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**A descriptive grammar of Huastec (Potosino dialect)**

**Edmonson, Barbara Wedemeyer, Ph.D.**

**Tulane University, 1988**

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A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF HUASTEC  
(POTOSINO DIALECT)

A DISSERTATION  
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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
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## FOREWORD

The journey to this dissertation has been a long one, and began over twenty years ago. Curious to find out what so interested my husband--then in the throes of translating the Popol Vuj--I enrolled in an introductory course in linguistics taught by the late Jack Fischer. It was enormous fun. I did every problem in Gleason's workbook and longed for more. The following semester Jack taught a field methods course with the aid of a Koasati informant, Bel Abbey, and I was really hooked.

Life and a job intervened, and it was not until ten years later that I re-entered the university as a doctoral candidate in anthropology. Life continued to get in the way of science, but I was encouraged and supported by many people to achieve my final, if somewhat tardy, goal. I would like to thank them now.

My thanks go first to John L. Fischer, who introduced me not only to linguistics, but to scientific methodology in anthropology and to the fascinating problems of cross-cultural analysis. Then to Francesca Merlan, professor of linguistics when I formally entered graduate school. The notes from her introductory course could stand, almost without editing, as a first-rate textbook. Subsequent courses were equally challenging. Francesca was followed by Thom Smith-Stark, who saw me through a reading course in Mayan linguistics and into the field. I have consulted with him a few times in person, and more

frequently by mail since he left Tulane. Thom was followed by Will Norman and then by Judith Maxwell, who guided me through the writing of this dissertation, though it is not, I suspect, the grammar she would have chosen to write.

I would like also to thank the other faculty members of the anthropology department, whose courses in everything from human adaptation to African prehistory were invariably challenging. In addition to Bel Abbey I am grateful for having had the opportunity to work with two other linguistic informants at Tulane--Antonia Osorio del Valle on Nahuatl and Eluterio Poot Yah on Yucatec Maya.

My fellow students in anthropology provided much support to someone playing the dual role of student and faculty wife. I would particularly like to thank Susan Knowles-Berry and Geoffrey Kimball, linguists both, Walter Witschey, computer man extraordinaire, and Kathy Carlin, Golden Bough historian.

There are many people outside this university who deserve thanks. I am grateful to Joseph Greenberg, who kindly offered to give me a reading course one summer when my husband was teaching at Stanford. He undoubtedly influenced my approach to grammar as requiring a more surface-level analysis than was then fashionable.

Doris Zemurray Stone and her late husband, Roger Thayer Stone, provided a vital four-day escape to the country where I could study uninterrupted for the doctoral preliminary exams--this in addition to their many other acts of friendship and encouragement.

My time in the field was made easier by many people. The



Castillo family housed and fed me during the time I spent in Aquismon. Unable to fathom why I wanted to leave home and family to study Huastec ("Does it have a grammar? Fíjase!"), they nonetheless helped me find my first linguistic informant, Francisca Vidales. I learned a great deal about life in a small Mexican town from the Castillos. When I first went to Mexico to scout a field work location Guy Stresser-Pean offered advice and encouragement, and was directly responsible for my meeting Janis and Marshall Alcorn, who lived in the small town of San Antonio, about 25 miles from Aquismon. Informed by Stresser-Pean that I lived nearby, the Alcorns found me on first inquiry. The initial delight of talking English after months of Spanish and Huastec was followed by the greater pleasure of a new friendship. I spent time in San Antonio with Janis, who was at work on the ethnobotany of the Huasteca, and it was through her that I met Candido Hernandez, my second informant and friend.

In the summer of 1980, when I was desperately looking for a place to stay, I was rescued by three American nurses, members of the order of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary--Elizabeth Remily, Kathy Zimmer and Joanna Bruno. They had just opened a clinic in San Antonio, and though they had only three rooms, one of them used for patients, they took me in for a month. Through them I made contact with what can only be called the missionary Catholic underground in the Huasteca. It was a memorable experience to meet so many dedicated people. Through the Sisters I met Dr. Randle Coker, now resident in Prairieville, Louisiana. He provided me with copies of many out-of-

print publications of Raymond Larsen, a friend of his, and he calls from time to time to chat about our mutual passion, the Huasteca.

For rest and recreation during my time in the field I thank Merle Greene Robertson and the late Bob Robertson, of Palenque, Joann Andrews of Merida, and Jeffrey Wilkerson and Vicky Velasco, of Tecolutla.

This work would not have been possible without the aid of the excellent dictionary of Huastec published by Raymond Larsen. I regret that he did not write a grammar as well. I also benefitted greatly from the earlier work by Manuel Andrade, and from the microfilms and publications of Norman McQuown.

I spent, all told, about thirteen months in the field, recorded about 108 hours on tape and filled about 2100 notebook pages during my sessions with Francisca and Cándido. The majority of my time was spent in formal elicitation, the balance in recording and transcribing about 70 typed pages of texts. None of this would have been possible without the assistance of the-Shell Foundation, the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, and the Tinker Foundation. The Center for Latin American Studies at Tulane was instrumental in helping me get these grants.

To the many Huastecs of my acquaintance, especially the Santos Cruz family, with whom I lived one summer, and the family of Maria Catarina Orta, who were always ready to provide a mug of coffee and a respite from the stress of life in the field, I can only say  
k'ak'na:mal ya:n.

My greatest debt is to Cândido and Francisca. When I think of Francisca, awake since 4 AM, standing up to fight sleep so that she could answer another dozen questions, or of Cândido, walking an hour and a half in the rain to keep his appointment with me, I marvel at my good fortune.

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Finally, none of this would have been possible without the support and affection of my family--my children Evelyn, Ann and Sallie, my son-in-law Dave Davis, my grandchildren Evan, Garnet and Robin, and, above all, my husband Ed. My debt to him is beyond measure.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

A	Set A (ergative) clitic	
ABS	absolutive suffix	//-lek//
ADD	additive suffix	//-čiy-//
ABSTR	abstractive suffix	//-tal//
AFFL	afflictive suffix	//-:be//
ALT	alternating action	
AP	antipassive	
AUX	auxiliary verb	
B	Set B (absolutive) clitic	
BEN	benefactive	//-č-//
BL	body language suffix	//-lek//
C	consonant	
CAUS	causative	//-θ-// or //-b-//
Cl. Sp.	Classical Spanish	
COLL	collective suffix	//-lom//
COM	completive	
DIR	directional suffix	//-hin//
DIS.PPL	distributive participle	
DM	derivational morpheme	
EMPH	emphatic suffix	//-iç//
EP	epenthetic sound	
GEN	generic suffix	//-la(:)b//



GEO	geographic suffix	//-čal//
GNT	gentilic suffix	//-i(:)b// or //-a:b//
IMP	imperative	
INC	incompletive	
INCH	inchoative	//-b-// or //-m-//
INS	instrumental	//-v̄b//
INST	instantaneous suffix	//-v̄:naʔ//
INTENS	intensive adjective	
INVAR	invariant form	
IRR	irrealis suffix	//-ak//
ITER	iterative pronoun	
LOC	locative affix	//-tam// or //tam-//
Nah.	Nahuatl	
NOM	nominalizing suffix	
ORD	ordinal suffix	//-či:l//
PASS	passive	
PAT	patientive suffix	//-ne:l//
PEJOR	pejorative suffix	//-maʔ//
PER	perfect	
PERDUR	perdurative suffix	//-e// or //-ye//
PL	plural	//-čik//
PLACE	place suffix	//-nib//
POL	polite suffix	//-la:b//
POSS	possessive suffix	//-il// or //-al//
PPL	participle	//-v̄θ// or //-v̄č//

PROGR	progressive auxiliary	//k'wahat//
PUT	putative suffix	//-ana:ʔ//
QUAL	qualifier suffix	//-k'i// or //k'e//
QUOT	quotative suffix	//-kwaʔ//
RECIP	reciprocal	
REDUP	reduplication	
REF	reflexive	
REP	repetitive	
REP.PPL	repetitive participle	
RES	restrictive suffix	//-kaç//
r.i.	rising inflection	
Sp.	Spanish	
SPEC	speculative suffix	//-kočik//
s.o.	someone	
s.t.	something	
STEP	step-, adoptive suffix	//-leʔ//
SUBJ	subjunctive	//ka-//
SUBOR	subordinator	//ti-//
SUPPL	suppletive	
TIMES	iterative suffix	//-i:l//
TS	thematic suffix	
TVR	transitivizer	
V	vowel	
VOC	vocative suffix	//-e:ʔ//

## TRANSLATIONAL CONVENTIONS

Throughout this manuscript there are a very large number of sentence examples, with interlinear morphemic and free translations. Since it is impossible to introduce every aspect of the grammar simultaneously, the most frequently employed translational conventions are noted below. Full explanations, of course, will be given in the relevant chapters.

The examples follow the format suggested in Language 1984, 60:692-93 for morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, with the exception that the Huastec is not in italics. Hyphens in the Huastec examples correspond to those in the morpheme glosses. Lexical items are in lower case; grammatical categories are abbreviated and written in capitals. Where two or more terms are required to gloss a single morpheme, they are separated by periods; e.g., come.SUPPL.COM `come, suppletive completive`. On occasion two Huastec elements may have a single English gloss; in that case they also are separated by a period; e.g., ti.we?e:l `yesterday`.

Huastec has ergative and absolutive clitic pronouns. Following Mayanist convention, these are referred to as Set A (ergative) and Set B (absolutive), and are numbered 1,2,3 (singular) and 4,5,6 (plural); thus a pronoun in an example may be glossed A1 (first person singular ergative), A4 (first person plural ergative), B2 (second person singular absolutive) and so on. Two particles, ti, which is a

subordinator and also means 'in, at', and ka, the subjunctive and imperative particle, elide with the clitic pronouns, with the vowel of the particle and the initial glottal of the clitic pronoun being lost. Except where germane to the discussion, the deleted vowel is not indicated. That is, ka + ?in is written k-in, not \*k(a)-(?)in.

Huastec verbs consist, minimally, of a CVC- root plus //-V-// or //-VC-// thematic suffix, plus incomplete, complete or perfect inflectional suffix. Throughout these are indicated as separate morphemes. Sometimes a thematic suffix may be deleted in certain circumstances; the deleted morpheme is enclosed in parentheses. Vowel deletion and occasionally consonant deletion occur; the deleted elements are in parentheses. Verb roots are often followed by derivational morphemes (-DM-) which add different shades of meaning. When relevant to the discussion these are hyphenated and glossed separately. Elsewhere they are simply included as part of the verb stem. The citation form of verbs is root + thematic suffix, e.g. t'ah-a?- 'do it' or k'al-e- 'go'.

There are a small number of defective verbs which occur only in the incomplete (e.g., ešom 'continue', ne?e? 'go', ta:l 'come', k<sup>M</sup>a?al 'have it', le:? 'want it'); these receive only an English gloss; the absence of -TS- (thematic suffix) or -INC, -COM, -PER (incomplete, complete, perfect) will indicate these invariant forms. One frequent verbal form has two related, but distinct, usages. When k<sup>M</sup>ahat is the progressive auxiliary it is glossed PROGR; as a stative it is translated 'exist' or 'be.placed'.

Where relevant to the discussion noun derivations are indicated (e.g., čuk-om `sew-NOM`); elsewhere a derived noun receives a single gloss (e.g., čukom `seamstress`). Other noun and verb suffixes will become clear in context. The table of abbreviations used lists all morpheme glosses and any other translational conventions employed.

In most examples, for morphological clarity, Huastec words are written out fully in order to avoid a plethora of parentheses, e.g., neʔeʔ ka `go to` instead of ne ka, or ne(ʔeʔ) ka, or nana:ʔ `I` instead of naʔ or na(na:)?. Regular deletions and more or less automatic sound changes are discussed in Chapter 3, Morphophonemics.

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## CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

It is dawn, calm and cool beneath the trees. I am awakened by the racket of the chachalacas, the ʔek<sup>M</sup>et. They shriek at the top of their lungs for about half an hour. When they stop, the silence echos. I am reminded of the Mayan family I live with. They sleep in the patio (ʔele:b) these hot nights, and in the middle of the night first one, then another, then the entire family wakes; they laugh and chat quietly with each other for a while, and abruptly are silent. The ʔele:b, the 'outside', is part of the k'ima:ʔ, a word which means 'house', but in the sense of household or homestead; it encompasses the house; the patio, which is carefully cleared of plants and debris; the wa:l ʔele:b or 'face of the outside', the thick stand of useful plants and shrubs that borders the patio; and the more extensive swept yard that continues down the hill toward the well. ʔata: also means 'house', but is limited to the house proper. An ʔata: may belong to anyone or no one, it may be possessed (ʔata:hil) or not. A k'ima:ʔ is always inherently possessed.

Reluctant to confront another steamy day, I nonetheless rise and take the path down the hill into the bushes. Returning, I wash with water from a plastic bucket carried from the well last night, and reflect on how fortunate the Santos family are to have a well on their property. Other people I know have to carry water from streams a half a mile away during the dry season.

Santos appears to say that breakfast is ready. What he actually says is g'ehkaθ ?am bakan 'made are the tortillas'. I walk up to the house. It is an apsidal structure of poles (ba?te?) bound together by bičim g'a:h (horse rope) vines, and thatched with palmetto (?apag'). The wide roof overhang shelters the lakab, or skirt, which is bordered by a row of stones. Outside the stones, so placed as to catch the runoff from the roof, is the be:l ha?, the road of the water. The overhanging thatch has been trimmed evenly and the sheltered lakab is a cool and shady extension of the living area. There is a main entrance (the wi?leb or 'mouth') in the center of one long wall and a small back door so that one can slip out if an unwelcome visitor appears.

Inside (?alta:) it is dim. There is a pool of sunlight by the open door and a little light filters through the unplastered walls. There is a minimum of furniture--a couple of small tables (me:ša), a few wooden chairs with woven rush seats (laktem--made at the jail in Ciudad Santos), and a wide bed platform (ge:y) made of sticks laid across a low frame. There is a small altar at one end of the room, with a picture of the Virgin of Guadalupe and a few candles. The walls are hung with clothing, household objects, and sacks of this and that. The ceiling is black with soot (tapap) from the open fire. Strands of soot-blackened cobwebs quivering in the rising heat present a major fire hazard in a house built entirely of sticks and thatch.

At this hour the younger children are sitting about eating; the older daughter, Demetria, helps her mother. (The native word for 'child', k<sup>w</sup>ito:l, has passed into local Spanish; the slang term for

'kids' is 'cuitolillos'.) Elena is making the morning tortillas (bakan). Last night I helped her shell the corn; the term for shelling is ?išiyal. She used her thumbs to push the grains off the ears, and when her thumbs tired, pressed with a corncob. After the corn was shelled Elena poured it into a pot (pač) of boiling water to which a handful of lime (tay) had been added. This process is called in Mexican Spanish 'poniendo nixcón', by Elena k<sup>w</sup>agiyal. Early this morning she washed the corn in several waters to remove the tay?; it is now gabal, in Spanish 'nixtamal', or hominy. Elena has a waist-high stove made of slabs of rock resting on posts and plastered with adobe. A pottery griddle (takab) is built into the stove. Hanging from the ceiling above are the ears of seed corn; the soot from the fire keeps the bugs off. Elena has already ground the leached corn with a metal grinder mounted on a post. This is ge?eyal. She now regrinds it on a stone metate (ga?) to make the masa or dough (k'oye). There is a separate term for this second grinding: šiča:l. She regrinds some of it for a third time to make the texture even finer. This is yutiyal. The masa flows from under ?okob or 'arm' of the grinding stone in smooth, glistening ripples. Elena picks up a small ball of masa and walks over to the stove, patting the ball into a tortilla (bakan) as she goes. She is g'a:t'al k'al ?am bakan, tortilla-patting. She lays the finished tortilla on the griddle, turns over two or three half baked tortillas, walks back to the metate, fine-grinds a bit more masa, and makes another tortilla as she pads barefoot back to the stove. Her pace is smooth and unhurried, but there is no wasted movement.

I have never seen Elena idle during the day, but she never appears rushed. She is always calm and pleasant, never angry. She is shy and timid. I suspect that she has tuberculosis, but she is afraid to visit the local clinic. We are friends now, but when I first came to live here she was wary of me. One day when she and the children stopped by as I was working I asked the names of various colors. She described one shade of bright blue as pilo?. Trying to establish the limits of this color, I widened my eyes, which are blue, and asked if they were pilo? also. Elena jumped back, much startled, and gasped ?ehiti:l ?an mi?u? 'she looks like a cat!' We all laughed then, but I realized that her shock undoubtedly related to belief in the evil eye, which is widespread. There is a word, wale:kliyal, which means to cast the evil eye or bewitch someone. Mestizos are notorious for staring openly at other people; this is also called wale:kliyal and is considered extremely bad manners.

Elena's appearance is typical of the local women: small, sturdy body, delicate, doll-like face with beautiful bone structure and high cheekbones. The planes of her face tend to focus on her mouth, which characteristically is somewhat pursed, with the lips pushed forward. (I think of my informant's insistence that to pronounce some words correctly, "Your tongue needs to be shoved against your teeth.") Elena wears the native costume: black, knee-length, wrapped skirt (lakab) and overblouse (koto:n) of printed cotton, fashioned with nipped-in waist, leg-of-mutton sleeves, and ruffle at the yoke. On her head is the petob, a coronet of brightly colored wool yarn, held in place by combing the hair up over it and tucking it in firmly. The

effect is topheavy and makes her face seem even more diminutive. The petob is obligatory; I never saw a native woman without one, except Elena returning from her bath. Gold earrings (g'amug') are also obligatory, so much so that when a couple marries the groom must give his bride new earrings, as well as a ring. Not too surprisingly, these items of dress are treated like body parts, and are inalienably possessed.

Compared to Elena in her gay colors Santos seems dull. He wears heavily patched store-bought pants and shirt, and sandals with tire soles. When he leaves the house he will put on a hat. Though the word for 'hat', šumpel:l, is derived from Spanish 'sombrero', it, too, is inalienably possessed. The boys wear a motley assortment of shorts and shirts; Demetria wears a dress Elena made for her. It is cut just like a koto:n, with puffed sleeves and ruffle, but falls to the knee.

I asked Elena how many tortillas she made in a day for her family of eight. She laughed; it had never occurred to her to wonder. She had made at least fifty already that morning and half the family had not yet eaten. She will make more fresh tortillas for the midday meal. We decided finally that she made perhaps 150-160 tortillas a day, at a cost of a minimum of three hours' labor.

Since we ate all the leftover beans (g'anak<sup>m</sup>) for supper last night, along with reheated tortillas (čuč'u:m), for breakfast Elena has scrambled eggs (θak čok) with onions (sebo:ya, a Spanish word) and chile (?iç). We are lucky to have eggs. They were payment to Santos last night for doctoring someone's horse; he has a modest

reputation as a kind of low-level curer. Large numbers of medicinal plants grow in the wa:l ?ele:b and in the k'áalumla:b, the kitchen garden which Elena tends. Care of the cornfield, the ?ale or milpa, is Santos' responsibility, as is the growing and harvesting of the sugarcane, which provides a cash crop. The family also have a few fruit and coffee trees; cups of weak coffee heavily sweetened with raw sugar accompany every meal. The oldest son, Juan Daniel, adds to the family income by repairing the ubiquitous battery-operated radios and an occasional tape player. The children appear well fed and healthy, and their days have a pleasant pace and ease, but this is a life close to the bone. There is no money for emergencies.

Since the first corn crop has been harvested, Santos has some free time. He is building a new house, for extra space and storage. Unlike the main house the new one is completely round--a ǵ'ubu? ?ata:. The style is an old one and has probably existed in this area since before the Conquest. Santos has done all the work himself, aided by Juan Daniel. The framing and roof supports are up and he has begun to thatch the roof. The smell of the recently cut ?apaǵ' palm is spicy and unforgettable. It drifts in the door to compete with the odors of fresh baked tortillas, wood smoke, and coffee.

Using a tortilla as a kind of edible spoon, I finish my eggs and surreptitiously feed the last bit of tortilla to the watchdog Ba?im ('Mole': so-called because she buries food). I complement Elena on her meal, "Leh kuhu (very tasty)", say "K'ak'ásmal ya:n (thank you very much)", and leave.

My papers all arranged, tape recorder at the ready, I wait at my table under the trees for Cándido to arrive. He, too, has been up since dawn feeding his animals and tending to his fields. It's already hot when he walks up the path, and he is sweating. We brush fingertips in the native gesture of greeting. "Tahk'ane:nek (it has dawned)", I say. "Tahk'ane:nek." "Leh k'ičal (it is very humid)", I say. "Leh mičal (it is very hot)", he replies: as a correct speaker of the language he must repeat, but not exactly.

We seat ourselves. It is quiet now. The pigs have stopped battling and the chachalacas are silent. The children are off gathering firewood. Santos is away cutting more palmetto for the roof. Elena is sweeping the lower yard, so that her entire k'ima:? will be neat and orderly. Our session begins: "How do you say \_\_\_ in Huastec?"

\* \* \*

Huastec is a Mayan language spoken today in a small area of southeastern San Luis Potosí and northern Veracruz, Mexico. It is of particular concern to linguists because it is isolated in both time and space from other members of the Mayan family.

Interest in the relationships among the Mayan languages dates back to shortly after the Conquest. Fox (1978:4-8) has written an excellent survey of the history of Mayan linguistic studies. He cites Ximénez (c. 1701-1703) as the first person to be seriously interested in comparing the various Mayan languages. Hervas (1800) and Vater (1808, reprinted in Adelung 1970) continued the comparative tradition, emphasizing the resemblances among the Mayan languages for



which they had been able to obtain grammars or vocabularies. Vater was instrumental in introducing Tapia Zenteno's 1767 grammar of Huastec to Europe. Gallatin (1845) attempted the first subgrouping of the Mayan languages. Other early workers included Scherzer (1855) and Brasseur de Bourbourg (1857), who is known primarily as a collector of aboriginal and early colonial documents. De Charencey (1872) published the first major article assembling evidence for sound correspondences among Mayan languages. Berendt (1876); Brinton (1890, 1901) in articles based on Berendt's collections and fieldnotes; Stoll (1884); Gatschet (Campbell 1973); Seler (1960) and Sapper (1897) continued the comparative tradition. Fox (1978:8-12) presents a detailed discussion of their classifications. Gates (1920) attempted to group the languages for which he had data into Quiché-Pocom, Tzeltal-Chorti, and Yucatecan sub-groups. Kroeber (1939) criticized this classification and supplied one of his own (see Fox 1978:17). Halpern (1942) attempted a partial reconstruction of Proto-Mayan phonology and used this as the basis for his classification of the languages. Swadesh (1953, 1960, 1967:99-100) applied the technique of glottochronology in his classification of the Mayan languages. His theory and methods have been criticized (e.g. by Zimmerman 1966:29, fn. 1), and few subsequent scholars have made much use of the technique. A seminal article by McQuown (1956) presented an overall classification of the Mayan languages, based on lexical comparisons and sound correspondences, which has, in a sense, provided the framework and impetus for all subsequent revisions. Kaufman (1964, 1968, 1969, 1972, 1974) has proposed a series of classifications,

successively altered to incorporate new data as our knowledge of the different languages has increased. In his most recent papers he divides the languages into six major groups: 1. Huastecan (with two closely related dialects, Potosino and Veracruzano), 2. Yucatecan, 3. Cholan-Tzotzilán, 4. Chujean-Kanjobalan, 5. Mamean-Ixilán, and 6. Quichean-Kekchian. Grimes (1971), Robertson (1977), and others have proposed revisions of Kaufman's classification. Campbell (1977:74-101) discusses the history of the classification of Mayan languages at some length, and makes revisions of his own.

In spite of the many differences of opinion about details of classification, there has been general agreement on the place of Huastec in the Mayan family. However much the other languages have been lumped together or split apart, Huastec has always been considered to be a language separate from all the others, its only close relative being the now-extinct Chicomuceltec. Kroeber (1944), basing his analysis on word lists collected by Sapper (1897) and Termer (1930), demonstrated conclusively that Chicomuceltec, spoken in an area near the Mexico-Guatemala border, was more closely related to modern Huastec than to any other Mayan language. He published only a brief illustrative list of Chicomuceltec words, with their Huastec equivalents. Zimmermann (1955, 1966) included all the lexemes published by Sapper and Termer, previously unpublished material from their field notes, and a two-page document titled 'Confesionario en lengua cotoque que es la que se habla en Chicomucelo' (Zimmermann 1966:58-59). He used Tapia (1767) and Andrade (1946) as his sources for Huastec and was also aided in his comparisons by Raymond Larsen.

The closeness of the relationship established between Chicomuceltec (Zimmermann's Cotoque) and Huastec precludes the possibility that Chicomuceltec separated from Huastec before Huastec itself diverged from the other Mayan languages. The split is a much more recent one; estimates of its time depth vary between 400 (Zimmermann 1960) and 1000 years (Manrique 1979).

The order in which the various languages diverged from ancestral Mayan has also been much discussed. Most of the earlier writers cited above thought of Huastec as the first to have split off, or as the language most closely related to Proto-Mayan. Swadesh (1960) presented comparative word lists (derived from his basic vocabulary of 100 words) for 23 languages and computed their divergence from each other by the technique of lexicostatistics. He believed that the relationship between the different Mayan languages could more properly be compared to a net than to a tree, since the often simplistic tree model implies that once a group has split off from the protostock it has no subsequent relationship with any other group which might split off later. However, he did divide the languages into two major groups, labeling them in terms of their lexeme for 'man': Inik (Huastec and Chicomuceltec) and Winik (the remaining languages). Campbell (1977:100-101) argues that the initial split was between Eastern and Western Mayan, Western Mayan only subsequently differentiating into Huastecan, Cholan-Tzotzilán, and Yucatecan. Kaufman (1976), however, posits an ancestral homeland of Proto-Mayan speakers in the Cuchumatán highlands of Guatemala. He believes that Proto-Huastec speakers began to move out of this area about 2200 BC,

migrating north and west to the present-day Huasteca, which they reached sometime between 1500 and 1000 BC. About 1600 BC Eastern Mayan began to separate from Late Proto-Mayan, and not until somewhere between 1400 and 1000 BC, when Yucatec in turn split off, can the language remaining in the homeland be called Western Mayan. Manrique (1979) argues an almost diametrically opposed view. He sees the Huasteca about 2500 BC as the homeland of the Proto-Mayan. Speakers of the protolanguage began to spread south along the coast. Eventually this continuous band of Mayan-speakers was separated into two groups by the incursion of Mixe-Zoque speakers across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. The Proto-Huastec remained in the homeland area; the other Mayan speakers moved south into the mountains of Chiapas and Guatemala and east into the Yucatan Peninsula, the various modern languages differentiating over time. Manrique suggests a glottochronological date of 1000 years for the separation of Huastec and Chicomuceltec, and proposes that the arrival of the Totonacs in the area of Tuxpan was the cause of the Chicomuceltec migration south to the Grijalva. Zimmermann (1960:68-69), on the other hand, suggests the possibility that the Chicomuceltec arrived in their present location during the time of the Spanish Conquest, possibly being brought into the area as mercenaries by the Spanish.

Despite this emphasis on the central importance of Huastec, there is relatively little information about the language. A few very early doctrinas and catecismos are known, and we know that some early priests spoke the language. Writing in 1575 to King Philip II of Spain, the third archbishop of Mexico, don Pedro de Moya y Contreras

(1877a:195-218) named the two clerics in his diocese who spoke Huastec: Luis Olid de Viedma and Joan de Mesa. Of the latter Moya y Contreras notes that he arrived from Spain as a child, was reared in the Huasteca, in the province of Pánuco, was a very good grammarian, and had a better knowledge of Huastec than anyone else. Juan de la Cruz (1571:18) agrees, and says that it is only because Juan de Mesa had scruples about writing a doctrina in Huastec that he himself had undertaken to do so. Moya Y Contreras himself visited the Huasteca in 1579 (Moya y Contreras 1877b). His letter to Philip II is not very informative about the Huastec or their environment, since it deals mostly with matters of ecclesiastical policy and the need to suppress widespread Indian revolts. However, he does urge the use of native-born clergy, who know the Indian languages, rather than recent arrivals from Spain. Viñaza (1892), in his bibliography of the indigenous languages of America, lists a number of titles, some of them still extant today. Probably the most important early work was the *Arte, Vocabulario, Catecismo, Confesionario i Sermones Huastecas* by Fray Andrés de Olmos (1491-1570 or 71) (Viñaza's Cat. No. 773). This work was known in the late seventeenth century to be preserved at Ozoloama, near Tampico (Pilling 1895: 44), but has since disappeared, possibly in a church fire. Viñaza also cites the following works, now either lost or in private hands:

Cat. No. 12. 1548. *Doctrina Cristiana en Lengua Huasteca* por Fr. Juan de Guevara, de la orden de S. Agustín.

Cat. No. 279. 1722. *Arte del idioma Guasteco proporcionado en todas sus reglas con el de Antonio de Nebrija*. Compuesto por el Br.

Severino Bernaldo de Quiros, estudiante teológico. (51 pp., including 27 pp. of vocabulary; in private collection.)

Cat. No. 291. c. 1730. *Conversación en Lengua Huasteca, o frases y coloquio en sentencias, en español y en huasteco.* (With a modern transcription in 43 pp. by J. F. Ramírez.)

The earliest work still extant, written in the Veracruzano dialect, is the *Doctrina christiana en lengua Guasteca* (Juan de la Cruz 1571) (Cat. No. 50).

Carlos de Tapia y Zenteno wrote a series of books on the Huasteca that included descriptions of its geography, and vocabularies, grammars, catechisms and confessionals in the Potosino dialect (Tapia c.1746, 1747, 1767) (Viñaza's Cat. Nos. 322, 323, 355). The 1746 manuscript (dated by McQuown [1984] to 1727) is in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library in Chicago. The 1747 version apparently omitted a section of geographical description, and, according to Viñaza, the 1767 version, which is still extant, was a reprinting of the 1747 book.

A number of subsequent writers, in particular Alejandro (1870, 1890), Lorenzana (1896), Álvarez y Guerrero (1897), and Pimentel (1903), based their work on that of Tapia. The late nineteenth and early twentieth Centuries saw a number of comparative word lists that included Huastec, among them Stoll (1884), Sapper (1897, 1912) and Termer (1930). Schuller (1923, 1924, 1924-27a, 1924-27b, n.d.1) published several brief ethnographic and linguistic notes about the Huastec of San Luis Potosi. An extensive collection of material on the Huastec language and people, including photographic prints and

negatives, is in the Schuller manuscript collection at Tulane's Latin American Library (Schuller, n.d.2).

It remained for Andrade (1946, 1971) to do the first serious modern work on the language. His field notes, which include phonological, grammatical, and lexical material, cover both the Veracruzano and Potosino dialects of Huastec. The major source for the Potosino dialect is Raymond Larsen. His work includes the *Vocabulario Huasteco del Estado de San Luis Potosí* (1955), a brief paper (1953) on Huastec pronouns, a translation of the New Testament (1971), and, in conjunction with Eunice Pike, a major paper on Huastec intonations and phonemes (1949). There is also a short paper by Kay Larsen (1949) on Huastec baby talk. The Summer Institute of Linguistics has published under Larsen's direction four brief story books (*Instituto Lingüístico de Verano* 1950, 1952, 1959a, 1959b) and a primer for teaching Huastec and Spanish (I.L.V. 1972a), a history of Mexico in Huastec and Spanish (I.L.V. 1966), and stories from the Books of Moses, in Huastec and Spanish (*Biblioteca Mexicana del Hogar*, 1972b). The Secretaría de Educación Pública (SEP) has issued a color-illustrated textbook for teaching reading and writing. Except for the introduction, it is written entirely in Huastec (Flores T. and Méndez R. 1981). A manual for the Mass, written entirely in Huastec, was issued in 1978 under the imprimatur of Dr. Jose Melgoza Osorio, Bishop of Ciudad Valles (Melgoza O. 1979).

Under the direction of McQuown, a computerized version of Huastec texts (McQuown 1975) and a Huastec text word concordance (Redd 1975), based on Andrade's research, have been issued in the University of

Chicago Microfilm Series. Also in the Series is a Huastec morpheme list (McQuown 1976a) based on McQuown's research. McQuown (1976b) published a brief Huastec autobiographical text with notes on grammar. He also wrote a grammatical sketch of the language for the Microfilm Series (McQuown 1980), based on Andrade's work and on his own field research. A longer grammar is promised (McQuown 1982), but has not yet appeared. Finally, McQuown (1984) has written a descriptive sketch grammar of Huastec for the Supplement to the Handbook of Middle American Indians. A short article on Huastec pronouns, based on research in Tanlajás and Aquismón in the spring of 1975, has been published by Schwede (1983). Ochoa Peralta's masters thesis (1984) is a short grammar of the Veracruzano dialect, with special emphasis on the phonology and morphology of the language. Her doctoral dissertation will also be on the Huastec language (Ochoa P., personal communication, 1983). Finally, Kaufman has been engaged for many years in the compilation of a Huastec dictionary. His unpublished materials have been utilized in a paper on pre-Columbian borrowing involving Huastec (Kaufman 1980) and in two other recent studies (Justeson et al. 1985; Campbell, Kaufman and Smith-Stark 1986).

No major ethnography of the Huastec has been done. Perhaps the fullest early reports are those of Cabrera (1876), Stresser-Péan (1948, 1952, 1953a, 1953b, 1959, 1979a) and Laughlin (1969). Others who have written on aspects of Huastec culture include Staub (1919, 1926, 1940), Schuller (1923, 1924-27a, 1924-27b), Gonzales Bonilla (1939), Guiteras-Holmes (1948), Meade (1948b), Bonfil Batalla (1969), Brown (1971, 1972), Ochoa Salas (1972a, 1972b, 1979a, 1979b), and



Seltzer (1980). Caso (1953) presents evidence for the ancient calendar system among the Huastec and lists some possible calendric names in an early manuscript. Cordry and Cordry (1968) discuss Huastec dress, especially the distinctive petob or coronet headdress worn by women, and have some good pictures of the native costume. Two recent articles by Alcorn (1981a, 1981b) on the ethnobotany of the Potosino area contain significant cultural information, and her dissertation (1984), especially Chapters 2 and 3, contains a wealth of information about Huastec life, customs and beliefs, especially as they relate to plant use.

In immediate pre-Conquest times the Huastec occupied a large area, encompassing most of the state of San Luis Potosí, southern Tamaulipas, northern Veracruz and parts of Queretaro and Hidalgo (Laughlin 1969; Bernal 1953). Compared to archaeological research that has been done in the rest of Mexico, the Huasteca has been little studied. Archaeological remains from the area have been described by Fewkes (1907, 1919), Staub (1921, 1933, 1940), Müllerried (1924), Muir (1926), Noquera (1931, 1945), Beyer (1934), Pollock (1936), Meade (1939a, 1942, 1948a, 1953), Saldivar (1943), Ekholm (1944), Du Solier (1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1950), Du Solier, Krieger, and Griffin (1947), García Payón (1950, 1971), Corona Núñez (1953), Stresser-Péan (1953b, 1964, 1975), MacNeish (1947, 1954), Piña Chan (1959), Hangert (1960), N. Troike (1962), Marquina (1964), Ochoa S. (1970, 1971, 1972a, 1972b), R. Troike, N. Troike, and Graham (1972), and Michelet (1975, 1979). By far the most complete summary of the archaeology of the Huasteca is Ochoa (1979b). De la Fuente and Gutierrez S. (1980)

is an exhaustive catalogue of Huastec stone sculpture. Wilkerson (1976, 1979, 1980) believes that the regional tradition in the Tajín area through the Classic is closely related to that described by the above authors, and concludes that the builders of the monumental site at Tajín were Huastec speakers. He considers there to be no evidence of Totonac presence prior to the epoch of the destruction of Tajín (c. AD 900) and that the subsequent Totonac incursions into the area forced the Huastec north to their present location. Ochoa (1979b:8, fn. 55) disagrees, believing that Wilkerson bases his argument too heavily upon isolated traits.

For a summary of what is known of the physical anthropology of the ancient and modern Huastec see Ochoa (1979b:87-106), Faulhaber (1948-49, 1953, 1955), Romero (1958, 1965), López (1965) and Romano (1965, 1974).

Some ethnohistoric information is available about the Huastec. Cortes and the later conquistadors travelled through the Huasteca, and chroniclers such as Motolinía, Durán, and Torquemada make passing reference to the Huastec. Toussaint (1948) has a useful history of the area, with reference to these early documents; see also Meade (1939b, 1948b), Rodríguez (1932, 1942, 1943a, 1943b), Chipman (1967) and Stresser-Péan (1971, 1979b). Ochoa's (1979b:109-151) coverage of the ethnohistorical sources is very thorough. Sahagún's informants described the Huastec in some detail (Anderson and Dibble 1950-75, Book X: Chapter 29; León-Portilla 1959, 1965). They were short and broad-headed, with filed teeth that looked like squash seeds, and were notorious for their addiction to pulque and for going about naked

under their cloaks. Their weaving was highly prized in trade. Ochoa (1979b:101) believes that the Huastec were not fully integrated into the Mesoamerican superarea until the time of the Late Classic. However, all evidence suggests that at the time of the Conquest they participated fully in the Mesoamerican cultural tradition. While a few Huastec towns paid tribute to the Aztec empire, most were independent (Barlow 1949). These towns were not organized into larger political units, such as the Spanish found in central Mexico or Michoacán. De Witte (1914:221-222), writing in 1554 to Charles V of Spain, notes that "...in the Huasteca, which is the land of Pánuco, ...each hamlet was independent and had wars and alliances with whichever other seemed best, like the principalities of Italy." Although their culture may not have achieved the complexity of the civilizations of the Central Plateau of Mexico, there is no suggestion that the Huastec were a cultural group in the process of decline at the time of the arrival of the Spanish.

The Conquest changed all this. Pressure from the Spaniards forced the Indians back into the mountains and foothills of the Sierra Madre Oriental, leaving much of the fertile coastal plain to be exploited by the Spanish. Many Huastecs were sent as slaves to the Antilles (Chipman 1967), large numbers died as a result of the introduction of Old World diseases, and others succumbed to the repressive tactics of the Conquistadors and Spanish landholders. De Witte (1914:222) tells of one incident:

The Huasteca, as I said, did not have an overall ruler, but local lords only, and today there are not even those, because all the lords of that area were gathered together in a

corral, tied up, and burned; and thus all this land is lost, although it was the most populated beneath the sun, as evidenced by the ancient buildings we found there.  
(Translation mine.)

See also Cuevas 1914, Rodríguez 1932, 1942, 1943a, Meade 1939b, 1950, Toussaint 1948, and Stresser-Péan 1953a for a discussion of the Huastec at the time of the conquest. They report that the noble and priestly classes were abolished; the peasantry remained. De Witte (1914:223) railed against this injustice to the ruling class:

...and today, since we have taken away their slaves, the poor lords are poorer even than the poorest peasant. And I will not refrain from telling you what I have seen with my own eyes--that I saw the overlord of Meztitlán, in his own town, go out with his digging stick to work his land just like the poorest peasant of the town--and on seeing this, what had befallen him, my eyes filled with tears, so that I could scarcely speak to him. (Translation mine.)

The important distinction, then, became that between Mestizo--one who participated in the national, Spanish-derived culture--and Indian. The distinction became formalized in language: one was either indio (a pejorative term in Spanish) or gente de razón (a person of reason). Cabrera (1876: 87-93) reported this terminology a century ago and it is commonly used today by Mestizos. In talking to, rather than about, Huastecs, Mestizos use the term huasteco. Huastecs in turn have a dual terminology. In polite reference, and to their faces, Mestizos are called la:b 'wise, capable, blessed', with the extended meaning of 'Spanish', as in la:b ka:w 'Spanish language' or la:b ?e:m 'Spanish corn' (i.e., wheat). The pejorative term for Mestizos is ?ehék 'black, evil'. Huastecs refer to themselves as te:nek and to their language as te:nek ka:w 'te:nek word'. Kaufman (personal communication 1986) suggests that the term te:nek may be derived from

a combination of tehe:ʔ 'here' and ?inik 'man'. I wonder if the first term in the combination is not rather teʔen 'laugh'; pre-Columbian masks and statues from the area frequently have smiling or laughing faces, and it is characteristic of many modern Huastecs that even when their faces are in repose the lips are slightly parted so that the teeth are visible.

The relationship between the two groups today is analogous to that between Whites and Negroes in the United States South of, say, thirty years ago, with the exception that it is easier for a Huastec to 'pass', that is, to join the national culture by adopting Mestizo dress and customs and by learning to speak the Spanish language fluently. Conflict between the two groups persists today. Mestizo cattlemen encroach upon Huastec land, sometimes burning houses to move people off; there is little redress at law since local government is in the hands of Mestizos. Mestizo middlemen handle the sale of unrefined sugar and coffee, the region's main cash crops. The profit is mostly theirs. Huastecs distrust all Mestizos and do their best to have as little contact with them as possible. Horror tales are told of Mestizos who roam the backwoods areas in order to steal children. Even some of the most competent Huastecs I met are intimidated by Mestizos and feel powerless when confronted by directives from the national government, such as the recent pressure to move into centralized settlements. This is reflected in the frequent reference to other Huastecs as ?u ?at ǵ'ehwanta:l 'mis compañeros pobres' or 'my fellow poor ones'.

Most present-day Huastecs are small-scale farmers who live in scattered homesteads isolated from each other by stretches of secondary forest. There is a native term for this kind of residence pattern, a pluralized reduplicated form of the verb buk'uw 'to sow or scatter seed'--ʔu k'wahi:l buk'uk'u:lčik 'they live very scattered about'. For political purposes the homesteads are grouped into comunidades. The communities, in turn, belong to municipios, or townships. These are named after the main town center, which is the site of the weekly market and the focus of church-going on Sundays and fiestas. Few Huastecs live in the town center. Primary schools, in theory grades 1-6, but in practice ending at grade 4, serve the communities. Secondary schools exist only in the main towns. This means that Huastec children who live on remote farmsteads may have to walk 45 minutes or so to attend primary school, and an hour and a half or more to reach the secondary school. Few get beyond sixth grade. It is Mexican government policy to assign the newest graduates of the normal school system to teach in the most outlying areas, in Spanish. Teachers regard these first assignments as time serving and use every opportunity to leave the primitive living conditions of an isolated rural school for the joys of a long weekend in the Big Town (population perhaps 1500). One colleague who worked for a year in a rural area estimated that the primary school was closed for perhaps a third to half the time. This does not encourage fluency in Spanish.

The Catholic Church has taken an active role in the maintenance of the Huastec language. Continuing a tradition that began shortly after the Conquest, priests say mass, hear confessions and administer

the sacraments in Huastec. A missal printed in Huastec is available (Melgoza Osorio 1979). On the day of the feast of the Virgin of Guadalupe I attended a service at the church in Aquismón where the lengthy story of the encounter between the Virgin and Juan Diego at Tepeyac and of the Miracle of the Roses was read in Huastec, alternately by the Spanish priest and the Huastec sacristan. In another church, in San Antonio, the priest has encouraged his parishioners to compose hymns in Huastec, in traditional native musical style.

According to the 1970 Census (Novena Censo General 1979), there were 64,884 speakers of Huastec in the States of San Luis Potosi and Veracruz. Of these, 11,832 were monolingual. There were about 1000 speakers of Huastec in Tamaulipas and a few thousand others scattered about the country. The Veracruzano dialect of Huastec is spoken in the area around Tantoyuca, Tantima, Tancoco, Chinampa and Chontla, and the Potosino dialect is spoken in Aquismón, Ciudad Santos (formerly Tancanhuitz), Huehuetlán, San Antonio, Tampamalón and Tanlajás (see map, p. 23). In 1970 there were about twice as many monolinguals in the Potosino area (see Table 1).

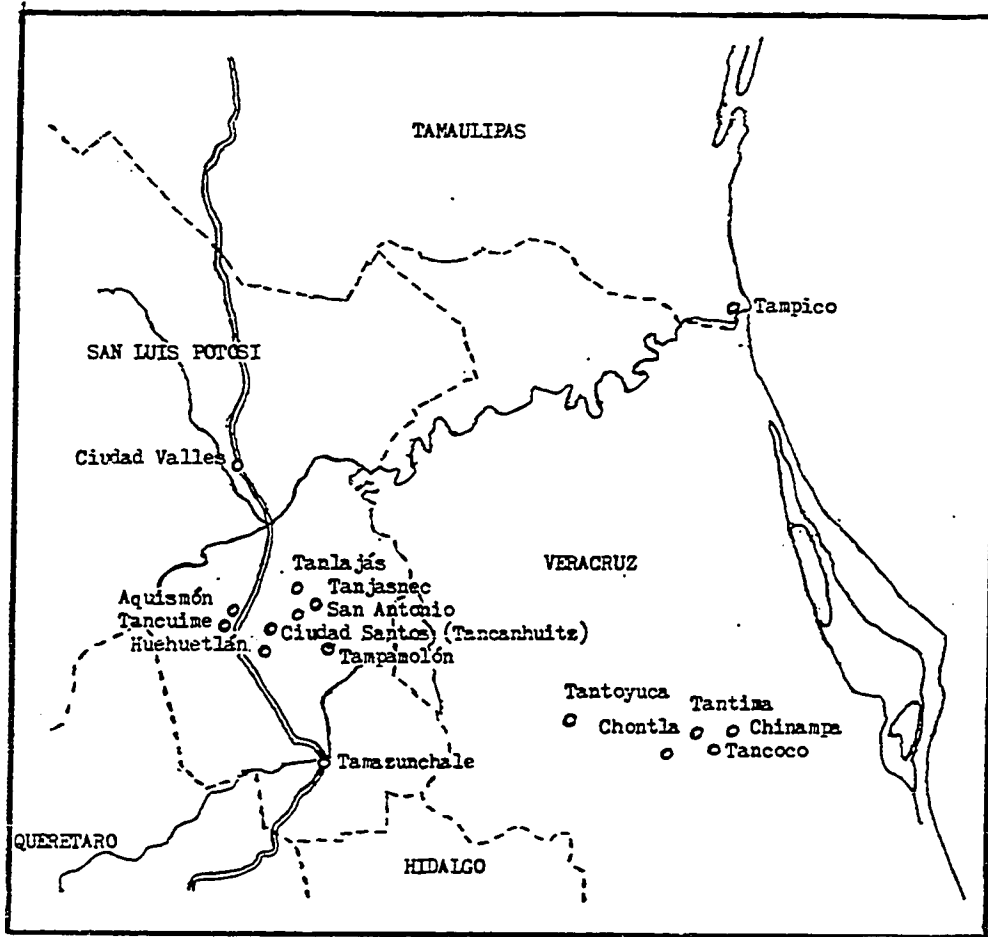
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TABLE 1

PERCENT MONOLINGUAL HUASTEC SPEAKERS

	Total	Monolinguals	% Monolingual
San Luis Potosí	38,239	8,561	22.4
Veracruz	26,645	3,271	12.3

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POTESINO AND VERACRUZANO HUASTEC TOWNS



My decision to study the Potosino dialect was made because the greater number of monolinguals, nearly a quarter of the total, suggested more isolation and linguistic conservatism and less influence from Spanish. Parenthetically, I should note that I was staying with a Huastec family near the municipio of San Antonio at the time of the 1980 census; my bilingual assistant was one of the census takers. My strong impression from talking with him and others is that the census notably underestimates both the number of Huastec speakers and the number of monolinguals. In the first place, relatively few persons are both literate in Spanish and fluent in Huastec and thus able to do accurate interviews. Secondly, a very modest knowledge of Spanish, enough, perhaps, to manage buying and selling at the market, qualifies one as bilingual. Finally, Huastecs are extremely shy and fearful of strangers, even Huastec-speaking strangers, and when someone unknown approaches they tend to flee into the woods or hide in their houses. Although the Mexican government attempts to use local people as interviewers, and though even the most isolated households are members of a community, it is easy to see why many persons, especially young children, may not have been counted.

The census, however, was perforce my guide in choosing a field location. Table 2 lists the municipal districts of San Luis Potosí in which one-fourth or more of the inhabitants speak Huastec (1970 Census).

TABLE 2  
MUNICIPIOS WITH ONE-FOURTH OR MORE HUASTEC SPEAKERS

	Total Inhab.	Speak H.	% Speak H.	Monol.	% Monol.
Aguismón	23,480	10,897	46.4	3,497	32.1
Ciudad Santos	13,387	3,554	26.5	308	8.7
Huehuetlán	8,432	4,004	47.5	995	24.8
San Antonio	5,496	2,032	37.0	330	16.2
Tampamalón	9,322	2,533	27.2	669	26.4
Tanlajás	11,402	6,492	56.9	1,409	21.7

Huehuetlan, San Antonio and Tanlajas were difficult of access without a car. Ciudad Santos and Tampamalón are essentially trilingual townships, both having almost as many Nahuatl as Huastec speakers. Aquismón it was. I found lodging in the town proper with a Mestizo family and located a Huastec woman from Tancuime, a subsidiary rancho about 35 minutes walk away, to act as linguistic consultant. I lived in Aquismón from July 1978 until May of 1979, and again for three weeks in the fall of 1979. During my first field period I met a botanist resident in San Antonio, a small municipality about 13 miles from Ciudad Santos. I made two visits of a week each to San Antonio, to work with her guide and assistant, and returned to San Antonio in June and July of 1980 and again in the spring of 1983 to work intensively with him. Linguistic work with both Huastecs included standard elicitation sessions, most of them recorded, and the

collection of extensive texts, also recorded. The texts were transcribed, checked with the informants, and translated while I was in the field.

Although both my assistants are fluent in Spanish, Huastec is their preferred language. My first assistant, Francisca Vidales, was the product of an atypical marriage, in that her mother was Mestizo and her father Huastec. Her mother died when Francisca was very young and she was raised by her father's family. She is married to a monolingual Huastec. They have a rather extensive property outside of Tancuime, with several structures in the typical thatched roof, palisaded wall style. However, Francisca's aim in life is to build a house of blok (concrete block) and lámina (corrugated iron) that she can lock up. She is in her forties, and has eight children, all of whom her husband delivered because they could not afford a midwife. The seven older children speak Spanish, and two, who live in Monterrey, have made the move into national Mestizo culture. Although Francisca no longer wears the typical Huastec woman's costume, she is considered, and considers herself, to be a prominent spokeswoman for the local Huastec community. She was even approached by a radio station in nearby Ciudad Valles to do contraceptive commercials in Huastec!

Once a week Francisca and her husband make a sacahuil, the giant 3-1/2-foot-long tamale which is the local festival specialty, and take it to sell at the Saturday market in Aguismón. Francisca spends the day selling bowls of sacahuil and cups of coffee (grown and roasted by the family). She talks to everyone who passes by, in Spanish and in

Huastec, and knows all the local gossip. It is the social event of her week, and it was sometimes hard for her to return to earth and the monotony of the early linguistic sessions. Most of these early sessions took place in the room I rented in Aquismón; later I often walked out to her house. Although there were more distractions there, it was a pleasanter place to work and much spontaneous linguistic information emerged. Francisca has a remarkable facility for speaking her language slowly and distinctly without distorting the sounds--a quality of great aid to the beginning student of a language. She was also a mine of information about Huastec customs and beliefs, and an inexhaustible source of stories and tales of olden times, learned from her father, a curer of some note, and from her grandfather. An excellent raconteur, she would change her voice to fit the characters in her stories. I remember particularly an exchange between the culture hero zakam kwito:l, the magic boy, and his evil grandmother, who spoke in a creaky witch's voice. Francisca's stories always contained lots of conversation, which fits easily into the parallel couplet style characteristic of Huastec discourse.

Wife: You're back.

Husband: I've returned.

Wife: Are you hungry?

Husband: I'm starved.

Wife: Do you want to eat?

Husband: I want to eat.

Narrator: Bueno (good).

Alwa:ç (good).

My second assistant, Cándido Hernandez, is also an atypical person, as I suspect all good anthropological informants are. He is literate in Spanish, can read Huastec in two different linguistic notations, has taught himself to read simple English, and writes to me in a mixture of the three languages. He owns a fairly sizeable property about 1-1/2 hours walk from San Antonio. The oldest of seven living children, all of whom live in the municipio of San Antonio, he is in his forties, but is not married. A goddaughter of his deceased parents keeps house for him, and neighbors and siblings help out when needed. I met him first when I was living in Aquismón and worked briefly with him then. During the summer of 1980 and the spring of 1983 we saw each other almost daily for six to eight hour sessions, and in the summer of 1983 he visited me in New Orleans for three weeks. As an assistant Cándido was a delight--very intelligent, interested in our work, and able to think abstractly about his language. At one point late in our acquaintanceship, when I had spent much of the session making up Huastec words of the sort, 'I have already caused it to become sweet for you', in order to clarify the ordering of derivational and inflectional morphemes, Cándido gave the following neatly parallel job descriptions: "As for me, my job is as an untangler of words, and you, your job is as a fabricator of Huastec words."<sup>1</sup>

---

1. nana:ʔ ʔu ʔe:y t-in wil-om-∅ ka:w  
 I A1 job SUBOR-B1 untie-AP-INC word

tata:ʔ ʔa ʔe:y t-it ø'ehk-om-∅ te:nek ka:w  
 you A2 job SUBOR-B2 make-AP-INC Huastec word

Cándido was apprenticed to a noted curer in his youth, but gave this up when he decided that he did not want the onus of being in a profession a little too closely related to witchcraft. However, his training left him with a considerable knowledge of plants and a fund of myths and stories. Some of these he would tell me, justifying the discrepancy between his Catholic religion and the ancient Huastec myths by placing the myths `ante el diluvio'--before the Flood. Other stories he kept to himself, with the comment, "We Huastecs don't tell everything we know." He taught me a lot, however, about his language and about the Huastec way of life.

K'ak'na:mal ya:n, Francisca, k'ak'na:mal ya:n, Cándido.

## CHAPTER 2

## PHONOLOGY

1.0 Phonemic Inventory. Twenty-six consonant phonemes can be distinguished in Huastec. Three of these, /d/, /g/, and /f/, occur only in Spanish loan words, and two, /r/ and /s/, only in Spanish loans and onomatopoeic Huastec words (karara:l 'the sound of snoring', sinini:l 'the buzz of a mosquito'). There are five vowel qualities and vowel length is phonemic. Table 3 presents a chart of the consonant phonemes, with Spanish loan phonemes in parentheses, and Table 4 lists the vowel phonemes.

TABLE 3

## ARTICULATORY CHART OF POTOSINO HUASTEC CONSONANT PHONEMES

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Alveo- pal.	Velar	Lab. Velar	Glottal
Stops and Affricates							
Plain	p	t	ʧ	ʧ̣	k	kw	
Glottalized		tʰ	ʧʰ	ʧ̣ʰ	kʰ	kʰw	ʔ
Voiced	b	(d)			(g)		
Resonants							
Fricatives		(f) θ	s	ʃ			h
Nasals	m	n					
Lateral		l					
Flap		r					
Glides	w			y			

TABLE 4

## HUASTEC VOWELS

	Short			Long		
	Front	Central	Back	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u	i:		u:
Mid	e		o	e:		o:
Low		a			a:	

2.0 Phonemic Description. I will confine myself to a discussion of phonemes in native Huastec words. Since my main informants were all fully bilingual, they usually gave borrowed words their Spanish pronunciation, and I do not have enough data from monolingual Huastec speakers to document the phonetic changes undergone by Spanish words in the speech of monolinguals. See McQuown (1984) for a fuller discussion of phonemes in Spanish loan words.

### 2.1 Consonants.

2.1.1 Plain Stops and Affricates. The plain stops and affricates other than /ʔ/ are unaspirated before vowels and unreleased before consonants of the same point of articulation. They are usually aspirated lightly before other consonants and heavily phrase finally. They may occur initially, medially and finally. Although most of the examples that follow are single words, conditioning factors operate across word boundaries. The entire stop-affricate series is pronounced forward in the mouth. With /t/ [t̚] and to some extent /ç/



[tʃ], part of the blade as well as the tip of the tongue may protrude slightly between the teeth. As one assistant, FV, phrased it, "The tongue has to be stuck against the teeth." Final /p/ is usually aspirated, but in some two-syllable words where stress falls on the first syllable, final /p/ is partially voiced and unaspirated. There appears to be a degree of free variation here, both between speakers and with the same speaker at different times. Medial /t/ is usually unaspirated before /tʃ/ and /tʃ/. Initially /tʃ/ is almost [s]. Again, there is variation depending on circumstances such as careful vs. rapid speech or position in the utterance. In the examples that follow [.] indicates syllable division. The plain stops and affricates with their allophones and examples are:

/p/	[ph]	/___	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{C} \\ \text{-bilabial} \\ \# \end{array} \right\}$	[tʃph.ɕIn] /tepɕin/ `it went out`
				[ma:ph] /ma:p/ `coyal palm`
[b]		/CVCV__#		[wat.əb] /wát'ap/ `corn gruel`
[p]		/elsewhere		[pat.əl] /patal/ `all`
				[map.ɕy] /mapuy/ `closed it`
				[t'ap.me:l] /t'apme:l/ `becomes sticky`
/t/	[th]	/___	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{C} \\ \text{-dental} \\ \text{-alveolar} \\ \text{-alveopal} \\ \# \end{array} \right\}$	[kIth.kism] /kitki:m/ `carried on shoulders`
				[kɕth.bəʔ] /ketbaʔ/ `seated s.o.`
				[pa:th] /pa:t/ `thread`
[t]		/elsewhere		[tɕʔ] /teʔ/ `tree`
				[kɕt.II] /k'util/ `nest`
				[ʔaɕ.ət.ɕikh] /ʔaɕ'atɕik/ `heard`
				[ʔah.ət.nəʔ] /ʔahatnaʔ/ `sang it`

/ɕ/	[ɕ <sup>h</sup> ]	/___	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{C} \\ \text{-alveolar} \\ \# \end{array} \right\}$	[liɕ <sup>h</sup> .pən] /liɕpan/ `slipped` [ha:ʔ.ɪɕ <sup>h</sup> ] /ha:ʔiɕ/ `that is it`
[s]	/#___			[sal.əb] /ɕalap/ `mind, thought`
[ɕ]	/elsewhere			[ʔɕɕ.ɛ.yəɪ] /ʔɕɕeyal/ `gathers wood`
/č/	[č <sup>h</sup> ]	/___	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{C} \\ \text{-alveopal.} \\ \# \end{array} \right\}$	[ʔuč <sup>h</sup> .biy] /ʔučbiy/ `compelled s.o.` [k <sup>w</sup> i:č <sup>h</sup> ] /k <sup>w</sup> i:č/ `fresh corn tamale`
[č]	/elsewhere			[čuč.ʌw] /čučuw/ `nursed`
/k/	[k <sup>h</sup> ]	/___	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{C} \\ \text{-palatal} \\ \# \end{array} \right\}$	[pak <sup>h</sup> .θəʔ] /pakθəʔ/ `big` [la:k <sup>h</sup> ] /la:k/ `stew pan`
[k]	/elsewhere			[ko:ʔ] /ko:ʔ/ `caretaker` [la:k.ɪl] /la:kil/ `stew pan, p.f.` [θak k <sup>w</sup> ɪn.i:m] /θak k <sup>w</sup> ini:m/ `white cotton`
/k <sup>w</sup> /	[k <sup>wh</sup> ]	/___	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{C} \\ \text{-palatal} \\ \# \end{array} \right\}$	see below [θak <sup>wh</sup> ] /θak <sup>w</sup> / `stone`
[k <sup>w</sup> ]	/elsewhere			[k <sup>w</sup> ɛ.k <sup>w</sup> ɛŋ] /k <sup>w</sup> ek <sup>w</sup> en/ `hip`

/θak<sup>w</sup>/ is the only example of final /k<sup>w</sup>/ that I have been able to find. The following two sentences illustrate phonetic conditioning of /k<sup>w</sup>/ across word boundaries. The bracketed words appear in phonetic transcription.

ʔan mi:m<sup>l</sup>a:b ʔin ča:ʔ ʔan θak<sup>w</sup> tin k'ubak [θak<sup>wh</sup> tin]  
the lady she carried the stone in.her hand

ʔan mi:m<sup>l</sup>a:b ʔin pehaʔ ʔan θak<sup>w</sup> k'al ʔan pat'a:l [θak<sup>w</sup> k'al]  
the lady she broke the stone with the metal.thing

2.1.2 Glottal Stop. There are no vowel-initial words in Huastec. All vowels in second position are preceded by a glottal stop or other consonant. Initial glottal stop occurs only before vowels. The initial /ʔ/ of clitics and particles is weak and is frequently lost, especially in rapid speech when it is utterance medial. The initial /ʔ/ of noun and verb roots is strong and is never lost. Huastec has a productive reduplication process based on CVC verb roots which takes the form C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>-C<sub>1</sub>V:yal. If C<sub>1</sub> is a /ʔ/ it is reduplicated; from CVC-root /ʔal-/ we have /ʔaliyal/ 'looks for it' and /ʔalʔi:yal/ 'looks for it from time to time'. In final position /ʔ/ contrasts with its absence in five cases, four involving clitic pronouns or particles: /tu/ 'to my', /tuʔ/ 'gourd bowl'; /ta/ 'to your', /taʔ/ 'excrement'; /ti:/ 'truly', /ti:ʔ/ 'something scary'; /ʔi:/ 'no', /ʔi:ʔ/ 'exclamation of surprise'; /ʔani/ 'and', /ʔaniʔ/ 'thus'. The only consonant-glottal pairs permitted in final position are combinations of glide plus glottal: /wʔ/ and /yʔ/.

2.1.3 Glottalized Stops and Affricates. The glottalized stops and affricates occur in the same environments as the unglottalized series. Larsen and Pike (1949) found no example of /č̣/ word-finally; I have only one: /manče:č̣/ 'black-headed oriole'; /man-/ 'yellow', /-če:č̣/ 'the sound of its call'. Glottalized consonants before open juncture are followed by a voiceless echo of the vowel preceding the glottalized consonant. Medially before /a/, /ḳ/ and /ḳ<sup>w</sup>/ are voiced and unglottalized. /ç̣/ is voiced and unglottalized before /i/. The glottalized stops and affricates with their allophones and examples are:

/t/	[t <sub>h</sub> ʋ] /__#	[ʋu:t <sub>h</sub> ʋ] /ʋu:t/ `opossum`
	[t <sub>h</sub> ʔ] /elsewhere	[t <sub>h</sub> ʔay.əʔ] /t <sub>h</sub> ʔayaʔ/ `planted`
		[ʋu:t <sub>h</sub> .ɪɪ] /ʋu:til/ `opossum, p.f.`
		[pɛt <sub>h</sub> .nəʔ] /pet <sub>h</sub> naʔ/ `threw it away`
/ɸ/	[ɸ <sub>h</sub> ʋ] /__#	[le:ɸ <sub>h</sub> ʔ] /le:ɸ/ `ulcer`
	[dz] /__i	[dzil <sub>h</sub> .ɪʔ] /ɸ <sub>h</sub> ʔiliʔ/ `grasshopper`
	[ɸ <sub>h</sub> ʔ] /elsewhere	[ɸ <sub>h</sub> ʔu:š] /ɸ <sub>h</sub> ʔu:š/ `screech owl`
		[šɪɸ <sub>h</sub> .əɪ] /šɪɸ <sub>h</sub> an/ `bleed`
		[baɸ <sub>h</sub> .k <sub>h</sub> ʔš] /baɸ <sub>h</sub> k <sub>h</sub> ʔuš/ `receiver`
/č/	[č <sub>h</sub> ʋ] /__#	[če:č <sub>h</sub> ʔ] /če:č/ `oriole`
	[č <sub>h</sub> ʔ] /elsewhere	[č <sub>h</sub> ʔič.əɸ] /č <sub>h</sub> ʔičab/ `comb`
		[weč <sub>h</sub> .ɛ.č <sub>h</sub> ʔe:l] /weč <sub>h</sub> ʔeč <sub>h</sub> ʔe:l/ `creaking`
		[weč <sub>h</sub> .təɪ] /weč <sub>h</sub> ʔtal/ `noise`
/k/	[k <sub>h</sub> ʋ] /__#	[mʋn.ɛk <sub>h</sub> ʔ] /munek <sub>h</sub> ʔ/ `black sapote`
	[g] /V__a	[dzɪg <sub>h</sub> .a:č <sub>h</sub> ʔ] /ɸ <sub>h</sub> ʔik <sub>h</sub> ʔa:č <sub>h</sub> ʔ/ `girl`
	[k <sub>h</sub> ʔ] /elsewhere	[k <sub>h</sub> ʔh.ʌw] /k <sub>h</sub> ʔohow/ `harvested`
		[hɪk <sub>h</sub> ʔ.ey] /hɪk <sub>h</sub> ʔey/ `got scared`
		[bɪk <sub>h</sub> ʔ.lən] /bɪk <sub>h</sub> ʔlan/ `fell from a blow`
/k <sup>w</sup> /	[k <sub>h</sub> <sup>w</sup> ʋ] /__#	[θe:k <sub>h</sub> <sup>w</sup> ʔ] /θe:k <sup>w</sup> / `lizard`
	[g <sup>w</sup> ] /V__a	[yag <sub>h</sub> .wəʔ] /yak <sup>w</sup> ʔaʔ/ `grabbed it`
	[k <sub>h</sub> <sup>w</sup> ] /elsewhere	[k <sub>h</sub> <sup>w</sup> e:t <sub>h</sub> ʔ] /k <sup>w</sup> e:t/ `broom`
		[θɪ.k <sub>h</sub> <sup>w</sup> i:k <sub>h</sub> <sup>w</sup> ʔ] /θɪk <sup>w</sup> i:k <sup>w</sup> ʔ/ `owl`
		[lɛk <sub>h</sub> <sup>w</sup> .ɸɪy] /lek <sup>w</sup> ʔɪy/ `lit it`

2.1.4 Voiced Stop /b/. The unglottalized voiced stop /b/ contrasts with voiceless /p/. In this Huastec differs from other Mayan languages, which contrast /p/ with glottalized /b'/ or with both /p'/ and /b'/. /b/ has several allophones. Initially and before and after nasals it is a voiced bilabial stop, medially it is a voiced bilabial fricative, and word or phrase finally it is a voiceless bilabial fricative. Allophones and examples of /b/ are:

/b/	[ $\beta$ ]	/	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{V\_V} \\ \text{o/o C} \\ \text{[-nasal]} \end{array} \right\}$	[ $\beta$ i: $\beta$ .i:l]	/ $\beta$ ibi:l/	'root, p.f.'
				[ $\beta$ am. $\beta$ .l $\beta$ k <sup>h</sup> ]	/kamablek/	'teeth'
				[ $\beta$ ini: $\beta$ . $\beta$ ]	/ $\beta$ ini:kbe/	'adulter- ess'
	[ $\phi$ ]	/	__#	[ $\phi$ ah.I $\phi$ ]	/ $\phi$ ahib/	'fiesta'
	[b]	/	elsewhere	[bak. $\theta$ n]	/bakan/	'tortilla'
				[k'am.bIy]	/k'ambiy/	'deceived him'
				[ $\beta$ ẽ. $\beta$ .o: $\beta$ .na $\beta$ ]	/ $\beta$ ẽo:bna $\beta$ /	'studied'

2.1.5 Voiceless Fricatives. Three voiceless fricatives, / $\theta$ /, / $\beta$ /, and /h/ may occur initially, medially or finally. /s/ is rare in words of native origin; I have only one example of /s/ in medial position and none word finally. / $\theta$ / is a fortis interdental fricative, /s/ an apico-alveolar fricative, and / $\beta$ / an alveopalatal fricative. They each have one allophone. /h/ is fronted to [x] before /i/.

It is possible to distinguish articulatorily and morphophonemically between a strong and a weak /h/ in Huastec. When /h/ is the initial or final C in a CV(:)C root, it is strong, audible, and is never lost. I have found one minimal pair where final strong /h/

contrasts with final vowel: [tah] 'arrowpoint' and [ta] (/ti/ 'to' + /a/ 'second person ergative pronoun'); note also [taʔ] 'excrement'. With this one exception, all words in Huastec which do not end in another consonant or glottal have an underlying weak /h/, which is usually inaudible, but which surfaces before vowel-initial suffixes: [ʔə.t̪a:] 'house', [ʔin ʔə.t̪a:.hi] 'his house'; [ka.l̪.ɛ] 'went out', [ka.l̪.ɛ.hi] 'went out already'. In order to distinguish strong from weak /h/ in final position without resorting to super- or sub-scripts, I have chosen not to write the weak /h/ and to insert it by morpho-phonemic rule before vowel-initial suffixes. An alternative solution is, of course, to write the weak /h/, distinguish it with a subscript, and have a rule which states that weak /h/ --> ∅ / \_\_#. Larsen (1955, 1971) does not write final weak /h/; he also omits initial /ʔ/.

The fricatives with their allophones and examples are:

/θ/	[θ]	[θin̩.Iy]	/θiniy/	'scorpion'
		[baθ.nəʔ]	/baθnaʔ/	'knocked it down'
		[ʔiθ]	/ʔiθ/	'sweet potato'
/s/	[s]	[sin̩.I.ni:l]	/sinini:l/	'sound of a mosquito'
		[kʷis.Iʔ]	/kʷisiʔ/	'here, puppy!'
/š/	[š]	[šap.ə.t̪h]	/šapat/	'inserted'
		[niš.k̪.in̩]	/nišk'in/	'withdrew'
		[ʔh.e:n̩.čIš]	/ʔehe:nčiš/	'witch'
/h/	[x] / __i	[xil̩.Iy]	/hiliy/	'sour'
	[h] /elsewhere/	[hɔm]	/hom/	'incense'

[kʰh.ʌɸ] /kuhub/ `digging stick`  
 [ɕʰa:h] /ɕʰa:h/ `rope, vine`  
 [tʰh.la:ɸ] /tʰohla:b/ `work`

2.1.6 Nasals. Nasals may occur in any position. /m/ has a single allophone. /n/ has three allophones, a bilabial nasal [m] before bilabial stops /p/ and /b/, a palatal nasal [ɲ] before plain and labialized velars, and a dental nasal [n] elsewhere. The nasals with their allophones and examples are:

/m/ [m]	[ma:m] /ma:m/ `grandfather`
	[ɕam.ay] /ɕamay/ `cold`
	[ɕam.kʰɛɲ] ɕamkʰan/ `got cold`
	[ɕam.be:l] /ɕambe:l/ `becomes cold`
/n/ [m] /___ <sup>C</sup> [+stop +bilabial]	[wim.bɛ] /winbe/ `on the right hand`
[ɲ] /___ <sup>C</sup> [+velar]	[hɲp.kʰw] /hunkuw/ `equalized it`
[n] /elsewhere	[nak.əth] /nakat/ `long`
	[ɕʰe:n] /ɕʰe:n/ `mountain`
	[win.əɸ] /winab/ `right`
	[tʰn.tʰ.məθ] /tentemaθ/ `surfeited`

2.1.7 Laterals. /l/ may occur in any position; final /l/ is partially or completely devoiced. The flap /r/ occurs in words of native origin only medially in onomatopoeic or sound descriptive words. All examples of /r/ are listed below.

/l/ [l] /\_\_\_#                    [pat.əl] /patal/ `all`

[l̥]	/elsewhere	[lam]	/lam/ `lens, mirror`
		[kal̥.ɛ]	/kale/ `went out`
		[kal̥.pəŋ]	/kalpan/ `stretched`
/r/	[r] /V__V	[kar̥.ə.ra:l̥]	/karara:l/ `snoring`
		[kʰr̥.ʌ.rʌʔ]	/kʰororoʔ/ `brandy`
		[n̥Ir̥.I.r̥i:l̥]	/niriri:l/ `growl`
		[n̥ʂr̥.n̥õ:l̥]	/norno:l/ `grunt (pig)`

2.1.8 Glides. The glides may occur in any position. Final /w/ is devoiced in two-syllable words where stress falls on the first syllable. Final /y/ is always devoiced. The glides with their allophones and examples are:

/w/	[w̥] /CV̆CV__#	[pal̥.ʌw̥]	/páluw/ `bland, soft`
	[w] /elsewhere	[wiɸ <sup>h</sup> ]	/wiɸ/ `flower`
		[ɸaw̥.iy̥]	/ɸáwiy/ `twirled it`
		[ka:w̥]	/ka:w/ `word`
/y/	[y̥] /__#	[le:y̥]	/le:y/ `lightning flash`
	[y] /elsewhere	[ya:n̥]	/ya:n/ `much, many`
		[kʌy̥.o:ɸ <sup>h</sup> ]	/koyo:ɸ/ `rested`
		[bo:y̥.ɸʰn̥]	/boɸʰon/ `shrunk`

2.2 Vowels. Vowels in Huastec when long or in stressed syllables are similar to those of Spanish. In unstressed syllables they tend to be centralized. In a small number of interjections and onomatopoeic forms they are nasalized. All vowels, but especially /a/, are



laryngealized in the environment of glottals or glottalized consonants, and, when long, have a tense, creaky voice quality.

2.2.1 Stress. Stress enters into a number of phonetic processes involving vowel quality. Stress is predictable in Huastec, falling on the last long vowel of a word, or, if there are no long vowels, on the first vowel of the word. Except for clitic pronouns and a few particles, every word has one main stress, and, with one exception, no secondary stress. The exception occurs in words derived with the compound suffix *//-tala:b//* which forms unpossessed abstractive nouns (Chapter 8, Section 3.4.2). Because the final vowel of *//-tala:b//* is long, it receives primary stress. Secondary stress in words derived with *//-tala:b//* is on the syllable that was stressed before suffixation: /wálab/ `sin', /wàlabtalá:b/ `sinfulness'; /k'ániθom/ `someone who loves', /k'àniθomtalá:b/ `affection'. A number of derivational processes which involve stress changes will be discussed at relevant points in the ensuing chapters, and in Chapter 3, Morphophonemics. In the examples below stress is marked on the phonemic transcriptions when it is relevant to the statement of a rule.

2.2.2 /i/ and /i:/. After initial /ʔ/, before final /y/, or when stressed, /i/ is a front unrounded high vowel [i]. In unstressed syllables it lowers to [I]. /i:/ is a long front unrounded high vowel [i:]. Allophones and examples of /i/ are:

/i/ [i]	/ { #? _____ } { _____y# } { _____ [+ stress] }	[ʔi <sub>̃</sub> .a:l.Iš] /ʔilá:liš/ `curer'
		[hap.iy] /hápiy/ `open it'
		[wik'̃.ɛʔ] /wík'eʔ/ `tied bundle'

[I] /elsewhere	[k <sup>w</sup> i <sub>̃</sub> n <sub>̃</sub> .i:m] /k <sup>w</sup> i <sup>n</sup> í:m/ `cotton`
	[hap.I.ỹ l] /hápiyal/ `opens it`
	[ma:l.In] /má:lin/ `swelled up`
/i:/ [i:]	[či:č <sup>h</sup> ] /či:č/ `came`
	[bi:l.me:l] /bi:lmé:l/ `becomes weak`

2.2.3 /e/ and /e:/. /e/ is a lower mid front unrounded vowel [ɛ] in most environments. It is raised to [e] before final y. /e:/ is a long upper mid front unrounded vowel [e:]. Unstressed /e:/ shifts towards [ɛ:].

/e/ [e] /__y#	[ʔɛ́.ey] /ʔéɛey/ `gathered wood`
[ɛ] /elsewhere	[lɛ́h.ɛm] /léhem/ `lagoon`
	[bɛ́k <sup>h</sup> ] /bek/ `guava`
/e:/ [ɛ:] / [-stress]	[ɔ́ap <sup>h</sup> .nɛ́:θa:l] /ɔ́apne:θá:l/ `greeted him`
[e:] /elsewhere	[pe:m] /pe:m/ `rubber`
	[ɔ́ap <sup>h</sup> .ne:θaʔ] /ɔ́apné:θaʔ/ `greeted him`
	[tɪm.e:l] /timé:l/ `man-tiger`

2.2.4 /a/ and /a:/. /a/ is a low central unrounded vowel [a] in most environments. When unstressed after a stressed syllable it is raised to mid central [ə], except when followed by final /y/. /a:/ is a long low central unrounded vowel [a:]. It is usually laryngealized after a glottalized consonant.

/a/ [ə] /CVC__C [-y]	[lap.əŋ] /lápan/ `loft`
/a/ [a] /elsewhere	[pačh] /pač/ `pot`
	[ʔal.a.βe:l] /ʔalabé:l/ `pretty`
	[čam.ay] /čámay/ `cold`
/a:/ [a:] /C'__	[č'a:h] /č'a:h/ `rope, vine`
	[dzIq.a:čh] /č'ik'a:č/ `girl`
[a:] /elsewhere	[ʔa:l.e:m] /ʔa:lém/ `its weight`
	[pa:tʰ] /pa:t/ `thread`
	[ʔʌ.á:t'á] /ʔubast'/ `game`

2.2.5 /o/ and /o:/. /o/ is a lower mid back round vowel [ɔ] initially after /ʔ/, before final /y/, or when stressed. In unstressed syllables it becomes less rounded [ʌ]. /o:/ is a long upper mid back rounded vowel. Unstressed /o:/ lowers to [ɔ:].

/o/ [ɔ] / { #ʔ__ __y# [+ stress] }	[ʔəθ.o:w] /ʔəθó:w/ `iguana`
	[pʃé.ɔ:y] /pééoy/ `swept it`
	[tɔl.iy] /tóliy/ `revolved it`
[ʌ] /elsewhere	[biš.ʌm] /bíšom/ `danced`
	[wɛl.ʌ.lo:l] /weloló:l/ `cloudless`
	[bʌk.o:l] /bokó:l/ `small fat tortilla`
/o:/ [ɔ:] / __ [- stress]	[kʌl.ɔ:.to:ʔ] /kolo:tó:ʔ/ `dove`
[o:] /elsewhere	[to:m] /to:m/ `forage`

2.2.6 /u/ and /u:/. Initially after /ʔ/, before final /y/ or when stressed, /u/ is a lower high, slightly rounded back vowel [ʊ]. In unstressed syllables it lowers and becomes less rounded [ʌ], and merges with unstressed /o/. /u:/ is a back high rounded vowel in most environments. When unstressed, it shifts towards [ʊ:]. Because of morphophonemic lengthening processes in Huastec, it is usually possible to find forms where /u/ [ʌ] and /o/ [ʌ] appear as /u:/ [u:] and /o:/ [o:], so that there is no confusion about the underlying vowel. Examples and allophones of /u/ are:

/u/	[ʊ]	/ (#ʔ _____	[ʔk.ɫi:θ]	/ʔukli:θ/	'swallow'
		_____y#	[ʔah.ʊy]	/ʔáhuy/	'got cold'
		_____	[pʊh.ʔθ]	/púnaθ/	'kind of vine'
		[ - stress]			
[ʌ]	/elsewhere		[baθ.ʌč]	/baθuč/	'Bromelia sp.'
			[kʌš.ku:mɪ]	/kušku:mil/	'owl, p.f.'
/u:/	[ʊ:]	/ - stress	[pʊ:l.a:ɸ]	/pu:láb/	'bow'
	[u:]	/elsewhere	[ʔu:t'u]	/ʔu:t'/	'opossum'
			[baθ.u:č.ɪ]	/baθu:čil/	'Bromelia, p.f.'

2.2.7 Nasalized Vowels. Vowels are nasalized in a small number of interjections and onomatopoeic forms. Examples are given below.

[ʔā:.hā:ʔ.ē:ʔ]	/ʔā:hā:ʔē:ʔ/	'assent noise, in conversation'
[hʔ.ʌh]	/hōʔh/	'take it!'
[ʔɪ.hɪ.hī:l]	/ʔihihī:l/	'neigh'
[mō:ʔ]	/mō:ʔ/	'mute person'

3.0 Minimal Pairs. Huastec has a large number of minimal pairs. The following examples present contrasts for each of the phonemes.

$p \neq b \neq t \neq ? \neq w$

pa:t thread  
 ba:t Heliocarpus tree  
 ta:t straw mat  
 ?a:t penis  
 wa:t poncho

$p \neq ? \neq m \neq y$

(wal) po:y leguminous vine  
 ?o:y Gonolobus sp. (vine)  
 mo:y large mollusk  
 yo:y mosquito

$t \neq p \neq t' \neq ? \neq \theta \neq \dot{s} \neq m$

ta:m then  
 pa:m s.t. that covers  
 t'a:m offspring  
 ?a:m spider  
 θa:m nose  
 ša:m boundary  
 ma:m grandfather

$t \neq p \neq ? \neq n$

tok' magic stone  
 pok' ditch  
 ?ok' skull  
 nok' savage person

$t \neq l$

ø'ehet muscle  
 ø'ehel half

$t \neq \emptyset \neq ?$

tan canoe  
 øan snake  
 ?an the, a

$\emptyset \neq \emptyset' \neq t' \neq w$

øaw? Cyperus sp. (herb)  
 ø'aw? Cupania sp. (tree)  
 t'aw? Maranta sp. (herb)  
 waw? liverwort

$\emptyset \neq s$

øininiy deny it repeatedly  
 sinini:l sound of a mosquito

$\text{ɕ} \neq \text{č} \neq \text{h}$ 

$\text{ɕe}^{\text{h}}\text{el}$	grinds
$\text{če}^{\text{h}}\text{el}$	comes
$\text{he}^{\text{h}}\text{el}$	lies face up

 $\text{č} \neq \text{č}^{\text{h}}$ 

$\text{ču}^{\text{h}}\text{ub}$	little jar
$\text{č}^{\text{h}}\text{ucub}$	finger

 $\text{č} \neq \text{h} \neq \text{y}$ 

$\text{ʔa}^{\text{h}}\text{in}$	bathed
$\text{ʔahin}$	alligator
$\text{ʔayin}$	followed

 $\text{k} \neq \text{ɕ}^{\text{h}} \neq \text{ʔ}$ 

$\text{kok}$	weaving poles
$\text{ɕ}^{\text{h}}\text{ok}$	grackle
$\text{ʔok}$	fox

 $\text{k}^{\text{w}} \neq \text{b} \neq \text{ʔ}$ 

$\text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{aliy}$	leaned it, tipped it
$\text{baliy}$	put it in
$\text{ʔaliy}$	looked for it

 $\text{ɕ} \neq \text{ʔ} \neq \text{l}$ 

$\text{ɕa}:\text{b}$	two
$\text{ʔa}:\text{b}$	rain
$\text{la}:\text{b}$	sacred

 $\text{č} \neq \text{ʔ}$ 

$\text{či}\theta$	Amaranthus sp.
$\text{ʔi}\theta$	sweet potato

 $\text{č} \neq \text{k}$ 

$\theta\text{ičel}$	bristles
$\theta\text{ikel}$	drains

 $\text{k} \neq \text{k}^{\text{w}} \neq \text{k}^{\text{h}} \neq \text{w}$ 

$\text{k}\text{a}\text{ɕiy}$	sliced it
$\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{a}\text{ɕiy}$	went to bed
$\text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{a}\text{ɕiy}$	put corn to soak
$\text{w}\text{a}\text{ɕiy}$	scraped it

 $\text{b} \neq \text{t} \neq \text{ʔ} \neq \text{h} \neq \text{m} \neq \text{w}$ 

$\text{ba}:\text{y}$	man's brother-in-law
$\text{ta}:\text{y}$	s.t. extra
$\text{ʔa}:\text{y}$	career
$\text{ha}:\text{y}$	how much?
$\text{ma}:\text{y}$	tobacco
$\text{wa}:\text{y}$	of course

**t' ≠ l ≠ w**

ʔu:t'	opossum
ʔu:l	snail
ʔu:w	paper

**ʕ' ≠ š ≠ θ ≠ w**

ʕ'iʔ	anus
šiʔ	hair
θiʔ	firewood
wiʔ	mouth

**k' ≠ p ≠ b ≠ t' ≠ w**

k'i:l	sheds leaves
pi:l	separate, apart
bi:l	fragile, delicate
t'i:l	parched corn
wi:l	circular jackrafter

**k<sup>w</sup> ≠ k ≠ k'**

k <sup>w</sup> alel	thickens
kalel	goes out
k'alel	goes

**ʔ ≠ h ≠ l**

ho:ʔ	armspan
ho:h	heron
ho:l	hole

**θ ≠ č ≠ l**

θu:m	worm
ču:m	point
lu:m	Xantosoma sp. (herb)

**θ ≠ h**

tuθuw	knelt
tuhuw	began it

**m ≠ ʔ ≠ h ≠ n**

tam	when
taʔ	excrement
tah	arrowpoint
tan	canoe

**n ≠ ʕ' ≠ k' ≠ θ ≠ š**

ʔin	3rd person ergative pn.
ʔiʕ	chile
ʔik'	wind

**w ≠ ʕ' ≠ ʔ ≠ θ ≠ l**

we:y	agave
ʕe:y	bed
ʔe:y	job, occupation

ʔiθ	sweet potato	θe:y	together, jointly
ʔiʃ	feminine marker	le:y	lightning bolt
<b>w ≠ t' ≠ ? ≠ y</b>		<b>y ≠ p ≠ m ≠ l</b>	
we:w	tail	ma:y	tobacco
we:t'	kind of bean	ma:p	coyol palm
we:ʔ	little	ma:m	grandfather
we:y	agave	ma:l	swelling
<b>i ≠ i:</b>		<b>e ≠ e:</b>	
pil	firefly	teʔ	tree
pi:l	separate, apart	te:ʔ	here
<b>a ≠ a:</b>		<b>o ≠ o:</b>	
tam	when	ʔok'	skull
ta:m	then	ʔo:k'	head
<b>u ≠ u:</b>		<b>i ≠ e</b>	
ʔ'apuw	salty	k'ih	time
ʔ'apu:w	saltiness	k'eh	old
<b>e ≠ a</b>		<b>a ≠ o</b>	
lem	butterfly	ʔ'ak	flea
lam	mirror	ʔ'ok	grackle
<b>o ≠ u</b>		<b>i ≠ u</b>	
ʔoh	fragrant avocado	piʔiy	scratch it away
ʔuh	avocado	puʔiy	pick it



<b>e ≠ o</b>		<b>a ≠ i</b>	
leh	much, many	pač	pot
loh	cat's claw (vine)	pič	kind of blackbird
<b>a ≠ u</b>		<b>i ≠ o</b>	
tam	when	k'ič	vapor from the earth
tum	maguey insect	k'oč	brood hen
<b>e: ≠ a: ≠ u:</b>		<b>i: ≠ a: ≠ o:</b>	
θe:m	chigger	ʔi:t	new
θa:m	nose	ʔa:t	penis
θu:m	worm	ʔo:t	star
<b>e: ≠ i:</b>		<b>e: ≠ o:</b>	
be:l	road	ʔe:m	corn
bi:l	fragile	ʔo:m	planter
<b>u: ≠ i:</b>		<b>u: ≠ o:</b>	
k'u:l	kind of tree	ʔu:t'	opossum
k'i:l	sheds its leaves	ʔo:t'	hide

4.0 Distinctive Features. Figure 1 presents a distinctive feature matrix for Huastec phonemes, based on the feature matrix in Hyman (1975:242-244), with the addition of CHECKED, rather than LOW, to distinguish the glottalized consonants. For reasons of space I have omitted the glottalized consonants, which have the same features as their homorganic counterparts, with the addition of +CHECKED. The

FIGURE 1  
DISTINCTIVE FEATURE MATRIX

	p	b	t	ɸ	č	k	kw	ʔ	θ	s	š	h	m	n	l	r	w	y
(CONS	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-)
SYLL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SON	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
HIGH	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
BACK	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
LOW	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
ANT	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
COR	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
VOICE	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
CONT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
NASAL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
STRID	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(DEL REL	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-					-	-				)
ROUND	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
(GRAVE	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-)
(LAB	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-)
(PAL	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
LAT																	+	-

t', ɸ', č', k', kw = t, ɸ, č, k, kw + CHECKED

features CONS, DEL REL, GRAVE, LAB and PAL do not distinguish any phonemes not already distinguished by other features, and can be omitted.

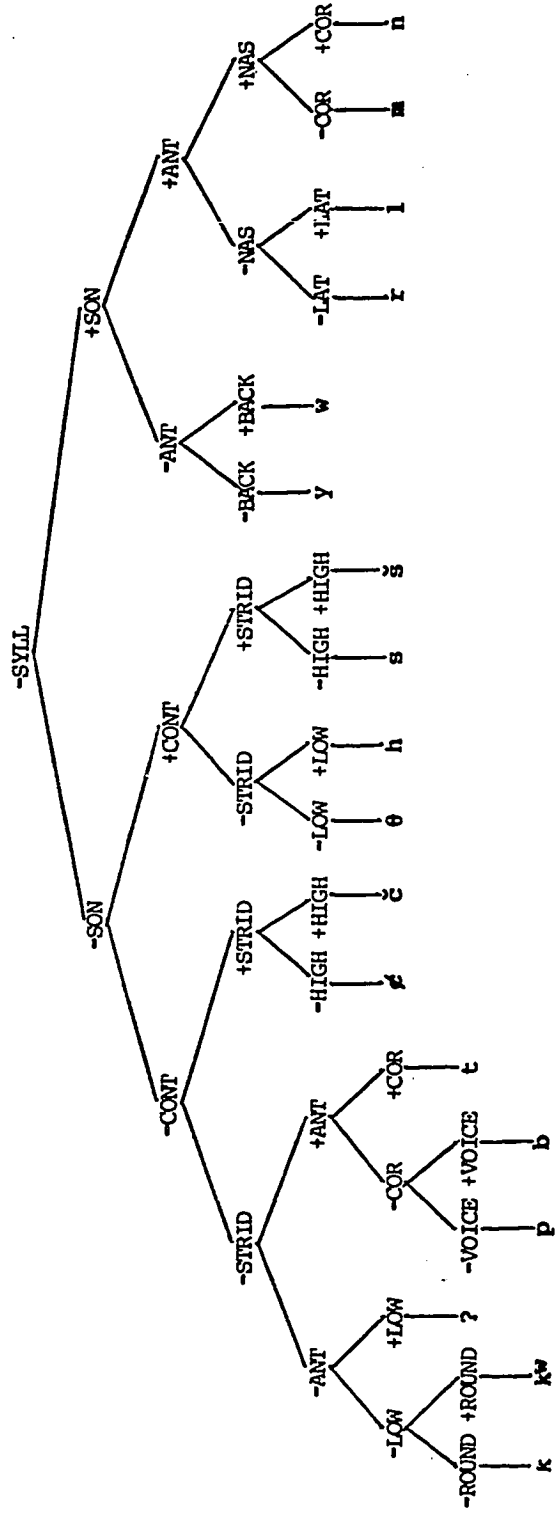
Fifteen features are sufficient to distinguish the 23 consonant and 10 vowel phonemes in native Huastec words. These are SYLL, SON, CONT, STRID, ANT, NAS, HIGH, LOW, BACK, ROUND, VOICE, LAT, COR, CHECKED and LONG. All stops are -SYLL, -SON, -CONT, -STRID; affricates are -SYLL, -SON, -CONT, +STRID; fricatives are -SYLL, -SON, +CONT; nasals are -SYLL, +SON, +ANT, +NAS; liquids are -SYLL, +SON, +ANT, -NAS; and glides are -SYLL, +SON, -ANT. All vowels are +SYLL. The ten vowels are distinguished by HIGH, LOW, BACK and ROUND, as in the chart below.

	i	e	a	o	u
HIGH	+	-	-	-	+
LOW	-	-	+	-	-
BACK	-	-	+	+	+
ROUND	-	-	-	+	+

In addition, each vowel may be specified as -LONG or +LONG.

Figure 2 presents a tree diagram of the consonant phonemes. The glottalized consonants are omitted for reasons of space; to include them would simply require a final node in each relevant branch governing -CHECKED and +CHECKED.

FIGURE 2  
DISTINCTIVE FEATURES



CHAPTER 3  
MORPHOPHONEMICS

The discussion below will be primarily concerned with morpho-phonemic processes as they affect native Huastec words. Root and morpheme shapes will be specified, as will the positions of vowels and consonants within roots and morphemes. Co-occurrence restrictions on vowel and consonant phonemes will be discussed at some length and automatic and optional morphophonemic rules will be stated. Then various ways will be considered by which the language finds solutions to the problems created by canonical shape requirements and by interdictions on the co-occurrence of certain phonemes. Finally, the interacting roles of vowel length and stress will be discussed, particularly as they affect derivation.

1.0 Positional Constraints on Vowels and Consonants.

1.1 Vowels. Except for a few roots of the shape CV(:)CV(:), vowels occur only medially in Huastec roots. They are final in some CV particles, clitic pronouns and bound morphemes. However, only bound morphemes can be vowel initial: -V(:), -V(:)C or -V(:)CV(:)? VV clusters are impermissible.

1.2 Consonants. Consonants may occur initially, medially or finally in roots or morphemes. There are no morphemes with CC clusters, and, except for root final glide + /ʔ/, CC clusters are permissible only word medially, with a syllable boundary falling between the two

consonants. CCC clusters are impermissible except when the first two consonants are glide + /ʔ/ or glide + /h/: ǰ'ayʔčal 'buys it for someone', bawhpiy 'reached it quickly'.

1.3 Phoneme Frequency. The following data are based upon CVC roots only; V stands for both long and short vowels. The counts for verb roots were made from a chart which included all verb roots from my corpus and many forms from Larsen's (1955) dictionary, a number of which do not appear in my verb tables because they were not elicited by me. However, since a comparison count of Tables 8, 12, 13 and 14, counting related roots (such as transitive-middle voice pairs) only once, revealed only minor differences in the rank order of phonemes, the following discussion will be based on the larger sample of 668 verbs. Subsequent to charting the distribution of phonemes in CVC verb roots, I searched my slip file and Larsen's dictionary for examples of missing C\_\_C combinations occurring in noun, adjective and particle roots, but did not attempt a separate phoneme count for these terms. The data for consonants are presented in Tables 5 and 6. /s/ and /r/ are omitted from the count because of their limited frequency.

Inspection of Table 5 reveals that any consonant may be initial or final. Most consonants occur with similar frequency in initial or final position. (I defined "similar" as deviating less than seven points from the mean frequency of the two positions.) Five phonemes, however, show greater discrepancy in frequency. /w/, /t/ and /p/ are much more common initially than finally. /w/ is initial 77 percent of the time, final 23 percent. The figures for /t/ are 66 percent and 34

percent, and for /p/ 65 percent and 35 percent. /l/ and /n/ are commoner in final position; /n/ is initial 28 percent of the time, final 72 percent, and /l/ is initial 30 percent, final 70 percent.

TABLE 5

## FREQUENCY OF SEGMENTAL PHONEMES IN CVC VERB ROOTS\*

Initial C	N	Final C	N
ʔ	69	l	74
p	55	ʔ	67
h	47	h	53
t	45	kʰ	51
w	43	k	41
k	42	tʰ	39
kʰ	39	θ	37
b	37	n	36
θ	36	b	32
tʰ	34	m	32
š	33	p	30
l	32	∅	25
m	28	ç	26
∅ʰ	26	y	26
∅	22	∅ʰ	24
y	22	t	23
ç	20	s	22
n	14	w	13
kʰw	12	kʰw	9
kʰw	11	kʰw	4
çʰ	1	çʰ	4

\* /s/ and /r/ are omitted because of their limited distribution

In the first half of Table 6 below consonants are grouped by manner of articulation. Stop consonants account for almost half of the total, fricatives, and nasals and lateral, which are about equal

TABLE 6  
 FREQUENCY OF SEGMENTAL PHONEMES IN CVC VERB ROOTS  
 BY MANNER AND POINT OF ARTICULATION

**Manner of Articulation**

Manner	Total		Initial C		Final C	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Stops	640	48	344	54	296	46
Fricatives	228	17	116	51	112	49
Nasals and Lateral	216	16	74	34	142	66
Affricates	148	11	69	47	79	53
Glides	104	8	65	62	39	38

**Point of Articulation**

Point	Total		Initial C		Final C	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Dental	370	28	161	44	209	56
Bilabial	270	20	163	60	107	40
Alveolar, Alveo-pal.	251	19	124	49	127	51
Glottal	236	18	116	49	120	51
Velar	209	16	104	50	105	50

in frequency, another third, and affricates and glides about a fifth. The last four columns in the table give a breakdown by position in the CVC root. Stops and fricatives are slightly more frequent in initial position, affricates slightly more frequent finally. Glides are initial 62 percent of the time, final only 38 percent. The figures for nasals and lateral are reversed: initial 34 percent of the time and final 66 percent.



The second half of Table 6 tabulates consonants by point of articulation. Dental consonants are most frequent, followed by bilabials, the two groups accounting for 48 percent of the total. Alveolars and glottals are about equal in frequency (19 percent and 18 percent respectively), and velars are the least frequent (16 percent). Distribution in initial and final position is almost equal, except that bilabials are more frequent initially, 60 percent of the time, than finally, 40 percent.

Vowel phonemes in the 668 verb roots are distributed as follows, no distinction being made between long and short vowels:

Vowel	N	Percent	Feature	Percent
a	217	32	+low	32
i	139	21	-back}	37
e	106	16	-back}	
u	125	19	+back}	31
o	81	12	+back}	

The commonest vowel, /a/, accounts for almost a third of the total; /i/, /u/ and /e/ are approximately equally distributed, and /o/ is the least frequent.

2.0 Root and Morpheme Shapes. The lists of morphemes below are not exhaustive. The meanings of clitics and of derivational, inflectional and other bound morphemes are not specified here since they will be discussed at length in the relevant chapters. Free morphemes--nouns, adverbs, conjunctions, etc.--are translated. A casual scrutiny of the lists will reveal that there are a number of homophonous morphemes which play totally different roles in the grammar of the language. This is not surprising, given the modest number of phonemes and the

fact that most morphemes, apart from roots, consist of one or two phonemes. Homophonous morphemes are readily disambiguated in context.

2.1 C. The only morphemes of the shape C are the verbal derivational morphemes -č-, -p-, -č'-, -č'-, -l-, -k-, -k'-, -n-, -m-, -b-, and -θ-, the verbal inflectional morphemes -l- and -y, and the perdurative clitic -e.

2.2 CV(:). Several of the clitic pronouns (?u, ?a, ?i), various particles (ti, ka, ma), two noun derivational suffixes (-bi- and -:be), and a few noun and adjective stem formatives (-či, -ne) have this shape.

2.3 CVC. By far the commonest morpheme shape in Huastec is CVC. Most verb, noun and adjective roots, many noun suffixes (-čal, -hin, -kač, -lab, -lek, -le?, -lcm, -ma?, -nib, -tal), some clitics (-čik, -kwa?, tam-), some clitic pronouns (?in, ?iš, ?it), one verbal derivational morpheme (-čiy), a verbal inflection (-nek), and a number of particles and adverbs (?an `a, the', hun `where', k'al `with', maš `if', tam `when') are of this shape. Many noun and adjective roots which function as stems without further derivation are CVC: čuč `coyote', ha? `water', lam `mirror', čan `snake', θi? `firewood', k'eh `old', leh `true'.

2.4 CV:C. Some noun and verb roots are CV:C, as is one noun derivational suffix (-wa:l), the ordinal numeral suffix (-či:l), various particles and adverbs (?a:l `in, on', ?e:b `above', hasy `how much?', ?i:b `no', ta:m `then', θe:y `together with', ya:n `much,

many', wa:y 'of course, naturally') and some noun and adjective stems (?a:m 'spider', he:l 'dew', ?i:ǰ' 'moon', pa:t 'thread', yo:y 'mosquito', bi:l 'weak, feeble', ?i:t 'new', k'a:k 'hot', mo:? 'mute').

2.5 CVG?. Some verb stems which end in a glide (/w/ or /y/) plus glottal are the results of a metathesis process to be described below (Section 4.3). A few noun roots are related to these metathesized verbs, while for others of the shape CVG? no related verb can be found. These include taw? 'arrowroot', ǰiw? 'vegetable pear' and way? 'corn ear'.

2.6 CV(:)CV(:). Two common nouns borrowed from Nahuatl have this shape: ta:ta 'papa' and na:na 'mama'. There are a few Huastec nouns that might fit this category--?ata: 'house', k'i:ča: 'sun, day', ?aba 'kind of tree', k'oye 'corn dough', le:t'é 'pitiful person', ?o:be 'lazy person', ǰine 'deaf person', ǰ'a:le 'dignitary' and wako 'medicinal vine'--but I have analyzed them, in Chapter 8, as CV(:)C root plus noun stem formative -a: or -v. A few particles are CV(:)CV--?ani 'and, but', ?aši 'who, whom, that, which', haye 'also', ta:ye 'after'.

2.7 CVCV(:)C. A few nouns (bele:w 'nine', pik'o? 'dog', ǰanak'w 'beans'), an adjective (?ehék 'black'), a clitic (-kočik) and a number of particles and adverbs (?abal 'because', ?ani? 'thus, so', ?eǰ'ey 'always', hale? 'why?', hawa? 'which', hita? 'who', kala:m 'tomorrow', tokat 'only, just', wala:m 'perhaps', yaba? 'no, not') have this shape. Since most noun and adjective stem formatives are -V(:)C, they

derive CVCV(:)C noun and adjective stems. It may be that some of the particles and adverbs could also be analyzed as CVC root plus -V(:)C suffix, but I have not attempted to do so.

2.8 V(:). Only bound morphemes have the shape V or V:. These include verbal thematic suffixes -e-, -u-, -i- and -e:-, the completive passive inflection -a, and noun and adjective stem formatives -V, -e and -a:.

2.9 V(:)C. Many bound morphemes have this shape. They include most noun and adjective stem formatives, a number of noun derivational morphemes (-Vm, -Vl, -Vš, -e?, -V:m, -Vč, -V:l, -Vk', -Vb), noun suffixes (-i(:)b / -a:b, -e?, -il / -al), verbal thematic suffixes (-a?, -Vy-, -Vw-, -Vl-, -Vm-, -Vn-), verbal derivational suffixes (-Vθ, -V:l, -at), verbal inflectional suffixes (-al, -ab, -at, -a:ǵ), and some clitics (-ak, -iǵ, -k'i / k'e).

2.10 V(:)CV(:)?. One verbal derivational morpheme which adds to transitive verbs the meaning 'do something suddenly, in passing, all at once' has the shape -V:na?. The putative clitic -ana:? 'I think, it could be' can be suffixed to verbs, nouns and adjectives.

2.11 Hu?ta, Hant'ó and Hant'ini?. There are three interrogatives which have root medial consonant clusters. Hu?ta 'where' and its alternative form hu?ta:m might possibly be analyzed as compounds of hun 'where' and ta:m 'then'. Hant'ó 'what?' and hant'ini? 'how?' share the un-canonical CC cluster /nt'/. I have not been able to analyze them further.

2.12 Longer Roots. Many words borrowed from Spanish, even those old borrowings well assimilated into the language, are longer than CVCVC, or have consonant clusters not permitted in native Huastec words: CVCCVCV:C pantalo:n (Sp. pantalón) 'pants'; CVCCV:CV benta:na (Sp. ventana) 'window'; CVCVCV:C tarapi:č (Sp. trapiche) 'sugar cane press'; CCV:CCV dy:blu (Sp. diablo) 'devil'; CVCCCV:CV doktri:na (Sp. doctrina) 'doctrine, catechism'; CVCCV:CVC ?elbe:naš (Sp. hierba buena) 'mint'.

Native Huastec words longer than CVCVC can usually be reduced to CVC root plus derivational or inflectional morphemes, or can be shown to be a compound of two native words, often with conditioned sound shifts. A transparent example is the word for the croton tree, šište?, a compound of šič 'blood' and te? 'tree', with  $\emptyset \rightarrow \check{s}/\_t$  by a regular phonetic process. Less obvious is the term for 'Mexican' (i.e., Nahuatl speaker) θakča:m, a compound of θak(ni?) 'white' and θa:m 'nose', with  $\theta \rightarrow \check{c}$  by analogy to a regular morphophonemic process that converts the participial suffix  $//\text{-V}\theta//$  to  $//\text{-V}\check{c}/$  when a root ends in  $/\theta/$ ; see Section 8.0 below.

3.0 Co-occurrence Restrictions. There has been some interest evinced by students of other Mayan languages in co-occurrence restrictions upon consonants in (usually) CVC roots. Section 3.1 is a brief summary of some of their findings, Section 3.2 presents data from Huastec, and in Section 3.3 comparisons are made to see if any general rules can be stated that apply to more than one language.

3.1 Co-occurrence Restrictions in Other Mayan Languages. Fox (1978:83-88) suggests that phonetic constraints may have blocked the expression of otherwise regular sound changes in the various Mayan languages. "In fact, numerous prima facie cognates have reflexes which first make sense in the light of pervasive constraints on co-occurring consonants in (generally) CVC morphemes;" (p. 85). He presents tabular data to demonstrate constraints on co-occurring stops, affricates and fricatives in four Mayan languages: Huastec, Tzeltal, Tzotzil and Yucatec, and lists a number of etyma from these languages to show how the constraints have determined the actual, as opposed to expected, sound changes in these languages.

Hopkins (1967:49-51) states that in Chuj, "1. Plain stops and affricates other than /p'/ do not occur as C<sub>1</sub> in a C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub> root which has as C<sub>2</sub> a stop or affricate which differs from C<sub>1</sub> only in glottalization. That is, while the combination p\_p' does occur, the combinations \*t\_t', \*c\_c', and \*k\_k' do not occur." He also notes that, "2. An affricate may not occur as C<sub>1</sub> in a C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub> root which has as C<sub>2</sub> an affricate not of the same point of articulation. That is, while the combinations c\_c, and č\_č do occur, as do č'č' and c'\_c', the combination \*c\_č, \*c\_č', \*č\_c, \*č\_c', \*c'\_č, \*c'\_č', \*č'\_c and \*č'\_c' do not occur." (Hopkins uses /c/ for /č/. Note that here, and in what follows, I cite only those proposed restrictions relevant to the restrictions in Huastec to be discussed below.)

Kaufman (1972:29) makes brief references to possible constraints in Tzeltal and Tzotzil: "--Parece haber una carencia general de

raíces del tipo  $C_1VC_2'$  (en donde  $C_2'$  es el equivalente glotalizada del fonema  $C_1$  no glotalizado), aunque es posible mencionar la raíz \*k'ok 'cortar', del tipo  $C_1VC_2$ .

--Las silbantes (s,  $\phi$ ,  $\phi'$ ) y ( $\check{s}$ ,  $\check{c}$ ,  $\check{c}'$ ) son mutuamente excluyentes en las raíces."

Durbin (1973:41) lists a large number of "semantically unmarked" (i.e., unattested) CVC stems in Yucatec Maya. Among these are the following, with his orthography revised to conform with mine: \* $\phi\_c\check{c}$ , \* $\phi\_c\check{c}'$ , \* $\phi'_c\check{c}$ , \* $\phi'_c\check{c}'$ , and \* $\check{c}'\_c\phi$ . Note the correspondence to Hopkin's second rule. Durbin, however, apparently has  $\phi'_c\check{c}'$  and  $\check{c}'\_c\phi$  as attested forms. He also states that, "...there are no series of non-glottalized consonants in the same stem with glottalized counterpart, e.g.,  $p\_p'$  or  $p'_p$ . The only combinations of two glottalized consonants in the same stem are  $k'_z'$  [ $k'_\phi'$ , in my orthography] and  $p'_t'$ , and those in which the consonants are the same:  $c'_c'$  [ $\check{c}'\_c\check{c}'$ ],  $z'_z'$  [ $\phi'_c\phi'$ ], etc. In addition there are only a few cases in which a nonglottalized consonant which has a glottalized counterpart can occur in the same stem with any other glottalized consonant, e.g.,  $c\_k'$  [ $\check{c}'\_k'$ ],  $k\_z'$  [ $k\_c\phi'$ ]."

Furbee (1976) has a series of Sequential Redundancy Rules which define verb and noun roots and further specify permitted sequences of consonants in Tojolobal. Among these is Rule 7 (p. 161), which states: "In a  $C'VC$  morpheme, where the  $C'$  and  $C$  are voiceless and homorganic, only the sequence  $-k'Vk-$  is permitted, as in  $k'ak$  'flea'." (I here cite only Furbee's descriptive statements of her rules, not her rule formalisms in terms of features.) Rule 13 (p. 162) states

that, "cVč, cVč', c'Vč, c'Vč', čVc, čVc', č'Vc, and č'Vc' morphemes are not possible." Note that this rule is similar to Durbin's formulation and identical with Hopkin's second rule cited above; like Hopkins, Furbee uses /c/ for /č/. Rule 6 (p. 161) states that, "In a CVC morpheme with two voiceless checked consonants, either the consonants are identical or one of the two is c', as in k'oc' 'to knock on'."

Brown (1978) lists a series of six morpheme structure constraints in Pocomchi, two of which are relevant to the present discussion. Constraint 2 (p. 41) states that, "In a root with two glottalized obstruents, the two obstruents are identical: q'aaq' 'fire', q'ohq' 'squash', ch'uuch' 'breast', t'oot' 'snail'." Note that this constraint is even more restricted than Furbee's Rule 6, since it has no exceptions. Brown's Constraint 5 (p. 42) states that, "There are no morphemes with two affricates, unless the affricates are both glottalized and identical as stated in #2: ch'uuch' 'breast'." Again, this is a more restricted rule than those proposed by Hopkins, Durbin and Furbee, since it does not permit \*č'č' or \*č'č'.

Du Bois (1981:132, fn.2) comments that in Sacapultec, "No root k'Vq' occurs, due to characteristic Mayan morpheme structure constraints preventing two unlike glottalic consonants (unless one is b')."

Dayley (1985:31) finds a similar constraint in Tzutujil: "In general, there are few restrictions on the possible combinations of consonants that may co-occur as the first and last consonants in the same syllable. However, it may be stated that non-identical



glottalized occlusives do not co-occur in the same syllable unless one of them is b'. Also, sibilants and affricates co-occur with other sibilants and affricates, respectively, only if they agree in the value of the feature anterior; that is, s does not co-occur with x, and tz(') does not co-occur with ch(')." (Dayley's /x/ = /š/.)

Smith-Stark in Table 15 (1982:113-116) presents a matrix of all initial and final consonants in CVC Pocomam roots and on p. 119 he lists a series of co-occurrence restrictions relevant to the table. Restriction b says, in part, that, "If the second consonant of a CVC root is a glottalized stop, the initial consonant must be p' if it is also a glottalized stop." The only attested combinations of the six glottalized stops in Pocomam (p', t', tʃ', k', q') are p'\_\_č' and p'\_\_q'. (Pocomam does not have /b/ or /b'/ in words of native origin.) This rule is even more restrictive than Du Bois' and Dayley's rules, because it does not permit like glottalized consonants. Restriction b continues, "Otherwise, if the initial consonant is a plain stop, it must either be t, or it must be anterior to or at the same point of articulation as the second consonant." In fact, there is only one example of initial plain and final glottalized stop at the same point of articulation: kik' 'blood' (Appendix VII, p. 691). The above statements apply to CVC roots only. Smith-Stark notes that the first half of Restriction b is valid also for CV:C and CVhC roots, except that combinations of two identical glottalized stops are also found. Smith-Stark's Restriction d states that, "Two affricates (tʃ', č, č') cannot occur in the same CVC root. This restriction also applies to CV:C and CVhC roots except that two

affricates are allowed in such roots if they are identical" (p. 119). Thus amplified to include CV:C and CVhC roots, Smith-Stark's restriction is identical to Hopkin's Rule 2 and to Furbee's Rule 13. Restriction e states that, "s and š cannot occur together in a CVC root, nor can either one occur with ǰ". This restriction extends to CV:C and CVhC roots, except that s ǰ does occur" (p. 119). The restriction on the co-occurrence of /s/ and /š/ has been noted also by Kaufman and Dayley, and Durbin's chart (p. 41) shows a similar restriction in Yucatec.

3.2 Co-occurrence Restrictions in Huastec. Turning now to Huastec, a number of statements can be made about co-occurrence restrictions in CVC verb roots. Since /č/ is so rare a phoneme, occurring once initially (čom-oy- 'rinse it out') and four times finally (čuč'-e- 'dry out', kač'-uw- 'snap it', ʔeč'-e- 'incline', and weč'-e- 'creak'), its presence or absence is not usually relevant to the following discussion.

1. Any consonant may be initial or final in a CVC verb root.
2. All CV- combinations are possible except for a labial or labialized consonant (/w/, /kw/ or /k<sup>w</sup>/) followed by /o/ or /u/.
3. All -VC combinations are possible except for /o/ or /u/ followed by /k<sup>w</sup>/ or /k<sup>w</sup>/.
4. Like consonants in the same root are rare. I have found only four examples: pop-aʔ- 'rub or scour it' (from Larsen's dictionary), ǰuǰ'-e- 'fail to grow', čuč'-uw- 'nurse the breast; suck it', and wi:w-aʔ- 'swing it', possibly a sound-symbolic term. Bivalent noun-verb roots are not included in this tabulation, but will be included

below along with other nouns.

5. There is only one example, from Larsen's dictionary, of voiced and unvoiced forms of a homorganic consonant in the same root: pab-il- 'fasts'; there are no examples of \*b\_p.

6. There are no examples of the same consonant both plain and glottalized, except for č\_č' (čuč'-e- 'dry out'): \*t\_t', \*t'\_t; \*ǰ\_ǰ', \*ǰ'\_ǰ; \*k\_k', \*k'\_k; \*kʷ\_kʷ, \*kʷ\_kʷ.

7. There are no examples of plain and glottalized consonants with adjacent points of articulation, provided both consonants are [-back]: \*t\_ǰ', \*ǰ'\_t; \*t'\_ǰ, \*ǰ'\_t; \*ǰ\_č', \*č'\_ǰ; and \*ǰ'\_č, \*č'\_ǰ'. The following combinations are attested for /č/ or /č'/ and [+back] consonants: č\_k', č\_kʷ, k'\_č, k\_č'. There are no examples of the other four possible combinations, due largely to the infrequency of /č'/.

8. There are no examples of two [+back] stops in the same root. In addition to \*k\_k, \*k'\_k', \*kʷ\_kʷ and \*kʷ\_kʷ, which are interdicted by Rule 4, and \*k\_k', \*k'\_k, \*kʷ\_kʷ and \*kʷ\_kʷ, which are interdicted by Rule 6, Rule 8 also excludes \*k\_kʷ, \*kʷ\_k; \*k'\_kʷ, \*kʷ\_k'; \*k\_kʷ, \*kʷ\_k; \*k'\_kʷ and \*kʷ\_k'.

9. There are no examples of two affricates with different points of articulation in the same root; (/č'/ is omitted here because of its limited distribution): \*ǰ\_č, \*č'\_ǰ; \*ǰ'\_č, \*č'\_ǰ'. Note that the latter two pairs are also interdicted by Rule 7.

10. There are no examples of two [+coronal] fricatives in the same root: \*θ\_š, \*š\_θ.

11. It is rare to have two voiced bilabials in the same root: \*b\_m,

\*m\_\_b; \*m\_\_w, \*w\_\_m; \*b\_\_w, \*w\_\_b. The only exceptions are ma:b-iy- 'smoke meat' and wi:b-ay- 'whistle at someone with fingers in mouth', both from Larsen's dictionary. The latter term may be onomatopoeic.

Nouns, adjectives and particles in my corpus and in Larsen's dictionary were checked for those C\_\_C combinations not attested for verbs. The findings will be discussed in terms of the eleven rules stated above; it will become apparent that while most of the rules still hold, others do not apply to non-verb roots.

1. Rule 1 holds for nouns: any consonant may be initial or final in a CVC root.
2. Rule 2 also holds: all CV- combinations are possible except for a labial or labialized consonant followed by /o/ or /u/.
3. Rule 3 holds: all -VC combinations are possible except for /o/ or /u/ followed by /k<sup>w</sup>/ or /k<sup>w</sup>/.
4. Rule 4 does not hold; except for \*č'\_\_č', \*k<sup>w</sup>\_\_k<sup>w</sup>, and \*b\_\_b there are examples of noun, adjective or particle roots with the same consonant in initial and final position. \*č'\_\_č' and \*k<sup>w</sup>\_\_k<sup>w</sup> are probably artifacts of the relative rarity of these phonemes, especially in root-final position. b\_\_b appears in the archaic third person plural independent pronoun baba:?, but I believe this to be a reduplication; see Chapter 4, Section 2.0.
5. As was the case with verb roots, there are no examples of nouns, etc., with roots \*b\_\_p. Larsen has pabablek 'wing' and pabiltala:b, 'fast, abstinence', derived from the verb root pab-il- 'fasts'. My assistant had heard of pabablek but said that it wasn't used locally. I did not question for pabiltala:b.

6. It is rare to have plain and glottalized homorganic consonants in the same root. The only examples are t'ot 'buzzard', ǰ'ǰin 'bird', čuč'um 'dried out tortilla' (derived from the verb čuč'-e-), (man) če:č' 'black-headed oriole', č'ičab 'comb' and č'učuw 'corn flower'.

Note that four of the six examples involve the rarest phoneme, /č'/.

7. There is only one example of plain and glottalized [-back] consonants with adjacent points of articulation: ǰ'uč 'handspan'.

8. It was noted above, in 4, that like consonants are permissible in noun, adjective and particle roots. k\_k, k'k' and kw\_kw are attested; \*k'w\_k'w is not. However, two unlike [+back] stops are rare; the only example is kwe:k'e 'silent'.

9. The only example of two affricates with different points of articulation is ǰ'uč, which also violates Rule 7. \*ǰ\_č, \*č\_ǰ and \*č\_ǰ' are not possible, nor are any combinations with /č'/.

10. Rule 10 holds. There are no examples of two [+coronal] fricatives in the same noun, adjective or particle root: \*θ\_š, \*š\_θ.

11. Rule 11 does not hold: b\_m, m\_b, b\_w and m\_w are attested; \*w\_b and \*w\_m are not. Like voiced bilabials, interdicted in verbs by Rule 4, are found in nouns, except for \*b\_b.

It is apparent that there is greater freedom of C\_C combinations in noun, adjective and particle roots. Like consonants in the same root are frequent (Rule 4), and most combinations of voiced bilabials are possible (Rule 11). However, the remaining rules which apply to verb roots also apply to other root classes, with minor exceptions, the most notable being the existence of five noun roots containing plain and glottalized homorganic consonants.

There is frequently considerable overlap among the different rules. For example, the four velar consonants, /k/, /k'/, /kw/ and /k<sup>w</sup>/ can enter into sixteen possible combinations. Rule 4, which applies only to verbs, interdicts like consonants in the same root: \*k\_\_k, \*k'\_\_k', \*k<sup>w</sup>\_\_k<sup>w</sup>, and \*k<sup>w</sup>\_\_k<sup>w</sup>. Rule 6, which interdicts plain and glottalized homorganic consonants, eliminates \*k\_\_k', \*k'\_\_k, \*k<sup>w</sup>\_\_k<sup>w</sup> and \*k<sup>w</sup>\_\_k<sup>w</sup>. Rule 8, which states that there cannot be two [+back] consonants in the same root, covers all of the above cases, and the remaining eight possible combinations as well. Likewise, affricate combinations \*č\_\_č', \*č'\_\_č, \*č'\_\_č and \*č\_\_č' are doubly interdicted, by Rule 7, which excludes plain and glottalized consonants with adjacent points of articulation, and by Rule 9, which excludes all affricates with different points of articulation.

3.3 Comparisons and Conclusions. There are several points of agreement between the authors cited above, and between their findings and mine. Note, however, that none of them distinguished between verb and other roots when stating co-occurrence restrictions. It is possible to check entries in Smith-Stark's Table 15 (1982:113-116) against the lists of roots in his appendices I and II (pp. 664-676) and V-IX (pp. 681-701), in order to distinguish verb roots from other root classes. If this is done, we find that his data are in agreement with my Rule 4: there are no verb roots with like consonants in initial and final position. As in Huastec, however, like consonants are permitted in other root classes. Pocomam does not have /b/ or /b'/ in words of native origin but does have the following voiced bilabials: /w/, /w'/, /m/ and /m'/, the latter only in final position.

A check of Table 15 reveals that no combinations of same or different voiced bilabials are permitted in Pocomam, regardless of root class. Recall that my Rule 11 states that voiced bilabials are extremely rare in verb roots, but are frequent in other root classes.

Hopkins (1967:49-51), Kaufman (1972:29), Durbin (1973:41) and Furbee (1976:161-162) all report an interdiction on plain and glottalized homorganic consonants in the same root, with minor exceptions: p\_p' (Hopkins), k'ok (Kaufman), k'Vk (Furbee). Brown (1979), Du Bois (1981:132) and Dayley (1985:31) make no statement on this point. A check of Smith-Stark's Table 15 and the appendices noted above indicates that the following combinations are not possible: \*p\_p', \*p'\_p, \*t\_t', \*t'\_t, \*č\_č', \*č'\_č and \*q\_q'. (Pocomam has /č'/ but not /č/.) There are only four exceptions to the interdiction on plain and glottalized homorganic consonants: kik' 'blood', kuak' 'fine dust', k'ok 'pour out (water)' and q'eq 'black'. My findings are in essential agreement, with a single verb root (čuč'-e-) and five noun roots (t'ot, č'ič'in, če:č', č'ičab and č'učuw) as counter examples. My Rule 7 extends the interdiction on plain and glottalized consonants in the same root to consonants of adjacent points of articulation, provided that they are [-back]. Durbin's rule is more general still. He states that there are only a few cases where a non-glottalized consonant which has a glottalized counterpart can occur in the same stem with any other glottalized consonant.

Hopkins, Durbin (except for č'\_č' and č'\_č'), Furbee, Brown and Smith-Stark agree that two affricates not of the same point of articulation cannot co-occur. (Brown additionally eliminates non-

glottalized affricates.) Note that a rule prohibiting two affricates not of the same point of articulation would take care of all the interdicted combinations covered by my Rule 7, except for those involving the stop /t/. Kaufman's constraint on sibilants includes the fricatives /s/ and /š/ as well as the affricates /tʃ/, /tʃʰ/, /tʃ̥/ and /tʃ̥ʰ/, but agrees that \*tʃ\_\_č, \*č\_\_tʃ, \*tʃʰ\_\_čʰ and \*čʰ\_\_tʃʰ are not possible. My Rule 9, designed to account for \*tʃ\_\_č, \*č\_\_tʃ, \*tʃʰ\_\_čʰ and \*čʰ\_\_tʃʰ, which are not covered by Rule 7, is also in agreement. Dayley states that /tʃ(ʰ)/ does not co-occur with /č(ʰ)/.

Kaufman's sibilant constraint rule blocks the combinations \*s\_\_š and \*š\_\_s, as does Smith-Stark's Restriction e and Dayley's sibilant and affricate constraint rule, and Durbin's chart (p. 41) indicates that these combinations are also unattested for Yucatec. Furbee, Hopkins, Brown and Du Bois make no statement on this point. \*θ\_\_š and \*š\_\_θ are likewise not permitted in Huastec. (Huastec /θ/ is cognate with /s/ in the other languages discussed here.)

Dayley, Du Bois and Smith-Stark refer to morpheme structure constraints that block the co-occurrence of two non-identical glottalized occlusives, unless one of them is /bʰ/ (Dayley and DuBois) or /pʰ/ (Smith-Stark). Brown has no exceptions to the rule. Durbin found the only combinations of two non-identical glottalized consonants to be kʰ\_\_tʰ and pʰ\_\_tʰ. This constraint does not apply in Huastec. Except for \*kʰ\_\_kʰʷ and \*kʰʷ\_\_kʰ, which are blocked by Rule 8, and combinations with the rare phoneme /čʰ/, all possible combinations of /tʰ/, /tʰʰ/, /kʰ/ and /kʰʷ/ are attested, except for \*tʰ\_\_tʰʰ.



The data presented above suggest several considerations that should be taken into account when documenting co-occurrence restrictions in other Mayan languages.

1. CVC roots may differ from CV:C, CVhC, CV?VC, etc., roots in terms of which restrictions apply. Smith-Stark (1982:119), for example, found that CVC roots were subject to greater restrictions than were CV:C or CVhC roots.
2. Root class may be important. My data indicate that restrictions on verb roots are greater than those on other root classes. Smith-Stark's data are in agreement on this point.
3. Bilabial obstruents, especially /p'/ and /b'/ are often exempted from restrictions which apply to other obstruents.
4. The difference between [+back] and other obstruents can affect the statement of rules, as was the case with my Rule 7.
5. Order of the consonants in a morpheme may be important. For example, in Pocomam the combinations \*p\_k' and \*q'\_k are not permitted, but k'\_p and k\_\_q' are. In Huastec, on the other hand, interdictions tend to be reciprocal: \*t\_t', \*t'\_t; \*k\_k^w, \*k^w\_k. Rule statements should be explicit on this point.
6. Finally, some attention should be paid to whether a possible rule is negated by a single, by very few, or by multiple counterexamples.

4.0 Other Co-occurrence Phenomena. Other phonemic interactions can be documented in Huastec. The vowels and consonants of the most frequent transitive thematic suffixes tend to group into natural classes, and there is evidence of restrictions on root vowel and thematic suffix vowel combinations. In certain derivational processes, especially those involving some kind of reduplication, there are interactions between root and derivational vowels. Some consonantal derivational morphemes appear to be phonetically conditioned, while other inflectional suffixes show evidence of vowel dissimilation. And, finally, some derivational processes are blocked because they lead to impermissible combinations of phonemes. These various phenomena will be discussed in detail below.

4.1 Transitive Thematic Suffixes. In my corpus there are 383 verbs with root shape CV(:)C which can be classified into the three main transitive conjugations according to whether their thematic suffix is //aʔ-//, //-Vy-// or //-Vw-//; see Table 8, Appendix B, for the complete list. (A few verbs which fall into minor classes, and five verbs which have thematic suffix //-V:y-// are omitted from the tabulations below.) Of the vowel and consonant combinations possible in a //-VC-// thematic suffix, the only ones attested are //aʔ-//, //-ow-//, //-uw-//, //-iy-//, //-oy-//, //-ay-//, //-uy-// and //-ey-//. As can be seen from the list below, the first four /VC/ combinations form natural classes in terms of distinctive features.

	N
/a/ and /ʔ/ are -high, +low, -round	144
/o/ and /w/ are -low, +back, +round	11
/u/ and /w/ are +high, -low, +back, +round	60
/i/ and /y/ are +high, -low, -back, -round	102
Total	317
/o/ and /y/ are -low (as are /ow/, /uw/, /iy/)	26
/a/ and /y/ are -round (as are /aʔ/, /iy/)	16
/u/ and /y/ are +high, -low (as are /uw/, /iy/)	14
/e/ and /y/ are -low, -back, -round (as are /iy/)	10
Total	66

The common vowel-consonant features in the first four combinations exclude all other possible combinations. (As will be seen below, Section 4.2, //ow-// and //uw-// are allomorphs of each other.) While the vowels and consonants of the remaining four combinations have certain features in common, these features are not exclusive, but are shared with other VC combinations. The four VC combinations which are natural classes account for 83 percent of the total number of thematic suffixes recorded in Table 8.

4.2 Interactions between Root and Thematic Suffix Vowels. Some interactions between CV(:)C root vowels and transitive thematic suffix vowels are apparent, as can be seen from the tabulations below. The first table orders verbs by thematic suffix and lists the CV(:)C root vowels that can occur with each thematic suffix. The second table is reversed, listing root vowels and their associated thematic suffixes.

T.S.	N	Root Vowel = N
-aʔ-	144	i = 55, a = 41, e = 30, u = 13, o = 5
-uw-	60	u = 33, a = 27
-ow-	11	o = 11
-iy-	102	a = 47, i = 23, o = 18, u = 14
-oy-	26	o = 12, i = 9, e = 5,
-ay-	16	a = 9, u = 3, i = 3, e = 1
-uy-	14	a = 8, u = 6
-ey-	10	e = 10

Certain patterns are apparent in the data:

1. T.S. // -aʔ-// can occur with any root vowel, but is rare with /o/.
2. The vowel of the // -Vw-// suffix is strictly conditioned by the root vowel. If the root vowel is /o/, the suffix is // -ow-// and if the root vowel is /u/ or /a/, the suffix is // -uw-//.
3. T.S. // -uy-// is similarly conditioned; the root vowel can only be /a/ or /u/.
4. T.S. // -oy-// occurs only with root vowels /o/, /i/ and /e/; it is thus in complementary distribution with // -uy-//.
5. T.S. // -iy-// can occur with any root vowel except /e/.
6. T.S. // -ey-// occurs only with root vowel /e/; it is thus in complementary distribution with // -iy-//.
7. T.S. // -ay-// occurs with /a/, /u/, /i/, once with /e/, and never with /o/.

The tabulation below examines the same data from the point of view of the root vowel.

Root Vowel	N	Thematic Suffix = N
/a/	132	-iy- = 47, -aʔ- = 41, -uw- = 27, -ay- = 9, -uy- = 8
/i/	90	-aʔ- = 55, -iy- = 23, -oy- = 9, -ay- = 3
/u/	69	-uw- = 33, -iy- = 14, -aʔ- = 13, -uy- = 6, -ay- = 3
/o/	46	-iy- = 18, -oy- = 12, -ow- = 11, -aʔ- = 5
/e/	46	-aʔ- = 30, -ey- = 10, -oy- = 5, -ay- = 1

Considering both tabulations, the following interactions are apparent:

1. /i/ does not co-occur with /e/.
2. /e/ does not co-occur with /i/ or /u/.
3. /u/ does not co-occur with /e/ or /o/.
4. /a/ co-occurs rarely with /o/.
5. /o/ co-occurs rarely with /a/, never with /u/.

There are three sets of suffixes which are in complementary distribution.

1. For thematic suffix // -Vw- //, V = /o/ if the root vowel is /o/ and V = /u/ if the root vowel is /u/ or /a/.
2. For thematic suffix // -Vy- //, where V is [+back, +round], V = /o/ if the root vowel is /o/, /i/ or /e/, and V = /u/ if the root vowel is /u/ or /a/.
3. For thematic suffix // -Vy- //, where V is [-back, -round], V = /i/ if the root vowel is /a/, /i/, /o/ or /u/, and V = /e/ if the root vowel is /e/.

In none of the above cases, however, is it possible to group the root vowels which determine a particular thematic suffix into natural classes. That is, /a/ and /u/ do not form a natural class as opposed

to /o/; and /o/, /i/ and /e/ do not form a natural class as opposed to /u/ and /a/. Of course, /e/ is a class of one, but /a/, /i/, /o/ and /u/ share only the feature [+syllabic], which does not exclude /e/.

The above interactions between root and thematic suffix vowels apply only to transitive verbs. The large class of middle voice verbs has thematic suffixes // -e-//, // -u-// and // -i-//; see Table 13 for the complete list. The following tabulation shows their interaction with root vowels.

T.S.	N	Root Vowel = N
-e-	113	e = 29, a = 27, u = 26, i = 17, o = 14
-u-	13	a = 9, u = 3, i = 1
-i-	9	a = 7, i = 2

Note that // -e-// can co-occur with any root vowel, in sharp contrast with transitive thematic suffix // -ey-//, which co-occurs only with root vowel /e/. Thematic suffix // -u-//, on the other hand, behaves in a similar fashion to thematic suffixes // -uw-// and // -uy-//, in that it co-occurs only with /a/ and /u/, with a single exception, /i/. It is difficult to make any meaningful statement about the small class of verbs with thematic suffix // -i-//.

4.3 Metathesis. Root and thematic suffix interaction is apparent in certain regular metathesis processes which occur when consonantal derivational or inflectional morphemes are suffixed to certain verb roots. Normally, the thematic suffix is deleted before suffixation, but some verb roots metathesize the final consonant of the CVC root and the consonant of the thematic suffix. The three cases where this

happens are listed schematically below. Although all examples are given with the suffixed benefactive morpheme //č/, other derivational and inflectional morphemes also trigger metathesis.

$$1. \text{Ca} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{h} \\ \text{?} \end{Bmatrix} \text{-uw-} \rightarrow \text{Caw} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{h} \\ \text{?} \end{Bmatrix} / \text{___C}$$

wah-uw- 'scatter it'      wawh-č- 'scatter it for s.o.'

laʔ-uw- 'pull it out'      lawʔ-č- 'pull it out for s.o.'

$$2. \text{Ca} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{h} \\ \text{?} \end{Bmatrix} \text{-iy-} \rightarrow \text{Cay} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{h} \\ \text{?} \end{Bmatrix} / \text{___C}$$

ʔah-iy- 'read it'      ʔayh-č- 'read it to s.o.'

k'aʔ-iy- 'carry water'      k'ayʔ-č- 'carry water for s.o.'

$$3. \text{Ci} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{h} \\ \text{?} \end{Bmatrix} \text{-oy-} \rightarrow \text{Ciw} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{h} \\ \text{?} \end{Bmatrix} / \text{___C}$$

bih-oy- 'sear it'      biwh-č- 'sear it for s.o.'

niʔ-oy- 'weight it'      niwʔ-č- 'weight it for s.o.'

Numbers 1 and 2 above can be collapsed into a single rule:

$$\begin{matrix} \text{C}_1 \text{V}_1 \\ \begin{Bmatrix} +\text{low} \\ +\text{back} \end{Bmatrix} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{C}_2 \\ \begin{Bmatrix} +\text{low} \end{Bmatrix} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{-V}_2 \\ \begin{Bmatrix} +\text{high} \\ \alpha\text{back} \end{Bmatrix} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{C}_3 \\ \begin{Bmatrix} +\text{high} \\ \alpha\text{back} \end{Bmatrix} \end{matrix} \rightarrow \text{C}_1 \text{V}_1 \text{C}_3 \text{C}_2 / \text{___C}$$

Number 3 cannot be stated in such schematic fashion. However, another approach makes it possible to handle all three cases of metathesis with a series of three ordered rules:

Rule 1. The thematic suffix metathesizes with the final consonant of the root.

Rule 2. Glides are deleted.

Rule 3.  $\text{V}_2$  [ $\alpha$ round]  $\rightarrow$  glide [ $\alpha$ round]

4.4 Vowel Interactions in Derivational Processes. In a number of derivational processes there is evidence of an interaction between the vowel of the root or stem and the vowel of the derivational suffix. These include various reduplications and intensifications, positional and distributive participles, and two noun derivational morphemes. In the case of derivations based on verb roots or stems the verbal thematic suffix is deleted, but determines the vowel of the derivational suffix, often in complicated ways.

4.4.1 // -V:na? //. This suffix, which can be added only to transitive roots and stems after the thematic suffix has been deleted, adds the meaning 'do it suddenly, in passing, all at once': hap-iy- 'open it', hap-i:na? 'open it suddenly or in passing'; pak-uw- 'spend it', pak-u:na? 'spend it all at once'; see Chapter 6, Section 2.0.

A total of 228 CVC roots and 114 CVCC and longer stems were questioned for the suffix; see Table 29. Examination of the table shows that for roots with thematic suffixes // -Vy- // and // -Vw- //, and for almost all stems, the vowel of the // -V:na? // suffix is the vowel of the deleted thematic suffix, as in the examples above. However, for roots with thematic suffix // -a? - // the vowel of // -V:na? // echoes the vowel of the root, if the root vowel is [+back], i.e., /a/, /o/ or /u/: θay-a:na? 'lift it all at once', k'op-o:na? 'break it suddenly', ?um-u:na? 'grab it in passing'. If the root vowel is /i/, the suffix vowel is usually /i/ (N = 25), but often /o/ (N = 8) and sometimes /a/ (N = 3). Compare lin-i:na? 'flatten it completely' and wil-o:na? 'jerk it loose'. And if the root vowel is /e/, the suffix vowel is



/e/ (N = 10): k'et'-e:na? `jerk it back' or /o/ (N = 8): hep-o:na? `split it with a single blow', and in one case /a/. There is no association between the consonants of the root and the choice of the /e/, /o/, or /a/ suffix vowel, or of /i/ or /o/ in the case of root vowel /i/.

4.4.2 The Repetitive Reduplication. A similar interaction between root and thematic suffix vowel obtains in the repetitive reduplication. This reduplication takes the form  $C_1V_1C_2(C_3)-V_2\{C_2, C_3\}V_2Y-$  if the derived verb is transitive; the last consonant of the root or stem is reduplicated. If the derived verb is intransitive the final /y/ is replaced by /n/. The reduplication conveys the idea of an action done over and over: peθ-oy- `sweep it', peθ-oθoy- `sweep it repeatedly'; pak-uw- `wash clothes', pak-ukuy- `wash lots of clothes, one garment after another'; see Chapter 6, Section 3.1.

A total of 138 transitive and intransitive roots and stems were questioned for this reduplication; see Table 30. For middle voice and intransitive roots and stems and transitive roots and stems with thematic suffixes // -Vy-// and // -Vw-//,  $V_2$  is the vowel of the thematic suffix, as in the examples above. For most transitive stems with thematic suffix // -aʔ-//,  $V_2$  is the vowel of the thematic suffix (N = 14); in one case it is /o/. However, for transitive roots with thematic suffix // -aʔ-//,  $V_2$  is the vowel of the root, if the root vowel is [+back]. If the root vowel is /i/,  $V_2$  is /a/ (N = 1): bi:n-anay- `repeatedly give something to someone'; /o/ (N = 1): lin-onoy- `crush it repeatedly' (lin-iniy- was also given); or /i/ (N = 14). And if root vowel is /e/,  $V_2$  is /o/ (N = 8) or /e/ (N = 2): met'-

et'ey- 'look at it repeatedly' and šek'-ek'ey- 'prick it repeatedly' (\*šek'-ok'oy- was rejected). Again, the consonants of the root had no bearing upon the choice of the  $V_2$  vowel.

