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**LINGUISTIC POETICS AND RHETORIC OF EASTERN CHATINO  
OF SAN JUAN QUIAHIJE**

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**LINGUISTIC POETICS AND RHETORIC OF EASTERN CHATINO  
OF SAN JUAN QUIAHIJE**

**by**

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## **Dedication**

To my parents Tomás Cruz Lorenzo and Isabel Cruz Baltazar, my daughter Shalui Tsyvya Klara Abeles, and niece Frida Cruz.

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# LINGUISTIC POETICS AND RHETORIC OF EASTERN CHATINO OF SAN JUAN QUIAHIJE

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Verbal art plays a crucial role in the culture and traditions of Chatino communities, which is in the mountains of southern Oaxaca, Mexico. This study examines verbal art in the SJQ variety of Eastern Chatino, a language which belongs to the Chatino group in the Zapotecan branch of the Otomanguean stock. There is a wide range of discourse genres practiced in the community including prayers, persuasive talk, political speeches, narrative, jokes, and everyday conversation. The analysis presented here is based on six ritual texts, three of which are presented in their entirety. These six texts are drawn from a corpus of approximately 100 hours of audio recordings collected during language documentation work from 2004 to 2010 in the two Chatino communities of the municipality of San Juan Quiahije: the town of San Juan and the adjacent community of Cieneguilla. These texts were transcribed, translated, and analyzed using linguistic and poetic tools developed for the study of oral discourse.

The intricate poetic texture and style of SJQ verbal art is created through the confluence of multiple, distinct elements including parallelism, formulaic phrases,

*difrasismo*, sentential adverbs, poetization of grammar, assonance, and performance.

Parallelism is one of the most prevalent recurrent poetic tools in SJQ poetics. This verbal art tradition also comprises a large number of conventional lexical set or formulaic phrases, which are part of the communities' collective knowledge. A large number of these formulaic phrases have metaphorical meaning, known in Mesoamerican poetics as *difrasismo*.

Many grammatical features in the language have an additional poetic function. This is a widespread process in oral discourse, referred to by some scholar as the “poetization of grammar”. For example, persuasive speech recited in political contexts, such as at the City Hall of the town of San Juan, shows a more frequent than average use of the first person plural pronoun. Orators use this grammatical person to convey humbleness, a sense of community, belonging, and inclusiveness, as well as to evoke feelings of endearment. Finally, San Juan Quiahije oral discourse is performed before an audience for the benefit of the community. One of the major features of performance in San Juan Quiahije discourse in performance is overlapping speech.

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## Abbreviations

1	high tone
2	mid level tone
3	mid ascending tone
4	low level tone
20	mid ascending tone
32	mid high tone
42	low mid tone
40	low floating tone
04	floating low tone
14	high low tone
24	mid low tone
1EXCL	first person plural exclusive
1INCL	first person plural inclusive
1SG	first person singular
2PL	second person plural
2SG	second person singular
3SG	third person singular
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
Alin	alienable
ANIM	animal
ART	article
B	base motion verb
CAUS	causative
CIEN	cienuilla Quiahije
CL	clitic
CLDP	chatino Language Documentation Project
Cls	cluster
COMP	complementizer
COMPL	completive aspect
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjunction
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
EC	Eastern Chatino
EMPH	emphatic
EXCL	exclusive
H	human
HAB	habitual aspect
IMP	imperative
Ina	inalienable possessed noun
INAN	inalienable possession



INCL	inclusive
INDEF	indefinite
INEGI	Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática
INTJ	interjection, pause, sentence filler
LOC	locative
M	masculine
N	noun
NB	non base motion verb
NEG	negation
NEUT	neutral aspect
NOM	nominalizer
NOP	Santos Reyes Nopala Chatino
NP	noun phrase
NUM	numeral
ONOM	onomatopoeic sound
PAN	San Miguel Panixtlahuaca Chatino
POT	potential aspect
PRO	pronoun
PROG	progressive aspect
PTCP	participle
Q	question
REFL	reflexive
REL	relativizer
SJLN	San Juan Lachao Nuevo Chatino
SJLV	San Juan Lachao Viejo Chatino
SJQ	San Juan Quiahije Chatino
Sp	spanish
Subj	subjet
TAT	Tataltepec de Valdés Chatino
That.abs	demonstrative pronoun
TEO	Santa Lucía Teotepec Chatino
VP	verb phrase
YAI	Santiago Yaitepec Chatino
YOL	Santa María Yolotepec
ZAC	San Marcos Zacatepec Chatino
ZAP	Zapotec
ZEN	Santa Cruz Zenzontepec Chatino

## Chapter 1: San Juan Quiahije Community

### 1 GENERAL INTRODUCTION

There are many studies of Mesoamerican verbal art, encompassing especially verbal art in Nahuatl (Garibay 1953, Portilla 1969, 1992, 1993, Bright 1990) and Maya languages (Bricker 1974, Edmonson 1971, Gossen 1974, Norman 1980, Townsend 1980, Edmonson & Bricker 1985, Tedlock 1987, Christenson 2000, and Hull 2003). The authors of these studies agree that the poetics of these Mesoamerican languages is based around such features as canonical parallelism, *difrasismo*, and other figures of speech.

However, for Otomanguean languages located in Oaxaca, Mexico, there is a dearth of such studies, especially for Chatino. Cordero (1986) published a study on Chatino discourse and had a bilingual teacher who was a native speaker of Tepenixtlahuaca Chatino, Hilario Cortés Canseco, transcribe and translate a dozen of Chatino prayers from neighboring San Juan Quiahije. Both the Chatino transcription and the Spanish translation were presented into blocks of texts. Cortes presented the Chatino transcription following his own orthographic conventions, but did not offer explanations of the overall system. Accordingly, these written texts are not easily parsed.-Cordero did not continue her research in the Chatino region, and Mr. Cortés's notations cannot be read by native speakers of Chatino that are also literate in Spanish.

This dissertation endeavors to expand the documentation of Chatino verbal art and oratory, from both a cultural and a linguistic perspective. To that end, I wish to

provide an in-depth documentation of the social context of SJQ verbal art and as well as to describe how it works linguistically. In the Chatino region, it is generally acknowledged that these verbal practice are continued and maintained particularly in San Juan Quiahije, a Chatino speaking community located in the mountains of Oaxaca, Mexico. It is also the community in which I was raised.

When researching the verbal art of San Juan Quiahije (SJQ) Chatino, I had four main goals; first documenting the Chatino language; second, providing a linguistic analysis of the structures found in Chatino verbal art; third, as just mentioned, documenting verbal art in its social context and as it relates to this community; and fourth, discovering its place among the systems of verbal art of neighboring Mesoamerican cultures. The linguistic analysis will focus on components of SJQ verbal art as parallelistic repetition, formulaic expressions, and features known as *difrasismos* and *polifrasismos*.

With this study, I hope to make a contribution to the broader understanding of Mesoamerican verbal art, especially by comparing SJQ verbal art with other Mesoamerican poetic traditions. I analyze the major components of SJQ verbal art including parallelism, formulaic expressions, and linguistic structure. I also provide an analytic taxonomy of various different kinds of ways of speaking in SJQ. In doing this, my goal is not only scientific, but also humanistic. I take into account the community context where this verbal art is practiced, and how it is experienced by speakers and

participants in the speech events that include this kind of verbal performance. In this endeavor, I rely in part on my own experience as a member of this community.

Growing up in Oaxaca, Mexico, I was constantly reminded of the Spanish language's dominance over my native language, San Juan Quiahije Eastern Chatino. The greater Hispanized Mexican culture always made light of speakers of indigenous languages, referring to the languages themselves as *dialectos* or 'dialects'—incomplete and lacking in grammar. Mexican popular media routinely portrayed—and still portrays—the speakers of indigenous languages as stupid: the popular caricature La India Maria (Castro R, M & Hind E., 2004) exemplifies this sentiment. Yet as I grew up in the Oaxacan communities of San Juan Quiahije (SJQ) and Cieneguilla, experiencing Chatino culture and its verbal art, I knew in my heart that the Chatino language and discourse was special. The speeches communicated profound messages through which I and the other citizens of SJQ internalized a strong connection to community, our natural surroundings, and to family.

In Cieneguilla and San Juan speeches and prayers were everywhere. My father, Tomás Cruz, worked as a secretary at the city hall. When I was very young I used to accompany him there. Some of my earliest recollections include listening to the political discourse conducted when my father was discharging his duties. Also among my earliest memories are ceremonial prayers. It was a very special day for me when I visited my godmother on the Day of the Dead and, like all godparents in the community, she prayed for her godchild, asking that I grow up to be a good person, and a prosperous one. New

Year's Eve was an equally important holiday that saw my entire family: mother, father, siblings, aunts and uncles come together to celebrate. Together we knelt facing the sun while my grandfather stood behind all of us, praying for our mutual well-being. To this day, every time I leave for a trip my grandfather asks me to kneel in front of his altar so that he can wish me a good life, good fortune and a safe trip with a prayer. As a child I did not know how to process civil or religious discourse, but I knew there was richness and a resonance to these speeches and prayers. I knew that few people outside of our community understood Chatino, and I observed that the Spanish-speaking Mestizo communities that border ours failed to realize our rich and ancient traditions.

It took leaving Mexico for the United States at the age of 20 for me to begin a serious study of the Chatino languages and verbal art. Both my sister Emiliana Cruz and I attended the Evergreen State College for our undergraduate education. Then a chance meeting between Emiliana and Joel Sherzer, now a professor emeritus at the University of Texas at Austin (UT), led Emiliana to the Anthropology Department at UT (E. Cruz & Woodbury, 2014). In the summer of 2003, I joined Emiliana and UT Professor Tony Woodbury in the Chatino community of Santa Lucia Teotepec to coordinate initial efforts to document the Chatino language. This first experience of Chatino study led me to follow my sister to the University of Texas at Austin one year later to pursue research in linguistics.

In 2000, well before the commencement of my formal studies, I was on a return visit to Cieneguilla and was struck by the eloquence of the speeches given at a great feast

at my uncle Marcos Cruz Baltazar's house. City hall sent two couples to aid Uncle Marcos in this great feast: one couple was young, the other older. The young couple was charged with satisfying the needs of the guests. The younger wife made sure the guests were well fed and had plenty of drink; while her husband fetched firewood and made sure the feast was well provisioned. The elder couple sent from city hall oversaw the feast in general. At the end of the week-long celebration, the elders of my family and the two couples sent from city hall had an overlapping exchange—a type of ceremonial speech—which expressed appreciation for the work performed by every individual involved in the organization of the feast. The speech described how the process of preparing for the feast, and the oratory performed at the feast, had been passed down by our forefathers and foremothers and emphasized that it would be devastating to abandon these traditions. This speech had a profound impact on me that I never forgot.

My impression of the importance of oratory was reinforced when in the summer of 2004 I witnessed speeches given at a municipality meeting in the town of San Juan Quiahije. At this meeting orators spoke with great conviction and in an emotional way about the importance of civic service as a means to maintain the community and uphold its traditions. My desire to focus on the study of SJQ verbal art was solidified after hearing these speeches at city hall. After the meeting I requested permission from the president of San Juan to record the ceremony of the changing of the traditional authorities, when it takes place every year on the last day of December in San Juan. The

mayor granted me permission to record the annual event. I returned to San Juan to record it using a digital recorder that Professor Tony Woodbury provided to me.

I was in awe of this ceremony and mesmerized by all that transpired. I felt particularly privileged to be in attendance; the ceremony is traditionally left to men. In addition to the verbal performance, the men enacted traditional physical behaviors: they assumed postures such as a particular sitting orientation that was beyond my capacity to explain at the time. I realized that in order to be able to analyze and interpret what I was witnessing I needed the tools found in the disciplines of both linguistics and ethnography. At this event I recorded three texts, which I analyzed in my Master's thesis at the University of Texas at Austin (H. Cruz 2009).

In the summer of 2005 Tony Woodbury and I transcribed one of the recordings that resulted from this event. After seeing the patterns of discourse that transpired on the audio recordings, Dr. Woodbury remarked that there was pervasive parallelism found in these speeches. This piqued my interest to continue to document political speeches in city hall and other oratories that were salient in the community.

To learn more about Chatino verbal art, I wanted to focus on the poetic form in oral discourse found in public performances such as the exchanges between elders and city hall helpers, exemplified in the Visit text (Chapter 6), the Prayers for the Community (Chapter 7), and the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> ksya<sup>10</sup>* ‘words of the heart’ (Chapter 8).

I also wanted to show for myself, my family, and my community the profound richness in SJQ verbal art passed down from generation to generation to maintain our

tradition. I deeply love this verbal art and wish to share this appreciation with a wider audience.

## **2 ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION**

This section provides a summary of the chapters in this dissertation.

### **2.1 Chapter 1: SJQ Community**

This chapter provides an ethnographic sketch of San Juan Quiahije society. Included in this chapter is a description of the geographic location of the community and the political organization of the traditional government. This chapter also describes the environment, flora, and fauna. Socioeconomic cultural issues such as migration, language vitality, religion, fiestas, and fairs are also examined in this chapter.

### **2.2 Chapter 2: Scholarly research on Chatino language and culture**

This Chapter presents the anthropological and linguistic research on the Chatino language, culture, and society began over a century ago. The researchers involved in that work can be classified into five groups.

### **2.3 Chapter 3: Introduction to SJQ Linguistics**

This Chapter offers a linguistic background of the Chatino language. The goal of this chapter is to familiarize the reader with the body of literature on these topics and also to provide an overview of the linguistic and anthropological research carried out in the Chatino region over the last 100 years.



## **2.4 Chapter 4: Methods and Data**

This chapter provides an account of the different methods utilized for this study and includes a description of how I carried out the texts transcription, translation, archiving, glossing, and poetic lines. The chapter also provides a comprehensive list of the corpus of texts resulting from the documentation of Chatino from 2003 to 2010.

## **2.5 Chapter 5: Approach to SJQ verbal art**

This chapter describes the tools and plan for the analysis of the major recurrent linguistic features and communicative functions of San Juan Quiahije. It discusses the major recurrent linguistic patterns and content of SJQ verbal art. Some of these patterns are shown to be constitutive of an entire type of poetic tradition while others are shown to be used only occasionally.

## **2.6 Chapter 6: Ways of speaking in San Juan Quiahije**

This chapter defines and provides an analytic taxonomy of various different kinds and ways of speaking, and relating them to different speech contexts, speaker roles, and genres. This perspective includes an exploration and the use and context of formal language and what might properly be called performance (details of how speaking events are put in practice).

## **2.7 Chapter 7: Analysis of The Visit Text**

This chapter analyzes and interprets the performance, structure, and meaning of a text entitled “The Visit”, a ritual exchange between Simón Zurita Cruz (S. Zurita), a respected local elder in San Juan Quiahije, and six city hall helpers who visit S. Zurita house to invite him to join the authorities to pray on behalf of the entire community.

## **2.8 Chapter 8: Analysis of Prayer for the Community Text**

This chapter analyzes the structure, content, meaning, and performance of a ritual speech entitled: “Prayer for the Community”. This prayer was performed following “The Visit” text (also performed by S. Zurita) analyzed in Chapter 7. The prayer is an annual event where elders and officials pray throughout the surrounding area for the benefit of the whole community.

## **2.9 Chapter 9: *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* ‘Words of the Heart’ Text Analysis**

This chapter analyzes a highly poetic, time-honored, but seldom used ritualistic dialogue that San Juan Quiahije citizens call the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* or ‘words of the heart’. *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* used to be performed by specialists at weddings and at children’s coming-of-age ceremonies, but has fallen out of common practice during the last forty years.

## **2.10 Chapter 10: San Juan Quiahije Verbal Art in Mesoamerica perspective**

This chapter provides a brief summary of the major forms of San Juan Quiahije verbal art, its performance and its poetics. This chapter also compares the poetic features of SJQ verbal art with those found elsewhere in Mesoamerican indigenous languages.

## **2.11 Chapter 11: General conclusion**

This chapter is a summation of the study and proposal for future research related to the study.

## **3 THE SAN JUAN QUIAHIJE MUNICIPALITY**

To fully appreciate the depth of San Juan Quiahije verbal art, one has to first have a basic understanding of the surrounding environment and of San Juan Quiahije's culture and epistemology. The geographic location of the community, the flora and fauna, and the historical, political, and social framework of San Juan Quiahije are all celebrated, reflected, and expressed within the verbal art. This interconnectedness allows San Juan Quiahije verbal art to be a tool for governing, for healing, and for maintaining tradition.

### **2 Geographic location of San Juan Quiahije municipality**

The San Juan Quiahije municipality is located in a mountainous area in the district of Juquila in the southwestern state of Oaxaca, Mexico. Although only 60 miles north of the Pacific Coast (with coordinates 16.3000° N, 97.3167° W), the highest part of San Juan territory has a more temperate than purely tropical climate. The San Juan Quiahije municipality is comprised of two major towns, San Juan and Cieneguilla, and

many smaller hamlets and *rancherías* scattered around the mountains and canyons of the greater San Juan Quiahije territory. Hamlet and *rancherías* are small settlements where San Juan Quiahije citizens farm. These are smaller places than *agencias* (e.g., Cieneguilla) or San Juan.

San Juan Quiahije has a total of 3628 inhabitants, with 2120 in San Juan and another 1330 in Cieneguilla (INEGI 2010). San Juan Quiahije citizens call their towns *Kchin*<sup>4</sup> ‘San Juan’ and *Ntenq*<sup>3</sup> ‘Cieneguilla’. Speakers of other Eastern Chatino varieties have different names for San Juan Quiahije. The people from Yolotepec call San Juan Quiahije *Kiqya*<sup>2</sup> *Kixin*<sup>4</sup> ‘Mountain *Kixin*<sup>4</sup>’, the people from Panixtlahuaca refer to it as *Kchin*<sup>4</sup> *Kqya*<sup>2</sup> ‘community in the mountains’, and the people from Zacatepec name it *Kiqya*<sup>2</sup> *Yukwaq*<sup>4</sup> ‘mountain of marsh’.

#### **4 THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE STATE GOVERNMENT’S TERRITORIAL UNITS**

The state of Oaxaca is divided into thirty districts for governance on the local level. Each district has a capital and a number of *municipios* or counties, with the latter subdivided into a number of *agencias municipales* or townships (Greenberg 1981:57). The government of the township is subordinate to that of its county seat. San Juan Quiahije is a *municipio* and Cieneguilla is an *agencia municipal* subordinate to the Municipality of San Juan Quiahije. The San Juan Quiahije municipality also has many outlying hamlets scattered around its territory. *Rancherías* and hamlets are not recognized as official towns. They are viewed as seasonally occupied settlements where San Juan Quiahije residents stay to farm. Section 7.1 discusses this topic in greater detail.

Santa Catarina Juquila (henceforth Juquila) is the administrative head of the district that San Juan Quiahije resides in. For further information on these political territorial divisions in the Juquila district see (Greenberg 1981). Throughout this dissertation I will use the term “San Juan Quiahije” to refer to the San Juan Quiahije municipality and “San Juan” to refer to the ritual town center.

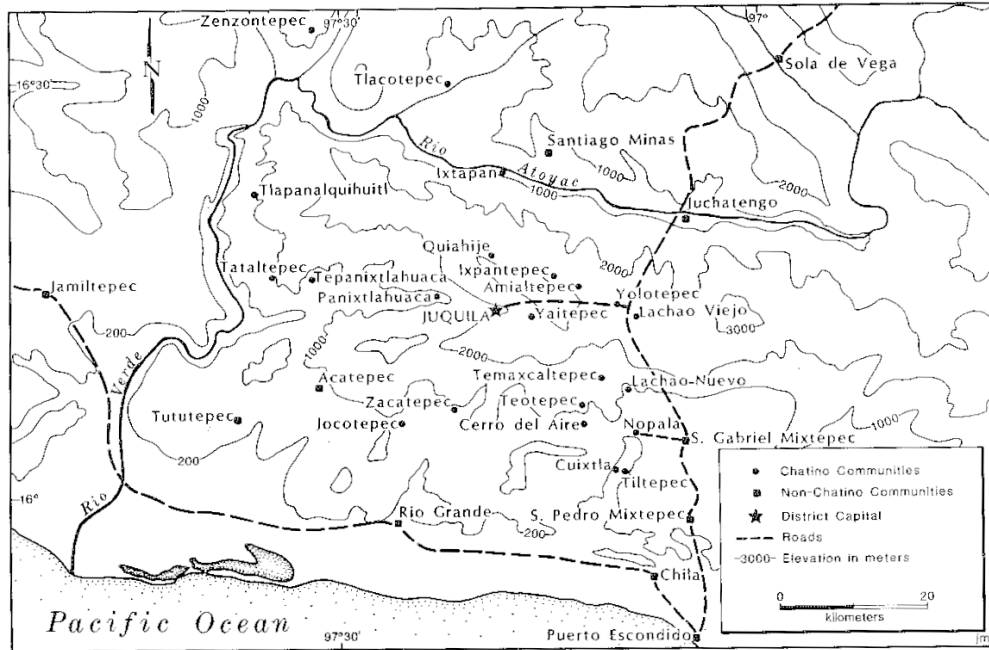
#### **4.1 The San Juan town**

The town of San Juan is considered the spiritual, ceremonial center of the municipality. The town is situated on a steep slope overlooking the mountain range Sierra Madre del Sur. Views of pine and oak forests along the mountain slopes greet one at every turn as one approaches the community. Usually, in the cool mornings and evenings, when the temperature is cooler, the valleys are blanketed in a shroud of fog. In the distance one can see the mountains of Zenzontepec. The most important institutions in the municipality, the *tqwa<sup>4</sup> qan<sup>4</sup> tnya<sup>3</sup>* ‘city hall’, *tqwa<sup>4</sup> la<sup>42</sup>* ‘the church’, and the *neq<sup>2</sup> qo<sup>3</sup>* ‘cemetery’, were originally located in San Juan town. The terrain is rugged, making travel difficult even in the best of conditions. Ceremonial pilgrimages to San Juan are an enterprise that requires preparation and fortitude, which reflects the devotion of the participants to their journey. The *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*, a ceremonial speech analyzed in Chapter 7, contains passages that express the hardships and endurance it takes to travel across this terrain.

## 4.2 Cieneguilla

Cieneguilla is located in a small flat valley a few hundred meters lower in elevation than San Juan. Up until the 1970's Cieneguilla was one of the many hamlets of San Juan Quiahije. Cieneguilla gained the status of *agencia* municipal in 1970 (T. Cruz 1989, Odilón Cortés 1989) when a group of people from San Juan, following the advice of a Franciscan friar named Edmundo Avalos, decided to settle down permanently in Cieneguilla. However, in practice it is difficult to distinguish the communities of San Juan and Cieneguilla, as daily contact between the two communities is common with family members living in both towns (T. Cruz 1989).

The neighboring towns to San Juan Quiahije are a mix of other Chatino communities and one mestizo town, Juquila. To the north of San Juan Quiahije are *Tqwa<sup>4</sup> Tyku<sup>2</sup>* 'San Jose Ixtapan' and *Qya<sup>2</sup> Yti<sup>140</sup>* 'Santa Cruz Zenzontepec'. To the west, San Juan Quiahije borders *Skwi<sup>1</sup>* 'San Miguel Panixtlahuaca', *Syaq<sup>2</sup>* 'Santa Cruz Tepenixtlahuaca', and *Lo<sup>4</sup> qo<sup>14</sup>* 'Tataltepec de Valdez'. To the southeast of San Juan Quiahije are the towns of *Tlya<sup>1</sup>* 'San Francisco Ixpantepec' and *Chaq<sup>1</sup>* 'Santa María Amialtepec'. To the south San Juan Quiahije borders *Sqwe<sup>3</sup>* 'Juquila'. Figure 1.1 below, a map of the region, shows these geographical relationships.



MAP 1  
THE DISTRIBUTION OF CHATINO COMMUNITIES

Figure 1. 1: The Chatino region from (Greenberg 1981:26)

## 5 ENVIRONMENT

The San Juan Quiahije municipality is home to many native animals and plants. The climate and geographical location of the region are conducive to the growth of a wide range of native flora and fauna. The tables below provide a list (not exhaustive) of the native plant and animal life. The list is adapted from *Plan Municipal de Desarrollo* ‘Municipal Development Plan’ (2008), a report that the municipal authorities of San Juan Quiahije submitted to the *Secretaria de Finanzas* ‘Secretariat of Finance’, a state entity that gives out funding for the *municipios* in the state of Oaxaca.

## 5.1 Flora

Table 1.1 provides a partial list of the flora in San Juan Quiahije.

<b>Chatino</b>	<b>Latin names</b>	<b>Common name in Spanish</b>	<b>Common name in English</b>
yka <sup>4</sup> kytye <sup>2</sup>	pinus maximinoides	pino canis o ocote	thinleaf Pine
yka <sup>4</sup> kytye <sup>2</sup>	pinus chiapensis	pino blanco	chiapas pine
yka <sup>4</sup> kytye <sup>2</sup>	pinus oocarpa	pino amarillo, Pino avellano,	mexican yellow pine, and hazelnut pine
yka <sup>4</sup> kytye <sup>2</sup>	pinus devoniana or pinus michoacana	pino lacio or Pino prieto	-----
yka <sup>4</sup> kchin <sup>32</sup> , yka <sup>4</sup> kiq <sup>32</sup>	quercus	roble	white oak
yka <sup>4</sup> yna <sup>20</sup>	bursaceae, bursera	---	Torchwood
ke <sup>2</sup> tlyaq <sup>1</sup>	orchidaceae	orchidia	Orchid

Table 1.1: Flora in San Juan Quiahije. Adapted from Plan Municipal de Desarrollo ‘Municipal Development Plan’ (2008)

Table 1.1 shows that there are a great variety of pine trees in San Juan Quiahije.



## 5.2 Fauna

Table 1.2 provides a small sample of birds that are found in San Juan Quiahije.

<b>Chatino</b>	<b>Latin names</b>	<b>Common name Spanish</b>	<b>Common name English</b>
-----	ramphastidae	tucán verde	Toucan
qa <sup>3</sup> ra <sup>3</sup> nkqa <sup>42</sup>	psittacidae	cotorros	Parrot
lyiq <sup>20</sup>	aratinga canicularis	perico	Parrot
kwan <sup>20</sup>	ara macao	guacamaya	scarlet macaw
qya <sup>3</sup>	acciptriadae, falconidas	aguila real	Eagle
yuq <sup>2</sup>	colibri thalassinus, Heliomaster constaii	colibri	hummingbird
-----	gypaetus barbatus	quebranta huesos	bearded vulture
la <sup>4</sup> -xu <sup>32</sup>	sarcoramphus	zopilote rey	king vulture
----	accipitridae	halcón	Falcon
----	atrigiformes	lechuza	barn owl
qne <sup>4</sup> kytyi <sup>2</sup>	accipitridae	buho	Owl

Table 1.2: Birds in San Juan Quiahije. Adapted from *Plan Municipal de Desarrollo* ‘Municipal Development Plan’ (2008)

Table 1.2 shows the variety of birds that inhabit the region, from the mountains and canyons, and includes a great number of exotic birds with majestic plumage such as toucans, parrots and macaws. Table 1.3 provides a small sample of mammals that are found in San Juan Quiahije.

<b>Chatino</b>	<b>Latin names</b>	<b>Common name Spanish</b>	<b>Common name English</b>
nkoq <sup>2</sup>	canis latrans	coyote	Coyote
ktaq <sup>2</sup>	urocyon cinereoargenteus	zorro	Fox
xnyaq <sup>1</sup>	tamandua Mexicana	osos hormiguero	ant-eater
tya <sup>1</sup>	sciurus aureogaster	ardilla	Squirrel
chuq <sup>2</sup>	nasua narica	tejón	Badger
xeq <sup>2</sup>	procyon lottor	mapache	Raccoon
kynyaq <sup>1</sup>	odocoileus virginianus	venado	Deer
ji <sup>42</sup>	spilogale sp y conepatus sp	zorrillo	Skunk
kweq <sup>42</sup> kxing <sup>2</sup>	tayassu tajacu	jabalí	peccary (jabalí)
kchi <sup>3</sup> tu <sup>3</sup> yka <sup>24</sup>	leopardus pardalis	tigrillo	Ocelot
xyon <sup>20</sup> kxing <sup>2</sup>	lynx rufus	gato montes	Bobcat
kchi <sup>3</sup> saq <sup>20</sup>	felidae	puma	Puma
kwenq <sup>42</sup>	desypus novemcintus	armadillo	Armadillo

Table 1. 3: Mammals. Adapted from *Plan Municipal de Desarrollo* ‘Municipal Development Plan’ (2008: 52)

Table 1.3 shows that San Juan Quiahije is home to a wide range of mammals, from squirrels to pumas. Table 1.4 shows a list of arthropods, insects, and reptiles.

<b>Chatino</b>	<b>Latin name</b>	<b>Common name Spanish</b>	<b>Common name English</b>
sqen <sup>32</sup>	dromopoda	alacrán	Scorpion
sne <sup>1</sup>	bufo simus, B. marmoreus	sapo	Toad
yuq <sup>2</sup> tsu <sup>3</sup>	theraphosidae	tarantula	Tarantula
kna <sup>1</sup> kchanq <sup>20</sup>	microrus diastema	corallillos	coral snake
kna <sup>1</sup> tnu <sup>1</sup>	crotalus intermedius	casabel	Rattlesnake
knoq <sup>2</sup> kyoq <sup>2</sup>	chilopoda	cienpiés	Centipede
ke <sup>42</sup> ntsen <sup>1</sup>	atta spp	chicatana	leafcutter ant

Table 1.4: Arthropods, insects and reptiles. Adapted from *Plan Municipal de Desarrollo* ‘Municipal Development Plan’ (2008)

Table 1.4 shows that San Juan Quiahije is home to arthropods like scorpions and venomous reptiles like the rattlesnake and coral snake. The locals' relationships with these animals vary. For instance, the queen ant is a delicacy for the San Juan Quiahije people, and is prepared in dishes like tamales and salsa. Every year when the queen ants come out of their nest it is a cause of celebration in the community.

### **5.3 Road conditions**

Although San Juan Quiahije was accessible by foot and animal trails to its neighboring communities for most of its history, San Juan Quiahije has remained culturally and politically isolated from the neighboring mestizo community of Juquila. While San Juan Quiahije inhabitants travelled to the Juquila district for shopping at markets and attending to administrative matters, people from Juquila seldom if ever travelled to San Juan, even though it was accessible by foot (T. Cruz 1989).

In the 1970's a dirt-logging road was constructed by a logging company to allow motor vehicles to pass through the community. However, the trip on the serpentine road from Juquila to Cieneguilla can even today take up to a couple of hours to complete, depending on road conditions and the weather. The heavy amount of rainfall and number of tropical storms during the summer monsoon season greatly impacts the roads. They can get extremely muddy, slippery and dangerous to travel through. People in the community have to come together and do *tequio* 'free work' in order to maintain the road, especially during the rainy season.

## 6. HISTORY

Since colonization, the relationship between San Juan Quiahije and its mestizo neighbors has been unequal in power. The history is marked by land dispossession, labor exploitation, and unequal dispensing of justice.

Most of the Chatino territory was seized and claimed by creole people (Greenberg 1981). During the 30 years of the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz (1876-1910) the dispossession of Chatino communal lands continued to increase. In the 1950s, mestizos from Oaxaca City took land from the Chatinos and created fincas cafetaleras ‘coffee plantations’ throughout the Chatino region, forcing Chatinos to work on these coffee plantations (Hernández Díaz 1987). Fearing competition, the mestizos prohibited the Chatinos from growing their own coffee (Hernández Díaz 1987). Most people in San Juan Quiahije worked on these coffee plantations until the 1970s (T. Cruz, 1987, 1991; (Bartolomé and Barabas 1996). The long tenure of the coffee plantations effectively ended communal land tenure based on usufruct rights and replaced it with private and inheritable land ownership that dispossessed Chatino pueblos of their lands for all time (Hernández Díaz 1987).

The people of San Juan Quiahije proudly define themselves as Chatino. The past century of local history has been marked with intermittent conflicts with the mestizo district of Juquila. One event best illustrates this tension between the indigenous people and their hispanized neighbors: the uprising known as *Guerra de pantalones* ‘war of the pants’ (Greenberg 1981).

During the Porfiriato, specifically in 1896, there was an armed conflict between Juquila and the Chatino communities of Yaitepec, Panixtlahuaca, and San Juan Quiahije (Greenberg 1981, Bartolomé and Barabas 1996). This is commonly called La Guerra de los Pantalones or “The War of the Pants.” One of the root causes for this uprising was the excessively high taxes imposed on the Chatino people by the state government.

The attacking Chatino forces identified and targeted mestizos on the basis of their dress, which led to the humiliating punitive ban on calzones ‘cotton pants’. Eighty to a hundred years ago Chatino people made their own clothes by turning cotton into cotton fabric (J. Orocio 2003). They took cotton and turned it into yarn, which they wove using a waist strap loom to create cotton fabric that was then turned into pants, skirts, and shirts. These white cotton pants that Chatino men wore were called calzones. The mestizo men in Juquila, on the other hand, wore store made clothes. The cotton garb, in addition to language and culture set the Chatino men and women apart. After the Mexican federal army quelled the uprising, the local authorities in the district forced Chatino males to wear more modern garb instead of their traditional dress (Greenberg 1981:51).

In recordings of the oral histories from San Juan Quiahije two elders, G. Baltazar (2004) and F. Baltazar (2004) confirmed that after San Juan Quiahije residents participated in the uprising of “*Guerra de los pantalones*” the army occupied San Juan Quiahije. These elders recount that the army took away all the men eligible for military service. They say that while the army was marching the San Juan Quiahije men that were to be imprisoned, midway between San Juan and Juquila, the men from San Juan

Quiahije turned on their military captors. In the process, nearly half of the men from San Juan Quiahije were killed and buried in a mass grave in the mountains. Some were imprisoned by the federal authorities in Oaxaca or Mexico City. F. Baltazar states that when these men were released from prison they felt they had been betrayed and so took revenge on the municipal authorities for their time in captivity. F. Baltazar states that this was the beginning of many years of intra-community violence among community members in San Juan Quiahije.

When the Mexican revolution broke up in the Chatino region, memories from the *Guerra de los pantalones* ‘war of the pants’ were still fresh (Greenberg 1981). The men of Juquila generally took up arms for Venustiano Carranza, while the men of San Juan Quiahije followed the banner of Emiliano Zapata (Greenberg 1981:51). The former were known as the Carranzistas, the latter as the Zapatistas. The *Carranzistas* consisted of provincial elites who would eventually become part of the new government. The Zapatistas were identified mostly as *campesinos* ‘peasants’ in favor of “Land and Liberty” (Hart 2007:14,15). In essence, the *Guerra de los pantalones* only prolonged deep-seated animosities between the people of Juquila and SJQ.

Unfortunately, what happened over 100 years ago still resonates across the communities today. For example, in both 2003 and 2011 the residents from Juquila periodically blocked the only road to San Juan Quiahije. These conflicts are often tense, and violence often results, prompting intervention from either state or federal authorities (El Universal 2003, *Noticias* Net 2011).

## 7 ECONOMY

Traditionally San Juan Quiahije residents have made their livelihood in agriculture by raising poultry and growing corn, beans and squash. The handicrafts of the people of San Juan Quiahije center on the production of pottery. Pottery is mostly for domestic use, and includes *ktonq*<sup>4</sup> ‘wide-necked cooking pot’, *nya*<sup>4</sup> ‘tortilla griddle’, and *tqen*<sup>42</sup> ‘a small-mouth water pot’. Textile production includes weaving of cotton fabric and embroidery of shirts and tablecloths, but the craft of weaving textiles with back-strap looms is slowly disappearing from the community.

### 7.1 Ecological zone agriculture and dwelling

Up until the 1980’s most citizens did not live permanently in the center of San Juan. Historically, people in San Juan Quiahije have split their dwelling and agricultural practices by ecological zones. Most of the year San Juan Quiahije residents lived and farmed in the small hamlets, located in the mountains and canyons surrounding the San Juan. Residents returned to San Juan to celebrate high holidays, to serve a post in City Hall, to attend general community meetings, and to bury their dead. The site of the city center of San Juan is not very conducive for growing food or raising livestock and poultry with its rough terrain on a hillside that lends itself to tight spaces, houses sandwiched together, and a colder climate. Life is generally easier in the warmer lowlands. The lowlands have better soil, ample space and plenty of water, which allows the people to grow food, hunt, fish, and raise animals more easily. Since the founding of Cieneguilla as a town in the 1970’s, many people have made Cieneguilla their permanent

residence just like residents of San Juan. The phenomenon of societies splitting up along ecological zones in order to gain more from their environment is not new.

Across Mesoamerica and South America there is evidence of people living on high mountains and hills and trading with or farming the surrounding lowlands. Murra (2002) describes a similar economy in pre-Colombian societies in the Andes. Murra (2002) explored many cases of Andean communities splitting up by ecological zones to provide the whole community with a greater variety of foodstuffs; Murra (2002:127) called this effect the “vertical archipelago.”

The introduction of modern conveniences (roads where cars can travel, electricity, telephones) and a flow of cash from remittances from abroad have allowed people to make a permanent settlement in the center of San Juan and Cieneguilla. People no longer need to form second homes or sleep by their fields to work them. San Juan Quiahije residents recount that there has been a depopulation of the *rancherías* and hamlets. The main towns in the municipality (San Juan and Cieneguilla) have grown (p.c. T. Cruz 2009).

## **7.2 Communal life**

When San Juan Quiahije was a smaller, more tightly knit community, and had minimal direct communication with the outside world, some of the present economic difficulties were mitigated by an intra-communal system of reciprocity and collectivity (Greenberg 1981). In early 1970’s Cieneguilla, if one of the community members built a house, it was cause for a celebration for the whole village. People came together to place



a new roof on a house in one day. The children fetched water from the public well so that their mothers could cook black beans with onions and tortillas to feed the hungry house builders and guests. People would come together to help one another clear the cornfields and help with the harvest. The communal practices were implemented and upheld for practical reasons: to ensure all members of the community had food and shelter.

However, things were not perfect fighting, wars, factionalism complicated this picture.

This system of reciprocity and subsistence living has been supplanted by an individualist, capitalist economy. The rapid modernization and the swift change in technology has led to the availability of and desire for modern conveniences (e.g. telephone, electricity, and sewage systems), but SJQ citizens have little means for paying for these conveniences. People in Chatino communities have a hard time making a transition into the modern economy while maintaining their communal way of life, their language, and their culture. Bartolomé and Barabas (1996: 141) state that in the late 1970s when they were conducting their research in the Chatino region, the majority of the villages did not have electricity or health clinics, and that the highest level of education available was only at an elementary level. Most communities did not have passable roads for motor travel. Transportation between villages was limited to travel by foot or by beasts of burden (donkeys, horses, and mules).

These social factors contribute to the weakening of the culture, the language, verbal art, and the destruction of the social fabric. For example, as people move out of the community, due to the previously mentioned problems, they often move from their home

Chatino communities to more prosperous Spanish-speaking areas in the country, or even English-speaking areas in the United States, and they gradually lose the incentive to speak the Chatino language.

## **8 SOCIAL ISSUES**

Widespread poverty, unemployment, deficient infrastructure (schools, hospitals, and roads), lack of arable land, alcoholism, and violence are among the many social issues afflicting citizens of San Juan Quiahije. These factors have fostered the greatest migration pattern in Chatino history and are further jeopardizing the overall vitality of the Chatino language. These social problems go back centuries, however mass migration of Chatinos to the Mexican cities and the United States began in the 1990's (p. c., S. Orocio 2010).

### **8.1 Migration**

Given the social issues described above, especially the lack of arable land, families' harvests do not yield a sufficient amount of food to sustain a family for more than six to eight months (Bartolomé and Barabas 1996: 369). To supplement their income, often the entire family has to set out for work outside of the community. During the 1970s, San Juan Quiahije citizens sought out seasonal work on the coffee plantations owned by mestizos around the Chatino region such as Nopala, Yaitepec, and Panixtlahuaca (Bartolomé and Barabas 1996: 372, 273) and as domestic servants in Oaxaca and Mexico City.

With the changing times these trends are only increasing and are sending people further away from their home communities. In the 1990s people of working age began migrating in large numbers to the United States. Young people are forced to leave their home communities and to migrate to bigger cities in Mexico and in the United States in search of better opportunities. San Juan Quiahije does not offer jobs, skills training, or choice of schooling for young people.

Though local migration brought its own set of problems, such as exploitation by landowners, immigration to the United States is introducing an entirely new and unfamiliar set of problems to the Chatino communities. The great majority of the Chatino people cross the border to the United States without documentation. They are often the victims of human and drug traffickers, thieves, border patrol agents, extremist vigilantes?, and extreme weather conditions. Many die attempting to cross the border. If they successfully make it to the United States, they are confronted with many barriers ranging from education, culture, and language differences. These barriers restrict the types of jobs available to mostly menial labor in the United States. After arriving in the United States, the people's ties to their communities are cut because they cannot freely cross back over the border. The children of Chatino parents living in the United States are increasingly growing up disconnected from Chatino culture and language, and from their ancestral land.

In spite of all these difficulties, the Chatino people still strive to make the best out of their situation. The dirt road that connects SJQ to the urban centers is better maintained

than it has been in the past. This means that the San Juan Quiahije dwellers have an easier time travelling between the communities and the cities, which in turn offers easier access to goods, food, clothing, education, and healthcare. Another advantage is greater independence from the local estate landowners who exploit them. By far, the greatest benefit of this new reality, though, is the remittances that people send back to the community, which have helped energize the community's economy through a boom in home construction. The topic of immigration is an emerging theme in the discourse in the city hall.

## **8.2 Language vitality**

In San Juan Quiahije the Chatino language is spoken at home, in civic and public oratory, at work, in traditional prayer and healing, and in daily public loudspeaker announcements. Ironically, it is conspicuously absent in one public endeavor, education. The so-called "bilingual schools" are taught almost entirely in Spanish. The majority of teachers do not speak the local Chatino variety (although they are often ethnic Chatinos from surrounding communities and speak their own variety of Chatino). These varieties are often not mutually intelligible with SJQ Eastern Chatino.

The current educational system that governs schools in San Juan and Cieneguilla is the continuation of a shortsighted educational policy first implemented 60 years ago by the Mexican federal government, which aimed at obliterating the indigenous languages and cultures of Mexico. The Mexican state viewed the extensive linguistic-cultural diversity within Mexico as an impediment to national unity. The political class also

perceived this diversity as an obstacle to Mexico's inclusion as a modern world player. Deeming indigenous languages and cultures primitive, inferior and lacking value (Mack 240), the Mexican state sought to teach Spanish to the "Indians." Frequently, Spanish instruction was accompanied by explicit prohibitions on the use of native tongues (Heath, 1972, p 92).

The Hispanization curriculum of the *escuelas bilingües* 'bilingual schools' has also introduced Mexican national culture. While the traditional community holidays of San Juan have been religious feast days, this new presence of the school curriculum has impressed Mexican nationalism and militarism. The children have a color guard and march in a "goose-stepping" style. Similarly, holidays on the feast day of the patron saint are part of Mexican national culture, but there is something different and syncretic in these celebrations that the *honores a la bandera* 'honor to the flag' crucially lacks.

## **9 RELIGION AND THE CHATINO PEOPLE**

The Chatino people maintain a distinctive set of traditions and beliefs, which are the result of the syncretism of pre-contact Chatino theology and the introduction of Roman Catholicism by way of the Spanish conquest of Mexico. Chatino cosmology "is conceived as an ecological system in which human beings, animals, spirits, and ancestors reciprocate with and interact with one another to maintain equilibrium in the universe" (Greenberg 1981:83). San Juan Quiahije citizens hold elements that help sustain spiritual and everyday life in their politically isolated land to be sacred. These elements include the sun, light, water, ancestors, mountains, and animals (H. Cruz 2009). SJQ residents

also revere images and icons of the Catholic Church, such as the cross and images of saints. Native Chatino cosmology has survived because it has successfully adapted its values for “maintaining symbiotic relationships with an alien religion, e.g., Roman Catholicism” (Greenberg 1981:83).

Many components of the Roman Catholic Church's theology were incorporated into Chatino religious beliefs as it shows in the texts that concern this study. Today the majority of residents of San Juan Quiahije and Cieneguilla still consider themselves Catholic. However, the rapid rise of evangelical Christian churches in Mexico (Dow 2005, Navarro and Leatham 2004) poses a challenge to the Catholic Church and traditional religious beliefs and practices of Chatino people in San Juan Quiahije. Followers of the newly introduced Pentecostal doctrine do not endorse praying to elements in nature like the sun, mountains, animals, and rain, praying to saints or other images of the Catholic Church, or making offerings of candles, bunches of cut basil and water to the deceased ancestors, which are all traditional Chatino practices. This belief system also tells people not to participate in *tequio* ‘collective work for the benefit of the community’. They argue that doing community work isn't a requirement thereby creating a greater fissure in the local economy and social fabric. Both in Cieneguilla and San Juan, protestant churches have made inroads as far as converts and have even founded churches mirroring growth among other indigenous communities in Oaxaca.

### 9.1 *Nten<sup>14</sup> ntyka<sup>04</sup>* ‘healers’

Healers, both men and women, are known in San Juan Quiahije as *neq<sup>4</sup> qo<sup>1</sup>* ‘people of the mushroom’ or *nten<sup>14</sup> ntyka<sup>04</sup>* ‘wise people’. Throughout this study I will refer to them as *nten<sup>14</sup> ntyka<sup>04</sup>* ‘wise people’.

The *nten<sup>14</sup> ntyka<sup>04</sup>* fulfill an important role in Chatino society. Some 40 years ago, there were no Western trained medical practitioners in the community and healers were in charge of the communities' health.

The *nten<sup>14</sup> ntyka<sup>04</sup>* administer folk medicine, fix broken bones, heal minor injuries, and most importantly are diviners. People in the community consult with them in every stage of their lives and for any issues that might arise along the way. The *nten<sup>14</sup> ntyka<sup>04</sup>* ingest hallucinogenic mushrooms in order to be able to diagnose diseases or the sources of bad dreams. Besides taking mushrooms on other individual's behalf, the *nten<sup>14</sup> ntyka<sup>04</sup>* also guide community members in taking the mushrooms themselves.

Bartolomé and Barabas (1996) state that a Chatino citizen ingests hallucinogenic mushroom three or four times in the course of his or her life. Private citizens take mushrooms when they come at a crossroads in their lives including when they fall ill or when they are having recurring bad dreams (for instance if they are having recurring dreams with someone who died in a violent way (p.c. M. Baltazar 2008).

There are certain rituals in a person's life when they must visit the *nten<sup>14</sup> ntyka<sup>04</sup>*. For instance when a child is born to a family, the community members visit the *nten<sup>14</sup> ntyka<sup>04</sup>* so that the *nten<sup>14</sup> ntyka<sup>04</sup>* can ingest mushrooms and be able to tell the parents

where the animal spirit of child lives. Similarly when a young man is looking for a wife, the parents will also consult with the *nten<sup>14</sup> ntyka<sup>04</sup>* to find if the person they are choosing to be their child's partner will turn out to be a good partner and if they will have a good life together (p.c. P. Cristobal 2009).

Similarly when a person dies and the family members are having recurring dreams with the dead person, then, the families also visit the *nten<sup>14</sup> ntyka<sup>04</sup>* to find out why are they dreaming with the dead person and what they can do so that the dreams will stop. People in San Juan Quiahije believe that dreaming with a dead person is bad news (p.c. M. Baltazar 2009).

Even though the *nten<sup>14</sup> ntyka<sup>04</sup>* fulfills these important functions in the community, they are also feared. People believe that they can use their powers to harm others and not just to heal. Their spells are thought to be harmful to children and adults alike. Healers are believed to use their powers to place a spell on someone and consequently cause him or her to get sick, or even cause death (p.c. Margarita 2009).

Growing up in San Juan Quiahije, my parents warned me to never look straight in the eye of a *nten<sup>14</sup> ntyka<sup>04</sup>* for these same reasons.



## 9.2 Fiestas and fairs

In Table 1.5 I list some of the major celebration in San Juan Quiahije.

Date	Celebration
March 12 <sup>th</sup>	Virgin of Guadalupe
May 3	Day of the cross
June 24 <sup>th</sup>	Patron Saint San Juan
August 15 <sup>th</sup>	Patron Saint Asuncion
October 7 <sup>th</sup>	Celebration of Virgin of Rosario
November 1 and 2	Day of the Dead
December 31	New Year's Eve
January 1	New Year's Day
January 23th	Annual fair

Table 1.5: Celebrations in San Juan Quiahije

Table 1.5 shows that some of the celebrations coincide with the agriculture cycle: planting (May) and harvesting (October and November). Similarly, Table 1.5 shows that another big celebration happens around end of the year and the beginning of the new one (December and January). In Chapter 6 I will elaborate with further detail about the prayers that are associated with these celebrations and the role that the local authorities have in these prayers.

## 10 COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS

Important social institutions in San Juan Quiahije include *tequio* ‘community work’, church, municipal government, and the family. *Tequio* is an important social

institution. It is unpaid, obligatory work for collective benefit. Most community projects are accomplished through this source of labor.

## **10.1 Church**

In San Juan Quiahije there are two Catholic churches and two protestant churches, with one of each in San Juan and one of each in Cieneguilla. The Catholic church of San Juan is the largest building in the community. However, there is no priest-in-residence. A priest travels up from the Franciscan mission in San Miguel Panixtlahuaca to San Juan and Cieneguilla every Sunday and high holy days to celebrate mass with the faithful in the community. Since the 1960s, when Edmundo Avalos, a Franciscan sociologist from Mexico City, arrived in Panixtlahuaca, the people from SJQ have looked to the mission for spiritual guidance instead of the larger holy site in Juquila. The Franciscans in the area have taken a greater interest in the well being of the Chatino people than the priests of the mestizo community of Juquila.

Protestantism in SJQ is a recent phenomenon. After the Second World War, the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), an evangelical group, came to the region. A British couple from the SIL, Kitty and Leslie Pride, stayed on and lived in Tataltepec up to the year 2000. Toward the end of their stay in the Chatino region, the Prides worked in Panixtlahuaca and they—along with some missionaries before them—were in Yaitepec. The Prides were both missionaries and writers on the Chatino language (their work will be detailed in Chapter 2). By the mid-1970s small Protestant churches were founded in virtually all the communities of the Chatino region. Through the decades, the Protestant

churches have been gaining new members to the point that Protestants now make up a significant portion of the Chatino communities.

## **10.2 Government**

Local San Juan Quiahije authorities have both civil and religious duties in the community. Unlike the rest of Mexican mestizo government, there is no separation of church and state. Municipal authorities see their religious obligations as a big part of their duties to city hall. Most people in SJQ hold their traditional authorities in high esteem, calling them by their Chatino name, *neq<sup>4</sup> sya<sup>10</sup>* ‘people of heart or justice’. When choosing authorities, people in San Juan Quiahije ideally seek citizens who uphold high values and integrity, because they are placing their trust in them to represent the communities in the best way possible. Since the community does not have a priest in residence, the organization and execution of some religious celebrations such as marriage and the ceremony of the changing of authorities are left to the local authorities to perform.

Even though evangelical churches are growing in size, the municipal authorities are still deeply connected with the Catholic Church for all official dealings. For instance, the authorities as a whole attend mass in the Catholic Church on high holidays. Although members of the Protestant churches no longer believe in worshipping the catholic saints, they still have to serve city hall and respect the Catholic tradition.

### 10.3 Civil-religious cargo

The traditional government in San Juan Quiahije is organized into what has come to be widely known among researchers of Mesoamerica as the civil-religious hierarchy or cargo system. The cargo system is a collection of secular and religious positions held by men and households in the community. These revolving offices, or cargos, are an unpaid and obligatory responsibility of men who are active in civic life (Greenberg 1981). The civil-religious cargo is related to *tequio*. The former is service given to the community for longer periods of time from one to three years, the latter is when members of the community get together to carry out a specific task, such as harvest corn from the communal cornfield.

Considerable literature has been devoted to the description of cargo systems within Mesoamerica (Dewalt 1975). Analysis of this system has figured very importantly in the development of an intellectual tradition in Mesoamerican studies and in the development of anthropology (Nora England, p. c. 2009). The cargo system, also known in Oaxaca State as *Usos y Costumbres* (Hernández 2007), was legally recognized as a form of government of indigenous communities in Oaxaca in 1995 (Owolabi and Murillo 2004). The term “Usos y costumbres” refers to the cargo system.

Depending on the level of office, the men in SJQ typically hold a given post for a term of one to three years, with lower-ranking officials serving one year and the higher-ranking officials serving three years. Men in San Juan Quiahije are expected to take part in this cargo system throughout their lives according to aptitude. Usually office holders

assume greater responsibilities as they become older or if they show great leadership and are skillful orators. Eventually an individual who holds a requisite number of posts in service to his community retires and joins a group of elders.

Cardinal points such as east and west and the duality of inside versus outside are important components of the everyday organization and hierarchy of the traditional authorities in San Juan Quiahije. Officials in city hall follow a set of established sitting positions. Higher-ranking officials preside inside the city hall and lower-ranking officials stand outside. Inside the city hall, higher-ranking officials sit from east to west. Higher-ranking officials sit on the east and lower-ranking official sit on the west side. This is illustrated in Table 1.6. For more information on Chatino cosmology and the dualities of east vs. west and outside vs. inside (c.f. H. Cruz 2009). Table 1.6 lists the official cargos in San Juan Quiahije. They are organized in order of seniority.

	Office	Spanish	Equivalent in English	Term duration	Method of attaining office	Seating arrangement in City Hall
1	neq <sup>4</sup> kla <sup>4</sup>	(consejo de ancianos)	'Council of elders'	continuous	appointed	inside city hall south side
2	su <sup>4</sup> ple <sup>3</sup> nte <sup>24</sup> kla <sup>24</sup>	Suplente mayor	Deputy Elder	1 yr	elected	inside city hall north side
3	jle <sup>10</sup>	Alcalde	Chairman of the council	1 yr	elected	inside city hall, north side
4	we <sup>4</sup> xe <sup>4</sup> nte <sup>10</sup>	Presidente Municipal	Municipal President	3 yrs	elected	inside city hall, north side
5	si <sup>3</sup> ndi <sup>24</sup> ko <sup>24</sup>	Síndico Municipal	Municipal Trustee	3 yrs	elected	inside city hall, north side

Table 1.6: Hierarchical structure of office of city hall in San Juan Quiahije. Adapted from Plan Municipal de Desarrollo Rural Sustentable de San Juan Quiahije (2008:20,21)

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1 People with higher stature sit on the East.

Continuation of Table 1.6

6	ji <sup>4</sup> ro <sup>14</sup> sna <sup>0</sup> yjan <sup>32</sup>	Regidores	Governing Managers (three years)	3 yrs	elected	inside city hall, north side
7	su <sup>4</sup> ple <sup>3</sup> nte <sup>24</sup> qin <sup>24</sup> we <sup>4</sup> xe <sup>4</sup> nte <sup>10</sup>	Suplente del presidente municipal	Deputy Municipal President	3 yrs	elected	inside city hall, north side
8	su <sup>4</sup> ple <sup>3</sup> nte <sup>24</sup> qin <sup>24</sup> si <sup>3</sup> ndi <sup>24</sup> ko <sup>24</sup>	Suplente del Síndico	Deputy Trustee	3 yrs	elected	inside city hall, north side
9	no <sup>4</sup> nxoq <sup>2</sup> ki <sup>3</sup> tynyi <sup>14</sup> lo <sup>0</sup> kchin <sup>32</sup>	Fiscales	Tax Collectors	1 yr	appointe d	inside city hall, north side
1 0	xnaq <sup>1</sup> jen <sup>4</sup> nchu <sup>10</sup>	Encargados del rancho municipal	Managers In-Charge of the Municipal Ranch	1 yr	appointe d	outside city hall
1 1	xqna <sup>1</sup> si <sup>4</sup> liya <sup>14</sup>	Comandante de Policía	Police Commander	1 yr	appointe d	outside city hall
1 2	se <sup>1</sup> yka <sup>0</sup>	Juez de vara	Justice of the peace	1 yr	appointe d	outside city hall
1 3	jun <sup>20</sup> la <sup>42</sup>	Mayordomo	Majordomo/Steward	1 yr	appointe d	outside city hall
1 4	si <sup>4</sup> liya <sup>14</sup>	Policía municipal	Municipal Police	3 yr	appointe d	outside city hall
1 5	ko <sup>4</sup> mi <sup>4</sup> te <sup>3</sup> qan <sup>24</sup> xla <sup>10</sup>	Comité de educación	Education Committee	1 yr	appointe d	outside city hall
1 6	ji <sup>4</sup> ro <sup>14</sup> (yjan <sup>0</sup> )	Regidores de un año	Governing Manager (for one year)	1 yr	appointe d	inside city hall west side

Continuation of Table 1.6

1 7	ma <sup>4</sup> yo <sup>14</sup> pri <sup>0</sup> me <sup>14</sup> ro <sup>0</sup>	Mayor primero	neq <sup>4</sup> skan <sup>4</sup> supervisor	1 yr	appointe d	outside city hall
1 8	jyu <sup>14</sup> kla <sup>0</sup>	Mayor de los neq <sup>4</sup> skan <sup>4</sup>	Head of Pages	1 yr	appointe d	outside city hall
1 9	kwa <sup>2</sup>	Tequitlatos	Tliquitlatos	1 yr	appointe d	outside city hall
2 0	xqna <sup>1</sup> je <sup>4</sup> nchu <sup>10</sup>	Encargados del rancho municipal	Municipal (cattle) Ranch Handlers	1 yr	appointe d	outside city hall
2 1	te <sup>4</sup> nye <sup>4</sup> nte <sup>10</sup>	Teniente	Lieutenant	1 yr	appointe d	outside city hall
2 2	neq <sup>4</sup> skan <sup>4</sup>	neq <sup>4</sup> skan <sup>4</sup>	errand boys	1 yr	appointe d	outside city hall

Table 1.6: Hierarchical structure of office of city hall in San Juan Quiahije. Adapted from Plan Municipal de Desarrollo Rural Sustentable de San Juan Quiahije (2008:20,21)

Table 1.6 shows that the San Juan Quiahije government is large. The very first office that a person occupies in city hall is the office of *neq<sup>4</sup> skan<sup>4</sup>* ‘errand boys’, and the last two appointed positions in city hall when a person is ending their service are both one-year positions.

Next in Table 1.7 I present another set of cargos in San Juan Quiahije. This branch of the government is responsible for managing the communal land and is also the administrative part of the city hall. The people who serve cargos listed in Table 1.7 preside from a building across from the city hall. The municipal secretary works in a room adjacent to the high-ranking authorities in city hall.



Office	Spanish	Equivalent in English	Term duration	Method of attaining office	Seating arrangement in City Hall
tɲya <sup>3</sup> yu <sup>4</sup>	Comisariado de bienes comunales	Commissioner of Communal Property	3 yrs	appointed	inside building
sko <sup>4</sup> no <sup>0</sup>	Secretario	Secretary	3 yrs	appointed	inside city hall
te <sup>4</sup> so <sup>4</sup> re <sup>14</sup> ro <sup>0</sup>	Tesorero	Treasurer	3 yrs	appointed	inside city hall
wi <sup>4</sup> ji <sup>4</sup> la <sup>3</sup> nsya <sup>24</sup>	Consejo de Vigilancia	Supervisory Board	3 yrs	appointed	inside building
sko <sup>4</sup> no <sup>0</sup> pri <sup>0</sup> me <sup>14</sup> ro <sup>0</sup>	Primer secretario	First Secretary	3	appointed	inside building
sko <sup>4</sup> no <sup>0</sup> se <sup>4</sup> gu <sup>3</sup> ndo <sup>14</sup>	Segundo Secretario	Second Secretary	3	appointed	inside building

Table 1.7: Hierarchical structure of office of city hall in San Juan Quiahije. Adapted from Plan Municipal de Desarrollo Rural Sustentable de San Juan Quiahije (2008:20,21)

As opposed to the positions in Table 1.6, the official positions displayed in Table 1.7 all serve for three years and they do not follow the duality of inside versus outside presiding places, and they do not follow the cardinal east to west sitting arrangement.

Next I will give a brief description of the responsibilities of each of the governmental offices in San Juan Quiahije. This description is based on *Plan Municipal de Desarrollo Rural Sustentable de San Juan Quiahije* ‘Municipal Sustainable Rural Development Plan of San Juan Quiahije’ (2008:20,21), a document put up by the authorities in San Juan Quiahije. Some of these positions are more involved than others,

so the descriptions I will provide for the cargos that are more involved will be longer than that of the offices that are less involved.

### ***10.3.1 Neq<sup>4</sup> kla<sup>4</sup> ‘Council of Elders’***

If a man from San Juan Quiahije has dutifully served his community for most of his life, he becomes a member of the *neq<sup>4</sup> kla<sup>4</sup>*, literally ‘old people’ or ‘council of elders.’ The current mayor appoints the elder for the duration of his administration; however, during municipal ceremonies all current and former elders are seated together. The *neq<sup>4</sup> kla<sup>4</sup>* play an important role in the community’s political and decision-making process (Greenberg 1981:65). A member of the council of elders is responsible for ensuring that the municipal authority works according to the rules governing the city council and the community. Their responsibilities include providing consent to the next mayor of the municipality, inaugurating new authorities, and releasing outgoing officials. Members of the council of elders are also in charge of solving the most serious problems that are beyond the scope and abilities of the current elected officials. Greenberg argues that the mayor of the municipality and the other city council members are subordinate to the authority of the elders (1981: 65). This indicates that the day-to-day running of the local government is left to the mayor and the city council but there remains oversight from the council of elders.

In 2005 I was staying at the house of my grandfather Bernardo, a member of the council of elders in Cieneguilla, when the local police came to request his presence in city hall. They were going to release the *agente* (in effect Cieneguilla’s mayor) from jail.

They said that they had thrown the *agente* in jail the night before because he had engaged in drunk and disorderly conduct. The police told my grandfather that since he was one of the members of the elders' council, he needed to go counsel the *agente* to behave according to his stature and to set a good example to the community. In fact, the local police called upon the elders' council in order to shame the current *agente* with the hopes that his conduct would not be repeated. According to Greenberg, "the elders can overrule the constitutional authorities and even remove them from office if their conduct is believed to be detrimental to the interest of the community" (1981: 66).

### ***10.3.2 Su<sup>4</sup>ple<sup>3</sup>nte<sup>24</sup> kla<sup>24</sup> 'Deputy Elder'***

This is one of two elected elders serving in city hall. This one-year term is the last elected position a man in San Juan Quiahije occupies before becoming a permanent member of the council of elders. The deputy elder oversees prayers in city hall and advises younger city officials on the community's traditions. When the council of elders comes to pray with the authorities in city hall on the first of the month, this official is responsible for greeting them. He also instructs each elder as to where he should take his offering. As shown in Table 1.6, this official sits on the north side of the table.

### ***10.3.3 Jle<sup>10</sup> 'Chairman of the Council'***

This is the other official serving his last appointment in city hall. Like the deputy elder, this official serves for one year. One of his duties is to advise other city officials on the community's traditions. In conjunction with the chief administrator, the chairman

of the council is charged with solving and mediating disputes that might arise among citizens. Similarly, he and the chief administrator initiate preliminary investigations into criminal cases, which they later turn over to the *agente del ministerio público* ‘public prosecutor’ in Juquila. He sits next to the deputy elder.

#### ***10.3.4 We<sup>4</sup>xe<sup>4</sup>nte<sup>10</sup> ‘Municipal President’***

The municipal president is the political representative and the official directly responsible for the municipal public administration. One of his many duties is to ensure the correct execution of the provisions of the city hall. This position carries high prestige in the community because those elected to this position have demonstrated leadership, intelligence, judiciousness, and good judgment over many years.

In a conversation in 2007, Ricardo Cruz Cruz (R. Cruz) shared with me some insights that he had gained during his tenure as municipal president from 2001-2004. He stated that he often varied his manner of speaking when in discussions with different community members. He also said that it was easier to deal with people who spoke eloquently because he found it easier to reason with them.

Similarly, R. Cruz said that often the residents came to the city hall to notify the authorities that their children were sick. This demonstrates the close ties between the authorities and the community, which contrasts with the practices of western countries where it is not customary for citizens to notify elected officials when family members are sick. This official sits on the north side next to the chairman of the council.

### **10.3.5 *Si<sup>3</sup>ndi<sup>24</sup>ko<sup>24</sup>* ‘Chief Administrator’**

The chief administrator is the legal representative of the municipality. This official is responsible for the administration and enforcement of justice. He is also responsible for overseeing the administration of public finances of the community. Also working in conjunction with the chairman of the council, he is charged with solving and mediating disputes that might arise among citizens and he is also the person who initiate preliminary investigations in criminal cases, which they later turn to the *agente del ministerio público* ‘public prosecutor’ in Juquila. This is a very powerful, controversial, much feared cargo among San Juan Quiahije residents. While serving this position people can potentially gain enemies (usually people they throw people in jail) and can potentially be killed after leaving office. This official sits on the northern part of the room next to the Deputy Municipal President.

### **10.3.6 *Ji<sup>4</sup>ro<sup>14</sup>sna<sup>0</sup>yjan<sup>32</sup>* ‘Governing Managers (three years)’**

Some of the job duties of the *regidor* ‘governing manager’ are replacing the municipal president in his temporary absences, guarding municipal the assets in case of default by the president or trustee municipal, and proposing municipal development. The *regidores* ‘governing managers’ may only exercise executive functions when acting as a collegiate body at meetings of the council. There are five *regidores* ‘governing managers’ in SJQ. These officials serve for three years, and sit on the north end of the table next to the chief administrator.

### ***10.3.7 Regidor de hacienda ‘Governing Manager of finance’***

The function of this official is to collect taxes and manage municipal finances.

### ***10.3.8 Regidor de educación ‘Governing Manager of Education’***

This official serves as liaison between the municipal authorities and the teachers in San Juan Quiahije. Similarly this *regidor* ‘governing manager’ is responsible for monitoring the physical infrastructure of the schools in the communities.

### ***10.3.9 Regidor de salud ‘Governing Manager of Health’***

This official is a liaison between the doctors and nurses in the local clinic and the municipal authorities. This official is also responsible for ensuring that the towns are clean.

### ***10.3.10 Regidor de agua potable ‘Governing Manager of Public drinking Water’***

This official is responsible both for the safety of the drinking water and also the maintenance of potable water infrastructures.

### ***10.3.11 Regidor de ganaderia ‘Governing Manager of cattle’***

This official issues documentation to citizens who wish to sell their cattle. They make sure that the person selling the cattle is the rightful owner of the animals.

### **10.3.12 *Su<sup>4</sup>ple<sup>3</sup>nte<sup>24</sup> qin<sup>24</sup> we<sup>4</sup>xe<sup>4</sup>nte<sup>10</sup>* ‘Deputy Municipal President’**

This official takes the place of the municipal president if something happens to him. For instance, the deputy steps in when the president gets sick, dies, or in the event of the community firing the municipal president for bad leadership. When this happens, the deputy municipal president becomes the president of the community. This official sits next to the to the municipal president.

### **10.3.13 *Su<sup>4</sup>ple<sup>3</sup>nte<sup>24</sup> qin<sup>24</sup> si<sup>3</sup>ndi<sup>24</sup>ko<sup>24</sup>* ‘Deputy Trustee’**

Just like the deputy municipal president, this official is there to take the place of the ‘chief administrator’ in case something were to happen to the *si<sup>3</sup>ndi<sup>24</sup>ko<sup>24</sup>* ‘chief administrator’ that would prevent him to continue with his cargo ‘office’.

### **10.3.14 *No<sup>4</sup> xoq<sup>2</sup> ki<sup>3</sup> tnyi<sup>14</sup> lo<sup>0</sup> kchin<sup>32</sup> fiscal* ‘Tax Collectors’**

The tax collector is in charge of going house to house in the municipality to collect taxes or money for city hall or church. Citizens usually give money for the fiestas. Some 50 years ago people paid land tenure and teachers this way, but they no longer do so. Together with the *mayordomo* ‘party host’, the fiscal ‘tax collector’ is responsible for maintaining the local Catholic church. This official usually presides in an adjacent room to the city hall.

### **10.3.15 *Xqna<sup>1</sup> jen<sup>4</sup> nchu<sup>10</sup>* ‘Managers In-Charge of the Municipal Ranch’**

The San Juan municipality has a collective ranch with a few cattle. This official is in charge of keeping the community’s ranch running smoothly. One of his many duties is to feed the cattle at the ranch. This official sits on the north part of the city hall next to the governing managers.

### **10.3.16 *Xqna<sup>1</sup> si<sup>4</sup>liya<sup>14</sup>* ‘Police Commander’**

This person commands the local police. Since the local police are not paid, they make their rounds around the communities on the weekends and on fiesta celebrations. This official and the other municipal police have a special room above the city hall where they keep their supplies and ammunition such as rifles, machetes, and poles.

### **10.3.17 *Se<sup>1</sup> yka<sup>0</sup>* ‘Justice of the Peace’**

This official oversees the community guards or pages. His main duty is to maintain and safeguard the sacred staff that officials in city hall are given when they begin their official duties.

### **10.3.18 *Ju<sup>20</sup> nla<sup>42</sup>, jnyo<sup>10</sup>* *mayordomo* ‘Steward’**

After being a governing manager for a year, some men assume the responsibility of taking care of the church for a year, after which they host a feast for the entire community. This officer is called *mayordomo*. This tradition of hosting expensive lavish fiestas for the entire community is a practice across the states of Oaxaca (Greenberg



1981). This official is responsible for hiring musicians so that they can play when the *mayordomo* ‘party host’ and other fiesta goers take candles to the church in the style of a parade.

The *mayordomo* also works in conjunction with the *fiscales* (those responsible for maintaining the church activities) by lighting candles in the church and looking after the candles so that they burn well. The *mayordomo* is also responsible for keeping the church clean for a year, during which time they sweep the church and change the flowers.

In hosting this celebration, the *majordomo* incurs a high expenditure often to his own detriment as well as his family’s. A party may cost up to 10 or 15 thousand dollars (p. c. M. Cruz 2000). Often *majordomos* borrow money to be able to afford this expenditure.

Part of the reason for being a *mayordomo* is to create prestige for the office holder. Once a person has served this position it means that they are ready occupy higher positions in city hall that they are good, law-abiding citizens. This official does not have a special sitting position in city hall.

### **10.3.19 *Si<sup>4</sup>liya<sup>14</sup>* (policía) ‘Police’**

Every man in the community must serve in this position for one year. However, if there is a shortage of men to fill the needed positions in the community (and this is frequently the case), a man may be summoned to serve again after a few years. Those who have gained experience during previous years are sometimes promoted to higher positions. They are usually promoted to be the *xqna<sup>1</sup> si<sup>4</sup>liya<sup>14</sup>* ‘police chief’.

The *si<sup>4</sup>liya<sup>14</sup>* ‘police’ must be available at all times to respond as needed to a variety of situations that may arise. Community police are not required to wear special uniforms, badges, or other symbols of police authority, but they are permitted by law to bear arms such as clubs, machetes, and rifles. The primary responsibility of the police is to maintain order and safeguard the community. Normally the police gather in the city hall each weekend and then patrol the community on foot. During major holidays they are required to be on duty at all times.

The police will arrest anyone who gets out of hand and engages in drunken behavior or other disorderly conduct. Offenders usually spend the night in jail, pay a monetary fine, and are released early the next morning. The jail is dungeon-like, cold and clammy, and lacks toilet facilities. The area around it reeks of the stench of urine and fecal waste. Common misdemeanors in the community include selling liquor illegally, discharging firearms into the air, engaging in drunken brawls, petty theft such as stealing produce from a neighbor’s garden or farm, and stealing cows and donkeys.

Individuals who commit more serious crimes such as stealing livestock and committing murder (both of which are felonies) are transferred to the governmental authorities in Juquila. The community does not have the facility or the legal system to try and house prisoners for long periods of time. Up until the 1970s, there were no roads between Juquila and San Juan on which cars could travel. The local police had to escort prisoners to Juquila by foot, a trip that could take as long as five hours. To prevent them from escaping, the police would tether prisoners’ forearms with ropes woven in a braid of

intricate knots. These officials usually stand outside city hall or patrol the community by foot.

### ***10.3.20 ko<sup>4</sup>mi<sup>4</sup>te<sup>3</sup> qan<sup>24</sup> xla<sup>10</sup> ‘Education Committee’***

This is one of the few positions in city hall that can be held by both women and men. These officials are responsible for safeguarding the school facilities and are the leaders of the parent teacher association. Their other duties include making sure that the school and the teachers have the supplies they need to operate and running errands for the teachers. They have to go get a parent at their homes if the teacher needs to talk to the parent. They are also responsible for organizing the parent-teacher meeting at the school. If they feel that the teachers are not doing their job, they can call a parent meeting and they can potentially fire the teachers.

### ***10.3.21 Ji<sup>4</sup>ro<sup>14</sup> yjan<sup>0</sup> ‘Governing Managers (one year)’***

This is the beginning of a major position in San Juan Quiahije. It is a great honor for young men to be promoted to this position because they get to sit on a bench inside the city hall with the other high-ranking officials. These officials all sit on the west side. Their role is to learn the ins and outs of the city hall and they must remain quiet for most of the time. The only time they are allowed to speak is if a community member is arguing with the higher-ranking officials and the community member is winning (p. c. S. Orocio 2010). *Regidores* are also in charge of praying on behalf of city hall in places in nature such as mountain peaks, water springs, and marshes.

### **10.3.22 *Ma<sup>4</sup>yo<sup>14</sup> pri<sup>0</sup>me<sup>14</sup>ro<sup>0</sup>* ‘Mayor Primero’**

This official is in charge of calling and coordinating the community members to do free public work on behalf of the community. This free service is to fix roads, combat forest fires, and work in the community’s own ranch. Other functions of this official are to help supervise the community’s police and supervise the community guard in *tequio* ‘collective work’ projects (Greenberg 1981:63).

### **10.3.23 *Jyu<sup>14</sup> kla<sup>0</sup>* ‘Old Horse’**

The *neq<sup>4</sup> skan<sup>4</sup>* ‘errand boys’ are closely monitored by the *jyu<sup>14</sup> kla<sup>0</sup>* ‘old horse’. Since the *neq<sup>4</sup> skan<sup>4</sup>* are young, they are energetic, hyperactive, and often noisy. The *jyu<sup>14</sup> kla<sup>0</sup>* ‘old horse’ makes sure the *neq<sup>4</sup> skan<sup>4</sup>* ‘errand boys’ learn proper norms of behavior and meeting their obligations to city hall. The *jyu<sup>14</sup> kla<sup>0</sup>* also guards the keys to the local city jail, and he accompanies the *kwa<sup>2</sup>*, the religious planners of the city hall, on their monthly visits to community elders. R. Cruz and S. Mendez, two very accomplished public speakers in San Juan Quiahije, assert that they learned the traditional persuasive speech of San Juan Quiahije by serving as *jyu<sup>14</sup> kla<sup>0</sup>* ‘old horse’ when they were young.

### **10.3.24 *Kwa<sup>2</sup> (tliquitlato)* ‘Religious Planner of City Hall’**

The *kwa<sup>2</sup>* are charged with gathering the provisions of prayer (e.g., candles, spring water, and sweet smelling plants) for city hall. The holy water that the *kwa<sup>2</sup>* gather comes from thirteen local springs surrounding San Juan Quiahije. On the last day of each month

and on important holidays, the *kwa*<sup>2</sup>, together with the *teniente*, and the *jyu*<sup>14</sup> *kla*<sup>0</sup> visit the elders in the community to invite them to come to city hall to pray with the authorities. In Chapter 5 I analyze a text of one of these visiting events. The *kwa*<sup>2</sup> are also responsible for keeping and maintaining two hand-embroidered tablecloths that are used when the authorities attend official feasts or weddings in private houses in the community.

The *kwa*<sup>2</sup> are additionally in charge of cooking the enormous pots of food in community-sponsored feasts at the *mayordomo*'s 'fiesta host' house. Given the solemnity and laborious nature of the responsibilities of the *kwa*<sup>2</sup>, great care is put into the selection of the people chosen to occupy these positions. A *kwa*<sup>2</sup> must be married, honest, and a law-abiding citizen.

The Nahuatl-derived Mexican Spanish term *tliquitlato* 'tax (i.e. tribute) collector' refers to a position that most resemble the *kwa*<sup>2</sup>. These officials have different responsibilities in different Chatino communities. In Santa Lucia Teotepec, a Chatino community, this position entails great sacrifices, such as sexual abstinence, and other ritual avoidances such as their hand not being shaken in greeting (p.c M. Baltazar 2009).

### ***10.3.25 Xqna<sup>1</sup> je<sup>4</sup> nchu<sup>10</sup> 'Encargados del rancho municipal' 'Person in Charge of the Municipal Ranch'***

The municipality of San Juan Quiahije has a community-owned ranch where they keep cattle and sometimes grow corn. The cattle raised on this community-owned farm are sold if the authorities need funds for public projects. They also slaughter one of these

animals for a special feast hosted by the authorities. The person in charge of the communal ranch is responsible for feeding and attending to the cattle on the ranch.

#### **10.3.26 *Teniente* ‘Lieutenant’**

This official, together with the head of *jyu<sup>14</sup> kla<sup>0</sup>* ‘old horse’, is in charge of supervising the *neq<sup>4</sup> skan<sup>4</sup>* ‘errand boys’. The lieutenant is the one who makes sure that the young pages fulfill their function in city hall. Another obligation of this official is to visit elders and to invite them to come to city hall to pray on behalf of the community.

#### **10.3.27 *Neq<sup>4</sup> Skan<sup>4</sup>* ‘Errand Boys’**

In the civil cargo system in San Juan Quiahije, young men begin their first service in city hall as *neq<sup>4</sup> skan<sup>4</sup>* ‘errand boys’. In Spanish they are called *topil*, which is a term that comes from Nahuatl. In Nahuatl the word *topilli* means staff-bearer (E. Cruz 2011). In SJQ all officials have a special staff. The staff the *neq<sup>4</sup> skan<sup>4</sup>* ‘errand boys’ bear is called: *Yka<sup>4</sup> skan<sup>4</sup>* ‘sacred staff’.

The *neq<sup>4</sup> skan<sup>4</sup>* are lay assistants to the higher-ranking authorities. They take letters to other communities, sweep the municipal buildings, carry out public construction, and spread notice of *tequio*. Each year there are about fifty *neq<sup>4</sup> skan<sup>4</sup>* that serve city hall in San Juan Quiahije. They rotate their service every three weeks (T. Zurita, p.c. 2012). The recruitment of young men to work in city hall as *neq<sup>4</sup> skan<sup>4</sup>* is also a way that the community identifies future leaders of the community.

In a conversation with R. Cruz (July 1, 2007), former president of San Juan Quiahije, he stated that higher-ranking authorities could readily spot a young *neq<sup>4</sup> skan<sup>4</sup>* ‘errand boys’ who shows an aptitude for leadership. R. Cruz noted that potential leaders stopped whatever they were doing to listen intently every time a senior member of city hall performed a speech. R. Cruz argued that when these young men listen intently, they learn the traditional persuasive type of speech delivered at city hall. R. Cruz’s also stated that young men who are not interested in this genre of speech or advancing their career in city hall do not pay attention to what is being said. They keep playing and goofing around when someone is giving a speech.

Next I will proceed to describe the other cargos in city hall that are not part of the hierarchy system. These are administrative positions. These officials preside in a different building located across from city hall.

### ***10.3.28 Tnya<sup>3</sup> yu<sup>4</sup> ‘Commissioner of Communal Property’***

This person is charged with taking care of the communal land that belongs to San Juan Quiahije. Among his many duties are to mediate and solve land disputes that might arise among residents of San Juan Quiahije. He is also responsible for dealing with land disputes between San Juan Quiahije and outside communities.

Every year the commissioner gathers all the men in the community to go and inspect San Juan Quiahije territorial boundaries with other communities. In Section 4.2 I the list of the communities that San Juan Quiahije shares boundaries with. San Juan Quiahije has had numerous land conflicts with these towns. Among the longstanding

conflicts that San Juan Quiahije has with its neighbors are with Zenzontepec, Ixtapan, and Juquila. For instance, one of the holiest sites for San Juan Quiahije pilgrimage is a high mountain peak located in Zenzontepec territory, which San Juan Quiahije residents can no longer visit due to the land dispute they have with Zenzontepec.

### **10.3.29 *Sk<sup>4</sup>no<sup>0</sup>* (*Secretario*) ‘Secretary’**

The secretary is the administrator of city hall. The name *Sk<sup>4</sup>no<sup>0</sup>* is borrowed from the word *escribano* ‘writer’ in colonial Spanish. The secretary is charged with writing memos and letters to the state and federal government on behalf of the council. He or she is also in charge of registering births and deaths and issuing birth certificates and proof of residence. The *secretario* is the liaison between the traditional authorities and the Mexican government. One of the requirements for a person fulfilling this position is that they speak Spanish, as they are the ones who are in charge of preparing all the documentation from the municipality to the state government. In the past, in many indigenous communities secretaries ended up being outsiders because the council did not speak Spanish. Secretaries were responsible for maneuvering land dispossession that happened in many Chatino communities (Greenberg 1981).

### **10.3.30 *Te<sup>4</sup>so<sup>4</sup>re<sup>14</sup>ro<sup>0</sup>* ‘Treasurer’**

The treasurer is charged with maintaining the community’s monetary funds. He or she presides in a room next to where the city council presides.



### **10.3.31 *Wi<sup>4</sup>ji<sup>4</sup>la<sup>3</sup>nsya<sup>24</sup>* ‘Supervisory Board’**

This position is a part of the office of communal property. This official, together with the land commissioner, is charged with safeguarding SJQ land.

### **10.3.32 *Sko<sup>4</sup>no<sup>0</sup> pri<sup>0</sup>me<sup>14</sup>ro<sup>0</sup>* and *Segundo* ‘First and Second Secretary’**

These two officials are the administrative assistants to the land commissioner. They are charged with issuing certificates of land possession to community members. Citizens often need to show proof to the federal government of their possession of plots and regarding their crops in order to get aid from the federal government.

## **11 FAMILY**

In this section I will give a brief overview of the family in San Juan Quiahije. The relevance that this topic has to the overall dissertation is that much of the ceremonial discourse in San Juan Quiahije centers on the family. For instance, the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*, a text I will analyze in Chapter 9, is recited at peoples’ homes for the celebration of weddings and when godparents give clothes to their godchildren in coming-of-age ceremony ceremonies.

Family compounds with immediate and extended family members living together in close quarters comprise the San Juan Quiahije community. It is not uncommon to find several generations of the same family living under one roof. Families also tend to farm in the same vicinity (generally on adjacent plots) as their kin in fields surrounding the SJQ community. Families grow and extend their social network with other members of

the community through marriage and through the use of godparents within the Catholic Church.

Once a child is born the elders of the family conduct a series of prayers in nature, especially where the medicine man or woman has told the parents that the animal spirit of the child dwells. Bartolomé and Barabas (1996) and Greenberg (1981) report the same ritual in Santa Maria Yolotepec and Santiago Yaitepec respectively.

When a child reaches pre-teen years (12-14), his parents celebrate his or her life-stage of becoming an adult. At this event the child's godparents present him or her with gifts (e.g., a hat, shirt, bandana, pants for a boy, and earrings, head bands, skirts and sandals for a girl). This ceremony is celebrated with the *Chaq<sup>3</sup>Ksya<sup>10</sup>* 'Words of the heart' speech. When a young man reaches the age of 18, at which point he may marry, the parents seek a wife for him. To this end the parents must use persuasive speech to convince another family in the community to give up their daughter for marriage.

### **11.1 Marriage**

In SJQ culture, marriage is a complex and binding social arrangement. The parents of the bride and groom arrange most marriages. Up until the 1970s, girls as young as 14 and boys as young as 16 or 17 could be joined in matrimony (F. Baltazar 2004).

In San Juan, the parents of the groom initiate marriage arrangements, a process that takes place over several visits to the young woman's house. First, the parents of a marriage-ready son pay a visit to the house of a potential bride in order to investigate her availability for marriage. The availability of a potential bride yields several nighttime

visits to ask for her hand. On subsequent visits, the groom's parents bring presents such as money, bread, or chocolate for the bride's parents. If the bride's parents accept the presents from the groom's parents, it signifies that they have entered into a contractual agreement. The actual wedding ceremony is preceded by cohabitation first at the young woman's parents' house and then at the young man's parents' house (F. Baltazar 2004).

When the young man first moves to the bride's house to start cohabitation, he arrives at the bride's house with a hefty load of already split wood that he prepared for the occasion. The bride's family constantly evaluates the groom's sense of responsibility and his work ethic during this period. He works alongside his future father-in-law in the field, harvesting the family crops, chopping wood, and going hunting (F. Baltazar 2004). During this time the new couple also visits the groom's household approximately once per month. While the groom must help with the fieldwork on his parents' lands, the bride works alongside her future mother-in-law in the kitchen. The bride's tasks include making tortillas, cooking beans, washing dishes, and washing clothes (F. Baltazar 2004).

A relationship between a man and a woman in San Juan Quiahije is less restrictive than the rules dictated by the Catholic Church. Customarily the couple is allowed to sleep in the same bed, even before marriage. Pregnancy in the beginning of the relationship is common (F. Baltazar 2004). There are times when the contract breaks down and the couple decides to split. The groom's family may decide to return the bride-to-be back to her family, for example, if she turns out to be lazy and fails to take care of her potential husband and her new family. On these occasions the rejected bride-to-be

returns to her parents' house. She joins the large group of single women in the community known as (*no<sup>4</sup> qan<sup>1</sup> ja<sup>24</sup>* 'free women'). In San Juan Quiahije single women usually do not remarry and quite often end up becoming mistresses to married men in the community (p.c. I. Cruz and M. Baltazar 2008). Unlike the rejected brides in San Juan Quiahije, rejected brides in Yolotepec, another Chatino town, can remarry (Bartolomé and Barabas 1996). If all goes well after one to two years of cohabitation the couple decides to marry.

In the planning stages of the ceremony, both families decide on a suitable bride price to be paid by the groom's family and to set the date for an official wedding ceremony (F. Baltazar 2004). The groom's family asks the bride's family to provide a list of members from the bride's family who should receive the bride payments. The request for such a list is expressed as a show of appreciation for all those who brought the bride into adulthood and helped her mature to the woman she has become. This list of bride payments will also include an itemization for each family member expecting a payment. Members of the bride's family who usually receive a bride payment include the parents, grandparents, siblings, uncles, great uncles, and certain extended family members (e.g. certain first and second cousins—whomever the bride's family chooses to honor). The bride payments are presented in gift baskets of varying amounts of money (from 20 to 100 dollars). Included in these baskets are chocolate, tortillas, cooked chickens, and even live turkeys. The bride price is split into tiers. The highest tier of gifts goes to the immediate family: grandparents, parents, and godparents of baptism. The

second tier of bride payments goes to uncles, and the third tier goes to younger family members such as siblings and other extended family members (p.c. I. Cruz 2008). In most cases, the groom’s family carries out the responsibility of arranging the wedding and paying for the bride price, though sometimes the bride will pay if the groom is too poor. In Table 1.8 I summarize the tier of payment.

tier 1	grandparents, parents, baptism godparents.
tier 2	aunts and uncles
tier 3	siblings and extended family members

Table 1.8: Tier of bride payments

In addition to the extensive gift-giving process, the preparatory phase also includes face-to-face invitations with formal visits to the guests’ homes, in lieu of written invitation. Of note on any wedding guest list is a formal invitation to the municipal authorities. Also the groom’s family must gather food (beans, tortilla, sugar), drinks (*mezcal*), and other supplies such as wood, tables, and chairs for the wedding feast.

### ***11.1.1 The preparation***

Weddings in San Juan Quiahije involve lots of praying, feasting, dancing, and much merriment. Prayers related to a wedding take from seven to thirteen days. This practice has also been observed by Bartolomé and Barabas (1996) and Greenberg (1981) in Yolotepec and Yaitepec, respectively. Praying includes a short pilgrimage around the Chatino region, including stops at churches, mountain peaks, springs, and marshes.

Thirteen days of prayer are followed by three days of festivities. At the onset of the three days, the bride price is paid. On the second day the civil wedding ceremony takes place at the house of the groom's family. The civil ceremony is officiated by the local authorities and the elders of both families. On the third day the newlyweds are expected to clean and wash the pots and reheat the food from the two days of partying (p.c. I. Cruz 2004 ).

### ***11.1.2 Religious ceremony at the Catholic church – “The Blessing”***

Because San Juan Quiahije does not have a priest in residence,<sup>2</sup> for the religious ceremony the couple notifies the itinerant priest of their intentions to get married. The couple attends a regular mass and sits in the front pew. At the end of the mass, the priest walks to each couple in the pew and blesses them with holy water and wishes them a good life together. At a typical mass, when the priest visits the community, for instance on the patron saint's day of St. John the Baptist on June 24th, many couples get married at the same time. If the couple already has a child, they also baptize the child. The communities of Juquila and Panixtlahuaca both have a priest in residence. Couples often travel to these neighboring communities to have their religious blessings of matrimony or to baptize their children (p.c. I. Cruz 2008).

### ***11.1.3 Civil wedding***

On the first day, at dawn, the groom's family brings the bride price to a breakfast commemorating its payment. The bride's family hosts the breakfast. This reciprocal

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<sup>2</sup> Panixtlahuaca's Franciscan Mission was founded on September 1969 (p.c. Fray Juan Antonio 2008).

exchange of the meal and the bride price demonstrates a degree of mutual appreciation and respect.

Around midday on the second day, the bride's family, the groom, and her guests gather at the bride's house. The bride is dressed and adorned with her wedding attire. When the bride is ready, the family parades across the town to the groom's family compound. A marching band accompanies the procession, and extremely noisy bottle rockets are set off.

#### ***11.1.4 Performance of The Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup> 'Words of the Hear' in we weddings***

Upon arrival at the groom's compound, two special orators deliver the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*. One speaks outside of the main house on behalf of the bride's family, while the other speaks inside the house for the groom's family. Once the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* has been performed, the elders of the hosting family stand at the entrance of the room ushering the guests to their respective seats. Upon taking their sitting position at the table the guests say the following words:

Example 1.1

Guest: Chaq<sup>3</sup> sqwe<sup>3</sup> qin<sup>24</sup> ndiyo<sup>14</sup>-si<sup>0</sup>, chaq<sup>3</sup> sqwe<sup>3</sup> qin<sup>24</sup> tqa<sup>24</sup> wan<sup>32</sup>

'With God's blessing and blessings to all of you'

The host family [responding in unison]: Chaq<sup>3</sup> sqwe<sup>3</sup> qin<sup>24</sup> ndiyo<sup>14</sup>-si<sup>0</sup>, chaq<sup>3</sup> sqwe<sup>3</sup> qin<sup>24</sup>  
tqa<sup>24</sup> wan<sup>32</sup>

‘With God’s blessing and blessings to all of you’

The table where the guest sits at weddings or important ceremonies in SJQ carries a great significance. The *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* has special archaic verse lines that describe the table as sacred and adorned with flowers. Chapter 9 section 12.18 will provide a more detailed discussion of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* speech.

### ***11.1.5 Performance of local authorities at weddings***

The high-ranking authorities including the elders’ council, the mayor, and the entourage of helpers (*neq<sup>4</sup> skan<sup>4</sup>* ‘errand boys’ and the *kwa<sup>2</sup>* ‘the religious organizers from city hall’) attend the wedding carrying their sacred staffs. At the wedding ceremony, the authorities assume their dual role with inside versus outside positions just as if they were in city hall. The high-ranking officials sit inside at the table with the guests of honor. The *neq<sup>4</sup> skan<sup>4</sup>* ‘errand boys’ work alongside the host family outside. The helpers are responsible for serving the food to the guests of honor sitting at the tables. The *kwa<sup>2</sup>*, are responsible for dressing the tables with tablecloths they bring from city hall and the community guards are the ones who bring the food from the kitchen.

### ***11.1.6 Wedding ceremony in the home***

For the wedding ceremony to take place the couple kneels in front of the family’s altar. The members of the authorities have the couple hold the sacred staff while they talk to the couple. The authorities advise the couple to honor and cherish each other, to take



good care of their children, to honor their parents, and most of all to be good citizens of the community (e.g. serve city hall) (F. Baltazar 2004 and p.c. I. Cruz 2008). Next, the elders from both families gather around the couple and speak to them in unison. After the formal civil ceremony, everyone joins in a feast. Once the guests are done eating, the bride and groom dance. The celebration continues through the night and into the next day. The third day of the ceremony is the day of cleaning pots and heating up the leftover food. The bride begins her work as a wife this day, taking charge of reheating all of the food and washing the dishes together with other guests (F. Baltazar 2004 and p.c. I. Cruz).

## 11.2 Co-parenting, *compadrazgo*, institutions

There are many ways to acquire *compadres* and *comadres* in SJQ and in other Chatino communities (Bartolomé and Barabas 1996). When a child is born, s/he acquires godparents, who share parenting responsibilities with the child's "natural" parents. The godparents and the natural parents become *compadres*. The *compadres* address each other by their assigned title; for example, the child's father will call the child's godmother *ndlyi*<sup>14</sup> 'comadre' whereas the godmother will call the father *mba*<sup>14</sup> 'compadre'. Also, when the bride and the groom get officially married, their parents and grandparents become *compadres* and *comadres* to each other. *Compadrazgo* bonds are likewise formed in other ritual occasions such as confirmations and when prayers are conducted on behalf of a sick child or to prevent a child from becoming ill.

In SJQ a *compadre* is more than a friend. A *compadre* or *comadre* is treated as family and can be depended on in times of need. *Compadres/comadres* do not have to be biologically related, as the relationship is a kind of “fictive” (non-biological) kinship. A child calls his or her godparents *ma*<sup>20</sup> *tya*<sup>4</sup> ‘godmother’ and *tyi*<sup>20</sup> *tya*<sup>4</sup> ‘godfather’. A godfather calls his godson or goddaughter *sniq*<sup>4</sup> *tya*<sup>24</sup> ‘godchild’. Ideally *compadrazgo* ties are highly formal. The general qualifications of good godparents are based on their social standing, their ability to provide, their quality of character, their marriage status, and if they have a caring temperament. Well-respected and charming people are sought after to be *padrinos* ‘godfathers’. A person usually can rely on a *padrino* for favors when times are tough or for general support. Godparents accompany the child in all the important stages of his or her life. The godparents have to be present at the child’s coming-of-age ceremony (ages 10-12), when the child gets married, and, on the sad occasion that a child dies before his or her time, the godparents also play an important role in the wake of the child’s death (p.c. I. Cruz 2009, F. Baltazar 2004).

The institution of ritual co-godparenthood (*compadrazgo*) has been widely described both in urban and rural settings in Mexico (for instance, Schnegg 2007, Starr 1993, Karttunen 1992, Kemper 1982, and Mintz & Wolf 1950). Although the institution of *compadrazgo* ‘co-godparenthood’ was imposed by the Spanish colonization in the 16th century, the *compadrazgo* ‘co-godparenthood’ institution was embraced with great enthusiasm and has also taken on all kinds of new forms in all levels of contemporary Mexican society (Kemper 1982, Mintz & Wolf 1950). People forming *compadrazgo*

bonds range from poor farmers and domestic servants to wealthy landowners and professionals (Kemper 1982).

In San Juan Bautista La Raya, a community located 3 miles from the city of Oaxaca, I have observed that the locals use the *compadrazgo* system to pool together resources to host large and loud parties. It is typical to find a party that has one or more *madrina* ‘godmother’ or *padrino* ‘godfather’ for the band, another *madrina* ‘godmother’ or *padrino* ‘godfather’ for the cake, another one for party decorations, and another for the rental of chairs and tables that are used for the party. By coming together and pooling their resources, people can readily host larger and more expensive parties that they otherwise could not afford.

### ***11.2.1 Baptism of a child***

A child is baptized usually in the first six months of his or her life. The baptism requires that the godparents buy the baby’s clothing and shoes for the ceremony, and that they hold the baby while the priest pours water over his or her head. This ceremony establishes a life-long bond. Their next ceremonial obligation occurs when the child is ten to twelve years old, when they celebrate the rite to transition to adulthood.

### ***11.2.2 Transition from childhood to adulthood: coming-of-age ceremony***

When a child is between the ages of 10 and 12, his or her godparents, parents, and extended family celebrate his or her transition from childhood to adulthood with a feast and exchange of gifts. Bartolomé and Barabas (1996) also describe this phenomenon in

Yolotepec. Just as they would plan a wedding, the parents and godparents gather and plan a rite of passage ceremony for the child. At this ceremony the child receives a set of adult-appropriate clothing from the godparents. The child's parents, in return, treat the godparents and their family to a nice meal. The child's family also presents the godparents with a basket full of food, containing such items as a cooked chicken, bread, tortillas, and chocolate. The boy receives handmade sandals made out of rubber or leather, slacks, a nice shirt, a bandana, and a hat. The girl receives a nice dress, a necklace, earrings, and bright-colored hair ribbons. The child is dressed with the new clothes by his or her *madrina* 'godmother' or *padrino* 'godfather'. While the dressing ceremony takes place, a specialist recites the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* (I. Cruz & G. Cruz 2010).

## 12 CONCLUSION

This chapter offered a brief description of the geography, location, economy, history, politics, and culture of San Juan Quiahije. The goal of treating these topics in this document is to supply the reader with background on the culture that created the unique verbal art of San Juan Quiahije which will be described and analyzed in Chapters 6, 7, and 8 of this dissertation.

San Juan Quiahije is located in the mountains 60 miles from the Pacific Coast. There are many types of pines, oak trees and orchids that make up the flora of the place. Similarly, San Juan Quiahije is home to numerous types of birds including parrots and toucans, and mammals such as foxes and mountain lions. People may travel to and from San Juan Quiahije via dirt roads that frequently break down during the rainy season.

Historically San Juan Quiahije citizens split their time between living where they farm and their residences in San Juan. The majority of families live in outlying mountains and canyons where they grow crops. These places are usually warmer, less crowded and more conducive to agriculture than the town of San Juan. People return to San Juan town on high holidays, to serve a post in city hall, and to bury their dead (p.c. S. Orocio). However, this system of agricultural and dwelling is rapidly changing as people are becoming more sedentary in San Juan town and Cieneguilla.

The relationship between San Juan Quiahije citizens and their mestizo neighbors, especially Juquila, the district capital, has been one of mutual distrust and asymmetrical power. Over the centuries this animosity has created deep-seated resentments that periodically break out into conflicts, even today. One of the better-known Chatino uprisings happened before the Mexican revolution: La Guerra de los pantalones ‘the war of the pants’, an event that occurred when several Chatino communities, including San Juan Quiahije, revolted against the Juquila authorities because of the high taxes the authorities imposed on the Chatino communities.

In this chapter I also provided a description of the major institutions of San Juan Quiahije such as the church, government, and family. I provided a description of the ladder of the cargo system, which is a traditional form of government in San Juan Quiahije. I also gave a description of the *compadrazgo* system. Chapter 2 discusses the research carried out on the Chatino language and culture for the last 100 years.

## **Chapter 2: Scholarly research on the Chatino language and culture**

This Chapter presents the anthropological and linguistic research on the Chatino language, culture, and society that began over a century ago. The researchers involved in this research can be classified into five groups.

### **1 GROUP I (1900-1960): EARLY INVESTIGATORS**

Francisco Belmar (1902), Franz Boas (1913), Jaime de Angulo (1920, 1925), and Gabriel De Cicco (1959) are members of what I call the first group. These researchers main preoccupation was to establish the genetic affiliation of Oaxacan languages and in doing so, they provided very brief linguistic and ethnographic descriptions of Chatino language and culture. Belmar (1902) published a brief thumbnail sketch of the Chatino language, which included a comparison with Zapotec.

Belmar's main goal, like other scholars in this first group, was to investigate the genetic affiliation of Oaxacan languages including Chatino. The genetic affiliation of the numerous indigenous languages in Oaxaca was largely unknown and a topic of much debate among scholars in the 1900's. Belmar collected a list of lexical items from several varieties of Chatino including Juquila, Zenzontepec, and Teojomulco, which is now extinct. Belmar's list on Teojomulco appears to be a curious mix of languages, including Chatino, and has not been attested since then. After comparing and contrasting some Chatino and Zapotec sentences and lexical items (especially those denoting number, gender, and possession), Belmar proceeded to compared Chatino to Mixtec, to show it wasn't Mixtec or half-Mixtec like some earlier researchers (Gay 1881 among others) had proposed. Belmar concluded that Chatino was closely related to Zapotec. Prior to Belmar's research there had not been

any linguistic descriptions of Chatino, and his description is one of the oldest surviving written Chatino records.

While participating in a Zapotecan language conference in Pochutla, Oaxaca in 1913, Boas stumbled upon two Chatino speakers. After eliciting data from them for a few hours, he posited three dialects for the Chatino language, and made some notes regarding the sound system of the language. Boas published “Notes on the Chatino Language of Mexico” in the *American Anthropologist* in that same year. Continuing the efforts to reach a classification of Zapotecan languages, De Angulo (1920, 1925) published a list of cognates from different Zapotecan languages including Chatino. Forty years later, Gabriel De Cicco (1959) published several ethnographic descriptions of different Chatino rituals and myths. The members of this group wrote scholarly articles on Chatino, but none made the language their main focus.

## **2 GROUP II (1950-2005): SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS MISSIONARY LINGUISTS**

The second group of researchers – Barbara & Howard P. McKaughan, Jessamine Upson & Robert Longacre, Edward & Linda Wardle, Leslie & Kitty Pride - were members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). Upson, Longacre came to the Chatino region in the late 1940s. Both individually and as a team the McKaughans published on a variety of topics on the Chatino language. B. McKaughan (1949) is a manuscript on Chatino numerals; H. P. McKaughan (1954) analyzed the phonemic system of Santiago Yaitepec. McKaughan & McKaughan (1951) is dictionary of Nopala Chatino.

B. W. Upson and Robert Longacre (1965) posited a basic reconstruction of 251 lexemes of Proto Chatino, which later served as the foundation for work on the comparative phonology of Chatino. Wardle & Wardle (1980) published a small collection of narrative texts on Nopala Chatino with a brief

explanation of the phonemic system of the language. However, their description did not include the tones of the language.

Kitty and Leslie Pride made great contributions to the study of Chatino linguistics. They published a monograph on Chatino syntax (K. Pride, 1965), grammatical and lexical notes (Pride & Pride 1997), and many articles on diverse topics including numerals and Chatino tones (1961, 1963). They also published a Tataltepec lexicon (Pride & Pride 1970) and as the culmination, a detailed dictionary, with a sketch grammar, focusing on Panixtlahuaca Chatino but with notes on other Eastern Chatino varieties (Pride & Pride 2004). Of all the members of this group, the Prides were the ones who stayed the longest in the Chatino region. They lived in the area for about 40 years, before retiring to England in 2004.

The main goal of the SIL in the Chatino region was to spread evangelical Protestant beliefs. In service of this goal, SIL researchers created evangelical protestant churches and translated the New Testament into Chatino. Leslie and Kitty Pride were instrumental in spreading the Christian beliefs in the Chatino region (personal conversation with Chatino speakers). In disseminating their findings, the members of the SIL have been very open, sharing their work on Chatino with native speakers including an online version of the dictionary from Panixtlahuaca Chatino made available recently for everyone to see (<http://www-01.sil.org/Mexico/zapoteca/chatino/S047b-DicChatino-ctp.pdf>).

### **3 GROUP III (1970-1980): CULTURAL INVESTIGATORS**

The third wave of researchers came to the Chatino region during the 1970's and 1980's. They included four anthropologists, Alicia Barabas, Miguel Bartolomé, James Greenberg, and Carmen Cordero Avendaño de Durand; and one sociologist, Jorge Hernández Díaz. Their publications, analyses and reflections have contributed greatly to our understanding of Chatino society, history, economy, and



cosmology. Bartolomé and Barabas (1978, 1990, 1996) have published extensively on Chatino history and ethnography. Greenberg (1981, 1987, 1989) describes Chatino religion, economic, and sociological conditions. Hernández-Díaz (1987, 1986, 1992) has published on Chatino economy and social organization. Cordero de Avendaño (1986) describes Chatino ritual prayers.

In looking at anthropological writings on Chatino over the last century, one can see an evolution from a purely observe-and-record model to a more collaborationist model involving members from the home community. We begin to see signs of true collaboration in 1987 when Benjamin Maldonado, an anthropologist from Mexico City, came to the Chatino region. Maldonado was part of the state run company CONASUPO (National Company of Popular Subsistence), a Mexican State owned enterprise. Maldonado began to take some cautious steps towards encouraging indigenous people to write. He collaborated extensively with my father, Tomás Cruz Lorenzo. In 1987 they began publishing a magazine entitled *Medio Milenio*. My father wrote several essays as part of his collaboration in *Medio Milenio*: "*De por qué las flores nunca se doblegan con el aguacero*", "*Cuando la mariguana nos trajo oro, terror y tal vez luz*" (T. Cruz 1987). Maldonado also coached many other indigenous writers, including my father, Odilón Cortés, a resident of Cieneguilla, who had only completed a third grade education. Cortés wrote an article about the founding of Cieneguilla in 1975. *Medio Milenio* gave voice to previously silent population, serving as a medium for many young aspiring indigenous writers throughout the state of Oaxaca to express their ideas. *Medio Milenio* went out of print in 1990.

#### **4 GROUP IV (1990- 2007): PDMLA**

In the 1990s, *Encuesta Zapotecana, Documentación de las Lenguas Mesoamericanas* (PDLMA) ‘Survey and Documentation of Mesoamerican language,’ a project on Mixe-Zoque and Otomangean languages led by Terrence Kaufman yielded new work on Chatino. Troi Carleton and

Jeff Rasch were members of this group. Carleton compiled a 5000-item Zenzontepec dictionary (Carleton, 1997). Carleton along with Rachelle Waksler (2000 and 2002) published a number of articles on Chatino morphology and syntax. Rasch has done outstanding research in Chatino and his findings have been crucial for advancing linguistic studies in Chatino. His research has been pivotal for our understanding of the phonological, morphological, and syntactic structure of Chatino. His PhD (Rasch 2002), has served as a basic foundation for our current research. Much of the research we have done on developing the practical orthography and figuring out the tone system in many varieties of Chatino is largely based on Rasch's work. Rasch continues to work on Chatino. He has carried out extensive subsequent work in collaboration with Martin Suárez Martínez, a native speaker of Yaitepec Chatino. Eric Campbell has also worked with this group.

#### **5 GROUP V: CHATINO LANGUAGE DOCUMENTATION PROJECT (CLDP), 2003-PRESENT**

The fifth group that has conducted research in the Chatino region consists of the members of the Chatino Language Documentation Project (CLDP). The CLDP was founded in 2003-2004, when Emiliana Cruz and a year later I, both native speakers of SJQ Chatino, became graduate students at the University of Texas at Austin as part of the Center for Indigenous Languages of Latin America (CILLA), the same program described in Woodbury and England (2004).

The CLDP was established as a collaborative effort between native speakers (e.g., linguists, language interns, and community members) with non-native linguists to document, analyze, and revitalize Chatino languages. The CLDP's approach to linguistic documentation aimed to integrate the advancement of linguistic science and the wishes of the Chatino people to promote and honor their language. Our goal is to create knowledge and records useful to scientific and humanistic endeavors both inside and outside the Chatino communities. We put basic linguistic documentation and analysis

to practical use in literacy classes and other local preservation initiatives. In 2003 our team began traveling extensively to many Chatino communities to document the languages (by recording with audio and video), to conduct linguistic analysis, to develop practical orthographies, to raise awareness about language endangerment, and to carry out teaching workshops in order to have local instructors elaborate and use our original work.

Over time, the CLDP team has evolved into a collaborative group of people with diverse experiences, knowledge, and interests. The team included UT graduate students, senior linguists, and a host of Chatino language experts within the Chatino communities. Currently, the team is engaged in a variety of research projects: writing grammars, describing verbal art, recording naturally-occurring everyday conversation and formal speech, and documenting an emergent signed language (see, e.g., H. Cruz 2009, E. Cruz 2011). The team also develops pedagogical materials geared toward teaching literacy in Chatino and trains Chatino teachers to document and describe their variety of Chatino. Over the years we have analyzed a wide range of linguistic topics in Chatino ranging from phonology (tone patterns), to syntax (complementation, transitivity), verbal art, and the historical development of the language. The creation of a unified alphabet for the three varieties of Chatino has been informed by this linguistic analysis including (Cruz et al 2008, H. Cruz 2009, H. Cruz and Woodbury 2006, Sullivant 2010). For access to materials see: <http://sites.google.com/site/lenguachatino/>

The members of our team have carried out these activities in all three varieties of Chatino: ZEN, TAT, and Eastern Chatino. Eric Campbell studies Zenzontepec Chatino. He began research on ZEN Chatino in 2007. Ryan Sullivant is focusing in Tataltepec Chatino. Justin McIntosh and more recently (in 2012) Jörn Klinger work on Eastern Chatino in Santa Lucía Teotepec. Stéphanie Villard conducts research on Eastern Chatino in San Marcos Zacatepec. In 2012 Lynn Hou and Kate Mesh began documenting an emergent sign language in San Juan Quiahije. E. Cruz and I have carried

documentary work in all three varieties and focus our analysis on the SJQ variety. Tony Woodbury carries out comparative work in all three varieties of Chatino and oversees the overall project.

## **6 RESEARCH CARRIED OUT IN SAN JUAN QUIAHIJE**

Linguistic research in SJQ Chatino took a considerable leap forward in 2003 with the creation of the CLDP. Prior to 2003, SJQ Chatino had no linguistic research. We did not have a standard orthography, or any scholarly knowledge of the grammar of the language. However, among community members there always exists some metalinguistic knowledge about the language and verbal art as we will see in chapter 5. Community members critique one another's oratory. Thanks to the work of the CLDP, today SJQ is one of the best described and documented varieties of Chatino.

My own work with verbal art in SJQ is a direct result of my involvement with the CLDP. In this research I provided a linguistic, rhetorical, and cultural description of three rhetorical speeches by traditional authorities in San Juan Quiahije. The speeches were performed by three officials in city hall, in a yearly event that celebrates the transition of local authorities. The transcribed, translated, and glossed versions of the three analyzed texts are included in the appendix of my Masters thesis. The corresponding audio files can be accessed in The Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America of AILLA and The Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR)

## **7 CONCLUSION**

In this chapter described the anthropological and linguistic research carried out on the Chatino language, culture, and society that began over a century ago. First I discussed the work of Francisco Belmar, Franz Boas, and Jaime De Angulo. The main research goal of researchers of this time was to solve the language affiliation of Oaxacan indigenous languages including Chatino. These researchers published small word lists of Chatino with the goal of carrying out a cross-linguistic comparison

among neighboring languages such as Mixtec and Zapotec. This group concluded that Chatino was part of the Zapotecan language family.

The second group of researchers discussed here were the members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Aside from advancing their agenda at translating the Bible into Chatino, these individuals documented traditional Chatino stories and published on diverse topics of Chatino grammar including tones, lexicon, and morphology.

The third group, which I refer to as cultural researchers comprise a group of anthropologist that came to the Chatino region in the 1980's. These researchers published several ethnographic monographs. This period also saw beginning research carry out on Chatino from native speakers.

The fourth group of researcher are members of the Encuesta Zapotecana, Documentación de las Lenguas Mesoamericanas (PDLMA) 'Survey and Documentation of Mesoamerican language,' a project on Mixe-Zoque and Otomanguean languages led by Terrence Kaufman. This group produced several dictionaries and a Morphosyntactic study of Yaitepec Chatino (e.g., Rasch 2002).

The fifth group that has carried out research and continues to work in the Chatino region are the members of the Chatino Language Documentation group. Over time, the Chatino Language Documentation group team has evolved into a collaborative group of people with diverse experiences, knowledge, and interests carrying a wide range of language projects in the Chatino region such as grammars writing, describing verbal art, recording naturally-occurring everyday conversation and formal speech, and documenting an emergent signed language, and developing pedagogical materials geared toward teaching literacy in the Chatino language. Next Chapter 3 will provide background on Chatino linguistics.

## **Chapter 3: Intro to SJQ linguistics**

### **1 INTRODUCTION**

This Chapter will offer a brief linguistic background on the Chatino language to highlight the phonemic system, orthographic conventions, and grammar of the language. The goal is to familiarize and situate the reader with the topics that will be covered in the present study.

### **2 THE CHATINO LANGUAGE FAMILY**

Chatino is a group of languages spoken in Oaxaca, Mexico. Together with the Zapotec language group, the Chatino languages form the Zapotecan branch of the Otomanguean language family (Kaufman 2006, Rensch 1966). Table 3.1 illustrates Chatino and its relations.

Otomanguean (Many subfamilies)

Zapotecan

    Zapotec (Many varieties)

        Chatino

        Zenzontepec Chatino [czn]

        Coastal Chatino

            Tataltepec Chatino [cta]

            Eastern Chatino

            San Marcos Zacatepec Chatino [ctz]

            San Juan Quiahije Chatino [ctp]

            Santiago Yaitepec Chatino [ctp]

            Santa Lucía Teotepec Chatino [cya]

            San Juan Lachao Chatino [cly]

            Panixtlahuaca Chatino [ctp]

            (About 10 others)

Table 3.1: The Chatino languages: External and internal relationships from E. Cruz & Woodbury (to appear)

Figure 3.1 provides a map of the region where Chatino languages are spoken.

