

## Fifty years of comparative linguistics and language documentation in Meso–America

Terrence Kaufman

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***

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**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.

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**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.









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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 Making monosyllable dictionaries of Mayan languages, Escritura Maya 2.3(6).134-138.**

**1968, pub. 1969 Teco - a new Mayan language. IJAL 35.154-174, April.**

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

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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.

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.

**1969 Some recent hypotheses on Mayan diversification. 145 pp. Working Paper no. 26a, Language-Behavior Research Laboratory, University of California, Berkeley, November.**

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.

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**1970-1979: PLFM [self-funded]**

*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'utujiil [2 types], Q'anjob'al, Popti7, Chuj [2 types], Q'eqchi7 [2 types], Poqomam, Poqomchii7, 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 Nawala<sup>7</sup> K'ichee<sup>7</sup>, 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**

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**1970 Mayan Dialect Survey (Cuestionario Linguístico para la Investigación de Variaciones 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 Nordliche 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.**

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 teach at pitt 1971-2011  
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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: Nawalaꞑ K'icheeꞑ, Tecpaꞑ Kaqchikel

Nora England: N Mam of San Ildefonso Ixtahuacaꞑ, S Mam of San Juan Ostuncalco

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

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

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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'icheeꞑ, Kaqchikel, and Southern Mam.

Back in the states I spent a lot of time on Romani study.



**1974 Idiomas de Mesoamerica, 121 pp. Seminario de Integracio\*n Social Guatemalteca, Publication No. 33.**

**1974ms Ixil Dictionary, computer printout, University of California, Irvine, 500+ pp.**

**1974ams 'Some issues, substantive and otherwise, in the classification of the Mayan languages', 15 pp. Read at AAA annual meetings, 1974.**

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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 Arbeitsstelle 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.

**1975, pub. 1976 (with Lyle Campbell) A linguistic look at the Olmecs. American Antiquity 41.80-89.**





1979 *Phoneticism in Mayan Hieroglyphic Writing*. SUNY Albany. Presentation (with William Norman): "Reconstruction of proto-Cholan". **1979, pub. 1985 (with William Norman) An Outline of Proto-Cholan Phonology, Morphology, and Vocabulary, pp 77-166 of Phoneticism in Mayan Hieroglyphic Writing, ed. by Lyle Campbell and John Justeson, Publication No. 9, Institute for Mesoamerican Studies, SUNY Albany.**

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

1979 *Fourth Mayanist Workshop*. Palenque (Mexico). presentation: "Methodological Guidelines for the Reconstruction of proto-Mayan".

***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







**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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In winter 1985 I was at Berkeley as a visiting scholar at the  
 Department of Linguistics and Center for Latin American Studies.

[Brent Berlin, and I, and Aryon Rodrigues planned and got funded by  
 NSF and NEH, the South American Indian Languages Documentation Project  
 (SAILDP), whose aim was to create computerized databases for as many  
 as possible of the native languages of South America. The order of  
 types of data was [a] published, [b] unpublished but gettable, and [c]  
 material that would be supplied by workers currently in the field; no  
 independent field work was envisioned. A lexical questionnaire of  
 about 1800 glosses was used; a grammatical questionnaire based on the  
 Lingua Descriptive Studies Questionnaire was also used.]

In summer 1985 I did not go to the field.

During fall 1986 I worked on comparative Oto-Mangean

**1985, pub. 1986 (with Lyle Campbell and Thomas Smith-Stark)  
 Mesoamerica as a linguistic area. Language 62.530-570, 1986.**

*1985 presentation: American Indian Linguistics Circle, UC Berkeley. "Contributions  
 to Comparative UtoAztecan Phonology".*

*1985 presentation: Linguistics Department, U Arizona, Tucson. "The Current State  
 of Linguistic Classification in Meso-America".*

[1985ms 'The languages of South America (including geographical South  
 America, the Antilles, and Lower Central America) according to genetic  
 units (stocks, families, language areas, and isolates)']

1985 (with Brent Berlin and Aryon Rodrigues) South American Indian  
 Languages Documentation Project Questionnaire. Contains a lexical  
 section of ca. 1500 items, of which ca. 1000 are basic, world-wide

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*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 "Epi-Olmec Decipherment and Mixe-Zoquean Comparative Linguistics." Public lecture sponsored by Department of Linguistics, University of Oregon. 4 May 1993.*

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

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*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.

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**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**

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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*n (Zavala)
TECcol	colonial C Soke of Tecpata*n (Zavala)
AYA	Gulf Sokean of Ayapa (Suslak, Oliverio)
TEX	Gulf Sokean of Texistepec (Reilly, Berezna)
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*n (Pe*rez Ba*ez, 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*n and Loxicha (Beam de Azcona)
ZAN	Papabuco Sapoteko of Zaniza (Operstein, Bakshi)
LCH	W Sapoteko of Lachixi*o (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



1994 *Twelfth Advanced Seminar on Hieroglyphic Writing, UT Austin 11-19 March*  
 1994. Presented (with John Justeson) "An Independent Test of Epi-Olmec  
 Decipherment". 1.25-hour presentation, Mar 16. Also presented (with John  
 Justeson) "Some Initial Results in the Decipherment of Zapotec Hieroglyphic  
 Writing". 15-minute presentation, Mar 19.

1994 (TK & John Justeson) presentation: 'Grammatical analysis of the Zapotec  
 inscriptions and its implications for the nature of Zapotec writing'. Northeastern  
 Conference of Mesoamericanists. Brown University.

1994 (John Justeson & TK) presentation: 'Chronological analysis of the preclassic  
 inscriptions of Monte Alban'. Northeastern Conference of Mesoamericanists. Brown  
 University.

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**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.

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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

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**1996, pub. 1997 (John Justeson & TK) A newly discovered column on La Mojarra Stela 1: a test of the Epi-Olmec decipherment, Science 277.207-210 [July 11, 1997] [posted in a longer version in Science Online on Science's webpage.]**

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

1996 (John Justeson & TK) presentation: 'The language of the epi-Olmec hieroglyphic texts'. *Linguistic Society of America Annual Meeting: symposium Reports from the Project for the Documentation of the Mixe-Zoquean and Zapotecan Languages*, San Diego, January 5, 1996.

1996 Sixth Spring Workshop on Theory and Method in Linguistic Reconstruction, UPgh. Give lecture "The Prehistory of the Nawa Language Group".

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

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In fall 1998 I had a sabbatical leave and I spent the month of October in Catemaco working on the lexical database for MAR.

**1998ms Sixteenth Advanced Seminar on Hieroglyphic Writing, UT Austin 13-21 March 1998. Presented (with John Justeson) "The Stela Texts at Xochicalco: Chronology, Parsing, and Semantics". 1.25-hour presentation, Mar 20.**

1998 *Seventh Spring Workshop on Theory and Method in Linguistic Reconstruction, UPgh. Give lecture on "The Prehistory of Nawa and the Stela Texts of Xochicalco".*

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.*

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***In 1999 the PDLMA started working on Tepewa, Nawa, and Popoloka***

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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

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**states of Puebla and Veracruz, 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.*

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**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,

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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, pub. 2006 Terrence Kaufman and John Justeson. The History of the Word for 'Cacao' and Related Terms in Ancient Meso-America, pp 117-139 in "Chocolate in Mesoamerica: A cultural History of Cacao", edited by Cameron McNeil for University Press of Florida. 2006.**











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.

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*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 resarch 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.*

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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) eymological 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 Greenberg'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









