

*Introduction to*

**Classical  
Nahuatl**

*Revised Edition*

**J. Richard Andrews**

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Revised Edition

J. RICHARD ANDREWS

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA PRESS : NORMAN

ALSO BY J. RICHARD ANDREWS

Juan del Encina: *Prometheus in Search of Prestige* (Berkeley, 1959)

(with Charles M. Vance) *Patterns for Reading Spanish* (New York, 1964)

*Introduction to Classical Nahuatl, First Edition* (Austin, 1975)

(trans. and ed. with Ross Hassig) *Treatise on the Heathen Superstitions and Customs That Today Live among the Indians Native to this New Spain, by Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón* (Norman, 1984)

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Andrews, J. Richard (James Richard), 1924—

Introduction to Classical Nahuatl / J. Richard Andrews.—Rev. ed.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-8061-3452-6 (hc)

1. Nahuatl language—Grammar. I. Title.

PM4063 .A66 2003

497'.4528421—dc21

2002026705

The paper in this book meets the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Committee on Production Guidelines for Book Longevity of the Council on Library Resources. ∞

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*To the memory of  
Naomi Elizabeth Griffin Andrews  
Joseph Wheeler Andrews*

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## Preface

This second edition of *Introduction to Classical Nahuatl* is an improved and enlarged version of the first, which was published in 1975. The changes have come in response to students' questions, to my realization that certain topics needed a more detailed explanation, and to my better understanding of the peculiarities of Nahuatl.

One of the guiding tenets behind the first edition was that the grammar should recognize the right of Nahuatl (like that of any language) to be looked at as a system operating from within its own structuring principles and rules. Previously, grammatical descriptions of the language had been made from a foreign, usually translationalist, perspective (e.g., prepositions or postpositions were foisted off on the language, although none in fact exist). In this edition I have attempted to give even more attention to Nahuatl's individuality; for example, I have created grammatical terms (e.g., "nuclear clause," "mainline object" versus "shuntline object," "destockal verbstem") and have discarded others that are not appropriate (e.g., "word"—except for the small class called "particles").

Other changes include the following: my invention of the square zero, "□," to indicate the presence of an *irregular* mute, or silent, morph (thereby cleansing the round zero, "0," of ambiguity and giving it the power to distinguish a *regular* mute morph); the splitting of what were accepted before as portmanteau morphs into morphic dyads (e.g., *nēch-* = "first-person singular objective case" is now analyzed as *n-ēch-*; i.e., *n-* = "first-person singular" plus *-ēch-* = "objective case," a combination that expresses the equivalent of the English verb object pronoun "me" or "to/for me"); the division of certain lessons into two (e.g., particles have been separated from adverbs and placed in Lesson 3; personal names have been given a lesson of their own); the addition of new lessons (e.g., Lesson 1 now presents a few pertinent linguistic preliminaries); the reordering of lessons (e.g., lessons dealing with basic *nominal* nuclear clauses have been shifted forward to become Lessons 12–19 in order to juxtapose them with those of the basic *verbal* nuclear clauses and thus make more evident the similarity between them).

As a result of the increase in the number of lessons (originally forty-eight, now fifty-eight) and the size of certain lessons, the text can no longer be dealt with in a two-semester course; consequently, unless course work is extended by at least one more semester, some of the lessons will have to be left to individual preparation.

The lessons fall into groups: 1–4, preparatory; 5–11, basic verbal nuclear clauses; 12–19, basic nominal nuclear clauses; 20–27, derived verbstems; 28–34, formation of compound stems; 35–43, formation of nounstems from verbal sources; 44–50, adverbial matters; 51–58, conjunction, and so forth. Lessons 2–22 are the most essential and should be thoroughly mastered; Lessons 23–58 are of lesser importance for a basic knowledge, but once the basic level has been achieved they become essential, since they shift attention to stem-internal considerations. Certain lessons, because of their length and detail (e.g., Lessons 54 and 55 on verbstem formation from nominal sources) should be looked upon mainly as a reference source after one has grasped their import in a general way.

This brings up a matter pointed out in the Preface to the first edition: the peculiar nature of this grammar, which gives attention to both simple and less-than-simple grammatical points while remaining merely introductory. Unlike, say, a beginning grammar of Spanish or German, this grammar must attempt to prepare the student to go directly into the reading of difficult texts; there are no intermediate and advanced grammars that will offer increasing insights into how the language works and thus make the transition from beginner to proficient reader less abrupt. And while, when one starts reading texts, it is possible to take advantage of editions with accompanying translations, one should be aware that these are often misleading. In fact, the second most important reason to strive for a mastery of Nahuatl is to gain the ability to correct cultural and ethnohistorical misinformation fostered by erroneous translation. As one small example, in *Codex Chimalpahin* 1 (103), A. J. O. Anderson and Susan Schroeder translated **matitlachtequicã** as “let us fashion a ball court,” a translation that ignores (1) that it is questionable a leader would ever propose that a ball court should be the first edifice erected at a new place of settlement; (2) that the land on the site is mostly waterlogged, with no stone available for such a construction; (3) that the verbstem *-tequi-* means “to cut”; (4) that in the very next line of the text we find **tlachcuitectzintli**, “it is a small thing made of cut sod”; and (5) that this small thing is there identified as an altar. This misguided translation results from not realizing that the text contains a scribal error omitting the syllable **-cui-**; the embed is not **tlach-** (“ball game”) but **tlachcui-** (“clump of sod/turf”). The corrected reading **matitlachcuitequicã** should be rendered “let’s cut sod/turf” (i.e., with which an earthen altar can be built). Basic axiom: Never trust a text. If even experienced translators at times scramble to invent a solution to a textual difficulty, it is obvious that unprepared students will face serious problems, often resorting to guesswork guided by rush-to-judgement hunches based on this or that hint rather than attempting a reasoned assessment that relies on grammatical and semantic knowledge (as well as contextual clues and environmental and cultural considerations). The result is frequently a wild plunge into nonsense. Unfortunately, the amount of detailed instruction needed to prepare one fully to deal with the task of reading the texts lies beyond the scope of a single grammar, and especially one of an introductory nature. If this grammar seems to overload information, it does so because it seeks to deal with the problem as best it can in the limited space allotted.

This grammar is also unusual in its insistence on an unabashedly grammatical presentation. I have deemed this necessary since Nahuatl is so foreign to English, Spanish, and other Indo-European languages. Grammatical analysis and explanation seem the only way to block, or at least temper, the urge to misconceive the foreign language from the entirely falsifying perspec-

tive of the student's own language. One procedure used in the book, unusual in an introductory grammar, is the analysis of a linguistic item into its component morphs (i.e., the bits of sound-/silence-carried information that a native speaker unconsciously processes to produce or understand an instance of language). To take an English example: "Sheepshearers' bickerings cease" (which, by its form, a native speaker recognizes as a newspaper article's title) has the following ten morphic carriers: sheep-shear-er-s-□ bicker-ing-s cease-∅. The morphs are as follows:

*Information carrier = Information carried (partial listing):*

sheep- = nounstem signifying domesticated fleece-bearing animals (as an embed, stem implies generality)

shear- = verbstem signifying action of using shears to clip/remove (fleece/hair)

-er- = derivational suffix (forming nounstem from verbstem) indicating agent of action

-s- = inflectional suffix added to nounstem to form nounword, indicating here a plural number of agents involved

□ = inflectional suffix added to nounword to indicate possession [Irregular mute variant of -s, a genitive-case suffix added either to nounword (e.g., John's cat) or to noun phrase (e.g., the boy's bat; the man on the corner's hat).]

bicker- = verbstem indicating action of engaging in a petty quarrel [Notice that here **er** is not separated from **bick** as **-er** above is separated from **shear**-.]

-ing- = derivational suffix (forming nounstem from verbstem) meaning "action abstractly regarded"

-s = inflectional suffix added to nounstem to form nounword, indicating here a plural number of occasions

cease- = verbstem signifying action of coming to an end

∅ = inflectional suffix added to verbstem to indicate present tense (in contrast to past-tense -d) [In order to contrapose English with Nahuatl, notice that an English verbword contains no morphic expression of a subject personal pronoun (the -s that occurs at the end of the third-person singular *present*-tense verbword is merely an agreement factor).]

No native English speaker is aware of such morphic segmentation, the strict order of the morphs (i.e., the minimal segments), or the levels of relationship among them (not to mention the higher-level syntactical relationships between the words resulting from the unified blocks of segments). A native speaker's concern and attention in using his/her language lies in a different area: the content of the speech event. The grammatical underpinnings have been so inculcated, infixed, programmed into the mind from birth (perhaps the process even began in the womb) that they seem a given. But a foreign-language learner does not have the leisure to absorb this kind of ingrained, blithe knowledge, so it would seem that the fastest way for one to gain an awareness, recognition, and appreciation of these information-bearing segments is to focus attention on the language. What is unconscious or subconscious, even seemingly instinctive, in a native speaker must be acquired with determined, cognitive, conscious effort by a learner. Therefore, from the first, the student should give importance to every hyphen (and to every parenthesis serving as a hyphen surrogate) that segments every information-bit in a string of

such bits, although in general their meaning-bearing import (especially of stem-internal segments) will not become clear until later in the course. When dealing with a Nahuatl compound stem, one should be aware of the meaning and interrelationship of its component stems, although undoubtedly a speaker of Nahuatl would have treated the whole stem as a simple one in the same way an English speaker usually treats an English compound. (For example, on saying or hearing “pocketbook,” does one ever think of “a book that serves as a pocket”? One merely treats the whole in the same way as the simple stem “purse” is treated. Similarly, does an English speaker ever pay attention to the meaning of “pin” in “rolling pin” or to that of “vacuum” in “vacuum cleaner”?) But being in conscious or unconscious control of the combinatorial patterns and the semantic scopes of informational bits in a language constitutes knowledge of that language. For an adult learner, this means first gaining a conscious awareness of them.

The first edition of *Introduction to Classical Nahuatl* was the first grammar of Classical Nahuatl since that of Carochi in the seventeenth century to insist on the importance of glottal stops and vowel length. Frances Karttunen made a very valuable contribution to Nahuatl studies in 1983 with *An Analytical Dictionary of Nahuatl* (reprinted 1992). In the dictionary she has brought together all the available attestations of these phonological facts, from Horacio Carochi, the *Huehuetlatolli* (Ms. M.M 458, Bancroft Library), and a number of modern dialects (e.g., that of Tetelcingo). I have relied heavily and gratefully on Karttunen’s work. On occasion, however, since I have not considered myself to be constrained by the same criteria as those accepted by Karttunen, I have made my own appraisal of certain items based on morphological considerations; for example, I use the spelling **huēhuētqueh**, not **huēhuetqueh** (since the clause comes from **huēhuēti**, the ultimate source for which is **-huē-**, as in **huēi**), **huitztzilin**, not **huitzilin** (since I continue to believe that the **huitz-** represents “thorn”—I do not consider the Bancroft Ms. to be any less open to error than Carochi, etc.), **ehhecatl**, not **ehēcatl** (since the source of the reduplicated form is **ehcatl**, not **ēcatl**), and **ohhuih**, not **ohuih**. On other occasions I have kept a spelling that I question; for example, **iztāc**, whose vowel length (found both in Carochi and the Tetelcingo dialect) is unjustified by the source **iztaya** (contrast **ihyāc**, where the **ā** is warranted by the source **ihyāya**). I have also kept Karttunen’s postvowel causative **ā** in Class C verbstems, even though reluctantly, since it seems to me that Nahuatl has a general restriction against dropping a long vowel.

Examples have been taken from Sahagún, Molina, Rincón, Carochi, Paredes, Ruiz de Alarcón, Olmos, Arenas, and any other source that served to illustrate a grammatical point. At times I have altered the selected clause or sentence to focus more narrowly on the problem being discussed.

I wish to express my gratitude to all the students who, by their interest and effort in learning Nahuatl, have confirmed my study of the language. I am greatly obliged to Ross Hassig for his many helpful comments and especially for his advice regarding the revision of the appendix on day, month, and year names. I also wish to thank the College of Arts and Science of Vanderbilt University for the use of the facilities in its Microcomputer Laboratory and to express my sincere gratitude to the laboratory’s director, William Longwell, and to the members of his staff, John Kilbourne, Lola Fitzpatrick, Richard Espenant, Nelum Romanos, and Kyle Brenton, for their inestimable and unstinting help.

# Abbreviations and Symbols Used in the Lessons

abs = absolutive  
adjr = adjunctor  
ante = antecessive  
appl, applic = applicative  
caus = causative  
com = common number  
con = connective  
cuspres = customary present  
dir = direct  
direc = directive  
fut = future  
H = honorific  
imperf = imperfective  
impers = impersonal  
intr, intrans = intransitive  
metaph = metaphor/metaphorical  
ml = mainline  
modif = modification  
NNC = nominal nuclear clause  
nonan = nonanimate  
num = numeral  
obj = object  
o.s. = oneself  
P = pejorative  
pass = passive  
pat = patient  
perf = perfective  
pres = present

pers = personal  
pl = plural  
plup = pluperfect  
pos, poss = possessive, possessor  
pred = predicate  
pres = present  
pret = preterit  
R = reverential  
recip = reciprocative  
reflex = reflexive  
sg = singular  
shl = shuntline  
s.o. = someone  
Span = Spanish  
srce = source  
st = state  
s.th. = something  
subj = subject  
suppl = supplementation  
tns = tense  
trans = transitive  
va = valence  
var = variant stem/form  
VNC = verbal nuclear clause  
1st = first person  
2nd = second person  
3rd = third person



~ = or

/ = or

> = changes to; is represented as (See Lesson 2.)

< = derives from

∅ = zero; morpheme or regular morph not phonologically represented; mute, or silently present morph

□ = square zero, irregular morph not phonologically represented; mute, or silently present morph

\* = reconstructed, hypothetical, or unattested form

/ . . / = phonemic representation of sounds

[ . . ] = phonic or phonetic representation of sounds' vowel length (phonemically or phonetically represented) fore and aft stem boundaries

# . . # = fore and aft nuclear-clause boundaries

# = point of attachment of affix outside nuclear-clause boundaries

- = stem-internal and dyad-internal boundary

+ = boundary between positions (or slots) outside stem; also, stem-internal boundary between a nuclear clause as embed and its matrix in compound stem

*Note:* A hyphen is also used to indicate incomplete material when citing lexical items. For example, in presenting a *stem* as a lexical item, a hyphen combines with a parenthesis in one of four ways:  $-(. . .)$  indicates a transitive verbstem and  $(. . .)-$  indicates a nounstem, while  $(- . . .)$  indicates a stem occurring only as a matrix and  $(. . . -)$ , one occurring only as an embed.

The combination of a hyphen and a parenthesis is NEVER used in analyzing nuclear clauses, since parentheses serve as *replacements* for hyphens as stem boundaries.

# Introduction to Classical Nahuatl

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## LESSON 1

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# Linguistic Preliminaries

1.1. *Aim.* Due to spatial limitations, the following paragraphs are an extremely limited presentation of only some aspects of a very complex subject. Only a few general topics deemed pertinent to the following lessons are considered. Less general concepts are taken up later in relation to specific grammatical problems.

1.2. *Language Difference.* One of the most obvious facts about languages is that they differ. Even those within the same language family vary widely (e.g., English, Russian, Irish, Spanish, Rumanian, Hindi—all of which are members of the Indo-European family), so it is not at all surprising that even greater differences exist between languages in different families (e.g., English, Swahili, Tagalog, Arabic, Japanese, Turkish, Quechua, Nahuatl). This diversity is supported primarily by three properties of language: *arbitrariness* (the content dimension is not motivatedly linked to the medium dimension), *creativity* (every language can produce an indefinitely large number of sentences), and *change* (languages undergo continual change in pronunciation, grammar, and lexicon).

Young children have no problem with language difference. They can acquire native competence in a foreign language apparently as easily as in their own. But this openness to language learning gradually diminishes and during the early teens becomes lost. Consequently, adults find foreignness a formidable difficulty. Having lost the flexibility and receptivity of children, they have circumscribed their minds by habits, presuppositions, and predispositions (i.e., automatic expectations and responses) inculcated in them during their formative years. As a result, learning a foreign language can be accomplished only by means of and in constant struggle against their own language.

A native speaker's ease and confidence in handling the details of pronunciation and thought expression, usually minute and subtle, are the result of years of intimate, innocent familiarity—innocent because the mind is unaware of language-transference pressure. A foreign adult has neither that time nor that innocence. It is evident, therefore, that he/she must use an acquisition strategy different from that of a child. First, one must tackle the disadvantage of lack of time by alert, thoughtful repetitive practice of basic patterns (learning a language is to a large extent like learning any skill—piano playing, tennis, etc.—in that familiarity and ease of

performance must be achieved through attentive repetition of the basics). Second, one must tackle the disadvantage of a lack of innocence by using the adult advantage of intellect: one must avail oneself of comparative reasoning and contrastive analysis. This means that the adult should accept the help of *grammar*, a reasoned description of the peculiarities in a language's elements and in the rules deploying the interrelationships between those elements.

1.3. *The Problem of Terminology.* One of the stumbling blocks in grammar is terminology; though necessary, it has the notorious effect of turning off a mind as completely as a light switch turns off a light. Given the nature of the learning problem to be undertaken (going beyond a superficial, make-do conversational knowledge), the learner must overcome this unfortunate antagonism to grammar and grammatical terminology. To offset the effect of *transfer* in language learning (i.e., the distortion imposed on a foreign language due to the influence of one's native language), an adult needs to reason; and grammatical terms, like any technical terms, are tools with which to think.

It is naive to assume that one can enter into the alien system that generates a foreign language's structure (i.e., its morphological and syntactical peculiarity) without the help of grammar, that one can learn the language by just "studying the examples." Without the help of grammatical explanation, one will inevitably vitiate the foreign structure by "understanding" it under the distorting force of one's own language. The grammar of a translational equivalent insidiously takes over; for example, in a Spanish construction such as *se leen los libros*, "one reads the books," an uninformed student takes *se* as a subject (meaning "one") rather than as the direct object (meaning "themselves"). It is not that one cannot get by with such translation-based misconstruals, but if one is interested in finding access to foreign mindways, progress will be blocked. It is, furthermore, remarkably difficult to retrain oneself away from translation-motivated misconceptions.

Unfortunately, however, grammars are not always trustworthy guides. One reason for this is that many grammarians and linguists suffer from linguicism (or glottocentrism), the belief that one's own language is the measure of language. Consequently, they impose the grammar of their language on the foreign one. Some even describe the grammar of a translation as if it were the grammar of the language itself. Others simply *invent* explanations to force the language into a semblance of compliance with their language. A few examples relevant to the study of Nahuatl should suffice to illustrate the practice. American linguists automatically, dogmatically, and with unthinking conviction consider what in fact are affixal subject pronouns in Spanish to be merely "markers," thereby refusing to accept them as pronouns. Similarly, they talk of "copy morphs" in languages such as Spanish; for example, *-n* on the Spanish verbword of *los niños cantan*, "the children sing," is called a "copy morph" because it is said to "copy" the person-number of *los niños*, but, in fact, the *-n* is the *basic* subject pronoun and *los niños* is a *supplementary* subject (i.e., a subject brought in by a transformational process to supplement, clarify, etc., the information of the basic subject; see Lessons 17, 18, and 19 for structures of supplementation in Nahuatl). The "copy morph" explanation falsifies Spanish (Nahuatl, etc.) structure, turning it inside out to make it conform to the inappropriate, distorting perspective of English. The *-n* is not there as a mere agreement device.

American linguists similarly talk of “pro drop” (i.e., “pronoun deletion”) in languages such as Spanish; for example, the sentence *cantan*, “they sing,” is said to have “dropped” the pronoun subject *ellos*, “they (masc.),” or *ellas*, “they (fem.),” because, judging Spanish from the point of view of English (which has a *wordal* subject pronoun in “they sing”), deletion appears to be what happens. But, in fact, Spanish has “dropped” nothing. *Cantan* is absolutely as complete a sentence as “they sing”; both sentences consist of a subject and a predicate (they even agree on the lack of overt specification of the gender of the entities referred to by the subject pronouns, wordal in English, suffixal in Spanish). A linguist who espouses the pro-drop explanation is so deluded by the demands of English that he/she cannot accept the validity of a grammar that demands a different solution to the problem. He/she is therefore blocked from seeing that if one uses a wordal personal pronoun in Spanish (creating either *ellos cantan* or *ellas cantan*), one is ADDING a supplementary subject for emphasis or clarification with regard to gender (adding vocal stress to “they” expresses the emphasis, but the information about gender requires some other solution in English).

Other, equally Anglocentric analyses are quite common. Another example is found in the language-typology scheme based on the placement of S(ubject), V(erb), O(bject), resulting in SVO languages, SOV languages, etc. And, to mention only one more example, there is the much-touted formula “S = NP + VP” (i.e., “Rewrite Sentence as Noun Phrase plus Verb Phrase”). People who buy into such English-based explanations become blinded to language structures differing from that of English.

The moral of these remarks is that, in dealing with a foreign language, one should try to face as open-mindedly and permissively as one can the foreignness that is always there. To do otherwise may be comforting, but it is certainly not intelligent. Inappropriate analysis and terminology are not only a deterrent but a barrier to understanding. The grammatical terms used in the description of a language must be based on an intimate understanding of it from perspectives appreciative of its difference.

This means that, when studying Nahuatl, one must approach terminology that has proved valid for English or another Indo-European language with a willingness to be tolerant. When applied to Nahuatl, standard linguistic/grammatical terminology must be reassessed in a number of ways:

1. A term may be appropriate without change (e.g., “modification,” “adjunction,” “complementation,” “causative,” “predicate”).

2. A term may serve if redefined (e.g., in describing Nahuatl, “noun,” “verb,” “adjective,” and “adverb” are NOT to be understood as meaning “nounword,” “verbword,” etc., but ONLY “nominal lexical item” (i.e., noun stem), “verbal lexical item” (i.e., verb stem), etc.). Similarly, the term “vocable,” while valid without change when referring to the syllabic whole of a particle (i.e., the only kind of Nahuatl word), must have its meaning expanded to refer to the syllabic whole corresponding to the morphosyntactical unit here called a nuclear clause. Even the term “transitive” is not serviceable in the meaning it has for English and must be redefined.



3. A term may have to be rejected (at times this may be difficult to accept); for example, the term “word” refers to a *sentence fragment*, and the ONLY use for it in discussing Nahuatl is to refer to particles (see Lesson 3). It should NEVER be used to refer to nuclear clauses (see Lesson 4), and a strong, sustained effort must be made from the beginning not to think of nuclear clauses as words. To give in to the temptation is to close the door on a real understanding of the Nahuatl language system.

Among the other terms that must be rejected, one should especially note “auxiliary verb,” “modal auxiliary,” “preposition,” and “postposition.” Seeking to satisfy English or Spanish expectations abetted by the “evidence” of translation (see § 1.13), grammarians have falsified the facts of Nahuatl grammar by applying these terms and others in situations where there is nothing for them to refer to.

4. In addition to the need of keeping, redefining, or discarding already existing terminology, it is also necessary at times to coin new terms to name things peculiar to Nahuatl (e.g., “main-line” and “shuntline” with regard to verb objects; “nuclear clause”; “basic subject/object/possessor”; “supplementary subject/object/possessor”; “stock”; “destockal verbstem”).

*Remark:* The fact that certain terminology is appropriate without change and other terminology can serve if redefined attests to the fact that while there are obvious, often wide differences between languages, there exists at some very deep, abstract level a universality behind them. While an acknowledgment of this deep-level universality is all to the good, one’s enthusiasm for it should not be allowed to intrude on, distort, and detract from the concrete facts of a language’s individuality.

1.4. *Language and Communication.* The main use or function of language is *communication*. Linguistic communication involves *partners* (speaker, addressee), *information* (socio-culturally conditioned representations of a particular life-world in all its dimensions—real, imaginary, etc.), a *medium* (signifying means and channels), and a *system of shared rules* for selecting and integrating these components. That is to say, a speaker, constrained by a communally established (cultural) system of rules, combines a sequence of culturally determined bits of information (classifications, representations, concepts, beliefs, feelings, etc.—all the complexities involved in meaning, reference, and sense) by means of a sequence of culturally determined units of medium (sounds, letters, silence, signing, etc.) to communicate with an addressee.

The coupling of *information* with the *medium of its transmission* is one of the defining properties of human language. This linguistic symbiosis, called *duality* or *double articulation*, is best understood by considering the nature of its symbionts: elements of the medium participate in a *carrier system*; those of information participate in a *content system*. The carrier system has two quite different subsystems, one *phonological*, the other *sigological*. Also, in languages that have been reduced to writing, the phonological subsystem has spawned a derivative *graphological subsystem*.

1.5. *Levels of Analysis.* In order to discuss the elements of the carrier and content systems, it will be helpful to set up an analytical framework of three levels: *type*, *token*, and *instance*.

A *type* is an ideal, extremely abstract and generalizing kind of conceptual entity, comparable to a *genus* in biology. It is a hypothetical identificational grouping—a class. Linguistic ele-

ments at the type level are identified by labels formed with the suffix “-eme,” which here means “a language-specific, systemically determined set of contrastively discriminated features.” In discussions, a type-level item is identified as such by being placed between slashes: // (e.g., /k/). It is up to the analyst to choose the shape of the type-level element, usually in recognition of its explanatory power; frequency of occurrence of a certain shape is not an important factor in such a decision.

A *token* exists on a less abstract level than a type, because it is a particularization of its type (compare a species in a botanical genus). A token *represents* its type and therefore conforms to the distinguishing function of the type; it may or may not add environmentally conditioned variations of its own. In discussions, a token-level item is identified as such by being placed between square brackets: [ ] (e.g., [k]).

An *instance* is a concrete, actual, performed, specific, one-time-occurring realization of a token. An instance *manifests* (or *realizes*) its token. In discussions of a nontechnical nature, quotation marks can be used to identify an instance-level item.

A type-level item can be represented by only a limited number of token-level items (at times by only one), but a token-level item can be manifested by an unlimited number of instance-level items. The type level and the token level have to do with mental constructs. They are hypothetical depurations based on the numerous similarities and differences, correspondences and contrasts, to be found in the myriad experiences of instances encountered in the objective world. In other words, the token level distills out a large number of irrelevant details encountered on the instance level, after which the type level distills out all the irrelevant variety and irregularity that still exist on the token level.

1.6. *The Type-Level Linguistic Elements.* An *element* is a basic unit (or segment) that cannot be analyzed into smaller linear units (or segments). An element need not be simple, however, since it may consist of a “bundle” of simultaneously present *features* that cooperate to give the element its particular, distinctive character.

There are four kinds of basic type-level elements: *phoneme*, *grapheme*, *sigeme*, and *sememe*. The first three belong to the carrier system; the fourth belongs to the content system. The terms for these elements are derived from the Greek roots *phon-* (“sound”), *graph-* (“writing”), *sig-* (“silence”), and *sem-* (“sign”).

1. *Phonemes* are members of a language’s phonological subsystem. A phoneme is a theoretical segment of sound which, while itself devoid of meaning, serves to distinguish meanings; for example, in English *pit* and *bit* differ only in the contrast of the phonemic consonants /p/ and /b/, while *pit* and *pet* differ only in the phonemic vowels /i/ and /e/.

Phonemes differ from one another because of their (ideal) physical makeup as determined by (ideal) muscular movements in an (ideal) mouth and throat, involving features of voicing, place of articulation, and manner of articulation; for example, in English /b/ is (ideally) physically distinctive by reason of being a “voiced bilabial stop” in contrast to /p/, which is a “voiceless bilabial stop.”

But while a phoneme depends on a particular selection and interaction of distinctive features (i.e., its (ideal) physical makeup) for its identification, its identity as a phoneme (i.e., what establishes a sound as a phoneme) is a native speaker's enculturated perception of it as *functionally* distinctive; for example, what an English speaker perceives as the two distinct phonemes /p/ and /b/ may be perceived by the speaker of another language as a single phoneme due to an indifference to the feature of voicing. For another example, an English speaker is not aware that the /t/ of *tar* and that of *star* are physically (articulatorily, acoustically) different (the former is aspirated, the latter is unaspirated). He/she hears or pays attention only to the "t-ness," i.e., only to the English phoneme /t/. A speaker of Hindi, however, would easily perceive and respond to the phonetic difference, because in that language there is an unaspirated /t/ phoneme and an aspirated /t<sup>h</sup>/ phoneme. The nature, variety, and number of phonemes in a language's phonemic inventory are particular to that language.

A phoneme is symbolized by a *single* alphabetic letter (one sound, one symbol). Consequently, special symbols may be required; for example, /č/ is the phonemic symbol for the sound spelled with the digraph *ch* as in *church*; /š/ is the phonemic symbol for the sound spelled with the digraph *sh* in *shot*. For the phonemic symbols in Nahuatl, see §§ 2.2–2.3.

2. **Graphemes** are members of a language's graphological subsystem. They are subsidiary symbols invented for the purpose of giving visual representation to linguistic sounds in a written text. A grapheme is a set of identically valued alphabetic symbols or letters; it includes the entire range of possible shapes (script, print, upper or lower case, italic, boldface, etc.) that the symbolized value can assume and still be recognizable as such.

Graphemes may have a one-to-one correspondence with phonemes (e.g., /pit/, *pit*), a two-to-one correspondence (e.g., /šip/, *ship*, where *sh* is called a "digraph"), a three-to-one correspondence (e.g., /skoč/, *scotch*, where *tch* is called a "trigraph"), etc. Furthermore, one grapheme may correspond to more than one phoneme (e.g., *s* can represent /s/ or /z/ in English, and one phoneme may be represented in spelling in a number of ways (e.g., /f/ is spelled *f*, *ph*, and *gh* in English).

3. Most linguists speak of the "phonological system" rather than of the "carrier system," because they think that phonemes are the only elements to be considered as carriers of meaning. Here, however, the wider term "carrier system" has been chosen because—although not commonly acknowledged—meaning is carried as effectively by a soundless element (a sigeme) as by a sounded one (a phoneme). Of course, while a language can have a fairly large inventory of phonemes, it has only one sigeme (just as in the notation of the decimal-number system there are nine digits and only one zero). A **sigeme** is a single-membered set of meaning-bearing silence (see the comments on silence in § 1.7). A sigeme is represented by /Ø/ (an oval zero; the slash through the symbol keeps it from being confused with the vowel *o*).

4. The **sememe** is the only kind of content element. A sememe is a *set* of meaningfulness (sense, denotation, etc.) that is uniquely expressible by a unit of elements in the carrier system. It must be kept in mind that the semantic component of language goes beyond the content system, since meaning is also generated by combination (morphology, morphosyntax, and

syntax) as well as by use (irony, metaphor, metonymy, idioms, intonation, tempo, etc.), etc. Our knowledge of the sememes of Nahuatl is extremely limited (see § 1.13); consequently, one is forced to suggest a sememe's value by the inherently, fundamentally falsifying means of English translation or glosses (thus further effacing the nature of Nahuatl sememic features).

1.7. *The Morpheme.* Another type-level linguistic element—the most important—is the *morpheme* (from the Greek root *morph-*, “shape, form”). A morpheme is a composite entity, an amalgam resulting from a symbiotic relationship between elements of the carrier system and those of the content system. A morpheme comes into being when a sememe, or sememe cluster, is combined with a phoneme unit (a single phoneme or, more frequently, a sequence of phonemes) or with a sigeme. Such an amalgam lies at the heart of “duality” (see § 1.4), since it is the smallest unit to manifest it. (In this description of the morpheme no mention has been made of graphemes, since the graphological subsystem is related only to the phonological subsystem, not to the full carrier system; it is, therefore, totally oblivious to sigemes; see §§ 1.9–1.10.)

The notation used for representing morphemes should indicate their symbiotic nature. One possibility would be a “fraction format,” with the carrier unit placed above the content unit, but in these lessons, for the purpose of saving space, the notation used is simply “/carrier/, ‘gloss.’” Be warned, however, that frequently only the carrier part of the amalgam is given to represent a morpheme, leaving the content (or “gloss”) part as taken for granted. Do not let this space-saving practice (morphemic-carrier representation in place of a full morpheme representation) mislead you into thinking that the carrier alone is the morpheme.

When a morpheme contains a content cluster (i.e., two or more sememes so indivisibly joined that each cannot be analyzed as having a separate phonemic or sigemic carrier), it is called a “portmanteau morpheme” (for example, the pronominal morpheme carried by /n/ in Nahuatl contains the two sememes “first person” and “singular number”).

Phonemes are phonemes, sigemes sigemes, and sememes sememes *only* by virtue of the fact that they cooperate in the formation of morphemes. The carrier system and the content system would not exist except for the fact that they (both cooperating) permit the existence of morphemes.

From the point of view of symbiotic structure, there are three kinds of morphemes:

1. sound + no (sememic) meaning = “connective or housekeeping morpheme”; e.g., the /-o-/ in English /fon-o-loj-ik-al/, “phonological.” While the morpheme lacks sememic meaning (i.e., it has no sememe), it does have grammatical meaning.

2. sound + meaning (i.e., phoneme unit + sememe unit) = “ordinary morpheme.” For example, in the English word “pits” there are two morphemes of this type: “/pit-/, ‘pit-’” and “/-s/, ‘plural number.’”

3. no sound + meaning (i.e., sigeme + sememe unit) = “mute or silently present morpheme.” For example, in the English word “pit” there are two morphemes: an ordinary one, “/pit-/, ‘pit-,’” and a silently present one, “/-∅/, ‘singular number.’”

*Note:* Languages make extensive use of silently present morphemes in response to the “principle of linguistic economy,” which states that a speaker need not expend phonological energy in order to express information that his/her culture considers a default value (i.e., something assumed to be the case unless an explicit indication to the contrary is present); for example, English speakers assume that singular number on noun words is more basic than plural number and, therefore, express it with a sigeme as shown above. Similarly, they assume that present tense is more basic than past tense, so an expenditure of phonological energy is regularly needed only for the latter; contrast /liyn-Ø/ with /liyn-d/ in “I lean” and “I leaned.”

1.8. *The Token-Level Linguistic Elements.* There are four kinds of token-level elements that represent the basic type-level ones. They are called *phones*, *graphs*, *sigs*, and *semes*. In addition there are token-level symbiotic elements called *morphs* that represent the type-level morphemes.

1. A *phone* is a token-level nondistinctive (i.e., noncontrastive) representation of a phoneme occurring in a specifiable environment. For example, the aspirated [t<sup>h</sup>] in *tar* and the unaspirated [t] in *star* mentioned in § 1.6.1 are nondistinctive, because they occur in mutually exclusive environments and therefore cannot contrast: [t] occurs after [s] but [t<sup>h</sup>] never does.

A phoneme may have a phonic repertory of only one member (e.g., the English phoneme /b/ has [b] as its only phone). More commonly, however, a phoneme’s phonic repertory has two or more members (for example, the English phoneme /l/ has a repertory of two phones: [l], the “clear” sound as in *lamp*; and [ɫ], the “dark” sound before consonants, as in *old*, and at the end of words, as in *all* or *table*). A phone may be regular (i.e., it contains only the distinctive features of the phoneme); for example, [s] as a phone of the Spanish phoneme /s/, as in [misto], “I mumble.” Or it can be irregular. As such, it may display slight variations (for example, [z] is a slightly irregular phone of the Spanish /s/ in [mizmo], *mismo*, “same,” because it has the added feature of voice). Or it may be seriously or even totally different. When a phone is different from its phoneme, it can even be identical to the regular phone of another phoneme; for example, in English /n/ has the regular phone [n], as in *indelicat*e, and the irregular phones [m], as in *improper*, [ɺ], as in *illegal*, and [r], as in *irregular*, while [m], [ɺ], and [r] are the regular phones of /m/, /l/, and /r/ respectively. In Nahuatl [n] is a regular phone of /n/ and an irregular phone of /m/; [č] is a regular phone of /č/ and an irregular phone of /t/; [t] is a regular phone of /t/ and an irregular phone of /ʎ/; etc. (see Lesson 2).

The representation of phones by symbols may be “loose,” leaning toward the generality of the type, or “strict,” leaning toward the particularity of an instance.

2. A *graph* is a token-level nondistinctive representation of a grapheme. It can differ from the other variants of its grapheme with regard to upper case, lower case, script, print, typeface style, typeface size, etc.

3. A *sig* can be regular; as such it is a token-level representation of a *sigeme*. A regular sig is represented by [Ø]; that is, a sigeme is a set that has only one token-level member. But there can also be an irregular sig. In this case the sig is an irregular representation of a *phoneme* unit. An irregular sig is represented by [□], a “square zero.”

4. A *seme* is a token-level representation of a *sememe*.

5. A *morph* is a token-level representation of a morpheme. A morph may be regular or irregular; that is, while the meaning remains constant, the phonic or sigic carrier of that meaning may vary. The notation representing a regular morph should follow that chosen for a morpheme (see § 1.7), simply replacing the slashes with square brackets around the morphic carrier. For example, the plural-number morpheme on English nouns is “/–s/, ‘more than one.’” In its morphic repertory, in addition to the regular morphic carrier [–s] (as in “[pit–s], ‘pit–pl’”), we find the slightly irregular carriers [–z] (as in “[pig–z], ‘pig–pl’”) and [–iz], i.e., the carrier [z] with a supportive vowel (as in “[kis–iz], ‘kiss–pl’”) as well as the seriously irregular carriers [–ən] (as in “[ɔks–ən], ‘ox–pl’”) and [–] (as in “[šiy–], ‘sheep–pl’”; e.g., “these sheep are mine”; contrast this with the singular number form, “[šiy–θ], ‘sheep–sg,’” as in “this sheep is mine”). There is, furthermore, the problem of plural morphs on borrowed items such as “data,” “seraphim,” and “amoebae.”

The slightly irregular morphs are said to be phonologically conditioned (i.e., contextual sounds trigger the variation); certain seriously irregular ones are said to be morphologically conditioned (i.e., the variation occurs only in response to a particular governing morpheme).

1.9. *The Instance-Level Linguistic Elements.* The instance-level manifestations or realizations of token-level elements are sounds, letters, and meanings. There are also instance-level realizations of morphs called forms. The level of instances contains entities that are too varied to be of use in discussions such as those in this work (it is said, for example, that a person never pronounces a phone exactly the same in any two instances). The instance level, of course, is the only witness to the existence of the abstract levels hypothesized as underlying it; these are arrived at by extrapolation and generalization—that is, by factoring out the “impurities” found in performance phenomena.

It will be noticed that *silence* is not included among the instance-level elements mentioned above. This is because sigs have no instance-level representation, no instance-level presence. Their presence is implicit. The only silence a language user can ever be conscious of on the level of actual occurrence is the silence that comes before and after an utterance (or at points of interruption), and, because it is pronunciatonal (i.e., audible), it is a totally different kind of silence. Because of the tyranny of sound on the instance level, a speaker or listener normally has difficulty in recognizing the “linguistic reality” of morphological structure even in the case of sounded morphs, because (as will be explained in § 1.11.2) meaningless phonic segments (i.e., syllables) are not necessarily coterminous with morphic segments. If people have difficulty with phoneme-carried sememes, it is obvious that the very concept of sigeme-carried sememes can be difficult to grasp. Postulating a silently present morpheme or morph is justified ONLY when, in a corresponding position in a similarly structured item, a sounded morpheme or morph expressing a related category is present; that is, CONTRAST justifies the hypothesis of a silent morpheme or morph in exactly the same way that it justifies the recognition of sounded ones.

1.10. *Summary.* The following chart summarizes the levels and the elements found in them as described in §§ 1.3–1.7.



<b>Instance Level</b>	Sound	Letter		Meaning	Form
<b>Token Level</b>	Phone	Graph	Sig	Seme	Morph
<b>Type Level</b>	Phoneme	Grapheme	Sigeme	Sememe	Morpheme

1.11. *Combining the Elements.* The elements presented in §§ 1.6–1.10 can be combined into linear sequences (in speech, temporal ones; in writing, spatial ones). For a sequence to be linguistically valid it must be **structured**: parts must be patterned into wholes. The basic principle of linguistic structure is “1 + 1 = 1.” Constituents always enter into combinations as *units* and always result in a *unit*; i.e., a segment plus a segment forms a complex unit (or complex segment).

The cohesive power of certain kinds of complex units is so strong that the constituent segments need not be juxtaposed; i.e., they can be discontinuous. This is seen, for example, in the Latin phrase *magna cum laude*, “with high praise,” in which *laude*, “praise,” is separated from its modifier *magna*, “great,” by the preposition *cum*, “with.” Here the discontinuity is merely stylistic, but obligatorily discontinuous complexes are easy to find (see, for example, § 4.4).

It is also important to know that the logic of sets (“a set can consist of either a single member or more than one”) applies to linguistic structural units, so a “complex” can consist of a single constituent or more than one (normally, of course, two or more constituents are involved).

The combining process is recursive (i.e., the rules can be applied again and again). And since higher-ranked structural units can be built from lower-ranked ones, a hierarchy of units exists, with the units on different ranks (or levels) bearing distinct labels to identify their distinct structural potentials.

There are two fundamentally different hierarchies, one comprised of meaningless structural units and the other comprised of meaningful ones.

1. **Meaningless structural units.** The meaningless units consist of phonemes or phones (or graphemes or graphs). Since meaning is not involved, sememes are absent and sigemes cannot participate. The basic hierarchical ranks of phonological and graphological units are:

<b>Phonological</b>	<b>Graphological</b>
Stress group	Punctuation group
Vocable	Vocable
Syllable	Syllable
Phoneme/phone	Grapheme/graph

*Comments:*

a. The units on a lower rank are normally the source for the formation of the units on a higher rank, but it is also possible for a lower-ranked unit to be upgraded to a higher rank (i.e., a vowel phoneme/phone can serve as a syllable; a syllable can serve as a vocable; etc.).

b. In Nahuatl (as in Spanish) a syllable has a vowel phoneme/phone at its center; in English syllabic consonants, /l m n r/, can also serve as center. Consonant phonemes/phones can appear in the fore and aft margins. The rules for syllable structure differ for each language (for Nahuatl syllable structure, see § 2.6). Remember: Syllables are meaningless units.

c. A vocable is a meaningless unit formed from syllables: “a word considered only as a sequence of sounds or letters rather than as a unit of meaning” (*The American Heritage Dictionary*). For example, the English syllables *li-*, *-throt-*, *-ri-*, *-ty* combine to form *lithrotrity*, which probably exists as a vocable for most English speakers until a dictionary is consulted. But *any* word, when looked at in terms of its syllable structure, is being treated as a vocable.

A vocable can, of course, be monosyllabic (i.e., a single syllable can be upgraded to the rank of a vocable). Normally, one of the syllables of a polysyllabic vocable is pronounced with more force than the others and is said to be stressed (for syllable stress in Nahuatl, see § 2.7).

d. The structure of vocables (like that of syllables) is determined by a language’s phonotactic rules (what sequences are possible, what changes occur on the token level when certain phonemes come into contact, etc.).

e. The importance of syllables and vocables is that they establish the phonological surface constraints to which meaningful combinations must eventually conform on the instance level.

2. Meaningful structural units. The meaningful units consist of morphemes or morphs. Morphemes/morphs are totally different from syllables: (a) they are elements (not combinations or sequences); (b) they have meanings; (c) they can have a sigeme/sig as the carrier of their meaning (see § 1.7.3); (d) when they have a sounded carrier (see § 1.7.1–2), they may be monophonemic/monophonic with *either* a single consonant *or* a single vowel as the phoneme/phone; (e) when they have a sounded carrier and are polyphonemic, they may consist of consonants alone or of a combination of consonants and vowels. (Of course, it is possible for a morpheme/morph to be coterminous with a syllable (e.g., syllable *if* and morpheme “/if/, ‘if’”), but remember that while, for example, the VOCABLE *nest* consists of a single syllable, the WORD *nest* consists of two morphemes: “/nest-Ø/, ‘nest-sg.’”)

With regard to combinatorial possibilities, morphemes/morphs fall into two types: (a) major morphemes/morphs and (b) minor morphemes/morphs.

a. Major morphemes/morphs are the locus of representational information and occur at the organization center of the units named in the ranks of the structural hierarchy.

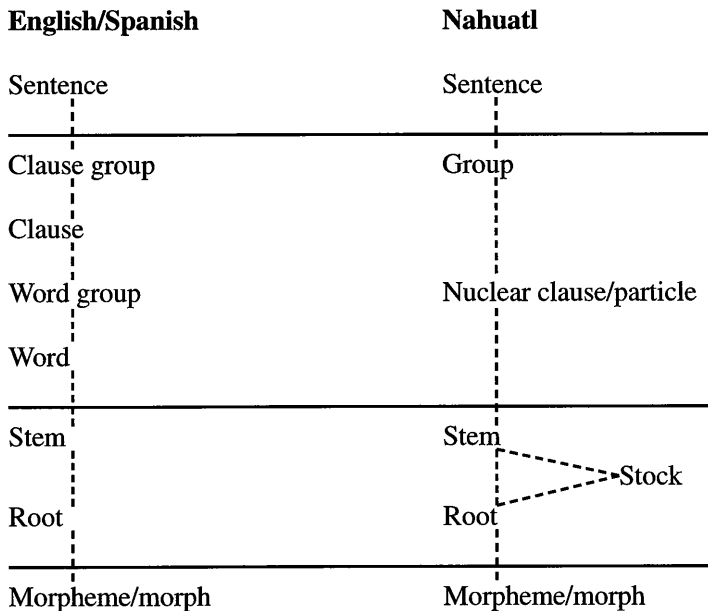
b. Minor morphemes/morphs are affixal. An affix may be a prefix, an infix, or a suffix. A prefix occurs at the beginning of a sequence, an infix in the middle, and a suffix at the end. Affixes are either *derivational* or *inflectional*. The difference between these two kinds of minor morphemes/morphs is extremely important—the two should NEVER be misidentified.

*i.* A **derivational affix** is the locus of stem-internal modifying and/or category-altering information; compare *duck-ling-* (a nounstem becomes a different nounstem) to *sing-er-* (a verbstem changes to a nounstem). A derivational affix occurs *only* INSIDE the boundaries of a stem which it participates in building.

*ii.* An **inflectional affix** is the locus of syntactical information. It can be only a prefix or a suffix since it is added OUTSIDE the boundaries of a stem and thus participates in the creation of a paradigmatic unit. A paradigm is a set of all the inflectionally variant forms built on a common stem of a given class; e.g., the verb paradigm *write*, *writes*, and *wrote* (the participles *writing* and *written* are always included in the list although they are really the result of category-altering derivation by means of the derivational suffixes *-ing* and *-en*). As will be seen below, the paradigmatic units of Nahuatl are not “words” but “nuclear clauses.”

At times inflectional affixes occur in inseparable sequences, creating a morphemic/morphic dyad (e.g., the suffixal subject-pronominal morphemes of person and number in Spanish—as in *-mos*, “we,” where *-mo-* expresses “first person” and *-s* “plural”). Morphemic/morphic dyads play a very important role in Nahuatl (see, for example, § 4.5). As will be seen, conversational and derivational processes can demote inflectional affixes from an original stem-external position to a stem-internal one (see, for example, Lesson 35).

Having differentiated major and minor morphemes/morphs, we can now take up the question of the hierarchy of the meaningful structural units. Both an English/Spanish hierarchy and a Nahuatl one will be given to highlight the peculiarity of Nahuatl in this regard. The ascending ranks in the hierarchies are grouped into stages marked in the following schemes by horizontal lines. Nothing can exist at a higher rank without having passed through a requisite lower stage (e.g., a *word* cannot come into existence without having been made possible by its source on the *stem* rank).



*Comments:*

a. It is essential to realize that while normally a unit at a lower rank serves as the source for the unit at the next higher rank, it is also possible in certain instances for a unit at a lower rank to be *upgraded* to that at a higher rank (e.g., a root can serve as a stem). On the other hand, a unit at a higher rank can be *downgraded* to that of a lower rank (e.g., in Nahuatl a nuclear clause can be downgraded to the rank of a stem).

b. In both hierarchies a root is a single major morpheme/morph.

c. In English/Spanish a stem can be a root alone (e.g., *duck-*; *friend-*) or a root plus one or more *derivational* affixes (e.g., *duck-ling-*; *friend-ly*, *un-friend-ly*, *un-friend-li-ness-*). In Nahuatl a stem can be a root alone (e.g., *ītz-*), a root plus a *derivational* affix (e.g., *ītz-ti-*), a stem plus a *derivational* affix (e.g., *ītz-tī-hua-*). A special kind of Nahuatl stem can also be created by a two-step process by way of a stock (which is created from a root plus a derivational suffix; see § 24.4). Furthermore, both English and Nahuatl can create compound stems by combining one stem with another.

Stems are so important that while the lower-rank morphological units have sememes as the meaning component, the meaning component of a stem is called a *lexeme* (another type-level entity; its token-level representative is a *lex*). Stem-rank units are *lexical items*, which are listed in a *lexicon* (vocabulary, glossary). Since roots can be upgraded to serve as stems (see comment *a* above), their sememes are also upgraded to lexemes. The meaning component of idioms is also a lexeme.

d. In both hierarchies there is an important dividing line between the stem rank and the next-higher rank. The distance between the two ranks is much greater in Nahuatl than in English/Spanish. But in both hierarchies the stem rank marks the upper end of the possible involvement of *derivation* and other stem-forming processes. The next-higher rank is the domain of *inflection*.

In English/Spanish the structural unit in the rank above this transition zone is called a “word.” WORDS ARE SENTENCE FRAGMENTS. It is true, of course, that on occasion a simple English word can occur as a sentence: “Hush!” “Now!” “Here.” “Ouch!” But these are not the rule and normally imply at least one unspoken word (“You hush!” “Do it now!” “Put it here.” or “I’m here.”). English/Spanish words are either paradigmatic (variable because of the presence of inflectional suffixes; e.g., nounwords, *dog-Ø*, *dog-z*; verbwords, *pick-Ø*, *pick-Ø-s*; *pick-t*) or nonparadigmatic (nonvariable, because they do not accept inflection; e.g., “and,” “if,” “for,” “slowly,” “older,” “oldest”—some mistakenly consider the last two as instances of inflection, but the variation is derivational, as can easily be seen by comparing English with its sister language German, in which each comparative and superlative stem has an inflectional paradigm proper to stems of the adjective class). This means that when a stem gives rise to a nonparadigmatic word, the stem and the word are coextensive (but even a nonparadigmatic word should not be thought to have sprung into existence without having passed through the stem rank of the hierarchy).

In Nahuatl the situation is entirely different. The language does have a number of monomorphemic, nonparadigmatic (i.e., invariant) sentence-fragment units called *particles* (see Lesson

3). But, except for these few words, all of the structural units at this rank are *nuclear clauses* (see Lesson 4). Since nuclear clauses obligatorily contain a subject and a predicate, they are under the control of the rules of *morphosyntax* (i.e., syntax that employs *only* morphological devices—stems and inflectional affixes). English/Spanish words remain, of course, under the control of the rules of *morphology* (to be more precise, *inflectional morphology*).

*e.* In the English/Spanish hierarchy the word-group rank marks the beginning of the domain of *syntax*. A word group is any complex unit that does not contain a conjugated verb-word (e.g., the prepositional word group “on the table,” where the modified-noun word group “the table” functions as the object of the preposition “on”), while a clause group is any complex unit that does contain a conjugated verbword (e.g., the prepositional clause group “before I left,” where the clause “I left” functions as the object of the preposition “before”).

In the Nahuatl hierarchy, on the other hand, the domain of *syntax* begins at the group rank. A group can consist of only particles (see § 3.4), of one or more particles and a nuclear clause (see § 15.3), or of more than one nuclear clause (see Lesson 17).

*f.* Both hierarchies continue on up with units above the sentence rank: paragraph, section, chapter, etc.

1.12. *More on Structure.* Morphological, morphosyntactical, and syntactical structure all share the same two facets of structure: (1) a static facet (i.e., a structure is a complex unit resulting from the combination of less complex or lower-ranked units); (2) a dynamic facet (i.e., a structure is a complex unit resulting from the interaction and interrelation of parts). This means that a linguistic structure is the result of the cooperation of at least two structuring principles: *concatenation* and *interaction*.

1. Concatenation (i.e., “a linking or chaining together”) creates a structure according to an additive structuring principle whereby two or more constituents are meaningfully combined. In § 1.11 this was the “1 + 1 = 1” principle. Concatenation can be shown in English syntax by the following combinations: noun + noun = nominal group (e.g., “town” + “house” = “town house”); adjective + nominal group = nominal group (e.g., “new” + “town house” = “new town house”); adjective + nominal group = nominal group (e.g., “my” + “new town house” = “my new town house”); preposition + nominal group = prepositional group (e.g., “of” + “my new town house” = “of my new town house”); etc.

2. Interaction establishes the justification for any given instance of concatenation. Behind the mere linear succession present in concatenated unity stands the fact that constituents forming such unity interact or interassociate. This interaction is guided by the structuring principles of *governance*, which sets up two general types of structure: (a) an *adjunctive* one, and (b) a *conjunctive* one. These general types are individuated into specific subtypes determined by the coupling of distinctive *function units*, i.e., grammatical roles that are constitutive of particular kinds of structures.

*a.* In *adjunctive* structure one function unit is more powerful (or important, essential) and governs the other. The following are a few examples. In a “structure of sentence formation”

a *predicate* governs a *subject* (e.g., “he laughed,” where “laughed” is the predicate. A “structure of predicate formation” has three varieties: copulative (*copular* + *subject complement* as adjunct; e.g., “is Mary”); intransitive (*predicator* + nothing; i.e., the *predicator* alone is the entire predicate; e.g., “laughed”); the transitive (*predicator* + *direct object* as adjunct; e.g., “makes an arrow”). In a “structure of relation” a *relator* governs a *terminus* (e.g., “on the roof,” where “on” is the relator). In a “structure of modification” a *head* governs a *modifier* (e.g., “white roses,” where “roses” is the head). The examples show that function-unit positions (or “slots”) can be filled with form-class items (e.g., adjective “white” + noun “roses”) or with other structures (e.g., verb “makes” + structure of modification “an arrow”). Each language deals with function units in its own way (choice of; order of; fillers of; etc.). In adjunctive structures the adjunct (i.e., the subordinate function unit) can be introduced by an adjunctive; for example, in English, “that” in “I know that you are right” (for Nahuatl adjunctives, see § 3.2.1).

As will be seen, several grammatical devices are associated with adjunctive governance. One is *agreement* (e.g., correspondence in number, “this arrow” but “these arrows”; correspondence in person and number, “I am” but “we are”). Another device is *case* (e.g., “I see him” but “he sees me”). (For further discussion of adjunction, see, for example, §§ 17.1, 42.1, 49.1, and 51.1.)

b. In *conjunctive* structure two or more function units (called “conjuncts”) interact as equals, with neither (or none) being subordinate to another (e.g., in the structure of conjunction “He and the old man who owned the canoe paddled across the lake,” the two conjuncts “he” and “the old man who owned the canoe” are units with equal grammatical status). In a structure of conjunction, the function units (the conjuncts) can be (and in English and Spanish usually are) linked by means of a *conjunctive*; in Nahuatl they are normally conjunctiveless. (For further discussion of conjunction, see Lesson 52.)

3. In Nahuatl some structures can occur only or mainly on the morphosyntactical level (e.g., basic sentence formation), others only on the syntactical level (e.g., supplementation); others can occur on both the morphological and the syntactical levels (e.g., modification).

In addition to the grammatical function units, there is another kind of unit which has to do with participants, events, and relations. To mention only *participant roles* there can be, for example, agent, patient, goal, and instrument in relation to entitive-type function units. The following examples illustrate the nature of the problem: “Paul broke the window” (subject = agent); “The window got broken” (subject = patient); “A rock broke the window” (subject = instrument); etc.

*Note:* Function units, form classes, lexical items, and participant roles exist on different conceptual planes (i.e., they are different kinds of things). They should not, therefore, be intermingled as if they were conceptual mates (as happens, for example, in the frequently used expression “subject of the verb,” in which a function unit is yoked with a form class. It is another of those English-fostered confusions mentioned in § 1.3, but even when used to describe English it shows slovenly thinking; when used in relation to Spanish or Nahuatl, it is simply nonsensical—subjects never cooperate with verbs but, rather, with predicates or predicators).

1.13. *Translational Mirage.* When one reads a translation, one has the illusion that he/she is getting in touch with the source text. This translational mirage is perhaps even more misleading

than the optical one of an illusory lake in a desert. Readers who do not know the foreign language cannot even know whether or not a translation is grossly incorrect. For example, in John Bierhorst's translation of the *Cantares Mexicanos* one ignorant of Nahuatl has no way of knowing that in his version the constant mention of "swans" (and especially "red swans") is a forced, false, totally unjustified rendering. The same occurs with other cases of forced misreadings in his work. But even when a translator has the requisite tact, sensitivity, and common sense not to impose his willful illogic and preconception upon a text, the reader has no way of knowing whether the translator has or has not made felicitous choices in threading his way through the options that arise at every step in the translating process. Felicity is difficult to achieve due to the fact that a translator does not translate a *text* but an *interpretation* of a text, and an interpretation is always circumscribed by the interpreter's time, his society's culture, and his individual personality as well as by his own language (both its particularity and his mastery of it) and his knowledge of the source text's language.

Translation is an attempt to convert something alien into something familiar. A foreign phonological system, grammatical system, and semantic system are reinterpreted into totally different, parallel systems. While it is true that all human languages are mutually translatable and that every utterance in one has an analogue in another, translation biases the analogue by focusing it from the perspective of the target language (the language into which the translation is made). The quality of meaning that the original utterance has for a native speaker of the source language is necessarily lost. At times a translation is obvious because of the clarity of the analogue; for example, "I have become a widower" easily *translates* the Nahuatl **ōnicihuāmic**. But how does an Indo-European mind grasp the *meaning* of that utterance which "literally" says "already I woman-died" ("I have died in the form of (my) wife," or "I have died in regard to (my) wife," or "I have died by means of (my) wife," or "I have died because of (my) wife," or "I have died in relation to (my) wife," etc.—or perhaps none of these; see § 30.13.1 for a description of the construction). The *meaning* of the English utterance "I have become a widower," which can in part be rendered as "I have entered into the condition of having become a male counterpart of a woman who has lost her husband" (a meaning that involves the cultural implication that it is usually the husband who dies before the wife) has nothing in common with the *meaning* of the Nahuatl utterance **ōnicihuāmic** beyond the lowest common denominator of the analogous event. The particularity of the culturally controlled native-speaker experience as encapsulated in the linguistic expression is discarded and ignored. Nuances, connotations, implications, and suppositions—unconsciously understood and felt dimensions of the source texts (the entire range of the "unsaid" that every native speaker of any language unwittingly employs in producing/interpreting the "said"—are unavoidably replaced by other, different ones. Translational mirage hides all of this from a reader of a translation.

Even such an evident *translation* as "green bean" for the Nahuatl **exōtl** is a misrepresentation of the *meaning*, which might be rendered as "it is a green thing in the form of a bean" (the translation "green bean" is also a misrepresentation of the grammar; in Nahuatl it is a full clause, not a phrase consisting of words). The reversal of the weighting of the categories of quality and entity distorts the Nahuatl speaker's language-supported perception of such relationships.

Almost all such foreign thought-ways get lost in a translation; since the aim of translation is not to take us over into foreignness but to convert foreignness into us, the target language dominates. Textbooks on translation admonish would-be translators to make the translation sound as if it were originally written in the target language and, furthermore, to keep in mind the nature and interests of the readers for whom the translation is intended and to tailor the translation so that it respects them. This admonition is usually accompanied by the contrary one that the translation must communicate the “same meaning” (as nearly as possible) that was understood by the source-language speakers. The failure to recognize the difference between these two audiences (that of the original text and that of the translation) rests on a naive faith in “equivalence” which holds that meaning and thought are universal (or nearly so)—which is true if one means by “meaning” and “thought” the high-generality concepts, the common-denominator abstractions shared by every language-using *Homo sapiens* from the origin of the species to the present, from the frozen arctic to the steaming tropics, from lush forests to arid deserts. But such universals as do exist leave out the detailed meaning of lived experience that is captured at least in part by language difference. Translation processes out the *differentia*-dimension of meaning. The reader of a translation is oblivious to the loss.

While a translation can never be loyal to the source because of this endemic and unavoidable dislocation of meaning, it is often traitorous because of the unfortunate and avoidable one due to mistranslation. Translational mirage exerts its power to conceal and convince as effectively on the one as on the other. For example, A. J. O. Anderson and Charles Dibble render the sentences **Tle ticmochitla, tle ticmatcāzintli** (*Florentine Codex [FC]* VI, 184) as “Be of good cheer. Rest in peace.” An old man is speaking to a young woman recently delivered of a baby. No English reader ignorant of Nahuatl could possibly doubt the exactness of the translation. It sounds right; it is, after all, exactly what one would expect an old man to say in English in the circumstances. But this is not an English speaker; he is a Nahuatl one, and what he has to say in the speech that follows these sentences is a solemn admonition, not just congratulatory rhetoric. So he starts by saying **Tleh ticmochitla? Tleh-ticmatcāzintli?** “What is it that you (H) know? What is it that you (H) are a knower of?” Rather than being a comforting wish for good cheer and rest, it is a challenge, a wake-up call—two rhetorical questions the obvious answer to which is “nothing.” A vague English equivalent to the sentences would be, “Young woman, you know nothing. You are ignorant [so therefore pay attention to what I have to say].” Just because she has avoided death in the birthing, she is not out of danger; both she and the child face an uncertain future. He speaks to her with respect (the “H” included in the translation stands for “honored one”), because she has, after all, just recently fought and won a battle against death. He is not pampering her or being indulgent with her as the Anderson and Dibble translation might lead a reader to believe. He ends his speech by returning to the question, **Tleh-ticmatcāzintli, tlazohitlācatlé, totēucyōé?** He does not say “Rest in peace, O precious person, O our Lady,” as Anderson and Dibble say (VI, 185), but “[Remember] you (H) are ignorant, [so think carefully about what I have said,] O valued person, O our lady.” In other words, not “Take things easy” but just the opposite, “Be prepared for a possible disaster.” The example illustrates one aspect of the insidiousness of translational mirage:



comfortableness with one's own culturally ingrained mind-set lends *apparent* reasonableness to an inadequate translation.

The following example is different in that it captures the general thrust of the source but not the particular affect. Anderson and Dibble render **A ca in axcan, tehoatzin timaceoalti, tijc-nopilti in atl in tepetl** (*FC VI, 57*) as “Now thou hast merited, thou has deserved the city.” The speaker of this sentence is trying to congratulate and flatter the newly chosen king, and the translation does convey that general purpose. But it is rendering forms not in the text, namely **momahcēhualti, mocnōpilti**, “it is your merit, it is your boon,” instead of **tīmahcēhualti, tīcnōpilti**, “you are its merit, you are its boon.” The translation should read “Now *you* are the one (or “it is *you* who are the one”) whom the city has merited and deserved.” Anderson and Dibble's version reverses the implications of the praise. It pushes the reader further away from the Nahuatl ethos to that extent.

Translation and foreign-language acquisition move in opposite directions. Translation *brings* the foreign over into the reader by accommodating it to him/her. Language acquisition carries the learner over into the foreign by a process of reorientation. Learning a foreign language should not be, as it almost always is, a mere pragmatic search for equivalences (“how does one say . . . ?”); it should be an anthropological quest for foreign meaning. That is, the goal should be meaning, not translation.

The irony is that the language learner must use the superficiality and treachery of translational equivalence to try to get beyond it into the fullness of foreign meaning. This is a difficult enterprise at best (often less successful than the learner realizes, because of the deceptive force of translational mirage). As Dorothy Lee, writing of her experience with the Wintu Indians, puts it, “If The Wintu offers me an English word in translation for a Wintu one, I rarely have any way of knowing what exactly the word means to him” (*Freedom and Culture*, [Waveland Press: Prospect heights, Ill.; 1987], 126). In the case of Classical Nahuatl just getting to a translational “equivalence” is difficult, let alone getting to meaning. There are no living speakers, no informants from whom to seek information. One must resort to the inherently unsatisfactory recourse to foreign-language dictionaries—unsatisfactory precisely because of the ever-present deficiency of translation. A foreign-language dictionary does not give the *meaning* of a lexical item; it gives only prejudiced *equivalences* that are biased in favor of the compiler's interests and his culture's worldview (so an entry's renderings should not be thought of as definitions, as they are often called).

Dictionaries for Classical Nahuatl are particularly disappointing. The premier dictionary is Alonso de Molina's *Vocabulario* (Mexico, 1555–71), consisting of two sections: Spanish-Nahuatl and Nahuatl-Spanish. Intended as a tool in the task of subduing the Nahuatl-speaking population (with sermon replacing battle), the *Vocabulario* is especially prejudiced; it sifts Nahuatl through Spanish sieves. Very often it is an attempt to clothe Spanish importations (things, ideas, etc.) in a Nahuatl garb (for things, consider the following two examples, “clavichord” is rendered by **petlcalmecahuēhuētl**, which is literally “it is an upright drum with strings that has the form of a wickerwork coffer”; “sail” is translated by **ācalcuāchpāmitl**, which is literally “it is a banner in the shape of a large cotton blanket for a dugout/boat”). Such entries probably were native creations for newly encountered European items, but the point is

that Molina gives preference to them over items of strictly native value, especially over those connected to cultural lifeways the Spanish enterprise was trying to obliterate (he even has the entries **Mahomacalli** and **Mahomatlatlatlauhtilizcalli**, both translated as “Moorish mosque”). There is another drawback. Given his purpose, one would think he always would have indicated vowel length and glottal stops in his entries, since they are so important to proper communication (see § 2.2 and § 2.3.3), but he never indicates vowel length and only rarely indicates a glottal stop (which is by means of an *h*, a practice adopted in these lessons).

In using the *Vocabulario*, a Spanish-speaker must deal with the superimposition of a Spanish semantic universe on the Nahuatl one. An English-speaking user is at a greater disadvantage, since an English semantic universe must be imposed on the Spanish one. Rémi Siméon, in his *Dictionnaire de la Langue Nahuatl* (Paris, 1885), translated Molina’s work into a Nahuatl-French version with additional entries from other texts. An English-speaking user of this work must impose his/her English semantic universe on the French one that Siméon imposed on the Spanish one. Siméon’s work has been translated into Spanish (Mexico City, 1977). An English-speaking user of this work must impose his/her English semantic universe on the Spanish, etc. Every superimposition entails the possibility of misreadings. For example, in Molina’s *Vocabulario* the entry **imaxtli** (i.e., **imāxtli**) is translated as “pendejo o barba inferior” (i.e., “a pubic hair or a nether beard” (i.e., “a pubic hair or pubes”). Siméon, with an opacity uncharacteristic of the French in such matters, rendered it as “barbe, poil follet” (i.e., “beard, down” (i.e., “first growth of human beard”). And the Spanish translation of this French is “barba, bozo” (i.e., “beard, fuzz (on upper lip)”). The Nahuatl compound verbstem equivalent to “to pluck out pubic hairs” and the one equivalent to “to shave off the pubic patch” are rendered by both Siméon and his Spanish translators as simply “to shave.” Knowledge of the Nahuatl grammatical category of common number (“one” or “more than one”) would have made clear what Molina understood by his translation; namely, “pendejo (“one pubic hair”) o barba inferior (“or many pubic hairs, a patch of pubic hairs”).”

This example points to another problem: Molina’s dictionary was published in its totality in 1571, so the Spanish is that of the sixteenth century. A modern user must therefore contend with the problem of unfamiliar usage (such as “barba inferior”) and semantic change. For example, Molina lists **caltechtli** with the translation “pared. s. la hazera della.” Basing her entry on this, Karttunen gives “wall of a house; walkway along the side of a house.” But Molina’s translation should be rendered “wall (i.e., the facing of it),” since the Nahuatl item is a compound whose stem is rendered literally “house side-surface.” The problem is that Molina’s *hazera* is not the modern *acera*, “sidewalk,” but a derivative of *haz*, “face, surface,” not unusual in his time.

The imposition of Spanish semantic values on Nahuatl lexical items can also be seen in such entries as **quauhtla** (i.e., **cuauhtlah**), which Molina translates as “montaña, arboleda o bosque” (i.e., “mountain, grove, or forest”). In order to discount the gloss “mountain” as a possibility, one must know that the Spanish word “montaña” represents a failure of Spanish speakers to keep the notion of “mountain” separate from that of “forest” (due to the fact that deforestation in the Iberian Peninsula had become so severe that forests no longer existed significantly anywhere but in the mountains). Molina has imposed the Spanish lexical failure

onto Nahuatl. **Cuauhtlah** is to be translated as “it is a place of abundant trees,” i.e., “it is a forest/a grove” (and also, when the subject pronoun is understood as referring to a plurality, “they are forests/groves”).

Other problems are created by Molina’s earlier mentioned disregard for vowel length and glottal stops. Because of his failure to recognize vowel length, he at times gives a single entry for two totally different stems; e.g., he lists “*tlatia. nino. esconderse o quemarse*” (“to hide or to burn oneself”). This should have been split into two entries: *m-o-(tlā-ti-ā)*, “to hide oneself,” and *m-o-(tla-ti-ā)*, “to burn oneself.” His practice can even lead to an erroneous entry such as “*xima. nite. afeitar . . . , o labrar piedras*” (“to shave someone . . . , or to work stone”). But *tē-(xīma)*, “to shave someone,” is a simple transitive stem, and *(te-xīma)*, “to work stone,” is a compound intransitive one in which *(te)-tl-*, “stone, rock,” is embedded as an incorporated object. Molina should have listed it as “*texima. ni.*” just as he did for “*quauhxima. ni. carpintear, labrar madera*” (“to do carpenter’s work, to work wood”). An even stranger example involving *te* is Molina’s listing of *xolouia. nitetla*, “majar con mano de mortero alguna cosa” (i.e., “to pound s.th. with a pestle”). That is, he again interpreted the stem *te-*, “rock,” as the verb-object pronoun *tē*, “someone,” placing it outside of the stem. It is true, however, that he also listed the correct formation elsewhere as *texolouia. nitla*, “majar algo con majadero de piedra” (i.e., “to pound s.th. with a stone pestle.” The stem **(te-xōlō)-tl-**, “stone servant,” is equivalent to “stone pestle”).

The untrustworthiness of the dictionaries goes beyond the previous kinds of problems. There is also the possibility that a translation is wrong. For example, Siméon says **Chimalpopoca** means “bouclier qui fume,” i.e., “Smoking Shield”; it does not, however (see § 56.2.1.b). Another error can occur when the entry head is wrong. For example, Siméon lists “ACHI QUIN. Voy. (= “see”) Achi.” And included under that entry we find “*achi quin, je ne sais, on ne sait quand*” (“I don’t know, it is not known when”). The source of this blunder is the Molina entry: “*Achiquin. nose quando. s. acaecio esso.*” (= “I don’t know when (namely, that happened”). How Siméon failed to know that this is **ach iquin** is not clear, since he lists **ach** as “a particle ordinarily indicating doubt and sometimes equivalent to a negation: *ach aquin*, ‘I don’t know who it is.’” But it is clear that he had difficulty keeping **achi** (“somewhat, a little”) and **ach** (“I don’t know”) apart, since under the entry ACH he included *ach iuh* or *iuhqui* (“almost like that, somewhat like that”), failing to see that this is simply **achi iuh** or **iuhqui** with liaison, and this despite the fact that under the entry ACHI he includes *achi yuhqui*, “almost that way; it is similar” (the *y* is simply a spelling variant of *i*). Another error can result from grammatical mistakes. For example, under the entry CUICA, “to sing,” Siméon includes as an example of usage Molina’s entry “*amix amonacaz xiccuican, sed auisados prudentes y sabios*” (i.e., “be (pl) cautious, prudent, and wise”). Siméon overlooks the key word *avisados*, but otherwise correctly translates this as “soyez prudents et sages” (i.e., “be (pl) prudent and wise”), but then he adds a literal translation of his own: “chantez à votre face, à vos oreilles” (i.e., “sing (pl) to your face(s) and your ears”). He could arrive at this absurdity only by violating basic rules, violations that prevented him from seeing that Molina’s entry can serve as an example of usage only under the entry CUI, “to take/use,” since its literal meaning is “use (pl) your eyes and your ears.”

Limitations of space preclude further examples (of which there are many), but the ones given should be sufficient to suggest how untrustworthy the dictionaries are (Molina is much more reliable than Siméon). Incidentally, one should always question the source “roots” Siméon gives for an entry. They frequently show abysmal ignorance of Nahuatl morphology (e.g., he says that *tla-tzatzanatza* is the frequentative form of *tzatzi*, which is as ridiculous as saying that “ratchet” comes from “rat.” Not only is *tla-tzatzanatza* transitive and *tzatzi* intransitive, the *tzatz* . . . of the former is not the *tzahz* . . . of the latter (where *h* in the respelled version represents a glottal stop)).

In general, foreign-language dictionaries are treacherous in that they give the impression that there are rather clear-cut equivalences between the source language and the target language, when in fact in the vast majority of instances there are only ill-fitting, limitedly overlapping correspondencies. For example, the nounstem **(cal)-li-** is normally translated as “house,” but that this is only a sometime equivalence can be seen in a sample of its uses: **(cal-pōl)-li-**, besides being translated “big house,” also is translated “town quarter”; **(ā-cal)-li-**, “water-X,” is translated “dugout canoe, boat”; **(chi-nān-cal)-li-**, “hedge-X,” is translated “enclosure formed by a hedge” (“cercado de seto”); **(tzon-cal)-li-**, “hair-X,” is translated “hair on the scalp, wig”; etc. In view of these and other problems related to the semantic component of Nahuatl, it becomes all the more important to master the grammatical component (morphology, morphosyntax, and syntax), not that grammar will make up for the limitations dictionaries impose on us, but because it will allow us to take the fullest possible advantage of what we do have.

Since Classical Nahuatl is the language of a disappeared civilization, the major reason for studying it is to gain an understanding of that civilization. It should be obvious that any description or interpretation of that civilization based on a faulty reading of the available texts will be mere fiction. It is therefore essential that one interested in that culture be willing to dedicate the necessary time and energy toward mastering the language (which has not always been the case in the past). In the process one must constantly fight against aversion to grammar as well as against linguicism, translational mirage, ethnocentrism, and the lack of tact that forces one’s personal interpretation upon a text in an effort to advance a baseless figment of one’s imagination.

LESSON 2

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**Pronunciation. Orthography**

source; for example, in [ahwačłĩ] the phone [č] can be shown to belong to the phoneme /č/ because it has /aʔweçi/ as its source.

*Note:* An exact knowledge of the sounds of Classical Nahuatl is not possible. One must rely on the scant information provided by the early Spanish-speaking grammarians of the language. Unfortunately, they were not trained in phonology, and their descriptions are always inadequate and frequently puzzling (for example, Horacio Carochi, in *Arte de la Lengua Mexicana*, makes a distinction between an utterance-final glottal stop and all others, saying that “se pronuncia con fuerza, como quien va a pronunciar la aspiración h, aunque no es aspiración; la cual no se puede dar a entender por escrito, sino que es menester oír la pronunciar a los indios” [“it is pronounced forcefully, as if one were going to pronounce the aspiration h, although it is not an aspiration; the sound cannot be explained in writing but must be heard pronounced by the Indians”]; my description in § 2.3.3 is admittedly a guess at what he means). A complicating factor in this problem lies in the differences of the various dialects of Classical Nahuatl (this, incidentally, applies also to syntax and lexicon).

2.2. *Vowels.* The eight Nahuatl vowel phonemes are divided into four pairs by the feature of length: four short vowels are matched by four long vowels. These vowels are “pure”; they do not have the off-glide that characterizes English vowels. They are also unlike English vowels in that when unstressed they have the same quality as when stressed. In regard to production, a long vowel is simply a prolonged version of a short one.

Both the long and the short vowels have at least two phones in their phonic repertoires, a regular one that is “full” and an irregular one that is “reduced.” A reduced-long vowel has a length that is intermediate between the full long and the full short. A reduced-short vowel has an extremely short duration, because immediately after onset it becomes devoiced (unvoiced). In addition to a full phone and a reduced one, most vowel phonemes have other phones in their phonic repertoires.

The full phone of both short- and long-vowel phonemes occurs in vocable-initial and vocable-medial positions. The full-long phone occasionally and the reduced-short phone always occur in vocable-final position. The reduced-long phone occurs in several environments, a few of which will be pointed out later. The problem of quantity is related to that of pitch. Full-long vowels in utterance-final position are low pitched; otherwise, they are high. Full-short vowels, even when stressed, have an even, middle pitch. (Due to lack of information, further commentary is at present unfeasible.)

As a rule, a full-long vowel occurs in vocable-final position only when, as the result of a morphological operation, a final (ephemeral) vowel of the source stem has been deleted; contrast the reduced-long final vowel of **notēnyo** (from (tēn-yō)-tl-) with the full-long final vowel of **nomā** (from (māi)-tl-). Adverbialized nominal nuclear clauses ending in **-cā** (see § 44.7) make an important exception. There are also a few monosyllabic vocables that end with a full-long vowel; e.g., **cē**, **tlā**, **mā**, **zā**, and **nō**.

A full-long vowel automatically becomes short when, as the result of a grammatical process, a glottal stop (see § 2.3.3) occurs after it.

A reduced-long vowel phone is symbolized by the upper dot [·] of the full-long symbol [ː]; a reduced-short phone is represented by a breve over the vowel symbol.

/a/, /aː/ Excepting the feature of length, pronounced like the *a*-sound in *father*.

PR: /a/ > [a] ~ [ǎ] ~ [e] ~ [ě]

PR: /a:/ > [a:] ~ [aː] ~ [a] ~ [e:] ~ [eː] ~ [e]

The raised variants [e], [e:], etc., are optional and occur only in certain stems (e.g., **tla-(mēmē)** is a variant form of **tla-(māmā)**). The short variants [a] and [e] of /a:/ occur only before a glottal stop (e.g., **ōtlamāmah**).

/e/, /e:/ Excepting the feature of length, pronounced like the e-sound that is the first component of the English diphthong /ey/ in *paid* /peyd/.

PR: /e/ > [e] ~ [ē] ~ [i] ~ [a]

PR: /e:/ > [e:] ~ [eː] ~ [e] ~ [i:]

The raised variants [i] of /e/ and [i:] of /e:/ are optional and occur only in certain stems (e.g., **(cen)-tli-** ~ **(cin)-tli-**; **(eucxoā)** ~ **(iucxoā)**; **(tēm-a-l)-li-** ~ **(tīm-a-l)-li-**). The lowered variant [a] of /e/ is rare (e.g., **(eucxoā)** ~ **(aucxoā)**; **ye** ~ **ya** (but **ya** occurs only in **aya**)).

/i/, /i:/ Excepting the feature of length, pronounced like the i-sound that is the first component of the English diphthong /iy/ in *seek* /siyk/.

PR: /i/ > [i] ~ [ī]

PR: /i:/ > [i:] ~ [iː] ~ [i]

/o/, /o:/ Excepting the feature of length, pronounced like the o-sound that is the first component of the English diphthong /ow/ in *bowl* /bowl/.

PR: /o/ > [o] ~ [ō] ~ [u]

PR: /o:/ > [o:] ~ [oː] ~ [o] ~ [u:] ~ [u]

The raised short and long variants [u] and [u:] have a sound similar to, but less tense than, the first component of the English diphthong /uw/ in *moon* /muwn/. They usually occur before consonant clusters, before vocable-final /ʌ/, before the voiceless phone [w̥] as part of the singular/common number dyad on possessive-state nominal nuclear clauses, and before continuants in general (/ç č s š m n l y/) as well as in certain other instances (e.g., before /p/ in the environments /ç . . . p/ and /š . . . p/). As a rule, prefixes do not permit the [u] ~ [u:] variant. Examples: /teo:ʌ/ is pronounced [teu:ʌ]; /noteo:w/, [noteu:w̥]; /šo:ʌa/, [šu:ʌa]; and /çopi/, [çupī]. A discussion of this problem is found in Hansjakob Seller and Gunter Zimmerman's "Studies in the Phonology and Morphology of Classical Nahuatl: I, Orthographic Variation o/u; Its Phonological and Morphological Implications," *International Journal of American Linguistics* 28 (October 1962: 243–50).

*Spelling:* The vowels are spelled with the letters **a, e, i, o**. Length is represented by a macron: **ā, ē, ī, ō**. Reduced-long vowels are spelled without a macron, as if they were short. In traditional texts vowel length is indicated in only a few exceptional instances.

/ačʎi/ > **achtli** = it is a seed

/a:čʎi/ > **āchtli** = he is an elder brother

/šiwiʎ/ > **xihuitl** = it is a year

/ši:wiʎ/ > **xīhuitl** = it is a comet

/meçʎi/ > **metztli** = it is a thigh

/me:çʎi/ > **mēztli** = it is the moon

[kitokă] > **quitoca** = he follows it

[kito:kă] > **quitōca** = he buries him

2.3. *Consonants.* The fifteen consonant phonemes are divided into sonorants, fricatives, stops, and affricates.

Certain voiced-consonant phonemes have a devoiced phone in their phonic repertoires. A devoiced phone is symbolized by a small circle beneath the consonant symbol (e.g., [w̥]).

### 1. Sonorants

*/l/* Basically like the English */l/* in *leave* (the “clear *l*”). This consonant never occurs in vocable-initial position. It is *never* pronounced like the English */l/* in *dull* (the “dark *l*”).

PR: */l/* > [l] ~ [l̥]

The irregular phone, which is voiceless, occurs in syllable-final position.

*/n/* Like English */n/* in *nine*.

PR: */n/* > [n] ~ [ŋ] ~ [ŋ̥] ~ [m]

The irregular phone [ŋ], which is the velar sound in English *sing*, occurs before */k/* and */kʷ/*. The voiceless variant [ŋ̥] occurs in utterance-final position (and at times in vocable-final position even before the end of an utterance) as well as before */w/* and */y/*. At times the voice of the preceding vowel spreads over onto the [ŋ̥] before its voicelessness takes over, so the preceding vowel seems to have a slightly nasalized quality. (See §§ 2.11 and 2.12.)

*/m/* Like English */m/*.

PR: */m/* > [m] ~ [n] ~ [ŋ] ~ [ŋ̥]

The regular phone [m] never occurs in vocable-final position. It occurs before vowels and before */p/* and */m/*. For the other phones, see §§ 2.11 and 2.12.

*Spelling:* The phoneme */l/* is spelled with the letter **l**: */i:li:λ/* > **īlītl**; */piltic/* > **piltic**; */nokal/* > **nocal**.

The phoneme */n/* is spelled with the letter **n** except when it is manifested by the phone [m], when it is spelled **m**: */nika:n/* > **nicān**; */tepe:çinko/* > **tepētzinco**; */nina:na/* > **nināna**; */wenmana/* > [wemmana] > **huemmana**.

The phoneme */m/* is spelled with the letter **m** only when it is manifested by its regular phone [m]; otherwise it is spelled **n**: */masa:λ/* > **mazātl**; */a:maλ/* > **āmatl**; */noko:m/* > [noko:n] > **nocōn**.

### 2. Fricatives

*/s/* Like the English *s*-sound in *say*, but laminal instead of apical.

PR: */s/* > [s] ~ [š]

Concerning [š], see § 25.2.2.

*/š/* Like the *sh*-sound in *shell*, but laminal instead of apical.

PR: */š/* > [š]

*/y/* Like the English */y/* in *yes*.

PR: */y/* > [y] ~ [š] ~ [s] ~ [l]

The regular phone [y] never occurs in vocable-final position, where [š] or [s] occurs instead (see § 2.13.3). For [l], see § 2.10.2.



/w/ Like an English /w/.

PR: /w/ > [w] ~ [w̥] ~ [β] ~ [ϕ] ~ [m] ~ [p]

The phones [w] and [w̥] are used by male speakers. Both are pronounced with the lips rounded ([w̥] is voiceless and therefore similar to the whispered-whistling sound represented by the digraph *wh* in English *whale*, *which*, and *when*). The phones [β] and [ϕ] are used by female speakers. Both are pronounced with the lips spread ([β] is a bilabial *v*-sound similar to the intervocalic /b/ in Spanish; [ϕ] is a bilabial *f*-sound; although neither of these sounds exists in English, both are easy to pronounce). The voiced phones [w] and [β] occur in syllable-initial position. The voiceless phones [w̥] and [ϕ] occur in syllable-final position. For the use of the phones [m] and [p], see § 2.11.3.

*Spelling*: The sound /s/ is spelled with **z** before the vowels **a** and **o** and at the end of a syllable: /sokiλ/ > **zoquitl**; /sakaλ/ > **zacatl**; /iski/ > **izqui**; /čo:kas/ > **chōcaz**. Before the vowels **e** and **i**, /s/ is spelled **c**: /selik/ > **celic**; /siʔli/ > **cihtli**.

The sound /š/ is spelled with the letter **x**: /ša:yakaλ/ > **xāyacatl**; /šo:la/ > **xōtla**; /ši:kli/ > **xīctli**; /i:i:ško/ > **īxco**.

The phones [w] and [β] (the voiced variants that occur in syllable-initial position) are spelled with the digraph **hu**: [i:wa:ŋ] > **ihuān**; [wehkă] > **huehca**. In the combination [owă] the [w] is frequently not represented: [λaso:wă], properly spelled **tlazōhua**, frequently appears as **tlazoa**, which misleadingly makes it look like a Class C verb (see § 7.3). At times, criteria for choosing between /owa/ and /oa/ are lacking; for example, there is no way to decide whether “it is a snake” is [ko:wa:λ], **cōhuātl**, or [ko:a:λ], **cōātl**. The phones [w̥] and [ϕ] (the voiceless variants that occur in syllable-final position) are spelled with the digraph **uh** (compare English **wh**): [na:w̥] > **nāuh**; [iŋki] > **ihquī**. The **h** of the digraphs **hu** and **uh** should not be confused with the letter **h**, representing the glottal stop; the **u** is not a vowel.

The sound /y/ is spelled with the letter **y**: /yehwa:λ/ > **yehhuātl**. In the combinations /iya/ and /ayi/ the /y/ is seldom written: /lačiya/, properly spelled **tlachiya**, usually appears as **tlachia**, which misleadingly makes it look like a Class C verb (see § 7.3); /laa:yi/, properly spelled **tlaāyi**, always appears as **tlaai**.

### 3. Stops

/p/ An unaspirated (not followed by a puff of air) *p*-sound like that in *spot*. It is not like the aspirated /p/ of *pot*.

PR: /p/ > [p]

/t/ An unaspirated *t*-sound like the one in *style*, except that it is pronounced with the tongue touching the upper-front teeth rather than the alveolar ridge. It is not like the aspirated /t/ of *tile*.

PR: /t/ > [t] ~ [č] ~ [h]

The irregular phone [č] comes into play through morphological processes; see, for example, § 20.4. For [h], see § 11.3.2.

/k/ An unaspirated *k*-sound like that of *skid* or *school*. It is not like the aspirated /k/ of *kid* or *cool*.

PR: /k/ > [k] ~ [h]

For the use of the irregular phone [h], see § 2.11, *note*.

/k<sup>w</sup>/ An unaspirated *k<sup>w</sup>*-sound (labiovelar stop) like that in *squid* or *squash*. It is not like the aspirated /k<sup>w</sup>/ of *quid* or *quash*.