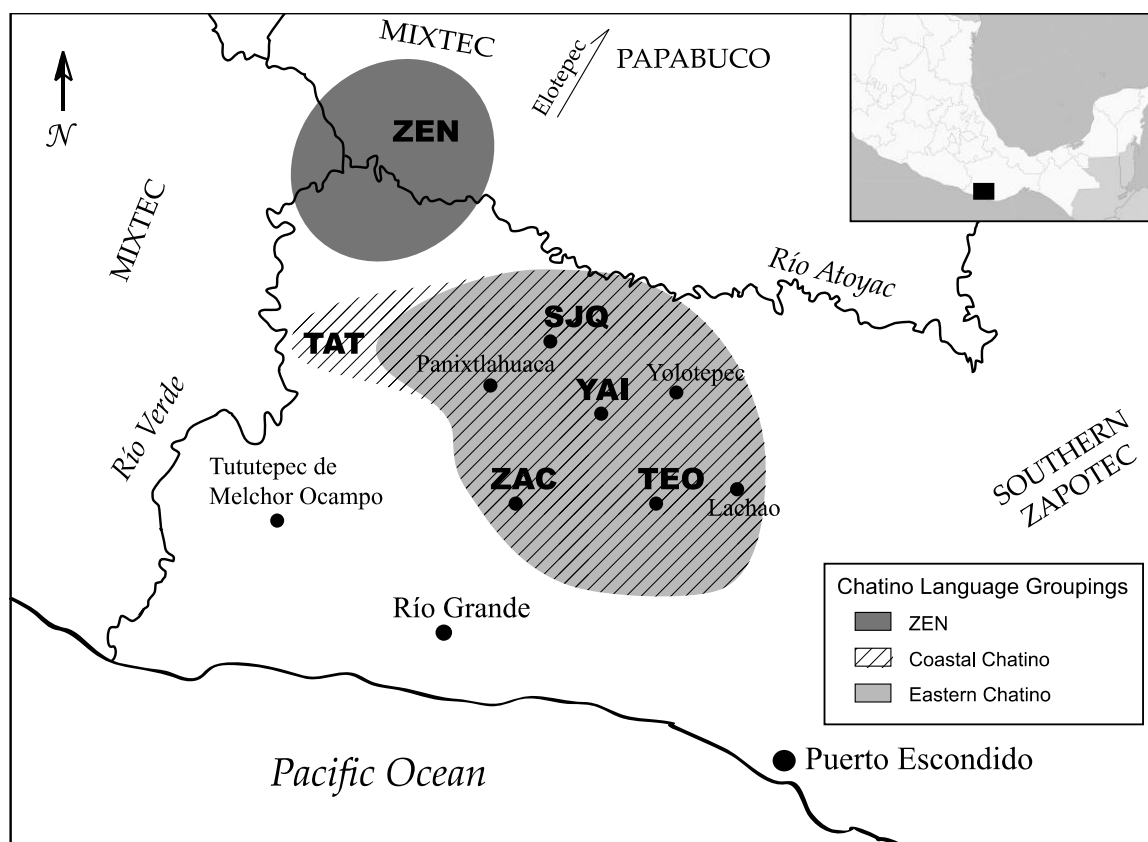


Figure 3.1: Map of the Chatino languages (Campbell 2013)

### 3 INTERNAL CLASSIFICATION

Boas (1913) recognized three main Chatino languages: Zenzontepec Chatino (ZEN, ISO 639-2 code *czn*), Tataltepec Chatino (TAT, *cta*), and Eastern Chatino (ISO 639-2 *ctp*, *cya*, *ctz*, and *cly*) (E.Cruz 2011 and Campbell 2011). San Juan Quiahije Chatino (SJQ), the language of the focus of this study, belongs to Eastern Chatino.

Recent work on Chatino, especially Campbell (2013), agrees with Boas' (1913) original three-variety proposal by positing that Eastern Chatino (described by Boas as "First Dialect") is one genetic unit despite its considerable internal variation. Campbell



(2013—same paper) provides examples of shared phonological, lexical and morphological innovations within the Eastern Chatino varieties to support Boas' claim about the first dialect. Campbell additionally shows that other innovations are shared by Eastern Chatino and TAT but not ZEN, indicating that Eastern Chatino and TAT form a higher level genetic unit, which he calls “Coastal Chatino” (c.f Table 3.1).

It is worth noting that the three-language classification posited by Campbell (2013) and Boas (1913) departs considerably from the classification found in the Ethnologue (Lewis 2009). The Ethnologue classification identifies Zenzontepec and Tataltepec Chatino as distinct varieties (ISO codes *czn* and *cta*, respectively), but divides Eastern Chatino into four languages: Western Highland Chatino (*ctp*), Eastern Highland Chatino (*cly*), Nopala Chatino (*cya*) and Zacatepec Chatino (*cza*).

According to Eglan (1978), who presented the results of mutual intelligibility tests (and came up with quite contrary results—see E. Cruz & Woodbury (to appear), the SIL based these classifications on the intuitions of themselves and of some speakers. But as Campbell 2013 clearly states, evidence of shared innovations would be the only way to establish internal subgroupings among the Eastern Chatino varieties.

#### **4 INTELLIGIBILITY AMONG CHATINO LANGUAGES**

The three varieties of Chatino (ZEN, TAT, and Eastern Chatino) are mutually unintelligible because of phonetic tonal differences and morphosyntactic differences, particularly in the use of grammatical particles and idiomatic expressions (Campbell

2011). Campbell notes that speakers of innovative varieties (e.g., SJQ) can often identify isolated words in varieties they find largely unintelligible in natural speech such as ZEN.

Intelligibility between speakers of the Eastern Chatino varieties is also limited for the same reasons Eglan (1978). Again, a direct comparative analysis will be necessary to support fine-grained groupings within Eastern Chatino as previously situated in section 3. This, along with research on shared innovations, will help to determine whether there are significant subgroupings within Eastern Chatino; otherwise, it is prudent to assume that each one of the varieties of Eastern Chatino represents an independent development from a common Eastern Chatino protolanguage (Campbell 2011).

## **5 NON-FINAL SYLLABLE REDUCTION**

The majority of proto Chatino (pCh) roots were dimoraic—some disyllabic and some monosyllabic Campbell (2013). Verbs were obligatorily inflected for aspect and mood by a set of prefixes, most of which were also syllabic and moraic Campbell (2011). Thus, many inflected verbs in pCh were trimoraic. Final syllabus are prominent in SJQ. Due to the loss of non-final vowels via vowel syncopation, many Eastern varieties of Chatino including Santiago Yaitepec (YAI), San Juan Quiahije (SJQ), and Santa Lucia Teotepec (TEO) have undergone significant non-final syllable reduction (Rasch 2002, E. Cruz 2011, and McIntosh 2011). Nearly all words have been reduced to one syllable. Table 3.2 illustrates Eastern Chatino monosyllabification by comparing the conservative Eastern Chatino variety of ZAC with the innovative Eastern Chatino variety of SJQ.

ZAC3	SJQ	Gloss
nti-lyeɽe <sup>L+M-L</sup>	ntqe <sup>14</sup>	he licks it
nti-nyee <sup>L+M-L</sup>	nyi <sup>14</sup>	he confesses it
nti-kyalo <sup>L+M-L</sup>	ndlo <sup>14</sup>	he throws it away
nk-y-u <sup>M</sup> na <sup>R</sup>	nna <sup>3</sup>	he is crying
kwila <sup>4</sup>	kla <sup>4</sup>	Fish
kwi <sup>M</sup> nyanɔ <sup>H</sup>	kinyaq <sup>1</sup>	Deer
kuru <sup>L</sup> si <sup>M+R^</sup>	ksi <sup>10</sup>	Cross
nkata <sup>R</sup>	nta <sup>3</sup>	Black
ticho <sup>L+R^</sup>	chuq <sup>14</sup>	Pineapple

Table 3.2: ZAC and SJQ lexical correspondences

Table 3.2 shows the non-final syllable reduction in SJQ. The clearly delimitable verbal morphology in ZAC is highly fusional in SJQ. Table 3.2 also shows that the dysyllabic and trisyllabic nouns in ZAC have become monosyllabic in SJQ.

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3

The Zacatepec system uses five tones to mark moras in ZAC: L,M,H,R,R<sup>^</sup>; where “R” is a LH rise and where “R<sup>^</sup>” is a rise from L to a super-high. In these representations, the tones are superscripted following the mora to which they are linked. The plus sign marks floating tones (+M-L and +R<sup>^</sup>); they are always indicated at the end of the word. A toneless mora has no superscripted tone indicator.

This lexical item is toneless.

## **6 CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF SEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY IN CHATINO LANGUAGES**

Below I discuss some segmental features shared among the Chatino languages.

### **6.1 Glottal stops**

Glottal stops are consonants in Chatino, in the SJQ practical orthography they are represent as [q]. This sound have weakened in Zapotec languages and have become features of vowels (Arellanes 2009).

### **6.2 Labiovelar kw**

The Proto Zapotecan \*kw reflex is preserved as a labiovelar in Chatino, while in Zapotec languages it has become bilabial (Rensch 1966, Kaufman 2006).

### **6.3 Nasalization of vowels**

Nasalization of vowels is preserved in Chatino, while Zapotec nasalization is lost (Kaufman 1993). Kaufman also asserts that the loss of phonemic vowel nasalization was one of the major sound changes that occurred between proto-Zapotecan and proto-Zapotec languages.

## **7 SAN JUAN QUIAHIJE EASTERN CHATINO**

Major topics covered in this section include conventions for glossing, issues of segmental phonology including consonants, vowels, phonemes, and their orthographic presentation. The orthographic representation will be shown both in IPA and in their practical orthography.

In addition to discussing the phonological word structure, this section examines tone and their representation in the practical orthography of San Juan Quiahije Eastern Chatino. Since 2003 there has been several changes in the way we write tones in the practical orthography of SJQ. In this section I chart this development and will clarify the conventions I chose to use in the representations of tone in the texts that I analyzed in this dissertation.

Another topic presented in this section is morphology. Topics in this area include personal pronouns, demonstratives, possession, compounding and verbs of motion and position. This section also includes a brief discussion of borrowings of lexical and syntactic items from Spanish to Chatino. Syntax will be the last item that will be discussed in this section. The topics presented in this section are relevant to SJQ verbal art and they include word order and subordinate clauses.

## **7.1 Glossing**

Here I lay out the conventions I will use to interlinearize the texts of the present study. Leipzig conventions will be used whenever available. In the Chatino line, I am not separately segmenting elements of morphology within words. Even clitics are written as one word together with the host word. However, a hyphen [-] appears in the Chatino to link two words that make up a compound.

In the gloss line, each Chatino word (or compound) is given a gloss; when that gloss consists of more than one word, periods are placed between the words of the gloss. When the gloss contains grammatical category designations such as person or aspect

labels, these are separated by an underscore (\_). Many examples will be presented in three columns. Column 1 will contain the poetic line #, column 2 will present the Chatino text. The interlinearized gloss is presented in small text below the Chatino text. Column 3 presents the free translation in English. For example:

Example 3.1

1	yan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> sa <sup>4</sup> -kwi <sup>4</sup> tlyu <sup>2</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> <small>COMPL_go_NB slope big then</small>	we went to the steep slope [and prayed on his behalf]
---	--	--

Example 3.2

1	Ja <sup>4</sup> ndon <sup>32</sup> xa <sup>4</sup> -liyu <sup>1</sup> qyu <sup>0</sup> <small>no PROG_stand mescal</small> <small>type.of.mescal</small> kqon <sup>14</sup> a <sup>0</sup> <small>POT_drink_1INCL Q</small>	Do you have any mescal stashed around to share?
---	---	--

Discussions of individual examples, especially the ones presented in the present chapter, will be presented in three rows. Row 1 holds the Chatino transcription, where each word is separated to facilitate glossing. Row 2 contains glosses, and row 3 contains the English translation of the word, phrase, or sentence exemplified. Examples 3.3 and 3.4, below, show this.

Example 3.3

row 1	kyqan <sup>24</sup>	tyqin <sup>20</sup>	kchin <sup>4</sup>
row 2	POT_go_B_1SG	POT_existential_5_1SG	town
row 3	I am moving to SJQ		

Example 3.4

row1	sqan <sup>24</sup>	tyqwen <sup>20</sup>	neq <sup>2</sup>	kxing <sup>2</sup>
row2	POT_go_NB_1SG	POT_existential_NB_1SG	neq <sup>2</sup>	kxing <sup>2</sup>
			insid	the.farm
			e	
row3	I am moving to the farm			

**7.2 Consonant, phonemes and their orthographic representation**

Here I present the orthography that I will use to transcribe the texts in this study.

Table 3.3 below presents an IPA distribution of the 22 consonant phonemes in SJQ

Chatino, based on the analysis of E. Cruz (2011).

	Bilabials	Apico- dentals	Lamino- Alveolar s	Palatals	Velars	labio- velar	Laryngeals
Stops	p	t d	t <sub>◌</sub> d <sub>◌</sub>		k	kw	ʔ
Affricates		ts dz	tʃ				
Fricatives		s	ʃ				H
Nasals	m	n	n <sub>◌</sub>				
Tap		r					
Laterals		l	l <sub>◌</sub>				
Glides				j		w	

Table 3.3: SJQ consonants: IPA from E. Cruz (2011:40)

Table 3.4 presents the symbols I will use to transcribe the Chatino texts in this study. This is the equivalent of the chart above, reflecting my orthographic conventions.



	Bilabials	Apico Dentals	Lamino- alveolars	Palatals	Velars	Lab.- velar	Laryngea ls
Stops	p	t d	ty dy		k	kw	Q
Affricates		ts dz	ch				
Fricatives		s	x				J
Nasals	m	n	ny				
Tap		r					
Liquids		l, r	ly				
Glides				y		w	

Table 3.4: SJQ consonants: practical orthography from E. Cruz (2011:40)

In the practical orthography bilabial, apico-dental, velar, and labio-velar sounds use the same character as the IPA with the exception of the /r/ which is represented with the plain <r> (E. Cruz 2011:39). Similarly the alveo-palatals are represented as /tʃ/=<ch>; /ʃ/=<x>; /j/=<y>. In this proposal, the set of laryngeal sounds /Ɂ/, /h/ are represented as: <q>, <j> respectively. The set of lamino-alveolar sounds following coronal consonants is represented with a [y] : /t<sub>o</sub>/=<ty>; /d<sub>o</sub>/=<dy>; /n<sub>o</sub>/=<ny>; /l<sub>o</sub>/=<ly>.

### 7.3 Vowel phonemes and their orthographic representation

SJQ has nine vowel phonemes. They are realized in two sets: oral and nasal. Tables 3.5 and 6 below illustrate their IPA and practical orthography representations.

Oral vowels	Nasal Vowels						
	Front	Central	Back		Front	Central	Back
High	/i/		/u/		/ĩ/		
Mid	/e/		/o/		/ẽ/		/õ/
Low		/a/				/ã/	

Table 3.5: Vowel IPA orthography from E. Cruz (2011: 40, Table 3.1)

Oral vowels	Nasal Vowels						
	Front	Central	Back		Front	Central	Back
High	i		u		in		
Mid	e		o		en		On
Low		a				an	

Table 3.6: Vowels practical orthography from E. Cruz (2011: 40, Table 3.2)

#### 7.4 Phonological word structure

E. Cruz (2011) proposes the following formula as a basic phonological shape for simple words (not compounds) in SJQ Chatino.

(n)(C1(i.)) {C2, LS} V(q)+tone

Figure 3.2: SJQ phonological word structure (From E. Cruz, 2011:42)

The entire formula (read from left to right) states that any word in SJQ can begin with an optional nasal phoneme /n/ followed by an optional consonant, which in turn can be followed by a high front vowel /i/. The /i/ is the only vowel found this position; all other vowels in this position have been lost. Next, {C2, LS} contains a laryngeal plus sonorant (LS) sequence, or else any single consonant. The nuclear vowel in the next position can be followed by an optional glottal stop in coda position [V(q)]. The glottal stop is the only consonant that is allowed in coda position and similarly only one glottal stop can occur per word. In Table 3.7 below I provide examples of lexical items that contain the phonological shape proposed by E. Cruz (2011).

Phonological shape	Chatino	Gloss
(n)Ci.LSV(q)	kiqna <sup>2</sup>	plate
	kiqnya <sup>42</sup>	bed
	ndiqya <sup>3</sup>	he/is carrying
(n)Ci.CV(q)	tiye <sup>32</sup>	Chest
	ndiyuq <sup>4</sup>	crazy
	ndiya <sup>32</sup>	there is
	xa-liyu <sup>32</sup>	chick
(n)C.LSV(q)	ntsquy <sup>1</sup>	s/he is cutting
	ntyqya <sup>14</sup>	s/he buys
	nxqya <sup>20</sup>	s/he screams
(n)C.CV(q)	steq <sup>4</sup>	cloth of
	xta <sup>4</sup>	mark
	yka <sup>4</sup>	tree
	kla <sup>24</sup>	twenty
(n)LSV(q)	jne <sup>42</sup>	blood
	jme <sup>14</sup> yu <sup>0</sup>	medicine
	nqne <sup>24</sup>	s/he makes
	jnya <sup>3</sup>	work
nCV(q)	nta <sup>3</sup>	black
	ntenq <sup>3</sup>	flat
	nta <sup>1</sup>	broke
CV(q)	ti3	rope
	si3	butterfly
	xa3	light
	tyuq4	belly button

Table 3.7: Syllable structure in SJQ

### 7.5 Tone

Eastern Chatino languages, including SJQ Chatino, are intensively tonal (E. Cruz & Woodbury to appear, and E. Cruz 2011). Tones mark both lexical and grammatical distinctions in Eastern Chatino languages. Strictly speaking SJQ Chatino has fourteen lexical tones, although not all of them are necessarily phonemic. E. Cruz (2011) demonstrates some of these tones are level or nearly level, some rise, and some fall.

Moreover, “some of the level and falling tones have a high floating tone that surfaces on following words when sandhi processes are realized” (E. Cruz 2011:65). These 14 lexical tone classes map onto 11 contrasting tones on short syllables, and five more complex tones on long syllables. The complex tones are realized on dimoraic syllables that are the result of the fusion of stems with nasalized vowel clitics (=Vn). This topic will be further discussed in the next section.

Initial attempts to represent tones in Chatino began with Pride (1963) and Rasch (2002). These researchers adopted a numerical system, using 1 for high tone and 5 for low tone. When the Chatino Language Documentation Project, began analyzing SJQ Chatino tones in 2003, we followed this established convention. We used the number 1 to represent a high pitch, 4 to represent a low pitch, and double digits to represent contour tones.

Numbers have been instrumental for documenting, transcribing, and advancing our understanding of the patterns of the large number of contrastive tones in SJQ Chatino. The availability of numbers on any keyboard makes them a versatile and useful tool for representing SJQ tones.

However, our representation of tones with numbers in the practical orthography has met resistance by some members within the SJQ community, especially local teachers. An orthography that combines letters and numbers looks radically different from Spanish, which is the alphabet the teachers are most familiar with. It is worth clarifying that the skeptics were generally untrained in the use of the system.

Table 3.8 summarizes the progression of analyses and representation of tones from 2006 to 2013. The first column contains the phonemic tone representation proposed by E. Cruz & Woodbury (2006). The second column shows the lexical tones I will be using to represent the tones throughout this dissertation. The third column contains the tone representation proposed by E. Cruz (2011). The fourth column is a tonal representation proposed by E. Cruz & Woodbury (to appear). Column 5 illustrates Chatino terms with the lexical tone representation from E. Cruz & Woodbury 2006. Column 6 has examples and Column 7 provides the English gloss.

Lex tone (E.Cruz & Woodbury 2006)[1]	Lexical tone in this dissertation	Lex Tone (E. Cruz 2011)	E. Cruz & Woodbury (to appear)	Normalized EC tone system	Example	Gloss
/1+0/	/10/	/H+0/	/H+0/	D,K	ska <sup>1+0</sup>	sugar
/1/	/1/	/H/	/H/	E	kla <sup>1</sup>	loom
/2/	/2/	/M/	/M+H/	C	kila <sup>2</sup>	pool
/3/	/3/	/MH/	/LM/	F	kla <sup>3</sup>	dream
/4F/	/4/	/L/	/L/	A	yu <sup>4F</sup>	dirt
/4D/	/4/	/-/	/-/	A	yja <sup>4D</sup>	tortilla
/20/	/20/	M0	/M0/	H	xtyon <sup>20</sup>	Cat
/32/	/32/	/+H/	/MH/	I	sqen <sup>32</sup>	spider
/4+0/	/40/	/L+0/	/L+0/	L	skwan <sup>4+0</sup>	I threw
/04/	/04/	/0L/	/0+L/	B!	lyu <sup>04</sup>	little
/42/	/42/	/LM/	/LH/	G	kta <sup>42</sup>	shrimp
/14+0/	/14/	/HL+0/	/HL+0/	B	ston <sup>14+0</sup>	we plucked
/24F/	/24/	/ML/	/ML/	J	ka <sup>24F</sup>	nine
/24D/	/24/	/ML+H/	/ML+H/	J	kla <sup>24D</sup>	she will arrive

Table 3.8: SJQ lexical tone representation from (2006- 2013)

Column 1 in Table 3.8 above shows that a high ascending tone is represented as /1+0/. In this convention there are two low level tones /4F/ and /4D/ as well as two descending mid low tones /24F/ and /24D/. The letter “F” stands for *fuerte* ‘strong’ and “D” stands for *débil* ‘weak’. The strong 4F tone does not undergo transformation in a

sandhi context. The 4D, on the other hand, readily undergoes changes in a sandhi context. For further information on this see E. Cruz & Woodbury (2006).

Column two shows the post-sandhi tone representation. This is the convention I will use to represent tones in any printed texts in this dissertation. In this post-sandhi tone representation I simplified the representation of the super high tone from /1+0/ to /10/. Similarly the contour tone /14+0/ is represented in my system as /14/. Additionally, the low tones 4F or 4D are represented as /4/ in my writing convention.

Column three shows that E. Cruz's (2011) tone representation uses letters "H" for high tone, "M" for mid tone, "L" for low tone, and the number zero "0" floating super high tone. Additionally E. Cruz (2011) uses a dash /-/ for 4D tone.

A new proposal by (E. Cruz & Woodbury to be announced (to appear)), offers a slight modification of E. Cruz (2011). This convention also uses the letters H, M, L and the number zero for the floating tone. However, in this new system E. Cruz's (2011) /M/ is /M+H/ in E. Cruz & Woodbury (to appear ). Also E. Cruz's (2011) /M+H/ is represented as /LM/ in this new proposal. Similarly the /+H/ from E. Cruz (2011) is /MH/ for E. Cruz Woodbury (to appear ). Additionally E. Cruz's /0L/ is /0+L/ in the new system. For more on this system see E. Cruz & Woodbury (to appear ).

Column 5 shows E. Cruz's normalized tone system. This system represents the tones according to tonal cognate classes within Eastern Chatino, each of which is designated with a letter of the alphabet. This is what the members of the CLDP refer to as "*Juego-label*". A very important difference between my approach here, and the approach

using *Juego* labels, is that my system is a post-sandhi system, whereas the *Juego*-label approach is pre-sandhi.

Using the illustration in Table 3.9, next I explore the realization of the lexical tones in isolation and in sandhi contexts. Column one in this table contains the lexical tone from E. Cruz & Woodbury (2006). Column 2 presents the lexical tones that I will be using in this dissertation. Column three provides a Chatino word in isolation with the post-sandhi tone representation. Column 4 presents a Chatino noun followed by the possessed particle *qin*<sup>4</sup> ‘his/her’ in order to illustrate the sandhi changes that the *qin*<sup>40</sup> undergoes. Column 5 shows other sandhi forms that elements in the same row can have. Finally, column 6 provides the English gloss.



Lexical tone	Lexical tone in this dissertations	Isolation	Effect on $qin^{4D}$ ‘his/her’	Other sandhi forms	Gloss
/1+0/	/10/	$ska^1$	$ska^1 qin^0$	$ska^{10}$	Sugar
/1/	/1/	$kla^1$	$kla^1 qin^{24}$	$kla^0$	loom
/2/	/2/	$kla^2$	$kila^2 qin^1$	$kla^0$	pool
/3/	/3/	$kla^3$	$kla^3 qin^{24}$	--	dream
/4F/	/4/	$yu^4$	$yu^4 qin^4$	$yu^{32}$	dirt
/4D/	/4/	$yja^4$	$yja^4 qin^4$	$yja^0, yja^1, yja^{24}, yja^{32}$	tortilla
/20/	/20/	$xtyon^{20}$	$xtyon^{20} - qin^{24}$	--	cat
/32/	/32/	$sqen^{32}$	$sqen^{32} qin^4$	--	spider
/4+0/	/40/	$skwan^{40}$	$skwan^4 qin^0$	--	I threw
/04/	/04/	$lyuq^{04}$	$lyuq^{04} qin^{24}$	--	little
/42/	/42/	$kta^{42}$	$kta^{42} qin^4$	--	shrimp
/14+0/	/14/	$nten^{14}$	$nten^{14} qin^0$	$nten^{140}, nten^1$	we plucked
/24F/	/24/	$ka^{24}$	$ka^{24} qin^{24}$	--	nine
/24D/	/24/	$kla^{24}$	$kla^{24} qin^{32}$	$kla^0$	she will arrive

Table 3.9: Realization of the lexical tones in isolation and in sandhi contexts

Column 4 in Table 3.9 shows that the third person possessed marker  $qin^4$  ‘him/her’, transforms to different pitches depending on the tone of the possessed noun it follows. This element is a strong diagnostic tool that has proven to be invaluable for finding Chatino tones. This column shows that when the  $qin^4$  follows a super high floating tone such as  $ska^1 qin^0$  the  $qin^4$  takes the “0” floating tone.

Column 4 also shows that when the *qin*<sup>4</sup> follows a high tone 1, it takes a mid low tone *qin*<sup>24</sup>. For more information on the transformations of *qin*<sup>4</sup> see Cruz & Woodbury (to appear).

Column 5 in this same table shows additional sandhi transformations that each tone undergoes. For instance, in certain contexts, words with /4D/ tone can become 0,1,24, and 32 due to sandhi. Tones with no additional tone changes are indicated as /-/. Column six in this table provides the English gloss. To conclude this section I would like to reiterate that I will use my modified, simplified set of lexical tone designations when I cite a word or phrase in isolation. For example, *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> *Ksya*<sup>10</sup> has “10” on the last word, which will sound in some cases like 10, in others like 1. However, in presentations of texts, I will cite the actual sandhi form that occurs for that word, in context. Hence, *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> *Ksya*<sup>10</sup> may occur as *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> *Ksya*<sup>10</sup>, or as *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> *Ksya*<sup>0</sup>, depending on what follows it. Another related example is *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> *Ksya*<sup>10</sup> *kan*<sup>42</sup> ‘that word of the heart’ vs. *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> *Ksya*<sup>1</sup> *qin*<sup>0</sup> ‘his/her *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> *Ksya*<sup>10</sup>’. Below I provide two examples of sentences contrasting lexical level representation pre-sandhi versus a post-sandhi representation.

Example 3.5, presented in pre-sandhi (lexical) form

$ska^{4F}$ - $ska^{4F}$ $tnya^3$ $no^{24}$ $lon^{14+0}$ , $in^0$ any work that COMPL_pull.out_1INCL hm?	any work we ordered, hm?
--	--------------------------

Example 3.6, presented in post-sandhi (surface) form

$ska^4$ - $ska^{32}$ $tnya^3$ $no^4$ $lon^{14}$ , $in^0$ any work that COMPL_pull.out_1INCL hm?	any work we ordered, hm?
--	--------------------------

Example 3.6 is post-sandhi and as previously stated this is the format I will use in the writing representation of SJQ text in this dissertation. Examples (3.5) and (3.6) above show that  $ska^{4F}$  turns into a  $ska^{32}$  in Example 3.6. Similarly the word  $lon^{14+0}$  ‘we took them out’ is represented as /14/ in the post-sandhi representation. Below I presented two additional examples.

Example 3.7 presented in pre-sandhi (lexical) form

1	$chaq^3$ $re^2$ $ja^{4F}$ $tyi^{4D}$ thing this not POT_finish	It is just this which can't end
2	$chaq^3$ $re^2$ $ja^{4S}$ $xyaq^2$ thing this not POT_mix	it is just this which can't fade
3	$chaq^3$ $re^2$ , $ndywiq^{4D}$ , $kanq^{20}$ thing this, HAB_say, then	it is just this, they say then
4	$Qo^1$ $nde^2$ $no^{4D}$ $chaq^3$ $kqu^{14+0}$ and this the.one thing POT_survive	and this [tradition] will survive
5	$nde^2$ $no^{4D}$ $chaq^3$ $klu^{14+0}$ this the.one thing POT_grow	this [tradition] will thrive
6	$nde^2$ $no^{4D}$ $chaq^3$ this the.one thing	this [tradition]

Example 3.8 presented in post-sandhi (lexical) form.

Example 3.8

1	chaq <sup>3</sup> re <sup>2</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> tyi <sup>32</sup> thing this not POT_finish	It is just this which can't end
2	chaq <sup>3</sup> re <sup>2</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> xyaq <sup>2</sup> thing this not POT_mix	it is just this which can't fade
3	chaq <sup>3</sup> re <sup>2</sup> , ndywiq <sup>1</sup> , kanq <sup>20</sup> thing this, HAB_say, then	it is just this, they say then
4	Qo <sup>1</sup> nde <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> kqu <sup>14</sup> and this the.one thing POT_survive	and this [tradition] will survive
5	nde <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> klu <sup>14</sup> this the.one thing POT_grow	this [tradition] will thrive
6	nde <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> this the.one thing	this [tradition]

Upon comparing the pre-sandhi (lexical) Example 3.7 and the post-sandhi (lexical) form in Example 3.8, we noticed that the negation particle *ja*<sup>4F</sup>, a low strong tone, is represented in the post-sandhi writing convention as *ja*<sup>4</sup>. In this same line the verb phrase *tyi*<sup>4D</sup> ‘to finish’, a weak low /4/ tone, becomes a mid ascending tone (*tyi*<sup>32</sup>) in post-sandhi context in Example 3.8. Line (3), in the same example the verb phrase *ndywiq*<sup>D</sup> ‘to speak’ takes a high tone (*ndywiq*<sup>1</sup>) in sandhi context in Example 3.8.

In line 4 a nominalizer *no*<sup>4D</sup> turns into a high tone 1 *no*<sup>1</sup> in post-sandhi context. In this same line the verb phrase *kqu*<sup>14+0</sup> ‘he/she will survive’ is represented as *kqu*<sup>14</sup> in the post-sandhi context. Line 5 five is parallel to line 4, here a nominalizer *no*<sup>4D</sup> turns into a high tone ‘*no*<sup>1</sup>’ in post-sandhi context. In this same line the verb phrase *klu*<sup>14+0</sup> ‘he/she will survive’ is represented as *klu*<sup>14</sup> in post-sandhi context. In line 6 we have another instance of the nominalizer *no*<sup>4D</sup> that become a high 1 tone in post-sandhi context.

## 7.6 Complex tones

In section 6.4 we stated that SJQ Chatino has a set of complex tones that are the result of a nasalized vowel clitic (=Vn) in combination with a tone-bearing stem. This occurs with verb stems containing tones (1, 2, 3, 4, 20, 32, 42, and 40) inflected for the first person singular (1SG) and first person plural inclusive (1INCL). For pedagogical purposes in our Chatino writing classes in San Juan Quiahije we call them *tyqi<sup>2</sup> ndiyuq<sup>1</sup>* “crazy tones”. In my text transcriptions I write complex tones with double nasalized vowels as shown in Table 3.10 and 3.11.

The first column in Table 3.10 presents the English gloss of the base 1 SG person inflection. The second column holds the base form in the first person singular (1SG). The third column presents the complex tones in the 1SG person inflection. The fourth column presents the gloss of the material in the third column.

Gloss	1SG	Complex tones 1SG	Gloss
I plucked	skwan <sup>4</sup>	skwan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup>	I plucked!
I grounded	yon <sup>1</sup>	yon <sup>2</sup> on <sup>1</sup>	I grounded!
I cried	ynan <sup>40</sup>	yna <sup>2</sup> an <sup>1</sup>	I cried!
I ate	ykun <sup>1</sup>	ykun <sup>24</sup> un <sup>32</sup>	I ate!
I hang	ndywen <sup>20</sup>	ndywen <sup>1</sup> en <sup>0</sup>	I hang!
I am walking around	ntqan <sup>1</sup>	ntqan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup>	I am walking around!
I fell	ndiyon <sup>40</sup>	ndiyon <sup>2</sup> on <sup>1</sup>	I fell!
I grind	ndiyon <sup>20</sup>	ndyon <sup>14</sup> on <sup>0</sup>	I grind!

Table 3.10: Complex tones in San Juan Quiahije

Column 3 in Table 3.11 shows that the segments in the complex tones in the 1SG are made by adding a nasalize and glottalized vowel to the stem of the base form. In this example the tone 4 in the base verb becomes a 24 tone. For instance the low tone in *skwan*<sup>4</sup> ‘I plucked’ becomes *skwan*<sup>24</sup>*an*<sup>32</sup> ‘I plucked!’.

The first column in Table 3.11, contains the gloss for basic 3SG forms of the verbs in the second column. The second column holds a list of verbs inflected in the 3SG. The third column presents a list of terms with complex 1INCL tones. The fourth column presents the gloss for items in the third column.

Gloss	3 SG	Complex tones 1INCL	Gloss
she/he plucked	skwan <sup>4</sup>	skwan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup>	we (INCL) plucked
she/he grounded	yo <sup>2</sup>	yon <sup>2</sup> on <sup>1</sup>	we (INCL) grounded
she/he cried	yna <sup>3</sup>	yna <sup>2</sup> an <sup>1</sup>	we (INCL) cried
she/he ate	yku <sup>4</sup>	ykon <sup>24</sup> on <sup>32</sup>	we (INCL) ate
she/he hang	kwi <sup>20</sup>	ndywen <sup>20</sup> en <sup>1</sup>	we (INCL) hang
she/he is walking around	ntqan <sup>32</sup>	ntqan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup>	we (INCL) are walking around
she/he fell	ndiyu <sup>2</sup>	ndiyon <sup>2</sup> on <sup>1</sup>	we (INCL) fell
she/he grind	yo <sup>2</sup>	yon <sup>2</sup> on <sup>1</sup>	we (INCL) grind

Table 3.11: Complex tones 1INCL

Table 3.11 show that a basic 3SG verb with a tone 4 turns into 24 or into a 1. The tone of the complex 32 turns into 1.

## 8 MORPHOLOGY AND LEXICON

This section provides a brief summary of the morphology and lexicon of San Juan Quiahije Chatino, which is instrumental in understanding the complexity of the verbal art. Some topics I will discuss include word order, personal pronouns, demonstratives, possession, aspect, compounds, and position and motion verbs.

## 8.1 Personal pronouns

E. Cruz, et al (2008) argues that SJQ Chatino has two series of pronouns.

Independent pronouns, which are words or expressions that can stand on their own, and dependent pronouns, which are enclitics that only attach to independent words. Table 3.12 lists the independent and dependent pronouns in SJQ Chatino.

Independent	Dependent	Abbreviation	Gloss
naq <sup>42</sup>	[+Nasal]+[high tone]	1SG	I
qwen <sup>4</sup>	[Mid tone]	2SG	you
-----	-----	0	he/she
			it
na <sup>3</sup> ‘thing’	∅; ran <sup>3</sup>	INAN	thing
qne <sup>4</sup>	∅; qin <sup>4</sup>	ANIM	animal
	∅; renq <sup>4</sup>	indef.pl.h	them
yu <sup>4</sup>	∅; yu <sup>4</sup>	man	he, men’s speech
nan <sup>4</sup>	V[nasal] <sup>32</sup>	1INCL	we inclusive
wa <sup>42</sup> -re <sup>2</sup>	wa <sup>42</sup>	1EXCL	we exclusive
qwan <sup>4</sup>	wan <sup>4</sup>	2PL	you plural

Table 3.12: Independent and independent pronouns in SJQ Chatino

Table 3.12 shows that there is no pronoun for 3SG. The interlocutors must identify the third entity, which they want to index (e.g., that man, that woman, and that dog). However, there are special enclitics for inanimate entities (INAN), animals (ANIM), and human indefinites (*renq<sup>4</sup>*). Table 3.12 also shows that a nasalized vowel and a high tone are inherent features of the first person singular enclitic. The enclitic for 2SG is distinguished by a mid tone.



## 8.2 Demonstratives

The category I call “demonstratives” in SJQ Chatino can also function as demonstrative adverbs, demonstrative adjectives (or determiners), and pronouns. Table 3.13 illustrates the set of demonstrative particles.

Demonstrative particle	Gloss
<i>nde<sup>2</sup>, re<sup>2</sup></i>	here (near speaker)
<i>kwa<sup>24</sup></i>	there (near listener)
<i>kwa<sup>3</sup></i>	there (away from speaker and listener)
<i>kanq<sup>42</sup></i>	that one (not present)

Table 3.13 : Demonstratives in SJQ Chatino (adapted from E. Cruz and Sullivant 2012)

Table 3.13 shows that the proximal demonstrative particle *nde<sup>2</sup> re<sup>2</sup>* ‘over here’ makes reference to an object located near the speaker. The intermediate particle *kwa<sup>24</sup>* ‘there near you’ points to an object located near the listener and away from the speaker. The distal *kwa<sup>3</sup>* ‘there (lit., away from both of us)’ demonstrative particle makes reference to an entity away from both the speaker and the listener. Finally the absent particle *kanq<sup>42</sup>* ‘yonder’ makes reference to an entity not present in the context of speech.

Examples 3.9, 3.10, and 3.11, below, illustrate examples of a demonstrative adjective, a demonstrative adverb, and pronoun respectively.

Example 3.9 demonstrative adjective

sa<sup>1</sup> kwa<sup>0</sup>

table that

‘that table’

The *kwa*<sup>0</sup> ‘that’ in this example is an adjective.

Example 3.10 demonstrative adverb

yqan<sup>32</sup> kwa<sup>3</sup>

COMPL\_go\_NB\_1SG there

‘I went there’

The *kwa*<sup>3</sup> ‘that’, in this example is an adverb. Next example illustrates the same particle as a pronoun.

Example 3.11 pronoun

Nde<sup>2</sup> ti<sup>1</sup> xtyan<sup>20</sup> ke<sup>2</sup> kwa<sup>1</sup>

here only POT\_put\_1SG flower that

‘Here I will placed those flower’

The *nde*<sup>2</sup> in Example 3.11 is acting as a pronoun.

### 8.3 Possession

San Juan Quiahije Chatino has two possession strategies: one for alienable possession and another for inalienable possession. Alienable possession is a temporary type of possession. Conversely, inalienable possession is an inherent type of possession.

#### 8.3.1 Alienable possession

Alienable possession in San Juan Quiahije colloquial speech is signaled with a possessive pronouns based on *qin*<sup>4</sup>. The *qin*<sup>4</sup> fuses with certain non-3rd person pronouns.

Table 3.14 shows an example of an alienable possession.

1SG	xqne <sup>2</sup> qnya <sup>10</sup>	my dog
2SG	xqne <sup>2</sup> qin <sup>42</sup>	your dog
3SG	xqne <sup>2</sup> qin <sup>1</sup>	his dog
1INCL	xqne <sup>2</sup> qna <sup>42</sup>	our dog-inclusive
1EXCL	xqne <sup>2</sup> qin <sup>1</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> re <sup>2</sup>	our dog exclusive
2PL	xqne <sup>2</sup> qwan <sup>1</sup>	your plural dog

Table 3.14 : Alienable possession

In Table 3.14 *qin*<sup>4</sup> ‘his’ denotes that the dog is alienably possessed.

#### 8.3.2 Inalienable possession

Inalienably possessed nouns on the other hand are not overtly marked; rather, their marking is fused to the noun. For example:

1SG	yanq <sup>42</sup>	my hand
2SG	yaq <sup>1</sup>	your hand
3SG	yaq <sup>2</sup>	his hand
1INCL	yan <sup>2</sup> anq <sup>1</sup>	our hand-inclusive
1EXCL	yaq <sup>2</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> re <sup>2</sup>	our hand exclusive
2PL	yaq <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup>	your plural hand

Table 3.15: Inalienable possession

This example shows that the possession of “hand” is not overtly marked, but rather the possession is fused to the stem.

### 8.3.3 -*Tyin*<sup>4</sup> possession

The possession of dwelling, community, and relationship with the community (e.g. house, or in reference to someone being from the same home town) are carried out by compounding the possessed noun with a lexeme *tyin*<sup>4</sup> in the second position. Below are some examples.

Example 3.12

tqan <sup>4</sup> - <b>tyi</b> <sup>4</sup> house-of(him/her)	His or her house
kchin <sup>4</sup> - <b>tyi</b> <sup>4</sup> town/community-of(him/her)	His/her community
tqa <sup>42</sup> kchin <sup>4</sup> - <b>tyi</b> <sup>4</sup> town/community-of(him/her)	People from her same community

These examples show that it is the second element *-tyin<sup>4</sup>* that receives the personal inflection. This is evidence that *kchin<sup>4</sup>-tyi<sup>4</sup>* is a compound. Example 3.13, below, provides a paradigm for one of these words.

Example 3.13

kchin <sup>4</sup> -tyin <sup>4</sup>	my community
kchin <sup>4</sup> -tyi <sup>42</sup>	your community
kchin <sup>4</sup> -tyi <sup>4</sup>	his/her community
kchin <sup>4</sup> -tyi <sup>24</sup> ·in <sup>32</sup>	our community (inclusive)
kchin <sup>4</sup> -tyi <sup>4</sup> wa <sup>42</sup>	our community (exclusive)'

Below I offer two contextual uses of the *tyin<sup>4</sup>* possessive element.

Example 3.14

tqan<sup>24</sup>                  qin<sup>32</sup> tqa<sup>42</sup>      kchin<sup>4</sup>-tyin<sup>24</sup>·in<sup>32</sup>      lo<sup>4</sup> kyaq<sup>2</sup>      kwa<sup>2</sup>

COMPL<sub>see</sub>\_1SG to      relative community-1INCL on market there

'I saw some people from our community at the market'

Example 3.15

ntqan<sup>4</sup>-tyi<sup>4</sup>    La<sup>20</sup>ya<sup>24</sup> kwa<sup>3</sup> nka<sup>24</sup>    re<sup>2</sup>

house-1INCL Laya    that PROG\_be this

‘this is Hilaria’s house’

Further studies need to happen to see if there are more nouns that take tyi<sup>4</sup> in second position.

#### 8.4 Compounds

Chatino is characterized by extensive compounding, as we saw with the *tyin*<sup>4</sup> element above. Many basic verbal and nominal forms are built with compounding. Compounds are made with lexical items of the same or a different category: (N+N; V+V; N+ADJ; V+N; ADJ+N). The first element of the compound is always the head, and determines the part of speech of the whole compound. Table 3.16 provides examples of some compounds in SJQ Chatino. As previously stated.

Grammatical category	Compound	Gloss
N-N	$xa^3$ - $liyu^{32}$ light- ground	world
N-N	$teq^4$ - $kchanq^{42}$ cloth -hair	blanket
V-N	$kla^{20}$ - $yaq^2$ POT_let-go -      hand	to abandon
V-N	$tyqan^{24}$ - $sen^{42}$ POT_see - care	to care for someone
V-A	$yku^4$ - $yna^2$ COMPL_eat -hidden	to eat secretly
A-N	$tiya^{20}$ - $tiq^2$ lively- essence	to be smart

Table 3.16: Compounds in SJQ Chatino

Table 3.16 shows that many concepts and terms are expressed through compounding. For instance the term world is formed by combining two nouns  $xa^3$  ‘light’ and  $liyu^{32}$  ‘ground’.

## 9 Verbs

Verbs in Chatino have four basic forms that change according to aspect: Completive (COMPL), Potential (POT), Habitual (HAB), Progressive (PROG). Completive aspect means that the action or event is complete, potential aspect is an action that has happened yet. The habitual aspect is an action that always not happens, and progressive aspect is an ongoing event.

Historically aspect in Chatino was marked by a syllabic prefix and tone Campbell (2011). However, due to non-final syllable reduction, syllabic prefixes marking aspect

follow a continuum of decay. In some cases one can still see remnants of the former aspectual prefix and in other cases it is completely gone. However tones marking aspect are more stable. Table 3.17 below illustrates some examples.

Gloss	COMPL	POT	HAB	PROG
'to get cooked' (intr.)	nkeq <sup>3</sup>	keq <sup>14</sup>	ntykeq <sup>14</sup>	ntykeq <sup>2</sup>
to eat	yku <sup>4</sup>	ku <sup>4</sup>	ntyku <sup>4</sup>	ntyku <sup>32</sup>
to see	ntqan <sup>42</sup>	ntyqan <sup>24</sup>	ntyqan <sup>24</sup>	ntyqan <sup>32</sup>
to hear	yna <sup>42</sup>	kna <sup>24</sup>	nna <sup>24</sup>	ntqan <sup>32</sup>
to touch	ylaq <sup>4</sup>	klaq <sup>4</sup>	ndlyaq <sup>4</sup>	ndlaq <sup>32</sup>

Table 3.17: The four major aspects of Chatino

Table 3.17 illustrates that there are many different aspect-tone classes, depending on the tone of the completive. Table 3.17 also shows that the potential and the habitual aspects have the same tone. Table 3.17 also illustrates that for the most part the syllable onset in the HAB and PROG forms are segmentally identical.

### **9.1 Position and motion verbs**

Verbs of position and motion in Chatino have many unique semantic characteristics that are not present in Indo-European languages such as Spanish or English.



### 9.2 Verbs of Position

Chatino has a tight set of positional participles that take into account the ground and the shape of the item being described (that is, the figure). Verbs of position in Chatino specify both the orientation and the location of an object. For example, a ball on the ground in Chatino is described as *su*<sup>4</sup>, while the same ball on an elevated surface such as on a table is described as *skwa*<sup>3</sup>. Table 3.18 illustrates the different positions a person can assume.

Positions	Chatino	Gloss
Hanging	ndwi <sup>1</sup>	He/he is hanging
Standing	ndon <sup>42</sup>	He/he standing
Sitting/placed at elevated	ndwa <sup>24</sup>	He/he sitting (elevated)
Sitting on the ground	nkqan <sup>4</sup>	He/he on the ground
Lying on the ground	su <sup>42</sup>	He/he laying on the ground

Table 3.18: Position in SJQ Chatino

Similar features of position verbs have been described for other Zapotecan languages (Lillehaugen and Sonnenschein 2012, Galant 2012, and Speck 2012).

### 9.3 Verbs of motion

Motion verbs like “go”, “come”, “arrive”, and “reach a destination” rely on very specific cultural knowledge, conventions, and circumstances. Motion verbs in Chatino have a special semantic feature that refers to an independent parameter about the origin or a natural place for something.

A difference in motion to and from the center of speaking is exactly what Spanish has in the verbs *ir* ‘go’ and *venir* ‘come’. What is interesting about the Chatino and

Zapotec verbs is the other parameter of situating an origin point or base, which may or may not be equal to the place of speaking. When glossing motion verbs I call these features ‘base’ (B) and ‘non-base’ (NB). These features of motions verbs were first described in San Lorenzo Texmelucan Zapotecan by Speck (1976).

Table 3.19 presents a paradigm of the different forms of verbs of motion: go, come, and reach a destination in four aspects : completive, habitual, progressive and potential. Each aspect provides inflection for the 3SG, 2SG, and 1SG person. Column one in this Table 3.19 holds the different forms of the motion verb including non-base (NB) features.

	Completive			Habitual			Progressive			Potential		
Meaning	he/she	you	I	he/she	you	I	he/she	you	I	he/she	you	I
1. go there=base	nkya <sup>42</sup>	nkya <sup>32</sup>	nkyqan <sup>32</sup>	nkya <sup>24</sup>	nkya <sup>42</sup>	nkyqan <sup>24</sup>	nkya <sup>24</sup>	nkya <sup>42</sup>	nkyqan <sup>24</sup>	kya <sup>24</sup>	kya <sup>42</sup>	kyqan <sup>24</sup>
2. come here=base	nkyan <sup>42</sup>	nkyan <sup>32</sup>	nkyan <sup>1</sup>	nkyan <sup>24</sup>	nkyan <sup>42</sup>	nkyan <sup>20</sup>	nkyan <sup>24</sup>	nkyan <sup>42</sup>	nkyan <sup>20</sup>	kyan <sup>24</sup>	kyan <sup>42</sup>	kyan <sup>20</sup>
3. go there≠ base	ya <sup>42</sup>	ya <sup>32</sup>	yqan <sup>32</sup>	X	X	X	nkya <sup>4</sup>	nkya <sup>42</sup>	nkyqan <sup>24</sup>	t <sup>24</sup> sa	t <sup>42</sup> sa	sqan <sup>24</sup>
4. come here ≠ base	yan <sup>42</sup>	yan <sup>32</sup>	yan <sup>1</sup>	X	X	X	jyan <sup>4</sup>	jyan <sup>42</sup>	jyan <sup>20</sup>	kan <sup>4</sup> /jyan <sup>4</sup>	kan <sup>4</sup> /jyan <sup>2</sup>	kan <sup>4</sup> /jyan <sup>2</sup>
5. reach dest. [here/there]=base	yla <sup>42</sup>	yla <sup>32</sup>	ylan <sup>42</sup>	ndla <sup>24</sup>	ndla <sup>42</sup>	ndlan <sup>24</sup>	X	X	X	kla <sup>24</sup>	kla <sup>42</sup>	klan <sup>24</sup>
6. reach dest [there] ≠ base	ndiya <sup>32</sup>	ndiya <sup>32</sup>	ndiyan <sup>1</sup>	ndiya <sup>24</sup>	ndiya <sup>42</sup>	ndiyan <sup>20</sup>	X	X	X	tiya <sup>24</sup>	tiya <sup>42</sup>	tiyan <sup>20</sup>
7. reach dest. [here/there] ≠ base	ndiyan <sup>32</sup>	ndiyan <sup>32</sup>	ndiyan <sup>1</sup>	ndiyan <sup>24</sup>	ndiyan <sup>42</sup>	ndiyan <sup>20</sup>	X	X	X	tiyan <sup>24</sup>	tiyan <sup>42</sup>	tiyan <sup>20</sup>
8. go around	qan <sup>4</sup>	qan <sup>42</sup>	qan <sup>20</sup>	ntyqan <sup>4</sup>	ntyqan <sup>42</sup>	ntyqan <sup>20</sup>	ntqan <sup>32</sup>	ntqan <sup>42</sup>	ntqan <sup>1</sup>	tyqan <sup>4</sup>	tyqan <sup>42</sup>	tyqan <sup>20</sup>

Table 3.19: Motion verbs in SJQ Chatino

Table 3.19 shows that the habitual forms for go there ≠ base and come here ≠ base (line 3 and 4) don't have a verb form. This gap is filled by the verb “to go around” in line 8. At this point there is inconclusive data to fill the gap in the progressive form for lines 6 and 7.

The usage patterns of these motion verbs are very localized. For instance in the local context of the entire area of the San Juan Quiahije municipality, San Juan town is always referred to as the base (B). The surrounding communities within the municipality: the *agencias*, *rancherías*, and hamlets are non-base (NB).

This can be illustrated with the following scenario. Let us pretend that I am in the San Juan town and Valeria, my cousin, is in Cieneguilla, an *agencia*. If I ask Valeria to come meet me in San Juan. I would have to use the motion verb in line 2 come here=base “*kyan*<sup>4</sup>” as described in Example 3.16 line 2.

Example 3.16

Va<sup>4</sup>le<sup>3</sup>rya<sup>24</sup>, kyan<sup>4</sup>            lya<sup>1</sup> kchin<sup>4</sup>    re<sup>2</sup>

Valeria,    POT\_come\_B IMP San.Juan here

‘Valeria come here (to San Juan)’

If we reverse the situation and Valeria is the one asking me to come to Cieneguilla she would use the form in line 4: come here ≠ base: “*kan*<sup>4</sup>”.

Example 3.17

kan<sup>4</sup>                    lya<sup>1</sup>   Ntenq<sup>3</sup>       re<sup>20</sup>

POT\_come\_NB IMP Cieneguilla here

‘Come to Cieneguilla (NB)’

Further studies need to happen in this area in order to reach a more conclusive analysis of the patterns of motion verbs in SJQ.

### 10 Borrowing

In this section I discuss borrowing from Spanish into Chatino. SJQ Chatino borrows extensively from Spanish. The borrowing happens mainly in nouns, verbs, numbers, sentence adverbs, and to a lesser extend in adjectives. Table 3.20 illustrates some borrowings common in the texts analyzed in this study.

Chatino	Spanish	Gloss
wra <sup>10</sup>	Hora	Hour
jwer <sup>4</sup> -sa <sup>10</sup>	Fuerza	strength
ndiyo <sup>14</sup> -si <sup>0</sup>	Dios	God
ka <sup>4</sup> -na <sup>14</sup>	Ganar	to achieve
yu <sup>4</sup> -ra <sup>14</sup>	Ayudar	to help
ku <sup>4</sup> mpli <sup>14</sup>	cumplir	comply
wa <sup>4</sup> -lo <sup>14</sup>	Valor	courage

Table 3.20: Lexical borrowings in SJQ Chatino

The second part of borrowed terms have a high 0 tones or a high descending tones (14). Most of the examples presented in Table 3.20 are nouns and verbs. Most verbs are borrowed as second part of compound. The borrowing verbs do not inflect for aspect directly. For example:

Example 3.18 C. Cruz 2004

qne <sup>42</sup> COMPL_do	wan <sup>4</sup> you(pl subj)	ku <sup>4</sup> mpli <sup>24</sup> comply	ni <sup>2</sup> now	you have fulfilled the task now
kwiq <sup>24</sup> It.is.just	qan <sup>1</sup> appear	ndywen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> PROG_say_1INCL		as we were saying

Example 3.19 R. Cruz 2004

qne <sup>42</sup> COMPL_do	wan <sup>4</sup> you(pl subj)	ma <sup>4</sup> nda <sup>14</sup> errand	qin <sup>0</sup> to(them)	yu <sup>24</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> man hm?	you sent them on missions
-------------------------------	----------------------------------	---	------------------------------	--	---------------------------

Both borrowed verbs in Example 3.18 and 3.19 work in conjunction with the verb *qne*<sup>42</sup> ‘do’. The *qne*<sup>42</sup> part inflects for aspect and the clitic *wan*<sup>4</sup> ‘you (pl subj)’ marks the subject of the phrase.

### 10.1 Borrowing in formulaic phrases

Formulaic phrases display borrowings that combine native Chatino terms with Spanish. For example:

Example 3.20

Wa <sup>3</sup> ndiya <sup>32</sup> wra <sup>10</sup>	The <u>hour</u> has come
Wa <sup>3</sup> ndiya <sup>32</sup> xa <sup>3</sup>	The <u>light</u> has come

Examples 3.20 shows that out of the two changing elements in this poetic stanza, the first term: *wra*<sup>10</sup> is a borrowing from Spanish *hora* ‘hour’. The second term *xa*<sup>3</sup> ‘light’

is a native Chatino term. Example 3.21 is similar to 3.20 in that the first focus element is a borrowing from Spanish and the second element is a native Chatino term.

Example 3.21 (R. Cruz 2004)

9	ya <sup>42</sup> wan <sup>4</sup>	you went [carried out]
10	ska <sup>4</sup> -ska <sup>32</sup> <u>ma<sup>4</sup>-nda<sup>14</sup></u>	<u>any task</u>
11	ska <sup>4</sup> -ska <sup>32</sup> <u>tnya<sup>3</sup></u> no <sup>24</sup> lon <sup>14</sup> , in <sup>20</sup>	<u>any work</u> we ordered, hm?

In this example the term *ma<sup>4</sup>-nda<sup>24</sup>* *mandado* ‘task’ is a Spanish word and *tnya<sup>3</sup> no<sup>24</sup> lon<sup>14</sup>* ‘work we ordered’ is a Chatino word. In the next example both borrowings in the focus part of the poetic lines are Spanish terms: *wa<sup>4</sup>-lo<sup>14</sup>* *valor* ‘courage’, and *jwe<sup>4</sup>-sa<sup>10</sup>* *fuerza* ‘strength’.

Example 3.22 R. Cruz (2004)

Ta <sup>20</sup> renq <sup>24</sup> <u>wa<sup>4</sup>-lo<sup>14</sup></u>	may they give you <u>courage</u>
ta <sup>20</sup> renq <sup>24</sup> <u>jwe<sup>4</sup>-sa<sup>10</sup></u>	may they give you <u>strength</u>

In the next poetic stanza, the object of the sentence is the repeating elements of the poetic stanza. As was the case in some prior examples, one of the objects is a Chatino term and the other is a borrowing from Spanish.

Example 3.23 R. Cruz R (2004)

1	nkyā <sup>4</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> PROG_NB_go you(pl subj)	you are going
2	ndon <sup>42</sup> -riq <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> Happy you(pl subj)	with a feeling of contentment
3	stu <sup>1</sup> qwan <sup>0</sup> joyful to.you(pl)	with a feeling of happiness
4	nkyā <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>32</sup> qo <sup>20</sup> -chaq <sup>3</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> -ne <sup>1</sup> PROG_NB_go you(pl subj) indeed yes	you are going , yes

In the above 3. one of the complements (line 2) and the other one (line 3) is a borrowing from Spanish.

**10.2 Borrowing of discourse elements**

At the level of discourse Chatino borrows key terms including transition, formal greetings and statements of agreement. Many persuasive speeches in SJQ begin by addressing the participants of an event with vocative expressions borrowed from Spanish.

Example 3.24 S. Zurita 2009

24. qa <sup>24</sup> se <sup>4</sup> nyo <sup>20</sup> re <sup>14</sup> !	Oh gentlemen!
25. jlo <sup>4</sup> ndwa <sup>14</sup> sten <sup>20</sup> en <sup>32</sup> ndiyo <sup>14</sup> -si <sup>0</sup> , qne <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> tlyu <sup>2</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> .	First there sits our father God, who offers forgiveness.

Example 3.24 is an excerpt of the visit text which we will discuss in detail in Chapter 6. The orators begin their performance with the Spanish borrowing *se<sup>4</sup>nyo<sup>20</sup>re<sup>24</sup>* ‘sir’ or ‘gentleman’. Line 1 in Example 3.25 illustrates a borrowing in greeting. This is a borrowing of the word *se<sup>4</sup>nyo<sup>20</sup>re<sup>24</sup>* from Spanish *señor* or *señores* ‘sirs’ from Spanish.



Example 3.25 R. Cruz (2004)

1	ja: <sup>4</sup> qya <sup>1</sup> yu <sup>0</sup> sa <sup>4</sup> -ska <sup>32</sup> NEG POT_take man any na <sup>3</sup> ntqen <sup>24</sup> thing PROG_exist	So that they don't take anything that belongs to this place,
2	ja <sup>4</sup> qya <sup>1</sup> yu <sup>0</sup> in <sup>20</sup> no POT_take man, hm?	take nothing, hm?
3	jor <sup>4</sup> -ke <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> because PROG_be	because
4	ndiya <sup>4</sup> na <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> ndiya <sup>32</sup> every thing the.one PROG_exist	All that is here
5	no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> qan <sup>32</sup> -jnya <sup>3</sup> re <sup>3</sup> in <sup>20</sup> that PROG_be city hall here, hm?	inside this city hall, hm?
6	kwiq <sup>24</sup> na <sup>3</sup> qin <sup>24</sup> chin <sup>32</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> ran <sup>3</sup> It.is.just thing of community PROG_be inan	belongs to the community

Example 3.25 (line 3) shows the word *jor<sup>4</sup>-ke<sup>4</sup>* ‘*porque*’ a borrowing of the Spanish conjunction particle *porque* ‘because’.

Example 3.26 R. Cruz (2004)

1	di <sup>4</sup> cho <sup>24</sup> ADV	Since
2	kanq <sup>42</sup> that.abs	That
3	nka <sup>24</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> -jyaq <sup>3</sup> PROG_be one permission ndiya <sup>32</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> PROG_have us(INCL) PROG_be one	that is one faith that has been

Example 3.27 offers an example of a borrowing of an agreement term, the word *we:<sup>3</sup> no<sup>24</sup>* (*bueno*) ‘good’ from Spanish.

Example 3.27

ELDER	1. Kyan <sup>42</sup> wan <sup>4</sup>	Come on in
ENVOY	2. Kyan <sup>14</sup> tkwan <sup>0</sup> neq <sup>2</sup> qan <sup>1</sup> yu <sup>24</sup> kla <sup>24</sup>	Let us go in the house sir
ELDER	3. Kyan <sup>42</sup> tkwa <sup>3</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> chinq <sup>20</sup>	Have a seat
CHORUS OF ENVOYS	4. <u>We<sup>3</sup>-no<sup>24</sup></u>	<u>very well</u>

## 11 SYNTAX

This section presents some important issues of syntax that figure important in the production of SJQ verbal. Discussions in this area include word order and subordinate clauses.

### 11.1 Word order

The basic word order for independent clauses in SJQ Chatino is verb subject object (VSO), as shown in Example 3.28.

Example 3.28

V	S		O	
ntqan <sup>42</sup>	Xwa <sup>3</sup>	kwa3	ska <sup>4</sup>	kna <sup>1</sup>
COMPL_see_ 0	John	DEM_DIST	One	snake
John saw a snake				

VOS word order is judged to be ungrammatical, as shown in Example 3.29:

Example 3.29

V		O		S	
*ntqan <sup>42</sup>	ska <sup>4</sup>	kna <sup>1</sup>	Xwa <sup>3</sup>	kwa <sup>3</sup>	
COMPL_see_0	One	snake	John	DEM_DIST	
John saw a snake					

However, some non-VSO word orders occur as result of focusing or topicalization. Examples 3.30—3.33 illustrate that SVO, OVS, and SOV are all grammatical word orders in SJQ. It is only \*VOS and \*OSV that are judged to be ungrammatical in all cases.

Example 3.30

S		V		O	
Xwa <sup>3</sup>	kwa <sup>3</sup>	ntqan <sup>42</sup>	ska <sup>4</sup>	kna <sup>1</sup>	
John	DEM:DIST	COMPL_see	one	snake	
John (that one), saw a snake					

Example 3.31

O		V		S	
ska <sup>4</sup>	kna <sup>1</sup>	ntqan <sup>42</sup>	Xwa <sup>3</sup>	kwa <sup>3</sup>	
One	snake	COMPL_see	John	DEM_DIST	
a snake, John saw it					

Example 3.32

S		O		V	
Xwa <sup>3</sup>	kwa <sup>3</sup>	ska <sup>4</sup>	kna <sup>1</sup>	ntqan <sup>42</sup>	
John	DEM_DIST	one	Snake	COMPL_see	
John a snake saw					

Example 3.33

O		S		V
*ska <sup>4</sup>	kna <sup>1</sup>	Xwa <sup>3</sup>	kwa <sup>3</sup>	ntqan <sup>42</sup>
One	snake	John	DEM_DIST	COMP L_see
a snake John saw				

It seems, then, that Chatino follows a "Focus V S O" pattern where either the S or the O can be focused. Ryan Sullivant (pc 2013) finds a similar pattern in Tataltepec Chatino (TAT). Sullivant states that in TAT the S and the O can never be focused at the same time. If SJQ is like TAT then this explains the ungrammaticality of the OSV, but not the SOV pattern in SJQ. However, in the SOV order in SJQ, there is a long pause after the S. This means that there might be an intonational phrase boundary between the S and the rest of the sentence. Further studies on this topic need to be done in SJQ Chatino in order to reach a better explanation of word order.

### 11.2 Subordinate clauses

In this section I will present two types of subordinate clauses, which have shown to be very numerous in the production of parallel structures in SJQ verbal art. These are relative clauses indicated with the word *no*<sup>4</sup> 'the one' and the complementizer *chaq*<sup>3</sup> 'thing'. It is worth noting that *no*<sup>4</sup> and *chaq*<sup>3</sup> also have many other morphological and lexical functions. The word *no*<sup>4</sup> is also a nominalizer and the word *chaq*<sup>3</sup> is a noun and an adverb as well.

### 11.2.1 Relative clause

Relative clause constructions are pervasive in SJQ verbal art. Many parallel constructions are relative clauses. Relativized subordinate clauses are indicated with the particle *no*<sup>4</sup> ‘the one’. Examples below illustrate this.

Example 3.34

**No**<sup>4</sup>      nkqan<sup>24</sup> an<sup>32</sup>                                      sna<sup>2</sup>    lo<sup>1</sup>  
REL      PROG\_sit.on.the.ground\_1INCL on      face

‘[He is] the one on whose face we sit’

In Example 3.34, above, the particle *no*<sup>4</sup> ‘the one’ (underlined and bolded) introduces the subordinate clause *nkqan*<sup>24</sup> *an*<sup>32</sup> *sna*<sup>2</sup> *lo*<sup>1</sup> ‘we sit on his face’. Example 3.35, below, offers another example of a relative clause marked by the particle *no*<sup>4</sup> (underlined and bolded).

Example 3.35

Nda<sup>3</sup>                      neq<sup>4</sup>-sya<sup>1</sup>    kwa<sup>0</sup> kwen<sup>3</sup>    qin<sup>24</sup> nten<sup>24</sup>    **no**<sup>1</sup>    jwi<sup>3</sup>-qo<sup>24</sup>  
COMPL\_give authorities    that    advice    to    people REL COMPL\_marry

‘The authorities gave advice to the people who married’

Example 3.36, below, offers another example of a relative clause in SJQ.

Example 3.36

ntyin<sup>3</sup>            sqen<sup>42</sup>   tyi<sup>20</sup>            kwa<sup>3</sup> ntqan<sup>4</sup> tyu<sup>32</sup> yqa<sup>4</sup> no<sup>4</sup>   ndlyu<sup>1</sup>  
COMPL\_erase forever father            that house brick raw REL COMPL\_fall  
jan<sup>1</sup>-no<sup>1</sup> nya<sup>140</sup>            kanq<sup>42</sup>  
when earthquake that.abs

‘Grandpa demolished the house that fell during the earthquake’

The relativizer *no*<sup>4</sup> in Example 3.36 identifies “the house that fell during the earthquake.” Rasch 2002 states that in addition to being a relativizer the particle *no*<sup>4</sup> ‘the one’ is also nominalizer in Yaitepec Chatino, turning adjectives, verbs, and demonstratives into nouns. It appears that the same is true for SJQ Chatino. Example 3.37 shows that the adjective *nkqa*<sup>1</sup> ‘red’ becomes a noun *no*<sup>4</sup> *nkqa*<sup>1</sup> ‘the red one’ when the particle *no*<sup>4</sup> precedes the adjective.

Example 3.37

nkqa<sup>1</sup> ‘red’            no<sup>4</sup> nkqa<sup>1</sup> ‘the red one’

Similarly example 3.38 shows that the demonstrative *kwa*<sup>3</sup> ‘there’ becomes a noun when the nominalizer *no*<sup>4</sup> ‘that one’ is placed before the demonstrative *kwa*<sup>3</sup> ‘there’.

Example 3.38

kwa<sup>3</sup> ‘there’            no<sup>4</sup> kwa<sup>3</sup> ‘that one’.

3. 39 presents another case of nominalized construction.

Example 3.39

kwi<sup>24</sup> ‘new’                      no<sup>4</sup> kwi<sup>14</sup> kwa<sup>0</sup> ‘the new ones’

Example 3.40, below, illustrates another Example of a nominalized construction involving a verb. This example is from Rasch (2002:284).

Example 3.41

qne<sup>42</sup> ‘COMPL\_do’                      no<sup>4</sup> qne<sup>42</sup> qon<sup>1</sup> ‘the one that did (something) to me’

Parallel constructions made with relative clauses and nominalized constructions are pervasive in SJQ verbal art. Further 3.s will be shown when we analyze the texts in Chapters 7, 8 and 9.

### **11.2.2 Complement Clause**

Complement clauses are also pervasive in parallel elaborations in SJQ verbal art. A great number of complement clauses in SJQ are introduced with the word *chaq*<sup>3</sup> (E. Cruz et al 2008). In addition to being a complementizer, the word *chaq*<sup>3</sup> is both a noun meaning “word and thing” and an adverb meaning “because.” The word *chaq*<sup>3</sup> is found in the names of languages (Example 3.41 a, b, c). *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> also means “subject, issue or matter” (Example 3.41 d, e). The same word can be found in compound constructions denoting the meaning “measure” and “forgiveness” (Example 3.41 f, g).

Example 3.41 from Cruz et al (2008:24 example 3.40)

- a)  $chaq^3$   $tnya^{24}$  ‘Chatino’ (lit. word Chatino)
- b)  $chaq^3$   $xlya^{10}$  ‘Spanish’ ( $xlya^{10}$  < Spanish. castillian)
- c)  $chaq^3$   $neq^4$   $pi^{20}$  ‘English’ (lit. word people turkey)
- d)  $chaq^3$   $sqwe^3$  ‘cosa buena’
- e)  $chaq^3$ - $jyaq^3$  ‘permission’ (lit. word-measure)
- g)  $chaq^3$ - $tlyu^2$ - $riq^2$  ‘forgiveness’ (lit. thing-big-essence)

Examples below provide the context of  $chaq^3$  as a noun. The word  $Chaqa^3$  in the context of example 3.42 conveys the meaning of “thing.”

Example 3.42

**Chaqa<sup>3</sup>**     $syana^2$  $anq^1$                        $ne^2$   
thing        COMPL\_agree\_1INCL    now  
‘What we have agreed now’

Example 3.43 shows  $chaq^3$  activity as an adverbial clause (the initial  $chaqa^3$ ) and as a noun  $chaqa^3$ - $jyaqa^3$  ‘permission’.

Example 3.43

**Chaqa<sup>3</sup>**     $kwan^{20}$      $ti^{24}$      $nyan^{24}$  **chaqa<sup>3</sup>-jyaqa<sup>3</sup>**     $skwa^3$   
because    like            very    appear    permission    PROG\_lie.elevated  
‘because this is how things are’



Example 3.44 shows *chaq*<sup>3</sup> marking an adverbial clause.

Example 3.44

**Chaq**<sup>3</sup>    ntqo<sup>1</sup>                    ton<sup>4</sup>,  
because    COMPL\_come.out    standing  
'because you were chosen'

Next I show some examples of *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> as complementizer. Example 3.45, below, shows that the complementizer *chaq*<sup>3</sup> introduces the subordinate construction *tσα*<sup>24</sup> *wan*<sup>32</sup> 'you will go'.

Example 3.45

ntqen<sup>4</sup>                    **chaq**<sup>3</sup>    tsa<sup>24</sup>                    wan<sup>32</sup>  
PROG\_have.to    COMP    POT\_go\_NB            you(pl subj)  
'You must go'

Example 3.46, below, also illustrates another subordinate clause introduced by the complementizer *chaq*<sup>3</sup>.

Example 3.47

Qo<sup>1</sup> qwan<sup>1</sup> tykwen<sup>0</sup>enq<sup>1</sup>                    **chaq**<sup>3</sup>    ja<sup>4</sup>    tsan<sup>140</sup>  
and how    PROG\_say\_1INCL    COMP    not    POT\_go\_NB\_1INCL  
'how can we say not to go forth'

Example 3.47 also shows another example of a complement clause being introduced by the complementizer *chaq*<sup>3</sup>.

Example 3.47

Qan<sup>1</sup> ndiya<sup>0</sup> riq<sup>2</sup> tiye<sup>32</sup>      qwan<sup>32</sup>    chaq<sup>3</sup> na<sup>3</sup>    ntqan<sup>32</sup>      wan<sup>4</sup>  
as    like      essence chest to.you(pl) that    thing PROG\_go.around you(pl subj)  
in<sup>20</sup>  
hm?

‘ As for you that are going about’

## 12 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented the linguistic and grammatical background of SJQ Chatino. Topics included internal classification of SJQ Chatino, characteristic features of sound including glottal stops, labio velar sounds and vowel features. Emergent orthography issues for SJQ Chatino were also discussed in this chapter. Basic and complex tones, which are prevalent in SJQ Chatino, were examined and summarized using the latest scholarship on the subject. In addition, a progression of tone representation of SJQ Chatino from 2003 to 2013 was illustrated. This was done to clarify the tone representation that will be used in this study.

This Chapter also discussed topics of grammar and the glossing conventions that will be followed throughout the remainder of this dissertation. Some topics included word order, personal pronouns, demonstrative adjectives, demonstrative adverbs, and demonstrative pronouns. This Chapter also discussed topics of possession and different types of compounds. Another important aspect of the grammar discussed here were

position and motion verbs. Toward the end of this section we discussed subordinate clauses including relative clauses made with the relativizer *no*<sup>4</sup> ‘the one’ and complement clauses introduced by the word *chaq*<sup>3</sup> ‘thing’. All of these constructs lend themselves to better describe the poetics and verbal art found in San Juan Quiahije. Next I will discuss the methodology I used in this research

## **Chapter 4: Methods and Data**

### **1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter lays out the methodology and describes the original data used in this study. The data used in this dissertation is drawn from a collection of naturally-occurring texts, which consists of approximately 100 hours of audio and some video recordings of ritual and everyday conversation in San Juan Quiahije Chatino. All recordings took place in the communities of Cieneguilla and the town of San Juan in the municipality of San Juan Quiahije, as described in Chapter 1.

In the summer of 2003, I joined my sister E. Cruz and Anthony Woodbury from the University of Texas at Austin (UT) in the Chatino town of Santa Lucia Teotepec to develop initial plans for the documentation and orthography development for Chatino languages. During this visit I first became acquainted with the study of linguistics and the tools and methods for language documentation, which would later enable the documentation, description, and revitalization of the Chatino language(s). Emiliana and I were eager to acquire the tools that would help us create a suitable writing system for the Chatino language. It was at this point that I decided to follow my younger sister to pursue further studies in documenting and describing the Chatino language.

In the summer of 2004, before beginning my graduate studies in linguistics, I witnessed public oratories given by male orators at a township meeting. This was on the occasion of electing traditional authorities in San Juan. The speeches delivered at the town hall meeting had a profound impact on me. I was born in San Juan Quiahije, but my

family moved to Oaxaca City when I was eight years old. Even though I frequently returned to the community every two to three months, this was the first time in which I had the opportunity to witness a meeting as an adult and to reflect fully on the meaning of the discourse recited in the event. I was very moved and touched by the eloquence of San Juan Quiahije orators and by what transpired at the meeting.

The orators spoke with great conviction and emotion about the importance of civic service as a means to maintain the community and uphold its traditions. My desire to focus on the verbal art of San Juan Quiahije was born after hearing the orators perform.

After the meeting, I requested permission from R. Cruz 6, the mayor of San Juan Quiahije, to record the speech of the changing of the traditional authorities. This ceremony takes place every year on the last day of December in San Juan. R. Cruz granted me permission to record the annual event.

In August 2004, I began graduate studies in linguistics at UT. In December 2004, I returned to San Juan Quiahije to record the ceremony of the changing of the authorities as promised. In my Masters thesis at the University of Texas at Austin (Cruz, H 2009), I described three of the speeches that were produced in this ceremony. I continued to record events relating to political speeches both in San Juan and Cieneguilla until 2010.

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6 I am using the real names of people with their explicit permission because it is a respectful and honorable way to give credit for their contribution to this study on the Chatino language.

Over the course of the six years that I recorded the speeches of the traditional authorities in San Juan and Cieneguilla, I was able to develop a diverse collection of political discourse about the traditional government. This collection includes recordings of the ceremonies of the transition of authorities, group prayers conducted by elders on the behalf of the community, conversations between local city hall messengers and elders, and many meta\_ commentaries and interviews about the meaning of traditional government with different city hall officials. See the corpus at the end of this chapter. When I was not recording oratories in the city hall, I walked everywhere with my recorder, ready to take any opportunity to record any discourse in the community. In addition to the recordings of the local government, over the course of these years I've collected a wide range of performances from both public and private spheres, including ritual prayers, oral narratives, and everyday speech, such as kitchen conversations, funeral laments, curing rites, and reminiscences.

I also conducted linguistic fieldwork with a focus on language documentation, language description, and language revitalization in other Chatino communities such as San Marcos Zacatepec (H. Cruz & Woodbury 2006), Santa Lucia Teotepec, San Miguel Panixtlahuaca, and Tataltepec de Valdés, among others. I conducted these projects both alone and together with other members of the Chatino Language Documentation Project. In the next section, I outline the methods I used to document verbal art in San Juan Quiahije Chatino.

## **2 METHODS FOR OBTAINING DATA**

During my field documentation of verbal art in San Juan Quiahije, I collaborated and consulted with some of the most talented and skilled orators in San Juan and Cieneguilla. Some of them were personal acquaintances: M. Baltazar, G. Cruz, and L. Baltazar. Others I met while I was recording general assemblies, monthly get\_togethers in which elders and authorities convened to pray on the behalf of the community, and the ceremony of the changing of the traditional authorities in San Juan. These speakers included S. Zurita, G. Cruz, R. Cruz, W. Cortés , S. Orocio, and C. Zurita.

In addition to working closely with these renowned masters of oratory, I continued recording anything that I could in the two villages of San Juan and Cieneguilla. Being a native speaker and a member of the San Juan Quiahije community allowed me to gain access to information, places, and events that might have been closed or inaccessible to outsiders. I recorded several town assemblies in San Juan Quiahije and Cieneguilla. On many occasions, the local authorities required me to address all the participants in the meeting to request their permission to record the event. On occasions when I wanted to record or follow up with someone I did not know, or someone whom I did not interact with frequently, I enlisted the help of people I knew. Family members, especially my mother, friends, and other skilled speakers that I had worked with helped me gain access to those speakers, and obtain their permission to record them. In addition to accompanying me to the speakers' homes, my contacts offered helpful suggestions as to how I should address and approach those speakers. M. Baltazar for instance suggested that I tell the elders that one of the reasons I wanted to learn the traditional speech from

them was due to the fact that my father was no longer alive to teach me and that my mother did not know how to perform San Juan Quiahije Chatino verbal art.

My mother, I. Cruz, was instrumental in gaining access to many speakers so that I might record them. In June 2009, in the middle of documenting a ceremonial prayer session between the elders and authorities of San Juan, I noticed two eloquent elders (brothers S. Zurita and C. Zurita) whom I had not seen before, and wanted to interview them. I asked my mother if she knew them and she told me she did. Interestingly, my mother informed me that we were related to them. Simón's wife was a cousin of my father, Tomás Cruz Lorenzo, and C. Zurita's wife was my mother's cousin. My mother accompanied me to the S. Zurita family compound, located east of the church in San Juan Quiahije, to request an interview about ritual prayers in San Juan Quiahije. When we got there, my mother explained the overall goal of the Chatino Language Documentation Project and made a very persuasive argument. She explained that the Chatino language was endangered and that our goal of recording it was driven by the desire to save the speeches for future generations of speakers. She successfully persuaded the elders C. Zurita and S. Zurita to let me record their speeches. When I returned the next day to record C. Zurita, he was waiting, eager to recount his life experience of growing up in San Juan. In this recording session, he recounted his experiences serving in city hall, explained ritual prayers, and discussed other ceremonies observed in the community.

I also noticed that having the support of the wife of a male speaker was crucial for gaining access to record with him. While trying to convince S. Orocio and G. Cruz to record with me, they were a bit hesitant at first. However, their wives, who were also



present during these conversations, encouraged them to record with me. The wives accepted me more readily and helped me convince their husbands of the value of the project. This is how I was able to amass a corpus of ritual and everyday speech in San Juan Quiahije, which forms the basis of the analysis of San Juan Quiahije Chatino verbal art.

I recorded, transcribed, interpreted, translated, and formatted most of the audio files used for this study. Below, I describe the methods I followed in the recording and subsequent processing of specific recordings in order to make written texts ready to be used in this study.

### **3 FIELD RECORDING**

This section describes the equipment that I used to record the texts and the steps it took to obtain the texts that I am analyzing in the present study.

#### **3.1 Equipment**

The audio data was collected using the following equipment: Tascam HD-P2, Marantz Solid State Field Recorder (PMD 670), and Zoom H4 Handy Recorder. Audio data was recorded in 44.1 KHz 16\_bit WAV and subsequently stored on external hard drives. The first time I recorded the ceremony of the changing of the authorities in San Juan Quiahije I used a small hand-held MP3 player that Dr. Woodbury lent me. The texts obtained from this recording session are: R. Cruz 2004, C. Cruz 2004, and E. Vásquez 2004.

Compressed MP3 files were also made when recording extended speech. For example a recording entitled “Recording at Tiburcia’s store” (T. Cruz 2007) was recorded in MP3 format. On this occasion we left the recording device running for about five hours straight. The compressed file type was necessary in order to collect all of the data without running out of disk space. The recorder was in the open, and participants were informed about the recording and were allowed to ask that the recording be stopped or erased if they did not wish to participate in the recording event.

### **3.2 Obstacles in obtaining high quality audio to transcribe**

With technology getting better over time it is becoming easier for researchers to obtain high quality audio and video recordings for linguistic analysis. Newer voice and video recorders are becoming smaller and more portable with greater memory and battery life. It is now quite possible to record digitally even in high definition in the field. The clearer recordings greatly assisted and accelerated my transcriptions. With the earlier recordings, I had to back and forth with the recording to be sure of the exact spoken words; the later recording were clearer because of the microphones; we always recorded pretty much at CD resolution, with or without compression. However there are still many circumstances in the field that continue to pose challenges for obtaining high quality recordings.

These challenges range from the physical condition of the space where the performances take place (including ambient noise, echo, lighting, and access to electricity), the type of recording equipment (including audio recorder and microphones),

and lastly, the researchers' familiarity and experience in using the equipment. All of these factors play into obtaining high quality recordings.

I have certainly experienced many of these challenges over the years, especially when I first began documenting San Juan Quiahije verbal art. When I recorded the ceremony of the changing of the authorities for the first time on December 31st, 2004, I had very little experience using the audio recorders. I was also very unfamiliar with the context of the ceremony since this ceremony is normally reserved for men. All the office holders in San Juan Quiahije are men (as stated in chapter 1).

All major events in the San Juan Quiahije city hall are celebrated in a 120 square foot room. The building is made out of brick and cement, has a smooth, solid surface, thereby creating a lot of echo. The room has one electrical outlet hidden behind a desk. During the ceremony, about 50 to 60 men are jammed in this small space. Needless to say, that the room becomes very noisy and there is barely any space to move around during the ceremony.

Given the shortage of electrical outlets I had to use batteries to operate the small a minidisk recorder I was using to record the ceremony. Unfortunately the cover of the mp3 player came loose so I had to manually press the top of the mp3 player in order to keep the batteries in place during the time of the recording.

In addition to the physical and technical constraints, the performance style of the verbal art of San Juan Quiahije Chatino also contributes to the difficulty of the recording. As I will discuss in chapter 5, many of the speeches performed in city hall for the ceremony of the changing of the authorities are carried out in a manner such that all

participants speak at the same time. Luckily I overcame these challenges and was able to record the three speeches, which I listed in section 3.1.

Lastly, since these events are performed live in areas not designed for audio recordings there are bound to be inconsistencies and errors in the recording such as volume fluctuations, echo, power failures, and people's extraneous noises such as coughing, sneezing or laughing. These difficulties in the field often get in the way of obtaining high quality audio recordings. Quite frequently a transcriber has to transcribe poor audio quality because of how a recording was made to accommodate the event without disrupting it.

#### **4 CHOOSING TEXTS TO ANALYZE FROM THE CORPUS**

During our documentation of San Juan Quiahije Chatino, from 2003 to 2010, E. Cruz and I have collected more than 100 hours of audio and some video recordings. Of this total I have personally recorded 83.3 hours. Unfortunately, I did not have time to transcribe everything I recorded. After listening to many hours of the audio recordings, I identified three main texts from three separate events for full analysis for this dissertation. The texts include formal speech, especially prayers and persuasive speech. Chapter 7 analyzes The Visit text, which was performed by S. Zurita and various local city hall envoys. Chapter 8 analyzes Prayer for the community, also performed by S. Zurita. Chapter 9 analyzes the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* 'words of the heart' recited by G. Cruz.

In order to identify the poetic patterns of San Juan Quiahije verbal art, I also examined examples from other texts in the corpus. They include everyday conversation

as well as meta-commentaries. I chose to work on audio recordings of S. Orocio, M. Baltazar, W. Cortés, A. Apolonio, and B. Zurita since they were some of the most eloquent speakers I worked with and are highly regarded by the members of the community for their oratory skill.

## **5 TRANSCRIPTION**

This section describes the different steps that take to get the audio recording of SJQ verbal art into writing representation and onto the page.

### **5.1 Identifying audio to transcribe**

Recording and transcribing audio is not a simple process. A good transcription of an audio recording requires special skills: a great deal of patience, attention to detail, and a good ear. Before transcription begins, some essential tools and skills must be in place. At a minimum, they preferably include a native speaker's knowledge of the source language, an audio file of the text one wishes to transcribe, and a writing system one wishes to use for transcribing the language.

### **5.2 Written representation**

The writing representation of SJQ verbal art is labor-intensive even for a native speaker like myself. It takes me about eight hours to provide a rough transcription and translation of approximately 10 minutes of audio when there is no overlapping speech. For recordings containing too much background noise and overlapping speech, the process takes longer. There are several difficulties that arise from the process of

transcribing overlapping speech. First, one has to identify the different speakers within the recording. Next, one tries to focus on one person's stream of speech. This process may be repeated many times to ensure that the transcription is accurate. Another difficulty is when one is following one speaker and another speaker overlaps with that speaker. The cumulative process is considerably greater than the eight hours for 10 minutes of audio estimate previously given.

Audio data in this corpus is represent in writing form following orthographic conventions, described in chapter 3. This representation is based on an understanding of the segmental phonology, the structure of the phonological word, and the tones of San Juan Quiahije Chatino. In Chapter 3, I noted that the segmental representation in this study will be mostly based on the system proposed by E. Cruz (2011). The numerous tones in San Juan Quiahije Chatino were transcribed using number sequences that reflect their post-sandhi phonetic version with numbers (cf. E. Cruz and Woodbury 2006).

### **5.3 Procedures and software used in transcription**

There are several procedures and different types of software I used in order to make a poetic representation of a text from an oral performance. The first step was to edit the sound file in Audacity (<http://audacity.sourceforge.net/>). This software enabled me to delete portions that were too noisy and to amplify sound files that were recorded at too low a volume. This software helped clean up the recording and makes it ready to be analyzed in ELAN.

Next, I opened the edited WAV file in the Eudico Linguistic Analyzer (hereafter, ELAN) (<http://www.latmpi.eu/tools/elan/elan-description>). ELAN allowed me to produce a time-synchronized transcription and translation of the recordings. The ELAN interface was useful for analyzing the compositional elements and the patterns of performance of San Juan Quiahije verbal art.

Next, I exported the transcription, translation, and other elements of annotation from ELAN into Microsoft Word in order to render the text into a poetic formatting. This step also allowed me to evaluate and interpret the texts based on the transcriptions of spoken Chatino. After that, I exported the data from Microsoft Word into FieldWorks Language Explorer (FLEX) from SIL (<http://fieldworks.sil.org/flex/>). This format allowed me to interlinearize the text and to expand an ongoing, digital San Juan Quiahije Chatino dictionary.

## **6 REPRESENTATION OF POETIC SPEECH**

A written representation of any oral literature is prone to many shortcomings. Some deficiencies that confound the representation of oral languages include the lack of an adequate system to represent the nuances of oral language. Brittain & MacKenzie (2011) state that writing systems do not adequately capture the poetic artistry we perceive with our ears in an electrifying speech or a skillfully told story. Another issue, as pointed out by scholars such as Tedlock 1983, is that written forms do not adequately capture the sounds or the paralinguistic features of oral performance such as tone, voice inflection, speed of speech, and gestures.

My representation of prosody in this study is very minimal. Instead, I found focusing on parallelism, a more salient pattern in SJQ verbal art, at the expense of focusing on prosody. One of the few features in prosody I take into consideration are pauses. Below I outline a few symbols I use to represent sounds in the text.

### **6.1 Conventions for representing oral speech**

The following symbols will be used for representing oral speech in this study.

( ) Items in parenthesis indicate sounds that are not understandable and false starts

(e.g., xk...*xkeq*<sup>20</sup> ‘I feel’)

[ ] Items in square brackets contain non-speech sounds, such as [laugh], [cry], [throat clearing]

<> Missing items in the transcription will be added inside angled brackets, for instance <k>*chin*<sup>4</sup> ‘community’.

<p> Pauses will be placed in angled brackets.

### **6.2 Poetic representation of texts**

The poetic verses and stanzas are presented in two columns. The first column contains the Chatino text. The interlinearized gloss are also presented in superscript form below the Chatino text in this column. The second column contains the English translation. Example 4.1, below, illustrates this.



Example 4.1 R. Cruz (2004)

<p>ska<sup>4</sup> qa<sup>1</sup> nya<sup>24</sup>, in<sup>20</sup>  one EMPH appear, hm?</p>	ideally, hm?
<p>xoq<sup>3</sup> ki<sup>3</sup> tqa<sup>42</sup> wan<sup>4</sup>  gather each.other you (PL SUBJ)</p>	you would come together
<p>nkya<sup>4</sup> wan<sup>4</sup>  PROG.go_NB you (pl subj)</p>	you are going
<p>la<sup>20</sup> nka<sup>24</sup> no<sup>32</sup> nka<sup>24</sup> tiye<sup>32</sup> wan<sup>4</sup> tsa<sup>24</sup>  wherever PROG_be REL PROG_be chest you (PL SUBJ)  POT_go_NB  wan<sup>32</sup>  you (PL SUBJ)</p>	wherever you feel like going,
<p>la<sup>20</sup> nka<sup>24</sup> no<sup>32</sup> nka<sup>24</sup> tiye<sup>32</sup> wan<sup>4</sup>, in<sup>20</sup>  wherever PROG_be REL PROG_be chest you(pl subj), hm?</p>	wherever you feel like it, hm?
<p>nkya<sup>4</sup> wan<sup>4</sup> ndon<sup>42</sup> riq<sup>2</sup> wan<sup>1</sup> stu<sup>1</sup> qwan<sup>0</sup>  PROG.go_NB you (pl subj) PROG_stand essence you(pl subj) gusto  to.you(pl)</p>	you go feeling contentment
<p>nkya<sup>24</sup> wan<sup>4</sup> o<sup>20</sup> chaq<sup>3</sup>, ja<sup>4</sup>-ne<sup>1</sup>  PROG.go_NB you (pl subj) HAB_leave thing, yes</p>	you go with great joy
<p>kwan<sup>20</sup> ti<sup>24</sup> qan<sup>24</sup> qya<sup>24</sup> xa<sup>3</sup> kya<sup>20</sup>, in<sup>20</sup>,  the.same EMPH appear POT_come.down light tomorrow, hm?</p>	and in this manner a new day will greet you tomorrow, hm? and then
<p>wa<sup>2</sup> ntqo<sup>1</sup> wan<sup>24</sup> qo<sup>1</sup> tnya<sup>3</sup> qo<sup>1</sup> chin<sup>32</sup> qwan<sup>4</sup>,  already COMPL_leave you(pl subj) with work with community  to.you(pl)  in<sup>20</sup>  hm?</p>	you would have successfully achieved your obligations to your community, hm?
<p>qo<sup>1</sup>  and</p>	and

## 7 TRANSLATION

Translating a natural language into another is difficult regardless of the source and target languages. The problems of translation are legendary and well known. Each language is a world of complexity and nuance. Some major challenges I have

encountered in translating Chatino into Spanish and English are the difficulties in translating the fundamental stylistic elements of poetry, discourse particles, and features of grammar. Example 4.2 is a classic example that exemplifies the problems with translation of SJQ poetics.

Example 4.2 C. Cruz (2010)

No <sup>4</sup> <u>snyi</u> <sup>4</sup> <u>tkwi</u> <sup>1</sup> <u>kanq</u> <sup>20</sup> , the.one COMPL_hold NEUT_hang then	Those who <u>took hanging</u>
No <sup>4</sup> <u>sni</u> <sup>4</sup> <u>ton</u> <sup>42</sup> <u>kanq</u> <sup>20</sup> , the.one COMPL_hold NEUT_stand then	Those who <u>took standing</u>
No <sup>4</sup> <u>sni</u> <sup>4</sup> <u>tkwa</u> <sup>14</sup> <u>kanq</u> <sup>20</sup> the.one COMPL_hold sit.elevated then	Those who <u>took sitting (elevated)</u>

The three lines in Example 4.2 use verbs of position: took hanging/took standing/took sitting to express the idea that someone accepted an invitation to do something. This stanza is difficult to translate into English. In Chapter 9, will discuss this stanza in greater detail.

## 7.1 Translating fundamental stylistic elements of poetry

Kiparsky (1976) states that the poetic techniques and the rules governing what must be obligatory in a piece of verse vary from culture to culture and from period to period. For instance San Juan Quiahije Chatino and most Mesoamerican languages use repetition and parallelism as overriding poetic tropes. Traditional poets in Spanish or English have preferred to use rhyme and meter as the basis for poetic composition. These differences pose a great challenge for translation. Too much repetition is often perceived as boring by Western audiences.

I agree with Martin 1990, who, in describing the challenges of translating repetition and parallelism in Mocho’, a Mayan language spoken in Chiapas, into English and Spanish, states that “although these features of verbal art in Mocho are of surpassing importance, when they are translated into a language that does not similarly value it, they threaten to appear routine instead of creative” (Martin 1990:111). Martin also adds that these tropes “may induce boredom rather than admiration for its aesthetic impact” (p. 111).

## 7.2 Translating discourse particles

In Chatino, one frequent particle that poses many challenges for translation is the lexeme *in*<sup>20</sup>, which has a high rising tone and frequently is rendered in a falsetto. This lexeme is a powerful poetic device and its use evokes feelings of endearment, empathy, and love. This particle is also found marking the end of poetic lines. The passage in Example 4.4 , below, illustrates this.

Example 4.4 R. Cruz (2004)

1	chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> so that	our wish that
2	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> qne <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>32</sup> good very POT_do you(pl subj)	you show your best behavior
3	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> kanq <sup>42</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> good very POT_do you(pl subj)	you show your best manners,
4	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> in <sup>20</sup> good very hm?	The best, hm?
5	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> tyqon <sup>20</sup> on <sup>32</sup> good very POT_leave_1INCL	Let us leave in a dignified way
6	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> kan <sup>42</sup> anq <sup>32</sup> in <sup>20</sup> good very POT_do_1INCL hm?	Let us leave in the best way, hm?

In this passage the speaker is asking the younger city hall helpers to show their best behavior during the ceremony. The periodic use of *in*<sup>20</sup> communicates feelings of endearment and love. The use of this particle evokes the sense that the person is offering the advice because they care about and love the person they are talking to.

Some native speakers of English have suggested I translate this lexeme as hm? and yeah, while others suggested I do nothing to reflect its presence. I have opted to translate the *in*<sup>20</sup> as hm? I feel this representation is adequate for the time being. In North American English, a similar particle varies from region to region without standardization. For example in Canadian English, one might translate this particle as “eh” (pc., Woodbury 2010).

## **8 ARCHIVING**

I am committed to providing archival quality material with an eye to both its longevity and its accessibility for native speakers and for current and future researchers. Part of the philosophy of the Chatino Language Documentation Project has been to provide documentation in transparent, well-documented, and robust archive formats that include integrated sets of materials. These sets unite real-time audio and video records with contemporaneous notes and photos and with annotations and analyses. In general, we presume that materials are owned by their producers, the speakers, their families and the recorders. We are free to use some of the recordings because the speakers have given us their oral consent that allows our material to be used freely in order to honor and promote the Chatino language as well as advance its scientific study.

The recordings we have collected in the San Juan Quiahije region are archived at The Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR) at the School of Oriental and African Studies of University College London and at the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America (AILLA) at The University of Texas at Austin. A list of some of these recording can be found in Appendix four of this dissertation.

## **10 CONCLUSION**

This chapter provided an account of the different steps and processes that took to get the documentary corpus of San Juan Quiahije Chatino in order to prepare it for my analysis in this dissertation's.

I described the methods I followed for conducting fieldwork, using the equipment, and for interacting with the community members in order to gain access to the events for recording. I also noted the step that took to get the transcription, translation, archiving, and glossing methods from the oral recording in writing and onto the page. The next chapter describes the tools I used to analyze the fundamental stylistic elements of poetics in San Juan Quiahije Chatino.

## **Chapter 5: Approach to SJQ verbal art**

### **1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter describes the tools and plan for the analysis of the major recurrent linguistic features and communicative functions of San Juan Quiahije (henceforth SJQ) verbal art. As stated by Hymes (1987), oral discourse is an emergent, living, agentive phenomenon practiced by real people. The three main texts I will analyze in Chapters 7, 8, and 9 were all given orally.

My analysis of the organization of the patterns in SJQ verbal art is informed by the “rhetorical structure framework” proposed by Woodbury (1985). The present study is also influenced by work, theories, and tools proposed by scholars of Mesoamerican and Native American oral literature such as Bricker (1974), Norman (1980), Bright (1990), Hymes (1980a, 1987), Tedlock (1983, 1987), among others.

The rhetorical structure framework brings separate but strongly interacting components of oral discourse together by providing a meta-theory—a way of organizing the various details in an oral discourse (such as how parallelism works) into a “system of systems.” This framework also illuminates the existing structural organization in a given discourse tradition. The components that make up the rhetorical structure framework can come from any system of recurrent patterns that may involve elements of prosody, syntax, and communicative function that results from the rhetorical structure components coming together. The rhetorical structure framework is very similar to Kiparsky’s (1976) theory of linguistics and poetics, which will be examined in further detail in section 4.

The major rhetorical components of SJQ verbal art include repetition (e.g., parallelism), grammatical elements including idiomatic expressions, adverbial phrases, demonstrative particles, pauses, formulaic expressions, assonance, and elements of communicative function. The interactions of these rhetorical components also include statements made in the form of questions, thematic figures of speech, antithesis, synonymy, and metaphor. In this study I will show that some of the recurrent patterns in SJQ verbal art, such as parallelism and formulaic expressions, are constitutive of a whole type of production, while other patterns are only used occasionally, including vocalic and tonal assonance.

This study departs from Woodbury (1985) in that it does not take phonological phrasing and syntactic constituency to be the main elements of SJQ verbal art; contrary to Woodbury's claim that phonological phrasing and syntactic constituency are universal patterns in discourse. Hymes (1987) takes a stance similar to my view in his analysis of North American narrative. He states that pause phrasing, does not play a major role in marking poetic boundaries in Native North American narrative.

## **2 WRITTEN REPRESENTATION OF SJQ VERBAL ART**

This section will elaborate on the methods and steps undertaken to organize and represent the transcriptions of SJQ oral discourse. This discussion was introduced in sections 6.1 in Chapter 4. Converting SJQ poetics to a written form facilitated its analysis and its dissemination to a wider audience. In particular, Woodbury (1985), Tedlock (1983), and Hymes (1987) argue that representing oral discourse in writing can reveal poetic forms and patterns that otherwise would be undetectable. The section focuses on issues of written representation of SJQ oral discourse but does not provide an analysis of

the poetic forms. The analysis of SJQ poetic forms will be carried out in subsequent sections.

As noted in Chapter 4, the sound recordings of the texts under study were first transcribed, translated, and had their pauses notated using ELAN. The materials that resulted from the ELAN treatment were transferred into a Word document so that they could be formatted into a poetic form. Below I describe some of the steps taken to divide the transcribed texts that resulted from ELAN.

The dominant feature taken into account to make divisions in each stretch of speech was parallelism. In order to identify instances of parallelism, I first located the figures of repetition, two or more sequences bearing strong similarity. Next I divided them into lines.

Sherzer (1990), in his analysis of Kuna verbal art, defines each written line in terms of a bundle of features which he finds are co-occurring in his material. His material generally consists of clauses and sentences in sequence. Each of these is marked clearly by an intonational contour, a following pause, and often parallelism. These clauses or sentences are his lines. In SJQ, the written line is constituted quite differently, because the verbal itself is quite different. As stated above, Chatino lines in this study were made using parallel structures, adverbial phrases, clauses, and periodic regular interjection lexemes (e.g., *in*<sup>20</sup> ‘hm?’). Not every line is bounded by a pause in Chatino. Examples 5.1 and 2 illustrate the steps taken to make divisions in the transcribed SJQ texts.



Example 5.1 R. Cruz (2004)

1	Chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> tyqwi <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> -tlyu <sup>2</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> qwan <sup>1</sup> so that POT_have forgiveness essence to.you(pl)	In order for you to have forgiveness within you
2	chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> ti <sup>2</sup> nsqya <sup>1</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> qwan <sup>4</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> so that still PROG_call we(EXCL) to.you(pl), hm?	in order for you to be we called by us [tonight], hm?
3	ke <sup>4</sup> sya <sup>0</sup> ndiya <sup>24</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> tiye <sup>32</sup> qwan <sup>4</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> as like essence chest to.you(pl), hm?	as your heart permits you, hm?
4	sqen <sup>4</sup> kwan <sup>40</sup> where COMPL_sit.elevated-IINCL	where we sat
5	sqen <sup>4</sup> ndon <sup>42</sup> on <sup>32</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> where COMPL_stand-IINCL, hm?	where we stood, hm?
6	nkwa <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> yaq <sup>2</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> COMPL_be you(Pl subj) hand our (INCL)	you were our hands
7	nkwa <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> kyaq <sup>24</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> COMPL_be you(Pl subj) feet our (INCL)	you were our feet
8	nkwa <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> COMPL_be you(Pl subj)	you were.

The line divisions in Example 5.1 were created using the strong similarities between adjacent units of speech, and by looking at elements that mark the end of the units such as the lexeme *in*<sup>20</sup> ‘hm?’ and a frame tag (line 8), which I will describe in section 12.6. The utterance in Example 5.1 was divided into five lines. A great number of these lines consist of adverbial clauses. The adverbial clauses in lines 1 and 2 bear a close resemblance to each other, as each line is introduced by the adverbial particle *chaq*<sup>3</sup> *no*<sup>24</sup> ‘in order to’. The end of line 2 is marked by the falsetto lexeme *in*<sup>20</sup> ‘hm?’. The adverbial expression in line 3 is typically found introducing groups of parallel repetitions, passages, and stanzas in persuasive speeches in SJQ. This adverbial expression is very prevalent in the texts “The Visit” and *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> *Ksya*<sup>10</sup>, analyzed in Chapters 7 and 9 respectively. The expression in line 3 also ends with the falsetto lexeme *in*<sup>20</sup> ‘hm?’.

Next, lines 4 and 5 contain parallel repetitions of two closely resembling adverbial phrases. The falsetto lexeme *in*<sup>20</sup> ‘hm?’ in line 5 marks the end of the couplet in

lines 4 and 5. Finally, given their morphosyntactic similarities, the verb initial constructions in lines 6, 7, and 8 were divided into three lines. The utterance in line 8 is a frame tag. This frame tag summarizes the meaning of lines 6-8, meaning roughly, “you were all kinds of appendages to us.” Frame tags will be discussed in greater detail in section 8. Example 5.2 offers further discussion of the representation of SJQ oral discourse in writing.

Example 5.2 S. Zurita (2009)

1	Sa <sup>4</sup> kwan <sup>20</sup> nya <sup>14</sup> kqu <sup>0</sup> so too appear POT_grow	So too may survive,
2	Sa <sup>4</sup> kwan <sup>20</sup> nya <sup>14</sup> klu <sup>0</sup> so too appear POT_thrive	So too may thrive,
3	Sa <sup>4</sup> kwan <sup>20</sup> nya <sup>14</sup> ksug <sup>0</sup> so too appear POT_mature	So too may mature,
4	Sa <sup>4</sup> kwan <sup>20</sup> nya <sup>14</sup> kxin <sup>0</sup> so too appear POT_multiply	So too may multiply,
5	Tyi <sup>20</sup> ton <sup>10</sup> POT_will stand	Stand up,
6	Tyi <sup>20</sup> kqan <sup>24</sup> POT_will sit.on.the.ground	Settle down,
7	No <sup>4</sup> kwiq <sup>2</sup> The.one baby	The ones that are babies,
8	No <sup>4</sup> kneq <sup>1</sup> The.one infant	The ones that are young,
9	No <sup>4</sup> ntsu <sup>32</sup> The.one PROG_sprout	The ones that are sprouting
10	No <sup>4</sup> ndla <sup>32</sup> The.one PROG_born	The ones that are being born

Like the previous example, the morphosyntactic and semantic structures of adjacent utterances in Example 5.2 have an internal similarity. Lines 1-4 are adverbial clauses. Each line begins with the particle *sa<sup>4</sup>* ‘so’ and ends with a positional verb phrase. Lines 5 and 6 contrast two closely related verbs of position. Lines 7-8 are relative clauses, which elaborate on two closely related nouns, “babies” and “infants”. Finally,

lines 9 and 10 are constructed with subordinate clauses. These clauses bring together two state verbs: “to sprout” and “to be born”. I will come back to this example in section 5.1 where I discuss binary structures.

Researchers of Native American languages have taken different approaches to identify and divide poetic lines in the poetic representation of oral speech. Tedlock (1980) strongly advocates for the use of sound elements (such as pause, pitch, and cadence) to make line divisions. Hymes, on the other hand, takes global patterns of syntactic form (e.g., parallelism) as the basis for his lines. Even though parallelism does not always occur in Native North American narrative, Hymes still uses this device to make line divisions in his texts. For Hymes, then, parallelism is the most universal and significant feature of the material he analyzes. I characterize his approach as looking at form/content parallelism, since he accepts semantic parallelism even when there is no clear syntactic or particle parallelism. When present in his texts, Hymes also uses sentential particles with meanings such as “and” and “then” to mark poetic divisions.

### **3 PARTS OF PARALLEL UTTERANCES**

This section describes the different parts that make up parallel line structures in SJQ verbal art. A stretch of parallel repetition in SJQ verbal art is made out of two parts: the frame and the focus. The frame is the constant part that repeats in every line, and the focus is the variable part that occupies a slot in the frame. This structure is illustrated in English in Example 5.3:

Example 5.3

frame                    focus

He turned to the [right]

He turned to the [left]

The stretch “turned to the” is the frame and the terms “right” and “left” are the focus elements in this construction. Example 5.4 illustrates frame and focus in SJQ

Chatino:

Example 5.4

frame	focus	frame	focus
<u>Nde<sup>2</sup> wa<sup>2</sup></u> here    already	[ti <sup>1</sup> ] [ten]	<u>tsan<sup>32</sup></u> day	
			<u>For over [ten] days</u>
<u>Nde<sup>2</sup> wa<sup>2</sup></u> here    already	[qnyo <sup>1</sup> ] [fifteen]	<u>tsan<sup>32</sup></u> day	
			<u>For over [fifteen] days</u>

The frame in Example 5.4 consists of the phrase *nde<sup>2</sup> wa<sup>2</sup> \_\_\_ tsan<sup>32</sup>* ‘for over \_\_ days’. The focus elements in this example are the numbers *ti<sup>24</sup>* ‘ten’ and *qnyo<sup>24</sup>* ‘fifteen’. Focus elements can be found at the beginning, middle, or end of a parallel utterance. The focus elements in Example 5.5 are located at the end of each line.

Example 5.5 G. Cruz (2009)

	frame	focus	frame	focus
6	<u>nde<sup>2</sup> no<sup>1</sup> nka<sup>24</sup> chaq<sup>3</sup></u> this    the.one    PROG_be    thing	[tykwi <sup>24</sup> ] whole	<u>this is something</u>	[whole]
7	<u>nde<sup>2</sup> no<sup>1</sup> nka<sup>24</sup> chaq<sup>3</sup></u> this    the.one    PROG_be    thing	[nyi <sup>24</sup> ] straight	<u>this is something</u>	[straight]
8	<u>nde<sup>2</sup> no<sup>1</sup> nka<sup>24</sup> chaq<sup>3</sup></u> this    the.one    PROG_be    thing	[ykwa <sup>24</sup> ] even	<u>this is something</u>	[even]
9	<u>nde<sup>2</sup> no<sup>1</sup> nka<sup>24</sup> chaq<sup>3</sup></u> this    the.one    PROG_be    thing	[lwi <sup>3</sup> ] clean	<u>this is something</u>	[clean]

Example 5.6 provides another example where the focus elements are located at the beginning of each line.

Example 5.6 G. Cruz (2009)

	frame	focus	frame	focus
1	[nen <sup>20</sup> en <sup>32</sup> ] COMPL_invite_1INCL	qin <sup>4</sup> to (him/her)	<u>we</u>	[invited]
2	[tsan <sup>2</sup> anq <sup>1</sup> ] COMPL_tell_1INCL	qin <sup>4</sup> to (him/her)	<u>we</u>	[let them know]
3	[ndywen <sup>1</sup> enq <sup>1</sup> ] PROG_speak_1INCL	qo <sup>1</sup> with	<u>we</u> would be	[telling]
4	ktyin <sup>24</sup> inq <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> children_1INCL now		our children	

Both the frame and the focus elements can be N or V as above, or any other single type of constituent (e.g., of various lexical categories). For instance, the frame portions of the examples given above consist of a wide range of linguistic units ranging from parts of phrases (Example 5.4), to main phrases (Example 5.5), to simply pronouns (Example 5.6). Similarly, the focus has features typical of ordinary grammatical focus: in the context of the construction each new focus marks new information that is implicitly contrasted with the prior focus.

The frame and focus structure is also very common in the poetic discourse of Mesoamerica and in the poetics of cultures around the world. A similar form has been widely reported by Bricker (1974) and Norman (1980) in the Mayan languages Tzotzil and K'iche' respectively, by Sherzer (1990) in Kuna, a language spoken in Panama, and by Matisoff (1991) in Lahu, which is spoken in Southeast Asia.

Bricker and Norman posit that the verse lines in Mayan languages, as in Chatino, consist of two parts: a repeating frame, and an empty slot filled by a variable element. Example 5.7 reproduces an example provided by Bricker (1974:371).

Example 5.7

frame    variable	frame variable    frame
<u>lok' tal la</u> [lumal];	<u>your</u> [earth] <u>has ended here</u> ;
<u>lok' tal la</u> [vač'elal]	<u>your</u> [mud] <u>has ended here</u> .

In Example 5.7 the frame, *lok' tal la* repeats in both lines. The variable elements that fill the empty slots in each line consist of the nouns *-lumal* ‘earth’ and *v-ač'elal* ‘mud’. Bricker asserts that the variable element can occur at the beginning or at the end of a frame, and that many different types of grammatical elements, such as noun stems and verb roots, can occupy the same slot. Norman (1980) adds that the elements in a verse belong to the same linguistic categories. Noun phrases must be paired with noun phrases, and verbs phrases must be paired with verb phrases. This is the same phenomenon observed in SJQ verbal art.

What I call “the focus” in the analysis of SJQ verbal art is what Bricker calls “the variable”. I choose to call it “the focus” because the elements that occupy the focus position are the items that are highlighted in the phrase.

**4 KIPARSKY**

The analysis of SJQ poetics also takes inspiration from Kiparsky (1976). Kiparsky makes a higher-level generalization about poetics and argues that recurrent elements in poetics have their basis in linguistic forms. Kiparsky explicitly claims that poetic structures are universal, and states that if a poetic tradition uses a linguistic structure that is part of some language somewhere then it may be applied to the language under consideration, even if it is alien to that language. Kiparsky additionally asserts that poetic

forms are “a consequence of how language itself is structured” (p. 233). Table 5.1 displays the types of recurrence proposed by Kiparsky.

Units of recurrence	Name
Syntactic structures	Parallelism
Stress and quantity (and, in some languages, tone)	Meter
Various kinds of vocalic and consonantal sounds	Rhyme, alliteration, assonance, or consonance

Table 5.1: Recurrence types (adapted from Kiparsky 1976: 233)

Kiparsky’s recurrence theory, shown in Table 5.1, posits that recurrence of syntax is parallelism, the recurrence of stress and quantity is meter, and the recurrence of vocalic and consonantal sounds may be rhyme, alliteration, assonance, or consonance.

Kiparsky further argues that “generative grammar”, a model of language analysis developed by linguists to analyze syntax, can be a useful tool to develop a theory of literature and poetics. Using the generative framework, Kiparsky argues that elaboration on syntactic constituents may be found in the work of Dylan Thomas and Walt Whitman, two English language poets who used parallelism as a tool of composition.

Since Kiparsky’s work, there has been a lot of research on possible breaks in the flow of speech. For instance Gee and Grosjean (1983) posit that the divisions of performance structure are made with prosodic (rhythmical) elements such as the phonological word, rather than with just syntactic constituents, as proposed by Kiparsky. These authors argue that syntactic constituents do not always coincide with divisions of the performance structure of sentences in the English language. In my analysis of SJQ

verbal art, I argue that SJQ orators use the phonological word to produce parallel structures, a topic I will return to in section 7.1.

## **5 BRIGHT**

In his examination of the parallel structures of a 1524 Nahuatl text known as *Coloquio*, Bright (1990) proposes a theory that accounts for the extemporaneous production of Nahuatl parallel structures. It is implicit in Bright's theory that Nahuatl poets composed their discourse on the fly, following the rules of discourse and grammar established in their language and culture. Bright's production theory is an important contribution to the study of Mesoamerican parallel structures. It represents one of the first attempts to fully account for extemporaneous production of parallel structures in a Mesoamerican language. Bright's theory is similar to Kiparsky's in that both authors argue that linguistics is the foundation of poetics. Bright explains his production rule as follows:

It is a recursive rule, which operates on any phrase X that contains at least one word belonging to a lexical category—i.e. a noun, a verb, or an adverbial, but not a particle. The rule then operates optionally on X to generate X X' (or X' X, since it is not clear that order is significant in this formulation). Here X' has greater parallelism to X, i.e. greater similarity in morphosyntactic and semantic structure, than to any other adjacent unit. This produces a couplet. But then either X or X' can serve as input for a reapplication of the rule, again subject to the requirement of parallelism. The process is optionally repeatable an indefinite number of times, always in terms of binary branching. (Bright 1990:443)

In this formulation Bright suggests that parallel structures can be made from any phrase X that contains either a noun, a verb, or an adverbial phrase. Bright argues that the recursive rule can be applied to this phrase to produce a closely resembling structure which he calls X'. The resulting structure would yield (X X'). Bright states that X and X'



are morphologically and semantically closer than any other adjacent units. Bright's rule also seems to apply to the repetition of single constituents.

Bright concludes that the patterns of parallelism in the Coloquio are always organized around binary structures (couplets), which display successive embedding. Bright's binary rule agrees with Bricker (1985), and Edmonson (1985), both of whom also argue that Mayan and other Mesoamerican poetics are all cast in semantic couplets.

Adopting Bright's basic production model, I will show two conclusions concerning SJQ verbal art, one fairly simple and the other quite complex. The simple conclusion is that Chatino is frequently not binary. The complex conclusion is that sometimes X is not a simple syntactic constituent, but may be a phonological word, a point I will further elaborate on in section 7.1. In the next section I will show the existence of binary and non-binary structures in SJQ verbal art.

### 5.1 Binary structures

I will first discuss binary structures in SJQ verbal art, and then turn to non-binary structures. Example 5.8 illustrates a binary construction.

Example 5.8 S. Zurita (2009)

1	Tyi <sup>-20</sup> -ton <sup>10</sup> will- stand	May stand up (as a force),
2	Tyi <sup>2</sup> -kqan <sup>20</sup> will- sit.on.the.ground	May sit down (as a force),
3	No <sup>4</sup> kwiq <sup>2</sup> the.one baby	The ones that are babies,
4	No <sup>4</sup> kneq <sup>1</sup> the.one infant	The ones that are young,
5	No <sup>4</sup> ntsu <sup>32</sup> the.one PROG_sprout	The ones that are being sprouting,
6	No <sup>4</sup> ndla <sup>32</sup> the.one PROG_born	The ones that are being born.

The passage in Example 5.8 contains three sets of couplets (lines 1-2, 3-4, and 5-6). The adjacent units in these couplets are morphologically and semantically similar. The couplet in lines 1-2 is an antithesis made of positional verbs. This couplet expresses a hope that the new generation will stand as a force for their families and their community. The couplet in lines 3-4 is made of two nominalized constructions, which describe the new generations as “babies and infants.” The last couplet, lines 5-6, consists of two state verbs, each of which describes the state of being born. The passage in Example 5.9 illustrates more binary constructions.