4.4.3 The Dilatory Reduplication. This reduplication takes the form  $C_1V_1C_2-C_1V_2:y-$ , and conveys the idea of an action done from time to time, intermittently or absentmindedly: peθ-oy- 'sweep it', peθ-po:y- 'sweep it by fits and starts'; pak-uw- 'wash clothes', pak-pu:y- 'wash clothes with many interruptions to do something else'; See Chapter 6, Section 3.2. Table 30 presents data for 112 verbs. It is not possible to perform this reduplication on most stems, because an impermissible CCC cluster would result ( $*C_1V_1C_2C_3-C_1V_2:y-$ ); see Section 2.1 above. The few examples of dilatory reduplication that I was able to elicit for middle voice and root intransitive verbs had the effect of transitivizing the verb; none was given spontaneously.

As was the case with the  $// -V:na^? //$  suffix and the repetitive reduplication, if the thematic suffix is  $// -\bar{v}y- //$  or  $// -Vw- //$ ,  $V_2$  is the vowel of the thematic suffix. If the thematic suffix is  $// -a^? //$ ,  $V_2$  is the vowel of the root if the root vowel is [+back]. If the root vowel is /i/,  $V_2$  is /i/ (N = 16) or /o/ (N = 1): t'iθ-t'o:y- 'string something intermittently'. If the root vowel is /e/,  $V_2$  can be /o/ (N = 6) or /e/ (N = 4).

4.4.4 Intensive Adjectives. A final example may be added of similar vowel interactions. A large class of intensive adjectives is derived from various stem classes through reduplication; see Chapter 15, Section 7.0. Here we will be concerned only with adjectives derived

from verb roots or stems. The pattern of reduplication is  $C_1V_1C_2(C_3)-\{C_2,C_3\}V_2:l$ ; note the similarity to the repetitive reduplication above. Examples are han-iy- 'sound a drum or bell', hanini:l 'sonorous'; mul-uw- 'form it into a ball', mululu:l 'spherical'. As was the case in the previous derivations, if a verb is intransitive, middle voice, or transitive with thematic suffix  $// -vy - //$  or  $// -vw - //$ ,  $v_2$  is the vowel of the thematic suffix, and if a transitive verb has thematic suffix  $// -a? - //$ ,  $V_2$  is the vowel of the root if the root vowel is [+back]. However, if the root vowel is /i/,  $V_2$  is /o/ (N = 4) or /i/ (N = 2), and if the root vowel is /e/,  $V_2$  is /o/ (N = 4) or /e/ (N = 1).

When I elicited the various derivations discussed above I was not aware of the vowel interactions just described, and therefore did not systematically elicit all comparable derivations. However, a number of verbs with root vowel /i/ or /e/ and thematic suffix  $// -a? - //$  appear in one or more of the tables. Table 33 summarizes the data. In many cases only a single derivation is documented, but in others two or more derivations were elicited for the same verb root. Verbs with root vowel /i/ show a strong tendency for the derivational vowel to echo the root vowel, as is the case with verbs having root vowels /a/, /o/ or /u/. There are a number of exceptions which have derivational vowel /o/, however, and in six cases the same verb root has derivations in both /i/ and /o/. Sometimes alternate forms of the same derivation were given, for example, lin-iniy- and lin-onoy-; elsewhere there seems to be random variation in the vowels of different derivations: θik'-i:na?, θik'-ik'iy-, θik'-ok'o:l.

Verbs with root vowel /e/ show even less tendency to replicate the root vowel. Of the 20 verbs with root vowel /e/, nine have derivations with /o/ only, including three cases where there is more than one derivation for the same root, and nine have derivations in both /o/ and /e/. Again, there seems to be no pattern to the vowel alternation: k<sup>w</sup>eč-e:na?, k<sup>w</sup>eč-očoy-, k<sup>w</sup>eč-k<sup>w</sup>e:y-, k<sup>w</sup>eč-očo:l or lem-e:na?, lem-omoy-, lem-le:y-, lem-eme:l. Further exploration of this phenomenon is obviously necessary. Its demonstration is useful, however, in explaining otherwise unaccountable variations in derivational vowels.

4.4.5 // -V:m// Resultative Nouns. Suffixing // -V:m// to transitive roots and stems is a moderately productive process which derives nouns referring to the result of the action of the verb; see Chapter 8, Section 3.2.7. This process was not explored in depth, but the data suggest a root and suffix vowel interaction similar to that described above. For verb roots or stems with thematic suffix // -Vy-// or // -Vw-// and for transitive stems in // -a?-//, V is the vowel of the thematic suffix. For root transitives with thematic suffix // -a?-//, V is the vowel of the root if the root vowel is /a/ or /u/ (there are no examples with root vowel /o/), and /o/ if the root vowel is /i/ or /e/. Some examples are listed below.

čiš-iy-	clear it	čiš-i:m	cleared land
hol-ow-	throw it out	hol-o:m	broken piece of pottery
			found while plowing
kat-a?-	cut it unevenly	kat-a:m	incomplete part

tuy-aʔ-	lean it to one side	tuy-u:m	bird of bad omen (from its walk?)
k <sup>w</sup> iθ-aʔ-	grind it	k <sup>w</sup> iθ-o:m	something ground, like chile sauce
heθ-aʔ-	prop it against something	heθ-o:m	tortilla propped on the side of the griddle

4.4.6 Nouns Derived with // -Vk' //. This minor deverbal derivation is discussed in Chapter 8, Section 3.2.10, and the complete list of examples is given in Table 36. Although the number of examples is small, there are some suggestive vowel interactions. Again, nouns derived from verbs with thematic suffix // -Vy- // or // -Vw- // replicate the vowel of the thematic suffix. There are only three examples of verbs with thematic suffix // -aʔ- // . The one verb with root vowel /a/ has suffix // -ik' // : pal-aʔ- 'hang it', pal-ik' 'something carried dangling', while the two verbs with root vowels /i/ and /e/ have suffix // -ok' // : wiθ-aʔ- 'rub it, strip it', wiθ-ok' 'slingshot'; pel-aʔ- 'stretch it out horizontally', pel-ok' 'crossbar'.

4.4.7 Distributive Participles. Distributive participles have the shape CVC-V-čik. They can be formed on transitive and middle voice roots and convey the sense of spatial rather than temporal distribution: ʔeθ-ey- 'gather firewood', ʔeθ-e-čik 'firewood gathered here and there'; nuh-uw- 'sell it', nuh-u-čik 'sold in a number of places'; beθ-e- 'hang, be suspended', beθ-e-čik 'hanging here and there, like bats in a cave'. See Chapter 5, Section 1.2.5.3 and Table 16. For transitive verbs with thematic suffix // -Vy- // or // -Vw- // the vowel of the distributive participle is the vowel of the thematic suffix. If a verb has thematic suffix // -aʔ- // , V is the vowel of the

root, even if the root vowel is /i/ or /e/. There are only 13 examples of this derivation on middle voice roots. Roots with thematic suffix // -e-// or // -u-// replicate this vowel, with one exception: ǰaʔ-a-čik from ǰaʔ-e- 'descend, diminish'. In the two cases where the thematic suffix is // -i-//, V replicates the root vowel /a/: kʷaǰ-a-čik from kʷaǰ-i- 'lie down' and paʔ-a-čik from paʔ-i- 'descend'.

4.4.8 Positional Participles. A different and more limited kind of root vowel/suffix vowel interaction is apparent in the formation of positional participles; see Chapter 5, Section 1.2.5.2 and Table 15. Positional participial suffixes are formed from transitive and intransitive verb roots by reduplicating and lengthening the root vowel and adding /l/: čin-aʔ- 'stiffen it', čin-i:l 'extended and rigid'; šuy-uw- 'narrow it', šuy-u:l 'narrowed'; hač-e- 'become knotted, tangled', hač-a:l 'tangled, knotted'. The only exception to the rule above occurs if the root vowel is /a/, in which case the vowel of // -V:l// is the vowel of the thematic suffix of the verb: kal-uw- 'stretch or extend it', kal-u:l 'spread out'; kwal-iy- 'lean it, tip it', kwal-i:l 'inclined, hanging down'.

4.5 Other Vowel Processes. A number of other morphophonemic processes result in vowel changes. These include vowel dissimilation, one case where a deleted vowel determines a suffix vowel, and certain other vowel regularities.

4.5.1 Vowel Dissimilation in Possessive and Gentilic Suffixes. A // -Vl// suffix is added to many nouns when they are possessed; see

Chapter 10, Section 1.1. The vowel of the suffix undergoes a completely regular process of dissimilation. If the final vowel of a noun root or stem is /e/, /a/, /o/ or /u/, the suffix is // -il//; if the final vowel is /i/, the suffix is // -al//: ʔu lem-il 'my butterfly', ʔu tan-il 'my canoe', ʔu koy-il 'my rabbit', ʔu ʔuh-il 'my avocado', but ʔu ʔig-al 'my chile'.

A similar dissimilation occurs with the suffix // -lV:l//, which marks part/whole or inherent possession; see Chapter 10, Section 1.4. If the final vowel of the noun root or stem is /i/, the suffix is // -la:l//; otherwise it is // -li:l//: ʔin ʔiθiθ-la:l 'its kernels (of the corn ear)', ʔin boh-li:l 'its cob (of the corn ear)'.

Part/whole or inherent possession can also be marked with a // -V<sub>n</sub>:l// suffix; this is described in Section 1.5 of Chapter 10. Here the vowel of the suffix usually echoes the final vowel of the noun root or stem: ʔin ʔot'-o:l 'its skin (of my finger)', ʔin wig-i:l 'its flower (of the tree)'. In four cases, listed in Section 1.5.2, the vowel of the suffix does not follow the above rule. There is no discernable pattern or regularity to the four exceptions.

The gentilic suffix, // -i(:)b// or // -a:b//, is added to a town name or location to designate someone from or a native of the town or location; see Chapter 9, Section 3.5. The choice of suffix is partly determined by the kind of vowel dissimilation described above. If the final vowel of the stem is /a/ or /o/, the suffix is // -i(:)b//, and if the final vowel of the stem is /i/, the suffix is // -a:b//: lahaš-ib 'someone from Tanlajas', ʔakičmōm-i:b 'someone from Aquismon', ʔawil-a:b 'someone from Tanchahuil'. However, if the final vowel of

the stem is /e/, the suffix may be either *//-i(:)b//* or *//-a:b//*:  
*lehem-i:b* `someone from Lehem', *ǰ'e:n-a:b* `someone who lives in the  
 sierra' (*ǰ'e:n* `sierra').

4.5.2 Deleted Vowel Determines Suffix Vowel. Deverbal nouns derived with the *//-Vk'* suffix were described above in Section 4.3.6. These nouns may be reverbalized by adding a verbal thematic suffix and deleting the vowel of the *//-Vk'* suffix; see Table 36. The transitive thematic suffix is always *//-Vy-*, with V echoing the vowel of the *//-Vk'* suffix. The rules must be ordered as stated above so that the vowel of *//-Vk'* can determine the vowel of *//-Vy-* before being deleted.

4.5.3 Other Vowel Regularities. A few adjective stem formatives of the shape *//-VC//* display vowel regularities. There is no discernable pattern either to the stem formatives which show these regularities, or to the kind of regularity exhibited. They will simply be listed below.

*//-Vw//* is a productive suffix which derives adjectives from CVC unique constituents and nouns; see Chapter 15, Section 1.2.17. If the vowel of the root is /i/ or /o/, the stem formative is *//-ow//*; if the root vowel is /e/, /a/ or /u/, the stem formative is *//-uw//*.

Another productive stem formative, *//-Vʔ//*, derives adjectives from CVC unique constituents, noun and verb roots. In the majority of the 22 examples listed in Section 1.2.19 of Chapter 15, the vowel of the suffix echoes the vowel of the CVC root. In five cases it does not.



Productive stem formative *// -Vy //* derives 22 adjectives from CVC unique constituents and a few noun and adjective roots. With the exception of two terms the vowel of *// -Vy //* echoes the vowel of the CVC root.

There are no discernable vowel regularities in the remaining adjective stem formatives.

4.5.4 Participial Adjectives Derived from Nouns with *// -Vθ //*. When suffixed to nouns *// -Vθ //* conveys the meaning 'with noun, full of noun, noun-y'; see Chapter 15, Section 6.1. A number of morphophonemic rules apply to this derivation. 1. With minor exceptions, if the noun stem is CVCVC or longer a final short vowel is deleted before suffixing *// -Vθ //*: lak-ab 'skirt', lak-b-iθ 'skirted', but ʔam-u:l 'trash', ʔam-u:l-iθ 'trashy'. 2. Noun stem formative *// -Vl //* is always deleted; other stem formatives are not: šek-el 'leaf', šek-eθ 'leafy'. 3. With a few exceptions, the vowel of *// -Vθ //* is /i/, except when Rule 2 applies, when V is the vowel of the CVC root, as in šek-eθ above.

4.5.5 Co-occurrence Restrictions with Generic Suffix *// -la(:)b //*. A large number of Huastec nouns are usually possessed, and can be unpossessed only by adding either the absolutive *// -lek //* or generic *// -la(:)b //* suffix. Vowel length in the *// -la(:)b //* suffix is primarily determined by the noun root or stem. If the noun root is CVC (or if a stem has been reduced to CVC by morphophonemic deletion processes), the suffix is *// -lab //*, with short vowel. If the noun stem is CV:C or longer (CVCV, CVCVC, etc.) the suffix is *// -la:b //*.

4.6 Consonant Co-occurrence Phenomena. A few co-occurrence restrictions involving consonants can be documented. These include the choice of the *//m-//* or *//b-//* variant of the inchoative derivational morpheme, choice of the *//Vy-//* or *//Vw-//* thematic suffix following derivational morphemes *//-ɕ-//* and *//-ɕ'-//*, and impermissible consonant clusters.

4.6.1 The Inchoative Derivational Morphemes. A very productive process derives inchoative verbs from adjectives and some nouns by suffixing derivational morphemes *//b-//* or *//m-//*, followed by thematic suffix *//e:-//*. The resulting stems can then be inflected for incomplete, complete and perfect tense/aspect; see Chapter 7, Section 2.4. The choice of the *//b-//* or *//m-//* inchoative morpheme is in part phonetically determined. If the final consonant of the adjective stem is a bilabial stop the inchoative stem is formed with *//m-//*: ʔelab 'better', ʔelab-m-e:- 'get better'. If the final consonant is a nasal the inchoative stem is formed with *//b-//*: hek'om 'disobedient', hek'om-b-e:- 'become disobedient'. If a stem contains an initial or medial bilabial stop, and does not end in a nasal, the inchoative stem is usually formed with *//m-//*: ɕapik 'hard', ɕapik-m-e:- 'become hard', and if a stem contains an initial or medial nasal and does not end in a bilabial stop, the inchoative stem is usually formed with *//b-//*: nakat 'long', nakat-b-e:- 'become long'. Sometimes in these latter two cases both variants were elicited. Finally, if there is no bilabial stop or nasal in the stem there is free variation between *//m-//* and *//b-//*.

A total of 121 adjectives were questioned for the inchoative derivation at least three times each over a period of several months; often more than one variant was given during a single elicitation session. The following tabulation presents the results.

Final Consonant	//-m-//	//-b-//	Both
bilabial stop	4	0	0
nasal	0	12	1
<b>Initial or Medial Consonant</b>			
bilabial stop	10	1	13
nasal	0	20	2
<b>No Bilabial Stop or Nasal</b>	13	6	47

It is apparent that consonant dissimilation is an active process in the formation of inchoative verbs.

4.6.2 Derivational Morphemes // -ç-// and // -ç'-//. These derivational morphemes add the meaning 'do it all, do it completely, finish doing it' to transitive, middle voice and intransitive verb roots; see Chapter 6, Section 1.4 and Tables 21 and 22. Although data are limited, an interaction can be demonstrated between these derivational morphemes and the thematic suffixes which follow them. If the derivational morpheme is // -ç-// it is followed by transitive thematic suffix // -Vy-//: peh-a?- 'break it', peh-ç-oy- 'break it all'; and if the derivational morpheme is // -ç'-//, it is followed by transitive thematic suffix // -Vw-//: wil-a?- 'untie it', wil-ç'-ow- 'unravel it'. There are only two exceptions to this rule: tap-ç'-iy- 'burst it' and pol-ç'-oy- 'hook it together'. When the derived verb

is intransitive,  $//-\phi//$  and  $//-\phi'-//$  are usually followed by the  $//-Vn-//$  absolutive intransitive suffix. If the derivational morpheme is  $//-\phi//$  the vowel of the suffix is /i/: ʔeh-el- 'move, stir', ʔehɣ-in- 'awake, revive'; and if the derivational morpheme is  $//-\phi'-//$  the vowel of the suffix is /o/: θop-e- 'inflate, swell up', θop-φ'-on- 'be completely inflated'. The one exception to this rule is hik'-φ-on- 'be surprised'. With minor exceptions, then,  $//-\phi//$  and  $//-\phi'-//$  are in complementary distribution with each other.

4.6.3 Impermissible Consonant Clusters. In addition to the interdiction of CCC clusters (Section 1.2 above), there are certain restrictions on CC combinations in verbal derivations. They will be described below. Subsequently, in Section 9.0, ways of circumventing these and other restrictions will be discussed.

Huastec has a very productive set of verbal derivational morphemes, single consonants which can be suffixed to a verb root to derive semantically complex stems. These morphemes, which are discussed at length in Chapter 6, are  $//-\check{c}-//$ ,  $//-p-//$ ,  $//-\phi-//$ ,  $//-\phi'-//$ ,  $//-l-//$ ,  $//-k-//$  and  $//-k'-//$ .

4.6.3.1 General Rules. There are two rules which apply to all of the derivational morphemes. The first interdicts the suffixation of a derivational morpheme to a CVC root which ends in the same consonant as the derivational morpheme. That is:

$$*[C_1VC_2]_R / \_\_\_//-\phi-//$$

In essence, the rule blocks any possibility of geminate consonant reduction, which would destroy the identity either of the final consonant of the verb root or of the derivational morpheme.

A second general rule interdicts the suffixation of a derivational morpheme which is homorganic with the consonant which begins the CVC root. That is:

$$*[C_1VC_2]_R / \_ // -C_1 - //$$

This rule is necessary to avoid confusion of a derivational morpheme with the reduplication of the initial consonant of the root, such as occurs in the dilatory reduplication described above in Section 4.3.3. For example, derivational morpheme  $// -p - //$  adds the meaning 'do it quickly, at once'. In theory, it could be added to the root of pit-a? 'scrape it off' to mean 'scrape it off quickly'. However \*pit-p-iy- is not permitted because of possible confusion with the attested dilatory reduplication pit-pi:y- 'scrape it from time to time'.

In addition to these general rules, there are consonant cluster interdictions specific to each derivational morpheme.

4.6.3.2  $// -\check{c} - //$ . If the final consonant of a CVC root is a plain or glottalized affricate or dental stop,  $// -\check{c} - //$  cannot be suffixed directly to the root.

$$* \left\{ \begin{array}{l} t \\ t' \\ s \\ s' \\ c \\ c' \end{array} \right\} / \_ // -\check{c} //$$

or

$$* \begin{bmatrix} +\text{CONS} \\ -\text{CONT} \\ -\text{SON} \\ +\text{COR} \\ (+\text{CHECKED}) \end{bmatrix} / \_ // \begin{bmatrix} +\text{CONS} \\ -\text{CONT} \\ -\text{SON} \\ +\text{COR} \\ +\text{HIGH} \end{bmatrix} //$$

4.6.3.3 // -p -//. If the final consonant of a CVC root is a bilabial stop, // -p -// cannot be suffixed directly.

$$* \begin{matrix} b \\ p \end{matrix} / \_ // -p -//$$

or

$$* \begin{bmatrix} +\text{CONS} \\ -\text{SON} \\ +\text{ANT} \\ -\text{COR} \\ (+\text{ VOICE}) \end{bmatrix} / \_ // \begin{bmatrix} +\text{CONS} \\ -\text{SON} \\ +\text{ANT} \\ -\text{COR} \end{bmatrix} //$$

4.6.3.4 // -t -// and // -t' -//. These derivational morphemes cannot be suffixed to roots ending in plain or glottalized dental, alveolar or alveopalatal stops, affricates or fricatives.

$$* \left\{ \begin{matrix} t \\ t' \\ \phi \\ \phi' \\ s \\ \phi \\ \phi' \\ s \end{matrix} \right\} / \_ // - \left\{ \begin{matrix} \phi \\ \phi' \end{matrix} \right\} - //$$

or

$$* \begin{bmatrix} +\text{CONS} \\ +\text{COR} \\ -\text{VOICE} \\ (+\text{CHECKED}) \end{bmatrix} / \_ // \begin{bmatrix} +\text{CONS} \\ +\text{COR} \\ +\text{ANT} \\ +\text{STRID} \\ (+\text{CHECKED}) \end{bmatrix} //$$

4.6.3.5 // -l -//. Except for the general interdiction on suffixing a derivational morpheme to a root ending in the same consonant as the derivational morpheme, there are no restrictions on consonants which

may precede  $//\text{-l-}//$ .

4.6.3.6  $//\text{-k-}//$  and  $//\text{-k'-}//$ . These derivational morphemes can be suffixed to any root except one beginning or ending with plain or glottalized velars or labialized velars.

$$* \begin{Bmatrix} k \\ k' \\ k^w \\ k^w \end{Bmatrix} / \_ // \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} k \\ k' \end{Bmatrix} - //$$

or

$$* \begin{bmatrix} +\text{CONS} \\ +\text{BACK} \\ (+\text{CHECKED}) \end{bmatrix} / \_ // \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{CONS} \\ +\text{BACK} \\ - \text{ROUND} \\ (+\text{CHECKED}) \end{bmatrix} //$$

The one exception to this rule, kem-k'-a?- 'dull it accidentally' (from kem-a?- 'blunt a cutting edge'), may be an elicitation error, since the same assistant later gave kem-p-a?- with the same translation.

5.0 Consonant Alternations. Consonant allophones, geminate consonant reduction, glottal and other consonant deletions will be discussed below.

5.1 Consonant Allophones. These rules will be listed below and a few examples given.

$$5.1.1 \quad \begin{Bmatrix} \emptyset \\ \emptyset' \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \check{s} / \_ \begin{Bmatrix} t \\ c \end{Bmatrix}$$

ne<sup>?</sup>e<sup>?</sup> ti 'going to'  $\rightarrow$  neš ti

šig<sup>?</sup>te? 'blood + tree'  $\rightarrow$  šište?

ʔuli<sup>?</sup>čik 'arrived-PL'  $\rightarrow$  ʔuliščik

## 5.1.2 č → š / \_\_ θ

k'oč-o:l 'fat, bulky'      k'oš-θa?      'fat, bulky (pl.)'

5.1.3 n → m / \_\_\_  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} p \\ b \end{array} \right\}$ 

kon-lab 'chaff'      kom-bač ?an te?      'sawdust'

kun-eliǰ 'shrivels up'      kum-paθ ?in ?iči:č 'resentful'  
(shriveled up his heart)

5.1.4  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} t \\ \emptyset \\ c \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow [+CHECKED] / \_ k'$ 

but-uw- 'make it swell'      but'-k'aθ      'protruding'

toǰ-ik' 'brace, prop'      toǰ'-k'iy-      'prop it closed'

pič-a?-' 'burst it'      pič'-k'an-      'burst apart'

## 5.1.5 ? → ∅ / \_\_ k'

tana:? 'there' + -k'i 'qualifier'      tana:k'i 'right there'

hawa? 'what' + -k'i      hawa:k'i 'whatever'

## 5.1.6 hu → w/ a \_\_ C

mah-uy- 'paint it'      maw-lab      'paint'

## 5.1.7 wa? → o/ \_\_ [+bilabial]

This is a minor process, which applies only to the two terms

below.

teh-wa? 'visible'      teh-o-me:l      'becomes visible'

?al-wa? 'good'      ?al-o-be:l      'beautiful'

5.1.8  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} k \\ k' \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [+round] / \_ \left[ \begin{array}{l} l \\ č \end{array} \right]$



These are optional processes.

pak-aʔ-	`fold it`	pak-l-aʔ-	`fold it over`
		pak <sup>w</sup> -l-aʔ-	`fold it over`
lak'-uw-	`scrape it away`	lak'-č-	`scrape it for s.o.`
		lak <sup>w</sup> -č-	`scrape it for s.o.`

### 5.1.9 t'(V) → č/\_\_\_#

This is an optional process which occurs in rapid speech.

hant'ó	`what?`	hanč	`what?`
--------	---------	------	---------

5.2 Geminate Consonant Reduction. Geminate reduction occurs, especially in rapid speech, but only on condition that the identity of the CVC root be preserved. That is, geminate reduction is blocked across a root boundary. For example, when the absolutive, generic or possessive noun suffixes // -lek-//, // -la(:)b-// or // -li:l// are suffixed to a noun stem of the shape CVCV1, the following morphophonemic processes occur:

$$l \rightarrow \emptyset / \_ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} -lek \\ -la(:)b \\ -li:l \end{array} \right\}$$

$$V \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{CVC} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} -lek \\ -la(:)b \\ -li:l \end{array} \right\} \text{---} \left[ \text{-LAT} \right]$$

huh-ul → \*huh-u-lek → huh-lek but:

wal-il → wal-i-la:b \*wal-la:b

The deletion of /i/ in walila:b is blocked to prevent a geminate /ll/ cluster, since reduction of this cluster would require that geminate reduction take place across a CVC root boundary.

Two further examples may clarify this point. //ʔeh-// is the root of the intransitive verb 'move'; //ʔi:t// is the root adjective 'new'.

ʔeh-el- 'move, stir'

ʔeh-at 'alive'

ʔeh-a-tal 'one's life': ʔehat + //-tal// 'abstractive'

ʔi:t 'new'

ʔi:t-tal 'newness': ʔi:t + //-tal//

\*ʔi:tal

A final example is based on the verb ǰin-aʔ 'conceal it, hide it'. When this verb is intransitivized with the absolutive //-Vn-// suffix, the stem that results is ǰin-an-. If the incomplete inflectional suffix //-al// or the perfect inflectional suffix //-e:nek// are added, the vowel of //-an-// obligatorily deletes, giving ǰin-n-al and ǰin-n-e:nek. Since the /n/ of //ǰin-// is part of the verb root, it cannot undergo geminate reduction, and ǰinnal and ǰinne:nek are pronounced with geminated /n/'s.

5.3 Consonant Deletion. Certain consonants are regularly deleted, especially in rapid speech, when they occur medially between vowels. These include the two which are [+LOW]: /ʔ/ and /h/, and the two glides, /w/ and /y/, which are [+SON, -ANT]. The vowels of the VV cluster which results after deletion merge; see Section 6.2 below.

5.3.1 /ʔ/ and /h/ Deletion. The initial /ʔ/ of the clitic pronouns

is weak and is always lost when the pronouns are preceded by the preposition and subordinating particle ti or the ka subjunctive marker. The particles elide with the clitic pronouns and the vowels of the particles are deleted:

ti + ?in --> tin `to his`  
 ti + ?a --> ta `to your`  
 ka + ?in --> kin `that he`  
 ka + ?a --> ka `that you`

The glottal of the clitic pronouns is optionally lost after ?ani `and` and hu?ta `where`, with subsequent vowel merging:

?ani + ?u --> ?anu `and I`  
 ?ani + ?in --> ?anin `and he`  
 hu?ta ?u nuhuwa:b --> hu?tu nuhuwa:b `where are they sold?`

One frequent deletion occurs in rapid speech when the third person independent pronoun haha:ʔ is followed by the third person ergative clitic pronoun ?in. The /-aʔ/ of haha:ʔ and the /ʔ/ of ?in are lost, with subsequent merging of the vowels: hahi:n. This deletion and merging process does not occur with the first and second person independent pronouns, nor with the third person absolutive clitic pronoun ?u.

The final /ʔ/ of thematic suffix // -aʔ-// is always deleted before vowel initial inflectional suffixes:

θay-aʔ- `lift it up` + -al `incompletive` --> θay-a:l  
                       + -a:mal `perfect`              --> θay-a:mal

Two defective verbs, the transitive kwaʔal 'have it' and the intransitive neʔeʔ 'go' usually delete the /ʔ/ in rapid speech. In these two cases, however, the vowel is short:

ʔa kw<sup>a</sup>al 'you have it'

ʔit neʔ 'you go'

Final /ʔ/ is often deleted before a vowel-initial suffix:

ʔalwaʔ 'good' + -iʔ 'emphatic' --> ʔalwa:ʔ 'good, indeed'

ʔalwaʔ 'good' + -ak 'irrealis' --> ʔalwa:k 'perhaps good'

hitaʔ 'who' + -ak + -iʔ + k'e 'qualifier' --> hita:kiʔk'e  
'whosoever'

Adjectives which end in /ʔ/ delete that /ʔ/ before reduplication:

leyoʔ shining                      leyoyo:l sparkling

manuʔ yellow                      manunu:l very yellow

miliʔ dotted, perforated      milili:l dotted or perforated all  
over

ʔakniʔ red                      ʔaknini:l very red

Final weak /h/ (which is not written in my phonemic transcriptions; see Section 2.1.5, Chapter 2) surfaces before vowel-initial suffixes. It may subsequently be deleted in rapid speech:

kal-e- 'went out' + -iʔ --> kalehiʔ --> kale:ʔ 'went out  
already'

wakl-e- 'got late' + -iʔ --> waklehiʔ --> wakle:ʔ 'got late  
indeed'

/ʔ/ and /h/ deletions before clitics may be summarized:

$$\begin{array}{c} V_1C_1 \\ [+low] \end{array} V_2C_2 \rightarrow V_1:C_2$$

Sometimes final weak /h/ surfaces before /ʔ/-initial clitic particles which have lost their /ʔ/ and syllabifies with the vowel of the clitic:

ʔani(h) ʔan košol → ʔani han košol `and the rooster`

ʔani(h) ʔu wilʒonal → ʔani hu wilʒonal `and it gets loose`

5.3.2 /w/ and /y/ Deletion. The /w/ of the // -Vw-// thematic suffix is regularly deleted when followed by the perfect inflection:

nuh-uw- `sell it` + -a:mal → nuhu:mal `has sold it`

k'oh-ow- `harvest it` + -a:mal → k'oho:mal `has harvested it`

/w/ is also deleted in rapid speech when followed by the emphatic suffix // -iʒ//:

nuh-uw- `sell it` + -iʒ → nuhu:ʒ `sold it already`

ʔeht-ow- `be able to` + -iʒ → ʔehto:ʒ `was indeed able to`

The /y/ of the // -Vy// thematic suffix does not delete when followed by the perfect inflectional suffix:

bač-iy- `twirl it` + -a:mal → bačiya:mal `has twirled it`  
\*bači:mal

However, the /y/ can delete when followed by the emphatic clitic // -iʒ//:

bač-iy- `twirl it' + -iǰ --> bačiyiǰ --> bači:ǰ `twirled it  
indeed'

Word internal /y/ can optionally delete:

ʔiyela:b `seed' --> ʔi:yla:b `seed'

5.4 Consonant Variations in Related Words. There are a number of sound changes in related pairs of words which suggest that they may be survivals of older derivational processes. A few examples are given below, but the list is not exhaustive; see also McQuown (1984:89).

hik-aʔ-	`smell it'	hik'-aʔ-	`sniff it'
k'wiǰ-aʔ-	`grind it in a mortar'	k'wiǰ'-aʔ-	`roll it, coil it'
pak-aʔ-	`fold it'	pak'-aʔ-	`flatten it'
θik-aʔ-	`drain or strain it'	θik'-aʔ-	`sip it, soak it up'
ǰ'ik'-aʔ-	`sting it, bite it'	ǰ'ik <sup>w</sup> -iy-	`pinch it'
ʔač-im-	`bathe'	ʔaǰ'-e-	`get wet'
tiθ	`fart' (n)	tiy-al-	`fart' (v)
ǰ'iʔ	`anus'	ǰ'ih-al-	`defecate'

6.0 Vowel Alternations. In this section vowel deletion, vowel merging, vowel shortening and derivational vowel lengthening will be considered.

6.1 Unstressed Vowel Deletion. Unstressed vowels are usually deleted provided the following conditions are met: the vowel must be short, non-root, and unstressed; CCC clusters may not result from the deletion, and CC clusters are permitted only if a syllable boundary

occurs between the two consonants and if they do not violate impermissible cluster rules.

The vowels of antipassive, *// -Vn -//* absolutive and root intransitive thematic suffixes are routinely deleted when a vowel-initial inflectional suffix is added. In the examples below the deleted vowel is in parentheses.

biš-om- dance-AP-	`dance´	biš-(o)m-a:ǰ dance-AP-COM	`danced´
ǰeʔ-el- grind-AP-	`grind´	ǰeʔ-(e)l-a:maθ grind-AP-PER	`has ground´
tʰoh-on- work-VN-	`work´	tʰoh-(o)n-e:nek work-VN-PER	`has worked´
ʔa:θ-il- run-TS-	`run´	ʔa:θ-(i)l-a:ǰ run-TS-COM	`has run´

See Chapter 5 for additional examples.

The vowels of transitive thematic suffixes *// -Vy -//* and *// -Vw -//*, and middle voice thematic suffix *// -e -//* are frequently deleted in rapid speech, but are usually retained in slow, careful speech.

hap-iy- open-TS-	`open it´	hap-iy-a:mal hap-(i)y-a:mal open-TS-PER	`has opened it´
baǰ'-uw- receive-TS-	`receive it´	baǰ'-uw-al baǰ'-(u)w-al receive-TS-INC	`receives it´
čuč'-e- dry.out-TS-	`dry out´	čuč'-e-nek čuč'-(e)-nek dry.cut-TS-PER	`has dried out´

Noun stems that are CVCVC or longer delete the final vowel before verbal derivational suffixes are added. A very productive process derives verbs from nouns with transitive thematic suffix *// -iy -//* or

intransitive // -in- //. In the examples below // -il // and // -at // are noun stem formatives.

ʔih-il	`saliva`	ʔih-(i)l-iy-	`spit on s.o.`
ʔah-at	`song`	ʔah-(a)t-in-	`sing`

See Chapter 8 for additional examples.

Deletion of the final short vowel of a noun stem is one of several morphophonemic processes involved in the derivation of participial adjectives from nouns, described in Section 4.5.4 above. Vowel deletion after geminate consonant reduction was described in Section 5.2. Finally, when the subordinating and subjunctive particles ti and ka combine with the clitic cross-reference pronouns, the vowel of the particles is deleted, as well as the initial /ʔ/ of the pronouns; see 5.3.1 above.

6.2 Vowel Merging. When consonant deletion (5.3 above) leads to VV clusters, the two vowels merge into a single long vowel. If the vowels are unlike, V<sub>2</sub> assimilates to V<sub>1</sub>.

yabaʔ	`not`	+ -iϕ	`emphatic`	-->	yaba:ϕ
kʔatʔ-uw-	`bite it`	+ -a:mal	`perfect`	-->	kʔatʔu:mal
tʔok-e-	`purify`	+ -iϕ	`emphatic`	-->	tʔoke:ϕ

6.3 Vowel Shortening. There are a number of cases where long vowels are regularly shortened. They will be described briefly below, with reference to the section of the manuscript where they are discussed at greater length.

When // -leʔ //, `step-, adoptive` is suffixed to kin terms with long vowels, those vowels are shortened; see Chapter 9, Section 3.9.



ma:m `grandfather`      mamle? `stepgrandfather`  
 ta:ta `father`          tatile? `stepfather`

CV:C noun roots shorten the vowel when possessed stems are formed with suffixes *//-lI:l//* (Chapter 10, Section 1.4) or *//-V<sub>n</sub>:l//* (Chapter 10, Section 1.5).

All independent pronouns have stress on the last long vowel of the pronoun: *tata:?*, *haha:?*, etc. However, when these pronouns directly follow an introductory adverbial, the final vowel is shortened and there is a predictable shift of stress to the first syllable; see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.1.

1. maš háha? yab ?alwa?...  
    if she   not good...  
       `If she is not good...`
2. tam táta? k-it   či:č...  
    when you   SUBJ-B2 come...  
       `When you come...`

Some adjectives have long vowels when used predicatively, but short vowels if they are used attributively. I have been unable to determine any pattern to the vowels that do this versus those that do not.

3. ?an ?inik leh pu:lik  
    the man   vary big  
       `The man is very big.`
4. Ø huč-n-al   ?an pulik ?ik´  
    B3 blow-VN-INC the big wind

‘A big wind is blowing.’

A number of derived nouns have long vowels, which are shortened if they are used adjectivally; see Chapter 8, Section 3.2.6 and Chapter 15, Section 6.3.

ʔan øeme:lɔn ‘the dead person or animal’

ʔan øemelɔm koʃɔl ‘the dead rooster’

Several derivations based on cardinal numbers require shortening the vowel if it is long.

hu:n ‘one’ + -čik ‘plural’ --> hunčik ‘some’

ɕa:b ‘two’ + -či:l ‘ordinal suffix’ --> ɕabči:l ‘second’

ɕa:b ‘two’ + -lɔm ‘collective’ --> ɕablɔm ‘two things grouped together’

ɕa:b ‘two’ + -il ‘possessive suffix’ --> ɕabil ‘great-’, with terms for relatives

Numbers preceding measure words (e.g., koteʔ ‘slice’) have a short vowel:

ɕab koteʔ ʔi pan ‘two slices of bread’

Preceding some verbs with ɕa:b adds the meaning ‘do it again’:

ɕa:b ‘two’ + pak‘aʔ ‘fold it’ --> ɕab pak‘aʔ ‘refold it’

Vowels in noun compounds are sometimes shortened, but not always predictably. For example, preposition ʔa:l is always short:

ʔa:l ‘in’ + teʔ ‘tree’ --> ʔalte ‘forest, woods’

Other cases are idiosyncratic:

θay-aʔ- ‘lift it up’ + θa:m ‘nose’ --> θayθam ‘bedbug’

6.4 Derivational Vowel Lengthening. There are a number of cases where vowel lengthening is part of a derivational process. Because of the rule that stress falls on the last long vowel of a word (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.1), the derivations often involve a stress shift. Cases and examples will be listed below, with reference to the chapters where they are discussed at length.

Chapter 5, Section 1.2.2. Reciprocal verbs are derived from  $//\text{-}\check{V}\check{S}\text{-}//$  antipassive verbs by lengthening both root and derivational morpheme vowels.

$kwa\theta\text{-}a\check{s}\text{-}\emptyset$	`hit´	$kwa:\theta\text{-}a:\check{s}\text{-}\emptyset$	`hit one another´
hit-AP-INC			

Chapter 7, Section 2.2. Verbs can be derived from nouns or adjectives with derivational morpheme  $//\text{-}l\text{-}//$ . If the noun or adjective stem is CVCVC, the final vowel of the stem is lengthened.

$\emptyset\text{'}uhak\text{'}$	`sprout, shoot´	$\emptyset\text{'}uha:k\text{'-}l\text{-}iy\text{-}$	`sprout´ (v)
		sprout-DM-TS-	
$manu\text{?}$	`yellow´	$manu:\text{?}\text{-}l\text{-}i\theta$	`yellowed´
		yellow-DM-PPL	

Chapter 8, Section 3.3.1.1. Subject nouns can be derived from middle voice verbs by adding  $//\text{-}om\text{-}//$  to the incomplete inflection of the verb. If the vowel in the incomplete inflection is not already long, it is lengthened.

$\emptyset em\text{-}e\text{-}l$	`dies´	$\emptyset em\text{-}e\text{-}l\text{-}om$	`dead person´
die-TS-INC			

Chapter 9, Section 1.3.1. Nouns can be derived from most adjective

stems by lengthening the final vowel of the stem.

hiliy	`sour´	hili:y	`sourness´
ʔalwaʔ	`good´	ʔalwa:ʔ	`goodness´

Chapter 9, Section 3.8. Lengthening the final vowel of the noun stem and adding // -be// is a moderately productive process that derives a noun meaning `afflicted with or suffering from Noun´.

nuhum	`worm´	nuhu:mbe	`suffering from intestinal worms´
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Chapter 10, Section 1.1. Possessed forms of many nouns are made by lengthening a final short vowel of the noun stem, if the stem is CVCV or longer, and adding the possessive suffix // -V1//. Section 2.0 of Chapter 10 gives examples of the same process with derived and reduplicated stems.

koʃol	`rooster´	ʔu koʃo:l-il	`my rooster´
ʔoyʔom	`toasted tortilla´	ʔu ʔoyʔo:m-il	`my toasted tortilla´
ʒumʒum	`papatla plant´	ʔu ʒumʒu:m-il	`my papatla´

Chapter 10, Section 1.3 describes a class of nouns which derive their possessed form by lengthening the vowel of the base form of the noun.

nuk´	`neck´	ʔu nu:k´	`my neck´
ʒoʒob	`hoof´	ʔin ʒoʒo:b	`its hoof´

6.5 Vowel Variations in Related Words. As with the consonant variations described above in 5.4, vowel variations suggest survivals of old vowel derivational processes. A few examples are listed below; see also McQuown (1984:90-910).

ʔat'-aš	'dirty, filthy'	ʔit'-iš	'vexing, annoying'
bik'-iy-	'strike it with the hand'	bok'-iy-	'beat or slap it noisily'
hum-un-	'fly'	ham-nek	'spirit who flies through the air'
ʔol-on-	'pray, harangue'	ʔul-uw-	'say it, speak it'
pik'oʔ	'dog'	pek'-oy-	'lick it'
t'ah-aʔ-	'do it'	t'oh-on-	'work'
θa:m	'nose'	θim-iy-	'blow the nose'
∅em-e-	'die'	∅am-nek	'cadaver'
∅'eb-at	'sleepy'	∅'ib-k'-an-	'become quiet'

7.0 Minor Deletion and Contraction Processes. Listed here are processes which are optional or unpredictable, and which involve both vowels and consonants.

7.1 Final Syllable Deletions. These are common in rapid speech or in compounds. A few examples will be given.

yabaʔ	'no, not'	-->	yab
hawaʔ	'which'	-->	haw
ʔaši	'that'	-->	ʔaš
k'i:ča:	'day, sun'	-->	k'iʔ

7.2 Deletion and Contraction. In some cases two words are combined, in others the processes act to shorten a word.

ʔib	'not'	+	ka	'imperative'	-->	ʔi:ka	'don't!'
k'al	'with, to'	+	ʔan	'the'	-->	k'an	'to the'

ʔa:l `in' + ʔata: `house' --> ʔalta: `inside'  
pok'-ow- `break it' + ʔičič `heart' --> pokčič `broken heart'  
(tree)  
wala:m `perhaps, maybe' --> wam `perhaps'  
wašik `eight' + k'iʔ `day, sun' --> wašk'iʔ `eight days'  
neʔeʔ `going to (aux.)' + ka `subjunctive' --> neka

7.3 Verb Contractions. There are certain regular deletion and merging processes which occur with a few verbs. Several cases involve the causative morpheme // -θ - // suffixed to intransitive verbs; other deletions are triggered by the benefactive morpheme // -č - //, when it is preceded by an epenthetic // -an - //.

ʔeh-e-θ-aʔ- move-TS-CAUS-TS-	`enliven s.o.' --> ʔe:θ-aʔ
ʔoʔ-e-θ-aʔ- enter-TS-CAUS-TS-	`put it inside' --> ʔo:θ-aʔ-
kal-e-θ-aʔ- go.out-TS-CAUS-TS-	`remove it' --> ka:θ-aʔ-
neʔ-θ-an-č- gc-CAUS-EP-BEN-	`take it for s.o.' --> ne:n-č-
ča:ʔ-an-č- bring.it-EP-BEN-	`bring it for s.o.' --> ča:n-č-

8.0 Allomorphs. There are relatively few regular allomorphic processes in Huastec. These are listed below, with references to the chapters where they are discussed.

Chapter 5, Sections 1.2.5.1 and 2.4.2. Simple participles are derived by suffixing // -Vθ // to the verb root or stem. // -Vθ // has two allomorphs: / -Vč / if the root or stem ends in /θ/ and / -Vθ / elsewhere.

θip-aʔ-	`braid it´	θip-aθ	`braided´
peθ-oy-	`sweep it´	peθ-oč	`swept´
hik-e-θ-aʔ-	`frighten s.o.´	hik-e-θač	`frightened´

If a root of the shape CVθ is followed by a derivational morpheme other than //θ-//, there seems to be free variation between /-Vθ/ and /-Vč/.

θaθ-k´-aʔ-	`make it slender´	θaθ-k´-aθ	`slenderized´
		θaθ-k´-ač	`slenderized´

Chapter 8, Section 3.2.1. The //Vm// suffix, which derives agentive nouns from transitive verbs, has three allomorphs: /-om/ when the thematic suffix vowel of the verb is /a/ or /o/, /-im/ when the thematic suffix vowel is /i/, and /-um/ when the thematic suffix vowel is /u/.

ʒemθ-aʔ-	`kill it´	ʒemθ-om	`killer, butcher´
ʔal-iy-	`look for it´	ʔal-im	`searcher´
čuk-uy-	`sew it´	čuk-um	`seamstress´

Chapter 11, Section 3.0. The perdurative clitic, which adds the meaning `still, having the attribute of´, has two allomorphs: /-e/ if a stem ends in a consonant and /-ye/ if it ends in a vowel, or in a /ʔ/, which is deleted.

ʒakam	`child´	ʒakam-e	`still a child´
ʔo:be	`lazy´	ʔo:be-ye	`still lazy´
t´eleʔ	`child´	t´ele-ye	`still a child´

Chapter 11, Section 8.0. The locative morpheme //tam-//, `place of´

has three allomorphs: /taŋ-/ before velar consonants, /tam-/ before bilabial consonants and glottals, and /tan-/ elsewhere. An extensive list of town names beginning with //tam-// is given in Section 8.0.

The complementary distribution of thematic suffixes //-ow// and //-uw//, //-oy// and //-uy//, and //-iy// and //-ey// described in Section 4.2 above suggests that they may be allomorphs of each other. However, a problem arises because it is impossible to state natural phonological conditioning factors to account for the choice of allomorphs.

9.0 Problems and Solutions. Much of this chapter has dealt with the various restrictions placed upon phoneme and morpheme combinations. Here we will consider solutions the language has found to these problems.

9.1 /-Vn-/ Insertion. The primary solution to the interdiction on CCC clusters (Section 1.2 above) and on some impermissible CC clusters in verbal derivations is to insert an epenthetic /-Vn-/, V being the vowel of the verbal thematic suffix.

ʔeʔ-ey-	`gather firewood`	ʔeʔ-en-č-	`gather it for s.o.`
		*ʔč	
bik'-l-aʔ-	`knock it down with a bang`	bik'-l-an-č-	`knock it down for s.o.`
		*CCC	
šučk'-iy-	`cork it`	šučk'-in-č-	`cork it for s.o.`
		*CCC	



When a consonantal derivational morpheme is suffixed to a verb root with a long vowel, that vowel has the effect of a second consonant, and triggers /-Vn-/ insertion.

ko:h-oy- 'cover it'          ko:h-on-č- 'cover it for s.o.'

In the case of roots with long vowel, /-Vn-/ insertion takes precedence over, and blocks, metathesis (Section 4.3 above) and labialization (Section 5.1.6).

θa:ʔ-iy- 'clear away brush'    θa:ʔ-in-č- 'clear it for s.o.'  
  \*θa:yʔ-č-

∅'a:h-uy- 'lasso it'                    ∅'a:h-un-č- 'lasso it for s.o.'  
  \*∅'a:w-č-

Compare:

k'aʔ-iy- 'carry water'            k'ayʔ-č- 'carry it for s.o.'

mah-uy- 'paint it'                    maw-č- 'paint it for s.o.'

9.2 /h/ Substitution. There are numerous instances where the final consonant of a CVC root is replaced by /h/ to avoid an impermissible consonant cluster. There is no way of predicting when /h/ substitution will occur, instead of /-Vn-/ insertion or substitution of one derivational morpheme for another. Some examples are given below. Derivational morpheme // -č- // usually triggers /-Vn-/ insertion, but the first two examples below indicate that /h/ substitution is also possible.

kot-oy- 'cut it'                      koh-č- 'cut it for s.o.'

piθ-aʔ- 'give it'                      pih-č- 'give food to s.o.'

kib-aʔ- 'loose it'                      kih-p-an- 'dissolve'

muθ-uw-	`pile it up`	muh-θ-iy-	`pile it up on top of s.t.`
kal-uw-	`stretch it, extend it`	kah-l-uw-	`extend permanently; cut meat for jerky`
ʔul-uw-	`say it, speak it`	ʔuh-l-an-č-	`say witchcraft words to s.o.`

Note that the final example, ʔul-uw-, has a derived form with both /h/ substitution to avoid an /ll/ cluster and /-Vn-/ insertion to avoid a CCC cluster.

9.3 Consonant Allophones. Some regular allophonic processes can act to eliminate impermissible CC clusters; see Section 5.1 above.

9.4 Derivational Morpheme Substitution. In Chapter 6, Sections 1.3 and 1.7 I suggest that certain derivational morphemes may substitute for each other, in order to avoid impermissible combinations. For example, although data are limited it appears that // -k' -// may substitute for // -p -// when // -p -// is interdicted after a root ending in a bilabial stop, and that on occasion // -p -// may substitute for // -k' -//.

9.5 Interdiction on Vowel Deletion. This interdiction, discussed above in 6.1, is, of course, an important way to avoid the creation of CCC clusters or impermissible CC clusters.

9.6 Vowel Merging. Vowels present fewer problems than do consonants, largely because there are no derivational morphemes with the shape // -V -//. The main interdiction--on VV clusters--is solved by vowel merging, with V<sub>2</sub> assimilating to V<sub>1</sub> if they are unlike; see 6.2 above.

## CHAPTER 4

## PRONOUNS

There are several kinds of pronouns in Huastec: clitic cross-reference markers which indicate person and number of the arguments of a verb, subjects of stative constructions or possessors of nouns; independent pronouns which are used primarily for focus, contrast and disambiguation; iterative pronouns which cannot stand alone but which emphasize the meaning of one or another clitic pronoun; relative pronouns; interrogative pronouns; negative pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. Many of the relative, interrogative, negative and demonstrative pronouns can also function as adjectives.

1.0 Clitic Cross-reference Markers. Since Huastec is an ergative language, it has a double set of clitic pronouns, the absolutive (Set B), which indicate (1) subjects of intransitive verbs, (2) subjects of stative or attributive constructions and (3) third person objects of transitive verbs, and the ergative (Set A) which indicate (1) agents of transitive verbs with third person objects and (2) noun possessors. As can be seen from the paradigms below, they can be confusing because there is a high degree of homonymy in the two sets: the first person singular absolutive marker is identical in form with the third person ergative marker, and the first person singular ergative marker is identical with both the first person plural absolutive marker and the non-zero form of the third person absolutive marker. Note that unlike many other Mayan languages, which have

differing pre-consonantal and pre-vocalic forms, Huastec has a single form of the clitic pronoun. No inclusive/ exclusive distinction is made in either first or second person plural.

SET B		SET A	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1. ?in	?u	?u	?i
2. ?it	?it...(čik) / ?iš	?a	?a...(čik) / ?i
3. ∅ / ?u / ?i	∅ / ?u / ?i...(čik)	?in	?in...(čik)

In addition to the clitic pronouns, Huastec has a set of bireferential or portmanteau pronouns which indicate both subject and object of transitive verbs when the object is non-third person, and both the possessor and possessed in stative constructions when the possessed object is non-third person. The problem of homonymy increases when particle and clitic pronoun combinations are considered. Some straightforward combinations of pronoun plus the particle ti, which is a subordinator and can also mean 'to' or 'at', are identical in form with some of the portmanteau pronouns. And when combinations of subordinating and subjunctive particles and clitic pronouns are considered, the number of homonyms seems unreasonably high. I have therefore endeavored to give multiple examples, whenever possible from texts or spontaneous remarks. The clitic pronouns always precede the verb. A few adverbs, such as leh 'very', ?alwa? 'well', and kwete? 'by himself, herself, alone' may intervene between the clitic pronoun and the verb; see sentences 4 and 19 below.

2.1 The Set B (Absolutive) Pronouns. In the paradigm above note that there are two alternative forms given for second person plural, and three alternative forms for third person, singular and plural. ?iš is the archaic second person plural form and occurs more frequently in texts than in everyday discourse. ?it is commonly employed for both singular and plural second person referents; plurality can be marked by using ?iš (sentence examples 1 and 10), or by suffixing the plural morpheme //-čik// to the verb (example 2) or to the noun or adjective in stative constructions. ∅ is the most frequent form of the third person clitic pronoun and is obligatory after ti or ka in subordinate verb constructions (see 1.4 below). It is especially common in discourse once a third person subject of discourse has been established, and is usual in predicate adjective constructions with a nominal or independent pronominal subject (12). ?u tends to be used more in cleft or focussed sentences (4,5), is relatively frequent as the subject of passives (9), and can be used in predicate adjective constructions but never in equative nominal sentences. Context serves to disambiguate third person ?u from first person plural ?u. ?i, which is homonymous with the partitive ?i (see Section 3.1, Chapter 13 and Section 1.6, Chapter 16), is used only in stative constructions after pe:l 'is' or yaba 'not'.

In the example sentences below ?it may be glossed B2 or B5, depending on whether its referent is singular or plural; the same convention applies to third person forms: ∅ or ?u may be glossed B3 or B6. (?u may also, of course, be glossed B4 when it is the first person plural clitic.) ?iš or ?it...čik can only be glossed as B5;

∅...čik or ʔu...čik only as B6. Similar rules hold for the Set A pronouns as well.

2.1.1 Examples.

ʔin k'alel	I go (k'al-e-l `go-TS-INC )
ʔit k'alel	you go; you-all go
∅ k'alel	he, she, it goes; they go
ʔu k'alel	he, she, it goes; they go
ʔu k'alel	we go
ʔiš k'alel	you-all go
ʔit k'alel-čik	you-all go
∅ k'alel-čik	they go
ʔu k'alel-čik	they go
pe:l ʔin te:nek	I am a Huastec (pe:l `be'; te:nek `Huastec )
pe:l ʔit te:nek	you are a Huastec; you-all are Huastecs
pe:l ʔi te:nek	he, she is a Huastec; they are Huastecs
pe:l ʔu te:nek	we are Huastecs
pe:l ʔit te:nek-čik	you-all are Huastecs
pe:l ʔi te:nek-čik	they are Huastecs
pe:l-čik ʔi te:nek	they are Huastecs
yaba ʔin te:nek	I am not a Huastec (yaba `not')
yaba ʔi te:nek	he is not a Huastec; they are not Huastecs

Sentence 10 below is an example of ʔiš used in a stative construction.

1. k-iš k'al-e-∅ ti tiyo:pan  
IMP-B5 go-TS-COM to church

`(You-all) go to church!'

2. k-it k'al-e-Ø-čik tata:ʔ (r.i.)  
SUBJ-B5 go-TS-COM-PL you

‘Are you-all going?’

The following sentences from a story contain the narrator's statement, a question, and a response, all with the irregular incomplete antipassive ʔo:m ‘plant’.

3. taley haha:ʔ neʔeʔ ti-Ø ʔo:m Ø ʔuč-an-Ø k'al ʔan  
then he go SUBOR-B3 plant.AP.INC B3 ask-VN-COM by the  
ʔuškweʔ "šoʔ neʔeʔ t-it ʔo:m" "neʔeʔ t-in ʔo:m"  
old.woman now go SUBOR-B2 plant go SUBOR-B1 plant

‘Then he is going to plant. He is asked by the old woman, “Are you going to plant?” “I’m going to plant.”’

Compare the following sentence, where the protagonist is focussed and the ʔu allomorph of the third person pronoun is used:

4. ʔaši tiwaʔ ʔan ʔinik ʔu leh o:m  
that there the man B3 much plant.AP.INC

‘As for that man there, he plants a lot.’

5. ha:y ʔi ʔinik ʔu t'oh-(o)n-al ba:ʔ ʔan ʔele:b  
how.many of man B6 work-VN-INC on the outside

‘How many men are working outside?’

6. leh ya:n ʔan kristya:no ʔu čeʔ-e-l-čik  
very many the people B6 come-TS-INC-PL

‘There are a lot of people who come.’

7. (haha:ʔ) k'wahat ti-Ø ʔem-e-l  
(he) PROGR SUBOR-B3 die-TS-INC

‘(As for him) he is dying.’

\*(haha:ʔ) k'wahat t(i)-u ʔem-e-l

8. ?ani yaba-ø ?in hil-ə?-ø ka-ø ?ay-in-ø tana:?  
and not-EMPH A3 allow-TS-COM SUBJ-B3 return.home-VN-COM there

ma ka-ø tahk'-an-ø  
until SUBJ-B3 dawn-VN-COM

`And indeed he does not permit him to go home there until it has dawned.'

9. tehe:ʔ ?u nuh-uw-a:b ?an bakan  
here B6 sell-TS-INC.PASS the tortilla

`Here tortillas are sold.'

10. mmm øakam šaša:ʔ ?iš leh ?alwaʔ ?inik  
mmm child you-all B5 very good person

`Mmm, children, you are very good.'

11. ?it alabe:l  
B2 beautiful

`You are beautiful.'

12. ?an ø'ik'a:č ø ?alabe:l  
the girl B3 beautiful

`The girl is beautiful.'

13. (wawa:ʔ) ?u yaʔul  
(we) B4 sick

`(As for us) we are sick.'

14. ...?abal ?a Pa:wla ?u yaʔul  
...because the Paula B3 sick

`...because Paula is sick.'

1.2 The Set A (Ergative) Pronouns. In the Set A paradigm above two alternative forms are given for second person plural. ?i is the



archaic second person plural form, and, like Set B ʔiš, is more frequent in texts than in everyday discourse. There are no instances of either of these clitics being used with a singular referent, i.e., as a polite second person singular. Nor do they seem to be used only as polite second person plurals; note, for example, sentence 10 above, where the referent of ʔiš is gakam 'children'.

Context or the use of independent pronouns will serve to disambiguate first person plural from second person plural ʔi, as in the extended example 15 below. I have no examples of ʔi as second person plural noun possessor. Sentence 16 exemplifies the first person plural clitic as agent of transitive verbs and as noun possessor. Plurality of second or third person noun possessors cannot be marked on the possessed noun or on the pronouns, but can be indicated only by using a plural noun or independent pronoun to represent the possessor (17 and 18).

In the transitive verbal examples below the zero allomorph of the third person object pronoun is assumed, but not written.

### 1.2.1 Examples.

ʔu hapiyal	I open it (hap-iy-al 'open-TS-INC')
ʔa hapiyal	you open it; you-all open it
ʔin hapiyal	he, she, it opens it; they open it
ʔi hapiyal	we open it
ʔi hapiyal	you-all open it
ʔa hapiyal-čik	you-all open it
ʔin hapiyal-čik	they open it

ʔu k'ima:ʔ	my house
ʔa k'ima:ʔ	your house; you-all's house
ʔin k'ima:ʔ	his, her house; their house
ʔi k'ima:ʔ	our house
ʔa k'ima:ʔ-čik	your houses; you-all's houses
ʔin k'ima:ʔ-čik	his, her houses; their houses

The example below, from a text about Little Boy, a culture hero who brings fire and water to the people, shows how ʔi first person plural and ʔi second person plural can be disambiguated by context. Little Boy arrives and asks the people:

15. "yab ʔi kʷaʔal ʔi k'amal (r.i.)" "u:w wawa:ʔ ɕakam kʷito:l  
not A5 have of fire ooh we little boy

yab ʔi ʔešl-a(ʔ)-al ʔi k'amal" tokø-in-ø ʔan  
not A4 know.about-TS-INC of fire answer-VN-COM the

k'ima:θ-čik "ni haʔ yab ʔi kʷaʔal (r.i.)" "ni haʔ yab  
neighbor-PL nor water not A5 have nor water not

ʔi ʔešl-a(ʔ)-al we:ʔ ʔi haʔ"  
A4 know.about-TS-INC little of water

"You don't have fire?" "Oh, as for us, Little Boy, we don't know about fire," answered the neighbors. "Do you not even have water?" "Not even water; we don't know even a little bit about water".

16. wawa:ʔ ʔi t'ah-a(ʔ)-al ʔi t'ohla:b-il pe:ro yab ʔi  
we A4 do-TS-INC A4 work-POSS but not A4

ʔa:t-a(ʔ)-al ya:n ʔi tumi:n  
gain-TS-INC much of money

'As for us, we do our work but we don't make much money.

17. ʔin k'ima:ʔ ʔan yehøel ʔinik-čik  
A6 house the old man-PL

‘The old men’s house.’

18. ?an ɔakam-čik ?in his-a(?) -al-čik ?in lek’a:b  
 the child-PL A6 protrude-TS-INC A6 tongue

‘The children stick out their tongues.’

1.3 The Set A’ (Portmanteau) Pronouns. The Set A pronouns described above are used only when the object of a transitive verb is the third person zero form. When the object of a transitive verb is non-third person, a bireferential or portmanteau pronoun (Set A’) is used to indicate both agent and object. These are transitive pronouns, as the chart on the next page makes clear. Note that while the portmanteau pronouns unambiguously code first and second person objects (with distinction of number in first person), they do not distinguish between second and third person agents. If the difference is not obvious from context, the independent pronouns can be used to disambiguate. Evidence from Tapia Zenteno’s (1767) grammar shows that in his time both agent and object clitic pronouns were distinguished in all persons, and that they preceded the verb in the order B-A-V (see McQuown 1984 for details). The portmanteau pronouns can express either direct or indirect object.

The paradigm is:

you(all)-me, you(all)-to me	tin
he (they)-me, he (they)-to me	tin
you(all)-us, you(all)-to us	tu
he (they)-us, he (they)-to us	tu
he (they)-you(all), he (they)-to you(all)	ti
I (we)-you(all), I (we)-to you(all)	tu

The chart below shows the relationship between the Set A pronouns (in the column headed 'Object 3') and the A' portmanteau pronouns (in columns 1, 2 and 4). Numbers refer to first, second and third person singular and first person plural. Second and third person plural forms are omitted to simplify the chart; plurality of agent can be indicated by suffixing the plural morpheme // -čik// to the verb, but this is rarely done. Since reflexive action is not coded with portmanteau pronouns, those boxes are left blank. The box for third person agent/third person object is divided, since such action can be reflexive or not, depending on whether agent and object are the same or different persons.

		OBJECT			
		1	2	3	4
A G E N T	1		tu	?u	
	2	tin		?a	tu
	3	tin	ti	?in	tu
	4		tu	?i	

As the glosses in the paradigm indicate, the portmanteau pronouns can also be used to specify the combination of agent plus indirect object. This is possible because the direct object is a third person zero form. An animacy hierarchy may also be involved, since indirect objects are more likely to be animate than direct objects. Unfortunately, no examples were elicited where both direct and indirect object were non-third person (e.g., 'They sent me to you.').

The portmanteau pronouns also are used to indicate both possessor and possessed in equative constructions of the type 'I am your spouse': pe:l tin tomki:l. Here the pronoun tin means 'you-me', and the sense of the phrase is 'You are to me as a spouse'. The phrase could equally well mean 'I am his spouse'; the ambiguity in the meaning of tin is clarified by context or by the use of independent pronouns. Unfortunately, I have no examples where the third-person possessor is specified by a noun; e.g., 'I am John's spouse'.

Sentences 19-24 below are examples of agent/direct object combinations; sentences 25-28 are agent/indirect object combinations, and sentences 29-32 exemplify possessed stative constructions. Note that in sentences 29 and 31 ʔešo:baɪ and ʔešo:bčiš are nouns that require a possessive suffix, but k'ima:θ and ʔebčai do not (see Chapter 10).

### 1.3.1 Examples.

tin kʷaθaʔ you(all) hit me; he, they hit me (kʷaθ-aʔ-∅ 'hit-  
TS-COM)

tu kʷaθaʔ you(all) hit us; he, they hit us

ti kʷaθaʔ he, they hit you(all)

tu kʷaθaʔ I, we hit you(all)

pe:l tin haʔu:b I am your, his, their friend (haʔu:b 'friend')

pe:l tu haʔu:b we are your, his, their friends

pe:l ti haʔu:b you(all) are his, their friend(s)

pe:l tu haʔu:b you(all) are my, our friend(s)

19. tin leh ɕ'ik'-aʔ-∅ ʔan ʔa:m t-u ʔoko:b  
it.me very bite-TS-COM the spider on-Al arm

`The spider really bit me on my arm.'

20. na:na tata:ʔ tin kwaθ-aʔ-∅ haleʔ t-it ʔaku:l (r.i.)  
 momma you you.me hit-TS-COM because SUBOR-B2 angry

`Momma, did you hit me because you're angry?'

21. wawa:ʔ tu peθ-oy-al ʔi mi:m  
 we they.us sweep-TS-INC A4 mother

`Our mothers sweep us (ritually, after childbirth).'

22. hayk'iʔ neʔeʔ ka-∅ či:č ʔa tomki:l ti  
 when go SUBJ-B3 come.SUPPL.COM A2 husband he.you

ʔuʔ-u-∅  
 see-TS-COM

`When is your husband going to come to see you?'

23. wawa:ʔ tu ʔuʔ-tal ʔa:l ʔan lam  
 we we.you see-INC in the mirror

`We see you in the mirror.'

24. nan(a:ʔ) tu tak-a(ʔ)-al  
 I I.you touch-TS-INC

`I touch you.'

25. haha:ʔ tin kweʔ-č-a:mal ʔu ʔolo:m-il  
 he he.from.me steal-BEN-PER A1 pig-POSS

`He has stolen my pig from me.'

26. ʔa diyo:s tu piθ-a(ʔ)-a:mal ʔan ʔalwaʔ-tal-(l)a:b  
 the god he.to.us give-TS-PER the good-ABSTR-GEN

`God has given us grace.'

27. haha:ʔ ti pak'-č-al ʔabal ʔit yaʔul  
 she she.for.you wash.clothes-BEN-INC because B2 sick

`She washes clothes for you because you are sick.'

28. tehe:ʔ tu ča:n-č-al ʔaše:ʔ ši kʷaʒa:m  
 here we.to.you bring-BEN-INC these particular tamales

‘We bring you these tamales here.’

29. (tata:ʔ) pe:l tin ʔešo:bal-il (tata:ʔ)  
 (you) be you.me student-POSS (you)

‘I am your student.’

Tata:ʔ can precede or follow, if needed to specify ‘your’ as opposed to ‘his’ student, but is not obligatory if context makes the meaning clear.

30. pe:l tu k’ima:θ-čik haha:ʔ  
 be she.us neighbor-PL she

‘We are her neighbors.’

31. pe:l ti ʔebčal (r.i.)  
 be he.you sibling

‘Are you his brother?’

32. pe:l tu ʔešo:bčič-ii  
 be I.you teacher-POSS

‘You are my teacher.’

Bricker (1977) classifies the Mayan languages in terms of their clitic pronouns as O-S-V (object-subject-verb) or S-V-O (subject-verb-object), and (p. 6) presents a table showing the relationship of the pronouns to nouns and transitive, intransitive and stative verbs. The table is reproduced below, with Huastec added in the final column. B and A refer to the two sets of clitic pronouns.

	O-S-V	S-V-O	Huastec
Possessed Noun	A-N	A-N	A-N
Transitive Verbs	B-A-V	A-V-B	(B-A-V)
Intransitive Verbs	B-V	V-B	B-V
Stative Verbs	B-N	N-B	B-N

The coding for Huastec transitive verbs is (B-A-V) to indicate that this order applied in classical times, but no longer does so, except when there is an invisible zero third person object. In every other respect, however, Huastec is an O-S-V language, a fact which groups it with the majority of highland languages.

1.4 Particle-pronoun Combinations. Two particles, ti, which is a preposition meaning 'in, at' and is also a subordinating particle obligatory after certain adverbs, conjunctions and other particles, and ka 'that', the subjunctive and imperative marker, combine with the clitic pronouns. The vowel of the particle and the initial /ʔ/ of the pronoun are lost. As noted above (Section 1.1.1), after the particles ti and ka the zero form of the third person Set B clitic pronoun is obligatory; in this case the vowel of the particle is retained.

Singular	Plural
Set B	
1. ti, ka + ʔin --> tin, kin	ti, ka + ʔu --> tu, ku
2. ti, ka + ʔit --> tit, kit	ti, ka + ʔiš --> tiš, kiš ti, ka + ʔit --> tit, kit
3. ti, ka + ∅ --> ti, ka	ti, ka + ∅ --> ti, ka



## Set A

1. ti, ka + ?u --> tu, ku      ti, ka + ?i --> ti, ki  
 2. ti, ka + ?a --> ta, ka      ti, ka + ?i --> \*ti, ki  
    ti, ka + ?a --> ta, ka  
 3. ti, ka + ?in --> tin, kin      ti, ka + ?in --> tin, kin  
 \*I have no example of ti + second person plural ?i

It is apparent that ti + pronoun leads to a number of terms that are homonyms of the portmanteau pronouns tin, tu, and ti. Again, it must be stated that context disambiguates. Sentences 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 20 and 22 above, and 33-37 below give examples of ti and ka plus clitic pronouns.

The combination of subordinating particles and portmanteau pronouns makes for a much more complicated situation. The paradigm for subordinate clauses and imperatives is:

- tikin k<sup>w</sup>aθa? (that) you(all) hit me (k<sup>w</sup>aθ-a?-∅ 'hit-TS-COM')  
 (that) he, she, they hit me  
 tuku k<sup>w</sup>aθa? (that) you(all) hit us  
 (that) he, they hit us  
 titi k<sup>w</sup>aθa? (that) he, they hit you(all)  
 tutu k<sup>w</sup>aθa? (that) I, we hit you(all)  
 tušu k<sup>w</sup>aθa? (that) I, we hit you-all

I tentatively analyze tikin as tin + k(a) + in, in being an echo syllable, and the /n/ of tin being lost; tuku as tu + k(a) + echo vowel /u/; titi as ti + ti, with no change of vowel necessary; and tutu as tu + t(i) + echo vowel /u/. I have no explanation for why

these last two forms use ti rather than ka as the combining particle, and the translations given do not suggest a meaning difference. tušu also presents a problem to the above analysis, since there is no corresponding non-subordinate portmanteau pronoun coding only second person plural. However, the /š/ seems obviously related to the archaic Set B second person plural ʔiš. Data are sufficiently limited as to make further analysis impossible. See sentences 38-43 for examples of these combinatory pronouns.

It was noted above that ti is obligatory after certain adverbs, conjunctions and other particles, such as hant'iniʔ 'how', šon 'where', tam 'when' or haleʔ 'because' (see also Chapter 16); and that it combines with the Set A and Set B clitic pronouns (sentences 44 and 45). After certain question words which introduce a subjunctive statement ti is compounded with ka plus clitic pronoun. The vowel of ka is deleted when it combines with the pronoun and the /i/ of ti is replaced by a vowel echoing that of the clitic pronoun. Thus ti + ka + u becomes tuku. The paradigm for transitive verbs is:

hant'iniʔ tuku t'ahaʔ	how should I do it?	(t'ah-aʔ-∅ `do.it- TS-COM)
hant'iniʔ taka t'ahaʔ	how should you do it?	
hant'iniʔ tiki t'ahaʔ	how should he do it?	
hant'iniʔ tiki t'ahaʔ	how should we do it?	

Note that though this analysis in terms of deletion and echo vowels differs from the analysis on the preceding page, in two cases identical surface forms are derived: tuku and tikin. See sentences 46-48 for examples. Sentence 49 is an example of an intransitive verb

with third person subject. Since the third person pronoun is a zero form, ka remains ka, and the compounded subjunctive form is taka, homonymous with the transitive form with second person agent. The only other examples of this construction with intransitive verbs are sentences 50 and 51. Note that in 51 the vowel of ti does not echo that of ka. Perhaps this is a disambiguating mechanism or perhaps it reflects a dialect difference between two informants; further research is needed.

I have no examples of adverb, particle or question word + ti + portmanteau pronoun. The possibilities here are perhaps mind-boggling even to a native speaker of Huastec.

#### 1.4.1 Examples.

33. neʔeʔ t-u ʔač-i:θ-a(?)-al ʔu t'ele:ʔ-il  
go SUBOR-Al bathe-CAUS-TS-INC Al baby-POSS

'I'm just about to bathe my baby.'

34. maš ʔu kwaʔal-ak ʔi tumi:n neʔeʔ k-in k'al-e-∅ k-u  
if Al have-IRR of money go SUBJ-B1 go-TS-COM SUBJ-Al

ʔaʔb-iy-∅ ʔu ʔaka:m-il huni:l  
visit-TS-COM Al child-POSS again

'If I had some money I would go to visit my children again.'

35. t'eleʔ k-a ʔuʔ'-aʔ-∅ ʔan ʔila:l yaba k-it lo:ko  
child IMP-A2 drink-TS-COM the medicine not SUBJ-B2 difficult

'Child, drink the medicine; don't be difficult!'

36. k-i t'uk-uw-∅-iç-čik ʔan hæʔ  
IMP-A5 pour-TS-COM-EMPH-PL the water

'Please serve yourselves some water.'

37. ø'ik'a:č kala:m neʔeʔ k-u k'al-e-ø k-i piθ-aʔ-ø  
 daughter tomorrow go SUBJ-B4 go-TS-COM SUBJ-A4 give-TS-COM

we:ʔ ʔi kʷaʒa:m ʔa ʔa:č  
 little of tamale A2 grandmother

`Daughter, we'll go tomorrow to give your grandmother a few tamales.'

Sentence 38 below, with its subordinated portmanteau pronoun, was the first Huastec phrase I recorded. My assistant made me repeat it until I pronounced it to her satisfaction.

38. ʔu le:ʔ tikiŋ ʔešo:b-č-ø-i ʔan te:nek ka:w  
 Al want SUBJ.you.to.me teach-BEN-COM-EP the Huastec word

`I want you to teach me the Huastec language.'

39. ʔu ʔebčal neʔeʔ-kʷaʔ ka-ø či:č tuku  
 Al sister go-QUOT SUBJ-B3 come.SUPPL.COM SUBJ.she.us

tolm-iy-ø k-i t'ul-iy-ø ʔan boli:m  
 help-TS-COM SUBJ-A4 roll.up-TS-COM the big.tamale

`My sister says she's going to come to help us roll up the tamales.'

40. hayk'iʔ neʔeʔ ka-ø či:č ʔa tomki:l titi  
 when go SUBJ-B3 come.SUPPL.COM A2 husband SUBOR.he.you

met'-aʔ-ø  
 look.at-TS-COM

`When is your husband going to come to see you?'

Compare:

41. hayk'iʔ neʔeʔ ka-ø či:č ʔa tomki:l tikiŋ  
 when go SUBJ-B3 come.SUPPL.COM A2 husband SUBJ.he.me

met'-aʔ-ø  
 look.at-TS-COM

`When is your husband going to come to see me?'

42. neʔeʔ tutu            ʔehwal-iy-∅ k'al ʔi bakan  
go      SUBOR.I.you give-TS-COM with of tortilla  
`I'm going to give you some tortillas.`
43. šo:ʔ neʔeʔ tušu                    ʔehwal-iy-∅-iʔ  
now go      SUBOR.I.to.you-all give-TS-COM-EMPH  
`Indeed, I'm going to give them to you-all right now.`
44. k'ičl-an-∅ ʔan bakan    haštasm-iʔ                    ti-∅  
sweat-VN-COM the tortilla for.that.reason-EMPH SUBOR-B6  
hil-m-e:-∅  
bitter-INCH-TS-COM  
`The tortillas sweated; for that reason they became bitter.`
45. nana:ʔ ʔu nuh-uw-al ʔan bakan    šon t-u  
I      Al sell-TS-INC the tortilla where SUBOR-B6  
ʔehk-a:b  
make-INC.PASS  
`I sell tortillas where they are made.`
46. Q. hant'in tuku                    t'ah-aʔ-∅  
how      SUBOR.SUBJ.A1 do-TS-COM  
A. ʔaŋe:ʔ taka                    t'ah-aʔ-∅  
thus      SUBOR.SUBJ.A2 do-TS-COM  
`How should I do it?` `Do it like this.`
47. ʔan solda:do ʔu koy-(o)n-al huʔta tiki                    bah-uw-∅  
the soldiers B6 rest-VN-INC where SUBOR.SUBJ.A6 reach-TS-COM  
hu:n ʔi bičow  
one of town  
`The soldiers rest where they find a town.`
48. yab ʔi kwəʔal ʔi tumi:n hant'o      tiki                    ʔila:l-iy-∅  
not A4 have    of money with.which SUBOR.SUBJ.A4 treat-TS-COM

'We don't have any money (for medicine) with which we might treat him.'

49. hant'ó taka           ʔey-an-∅  
for.what SUBOR.SUBJ.B3 use-VN-COM

'For what should it be used?'

50. hant'iniʔ tuku           k'ap-u:ǰ   ʔi ʔel-a(ʔ)-al  
how           SUBOR.SUBJ.B4 eat-COM   A4 encounter-TS-INC

we:ʔ hant'ó ʔi tumi:n  
little thing of money

'How should we eat? We get hold of little money.'

51. ʔin toh-iy-al           huʔta tika           kwaǰ-i-y  
A3 prepare-TS-INC where SUBOR.SUBJ.B3 go.to.bed-TS-COM

ʔan pik'óʔ  
the dog

'He prepares the place where the dog should sleep.'

## 2.0 The Independent Pronouns.

The paradigm is:

	Singular	Plural
1.	nana:ʔ	wawa:ʔ
2.	tata:ʔ	tata:ʔ(čik) / šaša:ʔ
3.	haha:ʔ	haha:ʔ(čik)

Note that as was the case with the clitic pronouns, there are two forms for second person plural. šaša:ʔ is becoming obsolete and is more frequent in texts than in discourse. That the shift from šaša:ʔ to tata:ʔčik has caused some confusion is evidenced by the occasional use of the redundantly plural šaša:ʔčik; occasionally the equally

redundant wawa:ʔčik is given. Formerly baba:ʔ was used for third person plural (Tapia 1767:15). Schwede (1983:173) reports baba:ʔ as "obsolete but recognized". My two assistants, both in their forties, did not know the term. There is no indication in my data that šaša:ʔ might be considered a more polite term than tata:ʔčik. Nor is there any evidence for the use of third person forms (either independent or clitic pronouns) for polite second person reference.

The first and second person independent pronouns are related to the old Set B clitic pronouns described by Tapia. Among the variants of these pronouns (see McQuown 1984:106-121) are:

	<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>
1.	an	aw
2.	at	aš

The independent pronouns can be derived in a completely regular fashion by 1. reduplicating the consonant of the clitic pronoun as the initial consonant; 2. reduplicating and lengthening the vowel as the second vowel; and 3. adding a final glottal stop.

In Tapia's time, as now, third person absolutive forms were u or ø, and therefore do not provide a base form for the derivation of haha:ʔ or baba:ʔ. Haha:ʔ can plausibly be derived from the proto-Mayan \*haʔ 'this, that' (Kaufman 1964:123), with reduplication by analogy to the other independent pronouns. The source for baba:ʔ remains a mystery.

There are certain restrictions on the use of haha:ʔ. It is never used to refer to inanimate objects, and is rare with non-human

animates. My assistant explained, "We say haha:ʔ to those beings that communicate." He went on to explain that the term could be used when referring to dogs, because they bark; see sentence 53 below.

There are many subtle distinctions in the use and placement of the independent pronouns are difficult to tease out. For example, one assistant gave three versions of the following sentence in rapid succession, shifting the placement of haha:ʔ each time; she insisted they all meant the same thing. Numbers within the parentheses indicate the order of the sentences.

52. wawa:ʔ ʔi le:ʔ ʔabal (2. haha:ʔ) tuku piθ-aʔ-∅  
 we A4 want that she SUBJ.she.to.us give-TS-COM
- (1. haha:ʔ) ʔan t'ohla:b (3. haha:ʔ)  
 she the work she
- 'We want her to give us work.'

In the above sentence, given out of context, haha:ʔ is necessary to disambiguate the meaning of tuku, which could also mean 'you.to.us'. Sentences 21, 23, 24, 25, 27, 29 and 30 above are additional examples of independent pronouns used to clarify the meaning of the portmanteau pronouns.

Independent pronouns are also used for focus and contrast. Throughout this manuscript focus is indicated by such translations as, 'As for me, I...'; by setting the pronoun off by commas, 'I, I went...'; or by underlining the focussed pronoun. See 54 and 55 below. Related to the focus function of the independent pronouns is their use in final position to provide a kind of closure to a sentence



or a question; see examples 56-58. Pronouns can also add variety and contrast to parallel sentences as in example 59.

Independent pronouns are often used in possessive constructions to emphasize ownership or relationship. Compare ʔu ta:ta 'my father' and nana:ʔ ʔu ta:ta 'I, my father' or 'that father of mine'. Sentence 60 below is another example. Another kind of possessive construction is formed with the possessed noun k'a:l 'property'. The possessor must be expressed and specified either by a noun or by an independent pronoun; see example 61. A final means of expressing possession is to suffix the /-ye/ allomorph of the perdurative //-e// (Chapter 11) to an independent pronoun, with deletion of the glottal; see examples 62 and 63.

## 2.1 Examples.

53. ʔan pik'ɔʔ hana:ʔ-čik ø t'il-om-ø  
 the dog he-PL B6 talk-AP-COM  
 'Dogs, they talk.'
54. ʔiba hant'o::: nana:ʔ t-in ta:l nana:ʔ ʔin ta:l k-u  
 not whyyyy I SUBOR-B1 come I B1 come SUBJ-A1  
 huǰ'-uw-ø ʔi šiǰ'  
 such-TS-COM of blood  
 'Not for any good reason did I come; I came to suck blood!'
55. ʔani šaša:ʔ hant'(o) ʔa le:ʔ  
 and you-all what A5 want  
 'And you-all, what do you want?'
56. ...ʔabal ʔi:b ʔu ʔešl-a(?) -al ko:mo tu ʔešl-a(?) -al tata:ʔ  
 ...but not A1 know-TS-INC as I.you know-TS-INC you  
 '...but I don't know them the way I know you.'

57. ha:y      ?i tamub ?in kʷaʔal haha:ʔ  
 how.many of year A3 have he  
 `How old is he?`
58. k-iš      kal-e-∅      šaša:ʔ (r.i.)  
 SUBJ-B5 go.cut-TS-COM you-all  
 `Are you-all leaving?`
59. neʔeʔ k-u      ča:ʔ-∅-∅      šowe:ʔ  
 go      SUBJ-A1 bring-TS-COM now  
 nana:ʔ neʔeʔ k-u      neʔ-θ-aʔ-∅      ?i tumi:n  
 I      go      SUBJ-A1 come-CAUS-TS-COM of money  
 `I'm going to bring it now; I'm going to fetch some money.`
60. pe:ro ?in t'il-a(?) -al-čik ?i ma:m      ?ani wawa:ʔ ?i  
 but A6 relate-TS-INC-PL A4 grandfather and we A4  
 ta:ta...  
 poppa...  
 `But our grandfathers and those fathers of ours tell  
 about...`
61. ?ašeʔ pik'oʔ ?in k'a:l      ?a Lusi:ya niši pik'oʔ nana:ʔ  
 this dog A3 property the Lucia that dog I  
 ?u k'a:l  
 A1 property  
 `This dog is Lucia's; that dog is mine.`
62. Q. tata:-ye      ?a k'ima:ʔ (r.i.)  
 you-PERDUR A2 house  
 A. haha:ʔ ?in k'ima:ʔ  
 he A3 house  
 `Is it your house? It is his house.`
63. ?aši ø'ik'a:č leh ?alobe:l nana:-ye ?u haʔu:b  
 that girl very pretty I-PERDUR A1 friend

‘That pretty girl is a friend of mine.’

3.0 Iterative Pronouns. In addition to the clitic and independent pronouns, there is a minor category of iterative pronouns. These appear to be used to supplement, reinforce or reiterate the coding of other pronouns; they are ne: ‘first person’, te: ‘second person’ and he: ‘third person’. Formerly še: was used for ‘second person plural’; the term used now is te: (example 69). The iterative pronouns share an initial consonant with their related independent pronouns (nana:?, ne:; tata:?, te:, haha:?, he:; šaša?, še:). By analogy we: should exist as counterpart to wawa:?. Unfortunately, I did not question for we:, and it was not given spontaneously. Most of the twenty or so examples in my corpus are from texts or from sentences spontaneously produced by my assistants, such as example 64 below. It seems likely that iterative pronouns are more frequent in discourse. They can emphasize transitive agent (example 71) or object (example 70) or intransitive subject (examples 64, 66-69, 72). One assistant used he: to reiterate the owner in a possessive construction (example 65); a second assistant refused to accept he:. Both native speakers agreed that the meaning added by the iterative pronoun could be expressed as ‘I, also’ or ‘you, as well’; the assistant who denied he: used haye ‘also’ in the same environment where he had used ne: and te:; see the parallel examples 66-69 below.

### 3.1 Examples.

The lengthy example below was given to explain the use of ha:kiŋk'i? ‘imagine’.

64. ?u k'al-e-∅ t-u bel-al-∅ ?ani ?i ?el-a?-∅ hu:n ?i  
 B4 go-TS-COM SUBOR-B4 walk-TS-INC and A4 find-TS-COM one of  
 te?pam ?ani haha:ʔ ∅ wat'-e-y-čik ha:kičk'iʔ maš nana:ʔ  
 bridge and they B6 pass.over-TS-COM imagine if I  
 ne: ?in wat'-e-nek-ak haha:ʔ ∅ ?ihk-an-∅ (nana:ʔ  
 ITER B1 pass.over-TS-PER-IRR they B6 fall-TS-COM (I  
 yab ?in ?ihk-an-∅)  
 not B1 fall-TS-COM

'We went for a walk and we came to a bridge and they crossed over on it. Imagine if I also had crossed over...they fell in. (And I didn't fall.)

65. pe:l ?in k'a:l ?aši he: ?an θabal  
 is A3 property this ITER the owner

'It belongs to this one--the owner.'

The following parallel examples were given spontaneously when I asked about the meaning of te:.

66. tata:ʔ ?it čič čič te:  
 you B2 come.SUPPL.COM come ITER  
 'You came. You also came.'
67. nana:ʔ ?in čič čič ne:  
 I B1 come.SUPPL.COM come ITER  
 'I came. I also came.'
68. haha:ʔ ∅ čič-(č)ik čič-(č)ik hayeʔ  
 they B6 come.SUPPL.COM-PL come-PL also  
 'They came. They also came.'
69. šaša:ʔ ?iš čič čič-(č)ik te:  
 you-all B5 come.SUPPL.COM come-PL ITER  
 'You-all come. You-all also come.'

My assistant then commented: "Today še: isn't used; before they did use it."

70. *ʒakam ʒakam maš k-a kʷaθ-aʔ-∅ ʔa ʔebčal neʔeʒ t-u*  
 child child if SUBJ-A2 hit-TS-COM A2 sibling go SUBOR-A1

*kʷaθ-aʔ-∅ te:*  
 hit-TS-COM ITER

‘Child, child, if you hit your brother, I’m going to hit you too.’

71. *tata:ʔ ʔa ʔeht-ow-al t-it ka:w ʔa ʔeht-ow-al*  
 you A2 able-TS-INC SUBOR-B2 speak A2 able-TS-INC

*tikin ʔo:ln-an-č-∅-i ʔan ʔila:l hawaʔ ʔu*  
 SUBJ.you.for.me name-EP-BEN-COM-EP the medicine which A1

*nuh-uw-al ne:*  
 sell-TS-INC ITER

‘You know how to speak (Spanish), you can identify the medicines which I sell.’

72. *k-it k'aθ-i-y šo:ʔ te: tehe:ʔ ʔani k-it*  
 IMP-B2 climb.up-TS-COM now ITER here and IMP-B2

*bal-in-∅ te: baʔ ʔan wilil*  
 get.in-VN-COM ITER in the cradle

‘Now climb up here, you, and get yourself into the cradle!’

#### 4.0 Relative, Interrogative, Negative and Demonstrative Pronouns.

These classes of pronouns represent somewhat artificial distinctions, since the relative pronoun is related to one of the demonstratives, and interrogatives often appear in relative constructions.

4.1 The Relative Pronoun. The relative pronoun in Huastec is ʔaši (with variants ʔaš and ši) ‘who, whom, that, which’. It can be used to relativize nouns in any syntactic role in a sentence. A few

examples are given below; see Chapter 18 for a more extensive discussion.

#### 4.1.1 Examples.

73. neʔeʔ k-u map-čiy-∅ patal ʔan ɸ'a:h ʔaši naʔ ∅  
go SUBJ-A1 coil.up-DM-COM all the rope that there B3

moʔ-očik  
scattered-DISTRIB.PPL

‘I’m going to coil up all the rope that is scattered about there.’

74. ʔan ɸakam ʔaš ʔa ɸuʔ-tal baʔ ʔam be:l pe:l ʔin ɸaka:m-il  
the child that A2 see-INC on the road is A3 child-POSS

ʔu ʔebčal  
A1 sibling

‘The child that you see on the road is my sister’s child.’

75. ʔa Re:yna ∅ čeʔ-e-nek k-in ɸuʔ-u ʔan mi:m-la:b ši  
the Reyna B3 come-TS-PER SUBJ-A3 see-COM the lady-POL who

∅ ta:l ʔowe:l  
B3 comes afar

‘Reyna has come to see the lady who comes from far away.’

4.2 Interrogative Pronouns. The interrogative pronouns are hitaʔ (in rapid speech often abbreviated hit) ‘who, whom, someone, anyone’; hant’o (hant’, hanč) ‘what’; and hawaʔ (haw) ‘which, what’. They may be pluralized by suffixing //-čik//; see example 78. Suffixing the qualifier clitic //-k’i// or //-k’e// adds the meaning ‘-ever’: hant’ok’e ‘whatever’, hawaʔk’e ‘whichever’ and hitaʔk’e ‘whoever’. See example 71 in Chapter 11. Hant’o and hawaʔ frequently appear in the phrases hant’o tam ‘what then’ or hawaʔ tam ‘which then’, with the meaning ‘what kind of ...?’ or ‘which kind of...?’; see 80, 82 and

84. All three pronouns can introduce relative clauses; see 85-87 below and Chapter 18.

#### 4.2.1 Examples.

76. hitaʔ tin kan-a(?) -al  
 who he.me summon-TS-INC  
 `Who's calling me?`
77. yab ʔu ʔel-aʔ-∅ hitaʔ  
 not A1 encounter-TS-COM who  
 `I didn't meet anyone.`
78. hitaʔ-čik  
 who-PL  
 `Who are they?`
79. ʔāʔ hant' o ∅ wat' -e-y hant' ʔa t'ah-č-al ʔa ʔoko:b  
 ah what B3 pass-TS-COM what A2 do-BEN-INC A2 arm  
 `Ah, what happened? What did you do to your arm?`
80. hant' o ta:m θu:m  
 what then worm  
 `What kind of worm is it?`
81. hawaʔ ʔa ʔaka:m-il ∅ waʔ-∅-in-∅ yab ʔalwaʔ  
 which A2 child-POSS B3 born-TS-COM not good  
 `Which of your children was born defective?`
82. hawaʔ ta:m teʔ ʔa le:ʔ k-a ʔal-iy-∅  
 which then tree A2 want SUBJ-A2 look.for-TS-COM  
 `Which kind of tree do you want to look for?`
83. ...ʔani ʔu haʔu:b-čik hitaʔ tin tolm-iy-al  
 ...and A1 friend-PL who they.me help-TS-INC

'...and my friends who help me.'

84. neʔeʔ tutu ʔol-č-ø-i hant'ó ta:m ʔalap nana:ʔ  
 go SUBOR.I.you tell-BEN-COM-EP what then thought I

ʔu kʷaʔal  
 Al have

'I'm going to tell you what kinds of thoughts I have.'

85. pulik payʔlo:m k-a ia:bl-iy-ø ʔaše:ʔ ši k'apne:l  
 big father IMP-A2 bless-TS-COM this particular food

hawaʔ teʔ ø kʷahat  
 which here B3 exist

'Our Father, bless this food which is present here!'

4.3 Negative Pronouns. Relative pronouns hitaʔ and hant'ó can be negated by the Spanish ni 'neither, not', as in sentence examples 86 and 87. McQuown (1984:106) reports ni hawaʔ 'no thing, no one, none, not anyone'; the absence of examples in my corpus is probably accidental. Relative pronouns can also be negated by yab(aʔ) 'not' (88, 89) or occasionally by ʔiba 'no, not' (90). In addition, hu:n 'one' can be negated by ni to mean 'not one' (91). Finally, the term ša:nt'ó means 'there isn't any' or 'someone or something is not present'. As example 92 indicates, it can appear in the same sentence frame as yabaʔ 'not'; it is often used as the negative reply to a question (93 and 94).

#### 4.3.1 Examples.

86. ʔu ʔoʔ-e-l-ak ni hitaʔ yab neʔeʔ k-in ʔul-uw-ø  
 B3 enter-TS-INC-IRR not who not go SUBJ-A3 say-TS-COM

hant'ó  
 what



`If he should enter, no one will say anything.'

87. ni hant'o Ø waʔaʔ-Ø-Ø k-u k'ap-u  
not what B3 exist-TS-INC SUBJ-A1 eat-COM

`There's nothing for me to eat.'

88. map-uθ ʔalwaʔ ʔan wiʔleb ʔabal yabaʔ hitaʔ ka-Ø  
close-PPL well the door so.that not anyone SUBJ-B3

ʔoʔ-iʔ  
enter-COM

`The door is closed tight so that no one can enter.'

89. haha:ʔ ʔin le:ʔ tikiŋ kʷaθ-aʔ-Ø ʔani nana:ʔ yab hant'o  
she A3 want SUBJ.she.me hit-TS-COM and I not what

ʔu t'ah-č-Ø-i  
A1 do-BEN-COM-EP

`She wants to hit me and I did nothing to her.'

90. yabaʔ k-a ʔul-uw-Ø ʔabal θum-a:θ-ak ʔan ʔe:m ʔiba hant'o  
not IMP-A2 say-TS-COM that worm-y-IRR the corn not thing

→in kʷaʔal ʔalobe:l  
A3 have beautiful

`Don't say that the corn is wormy. It has nothing wrong  
with it; it's beautiful.'

91. ʔu kʷaʔal bo:ʔ ʔi ʔakam patal pe:l ʔi kʷito:l ni hu:n ʔi  
A1 have five of children all be of boy not one of

ʔ'ik'a:č  
girl

`I have five children. All of them are boys; not one is a  
girl.'

92. (yab Ø waʔaʔ-Ø-Ø) (ša:nt'o Ø waʔaʔ-Ø-Ø) ʔan ʔašu:kal  
(not B3 exist-TS-COM)(is.not.any B3 exist-TS-COM) the sugar

`There isn't any sugar.'

93. Q.  $\emptyset$  wa<sup>?</sup>a~~ø~~-~~ø~~-~~ø~~ ?an bakan (r.i.)  
B6 exist-TS-COM the tortilla

A. ša:nt'ó  
is.not.any

'Are there tortillas? There aren't any.'

94. Q. yab  $\emptyset$  k<sup>wa</sup>? ?a Sa:ntos (r.i.)  
not B3 be.placed the Santos

A. ša:nt'ó yab  $\emptyset$  k<sup>wa</sup>?  
not.present not B3 be.placed

'Is Santos not here? Not around; he's not here.'

4.4 Demonstrative Pronouns. The demonstrative pronouns are ?aše:? 'this, that (nearby)', niše:? 'that (distant)' and ha?iǵ 'this one'. ha?iǵ is probably a compound of the proto-Mayan \*ha? 'this, that' plus the emphatic clitic //iǵ//: 'this one, indeed'. In rapid speech it is abbreviated to haǵ. Ha?iǵ is frequently used as a conjunction with the meaning '(for) this (reason) indeed', 'therefore'; see sentences 97 and 98 below, and Chapter 18. ?aše:? and niše:? have related adjectival forms, which can be compounded with adverbs and other particles; see Section 1.6, Chapter 16. The paradigms below should clarify the distinction between adjectival and pronominal forms.

?aši pik'ó? 'this dog'	niši pik'ó? 'that dog'
?aše? pik'ó? 'this dog'	niše? pik'ó? 'that dog'
?aše:ʔ ši pik'ó? 'this dog' (emphatic)	niše:ʔ ši pik'ó? 'that dog' (emphatic)
?aše:ʔ 'this one'	niše:ʔ 'that one'

In rapid speech ?aše? and ?aše:ʔ tend to reduce to ?aš, niše? and

niše:ʔ to niš. ʔaš and ʔaši are, of course, homonymous with forms of the relative pronoun.

Note that though the above glosses are all singular, the terms may have plural meaning as well; plurality can be specified with the plural morpheme *//-čik-//* (e.g., ʔaše:ʔčik 'those ones'), but this is rarely done.

ʔaši may compound with other particles to produce pronouns or compound adjectives.

ʔaši + pi:l 'other, separate' = 'this other (one), those others'

ʔaši + k'eʔat 'other' = 'this other, those others'

ʔaši + hu:n 'one' = 'this one'

ʔaši + mas 'more (Sp.)' + čik 'plural' = those additional ones

ʔaši + tiwaʔ 'there (far away)' = that one, those, at a distance

ʔaši + niwaʔ 'there (nearby)' = that one, those, over there

The sentences below give examples of the various pronominal usages described; see also sentences 4, 28, 61, 63, 65 and 85 above. Demonstrative adjectives are discussed in Section 1.6 of Chapter 16.

#### 4.4.1 Examples.

95. haʔiǰ šowe:ʔ Ø ʔan ǰ'ak  
this.one now B3 the flea

'This one is now The Flea.'

96. kʷaǰam pi:taʔ kʷaǰam ʔolom haʔiǰ wawa:ʔ ʔi ǰ'ehk-a(?) -al ti  
tamale chicken tamale pig these we A4 make-TS-INC at

navida:d  
Christmas

'Chicken tamales, pork tamales--these are what we make at Christmas.'

97. ?u heʒ'-il Ø ?eh-e-l ha?iʒ t-in  
 Al worm-POSS B3 move-TS-INC this.indeed SUBOR-B1

haʒ'-iš-Ø  
 sneeze-AP-INC

'The worm (in my head) moves; therefore I sneeze.'  
 (Reference is to a Huastec folk belief.)

98. ?in bel-p-iy-Ø ha?iʒ ti-Ø ʒak-u-y  
 A3 believe-DM-TS-COM this.indeed SUBOR-B3 get.angry-TS-COM

'He finally believed it, and therefore he got angry.'

99. hant'ó t-a ?e:y-en-θ-a(?) -al ?aše:?  
 what SUBOR-A2 be.employed-EP-CAUS-TS-INC this

'What do you use this for?'

100. ?aše:? ši θayemla:b Ø čuk-uy-at k'al ?a  
 this particular quexquemítl B3 sew-TS-COM.PASS by the

Ele:na ?aše:? Ø čuk-un-Ø ti ?ata: ?ani ?aši hu:n Ø  
 Elena this.one B3 sew-VN-COM in house and this one B3

čuk-uy-at k'al ?a Lusi:ya  
 sew-TS-COM.PASS by the Lucía

'This quexquemítl was sewn by Elena, this one got sewn here  
 at home, and this one was sewn by Lucía.'

101. ?aši k'e?at ?a ʒaka:m-il Ø wa?ʒ-in-Ø ?alwa? (r.i.)  
 this other A2 child-POSS B6 born-TS-COM good

'Were your other children born healthy?'

102. ?aši hu:n Ø k'wah-i-:l ti Lehem ?aši mas-čik Ø k'wah-i-:l  
 this one B3 live-TS-INC in Lehem this more-PL B6 live-TS-INC

ti Ibte?  
 in Ibte

'This one lives in Lehem, these others in Ibte.'

103. haha:ʔ ʔin kʷaʔal ʔaʃi tiwaʔ  
 he A3 has that over.there

‘He owns that one over there.’

104. huʔta:m ti-∅ neʔeʔ niše:ʔ  
 where SUBOR-B3 go that.one

‘Where is that fellow going?’

5.0 A Glossary of Homonymous Pronouns. Throughout this chapter I have commented upon the large number of homonyms that are present in the Huastec pronoun system. It seems useful to list all of them in one place, for easy reference. Note that while plurality can be specified in second and third person by suffixing the plural marker // -čik // to the verb, this is not required, even when the meaning is plural. In the lists below portmanteau is abbreviated FORT, subordinator SUBOR subjunctive SUBJ, and echo vowel or syllable ECHO.

- |        |  |
|--------|--|
| ʔin    | first person singular Set B clitic pronoun           |
|        | third person singular Set A clitic pronoun           |
|        | third person plural Set A clitic pronoun             |
| ʔu     | first person singular Set A clitic pronoun           |
|        | alternate third person singular Set B clitic pronoun |
|        | alternate third person plural Set B clitic pronoun   |
|        | first person plural Set B clitic pronoun             |
| tata:ʔ | second person singular independent pronoun           |
|        | second person plural independent pronoun             |

haha:ʔ	third person singular independent pronoun third person plural independent pronoun
ʔaši	relative pronoun `who, whom, that, which` demonstrative adjective `this`
ta	ti SUBOR + ʔa (A2, A5) ti `to, at` + ʔa (A2, A5) `to your`, `to you-all`s`
ti	ti SUBOR + Ø (B3, B6) ti SUBOR + ʔi (A4) ti `to, at` + ʔi (A4) `to our` ti PORT: `he (she, they).(to).you(all)`
tin	ti SUBOR + ʔin (A3, A6) ti SUBOR + ʔin (B1) ti `to, at` + ʔin (A3, A6) `to his`, `to their` tin PORT: `you(all).(to).me` tin PORT: `he (she, they).(to).me`
tu	ti SUBOR + ʔu (A1) ti SUBOR + ʔu (B4) ti `to, at` + ʔu (A1) `to my` tu PORT: `you(all).(to).us` tu PORT: `he (she, they).(to).us` tu PORT: `I (we).(to).you(all)`
tikin	ti(n) PORT + k(a) SUBJ + in ECHO: `that you(all). (to).me`

ti(n) PORT + k(a) SUBJ + in ECHO: `that he (she, they).  
 (to).me´

ti SUBOR + k(a) SUBJ + ?in (A3, A6): `how should he  
 (she, they)´ + transitive verb

tuku tu PORT + k(a) SUBJ + u ECHO: `that you(all).(to).us´

tu PORT + k(a) SUBJ + u ECHO: `that he (she, they).  
 (to).us´

ti SUBOR + k(a) SUBJ + ?u (A1): `how should I´ +  
 transitive (vowel of ti echos vowel of pronoun)

ti SUBOR + k(a) SUBJ + ?u (B4): `how should we´ +  
 intransitive (vowel of ti echos vowel of pronoun)

taka ti SUBOR + k(a) SUBJ + ?a (A2): `how should you(all)´ +  
 transitive (vowel of ti echos vowel of pronoun)

ti SUBOR + ka SUBJ + Ø (B3, B6): `how should he (she,  
 they)´ + intransitive (vowel of ti echos vowel of ka)

CHAPTER 5  
 VERB MORPHOLOGY I: BASIC VERB CLASSES AND  
 TRANSITIVITY CHANGING DERIVATIONS

1.0 Root Transitive Verbs.

Huastec verbs cannot be categorized on the basis of root shape alone, since there are a large number of polyvalent roots, where the distinction between nouns, root transitive, root middle voice and root intransitive verbs is made entirely in terms of whether the root is followed by a transitive, middle voice or intransitive thematic suffix, or, in the case of nouns, is preceded by a noun specifier and falls into one of the nominal possession classes. Root transitives are therefore defined as any verb which consists of a CV(:)C root plus transitive thematic suffix. There are certain interactions between root vowel and verbal thematic suffix vowel; these will be discussed at the appropriate points below. Table 8 lists the entire corpus of 391 transitive verbs. Huastec has an elaborate derivational morphology and in many cases my only example of a verb is a derived form. Further research should enable the determination of the CVC root upon which this derived form is based, and in some of the discussion that follows reference is made to an inferred root form; these inferred forms are not included in Table 8.

1.1 Thematic Suffix Classes. There are three main thematic suffixes which define the three main classes of root transitive verbs:

//-aʔ-//, //-Vy-// and //-Vw-//; see 1.4 and 1.5 for the residual



classes. Table 7 presents a summary of thematic suffixes and inflectional morphology. All root transitive verbs have the following transitive inflectional suffixes, which follow the thematic suffix:

Incompletive	-a <sub>1</sub>
Completive	-∅
Perfect	-a:mal

Some intransitive verbs which have thematic suffixes //e-//, //u-// or //i-// have //y-// as the completive inflectional morpheme; their surface forms in the completive are therefore indistinguishable from some //Vy-// transitive completives. However, they differ in their incompletive and perfect surface forms, and in their syntactic relationships (See Section 2 below).

In the sections that follow, where reference is often made to relationships that obtain between the vowel of the CV(:)C root and the vowel of the thematic suffix, or of some derivational suffix, concern is only with vowel quality and not with vowel length. Long root vowels are relatively rare, so that often there are no examples of both long and short vowels with the particular thematic or derivational suffix under discussion.

1.1.1 Thematic Suffix is //aʔ-// (N = 144). This thematic suffix may co-occur with any root vowel. Root vowel /i/ is most frequent, then /a/, /e/ and /u/; root vowel /o/ is rare (five cases). A morphophonemic rule applies here. When the //aʔ-// thematic suffix is followed by an /a/-initial inflectional suffix, the /ʔ/ is deleted and the vowels merge into a single long vowel.

Incompletive	-aʔ + -al --> -a:l
Completive	-aʔ + -∅ --> -aʔ
Perfect	-aʔ + -a:mal --> -a:mal

There are only two degrees of phonemic vowel length in Huastec, short and long, so that -a(ʔ) + -a:mal yields -a:mal, not \*-a::mal.

1.1.1.1 Examples. Note: Here, and in Sections 1.2 and 1.3, examples are listed in order of frequency of the root vowels with the particular thematic suffix being exemplified.

	incompl.	compl.	perfect
čik-aʔ- burn it	čika:l	čikaʔ	čika:mal
bi:n-aʔ- give it, deliver it	bi:na:l	bi:naʔ	bi:na:mal
hab-aʔ- hollow it, make a hole in it	haba:l	habaʔ	haba:mal
ʔa:t-aʔ- gain it, win it	ʔa:ta:l	ʔa:taʔ	ʔa:ta:mal
weh-aʔ- clean it, clear it of rubbish	weha:l	wehaʔ	weha:mal
tub-aʔ- spit it	tuba:l	tubaʔ	tuba:mal
hu:n-aʔ- accompany s.o.	hu:na:l	hu:naʔ	hu:na:mal
k'op-aʔ- break it, snap it in two	k'opa:l	k'opaʔ	k'opa:mal

I have no examples with root vowels /e:/ or /o:/.

1.1.1.2 Two verbs in this class have roots ending in /-aʔ/. The morphophonemic rule described above applies to the root in the completive inflection. That is, the final /ʔ/ of the root is deleted and the /a/ of the root and the /a/ of the thematic suffix merge into a single long vowel. In the incompletive and perfect the /ʔ/ deletion and merging take place between the inflectional suffix and the

//-aʔ-// thematic suffix, so that there is no effect upon the root. That is, šaʔ-aʔ-al reduces to šaʔ-a:l, not ša:ʔ-al. Contrast these two verbs with ča:ʔ-∅- (1.1.4 below) which has a //∅-// thematic suffix, so that /ʔ/ deletion and merging can affect the root in the incomplete and perfect.

šaʔ-aʔ-	vomit	šaʔa:l	ša:ʔ	šaʔa:mal
čaʔ-aʔ-	open the mouth	čaʔa:l	ča:ʔ	čaʔa:mal

1.1.2 Thematic Suffix is //-Vy-// (N = 168). The vowel of this suffix is sometimes conditioned by the vowel of the CV(:)C root, and certain vowels are commoner than others, but there is no systematic way in which the verbs can be distinguished in terms of meaning or syntactic properties by their thematic suffix vowel.

1.1.2.1 Thematic Suffix is //-iy-// (N = 102). This suffix accounts for almost two-thirds of the root transitive verbs with //-Vy-// thematic suffix. It may co-occur with any root vowel except /e/. There are no examples with root vowel /i:/.

1.1.2.1.1 Examples.

	Incompl.	Compl.	Perfect	
bač-iy-	twirl it (a fire drill)	bačiyal	bačiy	bačiya:mal
kʷa:ç-iy-	spy on s.o.	kʷa:çiyal	kʷa:çiy	kʷa:çiya:mal
kʷiʔ-iy-	throw it, fling it	kʷiʔiyal	kʷiʔiy	kʷiʔiya:mal
çol-iy-	loosen it, slacken it	çoliyal	çoliy	çoliya:mal
to:n-iy-	walk around it, circle it	to:niyal	to:niy	to:niya:mal
puç-iy-	pick it, harvest it	puçiyal	puçiy	puçiya:mal
ču:m-iy-	point it, make it pointed	ču:miyal	ču:miy	ču:miya:mal

1.1.2.2 Thematic Suffix is // -oy-// (N = 26). This suffix occurs only with root vowels /o/, /i/ and /e/, never with /a/ or /u/. I have no example with root vowel /e:/.

1.1.2.2.1 Examples.

	Incompl.	Compl.	Perfect
θop-oy- beat, flap	θopoyal	θopoy	θopoya:mal
ko:ʔ-oy- care for, keep	ko:ʔoyal	ko:ʔoy	ko:ʔoya:mal
pik-oy- peel	pikoyal	pikoy	pikoya:mal
t'i:ʔ-oy- put on one garment over another	t'i:ʔoyal	t'i:ʔoy	t'i:ʔoya:mal
lek'-oy- lick	lek'oyal	lek'oy	lek'oya:mal

1.1.2.3 Thematic Suffix is // -ay-// (N = 16). This suffix occurs most often with root vowel /a/, three times with root vowel /u/, three times with root vowel /i/, and once with root vowel /e/.

1.1.2.3.1 Examples.

	Incompl.	Compl.	Perfect
šak-ay- sit astride it	šakayal	šakay	šakaya:mal
ʒa:ʔ-ay- peep out at s.o.	ʒa:ʔayal	ʒa:ʔay	ʒa:ʔaya:mal
puh-ay- baptise s.o.	puhayal	puhay	puhaya:mal
θu:b-ay- whistle at s.o.	θu:bayal	θu:bay	θu:baya:mal
θib-ay- cover it, protect it	θibayal	θibay	θibaya:mal
ʔeb-ay- fill it up	ʔebayal	ʔebay	ʔebaya:mal

1.1.2.4 Thematic Suffix is // -uy-// (N = 14). This suffix occurs only with root vowels /a/ or /u/. It is thus in complementary

distribution with *//oy-//*. There are no examples with root vowel /u:/. A similar, but more restricted, pattern holds for thematic suffix *//Vw-//* (1.1.3 below). These co-occurrence restrictions are discussed at length in Chapter 3, Sections 4.2 and 8.0.

1.1.2.4.1 Examples.

	Incompl.	Compl.	Perfect
map-uy- close it	mapuyal	mapuy	mapuya:mal
ǰ'a:h-uy- lasso it	ǰ'a:huyal	ǰ'a:huy	ǰ'a:huya:mal
čuk-uy- sew it	čukuyal	čukuy	čukuya:mal

1.1.2.5 Thematic Suffix is *//ey-//* (N = 10). All verbs with this thematic suffix have root vowel /e/.

1.1.2.5.1 Examples.

	Incompl.	Compl.	Perfect
ǰeʔ-ey- grind it	ǰeʔeyal	ǰeʔey	ǰeʔeya:mal
kʷe:ʔ-ey- rob s.o., steal it	kʷe:ʔeyal	kʷe:ʔey	kʷe:ʔeya:mal

1.1.3 Thematic Suffix is *//Vw-//* (N = 71). This suffix is strictly conditioned by the root vowel, which is always short. If the root vowel is /u/ (N = 33) or /a/ (N = 27), the thematic suffix is *//uw-//*, and if the root vowel is /o/ (N = 11), the thematic suffix is *//ow-//*. The suffix never occurs with root vowels /i/ or /e/. An optional morphophonemic rule deletes the /w/ of the thematic suffix when it is followed by the perfect inflectional morpheme; the vowel of the inflectional morpheme then assimilates to the vowel of the thematic suffix to make a single long vowel. This shortened form is

more frequent than the full completive form; see Section 5.3.2, Chapter 3.

#### 1.1.3.1 Examples.

		Incompl.	Compl.	Perfect
buk'-uw-	scatter it, distribute it	buk'uwal	buk'uw	buk'uwa:mal/ buk'u:mal
pak-uw-	spend it, use it up	pakuwal	pakuw	pakuwa:mal/ paku:mal
θop-ow-	inflate it	θopowal	θopow	θopowa:mal/ θopo:mal

1.1.3.2 One verb in this class deletes the thematic suffix in the incomplete.

ʔul-uw-	say it, speak it	ʔulal	ʔuluw	ʔulu:mal
---------	------------------	-------	-------	----------

1.1.4 Thematic Suffix is ∅. The one verb in this class, ča:ʔ-∅- 'carry' deletes the /ʔ/ of the root before the incomplete and perfect inflectional suffixes. It also undergoes a morphophonemic simplification process when the benefactive derivational morpheme is added. The long root vowel requires /-Vn-/ insertion before any derivational morpheme (see Section 9.1, Chapter 3). Thus, when the benefactive morpheme // -č-// is added, the result is ča:ʔ-an-č-, which obligatorily simplifies to ča:nč-.

#### 1.1.4.1 Examples.

		Incompl.	Compl.	Perfect
ča:ʔ-∅-	bring it, fetch it	ča:l	ča:ʔ	ča:mal
ča:nč-	bring it for s.o.	ča:nčal	ča:nči	ča:nča:mal

1.1.5 Three verbs have atypical thematic suffixes and irregular incomplete forms. In all three cases the vowel of the perfect inflectional suffix assimilates to the vowel of the thematic suffix (with glottal deletion in the case of ʔik'-iʔ-).

1.1.5.1 Examples.

		Incompl.	Compl.	Perfect
ʔik'-iʔ-	carry it, cart it	ʔik'tal	ʔik'iʔ	ʔik'i:mal
ʒuʔ-u-	see it	ʒuʔtal	ʒuʔu	ʒuʔu:mal
k'ap-u-	eat it	k'apal	k'apu	k'apu:mal

1.1.6 The same CVC form may take more than one transitive thematic suffix. Sometimes the resulting verbs have related meanings and can be assumed to share the same root. In other cases, the difference in meaning is such that homophonous roots must be assumed. I have 23 pairs and one triplet in my corpus, and apart from the interdiction on certain combinations of root and suffix vowel discussed above, there appears to be no systematic relationship between paired thematic suffixes. Table 9 presents the complete list; a few examples are given below.

1.1.6.1 Transitive Verb Pairs Differing Only in Thematic Suffix.

bal-aʔ-	separate it, spread it out
bal-iy-	put it in
k'it'-aʔ-	rub it, knead it, massage it
k'it'-iy-	smooth it
pak-aʔ-	fold it, double it
pak-uw-	spend it, use it up
θač̣-iy-	tickle s.o.
θač̣-uw-	seine it, net it, strain it

ʒ'aʔ-aʔ-	open the mouth
ʒ'aʔ-iy-	buy it, purchase it
ʒ'aʔ-uw-	chew it

1.1.7 Three Place Verbs. A number of the transitive verbs listed in Table 8 have long root vowels. In some cases these are verbs derived from bivalent noun/verb roots, such as čum 'point', čum-iy- 'point it'; hu:n 'one', hu:n-aʔ- 'accompany someone'; to:m 'grass', to:m-iy-, 'sod it, grow grass'. In other cases, however, verbs with long root vowels appear to be three place verbs, *i.e.*, verbs that have an inherent direct or indirect object. For example, bi:n-aʔ- 'give it' really means 'give it to someone'. Table 10 presents the complete list of these verbs. Note that there are no examples with thematic suffix // -Vw- //. In terms of further derivation and inflection they behave just like other root transitive verbs. There are a few paired verbs which suggest that sometimes lengthening of the root vowel may be derivational in nature. However, since these verbs differ in thematic suffix as well, the question is essentially moot. Table 11 lists these pairs. pun-uw- 'put it, place it' and pu:n-aʔ- 'mount it' (put oneself on it?) are possibly related, as are tah-aʔ- 'illuminate it' and ta:h-ay- 'display it' and tiʔ-aʔ- 'pile one thing on top of another' and tiʔ-oy- 'put on one garment over another'. They may represent survivals of a once active derivational process. The remaining pairs have no obvious semantic relationship to each other.

#### 1.1.7.1 Examples.

ʔa:t-aʔ- gain it, win it (from s.o.)

ko:h-oy- cover it (with s.t.)



- kʷe:ʔ-ey- steal it (from s.o.)  
 ma:ɬ'-uy- surround it with a wall  
 ta:h-ay- display it, illuminate it (with s.t.)  
 θa:ʔ-iy- clear away small underbrush (from s.t.)

1.1.8 Verbs with Long Thematic Suffix Vowel. There are five verbs, two from my corpus and three from Larsen's (1955) dictionary (marked RL), which suggest that lengthening the vowel of the thematic suffix may also add a place to the verb. In all cases the thematic suffix is // -V:y- //. Three of these verbs have related verbs with short thematic suffix vowels; in all three cases the thematic suffix is // -aʔ- //. This derivation has not been explored to see how productive it might be, and for want of further information the five verbs have simply been included in Table 8. The entire list follows.

1.1.8.1 Examples.

- |  |                            |
|--|----------------------------|
| hik-o:y- cause s.o. to smell<br>it (RL)      | hik-aʔ- smell it, scent it |
| kit-a:y- load it with s.t.                   |                            |
| kiʔ-o:y- put food in another's<br>mouth      |                            |
| met'-a:y- make s.o. look at<br>it (RL)       | met'-aʔ- look at it        |
| ʔuɬ'-a:y- give someone s.t.<br>to drink (RL) | ʔuɬ'-aʔ- drink it          |

1.2 Verbal Derivations. Not all root transitive verbs can participate in all the derivations to be discussed below, but most of them can. A full root transitive verb can be passivized and

antipassivized; reciprocal and impersonal passive or absolutive verbs can be made; participles and agentive, patientive, "resultative", instrumental and abstractive nominals can be formed; several kinds of reduplication are possible; and various derivational morphemes may be suffixed to the root. Finally, many root transitive verbs have root intransitive (middle voice) counterparts which differ only in having an intransitive thematic suffix rather than a transitive one. I consider these middle voice verbs to be a separate class rather than derivations from transitives because, unlike the passives, antipassives, reciprocals and absolutives mentioned above, their existence and their form cannot be predicted from the form of the root transitive; see Section 2 for a fuller discussion.

If we assume a continuum of agency from the most agentive (the active transitive, where both agent and object are present) to the least agentive (the middle voice, where the subject is usually an impersonal or patientive one), the passives and antipassives can be located along this continuum. In the antipassive derivation the agent remains as subject of the derived intransitive verb, while the former object is eliminated or expressed in an oblique prepositional phrase. The passive promotes the former object to subject position, and either does not express the former agent or relegates it to an oblique phrase. The demoted agent is usually third person, but may be first or second person. The // -Vn- // impersonal passive most often expresses no demoted agent, but if it does, that former agent is third person and usually an impersonal or generalized third person. Many verbs derived with // -Vn- // have a neuter or absolutive intransitive

meaning; their subjects are usually "agentive" ('he got in', 'he laughed'). In this they contrast with the middle voice, where the subjects are usually "patientive" ('it split', 'it thickened'). The examples given below should clarify the above distinctions.

Note that in the statement of the various derivations below, /V/ will refer to the vowel of the thematic suffix of the root transitive verb, unless otherwise indicated.

1.2.1 Object-deleted or Antipassive Forms. Huastec has an elaborately developed system of object-deleted or antipassive verbal derivations which in some inflections are indistinguishable from related nominals. A brief review of these nominals will simplify the exposition; for a full discussion see Section 3.2.1, Chapter 8. Agentive nominals may be formed in three ways: by suffixing // -Vm//, // -Vl-// or // -Vš// to the verb root, and by sometimes lengthening the root vowel. It is often possible to derive all three nominals from the same CV(:)C root; the differences in meaning are subtle and are discussed in the chapter on nouns. Each of these nominals has a related object-deleted or antipassive form.

Antipassive or object-deleted verbs bear a more complex relationship to the basic transitive verb than do passives for two reasons. First, the antipassive morphemes are indistinguishable from the nominal morphemes described above, and second, the inflectional endings of the antipassives are identical, in the case of the // -Vm// and // -Vl-// antipassives, with one class of root intransitive verbs, and are similar, in the case of the // -Vš// antipassives, to the inflectional endings of the impersonal passive or absolute

derivation. *//-Vm-//* and *//-Vl-//* antipassives do not require that a thematic suffix follow the antipassive derivational morpheme. Since they share the same inflectional endings, they will be discussed together. *//-Vš-//* antipassives differ in three ways: they require an *//-in-//* thematic suffix, they take a different set of inflectional endings, and they are the basis for the formation of reciprocal verb forms.

1.2.1.1 *//-Vm-//* and *//-Vl-//* Antipassives. These antipassives are formed by suffixing the antipassive morphemes to the CV(:)C root and adding incomplete, complete or perfect antipassive inflectional suffixes.

Incomplete	-∅
Complete	-a:∅
Perfect	-a:maθ

When the complete and perfect suffixes are added, the vowel of the antipassive morpheme is deleted. In a few cases the antipassive morpheme is deleted in the complete and perfect; see ša?-al- below. *//-Vl-//* antipassives usually have a long root vowel in the incomplete inflection, even though the vowel is short elsewhere; the details of which roots lengthen the vowel and which do not are unclear to me.

1.2.1.1.1 Examples.

		Incompl.	Compl.	Perfect
ɣah-om-	dig	ɣahom	ɣahma:∅	ɣahma:maθ
ɣah-aʔ-	dig it			
ɣah-om	digger			

ʔa:k'-il-	weed	ʔa:k'il	ʔak'la:ǵ	ʔak'la:maθ
ʔak'-iy-	weed it			
ʔa:k'-il	weeder			
nu:h-ul-	sell	nu:hul	nuhla:ǵ	nuhla:maθ
nuh-uw-	sell it			
nu:h-ul	seller			
šaʔ-al-	vomit	šaʔal	šaʔa:ǵ	šaʔa:maθ
šaʔ-aʔ-	vomit it			
ša:ʔ-al	vomiter			

As noted above, the antipassive morphemes are identical with those which derive nominals from transitive verbs. It is impossible to tell by the shape of the word alone whether it is a nominal or an incompletive antipassive with a // -ǵ // inflectional morpheme. The distinction is made syntactically:

1. pe:l ʔi ǵah-om  
be B3 dig-NOM  
`He is a digger.`
2. haha:ʔ ǵ k'wahat ti-ǵ ǵah-om-ǵ  
he B3 PROGR SUBOR-B3 dig-AP-INC  
`He is digging.`
3. pe:l ʔin nu:h-ul  
be B1 sell-NOM  
`I am a seller.`
4. nana:ʔ ʔin nu:h-ul-ǵ  
I B1 sell-AP-INC  
`I am selling.`

The demoted object of an antipassive verb can usually be expressed in an oblique prepositional phrase. Compare:

5. ?a Sa:ntos ?in øah-a?-ø ?an mo:m  
the Santos A3 dig-TS-COM the well

‘Santos dug the well.’

6. ?a Sa:ntos ha?iø ø øah-l-a:ø k'al ?an mo:m  
the Santos he.who B3 dig-AP-COM with the well

‘It was Santos who was well-digging.’

Like other Mayan languages, such as Jacaltec (Craig 1979), Mam (England 1983) and Pocomam (Smith-Stark 1978), Huastec has an incorporative antipassive construction. Rather than being demoted into a prepositional phrase, the object can appear directly following the verb. The incorporated noun can neither be possessed nor preceded by a noun specifier. In this it resembles the object of the incorporative antipassive described by Craig (1979:146): "...specific determiners such as noun classifiers, possessives and demonstratives may not be used in the object incorporated construction...". Craig states that in Jacaltec the incorporated object must be generic and must refer to activities routinely carried out by members of the community. The example sentences below suggest some similar restriction in Huastec, but the limits of this construction have not been fully explored.

7. nana:ʔ ?in kah-um-ø t'uʔlek  
I B1 boil-AP-INC meat

‘I am meat-boiling.’

8. šowe:ʔ k'wahaŋ t-in ?a:k'-il-ø ?e:m  
today PROGR SUBOR-B1 weed-AP-INC cornfield

‘Today I am a cornfield-weeder.’

9. ʔit ɕ'ih-al-∅      Šiɕ' (r.i.)  
B2 defecate-AP-INC blood

'Do you have dysentery?'

Compare the following sentences, one with the demoted object expressed in an oblique phrase, the other with an incorporated object.

10. wawa:ʔ ʔu tai-e-y-iɕ      t-u      nu:h-ul-∅      k'al ʔan  
we      B4 finish-TS-COM-EMPH SUBOR-B4 sell-AP-INC with the

boli:m  
big.tamale

'We are already finished tamale-selling.'

11. ʔin neʔeɕ t-in      nu:h-ul-∅      pan  
B1 go      SUBOR-B1 sell-AP-INC bread

'I'm going to bread-sell.'

The difference in meaning between an antipassive with demoted object expressed in an oblique phrase and one with an incorporated object is unclear to me. The English translations given above are at best approximate, and do not distinguish the two.

1.2.1.2 //VŠ// Antipassives. These antipassives are formed by suffixing //VŠ// to the CV(:)C root. The incompletive inflection of //VŠ// antipassives is similar to the incompletive of //Vm-// and //Vl-// antipassives; i.e., it is simply root + antipassive derivational morpheme. However, in the completive and perfect inflections an //-in-// thematic suffix is added to the antipassive derivational morpheme, with the following inflectional suffixes:

Completive	-∅
Perfect	-e:nek

The vowel of the //-Vš-// suffix is deleted in the completive and perfect.

1.2.1.2.1 Examples.

		Incompl.	Compl.	Perfect
hep-aš-	split	hepaš	hepšin	hepšine:nek
hep-aʔ-	split it			
hep-aš	splitter			
bik'-iš-	strike	bik'iš	bik'šin	bik'šine:nek
bik'-iy-	strike it			
bik'-iš	striker			
huč'-uš-	suck	huč'uš	huč'šin	huč'šine:nek
huč'-uw-	suck it			
huč'-uš	sucker, mosquito			

The incompletive of //-Vš-// verbs is distinguished syntactically from the nominal form.

12. ʔan pik'oʔ pe:l ʔi k'at'-uš  
the dog is of bite-NOM

'The dog is a biter.'

13. ʔan pik'oʔ Ø k'at'-uš  
the dog B3 bite-AP.INC

'The dog bites.'

Completive and perfect verbal forms based on a //-Vš-// derivational morpheme are relatively rarer than these same inflections based on //-Vl-// or //-Vm-// morphemes; the incompletive, however, is quite common.

1.2.2 Reciprocals. Reciprocal verbs can be made from antipassive verbs in //-Vš-// by lengthening both root and derivational vowels. Since reciprocals by their nature imply plurality, adding the plural



marker //čik// emphasizes a back and forth action, or reciprocal actions involving several participants. Since the vowel of the reciprocal suffix is long, it is not deleted. However, in the perfect the unstressed /i/ of //in-// is deleted. As can be seen in the examples below, reciprocals are intransitive, and take Set B pronouns.

#### 1.2.2.1 Examples.

14. wawa:ʔ ʔu ba:k-i:š-čik  
we B4 wake-RECIP.INC-PL

‘We wake each other up.’

(bak-iy- ‘wake s.o., arouse s.o.’)

15. ʔan pik'oʔ ø k'a:t'-u:š-in-ø  
the dogs B6 bite-RECIP-TS-COM

‘The dogs bit each other.’

(k'at'-uw- ‘bite it, gnaw it’)

16. wawa:ʔ ʔu θu:č-a:š-(i)n-e:nek  
we B4 write-RECIP-TS-PER

‘We have written each other.’

(θuč-aʔ- ‘write it’)

1.2.2.2 Forced Interaction. A further derivation, based on a reciprocal stem, has the effect of retransitivizing the verb. //l-// added to the reciprocal stem is followed by an //-iy-// thematic suffix and by incompletive //-al//, completive //-ø//, and perfect //-a:mal// inflectional suffixes. The derivation has the general meaning of forcing some kind of reciprocal interaction: causing two roosters to fight with each other, as in a cock fight, or hooking one

thing to another to raise or lower it. Some examples follow. See Table 17 for the complete list.

#### 1.2.2.2.1 Examples.

kʷa:θ-a:š-l-iy-: nit two things together; e.g., hit two shoes together to knock off the dirt. (kʷaθ-aʔ- `hit it`)

ta:m-k-u:š-l-iy- ʔan tum:n: put money together, this amount with that, as in a corporation, or when two people pool their money to buy something--a house, a bottle of liquor, etc. (tam-k-uy- unite or join it', tumi:n `money`)

In the sentence below the `forced interaction' verb form conveys the sense of the dog pulling at the opossum, and the opossum digging in its claws to resist the tug.

17. ʔan pik'ɔʔ ʔin ki:n-a:š-l-iy-al ʔan u:t' k-in  
 the dog A3 haul-RECIP-TV-INC the opossum SUBJ-A3

øem-θ-aʔ-ø  
 die-CAUS-TS-COM

The dog pulls at the opossum in order to kill it.

1.2.3 Passive. Passives are formed by suffixing incomplete, complete or perfect passive morphemes to the thematic suffix. There are minor differences in the complete passive morphemes, depending on whether the thematic suffix is // -aʔ-//, // -Vy-// or // -Vw-//. The passive suffixes are:

Incomplete	-a:b
Complete	-a (on -aʔ- verbs) -at (on -Vy- and -Vw- verbs)
Perfect	-a:me

The morphophonemic rules described in 1.1 apply here. The /ʔ/ of the //aʔ// thematic suffix is deleted and the vowel merges with the vowel of the passive morpheme. In the completive the result is a long vowel; the vowels of the incomplete and perfect suffixes are long, and do not become extra long. The /w/ of the //-Vw// thematic suffix is optionally deleted and the vowel of the passive morpheme assimilates to the vowel of the thematic suffix, to make a single long vowel. Verbs with an irregular thematic suffix (1.1.5 above) behave variously; k'ap-u- deletes the //-u// thematic suffix in the incomplete and completive passive; ʒuʔ-u- and ʔik'-iʔ- retain the /t/ of the active incomplete in the incomplete and completive passive.

### 1.2.3.1 Examples.

		Incompl.	Compl.	Perfect
θay-aʔ-	raise it, lift it up	θaya:b	θaya:	θaya:me
yut-iy-	fine grind corn dough	yutiya:b	yutiyat	yutiya:me
luh-uw-	confess one's sins	luhuwa:b	luhuwat	luhuwa:me/ luhu:me
k'ap-u-	eat it	k'apa:b	k'apat	k'apu:me
ʒuʔ-u-	see it	ʒuʔta:b	ʒuʔtat	ʒuʔu:me

In the following sentence from a text, the demoted agent is expressed. The subsequent example, 19, was elicited both with the demoted agent expressed, and with no expressed agent.

18. Ø ʔul-iʒ t-in k'ima:ʔ Ø kon-oy-a:b k'al ʔin  
 B3 arrive-COM at-B3 home B3 ask-TS-INC.PASS by B3

ʔuʃkwe:-il  
 old.woman-POSS

`He arrived home and is asked by his wife:´ (a question follows)

19. ?an miç'u? Ø k'at'-uw-at (k'al ?an pik'o?)  
 the cat B3 bite-TS-COM.PASS (by the dog)

`The cat was bitten (by the dog).´

A child arrives crying, and his mother says, with a rising inflection:

20. tata:? ?it kwaθ-a(?)-a:me (r.i.) ?it ?ih-k-an-Ø o  
 you B2 hit-TS-PER.PASS B2 fall-DM-VN-COM or  
 kwah-l-an-Ø (r.i.)  
 lean-DM-VN-COM

`You, have you been hit? Did you fall or tumble down?´

1.2.4 //Vn-// Intransitives. These derived forms express a range of passive meanings: action whose agent is unknown or unexpressed (‘the pig got killed’), action whose agents are generalized (‘tortillas are made by women’), and in some cases actions which have an almost reflexive quality (‘he is sold’ or ‘he sells himself’; i.e., he hires out his labor). If an agent is expressed, it must be in an oblique phrase and it is invariably third person; see 23 below. These impersonal passives thus contrast with the passives described in Section 1.2.3, which readily permit expression of the demoted agent, whether first, second or third person. Verbs derived with //Vn-// often have a more absolutive or simple intransitive sense: ‘he was mistaken’, ‘the bird flies’, ‘the wind blew’. A //Vn-// form can be elicited for most root and derived transitive verbs by suffixing a //Vn-// derivational morpheme to the root or stem and adding incompletive, completive and perfect inflectional suffixes. /V/ is

the vowel of the transitive thematic suffix. The inflectional morphemes are:

Incompletive	-al
Completive	-∅
Perfect	-e:nek

When the incompletive and perfect suffixes are added, the vowel of the derivational morpheme is deleted. The similarity of this formation to that of the // -Vš-// antipassives (1.2.1.2 above) is notable. It could be argued that the two are completely parallel, but that the antipassive deletes both the thematic suffix and the inflectional ending in the incompletive. Some support for this line of argument is the pattern found in an irregular non-root intransitive verb waʔaɕ, which can mean 'there is, there are' or 'be born', depending on context and inflection (see Section 4.1). Waʔaɕ has the following inflectional paradigm; deletion of the final stem vowel when followed by thematic suffix // -in-// is automatic.

	there be	be born
Incompletive	waʔaɕ	waʔ(a)ɕ-in-al
Completive	waʔ(a)ɕ-in-∅	waʔ(a)ɕ-in-∅
Perfect	waʔ(a)ɕ-in-e:nek	waʔ(a)ɕ-in-e:nek

A second irregular intransitive, šeʔeɕ 'go about', behaves just like waʔaɕ 'there be'. It could be argued that the incompletive of 'there be' should be written waʔaɕ-∅-∅ to indicate the presumed deletions. However, in the example sentences throughout this manuscript the decision has been made simply to indicate the irregularity in the glosses, as follows:

waʔaɕ	waʔɕ-in-∅	waʔɕ-in-e:nek
there.be.INC	there.be-TS-COM	there.be-TS-PER

The //-Vš-// antipassives are glossed in a similar fashion:

kʼatʼ-vš	kʼatʼ-uš-in-∅	kʼatʼ-(u)š-in-e:nek
bite-AP.INC	bite-AP-TS-COM	bite-AP-TS-PER

#### 1.2.4.1 Examples.

		Incompl.	Compl.	Perfect
ɕin-an-	deny	ɕinnal	ɕinan	ɕinne:nek
ɕin-aʔ-	deny it			
map-un-	close	mapnal	mapun	mapne:nek
map-uy-	close it			
nuh-un-	sell	nuhnal	nuhun	nuhne:nek
nuh-uw-	sell it			

21. ∅ watʼ-e-y-iɕ ʔa ʔiɕʼ t-u bukʼ-(u)n-al ʔan ʔiyela:b  
 B3 pass-MV-COM-EMPH the moon at-B6 scatter-VN-INC the seeds

‘The month has already passed when seeds are sown.’

22. ∅ huč-un-∅ ʔan ʔikʼ leh ɕapik  
 B3 blow-VN-COM the wind very strong

‘The wind blew very hard.’

23. neʔeɕ k-it leh ɕʼikʼ-an-∅ kʼal ʔi yo:y  
 go SUBJ-B2 very sting-VN-COM by of mosquito

‘You’re going to get bit by the mosquitos.’

24. tehe:ʔ ∅ čik-(a)n-e:nek ya:ntom ʔi ʔata:  
 here B6 burn-VN-PER many of house

‘Here many houses were burned.’ The informant added: ‘But I don’t know by whom.’

There are a number of examples of the //-Vn-// form only, with no corresponding transitive root; see Table 12. In some cases the

absence of a transitive form may simply reflect a sampling error; in other cases the related forms may differ considerably in meaning: compare the transitive θa:h-ay- 'shout at someone' and the intransitive θah-an- 'bark'. Some // -Vn- // forms may be intransitives derived from nouns or adjectives: he:l 'drizzle' (noun), he:l-in- 'drizzle' (verb); yik<sup>w</sup>aš 'darkness', yik<sup>w</sup>-an- 'get dark'. Some of these possible relationships are indicated on Table 12. A few verbs may exist only in the // -Vn- // form; for example, te?-en- 'laugh'; t'ik'-on- 'leap, rebound'; for these verbs the vowel of the // -Vn- // suffix is unpredictable.

