Fifty years of comparative linguistics and language documentation in Meso-America

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Spring 2010; updated June 2010

formatting of citation of writings
publications: bold, verdana 11 point
[I consider questionnaires that have been applied in surveys to be published, even if only self-published]
manuscripts: bold, italic, verdana 11 point
public presentations: italic, verdana 11 point

Note: I have worked on other language groups, most notably Germanic, Gypsy, Celtic, Semitic, Indo-European, Siuan, Chinook Jargon, Chibchan, Arawakan, and South America generally: citations and references in the present document have been limited to Meso-America, and North American groups that have some contact with or presence in Meso-America. Almost all of my data-gathering in the field has been in Meso-America.

I was an undergraduate in linguistics at the University of Chicago 1957–1959. I developed an interest in English dialects, Romani, Austronesian, and Algonkian. I had a pre-existing interest in Germanic, and I majored in that. My teachers included Eric Hamp, Norman McQuown, Jay Gelb, Arthur Silverstein, Raven McDavid, and George Metcalf; though I took no courses from him, I enjoyed chewing the fat with Ed Stankiewicz.

The Chicago Linguistic Society existed in those days, and in AY 1958–1959 I was charged with lining up speakers for the monthly meetings at the Near North Side campus of Northwestern University. This chore I undertook in exchange for the favor rendered me by the professors when we went to some bar after the talks; during 1957–1958 they had talked the waiters into serving me drinks by telling them “Sure, he’s of age.”

My first big break came in 1959 when I started working for Mac and learned about the Chicago Project, directed by him; McQuown made Kaufman: fifty years of HL in Meso-America
available to me all his field materials on Meso-American languages and his comparative notes on Mayan, Mije-Sokean, and Macro-Mayan -- the last a concept introduced by Mac himself in 1941.

That year I made a plan with Duane Metzger to do sociolinguistic research in the Tzeltal-speaking town of Aguacatenango, Chiapas, Mexico starting in Spring of 1960. At the same time I decided that in my lifetime I would devote great chunks of my time to the comparative study of Mayan and Mije-Sokean languages.

I got my AB in Linguistics in June 1959. I went to the Linguistics Institute at the University of Michigan. There I took courses in Indo-European (Andre* Martinet), Semitic (Tom Lambdin), Romance (Ernst Pulgram), and Altaic (Sinor). I also met and socialized with Al Gleason, Warren Cowgill, Chas Hockett, Robert A Hall Jr., and John Rea. I took the opportunity of being in Ann Arbor to go visit and talk with Hans Kurath at the Middle English Dictionary project. I also visited Jim Downer, the favorite professor of one of my classmates at Chicago, Laura Wallace.

In fall 1959 I started graduate study in Anthropology at Chicago, but soon decided that social anthropology as it was practiced at that time was not for me.

With Duane Metzger I went to the field in Chiapas, Mexico in March 1960, and stayed there till September 1960. I worked on the Tzeltal of Aguacatenango and Tenejapa, and the Tzotzil of Chamula. I spent a couple of days interviewing two Ch’ol-speaking boys from a local boarding school. Our research was funded by an NSF grant of $10k that was fronted for us by Evon Z. Vogt (Social Relations, Harvard); that money supported 3 gringos and 5 informants for a whole year and more.

While in the field I met Bob and Mimi Laughlin, Frans Blom, Trudy Blom, Brent Berlin, Nick Hopkins, and Harvey Sarles.

My second crucial choice was to go grad school at Berkeley in 1960.

I was in the linguistics program at Berkeley between fall 1960 and summer 1963. My main research interests, beside gathering a corpus sufficient for writing a grammar of Aguacatenango Tzeltal, were comparative Mayan and comparative Mije-Sokean.
The Berkeley library, like the Chicago library, was terrific, and while browsing I came upon many treasures that I returned to later in life.

From fall 1960 through spring 1962 I worked as a research assistant to Kim Romney at his “Anthropological Research” unit at Stanford University. I drove down to Stanford twice a week, and got paid $150 a month. At the same time, Brent Berlin was a grad student in Anthropology at Stanford, and we shared a large office in Encina Hall. During that period we co-authored the still unpublished “Tzeltal-Tzotzil Linguistic Acculturation”

In early 1961 I met Ken Hale who was passing through Berkeley on the way to Australia.

In summer 1961 I spent close to 4 months in Chiapas working on Tzeltal and Tzotzil. Norman McQuown, Bob Laughlin, Nick Hopkins, and Brent Berlin were all in the field, as also were Duane Metzger, Gerry Williams, John Hotchkiss, Horacio Fa*brega, Roy Dandrade, and Chuck Mann.

McQuown and Brent Berlin travelled to Huehuetenasngo to collect equivalences in Chuj, Jakalteko, and Qanjobal for a gloss list of ca 500 items that I had assembled based on known Mayan etymologies/cognates.

I earned my keep as an employee of the Chicago Project by administering the Project’s Tze-Tzo dialect survey questionnaire (the 200-item Swadesh list) in several Tzeltal towns. I collected Huista’n Tzotzil vocabulary from settlers in Teopisca. I made an expedition with Ed Calnek to Nicola’s Rui’z to try to track down any possible Tzeltal speakers who had moved there from Teopisca several generations earlier. We found one old man who could provide somewhere between 100 and 200 words.

Nick Hopkins and I took a bus from San Cristo’bal to Huehuetenango [Guatemala] and spent 2 or 3 days looking around and falling afoul of the law, but returning to Chiapas with heads held high.

Kaufman: fifty years of HL in Meso-America
In early summer 1962 I spent 3 weeks in Chiapas (SCLC); I worked on Zinacanta*n Tzotzil syntax.

Later in the summer I spent 6 weeks in Chicago working on a collection of Mayan etymologies: this was funded by a Wenner-Gren grant obtained by Norman McQuown.

1962, pub. 1964 MixeZoque subgroups and the position of Tapachulteco, Actas y Memorias, XXXV Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, II.403-411, Mexico.


1962 Mayan Vocabulary Survey, revised 1964. Has 1436 glosses plus about 100 grammatical and phonological questions - specifically about Mayan languages. Has been used by many Mayanists.


1962ms (with Brent Berlin) Tenejapa Tzeltal Dictionary.

I spent the summer of 1963 finishing my dissertation and writing a comparative Mije-Sokean grammar. I was awarded the PhD degree in September 1963, but have misplaced my diploma.
1963-1966: transition

1963-1964: At my first job I taught at Ohio State, where I met Chuck Fillmore, Bill Wang, Ilse Lehiste, and Ulrich Groenke. At an external evaluation of the linguistics program I met Winfred P Lehmann and Fred Householder.

During that AY I focused my interest in comparative Siuan; I took a trip to the Smithsonian to consult Alfred Gatschet’s archived Catawba slip file.

My next big opportunity was that a job opened up in Linguistics at Berkeley; I applied for the job, and was hired; that summer I got married to Elaine Diana Marlowe.

In the summer of 1964 my wife attended the Linguistics Institute in Bloomington, Indiana, and I tagged along.

There I met Ives Goddard, Stephan Wurm, Carl and Flo Voegelin, Al Roan, Paul Garvin, Kostas Kazazis. I sat in on a course in Celtic from Cal Watkins, and got to know him. Voegelin had a project to make a last-word classification map for geographic North America. Quite a few Americanists were there, including Morris Swadesh and Mary Haas.

That summer I did some digging in to Frisian, renewing a previously established interest.

teach at berkeley 1964-1970


In summer 1965 my wife and I spent about 2 weeks in Oaxaca, where John Hotchkiss, who was running a summer field program for Stanford, hosted us and took me around to several Sapoteko towns in the Valley of Oaxaca so I could administer Swadesh lists. This was my first direct experience with Sapoteko. We then went to San Cristobal, and made an excursion to the Lakantun jungle led by Trudy Blom.
During the 1965-1966 AY I sent out the Mayan Vocabulary Survey to selected Mayanists.

In June 1966 I accompanied my wife to SE Nigeria, where she did research on Ibibio, and I read all of Shakespeare sitting in the shade; I also worked on artificial languages and Nigerian Pidgin English. In September 1966, I returned to Berkeley, via NYC, where I visited Jim and Susan Matisoff while their second daughter, Lexa, was being born. During the following academic year I did more research on pidgins and creoles and artificial languages.

My next step was to start working on as many Mayan languages as I could.