PR: /k<sup>w</sup>/ > [k<sup>w</sup>] ~ [k<sup>ʷ</sup>] ~ [k] ~ [h]

This sound combines a /k/ onset and a /w/ release. The release feature has the same voiced and voiceless variants ([<sup>w</sup>] and [<sup>ʷ</sup>]) as the phoneme /w/; therefore, the regular phone [k<sup>w</sup>], with a voiced release feature, occurs only in syllable-initial position (like [w]). The irregular phone [k<sup>ʷ</sup>] has a voiceless release feature and occurs only in syllable-final position (like [w̥]). The irregular phone [k] is an optional subvariant created by dropping the voiceless release feature of [k<sup>ʷ</sup>]; it occurs only in syllable-final position. For the use of the irregular phone [h], see § 2.11, *note*.

/ʔ/ A glottal stop. The sound is produced by completely closing the vocal cords and then opening them suddenly to release the breath banked up behind them (as in a “dry” cough). The sound occurs only after short vowels (so, when followed by the sound, a long vowel becomes short). Although a glottal stop never occurs at the beginning of a Nahuatl vocable as a phoneme (i.e., significantly), the sound may occur nonsignificantly in an utterance-initial situation just as it may in English (e.g., “Is he really?”). In certain dialects (such as those of Tlaxcala and Cholula), a glottal fricative (similar to English /h/ in *hat*) instead of the glottal stop is used.

PR: /ʔ/ > [ʔ] ~ [h] ~ [y]

The regular phone [ʔ] occurs ONLY in utterance-final position. It is a definitive cutting off of the breath similar to the sound in an exaggerated Cockney pronunciation of *butter*. The irregular phone [h], which is the more frequent sound (since it occurs in utterance-internal positions), is similar to the brief interruption or catch indicated by the hyphen in English *re-edit* and *co-occur* (except that in Nahuatl it can occur not just between vowels but also between a vowel and a consonant). For the irregular phone [y], see § 2.13.1.

*Spelling:* The sounds /p/ and /t/ are spelled with the letters **p** and **t**: /po:kʌi/ > **pōctli**; /epʌi/ > **eptli**; /te:pan/ > **tēpan**; /at/ > **at**.

The sound /k/ is spelled with **c** before the vowels **a** and **o** and in syllable-final position: /kaʔ/ > **cah**; /a:k/ > **āc**; /koko:k/ > **cocōc**. It is spelled with the digraph **qu** before the vowels **e** and **i**: /ke:n/ > **quēn**; /kin/ > **quin**.

The phone [k<sup>w</sup>] (with the voiced release) is spelled with the digraph **cu** (it occurs only before vowels): [k<sup>w</sup>a:iʌ] > **cuāitl**; [nok<sup>w</sup>i:k] > **nocuic**; [k<sup>w</sup>epʌi] > **cueptli**. The phone [k<sup>ʷ</sup>] (with the voiceless release) is spelled **uc** (it occurs in syllable-final position): [te:k<sup>ʷ</sup>ʌi] > **tēuctli**; [ik<sup>ʷ</sup>sī] > **iucci**; [ek<sup>ʷ</sup>ʂoa] > **eucxoa**; [o:ʂak<sup>w</sup>] > **ōtzauc**; [nik<sup>w</sup>] > **niuc**. The delabialized phone [k] is represented by **c**: [te:ik<sup>w</sup>ka:w] > [te:ikka:w] > **tēiccāuh**; [tote:k<sup>w</sup>] > [tote:k] > **totēc**. (See Appendix F for traditional spellings of /k<sup>w</sup>/.)

The phoneme /ʔ/ is spelled with the letter **h**: /notaʔ/ > **notah**; /yeʔwa:ʌ/ > **yehhuātl**.

## 4. Affricates

/ɳ/ This sound combines a Nahuatl /t/ onset and a Nahuatl /l/ release. In other words, the /t/ is released at the side of the tongue rather than at the center. The sound is *not* that of the English cluster /tʌ/ in *little*, where the /t/ is alveolar and the /l/ is “dark.”

PR: /ɳ/ > [ɳ] ~ [ɳ̥] ~ [t] ~ [č] ~ [ɭ]

Since the phoneme /l/ has a voiced phone, [ɭ], and a voiceless one, [ɳ̥], the release feature of /ɳ/ has the same variants. The regular phone [ɳ] has a voiced [ɳ̥] release feature and occurs in syllable-initial position. The irregular phone [ɳ̥] has a voiceless [ɳ̥] release feature and occurs in syllable-final position. The delateralized phone [t] results from morphological processes (see, for example, § 26.7). The irregular phone [č] probably presupposes an underlying [t] (see [č] as an irregular phone of /t/ in subsection 3 above), but in items displaying the /ɳ/ > [č] relationship such a /t/ is rarely extant: e.g., \***peti** > **tlapetla** > **tlapechtli**, but on the other hand **xapoti** > **tlaxapotla** > **tlaxapochtli** (see § 25.2.3). Concerning the irregular phone [ɭ], see § 2.10.1.

/ç/ Like the English *ts*-sound in *hats*, but while the English /ts/ is a sequence of two phonemes, the Nahuatl /ç/ is a single phoneme. It consists, however, of a /t/ onset pronounced laminally (i.e., with the blade of the tongue), because that is how the release feature /s/ is pronounced (see the phoneme /s/ in subsection 2 above).

PR: /ç/ > [ç] ~ [č]

The irregular phone [č] is accounted for in part by § 2.11.2, but there are also occurrences that are based on other factors (e.g., **tlacetza** > **quechtli**; **ahhuetzi** > **ahhuachtli**).

/č/ Like the English *ch*-sound in *church*. The Nahuatl sound, however, is laminal since its [t] onset is pronounced at the place of the release feature /s/ (see the phoneme /s/ in subsection 2 above).

PR: /č/ > [č] ~ [ç] ~ [p]

The irregular phone [ç] is accounted for in part by § 2.11.2, but there are other occurrences based on other factors (e.g., the irregularity of **-itz-** instead of **-ēch-** for the objective-case morph for the second person singular; see § 6.4.2.b). For the seriously irregular phone [p], see § 2.11, *Remark*.

*Spelling:* The sound /ɳ/ is spelled with the digraph **tl**: /ɳa:kaɳ/ > **tlacatl**; [ahɳaɳ̥] > **ahɳlatl**; [çikɳ̥] > **tziçtli**.

The sound /ç/ is spelled with the digraph **tz**: [çahç̥] > **tzahtzi**; /te:no:ç/ > **tēnōtz**.

The sound /č/ is spelled with the digraph **ch**: /čo:ka/ > **chōca**; /mač/ > **mach**. In the sequence **-chu-**, since *u* is not a vowel, the letters represent the phoneme sequence /kw/ (not to be confused with the single phoneme /k<sup>w</sup>/), where the **c** (i.e., /k/) is the final consonant of one syllable and the digraph **hu** (i.e., /w/) begins the next syllable; e.g., **cachuah** represents /kakwa?/.

2.4. *Spelling Changes.* Because of the imposition of the peculiarities of the Spanish spelling conventions (see Appendix F), the consonants /k/ and /s/ are spelled in one of two ways, the choice depending on the environment of the sound. The difference in spelling has nothing to do with pronunciation.

/k/: **ca co que qui; ac oc ec ic**

/s/: **za zo ce ci; az oz ez iz**

Two other consonants are spelled in two ways when there *is* a difference in pronunciation. This depends on whether the sounds are syllable-final or not.

[w]: **hua hue hui; [w̥]: auh euh iuh ouh**

[k<sup>w</sup>]: **cua cue cui; [k<sup>w̥</sup>]: auc euc iuc ouc**

2.5. *Spelling at Points of Internal Open Transition.* When two stems are joined by compounding (see primarily Lessons 30 and 31), their boundaries, as a rule, are preserved by open transition; that is, a slight but audible space is left between the adjacent sounds. This has several consequences: (1) an initial supportive [i] (see § 2.6, *note*) is frequently kept (e.g., [tekoma + ikʃiλ]); (2) a stem-final consonant has the sound it would have in vocable-final position (e.g., [k<sup>w</sup>aw̥ + e:waλ], where the /w/ of [k<sup>w</sup>aw̥] is voiceless). Written texts recognize open transition by spelling a stem-final consonant in such a context as if it were vocable-final: **cuauhēhuatl** (not **cuahuēhuatl**); **tepozicpatl** (not **tepicpatl**). There are exceptions to this rule. Stem-final /k/ before stem-initial /e/ or /i/ is spelled **qu**; therefore, **tēyēquihtoā** (not **tēyēcīhtoā**). Stem-final /k<sup>w</sup>/ retains voice on its release feature before a vowel and is usually spelled **cu**: **necuātl** (instead of **neucātl**). At times stem-final [w̥] before a vowel is spelled **hu**: **cuācua hueh** (for **cuācua heh**).

2.6. *Syllable Structure.* A vocable in Nahuatl has as many syllables as it has vowels (there are no diphthongs). A syllable may have one of four shapes (in the display below, *a* and *b* are “open syllables”; *c* and *d* are “closed syllables”):

*a.* vowel [e.g., **a, e, o**]

*b.* consonant + vowel [e.g., **nō, chi, tlā**]

*c.* vowel + consonant [e.g., **oh, euc, ātl, ic**]

*d.* consonant + vowel + consonant [e.g., **pan, zātl, cuech**]

These shapes exist under the following constraints:

1. Any consonant sound between two vowels forms a syllable with the second vowel; e.g., **cāna** is divided **cā-na**, and **nāhui** is divided **nā-hui**.

2. Any two vowels in sequence belong to separate syllables; e.g., **teōtl** is divided **te-ōtl**. (Special care should be taken with the symbol **u**; in these lessons it is never a vowel letter but only a part of a digraph; therefore, **quitzacuia** is divided **qui-tza-cui-a**, **nāuh** is a single syllable, **iucci** is divided **iuc-ci**, **nocuauh** is divided **no-cuauh**, and **cachuah** is divided **cac-huah**.)

3. No more than two consonant sounds can be juxtaposed, and such a juxtaposition is never permitted in initial or final positions. The two juxtaposed consonants are always members of separate syllables; e.g., **ōmpa** is divided **ōm-pa**, **calli** is divided **cal-li**, and **iztatl** is divided **iz-tatl**. Care should be taken with digraphs, since they represent a single consonant sound; e.g., **atzan** is divided **a-tzan** and **tōchtli** is divided **tōch-tli**.

*Note 1:* The vowel phone [i] has an important supportive function in Nahuatl: any type-level consonant sequence that is illegal at the token level is lifted into a pronounceable sequence by the introduction of an [i], either (a) before, (b) between, or (c) after the consonants, depending on the morphosyntactical elements involved.

a. /ṣ̌la:walo:/ > [iṣ̌la:walo:]

b. /kkaki/ > [kikakī]

c. /okič̣l/ > [okič̣lī]; /noʷw/ > [nohwī]; /nɫapiyk/ > [niɫapiškī]

Under certain conditions, an initial supportive [i] (and only rarely a final one) ceases to be needed and is dropped. These situations will be pointed out later. It should be remarked here, however, that there are instances in which a stem-initial [i] may be treated as “real” in some situations and as “supportive” in others; for example:

**(ihtī)-tl-**:

**tlahtic** [After **tla-** the [i] is treated as merely supportive and is rejected.]

**nohtic** ~ **nihtic** [After the possessive pronouns **no-**, **mo-**, **to-**, and **amo-** the [i] is sometimes rejected and sometimes kept; in the latter case it forces out the /o/.]

**tla-(iht-o-ā):**

**tlahtoā** [After **tla-** the [i] is rejected.]

**mihtoā** [After the reflexive-verb object pronouns **no-**, **mo-**, **to-**, and **amo-** the [i] is kept and the /o/ forced out.]

**nehtolli** [After **ne-** the [i] is rejected.]

*Note 2:* It should be remembered that syllables belong to the phonological system. One should never confuse syllable division in a vocable with the morphological analysis of a particle or nuclear clause. Even if a morpheme or morph should happen to be coextensive with a syllable the difference between syllables and morphemes/morphs should be kept clearly in mind

**2.7 Vocable Stress.** Stress in Nahuatl vocables falls on the penultimate (next-to-the-last) syllable. In the following examples the stressed syllable is italicized:

**tlaāyi = tla-ā-yi**

**cuēitl = cuē-itl**

**yāōtl = yā-ōtl**

**noteuh = no-teuh**

**pōchōtl = pō-chōtl**

**choloa = cho-lo-a**

**ninihiyōtia = ni-ni-hi-yō-ti-a**

**noteōuh = no-te-ōuh**

**ohtli = oh-tli**

**cōtzcotl = cōtz-cotl**

**cachuah = cac-huah**

**molpia = mol-pi-a**

Syllable stress helps indicate the presence of a vocable-final (reduced) short vowel. Contrast **calaqui** (= **ca-la-qui**) with **calac** (= **ca-lac**).

There is only one exception to the above rule for stress, which occurs when a nominal nuclear clause is associated with the vocative particle **#é**. This “suffix,” which is merely an interjection pronounced as if it were part of the nominal nuclear clause, is always stressed (and high pitched) and in these lessons is spelled with an accent: **nopiltziné** (see § 18.11).

In Nahuatl as in English, the sequence of vocables in a sentence is syntactically sorted into stress groups in connected speech (see § 1.11.1). The unity of such a stress group in Nahuatl is such that syllable division operates across vocable boundaries within the group; e.g., **in ōmpa** is pronounced as if it were **i-nōm-pa**. It also at times permits *elision* to occur (see § 2.14). In

texts with traditional spelling the members of a stress group are frequently written solid; i.e., **ini** (for **in in**, which, in accord with the stress-group principle, has the syllables **i-nin**, with stress on the first syllable despite the fact that **in** is syntactically more important). Two more examples are **iyehuatl** (for **in yehhuātl**) and **iquin** (for **ic in**; notice the use of the digraph **qu**).

2.8. *Consonantal Length.* When two identical consonants come together as a result of grammatical construction, they create a long consonant. This may occur either between vocables or within a vocable. It is similar to English phrases such as *this size, these zones, eight times, deep pool, cash shortage, rich child* or compounds such as *penknife*, where there is not a separate pronunciation for each of the juxtaposed consonants but rather a single pronunciation that bridges the two; for example, in *this size* the /s/ sound is merely prolonged; in *eight times* there is a single implosion and explosion for the /t/ sound, but the time between these events is lengthened. The length of a long consonant is not to be exaggerated, however. Often it amounts to nothing more than a slightly more energetic pronunciation of the consonant. In the case of /çç/ and /čč/ the release feature of the first consonant is lost, so that /çç/ is pronounced [tç] and /čč/ is pronounced [tč] (the [t] is, of course, unreleased in both instances). In rapid speech most of the long consonants tend to be synthesized into short ones. When a long consonant occurs within a vocable, it is usually spelled with a double letter or a double digraph:

/k<sup>w</sup>eppan/ > **cueppan**  
 [kite:nna:miki] > **quitēnnāmiq̄ui**  
 /tepossa:loa/ > **tepozzāloa**  
 /o:ne:ččiš/ > **ōnēchchix**  
 [nicmattika?] > **nicmatticah**  
 /semma:ʎ/ > **cemmātl**  
 /laī:šši:ma/ > **tlaīxxīma**  
 [miççak<sup>w</sup>a] > **mitztzacua**

When reading traditional texts, one should, however, be alert to the possibility of a long consonant spelled as a short one (a frequent occurrence with /čč/ and /çç/) or, vice versa, a short consonant spelled as a long one (a frequent occurrence with /l/); see Appendix F.

2.9. *Assimilation.* When, as a result of grammatical construction, certain unlike consonants are juxtaposed, one of the two undergoes a process of assimilation (one sound becomes either partially or totally similar to the other sound). When there is total assimilation, a situation parallel to the juxtaposition of identical consonants is created and the dominant, or assimilating, sound becomes long.

The assimilation may be progressive (the second sound imitates the dominant first) or regressive (the first sound anticipates the dominant second).

2.10. *Progressive Assimilation.* The following rules deal with the most frequent cases of progressive assimilation (the first consonant dominates the second):

1. /l/ + /λ/ > [ll]: **mīl-** + **-tlah** > **mīllah**
2. /l/ + /y/ > [ll]: **pīl-** + **-yōtl** > **pīllōtl**
3. /s/ + /y/ > [ss]: **chōquiz-** + **-yoh** > **chōquizzoh**
4. /š/ + /y/ > [šš]: **mīx-** + **-yoh** > **mīxxoh**
5. /ç/ + /y/ > [çç]: **huitz-** + **-yoh** > **huitztzoh**
6. /č/ + /y/ > [čč]: **oquich-** + **-yōtl** > **oquichchōtl**

Rules 1 and 2 above are the *only* ways in which the [ll] sequence can occur, therefore, scholars show their ignorance of Nahuatl when they write **ll** where these rules do not apply. For example, **ollin** is incorrect; it cannot be the day-name component meaning “it is a quake,” because this is **ōlin** (see Appendix E), nor can it mean “it is latex,” because this is **ōlli** (where the [ll] is required by rule 1 but no final **n** is possible). Traditional spelling is prone to writing **ll** for [l] (one also finds the opposite vice of spelling **l** for [ll]; see Appendix F).

2.11. *Regressive Assimilation.* The following rules deal with the most frequent cases of regressive assimilation (the second consonant dominates the first):

1. /nasal/ + /sibilant/ > [long sibilant]  
**niquim-** + **-centlālia** > **niquizcentlālia**  
**tiquim-** + **-xōx** > **tiquixxōx**

Frequently, the spelling does not indicate the pronunciation:

- mōncihtli** = [mo:ssihλi]  
**chicōnxihuitl** = [čiko:ššiwiλ]  
**zan cē** = [sasse:] (also spelled **zaz cē**)  
**in cihtli** = [issihλi]

2. In a combination of any two unlike consonants of the group /s š ç č/, the second sound totally assimilates the first and is lengthened. Of the twelve possibilities the following are common: /č/ + /ç/ > [çç]; /č/ + /s/ > [ss]; /ç/ + /č/ > [čč]; and /č/ + /š/ > [šš]. Spelling frequently does not indicate the sound. As pointed out earlier, [çç] is pronounced [tç] and [čč] is pronounced [tč], with the [t] unreleased in both instances.

- ītechtzinco** = [i:teççinkō] (also spelled **ītetztzinco**, **ītettzinco**, and **ītetzinco**)  
**quinetechzāloa** = [kinetessa:loā] (also spelled **quinetezāloa**)  
**nimitzchiya** = [nimiččiyā] (also spelled **nimitchiya** and **nimichiya** or **nimitchia** and **nimichia**)  
**nēchxōxa** = [ne:ššo:šā] (also spelled **nēxxōxa**)

3. /w/ + /bilabial/ > [long bilabial]  
**cuauh-** + **māitl** > **cuammāitl**  
**nāuh-** + **-pa** > **nāppa**
4. /m/ + /n/ > [mn]  
**ōm-** + **nohpalli** > **ōnnohpalli**

5. When /m/ is followed by /t/, /ʎ/, /ç/, /č/, /k/, or /kʷ/, it undergoes partial assimilation, resulting in [nt], [nʎ], [nç], [nč], [ŋk], or [ŋkʷ] respectively. The [n] and [ŋ] here are always spelled **n**.

**chicōm- + tepēc > chicōntepēc**

**cōm- + -tlah > cōntlah**

**cōm- + -chīhua > cōnchīhua**

**cōm- + -tzālan > cōntzālan**

**tenām- + -co > tenāncō**

**cem- + cuemītl > cencuemītl**

6. /n/ + /m/ > [mm]

**on- + mopīqui > ommopīqui**

**zan moyōllo** = [sammoyo:llo] (also spelled **zam moyōllo**)

7. When /n/ is followed by /p/, it undergoes partial assimilation, resulting in [mp].

**on- + pēhua > ompēhua**

**in pani** = [impani]

*Remark:* As has been suggested, other, less frequently encountered assimilation is possible; for example, /ç/ + /p/ > [pp].

**tzīntlāltech- + -pachihui > tzīntlāltechpachihui** (also spelled **tzīntlāltechpachihui**)

These low-frequency examples of assimilation may be dialectal or colloquial variants.

*Note:* There is another process called *dissimilation*, in which a sound changes to become different from an identical or closely related sound. In Nahuatl it occurs optionally (as regressive dissimilation) when the first /k/ of the sequence /kk/ is represented by the irregular phone [h]; i.e., /kk/ > [hk].

**Mēxic- + -co > Mēxihco**

Regressive dissimilation is also possible in the sequence /kʷk/ after the (optional) delabialization of the /kʷ/ to [k] (see § 2.13.4); i.e., /kʷ/ + /k/ > [kk] > [hk].

**iuc- + -cāuhtli > iuccāuhtli > iccāuhtli > ihcāuhtli** [All three vocables occur in free variation.]

2.12. *Consonant Loss.* In certain consonant sequences one of the consonants becomes imperceptible. This is a subvariety of assimilation; the lost consonant may be either the first or the second one.

1. /ç/ + /w/ > [ç]. This is an optional rule.

**mitz- + -huālmomaquilia > mitzālmomaquilia**

2. /č/ + /w/ > [č]. This is an optional rule.

**tēch- + -huālnōtza > tēchālnōtza**

3. /ʎ/ + /y/ > [h]. This is an optional rule.

**tlahyelli > tlahelli** [Also **tlahilli**, in which the /e/ is raised to [i]; see § 2.2.]

**tlayeh- + -yecoa > tlayehco** [This is an instance of reduplication; see § 27.1.]

There is another rule that produces the opposite result (i.e., the first consonant is lost): /ʎ/ + /y/ > \*[yy] > [y]. Concerning /ʎ/ + /y/, see § 2.13.1. Since [yy] is impossible, it is simplified to [y]. This rule cannot operate when the /ʎ/ is due to reduplication.

**ah- + ye > \*ayye > aye > aya** [In this item the /e/ is lowered to [a].]

*Note:* A stem-initial /y/ is sometimes omitted for no apparent reason: **ye > e**. On the other hand an initial [y] is sometimes added for no apparent reason: **ēyi > yēyi**; **eh > yeh**.

Also, at times, a /y/ between the two long vowels /a:/ and /o:/ (in either order) is lost:

**cuicōyānoa > cuicōānoa**; **āyōlhuāztli > āōlhuāztli**



4. /nasal/ + /y/ > [y]. The nasal, which is voiceless in syllable-final position, seems to fade even further, although it does tend to leave a trace of itself in a slight nasalization of the preceding vowel. Spelling frequently does not reflect the pronunciation. An /m/ before /y/, if it is represented in writing, is spelled with the letter **n** (which is not pronounced).

**tēlpōchpiltōn- + -yōtl** > **tēlpōchpiltōnyōtl** [te:]po:čpi]tō:yo:λ] (also spelled **telpochpiltoyotl**)

**am- + -yāzqueh** > **anyāzqueh** [āya:skeʔ] (also spelled **ayāzqueh**)

**in yehhuatl** = [iye:hwɑ:λ] (in older texts frequently spelled **iyehuatl**)

5. /nasal/ + /w/ > [w]. As in Rule 4, the unpronounced nasal tends to leave a trace of itself in a slight nasalization of the preceding vowel. Spelling frequently does not reflect the pronunciation. An /m/ before /w/, if it is represented in writing, is spelled with the letter **n** (which is not pronounced).

**tonānhuān** = [tonā:wa:ŋ] (also spelled **tonāhuān**)

**am- + -huāllāzqueh** > **anhuāllāzqueh** [āwa:lla:skeʔ] (also spelled **ahuāllāzqueh**)

**in huēhueh** = [iwe:weʔ]

6. /w/ + /w/ > [w]. The first /w/, which is voiceless, is lost.

**cuāuh- + -huah** > **cuāhuah**

2.13. *Consonant-Phone Shift Other Than Assimilation.* In addition to consonant-phone shift produced by assimilation (where the regular consonant phone is replaced by an irregular variant because of the influence of an adjacent consonant phone), a shift may occur when, as a result of grammatical construction, a consonant phone is followed by a vowel or appears in vocable-final position.

1. /ʔ/ + /vowel/ > [y] + [vowel]. This is an optional change. When intervocalic, the resultant [y] may disappear.

**ah- + oc** > **ayoc** (also **ahoc** and **aoc**)

**ah- + īc** > **ayīc** (usually spelled **aīc**, since the [y] is inaudible in pronunciation)

**tleh + in** > **tleyin** [Unfortunately always written **tlein**; see § 16.4.1.]

This rule may explain what happens in **ochpāntli**, “it is a swept thing in the form of a road,” i.e., “it is a wide, well-kept road,” which results from the compounding of **oh-** (“road”) and **-ichpāntli** (“a swept thing”). The steps in the formation would be: **\*oh-ichpāntli** > **\*oy-ichpāntli** > **\*o-ichpāntli** > **o-ichpāntli** (the supportive [i] is not needed once the [y] disappears).

2. /m/ > [ŋ] when left exposed at the end of a syllable or vocable.

**to- + pāmi-** > **topān** [See § 14.7.2.b.ii.]

**motoma** > **moton** [See § 7.4.2.]

An [ŋ] phone resulting from this change reverts to the original /m/ sound when the following vocable of the stress group begins with a vowel. For example, **in ūxpan** is pronounced [im i:i:špaŋ] (and in some texts is written **im ūxpan**). If the vocable-final [ŋ] is a phone of /n/, it is pronounced in this environment as [n]:

**on-** + **ahci** > **onahci** (pronounced [onahsĩ])  
**zan iz** (pronounced [sanis] and at times written **zaniz**)

3. /y/ > [š] when left exposed at the end of a syllable or vocable.

**tetiya** > **tetix** [See § 7.4.2.]  
**tlaōcoya** > **tlaōcox** [See § 7.4.2.]

When the vocable contains a prior *s*-sound, /y/ > [s] when left exposed in this manner.

**celiya** > **celiz** [See § 7.4.2.]

4. Occasionally, /k<sup>w</sup>/ > [k] (i.e., it becomes delabialized by dropping its labial release feature) when left exposed at the end of a syllable or vocable.

**tēuc-** + **ciztli** > **tēcciztli** (**tēucciztli** is also used.)  
**cahcocui** > **cahcoc** [See § 11.3.1.]

5. Occasionally, /t/ > [h] when the /t/ is forced into a vocable-final position:

**tlamati** > **tlamah** [See § 11.3.2.]  
**\*cati** > **cah** [See § 11.5.1.]

On extremely rare occasions the shift can go in the opposite direction: non-final /ʔ/ > non-final [t].

**tahtli** > **tateh**

2.14. *Vowel Elision.* An initial or final short vowel of certain vocables can be elided (i.e., omitted) in free variation from a number of set stress-group combinations. A long vowel tends not to undergo elision. The following are a few typical examples (written solid, as is traditional):

**zā oc** > **zāc**  
**zā zo ic in** > **zācīquin**  
**mā zo ihui** > **mācīhui**  
**mā zo in ahmō** > **mācīnahmō**

Notice that if elision is indicated in writing, a spelling change is often necessary.

When the omitted vowel is a supportive [i], it is not, properly speaking, elision since the vowel affected is not phonemic, although such an omission does occur normally only in certain combinations.

**mahtlāctli omōme** > **mahtlāctlomōme** [See § 34.8.]

2.15. *Long Vowel to Short Vowel Plus Glottal Stop.* At times certain morphemes with a long final vowel have in their morphic repertory an irregular morph that has a short vowel plus a glottal stop in addition to the regular morph with a long vowel (e.g., the morpheme “/a:/, ‘water’” has morphs carried by [a:] and [ah]). Only a small number of morphemes permit this. Furthermore, the morph with the glottal stop must occupy the embed subposition of a compound stem, its choice being determined by the morpheme in the matrix subposition. For example:

**huē-** + **-cāuh** > **huehcāuh**  
**teō-** + **-calli** > **teohcalli**  
**māi-** + **-pilli** > **mahpilli** [The /i/ of **māi-** is an ephemeral vowel; see 14.7.2.]

2.16. *Prosodic Contours.* Classical Nahuatl sentences, of course, had prosodic contours (i.e., typical stress and intonation patterns, as when, for example, a question sounds different from a statement). However, while rules for stress are known for nuclear clauses and stress groups (next-to-last syllable is always stressed, except when the vocative particle #é is involved) and something is known of intonation on certain nuclear clauses (a long final vowel has low pitch), practically nothing is known of the language's sentential prosodic features. The matter must be left undiscussed for lack of information.

## LESSON 3

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# Particles

3.1. *Particles.* As mentioned in § 1.11, Nahuatl has a minor kind of lexical item, called a particle, that is always monomorphemic (i.e., consists of only one morpheme) and is non-paradigmatic (i.e., is invariant). A particle therefore has no internal morphological structure. Normally a particle has only a single syllable, but a few two-syllabled particles do exist.

Some particles are clitic-like in that they must always occur in close dependence on a nuclear clause, as in the case of the adjunctor **in** or, even more strikingly, the antecessive **ō**, which is always joined in writing to the following item (i.e., the item that it modifies adverbially). There is also one, the vocative particle **é**, that is always written suffixed to a preceding nominal nuclear clause. But even the most dependent type of particle is very unclitic-like in that it can be stressed; in the case of **é** it is always stressed, thus creating the anomalous situation in Nahuatl of a stress group with stress on the last syllable.

In certain instances it is not clear that a lexical item here accepted as a particle was such originally. For example, **oc**, “still, yet,” may possibly contain the morpheme “/om/, ‘plus,’” found in numeral combinations. Also, **auh** and **āuh** look suspiciously like frozen nuclear clauses (compare the adverbialized verbal nuclear clause **ihuh**, “thus,” from the verbstem (**ihui**), “to be thus”; see § 44.3.5); however, the source verbstems **\*(ahui)** and **\*(āhui)** are not attested.

Even if a given particle is a degenerate nuclear clause, it will here be treated as a particle since no clear proof to contradict that interpretation is available (the single exception is **mō**, which is presented in § 44.5.4).

3.2. *Functional Classes of Particles.* With certain exceptions, particles are not used as independent utterances. Also, again with certain exceptions, they do not serve as the principal clause of a sentence. They rarely (some never) serve as the embed of a compound stem. Among those that do serve as such an embed is the negative particle **ah#**, which occasionally appears inside a stem to negate it like the prefix *un-* negates an English stem. Particles never serve as a matrix stem.

Particles typically function as adverbial modifiers or as exclamations. In a number of instances, the adverbial function has been specialized into a different one; consequently, the following functional classes can be recognized.

1. Clause introducers:

**ca** = indeed, in fact [Introducer for principal clause. **Ca** is NOT, as Molina says, a conjunction and is NEVER equivalent to “because” or “for” (see § 50.11). Since a unit consisting of a principal clause plus an adjunct clause can undergo an adjoining transformation, the **ca** (like the other clause introducers) can be preceded by the adjunct **in** (see subsection 2 below).]

**cuix?** = perhaps? perchance? [interrogative]

**tlā** = if, in the event that, in case; provided that

**mā** = if only, would that

**ō** = here is, here are, here you have, behold [Contrast **ō#** in subsection 4.]

2. Adjunctors (adjoined-clause introducers):

**in** = the, a/an, who, that, when, if, etc. [The adjunctor par excellence. The translation into English is whatever the English context requires. The use of **in** to indicate an adjoined unit is almost always optional; adjunction (or subordination) rarely has to be explicitly indicated in Nahuatl. The **in** may indicate that only a single item is subordinate or that a multi-itemed sequence is.

It is important to note that the particle **in** is an adjunctor, NOT a determiner. Erroneously regarding Nahuatl nominal nuclear clauses as nounwords and under the hypnotic power of translational mirage, some grammarians have considered **in** a definite article. But the problem of determination (definite or indefinite) belongs to English and Spanish grammar; the distinction (at least in regard to nounstems) is absent in Nahuatl. Determiners associate with *words*, but Nahuatl grammar is based not on words but on *nuclear clauses* (see § 1.11.2, et al.). The equivalent of an English noun *word* is a Nahuatl *nounstem*, and since a stem is a hypothetical construct (see § 1.11.2), none can ever occur in a Nahuatl utterance without being actualized in a nominal nuclear clause or as an embed. That actualization includes no place inside the clause or the compound for a determiner. A Nahuatl nominal nuclear clause can be exemplified by “I man” or “we men” (compare Russian and Arabic, which also lack a linking verb). Since these expressions are unacceptable in English, a translation must change them to “I am a man,” “I am the man,” “we are men” (notice lack of indefinite determiner . . . or rather the presence of a silent one) and “we are the men.” If the subject pronoun is third person, a more likely translation discards the clausal structure obligatorily present in Nahuatl and produces the phrases “a man,” “the man,” “men,” and “the men.” Incidentally, the nominal nuclear clause **cē**, which is frequently translated as an indefinite determiner when appearing in front of a nominal nuclear clause, means “it is one in number.” Nahuatl is fundamentally different from English, and English translations violently distort it. Do *not* naively believe in the mirage that trans-

lation so deceptively conjures up before you. Given the overwhelming use of **in** as an adjunct with no hint of its being a definite determiner in so many constructions, it makes no sense to see it suddenly as a determiner when it performs the task of adjoining a nominal nuclear clause. Adjunction in Nahuatl can be marked or not (the use of **in** is normally optional). An English translation inserts either “the” or “a/an” or neither before a nounword translating the stem of a Nahuatl nominal nuclear clause depending on the needs of English, whether that clause is adjoined by **in** or not.]

**anca** = therefore; if that is the case then; it is for this reason that; for that reason; consequently; hence; in view of the fact that; judging from that; according to that; apparently, evidently

**mah** = as though; such that [See § 58.4–6.]

3. Clause and sentence conjunctors:

**auh** = and; but

4. Adverbial modifiers:

**mec ~ nec** = then

**tēl** = nevertheless, despite that, in spite of everything; aside from that; otherwise, in other respects, other than that

**oc** = still, yet; for a little while

**zan** = only (unqualified); just; nothing else but

**zā** = only (as a diminution from a prior situation), now only

**ye** = already; with future tense, soon

**ō#** = already [The antecessive order particle; it is obligatorily bound in pronunciation and in writing to a following item. It can occur only (immediately or not) before a past-tense form and frequently invites the use of a perfect-tense form in the English translation (e.g., “he went” becomes “he has gone”); otherwise, it should be left untranslated. The # symbol indicates that the point of attachment is to the right (see § 8.3).]

**nō** = also

**zo** = surely [The meaning of this particle is not certain. In the non-negative form it occurs after **mā**, “if only,” and **tlacah**, “that is to say; I mean.” In particle collocations (see § 3.4), the /o/ is frequently a victim of elision (see § 2.14).]

**quin** = with past tense, just now; with future tense, presently

**ach** = possibly, indeterminably; I don’t know

**at** = perhaps, maybe [There is a variant, **ac**; do not confuse it with the interrogative pronoun **āc**, “who is he/she?” (see § 16.4.4).]

5. Interjections (most can occur alone as an utterance (see § 58.3) ):

**o** = huh? really? is that a fact? [indicates surprise at something unexpected]; oh! ouch! [expresses pain]; I say there! hey! [initiates a vocative]

**#é** = O . . . ; Hey . . . [The vocative (or direct-address) particle; it is used only by *men* to address someone. It is obligatorily bound in pronunciation and in writing to a preceding

nominal nuclear clause and is exceptional in that it attracts the stress to itself; it is therefore the only item in Nahuatl that should be written with a stress accent. The symbol # indicates the obligation of attachment to the preceding item. See § 18.10.]

**a** = alas!

**ax** = alas! ouch! ow! [This particle is normally doubled: **ax ax**. It can be tripled: **ax ax ax**.]

**hue** ~ **hueya** = alas! [Also **yahua**.]

**ihyo** = woe! alas! [Expresses depression or dejectedness. The glottal stop is attested in Sahagún.]

**nō** = woe! alas! [used by women]

**āuh** = good! [conveys approval]; so! [surprise, resignation, indignation, etc.]

**hui** = wow! holy smoke! gracious!

**elele** ~ **elele ay ay ay!** = ow! ouch! oh!

**ahcua** = ouch! oh!

**ye ye** ~ **ih i** ~ **yeya** = aha! [catching someone in a dishonest or improper act]

**xi** = psst! sh-h-h!

**xiuh** = shoo! [to frighten away dogs, birds, etc.]

**iye** = yes!

3.3. *Negativizing Particles.* Nahuatl has two negative particles: **ah#** and **ca#**, both meaning “not.” They are prefixal adverbs and therefore modify the item that is attached to their right (the symbol # indicates the obligation of attachment to the following item). Among other uses, these prefixes can be attached to other particles. **Ah#** and **ca#** are in complementary distribution: **ca#** occurs only after the particles **mā** and **tlā** in wish and command sentences (see § 9.6) and after the particle **mah** (see § 58.4); **ah#** occurs everywhere else, even after **mā** in admonition sentences (see § 10.4).

The following are a few examples of particles negativized by these prefixes.

**ahzo** = perhaps [This combination can occur alone as an utterance.]

**mā cazo** = if only perhaps; since, inasmuch as

**ahtēl?** = is it not clear/obvious? it cannot be otherwise

**aya** = not yet [For the change of \***ahye** to **aya**, see § 2.12.3.]

**mā caye** = if only not yet [also, **mā caya**]

**ahoc** ~ **ayoc** ~ **aoc** = no longer, not any more, not another [See § 2.13.1.]

**mā caoc** = if only no longer [In some texts **ca#** before a vowel becomes **cay#**, so one may find the variant sequence **mā cayoc**.]

**ahnō** = not also, neither, not either, nor

**mā canō** = if only not also, if only neither

Since the negative prefix **ca#** is obligatorily preceded by the particles **mā**, **tlā**, and **mah**, it has traditionally been written solid with them (as **macazo**, **maca oc**, **maca ye**, etc.). This violates its prefixal nature and misrepresents the grammatical relations at work in Nahuatl sentences. In these lessons **ca#** is treated as the prefix it is.

*Note:* Do not confuse the clause-introducing particle **ca**, “indeed,” in subsection 1 above with the prefixal negative particle **ca#**, “not.”

3.4. *Particle Collocations.* Very frequently two or more particles are combined in sequence. Normally they occur in a fixed order. At times these collocations have become a compound-like unit that has taken on a lexicalized meaning unjustified by the meaning of the members when occurring separately. The unity of such collocations is also seen in the fact that they normally constitute a stress group. Because of this, they have traditionally been written solid. In these lessons the members of particle collocations are written separately. For some ununderstood reason **nō**, “also,” when occurring as a nonfinal member of a particle collocation, apparently loses the length on the vowel (see Karttunen, 172).

The following are a few examples of particle collocations. The adjunct **in** is frequently the first member (its use is always optional here). It indicates that the material it introduces is subordinate to another part (or other parts) of a sentence.

**in tlā** = if

**in tlā ca#** = if not [This is traditionally written **intlaca** or **in tlaca**, with the negative prefix **ca#** joined to the **tlā**; this violates its prefixal nature, which requires it to be free to the left, not to the right (see § 3.3).]

**in tlā zan** = and if, if only/just [No morph here expresses “and.”]

**in tlā zā** = and if, and if still; but if now only [No morph here expresses “and” or “but.”]

**in aya** = before [See § 3.3.]

**in tlā no zo** = and if perhaps, by chance, maybe; but if [Traditionally written **intlanozo**. The entry **intlanazo** in Molina is a misprint. Siméon docilely copies it (see § 1.13 on dictionary error).]

**no zo** = either [traditionally written **nozo**]

**ahno zo** = neither [traditionally written **anozo**]

**mā cano zo** = if only neither

**no zan** = still; up until now

**zā zo** = -ever; no matter, any-

**ahzā zo** = perhaps, maybe

**ahzā zo oc** = perhaps still, perhaps another [traditionally written **azazoc**, with elision]

**mā zā zo** = be that as it may, regardless

**zā zan** = any which way; foolishly, nonsensically [Traditionally written **zazan**, it is a structure of conjunction, literally “now only and just.”]

**zan nō** = likewise, by the same token, similarly

**zan ye nō** = likewise, by the same token, similarly

**ahzo zā** = perhaps, maybe, possibly

**ahzo zan** = perhaps, maybe, possibly

**ahzo ah#** = perhaps . . . not

**ahzo mā** = perhaps?

**oc nō** = and moreover, and also; similarly [No morph expresses “and.”]



**zā oc nō** = even more so, furthermore [This is traditionally written **zacno**, with elision of the /o/ of **oc** (see § 2.14).]

**auh in tlā** = and if

**auh in tlā ca#** = and if . . . not

**mā tēl** = let it nevertheless be . . . ; maybe it will be for the best . . . [said after a choice in the face of a dilemma]

**mā zo** = even if, even though, although

**mā zo tēl** = supposing that . . . , let's assume that . . .

**ihyo mā** . . . ! = Oh if only! [exclamatory collocation]

**ihyo iyahua!** = Oh woe! [exclamatory collocation]

*Note:* There is another **ca** not previously mentioned that apparently is equivalent to **zā**. It occurs only in collocations with **ah#** and **zo**.

**ahca zo** = perhaps, maybe [equivalent to **ahzā zo**]

**ahzo ca** = perhaps, maybe [equivalent to **ahzo zā**]

**ahca zo ah#** = perhaps . . . not, maybe . . . not [equivalent to **ahzā zo ah#**]

**ahzo ca ah#** = perhaps . . . not; maybe . . . not [equivalent to **ahzo zā ah#**]

3.5. *Honorificized Particles.* Honorific expressions play an important role in Nahuatl. The affective-matrix nounstem (**tzin**)-**tli-**, “honorable, esteemed, valued, respected entity,” is the device by which honorific nounstems are created (see § 32.3). It can also be attached to a single particle or to the final member of a particle collocation. In the latter instance the entire collocation is made honorific. There is no way to capture the honorific quality of these honorificized particles in English translation.

**ōtzin** = behold

**āuhtzin** = good, good!

**ca no zotzin** = thus it is

## LESSON 4

---

# Nuclear Clauses

4.1. *Nuclear Clauses.* With the exception of particles, all the other vocables in Nahuatl represent morphosyntactic constructs called “nuclear clauses.” Unlike morphological words in English, nuclear clauses are syntactically complete entities that OBLIGATORILY contain a *subject* and a *predicate*. English speakers have an overwhelming urge to look upon nuclear clauses as words. There are three reasons for this: (1) English has nothing like nuclear clauses; (2) although syntactical constructs, they are formed with morphological means (i.e., they consist of a *stem* and inflectional *affixes* arranged in a rigid structure); and (3) they are usually translated into English as words.

The peculiarity of the morphosyntactic items here called nuclear clauses has not gone unnoticed. They are not exclusive to Nahuatl, being found in many other Native American languages. They have often been called “sentence-words” (that is, words used as a complete syntactical unit), but this term has the unfortunate drawback of imposing an English perspective on very un-English entities, forcing one to see them as *words* rather than *clauses*. A more accurate terminology than “sentence-words” would be “wordal sentences” or “wordal clauses,” but even these terms fail to convey the essential nature of nuclear clauses. While obligatorily containing all the functions necessary to a full clause, the *entitive* functions (subject, object, possessor) are expressed only by means of personal pronouns, which are always affixal constituents. That is, the clauses are limited to a basic, nuclear expression of these functions. In order to focus attention on this distinctive fact, the term “nuclear clause” has been chosen for use here.

A nuclear clause can serve: (1) as a complete simple sentence; (2) as either a main or a dependent clause in a complex sentence; or (3) as a conjoined clause in a compound sentence.

4.2. *Kinds of Nuclear Clauses.* There are two kinds of nuclear clauses: (1) verbal nuclear clauses and (2) nominal nuclear clauses. These correspond respectively to English clauses that contain either (1) an intransitive or transitive verbword as a predicator (e.g., “she smiled,” “he hit me”) or (2) a copulative verbword followed by a substantive or adjective as a subject complement or by an adverb (e.g., “he is an enemy,” “she is happy,” “it is golden,” “it is of gold,” “it is here,” “it is at night”).

4.3. *Formulas for Nuclear Clauses (Stage 1)*. Because a Nahuatl nuclear clause consists of rigidly sequenced constituents (*affixes* around a *stem*), its structure can easily and conveniently be represented in a formula.

In dealing with formulas, one must know two things: (1) what the positions (or slots) represent with regard to informational categories (such as person, number, tense) and (2) what morphemic or morphic fillers can occupy the positions.

The most general statement of a nuclear-clause formula is linearly expressed as **Subject + Predicate** or diagrammatically expressed as the fraction:

$$\frac{\text{Subject}}{\text{Predicate}}$$

4.4. *Formulas for Nuclear Clauses (Stage 2)*. Both verbal and nominal nuclear clauses agree in that the subject function splits its constituent informational categories of Person and Number into a circumfix; i.e., Person (1st, 2nd, 3rd) is represented by a prefix and Number (singular, plural) by a suffix. This means that the Subject personal pronoun in Nahuatl is a discontinuous constituent, formulaically represented as **#person + . . . + number#** (“#” = the fore and aft boundaries of the nuclear clause; “+” = the boundary between two positions; “. . .” = nonsubject constituents).

The formulas of a verbal nuclear clause (VNC) and a nominal nuclear clause (NNC) differ only in the ways they develop the Predicate function of the general formula.

In an NNC the Predicate consists of a State position and a Stem position. *State* has to do with the absence or presence of a possessor in the Predicate (e.g., “. . . is a dog” has no possessor and is in the *absolute* state; “. . . is my dog” has a possessor and is in the *possessive* state). In a linear format the NNC formula therefore reads: **#person+state(STEM)number#** (parentheses replace + symbols at the fore and aft boundaries of the stem because of the need to identify its dimensions clearly). In a diagrammatic format, the formula reads:

$$\frac{\text{\#person+ . . .)number}}{\text{+state(STEM)}} \left| \begin{array}{l} \text{Subject} \\ \text{Predicate} \end{array} \right.$$

In a VNC the Predicate is more complicated than in an NNC because of the presence of a tense-indicating constituent. The verbal Predicate consists of a Valence position, a Stem position, and a Tense position. *Valence* has to do with the absence or presence of an object in the predicate (e.g., “. . . laughs” has no object and is an example of *intransitive* valence; “. . . sees me” has an object and is an example of *transitive* valence). The Valence and Stem positions cooperate to form the *Core* of the Predicate. The formula in a linear format reads:

$$\text{\#person+valence(STEM)tense+number\#}$$

In a diagrammatic format it reads:

$$\frac{\text{\#person+ . . . +number\#}}{\text{+valence(STEM) . . . )tense+}} \left| \begin{array}{l} \text{Subject} \\ \text{Core} \\ \text{Tense} \end{array} \right. \text{Predicate}$$

*Note:* The advantage of the diagrammatic format over the linear one for both the NNC and the VNC formulas is that it makes one aware of the internal relationships of the constituents in the formula, an awareness that one must cultivate in order to deal successfully with Nahuatl.

The diagrammatic format also makes more evident the fact that nuclear clauses have a hierarchic structure, with the stem always serving as the foundation.

An NNC has three layers or levels of organization:

1. nounstem
2. nouncore = predicate (= state + stem)
3. NNC = subject + predicate

A VNC has four organizational layers:

1. verbstem
2. verbcore = valence + stem
3. predicate = verbcore + tense
4. VNC = subject + predicate

4.5. *Formulas for Nuclear Clauses (Stage 3).* While the formulas developed in Stage Two have provided the requisite positions, they are still not detailed enough to take care of the morphemic distinctions that are expressed in NNCs and VNCs. The problem resides in the fact that the Person and Number positions are always *dyadic* (i.e., they consist of two subpositions each); the Tense position is always *monadic* (i.e., it consists solely of the position itself); the State and Valence positions are either *dyadic*, *monadic*, or simply *vacant*; and the Stem position is either *monadic* or *polyadic* (i.e., it may consist of any number of subpositions). The problem of the stem will be taken up in Lesson 7 (for VNCs) and in Lesson 14 (for NNCs).

In order to deal with these complexities within a reasonable space, the positions outside the stem will be identified by abbreviations (pers = person, num = number, tns = tense, va = valence, st = state). Subpositions will be identified by a superscript 1 or 2. A boundary between subpositions is indicated by a hyphen.

There are three versions of the VNC formula and three of the NNC formula, depending on what happens in the Valence and State positions. When valence and state are present only implicitly, they should, strictly speaking, be represented in the formulas by a position that is filled by a silently present morpheme, but this treatment entails complicated representations in later derivational processes. It is simpler for an introductory work like this one to allow their vacancy to be symbolized by an absence of their positions.

VNC Formulas:

- |   |                       |
|---|-----------------------|
| 1. #pers <sup>1</sup> -pers <sup>2</sup> +va <sup>1</sup> -va <sup>2</sup> (STEM)tns+num <sup>1</sup> -num <sup>2</sup> # | [Valence is dyadic.]  |
| 2. #pers <sup>1</sup> -pers <sup>2</sup> +va(STEM)tns+num <sup>1</sup> -num <sup>2</sup> #                                | [Valence is monadic.] |
| 3. #pers <sup>1</sup> -pers <sup>2</sup> (STEM)tns+num <sup>1</sup> -num <sup>2</sup> #                                   | [Valence is vacant.]  |

NNC Formulas:

- |   |                     |
|---|---------------------|
| 1. #pers <sup>1</sup> -pers <sup>2</sup> +st <sup>1</sup> -st <sup>2</sup> (STEM)num <sup>1</sup> -num <sup>2</sup> # | [State is dyadic.]  |
| 2. #pers <sup>1</sup> -pers <sup>2</sup> +st(STEM)num <sup>1</sup> -num <sup>2</sup> #                                | [State is monadic.] |
| 3. #pers <sup>1</sup> -pers <sup>2</sup> (STEM)num <sup>1</sup> -num <sup>2</sup> #                                   | [State is vacant.]  |

These six formulas are used throughout the rest of this text. The diagrammatic versions are given later. The explanation of the VNC formulas is given in Lessons 5 through 11, the explanation of the NNC formulas in Lessons 12 through 16.

4.6. *Personal Pronouns.* As is clear from the remarks in § 4.1 and § 4.4, the personal pronouns in Nahuatl are quite different from those in English. While there are NNCs that can be translated as English personal pronouns (see §16.3), it is obvious that these are in fact complete clauses, not mere sentence fragments as are words such as “I,” “me,” “he,” “him,” etc. in English. The true personal pronouns in Nahuatl are ALWAYS affixal and occur ONLY in the positions established in the nuclear-clause formulas of § 4.5. They always consist of more than one morpheme and always serve as the locus for at least five informational categories: *person*, *animacy*, *humanness*, *number*, and *case*. Gender distinctions (i.e., differences based on sex) are totally absent from Nahuatl pronouns (as a consequence, when translating a third-person singular pronoun into English, one must choose between masculine, feminine, and neuter as required by the context).

The category of *person* has three features: first (= the speaker), second (= the addressee), and third (= the other).

The category of *animacy* has two features: animate and nonanimate. Animate refers to animate entities; Nahuatl culture classified as animate certain entities (e.g., hill, heaven, star) that we classify as nonanimate. Nonanimate refers to nonanimate entities. For more on the category of animacy, see § 12.6.

The category of *humanness* is a subcategory of animacy. It has two features: human and nonhuman. While human always implies animate, nonhuman may be either animate or nonanimate. Human is innately present in the first and second persons. The third person is ambiguous, being either human or nonhuman. The ambiguity is resolved by context.

The category of *number* has two features defined by animacy: animate number distinguishes singular (= one) from plural (= more than one); nonanimate number has only one feature, common (= one or more than one indiscriminately). The first and second persons and all plural pronouns show animate number. A third-person singular pronoun is ambiguous, permitting either animate or nonanimate reference. A common-number (third-person) pronoun has exactly the same shape as a singular-number one. Common-number personal pronouns must be translated into English as either singular or plural according to the demands of the context.

The category of *case* identifies the syntactic function of the personal pronoun and has three features: nominative (= subject function), objective (= verb object function), and possessive (= possessor function). The nominative-case pronouns occur in both VNCs and NNCs. The

objective-case pronouns occur only in the predicate of VNCs. The possessive-case pronouns occur only in the predicate of NNCs. Distinctions of case are limited to the personal-pronoun affixes in Nahuatl.

The personal pronouns in Nahuatl are different from those in English not only in being exclusively affixal in form but also in being the only referring elements in the language. They are like those in English, however, in that their reference is variable, shifting in accord with every turn in a given conversational transaction. This means that Nahuatl personal pronouns (like those in *all* languages) are *deictic* and/or *anaphoric* or *cataphoric*.

Deixis points OUTSIDE a stretch of language to the situation in which it is being used. The speaker role (indicated by a first-person pronoun) serves as the deictic center from which relationships in the communicational field are established. The addressee role (the second-person pronoun) is automatically identified as its counterpart. But a third-person pronoun must be accompanied by an actual or virtual pointing gesture to identify its intended entity.

Anaphora and cataphora point INSIDE language to the context in which a personal pronoun is used. Anaphora establishes the meaning of a third-person personal pronoun by referring back to a previously identified item, its "antecedent" (e.g., "If *Jim* had stayed, *he* could have helped."). Cataphora does the same by referring forward to a later identified item (e.g., "If *he* had stayed, *Jim* could have helped.>").

While deixis and anaphora/cataphora are essential to personal pronouns, they are also needed elsewhere. Deixis is involved in demonstratives when accompanied by actual or virtual pointing (e.g., "this," "that"), in certain temporal adverbs (e.g., "now," "tomorrow"), in certain tenses in verbs (e.g., "I am," "I was"), and in certain locational adverbs (e.g., "here," "there"). Anaphora or cataphora is brought into play by certain entitival phrases (e.g., "the early ones," "the latter"), by certain temporal phrases (e.g., "on the next day"), and by certain locational phrases (e.g., "in the other place").

## LESSON 5

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# The Intransitive VNC Formula. Subject Pronouns. Tense Morphs

(Refer to Appendix A for full VNC forms.)

5.1. *The Intransitive VNC Formula.* The simplest VNC formula is the *intransitive*, which is the third one listed in § 4.5. It is as follows:

Linear format: #pers<sup>1</sup>-pers<sup>2</sup>(STEM)tns+num<sup>1</sup>-num<sup>2</sup>#

Diagrammatic format:

#per <sup>1</sup> -pers <sup>2</sup> (. . . +num <sup>1</sup> -num <sup>2</sup> #	Subject	
(STEM)	Core	} Predicate
)tense+	Tense	

The *implicit* presence of a position for valence in the Core is what defines this as an intransitive formula.

5.2. *The Subject Positions.* The intransitive formula of § 5.1 does not specify the actual way in which the features of the informational categories (person, number, case, animacy, and humanness) are distributed in the subpositions of a subject personal pronoun. Since animacy and humanness are intertwined with the other categories, no separate locus is allotted to their features. The question of feature distribution is, therefore, concerned only with the location of the features of person, case, and number. This problem is discussed in § 5.3 and § 5.4.

5.3. *The Morphic Fillers Expressing the Subject Personal Pronouns.* The bits of sememic information named by the categorial features of the personal pronouns given in § 4.6 are combined in various ways and encapsulated into phonemic/sigemic sequences to form the constituent morphemes of the subject personal pronouns. These morphemes serve as the fillers for the subpositions that cooperate to express a subject personal pronoun. In the following presentation of these fillers, the morphs are represented by only the morphic carriers (i.e., the phonic and sigic segments), but one must always keep in mind the fundamental fact that morphs are amalgams of carrier units and content units (see § 1.7).

From this point on in the text, in analyzed items morphs are no longer enclosed in brackets and their phonic carriers are given in a standardized spelling; any sigic carrier is, of course, represented by  $\emptyset$  or  $\square$ . When two or more morphs are listed in a morphic repertory, the first indicates the variant with regular shape. Although this use of standardized spelling makes it easier for a student not interested in technical niceties, it does have the drawback that in certain instances items presented as morphic variants are in fact only spelling variants (and therefore not true variants). For example, the spellings **tēuc-** and **tēcu-** represent a single morphic variant, [te:k<sup>w</sup>-]; contrast these mere spelling variants with the real morphic variant **tēc-**, where the /k<sup>w</sup>/ is manifested by the delabialized phonic variant [k]. The illusory morphic distinctions created by spelling are the result of the faulty match between the graphological subsystem and the phonological system pointed out in § 2.1. In a listing of morphs, spelling variants are separated by a slash and real morphic variants by a “~”.

1. The *pers*<sup>1</sup> subposition is primarily the locus for information concerning person. The possible type-level carrier-plus-content fillers are:

$\emptyset$  = 3rd person

**t ~ ti**; **x ~ xi** = 2nd person singular

**am ~ an** (etc.); **x ~ xi** = 2nd person plural

**n ~ ni** = 1st person singular

**t ~ ti** = 1st person plural

The variants **x** and **xi** for the second person (either singular or plural) occur only in optative (nonpast and past) VNCs (see Lesson 8).

Except for the third-person morph and the second-person morphs **x** and **xi**, the *pers*<sup>1</sup> subposition is impure; the morphs indicate not only person but also number. However, because of the homophony of the second-person singular and first-person plural morphs **t** and **ti**, the efficiency of the filler with regard to number is annulled; the subject pronoun’s number suffix (subposition *num*<sup>2</sup>) is required to resolve the ambiguity.

The [i] in **ti**, **xi**, and **ni** is a supportive vowel, required when there is a following consonant sound. The [m] of the second-person plural morph **am** occurs only before a following vowel, an [m], or a [p]; although only one other variant morph is shown in the listing (namely, **an**), the “etc.” indicates that all the nasal assimilations of §§ 2.11.1, 2.12.4, and 2.12.5 are possible: i.e., **az**, **ax**, etc.

2. Subposition *pers*<sup>2</sup> is the locus for information concerning *case*. The case feature associated with the subject function is that of the *nominative*. The morph representing it is carried by  $\emptyset$ . (This is a clear example of the principle of linguistic economy mentioned in § 1.5, *note*; the silently-present morph recognizes that the nominative case is the most obvious, neutral, taken-for-granted case.)

3. Subposition *num*<sup>1</sup> is the locus of a “number-connector morph.” While being a constituent of the subject personal pronoun, it mediates between the predicate and the *num*<sup>2</sup> subposition. This linking function is shown by the fact that there are four morphic variants that can fill the subposition, each associated with one or more tenses (see § 5.5.2).



**Ø** [This morphic carrier occurs after the tense morphs signifying the present, customary present, imperfect, and distant past tenses of the indicative mode as well as the past tense of the optative mode.]

**c/qu ~ qui ~ □** [These morphic variants represent the morpheme /k/, which follows a tense position filled by either the *preterit* indicative morph or the *future* indicative morph **z**. The **c** and **qu** variants are merely different spellings of the regular morph [k]; the irregular morph [ki], spelled **qui**, has a supportive [i].

a. The **qu** variant fills the *num*<sup>1</sup> subposition when the *num*<sup>2</sup> subposition is filled by the plural morph **eh**.

b. The variants **c** and **qui** occur in complementary distribution as the filler of the *num*<sup>1</sup> subposition when the *num*<sup>2</sup> subposition is filled by the singular-number morph **Ø**: **c** occurs after a vowel and **qui** after a consonant. This means that **c** occurs ONLY after a preterit-tense predicate formed on a Class A verbstem (see § 7.3). Although **c** is therefore an automatic indication that a VNC (with a singular subject) has a preterit predicate, one should strenuously reject thinking of it as a tense morph. To fail to see it as part of the subject's number dyad is to skew the basic neatness of the Nahuatl tense-suffix system (see § 5.5.2) and to destroy the simplicity of certain derivational processes.

c. The irregular morph **□** is a subvariant of **qui**, which it has replaced except in instances of archaic style, in certain set expressions (such as **iz catqui**, “here it is,” i.e., “behold,” and **ōtlacāuhqui in iyōllo**, “his heart has released things,” i.e., “he has given his consent”), and in the preterit- and future-agentive NNCs built on Class B, C, and D verbstems (see § 35.3). In certain irregular VNCs, **□** replaces **qu** (see Lesson 11).

**c ~ □** [The morphic carriers again represent the morpheme /k/, which now follows the tense morph of the nonpast optative. The **c** variant is followed by a plural-number morph in subposition *num*<sup>2</sup>, and the **□** variant is followed by a singular-number morph.]

**t ~ □** [The morphic carriers represent the morpheme /t/, which follows the tense morph of the nonpast admonitive. The **t** variant is followed by a plural-number morph in subposition *num*<sup>2</sup>, and the **□** variant is followed by a singular-number morph.]

4. Subposition *num*<sup>2</sup> is the definitive locus for the number category.

a. Singular/common number is ALWAYS represented by **Ø**.

b. Plural number is represented by one of four variant morphs: **h ~ eh ~ ān ~ in**. These are correlated with the morph in subposition *num*<sup>1</sup> (and, consequently, with the morph in the tense position).

**h** [This variant morphic carrier occurs when the tense morph signifies either the present, customary-present, imperfect, or distant-past indicative or the past optative.]

**eh** [This variant morphic carrier occurs when the tense morph signifies the future or present indicative.]

**ān** [This variant morphic carrier occurs when the tense morph signifies the nonpast optative.]

**in** [This variant morphic carrier occurs when the tense morph signifies the nonpast admonitive. This variant has **ih** as a subvariant.]

5.4. *Summary of Personal Pronouns in the VNC Subject Function.* The top line of the diagrammatic format of the VNC formula in § 5.1 can now be illustrated by all the possible morphic-filler sequences. These are automatic equivalences to the English wordal subject personal pronouns. There are four possible paradigms, determined by what happens in the subpositions *num*<sup>1</sup> and *num*<sup>2</sup> (in correlation with tense distinctions in the predicate).

1. For VNCs expressing the present, customary-present, imperfect, or distant-past indicative [“con” = number-connector morph.]

#n- $\emptyset$ (...+ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #, “#1sg-nom(...+con-sg#” = I

#t- $\emptyset$ (...+ $\emptyset$ -h#, “#1pl-nom(...+con-pl#” = we

#t- $\emptyset$ (...+ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #, “#2sg-nom(...+con-sg#” = you (sg)

#am- $\emptyset$ (...+ $\emptyset$ -h#, “#2pl-nom(...+con-pl#” = you (pl)

# $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (...+ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #, “#3-nom(...+con-sg#” = he/she/it (animate); it/they (nonanimate)

# $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (...+ $\emptyset$ -h#, “#3-nom(...+con-pl#” = they (animate)

The same paradigm serves for the past optative except that the second-person VNCs use **x** ~ **xi** in the *pers*<sup>1</sup> subposition:

#x- $\emptyset$ (...+ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = you (sg)

#x- $\emptyset$ (...+ $\emptyset$ -h# = you (pl)

2. For VNCs expressing the future or preterit indicative (Only the first-person forms are given, since the others are obvious. Only the morphic carriers are given, since the glosses of the morphs are the same as in section 1 above.):

#n- $\emptyset$ (...+c- $\emptyset$ ~ #n- $\emptyset$ (...+qui- $\emptyset$  = I

#t- $\emptyset$ (...+qu-eh# = we

When the **qui** morph is replaced by  $\square$  (see § 5.2.3), the subject pronoun for the first-person singular reads: #n- $\emptyset$ (...+ $\square$ - $\emptyset$ #. Only singular-number pronouns permit this replacement.

3. For VNCs expressing the nonpast optative.

#n- $\emptyset$ (...+ $\square$ - $\emptyset$  = I

#t- $\emptyset$ (...+c-ān# = we

#x- $\emptyset$ (...+ $\square$ - $\emptyset$  = you (sg)

#x- $\emptyset$ (...+c-ān# = you (pl)

# $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (...+ $\square$ - $\emptyset$  = he/she/it; it, they

# $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (...+c-ān# = they (animate)

4. For VNCs expressing the nonpast admonitive (Only the first-person forms are listed; the first two subpositions have the same fillers as in the main paradigm of subsection 1 above.):

#n-Ø(. . . +□-Ø# = I

#t-Ø(. . . +t-in# ~ #t-Ø(. . . +t-ih# = we

5.5. *The Predicate Position.* The stem is the organizing center of the predicate, but until the problem of verbstem classification is dealt with in Lesson 7, a full description of the predicate is not possible. At present, however, the general nature of the stem can be explained and the fillers for the Tense position can be described.

1. The STEM position is the locus for lexical meaning (and consequently the determinant of intransitive or transitive valence) as well as the locus for the categories of voice and aspect.

The category of *voice* has two features: active and nonactive. *Active voice* is the shape of the verbstem that shows a specific agent is in control of the action, event, process, or state referred to. *Nonactive voice* is the shape of the verbstem that shows a nonspecific agent is in control. A stem in the active voice is used to create an active VNC. A stem in the nonactive voice is used to create either a passive VNC (see Lesson 21) or an impersonal one (see Lesson 22). The active stem is the underlying or basic stem; that is, it serves as the source for the derivation of the nonactive stem (see Lesson 20).

The category of *aspect* has two features: imperfective and perfective. *Imperfective aspect* catches an action, event, etc., during its career, as an ongoing happening, without regard to its beginning or end. *Perfective aspect* catches the event at the moment of either its beginning or its end. The imperfective verbstem is the underlying or basic stem; that is, it serves as the source for the formation of the perfective stem. Since, in the majority, of instances this formation is not predictable, it is necessary to learn both the imperfective and the perfective stem of each verb (see Lesson 7).

The three categories found in the verbstem (aspect, valence, voice) create eight contrasting stem kinds, schematized as follows:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{imperfective} \\ \text{perfective} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{intransitive} \\ \text{transitive} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{active} \\ \text{nonactive} \end{array} \right\} \text{ stem}$$

These will be discussed in detail in later lessons.

2. The *tns* slot is the locus for the combined categories of mood and tense.

The category of *mood* has to do with the speaker's attitude toward what is being said. In Nahuatl it has three features: *indicative* (for reporting facts), *optative* (for expressing wishes), and *admonitive* (for issuing admonitions).

The category of *tense* is the grammatical means of correlating the time-of-the-occurrence-being-reported with the time-of-utterance. Tense basically has three features, *past*, *present*, and *future*, but these interact with the categories of mood and aspect in such a way that Nahuatl has the following tense distinctions.

Indicative mood:

On imperfective stem: present, customary-present, imperfect, and future tenses

On perfective stem: preterit and distant-past tenses

## Optative mood:

On imperfective stem: nonpast and past tenses

## Admonitive mood:

On perfective stem: nonpast tense

To express these distinctions, tense and mood are fused into a single position, the Tense position, which is filled by the following morphs:

Indicative: present =  $\emptyset$ ; customary present = **ni**; imperfect = **yā ~ ya** [The morpheme is /ya:/]; future = **z**; preterit =  $\emptyset$ ; distant past = **cā ~ ca** [The morpheme is /ka:/]

Optative: nonpast =  $\emptyset$ ; past = **ni**

Admonitive: nonpast = **h** [for Class A verbs];  $\emptyset$  [for all other classes]

The explanation of how these tense morphs cooperate with the verbstem classes is given in Lesson 7.

*Note:* The indicative tenses in Nahuatl have the following translation values in English:

Present: simple present (e.g., “he sings”); present progressive (e.g., “he is singing”); emphatic (e.g., “he does sing”)

Customary present: general present (e.g., “he sings”); customary present (e.g., “he customarily/habitually/usually sings”)

Imperfect: customary past (e.g., “he customarily/habitually sang, he used to sing”); past progressive (e.g., “he was singing”)

Future: future (e.g., “he will sing”); future-in-the-past (e.g., “he would sing”—as in “he said he would sing”)

Preterit: simple past (e.g., “he sang”); emphatic past (e.g., “he did sing”); present perfect (e.g., “he has sung”); future perfect (e.g., “he will have sung”)

Distant past: simple past (e.g., “he sang”—with the implication of occurrence prior to a later event); past perfect (e.g., “he had sung”—also called the pluperfect).

As suggested earlier, there is a difference between *tense* (a grammatical category) and *time* (an existential category); tense belongs to language, where as time occurs out in the world. In certain contexts a present-tense VNC may, for example, refer to past time. Other shifts are possible. The most important of these special usages are pointed out in § 57.1.

*Remark:* Keep in mind the ambiguity of the subject personal-pronoun singular-number dyad + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ . It can occur in a preterit- or future-tense VNC as a variant of +**qui**- $\emptyset$ , in a nonpast optative-tense VNC (compare the plural-number dyad +**c-ān**), and in a nonpast admonitive-tense VNC (compare the plural-number dyad +**t-in**).

## LESSON 6

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# The Transitive VNC Formula. Object Pronouns

(Refer to Appendix A for full VNC forms.)

6.1. *The Transitive VNC Formulas.* The two transitive formulas given in § 4.5 differ from the intransitive formula only in the Valence position; therefore, only this position need now be discussed in order to deal with the transitive formulas.

The Valence position is another personal-pronoun position and therefore must involve the categories of person, number, animacy, humanness, and case (see § 4.6). The case category here exploits the feature *objective*. This necessitates the presence of three categorial distinctions in personal pronouns that were not pertinent in the nominative-case forms: *trajectory*, *specificity*, and *prominence*.

The category of *trajectory* has three features: projective, reflexive, reciprocative. When there is *projective trajectory*, the action referred to by the verbstem affects some entity other than the one referred to by the subject (e.g., “I saw him”). In *reflexive trajectory* the affected entity is the same as that referred to by the subject (e.g., “I saw myself”). *Reciprocative trajectory* occurs when two or more entities referred to by the objective-case pronoun are the same as those referred to by the nominative-case pronoun and mutual interaction takes place between these referents (e.g., “We saw *one another*”).

The category of *specificity* has two features: specific and nonspecific. A *specific* pronoun refers to one or more specific entities (e.g., “I saw *him*”; “I saw *them*”). Such a pronoun is a personal pronoun. A *nonspecific* pronoun refers to an unidentified or general entity (e.g., “I saw *someone*,” “I saw *everyone*”). A nonspecific pronoun is not, therefore, a personal pronoun but an *indefinite* one (however, the indefinite objective-case forms are matched in the nominative case by third-person personal pronouns in cooperation with a nonactive verbstem; see Lesson 22).

The category of *prominence* has two features: mainline and shuntline. The contrast is brought into play as the result of morphosyntactic processes. An objective-case form has *mainline* prominence either originally or as the result of a causative or applicative derivation. When a new object is added to an already transitive stem, however, an earlier object is demoted to *shuntline* prominence, i.e., it becomes shunted into the background. This is discussed in detail in Lessons 21 to 26.

6.2. *The Transitive VNC Formula with the Monadic Valence Position.* The second VNC formula in § 4.5 is the simpler of the two transitive formulas, since it has a Valence position that is monadic. It is as follows:

Linear format: **#pers<sup>1</sup>-pers<sup>2</sup>+va(STEM)tns+num<sup>1</sup>-num<sup>2</sup>#**

Diagrammatic format:

<b>#pers<sup>1</sup>-pers<sup>2</sup>+...+num<sup>1</sup>-num<sup>2</sup>#</b>	<b>Subject</b>	
<b>+va(STEM)</b>	<b>Core</b>	<b>} Predicate</b>
)tns	<b>Tense</b>	

The Valence position in this formula concentrates the pronominal categories into one of three possible morphs:

1. a shuntline reflexive/reciprocativ-object morph: **ne** The use of this personal-pronoun morph is discussed in Lessons 21 to 26.
2. a *nonspecific* third-person projective-object morph, contrasting human and nonhuman:
  - a. **tē** = someone; anyone; people (in general); everyone; all
  - b. **tla** = something; anything; things (in general); everything

These are *indefinite* pronouns, not personal ones (see § 6.1). The gloss “something” refers to either nonanimate OR animate entities; that is, the contrast between these two pronominal prefixes does not reside in animateness but in humanness (compare § 12.5). The following scheme explains the relationship.

Human	{	<b>tē</b>	}	Animate
Nonhuman	{	<b>tla</b>	}	Nonanimate

The mainline and shuntline forms are the same.

*Note:* There are times when **tla** is used to refer to people in general, with the translation value of “everyone,” or “people (in general).”

6.3. *The Transitive VNC Formula with the Dyadic Valence Position.* When the personal pronoun in the objective case is mainline and has specific reference, four bits of information become important: trajectory, person, number, and case (i.e., objective case). All of these are combined into the dyadic subpositions **va<sup>1</sup>** and **va<sup>2</sup>**. The VNC formula is as follows:

Linear format: **#pers<sup>1</sup>-pers<sup>2</sup>+va<sup>1</sup>-va<sup>2</sup>(STEM)tns+num<sup>1</sup>-num<sup>2</sup>#**.

Diagrammatic format:

#per <sup>1</sup> -pers <sup>2</sup> + . . . +num <sup>1</sup> -num <sup>2</sup> #	Subject	} Predicate
+va <sup>1</sup> -va <sup>2</sup> (STEM)	Core	
)tns	Tense	

6.4. *The Projective Personal-Pronoun Objects.* When the valence position is dyadic, the categories of person, number, and case are combined differently in *va*<sup>1</sup> and *va*<sup>2</sup> depending on whether the projective-object personal pronouns are 3rd person or not.

1. Subposition *va*<sup>1</sup> always manifests the category of *person*, but it is NEVER present as the only information in the subposition.

a. For the 3rd person, *person* is combined with *objective case* in the *va*<sup>1</sup> subposition. The morphic filler has the variants *c/qu* ~ *qui*. The first two are merely spelling variants. The [i] on the third is a supportive vowel. If a VNC-internal vowel stands on either side of the morph, its shape is *c* or *qu* according to the rules for spelling [k] given in Lesson 2. For example:

**con** . . .

**ca** . . . [The [a] is part of the stem.]

**nichuāl** . . . [Concerning the combination **chu**, see § 2.3.4.]

**tiqui** . . . [The second [i] is part of the stem.]

**que** . . . [The [e] is part of the stem.]

The **qui** morph is used before a consonant when the VNC's subject pronoun has  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$  as the filler of the *pers*<sup>1</sup>-*pers*<sup>2</sup> dyad. For example:

**quihuāl** . . .

**quimo** . . .

b. For the 1st and 2nd persons, *person* is combined with number in the *va*<sup>1</sup> subposition. The morphic fillers are:

**m** = 2nd singular

**am** = 2nd plural

**n** = 1st singular

**t** = 1st plural

With the exception of the second-singular morph, these *va*<sup>1</sup> morphs are identical to the *pers*<sup>1</sup> morphs (see § 5.3.1). But unlike the morphs in *pers*<sup>1</sup>, these *va*<sup>1</sup> morphs allow no ambiguity—necessarily so, since here no disambiguating device exists elsewhere in the VNC.

2. Subposition *va*<sup>2</sup> makes up for the category not contained in *va*<sup>1</sup>. This is accomplished as follows.

a. For the 3rd person, the *va*<sup>2</sup> subposition manifests *number*:

$\emptyset$  = singular

**im** ~ **in** . . . = plural

The plural morph **im** occurs only before [m], [p], or a vowel. Although only one other variant morph is shown (namely, **in**), the suspension points indicate that all the nasal assimilations of §§ 2.11.1, 2.12.4, and 2.12.5 are possible: **iz**, **ix**, etc.

*b.* For the non-3rd persons the  $va^2$  subposition expresses *objective case*, which is manifested by the morpheme /e:č/. This has two morphic variants:

**ēch** [for 2nd plural, 1st singular, and 1st plural]

**itz** [For 2nd singular. The phone [ç] is a frequent variant for the phoneme /č/ (see § 2.3.4).]

Both of these morphs are subject to assimilation (see § 2.10.5, § 2.10.6, and § 2.11.2); **ēch** may therefore appear in a text spelled as **etz**, **et**, **ez**, or **ex**, and **itz** may appear as **ich**, **it**, **i**, **iz**, or **ix**.

6.5. *Summary of Personal Pronouns in the Specific Projective-Object Function.* The morphic dyads in the following paradigm are automatic equivalents to the English object personal pronouns.

+n-ēch( = “+1sg-obj(” = me

+t-ēch( = “+1pl-obj(” = us

+m-itz( = “+2sg-obj(” = you (sg)

+am-ēch( = “+2pl-obj(” = you (pl)

+c-θ( / +qu-θ( ~ +qui-θ( = “+3obj-sg(” = him/her/it (animate); it/them (nonanimate)

+qu-im( = “+3obj-pl(” = them (animate)

The variants created by assimilation (see § 6.4) are, of course, to be included in this listing.

6.6. *The Mainline Reflexive Personal-Pronoun Objects.* The valence position has the following subposition-and-categorial-feature alignments when the personal-pronoun object is mainline reflexive. When plural, the reflexive object may have a reciprocative meaning instead of a reflexive one. A mainline reflexive/reciprocative verb object reflects the *person* and *number* information of the subject. There is, then, no need for the object to repeat this information, and Nahuatl does not do so except in the first person.

1. Subposition  $va^1$  is the locus of the categories of person and number.

**n** = 1st singular

**t** = 1st plural

**m** = nonfirst common

2. Subposition  $va^2$  is the locus of the *objective*-case feature, which is manifested by the morph **o**. When the verbstem begins with a vowel, however, the **o** morph is replaced by the irregular morph □ (but see § 7.8.4, note).

6.7. *Summary of Personal Pronouns in the Mainline Reflexive-Object Function.* The morphic dyads in the following paradigm are automatic equivalents to the English translations indicated.



**+n-o**( ~ **+n-□**( = “+1sg-reflexobj(” = myself

**+t-o**( ~ **+t-□**( = “+1pl-reflexobj(” = ourselves; one another

**+m-o**( ~ **+n-□**( = “+nonfirst-reflexobj(” = yourself; himself/herself/itself; yourselves, one another; themselves, one another

## LESSON 7

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### Verbstem Classes

7.1. *Morphemic Structure of Verbstems.* As stated in § 5.5.1, a verbstem is the locus for the lexical meaning expressed by a VNC. The verbstem may be monomorphemic (i.e., consist of a single morpheme):

(**ye**) = to be

(**miqui**) = to die

(**chōca**) = to cry

(**temō**) = to descend

A much greater number of verbstems, however, are polymorphemic (i.e., consist of more than one morpheme). When this is the case, an analyzed stem shows its constituent morphs isolated by hyphens (as with all position-internal constituents). Be advised, however, that the morphs of an analyzed stem will not be glossed individually; the translation given will be of the stem as a unified whole.

(**chol-o-ā**) = *lit.*, to use hooves; i.e., to bound away, to jump, to flee [formed from (**chol**)-**li**-, “hoof”]

(**tzin-ti**) = *lit.*, to have buttocks; i.e., to have a foundation, to have a beginning [< (**tzin**)-**tli**-, “anus, buttock”]

(**izta-ya**) = *lit.*, to become like salt; i.e., to be(come) white [< (**izta**)-**tl**-, “salt”]

(**chip-ā-hua**) = to become clean

(**patl-ā-ni**) = to fly

In a given instance the meaning of a stem-internal morpheme may not be known, even if its existence is absolutely established by morphological analysis. The morphs (**chip-**) and (**patl-**) in the last two verbstems above are examples of this. In the instance of (**patl-**), its existence is verified by its participation in the verbstem (**patl-ā-hua**), “to become extended, to become spread out, to become wide” as well as by the fact that **-ā-ni** occurs in a large number of similarly formed intransitive verbstems; thus, while we can surmise that (**patl-ā-ni**) contains the notion of widespread wings, the exact meaning of (**patl-**) remains uncertain. As for (**chip-**), its meaning is even less ascertainable, although its existence as a morph is equally justifiable. In certain verbstems the hyphenation indicating morphic boundaries may seem excessive, as,

for example, in (**ā-l-ti-ā**), “to bathe,” but each constituent morph can be justified by contrastive analysis.

7.2. *The Citation Form of Verbstems.* If Nahuatl were like English or Spanish, one could cite a verbstem without mentioning its valence or, in problematic instances, use notations such as *tr.* (transitive), *intr.* (intransitive), etc. Nahuatl, however, is quite unlike English or Spanish. Knowing the valence of a verbstem is essential, since Nahuatl is extremely strict about expressing it in almost every instance of a verbcore. It is, therefore, important not to cite the verbstem but, rather, the verbcore (i.e., the valence-plus-stem unit). This was a fact that Molina, in his dictionary, understood very well, and he always gave the verb-object pronouns that the verbstem required for each entry. Subsequent lexicographers and grammarians have ignored the need for including this information.

In recognition of the importance of the verbcore, every verbstem in these lessons will be cited with the verb object appropriate to it, with the verb-object prefixes **tē** and **tlā** representing any human or nonhuman projective-object pronoun, the morphic dyad **m-o** (or **m-□**) representing any mainline reflexive-object pronoun, and the first-person plural morphic dyad **t-o** (or **t-□**) representing any mainline human reciprocative-object pronoun. The following are examples of the way in which citation forms for verbs will be treated:

**(chōca)** = to cry [intransitive]

**tē-(nōtza)** = to call s.o. [projective transitive, human object]

**tlā-(chīhua)** = to make s.th. [projective transitive, nonhuman object]

**m-o-(zōmā)** = to frown in anger [reflexive transitive with consonant-initial or supportive [i]-initial stem]

**m-□-(ē-hu-a)** = to get up [reflexive transitive with “real” vowel-initial stem]

**t-o-(tlā-zo-h-tlā)** = to love one another [human reciprocative transitive with consonant-initial or supportive [i]-initial stem]

**t-□-(īx-nāmiqui)** = to contend with one another [human reciprocative-transitive with “real” vowel-initial stem]

7.3. *Verbstem Classes.* Verbstems belong to one of four classes, depending on the nature of their perfective stems. These may have morphic-carrier shapes either identical to or different from those of the basic shape of their imperfective-stem counterparts. Difference depends on what happens to the stem-final vowel of the imperfective stem.

#### 1. The *perfective* stem and verbstem classes.

Class A: There are two subclasses in Class A. When the imperfective stem’s final vowel is short, the imperfective stem and the perfective stem have the same morphic-carrier shape: e.g., **(chōca)** > **(chōca)**; **(ihza)** > **(ihza)**. This is Class A-1.

When the imperfective stem’s final vowel is a long /o:/ or /i:/, there are two perfective stem shapes, one of which is identical to the imperfective stem and the other of which ends in a short vowel: e.g., **(temō)** > **(temō)** ~ **(temo)**; **(ehcō)** > **(ehcō)** ~ **(ehco)**. This is Class A-2.

Class B: There are two kinds of Class B stems, depending on whether the vowel of the imperfective stem's final "CV" (consonant + vowel) syllable (which is always preceded by a vowel) is merely part of a morpheme or is a morpheme in its own right. In the first kind, the final vowel simply disappears in the perfective stem: e.g., (**yōli**) > (**yōl**); **tla-(chihua)** ~ **tla-(chiuh)**. In the second kind, the final vowel is the causative morpheme /a/ (see, for example, § 24.3), which in the perfective stem is represented by the irregular (silently present) morphic carrier [□]: e.g., **tla-(tom-a)** > **tla-(ton-□)**. Notice that a perfective stem with a disappeared vowel and one with a silently-present morph can be phonologically identical: e.g., (**tomi**) > (**ton**) and **tla-(tom-a)** > **tla-(ton-□)**. The absence or presence of the verb-object pronoun distinguishes the two perfective stems. In the analyzed forms given in these lessons, the silently-present causative morph will not be indicated (i.e., the second kind of class B perfective stem will be analyzed as if it were the first kind). This is done in order to simplify the analysis of complicated stems to be presented in later lessons.

Class C: The imperfective stem of Class C verbs always ends in a final /a:/ preceded by either /o/ or /i/. The perfective stem *replaces* the /a:/ with a glottal stop: e.g., (**chol-o-ā**) > (**chol-o-h**); **tē-(ā-l-ti-ā)** > **tē-(ā-l-ti-h)**.

Class D: The imperfective stem of Class D verbs always ends in a syllable consisting of a consonant and /a:/. The perfective stem *adds* a glottal stop after the /a:/. This vowel is thereby obligatorily shortened: e.g., (**yā**) > (**yah**).

2. The *imperfective* stem and verbstem classes. While a *perfective* stem has only one shape (except for that of Class A-2 verbs), an *imperfective* stem may have one, two, or four different shapes depending on its verbstem class.

Class A imperfective stem: If the final vowel is short, there is only one shape: e.g., (**chōca**). If the final vowel is long, there are two shapes: e.g., (**temō**) ~ (**temo**).

Class B imperfective stem: only one shape: e.g., (**yōli**); **tla-(tom-a)**.

Class C imperfective stem: four shapes: e.g., (**chol-o-ā**) ~ (**chol-o-a**) ~ (**chol-ō**) ~ (**chol-o**); **tē-(ā-l-ti-ā)** ~ **tē-(ā-l-ti-a)** ~ **tē-(ā-l-tī)** ~ **tē-(ā-l-ti)**.

Class D imperfective stem, two shapes: e.g., (**yā**) ~ (**ya**).

In the instance of Class C and Class D verbs, the shape of the imperfective stem is correlated with the tense morphs as demonstrated in § 7.7. In these two classes the stems with short vowels occur only when vocable final or when followed by the plural number dyad **θ-h**. This means, for example, that the truncated Class C imperfective stem with a short final vowel occurs only in the three singular forms of the nonpast optative; see § 7.7. The imperfective stem of Class A verbs with a long stem-final vowel has a short vowel in the same circumstances, but also in all forms of the nonpast admonitive.

*Note:* The final /a:/ of Class C verbs is the carrier of a derivational morph, and therefore the two "truncated" shapes of the imperfective stem (e.g., (**chol-ō**) and (**chol-o**)) should be represented with a silently present variant (e.g., (**chol-ō-□**) and (**chol-o-□**)). In a more technical presentation this variant would always be indicated in analyzed forms, but in these lessons, because of morphological complexities to be presented later, the irregular sigic carrier will not be represented.

7.4. *Changes in Class B Perfective Stems.* With Class B perfective stems, the loss or silencing of the final vowel of the imperfective stem entails spelling changes in certain instances; in other instances, it entails phonological changes, as demonstrated in the following examples:

1. Spelling changes (see § 2.4):

/k/: **-qu-** > **-c-** (**miqui**) > (**mic**)

/s/: **-c-** > **-z-** (**nēci**) > (**nēz**)

2. Phonological changes (see Lesson 2):

/w/ > [w̥]: (**cē-hui**) > (**cē-uh**)

/kʷ/: **tla-(tzacu-a)** > **tla-(tzauc)**

/m/ > [m̥]: (**nemi**) > (**nen**)

/y/ > [š]: (**tlaōco-ya**) > (**tlaōco-x**)

Or, if the root of a **ya**-stem contains an /s/ sound, frequently the change is:

/y/ > [s]: (**cel-i-ya**) > (**cel-i-z**); (**izta-ya**) > (**izta-z**).

*Remark:* The failure of traditional spelling to represent an intervocalic /w/ in the sequence /owa/ and an intervocalic /y/ in the sequences /iya/, /iye/, /eya/, and /ayi/ in the imperfective stem obscures the operation of these phonological changes. For example:

**tla-(zōhua)** [traditionally spelled **tla-(zoa)**] > **tla-(zōuh)**

**tē-(chiya)** [traditionally spelled **te-(chia)**] > **tē-(chix)**

**tē-(chiye)** [traditionally spelled **te-(chie)**] > **tē-(chix)**

**(ce-ya)** [traditionally spelled **(cea)** and **(cia)**] > **(ce-ya)** ~ **(ce-z)**

**tla-(āyi)** [traditionally spelled **tla-(ai)**] > **tla-(āx)**

Furthermore, the traditional spellings **oa** and **ia** mislead one into thinking that the verb belongs to Class C.

