

# A Dialectological Sketch of Ixqui huacan Nahuatl\*

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## Abstract

This paper provides the results of the author’s pilot study on Ixqui huacan Nahuatl, a modern Nahuatl dialect spoken in northern Puebla, Mexico. Intended as a first step towards the systematic description of this understudied dialect, this paper consists of: (i) brief remarks on its sociolinguistic situation and current research status, (ii) a tentative proposal for a practical transcription system, (iii) a commentary on four major comparative linguistic features which characterize the dialect, and (iv) a preliminary description of its synchronic phonology. The appendix to this paper contains basic word lists of Ixqui huacan Nahuatl based on two questionnaires (*Swadesh List* and *Cuestionario para dialectología náhuatl*). While Ixqui huacan Nahuatl has many features in common with other variants of Zacatlán–Ahuacatlán–Tepetzintla Nahuatl, it appears to be lexically more innovative than neighboring dialects such as that of Tenango.

## 1. Introduction

In the present paper I shall provide a preliminary sketch of Ixqui huacan Nahuatl, a modern Nahuatl<sup>1</sup> dialect spoken in the *pueblo* of San Francisco Ixqui huacan, Puebla. The data presented were collected during fieldwork in 2013–2014.

While Ixqui huacan Nahuatl can be classified as a variant of “the Nahuatl of Zacatlán–Ahuacatlán–Tepetzintla”<sup>2</sup> (henceforth *ZAT Nahuatl*), there are some phonological, morphological, and especially lexical differences between it and other ZAT Nahuatl dialects despite their close genetic relationship and high mutual intelligibility.

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<sup>1</sup>Nahuatl (*náhuatl*), also known as Aztec or *mexicano*, is a group of closely related Uto-Aztecan languages spoken by approximately 1,500,000 people in Mexico (INEGI, 2005). In this paper I shall adopt the internationally familiar term *Nahuatl*, although the term *Nahua*, which includes other closely related languages such as Pochutec and Pipil, would be technically more appropriate.

<sup>2</sup>ISO 639-3 language code: *nhi*; descriptions in *Ethnologue*: <http://www.ethnologue.com/language/nhi/>.

As a first step toward the comprehensive description of the dialect, this paper intends to provide some basic data and descriptive materials necessary for future research, such as a transcription system and a preliminary phonological analysis.

The appendix to this paper includes two basic expression lists based respectively on *Swadesh List* and *Cuestionario para dialectología náhuatl*, the latter being a questionnaire arranged especially for the areal-dialectological pilot study of modern Nahuatl.

### 1.1. Sociolinguistic overview

The municipality of Ahuacatlán is located in the northern part of the state of Puebla (*Sierra Norte de Puebla*), central Mexico. In the municipality there are both Totonac-speaking and Nahuatl-speaking *pueblos*. The center of the municipality, San Juan Ahuacatlán, is therefore a trilingual town (Spanish–Totonac–Nahuatl).

Within the municipality of Ahuacatlán, San Francisco Ixquihuacan is the largest Nahuatl-speaking *pueblo*, with approximately 3,500 inhabitants.<sup>3</sup> While classes at school are conducted in Spanish, Nahuatl is still the only predominant language in daily conversation.

As with any other indigenous language of Mesoamerica, Ixquihuacan Nahuatl has been in close contact with Spanish. Most speakers are bilingual in Nahuatl and Spanish, with more fluency in Nahuatl, whereas elder speakers (age 70 or older), especially women, tend to be monolinguals. Some very young children (age 5 or younger) feel more comfortable in Spanish. Despite the presence of neighboring Totonac-speaking communities, most people in Ixquihuacan do not speak Totonac.

While they can communicate with Nahuatl speakers from nearby *pueblos* without difficulty, many people find it hard to understand books and pamphlets written in Nahuatl, probably due in part to dialectal differences.

### 1.2. Current research status

Though Ixquihuacan Nahuatl itself has not yet been systematically described by linguists, materials have been published on other ZAT Nahuatl dialects, notably those of San Miguel Tenango, San Juan Ahuacatlán, and Zacatlán.

The best described variant is that of San Miguel Tenango, a *pueblo* located in the municipality of Zacatlán, Puebla. Through the guidance of Petra Schroeder and Elizabeth Márquez Hernández, this dialect has its own writing system. Also a few preliminary linguistic descriptions are now available (e.g. Schroeder and Tuggy, 2003), in addition to many pedagogical materials and a complete translation of New Testament Bible (Liga Bíblica Internacional, 2012).<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>In addition to the present inhabitants of Ixquihuacan, many people are said to have emigrated mainly to the state of Tlaxcala. The total number of speakers of Ixquihuacan Nahuatl is therefore not known.

<sup>4</sup>*Language Archives* provides a list of linguistic materials on Tenango Nahuatl: <http://www.language-archives.org/language/nhi/>.

The variant of San Juan Ahuacatlán has a descriptive grammar (Lara Martínez, 1976), as well as a preliminary description of verb tenses and a word list (Hertle, 1972). Although the Nahuatl of Ahuacatlán is quite similar to that of Ixqui huacan, I leave a systematic comparison of the two to further research.

Lastra de Suárez (1986) provides the word list of the dialect spoken in the city of Zacatlán collected in 1976 by Jeff Burnham, based on which she argues that the variant belongs to the Puebla–Tlaxcala subarea of Central Nahuatl. Though today it is difficult to find a speaker of Zacatlán dialect, these data show that the dialect has many features in common with Ixqui huacan Nahuatl, such as the raising of short *e* and the loss of the absolutive suffix after *l* in addition to many lexical similarities; these features will be discussed in detail below.

### 1.3. Tentative transcription

Unlike the neighboring dialect of Tenango, Ixqui huacan Nahuatl does not have a writing system. For the convenience of typesetting and readability, this paper proposes the following simplified spelling rules both for phonetic and phonological notation.

Traditional	IPA	Americanist	Simplified
<i>cu, uc, cuh</i>	k <sup>w</sup>	k <sup>w</sup>	<b>kw</b>
<i>tz</i>	ts	c, ç	<b>ts</b>
<i>ch</i>	tʃ	č	<b>ch</b>
<i>x</i>	ʃ	š	<b>x</b>
<i>tl</i>	t <sup>l</sup> , tʰ	λ, λ̣	<b>tl</b>
<i>y, i</i>	j	y	<b>y</b>
–	x	x	<b>j</b>
( <i>Ṽ, Ṃ</i> )	ʔ	ʔ, ’	<b>’</b>
<i>ñ</i>	ɲ	n <sup>y</sup>	<b>ñ</b>
<i>r</i>	r	r	<b>r</b>
<i>r, rr</i>	r	ř	<b>rr</b>
–	Ṽ	Ṽ, etc.	<b>Ṽ</b>
( <i>Ṃ</i> )	V:	V, etc.	<b>Ṃ</b>

A macron (*ā*) marks long vowels and a tilde (*ã*) represents nasal vowels.

Stress is marked by the acute accent (e.g. *ohkón* ‘thus’). It is not marked when the word is monosyllable or the stress falls on the penultimate syllable, which is the unmarked stress position in many dialects including Ixqui huacan Nahuatl (e.g. *ohkli* = *óhtli* ‘road’).

Nonphonemic glottal stops in Ixqui huacan Nahuatl, which are automatically inserted after a word-final short oral vowels, are not written (e.g. *ohkli* = *ohkli’* ‘road’).

For the sake of consistency, the trill /r/ is written as *rr* even in word-initial position (e.g. *rrefrēskoh* ‘soda pop’; *norrefrēskoh* ‘my soda pop’).

In addition to these regular spellings, Spanish loanwords are occasionally written in the standard Spanish orthography. Spanish-style spellings are marked by underlining (e.g. camión = *kamiōn* ‘bus, truck’).

## 2. Dialectological features

This section describes the comparative linguistic status of Ixquihuacan Nahuatl with reference to other dialects, in particular Classical Nahuatl.

Ixquihuacan Nahuatl can be characterized by four major features: (i) the raising of historical short *e*, (ii) the realization of Proto-Nahuan *\*h* as /h/, (iii) the loss of the absolutive suffix *-li* after polysyllabic noun stems, and (iv) degemination.

### 2.1. Raising of *e*

In Ixquihuacan Nahuatl, historical short *e* has raised to *i* in most environments, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Examples of *e*-raising in Ixquihuacan Nahuatl

	Ixquihuacan Nahuatl	Classical Nahuatl
‘hill’	<i>tipētl</i>	<i>tepētl</i>
‘reed mat’	<i>pitlatl</i>	<i>petlatl</i>
‘tongue’	<i>ninipil</i>	<i>nenepilli</i>
‘many’	<i>mīk</i>	<i>miyek</i>
‘you want it’	<i>tikniki</i>	<i>tikneki</i>
‘he/she/it walks’	<i>nihnimi</i>	<i>nehnemi</i>
‘again’	<i>ok sipa</i>	<i>ok seppa</i>

This merger obscures the status of Ixquihuacan Nahuatl in the *ie* dialectological distinction proposed by Hasler (2011 [1960]) and Canger and Dakin (1985).

There are, however, at least two environments where short *e* is retained in Ixquihuacan Nahuatl. First, *e* was not raised before *h*: e.g. *tleh* ‘what’; *wehxōlōtl* ‘turkey’; *-meh* (nominal plural suffix). However, the raising occurs when *i* precedes *h* as the result of reduplication; *nihnimi* ‘he/she/it walks.’ Additionally, most short *e*’s which originated from long vowels did not undergo this change: e.g. *welik* ‘delicious’ (cf. Classical Nahuatl *wēlik*); *weyātl* ‘river’ (cf. Classical Nahuatl *wēyi ātl* ‘sea’).

### 2.2. Fricative *h*

Dakin (1982) reconstructs a Proto-Nahuan consonant *\*h* for most instances of /ʔ/ in Classical Nahuatl. Ixquihuacan Nahuatl, along with many other modern Nahuatl dialects, has a fricative /h/ which corresponds to this consonant: e.g. Ixquihuacan Nahuatl *pahtli* vs. Classical Nahuatl *pa’tli* ‘medicine.’ It is an open question whether this /h/ is a direct reflection of Proto-Nahuan *\*h* or the result of the later spirantization of *\*ʔ*.