1.2.5 Participles. Simple, positional, distributive, and repetitive participles can be formed on transitive roots and stems. They are considered here because of their obvious derivational relationship to transitive verbs, but will be referred to again in the discussion of adjectives (Chapter 15) because in many environments they behave syntactically like true adjectives.

1.2.5.1 Simple Participles. Simple participles are made by suffixing // -Vθ // to the CV(:)C root; V is the vowel of the thematic suffix. // -Vθ // has two allomorphs: /-Vč / when the root ends in /θ/, and /-Vθ / elsewhere.

1.2.5.1.1 Examples.

θip-aʔ-	braid it	θip-aθ	braided
hu:n-aʔ	accompany s.o.	hu:n-aθ	accompanied
ʔah-iy-	weave it	ʔah-iθ	woven

ʒ'a:h-uy-	lasso it	ʒ'a:h-uθ	lassoed
loʔ-ow-	perforate it	loʔ-oθ	perforated
kʷaθ-aʔ-	hit it	kʷaθ-ač	hit
waθ-iy-	sprinkle with liquid	waθ-ič	sprayed
peθ-oy-	sweep it	peθ-oč	swept
ha:θ-uy-	skim foam	ha:θ-uč	skimmed
muθ-uw-	pile it up	muθ-uč	piled up

1.2.5.2 Positional Participles. // -V:l// positional participial suffixes are formed by reduplicating and lengthening the vowel of the CVC root and adding /l/, except when the root vowel is /a/, in which case the vowel of // -V:l// is the vowel of the thematic suffix of the verb. There are a few exceptions to this rule; see Table 15, which lists all known examples. Note that some `positionals` have been listed even though there is no related verb, because their shape and meaning suggest that they belong to this class. Positional participles can be based on intransitive verbs as well; see Sections 2.3.3 and 3.3.3. There are nine examples in the table of positional participles based on CVC roots which can take both transitive and intransitive thematic suffixes; the question is moot as to which verb is the basis for the positional participle. This derivation has not been explored in detail. However, the semantics of the terms listed in Table 15 suggest that a class of positional verbs could be defined in terms of whether or not they can form a participle in // -V:l//. Note that such a class would cross-cut the different transitive, intransitive and middle voice verb classes, which have been defined largely in terms of their structural characteristics. Except for the



possibility of forming a participle in // -V:l//, there are no differences in derivational or inflectional potential between, say, middle voice verbs that can form a positional participle and those that cannot. There are some instances of the same verb root with both simple and positional participial derivations, and the precise difference in meaning is unclear, as is the relation between positional participles and the distributive and repetitive participles discussed below in Sections 1.2.5.3 and 1.2.5.4, or these same formations based on intransitive verbs (Sections 2.3.4 and 2.3.5). Further research is necessary to explore the limits of this derivation--to see, for example, if it is possible to form a verb meaning 'to place in position X denoted by the root' or 'to assume position X'.

#### 1.2.5.2.1 Examples.

but-uw-	make it round or swollen	but-u:l	raised up (e.g. a boil)
čín-aʔ-	stiffen it	čín-i:l	extended and rigid
heʔ-aʔ-	leave it face up	heʔ-e:l	reclining (face up)
heʔ-e-	lie face up		
kal-uw-	stretch it, extend it	kal-u:l	spread out
kal-u-	stretch		
keš-aʔ-	widen it, enlarge it	keš-e:l	widened
keš-e-	become wide		
lín-aʔ-	squash it, flatten it	lín-i:l	flattened
moʔ-ow-	throw it to the ground	moʔ-o:l	thrown down
pol-ow-	curl it between s.t.	pol-o:l	curled between (e.g. dog's tail between its legs)

šim-iy-	disarrange the hair	šim-i:l	uncombed, disarranged
šuy-uw-	narrow it	šuy-u:l	narrowed
šuy-e-	become narrow		
t'i?-a?-	pile one thing on top of another	t'i?-i:l	piled up

1.2.5.3 Distributive Participles. A distributive participle is made by deleting the consonant of the thematic suffix and adding the plural morpheme *//-čik//*. Thus, from buk'-uw- 'scatter it', we have buk'-uθ 'scattered' and buk'-u-čik 'many things scattered about here and there'. Compare *?in* buk'-uw-θ-čik 'they scattered it', where *//-čik//* marks plurality of agent. Table 16 presents a list of distributive participles. Inspection of the table reveals an odd morphophonemic process. Verbs whose thematic suffix is *//-Vy-//* or *//-Vw-//* retain the vowel of the thematic suffix before *//-čik//*, whereas verbs with thematic suffix *//-a?-//* change the vowel to the vowel of the CV(:)C root; see Section 4.4, Chapter 3 for a fuller discussion.

A few examples will clarify the semantics of the distributive participle. As will be seen, the implication of the participle is of spatial rather than temporal distribution. Wel-a?- means to open something up, as a passageway. If the seams of a pair of pants are ripped here and there, but remain partially sewn together, this is welčik 'opened up here and there'. Kal-uw- means to extend or stretch something out, as, for example, when laying telephone wire. My assistant demonstrated by pulling several pieces of string from a mop and scattering them about on the ground; they are kalučik.

1.2.5.3.1 Examples.

25. leh ya:n ?i t<sup>h</sup>uhub ?ol-i-čik ti ha?  
 very many of stone polish-TS-PL by water

‘There are a lot of stones here and there polished by the water.’ (?ol-iy- ‘polish it’)

26. yab k-a kal-θ-a?-∅ čik-i-čik  
 not IMP-A2 go.out-CAUS-TS-COM burn-TS-PL

‘(Watch the tortillas); don’t remove them with little burned spots all over.’ (čik-a?- ‘burn it’)

1.2.5.4 Repetitive Participles. There is a very productive reduplication process in Huastec which has the general meaning ‘Do something repetitively or over a period of time’. The details of this reduplication, and certain contingent morphophonemic processes, will be discussed below in Chapter 6, Section 3.1. However, it is relevant here to note that a participle can be formed on the reduplicated stem, with the meaning ‘Done repetitively or over a period of time’. The temporal dimension of this participle thus contrasts with the spatial dimension of the distributive participle. The pattern of reduplication is: C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-V<sub>2</sub>C<sub>2</sub>V<sub>2</sub>θ. V<sub>2</sub> is usually, but not always, the vowel of the thematic suffix; see Chapter 3, Section 4.3, for details.

1.2.5.4.1 Examples.

Tak-uy- means to separate things into groups. For example, during the harvest corn ears are separated by size; when the job is finished one can remark:

27. tak-ukuθ t-in yane:l ?an way?  
 separate-REP.PPL in-A6 totality the corn.ears

‘All separated, one by one, the corn ears.’

28. leh ya:n ?i bakan      ø'at'-at'aθ  
 very many of tortillas pat-REP.PPL

'Lots of tortillas all patted out.'

29. yab ?u ?eht-ow-al      k-u      ø'a?-iy-ø      ?an ?iθiθ;  
 not Al be.able-TS-INC      that-Al buy-TS-COM      the corn;

pak-uku-θ      ?an tumi:n  
 spend-REP.PPL      the money

'I can't buy the corn; all the money is spent.'

## 2.0 Middle Voice Verbs.

I touched briefly in Section 1.2 on middle voice verbs. They form a clearly defined structural class and share a common meaning-- that of action which takes place without an agent and without volition: 'it fell' (but was not pushed), 'it split' (as a watermelon might when it grows too fast), 'it hung', 'it drifted', and so on. There are two criteria which define this class. (1) Middle voice verbs have thematic suffixes // -e-// (N = 113), // -u-// (N = 13), or // -i-// (N = 9) which attach directly to the CVC root; (there are no middle voice verbs with CV:C roots). (2) All middle voice verbs can derive a transitive verb with the causative morpheme // -θ-//, except for seven verbs with thematic suffix // -i-// and three with thematic suffix // -e-//, which form their causative with // -b-//. I questioned these ten verbs for the // -θ-// causative as well; it was marginally acceptable in a few cases; see 2.3.1 below. Many middle voice verbs have root transitive counterparts which differ from these derived transitive forms. Compare hak-e-y 'it separated'; hak-e-θ-a?-ø '(he) made it separate'; and hak-a?-ø '(he) separated it'. As can be seen from this example, the root middle voice verb and its root transitive

counterpart differ only in having a middle voice or root transitive thematic suffix; the verb root itself is bivalent. It is not possible to predict which transitive thematic suffixes will correspond to which middle voice suffixes. A few examples of root transitive-middle voice pairs will be given below; see Table 8 for a complete list.

Transitive	Middle Voice
baθ-aʔ- hang it, dangle it	baθ-e- hang down, dangle
čik-aʔ- burn it	čik-e- be thirsty
čuʔ-uw- stretch it	čuʔ-e- stretch
mul-uw- form it into a ball	mul-e- shrink together, ball up
pak-aʔ- fold it, double it	pak-e- grow
pok´-ow- break it, shatter it	pok´-e- break, shatter
tam-uw- find it, meet it	tam-u- reach to meet
θay-aʔ- raise it, lift it up	θay-e- rise, get up
θop-ow- inflate it	θop-e- inflate, swell up
wil-iy- circle it around s.t.	wil-e- be drunk

A few middle voice-root intransitive pairs also exist; these will be discussed in Section 3 below.

2.1 Middle Voice Inflectional Subclasses. Middle voice inflectional morphology is a bit more complicated than transitive inflectional morphology because there are alternative inflections for both incomplete and complete. The inflectional morphemes are:

Incomplete	-l or -:l
Complete	-y or -∅
Perfect	-nek

In addition, there are five verbs with irregular completives.

2.1.1 Examples.

		Incompl.	Compl.	Perfect
čúθ-e-	dawn	čúθe:l	čúθey	čúθenek
k'wal-e-	thicken, coagulate	k'walel	k'waley	k'walenek
lem-e-	float in the air	leme:l	leme	lemenek
k'al-e-	go, go away	k'aləl	k'ale	k'alnek
tep-e-	go out, die out	tepel	tepe	tepenek
yeh-e-	grow tall or large	yehe:l	yehey	yehenek
hač-e-	become knotted, tangled	hačel	hačey	hačenek
weč'-e-	creak	weč'el	weč'ey	weč'enek
tuy-u-	tilt, lean	tuyu:l	tuyuy	tuyunek
bač-u-	wither	bačul	bačuy	bačunek
paʔ-i-	descend, get down	paʔi:l	paʔiy	paʔinek
t'aʔ-i-	burn	t'aʔi:l	t'aʔiy	t'aʔinek
čeʔ-e-	come, arrive	čeʔel	či:č	čeʔenek
ǰem-e-	die	ǰemel	ǰemeǰ	ǰemenek
ʔul-e-	arrive, come	ʔulel	ʔuliǰ	ʔulnek

Table 13 presents the complete corpus of middle voice verbs.

Sections 1.1-1.4 classify verbs with thematic suffix // -e // in terms of the permutations of long or short vowel in the incomplete, and // -y // or // -ǰ // in the complete. Forms with an irregular complete are listed in 1.5. Sections 2.1 and 2.2 of the table list middle voice verbs with thematic suffix // -u //, and Sections 3.1 and 3.2 list those with thematic suffix // -i //.

This breakdown into

classes is utilitarian--an efficient way of providing information about the inflectional suffixes--but there is no systematic difference in meaning or syntactic behavior by subclass. In rapid speech the //e-// thematic suffix sometimes drops out in the perfect inflection; it is regularly deleted after roots ending in /m/ and in the perfect of k'al-e- 'go', ʔul-e- 'arrive', and weh-e- 'ripen'.

2.2 Irregular verbs. The middle voice verb čeʔ-e- 'come, arrive' has a suppletive completive form či:č, instead of the expected \*čeʔ-e-y or \*čeʔ-e-∅. Its incompletive, čeʔ-e-l, and perfect, čeʔ-e-nek, are regular. Three verbs, šem-e- 'die', ʔul-e- 'arrive', and ʔoʔ-e- 'enter', have irregular completives šem-eš, ʔul-iš and ʔoʔ-iš. It seems probable that what has happened here is (1) suffixation of the emphatic clitic particle //iš// to the usual completive in //y// or //∅//, (2) deletion of the completive morpheme and either deletion of the thematic suffix or merging of its vowel with that of the emphatic clitic, and (3) lexicalization of the resulting form. For 'die' the inferred process is: \*šem-e-y --> \*šem-e-y-iš --> šem-eš. Evidence that //iš// has lost its clitic status in šem-eš is the attested possibility of suffixing //iš// to this derived completive, to give šem-(e)š-iš 'died already'. ʔul-(i)š-iš is also possible, but not \*ʔoʔ-(i)š-iš, since the geminate /šš/ cluster would reduce to /š/.

2.3 Participles. As was the case with transitive verbs (see 1.2.5), it is possible to form participles on middle voice roots.

2.3.1 Simple Participles. Simple participles can be formed from most middle voice verbs by adding //at// to the CVC root. There appears

to be no phonological conditioning of this morpheme, except that it is rare on roots with thematic suffix vowel // -u //.

### 2.3.1.1 Examples.

ham-e-	become short	ham-at	short
heʔ-e-	lie face up	heʔ-at	face up
kal-e-	go out	kal-at	salient
keš-e-	become wide	keš-at	wide
kub-e-	stand up	kub-at	erect
pal-e-	hang	pal-at	suspended
pik-e-	become quiet	pik-at	silent
t'ek'-e-	grow tall	t'ek'-at	tall
wel-e-	clear, open up	wel-at	clean, clear
tuy-u-	tilt, lean	tuy-at	tilted
kʷaɣ-i-	lie down	kʷaɣ-at	reclining
t'aʔ-i-	burn	t'aʔ-at	burned

2.3.2 Perfect Inflections as Participles. The perfect inflection of middle voice verbs can be used participially. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish verbal from participial usage because the third person clitic pronoun of intransitive verbs is most frequently the zero form (see Chapter 4, Section 1.1). Thus the surface realization of a middle voice verb inflected for third person subject will be identical with its perfect participle. Often, too, the difference in meaning is slight, as in the following pair of sentences.



2.3.2.1 Examples.

30. Ø kub-e-nek   ʔan piǰ'al ti kal-e-l   k'iča:  
 B3 stand-TS-PER the rainbow at go.out-TS-INC sun

'The rainbow stood in the east.'

31. huʔta: ti-Ø   k'wahat ʔan k'westʔ kub-e-nek   ʔalta:  
 where SUBOR-B3 exist the broom? stand-TS-PPL inside

'Where is the broom? Stood up inside.'

2.3.3 Positional Participles. These participles are derived in exactly the same way as positional participles based on transitive verbs (1.2.5.2) and those based on root intransitive verbs (3.3.3); that is, the vowel of the CVC root is reduplicated and lengthened, and is followed by /l/. This derivation was not systematically explored; see Table 15 for a complete list of examples. Note that if the incompletive inflection of a middle voice verb has a long vowel which is identical to the vowel of the root, the incompletive will be identical in form to a positional participle. Differentiation can usually be made syntactically or in terms of meaning, as in sentences 32 and 33 below.

2.3.3.1 Examples.

beǰ-e-	hang, be suspended	beǰ-e:l	hanging
hač-e-	become tangled, knotted	hač-a:l	tangled, knotted
ʔiǰ'-e-	lose leaves	ʔiǰ'-i:l	stripped bare
ket-e-	sit	ket-e:l	seated
kuǰ-e-	curve	kuǰ-u:l	hunchbacked
not'-e-	become annoyed	not'-o:l	nostrils flared (in anger)

piʔ-i-	bend double	piʔ-i:l	bent down, doubled over
šəʔ-e-	wrinkle	šəʔ-e:l	wrinkled
tuy-u-	tilt, lean	tuy-u:l	leaning to one side

32. ʔin ket-e-:l Ø mulk-un-Ø ʔu kʷala:l  
B1 sit-TS-INC B6 cross-VN-COM A1 legs

‘I sit with my legs crossed.’

33. na:ʔ Ø kʷahat ʔan øʔiʔin na:ʔ ket-e:l baʔ ʔan teʔ  
there B3 exist a bird there sit-PPL on a tree

‘There is a bird, over there sitting on a tree.’

2.3.4 Distributive Participles. No systematic questioning for distributive participles was done with middle voice verbs, and information is limited. They are formed by suffixing the plural morpheme // -čik// to the thematic suffix. If the middle voice verb is one which has the zero form of the completive inflection, there will be no surface difference between the completive plural and the distributive participle. Although I have glossed the term in the examples as ‘Done here and there’, the semantics of the participle are more subtle, as in the translation given by my assistant for kʷal-e-čik (derived from kʷal-e- ‘thicken’): ‘things thickened, a little bit in each container’. He was referring to the processing of raw sugar from cane juice. When the boiled juice is at the sugaring point, it is poured into a number of small clay molds to harden.

Some additional examples follow; see Table 16, part 4 for the complete list. The change in thematic suffix vowel from /e/ to /a/ in ʔaʔ-a-čik and from /i/ to /a/ in kʷaʔ-a-čik and paʔ-a-čik is probably

the result of a morphophonemic process like those described in Section 1.2.5.3; however there are too few examples of middle voice distributive participles to be sure.

#### 2.3.4.1 Examples

beʒ-e-	hang	beʒ-e-čik	hanging here and there
hep-e-	split	hep-e-čik	split here and there
θet-e-	flutter or rest behind	θet-e-čik	tolded back (of a dragon- fly's wings)
wač-u-	deflate	wač-u-čik	things deflated here and there
k <sup>w</sup> waʒ-i-	lie down	k <sup>w</sup> waʒ-a-čik	persons or animals settled about
paʔ-i-	descend	paʔ-a-čik	things coming down here and there

2.3.5 Repetitive Participles. It is possible also to form a repetitive participle from a middle voice root. The pattern of the reduplication is  $C_1V_1C_2-V_2C_2V_2\theta$ ;  $V_2$  is the thematic suffix vowel. As was the case with transitive verbs (see Section 1.2.6.3), this participle has the general meaning: 'Something done repetitively or over a period of time'. Details of the repetitive reduplication are discussed in Section 6.1. A few examples of repetitive participles are given below.

#### 2.3.5.1 Examples.

beʒ-e-	hang	beʒ-eʒe-θ	hung for a long time
keš-e-	become wide	keš-eše-θ	gradually widened over time
lem-e-	float in the air	lem-eme-θ	floated for a long time

paʔ-i-	come down	paʔ-iʔi-θ	come down over and over (as loose earth sliding down)
tuy-u-	tilt, lean	tuy-uyu-θ	tilted again and again
wač-u-	deflate	wač-uču-θ	repeatedly deflated

2.4 Causative Formation with //θ// or //b//. One of the defining criteria for middle voice verbs is the ability to form a causative transitive with //θ// or //b//. Although the causative morpheme usually follows the thematic suffix, sometimes the thematic suffix is deleted and the causative morpheme is suffixed directly to the CVC root; elsewhere the thematic suffix vowel is lengthened. These deletion and lengthening processes appear to be idiosyncratic; at least, I have been unable to find any explanation for them. The causative //θ// or //b// is always followed by thematic suffix //aʔ//. The resulting derived transitive verb is inflected like root transitives with //aʔ// thematic suffix; compare the following parallel inflections:

		Incompl.	Compl.	Perfect
ʔat'e-	stick	ʔat'el	ʔat'ey	ʔat'enek
ʔat'aʔ-	stick it	ʔat'a:l	ʔat'aʔ	ʔat'a:mal
ʔat'e-θ-aʔ-	make it stick	ʔat'eθa:l	ʔat'eθaʔ	ʔat'eθa:mal

#### 2.4.1 Examples.

bač-u-	wither	bač-u:-θ-aʔ-	make it wither
beč-e-	hang	beč-e-θ-aʔ-	make it hang, hang it
hik'e-	be afraid	hik'e:-θ-aʔ-	frighten s.o.
k'ak'e-	get hot	k'ak'-θ-aʔ-	heat it

k'aʔ-i-	be hungry	k'aʔ-i-θ-aʔ-	make s.o. hungry
nak-e-	become longer	nak-e-θ-aʔ-	lengthen it
tuy-u-	lean, tilt	tuy-u-θ-aʔ-	lean it, tilt it
t'aʔ-i-	burn	t'aʔ-i-θ-aʔ-	make it burn
ɕem-e-	die	ɕem-θ-aʔ-	kill it
way-e-	dry up	way-e:θ-aʔ-	dry it, make it dry
weh-e-	ripen	weh-e-θ-aʔ-	make it ripen
heʔ-e-	lie face up	heʔ-b-aʔ-	place face up
ket-e-	sit	ket-b-aʔ-	seat s.o.
kʷaɟ-i-	lie down	kʷaɟ-b-aʔ-	put s.o. to bed
k'aθ-i-	rise, go up	k'aθ-b-aʔ-	raise it
kʷah-i-	inhabit	kʷah-b-aʔ-	place, situate
wiç-i-	return, turn back	wiç-b-aʔ-	bring s.o. back

k'aθ-an-θaʔ-, with /-Vn-/ insertion to avoid an impermissible /θθ/ cluster, has the meaning 'cause to mount sexually'; kʷah-i-θ-aʔ- can mean 'insist that someone stay and not go', but my assistant said it was rarely used.

Two middle voice verbs undergo similar morphophonemic processes of deletion and vowel lengthening when //θ-// is added. The final consonant of the root is deleted, the root vowel is lengthened, and //θ-// is suffixed directly to this lengthened vowel.

kal-e-	go out + θ -->	ka:θ-aʔ-	take it out, remove it
ʔoɟ-e-	enter + θ -->	ʔo:θ-aʔ-	put it inside

2.4.2 Further Derivations on Causative Stems. Transitive verbs derived with //θ-// or //b-// may undergo further derivation, such

as passivization, antipassivization, nominalization, reciprocal and participle formation. A few example sentences will be given for these derivations.

34. ?ul-iǵ ?an ?a:b ?ani Ø pak-e-θ-a(?) -a:b ?an  
 come-COM the rain and B3 grow-TS-CAUS-TS-INC.PASS the  
 walila:b  
 fruit  
 `The rains came and the fruit is being made to grow.`
35. ?an wiǵ Ø bač-u:-θ-a(?) -a:me k'al ?an k'ak'al  
 the flower B3 wither-TS-CAUS-TS-PER.PASS by the sun  
 `The flower has been withered by the sun.`
36. tam ka-Ø ǵem-θ-an-Ø ?an to:ro leh t'učat ?in čukul  
 when SUBJ-B3 die-CAUS-VN-COM the bull very full A3 stomach  
 `When the bull is killed, its stomach is very full.`
37. haha:ʔ Ø kal-θ-om-a:ǵ k'al ?an ?uk'el-om  
 he B3 go.out-CAUS-AP-COM with the drown-NOM  
 `He was the hauler out of drowning persons (a lifeguard).`
38. ?an k'ak'al Ø leh way-e-θ-aš-in-Ø  
 the sun B3 very dry-TS-CAUS-AP-TS-COM  
 `The sun was very drying.`
39. ?u ?aǵ-e:-θ-a:š-čik ?an k'wito:l  
 B6 wet-TS-CAUS-RECIP.INC-PL the child  
 `The children are getting each other wet.`
40. haha:ʔ Ø k'wahat hik'-e-θ-ač  
 she B3 PROGR afraid-TS-CAUS-PPL  
 `She is frightened.`

41. hant'ó ø wat'ey k'al ?an wiç.      bač-u-θ-ač      k'al  
 what B3 passed with the flowers. wither-TS-CAUS-PPL by  
 ?an k'ak'al  
 the sun

‘What happened to the flowers? Withered by the sun.’

42. haha:ʔ ?eç'ey ?u ç'ak-b-a:b      tam k'wahat ti-ø  
 he always B3 get.up-CAUS-INC.PASS when PROGR SUBOR-B3  
 way-al-ø  
 sleep-TS-INC

‘He is always being gotten up when he is sleeping’ (i.e., he is aroused by his children).

43. kweteʔ ø wič-b-an-ø  
 alone B3 return-CAUS-VN-COM

‘It got itself back under its own power.’

44. tikin      paʔ-b-an-č-ø-i      çakam  
 you.for.me descend-CAUS-EP-BEN-COM-EP child

‘Get them down for me, child.’

45. k'wahat paʔ-b-aθ  
 exist descend-CAUS-PPL

‘They are lowered.’

Since the derived causative stem ends in /θ/, the participles in 40 and 41 have the // -Vč// allomorph (see 1.2.5 above).

### 3.0 Root Intransitive Verbs.

There is a small group of verbs in Huastec which can be classified as root intransitives. They differ semantically (as well as structurally) from middle voice verbs in that they imply volition on the part of the subject of the verb. And although they share many

structural characteristics with antipassive derivations from root transitives, they cannot be considered as antipassives because no root transitive exists from which they could have been derived. Like middle voice verbs, they can be transitivized with the causative morpheme // -θ- //. See Table 14 for the complete list.

3.1 Thematic Suffix Classes. All root intransitives have thematic suffix // -Vl- // or // -Vm- // and take the following inflectional suffixes:

Incompletive	-∅
Completive	-a:ǰ
Perfect	-a:maθ

3.1.1 Thematic Suffix is // -Vl- //. The suffix vowel is not predictable; it is deleted when the completive and perfect inflectional endings are added. The eight verbs in this class are listed below.

		incompl.	compl.	perfect
ʔa:θ-il-	run	ʔa:θil	ʔa:θla:ǰ	ʔa:θla:maθ
bel-al-	walk, move along	belal	bel(l)a:ǰ	bel(l)a:maθ
buš-ul-	squat	bušul	bušla:ǰ	bušla:maθ
ʔeh-el-	move, stir	ʔehel	ʔehla:ǰ	ʔehla:maθ
ke:ʔ-al-	belch	ke:ʔal	ke:ʔla:ǰ	ke:ʔla:maθ
kow-al-	swim	kowal	kowla:ǰ	kowla:maθ
peh-el-	wrangle, fight	pehel	pehla:ǰ	pehla:maθ
yaʔ-ul-	get sick, become ill	yaʔul	yawʔla:ǰ	yawʔla:maθ



Note that I infer bella:ǵ, bella:maθ with geminate reduction. However, if I were to assume deletion of the thematic suffix in the completive and perfect, as in group 3.1.3 below, bel-al- could equally well be classified in that group. yawʔla:ǵ and yawʔla:maθ result from a metathesis process described in Section 4.3, Chapter 3.

### 3.1.1.1 Examples.

46. ǵakam yab k-it ʔa:θ-(i)l-a:ǵ bel-(al)-a:ǵ kayu:m  
child not IMP-B2 run-TS-COM walk-TS-COM slowly

‘Child! Don’t run, walk slowly!’

47. kʷahat t-in kow-al-∅  
PROGR SUBOR-B1 swim-TS-INC

‘I am swimming.’

3.1.2 Thematic Suffix is //-Vm-//. There are only three verbs in this class.

		incompl.	compl.	perfect
ʔač-im-	bathe	ʔačim	ʔačma:ǵ	ʔačma:maθ
θe:b-om-	pant	θe:bom	θe:boma:ǵ	θe:boma:maθ
θu:č-um-	sigh, breathe heavily	θu:čum	θu:čma:ǵ	θu:čma:maθ

### 3.1.2.1 Examples.

48. ʔin kʷahat t-in ʔač-im-∅ hantʰ ʔa le:ʔ  
B1 PROGR SUBOR-A1 bathe-TS-INC what A2 want

‘I’m bathing. What do you want?’

49. k-it θu:č-(u)m-a:ǵ ǵapik  
IMP-B2 breathe-TS-COM hard

‘Breathe hard!’ (Doctor’s command)

3.1.3 Thematic suffix *//-Vl-//* is deleted in the completive and perfect, but conditions the vowel of the inflectional ending. *way-al-* has an irregular completive.

		incompl.	compl.	perfect
<i>čik'-al-</i>	urinate	<i>čik'al</i>	<i>čik'a:ǰ</i>	<i>čik'a:maθ</i>
<i>koy-ol-</i>	rest, sit	<i>koyol</i>	<i>koyo:ǰ</i>	<i>koyo:maθ</i>
<i>tiy-al-</i>	fart	<i>tiyal</i>	<i>tiya:ǰ</i>	<i>tiya:maθ</i>
<i>way-al-</i>	sleep	<i>wayal</i>	<i>wayiǰ</i>	<i>waya:maθ</i>

### 3.1.3.1 Examples.

50.  $\emptyset$  *čik'-(al)-a:maθ*  $\text{ʔan t'eleʔ}$   
 B3 urinate-(TS)-PER the child

'The child has urinated.'

51.  $\text{ʔah k'wahat t-in way-al-}\emptyset$  *ko:mo*  $\text{ʔu k'ap-u-}\emptyset$   $\text{ʔan}$   
 ah PROGR SUBOR-B1 sleep-TS-INC because A1 eat-TS-COM the

*hutuku:ʔ*  
*pemoche*

'Ah, I'm dozing because I ate the pemoches.' *Hutuku:ʔ*  
 flowers (pemoches; *Erythrina americana*) are fried and eaten; they are mildly soporific.

3.2 Middle Voice and *//-Vn-//* Intransitive Counterparts. Some root intransitives have middle voice counterparts. I did not question systematically for these and have only two examples. *bel-al-* means to walk with some goal in mind, or toward some place; *bel-e-* (*bel-e-l*, *bel-e-y*, *bel-e-nek*) means to walk, wander or meander, just to pass the time. *buš-ul-* means to squat; *buš-u-* (*buš-u:l*, *buš-u-y*, *buš-u-nek*) means to be in a squatting position. This same root can take the impersonal or absolutive *//-Vn-//* thematic suffix (see 1.2.4 above) to

derive a verb meaning something like 'to squat oneself down' (buš-n-al, buš-un-∅, buš-n-e:nek). I also elicited the following paired root and //-Vn-// intransitive verbs:

ʔač-im-	bathe	ʔač-in-	get bathed
koy-ol-	rest, sit	koy-on-	get seated
tiy-al-	fart	tiy-an-	be relieved of gas

'Bathe' is of interest because the commonest inflections elicited draw from the two paradigms. By far the most frequent incomplete form given is the intransitive ʔačim, whereas the most frequent complete and perfect forms are the absolutive ʔačin and ʔačne:nek.

Related to peh-el- 'wrangle' is the reciprocal pe:h-e:š- 'fight'; (pe:h-e:š, pe:h-e:š-in-∅, pe:h-e:š-(i)n-e:nek; see 1.2.2 above).

3.3 Participles. Participles can be formed from root intransitive verbs. I did not explore this topic in detail and information is limited.

3.3.1 Simple Participles. I have only two examples of simple participles derived from root intransitive verbs. The derivational morpheme //-at// is the same as that used to derive simple participles from middle voice verbs. In four cases a derivation with //-at// was rejected, and I neglected to question the remaining root intransitive verbs.

3.3.1.1 Examples.

ʔeh-el-	move	ʔeh-at	alive
koy-ol-	rest, sit	koy-at	rested

ʔa:θ-il-	run	*ʔa:θ-at
bel-al-	walk	*bel-at
kow-al-	swim	*kow-at
way-al	sleep	*way-at

3.3.2 Perfect Participles. The perfect inflection of some verbs can be used as a perfect participle, as in the following sentences.

52. tam t-in    ʔuʔ-u-∅    ʔalwaʔ wil-e-nek    way-(al)-a:maθ  
 when SUBOR-A6 see-TS-COM good    be.drunk-TS-PPL sleep-(TS)-PPL

‘When they saw him really drunk, passed out...’

53. ʔa Ba:rbara leh bel-(e)l-a:maθ ∅ k'al-e-∅ ti yukata:n  
 the Barbara very walk-TS-PPL    B3 to-TS-COM to Yucatan

ti čiya:pas ma    ti kwa:tema:la  
 to Chiapas even to Guatemala

‘Barbara is very well travelled; she went to Yucatan, to Chiapas, even to Guatemala.’

3.3.3 Positional Participles. Because this derivation was not fully explored, there are only two examples of positional participles based on root intransitive verbs. However, they follow the same derivational pattern as those based on transitive (1.2.5.2) and middle voice (2.3.3) verbs; that is, the vowel of the root is reduplicated and lengthened and /l/ is added.

3.3.3.1 Examples.

buš-ul-	squat	buš-u:l	squatted down
koy-ol-	rest, sit	koy-o:l	seated

3.3.4 Distributive and Repetitive Participles. I have no examples of

distributive or repetitive participles based on root intransitive verbs. This may be an accident of sampling.

3.4 Causative Formation. As noted above, root intransitives may be transitivized with the causative morpheme //θ-//. Some examples follow.

ʔa:θ-il-	run	ʔa:θ-in-θ-aʔ-	hasten s.o.
bel-al-	walk, move along	bel-θ-aʔ-	move s.o. or s.t. from one place to another
ʔeh-el-	move, stir	ʔeh-e-θ-aʔ-	awaken s.o., lift s.t.
yaʔ-ul-	get sick	yaʔ-un-θ-aʔ-	make s.o. sick
ʔač-im-	bathe	ʔač-i-θ-aʔ-	bathe s.o.
čik'-al-	urinate	čik'-θ-aʔ-	make s.o. urinate (e.g. a child)
koy-ol-	rest, sit	koy-θ-aʔ-	seat s.o.
way-al-	sleep	way-θ-aʔ-	put s.o. to sleep

Note that /-Vn-/ insertion takes place in yaʔ-un-θ-aʔ- to avoid a /ʔθ/ cluster, and in ʔa:θ-in-θ-aʔ- to avoid a /θθ/ cluster, and because the root vowel is long (see Section 9.1, Chapter 3). The /e/ in ʔeh-e-θ-aʔ- and the /i/ in ʔač-i-θ-aʔ- are also epenthetic, but unpredictable. ʔeh-el- 'move, stir' sometimes undergoes a morphophonemic process in which the final consonant of the root is deleted, the root vowel is lengthened and //θ-// is suffixed directly to this vowel. The resulting derived transitive verb ʔe:θ-aʔ- means 'enliven, animate or awaken someone'. A similar process takes place with two middle voice verbs, kal-e- and ʔoʔ-e-, and was described in Section 2.4.1.

4.0 Irregular, Suppletive and Defective Verbs. Huastec has a certain number of irregular, suppletive and defective verbs which cannot be neatly categorized into root classes. Some of these verbs can be used statively; others may stand alone or be used as auxiliaries to form present progressive and future tenses, or to express desiderative, obligative or continuative meaning.

4.1 Irregular Verbs. Irregular root verbs were discussed in Sections 1.1.4, 1.1.5 and 2.2 above. Two non-root intransitive verbs, šeʔeɟ- 'go about' and waʔaɟ- which can mean 'there is, there are' or 'be born' depending on context and inflection, have the following inflectional paradigms:

	go about	there is	be born
Incompletive	šeʔeɟ	waʔaɟ	waʔɟ-in-al
Completive	šeʔɟ-in-∅	waʔɟ-in-∅	waʔɟ-in-∅
Perfect	šeʔɟ-in-e:nek	waʔɟ-in-e:nek	waʔɟ-in-e:nek

Note the similarity in inflection to that of //-Vš-// antipassives and //-Vn-// intransitives; see Section 1.2.4. The incompletives of 'go about' and 'there is' delete both thematic suffix and inflectional ending. This irregularity is indicated in the glosses, as in sentences 54 and 56 below, rather than by hyphenating the two zero morphemes. Stem vowel deletion occurs in the completive and perfect inflections.

Both waʔaɟ- and šeʔeɟ- can take the //-θ-// causative: waʔɟ-in-θ-aʔ- 'do a Caesarian'; šeʔɟ-in-θ-aʔ- 'bring it, moving about'.

4.1.1 Examples.

54. na:ʔ ∅ šeʔeʒ baʔ ʔan haʔ hu:n ʔi šeklek  
 there B3 go.about.INC on the water one of leaf  
 `There a leaf is moving about on the water.`
55. huʔta: ti-∅ šeʔ-∅-in-e:nek ʔin biči:m-al ʔa ʔalpo:nsa  
 where SUBOR-B3 go.about-VN-PER A3 horse-POSS the Alfonsa  
 `Where has Alfonsa's horse gone roaming?`
56. yaba-ye ∅ waʔaʒ ʔi ʔa:wtorida:d  
 not-still B3 there.be.INC of authority  
 `There is still no authority.`
57. ʔani ko:mo ∅ waʔ-∅-in-∅ hu:n ʔi ʔinik...  
 and because B3 there.be-VN-COM one of man  
 `And because there was a man...`
58. ...tam yab ∅ waʔ-∅-in-al ʔan t'eleʔ θubat  
 ...when not B3 born-VN-INC the child rapidly  
 `...when the child is not born rapidly.`
59. tam ka-∅ waʔ-∅-in-∅-iʒ ʔan t'eleʔ...  
 when SUBJ-B3 born-VN-COM-EMPH the child  
 `When the child is already born...`

waʔaʒ- in the sense of `there is, there are` can only have a third person subject, but when the meaning is `be born` subjects may be first, second or third person.

4.2 Suppletive Verbs. There are only two verbs in my corpus which have suppletive forms. One is the middle voice verb for `come, arrive`, whose incompletive, completive and perfect forms are čeʔ-e-l,

či:č, če?-e-nek; the other is the exhortative/imperative pair wana  
 `let's go' and wini? `go!'

#### 4.2.1 Examples.

60. ?ani ya:n ?i bel-aš      ?u če?-e-l      ti mi:ša  
 and many of believe-NOM B6 come-TS-INC to Mass

`And many believers come to Mass.'

61. ?it či:č                      leh 6ahuw tata:?  
 B2 come.SUPPL.COM very early you

`You came very early, you.'

62. yaba-ye Ø      če?-e-nek      ?an pak'w-č-iš  
 not-yet B3 come-TS-PER the wash-BEN-NOM

The laundress hasn't come yet.'

63. wana      patal k'al ?an ?ahib  
 lets.go all      to      the fiesta

Lets all go to the fiesta.'

64. meho:r win(i?)-i? yab tu      le:? he?ta:m  
 better go-EMPH      not I.you want here

`Better go already! I don't want you here.'

4.3 Defective Verbs. Several defective verbs are used only as imperatives. They are:

hala?	come! (used to children; archaic)
nokel	come!
hoh	take it! (used to children)

Other defective verbs are used only as incompletives:

?ešom	continue (intransitive)
-------	-------------------------



neʔeʒ	go (intransitive)
ta:l	come (intransitive)
kwaʔal	have it (transitive)
le:ʔ	want it, like it (transitive)

ʔešom 'continue' may be related to root transitive ʔeš-aʔ- 'make an effort'.

#### 4.3.1 Examples.

65. halaʔ tehe:ʔ  
come here!

66. nokel tehe:ʔ miʒuʔ  
come here cat!

A child begs and begs for candy; the mother, exasperated, gives her some, saying hoh 'take it!'

67. ʔani tam Ø ʔešom-iʒ ʔan ʔa:b neʔeʒ k-in či:č  
and when B3 continue-EMPH the rain go SUBJ-B1 come.SUPPL

'And when the rain still continues, I will come.'

68. ʔin neʔeʒ kwiʔi:me kala:m  
B1 go Tancuime tomorrow

'I'm going to Tancuime tomorrow.'

69. huʔta: ʔit ta:l tata:ʔ  
where B2 come you

'Where do you come from, you?'

70. hay ʔi tamub ʔa kwaʔal  
how.many of years A2 have

'How old are you?'

71. ?i le:ʔ ?i tumi:n  
A4 want of money

‘We want money.’

72. ?u ?alʔi:b            leh kiθa:b yab ?u le:ʔ  
A1 daughter-in-law very ugly   not A1 like

‘My daughter-in-law is very ugly; I don’t like her.’

## CHAPTER 6

## VERB MORPHOLOGY II: DERIVATION OF SEMANTICALLY COMPLEX STEMS

1.0 Derivational Morphemes. In Chapter 5 derivations were considered which changed the transitivity status of the verb. Passives, antipassives, reciprocals and absolutes all derive intransitive verbs from transitive ones. Causatives, on the other hand, transitivize intransitives. In this section we will be concerned with a number of derivational morphemes which do not necessarily affect transitivity (narrowly defined by which pronoun set, ergative or absolutive, is required), but which do change the valence of the verb, perhaps by adding a third argument, or which add a measure of semantic complexity to the verb. These derivational morphemes are //č-//, //čiy-//, //p-//, //č-//, //č'-//, //l-//, //k-//, and //k'-//, all of which can be suffixed to transitive, middle voice and intransitive roots.

1.1 //č-//. The benefactive or applicative morpheme //č-// is unique because it takes the place of the thematic suffix, but does not require a thematic suffix of its own. //č-// may attach to any transitive root to convey the meaning 'Do it for someone or something' or 'Do it to someone or something.' That is, it adds an indirect object to a verb which already has a direct object, whether this direct object is explicitly stated or merely implied. Sometimes it conveys a more subtle sense of personal involvement in the action of

the verb, as in sentence 4 below, where //č-// expresses a dative of interest. I have a few examples where //č-// attaches to an intransitive verb with the meaning 'Do it on something' and transitivizes the verb; see 5 below.

The inflectional suffixes which follow //č-// are identical with those which follow the thematic suffix of root transitive verbs; see Chapter 5, Section 1.1. Since Huastec does not permit word final CC clusters, except for the combination of glide + glottal, an /i/ is suffixed in the completive to avoid word final /č̃/. The paradigm is thus:

Incompletive	CVC-č-al
Completive	CVC-č-ø-i
Perfect	CVC-č-a:mal

//č-// participates in five additional morphophonemic processes: /-Vn-/ insertion if root vowel is long; /-Vn-/ insertion to break up impermissible consonant clusters (//č-// cannot be suffixed directly to a root ending in /t/, /t̃/, /ç/, /ç̃/, or /č̃/); metathesis of root-final /h/ or /ʔ/ and the consonant of certain thematic suffixes; labialization of root-final /h/ if followed by a /u/-initial thematic suffix; and optional labialization of root-final /k̃/. These are discussed fully in Chapter 3. Because //č-// is so ubiquitous, and can be suffixed to virtually any transitive root (and to most transitive stems), I have not provided tables for this derivation, as I have done for the other derivational morphemes discussed below.

1.1.1 Examples.

t'ah-aʔ-	make it	t'ah-č-	make it for s.o.
ʔa:t-aʔ-	win it	ʔa:t-an-č-	win it for s.o.
miθ-iy-	wash one's face	miθ-č-	wash s.o. else's face
ʔeʒ-ey-	gather wood	ʔeʒ-en-č-	gather wood for s.o.
k'oh-ow-	harvest it	k'oh-č-	harvest it for s.o.
luh-uw-	confess it	luh-č-	confess it to s.o.
ʔa:θ-il-	run (intrans.)	ʔa:θ-in-č-	hurry oneself
bel-al-	walk (intrans.)	bel-č-	walk on it (a road)
hek'-on-	cross over (intrans.)	hek'-on-č-	cross over on (the river, swimming)

1. haha:ʔ tin                    kWe:ʔ-č-a:mal ʔan ʔolom  
he            he.from.me steal-BEN-PER the pig  
`He has stolen the pig from me.'
2. ʔan kube:ta miʒ'-k'-aθ    ʔani ʔu hol-č-∅-i    ʔi  
the bucket break-DM-PPL and I put-BEN-COM-EP of  
ʒ'at'-aš-tal-(l)a:b  
stick-NOM-ABSTR-GEN  
`The bucket is broken and I put some glue on it.'
3. ti.weʔe:l ʔan pik'oʔ ʔin k'at'-uw-∅ ʔan miʒuʔ  
yesterday the dog    A3 bite-TS-COM the cat  
`Yesterday the dog bit the cat.'
4. ti.weʔe:l ʔan pik'oʔ ʔin k'at'-č-∅-i    ʔan ʒakam  
yesterday the dog    A3 bite-BEN-COM-EP the child  
`Yesterday the dog bit her child.'

Sentence 4 is interesting for several reasons. //č-// introduces the meaning 'her child', though ʔan ɟakam is literally 'the child'. When I asked my assistant about the difference between the verbs of the two sentences, he said, "If there are three--the mother, the child, the dog--k'at či; if there are two--the dog and the cat--k'at'uw." The following sentence is an example of //č-// transitivity the root intransitive verb 'walk'.

5. ʔu bel-č-Ø-i          leh ʔc:w yab ʔu ʔel-aʔ-Ø    hitaʔ  
 Al walk-BEN-COM-EP very far not Al meet-TS-COM anyone

'I walked it (the road) a long way, but I didn't meet anyone.'

//č-// may be reduplicated to convey the notion of plurality of subject, direct or indirect object; /-in-/ is inserted between //č-// and //č-//: ʔab-aʔ- 'send it'; ʔab-č- 'send it to someone'; ʔab-č-in-č- 'send it to them' or 'send them to someone'. Context disambiguates, as in the following sentence:

6. ʔan t'eleʔ-čik ʔeʔey ʔin ʔay-č-in-č-al          ʔin  
 the child-PL always A6 await-BEN-EP-BEN-INC A3

ʔul-tal          ʔin ʔa:č  
 arrive-ABS A6 grandmother

'The children always await their grandmother's arrival.'

Reduplication of //č-// may also be used to indicate a fourth participant in the verb. The subtleties of whether //č-in-č-// adds a fourth participant or pluralizes a third are not totally clear to me, though often it is possible to determine the meaning from context. The sentences below may help clarify the problem.

7. ?u nuh-uw-∅ ?an bičim  
 Al sell-TS-COM the horse

`I sold the horse.'

8. tikin nuh-č-∅-i ?a biči:m-al  
 you.to.me sell-BEN-COM-EP A2 horse-POSS

`Sell me your horse.'

9. ?i le:? ?abal tata:? tuku nuh-č-in-č-∅-i ?i  
 A4 want that you you.for.us sell-BEN-EP-BEN-COM-EP A4

tino:m-il  
 sugar-POSS

`We want you to sell our sugar (to s.o.) for us.'

//-č-in-č-// may refer to the demoted plural agent in a passive construction.

10. ?in ?em-il ∅ ?ak'-č-in-č-at k'al ?in ?at  
 A3 corn-POSS B3 weed-BEN-EP-BEN-COM.PASS by A3 fellow

k'ima:θ  
 householders

`His corn was weeded for him by his neighbors.'

1.2 //-čiy-//. This derivational morpheme conveys the sense of `add something on' or `substitute one thing for another'. It obviously shares meaning with the benefactive //-č-//, and could be analyzed as //-č-// plus thematic suffix //-iy-//. However, the fossilized nature of the combination--it is always //-čiy-// with no vowel alternation or vowel deletion possible--and the fact that it occupies the same paradigmatic slot as //-č-// suggest that it may be more useful to consider it synchronically as a unitary morpheme. As with //-č-//,

//-čiy-// can transitivize an intransitive verb. The inflectional suffixes are identical with those of root transitive verbs; the paradigm is:

Incompletive	CVC-čiy-al
Completive	CVC-čiy-∅
Perfect	CVC-čiy-a:mal

Some examples of this derivation follow. Table 18 gives the complete list.

#### 1.2.1 Examples.

bal-iy-	put it in	bal-čiy-	fill it up
mak <sup>w</sup> -aʔ-	form a ball	mak <sup>w</sup> -čiy-	join two things into one
pun-uw-	put it	pun-čiy-	graft s.t. on
kal-e-	go out (intrans.)	kal-čiy-	substitute for s.o.
k <sup>ʷ</sup> ah-i-	be located (intrans.)	k <sup>ʷ</sup> ah-čiy-	inhabit it

The same verb root or stem may participate in both benefactive and additive or substitutive constructions. For example, from čik-aʔ- 'burn it' one can derive a completive benefactive: čik-č- 'burn it for s.o.', and a completive "additive": čik-čiy- 'keep a vigil'--the implication being that those who come to keep vigil have each added candles to the altar.

1.3 //-p-// Adding //-p-// plus thematic suffix //-iy-// to a transitive verb root conveys the meaning 'do the last bit, do it quickly, suddenly, all at once, for a brief moment, partially'. The inflectional suffixes are the usual transitive ones, so that the paradigm is:



Incompletive	CVC-p-iy-al
Completive	CVC-p-iy-∅
Perfect	CVC-p-iy-a:mal

Table 19.1 presents the complete list of examples. CVC roots with thematic suffix //Vw// were systematically questioned for; roots with thematic suffix //aʔ// were questioned systematically through initial root consonant /k<sup>w</sup>/; roots with thematic suffix //Vy// were questioned at random. Examples in the table marked n.t. were accepted by my assistant as good Huastec, but we did not have time to translate them all. In addition, many of the forms cited were spontaneously given in other contexts.

Middle voice and root intransitive verbs were not systematically explored. The few examples, presented in Table 20.1, suggest that //p// plus intransitive thematic suffix //in// also adds to middle voice and root intransitive verbs the meaning 'do it quickly, suddenly, all at once'. The paradigm is:

Incompletive	CVC-p-in-al
Completive	CVC-p-in-∅
Perfect	CVC-p-in-e:nek

//p// may sometimes have a transitivizing function, as in the middle voice/transitive pair ?ih-e- 'fall, tumble' and ?ih-p-iy- 'let fall a piece of something'; see Table 20.1.

There are two morphophonemic restrictions on //p//: it may not be suffixed to roots ending in /p/ or /b/, and it may not be suffixed to roots beginning with /p/. This latter restriction is part of a general rule that prohibits suffixing a derivational morpheme that is

the same consonant as the initial consonant of the verb root; see Section 4.6.3.2, Chapter 3. There is some evidence that *//-k'-//* may substitute for *//-p-//* in the above cases. Two examples of this substitution will be given below; see also the discussion of *//-k'-//* in Section 1.7. There is also some suggestion that *//-p-//* may substitute for *//-k'-//* or *//-k-//* in environments where they are interdicted. See Tables 19.3 and 20.2 and the discussion in Section 1.7

Because of the general interdiction of CCC clusters in Huastec, *//-p-//* cannot be suffixed to a root plus another derivational morpheme of the shape *//-C-//*; i.e., \*CVC + C + p. My assistant also denied the possibility of using */-Vn-/* insertion, often used to break up impermissible consonant clusters, between a root plus derivational morpheme plus *//-p-//*; i.e., \*CVC + C + Vn + P. A few of the commoner verbs of the shape CVC + C were questioned; in all cases my assistant denied the possibility of adding *//-p-//*; see Table 19.2.

### 1.3.1 Examples.

<i>ʔak'-iy-</i>	weed it	<i>ʔak'-p-iy-</i>	weed it promptly
<i>kwiʔ-iy-</i>	throw it, fling it	<i>kwiʔ-p-iy-</i>	throw it quickly
<i>nuh-uw-</i>	sell it	<i>nuh-p-iy-</i>	sell it promptly
<i>tuθ-uw-</i>	bend one's knees	<i>tuθ-p-iy-</i>	genuflect
<i>hap-iy-</i>	open it	<i>hap-k'-iy-</i>	open it a little way
<i>yob-aʔ-</i>	bend it, curve it	<i>yob-k'-aʔ-</i>	bend it briefly
<i>kal-e-</i>	go out, leave	<i>kal-p-in-</i>	go out a little before another; stick out a bit

k'aǰ-e-	rot, decay	k'aǰ-p-in-	spoil rapidly
t'aʔ-i-	burn	t'aʔ-p-iy-	hurry it up
ǰun-e-	become dense, packed	ǰun-p-in-	rapidly grow thick (e.g. underbrush)
way-al-	sleep	way-p-in-	go to sleep quickly

11. ʔin ʔik'-iʔ-ǰ-iǰ ǰe:ʔ ʔi kube:ta ʔi naʔ neʔeǰ k-in  
A3 carry-TS-COM-EMPH four of bucket of water; go SUBJ-A3

ʔik'-p-iy-ǰ ʔin bo:ʔ-č̌i:l  
carry-DM-TS-COM A3 five-ORD

'She already carried four buckets of water; finally she is going to carry the fifth (and last).'

12. ʔin mut'-p-iy-ǰ ʔin wal tam ti-ǰ ʔih-k-an-ǰ  
A3 squint-DM-TS-COM A3 eyes when SUBOR-B3 fall-DM-VN-COM

'He closed his eyes quickly when he fell down.'

13. ʔin ʔat'-p-iy-ǰ ta:m ti-ǰ šaʔ-(al)-a:ǰ  
A3 nauseate-DM-TS-COM then SUBOR-B3 vomit-(AP)-COM

'All of a sudden he got nauseated; then he vomited.'

14. ʔin šaʔ-p-iy-ǰ ʔan nuhum ʔani ǰ koy-(ol)-o:ǰ-iǰ  
A3 vomit-DM-TS-COM a worm and B3 rest-(DM)-COM-EMPH

ti-ǰ šaʔ-al-ǰ  
SUBOR-B3 vomit-AP-INC

'He finally vomited up a worm, and then stopped vomiting.'

15. ʔin šuy-p-iy-ǰ ʔin ʔakan  
A3 bring.together-DM-TS-COM A3 feet

'He clicked his feet together.'

16. k-it k'al-p-in-ǰ k-a ǰu-u-ǰ maš neʔeǰ ka-ǰ  
IMP-B2 go.out-DM-VN-COM SUBJ-A2 see-TS-COM if go SUBJ-B6

č̌i:č̌  
come.SUPPL.COM

‘Hurry over to see if they’re coming.’

17. Ø kʷal-p-in-Ø      ʔan ʒiʔi:m  
 B3 thicken-DM-VN-COM the cane.juice

‘The sugar cane juice thickened rapidly.’

1.4 //-ɕ-// and //-ɕ'-//. These derivational morphemes add the meaning ‘do it all, do it completely, finish doing it’. They were not systematically questioned for, and data are limited. Even when the verb root itself is transitive, often the only example of the derived verb is a //-Vn-// intransitive form, or a participle. A number of examples were found in Larsen’s dictionary. Examination of Table 21, which lists all examples of //-ɕ-// or //-ɕ'-// suffixed to transitive roots, suggests an interaction between the derivational morpheme and its thematic suffix. If the derivational morpheme is //-ɕ-//, the thematic suffix is //-Vy-//, and if the derivational morpheme is //-ɕ'-//, the thematic suffix is //-Vw-//. The only exceptions to this rule are tʰap-ɕ'-iy- ‘burst it’ and pol-ɕ'-oy- ‘hook it together’. Both //-Vy-// and //-Vw-// thematic suffixes are followed by the usual transitive inflectional morphemes, so that the paradigms are:

Incomplete	CVC-ɕ-Vy-al	CVC-ɕ'-Vw-al
Completive	CVC-ɕ-Vy-Ø	CVC-ɕ'-Vw-Ø
Perfect	CVC-ɕ-Vy-a:mal	CVC-ɕ'-Vw-a:mal

//-ɕ-// and //-ɕ'-// may also be added to middle voice and intransitive roots. Table 22 presents the complete list of examples. In most cases, the derivational morpheme is followed by a //-Vn-//

thematic suffix; two roots are also followed by a transitive thematic suffix. The intransitive paradigms are:

Incompletive	CVC- $\phi$ -in-al	CVC-- $\phi'$ -on-al
Completive	CVC- $\phi$ -in- $\emptyset$	CVC- $\phi'$ -on- $\emptyset$
Perfect	CVC- $\phi$ -in-e:nek	CVC- $\phi'$ -on-e:nek

There is an interaction between the vowel of the //Vn-// thematic suffix and the derivational morphemes similar to that noted above for transitive thematic suffixes and derivational morphemes. That is, with two exceptions, hik'- $\phi$ -on- and ?weh- $\phi'$ -in-, one of them questionable, when the derivational morpheme is // $\phi$ -// the vowel of the thematic suffix is /i/, and when the derivational morpheme is // $\phi'$ -// the vowel is /o/. (Note that in the case of transitive roots it is the entire thematic suffix that is related to // $\phi$ -// vs. // $\phi'$ -//, since //-oy-// may follow // $\phi$ -//, whereas //-on-// may not.)

Two additional morphophonemic rules apply: // $\phi$ -// and // $\phi'$ -// may not be suffixed to roots beginning with /- $\phi$ / or /- $\phi'$ -/, and they may not follow CVC roots ending in /t/, /t'/, / $\phi$ /, / $\phi'$ /, / $\check{c}$ /, / $\theta$ / or / $\check{s}$ /; see Sections 4.6.3.1 and 4.6.3.2, Chapter 3. Some examples follow; see Tables 21 and 22 for the complete list.

#### 1.4.1 Examples.

lek'-oy-	lick it	lek'- $\phi$ -oy-	lick it all up
peh-a?	break it	peh- $\phi$ -oy-	break it all
k'ap-u-	eat it	k'ap- $\phi'$ -uw-	eat it all
θik-a?	drain it	θik- $\phi'$ -ow-	drain it completely
wil-a?	untie it, unlash it	wil- $\phi'$ -ow-	unravel

- |          |                 |                          |                        |
|----------|-----------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| tep-e-   | go out, die out | tep- <del>ɕ</del> -in-   | go out completely      |
| yik'w-e- | darken          | yik'w- <del>ɕ</del> -in- | become completely dark |
| bih-e-   | vaporize        | bih- <del>ɕ</del> '-on-  | dry up (e.g., a leaf)  |
| ʔeh-el-  | move, stir      | ʔeh- <del>ɕ</del> -in-   | awake, revive          |
18. ʔu koto:n Ø boy-~~ɕ~~'-on-Ø ʔabal ʔu pak'-uw-Ø k'al  
 Al blouse B3 roll.up-DM-VN-COM because Al wash-TS-COM with  
 ʔi k'ak' ha?  
 of hot water  
 'My blouse shrank because I washed it with hot water.'
19. nana:ʔ ʔu ɕu?-uš-tal k'wahat-iɕ ti-Ø tal-~~ɕ~~'-un-al  
 I Al see-NOM-ABSTR PROGR-EMPH SUBOR-B3 finish-DM-VN-INC  
 k'al ʔu ʔuškwe?-tal  
 with Al old.woman-ABSTR  
 'My own vision is already declining with age.'
20. Ø tol-k'-in-Ø ʔani ʔu yak'w-~~ɕ~~-iy-Ø  
 B3 roll-DM-VN-COM and Al seize-DM-TS-COM  
 'It rolled off (the pencil) and I grabbed it.'
21. ʔin put-~~ɕ~~'-uw-Ø-iɕ ʔan tamub huʔta ti-Ø ɕem-e-~~ɕ~~  
 A3 fulfill-DM-TS-COM-EMPH the year where SUBOR-B3 die-TS-COM  
 'The year that he died has already ended.'
22. ʔu kin-~~ɕ~~-oy-al ʔan lana:š ʔabal k-u puɕ-iy-Ø  
 Al haul-DM-TS-INC the orange so.that SUBJ-AL pick-TS-COM  
 'I grab at the orange in order to pick it.'
23. ʔan ʔe:m Ø way-~~ɕ~~'-on-Ø k'al ʔan k'ak'al  
 the corn B3 dry.up-DM-VN-COM by the sun.rays  
 'The corn stalks got all dried up by the sun's rays.'

Compare:

24. k'wahat ti-∅ yik'w-an-al ?an k'ay?la:l k'al ?i tokow  
 PROGR SUBOR-B3 darken-VN-INC the sky with of clouds

'The sky is getting darkened with clouds.'

25. ∅ yik'w-∅-in-∅ tam ti-∅ map-un-∅ ?a k'iča:  
 B3 darken-DM-VN-COM when SUBOR-B3 close-VN-COM the sun

'It got completely dark when the sun was eclipsed.'

1.5 //-l-//. Because this derivational morpheme conveys the meaning 'permanent change of position or state', it requires some semantic restriction on the verb roots to which it can be suffixed. I did not systematically question for this morpheme. The data presented in Tables 23 and 24 contain a miscellaneous assortment of transitive and intransitive verbs, and do not permit any clear statement about the relationship between the derivational morpheme and the thematic suffixes which follow, or about the relationship between the thematic suffix of the root verb and that of the verb derived with //-l-//.

All possible transitive thematic suffixes may follow //-l-//; //-Vn-// intransitives are also possible, so that the paradigms are:

Incompletive	CVC-1-TS-al	CVC-1-Vn-al
Completive	CVC-1-TS-∅	CVC-1-Vn-∅
Perfect	CVC-1-TS-a:mal	CVC-1-Vn-e:nek

In addition, there are two examples of reciprocals based on a stem derived with //-l-//: bu:k'-l-a:š- 'separate from each other' and ku:b-l-a:š- 'standing up against each other', and a completive antipassive: čik-l-om-a:č '(he) burned down (a field)'. The usual

morphophonemic rules apply: // -l- // may not be suffixed to roots beginning or ending with /l/; see Sections 4.6.3.1 and 4.6.3.2, Chapter 3. Some examples follow.

### 1.5.1 Examples.

hep-aʔ-	split it	hep-l-ow-	break it into separate pieces
kač'-uw-	snap it, crack it	kač'-l-un-	break with a snap
k'up-uw-	scatter or disperse it	k'up-l-an-	disperse permanently
pak-aʔ-	fold it, double it	pak-l-aʔ-	fold it over
pak-uw-	spend it, use it up	pak-l-uw-	destroy it, smash it, knock it down
pik-oy-	peel it	pik-l-oy-	remove the peel
buš-u-	squat	buš-l-en-	squat down
k'wah-i-	be located, inhabit	k'wah-l-en-	stay put
ø'ak-e-	form a puddle	ø'ak-l-en-	calm down, become quiet (water)

26. ʔan t'uʔ-lek ø k'aç-e-nek k-a wak'-l-aʔ-<sub>u</sub>  
 the meat B3 rot-TS-PER IMP-A2 scatter-DM-TS-COM

'The meat has rotted; throw it out.'

27. ø bok'-l-an-al ʔin wal-i:l ʔan teʔ çaba:l  
 B3 slap.noisily-DM-VN-INC A3 fruit-POSS the tree ground

'The fruit fell to the ground with a thump.'

28. ʔan mange:ra pe:l ʔi hun-k-us-tal-(l)a:b k'al ʔan blo:k ʔabal  
 the hose is of one-DM-NOM-ABSTR-GEN with the blocks so.that

k-in ø'ak-l-aʔ-ø  
 SUBJ-A6 set.in.place-DM-TS-COM

'The hose is used as a leveler so that they can set the concrete blocks correctly in place.'



29. bik'-l-aθ    ?an toltom    ha?-iθ    ti-∅    kaθ-l-un-∅  
 strike-DM-PPL the clothing this-EMPH SUBOR-B3 tear-DM-VN-COM

`The clothing is slapped hard (during washing); for this reason it gets torn apart.'

30. ?in ket-l-en-e:nek tam ti-∅    čič ?a Hwa:n  
 B1 sit-DM-VN-PER when SUBOR-B3 come the Juan

`I had just sat down when John arrived.'

31. ...?abal    ?a Pa:wla ∅ pak'-l-un-∅                    ba? ?an ?olom  
 ...because the Paula B3 lie.face.down-DM-VN-COM on the pig

`...because Paula fell face down over the pig.'

1.6 //k-//. When this derivational morpheme is suffixed to a transitive root, it usually takes the same thematic suffix as that root (about two-thirds of the time in the examples I have). Often the only examples of the derivation are //-Vn-// intransitive forms. When suffixed to a middle voice or intransitive root //k-// sometimes may act to transitivize the root; elsewhere it is followed by a //-Vn-// intransitive thematic suffix. The inflectional suffixes are the usual ones, so that the paradigms are:

Incompletive	CVC-k-TS-al	CVC-k-Vn-al
Completive	CVC-k-TS-∅	CVC-k-Vn-∅
Perfect	CVC-k-TS-a:mal	CVC-k-Vn-e:nek

It is difficult to zero in with any precision on the meaning of this morpheme. It sometimes has the effect of increasing the valence of the verb, though with less force than //-č-//; for example, `send it via someone' (?ab-k-a?-) versus `send it' (?ab-a?-). Elsewhere it modifies the meaning slightly: `look for it, without any certainty of

finding it' (ʔal-k-iy-) versus 'look for it' (ʔal-iy-).

I did not systematically question for this derivational morpheme; Table 25 presents the complete list of examples based on transitive roots, and Table 26 those based on middle voice or intransitive roots. Although the forms cited were given spontaneously, in some cases I questioned at length to determine the precise shade of meaning added by //-k-//. //-k-// is subject to the same morphophonemic restrictions as the other derivational morphemes; that is, it may not be suffixed to roots that begin or end with /k/, /kʷ, /kʰ/ or /kʷ; See Sections 4.6.3.1 and 4.6.3.2, Chapter 3.

#### 1.6.1 Examples.

bel-aʔ-	believe it	bel-k-aʔ-	believe it as an obligation, obey
ʔel-aʔ-	find it	ʔel-k-aʔ-	find it without looking for it, accidentally come across s.t. lost
hal-iy-	cross one thing over another	hal-k-iy-	put s.t. across the shoulders
		hal-k-uy-	change clothing
moʔ-ow-	throw it down	moʔ-k-aʔ-	throw it to the ground
peh-aʔ-	break it	peh-k-aʔ-	break a part of s.t.
ʔah-aʔ-	dig it, spade it	ʔah-k-aʔ-	dig it up
ʔih-e-	fall, tumble	ʔih-k-aʔ-	drop it, fell it, throw it down
		ʔih-k-an-	fall, fall down
ʔut-e-	come near	ʔut-k-an-	come close
buš-u-	be squatting	buš-k-aʔ-	seat s.o.
		buš-k-an-	sit down

paʔ-i-	descend	paʔ-k-iy-	get s.o. down
		paʔ-k-an-	descend from
tiy-al-	fart	tiy-k-ay-	fart on (as a skunk does)

32. ʔa Ya:nis ʔin kʷaʔal-ak ʔin me:ša ʔani tam ti-∅ neʔeʔ-iʔ  
 the Janis A3 have-IRR A3 table and when SUBOR-B3 go-EMPH  
 ʔin bi:n-k-aʔ-∅ k'al ʔa Sa:ntos Cru:s  
 A3 give-DM-TS-COM with the Santos Cruz

'Janis had a table and when she left she gave it as a gift to Santos Cruz.'

33. ʔu ʔiy-aʔ-∅-iʔ ya:n ʔi ʔapaʔ šowe:ʔ neʔeʔ k-u  
 Al carry-TS-COM-EMPH much of palmetto now go SUBJ-Al  
 ʔiy-k-aʔ-∅ ʔin taltal  
 carry-DM-TS-COM A3 last.one

'I already carried lots of palmetto; now I'm going to carry the final load.'

34. ʔu bel-a(ʔ)-al ʔabal ∅ waʔaʔ ʔan ʔataš ʔinik  
 Al believe-TS-INC that B3 exist the filthy man

'I believe that the devil exists.'

35. ʔu bel-k-a(ʔ)-al ʔu payʔlo:m tam tikin  
 Al believe-DM-TS-INC Al revered.father when he-me

ʔešo:b-č-∅-i  
 teach-BEN-COM-EP

'I obey my revered father when he counsels me.'

36. ʔape:nasbal ʔin ʔoʔ-k-an-e:nek k-u  
 just B1 enter-DM-VN-COM SUBJ-Al

hal-k-uy-∅ ʔu tolto:m-il  
 cross.it.over DM-TS-COM A1 clothing-POSS

'I had just gone in to change my clothing.'

37. k`wahat ti-∅      ∅aw-k-un-al  
 PROGR    SUBOR-B3 cool-DM-VN-INC

`It is cooling off completely; it is going out.'  
 (∅ah-u- `cool, cool off'; h --> w/\_\_\_C)

38. ?an ?inik ∅ tiy-k-ay-a:me      k`al ?an kašiy ?u:t`  
 the man    B3 fart-DM-TS-PER.PASS by    the stinky possum

`The man has been sprayed by the skunk.'

1.7 //k'-//. The problem with determining the meaning of the //k'-// derivational morpheme is its chameleon character. //k'-// often appears to substitute for other derivational morphemes in phonological environments where they are impermissible. For example, pu∅-k'-iy- `complete the harvest' (from pu∅-iy- `harvest it') suggests the added meaning `do it all' usually conveyed by //-∅-// or //-∅'-//, as does hiθ-k'-ow- `abort it' (from hiθ-a?- `strip it clean, extrude it'). Recall that /∅∅/ and /θ∅/ are impermissible clusters. The pair yob-a?- `bend it' and yob-k'-a?- `bend briefly' suggest that here //k'-// substitutes for //-p-// `do it quickly, for a brief moment'; (/bp/ is impermissible). Likewise, in the pair ∅ol-iy- `loosen or slacken it' and ∅ol-k'-a?- `let it loose' //k'-// may substitute for the //-l-// derivational morpheme which implies a permanent change of state or position; (/ll/ is impermissible). One bit of corroborating evidence for this interpretation is found in a derivation hač-k'-an- `get all tangled up', based on the middle voice verb hač-e- `become knotted, tangled'. In all other instances in my data a following //k'-// morpheme glottalizes /č/, as in example 45 below; however my assistant was adamant that the /č/ in hačk'an was not glottalized. If the /k'/ is really //-∅-// `do it all', then it

should not obey the above morphophonemic rule.

When all the above considerations are taken into account we are left with a number of cases where *//k'-//* appears to be a derivational morpheme in its own right. The translations here suggest that *//k'-//* adds the meaning 'do the action of the verb more forcefully or intensively'. The examples that follow may clarify the semantics a bit; see Tables 27 and 28 for a complete list. The first eight examples below are roots where there is no phonological reason to suppose that *//k'-//* is a substitute for another morpheme. The remaining examples fit better the sense of 'do it more forcefully or intensively' than 'do it quickly (*//p-//*), 'do it all' (*//-t-//* or *//-t'-//*), or 'permanently change position or state' (*//l-//*), even though in these cases the phonological environment would permit us to consider *//k'-//* as a substitute for another derivational morpheme. The ambiguity here evidenced cannot be resolved on the basis of presently available data. More data are needed also to clarify the relationship between the thematic suffix of the root verb and that of the derived form. They are usually, but not always, the same.

The question then arises whether another morpheme substitutes for *//k'-//* (or *//k-//*) to avoid the impermissible clusters */k'k'/*, */kk'/*, *//k'k/* or */kk/*. The candidate may be *//p-//*, followed by thematic suffix *//-a?-//*. Consider Section 3 of Table 19. With only four exceptions roots followed by *//-p-a?-//* either begin or end with */k/* or */k'/*. One entry is kem-p-a?- 'dull it by accident', from kem-a?- 'blunt a cutting edge'. Note that the only exception in Table 27 to the impermissible cluster rule is kem-k'-a?- 'dull it accidentally';

possibly this is an informant error, since he later gave the kem-p-a?-form. Section 4 of Table 19 contains only two examples, but in both the semantics suggest that //-p-// substitutes for //-l-//. For example, from kal-uw- 'stretch or extend it' we have kal-p-uw- 'cut meat for jerky'--i.e., permanently change its shape. The data do not permit a satisfactory test of the above hypothesis of morpheme substitution; it is included primarily as a suggestion for future research.

One final problem must be mentioned. A number of verbs are derived from CVCVC nouns ending in /k'/; when the //-Vy-// verbal thematic suffix is added the final vowel of the noun root is deleted. The resultant verb has the shape CVCK'-iy, and can easily be confused with a CVC verb derived with //-k'-//. For example, a pašik' is a lid or covering; pašk'-iy- means to cover something. A few additional examples are given in Chapter 7, Section 1.5.

#### 1.7.1 Examples.

teš-ey-	pound it in	teš-k'-ey-	fasten it tight, nail it
tuy-a?	tilt it, lean it	tuy-k'-a?	balance it unstably
t'ay-a?	sow it, seed it	t'ay-k'-a?	sow many varieties
θay-a?	raise it, lift it up	θay-k'-a?	raise it up high
wah-a?	unbraid it	wah-k'-a?	unbraid it completely
yun-iy-	bend or curve it	yun-k'-in-	became crooked
ham-e-	become short	ham-k'-a?	shorten it
tuy-u-	tilt, lean	tuy-k'-a?	balance it unstably

ʔaɟ'-aʔ-	sense, hear or taste it	ʔaɟ'-k'-aʔ-	pay attention to it
baɟ'-uw-	receive it	baɟ'-k'-uw-	receive it as a surprise or obligation
hab-aʔ-	hollow it, make a hole in it	hab-k'-aʔ-	finally break through s.t.
lem-aʔ-	spread it out	lem-k'-aʔ-	spread wide (e.g. arms)
lin-aʔ-	flatten it	lin-k'-aʔ-	squash it, crush it
puθ-e-	bubble	puθ-k'an-	bubble up

If a visitor is offered coffee, the host will say:

39. k-a baɟ'-uw-∅ ʔan kape:  
IMP-A2 receive-TS-COM the coffee

`Please have some coffee`.

If the visitor at first demurs, he will insist:

40. k-a baɟ'-k'-uw-∅  
IMP-A2 receive-DM-TS-COM

`You must have some`.

41. ʔan tayʔ ʔin pat'-k'-a(?)-al ʔan ɟabal  
the lime A3 peel-DM-TS-INC the nixtamal

`The lime completely removes the husk from the soaked corn`.

(pat'-aʔ- `peel it`)

Compare the verb θay-aʔ- `raise it` in the following two sentences:

42. ʔani ta:m ʔan ʔinik ʔin θay-a(ʔ)-al ʔin mal-iy-al  
 and then the man A3 raise-TS-INC A3 wind.about-TS-INC  
 k'al ʔan mante:laš ʔin θay-a(ʔ)-al ti pok'teʔ  
 with the cloth A3 raise-TS-INC to chest  
 `And then the man raises it, he winds a cloth about it, he  
 lifts it into a chest'. (From a text.)
43. ʔan ʔa:b ʔesom pos kayu:m Ø θay-k'-an-Ø-iθ  
 the rain continue.INVAR well slowly B3 raise-DM-VN-COM-EMPH  
 ʔan pok'teʔ  
 the chest  
 `The rain continued; well slowly the chest rose up high'.  
 (From a story about Rabbit, who rode a chest to the moon.)

The middle voice root wič-e- means to return or turn back, as in the following sentence; the completive is irregular.

44. ʔin wič-i-y t-u k'ima:ʔ  
 B1 return-TS-COM at-Al home  
 `I returned home.'

//-k'-// adds the meaning `return again', as when an illness comes back, or when one leaves a house, but returns immediately to be sure the door is locked.

45. Ø wič'-k'-on-Ø k-in øuʔ-u-Ø ʔan ʔata: maš Ø  
 B3 return-DM-VN-COM SUBJ-A3 see-TS-COM the house if B3  
 hil-k'-on-Ø hap-iθ  
 leave-DM-VN-COM open-PPL

`He returned again to see if the house was left open.'

1.8 The derivational morphemes discussed in Sections 4.1-4.7 above are not mutually exclusive. A few examples are given below of the same root with different derivations. Reference to Tables 19-28 will



provide additional examples.

1.8.1 Examples.

bel-aʔ-	believe it
bel-p-iy-	believe it provisionally
bel-k-aʔ-	believe it as an obligation; obey
peh-aʔ-	break it
peh-ɰ-oy-	break it all
peh-k-aʔ-	break it (a part of s.t.)
tal-aʔ-	finish it, complete it
tal-ɰ'-uw-	finish it all
tah-l-uw-	calm, quiet s.o. or s.t. (l --> h/___l)
nuh-uw-	sell it
nuh-p-iy-	sell it promptly
nuh-ɰ'-uw-	sell it all
nuh-l-uw-	resell it
weh-aʔ-	clean it, clear it of rubbish
weh-p-iy-	clean up the last bit
weh-l-aʔ-	peel it, skin it, remove its shell
weh-k'-aʔ-	clear it all away
hal-iy-	cross one thing over another
hal-p-iy-	cross over s.t. (and at that moment fall)
hal-ɰ-iy-	reach to meet s.t.
hal-k-iy-	put s.t. across the shoulders

2.0 // -V:naʔ //. The // -V:naʔ // suffix, which can be added only to transitive roots and stems, conveys the meaning: 'do something suddenly, in passing, all at once'. The semantics of this construction do not permit incomplete or perfect inflections; all forms elicited resemble the completive inflection of verbs with thematic suffix // -aʔ- //, i.e., CVC(C)-V:n-aʔ-∅. For root transitive verbs with thematic suffix // -Vy- // or // -Vw- // the vowel of // -V:naʔ // is the vowel of the thematic suffix; for root transitives with thematic suffix // -aʔ- // the vowel is usually but not always the vowel of the root. For a full discussion of the complex interaction of root and suffix vowels in // -aʔ- // transitives, see Section 4.4, Chapter 3. Table 29 presents data on the approximately 340 transitive verbs that were questioned for this suffix.

### 2.1 Examples.

ʔat'-aʔ-	nauseate s.o.	ʔat'-a:naʔ-	suddenly nauseate s.o.
ʔel-aʔ-	find it, encounter s.o.	ʔel-o:naʔ	meet s.o. by accident
met'-aʔ	look at it	met'-e:naʔ	glimpse out of the corner of one's eye
pit-a-	scrape it, rub it off	pit-i:naʔ	brush it off accidentally
tin-iy-	dust it, brush it off	tin-i:naʔ	flick it away
ʒikw-iy-	jerk it	ʒikw-i:naʔ	jerk it loose
čuʔ-uw-	stretch it, extend it	čuʔ-u:naʔ	snap it (e.g. a rubber band)
laʔ-uw-	pluck it, pull it out	laʔ-u:naʔ	pluck it out suddenly

46. ?u ø'ep-l-o:n-a?-ø ?an ?u:w ?abal yab k-in  
A1 invert-TV-DM-TS-COM the paper so.that not SUBJ-A3

øu?u-ø  
see-TS-COM

'I quickly turned over the paper so that he couldn't see it.'

47. ?in hik'-o:n-a?-ø ?an øi?øim t-in θa:m  
A3 inhale-DM-TS-COM the fly in-A3 nose

'He suddenly inhaled a fly through his nose.'

My assistant described a small child riding on her mother's back and reaching out to grab a leaf as they passed by a tree.

48. ?an t'ele? ?in bah-u:n-a?-ø ?an šeklek  
the child A3 reach-DM-TS-COM the leaf

'The child snatched at the leaf.'

49. k-a θay-a:n-a?-ø ?a ?akan biyat ne?eø k-u  
IMP-A2 lift.up-DM-TS-COM A2 feet while go SUBJ-A1

k'wet-oy-ø  
sweep-TS-COM

'Lift up your feet a moment while I sweep.'

50. ø čič ?an ?ušum ?ani kom ?an pik'o? leh lo:ko  
B3 come.SUPPL.COM the woman and because the dog very feisty

hik'towal ?in k'at'-u:n-a?-ø  
suddenly A3 bite-DM-TS-COM

'The woman arrived, and because the dog is very feisty, it suddenly bit her.'

3.0 Reduplication. Reduplication of verb roots and stems is a very productive process in Huastec. Two different patterns of reduplication are possible and they express quite distinct meanings. The first, repetitive action, means just that--an action done over and

over again. The second I have christened "dilatatory action"; it refers to action done absent-mindedly, indifferently or intermittently. Obviously, repetition is involved, but the crucial quality of the action is its on-and-off-again character. I can grind corn on the metate steadily until it is all ground: this is repetitive action. Alternatively, I can grind a bit, stop and make a few tortillas, grind a bit more, stop again, and so on: this is dilatatory action. Or compare the repetitive pounding of a stake into the ground with the absent-minded patting of an infant's bottom. The verb root is the same; the pattern of reduplication differs.

3.1 Repetitive Action. The pattern of the reduplication is  $C_1V_1C_2(C_3)-V_2\{C_2,C_3\}V_2y$  if the derived form is transitive, and  $C_1V_1C_2(C_3)-V_2\{C_2,C_3\}V_2^n$  if it is intransitive; the last consonant of the root or stem is the one repeated. Table 30 presents data on root transitive verbs categorized by thematic suffix class, on transitive stems, and on middle voice and intransitive roots and stems. For some transitive roots the only examples of the reduplication are  $//-Vn-//$  intransitive forms. Middle voice and root intransitive verbs were not questioned systematically; however, all examples of reduplicated forms are  $//-Vn-//$  intransitive ones. In the case of middle voice roots, intransitive roots, transitive stems, and of root transitives whose thematic suffix is  $//-Vy-//$  or  $//-Vw-//$ ,  $V_2$  is the vowel of the thematic suffix. However if a root transitive has thematic suffix  $//-a?-//$ ,  $V_2$  is usually the vowel of the root (i.e.,  $V_2 = V_1$ ), unless the root vowel is /e/, when  $V_2$  is usually /o/. The only exceptions to

the above are bi:n-aʔ-, with long root vowel, which is reduplicated bi:n-anay-; lin-aʔ-, for which my assistant gave both lin-iniy- and lin-onoy-; and met-aʔ- and šek-aʔ-, where  $V_2 = V_1$ .

Inflectional endings are the usual ones, so that the paradigms are:

Incompletive	$C_1V_1C_2-V_2C_2V_2y-al$	$C_1V_1C_2-V_2C_2V_2n-al$
Completive	$C_1V_1C_2-V_2C_2V_2y-\emptyset$	$C_1V_1C_2-V_2C_2V_2n-\emptyset$
Perfect	$C_1V_1C_2-V_2C_2V_2y-a:mal$	$C_1V_1C_2-V_2C_2V_2n-e:nek$

The final  $/-V_2y-/$  of the transitive reduplication and  $/-V_2n-/$  of the intransitive reduplication bear an obvious relationship to the  $//-Vy-//$  transitive and  $//-Vn-//$  intransitive thematic suffixes. I have not indicated these as separate morphemes for simplicity's sake, because in each case the vowel is part of the reduplication. The incompletive and completive inflections are common; the perfect is acceptable, but rare.

### 3.1.1 Examples.

$\text{ʔat-aʔ-}$	stick it, slap it make tortillas	$\text{ʔat-at'ay-}$	make tortillas continuously over a period of time
$\text{nik-aʔ-}$	line it up	$\text{nik-ik'iy-}$	line up lots of things in row after row
$\text{lem-aʔ-}$	spread it out (e.g., clothes)	$\text{lem-omoy-}$	spread many things out to dry (e.g., a large laundry)
$\text{ʔeʔ-ey-}$	gather firewood	$\text{ʔeʔ-eʔey-}$	gather lots of fire- wood, picking it up continuously
$\text{nuh-uw-}$	sell it	$\text{nuh-uhuy-}$	sell lots of things, sell all day long

ʔaʔb-iy-	visit s.o.	ʔaʔb-ibiy-	make a round of visits
beʔ-e-	hang, be suspended	beʔ-eʔen-	hang, of many things, as bats settling down
paʔ-i-	descend	paʔ-iʔin-	descend repetitively, as down a long flight of stairs

3.2 Dilatory Action. The pattern of this reduplication is  $C_1V_1C_2^-C_1V_2:y^-$ . Table 30 presents the data for root transitive verbs and for a few middle voice and root intransitives. It is not possible to perform this reduplication on most stems, because an impermissible CCC cluster would result (i.e.,  $*C_1V_1C_2C_3-C_1V_2:y^-$ ). (The exception,  $ʔo:\theta-ʔo:y^-$ , is possible because  $\theta \rightarrow o:/\_\theta$ .) The few examples of dilatory reduplication that I was able to elicit for middle voice or root intransitive verbs all had the effect of transitivizing the root; none of these examples was given spontaneously. In theory a reduplication of the form  $*C_1V_1C_2-C_1V_2:n^-$  should be possible, but it is not acceptable.

Vowel interactions in the dilatory reduplication are similar to those encountered in the repetitive reduplication. If the thematic suffix is  $//-Vy-//$  or  $//-Vw-//$ ,  $V_2$  is the vowel of the thematic suffix; if the thematic suffix is  $//-aʔ-//$ ,  $V_2$  is the vowel of the root, unless the root vowel is /e/, when  $V_2$  is usually /o/, but sometimes /e/. Examination of Table 30 will show that five of the nine roots with root vowel /e/ and thematic suffix  $//-aʔ-//$  are inconsistent in their choice of /e/ or /o/ for  $V_2$  in the two reduplications; for example, met'-et'ey- and met'-mo:y-, heb-oboy- and heb-he:y-. These vowel interactions are discussed at greater length

in Section 4.4, Chapter 3.

Inflectional endings are the usual transitive ones; the paradigm is:

Incompletive	$C_1V_1C_2-C_1V_2:y-a$
Completive	$C_1V_1C_2-C_1V_2:Y-\emptyset$
Perfect	$C_1V_1C_2-C_1V_2:y-a:mal$

Note that this reduplication provides firm evidence for root initial /ʔ/. A reduplicated initial glottal is clearly audible, even when  $C_2$  is a glottalized consonant. For example, from ʔak'-iy- 'weed it', we can derive ʔak'-ʔi:y- 'weed it from time to time'.

### 3.2.1 Examples.

$\emptyset'at'-aʔ-$	stick it, slap it, make tortillas	$\emptyset'at'-\emptyset'a:y-$	make tortillas by fits and starts
$\check{c}ik-aʔ-$	burn it	$\check{c}ik-\check{c}i:y-$	burn intermittently; (e.g. burn a part of a cornfield, stop, return later to burn another section)
$k'em-aʔ-$	wiggle back and forth	$k'em-k'o:y-$	wiggle it from time to time (e.g. a loose tooth with the tongue)
$\text{ʔ}al-iy-$	look for it	$\text{ʔ}al-\text{ʔ}i:y-$	look for it without urgency, whenever one finds the time
$\text{ʔ}ut-uw-$	bring or place it together	$\text{ʔ}ut-\text{ʔ}u:y-$	gradually collect things together
$\text{ʔ}a\check{c}-im-$	bathe	$\text{ʔ}a\check{c}-\text{ʔ}i:y-$	bathe a child from time to time to calm it
$bel-al-$	walk, move along	$bel-be:y-$	"walk" a crying baby

θik-e- drain away, leak      θik-θi:y- gradually drain all  
the water away

The first three sentences below are examples of the repetitive reduplication, the next three of the dilatory reduplication.

51. ?u mah-uhuy-∅      ?an ?ata: ti manu?  
Al paint-REDUP-COM the house of yellow  
`I painted the house yellow`.
52. ?u ?eht-otoy-∅      t-in yane:l      ?an ka:w      ?u ?eht-otoy-∅  
Al able-REDUP-COM at-A3 totality the words Al able-REDUP-COM  
ti te:nek  
at Huastec  
`At last I am competent with all the words; I know Huastec.`
53. k-it pa?-i?in-∅      t-it      ?ak'-iš-∅      mas ?ala:l  
IMP-B2 descend-REDUP-COM SUBOR-B2 weed-AP-INC more below  
`Weed on down the slope.`
54. ?an na:na-la:b ?in bok'-bo:y-al      ?an t'ele?  
the mother-GEN A3 beat-REDUP-INC the child  
`The mother patted the child gently, with affection.`
55. k'wahat ?in kot-ko:y-al      yab ?in muž'-iy-al  
PROGR A3 cut-REDUP-INC not A3 lop.off-TS-INC  
`He is cutting it bit by bit, he can't lop it off.`
56. ?an t'ele? ∅ bel-be:y-at      k'al ?an ko?biç  
the child B3 walk-REDUP-COM.PASS by the nursemaid  
`The child was walked by the nursemaid.`

4.0 Other Derivational Processes. Two minor derivational processes are discussed below. They were not systematically explored and data



are limited.

4.1 Repetitive Action to Achieve a Goal. The plural morpheme //čik-// may be suffixed to a transitive or intransitive root or stem to convey the sense of some action done over and over, or by several participants, until a task is completed or a goal is reached. It thus differs from the repetitive reduplication described in 3.1 above, which implies repetitive action only, with no implication that the action necessarily be completed.

The inflectional paradigm is:

- Incompletive: (Root or stem)-čik-al
- Completive: (Root or stem)-čik-iy
- Perfect: (Root or stem)-čik-a:mal

When a stem has the shape CVCC, an epenthetic vowel is inserted before //čik-// to avoid a CCC cluster; the vowel is the vowel of the thematic suffix.

The incompletive and perfect inflections are the usual transitive ones, whereas the completive inflection, //-iy-//, is identical with a common transitive thematic suffix which, in the completive, would be followed by a //-ø-// inflectional suffix. The argument could be made that //-iy-// is added in the completive by analogy with the surface form of the completive inflection of other verbs with thematic suffix in //-iy-//. Alternatively, we could propose that //čik-// is followed by an //-iy-// thematic suffix which is deleted in the incompletive and perfect, and is followed by //-ø-// in the completive.

Examples of this derivation follow. Table 31 presents the complete list.

4.1.1 Examples. Repetitive forms are cited in the completive inflection.

peh-k-aʔ-	break it off	peh-k-a-čik-iy	break it into pieces
θay-aʔ-	lift it up	θay-čik-iy	lift all of it up
ʔal-iy-	look for it	ʔal-čik-iy	look all over for it and find it at last
bak-iy-	wake s.o.	bak-čik-iy	wake s.o. repeatedly until he gets up
k'ap-u-	eat it	k'ap-čik-iy	devour it
pak-l-uw-	destroy it	pak-l-u-čik-iy	demolish it

57. ʔin čik-čik-iy ʔin kʷaθa:m  
A3 burn-PL-COM A3 cleared.brush

'He finished burning all of the cleared brush.'

58. ʔan ø'ik'a:sč ʔin ʔal-čik-iy ʔani ʔin ʔel-aʔ-ø  
the girl A3 look.for-PL-COM and A3 rind-TS-COM

'The girl looked and looked for it, and all of a sudden she found it.'

The same root or stem may undergo derivation for repetitive action (Section 3.1) and for repetitive action to achieve a goal. Compare the following:

puø-iø-iy-	pick or harvest s.t. repeatedly, over a period of time
puø-čik-iy	pick them all to complete the harvest
θuč-uč-uy-	write on and on, page after page
θuh-čik-iy	finish writing it all (č --> h/____č)

4.2 Alternating Action. Another verbal derivation expresses the notion of alternating action: crying intermittently as a sick child might do; waking from time to time while one is sleeping; rolling over and over. The derivational process involves lengthening both the vowel of the root or stem and the thematic suffix vowel, deleting the consonant of the thematic suffix, and adding a final /?/. The root or stem may be transitive or intransitive; the derived verb is intransitive. I did not systematically explore this derivation and information is limited. Table 32 gives the entire list. A few examples follow.

4.2.1 Examples.

šaʔ-p-iy-	vomit it suddenly	ša:ʔpi:ʔ	vomit off and on, all day
tʰul-iy-	roll it up	tʰu:lkʰi:ʔ	roll over and over
heʔ-k-on-	turn face up	he:ʔko:ʔ	turn over and over in bed
wen-kʰ-on-	be converted	we:nkʰo:ʔ	change one's mind, dither

59. ʔam pikʰoʔ Ø bi:tʰ-u:ʔ ʔin šuʒun ʔin ʔaʒʰ-a(?) -al ʔan  
the dog B3 perk.up-ALT A3 ears A3 hear-TS-INC the

koy  
rabbit

ʰThe dog moves his ears back and forth; he hears a rabbit.ʰ

60. Ø te:ʔ-p-i:ʔ nake:l ʔam be:l ʔan øʰikʰa:č  
B3 laugh-DM-ALT-COM length the road the girl

ʰFrom time to time along the road the girl laughed  
suddenly.ʰ

5.0 Derivational Combinations. In Section 1.8 data were presented to show that the different derivational morphemes are not mutually

exclusive. A single CVC root may be suffixed with any one of several derivational morphemes; it may also undergo both repetitive and dilatory reduplication. The question that arises now is whether a single root may be subject to more than one of these derivational processes at the same time. In theory *//-p-//*, *//-č-//* or *//-č'-//*, *//-l-//*, *//-k-//*, or *//-k'-//* could combine with each other, to express some idea such as 'quickly do it all' (*//-p-//* + *//-č-//*) or 'intensively change a position or state' (*//-k'-//* + *//-l-//*), or they could be suffixed to an intransitive stem causativized with *//-θ-//* or *//-b-//*; in fact, such combinations do not occur. I suspect that the reason is the unwieldy length of the resulting verb. A hypothetical inflected form would, at a minimum, be: CVC-DM-Vn-DM-TS-INFL, with */-Vn-/* insertion required to break up a CCC cluster. The two exceptions to the above interdiction, *//-č-//* and *//-čik-//*, occupy a special place because they act as derivational morpheme and thematic suffix combined. There are numerous attested forms of the shape CVC-DM-Vn-č-INFL or CVC-DM-V-čik-INFL; see Table 31. There are likewise multiple examples of derived stems which undergo repetitive reduplication; see Table 30.5 and 30.7. However, as noted in Section 3.2, the dilatory reduplication is not possible, because it leads to CCC clusters.

## CHAPTER 7

## VERB MORPHOLOGY III: VERBS DERIVED FROM OTHER PARTS OF SPEECH

1.0 Verbs Derived from Other Parts of Speech. Chapter 5 dealt with root verbs and the various processes that act upon them to derive other verbal forms--passives, antipassives, reciprocals, absolutives, causatives, participles and the like. Chapter 6 considered various derivations that modify the semantic content of the verb. Here we will be concerned with verbs derived from other parts of speech, such as nouns, adjectives and adverbs.

There are several ways in which such derivation can take place. The simplest is to add a verbal thematic suffix to the noun (or adjective or adverb) root or stem. In addition, the derivational morphemes discussed in Section 4 above can be suffixed to certain roots or stems to verbalize them. Derivational morpheme *//-n-//* derives verbs from noun, adjective and adverb roots and stems. And, finally, inchoative verbs can be derived from adjectives and some nouns with the inchoative suffixes *//-b-//* and *//-m-//*. These processes will be discussed below. It should be noted that since derivation in Huastec can be cyclic, it is often possible to derive a noun from a verb and subsequently to reverbitalize that noun. Thus from *kʷiʔiy-* 'throw it' the instrumental noun *kʷiʔib* 'harpoon' can be derived, and from *kʷiʔib*, with elision of the final vowel, *kʷiʔb-ay-* 'harpoon it'. Derived verbs can undergo processes of passivization, antipassivization, reciprocal formation, nominalization and so on just

as root verbs can: kʷiʔb-ay-at `harpooned'; kʷiʔb-om `harpooner'.

In the discussion below I will attempt to identify derived, as opposed to root, nouns or adjectives. Often, however, lack of information makes this distinction difficult, if not impossible. A further problem is the existence of a number of bivalent CV(:)C roots which can be nouns or verbs depending upon whether they are preceded by a noun specifier (or other nominal modifier), are followed by a nominal generic or absolutive suffix, or have a verbal thematic suffix. At one point I thought that the distinction could be made in terms of vowel length--that noun roots had a long vowel and verb roots a short one, or vice versa--but the data do not confirm any such hypothesis.

1.1 Noun/verb Pairs with CV(:)C Roots. There are about 90 roots in my corpus which can be termed bivalent in the above sense. These include a small number of adjective and adverb roots. The CV(:)C root may be verbalized with any of the transitive thematic suffixes, with the //-Vn-// absolutive suffix, with //-e-// or //-i-// middle voice suffixes or with //-Vl-// or //-Vm-// intransitive suffixes. As noted in Chapter 5, middle voice verbs and transitive verbs with //-Vw-// thematic suffix do not have long root vowels. Otherwise, all possible combinations of vowel length are possible: both verb root and noun may have short vowels; both may have long vowels; the noun may have a long vowel and the verb root a short vowel; and, more infrequently, the noun may have a short vowel and the verb root a long one.

1.1.1 Examples.

Noun		Transitive verb	
šaʔ	vomit	šaʔ-aʔ-	vomit it
hu:n	one	hu:n-aʔ-	accompany s.o.
pa:l	hook, peg	pal-aʔ-	hang it up
ʔiç	chile	ʔiç-iy-	put chile in or on it
wast	shawl, poncho	wast-iy-	cover it, put on a wrap
tʰi:l	toasted corn	tʰil-iy-	toast it
θib	s.t. that covers, protects, bars	θib-ay-	cover it, protect it, make a barrier
ku:b	halting place	ku:b-ay-	stop it, detain it
taʔ	excrement	ta:ʔ-ay-	disembowel it
ʔikʰ	wind	ʔikʰ-oy-	air it
ko:ʔ	caretaker	ko:ʔ-oy-	care for it, keep it
kʰwe:t	broom	kʰwet-oy-	sweep it
kʰwe:ʔ	thief	kʰwe:ʔ-ey-	rob s.o., steal it
huh	roof	huh-uy-	roof it
tʰuk	drop of water	tʰuk-uw-	drip it, pour it
hu:çʰ	pimple, pock	huçʰ-uw-	suck it
<b>Noun</b>		<b>// -Vn- // intransitive verb</b>	
bih	name	bih-in-	be named
šiçʰ	blood	šiçʰ-an-	bleed
ka:w	word	ka:w-in-	speak
ma:l	swelling	ma:l-in-	swell up
he:l	dew, drizzle	hel-in-	drizzle, fall as dew
kʰwe:č	head-coil for carrying loads	kʰweč-an-	roll up

Noun		Middle voice verb	
lem	butterfly	lem-e-	float in the air
ku:ʒ	s.t. with a curved shape	kuʒ-e-	curve
k'oč	brooding hen	k'oč-e-	become fat
k'wa:h	seat	k'wah-i-	inhabit, be in a place
Noun		Root intransitive verb	
čik'	urine	čik'-al-	urinate
be:l	road	bel-al-	walk
keʔ	belch	ke:ʔ-al-	belch
Adjective or adverb		Verb	
k'ak'	hot	k'ak'-e-	get hot
ʔo:w	far	ʔow-e-	delay, be late
pi:l	separate, apart	pil-iy-	untie it, unfasten it
ya:n	much, many	yan-e-	increase

The absence of any middle voice verbs with thematic suffix

//-u-// is probably an accident of sampling.

1. Ø paš(i)k'-in-al ʔan t'eleʔ k'al ʔin wa:t  
 B3 cover-VN-INC the child with A3 shawl  
 'The child is covered with his shawl.'
  
2. ʔu wa:t-iy-Ø leh ʔalwaʔ k'al ʔan peleθa:l  
 A1 cover-TS-COM very well with the sarape  
 'I covered her very carefully with the sarape.'
  
3. Ø ʒaʔk-an-al ʔan ma:l  
 B3 diminish-VN-INC the swelling  
 'The swelling is going down.'



4. Ø ma:l-(i)n-e:nek ʔu ʔoko:b  
 B3 swell-VN-PER Al arm  
 `My arm has swollen.`
5. Ø øem-θ-a(?)-a:me ʔu k'oč-il k'al ʔan ʔu:t'  
 B3 die-CAUS-TS-PER.PASS Al brood.hen-POSS by the possum  
 `My brood hen has been killed by the possum.`
6. k'wahat ti-Ø k'oč-e-l ʔan ø'ik'a:č  
 PROGR SUBOR-B3 get.fat-TS-INC the girl  
 `The girl is getting fat.`
7. ʔu kwito:l Ø leh bel-(al)-a:maθ ʔo:w  
 A2 son B3 much walk-(TS)-PER far  
 `My son has travelled far.`
8. tam t-in či:č ti Monterey leh ʔow-e-y  
 when SUBOR-B1 come.SUPPL.COM to Monterrey very be.late-TS-COM  
 ʔan kamio:n ka-Ø ʔul-iğ  
 the bus SUBJ-B3 arrive-COM  
 `When I went to Monterrey the bus was very late in arriving.`

#### 1.2 Verbs Derived from CVCV(:)C Nouns with Verba' Thematic Suffix.

With three exceptions, discussed in Sections 1.3-1.5 below, all transitive, absolutive and intransitive verbs derived with a verbal thematic suffix from nouns (or adjectives or adverbs) of the shape CVCV(:)C have thematic suffixes // -iy-//, // -in-// and // -il-// respectively. In addition, there are two nouns which are verbalized with middle voice thematic suffix // -e-//. If the final vowel of the noun root or stem is short, it is deleted; if it is long, it is not. Adjectives and adverbs, however, behave in an idiosyncratic fashion as regards vowel deletion.

1.2.1 Examples.

Noun		Verb	
ʔahat	song	ʔaht-iy-	sing to s.o.
		ʔaht-in-	sing
č'učub	finger	č'učb-iy-	point with the finger
ʔihil	saliva	ʔihl-iy-	spit on s.t.
kamab	tooth	kamb-iy-	make teeth (a dentist)
k'ak'al	sun's rays	k'ak'l-iy-	sun it
		k'ak'l-in-	get sunned
k'amal	fire	k'aml-in-	flame
petob	headdress	petb-iy-	put a headdress on s.o.
			else
		petb-in-	put own headdress on
ǰak'ib	sweat	ǰak'b-in-	sweat
ǰalam	shadow	ǰalm-iy-	shade it
walab	sin	walb-iy-	put the blame on s.o.
		walb-in-	sin
wačib	dream	wačb-il-	dream
ʔakal	night	ʔakl-e-	become night
wakal	afternoon	wakl-e-	become late
ʔila:l	medicine	ʔila:l-iy-	treat s.o. (with medicine)
peho:l	breach	peho:l-iy-	make a breach in s.t.
ʔuba:t'	game, sport	ʔuba:t'-in-	play a game or sport
Adjective or adverb		Verb	
holat	vacant, unoccupied	holt-iy-	abandon it
šuhu:l	spotted, stained	šuhl-iy-	stain it, soil it
ʔik'ow	light, fickle	ʔik'ow-n-al	becomes light, fickle

I have only the incomplete of ʔik'ownal; the vowel of the thematic suffix is automatically deleted and cannot be predicted. Also, to avoid a CCC cluster, the final vowel of ʔik'ow is not deleted.

9. k'wahat ʔu k'ak'(a)l-iy-al ʔan toltom  
 PROGR Al sun.ray-TS-INC the clothing

'I am sunning the clothing.'

10. ʔin t'ah-aʔ-∅ ka-∅ wal(a)b-in-∅ ʔa ʔada:n ʔan ʔan  
 A3 make-TS-COM SUBJ-B3 sin-VN-COM the Adam the snake

'The snake made Adam sin.'

11. ʔin ʔot'-o:l ʔu ʔoko:b šuh(u:l)-in-∅ k'al ʔi k'ak'al  
 A3 skin-POSS Al arm spotted-VN-COM by of sun.ray

'The skin of my arm is spotted by the sun's rays.'

1.3 Verbs Derived from Instrumental Nouns. A productive process in Huastec derives instrumental/locative nouns from verb roots with the suffix *//-Vb-//*; V is the vowel of the thematic suffix of the verb root. (See Section 3.4.1, Chapter 8, for details.) Many of these instrumental nouns can be reverbalized with thematic suffixes *//-ay-//*, *//-an-//* or *//-al-//*, with deletion of the final vowel of the instrumental noun. Table 34 presents all known examples. In many instances I have only an instrumental noun and its derived verb, but not the root verb from which the instrumental noun was derived. In other cases, I have a root verb and a verb derived in *//-b-ay-//* or *//-b-an-//* and must infer an instrumental noun. The examples that follow show the complete derivation.

1.3.1 Examples.

Root verb		Instrumental noun		Derived verb	
huč-uy-	blow on it	huč-ub	bellows	hučb-ay-	blow it with a bellows
k'oč-e-	become fat	k'oč-ob	fat part	k'oč-b-an-	get a cramp, muscle knot
tah-aʔ-	illuminate it	tah-ab	lamp	tahb-ay-	light with a lamp
toʔ-oy-	chip it	toʔ-ob	chisel, burin	toʔb-ay-	drill it
t'iʔ-aʔ-	pile it up	t'iʔ-ab	bulwark	t'iʔb-ay-	block it
t'im-aʔ-	tighten it, compress it	t'im-ab	tightener, compresser	t'imb-an-	thicken
t'iθ-aʔ-	string it	t'iθ-ab	needle	t'iθb-ay-	prick it
				t'iθb-an-	prick oneself

12. ∅ k'oč(o)b-an-∅ ʔu k'wala:l  
B3 lump-VN-COM Al leg

'My leg muscle knotted up.'

13. neʔeʔ k-u t'iθ(a)b-ay-∅ ʔan lana:š ʔabal k-u  
go SUBJ-Al needle-TS-COM the orange so.that SUBJ-Al

huʔ'-uw-∅  
suck-TS-COM

'I'm going to pierce the orange so that I can suck it.'

1.4 Nouns Ending in /m/. There are a number of CVCV(:)C nouns that end in /m/ and are verbalized with //-ay-// or //-an-// thematic suffixes. Some of these nouns are derived from root verbs and have a "resultative" or perfective participial meaning; others appear to be root nouns. In addition, there are a few CVCV(:)m nouns which are verbalized with //-iy-//. The data are insufficient to clarify the

difference between the two derivations. All available examples are given in Table 35. A few examples follow. Note that regardless of length, the final vowel of the noun root is deleted.

#### 1.4.1 Examples.

Noun		Verb	
bokom	corn fungus	bokm-an-	get stained, aged
čuč'u:m	dried tortilla	čuč'm-an-	get toasted
kata:m	knotch	katm-ay-	knotch it
kuč'u:m	hooked knife	kučm-ay-	hook it
ʔolom	pig	ʔolm-an-	act crazy
pukum	cactus spine	pukm-ay-	prick it with spines
çiʔi:m	honey	çiʔm-ay-	sweeten it
çalam	shadow	çalm-iy-	shade it

14. k'wahat ʔu kat(a)m-ay-al ʔan ʔakan-la:b  
 PROGR Al knotch-TS-INC the leg-GEN

'I am knotching the forked prop.'

15. ʔa Feli:pa ʔin çiʔ(i)m-ay-ø ʔan wat'ap k'al ʔan tino:m  
 the Felipa A3 honey-TS-COM the atole with the brown.sugar

'Felipa sweetened the atole with brown sugar.'

1.5 Verbs from Nouns Derived with // -Vk' //. There are a number of derived nouns of the shape CVC-Vk', where the // -Vk' // suffix conveys the sense of closing, halting, wedging or blocking something: to:n-iy- 'walk around or circle s.t.', ton-ik' 'retaining wall'; pel-aʔ- 'stretch it out horizontally', pel-ok' 'crossbar. (See Chapter 8, Section 3.2.10, and Table 36 for further details.) Verbs may be

derived from these nouns with // -Vy-//, // -Vn-// or // -Vl-// thematic suffixes. As was the case with the CVCVC nouns discussed in 1.2-1.4 above, the final vowel of the noun is deleted. However, this vowel determines the vowel of the // -Vy-//, // -Vn-// or // -Vl-// suffix. Since in many cases I do not have the root verb from which the CVCVk' noun was derived, the examples that follow give only the derived noun and the verb derived from it.

#### 1.5.1 Examples.

Noun		Verb
haluk'	substitute	halk'-uy- change it
hučuk'	hiccough	huč'k'-ul- hiccough*
ʔišak'	breath	ʔišk'-al- breathe
pašik'	lid	pašk'-iy- cover it
šučik'	cork	šuč'k'-iy- cork it*
tožik'	brace, prop	tož'k'-iy- prop it closed*
ǰ'uhak'	sprout	ǰ'uhk'-an- sprout
t'ičok'	arrow	t'ič'k'-oy- shoot it with an arrow*
wiθok'	slingshot	wiθk'-oy- shoot it with a slingshot

\*č and ǰ --> č' and ǰ'/\_k'.

16. neʔeǰ tutu                      la:b-l-in-č-ǰ-i                      ʔan t'ičok'-la:b  
 go    SUBOR.I.for.you    sacred-DM-EP-BEN-COM-EP    the arrow-GEN

k-a        t'ič'(o)k'-oy-ǰ niše: ši                      ʔanima:i  
 SUBJ-A2 shoot-TS-COM        this    particular animal

'I'm going to bless the arrow for you so you can shoot this very animal.'

17. yab k-a hal(u)k'-uy-Ø ?a yehø:l-il  
 not IMP-A2 substitute-TS-COM A2 old.man-POSS

‘Don’t change your husband (for another)!’

## 2.0 Verbs Derived from Nouns and Adjectives with Derivational

Morphemes. Some of the derivational morphemes discussed in Chapter 6

may be suffixed to nouns and adjectives to verbalize them.

Information for most of these morphemes is not complete enough to enable any statement about which roots or stems can be so verbalized, which derivational morphemes can be suffixed to a particular root or stem, or about the relationship between a particular derivational morpheme and the verbal thematic suffix which follows it. Examples of verbs derived with *//k-//*, *//k'-//*, *//p-//*, *//ç-//* and *//ç'-//* follow, grouped only by derivational morpheme and not by root or stem shape. Derivational morpheme *//l-//*, for which I have considerably more information, and derivational morpheme *//n-//*, which occupies a special place, will be discussed in Sections 2.2 and 2.3 below.

### 2.1 Derivational Morphemes //k-//, //k'-//, //p-//, //ç-// and

//ç'-//. These morphemes are listed in order of frequency in my sample--an order which may be simply an artifact of limited sampling.

Table 37 presents the entire corpus of data. Some examples follow.

#### 2.1.1 Examples.

Noun or adjective		Verb	
hu:n	one	hun-k-uw-	make an accord, match it
tomol	one of a pair	tom-k-iy-	marry s.o. (perform the service)
		tom-k-in-	get married

ʔuʔul	curly	ʔuʔ-k-ey-	curl it, ruffle it
wal	eye, face	wal-k-iy-	bewitch, cast the evil eye
ʔakaʔ	pus	ʔah-k'-in-	suppurate (k --> h/___k')
manuʔ	yellow	man-k'-an-	become yellow
θamθu:l	twilight, nightfall	θam-k'-un-	become night
θaθat	thin	θaθ-k'-aʔ-	make it thin
ʔamay	cold	ʔam-k'-an-	get cold
k'it'iy	slippery	k'it'-p-an-	slip
le:k'	platform on legs	lek'-p-aʔ-	balance it
liʔiy	slippery	liʔ-p-aʔ-	dislocate it
		liʔ-p-an-	skid, lose one's footing
ʔ'ebat	sleepy, drowsy	ʔ'eb-ʔ-in-	lose consciousness, faint
le:y	lightning	ley-ʔ'-on-	flash (lightning)

18. k'wahat-iʔ ti-∅ man-k'-an-al ʔan wayʔ  
 PROGR-EMPH SUBOR-B3 yellow-DM-VN-INC the corn.ear

'The corn ears are indeed becoming yellow.'

19. ∅ ʔ'eb-ʔ-in-∅ ʔan ʔinik wala:m ∅ yaʔul  
 B3 sleepy-DM-VN-COM the man perhaps B3 sick

'The man fainted; perhaps he's sick.'

2.2 Derivational Morpheme // -l -//. As the lengthy list presented in Table 38 testifies, // -l -// very productively derives both transitive and intransitive verbs from nouns, adjectives and adverbs. The general sense seems to be 'make it like noun' (lukuk 'mud, mire'; luk-l-iy- 'dirty it'), 'endow it with noun' (ʔa:p 'power, force,



potency'; ǰa:p-l-iy- 'fortify, strengthen or encourage s.o.'), or 'perform an action with noun' (ǰo:k 'shotgun, rifle'; ǰo:k-l-iy- 'shoot it with a gun'). The majority of verbs derived with *//-l-//* have thematic suffix *//-iy-//* or *//-in-//*; a few others have thematic suffix *//-aʔ-//*, *//-ay-//* or *//-an-//*.

There are two derivations of special interest. My assistant came in one day with a long, self-generated list of participial forms. About three-quarters of the total consisted of noun or adjective root or stem + l + iθ. I assume that these participles derive from a verb in *//-l-iy-//* by the regular process described above in Chapter 5, Section 1.2.5.1. Interestingly enough, many of the nouns on his list were Spanish loanwords. The remainder of the participles listed in Table 38 come from texts or from regular elicitation sessions. When *//-l-iy-//* or *//-l-iθ//* is suffixed to a root or stem of the shape CVCVC the final vowel is lengthened, causing a shift in stress to that vowel; if the root or stem is CV:CVC stress remains on the long vowel, and if the root or stem is Spanish derived, it retains its Spanish stress. Stems derived through reduplication of the final -VC of the root (e.g., kʷiš-iš, luk-uk, toš-oš) delete that reduplicated syllable before *//-l-//*. Most other noun stem formatives are retained.

The other derivation of interest consists of a term for a relative + l + the antipassive suffix *//-om-//*. The resulting term can be inflected like an antipassive (Chapter 5, Section 1.2.1) and has the meaning 'treat like such-and-such a relative, although he/she isn't': ba:y 'man's brother-in-law'; bay-l-om-θ- 'treats s.o. like a

brother-in-law, though he isn't really; bay-l-om-a:ǂ 'treated him like a brother-in-law (but doesn't any longer). One other term may fit into this category. ʔa:y-la:b (with the generic suffix) refers to a person's permanent occupation or career. ʔay-l-om-, on the other hand, has the specific meaning 'have a religious duty for a year', i.e., treat the duty as one's occupation, although it really isn't. Reference is to the religious cargo system whose financial demands are sufficiently onerous that a one-year term is considered to fulfill one's obligations.

#### 2.2.1 Examples.

Noun		Verb	
k <sup>h</sup> waʔ	toad	k <sup>h</sup> waʔ-l-iy-	form it into a ball
		k <sup>h</sup> waʔ-l-in-	form a ball
k <sup>h</sup> wišiš	soot	k <sup>h</sup> wiš-l-iy-	make it sooty
la:b	Spanish, sacred	la:b-l-iy-	bless s.o. or s.t.
paw	smoke, vapor	paw-l-iy-	smoke it
tame:t	front, presence of	tame:t-l-iy-	confront s.o., face s.o.
ǂ <sup>h</sup> uhak <sup>h</sup>	sprout, shoot	ǂ <sup>h</sup> uha:k <sup>h</sup> -l-in	sprout
wayʔ	corn ear	wayʔ-l-in-	form the corn ear
ʔik <sup>h</sup>	wind	ʔik <sup>h</sup> -l-ay-	air s.t.
		ʔik <sup>h</sup> -l-an-	blow, get blown about
k <sup>h</sup> ič	steamy heat	k <sup>h</sup> ič-l-aʔ-	make s.o. sweat
		k <sup>h</sup> ič-l-an-	sweat
tošoš	spindle whorl	toš-l-aʔ-	hit it with a stone
Adjective or adverb		Verb	
ʔehat	alive	ʔehat-l-iy-	enliven s.o.

ʔeʒ'ey	always	ʔeʒ'e:y-l-iy-	perpetuate it
kalat	projecting	kala:t-l-iy-	pierce it through
<b>Noun or adjective</b>		<b>Participle</b>	
ʔakaʔ	pus	ʔaka:ʔ-l-iθ	with pus, suppurated
čú:m	point, sprout	čú:m-l-iθ	sharp-pointed
ʔeski:naʔ	angle, corner (Sp. <u>esquina</u> )	ʔeski:na-l-iθ	angled, squared off
haʔ	water	haʔ-l-iθ	watery
kwayaʔ	twin	kwaya:ʔ-l-iθ	twinned
k'ešeʔ	funny, witty	k'eše:ʔ-l-iθ	made fun of
lam	mirror	lam-l-iθ	mirrored
manuʔ	yellow	manu:ʔ-l-iθ	yellowed
pa:yno	kerchief (Sp. <u>pañuelo</u> )	pa:yno-l-iθ	kerchiefed
tumi:n	money (Sp. <u>tomín</u> )	tumi:n-l-aθ	moneyed (the only example of //-aθ//)
ʒ'a:h	rope	ʒ'a:h-l-iθ	tied up
wiʒ	flower	wiʒ-l-iθ	destined to have an accident (because when you die, flowers are sent)
<b>Relative</b>		<b>Verb</b>	
ba:y	man's brother- in-law	ba:y-l-om-	treat as a brother- in-law
haʔu:b	friend	haʔu:b-l-om-	treat an acquaintance as a close friend
ʔiʒak'	nephew	ʔiʒak'-l-om-	treat as a nephew
ʔiʒa:n	uncle	ʔiʒa:n-l-om-	treat as an uncle
mi:m	mother	mi:m-l-om-	treat as a mother

20. ?an k'ak'al ?in tuh-e-θ-a?-∅                      ?an ?e:m ka-∅  
 the sun.ray A3 begin-TS-CAUS-TS-COM the corn SUBJ-B3  
 way?-l-in-∅  
 corn.ear-DM-VN-COM  
 `The sun caused the corn to begin to form ears.'
21. kala:t-l-iθ                      ?an ?u:w  
 projecting-DM-PPL the paper  
 `The paper is pierced through.'
22. ?aka:ʔ-l-iθ ?an t'i:t'  
 pus-DM-PPL the sore  
 `The sore is full of pus.'
23. ?in kwe:ʔ-ey-al ?aš    ?in leh kʷaʔal ya:n ?i tumi:n ?aši  
 A3 rob-TS-INC those A6 much have much of money those  
 ri:ko ?aši t'ek'eθ tumi:n-l-aθ  
 rich those elevated money-DM-PPL  
 `He steals from those who have much money, the rich, the  
 very monied.'
24. ?an kʷito:l ?alk'iθ mi:m-l-om    k'al ?in na:na ?an ø'ik'a:č  
 the boy            just            mother-DM-AP with A3    momma the girl  
 `The boy just treats the girl's momma as a mother.'
25. ?a Pa:dre Ha:yne leh haʔu:b-l-om k'al ?an te:nek  
 the Father James very friend-DM-AP with the Huastec  
 `Father James is very eager to be friends with the  
 Huastec.'

2.3 Derivational Morpheme // -n -//. Derivational morpheme // -n -// followed by thematic suffix // -aʔ -// derives transitive verbs from noun, adjective and adverb roots and stems; see Table 39. Middle voice and intransitive verbs cannot be derived with // -n -//. The

examples below first list noun roots and stems, followed by agentive nominals derived with *//-Vš-//* (see Chapter 8, Section 3.2.1), which are reverbalized with *//-n-//*. (Note that there are no examples of *//-n-//* suffixed to agentive nominals in *//-Vm//* or *//-Vl//*.) The next section lists adjectives and adverbs verbalized with *//-n-//*, and the final section contains terms for relatives. Here *//-n-//* is followed by the antipassive *//-Vš-//* suffix to express the meaning 'name or refer to someone as a relative, although he/she isn't'. My assistant explained the difference between *//-n-aš-//* and *//-l-om-//* (see 2.2 above) as the difference between calling someone by a term for a relative, as a matter of politeness or affection, and acting toward a non-relative as a relative--the latter usage implying a more intense or permanent attitude. A child might address any adult male of his father's generation as ʔiɕa:n 'uncle' to be polite; this would be ʔiɕa:n-n-aš. However he might consider a particular older man to be a kind of father or uncle surrogate, someone who could be expected to provide food or other assistance; this would be ʔiɕa:n-l-om.

Unlike the other derivational morphemes discussed above, *//-n-//* is rarely suffixed to verb roots. I suspect that the few examples I have of CVC verb root + *//-n-//* are simply cases of polyvalent roots where information on the related noun root is lacking; see Table 39, part 5.

The relationship between derivational morpheme *//-n-//* and the *//-Vn-//* intransitive thematic suffix is a troublesome one. Consider the following pairs of derivations from nouns:

		Stem-TS-		Stem-n-TS-	
ʔahat	song	ʔaht-in-	sing	ʔahat-n-aʔ-	sing it
ka:w	word	ka:w-in	speak	ka:w-n-aʔ-	speak it
ʔuba:t´	game	ʔuba:t´-in-	play	ʔuba:t´-n-aʔ-	play it

One could argue that the order of derivation is noun --> intransitive verb --> transitive verb, and that the // -n- // derivational morpheme is simply a relic of an intransitive verbalization with the // -Vn- // thematic suffix, the vowel of the suffix being automatically deleted. This has the effect of converting a thematic suffix into a derivational morpheme, a process which is not undergone by any of the other thematic suffixes. Note also that deletion rules in Huastec would permit \*ʔaht-in-aʔ- as readily as ʔahat-n-aʔ-; the fact that it does not occur seems to me an additional argument for // -n- // as a separate derivational morpheme.

### 2.3.1 Examples.

Noun		Verb	
ʔabat	messenger	ʔabat-n-aʔ-	send s.o., order s.o.
ʔičič	heart	ʔiči:č-n-aʔ-	`heart' s.o.: sap his strength with your stronger heart
ʔinik	man	ʔini:k-n-aʔ-	inspirit s.o.; arouse one's courage
ku:š	back, shoulder	ku:š-n-aʔ-	turn one's back on s.o.
ʔo:k´	head	ʔok´-n-aʔ-	direct it
t´a:m	offspring, infant	t´a:m-n-aʔ-	give birth to child

θabal	owner	θabal-n-aʔ-	take possession of
wačib	dream	wačib-n-aʔ-	dream about s.t.
yahal	pain, ache	yah-n-aʔ-	suffer it

## Derived noun

## Verb

bi:naš	giver	bi:naš-n-aʔ-	give as a present
t'ipoš	measurer	t'ipoš-n-aʔ-	compare it
θahčiš	preacher	θahčiš-n-aʔ-	preach it

## Adjective or adverb

## Verb

ʔala:l	below	ʔala:l-n-aʔ-	undervalue it
hek'at	other side	hek'at-n-aʔ-	look at the other side
ʔiç'i:lom	mischievous	ʔiç'i:lom-n-aʔ-	play pranks on s.o.
k'ayaʔ	patient	k'aya:ʔ-n-aʔ-	have patience with s.o.
pu:lik	large	puli:k-n-aʔ-	boast about it
ʔutat	close	ʔuta:t-n-aʔ-	bring it close
yahčik	painful	yahčik-n-aʔ-	suffer it

## Relative

## Verb

ʔebčal	sibling	ʔebčal-n-aš-	call s.o. 'brother' or 'sister'
momob	grandchild	momob-n-aš-	call s.o. 'grandchild'
na:na	momma	na:na-n-aš-	call s.o. 'momma'
ta:ta	poppa	ta:ta-n-aš-	call s.o. 'poppa'

26. ʔin ʔabat-n-aʔ-∅ k-in ʔak-iy-∅ ʔan ʔu:w  
A3 messenger-TVR-TS-COM SUBJ-A3 carry-TS-COM the paper

'He sent someone to carry the message.'

27. ?u wačib-n-a?-∅    ?i ɣan ha?iɣ    t-in    ?ehɣ-in-∅  
 Al dream-TVR-TS-COM of snake therefore SUBOR-B1 awake-VN-COM  
 `I dreamed of snakes and therefore I woke up.`

28. hašta:m            ∅ še?eɣ            ?in yahčik-n-a(?)-al  
 for.this.reason B3 go.about.INC A3 painful-TVR-TS-INC  
 `For this reason he goes about suffering.`

2.4 Inchoative Verbs. A very productive process in Huastec derives inchoative verbs from adjectives and some nouns. The adjective or noun root or stem is followed by inchoative derivational morphemes //b-// or //m-// and thematic suffix //e:-// to form an inchoative stem which can then be inflected for incompletive, completive and perfect tense/aspect. The similarity to some middle voice verbs with //e-// thematic suffix is apparent, as the chart below illustrates.

	Inchoative (DM //b-//)	Middle voice
Inc.	(root or stem)-b-e:-l	(root or stem)-e-l (root or stem)-e:-l
Compl.	(root or stem)-b-e:-∅	(root or stem)-e-∅ (root or stem)-e-y
Pert.	(root or stem)-b-e:-nek	(root or stem)-e-nek

Adding an inchoative morpheme to an adjective or noun conveys the meaning `become adjective or noun': ʔekɣi `cross-eyed', ʔekɣibe:l `becomes cross-eyed'; k'éše? `funny', k'éše?me: `became funny'; ɣ'ebāt `sleepy', ɣ'ebātme:nek `has become sleepy'.

Like middle voice stems, inchoative stems may be causativized with //θ-//, followed by thematic suffix //a?-//. The causativized inchoative may undergo further derivation--passivization,



antipassivization, nominalization, benefactive formation, and so forth: k'ak' `hot'; k'ak'-b-e:-l `becomes hot'; k'ak'-b-e:-θ-a?-∅ `made it become hot'; k'ak'-b-e:-θ-a:me `has been made hot'; k'ak'-b-e:-θ-om `something that heats, the heater'; k'ak'-b-e:-θ-an-č-i `was heated for someone'. When suffixed to nouns the inchoative morpheme has the meaning `become a \_\_\_'; ʔila:liš `curer', ʔila:liš-b-e:-l `becomes a curer'; ʔušum `woman', ʔušum-b-e:-∅ `became a woman'; ʔo:ra (Sp.) `hour, midday', ʔo:ra-m-e:-∅ `became midday'; pa:le? (Sp.) `father (priest)', pa:le?-b-e:-nek `has become a priest'.

The choice of the //b-// or //m-// derivational morpheme is in part phonetically determined. If the final consonant of a stem is a bilabial stop, the inchoative stem is almost always formed with //m-//, whereas if the final consonant is a nasal, the inchoative stem is formed with //b-//. If a stem contains an initial or medial bilabial stop, there is a strong tendency for the inchoative morpheme to be //m-//. Likewise, if the stem contains an initial or medial nasal, the inchoative morpheme is more likely to be //b-//. If the stem contains no bilabial stop or nasal, //b-// and //m-// are in free variation. Full documentation of the above analysis is given in Edmonson n.d. In the examples that follow note that sometimes the adjective stem is optionally reduced to a CVC root before the inchoative suffix is added.

#### 2.4.1 Examples.

ʔalčik	heavy	ʔalčik-b-e:-	become heavy
		ʔalčik-m-e:-	" "

biya:l	old	biya:l-m-e:-	become old
ʔelab	better	ʔelab-m-e:-	get better (in health)
ʔenuw	greasy	ʔenuw-b-e:- ʔenuw-m-e:-	become greasy " "
hekʻom	disobedient	hekʻom-b-e:-	become disobedient
hiliy	sour	hil-b-e:- hil-m-e:- hiliy-m-e:-	become sour " " " "
ʔi:t	new	ʔi:t-b-e:- ʔi:t-m-e:-	become new " "
kiθa:b	ugly, bad	kiθa:b-m-e:-	become ugly, bad
kʻayu:m	slow	kʻayu:m-b-e:-	become slow
lahay	salty	lahay-b-e:- lahay-m-e:- lah-b-e:- lah-m-e:-	become salty " " " " " "
manuʻ	yellow	manuʻ-b-e:-	become yellow
miliʔ	dotted	miliʔ-b-e:- miliʔ-m-e:-	become dotted " "
ʔo:beʔ	lazy	ʔo:beʔ-m-e:-	become lazy
pikat	silent	pikat-b-e:- pikat-m-e:-	become silent " "
ʒamay	cold	ʒamay-b-e:- ʒam-b-e:-	become cold " "
ʒapik	hard, strong	ʒapik-m-e:-	become hard, strong
ʒʻaʔik	bitter	ʒʻaʔik-b-e:- ʒʻaʔik-m-e:-	become bitter " "
welat	pure, clear	welat-b-e:- welat-m-e:-	become pure, clear " " "
yehʒel	old (man)	yehʒel-b-e:- yehʒel-m-e:-	become old " "

29. maš ʔin ʔuʔ'-a(ʔ)-al-ak ʔan t'eleʔ ʔan ʔila:l neʔeʔ ka-∅  
 if A3 drink-TS-INC-IRR the child the medicine go SUBJ-B3

ʔelab-m-e:-∅  
 better-INCH-TS-COM

'If the child drinks the medicine, he's going to get  
 better.'

30. neʔeʔ k-u ʔay-č-∅-i ka-∅ we:ʔ ʔam-b-e:-∅  
 go SUBJ-A1 await-BEN-COM-EP SUBJ-B3 little cold-INCH-TS-COM

ʔan haʔ  
 the water

'I'm going to wait for the water to become a little colder.'

## CHAPTER 8

## NOUN MORPHOLOGY I: ROOT AND STEM CLASSES AND DEVERBAL DERIVATIONS

Huastec nouns will be considered from two points of view that cross-cut each other: noun stem derivation and noun possession class. I will first consider noun roots and noun stem formatives, noun stems derived by reduplication and nouns derived from verbs. Nouns derived from other parts of speech, borrowed words, noun suffixes and noun compounds will be covered in the following chapter and noun possession classes will be discussed in Chapter 10.

1.0 Noun Roots and Stems. Many noun roots function as noun stems without further derivation. Others require a noun stem formative. In some cases it is possible to assign some semantic content to the stem formative; elsewhere it is semantically empty.

1.1 Noun Roots. The largest number of Huastec noun roots are of the shape CVC and CV:C. Many of these CV(:)C roots are bivalent noun/verb roots; that is, they may function as nouns without further derivation and as verbs with only an obligatory verbal thematic suffix. There are a few unanalyzable roots of the shape CV(:)CV(:) and CVCVC, but most longer forms are stems composed of CV(:)C root + noun stem formative. Words borrowed from other languages, primarily Spanish, may have atypical roots.

In my corpus of about 700 nouns there are approximately 200 CV(:)C noun roots that function as stems without further derivation. Of these about 90 are bivalent noun/verb roots. A number of examples

of bivalent roots are given in Section 1.0, Chapter 7; a few additional examples are listed below.

1.1.1 Examples.

čú:m	point, sprout	čú:m-iy-	point it, make it pointed
hoθ	kind of tree	hoθ-e-	lengthen, drag
k'a:n	loved one	k'a:n-iy-	defend s.o.
lem	butterfly	lem-aʔ-	spread it out (e.g. laundry)
ʔow	necklace	ʔow-an-	put on one's necklace
šig'	blood	šig'-aʔ-	bleed it
to:m	grass	to:m-iy-	sod it, grow grass
t'uk	drop of water	t'uk-un-	drip
ǰ'a:h	rope	ǰ'a:h-uy-	lasso it
wiǰ	flower	wiǰ-iy-	flower it

1.2 Noun Stem Formatives. Stem formatives are usually of the shape //VC//; however //V// and //CV// are also possible morpheme shapes. Some stem formatives are highly productive, others minimally so. A number are homophonous with derivational morphemes that derive nouns from verb roots. Some stems of the shape  $C_1V_1C_2-V_1C_2$  may be reduplications, rather than root plus stem formative. They have been included here when they seemed to fit in a class with other nouns having the same final -VC as a stem formative. They will, however, be considered below in the discussion of stem derivation through reduplication, since their status is ambiguous.

In the discussion below I will list the stem formatives in order of increasing productivity and will note the existence of any

homophonous derivational morphemes. Additionally, I will suggest the possible meaning added by a particular suffix or try to determine what words that take that particular suffix have in common. Often, however, the stem formative is semantically empty. In a few cases a derived stem may function as both noun and adjective; these will be noted. In most cases the vowel of a *//-VC//* stem formative is unpredictable and bears no relationship to any semantic content of the root or of the stem formative suffix, and I have therefore lumped together all examples of a suffix ending in a particular consonant. There is one exception: *//-ek´//* plausibly adds the meaning `black´, though this is not always apparent from the glosses. For this reason, it is listed separately from *//-Vk´//*.<sup>1</sup> The scientific names of plants in the lists below can be found in Alcorn and Hernández V. 1983 or Alcorn 1984.

1.2.1 *//-ek//*. Unproductive. Derives a single noun from an adjective. *//-ek//* may be related to *//-ek´//*; see 1.2.8.

<i>ʔuɕ-ek</i>	intestinal worm	<i>ʔuɕ-ul</i>	curly
---------------	-----------------	---------------	-------

1.2.2 *//-ɕi//*. Unproductive. Derives two bivalent noun/adjective terms relating to vision, one possibly from the root for `black´. The suffix *//-ɕi//* may be related to the transitive verb *ɕuʔ-u-* `see it´.

<i>ʔek-ɕi</i>	squint-eyed person; squint-	<i>ʔehɕ</i>	black
	eyed		

*hok´-ɕi* blind person; blind

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1. Fox (1978:111) gives *\*ehVkʷ/\*ʔehVk´* as the Proto-Mayan form for `black´.

1.2.3 //ne//. Unproductive. Derives two bivalent noun/adjective terms from CVC unique constituents.

θok'-ne	hoarse, raucous person; strident, noisy
∅'eʔ-ne	niggardly, self-centered person; stingy

1.2.4 //a://. Unproductive. Derives two nouns from possibly related noun roots.

ʔat-a:	house	ʔat	companion (?)
k'i:č-a:	sun, day	k'ič	vapor from the earth

1.2.5 //Vt'//. Unproductive. Derives two nouns from CVC unique constituents.

hit'-it'	bat (reduplication?)
pat'-ut'	cream

1.2.6 //-V:č//. Unproductive. Derives two nouns, one from a unique constituent, the other possibly from a related noun.

∅'al-i:č	green lizard	∅'a:l-e	dignitary
∅'ik'-a:č	girl, daughter		

1.2.7 //-Vt//. Unproductive. Derives four nouns, three from CVC unique constituents and one from a related noun; V is the root vowel.

ʔekw-et	chachalaca bird		
pel-et	leg from knee to groin; thigh muscle		
šiš-it	acacia tree		
∅'eh-et	groin	∅'eh-el	middle

1.2.8 //-ek//. `Black`. Unproductive. Derives five nouns naming plants and other growths from CVC unique constituents.

k'ug'-ek'	large curved fungus
mun-ek'	black sapote
muɣ'-ek'	edible fungus
puš'-ek'	growth on head; wart
ʔut-ek'	medicinal herb

1.2.9 //-Vɣ//. Unproductive. Derives six nouns from CVC unique constituents and possibly one adjective.

ʔap-aɣ'	palmetto	
peɣ'-eɣ'	wide shallow basket (redup. ?)	
poɣ'-oɣ'	cactus fruit (redup.?)	
šob-oɣ'	shrub	šob-obo:l many petaled
ɣ'am-uɣ'	earrings	
ɣ'um-iɣ'	sparks	

1.2.10 //-Vč//. Unproductive. Derives six nouns from CV(:)C noun roots and CVC unique constituents. Some CVCVC nouns ending in /-Vč/ are derived from verbs; see Section 3.2.8 below.

ʔak-ič	guazima tree		
čol-ič	esophagus		
ʔič-ič	heart (reduplication?)		
ʔot'-oč	old-fashioned leather bag	ʔot'	leather
teʔ-uč	chameleon		
t'am-ač	bagasse of sugarcane	t'a:m	infant, offspring



1.2.11 // -Vk' //. Unproductive. Derives seven nouns from CVC unique constituents and related noun roots. Possibly belongs with deverbal morpheme // -Vk' // (Section 3.2.10), but there are no obvious verb roots from which the terms below can be derived.

?iš-ak'	breath, breathing		
?iɣ-ak'	nephew	?iɣ-a:n	uncle
?iɣ-ik'	nail, claw		
lač-ik'	pillow		
pak'-ak'	nopal cactus (redup.?)	pak'-al	shoulder blade
θak'-uk'	twilight, pale light	θak'-uy	grey hairs
ɣ'uh-ak'	shoot, sprout		

1.2.12 // -V //. Unproductive. Derives seven nouns, three of them bivalent noun/adjective stems, from CV(:)C unique constituents and other nouns and noun roots.

?ab-a	fruit-bearing tree	?a:b	rain (?)
k'oy-e	corn dough		
le:t'-e	pitiful one; pitiful, sad		
?o:b-e	lazy one; lazy		
ɣin-e	deaf one; deaf		
ɣ'a:l-e	dignitary	ɣ'al-at	excellent, elegant
		ɣ'al-i:č	green lizard
wak-o	vine	wa:k	large moth (?)

1.2.13 // -Vθ //. Unproductive. Derives seven nouns from CVC unique constituents and possibly from a noun root.

čič-aθ	kind of tree		
ʔit'-aθ	banana		
ʔiθ-iθ	maize grains (redup.?)	ʔiθ-im	beard (?)
maθ-iθ	eyelashes		
miθ-iθ	medicinal plant (redup.?)		
poh-oθ	dust, ashes		
ʔuθ-uθ	grey-colored insect (redup.?)		

1.2.14 // -Vǰ//. Unproductive. Derives eight nouns, names for insects, animals, and parts of things, from CVC unique constituents and noun and adjective roots.

ʔan-uǰ	vein		
hot-oǰ	anmpit	hot-oto:l	concave
k'ok'-oǰ	baby corn ear		
pal-aǰ	male turkey		
pan-aǰ	termite		
t'ut'-uǰ	small ant		
θan-iǰ	ant	θan-čaʔ	dragonfly
wah-uǰ	owl (onomatopoetic?)		

1.2.15 // -Vw//. This suffix productively derives adjectives (see Section 1.2.7, Chapter 15), but is unproductive in the derivation of nouns from CVC noun roots and unique constituents. The entire list follows.

bat'-aw	armadillo		
bič-ow	town, city		
ʔil-ow	husband	ʔil-a:l	medicine (?)

ʔiǰ-ow	cottonwood tree	ʔiǰ	chile (?)
k'an-aw	yellow maize	k'an	yellow
k'aθ-aw	female turkey		
ʔok-ow	wasp nest, honeycomb		
tiy-ow	leguminous tree		
tok-ow	cloud		
ʔut'-uw	mesquite tree		

1.2.16 // -Vk //. Moderately productive. Derives 11 nouns, animates or parts of animates, from noun roots and CVC unique constituents.