Example 5.9 B. Zurita (2009)

1	ja <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> nya <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> -tlyu <sup>2</sup> -riq <sup>2</sup> ndya <sup>32</sup> qwa <sup>42</sup> re <sup>2</sup> . Not one appear forgiveness PROG_have to.us(pl) this	But no forgiveness can we offer.
2	sa <sup>4</sup> -kwa <sup>3</sup> ndwa <sup>14</sup> sten <sup>20</sup> en <sup>32</sup> right-there PROG_sit_elevated father_INCL	Right there sits our father,
3	sa <sup>4</sup> kwa <sup>3</sup> ndwa <sup>14</sup> yqan <sup>20</sup> an <sup>32</sup> . right-there PROG_sit.elevated mother_INCL	right there sits our mother (=ancestors, Patron Saint, authorities).
4	nkqan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> sna <sup>2</sup> lo <sup>1</sup> , PROG_sit.on.the.ground_INCL in face	We are sitting before his face,
5	nkqan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> sna <sup>2</sup> kyaq <sup>1</sup> . PROG_sit.on.the.ground_INCL in face	we are sitting before his feet.
6	kwiq <sup>24</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> qa <sup>4</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> tyi <sup>32</sup> , It.is.just that not POT_go_NB end	It is just that which can't end,
7	kwiq <sup>24</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> qa <sup>4</sup> xyaq <sup>2</sup> . It.is.just that not mix	it is just that which can't fade.
	kchin <sup>4</sup> , neq <sup>4</sup> -sya <sup>10</sup> , neq <sup>4</sup> -jyaq <sup>3</sup> . community, authority, those-bearing.staff	The community, those in authority, those bearing the staff.

The adverbial phrase in line 1 of Example 5.9 introduces a group of couplet elaborations. Using the dual terms “father” and “mother”, the first couplet in lines 2-3 describes the higher power including a saint in the Catholic Church, and ancestors. The

second couplet (lines 4-5) in this section describes the position that supplicants assume toward a saint or deity, namely that they sit on the ground at the feet before the saint. Finally the couplet in lines 6-7 appeals to the preservation of the community's traditions. This formulaic is uttered in most speeches performed in San Juan Quiahije.

Example 5.10

1	qne <sup>42</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> ma <sup>4</sup> -nda <sup>14</sup> qin <sup>0</sup> yu <sup>24</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> COMPL_do you(pl subj) errands to_them man, hm?	you sent them on missions
2	ya <sup>42</sup> yu <sup>4</sup> COMPL_go man	they went
3	qan <sup>4</sup> yu <sup>4</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> COMPL_go.around, hm? and	they traveled, hm? And

Lines 2-3 in Example 5.10 form another couplet, which details the way errand boys carried out their duties on behalf of city hall.

**5.2 Non-binary constructions in SJQ verbal art**

Just as there are structures forming natural couplets, in SJQ verbal art there are also constructions that go beyond the couplet form. Each adjacent unit comprising these constructions relates equally to each other, and most cannot be broken into couplets. For example:

Example 5.11 R. Cruz (2004)

1	ndya <sup>32</sup> -ra <sup>10</sup> qne <sup>42</sup> -jlan <sup>2</sup> an <sup>1</sup> qwan <sup>4</sup> sometimes COMPL_do-scold_1INCL to.you(pl)	sometimes <u>we scolded</u> you
2	ndya <sup>32</sup> -ra <sup>1</sup> sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> ykwen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> sometimes good only COMPL-speak.1INCL	sometimes <u>with kindness</u> we spoke
3	ndya <sup>32</sup> -ra <sup>1</sup> sqi <sup>0</sup> qa <sup>24</sup> ykwen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> sometimes not_good appear COMPL-speak.1INCL	sometimes <u>wrongly</u> we spoke
4	ndya <sup>32</sup> -ra <sup>1</sup> sometimes	sometimes

Lines 1-3 in Example 5.11 form a triplet, which elaborates on the different ways higher-ranking authorities spoke to the city hall helpers in city hall. Using a contrast, the higher-ranking official expresses that sometimes they scolded the city hall helpers, other times they spoke with kindness to them, and yet other times they spoke wrongly to them. Example 5.12 offers an illustration of another triplet construction.

Example 5.12 R. Cruz (2004)

1	kwiq <sup>24</sup> It.is.just	it was because
2	chaq <sup>3</sup> xtya <sup>20</sup> qya <sup>2</sup> because COMPL_put mountains	The mountains put us here
3	chaq <sup>3</sup> xtya <sup>20</sup> chin <sup>4</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> in <sup>20</sup> because COMPL_put community us (INCL), hm?	The community put us here, hm?
4	kanq <sup>42</sup> -chaq <sup>3</sup> ykwen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> that.is-why COMPL-speak.1INCL	that is why we spoke
5	kanq <sup>42</sup> -chaq <sup>3</sup> nkwan <sup>2</sup> an <sup>1</sup> that.is-why COMPL_be-1INCL	that is why <u>we were [authorities]</u>
6	kanq <sup>42</sup> -chaq <sup>3</sup> qen <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> that.is-why COMPL_stay-1INCL	that is why <u>we dwelled</u>
7	qan <sup>42</sup> -sen <sup>42</sup> en <sup>32</sup> COMPL-watch-care-1INCL	to care for
8	ndiya <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> na <sup>3</sup> no <sup>42</sup> ndya <sup>32</sup> all one one thing that PROG_there.is	all there is
9	no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> qya <sup>2</sup> the_one PROG_be mountains	that belongs to the mountains
10	no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> chin <sup>1</sup> the_one PROG_be mountains	that belongs to the community
11	no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> in <sup>20</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> the_one PROG_be, hm? and	that belongs, hm? And

Lines 4-6 in Example 5.12 form a triplet. This passage describes the duties that city hall officials carried out on behalf of city hall during the time they served. In the passage they express that they remained at city hall to take care of it. Example 5.13 offers another example of a triplet.

Example 5.13 B. Zurita (2009)

1	ntqa <sup>42</sup> COMPL_fulfill	yjan <sup>4</sup> year	qna <sup>42</sup> our (INCL)	completed our <u>year</u>
2	wa <sup>2</sup> already	ntqa <sup>42</sup> COMPL_fulfill	koq <sup>3</sup> moon	For having completed our <u>moon</u> [month]
3	ntqa <sup>42</sup> COMPL_fulfill	kla <sup>4</sup> star	qna <sup>42</sup> our (INCL), hm?	completed our <u>star</u> [day], hm?

Lines 1-3 in Example 5.13 form a solid triplet. Employing terms of celestial bodies, the orator expresses the completion of a term in office. Example 5.14 below offers an illustration of a construction with 4 lines, a quatrain.

Example 5.14 B. Zurita (2009)

1	No <sup>4</sup> The.one	yqu <sup>2</sup> COMPL_survive		Those who <u>survived</u> ,
2	No <sup>4</sup> The.one	ndlu <sup>3</sup> COMPL_thrive		Those who <u>thrived</u> ,
3	No <sup>4</sup> The.one	sug <sup>3</sup> COMPL_mature		Those who <u>matured</u> ,
4	No <sup>4</sup> The.one	sen <sup>3</sup> COMPL_multiplied		Those who <u>multiplied</u> ,
5	No <sup>4</sup> The.one	ya <sup>42</sup> COMPL_go	tykwi <sup>4</sup> entirely	Those who lived <u>entirely</u> ,
6	No <sup>4</sup> The.one	ya <sup>42</sup> COMPL_go	nyi <sup>4</sup> directly	Those who lived <u>directly</u> ,
7	No <sup>4</sup> The.one	ya <sup>42</sup> COMPL_go	ykwa <sup>4</sup> evenly	Those who lived <u>evenly</u> ,
8	Yan <sup>42</sup> COMPL_go	lo <sup>4</sup> -kwan <sup>4</sup> sunlight		They came to the <u>sunlight</u> ,

The passage in Example 5.14 is constructed of a quatrain (lines 1-4), and a triplet (5-7). The first stanza of four lines elaborates on the life cycle of a citizen in SJQ, namely that the citizens survived, thrived, matured, and multiplied. The second stanza (5-7)

elaborates on the traits of a good citizen of the community, namely that he or she led a good life, and acted with rectitude. Example 5.15 provides another context of the same formula in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* speech.

Example 5.15 G. Cruz (2010)

1	nde <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> <u>chaq<sup>3</sup> tykwi<sup>24</sup></u> this the_one PROG_be thing whole	this is <u>something whole</u>
2	nde <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> <u>chaq<sup>3</sup> nyi<sup>24</sup></u> this the_one PROG_be thing straight	this is <u>something straight</u>
3	nde <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> <u>chaq<sup>3</sup> ykwa<sup>24</sup></u> this the_one PROG_be thing even	this is <u>something even</u>
4	nde <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> <u>chaq<sup>3</sup> lwi<sup>3</sup></u> this the_one PROG_be thing clean	this is <u>something clean</u>

This selection, like previous examples, describes the transpiring ceremony as something that is good and clean. The construction employs a formulaic expression, which is also present in the prayer in Example 5.14 (line 5-7); both examples use the terms *tykwi<sup>4</sup>* ‘whole’, *nyi<sup>4</sup>* ‘straight’, *ykwa<sup>4</sup>* ‘even’. The version of the formula under discussion is recited as part of the ceremony of a child’s rite of passage, reported in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* text (discussed in Chapter 8). Bright’s theory discussed above is limited to the treatment of binary structures, and so cannot explain constructions like those in the previous examples. Bright’s binary theory should be expanded to include triplets, quatrains, and larger constructions.

## 6. UNITS OF REPETITION IN A STRETCH OF SPEECH

There is a wide array of linguistic forms that may be contained within a parallel production. Possible forms include syntactic constituents or parts of syntactic constituents. A lined based on parallelism may be a single constituent, but it doesn’t have to be. This section explores examples of both cases.

### 6.1 Lines made with constituents

The passage in Example 5.16 contains lines that are each single constituents in this case two clauses (1-2) followed by two complex NP's (3-4).

Example 5.16 S. Zurita (2009)

1	Chaq <sup>3</sup> kwa <sup>20</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> qa <sup>24</sup> yan <sup>42</sup> sten <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> because like only appear COMPL.come.B father_1INCL	Because this is the way our fathers came,
2	chaq <sup>3</sup> kwa <sup>20</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> qa <sup>24</sup> yan <sup>42</sup> yqan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> . because like only appear COMPL.come.B mother_1INCL	because this is the way our mothers came.
3	Ni <sup>4</sup> kwa <sup>4</sup> no <sup>4</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> yan <sup>42</sup> in <sup>20</sup> , EMPH all the.ones already COMPL.come.B, hm?	All of those who went forth,
4	ni <sup>4</sup> kwa <sup>4</sup> no <sup>4</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> qan <sup>1</sup> in <sup>20</sup> . EMPH all the.ones already COMPL.go.around.NB, hm?	all of those who went about.

Example 5.17 illustrates another pair of lines, again each one a single clause and therefore a single constituent.

Example 5.17 S. Zurita (2009)

Kwan <sup>20</sup> nya <sup>24</sup> ntqen <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> tyqan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> , like appear PROG.exist thing POT_go.around.NB_ 1INCL	This is the way we must go about,
kwan <sup>20</sup> nya <sup>24</sup> ntqen <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> tyon <sup>14</sup> like appear PROG.exist thing POT_go.around.NB_ 1INCL	this is the way we must stand guard.

Example 5.18 shows a slightly more complex situation. Here lines (2-7) are each single prepositional phrases, and hence single constituents. But the (non-parallel) line that introduces it, represents two constituents, a verb and its subject. These do not constitute a single constituent because syntactically, the prepositional phrases are sisters of the verb, but not of the independent pronoun, the subject *wa<sup>42</sup> re<sup>2</sup>* ‘we (EXCL) here’.

Example 5.18 G. Cruz (2009)

1	ndyan <sup>32</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> -re <sup>2</sup> , COMPL_come we(EXCL) here	we have arrived
2	qo <sup>1</sup> mban <sup>14</sup> , with compadres	with our compadres
3	qo <sup>1</sup> ndlyin <sup>14</sup> ne <sup>0</sup> , with comadres now	with our comadres,
4	qo <sup>1</sup> sten <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , <0.3> with father_1INCL now	with our fathers now
5	qo <sup>1</sup> yqa <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , with mother_1INCL now	with our mothers now
6	qo <sup>1</sup> ktyin <sup>24</sup> in <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> with children_1INCL now	with our children now
7	qo <sup>1</sup> tqan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>42</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , with relatives_1INCL now	with our kin now

**6.2 Lines containing incomplete constituents**

Many parallel lines in SJQ verbal art are not simple constituents. Lines (2-3) in Example 5.19 show parallel lines made with incomplete constituents. Line 2 is missing an object *qin*<sup>42</sup> ‘to (you)’. The object of this line is found in line 4. In my extemporaneous production of parallel structures, discussed in section 7, I account for the production of lines such as 3 as “constituent-so-far.” Lines (4-7) in this example are single adverbial clause constituents.



Examples 5.19 G. Cruz (2009)

1	ni <sup>4</sup> -kwa <sup>4</sup> no <sup>4</sup> xtya <sup>20</sup> qin <sup>42</sup> , EMPH all the.one COMPL_place to(you)	All those that placed you,
2	ni <sup>4</sup> kwa <sup>4</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nya <sup>14</sup> EMPH all the.one COMPL_make	all those that made you,
3	no <sup>0</sup> qa <sup>1</sup> qin <sup>42</sup> , the.one tune to(you)	those that tuned you,
4	ti <sup>2</sup> wra <sup>1</sup> ndyi <sup>0</sup> tykwa <sup>14</sup> qya <sup>0</sup> , since hour place sit.elevated mountains	from the time the mountains took their place
5	ti <sup>2</sup> wra <sup>1</sup> ndyi <sup>0</sup> tykwa <sup>14</sup> kchin <sup>4</sup> , since hour place sit.elevate community	from the time the community took its place
6	ti <sup>2</sup> wra <sup>1</sup> ndyi <sup>0</sup> tykwa <sup>140</sup> la <sup>42</sup> , since hour place sit.elevated church	from the time the church took its place
7	ti <sup>2</sup> wra <sup>1</sup> ndyi <sup>0</sup> tykwa <sup>14</sup> qan <sup>0</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> . since hour place sit.elevated city hall	from the time the city hall took its place

Example 5.20 provides another example of a parallel elaboration that it is not a constituent. In this example the phrase *kanq<sup>20</sup> nka<sup>24</sup> no<sup>32</sup>* ‘it was then when’ (line 1) is an orphan construction and it is not a parallel line. The word *na<sup>20</sup> jin<sup>2</sup>* ‘hmm’ in this same line is a pause filler. Lines 2 and 3 in the same construction constitute two parallel clause constituents.

Example 5.20

1	kanq <sup>20</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> no <sup>32</sup> , na <sup>20</sup> -jin <sup>2</sup> , that PROG_be the.one, hmm	it was then when the what's-it,
2	xtya <sup>20</sup> qyu <sup>1</sup> jla <sup>24</sup> qwan <sup>24</sup> , COMPL_put men old you(pl)	the old man placed you,
3	qan <sup>1</sup> jla <sup>24</sup> qwan <sup>24</sup> . women old you(pl)	the old woman [placed] you.

Example 5.21 offers another example of a parallel elaboration made with an incomplete constituent. The noun *sti<sup>4</sup>* ‘father’ in line 2 is missing an enclitic pronoun (1INCL). This enclitic pronoun reveals itself in line 4.

Example 5.21 G. Cruz (2009)

1	chaq <sup>3</sup> so that	so that
2	ka <sup>42</sup> sti <sup>4</sup> , POT_be_2SG father	you can be father
3	ka <sup>42</sup> yqan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> , POT_be_2SG mother_1INCL	you can be mother to us,
4	chaq <sup>3</sup> kna <sup>20</sup> so.that POT_crie_2SG	so that you can cry,
5	chaq <sup>3</sup> tykwiq <sup>42</sup> so.that POT_speak_2SG	so that you can speak

Example 5.22 is another example of an incomplete constituent. This is a another case of constituent-so-far. The sentence in line 1 is not a complete constituent because it is missing a subject enclitic. The subject is in line 2.

Example 5.22 G. Cruz (2009)

1	no <sup>4</sup> ndwa <sup>14</sup> yaq <sup>0</sup> , the.one PROG_sit.elevated hand	whatever we have in our hands,
2	no <sup>4</sup> ndwa <sup>14</sup> kyan <sup>1</sup> anq <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> the.one PROG_sit.elevated hand now	we have at our feet now

Example 5.23 offers an additional example of parallel lines made with incomplete constituents.

Example 5.23

1. la <sup>1</sup> -ton <sup>42</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> COMPL_leave-stand you(P1 Subj)	You left standing
2. la <sup>1</sup> -tqen <sup>32</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> # COMPL_leave-scatter you(P1 Subj)	You left scattered
3. Sqen <sup>4</sup> ntkwa <sup>14</sup> wan <sup>0</sup> Where PROG_sit.elevated you(P1 Subj)	Where you sit
4. Sqen <sup>4</sup> ntqen <sup>4</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> # Where PROG_exist you(P1 Subj)	Where you live
5. Sqen <sup>4</sup> qne <sup>32</sup> -nkqu <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> Where PROG_take-care you(P1 Subj)	Where you are raising
6. Sqen <sup>4</sup> ntqan <sup>32</sup> -sen <sup>42</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> Where PROG_watch-over you(P1 Subj)	Where you are caring for

The verb and the subject in the main clause of this structure do not form a single complete constituent because the sentences in line 1 and 2 are completed with the complement sentence constituent in lines 3-6. The enclitic *wan*<sup>4</sup> ‘you (P1 subj)’ in lines 1 and 2 form a phonological word with its corresponding verb. Thus it is reasonable to call 1 and 2 parallel phonological words, even if not complete syntactic constituents. In each case we call it a constituent-so-far; even though, the whole is only finished in lines (3-6). Before the orator recites the complement part of the construction, he marks a decision point with a “pause” (#), (lines 2 and 4). Even though; every line in the complement (see figure 5.1) of this construction begins with the adverb *sqen*<sup>4</sup> ‘where’, the passage is divided into 2 couplets (lines 3-4 and 5-6). Figure 5.1 offers a diagram of this construction. The order in which the elements in this construction are uttered follows in numerical order the number assigned to each line.

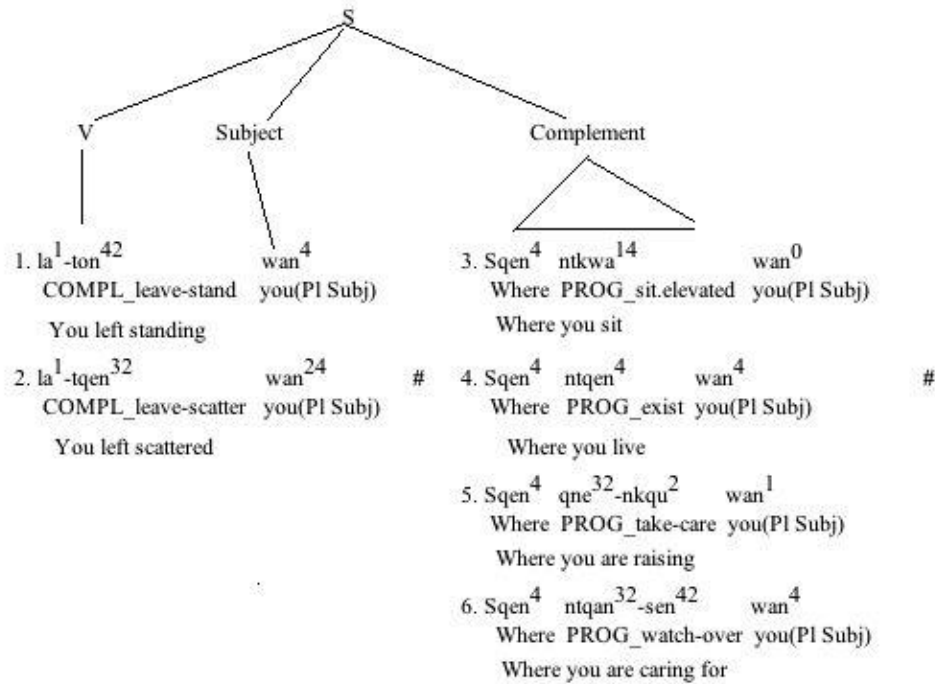


Figure 5.1: Incomplete-constituent parallel diagram (B. Zurita 2009)

The examples shown thus far demonstrate that parallel elaborations in SJQ accommodate a diverse range of forms including binary and non-binary groups of lines, as well as constituent and incomplete constituents. Many of the repetitions that are not full constituent structures are elaborations of phonological words, a topic discussed in the following section.

## 7 EXTEMPORANEOUS PRODUCTION OF PARALLEL STRUCTURES

In an oral production the speaker may manipulate the speech at every point. As the discourse unfolds, the speaker is able to re-analyze what he or she has uttered and what he or she knows so far. At each point he or she makes a decision as to what to

repeat. If the speaker likes something just said, he or she may choose to continue to elaborate on the same point, or, alternatively, choose to elaborate on something else.

Below I provide a production rule for parallel structures in SJQ verbal art. This rule is based on phonological words. I define phonological words in the following way: A phonological word is a simple (uncompounded) stem, or a stem compounded with another stem, or a stem (compounded or uncompounded) that is followed by an enclitic (compounds and clitic groups are phonological words). Parallel production in SJQ verbal art follows the following steps.

1. Stop after any phonological word;
2. “Select” one or more words in sequence that you have said up to that point (such that the selection is a constituent-so-far);
3. Repeat the selection, changing only the element that you choose as your “focus”;

In context, the repetition will supplement the initial selection to mean “and (phrase)”, or ‘also (phrase)’ or ‘(phrase) as well’. As to “stop at any phonological word”, this says that parallelism can be built with any phonological word boundary as a reference point. We might add that by default, the speaker will choose a boundary that ends a major constituent, or is before the beginning of a major constituent, since this is much more usual. But the rule itself is formulated permissively, in order to account for cases where the parallelism is built on the basis of an unfinished constituent. A stop is more likely if there is a high level of junctural strength. In other words, a stop is more likely to occur if the speaker has just finished a major constituent, or if the speaker is about to begin a major constituent. (For more on major constituents and juncture, see Gee & Grosjean (1983)). Next, I will apply this rule to the passage in Example 5.24.

Example 5.24

	frame	focus	frame	frame focus frame
1	Wa <sup>2</sup> ndiya <sup>32</sup> already COMPL_come_NB	[wra <sup>1</sup> ] hour	ne <sup>0</sup> , now	The [hour] has come now,
2	wa <sup>2</sup> ndiya <sup>32</sup> already COMPL_come_NB	[xa <sup>3</sup> ] light	ne <sup>2</sup> , now	the [light] has come now,
3	wa <sup>2</sup> xqan <sup>1</sup> already change	[sten <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> ], father_1INCL		for our [fathers] to transfer (of authority),
4	wa <sup>2</sup> xqan <sup>1</sup> already change	[yqan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> ] mother_1INCL	ne <sup>2</sup> , now	for our [mothers] to transfer (of authority),
5	ta <sup>20</sup> lo <sup>24</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> give face only you(Pl subj)		ne <sup>2</sup> , now	please bear with us,
6	ndywen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> HAB_say_1INCL			so say we all

1. Stop after any phonological word;

Taking the utterance in line 1 in Example 5.24, we have:

Wa<sup>2</sup> ndiya<sup>32</sup> [wra<sup>1</sup>] ne<sup>0</sup>,  
already COMPL\_come\_NB hour now

2. “Select” one or more words in sequence that you have said up to that point (such that the selection is a constituent-so-far);

For this step we will take line 1 again:

Wa<sup>2</sup> ndiya<sup>32</sup> [wra<sup>1</sup>] ne<sup>0</sup>,  
already COMPL\_come\_NB hour now

3. Repeat the selection, changing only the “focus”;

wa<sup>2</sup> ndiya<sup>32</sup> [xa<sup>3</sup>] ne<sup>2</sup>,  
already COMPL\_come\_NB light now

Line 1 and 2 result from these steps. At this point the orator decides to utter another couplet. Repeating the same process we generate lines 3 and 4.

1. Stop after any phonological word. Here we take the structure in line 3.

wa<sup>2</sup>    xqan<sup>1</sup>    [sten<sup>24</sup>en<sup>32</sup>],  
already change    father\_1INCL

2. “Select” one or more words in sequence that you have said up to that point (such that the selection is a constituent-so-far). In this step we repeat the structure in line 3.

wa<sup>2</sup>    xqan<sup>1</sup>    [sten<sup>24</sup>en<sup>32</sup>],  
already change    father\_1INCL

3. Repeat the selection, changing only the element that you choose as your “focus”. This step yields line 4.

wa<sup>2</sup>    xqan<sup>1</sup>    [yqan<sup>1</sup>an<sup>1</sup>]    ne<sup>2</sup>,  
already change    mother\_1INCL now

At this point the orator stops uttering parallel lines.

Next I will put construction in example 5.25 through these rules.

Example 5.25

1. $la^1$ -[ $ton^{42}$ ] $wan^4$ COMPL_leave-stand    you(Pl Subj)	<u>You left</u> [standing]
2. $la^1$ -[ $tqen^{32}$ ] $wan^{24}$ # COMPL_leave-scatter    you(Pl Subj)	<u>You left</u> [scattered]
3. $Sqen^4$ $ntkwa^{14}$ $wan^0$ Where      PROG_sit.elevated    you(Pl Subj)	<u>Where you</u> [sit]
4. $Sqen^4$ [ntqen <sup>4</sup> ] $wan^4$ # Where      PROG_exist      you(Pl Subj)	<u>Where you</u> [live]
5. $Sqen^4$ [qne <sup>32</sup> -nkqu <sup>2</sup> ] $wan^1$ Where      PROG_take-care      you(Pl Subj)	<u>Where you are</u> [raising]
6. $Sqen^4$ [ntqan <sup>32</sup> -sen <sup>42</sup> ] $wan^4$ Where      PROG_watch-over      you(Pl Subj)	<u>Where you are</u> [caring] for

1. Stop after any phonological word;

$la^1$ -[ $ton^{42}$ ]       $wan^4$   
COMPL\_leave-stand    you(Pl Subj)

2. “Select” one or more words in sequence that you have said up to that point (such that the selection is a constituent-so-far). In this step we select line 3 again.

$la^1$ -[ $ton^{42}$ ]       $wan^4$   
COMPL\_leave-stand    you(Pl Subj)

3. Repeat the selection, changing only the element that you choose as your “focus”. At this point we change the focus only in order to get line 4.

$la^1$ -[ $tqen^{32}$ ]       $wan^{24}$  #  
COMPL\_leave-scatter    you(Pl Subj)

This first run yields the first couple in this stanza. At this point the orator begin a new couplet.



1. Stop after any phonological word;

Sqen<sup>4</sup> ntkwa<sup>14</sup>                      wan<sup>0</sup>  
Where PROG\_sit.elevated    you(Pl Subj)

2. “Select” one or more words in sequence that you have said up to that point (such that the selection is a constituent-so-far);

Sqen<sup>4</sup> ntkwa<sup>14</sup>                      wan<sup>0</sup>  
Where PROG\_sit.elevated    you(Pl Subj)

3. Repeat the selection, changing only the element that you choose as your “focus”

Sqen<sup>4</sup> [ntqen<sup>4</sup>]                      wan<sup>4</sup> #  
Where PROG\_exist    you(Pl Subj)

This steps results in the second stanza in this example. Next we will produce the third stanza. Here we take line 5 in the same example.

1. Stop after any phonological word;

Sqen<sup>4</sup> [qne<sup>32</sup>-nkqu<sup>2</sup>]                      wan<sup>1</sup>  
Where PROG\_take-care    you(Pl Subj)

2. “Select” one or more words in sequence that you have said up to that point (such that the selection is a constituent-so-far). Here we repeat line 5.

Sqen<sup>4</sup> [qne<sup>32</sup>-nkqu<sup>2</sup>]                      wan<sup>1</sup>  
Where PROG\_take-care    you(Pl Subj)

3. Repeat the selection, changing only the element that you choose as your “focus”. In this step we change the focus in order to get line 6.

Sqen<sup>4</sup> [ntqan<sup>32</sup>-sen<sup>42</sup>]                      wan<sup>4</sup>  
Where PROG\_watch-over    you(Pl Subj)

It took all these steps to produce the parallel lines in this example.

Not all parallel elaborations in SJQ verbal art are as simple as the constructions in Examples 5.24 and 5.25. Next I will discuss the elaboration of more complex construction in Example 5.26.

Example 5.26 G. Cruz (2009)

	Frame	focus	Frame	focus
1	Keq <sup>3</sup> difficult	ka <sup>24</sup> ntyji <sup>14</sup> [tynyi <sup>0</sup> ], very PROG_find money	It is hard to find	[money]
2	keq <sup>3</sup> difficult	ka <sup>24</sup> ntyji <sup>14</sup> [no <sup>0</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> pla <sup>14</sup> ta <sup>0</sup> ], very PROG_find the.one PROG.be silver	it is hard to find	[silver]
3		no <sup>0</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> [qo <sup>14</sup> ro <sup>0</sup> ] the.one PROG.be gold	(to find)	[gold]

5. 26 illustrates an embedded parallelism. Here, the nominalized clause *no<sup>0</sup> nka<sup>24</sup>* ‘it is’ (line 2) is part of an embedded frame. Analysis of this section in terms of the rule given above works as follows:

1. Stop after any phonological word. For this step, taking the utterance in line 1, the verb phrase *keq<sup>3</sup> ka<sup>24</sup> ntyji<sup>14</sup> tynyi<sup>0</sup>* ‘it is hard to find money’, we have:

Keq<sup>3</sup> ka<sup>24</sup> ntyji<sup>14</sup> [tynyi<sup>0</sup>],  
difficult very PROG\_find money

2. “Select” one or more words in sequence that you have said up to that point (such that the selection is a constituent-so-far). For this step we are going to stop after the end of the term *tynyi<sup>0</sup>* ‘money’, the line 1 again:

Keq<sup>3</sup> ka<sup>24</sup> ntyji<sup>14</sup> [tynyi<sup>0</sup>],  
difficult very PROG\_find money

3. Repeat the selection, changing only the “focus”. This step yields line 2.

keq<sup>3</sup> ka<sup>24</sup> ntyji<sup>14</sup> nka<sup>24</sup> pla<sup>14</sup>ta<sup>0</sup>],

difficult very PROG\_find the.one PROG.be silver

In this step the orator decides to repeat the “frame” part of the stream, a verb phrase *keq<sup>3</sup> ka<sup>24</sup>* ‘how difficult’; however, he chooses to substitute the “focus” part of the stream, the noun “money”, for a member of the category of money, namely, things made out of silver. He presents the term “silver” in a nominalized clause *no<sup>4</sup> nka<sup>24</sup> pla<sup>14</sup>ta<sup>0</sup>* ‘the thing that it is made out of silver’. At this point the process starts anew because, as stated at the beginning of this section, this is an embedded frame.

1. Stop after any phonological word;

For this step we are going to stop after the end of the word *pla<sup>14</sup>ta<sup>0</sup>* ‘silver’, the end of the phrase just create the denominalized construction in line 2:

no<sup>1</sup> nka<sup>24</sup> [pla<sup>14</sup>ta<sup>0</sup>]

the.one PROG.be silver

2. “Select” one or more words in sequence that you have said up to that point (such that the selection is a constituent-so-far). Here we chose only to begin at *no<sup>4</sup>*-. However the speaker could easily have chose to start at *keq<sup>3</sup>* ‘difficult’ again, but he did not.

no<sup>1</sup> nka<sup>24</sup> [pla<sup>14</sup>ta<sup>0</sup>]

the.one PROG.be silver

3. Repeat the selection, changing only the “focus”;

no<sup>1</sup> nka<sup>24</sup> [qo<sup>14</sup>ro<sup>0</sup>]

the.one PROG.be gold

This step yields line 3. Here the speaker chose a new focus word *qo<sup>14</sup>ro<sup>0</sup>* ‘gold’.

In this way the second pair is syntactically embedded with respect to the first pair.

### 8 REPETITION WITH SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

Repetitions of subordinate clauses are extremely common in SJQ. Frequently in this type of construction the relativizer, complementizer, or nominalizer introduces a group of repeating predicate units. Example 5.27 shows one nominalizer, *no<sup>4</sup>* ‘the one who’, followed by a repetition of two restricting clauses.

Example 5.27

No<sup>4</sup> nkqan<sup>24</sup>an<sup>32</sup> sna<sup>2</sup> lo<sup>1</sup>,

The\_one PROG\_sit.on.the.ground\_1INCL before face

‘The one before whose face we sit,’

nkqan<sup>24</sup>an<sup>32</sup> sna<sup>2</sup> kyaq<sup>1</sup>.

PROG\_sit.on.the.ground\_1INCL before feet

‘[the one] before whose feet we sit’.

Another typical type of parallelism in SJQ is shown in Example 5.28.

Example 5.28

Kwiq<sup>24</sup> ka<sup>24</sup> ndiyo<sup>14</sup>-si<sup>0</sup> sqwi<sup>1</sup> qne<sup>32</sup>-kqu<sup>2</sup> qin<sup>42</sup>,  
same the.one god PROG\_exist PROG\_do-raise to.you  
'It is just God that is raising you,'

sqwi<sup>4</sup> ntqan<sup>32</sup>-sen<sup>32</sup> qin<sup>42</sup>.  
PROG\_exist PROG\_do-care to.you  
is watching over you.

The repeating predicate unit in Example 5.28 is embedded in a topic construction *Kwiq<sup>24</sup> ka<sup>24</sup> ndiyo<sup>14</sup>-si<sup>0</sup>* 'it is God who'. The repeating predicate units form a common formulaic phrase in SJQ. This construction also shows that formulaic phrases play an important role as to what elements are repeated in a parallel structure. Next I will describe the various effects that are produced as a result of the coming together of different components of SJQ verbal art.

## 9 FRAME TAG

One of the most unique features of San Juan Quiahije parallel structures is the deletion of the focus elements, and any post-focus parts of the frame, in the last verse line in a stanza. I'll call these lines 'frame tags'. The footprint of the frame tag pattern is very pervasive in SJQ discourse. Frame tags are a widespread feature of all types of discourse in San Juan Quiahije; they are found in both formal and everyday speech. For example:

Example 5.29 R. Cruz (2004)

	Frame	Focus	Frame	Focus
1	Nkwa <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup>	[yaq <sup>2</sup> ] qna <sup>42</sup> COMPL_be you(Pl subj) hand our (INCL)	You were our	[hands]
2	Nkwa <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup>	[kyaq <sup>24</sup> ] qna <sup>42</sup> COMPL_be you(Pl subj) feet our (INCL)	You were our	[feet]
3	Nkwa <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup>	[_____]. COMPL_be you(Pl subj)	You were	[_____].

The frame alone occurs in the last line. In the context of this stanza, the frame tag implies a generalization of the listed supplements, e.g., “you were all kinds of things/appendages for us.” Example 5.30 illustrates another example of a frame tag in everyday speech.

Example 5.30 L. Baltazar (2007)

	Frame	Focus	Frame	Focus
1	qne <sup>42</sup> -kqu <sup>2</sup>	wa <sup>42</sup> [kweq <sup>42</sup> ], COMPL-care we(EXCL) pig	We raised	[pigs],
2	qne <sup>42</sup> kqu <sup>2</sup>	wa <sup>42</sup> [pi <sup>20</sup> ], COMPL-care we(EXCL) turkey	We raised	[turkeys],
3	qne <sup>42</sup> kqu <sup>2</sup>	wa <sup>42</sup> [_____]. COMPL-care we(EXCL)	We raised	[_____].

The meaning of the frame tag in Example 5.30 is “we raised all sorts of domestic animals.” Generally, Example 5.30 could be spoken as *qne<sup>42</sup> kqu<sup>2</sup> wa<sup>42</sup> qne<sup>4</sup>* ‘we raised animals’.

Example 5.31

1	qan <sup>42</sup> -sen <sup>42</sup> en <sup>42</sup> PROG_watch.over.1INCL	We were to care for
2	ndiya <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> na <sup>3</sup> no <sup>42</sup> ndiya <sup>32</sup> all one another thing that PROG_exist	all there is
3	no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> [qya <sup>2</sup> ] the.one PROG.be mountain	that belongs to the [mountains]
4	no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> [kchin <sup>32</sup> ] the.one PROG.be community	that belongs to the [community]
5	no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> [____], in <sup>20?</sup> the.one PROG.be____, hm?	that belongs[____], hm?

The *in*<sup>20</sup> ‘hm?’ lexeme in Example 5.31 (line 5) is a post-focus part of the frame.

In SJQ verbal art there are also examples of initial or pre-tag lines, for example:

Example 5.32 G. Cruz (2009)

1	ndywen <sup>1</sup> enq <sup>1</sup> [____], PROG_speak_1INCL	we have been conversing [____]
2	ndywen <sup>1</sup> enq <sup>1</sup> [xwen <sup>1</sup> en <sup>1</sup> ], PROG_speak_1INCL little_1INCL	we have been [talking]
3	ndywe <sup>1</sup> enq <sup>1</sup> [stan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>0</sup> ] chaq <sup>3</sup> re <sup>2</sup> PROG_speak_1INCL smash_1INCL thing this	we have been [chatting] about this (event)

Lastly Example 5.33 provides an interesting illustration of a frame tag. This example contains two levels of frame tagging. In this example the "upper" or wider layer of frame tagging are enclosed in curly brackets {...} . At the end of line 9, the speaker goes through these steps:

1. Stop after *in*<sup>20</sup> ‘hm?’ in line 9;
2. Count back to the major constituent boundary beginning at *nka*<sup>42</sup> ‘you are’ in line 2;

3. Repeat as line 10, using *nka*<sup>42</sup> as the frame (amplified with *qwen*<sup>4</sup> ‘you’). Then, instead of making up a new "focus" to follow *qwen*<sup>4</sup> ‘you’, follow it with nothing (represented as {\_\_}) in this diagram.

Example 5.33 two layer analysis

1	<u>nka</u> <sup>42</sup> <u>qya</u> <sup>2</sup> {[lo <sup>1</sup> ]}, POT_be_2SG mountain visible	You are a {[visible]} mountain,
2	<u>nka</u> <sup>42</sup> { <u>qya</u> <sup>2</sup> [tykanq <sup>1</sup> ]}, POT_be_2SG mountain adorned	you are an {[adorned] mountain
3	<u>tqa</u> <sup>24</sup> [kti <sup>20</sup> ], all seven	group of seven (mountains)
4	<u>tqa</u> <sup>24</sup> [tyqyu <sup>42</sup> ], all lakes	<u>group of</u> [lakes]
5	<u>tqa</u> <sup>24</sup> [tqwa <sup>4</sup> -tqo <sup>1</sup> ]. all seas	<u>group of</u> [seas].
6	<u>ntyqan</u> <sup>24</sup> [kwan <sup>32</sup> ], all sunlight	<u>all</u> [sunlight],
7	<u>ntyqan</u> <sup>24</sup> [xa <sup>3</sup> ], all light	<u>all</u> [light],
8	<u>ntyqan</u> <sup>24</sup> [xa <sup>1</sup> -liyu <sup>32</sup> ], all world	<u>all</u> [the world],
9	<u>ntyqan</u> <sup>24</sup> {__} in <sup>20?</sup> all hm?	<u>all</u> {__}hm?}
10	<i>qwen</i> <sup>4</sup> <u>nka</u> <sup>42</sup> {__}. you PROG_be	you, you are {__}.

Below I provide some generalizations and a production rule for frame tags.

**9.1 Generalization of frame tag**

The frame tag appears to include only the material up to the focus, even when the result is grammatically incomplete. The frame tag’s grammatical incompleteness implies, in context, either a generalization of the focus series, or an emphatic summary of the phrase series.

**9.2 The production rule for frame tag**

Follow the production rule for parallelism but stop and utter nothing when the focus is reached.



## 10 FORMULAIC EXPRESSIONS

The discussion thus far has been centered on the overarching structure of uses of parallelism in SJQ. An area that remains to be investigated is the large number of recurrent formulaic expressions that orators keep using and reusing in their performances.

Formulaic expressions result from the relationship among the different focus elements within a stanza and they are a common feature found throughout the large body of oral poetics of languages around the world. Pawley (1985) argues that formulaic phrases form a stock of pre-fabricated units with “varying complexity and internal stability” (p. 89). Pawley also argues that formulaic expressions are syntactically and semantically well formed, and are found within all linguistic categories including nouns, noun phrases, verbs and verb phrases, and prepositional phrases.

Research on formulaic language began with Milman Parry (1928) and his publication of “L’epitete traditionnelle dans Homeric.” Parry believed that formulaic language could potentially explain how singers memorized oral epics. He argued that Homer’s epics were composed by oral improvisation. Jakobson (1966) and James Fox (1977) considered formulas a defining feature of canonical parallelism and argue that they are part of the community’s collective knowledge. Wittig (1997) argues that formulas, more than any other linguistic phenomenon of the community “embody social language” (p 132). She states that both the orator and the audience benefit from the use of formulas. She argues that formulas make it possible for communities to pass on and reinforce the community’s traditions and knowledge.

The presence of formulaic expressions in SJQ poetics points to the pervasiveness of parallelism. This relates back to a point Kiparsky (1976) makes about whether a given

pattern of repetition is constitutive of a whole type of production, or if it is something that gets used only occasionally and tactically. Formulas in SJQ, exhibit a wide range of semantic relationships among their parts, ranging from combinations that are culturally driven to combinations of elements featuring synonymous, contrastive, and complementary relationships. For instance, the use of positional verbs to express a wide variety of ideas and concepts such as civic service, fortitude, and strength is a culturally driven semantic phenomenon.

Table 5.2 below provides a partial list of formulaic expressions I identified in the texts I am analyzing in this dissertation as well as others texts in San Juan Quiahije verbal art. Chapter 10 will offer a more comprehensive list of the formulas I have identified in SJQ verbal art.

Column 1 in this table contains the terms that make up the formulas. Many of these terms occur in multiple grammatical contexts. My guidelines for citing formulaic expressions are as follows. Formulas made with possessed nouns will be cited in the third person singular. Example 5.34 shows a formulaic expression built from a possessed noun inflected in the 1INCL . Example 5.35 indicates how I will cite the expression throughout my description, using the third person singular form of the term.

Example 5.34

1	Qin <sup>24</sup> sten <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> to father_1INCL	To our father,
2	qin <sup>24</sup> yqan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> to mother_1INCL	to our mother,

Example 5.35

sti<sup>4</sup>/yqan<sup>1</sup>

father/mother

Formulaic terms composed of verbs and verb phrases will be cited in the third person singular and in the completive aspect (example 5.36), below. For instance *yan<sup>42</sup>an<sup>32</sup>* ‘we (INCL) went’ will be cited as *ya<sup>42</sup>* ‘he went’. Similarly the verb *qan<sup>24</sup>an<sup>32</sup>* ‘we (INCL) went about’ will be cited as *qan<sup>4</sup>* ‘he went forth’.

Example 5.36

142	yan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> COMPL_go_NB_1INCL	we went,
143	qan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> , kanq <sup>20</sup> COMPL_go.around_NB then	we journeyed, indeed.

Propositions will keep their person and aspect inflection in the citations. For instance, the proposition in Example 5.37, an appeal for the maintenance of tradition, is inflected in the potential aspect and will remain as such in the citation form (example 5.38).

Example 5.37 R. Cruz (2004)

1	Cha <sup>3</sup> ja <sup>42</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> tyi <sup>32</sup> so that NEG POT.finish	It is just that which can't end
2	cha <sup>3</sup> ja <sup>42</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> xya <sup>2</sup> so that NEG POT_mix	it is just that which can't fade
3	cha <sup>3</sup> ja <sup>42</sup> so that	Never

Example 5.38

ja <sup>4</sup> tyi <sup>32</sup> /ja <sup>4</sup>	this can't end/this	Permanence of	yes	Visit, CK,
xya <sup>2</sup>	can't fade	traditions		Cambio, and Prayer

Column 2 in Table 5.2 provides a literal gloss of each term. Column 3 describes the meaning of each formula. Column 4 lists the texts where these formulas were found. The texts will be abbreviated as follows: *Cha<sup>3</sup> ksya<sup>10</sup>* (CK), The Visit (Visit), Prayer for the Community (Prayer), and the three texts relating to the changing of the authorities given in appendix 1, 2, and 3 of this dissertation will be called (*Cambio*). It is worth noting that these texts are also called Speech of the Changing of the Authorities.

Formulaic terms	Literal gloss	Meaning	Source
sti <sup>4</sup> /yqan <sup>1</sup>	father/mother	parents/ancestors, god	Visit, CK, Cambio, Prayer
kchin <sup>4</sup> / neq <sup>4</sup> sya <sup>10</sup> /neq <sup>4</sup> jyaq <sup>3</sup>	community/those in authority/ those bearing the staff	San Juan Quiahije and its authorities	Visit
snyiq <sup>32</sup> qya <sup>2</sup> / snyiq <sup>32</sup> kchin <sup>32</sup>	child of the mountains/child of the mountains	San Juan Quiahije citizens	Cambio
ska <sup>4</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> /ska <sup>4</sup> kchin <sup>32</sup>	a duty/a community	a civic duty	Cambio
qyu <sup>1</sup> kla <sup>24</sup> /qan <sup>1</sup> kla <sup>24</sup>	old men/old women	ancestors	Visit, CK, Cambio
no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> yaq <sup>2</sup> /no <sup>32</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> kyaq <sup>32</sup>	the one who is a hand/the one who is a foot	neq <sup>4</sup> skan <sup>4</sup> ( errand boys)	Cambio
qya <sup>2</sup> /kchin <sup>1</sup>	the mountains/ the community	San Juan Quiahije	Visit, CK, Cambio
no <sup>4</sup> yqu <sup>2</sup> /no <sup>4</sup> ndlu <sup>3</sup> /no <sup>4</sup> suq <sup>3</sup> /no <sup>4</sup> sen <sup>3</sup>	those who survived/those who thrived/those who matured/those who multiplied	The ones who live a long life	Prayer
sti <sup>4</sup> /yqan <sup>1</sup> /kityi <sup>4</sup> /tqa <sup>42</sup>	father/mother/children/kin	relatives (all encompassing) or in general	Cambio
xa <sup>3</sup> kwan <sup>24</sup> nkqa <sup>1</sup> / xa <sup>3</sup> kwan <sup>24</sup> nten <sup>3</sup>	red sunlight/white sunrise	sunlight in Chatino landscape	Visit
kyqya <sup>2</sup> / ntenq <sup>3</sup>	mountains/valleys	Chatino topography	Visit
chaq <sup>3</sup> tykanq <sup>20</sup> /chaq <sup>3</sup> la <sup>1</sup> / chaq <sup>3</sup> ykwa <sup>24</sup> / chaq <sup>3</sup> lwi <sup>3</sup>	something clear/ something open/ something even/ something clean	something pure	Visit
kyaq <sup>24</sup> /son <sup>42</sup>	a foot/a foundation	a strong foundation	Visit
qya <sup>2</sup> tlyu <sup>2</sup> / sa <sup>4</sup> kwi <sup>4</sup> tlyu <sup>2</sup>	big mountain/the steep slope	road to Juquila	Visit
chaq <sup>3</sup> wtsiq <sup>3</sup> / chaq <sup>3</sup> wnaq <sup>2</sup>	something hidden/ something astray	something bad	Visit
tan <sup>42</sup> / tnen <sup>42</sup>	fat/ blood	basic elements of the body	Visit
sa <sup>1</sup> qo <sup>0</sup> /sa <sup>10</sup> qwna <sup>1</sup> /sa <sup>10</sup> ke <sup>1</sup> /sa <sup>10</sup> ntyin <sup>14</sup> /sa <sup>10</sup> ksq <sup>1</sup>	holy table/sacred table/adorned table/ntyin <sup>14</sup> table/ksiq <sup>1</sup> table	sacred table	Visit
nten <sup>14</sup> kla <sup>0</sup> /nten <sup>14</sup> tno <sup>0</sup>	people-old/people-big	old-people/grand-people (elders), ancestors	Cambio

Table 5.2: Formulas in SJQ verbal art

Continuation of Table 5.2

qyu <sup>1</sup> /qan <sup>1</sup>	male/female	complete person	CK, Visit, Prayer, Cambio
yjan <sup>4</sup> /koq <sup>3</sup> /kla <sup>4</sup>	year/month (moon)/day (star)	completed period of time	Cambio
tsan <sup>4</sup> /wra <sup>1</sup> /xa <sup>3</sup>	day/hour/light	24 hours	Cambio
po <sup>4</sup> i <sup>4</sup> syā <sup>24</sup> /ju <sup>4</sup> di <sup>4</sup> syal <sup>3</sup>	police/judicial police	peace officers	J. Orocio (2007)
tnya <sup>3</sup> /sya <sup>10</sup>	work/justice	public officials	Cambio
kcha <sup>42</sup> /sen <sup>42</sup>	sun/care-taker	groom and bride	M. Baltazar 2009
qne <sup>42</sup> -yqu <sup>2</sup> / ntqan <sup>42</sup> -sen <sup>42</sup>	raised/ watched	to care for	CK, Cambio, Prayer
ntyqya <sup>1</sup> -ton <sup>42</sup> / ntyqya <sup>1</sup> -tkwa <sup>14</sup>	to set standing/to set elevated	manner in which instrument of prayer are placed at the prayer site	CK, Cambio
ykwiq <sup>4</sup> /ytsaq <sup>3</sup>	to speak/to tell	advise	Cambio
ya <sup>42</sup> /qan <sup>4</sup>	to go forth/ to go about	to serve	Cambio, CK
jnya <sup>1</sup> -yaq <sup>2</sup> / jnya <sup>1</sup> - tqwa <sup>4</sup>	to ask by hand/to ask by mouth	to pray	CK
tqa <sup>42</sup> tykwa <sup>24</sup> / tqa <sup>42</sup> tyqan <sup>4</sup>	someone to sit (elevated) with/ someone to go about with	a companion	M. Baltazar 2009
ne <sup>1</sup> /ytsaq <sup>3</sup>	to invite/to tell	to invite	CK
snyi <sup>4</sup> tykwi <sup>1</sup> / snyi <sup>4</sup> ton <sup>42</sup> / snyi <sup>4</sup> tykwa <sup>14</sup>	to take hanging/to take standing/to take sitting elevated	to accept an invitation	CK
kwa <sup>14</sup> / qen <sup>4</sup>	to sit/to exist	to preside in a place	Cambio
la <sup>1</sup> ton <sup>42</sup> / la <sup>1</sup> tqen <sup>20</sup>	to leave standing/to leave existing	to abandon	Cambio
jen <sup>2</sup> yaq <sup>2</sup> /jen <sup>2</sup> yqwi <sup>1</sup>	passed ya <sup>2</sup> /pass-exist	to survive	Cambio
kwa <sup>14</sup> /qne <sup>42</sup> yka <sup>24</sup>	obey/followed	to follow orders	Cambio
lo <sup>24</sup> /jen <sup>2</sup>	to take out/to bring through	to help someone with a task	Cambio
nkwa <sup>1</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> /nkwa <sup>1</sup> kchin <sup>4</sup>	to-be work/ to-be community	someone who has served an office in city hall	Cambio
nke <sup>42</sup> /nda <sup>3</sup> jwe <sup>4</sup> -sa <sup>10</sup>	tolerated, was patient/ endure, gave strength	patience, kindness, strength	Cambio
ykwiq <sup>4</sup> /nkwa <sup>2</sup>	he spoke/he was	serve	Cambio

Continuation of Table 5.2

tya <sup>3</sup> /xqwa <sup>1</sup>	to return an item/to pay back	to pay back, return	Cambio
tqan <sup>1</sup> lo <sup>24</sup> / tqan <sup>1</sup> ke <sup>42</sup>	rub front/rub head	to bless a person thru an instrument of prayer	F. Baltazar in Cordero (1986:37-38)
yna <sup>3</sup> /ykwiaq <sup>24</sup>	cried/spoke	to pray on someone's behalf	G. Cruz 2008
qnyi <sup>1</sup> -ton <sup>42</sup> / qnyi <sup>1</sup> -kqan <sup>20</sup>	to make stand/to make sit (on the ground)	to plant or imprint an idea on someone's chest or mind	M. Baltazar 2009
qa <sup>4</sup> tyi <sup>32</sup> /qa <sup>4</sup> xyaq <sup>2</sup>	this can't end/this can't fade	Permanence of traditions	Visit, CK, Cambio, Prayer
kwa <sup>14</sup> jnyaq <sup>1</sup> yaq <sup>0</sup> / kwa <sup>14</sup> jnyaq <sup>1</sup> kyaq <sup>0</sup>	for tiredness to sit on the hand/for tiredness to sit on the feet	sacrifice	Visit
sqen <sup>4</sup> kwa <sup>14</sup> / sqen <sup>4</sup> ndon <sup>42</sup>	where he sat (elevated)/ where he stood	to serve, to preside	Cambio

The terms that make up the formulaic expressions in Table 5.2 originate from different grammatical categories including nouns and noun phrases, verbs and verb phrases, propositions, adverbs, and prepositional phrases. Below I discuss some of these categories.

### 10.1 Formulas with nouns and noun phrases

Some of the most frequent nouns and noun phrases in SJQ formulaic expressions are kinship terms such as *sti<sup>4</sup>/yqan<sup>1</sup>/kityi<sup>4</sup>/tqa<sup>42</sup>* 'father/mother/children/kin'. We also find a large number of formulas created from the combinations of the term *kchin<sup>4</sup>* 'community' plus another elements such as *kyqya<sup>2</sup>/kchin<sup>4</sup>* 'mountains/community' or *tnya<sup>3</sup> kchin<sup>4</sup>* 'work/community'

Another class of nouns in these formulas come from lexicon of body parts such as *kyaq<sup>24</sup>/son<sup>42</sup>* 'a foot/a foundation', or *yaq<sup>2</sup>/skon<sup>2</sup>* 'hand/arm'. Terms that describe the topography of SJQ are another frequent class of terms that make up the formulas in SJQ

verbal art. They include terms such as *qya<sup>2</sup> tlyu<sup>2</sup>/ sa<sup>4</sup> kwi<sup>4</sup> tlyu<sup>2</sup>* ‘big mountain/ steep slope’.

### 10.2 Formulas made with verbs and verb phrases

Many of the verbs and verb phrases that make up the formulas in SJQ verbal art are compounds. For instance *jen<sup>2</sup> yaq<sup>2</sup>/jen<sup>2</sup> yqwi<sup>1</sup>* ‘passed *ya<sup>2</sup>*/pass-exist’. There are also a large number of formulas constructed with positional and motion verbs including *ntyqya<sup>1</sup>-ton<sup>42</sup>/ ntyqya<sup>1</sup>-tkwa<sup>14</sup>* ‘to set standing/to set elevated’. Propositions and adverbs make up a smaller number of formulas.

### 10.3 Colloquial expressions

The combination of formulaic expressions gives rise to different processes of identifying meaning in context and colloquial expressions (e.g., metonymy, metaphor, antonym, partial antonym, and idiomatic meaning). Some of the most common relationships among formulas in SJQ are synonymy and antonymy. For example:

Example 5.39 J. Orocio (2007)

1	Ya <sup>42</sup> renq <sup>4</sup> xkwen <sup>3</sup> kwan <sup>2</sup> renq <sup>1</sup> qin <sup>24</sup> COMPL_go indef.pl.h COMPL_lift high they 3SG	They went to lift him up,
2	No <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> ju <sup>32</sup> di <sup>4</sup> syal <sup>14</sup> , The.one PROG_be judiciales	The ones who are judiciales,
3	No <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> po <sup>32</sup> li <sup>4</sup> sya <sup>14</sup> , The.one PROG_be police	The ones who are police,
4	No <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> . The.one PROG_be	The ones who are.

The borrowed Spanish terms in the focus element position, *ju<sup>32</sup> di<sup>4</sup> syal<sup>14</sup>* ‘a type of police’ and *po<sup>32</sup> li<sup>4</sup> sya<sup>14</sup>* ‘a type of police’, are partial antonyms. Example 5.40 also displays a relationship of contrast.



Example 5.40 G. Cruz (2010)

1	ti <sup>2</sup> ra <sup>1</sup> no <sup>0</sup> sti <sup>24</sup> xa <sup>3</sup> kwan <sup>24</sup> nkqa <sup>20</sup> kyqya <sup>2</sup> , since hour when COMPL_lay light ray red mountain	Since the red light rays sat on the mountains,
2	ti <sup>2</sup> ra <sup>1</sup> sti <sup>0</sup> xa <sup>3</sup> kwan <sup>24</sup> nten <sup>14</sup> ntenq <sup>3</sup> , since hour COMPL_lay light ray white plain	Since the white light rays touched the plains,
3	ti <sup>24</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> nkwa <sup>2</sup> -jyaq <sup>3</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> re <sup>2</sup> , since then COMPL_be-measure thing this	Since then these things got fixed,
4	yqwi <sup>24</sup> -sqen <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> re <sup>2</sup> , COMPL_exist-put.away thing this	Since then these things got saved,
5	ti <sup>2</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> . since then	Since then.

This example contrasts red light with white light, and mountains with plains. A note worth making here is that the choice of focus elements is tied to the idiomatic meaning drawn from the relationship between these focus elements, regardless of what semantic relationship (synonymy or antonymy) holds.

#### 10.4 Difrasismo and polifrasismo

As stated in the introduction to this chapter, many of the formulas evoke a third meaning when used as a combination. Scholars of Mesoamerican verbal art have pointed out similar traits in other Mesoamerican verbal art traditions. *Difrasismo* has been extensively documented in Nahuatl (Garibay 1953, Portilla 1992, 1963), Maya (Bricker 1974, Gossen 1974, Hull 2003), Mixtec (Hollenbach 1997) and Mixe (Suslak 2010). *Difrasismo* has been reported in Nahuatl, Mayan, and Mixtec, an Otomanguean language spoken in Oaxaca, Mexico. The term *difrasismo* was first coined by Garibay (1953). Garibay defines this phenomenon as follows: “*Difrasismo* consists in pairing up two metaphors, which in turn becomes a symbolic vehicle by which a unitary thought is

expressed” (p. 8). The formulas that evoke a third meaning in SJQ can be found in pairs (*difrasismo*) or constructions beyond pairs (*polifrasismo*).

#### 10.4.1 Criteria for finding *difrasismo* and *polifrasismo* in SJQ

A criterion I will use to decide whether a given formulaic expression is a *difrasismo* or not is by gauging whether the meaning of the expression is abstract or literal. Meanings that are not entirely predictable on the basis of the individual words that make it up are a *difrasismo* or *polifrasismo*. Conversely if the resulting expression is literal then the expression is not a *difrasismo* or *polifrasismo*. Example 5.41 illustrates a *difrasismo*.

Example 5.41 R. Cruz (2004)

1	Nkwa <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> COMP_be you(Pl subj)	yaq <sup>2</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> hand our (INCL)	You were our hands
2	Nkwa <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> COMP_be you(Pl subj)	kyaq <sup>24</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> feet our (INCL)	You were our feet
3	Nkwa <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> COMP_be you(Pl subj)		You were

The expression *nkwa<sup>2</sup> wan<sup>1</sup> yaq<sup>2</sup> qna<sup>42</sup> / nkwa<sup>2</sup> wan<sup>1</sup> kyaq<sup>24</sup> qna<sup>42</sup>* ‘you were our hands/you were our feet’, is a formulaic expression used by higher ranking authorities and community members to refer to city hall helpers. This formula is a *difrasismo* because the resulting meaning “city hall helpers” is not entirely predictable from the individual words that constitute the formula. The same happens with the term *kcha<sup>42</sup>/sen<sup>42</sup>* ‘sun/care taker’ below. The combination of the terms *kcha<sup>42</sup>/sen<sup>42</sup>* ‘sun/caretaker’ denotes groom and bride. This formula is used in weddings and bride petitions. For example:

Example 5.42 M. Baltazar (2009)

1	Tyan <sup>2</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> tsan <sup>32</sup> , POT.come one day	There will come a day,
	Tyan <sup>2</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> xa <sup>3</sup> POT.come one light	there will be a light
2	Ja <sup>14</sup> ska <sup>0</sup> kcha <sup>42</sup> qin <sup>4</sup> , POT_find one sun to.you	When she will find a husband (sun),
3	Ja <sup>14</sup> ska <sup>0</sup> sen <sup>42</sup> qin <sup>4</sup> , POT_find one sun to.you	When he will find a wife (caretaker),
4	Ja <sup>14</sup> ska <sup>0</sup> , POT_find one	S/he will find one,

The word *kcha*<sup>42</sup> ‘sun’ is a metaphor for groom and *sen*<sup>42</sup> ‘caretaker’ is a metaphor for bride. The nouns themselves in this construction are fairly dissimilar, even if they denote groom and bride. The word “sun” is also a metaphor for groom in the *Libana*, a life transition discourse recited in weddings in Juchitan Zapotec (Vasquez Castillejos 2010).

#### 10.4.2 Non-difrasismo and non-polifrasismo

The *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> *Ksya*<sup>10</sup> text has a formula that combines the terms *qo*<sup>14</sup> *ro*<sup>0</sup> / *pla*<sup>4</sup> *ta*<sup>10</sup> ‘gold/silver’ to mean money. This formula is not a *difrasismo* because gold and silver are, literally and not metaphorically, money (at least they were a few centuries ago).

#### 10.5 Adding a focus with the anaphoric *kanq*<sup>24</sup> ‘to do so’

In section 3 it was stated that many of the terms that make up the focus part of a parallel line are morphosyntactic and semantically similar. A notable exception to this is the insertion of the term *kanq*<sup>42</sup> ‘to do so’ in the second line in a parallel structure.

The form *kanq*<sup>42</sup> pairs up with other focus elements to echo the meaning of the previous lines. The *kanq*<sup>42</sup> form inflects for person, but not for aspect. The *kanq*<sup>42</sup> element communicates sentimentality and familial love. It is commonly used when elders

advise younger members of the community, to show their best behavior. The use of *kanq*<sup>42</sup> speaks to the importance of the persuasive nature of the focus elements. The term *kanq*<sup>42</sup> ‘to do so’ bears a close segmental resemblance to the absent demonstrative particle *kanq*<sup>42</sup> ‘that one’; however, these two grammatical elements are different. While the *kanq*<sup>42</sup> ‘to do so’ inflects for person, the demonstrative *kanq*<sup>42</sup> does not. Example 5.43 illustrates the *kanq*<sup>42</sup> ‘to do so’.

Examples 5.43 R. Cruz (2004)

1	Chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> thing that	an issue
2	ti <sup>2</sup> ndiya <sup>14</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> tykwiq <sup>4</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> still PROG_like essence we(EXCL) POT_speak we(EXCL)	we still want to express to you
3	ti <sup>2</sup> ndiya <sup>14</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> ktsa <sup>140</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> qwan <sup>4</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> still PROG_like essence we(EXCL) POT_tell we(EXCL) to.you(pl), hm?	we still want to convey to you, hm?
4	chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> thing that	so that
5	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> qne <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>32</sup> good very POT_do 2PL	you show your best behavior
6	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> kanq <sup>42</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> good very to.do.so you(pl subj)	the best,
7	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> good very, hm?	the best, hm?
8	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> tygon <sup>20</sup> on <sup>32</sup> good very POT_leave_1INCL	let us leave in a dignified way
9	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> kan <sup>42</sup> anq <sup>32</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> good very do.dearly_1INCL, hm?	Let us leave that way, hm?
10	ndiyo <sup>14</sup> -si <sup>0</sup> qne <sup>04</sup> yu <sup>32</sup> -ra <sup>14</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> God POT_do help us(INCL)	may god helps us
11	no <sup>0</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> lan <sup>2</sup> an <sup>1</sup> when already COMPL_free_1INCL	when we are released from our obligations
12	wa <sup>2</sup> kan <sup>42</sup> anq <sup>32</sup> already done.so_1INCL	when we are released

Example 5.43 displays three lines with *kanq*<sup>42</sup> ‘dearly do so’. The first instance is in line 6. The presence of *kanq*<sup>42</sup> ‘dearly do so’ in this line echoes the phrase *sqwe*<sup>3</sup> *ti*<sup>24</sup> ‘good’ found in line 5. In this context *kanq*<sup>42</sup> ‘dearly do so’ means ‘yes, indeed show your best behavior’. The second *kanq*<sup>42</sup> is in line 9. Similar to the previous *kanq*<sup>42</sup> ‘dearly do

so', line 9 restates the meaning of line 8. The third *kanq*<sup>42</sup> is in line 12. This form is inflected for the first person inclusive. Like the two previous instances, this *kanq*<sup>42</sup> echoes the meaning of the previous line (line 11).

## 10.6 Different types of formulas

There are two main types of formulas: those that occur across many texts, and others that are characteristic of a smaller number of texts, if not individual texts.

### 10.6.1 Formulas that repeat across many speeches

In San Juan Quiahije verbal art there are many recurring refrains that repeat across many speeches given in San Juan Quiahije. They are usually whole sentences, or more, that are repeated within a given text. Below I provide an example of a formula that is uttered across many speeches in San Juan Quiahije.

Example 5.44 R. Cruz (2004)

1	Chaq <sup>3</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> tyi <sup>32</sup> so that NEG POT.finish	It is just that which can't end
2	chaq <sup>3</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> xyaq <sup>2</sup> so that NEG POT_mix	it is just that which can't fade
3	chaq <sup>3</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> so that	Never

Example 5.44 is a formula that occurs across many speeches given in private and public in San Juan Quiahije. This formula calls for the maintenance of tradition.

### 10.6.2 Formulas that repeat within a speech

Example 5.45 presents an example of a formula that recurs several times within one single text of “The Visit”, analyzed in Chapter 6. This formula does not occur in other texts recited in SJQ.

Example 5.45 S. Zurita (2009)

1	Ja <sup>4</sup> -la <sup>32</sup> ta <sup>4</sup> tykwen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> tsan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> , NEG that POT-say-1INCL that not POT_go.NB_1INCL	We cannot say not to go forth,
2	ja <sup>1</sup> tyqan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> si <sup>20</sup> -ti <sup>2</sup> qne <sup>32</sup> -kqu <sup>2</sup> ndiyo <sup>14</sup> -si <sup>0</sup> not POT_go.around_1INCL if PROG_take.care God ndywen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> . HAB_say_1INCL	we cannot say not to go about while God still provides us with life, we say.

This refrain states that a person cannot forgo his civic duties if they were already chosen to serve the community.

## 11 GRAMMATICAL ELEMENTS

This section describes the grammatical elements in SJQ verbal art.

### 11.1 Demonstrative particles

Demonstrative particles introduce parallel repetition and mark thematic transition.

They include the forms *kanq*<sup>42</sup> ‘that one’, *kwiq*<sup>24</sup> ‘it is just’, and *kwa*<sup>3</sup> ‘there’

#### 11.1.1 *Kanq*<sup>42</sup> ‘that.abs’

This demonstrative particle is very prevalent in SJQ verbal art. It is found both in sentence initial clauses and at transition places. For example:

Example 5.46

1	kanq <sup>42</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nge <sup>42</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> that.abs one COMPL_endure us(INCL)	<u>The one</u> who was patient with us
2	kanq <sup>42</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nda. <sup>3</sup> jwe <sup>4</sup> -sa <sup>10</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> that.abs one COMPL_give strength us(INCL)	<u>The one</u> who gave strength to us
3	kanq <sup>42</sup> nda. <sup>3</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> -tya <sup>20</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> that.abs COMPL_give us(INCL) wisdom essence	<u>The one</u> who gave wisdom to us
4	kanq <sup>42</sup> that.abs	<u>that one</u>

The demonstrative particle *kanq*<sup>42</sup> ‘that’ introduces each line in this passage in

Example 5.46.

### 11.1.2 *kwiq*<sup>24</sup> ‘It is just’

This is another very prominent particle in SJQ. For Example:

Example 5.47

1	<i>kwiq</i> <sup>24</sup> <i>ndiyo</i> <sup>14</sup> <i>-si</i> <sup>0</sup> <i>janq</i> <sup>42</sup> It.is.just god that	just god was
2	<i>kanq</i> <sup>42</sup> <i>no</i> <sup>4</sup> <i>nge</i> <sup>42</sup> <i>qna</i> <sup>42</sup> that one COMPL_endure us(INCL)	the one who was patient with us
3	<i>kanq</i> <sup>42</sup> <i>no</i> <sup>4</sup> <i>nda:</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>jwe</i> <sup>4</sup> <i>-sa</i> <sup>10</sup> <i>qna</i> <sup>42</sup> that one COMPL_give strength us(INCL)	the one who gave strength to us
4	<i>kanq</i> <sup>42</sup> <i>nda:</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>chaq</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>-tya</i> <sup>20</sup> <i>riq</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>qna</i> <sup>42</sup> that COMPL_give us(INCL) wisdom essence us(INCL)	the one who gave wisdom to us
5	<i>kanq</i> <sup>42</sup> that.one	that one/this way
6	<i>yan</i> <sup>42</sup> <i>an</i> <sup>32</sup> <i>qan</i> <sup>24</sup> <i>an</i> <sup>32</sup> <i>in</i> <sup>20</sup> COMPL_go_NB_1INCL, COMPL_go.around_NB_1INCL, hm?	we went, we traveled, hm?
7	<i>chaq</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>qin</i> <sup>24</sup> <i>qya</i> <sup>2</sup> thing to(them) mountain	on behalf of the mountains
8	<i>chaq</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>qin</i> <sup>24</sup> <i>chin</i> <sup>32</sup> <i>in</i> <sup>20</sup> thing to(them) community, hm?	on behalf of the community, hm?
9	<i>ja4-la</i> <sup>32</sup> <i>yan</i> <sup>42</sup> <i>an</i> <sup>32</sup> Not COMPL_go_NB_1INCL	we did not go [carry out this task]
10	<i>chaq</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>qna</i> <sup>42</sup> <i>skan</i> <sup>24</sup> <i>an</i> <sup>32</sup> thing our(INCL) alone_1SG	for our own selfish reasons
11	<i>chaq</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>nka</i> <sup>24</sup> <i>qa</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>tiyin</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>in</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>in</i> <sup>20</sup> thing PROG_be EMPH chest_1INCL, hm?	for our own wishes
12	<i>kwiq</i> <sup>24</sup> It.is.just	it was because

The *kwiq*<sup>24</sup> ‘it is just’ particle encloses an entire passage in Example 5.47. The use of this particle gives of an emphatic feeling to the passage.

### 11.2 Complementizer

The complementizer *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> ‘that’ or *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> *no*<sup>24</sup> ‘so that’ introduce parallel repetition, for example:

Example 5.48

1	Chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> so that	An issue
2	ti <sup>2</sup> ndiya <sup>14</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> tykwiq <sup>4</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> still like essence we(EXCL) POT_say we(EXCL)	We still want to express to you
3	ti <sup>2</sup> ndiya <sup>14</sup> -riq <sup>2</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> ktsa <sup>14</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> qwan <sup>4</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> still like we(EXCL) POT_tell we(EXCL) to.you(pl), hm?	We still want to convey to you, hm?
4	chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> so that	so that
5	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> nqne <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>32</sup> good very POT_do you(pl subj)	you show your best behavior
6	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> kanq <sup>42</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> good very do.dearly you(pl subj)	you show your best manners,
7	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> good very, hm?	The best, hm?
8	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> tyqon <sup>20</sup> on <sup>32</sup> good very POT_leave_1INCL	Let us leave in a dignified way
9	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> kan <sup>42</sup> anq <sup>42</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> good very do.dearly_1INCL, hm?	Let us leave in the best way, hm?

The entire passage in Example 5.48 is introduced by a complementizer *chaq<sup>3</sup> no<sup>24</sup>*

‘so that’ (1). This complementizer is repeated in line (4). In both contexts, the complementizer introduces a series of parallel repetitions. The anaphoric *kanq<sup>42</sup>* ‘do so dearly’ (line 6) is also present here.

### 11.3 Verb phrase *ndywe<sup>24</sup> enq<sup>32</sup>* ‘we say’

This verb phrase is used to emphasize whatever the speaker just said. It is found marking the ends of lines. This expression also marks the genre in persuasive speech and narrative. Example 5.49 illustrates this verb phrase.



Example 5.49

1	Ni <sup>4</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> qa <sup>4</sup> , sa <sup>1</sup> kwa <sup>4</sup> ra <sup>10</sup> for all very, like all hour  ntqen <sup>20</sup> en <sup>32</sup> PROG_exist_1INCL  xa <sup>4</sup> -liyu <sup>32</sup> , ndywen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> . world HAB_say_1INCL.	For all the time we have existed in this world, we say.
2	Qne <sup>32</sup> kqu <sup>2</sup> , ntqan <sup>32</sup> sen <sup>42</sup> PROG_do raise, PROG_watch over  sten <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> ndiyo <sup>14</sup> -si <sup>10</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> . father_1INCL god our (INCL)	God our father has been raising us, he has been watching over us.
3	Qo <sup>1</sup> qwan <sup>1</sup> tykwen <sup>1</sup> enq <sup>1</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> tsan <sup>1</sup> , and how PROG_say_1INCL that not  POT_go_NB_1INCL	How can we say not to go forth,
4	ja <sup>4</sup> tyqan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> ? not POT_go.around_NB_1INCL	[how can we say] not to go about.
5	Kwiq <sup>24</sup> chonq <sup>42</sup> It.is.just because	It is just because
6	ntqen <sup>4</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> tsan <sup>14</sup> have to POT_go_NB_1INCL	we must go forth,
7	ntqen <sup>4</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> tyqan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> have to POT_go.around.NB_1INCL  ndywen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> . HAB_say_1INCL	we must go about, we say.

The expression *ndywen<sup>20</sup>enq<sup>32</sup>* ‘we say’ is found marking the end of line 1 and 7.

In this place it reinstates the commitment that the orators is making toward serving the community.

#### 11.4 Adverb and adverbial expressions

Adverbs introduce parallel repetitions and also mark line boundaries. For example the expression: *qan<sup>1</sup> ndiya<sup>24</sup> riq<sup>2</sup> tiye<sup>32</sup>* ‘as he/she feels’ illustrated below.

Example 5.50 G. Cruz (2009)

PART 13		
1	<u>Qan</u> <sup>1</sup> <u>ndiya</u> <sup>04</sup> <u>riq</u> <sup>2</sup> <u>tiyin</u> <sup>1</sup> <u>in</u> <sup>1</sup> as like essence chest_1INCL	As it is for us
2	<u>chaq</u> <sup>3</sup> <u>ntkwan</u> <sup>14</sup> <u>ne</u> <sup>0</sup> that PROG_sit.elevated_1INCL now	sitting here now
3	<u>nde</u> <sup>2</sup> <u>sqen</u> <sup>4</sup> <u>no</u> <sup>4</sup> <u>ntkwan</u> <sup>40</sup> <u>ne</u> <sup>0</sup> that place where PROG_sit.elevated_1INCL now	here we sit now
26	<u>chaq</u> <sup>3</sup> <u>lwi</u> <sup>3</sup> <u>nka</u> <sup>24</sup> <u>re</u> <sup>2</sup> thing clean PROG_be this	this [tradition] is clean
27	<u>Qan</u> <sup>1</sup> <u>ndiya</u> <sup>14</sup> <u>riq</u> <sup>2</sup> <u>tiye</u> <sup>32</sup> <u>qwan</u> <sup>32</sup> <u>ne</u> <sup>2</sup> as like essence chest to. you(pl) now	Just like you guys regard it now

The adverbial phrase *qan<sup>1</sup> ndiya<sup>04</sup> riq<sup>2</sup> tiyin<sup>1</sup> in<sup>1</sup>* ‘as it is for us’ (lines 1, 27) surrounds part 13 in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> ksya<sup>10</sup>* text.

#### 11.4.1 *Ne<sup>2</sup>* ‘now’

This time adverb is very prevalent at the end of lines in SJQ verbal art. For example:

Example 5.51

1	<u>Chinq</u> <sup>20</sup> <u>ykwa</u> <sup>4</sup> <u>ne</u> <sup>2</sup> little corn.gruel now	Some corn porridge now
2	<u>Chinq</u> <sup>20</sup> <u>jnyaq</u> <sup>42</sup> <u>ne</u> <sup>2</sup> little honey now	Some honey now
3	<u>Chinq</u> <sup>20</sup> <u>xi</u> <sup>-4</sup> <u>ne</u> <sup>2</sup> little sweet now	Some sweetness now
4	<u>Chinq</u> <sup>20</sup> <u>xonq</u> <sup>14</sup> <u>ne</u> <sup>0</sup> little tasty now	Some deliciousness now
5	<u>Chinq</u> <sup>20</sup> <u>nta</u> <sup>3</sup> <u>ne</u> <sup>2</sup> little ? now	A little ? now
6	<u>Chinq</u> <sup>20</sup> <u>ntqa</u> <sup>42</sup> <u>ne</u> <sup>2</sup> little all now	A little bit of everything now

Each one of the lines in Example 5.51 ends with the particle *ne<sup>2</sup>* or *ne<sup>0</sup>* ‘now’. In addition to marking the end of the line it also brings a sense of completion in each utterance.

### 11.4.2 *Ndiya*<sup>32</sup>-*ra*<sup>1</sup> ‘sometimes’

This time adverb is also very prominent in SJQ verbal art. For example:

#### Example 5.52

1	<i>ndiya</i> <sup>32</sup> <i>ra</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>ja</i> <sup>4</sup> <i>nkwa</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>qa</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>chaq</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>qne</i> <sup>14</sup> <i>jnya</i> <sup>3</sup> sometimes NEG COMPL_be very to POT_do_INCL work <i>qna</i> <sup>42</sup> our(INCL)	<u>sometimes</u> we weren't able
2	<i>ndiya</i> <sup>32</sup> <i>ra</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>jnaq</i> <sup>0</sup> <i>ntqen</i> <sup>24</sup> <i>tnya</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>qna</i> <sup>42</sup> sometimes COMPL_lose PROG-exist work our(INCL)	<u>sometimes</u> our work [harvest] got spoiled
3	<i>ndiya</i> <sup>32</sup> <i>-ra</i> <sup>1</sup> sometimes	<u>sometimes</u>

Each line in Example 5.52 begins with the adverbial particle *ndya*<sup>32</sup> *ra*<sup>1</sup>

‘sometimes’. Like this example, a great majority of parallel elaborations in SJQ are embedded inside an adverbial clause.

### 11.5 The *qo*<sup>1</sup> conjunction particle

This conjunction particle is found introducing parallel elaborations such as in lines 6-8 in Example 5.53 below.

Example 5.53

1	nde <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> . this one	this is.
2	Qan <sup>1</sup> tiq <sup>0</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> re <sup>2</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> as essence_0 we(EXCL) here now	As it is for us now
3	Chaq <sup>3</sup> syan <sup>2</sup> anq <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , thing COMPL_agree_1INCL now	What we have agreed to
4	chaq <sup>3</sup> wqen <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> thing COMPL_settle_1INCL now	what we have settled on
5	qo <sup>1</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> mban <sup>14</sup> ne <sup>0</sup> , and the.one PROG.be compadre_1INCL now	now <u>with</u> our <i>compadres</i>
6	qo <sup>1</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> ndlyin <sup>14</sup> ne <sup>0</sup> , and the.one PROG.be comadre_1INCL now	<u>now</u> with our <i>comadres</i>
7	qo <sup>1</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> tyin <sup>1</sup> in <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , and the.one PROG.be children_1INCL now	now <u>with</u> our children
8	qo <sup>1</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> tqa <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , and the.one PROG.be relatives_1INCL now	now <u>with</u> our relatives
9	Qan <sup>1</sup> ndiya <sup>04</sup> -riq <sup>2</sup> tiye <sup>32</sup> re <sup>2</sup> , ne <sup>2</sup> as like essence chest here now	As for how these people feel now

11.6 Falsetto lexeme *in*<sup>20</sup>

The *in*<sup>20</sup> ‘hm?’ lexeme is a pervasive element in persuasive speech. This lexeme is uttered with high pitch. In addition to acting as a poetic line marker, the *in*<sup>20</sup> conveys a sense of endearment and humbleness. For example:

Example 5.54

1	chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> ti <sup>2</sup> nsqya <sup>1</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> qwan <sup>4</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> so that still PROG_call we(EXCL) to.you(pl), hm?	in order for you to be we called by us [tonight], <u>hm?</u>
2	ke <sup>4</sup> sya <sup>0</sup> ndiya <sup>24</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> tiye <sup>32</sup> qwan <sup>4</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> as like essence chest to.you(pl), hm?	as your heart permits you, <u>hm?</u>
3	Sqen <sup>4</sup> kwan <sup>40</sup> where COMPL_sit.elevated-1INCL	Where we sat
4	sqen <sup>4</sup> ndon <sup>42</sup> on <sup>32</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> where COMPL_stand-1INCL, hm?	where we stood, <u>hm?</u>
5	Nkwa <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> yaq <sup>2</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> COMPL_be you(pl subj) hand our (INCL)	You were our hands

Lines (1,2, and 4) in Example 5.54 end in the *in*<sup>20</sup> ‘hm?’ falsetto lexeme. By using this lexeme the orator conveys humbleness and endearment.

### 11.7 *Na*<sup>20</sup> *jin*<sup>2</sup> ‘pause filler’

Pause fillers are also found introducing parallel repetitions like line 1 in Example 5.55 below.

Example 5.55 G. Cruz (2009)

1	<i>na</i> <sup>20</sup> <i>jin</i> <sup>2</sup> hmm	<u>what's-it,</u>
2	<i>ntqen</i> <sup>4</sup> <i>chaq</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>kna</i> <sup>20</sup> , have thing POT_crie_2SG	you have to cry,
3	<i>ntqen</i> <sup>4</sup> <i>chaq</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>tykwiq</i> <sup>42</sup> , have thing POT_speak_2SG	you have to speak
4	<i>ntqen</i> <sup>4</sup> <i>chaq</i> <sup>3</sup> have thing	you have to

In this example the pause filler *na*<sup>20</sup> *jin*<sup>2</sup> ‘hmm’ introduce a new passage.

### 11.8 Poetization of grammar

Many grammatical features in the language have an additional poetic function. This is a widespread process in oral discourse, referred to by some scholars as the “poetization of grammar.” The most salient elements that show this poetization of grammar in SJQ are person marking pronouns, aspect marking, and noun possession. For example, persuasive speech recited in political contexts, such as at the city hall of the town of San Juan, shows a more frequent than average use of the first person plural pronoun. Orators use this grammatical person to convey humbleness, a sense of community, belonging, and inclusiveness, as well as to evoke feelings of endearment.

In persuasive speeches made in city hall, orators favor the use of the first person plural inclusive pronoun (1INCL), even though the use of this person inflection creates

opaqueness of meaning. By using this form of address orators express solidarity and convey a sense of belonging and inclusiveness. One example of this phenomenon is a 170-line speech delivered by R. Cruz in the city hall in 2004. Table 5.3 shows that the use of INCL is greater than the second plural 2PL.

Pronoun	occurrence/tokens
1SG	1
2SG	0
3SG	10
1PL.INCL	54
1PL.EXCL	9
2PL	50

Table 5.3: Personal pronoun marking in the Changing of the Authorities speech by R. Cruz (2004)

Table 5.3 shows that the 1INCL person marking is used 54 times. This table also shows that the 2PL inflection is used 50 times. This is followed by 10 tokens of the third singular (3SG) and 9 tokens of the first person plural exclusive (1EXCL) and only 1 token of the first person singular.

## 12 PAUSE

Pauses are not random in SJQ verbal art; there is an organization to the speaker's use of pauses, especially in persuasive speeches. In some of the speeches analyzed in this study (e.g., the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> ksy<sup>10</sup>*), pauses follow a regular pattern. This element plays an important role in separating phonological words and materials built from the same semantic field. Pauses also mark the endings of parallel groups, and the breaks that

orators take to breath. Orators also use pauses as a brief stop to plan upcoming streams of speech. However, pauses are not clearly defined in all speech performed in SJQ.

As will be discussed with more detail in Chapter 6, some types of formal discourse do not show pauses as clearly as persuasive speech. This is because in rapid discourse like prayer it is not possible to distinguish pauses. Prayers are performed faster than other types of discourse, like everyday speech. In some prayers pauses seem to occur as a counterpoint to the parallelism. Even in these cases, however, it is hard to argue that pauses have a dramatic value, rather than being just gulps for air in the midst of the prayers. In order to have a more complete account of pauses in SJQ verbal art, further research needs to be done on the variety of circumstances in which they occur. Even so, it is clear that pauses in SJQ verbal art are not as prominent as the pause shown by Woodbury (1985) in Yupik discourse. Example 5.56 provides illustration of pauses in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> ksya<sup>10</sup>* speech. In this example, pauses are presented in brackets <>.

Example 5.56

1	Se <sup>4</sup> nyo <sup>20</sup> re <sup>14</sup> , Com <sup>4</sup> pa <sup>3</sup> dre <sup>14</sup> , Co <sup>4</sup> ma <sup>3</sup> dre <sup>14</sup> , sirs                      compadre                      comadre	Ladies and Gentlemen, Compadres, Comadres
2	<0.7>	
3	Keq <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> ntykwa <sup>32</sup> , difficult very      HAB_reach	how difficult it is to reach
4	keq <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> ndya <sup>1</sup> difficult very      HAB_arrive	how difficult it is to arrive
5	<0.4>	
6	keq <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> ntyqo <sup>20</sup> skwa <sup>3</sup> difficult very      HAB_come.out      PROG_lay.elevated	how difficult it is to come out on top
7	chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> <0.2>sqwe <sup>3</sup> . thing      that                      good	of what is good.
8	<1.4>	
9	nde <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> tykwi <sup>24</sup> , this      the.one      PROG_be      thing      whole	this is something whole
10	nde <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> nyi <sup>24</sup> this      the.one      PROG_be      thing      straight	this is something straight
11	nde <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> ykwa <sup>24</sup> , this      the.one      PROG_be      thing      even	this is something even
12	nde <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> lwi <sup>3</sup> this      the.one      PROG_be      thing      clean	this is something clean
13	se <sup>4</sup> nyo <sup>20</sup> re <sup>14</sup> , com <sup>4</sup> pa <sup>3</sup> dre <sup>14</sup> sirs                      compadre	gentlemen, compadres
14	nde <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> . this      the.one	this is.
15	<1>	

The pause in line 2 separates a listing of vocatives. A shorter pause is found in line 5. This pause seems to be separating a similar-sounding couplet in lines 3-4. The orator might be using a small pause here to plan what he will utter next. The pause in line 7 separates a nominalized expression. A longer pause in line 8 marks the boundary of the stanza (lines 3-7). The final pause in line 15 marks the end of the passage. This example demonstrates that the pauses that mark passages are longer than the pauses that separate



phonological words and the pauses in places where the orator makes a short pause to plan his next utterance.

### **13 COMMUNICATIVE FUNCTIONS IN SJQ VERBAL ART**

This section contains elements that traditionally have been called “rhetorical elements.” These elements are part of the communicative function that results from the rhetorical elements coming together. They include persuasive tools such as text progression, statements made in the form of questions, and negation.

#### **13.1 Text progression**

Text progression is an effect that helps move the text along. Topics in SJQ oral discourse are performed from the general to the specific and from the abstract to the concrete. Example 5.57 from *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*, by G. Cruz illustrates this.

Example 5.57

1	Tyiqyan <sup>20</sup> ton <sup>42</sup> on <sup>42</sup> POT_place NEUT_stand_1INCL	Let's plant this here,
2	Tyiqyan <sup>20</sup> tkwan <sup>14</sup> re <sup>0</sup> POT_place NEUT_sit.elevated_1INCL	Let's sit this here,
3	Cha <sup>3</sup> sqwe <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> ndya <sup>32</sup> thing good that PROG_there.is	Everything good that there is,
4	Cha <sup>3</sup> sqwe <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> sqwi <sup>24</sup> thing good that PROG_exist	Everything good that exists,
5	Cha <sup>3</sup> sqwe <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> ntsu <sup>42</sup> thing good that COMPL_sprout	Everything good that is sprouting,
6	Cha <sup>3</sup> sqwe <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> ndla <sup>1</sup> thing good that COMPL_born	Everything good that is being born
7	Chinq <sup>20</sup> ykwa <sup>4</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> little corn.gruel now	Some corn porridge now
8	Chinq <sup>20</sup> jnyaq <sup>42</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> little honey now	Some honey now
8	Chinq <sup>20</sup> xi <sup>4</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> little sweet now	Some sweetness now
9	Chinq <sup>20</sup> xonq <sup>14</sup> ne <sup>0</sup> little tasty now	Some deliciousness now
10	Chinq <sup>20</sup> nta <sup>3</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> little ? now	A little ? now
11	Chinq <sup>20</sup> ntqa <sup>42</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> little all now	A little bit of everything now

Lines 1-6 introduce the paragraph. The topics in this part are presented in an abstract and general manner using verbs of position. In line 7 the orator switches to a more concrete listing of objects. Here the orator describes the quality and taste of the food: *xi*<sup>4</sup> ‘sweet’ and *xonq*<sup>14</sup> ‘delicious’.

### 13.2 Statements made in the form of a question

In all languages we find elements that are popularly known as ‘rhetorical questions’, where ‘rhetorical’ implies that the element is framed as a question, but is intended as a statement. For example:

Example 5.58 B. Zurita (2009)

1	ka <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> kanq <sup>42</sup> , se <sup>4</sup> nyo <sup>20</sup> re <sup>14</sup> ! yes thing that, sir	Yes indeed, sir!
2	na <sup>3</sup> qne <sup>14?</sup> what POT_do_1INCL	<u>What further can we do?</u>
3	na <sup>3</sup> tykwe <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32?</sup> what POT_say_1INCL	<u>What further can we say?</u>
4	kwan <sup>20</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> -jyaq <sup>3</sup> ndya <sup>3</sup> This indeed permission PROG_there.is	This is the way of things here
5	sqen <sup>4</sup> ntkwan <sup>14</sup> where PROG_sit.elevated_1INCL	where we preside (lit., were we sit)
6	sqen <sup>4</sup> ntqen <sup>4</sup> na <sup>32</sup> where PROG_live_1INCL us(INCL)	where we live,
7	ska <sup>4</sup> qya <sup>2</sup> , one mountain	in these mountains
8	ska <sup>4</sup> kchin <sup>32</sup> na <sup>32</sup> in <sup>20</sup> one community us(INCL), hm?	in this community of ours, hm?
9	ni <sup>4</sup> na <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> qne <sup>14?</sup> what thing POT_can POT_do_1INCL	What further can we do?
10	na <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> ntykwe <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32?</sup> thing POT_can PROG_say_1INCL	<u>What further can we say?</u>
11	kanq <sup>42</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> -jyaq <sup>3</sup> ntkwan <sup>2</sup> , that permission PROG_sit_1INCL	This is the way of things that we sit with
12	kanq <sup>42</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> -jyaq <sup>3</sup> ntqen <sup>14</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> that permission PROG_live_1INCL now, hm?	This is the way of things that we exist with

This passage revolves around the same topic as the previous example: a willingness for shared submission and sacrifice for civic duties within the community. The orator emphasizes this point by framing the statement as a question. In this passage this question occurs twice, once at the beginning of the stanza and once at the end.

### 13.3 Statement made in a form of negation

Persuasive statements are also made in the form of negation. For example:

Example 5.59 C. Cruz (2004)

1	ja <sup>4</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>1</sup> tsan <sup>0</sup> NEG Pot.able very POT_go.NB_1INCL	<u>wouldn't we wish we would have gone</u>
2	ja <sup>42</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>1</sup> tyqan <sup>1</sup> ykwe <sup>1</sup> enq <sup>1</sup> NEG POT_able very POT_go.around.NB. ourselves	<u>wouldn't we wish we would have done it ourselves</u>
3	ykwe <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> COMPL_say_1INCL	we said

This passage presents an example of the frame repeating two negation phrases in order to make a persuasive statement.

## 14 OCCASIONAL TYPES OF RECURRENCE

In this section I present a few figures of speech, which were identified in the Prayer for the Community.

### 14.1 Assonance

Verbal art in San Juan Quiahije also employs others types of recurrence besides parallelism. These patterns give special emphasis to certain aspects of the text. Examples are sporadic, minor patterns of recurrence such as vocalic and tonal assonance.

Example 5.60 S. Zurita (2009)

No <sup>4</sup> The_one	yqu <sup>2</sup> , COMPL_survive	Those who survived,
No <sup>4</sup> The_one	ndlu <sup>3</sup> , COMPL_thrive	Those who thrived,
No <sup>4</sup> The_one	suq <sup>3</sup> , COMPL_mature	Those who matured,

The triplet above shows a conscious effort on the part of the orator to build root assonance (vocalic repetition) with the *u* vowel.

## 14.2 Assonance with tone

In SJQ there is assonance with tone. For example:

Example 5.61 G. Cruz (2010)

47	Nde <sup>2</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> ti <sup>1</sup> tsan <sup>32</sup> , here already ten day	For over ten days
48	nde <sup>2</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> qnyo <sup>1</sup> tsan <sup>32</sup> , here already fifteen day	for over fifteen days
49	ndywen <sup>1</sup> enq <sup>1</sup> , HAB_say_1INCL	we have been conversing
50	ndywen <sup>1</sup> enq <sup>1</sup> xwen <sup>1</sup> en <sup>1</sup> , HAB_say_1INCL little_1INCL	we have been talking
51	ndywe <sup>1</sup> enq <sup>1</sup> stan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> re <sup>2</sup> HAB_say_1INCL smash_1INCL word this	we have been chatting about this (event)

In Example 5.61 all elements in the parallel stanza have the same tones.

## 15 CONCLUSION

This chapter described the tools and plan for analysis of SJQ verbal art. It addressed the major recurrent linguistic components and patterns that make up the structure and the content of SJQ verbal art including parallelism, formulaic phrases, *difrasismo*, adverbial particles, and communicative functions. The organization of the different components SJQ verbal art was influenced by the rhetorical structure framework proposed by Woodbury (1985). This chapter also offered a description of the steps undertaken to transfer the oral speeches into written form. Finally, this chapter proposed that phonological phrases are the main materials that SJQ orators elaborate on in parallel repetitions.

## **Chapter 6: Ways of speaking in San Juan Quiahije**

### **1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter defines and provides an analytic taxonomy of various different kinds and ways of speaking, and relating them to different speech contexts, speaker roles, and genres. It is largely about what Hymes (1974) called ethnography of speaking. This perspective includes an exploration and the use and context of formal language and what might properly be called performance (details of how speaking events are put in practice).

Different performative events are pervasive in official, civic, and religious events held throughout the year in San Juan Quiahije. Knowledge is conceived and transmitted through the practice of oral performance. Richard Bauman (1984) argues that performances are events in which speakers display special verbal skills for an audience that evaluates the performer in some way. Orally performed verbal art is an intrinsic part of all major life events in both public and private spaces in the San Juan Quiahije community.

Performance of verbal art reflects the ethos of the San Juan Quiahije people, who treasure fluent and poetic speech. Analysis of the different ways of speaking yields invaluable insights into the inner workings of Chatino language, culture, and values. Through performance, orators display the fundamental attitudes that San Juan Quiahije people have about nationhood, citizenship, place, and ancestors. Some ways of speaking including persuasive talk, political speeches, and prayers in San Juan Quiahije are skillfully crafted by talented orators to influence opinions and call upon citizens and

higher powers to maintain, protect, preserve, honor, and continue the values and traditions of the community.

## **2 FORMAL AND EVERYDAY LANGUAGE**

In this section I will briefly compare formal language and everyday speech in order to establish what makes formal language distinctive from the everyday speech. Many researchers have argued that formal language and everyday speech are not that different from each other. Tannen (1984) argues that “literary language builds on and intensifies features that are spontaneous and commonplace in ordinary conversation” (p 153). Similarly in her study of repetition in Tojolabal Maya, Brody (1986) states that everyday speech and formal discourse are highly interpenetrating in Tojolabal society. San Juan Quiahije formal speech displays similar traits to those pointed out by Brody (1986) for Tojolabal society. Some styles of formal speech in San Juan Quiahije are performed in an interactive manner, often taking the general form of conversational exchange. Despite these similarities, there are some unique characteristics that distinguish everyday conversation from formal speech, as illustrated in Table 6.1.

### **2.1 Formal speech**

As stated in Chapter 5, San Juan Quiahije formal speech is a highly formulaic type of discourse performed in particular settings and events. Formal speech draws on multiple levels of poetic, linguistic and performance skills. The orator, audience, setting, and poetic tools are all crucial elements of formal speech in San Juan Quiahije verbal art.

## 2.2 Everyday speech

Everyday speech, on the other hand, is the basic and “primary usage of language” (Tannen 1992:243). Everyday speech in San Juan Quiahije frequently incorporates features that are prevalent in formal speech such as repetition, parallelism, and frame tags. Examples 6.1 and 6.2, below, compare two stanzas, one from a formal speech event (Example 6.1), and the other from an everyday conversation (Example 6.2).

Example 6.1 R. Cruz (2004)

	<b>Frame</b>	<b>Focus</b>	<b>Frame</b>	<b>Focus</b>
1	Nkwa <sup>2</sup>	wan <sup>1</sup> yaq <sup>2</sup> qna <sup>42</sup>	You were	our hands
2	Nkwa <sup>2</sup>	wan <sup>1</sup> kyaq <sup>24</sup> qna <sup>42</sup>	You were	our feet
3	Nkwa <sup>2</sup>	wan <sup>1</sup> _____.	You were	_____.

Example 6.2 is a parallel stanza. Each line in this parallel passage consists of a frame and a focus. The last line is a frame tag.

Example 6.2 L. Baltazar (2007)

	<b>Frame</b>	<b>Focus</b>	<b>Frame Focus</b>
1	qne <sup>42</sup>	kqu <sup>2</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> kweq <sup>42</sup> ,	We raised pigs,
2	qne <sup>42</sup>	kqu <sup>2</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> pi <sup>20</sup> ,	We raised turkeys,
3	qne <sup>42</sup>	kqu <sup>2</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> _____.	We raised _____.

This example is from everyday speech. Like the previous example, this passage is also a triplet and each line also comprises a frame and focus. The last line in this construction is a frame tag just like the previous example.

Additionally, speakers do not need special training, nor is it required of them to follow or show mastery of established formulas when engaging in everyday speech. The



only skill speakers need to hold a conversation is the knowledge of the language they are using to communicate. Thus then, everyday language is more fluid, diverse, and multifaceted than formal speech. Conversely, formal speech is more constrained in terms of style and more predictable than everyday speech. Table 6.1 provides a summary of both formal and everyday speech.

<b>Everyday speech</b>	<b>Formal speech</b>
No skill or special training required	Skill and training required
Spoken at a normal rate	Spoken very fast (especially prayers)
Parallelism and figures and fixed formulas of speech are less numerous	An increased fixity of form, repetition, and parallelism
Themes pertain to a wide range of discourse and topics related to everyday life	Themes tend to be more abstract in nature
Not constrained by time boundaries	Constrained by time boundaries
Not planned	Purposefully designed to evoke strong emotions
Composed of varying styles and modes of expression	Follows a single style
Less predictable	More predictable
Context is more lighthearted	Context evokes serious tone
No special quality of voice	A special quality of voice
Talk is anchored in everyday life	Often times linked to distant times or places
No evaluation	Orators constantly evaluated
No special embodied communication needed	Elicits a set of embodied communications

Table 6.1: Comparing formal speech and everyday speech in San Juan Quiahije Chatino

### **3 PERFORMANCES: TYPES AND SETTINGS**

Table 6.2 below elaborates on the most common types of discourse in the San Juan Quiahije community. The first column provides the name (in Chatino) by which San Juan Quiahije residents refer to the piece. The second column provides the English gloss. The third column lists descriptions of each discourse. The fourth column displays the register used in the performance of the speech. The fifth column describes whether the

addressee is a human or a spirit. The last column, six, states whether the discourse is a fixed or flexible text.

Traditional Chatino titles	Gloss	Description	Register	Addressee	fixed text?
La <sup>42</sup>	Church	Traditional Chatino prayer	sacred	spirits	no
Chaq <sup>3</sup> qo <sup>2</sup>	Holy words	Prayers found in the Catholic Catechism	sacred	spirits	yes
Chaq <sup>3</sup> ndywiq <sup>24</sup> nten <sup>14</sup> ntyka <sup>04</sup>	Words that healers say	Healing prayers	sacred	spirits	no
Chaq <sup>3</sup> Ksya <sup>10</sup>	Words of the heart	Persuasive exchange performed in wedding and when god parent present gift to their godchildren	secular	humans	yes
Kwen <sup>3</sup>	Advice	Advice and counsel	secular	human	no
Kwe <sup>3</sup> ntu <sup>10</sup>	Stories, gossip	Narrative	secular	human	no
Chaq <sup>3</sup> jya <sup>2</sup>	Jokes	Jokes, humorous stories	secular	human	no
Chaq <sup>3</sup> ndywiq <sup>24</sup> renq <sup>24</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> neq <sup>24</sup> kla <sup>24</sup>	Words spoken with elders	Exchange with elders	secular	human	yes
Chaq <sup>3</sup> ndywiq <sup>24</sup> neq <sup>4</sup> sya <sup>10</sup>	Words spoken by authorities	Political speech	secular	human	no
Chaq <sup>3</sup> ndywiq <sup>24</sup> renq <sup>24</sup> jo <sup>1</sup> tqa <sup>42</sup> nten <sup>14</sup> renq <sup>1</sup>	Formal exchange among citizens	Persuasive speech exchange among citizens	secular	human	no
Chaq <sup>3</sup> ndywiq <sup>24</sup> renq <sup>24</sup> ndya <sup>4</sup> tsan <sup>32</sup>	Words spoken daily	Everyday speech	secular	humans	no

Table 6.2: Types of discourse in San Juan Quiahije

Table 6.2 illustrates the great variety of discourse that exists in the San Juan Quiahije community. The discourse presented in this table ranges from formal speech to everyday conversation, and from secular to religious types of speech. Another feature of San Juan Quiahije verbal art displayed in Table 6.2 is whether the discourse is sacred or secular. Sacred discourse comprises prayers that community members direct to spirits, while secular discourse includes the wide variety of ritual exchanges and everyday interactions that occur between community members both in private and in public.

### 3.1 Sacred discourse

Table 6.2 shows three types of prayers: (1) *la*<sup>42</sup> ‘Traditional Chatino prayer’, (2) *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> *qo*<sup>2</sup> ‘Prayers found in the Catholic Catechism’ (such as praying the rosary), and (3) *chaq*<sup>3</sup> *ndywiq*<sup>24</sup> *nten*<sup>14</sup> *ntyka*<sup>24</sup> ‘healing prayers’ performed by *nten*<sup>14</sup> *ntyka*<sup>04</sup>.

People in San Juan Quiahije are highly spiritual in practice. Performing prayers is an essential part of people’s daily lives. San Juan Quiahije citizens rely on prayers to sustain their lives and to keep themselves, their families, and their community healthy and away from harm and evil. The *la*<sup>42</sup> ‘traditional Chatino prayer’ is performed in Chatino by any adult of the community on occasions that require a prayer. Authorities and the elder’s council have a set of prayers that they conducts for the well being of every member of the San Juan Quiahije community

The *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> *qo*<sup>2</sup> ‘Prayers found in the Catholic Catechism’ is performed in Spanish by a community catechist trained by the Franciscan priest who resides in Panixtlahuaca. The *chaq*<sup>3</sup> *ndywiq*<sup>24</sup> *nten*<sup>14</sup> *ntyka*<sup>04</sup> ‘healing prayers’ are performed in Chatino by healers in the community. In Section 7 I will discuss other aspects of prayers.

### 3.2 Secular discourse

Persuasive speech represents the other large group of discourses listed in Table 6.2. This form of speech comprises the large body of speech events performed in city hall by officials and elders. They include the *Cambio* speeches that authorities performed every year when they enter or leave office. Three of these speeches were analyzed in H. Cruz 2009. Speech events carry out by authorities are a vital components of the daily functioning of the traditional government in San Juan Quiahije. Authorities also use

speech to solve routine issues that come up in the community including imparting justice, and mediating conflict among citizens.

There is also a wide range of formal persuasive interactions among community members on different ceremonial occasions (e.g., bride petitions, giving thanks, leave-taking). Examples from this group include: *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* ‘words of the heart’, which is given by specialist in wedding and coming-of-age ceremonies. *Kwen<sup>24</sup>* ‘advice’, which is given by parents, elders, and public officials; and *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* ‘exchange among citizens’ are all persuasive speeches.

Table 6.2 also displays a group of more casual, playful speeches, which include *kwe<sup>3</sup>ntu<sup>10</sup>* ‘narrative, gossip, story-telling’, *Chaq<sup>3</sup> jya<sup>2</sup>* ‘jokes and humorous stories’, and *Chaq<sup>3</sup> ndywiq<sup>24</sup> renq<sup>24</sup> ndya<sup>4</sup> tsan<sup>32</sup>* ‘everyday speech’. Even though these are more casual types of speech, they still show elements of formal speech, such as parallelism and frame tags.

Another characteristic of San Juan Quiahije speech listed in Table 6.2 is whether the text is flexible or fixed. Flexible texts are discourses where “a general idea, theme, or set of metaphors are adapted to fit a particular situation” (Sherzer 1987:103). Fixed texts, on the other hand, are those texts that cannot be altered and must be memorized by the speaker. Among the flexible texts in the San Juan Quiahije verbal art repertoire are political and persuasive speeches recited in city hall.

The group of fixed texts include the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> qo<sup>2</sup>* ‘Prayers found in the Catholic Catechism’, the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* ‘words of the heart’ and the ceremonial exchanges between elders and city hall envoys. “*The Visit*”, the text I will analyze in Chapter 7, is another example of a fixed text.

The conclusion that the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* is a fixed text is supported by the fact that different versions of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* that E. Cruz and I have recorded with different speakers in SJQ, contain the exact same words. As I will discuss with further detail in Chapter 9, the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* was performed by specialists who received special familial training on the art of performing the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*. Not everyone can perform the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*. However, the particular version of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* that I am analyzing in this study was recited by G. Cruz for the benefit of this study alone. G. Cruz did not receive the specialized training and recalled the text from his personal recollection. Therefore this is a reasonable facsimile of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* but cannot be considered a true *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*.

#### **4 PLACES FOR DIFFERENT TYPES OF SPEECH**

The concept of place carries profound meaning for people in San Juan Quiahije. The performance of discourse in places demonstrates the reverence people have toward place and ancestors. Verbal art is performed in a wide variety of settings both inside and outside the San Juan Quiahije community including homes, city hall, places in nature, and other Chatino towns. Table 6.3 lists some of the places where the different types of speeches are performed.

	Home	Farm	City hall	Church	Cemetery	Other sacred places inside San Juan	Mountain tops	Water sources
Traditional Chatino titles								
La <sup>42</sup> ‘Traditional Chatino prayer’	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Chaq <sup>3</sup> qo <sup>2</sup> ‘Prayers found in the Catholic Catechism’	X		X	X	X	X	X	
Chaq <sup>3</sup> ndywiq <sup>24</sup> nten <sup>14</sup> ntyka <sup>04</sup> ‘Healing prayers’	X	X		X	X	X	X	X
Chaq <sup>3</sup> Ksya <sup>10</sup> ‘words of the heart’	X							
kwen <sup>3</sup> ‘advice’	X	X	X	X				
Chaq <sup>3</sup> ndywiq <sup>24</sup> renq <sup>24</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> neq <sup>24</sup> kla <sup>24</sup>	X		X					
Chaq <sup>3</sup> ndyiq <sup>24</sup> neq <sup>4</sup> sya <sup>10</sup> ‘Speech of authorities’			X					
Kwe <sup>3</sup> ntu <sup>10</sup> ‘Stories, gossip’	X	X	X					
Chaq <sup>3</sup> jya <sup>2</sup> ‘Jokes, humorous stories’	X	X	X					
Chaq <sup>3</sup> ndywiq <sup>24</sup> renq <sup>24</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> tqa <sup>42</sup> nten <sup>14</sup> renq <sup>1</sup> ‘Persuasive speech exchange among citizens’	X	X						
Chaq <sup>3</sup> ndywiq <sup>24</sup> renq <sup>24</sup> ndya <sup>4</sup> tsan <sup>32</sup> ‘Everyday speech’	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Table 6.3: Context of performance

Table 6.3 shows that place is a crucial element in the performance of San Juan Quiahije discourse. For instance, the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* cannot (or should not) be performed away from the host's dwelling, and the exchange between city hall envoys and elders should happen at an elder's house and nowhere else.

Table 6.3 also reflects that some discourses are performed in more places than others, such as *Chaq<sup>3</sup> ndywiq<sup>24</sup> renq<sup>24</sup> ndya<sup>4</sup> tsan<sup>32</sup>* 'everyday speech', and the different types of prayers. For instance the *la<sup>42</sup>* 'traditional Chatino prayer' is performed at home, public institutions (the city hall, church, cemetery) and in all sacred landmarks inside and outside the community. The prayers associated with *Chaq<sup>3</sup> qo<sup>2</sup>* 'prayers conducted as part of Catholic rituals' are performed primarily at the local Catholic church and other public institutions in the community such as the city hall and the cemetery.

Other speeches such as the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*, *Chaq<sup>3</sup> ndywiq<sup>24</sup> renq<sup>24</sup> qo<sup>1</sup> tqa<sup>42</sup> nten<sup>14</sup> renq<sup>1</sup>* 'Persuasive speech exchange among citizens (e.g., bride petition)', and *kwen<sup>3</sup>* 'advise' are performed at people's home. Similarly, there are many speeches that are related to city hall functions and those are only performed at the city hall, such as the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> ndyiq<sup>24</sup> neq<sup>4</sup> sya<sup>10</sup>* 'Speech of authorities' (e.g., general town assemblies, the ceremony of the changing of the authorities).

## **5 RITUALS AND TYPES OF DISCOURSE PERFORMED IN THEM**

Verbal art performance is part of all major life events in SJQ. Orally performed speeches are a crucial element of all different types of rituals celebrated in the San Juan Quiahije community. Speech is an integral component of ceremonies that celebrate the different life stages of each individual, and crucial in the political and religious ritual life



of the community. Table 6.4 displays the types of speech that are associated with the different types of ceremonial events celebrated in the community. The rows of the table list the ceremonies celebrated in the community, and the columns list the types of speeches performed in them

Ceremony or event	Traditional Chatino titles used										
	La <sup>42</sup>	Cha <sup>3</sup> qo <sup>2</sup>	Cha <sup>3</sup> ndywiq <sup>24</sup> nten <sup>14</sup> ntyka <sup>04</sup>	Cha <sup>3</sup> Ksya <sup>10</sup>	Kwen <sup>3</sup>	Kwen <sup>3</sup> tu <sup>10</sup>	Cha <sup>3</sup> jya <sup>2</sup>	Cha <sup>3</sup> ndywiq <sup>24</sup> renq <sup>24</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> neq <sup>24</sup> kla <sup>24</sup>	Cha <sup>3</sup> ndyiq <sup>24</sup> neq <sup>4</sup> sya <sup>10</sup>	Cha <sup>3</sup> ndywiq <sup>24</sup> renq <sup>24</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> tqa <sup>42</sup> nten <sup>14</sup> renq <sup>1</sup>	Cha <sup>3</sup> ndywiq <sup>24</sup> renq <sup>24</sup> tsan <sup>32</sup>
Celebration of a birth	X		X								X
Baptism		X								X	X
Coming-of-age ceremony	X			X						X	X
Bride petition										X	X
Wedding	X			X	X				X	X	X
Wake		X							X		X
Mayordomía feast in celebration of Patron Saint	X	X				X	X		X	X	X
Greetings and leave-taking										X	X
Exchange between envoys of city hall and elders							X	X			X
Ceremony of the changing of municipal authorities	X	X			X		X	X			X
Election of new authorities and general township meeting								X	X		X

Table 6.4: Types of speech performed during different types of ceremonies

Continuation of Table 6.4

Monthly gathering of elders in city hall for prayer	X	X						X	X		X
Exchanges between city hall officials and community members					X				X		X
Daily functioning of the government	X	X			X	X	X	X	X		X

The different ceremonies presented in Table 6.4 mark the celebration of the stages of an individual's life, events such as birth, baptism, coming-of-age ceremony, wedding and wake. Other events are related to the traditional government, including exchanges between city hall envoys and elders and the ceremony of the changing of the authorities.

Table 6.4 shows that besides everyday speech, two other major types of performances accompany the celebration of a birth: *la*<sup>42</sup> 'Traditional Chatino prayer', and *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> *ndywiq*<sup>24</sup> *nten*<sup>14</sup> *ntyka*<sup>04</sup> 'words spoken by healers'.

As previously stated coming-of-age ceremonies are celebrated with the *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> *Ksya*<sup>10</sup> speech. Bride petition uses persuasive speech as well. Parents must use persuasive speech to convince another family in the community to give up their daughter for marriage. Marriage ceremonies are accompanied by many types formal speech, such as *la*<sup>42</sup> 'Traditional Chatino prayer', the *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> *Ksya*<sup>10</sup>, and *kwen*<sup>3</sup> 'advice', given by the parents and officials in the city hall attending the wedding ceremony.

Once a person is married, he or she is considered an adult member of society. Men at this point are considered ready to take on more serious responsibilities in the city hall besides just being a *neq*<sup>4</sup> *skan*<sup>4</sup> 'errand boys'. One of the first things a man does to show that he is a responsible person is to host a *mayordomía*, a feast in celebration of the patron saint of the town (e.g., San Juan). This feast is accompanied by many speech events ranging from *la*<sup>42</sup> 'Chatino prayers', prayers at the church, and exchanges with the authorities. When a person dies, one of the main performances that takes place at the wake is the *chaq*<sup>3</sup> *qo*<sup>2</sup> 'Prayer related to Catholicism' (that is the Rosary prayer).

Table 6.4 also shows that some event require more than one speaking event. For instance in the ceremonies that take place in the city hall such as the ceremony of the

changing of municipal authorities is accompany by *la*<sup>42</sup> ‘Traditional Chatino prayer’, *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> *qo*<sup>2</sup> ‘Prayers found in the Catholic Catechism’, *kwen*<sup>3</sup> ‘advice’, and *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> *ndyiq*<sup>24</sup> *neq*<sup>4</sup> *sya*<sup>10</sup> ‘speeches conducted by authorities’. The same speeches are performed in monthly gathering of elders in city hall for prayer (with the exception of *kwen*<sup>3</sup> ‘advice’).

## **6 PLACE FOR DIFFERENT CEREMONIAL OCCASIONS**

This section is closely related to section 4, while section 4 deals with the places for different types of speech, this section deals with places for different ceremonial occasions. Table 6.5 illustrates the places where the different ceremonies celebrated in San Juan Quiahije are performed.

