three-dimensional for grammatical use of *sik̄l*. In (55), below, we see an ungrammatical example of *sik̄l* used with a (notionally) two-dimensional object. In order to code this location, *nuù* 'face' must be used, as shown in (56):

- (55) **seʔe=rí xítú sik̄l žúu*
son=1 lie animal.back mat
'My son is lying on the mat' (B:1983:[40])

⁸Barbara Hollenbach tells me that *sik̄l* (or its cognate) means 'nape (of the neck)' (for humans) in some other Mixtec dialects. As shown in §8.3, *sik̄l* actually can be used for humans in Chalcatongo Mixtec, when the human is carrying something on his or her back, bent over in a posture like that of a quadruped animal.

- (56) *seʔe=rí xítú núu žúu*
son=1 lie face mat
'My son is lying on the mat' (B:1983:[40])

sik̄l can also be used in the sense of 'against', as in (57):

- (57) *káʔā=Ø sik̄l gobiernú*
say=3 animal.back *gobierno*
'He spoke against the government'

Finally, note in (58) and (59) how it is the semantics of the verb which determine the role of the relevant subpart of the ground. In (58), the activity described by the verb forces an interpretation in which the motion proceeds in a path across the area specified by *sik̄l*. In (59), however, the use of a stative verb produces a simple locative interpretation:

- (58) *ni-xaʔa=rí sik̄l xikà béʔe*
CP-pass=1 animal.back wall house
'I climbed over the wall of the house (a wall surrounding property)'
- (59) *ni-ndúkoo=rí sik̄l xikà béʔe*
CP-sit=1 animal.back wall house
'I sat on the wall of the house' (B:1983:[39])

8.2.7. 'Foot, Leg': 'At the Bottom of, At the Foot of'

The term *xaʔà* 'foot/leg', like *ndaʔa* 'hand/arm', has only a narrow range of locative uses. It names the lower parts of objects, which may or may not have leglike physical characteristics:

- (60) *xaʔà žúkú*
foot hill
'bottom of the hill'
- (61) *xaʔà mesá*
leg *mesa*
'leg of the table'

Like *ndaʔa*, *xaʔà* has only the subregion use as a locative:

- (62) *ndúkòò=Ø xaʔà žúnú*
sit=3 foot tree
'She is sitting at the foot of the tree'

- (63) isù wáá sáʔa=Ø ʔí ʔàù xaʔà ʔúnú wáá
 rabbit the make=3 one hole foot tree the
 'The rabbit is digging a hole under/at the base of the tree' (B:1983:[29])

8.2.8. 'Back (of Human)': 'On the Back of, Behind'

ʔata 'back (of a human)' is, as mentioned before, distinguished from *sikì* 'back (of an animal)' in terms of orientation. The form *ʔata* has both subregion and adjacent space uses as a locative, although the latter is far more common and is often used with the sense of 'behind'. For the contrast between *ʔata* and *sikì*, compare (64)–(65) with (53)–(59), above.

- (64) ni-xéí=Ø síʔú ʔata ʔubéʔé
 CP-put=3 gum human.back door
 'She put her gum on the back of the door (i.e., she stuck it on the back of the door)'
- (65) ndakú xíʔaa=Ø ʔata ʔubéʔé
 broom be.located=3 human.back door
 'The broom is behind the door'

Finally, although the phrase *ʔata béʔe* can be used to mean 'behind the house' (as in [66], below), it also has the conventionalized meaning 'outside' (as in [67]). The phrase *ʔata béʔe* in rapid speech becomes *ta-béʔe* (recall the rules of rapid speech contraction given in §2.6), and the shortened version verges on lexicalization with the invariant meaning 'outside'.

- (66) xáʔa ʔata béʔe unì
 pass human.back house three
 'Pass/walk behind the third house' (B:1983:[36])
- (67) kenda ʔata béʔe/kenda ta-béʔe
 exit human.back house/exit human.back-house
 'Go outside'

8.3. Verbs of Position and Location

Brugman and Macaulay (1986) present a number of verbs which describe position and location, as shown in (68).⁹ (The glosses for some of these are amended slightly below.)

⁹This section is adapted from Brugman and Macaulay (1986). See that source for a fuller discussion of the data.

- (68) (a) GENERIC
 xíʔaa (R-SG), kúʔaa (P-SG); 'be located'
 káísikú (R-PL), kúsikú (P-PL)
- (b) POSTURE
 xíndii (R), kúndii (P) 'be standing'¹⁰
 ndúkòdò (P, R) 'be sitting'
 xítuu (R), kutuu (P) 'be lying'
- (c) POSITION
 xíndee (R), kundee (P) 'be in, be within the boundaries of'
 kándee (R), kundee (P) 'be in, hidden from view'
 xísndée (R), kúsndée (P) 'be on (top of a raised two-dimensional surface)'

These verbs encode various aspects of spatial relationships, for example, the posture of the figure, the position of the figure relative to the ground, and whether the figure is visible or not. Note also that the generic verb of location has distinct forms for singular and plural subjects, as well as for realis and potential aspects.

(69)–(73) illustrate this verb and the posture verbs, in construction with a variety of body part terms:

- (69) xíʔaa=Ø nuù ndaʔa=rí
 be.located.R.SG=3 face hand=1
 'It is in my hand' (long object on open hand, lying or balanced upright)
- (70) xítuu=Ø nuù ndaʔa=rí
 be.lying=3 face hand=1
 'It is lying on my hand' (long object lying on open hand)
- (71) xítuu=Ø inì ndaʔa=rí
 be.lying=3 insides hand=1
 'It is lying in my hand' (long object in closed fist)
- (72) rùʔù xíndii=rí nuù maría
 I stand=1 face María
 'I am standing in front of María (facing her)'
- (73) ndúkòdò=Ø xaʔà ʔúnú
 sit=3 foot tree
 'She is sitting at the foot of the tree'

The interaction of the verbs of position with various body part terms is more complicated than that involving the plain location verbs, or the verbs of posture, and these are next

¹⁰Some speakers have *kándii* for the realis stem of this verb.

discussed individually. Starting with *xíndee* (R), *kúndee* (P) 'be in', we find examples such as the following:

- (74) *kafée wáá xíndee=Ø inì kaxa*
café the be.in=3 insides caja
 'The coffee is in the box'
- (75) *xa-lúlf=ro xíndee=Ø òlì mesa žáʔa*
 NOM-small=2 be.in=3 stomach *mesa* this
 'Your child is under this table'
- (76) *kiti=ðé kúndee=Ø nuù corral=rí šíā*
 animal=3MN be.in=3 face *corral*=1 tomorrow
 'His animals will be in my corral tomorrow'

(74) is unremarkable: the inside of the box is its 'insides', and something in this space is described with the verb meaning 'be in'. In (75), however, we see the same verb used with a different body part term, this time *òlì* 'stomach'. Here the underside of the table top is considered its 'stomach', and the child is located in the space adjacent to (i.e., below) that area with this verb. Crucially, the adjacent space is bounded on four sides by the edges of the table top and its legs, which is what makes the verb 'be in' appropriate here.

(76) is somewhat more complicated. Recall from §8.2.3 that *nuù* can be used with any planar surface, regardless of its orientation. In this case, it codes an inside bottom surface—the 'face' of the corral. If *kúndee* just meant 'be in', this would seem strange: we know that this is a subregion use of the body part term (because there is contact between the figure and the ground), and that therefore this is a (notionally) two-dimensional, planar ground. However, *kúndee* actually has a more general sense, 'be within the boundaries of', and it is this use that is shown in (76).

Note that the sentence in (76) is also grammatical if we replace *nuù* with *inì*:

- (77) *kiti=ðé kúndee inì corral=rí šíā*
 animal=3MN be.in insides *corral*=1 tomorrow
 'His animals will be in my corral tomorrow'

From (76) and (77) we see that a corral can be conceived of as a three-dimensional container (bounded on the sides by the fence around it), in which case the ground is coded with *inì* 'insides'. It can also be conceived of as a flat surface, in which case the ground is marked with *nuù* 'face'. The verb *xíndee/kúndee* simply expresses containment but does not give any information about the shape or dimensionality of the ground. Thus, it can collocate with either body part term, as long as the shape of the ground is compatible with each construal.

Turning next to *kánde* (R), *kúndee* (P) 'be in, hidden from view', we find that it collocates most frequently with *inì* 'insides', as shown in (78), below. This reflects the most common real-world situation, in which a figure is hidden because it is located in some

three-dimensional "container." However, (79)–(80) show that other body part terms may also be used with this verb:

- (78) *kánde* *ší* *šáʔtù inì beʔe wáá*
 be.hidden one person insides house the
 'There is a stranger in the house'
- (79) *ndíxà=rí kánde=Ø òlì tikaí*
 shoe=1 be.hidden=3 stomach blanket
 'My shoes are under this blanket'
- (80) *kánde=Ø bina nùʔni nuù nduʔà wáá*
 be.hidden=3 right.now face plain the
 'She is on the plains right now'

In (79), we find *kánde* describing shoes hidden under a blanket, which is something that is normally considered two-dimensional. However, the shoes are bulky enough to shape the ground into something three-dimensional, and so the use of *òlì* 'stomach' is called for.

There are two explanations for the use of *kánde* in (80): either the subject is hidden because she is far away and thus out of sight, or she is hidden in the corn (or other vegetation) growing on the plain in question. The latter interpretation would involve the shallow subregion use of a body part term discussed in §8.2. In either case, however, *nuù* codes a two-dimensional surface, indicating that *kánde*, like *xíndee*, is neutral with respect to dimensionality.

Finally, consider (81)–(82), which illustrate the simplest uses of *xísndée* (R), *kúsndée* (P) 'be on (top of a raised two-dimensional surface)':

- (81) *xísndée=Ø sikà beʔe wáá*
 be.on=3 animal.back house the
 'It is on the roof of the house'
- (82) *kúsndée sikà=rí*
 be.on animal.back=1
 'Get on my back'

Xísndée almost exclusively collocates with *sikà* 'animal back' (as it does in these examples). (Note that in [82], the body part term is used referentially, rather than as a locative. Also note that the term for 'animal back' is used here to refer to a human's back, due to the orientation of the person involved.) Given the English translation of *xísndée*, one might assume that it would also subcategorize for *nuù* 'face', but this is in general not the case, as shown in (83)–(84):

- (83) (a) b'flu wáá x'íZaa=Ø nuù žuu
cat the be.located=3 face mat
'The cat is on the mat'
- (b) *b'flu wáá x'ísndée=Ø nuù žuu
cat the be.on=3 face mat
'The cat is on the mat'
- (84) *kiti=ðé kusndee nuù corral=rí š'íá
animal=3MN be.on face corral=1 tomorrow
'His animals will be in my corral tomorrow' (cf. [76])

X'ísndée appears to require more than just the spatial relation of English 'on'; it appears to require that the figure be located on a ground *with a raised surface*. This explains its collocation with *siká*, since this term always refers to a top area (see §8.2.6).

However, x'ísndée is not completely barred from co-occurrence with other body part terms, as (85) illustrates:

- (85) s'ú?nū=ro x'ísndée=Ø nuù ž'únū wáá
shirt=2 be.on=3 face tree the
'Your clothes are on the tree'

(85) describes a situation in which clothes are spread over the branches of a tree, for drying. Nuù is used here because the ground in this case does not fit the requirements for *siká* (that the ground be long, planar, top, and horizontal). The ground in this example does, however, fit the requirements for nuù, since its relevant subpart can be conceived of as a two-dimensional surface. Because it is also raised, it fits the conditions for use of x'ísndée.

Thus, the Mixtec verbs of position and location, along with the locative body part terms, lexicalize a great deal of information about the shape of the ground, but relatively little about the precise relationship borne by the figure to the ground. (With the exception of the small set of posture verbs, Mixtec also lexicalizes relatively little about the shape of the figure.) The relationship between the figure and the ground is made clear by the body part terms chosen instead of the verb. Contrasts such as those illustrated in (74)–(76) highlight the importance of the body part term used, while comparison of examples such as (74), (77), and (84) point up the interaction between the body part terms and the verbs of location. The various elements of a spatial relationship are distributed very differently in Mixtec than they are in a language like English.

One final example illustrates how a Chalcatongo Mixtec verb of position (*ndúkoo* 'sit') in conjunction with the most versatile of the body part terms (*nuù* 'face') can express a complex spatial relationship, in this case 'around':

- (86) ñaž'itù wáá ká-ndúkoo=Ø nuù mesa
people the PL-sit=3 face mesa
'The people are sitting around the table'

In this example, nuù is a relation distributed over each of the individuals making up the plural figure. That is, each side of the table (bounded by the top edge, two legs, and the floor) is coded with nuù, and each person is sitting adjacent to a distinct instance of this location. The fact that the subject is plural, in conjunction with the verb and body part term chosen, and in conjunction with the particular geometry of tables, forces the distributed reading of the locative expression.

TEXTS

This chapter contains one long text on the history of Chalcatongo and two shorter texts, one about market day and the other a personal history. The long text was dictated to Leanne Hinton and me by Crescenciano Ruiz Ramírez in 1985. The text about market day was dictated to me by Luciano Cortés Nicolás in 1981, and the personal history by Sabina Cortés Cruz in 1982.¹ In each case the story was first told in Mixtec in its entirety with a tape recorder running. Each narrator then gave a free translation into Spanish, and once I had the stories transcribed, worked with me on fine-tuning the transcription and the translation.² Later, I translated the Spanish into English.

The Mixtec transcription is phonemicized to a certain extent, the main exception being that tones are transcribed as I heard them. I do not pretend to have solved all the mysteries of tone sandhi in Chalcatongo Mixtec, and so did not want to attempt to "unperturb" the tones. Some idiosyncrasies have also been left in to give the reader an idea of the kind of variation that is found even in the speech of a single speaker.

Each line of text actually consists of three lines: first the Mixtec, then a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss, and finally an English translation. Division into lines is generally based on pauses, which tends to produce lines which consist of a single clause (although this is not the case for every line).

Spanish borrowings which are assimilated into Mixtec are transcribed phonetically in the first line, but those that constitute code-switching are simply written in Spanish orthography (although with tone marking in some cases). Spanish forms are written in italics in the middle (morpheme-by-morpheme gloss) line, and translated into English in the last line.

The abbreviations used in the texts are the same as those used in the grammar.

¹The late Sabina Cortés Cruz was Margarita Cuevas Cortés' mother. I was able to work with her only once, in 1982, at which time she told me the story that appears (in part) below.

²In addition, I am grateful to Margarita Cuevas Cortés, who helped me with all three of the texts.

9.1. History of Chalcatongo

Told by Crescenciano Ruiz Ramírez, 1985.

- (1) Dices Chalcatongo *ñũũ ndézá*.
dices Chalcatongo ñũũ ndézá
You say 'Chalcatongo' *ñũũ ndézá* [in Mixtec].
- (2) ni-ndükoo=Ø *xí ñažĩũ xíká*.
CP-be.seated=3 with people walk
It was founded by people who walked (here).
- (3) ni-sá?a=Ø *formár ñũũ*.
CP-make=3 *formar* town
They founded the town.
- (4) ni-ka-kii=Ø *ñũũ xíká=ðe*.
CP-PL-come.and.return=3 town walk=3MN
They came to the town walking.
- (5) ka-xíká=Ø *íçí*,
PL-walk=3 road
They walked along the road,
- (6) *ká-xā?ā=Ø viaje*.
PL-go.and.return=3 *viaje*
they were on a journey.
- (7) te ni-ka-xá?a=Ø *nuũ xížaa beñũ?ũ*.
and CP-PL-pass.by=3 face be.located church
And they passed by where the church is (presently) located.
- (8) *wáa ni-kuu í parájé nuũ ní-ka-ndükoo=Ø xa=ní-ka-ndendañu=Ø xíná?a*.
there CP-COP one *paraje* face CP-PL-be.seated=3 COMP=CP-PL-rest=3 plural
There was a spot in which they sat to rest.
- (9) *wáa ni-ka-žéé=Ø stáa*,
there CP-PL-eat=3 *tortilla*
There they ate,

- (10) te ká-ndiso=Ø iza síŋi natividad,
and PL-carry=3 God female *natividad*
and they carried (a statue of) the Virgin of the Nativity,³
- (11) bèl=Ø kožo xí=Ø.
come=3 plural with=3
coming with her.
- (12) te, wáa ni-ka-žé=ðé staà,
and there CP-PL-eat=3MN tortilla
And there they ate,
- (13) ni-ka-ndendatu=ðé.
CP-PL-rest=3MN
they rested.
- (14) te, xa=ní-ka-nduk^{wí}=ðé xa=ža?a kí-kožo=ðe ħ=ka nūū
and COMP=CP-PL-stand.up=3MN COMP=this go-plural=3MN one=ADD town
And they stood up to go to the other town
- xa=šíkó=ðé iza síŋi.
COMP=sell=3MN God female
to sell the Virgin.
- (15) te, tú=a-ni-kúu=Ø xa=kíŋi=Ø iza síŋi,
and NEG=TEMP-CP-be.able=3 COMP=take=3 God female
But they couldn't take the Virgin,
- (16) či, ká-tĥ=Ø iza,
because PL-grab=3 God,
because they grabbed her,
- (17) te xá?a, ĩ ladó te ħ=ka ladó,
and go.and.return, one *lado* and one=ADD *lado*
and went back and forth, to one side and the other,
- (18) te tu=a-ni-kúu=Ø xa=kíŋi=Ø.
and NEG=TEMP-CP-be.able=3 COMP=take=3
but they couldn't take her.⁴

³This speaker consistently says *iza* 'God' for what other speakers pronounce *fza*.

