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PERSUASIVE SPEECHES OF SAN JUAN QUIAHJIE GOVERNMENTAL
AUTHORITIES

A COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS OF POETIC, RHETORICAL, AND LINGUISTIC
STRUCTURE OF TRADITIONAL CHATINO ORATORY

by

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QP
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Hilaria Cruz de Abeles
Abstract

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2009

Supervisor: Anthony C. Woodbury

The ceremony marking the change of the governmental authorities of San Juan Quiahjie (SJQ) takes place once every 3 years. The ceremony this study examines occurred between December 31 and January 1, 2005 at the municipal center of SJQ. I recorded three formal speeches given at the ceremony by Ricardo Cruz Cruz (Mende), former president of SJQ; Cenobio Cruz Santos (Noyo); and Remigio Apolonio (Ligio), member of the elder’s council in SJQ. The authorities gave the speeches to the lower-ranking community guards.

The goal of this study is to inaugurate the study of Chatino discourse and to make the analysis accessible to a broader community of readers. This paper includes discussions on the general meaning and the means that SJQ orators use in persuasive speech. I will provide analysis of the grammar as well as an extensive overview of political and religious institutions and traditions in SJQ, which are the elements that come together to create this oratory.

The analysis of these text are complemented with relevant materials that have been accumulated in subsequent years following this event, including records of formal and informal conversations with SJQ community members and my personal testimony, journal accounts, and recollections of my experiences as a young person growing up in SJQ. The study of Chatino discourse is important because it provides a window into the way Chatino speakers organize their thoughts, and the creative ways in which they manipulate the grammar of the language to create poetic forms of speaking, which are capable of stirring the emotions in the local people of SJQ and non-local Chatinos alike.
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List of abbreviations

= enclitic boundary
0 third person
1 first person singular
1.ex first person plural exclusive
1.in first person plural inclusive
2s second person singular
2p second person plural
ADJ Adjective
ADV Adverb
ADVP adverbial phrase
B Base
CAUS Causative
CL nominal classifier
COMPL completive aspect marker
COMP Complementizer
CONJ Conjunction
COP copula verb
DEM Demonstrative
DEM- proximal demonstrative
PROX
DET Determiner
E existential verb
EMPH Emphatic particle
EMPH.0 emphatic third person
HAB habitual aspect marker
IMP Imperative
INCL inclusive person marker
INTJ interjection particle
INTR intransitive verb
LOC Locative
N Noun
NB non base
NEG negation, negative
NL noun locative
NL.0 noun locational third person
NL.1.in Noun locational first person inclusive
NL.2 noun locational second person singular
NOP Nopala
NUM Number
OBJ Object
<P>  
Pause  
PART  
Particle  
PL  
Plural  
POSS  
Possessive  
POSS.0  
possessive third person  
POSS.in  
possessive inclusive  
POT  
potential aspect marker  
PRO  
Pronoun  
PRO.A  
subject pronoun  
PRO.A.0.m  
Pronoun agent (subject) third person masculine  
PRO.A.1.in  
Pronoun agent first person inclusive  
PRO.A.2p  
Pronoun agent (subject) second person plural  
PRO.A.3s.m  
Pronoun agent third singular masculine  
PRO.A.ex  
Pronoun agent exclusive  
PRO.ANIM  
Pronoun animate  
PRO.A.POSS.2p  
possessive agent pronoun second person plural  
PRO.3.inamim  
Pronoun third person inanimate  
PROG  
progressive aspect marker  
Q  
Question particle/marker  
REFL  
Reflexive  
REL  
relative clause  
SBJ  
Subject  
SG  
Singular  
SJQ  
San Juan Quiahije  
TAT  
Tataltepec  
V  
Verb  
Vn  
Nasalized vowel  
VP  
Verb phrase  
ZAC  
Zacatepec  
ZEN  
Zenzontepec
SECTION 1: LINGUISTICS AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF THE CHATINO REGION

Chapter 1: Aims and scope of the study

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to provide a linguistic, rhetorical and poetical, and ethnographic documentation and description of traditional oratory of San Juan Quiahiye (SJQ) governing authorities. The particular event that this study examines took place from December 31 to January 1, 2004–2005 at the municipal center in SJQ. During this ceremonial event, I recorded three formal speeches performed by Ricardo Cruz Cruz (Mende), former president of SJQ; Cenobio Cruz Santos (Noyo); and Remigio Apolonio (Ligio), member of the elder’s council in SJQ. This study will mainly concentrate on Mende’s speech, and will be supplemented from the speeches given by Noyo and Ligio.

This study describes actual performances which are different from reports. Actual performances capture the essence of the event in their natural contexts in real time. A report is an account of an event, or a reference out of context. Often times, reports fail to account for all the elements, aspects, and features of the event. For documentation purposes it is preferable to record an actual performance of an event.

The persuasive oratory of SJQ traditional authorities is part of the long-standing and underdocumented tradition of oral literature in Mesoamerican indigenous languages.
The Chatino oral rhetorical tradition is as old as the oral tradition described in classical Nahuatl (Portilla, 1969) and in the Mayan languages (Tedlock, 1987), Bricker (1974), Bright (1990) and it is also a living verbal art that continues to be practiced today.

This study has a twofold component: academic and social. The academic part of the analysis contributes to the knowledge, literature, and discourse in indigenous Mesoamerican languages. Likewise, the analysis of the speeches of SJQ governing authorities advances the understanding of the patterns of linguistic, poetical, and rhetorical structures of Chatino language and discourse. These speeches reveal the great ingenuity of the language and as such they contain interesting linguistic features and patterns especially in the area of prosody, grammar, and rhetoric-poetics. At the prosodic level we find interesting patterns of tone, pauses, and adverbs. At the grammatical level the text reveals creative uses of noun possession and great phonetic variability in the pronunciation of many lexical items in the language.

Moreover, this oratory is built on many rhetorical poetic figures of speech. The most salient poetical-rhetorical elements in these oratories are the extensive use of highly metaphorical expressions and other poetic tropes such parallel verses, contrast, and periodic repetitions at the level of the phrase and thematic structure. The juxtaposition of all of the above elements in this ceremonial discourse results in a very powerful, persuasive, and aesthetically pleasing speech.

The social part of the analysis aims to heighten society’s awareness of the wisdom, the rich content, and great diversity found in the rhetorical speech of Chatino
people. In order to fulfill this goal in the analysis, an ethnographic description is provided to clarify the cultural background that forms the context for this verbal art in SJQ.

Similarly, this study aims to maintain and continue this rhetorical tradition. Mexican popular media has routinely portrayed the speakers of indigenous languages as stupid and their languages as incomplete languages and lacking in grammar. This analysis highlights the wisdom and beauty of Chatino rhetorical speech and, thus, dispels false conceptions of indigenous language and culture. By providing a faithful transcription of all the three texts performed by some of the most skillful orators in SJQ and displaying the features therein, this study makes it possible for future generations of Chatinos to learn and continue to perform this form of verbal art.

1.2 Methodology

The study, analysis, and interpretation of ceremonial speeches from SJQ is informed by multiple academic and non-academic disciplines and experiences. In the academic area, the research is informed by work from the fields of linguistics, anthropology, poetics, and rhetorical analysis.

The primary inspiration from the field of linguistics comes from the guidance and work of Tony Woodbury (1987, 1992). Woodbury’s prosodic and rhetorical analysis of traditional oral narratives and myth performances in Central Alaskan Yupik Eskimo (CAY) society, offers a very useful tool for analyzing and interpreting naturally occurring speech in indigenous languages.
Woodbury (1992) is a strong advocate of the natural-discourse-oriented approach to the study of prosodic elements in natural speech. He outlines a framework within which the structural and communicative organization of prosodic elements in samples of natural discourse might be discovered inductively. He assumes that the structural organization of a unit of speech consists of the set of recurrent patterns and that such patterns are recognizable to speakers.

Woodbury also states that in most normal cases, logically independent patterns (e.g., the placement of pauses vs. the placement of intonational cadences) will converge or unify; and that if they do not unify, speakers may draw special pragmatic inferences from this fact. Using samples of natural discourse, Woodbury (1992) demonstrates three properties of the prosodic structure that these samples reveal:

(a) The potential independence of prosodic patterns and thematic structure;
(b) The potential for bundles of prosodic elements to recur as prosodic ‘macrostructures,’ often associated by speakers with particular styles, context, and social personas;
(c) the potential for prosodic patterns (and elements) to carry meaning that is iconic in character, but regulated by culturally specific conventions and practices. (Woodbury, 1992, p.247)

Woodbury (personal communication, May, 2005) was also the first person who called my attention to the numerous parallel structures in Mende’s text.
Sherzer is one of the main proponents of the ethnography-of-speaking approach to natural discourse (1987, 1990, 2002). He took this approach when he recorded the Kuna discourses in their natural setting.

One of the many areas in Kuna discourse that Sherzer (2007) investigates is line structuring. Lines reveal, according to Sherzer, an intersection of referential and nonreferential, grammatical, sociolinguistic, social interactional, and musical patterns. Sherzer also states that the “study of line structure reveals function and pattern in the traditional components of grammar (phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon) that are otherwise impossible to discover” (p 35).

Similarly, Sherzer (2007) states that in each of the Kuna verbal styles and genres, one can recognize the existence of lines. Sherzer states that lines are identified for the set of distinct devices that mark them. However, these line devices are not always operative, and they have other functions besides marking lines such as creating contrast and tensions among lines. Sherzer states that there are four principal line-marking devices in Kuna discourse which are listed below.

(1) Lines are marked grammatically by means of an elaborate set of initial and final words, particles, and affixes. Among the various other functions of these elements is a metacommunication; they signify such notions as “say,” “see,” “hear,” and in “truth.” They are furthermore simultaneously sociolinguistic markers in that different verbal styles and genres have distinct sets of these elements.
(2) Especially in more formal and ritual styles, lines are marked by extensive syntactic and semantic parallelism. This parallelism is organized in terms of line structure and in turn contributes to this structure.

(3) Lines are marked by intonation patterns; in particular in spoken speech by the structuring of pauses and the rising and falling of pitch, as well as tempo, and in chanting by melodic shapes involving volume, duration, and tempo, along with pauses and, in some genres, the structured used of coughs or cough like noises.

(4) Lines are marked according to a coparticipant dialogic interactional structure in which an addressee responds with one of a set of ratifiers after each line. This pattern is common in many styles of speaking; it is formalized in certain forms of ritual chanting. (Sherzer, 1987, p. 105)

Tedlock (1987), in his effort to gain a deeper understanding on how the passages of the Popul Vuh were originally performed, seeks applicable parallels in contemporary K’iche oral discourse. Tedlock presents a great analysis and interpretation of K’iche’s prayers, dramatic performances, and public announcements. Tedlock’s methods of analyzing these public forms of speech offer great insight to this study.

This study also follows the teachings of Jakobson (1960) and his beautiful and empowering statement that “there is poetics to all discourse.” Jakobson, offers great insight to the exploration of poetic features of Chatino speeches.
The non-academic aspect of the methodology is related to my personal experiences and recollections as a young person who grew up speaking Chatino and hearing as well as seeing these beautiful speeches performed by skillful orators. In this paper, these recollections are used to support and substantiate the conclusions of the academic analysis.

Along with these personal recollections I also present journal notes that document formal and informal conversations I had with skillful orators and many other residents of SJQ regarding the art of performance through public oratory. The conversations I had with members of SJQ about verbal art have provided me with deeper insights and evaluations of contemporary events from a Chatino perspective. I especially value the judgments and perspectives derived from the follow-up conversations with Mende, the orator who performed speech number one. Mende’s deep knowledge about the issues faced by SJQ Chatino, traditional government, has added to the understanding of this institution and for this reason his recollections provide vital support for the claims made in this study.

Lastly, in choosing to mainly analyze Mende’s text I follow the approach that Barbara Johnstone (1991:7) took while carrying out analysis of repetition of Arabic discourse:

In choosing to draw most of my examples from and focus most of my analysis on a single text, while referring occasionally to other text, I have attempted to work in what Kenneth Pike has called “the linguistics of the particular,” at the same time remaining in a position to show how the particular reflects the general. As A. L. Becker (1979a; 1981;1984) demonstrates, a single text, or even a single
sentence, can mirror a whole culture. But this is only true because in order to understand a single sentence, or a single text, one must come to an understanding of the language and culture which give it meaning. I have chose to work in both modes: the mode of particular textual analysis and the mode of general linguistic and cultural analysis.

Chapter 2: Ethnographic background

2.1 Chatino community and region

The Chatino language belongs to the Oto-Manguean family of languages. These languages are spoken in Mexico in the areas shown in Figure (1). Figure (1) also shows that Chatino people who speak the Chatino language inhabit the Pacific coastal region in the Mexican State of Oaxaca.
Figure 1 Present-day distribution of Oto-Manguean languages in Central and Southern Mexico (Wikipedia, 2008).

The Chatinos are a self-identified ethnicity in the southern Sierra Nevada Mountains of the state of Oaxaca, Mexico. The Sistema Nacional de información Estadística y Geográfica (INEGI) 2005 reports approximately 50,000 Chatino households in the districts of Juquila and Sola de Vega. All the Chatino towns are found in these two districts.

The Chatino people live in the following municipalities: Santos Reyes Nopala, San Juan Quiaihije, San Miguel Panixtlahuaca, Santiago Yaitepec, Santa Cruz Zenzontepec, San Juan Lachao, Santa Maria Temaxcaltepec, Santa Catarina Juquila, and Tataltepec de Valdez.
The Chatino region extends from the highland mountains, with altitudes reaching 2900 meters above sea level, down to the Pacific coast. The region’s climate varies, from the colder temperatures of the highlands, to the sub-tropical areas at middle altitudes, to the tropical climates at sea level. The region’s ecosystems and habitats are diverse as well. From the mountains to the coast, one finds a great variety of trees including pine, cedar, oak, elm, ash, plum trees, mahogany, and bamboo. The region’s fauna include mammals such as deer, raccoons, small bobcats and armadillos, as well as numerous reptile species. A variety of birds inhabit the region from the mountains to the coast.

The handicrafts of the Chatino people center around the production of textiles and pottery. Pottery is mostly for domestic use, and includes *kton* ‘pot’, *nya* ‘tortilla griddle’, and *t7en* ‘a skinny neck homemade pot for fetching water from the well’. Textile production includes weaving of cotton fabric and embroidery of shirts, belts, packs, napkins, and tablecloths. The traditional craft of weaving textiles with waist looms is slowly disappearing from the region. Strong coarse fiber from the agave plant is used to make netted bags for carrying supplies, fishing nets and hammocks. These handicrafts are produced in Zenzontepec and San José Ixtapan.

The Chatino people have many rituals. Each Chatino community celebrates its own patron saint, which is the saint of the local Catholic Church. The people also celebrate the seasons of the year such as the seasons for planting and harvesting, and important events in the cycle of life such as births, marriages, and deaths. The economy of the Chatino region is based primarily on subsistence farming. Chatinos grow corn, beans, squash, chilies, and other vegetables for local consumption. In the
southern communities surrounding the Nopala area, in the past they used to grow sugar
cane for making panela, a type of brown sugar. This region’s land is excellent for
producing coffee as well. Chatinos produce coffee on a small scale; however, mestizo
landowners have historically controlled large-scale production of coffee since the mid
1800s (Hernández Diaz, 1987).

2.1.1 Chatino Language

Chatino belongs to a single genetic subgroup within the Zapotecan language
family (Upson and Longacre 1965). There are several points of view about the exact
number of Chatino dialects. For instance, Boas (1913) and Upson and Longacre (1965)
posit at least three mutually unintelligible varieties within Chatino including Zenzontepec
(ZEN), Tataltepec (TAT), and the Nopala-Juquila region. Similarly, K. Pride and L.
Pride’s (2004) classification of Chatino distinguishes three main linguistic areas:
Zenzontepec [CZN], the zona baja (lowland Chatino), and the zona alta (highland
Chatino). Tataltepec [CTA] is the only dialect that Pride and Pride (2004) put in the zona
area is the western highlands or zona alta occidental and this includes the Chatino spoken
in the communities of Yaitpec, Panixtlahuaca, SJQ, Ixtapan, Tepenixtlahuaca,
Ixpantepec, and Amialtepec. The second area includes two members. The Chatino spoken
in Zacatepec and Juquila is classified under the heading [CTZ] in the analysis by K. Pride
and L. Pride.
The northeastern area or zona oriental [CLY] in K. Pride and L. Pride’s 2004 analysis includes the Chatino spoken in the towns of Santa Maríá Yolotepec, Lachao Viejo and Lachao Nuevo. These conform the third area classified by Pride and Pride 2004. The fourth group posited by K. Pride and L. Pride (2004) includes the Chatino spoken in Santos Reyes Nopala, Temazcaltepec, Titiltepec, Teotepec, Cerro del Aire, Santiago Cuixtla, Atotonilco and San Gabriel Mixtepec [CYA]. K. Pride and L. Pride’s 2004 classification of Chatino areas was the source for the Ethnologue 2005 classification.

The number of Chatino dialects has sparked a lively discussion among the people who are currently studying the language. The Chatino Language Documentation Project (CLDP), a study carried out by a group of linguistics students led by professor Anthony Woodbury at the University of Texas at Austin, has been documenting and revitalizing Chatino since 2003. The CLDP concludes that Chatino has as many varieties as there are villages, positing independent genetic integrity for each of ZEN, TAT, and “all of the rest”. This proposal by CLDP shows a set of such specific developments that no clear subgroupings are evident within “Eastern Chatino” Woodbury (2008).

2.1.2 Vitality of Chatino

Most indigenous languages in the Americas, in general, are in danger of becoming extinct and Chatino is no exception. There are communities in the Chatino region where the indigenous language is used as the means of communication for everyday life. For example, women, men, and children in many towns including SJQ and Santa Lucia
Teotepec speak the language. Unfortunately there are communities in the Chatino region where the language is no longer passed on to children, and it is only spoken among adults. This is the situation for San Juan Lachao Nuevo and Zacatepec. Following is a summary done by E. Cruz and Woodbury (2007). It describes the level of vitality of the language in some of the major Chatino communities. The summary also presents issues concerning segmental changes, and considerations of mutual intelligibility among the communities described therein.

Zenzontepec is isolated, divergent, and conservative. It has a strong speaker base.

Tataltepec is isolated, divergent, and fairly conservative. It is losing speakers.

Nopala is central, moderately divergent. Nopala Chatino is losing speakers in large towns but in many villages the language is still strong.

In the Eastern varieties of Chatino, mutual intelligibility difficult even within this set:

Lachao/Yolotepec covers a large territory. The language is fairly conservative. The area is losing speakers.

Yaitepec is innovative and has a strong speaker base.

Zacatepec is a highly conservative dialect of Chatino and the language is moribund here.

Juquila is conservative and this variety of Chatino is nearly extinct.

Quiahije is highly innovative and it has a strong speaker base.

Panixtlahuaca is fairly conservative and it has a strong speaker base. (E. Cruz and Woodbury, 2007).

2.2 THE SAN JUAN QUIAHJIE LOCALE
San Juan Quiahije is in the Mexican State of Oaxaca and is the ancestral ceremonial town for Chatino inhabitants, who call themselves $sni7^{4}k7ya^{2}$ ‘sons and daughters of the mountains.’ The village, situated 60 miles from the Pacific Ocean at an altitude of approximately 6000 feet, lies on a steep slope of the Sierra Madre del Sur with a view of pine and oak forests, mountaintops, canyons, and valleys intermittently shrouded in fog. SJQ residents harvest corn, beans, and squash; they also raise chickens and turkeys, and take part in other aspects of seasonal farming in these mountains and on the slopes. The people hold the mountains that surround their communities in very high esteem. On high holidays, Chatino elders and community authorities go to the mountaintops and pray to the sun for the well being of their community and family members. Figure (2) illustrates the center of SJQ.
The lifestyle of SJQ residents is rapidly changing due to an extremely high rate of migration to the United States, where people go to seek work. According to the General de Población de Oaxaca (DIGEPO), and Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI) the total population of SJQ for the years 2000 and 2005 was 3889 and 4154 respectively. Although the population grew from 2000 to 2005, this growth was largely due to a high population birth rate; the population in 2005 would have been higher had it not been for the high rate of migration.
According to DIGEPO between 1995 and 1999, a total of 92 people left the community. Between 2000 and 2004 471 people migrated from SJQ. Based on the numbers provided by DIGEPO and INEGI, migration out of the community was approximately 4.7 times greater in 2005 than it was in 2000. For SJQ residents between 15 and 60 years of age, this rate of migration was likely higher.

The increasing rate of migration from SJQ to the United States emerges as a theme in the rhetorical speeches of community leaders. In his oratory, Ligio (see lines 102-124, Text #3 in the appendix), acknowledges that many people are going “far away” to the United States. He wishes them the best of luck on their journeys and in their endeavors, but also makes an emotional appeal for them to fulfill their obligations to the community before they leave.

2.2.2 Cosmology

Because Chatino cosmology is the central poetic theme in the oratory of SJQ governing authorities, this paper provides a brief overview of the cosmological beliefs and associated practices.

Today, the Chatino people maintain a distinctive set of traditions and beliefs which are the result of the merger of preexisting, ancient Mesoamerican ideologies and Roman Catholicism, which was introduced with the Spanish conquest over 500 years ago. Ancient 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).
Chatino people in SJQ hold sacred those elements in nature which help sustain spiritual and everyday life in their isolated land. These elements include the sun, light, water, ancestors, mountains, and animals. SJQ residents also worship images and icons of the Catholic Church, e.g., the cross and images of saints. Greenberg (1981:129) states that “native Chatino cosmology has survived because it makes some intrinsic sense and continues to have adaptive value for maintaining symbiotic relationships with an alien religion, i.e., Roman Catholicism.” However, the rapid rise of evangelical Christian churches in Mexico (Dow 2005, Navarro and Leatham 2004), poses a challenge to the traditional religious beliefs and practices of Chatino people in SJQ and other Chatino communities. Followers of the newly introduced evangelical 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 with candles and water to the deceased ancestors, all traditional Chatino practices.

Chatino people believe that individuals must actively nurture their personal connections with the spiritual world through prayer and offerings of candles, flowers, leaves, water, and incense. Greenberg (1981:88) states that the placement of candles and other instruments of prayer “follow a formula that applies to every religious rite and might be said to mark the transition from the world of people to the universe of the supernatural.”

The rest of this section discusses the basic ways in which people in SJQ worship the sun, light, ancestors, mountains, animals, and rain, all elements of the natural and supernatural world that they hold sacred.
2.2.2.1 **The sun**

In Chatino cosmology, the sun is a deity. The east, the direction of the sunrise, is a very important cardinal point. In SJQ many important public buildings and ritual sites, e.g., the city hall and the church, face east. Shrines in public and private buildings are placed on the east as well. When praying to the sun or going to sleep, people point their bodies and heads towards the east. Likewise, when a person dies, his or her head is pointed to the west, the direction of sunset, and the cemetery in SJQ is on the west side of town.

Every morning at sunrise elders in SJQ kneel to the east to pray, and sometimes they travel to the highest mountaintops in the Chatino region to pray to the sun. This devotion to the sun is also expressed in language. As recently as 30 years ago, people in SJQ called the sun *sten*⁷⁴ 7o² *kcha⁴* ‘Our holy father the sun’. Younger people in SJQ no longer refer to the sun as “Our holy father”, but call it *kcha⁴* (sun). In other Chatino communities such as Santa Lucia Teotepec, it is still a common practice in the daily use of the language to refer to the sun as *j7o kcha* ‘saint sun’ or to the moon as *j7o ko7* ‘saint moon’ (personal observation 2003; Justin McIntosh 2008, personal communication).

2.2.2.2 **Light**

Chatino cosmology holds that there are two worlds: the world of light, which is the world in which we live, and the world of death, which is where dead people exist. Chatino folk stories tell of living people who have visited someone in the world of the
dead. In these stories, there is always a rowdy character from the world of the dead who is upset by the presence of the visitor from the world of the living. The hostess, who is usually a woman (in most cases a relative of the living visitor), in the world of the dead, quickly hides the visitor under a mat when she sees the rowdy character of the world of dead approaching.

When the rowdy character of the world of dead arrives at the house in which the illegal visitor from the world of the living is being held he screams the sentence in example (1).

(1) nxkwa₁⁴ ty7i¹ nten₁⁴ lo¹ xa³, lo⁴ k7ya²
PROG.lay.flat smell people of light, of mountain

‘I can smell a person who is from the world of mountains and light (lit. a person of the living world)’

These folk narratives embody the beliefs of Chatino people that the world they inhabit is a world full of light and warmth, and they must always ensure that there is a constant supply of light in their public and private spaces as a way to honor their ancestors and to keep a viable community. Thus people in SJQ are careful to always have a candle lit in both public and intimate spaces in the community. In the city hall, in churches, at important ritual sites, and at shrines in homes, there is always a candle burning. The light on the altar of the city hall symbolizes everything that embodies the
community. An important duty of traditional authorities during their tenure in city hall is to care for that light.

2.2.2.3 Ancestors

People pay their respects to the ancestors by visiting the cemetery and leaving offerings of candles, leaves, and water to calm the ancestors’ souls. Also, the Chatino people call out the names of ancestors in their prayers.

2.2.2.4 Mountains

The mountain is a very important element in the Chatino cosmology. Mende, Noyo, and Ligio’s speech reveals the devotion to mountains. These orators use this lexical item as an element in multiple figures of speech in their oratory (including: personification, metaphors, and metonyms). In Section 2 in the literary analysis we will see examples of this.

2.2.2.5 Animals

People in SJQ commonly believe that each person is intimately connected to the spirit of an animal. This animal is considered the twin spirit of the person and it can be any animal such as a tiger, a dragonfly, or a very rare and beautiful mythical snake. The person and her or his animal spirit share the same fate; whatever happens to one will
happen to the other. For instance if the animal dies, the person who is that animal’s twin will also die. The people of SJQ believe that a person who has the mythical snake as a twin spirit is a lucky person. They say that this snake has beautiful flower-like designs on its back. The snake is found in a marsh called Nten7 Ty7u4, which translates into English roughly as ‘swampy meadow’. Nten7 Ty7u4 is a sacred place for the people of SJQ. They bury the placenta of all the newborns in the community here and this is also the place where the authorities go every year to pray for rain for the community. This meadow is located southwest of the center of SJQ. Resident Isabel Cruz, in conversation (May, 2007), reported that she had seen this mythical snake.

2.2.2.6 Rain

Because SJQ is a society that relies on seasonal agriculture, its people depend on the seasonal rains. As noted at the beginning of this section, they grow their own staples including corn, beans, and squash, and cannot do so without sufficient rain. They start planting corn in June, when the rainy season begins. In May, the authorities, the town’s band of musicians, and community elders go to Nten7 Ty7u4 to get the rain. The authorities and elders offer prayers in which they ask the rain to come with them so they will have a good harvest, which in turn will sustain life in the community. Mende, the former president of SJQ and author of one of speeches I analyze in this study, reported in a personal conversation (July 1, 2007), that usually when they make their journey to get the rain, it rains.
Similarly, at the end of the rainy season around the month of September, everyone who went to get the rain goes back to the same marsh to return the rain. At this time the governing authorities thank the rain for having visited them this year so that they have food to eat. They ask the rain to return home and to come back the next year. There is a special prayer that is dedicated to each one of the deities and ritual occasions that was previously described.

2.2.3 Special celebrations

Because people in SJQ are highly spiritual, they go to great lengths and make many sacrifices to practice their religion. The most faithful believers visit the ritual sites almost daily to pray and make offerings of water, candles, leaves, and flowers. The entire community, however, observes all-important holidays. This section describes those holidays in the order they occur throughout the year.

The first thirteen days in January are very sacred for the people in SJQ, because they mark the beginning of a new year in this community. The governing authorities and elders begin a pilgrimage of prayer, carrying homemade candles, to at least 13 communities and other important ritual sites throughout the Chatino region. They visit such nearby communities as Santiago Yaitepec and Santa Juquila, but they also travel longer distances, some 40 miles, to the Pacific coast of Oaxaca and the towns of Atotonilco and Jamiltepec.
Every year on June 24, residents of SJQ hold their annual fair. On this day, they celebrate the arrival of San Juan, their patron saint in the Catholic Church. They celebrate with a rodeo, a dance, and a big feast for the whole community.

During the months of July and August, people attend the celebrations of patron saints in the neighboring communities of San Jose Ixtapan and Santiago Yaitepec. The people of SJQ go to these celebrations to pray at the local churches, but they also enjoy watching fair goers, street vendors, the dances, and the rodeos. The Day of the Dead is celebrated on November 1 and 2. Oaxaca City is well known worldwide for this celebration. The belief behind the Day of the Dead is that spirits of dead ancestors who have continued to exist on a different plane return to the Earth to be with their families. This holiday represents a rich blend of Catholic and indigenous traditions, and is both a celebration for the living and for the dead. During time, the households in SJQ come alive with a special beauty of flowers and food that the families set up on elaborately decorated altars. This holiday has two names in SJQ Chatino, see examples (2) and (3).

(2) t7a4 7in4 ne74 kla4
party of the one who old
‘celebration of the elders/ancestors’

(3) t7a4 y7o1
party dead
‘celebration of the dead’
Over time, with the introduction of modern conveniences such as the introduction of roads where cars can travel, electricity, telephones, and a constant flow of cash from community members working abroad to support their families, people have become more sedentary and no longer have to farm for subsistence and can stay in the center of town all year long. Some 40 years ago, most residents of SJQ lived and farmed in small hamlets scattered throughout the SJQ territory. SJQ was mainly a ceremonial town that residents of SJQ returned to for important community celebrations such as the Day of the Dead, and the June 24 celebration of the SJQ’s patron saint. Community members also remained in the center of the town when they had to serve in a post in the city hall, and carry out the associated religious obligations.

Traditionally, prior to the celebration of the Day of the Dead entire families and their domestic animals leave their hamlets and climb the steep mountains overseeing the pacific coast to return to the center of SJQ.

The procession on the trails leading to the center of town can be described as a loud parade of barking dogs, gobbling turkeys, and people, young and old, carrying everything including small babies, wood, chickens, and fruits and vegetables that they have harvested and prepared for the occasion. They bring their animals because if they were left in the hamlet, there would be no one to feed them, or worse, they might fall prey to foxes or eagles.

As soon as the people arrive at the family compound in the center of SJQ, everyone begins the work of preparing for the celebration. Men and children fetch water
from the wells, gather wood, and harvest marigolds and bamboo to create an altar. In the kitchen, women gather the ingredients for mole sauce, tamales, hot chocolate, and bread.

During this celebration, the higher-ranking individuals in city hall are assigned a community guard. The community guard and his wife help the family of the higher-ranking individuals with their chores for the entire week.

On the evening of October 31, an intense sweet smell of freshly baked bread, marigolds and copal (a tree resin) permeate the air in every household. An arch shaped altar decorated with marigolds and lit with candles is prepared for the souls of the departed children who are believed to return on November 1, the next day. The women work non-stop in the kitchen making tamales and preparing the meals that are placed on the altar the next morning. Early in the morning of November 1, non-spicy food, freshly made atole (a drink made from corn), bread, and hot chocolate is placed on the altar in order to feed the souls of deceased children in the family. After the food is placed on the altar a firecracker is detonated to indicate that the ceremonial mission has been accomplished.

On November 2, the people in the community believe that the spirits of deceased adults join the celebration. On this day, food is placed on the altar at midday. Tamales, mole sauce, cigarettes, and an alcoholic drink called mescal are put on the altar. Again a firecracker is detonated after the food has been placed on the altar.

Children in houses wait anxiously to feast on all the wonderful food that has been prepared for their deceased ancestors. On November 3rd their ancestral spirits depart, but the celebration of the living continues with family, friends, and neighbors.
At the end of December authorities and elders gather at one of the *kwa*², religious planners of the city hall, to make candles that they will take to various ritual sites around the Chatino region during the first thirteen days in January. Every three years, the transition of authorities is held. Higher-ranking authorities change places every three years and those holding lower ranking posts, the *ne7 skan¹* ‘community guards’, are released every year on January 1.

Figure (3) shows locations of the ritual sites where community members make their offerings with candles, water, and incense. As previously stated, people in SJQ visit the sites inside the community at least once a week, if not more frequently. They visit the sites located in the mountains farther away from the community during the first thirteen days of January and whenever someone has a pressing personal issue, for example, when a family member is sick.
2.2.4 Authorities and their religious duties

Religion and government are intertwined in SJQ. Traditional governing authorities fulfill both religious and civil duties. Elected officials are required to have extensive knowledge of the community’s ritual traditions and celebrations and must fulfill a variety of religious obligations (described below), during their three-year term of office in the city hall.
As previously mentioned, governing authorities in SJQ are in charge of maintaining the light at the city hall, and are also responsible for planning and leading prayers on behalf of the community. They pray on behalf of the community almost daily at ritual sites that are established by the community, and on high holidays they visit many of these ritual sites throughout the Chatino region. For instance, on the first day of every month, the authorities gather the elders in the community to accompany them to pray and carry candles, flowers, and leaves to the prayer sites.

The traditional authorities are also obligated to register and maintain records of events and ritual celebrations in the community for the 260-day calendar. SJQ does not employ a full-time priest; rather, the priest visits from Panixtlahuaca, a nearby Chatino community. If a priest comes to the community to officiate at mass, local authorities must attend the mass and stand in the front row holding their sacred staffs. These religious obligations keep authorities very busy all year. In his speech, Noyo mentions the hardships the governing authorities go through to fulfill this duty. Table (1) offers an excerpt of Noyo’s speech alluding to this fact.

Table 1 Sample of Noyo’s speech describing the religious duties of a person serving a post in city hall.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Chatino</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>7en⁴ wa⁴²&lt;P&gt;</td>
<td>We presided &lt;P&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Ndwa³ wa⁴² re⁰ ne² ni:::²&lt;P&gt;</td>
<td>We sat right here::: &lt;P&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Kwa²⁴&lt;P&gt;</td>
<td>There &lt;P&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29
We wish we could have gone
We wish we could have done it ourselves
so we said

Those who are [our] hands
Those ones

The ones who are our feet, hm?
Those ones will go
will handle whatever comes up
[that is to be done (achieved)]

Those ones will carry out the (task)

That stands
Whatever work we may request
While we sat in this position

Sincerely, hm?
There are many things,
There are many things, hm? <P>

In the excerpt of Noyo’s speech, he expresses his regret for not having been able to carry out certain duties of the city hall as he would have wanted to because they were too busy reciting prayers on behalf of the community.

2.2.5  Governing authorities and their civil duties
In his study of traditional government in Santiago Yaitepec, a Chatino pueblo located twelve miles from SJQ, two to three hours by car, Greenberg (1981), concludes that the traditional system of Chatino government is organized hierarchically based on age. “All men in the community are obliged to serve in civil or religious offices every few years during a major portion of their adult lives” (p. 63).

Greenberg (1981:63) also divides the hierarchy of the cargo system into five basic levels of offices. As a person climbs up the hierarchy, he assumes a position of increased prestige and responsibility. Having gone through and served in these civil-religious posts the men in SJQ become part of the respected elder’s council. Table 2 illustrates the five basic level of government in SJQ. (the cargo system is found everywhere in Mesoamerica with different local details. What is described here is specifically Chatino and more specifically San Juan Quiaijie.)
This section describes the positions of various levels in the hierarchy and concludes with a discussion of the duties of SJQ authorities within the wider Mexican society.

### 2.2.5.1 Level 1 Community guard

Boys in SJQ begin their careers at the city hall at the age of twelve as ʻne7̱ skan’ ʻcommunity guards’. Generally, boys serve as ʻne7̱ skan’ two or three times between the ages of twelve and sixteen years. Each one of these times they serve one year.

The ʻne7̱ skan’ are lay assistants to the members of the Cabinet of Authorities. “They take letters to other pueblos, sweep the municipal buildings, work the president’s field, spread notice of tequio, communal work” (Greenberg, 1981, p. 63).
The community and the authorities in particular find it advantageous to have these lower ranking helpers around. The *ne7t* *skan* bear the brunt of getting the routine, hard work of the city hall done so higher authorities can concentrate on mediating and solving problems that arise in the community.

Also it is through the *ne7t* *skan* rank and file that the community hopes to recruit and initiate future leaders. Mende, former president of SJQ, stated in a conversation with the author (July 1, 2007), that authorities and elders can readily spot young *ne7t* *skan* who show potential for leadership. He reported that a trait they look for in a future leader is that every time the elders or authorities deliver a speech these young people stop whatever they are doing and begin to listen to whatever is being said very intently.

The *ne7t* *skan* are monitored by the *jyu jla* ‘old horse.’ Since the *ne7t* *skan* are young, they are energetic, hyperactive, and often loud. The *jyu jla* ‘old horse’ makes sure the *ne7t* *skan* are learning proper norms of behavior and meeting their obligations to the city hall. The *jyu jla* guard the keys to the local city jail and also accompany the *kwa*, ‘the religious planners of the city hall,’ on their monthly visits to community elders.

**2.2.5.2 Level 2 Kwa2**

The *Kwa* are both the religious planners of the city hall and the liaisons between the authorities and the community in terms of religion. The *kwa* assist the authorities with details related to religious rituals. They supply the instruments and accessories to be used for the ritual celebrations in which the authorities participate including candles, incense, leaves, flowers, water, and firecrackers.
On the last day of each month, the kwa\textsuperscript{2} visit the elders in the community to invite them to pray with the authorities on behalf of the community, as they ritually do on the first day of each month. They are responsible for organizing the whole event by gathering the elders and supplies that will be used. Once the elders are gathered at the city hall, the authorities thank them for responding to their call, the kwa\textsuperscript{2} proceed to give them the instruments and accessories of prayer. Each elder is asked to pray and deposit the candles at one of the designated ritual points illustrated in Figure (3).

I was at my grandfather’s house one evening when the kwa\textsuperscript{2} came and invited him to attend the established traditional prayer session held with authorities on the first day of each month. Below are some notes I jotted down in my diary of my impressions of this event.

This is a recording of an exchange my grandfather, Leonardo, had with the kwa\textsuperscript{2} who came from the city hall to invite my grandfather to pray with the authorities on behalf of the community before sunrise the morning, July 1, 2007.

There were seven young men who came to the house this evening. My grandfather invited them to sit down when they arrived, and they handed my grandfather a cigarette and invited him to sit with them. All of a sudden, they all began to speak at the same time. They told my grandfather they had come on behalf of the authorities to invite him to honor them with his presence at city hall on July 1, 2007 to conduct the la\textsuperscript{42} 7in\textsuperscript{4} kchin\textsuperscript{32} 'prayers on behalf of the community.'

Through their speech, they reminded my grandfather that this is a tradition that the community has been observing since the community was founded, and they cautioned that to abandon this tradition that was established by our ancestors would be disrespectful to the ancestors.

My grandfather agreed with all they said, responding in the same manner and speaking at the same time, accepting their invitation to go pray with the authorities. They thanked my grandfather for accepting their invitation and told
him they were going to announce to the elders to come to the city hall by lighting a firecracker tomorrow. They quickly left, because it was getting late and they had many more elders to visit that evening (H. Cruz, 2007).

The kwa² are also responsible for taking care of tablecloths and making the traditional table preparations that the governing authorities take when they attend weddings and community feasts. At community-sponsored feasts, the kwa² are also in charge of cooking the big pots of food that feed the entire community.

In preparation for the ritual prayer pilgrimage authorities take during the first thirteen days in January, the kwa² are responsible for gathering the supplies and prayer accessories for the authorities, and for making the candles used for the prayer pilgrimage. For this occasion, the authorities and elders meet at the house of one of the kwa² to make the candles. When the candles are ready, the head kwa² carefully wraps each candle in a handmade embroidered cloth and places it inside a handmade basket to be taken to each household in the community and blessed each member of the community.

When the kwa² takes the candles to each household in the community, he hands the basket full of candles to the head of the household, who in turn gathers his family around the shrine in the house. All the family members kneel in front of the altar while the elder stands behind them holding the basket of candles over their heads and prays. In his prayer, the elder calls upon the names of all deceased parents of the lineage and asks them to watch over the new generation kneeling in front of him. When the elder finishes his prayer, each member of the household kisses the candles and the elder hands them
back to the *kwa*², who is usually waiting patiently outside. The *kwa*² takes back the candles back and quickly leaves for the next household.

Giving the solemnity and laborious nature of the responsibilities of the *kwa*², great care is put into the selection of the people chosen to occupy these positions. A *kwa*² must be married, honest, and a law-abiding citizen. A second-level position just like the *kwa*² is that of community police, *si*⁴-*lya*²⁴.

### 2.2.5.3 Level 2 *si*⁴-*lya*²⁴

A second-level position like the *kwa*² is that of *si*⁴-*lya*²⁴, community police. Every man in the community must serve in this position for three years once he has become a community guard. However, if there is a shortage of men to fill the necessary positions in the community (and this is frequently the case), a man may be summoned to serve again in a few years. Those who have gained experience during previous years are sometimes promoted to higher positions. They are usually promoted to be the *teniente*. The *teniente* is the chief of police.

While serving, the *si*⁴-*lya*²⁴ 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 keep the peace, 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, however, they are required to be on duty at all times. For
example, police guards are on duty on June 24th, the day of the patron saint of San Juan, when many visitors from surrounding communities come to San Juan to participate in festivities.

The police will arrest and put in the community jail anyone who gets out of hand and engages in drunken 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 a dungeon-like room, cold and clammy room, and lacking toilet facilities. The area around it reeks of the stench of urine and fecal waste. Common misdemeanors in the community include illegally selling liquor, discharging firearms into the air, engaging in drunken brawls, and petty theft such as stealing produce from a neighbor’s garden or farm.

Individuals who commit more serious crimes such as stealing livestock and committing murder (both of which are felonies and capitol offenses) are transferred to the governmental authorities in Juquila, the local district. The community does not have the facility or system to try and house prisoners for long periods of time.

Thirty years ago there were no roads between Juquila and San Juan on which cars could travel. Thus, 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.

2.2.5.4 Level 3 Substitutes

At the third level in the hierarchy of authorities, (see Table 2), are substitute city council members and the Chief Administrator of the City. The men who occupy these
roles must be present at the city hall every day. When authorities at Level 4 have to leave the community, the substitutes take their place.

2.2.5.5 **Level 4 Councilman, President, and Chief Administrator**

At Level 4 (see Table 2), are the Councilmen, President, and Chief Administrator of the city, who served for three years. These are the most important positions and carry high prestige in the community because those elected to each position have demonstrated leadership, intelligence, judiciousness, and good judgment over many years.

Most people in SJQ hold their traditional authorities in high esteem, calling them by their Chatino name, *ne7' sya'i* ‘people of heart or justice’. When choosing authorities, people in SJQ 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.

In a conversation this author had with Mende (July, 2007), he revealed some interesting experiences he had during his tenure in the city hall. He states that he often spoke to different community members in a different manner at different times. In the same interview, he also stated that there were times when people in the community showed him respect and other times when they did not. And he also said that it was easier to deal with people who spoke eloquently because he thought that it was easier to reason with them. Chapter 3, offers further discussion about this topic. In a graceful way, Mende accepted his fate and said that all of these things came with the position.

Mende also said that often the residents came to the city hall to notify the *ne7' sya'i* that their children were sick. This demonstrates the closeness between the authorities
and the community. This close relationship contrasts with the practices of western
countries where it is not customary for citizens to notify elected officials when family
members are sick. Greenberg (1981:66) says that “authority hierarchy in indigenous
societies rests on sacred powers and that the constituted civil and religious structure not
only confers increasing political and moral power on each higher level of official
authority, but ultimately sanctifies an infrastructure that the authority embodies.”