### 2.3. Loss of *-li* after polysyllabic noun stems

The nominal absolutive singular suffix *-li*, which is a regular allomorph of *-tl(i)* after *l*-stem nouns, has disappeared in nouns whose stem consists of more than one syllable.<sup>5</sup>

Table 2: Examples of the loss of *-li* in Ixquihuacan Nahuatl

	Ixquihuacan Nahuatl	Classical Nahuatl
‘sand’	<i>xāli</i> (< * <i>xāl-li</i> )	<i>xāl-li</i>
‘house’	<i>kali</i> (< * <i>kal-li</i> )	<i>kal-li</i>
‘griddle’	<i>komal</i>	<i>komal-li</i>
‘tortilla’	<i>tlaxkal</i>	<i>tlaxkal-li</i>
‘tongue’	<i>ninipil</i>	<i>nenepil-li</i>

Similarly, some non-*l*-stem nouns also have lost the absolutive suffix in Ixquihuacan Nahuatl: e.g. *tipos* ‘metal, machine, car’ (cf. Classical Nahuatl *tepostli*); *nakas* ‘ear’ (cf. Classical Nahuatl *nakastli*); *tōtomōch* ‘dry corn husk’ (cf. Classical Nahuatl *tōtomōchtli*).

### 2.4. Degemination

In Ixquihuacan Nahuatl, sequences of two identical consonants are degeminated both synchronically and diachronically. Thus, Classical Nahuatl *kalli* ‘house’ corresponds to Ixquihuacan Nahuatl *kali*, *nikittas* ‘I will see him/her/it’ to *nikitas*, *ok seppa* ‘again’ to *ok sipa*, and so on.

This leads to a few morphophonological irregularities; for example, the reflexive form of the verb *ita* ‘to see’ is *mota*, whereas the synchronic verbal morphology of Ixquihuacan Nahuatl predicts \**moita*. The synchronic explanation of these apparently irregular forms is an issue for future discussion, though it should be noted that the surface form *mota* can be explained by positing a non-degeminated underlying form *itta* for the verb *ita*, as in Classical Nahuatl.<sup>6</sup>

## 3. Phonology

This section outlines the synchronic phonology of Ixquihuacan Nahuatl.

### 3.1. Phonemes

Ixquihuacan Nahuatl has four vowels with contrastive length (*i*, *ir*, *e*, *er*, *a*, *ar*, *o*, *or*) and sixteen native consonant phonemes (*/p*, *b*, *t*, *k*, *k<sup>w</sup>*, *c*, *č*, *λ*, *s*, *š*, *h*, *m*, *n*, *l*, *w*, *j*/). All other phonemes of Mexican Spanish (*/u*, *d*, *g*, *ɲ*, *f*, *x*, *r*, *r*/) may also appear in loanwords.

The consonants */p/*, */b/*, */t/*, */k/*, */č/*, */s/*, */m/*, */n/*, and */j/* are pronounced in almost the same way as the corresponding phonemes in Mexican Spanish. Note that the */s/* is apical

<sup>5</sup>Synchronically, the allomorph of the absolutive suffix for *l*-stem nouns can be better analyzed as *-i*, not *-li*.

<sup>6</sup>In Classical Nahuatl, the reflexive form *mo-tta* (REFL-see) ‘to see oneself’ < *itta* ‘to see’ can be formed regularly by assuming that the stem of *itta* is actually *ta*, to which an epenthetic */i/* is added.

in Ixquihuacan Nahuatl. The pronunciation of the labiovelar plosive /k<sup>w</sup>/ is roughly the same as that of Spanish /ku/ as in *cuatro*, but it may also appear in coda position. /c/ and /ɲ/ are voiceless affricates ([ts] and [tʃ] respectively); /ɲ/ can be alternatively characterized as a lateral-release alveolar plosive ([tʰ]). /ʃ/ is a voiceless post-alveolar fricative ([ʃ]). /h/ is usually a glottal fricative [h] but is often inaudible in word-final position; it is often realized only as an absence of word-final [ʔ], which regularly appears after a word-final short oral vowel. /l/ and /w/ become voiceless ([t̚] and [w̚], respectively) in coda position. The devoicing of /w/ is sometimes incomplete ([w̚w̚]).

/i/ and /i:/ are sometimes lowered as /ɪ/ and /ɪ:/ respectively. /e/ and /e:/ are sometimes pronounced as open-mid front vowels. /a/ and /a:/ are generally more fronted than the /a/ in Mexican Spanish. /o/ and /o:/ are usually close to the canonical [o]. It is raised to [u] in particular environment, which will be discussed below.

Table 3 shows the native phoneme inventory of Ixquihuacan Nahuatl.

Table 3: Native phonemes of Ixquihuacan Nahuatl

Consonants	Plosives	/p/	/b/	/t/	/k/	/k <sup>w</sup> /
		[p]	[b]	[t]	[k]	[k <sup>w</sup> ]
		<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>kw</i>
Affricates	/c/	/ç/	/ɲ/			
	[ts]	[tʃ]	[tʃ]			
	<i>ts</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>tl</i>			
Fricatives	/s/	/ʃ/	/h/			
	[s]	[ʃ]	[h]~∅			
	<i>s</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>h</i>			
Sonorants	/m/	/n/	/l/	/w/	/j/	
	[m]	[n]	[l]~[t̚]	[w]~[w̚]~[w̚]	[j]~[j̚]	
	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>	
Vowels	Short	/i/	/e/	/a/	/o/	
		[i]~[ɪ]	[e]~[ɛ]	[a]~[ä]	[o]~[u]	
		<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>o</i>	
	Short	/i:/	/e:/	/a:/	/o:/	
		[i:]~[ɪ:]	[e:]~[ɛ:]	[a:]~[ä:]	[o:]~[u:]	
		<i>ī</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>ō</i>	

The native phoneme inventory of Ixquihuacan Nahuatl differs from that of Classical Nahuatl in the following two points:

- (I) Ixquihuacan Nahuatl has /b/ as a native phoneme.
- (II) The consonant corresponding to Classical Nahuatl /ʔ/ is realized as a fricative [h] in Ixquihuacan Nahuatl.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup>For the origin of this consonant, see section 2.2.

The distribution of /b/ in native vocabulary is highly limited. It appears mainly in the noun *būitl* /bo:witl/ ‘tree’ (cf. Classical Nahuatl *kwawitl*)<sup>8</sup> and its related forms such as its compound form *boh-* (cf. Classical Nahuatl *kwaw-*) as in *bohtlah* ‘forest, mountain’; *īkwāboh* ‘its horn.’<sup>9</sup> It also appears in a particle *bēx* (cf. Classical Nahuatl *kwix*) ‘whether.’

Probably due to their fluency in Spanish, some younger speakers have a distinction between /u/, /u:/ and /o/, /o:/. For such speakers, some words consistently have /u/ while other words are pronounced either with /o/ or /u/. Some young speakers commented that they would never pronounce such words as *tēlpukatl* ‘buy,’ *ixkuyah* ‘alone,’ and *bumeh* ‘trees’ as *\*tēlpokatl*, *\*ixkoyah*, and *\*bomeh* respectively, while they could pronounce *tlākoya* ‘he/she/it is sad’ either as *tlākuya* or *tlākoya*.

### 3.2. Syllable structure and stress

As in Classical Nahuatl, syllables generally have the structure (C)V(C) in Ixquihuacan Nahuatl. Word-initial and word-final consonant clusters are generally not allowed in native words, nor are word-internal triconsonantal clusters.

Besides loanwords from Spanish, there are four exceptions to this generalization. Firstly, the verb *mwika* ‘to go (honorific)’ contains an exceptional stem-initial consonant cluster, which sometimes yields a triconsonantal cluster: e.g. *yōtonwālmwīkak* ‘you (sg. honorific) have come.’ Secondly, non-canonical consonant clusters may occur due to contraction: e.g. *ām nmati* < *āmo nikmati* ‘I don’t know.’ Thirdly, the procliticization of the particle *n* may result in word-initial consonant clusters: e.g. *n tipos* [ntipos] ‘the machine/car.’ Lastly, a few native words have a word-final consonant cluster, the second part of which is often (probably extrametrical) /ɲ/: e.g. *tipāntl* ‘wall’; *mahtlaktl* ‘ten’; *tiōpantl* ‘church’; *ok tlamantl* ‘another’; *īxkoptl* ‘inside out,’ *tlāwānk* ‘drunk.’

Stress usually falls on the penultimate syllable in native words and accommodated loanwords: e.g. *kwāle* ‘good’; *ōhtli* ‘road’; *ōnikōnik* ‘I drank it.’ This rule is also applicable to the words with irregular final consonant clusters mentioned earlier: e.g. *tipāntl* ‘wall’; *mahtlaktl* ‘ten’; *tiōpantl* ‘church’; *ok tlāmantl* ‘another’; *īxkoptl* ‘inside out’; *tlāwānk* ‘drunk.’

Most Spanish loanwords retain the original stress of their source: e.g. *pájaro* (< *pájaro*) ‘bird’; *kafén* (< *café*) ‘coffee.’ In addition, some native words have irregular stress: e.g. *ohkón* ‘thus’; *nonín* ‘mine’ (< *no-nīn* ‘my-this’).

The consonant /h/ does not appear in onset position. As a coda /ʔ/ in Classical Nahuatl, /h/ neutralizes the length of the preceding vowel, as discussed in note 10 below.

<sup>8</sup>The noun for ‘tree’ appears as *pūitl* in Tenango, *puwitl* in Zacatlán, *powitl* in Ahuacatlán, *kūitl* in Analco, and *kwawitl* in many other dialects including Classical Nahuatl. The origin of these irregular initial consonants is uncertain.

<sup>9</sup>Etymologically “its head-wood.”

### 3.3. Phonological rules

This section reports the phonological rules of Ixquihuacan Nahuatl for which Classical Nahuatl does not have corresponding rules.

**Insertion of a glottal stop:** a nonphonemic glottal stop is usually inserted after a word-final short vowel; thus, *kali* ‘house’ and *nikniki* ‘I want it’ are actually pronounced as [kaliʔ] and [niknikiʔ] respectively.