The entire list follows.

ʔat-ik	infant, child	ʔat	companion
čum-ak	saltwater fish (mojarra)	ču:m	point, shoot
hu:n-ik	companion	hu:n	one
ʔin-ik	man		
k'ub-ak	hand		
lak-ak	rooster's wattles (redup.?)	lak-ab	skirt
mab-ak	water snake		
tiy-ik	elbow		
toy-ok	hip bone		
ǰab-ak	tree with edible fruit		
ǰ'ab-ak	saltwater fish (róbalo)		

1.2.17 // -Vp //. Moderately productive. Derives mostly plant terms from CVC unique constituents and possibly from one adjective. The entire list follows.

k<sup>n</sup>aθ-ap tarantula

tap-ap	soot (reduplication?)		
t'uθ-up	grape		
θan-ap	jimson weed		
θap-up	maguey fiber		
θaθ-up	tree, often pollarded for pole bean support	θaθ-at	thin, slender
θul-up	banana or papatla leaf		
θal-ap	thought		
θ'uθ'-up	temper for pottery clay		
ʔun-up	ceiba tree		
wat'-ap	corn gruel, atole		

1.2.18 // -Vy //. Moderately productive. Derives terms primarily for plants from CVC noun and adjective roots and unique constituents. Also derives adjectives (Section 1.2.20, Chapter 15). All examples follow.

hop-oy	figus tree		
huk-uy	owl		
kuk-ay	anona tree		
k'uθ-ay	Spanish moss		
ʔol-iy	croton tree	ʔol-ili:l	smooth
puy-uy	rump, anus (redup.?)		
tok'-oy	willow tree	tok'	magic green stone, used to make water
tuθ-ay	tomato		
t'ot'-oy	scar		
t'oθ-oy	skin fungus		

θak'-uy	grey hairs	θak'aʔ	empty, dry
		θak	white (?)
θin-iy	scorpion		
θa:k-uy	yarn	θak	red
θiθ-iy	mulberry tree		
θok-oy	brown cotton; dark, brown		

1.2.19 // -V:m//. Moderately productive. Derives a variety of nouns from CV(:)C noun and adjective roots and CVC unique constituents. See Section 3.2.7 for nouns derived from verbs with // -V:m//. All examples follow.

ʔa:l-e:m	weight	ʔal-čik	weighty
bič-a:m	muscle soreness, cramp		
čob-e:m	mimosa		
č'uy-e:m	corn liquor, aguardiente		
ʔiš-a:m	man's sister-in-law	ʔiš-al	wife
		ʔiš	feminine particle <sup>2</sup>
kob-a:m	hive-like illness		
kob-e:m	jícama (edible tuber)		
k'oh-o:m	catfish		
lak-u:m	lily	lak-ab	skirt
paθ-a:m	smelly herb	paθ-ʔu:t'	skunk
šib-a:m	woman's brother-in-law		
t'ih-o:m	mixed, Mestizo, fake	t'ih-aš	change (money), little

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2. Fox (1978:240) gives \*ʔiš-ok as the Proto-Mayan term for 'woman' or 'wife', and (p. 263) \*ʔiš as the Proto-Mayan feminine proclitic.

θak-u:m	artisan		
θuk-i:m	tree used to shade coffee		
ʒak-a:m	adobe		(possibly ʒak `red` + ʔanam `earth`)
ʒiʔ-i:m	honey, pulque	ʒiʔik	sweet
ʒ'uš-u:m	edible bromeliad	ʒ'u:š	screech owl

1.2.20 // -V:l //. Moderately productive. Derives a great variety of nouns from CVC noun and adjective roots and CVC unique constituents. All examples follow. See Section 3.2.9 for nouns derived from verbs with derivational morpheme // -V:l //. // -V:l // also derives positional participles from verb roots; see Chapter 5, Section 1.2.5.2.

ʔak <sup>w</sup> -a:l	edible greens		
ʔam-u:l	trash, garbage		
biy-a:l	a long time ago; ancient	biy-at	meanwhile
huy-u:l	container, pottery jug		
ʔil-a:l	medicine		
k <sup>w</sup> it-o:l	boy		
k'aʔ-a:l	first one; first		
may-u:l	constable		
put-e:l	convulsions	put-elom	mischievous, troublesome
tak-u:l	wood borer (comején)		
θak-i:l	small blood-sucking demon	θak	white
θek <sup>w</sup> -e:l	herb (wild basil)	θek <sup>w</sup>	chameleon
ʒak-a:l	small red deer	ʒak	red
ʒip-i:l	little one; little	ʒip-kaʒ	little bit

ʒ'oh-o:l grass, weed, herb                      ʒ'oh-waʔ overgrown  
 ʒ'ul-e:l fallowed milpa

1.2.21 // -Vn //. Moderately productive. Derives terms for people, animals, birds, plants and parts of these; house parts; and natural phenomena from CVC unique constituents and noun and adjective roots.

All examples follow.

ʔah-an	green corn ear		
ʔah-in	alligator, cayman		
ʔak-an	foot; by extension leg, plant including roots		
bak-an	tortilla		
čiθ-an	virgin	čiθ	amaranth (?)
čun-un	hummingbird (redup.?)		
haw-an	woman's sister-in-law		
kaʒ-in	brains		
kʷekʷ-en	hip		
lap-an	slatted ceiling used for storage		
puč-un	dove		
šug-un	ears; handle		
θeb-en	weasel		
θim-an	witch, sorcerer		
θip-on	weedy herb		
ʒ'ig-in	bird		
ʒ'oʒ'-on	dew		
ʔug-un	papaya	ʔug-ul	curly
yoš-on	moss		

1.2.22 // -Vʔ //. Productive. Derives terms for plants, animals, insects, birds, supernatural figures, and defective human beings from CV(:)C unique constituents. Many of these terms can be used as nouns or adjectives; in addition, there are a number of adjectives derived with // -Vʔ //; (see Section 1.2.19, Chapter 15). A selection of the 29 words in my sample follows. See Section 3.2.5 for nouns derived from verb roots with derivational morpheme // -eʔ //.

ʔak-aʔ	pus
ʔat-aʔ	kind of tree
beš-eʔ	coatimundi
beʔ-eʔ	itchy rash
ʔiʔ-eʔ	creek
kʰam-aʔ	squash flower
kʰwan-aʔ	dwarf; dwarfed
kʰweʔ-eʔ	lame one; lame
mak-uʔ	fool; foolish
muš-iʔ	rain god
ʔoč-oʔ	lizard
ʔoy-oʔ	yellow-headed parrot
pitʰ-iʔ	bald one; bald
te:p-aʔ	magic being who flies through the air like a shooting star
ʔʰuk-iʔ	corn weevil
ʔuθ-uʔ	monkey
wek-eʔ	stutterer; stuttering



1.2.23 // -Vb//. Productive. Derives a group of nouns, the majority of them body or plant parts, from CVC noun and adjective roots and CVC unique constituents. A selection of the 30 nouns in my sample follows. See Section 3.4.1 for instrumental nouns with verbal derivational morpheme // -Vb//.

č'uč-ub	finger		
haʔ-ub	friend	haʔ	water (?)
hoh-ob	corn shuck		
kam-ab	tooth		
k1θ-ib	sand		
mat-ab	eyebrows		
mom-ob	grandchild		
pet-ob	tocado; yarn coronet		
toy-ob	corn, callus	toy-ok	hip bone
ɛ'uh-ub	stone		
θok'-ob	lungs	θok'-ow	porous
ʒeʒ-eb	stalk of palm leaf		
ʔul-ib	red-colored cloud		
win-ab	right side; right		

1.2.24 // -Vm//. Productive. Derives nouns for humans and parts of humans, including clothing; animals and parts of animals; plants and parts of plants; insects and natural phenomena from CVC noun and adjective roots and CVC unique constituents. A selection of the 41 nouns in the sample follows. See Section 3.2.1 for agentive nominals derived from verbs with derivational morpheme // -Vm//.

ʔan-am	soil		
ʔat'-em	salt		
bek'-em	cottonseed		
ʔeθ-em	raccoon		
ʔiǰ'-am	animal horn, especially deer horn	ʔi:ǰ'	moon (?)
kʷin-im	cotton		
k'al-am	squash	k'a:l-a:b	property (?)
lat'-em	wasp		
leh-em	lake		
ʔol-om	pig		
paθ-um	jaguar	paθ-ay	brave, valient
šom-om	gourd water bottle (redup.?)		
θay-em	woman's cape (quexquemitl)		
θuy-um	tuberous root (e.g. banana)		
ǰak-am	son or daughter	ǰak	red (?)
ǰal-am	shadow	ǰal-ap	thought
ʔuš-um	woman	ʔiš	feminine particle
way-am	sleep		

1.2.25 // -V1 //. Very productive. Almost twice as many nouns are derived with stem formative // -V1 // as with any other stem formative. Derives humans, animals, plants, and parts thereof; insects; objects; natural phenomena; and abstract nouns from CV(:)C noun and adjective roots and unique constituents. The list below contains about a third of the 66 nouns in my sample. See Section 3.2.1 for agentive nominals derived from verbs with // -V1 //.

ʔak-al	night		
bay-il	husband's brother's wife	ba:y	man's brother-in law
boh-ol	corncob		
čuk-ul	stomach		
ʔel-ul	moth that bears bad omens		
ha:y-il	hunger		
huh-ul	feather, down, roof of house		
ʔib-il	root of a plant		
ʔih-il	saliva		
ʔim-il	udder	ʔim-teʔ	tree; 'palo de leche'
kol-ol	cockroach (redup.?)		
k'ak'-al	sunlight	k'ak'	hot
k'an-al	pig fat	k'an	yellow
k'ič-al	damp heat; humid	k'ič	vapor from the earth
		k'i:č-a:	sun, day
k'wal-al	knee (redup.?)		
mal-ul	large toad	ma:l	swelling
pab-il	abstinence, continence		
pak'-al	shoulder blade	pak'-ak'	nopal cactus
pen-al	buttocks, rump	pe:m	rubber
piç'-al	rainbow		
šek-el	leaf		
šiʔ-il	hair		
toʔ-ol	fish		

t'ut'-ul	gutter		
θuh-al	foam		
wal-ul	soapberry tree	wal	eye, face

2.0 Noun Stems Derived by Reduplication. There are several patterns of reduplication that derive noun stems from CVC roots. The most productive derivation reduplicates the final -VC of the root. A minor and unproductive variation takes the form -VCV?. Other derivations reduplicate the entire CVC root, sometimes with variation of the vowel or of one of the consonants. Examples of all these patterns will be given below.

2.1 Reduplication of Final -VC. The pattern here is  $C_1V_1C_2-V_1C_2$ . It was noted above (Section 1.2) that sometimes it is impossible to be certain if final  $-V_1C_2$  is a stem formative or a reduplication of part of the CVC root, and therefore some possible reduplications were included on the stem formative lists. They will be repeated here. In a few cases a possibly related verb root is listed, and some other terms seem to be onomatopoeic, but in most cases the CVC root is a unique constituent. The entire list follows.

bol-ol	spine	bol-iy	set it upright, straighten it
čun-un	hummingbird		
hit'-it'	bat		
hol-ol	kind of shrub		
ʔič-ič	heart		
ʔiθ-iθ	maize grain		

kol-ol	cockroach		
k <sup>w</sup> al-al	knee		
k <sup>wi</sup> š-iš	soot, smut		
lak-ak	wattles (rooster)		
lak <sup>w</sup> -ak <sup>w</sup>	algae formed during rainy season		
liǰ'-iǰ'	plucked bird wing		
luk-uk	mud, mire		
miθ-iθ	medicinal plant		
pak'-ak'	nopal cactus		
pak <sup>w</sup> -ak <sup>w</sup>	duck (onomatopoetic?)		
peǰ'-eǰ'	wide shallow basket		
poǰ'-oǰ'	cactus fruit		
puy-uy	rump, anus		
šok-ok	foam	šok-e-	foam (verb)
šom-om	gourd water bottle		
tap-ap	soot, esp. sooty cobwebs hanging from ceiling		
toš-oš	spindle whorl		
t'iθ-iθ	intestines		
θet-et	airplane propellor	θet-e-	rest or flutter close to body
θik <sup>w</sup> -ik <sup>w</sup>	small owl		
θuk'-uk'	squash seed		
θul-ul	small nocturnal carnivore		
ǰ'oš-oš	tortilla weevil		
ʔuθ-uθ	grey colored insect		

2.1.1 Reduplication is -VCV?. The pattern here is  $C_1V_1C_2-V_1C_2V_1?$ . There are only two examples. The first term, for distilled liquor, is one of the few native Huastec words to contain the phoneme /r/.

k'or-oro<sup>?</sup> distilled liquor,  
aguardiente

t'ol-olo<sup>?</sup> screech owl (onomat.?)

2.2 Reduplication of CVC Root. The first two patterns discussed below are moderately productive; the third is not.

2.2.1 Exact Reduplication. The pattern is  $C_1V_1C_2-C_1V_1C_2$ . The CVC root may be a verb root, noun root or unique constituent. All examples follow.

hut-hut green bird (onomat.?)

meç-meç cartilage

muk-muk black snake "because it is stained, dyed"      muk-uw- stain it,  
tan it

muθ-muč\* Pleiades      muθ-uw- pile it up

pok'-pok' kind of vine      pok'-ow- break it (?)

tal-tal end, finish      tal-a<sup>?</sup>- finish it

çen-çen small guitar (onomat.?)

ç'um-ç'um papatla, leaf and plant      ç'um-iç' sparks (?)

\*The final /θ/ in muθ-muθ → /č/ by analogy to a similar morphophonemic shift in participles; see Chapter 5, Section 1.2.6.

2.2.2 Initial CV- Reduplicated. The pattern is  $C_1V_1C_2-C_1V_1C_3$ ; the initial CVC is a unique constituent. Note that for seven of the nine

examples,  $C_3$  is /m/. Data are not sufficient to provide an explanation for this fact, but it should be noted that agentive nominals can be derived from verbs with // -Vm//.

čab-čam	kind of bee
čen-čeʔ	pileated woodpecker
č'op-č'om	domesticated bee
kuš-kum	elf owl (small grey owl)
ten-tel	house spider
tik-tim	roasted corn ear
tol-tom	clothing, cloth
ʔeʔ-ʔem	golden-fronted woodpecker
ʔiʔ-ʔim	small fly or gnat

2.2.3 Consonants Reduplicated. The pattern is  $C_1V_1C_2-C_1V_2C_2$ ; the initial CVC is a unique constituent. The two examples follow.

mač'-muč'	kind of vine
pit'-pot'	small bright-colored lizard (from its cry)

3.0 Nouns Derived from Verbs. A great variety of nominals can be derived from root and derived transitive, middle voice and intransitive verbs. These include agentive, patientive, instrumental, resultative, and various abstractive nouns. Table 40 presents paradigms of nominal formations on transitive, middle voice and intransitive roots and stems. The different kinds of nominals will be discussed below.

3.1 Nouns Derived from Metathesized Verb Roots. A special case of noun derivation occurs with certain verbs whose roots end in /ʔ/, and which undergo a metathesis of the /ʔ/ and the /y/ or /w/ of their thematic suffix before consonant-initial derivational morphemes; some of these verbs have a related noun of the shape CVyʔ or CVwʔ. In addition, verbs whose roots end in /-ah/, followed by thematic suffix // -uy-//, labialize the /h/ before consonant-initial derivational morphemes; these verbs have a related CVC noun ending in /w/. (See Chapter 3, Sections 4.3 and 5.1.6 for a fuller discussion of these processes.)

mayʔ	limestone	maʔ-iy-	crumble, break into bits
ɕawʔ	kind of herb	ɕaʔ-uw-	pound it, bruise it
paw	smoke	pah-uy-	smoke it, cense it

Below I list the remaining nouns which fit the above pattern and a few possibly related verbs. By analogy to the derivations above, I infer some verbs which are not in my corpus.

layʔ	sting	laʔ-iy-	scratch it, claw it
maw(1a:b)	paint	mah-uy-	paint it
tayʔ	lime	*taʔ-iy- t'aʔ-i-	burn
tawʔ	herb (arrowroot)	*taʔ-uw-	
ɕiwʔ	vegetable pear (chayote)	*ɕiʔ-oy-	
ɕ'awʔ	tree used in house construction	ɕ'aʔ-uw-	chew it
wayʔ	corn ear	*waʔ-iy-	
wawʔ	liverwort	waʔ-uw-	tan it



3.2 Nouns Derived from Transitive Verbs. It is possible from transitive verbs to derive agentive and patientive nouns, terms for occupations, nouns referring to a piece of something produced by the action of the verb, resultative nouns, and several others. These will be discussed and exemplified below.

3.2.1 Agentive Nouns. Agentive nouns may be formed from root and derived transitive verbs in three ways: by suffixing *//-Vm//*, *//-Vl//* or *//-Vš//* to the verb root or stem. The vowel of the verb root (but not of most stems) is usually lengthened when the suffix is *//-Vl//*, and is sometimes lengthened when the suffix is *//-Vm//* or *//-Vš//*. The details of which roots lengthen the vowel and which do not are unclear to me. For nominals formed with *//-Vl//* or *//-Vš//*, /V/ is the vowel of the thematic suffix of the transitive verb. However *//-Vm//* has three allomorphs: /-om/ when the thematic suffix vowel is /a/ or /o/, /-im/ when the thematic suffix vowel is /i/, and /-um/ when the thematic suffix vowel is /u/. Roots with thematic suffix vowel /e/ cannot form nominals with *//-Vm//*.

It is often possible to derive all three nominals from the same verb root, and they may all be bases for further derivation, such as the locative and instrumental abstractive nouns to be discussed below. (See Section 1.2.1 of Chapter 5 for a discussion of the relationship between these agentive nouns and incomplete antipassives.)

I questioned at length in an attempt to determine any consistent difference in meaning added by the different nominal suffixes. At one

point my assistant attempted to distinguish between the // -Vl// and // -Vm// forms by assigning to one the idea of temporary or occasional agency, and to the other the notion of a permanent job or occupation. However, in later sessions he either reversed the distinction or used the two terms interchangeably. I am left with the sense that nouns derived with // -Vm// are perhaps the most agentive, but it would be impossible to document this feeling in the space at hand.<sup>3</sup> Some examples of the various derivations follow.

### 3.2.1.1 Examples.

#### // -Vm// on roots

ʔal-im	searcher	ʔal-iy-	look for it
čuk-um	seamstress	čuk-uy-	sew it
ʔeb-om	s.o. who adds to s.t.	ʔeb-ay-	fill it up
pok'-om	one who breaks things	pok'-ow-	break it, shatter it
ša:l-um	plowman	šal-uw-	mix it, turn it over (e.g. earth)
θit'-om	curer	θit'-əʔ-	treat illness by heating

#### // -Vm// on stems

ʔahat-n-om	singer	ʔahat-n-əʔ-	sing it
bi:n-k-om	gift giver	bi:n-k-əʔ-	give it as a gift

---

3. There is at least a suggestion that nominals in // -Vš// must be animate. My assistant was discussing various derivations based on the verb lak'-uw- 'scrape it away', and gave as an example ʔan pi:taʔ pe:l ʔi la:k'uš 'the chicken is a scratcher'. He then added that an airplane that has made a forced landing and has torn up the earth can not be referred to as la:k'uš "because it does not do it with intent."

hil-p-om	dislocater	hil-p-ow-	dislocate it (e.g. a bone)
pak-l-um	destroyer, demolisher	pak-l-uw-	destroy it, knock it down
pat'-k'-om	tearer, remover	pat'-k'-aʔ-	tear it off (e.g. an ear of corn)
ʒem-θ-om	butcher, killer	ʒem-θ-aʔ-	kill it
ʒ'ak-b-om	waker, raiser	ʒ'ak-b-aʔ-	get s.o. up, raise it

## //-vI// on roots

ʔa:b-al	sender	ʔab-aʔ-	send it
či:š-il	clearer	čiš-iy-	clear away trees and underbrush
ču:ʔ-ul	stretcher, extender	čuʔ-uw-	stretch it (rubber or wire)
ʔe:t'-ol	barber	ʔet'-oy-	cut it with scissors
hu:č-ul	pheasant	huč-uy-	blow on it, blow it away
k'oh-al	harvester	k'oh-ow-	harvest it
t'en-el	musician	t'en-ey-	play an instrument
wak'-al	scatterer, sprinkler	wak'-ay-	sprinkle it, scatter it

## //-vI// on stems

hiθ-k'-ol	one who aborts	hiθ-k'-ow-	abort it
lič'-k'ol	uprooter	lič'k'-ow-	uproot it
θay-k'-ol	sustainer	θay-k'-aʔ-	raise it up high
t'eʔ-ʒ-il	stand, platform	t'eʔ-ʒ-iy-	stand upon s.t.
ʔo:l-č-il	announcer	ʔol-č-	advise s.o. of it

## //-Vš// on roots

ʔak'-iš	weeder	ʔak'-iy-	weed it
bel-aš	believer	bel-aʔ-	believe it
čuk-uš	seamstress	čuk-uy-	sew it
ʔeʒ-eš	wood-gatherer	ʔeʒ-ey-	gather firewood
kot-oš	cutter	kot-oy-	cut it, saw it
k'ol-oš	s.t. that wounds or injures	k'ol-ow-	wound or injure s.o.
nuh-uš	seller	nuh-uw-	sell it
ʒeʔ-eš	grinder	ʒeʔ-ey-	grind it
wak'-aš	scatterer, sprinkler	wak'-ay-	sprinkle it, scatter it

## //-Vš// on stems

ʔabat-n-aš	sender	ʔabat-n-aʔ-	send it
ʔešč:b-č-iš	teacher	ʔešč:b-č-iy-	teach s.o.
bel-k-aš	one who believes or obeys	bel-k-aʔ-	believe it as an obligation, obey
hal-k'-uš	substitute	hal-k'-uy-	change it
kal-p-uš	meat-cutter	kal-p-uw-	cut meat for jerky
nuh-č-iš	seller (employee)	nuh-č-	sell it for s.o. else
nuh-ʒ'-uš	one who sells everything	nuh-ʒ'-uw-	sell it all
ʒeʔ-b-iš	visitor	ʒeʔ-b-iy-	visit s.o. or s.t.
wip-l-oš	roller	wip-l-ow-	roll it over

3.2.2 Patientive Nouns. Nouns denoting the patient of a transitive verb are formed by deriving an intransitive stem with // -Vn-// and suffixing // -e:l//. This highly productive process can be used to

derive patientive nouns from virtually any transitive root or stem. If the derivation is based on a CV(:)C root, the vowel of the //-Vn-// suffix is automatically deleted, and if the root has a long vowel, that vowel is shortened. Some examples follow.

### 3.2.2.1 Examples.

#### Roots

bin-n-e:l	gift, thing given	bi:n-aʔ-	give it, deliver it
bel-n-e:l	belief	bel-aʔ-	believe it
hik'-n-e:l	s.t. inhaled (e.g. a gnat)	hik'-aʔ-	sniff it, inhale it through the nose
hol-n-e:l	cadaver	hol-iy-	bury it, inter it
huʔ'-n-e:l	s.t. sucked (e.g. candy)	huʔ'-uw-	suck it
kon-n-e:l	s.t. asked or requested	kon-oy-	ask it, question about it
koʔ-n-e:l	domestic animals	ko:ʔ-oy-	care for it, keep it
k'ap-n-e:l	food	k'ap-u-	eat it
loʔ-n-e:l	s.t. perforated	loʔ-ow-	pierce or perforate it
map-n-e:l	s.t. enclosed (e.g. chickens in a coop)	map-uy-	close it
puh-n-e:l	person baptized	puh-ay-	baptise s.o.
teʔ-n-e:l	food eaten with a tortilla	teʔ-ey-	sop it up

#### Stems

ʔahat-n-an-e:l	song	ʔahat-n-aʔ-	sing it
ʔan-θ-an-e:l	child carried	ʔan-θ-aʔ-	carry it somewhere
hak-p-an-e:l	s.t. detached by accident	hak-p-aʔ-	detach it accidentally

hiθ-k'-on-e:l	aborted fetus	hiθ-k'-ow-	abort it
hep-l-on-e:l	s.t. sliced or cut in pieces	hep-l-ow-	cut or break it apart
?ih-k-an-e:l	things felled	?ih-k-a?-	drop it, fell it
puk-ϕ-in-e:l	s.t. sprinkled (e.g. DDT)	puk-ϕ-iy-	sprinkle it with s.t. dry
wip-l-on-e:l	s.t. rolled	wip-l-ow-	roll it over

3.2.3 Abstractive Patientive Nouns. A moderately productive process derives nouns which designate a generalized or abstract result of the action of a verb. They are formed by suffixing *//bi-//* plus the generic *//la:b//* to a transitive verb root. For example, from *kwath-a?* 'hit it', we can derive *?an kwath-bi-la:b* 'a clearing away of undergrowth, especially with a machete'. I have not explored this derivation in any detail, and most examples are from Larsen's (1955) dictionary. The entire list follows; note that in the one case where the vowel of the root is long, the vowel of the transitive thematic suffix is inserted between the root and *//bi-//*. I have no explanation for the inserted /u/ in *tak-u-bi-la:b*.

#### 3.2.3.1 Examples.

?a:t-a-bi-la:b	prize	?a:t-a?-	gain it, win it
baϕ'-bi-la:b	s.t. received	baϕ'-uw-	receive it
kwath-bi-la:b	clearing	kwath-a?-	hit it
kwe?-bi-la:b	thing stolen	kwe:?-ey-	steal it, rob s.o.
k'ib-bi-la:b	loss	k'ib-a?-	lose it
mat-bi-la:b	loan	mat-iy-	lend it
miϕ'-bi-la:b	large tear	miϕ'-a?-	tear it

tak-u-bi-la:b	s.t. chosen or selected	tak-uy-	chose it, select it
t'ah-bi-la:b	work, deed	t'ah-aʔ-	do it, make it
θuč-bi-la:b	writing, document	θuč-aʔ-	write it, draw it
ɕ'ayʔ-bi-la:b*	purchase	ɕ'aʔ-iy-	buy it
ʔul-bi-la:b	saying, proverb	ʔul-uw-	say it

\*The metathesis process here is regular and is described in Section 4.3, Chapter 3.

3.2.4 Nouns Derived with // -wa:l //. A minor and only semi-productive process derives patientive nouns from transitive verbs by suffixing // -wa:l // to the verb root or stem. Sometimes a vowel is inserted before // -wa:l //. Most, but not all, of the verb roots and stems have thematic suffix // -Vw- //. The perdurative clitic // -e // may be added in some cases to indicate a person whose occupation consists in performing the action of the verb under another's direction. For example, from the verb ʔabat-n-aʔ- 'send it', one can derive ʔabat-n-om 'someone who sends it, the person in charge'; ʔabat-n-an-e:l 'someone or something sent (e.g. a message)'; and ʔabat-wa:l-e 'messenger, apostle'. All remaining examples are given below.

#### 3.2.4.1 Examples.

ʔa:t-o-wa:l	salary	ʔa:t-aʔ-	gain it, win it
bel-o-wa:l	s.t. cared for	bel-et-n-aʔ-	care for it
čuč-wa:l	nipple	čuč-uw-	suck it
ʔeht-o-wa:l	power	ʔeht-ow-	be able to

ʔešl-o-wa:l	acquaintance	ʔešl-ow-	be acquainted with s.o.
hol-wa:l	place where things are thrown down	hol-ow-	fell it, cast it down
k'ap-wa:l	nourishment	k'ap-u-	eat it
k'at'-wa:l	s.t. gnawed, e.g. a dog's bone	k'at'-uw-	bite it, gnaw it
nuh-wa:l	sale	nuh-uw-	sell it
ɕuʔ-wa:l	s.t. looked for, expected	ɕuʔ-u-	see it
ɕ'ayʔ-wa:l*	purchase	ɕ'aʔ-iy-	buy it
ʔa:h-wa:l-e	hunter	ʔa:h ʔinik	hunter
ʔanθ-a-wa:l-e	carrier	ʔanθ-aʔ-	carry it somewhere
bel-wa:l-e	caretaker	bel-et-n-aʔ-	care for it
k'amb-i-wa:l-e	deceived person	k'amb-iy-	deceive s.o.

\*The metathesis process here is regular and is described in Section 4.3, Chapter 3.

3.2.5 Nouns Derived with // -eʔ //. A very productive process derives nouns from transitive verb roots by suffixing // -eʔ // to the root. The derived noun refers to a piece of something resulting from the action of the verb. A boy-eʔ, from boy-ow- 'bundle it, roll it up', is a roll or bundle of something, such as firewood or fodder. A hep-eʔ, from hep-aʔ- 'split it, cut it in pieces', is a slice (as of watermelon) or a split-off piece (as of kindling wood). A map-eʔ, from map-uy- 'close it', is a closed-off piece of something, like the hollow piece of bamboo between the nodes. Obviously, the semantics of the suffix limit its applicability, and it cannot be suffixed to some



verb roots. ʔay-aʔ- means to wait for someone or something; one cannot plausibly refer to a piece of waiting, and \*ʔay-eʔ is not possible. Nor can \*nuh-eʔ 'a piece of selling, a sale' be derived from nuh-uw- 'sell it'. One can, however, refer to a puff of smoke' hu:n ʔi k'up-eʔ ʔi paw, from k'up-uw- 'disperse it'.

The //eʔ// suffix, though obviously sharing some 'patientive' connotation with the //e:l// suffix described in Section 3.2.2 above, is more limited in distribution and more specific in meaning. Nouns derived with //eʔ// can be used only as count nouns; nouns derived with //e:l// can be either mass or count nouns. Compare kem-n-e:l 'something dulled or blunted' with kem-eʔ 'a piece of the machete blade that isn't sharp' (from kem-aʔ- 'blunt a cutting edge'); or ǰ'at'-n-e:l 'something stuck' with hu:n ʔi ǰ'at'-eʔ ʔi lukuk 'a patch of stuck-on mud' (from ǰ'at'-aʔ- 'stick it'); or hug'-n-e:l 'something sucked' with hug'-eʔ 'a sucking bite, such as a mosquito gives' (from hug'-uw- 'suck it'). A few more examples of the //eʔ// derivation follow.

### 3.2.5.1 Examples.

<u>baθ-eʔ</u>	a hanging bunch of s.t.	<u>baθ-aʔ-</u>	hang it, dangle it
<u>čik-eʔ</u>	a little burned spot	<u>čik-aʔ-</u>	burn it
<u>kaǰ-eʔ</u>	a slice	<u>kaǰ-iy-</u>	slice it, cut it in strips
<u>mul-eʔ</u>	a ball of s.t., such as dough or clay	<u>mul-uw-</u>	form it into a ball
<u>t'uk-eʔ</u>	a drop of liquid	<u>tuk'-uw-</u>	drip it, pour it
<u>yun-eʔ</u>	a coil of s.t.	<u>yun-iy-</u>	bend it, curve it

3.2.6 Nouns of Occupation. A productive process derives nouns from transitive verbs by first intransitivizing the verb with the // -V1-// antipassive morpheme and then adding an // -o:m-// nominal suffix and the perdurative clitic // -e// 'still, having the attribute of'. These nouns refer to persons whose occupation consists of performing the action of the verb. When these terms are used to modify another noun, the clitic // -e// is deleted and the vowel of the // -o:m// suffix is short. From the verb čuk-uy- 'sew it' the following are possible:

1. pe:l ?i ču:k-ul  
is of sew-NOM  
`She is a sewer.'
2. haha:ʔ k'wahat ?in čuk-uy-al ?an toltom  
she PROGR A3 sew-TS-INC the clothing  
`She is sewing clothing.'
3. haha:ʔ k'wahat ti-∅ čuk-ul-∅  
she PROGR SUBOR-B3 sew-AP-INC  
`She is sewing.'
4. pe:l ?i čuk-l-o:m-e  
is of sew-AP-NOM-PERDUR  
`She is a seamstress.'
5. pe:l ?i čuk-ul-om ?ušum  
is of sew-AP-NOM woman  
`She is a sewing woman.'

Note that in example 4, where the antipassive morpheme is followed by a long stressed vowel, the vowel of the // -V1-// morpheme is deleted.

This is a regular process. A few other examples of nouns of occupation follow.

### 3.2.6.1 Examples.

ʔa:t-l-o:m-e	s.o. who works all the time	ʔa:t-aʔ-	gain it
ʔa:t-l-om ʔinik	daily worker		
buk'-l-o:m-e	a distributor	buk'-uw-	distribute it
ʔeɣ-i-o:m-e	s.o. who sells firewood	ʔeɣ-ey-	gather firewood
ʔeɣ-el-om ʔinik	wood-selling man		
pak'-l-o:m-e	laundress	pak'-uw-	wash clothes

3.2.7 Resultative Nouns. A moderately productive process derives nouns from transitive roots and stems by suffixing // -V:m//. These nouns refer to the result of the action of the verb, to the location of the action of the verb or to a place altered by the action of the verb. The derived noun is often a possessed form which can be unpossessed by adding the generic // -la:b// suffix. Although this is a reasonably frequent derivation, it is not possible to predict which roots or stems may take the // -V:m// suffix. For root transitive verbs with thematic suffix // -Vy-// or // -Vw-// and for derived transitive stems, /V/ is the vowel of the thematic suffix. For root transitives with thematic suffix // -aʔ-//, /V/ is the vowel of the root if the root vowel is /a/ or /u/, and /o/ if the root vowel is /e/ or /i/. (There are no examples with root vowel /o/.) See Chapter 3, Section 4.4 for a discussion of root and thematic suffix vowel interaction. Some examples of the resultative derivation follow.

3.2.7.1 Examples.

čiš-i:m	cleared land	čiš-iy-	clear it
ʔet'-o:m	baldness	ʔet'-oy-	cut it with scissors
heθ-o:m	tortilla propped on side of comal	heθ-aʔ-	lean it, prop it against s.t.
hol-o:m	broken piece of pottery found while plowing	hol-ow-	cast it down, throw it out
ʔib-a:m	pit barbecue	ʔib-ay-	barbecue it
kʷaθ-a:m	area where trees and brush have been felled	kʷaθ-aʔ-	hit it
kʷaʃ-u:m	squash gruel	kʷaʃ-uw-	beat it, mix it
kʷiʃ-o:m	s.t. ground in a mortar, e.g. chile sauce	kʷiʃ-aʔ-	grind it in a mortar
lak'-u:m	scraped place	lak'-uw-	scrape it away
lan-i:m	puddle, backwater	lan-iy-	swirl it (water)
tuy-u:m	bird of bad omen (from its walk?)	tuy-aʔ-	tilt it, lean it to one side
θut'-u:m	cinch for saddle	θut'-uw-	squeeze or tighten it
ʔeʃl-o:m	acquaintance	ʔeʃl-ow-	be acquainted with

3.2.8 Nouns Derived with //-Vč-//. A minor process, which I did not explore in detail, derives nouns from transitive verb roots with //-Vč-//. The vowel is the vowel of the thematic suffix of the verb. A pul-ič is an arch that can be decorated with flowers, from pul-iy- 'bend or curve it'. In the list of examples below I include a few nouns derived with //-mač// or //-bač// because they seem to share the //-Vč// derivation. I have no explanation for the /m/ or /b/.

3.2.8.1 Examples.

k <sup>w</sup> aθ-ič	blink (n)	k <sup>w</sup> aθ-iy-	blink (v)
peh-ač	piece	peh-aʔ-	break it
pul-ič	arch	pul-iy-	bend or curve it
θap-ič	fish bait	θap-iy-	catch it with bait
haθ-m-ač	cutting	haθ-uw-	cut it on a slant
hilk'-o-m-ač	left overs	hilk'-on-	remain
muʔ-b-ač	crumb, chip, splinter	muʔ-uw-	break or cut into pieces
puč-m-ač	piece of s.t.	puč-iy-	pick it, break it off
wač-m-ač	wood shaving	wač-iy-	scrape it, plane it, shave it

3.2.9 Nouns Derived with // -V:l//. Some nouns can be derived from transitive roots and stems by suffixing // -V:l//. The vowel is not predictable, nor is it possible to predict which roots or stems may be so derived. There are a number of cases where a derivational suffix has the shape // -V:l//. // -V:l// is a moderately productive noun stem formative (Section 1.2.20 above); a few adjectives are unproductively derived with // -V:l// (Chapter 15, Section 1.2.16); and positional participles are derived from verb roots with a // -V:l// suffix (Chapter 5, Section 1.2.5.2). Information on this derivation is incomplete; all examples follow. Note that some nouns derived with // -V:l// are possessed forms (marked p.f. in the examples) which can be unpossessed by adding the // -la:b// suffix. The two cases where I have an example with the // -la:b// suffix are indicated.

3.2.9.1 Examples.

ʔak-i:l	carrying cloth for babies, p.f.	ʔak-iy-	deliver it
ʔaki:la:b	carrying cloth		
baθ-e:l	s.t. hanging	baθ-aʔ-	hang it, dangle it
bok'-o:l	small fat tortilla	bok'iy-	beat it, slap it noisily
ʔeš-o:l	power, force, p.f.	ʔeš-aʔ-	exert force, make an effort
hak-e:l	s.t. detached or separated	hak-aʔ-	detach it, separate it
pat'-a:l	s.t. metal	pat'-aʔ-	work it
tim-e:l	person who changes into tiger	tim-aʔ-	ridicule it, mock it, ape s.o.
t'iʔ-e:l	pile, heap	t'iʔ-aʔ-	pile one thing on top of another
t'i:ʔ-o:l	undergarments	t'i:ʔ-oy-	put on one garment over another
ǰab-a:l	earth, land	ǰab-ay-	soak it
ǰ'ok'-o:l	large wasp	ǰ'ok'-oy-	prick or puncture it
ʔayk-i:l	follower, p.f.	ʔayk-iy-	follow s.o.
ʔayk-i:la:b	follower		
halb-i:l	price, p.f.	halb-iy-	pay for it
holk'-o:l	s.t. used to empty water into	holk'-ow-	empty it
tamk-u:l	place where two things meet, p.f.	tamk-uy-	unite or join it
tomk-i:l	spouse, p.f.	tomk-iy-	marry s.o.

3.2.10 Nouns Derived with // -Vk' //. There are a number of nouns derived from transitive roots with // -Vk' // which share the meaning of something that closes, halts, wedges or blocks. Additionally they

share the fact that they may be the bases for derived verbs (see Chapter 7, Section 1.5). For example, from to:n-iy- 'circle it', we can derive ton-ik' 'retaining wall', and ton-k'-iy- 'construct a retaining wall'. /V/ of the //-Vk'// suffix can be /i/, /o/ or /u/, and is usually, but not always, the vowel of the thematic suffix of the transitive verb. Table 36 presents the entire list of examples; in some cases the root verb or derived verb is inferred. The seven nouns listed in Section 1.2.1.1 above may possibly belong with the others in Table 36. However, they differ in meaning and there are no obvious verb roots from which they can be derived. I therefore assume a homophonous noun stem formative //-Vk'//.

### 3.2.10.1 Examples.

huč-uk'	hiccough	huč-uy-	blow on it, blow it away
lan-ik'	wave	lan-iy-	swirl (water)
pah-ik'	wedge	pah-iy	file it, grind it
pel-ok'	crossbar	pel-aʔ-	stretch it out horizontally
šol-ok'	mucous	šol-iy	drivel it, slobber it

3.3 Nouns Derived from Intransitive Verbs. Middle voice, intransitive and //-Vn-// intransitive roots can be bases for nominal derivation. Since their patterns of derivation differ, they will be considered separately. However, it should be noted that if these roots are transitivized with one of the derivational morphemes, they form their nominals like any other transitive stems: k'ak'-e- 'get hot', k'ak'-θ-aʔ- 'heat it', k'ak'-θ-om 'heater'. A number of additional examples are given in Section 3.2.1.1 above.

3.3.1 Nouns Derived from Middle Voice Verbs. Nouns which express the idea of the person or thing which experiences or performs the action of the verb and nouns which express an abstract quality of the verb can be derived from middle voice verbs.

3.3.1.1 Subject Nouns. Nouns indicating the person or thing which undergoes or performs the action of the verb are derived from middle voice verbs by adding // -om // to the incomplete inflection of the verb. Many nouns so formed can be considered patientive, in that they denote the entity which undergoes or experiences the action of the verb: ǰem-e- 'die', ?an ǰem-e:l-om 'a dead person'. Others are more neutral and refer to the person or thing which performs the action of the verb: ?ul-e- 'arrive', ?ul-e:l-om 'one who arrives'. If the vowel of the incomplete inflection is not already long, it is lengthened in the nominal derivation. However, when the term is used as a modifier the vowel is short: ?an ǰem-el-om kořol 'a dead rooster'. Note that when they are used as modifiers, but not when they stand alone, the surface forms of these denominal adjectives and the nouns of occupation described in 3.2.3 are identical: CVC-Vl-om.

3.3.1.1.1 Examples.

<u>?aǰ'-e:l-om</u>	s.o. or s.t. wet	<u>?aǰ'-e-</u>	get wet
<u>hik'-e:l-om</u>	fearful one	<u>hik'-e-</u>	be afraid
<u>kʷaǰ'-i:l-om</u>	one who lies down, goes to bed	<u>kʷaǰ'-i-</u>	lie down, go to bed
<u>k'ak'-e:l-om</u>	s.o. who has a fever	<u>k'ak'-e-</u>	get hot
<u>k'ib-e:l-om</u>	s.o. who is lost	<u>k'ib-e-</u>	get lost



t'aʔ-i:l-om	s.o. or s.t. burned	t'aʔ-i-	burn
weh-e:l-om	s.t. ripe	weh-e-	ripen, mature

### 3.3.1.2 Abstractive Nouns Derived from Middle Voice Verbs.

Abstractive nouns are productively derived from middle voice verbs by adding the suffix *//-e:nib//*. I suspect that this is a compound suffix *//-e:n-//* + *//-ib//*, or *//-e:-//* + *//-nib//*, since *//-Vn-//* insertion and vowel lengthening are common to many other derivations, but I do not have enough information to justify either breakdown. Unfortunately all my examples are derived from middle voice verbs with thematic suffix *//-e-//*, so that it is not even clear whether the /e/ of *//-e:nib//* is a lengthened thematic suffix vowel or a separate derivational morpheme. Some examples follow; see Table 41. Note that two of the roots, *//hik'-//* and *//k'ak'-//*, are also bases for the nominal derivation described in 3.3.1.1 above.

#### 3.3.1.2.1 Examples.

čik-e:nib	thirst	čik-e-	be thirsty
čuθ-e:nib	dawn (n)	čuθ-e-	dawn (v)
hik'-e:nib	fear	hik'-e-	be afraid
keš-e:nib	amplitude	keš-e-	become wide
k'ak'-e:nib	heat, fever	k'ak'-e-	get hot
tuh-e:nib	commencement	tuh-e-	begin
žek-e:nib	tiredness	žek-e-	get tired
way-e:nib	drought	way-e-	dry, dry up

3.3.2 Nouns Derived from Root Intransitive Verbs. The corpus of root intransitive verbs is small and I have only a few examples of nouns

derived from them. In all cases the noun has a *//-Vl//* suffix which is identical to the *//-Vl-//* intransitive verbal thematic suffix. Unfortunately, I have no examples of nouns formed on intransitive verbs whose thematic suffix is *//-Vm-//*. In one case the vowel of the root is lengthened. The distinction between a noun and the incomplete inflection of a verb is made syntactically, as in the sentences below. The entire list of examples follows.

### 3.3.2.1 Examples.

bel-al	walker	bel-al-	walk, move along
kow-al	swimmer	kow-al-	swim
koy-ol	seated person, s.o. resting	koy-ol-	rest, sit
pe:h-el	fighter	peh-el-	wrangle, fight
yaʔ-ul	sick person	yaʔ-ul-	get sick, become ill

6. k'aç-uç:1    ʔan lukuk k'al ʔan bel-al  
 stirred.up-REP the dirt by the travellers

'The dirt (is) very stirred up by the travellers.'

7. ʔeç'ey tam ʔin bel-al-∅    tehe:ʔ ti Tamhahnek leh mičal  
 always when Bl walk-TS-INC here to Tanjasnec very damp.heat

ʔu ʔaç'-a(ʔ)-al  
 Al feel-TS-INC

'Whenever I walk from here to Tanjasnec I feel the heat a lot.'

3.3.3 Nouns Derived from *//-Vn-//* Intransitive Verbs. In the discussion of the *//-Vn-//* intransitive verbal derivation (Chapter 5, Section 1.2.4), it was noted that a small number of verbs appear to exist only in this form; that is, they have no transitive verb

counterpart. A check of the list of these verbs in Table 12 for any related nominals, revealed a few examples, most of them derived with // -V1//. The entire list follows.

### 3.3.3.1 Examples.

ʔah ʔinik	hunter	ʔa:h-an-	hunt
ʔe:y-al	official	ʔe:y-an-	be engaged in, employed
t'uʔ-ul	flesh, body	t'uʔ-un-	get fat
θah-al	cry, shout	θah-an-	bark
wa:č-al	weak, limp thing	wa:č-an-	get out of plumb, lean over
ya:t-al	debility	yat-in-	become debilitated

3.4 Nouns Derived from Transitive and Intransitive Verbs. Sections 3.2 and 3.3 above considered respectively nouns derived only from transitive and only from intransitive roots and stems. In this section derivations that can occur with more than one class of verb will be discussed.

3.4.1 Instrumental/Locative Nouns. The suffix // -Vb// very productively derives instrumental/locative nouns from transitive verb roots and stems and from middle voice roots. For transitive roots and stems /V/ is the vowel of the thematic suffix; examples based on middle voice roots are too few to permit any statement about the vowel. (Verbs derived from these instrumental nouns were discussed in Chapter 7, Section 1.3.) Below I give the six examples of derivations from middle voice roots and a sample of derivations from transitive roots; note that almost any transitive root may undergo this

derivation. The absence of any examples based on root intransitives may be an accident of sampling, since I did not specifically question for them. In Section 3.4.3 below I discuss the derivation of abstractive instrumental and locative nouns.

#### 3.4.1.1 Examples.

Instrumental/locative		Middle voice root	
hi:k'-ib	fear	hik'-e-	be afraid
koč-ob	fat part	koč-e-	become fat
k'aθ-ab	rise, crest	k'aθ-i-	rise, go up
leh-ab	measure	leh-e-	fit into, go onto, have room for
paʔ-ab	ladder	paʔ-i-	descend
θet-eb	wing	θet-e-	rest or flutter behind
		Transitive root or stem	
ʔal-ib	water witching stick	ʔal-iy-	look for it
ʔay-ab	place where one waits	ʔay-aʔ-	wait for s.o.
boθ-ob	corn sheller	boθ-oy-	abrade it, scrape it
hol-ob	trash can	hol-ow-	cast it down
huč-ub	bellows	huč-uy-	blow on it
hunk-ub	last bit needed to equalize s.t.	hunk-uw-	equalize it
kalθ-ab	extractor	kalθ-aʔ-	get it out, take it out
lak-ab	skirt	lak-ay-	waggle one's rear
θep-eb	wing	θep-ey-	flutter it
šal-ub	mixer, tiller	šal-uw-	mix it, turn it over

3.4.2 Abstractive Nouns Derived with // -tal//. The // -tal// suffix is one of the most productive in Huastec. It derives a possessed abstract noun from root and derived nouns and adjectives, and from verb roots and inflected forms of verbs. All nouns formed with this suffix have Class 2 type possession; that is, they can be unpossessed only by adding the generic // -la:b// suffix, with the two /l/'s undergoing geminate reduction to make // -tala:b//. (The absolutive // -lek// suffix is not used; see Chapter 9, Sections 3.1 and 3.2 for a fuller discussion of the generic and absolutive suffixes.) Because the vowel of // -la:b// is long, it receives primary stress. Secondary stress in any word derived with // -tala:b// is on the syllable that was stressed before suffixation. In the examples below ` indicates secondary stress.

tonk-iy-	`marry s.o.'	nak-e-	`become longer'
tonk-in-	`get married'	nak-e-l	`becomes longer'
?u tónkin-tal	`my marriage'	?in nákel-tal	`its length'
tónkin-talá:b	`marriage'	nákel-talá:b	`length'

For the present we will be concerned with the // -tal// suffix only as it derives abstractive nouns from verb roots and inflected forms of verbs. Abstractive nouns derived from noun roots and stems and from adjectives will be discussed in Chapter 9, Sections 1.2 and 1.3.2.

// -tal// may attach directly to transitive, middle voice and intransitive roots; to the incomplete inflection of middle voice and root intransitive verbs; and to the complete inflection of // -Vn-//

intransitives and of transitive roots and stems intransitivized with // -Vn-//. (Recall that transitive roots and stems also have to be intransitivized with // -Vn-// before the patientive // -e:l// suffix was added.) It may also be suffixed to participles derived from both transitive and middle voice verbs.

### 3.4.2.1 Examples.

#### 1. Verb Roots.

čik-tala:b	burning	čik-aʔ-	burn it
hap-tala:b	opening	hap-iy-	open it
tuh-tala:b	beginning	tuh-uw-	begin it
kal-tala:b	departure, way out	kal-e-	go out, leave
ʔul-tala:b	arrival	ʔul-e-	arrive, come
koy-tala:b	seat, resting place	koy-ol-	rest, sit

8. ʔin hap-tal ʔan θa:m  
A3 open-ABSTR the nose

‘Nostril.’

9. ʔan t´eleʔ-čik ʔeʔ´ey ʔin ʔay-č-in-č-al ʔin  
the child-PL always A6 await-BEN-EP-BEN-INC A3

ʔul-tal ʔin ʔa:č  
arrive-ABSTR A6 grandmother

‘The children always await their grandmother’s arrival.’

#### 2. Inflected Verbs.

##### Middle Voice

puw-el-tala:b	size	puw-e-	grow
t´aʔ-i:l-tala:b	burning	t´aʔ-i-	burn

ʒak-u:l-tala:b	anger	ʒak-u-	become angry
ʔuk'-el-tala:b	deluge, flood	ʔuk'-e-	rain heavily

**Root Intransitive**

ʔač-im-tala:b	bath	ʔač-im-	bathe
kow-al-tala:b	swimming pool	kow-al-	swim

**Transitive**

puh-an-tala:b	baptism	puh-ay-	baptise s.o.
ʔaht-in-tala:b	song	ʔaht-iy-	sing it
hiθk'-on-tala:b	abortion	hiθk'-ow-	abort it
holb-in-tala:b	condemnation	holb-iy-	condemn s.o.

**//-Vn-// Intransitive**

ʔahk'-in-tala:b	suppuration	ʔahk'-in-	suppurate
teʔ-en-tala:b	laughter	teʔ-en-	smile
t'eʔp-in-tala:b	sadness	t'eʔp-in-	become sad, grieve

10. haha:ʔ ʔin lehb-ay-a:mal ʔin puw-e-l-tal ʔin ʒaba:l-il  
 he A3 measure-TS-PER A3 grow-TS-INC-ABSTR A3 land-POSS

`He has measured the extent of his property.'

11. pe:l hu:n ʔi ʔač-im-∅-tal-(l)a:b  
 is one of bathe-TS-INC-ABSTR-GEN

`It is a bath.'

12. k'wahat ʔin ʔaht-iy-al ʔin ʔi:t ʔaht-in-tal  
 AUX A3 sing-TS-INC A3 new sing-VN-ABSTR

`He is singing his new song.'

13. Ø ʔul-iǰ ʔan t'eʔp-in-tal-(l)a:b t-u ʔiči:č  
 B3 come-COM a grieve-VN-ABSTR-GEN in-Al heart  
 ǰem-(e)ǰ-iǰ ʔu haʔu:b  
 died-COM-EMPH Al friend

'A sadness came into my heart; my friend died'.

### 3. Participles.

bol-iθ-tala:b	straightness	bol-iθ	set upright, straightened
heθk-aθ-tala:b	seat back	heθ-k-aθ	leaned against
tamk-uθ-tala:b	reunion	tam-k-uθ	united
weh-nek-tala:b	ripeness	weh-nek	ripened

14. ʔu koytal yab ʔin kʷaʔal ʔin heθ-k-aθ-tal  
 Al seat not A3 have A3 lean-DM-PPL-ABSTR

'My chair doesn't have a back.'

3.4.3 Pejorative Nouns Derived with //maʔ//. A moderately productive process derives pejorative nouns from verb roots and stems and from derived nouns and adjectives with the suffix //maʔ//. The resulting noun describes a person (or animal) who possesses to an excessive or undesirable degree the quality denoted by the root or stem. //maʔ// is often combined with verb reduplication for an even greater augmentative effect. Some examples follow.

#### 3.4.3.1 Examples.

##### Verb roots

hik'-e-	be frightened	hik'-maʔ	scaredy cat
šaʔ-aʔ-	vomit it	šaʔ-maʔ	one who vomits a lot
teʔ-en-	laugh	teʔ-maʔ	giggler



ʔuk'-in-	cry	ʔuk'-maʔ	crybaby
way-al-	sleep	way-maʔ	sleepyhead

**Reduplicated roots**

bel-e-	walk, stroll	belel-maʔ	wanderer
met'-aʔ-	look at it	met'at'-maʔ	ogler
ʔuɕ'-aʔ-	drink it	ʔuɕ'uɕ'-maʔ	drunkard

**Reduplicated stems**

balk'-iy-	put it into s.t.	balk'ik'-maʔ	meddler
pakɕ'-uw-	spend it all	pakɕ'uɕ'-maʔ	spendthrift

**Derived nouns**

k'aθ-i-	rise, go up		
k'aθ-a:t	elevated one	k'aθa:t-maʔ	arrogant one
k'wiy-aʔ-	scold s.o.		
k'wiy-aš	scolder	k'wiy-aš-maʔ	nagger
tawn-aʔ-	speak to s.o.		
tawn-om	speaker	tawnon-maʔ	blabber

Referring to a neighbor who was always out visiting and never at home to do her work, my assistant remarked:

15. leh bel-el-maʔ      niši mi:m-la:b  
 very walk-REDUP-PEJOR that mother-POL

'She's a very restless wanderer, that lady.'

3.4.4 Locative Nouns Derived with // -nib//. A minor derivation suffixes // -nib// to a few transitive and middle voice verb roots to form nouns describing the location where the action of the verb takes place. All examples follow.

3.4.4.1 Examples.

kal-e-	go out, leave	kal-nib	exit, way out
k <sup>w</sup> ah-i-	inhabit, be in a place	k <sup>w</sup> ah-nib	seat, bottom of s.t.
ʔoʔ-e-	enter	ʔoʔ-nib	entrance, gate
paʔ-i-	descend, come down	paʔ-nib	declivity
put-uw-	complete it	put-nib	summit
ʒuʔ-u-	see it	ʒuʔ-nib	panorama
wat'-aʔ-	pass it	wat'-nib	pass, bridge
wat'-e-	pass, come to pass		

When we were discussing the meaning of putnib my assistant pointed to the path up the hill behind the house and said:

16. tam ka-∅ ʔul-iʔ ti put-nib ta:ʔ  
 when SUBJ-B3 arrive-COM at complete.it-LOC there
- ∅ ʔ'ib-k'-an-∅ ʔa ka:ndido  
 B3 disappear-DM-VN-COM the Cándido

'When he reached the summit, Cándido disappeared.'

3.4.5 Geographic Nouns Derived with // -čal //. Another minor derivation suffixes // -čal // to two transitive verb roots, to a noun, and to one unknown root to form nouns describing geographical features. All examples follow.

3.4.5.1 Examples.

bol-iy-	set it upright	bol-čal	small hill
haʔ	water	haʔ-čal	foot of a slope (where creeks form)
ʔ ho:ʔ	armspan	ho:ʔ-čal	narrow, steep-sided
ʔ ho:l	hole		valley; canyon
pak'-aʔ-	flatten it	pak'-čal	plain

## CHAPTER 9

NOUN MORPHOLOGY II: OTHER DERIVATIONS, BORROWED WORDS,  
 NOUN SUFFIXES AND NOUN COMPOUNDS

1.0 Nouns Derived from Numbers, Other Nouns and Adjectives. The previous sections were concerned with the multiple ways that nouns can be derived from verbs. This chapter is concerned with derivations from other parts of speech.

1.1 Nouns Derived from Numbers. Number words will be discussed at length in Chapter 13. Here we need note only that when ordinal numbers are possessed, they function as nouns. In addition, the number 'one' when possessed has the meaning 'companion'. In the first sentence below // -č̣i:l// is the ordinal suffix, and mi:m-la:b, 'Mother-polite', is the respectful term for any grown woman.

1.1.1 Examples.

1. ?in ?ok'-oš mi:m-la:b ?in ɣab-č̣i:l ?in ?oš-č̣i:l  
 A3 head-NOM mother-POL A3 two-ORD A3 three-ORD

'His first wife, his second, his third.'

2. yab ?u ɣo?o:b maš ka-∅ ?ul-iɣ ?u hun-i:l  
 not Al know.INVAR if SUBJ-B3 arrive-COM Al one-POSS

'I don't know if my companion is going to arrive.'

1.2 Nouns Derived from Other Nouns. Abstractive nouns may be derived from noun roots and stems and from deverbative nouns.

1.2.1 Derivation from Noun Roots and Stems. A possessed abstractive noun may be formed by suffixing // -tal// to almost any noun root or stem whose meaning permits abstraction. The resulting possessed noun may be unpossessed by adding the generic // -la(:)b// suffix, with the two /l/'s undergoing geminate reduction to make // -tala:b//. (See Chapter 8, Section 3.4.2 for a discussion of abstractive nouns derived from verb roots and stems with // -tal//.)

1.2.1.1 Examples.

t'eleʔ `infant, young child`

ʔu t'eleʔtal `my infancy`

t'eleʔtala:b `infancy`

ʔuškweʔ `old woman`

ʔu ʔuškweʔtal `my old age (woman speaking)`

ʔuškweʔtala:b `old age (of women)`

ʔan walab `the sin`

ʔu wala:b `my sin`

ʔu wala:btal `my sinfulness`

walabtala:b `sinfulness`

te:nek `Huastec`

ʔan te:nektala:b `the Huasteca`

la:b `mestizo`

ka:w `word`

la:bka:w `mestizo talk`

la:bka:wtala:b `Spanish language`

3. ?in lem-tal            ?u k'ubak  
A3 butterfly-ABSTR Al hand

'My hand's butterfly = the palm of my hand.'

4. t(i)-u kWito:l-tal ?u ?eht-ow-a:mal ti te:nek  
from-Al boy-ABSTR Al be.able-TS-PER at Huastec

'From my boyhood I have been able to speak Huastec.'

1.2.2 Abstract Nouns Derived from Deverbative Nouns. In Section 3.2.1, Chapter 8, I discussed the formation of three kinds of agentive nominals: with // -Vm//, // -Vš// and // -Vl//. An abstract noun may be formed from each of these; in many cases two or even three agentive nouns derived from the same verb root may be abstractivized, with consistent differences in meaning. Nouns derived with // -Vš-tal// are instruments, nouns derived with // -Vm-tal// are locatives, and the few nouns derived with // -Vl-tal// have a more generalized meaning. Section 3.4.1 of Chapter 8 covered instrumental/locative nouns derived with // -Vb//. The difference between these nouns and those derived with // -Vš-tal// seems to be one of generality: a kwaθ-ab (from kwaθ-a? 'hit it') is a drumstick; a kwaθ-aš-tala:b is anything used for hitting—a stick, a hammer, or a blow with the hand. And while relatively few nouns derived with // -Vb// have locative meaning, // -Vm-tal// is specifically locative. The extensive list of examples below, a small fraction of the total corpus, should help clarify these derivations. In the lists I cite the unpossessed // -tala:b// form, but it is to be understood that the possessed form is always possible.

Note that there are no examples of abstractive nouns derived from patientive nouns. This may be an accident of sampling because I did

not specifically question for them. I do have one example of an abstractive from a noun derived with // -wa:l//: ʔešlowa:l-tala:b 'acquaintanceship', from ʔeš-l-o-wa:l 'acquaintance'.

Larsen (1955:62) has an example of an abstractive noun derived from a pejorative noun (see Chapter 8, Section 3.4.5). Tak-ok-maʔ 'one who touches a lot' is derived with reduplication and the pejorative suffix // -maʔ// from tak-aʔ- 'touch it'. Larsen gives k'al ʔin takokmaʔtal... 'with his mania for touching everything...'

#### 1.2.2.1 Examples.

čik-om-tala:b	place where s.t. is burned (e.g. a lime kiln)	čik-aʔ-	burn it
hol-im-tala:b	sepulchre	hol-iy-	bury s.o.
luh-um-tala:b	confessional	luh-uw-	confess it
pak'-um-tala:b	laundry	pak'-uw-	wash it
ʔači:θ-om-tala:b	place where one bathes s.o. else	ʔači:θ-aʔ-	bathe s.o. or s.t.
hik'eθ-om-tala:b	a scary place	hik'e-θ-aʔ-	frighten s.o.
ʔihk-om-tala:b	area cleared for planting	ʔih-k-aʔ-	drop it, fell it
kwaɕb-om-tala:b	place where s.o. is put to bed (e.g. a cradle)	kwaɕ-b-aʔ-	put s.o. to bed
ʔaɕ'-aš-tala:b	s.t. used to feel, hear or see (e.g. thermometer, a microscope or hand taking pulse)	ʔaɕ'-aʔ-	sense it, hear it, taste it

čik-aš-tala:b	s.t. to burn with (e.g. a branding iron)	čik-aʔ-	burn it
k'oh-oš-tala:b	s.t. used to harvest	k'oh-ow-	harvest it
pak'-uš-tala:b	washing machine (c.f. pak'-ub soap)	pak'-uw-	wash it
wip-iš-tala:b	whip	wip-iy-	whip s.o. or s.t.
ʔayč-iš-tala:b	hope	ʔay-č-	wait for s.o.
hiθk'-oš-tala:b	medicine used to cause an abortion	hiθ-k'-ow-	abort it
kʷahb-aš-tala:b	pledge, offering	kʷah-b-aʔ-	place it, situate it
kalθ-aš-tala:b	extractor	kal-θ-aʔ-	draw it out
kan-il-tala:b	invitation	kan-iy-	invite s.o.
ʒah-al-tala:b	excavation	ʒah-aʔ-	dig it

Compare the following derivations from the root intransitive verb ʔač-im- 'bathe', the first based on the incompletive intransitive, and the second on a nominalized causative stem.

5. pe:l ʔin ʔač-im-∅-tal ʔan ʔolom  
is A6 bathe-TS-INC-ABSTR the pig

'It is the pigs' water hole (i.e. where they wallow).'

6. pe:l ʔin ʔač-i:-θ-om-tal ʔan ʔolom  
is A6 bathe-EP-CAUS-NOM-ABSTR the pigs

'It is the pigs' bathing place (i.e. a place where s.o. bathes them).'

7. ∅ ʔešom leh ya:n ʔi ʔinik k'al ʔan ʔalte? šowe:ʔ  
B6 continued.INVAR very many of men with the woods now

pe:l ʔi ʔih-k-om-tal-(1)a:b pu:lik  
is of fall-DM-NOM-ABSTR-GEN large

'A lot of men went on with it in the woods; now there is a large cleared area.'

8. ?in luh-um-tal            ?an pa:le  
A3 confess-NOM-ABSTR the priest

'The priest's confessional.'

9. ?an ?e:m ?in kwa?al ?i ?ay-č-iš-tal-(1)a:b    k'al ?an ?a:b  
the corn A3 has    of wait-BEN-NOM-ABSTR-GEN with the rain

θa:lām-e  
tender-PERDUR

'The corn has hope of rain; it is still tender.'

10. hu:n ?i ?el-aš-tal-(1)a:b    k'al ?i labaš  
one of meet-NOM-ABSTR-GEN with of spook

'An encounter with a spook.'

11. ?an kube:ta pe:l ?i kal-θ-aš-tal-(1)a:b        k'al ?i ha?  
a bucket is of go.out-CAUS-NOM-ABSTR-GEN with of water

'A bucket is for drawing water.'

1.3 Nouns Derived from Adjectives. The formation of adjectival stems will be discussed in Chapter 15. Regardless of how these stems are themselves derived, most of them can serve as bases for the subsequent derivation of nouns. Nouns are derived from adjectives in two ways: by lengthening the final vowel of the adjective stem or by suffixing the abstractive // -tal//.

1.3.1 Derivation with Vowel Length. In a sample of nearly 100 adjectives of the shape CVCVC (N = 86), CVCCVC (N = 7), CVCCV (N = 1) or CVCV (N = 3), it was possible in about 85 percent of the cases to



derive a noun by lengthening the final vowel of the stem. The derived noun, when possessed, refers to an occasional, temporary, or non-intrinsic abstract quality of the adjective (?in hili:y `its sourness'), and when unpossessed to something having that quality (?an hili:y `the sour thing'). Since the derived noun does not change form, possession is marked only by the ergative clitic pronouns and nonpossession by the noun specifier ?an `a, the'. Adjectives of the shape CV(:)C or CVCV:C do not undergo derivation by vowel length. However, possessed nouns can be formed from some CVCV:C adjectives with the ergative clitic pronouns, and nonpossession with ?an. In the examples below I cite only the possessed form, for reasons of space, and because derivation of the unpossessed form is entirely regular.

#### 1.3.1.1 Examples.

?aθik	rapid, swift	?in ?aθi:k	its swiftness
k'ihāš	clear	?in k'ihā:š	its clarity
manaθ	abrasive	?in mana:θ	its abrasiveness
paluw	bland, soft	?in palu:w	its blandness
šuyat	diminished	?in šuya:t	its narrowness
øoyo?	frail, skinny	?in øoyo:?	its frailness
ø'ikiy	itchy	?in ø'iki:y	its itchiness
?alwa?	good	?in ?alwa:?	its goodness
tehtey	green, crude	?in tehtey:	its greenness, its crudity
θok'ne	hoarse	?in θok'ne:	its hoarseness
mak'i	brilliant	?in mak'i:	its brilliance
tiθe	shameful	?in tiθe:	its shamefulness

kiθa:b	ugly, bad	ʔin kiθa:b	its ugliness
ʔipi:l	little	ʔin ʔipi:l	its littleness

1.3.2 Derivation with // -tal//. A possessed abstractive noun can be derived from virtually any adjective, regardless of its shape, by suffixing // -tal//. Nouns derived with // -tal// refer to a permanent or intrinsic quality of the adjective. Compare ʔin hili:y 'its sourness' (as of lemonade without enough sugar) and ʔin hili:ytal 'its sourness' (as of a lemon). Possessed nouns derived with // -tal// may be unpossessed by adding the generic // -la(:)b// suffix: hiliytala:b 'sourness'.

Data are not complete, but suggest that when // -tal// is suffixed to those adjectives described above which can undergo derivation by vowel length, the final stem vowel is also lengthened before // -tal//. However, when the suffix is the compound // -tala:b//, the final vowel of the adjective stem is short. Those adjectives with a stem-final long vowel retain that vowel when // -tala:b// is suffixed. The small number of CV(:)C adjectives can also be nominalized with // -tal// + // -la(:)b// with no change in vowel length. It should be noted also that when // -tal// is added to a stem ending in /t/, geminate reduction is not obligatory, and does not occur in slow speech.

#### 1.3.2.1 Examples.

ʔehat	alive	ʔin ʔeha:ttal	its life, his soul
		ʔan ʔehattala:b	a life, a soul
ʔik'ow	light, airy	ʔin ʔik'owtal	its lightness (e.g. of a feather)
		ʔan ʔik'owtala:b	the quality of lightness

kašiy	foul smelling	?in kaši:ytal ?an kašiytala:b	its stinkiness s.t. stinky, a bad odor
manu?	yellow	?in manu:ʔtal ?an manuʔtala:b	its yellowness the yellowness
pu:lik	big	?in puli:ktal ?an puliktala:b	its bigness a large thing
yik <sup>w</sup> aš	obscure, dark	?in yik <sup>w</sup> a:štal ?in yik <sup>w</sup> aštala:b	its darkness (e.g. of a cave) the darkness
k'ayu:m	slow	?in k'ayu:mtal ?an k'ayu:mtala:b	its slowness slowness
ʔipi:l	little, small	?in ʔipi:ltal ?an ʔipi:ltala:b	its smallness littleness, small size
?i:t	new	?in ?i:ttal ?an ?i:ttala:b	its newness a new thing, a new idea
k'eh	old	?in k'ehtal ?an k'ehtala:b	its antiquity s.t. old, from ancient times

12. kaθat      ?in manu:ʔ-tal  
heightened A3 yellow-ABSTR

‘Its yellow is very bright.’

13. nan(a:ʔ) ?u ʔu ʔuʔ-uš-tal      k'wahat-iʔ ti-∅      tal-ʔ'-un-al  
I            Al see-NOM-ABSTR    PROGR-EMPH    SUBOR-B3    finish-DM-VN-INC

k'al ?u ʔuškweʔ-tal  
with Al old.woman-ABSTR

‘My own vision is already declining with age.’

14. ?a Diyo:s tu      piθ-a(?)-a:mal ?an ?alwaʔ-tal-(l)a:b  
the God      he.us give-TS-PER      a good-ABSTR-GEN

‘God has given us grace.’

2.0 Borrowed Words. The majority of borrowings into Huastec are from Spanish, and the discussion that follows will confine itself to Spanish-derived terms. Huastec has also borrowed from other Mesoamerican languages, most notably from Nahuatl, either directly or via Spanish, but also from Mixe-Zoque, Zapotec, Totonac and others. See McQuown (1984:91-92) for a list of loan words from Spanish and other languages, and Kaufman (1980) for a discussion of non-Spanish loan words.

In my sample about 90 percent of the words borrowed from Spanish are nouns, and the remainder particles and function words and a few adjectives. Note that though relatively few particles are listed below, they have a high frequency of use, especially ni, pa:ra, pe:ro and porke:. A large proportion of the nouns are terms for Old World animals, plants and foods, or for things, concepts and relationships introduced by the Spanish. Most of them have been thoroughly assimilated into Huastec grammar: they can be possessed and pluralized, and can receive generic, abstractive, collective, participial or directional suffixes. Borrowed adjectives can be verbalized with the inchoative morphemes // -b- // or // -m- //. There is even one example of a Spanish infinitive which receives Huastec verbal thematic and inflectional suffixes.

There are a few Spanish terms which are often used, even though a Huastec equivalent exists. Thus the Devil may be known both as dya:blu (Sp. diablo) and as ?ataš ?inik ('filthy man'). A comb may be a pe:yne (Sp. peine) or a č'ičab. One may plant a hardi:n (Sp. jardín 'garden') or a wig-lom ('flower-collective'). And a store may be a

tye:nda (Sp. tienda) or a nuhumtala:b ('selling place'). A number of words borrowed from Spanish are given a more restricted meaning in Huastec. A koto:n (Sp. algodón 'printed cotton') is a woman's blouse; a ši:la (Sp. silla 'chair') is a saddle; and tihe:raš (Sp. tijeras 'scissors') refers specifically to the forked posts used to support a center roof beam. Often the differences are ones of degree. A pwe:nte (Sp. puente 'bridge') is a modern highway bridge, while a te?-pam ('tree' + 's.t. that goes over s.t. else') is a native footbridge. Awtorida:d (Sp. autoridad 'authority') tends to be reserved for national or municipal officials, while ?e:yal ('official') can refer to any important personage, even a village one.

My two assistants were fluent in Spanish and their pronunciation of Spanish words approximated that of local mestizos. However, in rapid speech Huastec sound shifts were sometimes apparent. I have indicated these alternative pronunciations in the examples, but do not have sufficient data from monolingual Huastecs to make any generalized statements about the nature of the shifts involved. Some examples are given below, from a sample of about 300 terms.

## 2.1 Examples.

### Nouns and Adjectives

?a:ho/?a:šuš (Sp. ajo) 'garlic'

?anima:l (Sp. animal) 'animal'

?a:nkel (Sp. angel) 'angel'

?ašu:kal (Sp. azucar) 'sugar'

?a:ča? (Sp. hacha) 'hatchet'

ba:kaš/pa:kaš (Sp. vaca) `cow`  
 be:rde (Sp. verde) `green`  
 bi:no/bi:nu (Sp. vino) `wine`  
 bwe:no (Sp. bueno) `good`  
 či:bo/či:bu (Sp. chivo) `goat`  
 delo:h (Sp. reloj) `watch`  
 kristya:no (Sp. cristiano) `Christian`; by extension `person`  
 kuma:le (Sp. comadre) `co-mother`; relationship between mother  
 and godmother  
 kumpa:le (Sp. compadre) `co-father`  
 la:buš (Sp. clavo) `nail`  
 lana:š (Sp. naranja) `orange`  
 le:ša/le:če (Sp. leche) `milk`  
 pale:ta (Sp. paleta) `popsicle`  
 pan (Sp. pan) `bread`  
 pe:šol/pe:šu (Sp. peso) `peso`  
 ri:ko (Sp. rico) `rich`  
 šabu:n (Sp. jabón) `soap`  
 tula:šno (Sp. durazno) `peach`  
 θimalo:n (Sp. cimarrón) `wild`  
 veterina:rio (Sp. veterinario) `veterinarian`

#### Other Parts of Speech

?i (Sp. y) `and`  
 ni (Sp. ni) `neither`  
 ?o (Sp. o) `or`  
 pa:ra (Sp. para) `for, in order to`

pe:ro/po:ro (Sp. pero) `but`

porke: (Sp. porque) `because`

15. ?u la:pes-il (Sp. lápiz `pencil`)  
A1 pencil-POSS

`My pencil.`

16. taley ?u kal-e-l k-in hik'-e-θ-a?-∅ ?aši  
then B6 go.out-TS-INC SUBJ-A6 fear-EP-CAUS-TS-COM these

mas-čik (Sp. más `more`)  
more-PL

`Then they go out to frighten these others.`

17. tehe:? ?u nuh-uw-a:b ?an ?ani:yo-la:b (Sp. anillo  
here B6 sell-TS-INC.PASS the ring-GEN `ring`)

`Here rings are sold.`

18. øa?at-k'i ?in ?ašu:l-tal (Sp. azul `blue`)  
lowered-indeed A3 blue-ABSTR

`Its blue is very faint.`

19. ?an kape:-lom leh pu:lik (Sp. café `coffee`)  
a coffee-COLL very big

`A large coffee grove.`

20. ?in šumpele:l-iθ (Sp. sombrero `hat`)  
B1 hat-PPL

`I am hatted; I am wearing a hat.`

21. ?in ?ulal ke: hita? ka-∅ huč-(u)-ma:č (Sp. que `that`)  
A6 say-INC that whoever SUBJ-B3 smoke-TS-COM

øakam-e ?u tonto-b-e:-l (Sp. tonto `foolish, stupid`)  
young-still B3 deranged-INCH-TS-INC

`They say that whoever smokes when still young becomes  
deranged.`

22. po:rke ?an mi:m-la:b ?in kobra:r-iy-al (Sp. cobrar 'charge')  
because the mother-POL A3 charge-TS-INC

leh halb-iθ  
very go.up.in.value-PPL

'...because the lady charges very dearly.'

3.0 Noun Suffixes. The lists below include all suffixes which attach only to nouns, or, in a few cases, adjectives. Noun suffixes cannot stand alone and do not change the root class of the word to which they are attached. They differ in this respect from the suffixes described in Chapter 8 which derive nouns from verbs. Particles which can be affixed to several different parts of speech (including nouns) are discussed in Chapter 11, Clitics. Omitted from the lists below are the possessive suffix *//-l-//*, which is discussed in Section 1.1 of the following chapter, and number suffixes, except when they attach to other nouns. For their use with numbers see Chapter 13.

3.1 *//-la(:)b//*. Generic. The generic suffix *//-la(:)b//* is employed to derive an unpossessed form from a noun that is usually a bound possessed form. A large number of Huastec nouns are usually possessed and can be unpossessed only by adding a suffix, either the generic *//-la(:)b//* or the absolutive *//-lek//* suffix (see 3.2 below). Both *//-lek//* and *//-la(:)b//* may be suffixed to most of these nouns. Sometimes there is a clear semantic difference between the two derived forms, at other times the difference is a subtle one; see *?atik* in 3.1.1 below. One of the most frequent uses of *//-la(:)b//* is to make an unpossessed noun from a possessed noun derived with the *//-tai//*



abstractive suffix discussed in Sections 3.4.2 of Chapter 8 and 1.2.2 of the present chapter. Recall that *//-tal//* + *//-la(:)b//* undergoes geminate reduction to become *//-tala:b//*.

The morphophonemics of vowel length in the *//-la(:)b//* suffix are not totally clear to me, in part because of an inadequacy of data, but at a first approximation it appears that if the noun root or stem is CVC (or has been reduced to CVC through morphophonemic reduction processes), the vowel is usually short, whereas if the noun root or stem is CV:C or longer, the vowel is long. When *//-la(:)b//* or *//-lek//* is added to a noun root ending in /l/ the two /l/'s undergo geminate reduction, and if the noun root is CVCVl, the final vowel is usually deleted. See Chapter 10, Section 1.2, for a full statement of these processes.

In the examples that follow it should be understood that although *//-la(:)b//* sometimes has a collective sense, and nouns formed with this suffix are often translated as plurals, plurality is not inherent in the suffix. For example, my assistant gave *ʔu ʔa:č* 'my grandmother' and *ʔa:čla:b* 'grandmothers', but began a subsequent sentence *ʔan ʔa:čla:b...* 'The grandmother...'. The large number of usually possessed nouns fall into two main classes, which will be discussed at length in the next chapter. Here it is necessary to note only that Class 2 nouns have a possessed form and abstractive (generic and/or absolutive) ones, whereas Class 3 nouns have in addition a simple base form which is rare and used only in generalized or partitive constructions. Examples follow of Class 2 and Class 3 nouns with the *//-la(:)b//* suffix.

A minor problem arises in a few cases. There is a homophonous noun la:b 'Spanish, non-indigenous, sacred' which is sometimes used as the first term in compounds: la:b to:m 'Spanish grass (i.e. wheat)', la:b ka:w 'Spanish language'; and is sometimes suffixed as a mark of respect: mi:m la:b 'respected mother, (i.e. lady)'. I distinguish this usage in sentence examples throughout this work by glossing it as POL for 'polite', as opposed to GEN for 'generic'.

### 3.1.1 Examples.

#### Class 2 nouns

?u ma:m 'my grandfather'

?an ma:m la:b 'the grandfather(s)'

?in t'a:m 'her baby; its offspring (animals)'

?an t'a:m la:b 'the baby, the babies; the offspring'

?in lakab 'her skirt'

lakab la:b 'skirt(s)'

?u pi:k'ib 'my forehead'

pi:k'ib la:b 'forehead(s)'

?in ?imil 'its udder'

?imlab 'udders' (?imil + la:b --> \*?imila:b --> ?imlab)

?u ?atik 'my creature, my offspring'

?atiklek 'member of a group'

?an ?atik la:b 'a disciple'

ʔan yehǰel `the old man`  
 ʔu yehǰeltal `my old age (man speaking)`  
 yehǰeltala:b `old age (of men)`

### Class 3 nouns

pak´w `nest (base form)`  
 ʔin pa:k´w `its nest`  
 ʔan pak´wlab `the nest(s)`

ǰ´uhak´ `sprout or shoot of a plant (base form)`  
 ʔin ǰ´uha:k´ `its shoot, its sprout`  
 ǰ´uhak´la:b `sprout(s), shoot(s)`

wačib `dream (base form)`  
 ʔu wači:b `my dream`  
 wačibla:b `dream(s)`

yuhil `ground corn mixed with chile and water (base form)`  
 ʔin yuhi:l `its cornmeal and chile (of the tamale)`  
 ʔan yuhlab `the corn/chile mixture`

3.2 // -lek(l) //. Absolute. The contrast between // -la(:)b // and // -lek // is a subtle one, with // -lek // expressing a more partitive sense: `one of the class of..'. As with // -la(:)b //, // -lek // is suffixed to a usually possessed noun to make an unpossessed form. The vowel in // -lek // is always short, and the same morphophonemic processes of geminate reduction and vowel deletion discussed above apply when // -lek // is added to a stem ending in /l/. A few examples follow.

3.2.1 Examples.

šaʔ `vomit (base form)´

ʔin ša:ʔ `his vomit´

ya:n ʔi šaʔlek `much vomit´ (ya:n `much´; ʔi `partitive´)

θam `nose (base form)´

ʔu θa:m `my nose´

ya:n ʔi θamlek `many noses´ (synecdochy for `many people´)

θuhal `foam (base form)´

ʔin θuha:l `its foam´

ʔehti:l ʔi θuhlek `it's like foam´ (ʔehti:l `resembles´)

23. ʔan ʔiʔi:m leh ʔin kʷaʔal ʔi θuh-lab  
the cane.juice very A3 has of foam-GEN

`The cane juice is very foamy.´

pašik´ `lid (base form)´

ʔin paši:k´ `its lid (of the pot)´

24. tehe:ʔ ʔu nuh-uw-a:b ʔan pašik´-la:b  
here B3 sell-TS-INC.PASS the lid-GEN

`Here pot lids are sold.´

25. aši ʔalwaʔ ti pašik´-lek  
this good as lid-ABS

`This will work as a lid.´

3.3 //-lek(2)//. Body language. //-lek(2)// is a homophonous suffix which derives a noun from body part terms meaning `a blow with the

body part'. I did not fully explore this suffix, and have only a few examples, all preceded by hu:n ?i 'one of, a'. For example, hu:n ?i pemalek (pemal 'rump' + -lek, with geminate reduction) means 'a blow with the rump', as to open a door when one's hands are full. A few other nouns, instruments that can be considered as extensions of a body part, also can take this suffix. All examples follow.

### 3.3.1 Examples.

ʔakan	foot	hu:n ?i ʔakanlek	a kick
?iɟ'am	horn	hu:n ?i ?iɟ'amlek	a goring
kuʒi:l	knife (Sp.)	hu:n ?i kuʒi:lek	a stab
kwatab	left hand	hu:n ?i kwatablek	a blow with the hand
k'ubak	hand	hu:n ?i k'ubaklek	a slap
maʒe:t	machete (Sp.)	hu:n ?i maʒe:tlek	a cut with a machete
punuk'	shoulder	hu:n ?i punuk'lek	a blow with the shoulder (rare)
toyok	hipbone	hu:n ?i toyoklek	a blow with the hip
tutub	heel	hu:n ?i tutublek	a kick with the heel
t'ičok'	arrow	hu:n ?i t'ičok'lek	a shot with an arrow
t'uhub	stone	hu:n ?i t'uhublek	a blow with a stone
ʒoʒob	hoof, paw	hu:n ?i ʒoʒoblek	a kick
wal	eye	hu:n ?i walek	a cast of the evil eye

26. tin pet'-n-an-č-ø-i hu:n ?i kwatab-lek  
he.me emit-TV-EP-BEN-COM-EP one of hand-BL

He threw a punch at me.

I questioned for a few other terms. Hu:n ?i winablek 'a blow with the right hand' is possible, but almost never used, and hu:n ?i ?o:k'lek 'a blow with the head' seems plausible, but was also rejected, possibly because ?ok'lek is commonly used to mean 'head man' or 'chief'.

The relationship between the 'body language' suffix //-lek(2)// and the absolutive suffix //-lek(1)// needs further investigation. For example, a tutublek can mean 'a heel', as opposed to ?in tutu:b 'his heel', and note ?akanlek in 3.1.1 above. Context is usually sufficient to distinguish these homonyms.

3.4 //-lom//. Collective. The productive suffix //-lom// has the general meaning 'things taken together, things grouped together'. It may be added to almost any noun denoting things that form groups, whether they are inanimate or animate, human or plant or animal. As with //-lek// and //-la:b//, geminate reduction occurs if //-lom// is added to nouns ending in /l/. Suffixed to number words //-lom// has the sense of 'N things that form some sort of natural group,' as in the following:

27. gab-lom ?u k'wala:l  
two-COLL Al leg  
      `My two legs.'

#### 3.4.1 Examples.

?ahib	fiesta	?ahiblom	group of people attending a fiesta
?amu:l	trash, garbage	?amu:lom	garbage dump
bičim	horse	bičimlom	herd of horses

haʔ	water	haʔlom	place with lots of water
k'imaθ	neighbor	k'imaθlom	hamlet
lana:š	orange (Sp.)	lana:šlom	orange grove
mi:ša	mass (Sp.)	mi:šalom	group of people attending mass
ʔolom	pig	ʔolomlom	group of pigs
pakab	sugarcane	pakablom	cane field
pik'óʔ	dog	pik'óʔlom	pack of dogs
pi:taʔ	chicken	pi:taʔlom	flock of chickens
teʔ	tree	teʔlom	grove of trees
to:m	grass	to:mlom	pasture
θiʔ	firewood	θiʔlom	pile of firewood
t'uhub	stone, rock	t'uhublom	rock-strewn area
ʒiʔi:k	sweet	ʒiʔi:klom	candy store
ʒ'iʒin	bird	ʒ'iʒinlom	flight of birds
wiʒ	flower	wiʒlom	flower garden

3.5 //-(i:)b// or //-a:b//. Gentilic. The gentilic suffix is added to a town name or location to designate someone from or a native of the town or location. Many town names in the Huasteca are preceded by the clitic particle //tam-// (or //tan-//) 'place of'. When the gentilic suffix is added this particle is dropped. Thus we have tok'oy-ib 'a person from Tantocoy'. The choice of //-(i:)b// or //-a:b// is partly determined by a kind of vowel dissimilation. If the final vowel of the stem is /a/ or /o/, the suffix is //-(i:)b//; if the final vowel is /i/, the suffix is //-a:b//; and if the final vowel is /e/, the suffix may be either. There are no examples with final stem vowel

/u/. I have no explanation for the difference between short and long /i/. One possible factor is that most terms were elicited in isolation, and there is a tendency in Huastec for a final short vowel to be lengthened when it is utterance final. My assistants gave both lahašib and lahaši:b for 's.o. from Tanlajás'.

A gentilic noun may be pluralized by adding the plural morpheme //čik//: k'anwiša:bčik 'people from Tancanhuitz'.

The final two terms on the list below do not refer to persons from a particular town, but rather reflect a basic conceptualization of the nature of space in the Huasteca Potosina. The primary geographical fact of life in this region is the abrupt rise from the coastal plain of the majestic Sierra Madre Oriental, which runs almost due north and south through Huastec territory. One is either a š'é:na:b, a person from the sierra, or an ʔala:li:b, a flatlander, and people from one region view people from the other with suspicion and mistrust. (Larsen (1955:195) gives both š'é:nib and š'é:na:b for 'serrano'; my assistant would not accept š'é:nib.)

I did not systematically elicit all possible gentilic nouns; the examples below are all the attested forms in my corpus.

### 3.5.1 Examples.

ʔahabib	s.o. from Huehuetlán (Huastec name <u>tamʔahab</u> )
ʔakičnomi:b	s.o. from Aguismón
ʔapa:š'ib	s.o. from Tamapatz
hahnekib	s.o. from Tanjasnec
ʔibteʔi:b	s.o. from Ibte



kwečøθib	s.o. from Cuechod
kwiʔmeʔib	s.o. from Tancuime
k'anwiçá:b	s.o. from Tancanhuitz
lahaşib	s.o. from Tanlajás
lehemib	s.o. from Lehem
pamaloni:b	s.o. from Tampamalón
tantoko:wib	s.o. from Ciudad Valles (Huastec name <u>tantoko:w</u> )
tok'oyib	s.o. from Tantocoy
çawila:b	s.o. from Tanchahuil
ʔala:li:b	s.o. who lives on the plain ( <u>ʔala:l</u> 'below')
ç'e:na:b	s.o. who lives in the sierra ( <u>ç'e:n</u> 'sierra')

3.6 //-i:l//. Times. This suffix is most commonly used to form iterative numbers, e.g. bo:ʔ-i:l 'five times'; see Chapter 13, Section 1.4. It is occasionally used on other words with the same iterative meaning.

### 3.6.1 Examples.

28. ʔin wat'e-nek leh ya:n-i:l baʔ ʔa k'ima:ʔ  
 El pass-TS-PER very many-TIMES by A2 home

'I have passed by your home very many times.'

29. ha:y-i:l tin ʔuč-a(?)-a:mal  
 how.many-TIMES you.me tell-TS-PER

'How many times have you told it to me?'

3.7 //-kaç//. Restrictive. This is another suffix most frequently used with numbers, e.g. hun-kaç 'only one'. It may also occur on some nouns and adjectives.

3.7.1 Examples.

boyeʔ	handful	boykaø	only a handful
ʒipi:l	small, little	ʒipkaø	only a small bit
we:ʔ	little	we:ʔkaø	only a little bit

30. hu:n ʔi ʒip-kaø ʔi k'ap-ne:l  
 one of small-RES of eat-PAT

‘A mouthful of food.’

3.8 //:-be//. Afflictive. Lengthening the final vowel of the noun stem and adding //:-be// derives a noun meaning ‘afflicted with or suffering from Noun’. The suffix is only moderately productive. It can sometimes be added to nouns derived from adjectives to denote a permanent state or condition, as opposed to the more temporary state implied by the inchoative formation with the //-b-e:-// suffix (see Chapter 7, Section 2.4). The last two examples below, of derivations based on pohkaš and ʔit'iš, should make this distinction clear. Note that if the noun stem ends in /b/ geminate reduction occurs.

3.8.1 Examples.

ʔičič ‘disease of “heart”, a wasting away caused by some other person’s strong heart sapping one’s strength’

ʔiči:čbe ‘suffering from “heart” disease’

bakan ‘tortilla’

baka:mbe ‘pimply; skin like the surface of a tortilla’  
 (n --> m/\_\_\_b)

nuhum ‘intestinal worm’

nuhu:mbe ‘afflicted with worms; having intestinal parasites’

ǰ'iqim `bird`

ʔin ǰ'iqi:m `his spirit`

ǰ'iqi:mbe `chronic soul loss illness`

ʔohob `cough`

ʔoho:be `afflicted with a cough`

lakak `wattles`

laka:kbe `having wattles, like an old man whose neck skin has stretched`

ʔušum `woman`

ʔušu:mbe `adulterer`

ʔinik `man`

ʔini:kbe `adulteress`

31. ʔini:k-be ʔin kʷaʔal ya:n ʔi bo:w ʔan ʔušum  
man-AFFL A3 has many of lovers the woman

`Adulteress; the woman has many lovers`.

32. ʔit ʔoho:b-(b)e (r.i.)  
B2 cough-AFFL

`Are you suffering from a cough?`

pohkaš `bad, ugly`

pohkaš-b-e: `become bad` (inchoative)

pohka:š `bad person`

pohka:š-be `s.o. who is always bad, with whomever`

ʔit'iš `vexatious, annoying, boring`

ʔit'iš-b-e: `become bored, lose the desire to work (temporary)`  
(inchoative)

ʔit'i:š `one who is bored, vexatious`

ʔit'i:š-be `s.o. who is always bored and ill-tempered`  
(permanent)

3.9 //leʔ//. Step-, adoptive. //leʔ// can be suffixed to kin terms to refer to either step- or adoptive kin. Long stem vowels usually shorten when the suffix is added, and geminate reduction occurs if the stem ends in /l/. One term is irregular: kʷito:l `son, boy` + -leʔ becomes kʷitot-le, rather than kʷitole, possibly as a way of disambiguating `stepson` from kʷito:l-e `a boy still`. All examples follow.

### 3.9.1 Examples.

ʔa:č	grandmother	ʔačleʔ	stepgrandmother
ʔebčal	sibling	ʔebčaleʔ	stepsibling
kʷito:l	son	kʷitotleʔ	stepson
ma:m	grandfather	mamleʔ	stepgrandfather
mi:m	mother	mimleʔ	stepmother
momob	grandchild	momobleʔ	stepgrandchild
ta:ta	father	tatileʔ	stepfather
čakam	child	čakamleʔ	stepchild
č'ik'a:č	daughter	č'ik'a:čleʔ	stepdaughter

3.10 //e:ʔ//. Vocative. The vocative suffix //e:ʔ// was formerly more common (see Tapia 1767: 96, 99, 116, 118, 119). It is used today

only when addressing God or Jesus Christ. Except for these terms, there is no morphologically marked vocative in Huastec, though one assistant, age 45, reported that his mother had addressed her mother as mi:m-e:ʔ 'Mother-VOC'. In the modern dialect vocative usage is indicated by intonation and by the absence of the noun specifiers ʔa or ʔan.

### 3.10.1 Examples.

33. pulik payʔlom-e:ʔ  
big father-VOC

'God our Father!'

34. ʔaha:tik-e:ʔ  
lord-VOC

'Lord Jesus Christ!'

35. mi:m mi:m hayk'i neʔeʔ tuku pih-č-ø-i  
mother mother when go SUBJ.you.us give-BEN-COM-EP

'Mother, Mother! When are you going to feed us?'

36. ʔin taw-n-aʔ-ø-iç Mari:a Hose:  
A3 call-TVR-TS-COM-EMP María José

'She cried out to them, "María, José!"'

3.11 //-hin//. Directional. I have only a few examples, from a single informant, which suggest that a directional particle //-hin// may be added to a noun to express the idea 'go to N, go for the purpose of N'. All examples follow. The only native Huastec term with the //-hin// suffix is bičow 'town'. Note that the /n/ of tiyo:pan (Nah. 'church') is deleted. The identical format of the sentences is an accident of the single brief elicitation session.

3.11.1 Examples.

37.  $\emptyset$  číʔ-θ-a(?)-a:me      ʔan ø'ik'a:č ʔabal ka- $\emptyset$   
 B3 come-CAUS-TS-PER.PASS the girl so.that SUBJ-B3

ʔeskʷela-hin [ka- $\emptyset$  tiyo:pa-hin]  
 school-DIR [SUBJ-B3 church-DIR]

'The girl has been fetched so that she can go to school [to church].'

38.  $\emptyset$  číʔ-θ-a(?)-a:me      ʔabal ka- $\emptyset$  doktri:na-hin  
 B3 come-CAUS-TS-PER.PASS so.that SUBJ-B3 doctrine-DIR

'She was brought to be taught the doctrine.'

39.  $\emptyset$  číʔ-θ-a(?)-a:me      ʔabal ka- $\emptyset$  pla:sa-hin [ka- $\emptyset$   
 B6 come-CAUS-TS-PER.PASS so.that SUBJ-B6 plaza-DIR [SUBJ-B6

bičow-hin] [ka- $\emptyset$  ba:yes-hin]  
 town-DIR [SUBJ-B6 Valles-DIR]

'They were fetched so that they could go to the plaza [to town] [to Valles].'

4.0 Noun Compounds. An extremely productive process in Huastec forms new nouns by compounding. The resulting nouns fall on a continuum from tightly bound lexicalized compounds of considerable antiquity to spur of the moment phrases whose meaning is totally predictable from the component parts. In thinking about Huastec compounds I have found the discussions by Dayley (1985:187-192) of simple and phrasal compounds in Tzutujil and by Smith-Stark (1982:450-458) of compounds in Pocomam very useful. Furbee (1976:101) states that in Tojolabal "compounds are formed of two or more stems, at least one of which has a morphological or syntactic deficiency." In Huastec similar deficiencies show up in several ways: use of archaic terms as part of

the compound; loss or phonetic modification of one or more terms in the compound; loss of a verbal thematic suffix; absence of usually required particles, such as the possessive clitic pronouns or the articles ?a, ?an or ?i; or absence of an expected generic or collective suffix. The first three deficiencies are more characteristic of simple compounds and the latter two of phrasal compounds.

Alcorn's (1983, 1984) lists of plant names are a rich source for Huastec compounds. Since she gives the scientific identification of the plants listed, for simplicity's sake I have not cited them, except where necessary to distinguish two Huastec terms, both of which are, say, herbs or bushes.

4.1 Simple Compounds. Simple compounds are often difficult to analyze because of their antiquity, the presence of archaic or obsolete terms, and the possibility of phonetic alteration in one or more components. Simple compounds may be composed of noun + noun, adjective + noun, preposition + noun, verb root + noun or noun + verb root. They are always possessed or modified as a unit. A number of the examples given below represent tentative analyses; any phonological changes and deletions are indicated.

#### 4.1.1 Examples.

##### **Noun + Noun**

ču:če?	ahuehuate tree	čuč + če?	(VČČ --> V:č)
		coyote	tree (archaic)*
?imte?	tree with thick white sap	?im(il) + te?	udder tree

paθʔu:tʻ	skunk	paθ(um) + ʔu:tʻ	
		jaguar	opossum
šisteʔ	croton tree	šigʻ + teʔ	(gʻ --> š/___t)
		blood	tree
gʻeshla:ʔ	island	gʻeh(e)l + (h)aʔ	(deletion + middle water vowel length)

\*Fox (1978:229) gives ʔyeʔ for Proto-Mayan 'tree'. The Greater Quichean languages have čeʔ or če:ʔ; Yucatec has čeʔ.

#### Adjective + Noun

kʻanhaʔ	water in a blister	kʻan*	+ haʔ
		yellow (archaic)	water
kʻanšigʻ	blood serum	kʻan*	+ šigʻ
		yellow (archaic)	blood
linǵiʔ	mythological beings lacking sexual parts and orifices for elimination	lin(i:l)	+ gʻiʔ
		flattened	anus
lolhaʔ	lime water in which corn was soaked	lol(iy)	+ haʔ
		slimy	water
θakča:m	Mexican (Aztec)	θak(niʔ)	+ θa:m (θ --> č)
		white	nose
θakʻčokʻ	egg	θak(niʔ)	+ čokʻ (k --> kʻ)
		white	thump (sound of egg falling)

\*Note that the modern term for 'yellow' is manuʔ; however kʻanaw is still used for 'yellow corn'.

#### Preposition + Noun

ʔalteʔ	forest, woods	ʔa:l + teʔ	(a: --> a)
		in	tree
ʔalwiʔ	jaw, jawbone	ʔa:l + wiʔ	(a: --> a)
		in	mouth
baʔteʔ	wall of palings, bamboo or wattles	baʔ	+ teʔ
		on, in, at	tree



## Verb Root + Noun

ʔabθiʔ	god of fire	ʔab-(aʔ-) + θiʔ send it firewood
lawʔčeʔ	kind of tree snake	laʔ-(uw-) (metathesis) + čeʔ pull it out tree (archaic)
ʔoθʔinik	orphan	ʔoθ-(iy-) + ʔinik abuse it man
pok'čič	tree whose seed is scored and breaks easily	pok'-(ow-) + ʔičič (ʔi --> ∅) break it heart; fig. seed
pok'teʔ	wooden chest	pok'-(ow-) + teʔ break it tree
θayθam	bedbug	θay-(aʔ-) + θa:m (a: --> a) lift it up nose

## Noun + Verb Root

ʒankub	centipede	ʒan + kub-(e-) snake stand up
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## Compounds with Unknown Roots

θambo:k	breast	θa:m + bo:k (a: --> a) nose ?
ʒiy:o:k'	chin bone	ʒiy + ʔo:k' (? --> ∅) ? head
t'inčeʔ	yuca	t'in + čeʔ ? tree (archaic)
munek'	black sapote	mun + ek'* ? black
pušek'	wart, growth on head	puš + ek'* ? black

\*In Chapter 8, Section 1.2.8, I analyzed these (and three other) terms as unique constituents + stem formative // -ek'//. That analysis may be preferable.

**Possessed or Modified Simple Compounds**

ʔan baʔteʔ `the wall`

ʔan linʒ'iʔ `the Lintsi`

ʔu paθʔu:t'-il `my skunk` (-il possessive suffix)

ʔu t'inče:ʔ-il `my yuca` (-il possessive suffix)

ʔan yehʒel pok'teʔ `the old chest`

ʔan t'ek'at šišteʔ `the tall croton tree`

40. ʔu le:ʔ k-in wič-i-y t-u ʔalte:ʔ-il  
 Al want SUBJ-B1 return-TS-COM to-Al in.trees-POSS

`I want to return to my forest (i.e. to my homeland).`

41. Ø bel-al-Ø baʔ ʔan t'ek'-θ-a-čik ʔalteʔ  
 B3 walk-TS-INC in a grow.tall-CAUS-TS-DIS.PFL in.trees

`He walked through a thickly overgrown forest.`

42. ʔin biš-n-a(?) -al ʔan θakča:m  
 A6 dance-TVR-TS-INC the white.nose

`They dance "The Mexicans".`

43. ʔan t'eleʔ ʔin kʷaʔal ʔan pok't'i:t'  
 the child A3 has.INVAR the break.sore

`The child has smallpox.`

44. ʔan lawʔčeʔ pohkaš  
 the pull.out.tree evil

`The snake is evil.`

4.2 Compounds Formed with Particles. There are two particles, ʔat and ʔiš, which cannot stand alone but which can be used to form a number of compounds. ʔat, the more productive of the two, has the general meaning `companion` or `fellow` and can precede both nouns and

verbs. ʔiš is the feminine marker (cf. ʔi:šal 'wife' and ʔušum 'woman') and forms compounds with only a few nouns.<sup>1</sup> The usual way to specify the female of a species is with ʔušum: ʔušum miŋu? 'female cat', ʔušum pik'o? 'bitch'.

#### 4.2.1 Examples.

ʔat ʔinik 'companion' (fellow + man)

ʔat ʔiya? 'concuño' (fellow + son-in-law) (relationship of two men married to sisters)

ʔiš k'aθaw 'female turkey' (female + turkey)

ʔiš bek'em 'malva (shrub)' (female + cottonseed)

t'unu? ʔiš bek'em 'black malva' (black + ʔiš bek'em)

ʔiš bek'em pak'θa? 'big malva' (ʔiš bek'em + large)

45. ∅ ʔuč-an-∅ k'al ʔin ʔat k'ima:(?)-θ  
B3 tell-VN-COM by A3 fellow house-PPL

'He was told by his neighbors...

46. ʔan ʔolom ʔaši ʔin t'ah-a(?) -al leh ʔit'iš ∅  
the pig he.who A3 do.it-TS-INC very bothersome B3

∅em-θ-a(?) -a k'al ʔin ʔat ʔolom  
die-CAUS-TS-COM.PASS by A3 fellow pig

'The pig that was so bothersome was killed by its fellow pigs.'

47. tin k'uw-iy-∅ k'al ʔan ʔiš ∅'a:h  
she.me smear-TS-COM with the female vine

'She annointed me with Salmea vine.'

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1. A related word is ʔi:š 'female deer'. I believe that Alcorn (1983, 1984) has confused this term with the feminine marker ʔiš in her plant lists.

48. ?o k-in ?al-iy-∅ ?i mi:m-la:b k-in ?at  
 or SUBJ-A3 look.for-TS-COM of lady-POL SUBJ-A3 together  
 way-n-a?-∅  
 sleep-TRV-TS-COM

'Or if he should look for a woman to sleep together with her...' (from a story)

4.3 Phrasal Compounds. Phrasal compounds contain two (or more) terms which function together as a lexical unit, usually without phonological modification, but which may function separately as individual words. I will consider here only those phrasal compounds whose meaning differs from a simple combinatory meaning of the two terms and will indicate a phrasal compound in glosses, when necessary, by joining the two terms with =. A k'amal t'uhub 'fire=stone' is a flint, whereas a pulik t'uhub 'big stone' is simply that. A pohkaš ?inik is any 'evil man', but the ?at'aš ?inik 'filthy=man' is specifically the Devil. Or compare ?ožel ?a Toma:s 'enters the Tom', i.e., 'Tom enters', with ?ožel (?a) k'i:ča: 'enters=sun', i.e., 'the west'. Note that in the latter phrase the normally obligatory respect noun specifier ?a has been deleted.

Phrasal compounds may consist of noun + noun, adjective + noun, or verbal element + noun. Following Laughlin (1975:27-28) I divide noun + noun compounds into two classes: noun-type-noun (e.g. bakan g'oho:l 'tortilla=plant', *Anoda* sp., an herb) and noun-of-noun (e.g. baka:n-il t'e:l 'rat's=tortilla', *Desmodium* sp., an herb). In a noun-type-noun compound the first noun describes a quality, content or some attribute of the second noun. The second noun does not receive a noun specifier; that is, we say ?an bakan g'oho:l 'a tortilla=plant', not

\*?an bakan ?an ø'oho:l. Noun-of-noun compounds refer to those compounds where the second noun is the owner or origin of the first. This second noun may optionally receive a noun specifier. In the example above baka:n-il is the possessed stem form of `tortilla' and t'e:l `rat' is the possessor.

Compare the following examples. Example 49 is a straightforward possessive phrase, with full syntactic specification; i.e., there is a clitic pronoun marking the possessor, a noun bearing the possessive suffix, and a possessor preceded by the obligatory noun specifier ?an. Example 50 has two syntactic deficiencies: first, the noun `tortilla' bears a possessive suffix, but there is no clitic pronoun to mark the possessor, and second, `rat' has lost the noun specifier ?an. That baka:n-il t'e:l is indeed a compound is evidenced by the fact that it may be possessed as a unit, as in example 51.

49. ?in baka:n-il      ?an t'e:l  
A3 tortilla-POSS the rat

`The rat's tortilla.' (a tortilla being eaten by a rat)

50. ?an baka:n-il      t'e:l  
the tortilla-POSS rat

`The rat's=tortilla.' (the herb)

51. ?u baka:n-il      t'e:l  
A1 tortilla-POSS rat

`My rat's=tortilla.' (my herb)

Examination of Alcorn's (1983, 1984) plant lists makes it apparent that the same plant is often described by both a noun-type-

noun and a noun-of-noun compound. ʔehe:nčiš wiǵ 'witch=flower' and wiǵ-i:l ʔa ehe:nčiš (flower-POSS the witch) 'witch's=flower' are the identical herb. At other times a plant will be named by a full noun-of-noun compound and by a truncated one, where even the possessed stem form is lacking. baka:n-il ʔa ʔi:ǵ (tortilla-POSS the moon) 'moon's=tortilla' and bakan ʔi:ǵ refer to the same species of tree, and bakan ʔi:ǵ is not read, in this case, as 'tortilla=moon', as it might be if it were a true noun-type-noun compound.

Some nouns form their possessed stem by lengthening the final stem vowel, rather than by adding a possessive suffix (see Chapter 10, Section 1.2). These stems are glossed in the examples as stem.POSS.

A further complication arises from the fact that there is one class of usually possessed nouns which have the same root or stem whether possessed or not (see Chapter 10, Section 1.2). Thus, when the possessive clitic pronoun is lacking it is often difficult to be sure whether a noun-type-noun or noun-of-noun compound is present. If the translation of a compound or its similarity to related compounds suggests that the compound is noun-of-noun, I gloss the possessed noun as stem.POSS. Additional research is necessary to clarify these problems.

I have so far considered only two word compounds. More elaborate ones are possible: adjective + (noun-of-noun), (noun-type-noun) + adjective, noun of (noun-type-noun), and so on. All numbers above ten are compounds and some higher numbers may be compounds of three or more terms. Spanish loan words are frequently compounded with Huastec

words. Examples will be given below of all these different kinds of phrasal compounds, followed by examples of their use in sentences. Like simple compounds, phrasal compounds are possessed or modified as a unit. When noun-of-noun phrases are possessed, the clitic pronoun which references the possessor of the noun-of-noun compound precedes the compound, as in 51 above and 54, 58 and 60 below. Sometimes the compound takes a possessive suffix, as in 60 below. The details of when such a suffix is obligatory, when it is possible, and when it is not are unclear.

#### 4.3.1 Examples.

##### **Noun-type-noun**

mi:m    č'učub mother finger	`thumb'
ša?    ǰ'oho:l vomit plant/herb	`vomit plant'; an herb (Euphorbia hirta) c.f. <u>šā:?</u> <u>ʔuǰ'a:l</u> below
tiyma?    ʔu:t' big.farter opossum	`skunk'
θut' kamab bat tooth	`wisdom tooth'
ǰa:b ʔit'aθ two banana	`chicozapote'; little sapote; chicle tree
ǰe:ʔ θa:m four nose	`fer-de-lance' (snake)
-    ʔušum ǰan woman snake	`boa'; "because it is the mother of the snakes"
wiǰ    k'apne:l flower food	`sacred food'; e.g. wafers used in the mass

##### **Noun-of-noun**

mama:l    ǰan liver.POSS snake	`snake's liver'; vine
-----------------------------------	-----------------------

ša:ʔ	ʔuǰ'a:l	`drunk's vomit'; herb (Euphorbia serpens)
vomit.POSS	drunk	
tat-il	bičim	`horse's saddle blanket'; shrub
mat-POSS	horse	
θiʔ-al	t'e:l	`rat's firewood'; shrub
firewood-POSS	rat	
ǰan-il	ʔa k'i:ča:	`coral snake'; because of its color
snake-POSS	the sun	
wal	toʔol	`wart'
eye.POSS	fish	
wiǰ-i:l	hesu:s	`Jesus' flower'; vine*
flower-POSS	Jesus	

\*This same plant is known by a noun-type-noun term, pa:škwə wiǰ 'Easter flower' (Sp. pascua 'Easter') and by an adjective-noun term, ʔasu:l wiǰ 'blue flower' (Sp. azul 'blue').

#### Adjective + Noun

kašiy	ʔu:t'	`skunk'; c.f. <u>paθʔu:t'</u> in 7.1.1 and <u>tiymaʔ ʔu:t'</u> in 7.3.1 above
stinky	opossum	
kuhuw	ʔak'wal	`tasty greens'; vine with edible leaves
tasty	greens	
paluw	ʔak'wal	`soft greens'; herb with edible leaves
soft	greens	
ǰak	pik'oʔ	`red dog'; medicinal herb
red	dog	
ǰemčiθ	ʔušum	`widow'
died-upon	woman	
ǰ'ehkaθ	ka:w	`law'
arranged	word	

#### Verbal Element + Noun

ʔa:b-al	k'ih	`rainy season'
rain-INC	time	
bel-al	to:m	`walking grass'; herb
walk-INC	grass	



ʔel-el haʔ flow.out-INC water	`spring`
kal-el k'i:ča: go.out-INC sun	`east`
hak'-(aʔ-) ʔohob inhale.it cough	`whooping cough`
met'-al k'i:ča: look.at-INC sun look.at-NOM*	`sunflower`
ʔoʔ-el k'i:ča: enter-INC sun	`west`
ʔoʔ-el ʔak enter-INC flea	`nigua`; insect resembling flea that burrows under the toenail
piʔ-iʔ wal scatter-REDUP eye	`portulaca`; herb; its fruits are scattered and look like eyes
wik'-aš teʔ tie-INC tree tie-NOM*	`jail`

\*In some cases a //-Vl// or //-Vš// suffix may be either an incomplete antipassive or a nominal (see Chapter 5, Section 1.2.1). I have indicated these alternatives in the glosses.

#### Adverb + Noun

kʷete:m kʷiʔ-(i)n-al alone fling-VN-INC	`flings by itself`; cactus which flings its thorns at witches if they pass by
--	---

#### Number Compounds

lahu ʔe:ʔ 10 + 4	`14`
ʔoš ʔinik bele:w 3 x 20 + 9	`69`

#### Longer Compounds (S.C.N. = Simple Compound Noun)

ʔalha:ʔ ʔi:ʔ in.water moon S.C.N.-type-N	`new moon`; the waning moon disappears into water and reappears as new moon
--	---

- ʔalha:ʔ ø'oho:l           `water plant'; shrub  
in.water plant/herb  
S.C.N.-type-N
- ʔalɟaba:l ʔa:m           `capulina'; venomous spider that lives  
in.earth spider           in the ground  
S.C.N.-type-N
- ø'e:n šišteʔ           `sierra blood tree'; tree with edible  
sierra blood.tree           fruit  
N-type-S.C.N.
- θak ʔo:k'           bu:ru           `burro's testes'; tree  
white.thump.POSS burro  
S.C.N.-of-N
- ʔalteʔ san huse: teʔ       `wild San José tree'; leguminous shrub  
in.tree san José tree  
S.C.N.-type-(N-type-N)
- ø'e:n tat-il bičim       `sierra horse's blanket'; leguminous  
sierra mat-POSS horse       shrub  
N-type-(N-of-N)
- wal ʔiɟ'a:mal ʔa:m       `deer's eye spider'; spider with small  
eye. deer           spider           body and long thin legs  
POSS  
(N-of-N)-type-N
- k'amab ʔu:t' ʔiɟ       `opossum's tooth chile'  
tooth. opossum chile  
POSS  
(N-of-N)-type-N
- k'amab ʔu:t' ø'e:n ʔiɟ   `sierra possum's tooth chile'  
tooth. opos. sierra chile  
POSS  
(N-of-N)-type-(N-type-N)
- ɟakam we:w           košol       `little rooster's tail'; fern  
little tail.POSS rooster  
Adj + (N-of-N)
- šono:l palaɟ be:rde       `green turkey's wattle'; medicinal herb  
wattle. turkey green (Sp.)  
POSS  
(N-of-N) + Adj
- ɟak bohól ø'oho:l       `red corncob plant'; medicinal herb  
red corncob plant/herb  
Adj + (N-type-N)

biča:m teʔ t'ihāš      `tiny soreness tree'; leguminous herb  
soreness tree tiny      with medicinal properties  
(N-type-N) + Adj

pahab ʔat'aš ʔinik      `Devil's sandals'; a medicinal herb  
sandal. filthy man  
POSS  
N-ot-(Adj + N)

52. ti.weʔe:l Ø ʔul-iʃ      ʔan t'uhub ʔa:b  
yesterday B3 arrive-COM a stone rain

`It hailed yesterday.'

53. pe:l hu:n ʔi ʃakam ʔoθʔinik yab ʔin kʷaʔal ʔin mi:m  
is one of little abuse.man not A3 have A3 mother

`He is a little orphan; he doesn't have a mother.'

54. ʔa Ya:nis neʔeʃ k-in      ʔal-k-iy-Ø      ʔin wal lam  
the Janis go SUBJ-A3 look.for-DM-TS-COM A3 eye mirror

maš k-in      ʔel-aʔ-Ø      ʔo ʔiba:  
if SUBJ-A3 find-TS-COM or not

`Janis is going to search for her contact lenses whether she expects to find them or not.'

55. ʔa Re:yna k'wahat ti-Ø      ʔeʃ-el-Ø      tam t-in  
the Reyna PROGR SUBOR-B3 firewood.gather-AP-INC when SUBOR-A3

ʃuʔ-u-Ø      hu:n ʔi ʃan-il      ʔa k'i:ča:  
see-TS-COM one of snake-POSS the sun

`Reyna was gathering firewood when she saw a coral snake.'

56. ʔan θit'om ʔin ʔal-iy-al      ʔan ʔoko:b      θut' ʔabal  
the curer A3 look.for-TS-INC the wing.POSS bat so.that

k-in      ʔila:l-iy-Ø      ʔan yaʔul  
SUBJ-A3 treat-TS-COM the sick.person

`The curer looks for the bat's wing vine so that he can treat the sick person.'

57. ?an lam-il k'wala:l  
the mirror-POSS knee  
`The patella; i.e. the knee's mirror.'
58. yah-čik ?u lam-il k'wala:l  
pain-PL A1 mirror-POSS knee  
`My patella hurts a lot.'
59. Ø hoθ-e-nek ?in lakab ?an ?ata:  
B3 lengthen-TS-PER A3 skirt.POSS the house  
`The house's eaves (of thatch) dragged down.'
60. ti.we?e:l ?in k'al-e-Ø k-u ton-k-an-č-Ø-i  
yesterday B1 go-TS-COM SUBJ-A1 cut.off-DM-EP-BEN-COM-EP  
?in lakab ?ata:-h-il ?a Santos  
A3 skirt house-EP-POSS the Santos  
`Yesterday I went to trim Santos' house's eaves.'

5.0 Noun Incorporation. The incorporation of a noun root into a verb stem is a very unproductive process in Huastec. For the sake of completeness I list here the only four examples I have found. The verb root + incorporated noun appear to form a noun stem, which must then be retransitivized with // -l-// or // -n-//, followed by a transitive thematic suffix. (See Chapter 7, Sections 2.2 and 2.3, for a full discussion of these two derivational morphemes.) The incorporated noun is boldfaced in the examples.

5.1 Examples.

he?-o:k'-n-a?- place.face.up- <b>head</b> -TVR-TS-	`place head face up' he-a?- `place face up'
pun-te?-l-iy- place- <b>tree</b> -TVR-TS-	`prune it' pun-uw- `put or place it'

tey-o:k'-n-a?-  
grab-head-*TVR-TS*-

`grab s.o. or s.t. about to fall'  
tey-n-a?- `grasp it, clutch it'

tol-wi?-l-iy-  
roll-mouth-*TVR-TS*-

`hem it'  
tol-iy- `roll it'

61. ?in he?-o:k'-n-a?-Ø                      ?in ?at    çakam  
A3 place.face.up-head-*TVR-TS-COM* A3 fellow child

`He pushed his companion so that he fell face up.'

## CHAPTER 10

## NOUN MORPHOLOGY III: NOUN POSSESSION

1.0 The Possessive Construction in Huastec. The possessive construction in Huastec takes the form:

Set A pronoun + possessed noun + (possessor)

The Set A clitic pronoun indicates the person and number of the possessor. The possessor need not be otherwise mentioned, but if it is, it will follow after the noun. A modifier may come between the Set A pronoun and the possessed noun, and the possessed noun may be marked for plurality by the plural morpheme // -čik // . The possessor may be a person, an animal, or a thing, and must be preceded a demonstrative or by the relevant noun specifier: ʔa, the 'respect' specifier, or ʔan, the unmarked specifier, unless the possessor is itself a possessed noun, when it will in turn be preceded by a Set A clitic pronoun. The only limit to the cycling of such possession is a pragmatic one--if the cycling continues too long the hearer loses track of the original noun. Examples of all these processes will be given in Section 5.0 below. Possessed stative constructions with Set C pronouns were discussed in Chapter 4, Section 1.3.

Given the right context any noun in Huastec may be possessed, and, with minor exceptions, most nouns have an unpossessed or an absolutive form. In the discussion below I use the term 'base form' to indicate the simplest or least modified form of a noun. Rules for possession

apply equally to root and derived nouns. However, the initial discussion of possession will concern itself only with native words whose root or derived base form is of the shape CV(:)C, CV(:)CV(:), and CV(:)CV(:)C. Sections 2.0 and 3.0 discuss possessive formation on longer stems and on non-native words.

The seven ways in which stems are modified upon possession are listed below; a fuller discussion follows. /I/ stands for a suffix vowel which is usually /i/ but sometimes /a/ by regular morphophonemic processes to be described below.

1. The possessed stem form is made by adding an // -I/ suffix to the base form and by lengthening the final vowel of a multi-syllable base form. The relationship between possessor and possessed is one of ownership, proprietorship or impermanence: hom `incense', ?u homil `my incense'; bakan `tortilla', ?u baka:ni:l `my tortilla'.
2. The base form is the possessed form; the noun may be unpossessed only by adding an absolutive // -lek// or generic // -la(:)b// suffix (see Chapter 9, Sections 3.1 and 3.2): ?u ?i:ʔik `my fingernail', ?i:ʔik lek `fingernail', ?i:ʔik la:b `fingernails'.
3. The possessed form is made by lengthening the final vowel of the base form: θam `nose', ?u θa:m `my nose'; lek ab `tongue', ?u lek a:b `my tongue'.
4. The possessed form is made by adding a // -li:l// suffix to the base form: ha? `water', ?in ha?li:l ?an lana:s `its water, the orange (its juice)'.
5. The possessed form is made by adding a // -V:l// suffix to the base form: ?i:ʔ `chile', ?in ?i:ʔi:l `its chile (the plant's chile)'.

Possession in any of these last four ways indicates some kind of part/whole, inherent, permanent or inalienable relationship between the possessor and the noun.

6. In a few cases a noun has the same shape whether possessed or unpossessed: ka:w `word', ?u ka:w `my word'.

7. An even smaller number of nouns are never unpossessed, and can never take the absolutive or generic suffixes: ?u k'ima:? `my homestead', \*?an k'im:a?, \*k'ima:?lek, \*k'ima:?la:b.

In the fuller discussion of possessive formation which follows I will refer to the "class" of possession by numbers 1 through 7. Subsequently I will argue that Huastec nouns can be divided into classes in terms of which type of possession they most commonly take-- that is, in terms of their distributionally unmarked possessed form-- but that many nouns may be possessed in two ways, and some in three. The possession class to which a noun belongs bears no necessary relationship to its derivational status; both noun roots and derived nouns appear in each possession class. Table 42 lists all nouns of Possession Classes 2-7. The approximately 450 Class 1 nouns comprise well over half the sample and are omitted for reasons of space.

#### 1.1 Class 1: Possessed Form with //-il// Suffix and Vowel Length.

The suffix vowel can be /i/ or /a/, and is determined by a process of vowel dissimilation. If the final vowel of a base form is /e,a,o,u/, the suffix vowel is /i/; if the base form vowel is /i/, the suffix vowel is /a/. If the base form ends in a vowel, /h/ is inserted before the suffix vowel. If the base form is CVC, CV:C or CV:CV vowel



length does not change when the suffix is added. If the base form is CVCV or CV(:)CVC, the final vowel is lengthened. If the base form is CV(:)CV: or CV(:)CV:C, the final vowel remains long. Examples of these various processes follow.

### 1.1.1 Examples.

#### Vowel dissimilation

bek	guava	?u bekil	my guava
pač	pot	?u pačil	my pot
hom	incense	?u homil	my incense
nut'	tar	?u nut'il	my tar
θi?	firewood	?u θi?al	my firewood
pe:m	rubber	?u pe:mil	my rubber
la:k	casserole	?u la:kil	my casserole
θo:t	rattle	?u θo:til	my rattle
θu:m	worm	?u θu:mil	my worm
t'i:m	frog	?u t'i:mal	my frog

#### CV(:)CV(:) with /h/ insertion.

k'oye	dough	?u k'oye:hil	my dough
?ata:	house	?u ?ata:hil	my house
k'i:ča:	sun, day	?u k'i:ča:hil	my day
ǰ'a:le	dignitary	?u ǰ'a:lehil	my dignitary

Only a small number of nouns have the shape CV(:)CV(:).

#### CV(:)CVC → CV(:)CV:C-Il

?at'em	salt	?u ?at'e:mil	my salt
č'ičab	comb	?u č'iča:bił	my comb

ʔe:toł	barber	ʔu ʔe:to:l-il	my barber
košol	rooster	ʔu košo:lil	my rooster
kuhub	coa	ʔu kuhu: bil	my coa (digging stick)
ǰ`ahib	mortar	ʔu ǰ`ahi: bal	my mortar

CV(:)CV:C → CV(:)CV:C-Il.

ʔamu:l	trash	ʔu ʔamu:lil	my trash
kobe:m	jícama	ʔu kobe:mil	my jicama
kʷaǰa:m	tamale	ʔu kʷaǰa:mil	my tamale
mu:θu:ǰ´	kind of shrub	ʔu mu:θu:ǰ´il	my shrub
ǰ`oho:l	herb	ʔu ǰ`oho:lil	my herb
ǰiʔi:m	honey	ʔu ǰiʔi:mal	my honey

As the examples above make clear, the relationship expressed by Class 1 possession is generally one of ownership or proprietorship.

1.2 Class 2: Base Form is the Possessed Form. The relationship expressed is inherent, inalienable, or one of part to whole. A noun may be unpossessed by adding an absolutive // -lek// or generic // -la(:)b// suffix, sometimes with a change in meaning. Nouns so derived may then be possessed by Class 1 type possession, with its implication of ownership and alienability.

A morphophonemic deletion process occurs with Class 2, Class 3 and Class 4 possession, and will be described here; see also Chapter 3, Section 5.2. When // -lek// or // -la(:)b// (Classes 2 and 3) or // -li:l// (Class 4) is added to a base form ending in /l/, the two /l/'s merge, through geminate reduction: ʔu wal `my eye´, walek eye,

absolute'. If the base form is disyllabic, i.e., CVCV1, the final vowel of the base form is deleted: CVCV1 + lek → CVCVlek → CVClek.

čukul `stomach (base form)`  
 ?u čukul `my stomach`  
 čuklek `stomach (absolute)`  
 čuklab `stomachs (generic)`

However, base forms of the shape CVIV1 do not undergo vowel syncope.

bolol `spine (base form)`  
 ?u bolo:l `my spine (Class 3)`  
 bololek `spine (absolute)`  
 bolola:b `spines (generic)`

These rules can be formally stated as ordered rules:

$$l \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{---} \begin{cases} \text{-lek} \\ \text{-la(:)b} \\ \text{-lI:l} \end{cases}$$

$$v \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{CVC} \begin{cases} \text{-lek} \\ \text{-la(:)b} \\ \text{-lI:l} \end{cases} \text{---} \text{[-lat]}$$

Class 2 possession includes body parts, clothing, inherent qualities, and relatives or kin. Since kin terms bear a more complex relationship to possession class, they will be discussed separately.

1.2.1 Body Parts, Clothing and Inherent Qualities. Items of clothing that are a customary part of Huastec dress, some abstract qualities, such as a person's inner strength or force, and some body parts have Class 2 type possession.

1.2.1.1 Examples.

## Body Parts.

ʔu ʔihil `my saliva`

ʔehtil ʔi ʔihlek `it looks like saliva` (ʔehtil `looks like`)

ya:ntom ʔi ʔihlab `much saliva` (ya:ntom `much`)

ʔin ʔihla:bil ʔi pik'oʔ `the dog's saliva (falling in drops)`  
(pik'oʔ `dog`)

ʔu ʔakan `my foot`

ʔan ʔakanlek `a plant`

ʔan ʔakanla:b `a forked pole (used to support s.t.)`

ʔu ʔakanla:bil `my forked pole`

## Other.

ʔu bih `my name`

bihla:b `list of names`

ʔin bihla:bil ʔan maye:so `the teacher's list` (maye:so `(Sp.)  
maestro`)

ʔu petob `my headdress` (made of coils of yarn)

hun yuneʔ ʔi petoblek `a coil of headdress` (hun `one`; yuneʔ  
`coil`)

tehe:ʔ ʔu nuhwa:b ʔi petobla:b `here headdresses are sold`  
(tehe:ʔ `here`; nuhuw `sell`)

yab ʔu kʷaʔal ʔu ʔa:p `I don't have my strength` (yab `no`;  
kʷaʔal `have`)

yab ʔu kʷaʔal ʔan ʔa:pla:b `I don't have strength`

ʔin ʔa:pla:bil ʔan ʔik' `the wind's force` (ʔik' `wind`)

1. ?an kal-θ-om kamablek ?in kal-θ-a?-∅ ya:n ?i  
 the go.out-CAUS-NOM teeth A3 go.out-CAUS-TS-COM many of  
 kamab-la:b ne?e? k-in kal-θ-a?-∅ ?u kamab  
 tooth-GEN go that-A3 extract-CAUS-TS-COM Al tooth

'The dentist extracted many teeth; he's going to extract my tooth'.

1.2.2 Relatives. Most terms for consanguineal, affinal or ritual kinfolk fall into this class. (See Table 43 for a complete list.) The base form is also used as the vocative. Interestingly enough, all the terms commonly used for children are alienably possessed, with Class 1 type possession.

The older terms for 'husband', ?ilow, and 'wife' or 'mate', ?i:šal, are inherently possessed, with Class 2 type possession; however, they are almost never used. One can refer to one's spouse by possessing the term for 'man' or 'woman': ?inik 'man', ?u ?ini:kal 'my man'; ?ušum 'woman', ?u ?ušu:mil 'my woman'; the connotation is faintly derogatory. The polite terms of reference are derived by Class 1 type possession of the words for 'old (m)', yeh?el, and 'old (f)', ?uškwe?: ?u yeh?e:lil 'my old man'; ?u ?uškwe: ?il 'my old lady'. The genderless term, tomki:l, derived from the verb tom-k-in 'marry', behaves like a Class 2 noun. It can be unpossessed only by adding a //-la:b// suffix: ?an tomki:la:b 'a married person'; ?u tomki:l 'my spouse'.

#### 1.2.2.1 Examples.

##### Class 1 possession

t'ele?	baby	?u t'ele: ?il	my baby
ʒipi:l	little one	?u ʒipi:lal	my little one

ʔakam	son, daughter	ʔu ʔaka:mil	my son, daughter
ʔ'ik'a:č	daughter, girl	ʔu ʔ'ik'a:čil	my daughter
kʷito:l	son, boy	ʔu kʷito:lil	my son

## Class 2 possession

ta:ta	papa	ʔu ta:ta	my papa
mi:m	mother	ʔu mi:m	my mother
na:na	mommy	ʔu na:na	my mommy
ʔebčal	sibling	ʔu ʔebčal	my sibling
ʔiʔa:n	uncle	ʔu ʔiʔa:n	my uncle
ʔanu:b	aunt	ʔu ʔanu:b	my aunt
ma:m	grandfather	ʔu ma:m	my grandfather
ʔa:č	grandmother	ʔu ʔa:č	my grandmother

2. leh ya:n ʔi ʔa:č-lek      ʔ či:č      ti mi:ša  
 very many of grandmother-ABS B6 come.COM to mass  
 `Lots of grandmothers came to mass.`
3. ʔan ʔa:č-la:b      ʔin piθ-aʔ-∅      ti-∅ k'ap-ul-∅  
 the grandmother-GEN A3 give-TS-COM to-B3 eat-AP-INC  
 ʔan t'eleʔ  
 the child  
 `The grandmother gave the child something to eat.`
4. ʔa:č      tin      piθ-aʔ-∅      we:ʔ      ʔi tumi:n  
 grandmother you.me give-TS-COM little of money  
 `Grandmother! Give me a little money.`
5. hana:ʔ pe:l ʔi hawan-lek      k'al a      Lusi:ya  
 she is of sister.in.law-ABS with the Lucia  
 `She is a sister-in-law of Lucia.`

6. Marciya:l pe:l ?i ha?u:b-la:b k'al ?u tomki:l  
 Marcial is of friend-GEN with Al spouse

'Marshall is a friend of my husband.'

I have not fully explored the type of construction in example 6 (ha?u:bla:b k'al...), but it appears to be difficult or impossible with terms for blood relatives. Ha?u:b, given in Tapia (1767) as meaning 'brother' or 'relative', is now more often used in the sense of 'friend'.

1.2.3 The Abstractive //-tal// Suffix. One of the most productive suffixes in Huastec is //-tal//, which derives a possessed abstract noun from verbs, adjectives or nouns (which may themselves be derived). It was discussed fully above in Chapter 8, Section 3.4.2, and Chapter 9, Section 1.3.2. All nouns formed with this suffix have class 2 type possession and can be unpossessed only by adding a //-la:b// suffix, with the two /l/'s undergoing geminate reduction, to make //-tala:b//. The absolutive //-lek// suffix is not used. (See Sections 3.1 and 3.2, Chapter 9.) A few examples follow; see the discussion in the previous chapter for extensive lists.

1.2.3.1 Examples.

∅ah-iy- 'weave'

∅ahiš 'weaver'

?u ∅aništal 'my loom'

?an ∅aništala:b 'a loom'

ʔač-im- `bathe`  
 ʔu ʔačimtal `my bath`  
 ʔan ʔačimtala:b `a bath`  
  
 ʔinik `man`  
 ʔin ʔiniktal `his manliness`  
 ʔiniktala:b `valor, intrepidity`  
  
 θiman `witch`  
 ʔa θimantal `your witchcraft`  
 θimantala:b `witchcraft`  
  
 ʔalwaʔ `good`  
 ʔa ʔalwaʔtal `your goodness`  
 ʔalwaʔtala:b `goodness`

1.3 Class 3: Possessed Form with Vowel Length. Class 3 possession is similar to Class 2 possession, except that a base form and a possessed form occur, in addition to the absolute and generic forms. The base form, of the shape CVC or CVCVC, is infrequent, and occurs only in restricted contexts; the possessed form is the commonest and is made by lengthening the final vowel of the base form. The morphophonemic rules described above (Section 1.2) for the addition of the // -lek// and // -la(:)b// suffixes apply to Class 3 nouns as well. Class 3 contains no terms for relatives or items of clothing (see 1.2.1 and 1.2.2). However, there appear to be no other semantic reasons for the assignment of a noun to Class 3 rather than to Class 2. In both cases we have terms for body parts, whether under



voluntary control or not, for parts of an object, and for things and people where the relationship between the possessor and the possessed is an inherent one: ʔu kʷaya:ʔ `my twin'; ʔu bičɔ:w `my town'; ʔu tamu:b `my years (of life)´.

### 1.3.1 Examples.

nuk´ `neck (base form)´

ʔu nu:k´ `my neck´

7. ya:n ʔu ʔahat-∅ leh ɕapik ʔaɕ´at leh ya:n ʔi nuk´-lek  
many B6 sing-INC very loud heard very many of neck-ABS

`Many were singing very loudly, many voices were heard.´

8. ʔin ɕɕɔ:b ʔan bičim (ɕɕɔb `hoof´, base form)  
A3 hoof the horse

`The horse´s hoof.´

9. ʔehti:l ʔi ɕɕɔb-lek ʔaši t´uhub  
resembles of hoof-ABS this stone

`This stone looks like a hoof.´

Huhul refers to fur, feathers, hair, palm thatch. Note that it undergoes geminate reduction and vowel syncope when // -lek// or // -la(:)b// suffixes are added.

10. ʔehti:l ʔi huhul ʔi miɕu?  
resembles of hair of cat

`It looks like cat fur.´

11. ʔin huhu:l ʔu θa:m  
A3 hair A1 nose

`My nose hair.´

12. Ø ?ih-k-an-Ø ?an huh-lek øaba:l  
 B3 fall-DM-VN-COM a feather-ABS ground

`A feather fell to the ground.'

13. ne?eø k-in pun-uw-Ø ?an ?i:t huh-lab t-in k'ima:?  
 go that-A3 put-TS-COM a new root-GEN on-A3 home

`He's going to put a new root on his home.'

14. ?in huh-la:b-il ?an ?ata:  
 A3 thatch-GEN-POSS the house

`The house's thatch.'

1.3.2 Beklek. There is one common noun with an irregular possessed form which probably belongs in this class.

beklek `bone (absolute)'

?u bekla:k (sic) `my bone (of my body)'

?in bekle:kil ?an pik'o? `The dog's bone (to eat)'

By analogy with huhlek the forms \*bekel and \*beke:l should exist, but they do not.

1.4 Class 4. Class 4 and Class 5 possession are: a) more restricted in distribution than Classes 1-3; b) can occur on many of the same base forms as Classes 1-3; and c) are mutually incompatible; if one is used on a particular base form the other is not. Class 4 possession derives a part/whole possessive from nouns which are usually marked for alienable possession (Class 1) or from nouns which also form a part/whole possessive by final vowel length (Class 3).

Class 4 possession is made by adding the suffix *//-li:l//* to the base form. The vowel of the suffix undergoes vowel dissimilation as in Class 1; final /l/ reduction and vowel syncope occur as described above (Section 1.2). If the base form is CV:C, the vowel is shortened. Since there are so few examples, I will give them all.

1.4.1 Examples.

ʔa:m `spider`

ʔu ʔa:mil `my spider`

ʔin ʔamli:l `its web`

bohol `corncob`

ʔu boho:lil `my corncob`

ʔin boho:l ʔan way? `the cob of the corn ear` (way? `corn ear`)

ʔin bohli:lʔan way? `the cob of the corn ear`

ha:wʔ `straw, dried leaves`

ʔu ha:wʔil `my straw, my dried leaves`

ʔin hawʔli:l `its dried leaves (of the sugarcane)`

haʔ `water`

ʔu haʔil `my water`

ʔin haʔli:l ʔan lana:š `the orange's juice` (lana:š (Sp.)  
`orange`)

ʔin haʔli:l ʔu wal `my tears` (wal `eye`)

ʔiθiθ `corn, specifically grains of corn`

ʔu ʔiθi:θal `my corn`

ʔin ʔiθiθla:l ʔan way? `the grains of the corn ear`

ʔiǰ'am `horn`

ʔu ʔiǰ'a:mil `my horn`

ʔin ʔiǰ'a:m ʔan ʔiǰ'a:mal `the deer's horn` (ʔiǰ'a:mal `deer`)

ʔin ʔiǰ'amli:l `its horn (of the deer)`

k'amal `fire`

ʔu k ama:lil `my fire`

ʔin k'amli:l ʔan kande:la `the candle's fire`

k'waʔ `toad`

ʔu k'waʔil `my toad`

ʔin k'waʔli:l ʔu nuk `my neck's toad = mumps`

ʔokob `arm, wing`

ʔu ʔoko:b `my arm`

ʔin ʔoko:b ʔan ʔaʔ `the metate s grinding stone` (ʔaʔ `metate`)

ʔin ʔokobli:l ʔan ʔaʔ `the metate's grinding stone`

ʔu ʔoko:bi:l `my grinding stone`

teʔ `tree`

ʔu teʔil `my tree`

ʔin teʔli:l ʔan ʔuʔun `the papaya's tree` (ʔuʔun `papaya`)

ʔapup `fiber`

ʔu ʔapu:pil `my fiber`

ʔin ʔapupli:l ʔan we:y `henequen fiber` (we:y `henequen`)

ʔin ʔuče:ʔ `its design` (patterning of snake's skin)

ʔin ʔučeʔli:l `its design` (ditto)

ø'a:h `rope, vine`

?u ø'a:hi:l `my rope, my vine`

?in ø'ahli:l ?an pahabla:b `sandal straps` (pahabla:b `sandals`)

walte? `sides` (of s.t. long and narrow; lit. wal `face` + te?  
`tree`)

?in walte?li:l ?an be:l `the edges of the road` (be:l `road`)

1.5 Class 5. Class 5 possession derives a part/whole or inherently possessed form from nouns that can additionally have either ownership possession (Class 1), or part/whole possession by lengthening the final vowel (Class 3), or both. In addition, there are two terms, çum and wi:l, which belong to Possession Class 2. I have been unable to tease out a semantic basis for the choice of Class 3 or Class 5, or of Class 2 or Class 5, possession on the same base form; likewise, there seem to be no syntactic reasons for the choice. The data for these forms are incomplete. Information about absolutive and generic suffixes is often lacking and I have not always explored all possible possessive formations. Note, however, that a large number of terms which take Class 5 possession are nouns derived with // -Vk // (see Table 36 and Chapter 8, Section 3.2.10).

