

Proto-Uto-Aztecan on their way to the Proto-Aztecan homeland: linguistic evidence*

The Uto-Aztecan language family is one of the largest genetically related groups of the Americas, whose speakers inhabited a vast territory, extending from the state of Oregon to Panama. The paper is based on the observation that six Proto-Uto-Aztecan animal names received the augment **-yo-* in Proto-Aztecan. This augment can be interpreted as a suffix of abstract possession which derives abstract nouns and indicates possession of the object or quality. Thus, Proto-Aztecan ‘coyote’ **koyo-* literally means ‘one of the coyote’s, somewhat like the coyote’, ‘owl’ **tikolo-* ‘one of the owl’s, somewhat like the owl’, etc. This change in meaning implies that the Proto-Uto-Aztecan homeland must have been ecologically different from the place to which speakers of Proto-Aztecan later migrated.

Keywords: Uto-Aztecan languages, Aztecan languages, Mesoamerican linguistics, prehistoric migrations, original homeland reconstruction.

The Uto-Aztecan language family is one of the largest genetically related language groups of the Americas (Campbell 1997: 133–137). According to conservative estimates, it consists of over 30 individual languages, whose speakers inhabited the vast territory extending from the state of Oregon to Panama (Fig. 1). The distance as the crow flies between the two places is over 5500 km. One glottochronological estimate places the break-up of Proto-Uto-Aztecan at around 5,000 years ago (48 minimum centuries of divergence according to Terrence Kaufman 1976: 73; see also Miller 1984), while the estimate of Holman, Brown et al. (2011) is 4018 B.P.

The Uto-Aztecan family is one of the relatively well documented and studied Native American linguistic groups. Northern members of the family have always been the centre of attention for American linguists. One of its southernmost members is Classical Nahuatl, which was the language spoken by the Aztecs; it is documented through a multitude of written sources transcribed by means of a specially adapted Latin alphabet and in the indigenous logosyllabic writing system (see for example, Launey 1979 and Lacadena 2008). Classical Nahuatl is remarkable for a Native American language in that it has been documented in several dictionaries and grammatical descriptions dating to the 16th and 17th centuries. One of them (Carochi 1645) even consistently marks vowel length and the glottal stop. The validity of the family was undisputedly proved by Edward Sapir (1913–1919), who established regular phonetic correspondences between Southern Paiute and Classical Nahuatl. The subgrouping of Uto-Aztecan, however, continues to be controversial in some respects (Hill 2012). Nine branches at the lower level are recognized (Numic, Californian, Hopi, Tepiman, Cahitan, Opata-Eudeve, Tarahumara-Guarijio, Tubar, Cora-Huichol and Aztecan), but there is no agreement concerning higher-level grouping. Thus, the family has a “rake”-like structure (Fig. 2). Many scholars (Heath 1977: 27; Langacker 1977: 5; Kaufman 1981) have suggested a

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Figure 1. Geographical distribution of Uto-Aztec languages.
Drawing by the author after Campbell 1991: 358, Map 6.

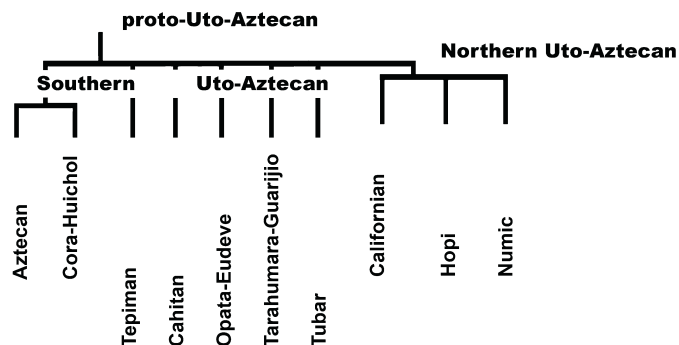


Figure 2. Classification of Uto-Aztec languages.

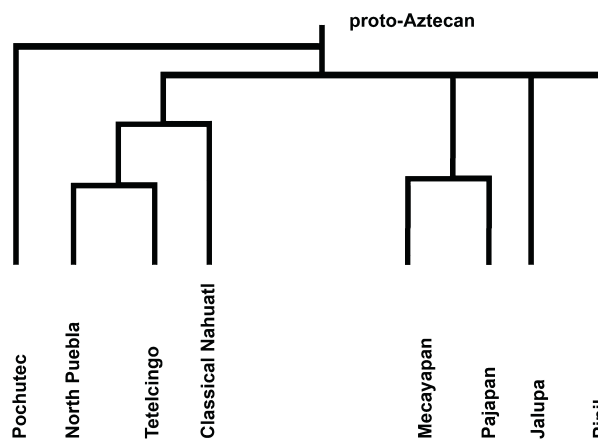


Figure 3. Classification of Aztec languages.

primary split between Northern Uto-Aztecan (Numic, Californian, Hopi) and Southern Uto-Aztecan (Tepiman, Cahitan, Opata-Eudeve, Tarahumara-Guarijio, Tubar, Cora-Huichol and Aztecan). It should be emphasized that Northern Uto-Aztecan exhibits phonological and morphological innovations (Manaster Ramer 1992; Heath 1977, 1978), while Southern Uto-Aztecan exhibits only a slightly closer lexical unity. Cora-Huichol and Aztecan appear to be more closely related to each other than to other members of the family (Campbell and Langacker 1978; see more in Hill 2012). The Aztecan branch consists of several closely related speech variants, where some may be called dialects and others languages (Fig. 3); I shall not attempt to make this distinction here. They constitute the southern periphery of the Uto-Aztecan world and belong to the Mesoamerican linguistic area (Campbell, Kaufman and Smith-Stark 1986). Today the distance separating the northernmost speakers of Aztecan languages (the state Durango of Mexico) and the southernmost ones (El Salvador) is about 2000 km.

Based on the analysis of plant and animal names, Catherine Fowler (1972, 1983) suggested that the Proto-Numic homeland was located in southern California, near Death Valley, while the Proto-Uto-Aztecan homeland was somewhere in Arizona and Northern Mexico. From here, Uto-Aztecan speakers would have spread as far north as Oregon (Northern Paiute), east to the Great Plains (Comanche), and south as far as Panama (Aztecan languages). Wick Miller (1983: 123) suggested that the homeland of the proposed Sonoran grouping (essentially Southern Uto-Aztecan) was in the foothills region between the Mayo and the Sinaloa Rivers. This localization of the Proto-Uto-Aztecan homeland is accepted by many (see for example, Campbell 1997: 137). A proposal of a location much further south for the territory of Proto-Uto-Aztecan has been published by Jane H. Hill (2001, 2003; see also Bellwood 1997). She reconstructs maize-related vocabulary in Proto-Uto-Aztecan and assumes that speakers of Proto-Uto-Aztecan were maize cultivators and originated in Mesoamerica, from whence they quickly spread northward, bringing agriculture with them. According to the suggested scenario, it is agriculture that stimulated the rapid geographic diffusion of Uto-Aztecan. This hypothesis, and, in particular, agricultural etymons reconstructed for Proto-Uto-Aztecan by Jane H. Hill, have been severely criticized (Campbell 2003; Kaufmann and Justeson 2009). Recently, Brian Stubbs (n.d.) has expressed the opinion that greater linguistic diversity in the southern Uto-Aztecan areas suggests that these areas represent a likely alternative location for the Proto-Uto-Aztecan homeland. Finally, Wichmann, Müller et al. (2010) identify the center of diversity, and consequently, a probable location of the Uto-Aztecan homeland, with the region surrounding the current location of the Yaqui language, in Sonora, Mexico. Basing their conclusions on ethnohistorical sources and on an apparent lack of early Aztecan loans in Mesoamerican languages, many scholars (Justeson, Norman et al. 1985: 24–26; Campbell 1988: Chapter 12) believe Aztecan languages and dialects to be late intruders in the area. For example, Terrence Kaufman (2001) postulates the arrival of the Aztecan speakers into Central Mexico at c. 500 BC and their subsequent expansion to the Gulf coast, Chiapas, Guatemala and El Salvador at c. 800 BC.