2.2.5.6  Level 5 Council of Elders

If a man from SJQ has dutifully served his community for most of his life, he
becomes a member of the $ne7^i kla^i$ ‘old people, council of elders.’ The $ne7^i kla^i$ play an
important role in “the political decision-making processes in the community” (Greenberg
1981:65). The president and the city council are subordinate to the authority of the elders
(p. 65). “For example, the elders play an important role in elections: no official can be
elected or appointed without their consensus and consent. 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 (p. 66).”

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elected or appointed without their consensus and consent. The elders can overrule the

39
constitutional authorities and even remove them from office if their conduct is believed to be detrimental to the interest of the community (p. 66).”

Some aspects of the traditional Chatino government system have changed in the twenty-five intervening years since Greenberg wrote. As previously stated, in my observations in 2004-2008 I found that SJQ has been impacted by mass migration in the last 12-15 years and by the influence of evangelical Christians. These influences have had some effect on the traditional government system, but they have not yet brought about the end of the system and these traditions still endure.

It is only natural that things change with the passing of time. Since Greenberg’s citings there have been as many as 8 changes of authority. Each new administration added its unique flavor and style to the tradition.

The evolution that has taken place has been naturally affected by the changes taking place in Mexican society at large. However the foundation of the traditional structure remains unweavering today. In 1995 the Congress of Oaxaca legally recognized this traditional form of government referred to as the Cargo System or Usos y Costumbres (Hernandez, 2007). This officially recognition validated this traditional form of governing. We will come back to this issue in subsequent paragraphs.

2.2.6 Role of authorities within the wider Mexican society

The responsibilities and duties of SJQ authorities often reach beyond the community. Frequently, the authorities are required to travel to and from the community to other cities. SJQ authorities travel to Oaxaca City, eight hours away, and to Puerto
Escondido, four hours away, to perform administrative work on behalf of the community.

On their visits to these cities, the leaders often request funds from governmental and state institutions to bring public services to the community, including schools, medical clinics, and telephone service.

Another great responsibility of the authorities is to safeguard the territory belonging to the community. On a yearly basis, the men in the community visit the boundaries of SJQ and review the boundaries shared with neighboring Chatino and non-Chatino communities. Seven other communities, which include a distrito, several municipios, and agencias, border SJQ. Distritos contain many municipios. A municipio is comparable to a county. An agencia is part of a municipio. In the south, SJQ shares boundaries with agencias: Tlya₁ ‘San Francisco Ixpantepec’, and Cha7² ‘Santa Maria Amialtepec’. In the north SJQ borders with municipio of 7ya² Ytí⁴ ‘Zenzontepec’. In the west SJQ borders with S7we³ ‘Santa Catarina Juquila’, which is the head of distrito, Skwi₁ ‘San Miguel Panixtlahuaca’ (a municipio), Sya7² ‘Santa Cruz Tepenixtlahuaca’ (an agencia of Tataltepec de Valdez), and Lo⁴ 7o⁴ ‘Tataltepec de Valdez’ which is a municipio. In the east SJQ shares boundaries with T7wa⁴ Tyku² ‘San Jose Ixtapan’, which is an agencia belonging to Santa Catarina Juquila.

Most of these yearly excursions to the borders are peaceful, but there have been times when the men have met with conflict, which has resulted in violent confrontations and deadly results on both sides of the borders.
2.2.7 Cargo system

Today in many of the indigenous communities of both Mesoamerica and the highland Andes, men must serve their communities by passing through a series of offices Young (2009). This traditional form of government is widely known as the cargo system (also known as civil-religious hierarchies and system of Usos y Costumbres in Oaxaca). Oaxaca figures as a very important player when it comes to this issue.

Considerable literature has been devoted to the description of cargo systems within Mesoamerica (Dewalt, 1975). This system has figured very importantly in the development of an intellectual tradition in Mesoamerican studies and even in the development of anthropology (Nora England, personal conversation, 2009). Some of the most important literature on the cargo system that is the most relevant to the Chatino system includes the works of Campbell (2007), Frank Cancian (1965), James Greenberg (1981), and Jorge Hernández (2007). This part of the thesis presents a brief overview of the important issues and key points relevant to this topic. The purpose of this review of the relevant literature is to show that the Chatino system can be placed within a broader context and that the traditional Chatino form of government described in previous pages is not an isolated or unique case.

Special efforts to encourage indigenous political participation in Mexico are most evident at the state level Campbell (2007). Various states have enacted constitutional provisions, laws, and decrees creating affirmative methods to support political participation of indigenous groups Campbell (2007). Most notably, the State of Oaxaca allows indigenous peoples to elect local political representatives according to their own
customs and traditions (*usos y costumbres*) Campbell (2007). Today 418 of the state of Oaxaca’s 570 *municipios* follow this tradition Hernández (2007). These procedures are based on historical and traditional practices, and are explicitly recognized in the State’s Constitution Campbell (2007). The basis of this indigenous model is the *cargo-system* (or system of public posts), “a rotational and hierarchical system of public authority traditionally composed of a mixture of religious and civic laws which emphasize the judgment of elders, open assemblies, and consensus” Moreno (2004). Under this system the communities elect their governing authorities according to the system’s established hierarchy. Through *usos y costumbres*, members undertake a series of community positions, embracing both civil and religious responsibilities, usually lasting 1–3 years. Hernandez-Díaz (2007: 39) says, “This system is an organic structure which anthropology considers the unique political trait of indigenous communities.”

In Oaxaca, those 418 municipalities have chosen not to use the modern electoral processes to select local officials, instead, as allowed by Oaxaca state law, they choose their leaders through the system of *usos y costumbres*. In the cargo system, new governing authorities or would-be authorities are chosen by the elders and the incumbent officials. These candidates are nominated for consideration by the general community and voted on by the general assembly. In theory, no political parties are involved in this process.

However, this system is not free of problems or political conflicts. The process has met with criticism due to the exclusion of certain sectors of the population such as
women. In many cases, this type of exclusion has enabled local political leaders to gain power and subvert community autonomy through the manipulation of *usos y costumbres*.

It is important to state that the indigenous communities in Oaxaca that use this traditional system of *usos y costumbres*, have their own way of implementing these procedures in local government, and the practices are not always determined by static rules. These practices are a shared trait among the majority of indigenous communities. These communities rule themselves on collective principles of reciprocity and public service. In most communities the system functions well and manages to avoid abuses of power. The system is also flexible enough to allow for the particular circumstances of each individual community. The communities are able to adapt the system to their own local customs and needs.

*Chapter 3: Discourse and linguistic background*

**3.1  Previous work on verbal art**

In her book: Stina Jo’o Kucha ‘Our holy father the sun’ Cordero (1986) describes the social organization, the political system of traditional government, and the cosmology of Chatino people. Cordero’s work is an anthropological study, and it is the first one to investigate the verbal art of Chatino people. Cordero makes extensive reference to the ritual language in SJQ. Cordero points out that the ceremonial language in SJQ is the best preserved ritual language in the Chatino region. Cordero states that people in SJQ zealously guard the verbal art used in ritual ceremonies.
Cordero conducts her research and draws her conclusions from interviews and testimonies gathered in five Eastern Chatino communities: San Juan Lachao Viejo, Santiago Yaitepec, San Marcos Zacatepec, San Miguel Panixtlahuaca, and SJQ.

The most relevant part of Cordero’s work for the present study is found in Section 2: The Traditional Political System and Authorities. In this section she provides a brief overview of the historical facts that led to the development of the current system of government in Chatino communities. A significant part of this section is dedicated to the description of the duties and responsibilities of each post the Chatino men fill in the hierarchy of the traditional government. Towards the end of the section, she describes the ceremony of changing of authorities in ZAC and in SJQ. She presents transcriptions and interpretations of two ritual speeches of the ceremony of changing of authorities from SJQ.

Cordero (1986, p. 91) states that the organization of the municipal governments that exist in Chatino communities today was imposed in the region during the colonial period and that through the passing of time, Chatinos have adapted this system as their own.

The ceremony of changing of authorities that Cordero (1986) describes in SJQ is an ancient tradition that is still practiced today. However, some aspects of the ceremony, such as the journey to the foggy mountains, are no longer practiced. In this previously practiced part of the ceremony, both cabinets of authorities, the incoming and out-going, journey to a sacred place, 7yapı́ 7yu’ı́ skwa724 yna20, cerro neblina, ‘foggy mountain’ on the border of SJQ and Zenzontepec. This place is located six hours away from the center.
of SJQ by foot, in the very high mountains to the north. Cordero states “that the authorities leave to go to this mountain on December 31” (p. 113). She adds, “They stay there all night until the sun rises. At sun rise they conduct ritual prayers on their own behalf and for the well being of the community” (p. 114). Cordero also notes that while returning to SJQ, they make a last stop to take a purification bath at a river known by the locals as *tyku’ ya72 kti1*‘seven hand river’, a place name mentioned by Isabel Cruz Baltazar in a personal conversation (May 2007). Here, according to Cordero, the *kwa2*, the religious planers of the city hall, perform purification baths on the authorities and they also place the sacred staff in the water to be purified.

The two texts Cordero (1986) presents for this ceremony were recited by Felix Agripino Baltazar, an elder from SJQ. Chatino transcriptions of these texts come from Hilario Cortes Serrano. Originally from Juquila, it is not clear whether Cortes Serrano was a native speaker of Chatino. For many years, he was an elementary school teacher in many eastern Chatino communities.

The Spanish translations of the text were provided by Cirila Sanchez Mendoza, a native speaker of Tepenixtlahuaca Chatino, and former congresswoman and senator from the ruling Partido Revolutionario Institutional (PRI) in Mexico. The following are the titles of the two orations presented by Cordero.

Text number 1

Plegaria Recitada por el Anciano al Santo Padre Sol, al entregar las varas de Mando, en el Pueblo de San Juan Quiahije.
‘Prayer recited by an elder of SJQ to Holy Father God while delivering the sacred staff, in the community of SJQ. (Cordero 1986, p. 120–125).

Text number 2

Plegaria de respuesta de la autoridad que recibe la Vara de Mando, en el Pueblo de San Juan Quiahije.

‘A response recited by the person who receives the sacred staff from the elder. SJQ.’

The following is a sample transcription of the text from Cordero.

Jå chá’ ni nhuã nne’ nhuã chá’ ká huã tliú, ne’ cha kahuã tlo î ská, tlké î skahuã ná neé cha têá sehuã ika cha kullá’ (p. 129–131)

The transcription of text number 1, as is the case for all the texts from Cordero’s (1986) research, is extremely difficult to parse and requires significant interpretive analysis to be connected to what might have been spoken. The transcriptions provided for these texts lack information regarding the exact sounds that are represented by symbols used in the transcription. Spanish also heavily influences Cordero’s interpretation. Many Chatino words that appear in her interpretation are relegated to the footnotes. Moreover, while much of Cordero’s interpretation is supported by the testimonies and interviews she conducted with random individuals from the five previously mentioned communities, she does not provide the names of the sources or dates of the interviews or testimonies.

Cordero (1986) also makes many sweeping generalizations about issues regarding traditional authorities in the Chatino region. Her comments are based solely on

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1 I use the grave accent in place of the straight apostrophe <‘>, which she uses for vowels in the transcription of the text.
testimonies gathered from a single individual out of the many communities where she conducted her research. While some of her statements accurately describe the typical prototype of the Chatino political system, often her claims do not apply to all Chatino communities. For instance, she states that the election of authorities in all Chatino communities happens two or three months before January first. In SJQ people are elected every May, months before January (p. 94).

Cordero also gives incorrect names of key communities that she investigates. For instance, she refers to San Miguel Panixtlahuaca as “Santa Maria Panixtlahuaca” (1986: 97). Another problematic aspect of Cordero’s work is the lack of generic or scientific names for the flora mentioned in her work. Precision concerning the names of flora is appreciated by future generations of researchers documenting the language and community people who wish to replicate the customs of their ancestors.

Cordero (1986) states that in the ceremony of the changing of authorities in SJQ, they use a flower that she refers to as “flor de cuateco/cuatenco” (p. 117). Using the common name that Cordero provides for this plant, I have not yet been successful at identifying the flower. Isabel Cruz, in a personal conversation (December 2008), informed me that the Chatino name for this flower is $ke^2$ tyin7'. It is going to require me some more investigation to identify the common name for this plant. I could not find any illustrations of it, but I will provide the scientific name with time. Common names for flora in Mexico vary from region to region. To cite the common names for items like native flora without providing more information regarding their origin does not provide
adequate information for the identification of the plant or subsequent verification of the accuracy of the research.

Cordero (1986) describes the role of Chatino women in the political process as follows: “women are not part of the general assembly to elect the authorities, their presence is noted from afar. They are seen cooking the ritual meals” (p. 95). This description seems incomplete in that it does not follow the established academic methodologies of anthropological or ethnographic research. Although the observation about the women’s activities was appropriate, it was incomplete because Cordero did not follow up her observation by interviewing the women to ask them for their opinions about how they perceived their roles in the political process in their community. While Cordero’s efforts can be appreciated for offering documentation of Chatino oratory, her work is inconsistent and fails to demonstrate the rich poetic contribution of the Chatino verbal art.

This study departs from Cordero’s work in a number of ways. The three texts used in this study represent actual performance of ceremonial events conducted by authorities in SJQ, Cordero in the other hand does not inform the readers whether she gathered the speeches she provides in her text from actual performances or reports. The transcription of the texts provided in this study remains as faithful as possible to the original speech. The description of the text in this study takes into account pauses, vocables, disfluencies, and phonetic variations used by the orator. Even though SJQ is a small community, there are registers and expressions that are very particular to families and areas where they reside. This study also provides clear citations of the sources of
information. This study also provides metadata for the text and the sound recording which are kept in an archive in AILLA (http://www.ailla.utexas.org/site/welcome.html). These sources can be accessed by native speakers, researchers, and the society at large.

3.2 Discourse

People in SJQ have great appreciation for artful arrangement of words and their meanings. Residents readily point out the skillful speakers in the community. They say that eloquent speakers speak in a manner that is “fluid and lyrical”. What they mean by this is that eloquent speakers are capable of delivering speeches that are strong, emotive, persuasive and full of poetic figures such as metaphors and parallelism.

In their performances, skillful orators in SJQ speak with flawless coherence, eloquence, and fluency. In a kitchen conversation with this author, a 32-year-old woman named Maria Cruz Cruz, of Cieneguilla, described Sotero, considered to be one of the most eloquent speakers in SJQ, with the phrase in example (4).

(4) kcha⁴ ykwa⁴ 7a₁ ndywi⁷⁴ kwa³, in²⁰ crazy level very HAB.speak.⁰ that, hm?

‘He is far out and very skillful speaker’

What Maria means with this colloquial expression is that Sotero’s oratory is fluent and uninterrupted. As previously mentioned, ritual speeches and other forms of verbal art are ubiquitous and permeate every aspect of community life in SJQ. Speeches are
given to mark and celebrate important transitions and ritual occasions in both public and private life. People in SJQ practice their traditional beliefs by using and conforming to the formulaic poetic forms and the structure inherent in the ancient tradition of verbal art.

A person who has a good command of the established forms of verbal art is more successful at navigating the traditional systems in the community. People in SJQ marry at a very young age. A married person is considered an adult member of society and as such acquires new obligations and responsibilities, which require the use of their verbal skills. An obligation that an adult member of society in SJQ might assume is that of parenthood. All parents are obligated to carry out ritual ceremonies on behalf of their children. When a child is born, the parents seek godparents for him or her. This relationship requires that the parents build important bonds with other parents in the community. Each adult citizen in the community is therefore placed in a situation where he or she either has to ask someone to be the godparent of the newborn child or be asked to be the godparent of someone else’s child. The bond that these parents form is called compadrazgo. The institution of compadrazgo requires a person to use their ability to counsel and also carry out ritual ceremonies on behalf of their godchildren throughout the life of that child.

Also while a man serves in the city hall, both he and his wife are frequently required to help the mayordomo at community feasts. Mayordomos are the people who feed the entire town at community celebrations. Every man in the community is required to be a mayordomo at least once in his life. Preparations for the community feasts sometimes take an entire week of non-stop work. The mayordomo’s family, with envoys from the city hall, works extremely hard, sometimes with no sleep, hauling wood, making
tortillas, slaughtering cows, in order to feed hundreds in the community. At the end of the celebration the *mayordomo’s* family gathers around a mat those people who were sent from the city hall to help with the celebration. The helpers from the city hall are showered with gifts and food to take home as a gesture of hospitality and to further demonstrate heartfelt thanks to all who worked so hard. One important aspect of this ceremony is the use of verbal art among the participants.

This author first witnessed this type of discourse in December 2000 at the house of Marcos Cruz Baltazar when his son Vicencio Cruz hosted a feast for the community. The family elders gathered with Vicencio to thank the people for their unselfish help. The elders gathered around the mat emphasized the importance of preserving this tradition that forebears established hundreds of years earlier and that to “abandon this tradition would be bad.” The discourse revealed the beautiful and persuasive use of poetic tropes which provided the author with a sensation of warmth, nostalgia and pride of belonging to a culture that creates and appreciates such beautiful and poetic forms of speech.

3.3. **How People Are Trained to Carry Out Ritual Speech**

Young residents in the community learn how to speak by observing their elders reciting prayers and carrying out rituals, and some learn directly from the elders in the community. In a conversation with Margarita Baltazar, a medicine woman in Cieneguilla, she reported that she was taught how to pray and speak to the spiritual world by an elder in the community. Baltazar said that the elder taught her because she felt sorry for
Margarita who, because she was an orphan, no longer had her parents to make sure she learned how to speak appropriately to god and the spirits.

Men are initiated to the art of public speaking when they begin their service at the city hall. Working at the city hall and observing the authorities and elders give speeches enables the young men to learn the art of verbal eloquence.

Eloquence is also an asset for an individual in SJQ. Skillful speakers are considered intelligent and wise. In the same conversation I had with Mende about verbal art in SJQ, in July 1, 2007, he said that when he was young and was being initiated in the political system as ne7' skan' ‘community guard’, one of his jobs was to go with other young people like him to invite the elders to come to the city hall. Mende commented that they all got very nervous before they approached an elder’s house. He said the young men were under constant social pressure to be correct and appropriate in the performance of their speech, and the elders were very strict about enforcing this rule. Mende said that as they walked from one elder’s house to another they planned their dialogue with the elder. They would decide who was going to give the opening statement, and they usually selected the best speaker in the group. Successful opening statements were very important in ensuring a successful exchange between the community guards and the elder.

Once the community guards reached the elder’s house, they introduced themselves to the elder. If the elder thought the young people’s introduction was appropriate, he would respond and begin an exchange with them. A dialogue with the elder was considered a very successful visit and made the young people very happy.
on the other hand, the elder did not consider the opening-statement speech adequate, he did not answer to them and a complete silence would fill the room. When this happened, the visit was not considered successful and was a signal to them to work harder at crafting their speech for next time. This is one way the young people of SJQ practiced their speeches in preparation for adulthood.

3.4. **Political Speeches**

When skillful SJQ orators, usually men, give speeches, they convey wisdom and knowledge and are able to awaken emotions of endearment, nostalgia, and a sense of belonging among the members of the audience. These ceremonial political exchanges occur in the city hall, in elders’ homes, and at general community assemblies. Traditional oratory is used extensively at the community assembly for the election of new authorities. At this assembly there is an open microphone, and anyone in the community may participate. At this time, the skillful orators address the community with their beautiful speeches.

The procedure for electing new authorities is as follows. The council of elders and the incumbent authorities meet before the general assembly to propose potential candidates to occupy specific posts. On the day of the general assembly, the authorities present the list of names of people they recommend for each post. If the community likes the name being proposed, they all cheer and respond in unison to signal their agreement. If they disagree with the authorities’ choice, there are no cheers and the assembly goes
into a complete silence. Community members elect the individuals who serve at the fourth level in the hierarchy shown in Table 2.

3.5. **THE CEREMONY OF TRANSITION OF AUTHORITIES**

Once the new authorities are elected, they are inaugurated at a ceremonial event that begins on December 31 and culminates on January 1. The speeches delivered at the ceremony of transition of authorities constitute one of the most significant events of political speech in SJQ. Mende, Noyo, and Ligio’s speeches come from this event. The change of authorities takes place on the last day of December in the city of SJQ and lasts for 24 hours. The event begins early in the morning when the incumbent administration gathers at the city hall, and its highest point is at midnight, with the ceremony of the changing of the administration. The event finally concludes the next day after the new administration releases the community guards. The overall goal of this long event is the gathering of old and new authorities so the elders of the community can release the old administration and swear in the new one.

The seating arrangement is very important during the transition of authorities. The head of the council of elders and the most important authorities sit on the east, which is considered the head of the table. The following diagram shows how people sit during the
transition of authorities.

As shown in Figure (2), the most senior authorities and the people who occupy the highest positions in the city hall sit towards the east. The shrine is located on the eastern wall. As noted previously, the east is an important cardinal point in SJQ cosmology, so the most important elements for the event are placed on the east.

The event begins early in the morning with preparations and continues for 24 hours, with activities leading to the climax of the event at midnight. The official change

\[ \text{Figure 2 Seating arrangement for the changing of authorities in SJQ} \]
of administration occurs at midnight, and the event continues through the following day, January 1. What follows is a detailed schedule showing how this event is carried out.

At sunrise, the entire cabinet of departing authorities convenes at the city hall. The authorities address everyone in the cabinet to ask for their help with the necessary chores in preparation for the ceremonial of transition of authorities at midnight. Throughout the day, the authorities are busy with preparations to turn their administrative duties over to the new administration. Specific chores include checking that all keys to public buildings are ready, and gathering the money the old administrators have left to pass on to the new ones. In the meantime, the community guards are busy visiting the homes of the elders to invite them to city hall that night so they can release the old administration and bestow power on the new one.

Another important activity that occurs throughout the day and night is the visitation of the ritual sites in the community by new and old members of the administration and their closest family members. The new administration prays for a good term, and the members of the old administration give thanks for having survived their three-year term with only minor scratches.

As evening arrives, the members of the old administration gather at the city hall, and the lower ranking, young, community guards build a big fire for warmth as they await the events of the night. At around 9 pm, the authorities meet with the head of the community guards, the jyu\textsuperscript{14} jla\textsuperscript{1}, to ask them how many elders have agreed to come to the ceremony. Little by little the elders, ne7\textsuperscript{4} kla\textsuperscript{4}, begin to arrive at the city hall.
An hour later, at around 10 pm the old administration gives heartfelt thanks to all of the lower-ranking people who served during their administration, including the head of the community guards, the community police, and the kwer. The speech analyzed for this study comes from this stage of the event.

At midnight, everything is ready. The elders have taken their seats and are ready to begin the ceremony. The future president of the city and all of his cabinet appear at the door. They are invited to enter. The first thing they do is request permission to sit, and then they proceed to take their places. Next, they greet the old administration. At this point both administrations take hands and address each other making use of their best repertoire of poetic words. The new administration graciously thanks the old administration for having selflessly served the community for three years. The old administration congratulates the new administration for agreeing to take on the responsibility of serving their community, and they wish the new administration the best of luck on their three-year mandate. Next, the old administration addresses the elders for having supported them for their three-year rule, and they all pass on their knees in front of all the elders present in the room. After the old administration has passed in front of the elders, it is the turn of the new administration to pass on their knees in front of the elders.

At this point, the senior elder gives the sacred staff to the new president of the city and to his cabinet. The granting of the sacred staff by the elder to the new administration is a very impressive, and poetic elocutionary act. The head elder bestows the power upon
the new cabinet to serve their community with candor, dignity, and fairness, in good and bad times, for the next three years.

After receiving the sacred staff, the new administration takes over. The first act of the new administration is to address the elders and kindly ask them to give them wisdom and to stand by them while they serve the community for the next three years. Next, the new authorities distribute candles, flowers, and leaves to each one of the elders, for them to deposit in different designated locations throughout the community.

Next on the agenda is the recitation of the rosary at the shrine at city hall, officiated by the lay people from the church. When the recitation is completed, the elders and the new administration go to the church to pray together, and then each of the elders leaves for the ritual place assigned to them to pray. By this time, it is already morning.

The new authorities and the old authorities convene to have breakfast at a cabinet member’s house. Next, the new authorities release the community guards who served with the old administration, and they welcome the new community guards who will serve for a year with their administration. This ends the event of the change of authorities. The diagram in Table 3 summarizes the schedule of the event.
Table 3 Schedule of the event of transition of authorities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>December 31&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>January 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6 AM–12 PM</td>
<td>12:00–3:00 AM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Departing authorities meet at the city hall to prepare for the ceremony.</td>
<td>New administration and elders deposit offerings and say prayers at ritual sites inside the community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12–6 PM</td>
<td>3:00–6:00 AM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prayers. Community guards invite elders to attend the transition of authorities at midnight.</td>
<td>New administration releases the \textit{ne74 skan4}.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6–10 PM</td>
<td>9:00 AM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Departing authorities and elders meet at city hall. Farewell to the \textit{Kwa2}, and head of \textit{ne72 skan4}. (Mende’s speech was delivered at this point in the ceremony).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00–3:00 AM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transition of authorities directed by elders.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The men who participate in this event are expected to adhere to the same norms as all SJQ citizens. Of chief importance is showing respect and great deference to elders.

In the past, when someone met an elder on the road, the person had to bow and say to the elder \textit{tya74 tyin42}, which roughly translates into English as ‘to your health’.

Residents must also be careful not to encroach on a guest’s physical space. Children are taught to say: \textit{tyjin42 chin720 tlo1 wan24} ‘I am going to pass in front of you’ when they have to pass in front of someone. This norm probably arose because in the past...
all the homes had dirt floors and the daily activities and chores in the house were carried out on the floor. People cooked on the floor and ate while sitting on the floor. Women wore big skirts, and that is why when they got up from the floor they could potentially lift up dirt. They were careful to hold onto their skirts when they passed near someone who was eating so that they would not drop dirt into someone’s meal.

### 3.5.1 Documenting the event

The remainder of this section provides a personal account in the form of a journal of my experience documenting the ritual ceremony of transition of authorities in SJQ in 2004–2005

The speech of the higher authorities to the younger community guards takes place every three years at midnight on December 31. In order to be able to record this event, my sister Yolanda, our mother, and I left Cieneguilla (a town below SJQ) and we walked six miles in the dark, up a steep mountain to SJQ. When we finally arrived, the aura permeating the town was solemn. Candles were alight throughout homes, sacred sites and roads, church, local municipal government building, and at prescribed locations facing the cardinal points: north, south, east, and west.

According to the tradition of this night, candles in homes must be lit and placed in the center of the main rooms. My uncle Marcos even broke the concrete in the middle of his house to place the candles. Both artisans and common folk were busy in their homes making candles so that the entire community would be able to burn thousands of them on that night and also have more to take on their prayer journeys through that evening and around the Chatino region.

The city center is almost the highest point of town. It includes the main basketball court, municipal building, and the Catholic Church. It is an area where many people especially the youth “hang out” and socialize. Vendors sell their wares and taxi pickup trucks arrive from Juquila, a city 12 miles away, on a grueling dirt road. There we came upon young community guards playing around the wood fire. Inside the building, the 2001–2004 authorities were busy making last-minute
preparations to hand their power over to the incoming administration for 2005. They were giving orders to community guards to call the elders to gather at the city hall to officiate at the ceremony. In the meantime, in the church, the incoming administrative authorities were praying, and the local band performed intermittently. Before midnight, residents of SJQ were passing in all directions, holding buckets filled with flowers and candles. These were mostly people whose families were involved in the city hall, and they were praying at sacred points all over the city, including at the shrine inside the city hall.

Little by little the elders started to appear in the city hall, which was filled mostly by men. At a half hour before midnight the President, Mende gave the speech (Text 1) while the elders and other officials solemnly sat across the room and listened.

When Mende finished his address to the community guards, the elders remained seated. Exactly at midnight the proud new authorities stood solemnly at the door, holding their sacred staff as the local band played ceremonial songs. Meanwhile, in the background, fireworks blasted, echoing in the mountain air to announce to the community establishment of the new government. I was very moved and inspired by this sacred tradition of my community. Although I grew up in SJQ, this ritual and associated events are reserved for men. As a woman, I had not been exposed to it, so experiencing its beauty and the richness moved me beyond belief; I felt as though I had stumbled upon a jewel! Women rarely witness this event and I felt indebted to the incumbent authorities and elders for allowing me to witness and record it.

3.6. **LINGUISTICS**

3.6.1 *The phonemic inventory*

The SJQ practical orthography has 33 consonants, which are shown in Table 4.

The orthography that will be used in this work is based on previous work by Rasch (2002) and E.Cruz (2004) and subsequent reforms carry out by CLDP. Table 4, summarizes the SJQ phonemic inventory.
Table 4  Phonemic inventory of SJQ Chatino. Adapted from E. Cruz (2004).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabials</th>
<th>Apico-dentals</th>
<th>Laminal-alveolars</th>
<th>Palatals</th>
<th>Velars</th>
<th>Labio-velars</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occlusive</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>ty</td>
<td>Ky</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>Kw</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prenasalized Occlusive</td>
<td>Mb</td>
<td>nd</td>
<td>ndy</td>
<td>Ngy</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>Ngw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prenasalize Affricates</td>
<td>ndz</td>
<td>ndzy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ny</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals and glottalized semivowels</td>
<td>7n</td>
<td>7ny</td>
<td>7y</td>
<td>7w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>jy</td>
<td>Jw</td>
<td>J</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowels</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquids</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>ly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vibrant</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6.1.1. Consonants

The consonants in the SJQ phonemic inventory include eight series of prenasalized consonants (m or n) and a set of apical-alveolar (ty, ndy, ny, ly). The ndzy phoneme is the prenasalized representation of ch. The glottal stop is represented with the number 7. The apostrophe used in (t’y, nd’y, and l’y) is a trace of the lost penultimate vowel from a more conservative Chatino and disambiguates clusters from diagraphs. Most eastern dialects and in particular the SJQ are innovative and thus have abandoned penultimate vowels.
3.6.1.2 Vowels

SJQ Chatino has five basic vowels, shown in Figure 3. These are realized in four different rimes: (1) non-nasal, non-glottal; (2) non-nasal, glottal; (3) nasal, non-glottal; and (4) nasal, glottal. In section 4 of the following chart [u] becomes [o] in nasals.

*Figure 3 SJQ vowels. Adapted from E. Cruz, H. Cruz, Cortez Cruz, and Smith-Stark (2007).*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-glottal</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-nasal</td>
<td>i, u</td>
<td>i7, u7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e, o</td>
<td>e7, o7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in, on</td>
<td>in7, on7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>an</td>
<td>an7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6.1.3 Segmental changes in the syllable structure

I previously noted that most eastern varieties of Chatino have lost the penultimate syllable/vowel. SJQ represents a classic example of this innovation. A direct result of this innovation includes some of the following features: the lexical inventory in SJQ is entirely monosyllabic and the words that appear to have more than one syllable are
compounds. Extensive use of contraction and many complex onsets are other consequences of this innovation. Eastern Chatino has a pretty elaborate tone system in all its varieties, including SJQ. Table 5 provides a brief comparison of two items in the conservative variant of Zacatepec (ZAC) and two from SJQ Chatino to illustrate the segmental loss.

Table 5 Segmental innovation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ZAC</th>
<th>SJQ</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xune732</td>
<td>xne72</td>
<td>‘dog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyaja3</td>
<td>yja4</td>
<td>‘tortilla’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6.2 Tones

Chatino has a large inventory of tones used to show contrast at the lexical and morphological level. At the morphological level, tones signal inflection of personal pronouns and aspect marking. In many cases these distinctions are made by tones alone.

In previous studies done on SJQ tones E. Cruz, and Woodbury (2004, 2005), posit 12 tones. Of these, four are level tones: 1, 2, 3, and 4, where tone 1 has the highest pitch and 4 the lowest. E. Cruz and Woodbury also propose five rising tones (10, 20, 32, 40, and 42); and three falling tones (04, 14, and 24).

Tones 1+0, 14+0, and 4+0 contain floating tones ---this being one of the special features of SJQ Chatino. Examples of floating will be provided later in this section.

Example (5) illustrates the different basic shapes of tones in SJQ Chatino.

(5) a. Level tones
kla₁ ‘weaving loom’  
kla² ‘water pool’  
kla³ ‘dream’  
kla⁴ ‘fish, star’

b. Ascending tones
syₐ¹⁰ ‘heart’  
t₇wa²⁰ ‘my mouth’  
t₇wa³₂ ‘your mouth’  
ke₄₂ ‘his/her head’  
skwₐ⁴₀ ‘I threw’

b. Descending tones

t₇wa²₄ ‘forty’  
t₇wa¹₄ ‘cold’  
tyu⁰₄ ‘cute’

3.6.2.1 Tone Sandhi

Another important characteristic of Chatino tones is that they have very regular patterns of tone Sandhi. Sandhi is the change in the pitch of lexical items when words of different tones come together in a word phrase (Yip 2002). Tone Sandhi in SJQ Chatino works as follows: when two lexical items come into contact their tone change and this is due to Sandh. Let’s illustrate this with the words lo⁴ ‘on’, and ke⁴ ‘rock’. When these two word combine to make a prepositional phrase lo⁴ ke³₂ ‘on the rock’, the second word is no longer a low tone four (4), but instead has changed its tone to a rising tone (32). For more information on the patterns of tone Sandhi in SJQ see E. Cruz and Woodbury (2006).

3.6.2.2 Floating tone

As previously stated, tones 1+0 and 14+0, and 4+0 contain floating tones in SJQ Chatino. It is difficult to identify floating tones simply from words in isolation. Floating
tone becomes readily apparent, however, when a word with low weak tone is added to the right of the floating tone. The low weak tone particle 7in⁴ ‘NL.0’ is a useful test for the presence of a floating tone. Below I present examples with this particle that illustrate the floating tone phenomenon.

(6) \[ x7wa^{1+0} \quad 7in^1 \quad \text{ran}^3 \]

\[ \text{COMPL.pay.0} \quad \text{NL.0} \quad \text{it} \]

‘s/he paid it’

(7) \[ x7wa^1 \quad 7in^2 \quad \text{ran}^3 \]

\[ \text{COMPL.drawn.0} \quad \text{NL.0} \quad \text{it} \]

‘he or she drowned it.

When words \( x7wa^{10} \) ‘s/he paid it’ and \( x7wa^1 \) ‘s/he drowned it’, are uttered in isolation, it is very hard to distinguish their difference in pitch, as both occupy nearly the same pitch range. However, in (6) the floating tone raises the tone of the weak word that follows it ----the function word 7in⁴ ‘NL.0’ ---- into a high 0. The tone of the function 7in⁴ changes to a tone 2⁴ because it follows a tone 1. Tone 1 creates a tone 2⁴.

Now consider example (8) below.

(8) \[ t7wa^{24} \quad yja^{24} \]

forty tortillas

‘forty tortillas’

(9) \[ t7wa^{14+0} \quad yja^9 \]

cold tortillas
‘cold tortillas’

The same principle of floating tone applies in the phrase in (9,10). In this example, the carrier of the floating tone is \(t7wa^{14+0}\) ‘cold’. When the word \(yja^d\) ‘tortilla’ follows the floating tone, its tone becomes a high 0. For more on floating tone see E. Cruz and Woodbury (2005), available at http://www.ailla.utexas.org/site/cilla2/ECruzWoodbury_CILLA2_sandhi.pdf.

3.7 Grammar

The basic word order in SJQ Chatino is V S O IO. The great majority of the sentences found in the oratory of SJQ governing authorities followed this word order. The inversion of word order when the object appears in sentence initial position is done in order to achieve focus (E. Cruz, H. Cruz, and Smith-Stark 2007). In the three texts analyzed for this study, no examples of focus were found which indicates that formal speeches in SJQ faithfully follow Chatino canonical word order. Example (10-13) from Ligio’s speech illustrates verb initial sentences.

(10) line 72 Ligio

\[s7wan\ yaan^{0-1}\ k7ya^2,\]

\[s7wa^{24}\ ya7^2\ =Vn\ k7ya^2\]

\[\text{POT.put.0} \quad \text{hand.0} \quad \text{POSS.in} \quad \text{mountain}\]

‘so that we would lend a hand to the mountains’

(11). Line 73 Ligio

\[s7wan^{24}\ yaan^{0-1}\ kchin^d\]
s7wa²⁴ ya⁷² =Vn k'chin
POT.put.0 hand.0 POSS.in community

’so that we would lend a hand to the community’

(12). line 74 Ligio

ndywen4 sten4,
ndywen sti =Vn
HAB.say.0 father.0 POSS.in

’said our fathers’

(13). Line 75 Ligio

ndyween4 y7aan1
ndywen y7an1 =Vn
HAB.say.0 mother.0 POSS.in

’said our mothers’

Each one of the examples (10-13) begins with a verb, the canonical Chatino word order.

3.8 Pronoun system

SJQ Chatino has two types of pronouns: independent and dependent. Independent pronouns in SJQ are words or expressions used to support other words. Dependent
pronouns, in contrast, are enclitics. These enclitics are visible in independent word formation. Table 6 presents the pronoun system in SJQ.

*Table 6* SJQ Chatino pronominal system. Taken from E. Cruz, H. Cruz, Cortez Cruz and Smith-Stark (2007).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal pronoun</th>
<th>Independent pronouns</th>
<th>Dependent (enclitics)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>na\textsuperscript{712}</td>
<td>=n(20,40,4,24,1,3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>7wen\textsuperscript{4}</td>
<td>=(42,1,32,20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3\textsuperscript{1}</td>
<td>First person demonstrative</td>
<td>(no\textsuperscript{4}) nde\textsuperscript{2}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>second person demonstrative</td>
<td>(no\textsuperscript{4}) kwa\textsuperscript{1}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>third person demonstrative</td>
<td>(no\textsuperscript{3}) kwa\textsuperscript{3}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non present demonstrative</td>
<td>(no\textsuperscript{4}) kan\textsuperscript{712}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>definite human and animal</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>indefinite human</td>
<td>=ren\textsuperscript{4}(&lt;nten14 ‘people’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>indefinite non human</td>
<td>=ran\textsuperscript{3} (&lt; na3 ‘thing’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1plin</td>
<td>na\textsuperscript{3}</td>
<td>=Vn(1,10,32,14+0, 1+1, 24+2, 0+1, 42+42, 40+40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1plex</td>
<td>wa\textsuperscript{2}–re\textsuperscript{2}</td>
<td>=wa\textsuperscript{2}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>7wan\textsuperscript{4}</td>
<td>=wan(1, 24, 4, 42)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.9  **Nouns**

One of the characteristics of nouns in SJQ is that they all show possession. Languages use different strategies to express possession in nouns. The prevalent terminologies that scholars use to describe possession in nouns in Mesoamerican indigenous languages are “alienable” and “inalienable” possession. Some linguists, including Eric Campbell (personal communication 2008), are growing uncomfortable with the use of the “alienable-inalienable” terminology because they feel that this does not adequately describe the notion possession that they find in Chatino and many other indigenous languages in Oaxaca, Mexico. Woodbury (personal communication 2008), suggests “intimate” and “non-intimate” possession, as an alternative terminology that could better represent the type of possession in nouns we find in SJQ. Following Woodbury’s suggestion, this study will call “inalienable-alienable” possession: “intimate-non-intimate” possession. The discussion of possession of nouns is included in this study because the three texts that are the subject of analysis use these types of constructions in extensive, diverse, and novel ways to construct poetic language. Further discussion of this topic will be presented in Chapter 5.

3.9.1  **Intimate possession of nouns**

Nouns showing intimate possession in SJQ Chatino include body parts, kinship relations, and various items of clothing. Usually the garments that show intimate
possession are items that are essential for everyday life including blouses, girdles, and shoes. Intimately possessed nouns are expressed grammatically by fusing the marking of possession to the noun. Example (14) taken from speech illustrates the use of intimately possessed nouns.

(14) a. line 72 Ligio

s7wan yaan70-1 k7ya2,

s7wa24 ya72 =Vn k7ya2

POT.put.0 hand.0 POSS.in mountain

‘so that we would lend a hand to the mountains’

b. line 73 Ligio

s7wan24 yaan70-1 kchin4

s7wa24 ya72 =Vn k'chin

POT.put.0 hand.0 POSS.in community

‘so that we would lend a hand to the community’

Example (14) is parallel couplet which shows the use of an intimately possessed noun yaan7242 ‘our hand’. Intimate possessions in these nouns are fused directly to the lexical nouns in the couplet.
3.9.2. Non-intimate possessed nouns

“Non-Intimate” possessed nouns in SJQ are marked by a following locational noun particle 7in' ‘his/her’ (NL). Example (15-16) taken from Mende’s speech illustrates the use of non-intimate possessed nouns.

(15) line 85 Mende

ndya\textsuperscript{32}ra\textsuperscript{0} <p> ja\textsuperscript{4}<p> ngwa\textsuperscript{2} 7a\textsuperscript{1} cha\textsuperscript{7} 7ne\textsuperscript{14} jnya\textsuperscript{3} 7na\textsuperscript{42} \\
ndya\textsuperscript{32}=ra\textsuperscript{0} ja ngwa\textsuperscript{2} 7a cha\textsuperscript{7} \\
sometimes NEG COMPL.be.0 EMPH COMP \\

7ne\textsuperscript{140} =Vn ynya\textsuperscript{3} 7na\textsuperscript{42} \\
PROG.do.0 1.in work PRO.POSS.A.1.in \\
‘sometimes we weren’t able to do our own work,’

Example (15) illustrates that the non-intimate possession of the lexical noun ynya\textsuperscript{3} ‘work’ is periphrastically marked with the possessive agentive pronoun 7na\textsuperscript{42} ‘ours’.

(16) line 102 Mende

kw\textsuperscript{i724} na\textsuperscript{3} 7in\textsuperscript{24} chin\textsuperscript{32} nka\textsuperscript{24} ran\textsuperscript{3} \\
kwi\textsuperscript{724} na\textsuperscript{3} 7in chin\textsuperscript{4} nka\textsuperscript{24} ran\textsuperscript{3} \\
that thing NL.0 community PROG.be.0 PRO.3.inanim

73
‘belongs to the community’

The non intimate possession in (16) is indicated by the noun locational particle 7in ‘to him’ which follows the na³ ‘thing, property’ word.

3.9.2. Possession of Community
The notion of community and anything related to it has a special relevance in SJQ. This concept has a special marking in the language and it is one of the central themes in the ritual oratory of the authorities of SJQ.

In SJQ expressions such as “this is my community,” “she and I come from the same community,” and “this is my house,” is marked by the particle: -tyin following the noun. The etymology of -tyin is as of yet unidentified. Table 7 illustrates the use of the particle –tyin.

Table 7 Uses of the -tyin⁴ to marked possession of anything related to community.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chatino</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xi⁴ – tyin⁴</td>
<td>my community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>town</td>
<td>possessive particle.community.1SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nt7an¹ tyin¹</td>
<td>my house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>possessive particle.1SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t7a¹² xi⁴ tyin¹</td>
<td>someone who is from my</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relative</td>
<td>possessive particle.community.1SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>community</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples (17-18) taken from Noyo’s and Mende’s speeches illustrate the use of the particle -tyin.

(17) line 124 (Noyo)

\[\text{nga}^{24} \text{ xa}^{20} \text{ tyin}^{242}\]

\[\text{nga}^{24} \quad \text{xa}^{0-}\text{tyin}^{24} \quad =\text{Vn}\]

\text{PROG .be.0} \quad \text{community.0} \quad 1.\text{in}

'Because this is our community'

Example (17) shows particle –tyin marking the possession of community.