Class 5 possession is made by adding // -V:l // to the base form. Except in four cases the vowel of the suffix echos the final vowel of the base form. Note that this differs from the vowel dissimilation described above for Classes 1 and 4. If the base form is CVCVC the final vowel is deleted after the suffix is added: pelok `crossbar` --> \*pelok-o:l --> pelko:l: ?in pelko:l ?an laktem `its crossbar (of) the chair`. If the base form is CV:C the vowel is shortened.

1.5.1 Examples.

ʔiɕ `chile (base form)´

ʔu ʔiɕal `my chile´

ʔin ʔiɕi:l `its chile (the plant's chile)´

ʔo:t´ `skin, hide (base form)´

ʔu ʔo:t´il `my hide (that I'm going to sell)´

ʔin ʔot'o:l ʔu ɕ'učub `the skin of my finger´ (ɕ'učub  
`finger´)

wiɕ `flower (base form)´

ʔu wiɕal `my flower´

ʔin wiɕi:l ʔan teʔ `the tree's flower´ (teʔ `tree´)

ɕučim `fungus (base form)´

ʔin ɕučmi:l ʔan teʔ `the tree's fungus´

pašik´la:b `pot lid (generic)´

ʔu paši:k´al `my pot lid (that I bought)´

ʔin paši:k´ `its lid (of the pot)´

ʔin pašk´i:l `its lid (of the pot)´

tonik´ `retaining wall (base form)´

ʔu toni:k´al `my retaining wall´

ʔin tonk´i:l `its retaining wall (of the house)´

15. neʔeɕ k-u ɕeh-k-aʔ-∅ hu:n ʔi tonik´-la:b  
go that-AL make-DM-TS-COM one of retaining.wall-GEN

`I'm going to construct a retaining wall.´

16. ʔan ʔata: ʔin kʷaʔal leh ya:n ʔin toni:k´  
 the house A3 has very many A3 retaining.wall

‘The house has many retaining walls.’

1.5.2 There are four cases in which the suffix vowel does not follow the rule given above. They are listed below.

č̣u:m ‘shoot, sprout (base form)’

ʔin č̣u:m ‘its shoot (of a plant)’

ʔin č̣umi:l ‘the tender part of a palmetto’ (not \*č̣umu:l)

k´i:θ ‘thorn’

ʔu k´i:θal ‘my thorn’

ʔin k´iθa:l ʔan teʔ ‘the tree’s thorn’ (not \*k´iθi:l)

k´ok´om ‘stalk of a palm leaf (base form)’

ʔin k´ok´ma:l ‘its stalk’ (not \*k´ok´mo:l)

ṣ̌iǰ´ ‘blood (base form)’

ʔu ṣ̌iǰ´a:l ‘my blood’ (not \*ṣ̌iǰ´i:l)

1.6 Class 6. In the sample of about 750 nouns for which I have both a possessed form and an unpossessed form, there are two cases in which a noun has the same shape whether possessed or unpossessed. The terms are ka:w ‘word’ and k´ih ‘permission’. McQuown (1984) gives ʔaleh ‘cornfield’ as both the possessed and unpossessed form. I have it only when possessed; for ‘a cornfield’ my informants always said ʔan ʔalela:b.

1.6.1 Examples.

17. ?in šayb-iy-al ?an ka:w  
A3 fork-TS-INC the words

‘He doesn’t speak directly.’

18. ?in ?aɣ-a(?) -a:mal ?in ka:w ?a pa:le hwan  
A6 hear-TS-PER A3 words the Padre Juan

‘They have heard Padre Juan’s words.’

19. haha:ʔ Ø ?oɣ-iɣ yab ?in kon-oy-Ø ?i k’ih  
he B3 enter-COM not A3 ask-TS-COM of permission

‘He entered without asking permission.’

20. tata:ʔ yab ?a yeh-en-č-al ?a k’ih ?abal k-it  
you not A2 need-EP-BEN-INC A2 permission in.order that-B2  
  
?oɣ-iɣ  
enter-COM

‘You don’t need permission to enter.’

1.7 Class 7. In a few cases a noun is only possessed, and cannot be used with an absolutive or generic suffix. The example was given in Section 1.0 above of ?u k’ima:ʔ ‘my homestead’. The other examples I have are relational nouns which fulfill a prepositional or other syntactic function. They are ?a:l ‘interior, inside’; ba:ʔ ‘being, self’; and ?e:b ‘union, entirety’. Some words for body parts, when possessed, may be used prepositionally. These include ?akan ‘foot’, ku:š ‘shoulders’; and tame:t ‘the front of someone or something’. Examples of their usage follow.



1.7.1 Examples.

21. k<sup>h</sup>wahat t-in ʔa:l ʔam pok<sup>h</sup>te<sup>h</sup>  
be.placed in-A3 inside the box  
`It is inside the box.`
22. nana:ʔ t-u ba:ʔ neʔeʔ k-u θuč-aʔ-∅ ʔan ʔu:w  
I in-A1 self go that-A1 write-TS-COM a book  
`I myself am going to write a book.`
23. wawa:ʔ t-i ba:ʔ ʔi ʔeh-k-aʔ-∅ ʔan ʔata:  
we in-A4 self A4 make-DM-TS-COM the house  
`We ourselves built the house.`
24. ʔin ʔem-θ-aʔ-∅ t-in ba:ʔ  
A3 kill-CAUS-TS-COM of-A3 self  
`He committed suicide.`
25. wawa:ʔ ʔo:š t-i ʔe:b ʔi nuh-uw-al ʔi t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup>lek  
we three in-A4 togetherness A4 sell-TS-INC of meat  
`We three jointly sell meat.`
26. ʔa:b t-a ʔe:b ʔit ta:l  
two in-A2 togetherness you come  
`The two of you arrive.`
27. ∅ ʔih-k-an-∅ ʔan walila:b t-in ʔakan ʔan te<sup>h</sup>  
B3 fall-TS-VN-COM the fruit at-A3 foot the tree  
`The fruit fell beneath the tree.`
28. ʔan šomom k<sup>h</sup>wahat t-in ku:š ʔan pok<sup>h</sup>te<sup>h</sup>  
the gourd placed at-A3 back the trunk  
`The gourd is behind the trunk.`

29. wawa:ʔ ʔu koy-ol-∅ t-in tame:t ʔan ʔila:liʃ  
 we B4 sit-TS-INC at-A3 front the curer

‘We seat ourselves before the curer.’

2.0 Derived and Reduplicated Stems. Many of the noun stems discussed in various sections above are derived from other parts of speech (e.g. 1.1.3 č’ič-ab ‘comb’ and kuh-ub ‘coa’, deverbal nouns with an instrumental // -Vb// suffix); they have been included to make the point that derived nouns can fall into the same possession classes as root nouns. The previous discussion was limited to CV(:)C, CV(:)CV(:) and CV(:)CV(:)C roots or stems. Longer or more complex stems also behave in a regular fashion. Below I give some examples of derived or reduplicated stems with Class 1 (ownership) possession. Note that in all cases an // -il// suffix is added and the final vowel of the stem is long.

2.1 Examples.

č’apilaʔ	kind of bee	ʔu č’apila:ʔil	my bee
lawčeʔ	yellow snake	ʔu lawče:ʔil	my snake
ʔoyʔom	toasted tortilla	ʔu ʔoyʔo:mil	my toasted tortilla
ʔokzáʔ	board	ʔu ʔokzá:ʔil	my board
tihzan	epazote	ʔu tihza:nil	my epazote
hutuku:ʔ	pemoche (plant)	ʔu hutuku:ʔil	my pemoche
tobz’iʔ	edible vine	ʔu tobz’i:ʔal	my edible vine
ʔukli:θ	swallow	ʔu ʔukli:θal	my swallow
huthut	green bird	ʔu huthu:til	my green bird
mukmuk	black snake	ʔu mukmu:kil	my black snake
ʔ’umz’um	papatla (plant)	ʔu ʔ’umz’u:mil	my papatla

3.0 Possession of Non-Huastec Words. Stress in Huastec is determined by vowel length, falling on the last long vowel of a word (or on the first vowel if there are no long vowels); see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.1, for a fuller discussion. The effect of vowel lengthening in Class 1 and Class 3 type possession, or of the addition of a // -lI:l// or // -V:l// suffix in classes 4 and 5, is to change the stress pattern of the word. In the examples below ´ indicates the stressed syllable.

Class 1	t´eleʔ	child	ʔin t´elé:ʔil	her child
Class 3	húhul	hair	ʔin huhú:l	its hair (of my nose)
Class 4	ʔíθiθ	corn	ʔin ʔiθiθlá:l	its kernel (of the corn ear)
Class 5	čúčim	fungus	ʔin čučmí:l	its fungus (of the tree)

However, non-Huastec nouns, mostly Spanish loans, retain their original stress pattern when possessed by Class 1 type possession. The rule for possession, given in 1.1, must be abbreviated. Vowel dissimilation and /h/ insertion occur, but there is no change in vowel length. Of course, if stress is on the final syllable of a borrowed word, as in the last four examples below, it will behave just like a Huastec stem stressed on the final syllable. Some examples follow, with the Spanish word in parentheses.

lé:ča	milk (leche)	ʔu lé:ča:hil	my milk	*le:ča:hil
bá:kaš	cow (vaca)	ʔu bá:kašil	my cow	*ba:ká:šil
lá:pes	pencil (lápiz)	ʔu lá:pesil	my pencil	*la:pé:sil
ʔú:ba	grape (uva)	ʔu ʔú:bahil	my grape	*ʔu:bá:hil
ʔarí:na	flour (harina)	ʔu ʔarí:nahil	my flour	*ʔariná:hil

tumí:n	money (tomín)	?u tumí:nal	my money
kamaró:n	shrimp (camarón)	?u kamaró:nil	my shrimp
kapé:	coffee (café)	?u kapé:hil	my coffee
laná:š	orange (naranja)	?u laná:šil	my orange

Four non-Spanish-derived words do not change their stress pattern when the possessive suffix is added. This suggests that they are not Huastec roots.

té:pa?	magic being	?in té:pa?il	?a ma:m	the God's Te:pa?
pí:ta?	chicken	?u pí:ta?il		my chicken
ǵá:kuy	woollen yarn	?u ǵá:kuyil		my yarn
pík'ó?	dog	?u pí:k'wal		my dog

The Te:pa? is a magic being who flies through the air like a star or satellite and brings gifts to people. McQuown (1984) suggests that the term may derive from the Classical Nahuatl tepe:wa:ni 'conqueror'. Stress in Nahuatl is penultimate; primary stress would fall on -wa:-, secondary stress possibly on te:-. Kaufman (1980:104) derives pík'ó? from Proto-Zapotec \*pekku; (c.f. Yucatec pe:k 'dog'). In addition to the irregular possessed form pí:k'wal, there exists a regular one: ?in pí:k'ó:il ?an way? 'its dog, the corn ear (an earwig)'. Kaufman (1980) lists other candidates for loans into Huastec, but none of these is detectible through any irregularity in its possessed form. I have no theory about the origin of pí:ta? or ǵa:kuy.

Spanish loan words for relatives or articles of clothing behave when possessed like similar Huastec words; that is, they take Class 2 type possession, the possessed form being identical with the base form

and the unpossessed form requiring a suffix. Many terms for Catholic ritual relationships fall into this class, e.g. kumpa:le 'compadre' or 'co-father', the relationship between a father and his child's godfather. Some other examples follow, with the Spanish word in parenthesis.

?u kuma:le	my co-mother (comadre)	kuma:le!	co-mother! (vocative)
?u pri:mo	my cousin (primo)	.....	(no example)
?u ?a:mo	my boss (amo)	?an ?a:mola:b	the boss
?u ?ani:yo	my ring (anillo)	?an ?ani:yola:b	the ring
?u koto:n	my blouse (cotón)	?an koto:nla:b	a blouse

I have one example of a Spanish loan word with Class 4 type possession: se:ra 'wax' (Sp. cera); ?in serali:l ?an hahnek 'the bee's wax'.

4.0 The Semantics of Possession Classes. Implicit in the discussion above is the fact that different structural types of possession may reflect different semantic properties. And while most nouns have an unmarked, or most common, form, many readily fall into two (or more) possession classes. Sometimes the difference is that between an object and its part, on the one hand, and the part that I own, on the other. If I refer to a lid as part of a pot, I can use Class 3 type possession to express this relationship: ?in paši:k' 'its lid'. If I want to emphasize my ownership of the potlid, which I may just have purchased, I can use Class 1 type possession: ?u paši:k'al 'my potlid'. The ?owla:b, or 'necklace', is an essential part of a

Huastec woman's dress. Not surprisingly, it takes Class 2 type possession: ʔu ʔow 'my necklace'. However, the same root may be used to refer to a dog's collar, and in this case possession is thought of as alienable: ʔin ʔowil ʔan pik'oʔ 'the dog's collar'. Often there is an even greater semantic difference encoded by different possession classes: ʔu ʔiʔi:na:l (Class 1) 'my (caged) bird'; ʔu ʔiʔi:n (Class 3) 'my spirit'. At different times my assistant gave for 'my sins' both ʔu wala:bi:l (Cl. 1) and ʔu wala:b (Cl. 3). Perhaps this reflects the difference between venial and mortal sins; at the time I did not pursue the question.

A number of examples of nouns that fall into more than one possession class are given above (Sections 1.2, 1.3, 1.4, 1.5) and other examples follow.

ʔu ʔo:k (Cl. 3) 'my head'

ʔin ʔok'o:l (Cl. 5) 'its roof (of the house)'

ʔin ʂoko:k ʔan haʔ (Cl. 3) 'its foam (that covers) the water'  
(haʔ 'water')

ʔin ʂoko:kil ʔan ʂabu:n (Cl. 1) 'soap suds' (Sp. jabón 'soap')

ʔu ʔ'olo:bi:l (Cl. 1) 'my handle (that I have attached to s.t.)'

ʔin ʔ'olo:b ʔan delo:h (Cl. 3) 'hands of a watch' (Sp. reloj  
'watch')

ʔu ʔaye:m (Cl. 3) 'my quexquemitl'

ʔu ʔaye:mi:l (Cl. 1) 'my quexquemitl (that I sell)'

ʔu ʔak'i:b (Cl. 3) 'my sweat'

ʔu ʔak'i:ba:l (Cl. 1) 'my sweat (that drops from my body)'

ʔu t'uyi:k'al (Cl. 1) 'my wax'

ʔin t'uyi:k' ʔan hahnek (Cl. 3) 'the bee's wax (honeycomb)'  
(hahnek 'fly, bee')

One very productive process in Huastec is to make an absolutive or generic noun from an inherently possessed one, and then to possess this absolutive form with Class 1 type possession. For example:

ʔin šekɛ:l ʔan te? 'the tree's leaves (Cl. 3) (te? 'tree')

ʔan šeklek 'a leaf' (absolutive)

ʔu šekle:kil 'my leaves (for wrapping tamales)' (Cl. 1)

ʔu t'vʔu:l 'my meat (my own flesh)' (Cl. 3)

ʔan t'vʔlek 'meat' (absolutive)

ʔu t'vʔle:kil 'my meat (that I sell)' (Cl. 1)

Almost any part of an animal or plant that can be detached or sold can be possessed in the same fashion as 'meat'. Other examples of Class 1 type possession of nouns derived with an absolutive or generic suffix are given in Sections 1.2.1.1, 1.3.1 and 1.3.2 above.

5.0 Elaboration of the Possessive Construction. As noted in 1.0 above, the basic possessive construction may be elaborated in several ways. A modifier may come between the Set A pronoun and the possessed noun; noun-noun compounds may be possessed; the possessed noun or the possessor may be marked for plurality; the possessor may be a person, animal, plant or thing; and the possessor may itself be a possessed noun.

5.1 Modified Possessed Noun. I did not systematically elicit modified possessed nouns in all possession classes. Classes 4, 5 and 6 are so limited that I have been unable to find any examples, though I presume it would be possible to say: 'the metate's new grinding stone' (Cl. 4), or 'the house's old roof' (Cl. 5), or 'Padre Juan's sacred words' (Cl. 6). However, examples are available for the remaining possession classes. The modified possessed nouns are bold-faced in the examples below.

5.1.1 Examples.

30.  $\text{ʔu k'aʔa:l ʔaka:m-il pe:l ʔi ʔ'ik'a:č}$  (Cl. 1)  
Al first child-POSS is of girl  
`My first child is a girl.`
31.  $\text{ʔu biya:l tolto:m-il}$  (Cl. 1)  
Al old clothing-POSS  
`My old clothing.`
32.  $\text{yabaye ʔu ʔuʔ-č-a:mal ʔin ʔi:t biči:m-al ʔa Hwa:n}$  (Cl. 1)  
not-yet Al see-BEN-PER A3 new horse-POSS the Juan  
`I haven't yet seen Juan's new horse.`
33.  $\text{maš k-in t'uč-iy-∅-i∅ ʔin ʔakam čukul yaba-(a)∅}$   
if that-A3 fill-TS-COM-EMPH A3 little stomach not-indeed  
 $\text{neʔe∅ ka-∅ ʔuk'-in-∅}$  (Cl. 2)  
go that-B3 cry-VN-COM  
`If he's already filled his little stomach, he's not going to cry.`
34.  $\text{ʔu kʷaʔal ʔan maʔe:t t-u kʷatab k'ubak}$  (Cl. 2)  
Al have a machete in-Al left hand  
`I have a machete in my left hand.`



35. t'iθk'w-aš k'al ?in k'wete:m ?akan (Cl. 2)  
stumble-NOM with A3 alone foot  
`He stumbled over his own feet.'
36. ?a ?alabe:l koto:n miǰ'at (Cl. 2)  
A2 pretty blouse torn  
`Your pretty blouse is torn.'
37. ?in ?i:t pahab t'unu? (Cl. 2)  
A3 new shoes black  
`His new shoes are black.'
38. kala:m ne?eǰ k-u ne?-θ-a?-∅ ?u pulik pay?lo:m  
tomorrow go that-A1 go-CAUS-TS-COM A1 revered father  
ti Ba:yes (Cl. 2)  
to Valles  
`Tomorrow I'm going to take my father to Valles.'
39. haha:ʔ ?u čeʔ-e-l ?abal k-in ?eǰ-en-č-∅-i  
he B3 come-TS-INC so that-A3 gather.wood-EP-BEN-COM-EP  
?an θiʔ ?in ?uškweʔ mi:m (Cl. 2)  
the wood A3 old mother  
`He comes to gather wood for his old mother.'
40. ?in ǰalp-ay-∅ t-in k'wete ?o:k' hant'o k-u t'ah-aʔ-∅  
A3 think-TS-COM in-A3 alone head what that-A1 do (Cl. 3)  
`She thought to herself, "What to do?"'
41. ?u ǰ'aʔ-iy-a:mal ?u ?i:t k'ima:ʔ ?in k'waʔal šowe:ʔ ǰa:b ?a  
A1 buy-TS-PER A1 new house A3 has today two the  
?i:ǰ' (Cl. 7)  
moon  
`I bought my new house two months ago.'

42. Ø k'al-e-Ø t-in kwete ba:ʔ (Cl. 7)  
 B3 go-TS-COM in-A3 alone self

`He went alone.'

43. ʔu ʔabč̣i:l pi:k'wal leh lo:ko (Irregular possessive)  
 Al second dog very ferocious

`My second dog is very ferocious.'

5.2 Plurality of Possessed Nouns. An unmarked noun in Huastec may be understood as singular or plural depending on context; a noun is marked for plurality with the particle //č̣ik//; see Chapter 11, Section 7.0 for details. When possessed nouns are pluralized the plural marker follows any possession class marker. In Sentence 46 below, note that one noun, `mother's sisters', translated as plural, bears the plural marker //č̣ik//; the other, `aunts', also translated as plural, does not. All three terms for relatives are Class 2 nouns.

5.2.1 Examples.

ʔu ʔaka:m-il-č̣ik `my children' (Cl. 1)

ʔu ʔolo:m-il-č̣ik `my pigs' (Cl. 1)

ʔu č̣'iča:b-il-č̣ik `my combs' (Cl. 1)

ʔu haʔu:b-č̣ik `my friends' (Cl. 2)

44. ʔu ʔa:č̣                      ʔu ʔ'uʔ'mi:m-č̣ik                      ʔu ʔanu:b  
 Al grandmother.POSS Al mother's.sisters.POSS-PL Al aunt.POSS

`My grandmother, my mother's sisters, my aunts.'

45. leh ʔalobe:l ʔin ʔaʔu:b-č̣ik ʔan t'eleʔ  
 very beautiful A3 cheek.POSS-PL the child

`The child has very beautiful cheeks.'

46. ?in neʔ-θ-a(?) -al ?in ču:m-čik ?an ǰ'awʔ  
A3 go-CAUS-TS-INC A3 shoot-PL the tsaw

'He brings shoots of the tsaw tree.'

47. ?ešpiθ pi:l leh huʔta t-in ǰakam ʔo:k'-čik ?an ka:w  
only different very there in-A6 little head-PL the word

'The words differ only there in their little affixes.'

5.3 Plurality of Possessor. It is also possible to specify the possessor of a noun as plural.

5.3.1 Examples.

48. ?in ʔata:h-il ?an k'ima:θ-čik  
A6 house-POSS the neighbor-PL

'The neighbors' house.'

49. ?in biči:m-al ?an ?inik-čik  
A6 horse-POSS the man-PL

'The men's horse.'

5.4 Possessed Noun as Possessor. It is possible for a noun to be possessed by a noun which is itself possessed. The only limit seems to be a pragmatic one; if the cycling continues too long, confusion may set in. Some examples follow.

5.4.1 Examples.

50. ?in lem-tal ?u k'ubak  
A3 butterfly-ABSTR A1 hand.POSS

'The palm of my hand.'

51. ?in ku:š ?a k'ubak  
A3 back.POSS A2 hand.POSS

'The back of your hand.'

52. ?in šap-a(?) -al ?in ču:m ?in we:w t-in  
A3 insert-TS-INC A3 point.POSS A3 tail.POSS in-A3

θa:m ?an mi:m-la:b  
nose.POSS the mother-POL

`It inserts the point of its tail in the lady's nose.'

53. ha?iǵ ?in k'ima:? ?in ?iǵa:n ?a Ewan  
this A3 house.POSS A3 uncle.POSS the Juan

`This is Juan's uncle's house.'

54. ha?iǵ ?in ǵa?-il ?in ?a:č ?a Mari:ya  
this A3 metate-POSS A3 grandmother.POSS the Maria

`This is Maria's grandmother's metate.'

55. ha?iǵ ?in ?olo:m-il ?in na:na ?in yehǵe:l-il ?u ?ebčal  
this A3 pig-POSS A3 momma A3 old.man-POSS Al sister.POSS

`This is my sister's husband's mother's pig.'

56. ha?iǵ ?in biči:m-al ?in ta:ta ?in yehǵe:l-il ?u  
this A3 horse-POSS A3 papa A3 old.man-POSS Al

ǵ'ik'a:č-il  
daughter-POSS

`This is my daughter's husband's father's horse.'

My assistant found these last four elicited sentences somewhat un-Huastec in their phrasing. He preferred to recast 58 beginning ha?iǵ ?an bičim... `This is a horse...' However, 54, with its recursive possession, was given spontaneously in a story about a mythic snake.

5.5 Nature of the Possessor. As is apparent from the examples above, a possessor may be a person (sentences 18, 24, 25, 27, 31, 34, 47, 50, 51, 55-58), part of a person (9, 52-54), an animal (13), part of an

animal (54), a plant (29, 48), a thing (12, 16, 23, 30), or an abstract concept, such as `illness` (22) or `word` (49); these sentences include only those where the possessor is specified in addition to the clitic possessive pronoun. The unnumbered lists of examples also contain possessors that fall into the above categories. People are more likely than things to have ownership, proprietorship or alienable possession of something. Things often possess their parts in a part/whole fashion, that is, with Class 3, 4 or 5 type possession. Animals and people possess body parts with Class 2 or 3 type possession, as do plants with their parts. But it is apparent that there is no one-to-one relationship between type of possessor and class of possession.

## CHAPTER 11

## CLITICS

Clitics are defined as those particles which 1) cannot stand alone; 2) can attach to more than one root class; and 3) do not change the root class of the word to which they are attached. A complete listing follows, with the exception of the plural clitic *//-čik//*, which is discussed in Section 7.0 of Chapter 12.

1.0 *//-ak//*. Irrealis. Expresses contrary to fact, subjunctive, conditional or hypothetical meanings. I have no examples of the suffix on nouns; examples with other parts of speech follow.

1. maš ʔin kwəʔal-ak ʔin ʔupitʔal neʔeʔ k-u  
if A3 have.INVAR-IRR A3 point go SUBJ-A1

ʔeht-ow-∅ t-in ʔuč-um-∅  
be.able-TS-COM SUBOR-B1 write-AP-INC

‘If it had a point, I would be able to write.’

2. ʔa ʔem-θ-a(ʔ)-a:mal-ak ʔan pikʔoʔ yab neʔeʔ ka-∅  
A2 die-CAUS-TS-PER-IRR the dog not go SUBJ-B3

kʔatʔ-uw-at ʔan ʔakam  
bite-TS-COM.PASS the child

‘If you had killed the dog, the child wouldn’t have been bitten.’

3. ∅ kʔwahat-ak tehe:ʔ hu:n ʔi ʔata:  
B3 exist-IRR here one of house

‘There used to be a house here.’

4. Q. tin ča:n-č-ø-ak kala:m ?an θi? (r.i.)  
 you-to.me bring-BEN-COM-IRR tomorrow the wood  
 `Might you bring me the wood tomorrow?`
- A. ?ohni? ne?eʒ k-u ča:ʔ-ø-ø  
 truly go SUBJ-A1 bring-TS-COM  
 `I'm definitely going to bring it.`
5. ?u k'ap-a:b-ak niši košol leh ?it'iš  
 B3 eat-INC.PASS-IRR this rooster very annoying  
 `Would that this rooster were eaten, it's very annoying.`
6. ti.we?e:l ø ta:l-ak ?an ?a:b ?ani yab ø ?ul-iʒ  
 yesterday B3 come.INVAR-IRR the rain and not B3 come-COM  
 `Yesterday the rain was supposed to come, but it didn't.`
7. tam ?eʒ-eθ-ak-iʒ ?an θi? ne?eʒ k-in ne?-θ-aʔ-ø  
 when cut-PPL-IRR-EMPH the wood go SUBJ-A3 go-CAUS-TS-COM  
 t-in k'ima:ʔ  
 to-A3 house  
 `Whenever all the wood is cut, he will bring it to his house.`
8. maš čuk-uθ-ak-iʒ ne?eʒ k-u ne?-θ-aʔ-ø ti Ba:yes  
 if sew-PPL-IRR-EMPH go SUBJ-A1 go-CAUS-TS-COM to Valles  
 `If it were already sewn, I would bring it to Valles.`
9. yaba k-a ?ul-uw-ø ?abal θuma:θ-ak  
 not IMP-A2 say-TS-COM that worry-IRR  
 `Don't say that it (the corn) might be wormy.`
10. ?alwa:k (?alwaʔ-ak) mas ø hil-k'-on-al-ak wik'at  
 good-IRR if B3 leave-DM-VN-INC-IRR tied.up  
 `It would be good if he should remain tied up.`

11. yaba-ye waʔaʔ ʔi ʔawtorida:d ni preside:nte hu:n-ak  
 not-PERDUR there.be of authority nor president one-IRR  
 ʔi hwe:s  
 of judge

‘There was no authority, nor president, not even a judge.’

12. ʔu kʷah-(a)n-al ma huʔta:m-ak-iʔ  
 B3 inhabit-VN-INC from where-IRR-EMPH

‘He lives somewhere or other.’

Hantʻiniʔak is the Huastec idiom used to express the Spanish ‘Ojalá que...’ or the English ‘Would that...’; see Chapter 16, Section 1.5 for a discussion of hantʻiniʔ as an interrogative, and section 2.3 for its use as a manner adverb.

13. hantʻiniʔ-ak haha:ʔ ʔin ʔabn-a(?) -al-ak ʔan tumi:n  
 how-IRR he A3 send-TS-INC-IRR the money

‘Would that he should send the money!’

14. hantʻiniʔ-ak ka-∅ leh-k-in-∅  
 how-IRR SUBJ-B3 fit-DM-VN-COM

‘Would that he get better!’

In answer to the question, ‘Is this the plant you were looking for?’ one might say:

15. ʔehti:l-ak  
 similar-IRR

‘It could be.’ ‘It’s rather similar.’

16. ʔi:b-ak ʔi la:baš  
 not-IRR of spook

‘May it not be a spook!’



17. maš yab-ak ?u ha?u:b yab-ak ?u mat-in-č-a:mal ?an tumi:n  
 if not-IRR A1 friend not-IRR A1 lend-EP-BEN-PER the money  
 `If he hadn't been my friend, I wouldn't have lent him the money.'

The following sentence, from a text, refers to the mythical Lintsi, who were drowned by the gods because they were disrespectful:

18. ta:m pos niše:? yab-ak ?in t'ah-a(?) -a:mal ?ančana:? ?an  
 then well those not-IRR A3 do-IS-PER thus the  
 ling'i? Ø k'ak'-n-aš-ne:nek-ak wala:m be:l-ak Ø wa?ač  
 Lintsi B3 hot-TVR-AP-PER-IRR I.believe still-IRR B3 be  
 `Well then, if those Lintsi had not done thus, if they had been respectful, I believe they would still exist.'

See Section 8.1 for examples of *//-ak//* in combination with the clitics *//-ič//* and *//-k'i//*.

1.1 *//-ak//*. Past. When *//-ak//* is added to the stative *pe:l* `to be', it has the specific meaning `was', and implies a condition existing in the past but not in the present.

19. tam ti biya:l pe:l-ak ?i hek'om ?ani šowe:? leh  
 when at olden.time be-IRR of disobedient and now very  
 ?alwə? ?inik  
 good man  
 `He used to be disobedient but now he's a very good man.'
20. Ya:nis pe:l-ak ?i ?al-im g'oho:l ?ani šowe:? pe:l ?i  
 Janis be-IRR of look.for-NOM plant and today be of  
 bota:nika  
 botanist  
 `Janis was a searcher for plants and now she's a botanist.'

2.0 //-ana:ʔ//. Putative. 'I think, it could be.' Can be suffixed to verbs, nouns and adjectives.

21. tal-alay-ana:ʔ  
finish-REDUP-PUT

'Altogether finished, I think.'

22. bičim-ana:ʔ  
horse-PUT

'It could be a horse.'

23. wala:m pu:lik-ana:ʔ  
I.believe big-PUT

'It could be big, I think.'

24. neʔeʃ ka-∅ tomk-in-∅-ana:ʔ  
go SUBJ-B3 marry-VN-COM-PUT

'They are probably going to get married.'

3.0 //-e//. Perdurative. 'Still, having the attribute of.' Can be suffixed to nouns, adjectives, participles and verbs. If a stem ends in a vowel the suffix has the allomorph /-ye/; if a stem ends in /ʔ/ the suffix is optionally /-ye/, with deletion of the /ʔ/.

25. tam t-in çakam-e...  
when SUBOR-B1 child-PERDUR...

'When I was still a child...'

26. tam nana:ʔ ʔu payʔlo:m t'ele(?)-ye...  
when I Al father child-PERDUR...

'When this father of mine was still a child...'

27. k-it kul-b-e:-∅ tam t-it gʷakam-e yab tam  
 SUBJ-B2 happy-INCH-TS-COM when SUBOR-B2 child-PERDUR not when  
 t-it yehgʷel-ak-i∅  
 SUBOR-B2 old-IRR-EMPH

‘Enjoy yourself when you are still young, not when you are already old.’

28. ʔašeʔ leh ʔi:t-e  
 this very new-PERDUR

‘This is still very new.’

29. maš k-it tʰoh-on-∅ tam t-it gʷipil-e...  
 if SUBJ-B2 work-VN-COM when SUBOR-B2 little-PERDUR...

‘If you work when you are still little...’

30. ʔehat-e ʔo gʷem-nek-i∅ (r.i.)  
 alive-PERDUR or dead-EMPH

‘Is he still alive or is he already dead?’

31. ʔu čuč-ul-∅-e  
 B3 nurse-AP-COM-PERDUR

‘She still nurses.’

32. ʔin kʷaʔal-e ʔan bakan  
 A3 have-PERDUR the tortilla

‘She still has tortillas.’

4.0 //-i∅//. Emphatic; often with completive meaning. ‘Already, indeed.’ Can be suffixed to nouns, adjectives, verbs and particles. Perdurative //-e// and //-i∅// are mutually exclusive.

33. šowe:ʔ yaba ʔin ʔeht-ow-al yehgʷel-i∅  
 now not A3 be.able-TS-INC old-EMPH

‘He can’t do it now, he’s much too old.’

34. ?in ?e:y-iç ti-∅ θakum pan  
A3 job-EMPH SUBOR-B3 maker bread  
`It is indeed his job to make bread.`
35. ?a lek'-a(?) -a:mal ?an te?ne:l maš kuhuw-iç (r.i.)  
A2 taste-TS-PER the food if savory-EMPH  
`Have you tasted the food to see if it is indeed savory?`
36. ∅ yik w-ç-in-∅-iç  
B3 darken-DM-VN-COM-EMPH  
`It got dark already.`
37. wawa:? ?i k'ap-u:mal-iç patal ?an bakan  
we A4 eat-PER-EMPH all the tortilla  
`We have already eaten all the tortillas.`
38. niwa?-iç ∅ ta:l ?an hik'elom  
there-EMPH B3 come.INVAR the scaredycat  
`There indeed comes the scaredycat.`

Huastec has a strong stylistic prejudice against exact repetition, especially in a question and answer exchange. //-iç// is frequently used to vary a response.

39. Q. ?alwa? (r.i.)  
good  
A. ?alwa?-iç  
good-EMPH  
`Good?` `Indeed good!`
40. Q. ?alabe:l ?an ?e:m (r.i.)  
good-looking the corn  
A. ?alabe:l-iç ?an ?e:m  
good-looking-EMPH the corn  
`Does the corn look good?` `It is really good-looking.`

5.0 //-kočik//. Speculative. 'I think, I believe, really?' Always expresses a bit of surprise. Can be suffixed to verbs, participles, nouns and particles.

41. ?it k'ap-u:ø-kočik  
B2 eat-COM-SPEC

'You've eaten?' (And it's not even dinner time yet!)

42. ?a tal-a?-ø-iø-kočik  
A2 finish-TS-COM-EMPH-SPEC

'You've finished it already, I think.'

43. ne?eø-kočik k-it tomk-in-ø (r.i.)  
go-SPEC SUBJ-B2 marry-VN-COM

'You're getting married at last?'

Compare this sentence with 24 above.

My assistant pantomimed trying to lift a lid which was stuck:

44. ?ah, ø'at'at-kočik  
ah stuck-SPEC

'Ah, I guess it's stuck.'

45. tana:?-kočik k-a pun-uw-ø ?a ?akan ?u hap-k-in-al  
there-SPEC SUBJ-A2 put-TS-COM A2 foot B3 open-DM-Vn-INC

?an wi?leb  
the door

'Put your foot there, I think; the door is coming open.'

46. bičim-kočik  
horse-SPEC

'It's a horse!' (And what is it doing here?)

Compare bičim-ana:? in 22 above.

47. tata:ʔ-kočik ʔaš t-in kʷahat ʔin ʔoθ-č-al ʔan  
 you-SPEC who SUBOR-A3 PROGR A3 damage-BEN-INC the  
 tʰohla:b  
 work

‘So you’re the one who’s damaging the work!’

6.0 //kʷaʔ//. Quotative. ‘They say, it is said.’ The invariant //kʷaʔ// can be translated, ‘They say, they said, it is said, I say’, depending on context. It can be suffixed to nouns, independent pronouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and particles. It is especially common in stories, but is frequent in ordinary conversation, particularly when the speaker wishes to emphasize a degree of uncertainty to an assertion.

48. pe:l ʔi bičim-kʷaʔ  
 be of horse-QUOT

‘It’s a horse, they say.’

49. Q. pe:l ʔi kwito:l ʔo pe:l ʔi øʻikʰa:č (r.i.)  
 be of boy or be of girl

- A. kwito:l-kʷaʔ  
 boy-QUOT

‘Is it a boy or is it a girl?’ ‘A boy, they say.’

50. haha:ʔ-kʷaʔ neʔeʒ ti kʷaθ-aʔ-ø  
 he-QUOT go he.you hit-TS-COM

‘He’s going to beat you, they say.’

51. ʔu kal-e-l-kʷaʔ niši tokow t-in kʰoʔo:n  
 B3 go.out-TS-INC-QUOT that cloud from-A3 navel

‘That cloud, it is said, emerges from his navel.’

My reply to the worried question, 'Did someone remember to shut the door?' is:

52. map-uθ-iç-kʷa?      ?in map-uy-∅-kʷa?      ?a Hwani:ta  
close-PPL-EMPH-QUOT A3 close-TS-COM the Juanita

'It's already closed, I'm telling you; Juanita closed it, I say.'

//-kʷa?// is frequently added to the auxiliary verbs ne?eç 'going to' and le:? 'want to'.

53. ne?eç-kʷa? ka-∅      k'al-e-∅  
go-QUOT SUBJ-B3 go-TS-COM

'They say that he will go.'

54. haha:? ?in le:?-kʷa? k-in      ?eç-ey-∅      šowe:?  
he A3 want-QUOT SUBJ-A3 gather.wood-TS-COM today

'He says he'd like to gather wood today.'

To the question, 'What is John's new wife like?' one might reply:

55. ?alabe:l-kʷa?  
beautiful-QUOT

'They say she's beautiful.'

56. ta?-iç-kʷa?      ∅ ta:l      ti be:l  
there-EMPH-QUOT B3 come.INVAR on road

'They say he's already coming there on the road.'

57. tana:?-kʷa?      ?u nuh-uw-a:b      ?an bakan  
over.there-QUOT B3 sell-1S-INC.PASS the tortilla

'Tortillas are sold over there, they say.'

An alternative version of this sentence was translated identically.

58. tana:ʔ ʔu nuh-uw-a:b-kwaʔ ʔan bakan  
over.there B3 sell-TS-INC.PASS-QUOT the tortilla

‘Tortillas are sold over there, they say.’

59. haha:ʔ yab-kwaʔ ʔin le:ʔ ti-∅ ʔeʔ-el-∅  
he not-QUOT A3 want SUBOR-B3 gather.wood-AP-INC

‘He says he doesn’t want to wood-gather.’

Compare sentence 54 above.

7.0 //k’i// or //k’e//. Qualifier. ‘Right away, only, indeed, just’. Can be suffixed to verbs, adverbs, adjectives, relative pronouns. I have no examples with nouns, but I suspect this is just a gap in the data. The choice of //k’i// or //k’e// is partly dialectal (//k’i// is favored in the area of San Antonio, //k’e// in the Aquismón area), and partly a result of idiosyncratic free variation. An informant would sometimes use //k’i// and sometimes //k’e// on the same word, with the same Spanish translation. The meanings expressed by this particle are subtle and often difficult to translate. Compare the following two sentences:

60. Hwa:n ∅ či:č ti-∅ ʔaʔb-iš-∅  
Juan B3 come.SUPPL.COM SUBOR-B3 visit-AP-INC

‘Juan came to visit.’

61. Hwa:n ∅ wat’e-y ti-∅ ʔaʔb-iš-∅-k’i  
Juan B3 pass-TS-COM SUBOR-B3 visit-AP-INC-QUAL

‘Juan just passed by to visit.’

62. ʔin kal-e-∅-k’i  
B1 go.out-TS-COM-QUAL

‘I just stepped out (not for any purpose).’



An answer to the question, 'What do you see, what are you looking at?' might be:

63. ?u met'-a(?)-al-k'i  
Al look-TS-INC-QUAL

'I'm just looking.'

64. ?u k'ap-al-k'e  
Al eat-INC-QUAL

'I'm just eating.'

65. ?an t'ele? Ø čuč-ul-Ø-k'i  
the child B3 nurse-AP-INC-QUAL

'The child is just nursing from time to time.'

Compare sentence 31.

The answer to the question, 'Have you been here long?' might be:

66. hat'wa?-k'i  
almost-QUAL

'I just got here.'

67. k-it k'al-e-Ø kayu:m-k'i  
SUBJ-B2 go-TS-COM slowly-QUAL

'Go very slowly indeed.'

68. hu?ta: 'where'; hu?ta:k'e 'wherever'

69. hawa? 'what kind of'; hawa?k'e 'whatever'

70. hita? 'who, whom, he who'; hita?k'e 'whoever'

71. ?aht-iθ ba? hita?-k'e ?in ?aht-iy-al  
sing-PPL by whom-QUAL A3 sing-TS-INC

'Sung by whomever is singing.'

72. ʔalwaʔ-k'e ʔin k'iθi:m  
good-QUAL A3 tepidness

Indeed of the proper temperature.' (Said of a pot of beans.)

73. ʔin met'-a(?)-al-k'i niši t'eleʔ k'eʔat-k'i  
A3 look-TS-INC-QUAL that boy other-QUAL

'He just looks at that unusual boy.'

7.1 Clitic Combinations. //k'i// or //k'e// is often used in combination with other clitics, especially //-ak// and //-iʔ//. The order of these clitics is invariant: (-ak)(-iʔ)(-k'i), and all combinations are possible except \*-ak-k'i.

74. tokot ʔin ʔaʔ'-k'-aʔ-∅ ∅ ʔay-in-∅-iʔ-k'i  
only A3 hear-DM-TS-COM B3 follow-VN-COM-EMPH-QUAL

'He just heard it; immediately he followed.'

75. ʔa t'ah-aʔ-∅-iʔ-k'i  
A2 do-TS-COM-EMPH-QUAL

'Oh, you've already done it!'

76. ∅ ʔem-(e)-ʔ-iʔ-k'i  
B3 die-TS-COM-EMPH-QUAL

'He just upped and died.' (Said of someone who is neither old nor sick, but who dies suddenly.)

77. tam ka-∅ ʔ'ak-i-y-čik ʔaši ma:s nana:ʔ ʔu  
when SUBJ-B6 get.up-TS-COM-PL these more I A1

t'ah-a(?)-a:mal-ak-iʔ-k'e we:ʔ ʔi t'ohla:b  
do-TS-PER-IRR-EMPH-QUAL little of work

'When the rest of them get up, I may indeed have already done some work.'

My assistant gave the following extended example:

78. ?it če-e-nek  
B2 come-TS-PER

`You have come.'

79. ?it če-e-nek-ak...  
B2 come-TS-PER-IRR...

`If you had come...'

80. ?it če-e-nek-ak-ič...  
B2 come-TS-PER-IRR-EMPH...

`If you had come right away...'

81. ?it če-e-nek-ak-ič-k'i...  
B2 come-TS-PER-IRR-EMPH-QUAL...

`If only you had come right away...'

82. maš k-it če-e-nek-ak-ič-k'i yab ne?eč k-it  
if SUBJ-B2 come-TS-PER-IRR-EMPH-QUAL not go SUBJ-B2

?ihk-an-ø ?a:l ?an mo:m  
fall-Vn-COM in the well

`If only you had come right away, you wouldn't have fallen in the well.'

8.0 //tam// or //tam-//. Locative. `Place of.' I have only two examples of this clitic as a suffix. A weh-tam is a field that has been cleared of rubbish (from weh-a? `clear it') and a hol-tam is an unoccupied place (from hol-at `unoccupied'). As a prefix, however, //tam-// is very frequent in place names, with the meaning `place of \_\_\_\_'. The remainder of the place name is usually a descriptive phrase, often one referring to a natural phenomenon. In the examples that follow, note that //tam-// has the following allomorphs:

tam → tap/\_\_\_\_<sup>C</sup>  
[+ velar]

tam → tam/\_\_\_\_<sup>C</sup>  
{ [+ bilabial] }  
{ ? }

tam → tan/\_\_\_\_elsewhere

//Tam-// is an easily separable morpheme. Most frequently, when someone remarks, 'I'm going to (town name)' //tam-// is omitted:

83. ?in ne?eʒ k'an-wiʒ kala:m  
Bl go.INVAR yellow-flower tomorrow

'I'm going to Tancanhuitz tomorrow.'

Even when //tam-// is prefixed, it does not alter the stress pattern of the noun phrase that follows. For example, ?ahab, with stress on the first /a/, is a small guitar or violin. The old name of the town of Huehuetlan was tam?ahab 'place of the small violin'. Since ?ahab has only short vowels, normal stress rules would have required stress on the first short vowel of the compound word, e.g. \*tám?ahab. In the lists of town names below, stress and allomorphs of //tam-// are indicated. In some cases I do not know the Spanish version of the name.

tank'anwiʒ	k'an 'yellow', wiʒ 'flower'	Tancanhuitz
tankwi?i:m	kwi?i:m 'pierced'	Tancuime
tankólol	kólol 'cockroach'	Tancolol
tank'iyá:m	k'iyá:m 'spiny herb'	Tanquian
tam?ápaʒ'	?ápaʒ' 'palmetto'	Tamapatz
tampámaloh	pámal 'round and curly, with many leaves', loh 'kind of vine'	Tampamalón

tampašá:l	paša:l	`cave overhang`	Tampaxal
tampāw	paw	`smoke`	Tampaón
tampík'o?	pik'o?	`dog`	Tampico
tamʔušumꞤ'á:le	ʔušum	`woman`, Ꞥ'á:le	`dignitary` Tamazunchale
tanháhnek	háhnek	`fly`	Tanjasnec
tanláhaš	láhaš	`salty`	Tanlajás
tantokó:w	tókow	`cloud`	Ciudad Valles
tantók'oy	tók'oy	`willow tree`	Tantocoy
tanθú:yu?	θú:yu?	`edible plant`	.....
tanθúmaθ	θúmaθ	`wormy`	.....
tanꞤának'w	Ꞥának'w	`beans`	Tanchanaco
tanꞤ'á:wil	Ꞥ'á:wil	`canary`	Tanchahuil

Not all town names are preceded by //tam-//. Although I have not systematically explored the nomenclature of place names, there seems to be a tendency for the larger (heavily mestizo) towns, which are heads of municipal districts, to be preceded by //tam-//, whereas the smaller subordinate Indian communities are not. There are exceptions to both rules. Tantocoy and Tanjasnec, for example, are communities in the municipality of San Antonio, which is itself unusual in that it does not have a Huastec name. And on the other hand, Aquismón, a municipal center, is never preceded by //tam-//. Some additional examples of place names follow.

ʔakičnom	ʔakič	`guazima tree`, nom	`well` Aquismón
ʔa:l θulup	ʔa:l	`at`, θulup	`banana leaf` .....
ʔa:l Ꞥahib	ʔa:l	`at`, Ꞥahib	`bamboo` .....

ʔa:l wi:t'o:t'	ʔa:l `at', wi:t'o:t' `shrub'	.....
holol	holol `kind of shrub'	Xolol
homteʔ	hom `copal', teʔ `tree'	Jomte
hopoy mom	hopoy `figus tree', mom `well'	.....
ʔibteʔ	ʔibil `root', teʔ `tree'	.....
kru:s t'uhub	kru:s `cross', t'uhub `stone'	
kwečoθ	kwečoθ `rounded'	.....
k'elab ʔit'aθ	k'elab `row', ʔit'aθ `banana'	.....
k'apuntala:b	k'apun `it is eaten', -tala:b `abstractive'	.....
lana:š	lana:š `orange (Sp.)'	Lanax
lehem	lehem `lake'	Lehem
ʔohoš	ʔohoš `breadnut tree'	Ojox
patal haʔ	patal `all', haʔ `water'	.....
pat'ne:l	pat'-(aʔ-) `tear it off', -ne:l `patientive suffix'	Patnel
pok'či:č	pok'-(ow-) `break it', ʔiči:č `heart'	.....
puhal	puhal `wave (water)'	Pujal
punšu:muʔ	pun-(uw-) `place it', šumuʔ `mist, smoke'	.....
tok'oy mom	tok'oy `willow tree', mom `well'	.....
t'i:w ǰ'e:n	t'i:w `eagle', ǰ'e:n `mountain'	.....
θak loh	θak `white', loh `kind of vine'	.....
ǰe:ʔ pakab	ǰe:ʔ `four', pakab `sugarcane'	.....
ǰ'apuw haʔ	ǰ'apuw `salty', haʔ `water'	.....

## CHAPTER 12

## PLURALITY

In Huastec the unmarked form of a noun or verb and of second and third person clitic or independent pronouns may be understood as singular or plural. Plurality can be marked in several ways: (1) by the use of numbers greater than one; (2) by the use of the adjectives ya:n 'many' (or variants yane:l, yantom or yantalom); (3) by the use of plural adjectives; (4) by the use of pakey 'grow (pl.)' as opposed to puwey 'grow (sg.)'; (5) by the use of nouns or verbs which are inherently plural, such as mulkune:l 'multitude' or muθuw 'congregate'; (6) by the use of first person plural clitic pronouns or the first person plural independent pronoun (and occasionally by the old second person plural forms); and (7) by the use of the plural clitic morpheme // -čik // . The only way to mark singularity is to use hu:n ʔi 'one of (the class of)' instead of ʔan 'the, a'. This partitive usage is possible only with an indefinite referent:

hu:n ʔi ɣakam 'a child'

\*hu:n ʔi ɣakam 'the child'

1.0 Numbers Greater than One. As noted in Chapter 13, if a noun is modified by a number greater than one, the plural clitic particle // -čik // is not used.

ʔan ɣ'ik'a:č 'the girl, the girls'

ʔan ɣ'ik'a:č-čik 'the girls'

ʔo:š ʔi ǰ'ik'a:č `three girls'

\*ʔo:š ʔi ǰ'ik'a:č-čik `three girls'

2.0 Ya:n. Ya:n `much, many' is often modified by leh `very' to denote `very many'. Since plurality is implied by ya:n it does not have to be otherwise specified, though it may be. In the sentence below the partitive ʔi is glossed `of'.

1. nana:ʔ ʔu ko:ʔ-oy-a:mal ʔaše:ʔ delo:h ya:n ʔi tamub  
I Al keep-TS-PER this watch many of year

`I've had this watch for many years.'

2. ya:n ʔa k'i:ča: ya:n ʔan ʔinik  
many the day many the man

`Many days, many men.'

3. ʔi tal-aʔ-∅ t-in yane:l ʔan bakan  
A4 finish-TS-COM in-A3 all the tortilla

`We finished all the tortillas.'

4. leh ya:n ʔan kristya:no ʔaš ʔu če-e-l-čik ti-∅  
very many the people who B6 come-TS-INC-PL SUBOR-B6

ǰ'aʔ-um-∅  
buy-AP-INC

`There are a lot of people who come to buy.'

3.0 Plural Adjectives. There are seven adjectives which have singular and plural forms. These are discussed in Chapter 15, Section 3.0, and are listed below. The plural form may optionally be redundantly pluralized by suffixing the plural morpheme // -čik //. The singular form never receives this suffix. The modified noun is



understood as singular or plural depending upon the adjective used; see sentences 5 and 6 below. All other adjectives can be pluralized by suffixing the plural morpheme // -čik//; see Section 7.3 below.

Singular		Plural
kweč-očo:l	very round	kweš-θa? (č --> š/___θ)
k'oč-o:l	fat, bulky	k'oš-θa? (č --> š/___θ)
nak-at	long	nak-θa?
pu:l-ik	big	pak-θa?
tol-cw	thick, dense	tol-θa?
t'ek'-at	high	t'ek'-θa?
ɔoy-o?	frail, skinny	ɔoy-θa?

5. ʔaši ba:kaš leh pu:lik  
this cow very big.sg

‘This cow is very big.’

6. ʔaši ba:kaš leh pakθa?-čik  
this cow very big.pl-PL

‘These cows are very big.’

7. ʔan boli:m ʔu tek'-e-l leh kayu:m ko:mo pakθa?  
the large.tamale B3 cook-TS-INC very slowly because big.pl

‘The large tamales cook very slowly because they are big.’

4.0 Pakey and Puwey. Both pakey and puwey mean ‘to grow’ or ‘to increase’; pakey is used when the referent is plural, puwey when it is singular.

8. ʔin wali:l ʔan lana:š yab Ø pak-e-y k'al ʔan k'ak'al  
A3 fruit the orange not B6 grow-TS-COM with the heat

`The oranges didn't grow because of the heat.'

9. Ø puw-e-y-iç           ʔan ʔunup  
 B3 grow-TS-COM-EMPH the ceiba

`The ceiba is already grown.'

My assistant added: "...and if there are many ceibas, pakeyiç."

5.0 Plural Referent. Some verbs imply a plural referent: to pile up, to congregate, to scatter, to entwine; as do some nouns: group, team, collection, multitude. It is not necessary otherwise to specify plurality.

10. ta:m niši ʔinik ʔin øhk-aʔ-Ø   ʔan k'amal, muθ-uw-Ø       ʔan  
 then that man A3 make-TS-COM the fire, pile.up-TS-COM the

θiʔ ʔin hok'p-aʔ-Ø  
 stick A3 light-TS-COM

`Then that man made the fire--piled up the sticks and lit them.'

11. neʔeç-e k-u buk'-uw-Ø       ʔan wiç  
 go-PERDUR SUBJ-A1 scatter-TS-COM the flower

`I'm still going to sow the flowers.'

12. ʔan tomkin-e:l Ø hunk-iθ       k'al ʔan t'e:nel  
 the marry-PAT B6 accompany-PPL with the musician

`The married pair (are) accompanied by musicians.'

ʔan tomkine:l-čik would imply several just-married couples.

6.0 First Person Pronouns. Modern Huastec distinguishes second and third person plural clitic and independent pronouns from the singular forms by adding the plural morpheme *//-čik//*; see Section 7.2 below.

The archaic second person plural forms surface occasionally in texts but rarely in discourse. First person plural, however, is always distinguished from first person singular both in the clitic pronouns and in the independent pronouns. Since plurality is marked on the pronouns there is a strong tendency to avoid redundant marking with //čik//. Note the following pairs of sentences, and example 15, from a text.

13. wawa:ʔ ʔu k'ap-ul-∅  
we B4 eat-AP-INC

'We are eating.'

\*wawa:ʔ ʔu k'ap-ul-čik

14. pe:l ʔu te:nek  
be B4 Huastec

'We are Huastecs.'

\*pe:l ʔu te:nek-čik

15. wawa:ʔ ʔi yehøe:l-il pos yab ʔin ʔel-a(?) -a:l ʔi tumi:n  
we A4 old.man-POSS well not A6 find-TS-INC of money

'Those husbands of ours, well, they don't have any money.'

For special emphasis first person plural may be doubly marked:

16. ti yane:l wawa:ʔ-čik neʔeʒ-kwaʔ k-i ø'ehwal-iy-∅ hun-čik  
in all we-Pl go-QUOT SUBJ-A4 give-TS-COM one-PL

ʔi bakan tata:ʔ  
of tortilla you

'We, all of us, we say, are going to give you some tortillas.'

7.0 //-čik//. The plural morpheme //-čik// can be added to nouns, whether human, animate or inanimate; to independent, relative and interrogative pronouns; to the number 'one'; to verbs to indicate plurality of the subject of the verb; to verb roots to indicate repetitive action; to verb roots plus thematic vowel to make a distributive participle; to adverbs and to particles. Examples of these various uses follow.

7.1 Nouns.

ʔan ʔinik `the man, the men`

ʔan ʔinik-čik `the men`

ʔan kWito:l `the boy, the boys`

ʔan kWito:l-čik `the boys`

Sometimes one noun in a sentence will bear the plural morpheme and another noun will not, although both can be translated as plural:

17. ʔan ɬakam ʔu ʔa:θ-il-∅ ʔan yehɬel-čik ʔu bel-al-∅ leh  
the children B6 run-TS-INC the old.man-PL B6 walk very

yahu:m  
slowly

`The children run, the old men walk very slowly.`

18. ʔan ɬakam-čik ʔu kWag-i-:l leh k'ihil-e ʔin  
the child-PL B6 go.to.bed-TS-INC very early-PERDUR A6

ta:ta-čik ʔin mi:m leh ʔakal  
papa-PL A6 mother very night

`The children go to bed very early still, their parents much later.`

I have the impression, which could be fully documented only by an extensive survey and count of data, that an animacy hierarchy exists with respect to the plural morpheme. Nouns referring to humans are most apt to be pluralized with // -čik //, followed by domestic animals, wild animals, plants, inanimate objects and abstract concepts. However, it is possible to pluralize nouns falling into any of the above categories, as the examples below demonstrate. With the aid of a drawing of four men and three pigs I elicited sentence 19.

19. ?in ?olo:m-il-čik ?an ?inik-čik  
A6 pig-POSS-PL the man-PL

'The men's pigs.'

However, my assistant felt that this was a rather artificial and un-Huastec phrasing. Sentence 20 was spontaneously given during an earlier session.

20. ?in ko:ʔ-oy-al      ?i pi:staʔ    ?in ko:ʔ-oy-al      ?i ?olom  
A3 care.for-TS-INC of chicken A3 care.for-TS-INC of pig  
  
?in ko:ʔ-oy-al      ?i ?anima:l-čik  
A3 care.for-TS-INC of animal-PL

'He has chickens, he has pigs, he has domestic animals.'

In contrast to the above sentence, note the following, from a text about a couple who were turned into raccoons as a punishment for stealing corn. Here the plural marker has been added to the existential verb pe:l 'be', rather than to the noun ?anima:l.

21. ta:m pe:l-ig-čik ?i ?anima:l  
then be-EMPH-PL of animal

'Then they were already animals.'

Plants or parts of plants can be pluralized with // -čik//; e.g.,  
ʔibil-čik 'roots'.

22. ʔani ʔin neʔ-θ-a(?) -al ʔin ču:m-čik ʔan ɟ'awʔ  
 and A3 go-CAUS-TS-INC A3 shoot-PL the tsaw.tree

'And he carries shoots of the housebeam tree.'

Inanimate objects or abstract concepts may bear the plural marker:

ʔan ʔata:-čik 'the houses'; ʔan lime:te-čik 'the bottles'.

23. ʔan ʔehat-tal-(1)a:b-čik ʔan te:nek  
 the alive-ABSIR-GEN-PL the Huastec

'The way of life of the Huastecs.'

7.2 Pronouns. Pronouns are discussed at length in Chapter 4. Here we are concerned only with their relationship to plurality. Both clitic and independent pronouns are unambiguously marked for number only in first person and in the archaic second person plural forms. Elsewhere the unmarked pronominal form can be understood as singular or plural, depending on context. Plurality can be marked with the clitic // -čik//. Thus the third person ergative clitic pronoun ʔin may be translated as 'he,' 'she,' or 'they'; ʔin...čik, with // -čik// suffixed to the verb, can only be 'they'. In the example sentences I have glossed ergative ʔin as 'A3' or 'A6' and absolutive ∅ or ʔu as 'B3' or 'B6' depending on whether the referent is singular or plural. Likewise, second person ergative ʔa may be glossed 'A2' or 'A5', and absolutive ʔit as 'B2' or 'B5'. The archaic second person plural ergative clitic pronoun ʔi is glossed 'A5' and the absolutive clitic pronoun ʔiš is glossed 'B5'.

For convenience, the paradigm of the independent pronouns is repeated below.

nana:ʔ	I	wawa:ʔ	we
tata:ʔ	you, you-all	tata:ʔ-čik	you-all
		šaša:ʔ	you-all (archaic)
haha:ʔ	he, she, they	haha:ʔ-čik	they

Examples of the first person plural can be found in Sentences 13-16 above. The following sentences with tata:ʔ, tata:čik and šaša:ʔ give some idea of the ambiguity of number in Huastec; in all cases the glosses are literal translations of my assistants' Spanish.

24. huʔta: t-it      neʔeʔ tata:ʔ  
 where SUBOR-B2 go you  
 `Where are you going, you?`
25. k-it    k'al-e-:ʔ    tata:ʔ (r.i.)  
 SUBJ-B5 go-TS-EMPH you  
 `Are you-all going already?`
26. k-iš    k'al-e-∅    šaša:ʔ (r.i.)  
 SUBJ-B5 go-TS-COM you-all  
 `Are you-all going?`
27. haha:ʔ ∅    neʔeʔ k'al tata:ʔ-čik  
 he      B3 go      with you-PL  
 `He is going with you-all.`
28. šaša:ʔ    yab ʔi kwaʔal ʔi k'amal (r.i.)  
 you-all not A5 have    of fire  
 `Do you-all not have fire?`

Interrogative and relative pronouns may also be understood as singular or plural, or may be marked as plural. In 29 haʔu:b-čik 'friends' is marked as plural; the relative hitaʔ is not redundantly marked. In contrast, in 30 // -čik// is suffixed to the interrogative hitaʔ to indicate plurality.

29. ...ʔani ʔu haʔu:b-čik hitaʔ tin tolm-iy-al k-u  
 ...and Al friend-Pl who they.me help-TS-INC SUBJ-Al

tʔah-aʔ-∅ ʔaše:ši tʔohla:b  
 do-TS-COM this work

'(Father, I ask that you bless me) and my friends who help me to do this work.'

30. Q. hitaʔ-čik  
 who-Pl

A. leh čubaš pe:l ʔa ʔebčal  
 very true be A2 sibling

'Who are they?' 'In truth, they're your sisters.'

31. pe:l ʔi tuyum k'al hant'o-čik  
 be of leaner with what-Pl

'He is a stacker of things (by leaning them against s.t.).'

32. haʔiç-čik ʔan te:nek ʔin wat'-a(ʔ)-al  
 he.who-Pl the Huastec A6 pass-TS-INC

'Those are the Huastecs who experience it.'

('Pass' is an idiom for 'pass through or experience life'.)

33. taley ʔu kal-e-l k-in hik'-e-θ-aʔ-∅ ʔaši  
 then B6 go.out-TS-INC SUBJ-A6 afraid-EP-CAUS-TS-COM this  
 mas-čik  
 more-Pl

'Then they go out to frighten these others.'



7.3 Adjectives. Adjectives other than those which have distinctive plural forms (3.0 above) may be pluralized by suffixing //čik//. In the first example below, from a text, addition of the plural marker emphasizes the quality of goodness.

34. Q. ʔalabe:l ʔan ʔe:m (r.i.)  
beautiful the corn

A. ʔalwaʔ-čik ʔin ʔe:m  
good-PL A3 corn

‘Is the corn beautiful?’ ‘His corn is good indeed.’

35. yaba ʔu yaʔul-čik  
not B6 sick-Pl

‘They aren’t sick.’

36. ʔaši k'eʔat-čik ʔan ǰ'ik'a:č ʔu teʔ-(e)n-al ʔabal ʔa  
this other-PL the girl B6 laugh-VN-INC because the

Pa:wla pakl-un-ǰ baʔ ʔan ʔolom  
Paula fall.face.down-TS-COM on the pig

‘These other girls are laughing because Paula fell face down on the pig.’

Adding the plural marker sometimes intensifies the meaning of an adjective. The word ǰipi:l means ‘little’; ǰip-čik is ‘very little’.

37. ni wawa:ʔ leh ʔel-a(?) -al ǰip-čik ʔi tumi:n  
nor we much find-TS-INC little-PL of money

‘We don’t have even a little bit of money.’

The adjective yahčik ‘painful, sorrowful’ is derived from yahal ‘pain, sorrow’. A second //čik// may be added to express an even greater degree of pain or sorrow.

38. mas yahčik-čik ?in wat'-a(?) -al  
more sorrowful-PL A6 pass-TS-INC

'They experience life as even more sorrowful.'

7.4 The Number 'One'. The plural morpheme added to hu:n 'one' expresses the idea of 'some'. Several examples are given in Chapter 13. One further example will be given here.

39. na? k'wahat hun-čik ?a ?o:t  
there exist one-PL the star

'There are some stars there.'

7.5 Verbs. Verbs are marked for person by the use of the obligatory clitic pronouns. Number is marked only in the distinction between first person singular and plural clitics (and occasionally by the use of the archaic second person plural forms, as in the examples 26 and 28 above). Plurality of second or third person agent or subject of a verb can be marked by suffixing //-čik// to the inflected verb stem as the final element.

40. haha:? ?in k'waθ-a?-ø-čik ?an pik'o? ?abal leh ?it'iš  
he A6 hit-TS-COM-PL the dog because very bothersome

'They hit the dog because it was very bothersome.'

41. tam ?u če?-e-l-čik ?i paya:so ?an kristya:no ?u leh  
when B6 come-TS-INC of clowns the people B6 very

te?-(e)n-al  
laugh-VN-INC

'When clowns come, people laugh a lot.'

42. tanna? ?in ka:θ-a(?) -al-ič-čik ?an t'ele? ?ele:b  
then A6 take.out-TS-IBC-EMPH-PL the child outside

‘Then they already are taking the child outside.’

Redundant marking of plurality is possible, as in the following, where //čik// and hun sye:nto both refer to the subject of the verb.

43. ti.we?e:l ?u θah-(a)n-al-čik ?ehti:l hun sye:nto ?i košol  
yesterday B6 cry-VN-INC-PL appears one hundred of rooster

‘Yesterday it seems like a hundred roosters were crowing.’

The following pair of sentences exemplify the ‘floating’ nature of the //čik// clitic. The second sentence was given when I asked for a repetition of the first.

44. ti.we?e:l Ø še?eʒ ti-Ø biš-om-Ø ?an ?inik-čik  
testerday B6 go.about.INC SUBOR-B6 dance-AP-INC the man-PL

‘Yesterday the men went about dancing.’

45. ti.we?e:l Ø še?eʒ ti-Ø biš-om-Ø-čik ?an ?inik  
yesterday B6 go.about.INC SUBOR-B6 dance-AP-INC-PL the man

‘Yesterday the men went about dancing.’

7.6 Repetitive Action to Achieve a Goal. //čik// can be added to a verb root or stem to express the idea of some action done over and over, or by several participants, until a task is completed or a goal is reached. Since this derivation is discussed fully in Chapter 6, Section 4.1, only one example will be given here.

46. ?an ?inik ?in peh-a?-Ø ?an te?  
the man A3 break-TS-COM the stick

‘The man broke the stick.’

47. ?an ?inik ?in peh-čik-iy ?an te?  
 the man A3 break-PL-COM the stick

‘The man finished breaking the stick into many pieces.’

7.7 Distributive Participles. // -čik// can be suffixed to many verb roots and stems plus a thematic vowel to form a distributive participle, as in the example below. See Chapter 5, Sections 1.2.5.3 and 2.3.4 for a full discussion of this derivation.

48. ne?e? k-u mapč-iy-ø patal ?an ?a:sh ?aši na?  
 go SUBJ-A1 coil.up-TS-COM all the rope which there  
 mo?-o-čik  
 throw.down-V-PL

‘I’m going to coil up all the pieces of rope scattered about there.’

7.8 Adverbs. Plurality in Huastec seems often not to reside in any particular word, but to be a characteristic of the entire sentence. In the example that follows // -čik// is suffixed to the locative adverb na? ‘there’ to convey the sense that ‘over there something plural is going on’.

49. na?-čik muθat ?an pa:kaš  
 there-PL congregated the cow

‘The cows (are) gathered together over there.’

50. ?aši tiwa?-čik ?an ?akam leh ?’iktama?  
 this there-PL the child very annoying

‘Those children (are) very annoying.’

In the following sentence plurality is marked both on the adverb and on the verb.

51. ?an kristya:no ni hayk'i?-čik yab ?in le:? ka-∅  
 the person not when-PL not A6 want SUBJ-B6

ø'ak-i-y-čik  
 get.up-TS-COM-PL

`The people never ever want to get up.'

The second of each sentence pair below was given when I asked for a repetition of the first.

52. ?ež'ey-čik ?u če?-e-l  
 always-PL B6 come-TS-INC

`They always come.'

53. ?ež'ey ?u če?-e-l-čik  
 always B6 come-TS-INC-PL

`They always come.'

54. šowe:?-čik ?an ?ubast'in k'al ?an pelo:ta ∅ ?a:θ-(i)l-a:∅  
 today-PL the player with the ball B6 run-TS-COM

we:? ?owe:l  
 little far

`Today the ball players ran a little farther.'

55. šowe:? ?an ?ubast'in-čik k'al ?an pelo:ta ∅ ?a:θ-(i)l-a:∅  
 today the player-PL with the ball B6 run-TS-COM

we:? ?owe:l  
 little far

`Today the ball players ran a little farther.'

7.9 Particles. Three final sentences give examples of // -čik // attached to prepositional and negative particles. The first sentence is double marked for plurality, since the clitic pronouns are first person plural.

56. ?u k'ap-ul k'al-čik ?i wi?  
B4 eat-INC with-PL A4 mouth

'We eat with our mouths.'

57. ?i:ba-(i)č-čik ?u ?ul-e-l wala:m ø k'at'-u:me  
not-EMPH-PL B6 arrive-TS-INC I.believe B6 bite-PER.PASS

k'al ?i ?anima:l  
with of animal

'They haven't arrived yet; I think they have been bitten  
by an animal.'

58. ?an θabal yab-čik ø čič ubat ?ani šo? patal  
the owner not-PL B6 come.SUPPL.COM quickly and now all

k'wahat-ič ti-ø t'a?-i-:l  
PROGR-EMPH SUBOR-B3 burn-TS-INC

'The owners didn't come quickly and now all of it is  
already burning.'

7.10 Embedding of the Plural Marker. When //čik// is added to a verb root or stem to indicate repetitive action of the verb, as described in 7.6 above, it forms a derived verb stem which is followed by the full range of inflectional morphemes, and these in turn can be followed by clitic particles such as the emphatic //ič// 'already'; see example 59 below. When hunčik 'some' is followed by the iterative suffix //i:1// it means 'sometimes' or 'at times'; see example 60. In all other circumstances, however, //čik// is word final. There is a single exception to this statement. A compound noun wal-te? (wal 'face', te? 'tree') refers to the edges or sides of a path (which has on either side of it the 'face' of the trees), and by extension to anything that has just two sides, such as a river or a long narrow

bench. The borders of an object with many sides, such as a table or a leaf, are called its wal-čik-te?, its 'faces'.

59. ?in t'ah-čik-a:mal-iç ya:n ?i øe:y  
A3 make-PL-PER-EMPH many of bed

'He has already finished a lot of beds.'

60. hun-čik-i:l ?an ?ebčal-(l)a:b-čik ?u pe:h-e:š-ø-ø  
one-PL-TIMES the sibling-GEN-PL B6 fight-RECIP-TS-INC

'At times brothers fight each other.'

61. ?i pak-l-an-č-al-iç ?in wal-čik-te?-li:l ?an  
A4 fold-DM-EP-BEN-INC-EMPH A6 face-PL-tree-POSS the

θulup  
banana.leaf

'(When making tamales) we firmly fold over on themselves the edges of the banana leaves.'

## CHAPTER 13

## NUMBERS

1.0 The Huastec number system is a vigesimal one with some decimal features. The numbers from one to ten are roots; numbers from 11-19 are compounds of  $10 + 1$ ,  $10 + 2$ , etc. The term for twenty is ?inik 'man', an innovation shared by some of the Mayan languages of Chiapas; there is apparently no reflex in Huastec of the pan-Mayan kʔal 'twenty' (Robertson 1986:239). Thirty is twenty plus ten, forty is two twenties, fifty is two twenties plus ten, and so on. Some of the highland Mayan languages retain the older system of anticipatory counting for numbers above twenty, so that twenty-one is counted as 'one its forty' or 'one towards forty', twenty-two as 'two its forty'; see Day (1973:58-59) for examples from Jacaltec. Huastec, in contrast, counts numbers above 20 additively, as  $20 + 1$ ,  $20 + 2$ , etc. The Huastec terms for numbers through twenty-five or so are in common use, and those for higher numbers are not infrequent, especially among older speakers. My two main assistants, both in their forties, report that younger people are abandoning Huastec terms in favor of Spanish number words.

There is evidence of the breakdown of the old vigesimal system under the pressure of Spanish decimal numeration. An older Huastec friend told me, in a mixture of Spanish and Huastec, that his wife had embroidered the quexquemiltl she was showing me 32 years ago, ?o:š lahu ga:b ?i tamub. I was startled by this usage--three tens plus two--and



asked my assistant about it the next day. He said scornfully that this was bad Huastec, and insisted that the correct phrase was hun ?inik lahu ʔa:b 'one 20, 10 + 2'. However, later he himself gave ʔo:š ?i lahuki:l 'three tens + i:l' as a translation of 'thirty times'.

1.1 Cardinal Numbers. The Huastec cardinal numbers are presented below. I did not have either assistant count every number from one to a hundred, but sampled higher numbers throughout, and recorded enough numbers given spontaneously in texts and in elicitation sessions to indicate that the process is a completely regular one, as indicated by etc. in the lists. I did not ask for any compound numbers higher than 100, such as 152 or 1,327. Larsen (1955) reports bo:ʔ ?i bo:ʔ ?inikčik for 500 and la:hu ?i bo:ʔ ?inikčik for 1000, but I did not elicit these terms. Some Spanish terms appear in the list: sy:nto '100', which also combines with Huastec ʔehel 'half' to make '50'; tumi:n (Sp. tomín), which is used only with reference to money; and mil 'thousand'. ʔe:ʔ tumi:n 'four tomins' refers to the old division of the Spanish coin into eight pieces; four pieces = 50 cents. Fractions equivalent to 25 and 75 cents are known, but are not used much any more. Compare the English colloquial usages 'two bits' and 'four bits'.

1.1.1 Examples.

Cardinal Numbers

1 hu:n	11. lahu hu:n	21. hun ?inik hu:n
2 ʔa:b	12. lahu ʔa:b	22. hun ?inik ʔa:b
3 ʔo:š	13. lahu ʔo:š	23. hun ?inik ʔo:š

- |     |        |                 |                               |
|-----|--------|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| 4   | ǰe:ʔ   | 14. lahu ǰe:ʔ   | 24. hun ʔinik ǰe:ʔ            |
| 5   | bo:ʔ   | 15. lahu bo:ʔ   | 25. hun ʔinik bo:ʔ            |
| 6   | ʔakak  | 16. lahu ʔakak  | 26. hun ʔinik ʔakak           |
| 7   | bu:k   | 17. lahu bu:k   | 27. hun ʔinik bu:k            |
| 8   | wašik  | 18. lahu wašik  | 28. hun ʔinik wašik           |
| 9   | bele:w | 19. lahu bele:w | 29. hun ʔinik bele:w          |
| 10. | la:hu  | 20. hun ʔinik   | 30. hun ʔinik la:hu           |
|     |        |                 | 31. hun ʔinik lahu hu:n, etc. |

40. ǰab ʔinik

41. ǰab ʔinik (k'al) hu:n

(k'al `with` is optional, but frequent with numbers above 40;  
see sentences 1 and 2 below.

50. ǰab ʔinik la:hu; ǰ'ehe:l sye:nto `half a hundred'; ǰe:ʔ tumi:n  
`four tomins`

60. ʔoš ʔinik

70. ʔoš ʔinik la:hu

80. ǰeʔ ʔinik

90. ǰeʔ ʔinik la:hu

100. boʔ ʔinik; hun sye:nto `one hundred`

1000. hun mil `one thousand'; šiʔ `hairs` "because there are lots  
of hairs".1

1. Tapia (1767) gives the same terms I recorded for numbers 1-15 (16-19 are omitted), 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90 and 100, with the following exceptions: for `50` he has only ǰab ʔinik lahu (I have regularized his orthography to conform with mine); for `90` he has ǰeʔ ʔinik k'al lahu, and for `100` only boʔ ʔinik. He gives the following terms which I did not elicit: ǰab boʔ ʔinik `200`, ʔoš boʔ ʔinik `300`, ǰab boʔ ʔinik (sic) `400`, boʔ boʔ ʔinik `500`, ʔakak boʔ ʔinik `600`, wašik boʔ ʔinik `800`; `700` and `900` are missing. He counts

1. Q. ha:y      ?i tamub ?a kwa?al  
 how.many of year A2 have
- A. ?u tamub ?u kwa?al      ?ab ?inik k'al      ?e:?  
 Al year A1 have two twenty with four
- 'How old are you?' 'I am 44.'
2. Q. ha:y      ?i tino:m      ?a t'ah-a(?)-a:mal  
 how.many of molded.sugar A2 make-TS-PER
- A. ?oš      ?inik k'al      ?o:š  
 three twenty with three
- 'How many molded sugars have you made?' 'Sixty-three.'

1.2 Numbers and Plurality. Although specification of plurality is not obligatory (t'éle? can mean 'child' or 'children' depending on context), most Huastec nouns can be pluralized by adding the plural morpheme //-čik// (e.g., t'éle?čik 'children'). However, if a noun is specified as plural by the use of a number above one, //-čik// is never used.

1.2.1 Examples.

    ?a:b ?i t'éle?      'two children'

\*?a:b ?i t'éle?čik

    bu:k ?i ?olom      'seven pigs'

\*bu:k ?i ?olomčik

thousands as follows, again with some omissions: '1000' ši?, '2000' čab ši?, '3000' ?oš ši?, '5000' bo? ?i ši?, '6000' ?akak ši?, '8000' wašik ši?, '20,000' hun ?inik ši?, '30,000' hun ?inik lahu ši?, '60,000' ?oš ?inik ši?. There is no evidence of the special statuses of numbers 400 and 8000 that one might expect in a vigesimal system, though possibly the error at '400' (it should be že? bo? ?inik) is significant.

1.3 Ordinal Numbers. // -č̣i:l // transforms cardinal numbers into ordinal ones. If the cardinal number has a long vowel, that vowel is shortened. My assistant counted ordinally through 15th, commented that one could count up to 25th, and gave hun ʔinikč̣i:l '20th' as an example. He then added, "But you don't use these (higher ordinals) much; from hu:n to la:hu, yes." Ordinals may stand alone, as in sentence 3 below, may be preceded by possessive clitic pronouns, as in 4 and 5, or may be specified by using the article ʔan: ʔan ɟabč̣i:l, ʔan ʔošč̣i:l, and so on. If 'first' is used in the sense of 'primary', or 'chief', or 'oldest', the preferred term is ʔok'oš (from ʔo:k 'head') rather than hunč̣i:l; see sentence 4 below.

1.3.1 Examples.

Ordinal Numbers

1st	hunč̣i:l	11th	lahu hunč̣i:l
2nd	ɟabč̣i:l	12th	lahu ɟabč̣i:l
3rd	ʔošč̣i:l	13th	lahu ʔošč̣i:l
4th	ɟeʔč̣i:l	14th	lahu ɟeʔč̣i:l
5th	boʔč̣i:l	15th	lahu boʔč̣i:l
6th	ʔakakč̣i:l		.....
7th	bukč̣i:l		.....
8th	wašikč̣i:l		.....
9th	belewč̣i:l		.....
10th	lahuč̣i:l	20th	hun ʔinikč̣i:l

3. hun-č̣i:l ɟab-č̣i:l ʔoš-č̣i:l ʔin we:lta  
 one-ORD two-ORD three-ORD A3 return.trip

'His first, his second, his third return trip.'

4. ʔin ʔok'os mism-la:b ʔin ʔab-č̌i:l ʔin ʔoš-č̌i:l  
A3 first lady-POL A3 two-ORD A3 three-ORD

'His first wife, his second, his third.'

5. ʔin ʔiy-aʔ-ø-iø øe:ʔ kube:ta ʔi haʔ neʔeø k-in  
A3 carry-TS-COM-EMPH four bucket of water go SUBJ-A3

ʔik'-p-iy-ø ʔin boʔ-č̌i:l  
carry-DM-TS-COM A3 five-ORD

'She's already carried four buckets of water; she's going to finish up carrying her fifth.'

1.4 Iterative Numbers. The suffix *//-i:l//* added to cardinal numbers conveys the meaning 'N times'. Long vowels of cardinal numbers do not shorten. My assistant translated the sentence 'He has come 20 times' *hun ʔiniki:l ti č̌eʔel*, and said that it was of course possible to count iteratively up to 100, "but you don't do it." *//-i:l//* may be added to other words to convey the meaning 'times': *ha:y* 'how much, how many', *ha:yi:l* 'how many times'; *ya:n* 'much, many', *ya:ni:l* 'many times'; see Chapter 9, Section 3.6.

1.4.1 Examples.

Iterative Numbers

1 time	hu:ni:l	6 times	ʔakaki:k
2 times	ʔa:b:l	7 times	bu:ki:l
3 times	ʔo:š̌i:l	8 times	waš̌iki:l
4 times	øe:ʔi:l	9 times	bele:wi:l
5 times	bo:ʔi:l	10 times	la:huh:l

6. ʔin haø'-(i)š̌-in øe:ʔ-i:l  
B1 sneeze-AP-COM four-TIMES

'I sneezed four times.'

7. ʔin ʔak'-iy-ø ʔa:b-i:l  
A3 weed-IS-COM two-TIMES

'He weeded it twice.'

1.5 Restrictive Numbers. The suffix *//-kaç//* added to cardinal numbers conveys the meaning 'only'. Long vowels of cardinal numbers shorten. This suffix is less productive than those discussed above, and applies only to numbers one through five. Like *//-i:l//*, *//-kaç//* may be added to other nouns to express the idea of 'only': *boyeʔ* 'handful', *boykaç* 'only a handful'; *ʔipi:l* 'little bit', *ʔipkaç* 'only a little bit'; see Chapter 9, Section 3.7.

1.5.1 Examples.

Restrictive Numbers

- |                  |                          |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. <i>hunkaç</i> | 6. <i>*ʔakakkaç</i>      |
| 2. <i>ʔabkaç</i> | 7. <i>*bukkaç</i>        |
| 3. <i>ʔoškaç</i> | 8. <i>*wašikkaç</i>      |
| 4. <i>ʔeʔkaç</i> | 9. <i>*belewkaç</i>      |
| 5. <i>boʔkaç</i> | 10. <i>*lahukaç</i>      |
|                  | 20. <i>*hun ʔinikkaç</i> |

8. *hun-kaç ʔu ʔebčal ʔu kʷaʔal*  
one-RES Al sibling Al have

'I have only one brother.'

9. *nana:ʔ ʔu ʔuʔ-tal ʔab-kaç ʔa ʔo:t*  
I Al see-INC two-RES the star

'I see only two stars.'

10. ʔešpiθ ʔin kwəʔal boʔ-kaʒ ʔi ʔolom  
 only A3 has five-RES of pig

‘He has only five pigs.’

1.6 Collective Numbers. The suffix *//-lom//* has the general meaning ‘things grouped together’: *lana:š* ‘orange’, *lana:šlom* ‘orange grove’; *bičim* ‘horse’, *bičimlom* ‘herd of horses’; see Chapter 9, Section 3.4. Suffixed to number words *//-lom//* has the sense of ‘N things that form some sort of natural group’. It can be added only to cardinal numbers one through five, and, with a special meaning, to seven. Vowels of the number words are short.

*Buklom* applies only to a particular group of stars: *buklom ʔo:t* ‘seven stars grouped together’--the Big Dipper. (The Pleiades, also a cluster of seven stars, are known in Huastec as *muθmuč*, a reduplicated form derived from the verb *muθ-uw-* ‘gather it together’.)

#### 1.6.1 Examples.

11. yahčik ʒab-lom ʔu kʷala:l  
 painful two-COLL A1 leg

‘Both my legs hurt.’

12. ʔin kʷol-ow-∅ boʔ-lom ʔin čʷučub kʷal ʔi maʒe:t  
 A3 wound-TS-COM five-COLL A3 finger with of machete

‘He sliced all five fingers with the machete.’

13. ʔin kwəʔal-ak bu:k ʔin ʒaka:m-il ʔan ʒeʔ-lom ʔasi  
 A3 have-IRR seven A3 child-POSS the four-COLL who

hilkʷ-on-∅ patal pe:l ʔi ʔinik  
 remain-TS-COM all be of man

‘She had seven children; the four remaining are all boys.’

1.7 Ti ʔe:b. The notion of `together' is expressed even more strongly by the phrase ti ʔe:b; ʔe:b is a possessed relational noun meaning `union' or `entirety' or `togetherness'; see Chapter 10, Section 1.7. Ti elides with the relevant possessive pronoun (examples 14-16). Collective // -lom // and ti ʔe:b are often used in the same expression, as in example 17, and I have one example of co-occurring // -kaʃ // and ti ʔe:b; see sentence 18.

#### 1.7.1 Examples.

14. naʔ-čik muθat leh ya:n ʔi kristya:no leh ya:n  
there-PL grouped very many of people very many

t-in ʔe:b  
in-A6 entirety

`Over there a whole lot of people are congregated together.'

15. ʒa:b t-i ʔe:b neʔeʃ k-u tomk-in-∅  
two in-A4 togetherness go SUBJ-B4 marry-1S-COM

`We two are going to get married.'

16. haha:ʔ-čik ʔo:š ʔi ʔušum t-in ʔe:b  
she-PL three of woman in-A6 union

`They are three women together.'

17. wawa:ʔ ʒab-lom t-i ʔe:b ʔi le:ʔ ʔi tumi:n  
we two-COLL in-A4 union A4 want of money

`The two of us want money.'

The response to the question, `How many of you are there?' was:

18. hun-kaʃ t-u ʔe:b  
one-RES in-A1 entirety

`Only I.'



1.8 N by N. This concept is expressed by the format ti \_\_\_ ti \_\_\_, with the cardinal numbers filling the blanks; ti `at, by'. A parade may pass by with people marching in rows. My assistant counted up to ti bele:w ti bele:w `nine by nine' before he stopped.

1.8.1 Examples.

ti hu:n ti hu:n `one by one'  
 ti ʒa:b ti ʒa:b `two by two'  
 ti ʔo:š ti ʔo:š `three by three'  
 etc.

19. ʔani ʔaŋʒana:ʔ ʔan ʒ'oho:l neʔeʒ ʒ ʒ'ak-i-:l ti hun-čik  
 and so the plants go B6 get.up-TS-INC by one-PL  
 ti hun-čik ma patal ka-∅ ta:l ʒ'ak-i-y  
 by one-PL until all SUBJ-B6 come get.up-TS-COM

`And so the plants go sprouting up one by one until all or them have come up.

1.9 Up to N, until N. This concept is expressed by the format ma \_\_\_; ma `up to, until'. My assistant counted to ma ʒe:ʔ, and indicated that one could go on from there. No sentence examples were elicited.

1.9.1 Examples.

ma ʒa:b `up to two, until two'  
 ma ʔo:š `up to three, until three'  
 ma ʒe:ʔ `up to four, until four'  
 etc.

2.0 Extended Meanings of Numbers. The numbers 'one' and 'two', hu:n and ʒa:b, can be used in a variety of ways to express different shades of meaning.

2.1 Indefinite Article. Hu:n functions as an indefinite article with the partitive ?i, the respect specifier ?a or a possessive pronoun. Compare the indefinite hu:n ?i in example 20 below with the definite ?an in example 21. Hu:n ?i may be combined with other number words, as in 22 below.

2.1.1 Examples.

hu:n ?i ʒ'ik'a:č 'a girl'

hu:n ?a k'i:ča: 'one day'

hu:n ?u t'ele:ʔ-il 'one my child-POSS' ('a child of mine')

20. tin huʒ'-uw-∅ hu:n ?i ʔehe:nčiš  
she.me bite-TS-COM one of witch

'A witch bit me.'

21. tin huʒ'-uw-∅ ?an ʔehe:nčiš  
she.me bite-TS-COM the witch

'The witch bit me.'

22. ka-∅ ʔow-e-y-ič hu:n ?i lahu bo:ʔ k'i:ča:...  
SUBJ-B3 last-TS-COM-EMPH one of ten five day...

'When about 15 days have passed...'

2.2 Some. The plural morpheme //-čik// added to hu:n expresses the concept 'some'; the vowel of hu:n shortens. The iterative suffix //-i:l// may be added to hunčik: hunčiki:l 'some times'; see example 24 below. Indefiniteness can also be expressed by a combination of

two numbers; hu:n ʒa:b 'one, two' or ʒa:b ʔo:š 'two, three' have the idiomatic meaning 'some' or 'a few', as in examples 25 and 26.

### 2.2.1 Examples.

hunčik ʔa k'i:ča: 'some days'

hunčik ʔi bakan 'some tortillas'

23. nana:ʔ ʔu k'wiy-aʔ-∅ hun-čik ʔi ʒ'ik'a:č leh ʔit'iš  
I Al scold-TS-COM one-PL of girl very annoying

'I scolded some annoying girls.'

24. hun-čik-i:l ʔin k'ap-ul-∅ hun-čik-i:l yab ʔin k'ap-ul-∅  
one-PL-TIMES Bl eat-AP-INC one-PL-TIMES not Bl eat-AP-INC

'Sometimes I eat, sometimes I don't eat.'

25. kala:m neʔeʒ tu piθ-aʔ-∅ hu:n ʒa:b ʔi bakan  
tomorrow go we.to.you give-TS-COM one two of tortilla

'Tomorrow we're going to give you some tortillas.'

26. neʔeʒ k-u ʔol-č-∅-i-ye ʒa:b ʔo:š ʔi ka:w  
go SUBJ-Al tell-BEN-COM-EP-PERDUR two three of word

'I'm going to tell you still a few more words.'

2.3 No One, Nobody, None. These concepts can be expressed by the combinatory form ni hu:n (ni Sp. 'not even, neither'). See Chapter 4, Section 4.3, for a fuller discussion of negative pronouns.

### 2.3.1 Examples.

27. ni hu:n yab tin tok'č-iy-a:mal  
not.even one not he.me answer-TS-PER

'He hasn't answered even one (of my letters).'

2.4 Companion. When inherently possessed, with Class 5 type possession (Chapter 10, Section 1.5), 'one' has the meaning 'companion'. The vowel of hu:n shortens; compare hu:n-i:l 'one time' in Section 1.3.1 above.

2.4.1 Examples.

28. neʔeʔ k-in ʔayk-aʔ-∅ ʔin hun-i:l hu:n ʔi we:ʔ  
 go SUBJ-A3 wait.for-TS-COM A3 one-POSS one of little

'He's going to wait for his companion a little while.'

2.5 Do It Again. A moderately productive derivation combines ʔa:b 'two' with some verb roots to convey the idea 'do it again'. The vowel of ʔa:b shortens. All examples follow.

2.5.1 Examples.

ʔab k'ak'-θ-aʔ- reheat it (k'ak'- 'hot', -θ- 'causative')

ʔab nuh-uw- resell it

ʔab pak-aʔ- refold it

ʔab paʔ-b-aʔ- get it down again (paʔ- 'get down', -b-  
 causative')

ʔab taθ-k'-in- slip again (taθ- slide, -k'- 'intensifier')

ʔab tehwaʔ-m-e:- reappear (tehwaʔ- 'visible', -m- 'inchoative')

ʔab t'ah-aʔ- redo it

ʔab t'ay-aʔ- reseed it

ʔab ʔul-uw- repeat it

ʔab wič-i- return again

29. ∅ ʔab ʔehʔ-in-al ʔan ʔeme:lom -- ko:mo La:saro  
 B3 two revive-VN-INC the dead.person -- like Lazarus

'The dead person comes to life again -- like Lazarus.'

2.6 Great-. The possessed form of ʒa:b is used to express the kinship concept 'great'. The only examples of this usage are with lineal relatives in the third ascending and descending generations. My assistant said that there was no word in Huastec for 'great-great-grandfather/grandmother' or for 'great-great-grandchild'. However, in the beginning of a story he used ʔošil 'third' in reference to great-great-grandfathers; see example 33 below. No information was collected on terms for collateral relatives, such as 'great-uncle' or 'grand-niece'.

2.6.1 Examples.

30. ʔu ʒab-il ma:m  
A1 two-POSS grandfather  
'My great-grandfather.'

31. ʔa ʒab-il ʔa:č  
A2 two-POSS grandmother  
'Your great-grandmother.'

32. ʔin ʒab-il momob  
A3 two-POSS grandchild  
'Her great-grandchild.'

33. ʔin t'il-a(?) -al ʔi ma:m ʔan(i) ʔi biya:l ʔi  
A6 remember-TS-INC A4 grandfather and of long.ago A4  
ʒab-il ʔoš-il...  
two-POSS three-POSS...  
'Our grandfathers and long ago our great-grandfathers and  
great-great-grandfathers remember...'

2.7 Related Words. Hu:n and ʒa:b are roots for a number of semantically related words. The entire list follows.

2.7.1 Examples.

hu:n-aʔ-	accompany s.o.
hunk-uw-	make an accord, match it
hun-aš	together, united
hun-at	equal, in accord
hun-e:t	peaceful, quiet
hu:n-ik	companion
hun-iniʔ	always, only, the same
hun-tal	companion
hun-tam	in truth, thus it is
hun-unu:l	all together
ʔa:b-iy-	acquire the second
ʔab-č-in-č-	repeat s.t. a second time, second it

3.0 Noun Specifiers and Measure Words. Unlike many other Mayan languages, Huastec does not have a system of obligatory numeral classifiers. It does have obligatory noun specifiers, which interact with number words, and a rich vocabulary for enumerating quantities of things--handfulls, piles, bundles, coils, etc.

3.1 Noun Specifiers. Except when possessed, preceded by a demonstrative or used vocatively, all Huastec nouns must be preceded by a noun specifier. There are three of these, the specific ʔan `a, an, the', the respectful ʔa, used with personal names, gods, and a few heavenly bodies, and the partitive ʔi `one of the class of'; see Chapter 16, Section 1.6, for a fuller discussion. Number words are

followed by the partitive ?i unless the things being numbered require the respect specifier ?a, or are possessed. The only exceptions to this rule are count phrases referring to days or years, when ?i may optionally be omitted.

### 3.1.1 Examples.

ʔe:ʔ ?i ʔolom `four pigs`

ʔe:ʔ ?u ʔolo:m-il `my four pigs-POSS`

\*ʔe:ʔ ?an ʔolom

\*ʔe:ʔ ʔolom

ʔe:ʔ ?a ʔo:t `four stars`

\*ʔe:ʔ ʔo:t

34. ʔa Pe:dro ʔin ʔem-θ-aʔ-θ ʔo:š ʔi pi:taʔ  
the Pedro A3 die-CAUS-TS-COM three of chicken

`Pedro killed three chickens.`

35. ti ʔo:š ʔa ʔi:ʔ waʔaʔ-iʔ ʔan wayʔ  
in three the moon there.be-INC-EMPH the corn.ear

`In three months the corn ears are already formed.`

36. ʔa Mari:ya ʔin kwaʔal ʔo:š ʔin ʔ'ik'a:č-il  
the María A3 has three A3 daughter-POSS

`María has three daughters.`

3.2 Measure Words. Measure words such as loads, stacks, pieces, piles or slices are optional when enumerating count nouns (two oranges vs. two piles of oranges) but obligatory with mass nouns (\*two waters vs. two bottles of water). Huastec has an extensive vocabulary of these terms; borrowed Spanish terms can also be used as measure words, e.g.,

kube:ta 'bucket' or pula:to 'plate'. The measure word follows the number but precedes a possessive pronoun or the partitive ?i. Occasionally, for reasons unclear to me, a partitive ?i also occurs between number and measure word, as in 38 below. The vowel of the number word is short.

### 3.2.1 Examples.

ya?ub 'fistful'

hun ya?ub ?i ?iθiθ, ?i ?at'em 'one fistful of corn, of salt'

hake? 'hand, bunch'

gab hake? ?i ?it'aθ 'two hands of bananas'

kote? 'slice'

?oš kote? ?i pan 'three slices of bread'

?oš ?i pan 'three rolls'

muke? 'pile'

hun muke? ?i gra:va, lana:š, ?anam, 'a pile of gravel,  
oranges, dirt'

37. g'ik'a:č tikin ča:n-č-θ-i hun kube:ta ?i ha?  
daughter IMP.you.to.me bring-BEN-COM-EP one bucket of water

'Daughter, bring me a bucket of water!'

38. ?an t'ele? ?in k'ap-u-θ ga:b ?i pula:to ?i aro:s  
the child A4 eat-TS-COM two of palate of rice

'The child ate two plates of rice.'

39. ?an gan bo? g'u:č t-in nake:l  
the snake five hand.span in-A3 length

'The snake is five hand spans in length.'



40. ?in kwe?o:θ      ?an ?ata: ?ab ho:?      ?in ?'ikwe:l ?ani  
 A3 circumference the house two armspan A3 width      and  
 ?oš ho:?      ?in nake:l  
 three armspan A3 length

'The house measures two armspans wide by three armspans long.'

3.3 Indefinite Quantities. Nouns may also be quantified by such terms as 'a little', 'a bit', 'a lot', 'all'.

3.3.1 Examples.

41. ne?e? k-u      t'uk-uw-∅      ?ipi:l ?i ha?  
 go      SUBJ-A1 pour-TS-COM little of water  
 'I'm going to pour a little water.'
42. ?an ?inik ?in k'ap-u-∅      we:?      ?i ?'anakw  
 the man      A3 eat-TS-COM little of bean  
 'The man ate a few beans.'
43. ?an pulik lehem ?in kwa?al ya:n ?i ha?  
 the big      lake      A3 has      much of water  
 'The ocean has a lot of water.'
44. ?in ?'at'-a?-∅ ya:n ?i bakan  
 A3 pat-TS-COM many of tortilla  
 'She made a lot of tortillas.'
45. ?a Pablo ?in ?u?'-a?-∅      patal ?an ha?  
 the Pablo      A3 drink-TS-COM all      the water  
 'Pablo drank all the water.'

## CHAPTER 14

## TIME

1.0 Time in Huastec is divided into hours, ʔo:ra (Sp. hora 'hour'); days, k'i:ča: 'sun, day'; weeks, sema:na (Sp. semana 'week'); months, ʔi:ç' 'moon'; and years, tamub.

1.1 Divisions of the Day. Although the Spanish-derived term ʔo:ra is now in general use, as in ça:b ʔi ʔo:ra 'two hours', and the concept of 'hour' is implicit in phrases such as ti ça:b ʔi ʔakal 'at two in the afternoon', time for most people is broken up into larger natural units. In general, daytime is devoted to work, for adults, and to school and play, for children, and the hours after dark to relaxation--a system dictated largely by the nature of farming work and the absence of electricity. The daylight hours are broken by pauses for meals. The position of the sun in the sky is noted and time periods are delimited in terms of its relative position. After dark the family sits by the light of the dwindling supper fire, or outdoors in the light of the moon or stars, conversing and commenting upon the events of the day. If more light is needed a kerosene-burning para:to (Sp. aparato), a can with a wick inserted in the top, can be lighted. However, these are used infrequently because of the cost of kerosene. With the exception of ceremonial occasions, such as a birthday party or an all-night vigil in the church, there is little travelling away from home at night. Paths are rough and uneven, snakes are an ever-present danger, and spooks and witches of various

kinds are known to move about at night. If a visitor who is well known to the family does arrive, he may precede the formal phrases of greeting with the remark k<sup>w</sup>enta ?u k'i:θal 'watch out for my thorns'-- a joking reference to the fact that witches are known to carry large spines or thorns with them as they travel at night.

One assistant described the important stages of the day as follows; Alcorn (1984:127-146) has a much more extensive discussion.

1. kale:l ?a k'i:ča: 'goes out the sun', i.e., 'the sun rises'. The day's work has already begun. The men of the family tend their animals and fields. The women begin the time-consuming task of preparing tortillas. When they are ready it is time for:

2. ?almuθala:b (Sp. almuerzo 'lunch') -- the first meal of the day, taken in early morning. Children leave for school, men return to their farming tasks, and women begin their household tasks, one of the most important being the fetching of water from streams or wells that may be at a considerable distance from the house. The significance of this task is reflected in the Huastec verb k'a?-iy-, which has the specific meaning 'to carry water'; the word for 'sky', k'ay?la:l, is derived from k'a?-iy through a regular morphophonemic process of metathesis.

3. leh ?o:ra 'very hour' or ti ?o:ra 'at hour' -- midday; also referred to as ǵ'aklaθ ?a k'i:ča: 'seated the sun', because the sun appears to stop briefly when it reaches the zenith. Huastecs envision the day as a cycle whose points of change lie at midday and midnight. These are dangerous times, especially for sick people.

4. lewkáθ ?a k'i:ča: 'tilted the sun'; ?uliǵ ?an bakan 'arrive

the tortillas'. It is customary to eat a meal in early afternoon, when the sun is no longer directly overhead, but angled in the sky. If a man is working in distant fields, a family member will bring his food to him.

5. wa:kal `late afternoon'.

6. tehk'onal ?a k'i:ča: ti g'e:n `raises itself the sun to the mountains'; ?in hila:l ?an t'ohla:b `they leave the work'. When the sun reaches the tops of the mountains, which lie to the west in the Huasteca, work stops.

7. ?ogel ?a k'i:ča: `enters the sun'; sunset. ?ogel k'i:ča: is the term for `west'; kalel k'i:ča: is `east'. `East' is also known as ?akan k'ih `foot (of) time' because time begins in the east.

8. θamθu:l `evening' or θamk'unal `it becomes evening'. If the family has eaten lightly during the day, a main meal is now prepared. However if the heavy meal was consumed in early afternoon, the family is content with a light supper, ča?ašla:b, usually consisting of reheated tortillas and chile, and possibly beans. Corn is shelled for the next day's tortillas and is put on to soak in boiling lime water. The family settles for the night.

9. ?akal `night'; when it is totally dark. A dangerous time, with witches, ?ehe:nčiš, and spooks, labaš, prowling about.

10. g'ehel ?akal `middle night'; midnight, a dangerous time.

11. ta:l čuθe:l `it comes, it dawns'; θahnalič ?an košol `crow, already, the roosters'; false dawn.

12. tahk'anič `it brightened already'; true dawn.

13. kalel ?a k'i:ča: `goes out the sun' -- and a new day begins.

1.1.1 Terms of Greeting. These terms are derived from the daily cycle: tahk'ane:nek 'it has brightened', the morning greeting; wak(a)lene:nek 'it has become afternoon'; θamk'une:nek 'it has become evening'. The relevant phrase is requisite if you meet someone on the road or if you approach someone's house, but in casual speech the three greetings are frequently abbreviated to -k'ane:nek or -ne:nek.

One assistant dictated to me the polite formula of greeting if we should meet one day on the road:

1. FV (tah)k'an-e:nek kuma:le  
(brighten)-VN-PER co-mother
- BE -k'ane:nek kuma:le
- FV be:l-iθ-k'e kuma:le (r.i.)  
continuing-EMPH-QUAL co-mother
- BE be:liθk'e kuma:le
- FV ʔa diyo:s tu piθ-a(?) -a:mal ʔan ʔalwa-tal-(l)a:b  
the god he.you give-TS-PER the good-ABS-GEN
- BE k'ak'-n-a(?) -a:mal ya:n kuma:le  
hot-TV- TS-PER much co-mother
- FV `Good morning, ma'am.'
- BE `Good morning, ma'am.'
- FV `Coming along well, ma'am?'
- BE `Coming along well, ma'am.'
- FV `God has given you grace.'
- BE `Thank you very much, ma'am.'

After this ritual interchange they may converse further, and then bid farewell, saying:

2. ta:ye k-u      ʒu:ʔ-u:š-in-Ø  
later SUBJ-B4 see-RECIP-TS-COM

‘That we may see each other again.’

1.2 Divisions of the Month. The month is divided in terms of the lunar cycle. ʔa:l haʔ ʔi:ʒ' ‘in the water moon’ refers to the period when the moon is invisible--swallowed in the water that underlies the earth. When it first reappears it is referred to as θa:lɑm ʔa ʔi:ʒ' ‘tender the moon’ or ʒakam ʔa ʔi:ʒ' ‘little the moon’. ʔo:ra θamu:l, literally ‘noon evening’ refers to the first quarter when the moon appears in the sky at dusk in the zenith position. When the moon is full it is referred to as túčat ʔa ʔi:ʒ' ‘full the moon’ (from túč-iy- ‘fill it’) or pr'it ʔa ʔi:ʒ' ‘entire, complete the moon’ (from put-uw- ‘fulfill it, complete it’). The third quarter is called ʔo:ra čuθe:l ‘noon daybreak’ because the moon has reached the zenith position at daybreak. When the moon is about to disappear again people say ʔaka:lom ʔa ʔi:ʒ' ‘night one, the moon’.

The four quarters of the cycle, ʔo:ra θamu:l, túčat ʔa ʔi:ʒ', ʔo:ra čuθe:l and the point in ʔa:l haʔ ʔi:ʒ' just before the new moon appears are dangerous times, because the moon is soft and weak, paluw. No important work is done; corn and cane are not planted, trees for house construction are not cut, seed grain is not harvested. It is a dangerous time for people as well.

3. ʔu kot-oy-Ø    ʔu ʔakan ʔani leh ʒakam ʔa ʔi:ʒ' haʔiʒ  
Al cut-TS-COM Al foot and very little the moon therefore

t-u            šij'-(a)n-al  
SUBOR-B3 bleed-VN-INC

'I cut my foot and the moon was very tiny; therefore it bleeds.'

The period of interdiction begins a day before the quarter point and lasts for two days afterwards. People fill the time with less important tasks--weeding fields, clearing underbrush, cutting cane, harvesting food to eat, but not for seed. During the three days between periods of interdiction the moon is strong, ɕapik, and the major tasks are accomplished. A day or two before full moon is the time to castrate animals; if this is done at or after full moon the animals will not grow properly.

When there is an eclipse people believe that the sun has been eaten by the earth--in the form of a tiger--and then later ejected.

4. ʔa ʔi:ɕ' k'wahat ti-∅ k'ap-a:b k'al ʔan ɕaba:l--  
the moon PROGR SUBOR-B3 eat-INC.PASS by the earth--

ko:mo ʔin kʷaʔal ʔin ʔehattal ʔehiti:l ʔi paθum  
because A3 have A3 being resembles of tiger

'The moon is being eaten by the earth--(we say this) because in its essence it is like a tiger.'

My assistant explained that when there is an eclipse people watch the reflection of the sun or moon in a pool of water. The ripples on the surface make it appear that there is a tiger in the water.

When possessed, the term for moon mean menstrual period.

5. ma hayk'iʔ t-a ko:ʔ-oy-∅ ʔa ʔi:ɕ'-al ma hayk'iʔ  
until when SUBOR-A2 have-TS-COM A2 moon-POSS until when

t-a ɕuʔ-u-∅ ʔa ʔi:ɕ'-al  
SUBOR-A2 see-TS-COM A2 moon-POSS

`When did you have your moon, when did you see your moon?`--  
i.e., `When did you last menstruate?`

The period of gestation is reckoned in terms of moons. According to a story, one of the first men committed the sin of sodomy and as a punishment worms grew on his feet. He was directed by the gods to take the worms to the sea, and there to care for them.

6. neʔeʃ k-in ne:n-č-ø-i ʔi k'apne:l čuθe:l ma ti  
go SUBJ-A3 bring-BEN-COM-EP of food daily until at  
bele:w ʔa ʔi:ʒ'  
nine the moon

`He will bring them food daily for nine months.`

At which time the worms were fully grown into human infants, and yelled, `Papa`!

Certain illnesses are caused by the moon. If one sleeps in the moonlight one may become ʔi:ʒ'liθ `mooned`, a condition characterized by mental disturbance and persistent headache. There is a condition called ʒamay ʔa ʔi:ʒ' `moon coldness` which causes dizziness and vomiting. If one points at the moon one may be teʔeθ k'al ʔa ʔi:ʒ' `sopped up by the moon` (just as one sops up food with tortillas) and develop swollen purulent fingertips.

The term for moon is used by extension for the twelve months of the year. One assistant courted the months for me, from one, hu:n ʔa ʔi:ʒ' to twelve, lahu ʒas:b ʔa ʔi:ʒ', and then remarked:

7. ʔu loʔp-an-ø ʔa:l ʔi:ʒ' ʔan tamub  
B3 string-VN-COM in moon the year

`The year is strung on months.`



1.3 Divisions of the Year. There are only two major divisions of the year in the sub-tropical Huasteca--the ¿ama:y k'ih 'cold time', the months from November to February, when it is impossible to keep warm in a Huastec house, with its unplastered walls, and the k'ak'al k'ih 'hot time', the rest of the year. One assistant also distinguished pa:škwá k'ih (Sp. pascua 'Easter'), centered on March, which he characterized as a dry period with frequent strong winds, and ?a:bal k'ih 'raining time', May and June, when the heavy summer rains come. There is a hiatus in the rains in late June and early July, which, if prolonged, is destructive to crops. No term for this dry period was elicited. He also distinguished a ¿akam tamub 'little year', when February has 28 days, from a pulik tamub 'big year', when the month is 29 days long.

This same assistant derived the word for year, tamub, from the verb tam-uw- 'meet it'. // -Vb// is the suffix which derives instrumental/locative nouns from verbs; see Chapter 8, Section 3.4.1. He explained that at New Year's the old year and the new year meet in the middle of the sky at midnight. The new year can come from any direction, and depending on the direction the upcoming year will be rainy, or dry, or windy and rainy, or salty rainy.

2.0 Time Past and Time Future. It is simpler to count time forward than backwards. For example, counting backwards one can say only 'yesterday' and 'the day before yesterday', whereas in the future it is possible to count from 'tomorrow' to twenty or more days from now. The same problem arises with months and years: only 'last month' or

`last year' may be specified simply, while months and years in the future are readily counted. The term biya:l means `long ago' and usually refers to a period before the speaker's birth. Tam ti biya:l `when at long ago' is the classic phrase which begins stories--either historical tales of the time of the Mexican Revolution, or mythical accounts of gods and demons and witches and magic children and of the origin of corn and fire and of caves and mountains and other features of the natural landscape.

2.1 Days. The term for `day before yesterday' and `day after tomorrow' is gabk'i? `two' plus a shortened form of the word for `day', k'i:ča:.

8. yab-kwa? ?in le:? ti-∅      ?e?el-∅      šowe:? ne?e?k-wa?  
not-QUOT A3 want SUBOR-B3 gather.wood-AP-INC today go-QUOT

k-in      ?e?ey-∅      gab-k'i?  
SUBJ-A3 gather.wood-TS-COM two-day

`He says he doesn't want to wood-gather today; he says he'll go to gather wood day after tomorrow.'

9. Q. hayk'i? ∅ čič      ?a ?anu:b ti      ?a?b-iy-∅  
when B3 come.SUPPL.COM A2 aunt she.you visit-TS-COM

A. gab-k'i?  
two-day

`When did your aunt come to visit you?' `Day before yesterday.'

If the directionality of gabk'i? is not obvious from context, it may be modified by the terms for `yesterday', ti we?e:l, and `tomorrow', kalam:.

10. ?u ha?u:b ne?e?k-wa? ka-∅ čiči:č tikin  
 Al friend go-QUOT SUBJ-B3 come.SUPPL.COM SUBJ.she.me  
 ?a?b-iy-∅ kala:m ?ab-k'i?  
 visit-TS-COM tomorrow two-day

'My friend says she's going to visit me day after tomorrow.'

11. ti.we?e:l ?ab-k'i? ?ehat-e ?ani šowe:? ∅ ?em(e)-?i?  
 yesterday two-day alive-PERDUR and today B3 die-TS-CON-EMPH

'Day before yesterday he was still alive and today he's dead already.'

It is not possible to say \*ti we?e:l ?ošk'i? 'yesterday three days' or \*ti we?e:l ?e?k'i? 'yesterday four days'. Future counting of days may go on indefinitely, from kala:m ?ošk'i? 'tomorrow three days' or 'three days from now' to whatever anticipatory time span it is desired to count.

12. kala:m waš(ik)-k'i? ∅ wa?a?i-∅ ?an way?  
 tomorrow eight-day B6 there.be.INC-EMPH the corn.ear

'Eight days from now the corn ears will already appear.'

2.2 Weeks. Although the term for 'week', sema:na, is borrowed from Spanish, it is treated like a native Huastec term.

13. ti ∅ wat'-e-y sema:na ?u ne?-θ-a?-∅ ?a:b ?i  
 at B3 pass-TS-COM week Al go-CAUS-TS-COM two of  
 ?eme:lom ti tiyo:pan  
 dead.person to church

'Last week I brought two dead people to the church.'

14. ?e:? ?i sema:na ne?e? k-u ?ak'-iy-∅ ?an ?e:m  
 four of week go SUBJ-Al weed-TS-COM the corn

'In four weeks I will weed the corn.'

2.3 Months. As noted above, Section 1.2, one assistant counted the months forward to lahu ʒa:b ʔa ʔi:ʒ 'twelve months'. Backwards it is possible to say:

15. ti Ø wat'-e-y ʔa ʔi:ʒ  
 at B3 pass-TS-COM the moon  
 'Last month.'

However, ti wat'ey ʒa:b ʔa ʔi:ʒ is not possible. In order to specify more than one month ago there are two locutions: ʔin kwaʔal 'it has' and ʔin t'aha:l 'it makes'.

16. ʔu ʒ'aʔiy-asmal ʔu ʔi:t k'ima:ʔ ʔin kwaʔal šowe:ʔ ʒa:b  
 Al buy-TS-PER Al new house A3 has today two  
 ʔa ʔi:ʒ  
 the moon

'I bought my new house two months ago.'

17. ʔin t'ah-a(?) -al bo:ʔ ʔa ʔi:ʒ t-in kal-(e)-nek t-u  
 A3 make-TS-INC five the moon SUBOR-B1 go.out-TS-PER from-Al  
 ʒaba:l-il  
 land-POSS

'I left home five months ago.'

2.4 Years. With years, likewise, we say ti wat'ey tamub 'last year' or ti putun tamub 'a year ago', or use the phrases ʔin kwaʔal or ʔin t'aha:l; years in the future are simply counted. When numbering years (or days) the usually obligatory noun specifier ʔi may be omitted; see Chapter 13, Section 3.1.

18. ʔa Pe:dro Ø ʒem-e-nek ʔin kwaʔal ʒa:b ʔi tamub  
 the Pedro B3 die-TS-PER A3 has two of year

‘Pedro died two years ago.’

19. šowe:ʔ ti put-un-∅ tamub ʔa k'a:n-č-∅-i niš  
today at complete-VN-COM year A2 take.out-BEN-COM-EP that

ʔin wal ʔin wič-i:l ʔan bičim ø'a:h  
A3 face A3 flower-POSS the horse vine

‘A year ago today you took a picture of that horse vine  
flower.’

20. ʔin t'ah-a(?) -al ʔo:š ʔi tamub yab ʔu kaw-n-aʔ-∅ ʔan  
A3 make-TS-INC three of year not A1 word-IVR-TS-COM the

te:nek ka:w  
Huastec word

‘Three years ago I didn't speak Huastec.’

21. ti ʔo:š tamub neʔeø k-in wič-i-y ti ʔa:l ʔan te:nek  
at three year go SUBJ-B1 return-TS-COM at in the Huastec

øaba:l  
land

‘In three years I will return to the Huasteca.’

## CHAPTER 15

## ADJECTIVES

There is a limited class of root adjectives in Huastec, a larger class of adjective stems, and a very large class of terms derived from verbs and nouns which fill some of the same syntactic slots as adjectives. Inchoative verbs can be formed from both root and derived adjectives (see Chapter 7, Section 2.4) and in the majority of cases an abstract noun can be derived by lengthening the final vowel of the adjective or by suffixing the abstractive //-tal// (see Chapter 9, Section 1.3.2). The language also has a limited number of borrowed adjectives, a few adjectives which have singular and plural forms, a number of bivalent noun/adjective and adjective/adverb stems, and a large number of reduplicated descriptive terms, to be considered separately, which form a class of affects.

1.0 Adjective Roots and Stems. A few adjective roots function as adjective stems without further derivation. Others require a stem formative.

1.1 Adjective Roots. All adjective roots are of the shape CVC or CV:C, with the exception of ?ehək 'black'. Some have related verb roots, and two, mo:ʔ 'mute' and ?ehək are bivalent noun/adjective roots. The entire list follows.

1.1.1 Examples.

bi:l	weak, feeble		
ʔehək	black, evil; evil one, mestizo		
ʔi:t	new		
k'a:k'	hot	k'ak'-e-	get hot
k'eh	old		
leh	much, true		
mo:ʔ	mute; mute person		
ʔo:w	distant, foreign	ʔow-e-	delay, be late
pi:l	other, different		
ya:n	many	yan-e-	increase
we:ʔ	little		

1.2 Adjective Stem Formatives. The commonest adjective stem formatives are of the shape //VC//. (Recall that this was also the most frequent noun stem formative shape; see Chapter 8, Section 1.2.) The next most frequent shape is //CVC//, followed by //V:C//, //CV// and //V//. Adjective stem formatives are listed below in approximate order of increasing productivity. Possibly related words are listed in the second column.

1.2.1 //tey//. Unproductive. Derives a single adjective from a possibly related adjective root.

teh-tey	green, crude	teh-waʔ	visible (?)
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1.2.2 //e:t//. Unproductive. Derives a single adjective from a number root.

hun-e:t	peaceful, quiet	hu:n	one
---------	-----------------	------	-----

1.2.3 //a:b//. Unproductive. Derives a single adjective from a CVC unique constituent.

kiθ-a:b ugly

1.2.4 //-ʔi//. Unproductive. Derives two bivalent noun/adjective terms relating to vision, one possibly from the term for 'black'. The suffix //-ʔi// may be related to the transitive verb ʔuʔ-u- 'see it'.

ʔek-ʔi squint eyed; squint eyed person      ʔehək black

hokʔ-ʔi blind; blind person

1.2.5 //-ne//. Unproductive. Derives two bivalent noun/adjective terms from CVC unique constituents.

θokʔ-ne strident, noisy;  
raucous person

ʔeʔ-ne stingy; niggardly person

1.2.6 //-niʔ//. Unproductive. Derives two bivalent noun/adjective stems relating to color from CVC unique constituents. The suffix is deleted in compounds or when the adjective precedes the noun it modifies. Larsen (1955) gives //-niʔ// as a suffix to ʔehək 'black' (1.1.1 above); I did not elicit this term.

θak-niʔ white; white thing

ʔak-niʔ red; red thing

1.2.7 //-waʔ//. Unproductive. Derives three adjectives from related noun and adjective roots. McQuown (1984:92) suggests that it adds the meaning 'full of'.



ʔal-waʔ	good	ʔa:l-e:m	weight
teh-waʔ	visible	teh-at	raised, elevated
ʕ'oh-waʔ	overgrown	ʕ'oh-o:l	plant, herb

1.2.8 // -Vm//. Unproductive. Derives three adjectives from CVC unique constituents.

k'iθ-im	lukewarm
lup-em	deep
θa:l-am	tender

1.2.9 // -ab//. Unproductive. Derives three adjectives, two of them bivalent noun/adjective stems, from CVC unique constituents.

ʔel-ab	better
k'wat-ab	left; left side
win-ab	right; right side

1.2.10 // -čik//. Unproductive. The plural morpheme // -čik// derives two adjectives from related noun roots, one from a related adjective, and one from a number root.

ʔal-čik	heavy	ʔa:l-e:m	weight
hun-čik	some	hu:n	one
tal-čik	some	talaʔ	all
yah-čik	painful	yah-al	pain

1.2.11 // -ik//. Unproductive. Derives four adjectives from related words and CV(:)C unique constituents.

pu:l-ik	big		
ʕap-ik	hard, strong	ʕa:p-la:b	force, power

ɕiʔ-ik	sweet	ɕiʔ-im	honey, cane juice
ɕ'aʔ-ik	bitter		

1.2.12 //-V:l//. Unproductive. Derives four adjectives from related words and a CVC unique constituent. //-V:l// is a moderately productive noun stem formative (see Chapter 8, Section 1.2.20); note that three of the terms below are bivalent noun/adjective stems. //-V:l// also productively derives nouns from transitive verb roots and stems (see Chapter 8, Section 3.2.9).

biy-a:l	ancient; long ago	biy-at	meanwhile (?)
kat-i:l	ragged, uneven	kat-aʔ-	cut, break unevenly
k'aʔ-a:l	first; first one		
ɕip-i:l	little; little one	ɕip-kaɕ	little bit

1.2.13 //-at//. Unproductive. Derives five adjectives from related nouns and CVC unique constituents. This morpheme is homophonous with //-at// which derives simple participles from middle voice verbs (see Chapter 5, Section 2.3.1). It is listed here as a separate morpheme because there is no evidence of related verbs in these cases.

hun-at	equal	hu:n	one
tab-at	useful		
θaθ-at	thin, slender		
ɕ'al-at	elegant	ɕ'a:l-e	dignitary
ɕ'eb-at	sleepy		

1.2.14 //-Vθ//. Unproductive. Derives five terms, three from CVC unique constituents, one from a related adjective root, and one from a verb root. Except for kumiθ, root and suffix vowel are the same.

kum-iθ	deep		
k'ih-iθ	agreeable, placid	k'ih-aš	clear (?)
lup-uθ	deep	lup-iy-	submerge it
man-aθ	scratchy, fuzzy		
tek-eθ	proper, suitable		

1.2.15 //-e//. Unproductive. Derives five adjectives, three of them bivalent noun/adjective stems, from CV(:)C unique constituents and a related noun root.

k <sup>w</sup> e:k'-e	silent, quiet		
le:t'-e	pitiful; pitiful one		
ʔo:b-e	lazy; lazy one		
tiθ-e	bashful, ashamed	tiθ	fart
ʔin-e	deaf; deaf person		

1.2.16 //-Vl//. Unproductive. Derives seven adjectives, two of them bivalent noun/adjective stems, from CV(:)C unique constituents and possibly from a related noun root.

ʔit-el	queasy		
leʔ-ul	irregular		
mič-al	warm, humid		
pat-al	all; everyone		
ʔ'a:y-il	cold (of body)		
ʔ'eh-el	half	ʔ'eh-et	muscle (?)
yaʔ-ul	sick; sick person		

1.2.17 //-Vw//. Productive. Derives 13 adjectives from CVC unique constituents and two nouns. If root vowel is /i/ or /o/, suffix is

//-ow//; if root vowel is /e/, /a/ or /u/, suffix is //-uw//.

ʔen-uw	greasy		
hoʔ-ow	rotten-smelling		
ʔik'-ow	light, airy	ʔik'	wind
keʔ-uw	glassy, fragile		
kuh-uw	savory		
k'oθ-ow	fetid-smelling		
mol-ow	humid		
pal-uw	bland, soft		
šaʔ-uw	raw-, unripe-smelling	šaʔ	vomit
tol-cʔ	thick, dense		
θok'-ow	porous		
ʔ'ap-uw	salty		
ʔ'uk'-uw	cold (metal, water, dead body)		

1.2.18 // -vš//. Productive. Derives 16 adjectives from transitive and intransitive verb roots, noun and adjective roots, and CVC unique constituents. Suffix vowel is /i/ or /a/, except for mam-uš and ʔok'-oš.

ʔat'-aš	dirty	ʔat-aʔ-	nauseate s.o.
bal-aš	filthy		
čub-aš	true		
čup-iš	penetrating		
ʔik'-aš	agile, diligent	ʔik'-i-	carry it
ʔit'-iš	vexing, annoying	ʔit'-iy-	poison it
kaʔ-aš	saturated, drenched		

k'ih-aš	clear (of water)	k'ih-iθ	agreeable, placid
laʔ-iš	irritating	laʔ-iy-	scratch it, claw it
mam-uš	tepid		
ʔok'-oš	first	ʔo:k'	head
tah-aš	clear, bright	tah-aʔ-	illuminate it
t'ih-aš	tiny		
ʔuk'-aš	turbid (water)	ʔuk'-uw-	flood it
yik'w-aš	obscure, dark	yik'w-e-	darken
way-aš	sleepy	way-al-	sleep

1.2.19 //-V?//. Productive. Derives 22 adjectives, many of them bivalent noun/adjective stems, from CVC unique constituents, noun and verb roots. In the majority of cases,  $V_1 = V_2$ ; the five cases where it does not are listed separately.

k <sup>w</sup> et-eʔ	own	k <sup>w</sup> et-e:m	own
k'ay-aʔ	patient	k'ay-u:m	slowly
k'eš-eʔ	funny		
k'wan-aʔ	dwarfed; dwarf		
k'wex-eʔ	lame; lame one		
mil-iʔ	dotted, perforated		
pit'-iʔ	bald; bald one		
poθ-oʔ	capriciously desireous		
šob-oʔ	densely bunched	šob-e-	bristle
tal-aʔ	all	tal-aʔ-	finish, complete it
ton-oʔ	one-armed	ton-aʔ-	cut it off
t'un-uʔ	black; black thing		

θak'-a?	empty, dry		
øil-i?	bare, hairless		
øoy-o?	frail, skinny	øo:y-il	rib
øul-u?	blue/black (esp. corn)		
wek-e?	stuttering; stutterer		
ley-o?	shining	le:y	lightning
mak-u?	foolish; fool		
mak'-i?	brilliant		
man-u?	yellow; yellow thing		
yaš-u?	green/blue; green/blue thing		

1.2.20 // -Vy//. Productive. Derives 22 adjectives from CVC unique constituents and a few noun and adjective roots. With the exception of kašiy and loliy,  $V_1 = V_2$ .

bil-iy	dulled, blunted, enervated	bi:l	weak, feeble
bom-oy	clumsy, awkward	bom-očik	awkward, unskillful
hil-iy	sour		
kak-ay	burnt-smelling		
kaš-iy	foul-smelling		
k'it'-iy	slippery		
lah-ay	excessively salty		
lič-iy	slippery, slick		
lol-iy	slimy		
nih-iy	strongly sour-smelling		
paθ-ay	agressive, envious	paθ-um	jaguar
pe-m-ey	greasy, oily	pe:m	rubber

t'ap-ay	sticky		
θih-iy	hot		
θob-oy	leafy	θob-em	acacia tree
ϕam-ay	cold	ϕa:m	ice
ϕih-iy	fatty-smelling		
ϕil-iy	smooth, shiny		
ϕok-oy	dark, brown		
ϕ'ik-iy	itchy		
ʔuϕ-uy	curly	ʔuϕ-ek	small intestinal worm
wiϕ'-iy	hard, firm	wi:ϕ'	quarry stone

2.0 Borrowed Adjectives. A few adjectives in common use are borrowed from Spanish. The complete list follows, with the Spanish word in parentheses. To:nto (Sp. tonto 'foolish, stupid') in Huastec means 'fierce' or 'savage'. The other borrowed words do not differ in meaning from the Spanish term.

2.1 Examples.

ʔašu:l	(azul)	blue
bwe:no	(bueno)	good
konte:nto	(contento)	content
lo:ko	(loco)	crazy, ill-tempered, fierce
ma:šu	(manso)	tame, mild
mo:ϕoʔ	(mocho)	cropped, cut off
ʔo:tro	(otro)	other, another
ri:ko	(rico)	rich

to:nto	(tonto)	savage, fierce
θimalo:n	(cimarrón)	wild

3.0 Plural Adjectives. While not frequently done, it is possible to pluralize adjectives with the plural morpheme *//-čik//*: ʔalwaʔ `good', ʔalwaʔčik `good' (of an entire field of corn); yahčik `painful', yahčikčik `extremely painful'. Seven adjectives have a distinct plural form. In most cases the plural is formed by deleting the singular stem formative or derivational morpheme and suffixing *//-θaʔ//* to the root; pu:lik `big' is irregular because the root changes as well. Nakat and tekat in the examples below are adjectival participles derived from middle voice verbs; see Section 5.0 below. One additional term probably belongs in this class, but is not included on the list because of insufficient information about its use. Related to t'il-ili:l `thin, slender' there is a medicinal herb called t'il-θaʔ θipon `narrow thipon'. The plural forms may optionally be redundantly pluralized by suffixing *//-čik//*, e.g., nakθaʔ-čik, tekθaʔ-čik. The singular forms can never take the plural suffix. See Chapter 12, Section 3.0 for sentence examples.

### 3.1 Examples.

Singular		Plural
kweč-očo:l	very round	kweš-θaʔ
k'oč-o:l	fat, bulky	k'oš-θaʔ (č --> š/___θ)
nak-at	long	nak-θaʔ
pu:l-ik	big	pak-θaʔ
tol-ow	thick, dense	tol-θaʔ



t'ek'-at	high	t'ek'-θaʔ
ʒoy-oʔ	frail, skinny	ʒoy-θaʔ

4.0 Bivalent Stems. There are a number of bivalent noun/adjective stems and a few terms which can function as both adjective and adverb.

4.1 Bivalent Noun/Adjective Stems. Some words can be used as nouns or adjectives depending on their syntactic relationships--whether they are preceded by a noun specifier or a possessive clitic pronoun; whether they are used attributively or predicatively, and so on. For example, it is possible to say ʔan ʒipi:l 'the little one' or ʔu ʒipi:l 'my little one (i.e., my child)' or ʔan ʒipi:l t'e:l 'the little rat'. In the latter case ʒipi:l is an adjective; in the former examples it is a noun. These bivalent terms have been noted in the lists in Section 1.2, but will be repeated here as a group. Note that the largest number of bivalent terms refer to persons having negative qualities, disabilities or deficiencies. All basic color terms are on the list, as are terms for 'left' and 'right'.

Two terms, one of which I believe to be a compound and the other to be derived from a verb, are included in the list below because of their frequency of use. They are ʔuškweʔ 'old (of females)', 'old woman', and yehʒel 'old (of males)', 'old man'. ʔuškweʔ is a compound from ʔuš-um 'woman' + -kweʔ, an unknown root; (possibly kwe:ʔ-ey- 'rob it?'). I derive yehʒel from yeh-e- 'grow large' + ʒ 'finish doing it' + -el 'nominalizer'.

4.1.1 Examples.

biya:l	long ago; ancient
ʔehək	evil one, mestizo; black, evil
ʔekʒi	squint-eyed person; squint-eyed
hokʒi	blind person; blind
kʼaʔa:l	first one; first
kʼwanaʔ	dwarf; dwarfed
kʼwatab	left side; left
kʼweʒeʔ	lame one; lame
le:tʼe	pitiful one; pitiful, sad
makuʔ	fool; foolish
manuʔ	yellow thing; yellow
mo:ʔ	mute person; mute
ʔo:be	lazy one; lazy
patal	everyone; all
pitʼiʔ	bald one; bald
tʼunuʔ	black thing; black
θakniʔ	white thing; white
θokʼne	raucous person; strident, noisy
ʒakniʔ	red thing; red
ʒine	deaf one; deaf
ʒipi:l	little one; little
ʒʼeʔne	niggardly person; stingy
ʔuʃkweʔ	old woman; old (of females)
wekeʔ	stutterer; stuttering

winab	right side; right
yaš <sup>u</sup> ʔ	green/blue thing; green/blue
yaʔul	sick person; sick
yehʔel	old man; old (of males)

4.2 Bivalent Adjective/Adverb Stems. A number of words can be used either adjectivally or adverbially. In the list of examples below adverbs are categorized as locative, temporal, manner, degree and modal; see Chapter 16, Section 2.0. Sentence examples contrasting adjectival and adverbial use are given for a few of the terms.

4.2.1 Examples.

	Adjective		Adverb
ʔalwaʔ	good	manner	well
biya:l	ancient	temporal	long ago
čubaš	true	modal	in truth, really, certainly, surely
k <sup>w</sup> weteʔ/ k <sup>w</sup> wete:m	own	manner	by itself, alone, only
leh	much, true	degree	very
ʔok'oš	first	temporal	before, formerly, first
ʔo:w	distant, foreign	locative	far away
patal	all	degree	completely, all
pi:l	other, different	locative	separate, aside
ǰapik	hard, strong	manner	hard, forcefully
ǰ'ehel	half	locative	in the middle
ya:n	many	degree	much

1. tehe:ʔ ∅ nuh-uw-a:b ʔan bakan leh ʔalwaʔ-čik  
 here B6 sell-TS-INC.PASS the tortilla very good-PL  
 `Here really good tortillas are sold.`
  
2. yab ʔin ʔalwaʔ šič-aʔ-∅ ʔan k'oye ʔan ø'ik'a:č  
 not A3 well regrind-TS-COM the corn.dough the girl  
 `The girl didn't properly regrind the corn dough.`
  
3. ∅ bel-(a)n-e:nek ʔabal čubaš ʔila:liš ko:mo  
 B3 believe-VN-PER that true curer because  
 lehk-iš-in-∅  
 put.in.order-AP-TS-COM  
 `He is believed to be a true curer because he heals.`
  
4. pos čubaš taʔ ʔin ʔel-aʔ-∅  
 well in.truth there.(far) A3 find-TS-COM  
 `Well, actually she found them over there.`
  
5. ʔa Hwan ʔin tal-aʔ-∅ ʔan t'ohla:b ti leh ʔo:ra  
 the John A3 finish-TS-COM the work at true hour  
 `John finished the job at midday.`
  
6. tam tehtey ʔan θiʔ ʔu leh kal-e-l ʔi paw  
 when green the firewood B3 very go.out-TS-INC of smoke  
 `When the firewood is green it smokes a lot.`
  
7. ∅ ʔihk-an-∅ ya:n ʔi k'weʔ-lab k'al ʔan ɣapik ʔik'  
 B6 fall-VN-COM many of branch-GEN with the strong wind  
 `Many branches fell because of the strong wind.`
  
8. nana:ʔ ʔu kwaθ-aʔ-∅ leh ɣapik  
 I Al hit-TS-COM very hard  
 `I hit him very hard.`

5.0 Adjectives Derived from Verbs. The various participial forms derived from verbs are distributionally equivalent to adjectives; that is, they may be used attributively and predicatively, nouns may be formed by lengthening the final vowel of the participle or by suffixing the abstractive *//-tal//*, and inchoative verbs may be derived with the inchoative morphemes *//-b-//* or *//-m-//*. Participial derivations were discussed at length in Chapter 5, Sections 1.2.5, 2.3 and 3.3, and will be briefly summarized below.

Simple participles are derived from transitive verbs by suffixing *//-Vθ//* to the verb root or stem; V is the vowel of the thematic suffix. *//-Vθ//* has two allomorphs: */-Vč/* if the root or stem ends in */θ/*, and */-Vθ/* elsewhere. Middle voice and root intransitive verbs derive their simple participles by suffixing *//-at//* to the CVC root. In addition, the perfect inflections of these verbs can be used as participial adjectives. Positional participles are derived from transitive, middle voice and root intransitive verbs with a suffix which reduplicates and lengthens the vowel of the CVC root and adds */l/*. Distributive participles are formed by suffixing the plural morpheme *//-čik//* to the thematic suffix vowel of transitive verbs and to the thematic suffix of middle voice verbs. The lack of examples of distributive participles based on root intransitive verbs is probably an accident of sampling. Repetitive participles can be derived from transitive verbs, and follow the pattern  $C_1V_1C_2(C_3)-V\{C_2,C_3\}\theta$ ; the last consonant of the root or stem is the one repeated. Unfortunately I did not enquire about the possibility of a reduplicated stem ending in *//-at//*--for example, *\*beč-eč-at*, from *beč-e-* 'hang, be suspended'.

5.1 Examples.

ʔol-iy- `smooth it` (transitive)

ʔol-iθ `smoothed`

ʔin ʔol-i:θ `its smoothness (temporary, non-intrinsic)`

ʔin ʔol-i:θ-tal `its smoothness (permanent or intrinsic)`

ʔol-iθ-b-e:- `become smooth`

ka:w-iy- `address s.o., orate` (transitive)

kaw-iθ `noisy`

ʔin kaw-i:θ `its echo`

ʔin kaw-i:θ-tal `its noise`

hun-k-uw- `match it, make an accord` (transitive)

hun-k-uθ `matched, in accord`

hu:n ʔi hun-k-uθ-tal-(l)a:b `an accord`

bol-iy- `straighten it` (transitive)

bol-iθ `straightened`

ʔin bol-i:θ `its straightness`

bol-iθ-m-e:- `become straight`

pik-e- `be quiet, soundless` (middle voice)

pik-at `silent`

ʔin pik-a:t `its silence, its quietness`

t'ok-e- `be clean, purified` (middle voice)

t'ok-at `clean, pure, sanctified`

ʔin t'ok-a:t `its cleanliness`

ʔin t'ok-a:t-tal `its pureness`

ham-e- `become short` (middle voice)

ham-at `short`

?in ham-a:t `its shortness`

ham-e-nek `shortened`

?eh-el- `move, stir` (root intransitive)

?eh-at alive

in ?eh-at-tal `its life`

The following sentences contain examples of simple, positional, distributive and repetitive participles used attributively and predicatively.