1967–1968: Mocho and Tuzanteco; discover Teko

During the summer of 1967 I drove with my wife to San Cristo*bal; we stopped in Mexico city and visited Moris Swadesh and his wife Evangelina; his 14-year-old son was visiting from Denver. Not long after we arrived in Chiapas, around July 7, we learned that Swadesh had died of a heart attack in his sleep. That summer I met Ray Freeze, who was working on Lakantun. We went to Motozintla and brought 2 Mocho* speakers to San Cristo*bal. I worked with them for 2 months, and recorded and transcribed about 200 pages of double-spaced unglossed texts.

Later in the summer I, with Ray Freeze, two of his friends from Texas, and Peter Keeler, drove most of the way to Chicomuselo in search of Chicomuselteco speakers; we spent 4 days at it, but found no speakers.

During the following academic year I spent research time on Uralic.

I the fall I turned my field notes on Mocho* into a draft dictionary with about 3500 entries.

I spent about a month in Dec 1987 and Jan 1968 working on Mocho* and Tuzanteco. In Motozintla Ray Freeze helped out, especially focusing on ethnobiological terms in Mocho*. Freeze and I investigated the other languages spoken in the vicinity of Motozintla: these turned out to be Tacaneco Western Mam, known locally as “Tilo*”, and Teko, a previously unknown Mamean language known locally in Motozintla and Amatenango as “Teco”, and in Mazapa as “Cakchiquel”. In Tuzanta*n, my wife helped out in collecting Tuzanteco vocabulary.

I spent the summer of 1968 working on the semantics and morphosyntax of the lexical material I had already collected for Mocho*, and I worked on the same features for my Tuzanteco lexical material, as well as recording and transcribing around 20 texts.

About this time I conceived the notion of spending a year traveling through South America, assessing the state of linguistic research, identifying research needs and opportunities, and doing some field work. This never happened: I ended up spending 1970-1971 in Guatemala.


**1968–1970: Ixil; start Wasteko and Nawa; NMam**

In fall 1968 I started working on Ixil in Irvine, California, hosted by Nick and Lore Colby and kept at it through 1970, producing a dictionary of all the dialects, with about 8k entries.

My main informant for Ixil was a very bright 16-year old boy from Nebaj, Jacinto de Paz Pe*rez (Xhas Sijom). Between 1970 and 1974 I paid for his high school education in a boarding school in Santa Cruz Quiche*, Guatemala. In the late 1980s he was elected the mayor of Nebaj for a term. I saw Jacinto by chance at a AAA meeting in San Francisco around 2000; he was about 50 years old.

Kaufman: fifty years of HL in Meso-America
I got some direct experience with Northern Mam in fall 1968 in Provo, Utah, hosted by John Robertson.

In summer 1969 I drove to Austin for my first visit there. Accompanied for two weeks at the beginning by Nick Hopkins and Kathryn Josserand, I drove down to Wasteko country and started working on two dialects of Wasteko in Tamazunchale, with about a week’s work on Huasteca Nawa. The Wasteko slip files I created had about 5k entries each. Texts were recorded and transcribed.

We all saw the moon-walk on tv in Tamazunchale on July 20, 1969.


In December 1969 I flew to Guatemala with Aquiles Palomino to recruit Ixil speakers from Cotzal and Chajul to work at Irvine in summer 1970 as informants for a dictionary of Ixil.

In June-July 1970 at Irvine I interviewed speakers of all three dialects of Ixil for a pan-dialectal dictionary of Ixil. The resulting data was keypunched and printed out, but the computer tapes eventually vanished. The printout was turned into a ShoeBox database in 2002 and 2003.


The next fateful step I took was to go to Guatemala in August 1970 through July 1971 to collect data for a MED from the Mayan languages of Guatemala; there I fell in with some other interested parties who were not linguists, and we created a project (the PLFM) designed to train Mayan Indians in linguistics, and produce dictionaries.

The languages I worked on in 1970-1971 were K’ichee7, Kaqchikel [2 types], Tz’utujil [2 types], Q’anjob’al, Popti7, Chuj [2 types], Q’eqchi7 [2 types], Poqomam, Poqomchi7, Awakateko and Chalchiteko, Northern Mam, Southern Mam, Western Mam [= Takaneko], Mopan, and Uspanteko. For these languages I collected about 2500 lexical items each, plus grammatical elicitation. The process of collecting and
checking the data took between 10 and 12 days for each language on average.

Part of the spade-work needed for setting the research parameters of the project was to do a dialect survey of each language. This was begun in late 1970. In the process of collecting MED data and doing the dialect survey in 1971, three previously unrecognized languages were identified: Sakapulteko, Sipakapense, and Akateko.

In order to mount a research program with maximum coherence, in 1970 a single orthographical system was devised to be used for all the languages to be investigated. As soon as we made the details of this orthographic system public, there was a vehement reaction from members of SIL, in that our orthography differed in many details from the ones used by SIL. The controversy generated by SIL persisted until 1989, 19 years later, when a commission appointed by the government of Guatemala approved and officialized, except in one detail, the orthography promoted by the PLFM. We never considered yielding a single point on our orthography proposal because it was unbeatable.

During the 70s the only personal research I did, partly with Lyle Campbell, was on Xinka (1971, 1973, 1974, 1978, 1979). The rest of my more or less 3 months per year in Guatemala was devoted to bringing forward the research program of the PLFM. This involved overseeing the completion of the country-wide survey, and special attention to the dictionaries of Nawala7 K’ichee7, Tecpan Kaqchikel, and Ostuncalco Mam.

Since 1970 I have spent nearly every summer in Meso-America doing field work. Exceptions were 1975, 1985, 1988, 1989, 1991, and 1992. This means that I have rarely attended meetings in the summertime, and no Linguistic Institutes. In the mid eighties the Comparative Siouan Workshop invited me to attend their meetings, which continued over many years, but since they met in the summertime, it was not feasible for me to attend.

At this point I suppose I should make some remarks about the development of linguistics in Meso-America. As of 1930, there were glimmerings of an academic focus on native languages in Mexico. SIL started in the early 1930s, and worked both in Mexico and Guatemala. Both Norman McQuown (on Totonako) and Morris Swadesh (on Tarasko) did research in Mexico in the late 1930s. After the War, there was a gradual development in Mexico of a(n anthropological) linguistic focus on native Mexican languages. A lot of work was done by SIL linguists, but it was slow to come out, and full-scale documentation was not its

Kaufman: fifty years of HL in Meso-America
apparent aim. Professors and graduate students started working in Mexico in the late 1950s, often in the context of a sizeable project: the first was the Chicago Project, followed by projects mounted out of Harvard and Stanford -- these were all anthropology projects, but set up by anthropologists who appreciated the necessity of linguistic documentation and fostered it. These projects accounted for the training of a major subset of North American Meso-Americanists, and these in turn sent students to Mexico for their professional formation as fieldworkers. The PLFM that I and others started in 1971 was the first large-scale linguistics project in Guatemala. It accounted for the training of more than a dozen Americans as Meso-Americanist fieldworkers, and of more than 60 Mayan speakers in linguistics. [The PLFM funded its research with the proceeds of a Spanish school that it still runs.] Before the 1980s there was no academic focus on native languages in Guatemala, but for years now Mayan speakers have been getting BAs in linguistics at Guatemalan universities, though they go abroad for graduate study. The research structure of the PLFM was replicated in Mexico in the mid 1970s, though the experiment shut down within about four years. In 1975 CIESAS (Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social) was founded in Mexico, and in about 1995 a program was started to train holders of the BA at the MA level with a focus first on native languages of Mexico, then of the Americas. This year (2010), a PhD program was initiated by CIESAS. It has been possible to get the PhD in linguistics in Mexico for more than 20 years, but many Mexicans still choose to go abroad for the PhD.

In 1990 Nora England (PLFM 1971-1973) and several Mayan speakers founded OKMA (Asociación Oxlajuuj Keej Maya Ajtz'iib'), which between 1990 and 2009 trained at least 40 Mayan speakers in linguistics, and published descriptive grammars, pedagogical grammars, descriptive dictionaries, pedagogical dictionaries, collections of analyzed texts, and reading and grammar textbooks. The training and research at OKMA was equivalent to the MA [or greater] in the US. Several OKMA Mayan speakers got PhDs in linguistics in the US. OKMA’s work was funded by grants from various European embassies in Guatemala, and the funding eventually dried up.