(18) line 80 (Mende)

\[\text{jnya}^{3} \text{ ndya}^{32} \text{ 7na}^{42} 7\text{an}^{4} \text{ tyi:n}^{14} <P> <\text{Break}>\]

\[\text{ynya}^{3} \quad \text{ndya}^{32} \quad 7\text{na}^{42} \quad [7\text{an}^{4} \text{ tyi}^{4}] \quad =\text{Vn}\]

\text{work} \quad \text{PROG .have.0} \quad \text{NL.1.in} \quad \text{house.0} \quad =\text{PRO.A.in}

'our work at home <P>’

Example (18) shows particle –tyin marking the possession of house. The oratory of SJQ governing authorities reveals many metaphors, metonyms, personifications, and paradigmatic selections with lexical nouns that pertain to community and the context that surrounds it. Section 2 will offer further discussion on this topic.
3.10  Verbs

Verbs in SJQ Chatino are highly fusional and irregular. The small, monosyllabic verb stems in SJQ contain segmental and suprasegmental features that mark person and aspect. Aspect is usually marked by prefixation and sometimes the aspect is only identifiable by tone. As previously stated inflection for person is also indicated by tone. The form of the verb in SJQ occurs in the following structure.

(Prefix)+stem+personal inflection

Examples (19) from Mendes’ speech illustrate the typical use of verbs.

(19) line 90 Mende

tykwi74 7a1 wan14 7o1

tykwi7 7a wan 7o1

POT.speak.0 EMPH PRO.A.2p to

‘do not cease to counsel’

Example (19) shows a verb inflected for potential aspect and third person.
3.10.1 Aspect

Chatino encodes four aspects: completive (COMPL), potential (POT), progressive (PROG), and habitual (HAB). Table 9 presents a paradigm for the verb “to eat”.

Table 8 Paradigm of the verb to eat in SJQ Chatino.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal pronouns</th>
<th>Completive</th>
<th>Progressive</th>
<th>Habitual</th>
<th>Potential</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A 1SG</td>
<td>na7\textsuperscript{42}</td>
<td>Ykun\textsuperscript{1}</td>
<td>Ntykun\textsuperscript{1}</td>
<td>ntykun\textsuperscript{30}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B 2SG</td>
<td>7wen\textsuperscript{4}</td>
<td>yku\textsuperscript{42}</td>
<td>ntyku\textsuperscript{42}</td>
<td>ntyku\textsuperscript{42}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C 3SG</td>
<td>A noun (person, animal, etc)</td>
<td>yku\textsuperscript{4}</td>
<td>ntyku\textsuperscript{32}</td>
<td>ntyku\textsuperscript{4}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D 1Pl In</td>
<td>na\textsuperscript{4}</td>
<td>ykuun\textsuperscript{242}</td>
<td>ntykuun\textsuperscript{1}</td>
<td>ntykuun\textsuperscript{242}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excl</td>
<td>re2 + =wa\textsuperscript{42}</td>
<td>yku1 wa\textsuperscript{42}</td>
<td>ntyku\textsuperscript{32} wa\textsuperscript{42}</td>
<td>ntyku\textsuperscript{4} wa\textsuperscript{42}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 2Pl</td>
<td>7wan\textsuperscript{3}+ =wan\textsuperscript{4}</td>
<td>yku\textsuperscript{4} wan\textsuperscript{4}</td>
<td>ntyku\textsuperscript{32} wan\textsuperscript{4}</td>
<td>ntyku\textsuperscript{4} wan\textsuperscript{4}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The four aspects in Table 9 are widely represented in the speech of authorities of SJQ. For instance, Mende’s speech reveals that at the beginning he mostly uses the completive aspect. Towards the end of the speech, Mende has recourse more often to the potential aspect.
3.10.2 Motion verbs

Chatino motion verbs “to go” “to come” and “to reach a destination” have a very special characteristic. Each one of these verbs in SJQ has at least two forms. Moreover, the meaning of each verb encodes a special notion, which I will call base following Kuiper and Merrifield (1975); and Speck and Pickett (1976). The meaning and interpretive worth of the notion base relies on very specific cultural knowledge, conventions, and circumstances (Woodbury, 1993). A base can be an individual’s home, an important ceremonial place in the Chatino region, or the main town of SJQ.

Some ways in which these verbs are used are as follows: if someone said “I am going to the center of SJQ”, the verb *kya* to go to base’ would be used, but if a person were heading down to one of the hamlets in the outskirts of SJQ, the verb *tsa* ‘go to non base (NB)’ would be used. Example (20) from Ligio and Mende’s speech illustrates the use of this verb. In this example Ligio offers a reminiscence of the times when the community guards came to the city hall to fulfill their post. He is using the verb *ngyan* ‘to go to base’.

(20) line 88

```
x7i2 nde tii1 ngyan wan32 sa4-na10 wan1
x7i2 nde ti1 ngyan wan

briefly here EMPH HAB.B.come.0 PRO.A.2p

sa4-na10 wan
```

78
‘you came back briefly to fulfill your week’

The next example from Mende illustrates the use of ‘go to non-base.’

(21) line 151 Mende

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{la}^{20} & \text{ nga}^{24} \text{ no}^{32} \text{ nga}^{24} \text{ tye32 wan}^{4} \text{ tsa}^{14} \text{ wan}^{32} \\
\text{la}^{20} & \text{ nga}^{24} \text{ no} \text{ nga}^{24} \text{ tye}^{32} \text{ wan} \\
\text{wherever} & \text{ PROG.be.0 REL PROG.be.0 feeling} \text{ PRO.A.2p} \\
\text{tsa}^{24} & \text{ wan} \\
\text{POT.NB.go.0} & \text{ PRO.A.2p} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘wherever you feel like going,’

In example (21) Mende is advising the topiles to come together and go somewhere after they have been released. Mende uses the form \text{tsa}^{24} ‘to go outside base’.

Similar characteristics have been described in Mixtec (Kuiper, and Merrifield 1975) and in San Lorenzo Texmelucan (Papabuco) and Isthmus Zapotec subsequently (Speck and Pickett 1976). This concludes a brief introduction to Chatino linguistic structure.
SECTION 2: ANALYSIS OF CEREMONIAL ORATORY

Chapter 4: rhetorical, poetical, and linguistic strategies

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This section presents the most salient patterns of poetic, rhetorical and linguistic tools used in the oratory of SJQ authorities to convey their messages more effectively. The section has three parts. The first part presents the text of Mende’s speech to familiarize the reader with the SJQ authorities’ oratory. The second part describes and analyzes the most salient poetic, rhetorical, and linguistic elements and strategies found in SJQ oratory. This part will take into account Mende, Noyo, and Ligio’s texts. The third part presents the analysis of Mende’s text.

Text Example 1, provides a poetic representation of Mende’s entire speech. The left column contains the Chatino language and the right column has the English translation. Here, the <P> represents pauses, and words marked with [:] were performed more slowly, almost in a drawl-like manner. The lines in the text were divided by taking into account parallel structures and pauses <P>.

Text Example 1. Poetic representation of Mende's speech.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cha7³ t cyna²⁴</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cha7³ no²⁴ ty7wi::²⁴ cha7³ tlyu² ri7² 7wan¹</td>
<td>in order for you to have forgiveness within you</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
in order for you to be we called by us [tonight], hm?

as your heart permits you, hm?

where we sat

where we stood, hm?

you were our hands

you were our feet

you were.

you went [carried out]

any task

any work we ordered, hm?

sometimes we scolded you

sometimes with kindness we spoke

sometimes wrongly we spoke

sometimes

just god was

the one who was patient with us

the one who gave strength to us

the one who gave wisdom to us

that one/this way

We went, we traveled, hm?
on behalf of the mountains
on behalf of the community, hm?
We did not go [carry out this task]
for our own selfish reasons
for our own wishes
it was because
the mountains put us here
the community put us here, hm?
that is why we spoke
that is why we were [authorities]
that is why we dwelled
to care for
all there is
that belongs to the mountains
that belongs to the community
that belongs, hm? And
in the same way came our
our fathers and mothers (our ancestors)
the ones who were contributors
the ones who have been community, hm?
42 kwi7\textsuperscript{24} wan\textsuperscript{04} ti\textsuperscript{2} tsa\textsuperscript{14} te\textsuperscript{20} lo\textsuperscript{14}, in\textsuperscript{20} and things should be the same in the future, hm?

43 kwi\textsuperscript{24} jan\textsuperscript{42} 7a\textsuperscript{24} tyi\textsuperscript{32} 7o\textsuperscript{1} may that not be lost and

44 kwi\textsuperscript{24} jan\textsuperscript{42} 7a\textsuperscript{24} xya\textsuperscript{2} may that not be changed

45 ni\textsuperscript{4} cha\textsuperscript{1} kwa\textsuperscript{32} ra\textsuperscript{1} for all time as long as

46 nt\textsuperscript{7een}\textsuperscript{20} 7ya\textsuperscript{2} the mountains are here

47 nt\textsuperscript{7en}\textsuperscript{4} kchin\textsuperscript{32}, in\textsuperscript{20} 7o\textsuperscript{1} the community is here, hm?

III

48 sya\textsuperscript{1} ndya\textsuperscript{04} ri\textsuperscript{72} tye\textsuperscript{32} 7wan\textsuperscript{32}, in\textsuperscript{20} as your heart permits [you], hm?

49 ngwa\textsuperscript{2} wan\textsuperscript{1} x7na\textsuperscript{1} you commanded

50 sa\textsuperscript{4} ska\textsuperscript{32} yu\textsuperscript{4} skan\textsuperscript{4} other guards

51 sa4 ska32 yu4 xwe32 la24 other younger people

52 sa4 ska32,in20 others, hm?

53 7wan\textsuperscript{4}, in\textsuperscript{20} you, hm?

54 lo\textsuperscript{24} wan\textsuperscript{32} jnya\textsuperscript{3} 7in\textsuperscript{24} yu\textsuperscript{24} you gave them tasks

55 7ne\textsuperscript{42} wan\textsuperscript{4} ma\textsuperscript{4} nda\textsuperscript{14} 7in\textsuperscript{20} yu\textsuperscript{24}, in\textsuperscript{20} you sent them on missions

56 ya\textsuperscript{42} yu\textsuperscript{4} they went

57 7an\textsuperscript{4} yu\textsuperscript{4}, in\textsuperscript{20} 7o\textsuperscript{1} they traveled, hm? And

58 ne\textsuperscript{2}, in\textsuperscript{20} now, hm?

59 wa\textsuperscript{2} x7we\textsuperscript{3} 7in\textsuperscript{24} ndyo\textsuperscript{14} si\textsuperscript{0} cha\textsuperscript{73} no\textsuperscript{24} wa: we thank god for having

60 nt\textsuperscript{7a}\textsuperscript{42} jyan\textsuperscript{4} 7na\textsuperscript{42} completed our year
61 waⁿt7aⁿ ko7³ for having completed our moon [month]
62 nt7aⁿ kla¹ 7naⁿ² in²⁰ completed our star [day], hm?
63 laⁿ lyanⁿ² teen²⁴² We only need to be released from our obligations
64 laⁿ ty7onⁿ²⁰ ten²⁴² we only need to leave
65 7o¹ jnya³ with our contribution (here)
66 7o¹ chin³² 7naⁿ²², in²⁰ 7o¹ with our community, hm? And
67 Cha³ no²⁴ IV
68 ti² ndya¹⁴ ri⁷² wa⁴² tykw⁷⁴ wa⁴² an issue
69 ti² ndya¹⁴ ri⁷² wa⁴² ktsa¹⁴ wa⁴² 7wan⁴, in²⁰ we still want to express to you
70 cha³ no²⁴ we still want to convey to you, hm?
71 s7we³ ti²⁴ n⁷ne²⁴ wan³² our wish that
72 s7we³ ti²⁴ kan⁷⁴² wan⁴ you show your best behavior
73 s7we³ ti²⁴, in²⁰ you show your best manners, the best, hm?
74 s7we³ ti²⁴ ty7oon²⁰ let us leave in a dignified way
75 s7we³ ti²⁴ kaan⁷²², in²⁰ Let us leave in the best way, hm?
76 ndyo¹⁴ s₁ :⁰ 7ne⁰⁴ yu³² ra¹⁴ 7na⁴² may god helps us
77 no²⁰ wa² lan²¹ when we are released from our obligations
78 wa² kaan⁷⁴² when we have finished our term
79 kan⁷²⁰ kya¹⁴ jy⁷wi³² reen⁷² then, we will remembered
80 jnya\(^3\) ndya\(^{32}\) 7na\(^{42}\) 7an\(^{4}\) tyi:n\(^{14}\) our work at home

81 Cha\(^7\) ti\(^2\) jin\(^1\) yaa\(^7\) so that we continue to exist,

82 cha\(^7\) ti\(^2\) jin\(^1\) jy7wi\(^{20}\) 7na\(^{42}\) so that we continue to survive,

83 7we\(^3\) 7a\(^{24}\) no\(^{24}\) because

84 kwaan\(^{14}\), 7een\(^{242}\) while we sat, resided [presided]

85 ndya\(^{32}\) ra\(^{10}\) ja\(^4\) ngwa\(^2\) 7a\(^1\) cha\(^7\) 7ne\(^{14}\) jnya\(^3\) sometimes we weren't able

86 ndya\(^{32}\) ra\(^{10}\) jna\(^{7}\) nt\(^{7}\)en\(^{24}\) jnya\(^3\) 7na\(^{42}\) sometimes our work [harvest] got spoiled

87 ndya\(^{32}\)-ra\(^1\)

V

88 ja\(^4\) ne\(^1\), 7o\(^1\) kan\(^{742}\) cha\(^7\) a\(^{24}\) no\(^{32}\) ti\(^2\) nx\(^7\)ya\(^{20}\) yes indeed, and that is why we call on you

wa\(^{42}\) 7wan\(^4\), in\(^{20}\) [tonight], hm?

89 cha\(^7\) no\(^{24}\) so that [you]

90 tykwi\(^4\) 7a\(^1\) wan\(^{14}\) 7o\(^1\) do not cease to counsel

91 sa\(^4\) ska\(^{32}\) yu\(^4\) skan\(^4\) do not cease to advise the other guards [your

92 sa\(^4\) ska\(^{32}\) yu\(^1\) xwe\(^{32}\) la\(^{24}\) subordinates]

other younger men,

93 sa\(^4\) ska\(^{32}\), in\(^{20}\) others, hm?

94 cha\(^7\) no\(^{24}\) so that

95 a\(^4\) n\(^{7}\)ne\(^1\) yu\(^{32}\) rwi\(^{14}\) du\(^0\) they don't make any noise

96 ja\(^4\) n\(^{7}\)ne\(^1\) yu\(^{32}\) ,in\(^{20}\) so that they make none, hm?
so that they don't take anything that belongs to this place,

take nothing, hm?

because

all that is here

inside this city hall, hm?

belongs to the community

right and

the same [things] will be used

when the new administration comes

when they come, hm?

and on the same way they will need

they will need materials [to carry out

they will need it all, hm? And

that is why we still call on you, hm?

so that

you don't make any noise, don't

[so that you don't] scream
Because as you know now, hm?

some of you

will be off duty for only one year,
or

will be off duty for only two years,
you will fulfill a new role,
you will have new wisdom to
you will have new experiences to
you will have new things [to offer],
always, hm?

we will always return
to this city hall, that's right
And that is why I hope that
We leave in good standing,
we leave in good terms
the best, hm?  And

Because in some years, they do this hm?
they become so unpleasant as if they would never have to come to city hall.

yes, they do

they sometimes scream,

they often mock their replacements

the incoming administration

they stand around to urinate [in]

they do;

they act foolish,

on the grass

anywhere, and

that's why I ask you not to act in this

That's why we still speak to you, hm?

in these humble few words to you

few words can be shared among us,

that's why when the time comes to

leave inconspicuously,
148 na⁵ ti¹ hmm inconspicuously, okay
149 ska⁴ 7a¹ nya²⁴, in²⁰ ideally, hm?
150 xo¹ ki³ t7a⁴² wan⁴ you would come together
151 nga⁴ wan⁴ and go
152 la⁰⁴ nga²⁴ no³² nga²⁴ tye³² wan⁴ tsa¹⁴ wan³² wherever you feel like going,
153 la⁰⁴ nga²⁴ no³² nga²⁴ tye³² wan⁴, in²⁰ wherever you feel like it, hm?
154 nga⁴ wan⁴ ndon⁴² ri⁵² wan¹ you are going with a feeling of contentment
155 stu¹ 7wan⁰ nga²⁴ wan²⁴ o²⁰ cha⁷³ ja⁴-ne¹ you are going with a feeling of
156 kwan²⁰ ti²⁴ 7an²⁴ 7ya¹ xa³ kya²⁰, in²⁰ wa² and in this manner a new day will
157 nt7o¹ wan²⁴ 7o¹ jnya³ 7o¹ chin³² wan⁴, in³⁰ you would have successfully
7o¹

IX

158 kwi⁷¹⁴ wan²⁰²⁴ sa²⁰ 7a¹ ti⁷⁰⁴ 7wan¹, in²⁰ and as you know, hm?
159 wa² nda²⁰ wan¹⁴ kwe²-nta¹, in²⁰ as you realized, hm?
160 wa² 7nya²⁰¹⁴ nga²⁴ wan¹ ska⁴ when you were first
161 tkwa¹ skan¹⁴, in²⁰ or second guardian
162 ndya;⁴ no⁴ nga²⁴ ka³² skan⁴, ndya⁴ all the sacred sticks, all of them
163 nt⁷en⁴ cha⁷³ kyan¹⁴ 7o²⁰ wan²⁴ jan⁷⁴² you have to bring them back,
164 nt⁷en⁴ cha⁷³ tya³ wan²⁴ jan⁷⁴² you have to return them
165 nt⁷en⁴² cha⁷³ 7en⁴ you have to
166 dicho since

89
that one faith that has been that one condition
that is one faith that has been that is one condition
that one We do not know who started this tradition, hm?
It was our fathers and their fathers before them that started this tradition
And that's why we called on you
if only to convey these few thoughts
hmmmm

4.2 POETIC TOOLS
As noted in the introduction to this paper, the oratories of SJQ governmental authorities display the use of regular and recursive patterns of poetics, rhetoric, and linguistics. These elements are expressed, arranged, and juxtaposed in a very skillful and artistic way. The principal devices that mark the rhetorical and poetic units include syntactic and semantic parallel structures, metaphors, metonyms, contrasts, ellipses, and
lexical pairs of homonyms, synonyms, paraphrase, and contrasting words. The most
salient linguistic elements found in these oratories include systematic patterns in
phonology, morphology, and lexical semantics. When spoken aloud these texts reveal
regular prosodic patterns of rhetorical and grammatical pauses, as well as sharp, striking,
and clever use of a large number of tones which are part of the phonological inventory of
SJQ Chatino.

The pauses, together with the interjection particles in\textsuperscript{20} ['hm?']; conjunctive
particles 7o' ['and or with']; adverbial particles kwi\textsuperscript{24} ['that same one or that one’]; and
kan\textsuperscript{42} [distant demonstrative adverb (DEM-DIST)], appear to be strong markers of
juncture. They mark the transitions and endings of many lines, poetic stanzas, paragraphs,
and thematic divisions within the texts. These oratories also show great phonetic
variability in the way the orators pronounce many lexical items in the language. Section
4.8 presents examples of this phenomenon.

Some of the previously mentioned markers of juncture (namely kwi\textsuperscript{24} ‘that same
one’ and kan\textsuperscript{42} ‘DEM-DIST’) are strategically situated in the text to have a double
function. They function both as anaphoric elements and as particles of transition. In their
anaphoric role, they are the last element in the poetic stanza, and they acquire their
meaning within the poetic stanza. In my analysis of the parallel structures of SJQ, I refer
to these anaphoric elements as frame tags. Examples are provided in (4.4.7). Words that
act as frame tags are also frequently particles of transition. As such, they anticipate the
next stanza.
4.2.1 *Dummy kan742*

The word *kan742* ‘do so, be so’ also functions as a dummy verb. Its role is to echo and emphasize the message from the first line. This verb always occupies the second line in a parallel stanza. Even though the form of *kan742* resembles the potential aspect, *kan742* does not have any equivalent in the completive, habitual, or progressive aspect. The form of *kan742* remains unchanged, regardless of the aspect of the first line of the stanza. The use of *kan742* is very conspicuous in both formal and informal speech in SJQ. Mende and Noyo use this form in their oratory. By way of illustration, in examples (22-24) I present a triple parallel stanza from Noyo’s speech. The *kan742* verb is in example (23).

(22) Line 89 Noyo

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\textit{s7we}³ \textit{ti}²\textit{ne}²\textit{wan}²}\n\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\textit{s7we}³ \textit{ti} \textit{7ne}²\textit{wan}}\n\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{good very POT.do.0 PRO.A.2p}\n\end{array}
\]

‘[be] good’

(23) line 90 Noyo

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\textit{s7we}3 \textit{ti24} \textit{kaan742} \textit{wan4}}\n\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\textit{s7we}3 \textit{ti} \textit{kan742} \textit{wan}}\n\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{good very POT.do.0 PRO.A.2p}\n\end{array}
\]

‘you show your best manners,’

(24) line 91 Noyo

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\textit{92}}\n\end{array}
\]
Example (24) repeats the first part of the expression in example (22).

4.2.2 First person plural inclusive pronoun inflection

These texts also show the preferences of the orators to use the first person plural inclusive (1.in) inflection with verbs and noun possession. Examples (25-28) show the use of the first person plural inclusive in noun possession.

(25) line 9 Ligio

ykween\textsuperscript{724} chin\textsuperscript{4} 7nya\textsuperscript{24},
ykwi7 \textsuperscript{Vn} chin\textsuperscript{4} =nya\textsuperscript{24}

\texttt{COMPL.speak.0 Lin} ugly \texttt{STAT.look.0}

‘We spoke wrongly to you.’

Example (25) shows the inflection of (1.in) in a verb.
s7wan\textsuperscript{24} yaan\textsuperscript{701} kchin\textsuperscript{4}

\textsc{POT.put.0} hand.0 \textsc{POSS.in} community

‘s\quad So\quad that\quad we\quad would\quad lend\quad a\quad hand\quad to\quad the\quad community,’

Example (26) shows the (1.in) in the noun ya7\textsuperscript{2} ‘his/her hand’.

(27) line 74 Ligio

ndywen\textsuperscript{4} sten\textsuperscript{4},

HAB.say.0 father.0 Poss.in

‘said our fathers,’

Example (27) shows a (1.in) in the noun father.

(28) line 75 Ligio

ndywen\textsuperscript{4} y7aan\textsuperscript{1}

HAB.say.0 mother.0 Poss.in

‘said our mothers,’
In Examples (28) the second line in the parallel verse couplet *y7an* ‘her/his mother’ is also marked with (1.in) person inflection. This is the second line of a parallel couplet. The first line of the couplet is example (27).

The first person inclusive (1.in) renders a highly ambiguous message, one which lends itself to many interpretations. In example (25) above, Ligio admits that he and the higher-ranking authorities spoke wrongly to the lower-ranking authorities. With the use of the (1.in), Ligio’s message makes it sound as if everyone in the room (Ligio, the other higher-ranking authorities, and even the community guards) spoke wrongly. In an informal setting or in colloquial speech, Ligio might have used the first person plural exclusive which I gloss as (1.ex) as opposed to the (1.in) to express his message more clearly.

With the use of (1.in) inflection, Ligio and the other SJQ orators compromise clarity to promote group solidarity, community spirit, collective work, and equality. They use this inflection to reinforce cohesion within the community, rather than isolation, individuality, or superiority. As we saw in Chapter 1, a great part of the life of SJQ residents revolves around working collectively on community projects such as fixing roads, surveying community boundaries, and feeding the entire community during times of celebration.

At the grammatical level these texts reveal creative uses of noun possession. One example of this is found in the oratory delivered by Mende in which he uses the particle ‘*7na*’ ‘ours’ to periphrastically mark an intimately possessed noun ‘*ya7*’ ‘hand’. This noun does not have a periphrastic marking in everyday speech. The word *yaan* ‘our
hand’ in everyday speech becomes \( ya7^2 na^4 \) ‘our hand’ in poetic speech. To say \( ya7 na7^4 \) ‘our hand,’ the poetic form, in everyday language, would sound unfamiliar and marked to the native speaker of SJQ Chatino.

Another crucial feature of these oratories is the intentional vagueness on the part of the orators. Factors contributing to this vagueness include use of (1.in) first person plural inflection, presented above, metaphors, metonyms, creative use of noun possession, and initial adverbs. An additional factor of these ambiguities is the inherently ambiguous nature of many lexical items of the language itself. The analysis of Mende’s speech in Chapter (5) provides illustrations of these ambiguities. Subsequent sections in the text will point out further uses of the (1.in) personal inflection.

### 4.2.3 Formulaic expressions

Many of the parallel stanzas in these texts are drawn from formulaic expressions that are part of the community’s collective and cultural knowledge. These stanzas are performed from memory by orators and community members. The most talented speakers are well versed in these expressions. The examples in (29) and (30) illustrate some of the most commonly used expressions related to governmental duties.

\[(29)\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Chatino</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ngwa(^3) wan(^1) ya(^2) na(^4),</td>
<td>‘you were our hands’,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ngwa(^2) wan(^1) kya(^2) na(^4)</td>
<td>‘you were our feet’,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mende, Noyo, and Ligio, and other community members use the metaphorical couplet expression presented in example (29) above to refer to the community guards.

Community guards are known by everyone in the community as hands and feet. In everyday conversation, men and women in the community use the same expression ya7 ‘hand’ and kya7 ‘foot’ in example (29) as a metaphor for a person fulfilling the post of community guard. For example, Tiburcia Baltazar, a woman from Cieneguilla, San Juan Quiahije, told me in 2000 that the community guards came to her house on behalf of the authorities to request her presence at city hall to resolve a dispute she had had with another member of the community. In the example (30), I present her conversation with the community guards. The places where she uses the same metaphors that the authorities use in their oratory are underlined and printed in boldface.

(30)  Tiburcia Baltazar

na73  7a24  7wan32,  nda1  wan24  t7i32

poor    EMPH NL.2p  COMPL.give.0  PRO.A.2p  pain

‘you poor things you are causing yourselves pain’

7wan4  nt7an4  wan4  cha73

NL.2p  PROG.go around.0  PRO.A.2p  because

‘you are going around (coming here) only because’
In example (30), Tiburcia uses the same metaphorical couplet as the one used by the authorities in (29) to address the community guards. By addressing the community guards in this manner, Tiburcia shows respect for the guards.

The following is another commonly used formulaic expression in SJQ found in both Mende and Noyo’s speech.

(31) **Chatino**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chatino</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60  nt7a⁴[jvan]⁴7na⁴²</td>
<td>completed our <strong>year</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61  wa² nt7a⁴[ko]³</td>
<td>for having completed our <strong>moon</strong> [month]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62  nt7a⁴[kla]⁴7na⁴², in²⁸</td>
<td>completed our <strong>star</strong> [day], hm?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In example (31), Mende and Noyo use the triplet parallel structure to tell the audience that their term in city hall has come to an end.

In general the orators are free to combine the formulaic expressions presented above and to improvise or add extemporaneous comments, as they see fit.

The marking devices used by SJQ orators are also very effective at awakening powerful emotions in the audience including memories from the past, nostalgia, and a sense of belonging, pride, and endearment that is deeply connected to the community and the surrounding mountains. But most importantly the use of these devices aims to cultivate a new generation of community leaders and to maintain the cohesion and continuity of the community.

4.3 General issues of parallel verses

William Bright (1990) and Barbara Johnstone (1991) state that the use of parallelism as a device of verbal art has a long history in all parts of the world. Johnstone states that parallelism is “especially well known as a defining characteristic of those portions of the Hebrew Bible known as the poetic books” (p. 21). She also states that in the “Semitic oral traditions, verses were structured around conventional fixed pairs of words, each member of the pairs occurring in structurally identical settings” (p. 21). Here Johnstone provides the translated version of a parallel couplet from Psalm 24:2:
For he hath found it upon the seas,
and established it upon the floods. (p. 21)

Parallel structures such as these examples of what Johnstone terms “canonical parallelism” (1991) are also found in many parts of the world such as in Rotinese ritual language Fox (1971) and in the discourses of Mesoamerican indigenous languages.

Parallelism is also a widespread feature of discourse among many indigenous cultures of Mesoamerica. The best known studies of parallelism in Mexico are studies of the Mayan and Nahuatl languages spoken in southern and central Mexico respectively. Victoria Bricker (1974, 2008) and John Haviland (2007) have done extensive work describing the parallel couplets in the ritual prayers and narratives in Tzozil, spoken in Zinancantan, Chiapas, and Dennis Tedlock (1987) has carried out extensive studies of parallel structures from the ancient writings of the Popol Vuh and modern K’iche’ contemporary speeches such as songs, prayers, and narratives.

“Bricker (1974) cites research showing that Central American Indians of the Colonial period often used semantic couplets to express their thoughts (Leon Portilla, 1969), and shows that this is still the case in the Mayan cultures of Zinancantan, Chiapas” (Johnstone, 1991, p. 22). Bricker also states that Tzotzil formal genres are expressed as semantic couplets. Among her examples are these lines that I present below.

Well, grandfather,  
Lord  
How long have you been waiting here for my earth?  
How long have you been waiting here for my mud? (Bricker 1974, p.369).
“The second set of lines in the example presented above are syntactically identical; this is characteristic, Bricker says, of the contexts in which most Tzotzil couplets occur” (Johnstone, 1991, p. 23). “Prayers, songs, and arguments in Tzotzil according to Bricker are always and entirely expressed in couplets, although the structure of myths may be looser” (p. 23). Similarly Haviland (2007) states that parallel constructions “often in couplets, found in Mesoamerican indigenous communities, involves what has been called stereoscopic imagery in which lexical doublets or triplets combine to provide conventionalized images for unitary concepts: ‘earth/mud’ for the body, ‘hand/foot/’ for agency, etc” (abstract).

Gary Gossen (1974) has carried out extensive analysis of parallel constructions in the Tzotzil language spoken in Chamula, Chiapas. Gossen cites a Tzotzil song which he says uses semantic couplets that occur in parallel lines like the following.

It is the day of your fiesta,
It is the day of your great joy,
Great San Juan; Great Patron. (Gossen 1974, p. 411)

“Gossen shows that many speech genres in Chamula involve semantic couplets and parallel syntax, including court speech, political oratory, and children’s improvised songs” (Johnstone, 1991, p.23).

Bright (1990) examined the parallel patterns found in formal oratory in the “Classical Nahuatl language as spoken by the Aztecs of Mexico” (p. 439). The particular
texts Bright examined “form the account of a theological debate of 1524, between twelve Spanish Franciscan friars sent to Mexico by Pope Adrian VI and Emperor Charles V, and a group of native Aztec priests and scholars” (p. 439). Bright states that the “proceedings of these debates were reported in both Nahuatl and Spanish by Fray Bernardino de Sahagun, who is often called the first ethnographer of the New World, working in collaboration with native elders” (p. 439). The resulting works are entitled Coloquios y Doctrina Cristiana. The specific section of the Coloquios that Bright examined are the parallel structures in Chapter VII. In this chapter the Aztec spokesmen present their reply to the arguments of the Christian missionaries.

Upon examination of the Coloquios, it is apparent, Bright (1990) says, that parallelism was developed to an exceptional degree in the genre of formal oratory among the Aztecs. He cites Garibay (1935) ² who states that parallel constructions are “the same thoughts expressed twice, clothed in two different images, it is like a double stroke of the hammer which drives in the nail” (p. 421).

Bright (1990) states that the Coloquios contain many examples of a particular type of couplet that has a metaphorical function. Such constructions have long been recognized by Nahuatl scholars under the name of difrasismo (Holtker, 1930; Garibay, 1953; Leon-Portilla, 1985). The following paragraph from Bright presents examples of difrasismo in the Coloquio text.

---

² A Mexican Catholic priest and notable researcher and translator of primary Nahuatl source documents whose publications in the 1930s and 1940s first brought Nahuatl literature to widespread public attention.
In *at' in tepetl*, lit. 'the water, the mountain' (879), i.e. 'the city'. Other examples are in *tloque* in nahuaque, lit. 'the lord of the adjacent, the lord of the near' (886), i.e. 'the Omnipresent One, God'; *cententli ontentli*, lit. '(with) one lip, (with) two lips' (913), i.e. 'speaking indirectly'; in itop in *ipetlacal*, lit. 'its coffer, its chest' (932), i.e. 'that which is hidden'; in *impetl in imicpal*, lit. 'their mat, their seat' (1001), i.e. 'their throne, their power'; and in *cuittlapilli in atlapalli*, lit. 'the tail, the wing' (1030), i.e. 'the people'. (p. 440)

Bright (1990) presents the following example to illustrate a metaphorical couplet in the *Coloquios*.

(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 (p. 440)

Bright (1990) states that “such metaphorical couplets can occur in a variety of morphological contexts, both inflectional and derivational” (p. 440).

Bright (1990) also says that the couplets in the *Coloquios* “show two types of similarities: (a) parallel morphosyntactic structure, and (b) semantic relationships of synonymy or close paraphrase, as opposed to those of contrast” (p. 440). He provides the following examples to illustrate this point.

(4) in *a-hua-que*  1044 the lords of the water,
the water-owner-PL

in *tepe-hua-que* the lords of the mountain

the mountain-owner-PL (= the lords of the city). (p. 440)

### 4.4 Parallel Verses in SJQ

Orators frame parallel structures and repetitions in order to emphasize key ideas, maintain audience interest, and provide texture and cohesion in narrative texts. By using parallel structures, the orator is assured that the message is effectively communicated to the listener or target audience (Bricker, 2008).

Similar to Maya and Nahuatl languages, SJQ Chatino utilizes parallel verses in many aspects of discourse. Given that this pattern is very salient in the language, the divisions of the lines can easily be made on the basis of parallel verses. Parallel structures are a pervasive feature in formal and informal speech in SJQ and they are found in ceremonial oratories, ritual prayers, and everyday conversation. When SJQ speakers believe they have an important point to stress they repeat it. As described above, Bright (1991) reports that parallelism was also developed to an exceptional degree in classic Nahuatl oratory. Likewise court speech, political oratory, and children’s improvised songs utilize parallel verses in Tzotzil from Chamula, Chiapas (Gossen 1974).

SJQ parallel structures have many similarities as well as differences from their counterparts in the Maya and Nahuatl languages. One very important similarity appears to be the structure of the line. Bricker (2008) states that the lines in the parallel structures
of Maya narratives have a similar syntactic frame, which allows one variable slot. This issue will be discussed more extensively, later in the paper.

SQJ Chatino and Nahuatl parallel verses both have metaphorical and synonymous semantic associations between words. Examples of this phenomenon in Chatino will be provided later in the paper.

By contrast, the parallel structure and other forms of repetition of SJQ Chatino have many differences, which set them apart from similar patterns in the Maya and Nahuatl languages. England (1989) notes some differences in the parallelism used in Mayan languages which also apply to Chatino in relation to other parallel structures used in central and southern Mexican indigenous languages. These differences include: “the use of archaic and special vocabulary, the pairing of specific non-randomly chosen phrases, the overwhelmingly frequent occurrence of lines in pairs” (England 1989). Other differences observed in the parallel constructions in SJQ are the incomplete, anaphoric endings of some of the parallel stanzas, which have been referred to previously as frame tags. Frame tags will be examined in greater depth later in this chapter. In Mende, Noyo, and Ligio’s text I have identified parallelisms that occur in two lines (couplets), three lines (triplets), and often times four lines (quatrains). Couplets are the most common types of parallel verses in SJQ Chatino.

Another unique feature of SJQ parallel constructions is the SJQ formal oratory style. Unlike Bright’s (1990) findings in classical Nahuatl, SJQ Chatino uses many contrasting statements in its formal oratory. Contrasts are drawn between the paragraphs
as well as within the paragraphs. Contrasts and oppositions will be treated later in this paper.

4.4.1 The frame of parallel verses

The parallel verses in SJQ are structured around constants and variables. Constants are the fix elements and variables are the elements that change.

The variables can be any of the major syntactic categories such N, V, adjectives, common expressions, or perceivable natural phenomena shared among speakers of the language which may include cosmological beliefs (such as the belief that there is another world that is inhabited by dead). Semantically related words such as synonyms, close paraphrases, and oppositions are also variables. Variables are found next to each other at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end of the syntactic structure in which they are located. At this point the exact number of constraints on the variables is not known. This area presents a topic worthy of further research.

As stated previously, the beginnings of the parallel stanzas are often indicated by adverbs. One of the salient features that will be noticed in the analysis of Mende’s speech is that he introduces groupings of parallel stanzas with the adverbial expression cha7í no24 ‘so that’. Similarly, the endings are indicated by the interjection particle in20 ‘[hm?]’ and a pause <P>.

A maximum expression in the parallel verses in SJQ is comprised of couplets, like those found in the Mayan and Nahuatl languages. Couplets consist of two nearly identical
lines. Each line in the maximum expression usually holds one variable. The minimal expression, on the other hand, consist of two adjacent variables where the core meaning of the lexical element is the variable, and the only thing that indicates the constant is often the aspect and personal inflection (examples will be presented below). Between these two extremes are variations of this form which consist of repeating lines of triplets, quatrains, and frames which are structured around complex and simple clauses.

William Norman (1980) posits a list of well-formedness conditions for K’iche’ parallel verses. Many of the rules that Norman lists as constraints that govern the production of K’iche’ couplet structures apply to SJQ parallel verses. Norman’s well-formedness conditions were cited by England (1989) and some of them are listed below.

Lexical pairs usually have an invariant order.

Lexical pairs must be members of the same grammatical class.

Lexical pairs must be content words.

Lexical pairs must share some semantic components.

Lexical pairs must appear in the same syntactic environment. (Norman, 1980).

Next I will provide examples of the different types of frames that make up the structures in parallel verses in the oratory of SJQ authorities.

4.4.2 Couplets

Consider the couplet in example (32-33) from Noyo.
The couplet in (32-32) shows the repetition of two identical frames. Each line has one constant and one variable. The elements that comprise the constant in both lines in the couplet have the same aspect and personal inflection. The variables in both lines are
verbs of motion. These verbs are semantically related by synonymy or near paraphrase. They both are verbs of motion that share the notion of going away from base\(^3\). The variation in these verbs is that *tsa\(^{24}\)* in example (32) means that someone is going to take a punctual trip. By contrast, the verb of motion *ty\(^{7} an\(^{4}\)* in example (33) means ‘to go around’ in the sense that the mailman goes around delivering mail. These verbs also have a similar aspect and personal inflection. Consider another couplet from Ligio in examples (34-35).

(34) line 78 Ligio

\[\text{ti::;}^{2} \text{ky7}_{14} \text{la}_{1}^{1} \text{ti}^{1} \text{nty7}_{24} \text{wan}_{32}^{2}\]

\begin{align*}
\text{constant} & \quad \text{variable} \\
\text{ti}^{2} & \quad \text{ky7}_{14}^{14} \quad \text{la}_{1}^{1}=\text{ti} & \quad \text{nty7}_{24}^{20} \quad \text{wan}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{still} & \quad \text{more} & \quad \text{superlative} & \quad \text{POT.see.0} & \quad \text{PRO.A.2p}
\end{align*}

‘may you see many more good things’

(35) line 79 Ligio

\[\text{ky7}_{24}^{14} \text{la}_{1}^{1} \text{ti}^{1} \text{kna}_{24}^{24} \text{wan}_{32}^{32}, \text{in}_{20}^{20}<\text{P}>\]

\begin{align*}
\text{constant} & \quad \text{variable} \\
\text{ky7}_{14}^{14} & \quad \text{la}_{1}=\text{ti} & \quad \text{kna}_{24}^{24} \quad \text{wan} & \quad \text{in}_{20}^{20}<\text{P}>
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{more} & \quad \text{superlative} & \quad \text{POT.hear.0} & \quad \text{PRO.A.2p} & \quad \text{hm?}<\text{P}>
\end{align*}

‘may you hear many more good things<\text{P}>’

---

\(^3\) For more information on the notion of base in SJQ Chatino, check section (3.10.2).
The frame in Ligio’s couplet is identical to the previous example by Noyo. Each line has a constant with its own variable. All of the elements in the constant are identical and they have a similar aspect and personal inflection. The variables in this couplet are built around semantically related verbs (namely verbs of senses nty7an\(^{24}\) ‘see’ and kna\(^{24}\) ‘hear’). In example (35) the second line in the couplet shows the deletion of the adverbial particle (\(ti\)) at the beginning of the line. This is a very common technique used by SJQ orators when performing parallel verses. Parallel structures are spoken rapidly, and the orator often omits elements to recite the parallel verse rapidly. Consider another couplet in example (36).

(36) line 14 Ligio

\[\text{no}^{4} \text{ nga}^{24} \text{ tynya}^{3}, \text{ no}^{4} \text{ nga}^{24} \text{ sya}^{0}, \text{ in}^{20}\]

\[\text{no} \quad \text{nga}^{24} \quad \text{tynya}^{3} \quad \text{no} \quad \text{nga}^{24} \quad \text{sy}^{10} \quad \text{in}^{20}\]

\[\text{REL} \quad \text{PROG.be.0} \quad \text{hard work} \quad \text{REL} \quad \text{PROG.be.0} \quad \text{justice} \quad \text{hm}?\]

‘the ones who are leaders, the ones who are the magistrates, hm?!’

The couplet in (36) is set within analogous frames. The constant in both of these lines is a copular verb inflected by progressive aspect. The variable in the first parallel line uses the word \(\text{tynya}^{3}\) ‘hard work’ as a metaphor to refer to people who occupy a position of authority. The second variable is a paraphrase of the first variable: \(\text{ne}^{7}\ \text{sy}^{1}\)
'people’ of justice. Like the previous example, the ending of this couplet is marked by the interjection particle in\textsuperscript{20} '[hm?]’

### 4.4.3 Triplets

Now consider this triplet parallel verse from Noyo.

(37) line 30 Noyo

\[
\text{ky7an}^{14} \text{ 7a}^{1} \text{ nya}^{14} \text{ 7aan}^{1}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{constant} & \text{variable} \\
\text{ky7an}^{14} & \text{7a} & \text{ nya}^{14} \\
\hline
\text{constant} & \text{variable} \\
\text{ky7an}^{14} & \text{7a} & \text{ nya}^{14} \\
\hline
\text{much} & \text{very} & \text{ways} \\
\text{COMPL.NB.go around.0} & \text{1.in} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘In many ways we went around [to carry our mission], ‘

(38) Noyo

\[
\text{ky7an}^{14} \text{ 7a}^{1} \text{ nya}^{14} \text{ ndoon}^{42}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{constant} & \text{variable} \\
\text{ky7an}^{14} & \text{7a} & \text{ nya}^{14} \\
\hline
\text{constant} & \text{variable} \\
\text{ky7an}^{14} & \text{7a} & \text{ nya}^{14} \\
\hline
\text{much} & \text{very} & \text{ways} \\
\text{COMPL.stand.0} & \text{1.in} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘In many ways we stood [to carry out our mission]’

(39) Noyo

\[
\text{ky7an}^{14} \text{ 7a}^{1} \text{ nya:::}^{14} <\text{P}>
\]
In this triplet, parallel verse, Noyo, recounts the hardships that they all face while serving the community as authorities. Each line in the constant begins with an adjectival phrase 'much'. The variables in this construction are semantically related verbs of motion. The third line in the stanza, example (39) omits the variable. This feature is what I have previously labeled as a frame tag. The analysis of frame tags is the next subject in this paper. The ending of this stanza is indicated by the pause <P> in the third line. The next example presented is a quatrain verse from Ligio’s speech that shows another use of variables and constants.