⁴Here the travelers are trying to pick the statue up, but find that it can no longer be moved.

- (19) te wáa ni-ka-ké=Ø . . .
and then CP-PL-say=3
And then they said . . .⁵
- (20) ħážiū wáa ni-ka-xá?a=Ø nūū.
people that CP-PL-pass.by=3 town
Those people went to the town.
- (21) ni-nánf=Ø Chalcatongo viejo.
CP-be.named=3 *Chalcatongo viejo*
It was called "Old Chalcatongo."
- (22) wáa ni-ka-žaà ħážiū, xa=ná?á,
there CP-PL-live people, COMP=early
There lived the people from before,⁶
- (23) te ni-ka-xá?a=Ø, ni-ka-xá?a=Ø ká?á=Ø xí ħážiū wáa,
and CP-PL-pass.by=3, CP-PL-go=3 talk=3 with people the
and they went, they went to talk with the people,
- (24) na-k^{wá}á=Ø iza síŋi wáa,
MOOD-buy=3 God female the
that they might buy (the statue of) the Virgin,
- (25) či tú=a-kúu=Ø xa=kundá?á=Ø xiná?a,
because NEG=TEMP-be.able=3 COMP=carry=3 plural
because they couldn't carry her,
- (26) či ni-ndukòð=Ø lugar wáa.
because CP-be.seated=3 *lugar* there
because she was sitting at that place.
- (27) te na-sa-ndáá=Ø maa wáa kúu lugar nuè káŋi xína?a beñú?ú.
and MOOD-make-true=3 EMPH there COP *lugar* face be.located.PL plural church
And it would turn out that the very place where they were would be where the church
would be.
- (28) te ni-ka-kíĥ ħážiū nūū Chalcatongo viejo,
and CP-PL-come people town *Chalcatongo viejo*
And those people came to Old Chalcatongo,

⁵The ellipsis here indicates a false start by the narrator.

⁶The town of Chalcatongo used to be located several kilometers away from its present location. This story provides an explanation for why it was moved.

- (29) te ni-ka-xáá=Ø íža siʔi,
and CP-PL-buy=3 God female
and they bought the Virgin,⁷
- (30) te ni-ka-kíʔi=Ø,
and CP-PL-take=3
and they took her,
- (31) te kʷáʔá=Ø xí=Ø onde nūú wáá.
and go.and.return=3 with=3 until town the
and went back with her to the town.
- (32) te, ndúú ni-žaa íža siʔi wáá,
and day CP-live god female the
And during the day the Virgin lived (there),
- (33) te xa-kʷáa be-ndíí=ní=Ø lugar žáʔa.
and NOM-dark come-come=RES=3 lugar this
but at night she would come right here.⁸
- (34) te, sóá ni-saʔa=Ø uú uni xáʔa,
and like.that CP-do=3 two three time
And she did this two or three times,
- (35) te despues ni-kà-kii ñažĩú žáʔa te ni-ka-sáʔa=Ø beñũʔũ žáʔa.
and despues CP-PL-come.and.return people that and CP-PL-make=3 church this
and later these people returned and built this church.
- (36) te xa=žóo šáá kʷíža xa=ní-kuu=Ø wáá.
and COMP=exist many year COMP=CP-COP=3 there
And it is many years since they were there.
- (37) te ni-ka-kii ñažĩú wáá,
and CP-PL-come.and.return people the
And the people came and went,
- (38) te, ni-ka-sáʔa=Ø beñũʔũ.
and, CP-PL-make=3 church
and they built the church.

⁷In line (28) it is the travelers who come to Old Chalcatongo. In line (29), however, the pronoun 'they' refers to the inhabitants of the town.

⁸That is, during the day the statue stayed in Old Chalcatongo, but at night it would mysteriously move to the present site of the town of Chalcatongo (where the narrator is located).

- (39) žáʔa či laguna žóo.
this because laguna exist
This was because there was a lake,
- (40) te, na-káʔá=žóo desierto kúu=Ø žúku kúu=Ø,
and MOOD-say=1PL desierto COP=3 forest COP=3
and we might say it was a desert, it was a forest,
- (41) tu=nòð ñažĩú žáá žáʔa tú=kʷiti.
NEG=what people live here NEG=little
there weren't any people living here, nothing.
- (42) te wáá te ni-ka-kexáʔa čaà kožo ñažĩú,
and then and CP-PL-begin come plural people
And then people began to come,
- (43) kúu=Ø Ĥ=ka nũú.
COP=3 one=ADD town
it's another town.
- (44) ni-ka-čaa kožo kasiké.
CP-PL-come plural cacique
The caciques came.⁹
- (45) káʔi uú uni kasiké nũú žáʔa.
be.located.PL two three cacique town this
Two or three caciques are still in this town.
- (46) te wáá te ni-kexáʔa ká-kíí ñažĩú xíká,
and then and CP-begin PL-come people walk
And then people began to come walking,
- (47) ni-ka-ndukoo=Ø nũú.
CP-PL-be.seated=3 town
they founded the town.
- (48) ni-kexáʔa=Ø ka-ndeža=Ø xináʔa.
CP-begin=3 PL-abound=3 plural
They began to thrive.
- (49) te žáʔa či lagúná kúu,
and here because laguna COP
And here because there was a lake,

⁹Cacique is the Spanish word for a political leader or boss.

- (50) lagúna káʔnū ni-ʒoo ʒáʔa,
laguna big CP-exist here
there was a big lake here,
- (51) čí tú=ñaʒiŭ ni-káisioku ʒáʔa,
because NEG=people CP-be.located.PL here
because no people were here,
- (52) te wáá te kʷee=ni kʷee=ni ni-kexáʔa ni-ka-čaa koʒo ñaʒiŭ.
and then and slow=RES slow=RES CP-begin CP-PL-arrive.here plural people
and then little by little people began to arrive here.
- (53) te ni-ku-káʔnū ñūŭ.
and CP-INCH-big town
And the town became big.
- (54) pero a-ni-kuu=∅ šáa kʷíʒa.
pero TEMP-CP-COP=3 many year
But it has already been many years.
- (55) te, wáá te ni-ndoo ñūŭ Chalcatongo viejo,
and then and CP-stay town Chalcatongo viejo
And then old Chalcatongo stayed (there),
- (56) a-ni-xíʒaa=∅ wáá,
still-CP-be.located=3 there
it was still located there,
- (57) ni-ndoò=∅ onde wáá.
CP-stay=3 until there
it stayed there.
- (58) te, koʒo ñaʒiŭ ʒáʔa xa=ni-kaisioku xináʔa ʒáʔa,
and plural people this COMP=CP-be.located.PL plural here
And there were many people who were here,
- (59) te ni-ndéʒa ñaʒiŭ ni-ndéʒa ñaʒiŭ,
and CP-thrive people CP-thrive people
and the people thrived, the people thrived,
- (60) niàsù ñaʒiŭ máʒiŭ ñūŭ=ʒó,
NEG.FOC people alone town=1PL
it's not just people from our town alone,

- (61) čí, kʷaʔà šáa ñaʒiŭ ñūŭ, taká ñūŭ estadó, té Puebla, te Guerrero.
but many many people town various town estado and Puebla and Guerrero
but very many people from various towns and states: Puebla and Guerrero.
- (62) tini šáa ñaʒiŭ ni-ka-kíi xináʔa,
various many people CP-PL-come.and.return plural
Many people came (and left),
- (63) ka-ndukòò=∅ koʒo.
PL-sit=3 plural
they settled here.
- (64) ʒáʔa ʒoo ñūʔŭ libre.
here exist land libre
There was free (unused) land here.
- (65) túu, tú=ndéú, dueño kúu,
No NEG=who dueño COP
No, nobody was the owner,
- (66) ñūŭ wáá ni-ku-káʔnū.
town the CP-INCHO-big
the town became big.
- (67) te, ʒoo historía,
and exist historia
And there is a history (book),
- (68) pero, ʒoo te ʒáʔnū xa=ká-xini báʔa=ðé historía wáá,
pero exist ? old COMP=PL-know well=3MN historia the
but there were old people who knew the history better,¹⁰
- (69) te, pero tu=a-káisi-kú=∅ icáʔa,
and pero NEG=TEMP-be.located=3 toward.here
but they aren't here any more,
- (70) te ni-ka-xíʒi=ðe.
and CP-PL-die=3MN
they died.

¹⁰The adjective ʒáʔnū means 'old', but it is clear that it is functioning as a noun here. *te* is probably an archaic classifier for males; the cognate to čáa 'man' in many dialects is a form like *té* (e.g., Peñoles, see Daly 1978:63). The only other form I know of in Chalcatongo Mixtec with a similar first syllable is the noun *tezí* 'macho (person)'.

- (71) te žóó nú=kuní=ni, te, taba=na íí librú.
and exist COND=want=2POL and take.out=1POL one *libro*
And there is—if you want—I will take out a book.
- (72) beʔaní kándeé íí librú, íí historia,
palacio municipal be.hidden.in one *libro* one *historia*
In the *palacio municipal* there's a book, a history,¹¹
- máá legitimú nuè xà=ni-ndukoo=Ø nūù.
EMPH *legítimo* face COMP=CP-be.seated=3 town
an official one about how they settled the town.
- (73) sóá xa=kúu=Ø,
like.that COMP=COP=3
It was like that,
- (74) ni-kúu=Ø íí lugar,
CP-COP=3 one *lugar*
it was the place,
- (75) te bèl=Ø bina nūʔni, ni-kexáʔa=ðe kú-kāʔnū=Ø, verdad.
and come=3 right.now, CP-begin=3MN INCHO-big=3 *verdad*
and right now (the time) is coming that it's beginning to get big, (it's) true.
- (76) bina nūʔni či, xa-ndíʔi ñaʔiù, a-ni-ka-kuú ñaʔiù razón,
right.now because NOM-all people TEMP-CP-PL-COP people *razón*
Right now because all the people are now educated (*gente de razón*),
- (77) ċl antes tu=ká-xini=Ø kʷií.
because *antes* NEG=PL-know=3 little
because before they didn't know anything.
- (78) ka-káʔá=Ø statilá,
PL-speak=3 Spanish,
They speak Spanish,
- (79) te biná žáʔa ni-kú=Ø, ni-ka-xíni=Ø xináʔa íí=ka kutúʔa xináʔa.
and now this CP-COP=3 CP-PL-know=3 plural one=ADD learn plural
and now it was (because of) this, they knew that others were learning.
- (80) žóó=ka pero, tú=xa=šáá ñaʔiù xa=káʔá sánu sáu,
exist=ADD *pero* NEG=COMP=many people COMP=speak Mixtec
There are some but not many people who speak Mixtec,

¹¹The *palacio municipal* is similar to a city hall or county courthouse in the United States.

- ši máá=ni sastilá xináʔa.
because EMPH=RES Spanish plural
because (they only speak) Spanish.
- (81) sóá ni-sáʔa=Ø formar nūù Chalcatongo.
thus CP-make=3 *formar* town *Chalcatongo*
Thus they founded the town of Chalcatongo.
- (82) pero, úu ni-kuu=Ø šáá kʷíʔa, ku=Ø šáá kʷíʔa,
pero oh CP-COP=3 many year COP=3 many year
But oh, it was many years ago, it was many years ago,
- (83) ku=Ø šáá kʷíʔa,
COP=3 many year
it was many years ago,
- (84) tú=náʔa=ná,
NEG=remember=1POL
I don't remember,
- (85) *pero*, kuní=Ø xa=tabá=ná *historía*,
pero want=3 COMP=take.out=1POL *historia*
but (if) (someone) wants me to take out the history (book),¹²
- (86) te, kenda *historía*,
and exit *historia*
the history can be taken out,
- (87) žoo librú,
exist *libro*
there's a book,
- (88) žoo íí librú, íí *geografía* xa=xíʔaa=Ø,
exist one *libro*, one *geografía* that be.located=3
there's a book, a geography (book) that is there,
- (89) sa=xa=ní-ndukʷíí nūù,
how=COMP=CP-stand.up town
(about) how the town was founded,

¹²It is not clear to me why the main verb is marked for third person. I have translated it into English that way, but the free translation given by the narrator (in Spanish) was in second person: "If YOU want me to take out the history." Note that in line (110) the offer is repeated, and there, the speaker does use a second person clitic pronoun.

- (90) sa=ni-nduk^wiĩ ñũũ Chalcatongo.
how=CP-stand.up town *Chalcatongo*
how the town of Chalcatongo was founded.
- (91) te, xa=ní-ka-kexá?a ñažĩũ wáã ka-satĩũ=Ø,
and COMP=CP-PL-begin people the PL-work=3
And the people began to work,
- (92) te ni-ka-sá-bà?à=Ø kaží,
and CP-PL-CAUS-good=3 *calle*
and they fixed the streets,
- (93) ni-ka-sá?a=Ø bà?à beñũũ,
CP-PL-make=3 good church
they fixed the church,
- (94) te ndi-k^wítí ni-ka-sa?a=Ø xiná?a,
and all-little CP-PL-make=3 plural
and they did everything,
- (95) te, ni-ku bá?a šáã ñũũ xa=ní-ku=Ø bína.
and CP-COP good very town COMP=CP-become=3 now
and the town that it has become now is very good.
- (96) bína ñũũni žoo carró,
right.now exist *carro*
Now there are cars,
- (97) žoo carreterá,
exist *carretera*
there is a highway,
- (98) žoo ndi-k^wítí=žó,
exist all-little=1PL
we have everything,
- (99) pero anté žoo tu=xá=noð žoo,
pero antes exist NEG=COMP=what exist
but before there wasn't anything,
- (100) tu=k^wítí noð núú žóo, antes.
NEG=little what face exist *antes*
nothing (is) what there was, before.

- (101) sǎã noð xa=ní-sa?a=Ø formar ñũũ=žó.
thus what COMP=CP-make=3 *formar* town=1PL
This is the way in which they founded our town.
- (102) či, žóo k^wa?à šáã ñažĩũ mezclado,
because exist many many people *mezclado*
Because there are so many mixed race people,
- (103) tú=xa=ñažĩũ legitimó,
NEG=COMP=people *legítimo*
there aren't legitimate (native) people,
- (104) či legitimó wáã ká-žaa San Pablo, San Esteban, Sančáã,
because *legítimo* the PL-reside *San Pablo San Esteban Yosondúa*
because the legitimate (ones) live in San Pablo, San Esteban, Yosondúa,
- (105) wáã puro ñažĩũ legitimó,
that *puro* people *legítimo*
those are pure legitimate (native) people,
- (106) pero zá?a xa=ndi-k^wítí ní-ka-ku=Ø ñažĩũ mezclado.
pero here COMP=all-little CP-PL-become=3 people *mezclado*
but here all the people have become mixed race.
- (107) sǎã noð xa=ní-kuu=Ø ñũũ zá?a,
thus what COMP=CP-become=3 town this
Thus it became this town,
- (108) te žoo=ka história,
and exist=ADD *historia*
and there is still a history (book),
- (109) kenda librí xa=xíndee=Ø be?áni.
exit *libro* COMP=be.located=3 *palacio.municipal*
the book can be taken out that is located in the palacio municipal.
- (110) te wáã te nú=kúni=ni,
and there and COND=want=2POL
And there if you want,
- (111) xa=žóo=Ø.
COMP=exist=3
there it is.¹³

¹³Unfortunately, I was never able to see this book.

9.2. Market Day

Told by Luciano Cortés Nicolás, 1981.

- (1) Jueves kúu ɸ kiù záʔu.
Jueves COP one day plaza
Thursday is market day.
- (2) Jueves ɛa-kóʒo ñaʒiù ndiʔi núú,
Jueves come-plural people all town
Thursday people come from all the towns,
- (3) ká-ʒikú=Ø ndátíú kʷentá níí,
PL-sell=3 thing cuenta salt
they sell things like salt,
- (4) ká-ʒikú=Ø níí,
PL-sell=3 salt
they sell salt,
- (5) ká-ʒikó=Ø rií,
PL-sell=3 sheep
they sell sheep,¹⁴
- (6) ká-ʒikó=Ø ɕúú,
PL-sell=3 hen
they sell hens,
- (7) ká-ʒikó=Ø, wá kú ñaʒiu xa=ká-kuni=Ø.
PL-sell=3 that COP people COMP=PL-want=3
they sell (those things) to people who want them.
- (8) kúnábaʔa=Ø kítí bàʔa súní,
have=3 animal but also
They have animals, but also,
- (9) kiù wáá ɕá-koʒo ñaʒiù ɸ=ká níúú xa=ká-ʒiku=Ø sáʔma,
day that come-plural people one=ADD town COMP=PL-sell=3 clothes
that day people come from other towns to sell clothes,

¹⁴Note the variation between ká-ʒikú and ká-ʒikó 'they sell'.