These different proposals for the Proto-Uto-Aztecan homeland, based on different kinds of evidence, are difficult to evaluate. Results obtained by the traditional “Wörter und Sachen” method applied by Catherine Fowler are difficult to evaluate because Uto-Aztecan speakers of today enjoy a vast range of ecological environments; this situation implies that on their way from their Proto-Uto-Aztecan homeland Uto-Aztecan speakers would have lost the knowledge of many aspects of the physical environment and, consequently, would have forgotten the corresponding words. A similar reasoning makes it problematic to reconstruct agricultural etymons for Proto-Uto-Aztecan: many Uto-Aztecan groups were either hunter-gatherers in historical times or became agriculturists in relatively recent times. In the Early Colonial Period

epidemics decimated the indigenous population and many ethnic groups and languages became extinct, leaving no trace behind them (for possible extinct Uto-Aztecan languages see Miller 1983; Campbell 1997: 133–135). This makes estimates based on the geographic distribution of Uto-Aztecan languages and their mutual diversity problematic.

The Aztecs, as their traditions say, may have originated from barbarians who came from the North, but the myth of a “Northern Homeland” from whence “the true kings” came, while it played a very important role in the politics of Late Post-Classic Mesoamerica, can hardly be considered good evidence. Early Aztecan loans in Mesoamerican languages may have been blurred by a massive intrusion of Aztec loans in Late Post-Classic times, when Classical Nahuatl was the language of the Aztec Empire and a *lingua franca* of Mesoamerica, as well as in Early Colonial times, when, along with Spanish, it was recognized as one of the two official languages of New Spain. At the time of the arrival of the Spaniards, speakers of Aztecan languages were found over a huge territory. Their internal diversity corresponds to at least 15 centuries according to the traditional glottochronological method of Morris Swadesh (Kaufman 1976: 73; see also García de León 1976: 22–50, Luckenbach and Levy 1980), a date which is similar to the 1509 B.P. dating of Holman, Brown et al. (2011) for Aztecan minus Pochutec. According to Sergei Starostin’s modification of the method (see for example Starostin 2000), the breakup occurred around 25 centuries ago, if Pochutec is included, and around 18 centuries ago, if it is excluded.

In the Appendix A, I enclose 100-wordlists for the following Aztecan languages: Classical Nahuatl (Central Mexico), Jalupa Nawat (Tabasco), Mecayapan Nawat (Veracruz), North Puebla Nahuatl (Puebla), Pipil (El Salvador), Pochutec (Oaxaca), and Tetelcingo Nahuatl (Morelos). I have chosen the most divergent and representative varieties of Aztecan languages according to the mentioned studies. It should be noted that the available data on the extinct Pochutec language (Boas 1917) are scarce and rather poor in quality, but the language has nevertheless been taken into consideration as a probable representative of an independent branch in the Aztecan subgroup. I have excluded No. 26 ‘fat (n.)’ and No. 64 ‘person (n.)’ from the calculations, since they mostly happen to be Colonial Spanish loans in the area. I have also excluded No. 48 ‘liver (n.)’ and replaced No. 93 ‘warm (adj.)’ with ‘hot’, since the corresponding lexical entries are underrepresented in dictionaries on modern languages. The 100-wordlist items were produced applying strict semantic control (see Kassian, Starostin et al. 2010).

The vast territory inhabited by speakers of Aztecan languages and their internal diversity suggest a long-term presence in the area (Figs. 3–4). Recently, different pan-Mesoamerican words have been proposed as potentially old loans from Aztecan (Dakin and Wichmann 2000; Dakin 2001; Beekman, Cowgill et al. 2010). These old Aztecan loans must probably have entered Mesoamerican languages long before the emergence of the Aztec Empire. It has been also proposed, based on epigraphic evidence, that Nahuatl speakers might be inhabitants of Teotihuacan (Dakin and Wichmann 2000, Macri andLooper 2003; Alfonso Lacadena pers. comm. and David Stuart pers. comm. in Pallán Gayol and Meléndez Guadarrama 2010; Davletshin in press). Once again, these proposals were criticized and are not generally accepted (Kaufman and Justeson 2007, 2009). As for distant relationships of Uto-Aztecan, these remain controversial and difficult to use in locating the Uto-Aztecan homeland (Whorf and Trager 1937; Hill 2008; Wichmann 1999).

I will not discuss here the controversial proposals offered for the Uto-Aztecan homeland and the arrival of Aztecan speakers in Mesoamerica; as I have stated above, I believe that they are difficult to evaluate, though personally I feel that Jane H. Hill’s hypothesis deserves more attention than it has received. I want to present linguistic evidence which implies that the movement of Proto-Uto-Aztecan speakers to the Aztecan homeland was accompanied by a

drastic change in their ecological environment. As far as I know, this evidence has been never discussed before.

Let us consider some Proto-Uto-Aztecan reconstructions and their Proto-Aztecan counterparts. Proto-Aztecan reconstructions follow Karen Dakin (1982; see also Campbell and Langacker 1978); provisional Proto-Uto-Aztecan reconstructions are given after Campbell and Langacker 1978 and Wick Miller 2003 (see also Miller 1967).¹

	Proto-Uto-Aztecan	Proto-Aztecan
1	*a:y- ‘turtle’	*a:yo:- ‘turtle’
2	**kaLa- ‘crow, raven’	*ka:ka:lo:- ‘crow’
3	**kwa- ‘coyote’	*koyo:- ‘coyote’
4	**mu:- ‘fly (insect)’	*mo:yo:- ‘mosquito, flying insect’
5	**tikuL- ‘ground squirrel’	*tichalo:- ‘squirrel’
6	**ti/ukuL- ‘owl’	*tikolo:- ‘burrowing owl’

These Proto-Aztecan reconstructions are similar in many respects to the corresponding Proto-Uto-Aztecan ones; the main difference is the presence of the *-yo:* suffix. In accordance with morphophonemic rules, characteristic of Aztecan languages (see for example, Sullivan 1988: 13), the palatal glide *y* of the suffix is changed to *l* when the noun stem ends with *l*; in this case, the geminated consonantal cluster seems to be simplified. The reconstructions pertain to a single semantic domain: they represent animal names. Set 2 shows reduplication of the initial syllable and regular loss of the final short vowel. Alternatively, proto-Aztecan **ka:ka:lo:-* ‘crow’ can be understood as an onomatopoeic description ‘animal of the making *ka* sound’ (Dakin 2001: 111), including the suffix *-l* of deverbal nouns and the suffix *yo:-* of abstract possession. Set 3 shows irregular correspondences, but irregular developments are typical for the words meaning ‘coyote’ in Uto-Aztecan languages (Campbell and Langacker 1978; Miller 2003). One more example can be added to the list if Gila River Pima *oošaq* ‘ocelot’ and Classical Nahuatl *o:se:lo:-tl* ‘jaguar, ocelot’ are related (Dakin 2001: 110). Some of the Uto-Aztecan animal names discussed here seem to include a suffix ****LV**; these animal names might be descriptive, as for example, ****ti/ukuL-** ‘owl’, lit. ‘animal of night’, cf. ****tuku** ‘night, darkness, black’ and ****tikuL-** ‘ground squirrel’, lit. ‘animal of earth holes/burrows’, cf. ****tin** ‘rock, stone’, ****tip-** ‘earth’, ****ki** ‘house’.