7.5. *Variable Class Membership.* Certain verbs, the majority of which have an intransitive valence, may be nondistinctively either Class A or Class B; i.e., they have alternative formations for the perfective stem:

(**yēc-ti-ya**) > (**yēc-ti-ya**) ~ (**yēc-ti-x**)

(**cel-i-ya**) > (**cel-i-ya**) ~ (**cel-i-z**)

(**ē-hua**) > (**ē-hua**) ~ (**ē-uh**)

7.6. *Guidelines for Determining Verbstem-Class Membership.* Although, as has been stated, the perfective stem cannot be predicted in the majority of cases, there are, nevertheless, rules that govern the formation in certain instances.

1. Monosyllabic verbstems ending in long /a:/ belong to Class D (see § 7.6.8 and § 11.5.2); otherwise, monosyllabic verbstems belong to Class A.

**tla-(pī)** > **tla-(pī)**

**tla-(cui)** > **tla-(cui)**

**tla-(ī)** > **tla-(ī)**

**m-o-(zō)** > **m-o-(zō)**

(**o**) > (**o**)

\*(**ā**) > (**ā**) [See § 11.4.4; this is an exception.]

2. Verbstems whose final vowel is preceded by two consonants or by a long consonant belong to Class A:

<b>(tzīn-ti) &gt; (tzīn-ti)</b>	<b>(iuc-ci) &gt; (iuc-ci)</b>
<b>(pil-ca) &gt; (pil-ca)</b>	<b>(chihcha) &gt; (chihcha)</b>
<b>tla-(itqui) &gt; tla-(itqui)</b>	<b>(tzahtzi) &gt; (tzahtzi)</b>
<b>(ix-hui) &gt; (ix-hui)</b>	<b>tē-(itt-a) &gt; tē-(itt-a)</b>

3. Verbstems whose final syllable is /ka/ belong to Class A:

<b>(po-pō-ca) &gt; (po-pō-ca)</b>	<b>tē-(toca) &gt; tē-(toca)</b>
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But **tla-(pāca)** may also belong to Class B:

<b>tla-(pāca) &gt; tla-(pāca) ~ tla-(pāc)</b>
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4. Verbstems whose final syllable is /la/ belong to Class A:

<b>(tla-tla) &gt; (tla-tla)</b>	<b>tla-(mōtla) &gt; tla-(mōtla)</b>
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5. Intransitive Verbstems that end in /wa/ and signify change belong to Class A:

<b>(tom-ā-hua) &gt; (tom-ā-hua) = to become plump</b>
<b>(chip-ā-hua) &gt; (chip-ā-hua) = to become clean</b>

6. Verbstems whose final syllable is /ya/ belong to Class B. The /y/ changes to [š] (see § 7.4.2):

<b>tla-(yōcoya) &gt; tla-(yōcox)</b>	<b>tla-(ō-ya) &gt; tla-(ō-x)</b>
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But verbstems ending in /ya/ with a root that contains an /s/ sound change the /y/ to [s] (see § 7.4.2):

<b>(izta-ya) &gt; (izta-z)</b>	<b>(cel-i-ya) &gt; (cel-i-z)</b>
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Intransitive verbstems ending in /ya/ usually have the option of also belonging to Class A:

<b>(izta-ya) &gt; (izta-ya) ~ (izta-z)</b>
<b>(chichi-ya) &gt; (chichi-ya) ~ (chichi-x)</b>

7. Verbs ending in /o/ or /o:/ belong to Class A:

<b>(o) &gt; (o)</b>	<b>(tlehcō) &gt; (tlehcō)</b>
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8. The following eight verbstems belong to Class D:

<b>tla-(cuā) &gt; tla-(cuah) = to eat s.th.</b>
<b>tla-(mā) &gt; tla-(mah) = to hunt s.th., to capture s.th.</b>
<b>tla-(pā) &gt; tla-(pah) = to dye s.th.</b>
<b>tla-(ihuā) &gt; tla-(ihuah) = to send s.th. (i.e., a message)</b>
<b>tla-(māmā) &gt; tla-(māmah) = to carry s.th. on one's back [There is a variant stem tla-(mēmē) &gt; tla-(mēmeh).]</b>
<b>tla-(nāhuā) &gt; tla-(nāhuah) = to embrace s.th.</b>
<b>(yā) &gt; (yah) = to go [See § 11.5.2.]</b>
<b>m-o-(zōmā) &gt; m-o-(zōmah) = to frown in anger</b>

7.7. *Summary of the Core-and-Tense Constituents in the Formation of a VNC Predicate.* The following charts of VNC predicates illustrate the variation in the shape of the Stem in reaction

to the Tense morphs (see § 5.4.2). The stem variants are shown on different lines. The total number of stem shapes (imperfective and perfective together) is stated for each stem class. It is essential to study these predicate formations with care, becoming thoroughly acquainted with them. They cooperate with the subject pronouns presented in § 5.4 to form VNCs.

In the charts the predicates to the left of the double-line division show indicative tenses, those to the right either optative or admonitive tenses. These predicates are displayed in the paradigms of VNCs in Appendix A.

Class A Verbal Predicates. When the stem-final vowel is short, only one stem shape is used. [(**chōca**), “to cry.” This is a Class A-1 stem.]

1. On the imperfective stem:

Indicative				Optative	
present	cust.pres.	imperfect	future	nonpast	past
( <b>chōca</b> )∅+	( <b>chōca</b> )ca+	( <b>chōca</b> )ya+	( <b>chōca</b> )z+	( <b>chōca</b> )∅+	( <b>chōca</b> )ni+

2. On the perfective stem:

Indicative		Admonitive
preterit	dist.past	nonpast
( <b>chōca</b> )∅+	( <b>chōca</b> )ca+	( <b>chōca</b> )h+

When the stem-final vowel is a long /o:/ or a long /i:/, two stem shapes are used. The two occur in both the imperfective and the perfective aspects. [(**temō**), “to descend.” This is a Class A-2 stem.]

1. On the imperfective stem:

Indicative				Optative	
present	cust.pres.	imperfect	future	nonpast	past
	( <b>temō</b> )ni+	( <b>temō</b> )ya+	( <b>temō</b> )z+	( <b>temō</b> )∅+	( <b>temō</b> )ni+
( <b>temo</b> )∅+				( <b>temo</b> )∅+	

2. On the perfective stem:

Indicative		Admonitive
preterit	dist.past	nonpast
( <b>temō</b> )∅+	( <b>temō</b> )ca+	
		( <b>temo</b> )h

Class B Verbal Predicates. Two stem shapes are used. [(**yōli**), “to live”]

1. On the imperfective stem:

Indicative				Optative	
present	cust.pres.	imperfect	future	nonpast	past
(yōli)θ+	(yōli)ni+	(yōli)ya+	(yōli)z+	(yōli)θ+	(yōli)ni+

2. On the perfective stem:

Indicative		Admonitive
preterit	dist.past	nonpast
(yōl)θ+	(yōl)ca+	(yōl)θ+

Class C Verbal Predicates. Five stem shapes are used. [(chol-o-ā), “to flee”]

1. On the imperfective stem:

Indicative				Optative	
present	cust.pres.	imperfect	future	nonpast	past
	(chol-o-ā)ni+	(chol-o-ā)ya+			(chol-o-ā)ni+
(chol-o-a)θ+					
			(chol-ō)z+	(chol-ō)θ+	
				(chol-o)θ+	

2. On the perfective stem:

Indicative		Admonitive
preterit	dist.past	nonpast
(chol-o-h)θ+	(chol-o-h)ca+	(chol-o-h)θ+

Class D Verbal Predicates. Three stem shapes are used. [tla-(cuā), “to eat s.th.”]

1. On the imperfective stem:

Indicative				Optative	
present	cust.pres.	imperfect	future	nonpast	past
	+tla(cuā)ni+	+tla(cuā)ya+	+tla(cuā)z+	+tla(cuā)θ+	+tla(cuā)ni+
+tla(cua)θ+				+tla(cua)θ+	

2. On the perfective stem:

Indicative		Admonitive
preterit	dist.past	nonpast
+tla(cuah)θ+	+tla(cuah)ca+	+tla(cuah)θ+



7.8. *Analysis and Translation of VNCs.* Now that all the components of VNCs have been presented, examples of complete forms can finally be given. In order to demonstrate the importance of the subject-plus-predicate structure OBLIGATORILY occurring in *all* VNCs, the first example in each verbstem class includes an analysis according to the diagrammatic format. This format effectively forces one to recognize the absolute division between the subject and predicate constituents. All examples are in the indicative mode (optative and admonitive VNCs are presented in Lessons 9 and 10).

In the linear format the morphic-carrier analysis is followed by the morphic-content analysis, which is followed by the translation. (The constituent morphic carriers of a stem are not glossed individually; instead, the unified translation value of the stem as a whole is given.) In the diagrammatic format the morphic-carrier analysis is followed by a function-unit analysis, which is followed by a translational equivalent. In the latter format the morphic-carrier segments are only *representatives* of morphs since the morphic-content segments are not given.

1. VNCs formed on Class A verbstems:

**tichicāhuaz = #ti-θ(chic-ā-hua)z+□-θ#**, “#2sg-nom(become-strong)fut+con-sg#” = you (sg) will become strong

<b>#ti-θ(. . . +□-θ#</b>	Subject	= you (sg)
<b>(chic-ā-hua)</b>	Core	= become strong
<b>)z+</b>	Tns	= in the future
	} Predicate	

Other examples:

**titemōqueh = #ti-θ(temō)θ+qu-eh#**, “#1pl-nom(descend)pret+con-pl#” = we descended  
**quimittacah = #θ-θ+qu-im(itt-a)ca+θ-h#**, “#3-nom+3obj-pl(see)distpast+con-pl#” = they saw them; they had seen them

**namēchtlazohtla = #n-θ+am-ēch(tla-zo-h-tla)θ+θ-θ#**, “#1sg-nom+2pl-obj(love)pres+con-sg#” = I love you (pl)

2. VNCs formed on Class B verbstems:

**ancochayah = #an-θ(cochi)ya+θ-h#**, “#2pl-nom(sleep)imperf+con-pl#” = you (pl) used to sleep, you (pl) were sleeping

<b>#an-θ(. . . +θ-h#</b>	Subject	= you (pl)
<b>(cochi)</b>	Core	= sleep
<b>)ya+</b>	Tns	= customarily in the past
	} Predicate	

Other examples:

**miccah = #θ-θ(mic)ca+θ-h#**, “#3-nom(die)distpast+con-pl#” = they had died

**niquīz** = #ni-θ(quīz)θ+□-θ#, “#1sg-nom(exit)pret+con-sg#” = I went out [Occasionally ambiguous VNCs occur, i.e., two phonologically identical vocables can have different morphological structure: **niquīz** can also represent #ni-θ+qu-θ(i)z+□-θ#, “#1sg-nom+3obj-sg(drink)fut+con-sg#” = “I shall drink it.”]

**tiquīzaz** = #ti-θ(quīza)z+□-θ#, “#2sg-nom(exit)fut+con-sg#” = you will go out

3. VNCs formed on class C verbstems:

**tītōlohqueh** = #ti-θ(tōl-o-h)θ+qu-eh#, “#1pl-nom(nod-the-head)pret+con-pl#,” we nodded our heads, we bowed our heads

#ti-θ(. . . +qu-eh#	Subject	} Predicate	= we = nod the head = at a past moment
(tōl-o-h)	Core		
)θ+	Tns		

Other examples:

**tītītōnīzqueh** = #ti-θ+t-□(ī-tōn-ī)z+qu-eh#, “#1pl-nom+1pl-reflexobj(cause-become-sweaty)fut+con-pl#” = we shall sweat

**nictlālīāni** = #ni-θ+c-θ(tlāl-i-ā)ni+θ-θ#, “#1sg-nom+3obj-sg(set-down)custpres+con-sg#” = I customarily set it/them down

**quiceliha** = #θ-θ+qui-θ(ce-lih)ca+θ-θ#, “#3-nom+3obj-sg(receive)distpast+con-sg#” = he/she received it/them (long ago); he/she had received it/them

4. VNCs formed on class D verbstems:

**amēchmahcah** = #θ-θ+am-ēch(mah)ca+θ-h#, #3-nom+2pl-obj(capture)distpast+con-pl#” = they captured you (pl) (long ago); they had captured you (pl)

#θ-θ+. . . +θ-h#	Subject	} Predicate	= they = capture you (pl) = at a past prior to another event
+am-ēch(mah)	Core		
)ca+	Tns		

Other examples:

**nitlacuāni** = #ni-θ+tla(cuā)ni+θ-θ#, “#1sg-nom+s.th.(eat)custpres+con-sg#” = I customarily eat things, I customarily eat

**anquipah** = #an-θ+qui-θ(pa)θ+θ-h#, “#2pl-nom+3obj-sg(dye)pres+con-pl#” = you (pl) are dyeing it/them

**ticmāmāya** = #ti-θ+c-θ(māmā)ya+θ-θ#, “#2sg-nom+3obj-sg(carry-on-the-back)cust-past+con-sg#” = you (sg) used to carry it/them on your back; you (sg) were carrying it/them on your back

*Note 1:* When the mainline reflexive object is prefixed to a verbstem whose initial vowel is merely a supportive [i], the [i] is no longer needed and is omitted. (In order to save space, from this point on the analyzed versions of VNCs will represent morphs by the morphic-carrier segments alone. The student should constantly be conscious of the matching morphic-content segments needed for a full morphic analysis and should supply them as in the above examples.)

**ninotta** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +n-o(tt-a) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I see myself

Contrast this situation with one in which the initial vowel of the stem is real:

**ninināya** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +n- $\square$ (ināya) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I hide myself; I hide

Those verbstems that have a supportive [i] for an initial vowel lose it after the nonspecific nonhuman projective object **tla**:

**nitlatqui** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +tla(tqui) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I carry s.th., I carry things

This does not happen after the nonspecific human projective object **tē**:

**nitēitta** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +tē(itt-a) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I see s.o., I see people [Contrast **nitlatta** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +tla(tt-a) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = “I see s.th., I see things.”]

The matter is not always as clear-cut as the foregoing remarks imply. Some verbstems are inconsistent (especially those beginning with **ih-**); the stem-initial **i** is now a supportive [i] (e.g., it disappears after **tla**) and now a real /i/ (e.g., it remains after the reflexive object pronoun and forces its *va*<sup>2</sup> morphic carrier **o** to shift to its variant  $\square$ ):

**tla-(iht-o-ā)** > **tlahtoa** = he says s.th.

*but:* m- $\square$ -(iht-o-ā) > **mihtoa** = it says itself; i.e., it is said

**tla-(ihchiqui)** > **tlahchiqui** = he scrapes s.th. (e.g., the heart of the maguey plant)

*but:* m- $\square$ -(ihchiqui) > **ninihchiqui** = I scratch my back (against a wall, a post, etc.)

Some stems are downright ambivalent:

**tla-(ihcequi)** > **tlahcequi** } = he toasts s.th. (maize kernels, peas, etc.) on a comal  
**tla-(ihcequi)** > **tlaihcequi** }

It is possible that this kind of ambivalence is due to dialectal difference.

*Note 2:* Although morphologically different, the first-person plural present indicative and the second-person singular preterit VNCs built on a Class D verbstem are phonologically identical, as are the third-person plural present indicative and the third-person singular preterit indicative VNCs built on Class D verbstems.

**titlacuah** = #ti- $\emptyset$ +tla(cua) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -h# = we eat, we are eating

**titlacuah** = #ti- $\emptyset$ +tla(cuah) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = you (sg) ate

**tlacuah** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tla(cua) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -h# = they eat, they are eating

**tlacuah** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tla(cuah) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = he/she ate

In a text that does not indicate glottal stops (see Appendix F), care must be taken to avoid confusing the singular VNCs in the present tense and the preterit tense when the verbstem belongs to Class D. Without the distinguishing presence of the antecessive order prefix (which is optional; see § 3.2.4 and § 8.3), a VNC such as **nitlacua** in such a text may represent the preterit as easily as the present, thus offering the two translational possibilities, “I ate” and “I am eating.”

**7.9. Summary: The Relationship of Indefinite and Personal-Pronoun Objects.** The indefinite pronouns **tē** and **tla** have the following relationships with the specific reflexive and projective personal pronouns. As the translation of the indefinites shows, “indefinite” ranges from nonspecific or vague to total (and the totality can be absolute or limited to a particular group).

1. The human object specified:

a. **nitēitta** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +tē(itt-a) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I see s.o./people/everyone

b. **ninotta** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +n-o(tt-a) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I see myself

**nimitzitta** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +m-itz(itt-a) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I see you (sg)

**niquitta** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +qu- $\emptyset$ (itt-a) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I see him/her

**nitēchitta** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +t-ēch(itt-a) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I see us

**namēchitta** = #n-θ+am-ēch(itt-a)θ+θ-θ# = I see you (pl)

**niquimitta** = #ni-θ+qu-im(itt-a)θ+θ-θ# = I see them

If the VNC in item *a* had been **titēitta** (“you (sg) see s.o.”), the specific-object VNCs in item *b* would have been **tinēchitta** (“you see me”), **timotta** (“you see yourself”), etc. If the subject in item *a* had been plural, e.g., **titēittah** (“we see s.o.”), the reflexive plural VNC in item *b* would have included the possibility of a reciprocative meaning: **titottah** = “we see ourselves” or “we see one another.”

2. The nonhuman object specified:

*a.* **nitlatta** = #ni-θ+tla(tt-a)θ+θ-θ# = I see s.th./things/everything

*b.* **niquitta** = #ni-θ+qu-θ(itt-a)θ+θ-θ# = I see it (animate or nonanimate); I see them (nonanimate)

**niquimitta** = #ni-θ+qu-im(itt-a)θ+θ-θ# = I see them (animate)

7.10. *Tla Fusion.* The nonspecific-object pronoun **tla** can in certain instances be fused so tightly to the transitive stem that a process of derivation takes place and the two elements (**tla** and the transitive stem) are no longer two separate items but rather one single unit. The result of this **tla** fusion is a new verbstem, an intransitive one. For example, **nitlachiya** (“I am looking”) is not analyzed as #ni-θ+tla(chiya)θ+θ-θ# but rather as #ni-θ(tla-chiya)θ+θ-θ#. Since **tla** fusion is a derivational process, the meaning of the derived stem is different from that of the source stem (translation may have difficulty showing this).

**tla-(pāca)** = to wash s.th. > (**tla-pāca**) = to do the laundry

**tla-(man-a)** = to set s.th. down flat > (**tla-man-a**) = to make an oblation

**tla-(icza)** = to step on s.th. > (**tla-cza**) = to speed along

It is sometimes difficult to know whether this fusion has taken place, that is, whether one is dealing with a transitive stem or a derived intransitive one. Fortunately, the decision is frequently of no great consequence:

**tla-(iht-o-ā)** = to say s.th. > (**tla-ht-o-ā**) = to speak

Context may serve as a guide. One clear test is the position of an incorporated adverb; because it is bound to the front of a verbstem, it indicates the leftmost boundary of the compound stem (see § 30.5); therefore, if an adverb precedes **tla** in the VNC, the **tla** is part of the verbstem. Contrast the following:

**Nitlahuelmati.** = #ni-θ+tla(huel-mati)θ+θ-θ# = I enjoy s.th.

**Nihuellamati.** = #ni-θ(huel-la-mati)θ+θ-θ# = I am contented. [l/ + /ʌ > [ll]; see § 2.10.

For **huel** see § 44.5.2.]

## LESSON 8

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### Further Remarks on VNCs. Basic Sentences

8.1. *The Expanded VNC.* The basic VNC, which consists entirely of obligatory constituents, can be expanded by the addition of three kinds of (optional) prefixal constituents. The first kind creates the only true expansion, since it occurs *inside* the boundaries of a VNC. The other two result in only seeming expansions, since they occur *outside* a VNC's boundaries. All three are adverbial modifiers. One deals with direction or location, another with temporal precedence, and another with negation.

1. The directional/locative prefix. When a verbstem reports movement, a prefix can be added inside the VNC to specify *direction* toward or away from the speaker; when no movement is involved, the prefix can specify *location* of the action, event, etc., near to or distant from the speaker.

There are two possible morphic fillers, one representing the notion of DISTANCE, the other that of PROXIMITY.

**on** = (distance) thither, in that direction, away; there

**huāl** = (proximity) hither, in this direction; here

Other possible translations are: “go and . . .,” “come and . . .,” “go (in order) to . . .,” “come (in order) to . . .” (see § 29.7). At times English does not translate these prefixes literally, but their presence often changes the translation value of the stem: **huāl** changes the notion of going into that of coming; **on** intensifies the notion of movement onward, away.

The prefix functions as an adverbial modifier of the predicate and is therefore positioned inside it, forming part of the core.

In an intransitive VNC, the prefix is placed in front of the stem: the formula for the verb-core is . . .**±D(STEM)**. . . [**±** = a morphic boundary indicating that the following constituent is optionally present; **D** = directional/locative prefix.]

**huālcholoa** = #**θ-θ+huāl(chol-o-a)θ+θ-θ#** = it is fleeing hither, it is bounding in this direction

**tonpanōzqueh** = #**t-θ+on(panō)z+qu-eh#** = we will cross over thither [Also spelled **tompanōzqueh**, as it is pronounced.]

**nonmati** = #n- $\theta$ +on(mati) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I am knowledgeable thither; i.e., I know how to get there, I know the way there [Also spelled **nommati**, as it is pronounced.]

In a transitive VNC, the prefix is placed *in front of* a monadic valence position filled with **tē** or **tla** or a dyadic position filled with a mainline reflexive/reciprocativ pronoun: the formula for the verbcore is . . .  $\pm D+va(\text{STEM})$  . . . or . . .  $\pm D+va^1-va^2(\text{STEM})$  . . . [In the latter,  $va^1-va^2$  must be filled by a reflexive/reciprocativ pronoun.]

**nihuāllattac** = #ni- $\theta$ +huāl+la(tt-a) $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ # = I came and saw (things) [/*l*/ + /*l*'/ > [ll]; see § 2.10.]

**ontēahciz** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ +on+tē(ahci)z+ $\square$ - $\theta$ # = he will go and overtake s.o.

**amonmāltihcah** = #am+on+m- $\square$ (ā-l-ti-h)ca+ $\square$ -h-# = you had bathed (yourselves) there [The **nm** is frequently spelled **mm** as it is pronounced.]

If the transitive VNC has a dyadic valence position filled with a *specific* projective pronoun, the direction prefix is placed *after* the valence position: . . .  $va^1-va^2\pm D(\text{STEM})$  . . .

**tiquimonittayah** = #ti- $\theta$ +qu-im+on(itt-a)ya+ $\theta$ -h-# = we used to go to see them

The supportive vowel [i] on a *pers*<sup>1</sup> morph is replaced by [o] when followed by the  $va^1-va^2$  dyadic filler c- $\theta$  when this is followed by the directional prefix on; that is to say:

#ni- $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ +on. . . > #no- $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ +on. . .

#ti- $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ +on. . . > #to- $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ +on. . .

#xi- $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ +on. . . > #xo- $\theta$ -c- $\theta$ +on. . .

For example:

**noconitta** = #no- $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ +on(itt-a) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I am going to see him/her/it [Or if the object is nonanimate: “it/them.”]

**toconihuānih** = #to- $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ +on(ihuā)ni+ $\theta$ -h-# = we customarily send him thither as a messenger

With the verb **tē-** ~ **tla-** (*itt-a*), “to see s.o./s.th.,” **nocon-**, **tocon-**, and **xocon-** have the option of deleting the /n/ of **on**. The resulting **noco-**, **toco-**, and **xoco-** entail the dismissal of the supportive [i] of the verbstem; e.g., **nocotta** = #no- $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ +o(tt-a) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = “I am going to see him/her/it.” The formation is rare.

Two verbstems are exceptional in that they have fused the directional/locative prefix to the front of the stem due to the high frequency of their association with it:

(o) > (o) = to lie, to be recumbent, to recline > (on-o) > (on-o) = to lie there, to be lying there, to be recumbent there (see § 11.4.2). The strength of the fusion can be seen in such compound stems as (**chān-on-o**), “to reside at home.”

(yā) > (yah) = to go > (**huāl-lā**) > (**huāl-lah**) = to come [/*l*/ + /*y*/ [ll]; see § 2.10. Both the source stem and the derived stem are irregular; see §§ 11.5.2 and 11.5.3.]

*Note 1:* At times even with a nonstative verbstem, a locative translation sounds better in English.

**amēchhuāllālih** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ +am-ēch+huāl(lāl-i-h) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$ # = he placed you (pl) here [tē-(tlāl-i-ā), “to place/establish s.o.”]

*Note 2:* Some grammarians (including Carochi) have said that **on** is used at times merely as an embellishment. Such a statement reflects translational mirage; i.e., since Spanish and English at times have no need to translate **on**, it is easy to believe that in these instances it contributes none of its usual meaning to the VNC. For example, one translates both **naqui** and **nonaqui** as “I fit in” and both **tlami** and **ontlami** as “it becomes finished,” “it ends,” but this does not mean that the **on** is merely “decorative” in these and similar instances. Its directional/locative meaning, as much as that of **huāl** (against which this charge is not leveled) is too distinctive to fade away into meaningless embellishment. To bring translation in as a witness to this alleged meaninglessness is mere linguentric folly. The prefix **on** obviously conveys a meaning to a native speaker that is lacking in a VNC without it. Untranslatable meaning does not mean absence of meaning.

*Remark:* Certain Nahuatl verbs of motion may have a bidirectionality not shared by their English glosses. For example, (**huetzi**) is usually translated as “to fall,” but that it is not limited to a downward motion is seen in the fact that **huāl-(huetzi)**, besides meaning “to fall from a height,” can also mean “to float upward.” Nor is falling involved in the compound verbstem **huāl-(pan-huetzi)**, “to rise to the surface,” or **on-(pan-huetzi)**, “to climb to the top/to reach the top.” As these examples suggest, a directional prefix can resolve the question of bidirectionality (at times, the context must give additional information). But **huāl** or **on** can help only if the direction is on an axis toward or away from the speaker. Otherwise, some other means of deciding (e.g., logic, context) must be relied on. For example, the compound verbstem **m-o-(ixi-toca)**, “to follow o.s. by means of foot(prints),” can mean only “to retrace one’s steps,” and metaphorically “to examine one’s conscience or past actions,” while **tē-(ixi-toca)**, “to follow s.o. by means of foot(prints),” usually means “to track s.o./to go in pursuit of s.o.,” but with **tla-(ixi-toca)** the direction of movement depends on the meaning of the object pronoun. If **tla** has an animate referent, the verbstem is usually translated “to go in pursuit of s.th.,” but if it refers to a piece of writing or a painting, the verbstem has the metaphorical meaning “to go back over s.th.,” i.e., “to proofread/scrutinize s.th.” and, possibly, “to correct s.th.” [For compound verbstems, see Lesson 30.]

2. The antecessive-order prefix. The antecessive-order particle **ō#** (see § 3.2.4) is a prefixal constituent that stands outside the leftward boundary of a VNC or one of the VNC’s forelying clausemates, so it is quite different from the prefixes in subsection 1 in that it is not an adverbial modifier of the predicate of a VNC but of the entire VNC or even of the group constituted by a VNC plus one or more of its adverbial modifiers.

The prefixal particle **ō#** associates only with VNCs that manifest a past tense. When the VNC is in the indicative mood, the tense is therefore either preterit, distant past, or (less frequently) imperfect. The particle shows that the action, process, or state reported by the verbstem has taken place prior to another event. Its basic meaning is similar to “already,” but it is never actually translated as such (the more widely usable particle **ye** is the one translated “already”). The use of **ō#** is always optional with an indicative-mood tense, but when it does occur, it is frequently appropriate to translate the VNC into English by a perfect-tense form.

**ōquīz** = **ō#θ-θ(quīz)θ+□-θ#** = he exited, he has exited, he will have exited

**ōmiccah** = **ō#θ-θ(mic)ca+θ-h#** = they had died

**ōoncholoāya** = **ō#θ-θ+on(chol-o-ā)ya+θ-θ#** = he was bounding away/fleeing, he has been fleeing

Since the particle lies outside the boundary of the VNC formula, it has no impact on the shape or spelling of the third-person objective-case morph in the **va**<sup>1</sup> subposition.

**ōcahhuaqueh** = **ō#θ-θ+c-θ(ahhua)θ+qu-eh#** = they scolded/have scolded him/her

**ōquīc** = **ō#θ-θ+qu-θ(i)θ+c-θ#** = he/she drank it, he/she has drunk it

**ōquipōuh** = **ō#θ-θ+qui-θ(pōuh)θ+□-θ#** = he/she counted it/them, he/she has counted it/them

While the antecessive-order prefix is normally attached to a fore-lying clausemate of a past-tense VNC, it can be prefixed to the VNC itself. English cannot capture the difference between these two arrangements.

**ōhuel mic ~ huel ōmic** = he has effectively died; i.e., he is completely dead [For **huel**, “well, effectively, successfully,” see § 44.5.2.]

3. The negative prefix. The negative particle **ah#**, “not” (see § 3.3), is a prefixal constituent that, like **ō#**, stands outside the leftward boundary of a VNC or one of the VNC’s fore-lying clausemates. It therefore adverbially modifies the entire VNC or the entire group constituted by a VNC plus one or more of its adverbial modifiers. The English translation may not reveal this because of differences between the two languages.

**ahnichōca** = **ah#ni-θ(chōca)θ+θ-θ#** = I am not crying

**ahonyāz** = **ah#θ-θ+on(yā)z+□-θ#** = he/she will not go thither

As the above statement implies, in Nahuatl negativity is attracted away from a VNC to a modifier. Therefore, if the VNC has the antecessive-order particle **ō#**, the negative particle is prefixed to it instead of to the VNC.

**ahōnichōcac** = **ah#ō#ni-θ(chōca)θ+c-θ#** = I didn’t cry, I haven’t cried

**ahōmicqueh** = **ah#ō#θ-θ(mic)θ+qu-eh#** = they didn’t die, they haven’t died

**ahōanquihuāllāzqueh** = **ah#ō#an-θ+qui-θ+huāl(lāz)θ+qu-eh#** = you (pl) have not thrown it hither [**< tla-(tlāza)**, “to throw s.th.”]

The negative-prefix particle **ca#** (see § 3.3) acts according to the same rules as **ah#** except that its presence is triggered by **mā** (see § 9.6) or **tlā**.

8.2. *Basic Sentences and Transform Sentences.* A sentence is a grammatically self-contained unit. In speech it is distinguished by a distinctive intonation pattern and a final pause. In writing it normally begins with a capital letter and ends with a sentence-final punctuation mark. Sentences may express an assertion, a question, a wish, a request, a command, an exhortation, an admonition, or an exclamation. All of these may be either affirmative or negative.

These sentence types can be divided into two groups: *basic* sentences and *transform* sentences. A basic sentence is a simple affirmative assertion; a transform sentence is any of the other kinds and is the result of applying certain operations to either a single basic sentence (*single-base transformations*) or more than one of such sentences (*double-base transformations*). A single-base transformation alters the shape of a basic sentence by adding, replacing, rearranging, or deleting sentence elements.

8.3. *Simple Affirmative Assertion Sentences.* A simple affirmative assertion sentence in Nahuatl consists of a single nuclear clause, either alone or accompanied by one or more particles. If it is a verbal nuclear clause, it must be in the indicative mode. This means that the VNCs in Lesson 7 and in § 8.1 can be rewritten as sentences. The following are examples:



**Tichicāhuaz.** = You will become strong.

**Titēittazqueh.** = We shall see people.

**Ōniquimmahca.** = I had captured them.

The following are examples involving particles as adverbial modifiers.

**Zan chōca.** = He/she just cries. He/she doesn't do anything but cry.

**Oc yōliyah.** = They were still living. They were still alive.

**Ye ōtoconihuahqueh.** = We have already sent him thither as a messenger

8.4. *Simple Negative-Assertion Sentences.* An affirmative assertion can be converted into a negative assertion by adding the negative prefix **ah#**, “not,” to the VNC (see § 8.1.3) or to one of its modifiers.

**Ahōchōcaqueh.** = They did not cry. They have not cried.

**Ahniceya.** = I am unwilling. I refuse.

**Ahquihuālmāmāz.** = He will not carry/bear it hither on his back.

**Aya temo.** = It does not yet descend. It is not being digested.

**Ahzo cochih.** = Perhaps they are sleeping.

**Ahoc ōniquittac.** = I have still not seen it/him/her.

8.5. *Emphatic Assertion Sentences.* An affirmative assertion can be converted into an emphatically affirmative one by the use of the emphatic particle **ca**, “indeed,” at the beginning of the sentence. This particle also serves as a main clause introducer (see § 3.2.1).

**Ca cochī.** = He is indeed asleep.

**Ca ōniquittac.** = I indeed saw him. I have indeed seen him.

**Ca ye ōmic.** = He has indeed already died.

A negative assertion can be made emphatically negative by inserting **ca** before the negative element.

**Ca ahōmic.** = He indeed did not die. He has indeed not died.

**Ca ahonyāz.** = I will indeed not go there.

**Ca aya ōhuālquīz.** = He has indeed not yet come out.

8.6. *Yes/No Question Sentences.* A simple assertion sentence (affirmative or negative) can be transformed into a question of the **yes/no** type (i.e., a question that anticipates a reply of yes or no) by one of two ways:

1. By changing the intonation pattern; this is indicated in writing by replacing a period with a question mark.

**Cochih?** = Are they sleeping?

**Ahzo cochī?** = Is he perhaps asleep?

**Ahchōca?** = Isn't she crying?

2. By inserting the interrogative particle **cuix?** “perhaps? perchance?” at the beginning of the sentence.

**Cuix ōtichōcac?** = Did you cry?

**Cuix ahcochi?** = Isn't he sleeping?

**Cuix ōmitzmictih?** = Did he kill you? I.e., Did he try to kill you? Did he fight you? Did he attack you? [The verbstem **tē-(mic-tiā)**, “to kill s.o.,” can be used with a conative meaning of “to try to kill s.o.” and therefore can be translated “to fight with s.o.,” “to hurt s.o.”]

## LESSON 9

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# The Optative Mood. Wish Sentences. Command/Exhortation Sentences

9.1. *The Optative Mood.* The optative mood is characteristically used to express wishes or hopes. As explained in Lessons 5 and 7, VNCs manifesting this mood have only two distinctive tenses, the nonpast and the past. The latter could be called the general past, since it expresses the entire range of anteriority covered by the imperfect, preterit, and distant-past indicative tenses. There are also so-called future optative and preterit optative VNCs.

9.2. *Preterit and Future Optative VNCs.* A preterit or future optative VNC is identified by use, not by form. Both are borrowed from the indicative mood and are identical in every respect to preterit and future indicative VNCs, with the single exception that the antecessive-order particle, which is prefixed only optionally to a preterit indicative VNC, is obligatorily attached to a preterit optative VNC. The future optative VNC is used to insist on the futurity of the event wished for. The preterit optative VNC serves as an alternative to the general past optative when regret or disillusionment is expressed about a definitely past event.

9.3. *Nonpast and Past Optative VNCs.* The morphic fillers of the subject-personal pronoun subpositions for optative VNCs have already been presented in § 5.4.

As explained in § 5.5.2, both nonpast and past optative VNCs are formed on the imperfective stem. As illustrated in § 7.7, the *predicate* of a past optative VNC is *always* phonologically identical to that of a customary-present indicative VNC. Also, when built on Class A or Class B verbstems, the *predicate* forming a *nonpast* optative VNC is phonologically identical to that in a present indicative VNC, as also happens when a VNC with a singular subject is built on a Class D verbstem. The result is that certain members of an optative paradigm are superficially (i.e., phonologically) identical to corresponding ones in an indicative paradigm.

The optative VNCs having a distinctively optative shape owe their distinctiveness to the following points:

1. All nonpast and past optative VNCs use the morphs *x* or *xi* as second-person fillers in the subject's *pers'* subposition (see § 5.3.1).

2. All nonpast optative VNCs use the morphic dyad **c-ān** in the subject's *num*<sup>1</sup>-*num*<sup>2</sup> subpositions when the subject personal pronoun is plural (see § 5.4.3).

3. All nonpast optative VNCs built on Class C verbstems use truncated stem morphs that lack the final /a:/ of the base imperfective stem. The resultant final vowel (/o/ or /i/) of the truncated stem is short when followed only by silent morphs and long when followed by at least one sounded morph; e.g., **(chol-ō)- ~ (chol-o)-**; **(ā-l-tī)- ~ (ā-l-ti)-**.

4. All nonpast optative VNCs built on Class D verbstems use a stem morph with a short vowel when followed only by silent morphs and a long vowel when followed by at least one sounded morph; e.g., **tla-(cuā)- ~ tla-(cua)-**.

Note: For complete paradigms of optative VNCs, see Appendix A.

9.4. *Comparison of Optative and Indicative VNCs.* Using the four distinguishing characteristics in § 9.3, it becomes clear that in comparing *nonpast* optative and *present* indicative VNCs formed on Class A, B, and D verbstems, there is a *surface* identity only in those of the first- or third-person *singular* subjects (this apparent identity is, of course, hiding a real morphic difference, since the subject's number dyad is filled by the morphs  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$  in the present indicative VNCs and by  $\square$ - $\emptyset$  in the nonpast optative VNCs).

The following can be either nonpast optative or present indicative VNCs:

Class A: **nicuīca; cuīca**

Class B: **nitlapōhua; tlapōhua**

Class D: **nitlacua; tlacua**

The second-person singular forms of *nonpast* optative VNCs on Class A, B, and D verbstems are distinctive because of the distinctive morphs in the *pers*<sup>1</sup> subposition:

	Nonpast Optative VNC	Present Indicative VNC
Class A:	<b>xicuīca = #xi-<math>\emptyset</math>(cuīca)<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>#</b>	<b>ticuīca = #ti-<math>\emptyset</math>(cuīca)<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>\emptyset</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>#</b>
Class B:	<b>xitlapōhua = #xi-<math>\emptyset</math>+tla(pōhuā)<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>#</b>	<b>titlapōhua = #ti-<math>\emptyset</math>+tla(pōhuā)<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>\emptyset</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>#</b>
Class D:	<b>xitlacua = #xi-<math>\emptyset</math>+tla(cua)<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>#</b>	<b>titlacua = #ti-<math>\emptyset</math>+tla(cua)<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>\emptyset</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>#</b>

With VNCs on Class C verbstems, the nonpast optative and present indicative differ in all persons because of the difference in stem shape (the second-person singular VNCs are further distinguished by the morph in the *pers*<sup>1</sup> subposition):

	Nonpast Optative VNC	Present Indicative VNC
Class C:	<b>nicholo = #ni-<math>\emptyset</math>(chol-o)<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>#</b> <b>xicholo = #xi-<math>\emptyset</math>(chol-o)<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>#</b> <b>cholo = #<math>\emptyset</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>(chol-o)<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>#</b>	<b>nicholoa = #ni-<math>\emptyset</math>(chol-o-a)<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>\emptyset</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>#</b> <b>ticholoa = ti-<math>\emptyset</math>(chol-o-a)<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>\emptyset</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>#</b> <b>choloa = #<math>\emptyset</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>(chol-o-a)<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>\emptyset</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>#</b>

All nonpast optative VNCs with a plural subject are distinctive because of the morphic fillers in subpositions *num*<sup>1</sup> and *num*<sup>2</sup>: namely, **c-ān**.

Turning to a comparison of *past* optative VNCs and *customary-present* indicative VNCs formed on verbstems of *any* class, one finds an *identity* in all those with a first- or third-person subject (singular or plural).

The following can be either past optative or customary-present VNCs:

Class A: **nicuīcani, ticuīcanih; cuīcani, cuīcanih**

Class B: **nitlapōhuani, titlapōhuanih; tlapōhuani, tlapōhuanih**

Class C: **nicholoāni, ticholoānih; choloāni, choloānih**

Class D: **nitlacuāni, titlacuānih; tlacuāni, tlacuānih**

The second-person (singular and plural) subject forms of *past* optative VNCs are distinguished from customary-present indicative VNCs by the distinctive morphs in subposition *pers*<sup>1</sup>:

	Nonpast Optative VNC	Present Indicative VNC
Class A:	<b>xīcuīcani; xīcuīcanih</b>	<b>ticuīcani; ancuīcanih</b>
Class B:	<b>xītlapōhuani; xītlapōhuanih</b>	<b>titlapōhuani; antlapōhuanih</b>
Class C:	<b>xīcholoāni; xīcholoānih</b>	<b>ticholoāni; ancholoānih</b>
Class D:	<b>xītlacuāni; xītlacuānih</b>	<b>titlacuāni; antlacuānih</b>

When optative and indicative VNCs have the same shape, the optative can be distinguished from the indicative by syntactical criteria, since a first- or third-person optative VNC never appears without certain introductory particles (see § 9.5).

9.5. *Affirmative Wish Sentences*. By substituting an optative VNC for an indicative one and inserting the introductory particle **mā**, “if only” (see § 3.2.1), an affirmative assertion is converted into a sentence expressing a wish or hope. The introductory particle **tlā**, “if (the case is such that)” (see § 3.2.1) may be used instead of **mā**. It expresses a tone of deference not present in **mā**, since it introduces a conditional clause (see § 50.7).

Assertion: **Nicochi**. = #ni-θ(cochi)θ+θ-θ# = I am sleeping. I am falling asleep.

Wish: **Mā nicochi**. = #ni-θ(cochi)θ+□-θ# = If only I may sleep. Would that I sleep. I hope I can sleep.

A nonpast-optative VNC is used to express an open wish, desire, or hope, i.e., one realizable or possibly fulfillable in the speaker’s present time or at some future time (e.g., “Long may he live!,” “May all be well with you,” “I wish he would stop,” “I hope they will not fight,” “I hope we win,” “If only he were to like it,” “Would that he stay!,” etc.).

**Mā tlapāca**. = I hope she does the laundry.

**Mā xictecpānacān**. = I wish you (pl) would arrange it/them in order.

**Tlā iz xictlāli**. = I wish you would set it/them here. [For the adverb **iz**, “here,” see § 44.3.8.]

A past-optative VNC can express a wish that the speaker knows is impossible because it is contrary to what is occurring at his/her present time, to what can occur in the future, or to what has occurred at some past time (e.g., “I wish he were here now” (but he is not), “I wish I could leave tomorrow” (but I can’t), “I wish it hadn’t rained” (but it did), etc. As is obvious, a sentence containing a past optative VNC frequently implies an attitude of discomfort or regret.

**Mā xipāquini.** = I wish you were happy (but you aren’t).

**Mā tōnani.** = I wish the sun were shining (but it isn’t).

**Mā ticochinih.** = I wish we had slept (but we didn’t).

**Mā niccōhuani.** = I wish I had bought it (but I didn’t).

If the antecessive order prefix **ō#** is used, the past optative VNC is concerned only with a past event.

**Mā ōquipōhuani.** = **ō#θ-θ+qui-θ(pōhuā)ni+θ-θ#** = If only he had counted them (but he didn’t). [Also, **Mā quipōhuani.**]

A wish sentence can be made more urgent by inserting the adverbial expressions **cuēl**, “quickly,” **ye cuēl**, “very quickly,” **cuēl eh**, “quickly,” or **ye cuēl eh**, “ever so quickly,” after **mā** or **tlā** (the last two adverbial collocations are traditionally written **cuele** and **yecuele**; for **eh** (which may also be **yeh**) see § 16.3.1; for **cuēl** see § 44.5.5).

**Mā cuēl mocuiltōno!** = May he soon be wealthy and happy!

**Mā ye cuēl xiccaquicān!** = I really hope you (pl) hear it!

**Mā no zo eh ye cuēl nelti!** = Would that it might soon become true! [The collocation **no zo eh** is traditionally written solid as **noce.**]

**Mā cuēl eh ticcuicān!** = If only we can get it!

**Tlā cuēl xihuetzi!** = If you would soon fall. I.e., If you would please sit down!

A fervent wish can be expressed by placing the particle **ihyo**, “alas” (see § 3.2.5) in front of **mā**, **tlā**, or in **tlā**.

**Ihyo mā mocāhua!** = Oh, if only he stays! God grant that he stay!

**Ihyo tlā oc nemini!** = Oh, how I wish he were still alive! Would to God that he were still alive!

**Ihyo in tlā onyāni!** = Oh, would that he had gone away!

The particle **ye**, “already,” also serves to intensify **tlā**.

**Ye tlā xiccaqui!** = Oh, would that you (sg) hear it!

9.6. *Negative Wish Sentences.* A negative assertion can be transformed into a negative wish sentence by replacing the indicative VNC with an optative VNC, inserting the introductory particle **mā** or **tlā**, and changing the negative prefix from **ah#** to **ca#** (see § 3.3).

Assertion: **Ahcochih.** = **ah#θ-θ(cochi)θ+θ-h#** = They are not asleep.

Wish: **Mā cacochicān** = **ca#θ-θ(cochi)θ+c-ān#** = I hope they are not asleep.

Assertion: **Ahōnicoch.** = **ah#ō#ni-θ(coch)θ+□-θ#** = I did not fall asleep.

**Ahnicochiya.** = **ah#ni-θ(cochi)ya+θ-θ#** = I was not sleeping.

**Ahōnicochca.** = **ah#ō#ni-θ(coch)ca+θ-θ#** = I had not slept.

Wish: **Mā caōnicochini.** = **ca#ō#ni-θ(cochi)ni+θ-θ#** = If only I had not fallen asleep. If only I had not slept. I wish I had not been sleeping. [Also, **Mā canicochini.**]

*Note:* The above way of writing negative wish sentences is totally untraditional, since the **ca#**, being prefixal, is here attached to the VNC and not (as is usual in all other texts) to **mā** (see § 3.3). The **mā** is necessary for the presence of the negative prefix **ca#**, but this does *not* constitute a justification for denying the prefix status of **ca#**. The **ca#** need not, of course, be attached to the VNC (see § 3.3 and § 8.1.3).

**Mā cazan ye nō xiquihto.** = I wish you (sg) would just not say it again.

9.7. *Affirmative Command/Exhortation Sentences.* Nahuatl has no imperative mood. To express a command sentence or an exhortation sentence, one uses a wish sentence containing a nonpast-optative VNC or a future-indicative-as-optative VNC.

A wish sentence with a second-person subject may express a *direct* command, one with a third-person subject an *indirect* command (i.e., a command to be relayed to a third person), and one with a first-person subject an exhortation. Obviously, these sentences are created by the same transformation that creates wish sentences; of course, however, the source VNC can be in only the present or the future indicative.

The particle **mā** or **tlā** is obligatory if the nonpast-optative VNC has a first- or third-person subject. When the subject is second person, however, the particle may be omitted, since the *pers'* filler **x** or **xi** is distinctly optative mood. The omission in this situation, however, creates a brusque command or a command addressed to an inferior.

While **mā** creates a polite command, an even more courteous one is created by replacing it with **tlā**.

A command or exhortation that seeks compliance in the more-or-less near future is expressed by a nonpast-optative VNC.

1. Direct commands:

**Mā xihcihui.** = Please hurry.

**Tlā xihcihui.** = Please hurry, if you will.

**Xihcihui.** = Hurry.

**Mā xihcihuicān.** = Please hurry (pl).

**Xihcihuicān.** = Hurry (pl).

**Tlā oc xitlachiya.** = **#xi-θ(tla-chiya)θ+□-θ#** = Please still look; i.e., Please pay attention for a moment.

2. Indirect commands:

**Mā ihcihui.** = Have him hurry. Let him hurry. [“Let” here does not mean “allow.”]

**Tlā huālahci.** = **#θ-θ+huā(ahci)θ+□-θ#** = Have him reach hither; i.e., Have him approach.

3. Exhortations:

**Mā nihcihui.** = Let me hurry. [Not in the sense of “allow”; this is an expression of self-incitement or self-encouragement.]

**Mā tihcihuicān.** = Let’s hurry.

**Mā oc tonāhuiyacān.** = #t-θ+on(āhui-ya)θ+c-ān# = Let's have fun for yet a while.  
Let's enjoy ourselves a little longer.

Placed after **mā**, the particle **tēl**, “nevertheless, however,” adds the connotation of encouragement against doubt or difficulty in a decision or a resolve.

**Mā tēl nihcihui.** = Let me nevertheless hurry; i.e., I might just as well go on and hurry (what else can I do!).

9.8. *Future Command Sentences.* A command seeking compliance at a time beyond the near future uses a future-indicative-as-optative VNC. In this instance, since a future-optative VNC and a future-indicative VNC are identical in every respect, the command is created by merely inserting **mā** or **tlā** in front of the source sentence. In this construction **mā** is frequently followed by the particle **quin**, “later, afterwards.”

**Mā titequitiz.** = Please work (later).

**Mā quin titequitiz.** = Please work later.

**Mā antequitizqueh.** = Please work (pl) (later).

9.9. *Negative Command/Exhortation Sentences.* A negative command sentence or a negative exhortation sentence is simply a negative wish sentence. It may be formed with either a non-past-optative VNC or a future-optative VNC.

Assertion: **Ahancuīcah.** = ah#an-θ(cuīca)θ+θ-h# = You (pl) are not singing.

Command: **Mā caxicuīcacān.** = ca#xi-θ(cuīca)θ+c-ān# = Don't sing (pl).

Assertion: **Ahticcuāz.** = ah#ti-θ+c-θ(cuā)z+□-θ# = You will not eat it.

Command: **Mā caticcuāz.** = ca#ti-θ+c-θ(cuā)z+□-θ# = Don't eat it (later).

Assertion: **Ahtitequitih.** = ah#ti-θ(tequi-ti)θ+θ-h# = We are not working.

Exhortation: **Mā catitequiticān.** = ca#ti-θ(tequi-ti)θ+c-ān# = Let's not work.

*Note:* As pointed out in § 9.7, an affirmative command that is ungracious or is given to an inferior lacks the introductory **mā**. In the negative version of such a command, since the **mā** that is the prerequisite for the negative prefix **ca#** is absent, the negative prefix **ah#** must be used.

**Xicchihua.** = Make it.

**Ahxicchihua.** = Don't make it. [This is normally found in the slightly more emphatic form **Ahmō xicchihua**; for **mō**, see § 44.5.4.]



## LESSON 10

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# The Admonitive Mood. Admonition Sentences

10.1. *The Admonitive Mood.* The admonitive mood is used to express warnings or admonitions and to give advice. Traditionally, the admonitive has been called the “vetitive” (from Latin *vetitum*, “a prohibition”), a term that should be rejected since it is a “translationalist” term, chosen because translators frequently render a VNC in this mood incorrectly as “don’t. . . .” A VNC in the admonitive mood does NOT prohibit or forbid. It is NOT negative either in shape or meaning. It is rather a positive form and has an inherently cautionary meaning, not a prohibitory one.

*Remark:* The persistent belief that the admonitive is negative brings back into focus the facts that the meaning of a linguistic unit in one language is different from its translation into another and that the grammar supporting the latter is *not* to be confused with that supporting the former. It is easy to find examples of the translation of a positive into a negative and vice versa. For example, the positive Spanish sentence *Parece mentira* can be rendered “It doesn’t seem possible,” and the negative sentence *No se mueva usted* can be rendered “Stand still.” While this frequently available option of positive-to-negative and vice versa is obviously involved in the admonitive problem, there is another aspect to it. An incompatibility of lifeways is also involved. To oversimplify a somewhat complicated situation, we can say that Nahuatl speakers have a culturally focused concern with warning and precautioning (their language provides them with an admonitive mood—but not an imperative one); Indo-European speakers have a culturally focused concern with commanding (their languages have an imperative mood—but not an admonitive one). It is not, therefore, surprising that Indo-European translators and grammarians are predisposed to hear negative commands rather than positive admonitions: “Beware of” or “Be careful about” or “Let me warn you about” erroneously becomes “Don’t.” Notice, incidentally, that English is so poorly endowed with the expression of positive admonitions that it tends to couch them in the imperative: “beware,” “be,” etc. Clearly, what can be expressed directly in one language may have to be expressed by circumlocution in another.

10.2. *Formation of the Nonpast Admonitive VNC.* While logic dictates that there can only be a nonpast tense in the admonitive mood, surprisingly, VNCs manifesting it are formed on a perfective stem. As is illustrated in § 7.7, the nonpast admonitive predicate is distinguished from the preterit indicative predicate only in Class A verbs, where the tense morph is **h** instead of **Ø** as in the three other classes.

As shown in §§ 5.3.3 and 5.4.4, the subject of a nonpast admonitive VNC has /t/ as the morphemic filler in subposition *num*<sup>1</sup>. The morpheme’s regular morph occurs only in cooperation with a plural morph in *num*<sup>2</sup>; when cooperating with a singular morph in *num*<sup>2</sup>, the

*num*<sup>1</sup> morph is  $\emptyset$ . The morphs in *num*<sup>2</sup> are  $\emptyset$  for singular and either **in** or **ih** for plural (dyad: *sg* =  $\square$ - $\emptyset$ ; *pl* = **t-in** ~ **t-ih**).

Since admonitive VNCs outside a sentence context have no translation values, examples are given in § 10.3.

*Note:* For complete paradigms of admonitive VNCs, see Appendix A.

10.3. *The Affirmative Admonition Sentence.* By substituting an admonitive VNC for a present indicative VNC and inserting the introductory particle **mā**, an affirmative assertion sentence is converted into a sentence expressing a warning or admonition. The particle **mā** is obligatory. It may optionally be strengthened by the adverbialized NNC **nēn**, “in vain, uselessly” (see § 44.5.3); **mā** and **nēn**, which are here written separately, are traditionally written solid: **manen**.

The admonition sentence with a second-person subject is like a *direct* command (“Beware of . . .”); with a third-person subject it is like an *indirect* command (“Have him/her/them beware of . . .”); and with a first-person subject it is like an exhortation (“Let me/let’s beware of . . .”). Of course, the translations need not be limited to the ones in these examples; any rendering that conveys a sense of warning is valid (but a translation of a positive admonition beginning with “Don’t . . .” is not acceptable; “Don’t” presupposes a negative command, which is expressed by the construction in § 9.9; nor is “May . . . not” valid, since admonitions are not wishes as in § 9.6).

The following examples are presented according to verbstem class.

1. Class A verbstem:

Assertion: **Nitzahtzi**. = I am shouting. [Pret.: **ōnitzahtzic** = **ō#ni- $\emptyset$ (tzahtzi) $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ #**.]

Admonition: **Mā nitzahtzih**. = **#ni- $\emptyset$ (tzahtzi)h+ $\square$ - $\emptyset$ #** = Let me beware of shouting. I must be careful not to shout. I mustn’t shout. I’d better not shout. It’s not a good idea for me to shout.

Assertion: **Tzahtzih**. = **# $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tzahtzi) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -h#**. = They are shouting. [Pret.: **tzahtziqueh** = **# $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tzahtzi) $\emptyset$ +qu-eh#**.]

Admonition: **Mā tzahtzih**. = **# $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tzahtzi)h+t-in#** = Let them beware of shouting. They must be careful not to shout. Etc.

2. Class B verbstem:

Assertion: **Tihuetzi**. = You are falling. [Pret.: **tihuetz** = **#ti- $\emptyset$ (huetz) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ #**; here  $\square$  is a morphic variant of /k/.]

Admonition: **Mā tihuetz**. = **#ti- $\emptyset$ (huetz) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ #** = Beware of falling. Be careful of falling. Take care lest you fall. Watch out lest you fall. Watch out you don’t fall. Etc. [Here the  $\square$  is a morphic variant of /t/.]

Assertion: **Tihuetzih**. = We are falling. [Pret.: **tihuetzqueh**.]

Admonition: **Mā tihuetzih**. = **#ti- $\emptyset$ (huetz) $\emptyset$ +t-in#** = Let’s beware of falling. We must be careful not to fall.

## 3. Class C verbstem:

Assertion: **Choloa.** = He is fleeing. [Pret.: **choloh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (chol-o-h) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ #; here  $\square$  is a morphic variant of /k/.]

Admonition: **Mā choloh.** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (chol-o-h) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = Let him beware of fleeing. He must be careful not to flee. He mustn't flee. Etc. [Here  $\square$  is a morphic variant of /t/.]

Assertion: **Ancholoah.** = You (pl) are fleeing. [Pret.: **ancholohqueh.**]

Admonition: **Mā ancholohhtin.** = #an- $\emptyset$ (chol-o-h) $\emptyset$ +t-in# = Beware (pl) of fleeing. Be (pl) careful not to flee. Etc.

## 4. Class D verbstem:

Assertion: **Nitlacua.** = I am eating. [Pret.: **nitlacuah** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +tla(cuah) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ #; here  $\square$  is a morphic variant of /k/.]

Admonition: **Mā nitlacuah.** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +tla(cuah) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = Let me beware of eating. Etc. [Here  $\square$  is a morphic variant of /t/.]

Assertion: **Titlacuah.** = #ti- $\emptyset$ +tla(cua) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -h# = We are eating. [Pret.: **titlacuahqueh.**]

Admonition: **Mā titlacuahtin.** = #ti- $\emptyset$ +tla(cuah) $\emptyset$ +t-in# = Let's beware of eating.

*Remark:* All of the admonition sentences above could have begun with **mā nēn** instead of simply **mā**.

*Note:* The formulas for translating indirect admonition sentences with an animate subject ("Let . . . beware of . . .," "Let . . . take care lest. . . etc.) are not appropriate in English when the subject is nonanimate. An admonition such as **Mā iz moyōcox** might be translated as "It (e.g., war) should/ought not be made here" or "It would be undesirable if it be made here." It is not to be translated "May it not be made here." Again, an admonition is not a wish; it is a judgment expressed as advice.

10.4. *The Negative Admonition Sentence.* A sentence expressing a negative admonition (traditionally called by the unfortunate term "positive vetative") results from a transformation of a negative assertion containing a present indicative VNC. The negative prefix **ah#** is affixed to the admonitive VNC, and the collocation **mā nēn** obligatorily introduces the sentence.

The negative admonition sentence expresses a cancellation of a warning. It is a recommendation to reject caution.

Assertion: **Ahnitemo.** = I am not descending. [Pret.: **ahnitemōc** = ah#ni- $\emptyset$ (temō) $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ #.]

Admonition: **Mā nēn ahnitemoh.** = Let me not beware of descending; i.e., Let me be sure to descend.

Assertion: **Ahtiquīza.** = You are not leaving. [Pret.: **ahtiquīz** = ah#ti- $\emptyset$ (quīz) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ #; here  $\square$  is a morph of the morpheme /k/.]

Admonition: **Mā nēn ahtiquīz.** = ah#ti- $\emptyset$ (quīz) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = Don't beware of leaving; i.e., Be sure to leave. Be careful you leave. [ $\square$  is a variant of /t/.]

Assertion: **Ahtāltiah.** = We are not taking a bath. [Pret.: **ahtāltihqueh.**]

Admonition: **Mā nēn ahtāltihtin.** = Let's not beware of taking a bath. Let's be sure to take a bath.

Assertion: **Ahquimāma**. = He is not carrying it. [Pret.: **ahquimāmah** = **ah#θ-θ+qui-θ(māmah)θ+□-θ#**; here □ is a morph of the morpheme /k/.]

Admonition: **Mā nēn ahquimāmah**. = **ah#θ-θ+qui-θ(māmah)θ+□-θ#** = Let him not beware of carrying it; i.e., Let him be sure to carry it. He should by all means carry it. Etc. [The □ is a morph of the morpheme /t/.]

10.5. *Summary of VNC Contrasts*. To bring into focus the similarities shared by certain VNCs, the following paradigms summarize the contrasts between the admonitive, the nonpast optative, the present indicative, and the preterit indicative VNCs.

The *pers*<sup>1</sup> morphs **x** and **xi** always distinguish a second-person optative VNC from an admonitive VNC.

The VNCs with plural subjects are always distinctive.

### 1. Class A verbs:

Indicative Preterit	Admonitive (Nonpast)	Optative Nonpast	Indicative Present
<b>nitzahtzic</b>	<b>mā nitzahtzih</b>	<b>mā nitzahtzi</b>	<b>nitzahtzi</b>
<b>titzahtzic</b>	<b>mā titzahtzih</b>	<b>mā xitzahtzi</b>	<b>titzahtzi</b>
<b>tzahtzic</b>	<b>mā tzahtzih</b>	<b>mā tzahtzi</b>	<b>tzahtzi</b>
<b>titzahtziqueh</b>	<b>mā titzahtzihtin</b>	<b>mā titzahtzicān</b>	<b>titzahtzih</b>
<b>antzahtziqueh</b>	<b>mā antzahtzihtin</b>	<b>mā xitzahtzicān</b>	<b>antzahtzih</b>
<b>tzahtziqueh</b>	<b>mā tzahtzihtin</b>	<b>mā tzahtzicān</b>	<b>tzahtzih</b>

*Remarks:* The admonitive VNCs and the nonpast optative VNCs are distinctive in all forms. In texts that do not represent the glottal stop, however, one must take care, since they are indistinguishable in the first- and third-person singular forms; thus, for example, when translating **ma tzahti** in such a text, one must choose between the opposite notions “let him shout” and “let him beware of shouting.”

The first- and third-person singular VNCs of the nonpast optative are identical to the corresponding present-indicative VNCs but are distinguished from them by the presence of **mā**.

The first- and third-person plural VNCs of the present indicative are superficially identical to the second- and third-person singular VNCs of the admonitive, but the latter are distinguished by the presence of **mā**. Note that the similarity of the VNCs is only apparent, not real: the **h** suffix is a tense morph in the admonitive and a *num*<sup>1</sup> filler in the present indicative.

Admonitive: **titzahtzih** = **#ti-θ(tzahtzi)h+θ-θ#** = beware of shouting

Indicative: **titzahtzih** = **#ti-θ(tzahtzi)θ+θ-h#** = we are shouting

### 2. Class B verbs:

Indicative Preterit	Admonitive (Nonpast)	Optative Nonpast	Indicative Present
<b>nihuetz</b>	<b>mā nihuetz</b>	<b>mā nihuetzi</b>	<b>nihuetzi</b>
<b>tihuetz</b>	<b>mā tihuetz</b>	<b>mā xihuetzi</b>	<b>tihuetzi</b>
<b>huetz</b>	<b>mā huetz</b>	<b>mā huetzi</b>	<b>huetzi</b>
<b>tihuetzqueh</b>	<b>mā tihuetztin</b>	<b>mā tihuetzicān</b>	<b>tihuetzih</b>
<b>anhuetzqueh</b>	<b>mā anhuetztin</b>	<b>mā xihuetzicān</b>	<b>anhuetzih</b>
<b>huetzqueh</b>	<b>mā huetztin</b>	<b>mā huetzicān</b>	<b>huetzih</b>

*Remarks:* The admonitive is clearly distinguished from the optative in all VNCs.

The admonitive, although identical in the singular VNCs to the singular preterit indicative VNCs, is distinguished by the particle **mā**. If the preterit indicative VNC has the antecessive-order particle prefixed, that is also distinctive, since that particle cannot occur with the admonitive (as it is a nonpast tense).

The first- and third-person singular VNCs of the present indicative and the nonpast optative are identical, but the latter are distinguished by the presence of **mā**.

The preterit optative VNCs are distinguished from the admonitive VNCs by the absence of the antecessive-order particle prefixed to the latter VNCs:

Admonitive	Preterit Optative
<b>mā nihuetz</b>	<b>mā ōnihuetz</b>
<b>mā tihuetz</b>	<b>mā ōtihuetz</b>
<b>mā huetz</b>	<b>mā ōhuetz</b>

### 3. Class C verbs:

Indicative Preterit	Admonitive (Nonpast)	Optative Nonpast	Indicative Present
<b>nicholoh</b>	<b>mā nicholoh</b>	<b>mā nicholo</b>	<b>nicholoa</b>
<b>ticholoh</b>	<b>mā ticholoh</b>	<b>mā xicholo</b>	<b>ticholoa</b>
<b>choloh</b>	<b>mā choloh</b>	<b>mā cholo</b>	<b>choloa</b>
<b>ticholohqueh</b>	<b>mā ticholohtin</b>	<b>mā ticholōcān</b>	<b>ticholoah</b>
<b>ancholohqueh</b>	<b>mā ancholohtin</b>	<b>mā xicholōcān</b>	<b>ancholoah</b>
<b>cholohqueh</b>	<b>mā cholohtin</b>	<b>mā cholōcān</b>	<b>choloah</b>

*Remarks:* The admonitive and the nonpast optative are distinctive in all VNCs. In texts that do not represent the glottal stop, however, one must take care, since they are indistinguishable in the first- and third-person singular VNCs; thus, for example, when translating **ma nicholo** in such a text, one must choose between the opposite notions “let me flee” and “let me beware of fleeing.”

In the singular VNCs, the admonitive is identical to the preterit indicative but is distinguished by the presence of **mā**. If a preterit indicative VNC has the antecessive-order particle prefixed, that is also distinctive, since that particle cannot occur with the admonitive VNCs.

The preterit optative VNCs are distinguished from the admonitive VNCs by the lack of the antecessive-order prefix in the latter VNCs.

Admonitive	Preterit Optative
<b>mā nicholoh</b>	<b>mā ōnicholoh</b>
<b>mā ticholoh</b>	<b>mā ōticholoh</b>
<b>mā choloh</b>	<b>mā ōcholoh</b>

### 4. Class D verbs:

Indicative Preterit	Admonitive (Nonpast)	Optative Nonpast	Indicative Present
<b>nitlacuah</b>	<b>nitlacuah</b>	<b>mā nitlacua</b>	<b>nitlacua</b>
<b>titlacuah</b>	<b>mā titlacuah</b>	<b>mā xitlacua</b>	<b>titlacua</b>
<b>tlacuah</b>	<b>mā tlacuah</b>	<b>mā tlacua</b>	<b>tlacua</b>
<b>titlacuahqueh</b>	<b>mā titlacuahtin</b>	<b>mā titlacuācān</b>	<b>titlacuah</b>
<b>antlacuahqueh</b>	<b>mā antlacuahtin</b>	<b>mā xitlacuācān</b>	<b>antlacuah</b>
<b>tlacuahqueh</b>	<b>mā tlacuahtin</b>	<b>mā tlacuācān</b>	<b>tlacuah</b>

*Remarks:* The plural VNCs are always distinctive with regard to other plural VNCs.

The singular VNCs of the admonitive and the nonpast optative are distinguished by the glottal stop in the admonitive VNCs. The second-person VNCs are further distinguished by the second-person filler in the *pers'* subposition. In texts that do not represent the glottal stop, however, care must be taken, since the first- and third-person VNCs are indistinguishable; thus, for example, when translating **ma nitlacua** in such a text, one must choose between the opposite meanings “let me beware of eating” and “let me eat.”

## LESSON 11

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### Irregular VNCs

11.1. *The Nature of Irregular VNCs.* Irregularity in Nahuatl VNCs appears primarily (1) in the formation of the perfective stem and (2) in the dislocation of tense forms in regard to tense meanings. There may infrequently be an irregularity in the shape of tense or number morphs.

11.2. *Irregular Perfective Stems.* In these lessons, irregularity in the formation of the perfective stem is judged by the criterion of speech, not spelling. A perfective stem formed according to the rules for sound change (see § 2.4 and § 7.4) is not considered irregular. Irregularities in Class B verbstems of the type **(ce-ya)** > **(ce-z)**, i.e., /y/ > [s] instead of /y/ > [š], have already been presented in § 7.4.

11.3. *Two Kinds of Irregularity in Perfective Stems.* Instances of irregularity within the boundaries of a perfective stem are extremely rare. Two kinds can be mentioned.

1. As a rule, a compound verbstem (see Lessons 28 and 30) belongs to the same class as its matrix stem. Not to do so constitutes an irregularity:

**tla-(cui)** > **tla-(cui)** = to take s.th.

**tla-(ahco-cui)** > **tla-(ahco-uc)** ~ **tla-(ahco-c)** = to lift s.th. [Concerning /k<sup>w</sup>/ > [k], see § 2.13.4. The verbstem **tla-(ahco-uc)** is usually misspelled **tla-(ahco-cu)**.]

**(ce-cui)** > **(ce-uc)** = *pers.*, to be cold [The perfective stem is usually misspelled **(ce-cu)**.]

In these examples the Class A membership of the simple stem has shifted to Class B membership in the compound stem.

2. Certain Class B verbstems that end in **ti** have alternate perfective stems, one of which is regular and the other irregular in that it replaces the stem-final /t/ of the regular perfective stem with a glottal stop.

**(mati)** > **(mat)** ~ **(mah)** = to be knowledgeable

**tla-(mati)** > **tla-(mat)** ~ **tla-(mah)** = to know s.th.

**m-o-(mati)** > **m-o-(mat)** ~ **m-o-(mah)** = to dither, to think with puzzlement or doubt, to wonder, to be uncertain about what to think

The irregular stem occurs only in VNCs with a singular-number subject when the predicate shows either the preterit tense or the admonitive mood (i.e., only when silently present morphs follow the stem).

**ōnitlamah** =  $\bar{o}\#ni-\theta+tlā(mah)\theta+\square-\theta\#$  = I knew s.th.; I found s.th. out

**mā ticmah** =  $\#ti-\theta+c-\theta(mah)\theta+\square-\theta\#$  = beware of knowing it

The preterit indicative VNCs and admonitive VNCs with a plural subject and all the distant-past indicative VNCs use the regular perfective stem:

**ōtitlamatqueh** =  $\bar{o}\#ti-\theta+tlā(mat)\theta+qu-eh\#$  = we knew s.th.; we found s.th. out

**mā quimattin** =  $\#\theta-\theta+qui-\theta(mat)\theta+t-in\#$  = let them beware of knowing it

**ōnitlamatca** =  $\bar{o}\#ni-\theta+tlā(mat)ca+\theta-\theta\#$  = I had known s.th.; I had found s.th. out

The regular perfective stem may be used in a preterit singular VNC, but the irregular formation is preferable.

This /t/ > [h] irregularity occurs in the perfective stem of certain intransitive verbs created by means of the derivational suffix **ti** (see § 54.2.1), such as \*(**ca-ti**) > (**ca-t**) ~ (**ca-h**) (see § 11.5.1); (**huē-huē-ti**) > (**huē-huē-t**) ~ (**huē-hue-h**), “to become an old man” (notice the shortening of the /e:/ before the glottal stop; see § 35.8.2); and (**ilama-ti**) > (**ilama-t**) ~ (**ilama-h**), “to become an old woman” (see § 35.8.1).

11.4. *Irregular Form–Meaning Alignments.* Irregularities due to the dislocation of form and meaning produce a “preterit-as-present tense” (vaguely similar to English past-as-present tense forms *will, shall, can, etc.*) and a “distant-past-as-past tense.” In the preterit-as-present tense, preterit-tense VNCs are used with a *present* indicative tense value (the antecessive-order particle **ō#** can never occur with VNCs manifesting this tense). The distant-past-as-past tense uses distant-past-tense VNCs in a *general past* indicative meaning; that is, its meaning covers the area of the imperfect, preterit, and distant-past indicative tenses.

Verbs having this irregularity do not permit VNCs with a present-indicative tense morph. Those with a distant-past-as-past tense usually permit VNCs with the imperfect-tense morph **ya** as an alternate means of expressing the imperfect-tense notion. The majority of verbs showing the idiosyncrasy of form-and-meaning dislocation are Class A verbs:

1. (**ih-ca**) > (**ih-ca**) = to be standing

a. Preterit-as-present tense:

**nihcac** =  $\#n-\theta(ih-ca)\theta+c-\theta\#$  = I am standing

**ihcaqueh** =  $\#\theta-\theta(ih-ca)\theta+qu-eh\#$  = they are standing

b. Distant-past-as-past tense:

**ōnihcaca** =  $\bar{o}\#n-\theta(ih-ca)ca+\theta-\theta\#$  = I used to stand; I stood; I had been standing; I had stood; I will have stood

The other tense forms are regular.

2. (**on-o**) > (**on-o**) = to be lying down. Except when occurring in connective-**t** compound verbstems as a matrix (see § 28.6.9), the stem (**o**) always has the directional/locative prefix **on** fused to it (but in a locative meaning only); see § 8.1.1.



## a. Preterit-as-present tense:

**nonoc** = #n- $\emptyset$ (on-o) $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ # = I am lying down, I am recumbent

**tonoqueh** = #t- $\emptyset$ (on-o) $\emptyset$ +qu-eh# = we are lying down, we are recumbent

## b. Distant-past-as-past tense:

**ōnonoca** =  $\bar{o}$ #n- $\emptyset$ (on-o)ca+ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I used to be recumbent/lying down; I was recumbent/lying down; I had been recumbent/lying down

The other tense forms are regular.

3. (**pil-ca**) > (**pil-ca**) = to be hanging

## a. Preterit-as-present tense:

**pilcac** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (pil-ca) $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ # = it is hanging

**ampilcaqueh** = #am- $\emptyset$ (pil-ca) $\emptyset$ +qu-eh# = you (pl) are hanging

## b. Distant-past-as-past tense:

**ōpilcaca** =  $\bar{o}$ # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (pil-ca)ca+ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it used to be hanging; it hung; it had been hanging

The other tense forms are regular.

4. \*(**a**) > (**a**) = to be present. This is a defective Class A verb. It lacks an imperfective stem; furthermore, its perfective stem is used to form VNCs in only the preterit-as-present tense. There are no VNCs with other tense morphs. The negative VNCs are translated “to be absent.”

## a. Affirmative:

**nāc** = #n- $\emptyset$ (ā) $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ # = I am present

**āc** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ā) $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ # = he/she is present

**tāqueh** = #t- $\emptyset$ (ā) $\emptyset$ +qu-eh# = we are present

b. Negative (using the negative prefix **ah#** ~ **ay#**):

**ahātāc** = ah#t- $\emptyset$ (ā) $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ # = you are absent

**ayāc** = ay# $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ā) $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ # = he/she is absent [Also, **ahāc**]

**ahamāqueh** = ah#am- $\emptyset$ (ā) $\emptyset$ +qu-eh# = you (pl) are absent

Notice also the expression **ayoc āc**, “he is no longer here.” [Traditionally spelled solid: **ayocac**.]

5. \*(**itzi**) > (**itz**) = to come/go. This is a defective Class B verb. It does not use the imperfective stem, and its perfective stem is used in only two tenses, the preterit-as-present tense and the distant-past-as-past tense. It has a further irregularity: a /k/ sound in a tense morph or a *num*<sup>l</sup> morph is deleted after the stem.

This verb never occurs in a simple-stemmed VNC. In three instances it serves as the *matrix* stem in an archaic compound formation in which two verbstems combine directly without a connective morph between them (see § 28.6.5).

(**huī-tz**) = to come [For the verbstem (**hui**), see § 11.5.2.]

**tla-(itqui-tz)** = to go/come carrying s.th.

**tla-(huīca-tz)** = to go/come carrying s.th.

a. Preterit-as-present tense (in a VNC with a plural subject pronoun, the *num*<sup>1</sup> morpheme /k/ is represented by its silently present morph  $\square$ ]; the morphic dyad **qu-eh** therefore appears as  $\square$ -eh).

**nihuĩtz** = #ni- $\theta$ (huĩ-tz) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$ # = I come

**tihuĩtze** = #ti- $\theta$ (huĩ-tz) $\theta$ + $\square$ -eh# = we come

**tiquitquit** = #ti- $\theta$ +qu- $\theta$ (itqui-tz) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$ # = you (sg) come/go carrying it/them

**anquitquitze** = #an- $\theta$ +qu- $\theta$ (itqui-tz) $\theta$ + $\square$ -eh# = you (pl) come/go carrying it/them

**quihuĩcatz** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ +qui- $\theta$ (huĩca-tz) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$ # = he/she comes/goes carrying it/them

**quihuĩcatze** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ +qui- $\theta$ (huĩca-tz) $\theta$ + $\square$ -eh# = they come/go carrying it/them

b. Distant-past-as-past tense (the distant-past tense morph **ca** is reduced to **a**).

**ōtihuĩtza** =  $\bar{o}$ #ti- $\theta$ (huĩ-tz)a+ $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = you (sg) came/have come, etc.

**ōanhuitzah** =  $\bar{o}$ #an- $\theta$ (huĩ-tz)a+ $\theta$ -h# = you (pl) came/have come, etc.

**ōtlatquitza** =  $\bar{o}$ # $\theta$ - $\theta$ +tla(tqui-tz)a+ $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = he/she came/went/has come/gone, etc., carrying s.th.

**ōtlatquitzah** =  $\bar{o}$ # $\theta$ - $\theta$ +tla(tqui-tz)a+ $\theta$ -h# = they came/went/have come/gone, etc., carrying s.th.

**ōnichuĩcatza** =  $\bar{o}$ #ni- $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ (huĩca-tz)a+ $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I came/went/have come/gone, etc., carrying it/them

**ōtichuĩcatzah** =  $\bar{o}$ #ti- $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ (huĩca-tz)a+ $\theta$ -h# = we came/went/have come/gone, etc., carrying it/them

*Note 1:* Since (huĩ-tz) has no optative form, the preterit-as-present indicative VNC with a second-person subject pronoun can be used to express a command.

**Zan iz tihuĩtz.** = Come (sg) quickly. [For **iz**, “here,” see § 44.3.8.]

*Note 2:* There is a homophonous irregular verbstem (*itz*), “to be alert/observant/to look” (see § 26.1.2), also limited to the perfective stem. Both of these homophonous stems can appear in the embed subposition of a connective-t compound verbstem and are easily confused (see § 28.7.4, *note*).

6. \*(**am-i-ā**) > (**am-i-h**) = to exist. This is a defective Class C verb. The imperfective stem is not used. Furthermore, its perfective stem is used only to form VNCs with the preterit-as-present tense morph. It has yet another peculiarity: it is used only in special constructions with the interrogative adverb **quēn**, “how?” (see § 44.5.7).

**quēn amih?** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (am-i-h) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$ # = what is it like? how is it? [traditionally written **quenami**]

**quēn mach namih!** = #n- $\theta$ (am-i-h) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$ # = how fortunate I am! [**Quēn mach** is traditionally written solid as **quēm mach**. Concerning **mach**, see § 44.5.6.]

**quēn mach tamihqueh!** = #t- $\theta$ (am-i-h) $\theta$ +qu-eh# = how fortunate we are!

The **quēn** can be incorporated to create a compound verbstem:

**ahmō zan tiquēnamih** = #ti- $\theta$ (quē-n-am-i-h) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$ # = you are not just anyhow, i.e., you are marvelous [Concerning **ahmō**, see § 44.5.4.]

7. \*( $\theta$ -i-ā) > ( $\theta$ -i-h) = to exist. This is a defective Class C verb. The imperfective stem is not used, and the perfective stem is used only to form VNCs with a preterit-as-present tense

meaning. Moreover, these VNCs are used only in cooperation with certain pronominal NNCs (see § 16.3). The stem is unusual in that its root is  $\emptyset$ .

**ihqueh** =  $\#\emptyset\text{-}\emptyset(\emptyset\text{-i-h})\emptyset\text{-qu-eh}\#$  = they exist

**amihqueh** =  $\#\text{am-}\emptyset(\emptyset\text{-i-h})\emptyset\text{-qu-eh}\#$  = you (pl) exist [There is no possibility of confusion between this VNC and the homophonous one formed on the stem (**am-i-h**) above: **amihqueh** =  $\#\emptyset\text{-}\emptyset(\text{am-i-h})\emptyset\text{-queh}\#$  = “they are.” The structure and usage of the two forms is totally different.]

8. (**mani**) > (**man**) = to extend, to be. VNCs built on these stems are regular in all tenses except that preterit-tense predicates are not built on the perfective stem. There is a distant-past-as-past tense. The verb is used for wide or flat things such as books, plates, basins, houses; it is also used for masses or crowds of men or animals. It is not ordinarily used for individual animate beings.

**mani** =  $\#\emptyset\text{-}\emptyset(\text{mani})\emptyset\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}\emptyset\#$  = it extends/is (over an area)/sits/rests/lies/stands

**ōmanca** =  $\emptyset\#\emptyset\text{-}\emptyset(\text{man})\text{ca+}\emptyset\text{-}\emptyset\#$  = it used to be; it was; it had been; etc.

9. (**nemi**) > (**nen**) = to live. VNCs built on these stems are regular in all tenses. However, despite the fact that there are normal preterit tense and distant-past tense VNCs, one occasionally finds VNCs with a distant-past tense used with a distant-past-as-past meaning; for example:

**nenca** =  $\#\emptyset\text{-}\emptyset(\text{nen})\text{ca+}\emptyset\text{-}\emptyset\#$  = he had lived, he used to live, he lived

11.5. *Irregularity Due to Suppletion.* Three verbs show more complicated irregularity in that they fill out their paradigm by means of a suppletive stem. (*Suppletion* is the process whereby one form is used to replace a missing form in a defective paradigm; e.g., *went* serves as the past tense of *go*.)

1. (**ye**) > (**ye**) ~ (**ca-t**) ~ (**ca-h**) = to be/exist; to be found in a place

This irregularity is the result of a falling together of two verbs whose imperfective and perfective stems can be hypothetically reconstructed as:

(**ye**) > (**ye**)

\*(**ca-ti**) > (**ca-t**) ~ (**ca-h**) [ $< *(\text{ca-tl-}$ , “an entity” (see § 31.6), plus the derivational suffix **ti** (see § 54.2.1). See § 11.3.2 for [t] versus [h].]

When the perfective stem (**ye**) ceased to be used in all but the nonpast admonitive and as the embed in certain compound verb stems (see § 28.5.1) and the imperfective stem \*(**ca-ti**) disappeared, the remaining stems became realigned in a single paradigm. The perfective stem (**ca-t**) ~ (**ca-h**) appears in VNCs with the preterit-as-present and distant-past-as-past tense morphs. The imperfective stem (**ye**) does not permit the formation of a present indicative VNC but has VNCs showing all the other tenses that may be built on an imperfective stem.

a. The following tenses are formed on the imperfective stem (**ye**). Traditional spelling obscures the dimensions of the stem after the *pers*<sup>l</sup> morphs **ni**, **ti**, and **xi**, since the **y** is usually not written after **i**.

- i. Customary-present tense:

**tiyeni** = #ti-θ(ye)ni+θ-θ# = you usually are

**tiyeniḥ** = #ti-θ(ye)ni+θ-h# = we usually are

- ii. Imperfect tense:

**yeya** = #θ-θ(ye)ya+θ-θ# = he used to be

**yeyah** = #θ-θ(ye)ya+θ-h# = they used to be

- iii. Future tense:

**niyez** = #ni-θ(ye)z+□-θ# = I shall be

**anyezqueḥ** = #an-θ(ye)z+qu-eh# = you (pl) will be [Frequently spelled **ayezqueḥ**, as it is pronounced. See § 2.12.4.]

- iv. Nonpast optative (the VNCs are shown in wish and command/exhortation sentences):

**Mā xiye.** = #xi-θ(ye)θ+□-θ# = If only you (sg) were! Be!

**Mā yecān.** = #θ-θ(ye)θ+c-ān# = If only they were! Let them be.

**Mā tiyecān.** = #ti-θ(ye)θ+c-ān# = If only we were! Let's be.

- v. Past optative (the VNCs are shown in wish sentences):

**Mā xiyeṇi.** = #xi-θ(ye)ni+θ-θ# = If only you (sg) had been!

**Mā tiyeṇiḥ.** = #ti-θ(ye)ni+θ-h# = If only we had been!

b. The only use of the perfective stem (**ye**) in a simple-stemmed VNC occurs in VNCs showing the admonitive mode. After the *pers'* morphs **ni** and **ti**, the dimensions of the stem are obscured in traditional spelling, since **y** is usually not written after **i**. The VNCs are shown in admonition sentences.

**Mā tiyeh.** = #ti-θ(ye)h+□-θ# = Beware (sg) of being.

**Mā tiyehṭin.** = #ti-θ(ye)h+t-in# = Let's beware of being.

c. The following tenses are formed on the perfective stem (**ca-t**) and (**ca-h**). The irregular stem (**ca-h**) occurs only in preterit-as-present-tense VNCs with a singular subject pronoun.

i. Preterit-as-present tense. In a VNC with a plural subject, the *num'* morphic carrier **qu** is replaced by the silent variant □; the morphic dyad **qu-eh** therefore appears as □-eh).

**nicah** = #ni-θ(ca-h)θ+□-θ# = I am

**ticah** = #ti-θ(ca-h)θ+□-θ# = you are

**cah** = #θ-θ(ca-h)θ+□-θ# = he/she/it is

**ticateh** = #ti-θ(ca-t)θ+□-eh# = we are

**ancateh** = #an-θ(ca-t)θ+□-eh# = you (pl) are

**cateh** = #θ-θ(ca-t)θ+□-eh# = they are

One finds antiquated forms of VNCs built on (**ca-t**) with the preterit-as-present tense in which the subject personal pronoun's singular number dyad is **qui-θ** (i.e., the post-stem /k/ sound is kept).

**nicatqui** = #ni-θ(ca-t)θ+qui-θ# = I am

**ticatqui** = #ti-θ(ca-t)θ+qui-θ# = you are

**catqui** = #θ-θ(ca-t)θ+qui-θ# = he/she/it is

VNCs with the first- or second-person subject pronouns are rare, but a VNC with a third-person common-number subject is fairly frequent, since it often appears in the collocation **iz catqui**, which means “here it is,” “here they are,” but should usually be translated as “behold” or “here one sees.” **Iz cah** may be translated in the same way if the context warrants it. In traditional texts the VNC and the adverb **iz**, “here” (see § 44.3.8) are frequently written solid: **izcatqui** and **izca**.

ii. Distant-past-as-past tense (the /k/ of the tense morph is not deleted):

**ōnicatca** = **ō#ni-θ(ca-t)ca+θ-θ#** = I was, I used to be, I had been

**ōticatcah** = **ō#ti-θ(ca-t)ca+θ-h#** = we were, we used to be, we had been

*Note 1:* The directional/locative prefix **on**, in a locative meaning, cooperates with these imperfective and perfective stems to produce VNCs with a translation value of “there to be”:

**Onyez.** = It/They will be there; i.e., There will be one/some.

**Oncah.** = It is/They are there; i.e., There is one. There are some.

**Oncateh.** = They (animate) are there; i.e., There are some.

**Ahmō oncatca.** = It was not there; i.e., There was none. There wasn’t any. There weren’t any. [Concerning **ahmō**, see § 44.5.4.]

*Note 2:* Since Nahuatl verbs have traditionally been listed in dictionaries under the stem used in the singular VNCs having a present indicative meaning, the verb (**ye**) is known as the verb (**ca-h**).