9. ne?eʒ k-u piθ-č-∅-i ?an kah-aθ θak'čok'  
go SUBJ-AL give-BEN-COM-EP a boil-PPL egg

`I'm going to give them boiled eggs.'

10. k'wahat t-u t'il-om-∅ k'al ?i ?ešb-aθ ka:w  
PROGR SUBOR-B4 recollect-AP-INC with of understand-PPL word

`We are reminiscing with familiar tales.'

11. ?an pak'ulo:me ?in ne?-θ-a?-∅ ?an pot'-at toltom ?in  
the laundress A3 go-CAUS-TS-COM the bleach-PPL clothing A3

ne?-θ-a?-∅ beʒ-e-:l  
carry hang-TS-INC

`The laundress carried the clean clothes; she carried them hanging.'

12. ?u t'a?-at k'ubak ∅ ?ila:l-iy-at k'al ?i čaka  
AL burn-PPL hand B3 treat-TS-COM.PASS with of chaca

`My burned hand was treated with chaca plant.'

13. šowe:ʔ ʔak'-iθ-iǵ ʔan ʔe:m  
today weed-PPL-EMPH the corn  
`The corn is all weeded today.`
14. ʔan lawʔčeʔ pohkaš tam k-in tam-uw-∅ ʔan mi:m-la:b  
the tree.snake evil when SUBJ-A3 meet-TS-COM a lady-POL  
ʔaši ko:ʔ-oθ...  
that care.1or-PPL...  
`The tree snake is evil; when it meets a pregnant lady...`  
(from a story)
15. šowe:ʔ ʔa k'i:ča: ʔu ʔaǵ'-a(?) -al leh nak-at  
now the day Al feel-TS-INC very lengthen-PPL  
`Now I feel that the days are very long.`
16. leh pik-at ʔan ʔakal  
very be.quiet-PPL the night  
`The night is very quiet.`
17. ʔeh-at-e ʔo ǵem-nek-iǵ (r.i.)  
move-PPL-PERDUR or die-PER-EMPH  
`Is he still living or already dead?`
18. hap-e-nek ʔan bale:ya  
open-TS-PER the watermelon  
`The watermelon is split.`
19. ʔin walb-iy-∅ ʔa Hwa:n komo haha:ʔ ʔin hil-aʔ-∅ ʔan  
A3 blame-TS-COM the Juan because he A3 leave-TS-COM the  
wiʔleb heb-e-:l  
door open.by.mistake-TS-INC  
`He blamed Juan because he left the door open accidentally.`
20. ʔan pik'oʔ hik'-e-nek pol-o:l ʔin we:w  
the dog afraid-TS-PER curl.between-PPL A3 tail



‘The dog is afraid; his tail is curled between his legs.’

21. ʔu ɕ'aʔ-iy-ø ʔan šuh-u:l bok'o:l ti ʔa:l ʔan merka:do  
 Al buy-TS-COM the spot-PPL bocole at in the market

‘I bought fat bean-filled tortillas at the market.’

22. lin-i:l ʔan ɕan baʔ ʔan be:l  
 squash-PPL the snake on the road

‘The snake on the road is squashed flat.’

23. tenemos muʔ-u-čik toltom  
 we.have (Sp.) break.or.cut.into.pieces-TS-PL clothing

muʔučik bakan muʔučik t'uhub cosas ya en pedazos  
 in.pieces tortilla in.pieces stone things already in pieces

‘We have tattered clothing scattered about; crumbled tortillas, shattered stones--things already in pieces.’

24. baθ-a-čik ʔan ɕakam pat'a:l ʔani hu:n ʔi lem  
 hang-TS-PL the little metal.thing and one of butterfly

‘The little metal things and a butterfly are dangling about.’ (a wind chimes with many parts)

25. ta:m ʔan ʔinik ket-e-čik-iɕ k'al ʔin tonki:l wala:m k'al  
 then the man sit-TS-PL-EMPH with A3 spouse I.believe with

ʔin ɕaka:m-il hayeʔ  
 A3 child-POSS also

‘Then the man is indeed seated there with his wife and I believe with his children also seated about. (from a story)

26. leh ya:n ʔi kweč-očøθ ɕ'a:h  
 very many of coil-REP.PPL rope

‘There are a lot of coiled up ropes.’

27. bul-uluθ ʔan t'i:t'  
 bulge.out-REP.PPL the pimple



ʔan-am	dirt, earth	ʔanmiθ	full of dirt
lač-ik´	pillow	lačik´iθ	with pillows (not lačk´iθ)
lak-ab	skirt	lakbiθ	with a skirt, skirted
šug-un	ear	šuzniθ	with ears (i.e., a jar with handles)
t´uh-ub	stone	t´uhubiθ	stony (not t´uhbiθ)
ʔul-ib	colored cloud	ʔulbiθ	cloudy
ʔam-u:l	trash	ʔamu:liθ	trashy, full of trash
šumpele:l	hat (Sp. sombrero)	šumpele:liθ	hatted
huh-ul	feather, fur	huhuθ	feathered, furry
ʔih-il	saliva	ʔihiθ	full of saliva
šek-el	leaf	šekeθ	leafy
t´uʔ-ul	flesh	t´uʔuθ	fat, fleshy
θu:m	worm	θumaθ	wormy (not θumiθ)
g´e:n	sierra	g´enaθ	uneven, rough, full of gorges (not g´eniθ)
ʔuš-um	woman	ʔušumaθ	effeminate (not ʔušmiθ)

6.2 Participial Adjectives from Verbs Derived with // -l - //. A major process, discussed in Chapter 7, Section 2.2, derives verbs from nouns, adjectives and adverbs with derivational morpheme // -l - //. Participles formed on these verbs can be used adjectivally. Table 38 presents a complete list of these verbs; in some cases I have only the participial form. Note that the great majority of stems derived with // -l - // take thematic suffixes // -iy - // or // -in - //, while a small number have thematic suffixes // -aʔ - //, // -an - // or // -ay - //. I have no explanation for this fact. Over half the participial forms in

Table 38, and a large number of adjectives derived with // -Vθ// cited above, are from a list self-generated by my assistant without any input from me. See Chapter 7, Section 2.2 for a statement of vowel length, stress and deletion rules as they apply to verbs and participles derived with // -l-//. I did not question specifically for distributive or repetitive participles, but two examples of distributive participles derived with // -čik// were given spontaneously and are noted in the lists below.

6.2.1 Examples. Attested verbs are listed.

Noun		Participle	
beklek	bone (ABS)	bekle:kliθ	bony
ʔik <sup>ˈ</sup>	wind	ʔik <sup>ˈ</sup> laθ	aired
ʔik <sup>ˈ</sup> -l-ay-	air s.t.		
kotoθ	saw	koto:bličik	uneven (DIS.PPL)
koto:n	blouse (Sp. algodón)	koto:nliθ	dressed
kube:ta	bucket (Sp. cubeta)	kube:taliθ	having a bucket
lukuk	mud, mire	lukliθ	dirtied
luk-l-iy-	dirty it	lukličik	dirtied (DIS.PPL)
mapeʔ	cane internode	mape:ʔliθ	having internodes
muklab	heap, pile (GEN)	muklaθ	piled up
muk-l-aʔ-	pile up (earth)		
ʔoh	dark avocado	ʔohliθ	enpurpled
ʔokʒaʔ	board, plank	ʔokʒaʔliθ	boarded up
ʔokʒaʔ-l-iy-	board it up		
šeklek	leaf (ABS)	šekle:kliθ	covered with leaves

šolok´	mucous	šolo:k´liθ	covered with mucous
šolo:k´-l-iy-	cause mucous to fall on s.t.		
šič´	blood	šič´liθ	bloodied
ǰa:p	power, force	ǰa:pliθ	encouraged
ǰa:p-l-iy-	fortify, encourage		
ǰo:k	shotgun, rifle	ǰokliθ	shot
ǰok-l-iy-	shoot with a gun		
θučeʔ	drawing, design	θuče:ʔliθ	decorated

#### Adjective

ʔehat	alive	ʔeha:tliθ	enlivened
ʔeha:t-l-iy-	enliven s.o.		
kalat	projecting	kala:tliθ	pierced through
kala:t-l-iy-	pierce it through		
k´ayaʔ	patient	k´aya:ʔliθ	full of patience
leyoʔ	shining	leyo:ʔliθ	shined, illuminated
θakniʔ	white	θakliθ	whitened
yašuʔ	green/blue	yašu:ʔliθ	greened

#### Adverb

ʔeǰ´ey	always	ʔeǰ´e:yliθ	perpetuated
ʔeǰ´e:y-l-iy-	perpetuate it		

6.3 Adjectives Related to Middle Voice Subject Nouns. In Chapter 8, Section 3.3.1.1, I described the derivation from middle voice verbs of nouns indicating the person or thing which undergoes or performs the action of the verb. These nouns are derived by lengthening the vowel of the incompleted inflection of the verb, if it is short, and adding // -om // . These nouns may also be used attributively; when this is done the vowel of the incompleted inflection is shortened.

6.3.1 Examples.

hik'-e-	be afraid	hik'-e:l-om hik'-el-om $\zeta$ akam	fearful one fearful child
kib-e-	get lost	kib-e:l-om kib-el-om bičim	s.o. who is lost lost horse
weh-e-	ripen	weh-e:l-om weh-el-om $\text{?it}^{\text{'a}\theta}$	s.t. ripe ripe banana

7.0 Intensive Adjectives. A large class of intensive adjectives is derived from various stem classes by reduplication. All reduplications fit the pattern  $C_1V_1C_2(C_3)-V_2\{C_2,C_3\}V_2:l$ ; the last consonant of the root or stem is reduplicated. Thus from ba $\theta$ -a $\text{?}$ - 'hang it' we have ba $\theta$ -a $\theta$ a:l 'hanging loosely'; from weč'-e- 'creak', weč'-eč'e:l 'creaking'; and from manu $\text{?}$  'yellow', manunu:l 'very yellow'. Intensive adjectives may be derived from nouns and adjectives, from transitive and intransitive verbs, and from unique constituents. A number of the latter class are clearly onomatopoeic.

$V_2$  is usually predictable. For all onomatopoeic terms  $V_2 = V_1$ . If a noun or adjective has a stem formative,  $V_2$  is the vowel of that stem formative. The only exception is čubaš; see examples below. In the case of middle voice and intransitive verbs and of transitive verbs with thematic suffix  $//\text{-Vy-} //$  or  $//\text{-Vw-} //$ ,  $V_2$  is the vowel of the thematic suffix. However, if a transitive root or stem has thematic suffix  $//\text{-a $\text{?}$ -} //$ , the pattern is more complicated.  $V_2$  is usually the vowel of the root, unless the root vowel is /e/, when  $V_2$  is usually /o/ (N = 5), but once /e/. In four cases when root vowel is /i/,  $V_2$  is /o/, in two cases it is /i/. Recall that a similar

pattern obtained in the repetitive verbal reduplication discussed in Chapter 6, Section 3.1. See also Chapter 3. Finally, there are a number of cases where  $V_2$  is unpredictable. These include derivations from CV(:)C noun roots and from CVC unique constituents, and some cases that are probably based on an unknown verb root. A large number of the 134 examples of intensive adjectives in my corpus are from Larsen's (1955) dictionary; not all of these were checked with informants to determine a related root or stem.

There is an obvious relationship between these intensive adjectives and the repetitive participles discussed above in Section 5.1, and, indeed, a past participial adjective can be made from most intensive adjectives by substituting /θ/ for the final /-:l/ of the intensive reduplication: baθaθaθ 'hung loosely', manumuθ 'yellowed'. Many of them also are related to the positional participles discussed in Section 5.0, for example keše:l 'widened' and kešeše:l 'very wide'.

Intensive adjectives differ from the class of affects described by other Mayan linguists (e.g., Ayres 1980, England 1983, Knowles 1984, Smith-Stark 1982) in two important ways. First, they are not based primarily on a separate class of affect roots, but are derived instead from nouns, adjectives, transitive and intransitive verbs, onomatopoeic terms and unique constituents; and second, they cannot be used to form affect verbs such as 'he snores', 'it clanged', 'you are crawling', etc. However, intensive adjectives can be used to describe the manner in which the action of a verb takes place (see Sentences 30, 32, 33, 35 and 38 below), and thus fulfill a similar role in a sentence. They can also be used as stative predicates

(Sentences 29, 31, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42 and 43). Intensive adjectives and affects also differ in the range of meanings they cover. Affects refer primarily to various kinds of sounds produced by the action of the verb (Ayres 1980:96, Knowles 1984:222, Smith-Stark 1982:390) or movements (England 1983:234-236). Intensive adjectives describe colors, shapes, smells, positions and sensations, as well as sounds and movements.

In the examples that follow intensive adjectives are classified in terms of the source of their derivation, which is listed in the second column. As noted above, all onomatopoeic terms are based on unique constituents. The sentence examples make it clear that intensive adjectives are usually used predicatively, although attributive use is possible, as in example 34 below. Intensive adjectives are often preceded by leh 'very' to further intensify them, as in sentences 29, 30, 33, 37, 40 and 41 below, or by we:ʔ 'little', which implies a kind of moderation in meaning, as in example 31.

### 7.1 Examples

#### Onomatopoeic

čololo:l	sound of water falling
hahaha:l	guffawing
ʔihihi:l	whinnying, neighing
karara:l	snoring
kokoko:i	cackling
šawawa:l	sound of water falling
ʔuʔuʔu:l	stuttering
welele:l	sound of leaves rustling



## Unique Constituents

ʔakuku:l	pastel tone, faintly rosy
kahuhu:l	open, barely split
lak'ak'a:l	smooth, pretty
miʒiʒi:l	full to the brim
nikwikwi:l	thundering and lightning
niwiwi:l	pleasant smelling
puyiyi:l	flowing
šamumu:l	disorderly
θememe:l	floating on top of water
yamumu:l	blurred (one's vision)

## Nouns

hototo:l	concave	hot-oʃ	armpit
hununu:l	equal	hu:n	one
ʔot'it'i:l	tough-skinned	ʔo:t'	skin, hide
t'elele:l	trembling	t'e:l	rat
		t'eleʔ	small child (?)
ʒanini:l	slow, sluggish	ʒan	snake
ʒ'umeme:l	sparkling	ʒ'umeʒ'	sparks
wiʒiʒi:l	inflamed (insect bite)	wiʒ	flower

## Adjectives

čububu:l	just, honest, opportune	čub-aš	true
kumimi:l	concave	kum-iθ	deep
leyoyo:l	shining, sparkling	ley-oʔ	shining
leʔuʔu:l	irregular, undulating	leʔ-ul	irregular

milili:l	dotted or perforated all over	mil-iʔ	dotted, perforated
palulu:l	very bland, soft	pal-uw	bland, soft
θahuhu:l	very early in the morning	θah-uw	early
θaθaθa:l	very thin, slender	θaθ-at	thin, slender
ʔaknini:l	very red	ʔak-niʔ	red
yašušu:l	very green/blue	yaš-uʔ	green/blue

#### Transitive Verbs

ʔahtiti:l	always singing	ʔaht-iy-	sing it
balala:l	very scattered	bal-aʔ-	spread it out
baʔ'ʊʔ'u:l	full of things received	baʔ'-uw-	receive it
bolili:l	very straight	bol-iy-	straighten it
buk'uk'u:l	very scattered	buk'-uw-	scatter it
heθoθo:l	inclined	heθ-aʔ-	lean it
kʷečočo:l	very round	kʷeč-aʔ-	coil it
k'ibʔoʔo:l	vanishing	k'ibʔ-ow-	lose it completely
lamumu:l	completely undone	lam-uw-	unfold it
lememe:l	very spread out	lem-aʔ-	spread it out
lok'ok'o:l	skulking about	lok'-oy-	skulk around somewhere
mululu:l	spherical	mul-uw-	form into a ball
ʔolili:l	very smooth, polished	ʔol-iy-	smooth it
peθoθo:l	completely swept away	peθ-oy-	sweep it
wilolo:l	completely undone	wil-aʔ-	untie it

## Middle Voice Verbs

bačuču:1	very withered	bač-u-	wither
balulu:1	groping, feeling the way	bal-u-	grope
belele:1	wandering about	bel-e-	walk, stroll
bežeže:1	hanging down	bež-e-	be suspended
kešeše:1	very wide	keš-e-	become wide
tepepe:1	dying out	tep-e-	go out
θičeče:1	bristling	θič-e-	bristle

## //-Vn-// Intransitives

humumu:1	flying about	hum-un-	fly
t'ohoho:1	being prepared	t'oh-on-	work
yatiti:1	enfeebled, debilitated	yat-in-	become debilitated
wenk'ok'o:1	very changeable	wenk'-on-	change position

29. leh šaw-awa:1      ?an ha?  
very noisy-INTENS the water

'The water is making a lot of noise.'

30. leh hah-aha:1      t-u      te?-(e)n-al  
very laugh-INTENS SUBOR-B3 laugh-VN-INC

'He is guffawing with laughter.'

31. ?in wič-i:1      ?an punaθ we:?      ?aku-ku:1  
A3 flower-POSS the punath little pink-INTENS

'The punath vine flower is faintly pinkish.'

32. ?u t'uč-iy-∅      ?an kube:ta mič-iči:1      ma      t-in wi?  
A1 fill-TS-COM the bucket full-INTENS until at-A3 mouth

k'wahat ti-∅      baž-k-in-al  
EPROGR SUBOR-B3 move.horizontally-DM-VN-INC

‘I filled the bucket full to the brim; it is brimming over.’

33. ?u hik-a(?) -al leh niw-iwi:l      ?an ?alta:  
Al smell-TS-INC very fragrant-INTENS the inside

‘The room smells very fragrant.’

34. ?an t'ele? ?in ?uɕ'-a?-ø      ɕa:b ?i ɕam-ama:l ha? ?ani ?in  
the child A3 drink-TS-COM two of cold-INTENS water and A3

ta:ta ?in ?uɕ'-a?-ø      ɕa:b ?i serbe:sa  
papa A3 drink-TS-COM two of beer

‘The child drank two soft drinks and his father drank two beers.’

35. hun-unu:l ?u t'oh-(o)n-al  
one-INTENS B6 work-VN-INC

‘They are sharing the work.’

36. ?an ?inik ɕak-u:l bok-oko:l      ?in wal  
the man angry-PPL swollen-INTENS A3 face

‘The man is angry; his face is swollen with anger.’

37. leh ø yeš-ušu:l      do:nde ø hil-k'-on-e:nek ?in  
very B3 blue/green-INTENS where B3 leave-DM-VN-PER A3

huɕ'-b-il      ?an ?ehe:nčiš  
sucking.bite-INS-POSS the witch

‘Where the witch’s bite remained was very discolored.’

38. ?an ɕ'ik'a:č ?aši ø bel-(al)-a:maθ ?owe:l ?in  
the girl who B3 walk-TS-PER far A3

ča?-ø-al-iɕ      ?an bo:l sa baθ-aθa:l  
bring-TS-INC-EMPH the bag hang-INTENS

‘The girl who has walked a long way now carries the bag flapping about loosely.’

39. ?an mo:m ɕ'ehel ho:?      kweč-očo:l  
the well half armspan round-INTENS

‘The well is half an armspan all around.’ (Round things like wells or houses are measured by radius, not diameter.)

40. ?aše:ši me:ša leh ?ol-ili:l ?alwa? wač-iθ  
this table very smooth-INTENS well plane-PPL

‘This table is very smooth; it is well planed.’

41. leh šak-uku:l ?am be:l  
very stride-INTENS the road

‘The road is very well trodden.’

42. bač-uču:l ?in wal ?an ?uškwə  
wither-INTENS A3 face the old.woman

‘The old woman’s face is very wrinkled.’

43. ?an yehčel ?inik yat-iti:l  
the old man be.debilited-INTENS

‘The old man is very feeble.’

## CHAPTER 16

## ADVERBS AND MISCELLANEOUS UNINFLECTED WORDS

This chapter is a grab-bag of uninflected words, many of which have important syntactic and discourse functions. To be considered first are interjections and exclamations, affirmatives, negatives, conjunctions, interrogatives, articles and demonstratives, and prepositions. Then the various kinds of adverbs and adverbial particles will be discussed. The lists of words in each class are lengthy, but not exhaustive. Many of the terms are unanalyzable particles; others are combinations of particles or of particles plus one or more of the clitics discussed in Chapter 11. These will be indicated where relevant.

There is overlapping membership among the lists: some interjections can also be used as affirmatives; other words can be interrogatives or adverbs depending on context; some prepositional phrases could be considered locative adverbial phrases; manner and degree adverbials are sometimes difficult to disentangle. The category of deixis cross-cuts many of the categories distinguished above. Articles and demonstratives have deictic significance, but so do some interjections and many locative adverbs. In the discussion and lists below I will try to point out the relationship between categories and to indicate when the addition or substitution of a particle or a clitic can change the classification of a term. The lists are alphabetized to make it easier to track a word through its

several meanings. Some of the material in the chapters on Pronouns, Time and Number is relevant to the present discussion; reference to these chapters will be made at the appropriate points.

Although I have not followed his breakdown of particles and particle combinations, I found McQuown (1984:125-138) to be very helpful. He cites a number of terms I did not collect, and also lists the particles from Tapia Zenteno's (1767) grammar and from Tapia's earlier (1727) manuscript. The discussions in Dayley (1985) and Smith-Stark (1982) have also been helpful to my thinking about the recalcitrant class of uninflected words.

1.0 Minor Word Classes. Considered under this rubric are interjections and exclamations, affirmatives, negatives, conjunctions, interrogatives, articles and demonstratives, and prepositions.

1.1 Interjections and Exclamations. These particles have not been systematically collected; by their nature they are not frequent in elicitation sessions, and most of the examples below are from texts. Some particles have the primary discourse function of assent, or comment on something said; others, such as pos or mmm, have a facilitating effect in narrative; still others are hesitation sounds. Some of the negatives and affirmatives discussed in Sections 1.2 and 1.3 can be used to comment upon a statement, as can some adverbs, and some of the interjections can be used as affirmative responses to a question.

1.1.1 Examples.

ʔā:	ah
ʔalwaʔiǰ/ʔalwa:ǰ	good! (ʔalwaʔ `good` + -iǰ `emphatic clitic`)
ʔaʔ	ah
ʔā:ʔ	ah!
ʔaʔhaʔe:y	okay, true
ʔa:h	ah
ʔanǰe:ʔ	thus it is! (c.f. modal adverbs)
ʔanǰana:ʔ	thus it is! (c.f. modal adverbs)
ʔay	ay!
b <sup>w</sup> e:no	good!
haʔe:y	okay
hā:ʔē:y	okay
hāʔāʔ	yes
hāʔēʔ	yes
ʔi:ʔ	eek!
mmmm	mmmm
ʔo:w	oh
pos	well
ǰoʔo:b	who knows?
ʔuhā:ʔ	uhuh (assent noise)
ʔumhu:h	uhuh (assent noise)
ʔu:w	ooh

1. ʔa:h ǰakam k<sup>w</sup>ito:l neʔeǰ k-it t'aʔ-i-y  
 ah little boy go SUBJ-B2 turn-TS-COM

‘Ah, Little Boy! You’re going to get burned.’



2. H. nan(a:?) ne?eʔ t-in čikl-om-∅ ʔuškweʔ  
 I go SUBOR-B1 burn.down-AP-INC old.woman  
 F. ʔalwaʔ-iʔ  
 good-EMPH  
 `I'm going to burn (brush), wife.` `Great!`
3. F. ʔa t'ay-č-∅-i (r.i.)  
 A2 plant-BEN-COM-EP  
 H. ʔu t'ay-č-∅-i ʔi:ka (ʔi:b k-a) bel-aʔ-∅ (r.i.)  
 A1 plant-BEN-COM-EP not SUBJ-A2 believe-TS-COM  
 F. bwe:no ʔalwa:ʔ  
 good good.indeed  
 `Did you plant them?` `I planted them, don't you believe me?` `Good, good indeed!`
4. F. ta:m hun-čik-i:l tin k'aθp-in-č-al we:ʔ ʔu  
 then one-PL-TIMES they.me raise-EP-BEN-INC little A1  
 halbi:l  
 pay  
 H. ʔanʔana:ʔ  
 thus it is  
 `Then sometimes they raise my wages a little.` `It's like that.`
5. pos k-u k'al-e-∅ k-i ʔuʔ-u-∅  
 well SUBJ-B4 go-TS-COM SUBJ-A4 see-TS-COM  
 `Well, let's go see it.`
6. H. ne?eʔ ka-∅ či:č ʔa Re:yna (r.i.)  
 go SUBJ-B3 come.SUPPL.COM the Reyna?  
 F. ʔoʔo:b  
 who.knows  
 `Is Reyna going to come?` `Who knows?`

See Chapter 4 for examples of interjections: sentence 79, ʔaʔ, sentence 10, mmm, and sentence 15, ʔu:w.

1.2 Affirmatives The affirmative reply to a yes/no question with neutral presupposition is ʔohniʔ 'truly, yes'. In addition, a few words such as 'good' and a number of the interjections discussed in Section 1.1 can be used to indicate assent. These are included in the lists below.

1.2.1 Examples.

ʔalwaʔiǰ/ʔalwa:ǰ	good! (ʔalwaʔ 'good' + -iǰ 'emphatic clitic')
ʔaʔhaʔe:y	okay, true
bwe:no	good
haʔe:y	okay
hāʔē:y	okay
hāʔā	yes
hāʔē	yes
haʔiǰ	this one it is indeed (also a demonstrative pronoun; see Chapter 4, Section 4.4)
ʔohniʔ	truly, yes
šo:ʔ ʔohniʔ	now, truly; yes, right away (šo:ʔ 'now, today')
ʔuhā:ʔ	uhuh (assent noise)

7. H. ʔaš(e:ʔ) ʔa tam-uw-∅ pe:l ʔa tomki:l (r.i.)  
that.one A2 meet-TS-COM be A2 husband

F. haʔiǰ                      F. iba:  
this.one.indeed              no

'Is that person you met your husband?' 'It is, indeed.' or  
'No.'

8. F. tin ča:n-č-ø-ak kalas:m ʔan ʃiʔ (r.i.)  
 you.to.me bring-BEN-COM-IRR tomorrow the firewood
- H. ʔohniʔ neʔeʔ k-u ča:ʔ-ø-ø  
 truly go SUBJ-1 bring-TS-COM
- H. ʔohniʔ hãʔë:y  
 truly okay
- ‘Would you bring me the firewood tomorrow?’ ‘Yes, I’ll bring it.’ or ‘Yes, okay.’
9. H. ʔit tal-e-y t-it čeʔ-el-ø (r.i.)  
 B2 finish-TS-COM SUBOR-B2 grind-AP-INC
- F. hãʔã ʔin tal-(e)-i:ʔ  
 yes B1 finish-(TS)-EMPH
- ‘Did you finish grinding?’ ‘Yes, I’m all through.’

1.3 Negatives. Of the negatives listed below, yabaʔ is the most frequent and is used in the greatest variety of environments. It can negate an entire sentence, a clause, a phrase or a word (see Chapter 17). It cannot be used to reply to a yes/no question; that role is taken by ʔiba:. Ni, borrowed from Spanish, is productively used to negate many interrogative words. Several clitics, -ʔak irrealis, -iʔ emphatic, and -e or -ye perdurative, can be suffixed to negatives to convey different shades of meaning. There are some dialect variations; my assistant explained that in San Antonio and Tanlajás one said ʔiʔwa:h for ‘not now’ or ‘no longer’, but in Tantocoy the preferred term is ʔiʔa:h and in Huehuetlan it is ʔiʔoʔ. Another assistant, from Aquismón, used ʔiʔwa:h.

#### 1.3.1 Examples.

- ʔi: no, not
- ʔi: hitaʔ no one (hitaʔ ‘who?’)

ʔi:b/ʔiba:	no (exclamation, reply to question); not (especially in phrases beginning `don't..')
ʔi:bak	hopefully not (-ak `irrealis clitic')
ʔiba:ǂ	indeed not (ʔiba: + iǂ `emphatic clitic')
ʔi:biǂ	indeed not (ʔi:b + iǂ)
ʔibaye/ʔi:be	still not (-e / -ye `perdurative clitic')
ʔi:ka	don't...! (ʔi:b + ka `imperative')
ʔiǂa:h	not now, no longer
ʔiǂoǂ	not now, no longer
ʔiǂwa:h	not now, no longer
ni	not (Sp. ni `neither, nor')
ni hant'iniʔ	in no way (hant'iniʔ `how?')
ni hant'o	nothing (hant'o `what?')
ni hawaʔ	no one, none, not anyone (hawaʔ `which?')
ni hayk'iʔ	never (hayk'iʔ `when?')
ni hitaʔ	no one (hitaʔ `who, whom?')
ni hu:n	not one, no one, none (hu:n `one')
ni huʔta	nowhere (huʔta `where?')
ša:nt'o	there isn't any; s.o. or s.t. is not present
yabaʔ	no, not
yabaye	still not (-ye `perdurative clitic')
yabaʔiǂ/yaba:ǂ	indeed not (-iǂ `emphatic clitic')

10. F. neʔeǂ ka-ǂ k'al-e-ǂ haye k'al ʔan t'ohla:b (r.i.)  
 go SUBJ-B3 go-TS-COM also with the work

H. wala:m ʔi:  
 perhaps not

`Are you going on with the work?' `Maybe not.'

11. ?i:b-ak ?i labaš  
not-IRR of spook

‘I hope it’s not a spook!’

12. ?iba-ye ?it ne?eǵ (r.i.)  
not-PERDUR B2 go

‘Aren’t you going yet?’

13. šowe:? ?iǵǵ yahčik  
right.now no.longer painful

‘It’s really not painful right now.’

14. tam t-in ǵakam-e ?u kulbe:t-n-a(?) -al hant’o  
when SUBOR-B1 child-PERDUR A1 content-TVR-TS-INC thing

k-u k’ap-u-∅ ǵi?ik šowe:? iǵwa:h  
SUBJ-A1 eat-TS-COM sweet today no.longer

‘When I was a child I liked sweet things to eat; today I no longer do.’

Sentence 8 above is an example of ?iba: as the negative reply to a question, sentence 3 an example of ?i:ka, and sentence 139 below an example of ?i:b. See sentences 92, 93 and 94 in Chapter 4 for examples of the use of ša:nto. There are examples of the use of yaba?, yabaye and yaba:ǵ throughout this manuscript. See sentences 19, 23, 26, 37, 49, 51, 57, 64, 65, 69, 128 and 141 in this chapter.

1.4 Conjunctions. Conjunctions serve to connect any two coordinate elements: words, phrases or clauses, or to connect a clause or sentence to the discussion which has preceded it. A number of the terms used as conjunctions can also function as interrogatives, prepositions or adverbials. ?abal ‘because’ is often used interchangeably with the Spanish loans ko:mo and po:rke, both of which

can also mean 'because'. Frequently the Spanish term was given first in a spontaneous or elicited sentence, but was self-corrected to ?abal upon repetition. There are even examples where both terms are used: ?abal ko:mo or ?abal po:rke 'because because'. Smith-Stark (1982:639) refers to combinations such as these as 'doublets'.

#### 1.4.1 Examples.

?abal	because, although, so that (c.f. prepositions)
?ani	and, but
biyat	meanwhile
hale?	because (c.f. interrogatives)
haštɑ:m	therefore (ha?iǰ 'this indeed' + ta:m 'then'; ǰ --> š/___t)
?i	and (Sp. y)
ke:	than (Sp. que)
ko:mo	since, because (Sp. como)
lwe:go	then, afterwards (Sp. luego)
maš	if, whether
ni	nor (Sp. ni)
ni...ni	neither...nor
?o	or (Sp. o)
pa:ra	so that (Sp. para)
pe:ro/po:ro	but (Sp. pero)
po:rke	because (Sp. porque)
taley	afterwards (tal-e- 'finish'; c.f. temporal adverbs)
ta:m	then (c.f. temporal adverbs)

tamma? then (ta:m + na? `there'; used only in  
 `if...then' or `when...then' constructions)  
 ta:ye after (c.f. temporal adverbs)

15. ?an dokto:r ne?e? k-in way-θ-a?-∅ ?an ya?ul  
 the doctor go SUBJ-A3 sleep-CAUS-TS-COM the sick.person

?abal k-in ?eht-ow-∅ k-in pok'-ow-∅ ?abal  
 so.that SUBJ-A3 be.able-TS-COM SUBJ-A3 break-TS-COM so.that

k-in øu?-č-∅-i hant'o ?in kwa?al t-in ?a:l  
 SUBJ-A3 see-BEN-COM-EP what A3 have in-A3 interior

`The doctor is going to put the patient to sleep so that he  
 can open him up in order to see what he has inside.'

16. ?u pen-a?-∅ ?an t'uhub ?ani ?u pet'-n-a?-∅  
 A1 lift-TS-COM the stone and A1 throw-IVR-TS-COM

`I lifted the stone and threw it.'

17. pe:l ?in ?ušum ?ani yab ?in mi:m  
 be B1 woman and not B1 mother

`I am a woman but I am not a mother.'

18. k-a θay-a:na? ?a ?akan biyat ne?e? k-u k'wet-oy-∅  
 IMP-A2 raise-INST A2 foot while go SUBJ-A1 sweep-TS-COM

`Lift your feet a moment while I'm sweeping?.'

19. ?u yah-n-a(?)-al hale? haha:? yab tin ?ab-č-al  
 A1 pain-IVR-TS-INC because he not he.to.me send-BEN-INC

?i ?u:w  
 of paper

`I fret because he doesn't send me a letter.'

20. šowe:? leh øamama:l ke: ti.we?e:l  
 today more cool than yesterday

`Today is cooler than yesterday.'

21. ?a H<sup>h</sup>a:n ?in øem-θ-a?-ø ?in biči:m-al ko:mo ?in  
 the John A3 die-CAUS-TS-COM A3 horse-POSS because A3  
 peh-a?-ø ?in k<sup>h</sup>wala:l  
 break-TS-COM A3 leg  
 `John killed his horse because it broke its leg.`
22. ?an wi<sup>h</sup>leb hap-e-l ?abal ko:mo pehk-aθ ?in toč<sup>h</sup>‘i:k<sup>h</sup>  
 the door open-TS-INC because because break-PPL A3 lock  
 `The door opens because its lock is broken.`
23. maš yab ka-ø ø‘ibk<sup>h</sup>‘-an-ø aši pik<sup>h</sup>‘o<sup>h</sup> ne?eø k-u  
 if not SUBJ-B3 quiet-VN-COM this dog go SUBJ-A1  
 kwaθ-a?-ø  
 hit-TS-COM  
 `If this dog doesn't get quiet, I'm going to hit it.`
24. øa:b ?i øakam ?u øin-e-:l taley ?u kal-e-l k-in  
 two of children B6 hide-TS-INC then B6 go.out-TS-INC SUBJ-A6  
 hik<sup>h</sup>‘-e-θ-a?-ø ?aši mas-čik  
 fear-EP-CAUS-TS-COM these more-PL  
 `Two of the children hide, and then they go out to scare the others.`
25. tam t-u øu?-tal leh k<sup>h</sup>ihaš ?an k<sup>h</sup>‘ay<sup>h</sup>‘la:l ta:m ?alwa?  
 when SUBOR-A1 see-INC very clear the sky then good  
 ?u ?iči:č ?u ?aø<sup>h</sup>‘-a(?) -al  
 Al heart Al feel-TS-INC  
 `When I see the sky so clear, then my heart feels good.`

1.5 Interrogatives. Some of the interrogatives listed below were discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.2, Interrogative Pronouns.

Compounds of interrogatives plus ni ‘not’ form negative adverbials;

see Section 2.0 of the present chapter. A sentence which does not

begin with an interrogative word may be marked as a question by rising



intonation on the final word of the sentence. Intonation is level if an interrogative is used.

### 1.5.1 Examples.

haleʔ	why? (c.f. conjunctions)
hant'iniʔ	how? (c.f. manner adverbs)
hant'o	what?
hawaʔ	which?
ha:y	how much, how many?
ha:yi:l	how many times? (-i:l 'times')
hayk'iʔ	when? (k'iʔ < k'i:ča: 'day'; c.f. temporal adverbs)
hitaʔ	who, whom?
hun	where? (c.f. locative adverbs)
huʔta/huʔta:m	where? (possibly hun 'where' + ta:m 'then'; c.f. locative adverbs)

26. haleʔ yab ʔa ʔalk-iy-al  
why not A2 look.for-TS-INC

'Why aren't you looking for it?'

27. hant'iniʔ k-u ʔeht-ow-∅ k-u  
how SUBJ-A1 be.able-TS-COM SUBJ-A1

nak-e-θ-aʔ-∅ ʔan ∅'a:h  
lengthen-EP-CAUS-TS-COM the rope

'How can I lengthen the rope?'

28. hant'o neʔeʔ k-a t'ah-aʔ-∅ šowe:ʔ tata:ʔ  
what go SUBJ-A2 do-TS-COM today you

'What are you going to do today?'

29. hawaʔ ʔaši ʔa le:ʔ  
 which that A2 want  
 `Which do you want?`
30. ha:y t-a bi:n-a(?) -al ʔan pašikʼ  
 how.much SUBOR-A2 give-TS-INC the pot.lid  
 `How much do you want for the pot lid?`
31. haykʼiʔ ti-∅ ʔiʔk-in-∅ ʔaši yaʔula:ʔ  
 when SUBOR-B3 begin-TS-COM this illness  
 `When did this illness start?`
32. hitaʔ ʔin ʔa:h-uy-∅ ʔan bičim  
 who A3 lasso-TS-COM the horse  
 `Who lassoed the horse?`
33. hun t-a ʔak-iy-∅ ʔan kʼwe:t  
 where SUBOR-A2 carry-TS-COM the broom  
 `Where did you take the broom?`
34. huʔta t-a hil-aʔ-∅ ʔan ʔiʔ  
 where SUBOR-A2 leave-TS-COM the firewood  
 `Where did you leave the firewood?`

1.6 Articles and Demonstratives. Unless they follow the preposition ti (Section 1.7 below), or are used vocatively, nouns in Huastec must be preceded by a definite or indefinite article, a demonstrative or a possessive pronoun. The possessive pronouns were discussed in Chapter 4, Section 1.2. The definite articles or noun specifiers ʔa and ʔan and the indefinite or partitive ʔi make no distinction of number or gender. Since examples of these appear throughout this manuscript, they will simply be listed below, but no additional

sentence examples will be given. Any number may appear in the frame `\_\_\_\_ ?i (noun)`; see Chapter 13, Section 3.1; however the number `one` is generally understood as an indefinite article, and hun-čik `one-plural` as `some`; see Chapter 13, Sections 2.1 and 2.2.

The demonstrative adjectives are related to the demonstrative pronouns; see Chapter 4, Section 4.4. A particle ši combines with ?aše:? `this one` and niše:? `that one` to make an emphatic or particularizing demonstrative. My assistant explained that ?aši pik'ó? and ?aše:? ši pik'ó? both meant `this dog` or `that dog nearby` but that ?aše:? ši pik'ó? emphasized `this particular dog` and was used to draw the hearer's attention to the dog in question. It is tempting to speculate that ši is a shortened form of ?aši, so that ?aše:? ši might be translated `this this` and niše:? ši as `that this`.

#### 1.6.1 Examples.

##### Articles

?a	a, the; the respect specifier, used with personal names, gods and a few heavenly bodies
?an	a, the; used with all other nouns
?i	one of the class of; the partitive specifier
hu:n ?i	one
hunčik ?i	some

##### Demonstratives

?aši/?aše?	this, that, these (nearby)
?aše:? <u>ši</u>	this, that, these, (nearby); emphatic

niši/niše?            that, those (distant)  
 niše:? ši            that, those (distant); emphatic

35. ?u ǰ'a?-iy-Ø ?aši ?i:t ǰe:y ti Ba:yes  
 Al buy-TS-COM this new broom in Valles

'I bought this new bed in Valles.'

36. nana:? ?in k'wah-i-:l tehe:? ?aše:? ši            ?ata:  
 I        Bl live-TS-INC here    this    particular house

'I live here in this house.'

37. yab ?u ǰu?-tal niši ǰ'ik'a:č ?alobe:l (r.i.)  
 not A2 see-INC that girl        pretty

'Don't you think that girl is pretty?'

38. hita? ?in k'a:l    niše:? ši            ?ata:  
 who    A3 property that    particular house

'Who owns that house.'

1.7 Prepositions. Huastec has only a few terms which function solely as prepositions: ti 'at, for, in'; ma 'until, up to, from'; and possibly k'al 'with, to, by'. A number of other terms which function syntactically as prepositions are relational nouns—body part terms that when possessed serve to indicate location with respect to the possessor; see sentence examples 40, 47 and 54 below. ?a:l 'in, on, among' and ba:? 'on, at' are related to always possessed nouns used to indicate case relations in a sentence. K'al perhaps belongs in this group; see Chapter 17, Section 3.0. Note, however, that when ?a:l, ba:?, and k'al are used prepositionally, they are not possessed. Some other terms which function as prepositions have related verbs, nouns or adverbs. The list of examples below indicates these and other

relationships, and the sentences give examples of each term used prepositionally.

### 1.7.1 Examples.

ʔabal	for (c.f. conjunctions)
ʔakan	beneath, at the foot of (ʔakan `foot´)
ʔa:l	in, on, among (ʔa:l `interior-POSS´)
ʔalom	beneath, underneath (ʔala:l `down´; locative adverb)
ba:ʔ	on, at (ba:ʔ `self-POSS´)
ʔe:b	above (ʔe:b `heaven´)
ʔeblim	on, upon, on top of (c.f. locative adverbs)
hek´at	on the other side (hek´-on- `cross over´; c.f. locative adverbs)
ku:š/ kušlab	behind (ku:š `shoulder´; c.f. locative adverbs)
k´al	with, to, of, in, by, for (k´a:l `property´)
ma	until, up to, from
ma ti...ma ti...	from...to...
nake:l	along (nak-e- `become longer´)
tame:t	in front of (tame:t `front of s.t.´)
ti	at, for, from, in, to, during, into, of
ʔutat	near (ʔut-uw- `bring or place it near´; c.f. locative adverbs)

39. ʔin ø´aʔ-iy-a:mal ʔan ʔi:t k´waʔčim ʔabal nana:ʔ  
 A3 buy-TS-PER the new garment for me

´She had bought the new clothes for me.´

40. k´wahat ti-ø ʔihk-an-al ʔan walila:b t-in ʔakan ʔan teʔ  
 PROGR SUBOR-B3 fall-VN-INC the fruit at-A3 foot the tree

`The fruit is falling at the foot of the tree.'

41. ?ani ?a:l ?an holtam tiwa? ti ?a:l ?an ?'e:n...  
and in the deserted.place there at in the sierra...

`And way over there in the deserted place, in the sierra...'

42. ?an pik'o? ?in ?ehn-a(?)-al ?an kowe:te ?u ?in-e:l  
the dog A3 fear-TS-INC the fireworks B3 hide-TS-INC

?alom ?an ka:ma  
beneath the bed

`The dog is afraid of fireworks; he hides beneath the bed.'

43. hu?ta ?u k'wahi-i-:l niši ?inik ?aši na? ta:l ba:? ?an be:l  
where B3 live-TS-INC that man who there comes on the road

`Where does that man live who is coming there on the road?'

44. Ø k'wahat ?e:b ?an pok'te?  
B3 be.placed above the box

`It is above the box.'

45. ?an pat'a:l Ø k'wahat ?eblim ?an me:sa  
the metal.thing B3 be.placed on.top.of the table

`The tape recorder is on the table.'

46. ?u k'ima:? Ø k'wahat hek'at ?an ha?  
A1 house B3 be.placed the.other.side the water

`My house is on the other side of the arroyo.'

47. yaba Ø ?em-e-? k'al ?i yaw?la:? Ø ?em-θ-a(?)-a  
not B3 die-TS-COM with of illness B3 die-CAUS-TS-COM.PASS

k'al ?i ku?i:l  
with of knife

`He didn't die of illness, he was killed with a knife.'

48. ?an šomom            Ø k'wahat    t-in ku:š ?an pok'te?  
the water.bottle B3 be.placed at-A3 back the box  
`The water bottle is behind the box.`
49. ?a Mari:ya Ø čič                    tehe:ʔ k'al nana:ʔ ti ?a:l  
the Mariá B3 come.SUPPL.COM here with me at in  
?an bičow  
the town  
`Mariá came here into town with me.`
50. ma    ti šowe:ʔ yaba-:ʃ ?in k'al-e-Ø  
until at today not-EMPH B1 go-TS-COM  
`Even now I haven't gone.`
51. k-a    t'uč-iy-Ø    ma    t-in wi?  
IMP-A2 fill-TS-COM until at-A3 mouth  
`Fill it to the brim.`
52. ti.weʔe:l ?in bel-(al)-a:ʃ ma    ti Lehem ma ti K'anwiʃ  
yesterday B1 walk-(TS)-COM from at Lehem to at K'anwiʃ  
`Yesterday I walked from Lehem to Tancanhuitz.`
53. Ø te:ʔpi:ʔ                    nake:l ?an be:l ?an ʃ'ik'a:č  
B3 laugh.intermittently along the road the girl  
`From time to time along the road the girl laughed.`
54. neʔeʃ k-in    t'ah-aʔ-Ø ?an bišne:l t-in tame:t ?an tiyo:pan  
go    SUBJ-A6 do-TS-COM the dance at-B3 front the church  
`They are going to do the dance in front of the church.`
55. Ø kete:l    ?an ?ušum ?utat ?an wiʔleb  
B3 is.seated the woman near the door  
`The woman is seated near the door.`

There are examples of ti used as a preposition throughout this

manuscript. In the present chapter see sentence examples 15, 47, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 59, 65, 67, 71, 97 and 141.

2.0 Adverbs. In this section an attempt has been made to categorize the numerous terms that can be used as adverbs. As noted at the beginning of the chapter, there is often considerable overlap among the categories; multiple membership will be indicated in the lists below. Locative adverbs will be considered first, followed by temporal, manner, degree and modal adverbs. Table 44 presents an alphabetized list of all the adverbs.

2.1 Locative Adverbs. Locative adverbs answer the question "where?". The two interrogatives of place, hun and hu?ta can be used adverbially. Two of the terms, ?alta: 'inside' and ?ele:b 'outside', can also be used as nouns, ?ele:b in the special sense of 'patio' or 'dooryard'. The term for 'shoulder', ku:s, can be used adverbially to mean 'behind'; as noted above, it can also introduce a prepositional phrase. There are a few other related prepositional forms, and, of course, many prepositions can introduce locative adverbial phrases. An attempt has been made to find sentence examples that contain more than one locative adverbial.

2.1.1 Examples.

?ala:l	down
?alta:	inside (?a:l + ?ata: 'house')
do:nde	where (Sp. donde)
eba:l	above



ʔeblim	on top (c.f. prepositions)
ʔele:b	outside
hekʼat	on the other side (c.f. prepositions)
heʔ	here, hither (close enough to touch)
heʔta:m	here, hither (possibly heʔ + ta:m `then´)
hun	where (c.f. interrogatives)
huʔta/huʔta:m	where (c.f. interrogatives)
huʔta:kʼe	wherever (huʔta + kʼe `qualifier´)
ku:š/kušlab	behind (ku:š `shoulder´; c.f. prepositions)
naʔ	there, thence (nearby) (short for tana:ʔ)
ni huʔta	nowhere (ni `not´)
niwaʔ	there (nearby)
ʔo:w/ʔowe:l	far away (c.f. ʔowatiʔ `long ago´)
pi:l	separate, aside
(hun) pokʼeʔ	on the other side
šon	there where
tahaʔ/ta:ʔ	there, thither (far away, not in sight)
tana:ʔ	there (nearby; s.t. one can see)
tehe:ʔ/te:ʔ	here
tiwaʔ	there, thither (far away)
ʔehel	in the middle
ʔutat	near (c.f. prepositions)
walkʼi	above, higher up

56. ʔin ʔolo:m-il ʔa ma:m ʔin paʔ-b-aʔ-∅ ʔala:l k-in  
 A6 pig-POSS the gods A6 descend-CAUS-TS-COM down SUBJ-A6

∅em-θ-aʔ-∅  
 die-CAUS-TS-COM

`The gods' pig, they brought it down (from the sky) in order to kill it.'

57. ?an ɔa? yaba Ø k'wahat ?alta: Ø k'wahat ?ele:b  
the metate not B3 be.placed inside B3 be.placed outside

The metate is not inside, it is outside.'

58. leh yešušu:l do:nde hilk'-on-e:nek ?in huɟ'b-il ?an  
very green/blue where remain-VN-PER A3 bite-POSS the

?ehe:nčiš

witch

`It is very discolored where the witch's bite has remained.'

59. ta:ʔ k'al-e-Ø ti-Ø bel-al-Ø ?eba:l ma huʔta ti  
there go-TS-COM SUBOR-B3 walk-TS-INC above until where at

t'ek'at ?an ɟ'e:n  
high the mountain

`There he went walking above, where the mountains are high.'

60. ?eblim ?in tame:t ti-Ø k'wahat ?an li:bro  
on.top A3 front SUBOR-B3 be.placed the book

`The book is lying face up.'

61. Ø koy-(o)n-e:nek niwaʔ hek'at  
B6 seat-VN-PER there other.side

`They had seated themselves there on the other side.'

62. heʔ Ø k'wahat ?an laktem  
here B3 be.placed the chair

`There's a chair right here.'

63. hant'o ?a t'oh-(o)n-al heʔta:m  
what A2 work-VN-INC here

`What are you working at here?'

64. yab ?u ɔo?o:b hun ti-∅ k'wahat  
not Al know where SUBOR-B3 be.placed  
`I don't know where it is.'
65. ne?eɟ k-u wič-b-a?-∅ t-in ku:š ?abal yab  
go SUBJ-A1 return-CAUS-TS-COM at-A6 back so.that not  
k-in k'ap-u-∅ ?an ?e:m  
SUBJ-A6 eat-TS-COM the corn  
`I'm going to bring them back so they won't eat the corn.'
66. na? kwaɟat ?an pik'o?  
there lying.down the dog  
`The dog is lying down there.'
67. Q. hu?ta t-it k'wah-i-:l  
where SUBOR-B2 live-TS-INC  
A. niwa? tehe:? ti Tamhahnek  
there.(nearby) here in Tanjasnec  
A. tiwa? ti Lehem  
there.(far) in Lehem (10 miles away)  
A. tiwa? ?o:w ti Akičmo:m  
there.(far) far.away in Aquismón (30 miles away)  
`Where do you live?' `Right over there, here in Tanjasnec.'  
or `Over there in Lehem.' or `Way over there in Aquismón.'
68. ...?abal ?owe:l ti-∅ ta:l  
... because far.away SUBOR-B3 comes  
`...because she comes from far away.'
69. ?aše:? tikin hil-č-∅-i pi:l yab  
this.one SUBJ.you.for.me leave-BEN-COM-EP aside not  
tikin tamk-un-č-∅-i k'al ?aše:?  
SUBJ.you.for.me unite-EP-BEN-COM-EP with these.ones  
`Leave me this one aside, don't mix it with the others.'

70. tiwaʔ           hun   pok'eʔ  
there.(far) where other.side  
`There on the other side.`
71. tikin           č'učb-in-č-ø-i       šon   ti yahčik  
IMP.you.to.me point-EP-BEN-COM-EP where at painful  
`Point out to me where it hurts.`
72. ʔin kal-θ-a(ʔ)-al       ʔin wal ʔani ʔin hil-a(ʔ)-al ba:ʔ ʔan  
A3 go.out-CAUS-TS-INC A3 eye and A3 leave-TS-INC on the  
tut           ǰablom ʔin wal ʔin hil-a(ʔ)-al taha:ʔ  
firestones both A3 eye A3 leave-TS-INC there.(far)  
` (The witch) takes out his eyes and he leaves them on the  
firestones--he leaves both his eyes there.`
73. k-a   hil-aʔ-ø       ʔa t'okna:l-il tana:ʔ  
IMP-A2 leave-TS-COM A2 basket-POSS there.(nearby)  
`Leave your carrying basket there.`
74. k'wahat t-in       koy-ol-ø   ǰ'ehel  
PROGR   SUBOR-B1 sit-TS-INC middle  
`I am sitting in the middle.`
75. ʔutat ʔu k'ima:ʔ ʔan teʔ kot-oθ  
near A1 house   the tree cut-PPL  
`Near my house is a felled tree.`
76. ta:ʔ-iǰ           t-u       way-al-ø       walk'iʔ  
there.(far)-EMPH SUBOR-B1 sleep-TS-INC above  
`I indeed sleep there up above.`

## 2.2 Temporal Adverbs. Temporal adverbs answer the question "when?".

They refer to both precise and imprecise time: yesterday, tomorrow, always, never, versus a while ago, before, afterwards, in a little

bit. A few of the commoner time adverbial phrases will be included in the examples; see Chapter 13 for examples of hu:ni:l 'once', hunčiki:l 'at times' and ya:ni:l 'many times'. Chapter 14 has sentence examples for kala:m 'tomorrow' and ti weʔe:l 'yesterday'; both terms appear frequently throughout this manuscript.

### 2.2.1 Examples.

ʔawšeʔ	shortly, in a little while
be:l	still, yet
biya:l	long ago
čuθe:l	daily
ʔeʔey	always (c.f. degree adverbs)
hayk'iʔ	when (c.f. interrogatives)
hunčiki:l	at times (hu:n 'one' + -čik- 'plural' + -i:l 'iterative suffix')
hu:ni:l	one time, once (hu:n 'one' + -i:l 'iterative suffix')
kala:m	tomorrow
k'ehab	before, anticipated, in advance (k'eh 'old')
k'ihil	early (k'ih 'time, season')
ni hayk'iʔ	never (ni 'not')
ʔok'oš	before, formerly, first (ʔo:k' 'head')
ʔowatiʔ	long ago (-iʔ emphatic clitic; c.f. ʔo:w, ʔowe:l 'far away')
šo:ʔ	now, right now, today
šowe:ʔ	now, right now, today (we:ʔ 'little')
ta:lbe:l	afterwards, later (possibly ta:l 'comes' + be:l 'then')
taley	afterwards

tam	when
ta:m	then
ta:ye	afterwards, later (c.f. conjunctions)
ta:yi:l	after that (c.f. conjunctions)
tik'el	just, right away, barely, in a moment
θahuw	early
we:ʔakiϕ	in a little bit, soon (we:ʔ 'little' + -ak- 'irrealis' + -iϕ 'emphatic clitic')
weʔe:l	yesterday
we:ʔk'iʔ we:ʔk'iʔ	from time to time (k'iʔ < k'i:ča: 'day')
wihiϕ	a while ago
wiʔi:l/ wiʔi:	a little while ago
ya:ni:l	many times (ya:n 'many' + -i:l 'iterative suffix)

77. ʔawšəʔ k-u ʔeht-ow-∅ k-u t'ah-aʔ-∅  
shortly SUBJ-AL be.able-TS-COM SUBJ-AL do-TS-COM

'I could do it in a little while.'

78. maš kala:m ʔin yaʔul be:l...  
if tomorrow B1 sick still...

'If I'm still sick tomorrow...'

79. pe:l ʔi belne:l ti biya:l  
is of belief from long.ago

'It is a belief from long ago.'

80. čuθe:l ʔu k'aϕ-um-∅ k'al ʔan ʔari:na  
daily B3 mix-AP-INC with the flour

'She mixes flour daily.'

81. ʔanʕana:ʔ ʔeʕey Ø waʔaʕ-Ø-Ø ʔi ʔuʕa:l  
 thus always B6 there.be-TS-COM of drunks  
 `Thus it is always--there are drunks.`
82. yab ʔu ʕoʔo:b hayk'iʔ neʔeʕ ka-Ø ʔul-iʕ  
 not Al know when go SUBJ-B6 arrive-COM  
 `I don't know when they will arrive.`
83. ʔu halb-in-ʕ-Ø-iʕ kehab ʔan t'uʔlek  
 Al pay-EP-BEN-COM-EMPH in.advance the meat  
 `I paid him for the meat in advance.`
84. wawa:ʔ neʔeʕ k-u ʔul-iʕ k'ihil-e  
 we go SUBJ-B4 arrive-COM early-PERDUR  
 `As for us, we're going to arrive when it's still early.`
85. ʔok'oš ʔin k'wah-i-:l Ba:yes  
 formerly B1 live-TS-INC Valles  
 `Formerly I lived in Valles.`
86. t'ilab t'ahne:l tam ti ʔowat-iʕ  
 story doings when at long.ago-EMPH  
 `A story of long ago happenings.`
87. ʔani šowe:ʔ hant'o neʔeʕ k-a t'ah-aʔ-Ø (r.i.)  
 and now what go SUBJ-A2 do-TS-COM  
 `And now what are you going to do?`
88. šo:ʔ k-a ʕem-θ-aʔ-Ø  
 right.now IMP-A2 die-CAUS-TS-COM  
 `Kill it right now!`
89. ʔok'oš Ø ʔul-iʕ ʔa Eli:yas ta:lbe:l ʔa Ka:ndido mas  
 first B3 arrive-COM the Elías afterwards the Cándido more  
 tayi:l ʔa Santos  
 after.that the Santos

‘Eliás arrived first, then Cándido, and after that, Santos.’

90. ta:m t-in pet-n-an-č-ø-i ?an pu:l  
then SUBOR-A3 throw-IVR-EP-BEN-COM-EP the arrow

‘Then he shot the arrow at it.’

91. ta:ye k-u øu:ʔ-u:š-in-ø  
later SUBJ-A4 see-RECIP-TS-COM

‘That we may see each other again.’ (Departure formula)

92. tik’el ?it neʔeø (r.i.)  
just B2 go

‘Are you just leaving?’

93. maš ?in če-e-l-ak we:ʔ θahuw...  
if B1 come-TS-INC-IRR little early...

‘If I should come a little early...’

94. mas we:ʔ-ak-iø neʔeø t-in kap-ul-ø  
more little-IRR-EMPH go SUBOR-B1 eat-AP-INC

‘In a little while I’m going to eat.’

95. ?u wič k’-on-al we:ʔ-k’iʔ we:ʔ-k’iʔ  
B3 return-VN-INC little-time little-time

‘She returns from time to time.’

96. wihiø ti-ø tuh-e-nek ?an ?ahib (r.i.)  
while.ago SUBOR-B3 begin-TS-PER the fiesta

‘Did the fiesta begin a while ago?’

97. ti wiʔi: ?in k’ap-u:ø t-u ?aθi:k  
at little.while.ago B1 eat-AP.COM in-A1 rapidness

‘A little while ago I ate hastily.’



2.3 Manner Adverbs. Manner adverbs answer the question "how?". They indicate how or in what fashion something is done. Many of the same terms can be used as degree adverbs, with perhaps a slight variation in meaning. The demonstrative pronoun haʔiɕ 'this one, that one' (Section 4.4, Chapter 4) is frequently used as a manner adverb with the meaning '(for) this (reason)', (in) this (manner).

2.3.1 Examples.

ʔalk'iθ	without motive, in play, somewhat (c.f. modal adverbs)
ʔalwaʔ	well
ʔaniʔ/ʔani:ɕ	thus, so (-iɕ 'emphatic clitic')
ʔanʒana:ʔ	thus, so (Cl. Sp. ansiná)
ʔanʒe:ʔ	thus, so (Cl. Sp. ansi)
ʔaθik	rapidly, suddenly
ʔaykiθ	frequently, successively, one after another (c.f. degree adverbs)
hant'iniʔ	how (c.f. interrogatives)
hik'towal	suddenly
hunaš	together, united
hununu:l	all together
kʷeteʔ/kʷete:m	by itself, alone, only
k'ayu:m	slowly (c.f. degree adverbs)
ni hant'iniʔ	in no way
pamaʔtal	barely, just, to a small degree
θe:y	together, together with
θubat	quickly, rapidly (c.f. degree adverbs)

- ɕapik                      hard, forcefully  
 yahu:m                      slowly
98.    ʔalk'iθ                      ʔu ɕak-un-al  
       without.motive B3 angry-VN-INC  
       `He gets angry for no reason whatever.`
99.    k-a    ʔalwaʔ k'wit'-iy-∅    ʔan me:ša  
       IMP-A2 well    polish-TS-COM the table  
       `Polish the table well!`
100.    haleʔ t-it              kal-e-∅              ʔaniʔ  
       why    SUBOR-B2 go.out-TS-COM thus  
       `Why did you leave in that fashion?`
101.    ʔani ʔani:ɕ-k'i hok'p-an-∅-iɕ  
       and thus-QUAL catch.fire-VN-COM-EMPH  
       `And thus right away indeed it caught fire.`
102.    nana:ʔ tin              tawn-a(?) -al ʔanʒana:ʔ (r.i.)  
       I              you.to.me speak-TS-INC thus  
       `You speak to me like that?` (Mother to child)
103.    ∅ ɕem-e-ɕ              ʔaθik  
       E3 die-TS-COM suddenly  
       `He died suddenly.`
104.    ʔa Ya:nis ∅ ɕ'uh-e-y              k'al ʔan θu:yuʔ leh ʔaykiθ  
       the Janis B3 bored.TS.COM with the greens very frequently  
       ʔin k'ap-u-∅  
       A3 eat-TS-COM  
       `Janis got very bored with greens; she ate them too  
       frequently.`

105. ʔa ɕuʔ-u:mal-ak hant'iniʔ ti-∅ k'wahat ʔin t'ek'tal  
A2 see-PER-IRR how SUBOR-B3 exist A3 height

'You should have seen how tall it was.'

106. ʔan ʔuɕ'a:l hik'towal ∅ ∅'uhp-an-∅ k'al ʔan bi:no  
the drunk suddenly B3 get.tired-VN-COM with the wine

'The drunk suddenly got fed up with wine.'

107. ya:n-i:l ʔu t'oh-on-∅ hunaš  
many-TIMES B4 work-TS-COM together

'We worked together many times.'

108. hununu:l ʔu t'oh-(o)n-al  
all.together B6 work-VN-INC

'They are all working together.'

109. ʔan ɕerbe:sa ∅ k<sup>w</sup>ete:m hapk'inal  
the beer B3 alone opens

'The beer opens by itself (i.e., pops the cap).'

110. leh k'ayu:m-k'e t-in yaɕ-iy-al ʔin ʔoko:b  
very slowly-QUAL SUBOR-A3 move-TS-INC A3 wing

'Very slowly indeed it moves its wings.'

111. ʔin t'oh-(o)n-al leh pamaʔtal ko:mo yahčik ʔu ʔo:k'  
B1 work-TS-INC very barely because painful A1 head

'I'm barely working because my head hurts a lot.'

112. ʰe:y ∅ t'oh-(o)n-al-čik  
together B6 work-TS-INC-PL

'They are working together.'

113. le:kiɕk'e maš haha:ʔ ∅ k'al-e-∅ ʰubat  
would.that if he B3 go-TS-COM soon

'If only he would go soon.'

114. ?an yehǝel-čik ?u bel-al-ǝ leh yahu:m  
the old.men-PL B6 walk-TS-INC very slowly

'The old men walk very slowly.'

115. k'wahat ti-ǝ peč-ey-al ǝapik ?an ?akan  
PROGR SUBOR-B6 strike.noisily-TS-INC hard the foot

ti-ǝ biš-om-ǝ  
SUBOR-B6 dance-AP-INC

'They are thumping their feet hard while they dance.'

2.4 Degree Adverbs. Degree adverbs indicate the relative intensity of a state, process or action. Prefixing mas 'more' to some of the manner adverbs converts them into degree adverbial phrases: ǝubat 'quickly', mas ǝubat 'more quickly'; yahu:m 'slowly', mas yahu:m 'more slowly'.

2.4.1 Examples.

?aykiǝ	frequently, successively, one after another (c.f. manner adverbs)
?ešpiǝ	only
?eǝ'ey	always (c.f. temporal adverbs)
hat'wa?	almost, somewhat, it appears that (c.f. modal adverbs)
hu:nini?	always, only
k'ayu:m	slowly (c.f. manner adverbs)
k'e?čiǝ	too much
leh	very
mas	more (Sp. mas)
patal	completely, all
tokat/tokot	only, just (c.f. modal adverbs)

θubat	quickly, rapidly (c.f. manner adverbs)
wali:m	purely, entirely
we:ʔ	a little
we:ʔiǰ	almost (-iǰ `emphatic clitic`)
ya:n	much, a lot

116. nana:ʔ ʔu θuʔ-tal ʔešpiθ θa:b ʔa ʔo:t  
I Al see-INC only two the star

`I see only two stars.'

117. tam θ waʔaθ-θ-θ ʔi ʔahib ʔeǰ'ey ʔu čeʔ-e-l-čik  
when B3 there.be-TS-INC of fiesta always B6 come-TS-INC-PL

ʔu θanu:b  
Al aunt

`When there is a fiesta my aunts always come.'

118. hat'waʔ ʔin tal-e-:l-iǰ  
almost B1 finish-TS-INC-EMPH

`I'm almost all finished.'

119. nana:ʔ hu:niniʔ ʔin k' ah-i-:l Tankwi:me  
I only B1 live-TS-INC Tancuime

`As for me, I have only lived in Tancuime.'

120. k'eʔčiθ ʔin k'ap-u:ǰ  
too.much B1 eat-AP.COM

`I ate too much.'

121. tam tehtey ʔan θiʔ ʔu leh kal-e-l ʔi paw  
when green the firewood B3 very go.out-TS-INC of smoke

`When the firewood is green it smokes a lot.'

122. k-it koy-(ol)-o:ǰ mas ʔalwaʔ  
IMP-B2 sit-(TS)-COM more well



ʔape:nas	scarcely, just (Sp. apenas)
čubaš	in truth, really, certainly, surely
ʔeh̄ti:l	it appears, it seems that, it is like, it resembles
ʔešpiθ	only (c.f. degree adverbs)
ha:kiʔk'e	it's a good thing that, imagine if; anticipates some negative outcome (possibly həʔ `this' + -ak `irrealis' + -iʔ- `emphatic clitic' + -k'e `qualifier')
hat'waʔ	it appears that, almost, somewhat (c.f. degree adverbs)
haye	also
have:ʔk'e	also, indeed, equally (-iʔ- `emphatic clitic', -k'e `qualifier')
helat	it appears that
huntam	in truth, thus it is
le:kiʔk'e	would that, perhaps (le:ʔ- `want' + -ak- `irrealis' + -iʔ- `emphatic' + -k'e `qualifier')
ʔohniʔ	truly (c.f. affirmatives)
tokat/tokot	only, just (c.f. degree adverbs)
wala:m	perhaps, it's possible
wa:y	of course, naturally, certainly

129. ʔan šeklek ʔalk'iθ yohob  
the leaf somewhat stiff

‘The leaf is rather stiff.’

130. ʔape:nas ʔin ʔoʔk-an-e:nek k-u halk'-uy-∅ ʔu  
just Bl enter-VN-PER SUBJ-Al change-TS-COM Al

tolto:m-il  
clothing-POSS

‘I had just gone in to change my clothes.’

131. yaba čubas ʔu t'oh-(o)n-al  
not certain B3 work-VN-INC  
`It's not certain that he's working.`
132. ʔaši toltom ʔenti:l ʔi huhul ʔi mižuʔ  
this material resembles of fur of cat  
`This material is like cat fur.`
133. ʔit tomk-iθ k'al ʔan tiyo:pan k'al ʔan pa:le ʔo ʔešpiθ  
B2 marry-PFL with the church with the priest or only  
k'al ʔan ʔeyal (r.i.)  
with the authority  
`Are you married by the church, by the priest, or only by  
the civil authority?`
134. ha:kižk'e maš ʔin k'al-(e)-nek-ak  
imagine if B1 go-(TS)-PER-IRR  
`Imagine if I had gone!`
135. ʔin ta:ta hat'waʔ yab ʔin leh k'aniθ-a(?) -al ʔan ɸakam  
A6 papa seems.that not A6 much love-TS-INC the child  
`It almost seems that fathers don't love their children (as  
much as mothers do).`
136. Ø ta:l haye hu:n ʔi ʔinik  
B6 come also one of man  
`A man came also.`
137. F. wala:m neʔeʔ ka-Ø ʔul-iʔ ʔan ʔa:b  
possible go SUBJ-B3 arrive-COM the rain  
E. helat ʔin le:ʔ  
appears.that A3 want  
`I think it's going to rain.` `It looks like it wants to.`
138. hant'o t-it leh čeʔ-e-nek huntam  
what SUBOR-B2 very come-TS-PER in.truth



‘In truth, what did you come for?’

139. le:ki:k'e ?i:b ka-∅ t'a?-i-y  
would.that not SUBJ-B3 burn-TS-COM

‘Would that he not burn himself.’

140. šo:ʔ ?ohniʔ ?it k'ib-e-∅-:∅  
now truly B5 lost-TS-COM-EMPH

‘Now truly youall are indeed lost.’

141. yab hant'o ?in k'waʔal tokot ?abal yab ?in le:ʔ ka-∅  
not thing A3 have only because not A3 want SUBJ-B3

k'al-e-∅ ti ?eskwe:la  
go-TS-COM to school

‘There's not a thing wrong with her, it's only because she doesn't want to go to school.’

142. wala:m pe:l ?a Pe:dro ?in ø'a?-iy-∅ ?an bičim  
perhaps be the Pedro A3 buy-TS-COM the horse

‘Perhaps it was Pedro who bought the horse.’

143. ?in le:ʔ wa:y ?in øakam-leʔ  
A3 love of.course A3 child-STEP

‘Of course she loves her step-child.’

## CHAPTER 17

## PHRASES AND SIMPLE SENTENCES

This chapter begins with a discussion of the components of simple sentences: noun phrases, prepositional and relational phrases, and predicate phrases, which may be either verbal or stative. Following this, basic simple declarative sentences will be considered in terms of their phrasal constituents. Finally, the discussion will cover the principal elaborations of simple sentences, such as negation, imperatives, interrogatives and voice changes.

In this and the subsequent chapter sentence examples will be incorporated into the text and translations will usually be of entire words, rather than the morpheme-by-morpheme glosses previously employed. However, some syntactic morphemes will be indicated, and clitic pronouns will continue to be glossed A1, B3, A4, etc.<sup>1</sup>

1.0 Noun Phrases. Noun phrases in Huastec may function as agents or objects of transitive verbs, as subjects of intransitive verbs or of stative predicates, as objects of a preposition, or as predicates in a stative sentence. They may be pronominal, full noun phrases, or embedded sentences. (The latter will be considered in Chapter 18, Complex Sentences.)

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1. The discussion in this and the subsequent chapter parallels Dayley's (1985) treatment of the same problems in Tzutujil syntax, with obvious language-specific exceptions, and with some omissions. I hope he will consider this a tribute to his excellent grammar.

1.1 Pronominal Noun Phrases. Of the pronouns discussed in Chapter 4, the following may function as pronominal noun phrases: independent pronouns (Section 2.0), the relative pronoun (Section 4.1), interrogative pronouns (Section 4.2), negative pronouns (Section 4.3) and demonstrative pronouns (Section 4.4). Iterative pronouns (Section 3.0) can never stand alone as pronominal noun phrases, but serve only to emphasize another pronoun or noun, and clitic cross-reference markers (Section 1.0) are considered below as part of the verb phrase. Since Chapter 4 includes multiple examples of pronominal noun phrases, they will not be discussed further here.

1.2 Full Noun Phrases. Full noun phrase constituents are listed below, with references to the chapter sections where they are discussed at greater length. The order of listing is in approximate order of occurrence; it will become apparent from the discussion that some variation in the order of constituents is possible.

#### FULL NOUN PHRASE CONSTITUENTS

1. Article or demonstrative (Chapter 16, Section 1.6).
2. Indefinite article (Chapter 13, Sections 2.1, 2.2, 2.3), or quantifier (Chapter 13, Section 3.3), or number (Chapter 13, Section 1.0), which may be followed by a measure word (Chapter 13, Section 3.2).
3. Independent pronoun possessor of head noun (Chapter 4, Section 2.0).
4. Possessive clitic pronoun (Chapter 4, Section 1.2).
5. Leh `very` (Chapter 16, Section 2.4).

6. Adjective (Chapter 15) or restricting noun.
7. Head noun, which may be inflected with noun suffixes (Chapter 9, Section 3.0), clitics (Chapter 11), or the plural clitic (Chapter 12, Section 7.0). Noun compounds described in Chapter 9, Section 4.0 can function as head nouns.
8. Leh `very`.
9. Adjective.
10. Nominal possessor of the head noun, which is cross-referenced by the pronoun in 4.
11. Prepositional phrase (Chapter 16, Section 1.7).
12. Relative clause (Chapter 18, Section 3.1).

Except for the head noun, the only obligatory constituent of a noun phrase is either an article or demonstrative, an indefinite article, quantifier or number, or a possessive clitic pronoun. In noun phrases following ti `in, at, to` even these may be absent. See examples 9, 35, 41 and 42 below. Noun phrase constituents will be discussed in the order listed above in terms of co-occurrence restrictions and other interactions, and examples will be given.

1.2.1 A noun phrase usually contains either an article (example 1) or a demonstrative (example 2), but not both. The few instances in texts of the sequence demonstrative-article-noun seem to have a deictic or focus function. In sentence 3 below, from the same text as sentence 1, the object of the verb `plant` is focussed by placing it before the verb, and by using both demonstrative and article. The reference is to a magic jar of water which will grow into a well. The noun phrase under discussion is in brackets.

1. neʔeʃ k-u ʔulθaʔ ʔan haʔ ʔin ʔuluw ʔan ʔakam kwito:l  
go SUBJ-A1 bring the water A3 said the little boy

‘I’m going to bring the water,’ said the Little Boy.’

2. ∅ ʔučan k'al ʔan ʔalpaθ ʔabal k-in t'akči ʔan  
B3 was.told by the wise.one that SUBJ-A3 wash.it.on the

ʔakan ʔani niši θu:m hawaʔ ʔin kʷaʔal  
foot and those worms which A3 has

‘He was told by the wise man that he should wash the place  
on his foot and those worms that it has in it.’

3. ʔin ʔuluw ʔaŋe:ʔ [ʔaš ʔan haʔ] k-a t'ayaʔ  
A3 said thus [this the water] IMP-A2 plant.it

‘He said thus, “This water here, plant it!”’

In sentence 4 the worms of sentence 2 are focussed upon at the  
moment that they become transformed into human children.

4. ta:m-kočik ∅ θahan [niše ʔan θu:m]  
then-I.think B6 cried.out [those the worms]

‘Then, I think, those worms cried out.’

1.2.2 A noun phrase may contain either an indefinite article, or a  
number, or a quantifier; no combination of these is possible.  
Definite articles do not co-occur with indefinite articles, numbers or  
quantifiers. Demonstratives, however, may co-occur. The list below  
indicates some of the possibilities. Recall that numbers and  
quantifiers are always followed by the partitive ʔi ‘one of the class  
of’; see Chapter 13.

ʔin k'apu ʔan bakan	He ate the tortilla(s)
ʔin k'apu hu:n ʔi bakan	He ate a tortilla
ʔin k'apu hu:nčik ʔi bakan	He ate some tortillas

ʔin k'apu we:ʔ ʔi bakan	He ate a few tortillas
ʔin k'apu yantom ʔi bakan	He ate lots of tortillas
ʔin k'apu ʒe:ʔ ʔi bakan	He ate four tortillas
ʔin k'apu ʒe:ʔ ʔi paluw bakan	He ate four soft tortillas
ʔin k'apu ʒab dose:na ʔi bakan	He ate two dozen tortillas
ʔin k'apu ʔu baka:nil	He ate my tortillas
ʔin k'apu niši bakan	He ate those tortillas
ʔin k'apu ʔaši ʔo:š ʔi bakan	He ate these three tortillas
*ʔin k'apu ʔan hunčik ʔi bakan	
*ʔin k'apu hunčik ʔo:š ʔi bakan	
*ʔin k'apu ʔan ʔo:š ʔi bakan	
*ʔin k'apu we:ʔ ʔan bakan	

1.2.3 Leh 'very' is part of the noun phrase only if it modifies an adjective. This includes adjectives used as quantifiers, such as leh ya:n, 'very many, very much' or leh we:ʔ 'very few'.

5. ʔi ʔa:ta:l [leh ya:n ʔi tumi:n]  
A4 gain [very many of money]

'We make a lot of money.'

6. ...ʔabal tata:ʔ ʔit [leh ʔalwaʔ ʔinik]  
...because you B2 [very good person]

'...because you are a very good person.'

1.2.4 In general, only one adjective can precede the head noun. If it is to be understood adjectivally and not predicatively, it must follow a definite or indefinite article, demonstrative, number, quantifier or possessive pronoun (constituents 1, 2 and 4 above).

7. [ʔan ʔalobe:l ɟ'ik'a:č] Ø čič tehe:ʔ  
 [the beautiful girl ] B3 came here  
 `The beautiful girl came here.'

8. ʔalobe:l [ʔan ɟ'ik'a:č]  
 beautiful [the girl]  
 `The girl is beautiful.'

In the few cases where two adjectives precede a noun, the first adjective refers to size or age.

9. ʔin balk'i:ɟ [ʔin ɟakam kʷatab k'ubak]  
 A3 put.into.it.indeed [A3 little left hand]  
 `Indeed he put his little left hand into it.'

10. tam ti-Ø ʔehɟin [ʔan yehɟeʔ ʔok'oš ʔinik]...  
 when SUBOR-B3 woke.up [the old first man]...  
 `When the old first man woke up...'

Restricting nouns which modify the head noun precede it.

11. [wawa:ʔ ʔi te:nek ma:m] ʔin ʔešlaʔčik ʔaš ʔu  
 [we A4 Huastec grandfathers] A6 knew.about those B6  
 ʔušnal ti higa:nte  
 are.reported as giants  
 `Those Huastec grandfathers of ours knew about those who are reported to be giants.'

1.2.5 While adjectives usually precede the head noun, in position 6, they sometimes follow it, in position 9. A rough count of sentences containing adjectives from about 70 pages of typed texts and translations gives the following approximate breakdown.

If the noun phrase begins with a definite or indefinite article, the adjective precedes the noun in about two-thirds of the cases, as

in examples 12 and 13, and follows in about one-third.

12. ?i ma:m            A6 k'ak'na:mal [ʔan pulik ʔan]  
A4 grandfathers A6 had.adored [the big snake]

‘Our grandfathers had adored the Great Snake.’

13. ...huʔta ti-∅      waʔaʔ [ʔi ʔalobe:l hant'očik]  
...where SUBOR-B6 exist [of beautiful things]

‘...where beautiful things exist.’

Except in stative sentences, such as example 6 above, or before quantifiers, as in 5, leh ‘very’ rarely precedes an adjective in the position before the noun. However, in about half the cases where an adjective follows the noun, it is preceded by leh. This suggests that the post-nominal position is an intensified or focussed one. For example, in the following sentence the adjective ǵapik ‘big, strong’ is emphasized not only by its position after the noun, but also because it was pronounced in a loud and long-drawn-out manner.

14. ∅ holan [ʔan ʔa:b ʔa...pi...k]  
B3 fell [the rain b...i...g]

‘A hea...v...y rain fell.’

Sentence 14 is an example of the order definite article-noun-adjective and sentence 15 of the order definite article-noun-leh-adjective. K'ayʔla:l ‘sky’ or ‘heavens’ is a metaphor for the world created by God.

15. tam ti biya:l    tam ti-∅    ʔ'iʔkan [ʔan k'ayʔla:l leh  
when at long.ago when SUBOR-B3 began [the heavens very  
ʔalobe:l]...  
beautiful]...

‘Once upon a time when the very beautiful world began...’



If a noun phrase begins with a number or quantifier the adjective usually precedes the noun, as in examples 16 and 17, following it only about one-fifth of the time (example 18).

16. ʔan t'eleʔ ʔin ʔuɕ'aʔ [ɕa:b ʔi ɕamama:l haʔ]  
the child A3 drank [two of chilled water]

'The child drank two cold soft drinks.'

17. ʔin ɕ'ehkaʔ [hu:n ʔi yehɕel ho:l]  
A3 made [one of great hole]

'He dug a great hole.'

18. k-a ɕ'ehkaʔ [hu:n ʔi pok'teʔ pu:lik]  
IMP-A2 make [one of chest large]

'Make a large chest!'

Finally, if a noun phrase begins with a demonstrative, the adjective follows the noun about two-thirds of the time (example 19) and precedes it about one-third of the time (example 20).

19. Ø leh paʔi:šnom [niše:ʔ ši ɕan ʔiɕ'maθ]  
B3 very jealous [that particular snake horned]

'Its's very jealous, that particular horned snake.'

20. šo:ʔ [ʔašeʔ hunkaɕ ɕakam ʔiθiθ] k-i balk'iy  
now [this only.one little corn.ear IMP-A5 put.it.in]

'Now, this single little corn ear, plant it!'

1.2.6 If the head noun is possessed, the clitic pronoun in position 4 must agree in person and number with the possessor. If the possessor is third person, and is not given information, position 10 will be filled with a proper name, preceded by the respect specifier ʔa (example 21) or with a noun, which must be preceded by a definite or

indefinite article (examples 22 and 23) and may also be preceded by an adjective (example 24). As noted in Chapter 10, Section 5.4, there may be cycling of possession so that a possessed noun is possessed by a possessed noun (example 25).

21. [ʔin kʷito:lil ʔa Pa:wla] leh pu:lik  
 [A3 son.POSS the Paula] very big  
 `Paula's son is very big.`
22. taley neʔeʔ k-u k'aʒuw [ʔin yuhi:l ʔan boli:m]  
 then go SUBJ-A1 beat [A3 chile.sauce.POSS the tamale]  
 `After that I'm going to beat the tamale's chile sauce.`
23. yaba:ʔ [ʔin k'ihil ʔi t'ohla:b]  
 indeed.not [A3 time.POSS of work]  
 `Indeed it isn't the time for work.`
24. huʔta ti-ʔ k'wahat [ʔin k'ima:ʔ ʔan yehʒeʔ ʔinikčik]  
 where SUBOR-B3 be.placed [A6 home.POSS the old men]  
 `Where is the old men's home located?`
25. ʔ ʒemeʔ [ʔin biči:mal ʔu ʔebčal]  
 B3 died [A3 horse.POSS A1 brother]  
 `My brother's horse died.`

A first or second person possessor of the head noun is unambiguously referenced by the clitic pronoun in position 4, and no further specification is necessary. However, if an independent pronoun is used for focus or emphasis, the independent pronoun must be in position 3 before the clitic pronoun. Compare the location of the nominal possessor in 26 with the independent pronominal possessor in 27. Sentence 11 above is another example of an independent pronominal

possessor which precedes the clitic pronoun.

26. [ʔin tomki:l ʔa Ya:nis] pe:l ʔi maye:so  
[A3 husband the Janis] be a teacher

‘Janis’s husband is a teacher.’

27. [nana:ʔ ʔu tomki:l] pe:l ʔi maye:so  
[I Al husband] be a teacher

‘My husband is a teacher.’

1.2.7 Prepositional phrases as constituents of a full noun phrase are relatively infrequent; three examples are given below. See Section 2.0 for a discussion of prepositional phrases as oblique arguments in a sentence.

28. ta:ʔ Ø kʷahat [ʔan koʔbiŋ kʷal ʔan ʔe:m]  
there B3 be.placed [the guardian with the corn]

‘There was the guardian of the corn.’

29. pos hantʰo neʔeŋ k-in tʰahaʔ Ø ʔalpaš [ʔan beletnom  
well what go SUBJ-A3 do B3 thinks [the caretaker

kʷal ʔan ʔakam]  
with the children]

‘Well, what is he going to do, thinks the caretaker of the children.’

30. maš yaba ʔalwaʔ ʔa ʔo:t pos masakiŋ ʔan tʰeleʔ ʔo [ʔan  
if not good the star well also.indeed the child or [the

waʔʒine:l ti a:l ʔan kʷayʔla:l] yaba ʔu ʔowel  
newborn at in the world] not B3 last

‘If the star (at birth) is not good, well indeed the child or the newborn to the world does not live long.’

2.0 Prepositional Phrases. Prepositional phrases are used for oblique arguments or oblique case relations such as locatives,

datives, comitatives, benefactives, instruments, demoted agents (with passive verbs) and demoted objects (with antipassive verbs). They consist of true prepositions and other words used as prepositions (Chapter 16, Section 1.7), followed by an independent pronominal or full noun phrase which is the object of the preposition. Numerous examples were given in Chapter 10, Section 1.7.1; only a few additional ones will be given here.

The sentence below contains a preposition, ʔalom 'beneath, underneath', and a relational noun, tame:t 'front of someone or something', which functions syntactically as a preposition (see 3.0 below).

31. ʔan pi:k'ɔʔ Ø k'wahat [ʔalom ʔan ba:nko] [t-in tame:t  
 the dog B3 be.placed [underneath the bench] [at-A3 front  
 ʔan ʔata:]  
 the house]

'The dog is underneath the bench in front of the house.'

The compound sentence below exemplifies a possessed noun and an independent pronoun in parallel comitative constructions. The preposition k'al 'with, to, by, for' is related in meaning to the abstract noun k'a:la:b 'property, possession', which when possessed is a relational noun used to indicate possession (see 3.0 below). However k'al seems to have become a true preposition, and, unlike the relational noun, it is never possessed.

32. neʔeʔ ka-Ø či:č ʔu ʔaka:mil [k'al ʔu yehʔe:lil] ʔu pi:k'wal  
 go SUBJ-B3 come Al children [with Al old.man] Al dog  
 yab neʔeʔ ka-Ø či:č [k'al haha:ʔ]  
 not go SUBJ-B3 come [with him]

`My children are going to come here with my husband; my dog is not going to come with him.'

The preposition ti 'at, for, from, in, into, during, of' often combines with other prepositions, body parts used as prepositions, or relational nouns in prepositional phrases. T(i)-in tame:t (example 31 above) is one example; ma t(i)-in wi? in the sentence below is another.

33. k-a t'učiy [ma t-in wi?] ma k-a hila?  
 IMP-A2 fill.it [until at-A3 mouth] until SUBJ-A2 leave.it  
 baʔiʔi:l  
 brimming.over

`Fill it up to the brim, until you leave it brimming over.'

The difference in meaning between a preposition alone and that preposition preceded by ti is unclear. The following sentence, from a text, uses ?a:l and ti ?a:l in parallel fashion.

34. ∅ šeʔeʔ ti-∅ ?a:lim k'al ?i walila:b [?a:l ?an  
 B3 goes.about SUBOR-B3 search.AP with of fruit [in the  
 holtam] tiwa? [ti ?a:l ?an ø'e:n]  
 empty.place] there [at in the sierra]

`He goes about fruit-searching in the unoccupied place, there far away in the sierra.'

Prepositional phrases are used relatively infrequently to express benefactive (or malefactive) arguments in Huastec, since these relationships can be indicated more succinctly by the addition of the benefactive morpheme // -č - // to the verb. Compare the following parallel sentences, which are translated identically.

35. ?an ø'ik'a:č ?in øe?ey ?an k'oye [k'al ?in ?a:č]  
 the girl A3 ground the corn.dough [for A3 grandmother]  
 ?an ø'ik'a:č ?in øe?či ?an k'oye ?in ?a:č  
 the girl A3 ground.for.her the corn.dough A3 grandmother  
 'The girl ground the corn dough for her grandmother.'

In the second sentence the indirect object, 'grandmother', is marked on the verb and does not need to be expressed in a prepositional phrase. Word order is the usual one--direct object (DO) before indirect object (IO)--but the order could be reversed--IO DO--without creating confusion, because the verb 'grind' normally takes only an inanimate direct object.

In the first sentence below the indirect object is a prepositional phrase consisting of a preposition plus an independent pronoun. The following sentence uses the portmanteau pronoun tu 'she.for.us' and the benefactive morpheme to express the same idea. The independent pronoun wawa:? 'us' can remain as a surface representation of the indirect object, but is more frequently deleted. The sentences are translated identically.

36. ?a Mari:ya ?in t'aha? ?an bakan [?abal wawa:?]  
 the María A3 made the tortillas [for us]  
 ?a Mari:ya tu t'ahči ?an bakan wawa:?  
 the María she.for.us made.for.us the tortillas us  
 'María made the tortillas for us.'

Passive and antipassive sentences in Huastec have similar structures, with demoted agents, in passive constructions, and demoted objects, in antipassives, being optionally expressed in prepositional phrases beginning with k'al 'by, with'. The verbs in sentences 37-39

below are passive; those in the sentences 40-42 are antipassive. In sentence 37 below a locative prepositional phrase precedes the prepositional phrase containing the demoted agent of the verb.

37. ?a Hwa:n Ø kalθa:me [ti wik'ašte?] [k'al ?in ha?u:b]  
 the Juan B3 taken.out.PER [from jail] [by A3 friend]

'Juan has been taken out of jail by his friend.'

38. ?a ?i:θ' Ø mapiya:b [k'al ?an tokow]  
 the moon B3 is.closed [by the clouds]

'The moon is covered by the clouds.'

39. walasm Ø k'at'u:me [k'al ?i ?anima:l]  
 probably B6 have.been.bitten [by of animal]

'They've probably been bitten by an animal.'

Although English readily permits object deletion with many verbs, it is difficult to translate antipassive sentences with expressed objects into English. Compare 'I planted yesterday' with the awkward 'I corn-planted yesterday' (sentence 40).

40. ti.we?e:l ?in ?o:ma:θ [k'al ?i ?iθiθ]  
 yesterday B1 planted [with of corn]

'I corn-planted yesterday.'

41. ?an mi:m̩la:b Ø čukuš [k'al ?an θayemla:b]  
 the lady.POL B3 sews [with the quexquemitl-shawl]

'The lady shawl-sews.'

The parallelism between passives and antipassives is not perfect. K'al phrases are more common in passive sentences, while antipassives tend to rely more on the kind of object incorporation described in Chapter 5, Section 1.2.1.1, and exemplified below.

42. ?in ɬo?o:b      ti-∅      ču:kul koto:nla:b  
 A3 knows.how.to SUBOR-B3 sew      blouses

‘She knows how to blouse-sew.’

3.0 Relational Noun Phrases. A small set of possessed nouns is used to indicate grammatical relations in a sentence, either locative or case relations. Formally, the possessor of the relational noun is the noun phrase being related to the rest of the sentence. Although relational nouns are morphologically nouns, and are possessed with Set A clitic pronouns, syntactically they fulfill a prepositional function.

Locative relational nouns use possessed body parts to indicate location with respect to the possessor: t-in ?akan ‘at its foot’ = ‘beneath, at the foot of’; t-in ?a:l ‘in its interior’ = ‘within’; t-in ku:š ‘at its shoulder’ = ‘behind’; t-in tame:t ‘at its front’ = ‘before, in front of’. Sentence 31 above is an example of t-in tame:t. See Chapter 10, sentences 21, 27, 28 and 29, and Chapter 16, sentences 40, 47 and 54, for additional examples of these locative relational nouns.

Note that the locative relational nouns always occur in conjunction with the preposition ti ‘at, to, in, of’. They are thus similar to what Dayley (1985:292-93) categorizes as ‘prepositional-relational noun phrases’. The preposition ?a:l ‘in, on, among’ bears an obvious connection to the relational noun ?a:l ‘interior’. However, the preposition is never possessed, and is not always preceded by ti; see sentence 34 above.

Another set of relational nouns is used to indicate certain case



relations: reflexive, accompaniment, totalitive and possessive.

Reflexive meaning is conveyed by the use of the possessed noun ba:ʔ 'being, self'. In the sentences below ka t'ahaʔ ti kwe:nta is an idiomatic phrase meaning 'take care of'.

43. k-a t'ahaʔ ti kwe:nta [t-a ba:ʔ]  
IMP-A2 make of account [of-A2 self]

'Take care of yourself!'

44. haha:ʔ yaba ʔin t'aha:l ti kwe:nta [t-in ba:ʔ] ʔu ʔalpayal  
he not A3 makes of account [of-A3 self] A1 think

ʔabal neʔeʔ ka-∅ ʔemeʔ  
that go SUBJ-B3 die

'He doesn't take care of himself; I think he's going to die.'

'Accompaniment' is indicated by the relational noun ʔe:b 'union, entirety, togetherness'.

45. wawa:ʔ ʔa:b [t-i ʔe:b] neʔeʔ k-u taley leh wa:kal  
we two [in-A4 union] go SUBJ-B4 finish very late

'The two of us are going to finish very late.'

46. hay [t-u ʔe:b] ʔit ta:l  
how.many [in-A5 union] B5 come

'How many of you are coming together?'

See Chapter 10, sentences 22-26, for additional examples of ba:ʔ and ʔe:b.

Yane:l is a derived noun, from the middle voice verb yan-e- 'increase', but it behaves like other relational nouns and has a totalitive meaning.

47. ʔu paku:mal [t-in yane:l] ʔan tumi:n  
A1 have.spent [in-A3 totality] the money

`I have spent all the money.'

48. nana:ʔ ʔu t'ukča:maliç [t-in yane:l]  
I Al have.indeed.poured.it.for.them [in-A6 totality]

`I have indeed served all of them.'

Note that like locative relational nouns ba:ʔ, ʔe:b and yane:l are always preceded by the preposition ti. One final relational noun, k'a:l, is not.

The abstract noun k'a:la:b means 'property' or 'possession', and its possessed form k'a:l is used to indicate personal possession-- 'mine', 'yours', 'hers', etc.

49. niši t'oknal [ʔin k'a:l ʔan ø'ik'a:č]  
that basket [A3 property the girl]

`That basket is the girl's.'

50. ʔan pulik t'oknal [ʔin k'a:l ʔa Toma:s]  
the big basket [A3 property the Tom]

`The big basket is Tom's.'

As is the case with other possessed nouns (Section 1.2.6 above), if the possessor of the relational noun k'a:l is an independent pronoun, it must precede the possessive clitic pronoun:

51. ʔaši t'oknal [nana:ʔ ʔu k'a:l]  
this basket [I Al property]

`This basket is mine.'

It should be apparent by now that Huastec has a variety of ways to handle what might broadly be termed 'case relations'. In contrast to the reflexive ba:ʔ and the totalitive yane:l formations described

above, is the use of the manner adverb kwete?/ kwete:m 'by itself, alone, only' to indicate a 'solitary' relation.

52. [wawa:ʔ kwete:m] ʔi hek'a:l ʔan ʔakam  
[we alone] A4 save the child

'We give birth alone (i.e., without assistance).'

Often kwete? and ba:ʔ are used with parallel meaning, as in the two sentences below.

53. ʔan ʔinik Ø [kweteʔ ʔemeʔ]  
the man B3 [alone died]

ʔan ʔinik Ø [ʔemeʔ t-in ba:ʔ]  
the man B3 [died of-A3 self]

'The man committed suicide.'

Both terms may be used in the same sentence, presumably for emphasis. Note that in the following example the verb is the derived transitive 'kill'.

54. ʔin [kweteʔ ʔemθaʔ t-in ba:ʔ]  
A3 [alone killed of-A3 self]

'He killed himself.'

In some Mayan languages, for example Tzotujil (Dayley 1985:153), both reflexive and reciprocal relationships are coded with the same relational noun. In Huastec, on the other hand, reflexives are formed with the relational noun ba:ʔ, but special reciprocal verb forms are used to express reciprocal case relations (see Chapter 5, Section 1.2.2).

Finally, it should be noted that case relations such as comitative, instrumental, benefactive, demoted agentive, etc., expressed with relational nouns in other Mayan languages, are in

Huastec the province of prepositional phrases headed by the ubiquitous k'al 'with, to, of, in, by, for'; see Sections 1.2.7 and 2.0 above.

4.0 Verbal Predicate Phrases. Predicate phrases may be either verbal or non-verbal. Verb phrases will be discussed first; their constituents are listed below, with references to the chapters where they are discussed at greater length.

#### VERB PHRASE CONSTITUENTS

1. Negative (Chapter 16, Section 1.3; this chapter, Section 7.1).
2. Subordinate (ti), subjunctive (ka) or imperative (ka) particle (Chapter 4, Section 1.4).
3. Clitic pronoun (Chapter 4, Section 1.0).
4. A limited group of adverbs.
5. Verb, with inflections (Chapters 5, 6 and 7).
6. Clitics (Chapter 11).
7. Plural marker -čik (Chapter 12, Section 7.5).

The only obligatory constituents of the verb phrase are a verb and the relevant clitic pronouns. While no verb phrase has been recorded with all the elements listed above, there are no co-occurrence restrictions upon the constituents of the verb phrase. The order of constituents is invariant.

4.1 Yaba? 'no, not', the first element in the verb phrase, will be discussed in Section 7.1 below.

4.2 The subordinate and subjunctive particles ti and ka serve to

introduce clauses in complex sentences and might therefore be considered to be sentence-level constituents. However, because of their complicated interaction with the clitic pronouns and with each other, it is simpler to consider them as part of the verb phrase. They are discussed at length in Chapter 4, Section 1.4. The imperative marker ka also precedes the clitic pronouns and elides with them. Multiple examples of these particles are given throughout this manuscript.

4.3 Clitic pronouns which cross-reference person and number of the arguments of a verb are obligatory constituents of the verb phrase. They are discussed and exemplified at length in Chapter 4, Section 1.0.

4.4 Nothing intervenes between the clitic pronoun and the verb except for a few adverbs. The only examples in my corpus are leh 'very' (see Chapter 4, sentences 4 and 19, and Chapter 16, sentences 21, 135 and 138); ʔalwaʔ 'well' (Chapter 16, sentence 99); and kʷeteʔ (this chapter, sentence 54).

4.5 Root and derived verbs and verbal inflections are exhaustively discussed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7; information will not be repeated here.

4.6 The irrealis (-ak), putative (-ana:ʔ), perdurative (-e / -ye), emphatic (-iǰ), speculative (-kočik), quotative (-kʷaʔ) and qualifier (-k'i / k'e) clitics can be suffixed to inflected verbs. Examples are given of all of these in Chapter 11.

4.7 The plural marker -čik can be suffixed to the inflected verb as the final element to indicate plurality of the agent or subject of the verb; see Chapter 12, Section 7.5.

5.0 Non-verbal Predicates. Predicates lacking an inflected verb are of four kinds: stative, equative, locative, and possessive. Stative predicates consist of a Set B pronoun plus an adjective or noun phrase. Equative predicates are formed with the existential pe:l 'be' or with yab 'not', plus a Set B pronoun and a noun or noun phrase. Locative predicates minimally contain a Set B pronoun and k'wahat, a participial form derived from the verb k'wah-iy- 'inhabit, be in a place'. They may additionally contain adverbs and adverbial, prepositional and adjectival phrases. Non-verbal predicates are also formed with the relational noun k'a:l 'property', which was discussed in Section 3.0 above and exemplified in sentences 49, 50 and 51. Non-verbal predicates are not inflected for tense/aspect. However, temporal and other adverbials, the irrealis particle -ak, and the presence of inflected verbs in associated main or subordinate clauses can serve to indicate tense/aspect relationships.

5.1 Stative Predicates. Stative predicates make some assertion about the subject of the sentence. They minimally consist of a Set B pronoun and an adjective or noun. Constituents of stative predicates occur in the order below. Constituents 4 and 5 are alternatives.

1. Negative (yaba?).
2. Set B pronoun.
3. A limited group of adverbs.

4. Adjective or adjective phrase.

5. Noun or noun phrase.

5.1.1 Adjectives or adjective phrases may be negated in stative predicates; see Section 7.1 below.

5.1.2 The adverb leh 'very' frequently modifies adjectives in stative sentences, as in examples 6 and 2i above. Sentence 129, Chapter 16, is an example of ʔalk'iθ 'somewhat' as a modifier, and an example follows with the Spanish-derived ma:s 'more'.

55. haha:ʔ ʔin le:ʔak ti-∅ bišom k'al haha:ʔ po:rke [∅  
he A3 would.like SUBOR-B3 dance with her because [B3

ma:s ʔalobe:l]  
more pretty]

'He would like to dance with her because she is prettier.'

5.1.3 Adjectives in stative predicates may take the -iθ emphatic, -e perdurative, -k'e qualifier or -čik plural clitics.

56. [∅ ʔalwaʔiθ] ʔan ʔahan  
[B6 good.indeed] the corn.ears

'The corn ears are good indeed.'

57. ʔaši [∅ leh ʔi:te]  
this [B3 very new.still]

'This is still very new.'

58. [∅ ʔalwaʔk'e] ʔin kiθi:m  
[B3 good.qualifier] A3 temperature

'Its temperature is exactly right.'

59. [∅ ʔalwaʔčik] ʔin ʔe:m  
[B6 good.plural] A3 corn

‘His corn plants are good.’

5.1.4 A frequent stative construction, leh ya:n ‘very many’ is used to make plural impersonal statements, as in 60 and 61 below.

Impersonal statements (singular or plural) can also be made with equative and locative predicates and with the irregular verb wa?aǵ ‘there is, there are’; see Section 5.3.5 and example 86 below.

60. [∅ leh ya:n] ?an te?  
[B6 very many] the trees

‘There are many trees.’

61. [∅ leh ya:n] ?an kristya:no  
[B6 very many] the Christians

‘There are lots of people.’

5.1.5 Nouns and noun phrases are less frequent in stative predicates than are adjective phrases. A few examples follow.

62. tat [ʔit Mari:ya] (r.i.) nan [ʔin Mari:ya]  
you [B2 Mariá] I [B1 Mariá]

‘Are you Maria? I am Maria.’

63. ha?iǵ šowe:ʔ [∅ ?an ǵ’ak]  
this now [B3 the flea]

‘This one is now The Flea.’

64. mmm ǵakam šaša:ʔ [ʔiš leh ?alwaʔ ?inik]  
mmm child you-all [B5 very good person]

‘Mmm, children, you are very good.’

5.2 Equative Predicates. Equative predicates are formed with pe:l ‘be’ or yab ‘not’, and make an equative statement about the subject of the sentence: A is B, or A is not B. The irrealis particle -ak may be



suffixed to pe:l and yab to indicate a state that once existed, but does no more: A was B (but is no longer), A was not B (but now is).

Constituents of equative predicates are:

1. Pe:l(-ak) or yab(-ak).
2. Set B pronoun, Set A possessive pronoun, the respect specifier ?a, or the indefinite hu:n ?i.
3. Noun or noun phrase.

5.2.1 The emphatic clitic -iǝ and the plural clitic -čik may be suffixed to pe:l. The absence of examples of these suffixes on yab probably reflects a gap in the data.

65. [pe:l ?i ǝakam]  
 [be B6 children]  
 `They are children.'

66. [pelǝ ?i ǝakam t'a:m]  
 [be.indeed B6 little offspring]  
 `They are indeed little offspring.'

67. [pelčik ?i ?ušum]  
 [be.plural B6 woman]  
 `They are women.'

5.2.2 Equative predicates most commonly contain a Set B pronoun and a noun phrase, as in example 68 below. However, it is possible to make a possessive equative statement; the possessor may be indicated only by a Set A pronoun (example 69), or by a Set A pronoun and a noun which cross-references the pronoun (70). If the predicate is a proper name, the respect specifier ?a is used (71), and if the predicate is indefinite hu:n ?i `one, a' follows pe:l (72).

68. tata:ʔ [pe:l ʔit ʔa:le ʔuʃm̩la:b] ʔani nana:ʔ [pe:l ʔin  
 you [be B2 wise woman.polite] and I [be B1  
 te:nek]  
 Huastec]

‘You are a wise mestiza and I am a Huastec.’

69. [pe:l ʔa ʔaka:mil]  
 [be A2 child.POSS]

‘They are your children.’

70. ʔan talab [pe:l ʔin paʃi:kʰ ʔan ta:sa]  
 the plate [be A3 lid.POSS the cup]

‘The plate is the cup’s lid (to keep the coffee hot).’

71. wala:m [pe:l ʔa Pe:dro] ʔin ʔa:huy ʔan bičim  
 I.believe [be the Pedro] A3 lassoed the horse

‘I believe it was Pedro who lassoed the horse.’

72. [pe:l hu:n ʔi ʔinik]  
 [be one of man]

‘It is a man.’

5.2.3 Pe:l and yab are often used in parallel phrases.

73. [pe:l ʔin ʔuʃum] ʔani [yab ʔin mi:m]  
 [be B1 woman] and [not B1 mother]

‘I am a woman but I am not a mother.’

74. [yab ʔi ba:kaʃ] [pe:l ʔi bu:ru]  
 [not B3 cow] [be B3 burro]

‘It’s not a cow, it’s a burro.’

5.2.4 Pelak and yabak occur in the same paradigmatic slots as pe:l  
 and yab.

75. [pelak           ʔi k'ak'naš]  
[be.irrealis B3 believer]

‘He used to be a Catholic.’

76. maš [yabak           ʔu haʔu:b]...  
if [not.irrealis A1 friend]...

‘If he hadn't been my friend...’

77. Hose: [pelak           ʔu haʔu:b] ʔani tin t'ahči ʔi  
José be.irrealis A1 friend and he.me did.to.me of

t'ahbila:b šowe:ʔ [yab ʔu haʔu:b]  
wrong           today [not A1 friend]

‘José used to be my friend, but he did me a wrong; now he's not my friend.’

5.3 Locative Predicates. Locative predicates locate the subject of the sentence in space. The minimal constituents of a locative predicate are a Set B pronoun plus k'wahat ‘be placed’, a participle derived from the verb k'wah-iy- ‘inhabit, be in a place’. Additional constituents are locative adverbs, negatives, prepositional phrases and adjectives or adjective phrases. Constituents occur in the order listed below. Positions 1 and 2 are alternatives, as are positions 5, 6 and 7.

1. Adverb, followed by the subordinate marker ti, which elides with the Set B pronoun.
2. Negative (yabaʔ).
3. Set B pronoun
4. k'wahat.
5. Adverb.
6. Prepositional phrase.

## 7. Adjective or adjective phrase.

5.3.1 k<sup>W</sup>ahat has an optional short form k<sup>W</sup>a? which is more common in rapid speech. k<sup>W</sup>a? and k<sup>W</sup>ahat often alternate in question and reply.

78. [hu?ta ti-∅ k<sup>W</sup>a?] [niwa? ∅ k<sup>W</sup>ahat]  
 [where SUBOR-B3 be.placed] [there B3 be.placed]

'Where is it? It's over there.'

The full form k<sup>W</sup>ahat may be suffixed with the -iǰ emphatic clitic or the plural clitic -ǰik. Addition of the irrealis clitic -ak results in a change in meaning: 'was there but is no longer'.

79. [ʔin k<sup>W</sup>ahatak ba:ʔ ʔan be:l] tam ti-∅  
 [B1 be.placed.irrealis on the road] when SUBOR-B3

tuheyiǰ ti-∅ ʔulel ʔan ʔa:b  
 began.indeed SUBOR-B3 arrive the rain

'I was on the road when it really began to rain.'

5.3.2 As mentioned above, positions 5, 6 and 7 are alternatives. In example 79 above k<sup>W</sup>ahat is followed by a prepositional phrase, in 80 below by a locative adverb, and in 81 by a participial adjective.

80. ʔan ǰa? [yab ∅ k<sup>W</sup>ahat ʔalta:]  
 the metate [not B3 be.placed inside]

'The metate isn't inside.'

81. [∅ k<sup>W</sup>ahat kotoθ]  
 [B3 be.placed cut]

'It is cut.'

5.3.3 Adverbs which occur with k<sup>W</sup>ahat are almost always locative.

There is one example with a manner adverb.

82. [hant'ini? ti-∅ k<sup>W</sup>a?] ʔan ǰaba:l  
 [how SUBOR-B3 be.placed] the ground

`In what shape is the ground?`

5.3.4 In question sentences the adverb always precedes the verb, as in examples 78 and 82 above, and 83 below. In declarative sentences the adverb may precede or follow. In the second part of example 78 it precedes, and in example 80 it follows. There are a number of instances where two locative adverbs or a locative adverb and a prepositional phrase are part of the locative predicate phrase. In this case, one adverb precedes k'wahat and the other adverb (84) or prepositional phrase (85) follows. The noun phrase which is the subject of the locative predicate may intervene between the two adverbs, as in example 84.

83. [huʔta t-it k'wahat]  
[where SUBOR-B2 be.placed]

`Where are you?`

84. [naʔ ∅ k'wahat] ʔan pik'ɔʔ [ʔo:w]  
[there B3 be.placed] the dog [far.away]

`The dog is over there far away.`

85. ʔan ʔinik ʔaši [naʔ ∅ k'wahat ba:ʔ ʔan be:l]...  
the man who [there B3 be.placed on the road]...

`The man who is there on the road...`

Additional examples of non-verbal predicates can be found in the first part of this chapter. See sentences 6, 8, 19, 21, 23, 24, 26-28, 30, 31 and 49-51.

5.3.5 The irregular verb waʔaʔ `there is, there are` plays a similar syntactic role to k'wahat, in that it makes a predication about the

existence of the subject of a sentence. However, since it is inflected like a //-Vn-// intransitive verb in the completive and perfect, it is treated as an irregular verb; see Chapter 5, Section 4.1. The example sentence below, a list of the animals in the household, makes the parallelism between k<sup>h</sup>wahat and wa<sup>h</sup>aʒ clear.

86. Ø k<sup>h</sup>wahat ʒa:b ʔi ʔolom pakθaʔ ʔani Ø wa<sup>h</sup>aʒ ʒe:ʔ  
 B6 be.placed two of pigs big and B6 there.are four  
 ʔaši t<sup>h</sup>ihaš ʔani Ø wa<sup>h</sup>aʒ ʒe:ʔ ʔi pik<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʔo:š ʔi  
 which very.little and B6 there.are four of dogs three of  
 pakθaʔ ʔani Ø k<sup>h</sup>wahat hu:n ʔi kuku ʔani ʒe:ʔ ʔi bo:k<sup>h</sup>  
 big and B3 be.placed one of dove and four of ground.dove  
 ʔani Ø wa<sup>h</sup>aʒ haye ʔan pi:taʔ ʔani ʔan košol  
 and B6 there.are also the chickens and the roosters

Here there are two big pigs and there are four very little ones and there are four dogs, three big, and there is one dove and four ground doves, and there are also the chickens and the roosters.

6.0 Simple Sentences. The minimal constituents of a simple sentence are a predicate and one or two arguments in direct relationship to that predicate. Intransitive verbs and non-verbal predicates require a single argument, a subject. Transitive verbs require an agent and an object. Even verbs which may be inherently three place, such as bi:n-aʔ- 'give it to someone', or which add a place by suffixing the benefactive morpheme //-č-//, at the most directly specify only two arguments: an agent and either a direct or indirect object. Since clitic person markers have been defined as parts of the predicate phrase, that phrase may stand alone as a complete sentence.

87. ʔit ʔuliʒ  
 B2 arrived

`You arrived.'

88. ?it k'wahat  
B2 be.placed

`You are here.'

89. ?it ?o:be  
B2 lazy

`You are lazy.'

90. ?a pok'ow  
A2 broke.it

`You broke it.'

91. tin bi:na?  
you.to.me gave.it

`You gave it to me.'

92. ?a øe?çi  
A2 ground.it.for.someone

`You ground it for her.'

The arguments in relationship to the predicate may additionally  
be specified by noun phrases.

93. ?it ?uliç [tata:?  
B2 arrived [you]

`You arrived.'

94. [tata:?] ?it ?o:be  
[you] B2 lazy

`You are lazy.'

95. ?a pok'ow [?an pač]  
A2 broke.it [the pot]

`You broke the pot.'

96. tin            bi:naʔ [ʔan maɕe:t]  
you.to.me gave [the machete]

`You gave me the machete.'

97. ʔa ɕeʔči                            [ʔan ʔiθiθ]  
A2 ground.it.for.someone [the corn]

`You ground the corn for her.'

Since first and second person arguments are unambiguously referenced in the predicate, they are not usually specified by a noun phrase except for emphasis, as in 93 and 94 above. If third person arguments are given information, they likewise can be specified only by clitic pronouns. If they are not given information, however, overt noun phrases must be used. A reply to the question, `Who broke the pot?' might be:

98. [ʔa Pa:wla] ʔin pok'ow  
[the Paula] A3 broke.it

`Paula broke it.'

A statement describing the incident of the broken pot may require two noun phrases; such sentences, however, are relatively rare:

99. [ʔa Pa:wla] ʔin pok'ow [ʔan pač]  
[the Paula] A3 broke.it [the pot]

`Paula broke the pot.'

Optional sentence constituents include adverbs and adverbial particles (100 and 101 below) and oblique sentential arguments (102-104). Adverbs were discussed at length in Chapter 16, Section 2.0.



Prepositional phrases are used for oblique sentential arguments; see Section 2.0 above and Chapter 16, Section 1.7.

100. ?it ?uliϕ [tehe:ʔ]  
B2 arrived [here]  
`You arrived here.`
101. [šowe:ʔ] ∅ we:ʔ ?elabiϕ  
[today] B3 little better.indeed  
`Today he's really a little better.`
102. ?it ?uliϕ [k'al ?a Pa:blo]  
B2 arrived [with the Pablo]  
`You arrived with Pablo.`
103. ?a pok'ow ?an pač [k'al ?i t'uhub]  
A2 broke the pot [with a rock]  
`You broke the pot with a rock.`
104. ?an ϕakam ho:l ∅ t'učatiϕ [k'al ?i ha?]  
the little hole B3 filled.indeed [with of water]  
`The little hole is completely filled with water.`

7.0 Principal Elaborations of Simple Sentences. This section will summarize information on some principal elaborations of simple sentences: negation, imperatives, interrogatives and voice changes.

7.1 Negation. There are three negative particles in Huastec. They are listed with their variants in Chapter 16, Section 1.3. Ni `not` (from Spanish ni `neither, nor`) serves only to negate interrogative and locative pronouns and adverbs; e.g., hant'ini? `how`, ni hant'ini? `in no way`; or hita? `who, whom`, ni hita? `no one`. Ni is

invariant; the other particles, ?iba: and yaba? can take several clitics: -ak irrealis, -iǵ emphatic, -e or -ye perdurative, -kwa? quotative and -ǵik plural. Examples were given in Chapter 11 of ?i:b-ak (sentence 16), yab-ak (17 and 18), yaba-ye (11), and yab-kwa? (59).

?iba: is the particle used as a negative interjection and as the negative reply to a yes/no question. Elsewhere its distribution is more limited than that of yaba?. With the exception of vocatives (example 105) and a few conjunctions in compound sentences, ?iba: is sentence initial and is immediately followed by the verb phrase. It is very frequently used to form negative imperatives (example 106), but can also negate transitive (107) and intransitive (108 and 109) verb phrases. It is rarely used with non-verbal predicates.

105. mi:m ?ibaye Ø tale:l (r.i.)  
mother not.still B3 finish

‘Mother, aren’t you finished yet?’

106. ?i:b k-a taka?  
not IMP-A2 touch.it

‘Don’t touch it!’

107. ?iba: tin ǵa?biya:mal ni ?u mi:m ni ?u ?ebǵal  
not they.me have.visited neither A1 mother nor A1 sister

‘Neither my mother nor my sister has visited me.’

108. ?i:ba: ?i:b ?in ne?eǵ  
no not B1 go

‘No! I’m not going.’

109. ?iba:ǵik ?u ?ulel  
not.indeed.PL B6 come

‘They indeed don’t come.’

Yaba? can negate both verbal and non-verbal predicates; there are also a few examples where it negates a noun, pronoun or adjective.

The order of constituents in sentences with verbal predicates is:

1. Adverb or prepositional phrase.
2. Noun phrase.
3. Yaba?.
4. Verb phrase.
5. Noun phrase, adverb, or prepositional phrase.

Note that in Sections 4.0, 5.1 and 5.3 above yaba? was considered to be incorporated into the verbal predicate phrase. It is listed separately here to specify its precise position. Note also that yab occupies a special position in equative predicates (Section 5.2).

Some examples of verbal predicates negated by yab are given below.

110. nan yab ?u ǰ'a?iyal ?i k'oye ba:ʔ ?an tye:nda  
I not A1 buy of corn.dough at the store

‘I don’t buy corn.dough at the store.’

111. yab ?i ?a:ta:l ya:n ?i tumi:n  
not A4 gain much of money

‘We don’t earn much money.’

112. yabakiǰ ?u ǰemθa:mal ?an ǰakam pi:ta?  
not.irrealis.emphatic A1 had.killed the little chicken

‘If only I hadn’t killed the little chicken.’

113. haleʔ yabaʔ ǰ či:č haha:ʔ  
why not B3 come she

‘Why didn’t she come?’

In sentences with non-verbal predicates the order of constituents

is:

1. Adverb.
2. Noun phrase.
3. Yaba?.
4. Set B pronoun.
5. K<sup>w</sup>ahat (in locative predicates).
6. Noun phrase or adjective phrase.

114. ?an ø'anak<sup>w</sup> yabaye ø ?alwa? tek'at  
 the beans not.still B6 well cooked  
 'The beans are still not well cooked.'

115. mi:m wawa:? yab ?u leh ø'iktema?  
 mother we not B4 very mischievous  
 'Mother, we're not very mischievous.'

116. yabaye ø t'akaθ ?an øabal  
 not.still B6 washed the leached.corn  
 'The leached corn is still not washed.'

117. yabaç ?u ya?ul  
 not.indeed B6 bad  
 'Not too bad.' (Reply to question: 'How is your family?')

118. taley yaba? ø čubaš  
 then not B3 true  
 'Then it's not true.'

119. ø k<sup>w</sup>ahat ?a Ya:nis (r.i.) yab ø k<sup>w</sup>ahat  
 B3 be.placed the Janis not B3 be.placed  
 'Is Janis here?' 'She's not here.'

Sentence 80 above is another example of a negated locative predicate.

The adjective ʔalwaʔ 'good' can be negated to mean 'evil, bad'.

120. ʔan pik'oʔ ʔin t'ahaʔ [yab ʔalwaʔ]  
the dog A3 did.it [not good]

'The dog did something bad.'

Negated interrogatives can occur in the same sentence as yabaʔ.

121. [ni.hayk'i] yab ʔin k'apul ʔahow  
[never] not B1 eat early

'I never eat early in the morning.'

122. [ni hu:n] yab tin tok'ziya:mal  
[not one] not he.me has.answered

'He hasn't answered even one (of my letters).'

Finally, ʔiba: and yabaʔ frequently co-occur in the same sentence.

123. ʔi:ba: yab k-it k'ale  
no not IMP-B2 go

'No! Don't go!'

124. ʔiba: yab ʔu belaʔ  
no not A1 believe.it

'No, I don't believe it.'

7.2 Imperatives. The imperative marker ka is homonymous with the subjunctive ka. Imperatives are formed by suffixing a second person Set A or Set B clitic pronoun to ka, with deletion of the initial glottal of the pronoun and merging of the two vowels. The verb following the imperative marker is always completive. With the

exception of vocatives and negatives, ka is almost always the initial element in the clause. This fact, context, and intonation serve to distinguish second person imperatives from second person subjunctives. However, occasionally another sentence element is fronted before the imperative, as in sentence 20 above.

125. k-it koyo:ǵ  
IMP-B2 sit

‘Sit down!’

126. k-a koyθa ʔa ʔa:č  
IMP-A2 seat.her A2 grandmother

‘Seat your grandmother!’

127. mi:m̩la:b k-iš koyo:ǵ ma:s ʔalwaʔ  
ladies IMP-B5 sit more good

‘Ladies, sit more comfortably.’

Sentences 18, 33, 43, 106 and 123 in this chapter are additional examples of imperatives, and see also Chapter 4, examples 1, 35, 36, 72 and 85, and Chapter 5, examples 26, 46 and 49. There are numerous other examples of imperatives throughout this work.

Imperatives and hortatives can be made with the suppletive verbs winiʔ ‘go!’ and wana ‘let’s go’; see Chapter 5, Section 4.2 and examples 63 and 64. In addition there are three defective verbs used only as imperatives: halaʔ ‘come!’ (archaic, used only to children); nokel ‘come!’ and hoh ‘take it!’ (used to children); see Chapter 5, Section 4.3 and examples 65 and 66. These irregular and suppletive verbs cannot be negated.

7.3 Interrogatives. Interrogative sentences are of two types, those that ask information questions and begin with an interrogative word, and those that request a yes/no reply and indicate a question through intonation. The disjunction is not complete, as will be seen in 7.3.2 below, because occasionally information questions are also asked with intonation only.

7.3.1 Information Questions. Information questions are formed by placing an interrogative pronoun or particle at the beginning of the sentence. The only elements that can precede the interrogative word are exclamations and vocatives.

7.3.1.1 Interrogative Pronouns. The three interrogative pronouns, hita? 'who?, whom?', hant'o 'what?', and hawa? 'which?, what?' were discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.2 and in Chapter 16, Section 1.5. When used to question agents, direct objects and indirect objects of transitive verbs, and subjects of intransitive verbs and of non-verbal predicates, they occupy the syntactic position of the questioned element. Since word order in transitive sentences is A V O IO (see Chapter 18, Section 1.0), questions on objects require that they be fronted to the beginning of the sentence when questioned. Since A already precedes the verb, it needs to be fronted only before any adverbs or other particles that might begin a questioned sentence. Intransitive word order is V S, and S must be fronted when questioned, as must S in non-verbal sentences. Some examples are given below, with the questioned syntactic role noted in parentheses. See also sentences 76-85 in Chapter 4 and 166 below.

128. [hitaʔ] tin kana:l (A)  
 [who] he.me summons  
 `Who summons me?`
129. [hitaʔ] ʔa ʒuʔu ti.weʔe:l (O)  
 [whom] A2 saw yesterday  
 `Whom did you see yesterday?`
130. [hitaʔ] ∅ neʔeʃ k'anwiʃ šowe:ʔ (S)  
 [who] B3 goes Tancanhuitz today  
 `Who is going to Tancanhuitz today?`
131. [hitaʔ] ∅ ʔan θabal k'al niši bičim (S of stative)  
 [who] B3 the owner with this horse  
 `Who is the owner of this horse?`
132. [hitaʔ] tana:ʔ ∅ kʷahat (S of locative)  
 [who] there B3 be.placed  
 `Who is over there?`
133. [hant'ó] ʔa t'ahči ʔa ʔa:č (O)  
 [what] A2 did.to.her A2 grandmother  
 `What did you do to your grandmother?`
134. [hant'ó] ʔa ʔeyenθa:l ʔaše:ʔ (IO)  
 [what] A2 use.it this  
 `For what do you use this?`
135. [hawaʔ] tin ča:nči (O)  
 [what] you.to.me brought  
 `What did you bring to me?`
136. [hawaʔ] ∅ yahnal (S)  
 [what] B3 hurts



‘What hurts?’

137. [hawa?] ?a t'ohla:bi:l (S of stative)  
 what A2 work

‘What is your job?’

The relational noun k'a:l is used to indicate possession (this chapter, Section 3.0). When possession is questioned, the entire possessive phrase is fronted and the interrogative pronoun precedes the possessed relational noun. Compare:

138. ?aši pik'ó? [ʔin k'a:l ?a Hwa:n]  
 this dog [A3 property the Juan]

‘This dog is Juan’s.’

139. [hita? ʔin k'a:l] ?aši pik'ó?  
 [who A3 property] this dog

‘Whose dog is this?’

In Chapter 4, Section 4.2, mention was made of the phrases hant'ó ta:m ‘what kind of’ and hawa? ta:m ‘which kind of’. These can also be used to question various syntactic roles.

140. [hant'ó ta:m yawʔla:ʒ] ?a kʷaʔal (O)  
 [what then illness] A2 have

‘What kind of illness do you have?’

141. [hant'ó ta:m ʔit'ištala:b] Ø waʔaʒ ta:na:ʔ (S)  
 [what then disturbance] B3 exist there

‘What kind of disturbance is occurring over there?’

7.3.1.2 Other Interrogatives. Other interrogative words question motive, location, time, and so forth. They are hale? ‘why?’, hant'ini? ‘how?’, ha:y ‘how much? how many?’, ha:yi:l ‘how many

times?', hayk'i 'when?', hun 'where?', and hu?ta:/hu?ta:m 'where?'; see Chapter 16, Section 1.5. They can be used to question transitive and intransitive sentences and sentences with non-verbal predicates. With one exception, word order after the question word is the same as the declarative sentence word order. The exception is ha:y 'how much? how many?', where the noun whose quantity is being questioned is also fronted. Some examples are given below, and see also sentence examples 26-34 in Chapter 16 and 24, 46, 82 and 113 in the present chapter.

142. [hale?] t-a haka:mal ?an t'uhub  
 [why] SUBOR-A2 have.detached the stone  
 'Why have you removed the stone?'
143. [hale?] ti-∅ pokey ?an pač  
 [why] SUBOR-B3 broke the pot  
 'Why did the pot break?'
144. [hant'ini?] tuku k'apu:č  
 [how] SUBOR.SUBJ.B4 eat  
 'How should we eat (without money)?'
145. [ha:yi:l] ?it ko:?ne:nek k'al ?an čakam  
 [how.many.times] B2 have.nurtured with the child  
 'How many children have you had?'
146. [hayk'i] t-it čič  
 [when] SUBOR-B2 come  
 'When did you come?'

The preposition ma 'until, up to, from' can combine with hayk'i to question duration.

147. [ma hayk'i] t-a k'apu ?an ?ila:l k'al ?an nuhum  
 [until when] SUBOR-A2 eat the medicine for the worms  
 'How long did you take the worm medicine?'

148. [hun] t-a ?ela?  
 [where] SUBOR-A2 find.it  
 'Where did you find it?'

149. [hu?ta:] t-it k'ale ti.we?e:l  
 [where] SUBOR-B2 go yesterday  
 'Where did you go yesterday?'

150. [hu?ta:] ti-∅ kw\_a? ?an pat'a:l  
 [where] SUBOE-B3 be.placed the metal.thing  
 'Where is the tape recorder?'

151. [ha:y ?i ma:y] ?a hu?uwal t-a k'i:ča:  
 [how.many of cigarettes] A2 smoke in-the day  
 'How many cigarettes do you smoke in a day?'

152. [ha:y ?i kw\_a?a:m] ∅ hilk'on  
 [how.many of tamales] B6 remain  
 'How many tamales are left?'

7.3.2 Yes/no Questions. Unlike some other Mayan languages, there is no particle in Huastec to indicate a yes/no question. Intonation alone suffices, the final word of the sentence being pronounced with a rising inflection. Word order is unchanged. A yes/no question may be asked on transitive (examples 153, 154), intransitive (155) and non-verbal (156, 157) sentences. Elliptical questions (158) also have rising inflection, but the sentence they question does not. Sentence 102 in Chapter 16 is an example of a rhetorical yes/no question.

Throughout this manuscript yes/no questions have been indicated by (r.i.) after the Huastec sentence. Other examples in this chapter are sentences 62, 105, 119, 161, 162 and 174.

153. ?a k'apal ?an ?ila:l šowe:? (r.i.)  
A2 eat the medicine today  
`Are you taking medicine now?`
154. ?a Hwa:n ?in øemθa? ?an to:ro (r.i.)  
the Juan A3 killed the bull  
`Did Juan kill the bull?`
155. ?it ?uløiø (r.i.)  
B2 arrive.indeed  
`Did you really come?`
156. ?it puhaθ (r.i.)  
B2 baptized  
`Are you baptized?`
157. pe:l ?a ?iø'a:n (r.i.)  
be A2 uncle  
`Is he your uncle?`
158. te:? ?u ča:l ?an toltom/ ?a le:? (r.i.)  
here A1 bring the clothing/ A2 want.it  
`Here I bring clothing. Do you want it?`

Occasionally an information question is asked with intonation alone:

159. pe:l ?i ?eθem ?o pe:l ?i ?u:t' ?aši ?in k'apu ?an  
be of raccoon or be of opossum that A3 ate the  
θak'čok (r.i.)  
eggs

`Was it a raccoon or an opossum that ate the eggs?`

See also sentence 49, Chapter 11 and sentence 133, Chapter 16 for other examples of information questions indicated with intonation.

7.4 Voice Changes. The fundamental unmarked transitive relationship in Huastec involves a verb and two arguments in direct relationship with it: an agent and an object. As noted repeatedly in this work, these relationships may be coded by clitic pronouns alone or by clitic pronouns plus noun phrases. Noun phrases can be full noun phrases or independent pronouns (this chapter, Section 1.0). Word order will be discussed at some length in the following chapter. Here we need note only that the unmarked nominal transitive word order is A V O IO: agent-verb-object-indirect object, and the unmarked nominal intransitive word order is V S: verb-subject. Clitic pronouns always precede the verb. A change in voice requires a disruption of the transitive relationship. Either agent or object is removed from a direct relationship with the verb, and the change is marked morphologically by a change in the verb stem, by a shift in the clitic pronouns from Set A or A' (the portmanteau pronouns) to Set B, and by a demotion or deletion of either the nominal agent or the nominal object. The remaining argument then becomes the subject of an intransitive verb. The three ways to effect a change in voice are through the formation of antipassives, passives and //-Vn-// absolutes. Both root and derived transitive verbs may undergo passive, antipassive and absolute derivations.

7.4.1 Antipassives. Antipassive derivations were discussed in Chapter 5, Section 1.2.1. In this derivation the object is removed from a direct relationship with the verb, and the former agent becomes the subject of an intransitive verb, and is cross-referenced with Set B clitic pronouns. The demoted object may be expressed in a k'al prepositional phrase (see Section 2.0 above), may be deleted, or in some cases may be incorporated into the antipassive construction (see Chapter 5, Section 1.2.1.1.1), in which case it is stripped of such usually obligatory adjuncts as articles, demonstratives or possessive pronouns.

A check of all the sentence examples cited in this work shows that over half of those containing an antipassive verb lack a nominal subject; that is, the subject of the antipassive is coded only by a clitic pronoun. In sentences with a nominal subject, in all but one case the subject preceded the verb; that is, it occupies the same position in relation to the verb that it would if the sentence were transitive. To some degree the order S-Antipassive may be an artifact of elicitation sessions, which tend to produce somewhat artificial and noun-laden sentences.

Antipassive voice serves to focus attention upon the agent performing the action to the partial or total exclusion of the object of the action. It can be used to make generalized statements: 'dogs bite', 'men plant', 'women sweep'. In the example below from a text about inadequate daughters-in-law the first three verbs are antipassive with no object expressed, because the actions are routine and the objects are of no real importance. However, when the indirect

object is the woman's children, the verb is a transitive benefactive with the indirect object expressed. The verb pak'-uw- has the specific meaning 'wash clothes' or 'launder it'.

160. yab ?u peθol yab ?u pak'ul yab ?u øe?el yab ?in  
not B3 sweeps not B3 launders not B3 grinds not A3

pak'w<sup>ca</sup>l                      ?in øak:mi  
launders.for.them A3 children

'She doesn't sweep, she doesn't launder, she doesn't grind,  
she doesn't launder clothes for her children.'

The incorporative antipassive is used to describe impersonal or generic activities, especially where the object is inanimate. The sentences below are based on the transitive verb ø'ih-a?- 'defecate it'. The first sentence is transitive, perhaps because worms are animate. The second is an incorporative antipassive used to describe a particular kind of diarrhea. See also the examples in Chapter 5, Section 1.2.1.1.

161. ?a ø'iha:l            ?an nuhum (r.i.)  
A2 defecate.it the worm

'Do you shit worms?'

162. ?it ø'ihal            šig' (r.i.)  
B2 defecate.AP blood

'Do you have dysentery?'

7.4.1.1 Reciprocals. A secondary derivation based on antipassive stems derived with a // -Vš-// derivational morpheme lengthens the vowel of the root and of the derivational morpheme to form a reciprocal verb; see Chapter 5, Section 1.2.2. Since these verbs by their nature require an action that can be performed reciprocally,

they automatically imply an object, 'each other', and must be plural. A nominal subject of a reciprocal verb is optional, and it may precede or follow the reciprocal verb. Data are not sufficient to indicate which is the preferred order. The sentence examples in Chapter 5, Section 1.2.2.1 were elicited; the example below was given spontaneously.

163. haha:ʔ ∅ k'olowat ko:mo [∅ pe:he:šin ʔaši  
 he B3 was.wounded because [B6 fought.each.other those

k'eʔat]  
 others]

'He was wounded because those others were fighting each other.'

7.4.2 Passives. Passives differ structurally from antipassives in that there is no passive morpheme to correspond with the // -Vm-//, // -Vl-// and // -Vš-// antipassive morphemes. Instead, passives are formed by suffixing incomplete, completive or perfect passive inflections to the thematic suffix of the transitive verb from which they are derived; see Chapter 5, Section 1.2.3, and Table 7, which summarizes derivational and inflectional morphology. In contrast to antipassives, passive sentences with nominal subjects are more likely to have the order V S, verb-subject. Again, this reflects the original position in an A V O order of the derived subject, formerly the object.

Passive voice makes it possible to focus attention upon the action of a verb and upon the recipient of that action to the exclusion of the agent, which is either demoted to an oblique prepositional phrase or is deleted entirely. Numerous examples of



passive verbs appear throughout this manuscript. See especially Chapter 5, sentence examples 18-20, 34, 35 and 42, and examples 37-39 in the present chapter. Compare the following transformations of an active transitive sentence with nominal agent and object.

164. ʔan pik'ooʔ ʔin k'at'uw ʔan miʒuʔ                   A V O  
 the dog    A3 bit           the cat  
 `The dog bit the cat.`
165. ʔan pik'ooʔ ∅ k'a:t'ul k'al ʔan miʒuʔ               S AP k'al O  
 the dog    B3 bites.AP   with the cat  
 `The dog cat-bites.`
166. ʔan miʒuʔ ∅ k'at'uwat    k'al ʔan pik'ooʔ    S PASS k'al A  
 the cat    B3 was.bit.PASS by   the dog  
 `The cat was bit by the dog.`
167. ∅ k'at'uwat    ʔan miʒuʔ                               PASS S  
 B3 was.bit.PASS the cat  
 `The cat was bit.`
168. hant'o ∅ wat'ey k'al ʔan miʒuʔ  
 what    B3 passed with the cat  
 ∅ k'at'u:mehiʒ   PASS  
 B3 has.been.bit.indeed  
 `What happened to the cat? It's been chewed up.`
169. k-a    t'ahaʔ ti kwe:nta ∅ k'at'uš                   AP  
 IMP-A2 make    of account B3 bites.AP  
 `Take care! He bites.`
170. ʔan pik'ooʔ ∅ k'at'uš                                   S AP  
 the dog    B3 bites.AP  
 `The dog bites.`

171. ?an pik'o? Ø k'a:t'u:š S RECIP  
 the dogs B6 bite.RECIP

'The dogs bite each other.'

7.4.3 /the // -Vn-// Absolutive Derivation. This derivation was discussed at length in Chapter 5, Section 1.2.4. A // -Vn-// form can be derived from most root and derived transitive verbs by suffixing a // -Vn-// derivational morpheme to the root or stem and adding inflectional suffixes. As was the case with passive verbs, the object of the transitive verb becomes the subject of the absolutive intransitive verb.

172. ?u θaya? ?an ?iθiθ t-u wite? V O  
 Al lifted.it.up the corn into-Al granary

'I stored the corn in my granary.'

173. Ø θayan ?an ?iθiθ ti ?an wite? V S  
 B3 got.lifted.up the corn into the granary

'The corn got stored in the granary.'

In contrast to passive verbs, which readily permit expression of the demoted agent, regardless of person, absolutive verbs allow only third person demoted agents and usually delete former agents entirely. Nominal subjects are present in less than half the sentence examples in this manuscript. When there is a nominal subject, it usually follows the verb; only a few sentences have the order S V.

Absolutive verbs are often used to make impersonal statements: 'it is said', 'it is believed', or statements about non-animate or non-volitional subjects: 'the wind blew', 'it dawned', 'it is cooling

off', 'the blouse shrank', 'the juice thickened', 'he fainted', 'the child woke', 'she disappeared', 'he got better'. As noted in Chapter 5, Section 1.2.4.1, there are a number of // -Vn-// verbs with no transitive counterpart. Some of these may be defective in that they exist only in the // -Vn-// form; others are intransitive verbs derived from nouns; see Table 12 for a complete list. They are grouped with // -Vn-// verbs derived from transitives because of their morphological and syntactic similarity.

Absolutive and passive verbs often alternate in texts or in question and answer for variety and because of a strong discourse interdiction against saying the same thing twice in exactly the same way. A woman returns from market and asks her son:

174. Ø ʔeʔeyatiʔ                      ʔan θiʔ (r.i.)  
       B3 gathered.PASS.indeed the firewood

'Is the firewood gathered yet?'

He replies:

175. Ø ʔeʔne:nekiʔ  
       B3 been.gathered.VN.indeed

'It's already been gathered.'

Passives, antipassives and absolutives have important discourse functions in maintaining focus upon a protagonist. For example, the hero arrives, he speaks, he is answered, (not they answer him), he performs a task, he is rewarded, (not they reward him). The effect of the passage would be very different if the two passive verbs were active, because this would require a constant shift in focus from the hero to others and back again.