Proto-Uto-Aztecan lexicon is poorly preserved in the vocabulary of Aztecan languages, in particular in the domains of plant and animal names. Therefore, six items is a considerable number of matches for a particular development. This development belongs to the Proto-Aztecan level, because daughter languages always show the suffix *-yo:* when reflexes are preserved (for abbreviations and sources see Appendix A).

1. ***a:yo:-** ‘turtle’: CNa *a:yo:-tl*, Pip *a:yu:-tzin*, Poch *ayut*, TNa *oyutl*, cf. also ‘armadillo’, literally ‘turtle rabbit’: CNa *a:yo:-to:ch-in*, NPN *ayotochi*, PNa *ayotochin*, ZNa *a:yoto:chi:n*.
2. ***ka:ka:lo-** ‘crow’: CNa *ka:ka:lo:-tl*, ZNa *ka:ka:lo:t*, cf. also ‘frangipanni, a kind of flower (*Plumeria rubra*)’, literally ‘crow flower’: CNa *ka:ka:lo:-xo:chi-tl*, NPN *kakaloxochitl*, PNa *ga:ga:loxochit*; Pip *Ka:ka:lu:tan* ‘San Julian (a town name)’ (borrowed in Mexican Spanish).

¹ Orthographic conventions follow Spanish and traditional Mesoamerican practice, when it is not inconsistent. This means that /k/ is /k/, /kʷ/ is /kw/, /ts/ is /tz/, /tʃ/ is /ch/, /ʎ/ is /tl/, /ʃ/ is /x/, /j/ is /y/, vowel length is /V:/, etc. *L* stands for proto-Uto-Aztecan medial liquid, whether /r/ or /l/ or both is unclear.

3. **koyo*:- ‘coyote’: CNa *koyo*:-*tl*, NPN *koyotl*, MNa *koyo*?, PNa *goyo*:-*t*, Pip *kuyut*, Poch *koyud*, T *koyutl*, ZNa *koyo*:-*t* ‘white man’ (borrowed in Spanish).
4. **mo:yo*:- ‘mosquito, flying insect’: CNa *mo:yo*:-*tl*, JNa *muyut*, MNa *mo:yo*?, NPN *moyotl* ‘jejen’, Pip *mu:yu*:-*t*, PNa *mo:yo*:-*t*, Poch *moyut*, TNa *muyutl*, ZNa *mo:yo*:-*t*.
5. **tichalo*:- ‘squirrel’: CNa *techalo*:-*tl*, NPN *techalotl*, cf. also TNa *chachalutl* and ZNa *chechelo*:-*t* ‘squirrel’, which belong to an independent set ‘animal of the making *chV* sound’.
6. **tikolo*:- ‘owl’: CNa *tekolo*:-*tl*, JNa *tekulut*, NPN *tekolotl*, PNa *te:golo*:-*t*, Pip *tekulut*, Poch *tekolot* (a loan?), TNa *tekolutl*, ZNa *tekolo*:-*t* (borrowed in Mexican Spanish and Meso-american languages).

When they are attested, Huichol cognates of the aforementioned words bear no traces of the suffix in question: *?aayée* ‘turtle’, *káarai* ‘crested caracara (*Polybarnus plancus*)’, *teekú* ‘fox squirrel’ (Grimes 1980).

Remarkably, some Proto-Aztec animal names do not include the augment *-yo*; see, for example, ***maso/a*- ‘deer’ > **masa*:- ‘deer’ and ***hupa* ‘smell, skunk’ > **ipa* ‘skuns’. Campbell and Langacker 1978 reconstruct eight animal names for proto-Aztec with Uto-Aztec etymologies: **a:yo*:- ‘turtle’, **ko:wa*- ‘snake’, **koyo*:- ‘coyote’, **masa*:- ‘deer’, **mo:yo*:- ‘fly’, **takolo*:- ‘owl’, **to:to*:- ‘bird’, **tzi:ka*- ‘ant’. Four of them (**ko:wa*- ‘snake’, **masa*:- ‘deer’, **to:to*:- ‘bird’, **tzi:ka*- ‘ant’) do not show the augment.²

The Aztec suffix *-yo*:- denotes abstract possession: it derives abstract nouns from agentive and possessive nouns, indicates possession of the object or quality implicit in the noun and denotes that the object or its possessor has the quality of the noun (see for example, Sullivan 1988: 18, 95, 143–144). It also marks inalienable possession. The suffix was used to create descriptive animal names in Proto-Aztec: **tzopi:lo*:- ‘vulture’, literally, ‘animal of the piercing/stabbing’, from ***tza/opi* ‘to pierce, punch; spike, thorn’, **ko:lo*:- ‘scorpion’, literally, ‘animal of the bending/twisting (referring to its tail)’ from ***ko*- ‘to bend, twist’, etc. (Dakin 1982). To put it in other words, Proto-Aztec ‘coyote’ **koyo*:- literally means ‘one of coyote’ or ‘somewhat like the coyote’, Proto-Aztec ‘mosquito’ **mo:yo*:- literally means ‘one of mosquito’ or ‘somewhat like the mosquito’, etc. This change in meaning implies that Proto-Aztec ‘coyote’, ‘crow’, ‘mosquito’, ‘owl’, ‘squirrel’, ‘turtle’ were similar, but not identical to their Proto-Uto-Aztec relatives in appearance. A likely explanation for this is to suggest that the ecological environment of Proto-Uto-Aztecs was very different from that of Proto-Aztecs.³

Similar developments in animal and plant names are found in Eastern Polynesian languages. Rapid movement and expansion of humans in Eastern Polynesia was accompanied by a drastic change in their ecological environment. Several morphological models were used to create names for animals and plants which were similar in appearance to their original proto-

² As Campbell and Langacker (1978) notice, the set for ‘ant’ ***sika*- is speculative to a certain degree; it shows irregular developments and is probably not to be reconstructed for Proto-Uto-Aztec.

³ Karen Dakin (2001) proposed a possible Uto-Aztec etymology for the suffix ***ra?a-wi*, where the morpheme ***ra?a* is associated with inalienable possession and ***wi* seems to be some sort of augmentative. Positing a complex set of morphophonemic rules, Dakin suggests that the suffix was productively used to create descriptive animal names in Proto-Uto-Aztec times: ***mu*- ‘nose’ + ***ra?a-wi* > ‘fly, mosquito’, ***tiku*- ‘darkness, night’ + ***ra?a-wi* > ‘owl’, ***kwa*- ‘tree (?)’ + ***ra?a-wi* > ‘eagle’. Many of the proposed morphophonemic rules are unique developments based on few examples; in many cases semantic relationships between the animal and its proposed descriptive name are opaque. The *-yo*:- derivation on animal names in Proto-Aztec times, proposed in this paper, seems to be a simpler explanation, involving only morphophonemic rules that are already well-known in Aztec languages.

types; among these were reduplication, which gives an attenuated meaning, and the similitude prefixes *ko:-* and *po:-*, translated as ‘somewhat, -ish’ (Biggs 1991). The use of the *ko:-* prefix and reduplication to derive new animal and plant names was very productive in Eastern Polynesian languages in the time of their expansion; the two processes can be found combined in the same word. Some revealing examples from Maori are given below (after Biggs 1991; Biggs and Clark N.d.).