2. (**yā**) ~ (**ya-uh**) ~ (**hui**) > (**yah**) ~ (**hui**) = to go. To form its VNCs, this verb uses three imperfective stems and two perfective ones. Of these the dominant stem is (**yā**), which, since it has the perfective stem (**yah**), is a Class D verb. Traditional spelling obscures the dimensions of the stems beginning with /y/ when the subject of the VNC has **ni**, **tī**, or **xi** as fillers in the *pers*<sup>1</sup> subposition, since the sequence /iya/ is usually written **ia**. Tense and *num*<sup>1</sup> morphs that have an initial /k/ sound lose it when joined to the (**hui**) stem.

a. VNCs with the following tenses are formed on the stems (**ya-uh**) and (**hui**); these two imperfective stems are unlike any other verbstems in the language, since VNCs in the present indicative and the nonpast optative show redundant distinctions for number, once in the subject and again in the stem; (**ya-uh**) is used in singular/common-number VNCs and (**hui**) in plural-number VNCs.

i. Present-indicative tense:

**niyauh** = **#ni-θ(ya-uh)θ+θ-θ#** = I am going

**tiyauh** = **#ti-θ(ya-uh)θ+θ-θ#** = you (sg) are going

**yauh** = **#θ-θ(ya-uh)θ+θ-θ#** = he/she/it is going

**tihuih** = **#ti-θ(hui)θ+θ-h#** = we are going

**anhuih** = **#an-θ(hui)θ+θ-h#** = you (pl) are going

**huih** = **#θ-θ(hui)θ+θ-h#** = they are going

ii. Nonpast optative tense. Since the stem (**hui**) does not permit the suffixing of a /k/ sound, in a plural VNC the *num*<sup>1</sup> morph is replaced by  $\square$ ; i.e., the morphic dyad **c-ān** is replaced by  $\square$ -ān.

**Mā niyauh.** = #ni-θ(ya-uh)θ+□-θ# = If only I could go!

**Mā xiyauh.** = #xi-θ(ya-uh)θ+□-θ# = Go (sg).

**Mā yauh.** = #θ-θ(ya-uh)θ+□-θ# = May he/she/it go.

**Mā tihuiān.** = #ti-θ(hui)θ+□-ān# = Let's go.

**Mā xihuiān.** = #xi-θ(hui)θ+□-ān# = Go (pl).

**Mā huiān** = #θ-θ(hui)θ+□-ān# = May they go!

iii. Distant-past-as-past indicative tense. Since the perfective stem (**hui**), like its imperfective counterpart, does not permit a suffix with an initial /k/ sound, the distant-past-as-past morph **ca** is reduced to **a** (compare § 11.4.5.b). Since in traditional spelling the sequence **ia** can represent a stem-final /i/ plus the imperfect-tense morph /ya/, one must be careful not to misunderstand this distant-past . . . **ia**+ structure as an imperfect-tense . . . **iya**+ structure. The problem is further complicated by the fact that one of the translation values of the distant-past-as-past tense is that of an imperfect-tense VNC. The fact is, however, that the stem (**hui**) does not combine with the imperfect-tense morph **ya**.

**ōnihuia** = **ō**#ni-θ(**hui**)a+θ-θ# = I went, I had gone, I used to go

**ōanhuiah** = **ō**#an-θ(**hui**)a+θ-h# = you (pl) went, you had gone, you used to go

b. The following tenses are formed on the imperfective stem (**yā**); the only irregularity of this stem is that it does not permit the formation of VNCs with the present indicative and non-past optative tense morphs. All the other tense morphs possible to an imperfective stem occur.

i. Customary-present tense:

**niyāni** = #ni-θ(yā)ni+θ-θ# = I usually go

**yānih** = #θ-θ(yā)ni+θ-h# = they usually go

ii. Imperfect tense. VNCs formed with this tense morph are considered less elegant than the distant-past-as-past tense VNCs formed on (**hui**) as a means of expressing the imperfect-tense meaning.

**tiyāya** = #ti-θ(yā)ya+θ-θ# = you (sg) were going, you (sg) used to go

**anyāyah** = #an-θ(yā)ya+θ-h# = you (pl) were going, you (pl) used to go [Frequently spelled **ayayah** as it is pronounced (but with the second **a** long).]

iii. Future tense:

**niyāz** = #ni-θ(yā)z+□-θ# = I shall go

**yāzqueh** = #θ-θ(yā)z+qu-eh# = they will go

iv. Past optative (the forms are shown in wish sentences):

**Mā niyāni.** = #ni-θ(yā)ni+θ-θ#. = If only I had gone.

**Mā xiyānih.** = #xi-θ(yā)ni+θ-h#. = If only you (pl) had gone.

c. The perfective stem (**yah**) is fully regular. VNCs showing a preterit-tense morph or a distant-past tense morph are simply variant means of expressing the preterit or distant-past tense meaning expressed by a distant-past-as-past tense VNC formed on (**hui**).

## i. Preterit tense:

**ōniyah** =  $\bar{o}\#ni-\theta(yah)\theta+\square-\theta\#$  = I went

**ōyah** =  $\bar{o}\#\theta-\theta(yah)\theta+\square-\theta\#$  = he/she went

**ōtiyahqueh** =  $\bar{o}\#ti-\theta(yah)\theta+qu-eh\#$  = we went

## ii. Distant-past tense:

**ōtiyahca** =  $\bar{o}\#ti-\theta(yah)ca+\theta-\theta\#$  = you (sg) had gone

**ōyahcah** =  $\bar{o}\#\theta-\theta(yah)ca+\theta-h\#$  = they had gone

## iii. Admonitive mood (the VNCs are shown in admonition sentences):

**Mā tiyah.** =  $\#ti-\theta(yah)\theta+\square-\theta\#$  = Beware (sg) of going.

**Mā tiyahtin.** =  $\#ti-\theta(yah)\theta+t-in\#$  = Let's beware of going.

*Note:* The stem (**ya-uh**) is a variant of (**ya-hui**), a compound verbstem resulting from the same archaic compounding procedure that produced (**hui-tz**), etc., in § 11.4.5, but here (**hui**) is the matrix stem while there it is the embed stem. Originally the stems (**yā**) and (**hui**) were apparently more or less synonymous. The explanation for the loss of the /i/ from (**ya-uh**) is lost in prehistory. There exist dialectal variants for the present indicative VNCs with plural-number subjects built on the stem (**ya-hui**) instead of (**hui**); i.e., **tiyahuih** (in traditional spelling **tiahui**), **anyahuih**, and **yahuih**. These are not, however, considered good usage.

The stem (**hui**) also occurs in the stem (**cen-hui**), “to go as one,” i.e., “to go along together”; as the meaning makes clear, VNCs built on it have a plural subject: **ticenhuih**, “we go along together.”

*Note:* Since Nahuatl verbs have traditionally been listed in dictionaries under the stem used in the singular-number VNC having a present indicative meaning, the verb (**yā**) ~ (**ya-uh**) ~ (**hui**) is known as the verb (**ya-uh**).

3. (**huāl-lā**) ~ (**huāl-la-uh**) ~ (**huāl-hui**) > (**huāl-lah**) ~ (**huāl-hui**) = to come. This verb consists of the directional prefix **huāl** and the verbstem (**yā**) ~ (**ya-uh**) ~ (**hui**). The directional prefix is fused to the stem. Since /l/ + /y/ > [ll], the stem (**yā**) is pronounced and spelled (**lā**) and the stem (**ya-uh**) becomes (**la-uh**). Compare the following VNCs with those of (**yā**) ~ (**ya-uh**) ~ (**hui**) above:

**tihuāllauh** =  $\#ti-\theta(huāl-la-uh)\theta+\theta-\theta\#$  = you (sg) are coming

**anhuih** =  $\#an-\theta(huāl-hui)\theta+\theta-h\#$  = you (pl) are coming

**Mā xihuālhuiān.** =  $\#xi-\theta(huāl-hui)\theta+\square-\ān\#$  = Come (pl).

**ōnihuāluia** =  $\bar{o}\#ni-\theta(huāl-hui)a+\theta-\theta\#$  = I used to come; I came; I had come

**huāllāni** =  $\#\theta-\theta(huāl-lā)ni+\theta-\theta\#$  = he usually comes

**ōtihuāllahqueh** =  $\bar{o}\#ti-\theta(huāl-lah)\theta+qu-eh\#$  = we came

**ōtihuāllahca** =  $\bar{o}\#ti-\theta(huāl-lah)ca+\theta-\theta\#$  = you (sg) had come

**Mā tihuāllah.** =  $\#ti-\theta(huāl-lah)\theta+\square-\theta\#$  = Beware (sg) of coming.

*Note:* The verb (**huāl-lā**) ~ (**huāl-la-uh**) ~ (**huāl-hui**) is traditionally known as the verb (**huāl-la-uh**).

11.6. *Irregular VNCs in Idioms.* Irregular VNCs are frequently used in idiomatic expressions. The following are a few examples:

**Quēn tonyezqueh?** = How shall we be there? I.e., How shall we act? [Also spelled **toyezqueh**, as it is pronounced. For **quēn**, see § 44.6.7.]

**Ahquēn nicmati.** = By no means do I know it, i.e., I know nothing about it. I am not disturbed about it.

**Ahquēn nocommati.** = In no way do I know about it. I don't know anything about it. I am not worried about it.

**Zan huitz.** = He is a foreigner. It is exotic.

**Quin yez.** = It will be presently. It is a thing in the future.

**Nihuāllamati.** = I frequent the place.

**Mā ammomattin.** = Beware (pl) of dithering.

**Oc onyauh.** = It is still going forward.



## LESSON 12

---

# The Absolutive-State NNC Formula. Subject Pronouns

(Refer to Appendix B for full NNC forms.)

12.1. *The NNC Formula Contrasted with the VNC Formula.* As explained in Lesson 4, the difference between the NNC formulas and the VNC formulas is that in the NNC there is a State position instead of a Valence position and there is no Tense position. State is somewhat like Valence in that it is the means by which a participant other than the subject can be involved in a nuclear clause. This new participant is always included in the predicate and is always represented by a personal pronoun. While Valence brings in a personal pronoun in an object function, State brings in a personal pronoun in a possessor function. There are other differences that need not be discussed at this point.

12.2. *The Absolutive-State NNC.* As is clear in the three NNC formulas presented in § 4.5, the one in which the State position is not explicitly included because it is vacant is the simplest. It is the Absolutive-State NNC formula, which is as follows:

Linear format: **#pers<sup>1</sup>-pers<sup>2</sup>(STEM)num<sup>1</sup>-num<sup>2</sup>#**

Diagrammatic format:

<b>#pers<sup>1</sup>-pers<sup>2</sup>(. . .)num<sup>1</sup>-num<sup>2</sup>#</b>	<b>Subject</b>
<b>(STEM)</b>	<b>Predicate</b>

12.3. *The Subject Positions in the Absolutive-State NNC.* The categories of the subject in an NNC are exactly the same as those described for the VNC in § 5.2. The morphs that occupy the subject's four subpositions are as follows:

1. The subject's *pers<sup>1</sup>* and *pers<sup>2</sup>* subpositions have exactly the same morphic fillers as those in a VNC, except that for the second person, the *pers<sup>1</sup>* morphic carriers **x** and **xi** do not occur.

2. Just as in a VNC, in an NNC the subject pronoun's *num<sup>1</sup>* subposition is the locus for a "number-connector" morph. Although the morphic filler for this *num<sup>1</sup>* subposition has a shape that is distinctive (usually) to the NNC's absolutive or possessive state, one should STRENUOUSLY AVOID thinking of it as a state position. State is a category that belongs to the *predicate*;

the number-connector morph belongs to the *subject*. Just as the *num*<sup>1</sup> subposition in a VNC is sensitive to the nature of the tense morph without itself belonging to the predicate (see § 5.3.3), so too in an NNC it is sensitive to the nature of the predicate's state.

a. When an NNC's predicate is in the absolutive state (i.e., when no possessor pronoun occurs) and the NNC's subject pronoun shows singular/common number, one of four morphic fillers can appear in the subject's *num*<sup>1</sup> subposition (the choice depends on the nounstem's class; see § 14.2). These four morphs are: **tl** ~ **tli** (or **li**) ~ **in** ~ **∅**. The [i] in **tli** (or **li**) and **in** is merely a supportive vowel. The **tl** morph and the **tli** (or **li**) morph are in complementary distribution: **tl** occurs after a vowel; **tli** (or **li**) occurs only after a consonant. Both **in** and **∅** are suppletive morphs. The **in** occurs only after a consonant, but the **∅** can occur after either a vowel or a consonant. The [λ] of the **tli** variant undergoes assimilation after a nounstem-final /l/, since—as explained in § 2.10—/l/ + /λ/ > [ll]. The **li** morph is, therefore, merely a subvariant of the **tli** morph.

When one of the above morphs occupies the subject pronoun's *num*<sup>1</sup> subposition, that pronoun's *num*<sup>2</sup> subposition is filled by **∅**, which represents singular/common number (as in a VNC).

b. If the NNC's predicate is in the absolutive state and its subject pronoun shows plural number (the subject pronoun must, of course, be animate; see § 4.6), the *num*<sup>1</sup> subposition is filled by one of three number-connector morphs: **t** ~ **m** ~ **∅**. Both **m** and **∅** are suppletive morphs. These *num*<sup>1</sup> morphs occurring in plural-number subjects are obviously related to those occurring in singular-number subjects: **t** = **tl** ~ **tli** (or **li**); **m** = **in**; **∅** = **∅**. The language does not, however, exploit this correlation (see Lesson 14).

When one of the above morphs occupies the *num*<sup>1</sup> subposition, the *num*<sup>2</sup> subposition is filled by either **in**, **eh**, or **h**. Compare the **h**, **eh**, and **in** filler morphs in the *num*<sup>2</sup> subposition in VNCs in § 5.3.4.

c. The dyadic fillers for the subject pronoun's Number position can be summarized as follows:

Singular/common: **tl-∅**; **tli-∅** ~ **li-∅**; **in-∅**; **∅-∅** [There is also an irregular variant **□-∅**, which will be discussed later.]

Plural: **t-in**; **m-eh**; **∅-in** [There is also a totally irregular variant **□-□**, which will be discussed later.]

12.4. *Summary of Subject Personal Pronouns in the Absolutive-State NNC.* The top line of the diagrammatic format of the absolutive-state NNC can now be illustrated by all the possible morphic fillers in the four subpositions. These are automatic equivalents to the English subject personal pronouns. Each of the persons has four variant personal-pronoun shapes for the singular number and three for the plural number. The parentheses around the suspension points indicate the stem boundaries. The personal pronouns given here can occur as subject *only* on absolutive-state NNCs (contrast the shape of these subject personal pronouns with those in § 13.3) [“con” = number-connector morph].

#n-Ø(. .)tl-Ø# #n-Ø(. .)tli-Ø# ~ #n-Ø(. .)li-Ø# #n-Ø(. .)in-Ø# #n-Ø(. .)Ø-Ø#	} “#1sg-nom(. .)con-sg#” = I
#t-Ø(. .)t-in# #t-Ø(. .)m-eh# #t-Ø(. .)Ø-h#	} “#1pl-nom(. .)con-pl#” = we
#t-Ø(. .)tl-Ø# #t-Ø(. .)tli-Ø# ~ #t-Ø(. .)li-Ø# #t-Ø(. .)in-Ø# #t-Ø(. .)Ø-Ø#	} “#2sg-nom(. .)con-sg#” = you (sg)
#am-Ø(. .)t-in# #am-Ø(. .)m-eh# #am-Ø(. .)Ø-h#	} “#2pl-nom(. .)con-pl#” = you (pl)
#Ø-Ø(. .)tl-Ø# #Ø-Ø(. .)tli-Ø# ~ #Ø-Ø(. .)li-Ø# #Ø-Ø(. .)in-Ø# #Ø-Ø(. .)Ø-Ø#	} “#3-nom(. .)con-sg#” = he/she/it;it/they
#Ø-Ø(. .)t-in# #Ø-Ø(. .)m-eh# #Ø-Ø(. .)Ø-h#	} “#3-nom(. .)con-pl#” = they

*Pers'* morphs with supportive [i] and those with assimilations for /m/ are also understood as included in the above summary.

12.5. *The Predicate Position in Absolutive-State NNCs.* When the State position is vacant, signaling an absolutive-state formation, the nounstem alone functions in these lessons as the predicate of the NNC (although in a more technical presentation a silently present morph should be shown). Since this predicate does not contain a tense morph, an NNC must rely on discourse context to assign its time reference. A Nahuatl NNC is equivalent to an English sentence with the copular verb “to be,” and therefore when translating one must choose a tense for it in accord with the needs of English. (When necessary, Nahuatl does have a means of assigning tense to a construction that can be translated as a copular sentence in English; see § 51.3.)

Nahuatl nounstems are the locus of lexical meaning. In their role as predicate, they either identify, describe, or locate the subject. It is this compulsory predicative function that sets them apart from their English counterparts, noun *words*. Lacking independence, nounstems seem to accede referentiality to the subject pronoun (see § 4.6).

The Nahuatl nominal predicate also lacks any indication of definiteness or indefiniteness, so in translating one must supply a definite or indefinite article according to the needs of English in view of the NNC's context (in this regard, see the remarks on the adjunct *in* in § 3.2.2).

12.6. *Animacy in Nounstems.* Since the Nahuatl nounstem is a labeling device, it implicitly carries a culturally established animacy classification of entity types. Because cultural factors are involved, a nounstem may have an animacy at variance with an English speaker's expectations; for example, Nahuatl nounstems translated by "hill" (or "mountain"), "heaven," and "star" are animate.

The animacy classification of a nounstem normally correlates with, and at times reveals, the animate or nonanimate reference of the subject personal pronoun. The deciding factor, however, is ultimately this reference. By referring to an animate or nonanimate being by means of the subject pronoun, a speaker can contradict the animacy implications of the nounstem. The result is frequently a metaphorical construction; for example, "shield" can be used with a subject referring to a man and thus be treated as an animate nounstem.

As pointed out in § 4.6, animacy also engages the category of number. While the nounstem itself is, strictly speaking, not involved in indicating number, it does enter into the consideration of number distinctions because of the difference in NNCs formed on animate stems and those formed on nonanimate ones.

NNCs formed on animate nounstems invite the subject pronoun to specify singular or plural number. The third-person singular-number subject personal pronouns in such NNCs are frequently generic in reference (as, for example, when we say "the duck is an aquatic bird" in the sense that "ducks (in general) are aquatic birds").

NNCs formed on nonanimate stems permit only common number (unless metaphorical use deliberately violates the expected nonanimate nature of the subject pronoun). As pointed out in § 4.6, common number refers indiscriminately to one or to more than one entity in nonlinguistic reality. Also, since Nahuatl lacks the distinction made in English of count nouns versus mass nouns, an NNC with a third-person common-number subject may be translated as either count or mass according to the demands of the context. Common-number subject morphic fillers in NNCs built on a nonanimate nounstem always have the same shape as their third-person singular-number counterparts in NNCs built on an animate nounstem. NNCs showing common-number subjects are translated into English by singular or plural noun words as required by context (see § 4.6).

A nounstem selects the shape of the morphs filling the Number subpositions that must cooperate with it in forming an NNC. This is a matter of nounstem classes (see Lesson 14).

*Warning:* The Number position on an NNC (i.e., the subpositions *num*<sup>1</sup> and *num*<sup>2</sup>) has NO direct relationship with the nounstem. It is a constituent of the subject personal pronoun. In an English nounword a number suffix is an inflection on the nounstem, but in Nahuatl the number position belongs to the NNC and has ONLY to do with the *subject*. As has been made clear earlier, a nuclear clause is not the same kind of linguistic entity as a morphological word. This

is most obvious when the nounstem of an NNC identifies an entity that clearly has a singular meaning, while the subject of the NNC is plural; for example:

**ancemihtimeh** = #an- $\emptyset$ (cem-ihti)m-eh# = you (pl) are (members of) a single belly (i.e., womb), i.e., you are siblings

**ticemithualtin** = #ti- $\emptyset$ (cem-it-hua-l)t-in# = we are (members of) a single courtyard, i.e., we are a family

**cemātzacualtin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cem-ā-tzacu-a-l)t-in# = they are (members of) one neighborhood

In these examples the morph **cem-**, “one,” clearly proves that the plural-number suffixes cannot be inflections affecting the nounstem. A morphosyntactic analysis using the diagrammatic format of the NNC formula illustrates this separation of subject constituents from predicate constituents:

#ti- $\emptyset$ (. . .)m-eh#	Subject	= we
(cem-ihti)	Predicate	= one belly

The same airtight compartmentalization of subject and predicate that exists in VNCs (where, as in English, the number of the subject has nothing to do with the number of occasions an action is performed) also exists in NNCs.

12.7. *State and the Nounstem.* The logical relationship of State to nounstem is totally different from that of Valence to verbstem. Unlike the verbstem, which chooses its transitive or intransitive Valence, the nounstem has very little power over the choice of absolute or possessive state. It is true that there are certain stems that insist on either an absolute or a possessive predicate because of the nature of the entity they name (e.g., in Nahuatl one does not possess the sun or rain, but on the other hand one tends always to possess certain familial entities such as father or mother; see § 15.2). However, the vast majority of nounstems participate freely in either state.

## LESSON 13

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# The Possessive-State NNC Formula. Subject and Possessor Pronouns

(Refer to Appendix B for full NNC Forms.)

13.1. *The Possessive-State NNC.* As pointed out in § 4.5, a possessive-state NNC can be built on one of two formulas, one whose predicate contains a monadic state position and the other whose predicate contains a dyadic one. The formulas are repeated here for convenience, along with a diagrammatic version:

1. Monadic state-position formula:

Linear format: **#pers<sup>1</sup>-pers<sup>2</sup>+st(STEM)num<sup>1</sup>-num<sup>2</sup>#**

Diagrammatic format:

<b>#pers<sup>1</sup>-pers<sup>2</sup>+... )num<sup>1</sup>-num<sup>2</sup>#</b> <b>+st(STEM)</b>	<b>Subject</b>
	<b>Predicate</b>

2. Dyadic state-position formula:

Linear format: **#pers<sup>1</sup>-pers<sup>2</sup>+st<sup>1</sup>-st<sup>2</sup>(STEM)num<sup>1</sup>-num<sup>2</sup>#**

Diagrammatic format:

<b>#pers<sup>1</sup>-pers<sup>2</sup>+... )num<sup>1</sup>-num<sup>2</sup>#</b> <b>+st<sup>1</sup>-st<sup>2</sup>(STEM)</b>	<b>Subject</b>
	<b>Predicate</b>

13.2. *The Subject Positions in the Possessive-State Formulas.* The fillers for the subject personal-pronoun positions in both possessive-state formulas are the same:

1. The subject pronoun's *pers<sup>1</sup>* and *pers<sup>2</sup>* morphs are identical to those in the absolutive-state formula in § 12.3.1.

2. The subject's *num<sup>1</sup>* subposition is filled by one of four number-connector morphic variants: **uh/hu** ~ **hui** ~ **∅**. The morphs **uh**, **hui**, and **∅** occur only when the singular/common morph is occupying the *num<sup>2</sup>* subposition. The **uh** and **hui** morphs are in complementary distribution: **uh** occurs after a vowel, **hui** after a consonant (the [i] is a supportive vowel). Besides this

phonological conditioning, the choice of the **hui** variant is also morphologically conditioned; its use is extremely rare (see § 14.7.1.b). The choice between **uh** and **θ** is morphologically conditioned. The **uh** and **hu** morphs are merely spelling variants: **uh** is followed by a silent morph, **hu** by a sounded one (this means that **hu** occurs only when the subject pronoun is plural).

3. The *num*<sup>2</sup> subposition has two morphs:

Singular/common: **θ**

Plural: **ān** [Compare **ān** as the *num*<sup>2</sup> morphic filler in VNCs in § 5.3.4.]

13.3. *Summary of Subject Personal Pronouns in the Possessive-State NNC.* Paradigms of personal pronouns in the nominative case that serve as fillers in the subpositions on the top line of the possessive-state formula's diagrammatic format can now be given. The translations are automatic equivalents to the Nahuatl. These personal pronouns can occur as a subject *only* on possessive-state NNCs (contrast the shape of these subject pronouns with those in § 12.4).

#n-θ+. . .)uh-θ#	}	“#1sg-nom+. . .)con-sg#” = I
#n-θ+. . .)hui-θ#		
#n-θ+. . .)θ-θ#		
#t-θ+. . .)hu-ān#	}	“#1pl-nom+. . .)con-pl#” = we
#t-θ+. . .)uh-θ#	}	“#2sg-nom+. . .)con-sg#” = you (sg)
#t-θ+. . .)hui-θ#		
#t-θ+. . .)θ-θ#		
#am-θ+. . .)hu-ān#	}	“#2pl-nom+. . .)con-pl#” = you (pl)
#θ-θ+. . .)uh-θ#	}	“#3-nom+. . .)con-sg#” = they
#θ-θ+. . .)hui-θ#		
#θ-θ+. . .)θ-θ#		
#θ-θ+. . .)hu-ān#	}	“#3-nom+. . .)con-pl#” = they

13.4. *The Predicate in the Monadic Possessive-State NNC Formula.* The problem of the stem is discussed in Lesson 14. The only other constituent in the predicate is the State position. As a position that is filled by a prefixal pronoun, it must express the categories of person, number, and case (see § 4.6). The case here is *possessive*.

When the State position is monadic, the categories are concentrated in a single morph. There are three possible fillers, having the same shape as the corresponding objective-case morphs in the monadic Valence position in § 6.2.

1. The *reciprocal* possessor morph: **ne**, “one another’s,” “each other’s.” As can be seen, the meaning of this morph is more restricted than the **ne** that is the shuntline reflexive/reciprocal-object morph in § 6.2.1. Furthermore, it is restricted to the third person and is highly infrequent.

2. The *nonspecific* possessor morph (like the nonspecific object morphs in § 6.2.2, these are *indefinite* pronouns):

**tē** = (human) someone’s, anyone’s, everyone’s

**tla** = (nonhuman) something’s, anything’s, everything’s

While the use of **tē** is very frequent, that of **tla** occurs primarily in NNCs built on relational nounstems (see Lessons 45, 46, and 47), but see § 15.1.6.

13.5. *The Predicate in the Dyadic Possessive-State NNC Formula.* The problem of the stem is discussed in Lesson 14.

When the State position is dyadic, the categories of person, number, and case are combined differently in the predicate’s *st<sup>1</sup>* and *st<sup>2</sup>* subpositions depending on whether the possessor pronoun is third person or not.

1. Subposition *st<sup>1</sup>* always manifests the category of person; however:

a. For the third person, *person* is combined with the *possessive case*. The sole morphic filler is:

**ī** = 3rd possessive

b. For the first and second persons, *person* is combined with *number*. There are four morphic fillers. They are the same as those in subposition *va<sup>1</sup>* see § 6.4.1.b).

**m** = 2nd singular

**am** = 2nd plural

**n** = 1st singular

**t** = 1st plural

2. Subposition *st<sup>2</sup>* makes up for the category not contained in *st<sup>1</sup>*.

a. For the third person, it manifests *number* (the morphic fillers recall those in *va<sup>2</sup>*; see § 6.4.2.a):

**∅** = singular

**m ~ n . . .** = plural [Concerning the suspension points, see §§ 2.11.1, 2.11.5, and 2.12.4-5).]

b. For the first and second persons, it manifests *possessive case*. The morphic filler is **o**, but whenever the nounstem begins with a vowel, the **o** morph is replaced by **□**, its irregular morphic-inventory mate.

13.6. *Summary of the Specific Possessor Personal Pronouns in the Possessive-State NNC.* The following is a list of the specific personal pronouns in the role of possessor. The translations are



automatic equivalents to the English possessive adjectives, [abbreviation: **poss** = possessive case].

**n-o** ~ **n-□** = 1sg-poss = my

**t-o** ~ **t-□** = 1pl-poss = our

**m-o** ~ **m-□** = 2sg-poss = your (sg)

**am-o** ~ **am-□** = 2pl-poss = your (pl)

**i-θ** = 3poss-sg = his/her/its [also: 3poss-com = its/their]

**i-m** ~ **i-n** . . . = 3poss-pl = their

The plural possessor pronouns also have the possibility of being translated “of one of us/of one of you/of one of them,” “belonging to one of us,” etc. The translation of the first-person plural can then be made even broader, as the general notion of “someone’s.”

*Note:* Texts using traditional spelling often use double consonants for single ones and single consonants for double ones. In such a text one must be very careful with **ammo** . . . and **amo** . . . In a text with standard spelling, the former occurs in a VNC with second-person plural subject and reflexive object [#**am-θ+m-o**(. . .)] and the latter in an NNC with third-person subject and second-person plural possessor [#**θ-θ+am-o**(. . .)],

For spelling involving **i-θ**, see § 14.8, *note*.

## LESSON 14

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# Nounstem Classes

14.1. *“Use” Stem Kinds.* Every nominal lexical item in Nahuatl, at least theoretically, has two “use” stems: a *restricted-use* stem and a *general-use* stem. Only certain nouns show a difference in shape between the two. The restricted-use stem regularly is the *citation form* (i.e., the form cited in isolation, for purposes of discussion or as an entry in a vocabulary list). It is used in forming absolutive-state NNCs. The general-use stem is derived from the restricted-use stem and is used in forming possessive-state NNCs and as the filler of the embed subposition in compound stems (see Lessons 30 et seq.).

14.2. *Nounstem Classes.* Nouns fall into four stem classes. For convenience, these classes are named by the morphic filler in the number-connector subposition (i.e., the subject’s *num*<sup>1</sup> subposition) in absolutive singular/common NNCs (see § 12.3.2). They are the **tl** class, the **tli** class, the **in** class, and the **∅** class. For example:

**tl** class:       (ā)-**tl**- = water  
**tli** class:       (pah)-**tli**- = medicine  
                      (cal)-**li**- = house  
**in** class:       (mich)-**in**- = fish  
**∅** class:       (chichi)-**∅**- = dog

The hyphen before the *num*<sup>1</sup> morph insists that the citation form is a mere abstraction and that the *num*<sup>1</sup> morph is intended only as a means of identifying the stem class. The hyphen after it insists that in any absolutive-state NNC formed on the cited stem a *num*<sup>2</sup> morph necessarily follows.

The following points should be noted:

1. Membership in a class is not predictable and must be learned for each stem.
2. A **tl** stem always ends in a vowel. Both **tli** and **in** stems always end in a consonant. A **∅** stem may end in a vowel or a consonant.
3. Stems that take **li** as a filler in an absolutive-state NNC do not constitute a separate class. They belong to the **tli** class (see § 12.3.2.a).

4. The difference between **tl** and **tli** class membership is merely the result of *phonological* conditioning, while the difference between stems in these two classes and stems belonging to the **in** and **Ø** classes is *morphologically* conditioned. Nevertheless, the main division in stem classes lies between **tl** stems and all the others.

5. Members in the **in** and **Ø** classes are not very numerous.

6. Certain nounstems permit alternative class membership with no change in meaning; for example:

(**tō-ch**)-**in**- ~ (**tō-ch**)-**tli**- = rabbit  
 (**temol**)-**in**- ~ (**temol**)-**li**- = horsefly

7. A nounstem that in the citation form begins with a supportive vowel has variants (in both use stems) in which this vowel is lacking.

8. Depending on their class and their usage, general-use nounstems may appear in one of three shapes:

- a. base shape. The general-use stem is identical to the restricted-use stem.
- b. truncated shape. The general-use stem lacks an ephemeral vowel that appears as the final vowel of the restricted-use stem (see § 14.7.2.b).
- c. glottalized shape. The general-use stem has a short vowel plus a glottal stop where the restricted-use stem has a long final vowel. A glottalized stem is rare; it occurs only on certain **tl** stems when they fill the embed subposition of a compound stem (see Lessons 30 and 31).

14.3. *The Category of Number and Nounstems.* As has been previously stated (especially in § 12.6), the category of number is strictly limited to personal pronouns in Nahuatl. Number information is no more imparted by the predicate of an NNC than it is by that of a VNC.

This having been firmly established, it must, however, be pointed out that the nounstem can be derivationally altered to signify collectivity or variety/distribution. That these are not number notions per se is evident in the fact that the subject of such a stem may have common number. They are, rather, relationship notions, related to the question of whether the members within a nonlinguistic plurality are being viewed jointly or separately. Nahuatl relies on *derivational* prefixes (i.e., prefixes *inside* the stem) to deal with this question. There are two kinds of these derived nounstems: *affinity* stems and *distributive/variatal* stems (compare these derived nounstems with the derived verbstems of Lesson 27). The animate-versus-nonanimate distinction is still maintained in the derived nounstems.

1. Affinity nounstems. When there is a need to point to a special cohesiveness, brotherhood, or affinity among the members of a group of two or more (an affinity justified by blood relation; by common purpose, background or characteristics; or by shared predilections, etc.), a reduplicative prefix (i.e., a prefix that foretokens the initial consonant, if there is one, and the vowel of the stem) with a *long* vowel is attached to the plain source stem. For example:

- (tah)-tli-** = father > **(tā-tah)-t-** = fathers of a single line [The **-t-** is the appropriate *num'* morph for a plural subject pronoun in an NNC built on this stem (see § 14.5).]  
**(cal)-li-** = house > **(cā-cal)-li-** = houses of a single village

*Note:* Affective nounstems use a reduplicative prefix with a short vowel attached to the matrix stem (see Lesson 32).

2. Distributive/variatal nounstems. When the members of a group of two or more are considered separately, are located in separate places, or are of various kinds, a reduplicative prefix with a glottal stop is attached to the plain stem that serves as a source stem. For example:

- (tah)-tli-** = father > **(tah-tah)-t-** = fathers of different lines  
**(cal)-li-** = house > **(cah-cal)-li-** = separately located houses, various kinds of houses  
**(te)-tl-** = rock, stone; egg > **(teh-te)-tl-** = various kinds of rocks; various kinds of eggs  
**(āhui-l)-li-** = frivolity > **(ah-āhui-l)-li-** = frivolities (of different kinds)

If a nounstem begins with a supportive [i], that vowel is treated as a real vowel and the reduplicated [i] is a supportive vowel.

- (icxi)-tl-** = foot > **(ih-icxi)-tl-** = various feet  
**(izte)-tl-** = fingernail/toenail > **(ih-izte)-tl-** = various fingernails or toenails

At times the derived nounstem can have a translation value different from that of the source stem:

- (cal)-li-** = house > **(cah-cal)-li-** = settlement/village

Occasionally the derived stem names an entity that is an intensified version of the source stem:

- (eh-ca)-tl-** = breeze > **(eh-eh-ca)-tl-** = wind [The glottal stop in the source stem is abundantly attested in the *FC* (see also the Teteltzingo NNC *yejcamalacutl*, “dust devil,” where *yejca-* is the stem **(eh-ca)-tl-**). But Carochi gives the derived stem with vowel length in the second syllable instead of a glottal stop (Teteltzingo also has *yejyecatl*, i.e., a long vowel, not a glottal stop). Since there is no rule for changing the shape of a source stem when a reduplicative prefix is added, however, in this text the glottal stop is kept.]

*Note:* Certain pronominal NNCs are the exception to the rule about number in that they have pluralized stems (see §§ 16.3 and 16.9).

*Remark:* The various distinctions involved in nounstems as presented in §§ 14.1–14.3 are summarized in the following chart:

Use-stem shape	Plural-referent-of-subject stem types
Restricted-use stem	{ Plain stem Affinity stem Distributive/variatal stem
<i>a.</i> base shape	
General-use stem	
<i>a.</i> base shape	
<i>b.</i> truncated shape	
<i>c.</i> glottalized shape	

*Comments:*

1. When it is a matter of a restricted-use stem, the base shape must be used.

2. When it is a matter of a general-use stem, one uses a base shape, a truncated shape, or a glottalized shape.
3. When the subject pronoun refers to more than one entity, one uses a plain stem, an affinity stem, or a distributive/variety stem.

14.4. *The Nounstem in Absolutive-State NNCs with a Singular/Common Subject.* Only the base shape of a nounstem is used in an absolutive-state NNC when the subject pronoun shows singular/common number. The following are examples from each of the four nounstem classes.

**metl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (me)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is maguey ~ they are magueys

**ticihuātl** = #ti- $\emptyset$ (cihuā)tl- $\emptyset$ # = you are a woman

**pahtli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (pah)tli- $\emptyset$ # = it is medicine ~ it is a medicine ~ they are medicines

**noquichtli** = #n- $\emptyset$ (oquich)tli- $\emptyset$ # = I am a man

**michin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (mich)in- $\emptyset$ # = it is a fish

**chichi** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (chichi) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is a dog

If the common-number subject refers to a nonlinguistic plurality and the stem indicates distribution or variety, the formation of an absolutive-state NNC follows the general principle illustrated above (with the base shape of the derived nounstem being used):

**tehtetl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (teh-te)tl- $\emptyset$ # = they are various kinds of rocks

**cahcalli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cah-cal)li- $\emptyset$ # = they are separate houses, they are houses here and there

14.5. *The Nounstem in Absolutive-State NNCs with a Plural-Number Subject.* An absolutive-state NNC with a plural-number subject (i.e., an animate subject) may be built on the base shape of a plain stem or on the base shape of a derived stem having either an affinity or distributive/variety formation.

1. The plain stem. The choice of the morphic filler for the subject's *num*<sup>1</sup> subposition is loosely correlated with the stem's class.

a. With a **tl**-class stem, the *num*<sup>1</sup> filler is usually **m** but occasionally  $\emptyset$ . The choice of one or the other for a given nounstem must be learned, but stems that use  $\emptyset$  as the *num*<sup>1</sup> filler for the most part name people, including gentilic-name nounstems (see § 48.9) and nounstems signifying a profession (related to gentilic-name nounstems; see § 48.13).

**tepēmeh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tepē)m-eh# = they are mountains [< (tepē)-tl-, "hill, mountain"]

**temeh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (te)m-eh# = they are rocks [< (te)-tl-, "rock." Molina lists this plural-subject form, which implies it has an animate stem.]

**tocameh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (toca)m-eh# = they are spiders [< (toca)-tl-, "spider"]

**azcihuah** = #az- $\emptyset$ (cihua) $\emptyset$ -h# = you are women [Notice the assimilation: /m/ + /s/ > [ss]; < (cihuā)-tl-, "woman."]

**tīlācah** = #ti- $\emptyset$ (tlāca) $\emptyset$ -h# = we are persons [< (tlāca)-tl-, "person"]

b. With a stem belonging to a **tli**, **in**, or  $\emptyset$  class, the *num*<sup>1</sup> filler is either **t** or **m**, but generally speaking **t** favors stems ending in a consonant and **m** those ending in a vowel. Again, the choice for a given stem must be learned.

i. Examples with **tli** stems:

**cihtin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**cih**)**t-in**# = they are grandmothers [< (**cih**)-**tli**-, “grandmother”; compare (**cih**)-**tli**-, “jackrabbit/hare,” in 2.b below.]

**ticōltin** = #**ti**- $\emptyset$ (**cōl**)**t-in**# = we are grandfathers [< (**cōl**)-**li**-, grandfather”]

**chicuahmeh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**chicuah**)**m-eh**# = they are barn owls [< (**chicuah**)-**tli**-, “barn owl”]

ii. Examples with **in** stems:

**ocuiltin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**ocuil**)**t-in**# = they are worms [< (**ocuil**)-**in**-, “worm”]

**tōtolmeh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**tōtol**)**m-eh**# = they are turkey hens [< (**tōtol**)-**in**-, “turkey hen”; in postconquest times, extended to “(chicken) hen”]

iii. Examples with  $\emptyset$  stems:

**tēxcantín** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**tēxcan**)**t-in**# = they are bedbugs [< (**tēxcan**)- $\emptyset$ -, “bedbug”]

**chichimeh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**chichi**)**m-eh**# = they are dogs [< (**chichi**)- $\emptyset$ -, “dog”]

2. The affinity stem. The use of the affinity nounstem is obligatory when certain nominal lexical items occur in absolutive-state NNCs with a plural subject. The justification for this is not always clear from our cultural perspective, a fact that is of no consequence whatsoever except that it warns us once again that the Nahuatl world view is alien to our own. The choice of the filler for the *num*<sup>1</sup> subposition is as follows:

a. If the source stem belongs to the **tl** class, the affinity stem uses  $\emptyset$  or, infrequently, **m**.

**tēteoh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**tē-teo**) $\emptyset$ -**h**# = they are gods [< (**teō**)-**tl**-, “god”]

**cōcōah** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**cō-cōa**) $\emptyset$ -**h**# = they are snakes [< (**cōā**)-**tl**-, “snake”]

**cōcoyoh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**cō-coy-o**) $\emptyset$ -**h**# = they are coyotes [< (**coy-ō**)-**tl**-, “coyote”]

**tētepeh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**tē-tepe**) $\emptyset$ -**h**# = they are mountains [< (**tepē**)-**tl**-, “hill, mountain.” See also 1.a above.]

**antitīcih** = #**an**- $\emptyset$ (**tī-tīci**) $\emptyset$ -**h**# = you are doctors [< (**tīci**)-**tl**-, “doctor, midwife, shamanistic healer”]

**huihuilōmeh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**hui-huilō**)**m-eh**# = they are doves [< (**huilō**)-**tl**-, “dove”]

**tzitzīpimeh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**tzī-tzīpi**)**m-eh**# = they are sickly babies [< (**tzīpi**)-**tl**-, “a baby that is sickly because of bad milk”]

b. If the source stem belongs to the **tli** or **in** class, the affinity stem uses **t**.

i. Examples with **tli** stems:

**cīcihtin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**cī-cih**)**t-in**# = they are jackrabbits/hares [< (**cih**)-**tli**-, “jackrabbit/hare”; compare (**cih**)-**tli**-, “grandmother,” in 1.b above.]

**tētēuctin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**tē-tēuc**)**t-in**# = they are lords [< (**tēuc**)-**tli**-, “lord”]

**tīpīpiltin** = #**ti**- $\emptyset$ (**pī-pil**)**t-in**# = we are noblemen [< (**pil**)-**li**-, “child (of a clan, nation, etc.)”; i.e., “nobleman”; see § 32.6.]

ii. Examples with **in** stems:

**cīcītlaltin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**cī-cītlal**)**t-in**# = they are stars [< (**cītlal**)-**in**-, “star”]

**tōtōchtin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**tō-tō-ch**)**t-in**# = they are rabbits [< (**tō-ch**)-**in**-, “rabbit”]

3. The distributive/variety stem. When the subject pronoun is plural, the formation of an NNC on a distributive/variety stem is the same as that on the source stem.

**tahtahtin = #θ-θ(tah-tah)t-in# = they are fathers of separate lines**

4. The formation of plural-subject absolutive-state NNCs that has been outlined above is complicated by the fact that certain lexical items may be either fickle or steadfast in their selection of a plain stem or an affinity stem as well as in the selection of a morphic filler for the subject pronoun's *num'* subposition. A given nounstem may allow three formations or two or may insist on only one, for example:

a. Three possibilities; source stem (**quimich**)-in-, "mouse":

**quimichtin = #θ-θ(quimich)t-in# = they are mice**

**quimichimeh = #θ-θ(quimichi)m-eh# = they are mice [The [i] at the end of the stem is an irregularity.]**

**quiquimichtin = #θ-θ(qui-quimich)t-in# = they are mice**

b. Two possibilities; source stem (**oquich**)-tli-, "man, male being":

**amoquichtin = #am-θ(oquich)t-in# = you are men**

**amoquichmeh = #am-θ(oquich)m-eh# = you are men**

Another example; source stem (**cōā**)-tl-, "snake":

**cōāmech = #θ-θ(cōā)m-eh# = they are snakes**

**cōcōah = #θ-θ(cō-cōa)θ-h# = they are snakes**

c. Only one possibility; source stem (**tōtō**)-tl-, "bird":

**tōtōmeh = #θ-θ(tōtō)m-eh# = they are birds**

d. Even when a given stem permits alternative formations, it may prefer one over the other(s). For example, the stem (**miz**)-tli-, "puma," has two possible plural-subject absolutive-state formations:

**miztin = #θ-θ(miz)t-in# = they are pumas**

**mīmiztin = #θ-θ(mī-miz)t-in# = they are pumas [This is the preferred formation.]**

14.6. *The Nounstem in Possessive-State NNCs with a Plural-Number Subject.* If there is a special need to indicate affinity between the members of a group of animate beings, the affinity stem can be used along with a plural subject pronoun to form a possessive-state NNC:

**icōcōlhuān = #θ-θ+ī-θ(cō-cōl)hu-ān# = they are his ancestral line of grandfathers, they are his forebears**

Similarly, if there is a need to stress distribution or variety, a distributive/variety stem can be used:

**incohcōlhu-ān = #θ-θ+ī-n(coh-cōl)hu-ān# = they are their various lines of grandfathers, they are their forebears**

Normally, however, the plain stem is used to form a possessive-state NNC with a plural-number subject.

**tīcihuāhuān** = #t- $\emptyset$ +i- $\emptyset$ (cihuā)hu-ān# = we are his wives [< (cihuā)-tli-, “woman, wife”]  
**noconēhuān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(conē)hu-ān# = they are my children (said by a woman) [< (conē)-tli-, “child (of a woman)”]

**ītehuān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i- $\emptyset$ (te)hu-ān# = they are its eggs (i.e., eggs of a fish or frog) [< (te)-tli-, “egg; fish/frog egg”] [An exceptional formation. Normally the nounstem (te)-tli-, “rock/egg,” permits only a common-number personal-pronoun subject; but see § 14.5.1.a.]

**antocihhuān** = #an- $\emptyset$ +t-o(cih)hu-ān# = you are our grandmothers [< (cih)-tli-, “grandmother”]

**toquichhuān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +t- $\square$ (oquich)hu-ān# = they are our men, they are our husbands [< (oquich)-tli-, “man, husband”]

**īntōtolhuān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i-n(tōtol)hu-ān# = they are their turkey hens [< (tōtol)-in-, “turkey hen”]

**īmichhuān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i- $\emptyset$ (mich)hu-ān# = they are his fish [< (mich)-in-, “fish”]

**tēchichihuān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tē(chichi)hu-ān# = they are someone’s dogs [< (chichi)- $\emptyset$ -, “dog”]

14.7. *The Nounstem in Possessive-State NNCs with a Singular/Common-Number Subject.* The nounstem used in a possessive-state NNC with a singular/common-number subject has either a base shape or a truncated shape.

1. The **tli**, **in**, and  $\emptyset$  nounstem classes. The *base* shape is used for stems of the **tli**, **in**, and  $\emptyset$  classes.

a. The **in** and  $\emptyset$  class nounstems. The morphic filler for the subject’s *num*<sup>1</sup> subposition is always  $\emptyset$ .

**ītōl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i- $\emptyset$ (tōl) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is his rush ~ they are his rushes [< (tōl)-in-, “rush”]

**nomich** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(mich) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is my fish [< (mich)-in-, “fish”]

**mochichi** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-o(chichi) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is your dog [< (chichi)- $\emptyset$ -, “dog”]

**īntlatzcan** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i-n(tlatzcan) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is their cypress ~ they are their cypresses [< (tlatzcan)- $\emptyset$ -, “cypress”]

b. The **tli** class nounstem. The morphic filler for the subject’s *num*<sup>1</sup> subposition is either  $\emptyset$  or **hui**. The difference creates two subclasses.

i. Subclass 1 of the **tli** stems uses  $\emptyset$  in the *num*<sup>1</sup> subposition. Almost all **tli** stems belong to this subclass.

**monacaz** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-o(nacaz) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is your ear ~ they are your ears [< (nacaz)-tli-, “ear”]

**īcomal** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i- $\emptyset$ (comal) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is her griddle ~ they are her griddles [< (comal)-li-, “griddle”]

**tocih** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +t-o(cih) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = she is our grandmother [< (cih)-tli-, “grandmother”]

ii. Subclass 2 of **tli** stems uses **hui** in the *num*<sup>1</sup> subposition. Only a very limited number of nounstems belong to this subclass.

**nohhui** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n- $\square$ (oh)hui- $\emptyset$ # = it is my path ~ they are my paths [< (oh)-tli-, “path, trail, road”]



**ihuezhui** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + $\bar{i}$ - $\emptyset$ (huez)hui- $\emptyset$ # = she is her sister-in-law [ $\langle$  \*(huez)-tli-, “sister-in-law (of a woman).” The asterisk indicates that this stem does not occur in an absolutive-state NNC; there the compound stem (huez-huah)-tli- is used instead (see § 32.5).]

**amochhui** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +am-o(ch)hui- $\emptyset$ # = it is your (pl) maguey fiber ~ they are your (pl) maguey fibers [ $\langle$  (ich)-tli-, “maguey fiber.” The [i] of the restricted-use stem is a supportive vowel and disappears in the general-use stem after a preceding vowel.]

In this subclass there is also a very limited number of stems that occur in an alternative form of a possessive NNC in which the *num*<sup>1</sup> morphic filler is  $\square$  instead of **hui**.

<p><b>amichhui</b> = #<math>\emptyset</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>+am-<math>\square</math>(ich)hui-<math>\emptyset</math>#  <b>amich</b> = #<math>\emptyset</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>+am-<math>\square</math>(ich)<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>#</p>	}	<p>= it is your (pl) maguey fiber ~ they are your maguey fibers [<math>\langle</math> (ich)-tli-, “maguey fiber.” Here the /i/ of the stem is a “real” vowel and the <b>o</b> morph in <i>st</i><sup>2</sup> is replaced by its silent repertory mate <math>\square</math>.]</p>
<p><b>imítzhui</b> = #<math>\emptyset</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>\bar{i}</math>-m(itz)hui-<math>\emptyset</math>#  <b>imítz</b> = #<math>\emptyset</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>\bar{i}</math>-m(itz)<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>#</p>	}	<p>= it is their obsidian [<math>\langle</math> (itz)-tli-, “obsidian, piece of obsidian, knife, razor, etc.”]</p>
<p><b>nīoquichhui</b> = #n-<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>\bar{i}</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>(oquich)hui-<math>\emptyset</math>#  <b>nīoquich</b> = #n-<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>\bar{i}</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>(oquich)<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>#</p>	}	<p>= I am her husband [<math>\langle</math> (oquich)-tli-, “male being, man, husband”]</p>

2. The **tl** nounstem class. There are two subclasses of **tl** nounstems. They are determined by the shape of the general-use stem. In Subclass 1 a *base* stem is used; in Subclass 2 a *truncated* stem is used. Each of these subclasses has further subclasses.

a. Subclass 1 of **tl** nounstems has two subclasses. They are determined by the selection of the morphic filler in the subject’s *num*<sup>1</sup> subposition. The selection is not predictable and must be learned for each stem.

i. Subclass 1-A uses **uh** as the morphic filler for the *num*<sup>1</sup> subposition:

**nimocihuāuh** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +m-o(cihuā)uh- $\emptyset$ # = I am your woman/wife

**nāuh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n- $\square$ (ā)uh- $\emptyset$ # = it is my water [ $\langle$  (ā)-tl-, “water”]

**inteōuh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + $\bar{i}$ -n(teō)uh- $\emptyset$ # = he is their god [ $\langle$  (teō)-tl-, “god”]

**imīuh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + $\bar{i}$ - $\emptyset$ (mī)uh- $\emptyset$ # = it is his arrow ~ they are his arrows [ $\langle$  (mī)-tl-, “arrow”]

**īlhuīuh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + $\bar{i}$ - $\emptyset$ (ilhui)uh- $\emptyset$ # = it is his festival [ $\langle$  (ilhui)-tl-, “day, festival”]

*Note:* Occasionally a **tli**-class general-use stem ends in a voiceless [w̥] and takes a  $\emptyset$  filler in the *num*<sup>1</sup> subposition of a singular/common-number possessive-state NNC:

**nocniuh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(cn-**iuh**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he is my friend [< (cn-**iuh**)-**tl**-, “friend”]

The **uh** in such instances should not be confused with the **uh** filler in the *num*<sup>1</sup> subposition. Ambiguous NNCs are possible:

**noteuh** = (1) # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(**teuh**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is my dust [< (**teuh**)-**tl**-, “dust”]

(2) # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(**teuh**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is my rock [< (**te**)-**tl**-, “rock”]

ii. Subclass 1-B uses  $\emptyset$  as the morphic filler for *num*<sup>1</sup>:

**tiahui** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i- $\emptyset$ (**ahui**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = you are his aunt [< (**ahui**)-**tl**-, “aunt”]

**nihti** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n- $\square$ (**ihti**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is my stomach [< (**ihti**)-**tl**-, “stomach”]

**tēizte** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tē(**izte**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is someone’s fingernail ~ they are someone’s fingernails [< (**izte**)-**tl**-, “fingernail, toenail”]

**toxo** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +t-o(**xo**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = they are our feet; it is the foot of one of us (i.e., it is a foot); they are the feet of one of us (i.e., they are feet) (See § 13.6.) [< (**xo**)-**tl**-, “foot”]

**mocxi** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-o(**cxi**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is your leg ~ they are your legs [< (**icxi**)-**tl**-, “leg, foot”]

b. Subclass 2 of **tl** nounstems has three subclasses. All of them use a *truncated* general-use stem, created by deleting the stem-final ephemeral vowel (an ephemeral vowel is a short /a/ or /i/ that is deleted due to morphological factors; contrast this with a supportive vowel, which is added due to phonological factors). The morphic filler for the subject’s *num*<sup>1</sup> subposition is always  $\emptyset$ .

i. Subclass 2-A has a limited-use stem that ends in an ephemeral short /i/ preceded by a long /a:/ or /e:/. The truncated general-use stem consequently ends in a long vowel.

**tomā** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +t-o(**mā**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = they are our hands; it is the hand of one of us (i.e., it is a hand); they are the hands of one of us (i.e., they are hands) (See § 13.6.) [< (**māi**)-**tl**-, “hand”]

**motōcā** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-o(**tōcā**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is your name [< (**tōcāi**)-**tl**-, “name”]

**īcuē** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i- $\emptyset$ (**cuē**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is her skirt ~ they are her skirts [< (**cuēi**)-**tl**-, “skirt”]

ii. Subclass 2-B has a limited-use stem that ends in an ephemeral short /a/ or short /i/ preceded by a *single* consonant. The truncated general-use stem consequently ends in a consonant. The subclass contains numerous members. When the ephemeral vowel is short /a/, the truncated stem ends in /k/, /ŋ/, /ʃ/, or /m/ (with /k/ being the most frequent). An /m/ has the phone [ŋ] before silent morphs (see § 2.13.2).

**monac** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-o(**nac**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is your meat [< (**naca**)-**tl**-, “meat (that is obtained by purchase, hunting, etc.)”]

**īpetl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i- $\emptyset$ (**petl**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is his mat ~ they are his mats [< (**petla**)-**tl**-, “mat.”]

Obviously a **tl** at the end of an NNC must be assessed with care. At the end of a possessive-state NNC, it is the final consonant of the general-use stem. At the end of an absolutive-state NNC, it is a filler in the *num*<sup>1</sup> subposition.]

**nomāx** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(**māx**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is my crotch [< (**māxa**)-**tl**-, “crotch”]

**ītecon** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i-n(**tecon**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is their pot ~ they are their pots [< (**te-coma**)-**tl**-, “pot”]

When the ephemeral vowel is short /i/, the truncated stem ends in [i], [š], [w̥], or [ŋ] (with the last two being the most frequent). The [ŋ] comes from /m/ (see § 2.13.2). Since the [w̥] is voiceless (see § 2.3.2), it is spelled **uh**. This stem-final **uh** should not be confused with the **uh** filler in the *num*<sup>1</sup> subposition.

**tocuauh** = #*θ-θ*+t-o(**cuauh**)*θ-θ*# = it is our tree ~ they are our trees [< (**cuahui**)-tl-, “tree; wood, piece of wood”]

**icōn** = #*θ-θ*+i-*θ*(**cōn**)*θ-θ*# = it is her pot ~ they are her pots [< (**cōmi**)-tl-, “pot”]

**nocax** = #*θ-θ*+n-o(**cax**)*θ-θ*# = it is my bowl ~ they are my bowls [< (**caxi**)-tl-, “bowl, cup, vessel”]

**tēquil** = #*θ-θ*+tē(**quil**)*θ-θ*# = it is someone’s leafy vegetable ~ they are someone’s leafy vegetables [< (**quili**)-tl-, “leafy vegetable”]

- iii. Subclass 2-C has a limited-use stem that ends in an ephemeral short /a/ preceded by *two* consonants. The deletion of the ephemeral /a/ leaves an illegal consonant cluster; consequently, a supportive [i] is added at the end to legalize it. The consonant immediately before this supportive [i] is either /ʌ/ or /k/. The stems are few in number, and all of them are compound stems (see Lesson 32).

**nomāxtli** = #*θ-θ*+n-o(**māx-tli**)*θ-θ*# = it is my loincloth ~ they are my loincloths [< (**māx-tla**)-tl-, “loincloth, breechcloth”; *literally*, “strip of cloth for the crotch”]

**icōzqui** = #*θ-θ*+i-*θ*(**cōz-qui**)*θ-θ*# = it is her jewel ~ they are her jewels [< (**cōz-ca**)-tl-, “jewel.” When this nounstem is used metaphorically to mean “child,” it can belong to tl Subclass 1-A; e.g., #*θ-θ*+i-*θ*(**cōz-ca**)**uh-θ**# = he/she is his/her child.”]

*Note:* It is important at this point to reiterate the warning in § 12.3.2: the *num*<sup>1</sup> subposition belongs to the SUBJECT, not the predicate. Although, except for *θ-θ*, the morphic dyads filling the personal-pronoun subject’s number position are distinctive for the one and the other state due mainly to the shape of the *num*<sup>1</sup> subposition’s filler, one should avoid calling **uh** and **hu** “possessive suffixes” as strenuously as one should avoid calling **tli**, **li**, and **in** “absolute suffixes.” The state position is in front of the nounstem, not after it.

14.8. *Difficulties in Constituent Analysis.* Two difficulties in analyzing the constituents in NNCs have already been mentioned: **uh** and **tl**. Are they a stem-final consonant or a *num*<sup>1</sup> filler? (See § 14.7.2.b.i, *note*, and § 14.7.2.b.ii.) The same question arises with **tli** (as in **nomāxtli**), though it is rare as a stem-final element.

Problems also arise in connection with the front part of an NNC. For example, is the **o** after an initial **n**, **t**, or **am** part of the stem or the *st*<sup>2</sup> filler?

**nomīuh** = #*θ-θ*+n-o(**mī**)**uh-θ**# = it is my arrow ~ they are my arrows [< (**mī**)-tl-, “arrow”]

**nomiuh** = #*θ-θ*+n-□(**omi**)**uh-θ**# = it is my bone ~ they are my bones [< (**omi**)-tl-, “bone (that is purchased, found, etc.)”]

If the **o** is long, the problem does not exist (unless one is dealing with a text in which length is not marked and one does not know the stem). Long **ō** has to belong to the stem.

**nōztōuh** = #*θ-θ*+n-□(**ōztō**)**uh-θ**# = it is my cave ~ they are my caves [< (**ōztō**)-tl-, “cave”]

A similar problem exists with the **m** after a long **ī** that is a *st*<sup>1</sup> filler. Is it part of the stem or the *st*<sup>2</sup> filler?

**īmich** = #**θ-θ+i-θ(mich)θ-θ#** = it is his fish [< (**mich**)-**in-**, “fish”]

**īmich** = #**θ-θ+i-m(ich)θ-θ#** = it is their maguey fiber [< (**ich**)-**tli-**, “maguey fiber”]

To solve such problems one must be aware of the options (which comes with knowing the filler morphs, the vocabulary, and the sound changes) and must avoid “tunnel vision” (i.e., one must keep one’s mind open to alternative solutions).

*Note:* Other problems are created by inadequate orthography. One example is the problem of **amo** mentioned in § 13.6, *note*. Another occurs when a **tl** stem ends in /o:/ and takes a voiceless [w] as the *num*<sup>1</sup> filler of a singular/common-number possessive-state NNC. In this context /o:/ is pronounced [u:] (see § 2.2). Because of this, some texts fail to spell the /o:/ of the stem; for example, they represent **noteōuh**, “he is my god,” as **noteuh** (which in fact means “it is my rock”) or **noyāōuh**, “he is my enemy,” as **noyauh**. At the same time that it falsifies the dimensions of the stem, such a spelling misrepresents the location of the stress. (In the examples given, the stress should fall on the syllables **-te-** and **-ya-**, not on the syllable **no-**.)

Also, when a nounstem begins with a long /i:/ and the possessor pronoun is **ī-θ**, traditional spelling ignores the existence of the /i:i:/ sequence; i.e., **īx** is misleadingly spelled **ix** (“it is his/her face”; “they are his/her eyes”).

The possessor pronoun **ī-θ** involves other spelling problems. When the nounstem begins with an /i/ followed by a glottal stop, the pronoun loses the length on the **i** because of the glottal stop (see § 2.3.3).

**iihiyo** = #**θ-θ+i-θ(ih-ī-yo)θ-θ#** = it is his/her/its breath [Traditionally written with only one **i** as **ihio**. The source stem is (**ih-ī-yō**)-**tl-**, “breath.”]

**iihte** = #**θ-θ+i-θ(ihte)θ-θ#** = it is his/her/its stomach [Traditionally spelled **ite**. The source stem is (**ihte**)-**tl-**, “stomach.”]

If the nounstem begins with a supportive [i], it is dropped after **ī-θ**.

**īcxi** = #**θ-θ+i-θ(cxi)θ-θ#** = it is his/her/its foot ~ they are his/her/its feet [< (**īcxi**)-**tl-**, “foot”]

**ihyel** = #**θ-θ+i-θ(hye-l)θ-θ#** = it is his/her flatulence [< (**ihye-l**)-**li-**, “flatulence”]

## LESSON 15

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### Further Remarks on NNCs

15.1. *Peculiarities in the Formation of Possessive-State NNCs.* Certain points not covered in the discussion in Lesson 14 should be noted.

1. Because of the /w/ in the number dyad **hu-ān**, the final sound of the general-use stem is subject to assimilation in two instances:

a. When a nounstem ends in a voiceless [w̥], this sound is totally assimilated to the /w/ sound of the possessive-state plural dyad **hu-ān** and is lost (see § 2.12.6).

(**cuāuh**)-tli- > (**cuāuh**)-**θ**- = eagle

**nocuāhuān** = #**θ**-**θ**+n-o(**cuā**)**hu-ān**# = they are my eagles

(**icn-īuh**)-tli- > (**icn-īuh**)-**θ**- = friend

**timocnīhuān** = #**ti**-**θ**+m-o(**cn-ī**)**hu-ān**# = we are your friends

b. When a nounstem ends in [n], the preceding vowel is somewhat nasalized and the [n] is assimilated to the /w/ sound of the possessive-state NNC's plural-number dyad and is lost (see § 2.12.5):

(**nān**)-tli- > (**nān**)-**θ**- = mother

**tonāhuān** = #**θ**-**θ**+t-o(**nā**)**hu-ān**# = they are our mothers [Also written **tonānhuān**.]

2. Certain nouns use a suppletive stem to form a possessive-state NNC:

a. (**tlācoh**)-tli- > (**tlāca**)-uh- = slave [The stem (**tlācoh**)-tli- is replaced by the stem (**tlāca**)-tl-, "person."]

**nimotlācauh** = #**ni**-**θ**+m-o(**tlāca**)**uh-θ**# = I am your slave

**tītlācahuān** = #**t**-**θ**+ī-**θ**(**tlāca**)**hu-ān**# = we are his/her slaves

Contrast these possessive-state NNCs with their absolutive-state counterparts: **nitlācohtli**, "I am a slave"; **tītlātlācohtin**, "we are slaves."

b. (**pil**)-li- > (**pil-lō**)-tl- = nobleman [The stem (**pil**)-li- is replaced by the compound stem (**pil-lō**)-tl-, "nobility" (see § 39.3.1).]

**nimopillo** = I am your nobleman

**annopillōhuān** = you are my noblemen

Contrast these possessive-state NNCs with their absolutive-state counterparts: **nipilli**, “I am a nobleman”; **ampīpiltin**, “you are noblemen.” Concerning the stem (**pil**)-**li**-, see § 32.6.

c. (**tēuc**)-**tli**- > (**tēuc-yo**)-**θ**- = lord [The stem (**tēuc**)-**tli**- is replaced by the compound stem (**tēuc-yō**)-**tl**-, “lordship” (see § 39.3.1).]

**nimotēucyo** = I am your lord; i.e., I am your master

**timotēucyōhuān** = we are your lords; i.e., we are your courtiers [Notice the contrast in meaning with the singular-number subject NNC.]

Contrast these possessive-state NNCs with their absolutive-state counterparts: **nitēuctli**, “I am a lord”; **titētēuctin**, “we are lords.”

There is also a special possessive-state NNC, **Totēc**, “he is our lord,” formed on the general-use stem (**tēc**)-**θ**- (concerning the delabialization of /kʷ/, see § 2.13.4). It is used as a title and a personal name, e.g., **Xipe Totēc**, “Xipe, Our Lord.”

*Note:* In Nahuatl written by Spanish priests, one finds the possessive-state NNC **totēcuiyo**, “he is our lord.” It even occurs in Molina (e.g., in the entry **itlacatiltzin totēcuiyo Jesu christo**, “the birth of Our Lord, Jesus Christ”). What is more surprising, Carochi did not escape the spurious usage. He uses it profusely in his *Arte* despite saying (book IV, chap. 4) that **notēcuiyo** is derived from **tēcuyōtl**. Without the pressure of priestly convention, he would undoubtedly have recognized the impossibility of this derivation. At least, however, his statement proves that there was no \*(**tēcui-yō**)-**tl**- (and no source stem \*(**tēcui**)-**tl**-). It would seem that **totēcuiyo**, **notēcuiyo**, etc., was a priest-invented form that possibly began as a misreading of the spelling **totēcuiō** for /tote:kʷyo/. Since Spanish has no syllable-final **kʷ** sound, Spaniards had trouble spelling Nahuatl /kʷ/ at the end of a syllable (see Appendix F). One of the digraphs they resorted to was **cu**. At the same time, they did not write a Nahuatl /y/ between two vowels. Consequently, the spelling **cuio** was ambiguous; it could be understood as either /kʷyo/ or /kʷiyo/. Possibly fueling the second reading in this particular instance was a desire on the priests’ part to see a distinction between a native **totēcuiyo**, “he is our lord,” and a Christian **ToTēcuiyo**, “he is Our Lord (Jesus Christ).” The priests’ NNC creates a syllable out of a single-consonant phoneme and then gives that syllable vocable stress.

3. A possessive-state NNC may be formed on a distributive/variatal or an affinity nonanimate stem (see § 14.3). In such instances the number dyad reports *common* number. It is translated as a plural in English:

**inchān** = it is their home; they are their homes

**inchahchān** = they are their separate homes

**itlahtōl** = it is his word; they are his words

**itlātlahtōl** = they are his prolix words

4. Occasionally, plurality in a possessive-state NNC is indicated (at times redundantly) by a reduplication of the possessor pronoun:

**nonopilhuān** = #θ-θ+n-o-n-o(**pil**)hu-ān# = they are my children [See § 32.7.]

5. Certain nouns permit the formation of a secondary general-use stem for the creation of possessive-state NNCs; that is, the possessor pronoun **tē** fuses with a general-use stem so that

what was a possessive-state predicate is downgraded to the rank of a general-use stem from which a possessive-state NNC is formed:

**(tah)-tli- > (tah)-θ-** = father

**ĩntahhuān** = #θ-θ+i-n(tah)hu-ān# = they are their fathers

**tětahhuān** = #θ-θ+tē(tah)hu-ān# = they are people's fathers

**ĩntětahhuān** = #θ-θ+i-n(tē-tah)hu-ān# = they are their fathers

**tětětahhuān** = #θ-θ+tē(tē-tah)hu-ān# = they are people's fathers

**(ic-cāuh)-tli- > (ic-cāuh)-θ-** = younger brother [for **(iuc-cāuh)-tli-**]

**niccāuh** = #θ-θ+n-□(ic-cāuh)θ-θ# = he is my younger brother

**tēiccāuh** = #θ-θ+tē(ic-cāuh)θ-θ# = he is s.o.'s younger brother; he is a younger brother

**notēiccāuh** = #θ-θ+n-o(tē-ic-cāuh)θ-θ# = he is my younger brother

**tētēiccāuh** = #θ-θ+tē(tē-ic-cāuh)θ-θ# = he is s.o.'s younger brother; he is a younger brother

**(āch-cāuh)-tli- > (āch-cāuh)-θ-** = older brother

**nāchcāuh** = #θ-θ+n-□(āch-cāuh)θ-θ# = he is my older brother

**tēāchcāuh** = #θ-θ+tē(āch-cāuh)θ-θ# = he is s.o.'s older brother; he is an older brother

**notēāchcāuh** = #θ-θ+n-o(tē-āch-cāuh)θ-θ# = he is my older brother

**tētēāchcāuh** = #θ-θ+tē(tē-āch-cāuh)θ-θ# = he is s.o.'s older brother; he is an older brother

The possessive-state nature of such an NNC occasionally becomes disguised by the blurring of the **tē** to **ti** or even to **t**; e.g., **tiāchcāuh**, **tāchcāuh** (the latter is commonly used in the sense of "it is a prime thing," "it is a foremost thing," "it is an excellent thing").

**tiāchcāuh** = #θ-θ+ti(āch-cāuh)θ-θ# = he is s.o.'s older brother, he is an older brother; *by extension*, he is outstanding, he is excellent; it is outstanding, it is excellent [Compare § 35.6, *note 3*.]

**tētīāchcāuhān** = #θ-θ+tē(ti-āch-cā)hu-ān# = they are people's older brothers; *by extension*, they are directors of youths, they are leaders of youths

6. Certain nounstems derive analogical ones from a possessive-state predicate in which **tla**, "something's," serves as the possessor pronoun. The possessive-state predicate is downgraded to the rank of a restricted-use stem (which can then have a general-use stem).

**(māi)-tli- > (mā)-θ-** = hand, arm

**tlamā** = #θ-θ+tla(mā)θ-θ# = it is s.th.'s arm

**(tla-māi)-tli- > (tla-mā)-θ-** = sleeve

**tlamāitl** = #θ-θ(tla-māi)tli-θ# = it is a sleeve ~ they are sleeves

**notlamā** = #θ-θ+n-o(tla-mā)θ-θ# = it is my sleeve ~ they are my sleeves

Other examples of the formation are:

**(ix-cuāi)-tli- = forehead > (tla-ix-cuāi)-tli- = front part, forepart**

**(nacaz)-tli- = ear > (tla-nacaz)-tli- = corner of a building**

At times the derived stem has replaced the source stem in the formation of an absolutive-state NNC:

(**nel-hua**)-**tl**- = root > (**tla-nel-hua**)-**tl**- = root [The general-use stem of the source stem occurs as the embed of a compound stem; e.g., (**nel-hua-yo-h-Ø**)-**tl**-, “a thing having roots”; (**nel-hua-yō**)-**tl**-, “base, foundation; genealogical origin.”]

7. A Subclass 2-A stem of the **tl** class may be reclassified as a Subclass 1-A stem by loss of the ephemeral /i/. Sometimes there is a shift in meaning:

(**māi**)-**tl**- = hand, arm > (**mā**)-**tl**- = fathom [as in the compound stem (**cem-mā**)-**tl**-, “one fathom”]

At other times no change of meaning is present and the reclassification seems merely stylistic:

**ītlelmāuh** = #Ø-Ø+i-Ø(**tle-mā**)**uh**-Ø# = it is his fire-hand, i.e., it is his incense ladle [This NNC is formed on the compound stem (**tle-mā**)-**tl**-, i.e., a Subclass 1-A **tl** stem.]

**īntlehtlemā#** = #Ø-Ø+i-n(**tleh-tle-mā**)Ø-Ø# = they are their separate incense ladles [This NNC is formed on the regular Subclass 2-A **tl** stem (**tle-māi**)-**tl**-, “fire-hand”; i.e., “incense ladle.”]

8. Since Nahuatl has supplementary possessors (see § 17.3.3), it is necessary to identify the pronominal possessor in the NNC as the *nuclear* or *basic possessor*.

*Note:* The full paradigms of possessive-state NNCs are given in Appendix B.

15.2. *Naturally Possessed Nounstems.* Some nounstems occur usually or always in possessive-state NNCs. The entity referred to by such a stem is considered naturally associated with another entity and as a rule cannot be mentioned, even in a general way, without an acknowledgment of that association. When such stems are listed in dictionaries with an absolutive-state *num*<sup>1</sup> suffix, it is merely done for the purpose of identifying the stem class.

1. Nounstems denoting certain types of property.

(**chān**)-**tli**- > (**chān**)-**Ø**- = home, homeland

**tēchān** = it is s.o.’s home, it is a home

**nochān** = it is my home

(**āxcāi**)-**tl**- > (**āxcā**)-**Ø**- = property, possession

**tēāxcā** = it is s.o.’s property; they are s.o.’s possessions; it is property; they are possessions; it is s.o.’s, they are s.o.’s

**nāxcā** = it is my property; they are my possessions; it is mine, they are mine

Since Nahuatl does not have possessor personal or indefinite pronouns except in the form of possessive-state pronominal prefixes, a possessive-state NNC built on (**āxcāi**)-**tl**- supplies the Nahuatl equivalent to an English possessive pronoun.

2. Nounstems denoting kinship and certain other human relations:



**(pil)-li-** > **(pil)-Ø-** = child [See § 32.6.]

**tēpilhuān** = they are s.o.'s children, they are children

**nopilhuān** = they are my children

**(nān)-tli-** > **(nān)-Ø-** = mother

**tēnān** = she is s.o.'s mother; she is a mother

**nimonān** = I am your mother

**(yāō)-tl-** > **(yāō)-uh-** = enemy

**tēyāōuh** = he is s.o.'s enemy; he is an enemy

**antoyāōhuān** = you are our enemies

**(poh)-tli-** > **(poh)-Ø-** = companion, match, equal, peer

**tēpoh** = he is like s.o.

**nimopoh** = I am like you

### 3. Stems denoting parts of the body:

**(yaca)-tl-** > **(yac)-Ø-** = nose

**toyac** = it is our nose; i.e., it is the nose of one of us; it is a nose; they are our noses

[See § 13.6.]

**noyac** = it is my nose

**(māi)-tl-** > **(mā)-Ø-** = hand

**tomā** = it is our hand; i.e., it is the hand of one of us, it is a hand; they are our hands;

they are the hands of one of us, they are hands [See § 13.6.]

**nomā** = it is my hand, they are my hands

*Note 1:* For nounstems that refer to body parts that must distinguish organic, integral possession, see § 39.3.4.

*Note 2:* In contrast to naturally possessed stems, there are other nounstems that never occur in a possessive-state NNC; e.g., **(mix)-tli-**, “cloud”; **(quiy-a-hui)-tl-**, “rain.” Of course, metaphorical usage can override this restriction:

**notōnatiuh** = he/she is my sun; i.e., he/she is my shining light, *or possibly*, he/she is my god/goddess [See § 36.7.]

15.3. *NNCs and Sentence Structure.* Just like VNCs, NNCs can constitute simple sentences or participate in complex and compound sentences. This means that all the NNCs in Lesson 14 and in §§ 15.1 and 15.2 can be rewritten as equational sentences; that is, sentences in which the predicate either *identifies* or *classifies* the subject (an equative sentence), *characterizes* it (an attributive sentence; see Lesson 40), or *locates* it with regard to time, duration, place, or manner (an adverbial sentence; see Lesson 44).

Equative sentences may express simple affirmative assertions, negative assertions, emphatic assertions, yes/no questions, and wish sentences.

**Titētēuctin.** = We are lords.

**Antocnihuān.** = You are our friends.

**Ahñiticitl.** = I am not a doctor.

**Titicitl?** = Are you a doctor?

**Cuix titicitl?** = Are you a doctor?

**Ca nocniuh.** = He is indeed my friend. Indeed he is my friend.

**Ca ahmocal** = It is indeed not your house. Indeed it is not your house.

**Mā tīcītl.** = If only you were a doctor. I hope you are a doctor.

**Mā canītz.** = If only it were not my obsidian. I wish it were not my obsidian. [**< (ītz)-tli-**, “obsidian”]

The following are a few examples with adverbial modifiers:

**Zan quimichin.** = It is only a mouse.

**Oc tīmicnīuh?** = Are you still their friend?

**Ahzo tīcītl?** = Is he perhaps a doctor?

**Aya nīpoh.** = I am not yet his equal.

At times a sentence consisting of a possessive-state NNC should be translated into English as a statement of “having”; for example:

**Īcac.** = They are his sandals. = He has sandals.

*Note:* The predicate of an NNC is ambiguous with regard to definiteness and indefiniteness (see § 3.2.2 and § 18.3).

**Calli.** = It is a house. It is the house. They are houses. They are the houses.

## LESSON 16

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# Pronominal NNCs

16.1. *Pronominal NNCs.* There is a special kind of NNC which is built on stems that have a general entitive or quantitive meaning. These stems therefore occur only in absolutive-state NNCs. They are usually translated into English by pronoun words. Being structured as NNCs, the Nahuatl forms are entirely different from their English translational equivalents.

Besides being of two semantic kinds (entitive and quantitive), the pronominal NNCs are also of two structural types, those that have plurals formed on plain stems and those that have them formed on pluralized stems. Pronominal stems are pluralized by including the plural-number morph **n** as a *derivational* suffix inside the stem. A pronominal NNC formed on a pluralized stem has its subject's plural-number dyad filled with either **t-in** or the silent variant  $\square$ - $\square$ .

16.2. *Entitive Pronominal NNCs.* There are four subtypes of entitive pronominal NNCs: personal, interrogative, indefinite, and demonstrative. Nahuatl has no relative pronouns.

16.3. *Personal-pronominal NNCs.* The only real personal pronouns in Nahuatl are the affixal ones found in VNCs and NNCs, those showing nominative, objective, and possessive case (see § 4.6). There are, however, two nounstems—one simple, **(eh)- $\emptyset$ -**, and one compound, **(eh-huā)-tl-**—that are used as the predicates of NNCs that seem to have no other purpose than to refer to entities in the three person areas. The NNCs they form can be called personal-pronominal NNCs. The meaning of both nounstems seems to be “(an/the) existent one” or possibly “(an/the) active one” or “(an/the) identifiable one.” Molina translates them as “that one,” but perhaps “(an/the) entity” might be closer to the Nahuatl meaning, and that is the translation that is used here.

1. The simple stem has two variant shapes: **(eh)- $\emptyset$ -** and **(yeh)- $\emptyset$ -**. The latter is used in third-person NNCs.

**neh** = #**n**- $\emptyset$ (**eh**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I am an entity

**teh** = #**t**- $\emptyset$ (**eh**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = you are an entity

**yeh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**yeh**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he/she/it is an entity [If the referent of the subject is nonanimate: “it is an entity ~ they are entities.”]

- tehmeh** = #t- $\emptyset$ (eh)m-eh# = we are entities  
**amehmeh** = #am- $\emptyset$ (eh)m-eh# = you are entities  
**yehmeh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (yeh)m-eh# = they are entities

These NNCs have a limited use (see § 18.2). Although the singular-subject NNCs are fairly frequent, plural-subject NNCs are extremely rare.

The regular variant (eh)- $\emptyset$ - also occurs in an NNC with a third-person common-number subject, especially when that subject has an abstract referent.

- eh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (eh) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is an entity

This NNC is frequently found as the final member in adverbial collocations. The NNC **yeh** may also be used in this way, but **eh** seems preferable. In the following examples, traditional spelling is given in brackets. For further examples, see § 44.5 and § 44.6.

- mā oc eh** [maoque] ~ **mā oc yeh** = let it be soon  
**quēn oc eh** [quenoque] ~ **quēn oc yeh** [quenocye] = how much more so, all the more so [For **quēn**, see § 44.5.7.]  
**quēn zan eh** ~ **quēn zan yeh** = how much more, all the more so, even more so  
**cuix ahzo eh** [cuix ace (because of elision)] ~ **cuix ahzo yeh** = who knows whether?  
**no zo eh** [noce (because of elision)] = also maybe

2. The compound stem also has two shapes: (eh-huā)-tl- and (yeh-huā)-tl-, with the latter used in NNCs with a third-person subject pronoun. NNCs formed on these stems are peculiar in that when the subject is plural, the predicate is pluralized by adding the plural morph **n** derivationally to the end of the stem.

Also peculiar is the fact that there are two variants for each NNC, one in which the subject pronoun's *num*<sup>1</sup> subposition is filled by a sounded morph and another in which the silent variant  $\emptyset$  is used.

- a. The following illustrate the sounded filler in *num*<sup>1</sup>.

- nehhuātl** = #n- $\emptyset$ (eh-huā)tl- $\emptyset$ # = I am an/the entity  
**tehhuātl** = #t- $\emptyset$ (eh-huā)tl- $\emptyset$ # = you are an/the entity  
**yehhuātl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (yeh-huā)tl- $\emptyset$ # = he/she/it is an/the entity [If the referent of the subject pronoun is nonanimate: "it is an/the entity ~ they are entities/the entities."  
**tehhuāntin** = #t- $\emptyset$ (eh-huā-n)t-in# = we are entities/the entities  
**amehhuāntin** = #am- $\emptyset$ (eh-huā-n)t-in# = you are entities/the entities  
**yehhuāntin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (yeh-huā-n)t-in# = they are entities/the entities

There is also an NNC built on the stem (eh-huā)-tl- with a third-person common-number subject that refers to an abstract entity.

- ehhuātl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (eh-huā)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is an/the entity

An NNC with a common-number subject can be formed on a distributive/varietal stem created by means of a reduplicative prefix (see § 14.3.2). English translates the subject as plural.

- yehyehhuātl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (yeh-yeh-huā)tl- $\emptyset$ # }  
**ehyehhuātl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (eh-eh-huā)tl- $\emptyset$ # } = they are various kinds of entities

b. When  $\square$  is the morphic filler in subposition *num*<sup>1</sup>, an NNC with a plural subject pronoun has its *num*<sup>2</sup> subposition also filled with  $\square$ . The translation is the same as in subsection a.

**nehhua** = #n- $\emptyset$ (eh-hua) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = I am an/the entity

**tehhua** = #t- $\emptyset$ (eh-hua) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = you are an/the entity

**yehhua** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (yeh-hua) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = he/she/it is an/the entity [If the referent of the subject pronoun is nonanimate: “it is an/the entity”~“they are entities/the entities.”]

**tehhuān** = #t- $\emptyset$ (eh-huā-n) $\square$ - $\square$ # = we are entities/the entities

**amehhuān** = #am- $\emptyset$ (eh-huā-n) $\square$ - $\square$ # = you are entities/the entities

**yehhuān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (yeh-huā-n) $\square$ - $\square$ # = they are entities/the entities

c. The following sentences exemplify these personal-pronominal NNCs as modified by adverbial particles and adverbialized NNCs (for the latter, see Lesson 44).

**Zan nehhuātl.** = It is only I. ~ I am the only one.

**Zan nō yehhuātl.** = He/She/It is the same one.

**Zan ye nō yehhuān.** = They are the very same ones.

**Cuix tehhuātl?** = Is it you? ~ Are you the one?

**Huel nehhuātl.** = I am the very one. ~ It is I myself. ~ It is I in person.

**Tlacuāuh yehhuātl.** = He is especially the one. ~ He especially is the one.

**Oc cencah yehhuātl.** = He is even more the one. ~ He is very much the one. ~ He is especially the one.

These personal-pronominal NNCs occur in an idiomatic construction with **quēn mach** (usually written solid, **quēm mach**) plus the adverbialized NNC **huel** (for **quēn**, **mach**, and **huel**, see Lesson 44). The construction is synonymous with the one presented in § 11.4.6.

**Quēn mach huel nehhuātl!** = How fortunate I am!

**Quēn mach huel yehhuāntin!** = How fortunate they are!

d. A personal-pronominal NNC with a first-person plural subject pronoun (but not one with a second- or third-person one) can occur in a strange formation in which the *pers*<sup>1</sup> subposition is filled with a doubled first-person plural morph.

**titehhuāntin** = #ti-t- $\emptyset$ (eh-huā-n)t-in#

**titehhuān** = #ti-t- $\emptyset$ (eh-huā-n) $\square$ - $\square$ #

The meaning of these NNCs is totally unexpected, as can be seen in the following two sentences, which can be translated as “He is one of our people/tribe/nation/etc.”; “They are of our people/etc.”; “You (sg) are one of our people/etc.”; “You (pl) are of our people/etc.”

**Ca zan titehhuāntin** ~ **titehhuān.**

**Zan nō titehhuāntin** ~ **titehhuān.**

To say something such as “They are of your people,” one would use an NNC built on the compound nounstem (**huām-poh**)-**tli**- (see § 31.11).

**Ca zan amohuāmpohhuān.** = They are your people. ~ They are of your people.

*Note:* The personal-pronominal NNCs **neh/nehhuātl**, etc., very frequently function as “supplements” to the basic (i.e., affixal) personal pronouns in other NNCs or in VNCs. Since they merely repeat the information given in the affixal pronouns, they are translated into English as emphatic (wordal) personal pronouns; e.g., “I”/“me”/“my”; etc. (where the underline represents emphasis). See Lessons 17 and 18.

16.4. *Identificational Interrogative Pronominal NNCs.* An NNC can express an information question that asks about identity, number, quantity, place, time, manner, etc. The present section concerns only those pronominal NNCs whose predicate seeks information about the identity of its affixal subject. There are four pronominal nounstems that can serve as such a predicate.

1. **(tl-eh)-θ-**, “what entity?, what?” This stem is a combination of the stem **(eh)-θ-** presented in § 16.3.1 and **(tl)-θ-**, which is related to the nonhuman nonspecific verb-object pronoun **tlā**, “something” (see § 6.2.2). While an NNC built on this stem usually has a third-person singular subject, any person in either number is possible.

**tleh?** = #θ-θ(tl-eh)θ-θ# = what is he/she/it? ~ what is it? what are they?

**titlehmeh?** = #ti-θ(tl-eh)m-eh# = what are we?

Like the interrogative adverbial NNCs **cān** (see § 46.3.2.a) and **īc** (see § 45.4), the pronominal NNC **tleh** can occur as a principal clause whose adjunct clause is introduced by **in** (the combination **tleh in** is translated as “what is it that . . .?”; see § 19.1). The usage is so frequent that fusion can take place, resulting in **tlein** (also spelled **tlei**; concerning the change of the glottal stop to a neglected [y], see § 2.13.1; dialectically, **tlein** can be further reduced to **tlen**). Nahuatl speakers have become so inured to this fusion that they permit the following plural-subject NNCs:

**titleimeh?** = #ti-θ(tl-e-i)m-eh#  
**titleitin?** = #ti-θ(tl-e-i)t-in# } = what are we? [for **titleimeh** and **titleitin**]

Whenever **tleh** is followed by a subordinate clause adjoined by **in**, the two constituents should be written separately as **tleh in** (this contradicts traditional practice, which always writes **tlein**, a spelling that hides the fact that **tleh** is the principal clause in such constructions).

Like all interrogatives, an NNC built on **(tl-eh)-θ-** loses its interrogative quality when it is negative or is not in the first position in a clause group:

**Za zo tlein.** = It is anything whatsoever. [Notice that the subordinate clause that **in** leads one to expect is left unsaid.]

**Ahtleh.** = ah#θ-θ(tl-eh)θ-θ# = It is nothing.

**Ahtlehmeh.** = We are nothing.

**Ahoc tleh.** = It is no longer anything; i.e., There isn’t any more.

**Ca zan tlein.** = You are only a worthless thing.

**Ach tlein.** = I don’t know what. [As a reply; see 3.2.4.]

2. **(tl-eh-huā)-tl-**, what entity? what? [Compare § 16.3.2.]