I will return again to the effect on the field of large-scale projects when discussing the PDLMA.
1970  Mayan Dialect Survey (Cuestionario Lingu"i*stico para la
Investigacio*n de Variacio*nes Dialectales en las Lenguas Mayances de
Guatemala), revised 1971. Devised to collect diagnostic data for dialect
classification in Mayan languages. Has about 600 glosses, including all in
Swadesh (100-word), Mayers (Languages of Guatemala), Stoll
(Ethnographie der Guatemala), and Sapper (Das No"rdliche Mittel-
Amerika) as well as glosses of known diagnostic value for distinguishing
dialects in Mayan languages. Includes complete noun and verb paradigms
as well as relational nouns, question words, equational nouns, and other
grammatical phenomena typical of Mayan languages. Used by PLFM and
several other Mayanists.

At the PLFM in 1971 two linguists were recruited to oversee training
of speakers and collection of lexical data for a dictionary, for a
term of two years:
Will Norman: Nawala7 K’ichee7, Tecpa*n Kaqchikel
Nora England: N Mam of San Ildefonso Ixtahuaca*n, S Mam of San Juan
Ostuncalco

In 1971, at the instigation of Lyle Campbell, I worked with several
Xinka speakers from Guazacapa*n, and one from Chiquimulilla.

1971, pub. 1974  Meso-American Indian languages. Encyclopaedia
Britannica.

In February 1972 I adopted a 14-year-old Guatemalan girl, Telma
Victoria Zuleta, aka VK.

In 1972-1973 I spent several weeks in Antigua directing research at
the PFLM. The survey of Guatemalan Mayan languages was in progress.
I worked on the dictionaries of K’ichee7, Kaqchikel, and Southern Mam.

Back in the states I spent a lot of time on Romani study.
In 1973 seven linguists were recruited to the PLFM to oversee training of speakers and collection of lexical data for a dictionary, for a term of two years, though most stayed 3 or more years:
Karen Dakin: Q’anjob’al, Akateko
Glenn Ayres: Nebaj Ixil, Chajul Ixil
Steve Stewart: Chamelco Q’eqchi7, Lanqui*n Q’eqchi7
Linda Brown: Tactic Poqomchii7, Santa Cruz Poqomchii7
Jon Dayley: Santiago Atitla*n Tz’utujiil, San Juan Tz’utujiil
Tom Larsen: Awakateko, Chalchiteko
Judie Maxwell: San Mateo Chuj, San Sebastian*n Chuj
[all of the above did PhD theses based on their research at the PLFM]

In 1973 I spent several weeks in Antigua, overseeing research at the PLFM.

I also worked with the team of Mam speakers from Ostuncalco on the dictionary of Southern Mam.

In 1974 I spent several weeks in Antigua, overseeing research at the PLFM.

I worked on the Xinka of Guazacapa*n for several weeks with a speaker I brought to Antigua.

With Lyle Campbell I drove to Jumaytepeque to bring 3 Xinka speakers to Antigua, and I worked on Xinka for about 3 weeks.

I also worked with the team of Mam speakers from Ostuncalco on the dictionary of Southern Mam.


In 1975 the PLFM moved its headquarters to Huehuetenango. Four linguists were recruited to oversee training of speakers and collection of lexical data for a dictionary, for a term of two years, though some stayed 3 or more years:
Robin Mader: Ch’orti7
Linda Munson: Western Mam [= Takaneko]
Margaret Datz: Popti7
Tom Larsen: K’ichee7 of Santa Luci*a Chiquimula, K’ichee7 of Momostenango
[all of the above did PhD theses based on their research at the PLFM]

April-July 1975: I was visiting professor at U Hamburg at Abeitsstelle fuer altamerikanische Sprachen und Kulturen. Taught 2 courses: field methods, lgs of MA.

Visited Una Canger in Copenhagen 5 times. Gave lectures at U Copenhagen.

Traveled with VK to Vienna, Venice, Athens, Crete (Ira*klio, Re*thimno, Palio*hora), Barcelona, Madrid, Santiago de Compostela, Paris, London

Francisco Franco died, prompting jubilation.


*Jun 1975 University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen; Department of Linguistics and the Sociology of Religion. presentations: (1) "Linguistic Prehistory in Meso-America"; (2) "The diversification of the Mayan languages"

In summer 1976 I went to Guatemala to oversee research at the PLFM shortly after the big earthquake of 1976. After a few days in Antigua, I traveled to the headquarters in Huehuetenango. I worked with the Ostuncalco team on their dictionary of S Mam.

During the AY 1976-1977 I worked on Romani and Low Dutch.


1976 *Conference on Quiche*an Prehistory. SUNY Albany. *Presentation: "The position of the Quiche*an languages within Mayan".*

In summer 1977 I directed research at the PLFM in Huehuetenango, and worked on the lexical database for Ostuncalco Mam.

By 1977, the PLFM had 19 lexical databases for 12 different languages, ranging in size from 5000 to 10,000 entries.

In the period since then, PLFM dictionaries have been published on the basis of 12 of the 19 databases.

CHJ Seb
POP
AKA
QAN
MAM N
AWK
IXL Nebaj
IXL Chajul
KCH Nawala7

Kaufman: fifty years of HL in Meso-America
During the 1970s and 1980s, 8 PLFM linguists wrote grammars as dissertations for

CHJ Maxwell
POP Datz
W MAM Munson
IXL Ayres
KCH Larsen
TZU Dayley
PCH Brown
QEQ Stewart

Robin Mader wrote a diss on cpv Mayan syntax

Between 1971 and 1978, 66 Mayan speakers had passed through a three-year training program in linguistics.

In summer 1978 I directed research at the PLFM in Antigua, and in Chiquimulilla I collected lexical and textual data on the Xinka of Chiquimulilla. I also worked with 2 Guazacapa*n Xinka speakers I brought to Antigua.


1978ms ‘The current state of Mayan comparative phonology’, 75+ pp. Read (by proxy) at Third Mayan Workshop, Coba*n.

In summer 1979 I directed research at the PLFM in Antigua, and collected lexical and textual data on Xinka of Guazacapa*n.

During the AY 1979-180 I worked on comparative Mayan grammar and Nawa.

1979  *First Conference on the Popol Vuh*. Santa Cruz Quiche* (Guatemala). Sponsored by SUNY Albany. Presentation: "The position of Sipacapa within Quiche*an".


*By 1979 the political situation in Guatemala had so far deteriorated that I did not feel it was a safe place to be, so I decided on a change of venue: Huastec country, where I worked on Wasteko and Nawa.*

Between 1980 and 1990, headquartered in Tamazunchale, SLP, I collected extensive lexical materials (ca 10k items) on two of the three dialects of Wasteko, as well as carrying out a dialect survey of Wasteko. I collected extensive lexical materials (ca 10k items) on each of three dialects of Huasteca Nawa.

In five different seasons I took one or two students to the field with me to do research of their own on either Wasteko or Nawa.

In 1981-1982 while not in the field I wrote a comparative Yuta-Nawan phonology. I had originally planned to co-author this with Lyle Campbell, but after seeing what I had produced, he did not want to add anything to it.

Between 1983 and 1986, and in 1989, while not in the field I worked on Oto-Mangean comparative phonology. I collaborated closely with Nick Hopkins and Kathryn Josserand in the beginning stages of this work.

In 1986 the book I co-authored with Sally Thomason, “Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics” was submitted for publication; it appeared in 1988.

In 1986 Sally and I had the brilliant idea of convening an every-other-yearly gathering of historical linguists who do reconstruction
We have kept this event by invitation, and we have been going strong ever since.

Between 1987 and 1989 while not in the field I worked on comparative Hokan.


In summer 1980 I drove down to Tamazunchale in Wasteko country, accompanied at the beginning by Will Norman. I caught break-bone (dengue) fever that summer, brought back to the Caribbean from Angola by Cuban soldiers.

I worked with three new Potosino speakers, and a new Tantoyuca speaker. One of the Potosino speakers, Benigno Robles Reyes, aged 17, became my long-term field assistant, with whom I still work.


In summer 1981 I returned to Tamazunchale and worked for about 3 weeks with a speaker of Tantoyuca Wasteko.

Sep-Dec 1981: I traveled around the world for 100 days on semester-at-sea: Seattle, Kobe, Taipei, Hong Kong, Manila, Jakarta, Columbo, Madras, Saqqara, Alexandria, Athens, Malaga, Fort Lauderdale.