Antipassives have a somewhat different focus function. In describing a series of actions by a single protagonist, some of them transitive, some intransitive, antipassive has the effect of concentrating focus upon the actor to the exclusion of the object acted upon. Even when the object is not marked by a lexical argument, use of the antipassive has the discourse facilitating effect of avoiding a shift in clitic pronouns from Set A to Set B, to Set A, and back. Note, too, that if the protagonist is third person, the absolutive clitic pronoun will be the least marked, zero, form.

In the following lengthy example from a text, the hero is the subject of intransitive, absolutive, passive and antipassive verbs. Except for a vocative, there are no nominals in the passage, and all the clitic pronouns are Set B. The repetitive use of the emphatic *-iŋ* clitic is characteristic of this particular storyteller. For reasons of space it is not glossed except in the free translation. The protagonist returns home and greets his wife:

176. "ʔin ʔuliŋiŋ huni:l ʔuškweʔ" "ʔalwa:ŋ" Ø  
 "Bl arrived.IV again old.woman" "good" B3
- tokʔiya:biŋ Ø piθča:biŋ "ʔalwa:ŋ" Ø kʔapuliŋ Ø  
 was.answered.PASS B3 was.fed.PASS "good" B3 eats.AP B3
- wayaliŋ Ø tahkʔan huni:l Ø neʔeŋiŋ  
 sleeps.IV B3 got.up.VN again B3 goes.IV
- ‘I’m back at last, old woman.’ “Great,” he was answered.  
 He was fed. “Good indeed!” He really eats, he really  
 sleeps. He got up again. Indeed he goes.’

A final example of the use of absolutives to maintain focus is too long for inclusion here, but can be briefly described. The first 36 lines of a story about the Te:paʔ, a magic being who flies through

the air, describe his birth, his appearance and his actions. He is the subject of every transitive or intransitive verb and of every non-verbal predicate, with the exception of the time adverbial phrase, 'when the rain comes'. There are two lines where the verb might have been an active transitive: 'They say that the Te:pa?...'. Instead, the verb for 'say' is in both cases a //-Vn-// absolutive: 'He is said to be...' and focus is maintained. At line 37 focus shifts to a second protagonist who, in turn, is the subject of every verbal and non-verbal predicate for 13 lines, until he meets the Te:pa? and a conversation ensues.

## CHAPTER 18

## WORD ORDER AND COMPLEX SENTENCES

1.0 Word Order. Brief mention was made in the previous chapter of word order in simple sentences. In this section, I use the terminology proposed by Dixon (1979). Transitive verbs by definition have two arguments: A (agent) and O (patient or object). Intransitive verbs have a single argument: S (subject). The glosses of A, O and S are in parentheses to indicate that the letters designate a range of meanings which center upon the terms `agent`, `object` and `subject of intransitive`. The term `Subject`, when capitalized, refers to the set (A,S). A, O and S can be indicated by clitic pronouns alone, or additionally by noun phrases (including independent pronouns) or by embedded clauses. Indirect objects can be coded by clitic pronouns, by noun phrases or by prepositional phrases. In the discussion of word order that follows, V stands for the verb plus its clitic cross-reference pronouns; A, O, and S to nominal or independent pronominal expressions of these arguments, and (A), (O), and (S) to embedded clausal arguments. Basic transitive word order is A V O IO; basic intransitive word order is V S. O and S are in the same relation to the verb, following it, while A uniquely precedes it. The language thus displays syntactic ergativity in addition to the morphological ergativity marked by the absolutive and ergative pronouns.

Several different counts of nominal word order in texts confirm the above statements. In the most elaborate analysis, eight texts,

seven brief and one long, with an added commentary, were analyzed and broken down into main and embedded clauses. (See Appendix A for a morpheme-by-morpheme analysis of the long text, The First Men.) Embedded clauses can be 'when' or 'if' clauses, complement clauses, clausal subjects or clausal agents. Main clauses were separately coded for nominal object versus embedded clause object (or nominal versus embedded clause agent or subject). The 157 main clauses can be itemized as follows: 85 transitive clauses, 45 intransitive clauses and 27 stative clauses. The 41 embedded clauses included 24 transitive, 11 intransitive and six stative clauses. Embedded clauses may fill the syntactic roles of object of transitive verbs, subject of intransitives and agent of transitives. They occur most often in the object role.

The most frequent word order in both transitive and intransitive main clauses is simply V (TV or IV). This is possible, of course, because agent, object and subject can be coded by clitic pronouns alone, and is undoubtedly a function of the fact that once a topic (A, S or O) has been introduced with a nominal, or through context, it need not be redundantly specified with a nominal each time it is mentioned.

Though basic word order in Huastec differs from that of Sacapultec, which is verb-initial (V O A, V S), it should be noted that the relative frequency of O, S and A roles in Huastec parallels that reported by Du Bois (1987) for Sacapultec. My data show greater absolute frequency of these categories because I included independent pronouns in my counts of O, S and A roles, while Du Bois did not.

Since my data were not gathered for the purpose of these calculations, my figures are only roughly comparable to those of Du Bois.

Du Bois formulated two constraints based on his analysis of a body of narrative texts. The first, which he calls the One Lexical Argument Constraint (p. 819), reflects the fact that speakers avoid having more than one lexical argument per clause. Almost half the clauses he examined had no lexical argument, slightly over half had one lexical argument, and only one percent had two lexical arguments. The corresponding figures for Huastec show about 48 percent of the clauses with no lexical or pronominal argument, another 48 percent with one lexical or pronominal argument, and four percent with two lexical or pronominal arguments. Du Bois' second constraint, the Non-lexical A Constraint (p. 823), reflects the fact that speakers avoid filling the A-role argument with a lexical mention. Since his Table 2 (p. 822) presents figures for both lexical and independent pronominal mentions, summing these figures makes them roughly comparable to my counts. Du Bois found that in Sacapultec only 13.3 percent of A arguments received lexical or pronominal mention, the balance being coded only by clitic pronouns. The figure for the O role is 46.9 percent, and for S is 52.7 percent. The comparable figures for Huastec are 17.5 percent for A, 48.6 percent for O, and 37.5 percent for S. Again, this is a reasonably close approximation to Du Bois' findings, although S is quite a bit lower.

Du Bois also discusses the propensity to avoid introducing more than one new argument in a clause, the One New Argument Constraint (p. 826), and particularly to avoid introducing a new referent in the



A-role argument position--the Given A Constraint (p. 827). The interaction of the various constraints results in a Preferred Argument Structure that reflects an ergative/absolute patterning of discourse. My analysis did not include coding clauses for new versus given information, but my subjective sense from reading many Huastec texts, in addition to the ones analyzed above, is that Huastec also obeys the One New Argument and Given A Constraints. It should be apparent, from even the sketchy analysis reported above, that in its Preferred Argument Structure Huastec behaves in a very similar manner to Sacapultec.

1.1 Transitive Word Order. One of the problems encountered in the analysis of nominal word order is, of course, the fact that there are relatively few sentences in Huastec with both nominal (or independent pronominal) agent and object. However, given that basic transitive nominal word order is A TV O IO, then we find that 47 clauses follow this order in whole or in part. That is, they are A TV O, A TV, TV O, etc. The second most frequent order, apart from TV, is TV O (N = 20). Next in frequency is TV (O), where (O) is an embedded clause (N = 12). There are five instances where both agent and object are nominals; three of these are the initial sentences in a text, sentences which state the theme of the text. The other two are the terminal sentences of a brief text which essentially restate the theme. Sixteen clauses have a variant order (O TV, TV A, etc).

Examples are given below of variations of the basic transitive nominal word order. In many cases the examples are brief clauses from much longer sentences. I have indicated this by preceding the clause

with ... or by following it with a comma. In a few cases, as in Sentence 1, the omitted clause is supplied in the gloss. Neʔeʔ/neʔ 'go' is an intransitive verb which is used to form a present progressive tense with either transitive or intransitive verbs; see Section 3.4 below. Sentences 1 and 2, which exemplify A V O order, follow each other in the text.

1. tammaʔ nan ʔu t'aha:mal-ak-iʔ-k'e we ʔi t'ohla:b  
then I A1 have.done-IRR-EMPH-QUAL little of work

'(When these others get up) I really will have done indeed a little work.'

2. ta:m ʔaʃi ma:s yabaʔ neʔ k-in t'ahaʔ ma:s ʔi t'ohla:b  
then these more indeed.not go SUBJ-A6 do more of work

'Then these others really aren't going to do more work.'

Sentence 3 exemplifies TV O word order, with parallel objects of a gapped verb.

3. ʔi t'aha:l ʔan kʷaʔa:m kʷaʔa:m pi:taʔ kʷaʔa:m ʔolom  
A4 make the tamales tamales chicken tamales pig

'We make the tamales--chicken tamales, pork tamales.'

Sentence 4 introduces an indirect object, 'on it', through the addition of the benefactive morpheme //-ʔ-// to the verb; ʔeʔ-ey- 'grind it', ʔeʔ-ʔ- 'grind it on something'. However, only the direct object is specified by a nominal.

4. tammaʔ ʔi ʔeʔʔal ʔo:tro.hun muʔe:l ʔi ʔabal  
then A4 grind.on.it another bit of hominy

'Then we grind another bit of hominy on it.'

In sentence 5 the verb again contains the benefactive morpheme; here the indirect object is nominally specified.

5. yab ʔin pak'wčal ʔin ɣaka:m-il  
not A3 washes.it.for A3 children-POSS

'She doesn't wash clothes for her children.'

Sentence 6 is an example of word order A TV.

6. haɣ wawa:ʔ ʔi ɣ'ehka:l ti navida:d  
thus we A4 prepare.them at Christmas

'Thus we prepare them at Christmas.'

The three conjoined sentences below, from a text on making a ceremonial tamale, occur in succession. The subject 'tamale' was introduced in the preceding text, but the sentences below contain neither nominal subject nor nominal object.

7. ta:m neɣ k-i ɣ'ehkaʔiɣ neɣ k-i bali:ɣ  
then AUX SUBJ-A4 make.it.indeed AUX SUBJ-A4 put.it.in.indeed
- ti ho:rno ta:m neɣ k-i šučk'i:ɣ  
in oven then AUX SUBJ-A4 cover.it.indeed

'Then we're indeed going to make it, we're going to put it quickly in the oven, then we're going to cover it tightly.'

The most common variation from basic A TV O IO word order is O TV (N = 8), followed by TV A (N = 4). The remaining atypical orders, with one example each, are TV O A, TV A IO, O TV IO, and IO TV O. In five of the nine clauses where O precedes the verb, O is a fronted interrogative. An additional clause fronts O in a negative reply to an O-fronted interrogative in the preceding sentence (example 12). The remaining three cases suggest that word order is changed to focus on O, as in the following examples.

The sentences preceding example 8 have described the narrator's grinding of the hominy and preparation of the chili sauce for the

giant Huastec ceremonial tamale. Here attention shifts to the penultimate task of spreading out papatla leaves in a wheelbarrow, and the agent shifts from the 'I' of the narrator to the 'we' of the narrator and her husband.

8. taley       ʔan θulup neʔ k-i       nukuw  
afterwards the leaves AUX SUBJ-A4 spread.out

'After that, the leaves, we're going to spread them out.'

In example 9, the protagonist is told that he is forbidden to throw away the water, but must carry all of it to the ocean daily, an onerous task imposed as punishment for his sins.

9. ʔaši haʔ   patal yaba k-in   ʔoθnoy  
this water all   not   SUBJ-A3 throw.out

'All this water, he shouldn't throw it out.'

In example 10 the despised father is being left drunk and naked, as punishment.

10. ʔani haha:ʔ k-i   hilaʔ ʔanʔana:ʔ  
and him       SUBJ-A4 leave thus

'And we should leave him thus.'

There is one sentence with TV O A word order, with focus on O and demotion of A to the end of the sentence.

11. ko:mo   yab ʔin kwaʔal ni ʔin mi:m   niši ʔakam  
because not A6 have   not A6 mother these children

'Because they didn't even have a mother, those children.'

When O is an interrogative it is always fronted; when an interrogative is negated, the negative interrogative is also fronted, as in the question and answer below.

12. hant'ó k-u t'aha? šo:ʔ (r.i.)  
 what SUBJ-A1 do now

pos yab hant'ó neǵ k-a t'aha?  
 well not thing AUX SUBJ-A2 do

'What should I do now?' 'Well, you're not going to do anything.'

The one sentence with IO TV O order uses this order for two syntactic purposes: to focus attention on the indirect object 'from our father' and to permit parallel direct objects, one an embedded clause (in brackets). Note that the verb in the main clause is a benefactive, which codes both direct and indirect object on the verb.

13. pos šowe:ʔ ʔi payʔlcm kwaʔal k-i tišk'anči  
 well now A4 father have SUBJ-A4 take.it.away.from.him

[hawa ʔin kwaʔal] ʔin koto:n ʔin k'waʔči:mal ʔin pahab  
 [what A3 has] A3 shirt A3 clothing A3 sandals

'Well now, from our father we have to take away everything he has--his shirt, his clothing, his sandals.'

There are four TV A clauses.

14. kom tin huǵ'uw hun.ʔi ʔehe:nčiš  
 because it.me bit a witch.

'Because a witch bit me.'

15. po:rke tin huǵ'uw ʔan ʔehe:nčiš  
 because it.me bit the witch

'Because the witch bit me.'

'A witch' and 'the witch' are agents of 'bit'; in both cases the verb is preceded by the portmanteau pronoun tin 'it.me' and the nominal agent follows the verb. This suggests the possibility of a hierarchy in syntactic focus: 'The witch it.me bit' would focus on

the witch, rather than the narrator of the story. It bit the witch' divides the focus between the witch and the narrator. I was bit by the witch' would focus on the narrator. All three orders are attested in other contexts; sentences 14 and 15 shift focus from the narrator, who has been the protagonist up to now, to the witch, but still do not make the witch the primary focus of the sentence. Note also the shift between the indefinite a witch' in 14 to the witch' in 15.

The two remaining sentences with TV A word order are parallel sentences, one of which begins a lengthy text, and the other which occurs at the very end of the text. In both cases the verb has compound agents. Note that in sentence 16 the clitic pronoun ?in has been omitted.

16. (?in) t'ila:l        ?i ma:m        ?an...?i...biya:l    ?i  
(A6) recollect.it A4 grandfathers and...A4...long.ago A4

ǰab-il    ?oš-il  
two-POSS three-POSS

'They recollect.it, our grandfathers, and...our...long ago our great-grandfathers, our great-great-grandfathers,'

17. ?ani hašta:miǰ                                    šowe:? ?in ?ulal ?i yane:tal  
and for.this.reason.indeed today A6 say.it A4 relatives

?an ma:m̄la:b                                    ?i ma:miǰ                                    wawa:? ?i ǰab-il  
the grandfathers.POL A4 grandfathers.indeed we                                    A4 two-POSS

'And for this reason indeed today, say our relatives, the respected grandfathers, indeed those grandfathers of ours, our great-grandfathers,'

The sentence with TV A IO word order also has a benefactive verb, 'say.it.to.someone'. The verb is preceded by the first person Set A clitic pronoun; emphasis is placed on 'I' by the use of the first

person independent pronoun following the adverb `thus`.

18. ʔu ʔučaʔ                    ʔanʒe:ʔ nana:ʔ ʔan dokto:r dokto:r  
I said.it.to.him thus I the doctor doctor

`I said thus, I did, to the doctor, "Doctor!".'

1.2 Intransitive Word Order. Basic intransitive word order is IV S. Twelve of the 45 intransitive clauses follow this pattern, and four additional clauses have an embedded subject following the intransitive verb. There are 25 clauses consisting of intransitive verb alone, and only four clauses with a reversed S IV order. The three sentences below are examples of IV S word order.

19. pa:ra ka-∅ kale:ʒ                    ʔan koye  
so.that SUBJ-B3 come.out.indeed the dough

`...so that the dough emerges,`

20. ∅ ʒalpašin ta:m ʔan ʒakam  
B6 thought then the children  
`The children thought then,`

21. tam ti-∅                    ʔehʒin ʔan yehʒeʔ ʔok'oš ʔinik  
when SUBOR-B3 woke.up the old first man

`When the old first man woke up,`

As noted above, the largest number of intransitive sentences consist of intransitive verb alone, as in the next three examples.

22. ʔabal ka-∅ tek'e:ʒ                    ʔalwaʔ  
so.that SUBJ-B3 cook.indeed well

`...so that it should indeed cook well.`

23. ʔi:ba yab k-it k'ale  
no not IMP-B2 go

`No, don't go!`

24. ?in ?ayiniǰ  
 B1 returned.home.indeed

`Indeed I returned home.'

Two of the four sentences with reversed S IV order are text or  
 commentary initial.

25. nan ?in t'ohne:nek ti Ba:yes k'al hun.ʔi dokto:r  
 I B1 had.worked in Valles for a doctor

`I had worked in Valles for a doctor.'

26. ?an ?inik (?aši ?in t'ahaʔ ?an putelomtala:b) Ø k'waʔčiman  
 the man (who A3 did the wickedness ) B3 dressed.up

ti mi:m̩la:b  
 as lady

`The man (who did the wicked thing) dressed up as a woman.'

One sentence is problematic, because it can be interpreted either  
 as S Antipassive or as S Stative, since the incomplete antipassive  
 and the stative nominal are identical, and the clitic pronoun in  
 either case is the zero form.

27. kom ?in ta:ta-čik Ø ?u:ǰ'al  
 because A6 papa-PL B6 drink  
 drinkers

`Because their fathers drink.' or

`Because their fathers (are) drunkards.'

One sentence, however, reverses the normal order to focus on the  
 subject of the intransitive verb. Twenty-three prior clauses in the  
 story deal with worms growing in the protagonist's foot. He cares for  
 them and feeds them, they grow larger, eyes form, they have hands, and  
 finally they are transformed into human children. The sentence that



confirms the transformation focuses on the intransitive subject.

28. ta:m ?an ?akam Ø ?eh?ini?   
 then the children B6 woke.up.indeed

‘Then the children, they really came to life.’

1.3 Word Order in Sentences with Non-Verbal Predicates. Word order in stative, equative and locative sentences can be either S-predicate or predicate-S. There is perhaps a tendency for stative predicates (examples 29-32) to precede and equative predicates (33-35) to follow their subjects, but the reverse orders are frequent. Sentences with locative predicates (36-39) have either order. Demonstratives and question words almost always precede their predicates. Information is not sufficient to determine if one order has a greater focus function than the other. A few examples from texts are given below, with the subject in brackets.

29. leh pa?išnom Ø [niše:ʔ ši            ?an ?i?maθ]   
 very jealous B3 [this particular snake horned]

‘This particular Horned Snake is very jealous.’

30. ta:m Ø ?akniʔ [ʔan k’amal]   
 then B3 red [the flame]

‘Then the flame is red.’

31. [niši k’amal] Ø leh yešušu:l            ?alobe:l   
 [this flame] B3 very bright.green.blue beautiful

This flame is very bright green, beautiful.’

32. ...ʔabal [haha:ʔ] Ø leh ?apik    ?ani Ø leh putuθ    ti   
 ...that [he]    B3 very forceful and B3 very completed as

?inik   
 man

‘...that he was very forceful and very honorable.’

33. [ʔin ø'ixi:nal] pe:l ʔi pat'a:l  
[A3 roof] be B3 metal

‘It's roof is sheet metal.’

34. ʔani [niše:ʔ ši te:paʔ] yab ø pohkaš  
and [this particular te:paʔ] not B3 bad

‘And this Te:paʔ is not bad.’

35. yab ø θakat [ʔin ʔiči:č]  
not B3 tranquil [A3 heart]

‘His heart is not tranquil.’

36. huʔta ti-ø k'wahat [ʔu t'akna:bil]  
where SUBOR-B3 be.placed [A1 basket]

‘Where is my basket?’

37. he:ʔ ø k'wahat [ʔan laktem]  
here B3 be.placed [a chair]

‘There is a chair right here.’

38. [ʔu ʔaha:tik] ø k'wahat ti ʔe:b  
[A1 lord] B3 be.placed at sky

‘My God is in Heaven.’

39. [hitaʔ] tana:ʔ ø k'wahat  
[who] over.there B3 be.placed

‘Who is over there?’

1.4 Adverbial Word Order. Adverbs and adverbial phrases occur most often in clause initial or clause final position. Many adverbs can also occur in pre- or post-predicate position, and a limited number can intervene between the clitic pronoun and the verb in verbal

predicate phrases (see Chapter 17, Section 4.4). Adverbs may modify other adverbs ('very early', 'more slowly') or may be paired with other adverbs in clause initial or clause final position ('now truly', 'thus always', 'then there', 'until today'). Chapter 16, Section 2.0 has 88 sentence examples containing one or more adverbs; a few additional examples are given below of adverbs in pre- and post-predicate position, with the order of elements indicated.

40. ?in kina? ta:m ?an ma?e:t V ADV O  
 A3 lifted.it then the machete  
 'He lifted the machete then.'
41. Ø hok'pani? huni:l ?an k'amal V ADV S  
 B3 ignited again the fire
42. Ø ?u?an ?an?e:ʔ k'al ?an ?amola:b... V ADV PREP  
 B3 was.said thus by the owner...  
 'It was said thus by the owner...'
43. wawa:ʔ ni.hayk'i yab ?i ?u?mal hu:n ?i mi:mila:b A ADV V O  
 we never not A4 have.seen one of lady  
 'We have never seen such a lady.'
44. ?ani yantom ?i ?anima:l ta:ʔ Ø wa?a? S ADV V  
 and very.many of animals there B3 exist  
 'And there are lots of animals over there.'
45. Ø ta:l haye hu:n ?i ?inik ?a:l ?an ?alte V ADV S  
 B3 came also one of man into the forest  
 'A man also came into the forest.'

1.5 Prepositional Phrase Order. Prepositional phrases almost always follow the predicate and any direct arguments that occur after the

predicate. Orders recorded are, for transitive verbs: A V O PREP, V O PREP, V PREP, for intransitive verbs: V S PREP, S V PREP, V PREP, and for non-verbal predicates: STATIVE PREP, EQUATIVE PREP, S LOCATIVE PREP and LOCATIVE PREP. Numerous examples of prepositional phrases appear throughout Chapter 16, and see also Chapter 17, Sections 1.2.7 and 2.0 and examples 102-104. A few additional examples are given below.

46. ?an kwito:l ?in kʷaθa? ?in k'ubak k'al ?i marti:yo A TV O PREP  
 the boy A3 hit A3 hand with of hammer  
 `The boy hit his hand with a hammer.`
47. ?a kʷa?al ?i loliy ?ohob k'al ?i šiǰ' (r.i.) V O PREP  
 A2 have of slimy cough with of blood  
 `Do you have a mucousy cough with blood?`
48. tin kʷi?iy k'al ?i t'uhub V PREP  
 he.at.me threw.it with of stone  
 `He pelted me with a rock.`
49. ?it k'ale k'al ?an ?ahib (r.i.) IV PREP  
 B2 go with the fiesta  
 `Did you go to the fiesta?`
50. Ø wa?zin hu:n ?i tamub tam ti ?an ?inik yaba  
 B3 existed one of year when SUBOR the man not  
 ?u t'ohnal k'al ?in k'ubak S IV PREP  
 B3 works with A3 hand  
 `There was a time when the man didn't work with his hands.`
51. yab ?i ?ešo:bčičiš pe:l ?i ?ila:liš k'al ?i ko:?ne:l EQUAT PREP  
 not of teacher be of doctor with of animals  
 `She's not a teacher, she's a veterinarian.`

52. tiwa? Ø k`wahat ti ?o:w hek`at øaba:l LOC PREP  
 there B3 be.placed at far other.side land

`He is there far away, on the other side of the land.'

2.0 Conjoined Sentences. This section will cover conjoined sentences with coordinate conjuncts, sentences with coordinate constituents, and sentences with dependent conjuncts.

2.1 Conjoined Sentences with Coordinate Conjuncts. Sentences with coordinate conjuncts can be related to each other either through simple juxtaposition of the two sentences or through the use of conjunctions. Conjunctions were discussed in Chapter 16, Section 1.4 and a number of examples were given. Sentence 53 below is an additional example. In 54 the clauses are conjoined through juxtaposition, as they are in 55, which is an example of the parallel couplet structure of much Huastec discourse. See also examples 7 and 51 above. The lengthy passage of example 56 was given spontaneously by my assistant to explain why she had to bring her five-year-old daughter to the session.

53. ?in øo?o:b ti te:nek ?ani ?in øo?o:b ti la:b ka:w  
 A3 knows.it of Huastec and A3 knows.it of mestizo speech

`He knows Huastec and he knows Spanish.'

54. ?in k`apu ?an ?ila:l ?alwa:ø Ø k`wahat taley Ø  
 A3 ate the medicine good.indeed B3 be.placed then B3

wiçk`on ?an yaw?la:ø  
 returned the sickness

`He took the medicine, he was quite well, then the sickness returned.'

55. ʔā: ɔakam kwito:l niši ʔohniʔ nan yab ʔu ʔešla:l ʔi ʔiθiθ  
 ah little boy that truly I not A1 know.about of corn

yab ʔu ʔešla:l ʔi ʔat'ém yab ʔi k'waʔal ʔi ʔat'ém yab ʔi  
 not A1 know.about of salt not A4 have of salt not A4

ʔešla:l  
 know.about.it

'Oh, Little Boy, truly I don't know anything about corn, I  
 don't know about salt, we don't have salt, we don't know  
 about it.'

56. ʔu čiʔəaʔ ʔan t'eleʔ ko:mo Ø ʔutunča:me ʔan  
 A1 brought the child because B3 was.brought.down.for.her the

ma:p ʔani ʔin piča:l ʔin t'apme:θa:l ʔin k'ubak ʔin  
 palm.nut and A3 bursts.it A3 stickies A3 hand A3

t'apme:θa:l ʔin besti:do ʔin lukliyal ʔin wal ʔin lukliyal  
 stickies A3 dress A3 dirties A3 face A3 dirties

ʔin besti:do haʔiǰ t-u čiʔəaʔ ʔan t'eleʔ  
 A3 dress for.this.reason SUBOR-A1 brought the child

'I brought the child because they got a palm nut down for  
 her and she burst it. She stickied her hand, she stickied  
 her dress, she dirtied her face, she dirtied her dress.  
 That's why I brought her.'

2.2 Sentences with Coordinate Constituents. Major constituents can be conjoined within a single sentence through gapping and conjunction reduction. The coordinated constituents may be conjoined with a conjunction or through juxtaposition alone. Transitive agents (example 57) and objects (58), intransitive subjects (59), prepositional phrases (60), noun possessors (61) and adjectives (62) may be conjoined. The coordinated constituents are in brackets. See also examples 3, 13, 16 and 17 above.

57. ʔani tasm [ʔan ʔinik] [ʔo mi:m̩la:b] ʔin θaya:l ʔin maliyal  
 and then [the man] [or lady] A3 lifts.it A3 wraps.it

k'al ?an mante:laš ?alwa?  
with the cloth well

'Then the man or lady lifts it up and wraps it well in a cloth.'

58. ?in ča:l yantom [?i k'apne:l ?i ke:so t'u?lek] [?i  
A3 brings very.much [of food of cheese meat] [of  
k'wačim]  
clothing]

'He brings a lot of food--cheese, meat--and clothing.'

59. Ø čič [hu:n ?i puwe:l ha?] [hu:n ?i yehøel ?a:b]  
B3 came [one of increasing water] [one of big rain]

'There came an pelting water, a heavy rain.'

60. tin k'uwiy [k'al ?i ?a:ho] [k'al ?i komi:nos] ?abal ka-Ø  
he.me smeared [with of garlic] [with of cumin] so.that SUBJ-B3  
heley ?u ?akan  
get.well Al leg

'He smeared me with garlic, with cumin, so that my leg should get well.'

61. ?u k'alel ma hu?ta ti-Ø k'wahat ?in k'ima:? [?an  
B3 comes until where SUBOR-B3 be.placed A6 home [the  
yehøe? ?inikčik] [?an ?ež'ey]  
ancient men] [the lasting.beings]

'He came to where there is the home of the ancient men, the ones who live forever.'

62. Ø wa?ə? ?i t'okat k'wahtala:b [leh ?alobe:l] [leh  
B6 exist of sacred places [very beautiful] [very  
k'ak'naθ] [leh t'ahaθ ti kwe:nta]  
blessed] [very made of account]

'There exist sacred places that are very beautiful, very blessed, very cared for.'

Sentence 57 above, given as an example of conjoined agents with a gapped verb is also an example of conjunction reduction, with two verbs, 'lift it' and 'wrap it' having the same expressed nominal agents. Nominal subjects are more common in sentences with stative predicates and can readily undergo conjunction reduction, as in example 63, where one stative predicate precedes the nominal subject and two follow it. It could be argued, of course, that true conjunction reduction is impossible in Huastec because clitic pronouns are obligatory to mark subjects of verbal and non-verbal predicates, whether or not a nominal subject is present.

63. [∅ leh paʔišnom] niše:ʔ ši            ʔan ʔiʔmaθ [∅ leh  
 [B3 very jealous] this particular snake horned [B3 very  
 ma:šu] ʔani [∅ leh pohkaš]  
 meek] and [B3 very bad]

'It's very jealous, that Horned Snake, it's very meek but very bad.

2.3 Sentences with Dependent Conjuncts. Dependent conjuncts include time adverbial clauses, causal adverbial clauses, conditional clauses and result clauses.

2.3.1 Time Adverbial Clauses. Time adverbial clauses are like English clauses beginning with 'when' or 'until'. They may occur before or after the clause to which they are conjoined. 'When...then' constructions are frequent in texts, as in example 66. Some time adverbial clauses have no overt lexemic marker, but are simply concatenated to another clause (example 67).

64. [tam leh ʔo:ra] [∅ ʔ'aklaθ ʔa k'i:ča:] ʔu tehwaʔme:l  
 [when very hour] [B3 seated the sun] B3 becomes.visible



‘When it is noon, and the sun is stopped, he appears.’

65. ?in beletna? [ma t-in bahuwi? pakθa?čik]  
A3 cared.for.them [until SUBOR-A6 reached.indeed big.PL]

‘He cared for them until they got big.’

66. [tam ka-∅ ∅’i?kini? ?an ?a:b] k-it ?o?i? t-a  
[when SUBJ-B3 begins.indeed the rain] IMP-B5 enter in-A5  
yane:l ?ani [tam ka-∅ θayk’an ?an pok’te?] [ta:m ne?e∅  
totality and [when SUBJ-B3 rise.up the ark] [then go  
k-in či:č ne:]  
SUBJ-B1 come ITER]

‘When the rain really begins, all of you get in, and when the ark rises up, then I also am going to come.’

67. [∅ ?aklehi?] ta?i? ti-∅ ta:l ti t’ikonal pe:l  
[B3 darkened.indeed] there SUBOR-B3 came SUBOR leaping be  
hu:n ?i koy  
one of rabbit

‘When it got really dark, there it came leaping; it was a rabbit.’

2.3.2 Causal Adverbial Clauses. Clauses which indicate the cause of or the reason for something are most frequently conjoined to other clauses with two terms borrowed from Spanish: po:rke ‘because’ and ko:mo ‘since, because’. Also used are Huastec ?abal ‘because, so that’, which can also conjoin result clauses (2.3.4) and act as a subordinator (3.2), and hale? ‘because’. Causal adverbial clauses can precede or follow the clause to which they are conjoined. Sentences 14 and 15 in this chapter are instances of po:rke and ko:mo in parallel clauses. See also the examples in Chapter 16, Section 1.4.1. A few examples are given below.

68. ?in mi:m.ʔalʔi:b yab ?in kʻaniθa:l ?in ʔalʔi:b  
 A3 mother-in-law not A3 likes A3 daughter-in-law  
 [ko:mO leh ʔo:be]  
 [because very lazy]  
 `The mother-in-law doesn't like her daughter-in-law because she's very lazy.'
69. ?an wiʔleb Ø hapel [po:rke Ø pehkaθ ?in toʒikʻ]  
 the door B3 opens [because B3 broken A3 lock]  
 `The door opens because its lock is broken.'
70. ?an tʻeleʔ ?in mapuy ?in wiʔ [ʔabal yab ?in leʔnaʔ k-in  
 the child A3 closed A3 mouth [because not A3 wanted SUBJ-A3  
 ʔuʒʻaʔ ?an ʔila:l]  
 drink the medicine]  
 `The child closed his mouth because he didn't want to take the medicine.'

2.3.3 Conditional Adverbial Clauses. Conditional clauses are introduced with maš 'if'. They usually precede a clause, to which they are frequently conjoined with tamnaʔ 'then', as in example 71, but they can also follow, often paired with ʔešpiθ 'only', as in example 72.

71. [maš ?i ʔaʒʻa:l ʔabal Ø tʻoke:ʒ] tamnaʔ ?i ʒeʔʻal  
 [if A4 feel that B3 cleaned.indeed] then A4 grind.on.it  
 ʔo:tro hu:n muθe:l ?i ʒabal  
 another one bit of hominy  
 `If we feel that it is really cleaned, then we grind another bit of hominy on it.'
72. yab patal ?in ʒuʔtal [ʔešpiθ maš pe:l ?in piθo:b] ?ani [maš  
 not all A6 see.it [only if be A6 destiny] and [if  
 ?in le:ʔ ?i tumi:n]  
 A6 want of money]

Not everyone can see it, only if it is their destiny and if they want money.

2.3.4 Result Adverbial Clauses. These clauses are introduced with ?abal 'so that', hašta:m 'for this reason, therefore' and Spanish-derived pa:ra 'so that'. The demonstrative ha?iç 'this indeed' can also be used to conjoin result clauses, with the meaning 'for this reason indeed'. Negative result clauses are introduced by ?abal yab. The verb following ?abal or pa:ra is always subjunctive, but after hašta:m is indicative. Sentence 60 above is an example of ?abal as head of a result clause, and Sentence 117 below an example of pa:ra. See also examples in Chapter 16, Section 1.4.

73. taley ?in θaya? ti wiltye? [?abal yab k-in k'apu  
then A6 lift.it into granary [so.that not SUBJ-A3 eat.it

?an t'e:l]  
the rats]

'Then they lift it up into the granary so that the rats can't eat it.'

74. ?an ç'uç' Ø habla:ç k'al ?an lana:š [hašta:m  
the woodpecker B3 hollowed.AP with the orange [for.this.reason

ti-Ø taley θubat]  
SUBOR-B3 finished quickly]

'The woodpecker made holes in the oranges; that's why they've rotted quickly.'

75. ?an t'ele? Ø kwaθne:nek [ha?iç ti-Ø ?uk'in]  
the child B3 has.been.hit [for.this.reason SUBOR-B3 cries]

'The child has been hit; that's why he cries.'

76. ?in belpiy [ha?iç ti-Ø k'ale:çk'i]  
A6 believed.it.at.last [for.this.reason SUBOR-B6 went.indeed]

'At last they believed it, so they hurried off.'

3.0 Sentences with Embedded Clauses. This section will cover relative clauses, focus clauses and complement clauses. Embedded clauses in Huastec frequently fill a major syntactic role in the matrix sentence, such as object of a transitive verb. They contain either fully inflected finite verbs or non-verbal predicates, and are lexically marked for embedding.

3.1 Relative Clauses. Relative clauses are introduced by the relative pronoun ?aši 'who, what, that, which' (see Chapter 4, Section 4.1). The noun in the matrix sentence is the head of the relative clause. Nouns in any syntactic position may be relativized, but there are some restrictions on relativizing ergatives on absolutes and vice versa. The examples below are coded to indicate the syntactic roles which are relativized. In sentence 77 A 's relativized upon A, in 78 O upon O, in 79 S upon O, in 80 S upon S, and in 81 O upon S.

77. ta:m [ʔaši ʔin le:ʔ k-in ko:ʔoy ya:n ʔi tumi:n] ʔin  
then [he.who A3 wants SUBJ-A3 have lots of money] A3

mo:kančal ʔan mante:laš  
throws.down.for.it a cloth

'Then he (A) [who (A) wants lots of money (O)] throws down a cloth (O) for it.'

78. ʔu ʔehtow k-u nuhpiy patal [ʔaši ʔu čipəaʔ  
A1 was.able SUBJ-A1 finish-selling all [that A1 brought

k-u nuhuw]  
SUBJ-A1 sell]

'I (A) was able to sell everything (O) [that (O) I(A) brought to sell].'

79. wawa:ʔ ʔi ma:m ʔin k'ak'na:mal ʔan pu:lik ʔankel [ʔaši  
we A4 grandfathers A6 adored the big angel [who

∅ k<sup>w</sup>ahat ti <sup>ʔ</sup>akan k<sup>i</sup>h]  
B3 be.placed at foot time]

‘Those grandfathers of ours (A) adored the great angel (O)  
[who (S) lived in the east].’

80. <sup>ʔ</sup>an ∅<sup>i</sup>k<sup>a</sup>:č [ʔaši šo:ʔ <sup>ʔ</sup>u če<sup>ʔ</sup>el] ∅ leh <sup>ʔ</sup>ik<sup>a</sup>š  
the girl [who now B3 comes] B3 very diligent

‘The girl (S) [who (S) now comes] is very diligent.’

81. <sup>ʔ</sup>an k<sup>w</sup>a<sup>ʔ</sup>čim [ʔaš <sup>ʔ</sup>u paku:mal] ∅ <sup>ʔ</sup>ihkan ∅aba:l  
the clothes [that A1 washed] B6 fell ground

‘The clothes (S) [that (O) I (A) washed] fell down.’

In all of the above sentences relativization has followed ergative principles. That is, terms filling the syntactic and morphological role of ergatives are relativized on ergatives (A on A), and absolutes are relativized on absolutes (S on S, S on O, O on O, O on S). The question then arises of the possibility of relativizing ergatives on absolutes, or vice versa. The two examples below suggest that it is not possible to relativize A on O, or O on A. When I asked my assistant to translate the sentence ‘I (A) chased the horse (O) [that (A) kicked Tom (O)]’, that is, to relativize A on O, he became quite confused and tried several approaches, all of which involved making the verb in the second clause intransitive. He finally decided that the best solution was to put the verb into an antipassive with the object ‘Tom’ in a prepositional phrase. The resulting embedded clause is headed by S, which can readily relativize on O.

82. <sup>ʔ</sup>u keθmay <sup>ʔ</sup>an bičim [ʔaši ∅ ∅o<sup>ʔ</sup>bašin k<sup>a</sup>l <sup>ʔ</sup>a Toma:s]  
A1 chased the horse [that B3 kicked.AP with the Tom]

‘I (A) chased the horse (O) [that (S) kicked on Tom].’

My assistant adopted the same strategy when the sentence was altered to relativize O on A: ‘The horse (A) [that (O) I(A) bought] kicked Tom (O).’ was altered to the following, with the matrix sentence A converted to S.

83. ?an bičim [ʔaši ʔu ʒaʔiy] Ø ʒoʒbašin k'al ʔa Toma:s  
the horse [that A1 bought] B3 kicked.AP with the Tom

‘The horse (S) [that (O) I (A) bought] kicked on Tom.’

A spontaneous example uses passive for a similar result. Here the former agent (the thief) of a transitive verb is demoted to the oblique role of object of a preposition. There is apparently no problem in relativizing S upon a noun in such an oblique role.

84. ?in kʷaθan k'al ʔan kwe:ʔ [ʔaši Ø ʔoʒiʒ t-u k'ima:ʔ]  
B1 was.kicked by the thief [who B3 entered in-A1 house]

‘I (S) was hit by a thief (demoted A) [who (S) entered my house].’

If two terms occupy the syntactic role of Subject, defined as the set (A,S), they can be relativized on each other.

85. ?an ʒ'ik'a:č [ʔaši Ø belamaθ ʔowe:l] ?in ʒaʔaliʒ ʔan  
the girl [who B3 has.walked long.way] A3 carries the

bo:lsa baθaθa:l  
bag hanging.loosely

‘The girl (A) [who (S) has walked a long way] carries her bag (O) flopping down.’

86. ?an ʔolom [ʔaši ?in t'aha:l leh ʔit'is] Ø ʒemθa:me  
the pig [that A3 does.it very bad] B3 has.been.killed

k'al ?in ʔat ʔolom  
by A3 fellow pigs

'The pig (S) [that (A) did such bad things (O)] was killed by its fellow pigs.'

Du Bois (1987:839-843) suggests that a competing motivation to the ergative grouping of (O,S) as opposed to A, is that of topic continuity. S and A, as Subjects of verbs, are more likely than O to be animate, and to refer to the topic of a discourse. They may therefore be referentially linked through a series of sentences. This linkage, then, is presumably reflected in the ability of A and S to relativize upon each other, in a non-ergative fashion. Note that sentence 84 could presumably have followed such a pattern: 'The thief (A) (who (S) entered my house) hit me (O)'. The attested version, however, has the effect of focussing upon the narrator, who was hit, rather than upon the thief who did the hitting.

3.2 Focus and Focus Clauses. Information about focus is not complete. Changes from normal word order (Section 1.0 above) can have a focus function, as can the use of demonstratives such as ʔaši 'this' or niši 'that' to modify a noun (Chapter 16, Section 1.6). Haʔiǰ 'this indeed', discussed above (2.3.4) as an introducer of result clauses, can also have a focus function, as in the following sentences.

87. haʔiǰ           ʔin k'ima:ʔ ʔin ʔiǰa:n ʔa Anto:nyo  
this.indeed A3 house A3 uncle the Antonio

'This is Antonio's uncle's house.'

88. nana:ʔ haʔiǰ           ʔaš ʔin wičboma:ǰ k'al ʔan maǰe:t  
I the.one.indeed who B1 returned.AP with the machete

'I was indeed the one who was the machete returner.'

The most frequent way to indicate focus is by the use of equative predicates formed with pe:l and yab (Chapter 17, Section 5.2) in conjunction with ʔaši clauses. These constructions can usually be translated by English phrases such as 'It was X who(m)...' or 'It wasn't X who(m)...'. For example, sentence 89 below has an unmarked order of elements, while in 90 focus is upon the pig that died. A few other examples follow. Note that ʔaši may be syntactically S (example 90), O (91), or A (92 and 93) when it relativizes upon pe:l or yab predicate nominals.

89. haha:ʔ tin ʔučaʔ ʔabal Ø ʔemeʔ ʔin ʔolo:mil  
 he he.me told that B3 died A3 pig  
 'He told me that his pig died.'
90. haha:ʔ tin ʔučaʔ ʔabal [pe:l ʔin ʔolo:mil] ʔaši Ø ʔemeʔ  
 he he.me told that [be A3 pig] that B3 died  
 'He told me that it was his pig that died.'
91. yaba ʔu t'ahaʔ ti kwe:nta maš [pe:l ʔa ʔa:č] ʔaši  
 not A1 made of account if [be A2 grandmother] that  
 ʔu ʔuʔu  
 A1 saw  
 'I didn't notice if it was your grandmother that I saw.'
92. [yaba nana:ʔ] ʔaš ʔu ʔuʔu ʔa Marciya:l [pe:l ʔa na:nala:b  
 [not I] who A1 saw the Marshall [be the mother.POL  
 Elizabet]  
 Elizabeth]  
 'It wasn't I who saw Marshall, it was Mother Elizabeth.'
93. [yab ʔa Hwa:n] ʔaš ʔin ʔaʔiy ʔan bičim [pe:l ʔa Toma:s]  
 [not the John] who A3 bought the horse [be the Tom]  
 'It wasn't John who bought the horse, it was Tom.'



3.3 Complement Clauses. Complement clauses in Huastec always contain a finite verb, which is referenced with clitic pronouns just as if it stood alone and regardless of the transitivity status of the matrix verb. There is no question of an ergative split in which the referencing pronoun of the embedded verb changes in certain tenses, aspects or moods. With one exception, the clitic pronoun of the matrix verb can be deleted in a complement construction; deletion is usually obligatory in rapid speech. Pronouns in embeds are never deleted. The exception is le:? 'want it', which differs from the rest of the matrix verbs in that the subject of its embed may or may not be co-referential with the subject of the matrix verb. If the subjects are co-referential, the pronoun of the matrix verb can be deleted.

The three verbs most frequently used as matrix verbs in complement constructions are ne?e?, k'wahat and le:?. Ne?e?, the verb used to make future statements, has usually been translated 'go' in this manuscript. K'wahat, homonymous with the k'wahat that forms locative predicates, is used to form a present progressive tense. As such, it has been glossed 'PROGR'. le:? 'want it, like it' has complement clauses as embedded objects. These three verbs and other verbs most often used in complement constructions are listed in the table below. With the exception of k'wahat followed by a transitive embedded clause, all embeds require an embedding marker, either ti, which is glossed 'SUBOR' and is followed by an incomplete embedded verb or ka, which is glossed 'SUBJ' and is followed by a complete embedded verb. All the verbs listed below can stand alone as the main verb of a sentence. As matrix verbs their forms are invariant.

Verb	TV or IV	Subordinating Marker	Tense of Embed
ʔešom	IV	ti	INC
k <sup>w</sup> aʔal	TV	ka	COM
k <sup>w</sup> ahat	IV	∅ with TV ti with IV	INC
le:ʔ	TV	ka	COM
neʔeʔ	IV	ti ka	INC COM
šeʔeʔ	IV	ti	INC

Comments on the verbs listed above and example sentences follow. Examples are given of each verb used as the main verb of a sentence and of its use as a matrix verb in complement constructions.

94. šowe:ʔ ∅ ʔešom ʔi k'ak'al ko:m ∅ ʔorame:ʔ  
 now B3 continues of heat because B3 is.becoming.noon  
 'The heat continues now because it is getting on to noon.'
95. hant' ʔa t'aha:l ʔešom t-u k'apul  
 what A2 doing continue SUBOR-B4 eat.AP  
 'What are you doing? We're still eating.'
96. ʔin k<sup>w</sup>aʔal ʔin čukul leh pu:lik  
 A3 has A3 stomach very big  
 'He has a big paunch.'
97. ʔi k<sup>w</sup>aʔal k-u ʔoma:ʔ kala:m  
 A4 have SUBJ-A4 plant.AP tomorrow  
 'We have to plant tomorrow.'

Multiple examples of k<sup>w</sup>ahat in locative predicates were given in Chapter 17. K<sup>w</sup>ahat differs from the other auxiliaries in that there

is no subordinating marker if the verb in the embed is transitive; ti is used if the embed verb is intransitive. In rapid speech it is invariably k'wat. The first embedded clause below is transitive, the second and third intransitive.

98. k'wahat ?u mahuyal ?u ?alta:hil  
 PROGR Al painting Al room

'I'm painting my room.'

99. k'wahat t-it k'apul (r.i.)  
 PROGR SUBOR-B2 eating.AP

'Are you eating?'

100. ?an bakan k'wahati? ti-∅ ta?i:l  
 the tortillas PROGR.indeed SUBOR-B6 burn

'The tortillas are really are burning.'

le:? is an invariant transitive verb which can be used as a main verb to express a timeless feeling (example 101). There is a related form le:na?, also translated 'want it, like it' which can be conjugated; it is not used as an auxiliary. As noted above, le:? may have the same subject as its embed (102, 103) or a different one (104). A conditional can be made by suffixing the irrealis clitic -ak (105 and 106).

101. ?u ?al?i:b ∅ leh ?o:be yab ?u le:?  
 Al daughter-in-law B3 very lazy not Al like.her

'My daughter-in-law is very lazy. I don't like her.'

102. ?a le:? k-it koyo:∅ (r.i.)  
 A2 want.it SUBJ-B2 rest

'Do you want to rest?'

103. ʔu le:ʔ k-u ʔemθaʔ niši košol  
 Al want.it SUBJ-Al kill that rooster  
 `I want to kill that rooster.`
104. ʔu le:ʔ tikiŋ t'ahči ʔan ʔalwaʔtala:b  
 Al want.it you.for.me do.BEN the good.thing  
 `I want you to do me a favor.`
105. ʔu le:ʔak ʔan ha:ʔ ma:s we:ʔ ʔamay  
 Al like.IRR the water more little cold  
 `I would like the water a little colder.`
106. ʔa le:ʔak k-a ko:ʔoy hu:n ʔi bičim  
 A2 like.IRR SUBJ-A4 care.for one of horse  
 `He would like to own a horse.`

Neʔeʔ is followed by the subordinator ti and an incomplete verb if the action is in progress or is definitely about to begin (example 108). If the action is in doubt, neʔeʔ is followed by the subjunctive ka and a complete verb (109).

107. huʔta ʔit neʔeʔ  
 where B2 go  
 `Where are you going?`
108. pos nan ʔin neʔ t-in belele:l ʔeba:l  
 well I B1 go SUBOR-B1 walk.about up.above  
 `Well, I'm going to walk about up there.`
109. maš yaba ø ʔuliʔ ʔan ʔa:b neʔ k-u ʔaʔbiy ʔu haʔu:b  
 if not B3 comes the rain go SUBJ-Al visit Al friend  
 `If it doesn't rain, I'm going to visit my friend.`

šeʔeʃ can be conjugated when it stands alone; as an auxiliary it is invariant.

110. naʔ    Ø    šeʔeʃin    ʔan lem  
 there B3 went.about the butterfly

‘The butterfly went fluttering about.’

111. šeʔeʃ    t-u    ʔaliyal    ʔani yab ʔu ʔela:l  
 go.about SUBOR-Al look.for.it and not Al find.it

‘I go about looking for it but I don’t find it.’

Di- and tri-verb constructions are frequent in Huastec. Although they represent a variety of complement construction, with one clause embedded within another, and require embedding markers ti and ka, they differ from the matrix verb plus complements described above in two ways. First, both verbs are inflected for tense/aspect, and second, clitic pronouns are not deleted, even on the basis of identity. Almost any verb can participate in such embeddings if it fits semantically with its paired verb. Examples are given below of two verbs which are frequently used in this fashion, transitive ʔeht-ow- ‘be able to do something’ and intransitive tuh-e- ‘begin’.

112. t-u    kwito:ltal ʔu ʔehtowa:mal    ti te:nek  
 from-Al childhood Al have.been.able in Huastec

‘Since childhood I have been able to speak Huastec.’

113. ʔin ʔehtowčik    haye ti-Ø    belal  
 A6 were.able.PL also SUBOR-B6 walk

‘They were also able to walk.’

114. pe:ro yab hitaʔ    ʔin ʔehtowal ti-Ø    θučum  
 but not anyone A3 is.able SUBOR-B3 write.AP

‘But no one is able to write.’

115. Ø tuheyiŋ ʔan ʔahib  
B3 began.indeed the fiesta

‘The fiesta has just begun.’

116. ʔan t'eleʔ Ø ʔihkan ʔani tuhey ti-Ø ʔuk'unal  
the child B3 fell and began SUBOR-B3 cry

‘The child fell down and began to cry.’

117. ʔan ʔit'aθ Ø tuhe:liŋ ti-Ø wehe:l  
the bananas B3 begin.indeed SUBOR-B6 ripen

‘The bananas are really beginning to ripen.’

Sentences 118 and 119 are examples of tri-verb constructions.

118. wala:m k-in ŋapne: k-u ʔehtow k-u  
perhaps SUBJ-B1 make.an.effort SUBJ-A1 be.able.to SUBJ-A1

ŋ'aʔiy ʔan pat'a:l  
buy the metal.roofing

‘Perhaps I can make an effort to be able to buy the metal roofing.’

119. have:ŋk'i Ø ʔučan ko:mo Ø ʔuliŋ talbe:l  
also.indeed B3 was.told because B3 arrived afterward

yaba:ŋ neʔeŋ k-in ʔehtow ka-Ø ʔoŋiŋ ti ʔe:b  
indeed.not go SUBJ-A3 be.able.to SUBJ-B3 enter into heaven

‘Also, indeed, he was told that because he arrived too late, he really was not going to be able to enter into heaven.’

A final example, from a text about breaking in a new metate, further illustrates the possibilities that Huastec offers for chaining clauses to clauses.

120. ta:m neŋ k-i ʔehtow k-i ŋeʔey ʔan ŋabal pa:ra  
then go SUBJ-A4 be.able SUBJ-A4 grind the hominy so.that

ka-∅ kale:∅ ʔan koye k-i ∅'ehkaʔi∅ ti  
 SUBJ-Be come.out the corn.dough SUBJ-A4 make into

bakan  
 tortillas

'Then we're going to be able to grind the hominy so that  
 the dough comes out that we can make into tortillas.'

Huastec stories typically do not end with a formulaic phrase  
 comparable to the frequent introductory tam ti biya:l 'when at long  
 ago'. The final passage may, however, have the quality of a summation,  
 as in the following couplets from a tale about the influence of the  
 stars.

120. ʔešpiθ ʔin ʔulal ʔabal maš ka-∅ waʔ∅in hu:n  
 only B3 say that if SUBJ-B3 be.born one

tahbaθ k'al ʔa ʔo:t ʔaši ʔalwaʔ  
 illuminated by the star that good

haʔi∅ ʔaši ʔin ʔešla:l ʔabal neʔe∅ k-in  
 that.one.indeed one.who A3 knows that go SUBJ-A3

bahuw ti ʔila:liš  
 attain.it to curer

ʔo neʔe∅ k-in bahuw ti ∅alpaθ  
 or go SUBJ-B3 attain.it to wise.one

'They only say that if one is born  
 illuminated by the star that is good,  
 he is the one who knows that he is going to become a curer  
 or is going to become a sage.'

## APPENDIX A

## HUASTEC TEXT: THE FIRST MEN

The text is divided into lines by pauses. These are indicated in the Huastec text as follows: [/] = short pause; [//] = long pause. A pause for thought, indicated by [...], does not require a line break. The choice between [/] or [//] and [...] is made primarily in terms of intonation. Falling pitch, i.e., terminal contour, precedes [/] and [//] but not [...]. In two cases, lines 65 and 79, I have supplied missing morphemes required by the syntax of the sentence; these are in parentheses.

1. t'il-a(?)-al      ?i ma:m//  
 recollect-TS-INC A4 grandfathers//  
 They recollect it, our grandfathers,
2. ?an...?i...biya:l    ?i ?ab-il    ?oš-il//  
 and...A4...long.ago A4 two-POSS three-POSS//  
 and our...long ago, our great-grandfathers, our great-great-  
 grandfathers,
3. tam ti biya:l/  
 when at long.ago/  
 that once upon a time
4. ?an ?ok'oš ?inik//  
 the first man//  
 the first man,
5. ?aši Ø k'wah-i-y    tehe:?  
 who B3 live-TS-COM here/



who lived here,

6. ti ?a:l ?an te:nek ?aba:l//  
at in the Huastec land//

in the Huastec land,

7. ?abal haha:ʔ leh ?apik//  
that he very forceful//

was very forceful,

8. ?ani leh put-uθ ti ?inik//  
and very complete-PPL as man//

and very honorable.

9. ?ani ko:mo θ waʔ-ʔ-in-θ hu:n...ʔi ?inik//  
and because B3 exist-TS-COM one....of man//

And because there was another...man--

10. ?in hun-tal wala:m//  
A3 one-ABSTR I.believe//

his companion, I believe--

11. ?in le:ʔ k-in t'ah-aʔ-θ ti to:nto ?aše:ʔ ši  
A3 want SUBJ-A3 make-TS-COM into fool this particular

ʔalp-aθ//  
wise-PPL//

who wanted to turn this particular wise man into a fool,

12. θ k'waʔčim-an-θ ?ehti:l ?i mi:m-la:b/  
B3 dress.up-VN-COM like of lady-POL/

he dressed up like a woman,

13. ?in t'ah-č-al ?i putelcm-tal-(l)a:b//  
A3 do-BEN-INC of wicked-ABSTR-GEN//

and was doing wicked things to him,

14. ma t-in t'ah-a?-∅ ti to:nto//  
 until SUBOR-A3 make-TS-COM into fool//  
 until he made him into a fool
15. ?in le:ʔ-n-a?-∅-iǰ k-in t'ah-a?-∅ haye ?i to:nto-tal-(1)a:b/  
 A3 want-IVR-TS-COM-EMPH SUBJ-A3 do-TS-COM also of fool-ABSTR-GEN/  
 who really wanted to commit a folly
16. k'al ?in hun-tal//  
 with A3 one-ABSTR//  
 with his companion.
17. tam ti-∅ ʔow-e-y//  
 when SUBOR-B3 late-TS-COM//  
 Then later on
18. ?in ko:ʔ-oy-∅-iǰ hus:n ?i t'i:t' t-in ʔakan//  
 A3 possess-TS-COM-EMPH one of ulcer in-A3 foot//  
 he nurtured an ulcer in his foot.
19. ʔani...∅ ʔuč-an-∅ ta:m ʔabal...ta:m ?in kon-oy-al ʔan  
 and....B3 say.to-VN-COM then that....then A3 ask-TS-INC the  
 ǰalp-aθ/  
 wise-PPL/  
 And...he was told that...then he asks the wise one,
20. \*hant'o k-u t'ah-a?-∅ šo:ʔ//  
 \*what SUBJ-A1 do-TS-COM now//  
 \*What should I do now?
21. ?in walb-in-∅-iǰ//  
 B1 sin-VN-COM-EMPH//  
 I sinned indeed,

22. ?ani yab ?u ?ešl-a(?) -al hant'in ti-.....k-u t'ah-a?-ø"//  
and not A1 know-TS-INC what SUBOR...SUBJ-A1 do-TS-COM"//  
and I don't know what to...what I should do."
23. ø ?uč-an-ø k'al ?an ?alpa-aθ ?abal...k-in t'ak-č-ø-i  
B3 say.to-VN-COM by the wise-PPL that....SUBJ-A3 wash-BEN-COM-EP  
?an ?akan//  
the foot//  
He was told by the wise one that he should wash the place  
on his foot,
24. ?ani niši θu:m hawa ?in kwa?al//  
and those worms which A3 has//  
and those worms that it has in it.
25. ?aši ha? patal/  
this water all/  
All this water,
26. yaba k-in ?oθn-oy-ø//  
not SUBJ-A3 throw.out-TS-COM//  
he should not throw out;
27. k-in ne?-θ-a?-ø ma ti pulik lehem//  
SUBJ-A3 go-CAUS-TS-COM until at big lake//  
he should take it to the ocean,
28. ?ani ta:m tana:? ne?eč...t-in ?ak-čiy-al čuθe:l/  
and then there go.....SUBOR-A3 carry-ADD-INC daily/  
and then go...to carry it there daily,
29. k'al ?in ta:? ?an ?animal-čik//  
with A6 excrement the creature-PL//  
with the excrement of these creatures,

30. ma.....ka-∅ puw-e-y/  
 until...SUBJ-B6 grow-TS-COM/  
 until...they should grow,
31. ma ka-∅.....ǰalp-an-č-in-∅//  
 until SUBJ-B6...think-EP-BEN-VN-COM//  
 until they...should have sense.
32. pos neǰ k-in beletn-aʔ-∅/  
 well go SUBJ-A3 care.for-TS-COM/  
 Well, he is going to care for them
33. ya:n ʔa k'i:ča://  
 many the days//  
 many days.
34. ʔani ʔani:ǰ ʔin t'ah-aʔ-∅/  
 and thus A3 did-TS-COM/  
 And thus he did it
35. kom ∅ holb-in-∅-iǰ//  
 because B3 chastize-TS-COM-EMPH//  
 because he was really chastized.
36. ʔin beletn-aʔ-∅ ma t-in bah-uw-∅-iǰ pakθaʔ-čik//  
 A3 care.for-TS-COM until SUBOR-A6 attain-TS-COM-EMPH big-PL//  
 He cared for them until they got big--
37. ti hu:n ʔi ǰ'u:č//  
 to one of handspan//  
 until they were one hand span.
38. ʔin bah-uw-∅-iǰ ma:s pu:lik//  
 A6 attain-TS-COM-EMPH more big//  
 They got even bigger,

39. ?ani tam ti-∅ ?ow-e-y-ič//  
and when SUBOR-B3 late-TS-COM-EMPH//  
and later on indeed,
40. ta:m...kočik ∅ θah-an-∅ niši ?an θu:m/  
then...I.think B6 cry.out-VN-COM those the worms/  
then...I think, those worms cried out.
41. ?in ?ul-uw-∅-kwa? tam ∅ k'a?-i:-l-ič//  
A6 say-TS-COM-they.say when B6 hungry-TS-INC-EMPH//  
They said, it is reported, when they were really hungry,
42. "ta:ta"/  
"papa"/  
"Papa!"
43. ?ančana:? ?in ?ul-al//  
thus A6 say-INC//  
Thus they say it.
44. yab ?in ?ešl-a(?) -al hant'o ?in ?e:y ta:m θu:m//  
not A3 know-TS-INC what A6 nature then worms//  
He doesn't know what kind of worms they are.
45. ?in beletn-a(?) -al ?ešpiθ kom ?ani:č ti ?uč-aθ//  
A3 care.for-TS-INC only because thus SUBOR said.to-PPL//  
He cares for them only because thus he was told.
46. ta:m...pos...ma:s...∅ ?eba:l-me:-∅-č ?a k'i:ča:/  
then...well...more...B3 above-INCH-TS-COM-EMPH the sun/  
Then...well...the sun indeed became...higher.
47. ∅ tehwa?-m-e:-∅-č//  
B6 manifest-INCH-TS-COM-EMPH//  
They became manifest indeed.

48. Ø wal-k-in-Ø-iç/  
B6 eye-DM-VN-EMPH/  
Eyes popped out,
49. ?in ko:ʔ-oy-Ø-iç    ?in k'ubak/  
A6 have-TS-COM-EMPH A6 hands/  
they already had hands,
50. pe:l ?i çakam//  
be of little.ones//  
they were little ones,
51. pe:l-iç ?i çakam t'a:m//  
be-EMPH of little offspring//  
they were indeed little babies.
52. ta:m ?an çakam    Ø ?ehç-in-Ø-iç//  
then the children B6 wake-VN-COM-EMPH//  
Then the children really came to life.
53. k'eʔat pe:l ?i ç'ik'a:č/  
others be of girls/  
Some were girls
54. ?ani k'eʔat pe:l ?i kwito:l//  
and others be of boys//  
and others were boys.
55. tana:ʔ ta:m ?in...pos hant'ó ne k-in t'ah-aʔ-Ø/  
there then A3...well what go SUBJ-A3 do-Ts-COM/  
Then he...well, what is he going to do,
56. Ø çalp-aš-Ø    ?an...beletn-om    k'al ?an çakam//  
B3 think-AP-INC the...care.for-NOM with the children//  
thinks the...caretaker of the children.

57. haʔiǰ ʔan ma:m-la:b/  
this.one the grandfather-POL/  
He is indeed the respected grandfather,
58. ʔok´oš ma:m/  
first grandfather/  
the first grandfather,
59. ʔok´oš ʔinik/  
first man/  
the first man.
60. yab haʔ ʔan t´okat ma:m-la:b/  
not he the sacred grandfather-POL/  
He was not the sacred grandfather,
61. pe:l ʔi ma:m// ,  
be of grandfather//  
he was just the grandfather.
62. ta:m...ʔin beletn-a(ʔ)-al ma ti-∅ puw-e-y-iǰ niši  
then...A3 care.for-TS-INC until SUBOR-B6 grow-TS-COM-EMPH those  
ǰakam/  
children/  
Then...he cared for them until those children really grew,
63. ʔin ʔeht-ow-∅-čik haye ti-∅ bel-al-INC//  
A6 able-TS-COM-PL also SUBOR-B6 walk-TS-INC//  
and were even able to walk.
64. ∅ ǰalp-aš-in-∅ ta:m ʔan ǰakam/  
B6 think-AP-TS-COM then the children/  
The children thought then,

65. "hant' o ne?e? k-i t'ah-č-ø-i (?i) pay?lo:m/  
 "what go SUBJ-A4 do-BEN-COM-EP (A4) father/  
 "What are we going to do with our father?
66. haha:ʔ ø kulbe:l tiwaʔ ʔu k'ap-ul-ø/  
 he B3 content over.there B3 eat-AP-INC/  
 He is content over there, he eats,
67. ʔin kwaʔal ʔi ʔalwa-tal-(l)a:b/  
 A3 has of good-ABSTR-GEN/  
 he has riches,
68. ʔani wawa:ʔ tehe:ʔ kwete:m/  
 and we here alone/  
 and we are here alone,
69. yab hitaʔ tuku ʔuʔ-u-ø"//  
 not anyone SUBJ.they.us see-TS-COM"//  
 There is no one who should see to us."
70. ko:mo yab ʔin kwaʔal ni ʔin mi:m niši ʔakam//  
 because not A6 have not A6 mother those children//  
 Because those children didn't even have a mother,
71. ko:mo pe:l ʔi walab-tal-(l)a:b//  
 because be B3 sin-ABSTR-GEN//  
 because of the sinfulness.
72. ta:m...ʔin...ʔu hun-k-učik k'al ʔan ka:w niši ʔakam/  
 then...A6...B6 one-IVR-DISTR.PPL with the word those children/  
 Then...they...were all in agreement, those children.
73. "wana k-i ʔuʔ-u-ø ʔi pay?lo:m tiwaʔ ø k'wahat ti...ʔo:w/  
 "lets.go SUBJ-A4 see-TS-COM A4 father there B3 placed at...far/  
 "Let's go see our father who is there...far away,



74. hek'at            ɕaba:l"//  
on.other.side land"//  
  
on the other side of the land.
75. pos ɕ   či:č/  
well B6 came/  
  
Well, they came,
76. ʔan ko:mo   la:b-iθ   ʔan k'ayʔla:l ta:m/  
and because sacred-PPL the world   then/  
  
and because the world was sanctified then,
77. ɕ ʔul-iɕ   ma   tehe:ʔ//  
B6 arrive-COM until here//  
  
they even reached here.
78. ʔin wil-e-θ-aʔ-ɕ-čik            k'al ʔan bo:k//  
A6 drunk-TS-CAUS-TS-COM-PL with the pulque//  
  
They made him drunk with pulque,
79. (ʔin) bo:k-il   ʔan ɕiʔi:m//  
(A3) pulque-POSS the maguey//  
  
maguey pulque.
80. tam t-in   ɕuʔ-u-ɕ   ʔalwaʔ   wil-e-nek   waya:maθ/  
when SUBOR-A6 see-TS-COM well   drunk-TS-PER sleep-PPL/  
  
When they saw him thoroughly drunk, sleepy,
81. ta:m ʔin ʔul-uw   "šo:ʔ/  
then A6 say-COM "now/  
  
then they said, "Now...

82. pos šowe:ʔ ʔi payʔlo:m kwaʔal k-i.....tišk'-an-č-ø-i  
 well now A4 father have SUBJ-A4...take.away-EP-BEN-COM-EP  
 hawa ʔin kwaʔal/  
 what A3 has/  
 well now, from our father we have to take away everything he has:
83. ʔin...koto:n/  
 A3....shirt/  
 his...shirt,
84. ʔin k'waʔči:m-al/  
 A3 clothing-POSS/  
 his clothing,
85. ʔin pahab/  
 A3 sandals/  
 his sandals.
86. k-i ne:n-č-ø-i//  
 SUBJ-A4 take-BEN-COM-EP//  
 We should take them from him,
87. ʔani haha:ʔ k-i hil-aʔ-ø ʔanʕana:ʔ/  
 and he SUBJ-A4 leave-TS-COM thus/  
 and we should leave him thus,
88. kom tu ʔoθ-n-a(?) -al/  
 because he.us abuse-TVR-TS-INC/  
 because he abuses us,
89. yab tu pih-č-al//"  
 not he.to.us gives.food//"  
 he doesn't give us food.

90. tam ti-∅ ?eh-∅-in-∅/  
when SUBOR-B6 move-DM-VN-COM/  
When he woke up,
91. ?an...yeh∅e?...?ok'oš ?inik//  
the...old.....first man//  
the...old...first man,
92. pos yaba ?in kwa?al ?in pahab/  
well not A3 have A3 sandals/  
well, he didn't have his sandals,
93. yaba ?in kwa?al ?in k'wa?čism-al/  
not A3 have A3 clothing-POSS/  
he didn't have his clothing,
94. yab ?in kwa?al ?in šumpele:l//  
not A3 have A3 sombrero//  
he didn't have his hat.
95. patal niš(e?) pe:l ?i ?alwa? pat'a:l/  
all that be of good metal/  
All those things were of good metal,
96. pe:l ?i...manu? pat'a:l leh mak'i?/  
be of...yellow metal very brilliant/  
they were of...gold, very brilliant.
97. pos ∅ ∅alp-aš-in-∅ hant'o než k-in t'ah-a?-∅//  
well B3 think-AP-TS-COM what go SUBJ-A3 do-TS-COM//  
Well, he thought, what was he going to do.
98. ?in ?ul-uw....∅ k'al-e-∅ huni:l ?in kon-oy-al....?an ∅alp-a∅/  
A3 say-COM...B3 go-TS-COM again A3 ask-TS-INC...the wise-PPL/  
He said...he went again, he asks...the wise one,

99. "hant'ó k-u t'ah-aʔ-∅ šc:ʔ"/  
 "what SUBJ-A1 do-TS-COM now"/

"What should I do now?"

100. "pos yab hant'ó ne k-a t'ah-aʔ-∅/  
 "well not anything go SUBJ-A2 do-TS-COM/

"Well, you're not going to do anything

101. kom pe:l ʔa ʔaka:mil//  
 because be A2 children//

because they are your children.

102. kwaʔal k-a kuš-uy-∅ hawa ti t'ah-č-∅-i"//  
 have SUBJ-A2 endure-TS-COM what they.you do-BEN-COM-EP"//

You have to endure what they do to you."

103. ʔani hašta:m-iʔ šowe:ʔ//  
 and for.this.reason-EMPH today//

And for this reason indeed today,

104. ʔin ʔul-al ʔi yane:tal/  
 A6 say-INC A4 relatives/

say our relatives,

105. ʔan ma:m-la:b/  
 the grandfathers-POL/

the respected grandfathers,

106. ʔi ma:m-iʔ wawa:ʔ/  
 A4 grandfathers-EMPH our/

indeed those grandfathers of ours,

107. ʔi ʔab-il/  
 A4 two-POSS

our great-grandfathers,

108. ?abal...hašta:m wawa:ʔ ʔu leh ǰ'ehwanta:l/  
that....for.this.reason we B4 very poor/

that...for this reason we are very poor,

109. hašta:m ʔu to:nto//  
for.this.reason B4 fools//

for this reason we are fools,

110. yab ʔi kwaʔal ʔi ʔalwaʔ-tal-(l)a:b//  
not A4 have of good-ABSTR-GEN//

we don't have riches,

111. ʔani haʔiǰ ʔešpiθ/  
and this.indeed only/

only nothing.

112. tana:ʔ ti-∅ tal-e-:l ʔaši t'ilom//  
there SUBOR-B3 finish-TS-INC this tale//

Here this tale ends.

The following brief passage was an additional commentary on the  
tale.

113. ʔan ʔinik ʔaši ʔin t'ah-aʔ-∅ ʔan putelomtala:b/  
the man who A3 do-TS-COM the wicked-ABSTR-GEN/

The man who did the wicked thing

114. ∅ k'waʔčim-an-∅ ti mi:m-la:b//  
B3 dress-VN-COM as lady-POL//

dressed up as a woman.

115. niše:ʔ pe:l...haye ʔinik//  
that.one be.....also man//

That one was...a man too.

116. ?ešpiθ ?abal ?in le:? k-in tal-č-∅-i ?in ∅a:p/  
 only that A3 want SUBJ-A3 finish-BEN-COM-EP A3 forces/

It was only that he wanted to curtail the forces

117. ?aš ?in ∅u?-tal leh ∅alpaθ//  
 the.one.whom A3 see-INC very wise//

of the one whom he sees as very wise.

118. ha?i∅ t-in t'ah-a?-∅ niši to:nto-tal-(l)a:b/  
 for.this.reason SUBOR-A3 do-ITS-COM those fool-ABSTR-GEN/

For this reason he did these foolish things

119. k'al ?in ?at ?inik//  
 with A3 fellow man//

with his fellow man.

## APPENDIX B

TABLE 7

## SUMMARY OF THEMATIC SUFFIXES AND INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY

Pattern: Root + Thematic Suffix + Inflectional Suffix

	TS	Incompl.	Compl.	Perfect
Root TV				
Active	-aʔ-	-al	-∅	-a:mal
	-Vy-	-al	-∅	-a:mal
	-Vw-	-al	-∅	-a:mal
	-∅-	-al	-∅	-a:mal
	-iʔ-/-u-	-al	-∅	-i:mal/-u:mal
Passive	-aʔ-	-a:b	-a	-a:me
	-Vy-	-a:b	-at	-a:me
	-Vw-	-a:b	-at	-a:me
	-u-	-a:b	-at	-u:me
Antipassive	-Vl-	-∅	-a:∅	-a:maθ
	-Vm-	-∅	-a:∅	-a:maθ
	-Vš- + -Vn-*	-∅	-in	-ine:nek
//-Vn-// intransitive	-Vn-	-al	-∅	-e:nek
Middle Voice	-e-	-:l	-y	-nek
	-e-	-l	-y	-nek
	-e-	-:l	-∅	-nek
	-e-	-l	-∅	-nek
	-e-	-l	-V∅	-nek
	-u-	-:l	-y	-nek
	-u-	-l	-y	-nek
	-i-	-:l	-y	-nek
Root IV	-Vl-	-∅	-a:∅	-a:maθ
	-Vm-	-∅	-a:∅	-a:maθ
	-Vl-	-∅	-a:∅**	-a:maθ**

\*-Vn- deleted in incomplete

\*\*TS deleted in complete and perfect

TABLE 8

## ROOT TRANSITIVE VERBS

Related root middle voice verbs are listed in the second column.  
Verbs in parentheses are probably homonyms.

1. Thematic suffix // -a? - //. (N = 143)

ʔab-aʔ	send it		
ʔa:t-aʔ-	gain it, win it		
ʔat'-aʔ-	nauseate s.o.		
ʔaʒ'-aʔ-	sense it, hear it, taste it	(ʔaʒ'-e-	get wet)
ʔay-aʔ-	await it		
bal-aʔ-	separate it, spread it out	bal-u-	grope, feel the way
baθ-aʔ-	hang it, dangle it	baθ-e-	hang down, dangle
bel-aʔ-	believe it	(bel-e-	walk, stroll)
bi:n-aʔ-	give it, deliver it		
biš-aʔ-	dance it		
čik-aʔ-	burn it	čik-e-	be thirsty
čil-aʔ-	lift it up (s.t. long and thin)		
čin-aʔ-	stiffen it, harden it		
ʔel-aʔ-	find it, encounter it	(ʔel-e-	issue, flow out)
ʔem-aʔ-	move it back and forth		
ʔeš-aʔ-	exert force, make an effort		
hab-aʔ-	hollow it, make a hole in it		
hak-aʔ-	detach it, separate it	hak-e-	separate, become detached
hak'-aʔ-	suck it in, inhale it		
heb-aʔ-	open it badly or by force	heb-e-	open by accident
hek'-aʔ-	avoid s.t., save it		
hel-aʔ-	calm s.o., rest oneself	hel-e-	recover from illness
hep-aʔ-	split it, cut it in pieces	hep-e-	split, come apart
heθ-aʔ-	lean it, prop it against s.t.		
heʔ-aʔ-	leave it face up (rare)	heʔ-e-	lie face up
hik-aʔ-	smell it, scent it		
hik'-aʔ-	sniff it, inhale it through the nose	hik'-e-	be afraid
hil-aʔ-	leave it, allow it		
hiš-aʔ-	draw it out, make it protrude		
hiθ-aʔ-	strip it clean, extrude it		
hu:n-aʔ-	accompany s.o.		



ʔiy-aʔ-	carry it, cart it	ʔiy-e-	be carried
kah-aʔ-	boil it with water and salt		
kan-aʔ-	call it, summon s.o.		
kat-aʔ-	cut or break it unevenly		
kem-aʔ-	blunt a cutting edge, dull it		
keš-aʔ-	widen it, enlarge it	keš-e-	become wide
kin-aʔ-	haul it		
kub-aʔ-	place it upright, on its feet	kub-e-	stand up
kwaθ-aʔ-	hit it		
kweč-aʔ-	coil it		
kʷet-aʔ-	do or use it for the first time		
k'em-aʔ-	wiggle it back and forth		
k'et'-aʔ-	twist or pull it backwards, crucify s.o.		
k'eʃ'-aʔ-	step on it, ram it		
k'eʔ-aʔ-	separate it, dislodge it	k'eʔ-e-	split apart
k'ib-aʔ-	lose it	k'ib-e-	get lost
k'it'-aʔ-	rub it, knead it, massage it		
k'am-aʔ-	cut it (sugar cane)		
k'op-aʔ-	break it, snap it in two		
k'wat'-aʔ-	bend it, curve it		
k'wiʒ-aʔ-	grind it in a mortar		
k'wiʒ'-aʔ-	roll it, coil it		
k'wiy-aʔ-	scold s.o.		
lam-aʔ-	open the eyes		
lek-aʔ-	taste it		
lem-aʔ-	spread it out (e.g. clothes)	lem-e-	float in the air
lep-aʔ-	turn it over with an implement		
lew-aʔ-	separate things, leaning them apart	lew-e-	lean, tip
lič-aʔ-	uproot it, tear it off		
lin-aʔ-	squash it, crush it, flatten it		
lub-aʔ-	strive, exert force		
makw-aʔ-	form a large ball of dirt or stone		
met'-aʔ-	look at it		
min-aʔ-	smear it, spread it		
miʒ'-aʔ-	tear it, break it		
nib-aʔ-	bow the head		
nik'-aʔ-	line it up	nik'-e-	form a line
niš-aʔ-	push it, push it away		
niʔ-aʔ-	squeeze it, crush it, compress it		
ʔoʒ-aʔ-	put it inside	ʔoʒ-e-	enter

pak-aʔ-	fold it, double it	pak-e-	grow
pak'-aʔ-	flatten it	pak'-u-	lie face down
pal-aʔ-	hang it up	pal-e-	hang
pat'-aʔ-	peel it, tear it off, work it		
peh-aʔ-	break it		
pel-aʔ-	stretch it out horizontally	pel-e-	lie in the way
pen-aʔ-	lift it, raise it up		
pič-aʔ-	burst it		
pit-aʔ-	scrape or rub it off		
piθ-aʔ-	give it		
piy-aʔ-	squeeze it out		
pun-aʔ-	mount it, get on top of it	pun-e-	ride (horse)
put'-aʔ-	thrust it out		
šap-aʔ-	insert it		
šay-aʔ-	stand it up on s.t. tall, thin, and forked		
šaʔ-aʔ-	vomit it		
šek'-aʔ-	prick it, perforate it, inject it		
šič-aʔ-	regrind corn dough		
ših-aʔ-	disquiet s.o., nag at s.o.		
šik'w-aʔ-	wrinkle it		
šil-aʔ-	plow it, open it up		
šig'-aʔ-	bleed it		
tah-aʔ-	illuminate it		
tak-aʔ-	touch it		
tak'w-aʔ-	dent it		
tal-aʔ-	finish it, complete it	tal-e-	finish, be complete
tam-aʔ-	venerate it	tam-e-	meet
		tam-u-	reach to meet
tel-aʔ-	stare at s.o.		
tim-aʔ-	ridicule, mock or ape s.o.		
ton-aʔ-	cut it off	(ton-e-	stroll, take a walk)
tub-aʔ-	spit it		
tuy-aʔ-	tilt it, lean it	tuy-u-	tilt, lean
t'ah-aʔ-	do it, make it		
t'ak-aʔ-	wash it (dishes, corn, etc.)		
t'ay-aʔ-	sow it, seed it	(t'ay-e-	seize up, cramp)
t'il-aʔ-	remember it, recollect it		
t'im-aʔ-	tighten it, compress it	t'im-e-	compress, squeeze
t'iθ-aʔ-	string it, thread it		
t'iʔ-aʔ-	pile one thing on top of another, pile it up		
θay-aʔ-	raise it, lift it up	θay-e-	rise up
θik-aʔ-	drain it, strain it	θik-e-	drain away, leak
θik'-aʔ-	sip it, soak it up		

θip-aʔ-	braid it, entangle it		
θit'-aʔ-	treat illness by heating		
θiy-aʔ-	shake it, beat it		
θuč-aʔ-	write it, draw it		
ǰah-aʔ-	dig it, spade it	(ǰah-u-	cool)
ǰin-aʔ-	deny it, conceal it, hide it	ǰin-e-	hide
ǰ'ak-aʔ-	place it, set it in place,	ǰ'ak-e-	form a puddle
		(ǰ'ak-i-	get up)
ǰ'at'-aʔ-	stick it, slap it, make tortillas	ǰ'at'-e-	stick
ǰ'aʔ-aʔ-	open the mouth		
ǰ'ih-aʔ-	defecate it		
ǰ'ik'-aʔ-	sting it, bite it		
ǰ'il-aʔ-	cause an infection, illness		
ʔuč-aʔ-	say or tell to s.o. (ʔul-uw + čʔ)		
ʔum-aʔ-	grab hold of it		
ʔuθ-aʔ-	say it (used in Tancahuits)		
ʔuǰ'-aʔ-	drink it		
ʔuw-aʔ-	suffer it		
wah-aʔ-	unbraid it	wah-u-	spread apart
waš-aʔ-	look at it (used in Tanlajas)		
wat'-aʔ-	pass it, have it come to pass	wat'-e-	pass, come to pass
weh-aʔ-	clean it, clear it of rubbish	(weh-e-	ripen)
wel-aʔ-	clear up (sky), open up a passage	wel-e-	clear, open up
wič-aʔ-	spin it	(wič-i-	return, turn back)
wik'-aʔ-	tie it, fasten it		
wil-aʔ-	untie it, unlash it	(wil-e-	get drunk)
wiš-aʔ-	plait it, double it, do it up		
wiθ-aʔ-	rub it, strip it, run hand the length of it		
wi:w-aʔ-	swing it (onomatopoetic?)		
wiy-aʔ-	roast it		
yak'w-aʔ-	grasp it, seize it		
yin-aʔ-	comb hair Huastec style		
yob-aʔ-	bend it, curve it	yob-e-	cramp, draw up

2. Thematic suffix // -Vy- //. (N = 172)

ʔah-iy-	read it, count it, recount it
ʔak-iy-	deliver it, carry it
ʔak'-iy-	weed it
ʔal-iy-	look for it
ʔa:l-iy-	brush it accidentally (e.g. with skirt)

bač-iy-	twirl it (a firedrill)	(bač-u-	wither)
bak-iy-	wake s.o., arouse s.o.		
bal-iy-	put it in	bal-u-	grope, feel the way
bač-iy-	rub it, scrub it		
bih-iy-	name it		
bih-oy-	singe it, sear it, soften it in flame	bih-e-	emit odorous vapor
bik'-iy-	strike it with the hand, knock it down		
bok'-iy-	beat it (clothes), slap s.t. noisily		
bol-iy-	set it upright, align it, straighten it		
boθ-oy-	drag it, abrade it, scrape it, shell corn		
čiš-iy-	clear away trees and brush		
čuk-uy-	sew it		
ču:m-iy-	point it, make it pointed		
čup-iy-	penetrate it, permeate it (e.g. with dye)		
ʔeb-ay-	fill it up		
ʔet'-oy-	cut it with scissors		
ʔeč-ey-	gather firewood		
hal-iy-	cross one thing over another		
han-iy-	sound it (drum, bell)		
hap-iy-	open it	hap-e-	open
ha:θ-uy-	skim foam from s.t.		
hik-o:y-	cause s.o. to smell it		
hol-iy-	bury it, inter s.o.		
hot'-iy-	dip up water		
huč-uy-	blow on it, blow it away		
huh-uy-	roof it		
ʔib-ay-	barbecue it		
ʔik'-oy-	air it		
ʔiš-iy-	shell corn		
ʔit'-iy-	poison s.o. or s.t.		
ʔiž-iy-	put chile on it		
kan-iy-	invite s.o.		
kač-iy-	slice it, cut it into strips		
ka:w-iy-	address s.o., speak to s.o.		
kaʔ-iy-	put on clothes, shoes		
kil-oy-	stripe it, form rows (corn)		
kit-a:y-	load it with s.t.		
kiʔ-o:y-	put food in another's mouth		
kosh-oy-	cover it		
kon-oy-	ask it, question it		

kot-oy-	cut it, saw it	
koŋ'-iy-	scratch it, rasp it, scrape it	
ko:ʔ-oy-	care for it, keep it	
ku:b-ay-	stop it, detain it	
kuš-uy-	bear it, endure it	
kwal-iy-	lean it, tip it	
kwa:ŋ'-iy-	spy on s.o.	
kwe:ʔ-ey-	rob s.o., steal it	
kwiʔ'-iy-	throw it, fling it	
k'a:n-iy-	defend it, guard it possessively	
k'aʔ'-iy-	carry water	(k'aʔ'-i- be hungry)
k'it'-iy-	smooth it	
k'ot'-iy-	undress s.o.	
k'uč'-iy-	annoy s.o., bother s.o., chafe it	
k'uw-iy-	plaster it, smear it	
k'waθ-iy-	blink one's eyes	
k'waŋ'-iy-	soak corn in lye water	
k'wet-oy-	sweep it	
k'wil-iy-	skin it, husk it, push up one's sleeves	
k'wit'-iy-	polish it, clean it	
lab-ay-	scare s.o.	
lak-ay-	waggle one's rear	
lan-iy-	swirl it (water), circle it (airplane)	
laʔ'-iy-	scratch it, claw it	
iek'-oy-	lick it	
lik-iy-	tickle s.o.	
lok'-oy-	skulk around s.t.	
lon-iy-	survey it, check on it	
loŋ'-iy-	scratch it, scrape it	
luh-uy-	point it, straighten it out	
lup-iy-	submerge it, sink it	lup-e- sink, be submerged
mah-uy-	paint it	
mal-iy-	entangle it, wind it about	
ma:l-iy-	make it swell	
map-uy-	close it	
mat-iy-	lend it	
ma:ŋ'-uy-	surround it with a wall	
maʔ'-iy-	crumble it, break it into bits	
met'-a:y-	make s.o. look at it	
miθ-iy-	wash the face	
muŋ'-iy-	lop it off	

niʔ-oy-	place one thing beneath another, weight it down		
ʔol-iy-	smooth it, polish it		
ʔoθ-iy-	disarrange it, decompose it, get it out of order	ʔoθ-e-	become decomposed, disarranged
pah-iy-	file it, grind it		
pah-uy-	smoke it, cense it		
peč-ey-	strike it noisily with flat of the foot		
peθ-oy-	sweep it, brush s.o. therapeutically with leaves		
pik-oy-	peel it	(pik-e-	be quiet)
pil-iy-	untie it, unfasten it		
pič-iy-	scratch it away, scatter it		
pot'-oy-	substitute for s.o., be next in line		
puh-ay-	baptise s.o.		
pul-iy-	bend or curve it		
puč-iy-	pick it, harvest it, break it off		
šak-ay-	sit astride it, bestride it		
šek-ey-	make leaves		
šik-oy-	pierce it, goad it, prick it		
šim-iy-	disarrange the hair		
šol-iy-	drivel it, slobber it		
šuk'-uy-	mix it		
ta:h-ay-	display it, illumine it		
tak-uy-	choose it, select it		
tak'-iy-	spread it out in the sun; take leave of s.o.		
tan-iy-	trim or cut it evenly		
taθ-iy-	slide it, make it slip		
ta:ʔ-ay-	eviscerate it, disembowel it		
teš-ey-	pound it in		
teθ-oy-	touch or brush it lightly		
teʔ-ey-	sop it up		
tin-iy-	dust it, brush it off		
to:k'-oy-	answer it, reply to s.o.		
tol-iy-	roll it		
to:m-iy-	sod it, grow grass		
to:n-iy-	walk around it, circle it	ton-e-	take a walk
toč-iy-	press against it		
toʔ-oy-	chip it, peck at it		
t'ak'-iy-	cut it with a machete		
t'al-iy-	twist it, coil it		
t'ap-iy-	cut or break it apart		
t'aw-iy-	grind sugarcane		

t'en-ey-	play an instrument		
t'il-iy-	toast it (e.g. corn)		
t'ip-oy-	measure it, exemplify it		
t'i:ʔ-oy-	put on one garment over another		
t'ob-oy-	deflate it,		
t'oh-iy-	prepare it		
t'ok'-iy-	intercept it		
t'uč-iy-	fill it		
t'ul-iy-	roll or tuck it up		
θač-iy-	tickle s.o.		
θa:h-ay-	shout at s.o.		
θap-iy-	catch it with bait or in a net		
θa:ʔ-iy-	clear away small underbrush		
θa:ʔ-uy-	rinse it		
θep-ey-	flutter it		
θib-ay-	cover it, protect it, make a barrier		
θih-oy-	sear it		
θim-iy-	blow one's nose		
θop-oy-	beat it, flap it	θop-e-	inflate, swell up
θu:b-ay-	whistle at s.o.		
θub-iy-	hurry s.o.		
ʒab-ay-	soak it		
ʒah-iy-	weave it	(ʒah-u-	cool, cool off)
ʒaw-iy-	shake it, rotate it		
ʒa:ʔ-ay-	peep out at s.o.		
ʒe:m-ey-	push oneself, hurry s.o., put pressure on s.o.	ʒem-e-	die
ʒeʔ-ey-	grind it		
ʒikw-iy-	jerk it		
ʒol-iy-	loosen it, slacken it		
ʒ'a:h-uy-	lasso it		
ʒ'aʔ-iy-	buy it, purchase it		
ʒ'ik'w-iy-	pinch it		
ʒ'ok'-oy-	prick it, puncture it		
ʒ'up-iy-	sharpen it to a point		
ʔuʒ'-a:y-	give s.o. s.t to drink		
wak'-ay-	sprinkle, strew or scatter it		
wal-iy-	adorn it with fruits		
wa:t-iy-	cover it, put on a wrap		
waθ-iy-	sprinkle it with liquid		
waç-iy-	scrape it, plane it, shave it		
wil-iy-	circle it around s.t.	wil-e-	get drunk
wip-iy-	whip it, whip s.o.		
wiç-iy-	decorate it with flowers		

yaǰ-iy-	move it
yun-iy-	bend or curve it, make it crooked
yut-iy-	fine grind corn dough

3. Thematic suffix // -Vw-//. (N = 71)

bah-uw-	reach it, attain it		
baǰ'-uw-	receive it		
boy-ow-	bundle it, roll it up, group it together		
buk'-uw-	scatter it, distribute it	buk'-e-	scatter
bul-uw-	make it bulge out, protrude it	bul-e-	swell up
but-uw-	make it round or swollen		
čuč-uw-	nurse it, suck it		
ču?-uw-	stretch it (rubber or wire)	ču?-e-	stretch
hal-uw-	exceed it, surpass it		
hať-uw-	burst it, break it, shatter it		
haθ-uw-	cut it on a slant		
hol-ow-	fell it, cast it down, impose it, throw it out		
huǰ'-uw-	suck it		
hu?-uw-	drench it		
kač'-uw-	snap it, crack it		
kal-uw-	stretch it, extend it	kal-u-	stretch
		kal-e-	go out, leave
kaθ-uw-	rip it, tear it		
k'at'-uw-	bite it, gnaw it		
k'aǰ'-uw-	beat it, mix it together	k'aǰ'-e-	rot, decay
k'oh-ow-	harvest it (corn)		
k'ol-ow-	wound s.o., injure s.o.	k'ol-e-	be hurt, injured
k'un-uw-	shorten it, repress it		
k'up-uw-	disperse it, scatter it		
k'ut'-uw-	swallow it		
lak'-uw-	scrape it away		
lam-uw-	unfold it		
la?-uw-	pull it out, pluck it		
lo?-ow-	pierce it, perforate it		
luh-uw-	confess one's sins		
mo?-ow-	throw it to the ground		
muk-uw-	tan it, stain it		
mul-uw-	form it into a ball	mul-e-	shrink together, ball up
mut'-uw-	squint		
muθ-uw-	pile it up		



maʔ-uw-	break or cut it into pieces	(muʔ-e-	purse the lips)
nuh-uw-	sell it		
nuk'-uw-	spread it out		
pak-uw-	spend it, use it up	pak-e-	grow
pak'-uw-	wash clothes	pak'u-	lie face down
pok'-ow-	break it, shatter it	pok'-e-	break, shatter
pol-ow-	curl it between s.t.		
pun-uw-	put it, place it	pun-e-	ride (horse)
put-uw-	fulfill it, complete it		
puʔ-uw-	root it out, tear it off		
šah-uw-	cut it into pieces		
šak-uw-	step or stride on it		
šal-uw-	mix it, turn it over (earth)		
šut'-uw-	pucker it, purse it (e.g. lips)		
šuy-uw-	narrow it, bring it together	šuy-e-	narrow
tam-uw-	find it, meet it	tam-e-	find, meet
tuh-uw-	begin it	tam-u-	reach to meet
tuθ-uw-	bend one's knees	tuh-e-	begin
t'uk-uw-	drip it, dribble it, pour it		
θač-uw-	seine it, net it, strain it		
θaʔ-uw-	infect s.o., spread it by contagion		
θop-ow-	inflate it	θop-e-	inflate, swell up
θut'-uw-	squeeze it, tighten it	θut'-e-	tighten, choke
čaʔ-uw-	pound it, bruise it	(čaʔ-e-	descend, diminish)
č'aʔ-uw-	chew it		
č'ok-ow-	take out a handful		
č'oʔ-ow-	pierce it, insert it		
č'uy-uw-	half close the eyes		
č'uʔ-uw-	poke it, stir up a fire		
ʔuk'-uw-	flood it		
ʔul-uw-	say it, speak it*	(ʔul-e-	arrive, come)
ʔut-uw-	bring or place it near	ʔut-e-	come near
wah-uw-	scatter it, disperse it, separate it	wah-u-	spread apart
waʔ-uw-	fan it		
yat-uw-	crumple it		
yaʔ-uw-	clutch it, grab it		
yuh-uw-	make chile-corn gruel		

4. Thematic suffix //~ø-//. (N = 1)

čá:ʔ-ø- bring it, fetch it

5. Thematic suffix irregular.\*\* (N = 3)

ʔik'-iʔ- carry it, cart it

ǰuʔ-u- see it

k'ap-u- eat it

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\* The thematic suffix of ʔul-uw- deletes in the incomplete, giving ʔul-al.

\*\* The thematic suffix of ʔik'-iʔ- and ǰuʔ-u- is deleted in the incomplete and /t/ is inserted before the inflectional ending, giving ʔik'-t-al and ǰuʔ-t-al. The thematic suffix of k'ap-u- is deleted in the incomplete, giving k'ap-al.

TABLE 9

## TRANSITIVE VERB PAIRS DIFFERING ONLY IN THEMATIC SUFFIX

bal-aʔ-	separate it, spread it out
bal-iy-	put it in
bih-iy-	name it
bih-oy-	singe it, sear it, soften it in flame
hal-iy-	cross one thing over another
hal-uw-	exceed it, surpass it
hol-iy-	bury it, inter s.o.
hol-ow-	fell, cast down, impose
kan-aʔ-	call it, summon s.o.
kan-iy-	invite s.o.
k'it'-aʔ-	rub it, knead it, massage it
k'it'-iy-	smooth it
lam-aʔ-	open the eyes
lam-uw-	unfold it
laʔ-iy-	scratch it, claw it
laʔ-uw-	pull it out, pluck it
luh-uy-	point it, straighten it out
luh-uw-	confess one's sins
niʔ-aʔ-	squeeze it, crush it, compress it
niʔ-oy-	place one thing beneath another, weight it down
pah-iy-	file it, grind it
pah-uy-	smoke it, cense it
pak-aʔ-	fold it, double it
pak-uw-	spend it, use it up
pak'-aʔ-	flatten it
pak'-uw-	wash clothes
šak-ay-	sit astride it, bestride it
šak-uw-	step or stride on it

tak-aʔ-	touch it
tak-uy-	choose it, select it
tam-aʔ-	venerate it
tam-uw-	find it, meet s.o.
t'il-aʔ-	remember it, recollect it
t'il-iy-	toast it (e.g. corn)
θač-iy-	tickle s.o.
θač-uw-	seine it, net it, strain it
θa:ʔ-iy-	clear away small underbrush
θa:ʔ-uy-	rinse it
θop-oy-	beat it, flap it
θop-ow-	inflate it
çah-aʔ-	dig it, spade it
çah-iy-	weave it
ç'aʔ-aʔ-	open the mouth
ç'aʔ-iy-	buy it, purchase it
ç'aʔ-uw-	chew it
wah-aʔ-	unbraid it
wah-uw-	scatter it, disperse it, separate it
wil-aʔ-	untie it, unlash it
wil-iy-	circle it around s.t.

TABLE 10

## TRANSITIVE VERBS WITH LONG ROOT VOWEL

**Bivalent Noun/verb Roots.**

ču:m-iy-	point it, make it pointed	ču:m	point
hu:n-aʔ-	accompany s.o.	hu:n	one
ka:w-iy-	address s.o., speak to s.o.	ka:w	word
ku:b-ay-	stop it, detain it	ku:bla:b	retaining wall
ma:l-iy-	make it swell	ma:l	blister, swelling
ta:ʔ-ay-	disembowel it	ta:ʔ	feces
to:m-iy-	sod it, grow grass	to:m	grass
ǰ'a:h-uy-	lasso it	ǰ'a:h	rope
wa:t-iy-	cover it, put on a wrap	wa:t	shawl, poncho

**Three Place Verbs.**

ʔa:l-iy-	brush it accidentally (with s.t.)
ʔa:t-aʔ-	gain it, win it (from s.o.)
bi:n-aʔ-	give it (to s.o.)
ha:θ-uy-	skim foam (from s.t.)
ko:h-oy-	cover it (with s.t.)
ko:ʔ-oy-	care for it, keep it (protect it from s.o.)
kwa:ǰ-iy-	spy on s.o. (watch s.o. for a reason)
kwe:ʔ-ey-	steal it (from s.o.)
k'a:n-iy-	guard it possessively, defend it (from others)
ma:ǰ'-uy-	surround it with a wall
pu:n-aʔ-	mount it (put oneself on it)

- ta:h-ay- display it, illuminate it (with s.t.)  
to:k'-oy- answer it, reply to s.o.  
to:n-iy- walk around it, circle it (with s.t.)  
t'i:ʔ-oy- put on one garment over another  
θa:h-ay- shout (it) at s.o.  
θa:ʔ-iy- clear away small underbrush (from s.t.)  
θa:ʔ-uy- rinse it (from s.t.)  
θu:b-ay- whistle (it) at s.o.  
ʒa:ʔ-ay- peep out (from somewhere) at s.o.  
ʒe:m-ey- put pressure on s.o.

TABLE 11

## TRANSITIVE VERBS DIFFERING IN ROOT VOWEL LENGTH

ʔal-iy-	look for it
ʔa:l-iy-	brush it accidentally (with s.t.)
haθ-uw-	cut on a slant
ha:θ-uy-	skim foam (from s.t.)
kub-aʔ-	place it upright, on its feet
ku:b-ay-	stop it, detain it
mal-iy-	entangle it, wind it about
ma:l-iy-	make it swell
pun-uw-	put it, place it
pu:n-aʔ-	mount it (put oneself on it)
tah-aʔ-	illuminate it
ta:h-ay-	display it, illuminate it (with s.t.)
ton-aʔ-	cut it off
to:n-iy-	walk around it, circle it
t'iʔ-aʔ-	pile one thing on top of another, pile it up
t'i:ʔ-oy-	put on one garment over another
θaʔ-uw-	infect s.o., spread it by contagion
θa:ʔ-iy-	clear away small underbrush (from s.t.)
θa:ʔ-uy-	rinse it (from s.t.)
θub-iy-	hurry s.o.
θu:b-ay-	whistle (it) at s.o.
ʕaʔ-uw-	pound it, bruise it
ʕa:ʔ-ay-	peep out (from somewhere) at s.o.

TABLE 12

## //-VN-// VERES WITH NO TRANSITIVE VERB COUNTERPARTS

		<b>Possibly related words</b>	
ʔač-in-	bathe	ʔač-im-	bathe
ʔa:h-an-	hunt	ʔa:h ʔinik	hunter
ʔay-in-	return to one's house	ʔay-aʔ-	await s.o.
čaʔ-un-	become fat-cheeked (`ponerse cachetón´)		
ʔe:y-an-	be engaged in, employed	ʔe:y	job, occupation
hek'-on-	cross over		
he:l-in-	drizzle	he:l	drizzle, dew
hum-un-	fly	hum-e-	float in the air
kwaʔ-an-	stoop, crouch		
la:t'-an-	come unstuck		
muč-un-	shrink	muč-u-	shrink, contract
ʔol-on-	pray, harangue	ʔo:l-n-aʔ-	say it
		ʔul-uw-	say it, speak it
pet-en-	thunder		
pik'-in-	explode	pič-aʔ-	burst
teʔ-en-	laugh		
tih-an-	fall by itself		
t'ik-on-	leap, rebound	t'ikom ʔičič	jumping heart, medicinal herb
t'oh-on-	work	t'oh-iy-	prepare it
t'uʔ-un-	get fat	t'uʔlek	flesh



θah-an-	bark, shout, cry out	θa:h-ay-	shout at s.o.
ʔuk'-in-	cry	ʔuk'-uw-	flood it
ʔuš-un-	say	ʔuč-aʔ-	say it to s.o.
wa:č-an-	get out of plumb, lean over		
yat-in-	become feeble	yat-uw-	crumple it
yik'w-an-	get dark	yik'w-e-	darken
		yik'wa:š	darkness
yuš-in-	get bruised	yašuʔ	green/blue
		yešušul	green/blue

TABLE 13

## MIDDLE VOICE VERBS

1. Thematic suffix is //-e-//. (N = 113)1.1 -:l, -y, -nek (incompletive, completive, perfect). (N = 30)

baθ-e-	hang down, dangle
beʒ-e-	hang, be suspended
bih-e-	emit odorous vapor
čik-e-	be thirsty
čuθ-e-	dawn
heb-e-	open by accident
hel-e-	recover from illness
hep-e-	split, come apart
heʔ-e-	lie face up
hik'-e-	be afraid
hob-e-	get stuffed, surfeited
hum-e-	be carried through the air
?ih-e-	fall, tumble
k'eh-e-	lose one's appetite
k'eʔ-e-	split apart
k'ol-e-	feel injured, sore
mul-e-	shrink together, ball up
pal-e-	hang
pel-e-	hold off, lie in the way
pun-e-	ride (horse)
puθ-e-	bubble up
puw-e-	grow
seʒ'-e-	wrinkle
šum-e-	disperse, scatter (smoke)
tal-e-	finish, complete
θet-e-	rest or flutter behind, close to body (e.g. fins)
ʒ'uš-e-	get gooseflesh
weh-e-	ripen, mature
yah-e-	need
yeh-e-	grow tall or large

1.2 -l, -y, -nek (N = 46)

?aʒ'-e-	get wet
bel-e-	walk, stroll
buk'-e-	scatter
bul-e-	swell up

čil-e-	project, stick out, become stiff
čuč'-e-	dry out
ču?-e-	stretch
hač-e-	become knotted, tangled
hak-e-	separate, become detached
ham-e-	become short
hap-e-	open
hoθ-e-	lengthen, drag
ʔiǵ'-e-	lose leaves
keš-e-	become wide
kuǵ-e-	curve
k'ak'-e-	get hot
k'wal-e-	thicken, coagulate
lak-e-	hang down like wattles, testicles, pants too long in the crotch
leh-e-	fit into, go onto, have room for
lup-e-	sink, be submerged
mu?-e-	purse the lips
nak-e-	become longer
nik'-e-	form a line
ʔoθ-e-	become disarranged, decomposed
ʔow-e-	delay, be late
pak-e-	grow
pok'-e-	break, shatter
šok-e-	foam up (boiling sugar syrup, soda pop)
šuy-e-	narrow, come together
tam-e-	meet
tuh-e-	begin
t'im-e-	compress, squeeze (like too tight pants)
θut'-e-	tighten, choke
ða?-e-	descend, diminish
ǵun-e-	become dense, tightly packed
ǵ'ak-e-	form a puddle
ǵ'at'-e-	stick
ǵ'ikw-e-	become wide
ǵ'uh-e-	grow tired, vexed, bored
ǵ'ug'-e-	fail to grow
ʔut-e-	come near
wat'-e-	pass, come to pass
weč'-e-	creak
yan-e-	increase
yik'w-e-	darken
yob-e-	cramp, draw up

1.3 -:l, -∅, -nek (N = 8)

ʔeč-e-	incline, skew to one side
ket-e-	sit
lem-e-	float in the air
lew-e-	lean, tip
pet'-e-	emit
ʒin-e-	hide
way-e-	dry, dry up
wel-e-	clear, open up

1.4 -l, -∅, -nek (N = 24)

ʔel-e-	issue, flow out (water), ooze
ʔiy-e-	be carried
kal-e-	go out, leave
kut-e-	stagger, totter
k'ai-e-	go, go away
k'až-e-	rot, decay
k'ib-e-	get lost
k'oč-e-	become fat
pay-e-	ripen, mature
pik-e-	be quiet, soundless
pot'-e-	bleach, fade
tek'-e-	cook
tep-e-	go out, die out, extinguish
ton-e-	stroll, take a walk
t'ay-e-	seize up, cramp
t'ek'-e-	grow tall
t'ok-e-	be clean, purified
θay-e-	rise, get up
θič-e-	bristle
θik-e-	drain away, leak
θop-e-	inflate, swell up
ʒek-e-	get tired
ʔuk'-e-	rain heavily
wil-e-	get drunk

1.5 Irregular forms. (N = 5)

čeʔ-e-	come, arrive (inc. is -l; compl. is čī:č)
kub-e-	stand up (inc. is -:l; compl. is -ey / -iy)
ʔoʒ-e-	enter (inc. is -l; compl. is -iʒ)
ʒem-e-	die (inc. is -l; compl. is -eʒ)
ʔul-e-	arrive, come (inc. is -l; compl. is -iʒ)

2. Thematic suffix is // -u-//. (N = 13)2.1 -:l, -y, -nek. (N = 7)

bit'-u-	perk up the ears (dog, rabbit, deer)
buš-u-	be squatting
kal-u-	stretch out, extend
pak'-u-	be lying face down
tuy-u-	tilt, lean
ǰah-u-	cool, cool off
ǰak-u-	become angry

2.2 -l, -y, -nek. (N = 6)

bač-u-	wither
bal-u-	grope, feel the way
muǰ-u-	shrink, contract
tam-u-	reach to meet
wač-u-	deflate
wah-u-	spread apart

3. Thematic suffix is // -i-//. (N = 9)3.1 -:l, -y, -nek. Causative is // -b-//. (N = 7)

kwag-i-	lie down, go to bed
k'aθ-i-	rise, go up, climb
k'wah-i-	inhabit, be in a place
paʔ-i-	descend, lower, come down
piʔ-i-	bend double
ǰ'ak-i-	get up
wič-i-	return, turn back (inc. is wiče:l)

3.2 -:l, -y, -nek. Causative is // -θ-//. (N = 2)

k'aʔ-i-	be hungry
t'aʔ-i-	burn

TABLE 14  
ROOT INTRANSITIVE VERBS

1. Thematic suffix // -Vl-//.

ʔa:θ-il-	run
bel-al-	walk, move along
buš-ul-	squat
ʔeh-el-	move, stir
ke:ʔ-al-	belch
kow-al-	swim
peh-el-	wrangle, fight
yaʔ-ul-	get sick, become ill

2. Thematic suffix // -Vm-//.

ʔač-im-	bathe
θe:b-om-	pant, breathe shallowly (like s.o. sick)
θu:č-um-	sigh, breathe heavily

3. Thematic suffix deleted in completive and perfect.

čik'-al-	urinate
koy-ol-	rest, sit
tiy-al-	fart
way-al-	sleep

TABLE 15  
POSITIONAL PARTICIPLES

ʔab-u:l	flutter, wave (RL)	.....	
beθ-e:l	jutting out (lower lip)	.....	
beʒ-e:l	hanging	beʒ-e-	hang, be suspended
bit´-u:l	perked up (ears)	bit´-u-	perk up the ears
boč-o:l	straightened, fixed	.....	
bok-o:l	swollen faced, with anger	.....	
boy-o:l	held in hand (e.g. a bunch of flowers)	boy-ow-	bundle it up
buš-u:l	squatted down	buš-ul-	squat
but-u:l	raised up (e.g. a boil)	but-uw-	make it round or swollen
čaʔ-u:l	fat cheeked	čaʔ-un-	become fat faced
čil-i:l	standing alone (e.g. a pollarded tree)	čil-aʔ-	lift it up (s.t. long and thin)
čin-i:l	extended and rigid	čin-aʔ-	stiffen it
čok´-o:l	seated on floor, like a child	čok´l-an-	fall with a bang on one's rear
ʔem-e:l	tilted, inclined	ʔem-aʔ-	move it back and forth
hač-a:l	tangled, knotted	hač-e-	become knotted, tangled
hal-u:l	buttoned crookedly	hal-uw-	exceed it
haθ-u:l	cut on a slant, angled	haθ-uw-	cut on a slant or angle
heb-e:l	opened	heb-aʔ- heb-e-	open by force open by accident

heʔ-e:l	reclining (face up)	heʔ-aʔ-	leave it face up
		heʔ-e-	lie face up
ʔiǰ'-i:l	stripped bare	ʔiǰ'-e-	lose leaves
kal-u:l	spread out	kal-uw-	stretch, extend it
		kal-u-	stretch
kat-a:l	broken unevenly	kat-aʔ-	cut or break
kat-i:l	ragged, uneven		unevenly
keš-e:l	widened	keš-aʔ-	widen it, enlarge it
		keš-e-	become wide
ket-e:l	seated	ket-e-	sit
koč'-o:l	hooked, like parrot beak	.....	
koy-o:l	seated	koy-ol-	rest, sit
kut-u:l	bent double	kut-e-	stagger, totter
kuǰ-u:l	hunchbacked	kuǰ-e-	curve
kwal-i:l	inclined, hanging down	kwal-iy-	lean it, tip it
kwaʔ-a:l	drooping	kwaʔ-an-	droop
k'ak'-e:l	feaverish (RL)	k'ak'-e-	get hot
k'eǰ'-e:l	bent backwards	k'eǰ'-aʔ-	step on it, ram it
k'in-i:l	snub-nosed	.....	
k'oč-o:l	fat, bulky	k'oč-e-	become fat
k'uǰ'-u:l	hooked	k'uǰ'-un-	bend (RL)
k'uʔ-u:l	sensation of lump in throat	.....	
lak-a:l	seated (RL)	lak-ay-	waggle the rear
leǰ'-e:l	widened at the front	.....	
lew-e:l	leaned to one side	lew-aʔ-	lean things apart
		lew-e-	lean, tip
lin-i:l	flattened	lin-aʔ-	squash, flatten it
liǰ'-i:l	plucked, bare (e.g. tree)	.....	



lok-i:l	uneven, as a road	lok-p-an-	get dented, bumpy
lop-o:l	loose, slack	.....	
moh-o:l	flattened, like point of a huingaro	.....	
moʔ-o:l	thrown down	moʔ-ow-	throw to the ground
muɕ-u:l	curly hair	muɕ-un-	shrink, contract
muʔ-u:l	pursed (e.g. lips)	muʔ-e-	purse one's lips
nat'-a:l	opened	.....	
nit'-i:l	bared (teeth)	.....	
not'-o:l	nostrils flared in anger	not'-e-	become annoyed
piʔ-i:l	bent down, doubled over	piʔ-i-	bend double
pol-c:l	curled between (e.g. tail)	pol-ow-	curl between s.t.
puθ-e:l	bubbling (RL)	puθ-e-	bubble up
puw-e:l	increasing	puw-e-	grow
šay-a:l	standing on s.t. tall and thin (table, skinny horse, long-legged man)	šay-aʔ-	stand it up on s.t. tall, thin and forked
šeɕ'-e:l	wrinkled	šeɕ'-e-	wrinkle
šim-i:l	uncombed, disarranged	šim-iy-	disarrange the hair
šuh-u:l	spotted, dark on light	.....	
šut'-u:l	puckered, pursed (lips)	šut'-uw-	pucker it, purse lips
šuy-u:l	narrowed	šuy-uw- šuy-e-	narrow it become narrow
tug'-u:l	squatting (RL)	.....	
tuy-u:l	leaning to one side	tuy-aʔ- tuy-u-	tilt it, lean it tilt, lean
t'im-i:l	very tight (e.g. clothing)	t'im-aʔ- t'im-e-	tighten it, compress it compress, squeeze

t'iʔ-i:l	piled up	t'iʔ-aʔ-	pile one thing on top of another
t'uθ-u:l	seated on haunches	.....	
θam-u:l	darkened (RL)	θam-k'-un-	grow dark
θet-e:l	fluttering behind (e.g. fly's wings)	θet-e-	rest or flutter behind, close to body
ʔuʒ-u:l	curly (hair, flower petals)	ʔuʒ-e-	curl
wah-u:l	scattered, separated	wah-uw-	scatter it, disperse it
		wah-u-	spread apart

TABLE 16

## DISTRIBUTIVE PARTICIPLES

1. Thematic suffix is //-aʔ-// (N = 41). Suffix vowel changes to root vowel before //čik//.

Verb Root		Distributive Participle
baθ-aʔ	hang, dangle	baθačik
čik-aʔ-	burn	čikičik
hab-aʔ-	open badly or by force	habačik
hiš-aʔ-	draw out, protrude	hišičik
kah-aʔ-	boil with water and salt	kahačik
kin-aʔ-	haul	kiničik
kub-aʔ-	place upright, on its feet	kubučik
k'em-aʔ-	wiggle back and forth	k'emečik
k'et'-aʔ-	twist backwards, crucify	k'et'ečik
k'ib-aʔ-	lose	k'ibičik
k'op-aʔ-	break, snap in two	k'opočik
lam-aʔ-	open the eyes	lamačik
lem-aʔ-	spread out (e.g. clothes)	lemečik
lub-aʔ-	strive, exert force	lubučik
pak-aʔ-	double over, fold	pakačik
pal-aʔ-	hang up	palačik
peh-aʔ-	break	pehečik
pit-aʔ-	scrape or rub off	pitičik
put'-aʔ-	thrust out	put'učik
šek'-aʔ-	prick, perforate, inject	šekečik
šič-aʔ-	regrind corn dough	šičičik
šiǵ-aʔ-	bleed	šiǵičik
ton-aʔ-	cut short	tonočik
tub-aʔ-	spit	tubučik
t'ay-aʔ-	sow, seed	t'ayačik
θik-aʔ-	drain, strain	θikičik
θik'-aʔ-	sip, soak up	θik'ičik
θit'-aʔ-	cure by heating	θit'ičik
θuč-aʔ-	write, draw	θučučik
ǵah-aʔ-	dig, spade	ǵahačik
ǵin-aʔ-	deny, conceal, hide	ǵiničik
ǵ'ak-aʔ-	place, set in place	ǵ'akačik
ǵ'at'-aʔ-	stick, slap, make tortillas	ǵ'at'ačik
ʔuǵ'-aʔ-	drink	ʔuǵučik

weh-aʔ-	clean, clear of rubbish	wehečik
wel-aʔ-	clear up (sky), open up a passage	welečik
wil-aʔ-	untie, unlash	wiličik
wiθ-aʔ	rub, strip, run hand the length of	wiθičik
wiy-aʔ-	roast	wiyičik
yakʷ-aʔ-	grasp, seize	yakʷačik
yob-aʔ-	bend, curve	yobočik

2. Thematic suffix is // -vy-// (N = 39). No change in thematic suffix vowel before // -čik//.

baɕ-iy-	rub, scrub	baɕičik
bih-iy-	name	bihičik
bih-oy-	singe, sear, soften in flame	bihočik
čiš-iy-	remove trees and brush	čišičik
ʔeɕ-ey-	gather firewood	ʔeɕečik
kaʔ-iy-	put on clothes, shoes	kaʔičik
kil-oy-	stripe, form rows (corn)	kiločik
kot-oy-	cut, saw	kotočik
koɕ-iy-	scratch, rasp, scrape	koɕičik
kwiʔ-iy-	throw, fling	kwiʔičik
kʰaʔ-iy-	carry water	kʰaʔičik
kʰit-iy-	smooth	kʰitičik
kʰot-iy-	undress	kʰotičik
kʰuč-iy-	annoy, bother, rub against	kʰučičik
kʰwit-iy-	polish, clean	kʰwitičik
lek-oy-	lick	lekočik
loɕ-iy-	scratch, scrape	loɕičik
mah-uy-	paint	mahučik
ma:ɕ-uy-	surround with a wall	ma:ɕučik
ʔol-iy-	smooth, polish	ʔoličik
pah-iy-	file, grind	pahičik
peθ-oy-	sweep, brush therapeutically with leaves or branches	peθočik
pik-oy-	peel	pikočik
piɕ-iy-	scratch away, scatter	piɕičik
puɕ-iy-	pick, harvest (fruit, coffee)	puɕičik
šik-oy-	pierce, goad, prick	šikočik
tak-uy-	choose, select	takučik
tin-iy-	dust, brush off	tiničik
tʰal-iy-	twist, coil	tʰaličik
tʰen-ey	play an instrument	tʰenečik

t'ob-oy-	deflate, shrivel up	t'obočik
t'uč-iy-	fill	t'učičik
t'ul-iy-	roll or tuck up	t'uličik
zah-iy-	weave	zahičik
že?ey-	grind	že?ečik
g'ok'-oy-	prick, puncture	g'ok'očik
wak'-ay-	sprinkle, strew, scatter	wak'ačik
wil-iy-	move in circles around s.t.	wiličik
yut-iy-	fine grind corn dough	yutičik

3. Thematic suffix is //-Vw-// (N = 50). No change in thematic suffix vowel before //-čik//.

baž'-uw-	receive	baž'učik
boy-ow-	bundle, roll up, group together	boyočik
buk'-uw-	scatter, distribute	buk'učik
bul-uw-	bulge out, protrude	bulučik
ču?-uw-	stretch (rubber or wire)	ču?učik
hat'-uw-	burst, break, shatter	hat'učik
haθ-uw-	cut on a slant, angle	haθučik
hol-ow-	fell, cast down, impose	holočik
huž'-uw-	suck	huž'učik
hu?-uw-	drench	hu?učik
kal-uw-	stretch, extend	kalučik
k'at'-uw-	bite, gnaw	k'at'učik
k'oh-ow-	harvest	k'ohočik
k'ol-ow-	wound, injure	k'oločik
k'un-uw-	shorten, repress	k'unučik
lak'-uw-	scrape away	lak'učik
lam-uw-	unfold	lamučik
la?-uw-	pull out, pluck	la?učik
lo?-ow-	pierce, perforate	lo?očik
luh-uw-	confess one's sins	luhučik
mo?-ow-	throw to the ground	mo?očik
mul-uw-	form a ball	mulučik
mut'-uw-	squint	mut'učik
muθ-uw-	pile up	muθučik
mu?-uw-	break or cut into pieces	mu?učik
nuh-uw-	sell	nuhučik
nuk'-uw-	spread out	nuk'učik
pok'-ow-	break, shatter	pok'očik
pun-uw-	put, place	punučik
put-uw-	fulfill, complete	putučik

šah-uw-	cut into pieces	šahučik
šal-uw-	mix, turn over (earth)	šalučik
šut'-uw-	pucker, purse (e.g. lips)	šut'učik
šuy-uw-	narrow, bring together	šuyučik
tam-uw-	find, meet	tamučik
tuh-uw-	begin	tuhučik
tuθ-uw-	kneel down	tuθučik
t'uk-uw-	drip, dribble, pour	t'ukučik
θač-uw-	seine, net, strain	θačučik
θaʔ-uw-	infect, spread by contagion	θaʔučik
θop-ow-	inflate	θopočik
θut'-uw-	squeeze, tighten	θut'učik
ʒaʔ-uw-	pound, bruise	ʒaʔučik
ʒ'aʔ-uw-	chew	ʒ'aʔučik
ʒ'oʔ-ow-	pierce, insert	ʒ'oʔočik
ʒ'uʔ-uw-	poke, stir up a fire	ʒ'uʔučik
ʔul-uw-	say, speak	ʔulučik
ʔut-uw-	bring or place near	ʔutučik
wah-uw-	scatter, disperse, separate	wahučik
yat-uw-	crumple	yatučik

4. Thematic suffix is // -e-//, // -u-// or // -i-// (N = 13).

ʔaʒ'-e-	get wet	ʔaʒ'ečik
beʒ'-e-	hang, be suspended	beʒečik
hep-e-	split, come apart	hepečik
heʔ-e-	lie face up	heʔečik
kwaʒ-i-	lie down, go to bed	kwaʒačik
k'wal-e-	thicken, coagulate	k'walečik
nak-e-	become longer	nakečik
pak-e-	grow	pakečik
paʔ-i-	descend, lower, come down	paʔačik
θet-e-	rest or flutter behind	θetečik
ʒaʔ-e-	descend, diminish	ʒaʔačik
wač-u-	deflate	wačučik
yan-e-	increase	yanečik

TABLE 17

## SUFFIX //-V:ŠLIY//: FORCED INTERACTION

kinǵ-oy-	haul it all	ki:nǵ-o:š-l-iy-	hook one thing to another to raise or lower it
kin-aʔ-	haul it	ki:n-a:š-l-iy-	make two things pull against each other
kuǵm-ay-	hook it	ku:ǵm-a:š-l-iy-	hook them together
kwəθ-aʔ-	hit it	kwa:θ-a:š-l-iy-	beat two things together
k'at'-uw-	bite it	k'a:t'-u:š-l-iy-	incite one animal to bite another
k'wiyaʔ-	scold s.o.	k'wi:y-a:š-l-iy-	cause two people to fuss at each other
peh-el-	fight	pe:h-e:š-l-iy-	cause to fight each other, as in a cock fight
polǵ-oy-	chain it	po:lǵ-o:š-l-iy-	chain two things together
tak-aʔ-	touch it	ta:k-a:š-l-iy-	make two things touch each other
tam-uw-	meet it	ta:m-u:š-l-iy-	make two things meet head on
tam-uw-	meet it	ta:mt-e:š-l-iy-	make two people meet face to face
tamk-uy-	unite, join it	ta:mk-u:š-l-iy-	get things together for a purpose
t'ak'-iy-	cut it with a machete	t'a:k'-i:š-l-iy-	hit two machetes together
θuč-aʔ-	write, draw it	θu:č-a:š-l-iy-	mark something of each other's, as children who spot each other's shirts
ǵaʔb-iy-	visit s.o.	ǵa:ʔb-i:š-l-iy-	make people visit each other

ʔoʔb-ay- kick it

ʔo:ʔb-a:š-l-iy- cause to kick each other,  
as by bringing one horse  
close to another

ʔilk'-oy- infect s.o.

ʔ'i:lk'-o:š-l-iy- graft together



TABLE 18

## SUFFIX //čiy-//: ADD SOMETHING ON

ʔak-iy-	deliver it	ʔak-čiy-	take daily food to s.o.
bal-iy-	put it in	bal-čiy-	fill it up
bol-iy-	align it	bol-čiy-	clear away (earth, dried cane stalks) in regular rows
čik-aʔ-	burn it	čik-čiy-	keep a vigil, with candles
ʔel-aʔ-	find it	ʔel-čiy-	fill or cover with dirt
ʔičič	heart	ʔih-čiy-	sap s.o.'s strength substituting a strong heart for his weak one (č --> h/____č)
kal-e-	go out	kal-čiy-	substitute for s.o.
ʔ		kow-čiy-	resow
k <sup>w</sup> aθ-aʔ-	hit it	k <sup>w</sup> aθ-čiy-	beat, shake off, clear away
k'al-e-	go, go away	k'al-čiy-	make worse (one's health)
k <sup>w</sup> ah-i-	be located	k <sup>w</sup> ah-čiy	inhabit
k <sup>w</sup> aʔčim	clothing	k <sup>w</sup> aʔ-čiy-	mend or patch clothes
k <sup>w</sup> eʔ-lab	branch	k <sup>w</sup> eh-čiy-	enlarge or extend, adding s.t.
mak <sup>w</sup> -aʔ-	form a ball	mak <sup>w</sup> -čiy-	join two things into one
map-iy-	close it	map-čiy-	entwine
nuh-uw-	sell it	nuh-čiy-	sell in s.o. else's house
pak'-uw-	wash clothes	pak <sup>w</sup> -čiy-	do laundry for s.o. else*
pun-uw-	put it, place it	pun-čiy-	add on to, graft
tam-uw-	find it, meet it	tom-čiy-	join, couple, connect
tomol	one of a pair		

ɕa:b      two                      ɕab-čiy-    do s.t. for the second time  
ʔu:kʰbe   forgetful                ʔukʰ-čiy-   forget s.t.

---

\* /kʰ/ --> kʰ\_\_\_/č

TABLE 19

## DERIVATIONAL MORPHEME //P-// ON TRANSITIVE VERBS

CVC roots with thematic suffix //Vw-// were systematically questioned for derivational morpheme //P-//; CVC roots with thematic suffix //aʔ-// were questioned systematically through /k'w/; CVC roots with thematic suffix //Vy-// and derived stems were questioned at random. Examples marked n.t. were accepted by my assistant as good Huastec, but we did not have time to translate them all. Many of the examples were given spontaneously in other contexts.

1. Thematic suffix //iy-//.

ʔab-aʔ-	send it	*ʔab-p-iy-	
ʔah-iy-	read it, count it	ʔayh-p-iy-*	read it quickly
ʔak'-iy-	weed it	ʔak'-p-iy-	weed it promptly
ʔal-iy-	look for it	ʔal-p-iy-	look for it a while
ʔa:t-aʔ-	gain it, win it	*ʔa:t-p-iy-	
ʔat'-aʔ-	nauseate s.o.	ʔat'-p-iy-	suddenly get nauseated
ʔaɣ'-aʔ-	sense, hear or taste it	ʔaɣ'-p-iy-	n.t.
ʔay-aʔ-	await it	ʔay-p-iy-	n.t.
bah-uw-	reach it, attain it	bawh-p-iy-*	reach it quickly
bal-aʔ-	separate, spread it out	bal-p-iy-	place it about quickly
baɣ'-uw-	receive it	*baɣ'-p-iy-	
bel-aʔ-	believe it	bel-p-iy-	believe it provisionally
bi:n-aʔ-	give it, deliver it	bi:n-p-iy-	give last or only one
boy-ow-	bundle it, roll it up	boy-p-iy-	gather it up quickly
buk'-uw-	scatter or distribute it	buk'-p-iy-	n.t.
čik-aʔ-	burn it	čik-p-iy-	burn it quickly
čiš-iy-	clear away trees, brush	čiš-p-iy-	finish clearing it

čuč-uw-	nurse, suck it	čuč-p-iy-	n.t.
čuʔ-uw-	stretch it (e.g. rubber)	čuʔ-p-iy-	n.t.
ʔel-aʔ-	find it, encounter it	ʔel-p-iy-	n.t.
ʔeš-aʔ-	force s.o., make an effort	ʔeš-p-iy-	try it one last time
hab-aʔ-	hollow, make a hole in s.t.	*hab-p-iy-	
hak-aʔ-	detach it, separate it	hak-p-iy-	n.t.
hak'-aʔ-	suck in, inhale it	hak'-p-iy-	n.t.
hal-iy-	cross one thing over another	hal-p-iy-	cross over s.t. (and at that moment fall)
hek'-aʔ-	spare it, save it	hek'-p-iy-	n.t.
hel-aʔ-	calm or rest oneself	hel-p-iy-	calm down
hep-aʔ-	split it, cut it into pieces	*hep-p-iy-	
hik-aʔ-	smell it, scent it	hik-p-iy-	n.t.
hik'-aʔ-	sniff it, inhale it	hik'-p-iy-	n.t.
hil-aʔ-	leave it	hil-p-iy-	n.t.
hiš-aʔ-	draw it out, make it protrude	hiš-p-iy-	n.t.
hol-ow-	fell it, cast it down	hol-p-iy-	throw out the last one
hu:n-aʔ-	accompany s.o. or s.t.	hu:n-p-iy-	match it up
huǰ'-uw-	suck it	huǰ'-p-iy-	n.t.
ʔik'-iʔ-	carry it, cart it	ʔik'-p-iy-	carry the last one
ʔiš-iy-	shell corn	ʔiš-p-iy-	shell the last ear
ʔiy-aʔ-	carry it, cart it	ʔiy-p-iy-	n.t.
kah-aʔ-	boil food	kah-p-iy-	n.t.
kal-uw-	stretch it, extend it	kal-p-iy-	n.t.

kan-aʔ-	call or summon s.o.	kan-p-iy-	n.t.
kaθ-uw-	rip it, tear it	kaθ-p-iy-	n.t.
kem-aʔ-	blunt a cutting edge	kem-p-iy-	n.t.
kin-aʔ-	haul it	kin-p-iy-	n.t.
kub-aʔ-	place it upright	*kub-p-iv-	
kwaθ-aʔ-	hit it	kwaθ-p-iy-	rattle it
kwiʔ-iy-	throw it, fling it	kwiʔ-p-iy-	throw it quickly
k'ap-u-	eat it	*k'ap-p-iy-	
k'at'-uw-	bite it, gnaw it	k'at'-p-iy-	n.t.
k'aʒ-uw-	beat it, mix together	k'aʒ-p-iy-	n.t.
k'em-aʔ	wiggle it back and forth	k'em-p-iy-	n.t.
k'ib-aʔ-	lose it	k'ih-p-iy-	dissolve it (b --> h/_p)
k'oh-ow-	harvest it	k'oh-p-iy-	n.t.
k'ol-ow-	wound it, injure s.o.	k'ol-p-iy-	n.t.
k'up-uw-	disperse or scatter it	*k'up-p-iy-	
k'ut'-uw-	swallow it	k'ut'-p-iy-	n.t.
k'wet-oy-	sweep it	k'wet-p-iy-	sweep it all
k'wiʒ-aʔ-	grind it in a mortar	k'wiʒ-p-iy-	n.t.
k'wiy-aʔ-	scold s.o.	k'wiy-p-iy	fuss at s.o. briefly
lak'-uw-	scrape it away	lak'-p-iy-	n.t.
laʔ-uw-	pull it out, pluck it	lawʔ-p-iy-*	n.t.
lek-aʔ-	taste it	lek-p-iy-	taste a bit
lek'-oy-	lick it	lek'-p-iy-	lick it up quickly
lič-aʔ-	uproot it, tear it off	lič-p-iy-	yank out the last one
loʔ-ow-	pierce or perforate it	loʔ-p-iy-	n.t.
luh-uw-	confess one's sins	luh-p-iy-	n.t.

moʔ-ow-	throw it to the ground	moʔ-p-iy-	n.t.
mul-uw-	form it into a ball	mul-p-iy-	n.t.
mut'-uw-	squint	mut'-p-iy-	close eyes quickly
muθ-uw-	pile it up	muθ-p-iy-	quickly pile it up
muǰ'-iy-	lop it off	muǰ'-p-iy-	lop it off suddenly
muʔ-uw-	break or cut it into pieces	muʔ-p-iy-	break it quickly
nuh-uw-	sell it	nuh-p-iy-	sell it promptly
nuk'-uw-	spread it out	nuk'-p-iy-	n.t.
pah-iy-	file it, grind it	payh-p-iy-*	grind it quickly
pak-uw-	spend it, use it up	*pak-p-iy	
pak'-uw-	wash clothes	*pak'-p-iy-	
pok'-ow-	break it, shatter it	*pok'-p-iy-	
pun-uw-	put it, place it	*pun-p-iy-	
put-uw-	fulfill or complete it	*put-p-iy-	
šal-uw-	mix it, turn it over (earth)	šal-p-iy-	n.t.
šaʔ-aʔ-	vomit it	šaʔ-p-iv-	vomit the last bit
šuy-uw-	narrow it, bring it together	šuy-p-iy-	click together (e.g. feet)
tam-uw-	find it, meet it	tam-p-iy-	meet unexpectedly
tuh-uw-	begin it	tuh-p-iy-	n.t.
tuk'-uw-	drip it, pour it	tuk'-p-iy-	pour the last drop
tuθ-uw-	bend one's knees	tuθ-p-iy-	genuflect
t'ay-aʔ-	sow it, seed it	t'ay-p-iy-	plant it promptly
*t'eʔ-	.....	t'eʔ-p-in-	become sad, grieve
t'im-aʔ-	tighten it, compress it	t'im-p-iy-	divide with a blow

θop-ow-	inflate it	*θop-p-iy-	
θut'-uw-	squeeze it, tighten it	θut'-p-iy-	n.t.
ʒah-aʔ-	dig it, spade it	ʒah-p-iy-	n.t.
ʒaʔ-uw-	pound it, bruise it	ʒawʔ-p-iy-*	n.t.
ʒin-aʔ-	deny it, hide it	ʒin-p-iy-	n.t.
ʒ'ak-aʔ-	set it in place	ʒ'ak-p-iy-	n.t.
ʒ'at'-aʔ-	stick it, slap it	ʒ'at'-p-iy-	n.t.
ʒ'aʔ-iy-	buy it	ʒ'ayʔ-p-iy-*	buy it quickly
ʒ'aʔ-uw-	chew it	ʒ'awʔ-p-iy-*	chew it quickly
ʒ'ik'-aʔ-	sting s.o., bite s.o.	ʒ'ik'-p-iy-	n.t.
ʒ'ok-ow-	take out a handful	ʒ'ok-p-iy-	n.t.
ʒ'oʔ-ow-	pierce s.t., insert it	ʒ'oʔ-p-iy-	n.t.
ʒ'uʔ-uw-	poke or stir up a fire	ʒ'uʔ-p-iy-	n.t.
ʔuč-aʔ-	say or tell it to s.o.	ʔuč-p-iy-	tell it at once
ʔul-uw-	say it, speak it	ʔul-p-iy-	blurt it out
ʔut-uw-	bring or place it near	ʔut-p-iy-	n.t.
wah-uw-	scatter or disperse it	wahn-p-iy-*	n.t.
waʔ-uy-	fan it	wawʔ-p-iy-*	fan it rapidly
weh-aʔ-	clean it, clear it of rubbish	weh-p-iy-	clean up the last bit
yak'w-aʔ-	grasp it, seize it	yak'w-p-iy-	grab it suddenly
yut-iy-	fine grind corn dough	yut-p-iy-	grind the last bit

2. CVC + DM + ///-p-///.

ʔeh-t-ow-	be able to	*ʔeh-t-p-iy-	
ʔeš-l-ow-	be acquainted with	*ʔeš-l-p-iy-	
ʔe:θ-aʔ-	animate it	*ʔe:θ-p-iy-	(ʔeh- + θ; h --> θ; V --> V:)

hol-k'-ow-	empty it, spill it	*hol-k'-p-iy-	
		*hol-k'-on-p-iy-	
hun-k-uw-	make an accord, match it up	*hun-k-p-iy-	
ka:θ-a?-	remove it	*ka:θ-p-iy-	(kal- + θ; l --> Ø; V --> V:)
kwah-l-a?-	overthrow it	*kwah-p-iy-	(kwal-l-a?-; l --> h/___l)
∅eh-k-a?-	make it, construct it	*∅eh-p-iy-	
		*∅eh-k-an-p-iy-	
∅'ep-l-ow-	invert it	*∅'ep-p-iy-	
tah-l-uw-	calm it, quiet it	*tah-p-iy-	
wip-l-ow-	turn it over	*wip-l-p-iy-	

### 3. Thematic suffix // -a?-//.

hak-a?-	detach it, separate it	hak-p-a?- hak-p-an-	detach it by accident come unstuck accidentally
*hok'-	.....	hok'-p-a?- hok'-p-an-	light it light
kem-a?-	blunt a cutting edge	kem-p-a?-	blunt it by accident
keš-a?-	widen it, enlarge it	keš-p-aθ ʔin ʔakan	cascorvo (RL)
k'em-a?-	wiggle it back and forth	k'em-p-an-	split, crack (earth) (RL)
k'e?-a?-	separate or dislodge it	k'e?-p-an-	split, crack (RL)
k'ib-a?-	lose it	k'ih-p-an-	dissolve (b --> h/___p)
k'om-a?-	cut (sugarcane)	k'om-p-an-	disjoint (RL)
k'un-uw-	shorten it, repress it	k'un-p-a?- .....	offend s.o. (n --> m/___p)
lo?-ow-	pierce it, perforate it	lo?-p-a?- lo?-p-an-	pierce it through (RL) be pierced through



*taʔ-	.....	taʔ-p-aʔ-	lay up, store it (RL)
toʔ-oy-	chip it, peck at it	toʔ-p-aš	penetrating (RL)
*tʰiθ-	.....	tʰiθ-p-an-	stop (water) (RL)
θikʰ-aʔ-	sip it, soak it up	θikʰ-p-an-	choke

4. Thematic suffix // -Vw-//.

hil-aʔ-	leave it, leave it behind	hil-p-ow-	dislocate it
kal-uw-	stretch it, extend it	kal-p-uw-	cut meat for jerky
		kal-p-un-	extend, spread out

---

\* This is a regular metathesis process described in Chapter 3, Section 4.3

TABLE 20

## DERIVATIONAL MORPHEME // -p- // ON INTRANSITIVE VERBS

## 1. Thematic suffix is // -in- // or // -iy- //.

čúθ-e-	dawn	čúθ-p-in-	feel that the night has passed rapidly
ʔih-e-	fall, tumble	ʔih-p-iy-	drop a piece of s.t.
kal-e-	go out, leave	kal-p-in-	go out a bit before s.o. else
k'ak'-e-	get hot	k'ak'-p-in-	have a sudden fever
k'al-e-	go, go away	k'al-p-in-	hurry away
k'aǰ-e-	rot, decay	k'aǰ-p-in-	spoil rapidly
k'wal-e-	thicken, coagulate	k'wal-p-in-	thicken quickly
mul-e-	shrink together	mul-p-in-	shrink rapidly
t'aʔ-i-	burn	t'aʔ-p-iy-	hurry it up
ǰun-e-	become dense, packed	ǰun-p-in-	rapidly grow thick, e.g. underbrush
ʔuk'-in-	cry	ʔuk'-p-iy-	disturb or upset s.o.
way-al-	sleep	way-p-in-	go to sleep quickly
way-e-	dry, dry up	*way-p-iy- *way-p-in-	
weh-e-	ripen, mature	*weh-p-in-	

## 2. Thematic suffix is // -an- // or // -aʔ- //.

ʔač-im-	bathe	*ʔač-p-aʔ *ʔač-p-an-	
bih-e-	vaporize	*bih-p-an-	
hik'-e-	be afraid	hik'-p-aʔ-	startle s.o.

kal-e-	go out, leave	kal-p-an-	leave abruptly
k'aθ-i-	go up	k'aθ-p-an-	go up quickly
pay-e-	ripen, mature	*pay-p-an-	
ʔak-i-	get up	ʔak-p-an-	leap out of bed
ʔuh-e-	grow tired, vexed	ʔuh-p-an-	be annoyed
weh-e-	ripen, mature	*weh-p-an-	

TABLE 21

## DERIVATIONAL MORPHEMES // -ϕ-// AND // -ϕ'-// ON TRANSITIVE VERBS

## Derivational Morpheme // -ϕ-//.

*?ekw-	.....	ʔekw-ϕ-iy-	bury it, inter it
hal-iy-	cross one thing over another	hal-ϕ-iy-	reach to meet s.t.
*haw-	onomatopoeitic?	haw-ϕ-iy-	blow gently on it
hep-aʔ-	split it	*hep-ϕ-un-	
kan-iy-	invite s.o.	kan-ϕ-iy-	entangle it, snare it
kir-aʔ-	haul it	kin-ϕ-oy-	grab it
kiʔ-o:y-	put food in another's mouth	kiwʔ-ϕ-oθ*	mouthful
lek'-oy-	lick it	lek'-ϕ-oy-	lick it all up
*lek'w-	.....	lek'w-ϕ-iy-	light it, kindle it
		lek'w-ϕ-in-	light, kindle
mal-iy-	entangle s.t., wind about it	mal-ϕ-in-	get completely entangled
muθ-uw-	pile it up	muh-ϕ-iv-	pile it up on top of s.t., crowd together θ --> h/___ϕ
peh-aʔ-	break it	peh-ϕ-oy-	break it all
pok'-ow-	break it, shatter it	*pok'-ϕ-iy pok'-ϕ-iθ	of different lengths, uneven
puk-uθ	sprinkled	puk-ϕ-iy-	sprinkle it with s.t. dry
šal-uw-	mix it, turn it over	*šal-ϕ-iy	
šaʔ-aʔ-	vomit it	*šaʔ-ϕ-in	
to:k'-oy-	reply to s.o.	tok'-ϕ-iy- tok'-ϕ-in-	reply to, answer it answer

to:n-iy-	walk around it, circle it	ton-ǂ-iy-	surround, encircle it
*t'eʔ-	.....	t'eʔ-ǂ-iy-	stand upon s.t.
θop-ow-	inflate it	*θop-ǂ-iy-	
ʔuk'-uw-	flood it	ʔuk'-ǂ-in-	drown, choke
wak'-ay-	sprinkle it, strew it about	ʔwa:k'-ǂ-i:š	argue (reciprocal)
yak'w-aʔ-	grasp it, seize it	yak'w-ǂ-iy-	grab it (e.g. to keep it from falling)

**Derivational Morpheme // -ǂ - //.**

boy-ow-	bundle it, roll it up	boy-ǂ-on-	shrink
hiθ-aʔ-	strip it clean	hiθ-ǂ-ow-	finish stripping it
kil-oy-	stripe it, form rows (corn)	kil-ǂ-on-	flash (ribbon lightning)
k'ap-u-	eat it	k'ap-ǂ-uw-	eat it all
k'ib-aʔ-	lose it	k'ib-ǂ-ow-	make it lose
		k'ib-ǂ-on-	be mistaken
nuh-uw-	sell it	nuh-ǂ-uw-	sell it all
pak-uw-	spend it, use it up	pak-ǂ-uw-	spend it all, use it all up
pol-ow-	curl it between	pcl-ǂ-oy-	hook it together
pun-uw-	put it, place it	pun-ǂ-uw-	put them all
put-uw-	fulfill it, complete it	put-ǂ-uw-	complete it all
tal-aʔ-	finish it, complete it	tal-ǂ-uw-	finish it all
		tal-ǂ-un-	be all finished
t'ap-iy-	cut or break it apart	t'ap-ǂ-iy-	burst it
		t'ap-ǂ-in-	burst, blow up
t'il-aʔ-	remember it	t'il-ǂ-ow-	remember it all
t'ip-oy-	measure it	t'ip-ǂ-oθ	measured exactly

t'ob-oy-	deflate it	t'ob-ɣ'-on-	deflate completely
θik-aʔ-	drain it	θik-ɣ'-ow-	drain it completely
wil-aʔ-	untie it, unlash it	wil-ɣ'-ow-	unravel it
		wil-ɣ'-on-	become untied
wiy-aʔ-	roast it	wiy-ɣ'-ow-	finish roasting it

---

\* kiʔ-oy- --> kiwʔ- is an example of a regular metathesis process described in Chapter 3, Section 4.3.