**tlehhuātl?** = #θ-θ(tl-eh-huā)tl-θ# = what is it?

3. **(cā)-tl-**, “which entity? which one?” This interrogative pronominal stem occurs in several constructions that will be presented later (see § 18.2 and §19.2, *note*). The stem can also be embedded in a compound stem whose matrix is **(tl-eh)-θ-**, **(tl-e-in)-θ-**, or **(tl-eh-huā)-tl-**.

**cātleh?** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cā-tl-eh) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = which one is it? [Compare § 18.2.]

**cātlein?** = which one is it? [Also spelled catlei.]

**cātleimeh?** = which ones are they?

**cātlehhuātl?** = which one is it?

*Note:* Do not confuse the above pronominal NNCs with **catleh**, etc., in the collocations **mā catleh**, etc., “if only it is nothing,” and in **tlā catleh**, etc., “if it be nothing,” where the **ca#** (with no length on the /a/) is the negative prefixal particle (compare **ahtleh** in subsection 1 above).

4. (**ā- $\emptyset$** )-**c-**, “what person? who?” The structure of this stem is discussed in § 35.3, *note* (see also § 11.4.4). An interrogative pronominal NNC built on it has only one shape, **āc**, which always has a third-person singular subject pronoun but has either a singular-number or plural-number meaning (for expressly plural constructions involving this NNC, see § 19.2.2).

**āc?** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ā- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = who is he/she/it? ~ who are they?

This has a negative, noninterrogative counterpart:

**ayāc** = ay# $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ā- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = it is no one, it is nobody [For the shift of the glottal stop to [y], see § 2.13.1.]

**ahoc āc** = it is no longer anyone, there is (still) no one [Frequently written **aocac**.]

**ahzo ayāc** = perhaps it is no one [Usually written solid and with elision as **ahzayac** or **azayac**.]

**ahca za ayāc** = perhaps he is no one, perhaps there is no one [See § 3.4, *note*. Traditionally written solid and with elision as **acazayac**.]

As is the case with **tleh**, the NNC **āc** occurs frequently as a principal clause whose adjunct clause is introduced by the adjunct **in** (the combination **āc in** means “who is it who . . .?”; see § 19.1). The combination is so frequent that the adjunct has become fused to **āc**, creating the variant NNC **āquin** (also spelled **aqui**). Nahuatl speakers have so lost awareness of the nature of **āquin** as **āc in** that the dependent clause which should follow the **in** may be omitted. It seems more proper, however, to write the two items separately as **āc in** if a dependent clause does in fact follow. The traditional practice of writing them as **aquin** hides the fact that **āc** is the principal clause.

When not initial in a clause group, **āc** ~ **āquin** loses its interrogative quality.

**Zā zo āquin.** = It is anyone whosoever. [Notice the ellipsis of the expected adjoined clause.]

**Ach āquin.** = I don’t know who. [As a reply; see § 3.2.4.]

16.5. *Demonstrative Pronominal NNCs.* There are two demonstrative pronominal NNCs. Both can also function as demonstrative adjectival NNCs (since Nahuatl does not formally distinguish substantival and adjectival NNCs; see § 40.1). As both of these NNCs are invariant, they could be looked upon as pronominal particles. It seems preferable, however, to treat them as NNCs that, like **āc**, are limited to a third-person subject. Because of what happens in the honorific forms (see § 32.3.1), the subject’s number is to be understood as either singular/common or plural. When plural, the number dyad is filled with  $\square$ - $\square$  (see § 16.3.2, with the difference, however, that the stem is not pluralized; see § 18.5).

- īn** = #*θ*-*θ*(**īn**)*θ*-*θ*# = it is this one  
**īn** = #*θ*-*θ*(**īn**)□-□# = they are these  
**ōn** = #*θ*-*θ*(**ōn**)*θ*-*θ*# = it is that one  
**ōn** = #*θ*-*θ*(**ōn**)□-□# = they are those

The stem-final [n] is frequently not written: **i**, **o** (see § 2.3.1).

These demonstrative NNCs are frequently preceded by the adjunctor **in**: **in īn**; **in ōn**. The adjunctor and the NNC are traditionally written solid: **īnin**; **īnon** (and, therefore, also **īni** and **īno**). The uses of **īn** and **ōn** will be discussed later.

16.6. *Indefinite Pronominal NNCs*. There are two indefinite pronominal nounstems, both formed as compound stems on the matrix stem (**-ah**)-*θ*-, “undetermined, unspecified, or unknown entity; some-.” This matrix stem also occurs in the substantival adverbial NNCs **icah**, “sometime,” and **canah**, “somewhere” (see § 45.4.4.d and § 46.3.2.a), which embed the adverbial interrogative NNCs **īc?**, “when?,” and **cān?**, “where?.” In all instances of (**-ah**)-*θ*- as matrix stem, length on the vowel of the embed is lost in the compound stem.

1. (**a-c-ah**)-*θ*- = someone [**&ac?**, “who is it?” (see § 16.4.4).]

**acah** = #*θ*-*θ*(**a-c-ah**)*θ*-*θ*# = he/she is someone  
**tacahmeh** = #*t*-*θ*(**a-c-ah**)**m**-*eh*# = we are some people

2. (**itl-ah**)-*θ*- = something [The embedded constituent (**itl**)-*θ*- is related to the nonhuman nonspecific verb-object pronoun **tla**, “something” (see § 6.2.2) and the (**tl**)-*θ*- of (**tl-eh**)-*θ*- (see § 16.4.1).]

**itlah** = #*θ*-*θ*(**itl-ah**)*θ*-*θ*# = it is something  
**Mach itlah.** = It is nothing at all. [as a reply]  
**Ahza zo oc itlah?** = Is there perhaps something else besides this? [Traditionally spelled solid and with elision: **azazoquitla**.]

As is obvious from the meaning, the stem would only be used to form an NNC with a human subject in special situations.

**Ahtitlah.** = **ah**#*t*-*θ*(**itl-ah**)*θ*-*θ*# = You are nothing.  
**Ahtitlahmeh** = **ah**#*t*-*θ*(**itl-ah**)**m**-*eh*# = We are nothing.  
**Mach titlahtin.** = #*t*-*θ*(**itl-ah**)**t**-*in*# = We are nothing at all.

*Note:* The indefinite pronominal stems (**a-c-ah**)-*θ*- and (**itl-ah**)-*θ*- have a more circumscribed, less general meaning of “someone” and “something” than the indefinite pronominal prefixes **tē** and **tla**.

16.7. *Quantitative Pronominal NNCs*. Quantitative pronominal NNCs can also function as quantitative adjectival NNCs (see § 40.1). The stems for these absolutive-state NNCs are compound ones whose matrix stem is either (**-chī**)-*θ*- ~ (**-ch**)-*θ*- or (**-quī**)-*θ*- ~ (**-c**)-*θ*-, or the combination (**-qui-ch**)-*θ*-.

These matrix stems mean “amount, quantity, number.” Serving as embeds for the matrices are the stems (**īz**-)-, “equal,” (**īx**-)-, “total,” (**miya**-)- ~ (**miye**-)-, “abundant” [also spelled



(**mia-**)- and (**mie-**)-], (**mo-**)-, “full,” (**a-**)-, “small.” Some of these morphs occur in other stem formations; e.g., (**ix-hui**), “to become full/satiated”; (**miyā-hua**)-**tl-**, “maize tassel” [the /a/ is [a:] before /wa/]; (**mo-ca**), “to be full.”

*Note:* The morphemes of the matrix stems (**-chī**)-**θ-** and (**-quī**)-**θ-** have a long /i:/. Both morphemes have four morphs each:

/či:/ > [či:] ~ [čih] ~ [čī] ~ [č]

/ki:/ > [ki:] ~ [kih] ~ [kī] ~ [k]

Concerning the variation of a long vowel with a short vowel plus a glottal stop, see § 2.15. The morphs with the long vowel, [či:] and [ki:], are used before a following pluralizing [n] (see § 16.9). The morphs with the glottal stop, [čih] and [kih], occur before the affective matrix nounstems (see Lesson 32) and in certain other situations. The morphs with a short vowel, [čī] and [kī], occur in situations other than those previously mentioned (for example, short-vowelled [kī] occurs in the combination [kī-č]). The morphs without a vowel, [č] and [k], are idiosyncratic.

The deployment of the morphs of /či:/ and /ki:/ is not as predictable as is normal for morphic variants in Nahuatl. One would expect [či:] and [ki:] to show up anytime these morphs are protected by a sounded morph to their right (except, of course, when [čih] and [kih] are required). For some unknown reason, this does not happen; e.g., one finds compound-stemmed NNCs such as **mochipa**, **izquipa**, **quēzquicān**, and **quēzquitl**, all without [i:].

### 16.8. *Quantitive Pronominal NNCs Formed on Compound Stems Ending in (-qui-ch)-θ-*

There are two quantitive pronominal compound stems formed on the combination (**-qui-ch**)-**θ-** as matrix.

1. (**ix-qui-ch**)-**θ-** = a total amount or quantity; all

**ixquich** = #**θ**-**θ**(**ix-qui-ch**)-**θ**-**θ**# = it is all; they are all

**tixquichtin** = #**t**-**θ**(**ix-qui-ch**)-**t**-**in**# = we are all

The NNCs are frequently modified by adverbs.

**Ahmō ixquich.** = It is not all. It is incomplete. [For **ahmō**, see § 44.5.4.]

**Ahmō cencah ixquich.** = It is not entirely all. It is not quite all. [For **cencah**, see § 44.3.1.]

**Ye ixquich.** = It is already a full amount. It is enough. No more is needed. No more need be said.

**Huel ixquich.** = It is quite complete. It is quite a full amount. [For **huel**, see § 44.5.2.]

**Huel cemixquich.** = #**θ**-**θ**(**cem-ix-qui-ch**)-**θ**-**θ**# = It is total like a unity; i.e., It is fully complete. It is absolutely all. [(**cem**)-**θ-**, “one”; see § 34.3.]

**Zan cuēl tixquich.** = In a short time you will be all; i.e., In a short time your life will be over. [For **cuēl**, see § 44.5.5.]

2. (**quē-x-qui-ch**)-**θ-** = how large a total amount or quantity?, how much?, how many (in general)? [The morph (**quē-**)- is also found in the interrogative adverb **quēn** “how?”; see § 44.5.7.]

**quēxquich** = #**θ**-**θ**(**quē-x-qui-ch**)-**θ**-**θ**# = how much is it?, how much is there?, how many are they? how many are there?

**tiquēxquichtin** = #**ti**-**θ**(**quē-x-qui-ch**)-**t**-**in**# = how many are we? how many are there of us?

There is also a distributive/variational stem with reduplication on the (**ix-**)-: (**quē-x-ix-qui-ch**)-**θ-** = how much/many? (in separate places or of different kinds, sizes, shapes, etc.).

**quēxixquich** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (quē-x-ix-qui-ch) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = how many are there of the different kinds?  
**anquēxixquichtin** = #an- $\emptyset$ (quē-x-ix-qui-ch)t-in# = how many are there of you diverse people?

When not sentence-initial, NNCs formed on **(quē-x-qui-ch)- $\emptyset$**  lose their interrogative quality (like all interrogative NNCs).

**Ach quēxquich.** = I don't know how much. [As a reply; see § 3.2.4.]

**Oc achi quēxquich.** = It is a little more. There is a little more. [For **achi**, see § 16.9.6.]

**Zan quēxquich.** = It is a small amount. They are just a few.

**Zan quēxquichtin.** = They are few. There are just a few of them.

For **quēxquich** in an adverbial function, see § 44.6.

16.9. *Quantitive Pronominal NNCs Formed on Compound Stems Ending in (-quī)- $\emptyset$  or (-chī)- $\emptyset$ .* When **(-quī)- $\emptyset$**  (or its variant **(-c)- $\emptyset$** ) or **(-chī)- $\emptyset$**  (or its variant **(-ch)- $\emptyset$** ) serves as the matrix of a compound nounstem, the stem normally has the peculiarity of being pluralized by derivationally including the plural suffix **n** if the subject of the NNC is plural. The morphic dyad in the plural subject pronoun's number position may be **t-in** or  $\square$ - $\square$  (compare § 16.3.2).

1. **(miya-quī)- $\emptyset$**  ~ **(miya-c)- $\emptyset$**  ~ **(miye-quī)- $\emptyset$**  ~ **(miye-c)- $\emptyset$**  = an abundant amount or quantity; much, many [These stems are usually spelled without the /y/.]

**miyec** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (miye-c) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is much, it is a lot; they are many

**timiyequintin** = #ti- $\emptyset$ (miye-quī-n)t-in# = we are many

**timiyequīn** = #ti- $\emptyset$ (miye-quī-n) $\square$ - $\square$ # = we are many

**timiyectin** = #ti- $\emptyset$ (miye-c)t-in# = we are many [a variant formation]

The NNCs are frequently modified by adverbs:

**Ahmō miyec.** = It is not much. There is little.

**Cencah miyec.** = It is quite a lot. There is quite a lot.

**Ahmō cencah miyequīn** = They are not very many.

2. **(ce-quī)- $\emptyset$**  ~ **(ce-c)- $\emptyset$**  = one/a certain amount or number; one, some, part [The stem **(ce-c)- $\emptyset$**  occurs only as an embed of a compound stem; e.g., **cecni**, "in/at one place, in/at a certain place, in/at a separate place; **ceccān**, "in/at one place, in/at a certain place," **cectlapal**, "at a certain side, at one side" [These adverbial NNCs are presented in Lessons 44 and 46.]:

**cequi** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ce-quī) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is a part (of s.th.)

**ticequintin** = #ti- $\emptyset$ (ce-quī-n)t-in# = we are some (of a group)

**ticequīn** = #ti- $\emptyset$ (ce-quī-n) $\square$ - $\square$ # = we are some (of a group)

**azcequīn** = #az- $\emptyset$ (ce-quī-n) $\square$ - $\square$ # = you (pl) are some [Notice the assimilation: /nasal/ + /s/ > [ss].]

The NNCs can be modified by adverbs:

**Oc cequi.** = It is some more. They are some more. It is another one.

**Oc cequintin.** = They are some more. They are some others. They are others.

3. (*iz-qui*)- $\emptyset$ - = an equal amount or number; as much, as many; so much, so many [Compare (*iz-qui-ch*)- $\emptyset$ - in § 16.8.1.]

**izqui** =  $\#\emptyset\emptyset(\textit{iz-qui})\emptyset\emptyset\#$  = it is as much, they are as many

**tizquintin** =  $\#t\emptyset(\textit{iz-qui-n})t\text{-in}\#$  = we are equal in number

**tizquĩn** =  $\#t\emptyset(\textit{iz-qui-n})\square\square\#$  = we are equal in number

**tizquĩmeh** =  $\#t\emptyset(\textit{iz-qui})m\text{-eh}\#$  = we are equal in number [a variant formation]

The NNCs are frequently modified by adverbs:

**Huel izqui.** = They are an exactly equal amount. They are exactly equal in quantity.

**Oc nõ izquintin.** = They are as many again.

**Zan nõ izquintin.** = They are just as many.

4. (*quē-z-qui*)- $\emptyset$ - = how large or full a number? how many (specifically)? how large a sum? [Compare § 16.8.2.]

**quēzqui?** =  $\#\emptyset\emptyset(\textit{quē-z-qui})\emptyset\emptyset\#$  = how many are they? what is their sum? how many of them are there?

**tiquēzquintin?** =  $\#ti\emptyset(\textit{quē-z-qui-n})t\text{-in}\#$  = how many are we?

**tiquēzquĩmeh?** =  $\#ti\emptyset(\textit{quē-z-qui})m\text{-eh}\#$  = how many are we? [A variant formation but rarely used.]

When not sentence initial, an NNC formed on (*quē-z-qui*)- $\emptyset$ - loses its interrogative quality.

**Ach quēzqui.** = I don't know how many. [as a reply]

**Zan quēzqui.** = They are only a few.

**Ahmõ zan quēzqui.** = They are not just a few. They are a lot.

**Ahmõ zan quēzquintin.** = They are a crowd. They are a multitude.

There is also a distributive/variational stem with reduplication on the (*iz-*)-

(*quē-c-iz-qui*)- $\emptyset$ -, "how many each? what sum each?"

**Zan quēcizqui.** = There are only so many each. [not interrogative here, because not sentence initial]

5. (*a-qui*)- $\emptyset$ - = a small amount or number; a few

**aqui** =  $\#\emptyset\emptyset(\textit{a-qui})\emptyset\emptyset\#$  = it is a little; they are a few

6. (*a-chi*)- $\emptyset$ - = a small amount or quantity, a little

**achi** =  $\#\emptyset\emptyset(\textit{a-chi})\emptyset\emptyset\#$  = it is a small amount [For **achi** in an adverbial function, see § 44.6.]

7. (*mo-chi*)- $\emptyset$ - ~ (*mo-ch*)- $\emptyset$ - = a full amount or number, all

**mochi** =  $\#\emptyset\emptyset(\textit{mo-chi})\emptyset\emptyset\#$  = it is all, they are all

**timochintin** =  $\#ti\emptyset(\textit{mo-chi-n})t\text{-in}\#$  = we are all

**timochĩn** =  $\#ti\emptyset(\textit{mo-chi-n})\square\square\#$  = we are all

**timochtĩn** =  $\#ti\emptyset(\textit{mo-ch})t\text{-in}\#$  = we are all [a variant formation]

The NNCs formed on this stem can be modified adverbially.

**Achi mochi.** = It is almost all. They are almost all. [Notice the adverbial function of **achi.**]

**Achi mochīntin.** = They are almost all.

The shortened stem **(mo-ch)-θ-**, besides appearing as the predicate of a simple-stemmed NNC, can also be embed in a compound stem with **(eh-huā)-tl-** as matrix.

**mochehhuātl** = #θ-θ(mo-ch-eh-huā)tl-θ# = it is all of that entity; they are all of those entities

**mochehhuāntin** = #θ-θ(mo-ch-eh-huā-n)t-in# = they are all of those entities

8. **(ix-a-chī)-θ-** = a very large amount or number; much; many

**ixachi** = #θ-θ(ix-a-chī)θ-θ# = it is a very large quantity; it is a lot; there is a great deal of it/them

**tixachīntin** = #t-θ(ix-a-chī-n)t-in# = we are a great many

**tixachīn** = #t-θ(ix-a-chī-n)-□-□# = we are a great many

## LESSON 17

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### Supplementation (Part One)

17.1. *Multiple-Nucleus Combinations.* Until now the only kind of syntactical group dealt with has manifested a structure of adverbial modification in which particles have been combined with a single nuclear clause (see § 8.3). It is now time to consider concatenate structures created by combining two or more nuclear clauses. Only one type of this kind of syntactical group will be discussed at the present—the one called a *structure of supplementation*.

17.2. *Supplementation.* **Supplementation** is a type of apposition in which the head is always a personal pronoun. As was pointed out in § 4.6, personal pronouns are inherently deictic and/or anaphoric or cataphoric. The focus in supplementation is on anaphora and cataphora.

Anaphoric and cataphoric reference can be supplied either OUTSIDE the boundaries of a given sentence (e.g., “I saw *your friend Jack* yesterday. *He* told me that *his* wife bought a new car,” where “your friend Jack” is an (anaphoric) antecedent explaining the meaning of both “he” and “his” in the next sentence) or INSIDE a sentence’s boundaries (e.g., “*Your friend Jack*, what’s *he* do?” or “What’s *he* do, *your friend Jack?*,” where “your friend Jack” is explaining the meaning of “he” within a single sentence).

The second arrangement (sentence-internal anaphora and cataphora) is the result of the kind of transformation that creates a structure of supplementation.

In English supplementation is of small importance. It occurs mainly in the expletive constructions, where the pronoun “it” occupies the subject position and its supplementary unit is placed at the end; this supplement may be a phrase (e.g., “It was necessary *to fight*”) or an entire sentence downgraded to the rank of an adjoined clause (e.g., “It is true *that they had invented the wheel*”). Supplementation in English is also found in colloquial speech (as in the example about Jack above) or in writing, to achieve a desired tonal effect, as in “*Little trotty wagtail*, he went in the rain. . . . And then he flew away ere *his feathers* they were dry” (from the poem “Little Trotty Wagtail” by John Clare [1793–1864]. The supplementary subjects in the two sentences have been italicized here). As can be seen, in English the item being supplemented is a wordal pronoun, so it is merely a stylistic option.

In Nahuatl, on the other hand, supplementation is an extremely frequent, indispensable syntactical device. This is necessarily so, since Nahuatl syntax is based on nuclear clauses and

not on words, requiring that its personal pronouns be affixal rather than wordal. Affixes cannot be given vocal stress for emphasis (as an English wordal personal pronoun can), nor can they be replaced by wordal equivalents for the purpose of clarification of meaning (contrast this with English; since “she” in “she ran” is wordal, a speaker/writer can just as easily replace it with a more explicit expression such as “Jane,” “the frightened girl,” etc., depending on what information the addressee is deemed to need). One should be aware, however, that English grammarians look upon this problem differently from the description given here; they reverse the values. For example, the “it” in a sentence such as “It was necessary to fight” is called an “anticipatory subject” and the noun subject is called the “real subject” (or the “logical subject”). This explanation is also considered valid for such sentences as “She is a very bright girl, that cousin of yours,” where “she” is considered to be an “anticipatory subject.” In Nahuatl, however, the basic (affixal) subject in a nuclear clause is the “real subject,” and the nuclear clause filling out the information about it is the “supplementary (added-on) subject.”

Supplementation in Nahuatl is constantly relied on to expand (for the sake of emphasis, contrast, clarity, or added information) any nuclear function in an NNC or VNC that is represented by personal-pronominal affixes: the subject, the object, and the possessor. Consequently, the nuclear subject, the nuclear object, or the nuclear possessor in a principal clause may function as the *head* of a structure of supplementation. The *supplement* (an adjoined nuclear clause or a group consisting of concatenated nuclear clauses) is called (depending on the nature of its head) the *supplementary subject*, the *supplementary object*, or the *supplementary possessor*.

There are two kinds of structures of supplementation: (1) shared-referent supplementation, and (2) included-referent supplementation. The discussion of the latter begins in § 19.3. All three kinds of nuclear personal pronouns (subject, object, and possessor) permit both kinds of supplementation.

17.3. *Shared-Referent Supplementation.* In shared-referent supplementation a relevant personal pronoun in the adjoined clause that functions as the supplement and the personal pronoun that is its head in the principal nuclear clause point to the same referent (the identity is usually made evident by the person-number agreement between the personal pronouns in the two concatenated nuclear clauses).

The simplest type of shared-referent supplementation is that in which an NNC manifesting the equational sentence (see § 15.3) performs the function of supplement. Even without the adjunctor *in* (see § 3.2.2) to make evident the adjoined status, an NNC, when combined with a VNC, tends to serve as an adjunct unless there are indications to the contrary. (In the following examples, hyphens connect the literally translated elements of the concatenated clauses; the translation of the principal clause is italicized.)

1. Supplementary subject: the personal-pronoun subject of the adjunct refers to the same entity as the personal-pronoun *subject* of the principal.

Principal: **Nicuīca.** = I sing.

Adjunct: **NiPetoloh.** = I am Peter.

Transform: **Nicuīca niPetoloh.** = *I-sing* I-am-Peter; i.e., I, Peter, sing. [**ni-θ**(. . .)**θ-θ** of the supplement = its head, **ni-θ**(. . .)**θ-θ** in the principal. The adjunct, functioning as supplementary subject, stands in cross-reference to the nuclear subject of the principal.]

Principal: **Ōnicuīcac.** = I sang.

Adjunct: **Nehhuātl.** = I am an entity.

Transform: **Ōnicuīcac nehhuātl.** = *I-sang* I-am-an-entity; i.e., I sang. [The pronominal NNC functioning as supplementary subject here emphasizes the nuclear subject of the VNC. English indicates this by vocal stress on its pronominal word.]

Principal: **Ca ahtleh.** = It is indeed nothing.

Adjunct: **Ītōcā.** = It is his name.

Transform: **Ca ahtleh Ītōcā.** = Indeed *it-is-nothing* it-is-his-name; i.e., His name is nothing. He has no name. [**θ-θ+**(. . .)**θ-θ** of the supplement = its head, **θ-θ**(. . .)**θ-θ**, in the principal. The supplement stands in cross-reference to the nuclear subject of the principal.]

Principal: **Titih̄tōtizqueh.** = We shall dance.

Adjunct: **Tōtomih.** = We are Otomis.

Transform: **Titih̄tōtizqueh tōtomih.** = We Otomis shall dance. [**t-θ**(. . .)**θ-h** of the supplement = its head, **Ti-θ+**. . .**+qu-eh**, in the principal. The adjunct, functioning as supplementary subject, stands in cross-reference to the nuclear subject of the principal.]

Principal: **Ahcualli.** = He is not good. He is bad.

Adjunct: **Īmōntah.** = He is her father-in-law.

Transform: **Ahcualli Īmōntah.** = Her father-in-law is bad.

Principal: **Cuix tlanamacanih?** = Do they customarily sell things?

Adjunct: **Pōchtēcah.** = They are merchants.

Transform: **Cuix tlanamacanih pōchtēcah?** = Do merchants customarily sell things? [**θ-θ**(. . .)**θ-h** of the supplement = its head, **θ-θ+**. . .**+θ-h**, in the principal. The supplement stands in cross-reference to the nuclear subject of the principal.]

Before the conquest Nahuatl had no verb equivalent to “to have” (after the conquest the verb **tlā-(piya)**, “to guard s.th.,” was conscripted for the purpose). One of the ways the notion was expressed was to use the verbstem (**ca-h**), “to be,” with the locative prefix **on**, in a VNC serving as principal (e.g., **oncah, oncateh**) plus a possessive-state NNC serving as supplementary subject.

**Oncah īxōxal.** = His hernia is there; i.e., He has a hernia.

**Oc oncah ĩtah.** = His father is still there; i.e., He still has a father. His father is still alive.

**Onyez notēnyo.** = My fame will be there; i.e., I shall have fame.

2. Supplementary object: the personal-pronoun subject of the adjunct refers to the same entity as the personal-pronoun *object* of the principal.

Principal: **Nēchitta**. = He sees me.

Adjunct: **NiPetoloh**. = I am Peter.

Transform: **Nēchitta niPetoloh**. = *He-sees-me* I-am-Peter; i.e., He sees me, Peter. [ni-θ(. . .)θ-θ of the supplement = its head, **n-ēch**, in the principal. **NiPetoloh** stands in cross-reference to the nuclear object of **nēchitta**.]

3. Supplementary possessor: the personal-pronoun subject of the adjunct refers to the same entity as the personal-pronoun *possessor* of the principal.

Principal: **Nocal**. = It is my house. They are my houses.

Adjunct: **NiPetoloh**. = I am Peter.

Transform: **Nocal niPetoloh**. = *It-is-my-house* I-am-Peter. *They-are-my-houses* I-am-Peter; i.e., It is my house (and I am Peter). They are my houses (and I am Peter). [ni-θ(. . .)θ-θ of the supplement = its head, **n-o**, in the principal. The adjunct **niPetoloh** stands in cross-reference to the nuclear possessor of **nocal**.]

As a consequence of NNC structure, Nahuatl does not permit the direct possessor-as-modifier structure found in English, where a nounword signifying a possessed entity is modified by a noun phrase signifying the possessor (e.g., “Bill’s hat,” “the man on the corner’s hat”). Nahuatl must rely on this supplementary-possessor construction. The following are a few more examples:

**Ītlac cuahuītl**. = *It-is-its-trunk* it-is-a-tree. *They-are-their-trunks* they-are-trees; i.e., It is the trunk of a tree. They are the trunks of trees.

**Nomīl nehhuātl**. = *It-is-my-field* I-am-an-entity; *They-are-my-fields* I-am-an-entity; i.e., It is *my* field. They are *my* fields. [The supplementary possessor merely adds emphasis to its head, **n-o**.]

**Īnnān nocnīhuān**. = *She-is-their-mother* they-are-my-friends; i.e., She is my friends’ mother. [θ-θ(. . .)hu-ān of the supplement = its head, **ī-n** in the principal.]

17.4. *Further Particulars on Shared-Referent Supplementation*. The following further remarks can be made concerning the constructions in § 17.3.

1. An adjunctive transformation is recursive; that is, it may be carried out again and again, so that an adjunct can serve as a principal to an adjunct, which can in turn serve as a principal to an adjunct, etc. The result is a hierarchy of layers of adjoined constructions:

**Īcal icnīuh Petoloh**. = *It-is-his-house* he-is-his-friend he-is-Peter; i.e., It is Peter’s friend’s house.

**Ōniccuah iteuh tōtolin**. = *I-ate-it/them* it-is/they-are-its-egg/eggs it-is-a-turkey-hen; i.e., I ate the turkey’s egg/eggs.

**Oncah ūtzhui mocnīuh itah?** = *Is-it-there* it-is-his-obsidian he-is-your-friend he-is-his-father?; i.e., Is your friend’s father’s obsidian there? I.e., Does your friend’s father have obsidian?

**Īchichi imicnīuh nopilhuān nehhuātl**. = *It-is-his-dog* he-is-their-friend they-are-my-children I-am-an-entity; i.e., It is *my* children’s friend’s dog. [The italics on “my” indicates vocal emphasis.]



**Ōniquittac ichichi amocniuh annōpilhuān.** = *I-saw-it it-is-his-dog he-is-your(pl)-friend you-are-my-children*; i.e., I saw the dog of the friend of you who are my children.

2. Since the point of contact between a supplement and its head lies in the identity of personal-pronoun-referents and not in the stems, an indefinite pronominal NNC may appear in cross-reference to a specific nuclear personal pronoun.

**Quichīuh itlah.** = *He-did-it it-is-something*; i.e., He did something.

3. The demonstrative pronominal NNCs **īn** and **ōn** may function as supplementary elements.

**Yehhuātl īn.** = This is the one; i.e., It is this one. [Also written **yehhuātlin** and **yehhuatli**. The pronoun **īn** is the supplementary subject.]

**Yehhuāntin ōn.** = Those are the ones; i.e., They are those. [Also written **yehhuāntinōn** and **yehhuantino**.]

**Ca yehhuātl ōn.** = That is indeed the one; i.e., It is indeed that one.

**Yeh ōn.** = That is the one. [Also written **yehōn** and **yeho**.]

**Cuix ōticchīuh īn?** = Perchance you did this? I.e., Did you do this?

4. Since the shared-referent contact between two nuclear clauses may be made either through a subject personal pronoun or through an object personal pronoun, transitive VNCs involving only third-person singular or only third-person plural personal pronouns are ambiguous if the verbstem permits an animate referent in both the subject role and the object role.

**Ōquittac Petoloh.** = (a) Peter saw him. Peter saw her. (b) He saw Peter. She saw Peter.

**Ōquimittaqueh yehhuāntin.** = (a) *They* saw them. (b) They saw *them*.

17.5. *The Topicalization Transformation.* Supplements have no fixed position within a sentence. Previous examples have shown them placed after the principal. When transposed to a position before the principal, the supplement (subject, object, or possessor) becomes a sentence *topic*. It announces what is going to be talked about. What is said about the topic (i.e., what follows it) is called the *comment*. (A topic, by definition, must be an adjunct and must stand *before* the principal; if the principal stands first, there is no topic-comment construction.)

The connection between the topic and the comment is relatively “loose”; that is, a slight hiatus is heard between adjunct and principal. In writing, this may even be represented by a comma, especially if the topic consists of several constituents.

At times English points out the topic with an introductory phrase, such as “As for...,” “With regard to . . .,” etc.:

**Yehhuātl mā miqui.** = *He-is-an-entity if only he-may-die*; i.e., As for him, let him die.

[**Yehhuātl** is the topic functioning as the supplementary subject of the nuclear subject of **miqui**.]

More frequently, no special attention is given the topic in English translations of the Nahuatl structure. (Contrast the following sentences with those in § 17.3.)

**NiPetoloh nicuīca.** = I, Peter, sing. [**NiPetoloh** is the topic; **nicuīca** is the comment. The topic here functions as a supplementary subject standing in cross-reference to the nuclear subject of **nicuīca**.]

**NiPetoloh nēchitta.** = He sees me, Peter. [**NiPetoloh** is the topic; **nēchitta** is the comment; the topic here functions as a supplementary object standing in cross-reference to the nuclear object of **nēchitta**.]

**NiPetoloh nocal.** = It is my house (and I am Peter). [**NiPetoloh** is the topic; **nocal** is the comment. The topic here functions as a supplementary possessor standing in cross-reference to the nuclear possessor of **nocal**.]

The comment is frequently introduced by the emphatic particle **ca**:

**Nehhuātl ca nixolopihkli.** = I am indeed a fool. [**Nehhuātl** is the topic and **ca nixolopihkli** is the comment.]

The comment may, of course, contain supplements:

**NiPetoloh niccōhuaz incen.** = I, Peter, will buy their dried ears of maize. [**NiPetoloh** is the topic; **niccōhuaz incen** is the comment.]

It is possible for a sentence to have a number of topics:

**NiYohyōntzin noyōllo quimati.** = I-am-Yohyontzin it-is-my-heart *it-knows-it*; i.e., My heart knows it (and I am Yohyontzin). I, Yohyontzin, suppose it. [**NiYohyōntzin** is the primary topic and **noyōllo quimati** is the comment made about it; **noyōllo** is the secondary topic and **quimati** is the comment made about it. The primary topic is a supplementary possessor; the secondary topic is a supplementary subject.]

Since order of elements does not, as a rule, signal syntactical function, it is possible to have ambiguous combinations of nuclear clauses. One example of ambiguity involves the combination of two equative-noun NNCs:

**Yehhuātl notahtzin.** = (a) My father is that one. [This translation takes **yehhuātl** to be the principal, with **notahtzin** functioning as the supplementary subject.]

(b) *He* is my father. [This translation takes **notahtzin** to be the principal, with **yehhuātl** as a topic functioning as a supplementary subject.]

This type of ambiguity can be resolved either by the adjunctive (see § 18.3) or by placing the emphatic particle **ca** before the principal: **Ca yehhuātl notahtzin**, “My father is (indeed) that one,” **Ca notahtzin yehhuātl**, “*He* is (indeed) my father,” **Yehhuātl ca notahtzin**, “As for him, he is (indeed) my father,” etc.

17.6. *Information Questions by Means of Supplements.* Information questions concerning entities result from a transformation that replaces a supplement in a *yes/no* question with an interrogative pronominal NNC. The interrogative NNC must be placed at the beginning of the sentence.

Source: **Cuix tiquihtoh in?** = Did you say this?

Transform: **Tleh tiquihtoh?** = What did you say?

Source: **Cuix īpatiuh zan tepitzin?** = Is its price only a small amount?

Transform: **Quēxquich īpatiuh?** = What amount is its price? What does it cost? How much does it cost?

Source: **Cuix yehhuātl motahtzin?** = Is he your father? Is your father that one?

Transform 1: **Āc yehhuātl?** = Who is he? [This transform takes **yehhuātl** to be the adjunct of the source sentence. **Āc** is the principal of the transform.]

Transform 2: **Āc motahtzin?** = Who is your father? [This transform takes **motahtzin** to be the adjunct of the source sentence. **Āc** is the principal of the transform.]

Source: **Cuix īāxcā mocnīuh?** = Is it your friend's (property)?

Transform: **Āc īāxcā?** = Whose (property) is it?

## LESSON 18

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### Supplementation (Part Two)

18.1. *The Integrated Supplement.* When a supplementary subject or object is placed before a VNC that contains its head and that VNC is modified by the antecessive-order particle **ō#**, the **o#** can be prefixed to the supplement instead of to the VNC. The result is a feeling that supplement and principal have been integrated into a single syntactical unit, since the antecessive-order morph is logically more concerned with the VNC than with the NNC. The difference in the Nahuatl structure cannot be translated into English.

**Nihīyo ōnicān.** = #**ō-θ+n-□(ih-ī-yo)θ-θ#** **ō#ni-θ+c-θ(ān)θ+□-θ#**. = I caught my breath. I got my breath back.

**Ōnihīyo nicān.** = **ō#ō-θ+n-□(ih-ī-yo)θ-θ#** **#ni-θ+c-θ(ān)θ+□-θ#**. = I caught my breath. I got my breath back.

18.2. *Supplementation and the Short Personal-Pronominal NNCs.* The pronominal NNCs **neh**, **teh**, etc. cannot stand alone as utterances. They occur ordinarily as supplements; they may, however, serve as a principal that adjoins other constituents in the sentence.

**Āc ōquichīuh īn?** —**Nehhuātl.** = Who did this? —I did. [**Neh** cannot be used in this manner.]

**Āc ōquichīuh īn?** —**Neh ōnicchīuh.** = Who did this? —I did it.

**Teh tināch.** = *You* are my older brother.

**Huel teh titlahtoā?** = Are *you* able to talk? [For **huel**, see § 44.5.2.]

**Ca nō teh tiyez!** = Indeed also *you* will be! [Also possible: § 51.3.1.]

**Yeh ōnēchmōtlac.** = *He* threw a rock at me.

**Ca ahmō teh mocal.** = It is not *your* house. [For **ahmō**, see § 44.5.4.]

**Cātl yeh?** ~ **Cātl eh?** = Which one of those is it? [**Cātl eh?** may also be written **cātleh**, in which case it is indistinguishable from the **cātleh** of § 16.4.3; the latter has the variant form **cātlein**, while the former has the variant form **cātl ehhuātl.**]

18.3. *Marked Supplementation.* The supplements exemplified thus far have been unmarked. As has been noted, however, unmarked adjunction is frequently open to ambiguity. To avoid

or lessen this ambiguity or simply to insist on the subordinate nature of an adjunct, the adjunctor **in** (see § 3.2.2) is used.

The purpose of **in** is to adjoin a lower-level unit to a higher-level one. Whether the adjoined unit is a nuclear clause or a sentence, **in** subordinates it *as a whole*. This means that when **in** is placed in front of an NNC, it does not affect the determinacy of its predicate (concerning the definiteness or indefiniteness of the predicate of an NNC, see § 15.3, *note*). Compare the following two sentences:

**Quittaqueh ācalli.**

**Quittaqueh in ācalli.**

They both have the same four possible translations: (1) “They saw a boat,” (2) “They saw the boat,” (3) “They saw boats,” (4) “They saw the boats.” Context provides the criteria for decisions about which of these translations is the most appropriate in any given instance (see § 3.2.2).

The following are a few examples [in literally translated examples, *adjr* = adjunctor]:

**Yehhuātl in notahtzin.** = *He-is-that-one* *adjr* he-is-my-father; i.e., My father is that one.

[See § 43.1.3 for another translation of this sentence. The adjunct is here taken to be a supplementary subject.]

**Ca toyāōuh in Otomitl.** = The/An Otomi is indeed our enemy. [The adjunct is a supplementary subject.]

**Nacatl in itlacual cuāuhkli.** = *It-is-meat* *adjr* it-is-its-food it-is-an-eagle; i.e., An eagle’s food is meat. [The adjunct is a supplementary subject; being itself a structure of supplementation, it has the adjunct **cuāuhkli** as a supplementary possessor.]

**Ye yauh in amoyāōuh.** = Your enemy is already going. [The adjunct is a supplementary subject.]

**Quimmāmah immazāhuān.** = Their deer (i.e., their horses) are bearing them on their backs. [The adjunct is a supplementary subject.]

**Quihuāllāzah in mītl** = They shoot arrows hither. [The adjunct is a supplementary object.]

The following examples show the marked supplement functioning as a topic:

**In ācalli quicuepa.** = As for boats, she upsets them. She upsets boats. As for the boat, she upsets it. She upsets the boat. Etc. [The topic is a supplementary object.]

**In tlātlācohtin miqiyah.** = Slaves used to die. The slaves used to die. [I.e., “be sacrificed.” The topic is a supplementary subject.]

**In yehhuāntin, mā huālquīztin.** = As for them, let them beware of coming out. Let *them* beware of coming out. [The topic is a supplementary subject.]

The demonstrative pronominal NNCs **in** and **ōn** may be adjoined to a principal clause by the adjunctor **in**:

**In in mā miqui.** = As for this one, let him die.

**In ōn mochīntin quipiyah.** = As for that one, many guard him.

In traditional spelling the adjunctor is usually written solid with the pronominal NNC: **inin** ~ **ini**; **inon** ~ **ino**.

18.4. *The Discontinuous Structure of Supplementation.* It frequently happens that the supplement in a structure of supplementation (especially in one of possessor supplementation) is placed at a distance from its head. The discontinuous structure usually results from a transformation that moves either the nuclear clause containing the head or the nuclear clause representing the supplement into or out of a topic position (compare § 43.3).

**In cocoxqui ōhuetz in itozqui.** = Adj<sub>r</sub> he-is-a/the-sick-one *it-fell* adj<sub>r</sub> it-is-his-voice; i.e., As for the sick man, his voice failed; i.e., The sick man's voice failed. The sick man lost his voice. [The discontinuous structure of supplementation is **in cocoxqui . . . in itozqui**. The possessor pronoun **ī-θ** of **#θ-θ+ī-θ(toz-qui)θ-θ#** is the head, and **in cocoxqui** is the supplementary possessor. This structure of supplementation itself acts as a supplementary subject of the basic subject **#θ-θ(. . .+□-θ#** of **ōhuetz**.]

**Ōinyōllo ompachiuh in pīpiltin.** = Already-it-is-their-heart *it-became-satisfied-thither* adj<sub>r</sub> they-are-nobles, i.e., The nobles' hearts became satisfied there; i.e., The nobles became satisfied. [Besides being an integrated supplement (see § 18.1) with regard to **ompachiuh**, the NNC **inyōllo** contains the possessor pronoun **ī-n**, which serves as the head for the supplementary possessor contained in **pīpiltin**.]

18.5. *Possible Lack of Agreement between a Supplement and Its Head.* With certain NNCs whose subject personal pronoun is apparently singular in form but plural in reference (collective NNCs, such as **moch**), there may be a lack of grammatical agreement between the supplement and its head (compare § 42.8.5).

**Moch micqueh.** = All died.

It may be, however, that the presumed analysis, **#θ-θ(mo-ch)θ-θ#**, is wrong, with the analysis being in fact **#θ-θ(mo-ch)□-□#**, where **□-□** is an irregular plural-number dyad as in § 16.5. This is suggested by a sentence such as:

**Timoch tēhuah.** = We all arise together; i.e., We are all of the same nation (clan, family, etc.). [The subject pronoun of **timoch** cannot possibly be second-person singular, thereby forcing the analysis of **#ti-θ(mo-ch)□-□#**, where **□-□** is the plural-number dyad, a formation that is completely unexpected.]

18.6. *The “Named-Partner” Supplement.* When a supplement refers to a plural number that includes a known entity and a third-person entity newly identified in the utterance by an NNC (e.g., “the man and I,” “the man and you,” “the man and she”), as a rule only the named third-person entity is mentioned in a supplement (see also § 43.9).

**Cuix ye ōantlacuahqueh in mocniuh?** = Perchance already *you(pl)-ate-something* adj<sub>r</sub> he-is-your-friend? I.e., Have you and your friend already eaten?

**Ca ceppa ōtitomictihqueh nocihuāuh.** = Indeed once *we-killed-one-another* she-is-my-woman; i.e., Once my wife and I did have a fight. [**Ōtitomictihqueh**, “we killed one another,” is used in the conative sense of “we tried to kill one another,” an exaggeration for “we fought.” For **ceppa**, see § 46.11. For **ōtitomictihqueh**, see § 25.3.]

18.7. *The “Male-Bonding” Supplement.* When an NNC containing the nounstem (**oquich**)-**tli-** is adjoined as a supplement, a special construction is possible in which the general restriction concerning shared referents is not respected. Whenever a man uses an NNC built on this stem to speak of men in general or of one or more men of a group (nation, tribe, clan, family, etc.) of which he himself is a member, he uses a first-person plural subject, although the nuclear pronoun serving as its head may be in the third person (compare § 43.8):

**Ca quihtoah in toquichtin, “Ahzo itlah tomahcēhual.”** = Indeed we men say, “Perhaps our merit is something.” [I.e., “We will merit something.” The first-person plural subject of **toquichtin** is standing in cross-reference to its head, the third-person plural subject of **quihtoah**.]

**Iuhqui in intlahtōl mochihuaya toquichtin.** = It was thus that our men’s words used to be made. [I.e., “spoken.” For **iuhqui**, see § 35.3. The NNC **toquichtin** has a first-person plural subject that is standing in cross-reference to the third-person plural possessor **i-n**.]

**In toquichtin quinhuīcatzeh incihcihuāhuān.** = The men go accompanying their women. [The first-person plural subject of **toquichtin** is the supplementary subject of the third-person plural subject of **quinhuīcatzeh** and also the supplementary possessor in cross-reference to the third-person plural nuclear possessor **i-n** of **incihcihuāhuān**.]

If a man not associated with the men involved in the action had said these sentences, or if a woman had said them, they would have been:

**Ca quihtoah in oquichtin, “Ahzo itlah tomahcēhual.”**

**Iuhqui in intlahtōl mochihuaya oquichtin.**

**In oquichtin quinhuīcatzeh in incihcihuāhuān.**

18.8. *The Verb tla-(āyi) and the Silent Presence of the Specific Object Pronoun.* The transitive verb **tla-(āyi)**, “to do s.th.,” is exceptional in that, although a VNC built on it must have the nonspecific-object pronoun **tla** to represent an unspecified patient, if the patient is specific, the object-pronoun dyad is  $\square-\emptyset$  (i.e., as pronounced or written, the VNC appears to be intransitive, but the verbstem is so strongly transitive that an object pronoun is “felt” to be present). This means that when an NNC is adjoined as a supplementary object, it stands in apposition to this silently present nuclear object-pronoun; i.e., the supplementary object (which is built almost exclusively on pronominal nounstems such as **(tl-eh)- $\emptyset$** , **(itl-ah)- $\emptyset$** , and **(mo-chi)- $\emptyset$** ) seems to have no head, although—as will be made evident later—it in fact has a silently present one. (The verbstem belongs to class B, so the perfective stem is **tla-(āx)**. VNCs built on the imperfective stem are traditionally written without the **y**.)

**Nitlaāyi.** =  $\#ni-\emptyset+tla(\bar{a}yi)\emptyset+\emptyset-\emptyset\#$  = I am doing something/things.

**Itlah nāyi.** =  $\#n-\emptyset+\square-\emptyset(\bar{a}yi)\emptyset+\emptyset-\emptyset\#$  = I am doing something.

**Mochi huel āyi.** =  $\#\emptyset-\emptyset+\square-\emptyset(\bar{a}yi)\emptyset+\square-\emptyset\#$  = He does everything well. He can do everything.

[For **huel**, see § 44.5.2.]

**Ahoc tleh huel āxqueh.** =  $\#\emptyset-\emptyset+\square-\emptyset(\bar{a}x)\emptyset+qu-eh\#$ . = They could do no more.

*Note:* The verb (**ich-tequi**), “to steal” (literally, “to cut maguey fiber”) is the opposite of **tla-(āyi)** in that a VNC built on it does not permit a nonspecific object but, on the other hand, requires a specific one (see § 24.2):

**nichtequi** = I steal

**niquichtequi** = I steal it/them

18.9. *Deletion of the Principal.* Under certain conditions a VNC that serves as a principal clause to both an adverbial modifier and a supplementary subject can be deleted. As a result the adverbial adjunct is upgraded to the rank of a proxy principal. Since the head of the supplementary subject is no longer present, what was the supplementary subject becomes merely a subject. In the surface grammar it has no visible relationship to the proxy principal. One common example of this transformation has a source sentence with a principal VNC built on the verbstem (**ca-h**).

Source: **Cāmpa cah mochān?** = Where *it-exists* it-is-your-home; i.e., Where is your home?

[**Mochān** is a supplementary subject standing in apposition to the nuclear subject of **cah**.

For **cāmpa**, see § 46.10.]

Transform: **Cāmpa mochān?** = *Where* it-is-your-home? I.e., Where is your home?

Source: **Oncān cah ōn.** = There *it-exists* it-is-that-one; i.e., That one is there. [For **oncān**, see § 46.3.2.b.]

Transform: **Oncān ōn.** = *There* it-is-that-one; i.e., That one is there.

18.10. *A So-Called Vocative Construction.* A second-person supplementary subject whose head is in an optative VNC has been called a vocative because it is translated as such into Spanish and English, since these languages find it strange to include a subject in a command (although it is possible in English to say, for example, “You children be quiet now”). The real vocative constructions are presented in § 18.11.

**Xihuāllauh in ticihuātl.** = *Come* adjr you-are-a-woman; i.e., Come, woman.

**Xihuālhuiān in azcihuah.** = *Come* adjr you-are-women; i.e., Come, women.

**In antocnihuān mā xichōcacān.** = Adjr you-are-our-friends *if-only you-may-weep*; i.e., Friends, weep.

**In amixquichtin xonhuiān.** = Adjr you-are-all *go*; i.e., All of you, go.

18.11. *The Real Vocative Constructions.* The real vocative differs from the so-called vocative of § 18.10 in a number of ways: (1) the NNC’s personal-pronominal subject is *third* person; (2) there are separate formations for male and female speakers; and (3) the accompanying clause need not express a command or an admonition.

The vocative NNC used by a male speaker is followed by the exclamatory, attention-getting particle **#é**. In writing, this particle is always joined as a suffix to the NNC and, as stated in § 2.7, is the sole exception to the rule for stress. In these lessons it is spelled with an accent:

**Xihuāllauh, cihuātlé.** = Come, (O) woman.

**Xihuālhuiān, nocihuāhuāné.** = Come, (O) my wives.



**Tēteohé, ca nehhuātl niyez.** = (O) gods, I shall indeed be the one. [The intervocalic glottal stop is sometimes changed to [y]: **tēteōyé** (see § 2.13).]

If the NNC ends in a supportive [i], the **é** absorbs it:

**pillé** = (O) noble [< **pilli**]

**nocōzqué** = (O) my jewel; i.e., (O) my child [< **nocōzqui**]

**nocné** = (O) my buddy! (*used sarcastically*). Hey, rogue! [< **nocni**, from (**icni**)-**tl-**, “buddy, fellow,” attested only in a vocative construction. One also finds **tocné**.]

At times the **num**<sup>2</sup> plural morph **in** occurring in an absolutive-state NNC can be replaced by a silently present variant before the vocative particle (i.e., the dyad **t-in** appears as **t-**; see § 48.8 for another usage).

**tēcpīilté** = #**Ø-Ø**(**tēc-pī-pil**)**t-**#**é** = O nobles [also **tēcpīiltiné**]

**cuāuhté** = #**Ø-Ø**(**cuāuh**)**t-**#**é** = O eagle warriors [also **cuāuhtiné**]

Women speakers do not use the vocative particle **#é**. Instead, they pronounce the final syllable of an NNC with a third-person subject with a higher tone and an affected stress; again, an exclamatory statement is used instead of an address:

**Xihuāllauh, oquichtli.** = Come, man.

18.12. *Sentence-Constituent Order.* In Nahuatl the order of sentence constituents is quite free. Supplements, like the various other elements that expand the principal clause, stand rather loosely around that governing core. They are frequently placed at a distance from the item that they are supplementing. Moreover, there are no markers to distinguish the function of one supplement from that of another. There are no obligatory markers even to distinguish the principal from a supplement. There may also be more than one supplement in the same function. And finally, since the adjunctive transformation is recursive, a supplement may itself have supplements.

The freedom of order, combined with the absence of syntactical markers, tends to create a seeming chaos for those whose expectations have been trained by more regimented grammars. In addition to relying on the context of the sentence and the logic of the meaning of the nuclear clauses, one must remain constantly attentive to the nature of the principal clause that serves as the organizing center of the transform sentence.

*Remark:* The freedom of position of supplementary elements in Nahuatl has its logic and its defense in the fact that the elements involved, except for particles, are complete sentences. It is only when they are thought of in terms of their Indo-European wordal translations that their function becomes obscure. From the Indo-European point of view, nouns and pronouns are only sentence fragments that (normally) do not have major-sentence status. Since Nahuatl frequently *seems* to employ its nuclear clauses in larger sentence contexts in the way that English uses its sentence partials, one faces the almost overwhelming temptation of thinking of an NNC or pronominal NNC in Nahuatl as if it were a noun or pronoun in English. This temptation must be resisted. **Chichi**, for example, is not the equivalent of the word “dog” but of the assertion “It is a dog”; **nehhuātl** is not the equivalent of the word “I” but of the assertion “I am an entity.” When adjoined as part of a larger sentence, neither ceases to be a fully constituted clause in its own right, even though in concatenate constructions the one is frequently *translated* as “dog” and the other as “I.” These translations are traitors to the native structure. A failure to recognize this essential, fundamental fact of Nahuatl structure will from time to time produce faulty comprehension, since the reader will be unable to deal competently with the problem of ambiguity.

## LESSON 19

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### Supplementation (Part Three)

19.1. *VNCs as Supplements.* The two preceding lessons were limited to a presentation of the equational sentence in the various supplementary functions. It is not, however, the only sentence type that may perform in this manner. The intransitive and transitive types may also occur as supplements. In this role VNCs are usually marked by means of an adjunct. (It is, however, almost always optional.) As will be seen, using VNCs in this way makes supplementation a very powerful syntactic device, allowing Nahuatl to express easily ideas that can be expressed in English only in roundabout ways. The following sentences exemplify the construction.

#### 1. Supplementary subject:

**Huālquīzah in mihtōtīzqueh.** = *They-come-out* adjr *they-will-dance*; i.e., The ones who will dance come out. [ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + . . . +**qu-eh** of the supplement = its head,  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + . . . + $\emptyset$ -h, in the principal. The VNC **mihtōtīzqueh** functions as a supplementary subject.]

**Ōquimittac in tlapiya.** = *He-saw-them* adjr *he-guards-things*; i.e., The guard saw them. [ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + . . . + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$  of the supplement = its head,  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + . . . +c- $\emptyset$ , in the principal. The VNC **tlapiya** is a supplementary subject.]

**In ōnēchittaqueh ōtzahtziqeh.** = Adjr *they-saw-me* *they-shouted*; i.e., The ones who saw me shouted. [ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + . . . +**qu-eh** of the supplement = its head,  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + . . . +**qu-eh**, in the principal. The VNC **ōnēchittaqueh** functions as the supplementary subject.]

**In ōnēchittaqueh nehhuātl.** = Adjr *they-saw-me* *I-am-the-entity*; i.e., The one whom they saw was I. [N-ēch in the supplement = its head, **ni- $\emptyset$ (. . .)tl- $\emptyset$** , in the principal. The VNC is functioning as the supplementary subject for its pronominal head in the NNC.]

**Tleh in ōmochiuh?** = *What-is-it* adjr *it-made-itself?* I.e., What was it that was done? What was done? [The nuclear subject  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + . . . + $\square$ - $\emptyset$  of the VNC **ōmochiuh** (which functions as supplementary subject) has the same referent as its head, the nuclear subject  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (. . .) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$  of the principal clause **tleh**. The sequence **tleh in** is traditionally written **tlein**, obscuring the facts that **tleh** is the principal and that the adjunct **in** belongs to the adjunct clause. See § 21.4 for the use of the reflexive object in this situation.]

**Āc in miquiz?** = *Who-is-he/she* adjr he/she-will-die? I.e., Who will be the one who will die? Who will die? [The subject pronoun of the supplementary subject **miquiz** has the same referent as its head, the basic subject pronoun in the principal clause **āc**. The sequence **āc in** is traditionally written **aquin**, obscuring the facts that **āc** is the principal and that the adjunctive **in** belongs to the adjunct clause.]

**Tleh in anquinequih?** = *What-is-it* adjr you(pl)-want-it? I.e., What is it that you (pl) want? What do you (pl) want? [The object pronoun **qui-θ** of the supplementary subject **anquinequih** has the same referent as its head, the nuclear subject pronoun in **tleh**. Concerning the unfortunate traditional spelling **tlein**, see above.]

**Āc in ōtiquittac?** = *Who-is-he/she* adjr you(sg)-saw-him/her? I.e., Who was he/she whom you saw? Whom did you see? [The object pronoun **qu-θ** of the supplementary subject **ōtiquittac** has the same referent as its head, the nuclear subject pronoun in **āc**. Concerning the unfortunate traditional spelling **aquin**, see above.]

Since the adjunctive transformation is recursive (see § 17.4.1), the adjoined VNC may have supplements of its own.

**Motlātiāya in quiya octli.** = *He-used-to-hide-himself* adjr he-used-to-drink-it it-is-pulque; i.e., The one who drank pulque used to hide. [**Quiya**, i.e., **#θ-θ+qu-θ(i)ya+θ-θ#**, is an adjunct clause with **octli** as a supplementary object to its **qu-θ**.]

Nahuatl frequently uses as the principal that which in English would be a subordinate clause (i.e., the two languages disagree on the question of rhetorical weighting).

**Centzontli in mic.** = *He-is-four-hundred-in-number* adjr he-died; i.e., The ones who died were four hundred in number. [English prefers “Four hundred died.” The singular-number subject with a plural referent acts here as a common number, an instance of nonanimation. For numeral NNCs see Lesson 34.]

**Cēcnemeh in huilh** = *They-are-one-and-one* adjr they-go; i.e., Those who go are by ones. [English prefers “They go one at a time.”]

**Nelli in quihtoa.** = *It-is-the-truth* adjr he-says-it; i.e., What he says is the truth. [**Quihtoa** is the supplementary subject of **nelly**, but the adjunction is made possible by the fact that the object pronoun **qu-θ** and the nuclear subject of **nelly** have the same referent.]

## 2. Supplementary object:

**Ye ōticcuic in ticnequiya?** = *Already you-got-it* adjr you-were-wanting-it? I.e., Did you get that which you wanted? [The nuclear object **c-θ** of the supplementary object **ticnequiya** has the same referent as the nuclear object **c-θ** that is its head in the principal **ōticcuic**.]

**Ōniquittac in tlapiya.** = *I-saw-him* adjr he-guards-things; i.e., I saw the guard. [**θ-θ+ . . . +θ-θ** of the supplementary object = its head, **qu-θ**, in the principal.]

## 3. Supplementary possessor:

**Cuahuitl itōcā in xoxōhuixtlihcac.** = *It-is-a-tree* it-is-its-name adjr it-stands-having-become-green; i.e., The name of that which stands green is “tree.” [The subject pro-

noun  $\theta$ - $\theta$ +...+ $c$ - $\theta$  of the supplementary possessor = its head,  $i$ - $\theta$ , in *itōcā*. Concerning the structure of *xoxōhuixtihcac*, see § 28.6.8.]

**Ōmpa nemi icōl in ticmonāmicťiznequi.** = There *he-lives* he-is-her-grandfather adjr you-want-to-marry-her; i.e., The grandfather of the one whom you want to marry lives there. [The adjoined clause **ticmonāmicťiznequi** is the supplementary possessor in cross-reference to the nuclear possessor of  $i$ - $\theta$  of *icōl*. The possessive pronoun  $i$ - $\theta$  of *icōl* and the object pronoun  $c$ - $\theta$  of **ticmonāmicťiznequi** refer to the same entity. For the formation of **ticmonāmicťiznequi**, see § 25.3 and § 28.11.1.]

19.2. *The Plural of in, on, and ac.* The demonstrative pronominal NNCs *in* and *on* and the interrogative pronominal NNC *ac* have, in addition to the plural meaning inherently possible to them, special plural formations built up by means of the supplementary construction. The principal in the combination is a VNC formed on the intransitive perfective stem ( $\theta$ - $i$ - $h$ ), “to exist” (see § 11.4.7). The subject of the VNC is third-person plural and its predicate is preterit-as-present tense.

1. The pluralization of the demonstrative pronominal NNCs *in* and *on*:

**ihqueh in** =  $\# \theta$ - $\theta$ ( $\theta$ - $i$ - $h$ ) $\theta$ + $qu$ - $eh$ #  $\# \theta$ - $\theta$ (*in*) $\square$ - $\square$ # = *they-exist* they-are-these = these [ $\theta$ - $\theta$  (. . .) $\square$ - $\square$  of the supplement =  $\theta$ - $\theta$ (. . .+ $qu$ - $eh$  in the principal)]

**ihqueh on** =  $\# \theta$ - $\theta$ ( $\theta$ - $i$ - $h$ ) $\theta$ + $qu$ - $eh$ #  $\# \theta$ - $\theta$ (*on*) $\square$ - $\square$ # = *they-exist* they-are-those = those

These structures are normally adjoined as supplements and are therefore frequently preceded by the adjunct *in*. Traditionally, the resultant collocations are spelled either partially or totally solid: **inique in, iniquein; inique on, iniqueon**. The final *n* is frequently not written.

**In ihqueh in, in incihuāhuān zan quihuicah**” = Adjr they-exist they-are-these adjr they-are-their-women only *they-carry-them*; i.e., These just take their women with them. [The adjoined sentence **ihqueh in** is the primary topic serving as the supplementary subject in cross-reference to the nuclear subject of the principal **quihuicah** and also serving as the supplementary possessor of the adjoined sentence **incihuāhuān**; the latter sentence is the secondary topic and serves as the supplementary object in cross-reference to the nuclear object **qu-in** of **quihuicah**.]

**In ihqueh in quitquih in tlahuitōlli.** = Adjr they-exist they-are-those *they-carry-it* adjr it-is-the-bow; i.e., Those carry the bow. Those carry bows.

2. The pluralization of the interrogative pronominal NNC *ac*. This NNC is a preterit-as-present-agentive NNC (see § 35.3, *note*) that has become frozen in the third-person singular (see § 16.4.4).

**Āc tihqueh?** =  $\bar{a}c$   $\# t$ - $\theta$ ( $\theta$ - $i$ - $h$ ) $\theta$ + $qu$ - $eh$ # = Who *we-exist*? I.e., Who are we? [The clause  $\bar{a}c$  is the supplementary subject in cross-reference to the nuclear subject of **tihqueh**.

There is a lack of person and number agreement between the supplement and its head.]

**Āc amihqueh?** =  $\bar{a}c$   $\# am$ - $\theta$ ( $\theta$ - $i$ - $h$ ) $\theta$ + $qu$ - $eh$ # = Who *you(pl)-exist*? I.e., Who are you (pl)?

**Āc ihqueh?** =  $\bar{a}c$   $\# \theta$ - $\theta$ ( $\theta$ - $i$ - $h$ ) $\theta$ + $qu$ - $eh$ # = Who *they-exist*? I.e., Who are they? [Traditionally, the NNC and VNC are written solid: **aquique**.]

These three questions could have been expressed by **āc tehhuāntin?**, **āc amehhuāntin?**, and **āc yehhuāntin?**, respectively (with the same lack of person and number agreement between the supplement and its head).

The supplementary subject **āc** does not have to be contiguous to the principal **ihqueh**:

**Āc mach ihqueh?** = Who ever are they?

The supplementary constructions with **āc** take part in larger structures of supplementation:

**Āc ihqueh ōnēchtēmohqueh?** = Who they-exist *they-looked-for-me?* I.e., Who (pl) looked for me? [This question could also have been expressed by **Āc ōnēchtēmohqueh?**]

**Āc ihqueh yehhuāntin?** = Who they-exist *they-are-those?* I.e., Who are they? [This question could also have been expressed by **Āc yehhuāntin?**]

There is a variant formation that has a VNC constructed on a compound stem:

**Amāquihqueh?** = #am- $\emptyset$ (ā-qu- $\emptyset$ -i-h) $\emptyset$ +qu-eh# = Who are you (pl)?

The plural of the negative counterpart of **āc**, the pronominal NNC **ahāc** (or **ayāc**), “he is nobody,” is merely the preterit plural form (see § 11.4.4.b):

**ah tāqueh** = ah#t- $\emptyset$ (ā) $\emptyset$ +qu-eh# = we are nobody

**ah amāqueh** = ah#am- $\emptyset$ (ā) $\emptyset$ +qu-eh# = you (pl) are nobody

**ah āqueh** = ah# $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ā) $\emptyset$ +qu-eh# = they are nobody [also spelled **ayāqueh**]

*Note:* In addition to the plural forms for **tleh** and **cātleh** given in § 16.4, there are also plural VNCs formed on a compound stem:

**Titleihqueh?** = #ti- $\emptyset$ (tl-e- $\emptyset$ -i-h) $\emptyset$ +qu-eh# = What are we?

**Cātleihqueh?** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cā-tl-e- $\emptyset$ -i-h) $\emptyset$ +qu-eh# = Which ones are they?

The perfective stem ( **$\emptyset$ -i-h**) also incorporates the stem (**cā**)-tl- to form a compound stem that is used in both singular- and plural-subject VNCs:

**Cātlih?** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cā-tl- $\emptyset$ -i-h) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = Which one is it? [This may also mean “Where is he?” “What has become of him?” “Hasn’t he returned yet?”]

**Cātlih yeh?** ~ **Cātlih yehhuāt!** = Which one of them is it?

**Ticātlih?** = #ti- $\emptyset$ (cā-tl- $\emptyset$ -i-h) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = Where are you? What has become of you?

**Cātlihqueh?** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cā-tl- $\emptyset$ -i-h) $\emptyset$ +qu-eh# = Which ones are they?

19.3. *Included-Referent Supplementation.* The structures of supplementation presented in the preceding paragraphs and in Lessons 17 and 18 have been governed by the restriction mentioned in § 17.3; namely, that the referent of a personal pronoun in the supplementary adjunct must be identical to the referent of the personal pronoun that serves as its head in the principal.

This restriction concerning a shared referent establishes only one type of supplementation. There is another type, called *included-referent supplementation*, in which pronominal-referent identity does not occur. In constructions exhibiting this type of supplementation, the supplement is an adjoined clause or sentence that is itself, as a whole, the referent of the pronominal head in the principal. Since such an adjoined clause or sentence, taken as a syntactical unit, is always assessed as being third-person singular, the pronoun serving as its head in the principal is necessarily third-person singular.

The principal clause can be an NNC (with the adjunct functioning as a supplementary subject or a supplementary possessor) or a VNC (with the adjunct functioning as a supplementary subject or a supplementary object).

## 1. With an NNC as principal clause.

**Nelli in òniqihthoh.** = *It-is-the-truth* adjr I-said-it; i.e., It is true that I said it. [The adjunct clause **òniqihthoh** (the supplementary subject) is the referent of the personal-pronominal subject  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (. . .) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$  of **nelli**. But this sentence is ambiguous. It can be understood as a structure of shared-referent supplementation, translated “It is the truth that I said,” i.e., “I spoke the truth,” with the nuclear-object pronoun **qu- $\emptyset$**  of the supplementary subject having the same referent as its head, the nuclear-subject pronoun of **nelli**. Compare **Nelli in quihtoa** in § 19.1.1.]

**Cuix nelli in ticniuh?** = Perchance *it-is-the-truth* adjr you-are-his-friend? I.e., Is it true that you are his friend? [The adjunct clause **ticniuh** (the supplementary subject) is the referent of the nuclear subject pronoun of **nelli**.]

**Ca ònelli titocuiltònohqueh.** = Indeed already-*it-is-the-truth* we-became-rich; i.e., It is true that we have become rich. [The adjunct clause **ò- . . .titocuiltònohqueh** (the supplementary subject) is the referent of the personal-pronominal subject of **nelli**. Here the antecessive-order particle has jumped out of the adjunct clause and become prefixed to the principal clause. A more expected form of this sentence would be **Ca nelli òtitocuiltònohqueh**.]

**Ìntequiuh in momanaz tiānquiztli.** = *It-is-their-work* adjr it-will-establish-itself it-is-a-market; i.e., It is their obligation that a market be established. It is their obligation to establish a market. [The adjoined sentence **momanaz tiānquiztli** (the supplementary subject) is the referent of the personal-pronominal subject  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + . . .+**uh- $\emptyset$**  of the principal clause **Ìntequiuh**. The supplementary-subject sentence itself contains a structure of shared-referent supplementation, with the subject personal pronoun of **tiānquiztli** having the same referent as its head, the subject pronoun of **momanaz**. For the use of the reflexive object pronoun, see § 21.4.]

Among the NNCs that frequently serve as the principal in a structure of included-referent supplementation are those built on “adjectival” stems; see Lesson 42.

Included-referent supplementation in which the adjunct is a supplementary possessor occurs primarily in cooperation with adverbialized NNCs functioning as principal; see Lessons 45–47.

## 2. With an intransitive VNC as principal clause:

**Òneltic in ìmpan poztec in cuahuitl.** = *It-became-the-truth* adjr it-is-on-their-surface it-broke adjr it-is-the-tree; i.e., It came to pass that the tree broke upon them. [The adjoined sentence **ìmpan poztec in cuahuitl** (the supplementary subject) is the referent of the personal-pronominal subject  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (. . .)+**c- $\emptyset$**  of **òneltic**. This adjoined sentence contains a structure of shared-referent supplementation, with the subject pronoun  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (. . .)**tl- $\emptyset$**  of **cuahuitl** having the same referent as its head, the subject pronoun  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (. . .)+**□- $\emptyset$** . Concerning **ìmpan**, see § 48.3.]

**Nēci ca ancualānih.** = *It-appears* indeed you(pl)-are-angry; i.e., It seems that you (pl) are angry. [The adjoined sentence **ca ancualānih** (the supplementary subject) is the referent of the nuclear subject of **nēci**. The particle **ca** occurs in a now downgraded

principal (i.e., **ca** continues to play the same role as clause introducer that it had in the source before its clause was transformed into a supplement). To indicate its clause's role as adjunct the **ca** could be preceded by the adjunctor **in**.]

3. With a transitive VNC as principal. It is convenient to separate the verbstems occurring in the principal clause into semantic groups because of peculiarities of usage. The following listing does not by any means exhaust the possibilities.

a. Verbstems of saying, questioning, etc. The adjoined sentence can represent either *direct* or *indirect* speech. With direct speech the exact expressions spoken, written, etc., are repeated verbatim (e.g., "He said, "This pleases me.""). In indirect speech a person reports the speech from his/her perspective (e.g., "He said that that pleased him.""). Both direct and indirect speech can handle statements, questions, instructions (commands, exhortations), and exclamations. Unlike English, which generally backshifts the tense of indirect speech to distance it from the time of the reporting, Nahuatl normally keeps the same tense. Since direct and indirect speech stand in an equally subordinate relation to a principal clause, the adjunctor **in** has an equal privilege of (optional) occurrence before either (i.e., the Nahuatl adjunctor **in** acts quite differently from the English subordinator "that," which never adjoins direct-speech constructions).

**Conihtoh in "Ca nehhuātl in namocniuh."** = *He-said-it* adjr "Indeed I-am-the-entity adjr I-am-your(pl)-friend"; i.e., He said, "I am indeed your friend." [The adjoined quote (the supplementary object) is the referent of the object pronoun **c-Ø** in the principal **conihtoh**. Within the supplement, the adjoined clause **namocniuh** is a shared-referent supplementary subject to its head, the nuclear subject **n-Ø(. .)tl-Ø** of the subordinate principal **nehhuātl**. The English translation "I am indeed your (pl) friend" therefore reverses the syntactical relationship between the constituent NNCs.]

**Conihtoh in ca yehhuātl in imicniuh.** = *He-said-it* adjr indeed he-is-an-entity adjr he-is-their-friend; i.e., He said that he was their friend. [In one reading of this, it is the indirect speech version of the previous example; in both the Nahuatl and its English translation, however, the speaker may be referring to someone other than himself in the reported speech.]

**Mihtoāya, "Ye miquiz."** = *It-used-to-say-itself* "Already he-will-die"; i.e., It was said, "Soon he will die." [The adjoined quote (the supplementary subject) is the referent of the nuclear subject **Ø-Ø+. . +Ø-Ø** of **mihtoāya**. For this use of the reflexive pronoun, see § 21.4.]

**Mihtoāya ye miquiz.** = *It-used-to-say-itself* already he-will-die; i.e., It was said that he would soon die. [This is the indirect-speech version of the previous example. It should be remembered that one translation value of the Nahuatl future tense is the English future-in-the-past (see § 5.5.2, *note*).]

When a question is reported in indirect or direct speech, verbstems such as **tlā-(iht-o-ā)** are translated as "to ask s.th."

**Õquihtoh cāmpa õhuāllahqueh.** = He asked where they had come from. [For **cāmpa**, see § 46.10.]

**Ōnēchilhuih in cuix oc ceppa ninonāmiectih.** = He asked me whether I had been married once before. [Concerning **ōnēchilhuih**, which has a silently present object pronoun, see § 26.9.1. For **ceppa**, “it is on one occasion,” see § 46.11.]

When a command is reported in indirect speech, verbstems such as **tla-(iht-o-ā)** are translated as “to tell/order (s.o. to do s.th.)”

**Quihtoh in mā zan tehhuāntin tiyāzqueh.** = He told us just to go away. [What would have been a nonpast optative in the source version of the command has become a future indicative.]

**Xiquilhui mā oc huālmocuepa.** = Tell him to come back.

b. Verbstems of causing

**Ca āxcān tlathui quimochihuilia.** = Indeed it-is-now there-is-dawning *he-makes-it-for-himself*; i.e., He (H) is now causing it to dawn. [The VNC **quimochihuilia** has an honorific formation (which is why the “H,” signifying “honored/honorable one,” appears in the translation); see § 33.4. The **tla** of **tlathui** is an impersonal **tla**; see § 22.6.]

**Ahmō xinēchchihualti nicchixtoz.** = Not *cause-me-to-do-it* I-shall-sit-awaiting-it; i.e., Don’t cause me to wait for it. Don’t keep me waiting for it. [This is a negative command to an inferior; see § 9.9, *note*. Concerning the verbstem **tē+tla-(chihual-tiā)**, “to cause s.o. to do s.th.,” see § 25.4. The VNC here has a silently present object pronoun. Concerning **nicchixtoz**, see § 28.6.9.]

The verbstem **tla-(ih-tlani)**, “to request/ask for/solicit s.th.,” can be included here since it expresses the notion of urging the fulfillment of a desire. See its source verbstem, **tla-(tlani)**, in § 39.7.

**Niquihtlani in mā xicchihuacān.** = *I-request-it* adjr if-only you(pl)-may-make-it; i.e., I request that you (pl) make it.

c. Verbstems of wanting, desiring, needing. If the wish, etc., is realizable, the adjoined clause functioning as an included-referent supplement has its VNC in the future indicative or in the nonpast or future optative.

**Cuix quinequi tiyāzqueh?** = Perchance *he-wants-it* we-shall-go? I.e., Does he want us to go? [The adjoined clause **tiyāzqueh** is the referent of the direct-object pronoun **qui-Ø** of **quinequi**.]

**Nicnequi in mā xocontlahpalo.** = *I-want-it* adjr if-only you-may-greet-him-thither; i.e., I want you to go and visit him. [The wish sentence **mā xocontlahpalo** is the referent of the direct-object pronoun **c-Ø** of **nicnequi**.]

**Quēlēhuia in mā mocuepacān.** = *She-yearns-for-it* adjr if-only they-may-return; i.e., She yearns for them to return. [The wish sentence **mā mocuepacān** is the referent of the object pronoun **qu-Ø** of **quēlēhuia**. For the structure of the stem **tla-(ēl-ē-hu-iā)**, see § 26.2.]

**Niquēlēhuia in mā mahuizzōhua.** = *I-earn-for-it* adjr if-only he-may-become-filled-with-honor; i.e., I yearn for him to attain honor.



**Quēlēhuiāyah in mā huehcāuhtica nemi.** = *They-were-yearning-for-it* adjr if-only it-is-for-a-long-time he-may-live; i.e., They wished that he would live a long life. [The adjoined clause has a nonpast optative VNC, because the wish was fulfillable at the time it was made (the principal clause has an imperfect indicative VNC). For **huehcāuhtica**, see § 47.2.1.]

The verbstem **m-o-(nequi)**, “to want itself,” is translated as “to be needed, to be necessary.” The adjoined clause functions as a supplementary subject (for this use of the reflexive pronoun, see § 21.4).

**Monequi in tipixcazqueh.** = *It-wants-itself* adjr we-shall-bring-in-the-harvest; i.e., It is necessary for us to bring in the harvest.

**Monequi in mā niman xiquihcuilo.** = *It-wants-itself* adjr if-only immediately you-may-write-it; i.e., It is necessary for you to write it immediately. [For **niman**, see § 44.6.]

If the wish is unrealizable because it does not accord with present facts or future possibility, the past optative is used in the adjoined clause.

**Nicnequi in mā oc ceppa titottanih.** = *I-want-it* adjr if-only still it-is-on-one-occasion we-might-see-one-another; i.e., I wish that we could see one another again (but it is not possible).

If the wish is unfulfillable because it is contrary to a past reality, the past optative (usually preceded by the antecessive-order particle) is used. The sentence expresses regret about a past that is found wanting.

**Nicnequi in mā ōtiquimpoloānih.** = *I-want-it* adjr if-only we-might-have-conquered-them; i.e., I wish that we had conquered them.

d. Verbstems of perception. The VNC in the adjoined clause is normally in the present tense.

**Xiquitta ahzo ye huitz.** = *See-it* perhaps already he-comes; i.e., See if he is coming.

**Ahmō tiquitta in ca nehhuātl nicmati in quēn ōmochiuh?** = Not *you-see-it* adjr indeed I-am-the-entity I-know-it adjr how it-has-made-itself? I.e., Don’t you realize that *I* know how it happened? [The adjoined clause **quēn ōmochiuh** is the included-referent direct-object supplement of the object pronoun **c-∅** of **nicmati**, and the adjoined sentence **ca nehhuātl nicmati in quēn ōmochiuh** is the included-referent supplementary object of **qu-∅** of **tiquitta**.]

**Ōquittaqueh in ye tlatla.** = *They-saw-it* adjr already it-is-burning; i.e., They saw that it was burning. [The adjoined sentence **ye tlatla** (the supplementary object) is the referent of the nuclear object **qu-∅** of **ōquittaqueh**. The present-tense VNC **tlatla** may be explained by § 57.1.]

**Ōniccac in cuicah in tōtōmeh.** = *Already-I-heard-it* adjr they-sing adjr they-are-birds; i.e., I heard birds singing.

e. Verbstems of knowing, remembering, forgetting, etc.

**Nonāntziné, ca cencah nicmati oncah moquichtiuh.** = O she-is-my-honorable-mother, indeed very *I-know-it* he-is-there he-is-your-older-brother; i.e., O Mother

(H), I am quite aware that you have an older brother. [The adjoined clause **oncah moquichtiuh** (the supplementary object) is the referent of the direct-object pronoun **c-Ø** of **nicmati**. Concerning the construction with **oncah**, see § 17.3.1. For **cencah**, see § 44.3.1.]

**Ahticmatih cuix tiyāzqueh**. = *Not-we-know-it* perchance we-shall-go; i.e., We do not know whether we shall go. [The adjoined sentence **cuix tiyāzqueh** (the supplementary object) is the referent of the nuclear object of **ahticmatih**.]

**Ahoc quimah in quēn in nen** = No-longer *he-knew-it* adjr how adjr he-lived; i.e., He no longer knew how he acted. He no longer knew what he was doing. [The adjoined sentence **quēn in nen** (the supplementary object) is the referent of the nuclear object **qui-Ø** of **quimah**.]

**Cuix tiquilnāmiqúi in cuix oc quiپیaya?** = Perchance *you-remember-it* adjr perchance still he-used-to-guard-it? I.e., Do you remember whether he still kept it? [The adjoined sentence **cuix oc quiپیaya** (the supplementary object) is the referent of the nuclear object **qu-Ø** of **tiquilnāmiqúi**.]

**Tiquilnāmiquiz in cāmpa tiyāz**. = *You-will-reflect-on-it* adjr where you-will-go; i.e., You will consider where you will go. [For **cāmpa**, “where?,” see § 46.10.]

**Ye ōniquicāuh in cāmpa ōtocontlālih**. = Already *already-I-forgot-it* adjr where already-you-put-it-thither; i.e., I have already forgotten where you put it away. [The adjoined sentence **cāmpa ōtocontlālih** (the supplementary object) is the referent of the nuclear object **qu-Ø** of **ōniquicāuh**.]

f. Verbstems of affect with the included-referent supplement serving as the supplementary *subject*

**Ōnēchtlaōcoltih cencah quimictiāya in icihuāuh**. = *Already-it-caused-me-to-be-sad* fully he-used-to-kill-her adjr she-was-his-woman; i.e., It has saddened me that he used to badly mistreat his wife. [The verbstem **tē-(mic-tiā)**, “to kill s.o.,” is here used in a conative meaning, “to try to kill s.o.,” i.e., “to beat s.o. up, to mistreat/hurt s.o.”]

**Tēchpāquiltia in ōtocottac**. = *It-makes-us-happy* adjr you-saw-him-thither; i.e., It makes us happy that you went to see him.

**Cuix mitzmauhitia in momana huēi cocoliztli?** = Perchance *it-causes-you-to-be-afraid* adjr it-spreads-itself it-is-a-big-one it-is-a-sickness? I.e., Does it frighten you that a great sickness is spreading? [Concerning the adjectival NNC **huēi**, see § 40.2.]

19.4. “To Know How to,” “To Remember to,” Etc. When a structure of included-referent supplementation has (1) a principal clause with a VNC built on the verbstems **tla-(mati)**, “to know s.th.,” **tla-(il-nāmiqúi)**, “to remember s.th.,” **tla-(il-cāhua)**, “to forget s.th.,” and **tla-(nequi)**, “to want s.th.”; (2) an adjoined clause with a VNC having a *future* tense morph; and (3) both clauses with subject pronouns having the *same* referent, the English translation renders the adjoined clause by means of an infinitive. The mentioned verbstems are therefore translated “to know how to,” “to remember to,” “to forget to,” and “to want/desire/hope to,” respectively.

**Nicmati nāmapōhuaz.** = *I-know-it I-shall-paper-read*; i.e., I know how to read. [For the structure of **nāmapōhuaz**, see § 30.3.]

**Cuix ōquihnāmic quitzacuaz in petlacalli.** = Perchance *already-he-remembered-it* he-will-close-it adjr it-is-a-wickerwork-chest? I.e., Did he remember to close the chest?

**Mā caxiquilcāhua ticcōhuaz in etl.** = If-only *not-you-may-forget-it* you-will-buy-them adjr they-are-beans; i.e., Don't forget to buy beans.

**Cuix ticnequi tiyāz?** = Perchance *you-want-it* you-will-go; i.e., Do you want to go?

It would seem from these translations that the four verbstems form VNCs that operate according to the same principle. In fact, however, **tla-(nequi)** is quite different from the others. Of the four, it alone can transform a two-clause construction into a single-clause one built on an incorporated-object compound-stemmed VNC; for example, **Nicnequi nicochiz**, “*I-want-it I-shall-sleep*,” i.e., “I want to sleep,” can be rephrased as **Nicochiznequi** (see § 28.11 for future-embed compound verbstems).

Also, as shown in subsection *c* above, a principal VNC built on **tla-(nequi)** can have the supplementary object in the form of a wish sentence, a construction not possible to the other three verbstems; for example:

**Nicnequi in mā ninālti.** = *I-want-it* adjr if-only I-may-take-a-bath; i.e., I want to take a bath. [See also § 28.11.2, *note*.]

**Nicnequi in mā caic nitēmictiz.** = *I-want-it* adjr if-only not-at-that-time I-shall-kill-s.o.; i.e., I want never to kill anyone. [The adjoined wish sentence has a future optative VNC. For **caic**, “at no time/never,” see § 45.4.4.d.]

19.5. *The Indirect-Speech Construction of Rumored Report.* The VNC **quil** is used as the principal clause in a special indirect-speech construction in which the reporter takes no responsibility for the information reported. **Quil** is translated “It is said that . . .,” “It is reported that. . .” Frequently, the adjoined clause is introduced by the adverbialized NNC **mach**, “notably” (see § 44.5.6). Often **quil** and **mach** are written solid in traditional texts: **quilmach**.

**Quil** is a unique form, here assumed to be a preterit-tense VNC with a third-person singular subject formed on an obsolete transitive stem: **quil** = #~~θ~~-~~θ~~+qu-~~θ~~(il)~~θ~~+[]-~~θ~~# = “he said it.” No other tense morph can appear, and no other subject personal pronoun is used. However, the applicative stem **tē+*tla*-(*ī*-*huiā*)**, “to say s.th. to s.o.,” is apparently derived from the same obsolete stem (see § 26.9.1).

**Quil in ozomahtin quihuālihnecuīh in pōctli.** = *It-is-said* adjr they-are-monkeys they-smell-it-hither adjr it-is-smoke; i.e., It is said that monkeys come to smell the smoke.

**Quil mach mō yahqueh.** = *It-is-said* notably it-is-(not)-quite-likely they-went; i.e., It is said they did not go. [For **mō**, see § 44.5.4. Its negative sense here seems due to irony.]

The collocation **quil mach** may also occur in the following construction:

**Ahmō zan quil mach in tleh in āxcān tilhuīloh.** = That which we are now told is not just hearsay. [Concerning **tilhuīloh**, see § 21.2.4.]

19.6. *The Deleted Principal Clause of “Saying.”* With VNCs expressing a speech action (such as “to command,” “to answer,” etc.), a following included-referent supplementary-clause construction may delete a principal clause of “saying” and leave its supplementary clause juxtaposed to another principal clause with which it has no direct grammatical relation; for example:

Constituent 1: **Niquinnānquilia**. = #ni- $\emptyset$ +qu-in(nān-qui-lia) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I answer them. [The VNC has only a single object, which is third-person plural.]

Constituent 2: **Niquimilhuia**, “**Ca nehhuātl niyez.**” = I say to them, “I shall indeed be the one.” [The quoted sentence (the supplementary object) serves as the referent of the silently present object of the principal clause. Concerning silently present nuclear object pronouns, see Lesson 23.]

Transform 1: **Niquinnānquilia**; **niquimilhuia**, “**Ca nehhuātl niyez.**” = I answer them; I say to them, “I shall indeed be the one”; i.e., I answer them, saying, “I shall indeed be the one.”

Transform 2: **Niquinnānquilia**, “**Ca nehhuātl niyez.**” = I answer them [saying], “I shall indeed be the one.”

The following are a few other examples:

**Quinhuālnōtzqueh in Españoles**, “**Āc amihqueh?**” = The Spaniards called them [saying], “Who are you?” [The source for this deletion transformation is **Quinhuālnōtzqueh in Españoles**; **quimilhuiqueh**, “**Āc amihqueh?**”]

**Quinōnōtzah**, “**Totēucyōé, mā xitēchmotlahtlātīli!**” = They advise him [saying], “Our Lord, kill (H) us!” [The source is **Quinōnōtzah**; **quilhuiah**, “**Totēucyōé, mā xitēchmotlahtlātīli!**” The “H” in the translation means “honored one.” Concerning the honorific nature of **xitēchmotlahtlātīli**, see § 33.4. The reduplicative prefix on the verbstem indicates distributive action: “hide each one of us”; i.e., “kill each one of us”; see § 27.2.1.]