In summer 1982 I drove to Tamazunchale (via LA) and worked on Potosino and Tantoyuca Wasteko; I took along Donna Wagner, then a student at USC, who worked on Huasteca Nawa.

In summer 1983 I drove to Plano, Texas to finish drafting a dialect survey questionnaire for Wasteko, at the home of Murray and Mike Leaf; then I drove to Tuscon to pick up Kathy Budway, a linguistics grad student at UA with a BA from Pitt. We drove to Tamazunchale, where Budway worked on Potosino syntax, and I administered the Wasteko dialect survey questionnaire to 16 Wasteko speakers, each from a different town.

During the 1983-1984 AY I worked on comparative Oto-Mangean. Kathryn Josserand and Nick Hopkins were in Pgh that AY, Josserand on a post-doc, and we synchronized our OM research.


In summer 1984 I drove with Bruce Franklin, an UG in Anthro and Ling at Pitt, to Tucson where we picked up Kathy Budway and drove to Tamazunchale. I worked on lexicon and texts for Tancanhuitz Wasteko, Tantoyuca Wasteko, and Chinampa Wasteko. Budway worked on ethnobotany for all three types of Wasteko, and Franklin worked on ethnozoology for all three types of Wasteko. Additionally, I worked on Potosino Nawa of Tuzantla, mainly on ethnobiology.

During AY 1984-1985 I worked on comparative Oto-Mangean.


1984, pub. 1985 (with John Justeson, William Norman, and Lyle Campbell) 
The Foreign Impact on Lowland Mayan Language and Script, Middle 
American Research Institute of Tulane University.

1984ms  ‘Cross-currents of grammatical innovation in the Mayan 
languages, with especial reference to Tojolabal’, 25+ pp. Read at "The 
Language of Writing in the Mayan Region", UChi April 1984.

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items and ca. 500 refer to plants, animals, and techniques/tools characteristic of South America. A grammatical section of ca. 200 points covers both syntax and (mainly inflexional) morphology as well as closed lexical classes such as pronouns and demonstratives, interrogatives, numerals, and adpositions.]

In summer 1986 I went to Tamazunchale to work on Wasteko lexicography, accompanied by Kathy Budway who was working on Wasteko for her MA thesis at Arizona.

During AY 1986-1987 I worked on comparative Oto-Mangean.


1986 First Spring Workshop on Theory and Method in Linguistic Reconstruction, U Pgh. Give lecture "Intransitivizers in Comparative Mayan Grammar".

1986 presentation: "Mayan Intransitivizers in Diachronic Perspective". Read at AAA, Philadelphia.

1986 presentation: Linguistics and Anthropology Departments, U Iowa. "ProtoMayan Verb Morphology and its Developments in the Mayan Languages".

I was a visiting professor, at the Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley, from January through May of 1987. [The SAILDP grants were not renewed.]

In summer 1987 I drove from Berkeley to Tucson with Sara Lickey, a grad student at Pitt; there we picked up Kathy Budway, who was working on an MA at UArizona. We drove to Tamazunchale and worked on W

Kaufman: fifty years of HL in Meso-America
Wasteko and Potosino Nawa ethnomedicine, interviewing one curer each from each language, and collecting texts from 3 Potosino Nawa speakers. I and Lickey worked mainly on Nawa, Budway worked mainly on W Wasteko.

During the AY 1987-1888 I worked on comparative Hokan.


1988-1990 was largely transitional; my son Bennet was born summer 1988 and I did not go to the field that year or the next year; in 1990 I did some field work on Huasteca Nawa.

On 8-8-88 my son Bennet James Kaufman was born to his mother Sara Ann Lickey

The co-authored book with Sally Thomason appeared.


[1988ms  *Toward a Classification of the Chibchan Languages*, 100+ pp. Excerpted in oral report at AAA annual meeting, Phoenix, November 1988.]


1988  "Nahua Ethnomedicine". Lecture at Anthropology Department Colloquium Series, University of Pittsburgh.

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1989 "The Language of the Olmecs". Lecture series of linguistics Department at University of Colorado, Boulder, "Native American Languages in Cross-disciplinary Perspective".

[1989ms South American Indian Languages and their Genetic Groupings, 300+ pp.]

In summer 1990 I drove to Chicago to pick up Bruce Franklin and his band-mate Paul N; then we drove to Tamazunchale and worked on Nawa for several weeks.

During AY 1990-1991 I learned Portuguese [more or less] from 3 Brazilian graduate students studying linguistics at Pitt.


1990ms ‘Some preliminary hypotheses on the structure of the NP in proto-Mayan’. 142pp. Presented at Third Spring Workshop on Theory and Method in Linguistic Reconstruction, 6-8 April 1990, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Also presented at Symposium "Current Issues in Mayan Linguistics", Kentucky Foreign Language Conference, Lexington. April 1990 [hosted by Andy Hofling] [I crashed at Chris Pool’s place; he took me to some UG graduation parties, where I met and talked with Ashley Judd, who was 22 and charming; she was planning on joining the Peace Corps and going to Africa. I saw her a year later in an episode of “StarTrek: the Next Generation”]
1990 "Sound Symbolism and Sound Change in Wasteko". Public lecture sponsored by Department of Linguistics, University of Pittsburgh.


In 1991 I started collaborating with John Justeson on trying to decipher Epi-Olmec hieroglyphic writing; we achieved some success in just a few days, and continuing work over several years yielded quite a full [though not complete] decipherment. In 1992 we started working on Zapotec hieroglyphic writing, with a fair degree of success, though the available materials are not as rich as for Epi-Olmec. We were able to achieve these decipherments on the basis of comparative work I had carried out in the early 1960s (Mije-Sokean) and the 1980s (Sapotekan).

Since 1991 I have collaborated with Justeson on at least 10 published articles, and as many more that are drafted or sketched out.

1991-1993: start mesoamerican epigraphy big-time


I did not go to the field in summer 1991.

In February 1992 Justeson and I began work on Zapotec writing. I began to try to create an orderly account of proto-Zapotec phonology, vocabulary, morphology, and syntax, to serve as a point of reference for the features represented in the writing system.


Kaufman: fifty years of HL in Meso-America

1991 "Deciphering the Epi-Olmec Script". Lecture sponsored by Anthropology Department and Institute of Mesoamerican Studies, SUNY Albany

I did no field work in the summer of 1992. Most of my free time was spent writing up the results of Epi-Olmec and Zapotec decipherment. Justeson and I brainstormed over the implications of the decipherment for our research in the near term. It was clear that field work on selected Mije-Sokean languages was in order.


1992 "Deciphering the Epi-Olmec Script". presentation: Department of Anthropology, University of California, Davis (Feb 18)

1992 "Recent Classifications of American Indian Languages". presentation: Department of Anthropology, University of California, Davis (Feb 19)

1992 "Deciphering the Epi-Olmec Script". presentation: Summer Institute of Linguistics, Mexico Branch, Catalina, Arizona (Feb 24)


Kaufman: fifty years of HL in Meso-America

In 1992 or 1993 Justeson and I decided that in order to beef up the database for reconstructing proto-Mije-Sokean it was necessary to carry out documentation work on several of the Mije-Sokean languages, especially the Sokean language of Soteapan and the Mijean language of Oluta.

During summer 1993 Justeson and I (with support from National Geographic), headquartered in Forti*n, Ver., did extensive work on Soteapan, and a lesser amount on Oluta. We took with us two undergraduates to do databasing and some interviewing. One of them continued with us by working as a linguist on the project we started in 1994.

[In the second half of the summer, hosted by Dan Everett, I spent 5 weeks at the SIL compound in Porto Velho, Brazil, where I gave some lectures and investigated ethnobiological terms in Deni (Arawa*n) and Paiter (Tupi*an).]


1993ms ‘The Month-names of the Meso-American Calendar’. ca. 30 pp


Decipherment: What the Texts Say. 1-hour presentation in session called "The Cutting Edge: Recent Advances in the Decipherment of Maya and Olmec Hieroglyphic Writing", 23 October.


1993 "Steps Toward the decipherment of ’Zapotec’ Hieroglyphic Writing”. Public lecture sponsored by Department of Linguistics, University of Pittsburgh.

After the very favorable public reaction to our Science article on Epi-Olmec decipherment, we felt that it was feasible to try to get funding to support research documenting the Mije-Sokean languages. We approached NSF as well as National Geographic, and got funding for summer 1994 to support 7 linguists, each to work on a different language.