Maori	Proto-Polynesian
<i>kawa-kawa</i> ‘a kind of plant (<i>Macropiper excelsum</i>)’	* <i>kawa</i> ‘a kind of plant (<i>Piper methysticum</i>)’
<i>kiwa-kiwa</i> ‘a kind of fern’	* <i>kiwa</i> ‘a kind of fern’
<i>ko:-kihi</i> ‘New Zealand spinach (<i>Tetragonia expansa</i>)’	* <i>kisi-kisi</i> ‘a kind of plant (<i>Oxalis spp.</i>)’
<i>ko:-whara-whara</i> ‘a kind of plant (<i>Astelia banksii</i>)’	* <i>fala</i> ‘a kind of plant (<i>Pandanus spp.</i>)’
<i>po:-hue</i> ‘several kind of trailing plants (<i>Clematis spp.</i> , <i>Muhlenbeckia sp.</i> , <i>Passiflora tetrandra</i> , <i>Calystegia sp.</i>)’	* <i>fue</i> ‘gourd (<i>Lagenaria vulgaris</i>)’

The distribution of Aztec languages in Mesoamerica implies that the Aztec homeland was located somewhere in Central Mexico or nearby (Fig. 4). The comparisons presented above indicate that the Proto-Uto-Aztec homeland was ecologically different from the place to which speakers of Proto-Aztec eventually came.

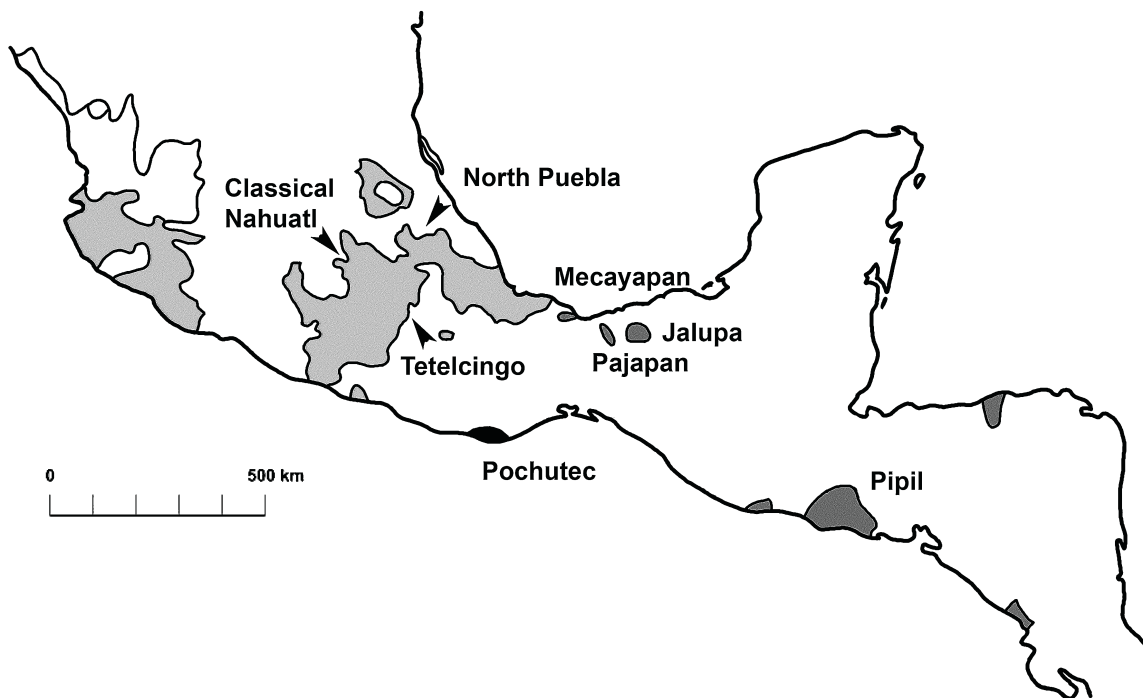


Figure 4. Geographical distribution of Aztec languages.
Drawing by the author after Kaufman and Justeson 2009: 223.

Literature

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Appendix A: 100-wordlists for Aztecan languages⁴

1. ALL (TODOS)
CNa *mochi-n* (1), TNa *nochi*: (1), NPN *nochi-n* (1), MNa (*i*)*nochi* (1), PNa *nochi* (1), JNa *muchi* (1), Pip *muchi* (1), Poch *nochó* (1).
2. ASHES
CNa *nex-tli* (1), TNa *tlako-nex-tli*: (1), NPN *tleko-nex-tli* (1), MNa *kwa-ne:x* (1), PNa *ba-ne:x* (1), JNa *kó-nex-ti* (1), Pip *nex-ti* (1), Poch *nox-t* (1).
3. BARK
CNa *e:wa-tl* (1), TNa *yewa-yu-tl* (1), NPN *-yewa-yo* (1), MNa *kwa-kahlo:-?* (2), PNa *-ba-gahlo* (2), JNa *-sul-koi* (3), Pip *-e:wa-yu* (1).
4. BELLY
CNa *-i?te* (1), TNa *-ihite* (1), NPN *-ihite, -pox* (1), MNa *-talax* (exterior) (2), PNa *-ihiti* (1), JNa *-ihiti* (1), Pip *-ihiti* (1).
5. BIG
CNa *we:(i)* (1), TNa *bieyi*: (1), NPN *weyi* (1), MNa *weyi* (1), PNa *we:y* (1), JNa *wey* (1), Pip *we:y* (1), Poch *huhíom* (1).
6. BIRD
CNa *to:to-tl* (1), TNa *tutu-tl* (1), NPN *toto-tl* (1), MNa *to:to:-?* (1), PNa *to:to-t* (1), JNa *tu:ru-t* (1), Pip *tu:tu-t* (Santo Domingo de Guzmán), *wi:lu-t* (Cuisnahuatl) (1).
7. BITE
CNa *-ke?tzom(a)* (1), TNa *-ketzoma* (1), NPN *-tlan-kechiya* (2), MNa *-tan-kwa* (3), PNa *-tam-ba* (3), Pip *-tan-kwa* (3).
8. BLACK
CNa *tlil-tik* (1), TNa *tlil-tik, kapotz-tik* (1), NPN *tlil-tik* (1), MNa *pi:s-ti?, cha:po-ti?* (2), PNa *pis-tik* (2), JNa *yayák* (3), Pip *ti:l-tik* (Santo Domingo de Guzmán), *ku:-ti:l-tik* (Cuisnahuatl) (1).

⁴ Abbreviations and sources.

CNa: Classical Nahuatl, Central Mexico (Karttunen 1983)

JNa: Jalapa Nahuatl, Tabasco (García de León 1967)

MNa: Mecayapan Nahuatl, Veracruz (Wolgemuth, Wolgemuth et al. 2002)

NPN: North Puebla Nahuatl, North Puebla (Brockway, Brockway and Santos Valdés 2000)

PNa: Pajapán Nahuatl, Veracruz (García de León 1976)

Pip: Pipil, El Salvador (Campbell 1985)

Poch: Pochutec, Oaxaca (Boas 1917)

TNa: Tetelcingo Nahuatl, Morelos (Brewer and Brewer 1966)

ZNa: Zacapoxtla Nahuatl, Puebla (Key and Key 1953)

9. BLOOD

CNa *es-tli* (1), TNa *yes-tli* (1), NPN *yes-tli* (1), MNa *es-ti* (1), PNa *es-ti* (1), JNa *es-ti* (1), Pip *es-ti* (1), Poch *es-t* (1).

10. BONE

CNa *omi-tl* (1), TNa *mimite-tl* (2), NPN *ohmi-tl* (1), MNa *omi-?* (1), PNa *omi-t* (1), JNa *umi-t* (1), Pip *u:mi-t* (1), Poch *o-t* (1).

11. BREAST

CNa *-chichiwāl* (1), TNa *-chichiwāl* (de mujer) (1), NPN *-chichiwāl* (de mujer) (1), MNa *-chichiwāl* (teta) (1), PNa *-chichiwāl* (teta) (1), JNa *-chichi* (teta) (2), Pip *-chichih* (teta) (2), Poch */nol-tipén* (mi pecho) (3).