Ceremony occasion	Place					
	Home	Farm	City Hall	Church	Cemetery	Sacred sites (in nature)
Celebration of birth	X			X		X
Baptism				X		
Bride petition	X					
Wedding	X			X	X	X
Rite of passage for a young person	X					
Mayordomía feast in celebration of Patron Saint	X		X	X		
Diverse exchanges between citizens such as greetings, leave-taking	X	X	X	X	X	
Wake	X			X	X	
Exchange between envoys of city hall and elders	X					
Ceremony of the changing of municipal authorities			X			
General town assemblies			X			
Election of new authorities and general township meeting			X			
Monthly gathering of elders in city hall for prayer			X	X		X
Exchanges between city hall officials and community members			X			
Daily functioning of the government			X			

Table 6.5: Places where ceremonies are performed

Table 6.5 shows that while some ceremonies are performed in a wide variety of places, other ceremonies are confined to one place. Ceremonies celebrated in a wide variety of places include ceremonies that celebrate life stages of the individual. This includes birth, which is celebrated at the home where the child is born, the church, and sacred places scattered inside and outside the center of San Juan Quiahije (usually places in nature, such as marshes and mountain tops). Wedding ceremonies also include performances that are celebrated at home, the church, the cemetery, and sacred places. Similarly, the *Mayordomía* feast, the celebration of the patron saint, also takes place at home, the city hall, and the church. Lastly, wakes take place at the home of the diseased person, the church, and the cemetery. If a man dies while in office his body is carried to the city hall, then to the cemetery, where the officials in city hall perform a farewell speech and thank him for his service to the community.

Baptism, bride petition, and rite of passage performances, on the other hand, are celebrated in more confined places. For instance, baptism is celebrated at the local Catholic church, bride petition happens in the privacy of the home of the future bride, and the celebration of coming-of-age ceremonies at the house of the young person's parents.

## **7 PRAYER**

Prayers are an important element of the celebration of life stages and crucial in all aspects of daily life in San Juan Quiahije, including work, family, and public service and assurance for endeavors an individual undertakes.

As previously stated, private citizens, government officials, and elders conduct prayers in homes, churches, and sacred sites in the natural environment, including

mountain peaks, rivers, natural springs, and ritual landmarks on the roads such as crosses. People also conduct prayers in their homes and in places where they farm. Indoor, they pray in all four corners of the house, in the middle of the house, and at the altar. They also pray in their kitchen or any place where they prepare a meal, such as in front of the *tyji*<sup>42</sup> ‘fire pit’, or around the *kchi*<sup>4</sup> ‘the grind stones’. Just outside their homes, they go to the middle of their patios to pray.

People in San Juan Quiahije make a prayer for just about anything they will need to rely on for their daily lives including there are prayers for domestic animals, sewing machines, and appeals for strength and fortitude when traveling. Below I describe some of these.

Prayers play a central role in Chatino culture and can be found in San Juan Quiahije rituals, both religious and civic. They are performed at the climactic moments of Chatino ritual acts. Prayers for the community are part of the monthly and yearly prayer rituals that elders and the local San Juan Quiahije authorities conduct on behalf of the entire community, especially of the new generation. The officials and selected elders pray for the protection, growth, and continuity of the community. In order to carry out these ritual ceremonies, the elders and authorities meet at city hall on the first of every month and on high holidays. On this particular occasion, prayers were conducted to celebrate the festival of Saint John the Baptist, patron saint of San Juan Quiahije.

The preparation and execution of *la*<sup>42</sup> *qin*<sup>4</sup> *neq*<sup>4</sup> *sya*<sup>10</sup> ‘prayers for the community’ involves many people, including all of the current officials in city hall and a selection of six to twelve elders of the community. The day before the event, a group of city hall envoys visit the elders to invite them to the city hall, and the *kwa*<sup>2</sup> ‘religious planners of



city hall' are two officers in city who duties are to gather all the instruments of prayer including holy water, candles, and flowers. The water is collected from the thirteen springs around San Juan Quiahije. On the day of the ritual, the elders and the authorities meet at the city hall very early in the morning to begin the prayer. The event marks the culmination of many hours of work on the part of city hall officials in preparation for it.

There are prayers for domestic animals like cows, donkeys, and horses. M. Baltazar (p.c. 2009) recounted several prayers she recites to her cows and donkeys. When my mother was young, around 40 years ago, she worked as a seamstress. She recounted that they conducted a special prayer for the sewing machine so it would not break. Also when my grandfather, Bernardo Cruz Santos (B. Cruz), told me that 50 years ago when he was young, there were no roads in which cars could travel in and out of the community. They had to walk by foot for one week to reach Oaxaca City. Their bodies, especially their feet, needed plenty of endurance for this trip. B. Cruz stated that in order to sustain their travels, they performed a special prayer for their feet. The prayer performance was accompanied by massaging feet with special herbs that they collected along the way.

#### **7.4 Orientation of prayer**

The faithful in the San Juan Quiahije community pray three times a day: in the morning, during the day, and at night. Prayers are conducted by following the path of the sun: east to west, sunrise to sunset. Some major ritual landmarks inside the San Juan Quiahije town are located on the east side of town: the church, *ke<sup>42</sup> nten<sup>4</sup>* 'hilltop location where the bell is', and many ritual crosses scattered along the road. When carrying out prayers people first stop at the big cross in front of the church before proceeding into the

church. They then continue to *ke<sup>42</sup> nten<sup>4</sup>* ‘hill top location’. Their final stop is the local cemetery on the southwest side of town. Figure 6.1 depicts this path, showing numbered stops at crosses on the road to the cemetery.

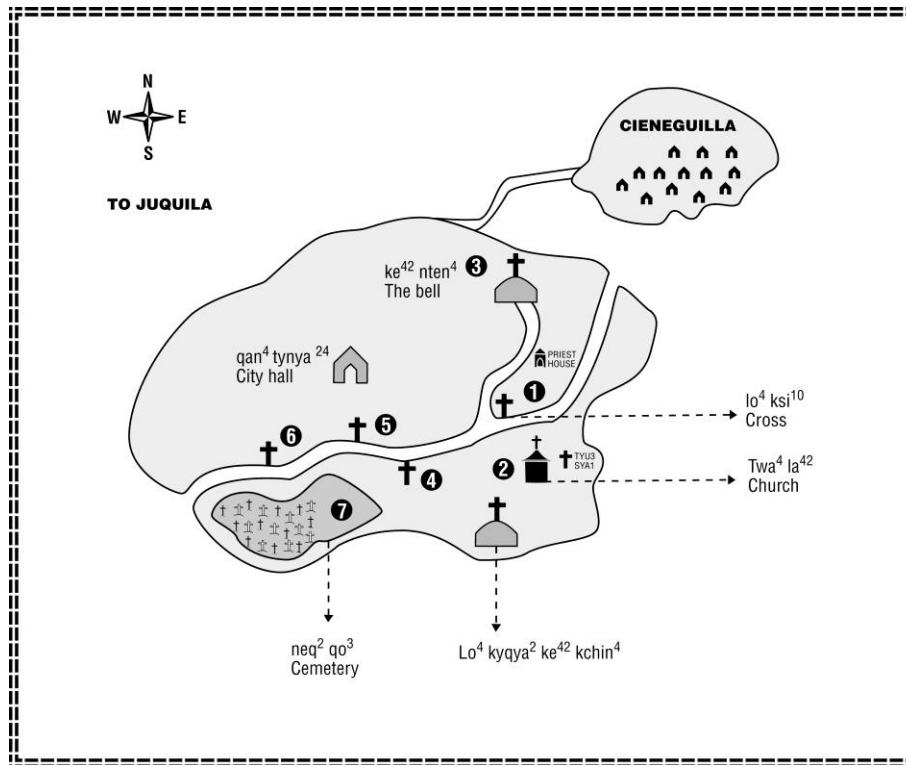


Figure 6.1: Praying direction in the center of San Juan Quiahije

## 7.5 Pilgrimage

In addition to the previously described prayers, San Juan Quiahije citizens also take part in a pilgrimage. Heads of households and elected authorities, those responsible for the welfare of San Juan Quiahije residents, make short pilgrimages throughout the Chatino region three times per year. The pilgrimages coincide with major events celebrating the life cycle and the seasons of the year. These are planting (May to June), harvesting (October to November), and the New Year (December to January). People observe these important times by conducting prayers for a consecutive period of an odd

number of days (three, seven, nine, or thirteen days). Odd numbers are important in Chatino numerology (p.c. G. Cruz). During these periods of prayer, the heads of households and city hall officials go to different churches and communities throughout the region, to anywhere from seven to thirteen mountain peaks, and also to seven to thirteen water sources to pray.

Some of the most important neighboring towns that San Juan Quiahije citizens visit in their pilgrimages include San José Ixtapan, Santiago Yaitepec, Santa María Ixpantepec, San Miguel Panixtlahuaca, and San Francisco Ixpantepec. In each one of these towns, people pray at the local Catholic church and at important ritual sites that exist in the vicinity of their journey (mountain peaks, and marsh, and so on). The shrines in each community are associated with specific physical and spiritual goods, and in each town, unique things are asked for. For example, in San José Ixtapan, the pilgrims ask for offspring. In Santiago Yaitepec, they pray for the (juveniles who are alcoholics) who are alcoholics to become sober. In San Francisco Ixpantepec, they pray for their domestic animals (p.c. M. Baltazar 2009).

The choices that people make about the prayers they conduct on their pilgrimages are very personal. It usually depends on the circumstances of that particular year. If they have extra money for pilgrimages, or if they have an emergency in the family, then they have a stronger calling to prayer. If, for example, they choose to do seven days of prayer, then they would have to visit seven churches in different towns in the Chatino region and its vicinity. They also would visit seven mountain peaks and seven water springs.

## 8 EMBODIED BEHAVIOR IN PERFORMANCE

Embodied interactions are central to performance in the San Juan Quiahije community. In addition to the spoken words, the performance of ritual speech coordinates with a set of embodied behaviors. Many of these actions are explicitly expressed in the oral performance. They include physical behavior such as posture orientation and the verbal behavior of the speaker and audience. As stated in Chapter 3 SJQ Chatino has a rich system of position verbs. These grammatical elements bring prominence to embodied positions. In Table 6.6 I reproduce the different types of position of a person. These positions have a parallel in the grammar of the language.

<b>Positions</b>	<b>Chatino</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
Hanging	ndwi <sup>1</sup>	He/he is hanging
Standing	ndon <sup>42</sup>	He/he is standing
Sitting/placed at elevated	ndwa <sup>14</sup>	He/he is sitting (elevated)
Sitting on the ground	nkqan <sup>4</sup>	He/he is sitting on the ground
Lying on the ground	su <sup>42</sup>	He/he is lying on the ground

Table 6.6: Positions in SJQ

All participants in a performance (including the audience) have a special status and are expected to play a role in performance. The bodily posture that both the performers and the audience assume in performances varies according to the kind of event transpiring. In Table 6.7 below I describe the bodily posture assumed by different participants in ceremonial events in the San Juan Quiahije community

	Body posture							
	orator				audience			
	standing	sitting	kneeling	walking on knees	standing	sitting	kneeling	walking on knees
La <sup>42</sup> ‘traditional Chatino prayers’	X		X	X	X		X	X
Chaq <sup>3</sup> qo <sup>2</sup> ‘prayer related to the Catholic church’			X				X	
Chaq <sup>3</sup> ndywiq <sup>24</sup> nten <sup>14</sup> ntyka <sup>04</sup> ‘healing prayers’	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Chaq <sup>3</sup> Ksya <sup>10</sup> ‘words of the heart’	X	X					X	
Kwen <sup>3</sup> ‘advice’	X	X			X	X		
Kwe <sup>3</sup> ntu <sup>10</sup> ‘narrative’	X	X			X	X		
Chaq <sup>3</sup> jya <sup>2</sup> ‘jokes’	X	X			X	X		
Chaq <sup>3</sup> ndywiq <sup>24</sup> renq <sup>24</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> neq <sup>24</sup> kla <sup>24</sup> ‘exchange between city hall envoys and elders’		X				X		
Chaq <sup>3</sup> ndyiq <sup>24</sup> neq <sup>4</sup> sya <sup>10</sup> ‘speech of authorities’	X					X		
‘Chaq <sup>3</sup> ndywiq <sup>24</sup> renq <sup>24</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> tqa <sup>42</sup> nten <sup>14</sup> renq <sup>0</sup> ‘exchange among community members’	X	X			X	X		
‘Monthly gathering of elders in city hall for prayer’	X				X			
‘election of new authorities and general township meeting’	X	X				X		
‘transition of power’		X					X	X

Table 6.7: Posture of participants in speech performance of the San Juan Quiahije community

Table 6.7 shows that the four crucial postures that are part of performance in San Juan Quiahije include standing, sitting, kneeling, or walking on one's knees. Standing and sitting at an elevated position, such as sitting on a chair or bench, communicates higher status and commands authority. Kneeling or sitting on the ground and walking on ones knees, on the other hand, communicate a reverential demeanor and lower stature. It is believed that the spirit of ancestors, God, and images or stature of saints in the Catholic church and the local authorities enjoy a higher status then the rest of the San Juan Quiahije population. Images of saints inside the Catholic church, for instance, sit at an elevated position. Similarly, officials in city hall sit on chairs or benches.

The higher status communicated through a sitting position is reproduced in performances conducted in private homes. Guests of honor in different celebrations are asked to assume a sitting position at large tables specially prepared for the occasion. When the local authorities attend a wedding or members of the community are the guests of honor at private celebrations of a wedding, they are invited to take seat at a special table. From my own personal experience, when I was growing up in SJQ, children, because of their lower status in the community, used to sit underneath the table. In ritual speech the table where the guest of honor sit in a celebration is described as being holy and sacred. This is illustrated in the one stanza in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> ksyá<sup>10</sup>*.

### Example 6.3

1	lo <sup>4</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> qo <sup>0</sup> , on table holy	at the holy table
2	lo <sup>4</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> qwna <sup>0</sup> , on table sacred	At the sacred table
3	lo <sup>4</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> ke <sup>0</sup> on table adorned	At the adorned table
4	lo <sup>4</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> ntyin <sup>0</sup> , on table ?	At the <i>ntyin</i> <sup>0</sup> table
6	lo <sup>4</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> ke <sup>0</sup> , on table adorned	At the adorned table
7	lo <sup>4</sup> sa <sup>10</sup> ksq <sup>3</sup> on table ?	At the ksq <sup>3</sup> table

Example 6.3 contains a listing of the different characteristic of the table where the guest of honor sits. This passage expresses that the table is sacred and holy. Similarly when advising the youth or a bride and a groom in a wedding ceremony, parents, grandparents, elders, and city hall officials dispense advice from a standing position. The person or persons receiving the council sit quietly on the ground, kneeling on a mat in front of the altar.

Another performance event that takes place at the San Juan Quiahije city hall that clearly shows the meaning of posture is the ceremony of the changing of the authorities. The main event is officiated by the members of the elders' council, who sit in a row in their designated sitting spaces. During the performance of the ceremony, the entering and exiting officials walk on their knees until they reach the elders. Upon reaching the elders, the men grasp each other's hands and they begin to perform the oral exchange in an overlapping manner. Through this position the young officials express reverence to the elders.

Authorities also show contrasts of body position as they deal with citizens on a daily basis. When community members visit city hall, they speak to the seated officials from a standing position. This indicates officials' higher status than the community members.

When performing a prayer, all the participants are subservient to the power of the invisible spirits. Supplicants express this demeanor by kneeling or walking on their knees. When conducting prayers at a church, people walk on their knees from the main entrance of the church to the main altar.

Other embodied components of prayer performance include gesture: those offering prayers must make the sign of the cross over their own face, and people leading the prayer perform this sign on the face of younger people accompanying them on their prayer journey. A separate set of postures and gestures are requisite for the person for whom the prayer is being conducted: this person kneels in front of the images of saints in the Catholic church in San Juan Quiahije; in the meantime, the person conducting the prayer stands and holds the offerings on the head of the person whom prayer is being performed on behalf of.

As stated in Chapter 1, bodily orientation is another important factor of performance in San Juan Quiahije. The two main orientation contrasts are: east vs. west and inside vs. outside. These embodied positions are best displayed in the city hall. Officials with more stature in city hall, such as elders and higher-ranking officials, sit in the east, and officials with less stature sit in the west. Similarly, people with more stature sit inside the city hall and people with less stature remain outside the city hall (H. Cruz 2009). When city hall officials are guests of honor at a feast or wedding in the house of a



member of the community, higher-ranking officials sit inside the house and helpers sit outside.

Orators usually command more authority than the members of the audience. Table 7 shows that, with the exception of prayers where all the supplicants are subservient to the Higher Power (shown by their posture: kneeling or walking on their knees), in all types of speech orators hold postures that are associated with authority, e.g., sitting or standing.

In a general sense, the audience shows a more reverential demeanor than the orator. This means remaining quiet, looking down at the ground, and kneeling when receiving advice. Similarly, young men, when listening to a prayer or persuasive speech delivered by a higher-ranking official in city hall, are expected to look down at the floor, often with their hands crossed as a sign of respect to the orator.

People in San Juan Quiahije use candles, sweet smelling plants (e.g., flowers, basil, and incense), and holy water from special springs as offerings in prayer. These offerings are used to move, appease, and reveal the face of the spirits to whom the prayers are conducted. Finally, the copal is used to rid the scene of harmful or evil spirits.

## **9 FEATURES OF PERFORMANCE**

The previous sections discussed the different types of discourses, ceremonies, and places where ceremonies are celebrated. This section discusses the mechanical aspects of performance such as rate of delivery and voice quality, and pause.

## 9.1 Rate of delivery

Prayers are recited much faster than everyday conversation in San Juan Quiahije. This is confirmed by a preliminary study carried out by Sullivant (2013) on the acoustic differences between everyday speech and ritual speech in SJQ, in which he concluded that a unit of ritual prayer is likely to be produced at a faster speech rate than a unit of everyday conversation. Comparing 93.9 seconds of ritual speech and 80.1 seconds of everyday conversation, Sullivant arrived at a global speech rate of 4.28 syll/sec for ritual speech and 3.06 syll/sec for everyday conversation.

Researchers of ritual language in Mesoamerican societies and around the globe have reported the fast performance of prayers. For instance, Townsend (1980) states that Ixil Maya ritual speech is recited rapidly, and Matisoff (1991) reports that prayers in Lahu, a language spoken in East Asia, are also recited very fast.

Andrew Pawley (1985) suggests that the prevalence of formulaic phrases in ritual language could be the reason speakers are able to perform prayers so fast. Pawley states that the use of formulaic phrases frees up the orator from concentrating on the mechanics of production, allowing them to turn their attention to higher-order tasks “such as framing larger structures, fine-tuning the music of each utterance, and taking extra pains with a particular word choice” (p 92).

As we will see later, San Juan Quiahije Chatino contains a large number of formulaic phrases. Pawley’s hypothesis, is supported by the findings of Townsend (1980) and Matisoff (1991) mentioned above, who reference the use of formulaic phrases in their respective research.

Other researchers (e.g., Keane 1997) argue that ritual speech is performed rapidly partly because the interlocutor is an invisible entity and the supplicant may not see the need to slow down in order to make himself understood by the higher power. On the other hand, Brody (1986) argues that persuasive speech, advice, and everyday conversation are spoken at a slower pace in order to facilitate information flow and to ensure that the information is being delivered in a clear, concise manner to the recipient.

## 9.2 Loudness

Another noticeable aspect of the performance of ritual speech in San Juan Quiahije is how the orator's voice undulates between a high volume at the beginning of each stanza to a low and indistinguishable sound at the end of the stanza. Hull (2003) also notes this characteristic of high-to-low volume in ritual speech in Ch'orti' Maya.

## 9.3 Pause

Pause is another important feature of performance in SJQ verbal art. Pauses were presented in Chapter 5 and there we identified two types of pauses: the silent pause and a pause filler (*na<sup>20</sup> jin<sup>2</sup>* 'hmm'). Pauses fulfill many functions in discourse. Silent pauses introduce parallel repetitions, mark grammatical boundaries, and separate formulas and materials built from the same semantic field. Pauses also mark the ending of thematic passages as well as indicate breaks that the orator takes to breath. Finally pause fillers provide time for the planning of new materials. We will return to the discussion of pauses in our presentation of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* text in Chapter 9.

## **10 PARTICIPANTS IN A PERFORMANCE EVENT**

This section describes the role of participants in a performance event. It contains discussions of the roles of the orator and the audience in a performance event. This part also describes the skills that the orator must possess in order to perform the appropriate type of speech for a particular situation. It describes how speakers are evaluated based on their performance and their standing in the community. The sections below further examine the reaction of the audience during the performance and their evaluation of the performers; and the bodily posture assumed by the different participants in performance.

### **10.1 The performer**

Both women and men perform verbal art in San Juan Quiahije. However, only men recite the monthly prayers and ceremonial speeches associated with the city hall. Approximately 50 years ago, women also used to take part in prayers at the city hall. At that time women were charged with praying and placing offerings in the public wells (p.c. S. Orocio 2010). Today, potable drinking water comes directly to most homes in San Juan Quiahije, negating the importance of the wells. Some public wells no longer exist while others are no longer used for drinking water. As the wells went into disuse, so went the need for women to pray in these locations (p.c. S. Orocio 2010, M. Baltazar 2010)

Tradition does not prevent women from speaking publicly. Some skillful women orators deliver political speeches in general town hall meetings and when speaking with authorities in the city hall. M. Baltazar (p.c. 2008) joyfully recounted a successful speech she gave in a town hall meeting in San Juan Quiahije. It is possible that in the future women in San Juan Quiahije will take a more active and significant role in persuasive

speeches at the city hall. This is the trend in Oaxaca state, where there are a growing number of women who are being elected to office (Barrera 2006).

## **10.2 Position of performers within the San Juan Quiahije community**

Eloquent orators of the city hall are respected while the *nten*<sup>14</sup> *ntyka*<sup>04</sup> ‘healers’ are often feared in the San Juan Quiahije community. City hall speakers enjoy the admiration of other community members. They are considered wise, intelligent, and skilled, and can potentially attain high positions in the city government. The *nten*<sup>14</sup> *ntyka*<sup>04</sup> (both men and women), as stated in Chapter 1, are feared because people believe that they can use their powers to harm others and not just to heal.

## **10.3 Training performers**

Orators in San Juan Quiahije face large responsibilities. Bauman (1984) states that a performer must be competent in a socially appropriate way. In addition, orators need to speak in such a way that they enhance the audience’s experience. As previously stated, in San Juan Quiahije orators are expected to have a firm grasp of the known poetic canons of San Juan Quiahije verbal art. Orators need to show mastery of repetition, parallelism, formulaic phrases, and the many other poetic devices recognized as fixtures of formal speech in the San Juan Quiahije community.

It takes a lifetime for a skilled performer to improve and refine their oratory skills. They undergo training from parents, grandparents and other skilled orators in the community. Young people in San Juan Quiahije learn the art of public speaking by observing the specialists in the community. When a young person expresses a desire to learn formal language, she first asks her parents and grandparents to teach her. If the

prospective skilled speaker is an orphan, then she will ask a skilled speaker in the community. M. Baltazar, a gifted orator in San Juan Quiahije, an orphan herself, told me that she learned her speaking virtuosity from a skillful woman from San Juan Quiahije. She recounted that when the elder woman agreed to teach her, the old lady said:

Example 6.4

Qon<sup>40</sup> qin<sup>42</sup> chaq<sup>3</sup> qna<sup>3</sup> qa<sup>24</sup> nqne<sup>24</sup> tlo<sup>42</sup> chaq<sup>3</sup>, chaq<sup>3</sup> tqi<sup>20</sup>

‘I will teach you because I have compassion for you because you are an orphan’

#### **10.4 Training political orators**

City hall officials need to have a command of all the types of speeches and prayers in order to serve in a high-ranking position. Speakers learn the persuasive speech of San Juan Quiahije and prayers related to the city hall when they begin their service with the municipality. They first observe performances by elders and other higher-ranking officials, and then gradually begin to practice what they have been observing when they run errands for the higher-ranking officials around the community. Young helpers at city hall have the opportunity to put to practice what they have learned when they wake elders at dawn to come and pray on behalf of the community.

As the men climb the ladder of the city hall hierarchy, their need to speak skillfully becomes increasingly important. When a man becomes part of the *Jyu<sup>14</sup> kla<sup>0</sup>* ‘head of pages’, one of his responsibilities at the end of the month is to carry out house visits to selected elders in the community to persuade them to join authorities in prayers on behalf of the community. This is the first time a man is required to speak eloquently in

an official capacity. This is a turning point in that man's career in public service. In "The Visit" text, at the end of this chapter, I will analyze one such event.

By the time a man becomes a *ji<sup>4</sup>-ro<sup>14</sup>* 'councilman' he is charged with taking the community's offerings to the mountaintops and other ritual sites around the San Juan Quiahije community. Upon placing these offerings at the ritual sites the *ji<sup>4</sup>-ro<sup>14</sup>* 'councilman' needs to say a prayer for the well being of the San Juan Quiahije community. When the councilman becomes a higher-ranking authority (e.g., municipal president) and assumes the leadership for his community, consistent fluent speech is a must.

In my conversations with S. Orocio and R. Cruz, two masters of language in the town of San Juan, each related to me that they acquired their virtuoso abilities by serving in many positions in city hall over the course of their lives. R. Cruz was the mayor of San Juan Quiahije from 2001-2004, and S. Orocio was the Municipal Trustee from 2004-2007.

Both S. Orocio and R. Cruz began their service at the city hall as *neq<sup>4</sup> skan<sup>4</sup>* 'errand boys', just like other young men in the community. Afterwards, S. Orocio and R. Cruz were promoted to command the Pages (*jyu<sup>14</sup> kla<sup>0</sup>*). Their responsibilities included periodic visits to elders' homes to persuade them to join the city hall officials in prayer. They also needed to seek out young men in the community to become helpers for the city hall. Their other responsibility was to secure transportation for the priests and teachers that came from Juquila. In the 1950's, when S. Orocio and R. Cruz were serving as *jyu<sup>14</sup> kla<sup>0</sup>*, there were no roads where cars could travel to and from the community. R. Orocio says that horses were great commodities at the time, and that having a horse was the

equivalent of having a car. The city hall had to borrow horses, mules, and donkeys to go to Juquila to get the priests and teachers to come and officiate mass and teach in the community.

A successful *Jyu*<sup>14</sup> *kla*<sup>0</sup> achieves his goal of securing favors for the community by using his power of persuasion. He needs to use persuasive language on the elders, parents of young men whom they ask for service in city hall, and horse owners. He persuades his listeners by using formulaic expressions, repetition, parallelism, and rhetorical figures. Both men recount being originally attracted to the verbal art style they heard recited in the city hall. They both recall paying close attention each time they heard a performance so they could memorize the formula and style. The men also commented that they were not into mischief, which aided them because every time they heard a verbal art performance they needed to stop praying or doing whatever they were doing at the moment and pay close attention. Both men emphasized that mastering poetic language is very hard, but that mastery is critical because not knowing enough formulas or not pairing them up correctly can be a source of shame.

### **10.5 Training *nten*<sup>14</sup> *ntyka*<sup>04</sup> ‘healers’**

One of the many facets of the healer’s skill set is the ability to recite prayers. Healers are expected not only to use traditional medicine but also to pray on the patient’s behalf. Members of the community who wish to become healers apprentice under the guidance of an expert healer. This training is very secretive since a person known openly to be *nten*<sup>14</sup> *ntyka*<sup>04</sup> can be killed.<sup>7</sup> Many healers have told me that they learn to say

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<sup>7</sup> San Juan Quiahije citizens consider healers evil but useful for healing. For further discussion on the topic of the nuances of witchcraft, see Bartolomé and Barrabas 1996.



prayers by eating hallucinogenic mushrooms. While making comments on Gonzalo's recitation of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* 'word of the heart', in 2009, M. Baltazar asserted that many great orators in San Juan Quiahije have learned their skills through the use of psychedelic mushrooms. She says that when the speaker is under the influence of the hallucinogen a man (perhaps a god) appears and teaches the person how to speak. M. Baltazar asserted that G. Cruz was a very eloquent speaker because the god taught him how to speak. This just one way in which hallucinogen use and healing arts are connected in Chatino communities. The discussion related to the important role of the orator and the different ways in which they learn their speaking skills naturally leads to the topic of the next section, which examines the significance that San Juan Quiahije inhabitants assign to being an eloquent speaker.

## **10.6 Evaluation**

Speakers and orators in the San Juan Quiahije community constantly evaluate their own speaking skills and the skills of others. Knowing how to speak articulately is a very useful life skill for a person in the San Juan Quiahije community, especially for men who serve a post in city hall. An adult in the community must know how to speak fluently and have the ability to recite speeches using the known canons of poetic speech. People in the community must exercise their proficiency in poetic speech constantly to achieve their ends. For instance, excellent communication skills are necessary to form or acquire a *compadrazgo* 'co-parenting' (cf. Chapter 1) relation with other members of the community. During the course of life, community members go through many stages; they come of age, get married, have children, and become co-parents of children in the

community. In each of these situations they have to engage in formal exchanges with other community members. Members who lack fluency in the local verbal art often feel they lack an important skill. The inability to perform verbal art is equated to the inability to speak:

When I have attended general meetings in San Juan I've often heard people lamenting the fact that they cannot to express their opinions fluently. They say the following “*Xi<sup>l</sup> qa<sup>l</sup> nka<sup>24</sup> chaq<sup>3</sup> ja<sup>4</sup> ntyka<sup>l</sup> tykwen<sup>l</sup> enq<sup>l</sup> e<sup>24</sup>!*” ‘It is very difficult to not be able to speak’.

Orators also express that speaking in public is very difficult. S. Orocio reports feeling “stage fright,” saying that it is hard to face the public (*tla<sup>32</sup> qa<sup>24</sup> nka<sup>24</sup> tlo<sup>l</sup> nten<sup>14</sup>*) and that the faces of the people of the community are scary (*chin<sup>4</sup> qa<sup>24</sup> nka<sup>24</sup> tlo<sup>l</sup> nten<sup>14</sup> kchin<sup>0</sup>*) when performing oratory.

Similarly, elders and community members constantly evaluate the performances of young men. Elders often scold young men when they do not speak according to established formulas (p.c. S. Orocio 2010). In evaluating the skill of orators, people in San Juan Quiahije use the adjectives: *ykwa<sup>4</sup>* ‘even, level’, and *k<sup>ti</sup><sup>l</sup>* ‘silvery’. Orators lacking in skill, on the other hand, are evaluated as speaking harshly, or poorly as illustrated below.

Example 6.6

<i>jwe<sup>4</sup>-sa<sup>0</sup> qa<sup>0</sup> ndywiq<sup>24</sup> janq<sup>42</sup></i> <small>strong                      very PROG_speak                      that</small>	that one speaks very strongly
--	-------------------------------

Example 6.7

tla <sup>32</sup> qa <sup>24</sup> ndywiq <sup>24</sup> harsh very PROG_speak	[he/she] speaks harshly
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Speakers can also be criticized as speaking very little (*ching<sup>20</sup> qa<sup>24</sup> ykwiq<sup>24</sup> kwa<sup>3</sup>*), and skipping over parts of the oratory (*ndywan<sup>2</sup> a<sup>4</sup> sta<sup>4</sup> kwa<sup>3</sup>*), or as jumping around in the discourse (*ndwan<sup>2</sup> re<sup>20</sup> nde<sup>2</sup> re<sup>20</sup> kwa<sup>3</sup>*).

In a personal conversation with S. Orocio (2010), he evaluated the way two *neq<sup>4</sup> skan<sup>4</sup>* ‘errand boys’ greeted elders when they went to retrieve the elders at their homes to join the prayers in the city hall. S. Orocio argued that *neq<sup>4</sup> skan<sup>4</sup> 1* (Example 6.8 below) is a skillful speaker, while *neq<sup>4</sup> skan<sup>42</sup> 2* (Example 6.9) is lacking in eloquence and skill.

Example 6.8. *Neq<sup>4</sup> skan<sup>4</sup>* ‘errand boy’ 1

1	qin <sup>20</sup> -wan <sup>24</sup> se <sup>4</sup> nyo <sup>20</sup> : re <sup>14</sup> ! greetings sir	Good morning gentleman!
2	ta <sup>20</sup> lo <sup>24</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> POT_give face just	Please have the patience
3	chaq <sup>3</sup> -na <sup>3</sup> because	so that
4	tsa <sup>24</sup> tyiqya <sup>20</sup> ton <sup>42</sup> POT_go_NB_2SG POT_bring.down NEUT_stand	you go stand (on the ground)
5	tsa <sup>24</sup> tyiqya <sup>20</sup> tkwa <sup>14</sup> wan <sup>0</sup> POT_go_NB_2SG POT_bring.down NEUT_sit.elevated you(pl subj)	you go set down (elevated)
6	ska <sup>4</sup> ke <sup>2</sup> one flower	a flower,
7	ska <sup>1</sup> nkaq <sup>24</sup> one leaf	a leaf
8	qin <sup>24</sup> sten <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> to father_1INCL	to our father
9	qin <sup>24</sup> yqan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> to mother_1INCL	to our mother
10	qin <sup>4</sup> neq <sup>4</sup> -sya <sup>10</sup> to authority	to those in authority

Example 6.9 *Neq<sup>4</sup> skan<sup>4</sup>* ‘errand boy’ 2

1k	qin <sup>20</sup> -wan <sup>24</sup> ! greetings!	Good morning
2 l	nde <sup>20</sup> ndywiq <sup>32</sup> neq <sup>42</sup> -sya <sup>1</sup> kwa <sup>0</sup> like.this PROG_say authority there	the authorities say
3m	chaq <sup>4</sup> tsa <sup>42</sup> chinq <sup>20</sup> tqwa <sup>4</sup> qan <sup>4</sup> -tnya <sup>3</sup> kwa <sup>3</sup> that POT_go_2SG little mouth city hall there	that you have to go to city hall

Contrasting the speech of *neq<sup>4</sup> skan<sup>4</sup>* 1 with *Neq<sup>4</sup> skan<sup>42</sup>* 2, *neq<sup>4</sup> skan<sup>4</sup>* 1 makes every attempt to use San Juan Quiahije’s conventionalized canons of poetic speech in talking to the elder. His speech contains parallelism, formulaic phrases, contrast, and metaphor. He greets the elder in a formal manner using the word: *se<sup>4</sup> nyo<sup>20</sup>: re<sup>14</sup>!* ‘sir!’ (line a). Similarly, he expresses the reason for his visit using canonical formulas (lines f-g). *Neq<sup>4</sup> skan<sup>4</sup>* 2, on the other hand, only uses casual, everyday speech. He addresses the elder just as he would greet his friends and peers. He does not use any poetic devices.

Consequently, *Neq<sup>4</sup> skan<sup>4</sup>* 2 does not follow the norms of ritual speech in San Juan Quiahije. S. Orocio asserts that elders in San Juan Quiahije frown upon being addressed in this manner by a younger person. These evaluations create a strong social pressure on citizens, especially young men, to learn to perform the appropriate genre of speech as it is dictated by San Juan Quiahije society.

### **10.7 The audience**

The audience is a key component of a performance event. Bauman (1984) states that the audience has many expectations of the performer and performance. Chief among them is the expectation that the performer will heighten the audience's experience and inspire them through their performance. The audience expects the performer to achieve these ends competently (Bauman 1984).

San Juan Quiahije citizens enjoy all types of performance, from jokes and storytelling to ritual performances. Ceremonial speeches conducted in both public and private spaces are well attended by members of the community. For instance to hear the political speeches spoken in city hall, audiences pack into the one room in the city hall to hear the performance. When attending a performance, San Juan Quiahije citizens usually show their best behavior: they are attentive and respectful of the performance and performer. Table 6.8 lists the type of delivery and the response of the audience.

<b>Traditional Chatino title</b>	<b>Manner of performance</b>	<b>Audience</b>
La <sup>42</sup> ‘traditional Chatino prayers’	monologue	listen in silence
Chaq <sup>3</sup> qo <sup>2</sup> ‘Prayer related to Catholicism’	monologue	backchannel response
Chaq <sup>3</sup> ndywiq <sup>24</sup> nten <sup>14</sup> ntyka <sup>04</sup> ‘healing prayers’	monologue	backchannel response
Chaq <sup>3</sup> Ksya <sup>10</sup> ‘words of the heart’	interactive	speakers take turns at speaking
Kwen <sup>3</sup> ‘advise’	monologue	backchannel response
Kwe <sup>3</sup> ntu <sup>1</sup> ‘Narrative’	monologue	backchannel response
Chaq <sup>3</sup> jya <sup>2</sup> ‘jokes’	monologue	backchannel response
Chaq <sup>3</sup> ndywiq <sup>24</sup> renq <sup>14</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> neq <sup>24</sup> kla <sup>24</sup> ‘exchange with elders’	interactive	listen in silence
Chaq <sup>3</sup> ndyiq <sup>24</sup> neq <sup>4</sup> sya <sup>10</sup> ‘Speech of authorities’	interactive	overlapping speech
Chaq <sup>3</sup> ndywiq <sup>24</sup> renq <sup>14</sup> qo <sup>0</sup> tqa <sup>42</sup> nten <sup>14</sup> renq <sup>0</sup> ‘Exchange between community’	interactive	overlapping speech
ja <sup>1</sup> no <sup>0</sup> nxqan <sup>1</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> ‘transition of power’	interactive	overlapping
ja <sup>1</sup> no <sup>0</sup> nxqan <sup>1</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> ‘transition of power’	interactive	overlapping
neq <sup>4</sup> kla <sup>4</sup> neq <sup>2</sup> qan <sup>1</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> ndya <sup>4</sup> koq <sup>3</sup> ‘monthly gathering of elders in city hall for prayer’	interactive	overlapping
Chaq <sup>3</sup> ndywiq <sup>24</sup> renq <sup>24</sup> ndya <sup>4</sup> tsan <sup>32</sup> ‘everyday speech’	monologue, interactive	overlapping, backchannel response, speakers take turns at speaking

Table 6.8: Ways in which performance is performed and the response from audience

Half of the speeches listed in Table 6.8 are interactive, while the other half are presented as monologues. As previously stated, interactive speech requires an active participation of the audience. Monologue performances, however, require that the

audience members listen in silence. One orator, or several orators speaking at the same time in their own channel, may perform a monologue (or co-monologues) for an audience that remains quiet or utters only backchannel responses showing agreement with the orator or orators. Examples of this type of speech include political speeches, prayers and advice given to younger people both in private and in public. Advice dispensed to the bride and the groom in wedding ceremonies is also carried out in this manner. When giving advice to the bride and the groom, family members gather around the bride and the groom who kneel silently on a mat. The whole group of fairly loud speakers crowd around the bride and the groom and giving their monologues at a fairly high rate of speed.

Interactive performance calls for overt audience participation, often in an overlapping manner. In cases of overlapping exchange, two or more orators' speech frequently overlaps. In the next section I will describe overlapping speech in greater detail. Some examples of interactive performance in San Juan Quiahije include the interaction that ensues between envoys in city hall and elders. Exchanges between community members (greeting and leave-taking) frequently involve overlapping speech. In San Juan Quiahije everyday conversation can quickly turn into formal conversation, resembling a phenomenon Laura Martin (2010) calls "instant ritualization of speech".

### **10.8 Overlapping speech**

One of the marks of a skillful speaker of San Juan Quiahije Chatino is the ability to employ overlapping speech. Overlapping speech happens when a speaker is talking and a second speaker begins to talk before the first speaker finishes. Overlapping speech in San Juan Quiahije evokes positive attributes (H. Cruz 2012). It is a feature of verbal

skill and flourish, familiarity, intimacy with strangers, solidarity, and a display of friendliness. The use of overlapping speech is pervasive in both formal speech, such as in the ceremony of the changing of the authorities, and in everyday conversation.

In 2012 I carried out a preliminary, exploratory analysis of overlapping speech in one fragment of a text of everyday conversation and in a few sentences of formal speech performed in the city hall. In Tables 6.9 and 6.10 I present these texts.

The first event, found in Table 6.9, records the overlapping speech that developed among six people (five women: SPE, A, B, C and PCL, and one man: SPC) at a funeral for a woman who had been struck by truck while trying to illegally cross the border near Tucson, Arizona. The conversation took place within one hour of the arrival of the body to the community. The family members were wondering if they should prepare and dress the body for burial according to the community's custom. The lead speaker, SPE, tries to persuade the other participants not to handle the body because it had been treated with formaldehyde. The parts that overlap in this conversation are bolded and underlined.



	Spe ake r	Chatino	English
1	SPE	sqwa <sup>14</sup> renq <sup>0</sup> qin <sup>24</sup> in <sup>20</sup> , chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> ka <sup>1</sup> xi <sup>1</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> kanq <sup>42</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup>	They injected her with embalming fluids, so that she [her body] would not decompose, and that is why
2	A, B, PC L	Kwan <sup>20</sup> ntyqan <sup>1</sup> e <sup>10</sup>	‘yes indeed’
3	SP C	ka <sup>2</sup> ran <sup>3</sup> , si <sup>1</sup> <b><u>no<sup>1</sup> ndya<sup>32</sup> na<sup>3</sup> tyqwi<sup>24</sup></u></b> <b><u>yaq<sup>2</sup> renq<sup>1</sup> ntyo<sup>20</sup> chaq<sup>3</sup>, ndya<sup>32</sup></u></b> <b><u>na<sup>3</sup> tyqwi<sup>24</sup> yaq<sup>2</sup> renq<sup>1</sup>, ndya<sup>32</sup> na<sup>3</sup>,</u></b> xtyaan <sup>20</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> , sqwi <sup>4</sup> ktyi <sup>4</sup> yaq <sup>2</sup>	Yes, it is possible if there is something that they can protect their hands with, if they have something, if they protect their hands with gloves
4	SPE	ka <sup>2</sup> ran <sup>3</sup> , si <sup>1</sup> no <sup>1</sup> chonq <sup>42</sup> , <b><u>si<sup>1</sup> no<sup>1</sup></u></b> <b><u>ndya<sup>32</sup> na<sup>3</sup> tyqwi<sup>24</sup> yaq<sup>2</sup> renq<sup>1</sup>,</u></b> <b><u>ndya<sup>32</sup> na<sup>3</sup></u></b>	Yes, it is possible, if on top, if they can protect their hands with, if there is something
5	SPE	chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> wa <sup>3</sup> ntkuq <sup>14</sup> ska <sup>0</sup> teq <sup>24</sup> . <b><u>chonq<sup>42</sup> ti<sup>4</sup> teq<sup>4</sup>,</u></b> <b><u>jan<sup>42</sup> ti<sup>2</sup> tyqwi<sup>1</sup> na<sup>3</sup></u></b>	the thing is that she is already wearing something. They should place other clothes, on top of what she is already wearing
6	SP C	Ja <sup>4</sup> ne <sup>1</sup> , <b><u>chonq<sup>42</sup> ti<sup>4</sup> teq<sup>4</sup> jan<sup>42</sup> ti<sup>2</sup></u></b> <b><u>tyqwi<sup>1</sup> na<sup>3</sup> no<sup>24</sup> ti<sup>2</sup> tyqwi<sup>1</sup>.</u></b> <i>Eso</i> <i>mero!!</i>	Yes whatever she still needs to wear, she can wear in on top. Yes, that’s it!!!

Table 6.9: Overlapping speech in every day conversation (P. Cristobal et al 2008 (1))

The conversation in Table 6.9 begins with SPE, line 1, repeating the hearer driver’s original warning. Speaker A, B, and PCL seem convinced of SPE’s argument by responding in unison: “yes, indeed.” (line 2). However, the conversation takes an unexpected turn when speaker SPC, the male speaker (line 3), suddenly takes over the conversation and loudly states that he is positive that they can handle the body as long as they use gloves. At this point a very interesting overlap occurs between speaker SPC and SPE (underlined and bolded in the text). Both simultaneously echo verbatim the same phrase. The conversation continues and in row 4, just when SPE seems to have lost the

debate, she has a successful comeback, uttering one important point that brings the conversation to a conclusion. She says softly that the dead woman was already dressed. SPC finally relents in support of speaker SPE by repeating part of her utterance.

Table 6.10 shows that participants overlap each other in places where they deem that a noteworthy and novel piece of information has been contributed to the conversation by one of the speakers.

Table 6.10 below shows overlapping in ceremonial speech. The exchange presented in this fragment of speech took place in the ceremony of the changing of the authorities in San Juan city hall in 2009. This example illustrates an exchange between an elder WCC and a younger city official man 7. Here we see how the secondary speaker, man 7, row 2, repeats verbatim and in overlapping manner the sentence that WCC uttered in row 1. The overlapping is indicated in bold and underlined.

row	speaker	Chatino	English
1	WCC	<u>chaq<sup>3</sup> jyaq<sup>3</sup> qin<sup>24</sup> sten<sup>24</sup> en<sup>32</sup></u> <u>ndiyo<sup>14</sup> -si<sup>0</sup></u>	<u>with the permission of our holy father</u> <u>God</u>
2	man 7	<u>chaq<sup>3</sup> jyaq<sup>3</sup> qin<sup>24</sup> sten<sup>24</sup> en<sup>32</sup></u> <u>ndiyo<sup>14</sup> -si<sup>0</sup></u> , chaq <sup>3</sup> jyaq <sup>3</sup> qin <sup>24</sup> tqa <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>32</sup>	<u>with the permission of our holy father</u> <u>God</u> , with all of your permission

Table 6.10: Overlapping speech in a ceremonial context

The overlapping speech shown in Table 6.10 occurs in the greeting at the beginning of the ceremony. The foregoing comments are not definitive; this is an area that necessitates future study in order to reach a more conclusive pattern of overlapping in San Juan Quiahije discourse.

## 11 CONCLUSION

This chapter explored the use and context of formal language. The chapter described on the taxonomy of different kinds of speaking and the events and roles that pertain to them. This chapter argued that speech events are a crucial component of the entire ritual system and everyday life in San Juan Quiahije community. Through performance, orators appeal for the maintenance and continuation of the community's traditions. Community members perform prayers and speeches that celebrate every stage of life and everyday live.

San Juan Quiahije verbal art comprises a wide range of discourse, including prayers, persuasive and political speeches, narrative, jokes, and everyday conversation. These speeches are performed in a wide variety of settings, both in public and intimate spaces, including the home, city hall, church and places in nature.

The repertoire of discourse in SJQ can be further subdivided into communication between humans and spirits and communication between humans and other humans. The former includes traditional Chatino prayer, prayers recited as part of Catholicism, and healing prayers. The latter comprises a wide range of persuasive and political speeches delivered at the city hall and different exchanges among citizens at their homes.

San Juan Quiahije verbal art also has fixed and flexible texts. Fixed texts are recited from memory, while flexible texts are improvised based on a general form. Examples of fixed texts include prayers, exchanges between elders and city hall envoys (e, g., “*The Visit*”) and the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> ksyá<sup>10</sup>* ‘word of the heart’, a speech recited in weddings and rites of passage ceremonies for children in San Juan Quiahije. Examples of flexible texts include political speeches given in city hall for different occasions, formal exchange among citizens, and everyday speech.

Embodied communication is another crucial element of performance in San Juan Quiahije. Embodied communication includes posture (sitting, kneeling, standing, and walking on knees), orientation, and physical behavior such as offering gifts in prayer. These physical behaviors and embodied communication are often described in the speeches.

Kneeling and walking on one's knees communicate a subservient demeanor, while sitting elevated communicates authority. When conducting prayers, the supplicants walk on their knees and kneel. Similarly, in the ceremony of the changing of the authorities in city hall, the entering and exiting officers walk on their knees to the sitting elders who are officiating the ceremony.

In San Juan Quiahije orators get on-the-job training. The orators in training watch and listen to skillful orators performing speeches until they attain the talent of rhetorical flourish themselves.

Orators in San Juan Quiahije, especially those who perform persuasive speech, are closely evaluated for their speaking skills by community members and other men in the community. This evaluation takes several forms; for instance, political orators are respected, while healers are feared.

The oral performance of ritual speech in San Juan Quiahije is executed both as monologue and in an interactive manner. The performance of monologues occurs when the orator speaks to an attentive and largely silent audience, and interactive performance occurs when both the orator and the audience are expected to perform. Examples of monologues include prayers, advice, and some persuasive speeches performed in the city hall. Interactive performances are conducted in the ceremony of the changing of the

authorities in San Juan Quiahije. In Chapter 7 I will analyze the “The Visit”, which is an exchange between city hall envoys and S. Zurita, a respected elder from San Juan Quiahije.

## Chapter 7: Analysis of The Visit text

### 1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter analyses and interprets the performance, structure, and meaning of a text entitled *The Visit*, a ritual exchange between S. Zurita, a respected local elder in San Juan Quiahije, and six envoys from city hall. This event will be analyzed both as a performance and as a text, taking into account the speaker, the audience, and the context in which the performance takes place. The analysis of The Visit text takes into account the major structural components of the text including parallelism, grammatical features, and formulas.

*The Visit* event took place in San Juan Quiahije on June 23, 2009, at the home of S. Zurita, on the eve of the feast of Saint John the Baptist. The envoys left the city hall at around 6:00 P.M. and went through the community knocking on the doors of selected elders, seeking their presence at city hall the following morning to accompany the city hall officials in prayers on behalf of the community. As described in Chapter 6, the city hall officials and elders conduct prayers on behalf of the community every month and on high holidays. These monthly prayers are conducted at the local Catholic Church and a several ritual landmarks scattered throughout the community. The elders who accept the invitation extended by city hall officials come to the city hall at 3:00 or 4:00 A.M. S. Zurita agreed to join the authorities for prayer the morning of June 24th. He met with other elders and city hall officials at 4:00 A.M. Chapter 8, will analyze the performance and the text of the prayer that S. Zurita recited on behalf of the community the next day.

## **2 THE EVENT**

This exchange between city hall envoys and S. Zurita captures in poetic and metaphoric language the character and soul of San Juan Quiahije culture and the values that the community stands for. The topics at the forefront of *The Visit* reflect the powerful and deep connection that people in San Juan Quiahije have to place, territory, ancestry, and tradition. In this exchange the orators express deep concern about the preservation of the community's traditions, civic engagement, and sacrifice for the common good. *The Visit* clearly shows a stylistic shift from everyday language to formal speech. The next section presents the text in its entirety.

## **3 THE TEXT**

Text 1 presents the complete version of *The Visit* text. This table includes the interlinearized gloss, and a translation in poetic formatting of the entire event. Column one in this table shows the line number, column two provides the text in Chatino glossed in smaller print below the Chatino text. Column two also lists the participants: "Envoy" marks rows where the envoys speak individually; "Chorus of Envoys" marks when all the envoys speak in unison; "Elder" denotes those lines of S. Zurita's participation. Column three provides a translation in English.

**Text 1 *The Visit* text (S. Zurita 2009)**

	PART 1. INTRODUCTION	English
1	ELDER Kyan <sup>42</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> POT_go_B yoSu(pl subj)	Come on in
2	ENVOY Kyan <sup>14</sup> tkwan <sup>0</sup> neq <sup>1</sup> -qan <sup>1</sup> yu <sup>24</sup> POT_go_B POT_sit.elevated.1INCL inside house man kla <sup>24</sup> old	Let us go in the house sir
3	ELDER Kyan <sup>42</sup> tkwa <sup>14</sup> wan <sup>0</sup> chinq <sup>20</sup> POT_go_B POT_sit you(pl subj) little	Have a seat
4	CHORUS OF ENVOYS We. <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> good	Thanks
5	ENVOY Ja <sup>4</sup> ndon <sup>42</sup> xa <sup>4</sup> -liyu <sup>1</sup> qyu <sup>0</sup> no PROG_standing mescal type.of.mescal kqon <sup>14</sup> a <sup>0</sup> ? POT_drink_1INCL Q	Do you have any mescal stashed around to share?
6	CHORUS OF ENVOYS [Xtyi <sup>20</sup> ] [laugh]	[Laugh hesitantly]
7	ELDER Qan <sup>3</sup> an <sup>24</sup> . no	No.
8	ENVOY Kqon <sup>14</sup> sya <sup>20</sup> ska <sup>24</sup> ko <sup>3</sup> pa <sup>24</sup> POT_drink_1INCL even one glass ti <sup>24</sup> , chaq <sup>3</sup> tlyaq <sup>4</sup> ti <sup>4</sup> , tyi <sup>20</sup> -sna <sup>2</sup> - ten <sup>1</sup> en <sup>1</sup> only because cold only POT-to.begin_1INCL wan <sup>4</sup> qan <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>1</sup> , tsan <sup>24</sup> you(pl subj) right now POT_go_1INCL ylan <sup>3</sup> -kyan <sup>24</sup> anq <sup>1</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> ti <sup>2</sup> -qa <sup>1</sup> . 1INCL_dance_1INCL you(pl subj) later	Let us at least have one shot to get warm because it is very cold, let us start drinking right now so that we can gather the courage to go dancing later today.
9	Nda <sup>42</sup> ska <sup>4</sup> sa <sup>0</sup> tykwa <sup>14</sup> POT_give_2SG one chair POT_sit.elevated neq <sup>0</sup> kla <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> . pers_class old this	Please pass a chair so that the elder can sit.



Continuation of text 1

10	<p>ENVOY</p> <p>Ka<sup>2</sup> tykwa<sup>20</sup> re<sup>20</sup> nde<sup>2</sup>  <small>POT_be.able POT_sit.elevated over here</small></p>	Please sit right here
11	<p>ELDER</p> <p>Jo<sup>3</sup>  <small>okay</small></p>	Okay
	PART 2 . PREAMBLE	
12	<p>ENVOY</p> <p>Chonq<sup>42</sup> ntqen<sup>4</sup> ka<sup>24</sup> ykwi<sup>42</sup> iq<sup>32</sup>  <small>indeed PROG_exist EMPH yourself INTJ</small></p> <p>yu<sup>4</sup> kla<sup>4</sup> !  <small>man old</small></p>	Indeed, you are home sir!
13	<p>CHORUS OF ENVOYS</p> <p>Chonq<sup>42</sup> ntqen<sup>4</sup> ka<sup>24</sup> ykwi<sup>42</sup> iq<sup>32</sup> !  <small>indeed PROG_exist EMPH yourself INTJ</small></p> <p>yu<sup>4</sup> kla<sup>4</sup>  <small>man old</small></p>	Indeed, you are home sir!
14	<p>ELDER</p> <p>Ntqen<sup>4</sup> ya<sup>32</sup> wa<sup>42</sup> re<sup>2</sup>  <small>PROG_exist 2nd.position.part we(EXCL) here</small></p>	Yes, we are home.
15	<p>CHORUS OF ENVOYS</p> <p>Ja<sup>24</sup>, chaq<sup>3</sup> sqen<sup>4</sup> ti<sup>4</sup> tykwan<sup>14</sup>  <small>Excl, because stay.put only POT_sit.elevated.1INCL</small></p> <p>ne<sup>1</sup>, chaq<sup>3</sup>-no<sup>4</sup> qa<sup>1</sup> ne<sup>1</sup> tqa<sup>4</sup> ne<sup>2</sup> i<sup>1</sup>.  <small>now, because right now celebration now</small></p> <p>INTJ</p>	Yes, we have to stay put in one place because it is a holiday now.
16	<p>ELDER</p> <p>Tqa<sup>4</sup> nka<sup>24</sup> no<sup>32</sup>.  <small>celebration PROG_be that</small></p>	Yes, it is a holiday.
17	<p>ENVOY</p> <p>[Jqrrrrrr Ahhh]  <small>[throat sound]</small></p>	[Throat clearing]

Continuation of text 1

18	<p>ELDER</p> <p>Tqa<sup>4</sup> nka<sup>24</sup> no<sup>32</sup> nka<sup>24</sup> ran<sup>3</sup>  celebration PROG_be he.one PROG_be inan</p> <p>tqa<sup>4</sup> nlo<sup>32</sup> qa<sup>24</sup> no<sup>24</sup> nka<sup>24</sup> ran<sup>3</sup>  celebration important very the.one PROG be  inan</p> <p>ne<sup>2</sup>  now</p>	Yes, it is a holiday. It is a very important holiday now.
19	<p>CHORUS OF ENVOYS</p> <p>Kwan<sup>20</sup> nyan<sup>14</sup> ra<sup>0</sup>  thus appear INTJ</p>	Yes indeed!
20	<p>ELDER</p> <p>Tqa<sup>4</sup> nlo<sup>32</sup> qa<sup>24</sup> nka<sup>24</sup> ran<sup>3</sup>,  celebration important very PROG_be inan</p> <p>kanq<sup>42</sup>-chaq<sup>3</sup> no<sup>24</sup> ntqen<sup>24</sup> en<sup>32</sup>.  that.is.why why PROG_exist_1INCL</p>	It is a very important holiday and that is why we have to stay here.
21	<p>ENVOY</p> <p>Kwan<sup>20</sup> nyan<sup>14</sup>-ra<sup>0</sup>, in<sup>20</sup>.  thus appear hm?</p>	Yes indeed, hm?
22	<p>Kwan<sup>20</sup> ntyqan<sup>14</sup>-ra<sup>0</sup> in<sup>20</sup>.  thus appear hm?</p>	Yes indeed!
23	<p>Jqrrrrrrr Ahhh  [throat sound]</p>	[Throat clearing ]
	PART 3. MAIN PERFORMANCE	
	i. Introduction Abstract topics (greeting, God, authority figures, and forgiveness)	
24	<p>CHORUS OF ENVOYS</p> <p>Qa<sup>24</sup> se<sup>4</sup>nyo<sup>20</sup>re<sup>14</sup> !  EXCL sir!</p>	Oh gentlemen!
25	<p>Jlo<sup>4</sup> ndwa<sup>14</sup> sten<sup>20</sup> en<sup>32</sup>  first PROG_sit.elevated father_1INCL</p> <p>ndiyo<sup>14</sup>-si<sup>0</sup>, qne<sup>24</sup> chaq<sup>3</sup>-tlyu<sup>2</sup>-riq<sup>2</sup>.  god POT_do forgiveness</p>	First there sits our father God, who offers forgiveness.

Continuation of text 1

26	Xa <sup>1</sup> -kwa <sup>20</sup> qwan <sup>24</sup> qne <sup>24</sup> the-same to.you(pl) POT__do wan <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> -tlyu <sup>2</sup> -riq <sup>2</sup> . you(pl subj) forgiveness	Likewise will you offer forgiveness.
27	Ja <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> nyan <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> -tlyu <sup>2</sup> -riq <sup>2</sup> no other appear forgiveness ndiya <sup>32</sup> qwa <sup>42</sup> re <sup>2</sup> . PROG_have to.us(pl) here	But no forgiveness can we offer.
28	Sa <sup>4</sup> kwa <sup>3</sup> ndwa <sup>14</sup> sten <sup>20</sup> en <sup>32</sup> right there PROG_sit.elevated father_INCL	Right there sits our father,
29	sa <sup>4</sup> kwa <sup>3</sup> ndwa <sup>14</sup> yqan <sup>20</sup> an <sup>32</sup> . right there PROG_sit.elevated mother_INCL	right there sits our mother.
30	Nkqan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> sna <sup>2</sup> lo <sup>1</sup> . PROG_sit.on.the.ground_1INCL in face	We are sitting before his face,
31	nkqan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> sna <sup>2</sup> kyaq <sup>1</sup> . PROG_sit.on.the.ground_1INCL in feet	we are sitting before his feet.
32	Kwiq <sup>24</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> qa <sup>4</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> tyi <sup>32</sup> . It.is.just that not POT_go_NB end	It is just this which can't end,
33	kwiq <sup>24</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> qa <sup>4</sup> xyaq <sup>2</sup> . It.is.just that not mix	it is just this which can't fade.
34	Kchin <sup>4</sup> , neq <sup>4</sup> sya <sup>10</sup> , neq <sup>4</sup> jyaq <sup>3</sup> . community, authority, those- bearing.staff	The community, those in authority, those bearing the staff.
	ii. Envoys focus attention on the elder	
35	Kwiq <sup>24</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> ndiyo <sup>14</sup> -si <sup>0</sup> It.is. just god	It is just God ,
36	sqwi <sup>1</sup> qne <sup>32</sup> kqu <sup>2</sup> qin <sup>42</sup> . PROG_exist PROG_do raise to(you)	that is raising you
37	sqwi <sup>4</sup> ntqan <sup>32</sup> sen <sup>32</sup> qin <sup>42</sup> . PROG_exist PROG_watch care to(you)	[it is just God] that is watching over you.
38	Sqwi <sup>42</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> no <sup>4</sup> lye <sup>42</sup> . PROG_exist with the.one health	To be with health,
39	ska <sup>4</sup> no <sup>4</sup> tkwa <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , one the.one now	to be with tkwa <sup>1</sup> now.
40	No <sup>4</sup> nkqan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> sna <sup>2</sup> lo <sup>1</sup> . the.one PROG_sit.on.the.ground_1INCL on face	[He is] the one before whose face
41	nkqan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> sna <sup>2</sup> kyaq <sup>1</sup> . PROG_sit.on.the.ground_1INCL on feet	we sit, before his whose feet we sit.

Continuation of text 1

42	Ta <sup>20</sup> renq <sup>2</sup> tlyu <sup>2</sup> POT_give they forgiveness	May they place the power of forgiveness
43	neq <sup>2</sup> tiye <sup>32</sup> inside chest_2SG	in your chest,
	iii. Envoys clarify reason for visit	
44	neq <sup>2</sup> tlo <sup>42</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> inside face_2SG now, hm?	in your face now, hm?
45	Ta <sup>20</sup> lo <sup>42</sup> ti <sup>42</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> . POT_give face only now	Please bear with us now.
46	Cha <sup>3</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> re <sup>2</sup> nsqwa <sup>140</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> because we(EXCL) POT_send we(EXCL) qin <sup>42</sup> to(you)	Because we are sending you
47	ska <sup>4</sup> lo <sup>4</sup> tqwa <sup>14</sup> in <sup>20</sup> one place cold now	in cold weather, hm?
48	ska <sup>4</sup> lo <sup>4</sup> tlyaq <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> ! one place freezing now	in freezing weather now!
49	Tsa <sup>24</sup> tyqya <sup>20</sup> ton <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , POT_go_NB POT_bring.down NEUT_stand_2SG now	You will go set them below,
50	tsa <sup>24</sup> tyqya <sup>20</sup> tkwa <sup>20</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> . POT_go_NB POT_bring.down NEUT_sit.elev_2SG now	you will go set them above.
51	Ska <sup>4</sup> ke <sup>2</sup> , one flower	A flower,
52	ska <sup>4</sup> nkaq <sup>4</sup> . one leaf	a leaf (e.g., offerings).
53	Qin <sup>24</sup> sten <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> , to father_1INCL	To our father,
54	qin <sup>24</sup> yqan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> , to mother_1INCL	to our mother,
55	qin <sup>4</sup> neq <sup>4</sup> sya <sup>10</sup> . to pers.class justice	to those in authority.
	iv. Envoys cede the turn-at-talk to the elder	
56	ENVOY A Se <sup>4</sup> nyo <sup>3</sup> :re <sup>14</sup> ! . sir	Sir!

## Continuation of text 1

57	ENVOY B Se <sup>4</sup> nyo <sup>3</sup> : re <sup>14</sup> ! sir	Sir!
58	ENVOY C Se <sup>4</sup> nyo <sup>3</sup> : re <sup>14</sup> ! Sir	Sir!
59	ENVOY D Se <sup>4</sup> nyo <sup>3</sup> : re <sup>14</sup> ! sir	Sir!
	ELDER	
	i. Elder expresses agreement with the envoys' statement	
60	Ka <sup>14</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> kwan <sup>20</sup> ntyqan <sup>24</sup> . indeed because like appear	Yes, indeed, it goes like that.
61	Chi <sup>3</sup> -nyi <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> kan <sup>42</sup> se <sup>4</sup> nyo <sup>3</sup> : re <sup>14</sup> ! true thing that sir	This is true, gentlemen!
	ii. Elder elaborates on the meaning of the event that is taking place and asserts its validity in an abstract manner. Elder also talks about the traditions and the importance of preserving them. He remarks that the ancestors led a similar life	
62	Qan <sup>1</sup> ndiya <sup>24</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> tiyin <sup>1</sup> in <sup>1</sup> . as feel essence chest_1INCL	As we regard it.
63	Chaq <sup>3</sup> kwan <sup>20</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> qa <sup>24</sup> thing thus only appear chaq <sup>3</sup> -jyaq <sup>3</sup> skwa <sup>3</sup> permission PROG_lie.elev ndywen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> . HAB_say_1INCL	That is the way it is laid out, we say.
64	Chaq <sup>3</sup> kwa <sup>20</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> qa <sup>24</sup> yan <sup>42</sup> because like only appear COMPL.come.NB sten <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> , father_1INCL	Because this is the way our fathers came,

## Continuation of text 1

65	<p>chaq<sup>3</sup> kwa<sup>20</sup> ti<sup>24</sup> qa<sup>24</sup> yan<sup>42</sup>  because like only appear COMPL.come.NB</p> <p>yqan<sup>1</sup> an<sup>1</sup>.  mother_1INCL</p>	because this is the way our mothers came.
66	<p>Ni<sup>4</sup> kwa<sup>4</sup> no<sup>4</sup> wa<sup>2</sup> yan<sup>42</sup> in<sup>20</sup>,  for all the.ones already COMPL.come.B, hm?</p>	All of those who went forth,
67	<p>ni<sup>4</sup> kwa<sup>4</sup> no<sup>4</sup> wa<sup>2</sup> qan<sup>1</sup>,  in<sup>20</sup>.  for all the.ones already COMPL.go.around.NB,  hm?</p>	all of those who went about.
68	<p>Ja<sup>4</sup> tyi<sup>32</sup> re<sup>2</sup>, qo<sup>1</sup>  NEG POT.finish this, and</p>	This can't end,
69	<p>qa<sup>4</sup> xyaq<sup>2</sup> re<sup>2</sup>.  NEG POT_mix this</p>	this can't fade.
70	<p>Chaq<sup>3</sup> kwan<sup>20</sup> ti<sup>24</sup> qa<sup>24</sup> chaq<sup>3</sup> wjyaq<sup>3</sup>  because thus only appear because measure</p> <p>skwa<sup>3</sup>.  PROG_lie.elevated</p>	Because this is the way it was laid out.
71	<p>Na<sup>3</sup> wa<sup>2</sup> ntyqan<sup>1</sup> skwa<sup>3</sup> re<sup>2</sup>  because already appear PROG_lie.elevated</p> <p>this</p> <p>qin<sup>1</sup> sten<sup>24</sup> en<sup>32</sup>,  to father_1INCL</p>	Because this was already laid to our fathers,
72	<p>wa<sup>2</sup> ntyqan<sup>1</sup> skwa<sup>3</sup> re<sup>2</sup> qin<sup>1</sup>  already appear PROG_lie.elevated this to</p> <p>yqan<sup>1</sup> an<sup>1</sup>.  mother_1INCL</p>	because this was already laid to our mothers.
73	<p>Ni<sup>4</sup>-wa<sup>2</sup> qa<sup>1</sup>, sa<sup>4</sup> kwa<sup>2</sup> ra<sup>1</sup> ntqen<sup>20</sup> en<sup>32</sup>  all very, like all hour PROG_exist_1INCL</p> <p>xa<sup>4</sup>-liyu<sup>32</sup>, ndywen<sup>24</sup> enq<sup>32</sup>.  world HAB_say_1INCL</p>	For all the time we have existed in this world, we say.
74	<p>Qne<sup>32</sup> kqu<sup>2</sup>,  PROG_do raise</p>	God our father has been raising us, he has been watching over us.
75	<p>ntqan<sup>32</sup> sen<sup>42</sup>  PROG_watch over</p>	
76	<p>sten<sup>24</sup> en<sup>32</sup> ndiyo<sup>14</sup> -si<sup>0</sup> qna<sup>42</sup>.  father_1INCL god -si our (INCL)</p>	

## Continuation of text 1

	iii. Elder accepts an invitation to partake the praying event to which he is being invited	
77	Qo <sup>1</sup> qwan <sup>1</sup> tykwen <sup>0</sup> enq <sup>1</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> and how PROG_say_1INCL that not tsan <sup>140</sup> POT_go_NB_1INCL	How can we say not to go forth,
78	ja <sup>4</sup> tyqan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> ? not POT_go.around_NB_1INCL	[how can we say] not to go about.
79	Kwiq <sup>24</sup> chonq <sup>42</sup> It.is.just because	It is just because
80	ntqen <sup>4</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> tsan <sup>24</sup> have to POT_go_NB_1INCL	we must go forth,
81	ntqen <sup>4</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> tyqan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> have to POT_go.around.NB_1INCL ndywen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> . HAB_say_1INCL	we must go about, we say.
82	Chaq <sup>3</sup> kwan <sup>20</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> nyan <sup>24</sup> because like very appear chaq <sup>3</sup> -jyaq <sup>3</sup> skwa <sup>3</sup> permission PROG_lie.elevated	[These traditions] just are laid out
83	kwan <sup>20</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> nyan <sup>24</sup> thus only appear qan <sup>1</sup> jyan <sup>1</sup> ntqen <sup>1</sup> en <sup>20</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> as POT_come_NB PROG_exist our (INCL)	[These traditions] just exist
84	Qan <sup>1</sup> jyan <sup>1</sup> ntqen <sup>1</sup> en <sup>20</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> as POT_come_NB PROG_exist our (INCL)	The same traditions are the way we continue on
85	qo <sup>1</sup> sten <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> , with father_1INCL	with our fathers
86	qo <sup>1</sup> yqan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> . with mother_1INCL	and mothers.
87	Kanq <sup>42</sup> -chaq <sup>3</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> no <sup>32</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> that.is.why PROG_be that already ntyqan <sup>1</sup> skwa <sup>3</sup> ran <sup>3</sup> appear PROG_lie.elevated inan ndywen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> , qo <sup>1</sup> . HAB_say_1INCL and	Yes, indeed, these traditions just are the way they are, and

## Continuation of text 1

88	Ja <sup>4</sup> -la <sup>32</sup> ta <sup>4</sup> ndywen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> not INTJ HAB_say_1INCL chaq <sup>3</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> tsan <sup>10</sup> , that not POT_go_NB_1INCL	We cannot say not to go forth,
89	ja <sup>4</sup> tyqan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> not POT_go.around_NB_1INCL	we cannot say not to go about
90	ra <sup>1</sup> -no <sup>0</sup> ti <sup>2</sup> qne <sup>32</sup> kqu <sup>2</sup> ndiyo <sup>14</sup> -si <sup>0</sup> when still PROG_do raise god ntyqo <sup>20</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> . HAB_come.out thing	while God is still raising us up.
91	Kanq <sup>42</sup> no <sup>4</sup> chi <sup>3</sup> -nyi <sup>24</sup> , that the.one true	Yes, indeed,
92	chaq <sup>3</sup> kwan <sup>20</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> qan <sup>24</sup> ntyqan <sup>32</sup> renq <sup>4</sup> . because same only appear HAB_go_around they	this is just the way people go about.
93	Kwan <sup>20</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> qa <sup>24</sup> jnya <sup>20</sup> yaq <sup>2</sup> , same only appear COMPL_ask hand	It is just the way they asked by hand
94	tqwa <sup>4</sup> renq <sup>4</sup> qin <sup>24</sup> mouth they to(him)	they [asked] by mouth
95	ni <sup>4</sup> kwa <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> snyiq <sup>32</sup> qya <sup>2</sup> , for all PROG_be children mountains	for each and every child of the mountains,
96	ni <sup>4</sup> -kwa <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> snyiq <sup>32</sup> kchin <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , all PROG_be children mountains now ndywen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> . HAB_say_1INCL	for each and every child of the community, we say.
	iv. Elder acknowledges the attention of the envoys and wishes them well	
97	Se <sup>4</sup> nyo <sup>3</sup> : re <sup>14</sup> , sirs	Sirs!
98	Qan <sup>1</sup> ndiya <sup>0</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> tiye <sup>32</sup> qwan <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> - na <sup>3</sup> as like essence chest to.you(pl) because	As for you that
99	ntqan <sup>32</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> in <sup>20</sup> , PROG_go.around you(pl subj) hm?	are going about,



## Continuation of text 1

100	ndon <sup>32</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> in <sup>20</sup> PROG_standing you(pl subj) hm?	that are standing guard.
101	Na <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ndwen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> no POT_be.able HAB_say_1INCL that	We cannot say
102	ja <sup>4</sup> tsan <sup>10</sup> not POT_go_NB_1INCL	not to go forth,
103	ja <sup>4</sup> tyqan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> not POT_go.around_NB_1INCL	not to go about.
104	Jor <sup>4</sup> ke <sup>4</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> kwan <sup>20</sup> nya <sup>24</sup> because that like appear jyaq <sup>3</sup> skwa <sup>3</sup> ndywen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> measure PROG_lie.elevated HAB_say_1INCL	Because that is the way it is laid out, we say.
105	CHORUS OF ENVOYS Chi <sup>3</sup> -nyi <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> kanq <sup>42</sup> true thing that	This is true
106	Elder Ndiyo <sup>14</sup> -si <sup>0</sup> sqwa <sup>0</sup> yaq <sup>0</sup> god POT_send hand	May God extend his hand,
107	sqwa <sup>14</sup> skon <sup>0</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> ska <sup>4</sup> skan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> POT_put arm our (INCL) one-another_1INCL qo <sup>1</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> with you(pl subj) now	extend his arm to us, to you, to all, now.
108	Kwan <sup>20</sup> nyan <sup>24</sup> ntqen <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> thus appear PROG_have thing tyqan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> HAB_go_around_1INCL	This the way we must go about,
109	kwan <sup>20</sup> nyan <sup>24</sup> ntqen <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> thus appear PROG_have thing tyon <sup>14</sup> POT_go.around.NB_1INCL	this is the way we must stand guard.
110	Ja <sup>1</sup> -no <sup>0</sup> nkan <sup>14</sup> ska <sup>0</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> when PROG_be_1INCL one work	When we have this duty,
111	nkan <sup>14</sup> ska <sup>0</sup> kchin <sup>32</sup> ndywen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> PROG_be_1INCL one community HAB_say_1INCL	when we are this community, we say.
112	Qan <sup>1</sup> ndiya <sup>0</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> tiye <sup>32</sup> qwan <sup>32</sup> as like essence chest to.you(pl)	As for you.
113	Chaq <sup>3</sup> na <sup>3</sup> ntqo <sup>1</sup> ton <sup>4</sup> because thing COMPL_come.out NEUT_standing	As you were chosen,
114	ntqo <sup>1</sup> tkwa <sup>14</sup> wan <sup>0</sup> COMPL_come.out NEUT_sit.elevated you(pl subj)	you were put up for office.

## Continuation of text 1

115	Chaq <sup>3</sup> na <sup>3</sup> qne <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>3</sup> ser <sup>4</sup> wi <sup>14</sup> , so that POT_do you(pl subj) serve	To serve
116	no <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> qya <sup>2</sup> , the.one PROG_be mountain	the mountains,
117	no <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> kchin <sup>10</sup> , ndywen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> the.one PROG_be community, HAB_say_1INCL qo <sup>1</sup> . and	the community, we say and
118	Kwiq <sup>24</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> ndyi <sup>32</sup> ran <sup>3</sup> . It.is.just that not HAB.finish inam	It is just this which can't end,
119	Kwiq <sup>24</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> xyaq <sup>2</sup> ran <sup>3</sup> It.is.just that NEG POT_mix inam ndywen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> . HAB_say_1INCL	it is just this which can't fade, we say.
120	Qan <sup>1</sup> ndiya <sup>0</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> tiyin <sup>1</sup> in <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> . as like essence chest_1INCL now, hm?	As for us now, hm?
121	Ja <sup>4</sup> -la <sup>32</sup> ta <sup>4</sup> tykwen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> not INTJ POT_say_1INCL chaq <sup>3</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> tsan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> , that not POT_go_NB_1INCL	We cannot say not to go forth,
122	ja <sup>4</sup> tyqan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> si <sup>1</sup> -ti <sup>0</sup> qne <sup>32</sup> not HAB_go_around_1INCL if still PROG_do kqu <sup>2</sup> Ndiyo <sup>14</sup> -si <sup>0</sup> ndywen <sup>20</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> . POT_care god HAB_say_1INCL	we cannot say not to go about while God still provides us with life, we say.
123	Kanq <sup>42</sup> chi <sup>3</sup> -nyi <sup>24</sup> . that true	Truly.
124	Qan <sup>1</sup> ndiya <sup>0</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> tiye <sup>32</sup> qwan <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> na <sup>3</sup> as like essence chest to.you(pl) so that	As for you
125	ntqan <sup>32</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> , PROG_go.around you(pl subj)	going about,
126	ndon <sup>32</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> in <sup>20</sup> . PROG_standing you(pl subj) hm?	that are standing guard, hm?
127	Ntkwa <sup>1</sup> jynyaq <sup>1</sup> yaq <sup>1</sup> , PROG_sit.elevated tired hands	You are making your hands tired,

## Continuation of text 1

128	ntkwa <sup>1</sup> PROG_sit.elevated tired	jynyaq <sup>1</sup> kyaq <sup>1</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> feet you(pl subj)	you are making your feet tired.
129	ntqan <sup>32</sup> PROG_go.around	wan <sup>4</sup> you(pl subj)	going around
130	Kwiq <sup>24</sup> ndiyo <sup>14</sup> -si <sup>0</sup> sqwa <sup>14</sup> yaq <sup>0</sup> It.is.just god POT-put hand	qin <sup>1</sup> qwan <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , to (you) to.you(pl), now	May God extend you a hand now,
131	chaq <sup>3</sup> na <sup>3</sup> ntqan <sup>32</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> , because thing PROG_go.around you(pl subj)		as for you that are going about,
132	ndon <sup>32</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> , ndywen <sup>24</sup> eng <sup>32</sup> PROG_stand you(pl subj) HAB_say_1INCL		that are standing guard, we say.
133	Yaq <sup>3</sup> , chaq <sup>3</sup> kwa <sup>20</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> nyan <sup>24</sup> Intj because, like.this only appear chaq <sup>3</sup> -jyaq <sup>3</sup> skwa <sup>3</sup> . permission PROG_lay.elevated		As this is the way things are laid out.
	v. Conclusion		
134	Kwa <sup>20</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> nyan <sup>24</sup> yan <sup>42</sup> sten <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> , like_this only appear COMPL.come.NB father_1INCL		This is just the way our fathers came,
135	kwa <sup>20</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> nyan <sup>24</sup> yan <sup>42</sup> yqan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> . like_this only appear COMPL.come.NB mother_1INCL		this is just the way our mothers came.
136	Kwa <sup>20</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> nyan <sup>24</sup> yan <sup>42</sup> qyu <sup>1</sup> kla <sup>24</sup> like_this only appear COMPL.come.NB male old		This is just the way the old men,
137	qan <sup>1</sup> kla <sup>24</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> . female old, now, hm?		the old women came, now, hm?
138	ELDER Ntqan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> jyaq <sup>3</sup> skwa <sup>3</sup> re <sup>2</sup> qin <sup>1</sup> like.this measure PROG_lay.elevated here to sten <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> , father_1INCL		Because it was already thus to our fathers,
139	qin <sup>1</sup> yqan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> , ndywen <sup>24</sup> eng <sup>32</sup> . to mother_1INCL HAB_say_1INCL		because it was already thus to our mothers, we say.

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140	<p>Kanq<sup>42</sup> chaq<sup>3</sup> nka<sup>24</sup> no<sup>32</sup> ka<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>4</sup>  that.is.why thing PROG_be the.one POT_be.able  no  ndywen<sup>24</sup> enq<sup>32</sup>, chaq<sup>3</sup> no<sup>24</sup> ja<sup>4</sup>  HAB_say_1INCL, because that not 1INCL  tsan<sup>1</sup> an<sup>1</sup> ntyqo<sup>20</sup> chaq<sup>3</sup>.  POT_go_NB- HAB_come.out thing</p>	This is why we cannot say, not to go about, indeed.
141	<p>CHORUS OF ENVOYS  Kwan<sup>20</sup> ntyqan<sup>24</sup> ra<sup>1</sup> in<sup>20</sup>.  thus appear now, hm?</p>	Yes indeed, hm?
142	<p>Ta<sup>20</sup> lo<sup>24</sup> ti<sup>42</sup>.  POT_give face EMPH</p>	Please bear with us.
PART 4 .CONCLUSION		
143	<p>ELDER  Kwiq<sup>24</sup> kwan<sup>20</sup> nyan<sup>24</sup> jyan<sup>4</sup> xka<sup>32</sup>  It.is.just thus appear POT_come_NB  another</p>	In the same way, should come
144	<p>no<sup>4</sup> nka<sup>24</sup> yaq<sup>2</sup>,  the.one PROG_be hand,</p>	the one who is a hand,
145	<p>no<sup>4</sup> nka<sup>24</sup> kyaq<sup>32</sup>  the.one PROG_be feet</p>	the one who is a foot .
146	<p>jyan<sup>4</sup>, jyan<sup>4</sup> tqen<sup>20</sup>  POT_come_NB POT_come_NB get  qnya<sup>24</sup> ra<sup>1</sup> no<sup>0</sup> wa<sup>2</sup> tsa<sup>24</sup>  to (me) hour when alrely POT_go_NB  yu<sup>32</sup> sya<sup>1</sup> wa<sup>0</sup> la<sup>42</sup>.  man justice already pray</p>	to come get me when those authority are ready to go pray
147	<p>Jyan<sup>4</sup>, jyan<sup>4</sup> tqen<sup>20</sup> qnya<sup>24</sup> la<sup>1</sup>  POT_come_NB POT_come_NB POT_get to(me)  when  no<sup>0</sup> wa<sup>2</sup> tsa<sup>24</sup> yu<sup>32</sup> sya<sup>1</sup> wa<sup>0</sup> la<sup>42</sup>.  the.one already POT_go_NB man justice already  pray</p>	They should come get me when those in authority are ready to go pray.

## Continuation of text 1

148	<p>CHORUS OF ENVOYS</p> <p>Kwan<sup>20</sup> nyan<sup>24</sup> ra<sup>1</sup> in<sup>20</sup> !  thus appear now , hm?</p>	Yes indeed!
149	<p>Kanq<sup>42</sup> ti<sup>4</sup> tnya<sup>3</sup> ntqan<sup>32</sup> qo<sup>24</sup>  that only work PROG_go.around with</p> <p>wa<sup>42</sup> re<sup>2</sup>.  we(EXCL) here</p>	This is the purpose of our visit.
150	<p>ENVOY</p> <p>Kwan<sup>20</sup> ntyqan<sup>24</sup> ra<sup>1</sup> in<sup>20</sup> che<sup>3</sup>  thus appear hour hm? friend</p> <p>ta<sup>20</sup> lo<sup>24</sup> ti<sup>42</sup>.  POT_give face only</p>	Yes indeed sir, please be patient with us.
151	<p>Kwiq<sup>24</sup> ra<sup>1</sup> no<sup>0</sup> wa<sup>2</sup> ndya<sup>32</sup> ti<sup>1</sup>  It.is.just hour the.one already COMPL_arrive_NB  very</p> <p>kya<sup>20</sup>, kwiq<sup>24</sup> ra<sup>1</sup> wa<sup>0</sup> tkwa<sup>1</sup> re<sup>2</sup>,  tomorrow, it.is.just hour already two this,</p> <p>ra<sup>1</sup> sna<sup>0</sup> re<sup>2</sup>, kwiq<sup>24</sup> ra<sup>1</sup> wa<sup>0</sup> ja<sup>1</sup>-kwa<sup>24</sup>  hour three this, It.is.just hour already four</p> <p>re<sup>2</sup>, wa<sup>2</sup>  this, already</p> <p>tyi<sup>20</sup>-sna<sup>2</sup> renq<sup>1</sup> la<sup>42</sup>.  begin they pray</p>	At the appointed time around two, three, or four they will commence the prayers.
152	<p>Kwiq<sup>24</sup> wan<sup>20</sup> nqne<sup>1</sup> yu<sup>32</sup> qin<sup>4</sup> ran<sup>3</sup>,  it.is.just like.that PROG_do man to inam</p> <p>kwiq<sup>24</sup> kwan<sup>20</sup> nqne<sup>1</sup> yu<sup>32</sup> qin<sup>4</sup> ran<sup>3</sup>,  it.is.just like.that PROG_do man to inam</p> <p>ja<sup>4</sup>-ne<sup>1</sup> kwiq<sup>24</sup> wa<sup>42</sup> re<sup>2</sup>.  yes it.is.just we(EXCL) here</p>	Yes that is the way it is done
153	<p>Kwan<sup>20</sup> nyan<sup>24</sup> ka<sup>1</sup>, kwa<sup>3</sup> no<sup>24</sup>  thus appear POT_be thus like</p> <p>sqwa<sup>140</sup> wa<sup>42</sup> xka<sup>32</sup> son<sup>24</sup> kya<sup>20</sup>  POT_send we(EXCL) another message tomorrow</p>	Yes indeed, we tomorrow we will dispatch a messenger to you.

Continuation of text 1

154	<p>CHORUS OF ENVOY</p> <p>We<sup>3</sup>-no<sup>24</sup> sqwe<sup>3</sup> ran<sup>3</sup>.  <small>okay good inam</small></p>	<p>Thank you, that sounds good.</p>
155	<p>Kwan<sup>20</sup> ntyqan<sup>24</sup> ra<sup>1</sup> in<sup>20</sup>,  <small>thus appear hour hm?</small></p> <p>tyqwi<sup>4</sup> chaq<sup>3</sup>-tlyu<sup>2</sup>-riq<sup>2</sup> qin<sup>42</sup>  <small>POT-have forgiveness to(you)</small></p>	<p>Yes indeed, please bear with us.</p>
156	<p>ENVOY</p> <p>Kanq<sup>42</sup> ti<sup>4</sup> no<sup>4</sup> tnya ntqan<sup>32</sup>  <small>that only the.one work PROG-go.around</small></p> <p>wa<sup>42</sup> re<sup>2</sup>.  <small>we(EXCL) this</small></p>	<p>This is the purpose of our visit.</p>
157	<p>Kwan<sup>20</sup> nyan<sup>24</sup> ran<sup>3</sup> in<sup>20</sup>,  <small>thus appear hour hm?</small></p> <p>tyqwi<sup>4</sup> chaq<sup>3</sup>-tlyu<sup>2</sup>-riq<sup>2</sup> qin<sup>42</sup>  <small>POT-have forgiveness to(you)</small></p> <p>chaq<sup>3</sup> kwa<sup>3</sup> ti<sup>24</sup> tnya<sup>3</sup> ntqan<sup>32</sup>  <small>thing thus only work appear</small></p> <p>wa<sup>42</sup> re<sup>2</sup> kwiq<sup>24</sup> kwa<sup>20</sup>  <small>we(EXCL) here it.is.just when</small></p> <p>ntyqan<sup>24</sup> ra<sup>1</sup>  <small>PROG_go.around time</small></p> <p>tyqwi<sup>4</sup> chaq<sup>3</sup>-tlyu<sup>2</sup>-riq<sup>2</sup> qin<sup>42</sup>  <small>POT-have forgiveness to(you)</small></p> <p>kwa<sup>3</sup> ti<sup>24</sup> tnya<sup>3</sup> ntqan<sup>32</sup> wa<sup>42</sup>  <small>thus only work appear we(EXCL)</small></p> <p>re<sup>2</sup>.  <small>here</small></p>	<p>This is the purpose of our visit.  Please bear with us. This is the  purpose of our visit.</p>
158	<p>Kw<sup>24</sup> Ndiyo<sup>14</sup> -si<sup>0</sup>  <small>It.is.just god</small></p> <p>ntyqan<sup>0</sup> -qo<sup>20</sup> qin<sup>42</sup>  <small>PROG_go.around_NB to(you)</small></p>	<p>May God be with you</p>

Continuation of text 1

159	ELDER Kwan <sup>20</sup> ntyqan <sup>24</sup> ra <sup>1</sup> in <sup>20</sup> . thus appear hour hm?	Yes, indeed, hm?
	PART 5. PARTING	
160	CHORUS OF ENVOYS We <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> nkya <sup>24</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> re <sup>2</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> . good already PROG_go_NB we(EXCL) here now	We will be going now.
161	Wa <sup>2</sup> nkya <sup>24</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> re <sup>2</sup> ni <sup>2</sup> yu <sup>1</sup> kla <sup>24</sup> ! already PROG_go_NB we(EXCL) here now man old	We will be going now, sir!
162	Wa <sup>2</sup> nkya <sup>24</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> re <sup>2</sup> ni <sup>2</sup> , yu <sup>1</sup> kla <sup>24</sup> ! already PROG_go_NB we(EXCL) here now, man old	We will be going now, sir!
163	ELDER We <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> , we <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> ! okay, okay	Very good!
164	HILARIA Wa <sup>2</sup> nkya <sup>24</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> re <sup>2</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , already PROG_go_NB we(EXCL) here now wa <sup>2</sup> -xqwe <sup>3</sup> qwan <sup>24</sup> neq <sup>24</sup> kla <sup>24</sup> thank.you to.you(pl) type.per old	We will be going now sir, Thank you very much.

**4 PARTS OF THE EVENT**

Table 7.1 summarizes the different parts in *The Visit*.

	PART 1. Introduction	PART 2. Preamble	PART 3. Main Performance	PART 4. Conclusion	PART 5. Parting
Speech activity	Greeting	Formal conversation	Formal exchange	Leave-taking	Parting
Register	Casual, everyday	Formal	Poetic, metaphorical	Formal, everyday	Formal
Turn-taking	Single turns	An increasing number of envoys speak in unison	Envoys speak in unison turns overlap	Envoys speak in unison	Single turns
Terms of address	Envoys address elder as <i>neq<sup>4</sup> kla<sup>4</sup></i> 'old man'	Envoys address elder as <i>neq<sup>4</sup> kla<sup>4</sup></i> 'old man'	Envoys and elder address each other as <i>se<sup>4</sup> nyo<sup>20</sup> re<sup>14</sup></i> 'sir, gentleman'	<i>se<sup>4</sup> nyo<sup>20</sup> re<sup>14</sup></i> 'sir, gentleman'	Envoys address elder as <i>neq<sup>4</sup> kla<sup>4</sup></i> 'old man'
Entry cue or initiation cue	Ask if the elder is home	Setting up the space for the performance such as gathering chairs for everyone to sit. Several envoys clear their throats in preparation for the performance.	Ritual exchange	Planning the next morning's meeting	Goodbye
Posture of participants	Standing	Sitting	Sitting	Standing	
Mood	Casual	Serious	Serious	Serious	

Table 7.1: Elements in *The Visit* event



Next using the information in Table 7.1 and from the entire text, I discuss the characteristics of the different parts of *The Visit* text.

#### **4.1 Introduction**

Table 7.1 shows that in Part 1 of the event, when the envoys first arrive at the elder's compound, they ask if the elder is home. The envoys converse using casual, everyday language while in the courtyard, near the kitchen. Upon learning that the elder is home, the envoys greet him and then ask to be invited into the elder's main room (line 2). The envoys address the elder as *neq<sup>4</sup> kla<sup>4</sup>* 'old man', a respect term. The pervading mood of the place is casual and relaxed. One of the envoys even jokingly asked S. Zurita if he had any mescal stashed around to drink (line 5). In this part the participation of the speakers is individual.

At this point in the exchange the envoys are standing and waiting to be assigned a seat in the main room of the elder's house. Once the envoys take their seats in the elder's room, the mood quickly changes from casual to more formal, as evidenced by the posture and more serious behavior of the men.

#### **4.2 Preamble**

Table 7.1 also shows that in Part 2, the exchange between participants has become a formal conversation. There is an increased use of verbatim repetition and the envoys increasingly speak as an entire group or in clusters of two or three. The envoys continue to address the elder as *neq<sup>4</sup> kla<sup>4</sup>* 'elder'. The participants at this point are sitting down in chairs and some of the envoys are clearing their throats in preparation for the main

performance. The envoy's demeanor, the way they relate to each other, and the atmosphere in the room has turned serious and solemn. The joking and casual talk has come to an abrupt halt. The formal exchange begins next.

## **5 MAIN PERFORMANCE**

This part discusses the characteristics of the formal exchange between the city hall envoy and the elder, which I refer to as the “main event”. I chose to call it the main event because it is the part that fulfills the goal of *The Visit* event. In the main exchange the participants address each other with a borrowed, archaic Spanish term: *se<sup>4</sup>nyo<sup>20</sup>re<sup>14</sup>* ‘your honor, sir, gentleman’. The same term is employed as a discourse marker to initiate and end turns-at-talk (lines 56-59) and as a transition phrase (line 97). Next I present the different parts of the main performance event.

### **5.1 Organization of the main event**

	Topic
Envoys	<p>Introduction</p> <p>Abstract topics (greeting, God, authority figures, and forgiveness)</p> <p>Envoys focus attention on the elder</p> <p>Envoys clarify reason for visit</p> <p>Envoys cede the turn-at-talk to the elder</p>
Elder	<p>Elder expresses agreement with the envoys' statement</p> <p>Elder elaborates on the meaning of the event that is taking place and asserts its validity in an abstract manner. Elder also talks about the traditions and the importance of preserving them. He remarks that the ancestors led a similar life</p> <p>Elder accepts an invitation to partake the praying event to which he is being invited</p> <p>Elder acknowledges the attention of the envoys and wishes them well</p> <p>Conclusion</p>

Table 7.2: outlines the thematic organization of what I call “the main event”

Table 7.2 shows that in the performance of *The Visit* text, general/abstract information is first presented, followed by discussion of specific/concrete events and actions. The orators first discuss abstract philosophical concepts such as God, civic participation and preservation of tradition. As the text moves forward, attention is turned to more tangible and concrete topics. Attention is turned to the participants of the

performance and the purpose of the event itself. For instance there comes a point when the envoys express their pleasure to the fact that the elder enjoys good health. The elder commends the envoys for fulfilling their civic duties to the community.

## **5.2 Themes from the main event**

Several themes recur in Part 3 of the exchange. They are: civic service, appeal to tradition, forgiveness, veneration of higher powers and ancestors, the relationship between the orators and the higher power, the interlocutors' discourse of well-being, sacrifice, and embodied interaction in community spaces. Below I outline each of these topics in turn.

### ***5.2.1 Civic responsibility***

Appeal to civic responsibility is a common theme in most persuasive speeches in San Juan Quiahije. This topic and its call for help to the community lie at the heart of *The Visit* performance. Civic service is voiced in a heartfelt, emotional manner through the ample use of repetition, poetic imagery, and other persuasive means.

San Juan Quiahije citizens view the idea of civic service as an obligation that a person (especially a man) acquires from the moment he is born into the community. The prevalent sentiment among San Juan Quiahije speakers is that when a man meets his civic duties he becomes the embodiment of *tnya*<sup>3</sup> 'work' and of *kchin*<sup>4</sup> 'community' (lines 110-111).

When parents pray for their newborn son, they plead with the higher powers (cf. Chapter 1) that if the child survives and grows to be old, he will serve his community

dutifully. When addressing young city hall helpers, the higher-ranking officials and elders remind the young men that by meeting their civic obligations, they are fulfilling a prayer that their elders offered to God when they were born. This is what S. Zurita expresses to the envoys in lines 113-115.

One strategy orators use to evoke the notion of civic responsibility is to describe a specific activity, gesture, or action that people do while carrying out their civic service (e.g., sitting elevated, walking, making rounds, and standing guard). Formulaic phrases about these activities become emblematic of the larger concept of civic responsibility.

Some of the most common formulas that orators use to express civic responsibility come from combinations of different types of position and motion verbs. For instance, the combination of two contrasting verbs of position *ntqo<sup>1</sup> ton<sup>4</sup>* ‘to cause to stand’ and *ntqo<sup>1</sup> tkwa<sup>14</sup>* ‘to cause to sit elevated’ connotes the idea of being appointed to office (line 113-114). Similarly, the combination of the verbs ‘to go forth’ and ‘to stand’ in the phrase: *ntqan<sup>32</sup> wan<sup>4</sup>* ‘you are going about’ and *ndon<sup>32</sup> wan<sup>4</sup>* ‘you are standing’ (lines 99-100 and 108-109 ) also expresses the fulfillment of a civic service. Another combination of motion verbs that express civic service is formed of *tsa<sup>24</sup>* ‘to go’ and *tyqan<sup>4</sup>* ‘to go about’. These formulaic expressions are found in many parts of the text (lines 49-50, 64-65, 66-67, 80-81, 88-90, 98-100, 101-103, 121-122, 140).

In this exchange S. Zurita speaks passionately about the importance of civic responsibility. In doing so, he tells the envoys that citizens must fulfill their obligations after the community has appointed them to serve in the city hall (line 110-111).

Additionally, the elder argues that all members of the community must meet their civic

obligations while God is still giving them life (88-90, 101-103). S. Zurita also expresses that these traditions must be upheld because they were established by the founders of the community (line 64-65). A similar sentiment is repeated in lines 70 and 71-72. In line 73 the elder emphasizes this point, stating that people have been serving the community for as long as the Chatino people have lived on this earth. The orators use the same persuasive means when asking people to meet their obligations in city hall and the community and when asking people to preserve their traditions. The themes of civic service and appeal to tradition are inextricably linked together.

### ***5.2.2 Appeal to Tradition***

Another recurrent theme in this text is the call for the preservation of tradition. The orators appeal to tradition using a well-known formula: *Kwiq<sup>24</sup> janq<sup>42</sup> qa<sup>4</sup> sa<sup>1</sup> tyi<sup>32</sup>*, *kwiq<sup>24</sup> janq<sup>42</sup> qa<sup>4</sup> xyaq<sup>2</sup>* ‘it is just this which can’t end, it is just this which can’t fade’ (lines 32-33, 68-69, 118-119). This refrain not only refers to the preservation of tradition, but also speaks of the nature of tradition itself, stating that it is inviolate and permanent. This appeal to tradition in the Chatino ceremonial systems is a powerful vehicle by which the Chatino people ask fellow citizens to bear the responsibility for maintaining the world as it was created and presented to them. We will present examples of this refrain in section 6.4.

The orators contend that these community traditions must be upheld because this is the way of things in the community (line 104) as established by forbearers (line 64-65, 66-67, 70). They assert that past generations lived and served in the same manner (line 134-135 and 136-137). The orators further elaborate the historical import of the

traditions, asserting that they have been in place since time immemorial, for as long as the Chatino people have existed in this world (lines 73 and 104).

### **5.2.3 Forgiveness**

Forgiveness is another common theme elaborated in most political speeches in San Juan Quiahije. In this text the envoys begin their performance by asking for forgiveness. Forgiveness is elaborated in three lines with tension built by contrasting three different actors (God, the elder, and the envoys). The envoys express that God and the elder have the capacity to forgive (lines 25, 26); however, the envoys state that they are still learning this trait and do not yet have the full capacity to offer forgiveness (lines 27).

### **5.2.4 Higher Powers**

The holy powers that people in San Juan Quiahije venerate consistently are their ancestors, who in this text are represented by the dual terms ‘fathers’ and ‘mothers’, and ‘old women’ and ‘old men’. God, the father, is venerated (line 35-38) singularly. The traditional San Juan Quiahije government is also held in a high esteem by the community members. People use two terms to refer to authorities: *neq<sup>4</sup> sya<sup>10</sup>* ‘people of authority’ and *neq<sup>4</sup> jyaq<sup>3</sup>* ‘those bearing the sacred staff’ (line 34). These are the institutions and entities that community members seek to preserve and turn to for help in times of need.

### **5.2.5 People**

San Juan Quiahije citizens are referenced as *sniq<sup>4</sup> kyqya<sup>2</sup>* ‘children of the mountains’ and *sniq<sup>4</sup> kchin<sup>32</sup>* ‘children of the community’ in this text and in other texts in San Juan Quiahije (lines 95-96). In this text S. Zurita points out that when elders and authorities carry out prayers, they do so on behalf of all community members.

### **5.2.6 Interlocutors’ Discourse of Well-Being**

In the persuasive speeches given in SJQ, orators almost always address their interlocutors or audience and express well wishes for them. In this text the interlocutors address each other in a tone that shows empathy, respect, and humility. The envoys express their pleasure that the elder is still enjoying good health and that God is taking care of the elder (lines 38-39). The envoys also request patience from the elder (line 45). The elder in turn expresses his appreciation for the envoys’ service to the community (line 98-100). He commends them for meeting their service, as is desired by the community. The elder reminds the envoys that they were appointed by the community to carry out this service (line 110-111).

Both the envoys (speaking in unison) and the elder ask God to reward each party for their efforts. In line 35-36 the envoys express their hope that God will grant the elder longevity and good health. The elder also supplicates on everyone’s behalf and asks God to give a hand and an arm to everyone who is serving the community (lines 106-107).



### 5.2.7 *Sacrifice*

Just as the orators express well wishes to one other, they also acknowledge the hardship they endured while serving. Employing a formulaic phrase *lo<sup>4</sup> tqwa<sup>14</sup>/ lo<sup>4</sup> tlyaq<sup>32</sup>* ‘in cold weather/in freezing weather’, the envoys convey to the elder that they will ask him to sacrifice and venture into harsh weather to place offerings and pray on behalf of the community (line 47-48). Elders and the authorities usually meet at city hall around 4 A.M. to venture forth on a pilgrimage to pray on behalf of the community. The elder in turn acknowledges the envoys’ sacrifice. He expresses this sentiment using another formula that combines *yaq<sup>2</sup>* ‘hand’ and *kyaq<sup>4</sup>* ‘feet’. He tells them that they are tiring their hands and their feet as they serve the community (line 127-128).

### 5.2.8 *Embodied interaction in community spaces*

Chatino society closely associates cultural activities with behaviors of the body in significant spaces. This is made clear throughout this text. Language about the body and its possible stances permeates discussions of civic responsibility, sacrifice for the well-being of the entire community, appeal for maintenance of tradition, and subservience before the higher power. All of these topics are persuasively conceptualized as a series of embodied behaviors and physical stances. Position and motion verbs are exploited for persuasive effect when talking about all of these values. For instance, when the orator expresses that these are the established traditions of the community, he uses the position verbs *skwa<sup>3</sup>* ‘it is laying (elevated)’ and *ntqen<sup>4</sup>* ‘it exists’ (lines 63, 71-72, 59, 104, 81, 84, 138).

### **5.2.9 Relationship between the orators and the higher power**

Activities at the heart of Chatino religious and political culture have a crucial embodied component to them. There are bodily stances associated with positions of power and positions of humility. Many stances are scripted or semi-scripted behaviors in public performance. This contrast is clearly visible in lines 28 and 29. In line 28 and 29 the envoys make reference to the fact that the higher power is sitting at an elevated position. Then in line 30, using a positional verb inflected in the first person plural inclusive, the envoys express that all community members are subservient to God, ancestors, and authorities. This sense is expressed with a formula that contrasts bodily postures: *sna<sup>2</sup> lo<sup>1</sup>*, *sna<sup>2</sup> kyaq<sup>1</sup>* ‘[He is] the one before whose face we sit, [He is the one] before whose feet we sit’.

### **5.2.10 Embodied interaction in place**

Embodied interaction is crucially situated in community spaces that are both explicitly and implicitly referenced in discourse about human activity (e.g., religious performance requires interaction in set spaces, and verbal performance frequently references places). The combination of the nouns *kchin<sup>4</sup>* ‘community’ and the *kyqya<sup>2</sup>* ‘mountains’ denote the community of San Juan Quiahije (line 116-117). Similarly, using a contrast of verbs of position *tyqya<sup>20</sup> ton<sup>42</sup>* ‘place them below’ and *tyqya<sup>20</sup> tkwa<sup>14</sup>* ‘place them above’ (line 49-50), the envoys describe the manner in which the supplicants will place the offerings at the ritual sites where they will conduct the prayers.

### ***5.2.11 Centrality of physical behavior in performance***

Physical behavior in performance is explicitly expressed in verbal art. In line 93-94 the elder asks that supplicants use their *yaq*<sup>2</sup> ‘hand’ and their *tqwa*<sup>4</sup> ‘mouth’ when praying on behalf of the common good. This formula captures with words the fact that people in San Juan Quiahije use their bodies (including mouth, hands, and knees) when saying their prayers out loud. As stated before people walk on their knees while saying their prayers in the Catholic Church. In similar fashion, service to the community is expressed through specific activities that people do when they serve in the city hall (e.g., walk around town to deliver messages, stand guard, and sit). This sentiment is expressed in lines 79-81, 98-100, 110-111, 113-114, and 134-135.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

At this point the formal exchange is dwindling down. The elder requests that the envoys send a “hand and foot” (a helper) to come and get him the next morning. The envoys reply in agreement, stating that they would be glad to do this, reiterating that this is the way things are done. There are several exchanges between the elder and the envoys about this matter before it is settled.

At this point the formal exchange has concluded and the envoys begin to depart, saying their last parting words to the elder. The envoys return to speaking in individual voices, yet the tone of the performance remains serious.

## **6 STRUCTURE OF THE EXCHANGE**

The formal exchange between the elder and the city hall envoys happens in highly poetic and adorned language. The structure of the exchange is constructed of recurrent patterns of parallelism, repetition, formulaic expressions, and grammatical elements. Next describe the methods I used to represent the oral performance on the page and to make the poetic divisions.

### **6.1 Written representation**

This section discusses the actions take in order to represent the audio recording of *The Visit* text in writing. These steps were spelled out in Chapter 5 section 2. As stated in this chapter, the sound recording of *The Visit* text was first transcribed and translated in ELAN. The text that resulted from ELAN was transferred into a Word document so that it could be formatted in a poetic form.

### **6.2 Poetic division**

The numerous parallel structures, grammatical elements, and speaker's turn-at-talk were of the main features I took into consideration when devising the units of organization within *The Visit* text. As stated in Chapter 5, in order to make the divisions, I first looked at the relative similarity of a stretch of speech to the immediately preceding or following the stretch.

Next, I sought out grammatical elements such as verbal expressions, adverbial phrases, and lexemes to further confirm these poetic lines. In Chapter 5 I stated that these lines are not prosodically based. Next using a passage from *The Visit* text, I will discuss how I reached the poetic divisions therein.

Example 7.1

45	ta <sup>20</sup> lo <sup>42</sup> ti <sup>42</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> . POT_give face only now	please bear with us now.
46	Chaq <sup>3</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> re <sup>2</sup> nsqwa <sup>140</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> qin <sup>42</sup> because we(EXCL) here POT_send we(EXCL) to(you)	because we are sending you
47	ska <sup>4</sup> lo <sup>4</sup> tqwa <sup>14</sup> in <sup>20</sup> , one place cold now	in cold weather, hm?
48	ska <sup>4</sup> lo <sup>4</sup> tlyaq <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> ! one place freezing now	in freezing weather now!
49	t <sup>24</sup> sa <sup>24</sup> tyqya <sup>20</sup> ton ne <sup>2</sup> , POT_go_NB POT_bring.down NEUT_2SG now	you will go set them below,
50	t <sup>24</sup> sa <sup>24</sup> tyqya <sup>20</sup> tkwa <sup>14</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> . POT_go_NB POT_bring.down NEUT_sit.elev_2SG now	you will go set them above.
51	ska <sup>4</sup> ke <sup>2</sup> , one flower	a flower,
52	ska <sup>1</sup> nkaq <sup>24</sup> . one leaf	a leaf (e.g., offerings).
53	qin <sup>24</sup> sten <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> , to father_1INCL	to our father,
54	qin <sup>24</sup> yqan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> , to mother_1INCL	to our mother,

The verb phrase in line 45, Example 7.1, introduces the entire passage. Next, the adverbial clause in line 46 sets up the stage for the parallel repetitions that starts in line 47. Lines 47 and 48 are elaborations of two similar morphosyntactic constructions. Each line in this couplet repeats a frame with a changing focus element. The focus here elaborates on two types of weather: cold weather and freezing weather. A further indication that these stretches of speech belong in separate lines is the fact that the end of each line is marked by a lexeme or an adverbial particle. Line 48 ends in a falsetto lexeme *in*<sup>20</sup> ‘hm?’ and lines 49 and 50 end in an adverbial particle *ne*<sup>2</sup> ‘now’. The lexeme *in*<sup>20</sup> ‘hm?’ and the time adverb *ne*<sup>2</sup> ‘now’ are almost always found marking ends of poetic lines.

Lines 51-52 were also given their separate lines. Like the previous couplet, these elements are elaborated from a similar morphosyntactic construction and their ending is marked by a time adverb particle *ne*<sup>2</sup> ‘now’. Lines 51-52 consist of listings of plants that supplicants offer to the higher power in prayer. Line 53 and 54 hold a dual pair *sten*<sup>24</sup>*en*<sup>32</sup>/*yqan*<sup>1</sup>*an*<sup>1</sup> ‘our (INCL) father/our (INCL) mother’, a recurrent formula in SJQ. Each one of these elements was given its own separate line.

Given that this text is an exchange between two parties, the elder and the city hall envoys, I also relied on the speaker’s turn, to break down some of the poetic lines. This is best illustrated at the beginning of the exchange and in transition points, for example:

Example 7.2

1	ELDER Kyan <sup>42</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> POT_go_B you(pl subj)	Come on in
2	ENVOY Kyan <sup>14</sup> tkwan <sup>0</sup> neq <sup>1</sup> qan <sup>1</sup> yu <sup>24</sup> kla <sup>24</sup> POT_go_B POT_sit.elevated.1INCL inside house man old	Let us go in the house sir
3	ELDER Kyan <sup>42</sup> tkwa <sup>14</sup> wan <sup>0</sup> ching <sup>20</sup> POT_go_B POT_sit you(pl subj) little	Have a seat
4	CHORUS OF ENVOYS We. <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> Good	Thanks
5	ENVOY Ja <sup>4</sup> ndon <sup>42</sup> xa <sup>4</sup> -liyu <sup>1</sup> qyu <sup>0</sup> no PROG_stand mescal type.of.mescal kqon <sup>14</sup> a <sup>0</sup> ? POT_drink_1INCL Q	Do you have any mescal stashed around to share?

When the envoys first arrived at the elders’ house there is a casual back and forth greeting exchange that takes place between the envoys and the elder. Sometimes the envoys spoke individually and other times they spoke in unison. Each one of these participations is given its own line. The passage in Example 7.3 illustrates this.

### Example 7.3

56	ENVOY A Se <sup>4</sup> nyo <sup>3</sup> :re <sup>14</sup> ! . sir	Sir!
57	ENVOY B Se <sup>4</sup> nyo <sup>3</sup> :re <sup>14</sup> ! sir	Sir!
58	ENVOY C Se <sup>4</sup> nyo <sup>3</sup> :re <sup>14</sup> ! sir	Sir!
59	ENVOY D Se <sup>4</sup> nyo <sup>3</sup> :re <sup>14</sup> ! . sir	Sir!
60	ELDER Ka <sup>1</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> kwan <sup>20</sup> ntyqan <sup>14</sup> . indeed because like appear	Yes, indeed, it goes like that.

Example 7.3 shows that when the city hall envoys are ready to cede the turn to speak to the elder, they utter the word *Se<sup>4</sup> nyo<sup>3</sup>:re<sup>14</sup>!* ‘sir’, *Se<sup>4</sup> nyo<sup>3</sup>:re<sup>14</sup>!* ‘sir’. Each one of these utterances was placed in separate lines like the previous example. Next, in line 60 the elder takes up his turn to speak using the adverbial clause: *Ka<sup>14</sup> chaq<sup>3</sup> kwan<sup>20</sup> ntyqan<sup>14</sup>* ‘Yes, indeed, it goes like that’. It is worth mentioning that the tone in the second syllable in the word *Se<sup>4</sup> nyo<sup>20</sup>:re<sup>14</sup>* alternates between tone 20 and 3: *Se<sup>4</sup> nyo<sup>20</sup>:re<sup>14</sup> /Se<sup>4</sup> nyo<sup>3</sup>:re<sup>14</sup>*

### 6.3 Parallelism

As stated in Chapter 5 parallelism is one of the main poetic tropes in SJQ verbal art. Just like the structures described in Chapter 5, parallel lines in *The Visit* consists of a formulaic frame that repeats in every line. The frame also holds a changing focus element. Example 7.4 below illustrates the components of a parallel verse in *The Visit* text.

Example 7.4

71	<p>Na<sup>3</sup> wa<sup>2</sup> ntyqan<sup>1</sup> skwa<sup>3</sup> re<sup>2</sup>  because already appear PROG_lie.elevated this</p> <p>qin<sup>1</sup> [sten<sup>24</sup>en<sup>32</sup>],  to father_1INCL</p>	<p>Because this was already laid to our [fathers],</p>
72	<p>wa<sup>2</sup> ntyqan<sup>1</sup> skwa<sup>3</sup> re<sup>2</sup> qin<sup>1</sup>  already appear PROG_lie.elevated this to</p> <p>[yqan<sup>1</sup>an<sup>1</sup>].  mother_1INCL</p>	<p>because this was already laid to our [mothers].</p>

In Example 7.4 the expression *wa<sup>2</sup> ntyqan<sup>1</sup> skwa<sup>3</sup> re<sup>2</sup> qin<sup>1</sup>* ‘because this was already laid to our’ is the frame and the foci elements are two possessed noun phrases “*sten<sup>24</sup>en<sup>32</sup>/yqan<sup>1</sup>an<sup>1</sup>*” ‘our (INCL) fathers’ and ‘our (INCL) mothers’. The overwhelming majority of the parallel lines in *The Visit* text are grouped into couplets. For example:



Example 7.5

112	Qan <sup>1</sup> ndiya <sup>0</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> tiye <sup>32</sup> qwan <sup>32</sup> as like essence chest to.you(pl)	As for you.
113	Chaq <sup>3</sup> na <sup>3</sup> ntqo <sup>1</sup> ton <sup>4</sup> because that COMPL_come.out NEUT_stand	As you were chosen,
114	ntqo <sup>1</sup> tkwa <sup>14</sup> wan <sup>0</sup> . COMPL_come.out sit.elevated you(pl subj)	you were put up for office.
115	Chaq <sup>3</sup> na <sup>3</sup> qne <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>32</sup> ser <sup>4</sup> wi <sup>14</sup> , so that POT_do you(pl subj) serve	To serve
116	no <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> qya <sup>2</sup> , the.one PROG_be mountain	the mountains,
117	no <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> kchin <sup>0</sup> , the.one PROG_be community,	the community,
118	ndywen <sup>20</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> . HAB_say_1INCL	we say

The passage in Example 7.5 contains two sets of couplets: lines 113-114 and 116-117. The first couplet is constructed with verbs of position and the second couplet is made out of a relative clause. Example 7.6 below illustrates additional couplets in *The Visit*.

### Example 7.6

46	Cha <sup>3</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> re <sup>2</sup> nsqwa <sup>140</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> because we(EXCL) here POT_send we(EXCL) qin <sup>42</sup> to(you)	Because we are sending you
47	ska <sup>4</sup> lo <sup>4</sup> tqwa <sup>14</sup> in <sup>20</sup> , one place cold now	in cold weather, hm?
48	ska <sup>4</sup> lo <sup>4</sup> tlyaq <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> ! one place freezing now	in freezing weather now!
49	Tsa <sup>24</sup> tyqya <sup>20</sup> ton <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , POT_go_NB POT_bring.down NEUT_stand_2SG now	You will go set them below,
50	t <sup>24</sup> sa <sup>24</sup> tyiqya <sup>20</sup> tkwa <sup>14</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> . POT_go_NB POT_bring.down NEUT_sit.elev_2SG now	you will go set them above.
51	Ska <sup>4</sup> ke <sup>2</sup> , one flower	A flower,
52	ska <sup>1</sup> nkaq <sup>24</sup> . one leaf	a leaf (e.g., offerings).
53	Qin <sup>24</sup> sten <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> , to father_1INCL	To our father,
54	qin <sup>24</sup> yqan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> , to mother_1INCL	to our mother,
55	qin <sup>4</sup> neq <sup>4</sup> sya <sup>10</sup> . to pers.class justice	to those in authority.