TABLE 22

DERIVATIONAL MORPHEMES // - $\zeta$  -// AND // - $\zeta'$  -// ON INTRANSITIVE VERBS**Thematic Suffix is // -in-// or // -iy-//.**

$\text{?eh-e-l-}$	move, stir	$\text{?eh-}\zeta\text{-iy-}$	awake or revive s.o.
		$\text{?eh-}\zeta\text{-in-}$	awake, revive
$\text{k'al-e-}$	go out, leave	$\text{*k'al-}\zeta\text{-in-}$	
$\text{k'wal-e-}$	thicken, coagulate	$\text{*k'wal-}\zeta\text{-in-}$	
$\text{pay-e-}$	ripen, mature	$\text{*pay-}\zeta\text{-in-}$	
$\text{pot'e-}$	bleach, fade	$\text{*pot'e-}\zeta\text{-in-}$	
$\text{tep-e-}$	go out, die out	$\text{tep-}\zeta\text{-iy-}$	extinguish it
		$\text{tep-}\zeta\text{-in-}$	go out completely
$\text{?uk'e-}$	rain heavily	$\text{?uk'e-}\zeta\text{-in-}$	drown, choke
$\text{weh-e-}$	ripen, mature	$\text{?weh-}\zeta'\text{-in-}$	ripen quickly; wehey $\zeta'$ more common
$\text{yik'w-e-}$	darken	$\text{yik'w-}\zeta\text{-iy-}$	darken it completely
		$\text{yik'w-}\zeta\text{-in-}$	become completely dark

**Thematic Suffix is // -on-// or // -ow-//.**

$\text{bih-e-}$	vaporize	$\text{bih-}\zeta'\text{-on-}$	dry up (e.g. a leaf)
$\text{hik'e-}$	be afraid	$\text{hik'e-}\zeta\text{-on-}$	be surprised
$\text{hob-e-}$	get stuffed, surfeited	$\text{*hob-}\zeta\text{-on-}$	
$\text{t'ik'-on-}$	leap, bound (repeatedly)	$\text{t'ik'-}\zeta'\text{-on-}$	leap over, hop (once)
$\text{?op-e-}$	inflate, swell up	$\text{?op-}\zeta'\text{-on-}$	inflate completely
$\text{way-e-}$	dry, dry up	$\text{way-}\zeta'\text{-ow-}$	dry it all up
		$\text{way-}\zeta'\text{-on-}$	become all dried up

**Other.**

$\text{koh-on-}$	be covered	$\text{koh-}\zeta'\text{-i:l}$	s.t. like typewriter case that covers completely
$\text{yeh-e-}$	grow tall or large	$\text{yeh-}\zeta\text{-el}$	old man

TABLE 23

## DERIVATIONAL MORPHEME // -l- // ON TRANSITIVE VERBS

bik'-iy-	strike it with the hand, knock it down	bik'-l-a?- bik'-l-an-	knock down with a bang get knocked down by a blow
bok'-iy-	beat (clothes), slap s.t. noisily	bok'-l-an-	fall with a bang
buk'-uw-	distribute it, scatter it	buk'-l-om buk'-l-o:me bu:k'-l-a:š	dispersed pieces distributor separate from each other (reciprocal)
čik-a?-	burn it	čik-l-om čik-l-om-a:ø	burner (of field) burned down (field)
ʔeš-a?-	exert force, make an effort	ʔeš-l-a?- ʔeš-l-an- ʔeš-l-ow-	know, know how to, be familiar with s.t. n.t. be acquainted with s.o.
hep-a?-	split it, cut it in pieces	hep-l-ow-	break or cut it into separate pieces
kač'-uw-	snap it, crack it	kač'-l-un-	break with a snap
kal-uw-	stretch it, extend it	kah-l-uw-	extend it permanently, cut meat for jerky l --> h/___l
kaθ-uw-	rip it, tear it	kaθ-l-un-	tear apart
*kop- (kopopo:l	..... caught on fire)	kop-l-a?-	light a fire
kub-a?-	place it upright, on its feet	kub-l-aθ ku:b-l-a:š	steep (a road) standing up against each other (recip.)
kʷal-iy-	lean it, tip it	kʷah-l-a?- kʷah-l-an-	fell it, knock it down get knocked down l --> h/___l
kʷaθ-a?-	hit it	kʷaθ-l-ač	a blow



k'et'-a?- twist or pull it backwards	k'et'-l-ow-	reverse it, turn it inside out
k'up-uw- disperse or scatter it	k'up-l-an-	disperse permanently
k'ut'-uw- swallow it	k'ut'-l-in-	get stopped up, obstructed
k'wat'-a?- bend it, curve it	k'wat'-l-e-	squat down
k'waθ-iy- blink eyes rapidly	k'waθ-l-im	a wink
*mak- ..... (mak-aš detained)	mak-l-a?-	ensnare s.o. (with words)
map-uy- close it	map-l-uw-	close and open it repeatedly
mu?-uw- break or cut it into pieces	mu?-l-ow-	crack it, split it
nuh-uw- sell it	nuh-l-uw-	resell it
pak-a?- fold it, double it	pak-l-a?- pak-l-an-	fold it over be folded over
pak-uw- spend it, use it up	pak-l-uw- pak-l-un-	knock down, destroy it fall down, be destroyed
*paš- ..... (pašuč inverted)	paš-l-uw-	turn it upside down
pik-oy- peel it	pik-l-oy-	remove the peel
pok'-ow- break it, shatter it	pok'-l-ow-	crack it, split it
tal-a?- finish or complete it	tah-l-uw- tah-l-un-	calm, quiet s.o., s.t. be calmed down, quieted l --> h/___ l
t'oh-iy- prepare it	t'oh-l-in-	be engaged in, have as one's business
ǰ'ak-a?- place it, set it in place	ǰ'ak-l-a?-	set correctly or perma- nently in place
*ǰ'ep (ǰ'epat opposite, backwards)	ǰ'ep-l-ow- ǰ'ep-l-on-	invert it place oneself head down
ʔul-uw- say it, speak it	ʔuh-l-an-č-	say witchcraft words to s.o. l --> h/___ l

wah-uw-	scatter it, disperse it, separate it	wawh-l-uw-*	break it apart
wak'-ay-	sprinkle it, strew it or scatter it	wak'-l-a?-	throw it out
weh-a?-	clean it, clear it of rubbish	weh-l-a?-	peel it, skin it, remove its shell
*wip-	.....	wip-l-ow-	roll it over
(wipopo:l	rolling over and over)	wip-l-on-	roll over once

---

\* wah-uw- --> wawh- is a regular metathesis process described in Chapter 3, Section 4.3.

TABLE 24

## DERIVATIONAL MORPHEME // -l- // ON MIDDLE VOICE VERBS

buš-u-	squat	buš-l-aʔ- buš-l-en-	make s.o. squat down. squat down
ket-e-	sit	ket-l-en-	sit down
kub-e-	stand up	kub-l-e-	go up
kut-e-	stagger, totter	kut-l-e- kut-l-en-	bend over get bent over
k'wah-i-	be located, inhabit	k'wah-l-en-	stay put
pak'-u-	lie face down	pak'-l-uw- pak'-l-un-	place it face down lie face down, fall face down
paʔ-i-	descend	payʔ-l-om*	father (reverential)
pik-e-	be quiet, soundless	pik-l-e- pik-l-en-	become quiet, hushed get quiet
ǰ'ak-e-	form a puddle	ǰ'ak-l-en-	calm down, become quiet (water)

---

\*paʔ-i- --> payʔ- is a regular metathesis process described in Chapter 3, Section 4.3.

TABLE 25

## DERIVATIONAL MORPHEME // -K- // ON TRANSITIVE VERBS

ʔab-aʔ-	send it	ʔab-k-aʔ-	send it via s.o.
		ʔab-k-an-	get sent
ʔal-iy-	look for it	ʔal-k-iy-	look for, w.o. certainty of finding it
ʔay-aʔ-	await it	ʔay-k-aʔ-	wait a little while for it
baɕ-iy-	rub it, scrub it	baɕ-k-iy-	cause it to brim over
		baɕ-k-in-	brim over (water)
bel-aʔ-	believe it	bel-k-aʔ-	believe it as an obligation, obey
bi:n-aʔ-	give it, deliver it	bi:n-k-aʔ-	give it as a gift, without being asked
ʔel-aʔ-	find or encounter it	ʔel-k-aʔ-	find w.o. looking for it
hal-iy-	cross one thing over another	hal-k-iy-	put s.t. across the shoulders
		hai-k-uy-	change it (clothing)
heθ-aʔ-	lean it, prop it	heθ-k-aʔ-	lean it against s.t.
		heθ-k-an-	lean against, recline on
heʔ-aʔ-	leave it face up rare)	heʔ-k-ow-	place it face up
		heʔ-k-on-	turn face up
ʔiy-aʔ-	carry it, cart it	ʔiy-k-aʔ-	carry the final load
luh-uy-	point it, straighten out s.t.	luh-k-uw-	sit with feet straight out in front
mah-uy-	paint it	mah-k-uy-	paint a lot of it
moʔ-ow-	throw it down	moʔ-k-aʔ-	throw it to the ground
mul-uw-	form it into a ball	mul-k-aʔ-	make it shrink
		mul-k-an-	shrink
		mul-k-uw-	pile it up, put together
		mul-k-un-	get together
muʔ-uw-	break or cut it into pieces	muʔ-k-uw-	break it apart, shatter it

niʔ-aʔ-	squeeze it, crush it	niʔ-k-aʔ-	press it down
		niʔ-k-an-	sink down
ʔoʔ-aʔ-	put it inside	ʔoʔ-k-aʔ-	put it in
		ʔoʔ-k-an-	enter in
peh-aʔ-	break it	peh-k-aʔ-	break it (a part of s.t.)
		peh-k-an-	break (a part of s.t.)
pel-aʔ-	stretch it out horizontally	pel-k-aʔ-	cross over s.t.
pok'-ow-	break it, shatter it	poh-k-aʔ-	despise it, repulse s.o. k' --> h/___k
tam-uw-	find it, meet it	tam-k-uy-	unite or join it
		tam-k-un-	unite, join, meet
tol-iy-	roll it	tol-k-on-	drip, dribble
ton-aʔ-	cut it off	ton-k-aʔ-	cut it short
tub-aʔ-	spit it	tub-k-ay-	spit on s.t.
ʔah-aʔ-	dig it, spade it	ʔah-k-aʔ-	dig it up
ʔaʔuw-	pound it, bruise it	ʔaʔ-k-uy-	pound on it
*ʔeʔ-	.....	ʔeʔ-k-aʔ-	half open it, set it ajar
ʔeʔeb	grooved stalk of a palm leaf		
*ʔ'eh-aʔ	.....	ʔ'eh-k-aʔ-	make it, construct it, prepare it
ʔum-aʔ-	grab hold of it	ʔum-k-aʔ-	pry it up, separate it
		ʔum-k-an-	become loose, separated
ʔut-uw-	bring or place it near	ʔut-k-an-	come close

TABLE 26  
 DERIVATIONAL MORPHEME // -K- // ON MIDDLE VOICE  
 AND ROOT INTRANSITIVE VERBS

# = have same root with transitive thematic suffix.

**Middle Voice**

buš-u-	be squatting	buš-k-a?- buš-k-an-	seat s.o. sit down
# heʔ-e-	lie face up	heʔ-k-ow- heʔ-k-on-	place it face up turn face up
ʔih-e-	fall, tumble	ʔih-k-a?- ʔih-k-an-	drop, fell, throw it down fall, fall down
leh-e-	fit into, go into, have room for	leh-k-iy- leh-k-in-	clarify it, explain it suffice
# mul-e-	shrink together	mul-k-a?- mul-k-an- mul-k-uw- mul-k-un-	make it shrink shrink pile it up, put together get together
muɕ-u-	shrink, contract	muɕ-k-an-	shrink together
# ʔoɕ-e-	enter	ʔoɕ-k-a?- ʔoɕ-k-an-	put it in enter in
paʔ-i-	descend	paʔ-k-iy- paʔ-k-in- paʔ-k-an-	get s.o. down get down descend from
piʔ-i-	bend double	piʔ-k-a?- piʔ-k-an-	bend s.o. over quickly bend over quickly
# tam-u-	reach to meet	tam-k-uy- tam-k-un-	unite or join it unite, join, meet
ɕah-u-	cool, cool off	ɕaw-k-un-	cool off completely h → w/___C
ɕaʔ-e-	descend, diminish	ɕaʔ-k-a?- ɕaʔ-k-an-	bring it down become lower, subside
# ʔut-e-	come near	ʔut-k-an-	come close

**Root Intransitive**

buš-ul- squat

buš-k-a?-  
buš-k-an-seat s.o.  
sit down

tiy-al- fart

tiy-k-ay

fart on (as a skunk does)

TABLE 27

## DERIVATIONAL MORPHEME // -K' -// ON TRANSITIVE VERBS

ʔač'-aʔ-	sense, hear or taste it	ʔač'-k'-aʔ-	pay attention to it
bač-iy-	twirl a fire drill	bač'-k'-in-*	n.t.
bal-iy-	put it in	bal-k'-iy-	put it into s.t.
		bal-k'-in	get into s.t.
baθ-aʔ-	hang it, dangle it	baθ-k'-in-	tumble down
bač'-uw-	receive it	bač'-k'-uw-	receive it as a surprise or obligation
boy-ow-	bundle it, roll it up	*boy-k'-on-	
bul-uw-	make it bulge out, protrude it	bul-k'-iš	bulging or jutting out
		bul-k'-i:l	knot of a tree
but-uw-	make it round, swollen	but'-k'-aθ*	protruding from
čuč-uw-	nurse (suck the breast)	*čuč-k'-	
ʔeb-ay-	fill it up	ʔeb-k'-an-	rise (e.g. water)
ʔem-aʔ-	move it back and forth	ʔem-k'-a-čik-	totter
hab-aʔ-	hollow it, make a hole in it	hab-k'-aʔ-	finally break through s.t.
hap-iy-	open it	hap-k'-iy-	open it a little way
		hap-k'-in-	open up a crack
hep-aʔ-	split it, cut in pieces	hep-k'-aʔ-	n.t.
hil-aʔ-	leave it, allow it	hil-k'-aʔ-	abandon it, forget it
		hil-k'-on-	remain
hiš-aʔ-	draw it out, make it protrude	hiš-k'-an-	get loose, fall down, part from



hiθ-aʔ-	strip it clean, extrude it	hiθ-k'-ow-	abort it
		hiθ-k'-on-	abort
hol-ow-	fell it, cast it down	hol-k'-aʔ-	vacate it, empty it
		hol-k'-an-	empty out
		hol-k'-ow-	empty it, spill it
		hol-k'-on-	overflow
huč-uy-	blow on it, blow it away	huč -k'-an-*	blister, blow up
kem-aʔ-	blunt a cutting edge	kem-k'-aʔ-	dull it accidentally
lam-aʔ-	open the eyes	lam-k'-aʔ-	make it clear, explain it
lem-aʔ-	spread it out	lem-k'-aʔ-	spread wide (e.g. arms)
lič-aʔ-	push at s.t.	lič'-k'-ow-*	uproot it, tear it off
lin-aʔ-	flatten it	lin-k'-aʔ-	squash it, crush it
map-uy-	close it	map-k'-aʔ-	close it partially
		map-k'-un-	partially close up
met'-aʔ-	look at it	met'-k'-aʔ-	look at it in passing, glance at it
min-aʔ-	smear it, spread it	min-k'-ow-	stain it
miǰ'-aʔ-	tear it	miǰ'-k'-an-	tear apart
muθ-uw-	pile it up	muθ-k'-an-	congregate, come together
muǰ'-iy-	cut or lop it off	muǰ'-k'-iy-	cut it apart
nib-aʔ-	lower the head	nib-k'-aʔ-	bow down the head
niš-aʔ-	push it, push it away	niš-k'-aʔ-	drive, herd (e.g. cattle)
		niš-k'-in-	withdraw, recede
ol-iy-	smooth it, polish it	ʔol-k'-iy-	cause it to slip or slide
		ʔol-k'-in-	slip or slide on s.t.
pal-aʔ-	hang it up, suspend it	pal-k'-aʔ-	hang it from s.t.
pat'-aʔ-	peel it, work it	pat'-k'-aʔ-	tear it off
		pat'-k'-an-	peel off
pel-aʔ-	stretch it out horizontally	pel-k'-aʔ-	place it across or athwart
		pel-k'-ow-	cross it with s.t.
		pel-k'-on-	lie on one's side

peθ-ow-	finish it all, wipe it away	peθ-k'-ow-	clear it up for s.o.
pič-aʔ-	burst it	pič'-k'-an-*	burst apart
pul-iy-	bend or curve it	pul-k'-in-	bend down
pun-uw-	put it, place it	pun-k'-uw-	augment it
puǰ-iy-	pick it, harvest it, lop it off	puǰ'-k'-iy-*	complete the harvest
		puǰ'-k'-in-*	be finished (the harvest)
ših-aʔ-	disquiet, nag at s.o.	ših-k'-an-	demand as a right or privilege
tah-aʔ-	illuminate it	tah-k'-an-	shine, dawn
		tah-k'-al-	flash (lightning)
taθ-iy-	slide it, slip it	taθ-k'-in-	slip out
teš-ey-	pound it in	teš-k'-ey-	fasten it tight, nail it
		teš-k'-an-	stick closed
tim-aʔ-	ridicule or mock s.o.	tim-k'-oy-	disguise s.o., decorate it
		tim-k'-on-	get decorated
*tiš-aʔ-	.....	tiš-k'-aʔ-	take it away, remove it
		tiš-k'-an-	get taken away, removed
tol-iy-	roll it	tol-k'-iy-	make it roll
		tol-k'-in-	roll
tuy-aʔ-	tilt it, lean it	tuy-k'-aʔ-	balance it unstably
t'al-iy-	twist it, coil it	t'al-k'-in-	become entangled
		t'a:l-k'-i:š	crossed over (the feet)
t'ay-aʔ-	sow it, seed it	t'ay-k'-aʔ-	sow many varieties
θay-aʔ-	raise it, lift it up	θay-k'-aʔ-	raise it up high
		θay-k'-an-	rise up high
θib-ay-	protect s.t., make a barrier	θib-k'-oy-	interrupt with s.t.
		θib-lab	fish trap
θop-ow-	inflate it, make it swell	θop-k'-aʔ-	n.t.
θut'-uw-	squeeze or tighten it	θut'-k'-uθ	tied in knots

ɕin-aʔ- deny it, conceal it	ɕin-k'-aʔ- hide it
	ɕin-k'-an- hide
	ɕin-k'-oy- hide from s.o.
	ɕin-k'-on- hide from
ɕol-iy- loosen it, slacken it	ɕol-k'-aʔ- let it loose
	ɕol-k'-an- get loose
ɕ'a:h-uy- lasso it	ɕ'aw-k'-uy-* capture it with a lasso
	ɕ'aw-k'-un-* become entangled
ɕ'at'-aʔ- stick it, slap it	ɕ'at'-k'-aʔ- stick it tight
	ɕ'at'-k'-an- adhere
ɕ'ib-iθ silenced, quieted	ɕ'ib-k'-aʔ- quiet it, hush it
	ɕ'ib-k'-an- become quiet, disappear
ɕ'il-aʔ- cause an infection or illness	ɕ'il-k'-oy- infect with, communicate a disease
	ɕ'il-k'-on- become infected with
wah-aʔ- unbraid it	wah-k'-aʔ- unbraid it completely
	wah-k'-an- come unbraided
wat'-aʔ- pass it	wat'-k'-aʔ- pass by s.t.
weh-aʔ- clean it, clear it of rubbish	weh-k'-aʔ- clear it away
wel-aʔ- open it up (a passage)	wel-k'-aʔ- clear it up
	wel-k'-an- clear up (the sky)
?wenwo:l waddle	wen-k'-on- change from one position to another
wil-iy- circle it around s.t.	wil-k'-iy- turn it over and over
	wil-k'-in- turn over and over
yob-aʔ- bend it, curve it	yob-k'-aʔ- bend it briefly
	yob-k'-an- cramp or curl up temporarily
yun-iy- bend or curve it	yun-k'-in- become crooked
yut-iy- fine grind corn dough	yut'-k'-an-* wear away

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\* C --> C'/\_k'

\* The morphophonemic process in ɕ'aw-k'-uy- and ɕ'aw-k'-un- is described in Chapter 3, Section 5.1.6.

TABLE 28  
 DERIVATIONAL MORPHEME // -K' - // ON MIDDLE VOICE  
 AND ROOT INTRANSITIVE VERBS

# = have same root with transitive thematic suffix.

**Middle Voice**

bač-u-	wither	bač'-k'-un-*	deflate
# baθ-e-	hang down, dangle	baθ-k'-in-	tumble down
bež-e-	hang, be suspended	bež'-k'-a?-*	hang it from s.t.
		bež'-k'-an-*	hang from
bih-e-	vaporize	bih-k'-a?-	vaporize it
		bih-k'-an-	emit vapor, smell
hač-e-	become knotted, tangled	hač-k'-an-	get all tangled up
ham-e-	become short	ham-k'-a?-	shorten it
# hap-e-	open	hap-k'-iy-	open it a little way
		hap-k'-in-	open a crack
# hep-e-	split, come apart	hep-k'-a?-	n.t.
hoθ-e-	lengthen, drag	hoθ-k'-a?-	lengthen it
		hoθ-k'-an-	n.t.
# lem-e-	float in the air	lem-k'-a?-	spread it wide
lew-e-	lean, tip	lew-k'-a?-	lean it, tip it
		lew-k'-an-	lean, tip
# pal-e-	hang	pal-k'-a?-	hang it from s.t.
# pel-e-	lie across the way	pel-k'-a?-	place it across or athwart s.t.
		pel-k'-ow-	cross it, cross it with s.t.
		pel-k'-on-	lie on one's side
puθ-e-	bubble	puθ-k'-an-	bubble up
# tuy-u-	tilt, lean	tuy-k'-a?-	balance it unstably

# θay-e-	rise, get up	θay-k'-a?-	raise it up high
		θay-k'-an-	rise up high
# θop-e-	inflate, swell up	θop-k'-a?-	n.t.
# ϕin-e-	hide	ϕin-k'-a?-	hide it
		ϕin-k'-an-	hide
		ϕin-k'-cy-	hide from s.o.
		ϕin-k'-on-	hide from
# ϕ'at'-e-	stick	ϕ'at'-k'-a?-	stick it tight
		ϕ'at'-k'-an-	adhere
wač-u-	deflate	wač'-k'-un-*	deflate completely
# wat'-e-	pass, come to pass	wat'-k'-a?-	pass by s.t.
wič-e-	return, turn back	wič'-k'-on-*	return again
# yob-e-	cramp, draw up	yob-k'-a?-	bend it briefly
		yob-k'-an-	camp or curl up temporarily

#### Root Intransitives

ʔač-in-	bathe	*ʔač-k'-in-
yaʔ-ul-	get sick	yawʔ-k'-in-*

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\* C --> C'/\_k'

\* The metathesis process in yawʔ-k-in- is described in Chapter 3, Section 4.3

TABLE 29

## VERB SUFFIX //-V:NA?//

This suffix added to roots and stems conveys the meaning 'do something suddenly, in passing, all at once'. A single asterisk before an elicited form means that it was unacceptable; double asterisks in a space mean that no form could be elicited. If two variant forms were given, both are listed.

1. Root transitive verbs with thematic suffix //-a?-//.

?ab-a?-	send it	?ab-a:na?
?a:t-a?-	gain it, win it	?a:t-a:na?
?at'-a?-	nauseate s.o.	?at'-a:na?
bal-a?-	scatter it	bal-a:na?
bel-a?-	believe it	bel-a:na?
bi:n-a?-	give it, deliver it	bi:n-a:na?
čik-a?-	burn it	čik-i:na?
?el-a?-	find, encounter	?el-o:na?
?eš-a?-	exert force, make an effort	*?eš-a:na?
hab-a?-	hollow it, make a hole in it	hab-a:na?
hak-a?-	detach it, separate it	hak-a:na?
hak'-a?-	suck it in, inhale it	hak'-a:na?
heb-a?-	open it badly or by force	heb-e:na?
hek'-a?-	spare it, save it	hek'-o:na?
hel-a?-	calm it, rest oneself	hel-o:na?
hep-a?-	split it, cut it in pieces	hep-o:na?
hik-a?	smell it, scent it	hik-o:na?
hik'-a?	sniff it, inhale through nose	hik'-o:na?
hil-a?-	leave it, leave it behind, allow it	hil-o:na?
hiš-a?-	draw it out, make it protrude	hiš-i:na?
hu:n-a?-	accompany s.o.	**
?iy-a?-	carry it, cart it	?iy-i:na?
kah-a?-	boil it with water and salt	kah-a:na?
kem-a?-	blunt a cutting edge, dull it	kem-e:na?
kin-a?-	haul it	kin-i:na?
kub-a?-	place it upright, on its feet	kub-u:na?
kwaθ-a?-	hit it	kwaθ-a:na?
kweč-a?-	coil it	kweč-e:na?

k'em-aʔ-	wiggle it back and forth	k'em-e:naʔ
k'et'-aʔ-	twist or pull it backwards	k'et'-e:naʔ
k'ib-aʔ-	lose it	k'ib-i:naʔ
k'op-aʔ-	break it, snap it in two	k'op-o:naʔ
k'wiǰ-aʔ-	roll it, coil it	k'wiǰ-i:naʔ
k'wiy-aʔ-	scold s.o.	k'wiy-i:naʔ
lek-aʔ-	taste it	lek-o:naʔ
lem-aʔ-	spread it out (e.g. clothes)	lem-e:naʔ
lin-aʔ-	squash it, crush it, flatten it	lin-i:naʔ
lub-aʔ-	strive, exert force	lub-u:naʔ
met'-aʔ-	look at it	met'-e:naʔ
miǰ'-aʔ-	tear it	miǰ'-i:naʔ
nik'-aʔ-	line it up	nik'-i:naʔ
niʔ-aʔ-	squeeze it, crush it, compress it	niʔ-i:naʔ
ʔoǰ-aʔ-	put it inside	ʔoǰ-o:naʔ
pak-aʔ-	double it over, fold it	pak-a:naʔ
pal-aʔ-	hang it up	pal-a:naʔ
peh-aʔ-	break it	peh-e:naʔ
pen-aʔ-	lift it, raise it up	pen-o:naʔ
pič-aʔ-	burst it	pič-i:naʔ
pit-aʔ-	scrape or rub it off	pit-i:naʔ
piθ-aʔ-	give it	piθ-o:naʔ
piy-aʔ-	squeeze it out	piy-i:naʔ
pu:n-aʔ-	mount it, get on top of it	*pu:n-u:naʔ
put'-aʔ-	thrust it out	put'-u:naʔ
šaʔ-aʔ-	vomit it	šaʔ-a:naʔ
šek'-aʔ-	prick it, perforate it, inject s.o.	šek'e:naʔ
ših-aʔ-	disquiet, nag at s.o.	ših-i:naʔ
tak-aʔ-	touch it	tak-a:naʔ
tal-aʔ-	finish it, complete it	tal-a:naʔ
tel-aʔ-	stare at it	tel-o:naʔ
tub-aʔ-	spit it	tub-u:naʔ
t'ah-aʔ-	do it, make it	t'ah-a:naʔ
t'ak-aʔ-	wash it (dishes, corn, etc.)	t'ak-a:naʔ
t'ay-aʔ-	sow it, seed it	t'ay-a:naʔ
t'il-aʔ-	remember it, recollect it	t'il-a:naʔ
t'iʔ-aʔ-	pile one thing on top of another, pile it up	t'iʔ-i:naʔ
θay-aʔ-	raise it, lift it up	θay-a:naʔ
θik-aʔ-	drain it, strain it	θik-i:naʔ
θik'-aʔ-	sip it, soak it up	θik'-i:naʔ

θip-aʔ-	braid it, entangle it	θip-o:naʔ
θit'-aʔ-	treat illness by heating	θip-i:naʔ
θiy-aʔ-	shake it, beat it	θit'-o:naʔ
θuċ-aʔ-	write it, draw it	θit'-i:naʔ
ʔah-aʔ-	dig it, spade it	θiy-i:naʔ
ʔak-aʔ-	place it, set it in place	θuċ-u:naʔ
ʔat'-aʔ-	stick it, slap it, make tortillas	ʔah-a:naʔ
ʔik'-aʔ-	sting it, bite it	ʔak-a:naʔ
		ʔat'-a:naʔ
		ʔik'-i:naʔ
		*ʔik'-a:naʔ
ʔuċ-aʔ-	say or tell it to s.o.	ʔuċ-u:naʔ
ʔum-aʔ-	grab hold of it	ʔum-u:naʔ
ʔuġ'-aʔ-	drink it	ʔuġ'-u:naʔ
wat'-aʔ-	pass it, pass by it, come to pass	wat'-a:naʔ
weh-aʔ-	clean it, clear it of rubbish	weh-o:naʔ
wel-aʔ-	clear up (sky), open a passage	wel-e:naʔ
wik'-aʔ-	tie it, fasten it	wik'-i:naʔ
wil-aʔ-	untie it, unlash it	wil-o:naʔ
wiθ-aʔ-	rub it, strip it	wiθ-o:naʔ
wiy-aʔ-	roast it	wiy-i:naʔ
yak'w-aʔ-	grasp it, seize it	yak'w-a:naʔ
yin-aʔ-	comb hair Huastec style	yin-i:naʔ
yob-aʔ-	bend it, curve it	yob-o:naʔ

2. Root transitive verbs with thematic suffix // -Vy- //.

ʔah-iy-	read it, count it, recount it	ʔah-i:naʔ
ʔak-iy-	deliver it, carry it	ʔak-i:naʔ
ʔak'-iy-	weed it	ʔak'-i:naʔ
ʔal-iy-	look for it	ʔal-i:naʔ
ʔa:l-iy-	brush it accidentally	ʔa:l-i:naʔ
bak-iy-	wake s.o., arouse s.o.	bak-i:naʔ
bal-iy-	put it in	bal-i:naʔ
baġ-iy-	rub it, scrub it	baġ-i:naʔ
bih-iy-	name it, name s.o.	bih-i:naʔ
bih-oy-	singe it, sear it	bih-o:naʔ
bik'-iy-	strike it with the hand	bik'-i:naʔ
bol-iy-	set it upright, align it	bol-i:naʔ
ċiš-iy-	clear away trees and brush	ċiš-i:naʔ
ċuk-uy-	sew it	ċuk-u:naʔ
ċu:m-iy-	point it, make it pointed	ċu:m-i:naʔ
ʔeġ-ey-	gather firewood	ʔeġ-e:naʔ



hap-iy-	open it	hap-i:na?
hol-iy-	bury it, inter it	hol-i:na?
huč-uy-	blow on it, blow it away	huč-u:na?
kan-iy-	invite s.o.	kan-i:na?
kaʔ-iy-	put on clothes, shoes	kaʔ-i:na?
kon-oy-	ask it, question s.o.	kon-o:na?
kot-oy-	cut it, saw it	kot-o:na?
koʒ'-iy-	scratch it, rasp it, scrape it	koʒ'-i:na?
ko:ʔ-oy-	care for it, keep it	ko:ʔ-o:na?
kuš-uy-	bear it, endure it	kuš-u:na?
kwɑ:ʒ'-iy-	spy on s.o.	kwɑʒ'-i:na?
kwiʔ-iy-	throw it, fling it	kwiʔ-i:na?
kwe:ʔ-ey-	rob s.o., steal it	kwe:ʔ-e:na?
k'aʔ-iy-	carry water	k'aʔ-i:na?
k'it'-iy-	smooth it	k'it'-i:na?
k'ot'-iy-	undress s.o.	k'ot'-i:na?
k'uč'-iy-	annoy s.o., rub against it	k'uč'-i:na?
k'wɑʒ'-iy-	soak corn in lye water	k'wɑʒ'-i:na?
k'wil-iy-	skin it, husk it, push up sleeves	k'wil-i:na?
k'wit'-iy-	polish it, clean it	k'wit'i:na?
lek'-oy-	lick it	lek'-o:na?
lik-iy-	tickle s.o.	lik-i:na?
loʒ'-iy-	scratch it, scrape it	loʒ'-i:na?
mah-uy-	paint it	mah-u:na?
mal-iy-	entangle it, wind it about	mal-i:na?
map-uy-	close it	map-u:na?
mat-iy-	lend it	mat-i:na?
ma:ʒ'-uy-	surround it with a wall	ma:ʒ'-u:na?
miθ-iy-	wash the face	miθ-i:na?
muʒ'-iy-	lop it off	muʒ'-i:na?
ʔoθ-iy-	disarrange it, decompose it, get it out of order	ʔoθ-i:na?
pah-iy-	file it, grind it	pah-i:na?
pah-uy-	smoke it, cense it	pah-u:na?
peθ-oy-	sweep it, brush it	peθ-o:na?
pik-oy-	peel it	pik-o:na?
pil-iy-	untie it, unfasten it	pil-i:na?
piʒ'-iy-	scratch it away, scatter it	piʒ'-i:na?
puh-ay-	baptise s.o.	puh-u:na?
puʒ'-iy-	pick it, harvest it	puʒ'-i:na?
šik-oy-	pierce it, goad it, prick it	šik-o:na?

tak-uy-	choose it, select it	tak-u:na?
tak'-iy-	spread it out in the sun	tak'-i:na?
tin-iy-	dust it, brush it off	tin-i:na?
tol-iy-	roll it	tol-i:na?
t'ak'-iy-	cut it with a machete	t'ak'-i:na?
t'al-iy-	twist it, coil it	t'al-i:na?
t'ap-iy-	cut or break it apart	t'ap-i:na?
t'aw-iy-	grind sugarcane	t'aw-i:na?
t'en-ey-	play an instrument	t'en-e:na?
t'il-iy-	toast it (e.g. corn)	t'il-i:na?
t'ip-oy-	measure it, exemplify s.t.	t'ip-o:na?
t'oh-iy-	prepare it	t'oh-o:na?
t'uč-iy-	fill it	t'uč-i:na?
t'ul-iy-	roll or tuck it up	t'ul-i:na?
θač-iy-	tickle s.o.	θač-i:na?
θim-iy-	blow one's nose	θim-i:na?
θu:b-ay-	whistle at s.o.	θu:b-a:na?
ϕab-ay-	soak it	ϕab-a:na?
ϕah-iy-	weave it	ϕah-i:na?
ϕaw-iy-	shake it, rotate it	ϕaw-i:na?
ϕa:ʔ-ay-	peep out at s.o.	ϕa:ʔ-a:na?
ϕeʔ-ey-	grind it	ϕeʔ-e:na?
ϕikw-iy-	jerk it	ϕikw-i:na?
ϕol-iy-	loosen it, slacken it	ϕol-i:na?
ϕ'a:h-uy-	lasso it	ϕ'a:h-u:na?
ϕ'aʔ-iy-	buy it, purchase it	ϕ'aʔ-i:na?
ϕ'up-iy-	sharpen it to a point	ϕ'up-i:na?
wak'-ay-	sprinkle it, strew it, scatter it	wak'-a:na?
wa:t-iy-	cover s.o., put on a wrap	wa:t-i:na?
waθ-iy-	sprinkle it with liquid	waθ-i:na?
waϕ-iy-	scrape it, plane it, shave it	waϕ-i:na?
wip-iy-	whip it, whip s.o.	wip-i:na?
wiϕ-iy-	decorate it with flowers	wiϕ-i:na?
yaϕ-iy-	move it	yaϕ-i:na?

3. Root transitive verbs with thenatic suffix // -Vw- //.

bah-uw-	reach it, attain it	bah-u:na?
baϕ'-uw-	receive it	baϕ'-u:na?
boy-ow-	bundle it, roll it up	boy-o:na?
buk'-uw-	scatter it, distribute it	buk'-u:na?
čuč-uw-	nurse, suck it	čuč-u:na?
čuʔ-uw-	stretch it (rubber or wire)	čuʔ-u:na?

hal-uw-	exceed it, surpass it	hal-u:na?
hol-ow-	fell it, cast it down,	hol-o:na?
huɕ'-uw-	suck it	huɕ'-u:na?
kal-uw-	stretch it, extend it	kal-u:na?
kaθ-uw-	rip it, tear it	kaθ-u:na?
k'at'-uw-	bite it, gnaw it	k'at'-u:na?
k'aɕ'-uw-	beat it, mix it together	k'aɕ'-u:na?
k'oh-ow-	harvest it	k'oh-o:na?
k'ol-ow-	wound it, injure it	k'ol-o:na?
k'up-uw-	disperse it, scatter it	k'up-u:na?
k'ut'-uw-	swallow it	k'ut'-u:na?
lak'-uw-	scrape it away	lak'-u:na?
laʔ-uw-	pull it out, pluck it	laʔ-u:na?
loʔ-ow-	pierce it, perforate it	loʔ-o:na?
luh-uw-	confess one's sins	luh-u:na?
moʔ-ow-	throw it to the ground	moʔ-o:na?
mul-uw-	form a ball	mul-u:na?
mut'-uw-	squint one's eyes	mut'-u:na?
muθ-uw-	pile it up	muθ-u:na?
nuh-uw-	sell it	nuh-u:na?
nuk'-uw-	spread it out	nuk'-u:na?
pak-uw-	spend it, use it up	pak-u:na?
pak'-uw-	wash clothes	pak'-u:na?
pok'-ow-	break it, shatter it	pok'-o:na?
pun-uw-	put it, place it	pun-u:na?
put-uw-	fulfill it, complete it	put-u:na?
šal-uw-	mix it, turn it over (earth)	šal-u:na?
šuy-uw-	narrow it, bring it together	šuy-u:na?
tam-uw-	find it, meet it	tam-u:na?
tuh-uw-	begin it	tuh-u:na?
tuθ-uw-	bend one's knees	tuθ-u:na?
t'uk-uw-	drip it, dribble it, pour it	t'uk-u:na?
θop-ow-	inflate it	θop-o:na?
θut'-uw-	squeeze it, tighten it	θut'-u:na?
ɕaʔ-uw-	pound it, bruise it	ɕaʔ-u:na?
ɕ'aʔ-uw-	chew it	ɕ'aʔ-u:na?
ɕ'ok-ow-	take out a handful	ɕ'ok-o:na?
ɕ'oʔ-ow-	pierce it, insert it	ɕ'oʔ-o:na?
ɕ'uʔ-uw-	poke it, stir up a fire	ɕ'uʔ-u:na?

ʔul-uw-	say it, speak it	ʔul-u:naʔ
ʔut-uw-	bring or place it near	ʔut-u:naʔ
wah-uw-	scatter, disperse, separate	wah-u:naʔ

4. Root transitive verb with irregular thematic suffix.

k'ap-u-	eat it	k'ap-u:naʔ
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5. Stem transitive verbs with thematic suffix // -aʔ -//.

ʔanθ-aʔ-	bring or take it home	ʔanθ-a:naʔ
čiʔθ-aʔ-	bring it	čiʔθ-a:naʔ
ʔešl-aʔ-	know it, be acquainted with it	ʔešl-a:naʔ
ʔešo:bn-aʔ-	study it	*ʔešo:bn-a:naʔ
ʔe:θ-aʔ-	animate it, awake s.o. (ʔeh-e- + θ)	ʔeθ-a:naʔ
heθk-aʔ-	lean it, prop it against s.t.	heθk-a:naʔ
hok'p-aʔ-	light a fire, kindle it	hok'p-a:naʔ
holk'-aʔ-	vacate it, empty it	holk'-a:naʔ
ʔihk-aʔ-	drop it, fell it, throw it down	ʔihk-a:naʔ
ka:θ-aʔ-	take it out, remove it (kal-e- + θ)	ka:θ-a:naʔ
ka:wn-aʔ-	speak it, say it	*ka:wn-a:naʔ
ketb-aʔ-	seat s.o.	ketb-a:naʔ
kitn-aʔ-	load oneself with s.t.	*kitn-a:naʔ
kwahl-aʔ-	fell it, knock it down	kwahl-a:naʔ
k'ičl-aʔ-	cause to sweat	k'ičl-i:naʔ
lek'p-aʔ-	balance it	**
lemk'-aʔ-	spread it wide	lemk'-o:naʔ
le:ʔn-aʔ-	want it, desire it	*le:ʔn-a:naʔ
loʔp-aʔ-	end it, finish it	loʔp-a:naʔ
moʔk-aʔ-	throw it down	moʔk-a:naʔ
ʔo:θ-aʔ-	put it inside (ʔoʔ-e- + θ)	ʔo:θ-o:naʔ
pamn-aʔ-	carry it on the head	pam-a:naʔ
pat'k'-aʔ-	peel it, tear it off, work it	pat'k'-a:naʔ
pet'n-aʔ-	throw it, cast it	pet'e:naʔ
pohk-aʔ-	despise it, repulse s.o.	pohk-a:naʔ

tame:tn-aʔ-	confront s.o., face it	**
tawn-aʔ-	speak or talk to s.o.	tawn-a:naʔ
teyn-aʔ-	grasp it, clutch it	teyn-a:naʔ
tišk'-aʔ-	take it away, remove it	tišk'-a:naʔ
tcmn-aʔ-	suit one's interest	*tcmn-a:naʔ
t'apme:θ-aʔ-	stick it, glue it	**
ʕamk'-aʔ-	chill it	ʕamk'-a:naʔ
ʕink-aʔ-	hide it	ʕink-a:naʔ
ʕ'ehk-aʔ-	make it, form it, construct it	ʕ'ehk-a:naʔ
ʕ'ehn-aʔ-	fear it, dread it	*ʕ'ehn-a:naʔ
ʕ'ibk'-aʔ-	quiet it, hush s.o.	ʕ'ibk'-a:naʔ
walk-aʔ-	free it, liberate it	walk-a:naʔ
yahčikn-aʔ-	suffer it	**

6. Stem transitive verbs with thematic suffix // -Vy- //.

ʔaht-iy-	sing it	ʔaht-i:naʔ
ʔalk'w-iy-	wedge it to level it	ʔalk'w-i:naʔ
bošm-ay-	pleat it	bošm-a:naʔ
buʔč-uy-	stuff it	*buʔč-u:naʔ
č'učb-iy-	point with the finger	č'učb-i:naʔ
ʔeht-iy-	understand it	ʔeht-i:naʔ
ʔelb-ay-	sicken s.o.	ʔelb-a:naʔ
ʔešb-ay-	understand it	ʔešb-a:naʔ
halb-iy-	pay it	halb-i:naʔ
halk-iy-	hang it across the shoulders	halk-i:naʔ
halk'-uy-	change one thing for another	halk'-u:naʔ
holb-iy-	condemn it, accuse s.o.	holb-i:naʔ
ʔila:l-iy-	cure s.o., make s.o. well	*ʔila:l-i:naʔ
ʔišk'-ay-	blow it, breathe it	ʔišk'-a:naʔ
kašb-ay-	hawk, clear the throat	kašb-a:naʔ
keθm-ay-	chase it, drive it away	keθm-a:naʔ
kilm-ay-	stripe it, form rows (corn)	*kilm-a:naʔ
kiθb-ay-	complete it, finish it	kiθb-a:naʔ
k'amb-iy-	deceive s.o., cheat s.o.	k'amb-i:naʔ
k'a:nč-iy-	deprive s.o.	*k'a:nč-i:naʔ
k'waʔč-iy-	mend it, patch it	k'waʔč-i:naʔ
k'waʔčim-iy-	dress s.o., clothe s.o.	**

la:bl-iy-	bless it	la:bl-i:na?
lalb-ay-	brush it	lalb-a:na?
lehb-ay-	measure it, weigh it	lehb-a:na?
lek'wɣ-iy-	light it, kindle it	lek'wɣ-i:na?
lukl-iy-	dirty it	lukl-i:na?
maɣ'k'-iy-	crush it, squeeze it	maɣ'k'-i:na?
muhč-iy-	pile it up on top of s.t.	muhč-i:na?
ʔoɣo:w-iy-	listen to s.o.	ʔoɣ-o:na?
pašk'-iy-	cover it with a lid	pašk'-i:na?
pelb-ay-	pierce it, transfix it	pelb-a:na?
pukɣ-iy-	sprinkle it with s.t. dry	pukɣ-i:na?
tamk-uy-	unite it, join it	tamk-u:na?
tešk'-ey-	fasten it, nail it, force it closed	tešk'-e:na?
tok'ɣ-iy-	answer it, reply to it	tok'ɣ-i:na?
toɣ'k'-iy-	bar it, prop it closed	toɣ'k'-i:na?
tolm-iy-	help s.o., assist s.o.	tolm-i:na?
tomk-iy-	marry s.o.	tomk-i:na?
t'ičk'-oy-	shoot it with an arrow	t'ičk'-o:na?
t'ioḅ-ay-	punch it, perforate it, hook it	t'ioḅ-a:na?
θetkw-iy-	place things close together	θetkw-i:na?
θuk'č-uy-	entangle it	θuk'č-u:na?
θuʔb-ay-	wrap it up, bundle it	θuʔb-a:na?
ɕakul-iy-	smoke it, cure it in smoke	ɕakul-i:na?
ɕalm-iy-	shade it	ɕalm-i:na?
ɕalp-ay-	think it	ɕalp-a:na?
ɕiʔm-ay-	sweeten it	ɕiʔm-a:na?
ɕo:kl-iy-	shoot it	ɕo:kl-i:na?
ɕoɣb-ay-	kick it	ɕoɣb-a:na?
ɕ'apn-ey-	salt it (RL ɕ'apn-iy-)	ɕ'apn-i:na?
ɕ'ehwal-iy-	make a present of	*ɕ'ehwal-ina?
ɕ'iʔk-iy-	begin it	ɕ'iʔk-i:na?
ɕ'oʔm-ay-	brand it	ɕ'oʔm-a:na?
ɕ'uɣ'b-ay-	kiss s.o.	ɕ'uɣ'b-a:na?
ʔuk'č-iy-	forget it	ʔuk'č-i:na?
walk-iy-	stare at s.o.	walk-i:na?

7. Stem transitive verbs with thematic suffix // -Vw-//.

baɣ'k'-uw-	receive as an obligation	baɣ'k'-u:na?
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ʔeht-uw-	be able to	**
ʔešl-ow-	be acquainted with it	ʔešl-o:naʔ
help-uw-	dislocate it (e.g. a bone)	help-u:naʔ
hepl-ow-	break it into pieces	hepl-o:naʔ
hiθk'-ow-	abort it	hiθk'-o:naʔ
holk'-ow-	empty it	holk'-o:naʔ
hunk-uw-	agree, equalize it, match it	hunk-u:naʔ
k'apø'-uw-	eat it all	k'apø'-u:naʔ
lič k'-ow-	uproot it, tear it off	lič k'-o:naʔ
pakl-uw-	destroy it, smash it, knock it down	pakl-u:naʔ
pašk'-uw-	boil it	pašk'-u:naʔ
pelk-ow-	cross it over	pelk-o:naʔ
pikl-ow-	peel it	pikl-o:naʔ
punø-uw-	put or place it all	punø-u:naʔ
tahl-uw-	calm it, quiet it, allay it	tahl-u:naʔ
ø'epl-ow-	invert it, place it head down	ø'epl-o:naʔ
waʔul-uw-	flap it back and forth	waʔ-uw:naʔ
wipl-ow-	turn it over, revolve it	wipl-o:naʔ

TABLE 30

## REDUPLICATION OF VERB ROOTS AND STEMS

A blank space means that the form was not questioned for; an asterisk in the space that a reduplicated form is not possible for that root or stem; an asterisk before a term that the form was proposed and rejected; and a question mark that the form is marginally acceptable. Sometimes the only form elicited was a // -Vn-// intransitive one; in a few cases both transitive and intransitive forms were given.

		Repetitive Action	Dilatory Action
1. <u>Thematic suffix</u> // -a?-//.			
?ab-a?	send it	?ab-abay-	?ab-?a:y-
bi:n-a?-	give it, deliver it	bi:n-anay-	*bi:n-bi:y-
čik-a?-	burn it		čik-či:y-
heb-a?-	open it badly or by force	heb-oboy-	heb-he:y-
hep-a?-	split it, cut it in pieces	hep-opon-	hep-ho:y-
hil-a?-	leave it, leave it behind	*hil-alay-	?hil-hi:y-
hiš-a?-	draw it out, make it protrude	hiš-hi:y-	
?iy-a?-	carry it, cart it		?iy-?i:y-
kin-a?-	haul it	kin-iniy-	kin-ki:y-
kwaθ-a?-	hit it		kwaθ-kwa:y-
kweč-a?-	coil it	kweč-očoy-	kweč-kwe:y-
k'em-a?-	wiggle it back and forth	k'em-omon-	k'em-k'o:y-
k'et'-a?-	twist or pull it backwards, crucify s.o.	k'et'-ot'oy-	k'et'-k'e:y-
k'op-a?-	break it, snap it in two	k'op-opoy-	k'op-k'o:y-
lem-a?-	spread out (e.g. clothes)	lem-onoy- lem-onon-	lem-lo:y-
lin-a?-	squash it, crush it, flatten it	lin-onoy-	lin-li:y- lin-iniy-
met'-a?-	look at it	met'-et'ey-	met'-mo:y-
mič'-a?-	tear it	mič'-ič'iy-	mič'-mi:y-
nik'-a?-	line it up	nik'-ik'iy-	nik'-ni:y-



pit-aʔ-	scrape or rub it off	pit-itiy-	pit-pi:y-
piθ-aʔ-	give it		piθ-pi:y-
piy-aʔ-	squeeze it out	piy-iyiy-	piy-pi:y-
šek'-aʔ-	prick it, perforate it, inject s.o.	šek'-ek'ey-	šek'-šo:y-
šič-aʔ-	regrind corn dough	*šek'-ok'oy-	
ših-aʔ-	disquiet, nag at s.o.	šič-ičiy-	šič-ši:y-
šik'w-aʔ-	wrinkle it	ših-ihiy-	ših-ši:y-
		šik'w-ik'wiy	
tak'w-aʔ-	dent it	tak'w-ak'way-	tak'w-ta:y-
tal-aʔ-	finish it, complete it	tal-alay-	
t'ah-aʔ-	do it, make it	t'ah-ahay-	
t'ay-aʔ-	sow it, seed it	t'ay-ayay-	t'ay-t'a:y-
t'iθ-aʔ-	string it, thread it		t'iθ-t'o:y-
θik-aʔ-	drain it, strain it	θik-ikiy-	θik-θi:y-
θik'-aʔ-	sip it, soak it up	θik'-ik'iy-	
θiy-aʔ-	shake it, beat it	θiy-iyiy-	θiy-θi:y-
θuč-aʔ-	write it, draw it	θuč-ucuy-	θuč-θu:y-
ʒin-aʔ-	deny it, conceal it	ʒin-iniy-	ʒin-ʒi:y-
ʒ'ak-aʔ	place it, set it in place	ʒ'ak-akay-	
ʒ'at'-aʔ-	stick it, slap it, make tortillas	ʒ'at'-at'ay-	ʒ'at'-ʒ'a:y-
ʔuǰ'-aʔ-	drink it		ʔuǰ'-ʔu:y-
weh-aʔ-	clean it, clear it of rubbish	weh-ohoy-	*weh-wo:y-
wel-aʔ-	clear it up (sky), open up a passage	wel-oloy-	wel-wo:y-
			wel-we:y-
yin-aʔ-	comb hair Huastec style	yin-iniy-	yin-yi:y-
yob-aʔ-	bend it, curve it	yob-oboy-	yob-yo:y-
		yob-obon-	

2. Thematic suffix // -Vy-//.

ʔah-iy-	read it, count it		ʔah-ʔi:y-
ʔak-iy-	deliver it, carry it		ʔak-ʔi:y-
ʔak'-iy-	weed it		ʔak'-ʔi:y-
ʔal-iy-	look for it		ʔal-ʔi:y-
baǰ-iy-	rub it, scrub it	baǰ-iǰiy-	baǰ-bi:v-
bih-iy-	name it	bih-ihiy-	bih-bi:y-
bih-oy-	singe it, soften in flame	bih-ohoy-	bih-bo:y-
bok'-iy-	beat (clothes), slap noisily		bok'-bo:y-

čiš-iy- čuk-uy- čup-iy-	clear away trees and brush sew it penetrate it, permeate it	čiš-išiy- čuk-ukuy- čup-ipy-	čiš-či:y- čuk-ču:y-
ʔeʔ-ey-	gather firewood	ʔeʔ-eʔey-	ʔeʔ-ʔe:y-
ʔiš-iy-	shell corn		ʔiš-ʔi:y-
kan-iy- kaʔ-iy- kiʔ-o:y- kot-oy- koʒ'-iy-	invite s.o. put on clothes, shoes put food in another's mouth cut it, saw it scratch it, scrape it	kaʔ-iʔiy- kiʔ-oʔoy- kot-otoy- koʒ'-iʒ'in	kan-ki:y- kayʔ-ki:y-* kiwʔ-ko:y-* kot-ko:y- koʒ'-ki:y-
kwa:ʒ-iy- kwiʔ-iy-	spy on s.o. throw it, fling it	kwiʔ-iʔiy-	kwaʒ-kwi:y- kwiʔ-kwi:y-
k'aʔ-iy- k'it'-iy- k'ot'-iy- k'uč'-iy-	carry water smooth it undress s.o. annoy s.o., chafe it	k'aʔ-iʔiy- k'it'-it'iy- k'ot'-it'iy- k'uč'-ičiy-	k'ayʔ-k'i:y-* k'it'-k'i:y- k'ot'-k'i:y- k'uč'-k'i:y-
k'wit'-iy-	polish it, clean it	k'wit'-it'iy-	k'wit'-k'wi:y-
lek'-oy- loʒ'-iy-	lick it scratch it, scrape it	lek-ckoy- loʒ'-iʒ'iy-	lek'-lo:y- loʒ'-li:y-
mah-uy- ma:ʒ'-uy- muʒ'-iy-	paint it surround it with a wall lop it off	mah-uhuy ma:ʒ'-uʒ'uy-	maw-mu:y-* maʒ'-mu:y- muʒ'-mi:y-
niʔ-oy-	place one thing beneath another, weight s.t. down	niʔ-oʔoy-	niwʔ-no:y-*
ʔol-iy-	smooth it, polish it	ʔol-iliy-	
pah-iy-	file it, grind it	pah-ihiy- pah-ihin-	*pah-pi:y-
peθ-oy-	sweep it, brush therapeutically	peθ-oθoy-	peθ-po:y-
pik-oy- piʒ'-iy- puʒ'-iy-	peel it scratch it away, scatter it pick it, harvest it, break it off	pik-okoy- piʒ'-iʒiy- puʒ'-iʒiy-	pik-po:y- piʒ'-pi:y- puʒ'-pi:y-
šik-oy-	pierce it, goad it	šik-okoy-	
tak-uy- tin-iy-	choose it, select it dust it, brush it off	tak-ukuy- tin-iniy-	tak-tu:y- tin-ti:y-

t'ak'-iy-	cut it with a machete		t'ak'-t'i:y-
t'al-iy-	twist it, coil it	t'al-iliy-	t'al-t'i:y-
t'en-ey-	play an instrument	t'en-eney-	t'en-t'e:y-
t'ob-oy-	deflate it, shrivel it up	t'ob-oboy-	*t'ob-t'o:y-
t'oh-iy-	prepare it	t'oh-ohoy-	
t'uč-iy-	fill it	t'uč-ičiy-	t'uč-t'i:y-
		t'uč-ičin-	
t'ul-iy-	roll or tuck it up	t'ul-iliy-	t'ul-t'i:y-
ǰah-iy-	weave it	ǰah-ihiy	ǰah-ǰi:y-
ǰeʔ-ey-	grind it	ǰah-ihin-	
ǰol-iy-	loosen it, slacken it	ǰeʔ-eʔey-	ǰeʔ-ǰe:y-
		ǰol-iliy-	
ǰ'a:h-uy-	lasso it		ǰ'awʔ-ǰ'u:y*
ǰ'ik'w-iy-	pinch it	ǰ'ik'w-ik'wiy-	
ǰ'ok'-oy-	prick it, puncture it	ǰ'ok'-ok'oy-	ǰ'ok'-ǰ'oy-
wak'-ay-	sprinkle it, scatter it	wak'-ak'ay-	wak'-wa:y-
wəʒ-iy-	scrape it, plane it		wəʒ-wi:y-
yut-iy-	fine grind corn dough	yut-itiy-	yut-yi:y-

3. Thematic suffix // -Vw //.

bah-uw-	reach it, attain	bah-uhuy-	
buk'-uw-	scatter it, distribute i	buk'-uk'uy-	buk'-bu:y-
čuč-uw-	nurse, suck it	čuč-učuy-	čuč-ču:y-
hal-uw-	exceed it, surpass it	hal-uluy-	
kaθ-uw-	rip it, tear it		kaθ-ku:y-
k'at'-uw-	bite it, gnaw it		k'at'-k'u:y-
k'oh-ow-	harvest it	k'oh-ohoy-	k'oh-k'o:y-
k'ut'-uw-	swallow it	k'ut'-ut'uy-	k'ut'-k'u:y-
lak'-uw-	scrape it away	lak'-uk'uy-	lak'-lu:y-
luh-uw-	confess one's sins	luh-uhuy-	luh-lu:y-
mul-uw-	form it into a ball	mul-uluy-	
nuh-uw-	sell it	nuh-uhuy-	
pak'-uw-	wash clothes	pak'-uk'uy-	pak'-pu:y-
pok'-ow-	break it, shatter it	pok'-ok'oy-	pok'-po:y-
θop-ow-	inflate it	θop-opoy-	?θop-θc:y-

ʒ'ok-ow-	take out a handful	ʒ'ok-okoy-	ʒ'ok-ʒ'o:y-
ʒ'uʔ-uw-	poke it, stir up a fire		ʒ'uʔ-ʒ'u:y-
ʔut-uw-	bring or place it <sub>near</sub>		ʔut-ʔu:y-

4. Thematic suffix irregular.

ʔik'-iʔ-	carry it, cart it		ʔik'-ʔi:y-
ʒuʔ-u-	see it	ʒuʔ-uʔuy-	
k'ap-u-	eat it	k'ap-upuy-	k'ap-k'u:y-

5. Transitive stems.

bušk-aʔ-	seat s.o.	bušk-a-ay-	
čuʔeθ-aʔ-	stretch it	čuʔeθ-aθay-	
ʔeht-ow-	be able to	ʔeht-otoy-	
ʔehʒ-iy-	awake s.o., revive s.o.	ʔehʒ-iʒiy-	
hilk'-aʔ-	leave it behind, abandon it	hilk'-ak'ay-	
hišk'-aʔ-	loosen it, extract it	hišk'-ak'ay-	
kitn-aʔ-	load oneself with s.t.	kitn-anay-	
k'aθb-aʔ-	raise it	k'aθb-abay-	
ʔo:θ-aʔ-	put it inside (ʔoʒ-iʒ + θ)	ʔo:θ-aθay-	ʔo:θ-ʔo:y-
pihč-i-	feed s.o.	pihč-ičiy-	
ʒaʔb-iy-	visit s.o.	ʒaʔb-ibiy-	
ʒaʔk-uy-	pound on it	ʒaʔk-ukuy-	
ʒemθ-aʔ-	kill s.o. or s.t.	ʒemθ-aθay-	
ʒink'-aʔ-	hide it	ʒink'-ok'oy-	
		ʒink'-ok'on-	
ʒiʔm-ay-	sweeten it	ʒiʔm-amay-	
ʒuneθ-aʔ-	make it thick	ʒuneθ-aθay-	
ʒ'akb-aʔ-	get s.o. up	ʒ'akb-abay-	
ʒ'at k'-aʔ-	stick it tight	ʒ'at k'-ak'ay-	
ʒ'ehk-aʔ-	make it, construct	ʒ'ehk-akay-	
ʒ'ehn-aʔ-	fear it	ʒ'ehn-anay-	
ʒ'ibk'-aʔ-	quiet it, hush it	ʒ'ibk'-ak'ay-	
ʒ'iʔk-iy-	begin it	ʒ'iʔk-ikiy-	
ʒ'uʒ b-ay-	kiss s.o.	ʒ'uʒ b-abay-	

6. Middle voice and root intransitive verbs.

ʔač-im-	bathe	ʔač-ičín-	ʔač-ʔi:y-
ʔač'-e-	get wet	ʔač'-eč'en-	*ʔač'-ʔa:y-
bel-al-	walk, move along		bel-be:y-
beč-e-	hang, be suspended	beč-eč'en-	beč-be:y-
buš-u-	squat	buš-ušun-	
hob-e-	get stuffed, surfeited	hob-eben-	*hob-ho:y-
kwag-i-	go to bed	kwag-ičín-	
k'oč-e-	become fat	k'oč-eč'en-	*k'oč-k'ó:y-
k'wal-e-	thicken, coagulate	k'wal-elen-	
paʔ-i-	descend	paʔ-iʔin-	
tuy-u-	tilt, lean	tuy-uyun-	
θik-e-	drain away, leak	θik-eken-	θik-θi:y-
ǰaʔ-e-	descend, diminish	ǰaʔ-eʔen-	*
wač-u-	deflate	wač-učun-	
weh-e-	ripen, mature	weh-ehen-	
wil-e-	get drunk	wil-elen-	

7.7 Intransitive stems.

bač'k'-un-	deflate	bač'k'-uk'un-
k'wahl-en-	stay put	k'wahl-elen-
ǰilp-an-	slide, skid	ǰilp-apan-
ǰ'akl-en-	calm down	ǰ'akl-elen-

\* This metathesis process is described in Chapter 3, Section 4.3.

TABLE 31

## SUFFIX //-ČIK-//: REPETITIVE ACTION TO ACHIEVE A GOAL

Forms are cited in the completive inflection

ʔab-aʔ-	send it	ʔab-čik-iy	send by force or as an obligation
ʔal-iy-	look for it	ʔal-čik-iy	look all over for and find at last
ʔa:t-aʔ-	win it	ʔa:ta-čik-iy	win often
bak-iy-	wake s.o.	bak-čik-iy	wake s.o. repeatedly, until he gets up at last
bal-iy-	put it in	bal-čik-iy	put them all in s.t.
bel-al-	walk	belθa-čik-iy	walk babies
beletn-aʔ-	care for	beletna-čik-iy	care for a number of things in succession
bi:n-aʔ-	give it	bi:naš-čik-iy	give them many things
bušk-an-	sit down	buška-čik-in	sit down together
čik-aʔ-	burn it	čik-čik-iy	quickly burn it all
ʔehək	black, bad	ʔeh-čik-iy	observe or watch it closely*
ʔem-aʔ-	move it back and forth	ʔemk'a-čik-in	stagger, totter
hik-aʔ-	smell it	hikom-čik-iy	pick up the scent of
hik'e:θ-aʔ-	frighten s.o.	hik'e:θa-čik-iy	frighten them all
kan-iy-	invite s.o.	kanom-čik-iy	invite s.o. to do s.t.
ketl-en-	sit down	ketle-čik-in	sit down in a group
keθm-ay-	drive it away	keθma-čik-iy	drive them all away
k'ap-u-	eat it	k'ap-čik-iy	devour it
k'wet-oy-	sweep it	k'wet-čik-iy	sweep it all quickly

loʒ'-iy-	scratch it	loʒ'i-čik-iy	scratch all over, until the itching stops
met'-aʔ-	look at	met'k'a-čik-iy	look over
mink'-ow-	stain it	mink'o-čik-iy	stained all over
moʔk-aʔ-	place it on	moʔka-čik-iy	lay out one thing after another, as when setting a table
muʔ-uw-	cut in pieces	muʔ-čik-iy	cut it all up
nuh-uw-	sell it	nuh-čik-iy	go about selling things
pah-iy-	file it	payh-čik-iy	file it until sharp**
pak-uw-	spend, use it	pak-čik-iy	use it all up
pak-aʔ-	fold it	pakla-čik-iy	pleat it
pakl-uw-	destroy it	paklu-čik-iy	totally demolish
pak'-uw-	wash clothes	pak'w-čik-iy	wash quickly in order to wear again k' -->k'w/____č
?		palum-čik-iy	persuade, implore
paʔk-an-	get down from	paʔka-čik-in	get down one after another
peh-aʔ-	break it	peh-čik-iy	break into pieces
pehk-aʔ-	break it off	pehka-čik-iy	break it all up
pun-uw-	put, place	punču-čik-in	perch
puč-iy-	pick, harvest	puč-čik-iy	pick them all to complete the harvest
tak-aʔ-	touch it	tak-čik-iy	touch many times
tehk'-on-	perch	tehk'o-čik-in	perch
teʔen-	laugh	teʔ-čik-iy	laugh at s.o.
t'ah-aʔ-	do it	t'ah-čik-iy	do many things quickly in order to finish
θay-aʔ-	lift it up	θay-čik-iy	put all of it up
θip-aʔ-	braid it	θipa-čik-iy	braid it all

θuč-aʔ-	write it	θuh-čik-iy	finish writing it all č --> h/____č
ǰ'aʔ-uw-	chew it	ǰ'awʔ-čik-iy	chew it up rapidly**
ǰ'ehk-aʔ-	do it	ǰ'ehka-čik-iy	fix it all quickly
wak'l-aʔ-	throw it out	wak'la-čik-iy	throw it all over the place
wik'-aʔ-	tie, fasten	wik'-čik-iy	fasten it quickly
wik'l-iy-	wrap a belt	wik'li-čik-iy	wrap one's belt around and around
yak'w-aʔ-	seize it	yak'wan-čik-an	be seized (everyone)

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\* I infer a relationship between ʔehək 'black, bad, mestizo' and ʔehčikiy 'observe or watch closely' because watching someone closely, as Mestizos are reported to do, is considered by Huastecs to be very bad manners and suggests the possibility casting the evil eye.

\*\* The metathesis processes occurring in payhčikiy and ǰ'awʔčikiy are described in Chapter 3, Section 4.3.



TABLE 32  
ALTERNATING ACTION

		Related Root or Stem
bi:t'u:ʔ	move the ears back and forth	ʔ
bu:šle:ʔ	squat down from time to time	bušl-en- squat down
ʔehʒi:ʔ	wake up from time to time	ʔehʒ-in- awake, revive
ha:lk'u:ʔ	be capricious, changable, voluble	halk'-uy- change it
he:ʔko:ʔ	turn over and over in bed	heʔk-on- turn face up
hu:č'k'u:ʔ	hiccup from time to time	huč'k'-ul- hiccup
hu:lk'a:ʔ	tumble down	ʔ
ka:lpa:ʔ	go out from time to time	kalp-an- go out at once
ke:tle:ʔ	sit down from time to time	ketl-en- sit down
ke:θma:ʔ	`pájero vaquero', falcon family; its cry resembles a cowboy's yell	keθm-ay- drive, herd it
ko:yle:ʔ	rest from time to time	koy-ol- rest
ku:ble:ʔ	stand up from time to time	kub-e- stand up
k'a:le:ʔ	go and come, go and come	k'al-e- go, go away
k'a:θpa:ʔ	climb up and down	k'aθp-an- climb rapidly
k'i:hpa:ʔ	liquify bit by bit	k'ihp-an- dissolve
pa:ʔka:ʔ	go down and up, descend repeatedly	paʔk-an- descend from
ša:ʔpi:ʔ	vomit off and on, all day long	šaʔp-iy- vomit suddenly
te:ʔpi:ʔ	laugh from time to time	teʔ-en- laugh
t'u:lk'i:ʔ	roll over and over	t'ul-iy- roll up

ʔu:k'-i:ʔ	cry intermittently, like sick child	ʔuk'-in-	cry
wa:yle:ʔ	doze off and on	way-al-	sleep
we:nk'o:ʔ	change one's mind, dither	wenk'-on-	be converted
wi:č`k'o:ʔ	return and go, return and go	wič`k'-on-	return

TABLE 33  
VOWEL INTERACTIONS IN DERIVATIONS

Root	//-V:naʔ//	Repetitive Reduplication	Dilatory Reduplication	Intensive Adjective
<u>Root</u> <u>Vowel</u> /i/ N = 39				
bi:n-aʔ-	bi:n-a:naʔ	bi:n-anay-	*bi:n-bi:y-	bi:n-ono:l
čik-aʔ-	čik-i:naʔ		čik-či:y-	
čil-aʔ-				čil-ili:l
hik-aʔ-	hik-o:naʔ			
hik'-aʔ-	hik'-o:naʔ hik'-a:naʔ			
hil-aʔ-	hil-o:naʔ	*hil-alay-	?hil-hi:y-	
hiš-aʔ-	hiš-i:naʔ		hiš-hi:y-	
?iy-aʔ-	?iy-i:naʔ		?iy-ʔi:y-	
kin-aʔ-	kin-i:naʔ	kin-iniy-	kin-ki:y-	
k'ib-aʔ-	k'ib-i:naʔ			
k' iǰ-aʔ-	k' iǰ-i:naʔ			
k' iy-aʔ-	k' iy-i:naʔ			
lin-aʔ-	lin-i:naʔ	lin-iniy- lin-onoy-	lin-li:y-	
min-aʔ-				min-ono:l
miǰ'-aʔ-	miǰ'-i:naʔ	miǰ'-iǰ'iy-	miǰ'-mi:v-	
nik'-aʔ-	nik'-i:naʔ	nik'-ik'iy-	nik'-ni:y-	
niʔ-aʔ-	niʔ-i:naʔ			
pič-aʔ-	pič-i:naʔ			

pit-aʔ-	pit-i:naʔ	pit-itiy-	pit-pi:y-	
piθ-aʔ-	piθ-o:naʔ		piθ-pi:y-	
piy-aʔ-	piy-i:naʔ	piy-iyiy-	piy-pi:y-	
šič-aʔ-		šič-ičiy-	šič-ši:y-	
ših-aʔ-	ših-i:naʔ	ših-ihiy-	ših-ši:y-	
šik <sup>w</sup> -aʔ-		šik <sup>w</sup> -ik <sup>w</sup> iy-		
t'il-aʔ-	t'il-a:naʔ			
t'iθ-aʔ-			t'iθ-t'o:y-	
t'iʔ-aʔ-	t'iʔ-i:naʔ			
θik-aʔ-	θik-i:naʔ	θik-ikiy-	θik-θi:y-	
θik'-aʔ-	θik'-i:naʔ	θik'-ik'iy-		θik'-ok'o:l
θip-aʔ-	θip-o:naʔ θip-i:naʔ			
θit'-aʔ-	θit'-o:naʔ θit'-i:naʔ			
θiy-aʔ-	θiy-i:naʔ	θiy-iyiy-	θiy-θi:y-	
čín-aʔ-		čín-iniy-	čín-či:y-	
č'ik'-aʔ-	č'ik'-i:naʔ *č'ik'-a:naʔ			
wik'-aʔ-	wik'-i:naʔ			
wil-aʔ-	wil-o:naʔ			wil-olo:l
wiθ-aʔ-	wiθ-o:naʔ			
wiy-aʔ-	wiy-i:naʔ			
yin-aʔ-	yin-i:naʔ	yin-iniy-	yin-yi:y-	

Root Vowel /e/ N = 20

bel-aʔ-	bel-a:naʔ
ʔel-aʔ-	ʔel-o:naʔ

heb-aʔ-	heb-e:naʔ	heb-oboy-	heb-he:y-	
hek'-aʔ-	hek'-o:naʔ			
hel-aʔ-	hel-o:naʔ			
hep-aʔ-	hep-o:naʔ	hep-opon-	hep-ho:y-	
heθ-aʔ-				heθ-oθo:l
kem-aʔ-	kem-e:naʔ			
k <sup>w</sup> eč-aʔ-	k <sup>w</sup> eč-e:naʔ	k <sup>w</sup> eč-očoy-	k <sup>w</sup> eč-k <sup>w</sup> e:y-	k <sup>w</sup> eč-očo:l
k'em-aʔ-	k'em-e:naʔ	k'em-omon-	k'em-k'o:y-	
k'et'-aʔ-	k'et'-e:naʔ	k'et'-ot'oy-	k'et'-k'e:y-	
lek-aʔ-	lek-o:naʔ			
lem-aʔ-	lem-e:naʔ	lem-omoy-	lem-lo:y-	lem-eme:l
met'-aʔ-	met'-e:naʔ	met'-et'ey-	met'-mo:y-	
peh-aʔ-	peh-e:naʔ			peh-oho:l
pen-aʔ-	pen-o:naʔ			
šek'-aʔ-	šek'-e:naʔ	šek'-ek'ey-	šek'-šo:y-	
tel-aʔ-	tel-o:naʔ			
weh-aʔ-	weh-o:naʔ	weh-ohoy-	*weh-wo:y-	
wel-aʔ-	wel-e:naʔ	wel-oloy-	wel-wo:y- wel-we:y-	wel-olo:l

TABLE 34  
VERBS DERIVED FROM INSTRUMENTAL NOUNS

Root verb		Instrumental noun		Derived verb	
čil-aʔ-	lift it up (s.t. long and thin)	čilab	harvest tool	čilbay-	harvest with a stick
....		č'ičab	comb	č'ičbay-	comb hair
ʔeš-aʔ-	exert force	ʔešab	prop, support	ʔešbay-	understand it
hiθ-aʔ-	strip it clean	.....		hiθbaθ	fibrous
huč-uy-	blow on it	hučub	bellows	hučbay-	blow it with bellows
....		.....		kekbay-	knotch it
....		kuhub	digging stick	kuhbay-	pierce with stick
kwiʔ-iy-	throw it	kwiʔib	harpoon	kwiʔbay-	harpoon it
....		k'elab	row	k'elbay-	plant it in rows
k'it'-aʔ-	rub it	.....		k'it'bay-	iron it
k'oč-e-	become fat	k'očob	fat part	k'očban	get a cramp
....		k'oyob	step, rung of ladder	k'oybay-	form steps
....		lalab	little brush	lalbay-	brush hair
leh-e-	fit into, go onto, have room for	lehab	measure	leh-b-ay-	measure it
*leʒ- (leʒoʔ)	pretended)	.....		leʒbay-	mimic s.o.
....		lohob	hoe	lohbay-	hoe it

pel-aʔ-	stretch it out hori- zontally	pelab	crossbar	pelbay-	skewer it
puθ-e-	bubble up	.....		puθbay-	spray with water
šil-aʔ-	open up	šilab	knife to cut jerky	šilbay-	plow it
šug'-e-	wrinkle	.....		šugbay-	wrinkle it
tah-aʔ-	illuminate it	tahab	lamp	tahbay-	light it with a lamp
toʔ-oy-	chip it	toʔob	chisel, burin	toʔbay-	drill it
t'im-aʔ-	tighten it	t'imab	tightener	t'imban	thicken
t'iθ-aʔ-	string it	t'iθab	needle	t'iθbay-	thread with needle
				t'iθban	prick oneself
t'iʔ-aʔ-	pile it up	t'iʔab	bulwark	t'iʔbay-	block it
t'ok'-iy-	intercept it	t'ok'ob	barrier	t'ok'bay-	surround it
....		g'olob	handle	g'olbay-	attach a handle
....		g'uq'ub	kiss	g'uq'bay-	kiss s.o.
....		θuʔub	crop, craw	θuʔbay-	package it
wiθ-aʔ-	rub it	wiθab	scraper	wiθbay-	annoint it

TABLE 35  
VERBS FROM NOUNS ENDING IN /M/

1. CVC(V)m + ay.

kata:m	knotch	katm-ay-	knotch it, make a cut in it
*keθ-	.....	keθ-m-ay-	chase it away
*kilom (kil-oy-	..... stripe it)	kilm-ay-	stripe it
kuʒu:m	hooked knife	kuʒm-ay-	hook it
koho:m	catfish	kohm-aθ	blackish
ʔoyʔom	toasted (tortilla)	ʔoyʔom-ay-	toast it
pukum	cactus spine	pukm-ay-	prick with spines
tena:m	surrounded place	tenm-ay-	surround it
ʒiʔi:m	honey	ʒiʔm-ay-	sweeten it
ʒolo:m	net	ʒolm-ay-	perforate it
ʒ'oʔom	piercer	ʒ'oʔm-ay-	brand it
wilm	circler around s.t.	wilm-ay-	coil it

2. CVC(V)m + -an

bičamtala:b	cramp	bičm-an-	get a cramp
bokom	corn fungus	bokm-an-	get stained, aged
čuč'u:m	dried tortilla	čuč'm-an-	get toasted
k'uk'um	little spine	k'uk'm-an (ʔin ʔiθim)	grow (one's beard)
ʔolom	pig	ʔolm-an-	act crazy
t'ihom	mestizo	t'ihom-Vn-	become mestizo-ized



(t'ihom means 'halfway'; the full phrase is t'ihom ?ehék 'halfway mestizo'; compare t'ihom te:nek 'halfway huasteco'. In practice, it is almost always Huastecs who become 'halfway-ized', so that the verb has taken on the meaning of becoming like mestizos. I have only the incompletive t'ihomnal, and therefore cannot predict the vowel.)

3. Roots and stems ending in /m/.

čum	point, tip	čum-iy-	point it, make it pointed
lam	mirror, glass	lam-a?-	open the eyes
lem	butterfly	lem-a?-	spread it out
paham	bumble bee	paha:m-iy-	insist, force s.o.
tolom	roller	tolm-iy-	assist s.o.
to:m	grass	to:m-iy-	sod it, grow grass
čalam	shadow	čalm-iy-	shade it

TABLE 36  
NOUNS DERIVED WITH // -vk' //

Noun	Root Verb	Derived Verb
ʔal-ik'w wedge	(ʔal-iy-) .....	ʔalk'w-iy- wedge it
hal-uk' substitute	hal-uw- exceed it, surpass it	halk'-uy- change it
huč-uk' hiccough	huč-uy- blow on it	huč'k'-ul- hiccough*
lan-ik' wave	lan-iy- swirl, water	lank'-in- move in waves
moi-ik' knot, joint	(mol-iy-) .....	(molk'-iy-)
pah-ik' wedge	pah-iy- file it, grind it	(pahk'-iy-)
pal-ik' s.t. carried dangling	pal-aʔ- hang it	palk'-i:m carried dangling
paš-ik' lid	(paš-iy-) .....	pašk'-iy- cover it
pel-ok' crossbar	pel-aʔ- stretch it out hori- zontally	(pelk'-oy-)
poh-ok' push, shove	(poh-ow-) .....	pohk'-oy- push it, shove it
pun-uk' shoulder	pun-uw- put it	(punk'-uy-)
puθ-ik' knot of a tree	puθ-un- sprout	(puθk'-iy-)
šol-ok' mucous	šol-iy- drivel it, slobber it	(šolk'-oy-)
šuč-ik' cork	(šuč-iy-) .....	šuč'k'-iy- cork it*
ton-ik' retaining wall	to:n-iy- circle it	tonk'-iy- construct a wall
tož-ik' brace	(tož-iy-) .....	tož'k'-iy- brace it closed*

tuθ-ik´	crossbar, wedge	?tuθ-uw-	bend one's knees	tuθk´-iy-	wedge or bar it
t´ič-ok´	arrow	(t´ič-a?-)	.....	t´ičk´-oy-	shoot an arrow*
t´uy-ik´	wax	(t´uy-iy-)	.....	t´uyk´-iy-	seal it with wax
wiθ-ok´	slingshot	wiθ-a?-	rub it, strip it	wiθk´-oy-	shoot it with a slingshot

Inferred verbs are in parentheses; ?al-ik´w is included because it fits the pattern of the remaining verbs, although the final consonant is /k´w/ not /k´/.

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\* č and ø --> č´ and ø´/\_\_\_k´.

TABLE 37

## NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES VERBALIZED WITH DERIVATIONAL MORPHEMES

## Derivational Morpheme // -k- //.

hu:n	one	hun-k-uw-	make an accord, match it
tomol	one of a pair	tom-k-iy- tom-k-in-	marry (perform service) get married
ǰ'iʔ	anus, trunk of a tree	ǰ'iʔ-k-iy- ǰ'iʔ-k-in-	begin it begin
ʔuʒul	curly	ʔuʒ-k-ey-	curl it, ruffle it
wal	eye, face	wal-k-iy- wal-k-in ʔwal-k-aʔ-	cast evil eye on s.o. grow eyes free it, liberate it

## Derivational Morpheme // -k' - //.

ʔakaʔ	pus	ʔah-k'-in-	suppurate (k --> h/___k')
boʒ'at	long	boʒ'-k'-aʔ-	lengthen it
layʔ-	spine, stinger (combining form)	lay-k'-iy-	penetrate it
manuʔ	yellow	man-k'-an-	become yellow
šalič	evident, obvious	šal-k'-an-	appear, present oneself
t'ilili:l	thin, slender	t'il-k'-iy- t'il-k'-in-	make it thin, slender become thin, slender
t'unuʔ	black	t'un-k'-un-	become black
θalala:l	white	θal-k'-un-	barely dawn
θamθu:l	twilight, nightfall	θam-k'-un-	become night
θaθat	thin	θaθ-k'-aʔ-	make it thin

θiman	witch, sorcerer	θim-k'-ay-	bewitch s.o.
ǰamay	cold	ǰam-k'-aʔ-	chill it
		ǰam-k'-an-	get cold

Derivational Morpheme // -p-//.

k'it'iy	slippery	k'it'-p-an-	slip
le:k'	platform on legs	lek'-p-aʔ-	balance it
liǰiy	slippery	liǰ-p-aʔ-	dislocate it
		liǰ-p-an-	skid, lose one's footing
loki:l	uneven	lok-p-an-	get dented, crushed
ǰilolo:l	slimy	ǰil-p-an-	slide, skid

Derivational Morpheme // -ǰ-//.

biliy	enervated, dulled	bil-ǰ-ow-	let fall
ǰ'ebət	sleepy, drowsy	ǰ'eb-ǰ-in-	become unconscious, faint
we:w	tail	?we:w-ǰ-i:š-	argue (reciprocal)

Derivational Morpheme // -ǰ'-//.

le:y	lightning	ley-ǰ'-on-	flash (lightning)
t'elele:l	trembling	t'el-ǰ'-ow-	make it tremble all over

TABLE 38

## DERIVATIONAL MORPHEME // -L-// ON NOUNS, ADJECTIVES, ADVERBS

1. Noun root or stem; thematic suffix vowel is /i/.

Noun		Verb or participle	
ʔaka	pus	ʔaka:-l-iθ	with pus, suppurated
ʔata:	house	ʔata:-l-iθ	with house
ba:t	tree ( <i>Helicarpus</i> sp.)	ba:t-l-iθ	viscous, slimy
baθeʔ	bunch, cluster	baθe:-l-iθ	dropped down (branches with fruit)
beklek	bone	bekle:k-l-iθ	filled with bones, bony
či:k´	urine	či:k´-l-in-	oxidize, rust
ču:m	point, sprout	ču:m-l-iθ	sharp-pointed
ʔeski:na	angle, corner (Sp. <u>esquina</u> )	ʔeski:na-l-iθ	angled, squared off
haʔ	water	haʔ-l-in- haʔ-l-iθ	emerge, exude (water) watery
ʔiǰ	chili	ʔiǰ-l-iθ	chili-ed
kape:	coffee (Sp. <u>café</u> )	kape:-l-iθ	with coffee
kon	sand	kon-l-iθ	sandy
kotob	saw, violin bow	koto:b-l-i-čik	rough, uneven (distributive ppl.)
koto:n	blouse (Sp, <u>cotón</u> )	koto:n-l-iθ	dressed
kube:ta	bucket (Sp. <u>cubeta</u> )	kube:ta-l-iθ	with a bucket
kuš	shoulder	ku:š-l-i:š	shoulder to shoulder (reciprocal)

kwayaʔ	twin	kwaya:ʔ-l-iθ	twinned
k'oye	corn dough	k'oye:-l-iθ	with corn dough
k'wahbaš- tala:b	adornment	k'wahbaš-l-iθ	adorned
k'waʔ	toad	k'waʔ-l-iy- k'waʔ-l-in-	form it into a ball form a ball
k'wišiš	soot	k'wiš-l-iy-	make it sooty
k'wiǰ'eʔ	roll (of cane)	k'wiǰ'e:ʔ-l-iθ	rolled up
la:b	sacred, Spanish, non-indigenous	la:b-l-iy-	bless s.o. or s.t.
lam	mirror	lam-l-iθ	mirrored
lukuk	mud, mire	luk-l-iy- luk-l-iθ luk-l-i-čik	dirty it dirtied dirtied (distr. ppl.)
man	pollen	man-l-iθ	covered with pollen
mapeʔ	cane internode	mape:ʔ-l-iθ	with internodes
maθab	water dipper	maθa:b-l-iy-	put dipper in a bucket
maǰe:t	machete (Sp.)	maǰe:t-l-iθ	having a machete
ʔoh	dark avocado	ʔoh-l-iθ	enpurpled
ʔokǰaʔ	board, plank	ʔokǰaʔ-l-iy-	board it up
paw	smoke, vapor	paw-l-iy-	smoke s.t.
pa:yno	kerchief (Sp. <u>pañuelo</u> )	pa:yno-l-iθ	kerchiefed
pi:k'ib	forehead	pi:k'ib-l-iθ	with a large forehead
pohoθ	dust	poho:θ-l-iθ	dusty
šeklek	leaf	šekle:k-l-iθ	covered with leaves
šiǰ'	blood	šiǰ'-l-iθ	bloodied
šolak'	mucous	šolo:k'-l-iy-	cause mucous to fall on s.t.
šomom	calabash (for water)	šomo:m-l-iθ	having a calabash

tame:t	front, presence of	tame:t-l-iy-	confront or face s.o.
tayʔ	lime	tayʔ-l-iθ	limed
tumi:n	money (Sp. <u>tomín</u> )	tum-l-in-	blur one's vision with s.t. brilliant
t'amač	bagasse	t'ama:č-l-iθ	covered with bagasse
t'ino:m	brown sugar	t'ino:m-l-iθ	sugared
θučeʔ	drawing, design	θuče:ʔ-l-iθ	decorated
ʒa:p	power, force, potency	ʒa:p-l-iy-	fortify, strengthen, encourage s.o.
ʒo:k	shotgun, rifle	ʒok-l-iy-	shoot it (with a gun)
ʒ'a:h	rope	ʒ'a:h-l-iθ	tied up
ʒ'oʒ'on	dew, light drizzle	ʒ'oʒ'-l-in-	fall in dew
ʒ'uhak'	sprout, shoot	ʒ'uha:k'-l-in-	sprout
ʒ'ukiʔ	corn weevil	ʒ'uk-l-iy- ʒ'uk-l-in-	spot it spot, freckle
walek	a cast of the evil eye	wale:k-l-iy-	cast the evil eye
wayʔ	corn ear	wayʔ-l-in-	form the corn ear
wi:k'	belt, girdle	wi:k'-l-iy-	put on a belt or sash
wiʒ	flower	wiʒ-l-iθ	destined to have an accident (because when you die, flowers are sent)

2. Noun root or stem; thematic suffix vowel is /a/.

Noun		Verb or participle	
čok'	sound of a blow	čok'-l-an-	fall with a bang
ʔik'	wind	ʔik'-l-ay- ʔik'-l-an-	air s.t. blow (wind); get blown about
kiθib	sand	kiθi:b-l-ay-	put sand on it



k'ič	steamy heat	k'ič-l-aʔ- k'ič-l-an-	make s.o. sweat sweat
muk(lab)	heap, pile	muk-l-aʔ-	pile it up (earth)
tošoš	spindle whorl	toš-l-aʔ-	hit it with a stone
tumi:n	money (Sp. <u>tomín</u> )	tumi:n-l-aθ	moneyed

3. Adjective or adverb root or stem; thematic suffix vowel is /i/.

Adjective or adverb		Verb or participle	
ʔehat	alive	ʔeha:t-l-iy-	enliven s.o.
ʔeʔ'ey	always	ʔeʔ'e:y-l-iy-	perpetuate it
kalat	projecting	kala:t-l-iy-	pierce it through
k'ayaʔ	patient	k'aya:ʔ-l-iθ	full of patience
k'ešeʔ	funny, witty	k'eše:ʔ-l-iθ	made fun of
leyoʔ	shining, glittering	leyo:ʔ-l-iθ	shined, illuminated
manuʔ	yellow	manu:ʔ-l-iθ	yellowed
θakniʔ	white	θak'-l-iθ	whitened
yešuʔ	green/blue	yešu:ʔ-l-iθ	greened

TABLE 39

## DERIVATIONAL MORPHEME // -N- // ON NOUNS, ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS

## Noun Root or Stem.

ʔahat	song	ʔahat-n-aʔ-	sing about it
ʔabat	messenger	ʔabat-n-aʔ-	send s.o., order s.o.
ʔahib	fiesta	ʔahi:b-n-aʔ-	celebrate it
ʔa:k	capacity	ʔak-n-aʔ-	have enough room for
bih	name	bih-n-aʔ-	have for a name
bik´	sound of a blow	bik´-n-aʔ-	strike it, knock it down
bi:naš	giver	bi:na:š-n-aʔ-	give as a present
ʔele:b	outside, patio	ʔele:b-n-aʔ-	use as a patio
ʔešo:bal	student	ʔešo:b-n-aʔ-	study it
*ʔet	.....	ʔet-n-aʔ-	cause it
haltala:b	things crossed over	hal-n-aʔ-	carry it across the shoulders
haʔ	water	haʔ-n-aʔ-	esteem or respect s.o.
ʔiči:č	heart	ʔiči:č-n-aʔ-	"heart" s.o.: cause s.o. to lose strength because your heart is stronger
ʔinik	man	ʔini:k-n-aʔ-	encourage or inspire s.o., arouse one's courage
ka:w	word	ka:w-n-aʔ-	speak it
*ko:h	.....	ko:h-n-aʔ-	brave it
kita:i	load, burden	kit-n-aʔ-	load it, burden it
kotoš	cutter	kotoš-n-aʔ-	cut with s.t.
ku:š	back, shoulder	ku:š-n-aʔ-	turn one's back on s.o.

k'a:la:b	property	k'a:l-n-aʔ-	take possession of
le:ʔ	desire, want	le:ʔ-n-aʔ-	want it, desire it
ʔo:k'	head	ʔo:k'-n-aʔ-	direct it
ʔo:l	prayer, harangue	ʔol-n-aʔ-	announce it, accuse s.o.
ʔoθ ʔinik	abused man, orphan	ʔoθ-n-aʔ-	hurt or injure s.o. or s.t.
*pet'	.....	pet'-n-aʔ-	throw it
pa:m	s.t. carried on the head	pa:m-n-aʔ-	carry it on the head
*paʔiš	.....	paʔiš-n-aʔ-	become jealous of s.o.
pelok'la:b	crossbar	pelok'-n-aʔ-	raise it with both arms
tame:t	front	tame:t-n-aʔ-	confront s.o.
*taw	.....	taw-n-aʔ-	speak to s.o.
*tey	.....	tey-n-aʔ-	grasp it, clutch it
tilibbi	mocker, scoffer	tilib-n-aʔ-	ridicule it
tiθe:	shame	tiθe-n-aʔ-	be ashamed of it
to:k'la:b	debt	to:k'-n-aʔ-	have it guaranteed
t'a:m	baby, infant	t'a:m-n-aʔ-	give birth to
t'ipoš	measurer	t'ipoš-n-aʔ-	compare it
t'ohla:b	work	t'oh-n-aʔ-	work it
θabal	owner	θabal-n-aʔ-	take possession of
θahčiš	preacher	θahčiš-n-aʔ-	preach it
ǰa:p	power, force	ǰa:p-n-aʔ-	count on, fortify oneself with s.t.
ǰaʔašla:b	supper	ǰaʔaš-n-aʔ-	sup on it
ǰoʔo:b	knowing	ǰoʔo:b-n-aʔ-	know it
ǰ'ehbitala:b	dread, fear	ǰ'eh-n-aʔ-	dread it, fear it
*ǰ'o:k	.....	ǰ'o:k-n-aʔ-	sustain with the hand beneath

ʔuba:tʻ	game, sport	ʔubastʻ-n-aʔ-	play it
*ʔuh	.....	ʔuh-n-aʔ-	accustom oneself
wačib	dream	wačib-n-aʔ-	dream about it
yahal	pain, ache	yah-n-aʔ-	suffer it

### Adjectives, Adverbs and Particles

ʔa:l	in, on	ʔa:l-n-aʔ-	place it on s.t.
ʔala:l	below	ʔala:l-n-aʔ-	undervalue it
ʔalwaʔ	good	ʔalwaʔ-n-aʔ-	like it
ʔaθik	rapid, immediate	ʔaθik-n-aʔ-	feel urgency
*belet	.....	belet-n-aʔ-	care for it
hekʻat	other side	hekʻat-n-aʔ-	look at the other side
hekʻom	disobedient	hekʻom-n-aʔ-	disobey s.o.
ʔiçi:lom	mischievous	ʔiçi:lom-n-aʔ-	play pranks on s.o.
kulbe:l	happy, content	kulbe:t-n-aʔ-	like, be happy with it
kʻa:kʻ	hot	kʻa:kʻ-n-aʔ-	respect s.o.
kʻaʒub	jocose, sportful	kʻaʒu:b-n-aʔ-	joke about it
kʻayaʔ	patient	kʻaya:ʔ-n-aʔ-	have patience with
kʻehab	before	kʻehab-n-aʔ-	anticipate it
kʻihiθ	pleasant	kʻihi:θ-n-aʔ-	please s.o.
ʔowe:l	far	ʔowe:t-n-aʔ-	feel that it is far
pu:lik	big, large	puli:k-n-aʔ-	boast about it
tabat	useful	taba:t-n-aʔ-	utilize it
θakat	sure, trusted	θakat-n-aʔ-	trust in something, gain tranquillity from it
ʔutat	close	ʔuta:t-n-aʔ-	bring it close
yahčik	painful	yahčik-n-aʔ-	suffer it a lot

TABLE 40

## DEVERBAL NOUN DERIVATIONAL PARADIGMS

**Transitive Verbs**

Where possible, examples of nominals derived from transitive verbs have been chosen from the verbs listed below. Where no such example was available, an attempt was made to choose other verbs so that there is at least one example of the nominal in question for a verb of each main thematic suffix class: *//-aʔ-//*, *//-Vy-//* and *//-Vw-//*. A series of dots indicates that no example was available, and an asterisk before a form that the form was proposed and rejected.

čik-aʔ-	burn it
hep-aʔ-	split it, cut it into pieces
ʔiy-aʔ-	carry it, cart it
čuk-uy-	sew it
kot-oy-	cut it, saw it
buk'-uw-	scatter it, distribute it
hol-ow-	fell it, cast it down, throw it out

1.0 Agentive Nouns.1.1 Agentive Suffix *//-Vm//*.

čik-om	s.o. who brands cattle
čik-l-om	s.o. who burns a lot, e.g. trash (verbal derivational morpheme <i>//-l-//</i> = permanent change of shape or position)
hep-om	one whose job it is to split or cut things
ʔiy-om	s.c. who brings or carries things; a porter
čuk-um	s.o. who sews
kot-	.....
buk'-	.....
hol-om	s.o. who throws things out, e.g. trash, debris

1.2 Agentive Suffix // -Vl//.

čik-al	branding iron; brander
he:p-al	s.o. who cuts, e.g. a surgeon
ʔiy-al	s.o. who carries things; a porter
ču:k-ul	a sewer
ko:t-ol	a cutter
buk'-ul	a scatterer, e.g. of seeds
hol-	.....

1.3 Agentive Suffix // -Vš//.

[čik-aš]	only as incompletive antipassive
hep-aš	e.g. a doctor who opens s.o. up
ʔiy-aš	s.o. whose job it is to carry things
[ču:k-uš]	only as incompletive antipassive
kot-oš	a cutter
buk'-uš	s.o. who distributes or scatters things
hol-	.....

2.0 Patientive Nouns.2.1 Patientive Noun Suffix // -ne:l//.

čik-ne:l	burned person
hep-ne:l	s.t. split
ʔiy-ne:l	things brought or carried
ču:k-	.....
kot-ne:l	a cut
buk'-ne:l	s.t. that has been scattered, e.g. seeds
hol-	.....

2.2 Abstractive Patientive Nouns. (Root + bi + la:b)

θuč-bi-la:b	document (θuč-a?- write it)
mat-bi-la:b	loan (mat-iy- lend it)
ʔul-bi-la:b	saying, proverb (ʔul-uw- say it)

2.3 Patientive Noun Suffix //-wa:l//.

hoi-wa:l	place where things are thrown down
ʔa:t-o-wa:l	salary (ʔa:t-a?- gain it, win it)
ǰ'ay?-wa:l	purchase (ǰ'a?-iy- buy it) (metathesis)
k'ap-wa:l	nourishment (k'ap-u- eat it)

3.0 Nouns of Occupation. (Root + V1 antipassive + o:m + perdurative clitic //-e-//; vowel of antipassive is deleted)

ʔ čik-l-o:m-e	s.o. whose job is to burn things; infrequent
hep-	.....
ʔiy-	.....
čuk-l-o:m-e	seamstress
kot-	.....
buk'-l-o:m-e	a distributor
hol-	.....

4.0 Instrumental/locative Nouns. (Root + -Vb; V is vowel of thematic suffix)

čik-ab	s.t. than can be used to make fire, e.g. bagasse
hep-ab	instrume ʔ for cutting: axe, saw
ʔiy-ab	s.t. used for carrying: tumpline, burro
čuk-	.....
kot-ob	violin bow





7.0 Nouns Derived with // -Vč//. (V is vowel of thematic suffix)

- peh-ač piece (peh-a?- break it)  
 pul-ič arch (pul-iy- bend or curve it)

8.0 Nouns Derived with // -V:l//. (V is vowel of thematic suffix)

- pat'-a:l s.t. metal (pat'-a?- work it)  
 t'i:ʔ-o:l undergarments (t'i:ʔ-oy- put on one garment over  
 another)  
 holk'-o:l s.t. used to empty water into (holk'-ow- empty it)

9.0 Nouns Derived with // -Vk'//.

- pel-ok' crossbar (pel-a?- stretch it out horizontally)  
 ton-ik' retaining wall (to:n-iy- circle it)  
 hal-uk' substitute (hal-uw- exceed it, surpass it)

10.0 Abstract Nouns Derived with // -tala:b//.10.1 Abstract Nouns Derived from Verb Roots.

- čik-tala:b burning  
 hap-tala:b opening (hap-iy- open it)  
 tuh-tala:b beginning (tuh-uw- begin it)

10.2 Abstract Nouns Derived from Deverbative Nouns.10.2.1 Locative Nouns.

- čik-om-tala:b place where s.t. is burned, e.g. lime kiln  
 hep-om-tala:b place where s.t. is cut  
 ʔiy-om-tala:b s.t. used for carrying  
 čuk- .....  
 kot- .....

buk'um-tala:b	place where s.t. is scattered
hol-	.....
ʔet'-om-tala:b	barbershop (ʔet'-oy- cut hair)

### 10.2.2 Instrumental Nouns.

čik-aš-tala:b	branding iron
hep-aš-tala:b	an instrument for separating things into parts
ʔiy-aš-tala:b	s.t. used for carrying things
čuk-	.....
kot-oš-tala:b	instrument used for cutting
buk'-uš-tala:b	s.t. that can be used for scattering
hol-oš-tala:b	s.t. used for throwing out water or other substance

### 10.2.3 Other.

čah-al-tala:b	excavation (čah-aʔ- dig it)
kan-il-tala:b	invitation (kan-iy- invite s.o.)

### Intransitive Verbs

Data are less complete and examples are chosen from a number of different verbs. In a few cases the only example available is based on a verb stem rather than a verb root.

### 1.0 Middle Voice Verbs.

1.1 Subject Nouns. (Root + thematic suffix + incompletive inflection + -om; vowel of incompletive inflection is lengthened if not already long)

ʔač'-e-:l-om	s.o. or s.t. wet	ʔač'-e-	get wet
bel-e-:l-om	wanderer	bel-e-	walk, stroll
hik'-e-:l-om	fearful one	hik'-e-	be afraid

kwag-i-:l-om one who lies down, kwag-i- lie down, go to bed  
goes to bed

t'a?-i-:l-om s.o. or s.t. burned t'a?-i- burn

1.2 Abstractive Nouns with Suffix //-e:nib//.

čuθ-e:nib dawn (noun) čuθ-e- dawn (verb)

hik'-e:nib fear hik'-e- be afraid

øek-e:nib tiredness øek-e- get tired

way-e:nib drought way-e- dry, dry up

1.3 Instrumental/locative Nouns. (Root + -Vb)

k'aθ-ab rise, crest k'aθ-i- rise, go up

leh-ab measure leh-e- fit into, go onto,  
have room for

pa?-ab ladder pa?-i- descend

θet-eb wing θet-e- rest or flutter  
behind

1.4 Abstractive Nouns Derived with //-tala:b//.

1.4.1 Abstractive Nouns Derived from Verb Roots.

kal-tala:b departure, way out kal-e- go out, leave

ʔul-tala:b arrival ʔul-e- arrive, come

1.4.2 Abstractive Nouns Derived from Inflected Verbs. (-l and -:l are incompletive inflections)

kal-e-l-tala:b exit kal-e- go out, leave

puw-e-l-tala:b size puw-e- grow

t'a?-i-:l-tala:b burning t'a?-i- burn

øak-u-:l-tala:b anger øak-u- become angry

2.0 Root Intransitive Verbs.

2.1 Subject Nouns Derived with // -V1//. // -V1// is identical to the // -V1// root intransitive thematic suffix. Distinction between noun and incomplete inflection of verb (a zero form) is made syntactically.

bel-al	walker	bel-al	walk, move along
kow-al	swimmer	kow-al-	swim
koy-ol	seated person	koy-ol-	rest, sit

2.2 Abstractive Nouns Derived with // -tala:b//.

2.2.1 Abstractive Nouns Derived from Verb Roots.

koy-tala:b	seat, resting place	koy-ol-	rest, sit
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2.2.2 Abstractive Nouns Derived from Verb Plus Thematic Suffix.

?ač-im-tala:b	bath	?ač-im-	bathe
kow-al-tala:b	swimming pool	kow-al-	swim

3.0 // -Vn-// Intransitive Verbs.

3.1 Subject Nouns Derived with // -V1//.

?e:y-al	official	?e:y-an-	be engaged in, employed
t'u?-ul	flesh, body	t'u?-un-	get fat
ya:t-ul	debility	yat-in-	become debilitated

3.2 Abstractive Nouns Derived with // -tala:b//.

?ahk'-in-tala:b	suppuration	?ahk'-in-	suppurate
te?en-tala:b	laughter	te?-en-	smile

TABLE 41

## ABSTRACTIVE NOUNS DERIVED WITH //-E:NIB//

čik-e:nib	thirst	čik-e-	be thirsty
čuθ-e:nib	dawn (n)	čuθ-e-	dawn (v)
hik'-e:nib	fear	hik'-e-	be afraid
hob-e:nib	surfeit, indigestion	hob-e-	get stuffed, surfeited
hum-e:nib	flight	hum-e-	be carried through the air
keš-e:nib	amplitude	keš-e-	become wide
k'ak'-e:nib	heat, fever	k'ak'-e-	get hot
k'až-e:nib	rottenness, putrefaction	k'až-e-	rot, decay
tal-e:nib	finish, end (e.g. at death)	tal-e-	be finished, completed
tuh-e:nib	commencement	tuh-e-	begin
žek-e:nib	tiredness	žek-e-	get tired
*žun-e:nib	.....	žun-e-	become dense, tightly packed
žuk'-e:nib	flood	žuk'-e-	rain heavily
way-e:nib	drought	way-e-	dry, dry up
wič-e:nib	return	wič-i-	return, turn back

TABLE 42  
NOUN POSSESSION CLASSES\*

<u>Base Form</u>		<u>Possessed</u>	<u>Absolutive</u>	<u>Generic</u>
<b>Class 2: Base Form is Possessed Form</b>				
ʔa:č	grandmother		ʔa:č-lek	ʔa:č-lab
ʔakan	foot		ʔakan-lek	ʔakan-la:b
ʔale	cornfield		ʔale-lek	ʔale-la:b
ʔalʔi:b	da.-in-law	ʔalʔi:b-al	.....	ʔalʔi:b-la:b
ʔatik	offspring		ʔatik-lek	ʔatik-la:b
ʔaʒi:h	co-fa.-in-law		ʔaʒi:h-lek	ʔaʒi:h-la:b
ʔa:y	career, job		ʔa:y-lek	ʔa:y-la:b
ba:l	container, box		*ba:l-(l)ek	ba:l-(l)a:b
ba:y	man's br.-in-law		*ba:y-lek	ba:y-la:b
bayil	husband's-br.'s-wife		*bayil-(l)ek	bayil-(l)a:b
bih	name		bih-lek	bih-la:b
bo:w	lover		bo:w-lek	bo:w-la:b
čukul	stomach		čuk-lek	čuk-lab
ču:m	point, shoot	ču:m-il čum-i:l	ču:m-lek	ču:m-la:b
č'učub	finger		č'učub-lek	č'učub-la:b
hawan	woman's si.-in-law		hawan-lek	hawan-la:b
haʔu:b	friend, relative		haʔu:b-lek	haʔu:b-la:b
ʔih-il	saliva	ʔihla:b-il	ʔih-lek	ʔih-lab

ʔilow	husband		.....	ʔilow-la:b
ʔimil	udder		ʔim-lek	ʔim-la:b
ʔišak'	respiration	ʔiša:k'-il	ʔišak'-lek	ʔišak'-la:b
ʔi:šal	wife, woman		.....	.....
ʔiša:m	man's si.-in-law		ʔiša:m-lek	ʔiša:m-la:b
ʔiθim	beard		ʔiθim-lek	ʔiθim-la:b
ʔiʒak'	nephew		.....	ʔiʒak'-la:b
ʔiʒa:n	uncle/nephew		ʔiʒa:n-lek	ʔiʒa:n-la:b
ʔiʒik'	finger nail	ʔiʒi:k'-al	ʔiʒik'-lek	ʔiʒik'-la:b
ʔiya:m	son-in-law		? ʔiya:m-lek	ʔiya:m-la:b
ʔiyaʔ	wife's-si.'s-husband		.....	.....
kamab	tooth		kamab-lek	kamab-la:b
k'a:l	property		? k'a:l-(l)ek	k'a:l-(l)a:b
k'ubak	hand		k'ubak-lek	k'ubak-la:b
k'wa:h	placenta		? k'wa:h-lek	k'wa:h-la:b
lakab	skirt		lakab-lek	lakab-la:b
ma:m	grandfather		*ma:m-lek	ma:m-la:b
matab	eyebrow	mata:b-il	matab-lek	matab-la:b
mi:m	mother		.....	mi:m-la:b
momob	grandchild		momob-lek	momob-la:b
na:na	momma		*na:na-lek	na:na-la:b
ʔow	necklace	ʔow-il	? ʔow-lek	ʔow-la:b
pahab	sandals		pahab-lek	pahab-la:b
pak'al	shoulder blade		*pak'-lek	*pak'-lab
pa:l	hook		.....	pa:l-(l)a:b

payʔlo:m	father		.....	payʔlo:m-la:b
pelet	muscle		pelet-lek	pelet-la:b
petob	headdress		petob-lek	petob-la:b
pi:k'ib	forehead		pi:k'ib-lek	pi:k'ib-la:b
pu:č	head scarf		? pu:č-lek	pu:č-la:b
punuk'	shoulder		punuk'-lek	punuk'-la:b
šiba:m	woman's br-in-law		*šiba:m-lek	šiba:m-la:b
šonol	turkey's wattle		šon-lek	šon-la:b šonol-(l)a:b
šugun	ear		šugun-lek šug-lek	šug-la:b
ta:ta	poppa		*ta:ta-lek	ta:ta-la:b
to:k'	debt		*to:k'-lek	to:k'-la:b
t'a:m	offspring		t'a:m-lek	t'a:m-la:b
t'i:ʔo:l	underclothes		t'i:ʔo:l-(l)ek	t'i:ʔo:l-(l)a:b
θeteb	wing		θeteb-lek	θeteb-la:b
ʕanu:b	aunt, niece		*ʕanu:b-lek	ʕanu:b-la:b
ʕa:p	force, strength	ʕa:pla:b-il	*ʕa:p-lek	ʕa:p-la:b
ʕ'amuʕ'	earrings		ʕ'amuʕ'-lek ʕ'amuš-lek	ʕ'amuš-la:b
ʕ'ehet	groin		ʕ'ehet-lek	ʕ'ehet-la:b
wal	eye, face		wal-(l)ek	*wal-(l)ab
wa:t	poncho, shawl		*wa:t-lek	wa:t-la:b
wi:k'	belt, sash		wi:k'-lek	wi:k'-la:b
wi:l	jackrafter	wi:l-i:l	.....	wi:l-(l)a:b
wiʔ	mouth		wiʔ-lek	*wiʔ-lab wiʔ-leb `door`



Class 3: Possessed Form  
with Vowel Length

ʔanuɕ	vein	ʔanu:ɕ	ʔanuɕ-lek	ʔanuɕ-la:b
bičow	town, people	bičo:w	bičo:w-lek	bičow-la:b
bohol	corncob	boho:l boh-li:l	boh-lek	boh-lab
bolol	spine	bolo:l	bolol-(l)ek	bolol-(l)a:b
čik´	urine	čik:k´	čik´-lek	čik´-lab
halub	namesake	halu:b	halub-lek	halub-la:b
haluk´	substitute	halu:k´	.....	haluk´-la:b
hotoɕ	ampit	hoto:ɕ	hotoɕ-lek	hotoɕ-la:b
huhul	feathers, fur	huhu:l huhla:b-il	huh-lek	huh-lab
ʔibil	root	ʔibi:l	ʔib-lek	ʔib-lab
ʔičič	heart	ʔiči:č	ʔičič-lek	ʔičič-la:b
ʔiɕ´am	horn	ʔiɕ´a:m ʔiɕ´a:m-il ʔiɕ´am-li:l	ʔiɕ´am-lek	ʔiɕ´am-la:b
katam	incomplete part	kata:m	katam-lek	katam-la:b
kaɕin	brains	kaɕi:n	kaɕi:n-lek	kaɕin-la:b
kital	cargo, load	kita:l kitala:b-il	.....	kital-(l)a:b
kuš	shoulders	ku:š	kuš-lek	kuš-lab
kwayaʔ	twin	kwaya:ʔ	ʔ kwayaʔ-lek	kwayaʔ-la:b
kwekwen	hip	kwekwe:n	kwekwe:n-lek	kwekwen-la:b
k´alum	kitchen garden	k´alu:m	ʔ k´alum-lek	k´alum-la:b
k´anal	fat	k´ana:l	k´an-lek	k´an-lab
k´oʔon	navel	k´oʔo:n	k´oʔo:n-lek	k´oʔon-la:b
k´util	nest	k´uti:l	k´ut-lek	k´ut-lab

k'walal	knee	k'wala:l	k'wala:l-(l)ek	k'walal-(l)a:b
k'we?el	branch	k'we?e:l	k'we?-lek	k'we?-lab
lakak	wattles	laka:k	lakak-lek	lakak-la:b
lanik'	wave	lani:k'	.....	.....
lek'ab	tonque	lek'a:b	lek'a:b-lek	lek'ab-la:b
malul	large frog	malu:l	malul-(l)ek	.....
mamal	liver	mama:l mama:l-il	mam-lek	mam-lab
mape?	cane internode	mape:?	map-lek	mape?-la:b
maθiθ	eyelashes	maθi:θ	maθi:θ-lek	maθiθ-la:b
molik'	joint	moli:k' moli:k'-al molk'-i:l	molik'-lek	molik'-la:b
nuk'	neck	nu:k'	nuk'-lek	nuk'-la:b
?okob	arm	?oko:b ?oko:b-il ?okob-li:l	?okob-lek	?okob-la:b
?ok'	skull	?o:k' ?ok'o:l	?ok'-lek	?ok'-lab
pahab	palm, sole	paha:b	pahab-lek	pahab-la:b
pahik'	wedge	pahi:k' pahk'-i:l	pahik'-lek	pahik'-la:b
pak'w	nest	pa:k'w	pak'w-lek	pak'w-lab
palik'	s.t. carried	pali:k'	*palik'-lek	palik'-la:b
pašik'	lid	paši:k' paši:k'-al pašk'-i:l	pašik'-lek	pašik'-la:b
pat'eb	breeches	pat'e:b	pat'eb-lek	pat'eb-la:b
pat'ut'	cream	pat'u:t' pat'u:t'-il	pat'ut'-lek	.....
penal	buttocks	pema:l	? penal-(l)ek	pema:l-(l)a:b

pot'ol	younger sibling	pot'o:l	pot'-lek	pot'-lab
puθik'	tree knot	puθi:k' puθk'-i:l	puθik'-lek	puθik'-la:b
puθul	sprout	puθu:l	? puθ-lek	puθ-lab
puyuy	ass, anus	puyu:y	puy-lek	puy-la:b
ša:pal	first fruit of a banana	ša:pa:l	*ša:p-lek	ša:p-la:b
šaʔ	vomit	ša:ʔ	šaʔ-lek	šaʔ-lab
šekel	leaf	ške:1 ške:k-il	šek-lek	šek-lab
šokok	foam	šoko:k šoko:k-il	šok-lek	.....
šolak'	mucous	šolo:k' šolo:k'-il	.....	.....
šučik'	cork	šuči:k' šučk'-i:l	.....	šučik'-la:b
tamet	front of s.t.	tame:t	tamet-lek	tamet-la:b
tamub	year	tamu:b	*tamub-lek	*tamub-la:b
taʔ	excrement	ta:ʔ	taʔ-lek	*taʔ-lab
tiθ	fart	ti:θ	tiθ-lek	tiθ-lab
tiyik	elbow	tiyi:k	tiyi:k-lek	tiyik-la:b
tonik'	retaining wall	toni:k' toni:k'-al tonk'-i:l	tonik'-lek	tonik'-la:b
tožik'	prop, support	toži:k' toži:k'-al	tožik'-lek	tožik'-la:b
toyob	callous	toyo:b	toyob-lek	? toyob-la:b
toyok	hipbone	toyo:k	*toyok-lek	? toyok-la:b
tutub	heel	tutu:b	tutub-lek	tutub-la:b
t'ak'am	glottis	t'ak'a:m	t'ak'a:m-lek ?	t'ak'am-la:b

t'ičok'	arrow	t'ičo:k' t'ičo:k'-il t'ičok'la:b-il	*t'ičok'-lek	t'ičok'-la:b
t'iθiθ	intestines	t'iθi:θ	t'iθiθ-lek	t'iθiθ-la:b
t'uyik'	wax	t'uyi:k' t'uyi:k'-al t'uyk'-i:l	.....	.....
t'uʔul	flesh	t'uʔu:l t'uʔle:k-il	t'uʔ-lek	? t'uʔ-lab
θam	nose	θa:m	θam-lek	.....
θayem	quexquemitl	θaye:m θaye:m-il	*θayem-lek	θayem-la:b
θaʔam	scum on water	θaʔa:m	θaʔam-lek	? θaʔam-la:b
θaʔub	lungs	θaʔu:b	θaʔub-lek	θaʔub-la:b
θetet	propellor	θete:t	.....	.....
θučeʔ	design, pattern	θuče:ʔ θučeʔ-li:l	.....	.....
θuhal	foam	θuha:l	θuh>lek	θuh-lab
θuʔuk	belly	θuʔu:k	θuʔuk-lek	θuʔuk-la:b
ʒak'ib	sweat	ʒak'i:b ʒak'i:b-al	ʒak'ib-lek	ʒak'ib-la:b
ʒeʒeb	palm leaf stalk	ʒeʒe:b ʒeʒe:b-il	ʒeʒeb-lek	ʒeʒeb-la:b
ʒiyok'	chin	ʒiyo:k'	ʒiyo:k'-lek	ʒoyok'-la:b
ʒohol	molar	ʒoho:l	ʒoho:l-(l)ek ʒoh-lek	ʒohol-(l)a:b ʒoh-la:b
ʒoʒob	hoof	ʒoʒo:b	ʒoʒo:b-lek	ʒoʒob-la:b
ʒo:yil	rib	ʒo:yi:l	ʒo:y-lek	ʒo:y-la:b
ʒ'aʔub	cheeks	ʒ'aʔu:b	ʒ'aʔub-lek	ʒ'aʔub-la:b
ʒ'iʔ	anus	ʒ'i:ʔ	ʒ'iʔ-lek	ʒ'iʔ-lab

ø'olob	handle	ø'olo:b	ø'olob-lek	ø'olob-la:b
ø'uhak'	sprout	ø'uha:k' ø'uha:k'-il	ø'uhak'-lek	ø'uhak'-la:b
wačib	dream	wači:b	wačib-lek	wačib-la:b
walil	fruit	wali:l	*walil-(l)ek	walil-(l)a:b
wayam	sleep	waya:m	*wayam-lek	*wayam-la:b
wew	tail	we:w	wew-lek	wew-la:b
wiθok'	slingshot	wiθo:k' wiθo:k'-il wiθok'la:b-il	wiθok'-lek	wiθok'-la:b
yuhil	chile-corn gruel	yuhi:l	yuh-lek	yuh-lab

## Class 4: Suffix //-li:l//

ʔa:m	spider	ʔam-li:l ʔa:m-il	.....	.....
bohol	corn cob	boh-li:l bcho:l bcho:l-il	boh-lek	boh-lab
ha:wʔ	straw, dried leaves	hawʔ-li:l ha:wʔ-il	.....	.....
haʔ	water	haʔ-li:l haʔ-il	.....	.....
ʔiθiθ	corn grains	ʔiθiθ-la:l ʔiθi:θ-al	.....	.....
ʔiǰ'am	horn	ʔiǰ'am-li:l ʔiǰ'a:m ʔiǰ'a:m-il	ʔiǰ'am-lek	ʔiǰ'am-la:b
k'amal	fire	k'am-li:l k'ama:l-il	.....	.....
k'waʔ	toad	k'waʔ-li:l k'waʔ-il	.....	.....
ʔokob	arm	ʔokob-li:l ʔoko:b ʔoko:b-il	ʔokob-lek	ʔokob-la:b

teʔ	tree	teʔ-li:l teʔ-il	.....	.....
θapup	fiber	θapup-li:l θapu:p-il	.....	.....
θučeʔ	design, pattern	θučeʔ-li:l θuče:ʔ	.....	.....
ǰ'a:h	rope, vine	ǰ'ah-li:l ǰ'a:h-il	.....	.....

Class 5: Suffix // -v<sub>n</sub>:l //

čučim	fungus	čučm-i:l	.....	.....
ʔiǰ	chile	ʔiǰ-i:l ʔiǰ-al	.....	.....
kwi:č	fresh corn tamale	kwič-i:l kwi:č-al	.....	.....
molik'	joint	molk'-i:l moli:k' moli:k'-al	molik'-lek	molik'-la:b
ʔok'	skull	ʔok'-o:l ʔo:k'	ʔok'-lek	ʔok'-lab
ʔo:t'	skin, hide	ʔot'-o:l ʔo:t'-il ʔot'la:b-il	.....	ʔot'-lab
pahik'	wedge	pahk'-i:l pahi:k'	pahik'-lek	pahik'-la:b
pašik'	lid	pašk'-i:l paši:k' paši:k'-al	pašik'-lek	pašik'-la:b
pelok'	crossbeam	pelk'-o:l	.....	pelok'-la:b
puθik'	tree knot	puθk'-i:l puθi:k'	puθik'-lek	puθik'-la:b
šiʔ	hair	šiʔ-i:l	.....	.....
šučik'	cork	šučk'-i:l šuči:k'	.....	šučik'-la:b

tonik'	retaining wall	tonk'-i:l toni:k' toni:k'-al	tonik'-lek	tonik'-la:b
tuθik'	crossbar, prop	tuθk'-i:l	.....	tuθik'-la:b
t'uyik'	wax	t'uyk'-i:l t'uyi:k' t'uyi:k'-al	.....	.....
wi:l	jackrafter	wil-i:l	.....	wi:l-(l)a:b
wiϕ	flower	wiϕ-i:l wiϕ-al	.....	.....

Class 5?: Don't obey vowel  
harmony rule

ču:m	point, shoot	čum-i:l ču:m-il	ču:m-lek	ču:m-la:b
k'i:θ	thorn	k'iθ-a:l k'i:θ-al	.....	.....
k'ok'om	stump where palm leaf is cut	k'ok'm-a:l k'ok'o:m-il	.....	.....
šiϕ'	blood	šiϕ'-a:l	.....	.....

Class 6: Unpossessed and  
Possessed Forms Are  
Identical

ka:w	word	ka:w	*ka:w-lek	.....
k'ih	permission	k'ih	*k'ih-lek	.....

Class 7: Only Possessed

....	interior, inside	?a:l	*?a:l-lek	*?a:l-la:b
....	being, self	ba:?	*ba:?-lek	*ba:?-la:b
....	union, entirety	?e:b	*?e:b-lek	*?e:b-la:b
....	homestead	k'ima:?	*k'ima:?-lek	*k'ima:?-la:b

\* Notes to Table 42

\* = term rejected

? = dubious

..... = no information

`Possessed' column records all alternative possessed forms. Words with more than one possessed form appear on lists for each possession type.

`Absolute' and `Generic' forms for Classes 4-6 were not systematically questioned for; their absence may be an accident of sampling.



TABLE 43  
KINSHIP TERMS

1.0 Consanguineal Kin.

Lineal

ʔebčal	sibling
ʔinik ʔebčal	brother
ʔušum ʔebčal	sister
ʔok'oš ʔebčal	older sibling (ʔok'oš 'first')
ʔebčal ta:lbe:l	youngest sibling (talbe:l 'afterwards')
pot'ol	younger sibling
payʔlo:m	father (archaic); Christian God
ta:ta	poppa
mi:m	mother; respectful 'lady'
na:na	mommy
kwito:l	son
ǰ'ik'a:č	daughter
ǰakam	child
t'eleʔ	infant
t'a:m	woman's child
ǰipi:l	little; when possessed 'child'
ma:m	grandfather; Huastec god
ʔa:č	grandmother
momob	grandchild
ǰabil ma:m	great-grandfather (ǰa:b 'two'; -il 'possessive')
ǰabil ʔa:č	great-grandmother
ǰabil momob	great-grandchild
No term	great-great-grandfather, -grandmother, -grandchild
<u>Collateral</u>	
ʔata:tal	man's first cousin (male)
bayil	woman's first cousin (female); c.f. concuña
pri:mo (Sp.)	cousin of either sex

ʔiʒa:n	uncle/nephew
ʒ'u:ʒ'pa:p	uncle; possibly `father's brother`
ʒakam ta:ta	`little father`; father's younger brother
ʔiʒa:n ma:m	great-uncle
ʒanu:b	aunt/niece
ʒ'u:ʒ'mi:m	aunt; possibly mother's sister
ʒakam na:na	mother's younger sister
ʔiʒak'	sister's child

## 2.0 Step-kinship; Adoptive Kinship.

ʔebčaleʔ	step-sibling; adoptive sibling
tatləʔ	step-father; adoptive father
mimləʔ	step-mother; adoptive mother
kwitotləʔ	step-son; adoptive son
ʒ'ik'a:čləʔ	step-daughter; adoptive daughter
ʒakamləʔ	step-child; adoptive child
mamləʔ	step-grandfather; adoptive grandfather
ʔačləʔ	step-grandmother; adoptive grandmother
monobleʔ	step-grandchild; adoptive grandchild

## 3.0 Affinal Kinship.

ʔilow	husband, rarely used; instead:
yehøel	old man
ʔini:k-al	man-possessive suffix
tomki:l	spouse
ʔi:šal	wife, rarely used; instead:
ʔuškwəʔ	old woman
ʔušu:m-il	woman-possessive suffix
tomki:l	spouse
ʔalʔi:b	relationship through woman's marriage
ʔalʔi:b	man's or woman's daughter-in-law (unmarked term)
ʔinik ʔalʔi:b	woman's father-in-law
ta:ta ʔalʔi:b	woman's father-in-law
mi:m ʔalʔi:b	woman's mother-in-law
na:na ʔalʔi:b	woman's mother-in-law

ʔiya:m ʔiya:m	relationship through man's marriage man's or woman's son-in-law (unmarked term)
ʔiya:m ta:ta ta:ta ʔiya:m	man's father-in-law man's father-in-law
ʔiya:m mi:m ʔušum ʔiya:m	man's mother-in-law man's mother-in-law
bay ʔiša:m	man's brother-in-law (wibr, sihu) man's sister-in-law (wisi, brwi)
šiba:m hawan	woman's brother-in-law (hubr, sihu) woman's sister-in-law (husi, brwi)
ʔat ʔiyaʔ bayil	concuño, wife's sister's husband concuña, husband's brother's wife
ʔat mu:l	given by Larsen (1955) as 'man's sister-in-law'; both my assistants were confused about this term; it may mean 'wife's sister'.
ʔat mi:m	co-mother; term used by two brothers married to two sisters (and who therefore share the same mother and the same mother-in-law).

#### 4.0 Ritual Kinship.

ʔaʒi:h	co-parent-in-law; the unmarked term is understood as 'co-parent of the same sex'.
ʔušum ʔaʒi:h ʔinik ʔaʒi:h	man's co-mother-in-law (Sp. consuegra) woman's co-father-in-law (Sp. consuegro)
kumpa:le	co-ritual-father (relationship of parent and child's godfather; Sp. compadre)
kuma:le	co-ritual-mother (Sp. comadre)
kumpayʔlo:m kumpalmi:m	godfather godmother
kumpalʔatik kumpalt'a:m	godchild (ʔatik 'creature', 'disciple') woman's godchild (t'a:m 'woman's child')

#### 5.0 Other.

halu:b	'tocayo' (Sp.); person with the same given name
haʔu:b	relation (Colonial Huastec); close friend (modern)

TABLE 44

## ADVERBS

Adverbs are classified as Locative, Temporal, Manner, Degree or Modal. Some terms fall into more than one category, and some are also conjunctions, interrogatives or affirmatives.

ʔala:l	down LOCATIVE
ʔalk'iθ	somewhat, in play, without motive MANNER, MODAL
ʔalta:	inside LOCATIVE
ʔaiwaʔ	well MANNER
ʔani/ʔani:ǵ	thus, so MANNER
ʔanǵana:ʔ	thus, so MANNER
ʔanǵe:ʔ	thus, so MANNER
ʔape:nas	scarcely, just (Sp. apenas) MODAL
ʔaθik	rapidly, suddenly MANNER
ʔawšeʔ	shortly, in a little while TEMPORAL
ʔaykiθ	frequently, successively, one after another MANNER, DEGREE
be:l	still, yet TEMPORAL
biya:l	long ago TEMPORAL
čubaš	in truth, really, certainly, surely MODAL
čuθe:l	daily TEMPORAL
do:nde	where (Sp. donde) LOCATIVE
eba:l	above LOCATIVE
ʔeblim	on top LOCATIVE, PREPOSITION
ʔehti:l	it appears, it seems that, it is like, it resembles MODAL

ʔele:b	outside LOCATIVE
ʔešpiθ	only DEGREE, MODAL
ʔeʔey	always TEMPORAL, DEGREE
ha:kiʔk'e	it's a good thing that, imagine if MODAL
hant'iniʔ	how MANNER, INTERROGATIVE
hat'waʔ	almost, somewhat, it appears that DEGREE, MODAL
haye	also MODAL
haye:ʔk'e	also, indeed, equally MODAL
hayk'iʔ	when TEMPORAL, INTERROGATIVE
hek'at	on the other side LOCATIVE, PREPOSITION
helat	it appears that MODAL
heʔ	here, hither (close enough to touch) LOCATIVE
heʔta:m	here, hither LOCATIVE
hik'towal	suddenly MANNER
hun	where LOCATIVE, INTERROGATIVE
hunaš	together, united MANNER
hunčiki:l	at times TEMPORAL
huni:l	one time, once TEMPORAL
hu:niniʔ	always, only DEGREE
huntam	in truth, thus it is MODAL
hununu:l	all together MANNER
huʔta/huʔta:m	where LOCATIVE, INTERROGATIVE
huʔta:k'e	wherever LOCATIVE
kala:m	tomorrow TEMPORAL
ku:š/kušlab	behind LOCATIVE, PREPOSITION

kweteʔ/kwete:m	by itself, alone, only MANNER
k'ayu:m	slowly MANNER, DEGREE
k'ehab	before, anticipated, in advance TEMPORAL
k'eʔčiθ	too much DEGREE
k'ihil	early TEMPORAL
leh	very DEGREE
le:kiʔk'e	would that, perhaps MODAL
ma:s	more (Sp. mas) DEGREE
naʔ	there, thence LOCATIVE
ni hant'iniʔ	in no way MANNER
ni hayk'iʔ	never TEMPORAL
ni huʔta	nowhere LOCATIVE
niwaʔ	there (nearby) LOCATIVE
ʔohniʔ	truly MODAL, AFFIRMATIVE
ʔok'oš	before, formerly, first TEMPORAL
ʔo:w/ʔowe:l	far away LOCATIVE
ʔowatiʔ	long ago TEMPORAL
pamaʔtal	barely, just, to a small degree MANNER
patal	completely, all DEGREE
pi:l	separate, aside LOCATIVE
(hun) pok'eʔ	on the other side LOCATIVE
šon	there where LOCATIVE
šo:ʔ	now, right now, today TEMPORAL
šowe:ʔ	now, right now, today TEMPORAL
ta:lbe:l	afterwards, later TEMPORAL

tahaʔ/ta:ʔ	there, thither (far away, not in sight) LOCATIVE
tam	when TEMPORAL
ta:m	then TEMPORAL
tana:ʔ	there (nearby; s.t. one can see) LOCATIVE
ta:ye	afterwards TEMPORAL, CONJUNCTION
ta:yi:l	after that TEMPORAL, CONJUNCTION
tehe:ʔ/te:ʔ	here LOCATIVE
tik'el	just, right away, barely, in a moment TEMPORAL
tiwaʔ	there, thither (far away) LOCATIVE
tokat/tokot	only, just DEGREE, MODAL
θahuw	early TEMPORAL
θe:y	together, together with MANNER
θubat	quickly, rapidly MANNER, DEGREE
ʒapik	hard, forcefully MANNER
ʒ'ehel	in the middle LOCATIVE
ʔutat	near LOCATIVE, PREPOSITION
wala:m	perhaps, it's possible MODAL
wali:m	purely, entirely DEGREE
walk'i	above, higher up LOCATIVE
wa:y	of course, naturally, certainly MODAL
we:ʔ	a little DEGREE
we:ʔakiʒ	in a little bit, soon TEMPORAL
weʔe:l	yesterday TEMPORAL
we:ʔiʒ	almost DEGREE
we:ʔk'iʔ we:ʔk'iʔ	from time to time TEMPORAL

wihio	a while ago TEMPORAL
wi?i:l/wi?i:	a little while ago TEMPORAL
yahu:m	slowly MANNER
ya:n	much, a lot DEGREE
ya:ni:l	many times TEMPORAL



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