Our research plan has been to create large lexical databases based on several types of focused elicitation: ethnobiology, sound symbolism, place names, root dictionaries, ethnomedicine, color terms, and regionally focused topical word lists. Texts are collected but are not the primary basis of the lexical collections. All lexical items are tested for their phonological, morphological, and syntactic behavior. A complete morphological analysis is provided for each lexical item. Examples are taken from texts, spontaneous examples offered by speakers, and elicited examples. Not all items have examples. Canonically, lexical databases are based on 3 9-week field seasons where linguists interview speakers eight hours a day for six days a week. Lexical databases range in size between 6k and 20k entries.

Data from the dictionaries are to serve for reconstructing proto-Mije-Sokean and vocabulary, phonology, and grammar.

1994–2010: PDLMA [grant money most years]
I worked on dictionaries of MAR, SOT, MIG, SAY, JCH, MTL,TLW
I did comparative Mije-Sokean and Sapotekan work

Kaufman: fifty years of HL in Meso-America
The full set of 30 languages that the Project worked on between 1993 and 2010 is:

**Mije-Sokean**
- MAR: W Soke of Santa Maria Chimalapa (Kaufman, O’Connor)
- MIG: W Soke of San Miguel Chimalapa (Johnson, Kaufman)
- COP: C Soke of Copainala (Pye, Swift)
- TEC: C Soke of Tecpata (Zavala)
- TECcol: colonial C Soke of Tecpata (Zavala)
- AYA: Gulf Sokean of Ayapa (Suslak, Oliverio)
- TEX: Gulf Sokean of Texistepec (Reilly, Bereznak)
- SOT: Gulf Sokean of Soteapan (Kaufman, Himes)
- OLU: Mijean of Oluta (Zavala)
- SAY: Mije of Sayula (Rhodes, Kaufman, Holt)
- GUI: Mije of Guichicovi (Oliverio)
- TOT: Mije of Totontepec (Suslak)

**Sapoteko**
- JCH: C Sapoteko of Juchita (Perez Baquez, Kaufman, Feke)
- CHI: C Sapoteko of Chichicapan (Smith-Stark)
- CHO: N Sapoteko of Choapan (Donnelly, Galant, Rogers, Shenk)
- ZOO: N Sapoteko of Zoogocho (Benom)
- ATP: N Sapoteko of Atepec (Hilts, Kurihara)
- COA-LOX: S Sapoteko of Coatla and Loxicha (Beam de Azcona)
- ZAN: Papabuco Sapoteko of Zaniza (Operstein, Bakshi)
- LCH: W Sapoteko of Lachixio (Sicoli, Monje, Lee)

**Chatino**
- YAI: Chatino of Yaitepec (Rasch)
- ZEN: Chatino of Zenzontepec (Campbell, Carleton)

**Nawa**
- PAJ: Gulf Nawat of Pajapan (Peralta)
- ZNG: Nawatl of Zongolica (Romero, Haurholm)
- TAC: Sierra Nawat of Tacoapan (Canger)

**Mayan**
- LAK: Lakantun (Bergqvist)
- YOK: Yokot’an or Tabasco Chontal of Guaytalpa (Montgomery-Anderson)

**Totonakan**

Kaufman: fifty years of HL in Meso-America
HUE Tepewa of Huehuetla (Smythe-Kung)

Malatzinkan
MTL Matlatzinka (Koch-Perez, Kaufman, Larsen)
TLW Tlawika or Okwilteko (Kaufman, Koch-Perez)

Chochoan
OTL Popoloka of Otlaltepec (Swanton)

In 1994 the PDLMA was headquartered in Fortin, Ver.

TK: MAR

6 other linguists:
RZM: OLU
Heidi Johnson: MIG
Val Himes: SOT
Cathy Bereznak: TEX
Dennis Holt: SAY
Rich Rhodes: SAY


1994ms (John Justeson & TK) Warfare in the texts of Preclassic Monte Albán


Kaufman: fifty years of HL in Meso-America


After the successful 1994 field season, Justeson and I decided to try to get more extensive funding support so that we could document not only 7 Mije-Sokean languages, but also 11 Sapotekan languages, so that proto-Sapotekan could be reconstructed fully, and we would have at hand what was needed for fleshing out our decipherment of Zapotec hieroglyphic writing. We got the funding we sought, mainly from NSF, but with help from NGS, and we added 7 Sapotekan languages to the list of languages being worked on by the project.

Data from the Sapotekan dictionaries are to serve for reconstructing proto-Sapoteko, proto-Chatino, and proto-Sapotekan vocabulary, phonology, and grammar.

In summer 1995 the PDLMA was headquartered in Catemaco

[for the first time in my life, at age 58, I started keeping a work log while in the field!]

TK: JCH, MIG, MAR (+ Loretta O'Connor)

plus 11 other linguists [3 duds are unnamed]
Loretta O’Connor: MAR
RZM: OLU
Heidi Johnson: MIG
Val Himes: SOT
Cathy Bereznak: TEX
Mary Swift: COP

Felicia Lee: LCH
Rosemary Beam de Azcona: COA
Yuka Kurihara: ATP
Mike Galant: CHO
Thom Smith-Stark: CHI


In summer 1996 the PDLMA was headquartered in Catemaco, Ver.

TK: JCH

12 other linguists [plus 2 unnamed duds]:
Jeff Rasch: YAI
Thom Smith-Stark: CHI
David Monje: LCH
Indira Bakshi: ZAN
Troi Carleton: ZEN
Rosemary Beam de Azcona: COA

RZM: OLU
Cliff Pye: COP
Dan Suslak: TOT
Val Himes: SOT
Rich Rhodes: SAY
Giulia Oliverio: GUI

Kaufman: fifty years of HL in Meso-America

1996ms.  Mije-Sokean pronouns and pronoun markers.  22pp


1996  "Phonological and Grammatical Aspects of the Decipherment of Zapotec Hieroglyphic Writing".  4-hour presentation to NUTMEG epigraphy group at SUNY-Albany, organized by John Justeson.

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In 1997 we decided to expand the scope of the PDLMA to include all languages whose ancestors practiced writing or produced complex iconography. This meant that, as the opportunities arose, we would work on Nawa, Matlatzinkan, Totonakan, and Chochoan [We decided not to touch Mistekan]. In 1997 we started working on Matlatzinka.

By this time, we needed a name for the project that was not limited to Mije-Sokean and Sapotekan, and called it “Project for the Documentation of the Languages of Meso-America” (PDLMA), or the “Snake Jaguar” (Tigre Culebra) Project.

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In summer 1997 the PDLMA was headquartered in Catemaco

TK: MTL

13 other linguists [plus 1 unnamed dud]
Nancy Koch: MTL
Tom Larsen: MTL

Kaufman: fifty years of HL in Meso-America
1997

**Grammaticalization through incorporation in the diachrony of Mije-Sokean verbs**. Presented at symposium on grammaticalization, Rice University


In 1998 the PDLMA started working on Tlawika.

In summer 1998 the PDLMA was headquartered in Catemaco

TK: TLW

7 other linguists [plus 2 unnamed duds]:
Nancy Koch: MTL

Giulia Oliverio: GUI
Dan Suslak: TOT
Cliff Pye: COP

Jeff Rasch: YAI
Mark Sicoli: LCH
Rosemary Beam de Azcona: COA

Kaufman: fifty years of HL in Meso-America
In fall 1998 I had a sabbatical leave and I spent the month of October in Catemaco working on the lexical database for MAR.


1999 "The Work of the Project for the Documentation of the Languages of Meso-America". Public lecture sponsored by Department of Linguistics, University of Pittsburgh.

In 1999 the PDLMA started working on Tepewa, Nawa, and Popoloca

In summer 1999 the PDLMA was headquartered in Catemaco

TK: SOT, MAR, MIG
10 other linguists
Thom Smith-Stark: CH I
Mark Sicoli: LCH
Craig Hilts: ATP
Marilyn Feke: JCH
Paula Rogers: CHO
Natalie Operstein: ZAN

Sergio Romero: ZNG

Nancy Koch: MTL

Susan Smythe: HUE

Mike Swanton: OTL

Kaufman: fifty years of HL in Meso-America

In 2000 the PDLMA started working on Totonako, but the linguist did not work out.

As of 2000, the NSF stopped funding the PDLMA.