**Degemination:** sequences of two identical consonants are generally degeminated: e.g. *nikkāwa* → *nikāwa* ‘I leave it.’ The degemination of affricates and /k<sup>w</sup>/ seems to be optional: e.g. *xinēchchiya* → *xinēchia*, *xinēchchia* ‘Wait for me!’. Near-identical consonant clusters are also often simplified: e.g. *nimitschiyas* → *nimichias*, *nimitschias* ‘I will wait for you.’ In particular, the sequence /k<sup>w</sup>/ is obligatorily simplified to /k<sup>w</sup>/: e.g. *nikkwa* → *nikwa* ‘I eat it.’

**Vocalization of word-final /n/:** unstressed word-final (C)Vn syllables obligatorily become (C)Ṽ: e.g. *notlan* → *notlā* ‘my tooth’; *ōnihnin* → *ōnihnī* ‘he/she/it walked.’ This process neutralizes the length of the nucleus: e.g. *ōpatlān* → *ōpatlā* ‘he/she/it flew’; *ōtopōn* → *ōtopō* ‘it exploded.’

This process is very similar to the well-known shortening of a long vowel before /ʔ/ (Classical Nahuatl) or /h/ (Ixquihuacan Nahuatl).<sup>10</sup> In Ixquihuacan Nahuatl, *Vh* and *Ṽ* are often phonetically extremely similar and are usually not distinguished. Nonetheless, minimal pairs such as *nikā* ‘here’ vs. *nikah* ‘I exist’ are distinguished in very careful speech.

In stressed (C)Vn syllables this process is optional, and usually it does not apply when a word with final (C)Vn syllable is pronounced in isolation: e.g. *tsīn* ‘hello’; *kafēn* ‘coffee.’ In contrast, this vocalization is very common in phrase-final position in continuous speech.

**Vowel lowering in /ih/:** a short /i/ followed by an /h/ is usually lowered to /e/ in a word-final syllable: e.g. *yuwi-h* → *yuweh* ‘they went’; *ōmōtlālih* → *ōmōtlāleh* ‘he/she/it sat’ (cf. *ōmōtlālihkeh* ‘they sat’). This process is typically observed in the past singular forms of Class 3 verbs which end in *-iā* (past singular: *-ih* → *-eh*). Lowering does not occur in words in which the /h/ comes from former /w/ (e.g. *toknih* ‘our brother, person’ cf. Classical Nahuatl *toknīw*; *nītlakwātīh* ‘I go in order to eat’ cf. Classical Nahuatl *nītlakwātīw*) or in Spanish loanwords (e.g. *kōmbih* ‘microbus’). There are also a few “true” exceptions, such as: *ākih* ‘Who?’; *tīkpih* ‘flea’; *xompīpih* ‘cockroach.’ The present cislocative purposive plural ending *-kih* is also an exception to this rule: e.g. *tlakūakah* ‘they come in order to buy things.’

**Raising of /o/ before semivowels:** younger speakers tend to pronounce /o/ and /o:/ before non-word-final semivowels as /u/ and /u:/ respectively: e.g. *nikoyāwas* → *nikoyāwas*, *nikuyāwas* ‘I peel it.’ The raising of /o/ and /o:/ before /w/ are especially regular for

<sup>10</sup>In Classical Nahuatl, a coda /ʔ/ shortens a nuclear long vowel. The /h/ in Ixquihuacan Nahuatl has a similar effect: e.g. *nosiwāh* → *nosiwah* ‘my wife.’

those speakers; *owV* becomes *uwV* (e.g. *oweh* → *uweh* ‘difficult’) and *ōwV* becomes *ūV* (e.g. *nikpōwas* → *nikpūas* ‘I will count it’).

**Deletion of semivowels:** a semivowel (/j/ or /w/) disappears when it is preceded by its vocal counterpart (/i/ and /o/ respectively) and is followed by an /a/: *nikpōwas* → *nikpūas* ‘I will count it’; *nikpiya* → *nikpia* ‘I have it.’

**Lengthening of /i/ in monosyllabic nouns:** when a monosyllabic noun stem ends with /i/, the /i/ becomes long in the absolutive singular form: e.g. *titi* > *tīti* ‘stone’; *iti* > *īti* ‘bean’; *tliti* > *tlīti* ‘fire.’ In the plural, possessive, and compound forms, the /i/ remains short: e.g. *timeh* ‘stones’; *tlixōch* ‘glowing part of burning firewood.’

## 4. Vocabulary

### 4.1. Importance of loanwords in Ixquihuacan Nahuatl

Speakers are conscious of the lexical differences between Ixquihuacan Nahuatl and its neighboring dialects. Although a quantitative study has not yet been undertaken, Ixquihuacan Nahuatl tends to prefer Spanish loanwords compared to other ZAT variants, such as those of Tenango and Analco. In fact, Ixquihuacan Nahuatl has lost several native forms which are retained in Tenango Nahuatl, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Maintenance of native vocabulary in Tenango and Ixquihuacan

	Classical	Tenango	Ixquihuacan
‘maguey’	<i>metl</i>	<i>mitl</i>	(not found)
‘pulque’	<i>oktli</i>	<i>oktli</i>	(not found)
‘honey’	<i>nekwtili</i>	<i>nikwtili</i>	<i>miel</i>
‘fish’	<i>michin</i>	<i>michin</i>	<i>pes, pescado</i>
‘frog’	<i>kweyatl, kwiyatl</i>	<i>kwiyatl</i>	<i>rana, (ākwīatl)</i>
‘grave’	<i>tekochtli</i>	<i>tikochtli</i>	<i>kaṡosāntoh, panteón</i>
‘ship’	<i>ākalli</i>	<i>barco</i>	<i>barco</i>
‘brother-in-law’	<i>tēxtli, we’pōlli</i>	<i>cuñado</i>	<i>cuñado</i>
‘chili’	<i>chīlli</i>	<i>chile</i>	<i>chīli</i>

However, it should be noted that these data come from mere elicitation based on word lists. More detailed, text-based study is needed to prove that the Ixquihuacan Nahuatl vocabulary is actually less conservative than that of neighboring dialects.

### 4.2. Loanword phonology

Most accommodation phenomena are more or less common throughout Nahuatl. Spanish words which end with an unstressed open syllable generally have a word-final /h/ when borrowed into Ixquihuacan Nahuatl: *pájaro* > *pájarah* ‘bird’; *patada* ‘kick’ > *patādah* ‘kick’, *patādahwiā* ‘to kick’; *de* > *deh* ‘of, from’. Stressed vowels are usually lengthened:

*cámara* ‘camera’ > *kámarah*; *refresco* > *rrefrēskoh* ‘soda pop’; *puerta* > *puērtah* ‘door’; *lograr* ‘to obtain’ > *sēkilogrārohtok* ‘we are obtaining it.’ Syllable-final /t/ or /tʰ/ is devoiced as well as /l/ and /w/. Elderly people tend to pronounce Spanish /u/ as /o/ or /o:/; *luz* > *lōs* ‘light, electricity’; *lunes* > *lōnes* ‘Monday.’ Some early borrowings reflect this accommodation: *cuchillo* ‘knife’ > *kochīyoh* ‘knife’, *kochīyohwiā* ‘to stab.’

What is notable with the loanword phonology of Ixqui huacan Nahuatl is that an /n/ is often inserted after word-final stressed vowels in Spanish, as in: *café* > *kafēn* ‘coffee’; *Canadá* > *kanadān* ‘Canada’; *shampoo* > *xampūn* ‘shampoo.’ This emergence of /n/ is probably an analogy of the emergence of /h/ in loanwords mentioned above. As discussed in Section 3.3, *Vh#* and *Ṽ#* are often not distinguished in Ixqui huacan Nahuatl. Since a vowel followed by an /h/ becomes always short in Ixqui huacan Nahuatl, a stressed word-final open syllable of Spanish never becomes \**V:h#*; on the other hand, *Ṽ*, the near equivalent of *Vh*, has a long, stressed counterpart *Ṽ:n*, which is optimal both for the phonotactics of Ixqui huacan Nahuatl and the preservation of original Spanish stress. Also note *reloj* [re'lox] > *rrelōn* ‘clock.’

## 5. Conclusion

This paper presented a preliminary report on the Nahuatl of Ixqui huacan, Puebla. Section 1 provided basic information on Ixqui huacan Nahuatl and proposed a tentative transcription system. Section 2 outlined the historical phonological features of Ixqui huacan Nahuatl, and described four major features which characterize Ixqui huacan Nahuatl. Section 3 provided a synchronic overview of Ixqui huacan Nahuatl phonology. Finally, Section 4 suggested the possibility that Ixqui huacan Nahuatl borrows Spanish words more readily than nearby dialects.

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<sup>11</sup> Spanish does not distinguish between /t/ and /tʰ/ syllable-finally.

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## Appendix: Basic Vocabulary Lists

The appendix to this paper presents basic vocabulary lists based on *Swadesh List* (with 207 entries) and *Cuestionario para dialectología náhuatl* (with 431 entries).

Most verbs are presented in abstract forms (present stems without person prefixes and the regular shortening of word-final vowels) and are marked with “△.” Following the convention of Karttunen (1983), final vowels of Class 2 verbs are given in parentheses.

Words not shared by some young speakers are marked with “†.”

### A. Swadesh List

The list presented here is based on the longer version of the *Swadesh List* with 207 entries.