12. BURN TR.

CNa *-tlatia* (1), TNa *-tlatia* (1), NPN *-tititza* (2), MNa *-tatiá* (1), PNa *-tata* (1), JNa *-tati* (1), Pip *-tatia* (1), Poch *-tatí* (1).

13. CLAW(NAIL)

CNa *iste-tl* (1), TNa *iste* (1), NPN *ist-n* (1), MNa *isti* (1), PNa *-isti* (1), JNa *-isti* (1), Pip *isti-t* (1), Poch *ox-t* (1).

14. CLOUD

CNa *mix-tli* (1), TNa *mex-tli* (1), NPN *(tepe)-mex-tli* (1), MNa *mix-ti* (1), PNa *mix-ti* (1), Pip *mix-ti* (1), Poch *pix-t?* (2).

15. COLD

CNa *itz-tik*, *sese* (2), TNa *itz-tik* (1), NPN *itz-tik* (1), MNa *sese?* (2), PNa *sese:k* (2), JNa *sese* (2), Pip *sese* (2), Poch *piná*, *kug'li* (3).

16. COME (defective verb, preterit-as-present forms)

CNa *witz* (1), TNa *ibitz* (1), NPN *witz* (1), MNa *wi?* (1), PNa *witz* (1), JNa *ñotz* (2), Pip *witz* (1), Poch *witz* (1).

17. DIE

CNa *mik(i)* (1), TNa *miki* (1), NPN *miki* (1), MNa *miki* (1), PNa *migi* (1), JNa *miki* (1), Pip *miki* (1), Poch *mok* (1).

18. DOG

CNa *chichi-(to:n)* (1), TNa *chichi-tu* (1), NPN *chichi* (1), MNa *pe:lo* (Spanish loan) (-1), PNa *pelo* (Spanish loan) (-1), JNa *chuchu* (1), Pip *pe:lu* (Spanish loan) (1), Poch *tachóm* (2).

19. DRINK

CNa *-on-i* (thither-drink) (1), TNa *-on-i* (1), NPN *-on-i* (1), MNa *-on-i-á* (1), PNa *-on-i* (1), JNa */xi-k/-i* (imperative form) (1), Pip *-un-i* (1), Poch *tem-í* (mouth-drink?) (1).

20. DRY

CNa *wak-ki* (1), TNa *wah-ki* (1), NPN *wah-ki* (1), MNa *wak-to?* (1), PNa *wak-tok* (1), JNa *wak-tuk* (1), Pip *wak-tuk* (1), Poch *wak* (1).

21. EAR

CNa *nakas-tli* (1), TNa *-nakas* (1), NPN *-nakas* (1), MNa *nakas* (1), PNa *-nagas* (1), JNa *-nakas* (1), Pip *-nakas* (1), Poch *nekés-t* (1).

22. EARTH

CNa *tla:l-li* (1), TNa *tlöli* (1), NPN *tlali* (1), MNa *tahli* (1), PNa *tahli* (1), JNa *tahli* (1), Pip *ta:l* (1), Poch *tal* (1).

23. EAT

CNa *-kwa* (1), TNa *-kwa* (1), NPN *-kwa* (1), MNa *-kwa* (1), PNa *-ba* (1), JNa *-bwa* (1), Pip *kwa* (1), Poch *kwa* (1).

24. EGG

CNa *to:tol-te-tl* (1), TNa *tutol-tetl* (1), NPN *total-te-tl* (1), MNa *teksis* (2), PNa *teksis* (2), JNa *pil-tzin* (3), Pip *teksis-ti* (2), Poch *ti-tó-t* (4).

25. EYE

CNa *-ix-telolo?* (1), TNa *-ix-telolo* (1), NPN *-ix-telolo* (1), MNa *-ix* (1), PNa *-ix-tololo* (1), JNa *-ix* (1), Pip *-ix* (1), Poch *ix-totalú-t* (1).

26. FAT N.

CNa *chiya:wis-tli* (-1), TNa *manteka* (Spanish loan), *chi:yöwa* (-1), NPN *chiak-tli* (-1), MNa *-tomahka* (su gordura), *xe:poh* (de res, Spanish loan) (-1), PNa *mantega* (Spanish loan), *pagax* (Spanish loan) (-1), JNa *manteka* (Spanish loan) (-1).

27. FEATHER

CNa *ihwi-tl* (1), TNa *tohmítl* (su pluma, pelo: *itohmeyo*) (2), NPN *ihwi-tl* (1), MNa *tzohmi-?* (3), PNa *tzohmi-t* (3), JNa *iy-uhwi-yu* (1), Pip *-uhmi-yu* (4).

28. FIRE

CNa *tle-tl* (1), TNa *tle-tzin-tli*: (1), NPN *tle-tl* (1), MNa *ti?-ti* (1), PNa *ti-t* (1), JNa *ti-t* (1), Pip *ti-t* (1), Poch *te-t* (1).

29. FISH

CNa *mich-in* (1), TNa *mi:chi*: (1), NPN *michi* (1), MNa *to:poh* (2), PNa *to:poh* (2), JNa *xe:neh* (3), Pip *michin* (1), Poch *michóm* (1).

30. FLY V.

CNa *patlan(i)* (1), TNa *patlöni* (1), NPN *patlani* (1), MNa *pata:ni* (1), PNa *pata:ni* (1), JNa *parani* (1), Pip *pata:ni* (1), Poch *patánk* (1).

31. FOOT

CNa *(i)kxi-tl* (1), TNa *-ikxi*: (1), NPN *-ikxi* (1), MNa *ikxi* (1), PNa *-ikxi* (1), JNa *-ikxi* (1), Pip *(i)kxi* (1), Poch */no/-xói* ‘mi pie’ (2).

32. FULL

CNa *te:n-tok* (1), TNa *tien-tika* (1), NPN *ten-tok*, *temi* (1), MNa *te:n-to?* (1), PNa *te:n-tok* (1), JNa *ne:-tik* (2), Pip *te:n-tuk* (1).

33. GIVE

CNa *-maka* (1), TNa *-maka* (1), NPN *-maka* (1), MNa *-maka* (1), PNa *-maga* (1), JNa *-ma* (1), Pip *-maka* (1), Poch *-meká* (1).

34. GOOD

CNa *kwal-li* (1), TNa *kwalí*: (1), NPN *kwalí* (1), MNa *ye:k-ti* (2), PNa *yek-ti* (2), JNa *yek-ti* (2), Pip *ye:k* (2), Poch *ulík* (cf. CNa *we:lik* ‘something delicious, pleasing’) (3).

34. GOOD

CNa *yek-tli* (2).

35. GREEN

CNa *xoxok-tik* (1), TNa *xoxok-ti:k* (1), NPN *xoxok-tik* (1), MNa *xoxok-ti?* (1), PNa *xoxok-tik* (1), JNa *xuxuí-k* (2), Pip *xuxuwi-k* (2), Poch *xwi* (3).

36. HAIR

CNa *tzon-tli* (1), TNa *tzon-tli*: (1), NPN *tzon-tli* (1), MNa *tzon-kal* (2), PNa *tzon-gal* (2), JNa *tzun-ti* (1), Pip *tzun-kal* (2), Poch *tzon* (1).

37. HAND

CNa *-ma*: (1), TNa *-mö* (1), NPN *-ma-n* (1), MNa *mayi?* (1), PNa *-ma*: (1), JNa *-ma:-n* (1), Pip *-mey* (1), Poch *maí* (1).

38. HEAD

CNa *kwa:(i)-tl* (2), TNa *-tzon-teko* (1), NPN *-tzon-teko* (1), MNa *-tzon-tekon* (1), PNa *-tzon-tegon* (1), JNa *tzun-tekon* (1), Pip *tzun-tekuma-t* (1), Poch *kwaí-t* (2).