The passage in Example 7.6 holds four sets of couplets: lines 47-48, 49-50, 51-52, and 53-54. The couplet in lines 47-48 is an adverbial clause, the second couplet in lines 49-50 is a verb phrase. The couplet in lines 51-52 is an adverbial phrase, and the triplet in lines 53-54 is a prepositional phrase.

## 7 FORMULAIC EXPRESSIONS

One of the major components in *The Visit* text are formulaic expressions. Formulaic expressions are a stock of pre-fabricated units with varying complexity and

internal stability, and they are part of the community's collective cultural knowledge, as stated in Chapter 5.

Many of these formulas evoke a third meaning which I referred to as *difrasismo*, following Garibay (1953). In Chapter 5, we also established that there are formulas that repeat across many texts and others that are typically of one texts.

Table 7.3 provides an exhaustive listing of all the formulas I identified in *The Visit* text. Column 1 holds the combining terms that make up the formulas. In Chapter 5 I established that verbs will be cited in the third person singular and in the completive aspect. In Chapters we also said that possessed nouns will be cited in the third person singular. Column 2 provides a literal gloss of the terms that make up the formulas. Column 3 describes the meaning of these formulas. Column 4 discusses whether the listed terms occur across many texts or they only occur in this text. This column also lists other texts in this study that contain the given formula. The texts will be abbreviated as follows: *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*: CK, *The Visit*: Visit, Prayer for the Community: Prayer, and the Speech of the Changing of the Authorities: *Cambio*.

Formulaic terms	Literal gloss	Meaning	Occurs across many texts or it only occurs in this text
sti <sup>4</sup> /yqan <sup>1</sup>	father/mother	parents, ancestors	yes (CK, Cambio, and Prayer)
kchin <sup>4</sup> / neq <sup>4</sup> sya <sup>10</sup> /neq <sup>4</sup> jyaq <sup>3</sup>	community/those in authority/ those bearing the staff	San Juan Quiahije and its authorities	no
sti <sup>4</sup> /yqan <sup>1</sup> /neq <sup>4</sup> sya <sup>10</sup>	father/mother /the authorities	Saints in the Catholic church, ancestors, and authorities	no
snyiq <sup>32</sup> qya <sup>2</sup> / snyiq <sup>32</sup> kchin <sup>32</sup>	child of the mountains/child of the community	San Juan Quiahije citizens	yes (Cambio)
chaq <sup>3</sup> -jyaq <sup>3</sup> skwa <sup>3</sup> / chaq <sup>3</sup> jyan <sup>4</sup> ntqen <sup>1</sup> en <sup>1</sup>	The traditions that laid out/ the traditions that exist	the ongoing traditions	no
ska <sup>4</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> /ska <sup>4</sup> kchin <sup>32</sup>	a duty/a community	a civic duty	yes (Cambio)
qyu <sup>1</sup> kla <sup>24</sup> /qan <sup>1</sup> kla <sup>24</sup>	old men/old women	ancestors	yes (Cambio)
ska <sup>4</sup> ke <sup>2</sup> / ska <sup>1</sup> nkaq <sup>24</sup>	a flower (a candle)/a leaf	instrument of prayer	yes (Cambio)
no <sup>4</sup> lye <sup>42</sup> / no <sup>4</sup> tkwa <sup>14</sup>	the one with health, /the one with tkwa <sup>14</sup>	strength	no
no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> yaq <sup>2</sup> /no <sup>32</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> kyaq <sup>32</sup>	the one who is a hand/the one who is a foot	neq <sup>4</sup> skan <sup>4</sup> 'errand boy'	yes (Cambio)
qya <sup>2</sup> /kchin <sup>1</sup>	the mountains/ the community	San Juan Quiahije	yes (Visit, CK, Cambio)
qne <sup>42</sup> -yqu <sup>2</sup> / ntqan <sup>42</sup> - sen <sup>42</sup>	raised/ watched	to care for	yes (CK, Cambio, and Prayer)

Table 7.3: Formulas in *The Visit* text

Continuation of table 7.3

ntyqya <sup>1</sup> -ton <sup>42</sup> / ntyqya <sup>1</sup> -tkwa <sup>14</sup>	to set standing/to set elevated	manner in which instrument of prayer is placed at the prayer site	yes (CK, Cambio)
ya <sup>42</sup> /qan <sup>4</sup>	to go forth/ to go about	to serve	yes (Cambio, CK)
jnya <sup>1</sup> -yaq <sup>2</sup> / jnya <sup>1</sup> - tqwa <sup>4</sup>	to ask by hand/to ask by mouth	to pray	yes (CK)
qan <sup>4</sup> /ndon <sup>42</sup>	to go about/stand about	manner in which officials carry out their duties	no
sqwa <sup>14</sup> -yaq <sup>0</sup> /sqwa <sup>14</sup> skon <sup>0</sup>	to give a hand/give an arm	to aid	yes (Prayer)
ntqo <sup>1</sup> -ton <sup>4</sup> /ntqo <sup>1</sup> - tkwa <sup>14</sup>	to come out standing/ to come out sitting elevated	to be elected for office	yes (Cambio)
sna <sup>2</sup> lo <sup>1</sup> /sna <sup>2</sup> kyaq <sup>1</sup>	before his face/before his feet	subserviency	no
lo <sup>4</sup> tqwa <sup>14</sup> / lo <sup>4</sup> tlyaq <sup>32</sup>	in cold weather /in freezing weather	sacrifice	no
neq <sup>2</sup> tiye <sup>32</sup> /neq <sup>2</sup> tlo <sup>42</sup>	in you chest/in your face	to plant an idea on someone's mind	no
<b>Propositions</b>			
qa <sup>4</sup> tyi <sup>32</sup> /qa <sup>4</sup> xyaq <sup>2</sup>	this can't end/this can't fade	Permanence of traditions	yes (CK, Cambio, and Prayer)
kwa <sup>14</sup> jnyaq <sup>0</sup> yaq <sup>0</sup> / kwa <sup>14</sup> jnyaq <sup>1</sup> kyaq <sup>0</sup>	for tiredness to sit on the hand/for tiredness to sit on the feet	sacrifice	no

Similar to other SJQ texts, some of the main grammatical categories that make up the formulas in *The Visit* text include nouns and noun phrases, verbs and verb phrases, prepositional phrases, and propositions. In what follows I will discuss some salient examples of formulas and *difrasismo* in *The Visit* text .

## 7.1 Formulas made with nouns and noun phrases

Many of the formulas made with nouns and noun phrases come from kinship relations such as *sti*<sup>4</sup>/*yqan*<sup>1</sup> ‘father/mother’. Frequently, “city hall officials” are referred to as father and mother of the community. Example 7.7 illustrates this formula in the context of *The Visit* text.

### Example 7.7

84	qo <sup>1</sup> <u>sten</u> <sup>24</sup> <u>en</u> <sup>32</sup> , with father_IINCL	with our <u>fathers</u>
85	qo <sup>1</sup> <u>yqan</u> <sup>1</sup> <u>an</u> <sup>1</sup> . with mother_IINCL	and <u>mothers</u> .

The formula in lines 84 and 85 combines two well known dual terms: father and mother. As stated before, the terms ‘father’ and ‘mother’ are used when orators make reference to ancestors, parents, forbears, and even local San Juan Quiahije authorities.

The duality of male and female is a formula that recurs over and over again in *The Visit* text. For example *qyu*<sup>1</sup> *kla*<sup>24</sup>/*qan*<sup>1</sup> *kla*<sup>24</sup> ‘old man/old woman’

Example 7.8 below illustrates the context of this formula.

### Example 7.8

136	Kwa <sup>20</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> nyan <sup>24</sup> yan <sup>42</sup> <u>qyu</u> <sup>1</sup> <u>kla</u> <sup>24</sup> , like_this only appear COMPL.come.NB male old	This is just the way the <u>old men</u> ,
137	<u>qan</u> <sup>1</sup> <u>kla</u> <sup>24</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> . female old, now, hm?	the <u>old women</u> came, now, hm?

This formula is a formulaic that occurs in all the texts analyzed in this study such as the Prayer, the CK, and the *Cambio* text. There are also recurrent formulas that pair up the term *kchin*<sup>4</sup> ‘community’ with a wide range of nouns to express a wide variety of issues relating to the political life of the San Juan Quiahije community including *kchin*<sup>4</sup>/*neq*<sup>4</sup> *syá*<sup>10</sup>/*neq*<sup>4</sup> *jyaq*<sup>3</sup> ‘community/those in authority/ those bearing the staff’. The terms *qya*<sup>2</sup> ‘mountain’ and *kchin*<sup>4</sup> ‘community’ is a *difrasismo* that denotes the town of San Juan Quiahije. This is illustrated in the following example.

Example 7.9

115	chaq <sup>3</sup> na <sup>3</sup> qne <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>32</sup> ser <sup>4</sup> wi <sup>14</sup> , so that POT_do you(pl subj) serve	To serve
116	no <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> qya <sup>2</sup> , the.one PROG_be mountain	the <u>mountains</u> ,
117	no <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> kchin <sup>1</sup> , ndywen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> the.one PROG_be community HAB_say_1INCL and	the <u>community</u> , we say and

Also the combination *tnya*<sup>3</sup>/*kchin*<sup>4</sup> ‘work/ community’ evokes the meaning “service to the community.” Example 7.10 shows this formula.

Example 7.10

110	Ja <sup>1</sup> -no <sup>0</sup> nkan <sup>14</sup> ska <sup>0</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> , when PROG_be_1INCL one work	When we have <u>this duty</u> ,
111	nkan <sup>14</sup> ska <sup>0</sup> kchin <sup>32</sup> ndywen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> . PROG_be_1INCL one community HAB_say_1INCL	when we are <u>this community</u> , we say.

As stated above, the formula that combines the nouns: work and community evokes the meaning of civic service.

## 7.2 Formulas made with body parts terms

This text also illustrates some formulas that combine body parts terms. Here we see the well known formula that combines *yaq*<sup>2</sup>/*kyaq*<sup>32</sup> ‘foot/hand’. A well known *difrasismo* that evokes the meaning “city hall helpers.” Example 7.11 shows this formula in the context of *The Visit* event.

### Example 7.11

143	ELDER Kwig <sup>24</sup> kwan <sup>20</sup> nyan <sup>24</sup> jyan <sup>4</sup> xka <sup>32</sup> It.is.just    thus            appear    POT_come_NB another	In the same way, should come
144	no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> yaq <sup>2</sup> , the.one PROG_be hand ,	the one who is a hand,
145	no <sup>32</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> kyaq <sup>32</sup> the.one PROG_be feet	the one who is a foot .

## 7.3 Formulas contrasting verbs and verb phrases

A great number of formulas made out of verbs come from verbs of position and motion. Example 7.12 below, provides an example of this.

### Example 7.12

49	Tsa <sup>24</sup> tyqya <sup>20</sup> -ton <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , POT_go_NB POT_bring.down NEUT_stand_2SG now	You will go set them below,
50	tsa <sup>24</sup> tyqya <sup>20</sup> -tkwa <sup>14</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> . POT_go_NB POT_bring.down NEUT_sit.elev_2SG now	you will go set them above.



The formula in Example 7.12 combines motion a verb: *tyqya*<sup>20</sup> ‘to bring down’ as a first element and a position verb: *ton*<sup>42</sup> ‘to stand’ as the second element. Orators use this compound to express the manner in which supplicants deliver the instruments of prayer such as candles and flowers to the holy beings they pray to. Another example of a formula made with positional verbs includes *ntqo*<sup>1</sup>-*ton*<sup>4</sup>/*ntqo*<sup>1</sup>- *tkwa*<sup>14</sup> ‘to come out standing/ to come out sitting elevated’ as shown in Example 7.13.

Example 7.13

113	Chaq <sup>3</sup> na <sup>3</sup> <u>ntqo</u> <sup>1</sup> _____ -ton <sup>42</sup> , because thing COMPL_come.out stand	As you were chosen,
114	<u>ntqo</u> <sup>1</sup> _____ -tkwa <sup>14</sup> wan <sup>0</sup> . COMPL_come.out sit.elevated you(pl subj)	you were put up for office.

This formula is made from a compound, that combines a motion verb: *ntqo*<sup>1</sup> ‘come out’ as the first element and a position verb: *ton*<sup>4</sup> ‘to stand’ as a second element. This formula is a *difrasismo* that evokes the notion “to be elected or appointed for office”. This is a formula is also found in the *Cambio* text.

The pair *ntqan*<sup>32</sup> *wan*<sup>4</sup>/*ndon*<sup>32</sup> *wan*<sup>4</sup> ‘you are going about/you are standing’ in Example 7.14 is another formula made with position verbs.

Example 7.14

124	qan <sup>1</sup> ndiya <sup>0</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> tiye <sup>32</sup> qwan <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> na <sup>3</sup> as like essence chest to.you(pl) so that	as for you
125	<u>ntqan</u> <sup>32</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> , PROG_go.around you(pl subj)	going about,
126	<u>ndon</u> <sup>32</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> in <sup>20</sup> . PROG_stand you(pl subj) hm?	that are standing guard, hm?

The formula in Example 7.14 evokes the meaning “to serve the community”.

Example 7.15 illustrates another formula made with motion verbs.

Example 7.15

80	ntqen <sup>4</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> tsan <sup>24</sup> , have to POT_go_NB_1INCL	we must go forth,
81	ntqen <sup>4</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> tyqan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> have to POT_go.around_NB_1INCL ndywen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> . HAB_say_1INCL	we must go about, we say.

7.4 Formulas made by compounding verb phrases and body parts

There are a few compounds that bring together a verb plus a body part term as a second element in the compound. For instance *jnya<sup>20</sup> yaq<sup>2</sup>/jnya<sup>20</sup> tqwa<sup>4</sup>* ‘asked by hands/ask by mouth’, which is illustrated in Example 7.16.

Example 7.16

93	Kwan <sup>20</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> qa <sup>24</sup> jnya <sup>20</sup> -yaq <sup>2</sup> , same only appear COMPL_ask hand	It is just the way they <u>asked by hand</u>
94	-tqwa <sup>4</sup> renq <sup>4</sup> qin <sup>24</sup> mouth indef.pl.h to(him)	they [ <u>asked</u> ] <u>by mouth</u>

The first element in the compound is the verb *jnya<sup>20</sup>* “to ask” and the second element is a body part (hand and mouth). This formula is a *difrasismo* because it connotes the notion of “prayer”. Example 7.17 illustrates another construction compound that uses a body part as the second element of a compound.

Example 7.17

106	Elder ndiyo <sup>14</sup> -si <sup>0</sup> sqwa <sup>0</sup> -yaq <sup>0</sup> , god POT_send hand	May God <u>extend his hand</u> ,
107	sqwa <sup>14</sup> -skon <sup>0</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> ska <sup>4</sup> -skan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> POT_put arm our (INCL) one-another_1INCL qo <sup>1</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> . with you(pl subj) now	<u>extend his arm</u> to us, to you, to all, now.

The formula in Example 7.17 illustrates a compound made with a motion verb as the first element and an upper extremity as a second element, namely hand and arm. This formula is a *difrasismo* that expresses the notion of “helping someone.” This formula is also found in the Prayer for the Community text.

### 7.5 Formulas made with propositions

The well known formula that calls for the maintenance of tradition is a proposition that it is also found in the context of *The Visit* text.

#### Example 7.18

32	kwiq <sup>24</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> qa <sup>4</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> tyi <sup>32</sup> , It.is.just that not POT_go_NB end	It is just this which <u>can't end</u> ,
33	kwiq <sup>24</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> qa <sup>4</sup> xyaq <sup>2</sup> . It.is.just that not mix	it is just this which <u>can't fade</u> .
34	Kchin <sup>4</sup> , neq <sup>4</sup> sya <sup>10</sup> , neq <sup>4</sup> jyaq <sup>3</sup> . community, authority, those-bearing.staff	The community, those in authority, those bearing the staff.

The formula in Example 7.18, an appeal to the maintenance of tradition, is uttered by both the city hall envoys and the elder in *The Visit* exchange. This refrain is also uttered in the *Cambio* text and in The Prayer for the Community.

Another proposition in this text is the formula *ntkwa*<sup>14</sup> *jynyaq*<sup>1</sup>-*yaq*<sup>1</sup>/*ntkwa*<sup>14</sup> *jynyaq*<sup>1</sup>-*kyaq*<sup>1</sup> ‘tired hands/tired feet’, which is illustrated in Example 7.19.

#### Example 7.19

127	ntkwa <sup>14</sup> jynyaq <sup>0</sup> -yaq <sup>2</sup> , PROG_sit.elevated tired hands	you are making <u>your hands tired</u> ,
128	ntkwa <sup>14</sup> jynyaq <sup>0</sup> -kyaq <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> PROG_sit.elevated tired feet you(pl) subj)	you are making <u>your feet tired</u> .

The first element in this formula is a positional verb *ntkwa*<sup>14</sup> ‘to sit elevated’. The second element in the compound is the adjective *jynyaq*<sup>1</sup> ‘tired’, which in turn is followed by an extremity term *yaq*<sup>2</sup>/*kyaq*<sup>4</sup> ‘hand and feet’. This formula acknowledges the sacrifices that city hall officials endure while serving the community. This formula is only found in this text.

## 7.6 Formulas made with prepositional phrases

There are several formulas constructed with prepositional phrases in this text, for example:

### Example 7.20

46	Chaq <sup>3</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> re <sup>2</sup> nsqwa <sup>140</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> because we(EXCL) POT_send we(EXCL) qin <sup>42</sup> to(you)	Because we are sending you
47	ska <sup>4</sup> lo <sup>4</sup> tqwa <sup>14</sup> in <sup>20</sup> one place cold hm?	in cold weather, hm?
48	ska <sup>4</sup> lo <sup>4</sup> tlyaq <sup>32</sup> one place cold	in freezing weather

Example 7.20 illustrates is refrain, which combines two closely related terms relating to cold weather: *tlyaq*<sup>4</sup>/*tqwa*<sup>14</sup> ‘cold weather/freezing weather’. Example 7.21 illustrates another example of a formula made with a prepositional phrases.

### Example 7.21

30	nkqan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> sna <sup>2</sup> lo <sup>1</sup> PROG_sit.on.the.ground_1INCL in face	We are sitting before his face,
31	nkqan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> sna <sup>2</sup> kyaq <sup>1</sup> PROG_sit.on.the.ground_1INCL in feet	we are sitting before his feet.

This formula is made by contrasting two body part “front and back”.

## 8 COMMUNICATIVE FUNCTION

The last section discussed the structure of *The Visit* text. This section will discuss the communicative functions that result from all the previously elements coming together. They include persuasive features in the text, which I will discuss below.

### 8.1 Statements made in the form of question

The elder accepts the invitation of the envoy to accompany the authorities to pray for the community via a statement made in the form of question. He asks: if God is taking care and watching over us (the men), then how can we forgo our civic duties and state that we will not accept the invitation to go pray with the authorities? This passage is shown in Example 7.22 below.

Example 7.22. Statement made in the form of question

77	Qo <sup>1</sup> qwan <sup>1</sup> tykwen <sup>0</sup> enq <sup>1</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> and how PROG_say_1INCL that not tsan <sup>24</sup> , POT_go_NB_1INCL	How can we say not to go forth,
78	ja <sup>4</sup> tyqan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> ? not POT_go.around_NB_1INCL	[how can we say] not to go about.
79	Kwiq <sup>24</sup> chonq <sup>42</sup> It.is.just because	It is just because
80	ntqen <sup>4</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> tsan <sup>24</sup> have to POT_go_NB_1INCL	we must go forth,
81	ntqen <sup>4</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> tyqan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> have to POT_go.around.NB_1INCL ndywen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> . HAB_say_1INCL	we must go about, we say.

The statement made in the form of question is in line 77 in Example 7.22. In lines 80-81 and 88-90 the orator provides the answer to his own question. The elder reassures

the envoys that their purpose is sound: “How can we not go?” The elder repeats this expression as a refrain several times throughout the text.

## 8.2 Evidential framing

The elder takes great pains to state that the tradition of praying for the well-being of the citizens of the community and the continuation of their traditions is an important and valid endeavor. He reiterates the validity of the ceremony repeatedly throughout the text. Example 7.23 lists some of the terms used by the elder and the envoys to assert the validity of the community’s tradition.

Example 7.23. Statements of truth

60	Ka <sup>1</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> kwan <sup>20</sup> ntyqan <sup>24</sup> . indeed because like appear	Yes, indeed, it goes like that.
61	Chi <sup>3</sup> -nyi <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> kan <sup>42</sup> se <sup>4</sup> nyo <sup>3</sup> : re <sup>14</sup> ! true thing that sir	This is true, gentlemen!
91	Kanq <sup>42</sup> no <sup>4</sup> chi <sup>3</sup> -nyi <sup>24</sup> , that the.one true	Yes, indeed,
92	chaq <sup>3</sup> kwan <sup>20</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> qan <sup>24</sup> ntyqan <sup>1</sup> because same only appear HAB_go_around renq <sup>4</sup> indef.pl.h	this is just the way people go about.
105	CHORUS OF ENVOYS Chi <sup>3</sup> -nyi <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> kanq <sup>42</sup> true thing that	This is true
123	Kanq <sup>42</sup> chi <sup>3</sup> -nyi <sup>24</sup> . that true	Truly.
141	CHORUS OF ENVOYS Kwan <sup>20</sup> ntyqan <sup>24</sup> ra <sup>1</sup> in <sup>20</sup> . thus appear now , hm?	Yes indeed, hm?

The terms and expressions that the participants use to express that the traditions of the community are valid include: *Ka<sup>14</sup> chaq<sup>3</sup> kwa<sup>20</sup> ntyqan<sup>24</sup>* ‘Yes, indeed, it goes like that’, and *chi<sup>3</sup> nyi<sup>24</sup> chaq<sup>3</sup> kan<sup>42</sup> se<sup>4</sup> nyo<sup>3</sup>: re<sup>14</sup>!* ‘this is true gentlemen!’. Both the elder and envoys use these expressions as a refrain throughout the text. In line 105, speaking in unison, the envoys backchannel the elder with the phrase: “this is true”. The expression: *chi<sup>3</sup> nyi<sup>24</sup> chaq<sup>3</sup> kanq<sup>42</sup>* ‘this is true’ is also a way in which the envoys show respect and deference toward the elder, particularly by back channeling. All of these elements reinforce the persuasive nature of this text.

### 8.3 Thematic transition and turn-at-talk

There are several resources the orators use to signal the transition of topic and turn-at-talk within the text. Below in Example 7.24, I show some of them.

Example 7.24. Thematic transition

17	ENVOY Jqrrrrrrr Ahhh	[Throat clearing]
62	Qan <sup>1</sup> ndiya <sup>14</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> tiyin <sup>1</sup> in <sup>1</sup> . as feel essence chest_1INCL	As we regard it.
97	Se <sup>4</sup> nyo <sup>3</sup> : re <sup>14</sup> , sirs	Sirs!
98	Qan <sup>1</sup> ndiya <sup>0</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> tiye <sup>32</sup> qwan <sup>32</sup> as like essence chest to.you(pl) chaq <sup>3</sup> -na <sup>3</sup> because	As for you that
120	Qan <sup>1</sup> ndiya <sup>24</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> tiyin <sup>1</sup> in <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> . as like essence chest_1INCL now, hm?	As for us now, hm?

Example 7.24 contains a particular throat clearing (line 17), the adverbial phrase *qan<sup>1</sup> ndiya<sup>24</sup> riq<sup>2</sup> tiyin<sup>1</sup> in<sup>1</sup>* ‘as we regard it’ (lines 62, 98 and 120), and a borrowed

Spanish term: *se<sup>4</sup>nyo<sup>20</sup>re<sup>14</sup>* ‘sirs or gentlemen’ (line 97), all of which are used as transitions and signals for ceding a turn-at-talk.

## 9 COMPARING *THE VISIT* WITH OTHER ORAL DISCOURSE IN SAN JUAN QUIAHIJE

In Table 7.4 I compare *The Visit* text to other texts performed in San Juan Quiahije. In the table (-) indicates the absence of a feature, (+) indicates its sporadic appearance, and (++) indicates its pervasive use.

Text	Genre	Parallelism	Frame tags	long distance parallelism	Adverbial transition phrases	assonance	chiasmus	Appeal to tradition	Begins asking for forgiveness	Statement of validity of the ceremony
The Visit	Persuasive	++	-	-	++	-	-	++	++	++
Speeches for the changing of authorities	Persuasive	++	++	-	++	-	-	++	++	++
Chaq <sup>3</sup> ksya <sup>10</sup>	Persuasive	++	++	-	++	-	-	++	++	++
Prayer for the Community	Sacred	++	-	++	-	++	++	-	++	-
Conversation	everyday	+	+	-	++	-	-	+	+	-

Table 7.4: Differences and similarities between *The Visit* and other text in San Juan Quiahije

*The Visit* text shares parallelism with all the formal speech texts listed in Table 7.4. However, frame tags, the elision of the focus element in the last line of a parallel



stanza, something pervasive in many persuasive speeches given at the city hall and in everyday speech, do not occur in *The Visit* text. It is not clear whether this absence reflects the style of the performer or that this text is meant to be performed without a frame tag.

Table 7.4 also shows that *The Visit* text shares many rhetorical features with other persuasive speeches performed in San Juan Quiahije. These features include the pervasive use of adverbial phrases to signal transitions, profuse appeal to tradition, asking for forgiveness, and statements of the validity of tradition. I did not identify long distance parallelism, assonance, or chiasmus in the present text.

## **10 CONCLUSION**

In this chapter I analyzed *The Visit*, a ceremonial exchange between S. Zurita, a respected elder from San Juan Quiahije and six city hall envoys. Like other discourse in San Juan Quiahije, the structure of *The Visit* performance shows pervasive use parallelism, formulaic phrases, and a wide range of persuasive elements such as rhetorical progression, rhetorical questions, and pervasive repetition. The *Visit* text frames many statements in the form of question and shows great movement from the abstract to the concrete.

The *Visit* also displays a style shift from colloquial to formal speech. This exchange offers a window into the importance that San Juan Quiahije speakers assign to place, civic responsibility, tradition, and the common good. The orators make great use of thematic rhetoric elements in asserting the validity of the community's traditions and acknowledging the sacrifice and the hardship that officials in city hall endure while

serving the community. In *The Visit* orators show great empathy and caring for each other. They speak and treat each other with great respect.

Next, in Chapter 8 I will analyze a prayer, which is a sequel to *The Visit* text. S. Zurita also recited this prayer on June 24th at the local Catholic Church in the center of San Juan Quiahije.

## Chapter 8: Analysis of Prayer for the Community text

### 1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter analyzes the major rhetorical components including recurrent linguistic features, communicative functions, and performance patterns of a ritual speech entitled: “Prayer for the Community”. This prayer was performed by S. Zurita at 5:00 A.M., on June 24, 2009, in the Catholic Church in San Juan. The prayer was performed immediately after “*The Visit*” text (also performed by S. Zurita) analyzed in Chapter 7. Both texts were recorded as the event actually transpired.

### 2. TEXT BACKGROUND

This prayer is part of what I described in section 2.1, Chapter 6 as “sacred prayer”. This prayer is performed very fast and as a monologue, employing a formal speech register.

The interaction of the performer and audience is essential to the prayer. The audience includes the city hall officials, elders, and community members present at the church when the prayer takes place. However, the audience is not necessarily limited to the officials, elders, and the community members who congregate to bear witness to the performance. Some authors, such as Keane (1997), argue that the audience in religious prayers also includes the invisible interlocutors that the prayers are being addressed to. In this prayer the supplicant addresses the community’s predecessors that have transcended to the metaphysical world, as well as the saints in the Catholic Church, e.g., Saint John the Baptist, patron Saint of San Juan Quiahije. We could well argue that the ancestors and

higher powers are equally part of the audience. Next I discuss the context of The Prayer for the Community.

### 3 CONTEXT OF THE EVENT

This section provides a detailed chronology of the activities leading up to the Prayer for the Community. On the evening prior to the ritual prayer, June 23, 2009, city hall envoys pay a visit to selected elders of the community to invite them to join the city hall officials in carrying out the prayers for the community. “*The Visit*” text, analyzed in chapter 7, records this June 23rd event.

The next day, preparation for the event begins at approximately four o’clock in the morning, when the city hall helpers set off bottle rockets to announce to the invited elders that the authorities are ready to go pray. At this time a helper referred to as *ska*<sup>4</sup> *yaq*<sup>2</sup>/*ska*<sup>4</sup> *kyaq*<sup>4</sup> ‘a hand/a foot’ is dispatched from the city hall to retrieve the elders from their homes.

By 4:15, the elders start arriving at the city hall. When the elders arrive, they are greeted by all of the city hall officials. After exchanging greetings, the elders take their assigned seats in their special section, an aisle in front of the authorities (the authorities and elders face each other). Six visiting elders participate in the ceremony. At 4:30, before they set out to pray, the *Kwa*<sup>2</sup>, religious planners for city hall (cf. chapter 1), assemble all the offerings and present them to the two elders serving in city hall. In turn, these two elders dispense the offerings to the other visiting elders along with instructions directing them to a particular saint or landmark, where they will place the offerings. Once the visiting elders have been given their instruments of prayer, they set forth to the ritual sites with the high-ranking officials.

By 5 am, the group walks from the city hall to the church. Their first stop is at the cross in front of the church. Next, all the supplicants turn around and walk a few steps into the church. Upon arriving at the doorstep of the church, they all kneel and cross themselves. They then proceed to walk on their knees to the main altar, saying the prayer out loud and carrying their offerings in their hands. The supplicants walk on their knees for three to four minutes to reach the main altar. S. Zurita's prayer is one of several prayers that were recited on this particular occasion. In order to record S. Zurita, I knelt next to him and walked on my knees with him to the main altar.

When all of the officials reach the altar, they recite the rosary together. When they finish praying the rosary, they stand up in a line in front of and parallel to the altar, facing the door. At this point community members present at the church reach out their hands to the elders standing with their offerings and touch and kiss the offerings held by the elders, hoping to be blessed by the prayers that the elders have carried out on their behalf. At 5:45, once the community members have finished touching the offerings, the officials disperse to the sites where they were instructed to give offerings. A few elders place their offering outside of the church as the final step in their journey. Finally, at 6:00 am, everyone returns to city hall for coffee and bread served by the *Kwa*<sup>2</sup>.

#### **4 THE TEXT**

Below I present the entire text in its poetic form with Chatino transcription and glossing, below the Chatino text, (left column) and English translation (right column). The forty-two lines that divide the text were made taking into account the pervasive presence of parallel structures within the prayer. The beauty of this little prayer may be found in its juxtaposition of simple but profound concepts.

Text 2: The Prayer for the Community (S. Zurita 2009)

	Part 1. Ancestors (veneration of ancestors)	
1	Santa Ayma Saint soul	Santa Ayma,
2	Qyu <sup>1</sup> kla <sup>24</sup> Male old	Forefathers,
3	Qan <sup>1</sup> kla <sup>24</sup> female old	Foremothers,
4	No <sup>4</sup> yqu <sup>2</sup> the.one COMPL_survive	Those who survived,
5	No <sup>4</sup> ndlu <sup>3</sup> the.one COMPL_thrive	Those who thrived,
6	No <sup>4</sup> suq <sup>3</sup> the.one COMPL_mature	Those who matured,
7	No <sup>4</sup> sen <sup>3</sup> the.one COMPL_multiply	Those who multiplied,
8	No <sup>4</sup> ya <sup>42</sup> tykwi <sup>4</sup> the.one COMPL_go_NB entirely	Those who lived entirely,
9	No <sup>4</sup> ya <sup>42</sup> nyi <sup>4</sup> the.one COMPL_go_NB straight	Those who lived directly,
10	No <sup>4</sup> ya <sup>42</sup> ykwa <sup>4</sup> the.one COMPL_go_NB even	Those who lived evenly,
11	Yan <sup>42</sup> lo <sup>4</sup> kwan <sup>4</sup> COMPL_come_NB to sunlight	They came to the sunlight,
12	Yan <sup>42</sup> lo <sup>4</sup> xa <sup>3</sup> COMPL_come_NB to light	They came to the light,
13	Yan <sup>42</sup> lo <sup>4</sup> xa <sup>4</sup> -liyu <sup>32</sup> COMPL_come_NB to light with light earth	They came to the world.
	Part 2. New generation (appeal to the new generation)	
14	Sa <sup>4</sup> -kwan <sup>20</sup> nyan <sup>14</sup> kqu <sup>0</sup> so.too appear POT_grow	So too may (they) survive,
15	Sa <sup>4</sup> kwan <sup>20</sup> nyan <sup>14</sup> klu <sup>0</sup> so-too appear POT_thrive	So too may (they) thrive,
16	Sa <sup>4</sup> kwan <sup>20</sup> nyan <sup>14</sup> ksuq <sup>0</sup> so-too appear POT_mature	So too may (they) mature,
17	Sa <sup>4</sup> kwan <sup>20</sup> nyan <sup>14</sup> kxin <sup>0</sup> so-too appear POT_multiply	So too may (they) multiply,
18	Tyi <sup>20</sup> ton <sup>10</sup> POT_cause_to NEUT_stand	May stand up (as a force),
19	Tyi <sup>20</sup> kqan <sup>24</sup> POT_cause.to NEUT_sit.elevated	May sit down (as a force),

## Continuation of text 2

20	No <sup>4</sup> kwiq <sup>2</sup> the.one baby	The ones that are newborn,
21	No <sup>4</sup> kneq <sup>1</sup> the.one young	The ones that are young,
22	<No <sup>4</sup> > ntsu <sup>32</sup> the.one PROG_born	The ones that are being born,
23	No <sup>4</sup> ndla <sup>32</sup> the.one PROG_sprout	The ones that are sprouting.
Part 3. Patron Saint		
24	Nka <sup>42</sup> sten <sup>4</sup> PROG_be_2SG father_1SG	You are my father,
25	Nka <sup>42</sup> yqan <sup>20</sup> PROG_be_2SG mother_1SG	You are my mother,
26	Nka <sup>42</sup> sten <sup>4</sup> renq <sup>2</sup> PROG_be_2SG father of them ndiyo <sup>14</sup> si <sup>0</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> God hm?	You are their father, God, right?
27	Santo patron San Juan Bautista Saint patron Saint John Baptist	Patron Saint John the Baptist,
28	Nwen <sup>4</sup> , nka <sup>42</sup> re <sup>14</sup> qya <sup>0</sup> you PROG_be_2SG king mountain	You, are the king of the mountains,
29	Nwen <sup>4</sup> , nka <sup>42</sup> re <sup>14</sup> kchin <sup>0</sup> 2SG PROG_be_2SG king community	You, are the king of the community,
30	qwen <sup>4</sup> , tyon <sup>42</sup> 2SG POT_stand_2SG	You shall stand,
31	qwen <sup>4</sup> , tyqwi <sup>42</sup> 2SG POT_exist_2SG	You shall exist,
32	Sqwa <sup>20</sup> yaq <sup>1</sup> POT_put_2SG hand	Give a hand,
33	Sqwa <sup>20</sup> skon <sup>1</sup> POT_put_2SG arm	Give an arm,
34	Tyon <sup>42</sup> lo <sup>4</sup> POT_stand ahead	Stand before them,
35	Tyon <sup>42</sup> chonq <sup>42</sup> POT_stand back	Stand behind them,
36	No <sup>4</sup> ntsu <sup>32</sup> the.one PROG_sprout	Those being born,
37	No <sup>4</sup> ndla <sup>32</sup> the.one PROG_born	Those sprouting,
38	Ntyan <sup>1</sup> qya <sup>2</sup> All mountain	(In) the mountains,

Continuation of text 2

39	Ntyan <sup>1</sup> kchin <sup>1</sup> All community	(In) the community,
40	Nka <sup>42</sup> sten <sup>4</sup> PROG_be_2SG father_1SG	You are my father,
41	Nka <sup>42</sup> yqan <sup>1</sup> PROG_be_2SG mother_1SG	You are my mother,
42	Nka <sup>42</sup> sten <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> PROG_be_2SG father_1INCL ndiyo <sup>14</sup> -si <sup>0</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> God, hm?	You are our father, God.

#### 4.1 Text division

This prayer is divided into three main parts. In Part 1 the orator prays to the ancestors and founders of the community. In Part 2 the supplicant describes the new generation, and in Part 3 he prays to Saint John the Baptist. In what follows, I will discuss the different parts of the text in greater detail.

#### 4.2 Thematic progression

Table 8.1 summarizes the thematic progression in this text.



Part 1. Ancestors (veneration of ancestors)	a) The supplicant calls the ancestors by name
	b) The supplicant elaborates on the life cycle and the moral attributes of the predecessors
	c) The supplicant refers to the place where the ancestors once lived
Part 2. New generation (appeal to the new generation)	a) The supplicant expresses the wish that the new generation will attain a full life
	b) The supplicant expresses the wish that the future generation will emulate their ancestors
	c) The supplicant enumerates the desired future actions expected of (or from) the new generation
Part 3. Patron Saint	a) The supplicant describes the relationship between himself and the Patron Saint
	b) The supplicant describes the relationship between the Patron Saint and the people
	c) The supplicant appeals for protection
	d) The supplicant refers to the place

Table 8.1: Thematic division

In Part 1: Ancestors, the supplicant begins the prayer by invoking the spirit of the ancestors with the descriptions *Santa Ayma* ‘blessed soul’ (line 1), *qyu1 kla<sup>24</sup>* ‘old men’ and *qan<sup>1</sup> kla<sup>24</sup>* ‘old women (lines 2-3). Ancestors are described as having completed a full life cycle from surviving, bearing children (referred to in the prayer as multiplying), and growing old (lines 4-7).

Next, the orator expresses the idea that the ancestors to whom he is praying were good citizens to the community and led exemplary lives. He expresses these sentiments using a set of adverbial phrases: ‘entirely’, ‘directly’, and ‘evenly’ (lines 8-10). In the next stanza (lines 11-13), the supplicant states that the ancestors once lived on this plane of existence and on the earth’s surface, which Chatinos see as a world of light and warmth (lines 11-13).

In Part 2: New generation, in lines 14-17 the orator describes the new generation using the potential form of lines 4-7. This is a phenomena I call long distance parallelism, which I describe in further detail in section 6. The orator expresses a wish that the new generation will achieve solidity, constancy, and a full life cycle similar to that of the ancestors.

Next, the supplicant lays out his expectations for the new generation. He wishes that the new generation will become a force for their families and community (lines 18-19). He expresses this sentiment contrasting two verbs of position “to stand” and “to sit (on the ground).” Next the orator describes the new generation using formulas from the same semantic domain: “those who are babies/ those who are young” and “those who are being born/ those who are sprouting” (lines 20-23).

Part 3: Patron saint, the rhetorical organization of this part resembles that of Part 1. The orator begins the section by expressing his and the wider community’s relationship with the patron saint. Using a formulaic expression that contrasts the complementary terms “father” and “mother”, the orator states that the patron saint is his and the community’s father and mother (lines 24-25). Next, the orator goes on to say that the patron saint is the king of San Juan Quiahije (lines 28-29). He expresses this using a well-known formula that pairs the nouns “mountain” and “community”.

Next the supplicant makes an appeal for the new generation. For this he uses a series of formulaic expression that touch both the internal and external aspect of the person. Using a formulaic expression that combines the positional verbs “to stand” and “to exist” (lines 30-31), he requests that the higher power grant the new generation strength and fortitude. Then, using a formulaic stanza contrasting body parts (specifically

extremities: “hand” and “arm”), the orator requests that the higher power support the new generation. Finally, using a locational contrast of body parts (front and back), the supplicant requests the higher power to protect the new generation being born in the community. S. Zurita concludes the prayer by repeating the refrain, which describes his characterization of his relationship with the patron saint (lines 40-42).

## **5 SIGNIFICANCE**

While appearing simple, self contained, and unpretentious, this prayer excites and feeds the imaginations, perceptions, and emotions of the listeners. As a native speaker of Chatino and a member of the San Juan Quiahije community, I feel a deep resonance with this and other prayers, they evoke a feeling of tranquility, belonging, and love. The sounds that emanate from the speech are pleasing and soothing.

The imagery and the intensification of form displayed in this prayer also awaken in me universal feelings of empathy, identification, affection, hope, and belonging. These prayers are the thread that connects the different generations of San Juan Quiahije inhabitants that have dwelled in the territory to the past, present, and future.

This prayer is also a testament to the constant struggle of the Chatino people to maintain and continue their way of life, religion, culture, and community in the face of overwhelming pressure from the outside to assimilate to Western culture.

## **6 THE STRUCTURE**

In this part I will discuss the elements that form the structure of this text.

## **6.1 Parallel structure**

As with the other texts analyzed in this dissertation, there is an intense use of parallelism, formulaic expressions, and refrains in this text. Diagrams 1 and 2, below, present the hierarchical levels of subgroupings of parallel lines in The Prayer for the Community.

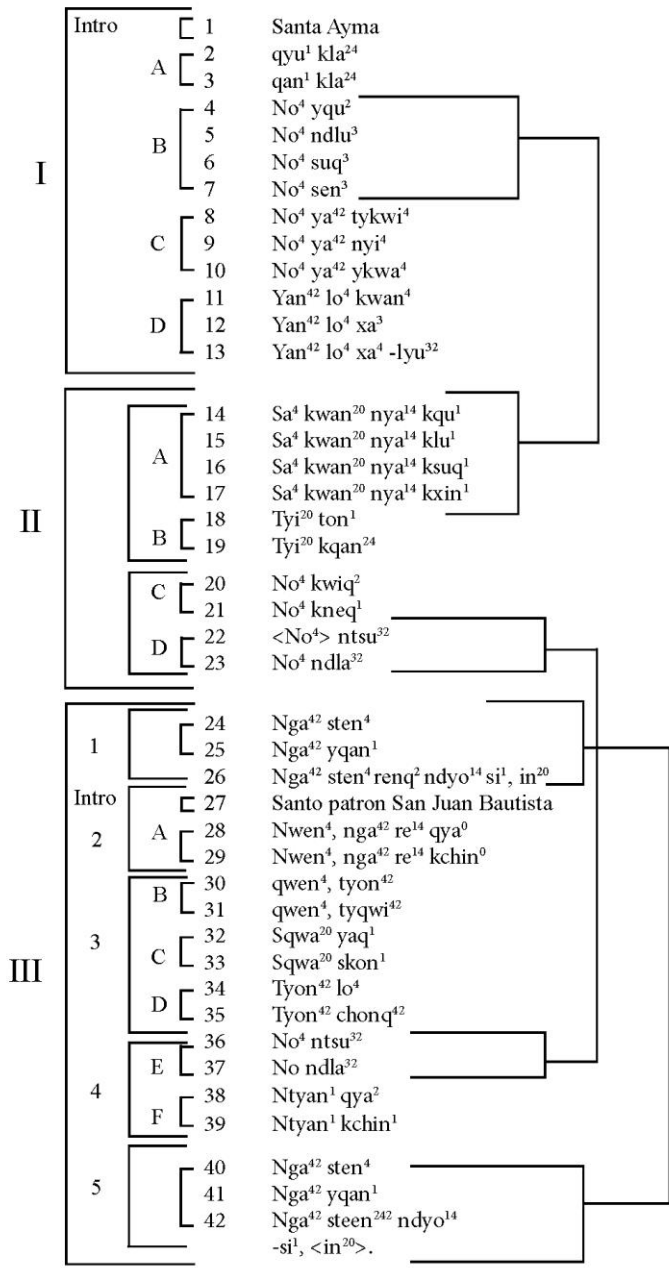


Figure 8.1: Hierarchical levels of subgroupings of parallel lines in the Prayer for the Community: Chatino

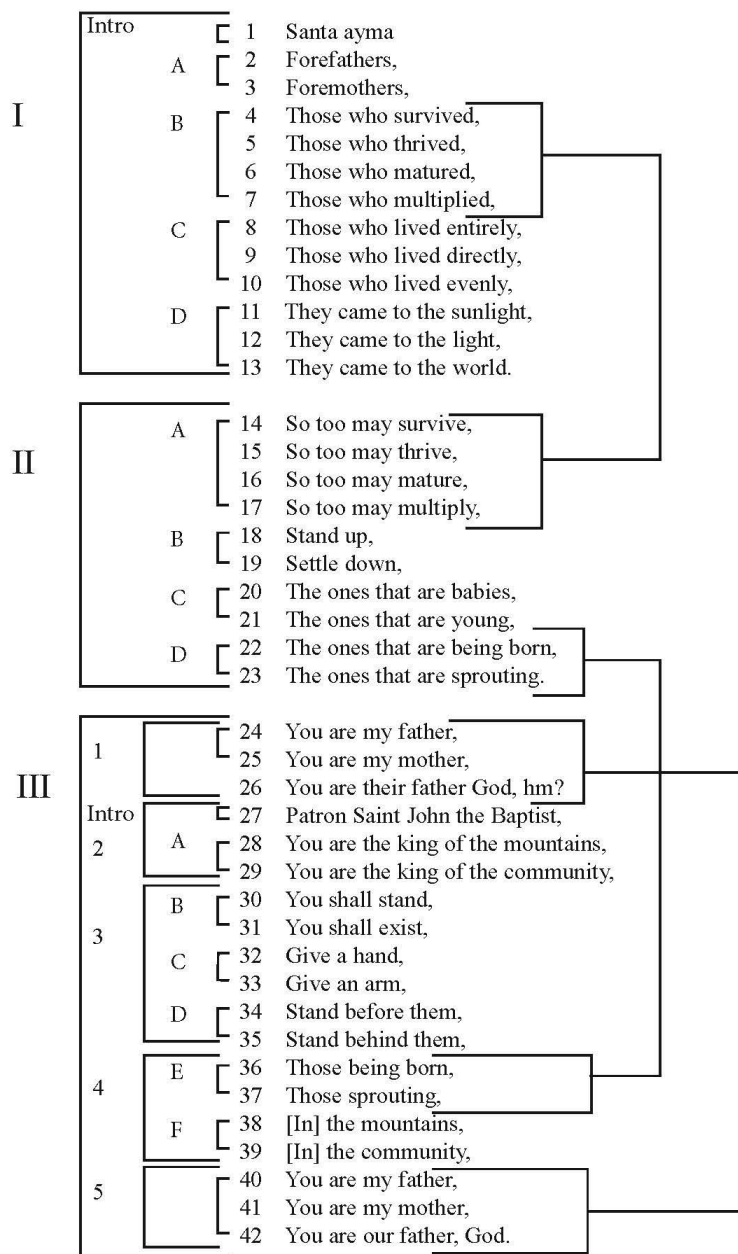


Figure 8.2: Hierarchical levels of subgroupings of parallel lines in the Prayer for the Community: English

The hierarchical level of subgroupings in diagram 1 and 2 were made taking into account the thematic divisions described in section 4.1, along with the similarities among adjacent units. For instance in part 1, the dual terms *qyu<sup>l</sup> kla<sup>24</sup>/qan<sup>l</sup> kla<sup>24</sup>* ‘old men/old women’ were placed in one group given their close morphosyntactic and semantic resemblance.

These diagrams also display the long distance relationship between parallel units. For instance, the structure in lines 4-7 is tightly connected to the structure in lines 14-17. These two units are built from the same morphosyntactic and semantic elements. The only structural difference between these two units is that the former is inflected for completive aspect and latter for potential aspect. These diagrams also show refrains in the text such as lines 22-23 and 36-37, as well as lines 24-26 and 40-42.

## **6.2 Organization of parallel stanzas**

Figures 8.1 and 8.2 also show that groupings of parallel stanzas in San Juan Quiahije are not strictly binary. In Chapter 5 section 5.1 we stated that parallel structures in SJQ verbal art can be grouped into binary structures (couplets) and structures beyond couplet such as triplets and quartets. This text contains stanzas of three and four lines (e.g., IB and IIA) in Figures 8.1 and 8.2.

## **6.2 Oral production**

In Chapter 5 I argued that in an oral production the speaker may manipulate the speech at every point. As the discourse unfolds, the speaker is able to re-analyze what he or she has uttered and what he or she knows so far. At each point he or she makes a decision as to what to repeat. If the speaker likes something just said, he or she may

choose to continue to elaborate on the same point, or, alternatively, choose to elaborate on something else. This text illustrates this type of oral production.

This text also offers a great opportunity to spell out in detail how from a very simple syntactic frame the speaker can generate a lot of repetition and parallelism. Next I will walk the reader through the text and show how this text offers a simple, clear example of how the parallelism works.

The topic of the sentence goes up to line 10. This part includes three vocatives (lines 1-3) and six lines of demonstrative adverb clauses (lines 4-10). The subject of the entire phrase are the three constructions in lines 11-13. This is the end of the first sentence.

The next sentence begins with an elaboration of a verb phrase in lines 14-17 and continues with the two positional verb phrases in lines 18-19. The subject of this sentences consist of four elaborations of noun phrases found in lines 20-23. Part I and II in this text are a chiasmus. They are organized in A B, B A form.

Lines 24-26 hold full sentences. The sentence in line 27 is a postposed subject of the addressee. This sentence also functions as a bridge noun phrase. It explains whom the supplicant is addressing, namely Patron Saint John the Baptist. Lines 28-31 are full sentences. Lines 32 and 33 are an elaboration of a verb phrase set. Lines 34-35 are a bare preposition phrase. The referent of this phrase is the third person singular direct object. Lines 36-37 elaborate on the preceding construction by adding a modifier (a relativizer) to the prepositional phrase. This clarifies whom the third persons are, namely those sprouting, those being born. Next, lines 37-38 hold two adjuncts. These adjuncts specify



where this event is happening, namely in the mountains, in the community. Lines 40-42 are a refrain to the prelude in lines 24-25.

### 6.3 Elements of the parallel verse

Each line consists of two parts: a frame and a focus, as previously stated in Chapter 5. The elements that comprise the frame and the focus come from a wide variety of grammatical categories ( NPs, VPs, adjectives, nominalizers, particles, and relative clauses). The elements that comprise frame and the focus must have the same syntactic structure. Noun phrases must be paired with noun phrases, verbs phrases must be paired with verb phrases, and so on. Below I present some examples of common verse line structures in the Prayer for the Community.

Example 8.1

2	[ <u>Qyu<sup>1</sup></u> ] <u>kla<sup>24</sup></u> Male old	<u>Fore</u> [fathers],
3	[ <u>Qan<sup>1</sup></u> ] <u>kla<sup>24</sup></u> female old	<u>Fore</u> [mothers],

In this example the entire line is a noun phrase modified by an adjective in each line. The frame (underlined and bolded) in Example 8.1 is the adjective ‘old’ and the focus elements are the dual noun pairs: *qyu<sup>1</sup> kla<sup>24</sup>/qan<sup>1</sup> kla<sup>24</sup>* ‘male/female’. Example 8.2, below, illustrates another typical verse line in SJQ.

Example 8.2

4	<u>No</u> <sup>4</sup> the.one	[yqu <sup>2</sup> ] COMPL_survive	<u>Those who</u> [survived],
5	<u>No</u> <sup>4</sup> the.one	[ndlu <sup>3</sup> ] COMPL_thrive	<u>Those who</u> [thrived],
6	<u>No</u> <sup>4</sup> the.one	[suq <sup>3</sup> ] COMPL_mature	<u>Those who</u> [matured],
7	<u>No</u> <sup>4</sup> the.one	[sen <sup>3</sup> ] COMPL_multiply	<u>Those who</u> [multiplied],

Each line in Example 8.2 is a relative clause. The frame *no*<sup>4</sup> is a relativizer. The changing focus are verb phrases.

Example 8.3

11	Yan <sup>42</sup> COMPL_come_NB	lo <sup>4</sup> to	[kwan <sup>4</sup> ] sunlight	They came to the [sunlight],
12	Yan <sup>42</sup> COMPL_come_NB	lo <sup>4</sup> to	[xa <sup>3</sup> ] ligh <sub>t</sub>	They came to the [light],
13	Yan <sup>42</sup> COMPL_come_NB	lo <sup>4</sup> to	[xa <sup>4</sup> -liyu <sup>32</sup> ] light with light earth	They came to the [world].

In example 8.3, the lines are verb phrases; the frame is a verb; the focus is the rest of the verb phrase.

**7 FORMULAIC EXPRESSIONS**

Like other Chatino formal speech, this prayer is dense with formulaic expressions. Formulas add meaning and tension to the poetic verse. As noted in Chapters 5 formulaic expressions are a stock of pre-fabricated units with “varying complexity and internal stability” (Pawley 1985:89). Many of these formulas evoke a third meaning, which I referred to as *difrasismo* following Garibay (1953), as discussed in Chapter 5.

Table 8.2 provides a lists of all the formulas I identified in The Prayer for the Community. They are organized by grammatical categories (including nouns and noun phrases, verbs and verb phrases). Column 1 holds the terms that come together to make up the formulas. Column 2 provides a literal gloss of the terms. Column 3 describes the meaning conveyed by the formulas. Column 4 discusses whether the listed terms are

found in other texts recited in SJQ. The texts cited in this column will be abbreviated as follows: *Chaq<sup>3</sup> ksya<sup>10</sup>*: (CK), The Visit (Visit), and the Speech of the Changing of the Authorities (*Cambio*).

Formulaic terms	Literal gloss	Meaning	Texts where these were identified
sti <sup>4</sup> /yqan <sup>1</sup>	father/mother	parents, ancestors	Visit, CK, Cambio
qyu <sup>1</sup> kla <sup>24</sup> / qan <sup>1</sup> kla <sup>24</sup> /	old men/old women	ancestors	Visit, CK, Cambio)
qya <sup>2</sup> /kchin <sup>4</sup>	mountains/community	San Juan Quiahije	Visit, CK, Cambio
no <sup>4</sup> yqu <sup>2</sup> /no <sup>4</sup> ndlu <sup>3</sup> /no <sup>4</sup> suq <sup>3</sup> /no <sup>4</sup> sen <sup>3</sup>	those who survived/those who thrived/those who matured/those who multiplied	The ones who live a long life	no
no <sup>4</sup> kwiq <sup>2</sup> /no <sup>4</sup> kneq <sup>1</sup>	the ones that are babies/the ones that are young	the new generation	Cambio
no <sup>4</sup> ntsu <sup>42</sup> /no <sup>4</sup> yla <sup>1</sup>	those who sprout/those who are born	those born in San Juan Quiahije	Cambio, CK
no <sup>4</sup> ya <sup>42</sup> -tykwi <sup>4</sup> /no <sup>4</sup> ya <sup>42</sup> -nyi <sup>4</sup> /no <sup>4</sup> ya <sup>42</sup> - ykwa <sup>4</sup>	those who lived entirely/those who lived directly/those who lived evenly	good citizens	CK
no <sup>4</sup> kwa <sup>14</sup> yaq <sup>0</sup> / no <sup>4</sup> kwa <sup>14</sup> kyaq <sup>0</sup>	what sits in our hands/what sits in our feet	feast	no
ndyi <sup>1</sup> -ton <sup>4</sup> / ndyi <sup>1</sup> - kqan <sup>24</sup>	to stand/to sit on the ground	to be a force	Cambio
ndon <sup>42</sup> / yqwi <sup>4</sup>	to stand/to exist	to protect	Cambio
sqwa <sup>14</sup> -yaq <sup>0</sup> /sqwa <sup>14</sup> skon <sup>0</sup>	to give a hand/give an arm	to aid	Visit
ndon <sup>42</sup> lo <sup>4</sup> / ndon <sup>42</sup> chong <sup>42</sup>	to stand before/to stand behind	to protect	no
lo <sup>4</sup> kwan <sup>4</sup> /lo <sup>4</sup> xa <sup>3</sup> /lo <sup>4</sup> xa <sup>4</sup> -liyu <sup>32</sup>	on sunlight/on light/on the world	Chatino cosmos	CK, Cambio

Table 8.2: Formulas in The Prayer for the Community S. Zurita (2009)

Table 8.2 shows that the majority of the terms that combine to make these formulas are nouns and noun phrases, verb and verb phrases. This short text only has one prepositional phrase. Six *difrasismo* were identified in this text. Below I discuss salient formulas that are associated with each one of the categories listed above.

### 7.1 Formulas with nouns and noun phrases

Kinship terms such as *sti<sup>4</sup>/yqan<sup>1</sup>* ‘father/mother’ and gender dualities such as *qyu<sup>1</sup> kla<sup>24</sup>/qan<sup>1</sup> kla<sup>24</sup>* ‘old men/old women’ are abundant in this text. Other terms in this category include topography and community terms such as *qya<sup>2</sup>/kchin<sup>4</sup>* ‘mountains/community’. Different stages of people’s lives are part of this text as well. For instance young people are described as *no<sup>4</sup> kwiq<sup>2</sup>/no<sup>4</sup> kneq<sup>1</sup>* ‘the ones that are babies/the ones that are young’ and ancestors are described as *no<sup>4</sup> ya<sup>42</sup>-tykwi<sup>4</sup>/no<sup>4</sup> ya<sup>42</sup>-nyi<sup>4</sup>/no<sup>4</sup> ya<sup>42</sup>-ykwa<sup>4</sup>* ‘those who lived entirely/those who lived directly/those who lived evenly’.

This text also offers an example of a *polifrasismo*. A *polifrasismo* is a construction made with more than two lines and whose combination evokes a third meaning. Example 8.4 illustrates this.

#### Example 8.4

8	No <sup>4</sup> the.one	ya <sup>42</sup> COMPL_go_NB	tykwi <sup>4</sup> entirely	Those who lived entirely,
9	No <sup>4</sup> the.one	ya <sup>42</sup> COMPL_go_NB	nyi <sup>4</sup> straight	Those who lived directly,
10	No <sup>4</sup> the.one	ya <sup>42</sup> COMPL_go_NB	ykwa <sup>4</sup> even	Those who lived evenly,

The triple in example 8.4 describes the manner of living by whoever is the subject of ‘live’. The formula *no<sup>4</sup> yqu<sup>2</sup>/no<sup>4</sup> ndlu<sup>3</sup>/no<sup>4</sup> suq<sup>3</sup>/no<sup>4</sup> sen<sup>3</sup>* ‘those who survived/those who thrived/those who matured/those who multiplied’. The triplet evokes the meaning of a person who matured and lived a long life. This is another example of a *polifrasismo* in this prayer.

This text also contains formulas that describe life events such as *no<sup>4</sup> ntsu<sup>42</sup>/no<sup>4</sup> yla<sup>1</sup>* ‘those who sprout/those who are born’. Another recurrent formula in this text is *kqya<sup>2</sup>/kchin<sup>4</sup>* ‘mountains/community’. In previous chapters we stated that this is a *difrasismo* that conveys the meaning “San Juan Quiahije.” It is worth pointing out that for other Chatinos, the terms *qya<sup>4</sup>* ‘mountains’ and *kchin<sup>4</sup>* ‘community’ are both components in the various compounds that form their toponyms for San Juan Quiahije. The term *kchin<sup>4</sup>* is also our own (residents of San Juan Quiahije) toponym for San Juan Quiahije.

## 7.2 Formulas with verbs and verb phrases

This text also has many formulas made with verbs of position and motion. As noted in Chapters 2, 5, and 7, positional verbs are exploited for persuasive effect when the speaker is talking about diverse topics such as civic participation and the

responsibility that an individual has to his family and community. This text adds additional positional *difrasismo* pairings to the existing corpus. For example:

Example 8.5

30	qwen <sup>4</sup> <sub>2SG</sub> tyon <sup>42</sup> <sub>POT_stand</sub>	You shall stand,
31	qwen <sup>4</sup> <sub>2SG</sub> tyqwi <sup>42</sup> <sub>POT_stand</sub>	You shall exist,

The pairing of the positional verb phrases ‘to stand’ and ‘to exist’ connotes the ideas of strength and fortitude. The orator uses this formula to ask for aid for the new generation. Example 8.6, below, illustrates another verbal formulaic pair made by means of an inchoative positional construction.

Example 8.6

18	Tyi <sup>20</sup> <sub>POT_2SG</sub> ton <sup>10</sup> <sub>NEUT_stand</sub>	<u>Stand up,</u>
19	Tyi <sup>20</sup> <sub>POT_2SG</sub> kqan <sup>24</sup> <sub>NEUT_stand.on.the.ground</sub>	<u>Settle down,</u>

Example 8.6 features a contrast of positional verbs to express the idea that one day the new generation will rise and take charge and continue the community. The relative order of these paired terms tends to be invariant. To me it would sound kind of awkward to have the reverse order of this pair.

In Chapter 5 we stated that there are many formulaic phrases that combine hand with another body part such as the arm, feet, or chest. Below I show an example of this in The Prayer for the Community.

Example 8.7

32	Sqwa <sup>20</sup> <sub>POT_put_2SG</sub> -yaq <sup>1</sup> <sub>hand</sub>	Give a hand,
33	Sqwa <sup>20</sup> <sub>POT_put_2SG</sub> -skon <sup>1</sup> <sub>arm</sub>	Give an arm,

Each line in example 8.7 contains a verb phrase made of a compound that combines the motion verb *sqwa*<sup>14</sup> ‘to put’ as a first element of the compound. The second

element in the compound consists of two upper extremities: *yaq<sup>2</sup>/skon<sup>2</sup>* ‘hand/arm’. This couplet is also a *difrasismo* that connote the idea of help or aid.

Lastly, this text offers an example of a formula made with a prepositional phrase: *lo<sup>4</sup> kwan<sup>4</sup>/lo<sup>4</sup> xa<sup>3</sup>/lo<sup>4</sup> xa<sup>4</sup>-liyu<sup>32</sup>* ‘on sunlight/on light/on the world’.

## 8 VOCALIC ASSONANCE

This text makes use of vocalic repetition. In Chapter 5, I stated that this is a sporadic feature of poetic composition in SJQ verbal art. This figure of speech is only present in this speech. Example 8.8, below, illustrates this feature.

### Example 8.8

No <sup>4</sup> <u>yqu</u> <sup>2</sup> the.one COMPL_survive	Those who <u>survived</u> ,
No <sup>4</sup> <u>ndlu</u> <sup>3</sup> the.one COMPL_thrive	Those who <u>thrived</u> ,
No <sup>4</sup> <u>sug</u> <sup>3</sup> the.one COMPL_mature	Those who <u>matured</u> ,

Vowels are very stable in SJQ Chatino—there is no vocalic ablaut, nor are there synchronic vocalic alternations--so this poetic device involves purely lexical selection and matching. It is noteworthy that the assonance is not affected by the final glottal stop. Furthermore, the pattern is not a rhyme, as the glottal stop difference shows.

## 9 COMPARING PRAYER FOR COMMUNITY WITH OTHERS RITUAL SPEECH IN SAN JUAN QUIAHUJE

Table 8.3 compares the “Prayer for the Community” to the other texts analyzed in SJQ Chatino. In the table (-) indicates the absence of a feature, (+) indicates its sporadic appearance, and (++) indicates its pervasive use.

Speeches	Genre	Frame tags	Parallelism	Assonance	Chiasm	Adverbial transition phrases	Appeal to tradition	Request forgiveness	Statement of truth	Long distance parallelism	Statement made in the form of question
Prayer for the Community	Sacred	-	++	++	++	-	-	-	+	+	-
The Visit	Persuasive	-	++	-	-	++	++	++	++	-	+
Chaq <sup>3</sup> Ksya <sup>10</sup>	Persuasive	+	++	++	-	++	++	-	++	-	-
Speech of the changing of authorities	Persuasive	++	++	-	-	++	++	++	++	-	+
Every day conversation	Colloquial	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+

Table 8.3: Comparing characteristics of Chatino texts



All ritual speech analyzed in this dissertation is composed with the pervasive use of repetition, parallelism, and formulaic phrases. However, there are certain structural features of the parallel stanzas that set this prayer apart from other texts analyzed here. For instance this text does not have frame tags. Frame tags are very common in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* and in the oratories performed at the ceremonies of the changing of the municipal authorities in San Juan Quiahije.

Assonance and chiasmus are two figures of speech found in this text, that are not found in other texts analyzed in this dissertation. Another difference between this prayer text and other texts analyzed in this study lies in the way thematic transitions are marked within the text. *The Visit* (Ch. 7), and the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* (Ch. 9) signal thematic transitions by using adverbial phrases, such as qan1 ndiya<sup>24</sup> riq<sup>2</sup> tyin<sup>1</sup> ne<sup>2</sup> ‘as for us now’. The prayer under discussion does not use adverbial phrases to mark thematic transitions; instead, transitions are achieved through chiasmus and changing aspect. Stanzas in line (IB) and (IIA) in Figure 8.1 and Figure 8.2 show this. Another feature of this text is that the syntax is very simple, it’s just based on a couple of sentences, and it gets its bulk through really intensive repetitive application of the parallelism rule. By contrast, *The Visit* is much denser syntactically—more sentence structures, covering more ground; and it uses the parallelism rule much more sparingly.

## 10 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I analyzed the structure, meaning, and performance of the “Prayer for the Community” recited by S. Zurita, from San Juan Quiahije. I also compared this prayer with similar genres in other Mesoamerican languages. This prayer is an appeal

performed by the officials and elders of city hall on behalf of the future generation of San Juan Quiahije. The supplications are directed to the predecessors of the community and to Saint John the Baptist, Patron Saint of San Juan Quiahije. This text is an account of a performance carried out by officials of the city hall and elders in their official capacity as representatives of a community on behalf of an entire community.

In terms of structure, this prayer features an intensive use of parallelism and formulas similar to that found in other San Juan Quiahije formal speech. A unique characteristic that sets this prayer apart from other formal speeches performed in San Juan Quiahije is long distance parallelism, vocalic assonance, and chiasmus. These features are not seen in other speeches analyzed in this dissertation. This text also adds new *difrasismo* phrases to the already existing corpus of formulaic phrases in SJQ Chatino.

In addition to the spoken words, the performance of this prayer involves a set of extra-linguistic factors of performance such as embodied communication (e.g., kneeling, standing, and walking on one's knees) and the giving of offerings to the deities.

San Juan Quiahije prayers share many similarities with prayers of other Mesoamerican cultures. The differences and similarities range among the structure, context, and performance. The structure of verse in San Juan Quiahije contains both a frame and focus as does that of other Mesoamerican languages. Similarly, the language has a large stock of formulaic phrases, many of which evoke new meanings. Finally, the performance of the prayers involves embodied communication, which works in tandem with the oral performance of the prayers. This prayer plays an important role in keeping tradition and keeping the past, present, and future generations together. As previously

stated, the prayers create a feeling of tranquility, and the sounds that emanate from the speech are both pleasing and soothing. Similarly, the imagery and the intensification of form displayed in this prayer also awaken in me universal feelings of empathy, identification, affection, hope, and belonging.

## Chapter 9. *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* text

### 1. INTRODUCTION

In San Juan Quiahije the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* ‘words of the heart’ is a group of highly poetic, ancient, and endangered tributes performed by expert speakers at weddings, children’s Catholic initiation rites, and local ceremonies marking rites of passage including birth, baptisms, coming-of-age ceremonies, weddings, and death . The *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* offers novel insights into the underlying cultural beliefs and worldviews, including cosmology, philosophy, and values of the Chatino people. Goffman (1967) states that rituals help to create and stabilize social relations within a community. As will be seen, the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* corroborates Goffman’s claim by enhancing the *compadrazgo* relationships among families in the community. This chapter examines G. Cruz Cortés’ recitation of a special *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* speech at a coming-of-age ceremony in Cieneguilla San Juan Quiahije in 2010. Though not a *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* specialist, G. Cruz successfully recalled the speech almost in its entirety.

### 2 DOCUMENTING THE *CHAQ<sup>3</sup> KSYA<sup>10</sup>*

Although the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* is seldom practiced in San Juan Quiahije (SJQ), its legacy is deeply rooted in the memory of those speakers who have witnessed and experienced its performance. Lamenting its rapid decline, San Juan Quiahije speakers recall the rich oral tradition of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* with great longing and nostalgia.

Several factors have caused the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* to fall out of use to a point near to extinction. First, there is a lack of specialists skilled in the performance of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*. Second, following a push from internal and external forces, the traditional Chatino culture, language, and verbal art is losing ground to Spanish and Mexican culture, a phenomenon known as “Hispanization”. Finally, the local Roman Catholic and evangelical churches discourage the carrying out of indigenous ceremonies following their sacraments such as baptism and weddings. The *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* has also fallen out of favor with the younger generation. Wedding ceremonies in San Juan Quiahije are beginning to look more like the celebration in mestizo communities in the cities in Mexico. Orators have rarely performed the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* speech in the last 40 years.

During our many conversations with people in San Juan Quiahije while documenting San Juan Quiahije Chatino, my sister E. Cruz and I kept hearing references to the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*. Most people living in San Juan Quiahije today are not able to recite the speech in its entirety. The *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* was a tradition that was performed by specialists, both men and women, who received selective, familial training. Passed down through generations, the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* is a fixed text that must be memorized by orators. Timoteo Orocio, known in the community as *Ti<sup>20</sup> mo<sup>24</sup> Nten<sup>32</sup>*, or ‘Timoteo Hill’, was one of the last known specialists of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* in San Juan Quiahije. According to G. Baltazar (G. Baltazar 2004). Timoteo died approximately 25 years ago.

Some skilled older speakers (as young as 50 or 60) paid close attention when a specialist performed the speech in the past and can still recall parts of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*.

Since 2003, E. Cruz and I have recorded the recollections of many of the skilled Chatino speakers in San Juan Quiahije regarding the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*. E. Cruz had conversations about this text with three speakers: Juana Orocio (J. Orocio 2004), G. Baltazar (G. Baltazar 2004), and Francisco Orocio (F. Orocio 2004).

In a conversation I recorded between Gonzalo Cruz and Isabel Cruz (2010), Isabel Cruz recounted that the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* was performed at her rite of passage ceremony when she received gifts from her godparents in the 1960's. Juana Orocio also told Emiliana that she once attended a wedding celebration that seemed rather sad, dull, and boring to her because it lacked a *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* performance. Juana Orocio said that one of the guests decided to perform what little she remembered of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*, which prompted Juana Orocio to accompany her by reciting the little she could remember.

As a result of our research, Emiliana and I have made attempts to convince gifted speakers to revive the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*. In 2007, Emiliana asked Cornelio Orocio (C. Orocio) to perform the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* at her wedding ceremony. Anthony Woodbury and I recorded this particular event (C. Orocio 2007). Later in 2009, I recorded fragments of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* with Antonia Apolonio Peña (A. Apolonio 2009). Finally, in 2010 I recorded the entire speech from Gonzalo Cruz (G. Cruz 2010). These recordings initiated a series of meta-commentaries and further performances of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* with other members of the community. M. Baltazar 2010 provided lengthy meta-commentaries on the performance of G. Cruz and C. Orocio. M. Baltazar commented that C. Orocio's performance at E. Cruz's wedding was incomplete and missed crucial passages and

elements characteristic of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*. However, she indicated that G. Cruz's performance succeeded for the most part in capturing the salient point of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*.

In August 2010, I followed up by visiting G. Cruz at his home in order to elicit meta-commentaries on his performance of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* in January 2010. I wanted to gain clarifications on opaque, archaic passages, expressions, and words from his recitation in January 2010. The entire family (his wife, his aunts: Ernestina Orocio (E. Orocio 2010) and Lorenza Orocio (L. Orocio 2010), his grandchildren, and G. Cruz himself) gathered in their family kitchen to hear the recording of G. Cruz's performance of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* from eight months before. The family listened with pleasure and interest. After hearing the tape from G. Cruz January's 2010 performance, the people gathered at the kitchen said that L. Orocio and E. Orocio had performed the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* at some earlier point. The crowd persuaded these two women to perform the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* and both E. Orocio and L. Orocio performed the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*.

Of all of the recordings of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* that E. Cruz and I have documented, G. Cruz's performance offers a longer rendition of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*. For this reason a portion of this chapter is dedicated to the examination of his version of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*.

### **3 COMPARING THE *CHAQ<sup>3</sup> KSYA<sup>10</sup>* WITH OTHER ZAPOTEC TRADITIONS OF VERBAL ART**

The *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* ritual speech is part of a larger ancient pan-Mesoamerican tradition of verbal art. Speech-making practices at weddings and celebrations of life stages are prevalent among Zapotec communities in Oaxaca. Zapotec scholars confirm

the presence of similarly specialized speeches among the Valley and Isthmus Zapotec communities (Victor Vásquez Castillejos 2010, Pam Munro and Felipe H. Lopez 1999, Aurea López pc., 2012, Elizabeth Sánchez González pc., 2012, Rosa Maria Rojas pc., 2012).

In ancient Zapotecan societies, ceremonies that celebrated the formation of new familial bonds (for instance bride petitions and weddings) and different life stages (e.g., births, baptisms, confirmations, and funerals) were always accompanied by a speech performance that acknowledged the occasion of the gathering (Córdoba 1987, Vásquez Castillejos 2010). Today this piece of ancient Zapotecan lore is highly endangered in all Zapotec and Chatino communities in Oaxaca. It is rapidly falling out of popular use in equal proportion to the rapid language loss of Zapotec and Chatino languages. In the majority of Zapotec communities where this tradition is still practiced, the discourse is performed in weddings and baptisms (e.g., *Diza'k* speech in Santa Ana del Valle, Vásquez Castillejos 2010). In other communities the practice has been retained only in weddings (e.g., *Libana* speech in the Isthmus Zapotec, Vásquez Castillejos 2010). Although it is presently only practiced as an abbreviated performance at weddings, Vásquez Castillejos (2010) states that the *Libana* speech used to be recited at all rites of passage in Juchitán, Oaxaca.

The same can be observed in towns near Oaxaca City. In the 1990's, I attended a wedding in the community of San Juan Bautista La Raya, a formerly Zapotec-speaking community located five miles from the capital of Oaxaca. The guests at the wedding were



greeted by a *Chagolo*, a ritual orator. The *Chagolo* fulfilled a function similar to that which Vásquez Castillejos (2010) describes for the *Xuaana*, the specialists of the Libana in Juchitán. The *Chagolo* performed his speech welcoming the guests in Spanish. In addition to greeting the guests on behalf of the groom's and bride's parents, the *Chagolo* also directed their actions during the ceremony (e.g., the *Chagolo* told them where to stand and what to do). These are also some of the same actions Vásquez Castillejos (2010) describes as duties of the *Xuaana*.

Table 9.1 below offers a brief summary of this practice in different Zapotecan communities. Column (1) gives names of the language (e.g., Tlacolula Zapotec or SJQ Chatino) where the speech is or was performed. Column (2) lists the names of the communities where the speech is or was recited. Column (3) provides the local names of the speech. Column (4) states the purpose for the speech performance (weddings, baptisms, etc.). Column (5) records the gender of the specialists. Column (6) lists the setting in which the speech is performed. Column (7) provides the title of the specialists in each community, and finally column (8) notes the level of endangerment of the speech practice in each community. In this table, (++) indicates the moribund state of the practice, (+) indicates its endangered status.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Language	Community	Speech title	Purpose		Setting	Specialist title	Level of endangerment
Eastern Chatino of SJQ	San Juan Quiahije municipality	Chaq <sup>3</sup> Ksya <sup>10</sup>	Weddings, coming-of-age ceremony	M,F	Home	Nten <sup>14</sup> ndywiq <sup>0</sup> Chaq <sup>3</sup> Ksya <sup>10</sup>	++
Isthmus Zapotec	Juchitán	Libana	Weddings	M	church	Xuaana	+
Isthmus Zapotec	San Blas Atempa	Libana	Weddings	F		Xuaana	+
Valley Zapotec	Santa Ana del Valle	Diza'k or dixza'k, Labani	Weddings, Baptisms	M	Church		+
Valley Zapotec	San Lucas Quiavini	Lahba'ahn	Mass		Church		+
Zapotec of San Pablo Güilá	San Pablo Güilá	La palabra de la novia	Weddings		home		++
Valley Zapotec	Tlacolula	Palangón	Weddings, bride request	M,F	Home	Huehuete	+
Spanish	San J Bta. La		Weddings	M	Home	Chagolo	+

Table 9.1: Summary of tributes conducted at celebrations in Zapotecan cultures for select Oaxacan communities

Table 9.1 shows that there are at least seven Zapotecan communities both in the Isthmus and in the Valley of Oaxaca in which the practice of a speech like the *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> *Ksya*<sup>10</sup> has been reported. The same table shows that in the majority of these communities, the speeches are performed in Zapotec, with the exception of *La Raya*, where the performance is carried out in Spanish. For most of the communities the speech is performed at weddings (SJQ Chatino, Isthmus, and la Raya) and baptisms (SJQ Chatino, Santa Ana del Valle; Vásquez Castillejos 2012). In some communities it is also performed at bride petition ceremonies (Tlacolula; p.c. Elizabeth Sánchez González, May 2012). Usually the tribute is spoken, but in San Pablo Güilá it is sung.

In the majority of communities male experts perform the speeches, but in some communities, such as San Juan Quiahije and San Blas Atempa, women may also perform them. The tribute is usually performed in private homes, although in a few towns it is performed at a church (Juchitán, San Blas Atempa, and San Lucas Quiavini; Vásquez Castillejos 2010). In terms of frequency of use and vitality, in the Zapotec and Chatino communities these speech practices range from highly endangered to moribund.

The results of this preliminary survey are not complete. In particular, it is left to future research to discover whether the different speech-making practices at weddings and other life stages in the Chatino and Zapotec communities are related on a functional, historical, or structural basis. Such an examination is beyond the scope of this dissertation but warrants study.

#### 4 SETTING OF THE *CHAQ<sup>3</sup> KSYA<sup>10</sup>*

I now turn to the form and content of the version of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* recited by G. Cruz in 2010. G. Cruz, M. Baltazar, I. Cruz, and many other members of the San Juan Quiahije community assert that around 40 years ago when a child came of age (between 10 and 12 years) in San Juan Quiahije, his or her entire family (e.g., parents, godparents, and relatives) came together to celebrate his or her coming-of-age ceremony. The celebration consisted of an exchange of gifts including food, clothes, and a *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* performance accompanied by violin music and loud firecrackers. Upon agreeing on a date, the godparents would bring an entire clothing inside a *tkwan<sup>42</sup>* ‘woven basket’ to present to the young person. The *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* speech was performed while the godparents dressed the child with the set of clothes they brought. In turn, the child’s parents honored the godparents and other guests with a special meal. They served turkey, chicken, warm tortillas, and sweet *atole* (a drink made out of ground corn) at the ceremony. Figure 9.1 below illustrates the setting of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* ceremony.

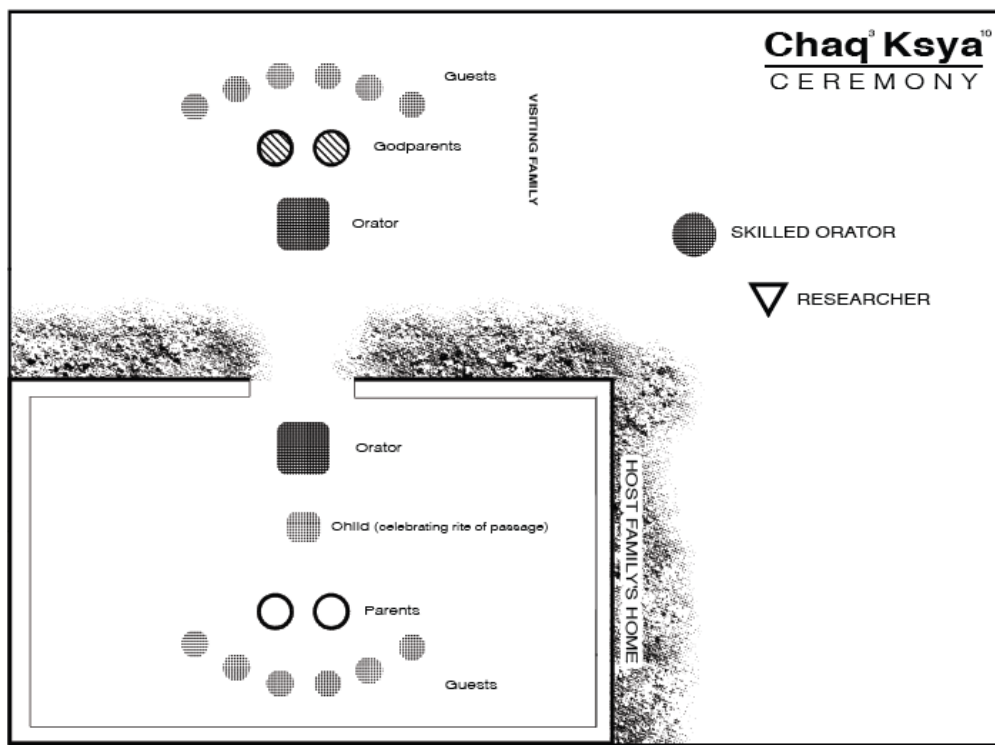


Figure 9.1: Setting of the *Chaq³ Ksya¹⁰* ceremony

Figure 1 diagrams a typical *Chaq³ Ksya¹⁰* ceremony as related to me by G. Cruz. The diagram shows the meeting of two families for the celebration of a child's rite of passage. The visiting family and their entourage typically stood outside the house and the hosting family and their guests stood inside the house. This diagram also shows that each family had its own *Chaq³ Ksya¹⁰* specialists who spoke on their behalf. These skilled orators faced each other across the threshold of the host family's home. The *Chaq³ Ksya¹⁰* specialists were personally invited to perform at an event at least fifteen days prior to the ceremony. Upon agreeing to perform, the specialist would suggest the name of another

colleague to accompany his or her performance (G. Baltazar 2004). A specialist representing the visiting family would initiate the speech. Then, when the visiting family's specialist concluded his or her speech, the host family's specialist would reply to the visiting family's orator to conclude the performance. The following section contains the entire text in its poetic format.

## 5 THE TEXT

Text 2 below presents a line, verse, and stanza representation of G. Cruz's presentation of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*. This table contains three columns. Column (1) lists the line number. Column (2) presents the Chatino text, and Column (3) presents the English translation. A question mark "?" in the translation column represents terms of the recording that was not discernable or whose meanings are not longer known by Chatino speakers. I could not retrieve the meaning of these terms because many of them are archaic and the specialists did not know the individual meaning of each term. I made several attempts asking around the community what could be there, but to no avail. Items in brackets (e.g., <0.7>) represent pauses.

**Text 3: *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* text recited by G. Cruz (2010)**

PART 1. Introduction		
1	Se <sup>4</sup> nyo <sup>20</sup> re <sup>14</sup> , Com <sup>4</sup> pa <sup>3</sup> dre <sup>24</sup> , Co <sup>4</sup> ma <sup>3</sup> dre <sup>24</sup> , sirs compadre comadre	Ladies and Gentlemen, Compadres, Comadres
	<0.7>	
2	Keq <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> ntykwa <sup>32</sup> , difficult very HAB_reach	how difficult it is to reach
3	keq <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> ndya <sup>32</sup> difficult very HAB_arrive	how difficult it is to arrive
	<0.4>	
4	keq <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> ntyqo <sup>20</sup> skwa <sup>3</sup> difficult very HAB_come.out lay.elevated	how difficult it is to come out on top
5	chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> <0.2>sqwe <sup>3</sup> . thing that good	of what is good.
	<1.4>	
6	nde <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> tykwi <sup>24</sup> , this the.one PROG_be thing whole	this is something whole
7	nde <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> nyi <sup>24</sup> this the.one PROG_be thing straight	this is something straight
8	nde <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> ykwa <sup>24</sup> , this the.one PROG_be thing even	this is something even
9	nde <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> lwi <sup>3</sup> this the.one PROG_be thing clean	this is something clean
10	se <sup>4</sup> nyo <sup>20</sup> re <sup>14</sup> , com <sup>4</sup> pa <sup>3</sup> dre <sup>14</sup> sirs compadre	gentlemen, compadres
11	nde <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> . this the.one	this is.
	<1>	

## Continuation of text 3

PART 2		
12	Qan <sup>1</sup> tiq <sup>0</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> re <sup>2</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> as soul we(EXCL) here now	As it is for us now
13	Chaq <sup>3</sup> syan <sup>2</sup> anq <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , thing COMPL_agree_1INCL now	What we have agreed to
14	chaq <sup>3</sup> wqen <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> thing COMPL_settle_1INCL now	what we have settled on
15	qo <sup>1</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> mban <sup>14</sup> ne <sup>0</sup> , with the.one PROG_be compadres now	now with our compadres
16	qo <sup>1</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> ndlyin <sup>14</sup> ne <sup>0</sup> , with the.one PROG_be comadres now	now with our comadres
	<0.6>	
17	qo <sup>1</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> tyin <sup>1</sup> in <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , with the.one PROG_be children_1INCL now	now with our children
	<1.2>	
18	qo <sup>1</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> tqa <sup>42</sup> an <sup>42</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , with the.one PROG_be relatives_1INCL now	now with our relatives
19	Qan <sup>1</sup> ndiya <sup>24</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> tiye <sup>32</sup> re <sup>2</sup> , ne <sup>1</sup> as like essence chest here now	As for how these people feel now
	<1.0>	
20	Ne <sup>20</sup> en <sup>32</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> , COMPL_invite_1INCL then	We invited them
21	Ntsan <sup>2</sup> anq <sup>1</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> COMPL_tell_1INCL then	We let them know
	<0.3>	
22	No <sup>4</sup> , na <sup>20</sup> jin <sup>2</sup> the. one mmmmm	Those ones, mmmm
	<1.3>	
23	No <sup>4</sup> sni <sup>4</sup> tkwi <sup>1</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> , the.one COMPL_hold NEUT_hang then	Those who took hanging
24	No <sup>4</sup> sni <sup>4</sup> ton <sup>42</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> , the.one COMPL_hold NEUT_stand then	Those who took standing
25	No <sup>4</sup> sni <sup>4</sup> tkwa <sup>14</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> the.one COMPL_hold NEUT sit.elevated then	Those who took sitting (elevated)
	<0.8>	



## Continuation of text 3

26	No <sup>4</sup> <xni <sup>4</sup> tkwi> the.one COMPL_hold NEUT_hang	Those < who took hanging>
	<0.8>	
27	sni <sup>4</sup> tkwi <sup>1</sup> , COMPL_hold NEUT_hang	(Those who) took hanging
	<0.8>	
28	Ra <sup>1</sup> no <sup>0</sup> hour when	When
	<0.4>	
29	Tsan <sup>4</sup> no <sup>4</sup> syan <sup>2</sup> anq <sup>1</sup> , day that COMPL_agree_1INCL	The day we agreed
30	Tsan <sup>4</sup> no <sup>4</sup> wqen <sup>20</sup> en <sup>32</sup> , day that COMPL_settle_1INCL	The day we settled
31	Tsan <sup>4</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nen <sup>20</sup> en <sup>32</sup> , day that COMPL_invite_1INCL	The day we invited (them)
32	Tsan <sup>4</sup> no <sup>4</sup> , tsan <sup>2</sup> anq <sup>1</sup> day that COMPL_tell_1INCL	The day we told (them)
33	Tsan <sup>4</sup> no <sup>4</sup> , day that	That very day
	<0.7>	
34	Kanq <sup>20</sup> then	Then
35	Kwen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> nen <sup>20</sup> en <sup>32</sup> , ourselves COMPL_invite_1INCL	It was us who reached out to them
36	no <sup>4</sup> ka <sup>14</sup> mbam an <sup>0</sup> , the.one POT_be compadres	to be our compadres
37	no <sup>4</sup> ka <sup>14</sup> dlyin in <sup>0</sup> , the.one POT_be comadres	to be our comadres
38	no <sup>4</sup> ka <sup>14</sup> , the.one POT_be	to be
	<1.2>	
39	Ndywiq <sup>32</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> ntyqo <sup>20</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> Hab_say then HAB_come.out thing	This is what they used to say
	<1.8>	

## Continuation of text 3

PART 3		
40	Kanq <sup>42</sup> , na <sup>20</sup> -jin <sup>2</sup> , then mmmm	Then, mmmm
41	Nde <sup>20</sup> tiye <sup>32</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> re <sup>2</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> like chest we(EXCL) here	As it is for us now
	<0.5>	
42	Keq <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> ntykwa <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , difficult very HAB_reach now	How difficult it is to reach
43	keq <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> ndya <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , difficult very HAB_arrive now	how difficult it is to arrive
	<0.3>	
44	Nde <sup>2</sup> jyan <sup>1</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> here PROG_come_NB we(EXCL) here	Here we are coming now
	<0.3>	
45	Sqen <sup>4</sup> ntkwan <sup>14</sup> ne <sup>0</sup> , where sit.elevated_1INCL now	Here where we now sit
46	sqen <sup>4</sup> ntqen <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> where exist_1INCL	here where we are
	<0.8>	
47	Nde <sup>2</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> ti <sup>1</sup> tsan <sup>32</sup> , here already ten days	For over ten days
48	nde <sup>2</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> qnyo <sup>1</sup> tsan <sup>32</sup> , here already ten days	for over fifteen days
49	ndywen <sup>1</sup> enq <sup>1</sup> , PROG_speak_1INCL	we have been conversing
50	ndywen <sup>1</sup> enq <sup>1</sup> xwen <sup>1</sup> en <sup>1</sup> , PROG_speak_1INCL little_1INCL	we have been talking

## Continuation of text 3

51	ndywe <sup>1</sup> enq <sup>1</sup> stan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> re <sup>2</sup> PROG_speak_1INCL smash_1INCL thing this	we have been chatting about this (event)
52	Keq <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> ntyji <sup>14</sup> tynyi <sup>0</sup> , difficult very HAB_find money	It is hard to get money
53	keq <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> ntyji <sup>1</sup> no <sup>0</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> pla <sup>14</sup> ta <sup>0</sup> , difficult very HAB_find the.one PROG_be silver	it is hard to find silver
54	no <sup>0</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> qo <sup>14</sup> ro <sup>0</sup> the.one PROG_be gold	[to find] gold
55	no <sup>0</sup> ntyji <sup>14</sup> to HAB_find	to find
56	no <sup>0</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> steq <sup>32</sup> , the.one POT_be clothes	what will be his clothing
57	no <sup>4</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> sna <sup>42</sup> , the.one POT_be shoes	what will be his footwear
PART 4		
58	Qan <sup>1</sup> tiq <sup>0</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> re <sup>2</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , as soul we(EXCL) here now	As for ourselves now
59	Nde <sup>2</sup> jyan <sup>1</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> re <sup>2</sup> here PROG_come_NB we(EXCL) here	We are now coming
	<1.1>	
60	jyan <sup>4</sup> qo <sup>20</sup> wa <sup>4</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , PROG_come_NB with we(EXCL) now	We are bringing with us
61	jyan <sup>4</sup> ntkwa <sup>3</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> PROG_come_NB place we(EXCL) now	we are placing
62	no <sup>4</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> the.one POT_be	that which will become
	<1.2>	
63	no <sup>4</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> steq <sup>32</sup> , the.one POT_be clothes	what will be his clothing
64	no <sup>4</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> sna <sup>42</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> the.one POT_be shoes now	what will be footwear
	<1.3>	
65	no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> kwi <sup>32</sup> -tya <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , the.one PROG_be fontanele now	what is his fontanelle
66	no <sup>4</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> yqwe <sup>42</sup> , the.one POT_be wings	what will be his wings

## Continuation of text 3

67	no <sup>4</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> styin <sup>32</sup> the.one POT_be feathers	what will be his feathers
	<0.6>	
68	no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> kwi <sup>32</sup> -tya <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> the.one PROG_be fontanelé now	what is his fontanelle
	PART 5	
69	Ni <sup>4</sup> mo <sup>14</sup> ru <sup>0</sup> si <sup>0</sup> ndiya <sup>24</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> tyin <sup>1</sup> inq <sup>1</sup> as way if like essence chest_1INCL	As you regard it now
70	Keq <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> ntykwan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> difficult very COMPL_reach_1INCL now	It was difficult for all of us to reach
71	keq <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> ndyan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> difficult very COMPL_arrive_1INCL now	it was difficult for us to arrive
	<0.8>	
72	yan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>42</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> , COMPL_go_NB_1INCL then	we sought them out
73	nen <sup>20</sup> en <sup>32</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> , COMPL_invite_1INCL then	we invited then
74	ntsan <sup>2</sup> anq <sup>1</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> , COMPL_tell_1INCL then	we let them know then
75	no <sup>4</sup> sni <sup>4</sup> tkwi <sup>1</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> , the.one COMPL_hold hang then	those who took hanging
	<0.8>	
76	no <sup>4</sup> sni <sup>4</sup> , the.one COMPL_hold	those who took
77	no <sup>4</sup> sni <sup>4</sup> ton <sup>42</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> , the.one COMPL_hold NEUT_stand then	those who took standing
78	no <sup>4</sup> sni <sup>4</sup> tkwi <sup>1</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> , the.one COMPL_hold hang then	those who took hanging
	<0.6>	
79	tsan <sup>4</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> ji <sup>3</sup> <>, day COMPL_be m<ark>	the day that <he got confirmed>
80	tsan <sup>4</sup> qan <sup>4</sup> jyaq <sup>4</sup> , day COMPL_put mark	the day he got confirmed [branded]
81	tsan <sup>4</sup> qan <sup>4</sup> kwen <sup>1</sup> , day COMPL_put confirmed	the day he got christened [marked]

## Continuation of text 3

82	tsan <sup>4</sup> ndw tya <sup>4</sup> , day sit.elevated fontanele	the day he got baptized
83	tsan <sup>4</sup> day	the day
	<1.4>	
84	chaq <sup>3</sup> re <sup>2</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> tyi <sup>32</sup> thing this not POT_finish	It is just this which can't end
85	chaq <sup>3</sup> re <sup>2</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> xyaq <sup>2</sup> thing this not POT_mix	it is just this which can't fade
86	chaq <sup>3</sup> re <sup>2</sup> , ndywiq <sup>1</sup> , kanq <sup>20</sup> thing this, HAB_say, then	it is just this, they say then
	<1.5>	
87	Qo <sup>1</sup> nde <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> kqu <sup>14</sup> and this the.one thing to POT_survive	and this [tradition] will survive
88	nde <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> klu <sup>14</sup> this the.one thing POT_grow	this [tradition] will thrive
89	nde <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> this the.one thing	this [tradition]
	<1.6>	
PART 6		
90	Qan <sup>1</sup> tiq <sup>1</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> re <sup>2</sup> as essence we(EXCL) here	As it is for us now
91	ndyan <sup>32</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> re <sup>2</sup> , COMPL_come we(EXCL) here	we have arrived
92	qo <sup>1</sup> mban <sup>14</sup> , with compadres	with our compadres
93	qo <sup>1</sup> ndlyin <sup>14</sup> ne <sup>0</sup> , with comadres now	with our comadres,
94	qo <sup>1</sup> sten <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , <0.3> with father_1INCL now	with our fathers now
95	qo <sup>1</sup> yqa <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , with mother_1INCL now	with our mothers now
96	qo <sup>1</sup> ktyin <sup>24</sup> in <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> with children_1INCL now	with our children now
97	qo <sup>1</sup> tqan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , with relatives_1INCL now	with our kin now

Continuation of text 3

98	nen <sup>20</sup> en <sup>32</sup> qin <sup>4</sup> COMPL_invite_1INCL to (him/her)	we invited
99	tsan <sup>2</sup> anq <sup>1</sup> qin <sup>4</sup> COMPL_tell_1INCL to (him/her)	we let them know
100	ndywen <sup>1</sup> enq <sup>1</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> ktyin <sup>24</sup> inq <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> PROG_speak_1INCL with children_1INCL now	we would be telling our children
101	tykwe <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> tqan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> PROG_speak_1INCL with relatives_1INCL now	we would be telling our kin
	<1>	
102	Jyan <sup>4</sup> qo <sup>20</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> re <sup>2</sup> PROG_come_NB with we(EXCL) here	We have brought with us
103	no <sup>4</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> styin <sup>32</sup> , the.one POT_be feathers	that which will become his feathers
104	no <sup>4</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> yqwe <sup>42</sup> the.one POT_be wings	that which will become his wings
	<1>	
PART 7		
105	Ni <sup>4</sup> skan <sup>4</sup> kan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>20</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> ntqan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> , not one us(1INCL) NEG not COMPL_see_1INCL	No one of us saw at all
106	ni <sup>4</sup> skan <sup>4</sup> kan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>4</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> ynan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> , not one us(1INCL) NEG not COMPL_hear_1INCL	no one of us heard at all
107	ni <sup>4</sup> skan <sup>4</sup> ka <sup>1</sup> an <sup>20</sup> jyaq <sup>3</sup> -re <sup>2</sup> enq <sup>2</sup> , not one us(1INCL) realize_1INCL	no one of us comprehended
108	ni <sup>4</sup> skan <sup>4</sup> kan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>4</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> ndlo <sup>1</sup> on <sup>1</sup> re <sup>1</sup> not one us(1INCL) NEG not COMPL_take.out_1INCL	no one of us made [this event, earth]
109	ni <sup>4</sup> skan <sup>4</sup> kan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>4</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> xtya <sup>20</sup> an <sup>32</sup> re <sup>2</sup> , not one us(1INCL) NEG not COMPL_put_1INCL this	no one of us put [this event, earth] here
110	ni <sup>4</sup> skan <sup>4</sup> kan <sup>14</sup> not one very	no one of us

Continuation of text 3

	<1>	
111	Chaq <sup>3</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> tyi <sup>32</sup> thing that not POT_finish	It is just that which can't end
112	chaq <sup>3</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> xyaq <sup>2</sup> thing this not POT_mix	it is just that which can't fade
113	chaq <sup>3</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> thing this	Never
114	Gonzalo (whispering) To <sup>4</sup> -nka <sup>24</sup> no <sup>32</sup> who PROG_be the.one ndywiq <sup>32</sup> , kwa <sup>3</sup> ndyan <sup>32</sup> nten <sup>14</sup> PROG_speak, there COMPL_arrive people	Who is talking? Some people are here.
	<0.5>	
115	Hilaria: ti <sup>3</sup> -qa <sup>1</sup> , ti <sup>3</sup> -qa <sup>1</sup> , tsa <sup>24</sup> ma <sup>20</sup> qnya <sup>24</sup> later, later, POT-go mom to(me) tsa <sup>24</sup> tkwiq <sup>32</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> POT-go POT_speak with	Don't worry, my mom will take care of it.
116	Kanq <sup>42</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> na <sup>20</sup> jin <sup>2</sup> that thing hmmm	That is why, hmm?
117	chaq <sup>3</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> tyi <sup>32</sup> thing that not POT_finish	It is just that which can't end
118	chaq <sup>3</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> xyaq <sup>2</sup> thing this not POT_mix	it is just that which can't fade
119	chaq <sup>3</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> thing this	Never
	<0.3>	

## Continuation of text 3

120	ni <sup>4</sup> xa <sup>1</sup> -kwa <sup>32</sup> ra <sup>1</sup> ndzkwa <sup>3</sup> qya <sup>2</sup> , for all hour PROG_lie.elevated mountain	for as long as the mountains stand
121	ni <sup>4</sup> xa <sup>1</sup> kwa <sup>32</sup> ra <sup>1</sup> ndzkwa <sup>3</sup> kchin <sup>4</sup> for all hour PROG_lie.elevated community	for as long as the community stands
	<0.9>	
122	ti <sup>2</sup> ra <sup>1</sup> no <sup>0</sup> sti <sup>24</sup> xa <sup>3</sup> since hour that COMPL_lie.on.the.ground light kwan <sup>24</sup> nkqa <sup>20</sup> kyqya <sup>2</sup> , warmth red mountain	since the red light rays shone on the mountains
123	ti <sup>2</sup> ra <sup>1</sup> sti <sup>0</sup> xa <sup>3</sup> since hour COMPL_lie.on.the.ground light kwan <sup>24</sup> nten <sup>14</sup> ntenq <sup>3</sup> warmth red white plain	since the white light rays shone on the plains
124	ti <sup>2</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> ngwa <sup>2</sup> jyaq <sup>3</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> re <sup>2</sup> , since then COMPL_be measure thing this	it was then that [this tradition] was made
125	ti <sup>2</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> yqwi <sup>24</sup> sqen <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> re <sup>2</sup> since then COMPL_exist put.away thing this	it was then that [this tradition] was put here
126	ti <sup>2</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> since then	it was then
	<5>	
127	Hilaria: ja <sup>4</sup> ne <sup>1</sup> yes	Yes
	<1.3>	
128	Chaq <sup>3</sup> tykanq <sup>20</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , thing visible PROG_be this now	This [tradition] is clear
129	chaq <sup>3</sup> la <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , thing open PROG_be this now	this [tradition] is open
130	chaq <sup>3</sup> ykw <sup>24</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , thing even PROG_be this now	this [tradition] is even
131	chaq <sup>3</sup> lwi <sup>3</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , thing clean PROG_be this now	this [tradition] is clean



## Continuation of text 3

132	chaq <sup>3</sup> kyaq <sup>24</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , thing base PROG_be this now	this is its base
133	chaq <sup>3</sup> son <sup>42</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> thing foundation PROG_be this now	this is its foundation
134	tykwi <sup>24</sup> renq <sup>4</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> POT_say they that	they say
	<1.5>	
135	Kanq <sup>42</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> nde <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> then thing here the.one POT_be	That is why [this tradition]
136	chaq <sup>3</sup> kqu <sup>14</sup> ne <sup>0</sup> , thing POT_survive now	will survive
137	chaq <sup>3</sup> klu <sup>14</sup> ne <sup>0</sup> , thing POT_grow now	will thrive
138	Yan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> (k)cheq <sup>14</sup> yu <sup>0</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> , COMPL_go_NB_1INCL thorn dirt then	We went through thorny ground [and prayed on his behalf]
139	yan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> (k)cheq <sup>14</sup> ke <sup>0</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> COMPL_go_NB_1INCL thorn rock then	we went through thorny rocks [and prayed on his behalf]
140	yan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> <0.8> qya <sup>2</sup> tlyu <sup>2</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> COMPL_go_NB_1INCL mountain big then	we went to the big mountain [and prayed] on his behalf
141	yan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> sa <sup>4</sup> -kwi <sup>4</sup> tylu <sup>2</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> COMPL_go_NB slope big then	we went to the steep slope [and prayed on his behalf]
142	yan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> , COMPL_go_NB_1INCL	we went,
143	qan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> , kanq <sup>20</sup> COMPL_go.around_NB then	we journeyed, indeed.
	<0.2>	
144	yan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> COMPL_go_NB_1INCL	we went
145	[blurry]	[blurry]
	<0.9>	
146	Yan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> tqwa <sup>4</sup> lwaq <sup>42</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , COMPL_go_NB_1INCL mouth ? now	We went to tqwa <sup>4</sup> ?
147	tqwa <sup>4</sup> xkon <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , mouth ? now	(To) tqwa <sup>42</sup> ?