(40)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>constant</th>
<th>variable</th>
<th>constant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kna₂⁰ wan²⁴ na²⁴ ku²⁴ wan²⁴</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

POT.look.₀  PRO.A.₂p  thing  POT.eat.₀  PRO.POSS.A.₂p

‘s so that you can procure for your food’

(41)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>constant</th>
<th>variable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kna₂⁰ wan²⁴ na³ k7o²⁴ wan¹</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
constant variable constant
kna$^{20}$ wan na$^{3}$ k7o$^{24}$ wan

POT.look.0 PRO.A.2p thing POT.drink.0 PRO.POSS.A.2p

‘so that you can procure something to drink’

(42) line 100 Ligio

kna$^{20}$ wan$^{24}$ ste$^{7}$ wan$^{24}$,

constant variable constant
kna$^{20}$ wan ste$^{7}$ wan

POT.look.0 PRO.A.2p clothe PRO.POSS.A.2p

‘so that you can procure your clothes’

(43) line 101 Ligio

kna$^{20}$ wan$^{24}$ sss <P::>

constant variable
kna$^{20}$ wan sss <P::>

POT.look.0 PRO.A.2p sss

‘so that you can procure your sh:: <P::>’

The constant which repeats in each beginning line in the quatrain in examples (40-43) is a VP. This quatrain has two sets of variables. The lexical elements that form the variable in the first couplet, examples (40, 41), come from the same semantic field, things to eat and drink. The elements that form the variable in the second couplet,
examples (42, 43), are also semantically related elements: clothes and shoes. Even though
the last line in the quatrain the last word is not fully enunciated, one can easily deduce
that the word for shoe is what follows in the listing. The omission seen in example (43),
the last line, is done for the same reasons stated above: parallel verses are spoken rapidly
which often creates inaudible endings. The next example presented is a quatrain from
Noyo.

(44) lines 39, 40 Noyo

si:::10 ndyo'i4<pp> si:::0 jlo'i4 7wan^2 ne^2

constant variable
si10 ndyo'i4=si^0 jlo'i4 7wan_ne^2

may god POT.pull out.0 NL.2p now

‘May God’ bring you out [rescue]

(45) line 41 Noyo

ndyo^4 si^1 tjen^20 7wan^24 ne^2

constant variable
ndyo'i4=si0 tjen^20 7wan_ne^2

god POT.bring through.0 NL.2p now

‘may god bring you through’

(46) line 42,43 Noyo
\[ \text{ndyo}^{14} \text{ si:::}^{10} \text{ 7ne}^{24} \text{ k7u}^2 \text{ ty7an}^1 \text{ sen}^{42} \text{ 7wan}^4 \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>constant</th>
<th>variable</th>
<th>variable</th>
<th>constant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ndyo^{14}=si0</td>
<td>[7ne^{24}=k7u^2]</td>
<td>[ty7an^1=sen^{42}]</td>
<td>7wan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**god** | **POT.raise.0** | **POT.look after.0** | **NL.2p**

‘may god grant you longevity/give you life, may God provide care for you’

(47)  line 44  Noyo

\[ \text{ndyo}^{14}=\text{si}^0 \text{ tya}^3, \text{x7wa}^1 \text{ [parallelism with verb]} \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>constant</th>
<th>variable</th>
<th>variable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ndyo^{14}=si0</td>
<td>[\text{tya}]</td>
<td>[\text{x7wa}]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**god** | **POT.give back.0** | **POT.pay.0**

‘may god give you back, pay [you]’

The noun ‘god’ and the person inflection 7wan ‘noun location second singular (NL.2p)’, are the repeating constants in each line of the quatrain in examples (44-47). This quatrain is also organized around two sets of couplets. The couplets in examples (44-45) form one unit. Each line in this unit only has one variable. Each line in the second couplet, examples (46-47), has two variables.

The variables in the first unit, examples (44-45), are semantically related verbs of motion. The variable verb in example (45) is the continuation of the variable in example (45). The variable in the first line expresses the motion \(jlo^{14}\) ‘to pull out’ and the variable in the second line example (45) builds upon this motion by stating \(tjen^{14}\) ‘to pass through’.
The two variables in example (46), the first line in the second couplet, are synonymous: \( ty\text{\textsuperscript{7}an\textsuperscript{23}} \cdot sen\text{\textsuperscript{42}} \) ‘to care for’ and \( 7ne\text{\textsuperscript{24}} \cdot k7u\text{\textsuperscript{2}} \) ‘to raise’. Subsequently, the two variables in example (47), the second line in the second couplet, are also synonymous: \( tya\text{\textsuperscript{3}} \) ‘to return’ and \( x7wa\text{\textsuperscript{1}} \) ‘to pay’.

4.4.4 Complex sentences as frames

This section examines another variation that occurs with the parallel verses in SJQ. The frames of these parallel verses are complex sentences. The complex sentence frame consists of a main clause and a subordinate clause. The matrix and the subordinate clause are the fixed elements. These types of frames have two variables which are located between the main clause and the subordinate clause. Syntactically these two variables act in combination as the object of both clauses. This is illustrated in example (48).

(48) Mende lines 9,10,11

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{constant} & \text{variable} \\
\text{[ya\textsuperscript{42}]} & \text{wan} & \text{sk\textsuperscript{4}}=\text{sk\textsuperscript{32}} & \text{ma\textsuperscript{4}}=\text{nda\textsuperscript{24}} & \text{sk\textsuperscript{4}}=\text{sk\textsuperscript{32}} \\
\text{COMPL.NB.go.0} & \text{PRO.A.2p} & \text{any} & \text{task} & \text{any} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{variable} & \text{constant} \\
\text{ynya\textsuperscript{3}} & \text{no\textsuperscript{24}} & \text{[lon\textsuperscript{14}} & \text{=Vn} & \text{, in\textsuperscript{20}]}} \\
\text{work} & \text{that} & \text{COMPL.pull out.0} & \text{1.in} & \text{hm?} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘you went [you carried out] any work, any task we ordered, hm?<P>’
The two nouns that form the variable in the parallel frame in example (48) belong to the same semantic field ma^d- nda^24 ‘task’, andynyamaha^ ‘work’ are related to each other by synonymy or close paraphrase. In combination, these two variables are the objects of the matrix and subordinate clause. The end of this poetic stanza is marked by the interjection particle in^20 ‘[hm?]’. The construction below illustrates the frame that contains this parallel verse.

\[s \text{ main clause} [\text{NP}]^2 \text{ subordinate clause}\]

Figure (4) illustrates the structure of the complex sentences like the one we saw in example (48).

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{constant} \\
[V] \\
\text{O} \\
\text{NP} \\
\text{variable} \\
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{constant} \\
[V] \\
\text{NP} \\
\text{variable} \\
\end{array}
\]

*Figure 4 Complex sentence frame with two variables.*
4.4.5  *Simple sentences as frame*

Below are examples of parallel verses where the frame consists of one simple sentence. This type of frame has one constant and two variables, and the ending is usually indicated by the interjection particle \textit{in}^{\textit{20}} \textquote{[hm?]}. The construction below illustrates this.

\[ [s, \text{VP}, N^2] \]

\begin{verbatim}
(49)    line 13  Ligio
ne^{32} cha^{73} ne^{72} kwan^{2}, xa4-lyu^{32}, in^{20}

\begin{tabular}{llll}
\textbf{constant} & \textbf{variable} & \textbf{variable} \\
\hline
ne^{32} & cha^{73} & ne^{72}=kwan^{2}; & xa^{4}=lyu^{32} & \text{in}^{20},
\end{tabular}

\textit{PROG.sound.0} \textit{thing} \quad \text{above.0 (=sky)} \quad \textit{world} \quad \text{hm}?

\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
\textquote{it is heard in heaven, on earth, hm?!}
\end{verbatim}

The constant in example (49) is an intransitive verb phrase. The two variables in this construction are made of two contrasting lexical items which come from the same semantic field \textit{ne}^{72} \textit{kwan}^{2} \textquote{sky} and \textit{xa}^{4}=\textit{lyu}^{32} \textquote{world}. The ending of this parallel verse is marked by the interjection particle \textit{in}^{20} \textquote{[hm?]}. Example (50) from Ligio is structured around a frame similar to the examples previously presented. The two variables in this parallel verse are synonymous lexical items, and they are also from the same semantic field, \textit{ksu}^{4} \textquote{sprout}, \textit{kla}^{4} \textquote{to be born}. The end of this frame is also indicated by the particle \textit{in}^{20} \textquote{[hm?]}.  

118
because we sprang forth, we were born into life, hm?’

Example (51) from Mende presents another frame which is constructed like the
previous examples. The two variables in this frame are structured around adjacent verbs
of motion which come from the same semantic field and are either near synonyms or a
near paraphrase. As previously stated, the difference between these two verbs is that
ya42

is a punctual motion of going and 7an4 ‘going around’ is not punctual because this verb
does not indicate a beginning or an ending of the motion. Here we also see the
interjection particle in20 ‘[hm?]’ which marks the ending of the verse.

(51)  line 20,21  Mende

kaːn742 <P>yaan42, 7aan242, in20 <P>

constant variable variable
kan742 ya42 =Vn 7an4 =Vn

119
then COMPL.NB.go.0 1.in COMPL.NB.go around.0 1.in

in\(^{20}\)

hm?

‘that one/this way, we went, we traveled, hm? <P>

4.4.6 Minimal parallel expression

Examples (52-53) below present another frame variation in SJQ parallel verses. The constants in these frames are marked by aspect and personal inflection, and the variables carry the core meaning of the verbs.

(52) line 68 Ligio
  tyi\(^{20}\) ton\(^{4}\), =Vn
  tyi\(^{20}\)=ton\(^{4}\) =Vn

  **POT** [stand up.0] 1.in

  ‘that one day we would stand up for the community’

(53) line 69 Ligio
  tyi\(^{20}\) t7een\(^{24}\),
  tyi\(^{20}\)=ty7in\(^{4}\) =Vn

  **POT** [sit.on the ground.0] 1.in

120
‘one day we would sit together’

The construction below outlines the form of this frame.

\[
\text{constant} \quad \text{variable} \quad \text{constant} \\
\quad \text{[VP [aspect core meaning person inflection]]}
\]

In examples (52-53) the aspect and the personal inflection are the constant elements in this frame. The variables in this couplet are the core meanings of the two verbs. They are contrastive, positional verbs. Together they express a metonymic figure of speech which indicates that \( ti^{20} \) \( ton^4 \) ‘stand’ and \( ti^{20} \) \( t7en^{24} \) ‘to sit on the floor’ denote the hope of a new generation to stand up for the household, the family, and the community.

### 4.4.7 Frame tags

Many of the parallel stanzas in SJQ end in a frame tag. A frame tag is the deletion or omission of one segment in the last line, usually a variable, in a parallel stanza. These tags are anaphorically composed of the elements of one portion of the syntactic frame. Frame tags are a form of poetic ellipsis because they make reference to a discourse marker previously mentioned, thus deriving their meaning from within the context of the paragraph in which they are found. The frames tags in the parallel stanzas in Chatino
verse work in conjunction with all the elements in the paragraph, including repetition and metaphors, to make the structure stronger, more emphatic, and persuasive.

Mende uses frame tags more frequently than Noyo or Ligio and this is why the majority of the examples presented here to illustrate this particular feature of parallel stanzas in SJQ are drawn from Mende’s speech. The majority of frame tags in Mende’s speech include verb phrases (namely existential and copular verbs), adverbs, and demonstrative adverbs. The examples that follow illustrate frame tags in Mende’s speech. The following part presents both the poetic version and the interlinearized version of the text.

(54) Poetic Mende

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Chatino</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>136</td>
<td>T7wi:4 &lt;P&gt;yu4 tyu4 xe714</td>
<td>they stand around&lt;P&gt; to pee [in public], yu1 &lt;P&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137</td>
<td>T7wi4 yu1</td>
<td>they stand around [they do]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (54) is the poetic version of a couplet which ends in a frame tag. The tag is located in the second line. In examples (55, 56) I present the interlinearized version of (54).

(55) line 136 Mende

\[ty7wi:4 <P>yu4 tyu4 xe714 yu1 <P>\]
they stand around <P> to pee [in public],'

Example (56) shows that the tag from the omission or deletion of the verb phrase variable in the first line in example (55). Next consider the tag in the triplet parallel stanza in example (57).

(57) Poetic version (Mende)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Chatino</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ngwa₂ wan¹ ya⁷ na⁴²</td>
<td>‘you were our hands’,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ngwa₂ wan¹ kya⁷ na⁴²</td>
<td>‘you were our feet’,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Ngwa₂ wan¹</td>
<td>‘you were’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Example (57) is the poetic version of a couplet which ends in a frame tag. The tag is located in line (8). In examples (58, 59, and 60) I present the interlinearized of (57).

(58) line 6 Mende

\[\text{Ngwa}^2 \text{ wan}^1 \text{ ya}^7 \text{ na}^{42}\]

\[\text{ngwa}^2 \text{ wan} \quad \text{ya}^7 \quad \text{na}^{42}\]

\text{COMPL.be.0 PRO.A.2p} \quad \text{hands.0} \quad \text{PRO.A.1.in}

‘you were our hands’

(59) line 7 Mende

\[\text{ngwa}^2 \text{ wan}^1 \text{ kya}^7 \text{ na}^{42}\]

\[\text{ngwa}^2 \text{ wan} \quad \text{kya}^7 \quad \text{na}^{42}\]

\text{COMPL.be.0 PRO.A.2p} \quad \text{foot.0} \quad \text{PRO.A.1.in}

‘you were our foot’

(60) line 8 Mende

\[\text{ngwa}^2 \text{ wan}^1\]

\[\text{ngwa}^2 \text{ wan}\]

\text{COMPL.be.0} \quad \text{PRO.A.2p}

‘you were’
The frame tag that concludes examples (58, 59, and 60), line (8), is made out of a copular verb. This construction omits the noun. Next consider the four line parallel construction in example (61).

(61) Poetic version (Mende)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Chatino</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Ndya₃²-ra⁰ 7ne⁴² jlaan²³² 7wan⁴,</td>
<td>‘Sometimes we scolded you’,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Ndya₃²-ra⁰ s7we³ ti³ ywkween⁷³⁴²,</td>
<td>‘sometimes with kindness we spoke’,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Ndya₃²-ra⁰ s7i⁰ 7a²⁴ ywkween⁷³⁴²,</td>
<td>‘sometimes wrongly we spoke’,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Ndya₃²-ra⁰ &lt;P&gt;</td>
<td>‘Sometimes’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (61) is the poetic version of a quadruple which ends in a frame tag. The tag is located in the fourth line. Examples (62, 63, 64, and 65) illustrate the interlinearized version of (61).

(62) line 12 Mende

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ndya}³²\text{-ra}⁰ &<P>7\text{ne}⁴² \text{jlaan}²³¹ \text{7wan}⁴ \\
\text{ndya}³²\text{=ra}⁰ &7\text{ne}⁴² \text{jla}³ =\text{Vn} \text{7wan} \\
\text{sometimes} &\text{COMPL.do.0 hard} \text{1.in NL.2p}
\end{align*}
\]
‘sometimes we scolded you’

(63)  line 13 Mende

\[ \text{ndya}^{32}=\text{ra}^0 \ s7\text{we}^3 \ t\text{i}^{24} \ yk\text{ween}^{242} \]

\[ \text{good only COMPL.speak.0} \quad 1.\text{in} \]

‘sometimes with kindness we spoke’

(64)  line 14 Mende

\[ \text{ndya}^{32}=\text{ra}^0 \ s7\text{i}^0 \ 7\text{a}^{24} \ yk\text{ween}^{242} \]

\[ \text{wrongly COMPL.speak.0} \quad 1.\text{in} \]

‘sometimes wrongly we spoke’

(65)  line 15 Mende

\[ \text{ndya}^{32}=\text{ra}^0 \ <P> \ <\text{Break}> \]

\[ \text{sometimes} \]

‘sometimes <P>’

The frame tag in (65) is a temporal adverbial quantifier.
The previously examined frame tags are the single elements that conclude the last line of the stanza. There are other types of frame tags that end the last line together with the interjection particle \( in^{20} \ [hm?] \). Although the \( in^{20} [hm?] \) particle is an optional element in all of the previously presented examples, there is another group of frame tags that must be accompanied with the interjection \( in^{20} \) at the end of the paragraph. The lack of the \( in^{20} \) particle in these paragraphs would leave them sounding less emphatic and somewhat incomplete. Example (66) provides an illustration of a parallel construction that concludes the stanza with a frame tag plus a sentential interjection particle \( in^{20} \ [hm?] \).

(66) poetic version    Mende

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Chatino</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>Xka(^{32}) jnya(^{2}) wa(^{2}) ka(^{14}) wan(^{32})</td>
<td>‘you will fulfill a new role’,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>Xka(^{32}) &lt;P&gt;cha(^{7}) tykwj(^{7}) wan(^{24})</td>
<td>‘you will have new &lt;P&gt; wisdom to offer’,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>Xka(^{32}) cha(^{7}) ta(^{20}) wan(^{24})</td>
<td>‘you will have new experiences to share’,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>Xka(^{32}) cha(^{7}), in(^{20})</td>
<td>‘[you will have] new things to offer, hm?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The quadruple verse in the verse in (66) shows a frame tag that has an interjection particle \( in^{20} \ [hm?] \) next to it. The frame tag is in line 22. Examples (67, 68, 69, and 70) illustrate the interlinearized version of (66).
‘you will fulfill a new role,’”

‘you will have new wisdom to offer,’”

‘you will have new experiences to share,’”
The issue of frame tags, the frequency of their occurrence, and the frame tags that conclude the stanza alone versus the ones that require the sentential particle in [hm?]’ are all topics that merit further investigation.

4.4.8 Parallel constructions in everyday speech

As previously noted, the use of all the forms of parallel constructions, including frame tags, is very conspicuous in all types of discourse in SJQ. This section presents examples of the use of frame tags in everyday speech in SJQ. The parallel constructions in everyday speech that are presented in examples (71,72, and 73). They were produced by Luisa Baltazar, a 50 year old woman from Cieneguilla-SJQ, in a “natural conversation context while talking to me and other members of the CLDP on a walk to identify plants” (Woodbury 2007).
(71) Luisa Baltazar. Adapted from Woodbury (2007).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chatino</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tan_{20} roon_{242} ska' ksu' re_{2} in_{1}</td>
<td>‘Let’s give one net bag to him’,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tan_{20} roon_{242} ska' xt'i il re_{2} in_{1}</td>
<td>‘Let’s give one machete to him’,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tan_{20} roon_{242} ska' ti'ke re_{2} in_{1}</td>
<td>‘Let’s give one tumpline to him’,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tan_{20} roon_{242} ska'</td>
<td>‘Let’s give one’.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(72) Luisa Baltazar. Adapted from Woodbury (2007).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chatino</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B 7nen' k7un' ktu'_{42}</td>
<td>‘I raised chickens’,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7nen' k7un' kwe'_{42}</td>
<td>‘I raised pigs’,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7nen' k7un'</td>
<td>‘I raised’.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples (71-73) in Luisa’s speech all end in frame tags. The use of frame tags in everyday conversation substantiates the claim that this feature of parallel construction does not only occur in formal speech, but also in ordinary language.

In this part, I described and provided examples of the different types, properties, and contexts of parallel structures as found and used in SJQ discourse. The maximal expression of the parallel verses in SJQ appears in the form of couplets, and by contrast the minimal expression of parallel verses occurs when variation only happens at the core meaning of word categories. This section also identified complex and simple clauses and

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chatino</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nda⁴ ki₄²</td>
<td>‘Black-eyed beans’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nda⁴ nk7a¹</td>
<td>‘red beans’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nda⁴ nta³</td>
<td>‘Black beans’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nda⁴ ksi²</td>
<td>‘yellow beans’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nda⁴</td>
<td>‘Beans’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
parallel frames which are variations of the previously stated extremes. Similarly I presented frame tags as one of the special features of parallel verses.

Even though the frames with their parallel structures can be examined and analyzed as individual units, they are also tied together to make up the entire sections of the oratory. The way in which the parallel frames are tied together is a potentially rich area for further study.

4.5 **Contrast**

Another figure of speech that is widely used by Mende and other orators in SJQ is contrast. Contrast is the juxtaposition of disparate or opposed images, ideas, or both to heighten or clarify a scene, theme or episode (Cuddon 1998). In example (74) line 12 Mende states that sometimes “they” spoke harshly to the community guards. In line 13 his previous statement is contrasted when he says they spoke kindly or compassionately to the community guards. In line 14, the preceding statement is contrasted yet again when Mende says that sometimes they spoke wrongly with the community guards.

---

4 It is ambiguous whether the speaker [or orator] refers to the audience or only the higher authorities.
Next, consider example (75) which illustrates contrast between two paragraphs.

(75) Poetic version (Mende)

21  **vaan**\(^{42}\), **7aan**\(^{32}\), **in**\(^{20}\)  <P>  **we went**, we traveled, hm?  <P>
22  cha\(^{73}\) 7in\(^{24}\) 7ya\(^{2}\)  on behalf of the mountains
23  cha\(^{73}\) 7in\(^{24}\) chin\(^{32}\), **in**\(^{20}\)  on behalf of the community, hm?
24  **ja**\(^{4}\) -la\(^{32}\) **vaan**\(^{42}\)  **we did not go** [carry out this task]
25  cha\(^{73}\) 7na\(^{42}\) skaan2\(^{42}\)  for our own selfish reasons
Example (75) shows that lines 21 and 24 are opposite expression. Line 21 expresses a positive statement *yaan*⁴² ‘we went’ and by contrast line 24 states: *ja*¹ *yaan*⁴² ‘we did not go’. Examples (76-80) below present the interlinearized version of (75). This is a contrast of motives – doing it on behalf of the mountains and community or on behalf of ourselves. The statement is that it is the first motive and not the second that is the true motive (England, 2009 personal communication).

(76) line 21 Mende

*yaan*⁴², *7aan*²⁴², in\(^{20}\) <P> <Break>

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ya}^{{42}} &= \text{Vn} \\
\text{7an}^{{4}} &= \text{Vn} \\
\text{in}^{20} &\quad \text{COMPL.NB.go.0} \\
\text{hm?} &\quad \text{COMPL.NB.go around.0} \quad \text{1.in}
\end{align*}
\]

‘We went, we traveled, hm? <P>’

(77) line 22 Mende

*cha*⁷³ *7in*²⁴ *7ya*²

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cha}^{{73}} &= \text{7in} \\
\text{7ya}^{{2}} &\quad \text{in}^{20}
\end{align*}
\]

on behalf of  mountain

‘on behalf of the mountains’

(78) line 23 Mende

*cha*⁷³ *7in*²⁴ *chin*³², in\(^{20}\) <Break>

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cha}^{{73}} &= \text{7in} \\
\text{chin}^{{4}} &\quad \text{in}^{20}
\end{align*}
\]
on behalf of community hm?

‘on behalf of the community, hm?’

(79) line 24 Mende

ja4 -la32 yaan42 <Break>

ja4=la32 ya42 =Vn
NEG COMPL.go.0 1.in

‘We did not go [carry out this task]’

(80) line 25 Mende

cha73 7na42 skaan242

cha73 7na42 ska4 =Vn
for PRO.A.1.in one 1.in

‘for our own selfish reasons’

Next consider another contrast in Ligio’s speech in example (81).

(81) line 19 Ligio

ska4 cha73 no4 s7we3 ti24 nty7o20 cha73<P>

ska4 cha73=no s7we3 ti nty7o20=cha73
one COMP good ADV indeed
‘This is something good<P>’

Examples (81, 82) show Ligio’s words present a contrast between something that is good and something that is bad. What this shows is the negative of an antonym is used to form a synonym (Englad 2009, personal communication).

4.6 Prosody

4.6.1 Pause
Pauses fulfill many important functions in a natural discourse (Woodbury 1992). Some of those functions include pauses to breathe, structural pauses, which come after whole utterances, rhetorical pauses, micro pauses, apparent hesitations, and disfluencies.

SJQ authorities in their ceremonial oratory often use pauses in a very diverse and effective way. For instance, in Mende’s speech, pauses are used when anticipating a parallel structure. The small periodic pauses he takes to breathe are very noticeable, and regular. Mende also uses pauses for emphatic and rhetorical purposes. And lastly the pauses that he uses to convey emotional effects including humility, frankness, gratitude, and inspiration are very noticeable as well.

Here are a few generalizations about the pauses used by SJQ authorities. Pauses create a culminating point before or after a focus. They build drama before a phrase, and allowing the focus to “sink in” after a phrase (Woodbury 2008, personal communication). Another simple way to view pauses is that they define boundaries or endpoints (Woodbury 2008, personal communication). Example (83) illustrates the use of pauses in one parallel construction. Pauses are marked in the text with a capitol P between angle brackets, <P>.

(83) Poetic presentation (Mende)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Chatino</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>S7we³ ti²⁴ n7ne²⁴ wan³²</td>
<td>‘You show your best behavior’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>S7we³ ti²⁴ kan7⁴² wan⁴</td>
<td>‘You show your best manner’,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>S7we³ ti²⁴, in²⁰ &lt;P&gt;</td>
<td>‘The best, hm? &lt;P&gt;’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
74 S7we³ ti²⁴ t’7oon²⁰ ‘Let us leave in a dignified way’
75 S7we³ ti²⁴ kaan⁷⁴², in³⁰ <P> ‘Let us leave in the best way, hm?’ <P>

Example (83) is the poetic version of a stanza that uses pauses very effectively. Examples (84, 85, 86, 87, and 88) show the interlinearized version of (83).

(84) line 71 Mende
s7we³ ti²⁴ n7ne¹⁴ wan³²
s7we⁴ ti 7ne²⁴ wan
good very POT.do.0 PRO.A.2p
‘you show your best behavior’

(85) line 72 Mende
s7we³ ti²⁴ kaan⁷⁴² wan⁴
s7we³ ti kan⁷⁴² wan
good very POT.do.0 PRO.A.2p
‘you show your best manners,’

(86) line 73 Mende
s7we³ ti²⁴, in²⁰ <P> <Break>
s7we³ ti in²⁰
good very hm?

138
‘the best, hm? <P>’

(87) line 74 Mende

s7we³ ti²⁴ ty7oon²⁰
s7we³ ti ty70²⁰ =Vn
good very POT.leave.0  l.in

‘let us leave in a dignified way’

(88) line 75 Mende

s7we³ ti²⁴ kaan⁷⁴², in²⁰ <P> <Break>
s7we³ ti kan⁷⁴² =Vn in²⁰
good very POT.do.0  l.in hm?

‘Let us leave in the best way, hm? <P>’

Example (84, 85, 86, 87, and 88) contains two messages, even though all lines in the parallel structures begin with the adjective s7we3 ti24 ‘good, best’. In examples (85, 86, 87), lines 71–73, the orator counsels the young community guards to demonstrate their best behavior. In these three lines, the orator addresses the young people with the 2pl: wan pronoun. The change of “unit” in example (86), line 73, is indicated by the pause <P>, the sentential interjection particle in²⁰ ‘[hm?]’, and a change of personal inflection from 2pl to first person inclusive (l.in). The stanza in example (84, 85, 86, 87, and 88) also shows that the pause in line 73 has several functions. One of its functions is

139
to add drama to the rendition of the text. Mende also uses this pause in preparation for uttering line 74.

4.6.2 Rhetorical pauses

Rhetorical pauses are used to emphasize appropriate and desirable norms of behavior that is expected of the young community guards during and after the ceremony of the change of authorities. These types of pauses are also used to display and discourage undesirable norms of behavior on the part of the young community guards. When the orator touches on a non-desirable subject, he pauses before he utters these undesirable behaviors. For instance, in line 139, example (89), in Mende’s speech we see that he pauses when he uses the words: ‘to scold’, ‘to scream’, and ‘urinating in public’.

(89) poetic version Mende

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Chatino</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td>7ne&lt;sup&gt;24&lt;/sup&gt; yu&lt;sup&gt;32&lt;/sup&gt; 7o&lt;sup&gt;20&lt;/sup&gt; cha7&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt; &lt;P&gt;</td>
<td>‘yes, they do &lt;P&gt;’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>Ka&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt; &lt;P&gt;x7ya&lt;sup&gt;20&lt;/sup&gt; yu&lt;sup&gt;24&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>‘they sometimes&lt;P&gt;scream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137</td>
<td>Ka&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt; ta&lt;sup&gt;20&lt;/sup&gt; ndye7&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt; ri7&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt; yu&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt; t7a&lt;sup&gt;42&lt;/sup&gt; yu&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>‘they often mock their replacements &lt;P&gt;’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138</td>
<td>No&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt; ka&lt;sup&gt;24&lt;/sup&gt; sten&lt;sup&gt;120&lt;/sup&gt; yu&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt; &lt;P&gt;</td>
<td>‘the incoming administration&lt;P&gt;’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.6.3 Tone in SJQ poetics

Tones play a very important role in the rhythmic flow of the performance of ritual speeches in SJQ Chatino. Woodbury (personal communication, 2008) states that “in verbal art, especially, the parallel, high styles of oratory and prayer, repeating and varying sequences of tone are striking and salient.” Here I report some preliminarily examples that appear to support our impression that tone is actively utilized in SJQ Chatino poetics.

That is, it does appear that SJQ Chatino orators exploit the tonal patterns of their language to achieve salient aesthetic effects. In two examples I have found, the semantic pattern of a couplet stays parallel, even as its tonal pattern starts out parallel at first, but then diverges in sharply opposite directions in the tone space. The effect on the hearer is provoking, motivating, and arousing. I have also found an example where semantic parallelism is matched with exact tonal parallelism, to apparent poetic effect; but exactly what effect is unclear, since so far I have found only one such case. Finally, I cite a
striking example in which the normal paradigmatic tone of a word is deformed to fit the pattern established by the parallelism. While so far the set of examples is still too small to draw any strong conclusions, my intuition as a native speaker is that these cases are not merely coincidental effects, but rather instances of systematic features of formal SJQ Chatino composition. From this I expect that further data from this and related speech genres will confirm and shed more light on these preliminary claims.

As I noted earlier, in their desire to promote group solidarity, community spirit, and collectivity, SJQ orators favor the use of the first person inclusive (I.in) inflection. It happens that first person inclusive inflection engenders complex tones, in that it creates a bimoraic syllable with complex blended tones (Woodbury, personal communication, November 2008). In both of the next two examples, the fact that the final element of the couplet is a bimoraic, I.in-inflected stem creates a robust space for tonal parallelism and contrast to manifest to great poetic effect.

In (90) I show a couplet from Ligio to show this kind of parallel/contrastive use of tone.

(90) Poetic presentation Ligio

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Chatino</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>ra10 no1 ntsun42</td>
<td>‘When we sprouted’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>ra10 no1 ndlaan1</td>
<td>‘When we were born’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Example (90) shows a very common use of tone in these texts. Examples (92, and 93) show the interlinearized version of (90).

(91) line 62 Ligio
ra¹ no¹ ntsuun⁴²
ra¹⁰ no¹ ntsu⁴² =Vn
hour REL COMPL.sprout.0 1.in

when we sprang forth like a seed from the earth, when we sprang forth’

(92) line 63 Ligio
ra¹ no¹ ndlaan¹
ra¹⁰ no¹ ndla¹ =Vn
when REL PROG.born.01.in

‘when we were born’

The two lines of example (91,92) show semantic parallelism: ‘when we sprouted' and 'when we were born' both refer to the time of our emergence and birth. Phonetically, these lines start out parallel: the first two words shared between both lines use a set of super high and high tones. For both, the first word ra¹⁰ ‘hour, time’ begins with a super high floating tone, with the tone staying high all the way to the second word no¹ ‘when’. From here, the tone of the first line makes a sharp descent to the lowest pitch, level 4 tone, only to go back up high to reach the space of a level 2 tone again. In the second
line, however, the tone stays high, at a level 1 tone. This makes the two lines start out
tonally parallel, then split to strongly opposite tonality at the very end. These tone
contrasts are especially salient because the first person inclusive personal inflection in the
verb’s variations within the couplet give rise to a bimoraic syllable: this temporally draws
out the exact tonal feature which is being exploited for its phonetic-poetic effect.

Next consider another similar example of a couplet verse from Noyo’s speech in
(93).

(93) Poetic version  Noyo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Chatino</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>137</td>
<td>7ne24 wan32 cha73 tlyu2 ri72 ykween7242</td>
<td>‘we beg your forgiveness for all the [wrong things] we spoke’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138</td>
<td>Ndy4 cha73 no24 nkwaan21</td>
<td>‘for all the things we could [not] be’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (93) is another widely used tone contrast in the text of SJQ governmental authorities. Examples (94, 95) below present the interlinearized version of (93).

(94)  line 137  Noyo

7ne24 wan cha73 tlyu2 ri72 ndy4 cha73 no24 ykween7242, <P>
Here again there is a semantic parallelism—'all the [wrong things] we spoke' and 'all the things we could [not] be'—countered with a vivid tonal opposition. The phonetic effect of the parallel couplet in here is not as striking as the previous example (94, 95) from Ligio, possibly because the lexical items and the tones employed in each line of this couplet are each highly different from each other. But here again we see a striking tonal opposition across the two semantically parallel verbs: in *ykween*\(^{242}\) ‘we spoke’, the initial part starts with a descending tone 24, then it stops and then it shoots back up, giving a rising tone with a characteristic like the basic ascending tone 32. In contrast, in *nkwaan*\(^{21}\)

\(^{5}\) Underline tone 4 are not marked in the underlined form in the second lines in these text interlinearizations.
‘we were’ the tone starts out fairly high and rises higher. The contrast between a sharp fall and rise versus a simple high rise is, again, particularly clear in that they manifest on line-final syllables made bimoraic by $I.in$ inflection. This tonal divergence seems not to be just a coincidence, but actually a sign of interesting, striking, and non-boring poetic form perhaps.

These two examples illustrate what we might call tonal “anti-rhymes”. In the present data set I have not been able to find a demonstrable tendency to create tone rhymes. However, example (96) seems to show parallelism not only at syntactic and semantic levels, but also at the prosodic level because these words have identical tones as well.

(96) Poetic version Mende

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Chatino</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>La$^{42}$ lyan$^{20}$ teen$^{242}$</td>
<td>‘We only need to be released’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>La$^{42}$ ty7on$^{20}$ teen$^{242}$</td>
<td>‘we only need to leave’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (96) shows a poetic version of two identical lines that only share a contrast in the motion verb $lyan^{20}$ ‘we will be release’, $ty7on^{20}$ ‘we will leave’. Examples (97, and 98) are the interlinearized version of (96).

(97) line 63 Mende

la$^{4}$ lyan$^{20}$ teen$^{242}$
la\textsuperscript{42} lyan\textsuperscript{20}=teen\textsuperscript{242} =\textit{Vn} \\
only POT.be released \textit{l.in} \\
‘We only need to be released from our obligations’

(98) line 64 Mende \\
lap 42 ty\textsuperscript{7on} 20 teen\textsuperscript{242} \\
lap 42 ty\textsuperscript{7on} 20=teen\textsuperscript{242} =\textit{Vn} \\
only POT.leave \textit{l.in} \\
‘we only need to leave’

Since so far this is the only example I found in the three texts that I examined, I cannot say for certain if this example represents a genuine pattern or just a chance occurrence.

Finally, we turn to a parallelism involving three motion/positional verbs: $t7an$\textsuperscript{32} 'going round', $ntxin$\textsuperscript{2} 'rolling around', $ndon$\textsuperscript{32} 'standing around'.

(99) poetic version Noyo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Chatino</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>$t7a::n$\textsuperscript{32} $\text{ran}^3$</td>
<td>‘[this mandate] is \textit{going around},</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$ntxin^2 ti^{24} \text{ran}^3$</td>
<td>\textit{it is rolling around’}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>$Ndon$\textsuperscript{32} $ti^4 \text{ran}^3&lt;\text{P}&gt;$</td>
<td>\textit{‘it is standing around’} [=orbiting]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

147
Example (99) reveal a very interesting use of a motion/positional verbs to create an imagery of moving. Examples (100 and 101) provide the interlinearized version of (99).

(100) line 110          Noyo

    t7a:::n\textsuperscript{32} ran\textsuperscript{3}, ntxi\textsuperscript{2} ti\textsuperscript{24} ran\textsuperscript{3}

    \textbf{nt7an}\textsuperscript{32} \quad \text{ran}\textsuperscript{3}, \quad \textbf{ntxin}\textsuperscript{2}

    PROG.NB.go around.0       PRO.3.inanim        PROG.rolls around.0

    ti \quad ran3

    ADV \quad PRO.3.inanim

    ‘[this mandate] is going around, it is rolling around’

(101) line 111

    ndon\textsuperscript{32} ti\textsuperscript{4} ran\textsuperscript{3}

    \textbf{ndon}\textsuperscript{32} \quad ti \quad ran\textsuperscript{3}

    STAT.stand.0[=orbiting] \quad \text{only} \quad PRO.3.inanim

    ‘it is standing around’
Here the semantic parallelism is, of course, that of motion and position. Specifically, even the positional verb \textit{ndon}^{32} ‘standing around [=orbiting]’ gives the sense that the act of standing is active, not idle, this aspect of the verb being indicated by the tone 32. The noteworthy feature is this: this tone 32 aspect is not the usual aspectual inflection of a positional verb. In Table 9, I give the normal paradigm of the aspectual inflection of the verb 'stand' in order to demonstrate that this form with tone 32 deviates from the usual aspectual marking.

\textit{Table 9 Paradigm for the positional verb to stand.}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Completive</th>
<th>habitual</th>
<th>progressive</th>
<th>potential</th>
<th>stative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ndon^{42}</td>
<td>ndyon^{24}</td>
<td>ndon^{42}</td>
<td>tyon^{24}</td>
<td>ndon^{32}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“The usual inflection of \textit{ndon}^{32} ‘standing around' has been shifted to a 32 tone to match the 32 and 2 tones of the other verbs participating in the parallelism.” The predicted form of the verb 'stand' would have been the tone \textit{dyon}^{24} ‘to stand. HAB’ if the parallelism were not operating to change it.

The description of use of tones in SJQ Chatino poetics is still in its beginning stages. At present, the available data allows us only to make preliminary observations based on strong native-speaker intuitions about the aesthetic force of certain tonal patterns. Further research will be needed in order to determine what patterns, if any, are
regular and productive, and what exactly their poetic effects are. Tonal patterns are an area of SJQ Chatino that offers a rich opportunity for future investigation.

4.6.4 Disfluencies

In Chapter 3 it was noted that one of the appeals of SJQ orators is their fluency. This part of the study discusses the elements of fluency. Fluent Chatino orators have some of the following traits: they need to be quick in their speech performance because they are required to improvise on the spot. They also need to have a good memory because they need to remember many formulaic expressions and present them in a clear and concise manner in order to be more persuasive. Fluent orators also need to show humility. The need to demonstrate humility is one of the reasons that Mende feigns disfluency at the beginning of his speech and is also the reason he uses the 1.in. Fluent orators are also required to be wise in order to give good, sound advice to the young community guards. A fluent orator should have a deep knowledge and understanding of the ethical and moral beliefs and standards of the community. Fluent orators need to skillfully combine in their speech all the linguistic patterns, features, and elements of the language including semantic, syntactic, prosodic features (namely pauses, intonation, and emphatic expressions, rhythm, and voice modulation). A fluent orator must have the ability to use in their oratory complex figures of speech (namely parallel stanzas, metaphors, and contrasts). Elaborate parallel stanzas are made out of the combination of, often long, listings of semantically related lexical items, collocations, and formulaic
expressions which are performed at a fast rate, often becoming inaudible towards the end. The use of sentential fillers has to be kept at a minimum as they are regarded as signs of inadequacy or disfluency.

The previous traits of fluent orators are found with Mende and Ligio’s speech, but not in Noyo’s speech. Mende introduces new topics with a general statement, which he proceeds to illustrate with specific examples. In the first three lines of his speech, Mende speaks very slowly, inserting numerous pauses. He also elongates the pronunciation of some lexical items. While performing these lines, Mende appears almost hesitant and not very competent. By the fourth line, Mende begins to use very elaborate figures of speech one after another, his pauses are very well coordinated with other prosodic elements (such as emphatic particles). Fillers are not noticeable at this point. Once Mende begins to utilize his full range of verbal skills, it becomes evident that he is a very fluent speaker. Ligio also performs very elaborate parallel constructions with many lines in one breath. Noyo speech hardly contains any elaborate parallel constructions, and he uses many fillers.

Example (102) presents the first three lines in Mende’s speech as a way to support the previous statement on the disfluencies present in the initial three lines.

(102) poetic presentation  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Chatino</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>cha73 no^{24} t7wi::24 cha73 tlyu^{2} ri72 wan^{1}</td>
<td>‘May you have forgiveness in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2 cha73 no::24 ti::3 ns7ya1 wa42 7wan4, in20 'And that's why we called on you [tonight], hm? <P>'

3 ke::4 sya0 ndya24 ri72 tye32 7wan4, in20 <P> 'as your heart permits [you], hm? <P>'

Example (102) is the poetic version of Mende’s opening statement. Examples (103, 104, and 105) are the glossing of the same lines.

(103) line 1 Mende

Cha73 no24 ty7wi:24 cha73 tlyu2 ri72 7wan1

Cha73=no ty7wi cha73 tlyu2 ri72 7wan1

So that POT.have.0 thing big essence NL.2p

'in order for you to have forgiveness within you'

(104) line 2 Mende

cha73 no:24 ti:2 ns7ya1 wa42 7wan4, in20

cha73=no ti2 ns7ya1 wa42 7wan in20

so that still PROG.call.0 PRO.A.ex NL.2p hm?

'in order for you to be we called by us [tonight], hm?<P>'
(105) line 3  Mende
ke:\(^4\) sya\(^0\) ndya\(^{24}\) ri\(^7\) tye\(^{32}\) 7\text{wan}^4, in\(^{20}\) <P> <Break>
ke\(^4\) sya\(^{10}\) ndya\(^{24}\)=ri\(^7\) tye\(^{32}\) 7\text{wan} \quad in\(^{20}\)
CONJ even though  HAB.like.0.  chest.0  NL.2p  hm??
‘as your heart permits [you], hm?’

Example (106) in Ligio’s speech, illustrates a fast performance of a parallel structure.

(106) line 98 Ligio
kna\(^{20}\) wan\(^{24}\) na\(^{24}\) ku\(^{24}\) wan\(^{24}\)
kna\(^{20}\) wan na\(^3\) ku wan
POT.look.0  PRO.A.2p  thing POT.eat.0  PRO.A.2p
‘so that you can procure for your food’

(107) line 99 Ligio
kna\(^{20}\) wan\(^{24}\) na\(^{3}\) k7\(^{24}\) wan\(^{1}\)
kna\(^{20}\) wan na\(^3\) k7\(^{24}\) wan
POT.look.0  PRO.A.2p  thing POT.drink.0  PRO.A.2p
‘so that you can procure something to drink’
(108) line 100 Ligio

kna²⁰ wan²⁴ ste³ wan²⁴,
kna²⁰ wan ste7 wan

POT.look.0 PRO.A.2p clothe PRO.A.2p

‘so that you can procure your clothes’

(109) line 101 Ligio

kna²⁰ wan²⁴ sss <P::>

kna²⁰ wan

POT.look.0 PRO.A.2p sss

‘so that you can procure your sh:: <P:›’

In examples (106-109), the four lines in the parallel construction are performed in one straight shot. The orator only takes a pause to breathe after the fourth line (109). Also in this couplet, the last item in the construction line (109) is incomplete and inaudible. In this line the speaker only utters the fricative sound sss<P::>.
The fluency of Mende and Noyo will be compared below by examining how they perform the same triplet formulaic construction. Examples (110, 111, and 112) illustrate the triplet performance of Mende.