In summer 2000 the PDLMA was headquartered in Catemaco

TK: SOT, MAR, MIG

8 other linguists [plus one unnamed dud]

RZM: TEC

Natalie Operstein: ZAN
Thom Smith-Stark: CHI
Carey Benom: ZOO
Craig Hilts: ATP

Mike Swanton: OTL

Susan Smythe: HUE

Sergio Romero: ZNG

During AY 2000-2001 I worked with JJ on the Epi-Olmec inscription on a Teotihuacan-style mask, the report on which was still unpublished.


2001-present: Ig and prehistory in mesoamerica

From fall 2001 through summer 2005 the PDLMA was funded by the Salus Mundi Foundation, headed by A. Richard Diebold.

In summer 2001 the PDLMA was headquartered in Catemaco. The season started in late June because I broke my ankle in late May, and Ehren Reilly was not free to travel any earlier than I was.

TK: SOT, MAR, MIG

2 other linguists:
Ehren Reilly works on TEX for 6 weeks;
no other linguists apart from Thom Smith-Stark for 2 weeks

2001. TK &JJ. Epi-Olmec Hieroglyphic Writing and Texts. 103pp. workbook for a full-day presentation at the Nineteenth Advanced Seminar on Hieroglyphic Writing, UT Austin.

2001ms ‘Language contact in preclassic Meso-America and the languages of Teotihuacan’. Paper delivered at the annual meetings of the Society for American Archaeology, New Orleans, 19 April 2001. An expanded version was presented in 2 2-hour sessions at the Third Morris Swadesh Colloquium, UNAM-IIA, August 29, 2001. This was posted at the PDLMA website <www.albany.edu/pdlma>. The content of this paper was also delivered in a 6-hour session at CIESAS in San Cristobal de Las Casas on July 17, 2002. This is the basis of: 2001-2010ms Olmecs, Teotihuacaners, and Toltecs: Language History and Language Contact in Meso-America. 165+ pp.


2001, 2005ms. A Typological Sketch of the Mije-Sokean Languages. 58pp

In summer 2002 the PDLMA was headquartered in SCLC, Chiapas

TK: SOT, MAR, MIG

8 other linguists [plus 1 unnamed dud]:
RZM: TEC
Dan Suslak: TOT
Giulia Oliverio: AYA

Una Canger: TAC
Sergio Romero: ZNG
Valenti*n Peralta: PAJ

Mike Swanton: OTL

Petra Shenk: CHO

During AY 2002-2003 I worked on a Mayan Etymological Dictionary


Kaufman: fifty years of HL in Meso-America
In summer 2003 the PDLMA was headquartered in SCLC, Chiapas

TK: SOT, MAR, MIG, ZPT

11 other linguists [plus 1 unnamed dud]:
RZM: TEC
Dan Suslak: TOT
Ehren Reilly: TEX
Rich Rhodes: SAY

Craig Hilts: ATP
Gabriela Perez Baez: JCH
Natalie Operstein: ZAN
Thom Smith-Stark: CHI

Brad Montgomery-Anderson: YOK
Henrik Bergqvist: LAK

Valenti*n Peralta: PAJ


2003 (with Carolyn MacKay and Frank Trechsel) Totonac Dialect Survey Questionnaire. To be administered in 30 Totonac-speaking towns in the

Kaufman: fifty years of HL in Meso-Amercia
states of Puebla and Veracuz, Mexico. This was accomplished in Winter-Spring 2004 and Winter-Spring 2005.

2003 "The Diversification of Nawa and the Languages of Teotihuaca*n". Invited lecture delivered to the American Indian Languages Study Group of Austin. 2 hour presentation.

2003 “The Diversification and Meso-Americanization of Nawa”; invited 1.5 hour presentation to Institute of Meso-American Studies at SUNY Albany.

2003 "Mixe-Zoquean Linguistic Influence and The Languages of Teotihuaca*n" 4.5-hour presentation to NUTMEG epigraphy group at SUNY-Albany, organized by John Justeson.

In Winter-Spring 2004 Benigno Robles Reyen administered the Totonako dialect survey [planned with Carolyn MacKay and Frank Trechsel] in 14 towns.

In summer 2004 the PDLMA was headquartered in Catemaco

TK: SOT, MAR, MIG

7 other linguists:
RZM: TEC
Dan Suslak: AYA
Ehren Reilly: TEX

Brad Montgomery-Anderson: YOK

Gabriela Perez Baez: JCH

Valenti*n Peralta: PAJ
Una Canger: TAC

Totonako survey results from early 2004 were transcribed by Jose* N and Jero*nimo N, both of Filomeno Mata, Ver.

August: Visited Arroyo Siete Cabezas near Nanchital, Ver. and documented texts on the ceiling of a cave (TK, JJ, Sergio Va*squez,
He*ctor N N, Rebeca N N); a previously unknown apparently telegraphic writing system. [still unreported, hence incomplete geographical reference]

During the AY 2004-2005 I taught myself Coptic, then taught a course in it.


2004  Texas Symposium on Meso-American Hieroglyphic Writing. (with John Justeson) "A Recently Published Epi-Olmec Text on a Teotihuaca*n-style Mask". 40-minute lecture. 11 March.

2004  "The Reconstruction of Morphosyntax in OtoMangean". 50-minute lecture at COOL 1 (First Conference on Oaxacan and Oto-Manguean Languages, 18-20 March, University of California, Berkeley, California.


In Winter-Spring 2005 Benigno Robles Reyes administered the Totonako dialect survey in 15 more towns.

In summer 2005 the PDLMA was headquartered in Catemaco

summer 2005: I started keeping a journal every day throughout the year

TK: MAR, MIG, SOT
7 other linguists:
RZM: TEC
Dan Suslak: AYA

Valenti*n Peralta: PAJ

Kaufman: fifty years of HL in Meso-America
Susan Smythe: HUE
Henrik Bergqvist: LAK
Brad Montgomery-Anderson: YOK
Nancy Koch: TLW

Totonako survey results from early 2005 were transcribed by Jose* N and Jero*nimo N, both of Filomeno Mata, Ver.

I had a sabbatical leave in fall 2005, and spent 23 Oct through 21 Nov in Catemaco working, with a speaker, on the SAY lexical database.

In working over data regarding linguistic diffusion in pre-Columbian Meso-America, I reasoned that since both the US Southwest and the US Southeast had received cultigens from Meso-America, there could well be instances of Meso-American words borrowed into Southwestern or Southeastern languages. On examining lexical materials in Southeastern languages, I found quite a number of apparent borrowings from especially Mije-Sokean languages into especially Maskogian languages. This pushed me into comparative Maskogian research; I wanted to know what light comparative study could shed on the age of these Meso-American borrowings.

During the AY 2005-2006 I worked on Maskogian comparative grammar.

In 2005 Lyle Campbell PI’d an NSF project designed to create web-postable lexical databases for languages that I and others had collected data on in the 1960s and 1970s:
   Mocho* [also worked on by Laura Martin]
   Tuzanteco
   Xinka [also worked on by Lyle Campbell]

2005-2007 Zapotec-Chatino Dialect Survey Questionnaire. 1301 tems. To be administered in 200+ Zapotec and Chatino towns in Oaxaca beginning Summer 2008. This was finished in 2009.


2005 presentation: “Sound Symbolism in Meso-America and the Southeast”, Linguistics Department, UT Austin, May 5, 2005, 1.5 hours.


In summer 2006, there was no funding for the PDLMA. I spent my own money to support a 9-week field season. I went to the field in Catemaco and worked on SAY and COX. I brought Zuzana Tomkova, a grad student from UChi, to the field to work on CHO.


From summer 2007 through summer 2010 the PDLMA was funded by the Mexican federal government agency INALI (Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indi*genas)

In summer 2007 the PDLMA was headquartered in Catemaco

TK: MAR, MIG

Kaufman: fifty years of HL in Meso-America
5 other linguists:
RZM: TEC
Dan Suslak: AYA

Eric Campbell: ZEN
Mark Sicoli: LCH
Gabriela Perez Baez: JCH

At the PDLMA I designed a Sapotek dialect survey, and 9 Sapotekan speakers were trained to transcribe phonetically, administer the survey questionnaire to themselves, and transcribe the result.

During the AY 2007-2008 I worked on comparative Celtic.