- (10) ká-ʒikú=Ø ndíxá,
PL-sell=3 sandal
to sell sandals,
- (11) ká-ʒikú=Ø kaʒíní,
PL-sell=3 hat
to sell hats,
- (12) ká-ʒikú=Ø tekèi, pañú sùni,
PL-sell=3 blanket paño also
to sell blankets and cloths (shawls) also,
- (13) kiù wáá ʒóó ʒáà stáa,
day that exist many tortilla
that day there are many tortillas,
- (14) ʒóó ʒáà tástila ndíʒi,
exist many bread aguardiente
there is much bread, aguardiente,¹⁵
- (15) te ʒóó ɸ mércado kúnù,
and exist one mercado meat
and there is a meat market,
- (16) mercádó wáá kuu=Ø kʷáá=Ø kúnù rií, kúnù ndeʒíʔú
mercado that be.able=3 buy=3 meat sheep, meat goat
at that market you can buy sheep meat, goat meat,
- (17) kúnù sndiki kúnù kini kúnù, ndiʔi nu kúnú,
meat cow meat pig meat all face meat
beef, pork, all kinds of meat,
- (18) noð ka-kùnì maa xínaʔa.
what PL-want self plural
whatever people want.
- (19) sùni, ʒóó ñaʒiù xa=ká-ʒikó=Ø ndúa,
also, exist people COMP=PL-sell=3 vegetables
Also, there are people who sell vegetables,
- (20) xa=ká-ʒikó=Ø ʒáʔa,
COMP=PL-sell=3 chile
who sell chiles,

¹⁵Aguardiente is cane liquor.

- (21) xà=ká-šikó=Ø nde?è tètùù,
COMP=PL-sell=3 fruit cherry
who sell cherries,
- (22) xa=ká-šikó=Ø nuní ndučí, k'wà?à ndátíú.
COMP=PL-sell=3 corn beans many thing
who sell corn, beans, many things.
- (23) te, ka-kíxá?á ñažíù ka-kíxá?á čáa nužà?ù xa-ñá?a,
and PL-begin people PL-begin arrive market NOM-early
And the people begin to arrive at the market in the morning.
- (24) kúú ora xà=žóó šāā ñažíù,
COP hora COMP=exist many people
it's the time when there are a lot of people,
- (25) te ka ħī, ka úni ka kúú, ñažíù ka-kíxá?á, ká-xa?a=Ø,
and COP one COP three COP four people PL-begin PL-pass=3
and one, three, four people begin to pass by,
- (26) ka ú?ù, ka íñu xa-ñíni, tú=xa=ñāžíù nu žóó orá wāā,
COP five COP six NOM-late NEG=COMP=people face exist hora then
at five, six in the afternoon there aren't any people at that time,
- (27) ka-kíxá?à to?o ká-žuba?a=Ø puestú ka-kíxá?a=Ø ka-na-s-tútú=Ø.
PL-begin people PL-have=3 puesto PL-begin=3 PL-REP-CAUS-together=3
the people who have stalls begin to gather (things) up.
- (28) wāā kú ndí?i ndatíú xa=ka-sá?á=Ø ħ kú nužá?u.
there COP all thing COMP=PL-do=3 one day market
That's all the things that they do on a market day.

9.3. Personal History

Told by Sabina Cortés Cruz, 1982.

- (1) binà, nì-kì-sikó=rí staà kú ža?u nùžá?u žá?a.
now, CP-come-sell=1 tortilla COP sale market this
Now, I came to sell tortillas in the market here.¹⁶

¹⁶Staà kú ža?u means *tortillas de venta*, that is, 'tortillas for sale'.

- (2) te, ni-kéndá, ni-kéndá ħ ñažíù ni-kà-xíka=Ø,
and, CP-exit, CP-exit one people CP-PL-ask.for=3
And some people came out who asked for,
- (3) ni-kà-xíka=Ø bà?à rù?ù.
CP-PL-ask.for=3 good me
they asked for me (in marriage).
- (4) te, tú=ní-tánda?a=rí, tú=tánda?a=rí xa=tánda?a bà?à=rí.
and NEG=CP-marry=1, NEG=marry=1 COMP=marry well=1
And I didn't marry, I didn't marry that I might marry well (later).
- (5) nì-kà-sá?a=Ø malšá xí=rí xíná?a.
CP-PL-make=3 maldad with=1 plural
They made fun of me.¹⁷
- (6) te-nì-ndoo=rí xí táa,
and-CP-stay=1 with father
And I stayed with my father,
- (7) ni-ndoo=rí xí náa xa=kú náa uè=rí,
CP-stay=1 with mother COMP=COP mother two=1
I stayed with my mother, who was my stepmother,
- (8) te wāā ni-s-k'wá?mú rù?ù.
and that CP-CAUS-grow me
and she raised me.
- (9) wāā ni-s-kée rù?ù.
that CP-CAUS-eat me
She fed me.
- (10) wāā ni-xá?ni čúku rù?ù, wāā ni-xá?ni.
that CP-kill lice me, that CP-kill
She killed lice for me, she killed (them).
- (11) ní-na-tĥ=Ø šíni=rí, ni-na-tĥ=Ø.
CP-REP-grab=3 hair=1, CP-REP-grab=3
She combed my hair, she combed (it).
- (12) sá?a=Ø trensá=rí, xà=ni-sá?a=Ø.
make=3 trenza=1, COMP=CP-make=3
She made my braids, she made (them).

¹⁷Maldad is a Spanish word meaning 'wickedness' or 'mischievousness'.

- (13) *xa=na-kikù=Ø saʔma=rí, ni-na-kikù=Ø.*
COMP=REP-sew=3 clothes=1 CP-REP-sew=3
She mended my clothes, she mended (them).
- (14) *te wāá kú náa=rí,*
and that COP mother=1
And that was my mother,
- (15) *ni-s-kʷáʔnū=Ø rùʔù.*
CP-CAUS-grow=3 me
she raised me.
- (16) *wāá kú nundoʔo nì-kà-tāʔā=rí.*
that COP hardship CP-PL-suffer=1
Those were the hardships we suffered.
- (17) *te ni-kéndá ndíʒi ʒíí=rí ʒáʔa.*
and CP-exit dead.person husband=1 here
And then my late husband appeared here.
- (18) *ni-xikà=ʒi rùʔù, xa=ni-ʒòð seʔe=rí.*
CP-ask.for=3POL.DEC me COMP=CP-exist children=1
He asked for me (in marriage), that I would have his children.
(lit. that our children would exist)
- (19) *ni-ʒòð seʔe, ni-ʒòð seʔe ʒáʔa.*
CP-exist children, CP-exist children here
I had children, I had children here.
- (20) *té ni-kéndá ndíʒi ʒíí=rí ʒáʔa,*
and CP-exit dead.person husband=1 here
And my late husband appeared here,
- (21) *ni-tāʔ=ʒí rùʔù, na-kée=na.*
CP-grab=3POL.DEC me, MOOD-say=1POL
he grabbed me, I tell you.
- (22) *Me robaron y me vino aquí,*¹⁸
They stole me, and I came here,
- (23) *por eso me quedé yo aquí pero lejos de allí.*
that's why I stayed here, far from home.

¹⁸The consultant probably meant *me vine* rather than *me vino* here.

Lexicon

What follows is a working dictionary of Chalcatongo Mixtec. I consider the material in it to be reasonably accurate, but there are two areas in which a more detailed examination should eventually be made: tone and nasalization of vowels. Both present problems primarily because of the considerable degree of variation across speakers. I hope to return to these topics at a future date.

The Mixtec forms in this lexicon are alphabetized as follows: a, ā, b, ç, e, ē, ò, i, ɪ, i, ɪ, k, kʷ, l, m, n, nd, nč, nʃ, nʒ, ŋ, ŋg, o, ō, p, r, s, š, t, u, ũ, w, x, ʒ, ʔ. Oral vowels are alphabetized before nasal vowels, and, all other things being equal, high tone precedes mid tone, which precedes low tone. Glottalization is treated segmentally for purposes of ease of representation in the lexicon as in the grammar and is alphabetized as the last consonant.

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MIXTEC FORMS: If more than one form is given, this means that consultants differ or vary in their pronunciation of the word. (This most often occurs with tone, although other aspects—such as nasalization or vowel quality—also vary occasionally.) Hyphens are used to separate morphemes only when an affix is productive. If the form is a verb, the potential stem always precedes the realis stem, and the completive is given only if it is irregular. (However, completive forms of the verbs of motion—which are regular in formation—are listed because the realis stem is nonoccurring. See §8.1.)

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LEXICAL CATEGORY AND OTHER CATEGORY INFORMATION: The lexical categories used are *adjective, adverb, conjunction, demonstrative, determiner, greeting, interrogative, noun, number, preposition, quantifier, and verb*. Additional information given in some entries includes *completive, imperative, intransitive, plural, progressive, singular, stative, and transitive*. The abbreviations for these terms are given in the list which appears at the beginning of the grammar (pp. xv-xvi).

ENGLISH GLOSS: I often give two (or more) English forms as translations, to get across the breadth of senses of a Mixtec form. These are then cross-listed under each alternate translation.

SPANISH FORMS: Spanish forms are given in three situations: First, borrowed forms are listed as pronounced in Mixtec, and the Spanish source form is given in parentheses, e.g., "ačá (*n*) Axe (SP *hacha*). Second, Spanish forms are given in cases where there is no English word, or where the English translation does not seem to adequately capture the sense of the Mixtec word or Spanish translation (these are generally culture items for which we have no real equivalent in English, e.g., the corn gruel called *atole*). Third, Spanish words are given that are incorporated in a Mixtec form, e.g., "Blonde hair (*n*) iši tekolo žá?a (SP *color*). I have tried to err on the side of excess in providing Spanish translations, rather than leave the English translation unclear or inexact.

Finally, in other cases (usually involving plant or animal species), under a general heading I have included specific Mixtec names with the notation "type unknown." These are forms for which the consultant could not provide a Spanish equivalent.

Mixtec-English

a

ačá (*n*) Axe (SP *hacha*)
 ání (*n*) Mayoralty (SP *presidencia*)
 anú (*n*) Soul, spirit (SP *ánima, alma*)
 andíú (*n*) Heaven, sky
 arrós (*n*) Rice (SP *arroz*)
 aská (*adv*) Just now
 ásu (*adv*) As a matter of fact
 asú (*conj*) Than
 atókó (*n*) *Nochixtlán* (town name)
 axú (*n*) Garlic (SP *ajo*)
 a?ú inì (*adj*) Ill-bred, spoiled, wicked

ã

āsù (*adj*) Delicious, tasty

b

baká (*n*) Cow (SP *vaca*)
 bakò (*n*) Bird (type unk.)
 bása (*adv*) Later
 basa, basu (*adv*) Although
 bà?à (*adj, adv*) Good, well
 bà?a=kà Better
 bà?à sãã=ka Best
 bà?à (*conj*) But
 bá?ù (*n*) Coyote
 bèè (*adj*) Heavy
 bèl (*vi, prog*) Come and return
 kii (P)
 ni-kii (*cp*)
 ndíí (*hab*)
 ñã?ã (*imp*)
 bekàà (*n*) Jail (< *be?e kaa)
 beññ?ù, beññ?ú (*n*) Church (< *be?e
 nú?ú/nú?ù)
 beání [be?ání], be?e ání (*n*) Municipal
 building (similar to city hall) (SP *pala-
 cio municipal*)

- beʔe (n) Building, house, store
 beʔe ání, beání [beʔání] (n)
 Municipal building (similar to city hall) (SP *palacio municipal*)
 beʔe čúú Chicken coop
 beʔe kfti Horse corral
 beʔe ñũũ Municipal building (similar to city hall) (SP *palacio municipal*)
 beʔe ríí Sheep corral
 bíči (n) Fan (flat, used for fires)
 bíkó (n) Party
 bíkò (n) Cloud
 bíkó (adj) Cloudy
 bílu (n) Cat
 bílu lúli Kitten
 bína (adv) Now, today
 bína ñúñi Right away, right now
 bisabʔelá (n) Great-grandmother (SP *bisabuela*)
 bíšá (adj) Wet
 bíší, bíši (n) Gray hair
 bitá (adj) Smooth, soft
 bitu (n) Whistle (SP *pito*)
 bitù (n) Board, plank
 bixi (n) Pineapple
 bíʔža, bíʔmža (n) Prickly pear cactus (SP *nopal*)
 bíʔža skóʔó *Nopal* (type unk.)
 bíší (adj) Sweet
 bíší (adj) Lukewarm
 bíxí (adj) Cold

Č

- čaa (vt) Play (a musical instrument) (P,R)
 čaa (vt) Write (P,R)
 čaà (vi) Arrive here at neutral goal (P)
 ni-čaà (cp)
 čaà (n) Man
 čaà kʔáá Blind man
 čaà kʔíʔná Pickpocket, robber (male)
 čaà sá-tana Doctor
 čaà s-náʔa Teacher
 čaká (n) Fish
 čakáʔnu, žuča káʔnū (n) Canyon
 čakú, xíčakú (vi) Live, be alive (R)
 kučáku (P)
 čatánate (n) Great-tailed grackle (SP *zanate*)
 čaʔa (n) Gourd
 čaʔa (n) Bug (type unk.)
 čaʔma (n) Lungs
 čaʔu, čáʔu (vt) Pay (P,R)
 čáá (vt) Bring, carry (*imp*) (see *kundáʔá*)
 čáá (n) Forehead
 čáʔá, čáʔá=ka (adv) Not yet
 čāʔā (n) Dirt, filth
 čáʔá (adj) Dirty, filthy
 čelu (n) Calf (SP *becerro*)
 česúku, čisúku, čusúku, kusúku (vt) Roll up, wrap (P,R)
 žésúku (*stat*) Rolled up, wrapped
 čete (n) Corn silk

- čétu, čítu (vt) Hold up, support (P,R)
 čečíʔí, čežíʔí, čížíʔí, čížúʔú (vt) Carry in the mouth (P,R)
 čí-na-xaʔa (*int*) Why
 číbu (n) Goat (SP *chivo*)
 čìl (n) Belly, stomach, under
 čìl (*cony*) Because
 číkʔaʔa (vt) Measure, weigh (P,R)
 žíkʔaʔa (*stat*) Measured, weighed
 čílža (n) Lizard
 čínínu (adv) Above, up (< *iči nínu)
 čínu (adj) Shy
 čínù; nùžúšá; nùžúšá čínú (n) Pitchpine, torchpine (< *žúnú žúšá) (SP *ocote*)
 čindáʔá (vt) Push (P,R)
 čindé (vt) Help (P,R)
 činde, čundee (vt) Put in (P)
 činde, čúndee (R)
 čindéé iní (vb) Be encouraged, take heart (P,R) (SP *animarse*)
 čindikì (vt) Follow (P,R)
 žindikì (*stat*) Follow
 čindíʔu (vt) Lock in (P,R)
 kindíʔu (vi) Lock oneself in (P,R)
 žindíʔu (*stat*) Locked in
 čindíki (vt) Gore (P,R)
 čindúčá (vt) Rinse, wet (P,R)
 čindùxì, čundùxì (vt) Bury (R)
 čundùxì (P)
 kùndùxì (vi) Bury oneself (P,R)
 žundùxì (*stat*) Buried
 činúʔū (vt) Worship (P,R)
 čirikóko (n) Worm
 čísaʔí, čísaʔu, číseʔí (vt) Hide (P,R)
 késaʔí, késáʔu (vi) Disappear, hide (oneself) (P,R)
 žésaʔu, žesaʔí (*stat*) Hidden
 čisikí (adv) Above (< *iči sikì)
 čísó (vt) Add (P,R)
 čísó táʔā Pile, stack (P,R)
 čísó (vt) Answer (P,R)
 číso, čísó (n) Husband's sibling (brother-in-law, sister-in-law)
 načíso, náčísó Mother-in-law
 tačíso, táčísó Father-in-law
 čisúku, česúku, čusúku, kusúku (vt) Roll up, wrap (P,R)
 žésúku (*stat*) Rolled up, wrapped
 číšéʔé (vt) Carry under the arm (P,R)
 číšéʔe (n) Armpit
 čítaʔnu (vt) Fold (in half) (P,R)
 na-čítaʔnu Fold (several times) (P,R)
 žítaʔnu (*stat*) Folded
 čitáʔā, čutáʔā (vt) Join, unite (P,R)
 žítáʔā, žútáʔā (*stat*) Joined, united
 čitéʔé (vt) Pinch (P,R)
 čítú (vi) Be crowded, full (P,R)
 čítu, čétu (vt) Hold up, support (P,R)
 čítu (n) Piglet
 čížíʔí, čížúʔú, čežíʔí, čežíʔí (vt) Carry in the mouth (P,R)
 čížókó, čužókó (vt) Blow on, steam (P,R)
 čížúxia (n) *Santa Catarina Yujia* (town name)