1	I	<i>neh, nehwātl</i>
2	you (singular)	<i>teh, tehwātl</i> ; (honorific) <i>tehwātsī, tohwātsī</i>
3	he	<i>yeh, yehwātl</i> ; (honorific) <i>yehwātsī</i>
4	we	<i>tehwā</i>
5	you (plural)	<i>nomehwā, momehwā</i> ; (honorific) <i>nomehwāntsitsī, momehwāntsitsī</i>
6	they	<i>yehwā</i> ; (honorific) <i>yehwāntsitsī</i>
7	this	<i>nīn, ninī, nikānkah</i> <sup>12</sup>
8	that	(close to hearer) <i>nōn, nonō</i> ; (distant from hearer) <i>nēkah</i>
9	here	<i>nikā</i>
10	there	(close to hearer or anaphoric) <i>ompa</i> , <sup>13</sup> <i>onkā</i> ; (distant from hearer, visible) <i>nē, nēpa</i>
11	who	<i>ākih</i> , (dependent) <sup>14</sup> <i>ākī</i>
12	what	<i>tleh</i> , (dependent) <i>tlēn</i>
13	where	<i>kān</i> , (dependent) <i>kānī</i>
14	when	<i>kēmā</i> (* <i>kēmanī</i> )
15	how	<i>kīn</i> , (dependent) <i>kīnī</i>
16	not	<i>āmo</i>
17	all	<i>nochi</i>
18	many	<i>mīk</i>
19	some	<i>siki</i>
20	few	<i>āmo mīk</i>
21	other	<i>ok siki, ok tlamantl</i>

<sup>12</sup>The plural forms *nīnkeh*, *nikānkateh*, *nōnkeh*, and *nēkateh* are limited to human referents. *ninī* ‘this one’ and *nonō* ‘that one’ are not used pronominally and do not have plural forms.

<sup>13</sup>The vowel *o* in *ompa* ‘there’ is clearly short (cf. Classical Nahuatl *ōmpa*).

<sup>14</sup>Dependent forms are contractions of an interrogative word and *n*, an article-like particle: e.g. *ākī* (< *ākih n*) *kichīwas*? ‘Who will do it?’

22	one	<i>sē</i>
23	two	<i>ōmi</i>
24	three	<i>yēyi</i>
25	four	<i>nāwi</i>
26	five	<i>mākwil</i>
27	big	<i>weyi</i> <sup>15</sup>
28	long	<i>wiyak</i>
29	wide	<i>patlák, patlāwak</i>
30	thick	<i>tomák, tomāwak</i>
31	heavy	<i>itik</i>
32	small	<i>tsohtsokotsī, chohchokochī, chihchikichī</i>
33	short	<i>āmo wiyak</i>
34	narrow	<i>pitsák, pitsāwak</i>
35	thin	<i>pitsák, pitsāwak</i>
36	woman	<i>siwātl</i>
37	man (adult male)	<i>tlākatl</i> <sup>16</sup>
38	man (human being)	<i>toknih</i> <sup>17</sup>
39	child	<i>konētl</i> <sup>18</sup>
40	wife	<i>(ī)siwah (* (ī)siwāw)</i>
41	husband	<i>(ī)tlākaw</i> <sup>19</sup> <i>(* (ī)tlākah)</i>
42	mother	<i>(ī)nānah; (honorific) (ī)nāntsī; (address) mah</i>
43	father	<i>(ī)tātah; (honorific) (ī)tahtsī; (address) pah</i>
44	animal	<i>okwilī</i> <sup>20</sup>
45	fish	<i>pēs, peskādoh</i>
46	bird	<i>pájaro</i>
47	dog	<i>itskwintli</i> <sup>21</sup>
48	louse	<i>atimītl</i>
49	snake	<i>kūātl</i>
50	worm	<i>chākalī</i>
51	tree	<i>būitl</i> <sup>22</sup>
52	forest	<i>bohtlah</i>

<sup>15</sup>Plural form: *wihwinyeh* (cf. Classical Nahuatl *we'wēyin(tin)*). The vowel *e* in *weyi* 'big, great' and some of its related forms (e.g. *weyātl* 'river') is clearly short (cf. Classical Nahuatl *wēyi*).

<sup>16</sup>Plural form: *tlākah, tlākameh*.

<sup>17</sup>Literally "our brothers." Plural form: *toknīwā*.

<sup>18</sup>Plural form: *kōkoneh*.

<sup>19</sup>Alternatively *(ī)tlawikal* (*more polite*); *(ī)wēwē* (over 30).

<sup>20</sup>Interestingly, *okwilin* originally means "worm" in Nahuatl. The semantic change in Ixquihuacan is possibly related to the fact that insects are often referred to as *animalitos* in Mexican rural Spanish.

<sup>21</sup>The form *chichi*, which means "dog" in many other dialects, is not used in Ixquihuacan Nahuatl.

<sup>22</sup>See note 8.

53	stick	<i>tōpīl</i>
54	fruit	<i>frūtah</i> , † <i>tsopēliktlakwal</i> <sup>23</sup>
55	seed	<i>(ī)yōlo</i>
56	leaf	<i>(ī)māxiwyo</i>
57	root	<i>(ī)nilwayo</i>
58	bark	<i>(ī)ēwayo</i>
59	flower	<i>xōchitl</i>
60	grass	<i>xiwitl</i>
61	rope	<i>lāsoh</i>
62	skin	<i>(ī)kwitlaxo</i>
63	meat	<i>nakatl</i>
64	blood	<i>istīl</i> <sup>24</sup>
65	bone	<i>omitl</i>
66	fat (n.)	<i>(ī)matēkayo</i>
67	egg	<i>tōtoliitl</i>
68	horn	<i>(ī)kwāboh</i> <sup>25</sup>
69	tail	<i>(ī)kwitlapil</i>
70	feather	<i>ihwitl</i>
71	hair	<i>tsontli</i>
72	head	<i>tsontikomatl</i> <sup>26</sup>
73	ear	<i>nakas</i>
74	eye	<i>īxtololo</i> <sup>27</sup>
75	nose	<i>yakak</i> <sup>28</sup>
76	mouth	<i>kamak</i> <sup>29</sup>
77	tooth	<i>tlantli</i> <sup>30</sup>
78	tongue	<i>ninipil</i>
79	finger nail	<i>istitl</i>
80	foot	<i>ikxitl</i>
81	leg	(below the knee) <i>ikxitl</i> ; (above the knee) <i>kēstli</i>
82	knee	<i>(ī)tlankwa</i>
83	hand	<i>(ī)ma</i> < <i>*(ī)mā</i>
84	wing	<i>(ī)mahtlapal</i>

<sup>23</sup>Literally “sweet food.”

<sup>24</sup>Possessive form: *-eso*.

<sup>25</sup>Etymologically “head-wood.”

<sup>26</sup>The noun *\*tikomatl* is not found in Ixquihuacan Nahuatl (cf. Classical Nahuatl *tekomatl* ‘clay pot’).

<sup>27</sup>First-person possessive form: *noxtololo* ‘my eye’; third-person possessive form: *īxtololo* ‘his eye.’

<sup>28</sup>The ending *-k* has lost its original locative meaning.

<sup>29</sup>The ending *-k* has lost its original locative meaning.

<sup>30</sup>Plural form: *tlameh* (not common); possessive forms: *-tlā*, *-tlanwā*.

85	belly	<i>poxtli</i>
86	guts	<i>kwitlaxkōl</i>
87	neck	<i>kichtli</i>
88	back	<i>tipots</i>
89	breast	<i>chīchīwal</i>
90	heart	<i>(ī)yōlo</i>
91	liver	<i>(ī)yēl</i>
92	drink	Δ <i>onī</i> (Class 1) <sup>31</sup>
93	eat	Δ <i>kwā</i> (Class 4)
94	bite	Δ <i>titik(i)</i> (Class 2)
95	suck	Δ <i>chichīn(a)</i> (Class 2)
96	spit	Δ <i>chihcha</i> (Class 1)
97	vomit	Δ <i>mihsōtla</i> (Class 1)
98	blow	Δ <i>pīts(a)</i> (Class 2)
99	breathe	Δ <i>mīhyōtiā</i> (Class 3)
100	laugh	Δ <i>witska</i> (Class 1)
101	see	Δ <i>ita</i> (Class 1) <sup>32</sup>
102	hear	Δ <i>kak(i)</i> (Class 2)
103	know	Δ <i>mat(i)</i> (Class 2) <sup>33</sup>
104	think	Δ <i>mat(i)</i> (Class 2)
105	smell (vt.)	Δ <i>ihnikw(i)</i> (Class 2)
106	fear	Δ <i>momohtiā</i> <sup>34</sup> (Class 3)
107	sleep	Δ <i>koch(i)</i> (Class 2)
108	live	Δ <i>yōl(i)</i> (Class 2)
109	die	Δ <i>mik(i)</i> (Class 2)
110	kill	Δ <i>miktiā</i> <sup>35</sup> (Class 3)
111	fight	Δ <i>motim(a)</i> <sup>36</sup> (Class 2)
112	hunt	Δ <i>kasāroā</i> (Class 3)
113	hit	Δ <i>māa</i> (Class 1) <sup>37</sup>
114	cut	Δ <i>tik(i)</i> (Class 2)
115	split	Δ <i>tlahkokotōn(a)</i> <sup>38</sup> (Class 2)

<sup>31</sup> Reflexive form: *monī*. When an object noun is incorporated an irregular *k* appears: e.g. *ni-kafēn-konī-s* ‘I will drink coffee.’

<sup>32</sup> Reflexive form: *mota*; see Section 2.4.

<sup>33</sup> Past singular form: *mat* (cf. Classical Nahuatl *ma*’).

<sup>34</sup> Reflexive form of Δ *mohtiā* ‘to frighten’ (cf. Classical Nahuatl *mawtiā*).

<sup>35</sup> Causative form of Δ *miki* ‘to die.’

<sup>36</sup> Reflexive form of Δ *tim(a)* ‘to beat.’

<sup>37</sup> Δ *māa* ‘to hit’ is a Class 1 verb with two-syllable stem: *ōnikmāak* ‘I hit it (past)’; *ōnonkimāáskeh* ‘you (pl.) will hit it.’ Contracted forms such as *ōnonkimāáskeh* ‘you (pl.) will hit it’ are also common.

<sup>38</sup> From *tlahko* ‘half’ + Δ *kotōn(a)* ‘cut.’