Oct 2007 “Northern Mije-Sokean: The Elite Language of the Basin of Mexico from 1000 BCE to 600 CE”, keynote address at CILLA III (Conference on Indigenous Languages of Latin America), Austin, Texas

In summer 2008 the PDLMA was headquartered in Oaxaca

TK: MAR, MIG

4 other linguists:
RZM: TEC

Eric Campbell: ZEN
Natalie Operstein: ZAN

Mark Sicoli trained 26 Sapotekan speakers to transcribe phonetically; the PDLMA sent them out to administer the survey questionnaire, bring
back the results, and transcribe them. After that, for as much as a year or more, the trainees administered the questionnaire and transcribed it. About 100 questionnaires were administered. The last transcriptions were turned over in Feb 2010.

During the AY 2008-2009 I worked on comparative Celtic


In summer 2009 the PDLMA was headquartered in Catemaco

TK: MAR, SOT, MIG, SAY

8 other linguists [plus one unnamed dud]:

RZM: TEC
Dan Suslak: AYA

Valenti*n Peralta: PAJ
Steffen Haurholm-Larsen: ZNG
Una Canger: TAC

Eric Campbell: ZEN
Gabriela Perez Baez: JCH
Erin Donnelly: CHO

We held a memorial service for Thom Smith-Stark, who had died in the spring.

The Sapotekan survey was going on in Oaxaca.

During the AY 2009-2010 I worked on comparative Celtic and comprative Uralic.
As of March 2010 my 50 years in Meso-America were completed.

In summer 2010 the PDLMA will be headquartered in Catemaco

TK: MAR, MIG, SOT, SAY

maybe 14 other linguists:

Sapotekan: campbell, rasch, perez baez, donnelly, hilts

Mayan: montgomery-anderson, hofling

Mije-Sokean: rzm, tk, suslak, mora-mari*n

Nawa: canger, peralta

dialect surveys: chiapas soke, yokot’an, orizaba nawa, gulf nawa

After the finish of the 2010 field season, the PDLMA will have
completed lexical databases of 6k to 20k items for 16 languages:

OLU (Zavala)
SAY (Rhodes, Kaufman, Holt)
MAR (Kaufman)
MIG (Johnson, Kaufman)
TEC (Zavala)
TECcol (Zavala)
AYA (Suslak, Oliverio)
SOT (Kaufman, Himes)
JCH (Perez Baez, Kaufman, Feke)
CHI (Smith-Stark)
LCH (Sicoli, Monje, Lee)
ZEN (Campbell, Carleton)
YAI (Rasch)
YOK (Montgomery-Anderson)
PAJ (Peralta)
TAC (Canger)

Kaufman: fifty years of HL in Meso-America
These will be ready for publication at the end of August, or could be ready within a few months thereafter.

Large, but still unfinished databases of at least 5k items, will exist for 8 languages:

- GUI (Oliverio, Mora-Mari*nh)
- TOT (Suslak)
- TEX (Bereznak, Reilly)
- CHO (Donnelly, Galant, Rogers, Shenk)
- ATP (Hilts, Kurihara)
- LAK (Hofling, Bergqvist)
- MTL (Koch, Kaufman, Larsen)
- COA (Beam)

Grammars have been written as dissertations, or are in progress, or are planned, for

- OLU (Zavala)
- MIG (Johnson)
- SOT (Himes: MA)
- HUE (Smythe)
- LAK (Bergqvist)
- COA (Beam de Azcona)
- YAI (Rasch)
- ZEN (Campbell)
- CHO (Donnelly)

- TOT (Suslak: socio)
- LCH (Sicoli: socio)

Koch did a comparative study of MTL and TLW as a dissertation.

Of all the linguists we recruited, 7 did not turn out to be able or willing do the work in their first season, and 3 abandoned the work in the middle of a subsequent season, in 2 cases for medical reasons.

10 linguists put in a full season, and would have been invited to continue on the PDLMA, but opted not to return to the project.

All but two of these cases of attrition occured between 1994 and 2003.

I had a moderate heart attack on 30 March 2010, so the exact nature of my participation in field work this summer is up in the air.

Kaufman: fifty years of HL in Meso-America
Alongside the medical staff at Mercy Hospital, the real help and friendly good wishes of family, friends, and colleagues has made this experience as easy as it can be. The biennial reconstruction workshop has been a thread through my life since 1986, which I hope to pick up two years from now. Meanwhile I will miss seeing my reconstruction buddies this year.

Update, June 13: I have been in the field in Forti*n since June 1, and the field season is progressing well.

Finances of the PDLMA. The work on the PDLMA has been funded by grants. No linguist working on the project has received a salary, and the directors also work as volunteers. Thus all of the funds the PDLMA has received have been spent directly on research expenses (which does include salaries for informants and office staff) -- this may have made funding our project more attractive to granting agencies than it would have been if linguists and directors had been paid salaries. [Paul Chapin told us as much when he was program officer for Linguistics at NSF]. Since the increase in the last 15 years of funding for time-intensive documentation projects for endangered languages, granting agencies have not favored projects like the PDLMA, with 8-15 researchers at a time, 9-week field seasons, and no stipends to researchers; they have preferred to fund at most a team of two or three researchers, who will work steadily over maybe a two-year period, and consequently each need a stipend to pay their real life expenses. These projects can cost more over a year than our whole budget for a 9-week field season; it’s not a matter of available money so much as a different ideology about research strategy.

Meanwhile, looking back, it is fair to say that large projects like the Chicago Project [ca 1959 - ca 1970], the PLFM [1971-1979], OKMA [1990-2009], and the PDLMA [1993-2010] have accounted for a sizeable proportion of the training and research output of Meso-Americanist linguists (including speakers of those languages). Working alone and working as part of a team each has its rewards, but teams of researchers simply generate more energy per person, the energy is more focused, and the individual team members are not encouraged to indulge in self-deception or talking through their hats, things that occasionally afflict lone researchers.
Have I had a fully-formed vision of where I was going and what I wanted to accomplish in the course of these 50 years of work in Meso-America? Not entirely.

I wanted to do comparative and descriptive Mayan. Comparative work meant many cognate sts and reconstruction of the whole of a proto-language’s phonology, morphology, and syntax. Be able to do comparative work meant to have the data available for comparison. That meant documenting the languages.

I wanted to do comparative Mije-Sokean. Until 1992 I relied on the documentation carried out by others.

As an undergraduate I became fascinated by the puzzling problems of inter-branch comparison in Oto-Mangean, and started trying to solve these problems in the early 1980s.

When I visited Berkeley in February 1960, before driving down to Chiapas to begin field work, I met Wick Miller, who was working on a Uto-Aztecan (= Yuta-Nawan) etymological dictionary. This encouraged me to do armchair work on YN from time to time until I actually started working on Nawa in 1969.

During the 1960s in Berkeley, first as a graduate student, later as a professor, I met students who were working on California Indian languages, most of which were classified as either Hokan or Penutian. The carrying out of “phylum linguistics” was very frustrating, because the yield of cross-family comparison was often very meager, and a whole phonological or morphological system for proto-Hokan or proto-Penutian seemed unachievable -- and of course, it was perfectly respectable to opine that the concepts themselves were pipe-dreams.

Though fairly knowledgeable during the 1960s about the details of these [mostly unpublished] studies, I did not engage in this kind of study myself, except for trying to see whether Mayan showed lexical and structural overlaps with “Penutian”; I spent several weeks discussing these matters with Dell Hymes, who was very positive about the validity of the Penutian hypothesis in the broadest sense.

In the 1980s, though, a good deal of comparative work on the family-level branches of “Penutian” and “Hokan” had been achieved, and Penutianists were finding more and more valid linkages across the families within Penutian. But Hokanists were not achieving comparable synthetic insights. I had spent about 4 years in the early 1980s working on comparative Oto-Mangean; I devoted about two years to...
looking at everything I could lay my hands on about Hokan languages and their real or proposed relationships. I came away from this convinced that the vast majority of proposed Hokan languages were indeed genetically related to each other, with the possibility of reconstructing a phonological system, but not a complete morphological system. I further concluded, on testing and rejecting Greenbeerg’s postulated Central Amerind group, made up of Yuta-Nawan, Tanaon, and Oto-Mangean, that inasmuch as Tlapanekan is Oto-Mangean not Hokan as also asserted by Greenberg following Sapir, it is nevertheless interesting that I believe I can show that Oto-Mangean and Hokan are genetically related, with the ancestral phonological system being very much like that of proto-Hokan [as I reconstruct it].