The following examples involving indirect speech with a deleted principal clause of saying produce an even more disjointed-seeming result:

**Quinōnōtzacoh in tēuctli in ca ahcān quittah in imōn.** = They have come to inform the lord, [saying] that they do not see his son-in-law anywhere. [The source behind this deletion transformation is **Quinōnōtzacoh in tēuctli**; **quilhuicoh in ca ahcān quittah in imōn**. See § 29.4.1 concerning the VNCs **quinōnōtzacoh** and **quilhuicoh**.]

**Xitlahtlani ahzo oncah tlaōlli.** = Ask s.th. [saying] perhaps there is dried maize; i.e., Ask whether there is any dried maize.

In the following example, the deletion of the verb of saying leaves only an adverb in the principal:

**Mā cencah “Tleh ticmati?”** = If-only very “What is it that you know?” I.e., Firmly [say to yourself], “Take heed!” [The source for this transformation is **Mā cencah xicmilhui**, “**Tleh ticmati?**” “Ask yourself firmly, ‘What do you know?’” The question **Tleh ticmati?** “What do you know?” is rhetorical. Its implicit answer is always “Nothing.” In other words, it is equivalent to the statement “You are ignorant,” which is a very common way to say “Take heed” or “Pay attention!” (i.e., you need to hear what I have to say).]

## LESSON 20

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# The Nonactive Verbstem

20.1. *Derivation of the Nonactive Verbstem.* The nonactive verbstem is created by *derivation*, a process whereby new stems are created from already existing ones or from roots (see § 1.11.2). In this instance the derived stem is created by means of one of three suffixes, **ō**, **lō**, and **hua**, or by their combinations **o-hua**, **lo-hua**, and **hua-lō**. (The **o-hua** and **lo-hua** combinations are usually misleadingly written **oa** and **loa**.) The base to which these nonactive suffixes are attached is always an imperfective active stem.

As with the perfective active stem, the perfective nonactive stem is formed from its imperfective counterpart; therefore, attention is here first turned to the formation of the imperfective nonactive stem. The perfective stem is presented in § 20.8.

The use of nonactive stems in the formation of VNCs is discussed in Lessons 21 and 22.

Note: The **lō** is actually a compound suffix, consisting of the connective morpheme /l/ and the morpheme /o:/. The two morphemes are written solid in these lessons for convenience. Although the conditions for use are different, the /l/ may be the same connective /l/ in the applicative suffix /l-ia:/ (see § 26.3). If the /w/ of **hua** is also the same connective morpheme as the /w/ of the applicative suffix /w-ia:/ (see § 26.3), it does not act the same as the /l/ of /l-ia:/ (see § 25.1).

20.2. *The lō Suffix.* The **lō** suffix is the most frequent nonactive formative. It associates mainly with *transitive* verbstems ending in /a/. Among the *intransitive* stems using the **lō** suffix are those belonging to Class C.

Except for Class D verbs, the nonactive suffix **lō** is attached to that imperfective active stem whose shape occurs in future-tense VNCs (see § 7.7). In the following presentation the citation form of the active stem is given in the left-hand column, that of the nonactive stem in the right-hand column.

1. Class A source:

( <b>chihcha</b> ) = to spit	( <b>chihcha-lō</b> )
<b>tla-(pā-tz-ca)</b> = to squeeze liquid from s.th	( <b>pā-tz-ca-lō</b> )
<b>tla-(pa-tla)</b> = to exchange s.th.	( <b>pa-tla-lō</b> )
<b>tla-(mōtla)</b> = to throw rocks at s.th.	( <b>mōtla-lō</b> )

## 2. Class B source:

( <b>mayāna</b> ) = to be hungry	( <b>mayāna-lō</b> )
<b>tla-(pītza)</b> = to blow on s.th.	( <b>pītza-lō</b> )
<b>tla-(quetza)</b> = to stand s.th. erect	( <b>quetza-lō</b> )
<b>tla-(pōhu-a)</b> = to count s.th.	( <b>pōhu-a-lō</b> )
<b>tla-(chīhua)</b> = to make s.th.	( <b>chīhua-lō</b> )
<b>tla-(piya)</b> = to guard s.th.	( <b>piya-lō</b> )
( <b>tla-chiya</b> ) = to look [ <b>Tla</b> fusion.]	( <b>tla-chiya-lō</b> )

Certain Class B verbs that are “root-plus-ya” verbs drop the *ya* before adding *lō*.

( <b>coco-ya</b> ) = to be sick	( <b>coco-lō</b> )
<b>tla-(yōco-ya)</b> = to create/invent s.th.	( <b>yōco-lō</b> )

## 3. Class C source (Base-final phonemes /o/ and /i/ become long.):

( <b>chol-o-ā</b> ) = to bound away	( <b>chol-ō-lō</b> )
( <b>pa-t-o-ā</b> ) = to gamble	( <b>pa-t-ō-lō</b> )
<b>tla-(pol-o-ā)</b> = to destroy s.th.	( <b>pol-ō-lō</b> )
<b>tla-(īht-o-ā)</b> = to say s.th.	( <b>īht-ō-lō</b> )
<b>tla-(ce-liā)</b> = to receive s.th.	( <b>ce-lī-lō</b> )
<b>tla-(īhcuani-ā)</b> = to move s.th.	( <b>īhcuani-lō</b> ) [Also ( <b>īhcuani-hua</b> ).]
<b>tla-(tla-ti-ā)</b> = to burn s.th.	( <b>tla-tī-lō</b> )

There are exceptional instances in which a long vowel in the antepenultimate syllable (the third syllable from the end) discourages length on the /i/ or /o/ before the *lō*.

<b>tē-(īcn-ēl-iā)</b> = to feel compassion for s.o.	( <b>īcn-ēl-i-lō</b> )
<b>tla-(tlā-ti-ā)</b> = to hide s.th.	( <b>tlā-ti-lō</b> )

4. Class D source. The formation is exceptional in that the stem-final /a:/ has a reduced-long pronunciation before the nonactive suffix *lō*. It is therefore written without a macron (see § 2.2).

<b>tla-(mā)</b> = to capture s.th.	( <b>ma-lō</b> )
<b>tla-(māmā)</b> = to carry s.th. on one’s back	( <b>māma-lō</b> )

20.3. *The lo-hua Suffixal Combination.* The combination **lo-hua** is suffixed to only a small number of verbstems, among which are a few irregular intransitive verbs. The nonactive stem of these is formed on one of their suppletive stems.

( <b>ca-h</b> ) = to be	( <b>ye-lo-hua</b> )
( <b>ya-uh</b> ) = to go	( <b>huī-lo-hua</b> )
( <b>huāl-la-uh</b> ) = to come	( <b>huāl-hui-lo-hua</b> )

In the instance of (**huī-tz**), **tla-(ītqui-tz)**, and **tla-(huīca-tz)** (see § 11.4.5), the **lo-hua** is attached to the first member of the compound stem:

( <b>huī-tz</b> ) = to come	( <b>huī-lo-hua-tz</b> )
<b>tla-(ītqui-tz)</b> = to carry s.th.	( <b>ītqui-lo-hua-tz</b> )

**tla-(huīca-tz)** = to bring s.th.

**(huīca-lo-hua-tz)** [also **(huīc-o-hua-tz)**  
according to § 20.5]

20.4. *The ō Suffix.* Normally the **ō** nonactive suffix is used only when the active source ends in /a/ or /i/ preceded by /k/, /n/, or /s/ or in /i/ preceded by /k<sup>w</sup>/. The final vowel of the source stem is deleted before the addition of the nonactive suffix. In many instances this truncated stem is identical to the perfective stem of the source verb but is in fact a replacive *imperfective* stem. After the deletion of the final vowel, /s/ changes to /š/ and /k<sup>w</sup>/ changes to /k/. Stems ending in /na/, /ni/, and /sa/ may have a variant nonactive stem formed with the **lō** suffix according to § 20.2.

<b>-ca &gt; -c-ō</b>	<b>tla-(pāca)</b> = to wash s.th.	<b>(pāc-ō)</b>
	<b>tē-(toca)</b> = to follow s.o.	<b>(toc-ō)</b>
	<b>tla-(tōca)</b> = to plant s.th. (e.g., a seed) in the soil	<b>(tōc-ō)</b>
<b>-qui &gt; -c-ō</b>	<b>tla-(tequi)</b> = to cut s.th.	<b>(tec-ō)</b>
	<b>tla-(caqui)</b> = to hear s.th.	<b>(cac-ō)</b>
	<b>tla-(nequi)</b> = to want s.th.	<b>(nec-ō)</b>
	<b>tla-(itqui)</b> = to carry s.th.	<b>(itc-ō)</b> [also <b>(itqui-hua)</b> ]
<b>-na &gt; -n-ō</b>	<b>tla-(āna)</b> = to take hold of s.th.	<b>(ān-ō)</b> [also <b>(ana-lō)</b> ]
	<b>tla-(peh-pena)</b> = to choose s.th.	<b>(peh-pen-ō)</b> [also <b>(peh-pena-lō)</b> ]
<b>-ni &gt; -n-ō</b>	<b>tla-(tītlani)</b> = to send s.th.	<b>(tītlan-ō)</b> [also <b>(tītlani-lō)</b> ]
	<b>tla-(ih-tlani)</b> = to request s.th.	<b>(ih-tlan-ō)</b> [also <b>(ih-tlani-lō)</b> ]
<b>-za &gt; -x-ō</b>	<b>tla-(tlāza)</b> = to hurl s.th.	<b>(tlāx-ō)</b> [also <b>(tlāza-lō)</b> ]
	<b>tla-(īcza)</b> = to tread on s.th.	<b>(īcx-ō)</b> [also <b>(īcza-lō)</b> ]
<b>-ci &gt; -x-ō</b>	<b>tē-(īmacaci)</b> = to fear s.o.	<b>(īmacax-ō)</b>
<b>-cui &gt; -c-ō</b>	<b>tla-(ihnecui)</b> = to smell s.th.	<b>(ihnec-ō)</b> [also <b>(ihnecu-ō)</b> ]

A transitive verb ending in /ta/ may have its nonactive stem end in /t-o:/, and certain verbs ending in a vowel plus /ti/ have the nonactive stem ending in /č-o:/.

<b>tla-(itt-a)</b> = to see s.th.	<b>(itt-o)</b> [also <b>(itt-a-lo)</b> ]
<b>tla-(matī)</b> = to know s.th.	<b>(mach-ō)</b>

While the source verb taking the **ō** nonactive suffix is usually *transitive*, certain *intransitive* verbs permit the formation. Among them are the following:

<b>(hue-tz-ca)</b> = to laugh	<b>(hue-tz-c-o)</b>
<b>(cuīca)</b> = to sing	<b>(cuīc-ō)</b>
<b>(tiāmiqui)</b> = to do business	<b>(tiāmic-ō)</b>
<b>(ilō-ti)</b> = to return	<b>(ilō-ch-ō)</b>

20.5. *The o-hua Suffixal Combination.* The suffixal combination **o-hua** derives nonactive stems from an active *intransitive* source that ends in /i/ or /a/ preceded by /k/, /s/, or /w/ or

from one that ends in /i/ preceded by /w/, /m/, or /ç/. The suffixal combination is always added to a replacive imperfective stem that deletes the final vowel. A remaining base-final /w/ is also deleted, but the *o* of the suffixal combination is lengthened in compensation. Base-final /s/ and /ç/ change to /š/ and /č/ respectively.

<b>-ca &gt; -c-o-hua</b>	<b>(choca)</b> = to cry	<b>(chōc-o-hua)</b>
	<b>(ihca)</b> = to stand	<b>(ihc-o-hua)</b>
<b>-qui &gt; -c-o-hua</b>	<b>(miqui)</b> = to die	<b>(mic-o-hua)</b>
	<b>(huā-qui)</b> = to become dry	<b>(huā-c-o-hua)</b>
<b>-mi &gt; -m-o-hua</b>	<b>(nemi)</b> = to live	<b>(nem-o-hua)</b>
<b>-za &gt; -x-o-hua</b>	<b>(quīza)</b> = to leave, emerge	<b>(quīx-o-hua)</b>
	<b>(ihza)</b> = to become awake	<b>(ihx-o-hua)</b>
<b>-ci &gt; -x-o-hua</b>	<b>(nēci)</b> = to appear	<b>(nēx-o-hua)</b>
<b>-tzi &gt; -ch-o-hua</b>	<b>(huetzi)</b> = to fall	<b>(huech-o-hua)</b>
<b>-hua &gt; -ō-hua</b>	<b>(ē-hua)</b> = to get up	<b>(ē-ō-hua)</b>
<b>-hui &gt; -ō-hua</b>	<b>(teo-hci-hui)</b> = to be hungry	<b>(teo-hci-ō-hua)</b>
	<b>(ciya-hui)</b> = to become tired	<b>(ciya-ō-hua)</b>

Certain stems do not follow these rules; for example:

<b>-ca &gt; -c-ō</b>	<b>(cuīca)</b> = to sing	<b>(cuīc-ō)</b>
<b>-qui &gt; -c-ō</b>	<b>(tiāmiqui)</b> = to do business	<b>(tiāmic-ō)</b>
<b>-mi &gt; -mī-hua</b>	<b>(tēmi)</b> = to become brimming full	<b>(tēmi-hua)</b>
<b>-ci &gt; -cī-hua</b>	<b>(teci)</b> = to grind (grain)	<b>(tecī-hua)</b>
<b>-ci &gt; -xī-hua</b>	<b>(ahci)</b> = to arrive	<b>(ahxī-hua)</b>
<b>-tzi &gt; -tzī-hua</b>	<b>(tzahtzi)</b> = to shout	<b>(tzahtzī-hua)</b>
<b>-hua &gt; -hua-lo</b>	<b>(pīn-ā-hua)</b> = to be ashamed	<b>(pīn-ā-hua-lō)</b>

Occasionally, an active intransitive stem ending in *ni* may have its nonactive counterpart optionally in **-n-o-hua**:

<b>(mani)</b> = to extend, to be	<b>(man-o-hua)</b> [also <b>(manī-hua)</b> ]
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Occasionally, a transitive verbstem serves as the source for a nonactive stem formed with **o-hua**.

<b>tla-(mamali)</b> = to drill s.th.	<b>(mamali-o-hua)</b>
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20.6. *The hua Suffix.* The suffix **hua** derives nonactive stems from active ones that end in /i/ or /o/. Source intransitive stems that end in **-qui** are exceptions (see § 20.4), while those that end in **-mi**, **-ci**, **-tzi**, and **-hui** also tend to be exceptions (see § 20.5). When the source stem ends in /o/, the suffix **hua** is often misleadingly spelled **a**. Although **hua** is mainly associated with intransitive stems, certain transitive ones use it. They are usually of one syllable, although long transitive stems with final /i/ do occur with the suffix. Rarely, a transitive Class C verb



ending in /ia:/ permits the **hua** formation. Before the **hua**, phonemically long /i:/ and /o:/ keep their length, and, as a rule, a short /i/ is lengthened.

(yōli) = to live	(yōli-hua)
(cochi) = to sleep	(cochī-hua)
(tequi-ti) = to work	(tequi-tī-hua)
<b>tla-(ī)</b> = to drink s.th.	(ī-hua)
<b>tla-(pī)</b> = to pluck s.th.	(pī-hua)
<b>tla-(cui)</b> = to take s.th.	(cuī-hua)
<b>tla-(āyi)</b> = to make s.th.	(āyi-hua)
<b>tla-(quēmi)</b> = to wear s.th.	(quēmi-hua)
<b>tē-(ihcali)</b> = to fight s.o.	(ihcali-hua) [also (ihcali-lō)]
(on-o) = to be lying down	(on-o-hua)
(temō) = to descend	(temō-hua)
(panō) = to cross over, to cross a river	(panō-hua) [also (panō-lō)]
(tlehcō) = to ascend	(tlehcō-hua)
<b>tē-(zō)</b> = to bleed s.o.	(zō-hua) [also (zō-lō)]
<b>tla-(ihcuani-ā)</b> = to move s.th.	(ihcuani-hua) [also (ihcuani-lō)]

Certain verbs ending in **-ci** replace that syllable with **-xī** before taking **hua**:

(ahci) = to arrive	(ahxī-hua)
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20.7. *The hua-lō Suffixal Combination.* The suffixal combination **hua-lō** is not as frequent as the other nonactive suffixes. The stems formed with it are free variants of those formed with **hua**.

<b>tla-(mamali)</b> = to drill s.th.	(mamali-hua-lō)
<b>tla-(cui)</b> = to take s.th.	(cuī-hua-lō)

20.8. *Class Membership of the Nonactive Stem.* Regardless of the verbstem class of the active source, the nonactive stem always belongs to Class A. The final /o:/ of **lō**, **ō**, and **hua-lō** is always long, except when followed by silent morphs throughout the rest of the VNC or when followed by a glottal stop. This means that both the imperfective and the perfective stems have two variants; e.g.:

Imperfective stem: (chīhua-lō) ~ (chīhua-lo)
Perfective stem: (chīhua-lō) ~ (chīhua-lo)

Nonactive stems therefore participate in the same core-and-tense formations as a Class A verbstem with a phonetically long final /o:/ (see § 7.7); that is, they belong to Class A-2.

## LESSON 21

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### The Passive-Voice VNC

21.1. *The Passive Voice.* Voice is a grammatical property having to do with the focusing of eventive and entitive relations (for example, compare the active-voice sentence “He saw her” with its passive-voice counterpart “She was seen by him”). The shift in focus from one voice to another is a matter of transformation. In Nahuatl the passive transformation operates upon an active-voice VNC that has *at least one specific* object pronoun. It is accomplished by (1) the deletion of the active subject, (2) the replacement of the active stem by its nonactive counterpart, and (3) the reassignment of a specific object to the subject function (i.e., the “objective” case feature is replaced by a “nominative” one).

The deletion of the subject of the source VNC means that, unlike an English passive construction, there can be no mention of an agent in the Nahuatl passive sentence, because in Nahuatl the agent of a passively focused action must be impersonal. An English passive sentence such as “It was sent by me” must be rendered in the active voice in Nahuatl: “I sent it.”

The third requirement mentioned above means that a Nahuatl passive VNC cannot be generated from an active intransitive VNC, because such a source cannot provide a specific pronoun to act as the subject of the passive transform. While English has a similar prohibition regarding an intransitive source, the object of a transitive source can be either specific or non-specific. Thus it can change “He saw someone” into “Someone was seen (by him).” Such a transformation is not possible to the Nahuatl passive transformation; it must resort instead to the impersonal-voice transformation (see Lesson 22), which is designed to handle the problem of nonspecific subject pronouns as well as that of intransitive sources.

21.2. *Generation of Passive-Voice VNCs.* The formula of a passive-voice VNC may be either intransitive or transitive depending upon the nature (single object, double object) of the transitive source (double-object VNCs are presented in Lesson 23; problems such as mainline and shuntline objects, the sequence of objects, and the use of silently present object pronouns touched on in this lesson will be dealt with in that lesson).

The following rules govern the generation of passive VNCs. (It should be remembered that the subject pronoun of the active VNC never participates in the passive transform; it is discarded.)

1. If the active VNC has a single specific *projective* object, the passive VNC is constructed according to the *intransitive* VNC formula. The shift from objective case to nominative case requires the pronominal information carried by *va*<sup>1</sup> and *va*<sup>2</sup> to be relocated into the discontinuous positions of a subject pronoun (dyadic person position and dyadic number position) in the passive transform.

Active VNC: **ōniqumān** = **ō#ni-θ+qu-im(ān)θ+□-θ#** = I seized them

Passive VNC: **ōānōqueh** = **ō+θ-θ(ān-ō)θ+qu-eh#** = they were seized; s.o. seized them [The object pronoun **qu-im** of the active VNC has become the subject pronoun **θ-θ(. . .+qu-eh** of the passive VNC. Since the subject pronoun of the source has no representation in the transform, this passive VNC could have come equally well from **ōtiqumān**, **ōquimānqueh**, etc.]

Active VNC: **annēchānazqueh** = **#an-θ+n-ēch(āna)z+qu-eh#** = you (pl) will seize me

Passive VNC: **nānōz** = **#n-θ(ān-ō)z+□-θ#** = I shall be seized; s.o. will seize me [The object pronoun **n-ēch** of the active VNC has become the subject pronoun **n-θ(. . .□-θ** of the passive VNC. **Nānōz** may also be a passive transform of **tinēchānaz**, **nēchānaz**, or **nēchānazqueh**.

Active VNC: **ōāxqueh** = **ō#θ-θ+□-θ(āx)θ+qu-eh#** = they did it

Passive VNC: **ōāyihuac** = **ō+θ-θ(āyī-hua)θ+c-θ#** = it was done [The silently-present object pronoun **□-θ** in the active source generates the personal-pronoun subject **θ-θ(. . .+c-θ** in the passive VNC in exactly the same way that a sounded third-person singular/common-number object pronoun does. This justifies the claim in § 18.8 that the silent object is really present in the active voice VNC.]

2. If the active VNC has a single specific *reflexive* object, the passive transform is constructed according to the *transitive* VNC formula. At the same time that the object of the source shifts to the subject of the passive transform, a representative of the reflexive nature of that object pronoun shows up in the shape of the shuntline reflexive-object morph **ne**. Speaking figuratively, one could say that the **ne** in the passive transform is like an afterimage persisting after the direct presence of the mainline-object pronoun has been converted into the subject pronoun.

Active VNC: **ōninozōc** = **ō#ni-θ+n-o(zō)θ+c-θ#** = I bled myself

Passive VNC: **ōninezōhuac** = **ō#ni-θ+ne(zō-hua)θ+c-θ#** = I was self-bled [The reflexive-object pronoun **n-o** of the active source has become the subject pronoun **ni-θ+. . .+c-θ** of the passive transform and has also left a witness of its reflexivity in the shuntline morph **ne**.]

3. If the active source has two objects, one *reflexive* and the other a *specific* projective object, the passive transform is constructed on the *transitive* VNC formula. The shift from objective case to nominative case requires the pronominal information carried by *va*<sup>1</sup> and *va*<sup>2</sup> of the projective object to be relocated into the discontinuous positions of a subject pronoun.

The mainline reflexive-object pronoun of the source is converted into the shuntline reflexive-object pronoun **ne** in the passive VNC.

Active VNC: **ōnicnotequitiāya** = **ō#ni-θ+c-θ+n-o(tequi-ti-ā)ya+θ-θ#** = I used to take charge of it

Passive VNC: **ōnetequitilōya** = **ō#θ-θ+ne(tequi-ti-lō)ya+θ-θ#** = it used to be taken charge of; s.o. used to take charge of it [The projective-object pronoun **c-θ** of the active-voice VNC has become the subject pronoun **θ-θ+.** . . .**+θ-θ** in the passive-voice VNC; the reflexive-object **n-o** of the active VNC has been converted into **ne** in the passive VNC.]

4. If the active source has two specific projective-object pronouns, the passive transform is constructed on the *transitive* formula. Since this is not apparent (except as explained below), a correct assessment of the passive VNC (i.e., seeing it as built on the transitive formula) demands a firm knowledge of the active source, since the passive transform is faithful to the mainline-versus-shuntline distinction required by the co-occurrence of two or three specific projective-object pronouns (see § 23.3). It is the pronominal information that is carried by the dyad **va<sup>1</sup>-va<sup>2</sup>** of the mainline object pronoun of the active source that is relocated into the discontinuous positions of the subject pronoun in the passive transform. The dyad **va<sup>1</sup>-va<sup>2</sup>** of the shuntline object pronoun remains as it is in the source if it is filled with **□-θ** or **□-□** (see § 23.4); that is, the mutual incompatibility of specific projective objects in the active VNC holds valid for the passive VNC.

Active VNC: **ōnēchmacaqueh** = **ō#θ-θ+n-ēch+□-θ(maca)θ+qu-eh#** = they gave it to me [The shuntline object is manifested by silence, **□-θ**. The gloss assumes it refers to a third-person singular/common-number entity. If the pronoun is read as having common number, it can also be glossed as “them.”]

Passive VNC: **ōnimacōc** = **ō#ni-θ+□-θ(mac-ō)θ+c-θ#** = I was given it; I was given them; s.o. gave it to me; s.o. gave them to me [The mainline object pronoun **n-ēch** of the active source has become the subject pronoun **ni-θ+.** . . .**+c-θ** of the passive VNC. The silently present shuntline object of the active-voice VNC continues present and silent in the passive-voice VNC.]

Active VNC: **tēchilhuiz** = **#θ-θ+t-ēch+□-θ(il-huī)z+□-θ#** = he will say it to us [The shuntline third-person object pronoun is silently present, as symbolized by **□-θ**.]

Passive VNC: **tilhuilōzqueh** = **#t-θ+□-θ(il-huī-lō)z+qu-eh#** = we will be told it [The mainline object pronoun **t-ēch** of the active-voice VNC has become the subject pronoun **t-θ+.** . . .**+qu-eh** of the passive-voice VNC. The silently present shuntline object pronoun continues to be silently present.]

If the shuntline object pronoun’s **va<sup>1</sup>-va<sup>2</sup>** dyad is filled with a third-person plural (animate) pronoun manifested by **□-im** (see § 23.4), it shows up in the passive transform as **qu-im** (i.e., the morph filling subposition **va<sup>1</sup>** regains its sounded shape).

Active VNC: **ōtinēchimmacac** = **ō#ti-θ+n-ēch+□-im(maca)θ+c-θ#** = you (sg) gave them (e.g., turkeys) to me

Passive VNC:  $\bar{o}niquimmac\bar{o}c = \bar{o}\#ni-\theta+qu-im(mac-\bar{o})\theta+c-\theta\# =$  I was given them; s.o. gave them to me [The mainline object pronoun **n-ēch** of the active-voice VNC has become the subject pronoun **ni-θ+ . . +c-θ** of the passive transform. The shuntline object pronoun **□-im** of the active source has been changed to **qu-im** in the passive-voice VNC.]

5. If the active source has two projective objects, only one of which is specific, the passive transform is constructed according to the *transitive* VNC formula. The pronominal information carried by the *va<sup>1</sup>-va<sup>2</sup>* dyad of the active source's specific object pronoun is relocated into the discontinuous positions of the subject pronoun in the passive transform. The nonspecific object of the source remains in the transform.

Active VNC:  $quit\bar{e}macaz = \#\theta-\theta+qui-\theta+t\bar{e}(maca)z+\square-\theta\# =$  he will give it to s.o.; he will give them to s.o. [The gloss assumes **qui-θ** to be the shuntline object, but it need not be (i.e., “people to him” or “s.o. to him” is a possible, although unlikely, translation). The distinction between shuntline and mainline is of no importance in this present instance since there is only one specific object.]

Passive VNC:  $t\bar{e}mac\bar{o}z = \#\theta-\theta+t\bar{e}(mac-\bar{o})z+\square-\theta\# =$  it will be given to s.o.; they will be given to s.o. [The object pronoun **qui-θ** of the active source has become the subject pronoun **θ-θ+ . . +□-θ** of the passive transform. The nonspecific object pronoun **tē** remains unchanged in the transform.]

Active VNC:  $mitztlamacazqueh = \#\theta-\theta+m-itz+tla(mac)a z+qu-eh\# =$  they will give you s.th.

Passive VNC:  $titlamac\bar{o}z = \#ti-\theta+tla(mac-\bar{o})z+\square-\theta\# =$  you will be given s.th.; s.o. will give you s.th. [The object pronoun **m-itz** of the active source has become the subject pronoun **ti-θ+ . . +□-θ** in the passive transform. The nonspecific object pronoun **tla** remains unchanged in the transform. In the previous example, the shuntline object pronoun was converted into a subject; in this example, it is the mainline object pronoun that has undergone the change. It is therefore obvious that when there is only one specific object in the source, it must become the subject of the transform.]

6. If the active source has three object pronouns (see § 23.4), the passive transform is constructed according to the principles set out in subsections 1–5 above.

21.3. *The Passive VNC in the Optative and Admonitive Moods.* Assertions in the passive voice may be converted into wish, command/exhortation, or admonition sentences.

Assertion: **Chihualo.** = It is being made.

Wish: **Mā chihualo.** = If only it would be made.

Assertion: **Nihuicōya.** = I was being accompanied.

Wish: **Mā nihuicōni.** = If only I had been accompanied.

Assertion: **Ahmō tihuico.** = You are not accompanied. [For **mō**, see § 44.5.4.]

Command: **Mā camō xihuico.** = Don't be accompanied.

Assertion: **Titlazohtlalo**. = We are loved.

Exhortation: **Mā titlazohtlalōcān**. = Let's be loved.

Assertion: **Amittoh**. = You (pl) are being watched.

Admonition: **Mā nēn amittohtin**. = Beware (pl) of being watched.

21.4. *The Passive Notion Expressed by an Active-Voice VNC.* In addition to using a VNC in the passive voice to express the notion of an action performed by an unknown agent on a specific entity, Nahuatl makes a limited use of an active-voice VNC with a reflexive object pronoun. The construction normally presents the grammatical fiction of an entity performing upon itself some action that, in nonlinguistic fact, it does not perform. English has a similar but very little-used construction. In such sentences as *This situation will straighten itself out later*, *His intentions soon revealed themselves*, and *This product has proved itself in test after test*, the subject in fact represents not the agent that performs the action but rather a patient that undergoes it; some unknown, unacknowledged, or general agent will straighten out the situation, etc. English prefers to use an “agentless passive” to express such notions; instead of “It painted itself,” “It was painted”; instead of “It (e.g., the food) ate itself,” “It was eaten”; etc.

**Mochihuaz**. = It will make itself; i.e., It will be made. It will be done. It will happen.

**Mihtoh**. = It said itself; i.e., It was said.

**Nicān mopōhua**. = Here it recounts itself; i.e., Here it is recounted. Here it is told. [For **nicān**, see § 46.3.2.b.]

**Ōmihuah**. = It has sent itself; i.e., It has been sent.

**Monequi**. = It wants itself; i.e., It is wanted. It is needed.

**Mocua** = It eats itself; i.e., It is eaten.

While one expects the subject of such VNCs to be nonanimate, an animate one is possible. When this occurs, one must realize that the subject entity is in the role of patient, not that of agent; for example:

**Monemitia in piltzintli**. = The child is caused to live; i.e., The child is given sustenance.

[NOT “The child causes itself to live.” In this sentence **piltzintli** has the feeling of a generic noun; that is, the translation could also read “Children are given sustenance.”]

**Ōmotōpilmacac don Esteva de Cozma**. = Don Esteban de Guzmán was given the staff of office. [Not “he gave himself the staff of office”; one must be appointed to the post. The active source VNC would be **quitōpilmacaqueh**, “they (specific individuals) gave the staff of office to him”; the reflexive formation permits one to avoid claiming knowledge about or interest in who specifically performed the action. For this type of compound verbstem, see Lesson 30.]

## LESSON 22

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# Impersonal VNCs

22.1. *Inherently Impersonal VNCs.* The VNCs presented in these lessons have, until now, had subjects that refer to actual entities. The morphic dyads (person dyad plus number dyad) that manifest the subject pronoun have had nonlinguistic referents (a man, a boy; a woman, a girl; a baby; a dog; an insect; a tree, a flower; a book, a word; an idea; a quality; etc.; or a group of men, or boys, etc.). The referent (physical, mental, spiritual; concrete, abstract) of the subject pronoun could be pointed out (at least theoretically) and named; therefore, it could be supplemented. There are, however, VNCs that have subjects that are linguistic fictions—grammatical contrivances that in fact have no specifiable referent in the nonlinguistic world. Such a referentially empty subject can only be third-person singular (i.e., expressed by the morphs  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$  in the person dyad and a number dyad filled by singular-number morphs). A VNC that has such a nonspecific, general subject with a nonexistent referent is called an impersonal VNC. There are a number of verbs whose stems can participate only in impersonal VNCs; they are called impersonal verbs. Many of them express meteorological events or conditions.

**Tōna.** =  $\# \emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tōna) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = It is hot. It is sunny. The sun is shining.

**Quiyahui.** =  $\# \emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (quiy-a-hui)z+□- $\emptyset$ # = It will rain.

**Tecihuiya.** =  $\# \emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (te-c-i-hui)ya+ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = It was hailing.

**Āyahui.** =  $\# \emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (āy-a-hui) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = It is foggy. It is misty.

**Ōonyohuac.** =  $\bar{o}\# \emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +on(yohua) $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ # = It became night. Night fell.

The phenomena described by these VNCs are events that take place without the intervention of any specifiable, definite, particular agent. They are, in fact, agentless. They are *not* subjectless, however, since grammar normalizes such expressions to other eventive expressions and assigns them a fictitious subject that represents a nonexistent agent.

22.2. *Distinction between Nonanimate and Impersonal VNCs.* Incidentally, one should not confuse impersonal VNCs with nonanimate VNCs. Both are limited to third-person singular VNCs: an impersonal VNC because its grammatical subject has no specifiable referent in the nonlinguistic world (and therefore can never be supplemented); and a nonanimate VNC because the referent of its grammatical subject is one or more specifiable nonanimate entities, and in

Nahuatl such entities have no grammatically represented plural (the “singular-number” VNC in this instance is really a common-number one). Therefore, the basic (affixal) subject can be supplemented.

For example, the intransitive verbstem (**chip-ā-hua**) associates with a nonanimate subject. It is translated “(for a liquid) to become clear/pure.”

**Ōchipāhuac.** = It (e.g., the water) became clear. They (e.g., the streams) became clear.

The third-person reflexive construction (the substitute for the passive) in § 21.4 tends to be a nonanimate one. The subject is always a specific, nameable, identifiable entity (i.e., the nuclear-subject pronoun can be supplemented).

22.3. *The Impersonal Voice.* The inherently impersonal constructions of § 22.1 do not exhaust the range of impersonal expressions; any event can be presented as taking place in an impersonal manner. Grammatically speaking, this means that a personal sentence can be transformed into an impersonal one. There is, however, a difference in the inherent and transformed varieties of impersonal expressions: the agent of the former is nonexistent, while that of the latter is existent but faceless. (The difference between the two types is such that perhaps the inherent type should be called “nonpersonal,” thereby leaving the term “impersonal” to refer to the transformed type.)

In English one way of generating an impersonal expression is to replace a specific, personal, particular agent by any of several nonspecific, impersonal, general ones. This is one of the tasks of indefinite pronouns.

Personal: *He* often gets sick.

Impersonal: *One* often gets sick. *Someone* often gets sick. *People* often get sick. *Everybody* often gets sick. *All* often get sick. [Notice that the notion of generality includes the notion of totality.]

In Nahuatl this transformation is accomplished by converting a VNC in the active voice into one in the impersonal voice. This involves (1) the replacement of the active (personal) subject by an impersonal one and (2) the replacement of the active stem by its nonactive counterpart. Just as in the inherently impersonal VNC of § 22.1 the impersonal nature of the subject pronoun is made evident only by the meaning of the verbstem, so also in this transformationally created impersonal VNC it is the nonactive shape of the stem that identifies the subject pronoun as being impersonal, indefinite.

Unlike the passive transformation, the impersonal one may be carried out upon VNCs with either an intransitive or a transitive valence. But if the VNC is transitive, the transformation can take place only if the active VNC that serves as source does *not* contain a specific projective-object pronoun. (Notice that a specific reflexive object in the source escapes this restriction, since by definition a reflexive object merely reflects the nature of the subject; an impersonalization of the subject automatically entails an impersonalization of the reflexive object.) This restriction is based on the fact that in Nahuatl an event can be expressed impersonally only when it is not related to specifically identified personal entities (either as agents or as patients).



In its use of the nonactive stem for both the passive and the impersonal voices, Nahuatl shows excellent linguistic economy. Confusion between the two voices is prevented by the mutually exclusive restriction on impersonal VNCs and passive VNCs. The two voices dovetail in their differences. The agent of the action in both is impersonal (unidentified: unacknowledged or unknown). But while the impersonal-voice VNC is an impersonal construction (in that it has a faceless, third-person singular, impersonal subject), the passive-voice VNC is a personal one, since a specifically identified patient of the action (a specific projective or reflexive object pronoun of the active-voice VNC that is the source) appropriates the subject function for itself.

22.4. *The Impersonal-Voice VNC.* An impersonal VNC formed on a nonactive stem is constructed on the same formula used by its active source: an *intransitive* active source has an intransitive impersonal counterpart; a *transitive* active source has a transitive impersonal counterpart. The subject pronoun (person dyad plus number dyad) of an impersonal transform is always an indefinite pronoun and is always third-person singular. It is not generated from anything in the active VNC (the importation of the impersonal subject from the outside to replace the discarded personal subject of the source is part of the transformational process). This impersonal subject pronoun has no nameable referent in nonlinguistic reality. The discarded subject pronoun of the source is unrecoverable from the surface of the impersonal transform.

1. The following examples show the relationship between an *intransitive* active-voice VNC as source and its impersonal-voice transform:

Active VNC: **mayānah** = they (a specific group of people) are hungry

Impersonal VNC: **mayānalo** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (mayāna-lo) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = people (in general) are hungry; all are hungry; there is a famine

Active VNC: **ōamahcicah** = you (pl) had arrived

Impersonal VNC: **ōahxihuaca** =  $\emptyset$ # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ahxī-hua)ca+ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = people (in general) had arrived

Active VNC: **ōhuetzcaqueh** = they (specific individuals) laughed

Impersonal VNC: **ōhuetzcōc** =  $\emptyset$ # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (hue-tz-c-ō) $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ # = people (in general) laughed; everybody laughed

Active VNC: **yahuih** = they (specific people) go

Impersonal VNC: **huilōhua** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (hui-lō-hua) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = people go; all go

The nonactive stems derived from irregular verbs that create VNCs showing dislocation of form and meaning (see § 11.4) create impersonal-voice VNCs with the same dislocation:

Active VNC: **ticateh** = #ti- $\emptyset$ (ca-t) $\emptyset$ +[-eh# = we are [preterit-as-present tense]

Impersonal VNC: **yelohuac** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ye-lo-hua) $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ # = people are; everyone is; all are [preterit-as-present tense]

Active VNC: **anhuītzah** = #an- $\emptyset$ (hui-tz)a+ $\emptyset$ -h# = you (pl) came [distant-past-as-past tense]

Impersonal VNC: **huīlohuatza** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (huī-lo-hua-tz)a+ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = people came; everybody came; all came [distant-past-as-past tense]

2. The following examples show the relationship between a *transitive* active-voice VNC with a projective-object pronoun and its impersonal-voice transform. The nonspecific-projective-object pronouns **tē** and **tla** appearing on the active source appear unchanged on the impersonal transform:

Active VNC: **tētlazohtlah** = they (specific individuals) love s.o.; they love people

Impersonal VNC: **tētlazohtlalo** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tē(tla-zo-h-tla-lo) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = people love people; everybody loves s.o.; everybody loves everybody; all are loved

Active VNC: **ōtitlapolohqueh** = we lost s.th.

Impersonal VNC: **ōtlapolōlōc** =  $\emptyset$ # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tla(pol-ō-lō) $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ # = people lost things; everybody lost s.th.; s.th. was lost; things got lost

Active VNC: **ōnitētlamacac** = I gave s.th. to s.o.

Impersonal VNC: **ōtētlamacōc** =  $\emptyset$ # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tē+tla(mac-ō) $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ # = someone gave s.th. to s.o.; s.o. was given s.th.; s.th. was given to s.o.; people were given things; things were given to people

3. When generated from an active-voice transitive source that has a reflexive-object pronoun, the impersonal-voice transform takes the shuntline reflexive-object pronoun **ne**:

Active VNC: **ninozahua** = I am fasting

Impersonal VNC: **nezahualo** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ne(zahua-lo) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = people fast; s.o. fasts; everybody fasts

Active VNC: **ōtimotlatequitih** = you took charge of s.th.; you took charge

Impersonal VNC: **ōnetlatequitilōc** =  $\emptyset$ # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ne+tla(tequi-tī-lō) $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ # = s.o. took charge of s.th.; s.o. took charge of things; people took charge of things

22.5. *The Impersonal-Voice VNC in the Optative and Admonitive Moods.* An assertion in the impersonal voice may be converted into a wish, an exhortation/command, or an admonition sentence:

Assertion: **Cuīco.** = People sing.

Wish/Command: **Mā cuīco.** = If only people would sing. Let people sing. Have people sing.

Assertion: **Ahhuechohua.** = People do not fall.

Wish: **Mā cahuechohua.** = May it be that people do not fall. I hope that people do not fall.

Assertion: **Ahmō mayānalo.** = There is no famine. [For **mō**, see § 44.5.4.]

Wish: **Mā camō mayānalo.** = If only there were no famine.

Assertion: **Quīxohuaya.** = Everyone was leaving.

Wish: **Mā quīxohuani.** = If only everyone were/had been leaving.

Assertion: **Huetzco.** = People laugh.

Admonition: **Mā nēn huetzcoh.** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (hue-tz-c-o)h+ $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = Let people beware of laughing.

22.6. *The tla-Impersonal VNC.* In addition to the impersonal-voice VNC built on a nonactive stem, Nahuatl has another means of creating an impersonal expression. By prefixing the derivational morpheme **tla** to an active intransitive verbstem, one can shift a specific subject pronoun on a VNC to an impersonal one. The source verbstem usually has an inceptive (or inchoative) meaning or a stative meaning. The impersonalizing **tla** prefix should not be confused with the nonspecific projective-object pronoun; it is a *derivational* morpheme, not an inflectional one, and is thus a constituent inside the derived verbstem. The following are a few examples of the derivation.

(**huā-qui**) = *nonan*, to become dry > (**tla-huā-qui**) = *impers*, for there to be a drought

(**pol-i-hui**) = *nonan*, to become lost/destroyed > (**tla-pol-i-hui**) = *impers*, for things in general to become lost/destroyed

(**cel-i-ya**) = *nonan*, to become freshly green > (**tla-cel-i-ya**) = *impers*, for things in general to become freshly green

(**ihyā-ya**) = *nonan*, to stink > (**tla-ihyā-ya**) = *impers*, for a stench to pervade an area

(**cah-ca-h**) = *nonan*, to be/exist severally/separately > (**tla-cah-ca-h**) = *impers*, for things in general to be/exist here and there [Concerning the reduplicative prefix on (**ca-h**), see § 27.2.]

(**on-o**) = *nonan*, to be/lie/sit there/in place > (**tla-on-o**) = *impers*, for everything to be ready (for a banquet, etc.)

(**chic-ā-hua**) = *nonan*, to become strong; to ripen > (**tla-chic-ā-hua**) = *impers*, for fruits/vegetables in general to become ripe

(**huē-i-ya**) = *nonan*, to become big > (**tla-huē-i-ya**) = *impers*, for there to be space enough

At times only the **tla-impersonal** stem is attested:

\*(**it-hui**) = *nonan*, to become perceptible > (**tla-t-hui**) = *impers*, for things in general to become perceptible; i.e., for dawn to break [The source stem is related to \*(**itzi**) and **tla-(itt-a)**; see § 26.1.2.]

At times the **tla-impersonal** stem expresses that which in English would be considered a meteorological verb (see § 22.1).

(**petl-ā-ni**) = *nonan*, to glisten/shine/sparkle > (**tla-petl-ā-ni**) = *impers*, to lightning, for lightning to flash

(**tlatz-ī-ni**) = *nonan*, to make an explosive sound > (**tla-tlatz-ī-ni**) = *impers*, to thunder, for there to be a thunderclap

(**poy-ā-hua**) = *nonan*, to turn dark > (**tla-poy-ā-hua**) = *impers*, to become dark, for night to fall

(**nēci**) = *nonan*, to appear > (**tla-nēci**) = *impers*, for things in general to appear; i.e., for dawn to break

(**ce-ce-ya**) = *nonan*, to become cold > (**tla-ce-ce-ya**) = *impers*, for the weather to turn cold

Occasionally, the impersonalizing **tla** is prefixed to an inherently impersonal stem (see § 22.1). The derived stem has the same translation value as the source stem:

(**yohua**) = *impers*, to grow dark (at the approach of night) > (**tla-yohua**) = to become dark (at nightfall)

In an extremely limited number of instances, the impersonal subject can refer to animate beings (in general). The impersonal subject of a VNC built on such a stem does not, of course, show plurality but generality.

(**ih-cahu-a-ca**) = (for birds) to twitter/warble/chatter noisily; (for people) to talk noisily > (**tla-h-cahu-a-ca**) = *impers*, for people in general to talk noisily, for people to create a general hubbub; for the enemy to yell their war cries [Concerning the formation of the source stem, see § 30.13.]

(**cue-cuech-ca**) = to tremble (from fear) > (**tla-cue-cuech-ca**) = *impers*, for people in general to tremble (from fear) [Concerning the formation of the source stem, see § 27.5.1.]

The following examples show VNCs built on the **tla**-impersonal stem contrasted with those built on the source stem:

Active VNC: **ōnēz** = it (a specific thing) became bright

Impersonal VNC: **ōtlanēz** = it (nothing nameable) became bright; everything (in general) became bright; i.e., it dawned

Active VNC: **huāquiz** = it (a specific thing) will become dry; they (specific things) will become dry

Impersonal VNC: **tlahuāquiz** = things (in general) will become dry; there will be a drought

Active VNC: **ōtlatzīn** = it (a specific thing) made an explosive sound; they (specific things) made an explosive sound

Impersonal VNC: **ōtlatlatzīn** = there was a thunderclap

Active VNC: **ye iztaya** = it (a specific thing) is already becoming white

Impersonal VNC: **ye tlaztaya** = they (things in general) are already becoming white; i.e., dawn is already breaking

## LESSON 23

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### More on Verb Objects

23.1. *Kinds of Verb Objects.* Unlike English, in which the term “transitive” designates a kind of verb that requires a direct object to complete its meaning, “transitive” in Nahuatl is a cover term used to designate a verbcore containing any verb object. The cover term is needed (as a counter to “intransitive”) since there are three kinds of verbstems with transitive valence: (1) directive, (2) causative, and (3) applicative. A *directive* verbstem is inherently (or originally) transitive; it requires a *direct* object. *Causative* and *applicative* verbstems are transitive thanks to a *derivational* process that adds a causative or applicative suffix to an intransitive or a transitive stem (be it directive or—since the derivational process is recursive—causative or applicative). They require a *causative* or an *applicative* object.

In the discussion of the objective-case pronouns in Lesson 6, no mention was made of these three kinds of objects because the pronouns show no *formal* (i.e., morphological) distinctions to express the difference in *function*. This situation (which is another instance of linguistic economy) presents no problem to a native speaker, but a foreign learner of the language finds it is burdensome. One must be constantly alert to the kind of object being dealt with, because the functional difference encountered entails a difference in meaning. The three kinds of objects are illustrated in the following single-object VNCs:

*Direct* object: **niccaqui** = #ni- $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ (caqui) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I hear him/her/it [Or “it/them” if the object is nonanimate.]

*Causative* object: **niccuēloa** = #ni- $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ (cuēl-o-a) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I cause it/them to become folded [The **a** is the causative suffix.]

*Applicative* object: **niccuīcatia** = #ni- $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ (cuīca-t-ia) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I sing to him/her [The **ia** is the applicative suffix.]

A *direct object* refers to the entity that directly undergoes or suffers the action (cf., “I hit the ball,” “I saw a bird,” “I called Bill,” “I cut myself”). A *causative object* is a two-roled object, being at one and the same time the patient of the causing and the agent of the caused event (cf., “I cause *Bill* to fall,” “he makes *me* leave,” “I make *myself* look”). An *applicative object* refers to an entity involved only indirectly in an event, so that it is somehow applied to it; this may

be to its benefit or its harm (cf., “it happened *to me*,” “I wrote *Mary*,” “Bill stole it *from Jack*,” “she gave it *to Jane*,” “I bought it *for myself*”). In English a causative object frequently looks like a direct object (e.g., “I felled *the tree*,” “I lengthened *my journey*,” “I killed *the bug*”); even an applicative object may seem so (e.g., “I wrote *Mary*”). In Nahuatl this is normally not the case because of the morphological structure of the verbstem. It may happen, however, that because of our lack of knowledge about the derivational history of certain Nahuatl verbstems, the distinction between a direct object and a causative object may not be clear. Also, translation may need to obscure the real nature of an object (e.g., “I cause it to become uttered” should usually be translated as “I say it”).

While a direct object inherently belongs to a (directive) *verbstem*, a causative or applicative object belongs to a causative or applicative *suffix*; that is, the causative object plus the causative suffix and the applicative object plus the applicative suffix constitute discontinuous *units*. This means that a causative or applicative object cannot occur in a VNC without the justifying presence of a derivational suffix on the stem, and conversely a causative or applicative suffix cannot normally occur on a stem without the supporting presence of a personal-pronominal verb object appearing in a Valence position of a VNC.

Since Nahuatl is so totally different from English in these matters, one must pay special attention to them. They are a constant source of misunderstanding.

*Remark:* One should realize that, even given the stringency of the Nahuatl system, certain anomalies do occur. For example, the causative stem **tē-(ā-l-ti-ā)**, “to cause s.o. to have water,” i.e., “to bathe s.o.,” with a projective object, always follows the rule perfectly (a causative suffix obligatorily entails a causative object). When the action is reflexive, however, the stem may have a reflexive object, as expected, **m-□-(ā-l-ti-ā)**, “to cause o.s. to have water,” that is, “to bathe o.s., to bathe, to take a bath”; on the other hand, it may be inexplicably intransitive: **(ā-l-ti-ā)**, “to bathe, to take a bath.”

**23.2. Multiple Valence Positions.** Because verb objects can be brought into a verbal core by means of derivational suffixes, a VNC may have more than one Valence position. No core, however, can have more than three. This means that in addition to the single-object VNCs exemplified in § 23.1 (whose structure was explained in Lesson 6), there can be double-object and triple-object VNCs.

There are two possible schemas for derivational histories of the verbcore, depending on whether the original source is intransitive or directive. In the following outline of these two schemas, **IBASE** = intransitive stem as base; **DBASE** = directive stem as base; **SUF** = derivational suffix, either causative or applicative. Every occurrence of **va** represents, as the plus marks indicate, a full Valence position.

1. Intransitive source:
  - a. **(STEM)**
  - b. **+va(IBASE-SUF)**
  - c. **+va+va(IBASE-SUF-SUF)**
  - d. **+va+va+va(IBASE-SUF-SUF-SUF)**

## 2. Directive source:

- a. +va(STEM)
- b. +va+va(DBASE-SUF)
- c. +va+va+va(DBASE-SUF-SUF)

The histories outlined above are repeated in the following chart to show the possible types of object pronouns (direct, causative, applicative; mainline, shuntline) that can appear in a verb-core at each derivational stage. As can be seen, a *mainline* object is shunted to a lower rank (i.e., it becomes a *shuntline* object) by the creation of a causative or applicative stem based on a previously existing stem. When there are two shuntline objects, they are distinguished as being “first level” (or “earlier level”) and “second level” (or “later level”). [Ml = mainline; Shl = shuntline; / = “or.”]

Options of occurrence of pronoun objects in the two derivational histories are as follows:

## 1. Intransitive source:

- |    |                      |   |
|----|----------------------|---|
| a. | Intransitive core    | No object   |
| b. | 1-obj caus/appl core | Ml caus/appl obj  |
| c. | 2-obj caus/appl core | Shl caus/appl obj + Ml caus/appl obj  |
| d. | 3-obj caus/appl core | 1st-level Shl caus/appl obj + 2nd-level Shl caus/appl obj<br>+ Ml caus/appl obj |

## 2. Directive source:

- |    |                      |   |
|----|----------------------|---|
| a. | 1-obj Directive core | Ml dir obj  |
| b. | 2-obj caus/appl core | Shl dir obj + Ml caus/appl obj  |
| c. | 3-obj caus/appl core | 1st-level Shl dir obj + 2nd-level Shl caus/appl obj + Ml<br>caus/appl obj |

While the above chart gives the types of object pronouns present at the successive stages of a derivational history, it says nothing about the linear order in which they appear in a VNC (see § 23.3).

The meaning of the source stem is, of course, a deciding factor in which of the above options is allowed in any given instance. The possibility of the causative occurring in stage 1.d or 2.c is extremely limited.

23.3. *Rules Governing Valence Positions.* The following restrictions control the way in which multiple valence positions can be filled.

1. The same rule that is fundamental to the single-object transitive formula of Lesson 6 holds here: every position and subposition in the formula is obligatorily present and must be filled, even if it is with a silent morph.

2. Only one reflexive object pronoun can have a *mainline* shape (i.e., **n-o**, **t-o**, **m-o**). Except for rare anomalous circumstances (see § 25.11.1.b and § 25.11.3.b), this mainline object must be brought into a VNC under the control of the verbstem’s *last-added* derivational suffix. It may be the only object of a nonderived transitive stem (i.e., a directive stem), as in **m-o**-(zōmā), “to frown in anger.”

3. The derived verbstem may be built of only causative suffixes, only applicative ones, or a combination of the two. As a rule, in a combination causative suffixes are added before applicative ones (there may be occasional exceptions).

4. While the rightward sequence of stem suffixes rigidly reflects the derivational history of the stem as a whole, the leftward sequence of Valence positions does not mirror the order of the stem suffixes in either a parallel or a reverse order. The sequence of verb object pronouns is governed by the ordering priorities, as explained in § 23.5.

5. Specific projective object pronouns are incompatible with one another; therefore, only one can be represented by sounded morphs, as explained in § 23.4. It should be remembered that unsounded morphs are as real as sounded ones.

23.4. *The Multiple-Valence Transitive VNC Formula.* Giving a formula for each of the multiple-valence possibilities would take up too much space; consequently, one with core 2.c of § 23.2, with one suffix causative and the other applicative, will be used as a representative example (each va represents a full position capable of having two subpositions each). [Src = source; direc = directive.]

Linear format: #pers<sup>1</sup>-pers<sup>2</sup>+va+va+va(DBASE-CAUS-APPLIC)tns+num<sup>1</sup>-num<sup>2</sup>#

Diagrammatic format:

1 #pers <sup>1</sup> -pers <sup>2</sup> +...+num <sup>1</sup> -num <sup>2</sup>	Subject	
2 +va(DBASE-	direc srce	} applic core } Predicate
3 +va... -CAUS-	caus	
4 +va... -APPLIC)	applic	
5 )tns+	tense	

As the diagram shows, the last line of the core (here line 4) is the *mainline constituent*; that is, it establishes the final nature of the core. Earlier lines inside the core (lines 3 and 2) are *shuntline* elements; that is, elements relegated to a lower status in the core by the addition of subsequent elements. The mainline object pronoun (the object last added in the derivational history) is the privileged object. If a shuntline Valence position is already filled with a specific projective-object pronoun, only the mainline specific projective-object pronoun has a sounded representation. This means that in the presence of a mainline specific projective object-pronoun, if **n-ēch**, **m-itz**, **t-ēch**, or **am-ēch** is already present in the derivational history, it is obligatorily replaced by the ambiguous silent variant dyad □-□. When the shuntline Valence position is represented by a third-person pronoun, however, only the *va*<sup>1</sup> subposition morph is replaced by □; that is, **c-θ/qu-θ** ~ **qui-θ** is replaced by □-θ and **qu-im** by □-im (except that when there is a mainline third-person plural object pronoun, the shuntline variant of **qu-im** is □-□).

This incompatibility of mainline and shuntline objects occurs only when the mainline object pronoun is specific projective. If the mainline object pronoun is nonspecific or reflexive, *no* changes take place in the shape of a specific projective-shuntline-object pronoun. Also, the



shuntline morphs for the nonspecific projective-object pronouns are the same **tē** and **tla** morphs as when they are mainline. The shuntline morph for a reflexive/reciprocatve pronoun object is **ne** (see § 6.2.1).

The representation of verb object pronouns by silence is strange to an English speaker, because it seems equivalent to reducing a sentence such as “I cause him to sell it to her” to “I cause sell to her.” (It should be remembered, however, that on rare occasions English itself permits the silencing of the direct object in a sentence such as “I wrote to her” or “I wrote her,” instead of “I wrote it to her” or “I wrote her it.”).

23.5. *Sequences of Objects in Multiple-Valence VNCs.* As pointed out in § 23.3.4, the sequence of verb-object pronoun morphs does not reflect the history of the addition of derivational suffixes. The order of verb-object pronouns in a VNC is established by four rules.

1. Specific projective before reflexive.
2. Specific projective before nonspecific projective.
3. Reflexive before nonspecific projective.
4. Human before nonhuman (i.e., **tē** before **tla**).

The thirteen lines in the following chart show the thirteen three-pronoun combinations made possible by these rules. From these examples of the normal fullest possible combinations, it is easy to pick out the possible two-pronoun combinations (e.g., two from Column V, one from Column IV, one from Column V, etc., always keeping the sequence on a given line). In the chart the third-person singular pronoun object **c-Ø** has been chosen as a representative dyad standing for any specific projective-object pronoun, and the nonfirst-person reflexive object **m-o** has been chosen as a representative dyad standing for any reflexive- or reciprocalive-object pronoun with a mainline shape.

The position of the directional/locative prefix (column II) in the sequence of object pronouns is determined by the rules given in § 8.1.

	I			II	III	IV			V		
	Specific projective			Direction: huāl/on	Mainline reflexive	Nonspecific human			Nonspecific nonhuman		
	1	2	3	1	1	1	2	3	1	2	3
1									<b>tla</b>	<b>tla</b>	<b>tla</b>
2						<b>tē</b>			<b>tla</b>	<b>tla</b>	
3					<b>m-o</b>				<b>tla</b>	<b>tla</b>	
4						<b>tē</b>	<b>tē</b>		<b>tla</b>		
5					<b>m-o</b>	<b>tē</b>			<b>tla</b>		

6	<b>c-Ø</b>				<b>m-o</b>				<b>tla</b>		
7						<b>tē</b>	<b>tē</b>	<b>tē</b>			
8					<b>m-o</b>	<b>tē</b>	<b>tē</b>				
9	<b>c-Ø</b>				<b>m-o</b>	<b>tē</b>					
10	<b>c-Ø</b>	<b>□-Ø</b>							<b>tla</b>		
11	<b>c-Ø</b>	<b>□-Ø</b>				<b>tē</b>					
12	<b>c-Ø</b>	<b>□-Ø</b>			<b>m-o</b>						
13	<b>c-Ø</b>	<b>□-Ø</b>	<b>□-Ø</b>								

Object-pronoun sequences are as follows:

*Remark 1:* The combinations in lines 1 and 7 are extremely rare.

*Remark 2:* The chart does not mention the shuntline-reflexive **ne**, which must replace **m-o** (or **n-o** or **t-o**) if it is *not* the last-added object. It is also possible to shunt a reflexive object to the background by adding a reflexive object; the sequence would be **m-o+ne**. The **ne** at times occurs in Column III and at times in what would be Column VI.

*Remark 3:* Because of the shuntline-silent morphs in lines 10 through 13, one must absolutely know (and keep firmly in mind) the object requirements of the stem (double object or triple object); otherwise, a misunderstanding of the text is inevitable.

*Remark 4:* In the rules for Valence-position sequence, absolutely no mention is made of the three kinds of objects presented in § 23.1. In sequencing verb-object pronouns, Nahuatl is totally indifferent to which morph in a sequence is direct, causative, or applicative object. Form, not function, is the criterion for placement; consequently the correlation of object pronoun to stem constituent is a matter of ambiguity which, one always hopes, the VNC's context will clear up. For example, the three-membered sequence **nēchtētla**, i.e., **+n-ēch+tē+tla**, "me s.o. s.th.," may have **n-ēch** as causative object or applicative object, with **tē** being either applicative or causative depending on how **n-ēch** is taken. Other examples are given in subsequent lessons.

*Note:* See Appendix C for verb-object combinations.

## LESSON 24

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### Causative Verbstems (First Type). Destockal Verbstems

24.1. *Valence and the Stem-Final Vowel.* A Nahuatl verbstem may end in /i/, /a/, or /o/. (A few, all of which are variants of those ending in /a/, may end in /e/.) The relation between the final vowel and the stem's valence is not predictable. There are a few intransitive stems that end in /o/ or /o:/; for example:

(**ehcō**) = to arrive

(**tlehcō**) = to ascend

(**on-o**) = to be recumbent

(**panō**) = to cross a river

Nonactive stems ending in /o:/ (see § 20.2, § 20.4, and § 20.7) may be either intransitive or transitive (see Lessons 21 and 22).

Many intransitive verbstems end in /a/ and many directive stems end in /i/:

Intrans.: (**quīza**) = to leave

(**chōca**) = to cry

Direc.: **tla-(itqui)** = to carry s.th.

**tla-(ih-tlani)** = to request s.th.

Nonactive stems ending in /wa/ (see § 20.3, § 20.5, and § 20.6) may be either intransitive or transitive (see Lessons 21 and 22).

In the majority of instances, however, intransitive stems end in /i/ and directive stems end in /a/:

Intrans.: (**nemi**) = to live

(**miqui**) = to die

Direc.: **tla-(chihua)** = to make s.th.

**tē-(nōtza)** = to call s.o.

Of these directives ending in /a/, a few have variant stems ending in /e/; for example:

**tla-(piya) ~ tla-(piye)** = to keep s.th.

**tla-(māmā) ~ tla-(mēmē)** = to carry s.th. on one's back

24.2. *Valence-Neutral Verbstems.* Coincident with the occasional randomness of stem-final /i/ and /a/ with regard to a stem's choice of valence is the rather surprising fact that a few Nahuatl verbstems can be valence neutral; that is, they can be either intransitive or transitive. This is a violation of the valence principle of § 23.1, since in these stems no derivational (i.e., stem-internal) suffix determines the shift from intransitive to transitive valence.

Since the intransitive stem of one of the valence-neutral pairs sufficiently expresses a non-specific-goal action, the transitive stem normally occurs only in VNCs that have a specific object pronoun (although in citation forms the stems are shown with the nonspecific **tla** or **tē**).

1. When the stem-final vowel of a valence-neutral stem ends in /a/, the transitive stem normally has an applicative meaning:

(**pix-ca**) = to harvest > **tla-(pix-ca)** = to harvest s.th.

(**tōca**) = to plant > **tla-(tōca)** = to plant s.th.

(**mayāna**) = to be hungry > **tla-(mayāna)** = to be hungry for s.th.

Certain stems ending in /a/ seem to be valence neutral but in fact are not (see § 24.6).

2. When the stem-final vowel of a valence-neutral stem is /i/, the transitive also usually has an applicative meaning:

(**teci**) = to make flour/meal by grinding > **tla-(teci)** = to grind s.th. into flour/meal

(**ahci**) = to arrive > **tē-(ahci)** = to overtake/catch up to s.o.

(**mati**) = to be knowledgeable/cognizant > **tla-(mati)** = to be cognizant of s.th., to know s.th.

(**tēmiqui**) = to dream > **tla-(tēmiqui)** = to dream about s.th.

(**ciya-hui**) = to become tired > **tla-(ciya-hui)** = to become tired because of s.th.; i.e., to attain s.th. by labor

(**pāqui**) = to become happy > **tla-(pāqui)** = to become happy because of/about s.th.

In a few exceptional instances, however, the transitive stem has a causative meaning:

(**huī-tequi**) = to become beaten > **tē- ~ tla-(huī-tequi)** = to beat s.o. or s.th.

(**poz-tequi**) = (for sticks, bones, etc.) to become broken > **tla-(poz-tequi)** = to break s.th. (e.g., a stick, a bone) [Compare English “it breaks” and “he breaks it.”]

*Note:* Valence-neutral variants are reflected in their nonactive stems; e.g.,

**tecih** = they (specific people) produce meal by grinding > **tecihua** = *impers.*, people (in general) produce meal by grinding

**quitecih** = they grind it (i.e., maize) into meal > **texo ~ texohua** = *pass.*, it (i.e., maize) is being ground into meal

24.3. *Causative Verbstems (First Type)*. There are three types of causative-verbstem formations. The first two types are created by means of derivation, the third by compounding. Type two is presented in Lesson 25 and type three in § 39.7.2.b. The first type is presented here.

Regardless of the situations presented in §§ 24.1–2, the contrast between stem-final /i/ as intransitive and stem-final /a/ as transitive is used in Nahuatl to create, by means of derivation, an intransitive/transitive pair of verbstems differing only in these final vowels. The causative suffix **a** converts an intransitive verbstem ending in /i/ into a causative verbstem. It can also create a causative stem from an intransitive stem ending in /a/ (the /a/ of the intransitive stem, like the stem-final /i/, is only a constituent sound of a stemal or suffixal morpheme; the causative /a/, on the other hand, is a morpheme in its own right). The causative **a** is short after consonants and long after vowels.

1. When the intransitive stem ends in /i/, the derivation takes place either by replacement or by addition.

a. When derivation takes place by replacement, the causative **a** is added to a base that is an imperfective stem lacking its final /i/.

(**mani**) = to extend/be/rest/lie/stand covering an area (said of a thing, a number of things, or a group of people or herd of animals) > **tla-(man-a)** = to put/place/set s.th. flat upon the floor [With **tla**-fusion, (**tla-man-a**) means “to make an oblation.”]

(**zahui**) = to abstain from food > **m-o-(zahu-a)** = to enjoin o.s. to abstain from eating; i.e., to fast [Since the transitive stem expresses a self-imposed action, it is far more frequent than the intransitive stem.]

(**cuepi**) = to come/go back, to return > **tla-(cuep-a)** = to return s.th.

(**tzacui**) = to become closed/shut > **tla-(tzacu-a)** = to close/shut s.th.

(**tomi**) = *nonan*, to become/be loose > **tla-(tom-a)** = to loosen/untie s.th., to open s.th. (e.g., a letter)

(**ix-tlā-hui**) = *nonan*, to be given back > **tla-(ix-tlā-hu-a)** = to pay s.th. [For the structure of (**ix-tlā-hui**), see § 54.2.2.]

Occasionally, in addition to the loss of the final /i/, the base stem replaces its final consonant before adding the causative **a**:

(**huā-qui**) = *nonan*, to become dry > **tla-(huā-tz-a)** = to dry s.th. out [This pair is probably involved in the intransitive /k/ versus transitive /ç/ contrast pointed out in § 27.4.]

Occasionally, there is a shift in meaning:

(**tēmi**) = to become brimming full [Cf., (**tēn)-tli-**, “lip/rim/brim.”] > **tla-(tēm-a)** = to cause s.th. (e.g., seeds, dirt) to fill a container; to put s.th. somewhere; *by extension*, to bake s.th. in a small oven

(**pōhui**) = to be of account/be taken account of; to be counted in/belong > **m-o-(pōhu-a)** = to be overproud/arrogant/haughty

Both the intransitive stem and the derived causative stem of this kind of verb belong to Class B: (**tomi**) > *perf*, (**ton**); **tla-(tom-a)** > *perf*, **tla-(ton)**. [It should be remembered that this is a simplified presentation of Class B forms; see § 7.3.1 for the class difference that exists between intransitive source stems and type-one causative stems derived from them.]

b. When derivation takes place by addition, the causative **a** is added to the full intransitive stem and is lengthened to /a:/.

(**īlpi**) = to become tied > **tla-(īlpi-ā)** = to cause s.th. to become tied; i.e., to tie s.th.

(**aqui**) = to enter/fit into > **tla-(aqui-ā)** = to put s.th. in a hole; to (trans)plant s.th.

(**pah-ti**) = to have (good) medicine; to convalesce/get well > **tē-(pah-ti-ā)** = to cause s.o. to have (good) medicine; to cure s.o.

The derived causative stem of this kind of verb belongs to Class C: **tla-(īlpi-ā)** > *perf*, **tla-(īlpi-h)**.

2. When the intransitive stem ends in /a/, the type-one causative derivation takes place only by replacement.

a. Certain intransitive verbstems ending in an /a/ that is not part of the /ya/ morpheme replace this /a/ with the causative **a**. While there is no phonological contrast in the imperfective stems of the pair, the contrast is morphologically real in that the perfective stems are different: the intransitive stem belongs to Class A, and the causative stem belongs to Class B. See § 24.6 for the structure of this kind of verb.

(**ē-hua**) > *perf*, (**ē-hua**) = to arise/depart; (for a bird) to lift off in flight > **tla-(ē-hu-a)** > *perf*, **tla-(ē-uh)** = to lift s.th.; to carry s.th. heavy; to sing s.th. (i.e., a song) [Compare English “to lift one’s voice in song.”]

b. Certain intransitive verbstems end in an /a/ that is part of the derivational suffix **ya** (see § 54.2). This kind of stem normally replaces the /ya/ morpheme with the causative **a**, which is lengthened to /a:/ because of the preceding vowel.

(**coco-ya**) = to become sick > **tē-(coco-ā)** = to cause s.o. to become sick, to hurt s.o.  
 (**tlap-ī-hui-ya**) = *nonan*, to increase in number, to multiply > **tla-(tlap-ī-hui-ā)** = to cause s.th. to increase in number

The intransitive stem of such verbs belongs to Class A or Class B: e.g., (**coco-ya**) > *perf*, (**coco-x**); (**tlap-ī-hui-ya**) > *perf*, (**tlap-ī-hui-ya**) > (**tlap-ī-hui-x**). The causative stem belongs to Class C: e.g., **tē-(coco-ā)** > *perf*, **tē-(coco-h)**; **tla-(tlap-ī-hui-ā)** > *perf*, **tla-(tlap-ī-hui-h)**.

*Note:* Occasionally, there are exceptions to the “intransitive **ya** > causative **a**” formation in that the causative stem is formed according to subsection 2.a above; for example:

(**yōco-ya**) > *perf*, (**yōco-x**) = to become comely/well-formed > *causative*, **tla-(yōco-y-a)** > *perf*, **tla-(yōco-x)** = to cause s.th. to become well-formed; i.e., to form/invent/create s.th. [The intransitive stem is rare except as the source for its preterit-agentive nounstem.]

24.4. *Destockal Verbstems.* A large number of verbstems are created by a two-step derivational process by means of a *stock* and are therefore called *destockal* verbstems. A stock is a peculiar derivational unit one rank above a root and one rank below a stem (see § 1.11.2.b.ii). While certain verbroots can be upgraded to the rank of a verbstem (e.g., (**miqui**), “to die,” (**nemi**), “to live”), no verbstock has this privilege. A stock is formed from certain verbroots by means of a derivational suffix (called a “stock formative”). After this first step, another derivational suffix (called a “stem formative” or a “theme”) is added to create an intransitive verbstem. This two-step process can be illustrated as follows:

Step 1: root + stock formative = stock: **patl** + **ā** = **patl-ā**-

Step 2: stock + stem formative = stem: **patl-ā**- + **ni** = (**patl-ā-ni**), “to fly”

Like the verbs discussed in § 24.3, destockal verbs occur in intransitive-and-transitive pairs, with the transitive member being the result of a type-one causative derivation using the causative suffix **a**.

There are three types of destockal verbs, each distinguished by the nature of the destockal stem formative (or destockal theme).

*Note:* In morphology a “theme” (or more exactly a “thematic morpheme”) is a morpheme attached to a morphological unit to create a stem (either a verbstem or a nounstem); i.e., it is a *stem-formative morpheme* (or *stem formative* for short).

The derivational suffix **ya** mentioned in § 24.3.2.b is another example of a theme or stem formative, but it is normally added either to a root (e.g., (**coco-ya**)) or to a verbstem (e.g., (**te-ti-ya**); see § 54.2).

24.5. *The Destockal Stem Formatives ni and hui.* The stem formative on the intransitive stem of the first kind of destockal verbstem may be either **ni** or **hui**. While **ni** is highly productive, **hui** is of only limited use. The stock formative is a long vowel that is normally in harmony with the short vowel of the root: /a:/ echoes /a/, /i:/ echoes /i/, /o:/ echoes /o/; but /o:/ also responds to /e/ (although with **hui** as theme, /e:/ can also echo /e/). There may be exceptions. The following examples illustrate the formation of the intransitive stem.

1. Stock formative **ā** (with short /a/ as the vowel in the root):

(**cal-ā-ni**) = (for metal) to jingle/ring

(**cual-ā-ni**) = to become angry

(**chal-ā-ni**) = (for pottery, etc.) to become cracked; (for a musical instrument or a voice) to be out of tune

(**chap-ā-ni**) = (for dough, wet clay, etc.) to become soaking wet/make a plopping sound on hitting a surface

(**tlap-ā-ni**) = to break/become broken

(**xam-ā-ni**) = to become broken, to crack

(**patl-ā-ni**) = to fly

(**cax-ā-ni**) = (for s.th. tied) to become untied

(**chacu-ā-ni**) = (for clothes, etc.) to soak

(**xahu-ā-ni**) = (for water) to gush forth

(**tzay-ā-ni**) = to become ripped/torn

(**chay-ā-ni**) = (for maize, etc.) to spill out over the ground

(**chay-ā-hui**) = (for maize, etc.) to spill out over the ground

Exception:

(**tlatz-ī-ni**) = to make a bursting/explosive noise

2. Stock formative **ī** (with short /i/ as the vowel in the root):

(**chip-ī-ni**) = to drip

(**pitz-ī-ni**) = (for an egg) to become broken open; (for a fruit) to become bruised; (for a swelling) to burst

(**tzil-ī-ni**) = (for metal) to jingle/ring

(**tzicu-ī-ni**) = (for a liquid) to splash/splatter

(**xit-ī-ni**) = (for a wall, a mountain, etc.) to collapse; (for people) to become dispersed

Exception:

(**chit-ō-ni**) = (for a button) to pop off; (for chips, a bead, sparks of a fire) to fly up

3. Stock formative **ō** (with short /o/ as the vowel in the root):

**(com-ō-ni)** = *nonan*, to flare/blaze

**(tom-ō-ni)** = *nonan*, to swell slightly into a bump or lump

**(tzom-ō-ni)** = *nonan*, to break; *anim*, to burst forth

**(mōy-ō-ni)** = to swarm [Notice the long /o:/ of the root.]

**(tzoy-ō-ni)** = to become fried

**(coy-ō-ni)** = *nonan*, to become hollowed out; to become a cavity/hole/hollow

**(mol-ō-ni)** = (for a spring) to flow from an opening; (for clouds) to build up; (for a feather/feathers/perfume/etc.) to float on a breeze

**(pol-ō-ni)** = to mumble/stutter/stammer

**(zol-ō-ni)** = (for a river) to flow noisily with great force

**(tzop-ō-ni)** = to become punctured

**(cox-ō-ni)** = (for water in a container) to make a sloshing sound

**(poz-ō-ni)** = (for the sea or water in a pot) to boil/seethe

**(cot-o-ni)** = (for rope/cord/thread) to become broken

**(pot-ō-ni)** = to stink

Exceptions:

**(ōl-ī-ni)** = to move; to move along a path; to tremble/quake [Notice the long vowel of the root.]

**(tzop-ī-ni)** = to become punctured [same as **(tzop-ō-ni)**]

**(poch-ī-ni)** = (for strands of cotton fiber, etc.) to become disentangled/separated

**(totl-ā-ni)** = to become shiny with a glaze or varnish

**(tōy-ā-hui)** = (for a liquid) to spill forth [Notice the long vowel of the root.]

**(cōz-ā-hui)** = to become/turn yellow [Notice the long vowel of the root.]

4. Stock formative *ō* (with /e/ as the vowel in the root):

**(pet-ō-ni)** = (for a bone, etc.) to become dislocated; (for a corbel, etc.) to become separated

**(pex-ō-ni)** = (for a liquid) to overflow; (for a container) to become filled to overflowing

**(pey-ō-ni)** = to glimmer/glow

**(cuey-ō-ni)** = to sparkle; (for fleas/lice/ants on an anthill/people in a market/fish in a pond) to swarm/teem

**(cuep-ō-ni)** = (for an egg/chestnut/etc.) to burst/pop/crackle when roasted; (for flowers) to blossom; to shine/gleam/glisten

**(quey-ō-ni)** = to itch

**(quel-ō-ni)** = (for a bone) to become dislocated

Exceptions:

**(tecu-ī-ni)** = (for a fire) to flame up/flare up; (for a heart) to beat

**(te-ī-ni)** = to shatter with pieces flying out

**(petl-ā-ni)** = (for a liquid) to pour out/spill; (for a surface) to become polished; to sparkle/shine

**(cuetl-ā-ni)** = (for the wind) to calm down/diminish; (for an illness) to abate; (for a fire) to flare

**(cuetl-ā-hui)** = to become wilted/limp/withered



5. Root formative **ē** (with /e/ as the vowel in the root):

(**tep-ē-hui**) = (for leaves, seeds, etc.) to fall scatteringly

6. Intransitive destockal **ni** and **hui** verbstems belong to Class B: (**pey-ō-ni**) > *perf*, (**pey-ō-n**); (**chay-ā-hui**) > *perf*, (**chay-ā-uh**).

7. In order to form the first-type causative-stem intransitive destockal verbstems, use either procedure described in § 24.3; some prefer addition and others replacement.

a. The majority of the **ni** destockal stems prefer to add the causative **a** suffix to the end of the intransitive stem; for example:

(**chacu-ā-ni**) = to become wet > **tē-(chacu-ā-ni-ā)** = to cause s.o. to get wet

(**ōl-ī-ni**) = to move > **m-□-(ōl-ī-ni-ā)** = to cause o.s. to move; i.e., to get a move on

(**tzoy-ō-ni**) = to become fried > **tla-(tzoy-ō-ni-ā)** = to fry s.th.

Of the **ni** stems listed in subsections 1 through 4, only the three that follow prefer to replace the stem-final **i** with the causative **a**:

(**tlap-ā-ni**) = to break/become broken > **tla-(tlap-ā-n-a)** = to cause s.th. to break; to break s.th

(**tzay-ā-ni**) = to become ripped/torn > **tla-(tzay-ā-n-a)** = to rip/tear s.th.

(**cot-ō-ni**) = (for rope/cord/thread) to become broken > **tla-(cot-ō-n-a)** = to break/cut s.th. (e.g., rope/cord/thread); to pick s.th. (i.e., fruit) from a tree

There are, of course, others in addition to those listed; for example:

**tla-(chich-ī-n-a)** = to suck/draw in s.th. (e.g., smoke while smoking); (for a sponge, etc.) to soak up s.th. (i.e., a liquid); (for a clay vessel) to leak/ooze s.th. (i.e., a liquid)

b. The majority of **hui** destockal stems prefer to replace the stem-final **i** with the causative **a**:

(**chay-ā-hui**) = (for grain) to spill out on the ground > **tla-(chay-ā-hu-a)** = to pour s.th. (e.g., grain) out on the ground

(**tōy-ā-hui**) = (for a liquid) to spill out > **tla-(tōy-ā-hu-a)** = to pour s.th. (i.e., a liquid) out

Only a few **hui** stems prefer to add the causative **a** to the end of the intransitive stem:

(**tlap-ī-hui**) = *nonan*, to increase in number > **tla-(tlap-ī-hui-ā)** = to cause s.th. to increase in number

8. Causative destockal verbstems of the **n-a** and **hu-a** kind belong to Class B: **tla-(cot-ō-n-a)** > *perf*, **tla-(cot-ō-n)**; **tla-(chay-ā-hu-a)** > *perf*, **tla-(chay-ā-uh)**. Those of the **ni-ā** and **hui-ā** kind belong to Class C: **tla-(chip-ī-ni-ā)** > *perf*, **tla-(chip-ī-ni-h)**; **tla-(tlap-ī-hui-ā)** > *perf*, **tla-(tlap-ī-hui-h)**.

9. There are a few irregular destockal verbstems of the **ni** and **hui** type in which the two-step derivational process is no longer perceptible. In these stems the root ends in a vowel that is identical to the one that serves as the stock formative; as a consequence these two vowels have coalesced into a single vowel in the surface stock; for example:

- \*(**mi-ī-ni**) > (**mī-ni**) = to become arrow pierced > *causative*, **tla-(mī-n-a)** = to pierce s.th. with an arrow [Cf., (**mī-tl-**), “arrow.”]  
 \*(**xi-ī-ni**) > (**xī-ni**) = (for a wall) to collapse; (for a mountainside) to slide, collapse > *causative*, **tla-(xī-ni-ā)** = to ravel s.th.; to rip out s.th. (i.e., stitches)  
 \*(**ce-ē-hui**) > (**cē-hui**) = to become cold; (for a fire) to go out ) > *causative*, **tla-(cē-hui-ā)** = to cause s.th. to become cold, to chill s.th.; to extinguish s.th. (i.e., a fire/candle flame/etc.) [ < (**ce-tl-**), “ice/icicle.” See also the remark about (**cē-hua**) in § 24.6.2.]

Among the destockal verbstems with **ni** as the stem formative are two that are no longer extant but serve as the source for derived stems (see § 27.4.3):

- \*(**po-ō-ni**) > \*(**pō-ni**) = to emit smoke  
 \*(**to-ō-ni**) > \*(**tō-ni**) = to run

24.6. *The Destockal Stem Formative hua.* The second kind of intransitive destockal verbstem is characterized by the stem-formative **hua**. There are two stock formatives, /a:/ and /e:/.

1. Stock-formative /a:/

- (**cax-ā-hua**) = to become emaciated; (for a river or sea) to ebb; (for a plague) to abate  
 (**cham-ā-hua**) = to grow in size  
 (**huap-ā-hua**) = to become stiff  
 (**tlacu-ā-hua**) = to become hard  
 (**patz-ā-hua**) = to shrivel/shrink  
 (**patl-ā-hua**) = (for s.th. having unconfined side-to-side extent, as in the instance of a board, a road, a piece of cloth, a mat, etc.) to be broad [Contrast (**coy-ā-hua**) below.]  
 (**chip-ā-hua**) = to become clean  
 (**chic-ā-hua**) = to become strong  
 (**chiy-ā-hua**) = to become greasy/grease stained  
 (**pitz-ā-hua**) = to become thin  
 (**pīn-ā-hua**) = to become ashamed [Notice the long vowel in the root.]  
 (**tom-ā-hua**) = to become plump  
 (**coy-ā-hua**) = (for s.th. having confined side-to-side extent, as in the instance of an aperture, a hole, a window, a room, the inside of a tube, etc.) to be wide [Contrast (**patl-ā-hua**) above.]  
 (**zotl-ā-hua**) = to faint  
 (**tox-ā-hua**) = to become strewn/tossed about  
 (**petl-ā-hua**) = to become naked, to undress  
 (**tetz-ā-hua**) = to thicken/congeal/coagulate

From time to time the roots of these **hua** stems and those of the **ni** stems of § 24.5 are the same; for example, (**coy-ō-ni**), “to become a hole,” and (**coy-ā-hua**), “to become wide with regard to inside dimensions (as of a hole)”; (**patl-ā-ni**), “to fly,” and (**patl-ā-hua**), “to be broad (as of outstretched wings)”; and (**petl-ā-ni**), “to become polished, to shine,” and (**petl-ā-hua**),

“to become naked.” Translation of the stems frequently obscures the shared meaning of the roots.

Destockal **ā-hua** verbstems normally belong to Class A: (**chip-ā-hua**) > *perf*, (**chip-ā-hua**). In certain instances, however, they may belong to either Class A or Class B: (**pīn-ā-hua**) > *perf*, (**pīn-ā-hua**) ~ (**pīn-ā-uh**).

2. Stock-formative /e:/:

(**tōn-ē-hua**) = to suffer pain [Notice the long vowel in the root.]

(**zōn-ē-hua**) = (for a bed, etc.) to be soft; (for a river) to overflow; (for the water of a stream or river) to rise; *anim*, to become restless [Notice the long vowel in the root.]

(**pīn-ē-hua**) = to become pale from cold

As in § 24.5.9, there are a few irregular destockal verbstems of the **hua** type in which the two-step derivational process is obscured by the coalescence of a root-final vowel and the stock-formative vowel:

\*(**ce-ē-hua**) > (**cē-hua**) = (for the weather) to be(come) cold [Cf. (**cē-hui**) in § 24.5.9.]

\*(**e-ē-hua**) > (**ē-hua**) = to arise/depart; (for a bird) to take off in flight

There are many intransitive destockal verbstems formed on the stock-formative-plus-stem-formative sequence **ē-hua** that have a nounstem downgraded to the role of nounroot. The translation “to be(come)” changes to “to be(come) like” or “to resemble” (in color/texture/etc.).

(**tīl-ē-hua**) = to resemble ink in color; i.e., to be blackish [ < (**tīl**)-**li**-, “black paint/ink”]

(**nex-ē-hua**) = to resemble ashes in color; i.e., to be ashen [ < (**nex**)-**tli**-, “ash/ashes”]

These verbstems are judged to be destockal (rather than compound stems formed on the matrix stem (**ē-hua**), such as (**oquich-ē-hua**), “to attack valiantly”) because they share with other destockal **hua** verbstems the right to form a particular kind of deverbal nounstem (see § 39.4.2).

3. In certain instances a **hua** destockal verbstem (with either **ā** or **ē** as the stock formative) can be synonymous with a destockal **hui** stem of § 24.5.

(**tep-ē-hua**) = (**tep-ē-hui**) = to become scattered over the ground

(**tōy-ā-hua**) = (**tōy-ā-hui**) = (for a liquid) to pour forth; (for a pile of flour/lime/etc.) to collapse

4. Destockal **ē-hua** verbstems normally belong to Class A: (**pīn-ē-hua**) > *perf*, (**pīn-ē-hua**). But in certain instances they may belong to either Class A or Class B: (**tōn-ē-hua**) > *perf*, (**tōn-ē-hua**) ~ (**tōn-ē-uh**); (**ē-hua**) > *perf*, (**ē-hua**) ~ (**ē-uh**).

5. The type-one causative verbstem for both **ā-hua** and **ē-hua** destockal verbstems is always by means of the replacement procedure of § 24.3.1. In other words, there is no phonological contrast to make evident the morphological contrast: **hua** becomes **hu-a**.

(**chip-ā-hua**) = to be(come) clean/clear > **tla**-(**chip-ā-hu-a**), “to clean s.th.; to refine s.th.

(**tōn-ē-hua**) = to suffer pain > **tē**-(**tōn-ē-hu-a**) = to cause s.o. pain, to inflict pain on s.o., to afflict s.o.

At times one finds only the causative member listed in a dictionary, but the intransitive member is easily presupposed and probably existed.

**tla-(ciy-ā-hu-a)** = to irrigate s.th. (i.e., a field), to water s.th. (i.e., a plant)

**tē-(top-ē-hu-a)** = to push s.o. with sudden force, to give s.o. a shove

6. Causative destockal verbstems of the **ā-hu-a** and **ē-hu-a** kind belong to Class B: **tla-(chip-ā-hu-a)** > *perf*, **tla-(chip-ā-uh)**; **tē-(tōn-ē-hu-a)** > *perf*, **tē-(tōn-ē-uh)**; **m-□-(ē-hu-a)** > *perf*, **m-□-(ē-uh)**.

24.7. *The Destockal i-hui/a-hui Stem.* The third kind of intransitive destockal verbstem is characterized by the stem-formative **hui** preceded by a stock formative that is either /i/ or /a/. The choice of which of these short vowels occurs is determined by the vowel in the root: /e/ or /a/ takes the stock formative /i/; /i/ or /o/ takes /a/. This is the opposite of the regular stock-formative selection in § 24.5 (in the irregular intransitive stem formations of § 24.5 in which vowel choices coincide with those of these stems, the difference is both in the length on the stock-formative vowel and in the type of derivations the stems permit).