(110) line 60 Mende

nt7a42 jyan4 7na42
nt7a42 jyan4 7na42
COMPL.complete.0 year PRO.A.1.in
‘completed our year’

(111) line 61 Mende

wa2 nt7a42 ko73
wa2 nt7a42 ko73
already COMPL.complete.0 moon
‘for having completed our moon [month]’

(112) line 62 Mende

nt7a42 kla4 7na42, in20 <P> <Break>
nt7a42 kla3 7na42 in20
COMPL.complete.0 star PRO.A.1.in hm?

155
‘completed our star [day], hm? <P>’

Mende’s rendition of the triplet parallel structure in examples (110, 111, and 112) is very concise and clean. He begins by naming longer periods of time (namely jyan4 “year”) and then he moves toward smaller periods of times such as ko73 ‘month’ (lit. moon), and kla4 ‘day (lit. star). Mende utters this triplet in one breath, with only a pause after he has finished saying the lexical item kla4 ‘day’. Each one of the nouns that he uses in the verse occupy one line. Next, in examples (113, 114, and 115), consider the same formulaic expression in Noyo’s speech.

(113) line 80 Noyo
nt7a42, nt7a42 ko:::73
nt7a42 nt7a42 ko73
COMPL.complete.0 COMPL.complete.0 moon
‘[we have] completed, <<completed>> our month (lit. our moon)’

Noyo should have begun this parallel structure with the lexical item jyan4 ‘year’. But instead he begins the first line in the sequence with the lexical item ko73 ‘moon’. In this line, he repeats the verb twice and he elongates the pronunciation of the word ko73 ‘moon’, which signals an inadequate disfluency.
In this line, Noyo uses the 2pl noun possession; which could also be seen as a sign of an unskilled performer. Also, Noyo only lists two items instead of three as Mende does. It is evident that Mende is a much more skillful performer than Noyo.

4.6.5 \textit{Particle in$^{20}$}

The interjection particle \textit{in$^{20}$} ‘[hm?]’ is a very conspicuous element in the speech of SJQ residents. The \textit{in$^{20}$} ‘[hm?]’ particle is a distinct device that orators use to mark parallel verses, lines, and emphases. This particle conveys emotions of endearment, love, and caring. I have also noted that this particle combines with the conjunction particle \textit{7o$^{j}$} and
a pause <P> to signal thematic transition. When we analyse Mende’s text I will point out examples of this particle.

4.7 **Grammatical Extension and Creative Use of Grammar**

This section will concentrate on the creative ways in which the orators use noun possession and the variety of ways that the orators combine different particles in order to achieve a more striking and persuasive negation. Joel Sherzer (2002) states that in the creation of verbal art, poetics takes the existing grammar of the language and makes creative extensions of it. Previous sections examined the wide range of figures of speech that are found in this particular form of oratory.

4.7.1 **Creative uses of noun possession**

The introduction to basic linguistics of Chatino in Chapter 2 showed that SJQ Chatino nouns are either inalienably (intimately) or alienably (non-intimately) possessed. Intimately possessed nouns include body parts; nouns that denote kinship relations, e.g., son, daughter, father, mother; and personal garments such as blouse, pants, and so on. Intimate possession is marked by fusing the marking directly to the noun. Non-intimately possessed nouns are marked by adding a dative marker *7in* ‘to him/ to her’ after the noun.

The following discussion will examine how noun possession is used and extended in the language of poetics. Previously it was noted that many body parts are intimately possessed and as such the possession is fused directly to the noun that is being possessed.
For instance, ‘hand’ in every speech would be $y\text{an}7^{42}$. Similarly, ‘my feet’ would be $k\text{yan}7^{4}$.

However, as noted previously, in the oratory of SJQ authorities the nouns $y\text{a}7^{2}$ ‘hand’ and $k\text{ya}7^{4}$ ‘feet’ are used metaphorically for ‘community guards’. Thus, when these nouns are used metaphorically they are marked periphrastically with the dative particle $7\text{in}^{4}$. The $7\text{in}^{4}$ particle is used to mark non-intimately possessed nouns. Table 10 illustrates this. The first column in Table 10 displays the way the nouns ‘hands’ and ‘feet’ are marked when uttered in a poetic context and the second column displays the way these same nouns are used in everyday language.

*Table 10 Creative uses of noun possessions.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>poetic language</th>
<th>everyday language</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$y\text{an}7^{2} \text{ } 7\text{na}^{42}$</td>
<td>$y\text{an}7^{40}$</td>
<td>‘our hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$k\text{ya}7^{2} \text{ } 7\text{na}^{42}$</td>
<td>$k\text{yan}7^{4}$</td>
<td>‘our feet’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples (116) and (117-119) display the poetic and interlinearized version of an example of the phenomenon we saw in Table 10.

(116) Poetic version Mende

6 $\text{Ngwa}^{2} \text{wan}^{4} \text{ya}7^{2} \text{ } 7\text{na}^{42}$ ‘you were our hands’
7 ngwa\(^2\) wan\(^1\) kya\(^{24}\) 7na\(^{42}\) ‘you were our feet’
8 ngwa\(^2\) wan\(^1\) ‘you were’

Below I present the interlinearized version of (116).

(117) Line 6 Mende

Ngwa\(^2\) wan\(^1\) ya\(^{72}\) 7na\(^{42}\)

ngwa\(^2\) wan ya\(^{72}\) 7na\(^{42}\)
COMPL.be.0 PRO.A.2p hands.0 PRO.A.1.in

‘you were our hands’

(118) line 7 Mende

ngwa\(^2\) wan\(^1\) kya\(^{72}\) 7na\(^{42}\)

ngwa\(^2\) wan kya\(^7\) 7na\(^{42}\)
COMPL.be.0 PRO.A.2p foot.0 PRO.A.1.in

‘you were our foot’

(119) line 8 Mende

ngwa\(^2\) wan\(^1\)

ngwa\(^2\) wan

COMPL.be.0 PRO.A.2p
‘you were’

The creative special marking for this noun in the poetic language creates a sense of humility in the delivery of the oratory. Example (120) from Ligio’s speech further demonstrates the metaphorical use of the nouns “hand” and “feet” to refer to the community guards.

(120) line 23 Ligio

no nga\(^2\) ya7\(^2\), nga\(^{34}\) kya7\(^{32}\) in\(^{20}\) <P>

no nga\(^{34}\) ya7\(^2\), nga\(^{34}\) kya7 in\(^{20}\)

REL PROG.be.0 hand.0 PROG.be.0 feet hm?

‘The ones who are hands, they ones who are foot, hm?!’

4.7.2 Nasal spreading

Another innovation we see in the language of poetics is the nasal spreading in noun possession. Consider example (121) in Mende’s speech.

(121) line 39 Mende

sa\(^4\) ska\(^{32}\) sten\(^4\)-y7aan\(^1\)

ska\(^4\)=ska\(^{32}\) sten y7an\(^1\) =Vn

each one father.POSS.1SG mothers PRO.A.POSS.in
‘our fathers and mothers’

The problem with the noun compound, \textit{sten}^{4}-y7aan\textsuperscript{1} ‘our fathers, our mothers’, in line 39, example (121) is the nasal spreading in the first part of the compound \textit{sten}^{4}.

Table 11, 12 presents a paradigm of the intimately possessed noun for “father” and “mother.”

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
& \textbf{Chatino} & \textbf{English} \\
\hline
1 & \textit{sten}^{4} & ‘my father’ \\
2 & \textit{sti}^{22} & ‘your father’ \\
3 & \textit{sti}^{3} & ‘his father’ \\
1 & \textit{In} & \textit{steen}^{232} & ‘our father inclusive’ \\
\textit{Ex} & \textit{sti}^{3} \textit{wa}^{42} (re^{3}) & ‘our father exclusive’ \\
2 & \textit{sti}^{3} \textit{wan}^{4} & ‘your father’ \\
3 & \textit{sti}^{3} \textit{no}^{4} \textit{kwa}^{3} & ‘their father’ \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{\textit{Table 11 paradigm for father}.}
\end{table}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
& \textbf{Chatino} & \textbf{English} \\
\hline
1 & y7an^{20} & ‘my mother’ \\
2 & y7an^{42} & ‘your mother’ \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{\textit{Table 12 paradigm for mother}.}
\end{table}
<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>y7an¹</td>
<td>‘his/her mother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>In</td>
<td>y7aan¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ex</td>
<td>y7an¹ wa³⁴</td>
<td>‘our mother exclusive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>y7an¹ wan²¹</td>
<td>‘your mother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>y7an¹ no³ kwa³</td>
<td>‘their mother’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In colloquial language the form in example (122) would be expected for ‘our fathers’.

(122) *Steen²⁴²- y7aan¹

But instead the form in example (123) is used, where only the second part of the compound inflects for 1.in

(123) sten⁴-y7aan¹

It should be noted that the expression sten⁴-y7aan¹ is more poetic than the more colloquial, but respectful expression in (124).

(124) ne⁷⁴ kla⁴ 7na⁴²

people older ours

‘our old folks’
4.8 MORPHOLOGICAL VARIATION

Negation

Now the discussion will focus on the variations and combinations used with negative particles in Mende’s speech. The adverbial particle \( ja^4 \) is the most commonly used and it means ‘to negate’. Particle \( ja^4 \) is usually found at the beginning of the sentence. Throughout his speech, Mende makes clever combinations of the particle \( ja^4 \) with other particles in order to create variety in his performance. Here are some combinations he used: \( ja^4, ja^4 \sim 7a^1, ja^4 \sim la^{32}, a^4, la^4 \). The following example (125) from Mende’s speech illustrates this.

(125) line 96 Mende

\[
ja^4 \text{n7ne}^1 \text{yu}^{32}, \text{in}^{20} <\!P> \\
ja^4 \text{7ne}^{24} \text{yu} \text{in}^{20} \\
\text{NEG} \text{ POT.do.0 PRO.A.3.m} \text{hm}?
\]

‘so that they make none, hm? <\!P>’

Next consider example (126). Here negation is achieved with the combination of particle \( ja^4 \) and the emphatic particle \( 7a^1 \).

(126) line 85 (Mende)
sometimes NEG COMPL.be.0 EMPH COMP

7ne\textsuperscript{140} =Vn yny\textsuperscript{3} 7na\textsuperscript{42}

PROG.do.0 1.in work PRO.A.1.in

‘sometimes we weren’t able to do our own work,’

Next consider example (127). Here Mende dropped the velar fricative $j$ and he is negating the phrase using only the vowel with low tone $a^4$.

\begin{align*}
(127) & \quad \text{line 95 Mende} \\
& \quad a^4 n7ne^1 yu^32 rwi^14 du^0 \\
& \quad \underline{a^4} 7ne^24 yu rwi^14=du^0 \\
& \quad \text{NEG POT.do.0 PRO.A.3.m noise} \\
& \quad \text{‘they don’t make any noise’}
\end{align*}

In example (128) we see that Mende is negating with the particle $ja^4$ in a compound $la^4$.$^6$

---

$^6$ The fact that the particle $la^4$ has a rising tone 32 when combine with the particle $ja^4$ has to do with sandhi effect. The particle $la^4$ is underlining a low level tone.
Here the orator achieves negation by compounding the particles *ja*⁴ and *la*⁴.

Next consider example (129).

The phrase in example (129) contains two particles of negation, one at the beginning and another one at the end of the phrase. The particle of negation *la*⁴ at the end of the phrase is strategically placed before a pause. In this position, this particle of negation seems to have several functions. One function appears to be anaphoric.
reinstating and emphasizing the whole phrase. The second function of this particle appears to be that of a transitional phrase. It appears as if the particle is anticipating the next phrase.

(130) line 113 (Mende)

\[la^4 \langle P \rangle \langle \text{Break} \rangle x7ya^{20} \text{ wan}^{24} la^{24} \langle P \rangle \langle \text{Break} \rangle \]

\[la^4 \ x7ya^{20} \ \text{wan} \ \text{la}^{24} \]

NEG POT.scream.0 PRO.A.2p NEG

‘[so that you don't] scream, don’t <P>’

Lastly consider example (130), which is a continuation of the previous phrase in example (130). The lines in examples (130) and (130) are a parallel couplet. The end of this line has a particle of negation which appears to be anaphoric in function.

\textit{Chapter 5: Literary analysis of Mende’s speech}

\textbf{5.1 Introduction}

This section provides an interpretation of Mende’s speech and my goal here is to discuss meaning of each division within the text. This discussion begins with the thematic and rhetorical division of the text including the elements that the orator uses to mark the main sections in the entire text within it and the features that introduce and conclude each division. The thematic content in Mende’s speech transforms from large abstract concepts.
to small tangible issues. He begins his speech with generalities, non specifics and his language evolves into concise everyday language. By the end of the speech the use of colloquial expressions is predominant. Similarly principal or major sections are indicated by entire phrases and the poetic stanzas are often indicated by small adverbializers.

Below I describe some elements that mark divisions in the text.

5.2 **Text Division Strategies**

Mende marks the divisions (sections) within the text by using a series of elements which are repeated periodically throughout it. The elements that delineate the divisions include: entire phrases, function words (namely adverbs, conjunctions, interjections, and complementizers), and pauses <P>. Many of the nine divisions that I propose for Mende’s speech begin with either lines 2 or 3 in example (131, 132).

(131) line 2 Mende

\[
\text{cha}7\text{ no.:}^{24} \text{ ti:}^{3} \text{ ns7ya}^{1} \text{ wa}^{42} \text{ 7wan}^{4}, \text{ in}^{20} \\
\text{cha}7^{1}=\text{no} \quad \text{ti}^{2} \quad \text{ns7ya}^{1} \quad \text{wa}^{42} \quad \text{7wan} \quad \text{in}^{20} \\
\text{so that still PROG.call.0 PRO.A.ex NL.2p hm?} \\
\text{‘in order for you to be we called by us [tonight], hm?<P>’}
\]
5.2.1 *Introduction marking devices*

As mentioned earlier, Mende introduces his speech with the phrase in example (131). He also uses this same expression to introduce sections (V) and (VI). The phrase in example (11b) is another introductory line. This phrase also introduces section (III) in Mende’s speech. Other introductory elements, section (IV), for instance, begin with an adverbial phrase illustrated in example (133) line (67). The same adverbs are present in lines (1 and 2). However, the adverbial phrase in example (133) occupies its own line unlike line 1 or 2 in section (I). An individual line was assigned to the adverbial phrase in (133), because the main phrase that follows this functional category is a parallel couplet.

(132) line 3 Mende
ke:4 sya9 ndya24 ri72 tye32 7wan4, in20 <P> <Break>
ke4 sya10 ndya24=ri72 tye32 7wan in20
CONJ even though HAB.like.0. chest.0 NL.2p hm??
‘as your heart permits [you], hm?’

(133) line 67 Mende
Cha73=no24=ti2
cha73=no24=ti2
ADV
‘an issue’

(134) line 68 Mende

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{ndya}^{14} \text{ ri}^{72} \text{ wa}^{42} \text{ tycki}^{74} \text{ wa}^{42} \\
&\text{ndya}^{24}=\text{ri}^{72} \text{ wa}^{42} \text{ tycki} \text{ wa}^{42} \\
&\text{HAB.want.0 PRO.A.ex POT.speak.0 PRO.A.ex}
\end{align*}
\]

‘we still want to express to you’

Likewise, the adverbial phrase \textit{kan}^{72} \textit{cha}^{73} ‘that is why’ in example (135) introduces division \textit{(VIII)} in Mende’s performance.

(135) line 142 Mende

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{kan}^{72} \text{ cha}^{73} \text{ a}^{24} \text{ no}^{32} \text{ ti}^{2} \text{ ntsan}^{14} \text{ 7wan}^{0} \text{, in}^{20} \text{ sya}^{20} <P> <Break> \\
&\text{kan}^{72}=\text{cha}^{73} \text{ a}^{24} \text{ no}^{4} =\text{ti}^{2} \text{ ntsa}^{14} =\text{Vn} \\
&\text{that is why PROG.be.0 REL only PROG.tell.0 1.in} \\
&\text{7wan in}^{20} \text{ sya}^{20} \\
&\text{NL.2p hm? even}
\end{align*}
\]

‘That's why we still speak to you, hm?’

Similarly, the adverbial phrase \textit{kwangi}^{24} \textit{wan}^{20} ‘as you know’ in example (136) introduces division \textit{(IX)} in Mende’s speech.
5.2.2 Conclusion marking devises

The sentential interjection particle \( m^{20} \), conjunctions 7o1 ‘and’, and pauses \(<P>\), mark conclusions in each division in Mende’s speech. Example (137-138) contains each one of the previously mentioned concluding elements. Line (110), in example (137), marks the transition between divisions (V) and (VI).

(136) line 157 Mende

\[ \text{kwi}^{24} \text{ wan}^{2024} \text{ sa}^{20} \text{ ti}^{704} \text{ wan}^{1}, \text{ in}^{20} \]

\[ \text{kwi}^{24} \text{ wan}^{2024} \text{ sa}^{20} = \text{ ti}^{704} \text{ wan}^{1}, \text{ in}^{20} \]

indeed NL.2p as feeling NL.2p hm?

‘and as you know, hm?’

(137) line 109 Mende

\[ \text{7ne}^{14} \text{ cha}^{73}, \text{ in}^{20} \text{ 7o}^{1} <P> \]

\[ \text{7ne}^{24} = \text{ cha}^{73} \text{ in}^{20} \text{ 7o}^{1} \]

POT.need.0 hm? and

‘they will need it all, hm? And’

(138) line 110 Mende

\[ \text{kan}^{42} \text{ cha}^{73} \text{ a}^{24} \text{ no}^{32} \text{ ti}^{2} \text{ x7ya}^{20} \text{ wa}^{42} \text{ wan}^{4}, \text{ in}^{20} \]

\[ \text{kan}^{42} \text{ cha}^{73} \text{ a}^{24} \text{ no}^{4} \text{ ti}^{2} \text{ x7ya}^{20} \]

171
‘that is why we still call on you [tonight], hm?’

5.2.3 **Thematic Division of Mende’s speech**

Mende’s text is roughly divided into nine parts. Figure (5) provides a summary of the nine divisions in the text.

**Part I**  
Introduction

**Part II**  
Recalls the hardships that past generations went through to establish and maintain community cohesion. Here, the orator also expresses his wishes for future generations to continue the traditions.

**Part III**  
The orator thanks the members of the audience for having shown leadership with the younger public servants.

**Part IV**  
The orator requests that the public servants show their best behavior and conduct themselves with decorum when the members of the new administration arrive for the ceremony of the changing of authorities.
Part V  A request is made to the young community guards to not take any property that belongs to the city hall.

Part VI  The orator reminds the young community guards that they will always need to return to city hall, either to fulfill a post or to request its services in the future.

Part VII  The orator describes undesirable behavior displayed by past community guards and asks the outgoing guard not to follow suit.

Part VIII  The orator describes ideal behavior desired of community guards.

Part IX  Conclusion.

*Figure 5 Thematic division in Mende’s text.*

Next, I will present a discussion on each one of the nine divisions in Mende’s text.

Text Example 2

5.2.4  Part I

Cha73 tynya24 ‘Chatino’  English

I

Subdivision A

1  Cha73 no\(^{24}\) t7wi::\(^{24}\) cha7\(^{3}\) tlyu\(^{2}\) ri7\(^{2}\) 7wan\(^{1}\)  May you have forgiveness in your heart

173
And that's why we called on you [tonight], hm? <P>
as your heart permits [you], hm? <P>

Subdivision B

where we sat
where we stood, hm? <P>
you were our hands
you were our feet
you were
[you went] you carried out
any task
any work we ordered, hm? <P>

Subdivision C

sometimes <p>we scolded you
sometimes with kindness we spoke
sometimes wrongly we spoke
sometimes <P>
And it was that god
the one who was patient with us
the one who gave strength
the one who gave wisdom
that one
We went, we traveled, hm? <P>
on behalf of the mountains
on behalf of the community, hm?
We did not go [carry out this task]
for our own selfish reasons
or because we wanted to, hm?

Subdivision D

it was because <P>
the mountains put us here
the community put us here, hm?
that is why we spoke
that is why we were [authorities]
that is why we dwelled<P>
to care for
all there is
5.2.4.1 Subdivision in section I

Section I in Mende’s text is further subdivided into 4 subsections (A, B, C, D). The recurrent theme in this part is community. The orators express the hardship and the sacrifice every one endured during their term. Mende expresses this by using figures of speech such as parallel, metonymic, and metaphorical language. In the text he also uses positional, motion, and existential verbs to express the overall theme of the section. Section I contains more figures of speech than the subsequent divisions in the text.

Subdivision A contains three lines and it introduces the entire speech. The first two lines of the couplet begin with an adverbializer expression cha7 noi ‘so that’ each line in this couplet is marked as complete by the interjection particle in20. The final stanza is marked by the particle and a pause.

Subdivision B contains three parallel stanzas. One enjambment at the end of line 9 is indicated by the verb phrase ya42 wan ‘you went’. Subdivisions B and C begin with parallel verse. Subdivision C contains five parallel stanzas. The first two are quadruples (12-16) and (17-20). Line 20 appears to be an enjambment transition. Line 21 begins with a minimal expression of a couplet. This line contains two synonymous verb phrases yaan
we went and 7aan we went around. This line is the subject of the next variable couplet in lines 22, 23. The end of this stanza verse is indicated by the interjection particle \textit{in}^{20}. Line 24 opposes the motives described in line 21. Here the orator states that they did not go for their own shelfish reasons, but they did it because the mountains and community ordered it this way. The end of this subsection is marked by the interjection particle \textit{in}^{20} in line 26.

Subdivision D begins in line 27 with the adverbializer \textit{kwi}^{24} ‘that same one’ and after the initial phrase there are two consecutive parallel verses. The transition in 33 is an enjambment. The end of the entire section is indicated by the high rising \textit{in}^{20} particle and a pause <P>.

Next I will make comments on some important elements in each one of the subdivisions that we just described.

\textbf{5.2.4.2 Subdivision A}

In subdivision A, Mende uses the first three lines of his speech to address the young community guards with deep humility. He apologizes and thanks them for having come to his call one last time. Mende delivers the initial lines very slowly, in an almost hesitant way. He frequently uses the \textit{in}^{20} ‘[hm?]’ particle at the end of each of the initial lines, because the interjection particle \textit{in}^{20} ‘[hm?]’ adds an emphatic tone to the message of the entire sentence.
5.2.4.3  Subdivision B

Using parallel couplets and triplets, metaphors, and metonyms, in subdivision B, Mende describes the services the community guards carry out on behalf of the higher authorities and the community as a whole.

Consider lines (4, 5) in the poetic version in example (139).

(139)  Poetic version (Mende)

4  s7en⁴ kwan⁴⁰  
   where we sat

5  s7en⁴ ndoon⁴², in²⁰ <P>  
   where we stood, hm?<P>

Below I present an interlinearized version of (139).

(140)  line 4  Mende

s7en⁴ kwan⁴⁰

s7en⁴ kwa¹⁴  =Vn

where  COMPL.sit.0  l.in

‘where we sat’

(141)  line 5  Mende

s7en⁴ ndoon⁴², in²⁰ <P> <Break>

s7en⁴ ndon⁴²  =Vn  in²⁰

178
The stanza in example (140, 141) is a parallel construction and a metonymy. Metonymy is a figure of speech in which the name of an attribute or a thing is substituted for the thing itself (Cuddon 1998). Common examples in English are ‘The stage’ for the theatrical profession and ‘The crown’ for the monarchy. Lines (4, 5) in Mende’s speech use two positional verbs: *tkwa* ‘to sit’ and *tyon* ‘to stand’, to substitute for the functions and roles the governing authorities fulfilled during their term.

Stanza (4,5) is also a parallel couplet, and the two lines which make up this couplet have more similarities than differences. They share one syntactic frame: both phrases begin with an adverb *s7en* ‘where’ followed by a variable slot occupied by two positional verbs, *tkwa* ‘to sit’ and *tyon* ‘to stand’. Both variable verb phrases are in completive aspect, and both are inflected for (1.in), which allows two interpretations for the phrase. The first interpretation includes Mende speaking on behalf of himself and the other higher governing authorities. The second interpretation includes Mende speaking on behalf of himself and of all the people who served with him in the city hall, including all the lower ranking community guards that he is addressing in his speech.

---

5.2.4.4  *Subdivision C*

---

7 Stanza is a group of related lines.
Next, consider the elements contained in example (142) in subdivision C in section I of the text.

(142)
Poetic presentation

16 kwi\textsuperscript{24} ndyo\textsuperscript{14}=si\textsuperscript{0} jan\textsuperscript{42} And it was that god
17 kan\textsuperscript{42} no\textsuperscript{4} nge\textsuperscript{42} 7na\textsuperscript{42} the one who was patient with us
18 kan\textsuperscript{42} no\textsuperscript{4} nda:\textsuperscript{3} jwe\textsuperscript{4}=sa\textsuperscript{10} 7na\textsuperscript{42} the one who gave strength
19 kan\textsuperscript{42} nda:\textsuperscript{3} cha\textsuperscript{7} tya\textsuperscript{20} ri\textsuperscript{7}\textsuperscript{2} 7na\textsuperscript{42} the one who gave wisdom
20 ka::n\textsuperscript{42} <P> that one/ then<P>
21 yaan\textsuperscript{42}, 7aan\textsuperscript{242}, in\textsuperscript{39} <P> We went, we traveled, hm? <P>

Below I present an interlinearized version of (142).

(143) line 16 Mende
kwi\textsuperscript{24} ndyo\textsuperscript{14}=si\textsuperscript{0} jan\textsuperscript{42}

\underline{kwi\textsuperscript{24}} \hspace{1cm} \underline{ndyo\textsuperscript{14}=si\textsuperscript{0}} \hspace{1cm} \underline{jan\textsuperscript{42}}
indeed \hspace{1cm} god \hspace{1cm} that

‘and it was that god’

(144) line 17 Mende
kan\textsuperscript{42} no\textsuperscript{4} nge\textsuperscript{42} 7na\textsuperscript{42}

\underline{kan\textsuperscript{42}} \hspace{1cm} \underline{no} \hspace{1cm} \underline{nge\textsuperscript{42}} \hspace{1cm} \underline{7na\textsuperscript{42}}
that one COMPL.patient.0 PRO.A.1.in
‘the one who was patient with us’

(145) line 18  Mende
kan7\textsuperscript{42} no^{4} nda\textsuperscript{3} jwe\textsuperscript{4} sa\textsuperscript{10} 7na\textsuperscript{42}
kan7\textsuperscript{42} no nda\textsuperscript{3} jwe\textsuperscript{4}=sa\textsuperscript{10} 7na\textsuperscript{42}
DEM REL COMPL.give.0 strength PRO.A.1.in
‘the one who gave strength’

(146) line 19  Mende
kan7\textsuperscript{42} nda\textsuperscript{3} cha\textsuperscript{7} tya\textsuperscript{20} ri\textsuperscript{7} 7na\textsuperscript{42} <Break>
kan7\textsuperscript{42} nda\textsuperscript{3} cha\textsuperscript{7}=tya\textsuperscript{20}=ri\textsuperscript{7} 7na\textsuperscript{42}
DEM COMPL.give.0 wisdom PRO.A.1.in
‘the one who gave wisdom’

(147) line 20  Mende
ka:n\textsuperscript{742} <P> <Break>
kan7\textsuperscript{42}
then
‘that one/this way <P>’

(148) line 21  Mende
181
yaan\textsuperscript{42}, 7aan\textsuperscript{242}, in\textsuperscript{20} <P> <Break>

\begin{align*}
ya \textsuperscript{42} &= Vn \quad 7an\textsuperscript{4} = Vn \quad \text{in}\textsuperscript{20} \\
\text{COMPL.NB.go.0} & \quad 1.\text{in} \quad \text{COMPL.NB.go around.0} \quad 1.\text{in} \quad \text{hm}?
\end{align*}

‘We went, we traveled, hm? <P>’

The adverb \textit{kwi7\textsuperscript{24}} ‘that one’ in example (143) greatly heightens the message of the four-line parallel structure which starts in line (17). Now consider the frame tag \textit{kan7\textsuperscript{42}} which concludes the parallel stanza in line (20). The word \textit{kan7\textsuperscript{42}} ‘that one’ is a demonstrative adverb, which is usually used to refer to objects not present at the time of speaking. However, \textit{kan7\textsuperscript{42}} is acting as transition adverb I will call ‘then’. Thus in this position \textit{kan7\textsuperscript{42}} has two additional functions: it is a frame tag, and it is also a transition particle, giving way to the parallel couplet in line 21 example (147).

Next consider the lines in example (149).

(149) Poetic version Mende

22 cha\textsuperscript{73} 7in\textsuperscript{24} 7ya\textsuperscript{2} on behalf of the mountains

23 cha\textsuperscript{73} 7in\textsuperscript{24} chin\textsuperscript{32},in\textsuperscript{20} on behalf of the community, hm?

24 ja\textsuperscript{1} -la\textsuperscript{32} yaan\textsuperscript{42} We did not go [carry out this task]

25 cha\textsuperscript{73} 7na\textsuperscript{42} skaan\textsuperscript{242} for our own selfish reasons

26 cha\textsuperscript{73} nga\textsuperscript{24} 7a\textsuperscript{1} tyi:n\textsuperscript{1}, in\textsuperscript{20} or because we wanted to, hm?
The examples below present an interlinearized version of (149)

(150) line 22 Mende
cha7^n 7in^23 7ya^2
cha7^n=7in 7ya^2
on behalf of mountain
‘on behalf of the mountains’

(151) line 23 Mende
cha7^n 7in^23 chin^32, in^20 <Break>
cha7^n=7in chin^4 in^20
on behalf of community hm?
‘on behalf of the community, hm?’

The couplet in (150, 151) is a figure of speech known as personification, which occurs when a non-human noun is given human attributes. Here, Mende gives human attributes to the mountains and community by stating that everything they did during their term in city hall was on behalf of the mountains and the community.

(152) line 24 Mende
ja^4-la^32 yaan^32 <Break>
ja^4=la^32 ya^42 =Vn

183
NEG COMPL.go.0 1.in

‘We did not go [carry out this task]’

Line (24) in example (152) negates the statement in line (151) and continues the personification of mountains and community by saying they did not go, they did not serve the community, for their own selfish reason, but because it was ordered by the mountains and the community. Next consider the parallel structures in example (153).

5.2.4.5 Subdivision C

(153) Poetic version

27 kwi7^24 <P>  
it was because <P>

28 cha7^3 xtya^20 7ya^2  
the mountains put us here

29 cha7^3 xtya^20 chin4 7na^42, in^20  
the community put us here, hm?

30 kan7^42-cha7^3 ykween7^142  
that is why we spoke

31 kan7^42-cha7^3 nkwaan^21  
that is why we were [authorities]

32 kan7^42-cha7^3 7en^242 <P>  
that is why we dwelled<P>

33 7an^42 seen^4232  
to care for

34 ndya^4 ska^4 ska^32 na3 no^42 ndya:^32  
all there is

35 no^4-nga^24 7ya^2  
that belongs to the mountains
The ten lines in (27-37) in example (153) have three parallel structures. The first one is a couplet, a personification of mountains and community. The next parallel construction in lines (30-32) is a triplet. This stanza provides specific examples of the roles that governmental authorities did for the mountains and community.

The triple parallel structure in line (30-32) example (153) continues to justify the rationale of the personification of mountain and community that we saw in example (152). In these lines, the orator states that they did all they did during their tenure because the mountains and community ordered it. The metonymy in this triplet is also ambiguous and lends itself to several readings. The most obvious reading is that Mende makes it seem as if everyone (Mende, other higher ranking officials, and the lower ranking community guards) carry out the activities he lists in these three lines. This stanza also allows the interpretation that only the higher authorities carry out the activities listed here. Example (153) ends in another triplet parallel stanza. The lexical nouns for “mountains” and community resurface here again.

The parallel phrases, especially the ones containing numerous listings, are performed at a fast rate by all orators in SJQ. Skillful orators in SJQ are able to compact many lines in one listing. The stanzas in example (153) are performed the fastest in the entire text. As a result of these fast deliveries, the last phrases of the speech become inaudible. Also while performing this passage in example (153) it seems as if the orator

185
uses the adverb *kwi*\(^{24}\) ‘that one’ in line (27) to gain strength and momentum to perform the subsequent lines. The great conviction with which Mende performs the existential verb *7en*\(^4\) ‘to be’ in line (32) is also very salient. Here the orator, as with previous lines, gathers his strength to utter the next passage in lines (33-37). The last stanza in division (I) is presented in example (153). In this Example, the orator continues to justify the activities of the governing authorities during their term in city hall.

(154) Poetic version

34 ndya\(^4\) ska\(^4\) ska\(^{32}\) na\(^3\) no\(^{42}\) ndya\(^{32}\) all there is

35 no\(^4\)-nga\(^{24}\) 7ya\(^2\) that belongs to the mountains

36 no\(^4\)-nga\(^{24}\) chin\(^1\) that belongs to the community

37 no\(^4\)-nga\(^{24}\), in\(^{20}\) 7o\(^1\) <P> that belongs, hm? And <P>

Below is the interlinearized version of (154)

(155) line 34 Mende

\[ \text{ndya}^{4} \text{ska}^{4} \text{ska}^{32} \text{na}^{3} \text{no}^{42} \text{ndya}^{32} \]

\[ \text{ndya}^{4} \text{ska}^{4}=\text{ska}^{32} \text{na}^{3} \text{no} \text{ndya}^{32} \]

all each one thing PROG.exist.0

‘all there is’

(156) line 35 Mende

\[ \text{no}^{4}-\text{nga}^{24} \text{7ya}^{2} \]

186
no nga₂⁴ 7ya²

the ones that PROG.be.0 mountain

‘that belongs to the mountains’

(157) line 36 Mende

no⁴-nga²⁴ chin¹

no nga²⁴ chin⁴

the ones that PROG.be.0 community

‘that belongs to the community’

(158) line 37 Mende

no⁴-nga²⁴, in²⁰ 7o¹ <P> <Break>

no nga²⁴, in²⁰, 7o¹

the one that PROG.be.0 hm? and

‘that belong, hm? And <P>’

Lines (34-37) continue the same personification of mountain and communities that we saw in examples (154). In examples (155, 156, 157, 158), the orator continues to display details about the activities they did on behalf of the community. For instance, Mende states that they took care of things belonging to the mountain and the community.
Line (37) concludes section (I). At this point, we noticed that the interjection particle $in^{20}$, the conjunction $7o^{1}$, and the pause $<P>$ indicate the end of the entire division. The following section will describe the meaning of part II in Mende’s speech.

Text Example 3

II

38 kwan$^{20} ti^{24} a^{1} ya:n^{42}$ in the same way came our
39 sa$^{4} ska^{32} sten^{1}y7aan^{1}$ our fathers and mothers
40 no$^{4} wa^{2} ngwa^{1} ynya^{3}$ the ones who have been work
41 no$^{4} wa^{2} ngwa^{1} chin^{4}, in^{20} 7o^{1}$ the ones who have been community,
        hm?
42 kwi$^{24} wan^{04} ti^{2} <P>tsa^{14} te^{20} lo^{14}, in^{20}$ And things should be the same in the
        future, hm?
43 kwi$^{24} jan^{42} 7a^{24} tyi^{32} 7o^{1}$ may that not be lost and
44 kwi$^{24} jan^{42} 7a^{24} xy7a^{2}$ may that not be changed
45 ni$^{4} cha^{1} kwa^{32} ra^{1} <P>$ for all time as long as$<P>$
46 nt7een$^{20} 7ya^{2}$ the mountains are here
47 nt7en$^{4} kchin^{32}, in^{20} 7o1<P>$ the community is here, hm? And

In section (II), the orator reminds the audience about the sacrifices past

generations in SJQ endured so they could establish the community and maintain its
traditions. This passage makes allusion to three times: the past, present and future. Here we see prosodic features (namely pause), aspect, and function words such as the conjunction 7o’ come to the aid of the orator to move from one time frame to the other. In line (41) we see the orator transitioning from completive aspect when citing past generations to the his hopes for future generations to continue this transition using the potential aspect. In the subsequent lines, Mende expresses his hopes and desires for the viability of these traditions into the future for as long as the mountains and the community remain using the progressive aspect. Example (159) illustrates this.

(159) line 38 Mende

kwan²⁰ ti²⁴ 7a²⁴ yan⁴² <Break>
kwan²⁰ =ti=7a yan⁴²
in the same manner COMPL.NB.come.0
‘in the same way came our’

(160) line 42 Mende

kwi⁷⁴ wan⁰⁴ ti²⁴ <P> tsa¹⁴ te³⁰ lo¹⁴, in³⁰ <Break>
kwi⁷⁴ wan⁰⁴=ti tsa¹ te³⁰=lo¹⁴ in³⁰
the same POT.NB.go.0 ahead hm?
‘And things should be the same in the future, hm?’

Line (38) in example (159) forms a parallel couplet with line (160) in the same example. This parallel couplet shares one syntactic frame. Both verbs in this couplet are the ones used when expressing activities outside base. The verb yan⁴² indicates that a person visited the speaker while the speaker was outside base. This means that the ancestors came to this world of the living and are no longer here. The verb tsa²⁴ in line (42) is used by the speakers when they want ‘to go or take a trip outside of base’. The notion of base non base (NB) appear to be implying a hierarchy between the world of the dead and the world of the living. The orator uses the verb with the non base feature to refer to the activity of the people who are still alive. By contrast it uses the verb with the base (B) feature to refer to the world of the dead. The couplet is very effective at exploding the aspect, and base and non base feature of the motion verb go. The completive aspect for motion from ancestors came to the speaker and it uses the potential for future actions of the living people. The alternation of aspect and base, non base in this couplet is very effective at bridging the past to the future.

Next, we move to metaphors in the couplet found in Figure 9 lines (40, 41). Line (40) uses the metaphor ynya³ ‘work’ to refer to people who occupy a post in the city hall. In the same way, in line (41) the noun chin⁴ ‘community’ is used as a metaphor for someone who also occupies a post in city hall. The examples in (161-162) are the interlinearized versions of these metaphors.
Mende concludes section II with a powerful statement, which is presented in example (163-165). Here the orator expresses his hopes for the community traditions to continue for as long as the mountains and community are here. The orator uses the progressive aspects of the existential verbs tyin⁴ ‘to be, to have’ for this section. This is understandable, since the mountains and the community are here right now.
Next, we describe the meaning of section III in Mende’s speech.

Text Example 4

III
as your heart permits [you], hm? <P>
you commanded

other guards

other younger people

others, hm?

you, hm?

you gave them tasks

you sent them on missions

they went

they traveled, hm? <P> And<p>

now, hm?<P>

we thank god for having<P>

no24 wa:2 <P>

completed our year

for having completed our moon [month]

completed our star [day], hm? <P>

We only need to be released from our obligations

we only need to leave

with our contribution (here)

with our community, hm? And <P>
The overall theme in Mende’s speech moves from the general to the specific. At the beginning of the text, a more abstract language is presented, using metaphors and metonyms. By section (III), we begin to notice a more colloquial use of the language.

This section begins in line (48), and the opening statement here is the same as the opening statement in line (3) in section (I). In section (I), the issues presented after the opening statement include a fancy description of the roles of the community guards, the higher governing authorities, and the community. The description in this initial part is given in a rapid succession of parallel structures, metaphors, and metonyms, which makes the message very ambiguous.

The lines following the opening statement in line (48) presented in an interlinearized version in example (26) have fewer parallel constructions, metaphors, and metonyms. For instance, in lines (49-51) the mayor asks the community guardians in the audience to advise the younger people, the people they have been overseeing, to demonstrate their best behavior. Here we suddenly realize that the people inside the city hall listening to Mende’s speech are not the lowest ranking community guards. Those guards are playing outside around the fire. The people who are in the room listening to Mende’s speech are the ones who occupy the second hierarchy in the tier of governing authorities. See Table 2 for an illustration of the hierarchy of the governing authorities of SJQ. This is illustrated in the examples below.

(166) line 48 Mende
In section (III), Mende addresses the audience in the second person plural inflection (2pl). By using the 2pl, Mende commands more authority. Illustrations of this are presented in example (166).

(167) Poetic presentation (Mende)

49 ngwa\(^2\) wan\(^1\) x7na\(^1\) you commanded
50 sa\(^4\) ska\(^{32}\) yu\(^4\) skan\(^4\) other guards
51 sa\(^4\) ska\(^{32}\) yu\(^4\) xwe\(^{32}\) la\(^{24}\) other younger people

Examples below present an interlinearized version of (167).

(168) line 49 Mende

ngwa\(^2\) wan\(^1\) x7na\(^1\)
ngwa\(^2\) wan x7na\(^1\)
COMPL.be.0 PRO.A.2p boss
‘you commanded’

(169) line 50 Mende

195
The next section describes part (IV) in Mende’s oratory.

Text Example 5

IV

67 Cha73 no24 an issue
68 t'il2 ndya14 ri72 wa42 tykwi74 wa42 we still want to express to you
69 t'il2 ndya14 ri72 wa42 ktsa14 wa42 we still want to convey to you, hm?
70 cha73 no24 <P> our wish that
71 s7we3 ti24 n7ne24 wan32 you show your best behavior

196
you show your best manners, the best, hm?  
let us leave in a dignified way  
Let us leave in the best way, hm?  

may god help us  
when we are released from our obligations  
when we have finished our term  
then, we will remember  
our work at home  
so that we continue to exist,  
so that we continue to survive,  
because  
while we sat, resided [presided]  
sometimes we weren't able to do our own work,  
sometimes our work [harvest] got spoiled  
sometimes
In this section of the oratory, Mende counsels the community guards to reflect and demonstrate the best in themselves for the ceremony of the changing of the authorities. It is comprised of five parallel stanzas: three couplets, one triplet, and one quintuplet. The first two stanzas in lines (67, 70) are introduced by the adverbial expression cha7' no24 ‘so that’. The endings of the stanzas are indicated by the interjection particle in20 ‘[hm?]’ and a pause <P>. Next, I will discuss some of the parallel verses in this section.

(171) Mende

67  Cha7' no24  an issue
68  ti3 ndya14 ri72 wa42 tykwi74 wa42  we still want to express to you
69  ti3 ndya14 ri72 wa42 ktsa14 wa42  we still want to convey to you, hm?

7wan4, in20

The couplet in example (171) introduces this section of the speech. The adverbializer cha7' no24 ‘so that’ in lines (67) marks the beginning of the couplet verse in lines (68, 69). The construction ends with the high rising interjection particle in20 ‘[hm?]’.

(172) Mende

70  cha7' no24 <P>  our wish that
71  s7we3 ti24 n7ne24 wan32  you show your best behavior
72  s7we3 ti24 kan742 wan4  you show your best manners,
73  s7we3 ti24, in20 <P>  the best, hm? <P>
74  s7we3 ti24 ty7oon20  let us leave in a dignified way
Let us leave in the best way, hm?

The construction in example (172) also begin with the adverbializer cha7' no24 ‘so that’ which introduces a quintuple in lines (71-75).