- čičúʔú, čičíʔí, čičíʔí, čičíʔí (vt) Carry in the mouth (P,R)
- číʔi (vt) Plant, rub, smear, sow, spread (P,R)
- žíʔí (stat) Planted, rubbed, smeared, sown, spread
- čfʔi (vt) Tie (a knot) (P,R)
- žíʔi (stat) Tied (of a knot)
- číʔlo (n) Pomegranate
- číʔù (vt) Rinse out the mouth (P,R)
- číngí, číngí (vi) Curl, be curly (P,R)
- číkí (n) Seed
- číkí (n) Fruit of the *nopal* (prickly pear cactus) (SP *tuna*)
- číngí, číngí (vi) Curl, be curly (P,R)
- číʔí, číʔí (n) Skunk
- čókó (n) Ant
- čòò (n) Shoulder
- čóʔo (hort) Let's go (and return) (see kíʔi)
- čóʔó (n) Flea
- čóʔo kʷáá (Type of) flea
- čóʔò (vi) Cook (P,R)
- čúbaʔa (vt) Guard, keep (P,R)
- čúkú (vt) Arrange, put in place (P,R)
- čuku (n) Louse, lice
- čuku čúú (Type of) louse
- čunáá (vt) Pay (P,R)
- čúndaxi (vt) Soak, wet (P)
- čúndaxí (R)
- ndáxi (stat) Wet
- žúndaxi (stat) Soaked, wet
- čundee, činde (vt) Put in (P)
- čúndee, činde (R)
- čúnduxl (vt) Bury (P) (see čúnduxl)
- čunáá (vt) Destroy (P,R)
- čúsama (vt) Pile, stack, turn upside down (P,R)
- čusndée (vt) Put on top (P)
- čúsndée (R)
- čusúku, česúku, čisúku, kusúku (vt) Roll up, wrap (P,R)
- žésúku (stat) Rolled up, wrapped
- čutáʔá, čitáʔá (vt) Join, unite (P,R)
- žutáʔá, žítáʔá (stat) Joined, united
- čútútu (vt) Register (P,R)
- čuxíkí (vt) Punch (P,R)
- čužókó, čižókó (vt) Blow on, steam (P,R)
- čúʔči (n) God, Jesus (SP *Chucho*)
- čúkú (n) Fly, insect
- čúkú ndíʔi, čúkú žáá Mosquito
- čúù šíní (n) Star
- čúù (n) Chicken, hen
- čuku čúú (Type of) louse
- čúʔú (vt) Pour, sow, throw out (P,R)
- čúʔú inl (vb) Behave oneself, comprehend, understand (P,R)
- čúʔú íčí (vb) Direct, guide (P,R)

ð

=ðe (clitic) He

i

- í (adj) Sour
- ičá, íčá (n) Grass
- ičáʔa, íči žáʔa (adv) Toward this place
- ičáà (adv) Tomorrow
- íči (n) Path, road, street
- íči (prep) Toward
- íči žáʔa, íčáʔa (adv) Toward this place
- íči (vi) Be dry
- íi (adj) Delicate, gentle
- íku (adv) Yesterday
- íku níú, onde íku níú Day before yesterday
- inà (n) Dog
- inà síʔí Female dog
- inà tíkʷeʔe Rabid dog
- inl (n) In, inside, insides, stomach
- ínú (n) Cigarette
- ísá (adv) Next, shortly
- isò, isù (n) Rabbit
- isò labúrrú Hare (SP *liebre*)
- isù (n) Deer
- iši (n) Hair, wool
- biší, biši Gray hair
- iši ndúči Eyelashes
- iši suká, sukà Eyebrow
- iši tekolo žáʔa, iši žáá Blond hair (SP *color*)
- iši žúʔu Beard, mustache
- titaší iši Split ends
- ità (n) Flower
- ità m'ínú Herb (SP *hierbabuena*; type of mint)
- ità nukúká Palm tree
- ità tanáñá, žukù tináná Medicinal herb (type unk.)
- itù (n) Cornfield, corn plant, crop (SP *milpa*)
- itundúxia (n) Santa Cruz (town name)
- íú (adj) Empty
- íža, íʔa (n) Saint, god
- íža síʔí, íʔa síʔí Virgin Mary
- íʔa síʔí natividad [natiβiðáá] Virgin of the Nativity (SP *natividad*)

I

- íí, káʔí (vi) Be located in, at; of plural or collective subject (R-PL)
- kʷíñí (P-PL)
- íñú (n) Spine, thorn
- náñá íñú Mexican porcupine (SP *puerco espin*)
- žukù íñú Bramble
- íñú (num) Six

Ī

ĪĪ (num) One

ĪĪ=ka (quant) Another, other

ĪĪ na-náʔa (n) One moment, a short time in the future

ĪĪ siento One hundred (SP ciento)

ĪĪ xáʔa (n) Once, one time

ni-ĪĪ (n) Nobody

ĪĪ (num) Nine

Īkábà, ūkaba (vi) Lie down (P,R)

Īkòdò (vi) Sit down (P,R)

k

káá (vi) Climb up, go up, rise (P,R)

ndáá (stat) Overflowed, risen

kaa (n) Iron, bell

kòdò káá Rattlesnake

ndùžù kaa, ndùžùka Nail

kaa Be (copula, pre-adj) (R)

kuú (P)

kába, kábá (n) Cave, cliff, rock (SP cueva)

kaba (adj) Hard

kaba (vt) Braid, twist (P,R)

kača (vt) Spread, throw (P)

xáča, xačà (R)

kača (vt) Dig (P)

xáča (R)

kačáʔa, kučáʔa (vi) Dance (P)

xičáʔa, xíčaʔa (R)

kačì (n) Cotton

kačínì (n) Hat

kafé (adj) Brown (SP café)

káisikú, káišikú (vi) Be located (R-PL)

kúsikú (P-PL)

kaka (vi) Walk (P)

xíka (R)

kaka (vt) Ask for (P)

xíka (R)

kakà (n) Lime (caustic) (SP cal)

kákìʔì inì (vb) Hiccup (P,R)

kákú (vi) Be born (P)

kaku (R)

káná (vt) Call (P)

kána (R)

káná sikì (vb) Scream at, yell at

káná xíí (vb) Scream, yell

káná inì (vb) Vomit (P,R)

kánákaba (vi) Fall (P,R)

kánì (vt) Build, construct (P)

káni, xánì (R)

kánì (táʔu) (vt) Hit (P)

xáni (táʔu) (R)

kánì inì (vb) Think (P)

xánì inì (R)

kání (adj) Long (SG)

nání (PL)

kaníndi (vt) Stand (P)

xáníndi (R)

kándee (vi) Be located in and hidden from view (R)

kundee (P)

kandía, kundía (vt) Believe (P)

kandía, xándía (R)

kándii, xíndii (vi) Stand, be located standing (R)

kúndíi (P)

kandóʔó (n) (Type of) herb (SP pitiona)

kanžáa, kanžá, kãžáa (vi) Choke, drown (P,R)

kánžaʔa, kénžaʔa (vi) Move near (P,R)

káñá (adj) Touchy (one who touches everything) (SP tentón)

káñá, ñáá (adj) Bad, crazy, difficult, stupid (SG), ndañá (PL)

ndokáña, ndakáña (vi) Become agitated, disturbed, excited (P,R)

kása (n) Brother-in-law (spouse's brother, sister's husband)

kásì inì (vb) Breakfast, eat (first meal of day) (P)

žásì inì (R)

kásu (vt) Close, cover (P)

xasú (R)

ndasú (stat) Closed, covered

kasú (vi) Roast, toast (P,R)

káši (vi) Nurse, suck (P)

xáši, žáši (R)

kašũʔũ (vt) Advise, tell (P)

kášũʔũ (R)

kátá (vi) Itch (P,R)

kátá (káá) (vt) Hang (P)

xátá (káá) (R)

káta (vi) Sing (P)

xíta (R)

kataxáʔá (vi) Dance (P,R)

katí, katu (vt) Boil over, spill (P)

xátì, xatu (R)

kátú, kutuu, kutú (vi) Lie down, be located lying down (P)

xítuu, xítú (R)

ndátu (stat) Lying down, located lying down

katu (vi) Make tortillas (P,R)

katũʔũ (vt) Ask (P,R)

kaxá (n) Box (SP caja)

kaxí (adj) Correct, true

kaxi (vt) Eat (P)

žaxi (R)

kážu (vi) Burn, be on fire (P,R)

kažu (vi) Cough (P)

kážu (R)

káʔa (n) Hip

káʔba (n) Dirt, filth

káʔbá (adj) Dirty, filthy

káʔni (vt) Kill (P)

xáʔni (R)

kaʔni (n) Sweat

káʔnu (vt) Break (P)

xáʔnu (R)

káʔndi (vi) Explode, thunder (P,R)

káʔña, káʔza (vt) Cut (P)

xáʔña, xáʔza (R)

káʔu (vt) Count (P,R)

- kaʔʒu (*vt*) Dye, paint (P)
 káʔʒú (R)
 káá (*vt*) Become accustomed to, used to (P,R)
 káʂí (*vi*) Sneeze (P,R)
 kǎʒáa, kanʒáa, kánʒa (*vi*) Choke, drown (P,R)
 kǎʔǎ (*vi*) Speak, talk (P,R)
 kǎʔǎ kátá Mock, tease (SP *burlarse*)
 kǎʔǎ nuù (*vb*) Scold
 kǎʔǎ ndàʔú (xíí) (*vb*) Beg, plead
 kǎʔǎ sóʔó (*vb*) Complain, denounce
 kǎʔǎ súkú (*vb*) Speak loudly, yell
 kǎʔǎ ʒaá (*vb*) Gossip, speak quietly, whisper
 kǎʔíí, íí (*vi*) Be located in, at; of plural or collective subject (R-PL)
 kʷííí (P-PL)
 kǎʔmū (*vt*) Burn, smoke (P)
 xǎʔmū (R)
 kǎʔnū (*adj*) Big, fat (SG)
 nǎʔnū (PL)
 kee (*vt*) Eat (P)
 ʒéé (R)
 keè (*vt*) Say (P,R)
 keè kúní (P), keè xiní (R) Order (someone) (to do something)
 kenda (*vi*) Exit, go out (P,R)
 ndéndá (*hab*)
 kendòò (*vi*) Be located (of a place) (P)
 kéndoo (R)
 kénʒa, kǎʒa (*vt*) Take away, remove (P,R)
- kénʒaʔa, kánʒaʔa (*vi*) Move near (P,R)
 kesámá, kusámá (*vt*) Eat (meal at middle of day) (P)
 ʒesámá (R)
 késaʔí, késáʔu (*vi*) Disappear, hide (oneself) (P,R) (see čísaʔí)
 kešíní, kušíní (*vt*) Eat (evening meal) (P)
 xišíní, ʒéšíní (R)
 ketǎʔǎ, kitǎʔǎ (*vt*) Find, meet (P,R)
 kexáʔá (*vi*) Begin, start (P,R)
 ndexáʔá (*stat*) Begun, started
 keʒíʔí, keʒíʔí (*vt*) Bite (P)
 ʒeʒíʔí, ʒeʒíʔí (R)
 keʔé (*vt*) Touch (P,R)
 kéí (*vt*) Put (P)
 xéí (R)
 kéí (ndiù) Lay (eggs)
 kéʒa, kénʒa (*vt*) Remove, take away (P,R)
 kii (*vi*) Come and return (P) (see bèì)
 kíkú (*vt*) Sew (P,R)
 kindíʔu (*vi*) Lock oneself in (P,R) (see čindíʔu)
 kiší (*vi*) Sleep (R)
 kúsu (P)
 kitǎʔǎ, ketǎʔǎ (*vt*) Find, meet (P,R)
 kixi (*n*) Fever
 kíʔí (*vi*) Go and return (P)
 čóʔo (*hort*)
 kʷǎʔǎ (*imp*)
 kʷǎʔǎ (*prog*)
 xǎʔǎ (*hab*)

- ni-xǎʔǎ (*cp*)
 kíʔí (*vt*) Take (P)
 kíʔí (R)
 ʒǎʔa (*imp*)
 kiki (*vi*) Harden (P,R)
 kinè (*n*) Hog, pig
 kinè siʔí Sow
 kinè ʒíí Male pig
 kini ʒókú Wild pig (SP *jabalí*)
 kùñù kinè Pork
 kisi (*n*) Pot, kettle (SP *olla*)
 kisi (*n*) Ankle
 kití (*vi*) Boil (P,R)
 kití inì (nuù, xíí) (*vb*) Be, get angry (P,R)
 kiti (*n*) Animal, horse
 kiti mulá Mare (SP *yegua*)
 kiti tátá Breeding animal
 kíu (*vi*) Enter, go in (P,R)
 ndíu (*hab*)
 kíu (*n*) Day
 kiʒí, sikiʒí (*n*) Blister
 kiʒi (*n*) Earthenware jug
 kiʔí (*vt*) Put on (shoes, jewelry) (P,R)
 kíʔni nūʔú (*vt*) Grind one's teeth
 kíʔu (*n*) Night
 kíʔí (*adj*) Have recently given birth
 kókó (*vt*) Swallow (P,R)
 kóko (*adj*) Thick
 kokó (*vt*) Light (P)
 xoko (R)
- kokúʔu, kukúʔu (*vi*) Be sick (P)
 kúʔu (R)
 kolíí (*n*) Hummingbird (SP *colibrí*)
 kolór (*n*) Color (SP *color*)
 kóní (*n*) Turkey hen
 kóó (*n*) Low wall, border (separating plots of land) (SP *camellón*)
 koo (*vi*) Exist, there is, are (P)
 ʒóó (R)
 kòò, koò (*n*) Snake
 kòò káá Rattlesnake
 kòò kífú, kòò kʷíí, kòò ʒúca, kòò sóʔó, kòò teʔʒú Names of specific snakes (types unk.)
 kòò ʒúci Lizard (type unk.)
 kótó nʒaa, kótó ʒaa (*vt*) Test, try (P)
 xító nʒaa, xító ʒaa (R)
 koto (*vi*) Appear, seem (P)
 xító (R)
 koto (*vt*) Care for, take care of, watch out for, see (P)
 xító (R)
 kóʒo (*vt*) Empty, pour (P,R)
 kóʔlo (*n*) Turkey
 kóʔó (*vt*) Drink (P)
 xíʔí (R)
 koʔo (*adj*) Loud, strong
 koʔò (*n*) Plate
 koʔo ʒúu *Molcajete* (small stone mortar for making *salsa*)
 tikòʔó, tikókó Tray (made from a gourd)
 ku-kʷéni-rí (*idiom*) I'm fine

- kú-ndaà (*vi*) Become clear, clear up, dissolve (P,R)
 ku-šíí (*vi*) Be, become thin, weak (P,R)
 kučáku (*vi*) Live, be alive (P)
 xíčákú, čakú (R)
 kučáʔa, kačáʔa (*vi*) Dance (P)
 xičáʔa, xíčaʔa (R)
 kúči (*vi*) Ripen (P)
 xíči (R)
 kučí (*vi*) Bathe (P)
 xíči (R)
 kúká (*adj*) Rich
 kúkà (*n*) Comb
 kúkúú (*vi*) Be located, moving around (P)
 xíkúu (R)
 kukúʔu, kokúʔu (*vi*) Be sick (P)
 kúʔu (R)
 kukúʔu žòð Menstruate
 kunái (*vi*) Quiet down (P,R)
 kunání (*vi*) Be named (P)
 nání (R)
 kunáʔá (*vt*) Remember (intentionally) (P)
 náʔá (R)
 kúní (*vt*) Know, see (P)
 xíní (R)
 keè kúní (P), keè xíní (R) Order (someone) (to do something)
 kúní (soʔo) (*vb*) Hear, listen (P)
 xíní (soʔo) (R)
 kuní (*vt*) Want (P,R)
 kuni (*adv*) Last night
- kunu (*vt*) Weave (P)
 kúnu (R)
 kunuzà (núu), kununžà (núu) (*vb*) Hug (P,R)
 kundátu (*vi*) Wait (P)
 xíndatu, ndátu (P)
 kundáʔá (*vt*) Bring, carry (P)
 xindáʔá, xíndáʔá (R)
 čáá (*imp*)
 kundé (*vi*) Bear, endure (P,R)
 kundee (*vi*) Be located in (P)
 xíndee (R)
 kundee (*vi*) Be located in and hidden from view (P)
 kándee (R)
 kundía, kandía (*vt*) Believe (P)
 kandía, xándía (R)
 kúndíi (*vi*) Stand, be located standing (P)
 xíndíi, kándíi (R)
 kundíí (*vt*) Cover (P,R)
 kundiso (*vt*) Carry, be in charge of (P)
 ndíso (R)
 kundito (*vt*) Care for, take care of (P)
 ndíto (R)
 kundito (*vi*) Be awake (P)
 ndíto (R)
 kùndùxì (*vi*) Bury oneself (P,R) (see číndùxì)
 kúnža núu (xíí) (*vb*) Relax, spend time (with) (P,R)
 kunžàà (*vt*) Cost (P)
 nžáá, žáá (R)