## Continuation of text 3

148	qne <sup>2</sup> qan <sup>3</sup> , inside house	inside (a sacred place)
149	Si <sup>4</sup> Nda <sup>4</sup> Nya <sup>14</sup> ne <sup>0</sup> , Santiago Minas now	to Santiago Minas
	<0.9>	
150	twen <sup>3</sup> Lo <sup>24</sup> qya <sup>2</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , trail of mountains now	on the trail to Lo <sup>24</sup> qya <sup>2</sup>
151	twen <sup>3</sup> <X>kwan <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> trail ? now	on the trail to <X>kwan <sup>1</sup>
152	twen <sup>3</sup> [blurry] <sup>1</sup> trail	on the trail to [blurry] <sup>1</sup>
	<0.9>	
153	yan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> swenq <sup>14</sup> ktan <sup>0</sup> an <sup>0</sup> , COMPL_go_NB_1INCL COMPL_smear_1INCL sweat	we went all scratched up and sweaty
154	yan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> sqwenq <sup>14</sup> COMPL_go_NB_1INCL COMPL_smear_1INCL tynyan <sup>0</sup> anq <sup>0</sup> , tiredness-1INCL	we went all scratched up and exhausted
155	yan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> COMPL_go_NB_1INCL	we went
	<0.8>	
156	Yaq <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> ndwi tykwan <sup>3</sup> qo <sup>2</sup> yaq <sup>2</sup> hand the.one PROG_hang metal with hand	We went before the one who holds a holy metal object in his hand
157	yaq <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> ndwi <sup>1</sup> hand the.one PROG_hang	went before the one that holds
158	yaq <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> ndwi <sup>1</sup> tykwan <sup>3</sup> qna <sup>4</sup> yaq <sup>2</sup> hand the.one PROG_hang metal sacred hand	went before the one that holds the sacred metal object in his hand
	<0.5>	
159	kanq <sup>42</sup> no <sup>4</sup> ndwa <sup>2</sup> tya <sup>4</sup> , that the.one sit.elevated fontanele	that was the one who gave him his baptism
160	kanq <sup>42</sup> no <sup>4</sup> xtya <sup>20</sup> jyaq <sup>3</sup> qin <sup>24</sup> that the.one COMPL_put mark to him	that was the one who gave him his confirmation [marked]
161	kanq <sup>42</sup> no <sup>4</sup> xtya <sup>20</sup> kwen <sup>1</sup> that the.one COMPL_put image	that was the one who painted him

## Continuation of text 3

162	kanq <sup>42</sup> no <sup>4</sup> xtya <sup>20</sup> that the.one COMPL_put	that was the one who gave
	<1.2>	
163	ni <sup>4</sup> skan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> ntqan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> not one very not NEG not COMPL_see_1INCL	no one of us saw
164	ni <sup>4</sup> skan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> ynan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> not us(1INCL) not COMPL_hear_1INCL	no one of us heard,
165	ni <sup>4</sup> skan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> not one very not NEG	no one
	<0.8>	
PART 8		
166	Qan <sup>1</sup> ndiya <sup>24</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> tiyin <sup>1</sup> in <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> as like essence chest_1INCL now	As we regard it now
167	ndyan <sup>32</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> re <sup>2</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> COMPL_come we(EXCL) here here	We have come to be
168	Sqen <sup>4</sup> ntykwan <sup>40</sup> ne <sup>0</sup> where sit.elevated_1INCL now	where we sit now
169	sqen <sup>4</sup> ntqen <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> where exist_1INCL now	here where we are now
170	sqen <sup>4</sup> syan <sup>2</sup> anq <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> where COMPL_agree_1INCL now	where we planned now
171	sqen <sup>4</sup> ntqen <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> where COMPL_settle_1INCL now	where we agreed now
172	Chaq <sup>3</sup> tykwiq <sup>24</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> , thing whole PROG_be this	This is something whole
173	Chaq <sup>3</sup> nyi <sup>24</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> thing straight PROG_be this	This is something straight
174	Chaq <sup>3</sup> ykwa <sup>24</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> thing even PROG_be this	This is something even
175	Chaq <sup>3</sup> lwi <sup>3</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> thing clean PROG_be this	This is something clean
176	Chaq <sup>3</sup> kqu <sup>14</sup> re <sup>0</sup> , thing POT_survive this	This [tradition] will survive
177	Chaq <sup>3</sup> klu <sup>14</sup> re <sup>0</sup> thing POT_grow this	This [tradition] will thrive

## Continuation of text 3

	<1.1>	
178	Se <sup>4</sup> nyo <sup>20</sup> re <sup>14</sup> , ta <sup>3</sup> ta <sup>24</sup> , com <sup>4</sup> pa <sup>3</sup> dre <sup>14</sup> , Gentlemen, tata, compadre, co <sup>4</sup> ma <sup>3</sup> dre <sup>14</sup> comadre	Gentlemen, tata, compadre, comadre
179	Tykwen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> , qo <sup>20</sup> POT_say_1INCL then PROG_come_out chaq <sup>3</sup> thing	That is what we say
	<0.8>	
180	Hilaria: ja <sup>4</sup> , ne <sup>1</sup> , ja <sup>4</sup> , ne <sup>1</sup> yes, yes	Yes, yes
PART 9		
181	Kanq <sup>42</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> , na <sup>20</sup> jin <sup>2</sup> then thing hmmm	That is why, hmm?
182	Nde <sup>2</sup> qan <sup>14</sup> tiyqin <sup>0</sup> inq <sup>0</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> like appear chest_1INCL now	let us be here now
183	mbam <sup>14</sup> ne <sup>0</sup> , comadres now	[with] our compadres now
184	ndlyin <sup>14</sup> ne <sup>0</sup> comadres now	[with] our comadres now
	<1>	
185	Jyan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> PROG_come_1INCL	We have come
186	tyqin <sup>4</sup> jyan <sup>2</sup> an <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> POT_exist_1INCL PROG_play_1INCL now	to play
187	tyqin <sup>4</sup> xtyin <sup>20</sup> in <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> POT_exist_1INCL laugh_1INCL now	to laugh now
188	ska <sup>4</sup> wra <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>0</sup> one hour now	this hour, now
189	ska <sup>4</sup> tsan <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> one day now	this day now
190	ska <sup>4</sup> wra <sup>1</sup> one hour	this hour
191	ska <sup>4</sup> xa <sup>3</sup> one light	this light
192	Chonq <sup>42</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> sna <sup>1</sup> wra <sup>1</sup> , because now three hour	Because three hours have passed,

Cotinuation of text 3

193	ne <sup>2</sup> sna <sup>1</sup> xa <sup>3</sup> now three hour	three lights have passed
	<0.7>	
194	Jyan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> jyan <sup>2</sup> chinq <sup>20</sup> PROG_come_1INCL PROG_play_1INCL little	We have come to play a bit
195	jyan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> xtyin <sup>20</sup> in <sup>32</sup> PROG_come_1INCL laugh_1INCL	We have come to laugh
196	jyan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> tykwen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> PROG_come_1INCL POT_speak_1INCL	We have come to talk
197	jyan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> kan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>42</sup> PROG_come_1INCL POT_be_1INCL	We have come to be here
	<1.2>	
198	Ni <sup>4</sup> cha <sup>32</sup> -kwa <sup>3</sup> ra <sup>10</sup> for as long hour qne <sup>32</sup> kqu <sup>2</sup> ndiyo <sup>14</sup> -si <sup>0</sup> POT_do care god	For as long as God grants us life
199	ni <sup>4</sup> cha <sup>32</sup> -kwa <sup>3</sup> ra <sup>1</sup> ndwan <sup>2</sup> an <sup>1</sup> for as long hour PROG_sit_1INCL	for long as we are here
200	qne <sup>32</sup> kqu <sup>2</sup> sten <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> PROG_do are father_1INCL us(INCL)	our father is taking care of us
201	qne <sup>32</sup> kqu <sup>2</sup> yqan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> PROG_do are mother_1INCL us(INCL)	our mother is taking care of us
202	ta <sup>20</sup> renq <sup>24</sup> jwe <sup>4</sup> -sa <sup>10</sup> POT_give them strength	they will give us strength
	<1.2>	
203	ta <sup>20</sup> renq <sup>24</sup> wa <sup>4</sup> lo <sup>14</sup> POT_give them fortitude	they will give us fortitude
PART 10		
204	Yan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> tqwa <sup>4</sup> lwaq <sup>42</sup> , COMPL_go_NB_1INCL mouth ?	We went to the mouth of ?
	<1>	
205	yan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> tqwa <sup>4</sup> xkon <sup>1</sup> , COMPL_go_NB_1INCL mouth ?	we went to the mouth of ?
	<1.3>	
206	Ntyqan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> Si <sup>4</sup> Nda <sup>4</sup> Nya <sup>14</sup> ne <sup>0</sup> HAB_go_NB_1INCL Santiago Minas now	We went to Santiago Minas

## Continuation of text 3

207	Sqwe <sup>3</sup> , Juquila	[we went] to Juquila
208	Ngyan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> qya <sup>2</sup> tlyu <sup>2</sup> , COMPL_go_NB_1INCL mountain big	We went to the big mountain
209	sa <sup>4</sup> -kwi <sup>4</sup> tlyu <sup>2</sup> slope big	[we went to] the steep slope
210	sqen <sup>4</sup> yan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> , where COMPL_go_NB_1INCL	where we went,
211	sqen <sup>4</sup> qan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> , where COMPL_go.around_NB_1INCL	where we journeyed,
212	sqen <sup>4</sup> yan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> [blurry] where COMPL_go_NB_1INCL	where we went [blurry]
213	sqen <sup>4</sup> yan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> xtyin <sup>20</sup> inq <sup>32</sup> , where COMPL_go_NB_1INCL kness_1INCL	where we went, we got on our knees
214	jnya <sup>1</sup> yan <sup>2</sup> anq <sup>1</sup> , COMPL_ask hand_1INCL	we asked by hand,
215	jnya <sup>1</sup> tqwan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> , COMPL_ask mouth_1INCL	we asked by mouth
	<1.4>	
PART 11		
216	Qi <sup>1</sup> ka <sup>14</sup> sa <sup>0</sup> nde <sup>20</sup> ri <sup>2</sup> nyan <sup>24</sup> tyqan <sup>1</sup> , not very as like essence appear POT_see	May [this child] reap beyond this bounty
217	qi <sup>1</sup> ka <sup>14</sup> sa <sup>0</sup> nde <sup>20</sup> ri <sup>2</sup> nyan <sup>24</sup> kna <sup>1</sup> , not very as like essence appear POT_hear	may [this child] hear beyond this bounty
	<0.5>	
218	qi <sup>1</sup> ka <sup>14</sup> sa <sup>0</sup> nde <sup>20</sup> ri <sup>2</sup> nyan <sup>24</sup> not very as like essence appear	may [this child] reap beyond this bounty
219	tiya <sup>14</sup> la <sup>0</sup> <ska <sup>0</sup> > wra <sup>10</sup> , POT_come_NB very hour	When the time comes
220	tiya <sup>14</sup> ska <sup>0</sup> xa <sup>3</sup> POT_come_NB one light	when the light comes
	<1.2>	
221	tyqan <sup>14</sup> chaq <sup>0</sup> ja <sup>04</sup> jqo <sup>0</sup> re <sup>2</sup> POT-come_NB thing POT_find spouse this	We will see to (this child) finding a husband
222	tyqan <sup>14</sup> chaq <sup>0</sup> ja <sup>04</sup> sti <sup>0</sup> re <sup>2</sup> POT-come_NB thing POT_find father this	We will see to (this child) finding a father

## Continuation of text 3

223	tyqan <sup>14</sup> chaq <sup>0</sup> ja <sup>04</sup> sti <sup>0</sup> re <sup>2</sup> , POT-come_NB thing POT_find father this	We will see to (this child) finding a father
224	tyqan <sup>14</sup> chaq <sup>0</sup> ja <sup>04</sup> yqan <sup>0</sup> re <sup>2</sup> , POT-come_NB thing POT_find mother this	We will see to (this child) finding a mother
225	tyqan <sup>14</sup> ch ja <sup>04</sup> tqa <sup>42</sup> POT-come_NB thing POT_find companion tykwa <sup>14</sup> re <sup>0</sup> sit.elevated this	we will see to [this child] finding someone to sit (elevated) with
226	tqa <sup>42</sup> tyqan <sup>4</sup> re <sup>2</sup> companion POT_go.around this	someone to walk with
	<1.3>	
PART 12		
227	Chaq <sup>3</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> tsa <sup>1</sup> lo <sup>1</sup> yu <sup>32</sup> nka <sup>2</sup> re <sup>2</sup> thing not POT_go_NB on dirt PROG_be this	This [tradition] will not be thrown in the dirt
228	chaq <sup>3</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> tsa <sup>1</sup> lo <sup>1</sup> kti <sup>14</sup> nka <sup>0</sup> re <sup>2</sup> thing not POT_go_NB on garbage PROG_be this	this [tradition] will not be thrown in the garbage
229	chaq <sup>3</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> tsa <sup>1</sup> lo <sup>1</sup> kyqya <sup>32</sup> , nka <sup>24</sup> thing not POT_go_NB on wrongdoing, PROG_be re <sup>2</sup> this	this [tradition] will not be sent down the path of wrongdoing
230	chaq <sup>3</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> tsa <sup>1</sup> lo <sup>32</sup> yweq <sup>20</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> thing not POT_go_NB on sin PROG_be re <sup>2</sup> this	this [tradition] will not be thrown into a life of sin
	<0.8>	
231	Nde <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> tykanq <sup>20</sup> , this the.one PROG_be thing visible	This is something clear
232	nde <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> la <sup>10</sup> , this the.one PROG_be thing open	this is something open
233	chaq <sup>3</sup> ykwa <sup>24</sup> , thing straight	this is something straight
234	chaq <sup>3</sup> lwi <sup>3</sup> thing clean	something clean

## Continuation of text 3

235	chaq <sup>3</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> kyaq <sup>24</sup> thing with feet	this is something with a base
236	chaq <sup>3</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> son <sup>42</sup> thing with foundation	this is something with a foundation
	<0.8>	
237	chaq <sup>3</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> sti <sup>24</sup> , thing with father	something cared for by a father
238	chaq <sup>3</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> yqan <sup>1</sup> thing with mother	something cared for by a mother
	<1>	
239	kyan <sup>24</sup> qo <sup>20</sup> wa qin <sup>4</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> PROG_come_NB with we(EXCL) to.you now	we have delivered to him now
	<0.6>	
240	ha <sup>4</sup> -sta <sup>4</sup> <0.3>xkwan <sup>1</sup> neq <sup>2</sup> -kwan <sup>2</sup> , until tremble sky	into the depths of heaven
241	ha <sup>4</sup> sta <sup>4</sup> xkwan <sup>1</sup> xa <sup>4</sup> -liyu <sup>32</sup> , until tremble earth	into the depths of earth
242	ha <sup>4</sup> sta <sup>4</sup> kanq <sup>42</sup> until there	all the way there
	<0.5>	
243	ne <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> tykwen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>24</sup> PROG_sound thing that POT_speak_IINCL	the words we speak are heard
244	ne <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> tan <sup>20</sup> an <sup>32</sup> , PROG_sound thing that POT_give_IINCL	our chats are heard
245	ne <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> PROG_sound thing that	are heard
	<1>	
PART 13		
246	Qan <sup>1</sup> ndiya <sup>24</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> tiyin <sup>1:1</sup> in <sup>1</sup> as like essence chest_IINCL	As it is for us
	<0.9>	
247	chaq <sup>3</sup> ntkwan <sup>40</sup> ne <sup>0</sup> because PROG_sit.elevated_IINCL now	sitting here now



## Continuation of text 3

248	nde <sup>2</sup> sqen <sup>4</sup> no <sup>4</sup> ntkwan <sup>40</sup> ne <sup>0</sup> here where where PROG_sit.elevated_1INCL now	here we sit now
	<0.5>	
249	qnya <sup>1</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> nyan <sup>24</sup> tykwan <sup>10</sup> , beautifully very appear POT_sit.elevated-1INCL	let's sit here gracefully
250	qnya <sup>1</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> nyan <sup>24</sup> tyqi <sup>1</sup> in <sup>1</sup> beautifully very appear POT_stay-1INCL	let's stay here gracefully
251	qo <sup>1</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> mban <sup>14</sup> , with the.one PROG-be compadre-1INCL	with our compadres
252	qo <sup>1</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> ndlyi <sup>1</sup> in <sup>1</sup> , with the.one PROG-be comadre-1INCL	with our comadres
253	qo <sup>1</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> tyi <sup>1</sup> in <sup>1</sup> , with the.one PROG-be children-1INCL	with our children, now
254	qo <sup>1</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> tqan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>42</sup> with the.one PROG-be relatives-1INCL	with our relatives
255	qo <sup>1</sup> no <sup>4</sup> <0.3> syan <sup>2</sup> anq <sup>1</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> , with the.one COMPL_plan 1INCL thing	with our guests
256	no <sup>4</sup> ntqen <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> with the.one COMPL_arrange_1INCL thing	with those who accepted our invitation
	<1.1>	
257	Chaq <sup>3</sup> tykwi <sup>24</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> , thing whole PROG_be this	This is something whole
258	Chaq <sup>3</sup> nyi <sup>24</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> , thing straight PROG_be this	This is something straight
259	Chaq <sup>3</sup> ykwa <sup>24</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> , thing even PROG_be this	This is something even
260	Chaq <sup>3</sup> lwi <sup>3</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> thing clean PROG_be this	This is something clean
261	Chaq <sup>3</sup> tykanq <sup>20</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> , thing visible PROG_be his	This is something clear
262	Chaq <sup>3</sup> la <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> thing open PROG_be this	This is something open
	<0.3>	
263	Ja <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>1</sup> re <sup>2</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> wtsiq <sup>3</sup> , Not PROG_be this thing hidden	This is not something obscured

## Continuation of text 3

264	ja <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>1</sup> re <sup>2</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> wnaq <sup>1</sup> , Not PROG_be this thing astray	this is not astray
265	ja <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>1</sup> re <sup>2</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> Not PROG_be this thing	no, not this
	<1>	
266	ni <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>4</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> -la <sup>32</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> , not one thing not PROG_be this	This is absolutely not [astray]
267	ni <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>4</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> -la <sup>32</sup> ndiya <sup>32</sup> re <sup>2</sup> not one thing not PROG_be this	there is nothing wrong here
268	chaq <sup>3</sup> tykwi <sup>24</sup> , thing whole	something whole
269	chaq <sup>3</sup> wni <sup>24</sup> , thing straight	something straight
270	chaq <sup>3</sup> ykwa <sup>24</sup> , thing even	something even
271	chaq <sup>3</sup> lwi <sup>3</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> thing clean PROG_be this	this [tradition] is clean
272	Kanq <sup>42</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> tykwen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> , that thing that HAB_say_1INCL and ntyqo <sup>20</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> HAB_come.out thing	this is what we say
	<3.1>	
273	Kwan <sup>20</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> qa <sup>24</sup> ndywen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> this.way only appear HAB_speak_1INCL chaq <sup>3</sup> kanq <sup>42</sup> thing that	We just say it like this
	<0.5>	

## Continuation of text 3

PART 14		
275	Qan <sup>1</sup> ndiya <sup>14</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> tiye <sup>32</sup> qwan <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> as like essence chest to. you(pl) now	Just like you guys regard it now
	<0.6>	
276	Wa <sup>2</sup> ntykwa <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , already COMPL_complete now	We have concluded this now
277	wa <sup>2</sup> ndiya <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> already COMPL_arrive_NB now	we have come to this now
	<0.7>	
278	chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> nsqwe <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> jnyan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> , thing that good that COMPL_ask_1INCL	the bounty we ask for
279	chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> sqwe <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> jnyan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> thing that good that COMPL_ask_1INCL	the bounty we have been speaking of
280	chaq <sup>3</sup> sqwe <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> ntykan <sup>14</sup> thing good that COMPL_be_1INCL	the good things we are made of
281	chaq <sup>3</sup> sqwe <sup>3</sup> thing good	the good things
	<0.9>	
282	Ja <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> na <sup>3</sup> wji <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , not one one thing COMPL_miss now	There is no [nourishment] missing
283	ja <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> na <sup>3</sup> xno <sup>32</sup> re <sup>2</sup> , not one one thing COMPL_leave now	there is no [nourishment] left out
284	ti <sup>2</sup> kwiq <sup>1</sup> na <sup>3</sup> ndya <sup>2</sup> tan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>42</sup> , the same thing PROG_become fat	this will become our body's fat
285	ti <sup>2</sup> kwiq <sup>1</sup> na <sup>3</sup> ndya <sup>2</sup> tnen <sup>42</sup> en <sup>42</sup> the same thing PROG_become blood	this will become our body's blood
	<0.6>	
286	ti <sup>2</sup> kwiq <sup>1</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> , the same that.one	they are present

## Continuation of text 3

287	lo <sup>4</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> qo <sup>0</sup> , on table holy	at the holy table
288	lo <sup>4</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> qwna <sup>0</sup> , on table sacred	At the sacred table
289	lo <sup>4</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> ke <sup>0</sup> on table adorned	At the adorned table
290	lo <sup>4</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> ntyin <sup>0</sup> , on table ?	At the ntyin <sup>0</sup> table
291	lo <sup>4</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> ke <sup>0</sup> , on table adorned	At the adorned table
292	lo <sup>4</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> ksqi <sup>3</sup> on table ?	At the ksqi <sup>3</sup> table
	<0.9>	
293	tyiqyan <sup>20</sup> ton <sup>42</sup> on <sup>42</sup> POT_place NEUT_stand_1INCL	let us place this here
294	tyiqyan <sup>20</sup> tkwan <sup>14</sup> re <sup>0</sup> , POT_place NEUT_sit.elevated_1INCL	let us set this here
	<0.3>	
295	chaq <sup>3</sup> sqwe <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> ndiya <sup>32</sup> , thing good that PROG_there.is	[all] goodness there is
296	chaq <sup>3</sup> sqwe <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> sqwi <sup>24</sup> , thing good that PROG_exist	[all] goodness that exists
	<1>	
297	chaq <sup>3</sup> sqwe <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> ntsu <sup>42</sup> , thing good that COMPL_sprout	the goodness that sprouted
298	chaq <sup>3</sup> sqwe <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> ndla <sup>1</sup> thing good that COMPL_born	all the goodness that was born
299	ching <sup>20</sup> ykwa <sup>3</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> little corn.gruel now	a little atole now

Continuation of text 3

300	ching <sup>20</sup> jnyaq <sup>42</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> little honey now	a little honey now
301	ching <sup>20</sup> xi <sup>4</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> little sweet now	a little sweetness now
302	ching <sup>20</sup> xonq <sup>14</sup> ne <sup>0</sup> little tasty now	a little deliciousness now
303	ching <sup>20</sup> nta <sup>3</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> little ? now	a little of nta <sup>3</sup> now
304	ching <sup>20</sup> ntqa <sup>42</sup> ne <sup>0</sup> little all now	a little qa <sup>14</sup> now
305	Ching <sup>20</sup> little	A little of everything
306	no <sup>3</sup> jwi <sup>3</sup> what COMPL_find	a bit of what we found
307	no <sup>4</sup> x<no <sup>32</sup> > the.one	a bit of whatever is left
308	no <sup>4</sup> ndwa <sup>14</sup> yaq <sup>0</sup> the.one PROG_sit.elevated hand	whatever we have in our hands,
309	no <sup>4</sup> ndwa <sup>14</sup> kyan <sup>0</sup> anq <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> the.one PROG_sit.elevated hand now	we have at our feet now
	<0.4>	
310	ti <sup>2</sup> kwiq <sup>1</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> lyan <sup>1</sup> anq <sup>1</sup> , It.is.just that POT_be sustenance	this will be our sustenance
311	ti <sup>2</sup> kwiq <sup>1</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> xqwen <sup>2</sup> en <sup>1</sup> It.is.just that POT_be nourishment	this will be our nourishment
312	ti <sup>2</sup> kwiq <sup>1</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> tan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>42</sup> It.is.just that POT_be fat_1INCL	this will become our fat
313	ti <sup>2</sup> kwiq <sup>1</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> tnen <sup>42</sup> en <sup>42</sup> It.is.just that POT_be blood_1INCL	this will become our blood
314	ti <sup>2</sup> kwiq <sup>1</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> , It.is.just that	this very one
	<0.9>	

## Continuation of text 3

315	Se <sup>4</sup> nyo <sup>20</sup> re <sup>14</sup> , com <sup>4</sup> pa <sup>3</sup> dre <sup>14</sup> , Gentlemen, compadres	Gentlemen, compadres
316	Ntykwi <sup>4</sup> renq <sup>4</sup> , Hab_say they sa <sup>4</sup> kanq <sup>42</sup> ti <sup>4</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> ndyi <sup>4</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> just like that thing HAB_finish thing that ntyqo <sup>20</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> , ja <sup>1</sup> -no <sup>0</sup> HAB_come.out thing, when wa <sup>2</sup> ndyi <sup>1</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> already HAB_finish thing	This is all they say
	<0.7>	
317	[Hilaria: jan <sup>4</sup> ne <sup>1</sup> ] yes	[Hilaria:yes]
318	Sa <sup>4</sup> kwa <sup>20</sup> riq <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> nda <sup>3</sup> just like only thing COMPL_give ndiyo <sup>14</sup> -si <sup>0</sup> neq <sup>2</sup> sya <sup>1</sup> qin <sup>0</sup> naq <sup>42</sup> , god inside heart to to.me	This is all god placed on my heart
319	Tykwen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> POT_say_1INCL then	We say then
320	Kanq <sup>20</sup> no <sup>24</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> ndyi <sup>1</sup> then then already COMPL_finish chaq <sup>3</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> ntyqo <sup>20</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> . thing that HAB_come.out thing	This is how [the event] ends

**6 LINE DIVISION**

The lines in this text were divided taking into account several factors including:

- (a) a mixture of parallelism and sentence division (e.g., lines 2, 34); (b) transitional expressions, such as adverbial clauses and demonstrative phrases (e.g., lines 12, 34); (c) relative degree of similarity of a stretch to the immediately preceding or following stretch (e.g., lines 51, 92, 93).

## 7 PAUSE

Pauses in this text show that oral delivery supports many of the divisions made in the text. Pauses marked in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* text have a principled pattern. This shows that not all performance in San Juan Quiahije is done in a racing run-on with random gulps for air. Some items marked by pauses include vocatives e.g., *se<sup>4</sup>nyo<sup>20</sup>re<sup>14</sup>* ‘sir’ (lines 1, 315). Pauses are also used after formulaic phrases (lines 45-46, 60-62, 63-64, 65-67, 295-296, 286-292). However, there is no completely uniform pattern of pauses throughout the text; for instance, the pause between lines 3 and 4 seems to be marking an emphatic meaning rather than a formulaic phrase.

In the text it can be seen that pauses divide stanzas (lines 6-11, 23-25, 29-33, 35-38, 194-197, and 310-314). Pauses also mark hesitation (lines 22, 26, 28), and seem to mark relative clauses (lines 5, 255) and adverbial phrases (lines 246, 295). Finally, there are a few long pauses where the orator seems to stop for a gulp of air (lines 17, 47-59). Further research is needed to explore other uses of pauses in San Juan Quiahije verbal art.

## 8 BACKGROUND OF THE *CHAQ<sup>3</sup> KSYA<sup>10</sup>*

The *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* text describes the entire event in great detail. The topics are presented in chronological order and describe the planning, agreement, and preparation required to make the event possible. The *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* also painstakingly describes the families’ heartfelt gratitude for the generosity, sacrifice, sweat and toil of the organizers who made the event possible (e.g., by bringing together the necessary people, collecting the food, conducting prayers, and collecting the presents).

The *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* also communicates the strong connection that San Juan Quiahije residents have to place and community. The speech describes the sites where the supplicants traveled to pray and the hardships they endured on their ritual journeys. The orators also elaborate upon the high hopes of the families for the child's good fortune. The *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* also describes the strengths, moral virtues, and values of the life stage celebration and the hosts' desire for all guests to enjoy themselves. There is an emotional and compelling appeal to preserve tradition. The *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* orators implore the audience to remember and honor the community's ceremony and traditions. Unfortunately, the orators have not been heeded. It is a sad and ironic truth that the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*, a speech encouraging cultural preservation, is in danger of being forgotten by the newer generations in San Juan Quiahije.

In essence, the orator of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* is a spokesperson, communicating the collective message of an entity—in this case, one of the families. In what follows I will describe some of the rhetorical progression elements and salient linguistic tools that the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* employs from the Chatino language to accomplish this task.

## **9 RHETORICAL PROGRESSION ELEMENTS**

Thematic division, temporal and rhetorical progression, and cues to the different addressees in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* are signaled through a set of recurrent linguistic elements and expressions strategically distributed throughout the text. They include adverbial and demonstrative particles and phrases, aspectual markers, and person pronoun inflection.



I have divided the entire text into roughly fourteen parts. The divisions in the text were made using adverbial phrases such as *Qan<sup>1</sup> tiq<sup>0</sup> wa<sup>42</sup> re<sup>2</sup> ne<sup>2</sup>* ‘as it is to us now’, which serve to introduce each section. One of the main functions of these adverbial phrases is to call attention to the different groups of participants the orator wants to emphasize in each section. These 14 divisions in the text facilitate the analysis of other transitional cues and rhetorical progression elements in the text, such as aspect and person inflection.

### **9.1 Aspect**

Aspect is one of the linguistic features that marks time progression in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* text. Table 9.2 illustrates the relative frequency of occurrence of each of the four aspect categories in each of the 14 divisions of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* text.

Parts of the text	Completive	Progressive	Habitual	Potential
1	∅	4	3	∅
2	14	6	∅	3
3	4	10	∅	3
4	∅	2	∅	8
5	12	∅	∅	2
6	3	2	∅	3
7	24	12	∅	7
8	2	7	∅	3
9	∅	3	∅	10
10	9	1	∅	∅
11	∅	∅	∅	10
12	∅	2	∅	7
13	2	14	1	3
14	10	2	6	7
Total	80	63	10	66

Table 9.2: Aspectual marking in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*

Table 9.2 shows that the completive aspect is the most abundant with 80 tokens, this is followed by 66 tokens of the potential aspect and 63 tokens for the progressive aspect. The occurrence of the habitual aspect is minimal with only 10 tokens. The completive aspect is most prominent in part seven where the orators elaborates on the genesis of the tradition (lines 105-110; 122-126). The aspect category is also prominent in places where the orator chronicles the sites where the supplicants (e.g., parents and co-parents) journeyed to pray on behalf of the honoree (lines 138-155). Finally, the completive aspect is very prevalent on part 14 (the end) of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* because in closing the orator states that the ceremony has been completed and that the goals that the families had set out have been accomplished. The used of the completive aspect also

reflects the fact that the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* is built upon repeating refrains that recapitulate the preparation and the subsequent trials that the families had to endure in order to accomplish all the tasks surrounding the ceremony.

The Progressive aspect is most pervasive in part 13 where the orator calls on the participants together to rejoice and enjoy life, celebrating in the company of family and friends (lines 246-273). The progressive aspect is also prominent in places the orator describes the presents the godparents brought for the child. The habitual aspect is the least used aspectual category in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*. The orator employs this aspectual form when elaborating on the praying journeys that parents and godparents carried out on behalf of the child.

The potential aspect is pervasive in parts 9 and 11 (lines 181-203; 216-266). In this part of the text, the visiting family expresses its best wishes, hopes, and dreams for the well being of the honoree. This aspectual category is also prominent in places where the orator makes an appeal for the preservation of tradition.

## **9.2 Person inflection**

Changes and variations of the person inflections play a key role in signaling the participants addressed by each section of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> ksya<sup>10</sup>*. Table 9.3 illustrates this.

Parts of the text	Elements/participants highlighted	1SG	2SG	3	1INCL	1EXCL	2PI
1	everyone, the ceremony			X			X
2	The guests, everyone, the family, the time			X	X	X	
3	the ceremony, the guests, everyone			X	X	X	
4	guests, the presents			X		X	
5	everyone, the family, the ceremony			X	X		
6	The guests, everyone				X	X	
7	everyone, the ceremony, place, prayer			X	X		
8	everyone				X		
9	everyone				X		
10	everyone, place, prayer			X	X		
11	the person celebrated, everyone			X	X		
12	ceremony, everyone, guests			X	X	X	
13	everyone, ceremony			X	X		
14	the host family, the guests, the ceremony			X	X		X

Table 9.3: Personal inflection

For the most part, this speech is given from the point of view of the visiting family. Most of the passages in this text are inflected in the first person inclusive (1INCL). Most persuasive speeches in San Juan Quiahije are likewise inflected in the 1INCL. This is one of the characteristics that the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* shares with other

persuasive speeches in San Juan Quiahije. For instance, the 1INCL is the only person inflection used in parts 8 and 9 in which the orator speaks about the gathering at the host family's home, e.g., the ceremony itself. Similarly, the 1INCL is used when the orators express the desired behavior that participants are expected to display at the ceremony. Orators in San Juan Quiahije prefer the 1INCL as a means to demonstrate that they are humble. There is, however, a consequence to this choice. Often the use of the first person plural inclusive causes vagueness to creep into persuasive speeches in San Juan Quiahije. Many sections in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* speech are ambiguous. The use of the 1INCL makes it difficult to discern exactly to whom the orator is referring in his performance. The orator could be referring to everyone present at the celebration, or to a part of the assembled group.

The second most common person inflection is the third person (undifferentiated for singular or plural). This reflects the fact that many passages of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* make reference to the young person celebrating his or her rite of passage and the pervasive meta-commentaries about the ceremony itself.

The first person exclusive (1EXCL) is another common person inflection in this text. The use of the first person exclusive is found at sections in which the text brings attention to the visiting family. Table 9.3 also shows that the second person plural inflection (2PL) is only present in parts 1 and 14 in which the orator directly addresses one group of the audience. For instance, the 2PL is used at the beginning of the text when the orator addresses the audience directly and in part 14 when the orator directly

addresses the host family. Finally, there are no instances of the first or second person singular found in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*. This has to do with the fact that the orator wants to convey humbleness and group inclusiveness.

## 10 THE STRUCTURE OF THE VERSE LINE

The *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*, like other formal genres in San Juan Quiahije, reveals a pervasive use of parallelism, formulaic formulas, and *difrasismo*. The structure of the verse lines in Chatino consists of a frame and a focus (as previously described in Chapters 7 and 8). Example 9.1 illustrates these elements.

Example 9.1

$\frac{\text{keq}^3 \text{ka}^{24}}{\text{difficult very}} [\text{ntykwa}^{32}]$ COMPL_reach	<u>how difficult it is to</u> [reach]
$\frac{\text{keq}^3 \text{ka}^{24}}{\text{difficult very}} [\text{ndya}^1]$ COMPL_arrive	<u>how difficult it is to</u> [arrive]
$\frac{\text{keq}^3 \text{ka}^{24}}{\text{difficult very}} [\text{ntyqo}^{20} - \text{skwa}^3]$ COMPL_come.out.on.top	<u>how difficult it is to</u> [come out on top]

In Example 9.1 the expression *keq<sup>3</sup> ka<sup>24</sup>* ‘how difficult’ is the frame, and the focus elements are the three verb phrases *ntykwa<sup>32</sup> / ndya<sup>1</sup> / ntyqo<sup>20</sup> - skwa<sup>3</sup>* ‘to reach/arrive/come out on top’.

### 10.1 Frame and focus

The elements that comprise the frame and the focus come from a wide variety of grammatical categories (e.g., NP, VP, adverbial phrase, relative clause). These elements must bear the same linguistic categories and syntactic structure. Noun phrases must be

paired with noun phrases; verbs phrases must be paired with verb phrases; and so on. Additionally, the elements that comprise the focus must have some semantic affinity. Many of the linguistic elements employed in the focus elements come from the same semantic field. Example 9.2 illustrates this.

Example 9.2

1	<b><u>Nde<sup>2</sup> wa<sup>2</sup> [ti<sup>1</sup>] tsan<sup>32</sup>,</u></b> here already ten days	<b><u>For over [ten] days</u></b>
2	<b><u>nde<sup>2</sup> wa<sup>2</sup> [qnyo<sup>1</sup>] tsan<sup>32</sup>,</u></b> here already ten days	<b><u>for over [fifteen] days</u></b>
3	<b><u>ndywen<sup>1</sup> enq<sup>1</sup>,</u></b> PROG_speak_1INCL	<b><u>we have been conversing</u></b>
4	<b><u>ndywen<sup>1</sup> enq<sup>1</sup> [xwen<sup>1</sup> en<sup>1</sup>],</u></b> PROG_speak_1INCL little_1INCL	<b><u>we have been talking</u></b>
5	<b><u>ndywe<sup>1</sup> enq<sup>1</sup> [stan<sup>1</sup> an<sup>1</sup>] chaq<sup>3</sup> re<sup>2</sup></u></b> PROG_speak_1INCL smash_1INCL thing this	<b><u>we have been [chatting] about this (event)</u></b>

The frame (bolded and underlined) in Example 9.2 comprises an NP: *nde<sup>2</sup> wa<sup>2</sup>* [focus] *tsan<sup>32</sup>* ‘for over [focus] days’ the focus elements (in brackets) in these two lines use numerals *ti<sup>1</sup>* ‘ten’ and *qnyo<sup>1</sup>* ‘fifteen’. The next group begins in the third line. The frame in this new group of lines is made out of a verb phrase (bolded and underlined) *ndywen<sup>1</sup> enq<sup>1</sup>* ‘we have been conversing’ and the focus elements are adjectival phrases *xwen<sup>1</sup> en<sup>1</sup>* ‘small’ and *stan<sup>1</sup> an<sup>1</sup>* ‘smashed’. This example demonstrates that, as stated above, the elements of the frame and the focus come from the same linguistic categories.

## 10.2 Parallel stanza

A parallel set or stanza is a group of lines that work together to express an idea or image. Scholars of Mesoamerican verbal art (e.g., Christenson 2000, Hull 2003) refer to

these enumerations as couplets, triplets, and so on. Example 9.3 below labels the different parts of a parallel set.

Example 9.3

1	Chaq <sup>3</sup> tykanq <sup>20</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , thing visible PROG_be this now	This tradition <u>is clear</u>
2	chaq <sup>3</sup> la <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , thing open PROG_be this now	this tradition <u>is open</u>
3	chaq <sup>3</sup> ykwa <sup>24</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , thing even PROG_be this now	this tradition <u>is even</u>
4	chaq <sup>3</sup> lwi <sup>3</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , thing clean PROG_be this now	this tradition <u>is clean</u>
5	chaq <sup>3</sup> kyaq <sup>24</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , thing feet PROG_be this now	this is its base
6	chaq <sup>3</sup> son <sup>42</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , thing foundation PROG_be this now	this is its foundation

The first line in Example 9.3 is what I call the root, and subsequent enumerations of this line are supplements. Example 9.3 contains one root and 4 supplements.

### 10.3 Frame tag

As indicated in Ch. 4, a frame tag is the omission of the focus element, plus any subsequent parts of the frame, in the last line of a parallel set. For example:



### Example 9.4

1	$\underline{\text{ni}}^4 \text{skan}^4 \text{kan}^{24} \text{an}^{32} \text{ne}^{20} \text{ja}^4 [\text{ntqan}^{42} \text{an}^{32}]$ , not one very not NEG COMPL_see_1INCL	<u>No one of us [saw] at all</u>
2	$\underline{\text{ni}}^4 \text{skan}^4 \text{kan}^{14} \text{ne}^{20} \text{ja}^4 [\text{ynan}^{42} \text{an}^{42}]$ , not one very not NEG not COMPL_hear_1INCL	<u>no one of us [heard] at all</u>
3	$\underline{\text{ni}}^4 \text{skan}^4 \text{ka}^1 \text{an}^{20} [\text{jyaq}^3 \text{re}^2 \text{enq}^2]$ , not one very realized essence_1INCL	no one of us comprehended
4	$\underline{\text{ni}}^4 \text{skan}^4 \text{ka}^1 \text{an}^{20} \text{ni}^4 \text{ja}^4 [\text{ndlo}^1 \text{on}^1] \text{re}^1$ not one very not NEG COMPL_take.out_1INCL	<u>no one of us [made]</u>
5	$\underline{\text{ni}}^4 \text{skan}^4 \text{kan}^{14} \text{ne}^0 \text{ja}^4 [\text{xtya}^{20} \text{an}^{32}] \text{re}^2$ , not one very not NEG COMPL_put_1INCL this	<u>no one of us [put]</u>
6	$\underline{\text{ni}}^4 \text{skan}^4 \text{kan}^{14} [\emptyset]$ not one very	no one of us [ $\emptyset$ ]

The last line of the parallel set in Example 9.4 is the frame tag. The frame tag strategy in this context reinforces the meaning that the community members were not present when this tradition was created. Nevertheless, this event was already in place when the witnesses to this ceremony were born into this world.

## 11 FORMULAIC EXPRESSIONS

Like other texts of SJQ formal speech, this prayer is dense with formulaic expressions. Fox (1997) argues that formulas are part of the community's collective cultural knowledge. Table 9.4 provides a listing of all the formulas I identified in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*. They are organized by grammatical categories. Column 1 holds the terms that combine in the formulas and as stated in Chapter 5, these terms are cited in the third person and in the completive aspect. Possessed noun phrases are inflected for third person singular as well. Column 2 provides a literal gloss of the terms. Column 3 describes the meaning of the formulas. Column 4 discusses whether the listed terms happen across

many texts or they only occur within the context of this text. The texts will be abbreviated as follows: *Chaq<sup>3</sup> ksy<sup>10</sup>*: CK, *The Visit*: Visit, and the Speech of the Changing of the Authorities: *Cambio*.

<b>Formulaic terms</b>	<b>Literal gloss</b>	<b>Meaning</b>	<b>Does the formula occur across many text or in this text alone</b>
mba <sup>14</sup> / ndlyi <sup>14</sup>	<i>compadres/ comadres</i>	co-parents	no
tyi <sup>4</sup> /tqa <sup>42</sup>	offspring/family members	relatives (all encompassing) or in general	yes (Cambio)
ti <sup>24</sup> tsan <sup>32</sup> / qnyo <sup>24</sup> tsan <sup>32</sup>	ten days/ fifteen days	ten days/ fifteen days	no
tynyi <sup>10</sup> / pla <sup>4</sup> ta <sup>10</sup> / qo <sup>14</sup> ro <sup>0</sup>	money/silver/gold	Money	no
steq <sup>4</sup> / sna <sup>42</sup>	clothes/ footwear	Wear	yes (Cambio)
kwi <sup>4</sup> - tya <sup>32</sup> /yqwe <sup>42</sup> /styin <sup>4</sup>	fontaneles/wings/feathers	child's ceremonial clothes	no
sti <sup>4</sup> /yqan <sup>1</sup> /kityi <sup>4</sup> /tqa <sup>42</sup>	father/mother/children/kin	kinship relations	yes (Cambio)
qya <sup>2</sup> / kchin <sup>4</sup>	mountains/community	San Juan Quiahije	yes (Visit, Cambio)
xa <sup>3</sup> kwan <sup>24</sup> nkqa <sup>1</sup> / xa <sup>3</sup> kwan <sup>24</sup> nten <sup>3</sup>	red sunlight/white sunrise	sunlight in Chatino landscape	no
kyqya <sup>2</sup> / ntenq <sup>3</sup>	mountains/plain	Chatino topography	no
Chaq <sup>3</sup> tykanq <sup>20</sup> /chaq <sup>3</sup> la <sup>1</sup> / chaq <sup>3</sup> ykwa <sup>24</sup> / chaq <sup>3</sup> lwi <sup>3</sup>	something clear/ something open/ something even/ something clean	something pure	no
kियाq <sup>24</sup> /son <sup>42</sup>	a foot/a foundation	a strong foundation	no

Table 9.4: *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* text recited by G. Cruz (2010)

Continuation of table 9.4

ska <sup>4</sup> wra <sup>1</sup> / ska <sup>4</sup> tsan <sup>32</sup>	one hour/ one day	24 hours	yes (Cambio)
ska <sup>4</sup> wra <sup>1</sup> / ska <sup>4</sup> xa <sup>3</sup>	one hour/one light	a day	yes (Cambio)
sna <sup>1</sup> wra <sup>1</sup> / sna <sup>1</sup> xa <sup>3</sup>	three hours/ three lights	Time	no
jwe <sup>4</sup> -sa <sup>0</sup> / va <sup>4</sup> lo <sup>14</sup>	they will give us strength/ they will give us fortitude	Strength	yes (Cambio)
Si <sup>4</sup> Nda <sup>4</sup> Nya <sup>14</sup> / Sqwe <sup>3</sup>	Santiago Minas/ Juquila	Santiago Minas/ Juquila	no
qya <sup>2</sup> tlyu <sup>2</sup> / sa <sup>4</sup> kwi <sup>4</sup> tlyu <sup>2</sup>	big mountain/the steep slope	road to Juquila	no
chaq <sup>3</sup> wtsiq <sup>3</sup> / chaq <sup>3</sup> wnaq <sup>2</sup>	something hidden/ something astray	something bad	no
tan <sup>42</sup> / tnen <sup>42</sup>	fat/ blood	basic elements of the body	no
sa <sup>1</sup> qo <sup>0</sup> /sa <sup>10</sup> qwna <sup>1</sup> /sa <sup>10</sup> ke <sup>1</sup> /sa <sup>10</sup> ntyin <sup>14</sup> /sa <sup>0</sup> ksq <sup>1</sup>	holy table/sacred table/adorned table/ <i>ntyin</i> <sup>14</sup> table/ <i>ksq</i> <sup>1</sup> table	sacred table	no
ching <sup>20</sup> ykwa <sup>3</sup> / ching <sup>20</sup> jnyaq <sup>42</sup> / ching <sup>20</sup> xi <sup>4</sup> / chinq <sup>20</sup> xonq <sup>14</sup> / chinq <sup>20</sup> nta <sup>3</sup> /ching <sup>20</sup> ntqa <sup>42</sup>	little <i>atole</i> /little honey/little sweetness/little deliciousness/little <i>nta</i> <sup>3</sup> / a little of everything	Feast	no
lyan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> / xqwen <sup>2</sup> en <sup>1</sup>	sustenance/ nourishment	elements of sustenance	no
neq <sup>2</sup> kwan <sup>2</sup> /xa <sup>4</sup> - liyu <sup>32</sup>	into the depths of heaven/ into the depths of earth	Chatino cosmos	no
no <sup>4</sup> ndwi <sup>1</sup> tykwan <sup>3</sup> qo <sup>2</sup> yaq <sup>2</sup> / no <sup>1</sup> ndwi <sup>1</sup> tykwan <sup>3</sup> qna <sup>4</sup> yaq <sup>2</sup>	the one who holds a holy metal object in his hand/the one who holds a sacred metal object in his hand	a priest	no
chaq <sup>3</sup> -syaq <sup>2</sup> / chaq <sup>3</sup> - qen <sup>4</sup>	what was arranged/what was settled on	to agree on/to settle on	no
na <sup>3</sup> ndya <sup>32</sup> / na <sup>3</sup> sqwi <sup>24</sup>	what there is/what exists	what someone owns	no

Continuation of table 9.4

na <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> jnya <sup>1</sup> / na <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> ngwa <sup>2</sup>	what was requested/what became	the good things asked about	no
chaq <sup>3</sup> ykwiq <sup>14</sup> / chaq <sup>3</sup> nda <sup>14</sup>	the words spoken/ the words given	words expressed	yes (Cambio)
tqa <sup>42</sup> tykwa <sup>24</sup> / tqa <sup>42</sup> tyqan <sup>4</sup>	someone to sit (elevated) with/ someone to go about with	a companion	no
ne <sup>1</sup> / ytsaq <sup>3</sup>	to invite/to tell	to invite	no
snyi <sup>4</sup> tykwi <sup>1</sup> / snyi <sup>4</sup> ton <sup>42</sup> / snyi <sup>4</sup> tykwa <sup>24</sup>	to take hanging/to take standing/to take sitting elevated	to accept an invitation	no
kwan <sup>14</sup> / qen <sup>4</sup>	to sit/to exist	to preside in a place	yes (Cambio)
ykwiq <sup>4</sup> -xwe <sup>32</sup> / ykwiq <sup>4</sup> - sta <sup>1</sup>	to speak small/ to speak smash	to speak in a disorganized way	no
yan <sup>42</sup> -qo <sup>1</sup> / yan <sup>42</sup> - tkwa <sup>14</sup>	to bringing with/to place elevated	a present	no
qan <sup>4</sup> -jyaq <sup>4</sup> / qan <sup>4</sup> - kwen <sup>1</sup> / ndwa <sup>2</sup> - tya <sup>4</sup>	to get confirm [branded]/to get got christen/to get baptize	catholic rituals	no
ntykwa <sup>4</sup> / ndya <sup>32</sup> / ntqo <sup>20</sup> skwa <sup>3</sup>	to reach/to arrive/to come out on top	to reach a goal	no
ji <sup>1</sup> , xno <sup>32</sup>	to miss/to leave out	Generosity	no
no <sup>4</sup> yqu <sup>2</sup> / no <sup>4</sup> ndlu <sup>3</sup>	the ones who survived /the ones who thrived	the ones who lived a long live	no
ja <sup>4</sup> ntqan <sup>42</sup> / ja <sup>4</sup> ynan <sup>42</sup>	to not see/to not hear	to witness the beginning of the tradition	yes (Cambio)
ngwa <sup>2</sup> jyaq <sup>3</sup> / /ndlo <sup>24</sup> / xtya <sup>20</sup>	to arrange/to take out/to place elevated	the beginning of tradition	yes (Cambio)
ngwa <sup>2</sup> jyaq <sup>3</sup> / yqwi <sup>24</sup> sqen <sup>32</sup>	to be arranged/to be stowed away	the beginning of tradition	yes (Cambio)

Continuation of table 9.4

ya <sup>42</sup> sweq <sup>3</sup> -kta <sup>4</sup> / ya <sup>42</sup> sweq <sup>3</sup> tynyaq <sup>10</sup>	to go all scratched up and sweaty/ to go all scratched up and exhausted	Sacrifice	
qen <sup>4</sup> jya <sup>2</sup> /qen <sup>4</sup> sti <sup>1</sup> /qen <sup>4</sup> ykwiq <sup>4</sup>	to play/ to laugh/to speak	to enjoy life	
ja <sup>24</sup> jqo <sup>1</sup> /ja <sup>14</sup> sti <sup>0</sup> / ja <sup>24</sup> yqan <sup>1</sup>	will find a husband/will find a father/will find a mother	to find a husband or wife	
ntyqya <sup>1</sup> -ton <sup>42</sup> / ntyqya <sup>1</sup> -tkwa <sup>14</sup>	to set standing/to set elevated	Manner in which instruments of prayer is placed at the prayer site	
yan <sup>42</sup> / qan <sup>4</sup>	to go forth/ to go about	to serve	
jnya <sup>1</sup> yaq <sup>2</sup> /jnya <sup>1</sup> tqwa <sup>4</sup>	to ask by hand/to ask by mouth	to pray	
ya <sup>42</sup> (k)cheq <sup>14</sup> yu <sup>1</sup> / ya <sup>42</sup> (k)cheq <sup>14</sup> ke <sup>1</sup>	to go through thorny ground/to go through thorny rocks	sacrifice of a praying journey	
ja <sup>4</sup> tyi <sup>32</sup> / ja <sup>4</sup> xyaq <sup>2</sup>	this can't end/ this can't fade	Permanence of traditions	yes (Visit Cambio, and Prayer)
lo <sup>1</sup> kyqya <sup>32</sup> / lo <sup>32</sup> yweq <sup>32</sup>	wrongdoing/a sin	something bad	no
lo <sup>1</sup> yu <sup>32</sup> / lo <sup>1</sup> kti <sup>14</sup>	to the dirt// to the garbage	to discard	no
tqwa <sup>4</sup> lwaq <sup>42</sup> / tqwa <sup>4</sup> xkon <sup>1</sup> / qne <sup>2</sup> qan <sup>3</sup>	mouth of <i>lwaq</i> <sup>42</sup> /mouth of <i>xkon</i> <sup>1</sup> /inside the house	a sacred place	no

Like other performances in SJQ, this text contains a large number of formulas built from nouns and noun phrases, verbs and verb phrases, propositions, and prepositional phrases. Below I discuss some of them.

## 11.1 Formulaic expressions made with nouns and noun phrases

This text contains a larger number of formulas made with nouns and noun phrases than with verbs and verb phrases. The *Chaq<sup>3</sup> ksya<sup>10</sup>* text reveals a larger number of formulas originating from kinship relations such as *mba<sup>14</sup>/ndlyi<sup>14</sup>* ‘*compadre/comadre*’, *tyin<sup>4</sup>* ‘*offspring*’, and *tqa<sup>42</sup>* ‘*relatives*’. Example 9.5 below, illustrates an example.

### Example 9.5

1	Nde <sup>2</sup> qan <sup>24</sup> tyqin <sup>24</sup> inq <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> like appear chest-1INCL now	let us be here now
2	mbam <sup>14</sup> ne <sup>0</sup> , compadres now	[with] our compadres now
3	ndlyin <sup>14</sup> ne <sup>0</sup> comadres now	[with] our comadres now

The dual terms *mban<sup>14</sup>/ndlyin<sup>14</sup>* ‘*co-godfather/co-godmother*’ are terms originating from the same semantic field. One is the male part and the other is a female part of the larger entity of “co-godparents”. When one of the elements is uttered it is expected that the other one will follow too.

When describing the characteristics or the value of tradition, orators use formulas such as : *Chaq<sup>3</sup> tykanq<sup>20</sup> /chaq<sup>3</sup> la<sup>1</sup> / chaq<sup>3</sup> ykwa<sup>24</sup> / chaq<sup>3</sup> lwi<sup>3</sup>* ‘*something clear/ something open/ something even/ something clean*’.

This text opens a window on the way Chatinos describe the table where food is served to guest of honor: *sa<sup>1</sup> qo<sup>0</sup>/sa<sup>10</sup> qwna<sup>1</sup>/sa<sup>10</sup> ke<sup>1</sup>/sa<sup>10</sup> ntyin<sup>14</sup>/sa<sup>10</sup> ksiq<sup>1</sup>* *holy table/sacred table/adorned table/ntyin<sup>14</sup> table/ksiq<sup>1</sup> table*. The *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* text also comprises of many formulas that refer to time. Example 9.6 below illustrates this.

### Example 9.6

1	ska <sup>4</sup> <u>wra</u> <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>0</sup> one hour now	this <u>hour</u> , now
2	ska <sup>4</sup> <u>tsan</u> <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> one day now	this <u>day</u> now
3	ska <sup>4</sup> <u>wra</u> <sup>1</sup> one hour	this <u>hour</u>
4	ska <sup>4</sup> <u>xa</u> <sup>3</sup> one light	this <u>light</u>
5	chong <sup>42</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> sna <sup>1</sup> <u>wra</u> <sup>1</sup> , because now three hours	because three <u>hours</u> have passed,
6	ne <sup>2</sup> sna <sup>1</sup> <u>xa</u> <sup>3</sup> now three lights	three <u>lights</u> have passed

The passage in Example 9.6 elaborates on the concept of time by combining the terms *wra*<sup>0</sup>/*xa*<sup>3</sup> ‘hour/light’ and *wra*<sup>0</sup>/*tsan*<sup>4</sup> ‘hour/day’. This text also contains a large number of formulas that refer to the topography of SJQ and surrounding areas of the Chatino region where people travel to pray including *kyqya*<sup>2</sup>/*ntenq*<sup>3</sup> ‘mountains/plain’, and *qya*<sup>2</sup> *tlyu*<sup>2</sup>/*sa*<sup>4</sup> *kwi*<sup>4</sup> *tlyu*<sup>2</sup> ‘big mountain/the steep slope’.

The *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> *Ksya*<sup>10</sup> text also contains many formulas that describe names of towns in the Chatino region where people carry out prayers including *Si*<sup>4</sup> *Nda*<sup>4</sup> *Nya*<sup>14</sup>/*Sqwe*<sup>3</sup> ‘Santiago Minas/ Juquila’. The *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> *Ksya*<sup>10</sup> text is also abundant with formulas made with different types of materials such as *tan*<sup>42</sup>/*tne*<sup>42</sup> ‘fat/blood’, and *tynyi*<sup>10</sup>/*pla*<sup>4</sup>*ta*<sup>10</sup>/*qo*<sup>14</sup>*ro*<sup>0</sup> ‘money/silver/gold’

## 11.2 Formulas made with verbs and verb phrases

Just like other formal speeches in SJQ, the *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> *Ksya*<sup>10</sup> text also comprises of a large number of formulas made by compounding verbs. Many of these constructions are



built with terms that comprises a body part term as the second element in the compound.

For instance *jnya<sup>1</sup> yaq<sup>2</sup>/jnya<sup>1</sup> tqwa<sup>4</sup>* ‘to ask by hand/to ask by mouth’. For example:

Example 9.7

1	Jyan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> PROG_come_1INCL	We have come
2	tyqin <sup>4</sup> jyan <sup>2</sup> an <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>1</sup> POT_exist_1INCL PROG_play_1INCL now	to play
3	tyqin <sup>4</sup> xtyin <sup>20</sup> in <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> POT_exist_1INCL laugh_1INCL now	to laugh now

The first pair: *jyan<sup>2</sup>an<sup>1</sup>/xtyin<sup>20</sup>in<sup>32</sup>* ‘play (1INCL)/ laugh (1INCL)’ expresses the meaning “to have fun.” In addition to making the expression more emphatic, these formulas also make this stretch of speech more aesthetically pleasing to hear. This text also has *polifrasismo* constructions. As stated in Chapter 5 *polifrasismos* are formulas that evoke a third meaning and are made of more than two lines, for example:

Example 9.8

No <sup>4</sup> sni <sup>4</sup> tkwi <sup>1</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> , the.one COMPL_hold NEUT_hanging then	Those who <u>took hanging</u>
No <sup>4</sup> sni <sup>4</sup> ton <sup>42</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> , the.one COMPL_hold NEUT_stand then	Those who <u>took standing</u>
No <sup>4</sup> sni <sup>4</sup> tkwa <sup>14</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> the.one COMPL_hold NEUT_sit.elevated then	Those who <u>took sitting (elevated)</u>

The *polifrasismo* construction in Example 9.8 is built from positional verbs. This *polyfrasisimo* evokes a meaning of “accepting an invitation.”

### 11.3 Formulas made recited across many texts in SJQ

The well known formula that appeals for the maintenance of traditions, found in many texts recited in SJQ is also found in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* text.

#### Example 9.9

Chaq <sup>3</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> tyi <sup>32</sup> because that.abs not POT_finish	It is just that which can't end
chaq <sup>3</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> xyaq <sup>2</sup> , because that.abs not POT_mix	it is just that which can't fade
chaq <sup>3</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> because that.abs	Never

This expression, Example 9.9, occurs across many speeches given in private and public in SJQ. In this study alone we find in *The Visit* and the *Cambio* text.

### 11.4 Formulas with prepositional phrases

A few examples of prepositional phrase in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* text include: *lo<sup>1</sup> kyqya<sup>32</sup>/lo<sup>4</sup> yweq<sup>20</sup>* ‘wrongdoing/a sin’; *lo<sup>1</sup> yu<sup>32</sup>/lo<sup>1</sup> kti<sup>14</sup>* ‘to the dirt/ to the garbage’, *tqwa<sup>4</sup> lwaq<sup>42</sup>/tqwa<sup>4</sup> xkon<sup>1</sup>/qne<sup>2</sup> qan<sup>3</sup>* ‘mouth of *lwaq<sup>42</sup>*/mouth of *xkon<sup>1</sup>*/inside the house’. The prepositions in these formulas are *lo<sup>4</sup>* ‘on’ and *tqwa<sup>4</sup>* ‘mouth’. These prepositional phrases are only found in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* text, and they describe the quality of the ongoing event and tradition.

## 12 RECURRENT TOPICS OF CONTENT IN THE *CHAQ<sup>3</sup> KSYA<sup>10</sup>*

The previous sections (1-11) discussed the structure patterns of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* text. This section will address issues relating to the content of the text. The topics are presented in the order in which they appear in the text.

### 12.1 Challenges and difficulties in attending the ceremony

The challenge presented by attending the ceremony is a pervasive topic in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* and forms the background of the whole text. The types of privations and challenges described in the text include economic hardship, the difficulty of traveling to pray, and the challenges of gathering different people in one place at one time for the ceremony.

The text also emphasizes the challenges of traveling on foot across rugged terrain to sacred sites to pray on behalf of the child. Section 4 provides a map of the places where people in San Juan Quiahije journey to pray. Example 9.10, below, illustrates an example from the text that elaborates on the difficulty of meeting the goals of the ceremony.

#### Example 9.10

Keq <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> ntykwa <sup>32</sup> difficult very COMPL_reach	How difficult it is to reach
keq <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> ndya <sup>1</sup> difficult very COMPL_arrive	how difficult it is to arrive
keq <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> ntyqo <sup>20</sup> - skwa <sup>3</sup> difficult very COMPL_come.out	how difficult it is to come out on top

The focus element in each line in Example 9.10 revolves around a motion verb phrase: *ntykwa*<sup>4</sup> ‘reach’, *ndya*<sup>32</sup> ‘arrive’, and *ntyqo*<sup>20</sup>-*skwa*<sup>3</sup> ‘to come out on top’. As the text progresses, this refrain changes aspect to fit the context of each passage.

## 12.2 Challenges of gathering material supplies for ceremony

Example 9.11 describes the difficulty of acquiring material things needed for the ceremony. As previously described, the *Chaq*<sup>3</sup>*ksya*<sup>10</sup> text stresses that it is difficult to find the money to buy presents for the godchild and supplies for the ceremony (e.g., food). For example:

### Example 9.11

Keq <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> ntyji <sup>14</sup> tynyi <sup>0</sup> , difficult very HAB_find money	It is hard to get money
keq <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> ntyji <sup>14</sup> no <sup>0</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> pla <sup>14</sup> ta <sup>0</sup> , difficult very HAB_find the.one PROG_be silver	it is hard to find silver
no <sup>0</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> qo <sup>14</sup> ro <sup>0</sup> the.one PROG_be silver	[to find] gold
no <sup>4</sup> ntyji <sup>14</sup> no <sup>0</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> steq <sup>32</sup> , the.one HAB_find the.one POT_be clothes	to find what he will wear (lit., clothes)
no <sup>4</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> sna <sup>42</sup> , the.one POT_be shoes	what shoes he will wear

Example 9.11 elaborates on the difficulty of acquiring money to buy supplies and presents for the child. The constructions in these lines are neatly organized into groups of related items. For instance, the first line expresses *tynyi*<sup>10</sup> ‘money’, and the next two lines list materials that money is made from: *pla*<sup>14</sup>*ta*<sup>0</sup> ‘silver’, and *qo*<sup>14</sup>*ro*<sup>0</sup> ‘gold’. The second

part of this paragraph consists of two lines containing a set of things that a person wears: *steq*<sup>32</sup> ‘clothes’ and *sna*<sup>42</sup> ‘shoes’.

### 12.3 Meaning of the ceremony

The *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> *ksya*<sup>10</sup> places a strong emphasis on the high moral values, virtues, and strength of the ceremony. Example 9.12 illustrates this.

Example 9.12

1	Nde <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> tykwi <sup>24</sup> , this the.one PROG_be thing whole	This is something whole
2	Nde <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> nyi <sup>24</sup> this the.one PROG_be thing straight	This is something straight
3	Nde <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> ykwa <sup>24</sup> , this the.one PROG_be thing even	This is something even
4	Nde <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> lwi <sup>3</sup> this the.one PROG_be thing clean	This is something clean

People in San Juan Quiahije act out the moral virtues of the ceremony by giving clothes to the child, and in general describe the virtues with the adjectives *tykwi*<sup>4</sup> ‘whole’, *nyi*<sup>4</sup> ‘straight’, *ykwa*<sup>4</sup> ‘level’, and *lwi*<sup>3</sup> ‘clean’. The four lines in this paragraph have an identical syntactic structure. The first line—a predicate nominal construction, is echoed three times. This paragraph is repeated verbatim in several sections of the text. Moral virtues are also described in the *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> *Ksya*<sup>10</sup> as being *tykanq*<sup>20</sup> ‘clear’ and *la*<sup>20</sup> ‘open’. This is illustrated in example 13.

Example 9.13

Cha <sup>3</sup> tykanq <sup>20</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , thing visible PROG_be this now	This [tradition] is clear
chaq <sup>3</sup> la <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , thing open PROG_be this now	this [tradition] is open

The *Cha<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* also paints an image of the ceremony as being strong, solid, and something that is firmly anchored in a foundation. The text expresses this by pairing the body parts *kyaq<sup>4</sup>* ‘feet’ and *son<sup>42</sup>* ‘bottom’. This is illustrated in Example 9.14 below.

Example 9.14

Cha <sup>3</sup> kyaq <sup>24</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , thing feet PROG_be this now	This is its base (lit., feet)
chaq <sup>3</sup> son <sup>42</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> thing foundation PROG_be this now	this is its foundation (lit., bottom)

Using body parts *kyaq<sup>24</sup>* ‘feet’ and *son<sup>42</sup>* ‘bottom’, this formulaic phrase connotes the idea that the ceremony is strong. The text also expresses that the ceremony has been well guided by pairing the terms *sti<sup>4</sup>* ‘father’ and *yqan<sup>1</sup>* ‘mother’. Example 9.15 below illustrates this.

Example 9.15

Cha <sup>3</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> sti <sup>24</sup> , thing with father	Something with a father
chaq <sup>3</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> yqan <sup>1</sup> thing with mother	something with a mother

The pairing of the terms ‘father’ and ‘mother’ is a *difrasismo* that also evokes the meaning of something strong and sturdy.

## 12.4 Object of worship

Passages of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* show that Chatino supplicants direct their prayers to their deceased ancestors. Example 9.16 suggests that it is the ancestors (namely, fathers and mothers) who answer prayers and provide their praying descendants with fortitude and strength.

### Example 9.16

Qne <sup>32</sup> kqu <sup>2</sup> sten <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> PROG_do raise father_1INCL to.us	Our father is taking care of us
qne <sup>32</sup> kqu <sup>2</sup> yqan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> PROG_do raise mother_1INCL us(INCL)	our mother is taking care of us
ta <sup>20</sup> renq <sup>24</sup> jwe <sup>4</sup> -sa <sup>10</sup> POT_give they strenght	[for as long as] they give us strength
ta <sup>20</sup> renq <sup>24</sup> wa <sup>4</sup> lo <sup>14</sup> POT_give they fortitude	they give us fortitude

This passage contains two closely related couplets. The first two lines describe the dead ancestors to whom supplicants address their prayers; the ancestors are called to with the formula ‘our father... our mother...’. The final two lines in Example 9.16 clarify that the deceased ancestors give the worshippers strength and fortitude.

## 12.5 The priest

The passage in Example 9.17, below, describes the supplicants’ visit to the priest.

Example 9.17

1	yan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> COMPL_go_NB_1INCL	we went
2	Yaq <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> ndwi <sup>1</sup> tykwan <sup>3</sup> qo <sup>2</sup> yaq <sup>2</sup> hand the.one PROG_hang metal with hand	We went before the one who holds <u>a holy metal object in his hand</u>
3	yaq <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> ndwi <sup>1</sup> hand the.one PROG_hang	went before the one that holds
4	yaq <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> ndwi <sup>1</sup> tykwan <sup>3</sup> qna <sup>4</sup> yaq <sup>2</sup> hand the.one PROG_hang metal sacred hand	went before the one that holds the <u>sacred metal object in his hand</u>

Example 9.17 describes the priest as “the one who had a holy metal object in his hands” and “the one who had a sacred metal object in his hand.” The only difference between these two lines is the substitution of *qna*<sup>4</sup> ‘sacred’ for *qo*<sup>2</sup> ‘holy’. These two terms are closely associated and both refer to an object or concept that people of the community deem sacred and deserving veneration. The construction in Example 9.18 below follows Example 9.17 and clarifies the role of the priest by stating that it was the priest who baptized and confirmed the child.

Example 9.18

1	kanq <sup>42</sup> no <sup>4</sup> ndwa <sup>2</sup> tya <sup>4</sup> that the.one sit.elevated fontanele	that was the one who gave him his baptism
2	kanq <sup>42</sup> no <sup>4</sup> xtya <sup>20</sup> jyaq <sup>3</sup> qin <sup>24</sup> that the.one COMPL_put mark to him	that was the one who gave him his confirmation [marked]
3	kanq <sup>42</sup> no <sup>4</sup> xtya <sup>20</sup> kwen <sup>1</sup> that the.one COMPL_put image	that was the one who painted him
4	kanq <sup>42</sup> no <sup>4</sup> xtya <sup>20</sup> that the.one COMPL_put	that was the one who gave



At the beginning of each line, this passage repeats the adverbial clause *kanq*<sup>42</sup> *no*<sup>4</sup> ‘that was the one’ to identify the priest. The focus positions in this construction are filled with different Catholic initiation rites such *ndwa*<sup>2</sup> *tya*<sup>4</sup> ‘to be baptized’, *xya*<sup>20</sup> *jyaq*<sup>3</sup> ‘to be confirmed’, and *xya*<sup>20</sup> *kwen*<sup>1</sup> ‘to be pictured’. The last line in the paragraph is a frame tag.

## 12.6 Body posture in performance

As discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, activities at the heart of Chatino religious and political culture have a crucial embodied component in them. In every ceremony there are bodily stances associated with positions of power and positions of humility. The *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> *Ksya*<sup>10</sup> contains many stanzas that express body postures in community spaces. They include *difrasismo* phrases that employ body parts and descriptions of the postures that people assume in prayer. Example 9.19 illustrates this of the *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> *Ksya*<sup>10</sup>.

### Example 9.19

1	<i>sqen</i> <sup>4</sup> <i>yan</i> <sup>42</sup> <i>an</i> <sup>32</sup> <i>xyin</i> <sup>20</sup> <i>inq</i> <sup>32</sup> , where COMPL_go_NB_1INCL kness_1INCL	where we went, we got on our knees
2	<i>jnya</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>yan</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>anq</i> <sup>1</sup> , COMPL_ask hand_1INCL	we asked by hand,
3	<i>jnya</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>tqwan</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>an</i> <sup>1</sup> , COMPL_ask mouth_1INCL	we asked by mouth

Example 9.19 expresses the supplicants’ movement and gestures during prayer. These are communicated through the combination of the verbs *xyinq*<sup>3</sup> ‘to kneel’, *jnya*<sup>20</sup> *yaq*<sup>2</sup> ‘to ask by hand’, and *jnya*<sup>20</sup> *tqwa*<sup>4</sup> ‘to ask by mouth’.

## 12.7 Kin and Social Network

The *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* speech strongly emphasizes the importance of being with family. When a person is a guest of honor in a ceremony, he or she is expected to be accompanied by his or her immediate and extended family. This is expressed in Example 9.20.

Example 9.20

1	qo <sup>1</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> mban <sup>14</sup> ne <sup>0</sup> , with the.one PROG_be compadres now	now with our compadres
2	qo <sup>1</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> ndlyin <sup>14</sup> ni <sup>1</sup> , with the.one PROG_be comadres now	now with our comadres
3	qo <sup>1</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> tyin <sup>1</sup> in <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , with the.one PROG_be children_1INCL now	now with our children
4	qo <sup>1</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> tqa <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , with the.one PROG_be relatives_1INCL now	now with our relatives

This stanza lists all kin relations present in the celebration. Several passages in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* elaborate on the godparents' great efforts to invite their families and all their relations to the celebration. The godparents also express their gratitude to have the company of these people who accepted their invitation to attend the feast. This sentiment is expressed by three poetic lines that incorporate three positional verbs: *snyi<sup>4</sup>-tykwi<sup>1</sup>* 'to hold/grab something in hanging position', *snyi<sup>4</sup>-ton<sup>42</sup>* 'to hold/grab something in standing position', and *snyi<sup>4</sup>-tykwa<sup>14</sup>* 'to hold/grab something in sitting (elevated) position'.

Examples 9.21, below, illustrates this.

### Example 9.21

1	no <sup>4</sup> <u>snyi<sup>4</sup></u> <u>tykwi<sup>1</sup></u> kanq <sup>20</sup> , the_one COMPL.grab NEUT_hang then	Those who <u>took hanging</u>
2	no <sup>4</sup> <u>snyi<sup>4</sup></u> <u>ton<sup>42</sup></u> kanq <sup>20</sup> , the_one COMPL.grab NEUT_ then	Those who <u>took standing</u>

Through the parallel enumeration of different positional verbs, the stanzas in Examples 9.21 express that the godparents' relatives and friends accepted an invitation from the child's godparents and parents to attend the feast.

### 12.8 Time

The *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* uses a lexicon for time (e.g., day, hour, light) to convey a wide variety of messages, including the date the participants became compadres, the date of the invitation they extended to their guests join the present celebration, and the time it took to plan the ceremony. Orators also employ language about time to ruminate on the origin of the tradition under discussion. Example 9.22 illustrates a passage in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* that employs multiple repetitions of the word *tsan<sup>4</sup>* 'day' to underscore the agreement reached among the different participants in the ceremony.

Example 9.22

1	Tsan <sup>4</sup> no <sup>4</sup> syan <sup>2</sup> anq <sup>1</sup> , day that COMPL_agree_1INCL	The day we agreed
2	Tsan <sup>4</sup> no <sup>4</sup> wqen <sup>20</sup> en <sup>32</sup> , day that COMPL_settle_1INCL	The day we settled
3	Tsan <sup>4</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nen <sup>20</sup> en <sup>32</sup> , day that COMPL_invite_1INCL	The day we invited (them)
4	Tsan <sup>4</sup> no <sup>4</sup> , tsan <sup>2</sup> anq <sup>1</sup> day that COMPL_tell_1INCL	The day we told (them)
5	Tsan <sup>4</sup> no <sup>4</sup> , day that	That very day

The five-line passage in Example 9.22 elaborates on the idea of an invitation or agreement. A frame containing the term *tsan*<sup>4</sup> ‘day’ is also used to stress the date the child celebrated his or her Catholic initiation rites. This is shown in 9.23 below.

Example 9.23

1	tsan <sup>4</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> ji <sup>3</sup> <>, day COMPL_be m<ark>	the day that <he got confirmed>
2	tsan <sup>4</sup> qan <sup>4</sup> jyaq <sup>4</sup> , day COMPL_put mark	the day he got confirmed [branded]
3	tsan <sup>4</sup> qan <sup>4</sup> kwen <sup>1</sup> , day COMPL_put confirmed	the day he got christened [marked]
4	tsan <sup>4</sup> ndwa <sup>3</sup> tya <sup>4</sup> , day sit.elevated fontanele	the day he got baptized
5	tsan <sup>4</sup> day	the day

Just as in the previous paragraph, each line in Example 9.23 begins with the word *tsan*<sup>4</sup> ‘day’. The focuses of each line list different Catholic initiation rites such as *qan*<sup>4</sup> *jyaq*<sup>4</sup> ‘he got confirmed [branded]’, *qan*<sup>4</sup> *kwen*<sup>1</sup> ‘he got christened [marked]’, and *ndwa*<sup>2</sup>

*tya*<sup>4</sup> ‘he got baptized’. Next, Example 9.24 illustrates the use of time in relation to the planning of the event.

Example 9.24

1	Nde <sup>2</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> ti <sup>1</sup> tsan <sup>32</sup> , here already ten days	For over ten days
2	nde <sup>2</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> qnyo <sup>1</sup> tsan <sup>32</sup> , here already ten days	for over fifteen days
3	ndywen <sup>1</sup> enq <sup>1</sup> , PROG_speak_IINCL	we have been conversing
4	ndywen <sup>1</sup> enq <sup>1</sup> xwen <sup>1</sup> en <sup>1</sup> , PROG_speak_IINCL little_IINCL	we have been talking
5	ndywe <sup>1</sup> enq <sup>1</sup> stan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> re <sup>2</sup> PROG_speak_IINCL smash_IINCL thing this	we have been chatting about this (event)

The poetic passage in Example 9.24 describes the time and the type of talk employed in the planning of the event. The first two lines list the amount of time that took to plan the event: *ti*<sup>1</sup> *tsan*<sup>32</sup> ‘ten days’ and *qnyo*<sup>1</sup> *tsan*<sup>32</sup> ‘fifteen days’. What follows is a description of the type of speech used to plan the event. The passage relays a sequence of talk that moves from a normal way of speaking to more random and disorganized one: *ndywen*<sup>1</sup> *enq*<sup>1</sup> ‘we are speaking’, *ndywen*<sup>1</sup> *enq*<sup>1</sup> *xwen*<sup>1</sup> *en*<sup>1</sup> ‘we are speaking in a small manner’, and *ndywe*<sup>1</sup> *enq*<sup>1</sup> *stan*<sup>1</sup> *an*<sup>1</sup> ‘we are speaking in a disorganized way’ (lit. ‘smashed way’). In the next paragraph, recorded in Example 9.25 below, using words for hour, day, and light, the *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> *Ksya*<sup>10</sup> speech describes the moment in which everyone is gathered to celebrate the child’s rite of passage.

### Example 9.25

1	ska <sup>4</sup> wra <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>0</sup> one hour now	this hour, now
2	ska <sup>4</sup> tsan <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> one day now	this day now
3	ska <sup>4</sup> wra <sup>0</sup> one hour	this hour
4	ska <sup>4</sup> xa <sup>3</sup> one light	this light
5	Chonq <sup>42</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> sna <sup>1</sup> wra <sup>0</sup> , because now three hour	Because three hours have passed,
6	ne <sup>2</sup> sna <sup>1</sup> xa <sup>3</sup> now three hour	three lights have passed

Example 9.25 uses *wra*<sup>1</sup> ‘hour’, *xa*<sup>3</sup> ‘light’, and *tsan*<sup>4</sup> ‘day’ to stress the importance of being present in the moment. The last two lines in the passage restate the theme of the paragraph by combining *sna*<sup>14</sup> *wra*<sup>0</sup> ‘three hours’ and *sna*<sup>1</sup> *xa*<sup>3</sup> ‘three lights’. It is not clear if the lexical combination in the last couplet *sna*<sup>14</sup> *wra*<sup>0</sup> ‘three hours’ and *sna*<sup>1</sup> *xa*<sup>3</sup> ‘three lights’ has any relationship to or significance within the prehispanic Zapotec ritual calendar.

### 12.9 Place

As described in Chapters 1 and 5, place carries profound importance in San Juan Quiahije culture and plays a crucial economic, political, and spiritual role in the public and the private identity of the community and its inhabitants. The territory of the San Juan Quiahije community provides community members with shelter, nourishment, and sacred spaces. Inhabitants assign sacred status to places inside and outside the immediate San Juan Quiahije territory. Sacred places include mountaintops, water sources,

farmlands, and family compounds (including places where people prepare their meals, eat, and sleep). People return to these sites to pray, pay homage to their ancestors, and to request help in their daily lives.

Chatino people believe that when a person dies, his or her spirit continues to exist in their birthplace and homeland. New generations return to pray in their family compounds even if a different family now resides in that place. The strong sense of loyalty to place is transmitted to the younger generations through ritual discourse and everyday speech. For instance, even though I left the community when I was around eight years old, every time I return, elders greet me in the following way: “It is wonderful that you have come back, this is your community, this is the place where you were born, this is the place where you belong, you must not forget your community.” Many passages in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* reflect the great connection that people in San Juan Quiahije have to place. For instance, the passage in Example 9.26 below pays respect to the place where the hosting family resides. The passage expresses that the place is special because the place bears witness to the agreement that the families made. An example is the following passage.

Example 9.26

1	Sqen <sup>4</sup> ntykwan <sup>40</sup> ne <sup>0</sup> where sit.elevated_1INCL now	where we sit now
2	sqen <sup>4</sup> ntqen <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> where exist_1INCL now	here where we are now
3	sqen <sup>4</sup> syan <sup>2</sup> anq <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> where COMPL_agree_1INCL now	where we planned now
4	sqen <sup>4</sup> ntqen <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>32</sup> where COMPL_settle_1INCL now	where we agreed now

This passage is composed of positional verbs. By using verbs of position, this stanza expresses the sacredness of the house of the host family.

**12.10 Journey in prayer**

The two lines in Example 9.27 below paints a poetic image of the challenges, hardships, and pains the parents and godparents endured when they traversed rugged terrain and long distances by foot to pray on behalf of the child.

Example 9.27

1	yan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> (k)cheq <sup>14</sup> ke <sup>0</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> COMPL_go_NB_1INCL thorn rock then	we went through thorny rocks [and prayed on his behalf]
2	yan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> <0.8> qya <sup>2</sup> tlyu <sup>2</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> COMPL_go_NB_1INCL thorn mountain big then	we went to the big mountain [and prayed] on his behalf

The couplet in Example 9.27 is a parallel compounds: *(k)cheq<sup>14</sup> yu<sup>0</sup>* ‘thorn+earth’ and *[(k)cheq<sup>14</sup> ke<sup>0</sup>]* ‘thorn+rock’ to express the physical pain and hardship supplicants had to overcome when they traveled, often barefoot, for their pilgrimage. This expression is



an archaic term. The typical inhabitant in San Juan Quiahije no longer recalls its meaning, something that became apparent after a number of speakers, when asked about the meaning of these two lines, said that they did not under the formula. The next couplet, in Example 9.28, continues to detail the hardship people endured during their journey of prayer.

Example 9.28

1	yan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> COMPL_go_NB_1INCL    swenq <sup>14</sup> ktan <sup>0</sup> an <sup>0</sup> , COMPL_smear_1INCL    sweat	we went all scratched up and sweaty
2	yan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> COMPL_go_NB_1INCL    sqwenq <sup>14</sup> COMPL_smear_1INCL  tynyan <sup>0</sup> anq <sup>0</sup> , tiredness-1INCL	we went all scratched up and exhausted

The concatenation of *ktat*<sup>4</sup> ‘sweat’ and *tynyaq*<sup>4</sup> ‘tired/exhaustion’ (Example 9.28)

conveys that by becoming drenched with sweat and exhaustion, the supplicants overcame hardship.

**12.11 Route of prayer**

Passages of the *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> *Ksya*<sup>10</sup> name the places around the Chatino region where the supplicants journeyed to pray. Some of these places are called by their proper names while other place names are only revealed through context. This is illustrated in Example 29.

Example 9.29

1	Yan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> tqwa <sup>4</sup> lwaq <sup>42</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , COMPL_go_NB_1INCL mouth ? now	We went to tqwa <sup>4</sup> ?
2	tqwa <sup>4</sup> xkon <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , mouth ? now	(To) tqwa <sup>42</sup> ?
3	qne <sup>2</sup> qan <sup>3</sup> , inside house	inside (a sacred place)
4	Si <sup>4</sup> Nda <sup>4</sup> Nya <sup>14</sup> ne <sup>0</sup> , Santiago Minas now	to Santiago Minas
	<0.9>	
5	twen <sup>3</sup> Lo <sup>24</sup> qya <sup>2</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , trail of mountains now	on the trail to Lo <sup>24</sup> qya <sup>2</sup>
6	twen <sup>3</sup> <X>kwan <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> trail ? now	on the trail to <X>kwan l
7	Sqwe <sup>3</sup> , Juquila	[we went] to Juquila

Example 9.29 above contains a list of sacred places located inside the town of San Juan Quiahije as well as surrounding areas. The first two lines hold a formula that combines two archaic lexical items: *Tqwa<sup>4</sup> Lwaq<sup>42</sup>* and *Tqwa<sup>4</sup> Xkon<sup>1</sup>*<sup>8</sup> to describe a sacred place located inside a church or someone's home; *tqwa<sup>4</sup>* means 'mouth or opening'. I. Cruz, a citizen of San Juan Quiahije (p.c. 2012) told me that as a young woman she frequently heard people uttering this formula when they visited someone's house or a public place for official and formal visits. This expression has fallen out of use and is no longer heard in the community.

The third line in Example 9.29 clarifies that the previous pair of lines refers to an interior place. The fourth line incorporates the name of a town called *Si<sup>4</sup> Nda<sup>4</sup> Nya<sup>14</sup>* (cf.

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<sup>8</sup> The meaning of these terms is no longer known by community members.

# 1 in Figure 9.2 below). *Si<sup>4</sup> Nda<sup>4</sup> Nya<sup>14</sup>* is north of the San Juan Quiahije municipality. Next, the orator proceeds to mention names of places to the west of San Juan Quiahije; *Twen<sup>3</sup> Lo<sup>24</sup> Qya<sup>2</sup>*, a mountain pass situated northwest of the San Juan Quiahije municipality, and *Twen<sup>3</sup> <X>wan<sup>1</sup>* in the southwest region of the San Juan Quiahije municipality. The last line mentions the name of a town called Juquila ‘*Sqwe<sup>3</sup>*’ (cf. # 7, Figure 9.2 below). The following two lines in Example 9.30 describe the journey to Juquila without specifically mentioning the name of the town.

Example 9.30

1	yan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>42</sup> <0.8> qya <sup>2</sup> tlyu <sup>2</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> COMPL_go_NB_1INCL thorn mountain big then	we went to the big mountain [and prayed] on his behalf
2	yan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> sa <sup>4</sup> -kwi <sup>4</sup> tylu <sup>2</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> COMPL_go_NB slope big then	we went to the steep slope [and prayed on his behalf]
3	yan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> COMPL_go_NB_1INCL	we went,
4	yan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> qan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> COMPL_go_NB_1INCL COMPL_go.aroud_NB_1INCL then	we went, we journeyed, indeed.

According to G. Cruz and M. Baltazar, these two lines, (Example 9.30), *Yan<sup>42</sup> an<sup>42</sup> Qya<sup>2</sup> tlyu<sup>2</sup>* ‘we went to the great mountain’, *Yan<sup>42</sup> an<sup>32</sup> Sa<sup>4</sup> kwi<sup>4</sup> tylu<sup>2</sup>* ‘we went to the steep slope’, describes the journey to Juquila. Some 40 years ago San Juan Quiahije people had to climb an 7931 foot mountain called *Qya<sup>2</sup> Kche<sup>14</sup>* ‘Cerro Espina’ (Mountain of Thorns) to the southeast of the San Juan Quiahije municipality to get to Juquila. While the name of the town of Juquila is not specifically listed in these lines, one can infer this is the location that is referred to from the description of the landscape. Figure 9.2 below lists some of the places where people journey to pray.

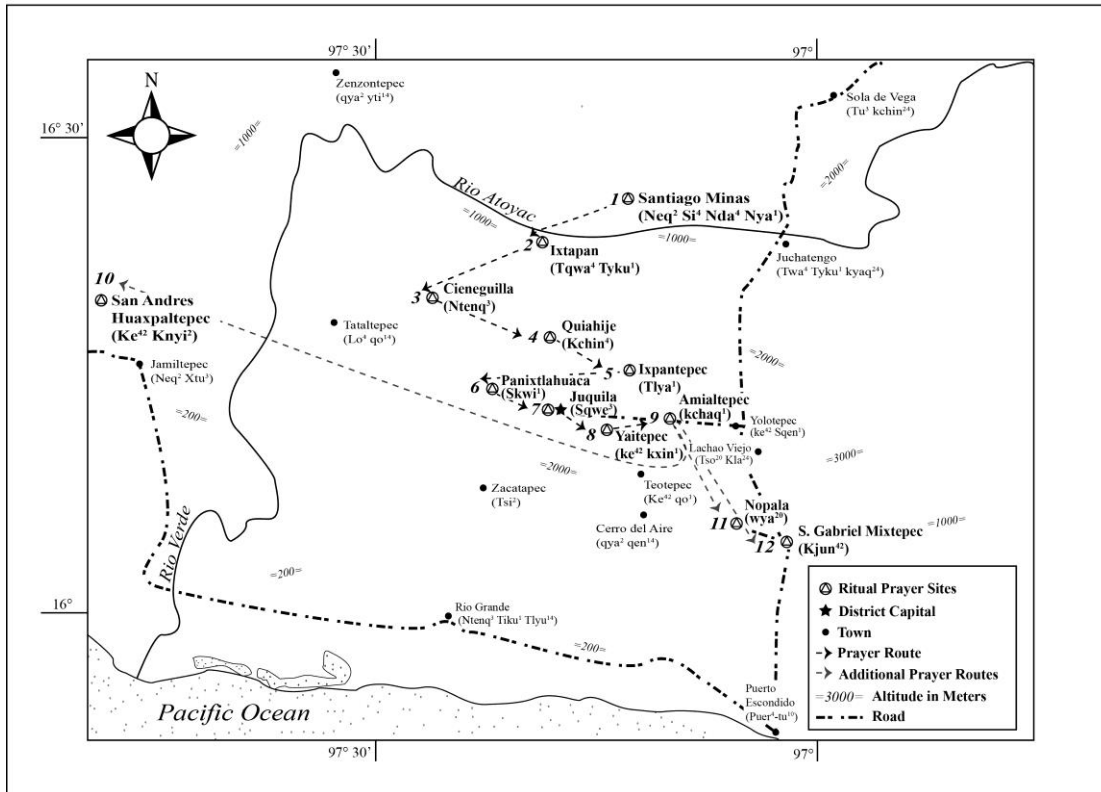


Figure 9.2: Map of ritual prayers of the people of San Juan Quiahije

The map in Figure 9.2 shows that San Juan Quiahije supplicants initiate their prayers in the north and then travel south towards the Pacific coast. Until the 1970s these pilgrimages to holy sites were a very arduous task. The supplicants had to hike through narrow mountain footpaths to reach each destination. Besides being a test of faith, the trek through the mountains was physically taxing, requiring great stamina and perseverance. Often the people offering the prayers would reach the point of physical exhaustion. They would have great pain in their feet from the journey, and would be sweating profusely on their way to the holy sites (p.c. G. Cruz and M. Baltazar).

## 12.12 Hopes and wishes for the young person

In the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* the orator expresses his hopes for the ceremony and for the honoree, and he calls for citizens to preserve the tradition of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* through the pairing of two canonical expressions: *klu<sup>14</sup>* ‘to grow’ and *kqu<sup>14</sup>* ‘to thrive’. This formula is illustrated in Example 9.31.

Example 9.31

1	Qo <sup>1</sup> nde <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> kqu <sup>14</sup> and this the.one thing POT_survive	and this [tradition] will survive
2	nde <sup>2</sup> no <sup>1</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> klu <sup>14</sup> this the.one thing POT_grow	this [tradition] will thrive

In Example 9.32 below the text illustrates another way in which the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* speech expresses hopes and aspirations for the future of the young person.

Example 9.32

1	qi <sup>20</sup> ka <sup>1</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> nde <sup>20</sup> ri <sup>2</sup> nyan <sup>24</sup> tyqan <sup>1</sup> , not very as like essence appear POT_see	may [this child] reap beyond this bounty
2	qi <sup>20</sup> ka <sup>1</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> nde <sup>20</sup> ri <sup>2</sup> nyan <sup>24</sup> kna <sup>1</sup> , not very as like essence appear POT_hear	may [this child] hear beyond this bounty
3	qi <sup>20</sup> ka <sup>1</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> nde <sup>20</sup> ri <sup>2</sup> nyan <sup>24</sup> not very as like essence appear	may [this child] reap beyond this bounty
4	tiya <sup>24</sup> la <sup>1</sup> <ska <sup>32</sup> > wra <sup>1</sup> , POT_come_NB very hour	when the time comes
5	tiya <sup>24</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> xa <sup>3</sup> POT_come_NB one light	when the light comes
6	tyqan <sup>14</sup> chaq <sup>0</sup> ja <sup>14</sup> jqo <sup>0</sup> re <sup>2</sup> POT-come_NB thing POT_find spouse this	we will see to (this child) finding a husband
7	tyqan <sup>14</sup> chaq <sup>0</sup> ja <sup>14</sup> sti <sup>0</sup> re <sup>2</sup> POT-come_NB thing POT_find father this	we will see to (this child) finding a father
8	tyqan <sup>14</sup> chaq <sup>0</sup> ja <sup>14</sup> sti <sup>0</sup> re <sup>2</sup> , POT-come_NB thing POT_find father this	we will see to (this child) finding a father
9	tyqan <sup>14</sup> chaq <sup>0</sup> ja <sup>14</sup> yqan <sup>0</sup> re <sup>2</sup> , POT-come_NB thing POT_find mother this	we will see to (this child) finding a mother
10	tyqan <sup>14</sup> chaq <sup>0</sup> ja <sup>140</sup> tqa <sup>42</sup> POT-come_NB thing POT_find companion tykwa <sup>14</sup> re <sup>0</sup> sit.elevated this	we will see to [this child] finding someone to sit (elevated) with
11	tqa <sup>42</sup> tyqan <sup>4</sup> re <sup>2</sup> companion POT_go.around this	someone to walk with

Chatino culture highly values the finding of a life companion and the starting of a family. The inability to do so is viewed as a misfortune (p.c. G. Cruz). These values are expressed in this passage of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*. The passage begins by introducing the passage with a negative assertion *sqi<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>24</sup> sa<sup>32</sup> nde<sup>20</sup> ri<sup>24</sup> nyan<sup>24</sup>* ‘not only this’. This couplet expresses its hope that the child may one day see beyond the present bounty. The focus positions in these parallel lines are grouped with verbs that describe perceptual senses: *tyqan<sup>1</sup>* ‘to see’ and *kna<sup>1</sup>* ‘to hear’. The third line underscores the stanza with a

frame tag. Next the passage moves to describe a future time when the child will see a similar bounty again: *ska<sup>4</sup> wra<sup>1</sup>* ‘one hour’, *ska<sup>4</sup> xa<sup>3</sup>* ‘one light’. Next the passage states that the child will one day marry. This notion is expressed using formulas containing Chatino social interpretation that compares the process of finding a husband or wife to locating a “father” or a “mother”. Next, the formula in lines 10 and 11 two positional further express the idea of finding a life companion: *tqa<sup>42</sup> tykwa<sup>14</sup>* ‘someone to sit with’ and *tqa<sup>42</sup> tyqan<sup>4</sup>* ‘someone to go about with’.

### 12.13 Tradition

Passages in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* also use a set of lexical items about time (especially hour) to reflect on the beginning of the community’s traditions and to urge the audience to preserve the ceremony and the traditions. This is illustrated in Example 9.33.

Example 9.33

1	chaq <sup>3</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> tyi <sup>32</sup> thing that not POT_finish	It is just that which <u>can't end</u>
2	chaq <sup>3</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> xyaq <sup>2</sup> , thing this not POT_mix	it is just that <u>which can't fade</u>
3	chaq <sup>3</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> thing this	Never
4	ni <sup>4</sup> xa <sup>1</sup> -kwa <sup>32</sup> ra <sup>1</sup> ndzkwa <sup>3</sup> qya <sup>2</sup> , for all hour PROG_lie.elevated mountain	for as long as the mountains stand
5	ni <sup>4</sup> xa <sup>1</sup> kwa <sup>32</sup> ra <sup>1</sup> ndzkwa <sup>3</sup> kchin <sup>4</sup> for all hour PROG_lie.elevated community	for as long as the community stands
6	ti <sup>2</sup> ra <sup>1</sup> no <sup>0</sup> sti <sup>24</sup> xa <sup>3</sup> since hour that COMPL_lie.on.the.ground light kwan <sup>24</sup> nkqa <sup>20</sup> kyqya <sup>2</sup> , warmth red mountain	since the red light rays shone on the mountains
7	ti <sup>2</sup> ra <sup>1</sup> sti <sup>0</sup> xa <sup>3</sup> since hour that COMPL_lie.on.the.ground light kwan <sup>24</sup> nten <sup>14</sup> ntenq <sup>3</sup> warmth red white plain	since the white light rays shone on the plains
8	ti <sup>2</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> ngwa <sup>2</sup> jyaq <sup>3</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> re <sup>2</sup> , since then COMPL_be measure thing this	it was then that [this tradition] was made
9	ti <sup>2</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> yqwi <sup>24</sup> sqen <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> re <sup>2</sup> since then COMPL_exist put.away thing this	it was then that [this tradition] was put here
10	ti <sup>2</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> since then	it was then

Example 9.33 is divided into four parts. It begins and ends with three line stanzas (1 and 3). The middle part comprises two couplets (8 and 10). Triplet in lines 1-3 contains appeals to the emotions of the members of the audience and urges them not to lose or adulterate the tradition. From personal reflection, I feel that the poetic imagery in this part of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* is more poignant than in other sections. The changing focus in the first two lines combines two closely related terms *tyi<sup>4</sup>* ‘end’ and to *xyaq<sup>2</sup>*



‘adulterate’. This formula is found in many persuasive speeches in San Juan Quiahije. For instance, all three speeches I analyzed in this study contain this expression.

The elaborations in lines 4-7 argue that the community’s traditions must be preserved as long as the mountains and the community exist. The formula in lines 4 and 5 contrasts two colors of sunlight for dramatic effect: the red, as it is seen rising over the mountains, and the white, how the light is seen over the plains. This part presents a verbal snapshot of the way SJQ residents experience the light that touches the San Juan Quiahije topography at different times of the day as a stark binary contrast. The San Juan Quiahije community is nestled between tall peaks, behind which the sun rises, giving off a reddish hue of light. As the orator mentions, San Juan Quiahije residents experience the light that touches the plain at midday as white. The formula in lines 5 and 7 highlights the permanence of tradition and thus the social order by stating that the tradition that concerns this ceremony (ritual passage of a child) began in ancient times and no one present here witnessed its inception.

#### **12.14 Origin of the Tradition**

The passage in Example 9.34 below further articulates the antiquity of this tradition. Here the orator describes the inexplicable essences of the universe, such as the Chatinos’ understanding of the world’s creation. The orator repeats the negative expression *Ni<sup>4</sup> skan<sup>4</sup> kan<sup>14</sup>* ‘no one of us’ for rhetorical effect.

Example 9.34

1	Ni <sup>4</sup> skan <sup>4</sup> kan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>20</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> ntqan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> , not one not_1INCL not NEG COMPL_see_1INCL	No one of us saw at all
2	ni <sup>4</sup> skan <sup>4</sup> kan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> ni <sup>20</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> ynan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>42</sup> , not one very not NEG COMPL_hear_1INCL	no one of us heard at all
3	ni <sup>4</sup> skan <sup>4</sup> ka <sup>1</sup> an <sup>20</sup> jyaq <sup>3</sup> re <sup>2</sup> enq <sup>2</sup> , not one very COMPL_realize essence_1INCL	no one of us comprehended
4	ni <sup>4</sup> skan <sup>4</sup> kan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> ni <sup>4</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> ndlo <sup>1</sup> on <sup>1</sup> not one very not NEG COMPL_take.out_1INCL re <sup>1</sup> this	no one of us made [this event, earth]
5	ni <sup>4</sup> skan <sup>4</sup> kan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> ni <sup>4</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> xtya <sup>20</sup> an <sup>32</sup> re <sup>2</sup> , not one very not NEG COMPL_put_1INCL this	no one of us put [this event, earth] here
6	ni <sup>4</sup> kan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> not very	no one of us

Each line in the passage begins with a negative statement: *ni<sup>4</sup> skan<sup>4</sup> kan<sup>14</sup>* ‘no one at all’. The terms that comprise the focus of the line are neatly grouped by themes. The first three lines include topics relating to perception, namely seeing and hearing (*ntqan<sup>42</sup>* ‘he saw’ and *yna<sup>42</sup>* ‘he heard’). The third line deals with cognition: *nkwa<sup>2</sup> jyaq<sup>3</sup> riq<sup>2</sup>* ‘he or she comprehended’. The second group contains motion verbs: *ndlo<sup>24</sup>* ‘to take out’ and *xtya<sup>20</sup>* ‘to place’. The entire passage conveys the message that no one in the audience created this tradition, thus, no one has the right to destroy it.

### 12.15 Gift the godparents present to the godchild

This passage elaborates that the gifts that the godparents brought to the godchild (e.g., shoes and clothes) will become the child’s fontanel, wings, and feathers.

Example 9.35

1	no <sup>4</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> steq <sup>32</sup> , the.one POT_be clothes	what will be his clothing
2	no <sup>4</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> sna <sup>42</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> the.one POT_be shoes now	what will be footwear
3	no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> kwi <sup>2</sup> -tya <sup>4</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , the.one PROG_be fontanele now	what is his fontanele
4	no <sup>4</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> yqwe <sup>42</sup> , the.one POT_be wings	what will be his wings
5	no <sup>4</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> styin <sup>32</sup> the.one POT_be feathers	what will be his feathers
6	no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> kwi <sup>2</sup> ty <sup>4</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> the.one PROG_be fontanele now	what is his fontanele

Example 9.35 is elaborated with two formulas. This passage develops from concrete to more abstract and metaphorical meanings. The lines are organized into distinct ontological planes, namely, earthly and heavenly matters. Formula in lines 1 and 2 describes the gifts the godparents brought to the child (clothes and shoes). These are earthly items. The formula in lines 3-6 uses metaphorical language to express that these presents will turn into the child's *kwi<sup>2</sup>-tya<sup>4</sup>* 'fontanel', *styin<sup>32</sup>* 'feathers' and *yqwe<sup>42</sup>* 'wings'. References to fontanel, wings, and feathers recall Christian angel iconography, which reflects the child's religious passage from childhood to adulthood. Yet the same metaphor could also liken the child to a bird. The images of beautiful and colorful birds were often used in Mesoamerican cultures to portray a strong and powerful young person. In the Libana, a Zapotec version of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*, a bride is called a hummingbird (Vásquez Castillejos 2010). In a Cotzal Mayan wife petition, a bride is referred to as a quetzal bird (Townsend 1980). Similarly, in Nahuatl speech, a young, strong person is described metaphorically as a bird (León-Portilla & Silva Galeana, 1991).

## 12.16 Desired behavior at the ceremony and in life in general

The passage in Example 9.36 below further emphasizes the importance of having fun and enjoying life in the company of family, compadres ‘co-parents’, and friends.

### Example 9.36

1	qnya <sup>1</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> nyan <sup>24</sup> tykwan <sup>1</sup> , beautifully very appear POT_sit.elevated-1INCL	let’s sit here gracefully
2	qnya <sup>1</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> nyan <sup>24</sup> tyqi <sup>1</sup> in <sup>1</sup> beautifully very appear POT_stay-1INCL	let’s stay here gracefully
3	qo <sup>1</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> mban <sup>14</sup> , with the.one PROG-be compadre-1INCL	with our compadres
4	qo <sup>1</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> ndlyi <sup>14</sup> , with the.one PROG-be comadre-1INCL	with our comadres
5	qo <sup>1</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> tyi <sup>1</sup> in <sup>1</sup> , with the.one PROG-be children-1INCL	with our children, now
6	qo <sup>1</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> tqan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> with the.one PROG-be relatives-1INCL	with our relatives

This passage also invites attendees to both enjoy and behave themselves by repeating the formulaic expression *qnya<sup>1</sup> ti<sup>24</sup> nyan<sup>24</sup>* ‘gracefully’. The first couplet combines positional verbs *tykwan<sup>1</sup>* ‘to sit’ and *tyqi<sup>1</sup> in<sup>1</sup>* ‘to stay or to exist’ in order to invite the audience to act appropriately. The rest of the passage lists the different guests attending the ceremony (e.g., compadres, comadres, offspring, and relatives).

## 12.17 How far the message travels

One passage in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* asserts the strength and power of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* message and of the traditional ceremonies in which it is recited by stating that the words, the supplications, and the recitations of the speech will resound in the depths of the earth and the soaring heights of heaven. Example 9.37 illustrates this.

Example 9.37

1	ha <sup>4</sup> -sta <sup>4</sup> <0.3>xkwan <sup>1</sup> neq <sup>2</sup> kwan <sup>2</sup> , until tremble the sky	into the depths of heaven
2	ha <sup>4</sup> sta <sup>4</sup> xkwan <sup>1</sup> xa <sup>4</sup> -liyu <sup>32</sup> , until tremble earth	into the depths of earth
3	ha <sup>4</sup> sta <sup>4</sup> kanq <sup>42</sup> until there	all the way there
4	ne <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> tykwen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>24</sup> , PROG_sound thing that POT_speak_1INCL	the words we speak are heard
5	ne <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> tan <sup>20</sup> an <sup>32</sup> , PROG_sound thing that POT_give_1INCL	our chats are heard

Example 9.37 is elaborated in two formulas. The first two lines, reveal that heaven and earth will tremble when these words are uttered. Lines 4 and 5 are elaborated with verbs of communication. These terms are synonymous, which pairs expressions related to speech: *tykwen<sup>20</sup>enq<sup>32</sup>* ‘we will speak’ and *tan<sup>20</sup>an<sup>32</sup>* ‘our chats’.

**12.18 How people should treat the ceremony**

The *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* also warns that the ceremony must not be discarded, filled with sin, or blasphemed. The four lines in Example 9.38 below contain a list of these elements.

Example 9.38

1	Chaq <sup>3</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> tsa <sup>1</sup> lo <sup>1</sup> yu <sup>32</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> thing not POT_go_NB on dirt PROG_be this	This [tradition] will not be thrown in the dirt
2	chaq <sup>3</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> tsa <sup>1</sup> lo <sup>1</sup> kti <sup>14</sup> nka <sup>0</sup> re <sup>2</sup> thing not POT_go_NB on garbage PROG_be this	this [tradition] will not be thrown in the garbage
3	chaq <sup>3</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> tsa <sup>1</sup> lo <sup>1</sup> kyqya <sup>32</sup> , nka <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> thing not POT_go_NB on wrongdoing, PROG_be this	this [tradition] will not be sent down the path of wrongdoing
4	chaq <sup>3</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> tsa <sup>1</sup> lo <sup>32</sup> yweq <sup>32</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> thing not POT_go_NB on sin PROG_be this	this [tradition] will not be thrown into a life of sin

The stanza in Example 9.38 calls the audience not to cast the ceremony *lo<sup>1</sup> yu<sup>32</sup>* ‘to the dirt’, or *lo<sup>1</sup> kti<sup>14</sup>* ‘to the garbage’. The next two lines warn people not to throw the ceremony to *lo<sup>1</sup> kyqya<sup>32</sup>* ‘to sin’, or to *lo<sup>32</sup> yweq<sup>20</sup>* ‘to curses’. The terms that comprise the focus of the line are neatly placed in groups of two. The first two lines pair the nouns *yu<sup>4</sup>* ‘dirt’ and *kti<sup>14</sup>* ‘garbage’ and the next couplet pairs the nouns *kqya<sup>4</sup>* ‘sins’ and *yweq<sup>20</sup>* ‘curses’. The word *yweq<sup>20</sup>* ‘curses’ carries interesting cultural significance among the citizens of San Juan Quiahije.

People in San Juan Quiahije shudder at the idea of someone, especially their parents, issuing a curse or *yweq<sup>20</sup>* on them. Greenberg (1989) and Bartolomé and Barabas (1996) report that the Chatino people from Santiago Yaitepec and Santa Maria Yolotepec hold the same belief system about curses. There is a widespread belief in San Juan Quiahije that a curse can be detrimental to their future and family life. Curses are believed to cause sickness and produce badly behaved children. In an interview that Lynn Hou, a graduate student from the University of Texas, conducted with a grandmother of

several deaf children in San Juan Quiahije in 2012, the grandmother asserted that the children were deaf as a result of a curse from their ancestors (H. Canseco 2012).

Since curses can have bad repercussion, young people want to deter them as soon as they happen. For instance if parents are arguing with their child and the child talks back to his or her parents, the parents could very well issue a curse to the child by saying: “When you have a child of your own he or she will speak to you in the same way you are speaking to me now.” Such warnings are a cause of concern for a young person, and to protect themselves from future harm children often tell their parents to refrain from issuing such threats because they can become true (pc., M. Baltazar 2010).

The *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* speech also asserts that the ceremony is never bad, obscure, hidden, or something that has gone astray. This sentiment is expressed with the synonymous couplet: *chaq<sup>3</sup> wtsiq<sup>3</sup>* ‘obscure/hidden thing’, *chaq<sup>3</sup> wnaq<sup>2</sup>* ‘lost or gone astray’. Example 9.39 below illustrates this.

Example 9.39

1	Ja <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>1</sup> re <sup>2</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> wtsiq <sup>3</sup> , Not PROG_be this thing hidden	This is not something obscured
2	ja <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>1</sup> re <sup>2</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> wnaq <sup>2</sup> , Not PROG_be this thing astray	this is not astray

**12.19 The table**

The table where the ceremony’s guests-of-honor sit and eat has great significance and symbolism in Chatino culture. With the exception of the word *sa<sup>10</sup>* ‘table’, a loan

from Spanish, all of the words in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* that describe the importance of this table are archaic words. Example 9.40 illustrates this.

Example 9.40

1	lo <sup>4</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> qo <sup>0</sup> , on table holy	at the holy table
2	lo <sup>4</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> qwna <sup>0</sup> , on table sacred	At the sacred table
3	lo <sup>4</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> ke <sup>0</sup> on table adorned	At the adorned table
4	lo <sup>4</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> ntyin <sup>0</sup> , on table ?	At the ntyin <sup>0</sup> table
5	lo <sup>4</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> ke <sup>0</sup> , on table adorned	At the adorned table
6	lo <sup>4</sup> sa <sup>10</sup> ksq <sup>3</sup> on table ?	At the ksq <sup>3</sup> table

Each of the six lines in Example 9.40 names one attribute of this table: *qna<sup>1</sup>* ‘holy/sacred’, *ke<sup>1</sup>* ‘sacred and adorned table’.

### 12.20 Generosity of the host family

Chatino culture appreciates generosity as a personal trait (Greenberg 1981). In a very emotional way the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* expresses gratitude for the generosity of the host family by stating that the host family shared everything they have with their guests (especially their food).



Example 9.41

1	Ja <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> na <sup>3</sup> wji <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , not one one thing COMPL_miss now	There is no [nourishment] missing
2	ja <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> na <sup>3</sup> xno <sup>32</sup> re <sup>2</sup> , not one one thing COMPL_leave now	there is no [nourishment] left out

By combining verbs: *jwi*<sup>20</sup> ‘miss’ and *xno*<sup>20</sup> ‘leave’, Example 9.41 expresses that the generosity of the host family met everyone’s expectations. The passage in Example 9.42 below uses a series of positional verbs to describe the gift exchange among the families in attendance.

Example 9.42

1	tyiqyan <sup>20</sup> ton <sup>42</sup> on <sup>42</sup> POT_place NEUT_stand_IINCL	let us place this here
2	tyiqyan <sup>20</sup> tkwan <sup>14</sup> re <sup>0</sup> , POT_place NEUT_sit.elevated_IINCL	let us set this here
3	chaq <sup>3</sup> sqwe <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> ndya <sup>32</sup> , thing good that PROG_there.is	[all] goodness there is
4	chaq <sup>3</sup> sqwe <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> sqwi <sup>24</sup> , thing good that PROG_exist	[all] goodness that exists
5	chaq <sup>3</sup> sqwe <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> ntsu <sup>42</sup> thing good that COMPL_sprout	the goodness that sprouted
6	chaq <sup>3</sup> sqwe <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> ndla <sup>1</sup> thing good that COMPL_born	all the goodness that was born

This passage contains three formulas. The first formula (lines 1,2) contrast positional expressions to communicate that the families have come together to present and share everything within their reach. These thoughts mark the beginning of something new and good that will grow, thrive, mature, multiply, and hopefully one day will continue this tradition. More concretely, the passage expresses that the presents and food

the families shared at the ceremony will cement, strengthen, and solidify their bond. The difference between these two lines is subtle, yet elegant and quite powerful. The line arrangements evoke a rich, delicate, well-balanced, and persuasive argument capable of awakening strong emotions and images among the native Chatino-speaking audience.

The second formula (lines 3, 4) combines two existential verbs: *ndiya*<sup>32</sup> ‘there is’ and *sqwi*<sup>24</sup> ‘there exists’. The combination of these two adjacent verb phrases conveys the meaning that the families shared everything within their reach. More concretely, it means that the host family was generous with their food and that the godparents were equally generous with the gifts they brought for their godchild.

The third formula (5,6) uses terms that normally describe the sprouting of a living plant to metaphorically express that the families have brought their entire harvest and that their bounty is to be shared with all in attendance. This is another example of a canonical expression in San Juan Quiahije.

### **12.21 Enjoying life, having fun**

The *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* is also a great source of entertainment for those attending the ceremony. Passages in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* remind the audience that they have gathered in this place with their family, compadres ‘co-parents’, and friends to enjoy themselves (for instance to laugh, talk, and eat). These sentiments are expressed in Example 9.43.

Example 9.43

1	Jya <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> jyan <sup>2</sup> chinq <sup>20</sup> PROG_come_1INCL PROG_play_1INCL a little	We have come to play a bit
2	jya <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> xtyin <sup>20</sup> in <sup>32</sup> PROG_come_1INCL laugh_1INCL	We have come to laugh
3	jya <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> tykwen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> PROG_come_1INCL POT_speak_1INCL	We have come to talk
4	jya <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> kan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>42</sup> PROG_come_1INCL POT_be_1INCL	We have come to be here

**12.22 Menu**

Example 9.44 describes the food served at the celebration, listing specific names of foods, their flavors, and when can they be eaten.

Example 9.44

1	chinq <sup>20</sup> ykwa <sup>3</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> little corn.gruel now	a little atole now
2	chinq <sup>20</sup> jnyaq <sup>42</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> little honey now	a little honey now
3	chinq <sup>20</sup> xi <sup>4</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> little sweet now	a little sweetness now
4	chinq <sup>20</sup> xonq <sup>14</sup> ne <sup>0</sup> little tasty now	a little deliciousness now
5	chinq <sup>20</sup> nta <sup>3</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> little ? now	a little of nta <sup>3</sup> now
6	chinq <sup>20</sup> ntqa <sup>42</sup> ne <sup>0</sup> little all now	a little all now
7	Chinq <sup>20</sup> little	A little of everything
8	no <sup>3</sup> jwi <sup>3</sup> what COMPL_find	a bit of what we found
9	no <sup>4</sup> x<no <sup>32</sup> > the.one	a bit of whatever is left
10	no <sup>4</sup> ndwa <sup>14</sup> yaq <sup>0</sup> the.one PROG_sit.elevated hand	whatever we have in our hands,
11	no <sup>4</sup> ndwa <sup>14</sup> kyan <sup>0</sup> anq <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> the.one PROG_sit.elevated hand	we have at our feet now

Example 9.44 above consists of five formulas. The formula in lines 1 and 2 provide specific names of foods served at the ceremony: *ykwa*<sup>3</sup> ‘atole’ (a drink made from corn), and *jnyaq*<sup>42</sup> ‘honey’. Next formula describes the flavor of this food as *xi*<sup>4</sup> ‘sweet’, and *xonq*<sup>14</sup> ‘tasty’. Next formula reiterates that this food was plentiful and the guests were satiated. This part contains a word *nta*<sup>3</sup>, which has an unknown meaning. Next the formula in lines 8 and 9 reinforces the generosity of the hosting family by stating that they shared everything with their guests. Lastly, formula in lines 10 and 11 contrasts limbs ‘hands and feet’ to convey that the guests are enjoying this tasty meal that

was placed before them. Example 9.45 describes the corporal benefits of consuming this food.

Example 9.45

1	ti <sup>2</sup> kwiq <sup>1</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> lyan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> , It.is.just that POT_be sustenance	this will be our sustenance
2	ti <sup>2</sup> kwiq <sup>1</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> xqwen <sup>2</sup> en <sup>1</sup> It.is.just that POT_be nourishment	this will be our nourishment
3	ti <sup>2</sup> kwiq <sup>1</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> tan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> , It.is.just that POT_be fat	this will become our fat
4	ti <sup>2</sup> kwiq <sup>1</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> tnen <sup>42</sup> en <sup>32</sup> It.is.just that POT_be blood	this will become our blood
5	ti <sup>2</sup> kwiq <sup>1</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> , It.is.just that	this very one

**12.23 Benefits of this food**

Example 9.45 consists of five lines, which are part of two formulas. Formula 1 expresses that the food that is being served at the ceremony will become sustenance and nourishment for those consuming it. Both expressions are falling out of use among young people in San Juan Quiahije today. The use of this polite register can only be found among elders in the community. When I was growing up in San Juan Quiahije in the 1980s, these expressions were common terms in everyday speech. At that time it was customary to serve food to a visitor. When the hostess placed the food before their guest, the server would utter either of the expressions in A. In Example 9.46 below I offer another example.

Example 9.46

ka <sup>24</sup>	lyaq <sup>1</sup>	chinq <sup>20</sup>	sa <sup>4</sup>	wa <sup>20</sup> -si <sup>24</sup>	yja <sup>24</sup>
POT-be	nourish- 2SG	little	a	little	tortilla
‘May you be nourished with some tortilla’					

Returning to Example 9.46, couplet B conveys that this food will become the body’s *tan*<sup>42</sup> ‘fat’ and *tne*<sup>42</sup> ‘blood’. As previously mentioned, Chatino and Mayan people consider these elements to be the building blocks of a person.

Recurrent topics of content addressed in this section include challenges and difficulties in planning the ceremony. This section also describes the hardships, sacrifices, and embody stances that people endured and assumed while praying for the well being of the child that is celebrating his or her rite of passage. The orator specifically vocalizes the sacrifices and hardships the hosting family endured in gathering the supplies and people for the ceremony. Profuse gratitude as well as an outpouring of well-wishes for the child are also abundantly expressed in the *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> *Ksya*<sup>10</sup>.

The *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> *Ksya*<sup>10</sup> text also describes the food that the hosting family has offered to guests and the presents that the godparents are presenting to the child. Another prominent topic in the *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> *Ksya*<sup>10</sup> is prayer. Here the orator offers a description of the people and places where they carried out prayers on behalf of the honoree. The priest is

described and the topography and appearance of the sacred places where the prayers are offered are also described by the orator. Moreover, the orators express the challenges of traveling to those sacred places by the participants.

The embodied component as well as gestures in prayers are also topics expressed profusely in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*. Another recurrent topic expressed in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* is the importance of preserving the tradition of the ancestors. Finally, the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* rejoices at the opportunity to be in the company of family and friends, laughing, talking, and enjoying life. It expresses gratitude for all the people present in the ceremony. The orator gives thanks to those in attendance whom accepted to be part of the celebration. Next section will compare the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* with other Zapotec texts.

### **13 COMPARING *CHAQ<sup>3</sup> KSYA<sup>10</sup>* WITH OTHER ORAL DISCOURSE IN SAN JUAN QUIAHUJE**

Table 9.5 compares *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* text to other texts analyzed in this dissertation. In the table (-) indicates the absence of a feature, (+) indicates its sporadic appearance, and (++) indicates its pervasive use.

Text	Genre	Parallelism	Frame tags	Adverbial transition phrases	Appeal to tradition	Begins asking for forgiveness	Statement of validity of the ceremony
Changing of authorities	Persuasive	++	++	++	++	++	++
“The Visit”	Persuasive	++	-	++	++	++	++
Chaq <sup>3</sup> ksya <sup>10</sup>	Persuasive	++	++	++	++	-	+
Prayers for the community	Religious	++	-	-	-	++	-
Conversation	Colloquial	+	+	++	+	+	-

Table 9.5: Differences and similarities between *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* and other texts in San Juan Quiahije

Table 9.5 shows that parallel structures are pervasive in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*, as in all other texts analyzed in this dissertation. Frame tags, the elision of the focus element in the last line of a parallel stanza, is also pervasive in this text. The *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* shares this features with the ceremony of the changing of the authorities.

Table 9.5 also shows that the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* shares many rhetorical features with other persuasive speeches performed in San Juan Quiahije. These features include pervasive use of adverbial phrases to signal transitions and profuse appeal to tradition. Both the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* and “*The Visit*” text begin with borrowed Spanish vocative expressions including *Se<sup>4</sup>nyo<sup>20</sup>re<sup>14</sup>*.



#### 14 A CLOSER LOOK AT THE *CHAQ<sup>3</sup> KSYA<sup>10</sup>* AND LIBANA

The Libana speech from Juchitán, Oaxaca has been widely documented and described (Wilfrido Cruz 1935:158; Gilberto Orozco 1946: 61,64; Velma Pickett 1965:88; Gabriel López Chiñas 1969:8; Eustaquio Jiménez Girón 1979:108; Vicente Marcial y Enedino Jiménez 1997:77; Victor de la Cruz 1999:23, 24, 2007, and Vásquez Castillejos 2010), while the present analysis is the first time that the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* has been analyzed in depth. The Libana and the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* have many similarities. They share a common cultural root, form, and function. They are both performed at wedding ceremonies. They both celebrate the community's coming together, friendship, and the broadening and expansion of kin relationships. Similarly, they instill cultural pride and reflect upon their respective culture's cosmologies. In highly poetic language, both verbal art traditions describe and prescribe a mandated set of ritual steps in a Zapotec wedding. Both traditions are performed by experts who receive selective familial training (as noted in Table 9.1). The *Libana* is performed by a specialist known as *Xuaana*, and the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* is performed by a specialist known in the community as *nten<sup>14</sup> ndywiq<sup>0</sup> Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* 'a person who performs the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*'. Both traditions are passed down orally through generations of families.

As previously stated, archaisms, recurring metaphors, and imagery abound in both rhetorical traditions. Victor Vásquez Castillejos' (2010) findings indicate that in the *Libana* the expression 'Warrior Child of the Sun' is used figuratively for the groom, while in the recitation of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* analyzed here, the word 'Sun' is used as a

metaphor for the groom. In the *Libana*, the bride is associated by metaphor with a hummingbird, and in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* different kinds of hummingbirds (*yuq<sup>2</sup> ke<sup>2</sup> 'a ke<sup>2</sup>*, *yuq<sup>4</sup> tyijyan<sup>42</sup>*, and *yuq<sup>2</sup> ytsiq<sup>1</sup>*) are mentioned in a passage about the beginning of the world (A. Apolonio 2009 and M. Baltazar 2009).

As stated above, both traditions are highly endangered. The *Xuaana* specialists are dying without passing on their specialized knowledge (Vásquez Castillejos 2010). Furthermore, the setting of their performance is becoming more restricted; according to Castillejos, a *Libana* speech was formerly used in every life-cycle ritual in Juchitán. Castillejos notes that the *Libana* is also falling out of fashion among younger Zapotecan speakers in Juchitán. He states that the youth in Juchitán are growing up further disconnected from the *Libana*.

## 15 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I provided a general description of the cultural context, social function, and the thematic, linguistic, and poetic patterns of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* ritual speech. The particular speech event analyzed was performed by G. Cruz, a skilled speaker from San Juan Quiahije. This type of speech used to be recited at ritual ceremonies that celebrated life transitions from childhood to adulthood for children in San Juan Quiahije.

I argued that the poetic passages of the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* reveal the San Juan Quiahije community's philosophy and values. The *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* makes a strong emotional appeal to the members of the audience to preserve tradition. The orators stress that the

community's ancestors put these traditions in place in ancient times. The *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* encourages members of the audience to behave appropriately by observing the community's customary and moral standards (e.g., respect for elders, ancestors, and compadres). Consequently, the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* ritual speech was a tool that helped maintain social cohesion. This end was also accomplished through the recurrent theme of the joy of being together with family, friends, and significant others. The text also names sacred ritual sites (e.g., mountains and towns) and entities that Chatinos revere and venerate. The text also elaborates on the journey San Juan Quiahije citizens follow through towns and places in nature around the Chatino region.

Adverbial phrases, personal pronouns, and time and aspect markers are some of the linguistic elements that signal rhetorical organization, division, and progression within the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* text. The *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* text also contains purposely-ambiguous passages. Some factors that give rise to this ambiguity include the fact that San Juan Quiahije rhetorical speech often uses the first person plural inclusive pronouns. Another source of opaqueness in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* text are lines that make reference to towns and places within the Chatino region (e.g., places where local San Juan Quiahije citizens journeyed to pray) but do not directly mention the names of the towns as people in the community know them; instead, they refer to the towns through the combination of poetic lines describing the journey to the towns.

The hallmark of Chatino poetics, which is clearly illustrated in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*, is parallelism (both syntactic and semantic). Many of the parallel expressions found in the

*Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* are canonical formulaic expressions, which are part of the community's collective knowledge. Grammatical elements of the Chatino language are also employed as aesthetic tools in the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*. A very interesting example of this is the use of verbs of position. Multiple enumerations of verbs of position are combined together to connote new meanings. For instance, the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* contains a passage where three verbs of position, *sni<sup>4</sup> tkwi<sup>1</sup>* 'to hold hanging', *sni<sup>4</sup> ton<sup>42</sup>* 'to hold standing', and *sni<sup>4</sup> tkwa<sup>14</sup>* 'to hold sitting (elevated)', come together to express that a person has accepted an invitation from another person. Finally, I situated the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* within a wider Zapotecan context, comparing it to the Libana, a ritual speech from Juchitan, Oaxaca.

## **Chapter 10: San Juan Quiahije verbal art in Mesoamerican perspective**

### **1 INTRODUCTION**

The goals of this chapter include (1) to provide a brief summary of the major components of San Juan Quiahije verbal art, its performance and its poetics, and (2) to put the results of chapters 5-9 into a wider context—comparing it to features elsewhere in Mesoamerica. In doing this I will characterize (a) how San Juan Quiahije verbal art is typical of Mesoamerica and (b) ways in which San Juan Quiahije verbal art is unique.

Like any great work, the sum is greater than the individual parts. In Chapter 5 it was stated that the intricate poetic texture and style of San Juan Quiahije verbal art is created by means of a confluence of many elements including parallelism, recurrent grammatical elements, formulaic expressions, and features of performance. All these elements comprise the rhetorical components of SJQ verbal art. In Chapter 5 section 2 it was also stated that some of the previously describe elements (especially parallelism and recurrent grammatical elements) aided the division of the stretches of speech into lines.

### **2 THE RHETORICAL STRUCTURE FRAMEWORK**

As stated in Chapter 5, the organization of the crucial components and patterns in SJQ verbal art were aided with the Rhetorical Structure Framework, developed by Woodbury (1985). This framework provided the conceptual tool for the organization of the different patterns that comprise SJQ verbal art.

Example 10.1 illustrates a typical passage in SJQ verbal art. This fragment from a persuasive speech, given at city hall, for the event of the changing of the authorities,

shows the complexities of SJQ verbal art. Demonstrating a wide range of intersecting elements and patterns (including parallelism, grammatical elements, and formulas) coming together to give resonance to the piece of performance, this passage is both common in its usage and intricate in its framework.

Example 10.1 C. Cruz (2004)

1	Ndiyo <sup>14</sup> -si <sup>0</sup> jlo <sup>24</sup> qwan <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> god POT_take.out 2SG now	May God bring you out [rescue]
2	Ndiyo <sup>14</sup> -si <sup>0</sup> tjen <sup>14</sup> qwan <sup>0</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> god POT_pass 2SG now	may God bring you through
3	Ndiyo <sup>14</sup> -si <sup>0</sup> qne <sup>24</sup> -kqu <sup>2</sup> god POT_raise	may God give you life
4	tyqan <sup>1</sup> -sen <sup>42</sup> qwan <sup>4</sup> POT-take.care to.you(pl)	[may God] provide care for you
5	Ndiyo <sup>14</sup> -si <sup>0</sup> tya <sup>3</sup> God POT-return	may God give you back
6	xqwa <sup>0</sup> pay	pay you back
7	Ndya <sup>4</sup> tsan <sup>32</sup> no <sup>4</sup> tnan <sup>1</sup> anq <sup>1</sup> all day that COMPL_loss_1INCL	All the days that we have lost
8	na <sup>4</sup> ji <sup>20</sup> na <sup>4</sup> ku <sup>24</sup> Not POT-miss thing POT_eat	may [you] not lack food
9	ji <sup>20</sup> steq <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> POT-miss clothes you(pl subj)	may you not lack clothes [on your back]
10	ji <sup>20</sup> sna <sup>42</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> POT-miss shoes you(pl subj)	may you not lack the shoes [on your feet]
11	Qan <sup>24</sup> ndiya <sup>24</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> tiye <sup>32</sup> as like essence chest qwan <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> you now	As you now know

The parallel utterances in this passage are grouped with other related elements. The themes in the passage are organized into four groups of closely related elements plus a transition. Lines (1-2) form a couplet, which expresses an exiting action to convey the

speakers wish that God help the men leave office smoothly. Lines (2-4) form another couplet, where the orator expresses his hope that God will take care of the men who completed their term of office. Lines (5, 6, 7) are another group of utterance with a repeating element that expresses the orator's hope that God will repay the men for their service. The object of this clause is in line (7).