116	stab	△ <i>kochīyohwiā</i> <sup>39</sup> (Class 3)
117	scratch	△ <i>tataka</i> (Class 1)
118	dig	△ <i>ichkwa</i> (Class 1)
119	swim	△ <i>māltiā</i> (Class 3)
120	fly (v.)	△ <i>patlān(i)</i> (Class 2)
121	walk	△ <i>nihnim(i)</i> (Class 2)
122	come	<i>wīts</i> , △ <i>wālā</i> (Class 4) <sup>40</sup>
123	lie (recumbent)	(lie down) △ <i>motēka</i> <sup>41</sup> (Class 1); (be lying) <i>witstok</i>
124	sit	(sit down) △ <i>motlālīā</i> <sup>42</sup> (Class 3); (be sitting) <i>tōlohtok</i>
125	stand	(stand up) △ <i>motilkits(a)</i> <sup>43</sup> (Class 2); (be on foot) <i>ihkatok</i>
126	turn	△ <i>mokop(a)</i> <sup>44</sup> (Class 2)
127	fall	△ <i>wits(i)</i> (Class 2)
128	give	△ <i>maka</i> (Class 1)
129	hold	△ <i>kītskiā</i> (Class 3)
130	squeeze	△ <i>pātska</i> (Class 1)
131	rub	△ <i>xīxītla</i> (Class 1)
132	wash	(cloth) △ <i>pāk(a)</i> (Class 2); (firm things) △ <i>pahpāk(a)</i> (Class 2)
133	wipe	△ <i>pohpōw(a)</i> (Class 2)
134	pull	△ <i>tīlān(a)</i> (Class 2)
135	push	△ <i>topēw(a)</i> (Class 2)
136	throw	△ <i>tlās(a)</i> (Class 2)
137	tie	△ <i>ilpiā</i> (Class 3)
138	sew	△ <i>ihtsom(a)</i> (Class 2)
139	count	△ <i>pōw(a)</i> (Class 2)
140	say	△ <i>ihtoā</i> (Class 3)
141	sing	△ <i>kantāroā</i> (Class 3)
142	play	△ <i>māwiltiā</i> (Class 3)
143	float	<i>katki īpā n ātl</i>
144	flow	△ <i>tsikwin(i)</i> <sup>45</sup> (Class 2)
145	freeze	△ <i>chikāw(i)</i> (Class 2)

<sup>39</sup>From Spanish *cuchillo* ‘knife.’

<sup>40</sup>Two, originally distinct verbs form a suppletive paradigm. The stem *wīts* appears in indicative present and *wālā* appears in other tenses. Also note the irregular second person singular optative form *xiwīki* (second person plural form: *xiwālākā*).

<sup>41</sup>Reflexive form of △ *tēka* ‘to lay.’

<sup>42</sup>Reflexive form of △ *tlālīā* ‘to put.’

<sup>43</sup>Reflexive form of △ *tilkits(a)* ‘to stand (something).’

<sup>44</sup>Reflexive form of △ *kop(a)* ‘to turn (something)’; cf. Classical Nahuatl △ *kwep(a)*.

<sup>45</sup>All vowels in *tsikwin(i)* are clearly short, though the corresponding verb of Tetelcingo Nahuatl suggests the form *tsikwīn(i)* with a long vowel (Karttunen, 1983).

146	swell	$\Delta$ <i>mosomāw(a)</i> <sup>46</sup> (Class 2)
147	sun	<i>totahtsī</i> <sup>47</sup>
148	moon	<i>tokohkōl(tsī)</i> <sup>48</sup>
149	star	<i>sītlalī</i> <sup>49</sup>
150	water	<i>ātl</i>
151	rain	<i>kiuwitl</i>
152	river	<i>weyātī</i> <sup>50</sup>
153	lake	† <i>āxoxōwil</i> <sup>51</sup>
154	sea	<i>mār</i>
155	salt	<i>istatl</i>
156	stone	<i>tītl</i> <sup>52</sup>
157	sand	<i>xāli</i>
158	dust	<i>tiwtli</i>
159	earth	<i>tlāli</i>
160	cloud	<i>mixtli</i>
161	fog	<i>mixtli</i>
162	sky	<i>ilwikak</i> <sup>53</sup>
163	wind	<i>ehyekatl</i>
164	snow	<i>bohsitl</i> <sup>54</sup>
165	ice	<i>bohsitl</i>
166	smoke	<i>pōktli</i>
167	fire	<i>tītl</i> <sup>55</sup>
168	ashes	<i>nixtli</i>
169	burn	$\Delta$ <i>tlatla</i> (Class 1)
170	road	<i>ohtli</i>
171	mountain	<i>tipētl</i>
172	red	<i>chīchīltik</i>
173	green	<i>kiltik</i>
174	yellow	<i>kostik</i>
175	white	<i>istāk</i>

<sup>46</sup>Reflexive form of  $\Delta$  *somāw(a)* ‘to inflate.’

<sup>47</sup>Literally “our father.”

<sup>48</sup>Literally “our grandfather.”

<sup>49</sup>Plural form: *sītlalimeh*.

<sup>50</sup>Etymologically “large water.” The vowel *e* is clearly short: see note 15.

<sup>51</sup>Young speakers also knows this word but as a place name.

<sup>52</sup>Compound form: *ti-*.

<sup>53</sup>The ending *-k* has lost its original locative meaning.

<sup>54</sup>Etymologically “tree-ice.”

<sup>55</sup>Compound form: *tli-*.

176	black	<i>tīltik</i>
177	night	<i>yowal</i>
178	day	<i>tōnal</i>
179	year	<i>xiwitl</i>
180	warm	△ <i>tlatotōnia</i> (Class 1)
181	cold	△ <i>tlasisēya</i> (Class 1)
182	full	<i>tēntok</i>
183	new	<i>yankwik</i>
184	old	<i>wēweh</i>
185	good	<i>kwale</i>
186	bad	<i>āmo kwale</i>
187	rotten	<i>palānki</i>
188	dirty	<i>sokioh</i>
189	straight	<i>tlamilāwka</i>
190	round	<i>yowaltik</i>
191	sharp	<i>tēneh</i>
192	dull	<i>āmo tēneh</i>
193	smooth	<i>xīlatstik</i>
194	wet	<i>paltik</i>
195	dry	<i>wāki</i>
196	correct	<i>milák, milāwak</i>
197	near	<i>sērkah, kachi nikā</i>
198	far	<i>wehka</i>
199	right	<i>derēchah</i>
200	left	<i>iskiērdah</i>
201	at	<i>ī(ti)ch</i>
202	in	<i>ī(ti)ch, ūhtik</i>
203	with	<i>īwā</i>
204	and	<i>īwā</i>
205	if	<i>tlā</i>
206	because	<i>porkéh</i>
207	name	<i>tōkātl</i>

## B. Cuestionario para dialectología náhuatl

*Cuestionario para dialectología náhuatl* (Lastra de Suárez and Suárez, 1975) is a questionnaire which consists of 431 entries (with a few overlapping questions). It is optimized to capture the areal-dialectological features of modern Nahuatl variants, containing words sensitive to dialectal variation and words which are likely to form minimal pairs. Spanish entries are translated into English by the author.

1	water	<i>ātl</i>
2	fire	<i>tlūtl</i> <sup>56</sup>
3	smoke	<i>pōktli</i>
4	soot	<i>tlīli</i>
5	ash	<i>tlikonix</i>
6	charcoal	<i>tikol</i>
7	ground, soil	<i>tlāli</i>
8	sand	<i>xāli</i>
9	hill, mountain	<i>tipētl</i>
10	hills, mountains	<i>tipēmeh</i>
11	river	<i>weyātl</i> <sup>57</sup>
12	mud	<i>sokitl</i>
13	sky	<i>ilwikak</i> <sup>58</sup>
14	moon	<i>tokohkōt</i> <sup>59</sup>
15	sun	<i>totahtsi</i> <sup>60</sup>
16	star	<i>sītlali</i> <sup>61</sup>
17	light	<i>tlanēs</i>
18	shadow	<i>tlayēkawīl, tlayekūil</i> < * <i>tlayekōwīl</i>
19	wind	<i>ehyekatl</i>
20	rain	<i>kiuwitl</i> < * <i>kiowitl</i>
21	drizzle	<i>ahwich</i>
22	lightning	<i>tlapitlānitlōtl</i>
23	thunderclap	<i>tlatikwinilōtl</i>
24	cloud	<i>mixtli</i>
25	mist	<i>mixtli</i>
26	head	<i>tsontikomatl</i> <sup>62</sup>
27	hair	<i>tsontli</i>

<sup>56</sup>See note 55.

<sup>57</sup>See note 15.

<sup>58</sup>See note 53.

<sup>59</sup>See note 48.

<sup>60</sup>See note 47.

<sup>61</sup>See note 49.

<sup>62</sup>See note 26.

28	face	<i>xāyakatl</i> <sup>63</sup>
29	forehead	<i>īxkwāk</i> <sup>64</sup>
30	my eye	<i>noxtololo</i> <sup>65</sup>
31	eyebrow	<i>noīxtohmio</i>
32	my nose	<i>noyakahtsol</i>
33	ear	<i>nakas</i>
34	my mouth	<i>nokamak</i> <sup>66</sup>
35	mouth	<i>kamak</i> <sup>67</sup>
36	lip	<i>tēnxīpal</i>
37	tongue	<i>ninipil</i>
38	tooth	<i>tlantli</i> <sup>68</sup>
39	gingiva	† ( <i>ī</i> ) <i>kamanakayo</i>
40	neck	<i>kichtli</i>
41	shoulder	<i>ahkol</i>
42	back	<i>tipots</i>
43	waist	( <i>ī</i> ) <i>tlahkoyah</i>
44	breast	<i>cīchīwal</i>
45	belly	<i>poxtli</i>
46	navel	( <i>ī</i> ) <i>xīk</i>
47	buttock	<i>tsīnpantli</i>
48	hand	( <i>ī</i> ) <i>ma</i> < *( <i>ī</i> ) <i>mā</i>
49	your (sg.) hand	<i>moma</i> < * <i>momā</i>
50	nail	<i>istitl</i>
51	my nail	<i>nosti</i>
52	elbow	<i>molik</i>
53	leg	(below the knee) <i>ikxitl</i> ; (above the knee) <i>kēstli</i>
54	knee	( <i>ī</i> ) <i>tlankwa</i>
55	my foot	<i>nokxi</i>
56	heart	( <i>ī</i> ) <i>yōlo</i>
57	liver	( <i>ī</i> ) <i>yēl</i>
58	my bone	<i>noomiyo</i>
59	skin	( <i>ī</i> ) <i>kwitlaxo</i>
60	blood	<i>istli</i>
61	my blood	<i>noeso</i>

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<sup>63</sup>Possessive form: *-xāyak*.