**(petz-i-hui)** = to become smooth and shiny

**(patz-i-hui)** = to become dented; (for an inflamed swelling) to go down

**(pach-i-hui)** = (for a building, etc.) to settle/collapse

**(iht-a-hui)** = to become uttered

**(tzic-a-hui)** = to become stuck/bonded

**(pix-a-hui)** = to drizzle

**(poy-a-hui)** = (for clouds) to become thin or fade away

After a root-final /l/, however, the stock formative is always /i/, even if the vowel of the root is /i/ or /o/:

**(mi-mil-i-hui)** = (for a bud or a pregnant woman's belly) to become filled out, to swell

**(pil-i-hui)** = to become wrinkled/wilted; (for hairs) to become stuck to one other

**(pol-i-hui)** = to become lost, to perish

**(cuēl-i-hui)** = (for a twig, etc.) to become bent [Notice the length on the vowel of the root.]

**(nol-i-hui)** = to become twisted/bent

**(cōl-i-hui)** = to become bent/curved/hook-shaped; (for a wall) to sag [Notice the long vowel in the root.]

The **i-hui** or **a-hui** intransitive destockal verbstems derive their causative stems by replacing these stock-formative-plus-stem-formative sequences with the sequence **o-ā**. That is, the stock formatives /i/ and /a/ are replaced by the stock formative /o/; consequently the derivation is more complicated than in the other causative destockal-stem formations.

**(pol-i-hui)** = to become lost, to perish > **tla-(pol-o-ā)** = to lose s.th., to destroy s.th.

**(tlal-i-hui)** = to be(come) hasty, to make haste > **m-o-(tlal-o-ā)** = to cause o.s. to make haste; i.e., to run/speed along

**(pix-a-hui)** = to drizzle > **tlā-(pix-o-ā)** = to sow s.th. by scattering the seeds; to broadcast s.th. (i.e., seeds)

Intransitive destockal verbstems of the **i-hui/a-hui** kind belong to Class B: **(pol-i-hui)** > *perf*, **(pol-i-uh)**; **(pix-a-hui)** > *perf*, **(pix-a-uh)**. Causative destockal verbstems of the **o-ā** kind belong to Class C: **tlā-(pol-o-ā)** > *perf*, **tlā-(pol-o-h)**.

*Note 1:* There are a few intransitive destockal stems of the third kind that have an /o/ as stock formative before the stem-formative **hui**. The causative stem of this kind of destockal verbstem is formed by replacing the **hui** with the causative suffix **ā**.

**(tlap-o-hui)** = to be(come) open > **tlā-(tlap-o-ā)** = to cause s.th. to become open; to open s.th.

*Note 2:* At times there are gaps in the correlation of intransitive **i-hui/a-hui** stems and causative **o-ā** stems. Consider, for example, the following:

**(pil-i-hui)** = to become wrinkled/wilted [This stem does not have an **o-ā** causative stem. It has a synonymous intransitive destockal **ni** stem **(pil-i-ni)** that serves as the source for an **a-hui** > **o-ā** pair by way of a deverbal nounstem; see § 55.6.]

**(pil-ca)** = to hang/be hanging > **tlā-(pil-o-ā)** = to cause s.th. to hang; i.e., to hang s.th. up [This is a totally irregular relation. The causative **o-ā** stem has no **i-hui/a-hui** source stem.]

*Note 3:* Remember that intransitive **i-hui/a-hui** stems differ from the intransitive **hui** stems in § 24.5 in that the latter are always preceded by a long vowel as stock formative (in addition, of course, to having totally different causative-stem formations).

*Note 4:* For further discussion of **i-hui/a-hui** > **o-ā** stem formations, see § 55.6.

24.8. *Generation of the Causative VNC.* A single-object causative VNC may be generated from two sources: (1) an active-voice intransitive VNC (which gives rise to a specific personal-pronoun causative object—projective or reflexive—in the causative transform) and (2) an impersonal intransitive VNC (which gives rise to a nonspecific (indefinite pronoun) causative object in the causative transform). The subject pronoun of the source VNC is transformed into the object pronoun of the causative VNC; that is, the nominative-case feature in the pronoun is changed to that of the objective case in the transform. The subject pronoun of the causative VNC is imported from outside the source VNC.

1. Generating a specific projective object in the causative VNC.

a. Source: **tomī** = it becomes untied ~ they become untied:

1	# $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (. . . + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #	Subject	} Predicate	it/they
2	(tomī)	Intr core		} become untied
3	) $\emptyset$ +	Tense		

Line 2 is mainline.

b. Transform: **nictoma** = I cause it/them to become untied; i.e., I untie it/them:

1	#ni- $\emptyset$ +. . . + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #	Subject	} Caus core	} Predicate	I	
2	(tom-	Intr core			} become untied	
3	+c- $\emptyset$ (. . . -a)	Caus				} cause it/them
4	) $\emptyset$ +	Tense				

Source subject  $\emptyset\text{-}\emptyset(\dots+\emptyset\text{-}\emptyset\#$  becomes causative object  $\mathbf{c}\text{-}\emptyset$ . Line 3 is mainline.

2. Generating a reflexive object in the causative VNC.

a. Source: **nitomi** = I become untied:

1	#ni- $\emptyset(\dots+\emptyset\text{-}\emptyset\#$	Subject		I
2	( <b>tomi</b> )	Intr core	} Predicate	become untied
3	) $\emptyset+$	Tense		at present

Line 2 is mainline.

b. Transform: **ninotoma** = I untie myself:

1	#ni- $\emptyset+\dots+\emptyset\text{-}$	Subject		I	
2	( <b>tom-</b>	Intr core	} Caus core	} Predicate	become untied
3	+ <b>n-<math>\emptyset(\dots-a)</math></b>	Caus			cause myself
4	) $\emptyset+$		Tense	at present	

Source subject **ni- $\emptyset(\dots+\emptyset\text{-}\emptyset\#$**  becomes causative object **n-o**. Line 3 is mainline.

A VNC formed from an intransitive stem and one with a reflexive object formed from its type-one causative stem may have the same translation value.

**nicocoya** = I am sick

**ninococoa** = I cause myself be to sick; i.e., I am sick

As in this example, translation does not always capture the difference in meaning between such pairs. The causative-stemmed VNC implies that the subject is responsible in some way for the action, that he allows himself to participate in it. It is, therefore, best to try to let the translation show the difference if possible (as with **nitomi** and **ninotoma** above):

**nēhua** = I rise /I get up

**ninēhua** = I cause myself to rise; i.e., I bestir myself to get up

3. Generating a nonspecific projective object in the causative VNC.

a. Source: **tomohua** = s.th. becomes untied:

1	# $\emptyset\text{-}\emptyset(\dots+\emptyset\text{-}\emptyset\#$	Subject		s.th.
2	( <b>tom-o-hua</b> )	Impers core	} Predicate	become untied
3	) $\emptyset+$	Tense		at present

Line 2 is mainline.

b. Transform: **nitlatoma** = I untie s.th.:

1	#ni- $\emptyset$ + . . + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #	Subject		I
2	(tom-	Impers core	} Caus core	become untied
3	+tla(. . -a)	Caus		cause s.th.
4	) $\emptyset$ +		} Tense	at present

Source subject  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (. . + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$  becomes causative object **tla**. [The source subject is impersonalized by the stem of its VNC; the nonspecific nature of that pronoun shows up in the nonspecific **tla** in the transform.] Line 3 is mainline.

24.9. *More About the Causative a*. The diagrams of the causative VNCs in § 24.8 are limited to showing only the transformation of subject pronoun into object pronoun. They do not show that the causative suffix **a** controls not only the subject of the source but its core as well. The power of **a** is such that there is reason to consider it not a derivational suffix but a matrix stem in a compound-stem construction (see § 28.2) because it seems to embed the subject and core of the source VNC to serve as its incorporated object; i.e., it is as if there is a verbstem \***tla**-(-**a**), “to cause s.th.” This would create a compound by incorporating parts of another VNC as an incorporated replacement for its nuclear direct object (compare the compound verbstem in § 24.8). The objectivization of the source VNC’s subject that is illustrated in § 24.8 is a consequence of this incorporation process (compare English “she blushed” > “I made her blush,” where “she” changes to “her” when the source sentence becomes the direct object of “made”). To understand better what is being suggested here, compare the type-three causative stem built on **tla**-(**tlani**) in § 39.7.2.

## LESSON 25

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### Causative Verbstems (Second Type)

25.1. *Type-Two Causative Verbstems.* The second type of causative stem formations is more powerful than the first type since, in addition to creating single-object causative verbstems, it can also create double-object and triple-object ones. It does this by means of the causative suffixal cluster **tiā**, which consists of a semantically empty connective morpheme /ti/ and the causative morpheme of Lesson 24 (but with length, /a:/, because it follows a vowel; see § 24.3). In these lessons the two morphemes are written solid to distinguish them from a first-type causative stem formation in which the causative /a:/ follows a meaningful morpheme, either “/ti/, ‘to become’” (see § 54.2.1) or “/ti/, ‘to have’” (see § 54.5); an example of the latter, **tē-(pah-ti-ā)**, “to cause s.o. to have (good) medicine,” has already been mentioned in § 24.3.1. As one can easily guess, there are times when it is difficult to differentiate **tiā** from **ti-ā** (see § 54.5.3).

The type-two causative **tiā** suffixal unit is attached to bases from nonactive stems characterized by the suffixes **hua**, **ō**, **o-hua**, and **lō** after the deletion of the **huā** and the **ō** (consequently, **-l-** is the only part of a nonactive suffix still audible in the causative stem). This procedure is complicated by the fact that frequently the nonactive stem used for the derivation is unexpected and unattested outside its participation in a causative stem. It is probable that, in these instances, the causative stem merely preserves an otherwise obsolete nonactive stem.

Another complication is that some verbs permit only one derivation, while others permit several.

In certain exceptional instances, the **tiā** suffixal cluster is rejected and the causative stem is formed by means of **liā** (see § 25.5) or **huiā** (see § 25.6).

In some cases the causative stem is used only to form an honorific VNC (see Lesson 33).

The following paragraphs present guidelines for the various ways of forming type-two causative stems.

*Note:* The two irregular verbs (**ya-uh**), “to go,” and (**huāl-la-uh**), “to come,” do not permit causative stems to be derived from them. Instead, they use as suppletive stems **tē-(huica)**, “to carry/accompany s.o.,” thus “to cause s.o. to go,” and **huāl+tē-(huica)**, “to bring/come accompanying s.o.,” thus “to cause s.o. to come.”

25.2. *The hua Nonactive Stem as Source.* The **tiā** replaces the **hua** of the nonactive stem. The formation is usually distinguished by a long base-final **ī** before **tiā**.



(**cochi**) = to sleep > (**cochī-hua**) > **tē-(cochī-tiā)** = to cause s.o. to sleep

**tla-(ī)** = to drink s.th. > (**ī-hua**) > **tē+tla-(ī-tiā)** = to cause s.o. to drink s.th., to give s.o. s.th. to drink

Frequently, when two consonants appear before the **i**, it becomes shortened.

**tla-(ītqui)** = to carry s.th. > (**ītqui-hua**) > **tē+tla-(ītqui-tiā)** = to have s.o. carry s.th.

Among the unexpected formations one finds the following:

1. The active source stem ends in /ki/ or /ka/. Since **hua** is incompatible with a preceding /a/, this vowel is replaced by [i] in the nonactive stem. The expected nonactive stem would end in /k-o:/ or /k-o-wa/.

**tla-(caqui)** = to hear s.th. > \*(**caqui-hua**) > **tē+tla-(caqui-tiā)** = to cause s.o. to hear s.th.; i.e., to inform s.o. of s.th.

(**chōca**) = to cry > \*(**chōqui-hua**) > **tē-(chōqui-tiā)** = to cause s.o. to cry

2. The active source stem ends in /si/ or /sa/. The /a/ is replaced with [i] as in item 1 above. The /s/ changes to [š].

(**nēci**) = to appear > \*(**nēxi-hua**) > **tla-(nēxi-tiā)** = to cause s.th. to appear

(**iuc-ci**) = to become ripe/cooked > \*(**iuc-xi-hua**) > **tla-(iuc-xi-tiā)** = to cause s.th. to become cooked; to cook s.th. [Notice the short **i** after two consonants. The initial [i] of the stem is a supportive vowel, as can be seen in a VNC such as **flaucxitia**, “he/she cooks s.th.”]

(**ihza**) = to become awake > \*(**ihxi-hua**) > **tē-(ihxi-tiā)** = to wake s.o. [Notice the short **i** after two consonants.]

3. The active source stem ends in /ti/ or /ta/. The /a/ is replaced with [i] as in item 1 above. In certain instances, when /ti/ is postvocalic, it changes to [či].

**tla-(itt-a)** = to look at/see s.th. > \*(**itt-ī-hua**) > **tē+tla-(itt-ī-tiā)** = to cause s.o. to see s.th. (by showing the object); to show s.th. to s.o. [The long **i** after **tt** is presumably due to the fact that the apparently geminate **tt** manifests the single phone [tʰ]; see § 26.1.2. Contrast the meaning of this causative stem with that of the stem in § 25.4; there it is the perceiver who is being manipulated.]

**tla-(mati)** = to know s.th. > \*(**machī-hua**) > **tē+tla-(machī-tiā)** = to cause s.o. to know s.th.; to notify s.o. of s.th.

4. Certain destockal **i-hui/a-hui** intransitive verbstems can form a type-two causative stem with **tiā**, either instead of the expected type-one **o-ā** causative stem or as a synonym with it.

**tē-(mīx-i-hui-tiā)** = to cause s.o. to give birth; i.e., to serve as a midwife to s.o. [< (**mīx-i-hui**), “to bear/bring forth young; to give birth.” The **o-ā** stem is not attested.]

**m-o-(tlatz-i-hui-tiā)** = to allow o.s. to be lazy; i.e., to become apathetic/indifferent/inimical [< (**tlatz-i-hui**), “to become lazy.” The **o-ā** stem is not attested.]

**m-o-(pol-i-hui-tiā)** = to cause o.s. to become lost; i.e., to become lost/ruined [< (**pol-i-hui**), “to perish/disappear/become lost/become destroyed.” The causative stem **m-o-(pol-o-ā)** is also used.]

**tē-(pach-i-huī-tiā)** = to satiate s.o., to satisfy s.o.'s hunger [< **(pach-i-hui)**, “to become full/satiated/satisfied.” The causative stems **tē-(pach-o-ā)**, “to govern/control/pressure s.o.,” and **tla-(pach-o-ā)**, “to govern/control/pressure s.th.; (for a hen) to sit on eggs,” relate to a different meaning of **(pach-i-hui)**, namely, “(for s.th.) to become pressed down upon; (for a grave, fill, etc.) to become sunken in; (for a building) to settle; (for s.th. made of metal) to become dented.”]

**tē- ~ tla-(ihc-i-huī-tiā)** = to cause s.o. or s.th. to hurry [< **(ihc-i-hui)**, “to hurry.” The causative stem **\*tē- ~ tla-(ihz-o-ā)** does not exist.]

*Note:* At times a type-two causative stem may seem to be ambiguously a one-object or a two-object stem, but the valence is in fact determined by the intransitive or transitive nature of the source (see § 24.2):

**tē-(hue-tz-quī-tiā)** = to make s.o. laugh (by telling a joke, etc.) [< **(hue-tz-ca)**, “to laugh”]

**tē+tla-(hue-tz-quī-tiā)** = to make s.o. laugh at s.th. [< **tla-(hue-tz-ca)**, “to laugh at s.th.”]

25.3. *The **ō** and **o-hua** Nonactive Stems as Source.* The **tiā** replaces the **ō** or **o-hua** of the nonactive stem. The formation is distinguished by the presence of a consonant before **tiā** (but if the consonant is /l/, the formation is that of § 25.4). If the active source stem has two consonants before the final vowel, this formation is impossible.

**(chōca)** = to cry > **(chōc-o-hua)** > **tē-(chōc-tiā)** = to cause s.o. to cry

**(miqui)** = to die > **(mic-o-hua)** > **tē-(mic-tiā)** = to cause s.o. to die; i.e., to kill s.o.

**(quīza)** = to leave > **(quix-o-hua)** > **tē-(quix-tiā)** = to cause s.o. to leave

**(nēci)** = to appear > **(nēx-o-hua)** > **tla-(nēx-tiā)** = to cause s.th. to appear

**(cual-ā-ni)** = to become angry > **(cual-ā-n-ō)** > **tē-(cual-ā-n-tiā)** = to anger s.o. [The source is a destockal verb; compare § 24.5.7. See also § 54.5.3.b.]

**(mati)** = to be cognizant > **(mach-ō)** > **tē-(mach-tiā)** = to teach s.o. > **m-o-(mach-tiā)** = to study/learn

**tla-(mati)** = to be cognizant of s.th., to know s.th. > **(mach-ō)** > **tē+tla-(mach-tiā)** = to cause s.o. to know s.th., to teach s.th. to s.o.; **m-o+tla-(mach-tiā)** = to cause o.s. to know s.th., to study/learn s.th. [These causative stems are peculiar in that they occur only in VNCs that have *specific* projective nonhuman object pronouns (i.e., the nonspecific **tla** is avoided). Compare **tē+tla-(machi-tiā)** in § 25.2.3.] Notice the following peculiarities of **tē+tla-(mach-tiā)**.

The reflexive object pronoun may have a reflexive or a reciprocal value.

**Tictomachtiah in cuīcatl.** = We are studying/learning the songs. We are teaching one another the songs.

**Quimomachtizqueh in cuīcatl.** = They will study/learn the songs. They will teach one another the songs.

A VNC with a specific projective object pronoun as causative object may be ambiguous.

**Tēchmachtia.** = (1) He causes us to be cognizant; i.e., He teaches us. [From the intransitive stem **(mati)**.]

(2) He causes us to know it; i.e., He teaches it to us. [From the transitive stem **tla-(mati)**, where the applicative object is unjustified by the stem shape (see § 24.2.2). This object is silently present here.]

A supplementary object removes the ambiguity:

**Tēchmachtia in nehmatcānemiliztli.** = He teaches us prudent living. [The silently present object pronoun  $\square$ - $\emptyset$  serves as the head for the supplement.]

A further curiosity is that when the causative object pronoun is nonspecific, a specific shuntline object pronoun is present only silently.

**Tēmachtia in nehmatcānemiliztli.** = He teaches people prudent living. [As with **tlā-(āyi)**, “to do s.th.,” in § 18.8, the supplementary object is supplementing a silently present nuclear object pronoun.]

Certain writers ignore this general practice and use a sounded specific shuntline object pronoun along with the nonspecific causative one.

**Quitēmachtīāya in teōcuicatl.** = He used to teach people the sacred songs.

Among the unexpected causative stem formations from  $\bar{o}$  or **o-hua** are the following:

1. The active source stem ends in /wi/:

**(mahui)** = to be afraid > **\*(mahu-o-hua)** > **tē-(mauh-tiā)** = to frighten s.o.

2. The active source is a transitive stem ending in /mi/:

**tlā-(quēmi)** = to wear s.th. > **\*(quēm-o-hua)** > **tē+tlā-(quēn-tiā)** = to dress s.o. in s.th.  
[ $/m/ + /t/ > nt/$ ]

25.4. *The  $\bar{l}\bar{o}$  Nonactive Stem as Source.* The **tiā** replaces the /o:/ of the nonactive stem. The formation is distinguished by the presence of an /l/ before the **tiā**.

**tlā-(itt-a)** = to look at/see s.th. > **(itt-a-lō)** > **tē+tlā-(itt-a-l-tiā)** = to cause s.o. to see s.th.  
(by moving the person into position) [Contrast **tē+tlā-(itt-i-tiā)** in § 25.3.3.]

**tlā-(chīhua)** = to make s.th. > **(chīhua-lō)** > **tē+tlā-(chīhua-l-tiā)** = to cause s.o. to make s.th.

**tlā-(quēmi)** = to wear s.th. > **(quēmi-lō)** > **tē+tlā-(quēmi-l-tiā)** = to dress s.o. in s.th.

Class C and D verbs make their causative stems by this procedure:

**(chol-o-ā)** = to bound away/flee > **(chol-o-lō)** > **tē-(chol-o-l-tiā)** = to cause s.o. to flee

**tlā-(tlā-ti-ā)** = to hide s.th. > **(tlā-ti-lō)** > **tē+tlā-(tlā-ti-l-tiā)** = to cause s.o. to hide s.th.

**tlā-(cuā)** = to eat s.th. > **(cua-lō)** > **tē+tlā-(cua-l-tiā)** = to cause s.o. to eat s.th.

There are many unexpected formations. The following represent common types:

1. The active source stem ends in /ka/ or /ki/. The /ka/ may appear as [ka] or change to [ki]. One would expect /k-o:/ or /k-o-wa/:

**(chōca)** = to cry

$\left. \begin{array}{l} a. \text{*(chōca-lō)} > \text{tē-(chōca-l-tiā)} \\ b. \text{*(chōqui-lō)} > \text{tē-(chōqui-l-tiā)} \end{array} \right\} = \text{to cause s.o. to cry}$

**tē+tlā-(maca)** = to give s.th. to s.o. > **\*(maqui-lō)** > **tē+tē+tlā-(maqui-l-tiā)** = to cause s.o. to give s.th. to s.o.

**tla-(caqui)** = to hear s.th. > **\*(caqui-lō)** > **tē+tla-(caqui-l-tiā)** = to cause s.o. to hear s.th.; to inform s.o. of s.th.

2. The active source stem ends in /ni/. The /ni/ may appear as [ni] or change to [na]. One would expect /n-o:/ or /n-o-hua/:

**(cual-ā-ni)** = to become angry [This is an intransitive destockal verb, so the formation in *b* is especially curious.]

a. **\*(cual-ā-ni-lo)** > **tē-(cual-ā-ni-l-tiā)** }  
 b. **\*(cual-ā-na-lō)** > **tē-(cual-ā-na-l-tiā)** } = to anger s.o.

3. The active source stem ends in /k<sup>w</sup>a/. The /a/ changes to [i]:

**tla-(tzacu-a)** = to close s.th. > **\*(tzacu-i-lō)** > **tē+tla-(tzacu-i-l-tiā)** = to cause s.o. to close s.th.

4. The active source stem ends in /si/; the /s/ changes to [š]:

**tē-(īmacaci)** = to fear s.o. > **\*(īmacaxi-lō)** > **tē+tē-(īmacaxi-l-tiā)** = to cause s.o. to fear s.o.

Occasionally a final /sa/ of the active source stem changes to [ši].

**(ihza)** = to wake up > **\*(ihxi-lō)** > **tē-(ihxi-l-tiā)** = to wake s.o. up

5. The active source stem ends in /wa/. This may appear as [wa] or change to [wi]:

**tla-(ix-tlā-hu-a)** = to pay s.th. (i.e., money)

a. **\*(ix-tlā-hu-a-lō)** > **tē+tla-(ix-tlā-hu-a-l-tiā)** }  
 b. **\*(ix-tlā-hu-i-lō)** > **tē+tla-(ix-tlā-hu-i-l-tiā)** } = to fine s.o.

6. The active source stem ends in a vowel plus /ti/. In certain instances this postvocalic /ti/ changes to [či]:

**tla-(mati)** = to know s.th. > **\*(machi-lō)** > **tē+tla-(machi-l-tiā)** = to cause s.o. to know s.th.; i.e., to inform s.o. of s.th. [Compare **tē+tla-(machī-tiā)** in § 25.2.3; contrast **tē-(mach-tiā)** in § 25.3.]

7. The verb **tla-(itt-a)**, “to see/look at s.th.,” in addition to having the causative stems **tē+tla-(itt-i-tiā)** (see § 25.2.3) and **tē+tla-(itt-a-l-tiā)** (see main paragraph above), also has a single-object causative stem built on an *intransitive* stem **\*(itz-ti)** derived from the nounstem **(itz)-tli-**, “an alert/observant entity (i.e., one that results from being alert)” (from the verbstem **\*(itzi)**; see § 26.1.2 for the relationship with **tla-(itt-a)**) plus the verbstem-forming suffix **ti**, “to become” (see § 54.2.1).

**\*(itz-ti)** = to become observant, to direct one’s gaze, to look

**\*(itz-ti-lō)** > **tē-(itz-ti-l-tiā)** = to cause s.o. to direct his/her gaze, to cause s.o. to look

8. The active source stem is an intransitive “root + *ya*” verb (see § 54.2.3). The *ya* is deleted and the *lō* is attached to the root (see § 25.5.2 for the expected formation).

**(tlaōco-ya)** = to be sad > **(tlaōco-lō)** > **tē-(tlaōco-l-tiā)** = to cause s.o. to be sad; to sadden s.o.

**(āhui-ya)** = to be happy, to have a good time > **(āhui-lō)** > **tē-(āhui-l-tiā)** = to give s.o. pleasure, to make s.o. happy [There is a variant stem with the same meaning, formed according to the main section above: **tē-(āhui-ya-l-tiā)**.]

25.5. *The liā Causative Stem.* Some *intransitive* verbs whose active stem ends in /i/ or /a/ form causative stems with **liā** instead of **tiā**. This causative stem-forming **liā** is phonologically identical to the applicative suffixal cluster described in Lesson 26.

1. Those verbstems ending in /i/ that take **liā** are denominal ones formed by means of the verbstem-forming suffix **ti**, “to become” (see § 54.2.1).

**(tlāca-ti)** = to become a person; i.e., to be born > **tē- ~ tla-(tlāca-ti-liā)** = to cause s.o. or s.th. to be born; to engender s.o., to give form to s.th.

**(nel-ti)** = to become the truth, to turn out to be true, to be true > **tla-(nel-ti-liā)** = to cause s.th. to become true; i.e., to verify s.th.

**(mazā-ti)** = to become like a deer; i.e., to become like an animal > **tē-(mazā-ti-liā)** = to make s.o. become like an animal, to render s.o. brutish/brutal

2. Those verbstems ending in /a/ that take **liā** consist of a root plus **ya** (see § 54.2.3). The **ya** is deleted and **liā** is attached to the root.

**(ahhuiā-ya)** = to be fragrant > **tla-(ahhuiā-liā)** = to cause s.th. to be fragrant; to spray s.th. with perfume

**(ce-ce-ya)** = to become cold > **tla-(ce-ce-liā)** = to cause s.th. to become cold; to chill s.th.

**(xoco-ya)** = to become tart/sour/acid > **tla-(xoco-liā)** = to cause s.th. to become tart/sour, to acidulate s.th.

**(chichi-ya)** = to become bitter > **tla-(chichi-liā)** = to cause s.th. to become bitter

Deverbal verbstems formed by suffixing **ya** to intransitive **ti** or **hui** verbstems (see § 54.2.3.b) use this causative formation.

**(te-ti-ya)** = to become petrified, to become hard like a rock **tla-(te-ti-liā)** = to cause s.th. to become hard like a rock

**(xo-xō-hui-ya)** = to become green > **tla-(xo-xō-hui-liā)** = to cause s.th. to become green

For exceptions to the “root plus **liā**” causative derivation, see § 25.4.8.

25.6. *The huiā Causative Stem.* When an *intransitive* active stem ends in /o:/ and forms its nonactive stem with **hua**, the causative stem may be created by means of the suffixal cluster **huiā**. This causative stem-forming unit is identical to the applicative one described in § 26.10 and therefore may create ambiguous stems.

At times the **huiā** is added directly to the active stem.

**(temō)** = to descend > **tla-(temo-huiā)** = to cause s.th. to descend, to lower s.th., to carry s.th. down, to digest s.th.

At other times **huiā** is added to a replacive active stem in which the final /o:/ changes to [a]:

(**tlehcō**) = to ascend > **tla-(tlehca-huiā)** = to cause s.th. to ascend, to carry s.th. up, to lift s.th., to raise s.th.

(**panō**) = to cross a river > **tē-(pana-huiā)** = to carry s.o. across a river, etc.

It is possible, however, for an intransitive stem ending in /o:/ or /o/ to presuppose a nonactive stem formed with **lō** and thereby form a causative stem with **tiā** according to § 25.4.

(**tlehcō**) = to ascend > \*(**tlehcō-lō**) > **tla-(tlehcō-l-tiā)** = to carry s.th. up

(**panō**) = to cross a river > \*(**panō-lō**) > **tla-(panō-l-tiā)** = to convey to the other side (of a river, etc.)

(**on-o**) = to be lying down > \*(**on-o-lō**) > **tē-(on-o-l-tiā)** = to have s.o. lie down

25.7. *Class Membership of the Type-Two Causative Stem.* Causative stems, whether formed with **tiā**, **liā**, or **huiā**, belong to Class C.

25.8. *Causative-One and Causative-Two Stems from the Same Source.* The fact that an intransitive stem has a causative stem derived by means of the type-one causative formation (see Lesson 24) does not prevent it from serving as the source for a type-two causative stem. The meaning of the two derived stems may be the same:

(**huā-qui**) = to become dry

a. **tla-(huā-tz-a)**  
b. **tla-(huā-qui-l-tiā)** } = to dry s.th.

At times, however, the derived stems show a difference in meaning:

(**tēmi**) = to become brimming full

a. **tla-(tēm-a)** = to put s.th. into a receptacle; to put s.th. somewhere

b. **tla-(tēmī-tiā)** = to cause s.th. to become full, to fill s.th.

(**pīn-ā-hua**) = to be ashamed [See § 24.6.]

a. **tē-(pīn-ā-hu-a)** = to be ashamed in front of people [Although having a causative formation, the stem is applicative in meaning.]

b. **tē-(pīn-ā-uh-tiā)** = to cause s.o. to be ashamed

25.9. *The Causative Transformation.* A causative VNC formed on a type-two causative stem is the result of a transformation that is the same as that used for one formed on a type-one causative stem (see § 24.8), except that it is somewhat more complicated when transitive source VNCs are involved. Basically, a source VNC is compacted into the causative predicate and a new subject pronoun is assigned; i.e., (1) the source stem is replaced with a causative one; (2) the subject pronoun of the source VNC is changed to a causative object; and (3) a new subject is imported from outside the source VNC. Step 2 creates an object-subject pronoun; that is, a pronoun that is an object in form but a subject in function (compare English: “I fell” changes to “me fall” in the causative sentence “He made me fall.”).

The specificity of the causative object pronoun is determined by the active, passive, or impersonal voice of the source VNC. This is demonstrated in the following three sections.

25.10. *Generation of the Single-Object Causative VNC.* The source for a single-object causative VNC formed on a type-two causative stem (be it with **tiā**, **liā**, or **huiā**) is an intransitive VNC created from either an active-voice or an impersonal-voice stem (this is the same as in § 24.8).

1. Generation of a specific projective-object pronoun in the causative VNC:

Active intrans source: **quīza** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**quīza**) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he leaves

Causative transform: **ticquīxtia** = #**ti**- $\emptyset$ +**c**- $\emptyset$ (**quīx-tia**) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = you persuade him to leave, you dismiss him [The subject pronoun  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (. . . + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ) of the source VNC has become the specific projective causative object pronoun **c**- $\emptyset$  of the transform VNC.]

2. Generation of a reflexive-object pronoun in the causative VNC:

Active intrans source: **niquīza** = #**ni**- $\emptyset$ (**quīza**) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I leave

Causative transform: **ninoquīxtia** = #**ni**- $\emptyset$ +**n-o**(**quīx-tia**) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I cause myself to leave; i.e., I excuse myself, I withdraw/retire [The subject pronoun **ni**- $\emptyset$ (. . . + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ) of the source VNC has become the reflexive causative object pronoun **n-o** of the transform VNC.]

As in § 24.8.2, certain causative VNCs with a reflexive object pronoun can have the same translation value as their intransitive source VNCs. Remember: translation is not the same as meaning.

**nimahui** = I am afraid

**ninomauhtia** = I let myself become afraid; i.e., I am afraid

**nihza** = I wake up

**ninihxitia** = I cause myself to wake up; i.e., I wake up

Just as with VNCs formed on causative-one stems, one should attempt to capture the difference in meaning between such pairs if possible (as with **niquīza** and **ninoquīxtia** above).

3. Generation of a nonspecific object pronoun in the causative VNC:

Impersonal intrans source: **quixohua** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**quīx-o-hua**) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = s.o. leaves; people leave

Causative transform: **titēquīxtia** = #**ti**- $\emptyset$ +**tē**(**quīx-tia**) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = you persuade s.o. to leave; you persuade people to leave; you dismiss s.o. [The impersonal subject pronoun  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (. . . + $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ ) of the source VNC has become the nonspecific causative object pronoun **tē** in the transform VNC.]

25.11. *Generation of the Double-Object Causative VNC.* A double-object causative VNC may be generated from one of three sources: (1) an active single-object transitive VNC, (2) a passive intransitive VNC, or (3) a single-object impersonal VNC. The causative object becomes the mainline object.

## 1. Generation of a specific projective causative object in the causative VNC:

## a. With a shuntline specific projective object:

Active source: **nicchīhua** = #ni-θ+c-θ(chīhua)θ+θ-θ# = I make it

Causative transform: **tinēchchihualtia** = #ti-θ+n-ēch+□-θ(chīhua-l-tia)θ+θ-θ# = you persuade me to make it [The subject pronoun **ni-θ+ . . . +θ-θ** of the source VNC has become the specific projective causative object pronoun **n-ēch** in the transform. The specific projective object **c-θ** of the source has become the shuntline silent variant **□-θ** in the transform VNC because of the incompatibility of two sounded specific projective object pronouns (see § 23.4). It is extremely important in all such instances that one recognize the real, effective (i.e., meaning producing) presence of the silently manifested pronoun.]

Active source: **niquinnōtza** = #ni-θ+qu-in(nōtza)θ+θ-θ# = I call them

Causative transform: **tinēchinnōtzaltia** = #ti-θ+n-ēch+□-in(nōtza-l-tia)θ+θ-θ# = you have me call them [The specific projective object **qu-in** of the source has become the shuntline variant **□-in** in the transform.]

Active source: **quinnōtzah** = #θ-θ+qu-in(nōtza)θ+θ-h# = they call them

Causative transform: **tiquinnōtzaltia** = #ti-θ+qu-in+□-□(nōtza-l-tia)θ+θ-θ# = you have them call them [The subject pronoun **θ-θ+ . . . +θ-h** of the source VNC has become the specific projective causative object pronoun **qu-in** in the transform. The specific projective object **qu-in** of the source has become the shuntline variant **□-□** in the transform VNC because the subject of the source is a third-person plural pronoun.]

## b. With a shuntline reflexive/reciprocal object:

Active source: **motlazohtlah** = #θ-θ+m-o(tla-zo-h-tla)θ+θ-h# = they love one another

Causative transform: **tiquinnetlazohltaltia** = #ti-θ+qu-in+ne(tla-zo-h-tla-l-tia)θ+θ-θ# = you cause them to love one another; you reconcile them [The subject pronoun **θ-θ+ . . . +θ-h** of the source VNC has become the specific projective causative object pronoun **qu-in** in the transform. The reciprocal object **m-o** of the source has become the shuntline variant **ne** in the transform.]

Active source: **ninopetlāhua** = #ni-θ+n-o(petl-ā-hu-a)θ+θ-θ# = I undress myself

Causative transform: **tinēchnepetlāhualtia** = #ti-θ+n-ēch+ne(petl-ā-hu-a-l-tia)θ+θ-θ# = you cause me to undress myself; you have me get undressed [The subject pronoun **ni-θ+ . . . +θ-θ** of the source VNC has become the specific projective causative object pronoun **n-ēch** in the transform. The reflexive object **n-o** of the source VNC has become the shuntline variant **ne** in the transform.]

There is one situation in which the shuntline reflexive/reciprocal object pronoun is prevented from taking on a shuntline shape. This occurs when the imported subject of the causative transform has the same referent as the specific projective object of the source VNC (i.e., projective > reflexive).



Active source: **nēchitta** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ +n-ēch(itt-a) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = he sees me

Causative transform: **nicnottītia** = #ni- $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ +n-o(tt-ī-tia) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I cause him to see me; i.e., I reveal myself to him, I show myself to him [The subject pronoun  $\theta$ - $\theta$ + . . . + $\theta$ - $\theta$  of the source has become the specific projective causative object pronoun c- $\theta$  in the transform. The specific projective object n-ēch of the source has become a shuntline reflexive object, but because of its coreference with the subject of the causative transform, it takes the shape n-o. While this avoids ambiguity in one respect—**nicneittītia** would mean “I cause him to see himself”—at the same time it creates ambiguity with the possibly homonymous construction presented in section 2.a below.

Active source: **mitznequi** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ +m-itz(nequi) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = she wants you

Causative transform: **ticmonectia** = #ti- $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ +m-o(nec-tia) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = you try to cause her to want you; i.e., you try to attract her to yourself; you court/woo her [Notice the conative meaning.]

- c. With a shuntline nonspecific projective object:

Active source: **nitlacāhua** = #ni- $\theta$ +tla(cāhua) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I abandon s.th.

Causative transform: **tinēchtlacāhualtia** = #ti- $\theta$ +n-ēch+tla(cāhua-l-tia) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = you cause me to abandon s.th., you make me abstain from s.th., you dissuade me from doing s.th. [The subject pronoun ni- $\theta$ + . . . + $\theta$ - $\theta$  of the source VNC has become the specific projective causative object pronoun n-ēch in the transform. The nonspecific projective object tla remains unchanged in its shuntline function in the transform.]

2. Generation of a mainline reflexive causative object pronoun in the causative VNC:

- a. With a shuntline specific projective object:

Active source: **niccāhua** = #ni- $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ (cāhua) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I abandon it

Causative transform: **nicnocāhualtia** = #ni- $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ +n-o(cāhua-l-tia) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I cause myself to abandon it; i.e., I abstain from it [Because of the importation of a coreferential subject pronoun in the transform VNC, the subject pronoun n- $\theta$ + . . . + $\theta$ - $\theta$  of the source VNC has become the reflexive object pronoun n-o in the transform. The specific projective object pronoun c- $\theta$  of the source VNC remains unchanged in its shuntline function in the transform VNC.]

- b. With a shuntline nonspecific object:

Active source: **titlachihua** = #ti- $\theta$ +tla(chihua) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = you make s.th.

Causative transform: **timotlachihualtia** = #ti- $\theta$ +m-o+tla(chihua-l-tia) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = you cause yourself to make s.th. [The subject pronoun ti- $\theta$ + . . . + $\theta$ - $\theta$  of the source VNC has become the reflexive object pronoun m-o in the transform. The nonspecific projective object tla remains unchanged in its shuntline function in the transform.]

3. Generation of a nonspecific causative object pronoun in the causative VNC:

## a. With a shuntline specific projective object:

Passive source: **chīhualo** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (chīhua-lo) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is being made; they are being made; i.e., s.o. makes it/them

Causative transform: **tictēchīhualtia** = #ti- $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ +tē(chīhua-l-tia) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = you persuade s.o. to make it/them [The impersonal agent *implied* in the passive source VNC is made explicit as the nonspecific causative object pronoun **tē** in the transform. The subject pronoun  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + . . . + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$  of the source becomes the shuntline specific projective object of the transform VNC.]

Passive source: **ninōtzalo** = #ni- $\emptyset$ (nōtza-lo) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I am being summoned; s.o. is summoning me

Causative transform: **annēchtēnōtzaltiah** = #an- $\emptyset$ +n-ēch+tē(nōtza-l-tia) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -h# = you (pl) persuade s.o. to summon me [The formation is similar to that in the preceding example.]

## b. With a shuntline reflexive/reciprocativ object:

Impersonal source: **netlazohtlalo** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ne(tla-zo-h-tla-lo) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = people love one another

Causative transform: **titēnetlazohtlaltia** = #ti- $\emptyset$ +tē+ne(tla-zo-h-tla-l-tia) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = you cause people to love one another, you reconcile people [The subject pronoun  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + . . . + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$  of the impersonal source has become the nonspecific projective causative object pronoun **tē** in the causative transform. The shuntline reflexive object pronoun **ne** remains unchanged in the transform.]

There is one situation in which the shuntline reflexive/reciprocativ object pronoun is prevented from taking a shuntline shape. This occurs when the imported subject of the causative transform has the same referent as the subject of the passive source VNC (i.e., passive subject > reflexive object).

Passive source: **nipiyalo** = #ni- $\emptyset$ (piya-lo) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I am guarded; s.o. guards me

Causative transform: **ninotēpiyaltia** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +n-o+tē(piya-l-tia) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I cause s.o. to guard me; i.e., I put myself in s.o.'s safekeeping, I entrust myself to s.o. [The impersonal agent implied in the source VNC becomes the nonspecific projective causative object pronoun **tē** in the transform VNC. The subject pronoun **ni- $\emptyset$** (. . . + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ) of the source becomes a shuntline reflexive object but, because of its coreference with the subject of the causative transform, it takes the shape **n-o**.]

## c. With a shuntline nonspecific projective object:

Impersonal source: **tlachīhualo** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tla(chīhua-lo) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = s.o. makes s.th.; people make things

Causative transform: **titētlachīhualtia** = #ti- $\emptyset$ +tē+tla(chīhua-l-tia) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = you persuade s.o. to make s.th.; you persuade people to make things [The impersonal-pronoun subject  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + . . . + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$  of the source VNC has become the nonspecific causative object pronoun **tē** in the transform. The nonspecific projective object **tla** remains unchanged in its shuntline function in the transform.]

25.12. *The Triple-Object Causative VNC.* A triple-object causative VNC contains a mainline causative object, a second-level shuntline object, which may be a causative or an applicative object (the latter is not frequent), and a first-level shuntline object, which may be a direct, a causative, or (in rare instances) an applicative object. Since one or both of the shuntline object pronouns may be silently present, careful attention should be paid to the nature of the verb-stem, first, to ascertain how many object pronouns are present and, second, to identify which shuntline object is in which of the functions required by the stem, since the proper assessment of object-pronoun function is necessary for a correct translation. In the following examples the task is simplified, since the double-object VNC source is given (but see § 25.13).

No attempt has been made to show all possible triple-object combinations (see § 23.5); the purpose of the display is to exemplify the principles involved. The double-object causative VNCs that serve as the source for the triple-object VNC transforms are generated according to § 25.11.

1. Generation of a mainline specific projective causative-object pronoun in the triple-object VNC from an active source:

2-obj active source: **nimitzcaquītia** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +m-itz+ $\square$ - $\emptyset$ (caquī-tia) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I cause you to hear it; i.e., I inform you of it [Mainline = m-itz; shuntline =  $\square$ - $\emptyset$  (= qui- $\emptyset$ ).]

3-obj transform: **nēchcaquītiltia** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-ēch+ $\square$ - $\square$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ (caquī-ti-l-tia) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he causes me to cause you to hear it; i.e., he persuades me to inform you of it [Mainline = n-ēch; 2nd-level shuntline =  $\square$ - $\square$  (= m-itz); 1st-level shuntline =  $\square$ - $\emptyset$  (= qui- $\emptyset$ ).]

2-obj active source: **niquincaquītia** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +qu-in+ $\square$ - $\emptyset$ (caquī-tia) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I cause them to hear it; i.e., I inform them of it [Mainline = qu-in; shuntline =  $\square$ - $\emptyset$  (= qui- $\emptyset$ ).]

3-obj transform: **tinēchinctia** = #ti- $\emptyset$ +n-ēch+ $\square$ -in+ $\square$ - $\emptyset$ (caquī-ti-l-tia) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = you cause me to cause them to hear it; i.e., you persuade me to inform them of it [Mainline = n-ēch; 2nd-level shuntline =  $\square$ -in (= qu-in); 1st-level shuntline =  $\square$ - $\emptyset$  (= qui- $\emptyset$ ).]

2-obj active source: **nictlacaquītia** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ +tla(caquī-tia) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I cause him to hear s.th.; i.e., I inform him of s.th. [Mainline = c- $\emptyset$ ; shuntline = tla.]

3-obj transform: **tinēchtlacaquītiltia** = #ti- $\emptyset$ +n-ēch+ $\square$ - $\emptyset$ +tla(caquī-ti-l-tia) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = you cause me to cause him to hear s.th.; i.e., you persuade me to inform him of s.th. [Mainline = n-ēch; 2nd-level shuntline =  $\square$ - $\emptyset$  (= c- $\emptyset$ ); 1st-level shuntline = tla.]

2-obj active source: **nictēcaquītia** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ +tē(caquī-tia) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I cause s.o. to hear it; i.e., I inform s.o. of it [Mainline = tē; shuntline = c- $\emptyset$ .]

3-obj transform: **tinēchtēcaquītiltia** = #ti- $\emptyset$ +n-ēch+ $\square$ - $\emptyset$ +tē(caquī-ti-l-tia) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = you cause me to cause s.o. to hear it; i.e., you persuade me to inform s.o. of it [Mainline = n-ēch; 2nd-level shuntline = tē; 1st-level shuntline =  $\square$ - $\emptyset$  (= c- $\emptyset$ ).]

2-obj active source: **quimocaquītia** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +qui- $\emptyset$ +m-o(caquī-tia) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -h# = they cause one another to hear it; i.e., they inform one another of it [Mainline = m-o; shuntline = qui- $\emptyset$ .]

3-obj transform: **niquinnecaquĩtiltia** = #ni- $\theta$ +qu-in+ $\square$ - $\theta$ +ne(caquĩ-ti-l-tia) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I cause them to cause one another to hear it; i.e., I cause them to inform one another of it [Mainline = **qu-in**; 2nd-level shuntline = **ne**; 1st-level shuntline =  $\square$ - $\theta$  (= **qui- $\theta$** ).]

There is a special situation in which the shuntline reflexive-object pronoun does not take the shuntline shape. This occurs when a mainline projective object of the source is coreferential with the imported subject of the triple-object VNC (compare § 25.11.1.b).

2-obj active source: **nēchtlacaquĩtia** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ +n-ēch+tla(caquĩ-tia) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = he causes me to hear s.th.; i.e., he informs me of s.th. [Mainline = **n-ēch**; shuntline = **tla**.]

3-obj transform: **nicnotlacaquĩtiltia** = #ni- $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ +n-o+tla(caquĩ-ti-l-tia) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I cause him to cause me to hear s.th.; i.e., I persuade him to inform me of s.th. [Mainline = **c- $\theta$** ; 2nd-level shuntline = **n-o**; 1st-level shuntline = **tla**.]

2. Generation of a mainline reflexive causative-object pronoun in the triple-object VNC:

2-obj active source: **nimitzcaquĩtia** = #ni- $\theta$ +m-itz+ $\square$ - $\theta$ (caquĩ-tia) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I cause you to hear it; i.e., I inform you of it [Mainline = **m-itz**; shuntline =  $\square$ - $\theta$  (= **qui- $\theta$** ).]

3-obj transform: **nimitznocaquĩtiltia** = #ni- $\theta$ +m-itz+ $\square$ - $\theta$ +n-o(caquĩ-ti-l-tia) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I cause myself to cause you to hear it; i.e., I persuade myself to inform you of it [Mainline = **n-o**; 2nd-level shuntline = **m-itz**; 1st-level shuntline =  $\square$ - $\theta$  (= **qui- $\theta$** ).]

2-obj active source: **nictēcaquĩtia** = #ni- $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ +tē(caquĩ-tia) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I cause s.o. to hear it; i.e., I inform s.o. of it [Mainline = **tē**; shuntline = **c- $\theta$** .]

3-obj transform: **nicnotēcaquĩtiltia** = #ni- $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ +n-o+tē(caquĩ-ti-l-tia) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I cause myself to cause s.o. to hear it; i.e., I persuade myself to inform s.o. of it [Mainline = **n-o**; 2nd-level shuntline = **tē**; 1st-level shuntline = **c- $\theta$** .]

2-obj active source: **niquintlacaquĩtia** = #ni- $\theta$ +qu-in+tla(caquĩ-tia) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I cause them to hear s.th.; i.e., I inform them of s.th. [Mainline = **qu-in**; shuntline = **tla**.]

3-obj transform: **niquinnotlacaquĩtiltia** = #ni- $\theta$ +qu-in+n-o+tla(caquĩ-ti-l-tia) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I cause myself to cause them to hear s.th.; i.e., I persuade myself to inform them of s.th. [Mainline = **n-o**; 2nd-level shuntline = **qu-in**; 1st-level shuntline = **tla**.]

2-obj active source: **nitētlacaquĩtia** = #ni- $\theta$ +tē+tla(caquĩ-tia) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I cause s.o. to hear s.th.; i.e., I inform s.o. of s.th. [Mainline = **tē**; shuntline = **tla**.]

3-obj transform: **nicnotētlacaquĩtiltia** = #ni- $\theta$ +n-o+tē+tla(caquĩ-ti-l-tia) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I cause myself to cause s.o. to hear s.th.; i.e., I persuade myself to inform s.o. of s.th. [Mainline = **n-o**; 2nd-level shuntline = **tē**; 1st-level shuntline = **tla**.]

3. Generation of a mainline projective causative-object pronoun in the triple-object VNC from a passive or impersonal source:

1-obj passive source: **nicaquĩtilo** = #ni- $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$ (caquĩ-ti-lo) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ #. = I am caused to hear it; i.e., I am informed of it; s.o. informs me of it [Shuntline =  $\square$ - $\theta$  (=  $\square$ - $\theta$  in active source, where it represents **qui- $\theta$** ).]

3-obj transform: **tinēchtēcaquīiltia** = #**ti-θ+n-ēch+□-θ+tē(caquī-ti-l-tia)θ+θ-θ#** = you cause s.o. to cause me to hear it; i.e., you cause me to be informed of it [Mainline = **tē**; 2nd-level shuntline **n-ēch**; 1st-level shuntline = **□-θ**.]

1-obj passive source: **nitlacaquītilo** = #**ni-θ+tla(caquī-ti-lo)θ+θ-θ#** = I am caused to hear s.th.; i.e., I am informed of s.th. [Shuntline = **tla**.]

3-obj transform: **tinēchtētlacaquīiltia** = #**ti-θ+n-ēch+tē+tla(caquī-ti-l-tia)θ+θ-θ#** = you cause s.o. to cause me to hear s.th.; i.e., you persuade s.o. to inform me of s.th. [Mainline = **tē**; 2nd-level shuntline = **n-ēch**; 1st level shuntline = **tla**.]

2-obj impersonal source: **tētlacaquītilo** = #**θ-θ+tē+tla(caquī-ti-lo)θ+θ-θ#** = s.o. causes s.o. to hear s.th.; i.e., s.o. informs s.o. of s.th. [Mainline = **tē**; shuntline = **tla**.]

3-obj transform: **titētētlacaquīiltia** = #**ti-θ+tē+tē+tla(caquī-ti-l-tia)θ+θ-θ#** = you cause s.o. to cause s.o. to hear s.th.; i.e., you persuade s.o. to inform s.o. of s.th. [Mainline = **tē**; 2nd-level shuntline = **tē**; 1st-level shuntline = **tla**.]

25.13. *Ambiguity in Causative Transforms.* Because of the fixed order of object prefixes and their nondiscrimination of function by shape (a single shape serves the three functions of direct object, mainline causative object and shuntline causative object), combinations of two or three object pronouns in a VNC are frequently ambiguous. The presentation in § 25.11 and § 25.12 disregards this problem, since the transforms are shown as being generated from identified sources. When reading a Nahuatl text, however, one is faced with only the transforms and must be prepared to postulate possible multiple sources from which to choose the translation that fits the context. For example, **tinēchtēcaquīiltia** may be generated either by **nictēcaquītia**, “I inform s.o. of it,” or by **nicaquītilo**, “I am informed of it,” and therefore may be translated as “you have me inform s.o. of it” or “you have s.o. inform me of it.” Similarly, **tinēchtēnōtzaltia** can be generated by either **nitēnōtza**, “I call s.o.,” or **ninōtzalo**, “I am called,” and therefore may be translated as “you have me call s.o.” or “you have s.o. call me.” In all likelihood the general context will decide the choice that should be made, but the reader must train him-/herself to be aware of the possibilities in order to take proper advantage of that contextual aid. For an understanding of the complexity of the problem (see Appendix C).

Since ambiguity is so prevalent in multiple-object situations, one should learn to recognize those mechanisms that reduce or eliminate it. One such instance involves the rule concerning incompatibility of specific-object pronouns. Thus, **tinēchnōtzaltia** may be ambiguous about the identity of the entity referred to by the object pronoun **□-θ** (a man? a woman? a dog? etc.), but at least the **n-ēch** is clearly functioning as the mainline causative object: “you persuade me to call him/her/it.” Similarly helpful is the rule concerning the replacement of a source mainline reflexive pronoun with the shuntline variant **ne**; thus, **tiquinnetlazohtlaltiah** can mean only “we persuade them to love one another,” never “we persuade one another to love them,” which is **tiquintotlazohtlaltiah**.

25.14. *The Causative VNC in the Optative and Admonitive Moods.* VNCs formed on causative verbstems may be used in wish, command/exhortation, and admonition sentences:

Assertion: **Nictlachihualtia.** = I persuade him to make something.

Wish: **Mā nictlachihualti.** = If only I could persuade him to make something.

Assertion: **Anquiltlachihualtia.** = You (pl) persuade him to make something.

Command: **Mā xictlachihualticān.** = Persuade (pl) him to make something.

Assertion: **Ticchihualtia.** = We persuade him to make it/them.

Exhortation: **Mā ticchihualticān.** = Let's persuade him to make it/them.

Assertion: **Quichōctiah.** = They make her cry.

Admonition: **Mā quichōctihtin.** = Let them beware of making her cry. They must be careful not to make her cry.

25.15. *The Causative VNC in the Passive and Impersonal Voices.* VNCs formed on causative verbstems may undergo the passive and impersonal transformations:

Active: **Tēchtlachihualtia.** = They persuade us to make something.

Passive: **Titlachihualtiloh.** = #ti-θ+**tla**(chihua-l-ti-lo)θ+θ-h# = We are persuaded to make something.

Active: **Tēchchihualtia.** = #θ-θ+t-ēch+□-θ(chihua-l-tia)θ+θ-h#. = They persuade us to make it/them.

Passive: **Tichihualtiloh.** = #ti-θ+□-θ(chihua-l-ti-lo)θ+θ-h# = We are persuaded to make it/them.

Active: **Timitzinnōtzaltiah.** = We force you to call them.

Passive: **Tiquinnōtzaltilo.** = #ti-θ+**qu-in**(nōtza-l-ti-lo)θ+θ-θ# = You are forced to call them.

Active: **Nicnocuītih.** = #ni-θ+c-θ+n-o(cuī-tih)θ+□-θ# = I caused myself to take it; i.e., I recognized/admitted/confessed that I did it.

Passive: **Necuītilōc.** = #θ-θ + **ne**(cuī-ti-lō)θ+c-θ# = It was admitted/confessed.

Active: **Titētlachihualtia.** = We have someone make something.

Impersonal: **Tētlachihualtilo.** = #θ-θ+tē+**tla**(chihua-l-ti-lo)θ+θ-θ# = Someone has someone make something. Someone is forced to make something.

25.16. *Supplementation of the Silently Present Verb-Object Pronoun.* Since the silently present verb-object pronoun is as fully real as a sounded one, it has the same privileges. It can, therefore, take a supplementary object.

Principal: **Quimmāmaltiah.** = #θ-θ+**qu-im**+□-θ(māma-l-tia)θ+θ-h# = They have them carry it on their backs.

Adjunct: **Cintli.** = It is maize.

Transform: **In cintli quimmāmaltiah.** = They have them carry the maize on their backs.

[The subject pronoun θ-θ(. .)θ-θ of the supplement = its head, the direct-object pronoun □-θ in the principal. The adjunct, functioning as supplementary direct object, stands in cross reference with the nuclear direct object of the principal.]

Principal: **Tēchitizqueh.** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +t-ēch+ $\square$ - $\emptyset$ (ī-ti)z+qu-eh# = They will make us drink it.

Adjunct: **Ātōlli.** = It is maize-flour gruel.

Transform: **Tēchitizqueh in ātōlli.** = They will make us drink maize-flour gruel; i.e., They will give us maize-flour gruel to drink. [The subject pronoun  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (. . .) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$  of the supplement = its head, the direct-object pronoun  $\square$ - $\emptyset$ , in the principal.]

Principal: **Nēchcaquītiltiqqueh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-ēch+ $\square$ - $\square$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ (caquī-ti-l-tih) $\emptyset$ +qu-eh# = They persuaded me to inform you (sg) of it. [The pronoun  $\square$ - $\square$ , here translated “you (sg),” could also represent “us” or “you(pl)” or be  $\square$ - $\emptyset$  for “him/her” if the context requires it.]

Adjunct: **Tinocnīuh.** = #ti- $\emptyset$ +n-o(cn-īuh)+ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = You are my friend.

Transform: **Nēchcaquītiltiqqueh in tinocnīuh.** = They forced me to inform you, my friend, of it. [The subject pronoun ti- $\emptyset$ + . . .) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$  of the supplement = its head, the shuntline causative object pronoun  $\square$ - $\square$ , in the principal. In an instance such as this the subject pronoun of supplement clears up the ambiguity of the person and number of the silently present object pronoun.]

## LESSON 26

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# Applicative Verbstems

26.1. *The Nature of the Applicative Verbstem.* As pointed out in § 23.1, an applicative verbstem is a derived stem that applies an action, process, etc., to a participant that is tangentially involved in, or associated with, it. “Applicative” embraces notions of advantage, disadvantage, interest, possession, bestowal, deprivation, etc.—notions that English expresses by prepositions or prepositional units such as “to,” “for,” “from,” “about,” “belonging to,” “in the company of,” “in relation to,” “on behalf of,” “for the sake of,” etc.

An applicative verbstem, like a causative one, is distinguished by its mainline (i.e., last-added) constituents (suffix plus its obligatorily concomitant object pronoun). There may, therefore, be single-object applicatives (derived from intransitive stems), double-object applicatives (derived from single-object transitive stems), and triple-object applicatives (derived from double-object transitive stems).

In certain instances the applicative stem is used only to form an honorific VNC (see Lesson 33).

Before discussing the normal applicative-stem formations, certain verbs that do not fit the norm need to be presented:

1. The double-object stem **tē+*tla*-(*maca*)**, “to give s.th. to s.o.,” is said to be “inherently” applicative. The verbstem violates the valence principal of § 23.1, since the applicative object is unjustified by an applicative suffix inside the stem. Thus, although a transitive stem is involved, the formation resembles that of the valence-neutral stems in subsection 3 below. That the verbstem is basically a single-object one is apparently supported by the future-agentive nounstem **(*tla-maca-z*)-*qui***, “one who will give,” i.e., “an offering priest” (see § 36.8), where only a direct object is present. But if we can judge by certain of Nahuatl’s “sister” languages, the verbstem’s double object valence is very old; for example, Hopi has the verbstem **maqa**, which also takes two objects, as in Nu’ **pumuy sikwi-t maqa**, “I to-him the-meat gave,” i.e., “I gave the meat to him” (note that Hopi is totally unlike Nahuatl in that it has words rather than nuclear clauses).

2. Judging by its translation of “to see s.o. or s.th.,” one might think that the single-object stem **tē- ~ *tla*-(*itt-a*)** is a simple directive stem. This is not the case, however. Its geminate [tt] is unique, not justified by normal morphological processes (such as, for example, the one that



produces the [tt] in (**īl-ō-t-θ-ti-nemi**), “to go for a walk”; see § 28.6). It is the result of a strange phonological shift. The stem’s source is the defective intransitive stem **\*(itzi)**, “to be alert/observant.” The sibilant-release feature /s/ of this stem’s phoneme /ç/ (see § 2.3.4) is replaced by the stop-release feature /t/, producing the phone [tʰ], which is manifested as **tt**.

In addition to the irregular base **itt-**, the derived stem is further irregular in that the **a** suffix attached to it is **applicative**, not causative as would be expected. This analysis is based on the fact that the source stem is valence neutral, since there is a single-object applicative mate, **\*tē- ~ tla-(itzi)**, “to be alert/observant with regard to s.o. ~ s.th.,” i.e., “to see s.o. ~ s.th.” (formed according to § 24.2.2). It is this more basic applicative stem that must be used, instead of **tē- ~ tla-(itt-a)**, as the embed in connective-**t** compounds (see § 28.7.4). On the other hand, neither **\*(itzi)** nor **\*tē- ~ tla-(itzi)** can appear in simple-stemmed VNCs as **tē- ~ tla-(itt-a)** can.

3. As pointed out in § 24.2, certain verbstems violate the valence principle of § 23.1 in that they belong to a valence-neutral pair. Usually, the transitive member has an applicative meaning; for example:

**(hue-tz-ca)** = to laugh > **tē- ~ tla-(hue-tz-ca)** = to laugh about/at s.o. or s.th.

**(mayāna)** = to be hungry > **tla-(mayāna)** = to be hungry for s.th.

**(ā-miqui)** = to die because of [lack of] water; i.e., to be thirsty > **tē- ~ tla-(ā-miqui)** = to thirst for s.o. or s.th.

**(tēmiqui)** = to dream > **tē- ~ tla-(tēmiqui)** = to dream about s.o. or s.th.

**(teo-hc-i-hui)** = to be hungry > **tē- ~ tla-(teo-hc-i-hui)** = to hunger for s.o. or s.th.

**(nene-hc-i-hui)** = to pant/be winded > **tē- ~ tla-(nene-hc-i-hui)** = to pant for s.o. or s.th.

26.2. *Applicative Verbstems (First Type)*. The basic type of applicative verbstems is derived from a nonapplicative stem by adding the morpheme carrier /ia:/ to a replacive imperfective stem that lacks the final vowel of the source verbstem. If that stem-final vowel is a causative morpheme carried by /a/ or /a:/, the resultant applicative stem should be analyzed as having an irregular sig-carried variant, but in these lessons that causative morph is not indicated; e.g., **m-o+tla-(ix-tlā-hu-□-iā)** will be represented as **m-o+tla-(ix-tlā-hu-iā)**; compare the treatment of stems with /a/- and /a:/-carried morphemes in § 7.3.1 and § 7.3.2, *note*.

**(pīn-ā-hua)** = to be ashamed > **tē-(pīn-ā-hu-iā)** = to feel shame for s.o.; *by extension*, to find fault with s.o. [The source is a destockal intransitive stem. By a further extension, the derived stem takes on a causative translation value, “to shame s.o.”]

**tla-(ix-tlā-hu-a)** = to pay s.th. (i.e., money) > **tē+tla-(ix-tlā-hu-iā)** to pay s.th. to s.o. [See § 54.2.2.]

**tla-(ihtzoma)** = to sew s.th. > **m-o+tla- ~ tē+tla-(ihtzom-iā)** = to sew s.th. for oneself or for s.o.

**tla-(chīhua)** = to do/make s.th. > **tē-(tla-chīhu-iā)** = to do s.th. to s.o.; i.e., to bewitch s.o., to cast a spell on s.o. [The source stem has undergone **tla** fusion.]

**tla-(cōhua)** = to buy s.th. > **m-o+tla- ~ tē+tla-(cōhu-iā)** = to buy s.th. for oneself or for s.o.

**tla-(ixca)** = to bake/roast s.th. > **m-o+tla- ~ tē+tla-(ixqu-iā)** = to bake/roast s.th. for oneself or for s.o.

(**oh-quetza**) = to erect a path; i.e., to open a path > **tē-(oh-quech-iā)** = to open a path for s.o.; *figurative*, to set a good example for s.o. [Notice the /ç/ to [č] shift. The source stem is a compound stem; see § 30.2.]

At times the source stem is not attested. The following examples have a compound stem as source (see § 30.2).

\*(**ēl-ē-hu-a**) = to cause the liver (i.e., the heart) to rise > **tla-(ēl-ē-hu-iā)** = to lift the heart with regard to s.th.; i.e., to fervently desire s.th., to yearn for/covet s.th.

\*(**pal-ē-hu-a**) = to cause a favor to rise > **tē-(pal-ē-hu-iā)** = to do a favor for s.o., to help s.o. [The nounstem (**pal**)-**li-**, “favor, sake,” does not occur in absolutive-state NNCs; see § 45.4.3.]

The rule of adding **iā** after the deletion of the stem-final vowel is valid even when the source stem ends in /i/. Since this deleted /i/ of the stem is replaced by the /i/ of the suffix, the nature of the derived stem may not be apparent at first glance; i.e., it may not be clear whether the derived stem is applicative (a replacive stem plus the applicative suffix **iā**) or causative (a base stem plus the causative **a**; see § 24.3.1). The difficulty is real, however, only in those instances in which the source stem is intransitive, since causative **a** is not attached to transitive stems.

(**quiy-a-hui**) = to rain > **tē-(quiy-a-hu-iā)** = to rain on s.o.

**tla-(ih-tlani)** = to request s.th. > **tē+tla-(ih-tlan-iā)** = to ask s.th. of/from s.o.

**tla-(cui)** = to take s.th. > **m-o+tla-(cu-iā)** = to take s.th. for o.s.; i.e., to borrow s.th., to appropriate s.th.

Special care must be taken when the source verbstem ends in **ti**, since the resultant **t-iā** may look like a *causative*. If a nounstem precedes the **t**, the type-two causative **tiā** is not possible.

(**cuīca-ti**) = to have a song > **tē-(cuīca-t-iā)** = to have a song for s.o.; i.e., to sing to s.o. [  
< (**cuīca**)-**tl-**, “song.”]

(**nāhua-ti**) = to have a clear sound, i.e. to be clearly audible > **tē-(nāhua-t-iā)** = to be clearly audible to s.o.; i.e., to give commands to s.o.

But it is very frequently the case that a nounstem precedes a **ti** followed by a *type-one causative* (i.e., **ti-ā**). Thus, it is possible that the **tē-(cuīca-t-iā)** above is **tē-(cuīca-ti-ā)**, “to cause s.o. to have a song,” but the applicative reading seems preferable. More frequently a difference in structure entails a difference in meaning; for example:

**tla-(yaca-ti-ā)** = to cause s.th. to have a nose/point; i.e., (1) to release s.th. (i.e., water) that has been dammed up or impounded (since the resultant flow has a pointlike shape in front); (2) to sharpen s.th. (e.g., a stake) to a point [  
< (**yaca**)-**tl-**, “nose/point.”]

**tla-(yaca-t-iā)** = to be a point in relation to s.th.; i.e., to be the person out in front of a group on the move; to be the first person in a line

The possibility for ambiguity between a type-one causative stem and a type-one applicative stem is not limited to source stems ending in **ti**; for example, the verbstem (**ilpi**), “to become tied,” can produce:

**tla-(ilpi-ā)** = *caus.*, to cause s.th. to become tied, to tie s.th. [See § 24.3.1.b.]

**m-o-(īlp-iā)** = *applic.*, to become tied to one another [This stem is found, for example, in the expression **toxiuh molpih** (also spelled **toxim molpih**, as it can be pronounced), “our years have become tied to one another,” frequently translated as “the Binding of the Years.” The expression is the name for the end of a fifty-two-year period (see Appendix E.3). A type-two applicative formation is also possible: **m-o-(īlpi-liā)** yields **toxiuh molpilih**.]

The use of the first type of applicative stem formation is unpredictable, and each verbstem must be learned as a separate lexical item.

26.3. *Applicative Verbstems (Second Type)*. Another, more frequent, type of applicative stem is formed by means of the suffixal units **liā** and **huiā**. Both of these units are suffixal combinations containing the applicative morpheme carried by /ia:/ and the semantically empty morphemes /l/ and /w/ (concerning other uses of these connective morphemes, see § 20.1, *note*, for /l/ and § 35.9 and § 58.1 for /w/). They will, however, be written solid in these lessons in order to help distinguish first- and second-type applicative stem formations.

The derivation using these suffixal units is fairly predictable, since it depends primarily on the ending of the source stem. The unit **huiā** is used with transitive Class C verbs ending in **o-ā** (see § 26.9) or with intransitive Class A stems ending in /o:/ (see § 26.10). The suffixal unit **liā** is used in most other situations (see §§ 26.4–8).

Intransitive verbs that derive causative stems by means of **liā** (see § 25.5) have no applicative derivation, although at times such a stem formed with **liā** may be ambiguously causative or applicative (see § 26.10).

If a reflexive object pronoun occurs in a source VNC, it must become the shuntline reflexive pronoun **ne** in the applicative transform. Contrast the following formations:

**nitlaihyāna** = I hide s.th. > **ninotlaihyānilia** = I hide s.th. for myself [The reflexive pronoun **n-o** is mainline, since it is brought in under the control of **liā**.]

**ninihyāna** = I hide (myself); I take shelter from the rain > **nicneihyānilia** = I hide from him/her [The **ne** is shuntline, since **c-∅** is brought in as the mainline object pronoun under the control of **liā**.]

26.4. *Applicative Stems from Source Stems Ending in /i/*. Both transitive and intransitive verbs whose imperfective stems end in /i/ form an applicative stem by attaching the suffixal unit **liā** to the imperfective stem:

(**nemi**) = to live > **tla-(nemi-liā)** = to think about s.th., to consider s.th. [Applicative stems derived from intransitive verbs frequently have a meaning that shifts idiomatically away from that of the source. In the present example, the shift in meaning resembles that occurring in the English word “dwell”: “to dwell” > “to dwell upon s.th.”]

(**tlatz-i-hui**) = to be lazy > **tla-(tlatz-i-hui-liā)** = to be lazy toward s.th., to feel apathy for s.th., to feel aversion toward s.th. [There is also an irregular formation: **tla-(tlatz-i-l-huiā)**; this stem should be a double-object one, presupposing a transitive stem ending in **o-ā** (see § 26.9.2).]

**tla-(caqui)** = to hear s.th. > **tē+tla-(caqui-liā)** = to hear s.th. from s.o. [If the source has **tla** fusion, the resultant stem, **tē-(tla-caqui-liā)**, means “to listen/give a hearing to s.o.,” “to grant s.o.’s petition.”]

**tla-(itqui)** = to carry s.th. > **tē+tla-(itqui-liā)** = to carry s.th. to/for s.o.

**tla-(āyi)** = to do s.th. > **tē+tla-(āyi-liā)** = to do s.th. for s.o. [The restriction on the use of a sounded direct object with **tla-(āyi)** (see § 18.8) continues in force in the applicative stem; e.g., **nitēāyilia**, **#ni-θ+tē+□-θ(āyi-lia)θ+θ-θ#**, “I do it for s.o.” If the source has **tla** fusion, the resultant stem, **tē-(tla-āyi-liā)**, means “to work for s.o.”]

At times the final vowel of the source stem is lengthened:

**tla-(cui)** = to take s.th. > **tē+tla-(cui-liā)** = to take s.th. from s.o.

If the source stem ends in /si/, this changes to [ši] in the applicative stem:

**tla-(pā-hua-ci)** = to stew s.th. > **tē+tla-(pā-hua-xi-liā)** = to stew s.th. for s.o.

**tla-(ahci)** = to overtake s.th., to capture s.th. > **tē+tla-(ahxi-liā)** = to capture s.th. for s.o.

If the source stem ends in /çi/, the derived stem may replace it with [či]:

**(huetzi)** = to fall > **m-o-(huechi-liā)** [This formation occurs in the honorific compound stem **m-o+tla-(cui-θ-ti-huechi-liā)**; see § 33.10.]

**tē- ~ tla-(ce-huechi-lia)** = *impers*; for freezing to happen to s.o./s.th., i.e., for s.o./s.th. to freeze [See compound verbstem in § 30.11.]

If the source verbstem ends in /ti/ preceded by a vowel, the derived stem may replace the /t/ with [č].

**tla-(mati)** = to know s.th. > **tē+tla-(machi-liā)** = to know s.th. (e.g., defects, virtues, a secret) about s.o.

26.5. *Applicative Stems from Source Stems Ending in /a/*. When the imperfective stem of a verb ends in /a/, the derivation of the applicative stem depends mainly upon the nature of the sound that precedes it; therefore, the following discussion is divided into three parts, according to whether the preceding sound is an /i/ (see § 26.6), a consonant (see § 26.7), or an /o/ (see § 26.9). As in first-type applicative stems (see § 26.2), if the final **a** of the source stem is the causative suffix, the analysis of the applicative stem in these lessons will not indicate its irregular sig-carried variant; e.g., **tē+tla-(tlā-ti-□-liā)** will be represented as **tē+tla-(tlā-ti-liā)**.

26.6. *Applicative Stems from Source Stems Ending in /ia:/*. If the source stem ends in /a:/ preceded by /i/, the applicative stem is formed by attaching **liā** to a replacive imperfective stem that lacks the final /a:/.

The causative verbstems in Lessons 24 and 25 in which an /i/ precedes the /a:/ derive applicative stems according to this rule:

**tla-(tlami-ā)** = to finish a.th. > **tē+tla-(tlami-liā)** = to finish s.th. for s.o.

**m-o-(tlā-ti-ā)** = to hide oneself > **tē+ne-(tlā-ti-liā)** = to hide from s.o. [The reflexive object pronoun of the source has been replaced by its shuntline variant in the derived stem.]

**tē+*tla*-(pāca-l-tiā)** = to have s.o. wash s.th. > **tē+tē+*tla*-(pāca-l-ti-liā)** = to have s.o. wash s.th. for s.o.

This rule also derives applicative stems from other applicative stems. The type-one applicative suffix **iā** is reduced to **i** and the type-two suffix **liā** to **li**:

**tla**-(**tzitz-qu-iā**) = to grip s.th. in the hand > **tē+tla**-(**tzitz-qu-i-liā**) = to grip s.th. for/belonging to s.o.

**tē+tla**-(**ix-tlā-hu-iā**) = to pay s.th. to s.o. > **tē+tla+tla**-(**ix-tlā-hu-i-liā**) = to pay s.th. to s.o. for s.th.

**tla**-(**ce-liā**) = to be willing with regard to s.th.; i.e., to receive s.th. > **tē+tla**-(**ce-li-liā**) = to receive s.th. from s.o. > **tē+tē+tla**-(**ce-li-li-liā**) = to receive s.th. from s.o. for s.o. [See § 26.8.3.]

26.7. *Applicative Stems from Source Stems Ending in a Consonant Followed by /a/*. As a general rule, when the sound preceding a stem-final /a/ is a consonant, the applicative stem is formed on a replacive imperfective stem in which the /a/ is replaced by [i]:

**tla**-(**āna**) = to take hold of s.th. > **tē+tla**-(**āni-liā**) = to take hold of s.th. for s.o.

**tla**-(**ināya**) = to hide s.th. > **tē+tla**-(**ināyi-liā**) = to conceal s.th. from s.o. [The **-āyi** is traditionally spelled **-ai**-.]

**tla**-(**ōya**) = to shell s.th. (i.e., maize, peas, etc.) > **tē+tla**-(**ōyi-liā**) = to shell s.th. for s.o. [The **-ōyi** is traditionally spelled **-oi**-.]

(**hue-tz-ca**) = to laugh > **tē**-(**hue-tz-qui-liā**) = to laugh at/with s.o.

**tla**-(**pā-tz-ca**) = to squeeze liquid from s.th. > **tē+tla**-(**pā-tz-qui-liā**) = to squeeze liquid from s.th. for s.o.

In certain instances the source stem is no longer extant:

\*(**nān-ca**) = to act in the manner of a mother > **tē**-(**nān-qui-liā**) = to respond to s.o., to answer s.o.

After replacing the stem-final /a/ with [i], verbs ending in /sa/ further change the /s/ to [š]. The applicative stem thus ends in **xi-liā**:

**tla**-(**tlāza**) = to throw s.th. > **tē+tla**-(**tlāxi-liā**) = to throw s.th. from s.o.; i.e., to bring about an abortion

After replacing the /a/ with /i/, verbs ending in **tla** or **tza** further change the final consonant to [č]. The applicative stem thus ends in **chi-liā**:

**tē**- ~ **tla**-(**mōtla**) = to throw rocks at s.o. or s.th. > **tē+tē**- ~ **tē+tla**-(**mōchi-liā**) = to throw rocks at s.o. or s.th. belonging to s.o.

**tē**-(**nōtza**) = to call s.o. > **tē+tē**-(**nōchi-liā**) = to call s.o. for s.o.

**tla**-(**īl-pítza**) = to blow on s.th. (e.g., coals) > **tē+tla**-(**īl-pīchi-liā**) = to blow on s.th. for s.o. [The source stem is a compound stem with the nounstem \*(**īl**)-**li**- as embed; see § 30.13. The [i] of this nounstem is a supportive vowel.]

**tla**-(**quetza**) = to stand s.th. erect > **tē**-(**tla-quechi-liā**) = to tell stories or tales to s.o. [The derived stem shows **tla** fusion.]

But occasionally, instead of changing to **ch**, the **tl** as the last consonant of the source stem changes to **t** (for the structure of these stem-final **tlā** verbs, see § 55.2):

**tē-(tlā-zo-h-tlā)** = to consider s.o. dear; i.e., to love s.o. > **tē+tē-(tlā-zo-h-ti-liā)** = to love s.o. belonging to s.o.; to love s.o. for the sake of s.o.

**tlā-(pa-tlā)** = to change s.th., to exchange s.th. > **tē+tlā-(pa-ti-liā)** = to change s.th. with s.o.

*Note:* These *double-object* applicative stems ending in **ti-liā** may have homophonous *single-object causative* stems derived (according to § 25.5.1) from intransitive verbstems ending in **ti** (see § 54.2.1): **tlā-(tlā-zo-h-ti-liā)** = “to value s.th., to have a high opinion of s.th.” [**< (tlā-zo-h-ti) = “to be valuable”**]. Therefore, a VNC such as **nict-lazohtilia** is ambiguous, being either **#ni-θ+c-θ+[-θ](tlā-zo-h-ti-lia)θ+θ-θ#**, “I love him/her for his/her sake,” or **#ni-θ+c-θ(tlā-zo-h-ti-lia)θ+θ-θ#**, “I value it.”

26.8. *Exceptions.* There are four exceptions to the general rule of § 26.7: (1) Class D verbs, (2) transitive Class B stems that end in /iya/, (3) intransitive Class B stems that end in /eya/, and (4) stems that end in /oya/.

1. Class D stems form the applicative stem by adding **liā** to the imperfective stem. This means that the final vowel of the source stem is long:

**tlā-(pā)** = to dye s.th. > **tē+tlā-(pā-liā)** = to dye s.th. for s.o.

**tlā-(māmā)** = to carry s.th. on one’s back > **tē+tlā-(māmā-liā)** = to carry s.th. on one’s back for s.o.

2. Transitive Class B stems that end in /iya/ form the applicative stem by adding **liā** to the imperfective stem:

**tlā-(piya)** = to keep s.th. > **tē+tlā-(piya-liā)** = to keep s.th. for s.o.

**(tlā-chiya)** = to look > **tē-(tlā-chiya-liā)** = to look concerning s.o.; to be on the lookout against s.o. [The source stem is the result of **tlā** fusion.]

3. Intransitive Class B stems that in end in /eya/ form the applicative stem by deleting the **ya** and adding **liā** to the root.

**(ce-ya)** = to be willing, to consent > **tlā-(ce-liā)** = to be willing with regard to s.th.; i.e., to receive s.th.

4. Verbstems that end in /oya/ may be intransitive or transitive. The intransitive stems belong to the type of “root + **ya**” verb that forms the causative according to § 25.4.8. They create the applicative stem by deleting the **ya** and attaching the **liā** to the root:

**(tlāōco-ya)** = to be sad > **tē-(tlāōco-liā)** = to be sad in relation to s.o.; i.e., to feel pity for s.o.

**(coco-ya)** = to be sick > **tē-(coco-liā)** = to be sick in relation to s.o.; to hate s.o.

If a transitive stem ending in /oya/ belongs to a valence-neutral pair (see § 26.1.3) then it acts like a “root + **ya**” intransitive stem; i.e., the applicative is formed on the root (i.e., the stem minus **ya**):

**tlā-(yōco-ya)** = to create/invent s.th. [Cf., **(yōco-ya)**, “to be well-formed.”] > **tē+tlā-(yōco-liā)** = to create s.th. for s.o.

Others ending in /oya/ use the formation in exception 2 above: they add **liā** to the imperfective stem:

**tla-(nāmoyā)** = to steal s.th. > **tē+tla-(nāmoyā-liā)** = to steal s.th. from s.o.

26.9. *Applicative Stems from Source Stems Ending in /oa:/*. A causative stem formed by means of **o-ā** (see § 24.7) derives its applicative stem by means of **huiā**. (Contrast this applicative use of **huiā** with the causative use in § 25.6.) A number of formations are possible, but all are constructed on a replacive stem.

1. When **o-ā** participates in a causative destockal verbstem whose root ends in //, the applicative suffix **huiā** is added to that root:

**tla-(nāpal-o-ā)** = to carry s.th. in the arms > **tē+tla-(nāpal-huiā)** = to carry s.th. in the arms for s.o.

**tla-(pol-o-ā)** = to lose s.th. > **tē+tla-(pol-huiā)** = to lose s.th. belonging to s.o.

**tla-(xel-o-ā)** = to divide/split s.th. > **tē+tla-(xel-huiā)** = to divide/split s.th. with s.o.

**tla-(ihcuil-o-ā)** = to write s.th. > **tē+tla-(ihcuil-huiā)** = to write s.th. to s.o.

As pointed out in § 24.7, *note 2*, **tla-(pil-o-ā)** has no intransitive destockal source, but nevertheless its applicative stem is **tē+tla-(pil-huiā)**, “to hang s.th. up for s.o.”

The source stem may no longer be extant:

\***tla-(il-o-ā)** > **tē+tla-(il-huiā)** = to say s.th. to s.o. [This derived stem serves as a suppletive applicative stem for **tla-(iht-o-ā)**, “to say s.th.” (since this latter stem’s own applicative is used in a different sense; see section 2 below). The source stem is obviously somehow related to the expression **quil** presented in § 19.5.]

An *intransitive* denominal verbstem created by **o-ā** (see § 55.3.1) can form a *single*-object applicative verbstem by the same procedure (see § 55.3.2.a):

**(chol-o-ā)** = *intrans*, to use hoofs; i.e., to bound/jump/flee > **tla-(chol-huiā)** = to use hoofs in relation to s.th.; i.e., to bound/jump/leap over s.th. (e.g., a stream) [< **(chol)-li-**, “hoof”]

2. When the **o-ā** participates in a causative destockal verbstem whose root ends in a consonant other than **l**, the **huiā** is added to a base that consists of the root plus **a-l** or **i-l**. The **a-l** is used when the intransitive destockal stem behind the causative stem ends in **a-hui**; the **i-l** is used when it ends in **i-hui** (see § 24.7):

**tla-(iht-o-ā)** = to say s.th. > **tē+tla-(iht-a-l-huiā)** = to say s.th. about s.o., to say s.th. for s.o., to speak for s.o. [Cf. **(iht-a-hui)**.]

**tla-(pach-o-ā)** = to press down on s.th. > **tē+tla-(pach-i-l-huiā)** = to press down on s.th. for s.o. [Cf. **(pach-i-hui)**.]

Certain *intransitive* denominal verbstems created by **o-ā** (see § 55.3.1) can form a *single*-object applicative stem on analogy with this formation by inventing a hypothetical **i-hui/a-hui** stem (see § 55.3.2.b, *note 2*):

**(āyacach-o-ā)** = to shake a gourd rattle > **tē-(āyacach-i-l-huiā)** = to shake a gourd rattle for s.o. [< **(āyacach)-tli-**, “gourd rattle”]

If the root of the destockal verbstem ends in /o/, so that the intransitive suffix is only **hui** and the causative one is only **a** (see § 24.7, *note 1*), the applicative **huiā** is added to the root plus /1/:

**tla-(tlap-o-ā)** = to open s.th.; to uncover s.th. > **tē+tla-(tlap-o-l-huiā)** = to open s.th. for s.o. [Cf. **(tlap-o-hui)** in § 24.7, *note 1*.]

**(zaca-mo-ā)** = to clear away weeds, to clear ground for cultivation > **tē-(zaca-mo-l-huiā)** = to clear ground for cultivation for s.o. [The source is a compound stem with **(zaca)-tl-**, “grass/weed,” as the embed and the unattested verbstem **\*tla-(mo-ā)** as the matrix (for compound stems, see § 30.3).]

3. If the causative stem serving as the source has been created by adding **a** to the root of an intransitive “root + **ya**” stem, the applicative suffix **huiā** is added to a replacive stem consisting of the root plus /1/:

**tla-(coco-a)** > to hurt s.th. > **tē+tla-(coco-l-huiā)** = to hurt s.th. belonging to s.o.; to mistreat s.th. belonging to s.o. [Cf. **(coco-ya)**, “to become sick,” in § 54.2.3.]

4. In exceptional instances a verb ending in **o-ā** uses the suffixal unit **liā** instead of **huiā** to form its applicative stem. The **liā** is added to a replacive imperfective stem that lacks the final **a**:

**tla-(tēm-o-ā)** = to seek s.th. > **tē+tla-(tēm-o-liā)** = to seek s.th. for s.o.; to seek information about s.o.

26.10. *Applicative Stems from Intransitive Stems Ending in /o:/*. The same verbstem formation that in § 25.6 adds **huiā** to intransitive stems ending in /o:/ to create causative stems also creates applicative stems. Only context of usage can resolve the resultant ambiguity. Compare the translation values of the following examples with those in § 25.6.

**(temō)** = to descend > **tla-(temō-huiā)** = to descend in relation to s.th.; i.e., to descend s.th. (e.g., mountain, tree, stairs)

**(tlehcō)** = to ascend > **tla-(tlehca-huiā)** = to ascend in relation to s.th.; i.e., to ascend s.th.

**(panō)** = to cross to the other side > **tla-(pana-huiā)** = to go beyond s.th., to exceed/surpass s.th.

26.11. *The Suffixal Unit tiā as an Applicative Formative*. In rare, exceptional instances the suffixal unit **tiā** is used to form an applicative stem. The formation should not be mistaken for a causative.

**tla-(namaca)** = to sell s.th. > **\*(namaqui-lo)** > **tē+tla-(namaqui-l-tiā)** = to sell s.th. to s.o.

**tla-(nequi)** = to want s.th. > **(nec-ō)** > **m-o+tla-(nec-tiā)** = to want/covet s.th. for o.s. [Compare **tē+tla-(nec-tiā)** in § 26.23.]

26.12. *Applicative-1 and Applicative-2 Stems from the Same Source*. The fact that a verb permits the applicative derivation by means of the suffix **iā** (see § 26.2) does not prevent it from deriving an applicative stem by means of **liā**.



**tla-(cōhua)** = to buy s.th. > **tē+tle-(cōhu-iā) ~ tē+tle-(cōhui-liā)** = to buy s.th. for s.o.

It is possible for the two stems to have different meanings, although in the following example the difference seems to result from **tla** fusion in the type-one stem.

**tē-(tle-chihu-iā)** = to bewitch s.o.

**tē+tle-(chihui-liā)** = to do/make s.th. for s.o.

26.13. *Class Membership of the Applicative Stem.* An applicative stem created by either the first type or the second-type stem formation always belongs to verbstem Class C.

26.14. *The Applicative Transformation.* A VNC is transformed into its applicative counterpart by (1) replacing the source stem with an applicative one and (2) importing an applicative object pronoun from outside the source VNC. The last-added applicative object pronoun of an applicative VNC is the mainline object. If there are two objects, the one of the source becomes a shuntline object. If there are three objects, the one of the source becomes a first-level shuntline object and the one surpassing it becomes a second-level shuntline object.