Lines (8, 9, 10) form another group. This is a listing of materials that the speaker wishes that the helpers of city hall may not lack after leaving their duties in city hall. Line (11), an adverbial clause, signals the beginning of a new passage. Next I discuss parallelism.

### **3 PARALLEL STRUCTURES**

As stated previously parallelism is one of the major components of SJQ verbal art. In this section I discuss SJQ parallel structures in the context of other Mesoamerican parallel constructions.

#### **3.1 Parts of the verse line: Frame and focus**

A single stretch of speech or verse line in SJQ consists of a “frame” and a “focus” as was stated in section 3 of Chapter 5. The frame is the unchanging, fixed part that repeats in every line and the focus in the element that changes in every line. For example:

Example 10.2 G. Cruz (2010)

Frame	Focus	Frame	Focus
$jyan^{24}an^{32}$ PROG_come_1INCL	$[jyan^2 \quad chinq^{20}]$ PROG_play_1INCL little	We have come	[to play a bit]
$jyan^{24}an^{32}$ PROG_come_1INCL	$[xtyin^{20}in^{32}]$ laugh_1INCL	We have come	[to laugh]
$jyan^{24}an^{32}$ PROG_come_1INCL	$[tykwen^{24}enq^{32}]$ POT_speak_1INCL	We have come	[to talk]
$jyan^{24}an^{32}$ PROG_come_1INCL	$[kan^{42}an^{42}]$ POT_be_1INCL	We have come	[to be here]

The verb phrase  $jyan^{24}an^{32}$  ‘we (INCL) have come’ is the frame that repeats three times in Example 10.2. The focus elements in this passage consists of a well fitting set of verb phrases:  $jyan^2an^1$  ‘to play (1INCL)’,  $xtyin^{20}in^{32}$  ‘to laugh (1INCL)’,  $tykwen^{24}enq^{32}$  ‘to speak (1INCL)’,  $kan^{14}$  ‘be (1INCL)’. The entire stanza evokes the image of a group of people coming together to have fun and celebrate life.

### 3.2 Parallelism in Mesoamerican languages

Parallelism has also been described as the main poetic technique in the verbal art of Mesoamerica and neighboring Latin American indigenous cultures such as among the Kuna of Panama as stated in Chapter 5 section 3. In Mesoamerica parallelism has been widely described in Nahuatl (León-Portilla 1992, 1963, Bright 1990), in Mixe (Suslak 2010), and in many Mayan languages including Tzotzil (Bricker 1974, Gossen 1974), Maya Yucatec (Edmonson and Bricker 1985), K’iche’ (Norman 1983, Tedlock 1987, Christenson 2000), Ch’orti’ (Fought 1976 and Hull 2003), and Ixil (Townsend 1980).



In all these verbal art traditions, the structure of the verse has been described as consisting of a fixed repeating “frame” and a focus element just like SJQ Chatino verbal art. Below I offer some examples of parallel structures in Nahuatl, Tzotzil, Ixil, and Mixe. The first example is from Nahuatl.

Example 10.3 Bright (1990:440)

(3) **ye maca ti-**[miqui]-can, 925 May we not [die],

PTCL such.that.not we-die-OPT

**ye maca ti-**[polihui]-can. 926 May we not [perish].

PTCL such.that.not we-perish- OPT

Each line in this stanza in Nahuatl contains a fixed frame (underlined and bolded) *ye maca ti- \_\_\_ -can*, and one changing focus element (in brackets), *-miqui-* ‘die’, *polihui* ‘perish’, in each line. Example 10.4 illustrates another example from a children’s song in Chamula Tzotzil (Gossen 1974).

Example 10.4 Gossen (1974:401)

<u>pinto</u> [čon] <u>un bi</u>	<u>Spotted</u> [animal] ( <u>you are</u> )
<u>pinto</u> [bolom] <u>un bi</u>	<u>Spotted</u> [jaguar] ( <u>you are</u> )

Each line in Example 10.4 from Tzotzil contains a frame and a focus, just like SJQ Chatino and Nahuatl. The repeating frame is the stretch *pinto- \_\_\_ -un bi*, and the

focus part are occupied by the terms *čon* ‘animal’ and *bolom* ‘jaguar’. In Example 10.5 I present a fragment of an Ixil prayer reported by Townsend (1980).

Example 10.5 Townsend (1980:25)

<u>ʔay dyos-e i-ʔa.-ɓal</u> [q’i]	<u>oh my God, the coming of the</u> [sun]
<u>ʔay dyos-e i-ʔa.-ɓal</u> [sah]	<u>oh my God, the coming of the</u> [light]
<u>i-ɓen-a-ɓal</u> [q’i]	<u>the going of the</u> [sun]
<u>i-ɓen-a-ɓal</u> [sah]	<u>the going of the</u> [light]
<u>ka. šo.ɓ</u> [ʔamikaʔ]	<u>the four corners of the</u> [sky]
<u>ka. šo.ɓ</u> [č’avaʔ]	<u>the four corners of the</u> [earth]
<u>ka. šo.ɓ</u> [mu.ndo]	<u>the four corners of the</u> [world]
<u>ka. šo.ɓ</u> [ʔa.nhel]	<u>the four corners of the</u> [heavens]

The fragment above is organized into two couplets and a quartet. The semantically related items that make up the themes in this text include groupings of physical elements (e.g., earth, sun, light) and celestial bodies (e.g., heaven, sky). Example 10.6 illustrates this in Mixe, a Mixezoquean language spoken in Oaxaca, Mexico. The frame in this parallel construction in Mixe, consists of the term *mèts* ‘two’ and the focus elements consist of the body parts *vin* ‘eye’ and *joot* ‘stomach’.

Example 10.6 Suslak (2010:94)

(6) mèjts [viijn] mèjts [joot]

mèts [vin] mèts [joot]

two [eye] two [stomach]

‘with some reluctance’

In sum all of the above examples reveal the similarities in the parallel structure of Nahuatl, Maya, Mixe, and SJQ Chatino. Beyond Mesoamerica, the same structure has been reported for the verse line in Kuna verbal art by Sherzer (1990).

### 3.3 *Kanq*<sup>42</sup> ‘to do so’

Bricker (1974) and Norman (1980), and others have argued that the elements that pair up to make both the frame and the focus in a parallel construction are morphosyntactically similar. However, in SJQ verbal art, there is a small number of expressions that pair up with the word *kanq*<sup>42</sup> ‘to do so. The *kanq*<sup>42</sup> is not morphologically related to the first focus element. The *kanq*<sup>4</sup> serves to emphasize whatever is being expressed by the first line. In Example 10.7, the *kanq*<sup>42</sup> element (line 5) echoes what is being expressed in line 4.

### Example 10.7

1	kanq <sup>42</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> that.abs why	that is why
2	kwiq <sup>24</sup> qan <sup>10</sup> ndywiq <sup>1</sup> yu <sup>24</sup> kla <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> It.is.just as HAB_say man old this to wan <sup>24</sup> you(pl subj)	As this old man [the mayor] says to you
3	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> good very	good
4	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> [qne <sup>24</sup> ] wan <sup>20</sup> good very POT_do you(pl subj)	[be] good
5	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> [kanq <sup>42</sup> anq <sup>42</sup> ] wan <sup>4</sup> good very to. do. you(pl subj)	you show your best manners,
6	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> good very	the best

To date I have not seen reports of a focus constructions like the *kanq*<sup>42</sup> in Mesoamerican poetics.

### 3.4 Frame Tag

As stated in Chapter 5, another widespread feature of Chatino parallel structures is a deletion of the focus elements, plus any following portions of the frame, at the end of a poetic stanza which I call frame tag (H. Cruz 2009; H. Cruz and Woodbury 2010). As stated in Chapter 5 frame tags are a widespread feature of all types of discourse in San Juan Quiahije. They are found in both formal and everyday speech. Below I show an example.

Example 10.8 R. Cruz (2004)

	Frame focus	Frame Focus
1	qan <sup>42</sup> sen <sup>42</sup> en <sup>42</sup>	we took care
2	ndiya <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> na <sup>3</sup> no <sup>42</sup> ndiya <sup>32</sup>	all there is
3	no <sup>4</sup> -nka <sup>24</sup> [qya <sup>2</sup> ]	that belongs to the mountains
4	no <sup>4</sup> -nka <sup>24</sup> [chin <sup>32</sup> ]	that belongs to the [community]
5	no <sup>4</sup> -nka <sup>24</sup> [ ] in <sup>20</sup> ?	that belongs [ ] hm?

Example 10.8 contains a frame tag in line (5). The context of the frame tag in this example implies all ‘that belongs to the local cosmos’. Frame tags are a widespread feature in the Speech of the Changing of the Authorities, performed by R. Cruz (2004). However, they are not present in *The Visit* exchange (Chapter 7) or in the Prayer for the Community (C8), both speeches were performed by S. Zurita (2009). Further research is required to reach a conclusion on whether frame tags are a stylistic device exploited by some orators, or they are obligatory features in some genres of formal speech but not others. To date I am not aware of any reports of frame tags in other Mesoamerican poetic tradition.

### 3.5 Binary and non-binary parallel structures

As stated in Chapter 5, many researchers of Mesoamerican languages (e.g., Bricker and Edmonson 1985, Bright 1990) have argued that parallel structures in Mesoamerican poetics are only grouped into couplets. Other scholars such as (Tedlock 1987, Christenson 2000, and Hull 2003) have refuted this claim showing that triplets, quartets, quintuplets, and sextuplets are also found in Mayan poetics. In Chapter 5 it was

also stated that Chatino has many structures that relate to each other as couplet and structures beyond couplets. For example :

Example 10.9 B. Zurita (2009)

1	wa <sup>2</sup> ntqa <sup>42</sup> tsan <sup>3</sup> already COMPL_complete day	The <u>day</u> has drawn to a close,
2	wa <sup>2</sup> ntqa <sup>42</sup> wra <sup>1</sup> already COMPL_complete hour	the <u>hour</u> has drawn to a close,
3	wa <sup>2</sup> ntqa <sup>42</sup> xa <sup>3</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> . already COMPL_complete light now	the <u>light</u> has drawn to a close.
4	No <sup>3</sup> ndwa <sup>14</sup> no <sup>0</sup> ngwa <sup>2</sup> ska <sup>1</sup> yjan <sup>32</sup> in <sup>20</sup> , the.one PROG_sit the.one COMPL_be one year hm?	Last year you were chosen,
5	kanq <sup>20</sup> ntqo <sup>1</sup> ton <sup>3</sup> then COMPL_come.out NEUT_stand	then you were chosen
6	kanq <sup>20</sup> ntqo <sup>1</sup> tkwa <sup>14</sup> wan <sup>0</sup> , then COMPL_come.out NEUT_sit.elevated you(pl subj)	then you were appointed
7	chaq <sup>3</sup> nde <sup>2</sup> tyon <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>32</sup> , because here NEUT_stand you(pl subj)	so that here you will stand guard
8	chaq <sup>3</sup> nde <sup>2</sup> . because here	so that here

Lines (1,2,3) in Example 10.9 form a solid triplet in SJQ verbal art. These three lines are a formulaic expression found in texts recited at city hall in SJQ. These examples of non-binary structures in SJQ is a further prove that Mesoamerican parallel lines are not solely grouped into couplets, but there are constructions that go well beyond the couplet such as triplets, quartets, and so on.

### 3.6 Parallel lines made with constituent and incomplete constituents

In Chapter 5 section 5 it was stated that parallel lines are made of both constituent and incomplete constituent. Both lines comprising the couplet in Example 10.10 are constituents.

Example 10.10 C. Cruz (2004)

7	lo <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>32</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> COMPL_bring.out you(pl subj) us(INCL)	You brought us out
8	jen <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> COMPL_bring.out you(pl subj) us(INCL)	You brought us through

However, as stated in Chapter 5, many parallel lines in SJQ are incomplete constituents. Lines 1, 3 and 5 in Example 10.10 are not a constituent structures because each one of them lacks a subject. The subject of each line is found the following line (2, 3 and 6).

Example 10.11 M. C. Cruz (2004)

1	la <sup>1</sup> ton <sup>42</sup> COMPL-leave standing	[You] left standing
2	la <sup>1</sup> tqen <sup>20</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> COMPL-leave exist you(pl subj)	[you] left scattered
3	tnya3 ndwa14 work PROG_sit	your sitting work
4	ntqen <sup>0</sup> qwan <sup>24</sup> PROG_exist to.you(pl)	your existing work
5	la <sup>1</sup> ton <sup>42</sup> COMPL-leave standing	[You] left standing [your work]
6	la <sup>1</sup> tqen <sup>20</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> COMPL-leave exisyou (pl subj) now, hm?	you left scattered now, hm?

Most scholars of Mesoamerican verbal art (especially Bright 1990) have argued that all parallel lines in Nahuatl are constituents, Chatino verbal art shows that this is not the case in all Mesoamerican languages.

### **3.7 Extemporaneous production of parallel structures in SJQ verbal art**

In Chapter 5 I stated that SJQ orators compose the large amount of parallel structures extemporaneously as they speak. I also stated that the production of parallel structures can be done in three steps which are as follows:

1. Stop after any phonological word;
2. “Select” one or more words in sequence that you have said up to that point (such that the selection is a constituent-so-far);
3. Repeat the selection, changing only the “focus”.

Aside from Bright (1990) and Norman (1980) there has been very little work on how parallel structures can be generated in Mesoamerica verbal art. For further information on this topic on Chatino verbal art, see section 7 in Chapter 5.

## **4 THEMATIC RHETORIC**

Most of the texts analyzed in this dissertation are persuasive in nature. Fahnestock (2011) states that persuasive speech is “constructed to have an impact on the attitudes, beliefs, and actions of its audience” (p 4). The term thematic rhetoric in this study is used to refer to elements that are traditionally known as “rhetorical elements”. They include persuasive devices, tools of organization and presentation (e.g., elements of text progression), statements made in the form of questions, and statements made in the form



of negations. I cannot comment on whether this feature has been reported in other Mesoamerican languages because I was not able to compare this feature of SJQ verbal art with other Mesoamerican languages.

#### **4.1 Division of texts into thematically organized sections**

Texts in SJQ are organized into thematically organized sections. These may be marked off by certain initial particles or transitions, parallelism, and by internal aspectual unity, but they don't have to be, for example:

Example 10.12 R. Cruz (2004)

	III	III
1	sya <sup>1</sup> ndya <sup>04</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> tiye <sup>32</sup> qwan <sup>32</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> as HAB_want essence chest to.you(pl) hm?	as your heart permits [you], hm?
2	ngwa <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> xqna <sup>1</sup> COMPL_be you(pl subj) boss	you commanded
3	sa <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> yu <sup>4</sup> skan <sup>4</sup> any man errand.boys	other guards
4	sa <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> yu <sup>4</sup> xwe <sup>32</sup> la <sup>24</sup> any man small superlative	other younger people
5	sa <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> Any hm?	others, hm?
6	qwan <sup>4</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> to.you(pl) hm?	you, hm?
7	lo <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>32</sup> COMPL_pull out you(pl subj) jnya <sup>3</sup> qin <sup>24</sup> yu <sup>24</sup> work to(them) man	you gave them tasks
8	qne <sup>42</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> COMPL_do you(pl subj) ma <sup>4</sup> nda <sup>14</sup> qin <sup>20</sup> yu <sup>24</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> errand to(them) man, hm?	you sent them on missions
9	ya <sup>42</sup> yu <sup>4</sup> COMPL_go_NB man	they went
10	qan <sup>4</sup> yu <sup>4</sup> , COMPL_go.around_NB man in <sup>20</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> hm?, And	they traveled, hm? And

Part III in Mende's speech is marked off by the adverbial phrase *sya<sup>1</sup> ndya<sup>04</sup> riq<sup>2</sup> tiye<sup>32</sup> qwan<sup>32</sup>, in<sup>20</sup>* 'as your heart permits [you], hm?' in Example 10.12. Additionally this section is marked off by the conjunctive particle *qo<sup>1</sup>* 'and', and the lexeme *in<sup>20</sup>* 'hm?' in line 10. This topic warrants future comparison with other Mayan languages. Due to time constrain, I was unable to do this in this study.

#### 4.2 Statement made in the form of question

Statements made in the form of question are a prevalent thematic rhetoric in SJQ verbal art. In the traditional rhetorical literature the elements are known as “rhetorical questions”. Below I provide an example.

Example 10.13 B. Zurita (2009)

1	qan <sup>4</sup> no <sup>32</sup> qne <sup>32</sup> kqu <sup>2</sup> qna <sup>42?</sup> who the.one COMPL_do_raise us(INCL)	Who raised us?
2	qan <sup>4</sup> no <sup>32</sup> ntqan <sup>42</sup> -sen <sup>42</sup> qna <sup>42?</sup> who the.one COMPL_watch us(INCL)	Who tended to our needs?
3	qan <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>2</sup> no <sup>32</sup> qne <sup>32</sup> qna <sup>3</sup> qna <sup>42?</sup> who PROG_be the.one COMPL_do worry us	Who was concerned about us?
4	Sna <sup>2</sup> lo <sup>2</sup> , on face	Before the face,
5	Sna <sup>2</sup> kyaq <sup>2</sup> , on feet	before the feet [of],
6	Santo, San Juan Bautista saint, saint John the Baptist	Saint John the Baptist
7	Kanq <sup>42</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> sten <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> , that.abs the.one PROG_be father_INCL	That is who our father is,
8	Kanq <sup>42</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> yqan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> , that.abs the.one PROG_be mother_INCL	That is who our mother is,

The three statements made in the form of questions in lines (1, 2,3) bring to this passage an element of surprise and great rhetorical force.

#### 4.3 Statement made in the form of negation

Statements made in the form of negation are another component of thematic rhetoric in SJQ verbal art. Below I show an example.

### Example 10.14

1	kwa <sup>24</sup> there	there
2	ja <sup>4</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>4</sup> tsan <sup>40</sup> EMPH POT_be.able very POT_go_NB_1INCL	we wish we could have gone
3	ja <sup>42</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>4</sup> tyqan <sup>4</sup> ykwen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> EMPH POT_be.able very POT_go.around_NB_1INCL ourselves	we wish we could have done it ourselves
4	ykwen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> COMPL_say_1INCL	so we said

To this date, I have not seeing any reports relating this topic in other descriptions of Mesoamerican verbal art.

## 5 POETIZATION OF GRAMMAR

Many grammatical elements in SJQ play an essential role in the poetics. Chief among them are aspectual markers, possession markers, and personal pronouns. This phenomenon is what Sherzer (1990) calls poetization of grammar. As demonstrated in Chapter 8 and 9 in this study, aspect marking is an essential poetic device in SJQ verbal art. As stated in Chapter 8 and 9, aspect markers fulfill many pragmatic and poetics function in SJQ verbal art. Similar to other constructions I have described in this study, to this date I have not seen reports of the role that aspect plays in the constructions of other Mesoamerican verbal arts tradition.

### 5.1 Possession

As was stated in Chapter 3, San Juan Quiahije Chatino has two types of possession strategies: alienable and inalienable possession. As stated in Chapter 3, in San

Juan Quiahije colloquial language, alienable possession is marked with the marker *qin*<sup>4</sup>.

For example:

Example 10.15

ntyqa<sup>24</sup>      qa<sup>1</sup>    nyan<sup>24</sup>    xneq<sup>2</sup>    qin<sup>42</sup>

beautiful    very looks    dog    yours

‘your dog is very cute’

However inalienable possession does not bear any surface marking. For example:

Example 10.16

ntyqa<sup>24</sup>      qa<sup>1</sup>    nyan<sup>24</sup>    stanq<sup>42</sup>

beautiful    very looks    fingernails.yours

‘your fingernails are beautiful’

The word fingernail in Example 10.16 is an inalienably possessed noun and the possession is fused onto the noun. In poetic language, however, there are inalienable nouns that are overtly marked. They take the marking of the alienably possessed nouns.

For example:

Example 10.17 R. Cruz (2004)

ngwa <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> yaq <sup>2</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> COMPL_be you(pl subj) hand us(INCL)	you were our hand
ngwa <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> kyaq <sup>24</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> COMPL_be you(pl subj) feet us(INCL)	you were our feet
ngwa <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> COMPL_be you(pl subj)	you were

In example 10.17, the noun *yaq*<sup>2</sup> ‘his/her hand’, which has no overt marking in everyday conversation, is overtly marked in this poetic stanza. Poeticized possession is only seen in the speech of the Changing of the Authorities (appendix 1) and it does not come up in Chs., 6-8. Perhaps this technique is used in conjunction with a small set of formulaic expressions such as the one in Example 10.17.

## 5.2 Personal pronouns

In chapter 9 we stated that independent personal pronouns play a crucial role in conveying a sense of collective to the performance of SJQ verbal art. In persuasive speeches made in city hall and in speeches performed at coming-of-age ceremonies such as the *Chaq*<sup>3</sup> *Ksya*<sup>10</sup> analyzed in Chapter 9, orators favor the use of the (1INCL); even though, the use of this person inflection creates opaqueness of meaning (as mentioned in Chapter 9). Similar to other structures displayed here I have not seeing discussion on the higher use of the 1INCL pronoun inflections in the poetics of Mesoamerican languages.

## 6 PAUSE

Pause plays an important role in SJQ verbal art as stated in Chapter 6 and 9. Pauses are found at word, phrase, line, and passage boundaries. Pauses are also used when orators addressed sensitive topics and when they want to convey a sense of urgency to something. Below I will discuss the role of the pause in some passages of R. Cruz’s speech given in city hall in SJQ in 2004.

Example 10.18 R. Cruz (2004)

1	ndiya <sup>32</sup> -ra <sup>10</sup> <P>qne <sup>42</sup> sometimes COMPL_do jlan <sup>2</sup> an <sup>1</sup> qwan <sup>4</sup> NEUT_scold_1INCL to.you(pl)	sometimes we scolded you
2	ndiya <sup>32</sup> -ra <sup>1</sup> sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> ykwen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> sometimes good only COMPL_speak_1INCL	sometimes with kindness we spoke
3	ndiya <sup>32</sup> -ra <sup>1</sup> sqi <sup>0</sup> qa <sup>24</sup> ykwen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> sometimes wrongly very COMPL_speak_1INCL	sometimes wrongly we spoke
4	ndiya <sup>32</sup> -ra <sup>1</sup> sometimes	sometimes
5	kwiq <sup>24</sup> ndiyo <sup>14</sup> -si <sup>0</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> It.is.just god that	just god was
6	kanq <sup>42</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nge <sup>42</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> that.abs one COMPL_endure us (INCL)	The one who was patient with us
7	kanq <sup>42</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nda <sup>3</sup> that.abs the.one COMPL_give jwe <sup>4</sup> -sa <sup>10</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> strength us (INCL)	The one who gave strength to us
8	kanq <sup>42</sup> nda <sup>3</sup> that.abs COMPL_give chaq <sup>3</sup> tya <sup>20</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> thing wisdom essence us (INCL)	The one who gave wisdom to us
9	kanq <sup>42</sup> <P> that.abs	that one/this way

The pause in line (1) Example 10.18 is found after an adverb. The pause in this position conveys a multitude of meanings ranging from sense of longing, caring, and authority. The pause in line (9) in the same example, signals the end of the passage.

Example 10.19 R. Cruz (2004)

1	chaq <sup>3</sup> -no <sup>24</sup> so.that	So that
2	ja <sup>4</sup> qne1 wan <sup>32</sup> rwi <sup>14</sup> du <sup>0</sup> , NEG POT_do you(pl subj) noise	you don't make any noise, don't
3	la <sup>4</sup> <P>xqya <sup>20</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> la <sup>24</sup> <P> not POT_scream you(pl subj) not	[so that you don't] scream
4	t <sup>24</sup> sa <sup>24</sup> ja <sup>32</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> tqkwa <sup>24</sup> yjan <sup>32</sup> POT_off duty you(pl subj) two year re <sup>2</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> <P> here now already	will be off duty for only two years,
5	xka <sup>32</sup> jnya <sup>3</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>32</sup> other hardwork already POT_be you(pl subj)	you will fulfill a new role,
6	xka <sup>32</sup> <P> chaq <sup>3</sup> tykwiq <sup>1</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> other thing POT_say you(pl subj)	you will have new wisdom to
7	xka <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> ta <sup>20</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> other thing POT_give you(pl subj)	you will have new experiences to
8	xka <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> other thing hm?	you will have new things [to offer],
9	kanq <sup>42</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>32</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> that.abs why the.one PROG_be tiyin <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> <P> chest_1SG so that	And that is why I hope that
10	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> tyqon <sup>20</sup> on <sup>32</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> good very POT_leave_1INCL with you(pl subj)	We leave in good standing,
11	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>42</sup> kan <sup>42</sup> anq <sup>32</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> good very POT_do_1INCL with you(pl subj)	We leave in good terms
12	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> good very hm? and	The best, hm? And

The pauses (lines 4, 6, and 9) in this passage separate adverbial phrases. The orator uses pauses for persuasive means in order to encourage the errand boys in the audience to display their best behavior. He reminds them that they will always come back to city hall. The orator also uses pauses to emphasize positive traits and to express



undesirable behaviors. In the next example the orator continues to use pauses to talk about undesirable behavior and to try to discourage those attitudes on the errand boys.

In this passage the orator uses a pause to express sensitive topics. For instance in line (1) he pauses before he states that in past administrations some exiting errand boys yelled and screamed at the errand boys who were beginning their service at city hall. There is another pause in line 4 when the orator expresses that some errand boys in the past went around city hall urinating when they finished their term.

Example 10.20 R. Cruz (2004)

1	ka <sup>2</sup> <P> xqya <sup>20</sup> yu <sup>24</sup> POT_be.able scream man	they sometimes scream,
2	ka <sup>2</sup> ta <sup>20</sup> ndyeq <sup>3</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> POT_be.able PROG_give mock yu <sup>1</sup> tqa <sup>42</sup> yu <sup>4</sup> man relative man	they often mock their replacements
3	no <sup>4</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> sten <sup>1</sup> yu <sup>4</sup> <P> the.one just about POT_enter man	The incoming administration
4	tyqwi: <sup>4</sup> <P> yu <sup>4</sup> tyu <sup>4</sup> xeq <sup>14</sup> yu <sup>0</sup> POT_exist man POT_urinate man	they stand around to urinate in
5	tyqwi: <sup>4</sup> yu <sup>1</sup> POT_exist man	they do;

Due to time constrain, I was not able to compare the use of pause in other Mesoamerican languages. This topic warrants future research.

### 7 FORMULAIC EXPRESSIONS

As stated in Chapters 5, 7, 8, and 9, San Juan Quiahije verbal art has a large inventory of formulaic expressions. These constructions are an intricate part of the community's collective knowledge. Their combination gives rise to different process of semantic extensions and idiomatic expressions (e.g., metonymy, metaphor, antonym, and antithesis). As previously stated in Chapter 5 a large number of formulaic expressions in

SJQ verbal art evoke a third meaning, which I refer to as *difrasismo* following (Garibay 1953).

Table 10.1 provides a list of formulas identified in the texts analyzed in this study as well as other texts recorded in SJQ. A few of the formulas listed in the table come from F. Baltazar in Cordero (1986). This list is by no means exhaustive, and I plan to continue to add to this list as my research continues in this area.

The information in Table 10.1 is organized in the following way. Column 1 presents the terms that come together to make up the formulas. Column 2 provides the literary gloss of these terms. Column 3 describes the meaning of these formulas. Column 4 lists the source of the formulas. The texts will be abbreviated as follows: *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* (CK), *The Visit* (Visit), Prayer for the Community (Prayer) and the Speech of the Changing of the authorities (*Cambio*). Texts that are not part of this study are identified by the name of the orator. For instance, a text recited by Felix Baltazar in Cordero (1986) will be cited as follows: “F. Baltazar in Cordero (1986:37-38).”

<b>Formulaic terms</b>	<b>Literal gloss</b>	<b>Meaning</b>	<b>Source</b>
sti <sup>4</sup> /yqan <sup>1</sup>	father/mother	parents/ancestors, god	Visit, CK, Cambio, and Prayer
kchin <sup>4</sup> / neq <sup>4</sup> sya <sup>10</sup> /neq <sup>4</sup> jyaq <sup>3</sup>	community/those in authority/ those bearing the staff	San Juan Quiahije and its authorities	Visit
sti <sup>4</sup> /yqan <sup>1</sup> /neq <sup>4</sup> sya <sup>10</sup>	father/mother /the authorities	Saints in the Catholic Church, ancestors, and authorities	Visit
snyiq <sup>32</sup> qya <sup>2</sup> / snyiq <sup>32</sup> kchin <sup>32</sup>	child of the mountains/child of the mountains	San Juan Quiahije citizens	Cambio
chaq <sup>3</sup> -jyaq <sup>3</sup> skwa <sup>3</sup> / chaq <sup>3</sup> -jya <sup>4</sup> ntqen <sup>1</sup>	The traditions that laid out/ the traditions that exist	The ongoing traditions	Visit
ska <sup>4</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> /ska <sup>4</sup> kchin <sup>32</sup>	a duty/a community	a civic duty	Cambio
qyu <sup>1</sup> kla <sup>24</sup> /qan <sup>1</sup> kla <sup>24</sup>	old men/old women	ancestors	Visit, CK, Cambio
ska <sup>4</sup> ke <sup>2</sup> / ska <sup>1</sup> nkaq <sup>24</sup>	A flower/a leaf	instrument of prayer	no
no <sup>4</sup> lye <sup>42</sup> / no <sup>4</sup> tkwa <sup>24</sup>	the one with health, /the one with tkwa <sup>24</sup>	strength	no
no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> yaq <sup>2</sup> /no <sup>32</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> kyaq <sup>32</sup>	the one who is a hand/the one who is a foot	neq <sup>4</sup> skan <sup>4</sup> (errand boy)	Cambio
qya <sup>2</sup> /kchin <sup>1</sup>	the mountains/ the community	San Juan Quiahije	Visit, CK, Cambio
no <sup>4</sup> yqu <sup>2</sup> /no <sup>4</sup> ndlu <sup>3</sup> /no <sup>4</sup> suq <sup>3</sup> /no <sup>4</sup> sen <sup>3</sup>	those who survived/those who thrived/those who matured/those who multiplied	the ones who live a long life	Prayer
no <sup>4</sup> kwiq <sup>2</sup> /no <sup>4</sup> kneq <sup>1</sup>	the ones that are babies/the ones that are young	the new generation	Cambio
no <sup>4</sup> ntsu <sup>42</sup> /no <sup>4</sup> yla <sup>1</sup>	those who sprout/ those who are born	those born in San Juan Quiahije	Cambio, Visit, Prayer

Table 10.1: Formulas in SJQ verbal art

Continuation of table 10.1

mba <sup>14</sup> / ndlyi <sup>14</sup>	<i>compadres/ comadres</i>	parents and godparents	CK
ktyin <sup>4</sup> /tqa <sup>42</sup>	offspring/family members	relatives (all encompassing) or in general	CK, Cambio
ti <sup>24</sup> tsan <sup>32</sup> / qnyo <sup>24</sup> tsan <sup>32</sup>	ten days/ fifteen days	ten days/ fifteen days	CK
tynyi <sup>10</sup> / pla <sup>4</sup> ta <sup>10</sup> / qo <sup>14</sup> ro <sup>0</sup>	money/silver/gold	money	CK
steq <sup>4</sup> / sna <sup>42</sup>	clothes/ footwear	wear	Cambio
kwi <sup>4</sup> - tya <sup>32</sup> /yqwe <sup>42</sup> /styin <sup>4</sup>	fontaneles/wings/feathers	child's ceremonial clothes	CK
sti <sup>4</sup> /yqan <sup>1</sup> /kityi <sup>4</sup> /tqa <sup>42</sup>	father/mother/children/kin	kinship relations	Cambio
xa <sup>3</sup> kwan <sup>24</sup> nkqa <sup>1</sup> / xa <sup>3</sup> kwan <sup>24</sup> nten <sup>3</sup>	red sunlight/white sunrise	sunlight in Chatino landscape	Visit
kiqya <sup>2</sup> / ntenq <sup>3</sup>	mountains/valleys	Chatino topography	Visit
chaq <sup>3</sup> tykanq <sup>20</sup> /chaq <sup>3</sup> la <sup>1</sup> / chaq <sup>3</sup> ykwa <sup>24</sup> / chaq <sup>3</sup> lwi <sup>3</sup>	something clear/ something open/ something even/ something clean	something pure	Visit
kyaq <sup>24</sup> /son <sup>42</sup>	a foot/a foundation	a strong foundation	Visit
ska <sup>4</sup> wra <sup>1</sup> / ska <sup>4</sup> tsan <sup>32</sup>	one hour/ one day	24 hours	Cambio
ska <sup>4</sup> wra <sup>1</sup> / ska <sup>4</sup> xa <sup>3</sup>	one hour/one light	a day	Cambio
sna <sup>1</sup> wra <sup>1</sup> / sna <sup>1</sup> xa <sup>3</sup>	three hours/ three lights	Time	Visit
jwe <sup>4</sup> -sa <sup>1</sup> / va <sup>4</sup> lo <sup>14</sup>	they will give us strength/ they will give us fortitude	strength	Cambio
Si <sup>4</sup> nda <sup>4</sup> nya <sup>14</sup> / Sqwe <sup>3</sup>	Santiago Minas/ Juquila	Santiago Minas/ Juquila	Visit
qya <sup>2</sup> tlyu <sup>2</sup> / sa <sup>4</sup> kwi <sup>4</sup> tlyu <sup>2</sup>	big mountain/the steep slope	road to Juquila	Visit
chaq <sup>3</sup> wtsiq <sup>3</sup> / chaq <sup>3</sup> wnaq <sup>2</sup>	something hidden/ something astray	something bad	Visit
tan <sup>42</sup> / tnen <sup>42</sup>	fat/ blood	basic elements of the body	Visit

Continuation of table 10.1

sa <sup>1</sup> qo <sup>0</sup> /sa <sup>1</sup> qwna <sup>0</sup> /sa <sup>1</sup> ke <sup>0</sup> /sa <sup>0</sup> ntyin <sup>0</sup> /sa <sup>0</sup> ksiq <sup>0</sup>	holy table/sacred table/adorned table/ <i>ntyin</i> <sup>14</sup> table/ <i>ksiq</i> <sup>1</sup> table	sacred table	Visit
chinq <sup>20</sup> ykwa <sup>3</sup> / chinq <sup>20</sup> jnyaq <sup>42</sup> / chinq <sup>20</sup> xi <sup>4</sup> / chinq <sup>20</sup> xonq <sup>14</sup> / chinq <sup>20</sup> nta <sup>3</sup> /chinq <sup>20</sup> ntqa <sup>42</sup>	little <i>atole</i> /little honey/little sweetness/little deliciousness/little <i>nta</i> <sup>3</sup> / a little of everything	celebratory food	Visit
lyan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> / xqwen <sup>2</sup> en <sup>1</sup>	sustenance / nourishment	elements of sustenance	Visit
neq <sup>2</sup> kwan <sup>2</sup> /xa <sup>4</sup> -liyu <sup>32</sup>	into the depths of heaven/ into the depths of earth	Chatino cosmos	Cambio
chaq <sup>3</sup> -syaq <sup>2</sup> / chaq <sup>3</sup> - qen <sup>4</sup>	what was arranged/what was settled on	to agree on/to settle on	Visit
na <sup>3</sup> ndya <sup>32</sup> / na <sup>3</sup> sqwi <sup>24</sup>	what there is/what exists	what someone owns	Visit
na <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> jnya <sup>1</sup> / na <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> ngwa <sup>2</sup>	what was requested/what became	the good things asked about	Visit
nten <sup>14</sup> -kla <sup>0</sup> /nten <sup>14</sup> - tno <sup>0</sup>	people-old/people-big	old- people/grand- people (elders), ancestors	Cambio
qyu <sup>1</sup> /qan <sup>1</sup>	male/female	complete person	CK, Visit, Prayer, Cambio
yjan <sup>4</sup> /koq <sup>3</sup> /kla <sup>4</sup>	year/month (moon)/day (star)	completed period of time	Cambio
tsan <sup>4</sup> /wra <sup>1</sup> /xa <sup>3</sup>	day/hour/light	24 hours	Cambio
po <sup>4</sup> li <sup>4</sup> sya <sup>24</sup> /ju <sup>4</sup> di <sup>4</sup> syal <sup>3</sup>	police/judicial police	peace officers	J. Orocio (2007)
la <sup>42</sup> /qan <sup>4</sup> -tnya <sup>3</sup>	church/city hall	the institutions in San Juan Quiahije	Cambio
tnya <sup>3</sup> /sya <sup>10</sup>	work/justice	public officials	Cambio
kcha <sup>42</sup> /sen <sup>42</sup>	sun/care-taker	groom and bride	M. Baltazar 2009

Continuation of table 10.1

no <sup>4</sup> ya <sup>42</sup> -tykwi <sup>4</sup> /no <sup>4</sup> ya <sup>42</sup> -nyi <sup>4</sup> /no <sup>4</sup> ya <sup>42</sup> - ykwa <sup>4</sup>	those who lived entirely/those who lived directly/those who lived evenly	good citizens	CK
no <sup>4</sup> kwa <sup>14</sup> yaq <sup>0</sup> / no <sup>4</sup> kwa <sup>14</sup> kyaq <sup>0</sup>	what sits in our hands/what sits in our feet	ceremonial food	CK
no <sup>4</sup> ndwi <sup>1</sup> tykwan <sup>3</sup> qo <sup>2</sup> yaq <sup>2</sup> / no <sup>4</sup> ndwi <sup>1</sup> tykwan <sup>3</sup> qna <sup>4</sup> yaq <sup>2</sup>	the one who holds a holy metal object in his hand/the one who holds a sacred metal object in his hand	a priest	CK
chaq <sup>3</sup> ykwiq <sup>14</sup> / chaq <sup>3</sup> nda <sup>3</sup>	the words spoken/ the words given	words expressed	Cambio
qne <sup>42</sup> -yqu <sup>2</sup> / ntqan <sup>42</sup> - sen <sup>42</sup>	raised/ watched	to care for	CK, Cambio, and Prayer
ntyqya <sup>1</sup> -ton <sup>42</sup> / ntyqya <sup>1</sup> -tkwa <sup>14</sup>	to set standing/to set elevated	Manner in which instrument of prayer is placed at the prayer site	CK, Cambio
ya <sup>42</sup> /qan <sup>4</sup>	to go forth/ to go about	to serve	Cambio, CK
jnya <sup>1</sup> -yaq <sup>2</sup> / jnya <sup>1</sup> - tqwa <sup>4</sup>	to ask by hand/to ask by mouth	to pray	CK
qan <sup>4</sup> /ndon <sup>42</sup>	to go about/stand about	manner in which officials carry out their duties	Visit, Cambio
sqwa <sup>14</sup> -yaq <sup>0</sup> /sqwa <sup>14</sup> skon <sup>0</sup>	to give a hand/give an arm	to aid	Visit, Prayer
ntqo <sup>1</sup> -ton <sup>4</sup> /ntqo <sup>1</sup> - tkwa <sup>14</sup>	to come out standing/ to come out sitting elevated	to be elected for office	Cambio
ndyi <sup>1</sup> -ton <sup>42</sup> / ndyi <sup>1</sup> - kqan <sup>24</sup>	to stand/to sit on the ground	to be a force	Cambio
ndon <sup>42</sup> / yqwi <sup>4</sup>	to stand/to exist	to protect	Cambio
ndon <sup>42</sup> lo <sup>4</sup> / ndon <sup>42</sup> chong <sup>42</sup>	to stand before/to stand behind	to protect	Prayer
tqa <sup>42</sup> tykwa <sup>24</sup> / tqa <sup>42</sup> tyqan <sup>4</sup>	someone to sit (elevated) with/ someone to go about with	a companion	M. Baltazar 2009
ne <sup>1</sup> /ytsaq <sup>3</sup>	to invite/to tell	to invite	CK

Continuation of table 10.1

snyi <sup>4</sup> tykwi <sup>1</sup> / snyi <sup>4</sup> ton <sup>42</sup> / snyi <sup>4</sup> tykwa <sup>24</sup>	to take hanging/to take standing/to take sitting elevated	to accept an invitation	CK
kwa <sup>14</sup> / qen <sup>4</sup>	to sit/to exist	to preside in a place	Cambio
ykwiaq <sup>4</sup> -xwe <sup>32</sup> / ykwiaq <sup>4</sup> - sta <sup>1</sup>	to speak small/ to speak smash	to speak in a disorganized way	Visit
yan <sup>42</sup> -qo <sup>1</sup> / yan <sup>42</sup> - tkwa <sup>14</sup>	to bringing with/to place elevated	a present	Visit
qan <sup>4</sup> -jyaq <sup>4</sup> / qan <sup>4</sup> – kwen <sup>1</sup> /ndwa <sup>3</sup> - tya <sup>4</sup>	to get confirm [branded]/to get got christen/to get baptize	catholic rituals	Visit
ntykwa <sup>4</sup> / ndya <sup>32</sup> / ntqo <sup>20</sup> -skwa <sup>3</sup>	to reach/to arrive/to come out on top	to reach a goal	Visit
ji <sup>1</sup> , xno <sup>32</sup>	to miss/to leave out	generosity	Visit
no <sup>4</sup> yqu <sup>2</sup> / no <sup>4</sup> ndlu <sup>3</sup>	the ones who survived /the ones who thrived	the ones who lived a long live	Prayer
ja <sup>4</sup> ntqan <sup>42</sup> /ja <sup>4</sup> ynan <sup>42</sup>	to not see/to not hear	to witness the beginning of the tradition	CK, Cambio
ngwa <sup>2</sup> jyaq <sup>3</sup> /ndlo <sup>24</sup> /xtya <sup>20</sup>	to arrange/to take out/to place elevated	the beginning of tradition	CK,(Cambio)
ngwa <sup>2</sup> jyaq <sup>3</sup> /yqwi <sup>24</sup> sqen <sup>32</sup>	to be arranged/to be stowed away	the beginning of tradition	yes (Cambio)
ya <sup>42</sup> sweq <sup>14</sup> -kta <sup>0</sup> / ya <sup>42</sup> sweq <sup>14</sup> tynyaq <sup>0</sup>	to go all scratched up and sweaty/ to go all scratched up and exhausted	sacrifice	no
qen <sup>4</sup> jya <sup>2</sup> /qen <sup>4</sup> sti <sup>1</sup> /qen <sup>4</sup> ykwiaq <sup>4</sup>	to play/ to laugh/to speak	to enjoy life	no
ja <sup>14</sup> jqo <sup>0</sup> /ja <sup>14</sup> sti <sup>0</sup> / ja <sup>14</sup> yqan <sup>0</sup>	will find a husband/will find a father/will find a mother	to find a husband or wife	no
ya <sup>42</sup> (k)cheq <sup>14</sup> yu <sup>0</sup> / ya <sup>42</sup> (k)cheq <sup>14</sup> ke <sup>0</sup>	to go through thorny ground/to go through thorny rocks	sacrifice of a praying journey	Visit
la <sup>1</sup> ton <sup>42</sup> / la <sup>1</sup> tqen <sup>20</sup>	to leave standing/to leave existing	to abandon	Cambio
jen <sup>2</sup> yaq <sup>2</sup> /jen <sup>2</sup> yqwi <sup>1</sup>	passed ya <sup>2</sup> /pass-exist	to survive	Cambio

Continuation of table 10.1

kwa <sup>14</sup> /qne <sup>42</sup> yka <sup>24</sup>	obey/followed	to follow orders	Cambio
lo <sup>24</sup> /jen <sup>2</sup>	to take out/to bring through	to help someone with a task	Cambio
ngwa <sup>2</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> /ngwa <sup>2</sup> kchin <sup>4</sup>	to-be work/ to-be community	someone who has served an office in city hall	Cambio
nge <sup>42</sup> /nda <sup>3</sup> jwe <sup>4</sup> -sa <sup>10</sup>	tolerated, was patient/ endure, gave strength	patience, kindness, strength	Cambio
ykwiaq <sup>4</sup> /nkwa <sup>2</sup>	he spoke/he was	serve	Cambio
ndya <sup>3</sup> /xqwa <sup>1</sup>	to return an item/to pay back	to pay back, return	Cambio
tqan <sup>1</sup> lo <sup>24</sup> / tqan <sup>1</sup> ke <sup>42</sup>	rub front/rub head	to bless a person thru an instrument of prayer	F. Baltazar in Cordero (1986:37-38)
yna <sup>3</sup> /ykwiaq <sup>24</sup>	cried/spoke	to pray on someone's behalf	G. 2008
qnyi <sup>1</sup> -ton <sup>42</sup> / qnyi <sup>1</sup> -kqan <sup>24</sup>	to make stand/to make sit (on the ground)	to plant or imprint an idea on someone's chest or mind	M. Baltazar 2009
sna <sup>2</sup> lo <sup>1</sup> /sna <sup>2</sup> kyaq <sup>1</sup>	before his face/before his feet	subserviency	Prayer
lo <sup>4</sup> tqwa <sup>14</sup> /lo <sup>4</sup> tlyaq <sup>32</sup>	in cold weather /in freezing weather	sacrifice	Visit
neq <sup>2</sup> tiye <sup>32</sup> /neq <sup>2</sup> tlo <sup>32</sup>	in you chest/in your face	to plant an idea on someone's mind	M. Baltazar 2009
lo <sup>4</sup> kwan <sup>4</sup> /lo <sup>4</sup> xa <sup>3</sup> /lo <sup>4</sup> xa <sup>4</sup> -lyu <sup>32</sup>	on sunlight/on light/on the world	physical plane	CK, Cambio
lo <sup>1</sup> kyqya <sup>32</sup> / lo <sup>32</sup> yweq <sup>20</sup>	wrongdoing/a sin	something bad	CK
lo <sup>1</sup> yu <sup>32</sup> / lo <sup>1</sup> kti <sup>14</sup>	to the dirt/ to the garbage	to discard	CK



Continuation of table 10.1

$tqwa^4$ $lwaq^{42}$ / $tqwa^4$ $xkon^1$ / $qne^2$ $qan^3$	mouth of $lwaq^{42}$ / mouth of $xkon^1$ / inside the house	a sacred place	CK
<b>Propositions</b>			
$qa^4$ $tyi^{32}$ / $qa^4$ $xyaq^2$	this can't end / this can't fade	permanence of traditions	Visit, CK, Cambio, and Prayer
$kwa^{14}$ $jnyaq^0$ $yaq^0$ / $kwa^{14}$ $jnyaq^0$ $kyaq^0$	for tiredness to sit on the hand / for tiredness to sit on the feet	sacrifice	Visit
$klaq^1$ / $kti^{20}$	to cool off / to placate	to calm the spirit to placate the soul (saints, dead spirits)	F. Baltazar in Cordero (1986:37-38)
$sqen^4$ $kwa^{14}$ / $sqen^4$ $ndon^{42}$	where he sat (elevated) / where he stood	to serve, to preside	Cambio

A large number of formulas in Table 10.1 come from combinations of nouns and noun phrases, verbs and verb phrases, prepositional phrases, and propositions. Below I discuss some of them.

### 7.1 Formulas based on nouns and noun phrases

Some of the main types of nouns that make up the formulas in these texts include terms relating to kinship relations, community and its institutions, landscape and community, terms with gender relations, body part terms, terms of community's tradition, terms related to time, term of material, nouns that describe life events, and names of towns.

#### 7.1.1 Formulas based on kinship relation terms

As stated in Chapter 5, 7, 8, and 9, many of the recurrent formulas with nouns and noun phrases in these texts come from kinship terms such as  $sti^4$  /  $yqan^1$  /  $neq^4$   $syq^{10}$  'father/mother/authorities'. Formulas with kinship relations express a wide range of

meanings including parents, ancestors, elders, father and mother-in-law. Example 10.21 below illustrates this.

Example 10.21 B. Zurita (2009)

1	Santo San Juan Bautista! Saint saint John Baptist	Saint John the Baptist!
2	Kanq <sup>32</sup> no <sup>3</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> sten <sup>1</sup> en <sup>1</sup> , That.one.abs the.one PROG_be father_IINCL	That is who <u>our father</u> is,
3	Kanq <sup>32</sup> no <sup>3</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> yqan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> , That.one.abs the.one PROG_be mother_IINCL	That is who <u>our mother</u> is,
4	Kanq <sup>32</sup> ntqan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> , That.one.abs COMPL_see	He watches over,
5	Ntqan <sup>3</sup> na <sup>1</sup> ndiya <sup>4</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> lo <sup>24</sup> kwan <sup>24</sup> , PROG_see thing all thing on sunrise	All that exist under the warmth of the sun,
6	Ndiya <sup>3</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> xa <sup>3</sup> -liyu <sup>32</sup> . All thing earth	All that exist on this earth.
7	Kwan <sup>20</sup> ntyqan <sup>14</sup> qa <sup>0</sup> . Thus appear EMPH	Yes, indeed.

This excerpt is from an exchange between two elders at the ceremony of the changing of the authorities in San Juan Quiahije in 2009. The passage begins by calling the name of the community's patron saint: Saint John the Baptist (lines 1). Next lines 2-3 hold the formula made out of the terms *sti*<sup>4</sup> 'father' and *yqan*<sup>1</sup> 'mother'. This formula expresses the duality of the male and female. Both terms are a set.

Other formulas related to this class include *snyiq*<sup>32</sup> *qya*<sup>2</sup>/*snyiq*<sup>32</sup> *kchin*<sup>32</sup> 'child of the mountains/child of the community', *kyin*<sup>4</sup>/*tqa*<sup>42</sup> 'offspring/family members', and *mba*<sup>14</sup>/*ndlyi*<sup>14</sup> 'compadres/comadres'.

Formulas expressing kinship relations are also ubiquitous in the discourse of other Mesoamerican languages. This combination has been widely reported in K'iche' by Christenson (2000), Ch'orti' by Hull (2003) and Tzotzil by Bricker (1974). Christenson

and Hull call these types of constructions “familial association” parallelism. Example 10.22 illustrates a stanza that groups kinship terms from Ch’orti’.

10. 10.22 (Hull 2003:143)

Tya’ matuk’a kamayores,      Where there are none of our older brothers,  
 Tya’ matuk’a kawijtz’inob’,      Where there are none of our younger brothers,  
 Tya’ matuk’a e pak’ab’ e konoj.      Where there are no human beings.

The kinship relation presented in Example 10.22 is for a combination of older and younger brothers.

### 7.1.2 Formulas based on terms of community and its institutions

The term *tnya*<sup>3</sup> ‘work’ combines with different terms such as *kchin*<sup>4</sup> ‘community’ *sya*<sup>10</sup> ‘justice’ to express a wide range of concepts related to city hall. For instance *ska*<sup>4</sup> *tnya*<sup>3</sup>/*ska*<sup>4</sup> *kchin*<sup>32</sup> ‘a duty/a community’ connotes the meaning of a duty in city hall. Similarly the combinations of *tnya*<sup>3</sup>/*sya*<sup>10</sup> ‘work/justice’ is a *difrasismo* that connotes the meaning “city hall officials’ or officers in city hall. Example 10.23, below, illustrates this.

Example 10.23 C. Cruz (2004)

1	No <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> <u>tnya</u> <sup>3</sup> , The.one PROG_be work	That the ones who are leaders (lit., <u>work</u> )
2	No <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> <u>sya</u> <sup>10</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> . The.one PROG_be work, hm?	The ones who are the <u>magistrates</u> (justice), hm?!

This formula refers to the people who are presently serving in city hall. We know this because the copular *nka*<sup>24</sup> ‘be’ verb is inflected for a progressive aspect. When inflected in a completive aspect, the expression becomes “former-city hall officials”. Lines (3 and 4) in Example 10.24 illustrate this.

Example 10.24 R. Cruz (2004).

38	kwan <sup>20</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> -a <sup>24</sup> yan <sup>42</sup> in .he.same.manner COMPL_come_NB	in the same way came
39	sa <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> sten <sup>4</sup> -yqan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> each one father mothers_1INCL	all our fathers and mothers
40	no <sup>4</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> nkwa <sup>2</sup> ynya <sup>3</sup> the.one already COMPL_be work	the ones <u>who have served city hall</u> (lit. work)
41	no <sup>4</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> nkwa <sup>2</sup> the.one already COMPL_be chin <sup>4</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> community hm? and	the ones <u>who have been community</u> , hm? and

The formula *la<sup>42</sup>/qan<sup>4</sup>-tnya<sup>3</sup>* ‘church/city hall’ expressed the idea of community institutions. Example 10.25 below illustrates a context of this formula.

Example 10.25 G. Cruz (2010)

1	Ti <sup>2</sup> wra <sup>1</sup> ndyi <sup>0</sup> tykwa <sup>14</sup> qya <sup>0</sup> , since hour COMPL_aux sit mountains	From the time the mountains took their place,
2	Ti <sup>2</sup> wra <sup>1</sup> ndyi <sup>0</sup> tykwa <sup>14</sup> kchin <sup>0</sup> , since hour COMPL_aux sit community	From the time the community took its place,
3	Ti <sup>2</sup> wra <sup>1</sup> ndyi <sup>0</sup> tykwa <sup>14</sup> la <sup>42</sup> , since hour COMPL_aux sit church	From the time the <u>church</u> took its place,
4	Ti <sup>2</sup> wra <sup>1</sup> ndyi <sup>0</sup> tykwa <sup>14</sup> qan <sup>0</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> , since hour COMPL_aux sit city.hall	From the time the city hall took its place.

The formulas in Example 10.25 are an instance of metonymy that refers to the SJQ community institutions and organizations. The first formula in lines 1 and 2 means “San Juan Quiahije, and the formula in lines 3 and 4 refer to the community institutions.

### 7.1.3 Formulas based on landscape and community terms

Many of the formulas displayed in Table 10.1 are made with pairings of nouns that refer to the topography of SJQ including *kyqya*<sup>2</sup>/*kchin*<sup>4</sup> ‘mountains/community’. The following example is from a political speech given in city hall.

Example 10.26 E. Vasquez (2004)

1	Sqwan <sup>14</sup> yan <sup>1</sup> anq <sup>32</sup> kyqya <sup>2</sup> , POT_put hand_1INCL mountains	Let’s lend a hand to <u>the mountains</u> ,
2	Sqwan <sup>14</sup> yan <sup>0</sup> anq <sup>32</sup> kchin <sup>4</sup> , POT_put hand_1INCL community	Let’s lend a hand to <u>the community</u> ,
3	Ndywen <sup>4</sup> sten <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> , HAB_say father_1INCL	Said our fathers,
4	Ndywen <sup>4</sup> yqa <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> . HAB_say mother_1INCL	Said our mothers.

These combined terms are a poetic and elevated way of referring to the community of “San Juan Quiahije.” This pair shows up in a wide range of SJQ speeches (e.g., prayers, persuasive speech, and everyday speech). This formula takes specific elements from the San Juan Quiahije cosmos (namely mountains) to refer to the entire community of San Juan Quiahije. The orator also uses these expressions as a rhetorical persuasive tool to stress the importance of giving free service to the community.

The texts in this study also have many formulas made with terms that describe the topography of the SJQ landscape such as. The formula *kyqya*<sup>2</sup>/*ntenq*<sup>3</sup> ‘mountains/valleys’ is another example of a formula made with terms that refer to the landscape of the community. Similarly the formula *kyqya*<sup>2</sup> *tlyu*<sup>2</sup>/*sa*<sup>4</sup> *kwi*<sup>4</sup> *tlyu*<sup>2</sup> ‘big mountain/the steep slope’ is another formula that uses the shape of the landscape to describe the road to Juquila from SJQ.

#### **7.1.4 Formulas based on terms with gender relations**

The great majority of texts analyzed in this study include formulas made with the dual terms *qyu<sup>1</sup>/qan<sup>1</sup>* ‘men/women’. This formula expresses a wide range of meanings including parents, ancestors, and authorities. Formulas that group gender relations have also been widely reported in the poetics of many Mesoamerican languages. Example 10.27 illustrates this grouping in Ch’orti’.

Example 10.27 (Hull 2003:146, example 1)

Example 1:

A’si tamar e Niños Venturoso,

Niñas Venturas.

They are playing on the Adventurous Boys,

Adventurous Girls.

Hull (2003) states that the gender grouping in this examples lies in the pairing of "Adventurous Boys and Adventurous Girls" (p 146). Just like Chatino, the masculine and feminine aspect alludes to a meaning of completeness and wholeness.

#### **7.1.5 Formulas based on body part terms**

The texts analyzed in this study also include many formulas with terms that denote body parts. Combinations of body-part terms describe a wide range of actions, postures, gestures, states, and events. For instances *kwi<sup>4</sup>-tya<sup>32</sup>/yqwe<sup>42</sup>/styin<sup>4</sup>* ‘fontaneles/wings/feathers’ is a formula found in the *Chanq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* text, analyzed in Chapter 9. This formula is used to describe the gifts that godparents present to the

godchild in coming-of-age ceremony ceremonies. Another formula in this group includes *kyaq<sup>24</sup>/son<sup>42</sup>* ‘foot/ foundation’. This formula is employed by orators to highlight the importance of tradition. The formula *yaq<sup>2</sup>/skon<sup>2</sup>* ‘hand/arm’ is a formula found in the Prayer for the community and it is employed by the orator to pray for help for the new generation. Similarly the paired motif *yaq<sup>2</sup>/kyaq<sup>24</sup>* ‘hand/feet’ is a *difrasismo* that stands for ‘errand boys in city hall, as discussed in Chapters 5 and 7. Example 10.28 discusses this last formula.

Example 10.28 R. Cruz (2004)

ngwa <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> yaq <sup>2</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> COMPL_be you(pl subj) hand us(INCL)	you were our <u>hands</u>
ngwa <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> kyaq <sup>24</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> COMPL_be you(pl subj) feet us(INCL)	you were our <u>feet</u>
ngwa <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> COMPL_be you(pl subj)	you were

The reason for the use of limbs to express a helper seem just as much semantic as aesthetic since the people who are metaphorically our hands and feet are not physical appendages on our bodies. Members of the community also use this expression outside of city hall when addressing the errand boys in a formal way. Below I present an anecdote of community members using this formulaic phrase outside city hall.

Tiburcia Cruz Baltazar (T. Cruz) from Cieneguilla (pc 2009), recounted that a community guard came to her house on order of the local authorities to request her presence at city hall to resolve a dispute she had with another member of the community. Example 10.29 shows the conversation that ensues between T. Cruz and the city hall helpers. The places where she uses extremities to refer to helpers of city hall are underlined.

Example 10.29

1	qna <sup>3</sup> qa <sup>24</sup> qwan <sup>4</sup> poor very to.you(pl)	Poor you
2	ntqan <sup>4</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> PROG_go.around_NB you(Pl subj)	you are going around
3	ndon <sup>42</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> PROG_stand you(Pl subj)	you are standing guard
4	chaq <sup>3</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>32</sup> yaq <sup>2</sup> , because PROG_be you(Pl subj) hand	you are <u>the hands</u>
5	nka <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>32</sup> kyaq <sup>4</sup> neq <sup>4</sup> sya <sup>10</sup> PROG_be you(Pl subj) feet authorities	you are the feet of the authorities
6	ja <sup>4</sup> sqan <sup>1</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> Not POT_go_1SG with you(Pl subj)	I won't be coming with you

Lines (4 and 5) in Example 10.29 show that T. Cruz uses the formula *yaq*<sup>2</sup> ‘hand’ and *kyaq*<sup>4</sup> ‘feet’ to address the city hall helpers when they come to visit her house. Mixtec, an Otomanguean language spoken in Oaxaca, also uses the same formula to express helpers in city hall (Hollenbach 1997).

**7.1.6 Formulas based on terms of community tradition**

The traditions of the community are described with the formula *chaq*<sup>3</sup> *wtsiq*<sup>3</sup>/*chaq*<sup>3</sup> *wnaq*<sup>2</sup> ‘something hidden/ something astray’. This formula expresses that the traditions of the community are open and not hidden. Similarly the table where the guests of honor sit at a feast is described in the following way: *sa*<sup>1</sup> *qo*<sup>0</sup>/*sa*<sup>1</sup> *qwna*<sup>0</sup>/*sa*<sup>1</sup> *ke*<sup>0</sup>/*sa*<sup>0</sup> *ntyin*<sup>0</sup>/*sa*<sup>0</sup> *ksiq*<sup>0</sup> ‘holy table/sacred table/adorned table/*ntyin*<sup>14</sup> table/*ksiq*<sup>1</sup> table’.

**7.1.7 Formulas based on terms related to time**

There are many formulas that express time periods such as one year, 24 hours, and all the time. Example 10.30 illustrates this.



Example 10.30

Formulaic terms	literal gloss	time period
yjan <sup>4</sup> /Koq <sup>3</sup> /Kla <sup>4</sup>	year/moon/star	one year
Tsan <sup>3</sup> /Wra <sup>1</sup> /Xa <sup>3</sup>	day/hour/light	24 hour period
Tsan <sup>4</sup> /Tla <sup>14</sup>	day/night	all the time

Example 10.30 shows that the combination of the terms *yjan<sup>4</sup>/koq<sup>3</sup>/kla<sup>4</sup>* ‘year/moon/star’ expresses a one-year period. The combination of *tsan<sup>4</sup>/wra<sup>1</sup>/xa<sup>3</sup>* ‘day/hour/light’ signifies a 24-hour period. The combination of *tsan<sup>14</sup>/tla<sup>10</sup>* ‘day/night’ denotes ‘all the time’. Example 10.31 below illustrates these formulas.

Example 10.31 R. Cruz (2004)

1	Wa <sup>2</sup> xqwe <sup>3</sup> qin <sup>24</sup> ndiyo <sup>14</sup> -si <sup>0</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> already thanks to god because	We thank god because:
2	Wa <sup>2</sup> ntqa <sup>42</sup> yjan <sup>4</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> already COMPL_complete year us(INCL)	We have completed our year,
3	Wa <sup>2</sup> ntqa <sup>42</sup> koq <sup>3</sup> already COMPL_complete moon	We have completed our month [moon],
4	Ntqa <sup>42</sup> kla <sup>4</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> in <sup>20</sup> COMPL_complete star us(INCL), hm?	We have completed our day [star].

This example is a fragment from a speech of the ceremony of the changing of the authorities in San Juan Quiahije. The orator expresses that they have completed one year of service. Example 10.32 illustrates another example of a formula with time.

Example 10.32 B. Zurita (2009)

1	Wa <sup>2</sup> already	ntqa <sup>42</sup> complete	tsan <sup>4</sup> , day	The day has drawn to a close,
2	Wa <sup>2</sup> already	ntqa <sup>42</sup> complete	wra <sup>1</sup> , hour	The hour has drawn to a close,
3	Wa <sup>2</sup> already	ntqa <sup>42</sup> complete	xa <sup>3</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> . light now	The light has drawn to a close.

This example is also taken from an event of the changing of the authorities. The orator chooses to use a 24-hour cycle to express that they have completed their service.

The poetics of both modern and ancient Mayan languages also express periods of time using some of the same combinations of terms as SJQ (e.g., day/year/; day/night/; night/morning). Christenson (2000), Hull (2003), and Townsend (1980) provide many examples of *difrasismo* expressing time from the Popol Vuh, Ch’orti’ texts, ancient hieroglyphic Mayan texts, and Ixil. Below is an example by Christenson (2003) from the Popol Vuh.

Example 10.33

Day rain,                      Q’ijil jä  
Night rain.                    Aq’äb’äl jäb’

(Christenson 2000:14)

The combination of the terms day and night also expresses “all the time” in the Popul Vuh. Similarly drawing from texts of curing rituals in Ch’orti’ and from ancient Cho’lan hieroglyphics, Hull (2003) shows that the combination of the terms: day/night/hour mean “all the time”. Below I replicate some examples from Hull (2003).

Example 10.34 Hull (2003:139, his examples 1 and 2)

Example 1

ch'a'r a'syob' atz'I ya' tamar e silensyo diya,

tamar e silensyo noche.

They are playing indeed in the silent day,

in the silent night.

Example 2

Ink'ajti niwamparo koche ink'b'are,

koche insakojpa.

I plead for my assistance as much at night,

as the morning.

Hull states that the combination of the expressions “playing in the silent day and in the silent night” in Example 10.34, connotes the idea of “all the time.” Hull states that healers use this expression to mean that the evil spirits are conspiring or playing “all the time” to bring affliction and pain to the patient.

Hull adds that the combination of the terms “night/morning” as in Example 10.34 also carries the idea of “all the time.” Hull says that in this context the healer is expressing that he “always” pleads to the spirits for their assistance. Another pairing of terms that carries the idea of “time” in Maya Ch'orti' is the combination of the terms ora/diya ‘hour/day’. Below I present an example from Hull.

Example 10.35 (Figure 24 Hull 2003:140)

Ch'a'r tamar e silensyo ora,            Lying in the silent hour,  
tamar e silensyo diya.                In the silent day.

Below I illustrate another example of the combination of the term “day and year” taken from hieroglyphic texts provided by Hull, combine the terms day and year in texts. This example is from page 24 of the Dresden Codex.

Example 10.36 (Hull 2003:438, Figure 52a)

xu?-le K'IN-ni/  
xu?-le HAB'/  
xu'? k'in,  
xu'? haab'.  
Work? (in) the day,  
Work? (in) the year,

Hull argues that “this couplet seem to be operating as a metaphorical reference to a general notion of time or all the time” (p 438).

### **7.1.8 Formulas based on different elements**

Many formulas in SJQ verbal art are based on a wide range of elements. For instance, *tynyi*<sup>10</sup>/*pla*<sup>4</sup>*ta*<sup>10</sup>/*qo*<sup>14</sup>*ro*<sup>0</sup> ‘money/silver/gold’ is used to elaborate on issues relating to money. *Steq*<sup>4</sup>/*sna*<sup>42</sup> ‘clothes/ footwear’ is another formula built from terms of clothing. This formula is found in the *Cambio* text. The formula: *no*<sup>4</sup> *ndwi*<sup>1</sup> *tykwan*<sup>3</sup> *qo*<sup>2</sup>

*yaq*<sup>2</sup>/*no*<sup>4</sup> *ndwi*<sup>1</sup> *tykwan*<sup>3</sup> *qna*<sup>4</sup> *yaq*<sup>2</sup> ‘the one who holds a holy metal object in his hand/the one who holds a sacred metal object in his hand’ is an elaboration that describes a priest. Lastly the formula: *tan*<sup>42</sup>/*tne*<sup>42</sup> ‘fat/ blood’ is used to express gratitude for the food served at a feast. Example 10.37 below provides a context of this last formula.

Example 10.37 G. Cruz (2010)

1	Ja <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> na <sup>3</sup> wji <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , not one one thing COMPL_miss now	There is no [nourishment] missing
2	ja <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> na <sup>3</sup> xno <sup>32</sup> re <sup>2</sup> , not one one thing COMPL_leave now	there is no [nourishment] left out
3	ti <sup>2</sup> kwiq <sup>1</sup> na <sup>3</sup> ndya <sup>2</sup> tan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>42</sup> , the same thing PROG_become fat	this will become our body’s fat
4	ti <sup>2</sup> kwiq <sup>1</sup> na <sup>3</sup> ndya <sup>2</sup> tne <sup>42</sup> en <sup>42</sup> the same thing PROG_become blood	this will become our body’s blood
5	ti <sup>2</sup> kwiq <sup>1</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> , the same that.one	they are present

Lines (3, 4) in this passage groups terms related to bodily essences: *tan*<sup>42</sup> *an*<sup>42</sup> ‘fat’ and *tne*<sup>42</sup> ‘blood’. Formulas that combine elements made by related material has also been reported in K’iche’ by Christenson (2000) and in Ch’orti’ by Hull (2003). Hull offers the following example from a Ch’orti’ prayer.

Example 10.38 Hull (2003:142)

Grano de oro,                      Grains of gold,  
I grano de plato              And grains of silver.

The couplet in example combines the terms for two precious metals: gold and silver. Hull (2003) states that “the association of “gold” and “silver” express the idea that something is “precious” (p 142).

### **7.1.9 Formulas based on nouns that describe life events**

The texts analyzed in this study also comprise many terms that connote different stages and events of a person's life. They include formulas like *no<sup>4</sup> yqu<sup>2</sup>/no<sup>4</sup> ndlu<sup>3</sup>/no<sup>4</sup> suq<sup>3</sup>/no<sup>4</sup> sen<sup>3</sup>* 'those who survived/those who thrived/those who matured/those who multiplied'; *no<sup>4</sup> kwiq<sup>2</sup>/no<sup>4</sup> kneq<sup>1</sup>* 'the ones that are babies/the ones that are young'; *no<sup>4</sup> ntsu<sup>42</sup>/no<sup>4</sup> yla<sup>1</sup>* 'those who sprout/ those who are born'.

### **7.1.10 Formulas made with names of towns**

Names of towns surrounding SJQ are also part of the make up of formulas. For instance, the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>*, a text analyzed in Chapter 9 names the towns of *Si<sup>4</sup> nda<sup>4</sup> nya<sup>14</sup>/Sqwe<sup>3</sup>* 'Santiago Minas/ Juquila'. *Si<sup>4</sup> nda<sup>4</sup> nya<sup>1</sup>* is located to the North of SJQ and the *Sqwe<sup>3</sup>* is on the Southwest.

## **7.2 Formulas constructed with verbs and verb phrases**

The texts analyzed in this study yielded a large number of formulas with verbs and verb phrases. The most salient ones are those that combine position, motion, and communication verbs as I have been stating all along in Chapter 5,7,8, 9. Many of these formulas also result in *difrasismo*, contrasts, and synonymy. Below I discuss some examples.

### 7.2.1 Verbs of position and motion

Example 10.39 R. Cruz (2004)

1	kanq <sup>42</sup> then	that one
2	yan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> qan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> in <sup>20</sup> COMPL.go.NB, COMPL.go_around.NB, hm?	We went forth, we went about
2	chaq <sup>3</sup> qin <sup>24</sup> qya <sup>2</sup> thing of mountains	on behalf of the mountains
3	chaq <sup>3</sup> qin <sup>24</sup> chin <sup>32</sup> in <sup>20</sup> thing of community, hm?	On behalf of the community, hm?

In this passage, the orator combines two closely related verbs of motion *ya*<sup>42</sup> ‘we went forth (NB) and *qan*<sup>4</sup> ‘went about (NB)’ to describe the duties that the authorities carried out on behalf of the community. Example 10.40 illustrates another example of a formula with verbs of motion.

Example 10.40

1	Se <sup>4</sup> nyo <sup>3</sup> : re <sup>14</sup> , sirs	Sirs,
2	qan <sup>1</sup> ndiya <sup>0</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> tiye <sup>32</sup> qwan <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> -na <sup>3</sup> as like- essence chest to.you(pl), so-that	As for your fulfillment of this duty,
3	ntqan <sup>32</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> in <sup>20</sup> PROG.going_around you(pl subj) hm?	You are going about
4	ndon <sup>32</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> in <sup>20</sup> PROG.stand you (pl subj) hm?	You are standing guard.

This pair expresses the manner in which a person in a position of authority performs his job on behalf of the community. Namely he carries out errands around town and stands guard in city hall. Another related formula is For instance, the formula

*kwan*<sup>14</sup>/*qen*<sup>1</sup>*en*<sup>32</sup> ‘we sat/we /resided’ uses two positional verbs to express a *difrasismo* that means to “preside” both at a public place and at one’s home.

Another formula *ntykwa*<sup>4</sup>/*ndya*<sup>32</sup>/*ntqo*<sup>20</sup>-*skwa*<sup>3</sup> ‘to reach/to arrive/to come out on top’ expresses the notion of achieving a goal. In these texts we also see a large display of compounds made with motion and position verbs.

Likewise the formula *ntqo1-ton*<sup>4</sup>/*ntqo*<sup>1</sup>-*tkwa*<sup>14</sup> ‘to come out standing/to come out sitting (elevated)’ denotes that someone has been elected to serve an office in city hall.

Example 10.41 below provides a context for this formula.

Example 10.41 S. Zurita (2010)

1	qwan <sup>1</sup> ndiya <sup>0</sup> -riq <sup>2</sup> tiye <sup>32</sup> qwan <sup>32</sup> as like-essence chest to.you(pl)	as for you,
2	chaq <sup>3</sup> -na <sup>3</sup> <u>ntqo<sup>1</sup>-ton<sup>4</sup></u> because COMPL_come.out-stand	as you came out <u>standing</u> ,
3	<u>ntqo<sup>1</sup>-tkwa<sup>14</sup></u> wan <sup>1</sup> COMPL_come.out-sit.elevated you(pl subj)	as you came out <u>sitting</u> <u>elevated</u> ,
4	chaq <sup>3</sup> -na <sup>3</sup> qne <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>32</sup> ser <sup>4</sup> wi <sup>14</sup> to POT_serve you(pl subj) serve	to serve,
5	no <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> qya <sup>2</sup> the.one PROG_be mountains	the mountains,
6	no <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> kchin <sup>1</sup> ndywen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> the.one PROG_be community HAB_say_1INCL and	the community, we say.

The formula that concerns this discussion is found in lines 2 and 3, Example (10.41). In the same manner, the combination of three positional verbs *sni*<sup>4</sup>-*tkwi*<sup>1</sup> ‘to take hanging’, *sni*<sup>4</sup>-*ton*<sup>42</sup> ‘to take standing’ and *sni*<sup>4</sup>-*tkwi*<sup>1</sup> ‘to take sitting (elevated)’ is a *difrasismo* that expresses the meaning of “accepting an invitation”. Example 10.42 provides the context of this formula.



Example 10. 42 G. Cruz (2010)

1	qan <sup>1</sup> ndiya <sup>24</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> tiye <sup>32</sup> re <sup>2</sup> , ne <sup>2</sup> as like- essence chest this, now	As for how these people feel now
2	ne <sup>20</sup> en <sup>32</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> , COMPL.request then	We invited them
3	ntsan <sup>20</sup> anq <sup>32</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> COMPL.tell.INCL then	We let them know
4	no <sup>4</sup> snyi <sup>4</sup> tykwi <sup>1</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> , the_one COMPL.grab STAT_hang then	Those who <u>took hanging</u>
5	no <sup>4</sup> snyi <sup>4</sup> ton <sup>42</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> , the_one COMPL.grab STAT_stand then	Those who <u>took standing</u>
6	no <sup>4</sup> snyi <sup>4</sup> tykwa <sup>14</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> the_one COMPL.grab STAT_sit(elevated) then	Those who <u>took sitting</u> (elevated)

Other compounds made with motion verbs include *yan<sup>42</sup>-qo<sup>1</sup>/yan<sup>42</sup>-tkwa<sup>14</sup>* ‘to bringing with/to place elevated. This formula is employed by orators to express the manner in which the guests place at the table the presents they’ve brought for the celebration. Similarly, the formula *la<sup>1</sup>-ton<sup>42</sup>/la<sup>1</sup>-tqen<sup>20</sup>* ‘to leave standing/to leave existing’ gives off the meaning of “abandoning” something such as an obligation to one’s own home. The formula *jen<sup>2</sup>-yaq<sup>2</sup>/jen<sup>2</sup>-yqwi<sup>1</sup>* ‘passed *ya<sup>2</sup>*/pass-exist’ connotes the meaning to survive. In the same manner, the combination of *kwa<sup>14</sup>/qne<sup>42</sup> yka<sup>24</sup>* ‘obey/followed’ is a formula used to express that someone has obey and carried out the wishes of their parents.

These texts in this study also comprised of many formulas that combine motion verbs and body parts. When describing postures and gestures supplicants assume during prayer, terms of upper extremities are commonly used. For example: *tqan<sup>1</sup> lo<sup>24</sup>/tqan<sup>1</sup> ke<sup>42</sup>* ‘rub front/rub head’. This formula describes the gestures that a supplicant performs

when praying on someone's behalf. Similarly the formula  $sqwa^{14}-yaq^0/sqwa^{14}-skon^0$  'to give a hand/give an arm' is a *difrasismo* that connotes the meaning 'helping someone'.

The formula  $ntyqya^1-ton^{42} / ntyqya^1-tkwa^{14}$  'to set standing/to set elevated' describes the manner in which supplicants place the materials of prayer (including candles and flowers) at the prayer site. This formula is part of *The Visit* text, analyzed in chapter 7.

The formula  $tqa^{42} tykwa^{14} / tqa^{42} tyqan^4$  'someone to sit (elevated) with/ someone to go about with' is made with position verbs. This formula is a metonymy that express notion "to find a husband or wife".

### **7.2.2 Formulas made with verbs of cognition and communication**

Many of the formulas identified in this study are made with verbs of cognition and communication including the verbs "to hear," "to see," "to speak," and "to ask". For instance the formula  $ntyqan^{24}/kna^{24}/tykwiq^4$  'he or she will see/he or she will hear /he or she will speak', describes the duties that elders serving city hall perform on behalf of the community members. Example 10.43 below illustrates this formula.

Example 10.43 B. Zurita (2009)

1	Xka <sup>32</sup> no <sup>4</sup> tyqan <sup>24</sup> another one POT_see	Someone else <u>will see</u> ,
2	Xka <sup>32</sup> no <sup>4</sup> kna <sup>24</sup> another one POT_hear	Someone else <u>will listen</u> ,
3	Xka <sup>32</sup> no <sup>4</sup> tykwiq <sup>4</sup> another one POT_hear	Someone else <u>will speak</u> ,
4	Xka <sup>32</sup> no <sup>4</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> another one POT_be	Someone else will take charge,
5	Xka <sup>32</sup> no <sup>4</sup> tqan <sup>20</sup> lo <sup>24</sup> another one POT_rub face	Someone else [a new elder] will bless his/her face,
6	Xka <sup>32</sup> no <sup>4</sup> kwqan <sup>20</sup> ke <sup>42</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> another one POT_rub head now	Someone else [a new elder ]will lay hands on top of his/her head.

This passage expresses that since the present administration is leaving office, others will take their place and fulfill these duties on behalf of the community.

Other formulas made with verbs of communication include *ykwiaq<sup>4</sup>-xwe<sup>20</sup>/ykwiaq<sup>4</sup>-sta<sup>1</sup>* ‘to speak small/ to speak smash’. This formula gives off the meaning “to speak in a disorganized way.” Another formula in this group is *yna<sup>3</sup>/ykwiaq<sup>24</sup>* ‘cried/spoke’. This particular formula is employed by orators when conducting prayers at the bell located at the center of San Juan. Similarly, the formula *ne<sup>1</sup>/ytsaq<sup>3</sup>* ‘to invite/to tell’ expresses that someone has invited his or her relations to attend a feast. Similarly the formula *qen<sup>4</sup> jya<sup>2</sup>/qen<sup>4</sup> sti<sup>1</sup>/qen<sup>4</sup> ykwiaq<sup>4</sup>* ‘to play/ to laugh/to speak’ expresses the manner in which guests must enjoy themselves at a celebration.

Example 10.44 below illustrates a formula that combines a communication verb plus a body part is *jnya<sup>1</sup>-yaq<sup>2</sup>/jnya<sup>1</sup>- tqwa<sup>4</sup>* ‘to ask by hand/to ask by mouth’.

Example 10.44 S. Zurita (2009)

1	Kwan <sup>20</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> qa <sup>24</sup> jnya <sup>20</sup> yaq <sup>2</sup> , same only appear COMPL_ask hand	It is just the way they asked by hand
2	tqwa <sup>4</sup> renq <sup>4</sup> qin <sup>24</sup> mouth indef.pl.h to(him)	they [asked] by mouth
3	ni <sup>4</sup> kwa <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> snyiq <sup>32</sup> qya <sup>2</sup> , for all PROG_be children mountains	for each and every child of the mountains,
4	ni <sup>4</sup> kwa <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> snyiq <sup>32</sup> kchin <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , for all PROG_be children mountains now ndywen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> . HAB_say_1INCL	for each and every child of the community, we say.

The use of *yaq<sup>2</sup>/tqwa<sup>4</sup>* ‘hand/mouth’ in Example 10.44 describes the manner in which people in SJQ carry out prayers. Namely that people make the cross sign on their faces, and while uttering words with their mouths.

### 7.3 Formulas made with prepositional phrases

Many formulas are made with prepositional phrases. For instance *lo<sup>4</sup> tqwa<sup>14</sup>/lo<sup>4</sup> tlyaq<sup>32</sup>* ‘in cold weather /in freezing weather’ expresses the sacrifices that elder endure when praying on behalf of the community; namely that they have to venture out in cold and freezing weather . Another related formula is *lo<sup>1</sup> yu<sup>32</sup>/lo<sup>1</sup> kti<sup>14</sup>* ‘to the dirt/ to the garbage’. This formula is employed by orators to express that the traditions of the community must not be discarded. Another related formula is: *lo<sup>4</sup> kwan<sup>4</sup>/lo<sup>4</sup> xa<sup>3</sup>/lo<sup>4</sup> xa<sup>4</sup>-liyu<sup>32</sup>* ‘on sunlight/on light/on the world’.

## 7.4 Formulas with adverbs

The texts analyzed here also have formulas with adverbs such as *sqen<sup>4</sup> kwa<sup>14</sup>*/*sqen<sup>4</sup> ndon<sup>42</sup>* ‘where he sat (elevated)/ where he stood’. Below I discuss the context of some of these formulas.

Example 10.45 R. Cruz (2004)

1	Cha <sup>3</sup> -no <sup>24</sup> tyqwi <sup>24</sup> cha <sup>3</sup> -tlyu <sup>2</sup> -riq <sup>2</sup> so that POT.have forgiveness	In order for you to have forgiveness within you
2	cha <sup>3</sup> -no <sup>24</sup> ti <sup>2</sup> nsqya <sup>1</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> qwan <sup>4</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> so that still COMPL.call us to.you(pl), hm?	We called you again [tonite], hm?
3	ke <sup>4</sup> -sya <sup>10</sup> ndiya <sup>24</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> tye <sup>32</sup> qwan <sup>32</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> as like essence chest to.you(pl), hm?	As your heart permits you, hm?
4	sqen <sup>4</sup> kwan <sup>14</sup> where COMPL.sit (elevated)	<u>where we sat</u>
5	sqen <sup>4</sup> ndon <sup>42</sup> on <sup>32</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> where COMPL.sit .INCL.(elevated) hm?	<u>Where we stood,</u> hm?

The contrast of sitting (elevated) and standing in this passage results in a *difrasismo* that means “to stand guard” and “to hold a position” in city hall.

In these texts we also find examples of formulas made with adverbs such as *klaq<sup>1</sup>/kti<sup>20</sup>* ‘to calm/to placate’. This formula is used in prayers and it expresses that the material offerings that supplicants take to the saints and higher power will be used to placate and calm the spirits. Example 10.46 illustrates this.

Example 10.46

Ska <sup>4</sup> nkaq <sup>4</sup> , one leaf <sup>4</sup> ,	A leaf,
Ska <sup>4</sup> ke <sup>2</sup> one flower	A flower,
Cha <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> xi <sup>1</sup> , so.that POT_be sweet	that will be sweet,
Cha <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> xonq <sup>24</sup> , so.that POT_be tasty	that will be tasty
Cha <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> klaq <sup>1</sup> , so.that POT_be calm	that will be <u>calm</u> ,
Cha <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> kti <sup>20</sup> , so.that POT_be placid	that will be <u>placid</u> .

Example 10.47 illustrates another formula made with adverbs.

Example 10.47

6	nka <sup>24</sup> xa <sup>0</sup> tyin <sup>24</sup> in <sup>32</sup> PROG_be community_1INCL	because this is our community
7	nka <sup>24</sup> <u>gen<sup>0</sup> ntson<sup>42</sup> on<sup>32</sup></u> PROG_be where COMPL_sprout_1INCL	because it is the place <u>where we sprouted</u>
8	<u>sqen<sup>4</sup> nlan<sup>1</sup> an<sup>1</sup></u> where COMPL_born_1INCL	this is the place where we were born
9	Qne <sup>14</sup> ku <sup>0</sup> mpli <sup>14</sup> POT_do_1INCL comply	we will serve

This stanza states that it is an obligation of every citizen of San Juan Quiahije to serve city hall and the community because this is the place where they were born.

## 7.5 Formulas made with propositions

There are a small number of formulas made with propositions. For instance *qa*<sup>4</sup> *tyi*<sup>32</sup>/*qa*<sup>4</sup> *xyaq*<sup>2</sup> ‘this can’t end/this can’t fade’. This formula is also used by SJQ orators to plea for the maintenance of tradition. Another related expression is *kwa*<sup>14</sup> *jnyaq*<sup>0</sup> *yaq*<sup>0</sup>/*kwa*<sup>14</sup> *jnyaq*<sup>0</sup> *kyaq*<sup>0</sup> ‘for tiredness to sit on the hand/for tiredness to sit on the feet’. This particular expression is used when elders want to acknowledge the sacrifices that city hall helpers endured while serving the community.

## 7.6 Formulas unique to Chatino

Next I will present a list of formulas in SJQ Chatino that up to this point I have not seen in the literature of other Mesoamerican languages.

Formulaic terms	Literal gloss	Meaning
mba <sup>14</sup> /ndlyi <sup>24</sup>	compadre/comadre	parents and godparents
tan <sup>4</sup> /tne <sup>42</sup>	fat/blood	the body
lo <sup>4</sup> kwan <sup>4</sup> /lo <sup>4</sup> xa <sup>1</sup> - liyu <sup>32</sup>	warmth of the sun/earth	physical plane
la <sup>42</sup> /qan <sup>4</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup>	church city hall	community institution
tnya <sup>3</sup> /sya <sup>10</sup>	work/justice	representative
xi <sup>4</sup> /xonq <sup>24</sup>	sweet/tasty	sweet and tasty to entice or besiege the souls and spirits
klaq <sup>1</sup> /kti <sup>20</sup>	to cool off/to placate	to calm the spirit to placate the soul (saints, dead spirits)
sqen <sup>4</sup> kwa <sup>14</sup> /sqen <sup>4</sup> ndon <sup>42</sup>	where he sat (elevated)/ where he stood, hm?	To serve, to preside
qnyi <sup>1</sup> ton <sup>42</sup> /qnyi <sup>1</sup> kqan <sup>20</sup>	to make stand/to make sit (on the ground)	planting or imprinting an idea on someone's chest or mind
snyi <sup>4</sup> tykwi <sup>1</sup> /snyi <sup>4</sup> ton <sup>42</sup> /snyi <sup>4</sup> tkwa <sup>14</sup>	to hold hanging/to hold standing/ to hold sitting (elevated)	to accept an invitation
la <sup>1</sup> ton <sup>42</sup> /la <sup>1</sup> tqen <sup>20</sup>	to leave standing/to leave existing	to abandon an obligation
ntqo <sup>1</sup> ton <sup>42</sup> /ntqo <sup>1</sup> tkwa <sup>14</sup>	came out standing/came out sitting elevated	to be appointed for a position of authority
sna <sup>2</sup> lo <sup>1</sup> /sna <sup>2</sup> kyaq <sup>1</sup>	before you/on your feet	to stand in front
jen <sup>2</sup> yaq <sup>2</sup> /jen <sup>2</sup> yqwi <sup>1</sup>	passed ya <sup>2</sup> /pass-exist	to survive
ya <sup>42</sup> /qan <sup>4</sup>	he went/he went around	he went around
tqan <sup>1</sup> lo <sup>24</sup> /tqan <sup>1</sup> ke <sup>42</sup>	rub front/rub head	to bless a person with an instrument of prayer
lo <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>32</sup> /jen <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup>	to take out/to bring through	to bring through
kwa <sup>140</sup> /qne <sup>42</sup> yka <sup>4</sup>	to obey/to follow	to follow commands
ntsu <sup>42</sup> /nla <sup>1</sup>	to sprout/ to be born	to be born
jya <sup>2</sup> /sty <sup>10</sup> /ykwiq <sup>4</sup>	played/laughed/spoke	to have fun
yna <sup>3</sup> /ykwiq <sup>24</sup>	cried/spoke	to pray on someone's behalf
ngwa <sup>2</sup> jyaq <sup>3</sup> /yqwi <sup>24</sup> sqen <sup>32</sup>	to be arranged/to be stored	to arrange, to plan, to agree

Table 10.2: Formulaic expressions identified in Chatino and not in other Mesoamerican languages



Among the most salient *difrasismo* illustrated in Table 10.2 are those from position and motion verbs. Thus far I have not seen any work that specifically describes verbs of position as elements that are elaborated in formulas in the literature of Mesoamerican languages.

### 7.7 Formulas in Mesoamerica, not found in SJQ Chatino

In this part I discuss some unique formulas and *difrasismo* in Mesoamerica languages, which are not found in SJQ verbal art. Suslak (2010) reports that Totontepec Mixe, a Mixe-Zoque language spoken in Oaxaca, expresses different emotions such as sincerity, honesty, and hypocrisy by enumerating different body parts such as eye, mouth, and stomach. Below I reproduce an example from Mixe from Suslak.

Example 10.48 Suslak (2010:93)

(5) tù?k ?aaj tù?k joot

tù?k ?av tù?k joot

one mouth one stomach

‘with total sincerity’

Example 10.48 shows that the combination of mouth and stomach connotes the meaning “total sincerity”. Chatino does not have a *difrasismo* like this one. Similarly M.S. Edmonson (1986) compiled the following formulas in Yucatec Maya from the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel.

Example 10.49 M.S. Edmonson (1986:565)

Literal components	Metaphorical meaning
Rope and cord	war
sticks and stones	war
born and engendered	noble
fatherless and motherless	poor peasant
older and younger brothers	everybody
gourdroot and breadnut	famine
food and water	fate
shot and shout	son
pants and sandals	religion

These formulas do not exist in SJQ either.

### **7.8 Formulas shared between Mixtec and Chatino**

Chatino and Mixtec, an Otomanguean language spoken in Oaxaca, have many formulas and *difrasismos* in common. Table 10.3, below, provides some examples.

	Chatino formulas	Mixtec formulas	Meaning
1	knaq <sup>1</sup> /tyjyan <sup>42</sup> (bone meat)	yikikuñu (bone meat)	Body
2	yu <sup>4</sup> /nti <sup>24</sup> (earth trash)	ñu'u nde'yu (earth mud)	Corpse
3	yaq <sup>2</sup> /kyaq <sup>24</sup> (hand feet)	ndaja'a (hand feet)	topil, errand boy, page
4	snyiq <sup>4</sup> kyqya <sup>2</sup> /snyiq <sup>4</sup> kchin <sup>32</sup> (child of the mountains/child of the community)	da'a Ñuu (child of the community)	A member of the community

Table 10.3: *Difrasismo* shared among Chatino and Mixtec languages (Hollenbach (2007:168 and López García 1998:108))

Table 10.3 shows that the combination of ‘bones’ and “meat” evokes the meaning of body in both Chatino and Mixtec. Similarly both languages combine the term earth and trash to denote the meaning for “corpse”. Chatino and Mixtec languages also use extremities “hand” and “feet” to denote “errand boy or page”. Another interesting combination is the use of the term “child of the community” to refer to “community members” in both Chatino and Mixtec.

Perhaps Chatino and Mixtec share the meaning of many formulas and *difrasismos* due to the fact that they are both Otomanguean languages. Another reason for these similarities is that these groups of people lived within close geographical proximity of each other and there was a lot of exchange among these cultures. Further studies need to be done in this area in order to expand the corpus of formulas and *difrasismo* in these cultures.

## **8 RITUAL LANGUAGE IN MESOAMERICAN LANGUAGES**

Ritual language (especially prayer) has inspired a large literature in Mesoamerican languages. The great majority of this research has been carried out in Maya and in Nahuatl languages. Tedlock (1983, 1985) presents extensive research in both written text and orally performed ritual speech, including the poetics in the ancient texts of the Popol Vuh and orally performed ritual language in K'iche Maya. Norman (1980) analyzes grammatical parallelism in K'iche ritual speech. Edmonson (1971, 1982) presents research on the poetics of Maya Yucatec. His analysis precedes that of Tedlock in describing parallel couplets in the Popol Vuh text. Bricker (1974, 1985) analyzes Maya Yucatec and Tzotzil Maya poetics. Gossen (1989, 1974) presents extensive surveys of different speech genres in Tzotzil Maya. Townsend (1980) analyzes ritual language in Ixil Maya from Cotzal. Hull (2003) describes ritual language in Ch'orti' Maya. Miguel León-Portilla, (for instance 1969), has written extensively on Nahuatl poetry. He is also credited as being one of the first scholars to report the presence of couplets in Maya Yucatec.

### **8.1 Place of prayer**

Chapters 1 and 6 stated that prayers are a crucial part of all major life events in both public and private spaces in the San Juan Quiahije community. This seems to also be the case in many Mesoamerican societies (see for instance Gossen 1989, Hull 2003, Townsend 1980).

The different life stages of an individual as well as the community’s culturally significant ceremonies are celebrated and observed with prayer. Table 10.4 below presents some contexts that typically involve the performance of prayers within San Juan Quiahije Chatino and some Mayan societies.

Events	SJQ Chatino	Tzotzil	Ixil	Ch’orti’	Apoala Mixtec
Events related to agriculture (requesting rain and good harvest)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Marriage rituals: requesting a bride, wedding ceremonies	Yes	Yes	Yes	No information	Yes
Political events (installing officials of the municipal government and exchanges between official in city hall and cargo holders)	Yes	Yes	No information	No information	Yes
Curing rituals	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No information
Observance of the New Year	Yes	Yes	Yes	No information	Yes
Prayers for domestic animals	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 10.4: Life events that call for a prayer in some Mesoamerican societies

Table 10.4 illustrates that people in Mesoamerica pray for their livelihood, for their domestic animals, and for good crops. Community institutions such as family, marriage, and the traditional governments have prayers associated with them too. People conduct these prayers to the images of the Catholic Church, predecessors, and places in nature. Table 10.4 shows that San Juan Quiahije Chatino, Apoala Mixtec (López García 1998), and several different Mayan communities have ritual ceremonies where authorities and elders in their official capacity pray for the wellbeing and continuation of the community.

## 8.2 Embodied communication in performance of prayer

The larger contexts in which these prayers are performed are part of a complex and highly developed system of signification (Wittig 1973:132), which includes bodily positions in addition to the spoken words and offerings. The embodied behaviors and stances that coordinate with the spoken words in prayer in Mesoamerican societies include singing, dancing, kneeling, standing, and walking on one's knees. Table 10.5 compares some embodied communication involved in prayer in Chatino and Tzotzil societies.

	Chatino	Tzotzil
Dancing	No	Yes
Singing	No	Yes
Other stances (kneeling, standing)	Yes	Yes

Table 10.5: Embodied behavior of prayer of Chatino and Tzotzil Maya

Kneeling, standing and other stances are used in Chatino and Tzotzil. However, singing and dancing are not part of Chatino prayer. In my entire corpus I only have two examples of songs in SJQ Chatino. These songs are play song on the songs is about a crow and the other is a song sung by some to their lovers.

Both societies give offerings in their prayers, but these offerings differ. According to Gossen (1989), alcohol is an important part of the ritual offerings in prayer in the Chamula societies. Alcohol is not part of the offerings in San Juan Quiahije as previously stated in section 7 in chapter 6, flowers, candles, and water are the materials that supplicants in SJQ offer to the deities. A separate point of convergence is the speed at which these speeches are spoken in performance. Townsend (1980) states that the prayers

in Ixil are performed so fast that “they are slurred over so rapidly as to be unintelligible” (21). Prayers in San Juan Quiahije Chatino are also performed in a rapid manner.

### **8.3 Thematic organization of the prayers**

Another point of convergence in the performance of prayers among Mesoamerican societies is in the rhetorical presentation and organization of themes. In order to compare and contrast the way themes are presented in Chatino and Mayan languages, below I discuss a fragment of a prayer from Ixil entitled “Warding Off”. This prayer was reported by Townsend (1980: 13). Townsend states that this prayer accompanies a home ritual for the purpose of requesting an increase in the domestic animal population.

sa.nta maři.a n.-nah-l-e Grasya,	Holy Mary full of grace,
teča? čuč,	benevolent lady,
teča? ɓa.l un-q'ila koh tyoš.	benevolent sovereign may you talk with God.
teča? ɓa.l hah-ɓal kuy-ɓal	Benevolent sovereign granter of forgiveness
hah-ɓal lisensa peřsona;	granter of permission;
teča? s-e- ɕi?	benevolent are your mouths,
teča? s-e-va ɕ.	benevolent are your faces.
s-a-ɓan ɓaʔn-il;	you will do a goodness
s-a-ɓan ča.-i-čil.	you will do a kindness.
s-un-lak ɓi.l e- ɕi?	I will raise your mouths a little;
s-un-lak ɓi.l e-va ɕ.	I will raise your faces a little.
kam i-čo.;	what is his debt
kam i-pe.na po.vře?	what is his error, the poor (one)?
tanʔa. ɕʔaʔ maʔl	his fortune/star is
loq' o-la q'i.,	a good day,
loq' o-la sah i-sweřte ɕi.,	a good light/time,
ɓa.l i-ti.čah-il tu ti-l-an-ɓal,	lord of his life in his resting place,
t-at-in-ɓal.	his being place

Table 10.6: Warding Off, Ixil prayer (Townsend 1980:21)

This prayer begins by identifying the relevant higher power, Holy Mary. The supplicant then moves on to describe the attributes of Mary, stating that she is benevolent and full of grace. Next the supplicant states that Holy Mary's powers are all-encompassing. The supplicant expresses this using a contrast of body parts: the mouth and face. The orator proceeds to state that the Holy Person will grant kindness and goodness to the supplicant. Next, using statement made in the form of questions, the orator states that the person or thing he is praying for has not done anything wrong, meaning that he or she or it is free of sin. The orator continues to request good things for



the person or thing he is praying for. The orator ends this stanza by indicating the place where God resides. He achieves this by employing two closely related terms relating to place.

The thematic organization in San Juan Quiahije prayer is very similar to that of this Ixil prayer. Both prayers begin by calling on a saint or deity, and then they proceed to list the attributes of the Holy Power. Both ritual performances use the vocabulary of body parts (e.g. face and mouth), and physical elements or constellations such as light, the sky, and the earth or world to get their point across. In the same manner, both ritual speech traditions use a variety of complementary terms such as ‘father’ and ‘mother’ to make their points more compelling.

A final notable difference between these ritual traditions is that the Ixil prayer uses statements made in the form of questions in an effort to make its appeal more compelling, while the Chatino “Prayer for the Community” does not contain statements made in the form of questions.

## **9 Structure of prayers**

There are many similarities between Chatino ritual speech and related genres in other Mesoamerican societies. These similarities and differences can be found in the structure, context, and performance of the speech.

San Juan Quiahije Chatino, Mayan, and Nahuatl formal genres rely heavily on parallelism for their poetic composition. The structure of the verse line in these poetic traditions is very similar. The poetic verse consists of a constant frame and a variable element (focus). Both the frame and the focus require pairings of similar elements.

Similarly, many formulaic phrases are *difrasismos*. In order to compare the structure of the verse line between Mayan languages and Chatino, in Table 10.7 I present a fragment of an Ixil prayer presented by Paul Townsend (1980).

ɔay dyos-e i- ɕa.-ɓal* q'i.,	oh my God, the coming of the sun,
ɔay dyos-e i- ɕa.-ɓal* sah;	oh my God, the coming of the light;
i-ɓen-a-ɓal q'i.,	the going of the sun,
i-ɓen-a-ɓal sah;	the going of the light;
ka. šo.ɓ ɔamikaɔ,	the four corners of the sky,
ka. šo.ɓ č'avaɔ;	the four corners of the earth;
ka. šo.ɓ mu.ndo;	the four corners of the world,
ka. šo.ɓ ɔa.nhel.	the four corners of the heavens;

Table 10.7: The New Year's Dawning (Townsend 1980:25)

This excerpt from the Ixil prayer “The New Year's Dawning” reveals the similarities in the structure between Mayan and Chatino prayer. This fragment is organized into stanzas with lines of verse that contain a constant part (frame, bolded and underlined) and a changing focus element. The fragment has two couplets and a quartet. The themes found in the formulaic phrase in these stanzas semantically group physical elements with celestial bodies.

## 10 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have offered a general overview of the major forms of SJQ verbal art. I also compared these forms with other poetic traditions in Mesoamerican languages. The most prevalent elements in SJQ verbal art are parallelism, relationships among focus elements, thematic rhetoric, and poetization of grammar.

Parallelism is one of the most ubiquitous elements of poetic composition in SJQ verbal art. The structure of one of the most prevalent types of parallelism in SJQ consists of a fixed part (the frame) and an empty slot that is occupied by a changing element (the focus). This structure of parallelism in SJQ closely resembles the parallel structures of other Mesoamerican verbal art including Maya, Nahuatl, Mixtec, and Mixe languages.

The relationship among focus elements is another crucial and widespread element in SJQ verbal art. This feature in SJQ verbal art gives way to formulaic, idiomatic expressions, and metaphorical expressions. The metaphorical expressions that result from the interaction of focus elements are known in the literature of Mesoamerican languages as *difrasismo*.

Thematic rhetoric, better known in the traditional literature as “persuasive or rhetorical elements” is another widespread component of SJQ verbal art. It includes statements made in the form of questions (rhetorical questions), and statements made in the form of negations.

A group of grammatical elements such as sentential adverbs, phrases, and lexemes are another class of elements that make up SJQ verbal art. These elements introduce parallel repetitions, mark thematic transition, and are also found marking the boundary of poetic lines.

Poetization of grammar is when grammatical elements in a language are used creatively for poetic means. Aspectual forms, possessive elements, and personal pronoun inflections are some of the most salient element in the grammar of SJQ that participate in

poetization of grammar. In addition to the aforementioned elements, SJQ poetics also uses sporadic elements of poetic composition such as vocalic and tonal assonance.

SJQ poetics shares the meaning of many formulas with other Mesoamerican languages. Although Chatino shares the meaning of many formulas and *difrasismos* with many Mesoamerican languages, the meanings of Mixtec *difrasismos* are the ones that bears the closest resemblance to Chatino formulas and *difrasismos*. For instance, the combination of the terms “hand” and “feet” denotes “errand boy” in both Mixtec and Chatino.

Some components and forms that are unique to Chatino include frame tags, specific formulaic expressions, and the meanings of many *difrasismo* that are built from verbs of position and motion. Similarly Mesoamerican languages have many poetic features that are not present in SJQ verbal art. For instance both Mixtec and Mayan languages use the formula “mat” and “throne” to denote “authority”. Mixe languages also use body parts to express a wide range of emotions and behaviors (e.g., one mouth/one stomach signifies “with total sincerity”). These are not found in SJQ Chatino verbal art.

## Chapter 11 General conclusion

### 1 INTRODUCTION

This section provides a general conclusion to this study and proposes future directions for research on this area. San Juan Quiahije citizens use verbal art to uphold tradition, reinforce the central role of the community, and strengthen the ties of family. Through performance, orators display the fundamental attitudes that San Juan Quiahije people have about their individual and collective identity. Further, Chatino verbal art, in its multiplicity of forms, manifests community member's commitments to their environment, their public institutions, ethical values, and beliefs. The three texts presented in this dissertation: "*The Visit*", "The Prayer for the Community," and the *Chaq<sup>3</sup> Ksya<sup>10</sup>* all promote the community's well-being by reminding the audience the importance of Chatino tradition and civic participation.

The intricate poetic texture and style of San Juan Quiahije verbal art is created by a confluence of multiple, distinct elements including parallelism, formulaic phrases, *difrasismo*, persuasive elements, sentential adverbs and phrases, poetization of grammar, performance, and since SJQ Chatino is a highly tonal language, there are also sporadic uses of tonal assonance. Using the rhetorical structure framework proposed by Woodbury (1985) I was able to address the many elements and forms found in SJQ Chatino verbal art into one comprehensive analysis.

Parallelism is the predominant component in SJQ verbal art. Formulaic phrases and *difrasismo* are also widespread features throughout the texts. Many grammatical features in the Chatino language have an additional poetic function which brings to light

meanings not commonly found in everyday language. For instance, persuasive speeches recited in San Juan Quiahije City Hall show an above average use of the first person plural inclusive pronoun. Orators evidently use grammatical person to convey humbleness, a sense of community, belonging, and inclusiveness, as well as to evoke feelings of endearment. Finally, in a community that prizes great oratory, the performance itself is a critical aspect in SJQ verbal art.

How an orator reaches an audience or successfully interacts with the crowd depends on a multitude of factors including the ability to speak fluently and poetically in front of the audience and the ability to coordinate one's own speech with that of others in an overlapping manner.

In addition to spoken language, the performance of Chatino has an embodied component, with obligatory physical behaviors including body postures such as sitting, kneeling, standing, and walking on knees. In addition, a speaker's physical orientation (e.g., sitting to the East or West, being inside versus being outside) plays a key role in the determination of the performance. Performers and audience members understand different stances to index different statuses. For example sitting in an elevated position, standing (in some cases), sitting on the east side of the room, or sitting inside a building always communicates greater authority, and a higher stature. By contrast, sitting on the ground, kneeling and walking on one's knees, or being outside of a building communicates a subservient position and demeanor. For instance, higher ranking officials sit inside the city hall, while the lower ranking officials remain outside the city hall.

The repertoire of ceremonial discourse in SJQ includes a wide range of texts including traditional Chatino prayer adapted to Catholicism, prayers recited as part of the

Catholic catechism, and healing prayers. It also comprises a wide range of persuasive and political speeches delivered at the San Juan town city hall and peoples' homes. Some of the texts in SJQ are fixed and cannot be altered, while others are flexible and are improvised on the basis of on a general form.

In San Juan Quiahije orators get on-the-job training. For example, low-level errand boys watch and listen to skillful orators perform speeches until they attain the talent and rhetorical flourish to do it themselves. Those who show the greatest potential in oratory slowly rise through the ranks and will eventually become the principal performers.

In this study I also discussed similarities and differences between SJQ Chatino verbal art and other Mesoamerican poetics. Parallelism is a typical and widespread poetic feature in Chatino and in a great number of Mesoamerican verbal art traditions. The structure of the parallel repetitions or line verse in all these languages consist of two parts: one fixed repeating part (frame), which in turn contains a slot that allows a changing element to be inserted (the focus). Ellipses, some formulaic phrases, *difrasismos*, and the used of sentential adverbs or phrases, are linguistic features shared by Chatino and other Mesoamerican languages and employed as a resource in the verbal art traditions that span these linguistic communities. A large number of parallel forms are grouped into binary couplets in both Chatino and Mesoamerican languages. Ellipsis, the deletion of an element in the second line is very pervasive in SJQ and this feature has also been described as a pervasive element of Ch'orti' Maya (Hull 2003).

Fixed phrases and *difrasismos* are also a very common feature in SJQ and throughout Mesoamerican verbal art. For instance, the use of dual terms such as

father/mother expresses the meaning forebears and ancestors. Chatino and Mixtec have the most formulaic phrases and *difrasismo* in common.

SJQ poetics also has several unique poetic features that are not reported in other Mesoamerican verbal art traditions. They include frame tags, the deletion of the frame in the last line of parallel repetition. SJQ Chatino has many formulaic phrases and *difrasismos* not reported in other Mesoamerican traditions as well. For instance formulaic phrases and *difrasismo* built from position and motion verbs such as *sqen<sup>4</sup> ndwa<sup>14</sup> wan<sup>0</sup>*, *sqen<sup>4</sup> tqen<sup>4</sup> wan<sup>4</sup>* ‘where you sit (elevated)/where you exist’ connotes the meaning of “presiding.”

## 2. FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

This dissertation offer a detailed descriptions of the main components in SJQ verbal art. It offers a line notation and the rules for generating parallel structures. It also offer an explanation for frame tags and a rule for their production. It also provides a detailed analytic taxonomy of different kinds of speaking in SJQ, and a list a formulaic expressions. However there are still many issues that need to be addressed in future research. Below I discuss some of them.

More text needs to be transcribed and analyzed in order to allow further linguistic analysis as well as efforts to preserve and revitalize this poetic tradition in San Juan Quiahije and in other Chatino communities.

SJQ verbal art offers a wealth of information for studies of prosody such as intonation. This will be a particularly interesting topic to pursue in SJQ Chatino given that the language is intensively tonal. Eventually there should be an inventory of shapes “of frames” in order to link up with eventual work on sentence level prosody.



In Chapter 6 I provided a basic taxonomy of SJQ verbal art. Further work needs to take place in this area in order to identify unique features and traits of the different types of speech performed in SJQ. For instance in Chapter 7, and 8 we noticed the absence of frame tags. We do not know whether these texts are to be performed without frame tags or it is the case that some orators do not use frame tags.

Further text transcription should yield more formulaic expressions. The present study mainly analyzed formal speech. Future research needs to pay closer attention to formulaic expressions in everyday speech.

In Chapter 3 we mentioned that Chatino colloquial language as well as verbal art borrows extensively from Spanish. This is another rich area that could potentially offer great material for future research. Another line of research that could be pursued along this line is if Chatino people use some of the same strategies (parallelism, formulaic expressions, and so on) when speaking Spanish.

Similarly documentation of verbal art in other Chatino communities needs to happen in order to expand the research on Chatino languages and speech traditions with several related projects and endeavors. One first approach to be to see if the same patterns described here are found in the verbal art repertoire of other Chatino communities.

Documentation and analysis of verbal art also needs to expand to other indigenous languages of Oaxaca. In Chapter 9 we noted several common *difrasismo* between Mixtec and Chatino. This effort could take us one step forward toward proving that the poetic performance such as the one describe in SJQ is part of a larger Mesoamerican tradition.