- kunžàà, kúžaa (*vi*) Live, reside (P)
 nžáá, žáá (R)
 kunžaka, kužaka (*vt*) Bring (a person) (P)
 žáka (R)
 kuña (*vt*) Open (P)
 xúñá (R)
 núña (*stat*) Open, opened
 kúñábaʔa (*vt*) Have, keep (P,R)
 kuñánuu (*vt*) Hold (P)
 xúñánuu (R)
 kusámá, kesámá (*vt*) Eat (meal at middle of day) (P)
 žesámá (R)
 kúsikú (*vi*) Be located (P-PL)
 káisikú, káišikú (R-PL)
 kusíki (*vi*) Play (P)
 xisíki (R)
 kúsndée (*vi*) Be located on top of (P)
 xísndée (R)
 kúsu (*vi*) Sleep (P)
 kiší (R)
 kusúkú, čisúku, česúku, čusúku Roll up, wrap (*vt*) (P,R)
 žésúku (*stat*) Rolled up, wrapped
 kúší (*adj*) Lazy
 kušíko (*vi*) Smell, stink (P,R)
 kušíní, kešíní (*vt*) Eat (evening meal) (P)
 xišíní, žešíní (R)
 kušo (*vi*) Move (P,R)
 kutáu (*vt*) Owe (P)
 táu (R)
- kútaʔù=ná, kútaʔù=rí, kútaʔù šáá=rí nuù-ro (*idiom*) Thank you
 kutíí (*vt*) Hold (P,R)
 kútú (*vi*) Work in the fields (P)
 xítú (R)
 kutu (*n*) Nose
 kutuu, kutú, kátú (*vi*) Lie down, be located lying down (P)
 xítuu, xítú (R)
 ndátu (*stat*) Lying down, located lying down
 kutuʔa (*vt*) Learn (P)
 kútuʔa, túʔa, kutúʔa (R)
 kúu (*vi*) Be able to, can (P,R)
 kúú (*copula, pre-adj*) Be (P)
 kaa (R)
 kuú (*copula, pre-n*) Be (P)
 kúu (R)
 kuù (*vi*) Die (P)
 xíʔi (R)
 kuù níʔnǎ (*idiom*) Be sleepy, tired
 kuù sòkò Be hungry
 kuxátú, xatù (*vi*) Be spicy (P)
 xátù, xatú (R)
 kúžaa (*vi*) Be located (P-SG)
 xížaa (R-SG)
 kúžaa, kunžàà (*vi*) Live, reside (P)
 žáá, nžáá (R)
 kužaka, kunžaka (*vt*) Bring (a person) (P)
 žáka (R)

kuʔni (vt) Tie (P)	kʷá-noʔo (imp)
xuʔni (R)	kʷáá (vi) Darken, get dark (P,R)
núʔni (stat) Tied	kʷaà (n) Stick (for planting), hoe (SP coa)
kúʔu (vi) Be sick (R)	kʷáči (adj) Small, thin
kukúʔu, kokúʔu (P)	kʷáči (n) Cause, fault
kúʔu žoð Menstruate	kʷáči (prep) On account of, due to
kúʔu (n) Sister (of female)	kʷáku (vi) Laugh (P)
kúnú (adj) Deep	xakú (R)
kúnú (vi) Run (P)	kʷaliá, kʷália (n) Godmother (SP comadre), godchild
xínú (R)	kʷanuʔ (vt) Loan (P)
kūñú Meat (n)	xanuʔ (R)
kūñú kinà Pork	kʷanduča (vt) Baptize (P)
kūñú sndiki Beef	xáanduča (R)
kúú (vi) Fall (of rain, snow, ice) (P)	kʷańúʔú (vi) Be infected (P,R)
kúú (R)	kʷartó (n) Room (SP cuarto)
kúú saù (vi) Rain	kʷatáʔá (vi) Fight (P)
kūū (num) Four	xatáʔá, xitáʔá (R)
kūū šíkó Eighty	kʷàtitú (n) Twins (SP <i>cuatitos</i>)
kūū šíkó úʔú Eighty-five	kʷatíú (vt) Use (P)
kūū šíkó ušì Ninety	xáíú (R)
kūū šíkó šíáʔú Ninety-five	kʷažú (n) Horse (SP <i>caballo</i>)
kúʔú (vt) Contain; have, put on, wear (clothes) (P)	kʷažú (vt) Plant, sow (P,R)
núʔu (R)	kʷaʔá (adj) Red
	kʷaʔa (nuð) (vt) Give (P)
	xáʔa (nuð) (R)
	kʷaʔa núú Loan
	kʷaʔa patadá Kick (SP <i>patada</i>)
	kʷaʔa šíkí Punch, hit with the fist
	kʷaʔa táʔu Hit

kw

kʷa-kú-žání (idiom) Soon (< *kʷáʔá
kuú žani)

kʷa-noʔo (vi, prog) Go to base and
return (see noʔò)

kʷáʔa (n) Opposite sex sibling (brother of female, sister of male)	kʷíkó (vi) Spin, turn (P)
kʷaʔa (quant) Many	xíkó (R)
kʷaʔa šáá Many, various	kʷíli (ndóʔo), kʷíli nundóʔo Small black bird (type unk.) (n)
kʷáʔna (adv) Afterward, later	kʷínú (vi) Become numb (from cold), freeze (P,R)
kʷáá (adj) Yellow	kʷíso (vi) Boil (P)
kʷáá (vt) Buy (P)	xisó (R)
xáá (R)	kʷítá (vi) Tire (P,R)
kʷáñú (vt) Kick (P)	kʷíža, kʷífa (n) Age, year
xáñú (R)	kʷíʔa (inì) (adj) Sad
kʷáñgō (vi) Twist (one's body) (P,R)	kʷíʔná, čàà kʷíʔná, ña-kʷíʔná, xa- kʷíʔná (n) Pickpocket, robber
kʷáʔà (vi, prog) Go and return (see kíʔi)	kʷíʔza (quant) Little bit
kʷáʔá (imp)	kʷíʔí (vi) Be located in, at; of plural or collective subject (P-PL)
kʷáʔnú (vi) Grow (P)	íí, káʔiti (R-PL)
xáʔnú (R)	kʷíʔí, kʷíʔí (adj) Jealous, miserly, sharp
káʔnú (SG), náʔnú (PL) (adj) Big, fat	kʷíʔí (adj) Swollen
ñáʔnú, žáʔnú Old (adj)	kʷíʔí, kʷíʔí (n) Jaguar (SP <i>jaguar</i> , <i>tigre</i>)
kʷáʔná (vi) Choke, strangle (P,R)	kʷíxí (adj) White
kʷéé (adj, adv) Slow, slowly	kʷítí (adj) Short
kʷentá (prep) As if, concerning, like (SP <i>cuenta</i>)	kʷítí (adv) Just
kʷéte, kʷetón (n) Firecracker (SP <i>cohete</i>)	
kʷeʔè (n) Sickness, illness	
kʷeʔè sažú Cough	
kʷeʔè šiní, kʷešiní Cold, flu	
tikʷeʔe Rabies	
kʷía, kʷíža (n) Age, year	
kʷía aba Last year	
kʷíčà (vt) Water (P)	
xičá (R)	
kʷí (adj) Blue, green	

l

ladó (n) Side (SP *lado*)

lagártú (n) Lizard (SP *lagarto*)

lákʷá, lakʷa (n) Pus

lančí, lančú (n) Shepherd's hut

lánjaa, lážá (n) Bluebird	māžnú (n) Center, middle
láʔba (adj) Toothless	māžnú (prep) Between
laʔzi (n) Ground beans	meke (n) Marrow
lékú (adj) Scrawny	meke šini Brain
lélu (n) Lamb	méku (adj) Gray
limón (n) Lemon, lime (SP <i>limón</i>)	mesá (n) Table (SP <i>mesa</i>)
líu (n) Puppy	mil (num) Thousand (SP <i>mil</i>)
lízi (n) Rooster	miní (n) Lake, well
líí (n) Chick	mírtú (n) Hummingbird (SP <i>chupamirto</i>)
líí (adj) Naked	miʔí (n) Garbage
liʔu (adj) Slippery, smooth	míʔí (adj) Complete
loo (n) Knee	míʔí kʷítí (adv) Exactly
lúčí, lúnči (adj) Black, dark, stained	molí (n) Mole (chile sauce)
lúli (adj) Small	
lúlú (n) Baby	
lúnči, lúčí (adj) Black, dark, stained	
luséro (n) Star (SP <i>lucero</i>)	
lúú, lúu (adj) Beautiful, pretty	
luʔú (adj) Hard, toasted	

M

ma- (prefix) Negative mood
máá (n) Self (reflexive and emphatic)
máni (adv) Only, purely (< *máá nii)
máʔíí (n) Alone (< *máá íí)
manì (vt) Love (P,R)
mandá (n) Cloth (rough white cotton) (SP <i>manita</i>)
máʔá (quant) Exact, very

	N
=ná (clitic) I, we (polite)	
na-čakù (vi) Be brought back to life, revived (P)	
ná-čakù (R)	
na-čãʔu (vt) Repay (P)	
ná-čãʔù (R)	
na-čítaʔnu (vt) Fold (several times) (P,R)	
na-ičì (vi) Dry (P,R)	
ná-kaà (vi) Stretch, move (of a snake) (P,R)	
na-kaku (vi) Recover (from an illness) (P)	
ná-kaku (R)	
ná-kani (vt) Tell (as a story) (P,R)	
ná-kani (iní) (vb) Worry (P,R)	

na-kaxí (vt) Choose (P)	na-sáa (int) How many
ná-kaxì (R)	na-sinú (vt) Shorten (P)
na-káʔña, na-káʔza (vt) Shorten (P,R)	ná-sinú (R)
na-káá (vt) Become accustomed to, used to (P,R)	na-siki (int) Against whom
na-kéi (vi) Move (P,R)	na-sókáni (vt) Revolve, turn over, upset (SP <i>voltear</i>) (P)
na-kíku (vt) Mend (P)	ná-sókáni (R)
ná-kikú (R)	ná-stá (vt, imp) Stretch (see ná-s-kaà)
na-kíʔí (vt) Gather (P)	na-stá (vt) Sweep (P,R)
ná-kíʔí (R)	na-šúkʷíí (vi) Come back, return (P)
na-kiù (int) When (lit. 'what day')	ná-šúkʷíí (R)
ná-koko (vt) Light (P,R)	na-tabá (vt) Draw (P,R)
na-kúndé (vi) Hurry (P,R)	na-taʔnu (vi) Straighten out, untangle (P,R)
ná-kùsù (vi) Go back to sleep (P,R)	na-táʔu (iní) (vb) Wake up (P,R)
ná-kʷátu (vi) Pray (P,R)	ná-tāá (vt) Fill (P)
na-kʷaʔa (vt) Give back, return (P,R)	ná-tāá (R)
na-kʷíza (int) When (lit. 'what year')	na-tāá (vt) Catch, recover (P)
ná-niʔí (vt) Find (P,R)	ná-tāá (R)
na-ndežá (vi) Increase, thrive (P,R)	na-tāá (vt) Comb (P)
ná-ndiʔí (vt) Need, use (P,R)	ná-tāá (R)
na-ndúkú (vt) Look for, search for (P)	na-táʔí (vi) Shrink, be tight (P,R)
na-nduku (R)	ná-too (vi) Drip (P,R)
na-orá [naʔorá] (int) When (lit. 'what hour') (SP <i>hora</i>)	na-tūʔu, ndá-tūʔu (vi) Chat, converse, speak, talk; (vt) discuss (R)
na-s-čítú (vt) Refill (P,R)	nda-tūʔu (P)
ná-s-ičì (vt) Dry (P,R)	na-xaà (vi) Arrive there at base (P)
ná-s-káa (vt) Untangle (of hair) (P,R)	ni-na-xáa (cp)
ná-s-kaà (vt) Stretch (P,R)	ná-xáʔa (int) Why
ná-stá (imp)	ná-xini, na-xíni (vi) Be drunk (P,R)
na-s-kéi (vt) Move (P,R)	na-xíí (int) With whom
na-s-táʔí (vt) Shrink (P,R)	na-žod (int) When (lit. 'what month')
na-s-tútú (vt) Gather, take away (P,R)	

- náá (vi) Be lost, disappear (P,R)
 náá inl, náá iní (vb) Forget (P,R)
 náa (n) Mother
 náa súká Grandmother
 náa uù Step-mother
 načíso, náčísó Mother-in-law
 (< *náa číso/čísó)
 nakača (vt) Wash (P,R)
 nakúnū, nakúnūū (adv) Shortly, soon
 náliná (n) Godmother (term of address)
 (< *náa liná)
 nama (int) When
 namà (n) Soap
 náana (term of address) Señora
 nana nūū, nana nūū súká Grandmother
 nana nūū súká Great-grandmother
 nání (vt) Be named (R)
 kunání (P)
 nání (adj) Long (PL)
 kání (SG)
 nándaʔa (vi) Wash (one's hands) (P,R)
 nažuú (n) Silence
 náʔá (adv) A long time
 náʔá (vt) Remember (intentionally) (R)
 kunáʔá (P)
 naʔa (n) I, we (polite)
 =ná (clitic) I, we (polite)
 naʔmà (vi) Confess (P,R)
 náñá (n) Vegetable pear (SP chayote)
 náʔnū (adj) Big, fat (PL)
 káʔnū (SG)
- náʔnū, žáʔnū Old
 néné (n) Baby (SP nene)
 nendúči (n) Caterpillar
 néñú (vi) Become fat, swell (P,R)
 ndéñú (stat) Fat, swollen
 néñú (n) Blackberry
 =ní (clitic) You (polite)
 ni-čaà (vi, cp) Arrive here at neutral goal
 čaà (P)
 ni-íí (n) Nobody
 ni-kii (vi, cp) Come and return (see bèl)
 ni-na-xáa (vi, cp) Arrive there at base
 na-xaà (P)
 ni-nóʔo (vi, cp) Go to base and return
 (see noʔò)
 ni-xaà (vi, cp) Arrive there at neutral goal
 xaà (P)
 ni-xáʔá (vi, cp) Go and return (see kíʔi)
 níi (conj) Not even, nor (SP ni)
 níʔíí (n) Nobody (< *nii íí)
 nínu (adv) Above, up
 níšifú, ndèšifó, ndišifú (n) Goat (SP chivo)
 nížúʔu, níí žúʔu (n) Lips
 níʔi (vt) Get, receive (P,R)
 níʔi šikò Smell
 níʔi (adj, adv) Hard, strong, tight
 níʔí (n) You (polite)
 níñí (n) Corn cob, ear (SP mazorca)
 níñi (n) Blood
 níʔi (vi) Shake, tremble (P,R)
 noð (int) What, which

- noʔò (vi) Go to base and return (P)
 ni-nóʔo (cp)
 kʷa-noʔo (prog)
 kʷá-noʔo (imp)
 nú= (clitic) If
 nukaxí, nukàxí (n) Evergreen oak
 (< *žúnú kaxí) (SP encino)
 nukúʔi (n) Forest (< *žúnú kúʔi)
 nunl (n) Corn kernel
 nunl ába Corn from previous year
 nunl xaʔa Cooked corn (SP nixtamal)
 nūʔū nunl Place on corn cob where
 kernel was (SP dientitos de maíz)
 nūndeʔé (n) Fruit tree
 nūndeʔé tetúū, nūndeʔé titúū
 Cherry tree
 nundíí (n) Oak tree (< *žúnú ndíí) (SP roble)
 nundóʔo, tundóʔo (n) Accident, problem
 nūnduá (n) Oaxaca City
 nūña (stat) Open, opened (see kuña)
 núsá (adv) So, therefore
 nútukéžò (adv) Almost
 nūʔú (vi) Climb down, descend, get down
 (P,R)
 nuù (n) Face, front, in, on
 nužáʔu, žáʔu (n) Market, plaza
 nužó (n) Flute
 nužókó, nūū žokó (n) Pinotepa (town name)
 nužòo (n) Reed (SP carrizo) (< *žúnú žòo)
- nūžúsá; činù; nūžúsá činú (n) Pitchpine,
 torchpine (< *žúnú žúsá) (SP ocote)
 nuʔiní, nuʔiní (n) Juniper (< *žúnú iní)
 nūʔni (stat) Tied (see kuʔni)
 nūū (adj) First
 nūʔū (n) Tooth, teeth
 nūʔū nunl Place on corn cob where
 kernel was (SP dientitos de maíz)

nd

- ndáá (stat) Overflowed, risen (see káá)
 ndáa (adj) Clear, true
 ndábá (vi) Jump (P,R)
 ndaba (adj) Hard
 ndákaa, ndáka (n) Key, lock
 ndakáña, ndokáña (vi) Become agitated,
 disturbed, excited (P,R)
 ndakà (adj) Crisp, rough
 ndakíʔ inl (vb, vi) Suffocate (P,R)
 ndakú (n) Broom
 ndaku (vt) Transform, change (P)
 ndáku (R)
 ndaníʔi (vt) Lift, put up, raise (P,R)
 ndañá (adj) Bad, crazy, difficult, stupid
 (PL), káñá, ñáá (SG)
 ndañù, ndéñu (adv) Always, forever
 ndása, tendasa, ñndasa (n) Earthworm
 ndàsà (int) How
 ndasú (stat) Closed, covered (see kásu)