(173) Mende

76 ndyo14 si:0 7ne04 yu32 ra14 7na42 may god helps us
77 no20 wa2 lan21 when we are released from our obligations
78 wa2 kaan742 when we have finished our term
79 kan720 kya14 jy7wi32 reen72 <P> then, we will remember <P>
80 jnya3 ndya32 7na42 7an4 tyi:n14 <P> our work at home <P>

(174) line 77 Mende

no20 wa2 lan21

no20 wa2 la3 =Vn

when already COMPL.release.0 1.in

‘when we are released from our obligations’

(175) line 78 Mende

wa2 kaan742

wa2 [kan742] =Vn

already finish.0 1.in
‘when we have finished our term’

The second line (78) in this couplet is occupied by a dummy verb *kan7* ‘that one’ whose only function is to echo and emphasize the message from the first line.

(176) line 79

\[
\text{kan7}^{20} \text{ kya}^{24} \text{ y7wi}^{32} \text{ reen7}^{2} \text{ <P> <Break> }
\]

\[
[\text{kan7}^{20} \text{ kya}^{24} = \text{y7wi}^{32} \text{ ri7}^{2}] = \text{Vn}
\]

\[
\text{then} \quad [\text{POT.} \text{remember.0}] \quad \text{1.in}
\]

‘then, we will remember <P>’

(177) line 80

\[
\text{jnya}^{3} \text{ ndya}^{32} \text{ 7na}^{42} \text{ 7an}^{4} \text{ tyi:n}^{14} \text{ <P> <Break> }
\]

\[
\text{ynya}^{3} \text{ ndya}^{32} \quad \text{7na}^{42} \quad \text{7an}^{4} \quad \text{tyi}^{4} = \text{Vn}
\]

\[
\text{work} \quad \text{PROG.exist.0} \quad \text{PRO.A.1.in} \quad \text{house.0} \quad \text{PRO.A} \quad \text{1.in}
\]

‘our work at home <P>’

The adverbial particle *kan7* ‘then’ indicates an enjambment between previous lines and the next stanza which begins in line 80.
Line (80) in example (177) introduces the synonymous couplet in lines (80 and 81). The five lines in this section are spoken very rapidly. The orator pronounces the last element in line 84 \textit{7een}\textsuperscript{242} ‘we stayed or presided’ with great conviction and strength.

(178) Mende

\begin{verbatim}
81  Cha7\textsuperscript{3} ti\textsuperscript{2} jin\textsuperscript{1} yaa7\textsuperscript{0}  so that we continue to exist,
82  cha7\textsuperscript{3} ti\textsuperscript{2} jin\textsuperscript{1} jy7wi\textsuperscript{20} 7na\textsuperscript{42}  so that we continue to survive,
83  7we\textsuperscript{3} 7a\textsuperscript{24} no\textsuperscript{24}  because
84  kwaan\textsuperscript{14}, 7een\textsuperscript{242}  while we sat, resided [presided]
85  ndya\textsuperscript{32} ra\textsuperscript{0} <p> ja\textsuperscript{4} <p> ngwa\textsuperscript{2} 7a\textsuperscript{1}  sometimes <P>we weren't <p>able
\end{verbatim}

Next we describe section (V) in Mende’s text.

Text Example 6

\begin{verbatim}
V
88  ja\textsuperscript{4} ne\textsuperscript{1} 7o\textsuperscript{1} kan7\textsuperscript{42} cha7\textsuperscript{3} a\textsuperscript{24} no\textsuperscript{32} ti\textsuperscript{2}  yes indeed, and that is why we call
nx7ya\textsuperscript{20} wa\textsuperscript{12} 7wan\textsuperscript{4}, in\textsuperscript{20}  on you [tonight], hm?
89  cha7\textsuperscript{3} no:\textsuperscript{24} <P>  so that [you] <P>
90  tykwi\textsuperscript{4} 7a\textsuperscript{1} wan\textsuperscript{14} 7o\textsuperscript{1}  do not cease to counsel
91  sa\textsuperscript{4} ska\textsuperscript{32} yu\textsuperscript{4} skan\textsuperscript{4}  do not cease to advise the other
    guards [your subordinates]
\end{verbatim}
other younger men,

others, hm?

so that

They don't make any noise

so that they make none, hm? <P>

so that they don't take anything that

belongs to this place

take nothing, hm?

because <P>

all that is here

inside this city hall, hm? <P>

belongs to the community

right and <P>

the same [things] will be used

when the new administration comes

when they come, hm? <P>

and on the same way they will need

<P> tools [to perform their duties]

they will need materials [to carry out
their task]

they will need it all, hm? And
In section (V), Mende orders ask the audience to make sure that the younger community guards playing outside not take any material property inside the city hall when they leave. He tells them all of these properties belong to the community as a whole and that the new administration will need to use these things for the duration of their term.

This section is comprised of at least four parallel stanzas: 1 couplets and 2 triplets, and one quadruple. Like in previous parts of the oratory, the adverbial expression cha7\(^3\) no\(^{24}\) ‘so that’ in line (89) is used to introduce some of the parallel stanzas. Next I will discuss some of the parallel verses contain in this section.

(179) line 91

Mende

sa\(^{4}\) ska\(^{32}\) yu\(^{4}\) skan\(^{4}\)

\(\text{sa}^{4} \text{=ska}^{32}\) yu skan

\text{each one} \quad \text{PRO.A.3.m} \quad \text{community guard}

‘do not cease to advise the other guards [your subordinates]’

(180) line 92

sa\(^{4}\) ska\(^{32}\) yu\(^{4}\) xwe\(^{32}\) la\(^{24}\)

\(\text{sa}^{4} \text{=ska}^{32}\) yu xwe la

203
each one  PRO.A.3.m small superlative

‘other younger men,’

(181) line 93

sa⁴ ska³², in²⁰

sa⁴=ska³² in²⁰

uno que otro  hm?

‘others, hm?’

The triplet in examples (179-181) has two synonymous variables. The word ne⁷⁴ skan⁴ ‘community guard’ collocates with the expression no⁴ xwe³² la²¹ ‘young people’.

This triplet ends in a frame tag in line (93). Next consider the parallel verses in example (182-186) below.

(182) line 94 Mende

cha⁷³ no²⁴

cha⁷³=no

so that

‘so that’

(183) line 95

a⁴ nēnē¹ yu³² rwī¹⁴ du⁹

204
‘they don’t make any noise’

(184) line 96

ja₄ n7ne¹ yu₃², in²⁰ <P>
ja₄ 7ne²⁴ yu in²⁰
NEG POT.do.0 PRO.A.3.m hm?
‘so that they make none, hm? <P>’

(185) line 97

ja₄ 7ya¹ yu⁰ sa⁴ ska³² na³ nt7en²⁴
ja₄ 7ya¹ yu sa⁴=sk₃² na³ nt7en³
NEG POT.take.0 PRO.A.3.m any thing PROG.exist.0
‘so that they don’t take anything that belongs to this place,’

(186) line 98

ja₄ 7ya¹ yu⁰, in²⁰
ja₄ 7ya¹ yu in²⁰
NEG POT.take.0 PRO.A.3.m hm?
‘take nothing, hm?’

This quadruplet which repeats the negation particle in each beginning line is comprised of two sets of couplets of the form AABB. The initial line in each couplet contains one a constant and one variable. The second line in each unit deletes the variable. This seem to be the overall behavior of quadruples in this text.

Section (V) concludes with the following triplet.

(187) line 107

\[
\text{kwi}^7 \text{na}^3 \text{ja}^7 \text{yu}^2
\]

\[
\text{kwi}^7 \text{7ne}^7 \text{=cha}^7 \text{na}^3 \text{[ja]}^7 \text{yu}
\]

\[
\text{also} \quad \text{POT.need.0} \quad \text{thing} \quad \text{POT.use.0} \quad \text{PRO.A.3.m}
\]

‘and on the same way they will need <P> tools [to perform their duties]’

(188) line 108

\[
\text{7ne}^7 \text{cha}^7 \text{na}^3 \text{xnyi}^4 \text{yu}^2
\]

\[
\text{7ne}^7 \text{=cha}^7 \text{na}^3 \text{xnyi}^4 \text{yu}
\]
POT.need.0 thing POT.hold.0 PRO.A.3.m

‘they will need materials [to carry out their task]’

(189) line 109

7ne\textsuperscript{14} cha\textsuperscript{73}, in\textsuperscript{20} 7o\textsuperscript{i} <P>

7ne\textsuperscript{24}=cha\textsuperscript{73} \hfill \text{in}\textsuperscript{20} 7o\textsuperscript{i}

POT.need.0 \quad hm? \quad and

‘they will need it all, hm? And’

This triplet parallel stanza is introduced by the adverbial particle *kwi\textsuperscript{724} ‘that same one’ in example (187) and concludes with the conjunction particle 7o\textsuperscript{i} and a pause <P> in example (189). Two of the lines in this triplet have one variable each and the last line is a frame tag. The variables are semantically related. This is one of the few sections where Mende addresses the community guards in the second person plural inflection. Next, we proceed to describe section (VI) in Mende’s speech.

Text Example 7

VI

110 kan\textsuperscript{72} cha\textsuperscript{73} a no.\textsuperscript{32} ti\textsuperscript{2} x7ya\textsuperscript{20} wa\textsuperscript{42} \quad that is why we still call on you

7wan\textsuperscript{i}, in\textsuperscript{20} \quad [tonight], hm?
so that <P>
you don't make any noise, don't <P>
[so that you don't] scream <P>
Because as you know now, hm? <P>
some of you
will be off duty for only one year,
or
will be off duty for only two years,
then <P>
you will fulfill a new role,
you will have new <P> wisdom to offer,
you will have new experiences to share,
you will have new things [to offer],
hm?
always, hm? <P>
we will always return
to this city hall, that's right <P>
And that is why I hope that <P>
We leave in good standing,

let’s us do so

the best, hm? And

This section is comprised of four parallel verses: one couplet, 1 triplet, and there is one stanza that has six lines of verse. The stanza that that has six lines contains one couplet and quatrain. Mende addresses the community guards in the second person singular (2PL) as opposed to first person plural inclusive 1. in that he uses frequently throughout the speech. Towards the end of this section, in line (127), the orator returns to using the first person inclusive to remind the community guards that the time has come for all of them, including Mende himself, to leave.

In section (VI), Mende asks the members of the audience to not make any noise and not scream when they are released from their duties and he does this in the couplets in lines (190-113).
(191) line 112 Mende

ja⁴ 7ne¹ wan³² rwi¹⁴ du⁰

ja⁴ 7ne²⁴ wan rwi¹⁴=du⁰

NEG POT.do.0 PRO.A.2p noise

‘you don’t make any noise,’

(192) line 113

la⁴ <P> <Break>x⁷ya²⁰ wan²⁴ la²⁴ <P> <Break>

la⁴ x⁷ya²⁰ wan la²⁴

NEG POT.scream.0 PRO.A.2p NEG

‘[so that you don’t] scream, don’t <P>’

Now consider this six line verse in example (193-200)

(193) line 115 Mende

ndya³² 7wan³²

ndya³² 7wan

PROG.exist.0 NL.2p

‘some of you’

(194) line 116 Mende
‘will be off duty for only one year,’

This verse contains this transition line.

‘will be off duty for only two years, then <P>’
other hardwork already POT.be.0 PRO.A.2p

‘you will fulfill a new role,’

(198) line 120 Mende

xka³² <p>cha³³ tykwi⁷ wan²⁴

xka³² cha³³ tykwi wan

other thing POT.say.₀ PRO.A.2p

‘you will have new wisdom to offer,’

(199) line 121 Mende

xka³² cha³³ ta²⁰ wan²⁴

xka³² cha³³ ta wan

other thing POT.give.₀ PRO.A.2p

‘you will have new experiences to share,’

(200) line 122 Mende

xka³² cha³³, in²⁰ <Break>

xka³² cha³³ in²⁰

other thing hm?

‘you will have new things [to offer], hm?’
This six line parallel verse has embedded several couplets and triplets. All of them are built from each other. These parallel verses are introduced by the verb phrase in example (193) ndya\textsuperscript{32} 7wan\textsuperscript{32} ‘some of you’. The introduction is followed by the couplet in the lines 118-119. Here Mende reminds the young guards that they will be free from their duties to the city hall for one or two years only. Then there is a big pause to indicate that the orator is going to change themes. In line (119) he begins a quatrain that starts with the word xka\textsuperscript{33} ‘another’. The interesting thing with this quatrain is that the variables are not quite synonymous, but they are somewhat related to the work in the city hall. The variable in line stands apart from the next two subsequent lines that follow it. The variables line 120 and 121 are near synonymous they are verbs of communication: tyki74 ‘to speak’ and ta20 ‘to tell’.

Section VI in the oratory ends with the parallel triplet. The verse is introduced by the adverbial particle cha73 no24 ‘so that’.

\textbf{(201) cha73 no24 <P> }

\begin{align*}
127 & \text{s7we3 t}i^{24} \text{ ty7on}^{2032} 70^{1} \text{ wan}^{24} \quad \text{We leave in good standing,} \\
128 & \text{s7we3 ti}^{42} \text{ kaan7}^{25} 70^{1} \text{ wan}^{24} \quad \text{let’s us do so} \\
129 & \text{s7we3 ti}^{24}, \text{ in}^{20} <P> 70^{1}<P> \quad \text{the best, hm? <P> And <P>}
\end{align*}

The conclusion is marked with the interjection particle \textit{in}\textsuperscript{30}, a pause <P>, and a conjunction particle 7o\textsuperscript{1} ‘and’.

Next, I describe section (VII) in Mende’s speech.
Because in some years, hm? This happens, hm? <P>
they become so unpleasant as if they would never need to come back to this city hall
yes, they do <P>
they sometimes<scream>, they often mock their replacements <P>
the incoming administration<P>
they stand around<P> to urinate [in public],
they do;
they act foolish,
on the grass
anywhere, and <P>
that's why I ask you not to act in this manner
That's why we still speak to you, hm?

in these humble few words to you even though <P>

few words can be shared among us, hm? And <P> <P>

In section (VII), Mende continues to describe the undesirable behaviors observed in past community guards when they left office. For instance, he says they sometimes scream and urinate in public. Mende asked the people who serve with him not to behave this way. This is one of the few sections where the orator uses third person inflection to describe the behavior of the community guards. Probably he uses this inflection because he is referring to those younger community guards playing and fooling around outside around the fire. Next consider the verses in example (202-209). In lines 133-139 while recounting the bad behavior of community guards in past year, he makes extensive used of the pronoun yu⁴ ‘he’. In each line, the orator recurs to this pronoun at least once if not more.

(202) line 133 Mende

ka² <P>x7ya²⁰ yu²⁴

ka² x7ya²⁰ yu
they sometimes[scream],

(203) line 134 Mende

ka² ta²⁰ ndye⁷³ ri⁶² yu¹ t7a⁴² yu⁴

ka² ta²⁰ ndye⁷³=ri⁶² yu t7a⁴²

be able.0 PRO.Give.0 mock PRO.A.3.m relative

yu

PRO.A.3.m

or they mock their replacements <P>’

(204) line 135 Mende

no⁴ ka²⁴ sten¹²⁰ yu⁴ <P> <Break>

no ka sten¹ yu

REL just about enter.0 POT PRO.A.3.m

the incoming administration’

(205) line 136 Mende

ty7wi:⁴ <P>yuy⁴ tu⁴ xe⁷¹⁴ yu¹ <P>
'they stand around<P> to pee [in public],&apos;

(206)  line 137   Mende

ty7wi4 yu1

ty7wi   yu

POT.exist.0 PRO.A.3.m POT.urinate.0 PRO.A.3.m

‘they do’

(207) line 138

ngwi:::42 7an14 7ne24 yu32

ngwi42 7an14 7ne24 yu

foolish POT.look.0 HAB.do.0 PRO.A.3.m

they act foolish,

(208)  line 136 Mende

ty7wi:4 <P>yu4 tyu4 xe714 yu1 <P>
‘they stand around to pee [in public],’

(209)  line 137 Mende

‘they do’

The extensive use of the pronoun yu⁴ in this stanza might be a rhetorical tool that Mende is using in order to reinforce the message that the younger community guards have to be supervised closely so that they don’t get into any mischief.

What follows is a description of the meaning of Mende’s speech in (VIII).

Text Example 9

VIII

146  kan⁷⁴² cha⁷³ no¹ wa² tya²⁴ ra¹ nty7on²⁰  that's why when the time comes to
ti³ 7a¹, in³⁰ <P>  adjourn in a little bit, hm? <P>
leave inconspicuously,

inconspicuously, okay<P>

ideally, hm?<P>

you would come together

and go

wherever you feel like going,

wherever you feel like it, hm? <P>

you are going with a feeling of

contentment

you are going with a feeling of joy

and in this manner a new day will

greet you tomorrow, hm? and then

you would have successfully

achieved your obligations to your

community, hm? And <P>

This section has many parallel frames built on complex sentences. Line 152 and 153 contain a reduplication. Since the community guards are mostly young teenagers,
Mende, in section (VIII), in an imagery type of description lays out the desirable path that community guard should follow after they have been released from their duties with the city hall. In this section, Mende discusses a plan for the community guards to stay safe after the ceremony of the changing of authorities. In a beautiful passage beginning in line (149), with the interlinearized version provided in example (210), Mende invites the young community guards to gather with their friends and advises them to enjoy themselves in a healthy way. He tells them it would be very nice if they came together and took a journey to the mountains until a new day greeted them. On this new day, he continues, they will realize they would have completed their services to their people and their community.

The passage following line (149) also has very interesting syntactic constructions. For instance, line (149) in example (210) has a reflexive construction, which is built using the kinship noun for relative, ‘t7a₄²’.

(210) line 149 Mende
xo₇³ ki³ t7a₄² wan⁴
xo₇²=ki³ t7a⁴² wan
POT.gather.0 relative PRO.A.2p
‘you would come together’

Line (149) is followed by the main clause in line (150), example (150). The main verb in this clause is a motion verb “to go” outside base.
In line (151) example (211), we see an adverbial phrase expression (ADVP): \textit{la}^{20} nga^{24} no^{32} nga^{24} tye^{321} wan^{4} “anywhere you please to go”. The ADVP in this line is between the main phrase in line (150) and the subordinate clause at the end of line (151). The verb in the subordinate clause at the end of line 151 is the same type of verb of motion as the one in the main clause in line (150) and they both express to take a trip outside base. The difference between the verb in the main clause and the one in the subordinate clause is aspect. The verb in the main clause is inflected in the progressive aspect, while the verb in the subordinate clause is inflected in the potential aspect.

(212) line 151 Mende

\textbf{la}^{20} nga^{24} no^{32} nga^{24} tye^{321} wan^{4} tsa^{14} wan^{32}

\textbf{la}^{20} \underline{nga}^{24} \hspace{.2cm} \underline{no} \underline{nga}^{24} \underline{t'ye}^{32} \underline{wan}

\textbf{wherever} \hspace{.2cm} \textbf{PROG.be.0} \hspace{.2cm} \textbf{REL} \hspace{.2cm} \textbf{PROG.be.0} \hspace{.2cm} \textbf{feeling} \hspace{.2cm} \textbf{PRO.A.2p}

\textbf{tsa}^{24} \hspace{.2cm} \underline{wan}

\textbf{POT.NB.go.0} \hspace{.2cm} \textbf{PRO.A.2p}
‘wherever you feel like going,’

Line (152) example (213), *la*20 *nga*24 *no32 nga*24 *tye32 wan4, in20 ‘anywhere you please’, is the exact repetition of the ADVP in line (151).

(213) line 152 Mende

```
la20 nga24 no32 nga24 tye32 wan4, in20 <P> <Break>
```

```
la20 nga24 no nga24 t'ye32 wan
```

wherever PROG.be.0 REL PROG.be.0 feeling PRO.A.2p

in20

hm?

‘wherever you feel like it, hm? <P>’

The following section discusses the two constructions in lines (153-154) in examples (214-215).

(214) line 153 Mende

```
gerya4 wan4 ndon42 ri72 wan1
```

```
gerya4 wan ndon42=ri72 wan
```

PROG.NB.go.0 PRO.A.2p happy PRO.A.2p

‘you are going with a feeling of contentment.’
The main clause in line 153, example (214), is a verb of motion, \textit{ngya}^4 ‘go’. The VP in line (153) is followed by a parallel couplet made by two synonymous adjectival phrases, \textit{ndon}^{42 - ri7^2} ‘happy’ and \textit{stu}^{10} ‘gusto, enjoyment’. It is interesting how the Spanish borrowing \textit{stu}^{10} pairs up with the native word \textit{ndon}^{4 ri7^2}, which means happy in Chatino, to make the expression more emphatic. However, in this construction, we see that the native word for “happy” is a compound comprised of a positional verb, \textit{ndon}^{42 ‘to stand’}, and the word meaning essence, \textit{ri7^2}. However, we see that the term for “gusto” does not form a compound with the \textit{ri7^2} word, even if this expression conveys a feeling of contentment as well. Instead, the \textit{stu}^{10} adjective combines with the location noun \textit{7in}^4.

See an illustration of this in example (215).

(215) Line 154 Mende

\begin{verbatim}
stu^{10} 7wan^0 ngya^{24} wan^{24} o^{20} cha^{73} ja^4-ne^1 <P> <Break>
stu^{10} 7wan ngya^{24} wan o^{20}=cha^{73} ja^{4}=ne^1
joyful NL.2p PROG.NB.go.0 NL.2p indeed yes
‘you are going with a feeling of joy <P>’
\end{verbatim}

Next I will describe the meaning last section, section (IX).

Text Example 10

IX
and as you know, hm?

as you realized, hm?

when you were first <P>

or second guardian <P>

all the sacred sticks, all of them

you have to bring them back,

you have to return them <P>

you have to

since

that

that is one <P> faith that has been cast on us,

that is one condition

once we are public servants, hm?

It is, hm?

that one <P>

We do not know who started this tradition, hm?

It was our fathers and their fathers before them that started this tradition
And that's why we called on you [tonight], hm? <P>

if only to convey these few thoughts to you

hm?

In section (IX), Mende reminds the community guards that they must return the sacred staff they were given when they began their post. Mende concludes this section by posing a rhetorical question in line (173). Here he asserts that we do not know who began this tradition, and then replies to this question by stating that it was probably the ancestors who established it.

In line (177) he summarizes the entire speech and this refers back to the reason why they call the community guards. In the first part Mende reminds the community guards that by now they should know the tradition and they should know that they have to return their sacred staff to their city hall. He tells them that the sacred staff is a permission bestowed by the community on them to represent it. He expresses the previous in the following verses.
‘you have to return them <P>’

(217) line 164
nt$\text{en}^4$ cha$\text{j}^3$ 7en$^i$
nt$\text{en}^4$=cha$\text{j}^3$ <7en$^i$>
POT.have.0 <7en$^i$>
‘you have to’

(218) line 165
dicho
dicho
ADV
‘since’

(219) line 166
kan$\text{j}^3$
kan$\text{j}^3$
DEM
‘that’

(220) line 167
nga$\text{a}^4$ ska:$\text{a}^3$ <P>cha$\text{j}^3$ jya$\text{j}^3$ ndya$\text{a}^3$ 7na$\text{a}^4$ nga$\text{a}^4$ ska$\text{a}^3$
nga$\text{a}^4$ ska$\text{a}^3$ cha$\text{j}^3$=jya$\text{j}^3$ ndya$\text{a}^3$ 7na$\text{a}^4$ nga$\text{a}^4$
Mende concludes his entire speech with an adverbial expression ‘yes indeed’. He uses the same phrase that he used to introduce the speech in line (2) except that this time he uses this expression in the habitual aspect rather than the completive aspect that he used in line (2). Below I display his concluding statement.

(221) line 175

kan7⁴² cha7³ a¹⁴ no³² ti² nx7ya²⁰ wa⁴² 7wan⁴ , in²⁰ <P> <Break>
kan⁷⁴² cha⁷³ a²⁴ no⁴=ti² nx⁷ya²⁰ wa⁴² that COMP PROG.be.0 still HAB.call.0 PRO.A.ex 7wan in²⁰
NL.2p hm?

‘And that's why we called on you [tonight], hm? <P>’
Conclusion

This study has analyzed the linguistic and rhetorical structure of the ceremonial speeches of the governing authorities of SJQ. I reported that this oratory makes a very effective use of all the poetic, rhetorical, and linguistic, rhetorical tools that the language affords it. The linguistic elements utilized by SJQ orators include syntax, semantics, and prosody (including rhythm, tone, and pause). They also make extensive use of parallelism, metaphors, repetitions, and contrast. All of these elements in the speeches of SJQ orators express the values of the people and community of SJQ. They reflect service to one’s community and a sense of shared responsibility.

The first part of this paper gave the ethnographic background and a description of the Chatino language, people, and their institutions (including a brief review of the linguistic patterns of Chatino language, cosmology, and a description of the traditional government in SJQ). This section was supported with excerpts from speeches of Mende, Noyo, and Ligio and also by follow-up interviews with Mende, and conversations with other members of SJQ community. This information was also derived from personal anecdotes and journal notes relating my experiences growing up in SJQ, and more recently, journals that I wrote as a linguistics student documenting this language.

The second part of the paper provided a literary analysis of the meanings of Mende’s speech, and strategies used to convey his persuasive message. This part also covered the creative use of grammar in the ceremonial speeches by examining the use of
noun possession, nasal spreading, and rhetorical, poetic and lexical variations found in the speech.

Although this study has examined a number of important linguistic, rhetorical, and poetic issues related to the ceremonial speeches of SJQ, many other features and aspects of traditional Chatino governmental discourse remain to be documented and described. Areas left to be documented include the recording of discourse exchanges that happen at the different levels of the political process in SJQ. There are still many areas of governmental discourse that are yet to be recorded and documented. The speeches that were analyzed in this study came from one single event. For example the speeches that are orated during the election of new authorities figures such us the Councilman, President, and Chief Administrator still need to be analyzed. Other similar ceremonies include the exchanges between the elders and the higher and lower officials in the city hall or the ritual discourse exchange between governing authorities and community members. Other future investigation and analysis may include: constraints on pairings such as synonymy, paraphrases, contrasts, metonymy, metaphors, syntactic patterning, and pragmatic patterns in the speech.

Appendix 1

Appendix: 1

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8 <P> pauses. The consecutive, [::] word elongation; << >> disfluency.
Event of transition of governing authorities in SJQ
Orator Ricardo Cruz Cruz (Mende)
Language: San Juan Quiahije Chatino
Transcription: Hilaria Cruz
Transcription date: May, 2005
English translation: Hilaria Cruz, Anthony Woodbury
Text interlinearization: Hilaria Cruz and John Ryan Sullivant
Interlinearization date: November, 2008
Audio file: Oratoriacambio123104.wav
University of Texas-Austin

Para que tengan perdón
‘in order for you to have forgiveness within you’

la razón por la que todavía los llamamos, sí!
‘in order for you to be we called by us [tonight], hm?<P>’

con el sentir de su corazón, sí! <P>
‘as your heart permits [you], hm?’

line 4
s7en⁴ kwan⁴⁰

s7en⁴ kwa¹⁴ =Vn
where COMPL.sit.0 l.in
lugar COMPL.sentar.0 l.in

Donde nos sentamos,
‘where we sat’

line 5
s7en⁴ ndoon⁴², in³⁰ <P> <Break>

s7en⁴ ndoon⁴² =Vn in²⁰
where COMPL.stand.0 l.in hm?
donde COMPL.parado.0 l.in sí!

donde nos paramos, si! <P>
‘where we stood, hm? <P>’

line 6
Ngwa² wan¹ ya⁷² 7na⁴²

ngwa² wan ya⁷² 7na⁴²
COMPL.be.0 PRO.A.2p hands.0 PRO.A.1.in
COMPL.ser.0 ustedes manos.0 PRO.A.1.in

Fueron ustedes nuestras manos,
‘you were our hands’

line 7
ngwa² wan¹ kya⁷² 7na⁴²

ngwa² wan kya⁷ 7na⁴²
COMPL.be.0 PRO.A.2p foot.0 PRO.A.1.in
COMPL.ser.0 ustedes pie.0 PRO.A.1.in
fueron ustedes nuestros pies, ‘you were our feet’

line 8
ngwa² wan¹
ngwa² wan

COMPL.be.0 PRO.A.2p
COMPL.ser.0 ustedes

ustedes fueron ‘you were’

line 9
ya⁴² wan⁴

COMPL.NB.go.0 PRO.A.2p
COMPL.NB.ir.0 ustedes

fueron ‘you went [you carried out]’

line 10
ska⁴-ska³² ma⁴-nda²⁴

ska⁴=ska³² ma⁴=nda²⁴
any task
cualquier mandado

a cualquier mandado, ‘any task’

line 11
ska⁴-ska³² ynya³ no²⁴ lon¹⁴,ín²⁰ <P> <Break>

ska⁴=ska³² ynya³ no lon¹⁴ =Vn in²⁰
any work that COMPL.pull out.0. 1.in hm?
cualquier trabajo que COMPL.sacar.0. 1.in si!
a cualquier trabajo que ordenamos, si! <P>
‘any work we ordered, hm?<P>’

line 12
ndya\textsuperscript{32}-ra\textsuperscript{0} <P>\textit{7}ne\textsuperscript{42} jlaan\textsuperscript{21} 7wan\textsuperscript{4}

\begin{tabular}{lllll}
\textit{ndya} & \textit{ra} & \textit{7ne} & jla & =Vn 7wan \\
\textit{sometimes} & COMPL.do.0 & hard & 1.in & NL.2p \\
\textit{a veces} & COMPL.do.0 & duro & 1.in & NL.2p \\
\end{tabular}

a veces <P> los regañamos,
‘sometimes <p>we scolded you’

line 13
\textit{ndya}\textsuperscript{32}-ra\textsuperscript{0} \textit{s7we}\textsuperscript{3} ti\textsuperscript{24} ykween\textsuperscript{7242}

\begin{tabular}{lllll}
\textit{ndya} & \textit{ra} & \textit{s7we} & ti & ykwi\textsuperscript{4} =Vn \\
\textit{sometimes} & good & only & COMPL.speak.0 & 1.in \\
\textit{a veces} & bien & solamente & COMPL.hablar.0 & 1.in \\
\end{tabular}

a veces les hablamos bien,
‘sometimes with kindness we spoke’

line 14
\textit{ndya}\textsuperscript{32}-ra\textsuperscript{0} \textit{s7i}\textsuperscript{0} 7a\textsuperscript{24} ykween\textsuperscript{7242}

\begin{tabular}{lllll}
\textit{ndya} & \textit{ra} & \textit{s7i} & 7a & ykwi\textsuperscript{4} =Vn \\
\textit{sometimes} & wrongly & COMPL.speak.0 & 1.in \\
\textit{a veces} & muy mal & COMPL.decir.0 & 1.in \\
\end{tabular}

a veces no dijimos lo adecuado,
‘sometimes wrongly we spoke’

line 15
\textit{ndya}\textsuperscript{32}-ra\textsuperscript{0} <P> <Break>

\textit{ndya} =ra\textsuperscript{0}

sometimes
a veces
a veces <P>
‘sometimes <P>’

line 16
kwi7\textsuperscript{24} ndyo\textsuperscript{14}=si\textsuperscript{0} jan7\textsuperscript{42}

kwi7\textsuperscript{24} ndyo\textsuperscript{14}=si\textsuperscript{0} jan7\textsuperscript{42}
indeed god that
el mero dios aquél

y fue el Dios
‘and it was that god’

line 17
kan7\textsuperscript{42} no\textsuperscript{4} nge\textsuperscript{42} 7na\textsuperscript{42}

kan7\textsuperscript{42} no nge\textsuperscript{42} 7na\textsuperscript{42}
that one COMPL.patient.0 PRO.A.1.in
aquél quien COMPL.aguantar.0 a nosotros.1.in

quien fue paciente con nosotros,
‘the one who was patient with us’

line 18
kan7\textsuperscript{42} no\textsuperscript{4} nda:\textsuperscript{3} jwe\textsuperscript{4}=sa\textsuperscript{10} 7na\textsuperscript{42}

kan7\textsuperscript{42} no nda\textsuperscript{3} jwe\textsuperscript{4}=sa\textsuperscript{10} 7na\textsuperscript{42}
DEM REL COMPL.give.0 strength PRO.A.1.in
aquél REL COMPL.dar.0 fuerza a nosotros.1.in

quien nos dio la fuerza,
‘the one who gave strength’

line 19
kan7\textsuperscript{42} nda:\textsuperscript{3} cha\textsuperscript{7}=tya\textsuperscript{20}=ri\textsuperscript{72} 7na\textsuperscript{42} <Break>

kan7\textsuperscript{42} nda\textsuperscript{3} cha\textsuperscript{7}=tya\textsuperscript{20}=ri\textsuperscript{72} 7na\textsuperscript{42}
DEM COMPL.give.0 wisdom PRO.A.1.in
aquél COMPL.dar.0 sabiduría a nosotros.1.in
quien nos dió la sabiduría,
‘the one who gave wisdom’

line 20
ka::n742 <P> <Break>

kan742
then
aquél-DIST/de esta manera

y de esta manera <P>
‘that one/this way’

line 21
yaan42, 7aan242, in20 <P> <Break>

ya42 =Vn 7an4 =Vn in20
COMPL.NB.go.0 1.in COMPL.NB.go around.0 1.in hm?
COMPL.NB.ir.0 1.in COMPL.NB.andar.0 1.in sí!

Fuimos, andubimos, sí! <P>
‘We went, we traveled, hm?’

line 22
cha73 7in24 7ya2

cha73=7in 7ya2
on behalf of mountain
por montaña

por las montañas,
‘on behalf of the mountains’

line 23
cha73 7in24 chin32, in20 <Break>

cha73=7in chin4 in20
on behalf of community hm?
por comunidad sí!
por nuestra comunidad, sí!
‘on behalf of the community, hm?’

line 24
ja⁴ -la³² yaan¹² <Break>

ja⁴-la³² ya⁴² =Vn
NEG COMPL.go.0 1.in
NEG COMPL.ir.0 1.in

No fuimos ,
‘We did not go [carry out this task]’

line 25
cha⁷³ 7na⁴² skaan²⁴²

cha⁷³ 7na⁴² ska⁴ =Vn
for PRO.A.1.in one 1.in
para a nosotros.1.in uno 1.in

por nuestros propios intereses
‘for our own selfish reasons’

line 26
cha⁷³ nga²⁴ 7a¹ tyi:n¹, in²⁰

cha⁷³ nga²⁴ 7a tye³² =Vn in²⁰
for PROG.be.0 EMPH feeling 1.in hm?
por PROG.ser.0 muy sentimiento sí!

o por nuestras propias ambiciones, no!
‘or because we wanted to, hm?’

line 27
kwi⁷² <P> <Break>

kwi⁷²
indeed
el mero

fue porque <P>
‘it was because <P>’

line 28
cha³ xt⁷ ya²

cha³ xt⁷ COMPL.put.0 7ya²
because mountain
porque COMPL.poner.0 montaña

lo mando la montaña,
‘the mountains put us here’

line 29
cha³ xt⁷ chin⁴ 7na⁴², in²⁰ <Break>

cha³ xt⁷ COMPL.put.0 chin⁴ COMPL.poner.0 7na⁴² PRO.A.1.in in²⁰ hm?
pueblo comunidad sí!

lo mando nuestra comunidad, sí!
‘the community put us here, hm?’

line 30
kan⁷⁴²-cha³ ykween⁷¹⁴²

kan⁷⁴²=cha³ COMPL.speak.0 =Vn
that is why 1.in
por eso COMPL.decir.0 1.in

por eso hablamos,
‘that is why we spoke’

line 31
kan⁷⁴²-cha³ nkwaan²¹

kan⁷⁴²=cha³ nkwa² =Vn
that is why COMPL.be 1.in
por eso COMPL.ser 1.in

por eso fuimos,
‘that is why we were [authorities]’

line 32
kan742-cha73 7en142 <P> <Break>

kan742=cha73 7en4 =Vn
that is why COMPL.stay 1.in
por eso COMPL.estar 1.in

por eso estuvimos,
‘that is why we dwelled<P>’

line 33
7an42 seen42

7an42=sen42 =Vn
COMPL.care 1.in
COMPL.cuidar 1.in

para cuidar,
‘to care for’

line 34
ndya4 ska ska32 na3 no42 ndya32

ndya4 ska=ska32 na3 no ndya32
all each one thing that PROG.exist
todo cada uno cosa que PROG.existe0
todas las cosas, que hay
‘all there is’

line 35
no4-nga24 7ya2

no nga24 7ya2
the ones that PROG.be.0 mountain
lo que PROG.ser.0 montaña

que son [pertenecen a las] montañas,
‘that belongs to the mountains’

line 36
no⁴-nga²⁴ chin¹

no nga²⁴ chin⁴
the ones that PROG.be.0 community
lo que PROG.ser.0 pueblo

que son [pertenecen al] pueblo
‘that belongs to the community’

line 37
no⁴-nga²⁴, in²⁰ 7o¹ <P> <Break>

no nga²⁴ in²⁰, 7o¹
the one that PROG.be.0 hm? and
lo que PROG.ser.0 sí! y <P>

lo que pertenece, si! y
‘that belong, hm? And <P>’

line 38
kwan²⁰ ti²⁴ 7a²⁴ yan⁴² <Break>

kwan²⁰ =ti=7a yan⁴²
in the same manner COMPL.NB.come.0
de la misma manera COMPL.NB.venir.0

de esta manera lo han venido haciendo,
‘in the same way came’

line 39
sa⁴ ska³² sten¹-y7aan¹

ska⁴=ska³² sten y7an¹ =Vn

239
each one fathers.POSS.1SG mothers PRO.A.POSS.in
cada uno padres madres .0 PRO.A.POSS.in

‘Nuestros padres y madres’
‘our fathers and mothers’

line 40
no $^4$ wa $^2$ ngwa $^2$ tnya $^3$

no wa $^2$ ngwa $^2$ tnya $^3$
the ones already COMPL.be.0 hardwork
los que ya COMPL.ser.0 trabajo

los que han sido autoridad (lit. trabajo)
‘the ones who were contributors (lit.work)’

line 41
no $^4$ wa $^2$ ngwa $^2$ chin $^4$, in $^{20}$ 7o $^1$

no wa $^2$ ngwa $^2$ chin $^4$ in $^{20}$ 7o $^1$
the ones already COMPL.be.0 community hm? y
los que ya COMPL.ser.0 pueblo sí! y

los que han sido pueblo, sí! y
‘the ones who have been community, hm?’

line 42
kwi $^{24}$ wan$^{04}$ ti $^{24}$ <P>tsa$^{14}$ te $^{20}$ lo$^{14}$, in $^{20}$ <Break>

kwi$^{24}$ wan$^{04}$=ti tsa$^{1}$ te$^{20}$=lo$^{14}$ in$^{20}$
the same POT.NB.go.0 ahead hm?
de la misma manera POT.NB.ir.0 adelante sí!

de la misma<P> manera continuaran la cosas, sí!
‘And things should be the same in the future, hm?’

line 43
kwi$^{24}$ jan$^{42}$ 7a$^{24}$ tyi$^{32}$, 7o $^1$
que eso nunca se acabe
‘may that not be lost and’

que eso [esas tradiciones] nunca se mezcle
‘may that not be changed’

for as long as
por todo el tiempo
‘for all time as long as’

que existan las montañas
‘the mountains are here’
PROG.exist.0 community hm? and
PROG.existir.0 pueblo sí! y

‘the community is here, hm? And’ <P>

con el sentir de su corazon, si! <P>
‘as your heart permits [you], hm? ’

fueron los jefes
‘you commanded’

de uno que otro topil
‘other guards’

de uno que otro muchacho más joven
‘other younger people’

‘others, hm?’

‘you, hm?’