39. HEAR

CNa *-kak(i)* (1), TNa *-kaki*: (1), NPN *-kaki* (1), MNa *-kaki* (1), PNa *-gagi* (1), JNa *-kai* (1), Pip *-kaki* (1), Poch *-kekí* (1).

40. HEART

CNa *yo:l-li* (1), TNa *yuloh-tli*: (1), NPN *-yol-o* (1), MNa *-yalmah* (Spanish loan) (-1), PNa *-alma* (Spanish loan) (-1), JNa *yuh-lu* (1), Pip *-yu(:)l* (1), Poch */n/-olyú* (mi corazón) (1).

41. HORN
CNa *kwa:kwaw(i)-tl* (1), NPN *-kwakow* (1), MNa *kwa:kwa* (1), PNa *-ba:ba* (1), JNa *kokoit* (1), Pip *-kachoh* (Spanish loan) (-1).
42. I
CNa *ne?wa:-tl* (1), TNa *naha* (1), NPN *nehwa-tl* (1), MNa *neh* (1), PNa *neha* (1), JNa *nehe* (1), Pip *na ~ nah ~ naha* (1), Poch *nen* (1).
43. KILL
CNa *-miki:-tia* (1), TNa *-mik-ti:a* (1), NPN *-mik-tia* (1), MNa *-mik-tia* (1), PNa *-mik-tia* (1), JNa *-mik-ti* (1), Pip *-mik-tia* (1), Poch *mokti* (1).
44. KNEE
CNa *tlán-kwai-* (1), TNa *-tlán-kwate* (1), NPN *-tlán-kwa* (1), MNa *tan-kwa:-?* (1), PNa *-tam-ba* (1), JNa *-tam-bwa-n* (1), Pip *-tewahka* (2).
45. KNOW
CNa *mat(i)* (1), TNa *-mati* (1), NPN *-mati* (1), MNa *-mati* (1), PNa *-mati* (1), JNa *-ma* (1), Pip *-mati* (1), Poch *metí* (1).
46. LEAF
CNa *iswa-tl* (1), TNa *xibi:tl* (2), NPN *xiwi-tl* (2), MNa *iswa?* (1), PNa *-iswa-t* (1), JNa *iswa-t* (1), Pip *iswa-t* (1), Poch *xut* (2).
47. LIE (SE ACUESTA)
CNa *mo-te:ka* (1), TNa *mo-tieka* (1), NPN *mo-teka* (1), MNa *mo-te:ca* (1), PNa *mo-tega* (1), JNa *mu-reka-k* (acostado) (1), Pip *mu-te:ka* (1), Poch *teké* (1).
48. LIVER
CNa *e:l-li* (-1), NPN *-yel-tlapach* (-1), MNa *-yo:l* (-1), Pip *-el-tapach* (-1).
49. LONG
CNa *we:iyak* (1), TNa *beyak* (1), NPN *weyak* (1), MNa *we:yakti?* (1), PNa *we:yak* (1), JNa *weyak* (1), Pip *weyak* (1).
50. LOUSE
CNa *atemi-tl* (1), TNa *ati:mi-tl* (1), NPN *pioho* (Spanish loan) (-1), MNa *atimi?* (1), PNa *a:tin* (1), JNa *a:tin* (1), Pip *atime-t* (1), Poch *atóm-t* (1).
51. MAN
CNa *ta:ka-tl*, *okich-tli* (1), TNa *umbre* (Spanish loan), *tlöca-tl* (1), NPN *tlakatl* (1), MNa *ta:ga:-?* (1), PNa *ta:ga-t* (1), JNa *taka-t* (1), Pip *taka-t* (1), Poch *okóx-t*, *teké-t* (1).
52. MANY (MUCHOS)
CNa *miaki:n ~ miaki:nti:n ~ miakti:n ~ mi:miak* (1), TNa *meyak* (1), NPN *miak* (1), MNa *mia?* (mucho), *miakeh* (muchos) (1), PNa *miak* (muchos) (1), JNa *miakpa* (muchos) (1), Pip *miyak* (mucho, muchos, bastante) (1), Poch *asók* (mucho, muchos, muy) (2).
53. MEAT
CNa *naka-tl* (1), TNa *naka-tl* (1), NPN *naka-tl* (1), MNa *naka:-?* (1), PNa *naga-t* (1), JNa *naka-t* (1), Pip *naka-t* (1), Poch *neké-t* (esta carne está manida), *tutú-t* (carne para comer) (1).
54. MOON
CNa *me:tz-tli* (1), TNa *mietz-tli* (1), NPN *metz-tli* (1), MNa *me:tz-ti*, *to-ye:-tzin* (lit. ‘nuestra madrecita’) (1), PNa *mes-ti*, *to-ye:-tzin* (1), JNa *me:tz-ti* (1), Pip *me:tz-ti* (1), Poch *mes-t* (1).
55. MOUNTAIN
CNa *tepe:-tl* (1), TNa *tepie-tl* (1), NPN *tepe-tl* (1), MNa *tepe:-?* (1), PNa *tepe:-t* (1), Pip *tepe:-t* (1).
56. MOUTH
CNa *kam(a)-tl* (1), TNa *-kama-k* (1), NPN *-kama-k* (1), MNa *-te:n* (2), PNa *-te:n* (2), JNa *-te:n* (2), Pip *-te:n* (2), Poch *ten* (2).

57. NAME

CNa *to:ka:(i)-tl* (1), TNa *-tukö* (1), NPN *tokah-tli* (1), MNa *to:ka:-?* (1), PNa *-toga* (1), JNa *tuwa-n* (1), Pip *-tu:key* (1), Poch *kul* (2).

58. NECK

CNa *kech-tli* (1), TNa *-kech-kochtla* (1), NPN *-kech* (1), MNa *-kech* (1), PNa *-ge:ch* (1), JNa *-kech* (1), Pip *-kech-ku:yu* (1), Poch *kox-t* (pescuezo) (1).

59. NEW

CNa *yankwi-k* (1), TNa *yankwi:-k* (1), NPN *yankwi-k* (1), MNa *yamkwi-?* (1), PNa *yambi-k* (1), JNa *yambwi-k* (1), Pip *yankwi-k* (1).

60. NIGHT

CNa *yowal-li* (1), TNa *yowali:* (1), NPN *yowali* (1), MNa *yowal* (1), PNa *ta-yoá* (2), JNa *ta-yuwa-k* (2), Pip *ta-yuwa* (2), Poch *owél* (1).

61. NOSE

CNa *yak(a)-tl* (1), TNa *-yeka-tzol* (1), NPN *-yeka-k* (1), MNa *yak-ti* (1), PNa *yaga-t* (1), JNa *-yak* (1), Pip *-yak* (1), Poch *yeké-t* (1).

62. NOT

CNa *aʔmo:* (1), TNa *amo* (1), NPN *ahmo* (1), MNa *aya:ʔ, amo* (1), PNa *amó, ayá, a-té* (2), JNa *te* (2), Pip *te: tesu* (2), Poch *as* (3).

63. ONE

CNa *se:* (bound form: *sem*) (1), TNa *sie, sen-te* (1), NPN *seya* (1), MNa *se:* (1), PNa *se* (1), JNa *se* (1), Pip *se:* (1), Poch *se* (1).

64. PERSON

CNa *tla:ka-tl* (-1), TNa *hiente* (Spanish loan), *tlöka* (-1), MNa *hente* (Spanish loan) (-1), PNa *kristianoh* (Spanish loan) (-1), JNa *yohomeh* (-1), Pip *kristanuh* (Spanish loan) (-1).

65. RAIN

CNa *kiyaw(i)-tl* (1), TNa *ki:yabi:-tl* (1), NPN *kiyaw-i-tl* (1), MNa *kiahua:-? ~ tiahua:-?* (1), PNa *a:-tzona-t* (2), JNa *chima:-t* (3), Pip *a:-t* (4), Poch *yek-t* (5).