<sup>64</sup>The ending *-k* has lost its original locative meaning.

<sup>65</sup>Absolutive form: *īxtololo*; see note 27.

<sup>66</sup>See note 29.

<sup>67</sup>See note 29.

<sup>68</sup>See note 30.

62	saliva	<i>chihchatl</i> <sup>69</sup>
63	tear	<i>ixāyōtl</i>
64	pus	<i>tēmatl</i>
65	eye gum	<i>ixkwitlatl</i>
66	dandruff	<i>kakapax</i>
67	scabies	<i>kakapax</i>
68	pockmark	–
69	its horn	<i>ikwāboh</i> <sup>70</sup>
70	beak	<i>(ī)tēmpil</i> <sup>71</sup>
71	wing	<i>(ī)mahtlapal</i> <sup>72</sup>
72	feather	<i>ihwitl</i> <sup>73</sup>
73	gizzard	† <i>(ī)yēlistāka</i>
74	egg	<i>tōtoltitl</i> <sup>74</sup>
75	woman	<i>siwātl</i>
76	my wife	<i>nosiwah</i> (* <i>nosiwāw</i> )
77	man	<i>tlākatl</i> <sup>75</sup>
78	husband	<i>(ī)tlākaw</i> (* <i>(ī)tlākah</i> ); (over 30) <i>(ī)wēwē</i> ; (more polite) <i>(ī)tlawīkal</i> ; etc.
79	dad	<i>(ī)tātah</i> ; (honorific) <i>(ī)tahtsī</i> ; (address) <i>pah</i>
80	mom	<i>(ī)nānah</i> ; (honorific) <i>(ī)nāntsī</i> ; (address) <i>mah</i>
81	my son	<i>nokoneh</i> , (more polite) <i>nokonēw</i> ; <i>nopilwā</i> (plural only)
82	orphan	<i>iknōtl</i>
83	stepson	<i>(ī)tlakpakoneh</i>
84	stepfather	<i>(ī)tlakpatātah</i>
85	stepmother	<i>(ī)tlakpanānah</i>
86	native doctor	<i>tlamat</i> <sup>76</sup>
87	sorcerer	<i>nāwal</i>
88	animal	<i>okwilī</i> <sup>77</sup>
89	turkey	(male) <i>wehxōlōtl</i> ; (female) <i>tōtōlī</i> , <i>siwātōtōlī</i> <sup>78</sup>

<sup>69</sup>Possessive form: *(ī)chihcha*.

<sup>70</sup>See note 25.

<sup>71</sup>A speaker commented that *(ī)tēmpil* ‘beak’ has the absolutive form *tēmpili*.

<sup>72</sup>A speaker commented that *(ī)mahtlapal* ‘wing’ has the absolutive form *mahtlapali*.

<sup>73</sup>Possessive form: *ūhwio*.

<sup>74</sup>Possessive forms: *-tōtoltih*, *tōtoltiw*; \**-tōtoltew*.

<sup>75</sup>Plural form: *tlākah*, *tlākameh*.

<sup>76</sup>Plural form: *tlamatkeh*.

<sup>77</sup>See note 20.

<sup>78</sup>The plural form *tōtōlimeh* refers to both male and female turkeys.

90	hen	<i>kaxtīl</i>
91	sparrowhawk	<i>kwixī</i>
92	vulture ( <i>zopilote</i> )	<i>tinko</i>
93	owls ( <i>tecolotes</i> )	<i>bohtimohmolmeh, bohtikolōmeh</i> <sup>79</sup>
94	woodpecker	<i>kiritots</i>
95	iguana	–
96	(small) lizard	<i>tōpitsī; ākaltitipoh</i>
97	rabbits	<i>tōchmeh</i> <sup>80</sup>
98	deer (plural)	<i>masāmeh</i> <sup>81</sup>
99	pig	<i>pītsotl</i>
100	my sheep (sg.)	<i>nochka</i> <sup>82</sup>
101	armadillo	<i>āyōtōch</i>
102	squirrel	<i>tichalōtl</i>
103	raccoon ( <i>mapache</i> )	–
104	opossum ( <i>tlacuache</i> )	<i>tlakwatl</i>
105	skunk	<i>ipatl</i>
106	bat	<i>tsinākah</i>
107	butterfly	<i>pāpālōtl</i>
108	fish	<i>pēs, peskādoh</i>
109	mouse	<i>kimichī</i>
110	rat	<i>kalkimichī</i>
111	dog	<i>itskwintli</i> <sup>83</sup>
112	my dog	<i>notskwī</i>
113	frog	<i>rrānah, † ākwīatl</i>
114	toad	<i>sāpoh, † kwīatl</i>
115	snail	<i>nakatsakwilī, alakatsakwilī</i> <sup>84</sup>
116	worm	<i>chākalī</i>
117	scorpion	<i>† kōlōtl</i>
118	mite	<i>ixcap</i>
119	nit	<i>ahsīl</i>
120	louse	<i>atimitl</i> <sup>85</sup>
121	flea	<i>tikpih</i>
122	fleas	<i>tikpimeh</i>

<sup>79</sup>Singular form: *bohtimohmol, bohtikolōtl*.

<sup>80</sup>Singular form: *tōchtli*.

<sup>81</sup>Singular form: *masāl*.

<sup>82</sup>Absolutive form: *ichkatl*.

<sup>83</sup>See note 21.

<sup>84</sup>Etymologically “animal (*okwilī*) of mucus (*alakatsīli*).”

<sup>85</sup>Plural form: *atimeh*.

123	cockroach	<i>xonpipih</i>
124	black ant	<i>āskatl</i>
125	leafcutter ant	<i>bohāskatl</i>
126	ant hill	<i>āskapōtsal</i>
127	spider web	<i>tikatsānil</i>
128	seed (of gourd)	<i>(ī)yōlo</i>
129	bark	<i>(ī)ēwayo</i>
130	root	<i>(ī)nilwayo</i>
131	tree	<i>būitl &lt; *bōwitl</i> <sup>86</sup>
132	leaf	<i>(ī)māxiwyo</i>
133	fork (in trees)	<i>mābohoyo</i> <sup>87</sup>
134	nopal cactus	<i>nopal</i>
135	banana	<i>xōchihwal (*xōchikwal)</i>
136	guava	<i>xāxokotl</i>
137	guavas	<i>(yēyi) xāxokotl</i>
138	bean	<i>ūt</i> <sup>88</sup>
139	chayote squash	<i>witsayoh</i>
140	maguery	–
141	maguery fiber	† <i>ixtli</i>
142	corn grain	<i>tlaōl</i>
143	corn plant	<i>mīli</i>
144	leaf of corn plant	<i>īmāma n mīli, īmāxiwyo n mīli</i>
145	their corncob	† <i>īōlōw (*īōloh)?</i> <sup>89</sup>
146	corn husk	<i>tōtomōch</i>
147	corn hair	<i>xīlōtsonil</i>
148	corncob	<i>ōlōtl</i>
149	ocote pine	<i>okōtl</i>
150	forage ( <i>zacate</i> )	<i>sakatl</i>
151	garbage	<i>tlahsōl</i>
152	food	<i>tlakwal</i>
153	my packed food ( <i>itacate</i> )	† <i>ihatakatl</i>
154	pinole porridge	<i>pinōl</i>
155	my pulque	<i>nopūlkeh</i>
156	honey	<i>īmiel n sērahokwilī, īsopēlik n sērahokwilī</i>
157	animal fat	<i>īmatēkayo (n okwilī)</i>
158	dough	<i>tixtli</i>

<sup>86</sup>Plural form: *bumeh*; see note 8.

<sup>87</sup>This form is uttered as a translation of *rama* ‘branch.’

<sup>88</sup>Compound form: *i-*; possessive form: *-ew*.

<sup>89</sup>The absolutive form for ‘corncob’ is *ōlōtl* but some speakers cannot come up with its possessive form.

159	tortilla	<i>tlaxkal</i>
160	my tortilla	<i>notlaxcal</i>
161	pot	<i>kōmitl</i>
162	pitcher	<i>xāloh</i>
163	mortar ( <i>molcajete</i> )	<i>tikaxitl</i>
164	grinding stick for metate	<i>īma mitlatl, māmitlapil</i>
165	my metate	<i>nomitl</i>
166	my reed mat ( <i>petate</i> )	<i>nopitl</i>
167	dough tray	–
168	broom	<i>eskōbah; † tlachipāwas</i>
169	cradle	<i>wahkal</i>
170	asphalt ( <i>chapopote</i> )	<i>chapopōteh</i>
171	mask	<i>māskarah</i>
172	rattle	<i>sonājah</i>
173	garment	<i>tilmah</i>
174	diaper	<i>konēkwēitl</i>
175	traditional skirt ( <i>naguas</i> )	<i>kwēitl</i>
176	her traditional skirt	<i>īkwe &lt; *īkwē</i>
177	cap	<i>kwātilmah</i>
178	blanket	<i>āyātl</i>
179	my blanket	<i>noāyah (*noāyāw)</i>
180	tumpline ( <i>mecapal</i> )	(larger one) <i>mikapal, sōyāmikapal</i> ; (smaller one) <i>tlaīxkwāitl</i>
181	my comb	<i>nopēineh; (traditional) notsikawās<sup>90</sup></i>
182	earring	<i>pīpilōl</i>
183	my collar	<i>nokōska</i>
184	house	<i>kali</i>
185	my houses	<i>nokal</i>
186	wall	<i>tipāntl;<sup>91</sup> tepāmitl<sup>92</sup></i>
187	roof, ceiling	<i>tlakēnkali, ūlapachiwka n kali</i>
188	granary ( <i>troje</i> )	<i>† kwiskōmatl</i>
189	road	<i>ohtli</i>
190	our road	<i>toohwi</i>
191	land border ( <i>lindero</i> )	<i>lindēroh</i>
192	cave	<i>tlakoyōk</i>
193	hole	<i>tlakoyōk</i>
194	nest	<i>tlatipahsol</i>

<sup>90</sup> Absolutive form: *tsikawās*.