‘you gave them tasks’
ustedes los mandaron, sí!
‘you sent them on missions’

line 56
ya42 yu4

ya42 yu
COMPL.NB go.0 PRO.A.3.m
COMPL.NB.ir.0 PRO.A.3.m

ellos fueron,
‘they went’

line 57
7an4 yu4, in20 <P> 7o1 <P> <Break>

7an4 yu in20 7o1
COMPL.NB.go around.0 PRO.A.3.m hm?, and
COMPL.NB. andar.0 PRO.A.3.m sí!, y

ellos andubieron, sí! <P> y <P>
‘they traveled, hm? <P> And<p>’

line 58
ne2, in20 <P> <Break>

ne2 in20
now hm?
ahora sí!
ahora, sí! <P>
‘now, hm? <P>’

line 59
wa2 x7we3 7in34 ndyo14 sí9 cha73 no34 wa2 <P> <Break>
gracias a dios que ya <P>  
‘we thank god for having<P>’

line 60
nt7a \textsuperscript{42} jyan \textsuperscript{4} 7na \textsuperscript{42}  
nt7a \textsuperscript{42} jyan \textsuperscript{4} 7na \textsuperscript{42}  
COMPL.complete.0 year PRO.A.1.in  
COMPL.completar.0 año PRO.A.1.in  

cumplimos nuestro año,  
‘completed our year’

line 61
wa \textsuperscript{2} nt7a \textsuperscript{42} ko \textsuperscript{3}  
w \textsuperscript{2} nt7a \textsuperscript{42} ko \textsuperscript{3}  
already COMPL.complete.0 moon  
ya COMPL.completar.0 luna  
que ya cumplimos nuestra luna [mes] ,  
‘for having completed our moon [month]’

line 62
nt7a \textsuperscript{42} kla \textsuperscript{4} 7na \textsuperscript{42} , in \textsuperscript{20} <P> <Break>  
nt7a \textsuperscript{42} kla \textsuperscript{4} 7na \textsuperscript{42} , in \textsuperscript{20}  
COMPL.complete.0 start PRO.A.1.in hm?  
COMPL.completar.0 estrella PRO.A.1.in si!  
cumplimos nuestra estrella [dia] , si! <P>  
‘completed our star [day] , hm? <P>’

line 63

245
We only need to be released from our obligations

We only need to leave

with our contribution [here]

with our community, hm? And
line 67
Cha7²=ño²=ti²
cha7³=ño²⁴=ti²
an issue
Porque

la razón por la que todavía
‘an issue’

line 68
ndya¹⁴ ri⁷² wa⁴² tykwi⁷² wa⁴²
HAB.want.0 PRO.A.ex POT.speak.0 PRO.A.ex
HAB.querer.0 PRO.A.ex POT.hablar.0 PRO.A.ex

todavía quisieramos aconsejarles,
‘we still want to express to you’

line 69
ti² ndya¹⁴ ri⁷² wa⁴² ktsa¹⁴ wa⁴² 7wan⁴, in²⁰
HAB.want.0 PRO.A.ex POT.tell.0 PRO.A.ex NL.2p hm?
todavía HAB.querer.0 PRO.A.ex POT.avírar.0 PRO.A.ex NL.2p sí!

todavía quisieramos avisarles.
‘we still want to convey to you, hm?’

line 70
cha7³ no²⁴ <P> <Break>
cha7³=no
so that
para que

para que <P>
‘our wish that’
Line 71
s7we⁵ ti²⁴ n7ne¹⁴ wan³²

s7we³ ti 7ne²⁴ wan
good very POT.do.0 PRO.A.2p
bueno muy POT.hacer.0 PRO.A.2p

hagan bien
‘you show your best behavior’

Line 72
s7we³ ti²⁴ kaan⁷⁴² wan⁴

s7we³ ti kan⁷⁴² wan
good very POT.do.0 PRO.A.2p
bueno muy POT.hacer.0 PRO.A.2p

demuestren lo mejor en ustedes,
‘you show your best manners,’

Line 73
s7we³ ti²⁴ in²⁰ <P> <Break>

s7we³ ti in²⁰
good very hm?
bueno muy si!

lo mejor, si! <P>
‘the best, hm? <P>’

Line 74
s7we³ ti²⁴ ty⁷oon²⁰

s7we³ ti ty⁷o²⁰ =Vn
good very POT.leave.0 1.in
bueno muy POT.salir.0 1.in

Salgamos con la frente en alto
‘let us leave in a dignified way’
salgamos de la mejor manera si! <P> ‘Let us leave in the best way, hm? <P>’

dios nos ayudara cuando ‘may god help us’

cuando ya nos hayamos ido ‘when we are released from our obligations’

cuando ya habremos terminado nuestro termino
‘when we have finished our term’

line 79
kan720 kya24 y7wi32 reen72 <P> <Break>

Entonces nos acordaremos <P>
‘then, we will remember’

line 80
jnya3 ndya32 7na42 7an4 tyi:n14 <P> <Break>

el trabajo que tenemos en nuestras casas <P>
‘our work at home’

line 81
Cha73 ti2 jin1 yaa70

para que podamos subsistir,
‘so that we continue to survive,’

line 82
cha73 ti2 jin1 jy7wi20 7na42

para que todavía POT.dobrevivir.0
PRO.A.1.in

250
para que podamos sobrevivir, 'so that we continue to exist,'

line 83
7we3 7a2 4 no 24

7we3 7a no
good very ADV
bueno muy ADV

porque cuando
‘because’

line 84
kwaan14, 7een242 <Break>
kwa14 = Vn 7en4 = Vn

COMPL.sit.0 1.in COMPL.exist.0 1.in
COMPL.sentarse.0 1.in COMPL.existir.0 1.in

ocupamos [este puesto], estuvimos [en este lugar]
‘while we sat, resided [presided]’

line 85
ndya32 ra0 <p> ja4<p> ngwa2 7a1 cha73 7ne14 jnya3 7na42

ndya32=ra0 ja ngwa2 7a cha73 7ne140

sometimes NEG COMPL.be.0 EMPH COMP PROG.do.0

a veces NEG COMPL.ser.0 muy COMP PROG.hacer.0

ynya3 7na42
work PRO.A.1.in
trabajo PRO.A.1.in

hubo veces <P> que no<P> pudimos hacer nuestro propio trabajo,
‘sometimes we weren't able to do our own work,’
hubo veces que perdimos nuestro(a) [cosecha] trabajo, ‘sometimes our work [harvest] goes spoiled’

‘sometimes <P>’

si, así es y por eso todavía los llamamos, sí!
‘yes indeed, and that is why we call on you [tonight], hm?’
para que <P>
’so that [you] <P>’

line 90

*tykwí7* 7a wan 70

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tykwí7</th>
<th>7a</th>
<th>wan</th>
<th>70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POT.speak.0</td>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>PRO.A.2p</td>
<td>to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POT.hablar.0</td>
<td>mucho</td>
<td>PRO.A.2p</td>
<td>con</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

hablen mucho con
‘do not cease to counsel’

line 91

*sa* = *ská* 32 *yu* 32 *skán* 32

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sa=</th>
<th>ská</th>
<th>yu</th>
<th>skán</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>each one</td>
<td>PRO.A.3.m</td>
<td>community guard</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cada uno</td>
<td>PRO.A.3.m</td>
<td>topil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

los unos que otros topiles
‘do not cease to advise the other guards [your subordinates]’

line 92

*sa* = *ská* 32 *yu* 32 *xwe* 32 *la* 32

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sa=</th>
<th>ská</th>
<th>yu</th>
<th>xwe</th>
<th>la</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>each one</td>
<td>PRO.A.3.m</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>superlative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cualquier</td>
<td>PRO.A.3.m</td>
<td>pequeño</td>
<td>superlative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

los unos que otros más jóvenes
‘other younger men,’

line 93

*sa* = *ská* 32, *in* 20

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sa=</th>
<th>ská</th>
<th>in</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uno que otro</td>
<td>hm?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
cualquier sí!
los unos que otros, sí!
‘others, hm?’

line 94
cha7 no24
cha7 = no
so that
para que
para que
‘so that’

line 95
a7 n7ne1 yu32 rwi14 du0
a7 7ne24 yu rwi14 = du0
NEG POT.do.0 PRO.A.3.m noise
NEG POT.hacer.0 PRO.A.3.m ruido
no hagan ruido,
‘they don't make any noise’

line 96
ja4 n7ne1 yu32 ,in20 <P>
ja4 7ne24 yu in20
NEG POT.do.0 PRO.A.3.m hm?
NEG POT.hacer.0 PRO.A.3.m sí!
no hagan, no! <P>
‘so that they make none, hm? <P>’

line 97
ja4 7ya1 yu0 sa4 ska32 na3 nt7en24
ja4 7ya1 yu sa4 = ska32 na3 nt7en4
que no se lleven cualquier cosa que hay aquí,
‘so that they don't take anything that belongs to this place,’

line 98
ja⁴ 7ya¹ yu⁰, in²⁰
ja⁴ 7ya¹ yu⁰ in²⁰
NEG POT.take.0 PRO.A.3.m hm?
NEG POT.take.0 PRO.A.3.m hm?
NEG POT.llevar.0 PRO.A.3.m si!
NEG POT.llevar.0 PRO.A.3.m si!
que no se lleven
‘take nothing, hm?’

line 99
jor³-ke⁴ nga²⁴ <P> <Break>

jor³=ke⁴ nga²⁴
because PROG.be.0
porque PROG.ser.0
porque como es<P>
‘because <P>’

line 100
ndya⁴ na³ no²⁴ ndya³²
ndya⁴ na³ no ndya³²
every thing that PROG.exist.0
todo cosa que PROG.existir.0
todas las cosas que hay
‘all that is here’

line 101
no⁴ nga²⁴ 7an³² jnya³ re³, in²⁰ <P> <Break>

___________________________
255
en este recinto, sí! <P>
‘inside this city hall, hm? <P>’

eso mismo [las cosas] son de la comunidad
‘belongs to the community’

eso mismo sevirá [a la nueva autoridad]
‘the same [things] will be used’
Cuando llegue la nueva administración
‘when the new administration comes’

aunque lleguen, sí!
‘when they come, hm?’

De la misma manera necesitarán cosas para usar
‘and on the same way they will need tools [to perform their duties]’

Necesitarán cosas para agarrar
‘they will need materials [to carry out their task]’
necesitarán, sí! y <P>
‘they will need it all, hm? And’

‘that is why we still call on you [tonight], hm?’

‘so that <P>’
No hagan ruido
‘you don't make any noise,’

line 113
la4 <P> <Break>x7ya20 wan24 la24 <P> <Break>

la4 x7ya20 wan la24
NEG POT.scream.0 PRO.A.2p NEG
NEG POT.gritara.0 PRO.A.2p NEG

no griten, no <P>
‘[so that you don't] scream, don’t <P>’

line 114
chon742 7ya42 si1 ndya6 ri72 tye32 7wan32 ne2.in20 <P> <Break>

chon742=7ya42 si1 ndya=ri72 tye32 7wan ne2 in20
because as HAB.like.0 essence NL.2p now hm?
porque como HAB.gustar.0 esencia NL.2p ahora sí!

porque como ustedes saben ahora, si! <P>
‘Because as you know now, hm? <P>’

line 115
ndya32 7wan32

ndya32 7wan
PROG.exist.0 NL.2p
PROG.haber.0 NL.2p

algunos de ustedes
‘some of you’

line 116
tsa14 ja32 wan4 ska4 yjan32 ti4 ne2

tsa24=ja32 wan ska4 yjan4 ti ne2
POT.off duty.0 PRO.A.2p one year only now
POT.libre.0 PRO.A.2p un año solamente ahora
estaran fuera de servicio por un año
‘will be off duty for only one year,’

line 117
701 ta3
701=ta4
or
o

or
‘or’

line 118
tsa14 ja32 wan4 tkwa24 jyan32 re2 ni2 wa2 <P> <Break>

estarán fuera de servicio por dos años, entonces, ya
‘will be off duty for only two years, then’

line 119
xka32 jnya3 wa2 ka14 wan32

otro cargo ocuparán
‘you will fulfill a new role,’

line 120
xka32 <P>cha73 tykwi7 wan24

otra cosa POT.dicir.0 PRO.A.2p
otros <P> consejos darán
‘you will have new wisdom to offer,’

line 121
xka³² cha⁷ ta²⁰ wan²⁴

xka³² cha⁷ ta²⁰ wan
other thing POT.give.0 PRO.A.2p
otra cosa POT.darán.0 PRO.A.2p

otras experiencias compartirán
‘you will have new experiences to share,’

line 122
xka³² cha⁷ˌin²⁰ <Break>

xka³² cha⁷ˌin²⁰
other thing hm?
otra cosa sí!

otras cosas, sí!
‘you will have new things [to offer], hm?’

line 123
sye³ˌmpre²⁴ˌin²⁰ <P> <Break>

sye³ˌmpre²⁴ˌin²⁰
always hm?
siempre sí!

siempre, sí! <P>
‘always, hm? <P>’

line 124
ja⁴ˈsne cha⁷ˌjlan¹⁴

ja⁴ sne¹ cha⁷ˌjla¹⁴ =Vn
for sure thing POT.B.return.0 1.in

261
Siempre regresaremos
‘we will always return’

‘to this city hall, that's right’

‘And that is why I hope that’

‘We leave in good standing,’
comportémonos de la mejor manera
‘Let us do so’

line 129
s7we³ ti²⁴ , in²⁰ <P> 7o¹ <P> <Break>

de lo mejor, si! <P> y <P>
‘the best, hm? <P> And <P>’

line 130
cha⁷³ ndya³² nt⁷e⁴² jyan⁴ , in²⁰ , 7ne²⁴ yu³² , in²⁰ <P> <Break>

porque en algunos años, si! hacen esto, si! <P>
‘Because in some years, hm? This happens, hm? <P>’

line 131
7ne²⁴ yu³² jwer⁴ - jla¹ pero ke⁴ se³ a²⁴ ja⁴ jla¹ 7a¹ yu¹ no⁴ nga¹⁴ 7an³² jnya³ re³

HAB.do.0 yu jwer⁴ = jla¹ pero ke⁴ = se³ = aja⁴ NEG
HAB.hacer.0 PRO.A.3.m tease as if NEG
PRO.A.3.m burla como si NEG

kla³⁴ 7a yu no nga²⁴ 7an³² jnya³

POT.B.return.0 NEG PRO.A.3.m REL PROG.be.0 city hall

here
hacen tanta bulla, se comportan como si nunca fueran a regresar a este lugar
‘they become so unpleasant as if they would never need to come back to this city hall’

HAB.do.0 PRO.A.3.m for sure
HAB.hacer.0 PRO.A.3.m seguro
si, pues <P>
‘yes, they do <P>’

POT.be able.0 PROG.give.0 mock PRO.A.3.m relative
POT.be able.0 PROG.dar.0 burlar PRO.A.3.m relativo
A veces se atreven a burlarse de sus compañeros
‘or they mock their replacements <P>’
de los que apenas están entrando a su cargo <P> ‘the incoming administration’

‘they stand around <P> to pee [in public],’

‘they do’

haciendo cosas sin sentido
they act foolish,
en el pasto
‘on the grass’

en cualquier lugar y <P>
‘anywhere, and <P>’

Por eso por favor no se comporten de esta manera
‘that's why I ask you not to act in this manner’

that is why
NEG POT.do.0 PRO.A.2p this way absolutely
por eso NEG POT.hacer.0 PRO.A.2p asi absolutamente
por eso todavia les aconsejamos, si! aunque sea
‘That's why we still speak to you, hm?’

line 143
xka32 tkwa24 ti24 cha73 ti2 <P>
xka32 tkwa24 ti cha73
CAUS.one CAUS.two only thing/word
CAUS.uno otros dos solamente palabra

solo nos queden dos que tres palabras que dirigirles <P>
‘in these humble few words to you even though <P>’

line 144
ti2 ka2 ktsan724 t7aan42 ti3 in20 7o1 <P> <Break>
ti ka2 ktsa24 =7Vn t7a42 =Vn
still POT.be able.0 POT.tell.0 1.in relative 1.in
todavia POT.poder.0 POT.avisar.0 1.in compañero 1.in

que decirnos, si! y <P>
‘few words can be shared among us, hm? And <P>’

line 145
kan742 cha73 no20 wa2 tya24 ra1 ty7on20 ti3 7a1 ,in20 <P> <Break>
kan742=cha73 no20 =wa2 tya24 ra10 ty7o20
=Vn
that is why when already POT.NB.arrive.0 time POT.leave.0
Por eso cuando llegue el momento de salir al rato, sí! <P>
‘that's why when the time comes to adjourn in a little bit, hm? <P>’

line 146
nà ti¹ ty7o²⁰ wan³⁴

na² ti ty7o²⁰ wan
quiet ADV POT.leave.0 PRO.A.2p
silencio ADV POT.salir.0 PRO.A.2p

salganse calladamente
‘leave inconspicuously,’

line 147
na² ti¹ hmm <P> <Break>

na² ti hmm
quiet ADV hmm
silencio ADV hmm

calladamente, si! <P>
‘inconspicuously, okay<P>’

line 148
ska⁴ 7a¹ nya²⁴ ,in²⁰ <P>

different very PROG.look hm?
otra cosa muy PROG.verse sí!

otra cosa fuera si, si! <P>
‘ideally, hm? <P>’
si se juntarán
‘you would come together’

para irse
‘you are going’

a dondequiera que les plasca
‘wherever you feel like going,’
A donde quieran, sí! <P>
‘wherever you feel like it, hm? <P>’

‘you are going with a feeling of contentment.’

‘you are going with a feeling of joy <P>’

‘and in this manner a new day will greet you tomorrow, hm? and then <P>’
Already COMPL.leave.0 with hardwork with
community ya COMPL.salir.0 con trabajo con pueblo

7wan in^20 7o^1
NL.2p hm? and
NL.2p sí! y

ya habrán salido de su compromiso con su pueblo, sí! y <P>
‘you would have successfully achieved your obligations to your community, hm? And
<P>’

line 157
kwì^24 wan^204 sa^20 7a^1 ti^04 7wan^1, in^20

kwì^24 wan^204 sa^20 =7a^1 ti^04 7wan in^20
indeed NL.2p as feeling NL.2p hm?
el mero NL.2p como sentir NL.2p sí!

como ustedes ya lo saben, sí!
‘and as you know, hm?’

line 158
wa^2 nda^20 wan^14 kwe^2-nta^1, in^20

wa^2 nda^20 wan kwe^2=nta^1 in^20
already HAB.give.0 PRO.A.2p cuenta hm?
 ya HAB.dar.0 ustedes cuenta sí!

como ya se habrán dado cuenta, sí!
‘as you realized, hm?’

line 159
wa^1 7nya^14 ngwa^2 ska^4 <P> <Break>

wa^1=7nya^14 ngwa^2 ska^4
how COMPL.be.0 one
como COMPL.ser.0 uno

la manera como han sido topil uno <P>
'when you were first <P>,'

line 160
tkwa²⁴ skan⁴, in²⁰ <P> <Break>
tkwa²⁴ skan⁴ in²⁰
two community guard hm?
dos topil si!
topil dos, si! <P>
‘or second guardian <P>’

line 161
ndya⁴ no⁴ nga²⁴ ka³² skan⁴, ndya⁴
ndya⁴=no nga²⁴ ka³²=skan⁴ ndya⁴
everything PROG.be.0 sacred staff all
todo PROG.ser.0 vara de mando todo
todas las varas sagradas, todas
‘all the sacred sticks, all of them’

line 162
nt7en⁴ cha⁷³ kyan¹⁴ 7o²⁰ wan²⁴ jan⁷⁴²
nt7en⁴=cha⁷³ kyan¹⁴ =7o²⁰ wan jan⁷⁴²
POT.have.0 POT.return.0 PRO.A.2p DEM
POT.tener que.0 POT/devolver. B.0 PRO.A.2p aquel
tienen que regresarlas
‘you have to bring them back,’

line 163
nt7en⁴ cha⁷³ tya³ wan²⁴ jan⁷⁴² <P> <Break>
nt7en⁴=cha⁷³ tya³ wan jan⁷⁴²
POT.have.0 POT.return.0 PRO.A.2p DEM
POT.estar.0 POT.entregar.0 ustedes aquel
tienen que entregarlas <P>
‘you have to return them <P>’

line 164
nt7en⁴ cha7³ 7en⁴

nt7en⁴=cha7³ <7en⁴>
POT.have.0 <7en⁴>
POT.tener que.0 <7en⁴>

tienen que [entregarlas]
‘you have to’

line 165
dicho

dicho
ADV
dicho que

dicho que
‘since’

line 166
kan7⁴²

kan7⁴²
DEM
aquél mencionado

eso es
‘that’

line 167
nga²⁴ ska:³² <P>cha7³ jya7³ ndya³² 7na⁴² nga¹⁴ ska³²

nga²⁴ ska³² cha7³=jya7³ ndya³² 7na⁴² nga²⁴ ska³²
PROG.be.0 one permission PROG.have.0 PRO.A.1.in PROG.be.0 one
PROG.ser.0 un permiso PROG.tener.0 PRO.A.1.in PROG.ser.0 one
eso es <P> un permiso que tenemos es
‘that is one <P> faith that has been cast on us,’

line 168
ja\textsuperscript{1} no\textsuperscript{20} wa\textsuperscript{2}
ja\textsuperscript{1}=no\textsuperscript{20} wa\textsuperscript{2}
when already
cuando ya
cuando
‘that is one condition’

line 170
ngaan\textsuperscript{14} ska\textsuperscript{1} jnya\textsuperscript{3}
ng\textsuperscript{24} =Vn ska\textsuperscript{4} jnya\textsuperscript{3}
PROG.be.0 1.in one hardwork
PROG.ser.0 1.in uno trabajo
cuando uno tiene un cargo público
‘once we are public servants, hm?’

line 171
ngan\textsuperscript{24}, in\textsuperscript{20}
ngan\textsuperscript{24} =Vn in\textsuperscript{20}
PROG.be.0 1.in hm?
PROG.ser.0 1.in sí!
cuando uno es, sí!
‘It is, hm?’

line 172
kan\textsuperscript{742} <P> <Break>
kan\textsuperscript{742}
DEM
aquel
Quien sabe quién empezó esta tradición, sí!
‘We do not know who started this tradition, hm?’

fueron nuestras padres y madres quienes decidieron como deberian ser las cosas, sí! y
‘It was our fathers and their fathers before them that started this tradition’
por eso COMP PROG.ser.0 todavía HAB.llamar.0 nosotros (ex)

Por eso todavía los llamamos, si<P>
‘And that's why we called on you [tonight], hm? <P>’

line 176
sa20 ti2 chin720 ti14 cha73 ti2 tykwi71 wa42 7o1 wan24

sa20 ti chin720 ti
ADV only little only
Aunque sea poco diminutivo

cha73 ti tykwi7 wa42 7o1 wan
COMP only POT.speak.0 PRO.A.ex with PRO.A.2p
Palabra todavía POT.hablar.0 nosotros con ustedes

aunque sea para decírles unas cuantas palabras
‘if only to convey these few thoughts to you’

line 177
7o20 cha73 hmmm <Break>

7o20=cha73 hmmm
yes!
sí

sí!
‘hm?’

Appendix 2
Appendix: 2

Text:2
Event of transition of governing authorities in SJQ
Orator: Cenobio Cruz Santos (Noyo)
Language: San Juan Quiahije Chatino
Transcription: Hilaria Cruz
Transcription date: May, 2006
English translation: Hilaria Cruz, GB Stephens
Text interlinearization: Hilaria Cruz and John Ryan Sullivant
Interlinearization date: November, 2008
Audio file: Oratoriacambio123104.wav
University of Texas-Austin

line 1
7an1 ndwi724 yu24 re2

7an1 ndywi7 yu re2
as HAB.speak.0 PRO.A.3.m here
Así como HAB.hablar.0 PRO.A.3.m aquí

así como dice él
‘s o he says’

line 2
cha73 ty7wi24 cha73 tlyu7 ri72 7wan1

cha73 ty7wi cha73=tlyu7=ri72 7wan
so that POT.have.0 forgiveness NL.2p
para que POT.tener.0 perdon NL.2p

Para tengan perdon
May you have forgiveness

line 3
nde20 nga24 tye32 wan4<p>

nde20 nga24 t'ye32 wan

9 <P> pauses. The consecutive, [:] word elongation; << >> disfluency.
Así como sienten ustedes
‘As is it in you’

‘You were’

‘our hands’

‘you were our feet, hm?’
Ustedes nos sacaron
‘you brought us out’

Ustedes nos ayudaron a cruzar
‘you brought us through’

‘While we who were’

Así como nosotros que estamos sentados aquí
‘sitting in the position’
PROG.exist.0 PRO.A.ex
PROG.existir.0 PRO.A.ex

estuvimos
‘we presided <P>’

line 12
ndwa\textsuperscript{3} wa\textsuperscript{42} re\textsuperscript{20} nde\textsuperscript{2} ni:::<P>

ndwa\textsuperscript{3} wa\textsuperscript{42} re\textsuperscript{20}=nde\textsuperscript{2} ni\textsuperscript{2}
PROG.sit.0 PRO.A.ex right here now
PROG.sentarse.0 PRO.A.ex por aquí ahora

ahora estamos sentados aquí
‘we sat right here:::. <P>’

line 13
kwa\textsuperscript{24}<P>

kwa\textsuperscript{24}
there

allí
‘there <P>’

line 14
ja\textsuperscript{4} ka\textsuperscript{2} ka\textsuperscript{1} tsan\textsuperscript{0}

ja\textsuperscript{4} ka\textsuperscript{2} ka\textsuperscript{1} tsa\textsuperscript{24} =Vn
NEG PROG.be able.0 POT.be able.0 POT.NB.go.0 1.in
NEG PROG.poder.0 POT.poder.0 POT.NB.ir.0 1.in

No podremos ir
‘we wish we could have gone’

line 15
ja\textsuperscript{42} ka\textsuperscript{2} ka\textsuperscript{1} ty7an\textsuperscript{1} ykween7\textsuperscript{1}

280
No podremos ir nosotros mismos
‘we wish we could have done it ourselves’

‘so we said <P>’

‘Those who are hands’

‘those ones <P>’
Los que son nuestros pies, sí!
‘the ones who are our feet, hm?’

Esos iran
‘those ones will go’

Esos andaran
‘those ones will go around (will handle)’

lo que sea
‘whatever comes up’

line 23

282
mandado
‘task/errands’

line 24

no\textsuperscript{20} nt\textsuperscript{7}en\textsuperscript{24} <p>

that PROG.exist.0
que PROG.existir.0

lo que hay
‘that stands’

line 25

ni\textsuperscript{4} kwa\textsuperscript{4} jnya\textsuperscript{3} no\textsuperscript{24} ndlon\textsuperscript{1}

whatever work REL PROG.pull out.0 1.in
cualquier trabajo REL PROG.sacar.0 1.in

Cualquier trabajo que ordenemos
‘whatever work we may request’

line 26

7an\textsuperscript{1} ndya\textsuperscript{04} reen\textsuperscript{7} cha\textsuperscript{7} ndwaan\textsuperscript{2} re\textsuperscript{2}, chin\textsuperscript{3} nyi\textsuperscript{24}, in\textsuperscript{20}<p>

as HAB.want.0 1.in that PROG.sit.0 1.in here sincerely
hm?
así HAB.querer.0 1.in que PROG.sentarse.0 1.in aquí deveras
sí!
por(que) sentar nosotros(in) aquí

‘While we sat in this position  <P>
sincerely, hm?’
son muchas cosas
‘There are many things,’

‘[there] many are prayers for city hall ‘

‘There are many things, yes! <P>’

‘In many ways we went around [to carry our mission], ‘
Nos paramos de muchas maneras
‘In many ways we stood [to carry out our mission]’

de muchas maneras
‘In many ways’

‘[You] left standing [your work]’

Dejaron [su trabajo]
‘[you] abandoned [your work]’

line 35
jnya³ ndwa¹⁴<P>

ynya³ ndwa¹⁴
work PROG.sit.0
trabajo PROG.sentar.0

su trabajo pendiente
‘your pending [work]’

line 36
nt7en²⁴ 7wan²⁴

nt7en 7wan
PROG.exist.0 NL.2p
PROG.existir.0 NL.2p

‘[you left] your remaining [work]’

line 37
la¹ ton⁴²

la¹=ton⁴²
COMPL..stand.0
dear parado

‘[You] left standing [your work]’

line 38
la¹ t7en²⁰ wan²⁴ ne², in²⁰<P>

la¹=t7en²⁰ wan ne² in²⁰
COMPL..leave.0 PRO.A.2p now hm?
COMPL..dejar.0 PRO.A.2p ahora sí!

deararon ahora, sí!
‘you left your remaining [work] now, hm?’
line 39
si:::¹⁰ ndyo¹⁴ <p> si:::⁰ <p>

si¹⁰ ndyo¹⁴=sì⁰
may god
que dios

‘May God:

line 40
jlo¹⁴ 7wan³² ne²

jlo¹⁴ 7wan ne²
POT.pull out.0 NL.2p now
POT.sacar.0 NL.2p ahora

saque ahora
‘bring you out [rescue]’

line 41
ndyo²⁴ si¹ tjen²⁰ 7wan²⁴ ne²

ndyo¹⁴=sì⁰ tjen²⁰ 7wan ne²
god POT.bring through.0 NL.2p now
dios POT.pasarlo.0 NL.2p ahora

que dios los pase
‘may God bring you through’

line 42
ndyo¹⁴ si:::¹⁰ 7ne²⁴ k7u²

ndyo¹⁴=sì⁰ 7ne²⁴ k7u¹⁴
god POT.do.0 POT.raise.0
dios POT.hacer.0 POT.crecer.0
que dios les de vida
‘may god grant you longevity/give you life’
line 43
ty7an¹ sen⁴² 7wan⁴

ty7an¹=sen⁴² 7wan
POT.look after.0 NL.2p
POT.velar NL.2p

los vele
‘[may God] provide care for you’

line 44
ndyo¹⁴=si⁰ tya³, x7wa¹

ndyo¹⁴=si⁰ tya³, x7wa¹
god POT.give back.0 POT.pay.0
dios POT.entregar.0 POT.pagar.0

[que] que dios les regrese y les pague
may god give you back, pay [you]

line 45
ndya⁴ tsan³² no⁴ tnaan⁷¹

ndya⁴ tsan³² no tnaan⁷¹ =Vn
all dias que COMPL.perder.0 1.in
todo dias que COMPL.perder.0 1.in

todo dia lo_(que) perderlo nosotros(in)
‘All the days that we have lost’

line 46
na⁴ ji²⁰ na⁴ ku²⁴.

na⁴ ji²⁰ na⁴ ku
NEG POT.lack1.0 thing POT.eat.0
NEG POT.falte.0 thing POT.comer.0

Que no les falte de comer
‘may [you] not lack food’
line 47
ji$^{20}$ ste$^{24}$ wan$^{24}$

ji$^{20}$ ste7 wan
POT.lack.0 clothes.0 PRO.A.2p
POT.falte.0 ropa PRO.A.2p

[que no] les falte ropa
‘may you not lack clothes [on your back]’

line 48
ntyji$^{20}$ sna$^{42}$ wan$^{4}$

ntyji$^{20}$ sna$^{42}$ wan
POT.lack.0 shoes.0 PRO.A.2p
POT.falte.0 calzado PRO.A.2p

[que no] les falte calzado
‘May you not lack the shoes [on your feet]’

line 49
7an$^{24}$ ndya$^{24}$ ri$^{72}$ tye$^{32}$ 7wan$^{32}$ ne$^{2}$ <P>

7an$^{24}$ ndya=ri$^{72}$ t’ye$^{32}$ 7wan ne$^{2}$
while HAB.want.0 chest NL.2p now
así HAB.querer.0 esencia NL.2p ahora

así como ustedes
‘As you now know <P>’

line 50
wa$^{2}$<P>

wa$^{2}$
already

ya
‘already’
ya estaremos libres ahora
‘we will be free’

ya vamos a salir ahora
‘we are all leaving now’

van a ser soltados ahora
‘you will be free now’

ya podra
‘[and] now [you] can’
‘remember all that it is important [in your life]’

‘that which stands as the most important thing to you’

‘that which is most important [to you]’

‘All the work you have [at home]’
292

line 59
ndya::
ndya
all
todo
‘everything!’

line 60
kwi7 ndyo14=si0 7ne24 yu32=ra14 7na42<p>

kwi7 ndyo14=si0 7ne24 yu32=ra14 7na42
that same god POT.do.0 help PRO.A.1.in
el mero dios POT.hacer.0 ayuda PRO.A.1.in

Ese mismo dios nos ayudará
‘May God help us all <P>’

line 61
<sa> skan4 wan4 7o1 wan24

sa4=skan32 =Vn wan 7o1 wan
any one 1.in PRO.A.2p with PRO.A.2p
cualquier 1.in PRO.A.2p con PRO.A.2p

cada uno de nosotros con ustedes
‘each one of us with all of you’

line 62
nya14 ndya24 ri72 ti1 ne2 <7an24 ndya24 ri72 tye12 7wan32 ne2>

7an24 ndya=ri72 t'ye32 7wan ne2
while HAB.want.0 chest NL.2p now
así HAB.querer.0 esencia NL.2p ahora

así como ustedes
‘As you now know <P>’
line 63
wa^2<p>

wa^2
already
ya

ya
‘already <P>’

line 64
kwa^02 wan^1

kwa^14 wan
COMPL.fulfill.0 PRO.A.2p
COMPL.cumplir.0 PRO.A.2p

obedecer ustedes
‘you have followed’

line 65
7ne^42 yka^24 wan^32

7ne^42 yka wan
COMPL.do.0 wooden PRO.A.2p
COMPL.hacer.0 palo PRO.A.2p

honraron
‘you have honored’

line 66
cha^7 tlyu^2 ri^7 jnya^1 sti^24

cha^7=tlyu^2=ri^7 jnya^1 sti
wishes COMPL.request.0 father.0
perdon COMPL.pedir.0 padre.0

el perdon que pidieron sus padres
‘your fathers wishes’
line 67
jnya¹ y7an¹ wan²⁴

jnya¹  y7an¹  wan
COMPL.request.0  mother.0       PRO.A.POSS.2p
COMPL.pedir.0    madre .0        PRO.A.POSS.2p

pidieron sus madres
‘your mother’s wishes’

line 68
no¹ ntsu⁴²

no¹  ntsu⁴²
when  COMPL.sprout.0
when  COMPL.brotar.0

cuando brotaron
‘When you sprouted,’

line 69
no¹ la⁰ wan²

no¹  la            wan
when  COMPL.born.0    PRO.A.2p
when  COMPL.nacer.0    PRO.A.2p

cuando nacieron
‘when you were born’

line 70
kan⁷⁴² cha⁷³ tlyu² ri⁷² jnya¹ yu²⁴

kan⁷⁴²  cha⁷³=tlyu²=ri⁷²  jnya¹  yu
DEM  greatness        COMPL.ask.0       PRO.A.3.m
DEM  perdon           COMPL.pedir.0     PRO.A.3.m

el perdon que pidieron
‘that is the greatness they ask [that might come your way when you were born]’
line 71
cha\textsuperscript{73} na\textsuperscript{3} <P>

cha\textsuperscript{73}=na\textsuperscript{3}
so that
para que

para que
‘so that’

line 72
s\textsuperscript{72}wan\textsuperscript{24} yaan\textsuperscript{7242} 7ya\textsuperscript{2}

s\textsuperscript{72}wa\textsuperscript{24} =Vn ya\textsuperscript{72} =Vn 7ya\textsuperscript{2}
POT.put.0 1.in hand 1.in mountain
POT.poner.0 1.in mano 1.in montaña

para que le echaramos una mano a la montaña
‘we lend a hand to the mountains’

line 73
s\textsuperscript{72}wan\textsuperscript{24} yaan\textsuperscript{7242} chin\textsuperscript{4}

s\textsuperscript{72}wa\textsuperscript{24} =Vn ya\textsuperscript{72} =Vn chin\textsuperscript{4}
POT.put.0 1.in hand 1.in mountain
POT.poner.0 1.in mano 1.in montaña

para que le echaramos una mano a la montaña
‘we lend a hand to the community’

line 74
kan\textsuperscript{742} ntykwa\textsuperscript{6}

kan\textsuperscript{742} ntykwa
DEM COMPL.reach.0
DEM COMPL.alcanzó.0

eso alcanzamos
‘we reached [that day today]’

line 75
kan742 ndya32 ne2

kan742 nd'ya32 ne2
DEM COMPL.NB.arrive.0 now
DEM COMPL.NB.llegar.0 ahora

eso llego ahora
‘that day came today’

line 76
7ne42 wan4 cumpli ni:::2

7ne42 wan cumpli ni2
COMPL.do.0 PRO.A.2p COMPL.fullfill.0 now
COMPL.hacer.0 PRO.A.2p COMPL.cumplir.0 ahora

ya cumplieron ahora
‘You have fullfilled the task now’

line 77
kwi724 7an1 ndyween7242 <p>

kwi724 7an1 ndywi7 =Vn<p>
same as HAB.say.0 1.in
asi como HAB.decir.0 1.in

como decíamos
‘as we were saying’

line 78
kwi724 wa2 ya42 wa42 <P>

kwi724 wa2 ya42 wa42
same already COMPL.NB.go.0 PRO.A.ex
mero ya COMPL.NB.ir.0 PRO.A.ex
asi fuimos
‘now that we have gone [there]’

line 79
ja
d ngwi
d ya
d <p>
ja
d ngwi
d ya
NEG COMPL.realize.0 COMPL_NB.go.0
NEG COMPL_darse_cuenta.0 COMPL_NB.go.0

No nos dimos cuenta [que paso el tiempo so rápido]
‘Time went by so quickly’

line 80
nt7a
d nt7a
d ko:::73
nt7a
d nt7a
d ko
COMPL_complete.0 COMPL_complete.0 moon
COMPL_completar.0 COMPL_completar.0 luna

ya completamos nuestra luna
‘[we have] completed, <<completed>> our month (lit. our moon)’

line 81
nt7a</p> nt7a ko73
nt7a
d nt7a
d ko
COMPL_complete.0 COMPL_complete.0 moon
COMPL_completar.0 COMPL_completar.0 luna

ya completamos nuestra luna
‘[we have] completed<<completed>> our month (lit. our moon)’

line 82
nt7a kla
d 7wan
d ne2 wa2 <p>
nt7a kla
nt7a 7wan ne2 wa2
COMPL_complete.0 star NL_2p now already
COMPL_completar.0 estrella NL_2p ahora ya
ya acompletamos nuestra estrella
‘[you have] completed your day (lit. your star)’

line 83

ndya$^{32}$ ra$^0$<p>

ndya$^{32}$ ra$^0$
COMPL.NB.arrived.0 hour
COMPL.NB.llegó.0 hora

llegó la hora
‘It came the hour [the time]’

line 84

cha$^7$ [ty,t;]<p> ty7on$^{02}$

cha$^7$ ty7o$^{30}$ =Vn
to POT.leave.0 1.in
to POT.salir.0 1.in

llegó la hora de que salgamos ahora
‘to leave’

line 85

cha$^7$ lyaan$^{02}$ wan$^4$ ne$^2$, in$^{20}$ 7o$^1$<p>

cha$^7$ lya$^{20}$ =Vn wan ne$^2$, in20 7o$^1$
to POT.release.0 1.in PRO.A.2p now hm? and
to POT.ser libre.0 1.in PRO.A.2p ahora sí! y

llegó la hora de que seamos soltados ahora
‘for us to be set free now, hm? And <P>’

line 86

kan$^{42}$ cha$^7$<p>

kan$^{42}$ cha$^7$
that is why
eso    por

por eso
‘that is why’

line 87
kwì724 7an10 ndywi71 yu24 kla24 re2 7o1 wan24

kwì724 7an1 ndywi7 =yu kla24 re2 7o1 wan
same manner HAB.say.0 PRO.A.3.m old here with PRO.A.2p
mero manera HAB.decir.0 PRO.A.3.m adulto aquí con PRO.A.2p

asi como les dice el caballero
‘As this old man [the mayor] says to you’

line 88
s7we3 ti24<P>

s7we3 ti
good very
bueno muy

muy bien
‘[be] good <P>’

line 89
s7we3 ti24 7ne24 wan20

s7we3 ti 7ne24 wan
good very POT.do.0 PRO.A.2p
bueno muy POT.hacer.0 PRO.A.2p

portense bien
‘[be] good’

line 90
s7we3 ti24 kaan742 wan4

s7we3 ti kan742 wan
muy bien
‘the best’

por eso por favor no nos burlemos de nosotros mismos
‘Please, seriously, let's not make fool ourselves’

‘Let's not’

300
or as HAB.want.0 that
o así como  HAB.quiere.0 que

Así como
‘as the new ones [new administration]’

line 95
nten\textsuperscript{24}, kla\textsuperscript{24} xa\textsuperscript{32} ta\textsuperscript{4} yu\textsuperscript{4} <p>

nten\textsuperscript{24} kla\textsuperscript{24} xa\textsuperscript{32}=ta\textsuperscript{4} yu
POT.enter.0 POT.B.return.0 others PRO.A.3.m
POT.entrar.0 POT.llegar.0 otros PRO.A.3.m

van a llegar otro [la nueva administracion]
‘[the new ones] will enter, will arrive’

line 96

<\p>

ta\textsuperscript{4}

CONJ

o
‘or’

line 97

kwa:::\textsuperscript{24} 7o\textsuperscript{1} chin\textsuperscript{4} 7a\textsuperscript{1} ntyan\textsuperscript{24}

kwa\textsuperscript{24} 7o\textsuperscript{1} chin\textsuperscript{4} 7a ntyan\textsuperscript{24}
DEM and ugly very POT.look.0
DEM y feo muy POT.verse.0

Se vería muy mal
‘it would be bad if someone were to makes fun of us’

line 98

kwa\textsuperscript{3} ka\textsuperscript{2} 7ne\textsuperscript{24}

kwa\textsuperscript{3} ka\textsuperscript{2} 7ne\textsuperscript{24}

301
pueden ser capaces
‘they [can] sometimes [are capable]’

**line 99**

kwan⁰⁴ nty7in³²

kwan⁰⁴ nty7in
this is how HAB.exist.0
de esta manera HAB.existir.0

se comportan de esta manera
‘hang around [they behave this way]’

**line 100**

nty7in⁴ 7ne²⁴ falta t7a⁴² yu⁴

nty7in 7ne²⁴ falta t7a⁴² =yu
HAB.exist.0 POT.do.0 tease REFL PRO.A.3.m
HAB.existir.0 POT.hacer.0 burla REFL PRO.A.3.m

se estan molestando
‘they hang around doing foolish things to each other’

**line 101**

7an¹ ti7²⁴ no¹ wa⁴² re²

7an¹ ti7²⁴ no¹ wa⁴² =re²
as soul REL PRO.A.ex

así como nosotros
‘As for us’

**line 102**

cha⁷³ nty7wi²⁴ wa⁴² re² te²⁰ ne⁷² 7an¹ re²

cha⁷³ nty7wi wa⁴² =re² te²⁰ ne⁷² 7an⁴ re²
que siempre estamos adentro
‘for us inside the building’

alla afuera
‘outside they’

se estan gritando
they screaming at each other for no reason,

se ponen a hablar cosas sin sentido
‘[they hang around] making fun of each other’
no les digamos nada
‘Let us not say anything to them’

porque así son las cosas
‘Because as it is, or as things work’

porque esto es un trabajo
‘It is a volunteer position [that we are fulfilling]’

porque esto es un pueblo
‘It is a community’
line 110
nt7an\textsuperscript{32} ran\textsuperscript{3}, ntxin\textsuperscript{2} ti\textsuperscript{24} ran\textsuperscript{3}
PROG.NB.go around.0 PRO.3.inanim PROG.rolls around.0 ADV
PRO.3.inanim
es una cosa que anda, anda rodando
‘[this mandate] goes around, rolls around’

line 111
ndon\textsuperscript{32} ti\textsuperscript{4} ran\textsuperscript{3}<P>

ndon\textsuperscript{32} ti ran\textsuperscript{3}
STAT.stand.0 only PRO.3.inanim
STAT.estar (en movimiento).0 solamente PRO.3.inanim

esta parado (en movimiento)
‘orbiting’

line 112
ne\textsuperscript{2} nt7o\textsuperscript{1} =Vn
ne\textsuperscript{2} nt7on\textsuperscript{1} =Vn
now PROG.leave.0 1.in
ahora PROG.salir.0 1.in

ahora estamos saliendo
‘Now we are leaving from our duties’

line 113
xka\textsuperscript{32} yjan\textsuperscript{32}, tykwa\textsuperscript{2} yjan\textsuperscript{32}<p>
xka\textsuperscript{32} yjan\textsuperscript{4}, tykwa\textsuperscript{2} yjan\textsuperscript{4}
another year, two years
otro año, dos años

en un año, en dos años
‘a year from now, two years from now’

line 114
wa^2 jyan^1 xka^32 jnya^7na^42 wa^2 kan^1 xka^32

wa^2 jyan xka^32 ynya^3 7na^42 wa^2
already PROG.NB.come.0 another work PRO.A.1.in already
ya PROG.NB.venir.0 otro trabajo PRO.A.1.in ya

ka^24 =Vn xka^32
POT.be.0 1.in another
POT.ser.0 1.in otro

ya nos vendrá otro trabajo ya seremos otro [cargo]
‘another duty or position will come up’

line 115
wa^2

wa^2
already
ya

ya
‘and’

line 116
kwí7^24 xi^1 nya^24 no^32 nty7o^20 yu^24 7ne^24 jwe^1=tla^10 7na^42

kwí7^24 xi^1 nya^24 no nty7o^20 =yu 7ne^24
same bad PROG.look.0 REL HAB.come out.0 PRO.A.3.m POT.do.0
mismo malo PROG.verse.0 REL HAB.salir.0 PRO.A.3.m POT.hacer.0

jwe^0=tla^10 7na^42
tease PRO.A.1.in
burla PRO.A.1.in

sería también muy malo que saliera alguien a burlarse de nosotros
‘that is why it would be unfortunate if someone would make fun [of us]’
line 117
xi¹ nya²⁴ nga¹ tyen¹ no⁰<P>

xi¹ nya²⁴ nga²⁴ t'ye³² =Vn no
bad PROG.look.0 PROG.be.0 feel 1.in when
malo PROG.verse.0 PROG.ser.0 sentir 1.in cuando

[tambien] nos sentiremos mal si
‘We would feel bad if someone would make fun of us’

line 118
tykwi²⁴ 7on¹ no⁴ cha⁷³ nga²⁴

tykwi7 7o¹ =Vn no cha⁷³ nga²⁴
POT.speak.0 con 1.in because COMPL PROG.be.0
POT.hablar.0 con 1.in porque COMPL PROG.ser.0

si salen a hablar [mal] con nosotros
‘If they come and speak badly to us because as things are’

line 119
ni⁴ skan¹ ja¹ jnya⁰² jnya²⁴ kan²⁴, in²⁰ <P>

ni⁴ ska¹ =Vn ja¹ jnya²⁰ =Vn ynya³ ka²⁴ =Vn,
in²⁰ NEG one.0 1.in NEG POT.ask.0 1.in hardwork POT.be.0 1.in
hm? NEG uno.0 1.in NEG POT.pedir.0 1.in trabajo POT.be.0 1.in
sí!