66. RED

CNa *chi:-chil-tik* (cf. *chi:l-li* ‘chili pepper’) (1), TNa *chi-chi-lti:k* (1), NPN *chi-chil-tik* (1), MNa *chi:l-ti?* (1), PNa *ta-tawi-k* (cf. CNa *tla:w(i)-tl* ‘red ochre’) (2), JNa *traik* (2), Pip *chil-tik* (1).

67. ROAD

CNa *oʔ-tli* (1), TNa *oh-tli:* (1), NPN *oh-tli* (1), MNa *oh-ti* (1), PNa *oh-ti* (1), JNa *uh-ti* (1), Pip *uh-ti* (1), Poch *otʔkán* (1).

68. ROOT

CNa *nelwa-tl* (1), TNa *nelwa-yu-tl* (1), NPN *nelwa-tl* (1), MNa *nelwa-?* (1), PNa *ba-takson* (2), JNa *talwa-t* (3), Pip *nelwa-t* (1).

69. ROUND

CNa *yawal-tik* (cosa redonda como rodela) (1), TNa *yewal-ti:k* (1), NPN *yewal-tik* (1), MNa *yawal-ti?* (plano), *mimil-ti?* (esférico) (1), PNa *monso* (a loan?) (2), JNa *tulut-zik* (3), Pip *yawal-nah* (circular), *mi-mil-nah* (rollizo), *ul-ul-nah* (esférico) (1).

70. SAND

CNa *xa:l-li* (1), TNa *xöli:* (1), NPN *xali* (1), MNa *xahli* (1), PNa *xa:hli* (1), JNa *xa:hli* (1), Pip *a:-xa:l* (1).

71. SAY

CNa *(i)ʔtoa:* (to say something), *(i)lwia:* (to say something to someone) (1), TNa *-htoa* (1), NPN *-ihtoa* (1), MNa *k-ihtoa, k-ihliá* (algo a alguien) (1), PNa *-ihtoa, -ihlia* (1), JNa *-ihli* (2), Pip *ilwia* (2), Poch *ití* (decirle), *nuká* (decirle) (3).

72. SEE

CNa (*i*)tta (1), TNa -hta (1), NPN -ita (1), MNa -ita (1), PNa -ita (1), JNa -ira (1), Pip ita (1), Poch itá (1).

73. SEED

CNa ach-tli (1), TNa xīn-öch-tli: (1), NPN achtli, xīn-achtli (1), MNa -yo:l (2), PNa -yo:l (2), JNa yuhlu (2), Pip i:x (3), Poch ax-t (cf. /no/-achú ‘mi semilla’) (1).

74. SIT

CNa mo-tla:lia: (1), TNa mo-tlōli:a (1), NPN mo-tlalia (1), MNa mo-ta:liá (1), PNa mo-ta:li/mo-tzogoloa (1), JNa mu-ralih-tuk (sentado) (1), Pip mu-ta:lia (1), Poch metzá (2).

75. SKIN

CNa e:wa-tl (1), TNa -yewayo, -kwi:tlaxkol (1), NPN -yewayo (1), MNa kahlo:-? (2), PNa -betax (3), JNa bwéraxti (3), Pip -e:wayu (1), Poch kwetéx-t (3).

76. SLEEP

CNa koch(i) (1), TNa kochi: (1), NPN kochi (1), MNa kochi (1), PNa -gochi (1), JNa -kuchi (1), Pip kuchi (1), Poch kochí (1).

77. SMALL

CNa tepi-to:n, tepi-tzin (1), TNa tzitzi:ki:-tzi (2), NPN kitzinin (3), MNa ali:m-pa (4), PNa chihchinti-tzin (5), JNa tziri-tuk (6), Pip achih-chin, atzih-tzin (7), Poch nixtún (pequeño, poquito), túchi (pequeño) (8).

78. SMOKE

CNa po:k-tli (1), TNa puk-tli: (1), NPN pok-tli (1), MNa po:k-ti (1), PNa po:k-ti (1), JNa puk-ti (1), Pip puk-ti (1), Poch a-potók-t (2).

79. STAND

CNa mo-ketza(a) (1), TNa mo-ketza (1), NPN mo-tel-ketza, mo-ketza (1), MNa mo-ketza (1), PNa mo-getza (1), JNa ihkatuk (parado) (-1), Pip mu-ketza (1), Poch x-mo-ktzé (¡Párate!) (1).

80. STAR

CNa si:tlal-in (1), TNa sitlali: (1), NPN sitlali (1), MNa si:talín (1), PNa lusero (Spanish loan) (-1), JNa si:tal (1), Pip si:tal (1).

81. STONE

CNa te-tl (1), TNa tie-te-tu (1), NPN te-tl (1), MNa te?-ti (1), PNa te-t (1), JNa xal-te-t (1), Pip te-t (1), Poch to-t (1).

82. SUN

CNa to:na-tiw (1), TNa tunali: (1), NPN tonal-tzin-tli (1), MNa to-tah-tzi:n (lit. ‘our little (rever.) father’) (2), PNa to:nati (1), JNa rontin (1), Pip tu:nal (1), Poch tunél (1).

83. SWIM

CNa a:-wila:n(a), m-a:-neloa: (1), TNa m-ö-bi:lōna (1), NPN m-al-tiya (2), MNa a:-pata:ni (water-fly), a:-hkitiá (ir flotando) (3), PNa -a:hkia (3).

84. TAIL

CNa kwitlapil-li (1), TNa -kwitlapil (1), NPN -kwitlapil (1), MNa kwitapil (1), PNa -bitapil (1), JNa -bwirapil (1), Pip -kwitlapil (1).

85. THAT

CNa in-o:n (1), TNa i:n-u, nieka, i:nu nieka (1), NPN in-on (1), MNa in-epa (2), PNa ho:n (1), JNa hu:ni (1), Pip uni (1), Poch namél (3).

86. THIS

CNa in-i:n (1), TNa in-i, nōnka, in-i nōnka (1), NPN in-in (1), MNa in-i:n (1), PNa hi:n (1), JNa hi:ni (1), Pip ini (1), Poch iná (1).

87. THOU

CNa *teʔwa:-tl* (1), TNa *taha* (1), NPN *tehwa* (1), MNa *teh* (1), PNa *teha* (1), JNa *tehe* (1), Pip *ta(h) ~ taha* (1), Poch *mwen* (2).

88. TONGUE

CNa *nene-pil-li* (1), TNa *-nenepi:l* (1), NPN *-nenepil* (1), MNa *lenwa* (Spanish loan) (-1), PNa *-nenepil* (1), JNa *-ne:nepil* (1), Pip *-nenepil* (1), Poch *nenepíl* (1).

89. TOOTH

CNa *tlan-tli* (1), TNa *-tlan-koch* (1), NPN *-tlan* (1), MNa *tan-ti* (1), PNa *-tan* (1), JNa *-ta:n* (1), Pip *-tan* (1).

90. TREE

CNa *kwaw(i)-tl* (1), TNa *kwabi:-tl* (1), NPN *kowi-tl* (1), MNa *kwawi-ʔ* (1), PNa *bawi-t* (1), JNa *koi-t* (1), Pip *kwawi-t* (1), Poch *kwagú-t* (1).

91. TWO

CNa *o:me* (1), TNa *ume* (1), NPN *ome* (1), MNa *o:me* (1), PNa *o:me* (1), JNa *u:me* (1), Pip *u:me* (1), Poch *omém* (1).

92. WALK (GO)

CNa *neʔ-nemi* (1), TNa *neh-nemi:* (1), NPN *neh-nemi* (1), MNa *neh-nemi* (1), PNa *neh-nemi* (1), JNa *neh-nemi* (1), Pip *neh-nemi* (1), Poch *uí* (2).