<sup>91</sup> Plural form: *tipāmeḥ*.

<sup>92</sup> This form probably comes from dialectal borrowing.

195	grave	<i>kaposāntoh, pantióñ</i>
196	red	<i>chīchīltik</i>
197	black	<i>tlīltik</i>
198	white	<i>istāk</i>
199	small	<i>tsohtsokotsī, chohchokochī, chihchikichī</i>
200	short (person)	<i>tsohtsokotsī, chohchokochī, chihchikichī</i>
201	tall	<i>wehkapā</i>
202	flat	<i>tlakomolo</i>
203	pungent	<i>yakapitsák, yakapitsāwak</i>
204	sharp	<i>tēneh</i>
205	round	(circular) <i>yowaltik</i> ; (spherical) <i>tolontik</i>
206	empty	<i>āmo tlēn kipia, iyōka</i>
207	cold (water)	<i>sisik</i>
208	hot (water)	<i>totōnki</i>
209	thick (gruel)	<i>titsák, titsāwak</i>
210	watery (gruel)	<i>san ātl, āmo titsā(wa)k</i>
211	nice (personality)	<i>kwale</i>
212	delicious	<i>welik</i>
213	drunk	<i>tlāwānk<sup>93</sup></i>
214	hunchback	† <i>kōltik<sup>94</sup></i>
215	deaf	<i>āmo tlakaki</i>
216	tired	<i>siwtok, siuwtok, siowtok</i>
217	left hand	<i>noōpōch(ma)</i>
218	dirty (clothes)	<i>sokioh</i>
219	new	<i>yankwik</i>
220	fast	<i>isihka, isiwka<sup>95</sup></i>
221	crude	<i>xoxōwki</i>
222	sad, gloomy	<i>tlakuya, tlakoya</i>
223	ticklish	<i>kikileh</i>
224	weak (person)	<i>āmo chikā(wa)k</i>
225	fragile	<i>āmo chikā(wa)k</i>
226	thin (board)	<i>pitsák, pitsāwak</i>
227	thick (board)	<i>tomák, tomāwak</i>
228	hard	<i>chikák, chikāwak</i>
229	straight	<i>tlamilāwka</i>
230	lying (recumbent)	<i>witstok</i>

<sup>93</sup>The verb  $\Delta$  *iwint(i)* ‘to get drunk’ does not have an adjectival counterpart.

<sup>94</sup>Used for anything which is bent or curved.

<sup>95</sup>This form does not have an /h/ though the forms of Zacapoaxtla Nahuatl suggest the form *ihsiw-* (Karttunen, 1983).

231	sitting	<i>tōlohtok</i>
232	standing up	<i>ihkatok</i>
233	lying face down	<i>īxtlapachīk</i>
234	this	<i>nīn, nīnī, nīkānkah</i> <sup>96</sup>
235	that ( <i>ése</i> )	(close to hearer) <i>nōn, nonō</i>
236	that ( <i>aquél</i> )	(distant from hearer) <i>nēkah</i>
237	like that ( <i>así</i> )	<i>ohkón</i> <sup>97</sup>
238	here	<i>nikā</i>
239	near	<i>sērkah, kachi nikā</i>
240	today	<i>āxā</i>
241	day after tomorrow	<i>wīptla</i>
242	day before yesterday	<i>yā wīptla</i> <sup>98</sup>
243	early (morning)	<i>kwalkā</i>
244	early (so there is still much time)	<i>ok ōrah</i>
245	afternoon	<i>yā tiōtlak</i>
246	late (so there is little time)	<i>yōtlahkahtik</i>
247	much (he works much)	<i>simi</i>
248	many (men)	<i>mīkeh</i> <sup>99</sup>
249	all (I want all)	<i>nochi</i>
250	all (all the people)	<i>nochi</i>
251	What?	<i>tleh</i>
252	Who?	<i>ākih</i> <sup>100</sup>
253	Why?	<i>tleka</i>
254	How much/many?	(mass) <i>kēxkich</i> ; (number) <i>kēski, kēskeh</i>
255	(greeting)	<i>tsīn</i>
256	Good morning!	<i>tsīn</i>
257	Good afternoon!	<i>tsīn</i>
258	I	<i>neh, nehwātl</i>
259	you (sg.)	<i>teh, tehwātl</i>
260	you (sg. hon.)	<i>tehwātsī, tohwātsī</i>
261	we	<i>tehwā</i>
262	you (pl., pl. hon.)	<i>nomehwā, momehwā;</i> (honorific) <i>nomehwāntsī, momehwāntsī</i>

<sup>96</sup>See note 12.

<sup>97</sup>This word is often pronounced as *ohkō* even in sentence-final position.

<sup>98</sup>The particle *yā* ‘already’ is usually pronounced as [ja] or [ja] with a short vowel (cf. Classical Nahuatl *ye*, Huasteca Nahuatl *ya*). I mark the vowel *a* as long here since this particle never has a word-final [ʔ] which is regularly inserted after word-final short oral vowels.

<sup>99</sup>Singular form: *mīk*.

<sup>100</sup>Plural form: *ākih*: e.g. *ākih nōnkeh?* [a:kinōŋkeh] ‘Who are those [people]?’

263	he	<i>yeh, yehwātī; (honorific) yehwātsī</i>
264	they	<i>yehwā; (honorific) yehwāntsitsī</i>
265	Drink!	<i>xikoni, koni</i>
266	I am eating	<i>nītlakwahtok</i>
267	we are eating	<i>sētīlakwahtok, tītīlakahtokeh</i>
268	they are eating	<i>tlakwahtokeh</i>
269	he ate	<i>ōtlakwah</i>
270	they ate	<i>ōtlakwahkeh</i>
271	I am thirsty	<i>nīāmiki</i>
272	I am hungry	<i>nīmāyāna</i>
273	it bit me	<i>ōnēchtitīk</i>
274	it bit us	<i>ōtēchtitīk</i>
275	he smelled (something)	<i>ōtlahnīkw</i>
276	they smelled (something)	<i>ōtlanīkwkeh</i>
277	they threw up	<i>ōmīhsōtlak</i>
278	he got drunk	<i>ōxowīntīk</i>
279	I feel cold	<i>nīsīkwī</i>
280	it is cold	<i>tlāsīyēya</i>
281	it (belly) growls	<i>kwakwalaka,<sup>101</sup> tsahsi</i>
282	Speak!	<i>xītīlahto, tīlahto</i>
283	What did he say?	<i>tīlēn ōkīhtoh?</i>
284	he answered	<i>ōtlanānkīleh</i>
285	I talked to him about ...	<i>ōnīknonōts deh ...</i>
286	he counts	<i>tlapūa &lt; *tlapōwa</i>
287	he counted	<i>ōtlapoh, ōtlapōw</i>
288	they counted	<i>ōtlapōwkeh</i>
289	they barked	<i>ōtlawahweh</i>
290	Don't tell me off!	<i>āmo (xi)nēchahwa</i>
291	he told us off	<i>ōtēchahwak</i>
292	they got angry	<i>ōkwālānkeh</i>
293	he cried	(human) <i>ōchōkak; (dog, baby) ōtlawahweh</i>
294	we cried	<i>ōsēchōkak, ōtīchōkakeh</i>
295	Did you (pl.) cry?	<i>ōnonchōkakeh?</i>
296	they cry	<i>chōkah, tlawahwiah</i>
297	Don't complain!	<i>āmo xīmōnīnīkī (*āmo monīnīkī)</i>
298	you (pl.) are afraid	<i>nomomohtīah &lt; Δ mohtīā</i>
299	I worked	<i>ōnītīkīt</i>

<sup>101</sup>Literally “it is making a noise like a boiling water.”

300	<i>tekitika</i> <i>tekipanoka</i>	<i>tikitikah</i> < * <i>tikittikah</i> ‘he/she/it is working’ <sup>102</sup> ( <i>ī</i> ) <i>tikipanohkah</i> ‘(his/her) family’
301	Roast it!	(on a fire) <i>xikikxīti</i> , <i>ikxīti</i> ; (in a pan) <i>xikwāwātsa</i> , <i>wāwātsa</i>
302	you (pl.) did not grind it	(on a metate) <i>āmo nonkitiskeh</i> ; (on a mill) <i>āmo nonkipayānkeh</i>
303	I threshed it	<i>ōnikōx</i>
304	you (pl.) threshed it	<i>ōnonkōxkeh</i>
305	I peeled it	(orange) <i>ōnikoyah</i> , <i>ōnikoyāw</i> < Δ <i>koyāw(a)</i> ; (potato) <i>ōnikxixī</i> < Δ <i>xixīm(a)</i>
306	I stirred it	<i>ōnikmāniloh</i>
307	I emptied it (bottle)	<i>ōnikbaciāroh</i>
308	I bought it	<i>ōnikoh</i> , <i>ōnikōw</i>
309	they bought it	<i>ōkōwkeh</i> , <i>ōkikōwkeh</i>
310	<i>tlakoato</i>	<i>ōtlakūato</i> : ‘he went in order to buy things’
311	<i>tlakoati</i>	<i>tlakūatih</i> : ‘he goes in order to buy things’
312	<i>tlakoako</i>	<i>ōtlakūako</i> : ‘he came in order to buy things’
313	<i>tlakoaki</i>	<i>tlakūaki</i> : ‘he comes in order to buy things’
314	<i>tlakoasti</i>	–
315	<i>ontlakoa</i>	–
316	<i>wātlakoa</i>	<i>wātlakūa</i> : ‘he comes in order to buy things’ (from distant)
317	I gave it to you (pl.)	<i>ōnomēchmakak</i>
318	I gave it to you (sg.)	<i>ōnimitsmakak</i>
319	he gave it to us	<i>ōtēchmakak</i>
320	they gave it to us	<i>ōtēchmakakeh</i>
321	they gave it to me	<i>ōnēchmakakeh</i>
322	he earns	<i>kitlāni</i>
323	I left it	<i>ōnikāw</i> (* <i>ōnikah</i> )
324	they left it	<i>ōnikāwkeh</i>
325	I finished	<i>ōnitlā</i> , <i>ōnitlanki</i>
326	they finished	<i>ōtlankeh</i>
327	I got undressed	<i>ōnimoxīpitsoh</i>
328	I put clothes on	<i>ōnimotlakēnteh</i>
329	I did my hair	<i>ōnimotsonilpeh</i>
330	Sit down!	<i>ximotlāli</i> , <i>motlāli</i>
331	Stand up!	<i>ximēwatikitsa</i> , <i>mēwatikitsa</i>
332	Stop!	<i>ximotilkitsa</i> , <i>motilkitsa</i> ;

<sup>102</sup>The form *tikittikah* ‘he/she/it is working’ is less common than *tikitok*; a speaker commented that *tikitikah* sounds like the Tenango dialect.