Ninguno de nosotros pide un cargo
‘No one of us asked to be given a job’

line 120
jnya³ nt7o¹ ti²⁴ 7na⁴²<p>

ynya³ nt7o¹ ti PROG.come out.0 only 7na⁴²
work COMPL.come out.0 only PRO.A.1.in
‘we are only fulfilling what it was ordered from us’

cada uno de nosotros quien esta fungiendo en estos cargos [porque somos]
‘any one of us who is fulfilling a post’

‘It was a duty/service’

‘we are fulfilling what it was ordered from us, say’
Porque es nuestro pueblo
‘Because this is our community’

line 125
nga²⁴ 7en⁰ ntsoon⁴²

porque aquí brotamos
‘because it is the place where we sprouted’

line 126
s7en¹ nlaan¹

porque aquí nacimos
‘This is our birthplace’

line 127
7ne²⁴ cumpli

cumplamos/cumpliremos
‘we will serve’

line 128
kan⁷⁴² ti⁴ cha:::7<P>
Eso nadamas
‘that is why’

line 129
7o \(\text{kan}^{742}\) cha\(^{73}\) <P>

7o \(\text{kan}^{742}\) cha\(^{73}\)
and DEM.DIST thing
y DEM.DIST cosa

por eso
‘and that is why’

line 130
ne\(^{2}\), wa\(^{2}\) x7we\(^{3}\) 7wan\(^{24}\) cha\(^{73}\) na\(^{24}\)<p>

ne\(^{2}\) wa\(^{2}\)=x7we\(^{3}\) 7wan cha\(^{73}=no\)
ahora thank you NL.2p that
ahora gracias NL.2p que

ahora les agradecemos
‘And that is why we now thank you’

line 131
nge\(^{42}\) wan\(^{4}\), nda\(^{3}\) lo\(^{24}\) wan\(^{24}\) <<sn..>> <p>

uge\(^{42}\) wan nda\(^{3}\)=lo\(^{24}\) wan
COMPL.endure.0 PRO.A.2p COMPL.tolerate.0 PRO.A.2p
COMPL.aguantar.0 PRO.A.2p COMPL.tolerar.0 PRO.A.2p

ustedes aguantaron, ustedes toleraron
‘for enduring, tolerating the hardship’

line 132
a veces nos expresamos amablemente con ustedes
‘There were times when we had good things to say [to you]’

a veces no nos expresamos amablemente con ustedes
‘and there were times when you did not have anything good to say [to us]’

nos expresamos nosotros con ustedes
‘we did not have anything good to say to [you]’
no pudimos
‘We could not’

line 136

hablar mejor con ustedes, sí!
‘Speak better to you’

line 137

Disculpen por todo (lo indebido) que hayamos dicho
‘we beg your forgiveness for all the [wrong things] we spoke’

por todo lo que fuimos
‘for all the things we could [not] be’

line 139
ndya⁴ cha⁷³ <P>

ndya⁴ cha⁷³
all things
todo cosas

por todo
‘for all’

line 140
ndyo¹⁴=sí⁰<P>

ndyo¹⁴=sí⁰
god

dios
‘[may] God’

line 141
jlo²⁴, tjen¹⁰ 7na⁴² jlo¹⁴ tjen¹⁴ 7na⁴²

jlo¹⁴, tjen²⁰ 7na⁴² jlo¹⁴, tjen²⁰

POT.pull out.0 POT.bring through.0 PRO.A.1.in POT.pull out.0 POT.bring through.0 PRO.A.1.in
POT.sacar.0 POT.pasarlo.0 PRO.A.1.in POT.sacar.0 POT.pasarlo.0 PRO.A.1.in

nos pase, nos saque,
‘help us out, pass us through,

line 142
s7we³ ti²⁴ <P> ty7on⁰² 7o¹ wan²⁴<P>

s7we³ ti ty7o²⁰ =Vn 7o¹ wan
good very POT.leave.0 1.in with PRO.A.2p
muy bien POT.salir.0 1.in con PRO.A.2p

salgamos de una buena manera
‘may we finish our term with grace’

\textit{line 143}
\texttt{kya^{20} re^{2}, cha^{4} re^{2}}

\begin{tabular}{llll}
\text{kyas}\text{tomorrow} & \text{DET.PROX} & \text{cha:the day after tomorrow} & \text{DET.PROX} \\
\text{mañana} & \text{DET.PROX} & \text{pasado mañana} & \text{DET.PROX} \\
\end{tabular}

mañana, pasado mañana
‘Tomorrow and the days that follow’

\textit{line 144}
\texttt{wa^{2}<P> laan^{21}}

\begin{tabular}{llll}
\text{wa^{2}} & \text{la^{3}} & \text{=Vn} \\
\text{already} & \text{COMPL.set free.0} & \text{1.in} \\
\text{ya} & \text{COMPL.soltado.0} & \text{1.in} \\
\end{tabular}

ya habremos liberado este compromiso
‘we will be already be freed’

\textit{line 145}
\texttt{wa^{2} nt7oon^{1} nga^{24} nt7o^{20} cha^{73}}

\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\text{wa^{2}} & \text{nt7o^{1}} & \text{=Vn} & \text{nga^{24}} & \text{nt7o^{20}} & \text{cha^{73}}, \\
\text{already} & \text{COMPL.leave.0} & \text{1.in} & \text{COMPL.B.go.0} & \text{HAB.leave.0} & \text{thing} \\
\text{ya} & \text{COMPL.salir.0} & \text{1.in} & \text{COMPL.B.ir.0} & \text{HAB.salir.0} & \text{cosa} \\
\end{tabular}

ya salimos de nuestro de compromiso
We would been redeemed of our responsibility

\textit{line 146}
\texttt{ja^{4} ne^{1}}

\texttt{ja^{4}=ne^{1}}

314
yes, indeed
sí
‘yes indeed’

Appendix 3

Appendix: 310
Text:3
Event of transition of governing authorities in SJQ
Orator: Remigio Apolonio (Ligio)
Language: San Juan Quiáhié Chatino
Transcription: Hilaria Cruz
Transcription date: May, 2008
English translation: Hilaria Cruz, Thomas Miller
Text interlinearization: Hilaria Cruz and John Ryan Sullivant
Interlinearization date: November, 2008
Audio file: Oratoriacambio123104.wav
University of Texas-Austin

Line 1
kwi724 7an1 ndwen1 presente10

Así como dice el presidente
‘As the mayor says’

line 2
cha3 no3
cha73 = no

10 10 <P>  pauses. The consecutive, [:] word elongation; << >> disfluency.
Pónganle atención a todos los que fueron sus topiles
‘pay attention to all the ones that were topiles’

porque ustedes fueron sus jefes
‘Because you were their bosses’

para que les avisen
‘So that you can tell them’
para que PROT.existir.EMPH.0 solamente PROT.A.3.m COMP
que se queden para que los liberen de sus cargos
‘to remain in town so that they can release them from their duties!’

Los nuevos[nuevas autoridades] se encargaran de dejarlos ir mañana
‘The new administration will be in charge of releasing you tomorrow’
‘There was a day where’

line 9
ykwen⁷⁴⁷⁴ chin⁴ 7nya²⁴,

ykwi⁷ =Vn chin⁴ =nya²⁴
COMPL.speak.0 1.in ugly STAT.look.0
COMPL.hablar.0 1.in feo STAT.verse.0

en que no dijimos lo adecuado
‘we spoke wrongly to you’

line 10
ykwen⁷⁴⁷⁴ tlan³¹

ykwi⁷ =Vn tla³ =Vn
COMPL.speak.0 1.in hard 1.in
COMPL.hablar.0 1.in duro 1.in

a veces les hablamos duro
‘we spoke frankly to you’

line 11
pero kwan²⁰ ti²⁴ 7nya²⁴ ndywi⁷³² yu⁴-sya⁴

pero kwan²⁰ ti 7nya²⁴ ndywi⁷
but like this only STAT.look.0 HAB.speak.0
pero así solamente STAT.verse.0 HAB.hablar.0

yu =sya¹⁰
PRO.A.3.m justice [governmental authorities]
PRO.A.3.m justicia [autoridades]
pero [todos sabemos que] las autoridades hablan así
‘but this is how authorities talk’

line 12
ndyween³², sie³ -mpre²⁴ <P>

ndywi⁷ =Vn sye³ =mpre²⁴
si, siempre
‘sos we say, always’

se escucha en el cielo, en la tierra, sí!
‘it is heard in heaven, on earth, hm?!’

los que son trabajo, los que son authoridades, sí!
‘that the ones who are leaders, the ones who are the magistrates, hm?!’

los regañan [a los topiles]
‘they talked frankly to them’
porque cha73=no
because so that
porque para que

'so that'

para que

line 17
k7ya24 no1 kwi72, no1 kne1, kwen2-ta1,

k7ya24 no kwi72, no1 kne1, kwe2=nta1,
POT.realize.0 REL babies REL young reason
POT.darse cuenta.0 REL bebes REL tierno razón

para que escuchen y entiendan los mas los bebes, los mas jóvenes
'that the ones who are babies, the ones who are young, learn reason'

line 18
la4 nga42 s7en4 ti2 nk7ya42 yu4 kwen2-ta1

la4 nga42 s7en ti nk7ya42 =yu
wherever COMPL.be.0 place ADV COMPL. come down.0 PRO.A.3.m

donde COMPL.ser.0 lugar ADV COMPL.bajar .0 PRO.A.3.m
razón

hasta donde entiendan
'we speak to them as far as they are willing to listen'

line 19
ska4 cha73 no4 s7we3 ti24 nty7o30 cha73

ska4 cha73=no s7we3 ti nty7o30=cha73
one COMP good ADV indeed
uno COMP bueno ADV seguro

esto es algo bueno, si!
'This is something good'<P>''
no es que digamos que esto sea algo malo, sí!' this is not bad, hm?!

'si dios lo dispone' 'god willing'

'as anyone of them might feel'
servir a la comunidad no es algo malo, pensariamos que dios
‘The ones who are hands, they ones who are feet,hm??’

no sabemos
‘no one can predict’

que tipo de trabajo vendra en el futuro, decimos
‘what kind of place awaits each one of us’

dios es el que decidirá
‘god is the one who decides and’
a pesar de que
‘even though’

porque ustedes fueron sus jefes
‘you came to be their bosses’

dios es el que decide que trabaja
‘god is the one who decides what place’

cada persona
‘each person will have’
si\(^1\) ndyo\(^{14}\)-si\(^0\) tlyu\(^2\) 7a\(^1\) ndyga\(^{24}\), in\(^{20}\)

si\(^{10}\) ndyo\(^{14}\)=si\(^0\) tlyu\(^2\) 7a ndyga\(^{24}\), in\(^{20}\)
if god big EMPH HAB.be.0 hm?
si dios grande EMPH HAB.ser.0 sí!

con la grandeza del dios, sí!
‘if god may be so generous, hm?!’

line 32
hasta ka\(^{24}\) wan\(^{32}\) tynya\(^3\) nnn<P>

hasta ka\(^{24}\) wan tynya\(^3\)
until POT.be.0 PRO.A.2p hard work
hasta POT.ser.0 PRO.A.2p trabajo

subiran el escalafón
‘you may attain so important a place nnn<P>’

line 33
(7an\(^1\) ti7\(^1\) ndwa\(^3\) wa\(^{42}\) re\(^2\) ndyween7\(^{242}\))<P>

7an\(^1\)=ti7 ndwa\(^3\) wa\(^{42}\) re\(^2\) ndywi\(^7\) =Vn
as HAB.sit.0 PRO.A.ex here HAB.say.0 1.in
como HAB.sentar.0 PRO.A.ex aquí HAB.decir.0 1.in

así como estamos nosotros, sí, decimos <P>
‘as ourselves, say<P>’

line 34
si\(^1\) ndyo\(^{14}\)-si\(^0\) tlo\(^{24}\) tynya\(^3\) ndywen7\(^{242}\)

si\(^{10}\) ndyo\(^{14}\)=si\(^0\) tlo\(^{24}\)=tynya\(^3\) ndywi\(^7\) =Vn
if god POT.order.0 HAB.say.0 1.in
si dios POT.ordena.0 HAB.decir.0 1.in

si dios así lo manda, decimos
‘if god so ordains’
line 35
kan\(^{742}\) a\(^{4}\) ka\(^{2}\) 7na\(^{42}\), ndyween\(^{24}\)

\[
\text{kan}^{742} \quad \text{a}^{4} \quad \text{ka}^{2} \quad 7\text{na}^{42}, \quad \text{ndywi}^{7} = \text{Vn}
\]
\[
\text{DEM-DIST} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{POT.} \text{be.} \text{able.}0 \quad \text{PRO.A.}1.\text{in} \quad \text{HAB.} \text{say.}0 \quad 1.\text{in}
\]
\[
\text{DEM-DIST} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{POT.} \text{poder.}0 \quad \text{PRO.A.}1.\text{in} \quad \text{HAB.} \text{decir.}0 \quad 1.\text{in}
\]
eso nosotros no lo podemos decidir, decimos
‘We cannot decide, hm?!’

line 36
\[\text{ta}^{4} \text{n}^{de^{2}} \text{t}^{ny}^{a^{3}} \text{ka}^{42}, \text{in}^{20}\]
\[
\text{ta}^{4} \quad \text{n}^{de^{2}} \quad \text{t}^{ny}^{a^{3}} \quad \text{ka}^{42}, \quad \text{in}^{20}
\]
or this hard work POT.be.2s hm?
o este trabajo POT.ser.2s sí!
o este va a ser tu nuevo trabajo, sí!
‘This is to be your new place, hm?!”

line 37
\[\text{ta}^{4} \quad \text{ta}^{4} \quad \text{or} \quad \text{o} \quad \text{‘or’}\]

line 38
\[\text{ska}^{4} \text{t}^{i^{4}} \text{ndyo}^{14} - \text{si}^{0} \text{n}^{7} \text{ne}^{32} \text{j}^{ya}^{7^{3}} \text{ne}^{4} \text{t}^{ny}^{a^{3}} \text{no}^{32} \text{ka}^{24} \text{ska}^{42} \text{nten}^{14}\]

\[
\text{ska}^{4} = \text{ti} \quad \text{ndyo}^{14} = \text{si}^{0} \quad \text{n}^{7} \text{ne}^{32} = \text{j}^{ya}^{7^{3}} \quad \text{ne}^{4} \quad \text{t}^{ny}^{a^{3}}
\]
only god PROG.decide.0 what hard work
solamente dios PROG.decidir.0 que trabajo

\[
\text{no} \quad \text{ka}^{24} \quad \text{ska}^{42} \quad \text{nten}^{14}
\]
REL POT.be.0 each people
REL POT.ser.0 cada gente

solamente dios es el que decide que trabajo va a hacer cada gente
‘it is only god who decides what place each person will have’
line 39
ska\textsuperscript{42}

each one
cada uno

cada uno
‘each <blury> is going to have/perform’

line 40
ni\textsuperscript{4} sya\textsuperscript{20} wa\textsuperscript{2} tno\textsuperscript{1} la\textsuperscript{1} ti\textsuperscript{24} nya\textsuperscript{24} ska\textsuperscript{32} ky7yu\textsuperscript{1}

\begin{verbatim}
ni\textsuperscript{4}=sya\textsuperscript{20} wa\textsuperscript{2} tno la\textsuperscript{1} =ti
even though already big.PL EMPH ADV
aunque ya grande.PL EMPH ADV
\end{verbatim}

nya\textsuperscript{24} ska\textsuperscript{32} ky7yu\textsuperscript{1}
STAT.apparience.0 one male
STAT.apariencia.0 uno hombre

aunque haya un hombre que se vea mas grande
‘No matter how big or strong a man seems’

line 41
no4 7a\textsuperscript{4} nt7o\textsuperscript{1} tyna\textsuperscript{3} 7in\textsuperscript{24}

\begin{verbatim}
no a\textsuperscript{4} nt7o\textsuperscript{1} tynya\textsuperscript{3} 7in
REL NEG COMPL.leave.0 hard work NL.0
REL NEG COMPL.salir.0 trabajo NL.0
\end{verbatim}

alguien que no esta destinado
‘if he is not destined’

line 42
cha\textsuperscript{7} ka\textsuperscript{24} tyna\textsuperscript{3}, ka\textsuperscript{24} kchin\textsuperscript{1}, in\textsuperscript{20},<P>

\begin{verbatim}
cha\textsuperscript{7} ka\textsuperscript{24} tyna\textsuperscript{3}, ka\textsuperscript{24} k'chin in\textsuperscript{20}
\end{verbatim}
para ser autoridad, ser pueblo
‘to be a leader, to be pillars of the community, hm?! <P>’

line 43
ja⁴ ntykwi7 nten¹⁴ 7in¹ ndyween²⁴² <P>

ja⁴ ntykwi7 nten¹⁴ 7in ndywi7 =Vn
NEG PROG.speak.0 people NL.0 PROG.say.0 1.in
NEG PROG.hablar.0 gente NL.0 PROG.decir.0 1.in

la gente no lo escogerá, decimos
‘people will not respond to him, hm? s<P>’

line 44
7o¹ sya²⁰ lyu²⁰ ti²⁴ s<k>a⁴ ky7yu¹ no¹ yna⁴² tynya³

7o¹ sya²⁰ lyu²⁰ ti ská⁴
d and even though small ADV one
y aunque pequeño ADV uno

ky7yu¹ no yna⁴² tynya³
male REL COMPL.hear.0 work
hombre REL COMPL.escuchar.0 trabajo

por más pequeño que se vea un hombre
‘no matter how small a man seems’

line 45
cha⁷³ ka²⁴ tynya³ in²⁰,

cha⁷³ ka²⁴ tynya³ in²⁰
COMP POT.be.0 hard work hm?
para POT.ser.0 trabajo sí!

para ser autoridad, sí!
‘who is destined to lead his community, hm?’
line 46
pero
pero
but

pero
‘but’

line 47
kan742 x::nyi4 ton42 nten14 7o1

a ese lo va a elegir la gente
‘that is person that people will seize upon and’

line 48
kan742 xkwen24 nten14 cha70 ka24, in30

a esa persona va a elegir el pueblo, sí!
‘he is the one that people will agree to, hm?!’

line 49
kwi724

kwi724
that same one
foco positivo

y
‘And it is’
ndyo³⁴-si³⁰ 7ne⁴² jya⁷³ 7in²⁴ jan⁷⁴²

god  COMPL.decide.⁰  NL.⁰  DEM-DIST

dios es el que decide por esa persona 'god who decides for that person'

kan⁷⁴² cha⁷³ no²⁴ ky⁷ya²⁴ wan³² kwen³-ta¹<P::>

DEM-DIST  thing  POT.come down.⁰  PRO.A.²p  reason
DEM-DIST  cosa  POT.bajarse.⁰  PRO.A.²p  razonar

esto es algo que tienen que entender 'This is something that I would like for you to understand <P::>,'

sya:²⁰ x::ska²⁴ skan²⁴ ti²⁴ wa² ntyka² yu¹, 7o¹

even though one community guard only already
a pesar de que un topil solamente already

PROG.be.⁰  PRO.A.³.m  and
PROG.ser.⁰  PRO.A.³.m  y

aunque solamente ya hayan sido 'even though they have been just lowest topil, or'

PROG.be.⁰  PRO.A.³.m

sya²⁰ tkwa²⁴ ti²⁴ skan²⁴ wa² ntyka² yu¹

even though two only community guard already

PRO.A.³.m

329
aunque dos sean topiles ya PROG.ser.0
PRO.A.3.m

aunque dos sean topiles ya hayan sido
‘even though they have been just next topil’

line 54
wa² nxyi¹ yu¹ chin⁷⁰ kwe³-nta¹ 7wan¹ nya²⁴

wa² nxyi =yu chin⁷⁰ kwe²-nta¹ 7wan=nya24
ya POT.agarrar.0 PRO.A.3.m poco razón como

ya van entendiendo como son las cosas
‘They are already paying attention to the workings of things’

line 55
si⁴ yu¹ no⁴ tya²⁰, ndywen⁷²⁴

si⁴ =yu no tya²⁰, ndywi⁷ =Vn
if PRO.A.3.m REL smart PROG.say.0 1.in
si PRO.A.3.m REL inteligent PROG.decir.0 1.in

una persona que es inteligente, decimos
‘a man who is wise’

line 56
no⁴
no
REL
quien

alguien que es
‘someone’

line 57
yu⁴ no⁴ ndyga²⁴ ri⁷² cha⁷³ kno¹

=yu no ndyga²⁴=ri⁷² cha⁷³ kno¹
un hombre que quiere quedarse
‘who wants to’

line 58
ska⁴ cha⁷ no²⁴ s7we³ ti³⁴ 7in²⁴, in²⁰ <P>

algo bueno sí!
‘to uphold values, hm?’<P>’

line 59
cha⁷³ s7we³ nga²⁴ ran⁰, ndyween²⁴³²

porque esto es algo bueno, decimos
‘because this is a good thing’

line 60
s7i¹ ta⁴ nga²⁴ ran³ cha⁷³ wxi¹ 7o¹, como (enjambment)

no es que esto sea algo malo, porque
‘it is not that this something bad thing because!’
 Esto es lo bueno que pidieron nuestros papas
‘This is the graciousness that our parents asked of us’

‘when we sprang forth like a seed from the earth, when we sprang forth’

‘when we were born’

because PROG.be.0 1.in male hm?
porque PROG.ser.0 1.in hombre sí!

porque somos hombres, sí!<P:::>
‘because we are men, hm?!<P:::>

line 65

ti² kan7²⁰ wa² ndywi7¹ sten²⁴ y7aan¹ 7na⁴² cha7³ na:³ <P:::

Desde entonces nuestro padres han venido hablando de esto
‘Ever since when our fathers and mothers wished to god that we might attain to these places’

line 66

xta²⁰ yu²⁴ cha7³ ya7² ndyo¹⁴-si¹,

ofrecieron a dios
‘They placed this in the hands of god,’

line 67

cha7³ ntsu⁴², ndlaan¹, in²⁰

porque PROG.ser.0 1.in hombre sí!

333
‘because we sprang forth, we were born into life, hm?

line 68

\[ \text{tyi}^{20} \text{ ton}^4, \quad =Vn \]

\[ \text{tyi}^{20}=\text{ton}^4 \quad =Vn \]

POT.\text{stand up.0} \quad 1.\text{in}

POT.\text{pararse.0} \quad 1.\text{in}

nos levantaríamos

‘that one day we would stand up for the community’

line 69

\[ \text{tyi}^{20} \text{ t7een}^{24}, \]

\[ \text{tyi}^{20}=\text{ty7in}^4 \quad =Vn \]

POT.\text{sit.on the ground.0} \quad 1.\text{in}

POT.\text{sentarse.en el suelo.0} \quad 1.\text{in}

nos quedaríamos

‘one day we would sit together’

line 70

\[ \text{kaan}^{140} \text{ tynya}^3 \ [\text{to be community leader,}] \]

\[ \text{ka}^{24} \quad =Vn \quad \text{tynya}^3 \]

POT.\text{be.0} \quad 1.\text{in} \quad \text{hard work}

POT.\text{ser.0} \quad 1.\text{in} \quad \text{trabajo}

para ser trabajo (lit. ser autoridad)

‘to be a community leader’

line 71

\[ \text{kaan}^{140} \text{ kchin}^1, \]

\[ \text{ka}^{24} \quad =Vn \quad \text{k'chin} \]

POT.\text{be.0} \quad 1.\text{in} \quad \text{community}

POT.\text{ser.0} \quad 1.\text{in} \quad \text{pueblo}
para ser pueblo (lit. ser autoridad)
‘to be community’

line 72
s7wan yaan70-1 k7ya²,

s7wa²⁴ ya7² =Vn k7ya²
POT.put.0 hand.0 POSS.in mountain
POT.poner.0 mano.0 POSS.in montaña

para que le echaramos la mano a las montañas
‘so that we would lend a hand to the mountains’

line 73
s7wan²⁴ yaan70-1 kchin⁴

s7wa²⁴ ya7² =Vn k'chin
POT.put.0 hand.0 POSS.in community
POT.poner.0 mano.0 POSS.in pueblo

para que ayudaramos a la comunidad
‘so that we would lend a hand to the community’

line 74
ndywen⁴ sten⁴,

ndywen sti =Vn
HAB.say.0 father.0 POSS.in
HAB.decir.0 padre.0 POSS.in

dijeron nuestros papas
‘said our fathers’

line 75
ndyween⁴ y7aan¹

ndywen y7an¹ =Vn
HAB.say.0 mother.0 POSS.in
HAB.decir.0 madre.0 POSS.in

335
dijeron nuestras madres
‘said our mothers’

line 76
kan\(^7\) nga\(^{24}\) no\(^{32}\) jyan\(^{4}\) t7en\(^1\) ran\(^1\) ne\(^2\)<P::>

kan\(^7\) nga\(^{24}\) no jyan=t7en\(^1\) =ran\(^3\) ne2
DEM-DIST PROG.be.0 REL PROG.NB.coming down.0 PRO.3.inanim now
DEM-DIST PROG.ser.0 REL PROG.NB.caerse.0 PRO.3.inanim ahora

y esto es lo que se esta cumpliendo ahora
‘and this is where we are now <P::>’

line 77
si\(^1\) ndyo\(^{24}\)-si\(^1\) tlyu\(^7\)a\(^1\) ndyga\(^{24}\), in\(^{20}\)<P::>

si\(^{10}\) ndyo\(^{14}\)=si\(^0\) tlyu\(^2\) 7a ndyga\(^{24}\), in\(^{20}\)
if god big.SG EMPH HAB.be.0 hm?
si dios grande.SG EMPH HAB.ser.0 sí!

si dios es grande sí!
‘if god is so great, hm?!<P::>’

line 78
ti:::\(^2\) ky7an\(^{14}\) la\(^1\) ti\(^1\) nty7an\(^{24}\) wan\(^{32}\)

ti\(^2\) ky7an\(^{14}\) la\(^1\)=ti nty7an\(^{24}\) wan
still more superlative POT.see.0 PRO.A.2p
todavía mucho superlative POT.ver.0 PRO.A.2p

que vean muchas mas cosas
‘may you see many more good things’

line 79
ky7an\(^{24}\) la\(^1\) ti\(^1\) kna\(^{24}\) wan\(^{32},\) in\(^{20}\)<P>

ky7an\(^{14}\) la\(^1\)=ti kna\(^{24}\) wan in\(^{20}\)
more superlative POT.hear.0 PRO.A.2p hm?
que escuchen mucho más sí!
‘may you hear many more good things’

manyana, pasado mañana cuando vayan
‘tomorrow, or the next day to it when you go’

a su milpa
‘to your corn field’

con sus cosas
‘to your harvest’

that same god
POT.strength.
NL.2p
foco positivo dios POT.strength.0 NL.2p

que ese mismo dios les de fuerza
‘may that same god give strength’

line 84
ja14 na1 tyjin14 ya71 7wan1,

ja14 na3 tyjin14 =ya7 7wan
POT.get.0 thing POT.pass.0 hand.0 NL.2p
POT.conseguir.0 cosa POT.pasar.0 mano NL.2p

que consigan las cosas que necesiten para pasarsela
‘may you have the tools to get by’

line 85
ja14 na1 tyjin14 y7wi20 7wan24

ja14 na3 tyjin14 y7wi20 7wan
POT.get.0 thing POT.pass.0 POT.exist.0 NL.2p
POT.conseguir.0 cosa POT.pasar.0 POT.existir.0 NL.2p

que tengan las cosas para sobrevivir
‘may you have the things to survive’

line 86
7an' ndya24 ri72 ska1 yjan32 ne2, in20 <P>

7an1 ndya=ri72 ska yjan4 ne2, in20
as HAB.want.0 one year now, hm?
así HAB.querer.0 uno año ahora, sí!
por este año, sí
‘for this year, hm?!<P>’

line 87
cha73 nde2 la1 t7en242 chin720 xnyan2, ndyween7242 sya20 <P>

cha73 nde2 la1=t7en20 =Vn chin720 xnya3 =Vn
338
because here COMP.leave.0 1.in little work.0 POSS.in
porque aquí COMP.dejar.0 1.in poco trabajo.0 POSS.in

ndywi7 =Vn sya۲۰
HAB.say.0 1.in even though
HAB.decir.0 1.in a pesar de que

porque aquí dejamos nuestro trabajo, aunque <P>
‘because we left our work, even though<P>’

line 88
x۷٢١ nde۲ ti١ nga۴٢ wan۲۲ sa٤=na٩٠ wan١

briefly here EMPH HAB.B.come.0 PRO.A.2p
brevemente aquí EMPH HAB.B.venir.0 PRO.A.2p

sa٤=na٩٠ ٧wan
week NL.2p
semana NL.2p

sea de vez en cuando hayan regresaron a cumplir con su semana
‘you came back briefly to fulfill your week’

line 89
ngya۴٢ wan۴ <p>

ngya۴٢ wan
COMPL.B.come.0 PRO.A.2p
COMPL.B.venir.0 PRO.A.2p

regresaron
‘you came back’

line 90
s٧٢١ sa٤ na١، in۲٠<P::>

s٧٢١ sa٤=na٩٠ in۲٠
one week hm?
una semana sí!
cada semana, sí! <P>
‘each week, hm?! <P>’

line 91
la\(^1\) t\(7\)en\(^{20}\) wan\(^{24}\) chin\(^{20}\) x\(nya\(^3\) wan\(^{24}\)

COMPL.\(\text{leave.0}\) PRO.A.\(2p\) little work.\(0\) PRO.A.POSS.\(2p\)
COMPL.\(\text{dejar.0}\) PRO.A.\(2p\) poco trabajo.\(0\) PRO.A.POSS.\(2p\)

abandonaron su trabajo
‘you left you work’

line 92
<s\(7\)en\(^4\) nt\(7\)en\(^4\) wan\(^{4}\)> 7\(o\)^{

\(\text{where PROG.live.0 PRO.A.2p with}
\text{donde PROG.vivir.0 PRO.A.2p con}

\text{donde viven/trabajan}
‘where you farm’

line 93
7\(o\)^{1} st\(i\)^{4} 7\(o\)^{1} y\(7\)an\(^{1}\) wan\(^{1}\)

\text{with faher.0 with mother.0 PRO.A.POSS.2p}
\text{con padre.0 con madre.0 PRO.A.POSS.2p}

\text{con su papas}
‘with you fathers and mothers’

line 94
no\(^4\) nd\(\text{ya}^{32}\) st\(i\)^{4} nd\(\text{ya}^{32}\) y\(7\)an\(^{1}\), ndy\(\text{ween}^{24}\)

\text{no nd\(\text{ya}^{32}\) st\(i\) nd\(\text{ya}^{32}\) y\(7\)an\(^{1}\),}

340
los que tienen todavía a sus papas, mamás
‘the ones whose father's and mother's are still around’

dios les dara fuerza sí!
‘that same god will give strength, hm?!’

para que
para que
‘so that you can’
para que puedan hacer su trabajo
‘so that you can do your work come next year’

line 98
kna20 wan24 na24 ku24 wan24

kna20 wan na3 ku wan
POT.look.0 PRO.A.2p thing POT.eat.0 PRO.POSS.A.2p
POT.buscar.0 PRO.A.2p cosa POT.comer.0 PRO.POSS.A.2p

para que puedan buscar su comida
‘so that you can procure for your food’

line 99
kna20 wan24 na3 k7o24 wan1

kna20 wan na3 k7o24 wan
POT.look.0 PRO.A.2p thing POT.drink.0 PRO.POSS.A.2p
POT.buscar.0 PRO.A.2p cosa POT.tomar.0 PRO.POSS.A.2p

para que puedan buscar algo que tomar
‘so that you can procure something to drink’

line 100
kna20 wan24 ste73 wan24,

kna20 wan ste7 wan
POT.look.0 PRO.A.2p clothes PRO.POSS.A.2p
POT.buscar.0 PRO.A.2p ropa PRO.POSS.A.2p

para que puedan buscar su ropa
‘so that you can procure your clothes’

line 101
kna20 wan24 sss <P::>
para que puedan buscar sus ssss <P:::>
'so that you can procure your sh:: <P::>'

line 102
7o ne4 sya1 7an1 no1 ndya24 ri72 tye32 yu4 no4 nt7an32 tyju74, ndyween724<P>
and now even though REL HAB.want.0 chest.0 PRO.A.3.m
Y ahora a pesar de REL HAB.querer.0 pecho.0 PRO.A.3.m
no nt7an32 tyju74, ndywi7 =Vn
REL PROG.going around.0 far away HAB.say.0 1.in
REL PROG.andal.0 lejos HAB.decir.0 1.in

y ahora los que andan lejos<P>
'as to the one who are working far away, hm?'<P>''

line 103
ja4 ka2 ndyween71 ta4:4 tsan24 con1 tra1 7in1 kan742, ndyween242
ja4 ka2 ndywi7 =Vn ta5 tsa24 =Vn
NEG POT.be able.0 HAB.say.0 1.in or POT.NB.go.0 1.in
NEG POT.poder.0 HAB.decir.0 1.in o POT.NB.ir.0 1.in

con1=tra1 7in1 kan742, ndywi7 =Vn
against NL.0 DEM-DIST PROG.say.0 1.in
contra NL.0 DEM-DIST PROG.decir.0 1.in

no podemos culparlos, decimos
'we cannot blame them for their choice, hm?'

line 104
7o ne4 sya1 ndya24 ri72 tye32 7wan32 ne2, ndyween724<P>
and now even though HAB.want.0 chest NL.2p
Y ahora aunque HAB.querer.0 pecho NL.2p
ne², ndywî7 =Vn
now HAB.say.0 1.in
ahora HAB.decir.0 1.in

así como ustedes sienten, decimos
‘and as you may feel, hm?!<P>’

line 105
si¹ ndya² rî² wan¹ tsa²⁴ wan³² ska⁴ yjan³²,

si¹⁰ ndya=rî² wan tsa²⁴ wan ska⁴ yjan⁴
if HAB.want.0 PRO.A.2p POT.go.0 PRO.A.2p one year
si HAB.querer.0 PRO.A.2p POT.ir.0 PRO.A.2p uno año

si quisieran pudieran ir un año
‘if you wish to go for a years,’

line 106
tkwâ²⁴ yjan³² ne² 7o¹ ta⁴ 7o¹ wa²[overlap,nopause]pero wa²

tkwâ²⁴ yjan⁴ ne² 7o⁴=ta⁴ 7o¹ wa² pero
two year now or already pero
dos años ahora o ya pero

wa²
already
ya

‘dos años, pero’
or for two years , but

line 107
7ne³² wan²⁴ ser³²-wi²⁴ ya¹ no⁴ tsa²⁴ ren³²<P>

n⁷ne³² wan ser³²=wi²⁴ ya¹=no tsa²⁴ ren³²=POT.NB.go.0
PROG.do.0 PRO.A.2p serve when POT.NB.go.0
PRO.3p.human
ya sirvieron cuando se vayan
‘you must have had served your community when you go’

line 108
ndya\textsuperscript{32} ya\textsuperscript{4} tynya\textsuperscript{3} nkwa\textsuperscript{2} yu\textsuperscript{1},

ellos ya cumplieron con algun cargo
‘those men already fulfilled some duties’

line 109
nkwa\textsuperscript{2} yu\textsuperscript{1} skan\textsuperscript{24} kan7\textsuperscript{4} cha7\textsuperscript{3}

fueron topiles, por eso
‘they might have been a topil and this is why’

line 110
ngya\textsuperscript{4} yu\textsuperscript{4} chin\textsuperscript{20} ne\textsuperscript{2} como ky7an\textsuperscript{14} nten\textsuperscript{14} nt7an\textsuperscript{32}, in\textsuperscript{20}

por eso se fueron ahora,como ha mucha gente que anda, sí!
‘they left as there are many people who are leaving, hm?’
line 111
kwi724
positive focus
foco positivo
el mero
‘that same ’

line 112
ndyo14-si0 ndz7wa1 ya72 7in1 ni4 sya20 no24 nt7an32
ndyo14=si0 ndz7wa1 ya72 7in ni4=sya20 no nt7an32
god PROG.put.0 hand.0 NL.0 even though REL PROG.go around.0
dios PROG.poner.0 mano.0 NL.0 a pesar de que REL PROG.andar.0
que los bendiga hasta los que andan
‘may god give them strength, whether they are abroad’

line 113
7o1 no4 sya20 no24 nt7en24 ndyween24 <pausa para respirar>
7o1 no sya20 no no nt7en ndywi7 =Vn
and REL even though REL PROG.exist.0 HAB.say.0 1.in
y REL a pesar de que REL PROG.existir.0 HAB.decir.0 1.in
y aunque los que se quedaron decimos<P>
‘or they are in the community, hm?s <P>’

line 114
como ska4 ti4 nten14 nkan1 7o1 ktyin724 7o1, 7o1 t7an42 nt7een24
como ska4 ti nten14 nka24 =Vn 7o1 ktyi74 =Vn
since one only people PROG.be.0 1.in with relatives
POSS.in
como un solamente gente PROG.ser.0 1.in con relativos
POSS.in
‘porque somos uno con nuestros hijos, con nuestros parientes, con los que vivimos
‘because we are one with our offspring, with our relatives, with the people with whom we live because’

line 115
ska⁴ 7ya², ska⁴ kchin³², in²⁰ <P::>

uno montaña uno pueblo sí!
‘we inhabit in the same mountains, the same community, hm?!<P:>'

line 116
no⁴ yna⁴⁵ tyna³ tsa²⁴, in²⁰ <P::> (lo dice muy fuerte)

Los que saben a que van sí!
‘the ones who are going sí!

line 117
7ne²⁴ ka²⁴ na::²⁴
que ganen
‘those ones will succeed’

line 118
7o\textsuperscript{1} no\textsuperscript{4} <a\textsuperscript{4}> yna\textsuperscript{42} tynya\textsuperscript{3} nt7an\textsuperscript{32}

7o\textsuperscript{1} no a\textsuperscript{4} yna\textsuperscript{42}
and REL NEG COMPL. hear.0 work PROG. go around.0

y REL NEG COMPL. escuchar.0 trabajo PROG. andar.0

los que nos saben a que van
‘and the ones who don’t have any plans’

line 119
sya\textsuperscript{20} kwa\textsuperscript{3} nt7an\textsuperscript{32} sni7\textsuperscript{4} ndyo\textsuperscript{14} =si\textsuperscript{0}, in\textsuperscript{20}

sya\textsuperscript{20} kwa\textsuperscript{3} nt7an\textsuperscript{32} sni7 ndyo\textsuperscript{14} =si\textsuperscript{0}, in\textsuperscript{20}
even though there PROG. NB. go around.0 offspring god hm?
a pesar de que allí PROG. NB. andar hijo dios sí!

aunque esos pobres anden hasta allá, sí!
‘even if they go that far, children of god, hm?!’

line 120
ntyj\textsuperscript{24} (lo dice de una manera muy especial) son\textsuperscript{24} 7na\textsuperscript{4} cha\textsuperscript{7} nt7en\textsuperscript{242} <P::>

ntyj\textsuperscript{24} son\textsuperscript{24} 7na\textsuperscript{42} cha\textsuperscript{7} nt7en
=Vn
HAB. hear.0 news PRO. A. 1. in because PROG. exist.0

1. in
HAB. escuchar.0 noticias PRO. A. 1. in porque PROG. existir.0

escuchamos los que estamos aquí
‘as we hear’

line 121
cha\textsuperscript{7} kwan\textsuperscript{20} t\textsuperscript{4} nya\textsuperscript{24} nt7an\textsuperscript{32} yu\textsuperscript{4} <ni\textsuperscript{4} 7an\textsuperscript{1}> si\textsuperscript{4} mo\textsuperscript{24} ru\textsuperscript{1} nt7an\textsuperscript{24} pensa 7in\textsuperscript{1} nten\textsuperscript{14} cha\textsuperscript{7} kwan\textsuperscript{20} ti nya\textsuperscript{24}

cha\textsuperscript{7} kwan\textsuperscript{20} t\textsuperscript{4} nya\textsuperscript{24} nt7an\textsuperscript{32}
because in this manner only STAT. look.0 PROG. NB. go
around.0
porque de esta manera solamente STAT. verse.0 PROG. NB. andar.0

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pensa 7in nten14 cha71 kwan20 ti
thought NL.0 people because in this manner only
pensamiento NL.0 gente porque de la manera solamente

que asi nadamas anda, a veces me pregunto que piensa la gente
‘that that they are not doing well people are different’

depende de cada persona
‘each person has their own mind’

Depende de la suerte de cada persona  <P:>
‘sometimes it depends on the luck of each person <P:>’
asi son las cosas, que dios los bendiga
‘and things are this way, and might god bless you and I and each of us’

que dios [les] eche la mano
‘may god lend you a hand’

que dios nos saque adelante con ustedes ahora <P:>
‘may god lead you and all of us now<P:>’
Estas son las que vamos a llevar a la iglesia porque ya estamos saliendo de nuestros puestos.
‘These are the candles we are going to take to church because we are now finishing with our duties.’

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Hilaria Cruz was born in Cieneguilla-San Juan Quiahije, the district of Juquila in the state of Oaxaca, México. Hilaria earned a Bachelor of Arts degree from The Evergreen State College in Olympia, Washington in 1998. That same year, Ms Cruz realized her desire to read, write, study, and preserve the Chatino language of her community, San Juan Quiahije (SJQ). In 2003, Hilaria, her sister Emiliana Cruz, and Professor Anthony Woodbury began to travel extensively to the many Chatino communities documenting, and describing the language. This was the beginning of the Chatino Language Documentation Project (CLDP) which today is a large cooperative project involving people of different expertise, roles, and levels of training, doing documentation, description, and revitalization on the different varieties of Chatino. This team has collected more than 200 hours of recordings of natural discourse in Chatino.

In 2004 Hilaria began her graduate studies at the Department of Linguistics at the University of Texas at Austin. Joining her sister Emiliana, a graduate student of Anthropology-Linguistics and under the guidance of Professor Anthony Woodbury an alphabet for SJQ was developed. This alphabet was used as a basis for creating alphabets for five other varieties of Chatino. Hilaria’s focus is on Eastern Chatino and she has conducted substantial language work in 11 of the 20 villages in this region.

As a member of the CLDP she works in conjunction with the local traditional authorities, community members, and potential society at large. She works to raise awareness about the threat of language loss, and maintenance in public forums of the
region and elsewhere. She continues to develop pedagogical materials for teaching Chatino grammar and writing. Currently she is documenting the language to honor local knowledge by recording formal and informal types of language in public and private settings. Some of the recordings that she has collected include lexical items, ritual prayers, traditional Chatino oratory, kitchen conversations, funeral laments, and ethnobotany.

As a member of the Board of Directors of the Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas (INALI), she is part of the team assigned to oversee the archiving of the indigenous languages of Mexico.

Hilaria is constantly seeking out opportunities to increase her knowledge of linguistics and other related fields of study and to further enhance her insight into Chatino and to this aim she has collaborated with scholars of indigenous languages in 2006-2007, when for two consecutive years she took an intensive of workshop about complement clause structure in Mesoamerican languages, taught by Judith Aissen. Here Hilaria worked with Emiliana Cruz and Thom Smith Stark. At this workshop she was able to study Chatino and share her findings with other attendees. This workshop took place in Chiapas Mexico in 2006 and in La Antigua Guatemala in 2007.

Hilaria has presented papers on Chatino language and the CLDP program at various conferences throughout various cities in Oaxaca beginning in 2007-2008. In 2008 she took part in a training workshop, organized by the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Programme, SOAS, University of London 2008.

She has been the recipient of University of Texas Research Internship in the
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