93. WARM (HOT)

CNa *to-ton-ki* (hot), *a:-yama:nil-a:-tl* (tepid water), *yama:n-ki* (warm of water, cf. <yamanqui ic mixamia> [Primeros Memoriales 81r]) (1), TNa *totun-ki:* (caliente), *yemön-ki:* (blando, suave, tierno, tibio) (1), NPN *totonki* (caliente), *yemanki* (agua, también suave) (1), MNa *toto:niʔ* (caliente), *hokox* (tibio, calentito: a loan?) (1), PNa *toto:nik* (caliente) (1), JNa *tru:nik* (caliente), *yamanik* (blando) (1), Pip *tutu:nik* (caliente), *yamanka* (tibio) (1), Poch *tuní* (caliente) (2).

94. WATER

CNa *a:-tl* (1), TNa *ö-tzin-tli* (reverential diminutive suffix *-tzin*) (1), NPN *a:-tl* (1), MNa *a:ʔ-ti* (1), PNa *a:-t* (1), JNa *ma:-t* (2), Pip *a:-t* (1), Poch *a-t* (1).

95. WE

CNa *teʔwa:n* (1), TNa *tehwa*, *tehwante* (1), NPN *tehwan*, *tehwanten* (todos) (1), MNa *tehaméh* (incl.), *nehameh* (excl.) (1), PNa *tehaméh* (1), JNa *tohomen* (1), Pip *tehemet* (1), Poch *twén* (1).

96. WHAT

CNa *tle(ʔ)* (1), TNa *tlini:nu* (1), NPN *tlen* (1), MNa *te:* (1), PNa *te:* (1), JNa *tai* (1), Pip *ta:* (1), Poch *te* (1).

97. WHITE

CNa *istak* (1), TNa *chip:pöwak*, *istök* (1), NPN *istak* (1), MNa *ista:ʔ*, *ichkatiʔ* (1), PNa *istak* (1), JNa *istak* (1), Pip *istak* (1), Poch *chupék* (cf. CNa *chipa:wak*) (2).

98. WHO

CNa *a:k* (1), TNa *öki:nu* (1), NPN *akin* (1), MNa *a:ʔ* (1), PNa *a:k* (1), JNa *aik* (1), Pip *ka: ~ kah ~ kahuni* (2), Poch *ak* (1).

99. WOMAN

CNa *siwa:-tl ~ sowa-tl* (1), TNa *sowa-tl* (1), NPN *siwa-tl* (1), MNa *siwa:-ʔ* (1), PNa *soá:-t* (1), JNa *suwa-t* (1), Pip *siwa:-t* (1), Poch *g'las-t* (2).

100. YELLOW

CNa *kos-tik* (1), TNa *kosti:k* (1), NPN *kostik* (1), MNa *kostiʔ* (1), PNa *gostik* (1), JNa *yuksik* (2), Pip *tultik* (3).

Appendix B:
Reconstructed 100-wordlist for Proto-Aztecan

all (todos)	* <i>mochi-m</i>	good	* <i>ye:k-tli</i>	root	* <i>nelwa-tl ?</i>
ashes	* <i>nix-tli</i>	green	?	round	* <i>yawal-ti-k ?</i>
bark	* <i>iwa-yo:-tl</i>	hair	* <i>-tzom</i>	sand	* <i>xa:l-li</i>
belly	* <i>-ihtli</i>	hand	* <i>-mah</i>	say	?
big	* <i>wehey(i)</i>	head	* <i>-kwah</i>	see	* <i>-ih-ta</i>
bird	* <i>to:to:-tl</i>	hear	* <i>-kaki</i>	seed	* <i>a:ch-tli</i>
bite	* <i>-kih-tzoma</i>	heart	* <i>-yo:l</i>	sit	* <i>mo-tlali-ha</i>
black	* <i>tli:l-ti-k</i>	horn	?	skin	* <i>ɛ:wa-tl</i>
blood	* <i>is-tli</i>	I	* <i>naha</i>	sleep	* <i>kochi</i>
bone	* <i>o:mi-tl</i>	kill	* <i>mik-ti-ha</i>	smoke	* <i>po:k-tli ?</i>
breast	* <i>-chi:chi:wal</i>	knee	* <i>-tlan-kwah</i>	stand	* <i>kitza</i>
burn tr.	* <i>-tla-ti-ha</i>	know	* <i>mati</i>	star	* <i>sittlali-m</i>
claw(nail)	* <i>-isti</i>	leaf	* <i>iswa-tl</i>	stone	* <i>tə-tl</i>
cloud	* <i>mix-tli</i>	lie	* <i>mo-te:ka</i>	sun	?
cold	* <i>sese-k</i>	liver	?	swim	?
come	* <i>wi:tz</i> (preterit-as-present form)	long	* <i>weheya-k</i>	tail	* <i>kwitla-pil</i>
die	* <i>miki</i>	louse	* <i>atimi-tl</i>	that	* <i>o:n- ?</i>
dog	?	man	* <i>tla:ka-tl</i>	this	* <i>in- ?</i>
drink	* <i>-ihi</i>	many	* <i>miyak</i>	thou	* <i>təha</i>
dry	* <i>wa:k-</i>	meat	* <i>naka-tl</i>	tongue	* <i>nini-pil</i>
ear	* <i>nakas-tli</i>	moon	* <i>me:tz-tli</i>	tooth	* <i>-tlan</i>
earth	* <i>tla:l-li</i>	mountain	* <i>tipe:-tl</i>	tree	* <i>kwa-wi-tl</i>
eat	* <i>-kwa-ha:</i>	mouth	* <i>te:n-tli</i>	two	* <i>o:mə</i>
egg	?	name	* <i>to:ka:hi-tl</i>	walk (go)	* <i>nih-nimi</i>
eye	* <i>-i:x</i>	neck	* <i>kəch-tli</i>	warm (hot)	* <i>to-to:ni-k ?</i>
fat n.	?	new	* <i>yankwi-k</i>	water	* <i>a:-tl</i>
feather	* <i>-i?wi</i>	night	* <i>yowal-li</i>	we	* <i>təha-mi-t</i>
fire	* <i>tlahi-tl</i>	nose	* <i>yaka-tl</i>	what	* <i>tla-(hi ?)</i>
fish	* <i>mi-chi-m</i>	not	?	white	* <i>ista:-ki ?</i>
fly	* <i>patla:ni</i>	one	* <i>se:(m)</i>	who	* <i>a:k</i>
foot	* <i>-ikxi</i>	person	?	woman	* <i>si/owa:-tl</i>
full	* <i>te:n-tok</i>	rain	?	yellow	* <i>kos-ti-k ?</i>
give tr.	* <i>-maka</i>	red	* <i>chi:l-ti-k ?</i>		
		road	* <i>oh-tli</i>		

Ко времени прихода европейцев носители многочисленных юто-астекских языков населяли огромную территорию, простирающуюся от штата Орегон на севере до Панамы на юге. В работе отмечается, что шесть праюто-астекских названий животных получают приращение в виде суффикса *-yo: на праастекском уровне. Этот суффикс может быть проинтерпретирован как общеастекский суффикс абстрактного обладания, который образует абстрактные существительные и указывает на обладание определённым качеством или свойством. Таким образом, прото-астекское койот **ko:yo:-* буквально означает 'от койота, подобное койоту', сова **ti:kolo:-* 'от совы, подобное сове' и т. д. Автор предполагает, что подобное семантическое развитие в праастекских названиях животных указывает на то, что природное окружение на праастекской прародине значительно отличалось от природного окружения в месте проживания носителей праюто-астекского языка.

Ключевые слова: юто-астекские языки, ацтекские языки, мезоамериканистика, доисторические миграции, реконструкция языковой прародины.