	<i>ximonakti, monakti</i>
333 he is walking	<i>nihnintok</i>
334 he is swimming	<i>mārintok &lt; Δ mārim(a)</i>
335 he flew	<i>ōpatlā, ōpatlānki</i>
336 they flew	<i>ōpatlānkeh</i>
337 Get on (the table)!	<i>xitlehko, tlehko</i>
338 Get him (a child) on (the table)!	<i>xiktlehkolti, tlehkolti</i>
339 he got down (the hill)	<i>ōnitimōk</i>
340 Jump!	<i>ximahkotlāsa, mahkotlāsa</i>
341 he arrives (tomorrow)	<i>ehkōs</i>
342 he slipped	<i>ōmotsīnxolah (*ōmotsīnxolāw)</i> < Δ <i>tsīnxolāw(a)</i>
343 it bore (a child)	<i>ōkipix (n ikoneh)</i>
344 he died	<i>ōmik, ōpoliw (*ōpolih)</i>
345 they killed them	<i>ōkimiktihkeh</i>
346 it (horse) kicked him	<i>ōkipatādahweh</i>
347 it (a cat) scratched me	<i>ōnēchtahtakak</i>
348 it (flea) bit me	<i>ōnēchtitik</i>
349 he blinked	<i>ōīxkakapakak</i>
350 they embraced each other	<i>ōmonahnawahkeh</i>
351 I held onto them	<i>ōnikintsitskeh</i>
352 I dragged it	<i>ōkiwilā, ōkiwilānki</i>
353 they will carry it on their shoulders	<i>kimēmēskeh</i> <sup>103</sup>
354 I rolled it up	<i>ōnikwikwilpachoh</i>
355 I piled (them) up	<i>ōniknichikoh, ōniknichikōw</i>
356 I leveled/broke it (a pile)	<i>ōnikxīxīneh</i>
357 I closed it	<i>ōniktsakw</i>
358 they closed it	<i>ōniktsakwkeh</i>
359 I beat him	<i>ōnikmāak</i>
360 he will knock on it (a door)	<i>kimāas, kitihitiwīs</i>
361 he is rocking (a baby)	<i>kiwixoxhtok</i>
362 he is flapping (a rag)	<i>kitsitsilohtok</i>
363 he stones him	<i>kitimōtla</i>
364 they hanged him	<i>ōkichpātskakeh</i>
365 it is pricked (a hand)	<i>ōmomāwitsweh</i>
366 he blew it away	<i>ōkitlatiwēh; (farther) ōkitlamōtlak</i>
367 it is burning	<i>tlatlatok, tōnēwtok</i>

<sup>103</sup> Δ *mēmē* ‘to carry on shoulders’ is a Class 4 verb which ends with *-ē* instead of the regular Class 4 ending *-ā*; *kimēmēs* ‘he will carry it on his shoulders’; *ookimēmeh* ‘he carried it on his shoulders.’

368	it is boiling	<i>molōntok</i>
369	it is being roasted	<i>tsoyōntok</i>
370	he seasoned it with hot pepper	<i>ōkichīlniloh</i>
371	he made it sweet	<i>ōnitsopēlalteh</i>
372	it got rotten	<i>ōpalā, ōpalāki</i>
373	it (pulque) fermented	–
374	they (plants) will become yellow	<i>motlālīs kostik</i> <sup>104</sup>
375	it (firework) made noise	<i>ōtopō, ōtopōnki</i>
376	he grew up	<i>ōmoskalteh</i>
377	it (plant) sprouted	<i>ōtopō</i>
378	it glitters (in the sunlight)	<i>pitlāni</i>
379	it melted	<i>ōpāt</i>
380	it (cloth) will shrink	<i>kototsiwis</i>
381	I soaked it	<i>ōnikpaltileh</i>
382	Burn it!	<i>xiktlati, tlati</i>
383	Hide it!	<i>xiktlati, tlāti</i>
384	I followed him	<i>ōnikīkaweh</i> <sup>105</sup>
385	I sowed it	<i>ōniktōkak</i>
386	bitter	<i>chichīk</i>
387	he sucks breasts	<i>chīchi &lt; Δ chīchī</i>
388	dog	<i>itskwintli</i> <sup>106</sup>
389	breast	<i>chīchīwal</i>
390	dough	<i>tixtli</i>
391	brother-in-law	<i>cuñāдох</i>
392	Ask for it!	<i>xiktlahtlani, tlahtlani</i>
393	he earns	<i>kitlātlānia</i>
394	month	<i>mētstli</i>
395	leg	(below the knee) <i>ikxitl</i> ; (above the knee) <i>kēstli</i>
396	there are many stones in the road	<i>katki mīk tītl īch (=tīch) n ohtli</i>
397	he put the money in the bag	<i>ōkitlāleh tomē īch n ībōlsah</i>
398	he is sitting in front of me	<i>tītōlohtok noīxpā</i>
399	he is sitting behind me	<i>tītōlohtok nokwitlapā</i>
400	he is sitting by my side	<i>tītōlohtok noyēkah</i>
401	there is a tree behind the house	<i>īkwitlapā n kali katki sē būitl</i>
402	there is a tree in front of the house	<i>īxpā n kali katki sē būitl</i>
403	there is a tree next to the house	<i>īyēkah n kali katki sē būitl</i>

<sup>104</sup>This form is used for both singular and plural subjects.

<sup>105</sup>The verb  $\Delta$  *toka* is not used since it has become a sexual slang.

<sup>106</sup>See note 21.

404	he went to the corn field with me	<i>ōyah nowā mīlihtik</i>
405	He came with my brother	<i>ōwālah īwā n noknih</i>
406	Lean the sack against the wall!	<i>(xik)toktlāsa n koxtāl īxko n tipāntl</i>
407	Show me what you have in your hand!	<i>(xi)nēchnēxtili tlēn tikpixtok ītich n moma</i>
408	the dog is in the house	<i>n itskwintli katki kalihtik</i>
409	the pot is next to the griddle	<i>n kōmitl katki īyēka n komal</i>
410	the machete is on the ground	<i>n machīteh katki n tlālpan</i>
411	Who is your (sg.) father with?	<i>āki n īwā katki n motātah?</i>
412	Is your father present?	<i>katki n motātah?</i>
413	in the mountains there are no deers	<i>n bohtlah āmo kateh masāmeh</i>
414	my dad is in Zacatlán now	<i>n āxā n notātah katki sakatlā</i>
415	Where is the church?	<i>kānī katki n tiōpantl</i>
416	Where is the machete?	<i>kānī katki n machīteh</i>
417	Juan looks old	<i>n <u>Juan</u> mota yā tētahtsī</i>
418	it is necessary to burn the garbage	<i>sēkitlatīs n tlahsōl<sup>107</sup></i>
419	this is the road	<i>nikānkah yeh n ohtli</i>
420	What kind of bird is that?	<i>tlēn pájaroh nēkah</i>
421	<i>astātī</i> is a bird	<i>n astātīl pájaroh</i>
422	this tree was already big (when we came here)	<i>nēkah būitl yōkatka wehkapā</i>
423	the child arrived crying	<i>n tēlpukatīl ōehkok chōkatiwīts</i>
424	Do you know that lady who is sitting over there?	<i>tikīxmati nēkah siwātīl tlēn tōlohtok nēpa?</i>
425	I was robbed of the hat which I bought yesterday	<i>ōnēchichitīkilihkeh n nosombrēroh tlēn ōnikoh n fyālwa</i>
426	Come help me!	<i>xinēchpalēwīki, nēchpalēwīki</i>
427	he fell down when getting off the bus	<i>ōwits kwāntoh ōtimōtoya ītich n kamiōn</i>
428	If they had paid me, I would have bought another machete	<i>tlā ōnēchtlaxtlawāneh ōnikūaya / ōnikūiskia ok sē nomachīteh</i>
429	If I had money, I would buy a house	<i>tlā ōnikpiani tomē ōnikmōkūaya / ōnikmōkūiskia sē nokal</i>
430	I am going by bus	<i>niās ītich n kamiōn</i>
431	Do you (will you) wait for me?	<i>tinēchchias? / tinēchias?</i>

<sup>107</sup>Literally “we will burn the garbage.”

## ナワトル語イシュキワカン方言の方言学的概観

佐々木 充文

キーワード: ユート・アステカ語族、ナワトル語、プエブラ・トラスカラ方言、方言学

本稿は、メキシコ合衆国プエブラ州北部で話されている現代ナワトル語の一方言であるイシュキワカン・ナワトル語 (Ixquihuacan Nahuatl) に関する基礎調査の成果を報告するものである。先行研究のない同方言の将来の体系的記述への足がかりとして、本稿では、(i) 社会言語学的状況と先行研究についての概観、(ii) 暫定的な実用転写法の提案、(iii) 同方言を特徴づける4つの主要な比較言語学的特徴についての考察、および (iv) 共時的音韻論の基礎的記述を行う。付録として、2つの語彙表 (*Swadesh List* および「ナワトル語方言学調査票」) に沿って収集した同方言の基礎語彙表を付す。イシュキワカン・ナワトル語は他のサカトラン・アワカトラン・テベツィントラ諸方言と多くの点で共通するが、テナンゴ方言など近隣の方言にくらべ、語彙的により新しい特徴を有する。

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