- ndata (vi) Break, crack open (P)
 ndátá (R)
 ndatíú (n) Thing
 ndati (n) Shade, shadow
 ndátu (stat) Lying down, located lying down (see kátú)
 ndátu, xíndatu (vi) Wait (R)
 kundátu (P)
 ndatùŕù (vi) Chat, converse, speak, talk; (vt) discuss (P)
 ndátùŕù, nátùŕù (R)
 ndáxí (vt) Untie (P,R)
 ndáxi (stat) Wet (see cúndaxi)
 ndažóŕo, nda?a žóŕo (n) Dry corn plant, fodder, hay
 nda?a (n) Arm, hand, leaf
 nda?a bá?a Right hand
 nda?a sáni, nda?a sírdú Left hand (SP *zurdo*)
 nda?a žóŕo, ndažóŕo Dry corn plant, fodder, hay
 nda?a žútkú Twig
 nda?a žúnú Tree branch
 nda?ba (vi) Die (as a fire), go out (P,R)
 nda?bà (síŕú) (vt) Take (a name) off a list (P,R)
 ndáŕu (adj) Poor
 nda?ù (n) Stall (in market), wares (SP *puesto*)
 ndéčé (vi) Fly (P,R)
 ndéči, ndíči (int) In what direction, what way, where
 ndée (vi) Stretch (P,R)
 ndee (vi) Return downward (P,R)
- ndéénú (n) Shameless one
 ndekàbà (vi) Walk, wander around (P,R)
 ndekíu, ndikíu (adv) Every day, daily
 ndekíu, ndikíu (int) What day
 ndéndá (vi, hab) Exit, go out (see kenda)
 ndéndatu, ndétàtu (vi) Rest (P,R)
 ndendá?á, ndundá?á (vt) Drop, let go of (P,R)
 ndéndoso (vi) Be more than sufficient (P,R)
 ndéndoŕo (vi) Leak, seep (P)
 ndendóŕó (R)
 ndendú (n) Both, a pair (< *(?) uù)
 ndeŕuní Three, a trio (< *(?) uni)
 ndéñú (stat) Fat, swollen (see néñú)
 ndéñu, ndañú (adv) Always, forever
 ndèšìŕo, ndišìŕú, nišìŕú (n) Goat (SP *chivo*)
 ndétàtu, ndéndatu (vi) Rest (P,R)
 ndétí (vi) Stick (P,R)
 ndéu (int) Where, which, who
 ndexá?á (stat) Begin, start (see kexá?á)
 ndežá (vi) Increase, thrive (P,R)
 ndežú (n) Lightning
 ndežu (n) Food
 ndéžuŕu (vi) Confess (P,R)
 ndé?é, ndè?é (vt) Look, see (P)
 ndé?é (R)
 ndé?e (vi) Cry, bray (P,R)
 nde?é (adj) Brave
 nde?è (n) Fruit
 nùnde?é Fruit tree (< *žúnú nde?è)

- nde?è, nde?è tetíú, nde?è titíú
 Cherry
 nde?è, nde?è trāsñú Peach (SP *durazno*)
 ndé?žu (n) Mud
 ndibíko (vi) Dawn cloudy (P,R)
 ndíči, ndéči (int) In what direction, what way, where
 ndičí (adv) At an angle, inclined, leaning
 ndičí (n) Green bean
 ndíí (vi) Dawn (P,R)
 ndibíko (vi) Dawn cloudy (P,R)
 ndíí (vi, hab) Come and return (see bèì)
 ndíká (n) Banana
 ndíká k'w'a?á Red banana
 ndíká mánsanú Small yellow banana (SP *plátano manzanito*)
 ndíkándíí, ndíkándí (n) Sun
 ndíkándíí xíŕí (idiom) Eclipse of the sun
 ndíko (adj) Cold
 ndíko (vt) Grind (P)
 ndíko (R)
 ndíkoŕndo (n) Toad
 ndíso (vt) Carry, be in charge of (R)
 kundíso (P)
 ndíšìŕú, ndèšìŕo, nišìŕú (n) Goat (SP *chivo*)
 ndíšìŕú lúlí Lamb
 ndíto (vi) Be awake (R)
 kundíto (P)
 ndíto (vt) Care for; take care of (R)
 kundíto (P)
- ndíxa (adj) Certain, clear, true
 ndíxanú, ndíxínú (n) *Tlaxiaco* (town name)
 ndíxi (adj) Clear, light (of the sky)
 ndíxì (n) Wing
 ndíža (adv) Truthfully
 ndí?á (adv) A short time in the past
 ndí?u (adj) Closed, locked
 ndíxà (n) Huarache, shoe, sandal
 ndíká?á, ndíka?a (n) Puma, mountain lion (SP *león*)
 ndíki (n) Horn (of an animal)
 ndíki (n) Year
 ndíkíu, ndekíu (adv) Every day, daily
 ndíkíu, ndekíu (int) What day
 ndík'wítí (n) Everything (< *ndí?í k'wítí)
 ndíšì (n) Young corn (SP *elote*)
 ndíšì (n) *Aguardiente* (alcoholic drink)
 ndífu (vi, hab) Enter, go in (see kíu)
 ndíù (n) Egg
 ndíži (n) Corpse
 ndí?í (quant) All
 ndí?í (vi) End, finish (P,R)
 ndí?ži (n) Pimple
 ndí?ži tikátá Insect bite
 ndíkí (n) Seed
 ndíkí (n) Onion
 ndókani, ndú-kani (vi) Stand up (P)
 ndokáni, ndu-káni (R)
 ndokáña, ndakáña (vi) Become agitated, disturbed, excited (P,R)

- ndoko (n) Zapote
 ndoko íñú Chirimoya
 ndoko kusú White zapote
 ndóndá (vi) Come off, peel off (P,R)
 ndóó (adv) Straight
 ndoo (adj) Clean
 ndoò (n) Cane, cornstalk
 ndoò stílá Sugarcane (SP de Castilla, Castellano)
 ndòò (vi) Be left over, stay (P)
 ndóo (R)
 ndoso (n) Breast
 ndosò (n) Stone god
 ndóʔó, ndòʔo (n) Adobe
 ndoʔò (n) Basket (deep, usually has carrying strap) (SP tenate)
 ndu- (inchoative prefix) Become
 ndu-bàʔà (vi) Get better, improve (P,R)
 ndu-bíʔó (vi) Cloud up (P,R)
 ndu-bíʔí (vi) Become hot, heat up, warm up (P,R)
 ndú-ičì [ndúʔičì] inì (nuù) (vb) Scorn (P,R)
 ndu-kaba (vi) Lie down (P,R)
 ndú-kani, ndókani (vi) Stand up (P)
 ndu-káni, ndokáni (R)
 ndú-kāʔnū, ndú-ñāʔnū (vi) Put on airs (P,R) (SP engrandecerse)
 ndú-kòò (vi) Be seated, sit down (P,R)
 ndu-kūʔū inì (vb) Remember (the past) (P)
 ndú-kūʔū inì (R)
 ndu-kʷáʔá (vi) Blush (P)
 ndú-kʷaʔa (R)
 ndu-kʷítí (vi) Shrink (P,R)
 ndú-ndaà (vi) Become clear, clear up, dissolve (P,R)
 ndu-ndàki (vi) Become hard, stale, stiff (P,R)
 ndu-ndáʔá, ndendáʔá (vi) Drop, let go of (P,R)
 ndú-ñāʔnū, ndú-kāʔnū (vi) Put on airs (P,R) (SP engrandecerse)
 ndu-ñúʔū (vi) Get lost, lose one's way (P,R)
 ndu-síí (vi) Separate (P,R)
 ndú-tii (vi) Become tight, tighten (P,R)
 ndu-títú (vi) Reunite (P,R)
 ndu-xáá (vi) Do something for the first time (P,R)
 ndu-xáá saʔma Put on new clothes
 ndú-ʒaa (vi) Pale, become pale (P,R)
 ndúa (vi) Fall (P,R)
 nduá (n) Arrow, heat, ray
 nduà (n) Vegetable, eaten raw (edible grass, herb, leaf, bud, shoot, etc.) (SP quelite)
 nduà néte Edible part of guaje tree
 nduà ndusú Papaloquelite (edible herb)
 nduàbè (n) Aldama (town name)
 ndúbà (vi) Become excited, noisy, riotous (P,R)
 nduça (n) Water
 nduça kʷáʔá Tepache (alcoholic drink)
 nduça kʷíxí Pulque

- nduça úa Beer
 nduça (vi) Dissolve (P,R)
 ndučáʔá (n) Hot sauce, salsa
 nduči (n) Eye
 nduči (n) Bean
 nduči kʷáʔá Red bean
 nduči kʷíxí White bean
 nduči labá Fava bean (SP haba)
 nduči ndúu Large bean, type unk. (SP frijol grande, frijolón)
 nduči tílú, nduči tílúú Small white bean (SP alverja)
 nduči túú Black bean
 ndúkú (vt) Look for, search for (P)
 ndukú (R)
 ndukù (n) Firewood
 ndukʷí (vi) Stand up (P)
 ndúkʷí (R)
 ndundé inì (vb) Be encouraged, take heart (P,R) (SP animarse)
 nduša (n) Posole
 ndúší (adj) Boastful, proud
 nduši (vi) Heat, warm (P)
 ndúší (R)
 nduši (n) Honey
 ndúú (n) Day
 ndužu (n) Stake, stick
 ndùžù kaa, ndùžùka Nail
 ndúʔa (adj) Boiled, boiling
 nduʔà (n) Countryside, plain
 nduʔà mòlinú Chapultepec (town name) (SP molino)
 nduʔà ndéʔžu Abasolo (town name)

nž

- nžáá, žáá (vi) Live, reside (R)
 kunžàà, kúžaa (P)
 nžáá, žáá (vt) Cost (R)
 kunžàà (P)
 nžaa, žaa (adj) Blue, purple, sky blue, white

ñ

- =ña (clitic) She
 ñáá, káñá (adj) Bad, crazy, difficult, stupid (SG), ndañá (PL)
 ñábaʔa, žábaʔa (vt) Have (P,R)
 ñaka (adj) Ugly
 ñakʷíʔná (n) (Female) pickpocket, robber
 ñáni (n) Brother (of male)
 ñasíʔi, ñasiʔi (n) Wife (< *ñāʔā síʔi)
 ñažíù, ñažíú (n) Person
 ñáʔa (adv) Early
 ñaʔná, ñuáʔná (n) Mask
 ñáá (adj) Dark
 ñāmà (n) Corn husk (SP tomostile)
 ñāñā íñú (n) Mexican porcupine (SP puerco espín)
 ñāžíú, ñažíù (n) Person
 ñáʔā (vi, imp) Come (and return) (see bèl)

ñāʔā (n) Woman	ñūñū čúʔá Hammock
ñakʷíʔná (n) (Female) pickpocket, robber (< *ñāʔā kʷíʔná)	ñūñū (n) Hornet
ñasiʔi, ñasiʔi Wife (< *ñāʔā siʔi)	šìò ñūñū Honeycomb, hornet's nest
ñāʔā kʷáá Blind woman	ñūtáá, ñūū táá (n) Earthquake
ñāʔā súčí Young woman	ñūtū (n) Knot, joint (in a plant) (SP <i>nudo</i>)
ñāʔmī (n) Sweet potato	ñúú (vt) Pull (P,R)
ñāʔnū, žāʔnū (adj) Old	ñūū (n) Town
ñéélé (n) Person from San Miguel el Grande (derogatory)	ñūū koʔžó Mexico City
ñūū ñéélé San Miguel el Grande (town name)	ñūū ndéžá Chalcatongo
ñíní (adj) Late	ñūū ñéélé San Miguel el Grande
ñíñí (n) Hail	ñūū tikʷáʔá, ñūū tikʷàʔa Ticua
ñiùti, ñiùti, ñiùti (n) Sand	ñūū žokó, mužokó Pinotepa
ñiʔi, ñiʔi žoko, ñiʔi (n) Steam bath	ñūū žuku ndáá Teposcolula
ñiʔná (n) Scarecrow	ñūū táá, ñūtáá (n) Earthquake
ñiʔní (adj) Hot, warm	ñūžiu (n) World
ñíí (vt) Scratch (P,R)	ñūžmā (n) Smoke
ñíí (n) Leather, skin	ñūžná (n) Dream
ñíí, ñíí (n) Salt	ñúʔú (n) Earth, land, floor, dirt
ñíʔi (adj) Mute	ñúʔū (vt) Contain; have, put on, wear (clothes) (R)
ñiùti, ñiùti, ñiùti (n) Sand	kúʔū (P)
ñiʔi, ñiʔi, ñiʔi žoko (n) Steam bath	ñúʔū (n) Fire, light
ñíí žúʔu, ñižúʔu (n) Lips	ñūʔū (n) Teeth, tooth
ñiùti, ñiùti, ñiùti (n) Sand	
ñuáʔná, ñaʔná (n) Mask	
ñuʔmā (n) Wax	
ñúʔni (adv) No independent meaning; occurs only in bina ñúʔni 'right away, right now'	
ñúkʷi (n) Owl	
ñūñū (n) Bag (made of net)	

O

okò (num) Twenty
okò šíáʔū Thirty-five
okò ušì Thirty
okò úʔū Twenty-five

one, onde (prep) Until, up to	s-čóʔo (vt) Cook (P,R)
onde ičáá (adv) Day after tomorrow	s-ičí (vt) Dry (P,R)
onde íkú ñúú (adv) Day before yesterday	s-káa (vt) Open out, raise, unfold (P,R)
orá (conj) When (SP <i>hora</i>)	s-kaku (vt) Bear, have a child (P,R)
	s-kána (vt) Knock over, throw, tip over (P,R)
	s-kándia (vt) Advise, counsel (P,R)
	s-kánžaʔa, s-kážaʔa (vt) Bring, place nearby, lay aside (P,R)
	s-kasú (vt) Roast, toast (P,R)
	s-káši (vt) Nurse (P,R)
	s-kaxí (vt) Feed (P)
	s-kaxí (R)
	s-káʔndi (vt) Explode (P,R)
	s-kážaʔa, s-kánžaʔa (vt) Bring, place nearby, lay aside (P,R)
	s-kee (vt) Feed (P,R)
	s-kití (vt) Boil (P,R)
	s-kití inì (vb, vt) Anger (P,R)
	s-kóžo (vt) Remove corn from cob (P,R)
	s-kúči (vt) Bathe (P,R)
	s-kúní (vt) Scold (P,R)
	s-kʷáʔnū (vt) Raise (children) (P,R)
	s-kʷáŋgó (vt) Twist (P,R)
	s-kʷáʔná (vt) Choke, strangle (P,R)
	s-kʷíko (vt) Shake, turn (P,R)
	s-kʷisó (vt) Boil (P,R)
	s-náa (vt) Lose (P,R)
	s-náa iní (vb, vt) Forget (P,R)
	s-náʔa nuù (vb) Show, teach (P,R)
	s-naʔa (vt) Light (P,R)
	s-naʔa ñúʔū Make a fire

P

páa (n) Godfather (SP <i>compadre</i>)
pañú, pāñú (n) Shawl (SP <i>pañó, pañuelo</i>)
pero (conj) But (SP <i>pero</i>)
pípi (n) Turkey chick
primá (n) Cousin (female) (SP <i>prima</i>)
primú (n) Cousin (male) (SP <i>primo</i>)

R

raba (n) Radish (SP <i>rábano</i>)
=rí (clitic) I, we (familiar)
riʔ (n) Lamb, sheep (SP <i>borrego</i>)
=ro (clitic) You (familiar)
roʔo (n) You (familiar)
rùʔū (n) I, we (familiar)

S

s-čítú (vt) Fill (P,R)
s-číŋgí, s-číŋgí (vt) Curl (P,R)

s-néñu (vt) Fatten (P,R)	sámá (vt) Exchange, trade (P,R)
s-níñmí (vt) Chill, cool (P,R)	sami (n) Heron
s-núu, sinú (vt) Lengthen, lower (P,R)	sanáá iní (idiom) Messy, unkempt
s-ndáá (vt) Lift, put up, raise (P,R)	sančáo (n) Yosondúa (town name) (SP <i>Santiago Yosondúa</i>)
s-ndáxi (vt) Wet (P,R)	sánda (vt) Clarify, prove (P,R) (< *sáʔa ndáa)
s-ndáʔba (vt) Extinguish, put out (P,R)	sáni (adv) Always
s-ndéé (vt) Confess, stretch (P,R)	sánú (adv) Later
s-ndíká (vt) Chill, cool (P,R)	sánu saù, sãñũ sáo, sãĩ saù (n) Mixtec (language)
s-ndíʔi (vt) End, finish (P,R)	sastilá, sãstilá, sãʔã stilá (n) Spanish (language) (SP <i>Castellano</i>)
s-ndóó (vt) Abandon, leave (P,R)	sátĩú (vi) Work (P,R)
s-ndóo (vt) Allow, permit (P,R)	saù (n) Rain
s-ndú-kòò (vt) Sit (P,R)	sánu saù, sãñũ sáo, sãĩ saù Mixtec (language)
s-ndú-kʷíĩ (vt) Detain, stand (P,R)	sáʔa (vt) Do, make (P,R)
s-ndúča (vt) Dissolve (P,R)	sáʔba (n) Frog
s-nduší (vt) Heat, warm (P,R)	saʔba (quant) Half
s-tášo, s-tášio (vt) Move off of, out of (P,R)	saʔba ndúú (n) Noon
s-tíʔʔi (vt) Shrink (P,R)	sáʔi (vt) Bless (P,R)
s-túnžáa, s-túžáa (vt) Roll (P,R)	saʔí (n) Secret
s-tútú (vt) Gather, take away (P,R)	saʔma (n) Cloth, clothing, dress
s-tuxí (vt) Hurt (P,R)	saʔma žiní Cloth for tortillas, napkin
s-túžáa, s-túnžáa (vt) Roll (P,R)	saʔnda (n) Calf, leg muscle
sá-bàʔà (vt) Fix (P,R)	sáʔú (vt) Cover (oneself, one's head) (P)
sá-káni (vt) Stretch (P,R)	sáʔu (R)
sa-kʷáčí (vt) Slice (P,R)	sãĩ saù, sãñũ sáo, sánu saù (n) Mixtec (language)
sá-kʷítí (vt) Shorten (P,R)	sãstilá, sastilá, sãʔã stilá (n) Spanish (language) (SP <i>Castellano</i>)
sá-lulí (vt) Tidy up (P,R)	sáxĩ (n) Nephew
sá-ndiži (xíí) (vb) Play tricks on (P,R)	
sá-ndoo (vt) Clean (P,R)	
sá-tana (vt) Cure (P,R)	
saà (n) Bird	
sámá (n) Dinner, food	