The time depths of language families I have worked on has varied:

- Tzeltal-Tzotzil ca 1500 yrs
- Sokean ca 1500 yrs
- Sapoteko ca 1500 yrs
- [Romance ca 1500 yrs]
- [Germanic ca 2500 yrs]
- Sapotekan ca 2500 yrs
- [Celtic ca 3000 yrs]
- Mije-Sokean ca 3000 yrs
- Mistekan ca 3500 yrs
- Mayan ca 4000 yrs
- Yuta-Nawan ca 5000 yrs
- [Uralic ca 5000 yrs]
- [Semitic ca 5500 yrs]
- [Indo-European ca 6000 yrs]
- Oto-Mangean ca 6500 yrs
- Hokan ?ca 8000 yrs
- Hokan-Oto-Mangean ?ca 9000 yrs

Kaufman: fifty years of HL in Meso-America
The time depth of Oto-Mangean and groups of lesser time depth can be calibrated both by glottochronology and seat-of-the-pants intuitions. Currently I have no way to calibrate the time depth of Hokan or Hokan-Oto-Mangean.

I started out research in the context of an on-going large project, the Chicago Project, for which I actually worked in 1961.

I participated in the creation of two large research projects. First was the PLFM in Guatemala, whose research program I directed from 1970 through 1979. PLFM trained 66 Mayans in linguistics, and produced 19 lexical databases of 12 different languages. 12 PLFM dictionaries have been published. 9 dissertations were produced by PLFM linguists writing about the languages they helped document lexically.

Second was the PDLMA or Snake Jaguar Project in Mexico, whose research program I [will have] directed from 1994 through 2010. PDLMA linguists have produced 25 large lexical databases; 16 will be publishable by mid 2011 or before. 12 dissertations have been written by PDLMA linguists writing about the languages they documented lexically. Since the languages documented by the PDLMA are largely highly endangered, a program to train speakers as linguists has not been a part of the PDLMA’s working plan.

Stimulated by the example of the Chicago Project, I have planned, and seen to the carrying out of, dialect surveys either for languages or research regions:

- Mayan languages of Guatemala [100 towns]: 1970-1975
- Wasteko [20 towns]: 1983-1986
- Totonakan [30 towns]: 2003-2005
- Sapotekan [100 towns]: 2007-2009

For summer 2010, since available research funds need to be all spent by the end of August, dialect surveys are planned for

- Chiapas Soke [20 towns]
- Yokot’an (Tabasco Chontal) [5 towns]
- Gulf Nawat [10 towns]
- Orizaba Nawat1 [30 towns]

For every survey, a survey instrument has had to be created; each has had between 600 and 1300 entries. The creation of these questionnaires has been carried out by me, sometimes in collaboration with colleagues.
For every language I have documented, or have directed the documentation of, I have created a list of all possible root shapes, and then proceeded to go through that list testing for whether the root exists and if so what its properties are. This research technique was created by Norman McQuown, and was applied originally to Mayan languages.

Stimulated by the ethnobiological work of Brent Berlin and his colleagues and students, I started collecting ethnobiological terminology and working out taxonomical systems as early as 1967.

The linguists on the PLFM [1971-1979] for the most part did not like the task of working out the taxonomical system that the ethnobiological terms were embedded in, and results were mixed.

In the PLFM research regime, sound symbolism was not systematically investigated.

By the mid 1980s I started doing ethnomedical research on Wasteko and Nawa, but -- by oversight -- did not make this research module a standard task on the PDLMA until 1997. Nevertheless, ethnomedical work has been done on all the languages documented by the PDLMA for which the lexical database is deemed complete.

What lexical databases have I created?

Tenejapa Tzeltal [with Brent Berlin, 1964, ca 4000 entries]
Mocho* [1967-1968, ca 5500 entries]
Tuzanteco [1867-1968, ca 4500 entries]
Ixil [1968-1970, 3 dialects, ca 8000 entries]
Tancanhuitz Western Wasteko [1969, 1980-1987, ca 11k entries]
Tantoyuca Central Wasteko [1969, 1980-1987, ca 11k entries, not yet databased]
Soteapan Gulf Sokean [with Val Himes; 1993-2009, ca 14k entries]
Santa María Chimalapa Western Soke [1994-2010, ca 20k entries]
San Miguel Chimalapa Western Soke [with Heidi Johnson; 1994-2010, ca 14k entries]
Sayula Mije [with Rich Rhodes; 1994-2009, ca 14k entries]

I contributed to and started
Juchitán Sapoteko [with Gabriela Perez Baez, 1995-1996]
Matlatzinka [with Nancy Koch, 1979, 199x]

What etymological dictionaries did I put together?

Mayan (MED): I started collecting Mayan cognate sets in 1959, starting from more than 200 that McQuown had discovered. I had a slip file by 1970 with several hundred cognate sets. During the 1960s I sent out to fieldworkers, the Mayan Vocabulary Survey, a list of 1435 items, and got back about 8 responses. The year of data collecting in 1970-1971 was based on a 2500-item list that I had assembled in the late 1960s. The work of the PLFM was intended to produce materials apt for the MED. In the 1990s OKMA conducted a survey in Guatemala and collected 1500 items from each Mayan language, more or less the equivalent of the MVS. In 2002, using funding from FAMSII, I created a database of about 3000 entries embodying cognate sets, with reconstructions, relevant to branches of the family or to proto-Mayan. This was posted on FAMSII’s website in 2003. It is still incomplete, with regard to data actually collected by me.

Mije-Sokean (MSED): Between 1959 and 1963 I assembled about 500 cognate sets, with reconstructions, based on published data. In the late 1980s Søren Wichmann assembled about 1000 MS cognate sets, with reconstructions. Both my work and Wichmann’s as yet unpublished data were available to me and Justeson when we deciphered epi-Olmec hieroglyphic writing. The work of the PDLMA has been to document the MS languages lexically, and that has been achieved. In a year or so, I plan to start assembling a Mije-Sokean etymological dictionary, with help from John Justeson.

Sapotekan (S&ChED): I read Swadesh’s 1947 article on “proto-Zapotec” while an undergraduate. In 1962 I read Upson and Longacre’s “proto-
Chatino” article. At that point I created a card file with Sapotekan cognate sets. In 1965 I collected 100-word Swadesh lists in five towns near Oaxaca. In the early 1980s I got copies of Fernández de Miranda’s comparative Sapoteko notes. As part of the work toward my 1986 study of Oto-Mangean verb markers I thoroughly analyzed the verbal systems of about 8 forms of Sapoteko and Chatino. By 1989 I had created a large card file of ca 600 cognate sets for Sapotekan. All this preparatory work made possible the level of decipherment of Sapoteko hieroglyphic writing that we achieved, starting in 1992. In 1993 I created the document “Proto-Zapotec Reconstructions” and this has been updated almost yearly. When the PDLMA decided in 1995 to document 9 forms of Sapoteko and 2 of Chatino, we created the possibility of assembling an etymological dictionary of Chatino, Sapoteko, and Sapotekan. The dialect survey of Sapoteko and Chatino carried out 2007-2009 surveyed 100 comunities, collecting about 1300 items in each. After the close of the PDLMA’s research at the end of summer 2010, the Sapotekan dictionaries and the results of the dialect survey will be gone over for the assembly of cognate sets. Participants in this effort will be myself and at least two of the PDLMA linguists who worked on Sapotekan languages.

[In Fall-Winter 2009-2010 I assembled a ShoeBox database with about 600 Uralic etymologies, mainly based on Pekka Samallahti’s article “Historical Phonology of the Uralic Languages”]

[Starting in 2007 I started assembling Celtic etymologies in a ShoeBox database. By June 2010 this database had 4550+ entries.]

What did I discover?

Relational nouns [1960].

Positional roots [1960].

The fact that, given enough good data, it is possible to reconstruct whole proto-languages [or their analogs] if the time depth of the documentation is less than 7000 years [1963-1986].

That the sound symbolic component of a language’s lexicon and phonology looms rather more bulky that I had imagined (about 10%) [mid 1980s].
That ethnobotanical nomenclature accounts for about 10% of a language’s lexicon [mid 1980s].

That ethnozoological nomenclature accounts for about 10% of a language’s lexicon [mid 1980s].

Apparently, I haven’t discovered anything new since 1986!

Well, starting in 1991 I discovered that decipherment is a blast! You get to make up languages, and then show that they were written, after all!

xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
the end