## Appendix: 1 Transition of governing authorities in SJQ

### SPEECH GIVEN BY RICARDO CRUZ CRUZ (R. CRUZ) (2004)

	Chaq <sup>3</sup> tnya <sup>24</sup> ‘Chatino’	English
	I	I
1	Chaq <sup>3</sup> -no <sup>24</sup> tyqwi <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> -tlyu <sup>2</sup> -riq <sup>2</sup> so.that POT_have forgiveness qwan <sup>1</sup> to.you(pl)	in order for you to have forgiveness within you
2	chaq <sup>3</sup> -no <sup>24</sup> ti <sup>2</sup> nsqya <sup>1</sup> so.that still PROG_call wa <sup>42</sup> qwan <sup>4</sup> in <sup>20</sup> we(EXCL) to.you(pl), hm?	in order for you to be we called by us [tonight], hm?
3	ke <sup>4</sup> sya <sup>20</sup> ndiya <sup>24</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> even though. like essence tiye <sup>32</sup> qwan <sup>4</sup> in <sup>20</sup> chest to.you(pl), hm?	as your heart permits you, hm?
4	Sqen <sup>4</sup> kwan <sup>40</sup> where... COMPL_sit.elev_1INCL	where we sat
5	sqen <sup>4</sup> ndon <sup>42</sup> on <sup>32</sup> in <sup>20</sup> where COMPL_stand_1INCL hm?	where we stood, hm?
6	Ngwa <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> yaq <sup>2</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> COMPL_be you(pl subj) hands us (INCL)	you were our hands
7	ngwa <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> kyaq <sup>24</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> COMPL_be you(pl subj) foot us (INCL)	you were our feet
8	ngwa <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> COMPL_be you(pl subj)	you were.
9	ya <sup>42</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> COMPL_go_NB you(pl subj)	you went [carried out]
10	ska <sup>4</sup> -ska <sup>32</sup> ma <sup>4</sup> -nda <sup>14</sup> any task	any task
11	ska <sup>4</sup> -ska <sup>32</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> any work that lon <sup>14</sup> in <sup>20</sup> COMPL_pull.out_1INCL hm?	any work we ordered, hm?
12	ndiya <sup>32</sup> -ra <sup>10</sup> qne <sup>42</sup> sometimes COMPL_do jlan <sup>2</sup> an <sup>1</sup> qwan <sup>4</sup> NEUT_scold_1INCL to.you(pl)	sometimes we scolded you

13	ndiya <sup>32</sup> -ra <sup>10</sup> sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> ykwen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> sometimes good only COMPL_speak_1INCL	sometimes with kindness we spoke
14	ndiya <sup>32</sup> -ra <sup>1</sup> sqi <sup>0</sup> qa <sup>24</sup> ykwen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> sometimes wrongly COMPL_speak_1INCL	sometimes wrongly we spoke
15	ndiya <sup>32</sup> -ra <sup>1</sup> sometimes	sometimes
16	kwiq <sup>24</sup> ndiyo <sup>14</sup> -si <sup>0</sup> kanq <sup>42</sup> It.is.just god that.abs	just god was
17	kanq <sup>42</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nge <sup>42</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> that one COMPL_endure us (INCL)	The one who was patient with us
18	kanq <sup>42</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nda <sup>3</sup> that.one the.one COMPL_give jwe <sup>4</sup> -sa <sup>10</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> strength us (INCL)	The one who gave strength to us
19	kanq <sup>42</sup> nda <sup>3</sup> that.one COMPL_give chaq <sup>3</sup> tya <sup>20</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> wisdom us (INCL)	The one who gave wisdom to us
20	kanq <sup>42</sup> that.one	that one/this way
21	yan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> qan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> , COMPL_go_NB_1INCL COMPL_go.around_NB_1INCL in <sup>20</sup> hm?	We went, we traveled, hm?
22	chaq <sup>3</sup> qin <sup>24</sup> qya <sup>2</sup> thing of(them) mountain	On behalf of the mountains
23	chaq <sup>3</sup> qin <sup>24</sup> chin <sup>32</sup> in <sup>20</sup> thing of(them) community hm?	On behalf of the community, hm?
24	ja <sup>4</sup> la <sup>32</sup> yan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> not COMPL_go_NB_1INCL	We did not go [carry out this task]
25	chaq <sup>3</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> skan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> For us (INCL) one_1INCL	For our own selfish reasons
26	chaq <sup>3</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> qa <sup>1</sup> For PROG_be very tiyin <sup>1</sup> in <sup>20</sup> chest_1INCL hm?	For our own wishes
27	kwiq <sup>24</sup> It.is.just	it was because
28	chaq <sup>3</sup> xtya <sup>20</sup> qya <sup>2</sup> because COMPL_put mountain	The mountains put us here

29	chaq <sup>3</sup> xtya <sup>20</sup> chin <sup>4</sup> because COMPL_put community qna <sup>42</sup> in <sup>20</sup> us (INCL) hm?	The community put us here, hm?
30	kanq <sup>42</sup> -chaq <sup>3</sup> ykwen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> that is why COMPL_speak_1INCL	that is why we spoke
31	kanq <sup>42</sup> -chaq <sup>3</sup> nkwan <sup>2</sup> an <sup>1</sup> that is why COMPL_be_1INCL	that is why we were [authorities]
32	kanq <sup>42</sup> -chaq <sup>3</sup> qen <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> that is why COMPL_stay_1INCL	that is why we dwelled
33	qan <sup>42</sup> sen <sup>42</sup> en <sup>32</sup> COMPL_see watch.over	to care for
34	ndiya <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> na <sup>3</sup> no <sup>42</sup> ndiya <sup>32</sup> all each one thing that PROG_exist	All there is
35	no <sup>4</sup> - nka <sup>24</sup> qya <sup>2</sup> the.one PROG_be mountain	that belongs to the mountains
36	no <sup>4</sup> - nka <sup>24</sup> chin <sup>1</sup> the.one PROG_be community	that belongs to the community
37	no <sup>4</sup> - nka <sup>24</sup> in <sup>20</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> the.one PROG_be hm? and	that belongs, hm? And

	II	II
38	kwan <sup>20</sup> -ti <sup>24</sup> -a <sup>1</sup> yan <sup>42</sup> in .he.same.manner COMPL_come_NB	in the same way came our
39	sa <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> sten <sup>4</sup> -yqan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> each one father mothers_1INCL	our fathers and mothers (our ancestors)
40	no <sup>4</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> ngwa <sup>1</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> the.one already COMPL_be work	The ones who were contributors
41	no <sup>4</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> ngwa <sup>1</sup> the.one already COMPL_be chin <sup>4</sup> in <sup>20</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> community hm? and	The ones who have been community, hm?
42	kwiq <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>20</sup> -ti <sup>2</sup> tsa <sup>24</sup> It.is.just appear POT_go_NB te <sup>20</sup> lo <sup>14</sup> in <sup>20</sup> ahead hm?	and things should be the same in the future, hm?
43	kwiq <sup>24</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> qa <sup>24</sup> tyi <sup>32</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> It.is.just that one NEG POT_finish and	may that not be lost and
44	kwi <sup>24</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> qa <sup>24</sup> xyaq <sup>2</sup> It.is.just that one NEG POT_mix	may that not be changed
45	ni <sup>4</sup> cha <sup>1</sup> kwa <sup>32</sup> ra <sup>1</sup> for COMP many hour	For all time as long as
46	ntqen <sup>0</sup> qya <sup>2</sup> PROG_exist mountain	The mountains are here

47	ntqen <sup>1</sup> kchin <sup>32</sup> in <sup>20</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> PROG_exist center_of_SJQ hm? and	The community is here, hm?
	III	III
48	sya <sup>1</sup> ndya <sup>04</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> tiye <sup>32</sup> qwan <sup>32</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> as HAB_want essence chest to.you(pl) hm?	as your heart permits [you], hm?
49	ngwa <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> xqna <sup>1</sup> COMPL_be you(pl subj) boss	you commanded
50	sa <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> yu <sup>4</sup> skan <sup>4</sup> any man errand.boys	other guards
51	sa <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> yu <sup>4</sup> xwe <sup>32</sup> la <sup>24</sup> any man small superlative	other younger people
52	sa <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> Any hm?	others, hm?
53	qwan <sup>4</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> to.you(pl), hm?	you, hm?
54	lo <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>32</sup> COMPL_pull out you(pl subj) tnya <sup>3</sup> qin <sup>24</sup> yu <sup>24</sup> work to(them) man	you gave them tasks
55	qne <sup>42</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> COMPL_do you(pl subj) ma <sup>4</sup> nda <sup>14</sup> qin <sup>20</sup> yu <sup>24</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> errand to(them) man, hm?	you sent them on missions
56	ya <sup>42</sup> yu <sup>4</sup> COMPL_NB_go man	they went
57	qan <sup>4</sup> yu <sup>4</sup> , COMPL_NB_go_around man in <sup>20</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> hm?, and	they traveled, hm? And
58	ne <sup>2</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> now hm?	now, hm?
59	wa <sup>2</sup> -xqwe <sup>3</sup> qin <sup>24</sup> thanks to(you) ndiyo <sup>14</sup> -si <sup>0</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> wa: <sup>2</sup> god that the.one already	We thank god for having
60	ntqa <sup>42</sup> yjan <sup>4</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> COMPL_complete year us (INCL)	completed our year

61	wa <sup>2</sup> ntqa <sup>42</sup> koq <sup>3</sup> already COMPL_complete moon	For having completed our moon [month]
62	ntqa <sup>42</sup> kla <sup>4</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> COMPL_complete star us INCL) hm?(	completed our star [day], hm?
63	la <sup>42</sup> lyan <sup>20</sup> ten <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> only POT_be released still	We only need to be released from our obligations

64	la <sup>42</sup> tyqon <sup>20</sup> ten <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> only POT_leave still	We only need to leave
65	qo <sup>1</sup> jnya <sup>3</sup> with hardwork	with our contribution (here)
66	qo <sup>1</sup> chin <sup>32</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> in <sup>20</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> with community us (INCL) hm? and	with our community, hm? And
	IV	IV
67	Chaq <sup>3</sup> -no <sup>24</sup> because	An issue
68	ti <sup>2</sup> ndiya <sup>14</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> still HAB_want essence we(EXCL)  tykwiq <sup>4</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> POT_speak we(EXCL)	We still want to express to you
69	ti <sup>2</sup> ndya <sup>14</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> still HAB_want essence we(EXCL)  ktsa <sup>140</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> qwan <sup>4</sup> in <sup>20</sup> POT_tell we(EXCL) to.you(pl) hm?	We still want to convey to you, hm?
70	chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> so that	our wish that
71	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> nqne <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>32</sup> good very POT_do you(pl subj)	you show your best behavior
72	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> kanq <sup>42</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> good very POT_do you(pl subj)	you show your best manners,
73	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> in <sup>20</sup> good very hm?	The best, hm?
74	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> tyqon <sup>20</sup> on <sup>32</sup> good very POT_leave_1INCL	Let us leave in a dignified way
75	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> kan <sup>42</sup> anq <sup>32</sup> in <sup>20</sup> good very POT_do_1INCL hm?	Let us leave in the best way, hm?
76	ndiyo <sup>14</sup> si <sup>0</sup> qne <sup>04</sup> yu <sup>1</sup> ra <sup>140</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> god POT_do help us (INCL)	may god helps us
77	no <sup>20</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> lan <sup>2</sup> an <sup>1</sup> when already COMPL_release_1INCL	when we are released from our obligations
78	wa <sup>2</sup> kan <sup>42</sup> anq <sup>32</sup> already finish_1INCL	when we have finished our term
79	kanq <sup>20</sup> kya <sup>24</sup> yqwi <sup>32</sup> ren <sup>2</sup> enq <sup>1</sup> then POT_go_B NEUT_exist essence_1INCL	then, we will remembered
80	tnya <sup>3</sup> ndiya <sup>32</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> qan <sup>4</sup> work PROG_exist us (INCL) house  tyin <sup>24</sup> in <sup>32</sup> home_1INCL	our work at home
81	Chaq <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>2</sup> jin <sup>14</sup> yaq <sup>0</sup> so that POT_pass hand	So that we continue to exist,
82	chaq <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>2</sup> jin <sup>14</sup> yqwi <sup>20</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> so that POT_pass exist us (INCL)	So that we continue to survive,

83	qwe <sup>3</sup> qa <sup>24</sup> no <sup>24</sup> good very ADV	because
84	kwan <sup>14</sup> qen <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> COMPL_sit.elevated_1INCL COMPL_exist_1INCL	while we sat, resided [presided]
85	ndiya <sup>32</sup> ra <sup>10</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> ngwa <sup>2</sup> sometimes not COMPL_be qa <sup>1</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> qne <sup>140</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> very COMP PROG_do_1INCL work <sup>1</sup> us (INCL)	sometimes we weren't able
86	ndiya <sup>32</sup> ra <sup>1</sup> jnaq <sup>0</sup> ntqen <sup>24</sup> sometimes COMPL_lose PROG_exist tnya <sup>3</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> work us (INCL)	sometimes our work [harvest] got spoiled
87	ndiya <sup>32</sup> -ra <sup>1</sup> sometimes	sometimes
	V	V
88	ja <sup>4</sup> ne <sup>1</sup> , qo <sup>1</sup> kanq <sup>42</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> a <sup>24</sup> no <sup>32</sup> -ti <sup>2</sup> yes and that is thing why still nxqya <sup>20</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> qwan <sup>4</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> HAB_call we(EXCL) to.you(pl) hm?	yes indeed, and that is why we call on you [tonight], hm?
89	chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> so. that	So that [you]
90	tykwiq <sup>4</sup> qa <sup>1</sup> wan <sup>14</sup> qo <sup>0</sup> POT_speak very you(pl subj) to	Do not cease to counsel
91	sa <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> yu <sup>4</sup> skan <sup>4</sup> each one man errand.boy	Do not cease to advise the other guards [your subordinates]
92	sa <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> yu <sup>4</sup> xwe <sup>32</sup> la <sup>24</sup> one-another man small superlative	other younger men,
93	sa <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> one-another hm?	others, hm?
94	chaq <sup>3</sup> -no <sup>24</sup> so.that	So that
95	qa <sup>4</sup> qne <sup>1</sup> yu <sup>32</sup> rwi <sup>14</sup> du <sup>0</sup> NEG POT_do man noise	they don't make any noise
96	ja <sup>4</sup> nqne <sup>1</sup> yu <sup>32</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> NEG POT_do man hm?	So that they make none, hm?
97	ja <sup>4</sup> qya <sup>1</sup> yu <sup>0</sup> sa <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> NEG POT_take man any na <sup>3</sup> ntqen <sup>24</sup> thing PROG_exist	So that they don't take anything that belongs to this place,
98	ja <sup>4</sup> qya <sup>1</sup> yu <sup>0</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> no POT_take man hm?	take nothing, hm?
99	jor <sup>4</sup> -ke <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> because PROG_be	because

100	ndiya <sup>4</sup> na <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> ndiya <sup>32</sup> every thing the.one PROG_exist	All that is here
101	no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> qan <sup>32</sup> -tnya <sup>3</sup> re <sup>3</sup> in <sup>20</sup> that PROG_be city.hall here hm?	inside this city hall, hm?
102	kwiq <sup>24</sup> na <sup>3</sup> qin <sup>24</sup> chin <sup>32</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> ran <sup>3</sup> It.is.just thing of community PROG_be inan	belongs to the community
103	kwiq <sup>3</sup> qo: <sup>1</sup> It.is.just and	right and
104	kwiq <sup>14</sup> wa <sup>3</sup> nqne <sup>14</sup> ser <sup>20</sup> -wi <sup>14</sup> qin <sup>0</sup> It.is.just one POT_do serve of	The same [things] will be used
105	sya <sup>20</sup> jwla <sup>24</sup> cha <sup>32</sup> -ta <sup>4</sup> yu <sup>4</sup> even if POT_return_NB others man	when the new administration comes
106	sya <sup>20</sup> kla <sup>24</sup> in <sup>20</sup> even if POT_return_B hm?	when they come, hm?

107	kwiq <sup>24</sup> qne <sup>24</sup> -chaq <sup>3</sup> na <sup>3</sup> jlaq <sup>24</sup> yu <sup>24</sup> It.is.just POT_need thing POT_use man	and on the same way they will need
108	qne <sup>24</sup> -chaq <sup>3</sup> na <sup>3</sup> xnyi <sup>24</sup> yu <sup>24</sup> POT_need thing POT_hold man	they will need materials [to carry out
109	qne <sup>14</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> in <sup>20</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> POT_need hm? and	they will need it all, hm? And
	VI	VI
110	kanq <sup>42</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> a <sup>24</sup> no: <sup>32</sup> ti <sup>2</sup> that.one thing PROG_be why still xqya <sup>20</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> qwan <sup>0</sup> in <sup>20</sup> POT_call we(EXCL) to.you(pl) hm?	that is why we still call on you, hm?
111	chaq <sup>3</sup> -no <sup>24</sup> so.that	So that
112	ja <sup>4</sup> qne <sup>1</sup> wan <sup>32</sup> rwi <sup>14</sup> du <sup>0</sup> la <sup>4</sup> NEG POT_do you(pl subj) noise NEG	you don't make any noise, don't
113	xqya <sup>20</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> la <sup>24</sup> POT_scream you(pl subj) NEG	[so that you don't] scream
114	chonq <sup>42</sup> qya <sup>42</sup> si <sup>1</sup> ndiya <sup>0</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> because as HAB_like tiye <sup>32</sup> qwan <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> in <sup>20</sup> essence to.you(pl) now hm?	Because as you know now, hm?
115	ndiya <sup>32</sup> qwan <sup>32</sup> PROG_exist you(pl subj)	some of you
116	tsa <sup>24</sup> ja <sup>32</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>4</sup> yjan <sup>32</sup> ti <sup>4</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> POT_off duty you(pl subj) one year ti only now	will be off duty for only one year,
117	qo <sup>1</sup> ta <sup>4</sup> or	Or



118	tsa <sup>24</sup> ja <sup>32</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> tqkwa <sup>24</sup> yjan <sup>32</sup> POT_off duty you(pl subj) two year re <sup>2</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> here now already	will be off duty for only two years,
119	xka <sup>32</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>32</sup> other hardwork already POT_be you(pl subj)	you will fulfill a new role,
120	xka <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> tykwiq <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> other thing POT_say you(pl subj)	you will have new wisdom to
121	xka <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> ta <sup>20</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> other thing POT_give you(pl subj)	you will have new experiences to
122	xka <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> in <sup>20</sup> other thing hm?	you will have new things [to offer],
123	sye <sup>3</sup> -mpre <sup>14</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> always hm?	always, hm?
124	ja <sup>4</sup> sne <sup>1</sup> chaq <sup>1</sup> jlan <sup>14</sup> for sure thing POT_return_B_1INCL	We will always return
125	no <sup>0</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> qan <sup>32</sup> -tnya <sup>3</sup> re <sup>2</sup> the.one PROG_be city.hall here o <sup>20</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> HAB_leave thing	to this city hall, that's right
126	kanq <sup>42</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>32</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> that is why the.one PROG_be tiyin <sup>1</sup> en <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> -no <sup>24</sup> chest_1SG so that	And that is why I hope that
127	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> tyqon <sup>20</sup> on <sup>32</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> good very POT_leave_1INCL with you(pl subj)	We leave in good standing,
128	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>42</sup> kan <sup>42</sup> ang <sup>32</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> good very POT_do_1INCL with you(pl subj)	We leave in good terms
129	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> , qo <sup>1</sup> good very hm? and	The best, hm? And

Appendix 1 (continued)

	VII	VII
130	chaq <sup>3</sup> ndiya <sup>32</sup> ntqe <sup>42</sup> yjan <sup>4</sup> , because PROG_exist some year in <sup>20</sup> , qne <sup>24</sup> yu <sup>32</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> hm? PROG_do man hm?	Because in some years, they do this hm?
131	qne <sup>24</sup> yu <sup>32</sup> jwer <sup>4</sup> -jla <sup>10</sup> pe <sup>4</sup> ro <sup>4</sup> ke <sup>4</sup> -se <sup>3</sup> PROG_do man tease as if ja <sup>4</sup> kla <sup>1</sup> qa <sup>1</sup> yu <sup>1</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> qan <sup>4</sup> -tnya <sup>3</sup> re <sup>2</sup> not POT_arrive_B man the.one PROG_city.hall here	they become so unpleasant as if they would never need to come back to this city hall

13 2	qne <sup>24</sup> yu <sup>32</sup> jwer <sup>4</sup> -jla <sup>1</sup> pe <sup>4</sup> ro <sup>4</sup> ke <sup>4</sup> se <sup>3</sup> qa <sup>24</sup> HAB_do man tease as if not ja <sup>4</sup> jla <sup>1</sup> qa <sup>1</sup> yu <sup>1</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> not POT_return_B NEG man the.one PROG_be qan <sup>32</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> re <sup>3</sup> city hall here	they become so unpleasant as if they would never have to come to city hall.
13 3	qne <sup>24</sup> yu <sup>32</sup> qo <sup>20</sup> -chaq <sup>3</sup> HAB_do man for.sure	yes, they do
13 4	ka <sup>2</sup> xqya <sup>20</sup> yu <sup>24</sup> POT_be able scream man	they sometimes scream,
13 5	ka <sup>2</sup> ta <sup>20</sup> ndyeq <sup>3</sup> -riq <sup>2</sup> POT_be able PROG_give mock yu <sup>1</sup> tqa <sup>42</sup> yu <sup>4</sup> man relative man	they often mock their replacements
13 6	no <sup>4</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> sten <sup>1</sup> yu <sup>0</sup> the.one just about POT_enter man	The incoming administration
13 7	tyqwi <sup>4</sup> yu <sup>4</sup> tyu <sup>4</sup> xeq <sup>14</sup> yu <sup>0</sup> POT_exist man POT_urinate man	they stand around to urinate [in
13 8	tyqwi <sup>4</sup> yu <sup>4</sup> POT_exist man	they do;
13 9	nkwiq <sup>42</sup> qan <sup>14</sup> qne <sup>0</sup> yu <sup>32</sup> no <sup>4</sup> foolish POT_look HAB_do man the.one	they act foolish,
14 0	sa <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> lo <sup>4</sup> ki <sup>2</sup> any on grass	On the grass
14 1	sa <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> ntqen <sup>4</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> any PROG_exist and	anywhere, and
14 2	kanq <sup>42</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> qne <sup>1</sup> wan <sup>32</sup> that is why NEG POT_do you(pl subj) kwan <sup>20</sup> nyan <sup>24</sup> sqen <sup>42</sup> this appear absolutely	that's why I ask you not to act in this
14 3	kanq <sup>42</sup> -chaq <sup>3</sup> qa <sup>24</sup> no <sup>32</sup> ti <sup>2</sup> that is why PROG_be the.one still ntsang <sup>14</sup> qwan <sup>0</sup> in <sup>20</sup> sya <sup>20</sup> HAB_tell_1INCL to.you(pl) hm? even	That's why we still speak to you, hm?
14 4	xka <sup>32</sup> tykwa <sup>1</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>2</sup> CAUS_one two only thing/word still	in these humble few words to you
14 5	ka <sup>2</sup> ktsan <sup>140</sup> tqan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>32</sup> POT_be able POT_tell_1INCL relative_1INCL ti <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> in <sup>20</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> still POT_able hm? and	few words can be shared among us,
	VIII	VIII

14 6	kanq <sup>42</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>1</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> tiya <sup>24</sup> ra <sup>1</sup> that .abs is. when already POT_arrive_NB time ntyqon <sup>20</sup> on <sup>32</sup> ti <sup>3</sup> -qa <sup>1</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> POT_leave_1INCL later hm?	that's why when the time comes to
14 7	na <sup>2</sup> ti <sup>1</sup> tyqo <sup>20</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> quiet ADV POT_leave you(pl subj)	leave inconspicuously,
14 8	na <sup>2</sup> ti <sup>1</sup> hmm quiet ADV hmm	inconspicuously, okay
14 9	ska <sup>4</sup> qa <sup>1</sup> nyan <sup>24</sup> in <sup>20</sup> different very PROG_look hm?	ideally, hm?
15 0	xo <sup>3</sup> ki <sup>3</sup> tqa <sup>42</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> POT_gather relative you(pl subj)	you would come together

151	ngya <sup>4</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> PROG_go_NB you(pl subj)	and go
152	la <sup>20</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> no <sup>32</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> wherever PROG_be the.one PROG_be tiye <sup>32</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> tsa <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>32</sup> feeling you(pl subj) POT_NB_go you(pl subj)	wherever you feel like going,
153	la <sup>20</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> no <sup>32</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> wherever PROG_be the.one PROG_be tye <sup>32</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> in <sup>20</sup> feeling you(pl subj) hm?	wherever you feel like it, hm?
154	ngya <sup>4</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> ndon <sup>42</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> PROG_NB_go you(pl subj) happy essence you(pl subj)	you are going with a feeling of contentment
155	stu <sup>1</sup> qwan <sup>0</sup> ngya <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> joyful to.you(pl) PROG_NB_go you(pl subj) qo <sup>20</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> -ne <sup>32</sup> indeed yes	you are going with a feeling of
156	kwan <sup>20</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> qan <sup>24</sup> qya <sup>24</sup> on.the.same way appear POT_come down xa <sup>3</sup> kya <sup>20</sup> in <sup>20</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> light tomorrow hm? already	and in this manner a new day will
157	ntqo <sup>1</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> COMPL_leave you(pl subj) with hardwork qo <sup>1</sup> chin <sup>32</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> in <sup>20</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> with community to.you(pl) hm? and	you would have successfully
	IX	IX
158	kwiaq <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>20</sup> an <sup>32</sup> sa <sup>20</sup> -qa <sup>1</sup> It.is.just appear as riq <sup>04</sup> qwan <sup>1</sup> in <sup>20</sup> essence to.you(pl) hm?	and as you know, hm?

159	wa <sup>2</sup> nda <sup>20</sup> wan <sup>14</sup> kwe <sup>2</sup> -nta <sup>1</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> already HAB_give you(Pl subj) attention hm?	as you realized, hm?
160	wa <sup>2</sup> qnya <sup>24</sup> ngwa <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> ska <sup>4</sup> how appear COMPL_be to.you(pl) one	when you were first
161	tkwa <sup>1</sup> skan <sup>14</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> two community guard hm?	or second guardian
162	ndiya <sup>4</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> ka <sup>32</sup> skan <sup>4</sup> , ndiya <sup>4</sup> everything the.one PROG_be sacred staff all	All the sacred sticks, all of them
163	ntqen <sup>4</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> kyan <sup>24</sup> -qo <sup>20</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> POT_have thing POT_return you(Pl subj) that.one	you have to bring them back,
164	ntqen <sup>4</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> tya <sup>3</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> POT_have POT_return you(Pl subj) that.one	you have to return them
165	ntqen <sup>42</sup> -chaq <sup>3</sup> POT_have	you have to
166	Di <sup>4</sup> cho <sup>4</sup> since	since
167	kanq <sup>42</sup> that.one	that
168	nka <sup>24</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> -jyaq <sup>3</sup> PROG_be one permission ndiya <sup>32</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> PROG_have us(INCL) PROG_be one	that is one faith that has been
169	ja <sup>1</sup> -no <sup>0</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> when already	that is one condition
170	nkan <sup>24</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> PROG_be_1INCL one hardwork	once we are public servants, hm?
171	nkan <sup>14</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> PROG_be_1INCL hm?	It is, hm?
172	kanq <sup>42</sup> that.one	that one

173	ja <sup>4</sup> jlyo <sup>20</sup> ren <sup>2</sup> enq <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> no <sup>32</sup> NEG PROG_know_1INCL PROG_be the.one xtya <sup>20</sup> kanq <sup>42</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> COMPL_put that.one hm?	We do not know who started this tradition, hm?
174	kwiq <sup>24</sup> sten <sup>4</sup> yqan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> qne <sup>42</sup> -jyaq <sup>3</sup> It.is.just father_mother_1INCL COMPL_decide sa <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> anything COMP hm? and	It was our fathers and their fathers before them that started this tradition
175	kanq <sup>42</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> qa <sup>24</sup> no <sup>32</sup> ti <sup>2</sup> that COMP PROG_be still nxqya <sup>20</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> qwan <sup>4</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> HAB_call we(EXCL) to.you(pl) hm?	And that's why we called on you

176	$sa^{20}$ $ti^2$ $chinq^{20}$ $ti^{24}$ $chaq^3$ even only little only COMP  $ti^2$ $tykwi^1$ $wa^{42}$ $qo^1$ $wan^{24}$ only POT_speak we(EXCL) with you(P1 subj)	if only to convey these few thoughts
177	$qo^{20}$ - $chaq^3$ $mmm$ thusly hmmm	hmmmm

## Appendix 2: Transition of governing authorities in SJQ

### SPEECH GIVEN BY ORATOR CENOBIO CRUZ (C. CRUZ) (2004)

1	qan <sup>1</sup> ndwiq <sup>24</sup> yu <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> as HAB_say man here	So this man says
2	chaq <sup>3</sup> tyqwi <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> -tlyu <sup>2</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> qwan <sup>1</sup> so.that POT_have forgiveness essence to.you(pl)	may you have forgiveness
3	qan <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> tye <sup>32</sup> qwan <sup>4</sup> as PROG_be essence to.you(pl)	As it is in you
4	nkwa <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> yaq <sup>2</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> COMPL_be you(pl subj) hand us (INCL)	you were our hands
6	nkwa <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> kyaq <sup>24</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> COMPL_be you(pl subj) feet us (INCL) hm?	You were our feet, hm?
7	lo <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>32</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> COMPL_bring.out you(pl subj) us(INCL)	You brought us out
8	jen <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> COMPL_bring.out you(pl subj) us(INCL)  lo <sup>24</sup> COMPL_bring.out	You brought us through
9	qan <sup>1</sup> ndya <sup>24</sup> riq <sup>4</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> re <sup>2</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> as PROG_like essence we(EXCL) here that  ndwa <sup>140</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> re <sup>20</sup> nde <sup>2</sup> PROG_sit we(EXCL) over here	As it is for us sitting over here
10	qen <sup>4</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> COMPL_exist we(EXCL)	we stayed
11	ndwa <sup>3</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> re <sup>20</sup> nde <sup>2</sup> ni <sup>2</sup> COMPL_sit we(EXCL) over here now	we sat right here
12	kwa <sup>24</sup> there	there
13	ja <sup>4</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>1</sup> tsan <sup>1</sup> not POT_be emph POT_go_1INCL_NB	couldn't have gone forth
14	ja <sup>4</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>1</sup> tyqan <sup>1</sup> not POT_be emph POT_go.around_1INCL_NB  ykwen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> ourselves	couldn't have gone about ourselves
15	ykwen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> COMPL_say	we said
16	kwiq <sup>24</sup> no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> yaq <sup>2</sup> It.is.just the.one PROG_be hand	those who are hands
17	kwiq <sup>24</sup> kanq <sup>42</sup>	those ones

	It.is.just those_abs	
18	no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> kyaq <sup>32</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> the.one PROG_be feet us (INCL), hm?	the ones who are our feet, hm?
19	kanq <sup>42</sup> tsa <sup>24</sup> those.ones POT_go_NB	those ones will go forth
20	kanq <sup>42</sup> tyqan <sup>4</sup> those.ones POT_go.around_NB	those ones will go about
21	ni <sup>4</sup> -kwa <sup>4</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> all thing	whatever comes up
22	ma <sup>4</sup> nda <sup>14</sup> no <sup>0</sup> ntqen <sup>24</sup> errands the.one PROG_exist	errands that exist
23	ni <sup>4</sup> -kwa <sup>4</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> ndlon <sup>1</sup> on <sup>1</sup> all work the.one PROG_order_1INCL	whatever work we may have requested
24	qan <sup>1</sup> ndya <sup>04</sup> ren <sup>2</sup> enq <sup>2</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> as PROG_like essence_1INCL that ndwan <sup>2</sup> an <sup>1</sup> re <sup>2</sup> , chin <sup>3</sup> -nyi <sup>24</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> PROG_sit_1INCL truly hm?	While we sat in this position sincerely, hm?
25	kyqan <sup>14</sup> qa <sup>0</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> PROG_be EMPH thing PROG_be	There are many things
26	no <sup>32</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> la <sup>42</sup> qan <sup>4</sup> -tnya <sup>3</sup> the.one PROG_be prayer city.hall	[there are] many are prayers for city hall
27	kyqan <sup>14</sup> qa <sup>0</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> many EMPH thing PROG_be hm?	There are many things, hm?!
28	kyqan <sup>14</sup> qa <sup>0</sup> nya <sup>14</sup> qan <sup>0</sup> an <sup>0</sup> many EMPH appear COMPL_go.around_1INCL_NB	In many ways we went about
29	kyqan <sup>14</sup> qa <sup>0</sup> nya <sup>140</sup> ndon <sup>42</sup> on <sup>42</sup> many EMPH appear COMPL_stand_1INCL_NB	In many ways we stood
30	kyqan <sup>14</sup> qa <sup>0</sup> nya <sup>14</sup> many EMPH appear	In many ways
31	la <sup>1</sup> ton <sup>42</sup> COMPL-leave standing	[You] left standing
32	la <sup>1</sup> tqen <sup>20</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> COMPL-leave exist you(pl subj)	[you] left scattered
33	tnya <sup>3</sup> ndwa <sup>140</sup> work PROG_sit	your sitting work
34	ntqen <sup>0</sup> qwan <sup>24</sup> PROG_exist to.you(pl)	your existing work
35	la <sup>1</sup> ton <sup>42</sup> COMPL-leave standing	[You] left standing [your work]
36	la <sup>1</sup> tqen <sup>20</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> COMPL-leave existyou (pl subj) now, hm?	you left scattered now, hm?
37	si <sup>10</sup> ndyo <sup>14</sup> si <sup>0</sup>	May God

	if god	
38	jlo <sup>14</sup> qwan <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> COMPL_bring.out to.you(pl) now	bring you out
39	ndyo <sup>14</sup> si <sup>0</sup> tjen <sup>20</sup> qwan <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> god COMPL_bring.out to.you(pl) now	may god bring you through now
40	ndyo <sup>14</sup> si <sup>0</sup> qne <sup>24</sup> kqu <sup>2</sup> god POT_do care	may god grant you longevity
41	tyqan <sup>24</sup> sen <sup>42</sup> qwan <sup>4</sup> POT_watch care to.you(pl)	[may God] provide care for you
42	ndyo <sup>14</sup> si <sup>0</sup> tya <sup>3</sup> god POT_pay	may god give you back,
43	xqwa <sup>1</sup> POT_pay	pay [you]
44	ndya <sup>4</sup> tsan <sup>32</sup> no <sup>4</sup> tnan <sup>1</sup> anq <sup>1</sup> all day the.one COMPL_lose_1INCL	All the days that we have lost
45	na <sup>4</sup> ji <sup>20</sup> na <sup>4</sup> ku <sup>24</sup> not POT_miss thing POT_eat	may [you] not lack food
46	ji <sup>20</sup> steq <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> POT_miss clothes you(pl subj)	may you not lack clothes [on your back]
47	na <sup>4</sup> ji <sup>20</sup> sna <sup>42</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> not POT_miss shoes you(pl subj)	May you not lack the shoes [on your feet]
48	qan <sup>24</sup> ndya <sup>24</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> tye <sup>32</sup> qwan <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> as PROG_like essence essence to.you(pl) now	As you now know
49	wa <sup>2</sup> already	already
50	jlyan <sup>20</sup> an <sup>32</sup> POT_release_1INCL	we will be free
51	wa <sup>2</sup> tyqon <sup>20</sup> on <sup>32</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> already POT_leave_1INCL with you(pl subj) now	we are all leaving now
52	jlya <sup>20</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> POT_release you(pl subj) now	you will be free now
53	wa <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> already POT_be.able	[and] now [you] can
54	kya <sup>1</sup> -yqwi <sup>32</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> ndya <sup>4</sup> no <sup>4</sup> remember essence you(pl subj) all the.one	remember all that it is important [in your life]
56	me <sup>14</sup> ru <sup>0</sup> no <sup>1</sup> ndwa <sup>14</sup> just the.one PROG_sit	that which stands as the most important thing to you
57	me <sup>14</sup> ru <sup>0</sup> no <sup>24</sup> ntqen <sup>24</sup> just the.one PROG_exist	that which is most important [to you]
58	ndya <sup>4</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> ntqen <sup>24</sup> qwan <sup>24</sup> to.you(pl) work the.one PROG_exist to.you(pl)	All the work you have [at home]
59	ndya <sup>4</sup>	everything!



	all	
60	kwiq <sup>24</sup> ndyo <sup>14</sup> si <sup>0</sup> qne <sup>24</sup> yu <sup>32</sup> ra <sup>140</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> It.is.just god POT_do help us (INCL)	May God help us all
61	<sa <sup>4</sup> > skan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> any one_1INCL with you(pl subj)	each one of us with all of you
62	qan <sup>24</sup> ndya <sup>24</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> tye <sup>32</sup> qwan <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> as PRÖG_like essence chest to.you(pl) now	As you now know
63	wa <sup>2</sup> kwa <sup>14</sup> wan <sup>0</sup> already POT_obey you(pl subj)	already you have obeyed
64	qne <sup>42</sup> yka <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>32</sup> COMPL_do honor you(pl subj)	you have honored
65	chaq <sup>3</sup> tlyu <sup>2</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> jnya <sup>1</sup> sti <sup>24</sup> thing big essence COMPL_ask father	your fathers wishes
66	jnya <sup>1</sup> yqan <sup>1</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> COMPL_ask mother you(pl subj)	your mothers wishes
67	no <sup>1</sup> ntsu <sup>42</sup> when COMPL_sprout	when you sprouted,
68	no <sup>1</sup> la <sup>0</sup> wan <sup>2</sup> when COMPL_born you(pl subj)	when you were born
70	kanq <sup>42</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> tlyu <sup>2</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> jnya <sup>1</sup> yu <sup>24</sup> then thing big essence COMPL_ask man	that is the greatness they wished for you
71	chaq <sup>3</sup> na <sup>3</sup> so that	so that
72	sqwan <sup>14</sup> yan <sup>20</sup> anq <sup>32</sup> kqya <sup>2</sup> POT_place hand_1INCL mountains	we lend a hand to the mountains
73	sqwan <sup>24</sup> yan <sup>20</sup> anq <sup>32</sup> kchin <sup>4</sup> POT_place hand_1INCL community	we lend a hand to the community
74	kanq <sup>42</sup> ntykwa <sup>4</sup> that COMPL_reach	(we) reached [that day today]
75	kanq <sup>42</sup> ndya <sup>32</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> that COMPL_come now	that day came today
76	qne <sup>42</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> ku <sup>20</sup> mpli <sup>24</sup> ni <sup>1</sup> COMPL_do you(pl subj) fulfill now	you have fulfilled the task now
77	kwiq <sup>24</sup> qan <sup>1</sup> ndywen <sup>20</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> It.is.just HAB_like PRÖG_say_1INCL	as we were saying
78	kwiq <sup>24</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> ya <sup>42</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> It.is.just already COMPL_go_NB you(pl subj)	now that we have gone forth
79	ja <sup>4</sup> nkwi <sup>3</sup> ya <sup>42</sup> not COMPL_feel COMPL_go_NB	time went by so quickly
80	ntqa <sup>42</sup> , ntqa <sup>42</sup> koq <sup>3</sup> COMPL_complete COMPL_complete moon	[we have] completed, <<completed>> our month (lit. our moon)
81	ntqa <sup>42</sup> , ntqa <sup>42</sup> koq <sup>3</sup>	[we have] completed <<completed>>

	COMPL_complete COMPL_complete moon	our month (lit. our moon)
82	ntqa <sup>42</sup> kla <sup>4</sup> qwan <sup>4</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> COMPL_complete star to.you(pl) now	[you have]completed your day (lit. your star)
83	wa <sup>2</sup> ndya <sup>32</sup> wra <sup>10</sup> already COMPL_come hour	it came the hour [the time]
84	chaq <sup>3</sup> tygon <sup>20</sup> on <sup>32</sup> to POT_leave_1INCL	to leave
85	chaq <sup>3</sup> lyan <sup>20</sup> an <sup>32</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> , to POT_be.set.free_1INCL you(pl subj) now  in <sup>20</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> hm? and	for us to be set free now, hm? And
86	kanq <sup>42</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> that thing	that is why
87	kwiq <sup>24</sup> qan <sup>10</sup> ndywiq <sup>1</sup> yu <sup>24</sup> kla <sup>24</sup> re <sup>2</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> It.is.just appear HAB_say man old this with  wan <sup>24</sup> you(pl subj)	As this old man [the mayor] says to you
88	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> good very	[be] good
89	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> qne <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>32</sup> good very POT_do you(pl subj)	[be] good
90	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> kan <sup>42</sup> anq <sup>42</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> good very dearly.do.so you(pl subj)	dearly.do.so
91	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> good very	the best
92	kanq <sup>42</sup> chi <sup>3</sup> -nyi <sup>24</sup> that.is.why truly	seriously
93	ja <sup>4</sup> -la <sup>32</sup> qne <sup>14</sup> jwe <sup>0</sup> -tla <sup>0</sup> ntqan <sup>42</sup> anq <sup>42</sup> not POT_do tease ourselves	let's not make fool ourselves
94	ja <sup>4</sup> -la <sup>32</sup> not	Let's not
95	ta <sup>4</sup> qan <sup>1</sup> ndya <sup>0</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> -na <sup>3</sup> or appear PROG_like essence that	as the new ones [new administration]
96	kten <sup>14</sup> , kla <sup>0</sup> xa <sup>32</sup> -ta <sup>4</sup> yu <sup>4</sup> POT_enter, POT_arrive other man	[the new ones] will enter, will arrive
97	ta <sup>4</sup> or	or
98	kwa <sup>24</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> chin <sup>4</sup> qa <sup>1</sup> ntyqan <sup>24</sup> there and ugly very PROG_appear	it would be bad (if someone were to makes fun of us)
99	kwa <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> qne <sup>24</sup> there POT.able POT_do	they [can] sometimes
100	kwan <sup>04</sup> ntyqin <sup>32</sup>	hang around [they behave this way]

	like.this HAB_exist	
101	ntyqin <sup>4</sup> qne <sup>24</sup> jwa <sup>4</sup> lta <sup>14</sup> tqa <sup>42</sup> yu <sup>4</sup> HAB_exist HAB_do tease each.other man	they hang around doing foolish things to each other
102	qan <sup>1</sup> tiq <sup>24</sup> no <sup>1</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> re <sup>2</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> ntyqwi <sup>24</sup> as essence the.one we(EXCL) here that HAB_exist wa <sup>42</sup> re <sup>2</sup> te <sup>20</sup> neq <sup>2</sup> qan <sup>1</sup> re <sup>2</sup> we(EXCL) here over inside the.house here	as for us for us inside the building
103	re <sup>20</sup> ndyaq <sup>42</sup> ntqen <sup>4</sup> yu <sup>4</sup> over.here HAB_there.are some man	outside they guys exist
104	nkwi <sup>42</sup> qa <sup>24</sup> ntqen <sup>4</sup> ntsqya <sup>1</sup> qo <sup>20</sup> whatever appear PROG_exist PROG_scream at tqa <sup>42</sup> yu <sup>4</sup> ndyaq <sup>42</sup> each.other man outside	they screaming at each other for no reason,
105	nkwiq <sup>42</sup> nya <sup>24</sup> ntqen <sup>32</sup> ykwiq <sup>4</sup> yu <sup>4</sup> whatever appear PROG_ COMPL_speak man	[they hang around] making fun of each other
106	ka <sup>2</sup> la <sup>32</sup> tykwen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> qan <sup>24</sup> an <sup>32</sup> POT.be.able not POT_speak_1INCL not_1iNCL qo <sup>1</sup> yu <sup>24</sup> with man	Let us not say anything to them
107	po <sup>4</sup> rke <sup>4</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> ran <sup>3</sup> because thing the.one PROG_be inan	Because as it is, or as things work
108	nka <sup>24</sup> ran <sup>3</sup> ska <sup>4</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> PROG_be inan one work	it is a job
109	nka <sup>24</sup> ran <sup>3</sup> ska <sup>4</sup> kchin <sup>32</sup> PROG_be inan one work	it is a community
110	tqan <sup>32</sup> ran <sup>3</sup> , PROG_go.around_NB inan	[this mandate] goes around,
111	ntxin <sup>2</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> ran <sup>3</sup> PROG_roll only inan	rolls around
112	ndon <sup>32</sup> ti <sup>4</sup> ran <sup>3</sup> PROG_stand only inan	it stands
113	ne <sup>2</sup> ntqon <sup>1</sup> on <sup>1</sup> now PROG_leave_1INCL	now we are leaving
114	xka <sup>32</sup> yjan <sup>32</sup> , another year	a year from now
115	tykwa <sup>2</sup> yjan <sup>32</sup> two year	two years from now
116	wa <sup>2</sup> jyan <sup>1</sup> xka <sup>32</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> already PROG_come_NB another work us (INCL)	another duty or position will come up
117	wa <sup>2</sup> kan <sup>1</sup> xka <sup>32</sup> already POT_come_NB another	another one will comes

118	wa <sup>2</sup> already	already
119	sya <sup>20</sup> even.though	even though
120	kwiq <sup>24</sup> xi <sup>1</sup> nya <sup>24</sup> no <sup>32</sup> ntyqo <sup>20</sup> yu <sup>24</sup> it.is.just bad appear the.one HAB_come.out man qne <sup>24</sup> jwe <sup>4</sup> tla <sup>10</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> POT_do tease us (INCL)	it would be unfortunate if someone would made fun [of us]
121	xi <sup>1</sup> nya <sup>24</sup> nka <sup>1</sup> tyen <sup>1</sup> en <sup>1</sup> bad appear PROG_be chest_1INCL	We would feel bad if someone would
122	no <sup>0</sup> tykwiq <sup>24</sup> qon <sup>1</sup> if POT_speak with_1INCL	If they come and speak badly to us
123	no <sup>4</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> if that PROG_be	because as things are
124	ni <sup>4</sup> skan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>32</sup> ja <sup>4</sup> jnyan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> tnya <sup>24</sup> not one_1INCL not HAB_ask_1INCL work kan <sup>24</sup> in <sup>20</sup> POT_be_1INCL hm?	no one of us asked to be given a job
125	tnya <sup>3</sup> ntqo <sup>1</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> work HAB_come.out only us(INCL)	we are only fulfilling what it was ordered from us
126	kan <sup>14</sup> ska <sup>0</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> POT_be_1INCL one one thing the.one nkan <sup>14</sup> PROG_be_1INCL	any one of us who is fulfilling a post
127	tnya <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> ntqo <sup>1</sup> ti <sup>2</sup> work the.one COMPL_come.out only	It is just mandate
130	nqnen <sup>1</sup> en <sup>1</sup> ku <sup>20</sup> mpli <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>1</sup> -na <sup>3</sup> HAB_do_1INCL fulfill thing	we are fulfilling what it was ordered from us, say
131	nka <sup>24</sup> xa <sup>0</sup> -tyin <sup>24</sup> in <sup>32</sup> PROG_be community-1INCL	because this is our community
132	nka <sup>24</sup> sqen <sup>32</sup> ntson <sup>42</sup> on <sup>42</sup> PROG_be place COMPL_sprout_1INCL	because it is the place where we sprouted
133	sqen <sup>4</sup> nlan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> place COMPL_born_1INCL	This is our birthplace
134	qne <sup>24</sup> ku <sup>20</sup> mpli <sup>24</sup> POT_do fulfill	we will serve
135	kanq <sup>42</sup> ti <sup>4</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> that is thing	that is why
136	qo <sup>1</sup> kanq <sup>42</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> and that thing now	and that is why
137	wa <sup>2</sup> -xqwe <sup>3</sup> qwan <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> -na <sup>24</sup> thank to.you(pl) that	we thank you

138	nke <sup>42</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> COMPL.emdure you(pl subj)	for enduring,
139	nda <sup>3</sup> lo <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> COMPL_give face you(pl subj)	tolerating the hardship
140	ndya <sup>32</sup> -wra <sup>10</sup> jwi <sup>3</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> sqwe <sup>3</sup> sometimes COMPL_find thing good ykwiaq <sup>24</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> COMPL_speak we(EXCL)	There were times when we had good things to say [to you]
141	qo <sup>1</sup> ndya <sup>32</sup> [wra <sup>10</sup> ] ja <sup>4</sup> jwi <sup>3</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> and PROG_exist [hour] not COMPL_find thing sqwe <sup>3</sup> ykwi <sup>24</sup> wa <sup>24</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> wan <sup>42</sup> good COMPL_speak us (EXCL) with you(pl subj) ykwiaq <sup>4</sup> COMPL_speak	and there were times when you did not have anything good to say [to us]
142	ykwiaq <sup>24</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> re <sup>2</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> you(pl subj) we(EXCL) with you(pl subj)	we did not have anything good to say to [you]
143	ja <sup>4</sup> nkwa <sup>2</sup> qwa <sup>42</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> na <sup>3</sup> not COMPL_be.able to.us(pl) thing thing	we could not
144	tykwiaq <sup>4</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> sqwe <sup>3</sup> la <sup>24</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> you(pl subj) hm? good EMPH with you(pl subj), hm?	speak better to you
145	qne <sup>24</sup> wan chaq <sup>3</sup> -tlyu <sup>2</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> ndya <sup>4</sup> POT_do you(pl subj) forgiveness essence PROG_exist chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> ykwen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> thing the.one COMPL_speak	we beg your forgiveness for all the [wrong things] we spoke
146	ndya <sup>4</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> nkwan <sup>2</sup> an <sup>1</sup> all thng the.one COMPL_be	for all the things we could [not] be
147	chaq <sup>3</sup> thing	for all
148	ndyo <sup>14</sup> si <sup>0</sup> god	[may] God
149	jlo <sup>24</sup> , tjen <sup>10</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> POT_take.out POT_pass us(INCL)	help us out,
150	jlo <sup>14</sup> tjen <sup>14</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> POT_take.out POT_pass us (INCL)	pass us through,
151	sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> tyqon <sup>20</sup> on <sup>32</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> good only POT_come.out with you(pl subj)	may we finish our term with grace
152	kya <sup>20</sup> re <sup>2</sup> , tomorrow here	tomorrow
153	cha <sup>4</sup> re <sup>2</sup> the.day.after.tomorrow here	the days that follow
155	wa <sup>2</sup> ntqon <sup>1</sup> on <sup>1</sup> nkya <sup>24</sup> ntqo <sup>20</sup> already POT_come.out PROG_go_NB POT_come.out	We would be redeemed of our responsibility

	chaq <sup>3</sup> thing	
156	ja <sup>4</sup> -ne <sup>1</sup> Yes	yes indeed

### Appendix 3: Transition of governing authorities in SJQ

#### SPEECH GIVEN BY ORATOR ELIGIO VASQUEZ (E. VASQUEZ) (2004)

1	Kwiq <sup>24</sup> qan <sup>1</sup> ndywen <sup>1</sup> pre <sup>4</sup> se <sup>4</sup> nte <sup>10</sup> It.is.just appear PROG_say president	As the mayor says
2	chaq <sup>3</sup> -no <sup>24</sup> so.that	that
3	qne <sup>42</sup> lya <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> kwe <sup>3</sup> -nta <sup>0</sup> qin <sup>1</sup> POT_do IMP you(pl subj) attention to ndya <sup>4</sup> no <sup>4</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> nkwa <sup>2</sup> skan <sup>1</sup> all the.one already COMPL_be errand.boy	pay attention to all the ones that were helpers
4	qan <sup>1</sup> tiq <sup>1</sup> qwan <sup>1</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> nkwa <sup>2</sup> as essence to.you(pl) that COMPL_be wan <sup>1</sup> xqna <sup>1</sup> yu <sup>24</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> you(pl subj) boss man, hm?	because you were their bosses, hm?
5	chaq <sup>3</sup> ktsaq <sup>3</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> qin <sup>24</sup> so.that POT_tell you(pl subj) them	so that you can tell them
6	chaq <sup>3</sup> -no <sup>4</sup> ntqen <sup>42</sup> ti <sup>4</sup> yu <sup>4</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> so.that PROG_stay only man so.that lya <sup>20</sup> yu <sup>24</sup> release man	to remain in town so that they can release them from their duties!
7	no <sup>4</sup> kwi <sup>14</sup> wa <sup>0</sup> kwa <sup>24</sup> kla <sup>20</sup> qin <sup>24</sup> the.one new that those release to wan <sup>32</sup> kya <sup>20</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> janq <sup>20</sup> in <sup>24</sup> you(pl subj) tomorrow now then hm?	the new administration will be in charge of releasing you tomorrow
8	ndya <sup>32</sup> ska <sup>4</sup> tsan <sup>32</sup> there.was one day	there was a day where
9	ykwen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> chin <sup>4</sup> nya <sup>24</sup> COMPL_speak_1INCL ugly appear	we spoke wrongly to you
10	ykwen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> tlan <sup>2</sup> an <sup>1</sup> COMPL_speak_1INCL harsh_1INCL	we spoke frankly to you
11	pe <sup>4</sup> ro <sup>4</sup> kwan <sup>20</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> nya <sup>24</sup> ndywiq <sup>32</sup> yu <sup>4</sup> - but like only appear HAB_speak man sya <sup>10</sup> ndywen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> justice HAB_speak_1INCL	but this is how authorities talk, so we say
12	sye <sup>3</sup> mpre <sup>24</sup> always	always
13	ne <sup>32</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> neq <sup>2</sup> -kwan <sup>2</sup> , PROG_sounds thing above	it is heard in heaven,
14	xa <sup>4</sup> -lyu <sup>32</sup> , in <sup>20</sup>	on earth, hm?!

	earth, hm?	
15	no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> the.one PROG_be work	that the ones who are work,
16	no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> sya <sup>0</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> the.one PROG_be justice, hm?	the ones who are justice, hm?!
17	tla <sup>3</sup> yu <sup>24</sup> qin <sup>24</sup> yu <sup>24</sup> hard man to man	they talked frankly to them
18	po <sup>4</sup> rke chaq <sup>3</sup> -no <sup>24</sup> because because	so that
19	ki <sup>4</sup> qya <sup>24</sup> no <sup>32</sup> kwiaq <sup>2</sup> , POT_go.down the.one baby	that the ones who are babies,
20	no <sup>1</sup> kne <sup>1</sup> kwe <sup>3</sup> nta <sup>10</sup> the.one infant realize	the ones who are young, learn
21	la <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>42</sup> sqen <sup>4</sup> ti <sup>2</sup> nkqya <sup>42</sup> whatever PROG_be place only COMPL_go.down yu <sup>4</sup> kwe <sup>2</sup> -nta <sup>1</sup> man realize	we speak to them as far as they are willing to listen
22	ska <sup>4</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>4</sup> sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> ntyqo <sup>20</sup> one thing the.one good only HAB_go.out chaq <sup>3</sup> thing	this is something good
23	sqi <sup>1</sup> ta <sup>4</sup> ndywen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> ta <sup>4</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> wxi <sup>1</sup> not that HAB_say_1INCL that thing bad nka <sup>24</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> PROG_be that, hm?	we cannot say it is not bad thing, hm?!
24	si <sup>1</sup> ndyo <sup>14</sup> si <sup>0</sup> , ndywe <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> if god, HAB_say_1INCL	god willing, we say
25	qan <sup>1</sup> ndya <sup>24</sup> tye <sup>32</sup> sa <sup>4</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> yu <sup>4</sup> as PROG_like chest one another man	as anyone of them might feel
26	no <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> yaq <sup>2</sup> the.one PROG_be hand	the ones who are the hands,
27	nka <sup>24</sup> kyaq <sup>32</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> PROG_be feet, hm?	they ones who are the feet, hm?!
28	ja <sup>4</sup> ntqan <sup>42</sup> an <sup>42</sup> nya <sup>4</sup> not COMPL_see_1INCL what	no one can predict
29	tnya <sup>3</sup> jyan <sup>24</sup> te <sup>20</sup> -lo <sup>24</sup> , work POT_come_NB ahead ndywe <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> HAB_say_1INCL	what kind of service awaits each one of us going forward
30	ndyo <sup>14</sup> si <sup>0</sup> qne <sup>32</sup> ज्या <sup>3</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> god POT_do measure and	god is the one who decides and
31	ne <sup>4</sup> -sya <sup>20</sup>	even though



	even.though	
32	kwan <sup>20</sup> anq <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> nkwa <sup>2</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> as that COMPL_be you(pl subj)  xqna <sup>1</sup> yu <sup>24</sup> boss man	because you were their bosses
33	ndyo <sup>14</sup> si <sup>0</sup> qne <sup>14</sup> jyaq <sup>3</sup> ne <sup>4</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> god POT_do measure what work  nka <sup>24</sup> no <sup>32</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> ska <sup>42</sup> nten <sup>14</sup> PROG_be the.one POT_be one people	god is the one who decides what job each person will have
34	si <sup>1</sup> ndyo <sup>14</sup> si <sup>0</sup> tlyu <sup>2</sup> qa <sup>1</sup> ndyka <sup>24</sup> , if god big very HAB_become  in <sup>20</sup> hm?	if god may be so generous, hm?!
35	ha <sup>4</sup> sta <sup>4</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>32</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> mmm even POT_be you(pl subj) work mmm	you may attain an important position
36	qan <sup>1</sup> tiq <sup>1</sup> ndwa <sup>3</sup> wa <sup>42</sup> re <sup>2</sup> , as essence PROG_sit we(EXCL) here  ndywen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> HAB_say_1INCL	as ourselves, say
37	si <sup>1</sup> ndyo <sup>14</sup> si <sup>0</sup> tlo <sup>24</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> , if god POT_take.out work  ndywen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> HAB_say_1INCL	if god so ordains, we say
38	kanq <sup>42</sup> qa <sup>4</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> , that.abs not POT_be.able us(INCL)  ndywen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> HAB_say_1INCL	we cannot decide, we say
39	ta <sup>4</sup> nde <sup>2</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>42</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> or here work POT_be, hm?	this is to be your new position, hm?!
40	ta <sup>4</sup> or	or
41	ska <sup>4</sup> ti <sup>4</sup> ndyo <sup>14</sup> si <sup>0</sup> nqne <sup>32</sup> jyaq <sup>3</sup> one only god POT_do measure  ne <sup>4</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> no <sup>32</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> ska <sup>42</sup> nten <sup>14</sup> what work the.one POT_be one people	it is only god who decides what job each person will have
42	ska <sup>42</sup> one	one
43	ni <sup>4</sup> -sya <sup>20</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> tno <sup>1</sup> la <sup>1</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> even.though already big EMPH very  nya <sup>24</sup> ska <sup>32</sup> kqyu <sup>1</sup>	no matter how big or strong a man seems

	appear one man	
44	no <sup>4</sup> qa <sup>4</sup> ntqo <sup>1</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> qin <sup>24</sup> the.one not COMPL_take.out work to	if he is not destined
45	chaq <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> to POT_be work	to be work
46	ka <sup>24</sup> kchin <sup>1</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> POT_be community, hm?	to be community, hm?!
47	ja <sup>4</sup> ntykwiq <sup>32</sup> nten <sup>14</sup> qin <sup>0</sup> not HAB_speak people to ndywe <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> HAB_say_1INCL	people will not respond to him, hm?
48	qo <sup>1</sup> sya <sup>20</sup> lyuq <sup>20</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> ska <sup>4</sup> kqyu <sup>1</sup> no <sup>4</sup> and even little very one man that yna <sup>42</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> COMPL_listen work	no matter how small a man seems
49	chaq <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> that POT_be work, hm?	who is destined to lead his community, hm?
50	pe <sup>4</sup> ro <sup>4</sup> but	but
51	kanq <sup>42</sup> xnyi <sup>4</sup> ton <sup>42</sup> nten <sup>14</sup> qo <sup>0</sup> that.one POT_grab standing people and	that is person that people will seize upon and
52	kanq <sup>42</sup> xkwen <sup>24</sup> nten <sup>14</sup> chaq <sup>0</sup> ka <sup>24</sup> , that.one POT_answer people that POT_be in <sup>20</sup> hm?	he is the one that people will agree to, hm?!
53	kwiq <sup>24</sup> It.is.just	he is the one
54	ndyo <sup>14</sup> si <sup>0</sup> qne <sup>42</sup> jyaq <sup>3</sup> qin <sup>24</sup> janq <sup>42</sup> god POT_do measure to then	god who decides for that person
55	kanq <sup>42</sup> -chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> kyqya <sup>24</sup> that.is.why the.one POT_bring.down wan <sup>32</sup> kwe <sup>3</sup> -nta <sup>14</sup> you(pl subj) realization	this is something that I would like for you to understand
56	sya <sup>20</sup> ska <sup>4</sup> skan <sup>4</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> even one errand.boy only already ntyka <sup>2</sup> yu <sup>1</sup> , qo <sup>1</sup> errand.boy man, and	even though they have been just errand boy once, or
57	sya <sup>20</sup> tkwa <sup>24</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> skan <sup>24</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> even two only errand.boy already ntyka <sup>2</sup> yu <sup>1</sup> PROG_be man	even though they have been errand boys twice

58	wa <sup>2</sup> xnyi <sup>1</sup> yu <sup>1</sup> chinq <sup>20</sup> kwe <sup>3</sup> -nta <sup>1</sup> already POT_grab man a little realization qwan <sup>1</sup> -nya <sup>24</sup> how	they are already paying attention to the workings of thinks
59	si <sup>4</sup> yu <sup>4</sup> no <sup>4</sup> tya <sup>20</sup> , ndywe <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> if man the.one smart, HAB_say_1INCL	a man who is wise, we say
60	no <sup>4</sup> yu <sup>4</sup> no <sup>4</sup> ndyka <sup>24</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> the.one man the.one HAB_want essence chaq <sup>3</sup> kno <sup>1</sup> to POT_stay	the one who wants to retain
61	ska <sup>4</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> no <sup>24</sup> sqwe <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>24</sup> qin <sup>24</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> one thing the.one good very to(him), hm?	to uphold good values, hm?
62	chaq <sup>3</sup> sqwe <sup>3</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> ran <sup>3</sup> , thing good PROG_be inan ndywe <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> HAB_say_1INCL	because this is a good think, we say
63	sqi <sup>1</sup> ta <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> ran <sup>3</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> wxi <sup>1</sup> not or PROG_be inan thing bad qo <sup>1</sup> , ko <sup>4</sup> mo <sup>4</sup> and, as	it is not that this something bad thing, because!
64	kanq <sup>42</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> tlyu <sup>2</sup> -riq <sup>2</sup> that forgiveness ynya <sup>1</sup> sten <sup>24</sup> yqan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> COMPL_ask father mother_1INCL	this is what our parents wished for us
65	ra <sup>1</sup> no <sup>1</sup> ntson <sup>42</sup> on <sup>42</sup> hour when COMPL_sprout_1INCL	when we sprouted
66	ra <sup>1</sup> no <sup>1</sup> ndlan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> hour when COMPL_born_1INCL	when we were born
67	chaq <sup>3</sup> nkan <sup>24</sup> kyqyu <sup>1</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> so.that HAB_be man, hm?	because we are men, hm?!
68	ti <sup>2</sup> kanq <sup>20</sup> wa <sup>2</sup> ndywiq <sup>1</sup> sten <sup>4</sup> since then already HAB-say father yqan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> qna <sup>42</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> -na <sup>3</sup> mother_1INCL us (INCL) that	from this time our fathers and mothers asked,
69	xta <sup>20</sup> yu <sup>24</sup> chaq <sup>3</sup> yaq <sup>2</sup> ndyo <sup>14</sup> -si <sup>0</sup> COMPL_put man thing hand god	they placed this in the hands of god
70	chaq <sup>1</sup> ntson <sup>42</sup> on <sup>42</sup> , because COMPL_sprout_1INCL	because we sprouted,
71	ndlan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> COMPL_born_1INCL, hm?	we were born into life, hm?
72	tyi <sup>20</sup> -ton <sup>1</sup>	we will stand as a force

	POT-stand	
73	tyi <sup>20</sup> -tqen <sup>24</sup> en <sup>32</sup> POT-exist_1INCL	we will exist as a force
74	kan <sup>14</sup> an <sup>0</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> POT_be_1INCL work	to be work
75	kan <sup>14</sup> an <sup>0</sup> kchin <sup>4</sup> POT_be_1INCL community	to be community
76	sqwan <sup>14</sup> yan <sup>20</sup> anq <sup>32</sup> kqya <sup>2</sup> POT_put_1INCL hand_1INCL mountains	so that we would lend a hand to the mountains
77	sqwan <sup>24</sup> yan <sup>20</sup> anq <sup>32</sup> kchin <sup>4</sup> POT_put_1INCL hand_1INCL community	so that we would lend a hand to the community
78	ndywen <sup>4</sup> sten <sup>4</sup> PROG_say father	said our fathers
79	ndywen <sup>4</sup> yqan <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> PROG_say mother_1INCL	said our mothers
80	kanq <sup>42</sup> nka <sup>24</sup> no <sup>32</sup> jyan <sup>4</sup> -tqen <sup>1</sup> that PROG_be the.one PROG_come_NB-exist ran <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>2</sup> inan now	and this is where we are now
81	si <sup>1</sup> ndyo <sup>14</sup> si <sup>0</sup> tlyu <sup>1</sup> qa <sup>1</sup> ndyka <sup>24</sup> , if god big very PROG_be in <sup>20</sup> hm?	if god is so great, hm?!
82	ti <sup>2</sup> kyqan <sup>14</sup> la <sup>0</sup> ti <sup>1</sup> ntyqan <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>32</sup> still many very still POT_see you(pl subj)	may you see many more good thinks
83	kyqan <sup>24</sup> la <sup>1</sup> ti <sup>1</sup> kna <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>32</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> a lot very still POT_hear you(pl subj), hm?	may you hear many more good thinks
84	kya <sup>20</sup> ycha <sup>4</sup> sya <sup>20</sup> tomorrow the.day.after.tomorrow even.though tsa <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>32</sup> lo <sup>4</sup> jyan <sup>3</sup> qwan <sup>24</sup> POT_go_NB you(pl subj) to field to.you(pl)	tomorrow, or the next day when you go to your corn field
85	lo <sup>24</sup> tyiq <sup>3</sup> qwan <sup>4</sup> to harvest to.you(pl)	to your harvest
86	kwiq <sup>24</sup> ndyo <sup>14</sup> si <sup>0</sup> ta <sup>20</sup> jwe <sup>4</sup> sa <sup>10</sup> to.you(pl) god POT_give strenght qwan <sup>1</sup> to.you(pl)	may god give strength
87	ja <sup>14</sup> na <sup>0</sup> tyqin <sup>14</sup> yaq <sup>0</sup> qwan <sup>1</sup> POT_find thing POT_exist hand to.you(pl)	may you not lack the tools to get by

88	ja <sup>14</sup> na <sup>0</sup> tyqin <sup>14</sup> yqwi <sup>20</sup> qwan <sup>24</sup> POT_find thing POT_exist survive to.you(pl)	may you have the thinks to survive
89	qan <sup>1</sup> ndya <sup>24</sup> riq <sup>2</sup> ska <sup>1</sup> yjan <sup>32</sup> as PROG_like essence one year ne <sup>2</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> now, hm?	for this year, hm?!
90	chaq <sup>3</sup> nde <sup>2</sup> la <sup>1</sup> -tqen <sup>20</sup> en <sup>32</sup> because here COMPL_leave-1INCL ching <sup>20</sup> xnyan <sup>2</sup> an <sup>1</sup> , ndywen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> little work_1INCL, HAB_say_1INCL	because we left our work, we say
91	sya <sup>20</sup> xqi <sup>2</sup> -nde <sup>2</sup> ti <sup>1</sup> nkyan <sup>24</sup> even short.while only COMPL_come_B wan <sup>32</sup> sa <sup>4</sup> -na <sup>10</sup> qwan <sup>1</sup> you(pl subj) week to.you(pl)	you came back briefly to fulfill your week
92	nkyan <sup>42</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> COMPL_come_B you(pl subj)	you came back
93	ska <sup>42</sup> sa <sup>4</sup> -na <sup>10</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> one week, hm?	each week, hm?!
94	la <sup>1</sup> -tqen <sup>20</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> chinq <sup>20</sup> COMPL_leave-1INCL you(pl subj) little xnya <sup>3</sup> qwan <sup>24</sup> work to.you(pl)	you left you work
95	sqen <sup>4</sup> ntqen <sup>4</sup> wan <sup>4</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> where POT_live you(pl subj) with	where you live
96	qo <sup>1</sup> sti <sup>24</sup> qo <sup>1</sup> yqan <sup>1</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> with father with mother you(pl subj)	with you fathers and mothers
97	no <sup>4</sup> ndya <sup>32</sup> sti <sup>4</sup> the.one have father	the ones who have a father
98	ndya <sup>32</sup> yqan <sup>1</sup> , ndywen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> have mother, HAB_say_1INCL	(the ones) that have a mother, we say
99	kwiq <sup>24</sup> ndyo <sup>14</sup> si <sup>0</sup> ta <sup>20</sup> jwe <sup>4</sup> -sa <sup>0</sup> , in <sup>20</sup> It.is.just god POT_give strenght, hm?	that same god will give them strength, hm?!
100	ya <sup>2</sup> no <sup>24</sup> so that	so that you can
101	qne <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>32</sup> tnya <sup>3</sup> qwan <sup>24</sup> POT_do you(pl subj) work to.you(pl)	so that you can do you own work
102	tykwa <sup>140</sup> xka <sup>32</sup> yjan <sup>32</sup> , ndywen <sup>24</sup> enq <sup>32</sup> POT_sit.elev another year, HAB_say_1INCL	next year, we say
103	kna <sup>20</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> na <sup>24</sup> ku <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> POT_look you(pl subj) thing POT_eat you(pl subj)	so that you can procure for your food

104	kna <sup>20</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> na <sup>3</sup> kqo <sup>24</sup> wan <sup>1</sup> POT_look you(pl subj) thing POT_drink you(pl subj)	so that you can procure something to drink
105	kna <sup>20</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> steq <sup>3</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> POT_look you(pl subj) clothes you(pl subj)	so that you can procure your clothes
106	kna <sup>20</sup> wan <sup>24</sup> sss (sna <sup>4</sup> ) POT_look you(pl subj) shoes	so that you can procure your sh(oes)
107	qo1 ne4-sya20 qan1 no1 ndya24-riq2 and even appear the.one PROG_like  tye32 yu4 no4 ntqan32 chest man the.one PROG_go.around_NB  tyjyuq4, ndywe24enq32 far.away, HAB_say_1INCL	as to the one who are working far away, we say
108	ja4 ka2 ndwen1enq1 ta4 not POT_able HAB_say_1INCL that  tsan14 ko0ntra1 qin1 kanq42, POT_go_NB_1INCL against to them  ndywe24enq32 HAB_say_1INCL	we cannot blame them for their choice, we say
109	qo1 ne4 sya1 ndya24 riq2 tye32 qwan32 ne2, and if like chest to.you(pl) now  ndywe24enq32 HAB_say_1INCL	and as you may feel now, we say
110	si1 ndya24-riq2 wan1 tsa24 if POT_like you(pl subj) POT_go_NB  wan32 ska4 yjan32 you(pl subj) one year	if you wish to go for a year
111	tkwa24 yjan32 ne2, qo4 ta4 wa2 two years now, and or already  pe4ro4 wa2 but already	or for two years , but already
112	qne32 wan4 se32rwi14 ya0 POT_do you(pl subj) serve already  no4 tsa24 renq32 then POT_go_NByou they	you must have had served your community when you go
113	ndya32 ya3 tnya3 wa2 nkwa2 yu1 there.are some work already COMPL_be man	those men already fulfilled some duties
114	nkwa2 yu1 skan24 COMPL_be man errand.boy	they might have serve as an errand boy
115	kanq4-chaq3 nkya4 yu4 chinq20 ne2	that is why they they left as there

	that.is.why COMPL_go man little now ko4mo4 kyqan14 nten0 ntqan32, as many people PROG_go.around_NB, in20 hm?	are many people who are leaving, hm?
116	kwiq24 It.is.just	the same
117	ndyo14si0 nsqwa1 yaq1 qin1 god POT_put hand to(them) ni4-sya20 no24 ntqan32 even.to the.one PROG_go.around_NB	god might give them strength, whether they are abroad
118	qo1 no4-sya20 no24 ntqen24, even the.ones the.one PROG_exist ndywen24enq32 HAB_say_1INCL	or the ones who are in the community, we say
119	ko4mo4 ska4 ti4 nten14 nkan14 as one only people PROG_be_1INCL qo0 ktyin24en32 with offspring_1INCL	because we are one with our offspring,
120	qo1 tqa42 ntqen24en32 with those PROG_exist_1INCL	with the people with whom we live
121	ska4 kqya2, one mountain	in the mountains,
222	ska4 kchin32, in20 one community, hm?	in the community, hm?
123	no4 yna42 tnya3 tsa24, in20 the.one COMPL_listen work POT_go_NB, hm?	the ones who are going with a plan
124	qne24 ka32-na24 POT_do win	those ones will succeed
125	qo1 no4 <ja4> yna42 tnya3 and the.one <not> COMPL_listen work ntqan32 PROG_go.around_NB	and the ones who don't have any plans
126	sya20 kwa3 ntqan32 sniq4 even.though there PROG_go.around_NB children ndyo14si0, in20 god, hm?	even if they go over there, children of god, hm?!
127	ntyji14 son0 qna42 chaq3 PROG_find news to(us) that ntqen24en32 PROG_exist_1INCL	we also hear that some
128	chaq3 kwan20 ti24 nya24	people are not working, this has

	<p>that just like appear  ntqan32 yu4, ni4-qan1  PROG_go.around_NB man what  si1-mo14-ru0 ntyqan24</p> <p>manner PROG_go.around_NB  pe24nsa14 qin0 nten14 chaq3 kwan20  thought them people that just</p> <p>ti24 nya24  only appear</p>	to do with the way each person thinks
129	<p>nda10-ska42 nten14  each person</p>	each person
130	<p>qo1 si1 mo14ru0 no1 su4rte1 qin1  and if manner the.one luck to</p> <p>nten14 nda20 ska4 nten14  people each one people</p>	sometimes it depends on the luck of each person
131	<p>kwan20 ti24 qa24 ntqen32 chaq3  just only appear PROG_exist things</p> <p>ndyo14-si0 qne24 yu32-ra24 qna42  god POT_do help  us(INCL)  qo1 wan24  with you(pl subj)</p>	and things are this way, and might god bless you and I and each of us
132	<p>ndyo14si0 sqwa1 yaq2  god POT_put hand</p>	may god lend you a hand
133	<p>ndyo14si0 sqwa1 tykwa24 qna42  god POT_put hand accompany us(INCL)</p> <p>qo1 wan24 ne2  with you(pl subj) now</p>	may god lead you and all of us now
134	<p>ti2 hm ti2 ku1-chaq3 wan24 ti2  still hm still POT_eat-kiss you(pl subj) still</p> <p>chinq20 ke2 re2  little flower this</p>	please kiss these flower
135	<p>nde2 no1 ti2 tsa24 qo20 wa42 re2  neq2  these the.one still POT_go_NB with we(EXCL) here inside</p> <p>lya42 chaq3 no24 wa2 lyan20on32 wan4  church so the.one already POT_free_1INCL you(pl  subj)  ne2  now</p>	these are the candles we are going to take to church because we are now finishing with our duties.



## **Appendix 4: Resulting Corpus**

This section presents some recordings that make up the resulting corpus that is the focus of this dissertation. There are eight fields to describe each recording: The “citation,” shows the conventions used in citing the event throughout this dissertation. This part highlights the principal speaker identified with the oratory plus the year of recordings. It shows the first letter of the orator’s first name followed by a period. This in turn is followed by the speaker’s paternal surname, and the year when the recording was made in the field. For instance, a performance given by Ricardo Cruz Cruz in 2007 will be cited as “R. Cruz 2007.” Different recordings carried out with the same speakers will be cited with a number in parenthesis in the citation column. For instance, the citation F. Baltazar 2004 (11) has the number in parenthesis, indicating that this recording is the eleventh recording of F. Baltazar.

The next is the title of the recordings given by the field researcher. This is followed by a field called “description,” which offers a more thorough descriptive passage of the recording event. The fourth field: “reference,” provides a bibliographic entry for each recording. The material in this row follows a standard APA style formatting. The author’s last name comes first, followed by a surname and the year of the recording. For instance, a speech given by Ricardo Cruz Cruz 2007 will be noted as “Cruz, Ricardo. 2007”. This part makes every attempt to provide the last name and the first name of the authors; however, there are performances where the names of the orators

could not be recover given the nature of the ceremonies. For instance while recording many of the ceremonial events in San Juan city hall I could not record the names of each one of the participants either because many of these participants came in and out of the room or they did not want their names recorder. An example of this is the recording referenced as (Zurita, Simón, city hall envoys. 2009). When I recorded this event I was not able to record the names of each one of the city hall envoys that participated in the event. This is the reason I reference them as “city hall envoys.”

Next row provides the names of the principal performers. The next row provides the name the institution that contains an archival copy of the recording. Although the majority of the files are deposited in the archives of ELAR and AILLA, there are some files that have not yet been deposited in an archive and are still in the repository of the recorder. These archives are labeled in this column as “researcher”. The last row: “recorder,” holds the initials of the person who recorded the piece in the field, for instance Emiliana Cruz (ec), Hilaria Cruz (hc), and Anthony Woodbury (acw), Lynn Hou (lysh). The last row in each table provides the length in minutes of the text.

Event 1

Citation	(S. Zurita et al 2009)
Title	The visit
Description	Exchange between elder Simón Zurita Cruz and envoys from local city hall. This text is analyzed in chapter 6
Reference	(Zurita, Simón, city hall envoys. 2009)
Speakers	Simón Zurita Cruz & city hall envoys
Repository	Recorder
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	5

### Event 2

Citation	(W. Cortés et al 2009)
Title	Prayers
Description	This archive contains the Prayer for the community, which is analyzed in chapter 7
Reference	(Cortés, Wenceslao; Cortés, Evencio; Jarquin, Pedro; Vásquez, Eligio; Zurita, Cruz.2009)
Speakers	Wenceslao Cortés Cruz, Evencio Cortés Apolonio, Pedro Jarquin Canseco, Eligio Vásquez, Simón Zurita Cruz
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	Hc
Length (Min)	129

### Event 3

Citation	(G. Cruz 2010)
Title	Chaq <sup>3</sup> Ksya <sup>10</sup> ‘words of the heart’
Description	A recitation of a ceremonial speech when parents presented gifts to their godchildren in San Juan Quiahije. This text is analyzed in chapter 8
Reference	(Cruz, Gonzalo. 2010)
Speakers	Gonzalo Cruz Cortés
Repository	
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	

### Event 4

Citation	(G. Cruz et al 2010)
Title	Conversation in Gonzalo Cruz Cortés’s kitchen
Description	Conversation about Chaq <sup>3</sup> Ksya <sup>10</sup> ‘words of the heart’ in Gonzalo Cruz Cortés’s kitchen. Recorded on August 2010. This event is cited in chapter 8
Reference	Cruz, Gonzalo; Orcio, Lorenza; Orcio, Ernestina.2010
Speakers	Gonzalo Cruz Cortés, Lorenza Orcio, and Ernestina Orcio
Repository	Recorder
Recorder	hc

Length (Min)	35
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#### Event 5

Citation	(R. Cruz 2004)
Title	Oratoria Cambio 'speech of the changing of the authorities'
Description	Persuasive speech spoken by the outgoing officials at the ceremony of the changing of the authorities in the San Juan in 2004. This text was analyzed in
Reference	(Cruz, Ricardo. 2004)
Speakers	Ricardo Cruz Cruz
Repository	Recorder
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	5

#### Event 6

Citation	(R. Cruz 2007)
Title	Interview with Ricardo Cruz Cruz
Description	A follow up conversation with Ricardo Cruz about political speech in San Juan. Examples of this text are cited this study
Reference	(Cruz, Ricardo. 2007)
Speakers	Ricardo Cruz Cruz
Repository	Recorder
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	49

#### Event 7

Citation	(F. Baltazar 2004)
Title	Court and marriage
Description	Félix provides an account on the ritual speeches surrounding
Reference	(Baltazar, Félix. 2004)
Speakers	Félix A Baltazar
Repository	Recorder
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	1

#### Event 8

Citation	(P. Orocio 2009)
Title	The tiger and the turtle
Description	This is a traditional Chatino animal story. Examples of this text are cited in this dissertation.
Reference	(Oroció, Paula. 2009)
Speakers	Paula Oroció Cruz
Repository	
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	

#### Event 9

Citation	(M. Baltazar 2009 (1))
Title	Conversation with Margarita Baltazar García
Description	Margarita recites traditional San Juan Quiahije prayers and persuasive speech. Recorded on June 27, 2009. Examples of this text are cited in this dissertation.
Reference	(Baltazar, Margarita. 2009)
Speakers	Margarita Baltazar García
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec, hc
Length (Min)	79

#### Event 10

Citation	(M. Baltazar 2009 (2))
Title	Conversation with Margarita Baltazar García
Description	Margarita recites traditional San Juan Quiahije prayers and persuasive speech. Recorded on June 28, 2009. Examples of this text are cited in this dissertation.
Reference	(Baltazar, Margarita. 2009)
Speakers	Margarita Baltazar García
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	36

#### Event 11

Citation	(M. Baltazar & I. Cruz 2010)
Title	Commentary with Margarita Baltazar García

Description	Meta-commentary on San Juan Quiahije verbal art.
Reference	Baltazar, Margarita; Cruz, Isabel. 2010)
Speakers	Margarita Baltazar García, Isabel Cruz Baltazar
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	159

#### Event 12

Citation	(S. Orocio & A. Méndez 2010)
Title	Conversation at Sotero's house
Description	Sotero and his mother (Anastacia) discuss issues relating local San Juan Quiahije politics. Recorded on January 10, 2010. Examples of this text are cited in this dissertation.
Reference	(Orocio, Sotero; Méndez; Anastacia. 2010)
Speakers	Sotero Orocio Méndez, Anastacia Méndez
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	165

#### Event 13

Citation	(S. Orocio 2010)
Title	Conversation at Sotero's house
Description	Sotero recites San Juan Quiahije political speech. Recorded on January 11, 2010. Fragments of this text are cited in Chapter 5.
Reference	(Orocio, Sotero.2010)
Speakers	Sotero Orocio Méndez
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	11

#### Event 14

Citation	(T. Cruz 2007)
Title	Kitchen conversation between two women
Description	This is a conversation between Tiburcia Cruz and a woman visiting Tiburcia's kitchen. Examples from

	this text are presented in chapters 2 and 9
Reference	(Cruz, Tiburcia. 2007)
Speakers	Tiburcia Cruz Baltazar
Repository	Recorder
Recorder	hc, acw
Length (Min)	10

#### Event 15

Citation	(J. Orocio 2007)
Title	Conversation with Justa
Description	Justa
Reference	(Oroció, Justa.2007)
Speakers	Justa Oroció
Repository	Recorder
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	15

#### Event 16

Citation	(G. Baltazar et al 2004 (1))
Title	Plane landing
Description	Reminisce of a plane landing in Cieneguilla
Reference	(Baltazar, Guillermo; Cruz, Marcos; Baltazar, sofia.2004)
Speakers	Guillermo Baltazar, Marcos Cruz Baltazar, Sofia Baltazar García,
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	1

#### Event 17

Citation	(G. Baltazar & M. Cruz 2004 (2))
Title	Sofía Baltazar García arrival
Description	The speakers greet Sofia
Reference	(Baltazar, Guillermo; Cruz, Marcos.2004)
Speakers	Guillermo Baltazar, Marcos Cruz Baltazar
Repository	ELAR, AILLA

Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	2

#### Event 18

Citation	(G. Baltazar et al 2004 (3))
Title	Farewell to sofia
Description	Guillermo and Marcos say goodbye to Sofia
Reference	(Baltazar, Guillermo; Cruz, Marcos; Baltazar, sofia.2004)
Speakers	Guillermo Baltazar, Marcos Cruz Baltazar, Sofía Baltazar García
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	1

#### Event 19

Citation	(G. Baltazar & M. Cruz 2004 (4))
Title	The war of the pants
Description	Guillermo reminisce on stories of a 19th century San Juan Quiahije revolt
reference	(Baltazar, Guillermo; Cruz, Marcos; Baltazar, sofia.2004)
Speakers	Guillermo Baltazar, Marcos Cruz Baltazar
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	6

#### Event 20

Citation	(G. Baltazar & M. Cruz 2004 (5))
Title	Story of Guillermo's life
Description	Guillermo tells his experience of growing up in San Juan Quiahije
Reference	(Baltazar, Guillermo; Cruz, Marcos; Baltazar, sofia.2004)
Speakers	Guillermo Baltazar, Marcos Cruz Baltazar
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	8

#### Event 21



Citation	(G. Baltazar & M. Cruz 2004 (6))
Title	History of the Chatino people: the situation of the language
Description	Guillermo discusses issues of Chatino language
Reference	(Baltazar, Guillermo; Cruz, Marcos; Baltazar, sofia.2004)
Speakers	Guillermo Baltazar, Marcos Cruz Baltazar
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	3

#### Event 22

Citation	(G. Baltazar & M. Cruz 2004 (7))
Title	Importance of the Chatino language
Description	Guillermo talks about the importance of preserving Chatino language
Reference	(Baltazar, Guillermo; Cruz, Marcos; Baltazar, sofia.2004)
Speakers	Guillermo Baltazar, Marcos Cruz Baltazar
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	6

#### Event 23

Citation	(G. Baltazar & M. Cruz 2004 (8))
Title	Memories of games
Description	Guillermo talks about games they used to play when they were young
Reference	(Baltazar, Guillermo; Cruz, Marcos; Baltazar, sofia.2004)
Speakers	Guillermo Baltazar, Marcos Cruz Baltazar
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	2

#### Event 24

Citation	(G. Baltazar & M. Cruz 2004 (9))
Title	Plants and animals in the sown land
Description	Guillermo talks about flora and fauna in the cornfield
Reference	(Baltazar, Guillermo; Cruz, Marcos; Baltazar,

	sofia.2004)
Speakers	Guillermo Baltazar, Marcos Cruz Baltazar
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	8

#### Event 25

Citation	(G. Baltazar & M. Cruz 2004 (10))
Title	Speech by church orators
Description	Guillermo reminisces on the Chaq <sup>3</sup> Ksya <sup>10</sup> ‘words of the heart’ orators
Reference	(Baltazar, Guillermo; Cruz, Marcos; Baltazar, sofia.2004)
Speakers	Guillermo Baltazar, Marcos Cruz Baltazar
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	5

#### Event 26

Citation	(G. Baltazar & M. Cruz 2004 (11))
Title	First inhabitants of the King’s stone
Description	Guillermo narrates the story of a boulder in San Juan Quiahije
Reference	(Baltazar, Guillermo; Cruz, Marcos; Baltazar, sofia.2004)
Speakers	Guillermo Baltazar, Marcos Cruz Baltazar
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	6

#### Event 27

Citation	(J. Orocio 2004 (1))
Title	Animales de malaguero ‘pest’
Description	Juana talks about pest
Reference	(Orocio, Juana.2004)
Speakers	Juana Orocio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	6

Event 28

Citation	(J. Orocio 2004 (2))
Title	Natural phenomena
Description	Juana narrates a storm that hit San Juan Quiahije
Reference	(Orocio, Juana.2004)
Speakers	Juana Orocio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	12

Event 29

Citation	(J. Orocio 2004 (3))
Title	History of the Chatino people
Description	Juana narrates about the origins of San Juan Quiahije people
Reference	(Orocio, Juana.2004)
Speakers	Juana Orocio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	2

Event 30

Citation	(J. Orocio 2004 (4))
Title	Story of the snake
Description	Juana narrates a mythic story of a snake
Reference	(Orocio, Juana.2004)
Speakers	Juana Orocio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	3

Event 31

Citation	(J. Orocio 2004 (5))
Title	History of traditional clothing
Description	Juana shows Emiliana how they use to make cloth from the cotton plant
Reference	(Orocio, Juana.2004)
Speakers	Juana Orocio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	8

### Event 32

Citation	(J. Orocio 2004 (6))
Title	Story of Thomas Cruz
Description	Juana narrates the story of Tomás Cruz, a community leader
Reference	(Orocio, Juana.2004)
Speakers	Juana Orocio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	8

### Event 33

Citation	(J. Orocio 2004 (7))
Title	Childhood games
Description	Juana talks about toys they used to play with when they were children
Reference	(Orocio, Juana.2004)
Speakers	Juana Orocio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	2

### Event 34

Citation	(J. Orocio 2004 (8))
Title	Single women
Description	Juana talks about single women in San Juan Quiahije
Reference	(Orocio, Juana.2004)
Speakers	Juana Orocio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	3

### Event 35

Citation	(J. Orocio 2004 (9))
Title	Church orators
Description	Juan talks about the Chaq <sup>3</sup> Ksya <sup>10</sup> 'words of the heart' speech in San Juan Quiahije
Reference	(Orocio, Juana.2004)
Speakers	Juana Orocio

Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	9

#### Event 36

Citation	(J. Orocio 2004 (10))
Title	Birth of religion
Description	Juana talks about religion in San Juan Quiahije
Reference	(Orocio, Juana.2004)
Speakers	Juana Orocio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	14

#### Event 37

Citation	(J. Orocio 2004 (11))
Title	Juana's life and her health
Description	Juana tells Emiliana about her health
Reference	(Orocio, Juana.2004)
Speakers	Juana Orocio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	2

#### Event 38

Citation	(J. Orocio 2004 (12))
Title	Kinship
Description	Juana tells Emiliana about her family
Reference	(Orocio, Juana.2004)
Speakers	Juana Orocio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	1

#### Event 39

Citation	(F. Baltazar 2004 (1))
Title	Customs for when a baby is born
Description	Félix rites people in San Juan Quiahije observe when a baby is born
Reference	(Baltazar, Félix. 2004)

Speakers	Félix A Baltazar
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	20

#### Event 40

Citation	(F. Baltazar 2004 (2))
Title	Ceremony for when a baby dies
Description	Félix recites prayers that elders recite when a child dies
Reference	(Baltazar, Félix. 2004)
Speakers	Félix A Baltazar
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	3

#### Event 41

Citation	(F. Baltazar 2004 (3))
Title	Ceremony for when an adult dies
Description	Félix relates the ceremony surrounding the wake and the life afterwards
Reference	(Baltazar, Félix. 2004)
Speakers	Félix A Baltazar
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	5

#### Event 42

Citation	(F. Baltazar 2004 (4))
Title	Ceremony for when a spouse dies
Description	Félix narrates rituals that widows carry out after the death of a spouse
Reference	(Baltazar, Félix. 2004)
Speakers	Félix A Baltazar
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	25

#### Event 43

Citation	(F. Baltazar 2004 (5))
Title	Person who visits dead people's places

Description	Félix narrates the story of a living person who visits a dead relative in another plane
Reference	(Baltazar, Félix. 2004)
Speakers	Félix A Baltazar
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	3

#### Event 44

Citation	(F. Baltazar 2004 (6))
Title	Places for the dead
Description	Félix talks about the place of the dead
Reference	(Baltazar, Félix. 2004)
Speakers	Félix A Baltazar
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	4

#### Event 45

Citation	(F. Baltazar 2004 (7))
Title	Cloudy mountain
Description	Félix recounts a pilgrimage people in San Juan Quiahije use to do at a sacred mountain located in Zenzontepec
Reference	(Baltazar, Félix. 2004)
Speakers	Félix A Baltazar
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	7

#### Event 46

Citation	(F. Baltazar 2004 (8))
Title	Arrival of someone while recording
Description	Félix talks to a person that visits Félix house during the recording session
Reference	(Baltazar, Félix. 2004)
Speakers	Félix A Baltazar
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	1

Event 47

Citation	(F. Baltazar 2004 (9))
Title	Measurements
Description	Félix talks about traditional Chatino ways of counting and measuring
Reference	(Baltazar, Félix. 2004)
Speakers	Félix A Baltazar
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	2

Event 48

Citation	(F. Baltazar 2004 (10))
Title	Animals
Description	Félix talks about domestic animals in San Juan Quiahije
Reference	(Baltazar, Félix. 2004)
Speakers	Félix A Baltazar
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	3

Event 49

Citation	(F. Baltazar 2004 (11))
Title	Dreams
Description	Félix talks about the meaning of dreams
Reference	(Baltazar, Félix. 2004)
Speakers	Félix A Baltazar
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	3

Event 50

Citation	(F. Baltazar 2004 (12))
Title	Prayers for sowing
Description	Félix talks about traditional prayers conducted at growing season in San Juan Quiahije
Reference	(Baltazar, Félix. 2004)
Speakers	Félix A Baltazar
Repository	ELAR, AILLA



Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	2

#### Event 51

Citation	(F. Baltazar 2004 (13))
Title	Change of customs
Description	Félix talks about changing customs among young people in San Juan Quiahije
Reference	(Baltazar, Félix. 2004)
Speakers	Félix A Baltazar
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	2

#### Event 52

Citation	(F. Baltazar 2004 (14))
Title	Losing memory
Description	Félix talks about aging and losing memory
Reference	(Baltazar, Félix. 2004)
Speakers	Félix A Baltazar
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	2

#### Event 53

Citation	(F. Orocio 2004 (1))
Title	Animals that damage corn
Description	Francisco talks about common corn insect pests
Reference	(Orocio, Francisco.2004)
Speakers	Francisco Orocio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	5

#### Event 54

Citation	(F. Orocio 2004 (2))
Title	Advice for young people
Description	Francisco offers advice to the new generation of San Juan Quiahije
Reference	(Orocio, Francisco.2004)

Speakers	Francisco Orocio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	5

#### Event 55

Citation	(F. Orocio 2004 (3))
Title	Farewell to Emiliana Cruz
Description	Francisco says good bye to Emiliana Cruz
Reference	(Orocio, Francisco.2004)
Speakers	Francisco Orocio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	2

#### Event 56

Citation	(F. Orocio 2004 (4))
Title	Epidemic
Description	Francisco talks about endemic diseases that afflicted people in San Juan Quiahije some 70 years ago
Reference	(Orocio, Francisco.2004)
Speakers	Francisco Orocio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	6

#### Event 57

Citation	(F. Orocio 2004 (5))
Title	Childhood memories
Description	Francisco recounts his memories growing up in San Juan Quiahije
Reference	(Orocio, Francisco.2004)
Speakers	Francisco Orocio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	3

Event 58

Citation	(F. Orocio 2004 (6))
Title	Church orators
Description	Francisco talks about Chaq <sup>3</sup> Ksya <sup>10</sup> ‘words of the heart’ specialists
Reference	(Orocio, Francisco.2004)
Speakers	Francisco Orocio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	2

Event 59

Citation	(F. Orocio 2004 (7))
Title	The King’s stone
Description	Francisco talks about a boulder located in the south of San Juan
Reference	(Orocio, Francisco.2004)
Speakers	Francisco Orocio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	5

Event 60

Citation	(F. Orocio 2004 (8))
Title	Francisco’s marriage
Description	Francisco talks about his marriage
Reference	(Orocio, Francisco.2004)
Speakers	Francisco Orocio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	2

Event 61

Citation	(F. Orocio 2004 (9))
Title	Violence from the past and present
Description	Francisco recalls the violence unleashed by different bands of young men people in San Juan Quiahije some 70 years ago
Reference	(Orocio, Francisco.2004)
Speakers	Francisco Orocio

Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	10

#### Event 62

Citation	(B. Baltazar 2004)
Title	Song with violin
Description	Benigno plays a song with his violin
Reference	(Baltazar, Benigno. 2004)
Speakers	Benigno Baltazar García
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	2

#### Event 63

Citation	(M. Baltazar & B. Apolonio 2004)
Title	Conversation in the kitchen
Description	A conversation ensues at Marcos and Bonifacia's kitchen
Reference	(Cruz, Marcos; Apolonio, Bonifacia; Apolonio, Alejandra.2004)
Speakers	Marcos Cruz Baltazar, Bonifacia Apolonio, Alejandra Apolonio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	3

#### Event 64

Citation	(A. Apolonio 2004 (1))
Title	Illness
Description	Alejandra talks about her ailments
Reference	(Apolonio, Alejandra.2004)
Speakers	Alejandra Apolonio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	22

#### Event 65

Citation	(A. Apolonio 2004 (2))
Title	Conversation in the kitchen

Description	Alejandra holds a conversation in the kitchen
Reference	(Apolonio, Alejandra.2004)
Speakers	Alejandra Apolonio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	4

#### Event 66

Citation	(A. Apolonio 2003 (1))
Title	The snake
Description	Antonieta narrates a story of a man and a snake
Reference	(Apoloni, Antonieta.2003)
Speakers	Antonieta Apolonio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	6

#### Event 67

Citation	(A. Apolonio 2003 (2))
Title	The appearance of the tiger
Description	Antonieta narrates a story of a tiger
Reference	(Apoloni, Antonieta.2003)
Speakers	Antonieta Apolonio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	2

#### Event 68

Citation	(A. Apolonio 2003 (3))
Title	Chapulín 'praying mantis'
Description	Antonieta narrates the way young single people used to tease the praying mantis insect
Reference	(Apoloni, Antonieta.2003)
Speakers	Antonieta Apolonio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	2

#### Event 69

Citation	(A. Apolonio 2003 (4))
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Title	How people become rich
Description	Antonieta narrates a story of a man who became rich
Reference	(Apoloni, Antonieta.2003)
Speakers	Antonieta Apolonio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	2

#### Event 70

Citation	(A. Apolonio 2003 (5))
Title	Court
Description	Antonieta narrates how young people used to court 70 years ago
Reference	(Apoloni, Antonieta.2003)
Speakers	Antonieta Apolonio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	15

#### Event 71

Citation	(A. Apolonio 2003 (6))
Title	The tale of the devil
Description	Antonieta narrates a story of a man and the devil
Reference	(Apoloni, Antonieta.2003)
Speakers	Antonieta Apolonio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	4

#### Event 72

Citation	(A. Apolonio 2003 (7))
Title	Story of the little girl
Description	Antonieta narrates a story of a little girl
Reference	(Apoloni, Antonieta.2003)
Speakers	Antonieta Apolonio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	3

#### Event 73

Citation	(A. Apolonio 2003 (8))
Title	Story of the sun and the moon
Description	Antonieta narrates a story of the sun and the moon
Reference	(Apoloni, Antonieta.2003)
Speakers	Antonieta Apolonio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	9

#### Event 74

Citation	(A. Apolonio 2003 (9))
Title	Ideas of stories
Description	Antonieta offers meta-commentaries on narratives
Reference	(Apoloni, Antonieta.2003)
Speakers	Antonieta Apolonio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	2

#### Event 75

Citation	(A. Apolonio 2003 (10))
Title	Coyote
Description	Antonieta narrates a story of a coyote
Reference	(Apoloni, Antonieta.2003)
Speakers	Antonieta Apolonio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	5

#### Event 76

Citation	(A. Apolonio 2003 (11))
Title	Illness
Description	Antonieta recounts endemic diseases that used to afflict citizens of San Juan Quiahije
Reference	(Apoloni, Antonieta.2003)
Speakers	Antonieta Apolonio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	7

#### Event 77

Citation	(A. Apolonio 2003 (12))
Title	Violence
Description	Antonieta narrates the violence unleashed by different bands of young men in San Juan Quiahije some 70 years ago
Reference	(Apoloni, Antonieta.2003)
Speakers	Antonieta Apolonio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	10

#### Event 78

Citation	(L. Baltazar 2003 (1))
Title	Punishment from the sea
Description	Luisa narrates view that people in San Juan Quiahije hold about lunar and solar eclipse
Reference	(Baltazar, Luisa.2003)
Speakers	Luisa Baltazar García
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	5

#### Event 79

Citation	(L. Baltazar 2003 (2))
Title	Family
Description	Luisa talks about her family
Reference	(Baltazar, Luisa.2003)
Speakers	Luisa Baltazar García
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	2

#### Event 80

Citation	(L. Baltazar 2003 (3))
Title	Story about the rainbow
Description	Luisa narrates the story of the rainbow
Reference	(Baltazar, Luisa.2003)
Speakers	Luisa Baltazar García
Repository	ELAR, AILLA



Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	4

#### Event 81

Citation	(L. Baltazar 2003 (4))
Title	Story about the snake
Description	Luisa narrates the story of the snake
Reference	(Baltazar, Luisa.2003)
Speakers	Luisa Baltazar García
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	294

#### Event 82

Citation	(L. Baltazar 2003 (5))
Title	Conversation with Luisa Baltazar García
Description	Conversation with Luisa
Reference	(Baltazar, Margarita.2003)
Speakers	Luisa Baltazar García
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	108

#### Event 83

Citation	(L. Baltazar 2009)
Title	The uses of mushrooms
Description	Luisa talks about hallucinogenic mushrooms. Recorded on June 6, 2009
Reference	(Baltazar, Luisa.2003)
Speakers	Luisa Baltazar García
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	72

#### Event 84

Citation	(L. Baltazar 2009)
Title	Luisa Baltazar García talks about her illness
Description	Luisa talks about her ailments
Reference	(Baltazar, Luisa.2003)

Speakers	Luisa Baltazar García
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	3

#### Event 85

Citation	(L. Baltazar 2009)
Title	Luisa Baltazar García talks about her marriages
Description	Luisa talks about her three marriages
Reference	(Baltazar, Luisa.2003)
Speakers	Luisa Baltazar García
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	105

#### Event 86

Citation	(I. Cruz & L. Cruz 2009)
Title	Conversation with Lobe
Description	Isabel has a conversation with Lobe
Reference	(Cruz, Isabel; Cruz Lobe.2009)
Speakers	Isabel Cruz Baltazar, Lobe Cruz,
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec,hc,acw
Length (Min)	88

#### Event 87

Citation	(P. Cristobal & I. Cruz 2009)
Title	Conversation with Perfecta
Description	Conversation with Perfecta
Reference	(Cristobal, Perfecta; Cruz, Isabel.2009)
Speakers	Perfecta Cristobal Lorenzo, Isabel Cruz Baltazar
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec, hc
Length (Min)	82

#### Event 88

Citation	(M. Salvador & A. Méndez 2009)
Title	Conversation on the road
Description	Conversation on the road from San Juan Quiahije to Juquila

Reference	(Salvador, Marcos; Méndez, Alejandra.2009)
Speakers	Marcos Salvador Vásquez, Alejandra Méndez Zurita
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	258

#### Event 89

Citation	(C. García 2009)
Title	Conversation with Celestino
Description	Conversation with Celestino about speeches in city hall
reference	(GarcíaCelestino. 2009)
Speakers	Celestino García García
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	4

#### Event 90

Citation	(I. Cruz 2009)
Title	Conversation with Isabel Cruz Baltazar
Description	Conversation with Isabel Cruz Baltazar
Reference	(Cruz, Isabel. 2009)
Speakers	Isabel Cruz Baltazar
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	1

#### Event 91

Citation	(P. Jarquin & A. Apolonio 2009)
Title	General Meeting
Description	Township meeting in San Juan
Reference	Jarquin, Pedro; Apolonio, Alejandro.2009)
Speakers	Pedro Jarquin Canseco, Alejandro Apolonio Baltazar
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	83

#### Event 92

Citation	(D. Jarquin 2009)
Title	Conversation with David
Description	Conversation with David

Reference	(Jarquin, David.2009)
Speakers	David Jarquin
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	31

#### Event 93

Citation	(W. Cortés & E. Cortés 2009)
Title	Conversation with municipal authorities
Description	Conversation with elder Wenceslao and Evencio in San Juan city hall
Reference	Cortés, Wenceslao; Cortés.2009)
Speakers	Wenceslao Cortés Cruz, Evencio Cortés Apolonio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	62

#### Event 94

Citation	(P. Jarquin et al 2009)
Title	Conversation with municipal authorities
Description	Conversation with Pedro, mayor of San Juan Quiahije
Reference	(Jarquin, Pedro, Cortés, Wenceslao, Cortés, Evencio. 2009)
Speakers	Pedro Jarquin Canseco, Wenceslao Cortés Cruz, Evencio Cortés Apolonio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	155

#### Event 95

Citation	(P. Lorenzo et al 2009)
Title	Ritual exchange
Description	Conversation about traditional San Juan Quiahije ritual exchange
Reference	(Lorenzo, Paulino; Apolonio, Silverio, Cruz, Antonio.2009)
Speakers	Paulino Lorenzo, Silverio Apolonio García, Antonio Cruz Bautista

Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	69

#### Event 96

Citation	(W. Cortés & E. Cortés 2009)
Title	The feast of San Juan
Description	Prayer conducted in the feast of San Juan. Recorded on June 23, 2009
Reference	(Cortés, Wenceslao, Cortés, Evencio. 2009)
Speakers	Wenceslao Cortés Cruz, Evencio Cortés Apolonio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	1

#### Event 97

Citation	(S. García & A. Apolonio 2009)
Title	The Feast of San Juan
Description	Conversation at the feast of San Juan Recorded on June 24
Reference	(García, Silveria; Apolonio, Aureliano.2009)
Speakers	Silveria García Velasco, Aureliano Apolonio Cortés
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	32

#### Event 98

Citation	(M. Torres et al 2009)
Title	Translation of the Mass
Description	Mass at the catholic church in San Juan
Reference	(Torrez, Miguel; Baltazar, Dámaso. 2009)
Speakers	Miguel Torres García, Dámaso Baltazar Cruz, Alejandro Apolonio Baltazar
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	93

#### Event 99

Citation	(A. Gómez et al 2009)
Title	Meeting of the Comisariado de Bienes Ejidales

	'Commisioner of Communal properties'
Description	Township meeting of the Commisioner of Communal properties in San Juan
Reference	(Gómez, Augurio; Bautista, Efren; Peña, Delfino.2009)
Speakers	Augurio Gómez Cruz, Efren Bautista Orocio, Delfino Peña Díaz
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	54

#### Event 100

Citation	(A. Apolonio 2009)
Title	Conversation with Antonia Apolonio
Description	Conversation with Antonia Apolonio
Reference	(Apolonio, Antonia.2009)
Speakers	Antonia Apolonio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	7

#### Event 101

Citation	(M. Orocio 2009)
Title	Conversation outside a cemetery
Description	Conversation outside the cemetery in San Juan
Reference	(Oroció, Marta. 2009)
Speakers	Marta Oroció Mendoza
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	55

#### Event 102

Citation	(G. García 2009)
Title	Conversation with Gabriela García Apolonio
Description	Conversation with Gabriela
Reference	(García, Gabriela. 2009)
Speakers	Gabriela García Apolonio

Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	3

#### Event 103

Citation	(G. Cruz & S. Cruz 2009 (2))
Title	Conversation on the Road
Description	Conversation with people on the road. Recorded on June 13, 2009
Reference	(Cruz, Gilberta; Cruz Silveria.2009)
Speakers	Gilberta Cruz Méndez, Silveria Cruz Méndez
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	53

#### Event 104

Citation	(G. Cruz & S. Cruz 2009 (3))
Title	Prayer with Martiniana Cruz Mendoza, Gilberta Cruz Mendoza
Description	Conversation with the Cruz Mendoza sisters. July 3, 2009
Reference	(Cruz, Martiniana; Cruz, Gilberta. 2009)
Speakers	Martiniana Cruz Mendoza, Gilberta Cruz Méndez
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	105

#### Event 105

Citation	(C. Zurita 2009)
Title	Conversation with Celestino
Description	Conversation with Celestino Zurita Cruz
Reference	(Zurita, Celestino. 2009)
Speakers	Celestino Zurita Cruz
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	118

#### Event 106

Citation	(S. Zurita 2009)
Title	Conversation and Prayer with Simón Zurita Cruz

Description	Conversation and Prayer with Simón Zurita Cruz
Reference	(Zurita, Simón. 2009)
Speakers	Simón Zurita Cruz
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	60

#### Event 107

Citation	(P. Cristobal2009)
Title	The uses of plants
Description	Perfecta talks about the uses of traditional plants in San Juan Quiahije. Recorded on June 23, 2009
Reference	(Cristobal, Perfecta . 2009)
Speakers	Perfecta Cristobal Lorenzo
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	64

#### Event 108

Citation	(P. Cristobal2009)
Title	About Perfecta Cristobal Lorenzo s family
Description	Perfecta talks about her family. Recorded on June 24, 2009
Reference	(Cristobal, Perfecta . 2009)
Speakers	Perfecta Cristobal Lorenzo
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	17

#### Event 109

Citation	(P. Cristobal2009)
Title	The uses of plants
Description	Perfecta talks about the uses of traditional plants in San Juan Quiahije. Recorded on June 26, 2009
Reference	(Cruz, Emiliana; Cristobal, Perfecta.2009)
Speakers	Emiliana Cruz, Perfecta Cristobal Lorenzo
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	53



Event 110

Citation	(P. Cristobal2009)
Title	Description of birds
Description	Perfecta describes birds that are local to San Juan Quiahije. Recorded on June 27, 2009
Reference	(Cristobal, Perfecta. 2009)
Speakers	Perfecta Cristobal Lorenzo
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	180

Event 111

Citation	(P. Cristobal2009)
Title	Plants and animals
Description	Perfecta talks about flora and fauna in San Juan Quiahije. Recorded on June 29, 2009
Reference	(Cruz, Emiliana; Cristobal, Perfecta.2009)
Speakers	Emiliana Cruz, Perfecta Cristobal Lorenzo
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	266

Event 112

Citation	(I. Cruz & E. Cruz 2009 (1))
Title	Hike down into Sqa <sup>n</sup> 1 Ta4 Ke2
Description	Luisa talks about plants and landscape in Cieneguilla. Recorded on July 11, 2009
Reference	(Cruz, Isabel; Cruz, Erendira.2009)
Speakers	Isabel Cruz Baltazar, Erendira Cruz Cruz
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	144

Event 113

Citation	(I. Cruz & E. Cruz 2009 (2))
Title	Plants in Sqa <sup>n</sup> 4 Ta2-Ke2
Description	Luisa talks about plants that grow in one area of San Juan Quiahije . Recorded on July 12, 2009

Reference	(Cruz, Isabel. 2009)
Speakers	Isabel Cruz Baltazar, Erendira Cruz Cruz
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	310

#### Event 114

Citation	(I. Cruz 2009)
Title	Expedition to Mountain Ndzwaq <sup>1</sup>
Description	Nature walk
Reference	(Cruz, Isabel. 2009)
Speakers	Isabel Cruz Baltazar
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	122

#### Event 115

Citation	(W. Cortés 2009)
Title	Wenceslao's family
Description	Conversation with Wenceslao and his family
Reference	(Cortés, Wenceslao. 2009)
Speakers	Wenceslao Cortés Cruz
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	20

#### Event 116

Citation	(E. Vásquez 2009)
Title	Talking about toponyms in the office the commissioner of communal property
Description	Conversation on issues relating to San Juan Quiahije land and territory in the office of the commissioner of communal property in San Juan
Reference	(Vásquez, Eligio.2009)
Speakers	Eligio Vásquez
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	9

#### Event 117

Citation	(C. Apolonio et al 2009(1))
Title	Cerenio's family
Description	Conversation with Cerenio and his family. Recorded on June 28, 2009
Reference	(Apolonio, Cerenio; Cruz, Juana, Cruz, Catarina.2009)
Speakers	Cerenio Apolonio Mendoza, Juana Cruz Orcio, Catarina Cruz Nicolas
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	ec
Length (Min)	12

#### Event 118

Citation	(C. Apolonio 2009 (2))
Title	Expedition to <i>Cerro Espi10na</i> 'Mountain of Thorns'
Description	Nature expedition with Cerenio to the 'Mountain of Thorns'. Recorded on July 6, 2009
Reference	(Apolonio, Cerenio.2009)
Speakers	Cerenio Apolonio Mendoza
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	113

#### Event 119

Citation	(C. Apolonio2009 (3))
Title	The road to Kyqya2 Kwaq4
Description	Nature walks with Cerenio to a mountain range located to the north of San Juan. Recorded on July 7, 2009
Reference	(Apolonio, Cerenio. 2009)
Speakers	Cerenio Apolonio Mendoza
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	27

#### Event 120

Citation	(T. Baltazar et al 2010)
Title	In Tiburcia's store
Description	Conversation at Tiburcia's store

Reference	(Baltazar, Tiburcia; Baltazar, Benigno; Orocio, Lazaro.2010)
Speakers	Tiburcia Baltazar Cruz, Benigno Baltazar García, Lazaro Orocio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	3

#### Event 121

Citation	(I. Baltazar & L. Orocio 2010)
Title	Conversation with Lázaro Orocio
Description	Conversation with Lazaro Orocio
Reference	(Cruz, Isabel; Orocio, Lazaro.2010)
Speakers	Isabel Cruz Baltazar, Lazaro Orocio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	14

#### Event 122

Citation	(P. Cruz & A. Salvador 2010)
Title	A conversation with Pedro Cruz Lorenzo and AS
Description	Conversation with Pedro and his wife
Reference	(Cruz, Pedro; Salvador, Anastacia.2010)
Speakers	Pedro Cruz Lorenzo, Anastacia Salvador
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	13

#### Event 123

Citation	(R. Vásquez et al 2010)
Title	Conversation with Rosendo Vásquez Zurita
Description	Conversation between Rosendo Vásquez Zurita, and his family
Reference	(Vásquez, Rosendo; Lorenzo, Francisca; Cortés, Teófila. 2010)
Speakers	Rosendo Vásquez Zurita, Francisca Lorenzo Cortés, Teófila Cortés Jesus
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	77

Event 124

Citation	(G. Cruz 2010)
Title	A conversation with Gonzalo Cruz Cortés
Description	Conversation with Gonzalo Cruz Cortés
Reference	(Cruz, Gonzalo. 2010)
Speakers	Gonzalo Cruz Cortés
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	97

Event 125

Citation	(P. Cristobal 2010)
Title	A conversation con Perfecta Cristobal Lorenzo
Description	A conversation con Perfecta Cristobal Lorenzo
Reference	(Cristobal, Perfecta. 2010)
Speakers	Perfecta Cristobal Lorenzo
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	183

Event 126

Citation	(W. Cortés & E. Cruz 2009)
Title	Speech of the change of authorities in San Juan Quiahije
Description	Speech of the change of authorities in San Juan Quiahije
Reference	(Cortés, Wenceslao, Cruz, Evencio.2009)
Speakers	Wenceslao Cortés Cruz, Evencio Cruz Apolonio
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	12

Event 127

Citation	(E. Cruz & D. Placido 2009)
Title	Child Language
Description	Children speaking
Reference	(Cruz, Elias; Placido, Diana.2009)
Speakers	Elias Cruz Apolonio, Diana L Placido Cruz
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	69

Event 128

Citation	Cruz Ignacia 2009
Title	A conversation in Ignacia's diner
Description	A conversation in Ignacia's diner
Reference	(Cruz, Ignacia.2009)
Speakers	Ignacia Cruz
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	20

Event 129

Citation	(F. Lorenzo, et al 2009)
Title	A conversation with Félix Lorenzo
Description	A conversation with Félix Lorenzo
Reference	(Lorenzo, Félix; Cortés, Wenceslao; Mancilla, Luis.2009)
Speakers	Félix Lorenzo Méndez, Wenceslao Cortés Cruz, Luis Mancilla Jorge
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	69

Event 130

Citation	(G. Cruz 2009)
Title	A conversation with Gregoria Cruz Díaz
Description	A conversation with Gregoria Cruz Díaz
Reference	(Cruz, Gregoria. 2009)
Speakers	Gregoria Cruz Díaz
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	10

Event 131

Citation	(L. Mancilla et al 2010)
Title	Turning in the sacred sticks
Description	The city hal helpers return the sacred sticks they were given at the beginning of their term
Reference	(Mancilla, Luis.2010)
Speakers	Luis Mancilla and various others

Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	13

#### Event 132

Citation	(E. Orocio 2010)
Title	A conversation with Elena Orocio Cruz
Description	
Reference	(Oroció, Elena. 2010)
Speakers	Elena Oroció Cruz
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	10

#### Event 133

Citation	(E. Oroció 2010)
Title	A conversation with Elena Oroció Cruz
Description	
Reference	(Oroció, Elena. 2010)
Speakers	Elena Oroció Cruz
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	44

#### Event 134

Citation	(G. Cruz & S. García 2010)
Title	A conversation with Gonzalo Cruz Cortés and Silveria García
Description	A conversation with Gonzalo Cruz Cortés and Silveria García
Reference	García, Silveria; Cruz, Gonzalo.2010)
Speakers	Silveria García Velasco, Gonzalo Cruz Cortés
Repository	ELAR, AILLA
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	10

#### Event 135

Citation	(P. Cristobal et al 2008 (1))
Title	Valentina's funeral
Description	Conversation at Valentina's funeral. Recorded on June 19, 2008
Reference	(Cristobal, Perfecta; Peña, Simón; De Jesus Valentina.2008)
Speakers	Perfecta Cristobal Lorenzo, Simón Peña Cristobal, Valentina de Jesus Apolonio
Repository	Recorder
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	21

#### Event 136

Citation	(P. Cristobal et al 2008 (2))
Title	Valentina 's funeral
Description	Conversation at Valentina's funeral. Recorded on June 20, 2008
Reference	(Cristobal, Perfecta; Peña, Simón; De Jesus Valentina.2008)
Speakers	Perfecta Cristobal Lorenzo, Simón Peña Cristobal, Valentina de Jesus Apolonio
Repository	Recorder
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	11

#### Event 137

Citation	(P. Cristobal et al 2008 (3))
Title	Valentina's funeral
Description	Conversation at Valentina's funeral. Recorded on June 21, 2008
Reference	(Cristobal, Perfecta; Peña, Simón; De Jesus Valentina.2008)
Speakers	Perfecta Cristobal Lorenzo, Simón Peña Cristobal, Valentina de Jesus Apolonio
Repository	Recorder
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	2



Event 138

Citation	(R. Cruz 2009)
Title	The Candidates' visita
Description	A candidate visits Cieneguilla
Reference	(Cruz, Rogelio. 2009)
Speakers	Rogelio Cruz Salvador
Repository	Recorder
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	47

Citation	(A. Apolonio2009)
Title	Conversation with Antonia Apolonio
Description	Conversation with Antonia Apolonio on diverse issues related to verbal art in San Juan Quiahije
Reference	(Apolonio, Antonia.2009)
Speakers	Antonia Apolonio
Repository	Recorder
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	43

Event 139

Citation	(P. Cristobal 2009)
Title	lovers
Description	This is a story about lovers in San Juan Quiahije
Reference	(Cristobal, Perfecta. 2009)
Speakers	Perfecta Cristobal Lorenzo
Repository	Recorder
Recorder	hc
Length (Min)	1

Event 140

Citation	(T. Cruz 2007)
Title	Recordings at Tiburcia's store
Description	Recording at Tiburcia's store
Reference	(Cruz, Tiburcia.2007)
Speakers	Tiburcia Cruz Baltazar and various others
Repository	Recorder
Recorder	acw
Length (Min)	300

Event 141

Citation	(E. Cruz et al 2007 (1))
Title	Emiliana's wedding
Description	Ritual speech at Emiliana's wedding
Reference	(Cruz, Emiliana.2007)
Speakers	Emiliana Cruz and various others
Repository	Recorder
Recorder	acw
Length (Min)	60

Citation	(E. Cruz et al 2007 (2))
Title	Emiliana's wedding
Description	Ritual speech at Emiliana's wedding
Reference	(Cruz, Emiliana.2007)
Speakers	Emiliana Cruz and various others
Repository	Recorder
Recorder	acw
Length (Min)	80.59

Citation	(C. Orocio 2007)
Title	Advice at Emiliana Cruz wedding
Description	Chaq <sup>3</sup> Ksya <sup>10</sup> 'words of the heart' speech at Emiliana Cruz wedding
Reference	(Orocio, Cornelio.2007)
Speakers	Cornelio Orocio
Repository	Recorder
Recorder	hc, acw
Length (Min)	2

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