sãʔã stilá, sãstilá, sastilá (n) Spanish (language) (SP <i>Castellano</i>)	sikì soʔo Earring
sečání, seʔe čání (n) Grandchild	sikì súkũ Necklace
sečání síʔi Granddaughter	sikì tiʔi Hunchback
sečání žíí, sečání žíí Grandson	síži (vi) Scorch, singe (P,R)
sekásá (n) Son-in-law (< *seʔe kása)	sikiží, kiží (n) Blister
sendáʔu, seʔe ndáʔu (n) Orphan	síʔi (adj) Feminine
sendúča (n) Godchild (< *seʔe nduča)	síʔú (n) Name
sesíʔi (n) Daughter (< *seʔe síʔi)	ndaʔbà (síʔú) (vt) Take (a name) off a list (P,R)
séte (n) Duck	síʔú, sùʔa (n) Chewing gum (SP <i>chicle</i>)
sete (vt) Shave (P,R)	síʔ (adj) Apart, separate
sexanú (n) Daughter-in-law (< *seʔe xánu)	síʔi (n) Leg
sežíí, sežíí (n) Son (< *seʔe žíí/žíí)	síʔi ndáʔa Wrist
seʔe (n) Child	síʔi xaʔà Ankle
seʔe čání, sečání Grandchild	skéé (vt) Harvest (P,R)
seʔe ndáʔu, sendáʔu Orphan	skʷáʔa (vt) Study (P,R)
seʔe súká Grandchild, great-grandchild	skʷelá (n) School (SP <i>escuela</i>)
seʔe úu Step-child	snawa (n) Skirt (SP <i>enaguas</i>)
sía, síža (n) Chair (SP <i>silla</i>)	snáʔa (adj) First
sía (vt) Drop, let go of (P,R)	sndikà (n) Bull, cow, ox
síkʷí (n) Small toad	sókáni, šokáni, šukáni (vt) Revolve, turn over, upset (P,R) (SP <i>voltear</i>)
sínu (vt) Finish (P,R)	sókó (n) Well
sinú, s-núu (vt) Lengthen, lower (P,R)	sòkò (n) Hunger
síža, sía (n) Chair (SP <i>silla</i>)	sokóžo (vt) Empty (P,R)
síʔú (vt) Frighten, scare (P,R)	sòò (n) Husk, peel, shell, skin
žúʔú (stat) Frightened, scared	sopa (n) Soup (SP <i>sopa</i>)
síxĩ (vt) Strain (P,R)	soʔo (n) Ear
sĩ (adj) Happy	sóʔo (adj) Deaf
sikì (n) Back (animal), above	sõã, súã (adv) Like that, thus
čisikí (adv) Above (< *iči sikì)	spexó (n) Mirror (SP <i>espejo</i>)

staà (n) Tortilla	súkú (adj) Tall
staà tilá, statilá, tastilá Bread (SP de Castilla, Castellano)	sükù (n) Neck, throat
stáá Ball of masa (corn dough)	síkà sükù, žuku sükù Necklace
standéžú Tortilla with beans (SP enfrijoladas)	sükù ndáʔa Wrist
staxaʔá, staxàʔá (n) Liver	súʔnú (n) Shirt
statilá, staà tilá, tastilá (n) Bread (SP de Castilla, Castellano)	
statilá bíšì, tastilá bíšì Sweet bread	
stodò (n) Uncle	
sučí (n) Young person, young man	
ñāʔā sučí Young woman	
sučí ndáʔu Orphan	
súčí (adj) Young	
súčá (vi) Swim (P)	
sučá (R)	
sukà, iši suká (n) Eyebrow	
súní (adv) Also, always, too	
sutù (n) Priest	
suu (idiom) Yes, it is	
súú (n) Body	
súú (n) Memelitas de maíz (type of tortilla)	
súú xití ndaʔa, xití ndaʔa (n) Elbow	
suu (idiom) Yes, it is	
suxia, šušia (n) Turpentine	
súʔa (n) Chocolate	
sùʔa, siʔú (n) Chewing gum (SP chicle)	
súʔma (n) Tail	
suʔú (vt) Steal (P)	
súʔú (R)	
súá, sôá (adv) Like that, thus	

Š

šàà (n) Chin
šaʔbà (n) Ravine
šāà (quant) Many, much
kʷaʔā šāā Many, various
šāā, šāā nāká (adj) Brave, fierce
šánúú (adj) First
šāʔā (n) Fat, grease, lard, oil
šāʔā=ka (adv) First
šéʔé (n) Ring
ši (conj) Or
ší-na-xaʔa (int) Why
šíí (adj) Thin, weak
šiì (n) Aunt
šíkó (num) Score, twentieth part
šikò (n) Odor, smell
šíkó (adj) Rotten, smelly
šikò (vt) Sell (P)
šíkó (R)
šíku (n) Niece
šinì (n) Head, at the top of
šinì béʔe Attic, roof
šinì líʔi Cockscorn

šinì ndáʔa Finger	šušia, suxia (n) Turpentine
šinì xáʔa Toe	šúʔu (n) Bill, money
šinì xití, šinì žití Knee	
šinì žúkú Hilltop	
šínu (n) Cornsilk	
šinù (n) Algae, scum	
šinù, xinù (n) Oven	
šìò, šòò (n) Comal (griddle on which tortillas are cooked)	
šìò ñùñú (n) Honeycomb, hornet's nest	
šìòò, šòò (n) Skirt	
šíá (adv) Tomorrow	
šíáʔú (num) Fifteen	
šíí (n) Belt, side (of body)	
šíí (adv) Leaning (against one's side)	
šíñú (n) Spanish moss (SP paxtle)	
šíʔā (n) Eagle, sparrow hawk	
šiki (n) Fist	
šikà (n) Corner, wall	
šókaba (vi) Turn over (P,R)	
šokáni, šukáni, sókani (vt) Revolve, turn over, upset (P,R) (SP voltear)	
šòò, šìò (n) Comal (griddle on which tortillas are cooked)	
šòò, šìòò (n) Skirt	
šòò kʷitá Slip (underskirt)	
šukáni, šokáni, sókani (vt) Revolve, turn over, upset (P,R) (SP voltear)	
šukʷíí (vi) Return, turn over or around (P)	
šúkʷíí (R)	
šuší (vt) Heat, warm (P,R)	

t

tà-ní-kʷa (greeting) Good night
tà-ní-ndí, tándi Good morning
tà-ní-ñini, táñini Good afternoon, evening
tà-ní-šìù, tá-úšìù [táʔúšìù] Good noon
táa (n) Father, boss
táa súká Grandfather
táa uù Step-father
tačiso, táčísó Father-in-law (< *táa číso/čísó)
taba (vt) Take off, out (P)
tábá (R)
taba iní (vb) Be encouraged, take heart (SP animarse) (P,R)
tabéʔe (adv) Outside (< *žata beʔe)
tačì (n) Breath, wind, demon, spirit, ghost, soul
tačísó, táčísó (n) Father-in-law (< *táa číso/čísó)
táká (quant) All
taká (vi) Assemble, congregate (P,R)
takà (n) Nest
tákáa, žata káa (n) Crowbar, hoe
tálinú (n) Godfather (term of address) (< *táa linú)

táná, sá-tana (vt) Cure (P,R)	tékei, tikàì, tikèi (n) Blanket
táná (n) Cure, medicine	tekó, ùkóo, tikóó (n) Tamale
tana (vi) Complain (P,R)	tekokó, tikokó (n) Worm
tàni (n) Sash (SP <i>faja</i>)	tekuče, ùkiči, tikuči (n) Bat
tanú (vt) Dissolve (P,R)	tek ^w aʔa, tik ^w aʔa, tik ^w àa (n) Orange
tándaʔa (vt) Marry (P,R)	tek ^w iti, tik ^w ití (n) Potato
tastilá, statilá, staà tilá (n) Bread (SP <i>de Castilla, Castellano</i>)	telúú, tilúú (n) Ball, rock, round thing
tastilá bīšī, statilá bīšī Sweet bread	teluú, tiluú (n) Buttocks
tasú žáʔá, žáʔá (n) Large buzzard	tènana, ùnana (n) Tomato (plum) (SP <i>jitomate</i>)
táta (term of address) Señor	tènana k ^w áʔá, ùnana k ^w áʔá Red tomato
táta abelú [aβelú] Great-grandfather (SP <i>abuelo</i>)	tènana sóo, ùnana sóo <i>Tomatillo</i>
táta ñúú, táta ñúú súká, táa súká Grandfather	tendaà, tìndáa (n) Fiber, rope (made from maguey) (SP <i>ixtle</i>)
táta ñúú káʔnū Ancestor	tendákú, ùndákú (n) Worm
táta ñúú súká Great-grandfather	tendasa, ùndasa, ndása (n) Earthworm
táu (vt) Owe (R)	tendóʔo, tìndóʔo (n) Jar
kutáu (P)	teñu, tìñúú (n) Owl
taxa (n) Lightning	tesìʔù (vi) Spit (P)
táxí (vt) Order (P,R)	tésàʔu (R)
táʔa (vi) Suffer (P,R)	tetfú (vt) Send (P)
tàʔà (n) Bruise, bump	tetfú (R)
táʔnu (vi) Bend, break, split (P,R)	texáʔā, tixáʔā (n) Clay pot (SP <i>cazuela</i>)
táʔu (vi) Break, crack, split (P,R)	texíá (vt) Arrange, clean up, tidy (P,R)
táʔu (vt) Roast (P,R)	težíí, težíí (adj) <i>Macho</i> (of a person)
táʔu (n) Gift, present	téžu (n) Bench, stool
táʔá (vi) Quake (of the earth) (P,R)	teʔakà, tiʔakà (n) Repulsive person or thing
táʔā (n) Companion, family, friend, relative	téʔnde (vi) Cut, rip, tear (P,R)
táʔā (quant) Every	téʔžu (vi) Rot (P,R)
te (conj) And	tičíí, tičíí, tíčí, tíčí (n) <i>Tutuñí (de salsa)</i> (tortilla dipped in salsa)
tekaži, tikàži, tikáži (n) Charcoal	

tičòò, tičoo (n) Potsherd (SP <i>tepalcate</i>)	tii (adj) Tight
tičóʔo (n) Birthmark (on face)	tikà, tikàà, tiká (n) Grasshopper
tikáʔžá (n) Corn fungus	tikačá, tikačaa (n) Dust, whirlwind
tikáxī (n) Worm (infests cornfields)	tikàì, tikèi, tékei (n) Blanket
tikokó, tekokó (n) Worm	tìkì káʔnu, tikèi ponchó Poncho
tík ^w àʔa, tik ^w àʔá (n) Chigger	tikàkà, tikáká (n) Crow, raven
tííngí, tííngí (adj) Skinny, thin	ùkaka íni (n) Tarantula
tiluú, teluú (n) Buttocks	ùkánu, tikánú (n) Knot
timí, tímí (n) Bee	ùkasi, tikàsí (n) Spoon
timí ñúñú Honey bee	tikátá (n) Mange
tindíka (n) Pine cone	tikàži, tikáži, tekaži (n) Charcoal
tiñí, tìñí (n) Mouse, rat	tikàžòko, žòko (n) Corn tassel
tìo (n) Basket (loosely woven, for washing <i>nixtamal</i>) (SP <i>chiquihuite</i>)	tikèi, tikàì, tékei (n) Blanket
tirandúčì, tisandúčì (n) Caterpillar	tikèi pončó, ùkì káʔnū <i>Poncho</i>
tíšesé (n) Urine	tikišì (n) Termite
titeʔé (n) Cockroach	tikiči, tikuči, tekuče (n) Bat
tixi, tixí (n) Buzzard	tikíki (adj) Hard
tíʔa (quant) Enough (more), a little bit more	tikókó, tikòʔó (n) Tray (made from a gourd)
tíʔi (quant) Enough, a little, a little bit	tikoko žáú (n) Center of <i>maguey</i> from which pulque is extracted
tiʔíñu (n) Foam	ùkóo, tikóó, tekó (n) Tamale
tiʔlu (adj) Small	tikoro žáʔnda (n) Rainbow (SP <i>arco iris</i>)
tíí, tíí, tížó, tížú (n) Fingernail	tikoto (n) Small black bug (type unk.)
tíū (n) Work	tikòʔó, tikókó (n) Tray (made from a gourd)
tíú Errand	tikòʔží (n) Dimple
tížó, tížú, tíí, tíí (n) Fingernail	tikúčá (n) Ball, rock, round thing
=ti (clitic) It (animal)	tikuči, tikiči, tekuče (n) Bat
ùči, tìči (n) Muscle, nerve, tendon, vein	tikuña (n) Blister, mole
tìči, tíči, tičíí, tíčíí (n) <i>Tutuñí (de salsa)</i> (tortilla dipped in salsa)	tik ^w a ñúñú (n) Hot coals
tíči (n) Avocado	tik ^w àa, tik ^w aʔa, tek ^w aʔa (n) Orange

- tik^wážú, tik^wáažúú (*n*) Guava (SP *guayaba*)
tik^wážá, tik^wáža (*n*) Chigger
tik^waža, tik^wáa, tek^waža (*n*) Orange
tik^weže (*n*) Rabies
inà tik^weže Rabid dog
tik^wití, tek^witi (*n*) Potato
tilašú k^wañúžú (*n*) *Hierbamora*
(medicinal herb)
tilúú, telúú (*n*) Ball, rock, round thing
tànana, tènana (*n*) Tomato (plum) (SP *jitomate*)
tànana k^wážá, tènana k^wážá Red tomato
tànana sóó, tènana sóó *Tomatillo*
tíni (*adv*) Both, various
tíndáa, tendaa (*n*) Fiber, rope (made from maguey) (SP *ixtle*)
tíndaka, tìndakà (*n*) Wasp
tìndákú, tendákú (*n*) Worm
tìndasa, tendasa, ndása (*n*) Earthworm
tíndóo (*n*) Spider
tíndotó (*n*) Sty (of the eye)
tíndó?o, tendó?o (*n*) Jar
tíndúú (*n*) Tree trunk
tíñúú, teñu (*n*) Owl
tíñúu (*n*) Fruit of the Mexican hawthorn
(tree name: SP *tejocote*)
tisú?má (*n*) Scorpion
titaší íši (*n*) Split ends
tíú (*vi*) Decompose, rot (P)
tíú (R)
tíú inl (*vb*) Have a stomachache
- tixážá, texážá (*n*) Clay pot (SP *cazuela*)
tí?akì, te?akì (*n*) Repulsive person or thing
tí?í (*adj*) Hunchbacked, lame
tí?u (*vt*) Suck (P,R)
tíčì, tíčì, tíčìí, tíčìí (*n*) Tutufí (*de salsa*)
(Tortilla dipped in salsa)
tíí (*vt*) Catch, grab, hold (P,R)
tíñíí, tíñí (*n*) Mouse, rat
tíngí (*vi*) Cramp, tighten up (P,R)
tí?žá (*vi*) Shrink, be tight (P,R)
=to (*clitic*) He, she (*polite*)
tolí (*n*) *Atole*
tóo (*n*) Drop
tóo (*vi*) Drip, drain, run (as water) (P,R)
to?ò (*n*) Person, stranger (*respectful*)
tríyu, tríu (*n*) Wheat (SP *trigo*)
tú= (*clitic*) Negative
tú=k^witi (*n*) Nothing
tú=no-žó (*n*) Nobody
tučà, tučà nunì (*n*) *Chile atole de maíz*
tùčì, tìčì (*n*) Muscle, nerve, tendon, vein
tuku (*adv*) Again
tundó?o, nundó?o (*n*) Accident, problem
tunžaa, túžaa (*vi*) Roll (P,R)
túnčì, tùnčì (*n*) Cave, deep hole
tútú (*vi*) Whistle (P)
tútu (R)
tútú (*adj*) Together
tutù (*n*) Paper
túu (*adv*) No

- túú (*vt*) Sting, bite (P)
túu (R)
tuxi (*vi*) Hurt oneself (P,R)
túžaa, tunžaa (*vi*) Roll (P,R)
túža, kútuža, kutúža (*vi*) Learn (R)
kutuža (P)
tùù (*adj*) Black
túú (*n*) Soot
tùù (*n*) Feather
tú?ú (*n*) Message, word
tú?ú (*adj*) Gossipy, lying

Ū

- ūkaba, íkàbà (*vi*) Lie down
ú?u (*num*) Five

W

U

- uà (*adj*) Bitter
unà (*num*) Eight
unì (*num*) Three
unì šíkó ušì Seventy
unì šíkó šíá?ú Seventy-five
úša, úšia (*num*) Seven
ušì (*num*) Ten
uù (*num*) Two
uù šíkó Forty
uù šíkó okò Sixty
uù šíkó okò ú?u Sixty-five
uù šíkó šíá?u Fifty-five
uù šíkó ušì Fifty
uù šíkó ú?u Forty-five
ú?a (*adj*) Thick, dense

- wáā (*adv, det, n*) The, then, there
wáā (*dem, n*) That
welá (*n*) Grandmother (SP *abuela*)
welú (*n*) Grandfather (SP *abuelo*)

X

- xa-bíší (*n*) Fruit, grapes
xa-k^wáá (*n*) Darkness, night, blind person
xa-k^wažá (*n*) Red
xa-k^wáá (*n*) Yellow
xa-k^wíi (*n*) Blue, green (thing)
xa-k^wí?ná (*n*) Pickpocket, robb
xa-k^wíxí (*n*) White
xa-lúli (*n*) Child, boy
xa-lúli uè tá?á Twin
xa-lúli žákí Baby

xa-méku (<i>n</i>) Gray (thing), wool thread	xání inì (<i>vb</i>) Think (R)
xa-náʔa (<i>n</i>) Past	kání inì (P)
xa-núú (<i>n</i>) First one	xáni (táʔu) (<i>vt</i>) Hit (R)
xa-ndáa (<i>n</i>) Truth	kání (táʔu) (P)
xa-ndūxì (<i>n</i>) Last year	xání (<i>vi</i>) Dream (P,R)
xa-nʒaa (<i>n</i>) White, sky blue, blue, purple (thing)	xáníndí (<i>vt</i>) Stand (R)
xa-náʔa (<i>n</i>) Morning	kanfndí (P)
xa-nííni (<i>n</i>) Afternoon	xánu (<i>n</i>) Sister-in-law (brother's wife, spouse's sister)
xa-siʔí (<i>n</i>) Girl, woman	xanú (<i>vt</i>) Loan (R)
xa-súčí (<i>n</i>) Young man, young person	kʷanú (P)
xa-šánúú, xa-núú (<i>n</i>) First one	xanù (<i>n</i>) Coffin, trunk
xa-tūú (<i>n</i>) Black (thing)	xándía, kandía (<i>vt</i>) Believe (R)
xa-úʔu (<i>n</i>) Devil	kandía, kundía (P)
xa-žíí, xa-žíí (<i>n</i>) Man, husband	xánuča (<i>vt</i>) Baptize (R)
xa-žíí súčí, xa-žíí súčí Bachelor	kʷanduča (P)
xáá (<i>adj</i>) New	xasú (<i>vt</i>) Close, cover (R)
xaa (<i>vi</i>) Blossom, sprout, flow (of water) (P,R)	kásu (P)
xaà (<i>vi</i>) Arrive there at neutral goal (P)	ndasú (<i>stat</i>)
ni-xaà (<i>cp</i>)	xáši, žáši (<i>vi</i>) Nurse, suck (R)
xáča (<i>vt</i>) Dig (R)	káši (P)
kača (P)	xátá (káá) (<i>vt</i>) Hang (R)
xačà, xača (<i>vt</i>) Spread, throw (R)	kátá (káá) (P)
kača (P)	xatáʔā, xitáʔā (<i>vi</i>) Fight (R)
xàkò, xàko (<i>n</i>) Opossum (SP <i>tlacuache</i>)	kʷatáʔā (P)
xakú (<i>vi</i>) Laugh (R)	xatíú (<i>vt</i>) Use (R)
kʷáku (P)	kʷatíú (P)
xàku (<i>n</i>) Corral	xátí, xatu (<i>vt</i>) Boil over, spill (R)
xakúu (<i>prep</i>) For	katí, katu (P)
xání, kání (<i>vt</i>) Build, construct (R)	xátù, xatú (<i>vi</i>) Be spicy (R)
kání (P)	kuxátú, xatù (P)
	xáu náʔá (<i>int</i>) How long (time)

xáʔá inì (<i>idiom</i>) Egotistical	xičá (<i>vt</i>) Water (R)
xáʔa (nuù) (<i>vt</i>) Give (R)	kʷičá (P)
xàʔa (<i>vi</i>) Sleet, snow (P)	xíčakú, čakú (<i>vi</i>) Live, be alive (R)
xáʔa (R)	kučáku (P)
xaʔá (<i>vt</i>) Pass by, pass over (P,R)	xičáʔa, xičaʔa (<i>vi</i>) Dance (R)
xaʔā (<i>n</i>) Foot	kačáʔa, kučáʔa (P)
xáʔá (<i>adj</i>) On foot, standing	xíči, xìči (<i>n</i>) Creek
xaʔā (<i>n</i>) Time	žuxíči Bank, shore (< *žuu xiči)
xáʔni (<i>vt</i>) Kill (R)	xíči (<i>vi</i>) Ripen (R)
káʔni (P)	kúči (P)
xáʔnu (<i>vt</i>) Break (R)	xíči (<i>vi</i>) Bathe (R)
káʔnu (P)	kučí (P)
xáʔña, xáʔza (<i>vt</i>) Cut (R)	xíká (<i>adj</i>) Far
káʔña, káʔza (P)	xikà (<i>n</i>) Chest
xáá (<i>vt</i>) Buy (R)	xíka (<i>vi</i>) Walk (R)
kʷāā (P)	kaka (P)
xāā (<i>adv</i>) Yes	xíka (<i>vt</i>) Ask for (R)
xāñú (<i>vt</i>) Kick (R)	kaka (P)
kʷāñú (P)	xikà (<i>n</i>) Corner, wall
xátaʔni iní (<i>vb</i>) Love (P,R)	xìka (<i>n</i>) Basket (may have handles, relatively shallow) (SP <i>canasta</i>)
xátáʔā (inì) (<i>vb</i>) Like (P)	xíko (<i>vi</i>) Spin, turn (R)
xátáʔā, xítáʔā (inì) (R)	kʷíko (P)
xáʔā (<i>vi, hab</i>) Go and return (see kíʔi)	xíkuu (<i>vi</i>) Be located, moving around (R)
xáʔmū (<i>vt</i>) Burn, smoke (R)	kúkúú (P)
káʔmū (P)	xináʔa (<i>plural word</i>) Plural
xáʔnū (<i>vi</i>) Grow (R)	xíni nūʔu (<i>vt</i>) Need (P,R)
kʷáʔnū (P)	xiní (<i>vt</i>) Know, see (R)
xéí (<i>vt</i>) Put (R)	kúní (P)
kéí (P)	xiní (soʔo) (<i>vb</i>) Hear, listen (R)
xífa (<i>vi</i>) Rot, sour (P,R)	kúní (soʔo) (P)
xičá, xičá (<i>adj</i>) Wide	xínu (<i>vi</i>) Finish (P,R)

- xinù, šinù (*n*) Oven
 xíndatu, ndátu (*vi*) Wait (R)
 kundátu (P)
 xindáʔá, xíndáʔá (*vt*) Carry, bring (R)
 kundáʔá (P)
 čáá (*imp*)
 xíndee (*vi*) Be located in (R)
 kundee (P)
 xíndii, kándii (*vi*) Be located standing,
 stand (R)
 kúndíi (P)
 xisíki (*vi*) Play (R)
 kusíki (P)
 xísndée (*vi*) Be located on top of (R)
 kúsndée (P)
 xisó (*vi*) Boil (R)
 kʷiso (P)
 xišíní, žešíní (*vt*) Eat (evening meal) (R)
 kušíní, kešíní (P)
 xíta (*vi*) Sing (R)
 káta (P)
 xitáʔā, xatáʔā (*vi*) Fight (R)
 kʷatáʔā (P)
 xító (*vi*) Appear, seem (R)
 koto (P)
 xító (*vt*) Care for, take care of, watch out
 for, see (R)
 koto (P)
 xito (*n*) Bed
 xító nʒaa, xító ʒaa (*vt*) Test, try (R)
 kótó nʒaa, kótó ʒaa (P)
- xítú (*vi*) Work in the fields (R)
 kútú (P)
 xítuu, xítú (*vi*) Lie down, be located
 lying down (R)
 kutuu, kutú, kátú (P)
 ndátu (*stat*) Lying down, located
 lying down
 xítu inì (*vb*) Hurry (P,R)
 xíʒaa (*vi*) Be located (R-SG)
 kúʒaa (P-SG)
 xíʒi (*vi*) Die (R)
 kuè (P)
 xíʒi ñũʔñá (*idiom*) Be sleepy, tired
 xíʒi sòkò Be hungry
 xíʒi (*vt*) Drink (R)
 kóʔó (P)
 xíʒi (*n*) Mushroom
 xišíní Mushroom (type unk.)
 xíʔindí xa-ñũʔũ, xindí xa-ñũʔũ
 Large mushroom (type unk.)
 xiʒi káčá Yellow mushroom
 xiʒi náʔá, xiʒi náa, xiná Large
 yellow or orange mushroom
 xiʒi taká, xitaka Large mushroom
 with many fingerlike growths
 xiʒi tísu, xítisu, xiʒi tísu Small
 brown or black mushroom
 xiʒi ʒisi, xiʒísi, xiʒísu Large white
 mushroom
 xíí (*prep*) With
 xínũ (*vi*) Run (R)
 kúnú (P)

- xítáʔā, xátáʔā (*inì*) (*vb*) Like (R)
 xátáʔā (*inì*) (P)
 xíʔa (*vi*) Bark (P,R)
 xítí (*n*) Guts, tripe
 xítí koʔó (*n*) Bellybutton, navel
 xítí, šinì xítí, šinì ʒití (*n*) Knee
 xítì ndaʔa, súú xítì ndaʔa (*n*) Elbow
 xoð (*quant*) Few, a little bit
 xoko (*vt*) Light (R)
 kokó (P)
 xúfíá (*vt*) Open (R)
 kuña (P)
 núña (*stat*) Open, opened
 xúñanuu (*vt*) Hold (R)
 kuñánuu (P)
 xuíni (*vt*) Tie (R)
 kuñi (P)
 núñi (*stat*) Tied
- Ž**
- =ʒa (*clitic*) She, he, it (*supernatural
 being*)
 ʒáá, nʒáá (*vt*) Cost (R)
 kunʒàà (P)
 ʒáá, nʒáá (*vi*) Live, reside (R)
 kúʒaa, kunʒàà (P)
 ʒaá, nʒaá (*adj*) Blue, sky blue, white,
 purple
 ʒaa (*n*) Tongue
 ʒàà (*n*) Ash
- ʒaà (*n*) Music, song
 ʒábaʔa, ñábaʔa (*vt*) Have (P,R)
 ʒáči (*adv*) Fast, quickly, rapidly, soon
 ʒáči inì (*adj*) Agile
 ʒáka (*adv*) All day
 ʒáka (*vt*) Bring (a person) (R)
 kuʒaka, kunʒaka (P)
 ʒakà, ʒakà nífí (*n*) Corn crib
 ʒakʷá (*adj*) Crooked, lopsided
 ʒakʷí, ʒakʷí (*n*) Armadillo
 ʒani (*adj*) Close, near
 ʒani (*prep*) Near
 ʒandúʒukà, ʒaʔa ndúʒu kàà (*n*) Clove
 ʒásí inì (*vb*) Breakfast, eat (first meal of
 day) (R)
 kásí inì (P)
 ʒásí (*adj*) Thin (e.g. paper)
 ʒáši, xáši (*vi*) Nurse, suck (R)
 káši (P)
 ʒata (*n*) Back (human)
 ʒatà xa-núú Second (one)
 ʒata úku, ʒata íkuu (*n*) *Iturbide* (town
 name)
 ʒatà (*n*) Plow
 ʒatà káa, tàkáa Crowbar, hoe
 ʒáxi (*vt*) Eat (R)
 kaxi (P)
 ʒau (*n*) Hole
 ʒáú (*n*) *Maguey*
 tikoko ʒáú Center of *maguey* from
 which *pulque* is extracted
 ʒáú tílunčè, ʒáú tílunčí, ʒáú tíríí
 Medicinal *maguey* (SP *papalome*)

- žáʔá, tasù žáʔá (*n*) Large buzzard
 žáʔa (*vt*) Take (*imp*) (see kíʔi)
 žáʔa (*adv*) Here
 žaʔá (*dem, n*) This
 žaʔa (*n*) Chile
 žáʔa kʷaʔá Red chile (type unk.)
 žáʔa kʷíi Serrano chile
 žáʔa íčí Costeño chile
 žáʔa ndíki Red chile (type unk.)
 žaʔa ndúžu kàà, žandúžukà (*n*) Clove
 žáʔu (*adj*) Expensive
 žáʔu, nužáʔu (*n*) Market, plaza
 žáxí (*n*) Bowl, cup (made from a gourd)
 (SP *jicara*)
 žáʔnū, nāʔnū (*adj*) Old
 žéce (*vt*) Eat (R)
 kee (P)
 žesámá (*vt*) Eat (meal at middle of day)
 (R)
 kesámá, kusámá (P)
 žesaʔí, žesaʔu (*stat*) Hidden (see čísaʔu)
 žésúku (*stat*) Rolled up, wrapped (see
 česúku)
 žešíní, xišíní (*vt*) Eat (evening meal) (R)
 kešíní, kušíní (P)
 žežíʔí, žežíʔí (*vt*) Bite (R)
 kežíʔí, kežíʔí (P)
 =ží (*clitic*) He, she (*polite, younger or
 deceased person*)
 žíí (*adj*) Difficult
 žii, žíí (*adj*) Masculine
 te-žíí, te-žíí *Macho* (of a person)
- žíkʷaʔa (*stat*) Measured, weighed (see
 číkʷaʔa)
 žíndikí (*stat*) Followed (see číndikí)
 žíndíʔu (*stat*) Locked in (see číndíʔu)
 žísi, žísi (*n*) Avocado leaf
 žítaʔnu (*stat*) Folded (see čítaʔnu)
 žítáʔā, žútáʔā (*stat*) Joined, united (see
 čítáʔā)
 žíʔí, žíʔí (*adj*) Raw
 žíʔí (*stat*) Planted, rubbed, smeared,
 sown, spread (see číʔí)
 žíʔi (*stat*) Tied (of a knot) (see číʔi)
 žiʔù (*n*) Excrement
 žíí, žii (*adj*) Masculine
 žíki (*n*) Gourd, pumpkin, squash
 žíki tíndužù *Chilacayote*
 žiki (*n*) Bone
 žiki núu Cheek
 žiki tíkú Needle
 žísi, žísi (*n*) Avocado leaf
 žiti (*n*) Candle
 žiti žúša Torch
 žixi (*vi*) Become numb, fall asleep (a
 body part) (P,R)
 žiʔí, žíʔí (*adj*) Raw
 žíkí, xa-lúli žíkí (*n*) Baby
 =žó (*clitic*) We (*inclusive*)
 žóko, tikážóko (*n*) Corn tassel
 žokò (*n*) Steam
 žókútú, žúkútú (*adj*) Tight
 žóó (*v*) Exist, there is, are (R)
 koo (P)
 tú=no-žó (*n*) Nobody

- žòó (*n*) Month, moon
 žòó (*n*) *Metate*
 žoʔo (*n*) Root
 žoʔo (*adj*) Bent, twisted
 žoʔo (*n*) Rope, cord (made from maguey)
 (SP *mecate, ixtle*)
 žoʔo lía Thin rope (SP *lía*)
 žutù, žoʔo žútu Carrying strap (SP
mecapal)
 žóʔó (*n*) We (*inclusive*)
 žókò (*n*) Hairbrush
 žuà (*n*) Vegetable, eaten cooked (SP
quelite)
 žúbaʔa (*vt*) Have (P)
 žubàʔa (R)
 žubéʔé ([žuʔwéʔé]) (*n*) Door (< *žuʔu
 beʔe)
 žúčá (*adj*) Tender, young
 žuča (*n*) River
 žuča káʔnū, čakáʔnu Canyon
 žuzúča Mouth of a river (< *žuʔu
 žuča)
 žúčí (*n*) Flour
 žučí (*n*) Knife
 žukóʔó (*n*) Braggart (SP *bocón*)
 žúkú (*n*) Forest, hill, mountain
 kini žókú Wild pig (SP *jabalí*)
 žuku síkù, síkú síkú (*n*) Necklace
 žuku šóo (*n*) *Progreso* (town name)
 žuku žítí (*n*) *Santa María Yucuití* (town
 name)
 žukù (*n*) Herb, plant
 žukù íñú Bramble
- žukù tínáñá, ità tanáñā Medicinal
 herb (type unk.)
 žúkútú, žókútú (*adj*) Tight
 žumá (*n*) Language (SP *idioma*)
 žúndaxi (*stat*) Soaked, wet (see čúndaxi)
 žundúčá (*n*) Bank, shore (< *žuʔu
 nduča)
 žundùxì (*stat*) Buried (see čindùxì)
 žúša (*n*) Pine needles
 žuša (*n*) Corn dough (SP *masa*)
 žútáʔā, žítáʔā (*stat*) Joined, united (see
 čítáʔā)
 žutù, žoʔo žútu (*n*) Carrying strap (SP
mecapal)
 žuu (*n*) Palm mat (SP *petate*)
 žuù (*n*) Rock, stone
 koʔo žuu *Molcajete* (small stone
 mortar for making *salsa*)
 žúú (*adj*) Hard, solid
 žuxíči (*n*) Bank, shore (< *žuʔu xíči)
 žúʔa (*n*) Ice, snow
 žuʔà (*n*) Cord, string, thread
 žúʔú (*stat*) Frightened, scared (see síʔú)
 žuʔu (*n*) Mouth, language
 nižúʔu, nīí žúʔu Lips
 žubéʔé ([žuʔwéʔé]) Door (< *žuʔu
 beʔe)
 žumá Language (SP *idioma*)
 žundúčá Bank, shore (< *žuʔu
 nduča)
 žuxíči Bank, shore (< *žuʔu xíči)
 žuzúča Mouth of a river (< *žuʔu
 žuča)