26.15. *The Single-Object Applicative Transform.* When the source is an intransitive VNC, the applicative transform is a single-object VNC:

Intransitive source: **nitlaōcoya** = I am sad

Applicative transform:

- a. **nitētleācolia** = **#ni-θ+tē(tlaōco-lia)θ+θ-θ#** = I am sad in regard to s.o.; i.e., I feel pity for s.o.
- b. **nimitztleācolia** = **#ni-θ+m-itz(tlaōco-lia)θ+θ-θ#** = I feel pity for you
- c. **niotlaōcolia** = **#ni-θ+n-o(tlaōco-lia)θ+θ-θ#** = I feel sad in regard to myself; i.e., I feel self-pity

The intransitive source stem may be the result of **tla** fusion (see § 7.10). The applicative transform, as above, is a single-object VNC, though this may not be apparent:

Intransitive source: **ōnitlahto** = **ō#ni-θ(tla-ht-o-h)θ+θ-θ#** = I spoke

Applicative transform: **ōnimitztlehtalhuh** = **ō#ni-θ+m-itz(tla-ht-a-l-huih)θ+θ-θ#** = I spoke about you

If the stem resulting from **tla** fusion has an adverbial embed (see Lesson 30), the number of objects is obvious (i.e., the fusion of the **tla** is unquestionable):

Intransitive source: **centlahto** = **#θ-θ(cen-tla-ht-o-h)θ+qu-eh#** = they spoke as one  
[The embed (**cen**)-**θ**-, “one in number,” is adverbial here: “as one.”]

Applicative transform: **tēcentlahtalhuh** = **#θ-θ+tē(cen-tla-ht-a-l-huih)θ+qu-eh#** = they spoke together with people; i.e., they conferred with people

26.16. *The Double-Object Applicative Transform.* When the source is a single-object VNC, the applicative transform is a double-object VNC.

1. If there is no incompatibility between the objects, both are overt:

Single-object source: **nitlapāca** = I wash s.th.

Applicative transform:

- a. **nitētlapāquilia** = I wash s.th. for s.o.
- b. **nictlapāquilia** = I wash s.th. for him
- c. **niotlapāquilia** = I wash s.th. for myself

Single-object source: **nicpāca** = I wash it/them

Applicative transform:

- a. **nictēpāquilia** = I wash it/them for s.o.
- b. **nicnopāquilia** = I wash it/them for myself

Single-object source: **quinnāmoya** = he kidnaps them

Applicative transform: **mitzinnāmoyālia** = he kidnaps them from you [Here the incompatibility is only partial; only the *va'* subposition of **qu-in** has become silent, i.e., the pronoun is represented by  $\square$ -in.]

In contrast to transforms that import the reflexive-object pronoun as the mainline applicative object, such as **niotlapāquilia** and **nicnopāquilia**, if the source VNC has a reflexive object, the applicative transform has the shuntline reflexive-object pronoun **ne**:

Single-object source: **ninotlātia** = I hide myself; i.e., I hide

Applicative transform: **nimitznetlātilia** = I hide from you

In rare, exceptional instances, however, this rule is violated. For example, **ninotēnēxtilia** may mean either, unexpectedly, “I reveal myself to s.o.” (derived from **ninonēxtia**, “I reveal myself”) or, expectedly, “I discover s.o. for myself” (derived from **nitēnēxtia**, “I discover s.o.”).

2. Mutual incompatibility of specific projective-object pronouns permits only the mainline applicative object to be overt:

Single-object source: **nicxelo** = I divide it/them

Applicative transform: **nimitzxelhuia** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +m-itx+ $\square$ - $\emptyset$ (xel-huia) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I divide it/them with you

Single-object source: **niquinnāmoya** = I kidnap them

Applicative transform: **niquinnāmoyālia** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +qu-in+ $\square$ - $\square$ (nāmoyā-lia) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I kidnap them from them

As pointed out in § 25.16, a supplementary element may stand in cross-reference to a silently present specific object pronoun.

Principal: **Ōnēhcuīlih.** =  $\emptyset$ # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-ēch+ $\square$ - $\emptyset$ (cui-lih) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = He took it/them from me.

Adjunct: **Nāmox.** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n- $\emptyset$ (āmox) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = It is my book. They are my books.

Transform: **Ōnēhcuīlih nāmox.** = He took my book/books from me. [The subject pronoun  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + . . .) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$  of the adjunct = its head, the direct-object pronoun  $\square$ - $\emptyset$ , in the principal. The supplementary object stands in cross-reference to the silently present object pronoun of the principal.]

Note: See Appendix C.2 for the range of possible double-object pronoun combinations.

26.17. *The Triple-Object Applicative Transform.* When the source VNC is a double-object VNC, the applicative transform has three object pronouns.

1. If there is no incompatibility among the objects, all three are overt:

Double-object source: **tētlapācaltia** = he has s.o. wash s.th.

Applicative transform:

- a. **tētētlapācaltilia** = he has s.o. wash s.th. for s.o.
- b. **nēchtētlapācaltilia** = he has s.o. wash s.th. for me
- c. **motētlapācaltilia** = he has s.o. wash s.th. for himself

Double-object source: **nimitztlapācaltia** = I have you wash s.th.

Applicative transform:

- a. **nimitztētlapācaltilia** = I have you wash s.th. for s.o.
- b. **nimitznotlapācaltilia** = I have you wash s.th. for me

Double-object source: **nictēpācaltia** = I have s.o. wash it/them

Applicative transform:

- a. **nictētēpācaltilia** = I have s.o. wash it/them for s.o.
- b. **nicnotēpācaltilia** = I have s.o. wash it/them for me

2. Mutual incompatibility of specific projective-object pronouns may permit only two objects to be overt:

Double-object source: **mitztlapācaltia** = he has you wash s.th.

Applicative transform: **nēchtlapācaltilia** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-ēch+ $\square$ - $\square$ +tla(pāca-l-ti-lia) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #  
= he has you wash s.th. for me [Because of the incompatibility between the causative object **m-itz** and the applicative object **n-ēch**, the former is represented by its variant  $\square$ - $\square$  because it is a shuntline-object pronoun (the second-level shuntline object). The direct-object pronoun **tla**, the first-level shuntline object, is unaffected.]

Double-object source: **quitēpācaltia** = he has s.o. wash it/them

Applicative transform: **nēchtēpācaltilia** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-ēch+ $\square$ - $\emptyset$ +tē(pāca-l-ti-lia) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #  
= he has s.o. wash it/them for me [Because of the incompatibility between the direct-object pronoun **qui- $\emptyset$**  (which moves from being the shuntline object in the double-object source to the first-level shuntline object in the transform) and the mainline-object pronoun **n-ēch**, the **qui- $\emptyset$**  is represented by its variant  $\square$ - $\emptyset$ . The second-level shuntline object **tē** remains as it was when it was the mainline object of the double-object source.]

Double-object source: **mitzpācaltia** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-itz+ $\square$ - $\emptyset$ (pāca-l-tia) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he has you wash it/them

Applicative transform:

- a. **mitztēpācaltilia** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-itz+ $\square$ - $\emptyset$ +tē(pāca-l-ti-lia) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #  
= he has you wash it/them for s.o.

b. **mitzmopācaltīlia** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-itz+ $\square$ - $\emptyset$ (pāca-l-ti-lia) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he has you wash it/them for himself

3. Mutual incompatibility of specific projective-object pronouns may permit only one object pronoun to be overt:

Double-object source: **mitzpācaltīa** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-itz+ $\square$ - $\emptyset$ (pāca-l-tīa) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he has you wash it/them

Applicative transform: **nēchpācaltīlia** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-ēch+ $\square$ - $\square$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ (pāca-l-tī-līa) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he has you wash it/them for me [Only the mainline projective-object pronoun **n-ēch** can be manifested by sounded morphs; both the second- and first-level shuntline projective-object pronouns are manifested by silent morphs: the **m-itz** of the source has become  $\square$ - $\square$  and the  $\square$ - $\emptyset$  (the silent variant of **qui- $\emptyset$** ) has remained as it was.]

See Appendix C.3 for the range of possible triple-object pronoun combinations.

*Note:* The examples in subsections 2 and 3 above and in § 26.16.2 should make even more evident the already mentioned need to know how many valence positions a given verbstem requires. Without such knowledge one is unable to recognize and translate contrasts such as that between **nicxeloā** (“I divide it/them”) and **nicxelhuīa** (“I divide it/them with him”).

26.18. *Ambiguity in the Applicative Transform.* The problem of ambiguity in multiple-object applicative VNCs is similar to that in causative VNCs (see § 25.13). The presentation in § 26.16 and § 26.17 avoids the problem, because the transforms are shown generated from an identified source. Many of those VNCs, however, might have been generated from a different source, with the consequence that they would have a different meaning. One must, then, be prepared to recognize the alternative source possibilities underlying an applicative VNC.

The problem of ambiguity can be illustrated by examining examples of two situations that are prominently ambiguous: (1) a specific projective-object pronoun followed by **tē+tlā**, and (2) a specific projective-object pronoun followed by a silently present object followed by **tē**. In such sequences one must decide which pronoun is mainline, which is second-level shuntline, and which is first-level shuntline; that is, which pronoun correlates with which part of the verbstem.

1. A VNC such as **tinēchtētlapācaltīlia** has two possible interpretations: (a) “you have s.o. wash s.th. for me” or (b) “you have me wash s.th. for s.o.” The first takes the applicative transform to be related to the underlying VNC **tītētlapācaltīa**, into which **n-ēch** has been imported as mainline (applicative) object under the sponsorship of **liā**. The second takes the applicative transform to be related to the underlying VNC **tinēchtlapācaltīa**, into which **tē** has been imported as mainline (applicative) object under the sponsorship of **liā**.

2. A VNC such as **nēchtēpācaltīlia** has two possible interpretations: (a) “he has s.o. wash it/them for me” or (b) “he has me wash it/them for s.o.” The first takes the applicative transform to be related to the VNC **quitēpācaltīa**, into which **n-ēch** has been imported as mainline (applicative) object under the sponsorship of **liā**. The second takes the applicative transform to be related to the underlying VNC **nēchpācaltīa**, into which **tē** has been imported as mainline (applicative) object under the sponsorship of **liā**.

A study of Appendix C with these examples in mind will help one deal effectively with the problem of ambiguity in applicative VNCs.

26.19. *The Applicative VNC in the Optative and Admonitive Moods.* Applicative VNCs may be used in wish, command/exhortation, and admonition sentences:

Assertion: **Nēhcōhuilia.** = He buys it/them for me.

Wish: **Mā nēhcōhuili.** = If only he would buy it/them for me.

Assertion: **Noconnotlāxilia.** = I cast it off from myself.

Wish: **Mā cuēl yeh noconnotlāxili.** = If only I could quickly cast it off from myself.

Assertion: **Ahtictlamilia.** =  $ah\#ti-\emptyset+c-\emptyset+\square-\emptyset(tlami-lia)\emptyset+\emptyset-\emptyset\#$  = You don't finish it/them for him/her.

Command: **Mā caxictlamili.** =  $ca\#xi-\emptyset+c-\emptyset+\square-\emptyset(tlami-li)\emptyset+\square-\emptyset\#$  = Don't finish it/them for him/her.

Assertion: **Tiquinchīhuiliah.** = We make it/them for them.

Exhortation: **Mā tiquinchīhuilicān.** =  $\#ti-\emptyset+qu-in+\square-\emptyset(chīhui-li)\emptyset+c-ān\#$  = Let's make it/them for them.

Assertion: **Antēchihtlactalhuiah.** = You (pl) are spoiling it that belongs to us. You are spoiling them that belong to us; i.e., You are spoiling ours.

Admonition: **Mā nēn antēchihtlactalhuihtin.** =  $\#an-\emptyset+t-ēch+\square-\emptyset(ihtlac-a-l-huih)\emptyset+t-in\#$  = Beware (pl) of spoiling ours.

26.20. *The Applicative VNC in the Passive and Impersonal Voices.* Applicative VNCs may undergo the passive and impersonal transformations:

Active VNC: **Tēchquiyahuiz.** =  $\#\emptyset-\emptyset+t-ēch(quiy-a-hui)z+\square-\emptyset\#$  = It will rain on us. [ $tē-(quiy-a-hu-iā)$ , a type-one applicative.]

Passive VNC: **Tiquiyahuilōzqueh.** =  $\#ti-\emptyset(quiy-a-hu-i-lō)z+qu-eh\#$  = We shall be rained on.

Active VNC: **Nēchtlacuiliah.** = They take something from me.

Passive VNC: **Nītlacuililo.** = I am being deprived of something. Something is being taken from me.

Active VNC: **Mitzcuilihqueh.** = They took it/them from you.

Passive VNC: **Ticulilōc.** =  $\#ti-\emptyset+\square-\emptyset(cui-li-lō)\emptyset+c-\emptyset\#$  = You were deprived of it/them. It was taken from you. They were taken from you.

Active VNC: **Quimilhuiquixtiliāyah.** = They used to cause a festival day to come out/pass for them; i.e., They used to celebrate/observe a festival day for them. [The verbstem  $tē-(ilhui-quix-ti-liā)$ , “to cause a festival day to come out/pass for s.o.,” is a compound verbstem with the causative object (ilhui)-tl-, “festival day” (the object of the tiā) included inside the verbstem. For compound verbstems of this type, see § 30.2.]

Passive VNC: **Ilhuiquixtililōyah.** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ilhui-quix-ti-li-lō)ya+ $\emptyset$ -h# = They used to be festival celebrated for; i.e., A festival used to be celebrated for them. [English at times has difficulty getting across a literal version of Nahuatl passive-applicative VNCs.]

Active VNC: **Tētlaxelhuiāyah.** = They used to divide things with people.

Impersonal VNC: **Tētlaxelhuilōya.** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tē+**tla**(xel-hui-lō)ya+ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = People used to divide things with people. Things used to be divided with people. Things used to be parceled out to people.

*Note:* As can be seen in the second and third examples above, English frequently cannot directly translate a passive subject pronoun that results from a Nahuatl active applicative VNC's shuntline-object pronoun; for example, it rejects sentences such as "I am taken something from" or "I was bought it for," although it permits "I was given something." If one wants to keep the focus on the passive subject, a different English verb can often be chosen, as in these examples. At times it is best not even to try; for example:

Active VNC: **niquihuiquixtilia** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +qu- $\emptyset$ (ilhui-quix-ti-lia) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I cause a festival day to come to pass for him; i.e., I celebrate a festival day for him

Passive VNC: **ilhuiquixtililo** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ilhui-quix-ti-li-lo) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he is caused a festival day to come to pass for; i.e., a festival day is celebrated for him ~ his festival day is celebrated

26.21. *Alternative Object Pronouns.* Some single-object transitive VNCs have a *direct*-object pronoun that may represent a human entity or a nonhuman one. The English translation may use different verbs.

1. Human *direct*-object pronoun:

**quitlāzah** = they throw him out of office

**nitēnāmoya** = I kidnap s.o.

2. Nonhuman *direct*-object pronoun:

**quitlāzah** = they (i.e., hens) lay them (i.e., eggs)

**nitlanāmoya** = I steal s.th.

Other single-object VNCs, being applicatives, take an *applicative* object pronoun that may represent a human entity or a nonhuman one.

1. Human *applicative*-object pronoun:

**nitēnāhuatia** = I give an order to s.o., I command s.o.

**nitēnānquilia** = I reply to s.o., I answer s.o.

2. Nonhuman *applicative*-object pronoun:

**nitlanāhuatia** = I give orders concerning s.th., I give orders

**nitlanānquilia** = I reply with regard to s.th., I answer s.th. (i.e., a question)

Translation frequently disguises the applicative nature of such VNCs.

*Note:* At times a verbstem that takes a nonhuman direct-object pronoun changes to an applicative translation value (without a change in shape) when associating with a human object pronoun.

**tla**-(**tlāni**) = to win s.th. in a game of chance

**tē**-(**tlāni**) = to win from s.o. in a game of chance

**tla-(nō-nōtza)** = to relate/recount s.th.

**tē-(nō-nōtza)** = to give advice to s.o., to advise/correct/reproach s.o.

Obviously, in dealing with a VNC built on such a stem, if there is a third-person singular/common specific projective-object pronoun, one must ascertain its human or nonhuman nature before translating it.

26.22. *Deceptive VNCs.* At times the surface appearance of a VNC may conceal morpho-syntactical distinctions that need to be dealt with.

For example, the applicative VNC **nēchtlachihuilih** can be translated “he made s.th. for me” because of the analysis  $\# \emptyset - \emptyset + n - \bar{e}ch + tla(chihui - lih) \emptyset + \square - \emptyset \#$ , from the transitive source **tla-(chihua)**, “to make s.th.” This VNC can, however, also be translated “he cast a spell on him/her for me,” which results from the analysis  $\# \emptyset - \emptyset + n - \bar{e}ch + \square - \emptyset (tla - chihu - i - lih) \emptyset + \square - \emptyset \#$ . Or, if the VNC is understood to contain  $\square - \square$  instead of  $\square - \emptyset$ , it can be translated “he cast a spell on you (sg. or pl.) for me.” These *double-object* translations require the source to be the *single-object* applicative stem **tē-(tla-chihu-iā)**, “to cast a spell on s.o.” (see § 26.2 and § 26.12).

One should be constantly awake to the morphosyntactical options.

26.23. *The Unit Formed by the Applicative Suffix and Its Object Pronoun.* As in the case of the causative suffix **a** and the causative object pronoun (see § 24.9), the applicative suffix **iā** (or **l-iā** or **hu-iā**) is so tightly (although discontinuously) bound to the applicative-object pronoun that what has above been described as stem-creation by derivation might, from another perspective, be looked upon as stem creation by composition, with the verbstem **\*tē-(-iā)** [or **\*tla-(-iā)** or **\*m-o-(-iā)**] serving as the matrix of a compound applicative verbstem. The following analysis, using a diagrammatic format, illustrates this point with the VNC **nimitztlacōhuilia**, “I buy s.th. for you.”

1	#ni- $\emptyset$ + . . . + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #	Subject	I
2	+tla(cōhui-	Tr core	} Applic core
3	+m-itiz+ . . . -l-ia)	Applic	
4	) $\emptyset$ +	Tense	} Predicate
			I buy s.th. for you at present

The diagram here is truer to the structure of the resultant applicative core than is that of the structure of the causative VNC diagrammed in § 24.8, since the applicative suffix does not incorporate the source VNC into its scope to function as its object.

From an English speaker’s point of view, the compounding process described here may not “feel” as convincing as that suggested for the causative verbstem in § 24.9, but nonnative “feeling” cannot be a legitimate criterion. Possibly, the native speaker of Nahuatl is conditioned by the structure of the VNC core to experience the applicative and causative constructions as much more similar than their English glosses permit us to imagine. The ease with which the Nahuatl speaker processes triple-object causatives and applicatives in contrast to the mental acrobatics we English speakers must perform in dealing with them should convince us once again of how profoundly foreign the two languages are to one another.

As an index of the apparently small difference between the causative and applicative notions in Nahuatl, consider the fact that certain verbstems can have both causative and applicative meanings:

**tē+*tla*-(*nec-tiā*)** ~ **tē+*tla*-(*nequi-l-tiā*)** = (1) *caus*, to make s.o. want s.th.; (2) *applic*, to want s.th. for s.o.

***tla*-(*temo-huiā*)** = (1) *caus*, to cause s.th. to ascend (see § 25.6); (2) *applic*, to ascend/climb s.th. (see § 26.10)

Or a stem with a causative form can simply have an applicative meaning:

**tē+*tla*-(*namaqui-l-tiā*)** = to sell s.th. to s.o. (see § 26.11)

**tē-** ~ ***tla*-(*hua-hua-l-o-ā*)** = to bark at s.o./s.th. [with *tla* fusion: (***tla-hua-hua-l-o-ā***), “to bark” (see § 27.5.1).]

One must be careful in assessing causatives as applicatives, however, since occasionally translation may give a false impression.

**tē-(*iht-o-ā*)** = to cause s.o. to become uttered; i.e., to cause s.o.’s name to become uttered; *usual translation*, to talk about s.o. [Notice also ***m-□-(iht-o-ā)***, “to volunteer.”]

**tē-(*ihcuil-o-ā*)** = to cause s.o. to become inscribed; i.e., to cause s.o.’s name to become written; *usual translation*, to write to s.o.



## LESSON 27

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# Frequentative Verbstems

27.1. *Frequentative Verbstems.* Nahuatl has special derived verbstems that signify (1) repetition, continuity, or intensity of an action or (2) multiplicity of agents, patients, occasions, or places separately involved in an action, event, process, etc. These frequentative verbstems are derived by means of the addition of a *reduplicative prefix* (see § 14.3). The prefix may have one of three shapes: (1) (consonant) + short vowel + glottal stop; (2) (consonant) + long vowel; (3) (consonant) + short vowel. (The parentheses around the consonant element in these formulas mean that it is optional, depending upon its presence or absence in the initial syllable of the source stem.)

There are several different types of frequentative verbstems.

27.2. *“Ordinary” Frequentative Verbstems.* The most general type of frequentative verbstem consists of merely the addition of a reduplicative prefix in one of the three shapes. There are, however, no strict rules for deciding which of the shapes will cooperate with any particular stem. The following remarks merely outline the possibilities:

1. Reduplicative prefix = (consonant) + short vowel + glottal stop. Generally speaking, this formation signifies intensity, with the implication of multiple, separately executed performances of the action. The emphasis is on singly defined reiteration and thus frequently involves separate individuals, occasions, or places, often connoting a certain abruptness or unevenness in the performance. (Compare the distributive/variety nounstem in § 14.3.)

(pāqui) = to be glad > (pah-pāqui) = to be very glad (on various occasions)

tē-(itt-a) = to see s.o. > tē-(ih-itt-a) = to watch s.o. intently

tla-(tequi) = to cut s.th. > tla-(teh-tequi) = to hack s.th. to pieces

tē+tla-(maca) = to give s.th. to s.o. > tē+tla-(mah-maca) = to give s.th. to each of a number of people, to give a variety of things to s.o.

tē+tla-(tlal-ō-ch-tiā) = to snatch s.th. from s.o. and run away with it > tē+tla-(tlah-tlal-ō-ch-tiā) = to snatch various things from s.o. and run away with them

- tē-(cāhu-a)** = to leave or abandon s.o., to get ahead of s.o. (i.e., to leave s.o. behind) >  
**t-o-(cah-cāhu-a)** = to take leave of one another on numerous occasions; for people  
 on a path to meet one another and pass on  
**(tlap-ā-ni)** = *nonan*, to get broken to pieces > **(tlah-tlap-ā-ni)** = *nonan*, to get shattered  
 to pieces  
**tla-(tzay-ā-n-a)** = to tear s.th. > **tla-(tzah-tzay-ā-n-a)** = to tear s.th. to pieces  
**(hue-tz-ca)** = to laugh > **(hueh-hue-tz-ca)** = to smile [The meaning goes against the  
 pattern.]

At times a frequentative stem has an idiomatic translation:

- tē-(nōtza)** = to call s.o. > **tē-(noh-nōtza)** = to converse with s.o.  
**(nemi)** = to live > **(neh-nemi)** = to walk  
**tla-(nequi)** = to want s.th. > **tla-(neh-nequi)** = to desire s.th. capriciously, to take a fancy  
 to s.th.  
**tē+tla-(pol-huiā)** = to lose s.th. belonging to s.o. > **tē+tla-(poh-pol-huiā)** = to pardon  
 s.o. for s.th.  
**m-o-(chihua)** = to create o.s. > **m-o-(chih-chihua)** = to make o.s. up, to adorn/bedeck  
 o.s.

At times the source stem is no longer extant:

- \***tla-(tzona)** > **tla-(tzoh-tzona)** = to beat s.th. (e.g., a drum) repeatedly  
 \***tla-(pena)** > **tla-(peh-pena)** = to choose/select s.th.

The frequentative stem can undergo **tla-** fusion.

- tla-(neh-nequi)** = to desire s.th. capriciously > **(tla-neh-nequi)** = to be tyrannical

**Tla-**impersonal stems permit two formations: (1) the reduplication can be on the source stem or (2) on the impersonal **tla**, since it is part of the derived stem. (See § 27.3.1.)

- (tla-petl-ā-ni)** = to lightning > **(tla-peh-petl-ā-ni)** = to lightning fitfully  
**(tla-yohua)** = to become night > **(tlah-tla-yohua)** = to become intensely dark

2. Reduplicative prefix = (consonant) + long vowel. Generally speaking, this formation signifies intensity, with the implication of smooth continuity in repeated performance of an action, event, process, etc. The emphasis is on interconnectedness or uniformity, involving a single entity, occasion, or place in related or continuous repetitions or else several entities in similar performances. (Compare the affinity nounstem in § 14.3.)

- (chōca)** = to cry > **(chō-chōca)** = to cry regularly (e.g., an owl in the same place night  
 after night)  
**(hue-tz-ca)** = to laugh > **(huē-hue-tz-ca)** = to laugh heartily  
**tla-(xel-o-ā)** = to divide s.th. > **tla-(xē-xel-o-ā)** = to divide s.th. neatly into many parts  
**tla-(tequi)** = to cut s.th. > **tla-(tē-tequi)** = to slice s.th. up  
**tē-(nōtza)** = to call s.o. > **tē-(nō-nōtza)** = to give s.o. advice

3. Reduplicative prefix = (consonant) + short vowel. This formation is less used than the first two.

**(hue-tz-ca)** = to laugh > **(hue-hue-tz-ca)** = to laugh a lot

**tla-(cuā)** = to eat s.th. > **tla-(cua-cuā)** = to chew s.th.

**tē-(xīc-o-ā)** = to deceive s.o. > **tē-(xī-xīc-o-ā)** = to deceive s.o. repeatedly

The source may not be extant:

**\*tla-(tzona)** > **tla-(tzo-tzona)** = to beat s.th. (e.g., a drum), to drum one's fingers on s.th., to play s.th. (i.e., a musical instrument)

*Note 1:* If the source stem begins with a supportive [i] followed by two consonants, the reduplicative prefix is ordinarily formed on the second consonant and its following vowel. The supportive vowel [i] disappears:

**tla-(ihcuil-o-ā)** = to paint s.th. > **tla-(cui-hcuil-o-ā)** = to paint s.th. with dots, to stipple s.th.

**tē-(ihxili)** = to stab/spear s.o. > **tē-(xi-hxili)** = to stab/spear s.o. repeatedly

**tē-(hcali)** = to fight a skirmish with s.o. > **tē-(ca-hcali)** = to skirmish repeatedly with s.o.

The source stem may no longer be extant:

**\*(ēl-ihc-i-hui)** > **(ēl-ci-hc-i-hui)** = to sigh [This is a compound verbstem, with **(ēl)-li-**, “liver” (i.e., the seat of emotions), serving as adverbial embed; see § 30.5. The reduplication is on the matrix stem.]

There may be exceptional formations in which the supportive [i] of the source stem is treated as if it were real:

**tla-(ihcuil-o-ā)** = to write s.th. > **tla-(ih-ihcuil-o-ā)** = to rewrite s.th. a number of times

*Note 2:* The frequentative formation is recursive; insistent or emphatic repetition may be expressed by multiple reduplication.

**(neh-neh-nemi)** = to walk continually

**(chō-chō-chōca)** = to cry and cry and cry

**tla-(cuah-cua-cuā)** = to chew on s.th. tough

**27.3. Frequentative Verbstems Involving Reduplication of an Object Pronoun.** A subtype of the formation in § 27.2.1 has reduplication of a verb-object pronoun rather than of the initial syllable of the source verbstem. This may occur in two situations.

1. In instances of **tla** fusion (see § 7.10) the nonspecific object pronoun **tla** becomes susceptible to reduplication since it has become an integral part of the resultant intransitive stem; consequently, **tla** can be reduplicated as **tlah-tla** or **tā-tla**.

**tla-(pāca)** = to wash s.th. > **(tla-pāca)** = to do the laundry > **(tlah-tla-pāca)** = to do the laundry in various places

**tla-(mā)** = to hunt s.th. > **(tla-mā)** = to go hunting > **(tlah-tla-mā)** = to fish [The derived stem, like its source, belongs to Class D.]

**tla-(āyi)** = to do s.th. > **(tla-āyi)** = to work > **(tlah-tla-āyi)** = to work frequently

**tla-(iht-o-ā)** = to say s.th. > **(tla-ht-o-ā)** = to speak > **(tlah-tla-ht-o-ā)** = to prate/be loquacious; (for a bird) to warble/trill

**tla-(itt-a)** = to see s.th. > **(tla-tt-a)** = to look > **(tlah-tla-tt-a)** = to watch spectacles, games, sport events

The reduplicated **tla** can be fused to a reduplicated verbstem:

**tla-(cōhua)** = to buy s.th. > **tla-(coh-cōhua)** = to buy a variety of things > **(tla-coh-cōhua)** = to shop for a variety of things > **(tlah-tla-coh-cōhua)** = to shop for a variety of things on numerous occasions

2. The mainline reflexive-object pronoun may undergo partial reduplication (partial because the initial consonant only occurs once); that is, **m-o** becomes **m-oh-o**, **n-o** becomes

**m-oh-o**, and **t-o** becomes **t-oh-o**. This can occur only before verbstems with an initial supportive [i] (which is deleted when preceded by **m-o**, **n-o**, or **t-o**). It is as if the /o/ of the reflexive pronoun has become the initial vowel of the stem and this new initial vowel, rather than the entire pronoun, is reduplicated.

**m-o-(ilpi-ā)** = to gird oneself; to tie oneself up; to be tied up

**molpia** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +**m-o(lpi-a)** $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he girds himself

**moholpiah** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +**m-oh-o(lpi-a)** $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -**h**# = they each gird themselves

**ōninolpīh** =  $\bar{o}$ #**ni- $\emptyset$ +n-o(lpi-h)** $\emptyset$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = I was tied up

**ōninoholpīh** =  $\bar{o}$ #**ni- $\emptyset$ +n-oh-o(lpi-h)** $\emptyset$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = I was tied hand and foot

**m-o+*tla*-(itt-i-liā)** = to consider s.th.

**quimohottilihqueh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +**qui- $\emptyset$ +m-oh-o(tt-i-lih)** $\emptyset$ +**qu-eh**# = they considered it thoroughly

27.4. *Frequentative Verbstems from Destockal Verbstems.* In addition to deriving a frequentative verbstem according to § 27.2, the first kind of destockal verbs (those having the intransitive theme suffixes **ni** and **hui**, with their causative counterparts **n-a** or **ni-ā** and **hu-a**; see § 24.5) permit a special frequentative derivation.

1. Intransitive destockal stems change the theme suffix **ni** (and sometimes the suffix **hui**) to **ca** and add a reduplicative prefix that has a short vowel (as in § 27.2.3). The long vowel that serves as the stock formative is pronounced as a reduced long and is not, therefore, marked with a macron (see § 2.2, *note*).

(**patl-ā-ni**) = to fly > (**pa-patl-a-ca**) = to hover, to flutter

(**chip-ī-ni**) = *nonan*, to drip > (**chi-chip-i-ca**) = to drip continually

(**tlap-ā-ni**) = *nonan*, to break open, to break up > (**tla-tlap-a-ca**) = to shatter to pieces

(**cal-ā-ni**) = to jingle, to rattle > (**ca-cal-a-ca**) = (for jingle bells) to make a repetitive jingling sound; (for pebbles shaken in a clay vessel) to make a repetitive rattling sound

(**chal-ā-ni**) = (for a clay or copper pot or s.th. similar) to crack; (for a voice or an instrument) to be out of tune > (**cha-chal-a-ca**) = to chatter, to clatter

(**pol-ō-ni**) = to mumble, to stutter > (**po-pol-o-ca**) = to stutter badly; to speak one's language badly; to speak a foreign or unintelligible language

A stem formed with this special frequentative often has a slightly different meaning from one formed according to § 27.2.1.

(**te-ī-ni**) = (for a glass or delicate clay object) to shatter

a. (**teh-te-ī-ni**) = (for various such objects) to shatter

b. (**te-te-i-ca**) = (for one or more such objects) to shatter into many pieces

The reduplication can be recursive.

(**cha-cha-chal-a-ca**) = to chatter loudly

These frequentative intransitive destockal verbstems form nonactive stems by changing **ca** to **c-ō** or **c-o-hua**. They are, of course, used only in impersonal voice VNCs.

(**chi-chin-a-c-ō**) ~ (**chi-chin-a-c-o-hua**) = for people in general to suffer affliction [**<** (**chi-chin-a-ca**), “to suffer affliction”]

The frequentative intransitive stems can also be made impersonal by prefixing the impersonal **tla**.

(**tla-cua-cual-a-ca**) = to thunder

(**tla-tzi-tzil-i-ca**) = for there to be a general ringing of bells

The **tla** can receive reduplication for further intensification.

(**tlah-tla-cua-cual-a-ca**) = to thunder rumblingly (or in various places)

Frequentative intransitive destockal verbstems having the theme suffix **ca** belong to Class A: (**pa-patl-a-ca**) > *perf*, (**pa-patl-a-ca**).

2. Frequentative causative destockal verbstems are formed by keeping the causative suffix **a** of **n-a** ~ **ni-ā** ~ **hu-a** and changing the destockal stem formatives **n**, **ni**, and **hu** to **tz**; then, to the stem created by this **tz-a**, one adds a reduplicative prefix that has a short vowel. The long vowel that serves as the stock formative is pronounced as a reduced long and therefore is not marked with a macron.

**tla-(chay-ā-hu-a)** = to spill s.th. (grain) on the ground > **tla-(cha-chay-a-tz-a)** = to scatter s.th. (grain) on the ground

**tla-(chip-ī-ni-ā)** = to sprinkle s.th. (i.e., a liquid) > **tla-(chi-chip-i-tz-a)** = to sprinkle s.th. (i.e., a liquid) profusely; to distill s.th.

**tla-(tlap-ā-n-a)** = to break s.th. to pieces > **tla-(tla-tlap-a-tz-a)** = to shatter s.th. to pieces

**tla-(chit-ō-ni-ā)** = to make chips fly, to make sparks fly > **tla-(chi-chit-o-tz-a)** = to make chips fly thick and fast; to make sparks fly furiously

**tla-(poz-ō-ni-ā)** = to cause s.th. to boil > **tla-(po-poz-o-tz-a)** = to cause s.th. to boil noisily

Frequentative causative destockal verbstems formed with **tz-a** belong to Class B: **tla-(cha-chay-a-tz-a)** > *perf*, **tla-(cha-chay-a-tz)**.

3. At times the original destockal verbstem is no longer used, and only the derived frequentative stems occur:

(**chi-chin-a-ca**) = to be in pain

**tē-(chi-chin-a-tz-a)** = to torment s.o., to cause s.o. pain

(**qui-quin-a-ca**) = (for a pig) to squeal; (for a dog) to growl

**tē-(qui-quin-a-tz-a)** = to growl at s.o. [applicative!]

There are irregular frequentative stem formations based on the destockal stems described in § 24.5.9 (where the root vowel and the stock-formative vowel have become fused). In the frequentative stem this fused vowel remains long.

(**po-pō-ca**) = to emit smoke [**<** \*(**pō-ni**) < \*(**po-ō-ni**)]

**tla-(po-pō-tz-a)** = to make s.th. emit smoke

(**to-tō-ca**) = to run [**<** \*(**tō-ni**) < \*(**to-ō-ni**)]

**tē- ~ tla-(to-tō-tz-a)** = to spur s.o. or s.th. on

**(pi-pī-ca)** = to dribble [ $< *(pī-ni) < *(pī-ī-ni)$ ]

**tla-(pi-pī-tz-a)** = to cause s.th. to dribble

4. At times the **tz-a** suffixal unit (which obviously contains the causative suffix **a**) can have an *applicative* meaning (an example has already been given in subsection 3 above). In these instances the stem is ambiguously a causative or applicative version of the frequentative intransitive stem formed with **ca**. The interpretation one chooses depends on the context (see § 26.23).

**tē-(po-pol-o-tz-a)** = to speak to s.o. in a barbarous tongue

5. The frequentative causative destockal stem creates its applicative stem by changing **tz-a** to **ch-i** and then adding the applicative ending **liā**:

**tla-(co-cot-o-tz-a)** = to cut s.th. up, to cut s.th. to pieces  $>$  **tē+tla-(co-cot-o-ch-i-liā)** = to cut s.th. to pieces for s.o.

**tla-(ca-cal-a-tz-a)** = to cause s.th. to make repetitive rattling sounds  $>$  **tē+tla-(ca-cal-a-ch-i-liā)** = to cause s.th. to make repetitive rattling sounds for s.o.

**tla-(ca-cay-a-tz-a)** = to crumble s.th., to break s.th. into tiny pieces  $>$  **tē+tla-(ca-cay-a-ch-i-liā)** = to break s.th. into tiny pieces for s.o.

**tla-(to-tō-tz-a)** = to make s.th. hurry  $>$  **tē+tla-(to-tō-ch-i-liā)** = to cause s.th. belonging to s.o. to hurry [Molina translates this applicative stem as an intensified causative and ignores the presence of the object pronoun **tla**: “dar mucha priessa a otros” (i.e., “to really hurry people”). He also lists **tē-(tla-to-tō-ch-i-liā)**, as if there were **tla** fusion, with a translation that lacks the intensity of the other one: “acuciar o dar priessa a otros” (i.e., “to urge on or hurry people”). Neither the translations nor the **tla** fusion can be justified.]

6. It is possible, although not frequent, for an frequentative intransitive destockal stem to have a type-two causative stem formation.

**(chi-chin-a-ca)** = to suffer pain  $>$  **tē-(chi-chin-a-qui-l-tiā)** = to cause s.o. pain, to torment/torture s.o.

27.5. *Frequentative Verbstems of Uncertain Derivation.* There are several types of frequentative verbstems the details of whose derivation are not clear. Most of them have meanings having to do with auditory or visual effects. In some the root is obviously onomatopoeic.

1. One type involves the use of the intransitive suffix **ca** that is added to a root with a reduplicative prefix. The resultant stem can have a causative counterpart formed by means of the causative frequentative unit **tz-a** (although, again, it may have an applicative force).

**(cha-chal-ca)** = to speak with a loud angry voice; (for geese) to gaggle [Compare **(cha-chal-a-ca)** in § 27.4.1.]

**(tzi-tzil-ca)** = to shiver (because of coldness)

**(na-na-l-ca)** = (for geese) to gaggle; (for dogs) to growl/snarl; (for pigs) to grunt [There is also an applicative stem: **tla-(na-na-l-tz-a)**, “to bark at s.th.”; compare the stem **(na-na-tz-ca)** under type 2 below.]

**(hua-hua-l-ca)** = (for a boiling liquid) to burble [There is also an applicative stem: **tē- ~ tla-(hua-hua-l-tz-a)**, “(for a dog) to growl at s.o. or s.th.” The **tla** object pronoun is usually fused to the stem, creating the intransitive (**tla-hua-hua-l-tz-a**), “(for a dog) to bark.” See the related applicative (!) stem **tē- ~ tla-(hua-hua-l-o-ā)**, “to bark at s.o. or s.th.,” in § 26.23. Compare another onomatopoeic verbstem, **tla-(co-co-l-o-ā)**, (for a turkey cock) to gobble at s.th.,” which suggests the existence of the intransitive stem **\*(co-co-l-ca)**, “(for a turkey cock) to gobble.”]

This type of verbstem formation may also explain the structure of the following:

**(pa-pach-ca)** = to curdle [This has the causative stem **tla-(pa-pach-tz-a)**, “to cause s.th. to curdle (when cooking it).” Because of the assimilation of /čç/ to [çç] (see § 2.11.2), this stem is traditionally spelled **tla-(papatza)**.]

**(hui-huix-ca)** = to tremble/shiver [There is another frequentative intransitive stem, **(hui-huiy-o-ca)**, with the same meaning from the unattested destockal stem **(huiy-ō-ni)**, as well as a related causative stem, **tla-(hui-huix-o-ā)**, “to shake s.th. (e.g., a tree),” which presupposes the unattested destockal stem **(hui-huix-a-hui)**.]

2. Another type of frequentative intransitive verbstem involves replacing a final syllable with **tz-ca** and then adding a reduplicative prefix:

**(tla-tla)** = to burn, to be on fire > **(tla-tla-tz-ca)** = (for a fire) to flare up, sending up sparks  
**(cui-ca)** = to sing > **(cui-cui-tz-ca)** = (for a bird) to twitter

This type of verbstem formation may also explain the structure of the following:

**(na-na-tz-ca)** = *nonan*, to creak/squeak [Compare **(na-na-l-ca)** under type 1 above.]  
**(pi-pi-tz-ca)** = (for a mouse) to squeak; (for a horse) to whinny; (for a deer) to bark [There is a causative stem formed according to § 25.4: **tē-(pi-pi-tz-qui-l-tiā)**, “to make s.o. scream/shriek.”]  
**(mo-mo-tz-ca)** = (for a broth, etc.) to have a greasy surface; (for grease in a pot) to shine/glisten  
**(pe-pe-tz-ca)** = (for rich feathers, silk, etc.) to have a sheen [Compare **(pe-petl-a-ca)**, “to shine/glitter” < **(petl-ā-ni)**, “to shine/sparkle.” Also compare **(petz-i-hui)**, “to become burnished.”]

*Note:* This **tz-ca** is found on stems without reduplication; for example, **(hue-tz-ca)**, “to laugh.”

Transitive stems with **tz-ca** seem to imply a different formation:

**tla-(pā-tz-ca)** = to squeeze liquid from s.th.; to wring liquid from s.th. [The **(pā)**- is a relic stem meaning “liquid/water,” and occurs in such verbstems as **tla-(pā-tla)**, “to turn s.th. into liquid/water, i.e., “to dissolve s.th.,” and in the nounstem **(pah)-tli-**, “medicine,” in which vowel length has been replaced by a glottal stop.]

27.6. *Frequentative Nonactive Verbstems.* Nonactive verbstems can undergo the frequentative derivation. An impersonal VNC formed on such a stem indicates a multiplicity of *individual* acts within a collective action.

**huihhuilohua** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (huih-hui-lo-hua) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = all separately depart, they each go, people go their separate ways

**ēlcihciōhuaya** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ēl-ci-hc-i-ō-hua)ya+ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = people were sighing

## Compound Verbstems: Verbal Embed

28.1. *Compounding.* Compounding is a transformational process that combines two or more nuclear clauses to form a new nuclear clause; this fusion process downgrades syntactical-level relationships to morphological-level ones.

Three basic combinations are possible, represented in the following formulas:

1. VNC + VNC = compound VNC
2. NNC + VNC = compound VNC
3. NNC + NNC = compound NNC

When more than two nuclear clauses are combined, they always appear in a binary arrangement; for example, formula 3 can be expanded as  $[\text{NNC} + \text{NNC}] + \text{NNC} = \text{NNC}$ , or  $\text{NNC} + [\text{NNC} + \text{NNC}] = \text{NNC}$ , or  $[\text{NNC} + \text{NNC}] + [\text{NNC} + \text{NNC}] = \text{NNC}$ , or  $[\text{NNC} + [\text{NNC} + \text{NNC}]] + \text{NNC} = \text{NNC}$ , etc. As can be seen, the resources of compounding available to Nahuatl are very rich—much richer than those available to English, which eschews such recursiveness.

Just as in the instance of simple nuclear clauses, a stem can be abstracted out from a compound nuclear clause. But this compound stem, like a simple stem, is merely for convenience—useful, for example, for listing a lexical item as an entry in a dictionary. When one is analyzing a compound nuclear clause, it is important to be aware of the transformation process behind the creation of the compound stem. The underlying nuclear clauses that serve as the sources of the compound justify the structure being dealt with, because the constituent predicates are more important than the stems they contain.

28.2. *The Compound Stem.* The stems combined in a compound stem continue to reflect the interrelationships their nuclear clause sources had when these clauses were in a concatenate construction (see § 17.1).

In a *conjunctive compound* the constituent nounstems occupy two *conjunct subpositions*; they stand in a balanced relationship to one another (see § 31.7).

In an *adjunctive compound* the constituent stems are in an unbalanced relationship: a stem in a *matrix subposition* governs a subordinate stem in an *embed subposition*. The filler in the



matrix subposition represents the principal clause of the concatenate source; that in the embed subposition represents the adjunct clause.

1. **Matrix subposition.** In a compound stem the matrix subposition ALWAYS comes after the embed subposition. This is exactly the same internal arrangement found in English compounds (contrast “boathouse,” a kind of house, and “houseboat,” a kind of boat). This rule of embed-before-matrix is absolutely inviolable. Translators, however, have frequently ignored this inviolability and have ineptly reversed embed and matrix, thereby creating at times ludicrous renderings. The problem is complicated by the fact that the Nahuatl-speaking culture’s perspective on the world is often quite different from ours. Not surprisingly, a Nahuatl compound stem frequently chooses as matrix that which English downplays as embed and vice versa. Translation may therefore require an adjustment to capture the English version of the concept being expressed. For this reason one must analyze a Nahuatl compound stem correctly to understand the Nahuatl organization of meaning.

As is obvious from the formulas in § 28.1, the matrix subposition determines the verbal or nominal nature of the compound stem.

If the filler is verbal the matrix subposition is normally occupied by a stem, but in one type of compound verbstem (see § 28.9) a verbcore serves as filler. If there is a nominal filler the matrix subposition is almost always occupied by a stem, but at times a possessive-state predicate (especially if it is a matter of a secondary general-use stem; see § 15.1.5) can serve as filler.

The subject pronoun in the compound nuclear clause is always the one that filled the subject position of the principal clause that was the source for the matrix stem.

2. **Embed subposition.** As can be seen in the compound formulas in § 28.1, the embed subposition of a compound verbstem can come from either an NNC or a VNC, but that of a compound nounstem comes only from an NNC.

When a nuclear clause is incorporated into a compound as an embed, its subject pronoun is deleted (except in very special constructions; see § 42.10). The deleted subject pronoun (whose presence continues to be “felt” in the compound) may or may not share reference with the subject pronoun of the compound nuclear clause.

Depending on the type of compound, the incorporated clause (the embed clause) can be represented by a predicate or a stem. When a VNC is incorporated into a VNC, the incorporated predicate is kept intact; consequently, the valence of the verbstem in the embed subposition determines the valence of the compound verbstem.

The nuclear clause whose stem occupies the embed subposition of a compound stem can perform one of four functions in relation to the stem in the matrix subposition: (1) incorporated object, (2) incorporated possessor, (3) incorporated modifier (adjectival or adverbial), and (4) incorporated complement. It can NEVER function as an incorporated subject; there is no such thing. Subject and predicate are antipodal, mutually exclusive functions, and the embed subposition is part of the predicate of a compound-stemmed nuclear clause. See § 30.18 for further discussion.

Information concerning more specialized instances of embed formation will be given later.

28.3. *Cohesiveness between Embed and Matrix in a Compound Stem.* Depending on the relationship between embed and matrix, a compound stem may be one of two types: (1) linked or (2) integrated.

In *linked* compounding, which is the simpler of the two types, the matrix stands somewhat aloof from the embed. There is something of a compartmentalization of embed and matrix. This compartmentalization can be accomplished either overtly, by means of a connective morph, or covertly, by simple juxtaposition. Stems of the former kind are called “connective-*t* compounds,” those of the latter kind “connectiveless compounds.”

In *integrated* compounding, the matrix takes over, or enslaves, the embed, making it perform some function in its service, so the embed and matrix are intimately interlocked.

Compound stems derived from both the VNC + VNC = VNC and NNC + NNC = NNC formulas may be structured according to either the linked or the integrated stem type. A compound stem formed on the NNC + VNC = VNC formula is restricted to the integrated stem type (see Lesson 30).

Compound nounstems are discussed in Lesson 31. Compound verbstems are discussed in the rest of this lesson and in Lessons 29 and 30.

28.4. *The Compound Verbstem with Verbal Embed.* When the predicate of a VNC is incorporated into a VNC, both the embed and the matrix can have either intransitive or transitive valence. There are, then, four possible combinations in a compound verbstem (ISTEM = intransitive stem; TSTEM = transitive stem):

- |                  |                  |
|------------------|------------------|
| 1. ISTEM + ISTEM | 3. ISTEM + TSTEM |
| 2. TSTEM + ISTEM | 4. TSTEM + TSTEM |

The choice of an intransitive or a transitive stem in the embed subposition is entirely free. The choice of stem in the matrix subposition is extremely limited.

The embed subposition determines the valence of the compound verbstem, but the matrix subposition determines the type (linked or integrated) of the compound verbstem. There are five possible patterns. Four of these are discussed in the remaining paragraphs of this lesson; the fifth is discussed in Lesson 29.

28.5. *The Connective-*t* Compound Verbstem.* Three of the compound verbstem patterns belong overtly to the linked type, since they are formed with the connective morpheme /*t*/. This morpheme has two morphs, [t] and [ti]; the former occurs before vowels, the latter before consonants (the [i] is a supportive vowel). As has been suggested in § 28.3, this connective morpheme always functions as a separator as much as it does as a connector; that is, it keeps the matrix subposition from interfering with the embed subposition, as if everything in front of it belonged to one nuclear clause and everything after it belonged to another. This is not what happens, however, since (as has been remarked) the *pers*<sup>1</sup>-*pers*<sup>2</sup> dyad of the compound-stemmed VNC belongs to the matrix subposition while that originally belonging to the VNC serving as the source of the filler of the embed subposition has been deleted.

The three compound verbstem patterns involving the connective **t** are: (1) the intransitive-matrix compound, (2) the intransitivized-reflexive-matrix compound, and (3) the shared-object compound. In all of these connective-**t** compounds, the verbal predicate serving as *embed* is in the *preterit tense* (i.e., there is ALWAYS a perfective stem followed by the  $\emptyset$  preterit-tense morph directly in front of the connective **t**). There is, therefore, an implied difference in the time of the occurrence of the actions reported by the two stems, with the action, process, etc., of the incorporated VNC understood as having begun before that of the matrix VNC, while the latter indicates the continuance of the action, etc., of the embed in a certain stance. This can be easily seen in a VNC such as **nitzahtzitéhua**, **#ni- $\emptyset$ (tzahtzi- $\emptyset$ -t-ē-hua) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #**, “I depart after having shouted,” i.e., “I have shouted and now leave” (or “I depart after having begun to shout,” i.e., “I leave shouting”). Here the embed is generated from the preterit-tense VNC **nitzahtzic**, “I shouted,” and the matrix from the present-tense VNC **nēhua**, “I depart, I leave.”

*Note:* When dealing with VNC + VNC compound formations, some grammarians have called the embed the “main verb” and the matrix the “auxiliary verb.” Nothing but confusion is gained by foisting off onto Nahuatl a grammatical structure that is alien to it and a terminology that falsifies morphosyntactical relationships. To speak of “auxiliary verbs” in Nahuatl is to succumb to translational mirage. As has been pointed out (see § 1.13), translation cannot serve as a basis for grammatical description.

**28.6. The Intransitive-Matrix Compound Verbstem.** When a connective-**t** compound verbstem has an intransitive matrix, this matrix is frequently translated into English as either (1) an auxiliary verb of a progressive-tense construction or (2) an adverb. Both of these translations reverse the weight of the constituents of the Nahuatl compound stem, in which the incorporated verbal predicate stands in a subordinate relation to the matrix predicate (so it is the embed, not the matrix, that functions adverbially).

The incorporated predicate can be built on either an active or a nonactive stem (see § 28.7.6–7 for the latter usage).

In the intransitive-matrix compound stem, the matrix subposition is filled by a small number of intransitive verbstems. The following are those that occur most frequently. Notice that at times a stem may have an unexpected translation value when serving as the filler of the matrix subposition.

1. **(ca-h)** = to be in the act of (doing s.th.). Traditional spelling rarely represents the /y/ of the variant stem (**ye**) after the connective **t** (which here has the shape **ti**), since it is not audible.

Principal: **Cateh.** = They are. [source of the matrix stem]

Adjunct: **Tlacuahqueh.** = They have begun to eat. [source of the embed stem]

Transform: **Tlacuahticateh.** = **# $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tla(cuah- $\emptyset$ -ti-ca-t) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ -eh#** = They have started eating and are still engaged in the act; i.e., They are (in the act of) eating.

The process may be abstractly represented in terms of a compound verbstem.

**(cuīca- $\emptyset$ -ti-ca-h)** = to be (in the act of) singing

**Mā cuēl eh cuīcatiye.** = If only she were (in the act of) singing. [Nonpast optative

VNC: **# $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +(cuīca- $\emptyset$ -ti-ye) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ #.]**

**(coh-coch- $\emptyset$ -ti-ca-h)** = to doze, to nod dozing [Reduplication for repetition.]

**Ticochocticatca.** = You were dozing. [Distant-past-as-past indicative VNC: #ti- $\emptyset$ (coh-coch- $\emptyset$ -ti-ca-t)ca+ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #.]

(cop- $\emptyset$ -ti-ca-h) = to be blinking; to be with one's eyes closed

**Mā zan ticoptiyeh.** = Beware of being with your eyes closed; i.e., Beware of going to sleep. [Admonitive VNC: #ti- $\emptyset$ (cop- $\emptyset$ -ti-ye)h+ $\square$ - $\emptyset$ #. This admonition can also be expressed as **Mā zan ticochtiyeh.**]

tla-(chiuh- $\emptyset$ -ti-ca-h) = to be (in the act of) making s.th.

**Mā nēn ticchiuhtiyeh.** = Beware of being engaged in making it. [Admonitive VNC: #ti- $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ (chiuh- $\emptyset$ -ti-ye)h+ $\square$ - $\emptyset$ #.]

When used as the embed of a compound with (ca-h) as matrix, the verbstem (**ē-hua**), “to rise/depart; (for a bird) to lift off in flight” (see § 24.6), has the idiomatic meaning of “to sit, to be at one's ease.”

(ē-hua- $\emptyset$ -ti-ca-h) = to be sitting, to be seated; to be taking one's ease

**Zan tēhuaticah.** = You don't do anything but sit around. [Preterit-as-present indicative VNC: #t- $\emptyset$ (ē-hua- $\emptyset$ -ti-ca-h) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ #.]

2. (**nemi**) = to go along (doing s.th.); to spend the time (doing s.th.); to continue (doing s.th.):

(cual-ā-n- $\emptyset$ -ti-nemi) = to go along being angry

**Ōnicualāntinen.** = I went along in an angry mood. [Preterit indicative VNC:  $\emptyset$ #ni- $\emptyset$ (cual-ā-n- $\emptyset$ -ti-nen) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ #.]

tē-(huīca- $\emptyset$ -ti-nemi) = to go along accompanying s.o.

**Cuix tiquinhuīcatinemizqueh?** = Shall we go along accompanying them? [Future indicative VNC: #ti- $\emptyset$ +qu-in(huīca- $\emptyset$ -ti-nemi)z+qu-eh#.]

3. (**ya-uh**) = to go away (doing s.th.), to go (doing s.th.). In a present indicative VNC with a singular subject, the stem (**ya-uh**) is replaced by the stem (**uh**) (see § 11.5.2, note). In traditional texts, the /y/ of the stem (**yā**) is not spelled after the connective **ti**.

(cuīca- $\emptyset$ -ti-uh) = to go away singing

**Nicuīcatiuh.** = I go away singing. [Present indicative VNC: #ni- $\emptyset$ (cuīca- $\emptyset$ -ti-uh) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #.]

**Ticuīcatiuhuih.** = We go away singing. [Present indicative VNC: #ti- $\emptyset$ (cuīca- $\emptyset$ -ti-hui) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -h#.]

tla-(pōuh- $\emptyset$ -ti-uh) = to go away counting s.th.

**Ōtlapōuhtiyah.** = He went away counting things. [Preterit indicative VNC:  $\emptyset$ # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tla(pōuh- $\emptyset$ -ti-yah) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ #.]

Another possible translation for a compound stem built on this matrix is “to (do s.th.) and leave,” “to (do s.th.) and go away.”

tla-(man- $\emptyset$ -ti-uh) = to set s.th. down and go away

**Nicmantiyāz.** = I shall set it down and go away. [Future indicative VNC: #ni- $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ (man- $\emptyset$ -ti-yā)z+ $\square$ - $\emptyset$ #.]

*Note 1:* When the matrix verbstem has the shape (yā), the sequence **ti-yā** has the option of appearing in the syn-copated form **t-ā**.

**tla-(cuah-θ-t-ā)** = to eat before going; to go along eating

**Nitlacuahtāz.** = I shall eat before going. I shall go along eating [Future indicative VNC: #ni-θ+tla(cuah-θ-t-ā)z+□-θ#.]

**Ōhuāllacuahtah** = He ate before coming. He came along eating. [Preterit indicative VNC: ō#θ-θ+huāl+la(cuah-θ-t-ah)θ+□-θ#.]

**(tla-cal-ā-n-θ-t-ā)** = *impers.*, (for the weather) to remain clear (after a storm) [< (**tla-cal-ā-ni**), *impers.*, “(for the weather) to clear up”]

**Ōtlacalāntah.** = The weather has remained clear (after the storm). [Preterit indicative VNC: ō#θ-θ(tla-cal-ā-n-θ-t-ah)θ+□-θ#.]

*Note 2:* In texts with a traditional spelling, a preterit-tense connective-**t** VNC with a second- or third-person *singular* subject pronoun may be confused with a present-tense causative VNC with a first- or third-person *plural* subject pronoun. The ending spelled **tia** in such texts may represent either /tiyah/, . . . **-ti-yah**θ+□-θ# (i.e., a preterit-tense connective-**t** situation) or /tiah/, . . . **-tia**θ+θ-**h**# (i.e., a present-tense causative situation). Only a firm knowledge of the formation of connective-**t** and causative VNCs enables one to recognize the overt distinctions usually present elsewhere in the spelling of such forms. Thus, **mauhtia** is a connective-**t** VNC (i.e., **mauhtiyah**, “he went being afraid”) and **temauhtia** is a causative VNC (i.e., **tēmauhtiah**, “they frighten people”; but it is also possibly **tēmauhtia**, i.e., with a singular subject pronoun, “he frightens people”). There are occasional instances when no overt distinctions are present in the traditionally spelled form:

Connective-**t** VNC: **quiquentia** = **quiquēntiyah** = #θ-θ+qui-θ(quēn-θ-ti-yah)θ+□-θ# = he went wearing it

Causative VNC: **quiquentia** = **quiquēntiah** = #θ-θ+qui-θ+□-θ(quēn-tia)θ+θ-**h**# = they have him wear it [The traditional spelling can also represent a causative VNC with a singular subject pronoun: **quiquēntia** = #ti-θ+qui-θ+□-θ(quēn-tia)θ+θ-θ# = he has him wear it.]

Similarly, an imperfect-indicative VNC spelled with a final **tiaya** in traditional texts may represent either an imperfect-tense connective-**t** VNC ending in /tiya:ya/ (with a singular subject pronoun) or /tiya:yah/ (with a plural subject pronoun) or an imperfect-tense causative VNC ending in /tia:ya/ (with a singular subject pronoun) or /tia:yah/ (with a plural subject pronoun). All three persons of the subject are involved. Only occasionally, however, are differentiating factors lacking, as in:

Connective-**t** VNC: **nicnectiaya** = **nicnectiyāya** = #ni-θ+c-θ(nec-θ-ti-yā)ya+θ-θ# = I used to go wanting it/them

Causative VNC: **nicnectiaya** = **nicnectiāya** = #ni-θ+c-θ+□-θ(nec-tiā)ya+θ-θ# = I used to cause him to want it/them

A similar possible confusion exists in customary-present indicative and past-optative VNCs with a singular or plural subject pronoun. The traditionally-spelled ending **tiani** may represent the connective-**t** /tiya:ni/ and /tiya:nih/ or the causative /tia:ni/ and /tia:nih/.

4. **(huāl-la-uh)** = to come (doing s.th.). The directional prefix is kept as part of the matrix; contrast this formation with that of **(on-o)** below:

**(tzahtzi-θ-ti-huāl-la-uh)** = to come along shouting

**Tzachtzitihuāllah.** = He came along shouting. [Preterit indicative VNC: #θ-θ(tzachtzi-θ-ti-huāl-lah)θ+□-θ#.]

**tla-(māmah-θ-ti-huāl-la-uh)** = to come along carrying s.th. on one’s back

**Mā xicmāmahtihuālhuiān.** = Come (pl) along carrying it (on your backs). [Nonpast optative VNC: #xi-θ+c-θ(māmah-θ-ti-huāl-hui)θ+□-ān#.]

5. **(hui-tz)** = to come (doing s.th.):

**(cual-ā-n-θ-ti-huī-tz)** = to come being angry, to come angrily

**Ōcualāntihuītz.** = He came angrily. [Distant-past-as-past indicative VNC: ō#θ-θ(cual-ā-n-θ-ti-huī-tz)a+θ-θ#.]

**tla-(cuah-θ-ti-huī-tz)** = to come eating s.th.

**Tlacuahtihuītzeh.** = They come eating. [Preterit-as-present indicative VNC: # $\theta$ - $\theta$ +tla(cuah- $\theta$ -ti-huī-tz) $\theta$ +[-eh#].]

Two verbs, **tla-(huīca)**, “to carry s.th.,” and **tla-(itqui)**, “to carry s.th.,” cannot occur in the embed subposition when (**huī-tz**) is the matrix stem of a connective-**t** compound. Instead, they use an old formation in which the perfective stem (**itz**) occurs as the matrix (without a connective morph); i.e., they use the same (obsolete) compound formation as (**huī-tz**) itself. VNCs built on these stems have the same tense formation as those built on (**huī-tz**) (see § 11.4.5):

**tla-(huīca-tz)** = to come carrying s.th.

**Tlahuīcatzeh.** = They come carrying things. [Preterit-as-present indicative VNC: # $\theta$ - $\theta$ +tla(huīca-tz) $\theta$ +[-eh#].]

**tla-(itqui-tz)** = to go carrying s.th.

**Ōnitlatquitza.** = I went carrying things. [Distant-past-as-past VNC:  $\bar{o}$ #ni- $\theta$ +tla(tqui-tz)a+ $\theta$ - $\theta$ #.]

6. (**ahci**) = to arrive (doing s.th.) [see also § 28.7.5.]:

(**tlaōco-x- $\theta$ -t-ahci**) = to arrive feeling sad

**Ōnitlaōcoxtahcic.** = I arrived feeling sad. [Preterit indicative VNC:  $\bar{o}$ #ni- $\theta$ (tlaōco-x- $\theta$ -t-ahci) $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ #.]

**tla-(māmāh- $\theta$ -t-ahci)** = to arrive carrying s.th. on the back

**Ticmāmāhtahciz.** = You will arrive carrying it. [Future indicative VNC: #ti- $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ (māmāh- $\theta$ -t-ahci)z+[- $\theta$ #].]

7. (**mani**) = to go along (happening), (to happen) all around over an area, to extend around over an area (in a certain state); (for a group) to stand (doing s.th.):

(**tēn- $\theta$ -ti-mani**) = to stand having become full, to be full

**Ōtēntimanca.** = It was full. [Distant-past-as-past VNC:  $\bar{o}$ # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (tēn- $\theta$ -ti-man)ca+ $\theta$ - $\theta$ #.]

(**tla-chix- $\theta$ -ti-mani**) = to be standing (as a group) looking

**Tlachixtimanih.** = They are standing looking. [Present indicative VNC: # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (tla-chix- $\theta$ -ti-mani) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h#.]

8. (**ihca**) = to stand (doing s.th. or being in a certain state):

**m-o-(quetz- $\theta$ -t-ihca)** = to stand after having stood up, i.e., to be standing

**Ye ninoquetztihcac.** = I am already standing. [Preterit-as-present tense VNC: #ni- $\theta$ +n-o(quetz- $\theta$ -t-ihca) $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ #.]

(**chōca- $\theta$ -t-ihca**) = to stand crying

**Ōtichōcatihcacah.** = We had stood crying. [Distant-past-as-past tense VNC:  $\bar{o}$ #ti- $\theta$ (chōca- $\theta$ -t-ihca)ca+ $\theta$ -h#.]

9. (**o**) = to lie stretched out (doing s.th. or in a certain state). The locative prefix **on**, which is ordinarily attached to this stem (see § 8.1), is not used when the verb occurs as the matrix of a connective-**t** compound.

(**tlap-ā-n-θ-t-o**) = to lie after having become broken, i.e., to lie broken

**Zan tlapāntoc.** = It just lies broken. [Preterit-as-present tense VNC: #θ-θ(**tlap-ā-n-θ-t-o**)θ+c-θ#.]

**m-o-(tlāz-θ-t-o)** = to be recumbent after having thrown oneself down, i.e., to be recumbent

**Titotlāztoqueh.** = We are recumbent. [Preterit-as-present tense VNC: #ti-θ+t-o(**tlāz-θ-t-o**)θ+qu-eh#.]

10. (**ē-hua**) = to move or start into (an action), to begin (to do s.th.); (to do s.th.) quickly. When functioning as the matrix of a compound stem, (**ē-hua**) may have either a Class A or a Class B perfective stem: (**ē-hua**) ~ (**ēuh**).

**m-□(ē-uh-θ-t-ē-hua)** = to get up quickly from a bed

**Ōninēuhtēhuac.** = I got up quickly. [Preterit indicative VNC: ō#ni-θ+n-□(ē-uh-θ-t-ē-hua)θ+c-θ#.]

**tla-(cāuh-θ-t-ē-hua)** = to leave s.th. and go away

**Ticcāuhtēhuazqueh.** = We shall leave it and depart. [Future indicative VNC: #ti-θ+c-θ(cāuh-θ-t-ē-hua)z+qu-eh#.]

(**cual-ā-n-θ-t-ē-hua**) = to get up and go away angrily

**Ōcualāntēuh.** = He got up and went away angrily. [Preterit indicative VNC: ō#θ-θ(cual-ā-n-θ-t-ē-uh)θ+□-θ#.]

11. (**quīza**) = (to do s.th.) quickly, (to do s.th.) abruptly [The connotation of speed inherent in “to exit” is exploited: “to burst forth/erupt.”]:

(**quīz-θ-ti-quīza**) = to leave abruptly

**Ōniquīztiquīz.** = I left abruptly. [Preterit indicative VNC: ō#ni-θ(quīz-θ-ti-quīz)θ+□-θ#.]

**tla-(cui-θ-ti-quīza)** = to snatch s.th.

**Quicuitiquīzaz.** = He will snatch it/them. [Future indicative VNC: #θ-θ+qui-θ(cui-θ-ti-quīza)z+□-θ#.]

12. (**huetzi**) = (to do s.th.) quickly, (to do s.th.) abruptly [The connotation of speed inherent in “to fall” is exploited: “to plunge/plummet.”]:

(**huetz-θ-ti-huetzi**) = to fall abruptly

**Ōhuetztihuetzqueh.** = They fell abruptly. [Preterit indicative VNC: ō#θ-θ(huetz-θ-ti-huetz)θ+qu-eh#.]

**tla-(cui-θ-ti-huetzi)** = to snatch s.th.

**Niccuitihuetziz.** = I shall snatch it/them. [Future indicative VNC: #ni-θ+c-θ(cui-θ-ti-huetzi)z+□-θ#.]

The matrix stem (**huetzi**) can also have its basic meaning “to fall”:

(**mic-θ-ti-huetzi**) = (1) to die and fall; (2) to fall and die, to die from a fall [The order of events has been reversed; compare § 28.7.5.]; (3) to die suddenly [Compare English “to drop dead.”]

**Ōmictihuetz.** = He died and fell. He fell to his death. He died suddenly. [Preterit indicative VNC:  $\bar{o}\#o\text{-}\theta(\text{mic-}\theta\text{-ti-huetz})\theta+\square\text{-}\theta\#.$ ]

13. **(tlehcō)** = to ascend:

**m-o-(tlal-o-h-θ-ti-tlehcō)** = to climb up at a run

**Motlalohtitlehco.** = He climbs up at a run. [Present indicative VNC:  $\#o\text{-}\theta+m\text{-}o(\text{tlal-o-h-}\theta\text{-ti-tlehcō})\theta+\theta\text{-}\theta\#.$ ]

14. **(cal-aqui)** = to house-enter; i.e., to enter [This is a compound verbstem formed according to § 30.8.]:

**m-o-(tlal-o-h-θ-ti-cal-aqui)** = to enter at a run, to enter swiftly

**Ōtitotalohticalacqueh.** = We entered swiftly. [Preterit indicative VNC:  $\bar{o}\#ti\text{-}\theta+t\text{-}o(\text{tlal-o-h-}\theta\text{-ti-cal-ac})\theta+qu\text{-}eh\#.$ ]

15. **(pil-ca)** = to hang, to be suspended:

**(coch-θ-ti-pil-ca)** = to sleep with one's head hanging down

**Cochtipilcaca.** = He was sleeping with his head hanging down. [Distant-past-as-past VNC:  $\#o\text{-}\theta(\text{coch-}\theta\text{-ti-pil-ca})ca+\theta\text{-}\theta\#.$ ]

28.7. *Special Formations.* The following special formations are to be noted.

1. The verb **(ca-h)**, when occurring as the embed of a connective-**t** compound stem, uses the perfective stem **(ye)** (see § 11.5.1) to form the preterit predicate that serves as embed. This is an unexpected formation, since it is the stem **(ca-h)** that regularly associates with the preterit-tense morph (but resulting in a preterit-as-present tense VNC).

**(ye-θ-ti-ca-h)** = to be (in the act of) being

**Ōtiyeticatca.** = You were getting along fine. [Distant-past-as-past tense VNC:  $\bar{o}\#ti\text{-}\theta(\text{ye-}\theta\text{-ti-ca-t})ca+\theta\text{-}\theta\#.$  Traditionally spelled **Otiyeticatca.**]

**(ye-θ-ti-uh)** = to go away being

**Ōniyetyah.** = I went along. [Preterit-tense VNC:  $\bar{o}\#ni\text{-}\theta(\text{ye-}\theta\text{-ti-yah})\theta+\square\text{-}\theta\#.$  Traditionally spelled **Onietia.**]

2. The verb **(ya-uh)** uses a preterit predicate formed on **(yah)** when occupying the embed subposition of a connective-**t** compound. This is a regular formation.

**(yah-θ-ti-ca-h)** = to be (in the act of) going

**Tiyahticateh.** = We are going. [Preterit-as-present tense VNC:  $\#ti\text{-}\theta(\text{yah-}\theta\text{-ti-ca-t})\theta+\square\text{-}eh\#.$  Traditionally spelled **Tiaticate.**]

**(yā-yah-θ-ti-nemi)** = to stroll along, to go for a walk [Reduplicative prefix for smoothly continuous action.]

**Mā tiyāyahtinemicān.** = Let's go for a stroll. [Nonpast optative VNC:  $\#ti\text{-}\theta(\text{yā-yah-}\theta\text{-ti-nemi})\theta+c\text{-}\bar{a}n\#.$  Traditionally spelled **tiyatinemican.**]

3. The intransitive perfective stem **(cac)** appears in a preterit predicate functioning as the embed of a connective-**t** compound, which is this verb's only use. It has the meaning of "to be



quiet,” “to be calm,” “to be alone,” “to be deserted.” A subject pronoun on a VNC containing it can refer only to nonanimate entities.

(**cac- $\theta$ -t-ihca**) = *nonan*, to stand abandoned (said of a building)

**Cactihcac.** = It stands abandoned. They stand abandoned.

(**cac- $\theta$ -t-o**) = *nonan*, to lie silent (said of a building, the countryside, etc.)

**Cactoc in calli.** = The house lies silent. The houses lie silent.

(**cac- $\theta$ -ti-huetzi**) = *nonan*, to fall silent; to be empty; *impers*, to become fair weather (after a storm)

**Ōcactihuetz.** = It became fair weather.

**Cahcactihuetz in calli.** = The houses each fell vacant. [Reduplication for distributive location of subject entities.]

4. As already mentioned in § 26.1, the verbstem **tē- ~ tla-(itt-a)**, “to be observant/alert in relation to s.o. or s.th.,” i.e., “to see s.o. or s.th.,” cannot appear as the embed in a connective-t compound stem. The [t] reverts to its original /tʰ/ (see § 26.1); that is, the perfective stem **tē- ~ tla-(itz)** is used instead.

**tē-(itz- $\theta$ -t-o)** = to sit/remain looking at s.o.

**Quimonitztoqueh.** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ +qu-im+on(itz- $\theta$ -t-o) $\theta$ +qu-eh# = They remain looking at them.

**tla-(itz- $\theta$ -ti-uh)** = to go seeing s.th.

**Mochi quitztihuih.** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ +qu- $\theta$ (itz- $\theta$ -ti-hui) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h# = They go seeing everything.

One also finds the perfective stem of the intransitive source (**itz**), “to be observant/alert, to look,” occupying the embed subposition in a connective-t compound.

(**itz- $\theta$ -ti-mani**) = (for a group of people) to stand looking

**Ōitztimancah.** =  $\bar{o}$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ (itz- $\theta$ -ti-man)ca+ $\theta$ -h# = They stood looking.

(**itz- $\theta$ -ti-uh**) = to go looking

**Nōhuiyān nonitztiyāz.** = #n- $\theta$ +on(itz- $\theta$ -ti-yā)z+ $\square$ - $\theta$ # = I shall go looking everywhere. I shall examine (things) carefully. [For **nōhuiyān**, see § 46.4.1, note.]

(**itz- $\theta$ -ti-ca-h**) = to be looking; to be awake

**Ōnitzticatca.** =  $\bar{o}$ #n- $\theta$ (itz- $\theta$ -ti-ca-t)ca+ $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I was awake

*Note:* One should not confuse the intransitive embed stem (**itz**), “to look,” with the homophonous intransitive stem (**itz**), “to come/go” (see § 11.4.5), when used as the embed of a connective-t compound.

(**itz- $\theta$ -ti-uh**) = to go going; i.e., to go along

**Cān titztiuh?** = #t- $\theta$ (itz- $\theta$ -ti-uh) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = Where are you going? [For **cān**, see § 46.3.2.]

(**itz- $\theta$ -t-ē hua**) = to get up and go away [See *hysteron proteron* in subsection 5 below.]

**Ōtitztiēhqueh.** =  $\bar{o}$ #t- $\theta$ (itz- $\theta$ -t-ē-uh) $\theta$ +qu-eh# = We got up and left.

5. Occasionally, the relative order of events represented by the embed and the matrix is the reverse of that indicated in § 28.3. The result is a Nahuatl version of the rhetorical figure *hysteron proteron*, in which the temporal order of events is reversed (cf. Virgil, “Let us die and rush into battle”).

(**tlap-ā-n- $\theta$ -ti-huetzi**) = to fall and break [The action of breaking occurs after that of falling. Notice also the (**huetzi**) has its normal translation value (see § 28.6.12).]

**Ōtlapāntihuetz.** =  $\bar{o}\#\theta\text{-}\theta(\text{tlap-}\bar{a}\text{-n-}\theta\text{-ti-huetz})\theta+\square\text{-}\theta\#$  = It fell and broke.

The stem (**ahci**) in the matrix subposition frequently permits this reversal of the sequence of events:

(**tequi-ti- $\theta$ -t-ahci**) = to work upon arriving, to arrive and start working

**Ōnitequititahcic.** =  $\bar{o}\#\text{ni-}\theta(\text{tequi-ti-}\theta\text{-t-ahci})\theta+\text{c-}\theta\#$  = I set to work when I arrived.

**tla-(cuah- $\theta$ -t-ahci)** = to eat s.th. upon arriving

**Titlacuahtahcizqueh.** =  $\#\text{ti-}\theta+\text{tla}(\text{cuah-}\theta\text{-t-ahci})\text{z}+\text{qu-eh}\#$  = We shall eat upon arriving.

6. Connective-**t** compound stems may have two *passive* formations. Either the embed subposition or both it and the matrix subposition may be filled with a nonactive stem.

**huicōtinemi** =  $\#\theta\text{-}\theta(\text{huic-}\bar{o}\text{-}\theta\text{-ti-nemi})\theta+\theta\text{-}\theta\#$  ~ **huicōtinemohua** =  $\#\theta\text{-}\theta(\text{huic-}\bar{o}\text{-}\theta\text{-ti-nem-o-hua})\theta+\theta\text{-}\theta\#$  [This has the variant formation **huicōtinemo** =  $\#\theta\text{-}\theta(\text{huic-}\bar{o}\text{-}\theta\text{-ti-nem-o})\theta+\theta\text{-}\theta\#$ .] = he goes along being accompanied

**tocōtinemih** =  $\#\theta\text{-}\theta(\text{toc-}\bar{o}\text{-}\theta\text{-ti-nemi})\theta+\theta\text{-h}\#$  = they go along being followed

**ōnicāhualōtiquizca** =  $\bar{o}\#\text{ni-}\theta(\text{cāhua-l}\bar{o}\text{-}\theta\text{-ti-quiz})\text{ca}+\theta\text{-}\theta\#$  = I had been abruptly abandoned

7. Connective-**t** compound stems may have three *impersonal* formations. The embed, the matrix, or both may be impersonalized. The following three VNCs are translated “people arrive and eat”:

**tlacuahtahxihua** =  $\#\theta\text{-}\theta+\text{tla}(\text{cuah-}\theta\text{-t-ahxī-hua})\theta+\theta\text{-}\theta\#$

**tlacualōtahci** =  $\#\theta\text{-}\theta+\text{tla}(\text{cua-l}\bar{o}\text{-}\theta\text{-t-ahci})\theta+\theta\text{-}\theta\#$

**tlacualōtahxihua** =  $\#\theta\text{-}\theta+\text{tla}(\text{cua-l}\bar{o}\text{-}\theta\text{-t-ahxī-hua})\theta+\theta\text{-}\theta\#$

If the matrix stem is a stative verb, however, the impersonalization tends to appear only in the embed:

**tlacualōtimani** =  $\#\theta\text{-}\theta+\text{tla}(\text{cua-l}\bar{o}\text{-}\theta\text{-ti-mani})\theta+\theta\text{-}\theta\#$  = all are standing eating

**huāllachiyelōtoc** =  $\#\theta\text{-}\theta+\text{huāl}(\text{la-chiye-l}\bar{o}\text{-}\theta\text{-t-o})\theta+\text{c-}\theta\#$  = people remain on the lookout

**huilōhuatihcac** =  $\#\theta\text{-}\theta(\text{huī-l}\bar{o}\text{-hua-}\theta\text{-t-ih-ca})\theta+\text{c-}\theta\#$  = people stand going, people continue to go

But even here both stems can be impersonalized:

**huilohuatimanohua** =  $\#\theta\text{-}\theta(\text{huī-lo-hua-}\theta\text{-ti-man-o-hua})\theta+\theta\text{-}\theta\#$  = people stand en masse going, people continue going en masse

In the impersonal **tla** formation (see § 22.6), the **tla** must appear on the embed:

**tlanēztimani** =  $\#\theta\text{-}\theta(\text{tla-nēz-}\theta\text{-ti-mani})\theta+\theta\text{-}\theta\#$  = it (the weather) is bright and clear

**tlayamānixtoc** =  $\#\theta\text{-}\theta(\text{tla-yam-}\bar{a}\text{-ni-x-}\theta\text{-t-o})\theta+\text{c-}\theta\#$  = it (the weather) is serene and temperate

28.8. *The Idiom of “Accompanying Possession.”* To express the notion of having something in one’s personal possession at a given time, one uses a possessive-state NNC whose stem signifies an implement, a utensil, clothing, food, etc., adjoined as a supplementary subject to a

VNC formed on a connective-*t* compound stem whose embed is the preterit predicate (**ye**) $\emptyset$ + (see § 28.7.1). English translates the construction as “to have s.th. along with one (*or on one*).” (See also § 47.3.1.a.)

**Nochīmal yetinemi.** = My shield goes along being; i.e., I carry my shield with me. [The topic **nochīmal** functions as the supplementary subject of **yetinemi**.]

**Īmihtac yetiuh.** = Their victuals go along being; i.e., They have their victuals with them. They carry their provisions with them. [The topic **īmihtac** functions as the supplementary subject of **yetiuh**.]

**Mochīntin īmmāxtlatzon yetiyah.** = The headbands of all went along being; i.e., All had their headbands on them. All were wearing their headbands. [The primary topic **mochīntin** functions as the supplementary possessor of the secondary topic **īmmāxtlatzon**, which in turn functions as the supplementary subject of **yetiyah**.]

**Ītepoz mācuauh yetihcac.** = His iron sword stands being; i.e., He has his iron sword with him. [The topic **ītepoz mācuauh** functions as the supplementary subject of **yetihcac**.]

28.9. *The “Intransitivized-Reflexive-Matrix” Compound Verbstem.* This is a special variety of the connective-*t* compound stem. The matrix subposition is filled by a reflexive core whose stem discharges its transitivity onto a reflexive-object pronoun fused to it. Within the compound stem, the reflexive-object-plus-reflexive-stem thus becomes structurally equivalent to the intransitive stems of § 28.6. In accomplishing this purpose of, so to speak, grounding the transitive energy, the **m-o** does not change shape in response to the person of the subject.

As in the compound stems of § 28.6, the embed may be either transitive or intransitive.

Five verbs commonly occur as the matrix in this formation. They are listed below with the translations particular to their function in the reflexive-matrix compound.

1. (**m-o-cāhua**) = to stop (doing s.th.); to leave (s.th. in some condition); to remain (in some state):

(**tlap-o-uh- $\emptyset$ -ti-m-o-cāhua**) = *nonan*, to stay open

**Ōtlapouhtimocāuh.** =  $\emptyset\#\emptyset\emptyset$ (**tlap-o-uh- $\emptyset$ -ti-m-o-cāuh**) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = It remained open.  
It has remained open.

2. (**m-o-tēca**) = to settle down to (doing s.th.); to begin (to do s.th.); to become (some condition); to lie stretched out (in a certain state):

(**mic- $\emptyset$ -ti-m-o-tēca**) = to lie stretched out dead

**Tlālli mictimotēcac.** =  $\#\emptyset\emptyset$ (**mic- $\emptyset$ -ti-m-o-tēca**) $\emptyset$ +**c- $\emptyset$** # = The land lay stretched out dead.

**m-o-(īlhu-i-h- $\emptyset$ -ti-m-o-tēca)** = (for wind, rain, sickness, etc.) to begin to exert itself more, to start getting worse, to intensify

**Molhuihtimotēca.** =  $\#\emptyset\emptyset$ +**m-o**(**lhu-i-h- $\emptyset$ -ti-m-o-tēca**) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset\emptyset$ # = It is starting to get worse. It is getting worse.

**tē-(yahual-o-h- $\emptyset$ -ti-m-o-tēca)** = to surround people (i.e., one’s enemies); to lay siege to people

**Ōtiqinyahualohtimotēcaqueh.** =  $\bar{o}\#ti-\theta+qu-in(yahual-o-h-\theta-ti-m-o-tēca)\theta+qu-eh\#$   
= We laid siege to them.

3. (**m-o-tlāl-i-ā**) = to sit (in a certain state), to settle down to (doing s.th.), to become (some condition); to begin (to do s.th.):

(**tōl-o-h-θ-ti-m-o-tlāl-i-ā**) = to sit with bowed head

**Ōhuāltōlohtimotlālihca.** =  $\bar{o}\#\theta-\theta+huāl(tōl-o-h-\theta-ti-m-o-tlāl-i-h)ca+\theta-\theta\#$  = He had sat with bowed head.

(**tla-mat-θ-ti-m-o-tlāl-i-ā**) = to settle down to being prudent; i.e., to become calm, to get control of oneself

**Ōnitlamattimotlālih.** =  $\bar{o}\#ni-\theta(tla-mat-\theta-ti-m-o-tlāl-i-h)\theta+\square-\theta\#$  = I became calm. I got control of myself.

4. (**m-o-man-a**) = to (do s.th.) gradually; to become (some condition) gradually; to begin (to do s.th.); to get/be in a standing position to (do s.th.):

(**nāl-tōna-θ-ti-m-o-man-a**) = to begin to shine throughout

**Ōnāl-tōnatimoman.** =  $\bar{o}\#\theta-\theta(nāl-tōna-\theta-ti-m-o-man)\theta+\square-\theta\#$  = It began to shine throughout.

(**tla-yohua-θ-ti-m-o-man-a**) = *impers*, to become gradually dark [The embed is a **tla** impersonal; see § 22.6.]

**Ōtlayohuatimomanca.** =  $\bar{o}\#\theta-\theta(tla-yohua-\theta-ti-m-o-man)ca+\theta-\theta\#$  = It had gradually become dark.

The (**m-o-man-a**) matrix cannot be used of individual animate beings, only of groups, and therefore if the subject personal pronoun has an animate reference it must be plural.

**Quixnāmictimomanqueh in tlecuilli.** = They placed themselves in a standing position facing the fire pit. [The embed here, **tla-(ix-nāmiqūi)**, “to face s.th.,” is an incorporated-adverb compound verbstem of the type described in § 30.8.]

5. (**m-o-quetza**) = to (do s.th.) gradually, to become (some condition) gradually:

(**chip-ā-hua-θ-ti-m-o-quetza**) = *nonan*, to become clean gradually

**Ōchipāhuatimoquetz.** =  $\bar{o}\#\theta-\theta(chip-ā-hua-\theta-ti-m-o-quetz)\theta+\square-\theta\#$  = It gradually became clean. It has gradually become clean.

28.10. *The “Shared-Object” Compound Stem.* The final type of connective-**t** compound stem is the only one in which the **t** does not keep the embed and matrix completely separate (see § 28.5). Both the matrix and the embed come from transitive VNCs whose object pronouns have the same referent. When combined into a compound VNC, the coreferential object pronouns share a single manifestation, which occurs on the embed. This object pronoun may be reflexive or projective.

There are six verbs that commonly occur as the matrix in this formation. They are listed below.

1. **m-o- ~ tē- ~ tla-(tlāl-i-ā)** = to place oneself, s.o., or s.th. in a sitting position:

**m-□- ~ tē-(ē-hu-a-θ-ti-tlāl-i-ā)** = to sit up (from a recumbent position); to raise s.o. (e.g., a sick person) into a sitting position [As the embed here, the perfective stem of **m-□- ~ tē-(ē-hu-a)** belongs to Class A instead of Class B.]

**Ōninēhuatitlālih.** = **ō#ni-θ+n-□(ē-hu-a-θ-ti-tlāl-i-h)θ+□-θ#** = I sat up.

**Quēhuatitlālizqueh.** = **#θ-θ+qu-θ(ē-hu-a-θ-ti-tlāl-i)z+qu-eh#** = They will get him up into a sitting position.

2. **m-o- ~ tē- ~ tla-(quetza)** = to place oneself, s.o., or s.th. in a standing position:

**tē- ~ tla-(ē-hu-a-θ-ti-quetza)** = to stand s.o. (e.g., a sick person) on on his feet; to stand s.th. upright

**Ōniquēhuatiquetz.** = **ō#ni-θ+qu-θ(ē-hu-a-θ-ti-quetz)θ+□-θ#** = I stood him on his feet. I stood it/them upright.

3. **m-o- ~ tē- ~ tla-(tēca)** = to stretch oneself, s.o., or s.th. out; to place oneself, s.o., or s.th. in a stretched-out position:

**tē-(tlā-pach-o-h-θ-ti-tēca)** = to put s.o. to bed under a cover [For the **tlā-**, see § 30.7.]

**Ōniquintlāpachohitēcac.** = **ō#ni-θ+qu-in(tlā-pach-o-h-θ-ti-tēca)θ+c-θ#** = I put them to bed and covered them.

4. **m-o- ~ tē- ~ tla-(cāhua)** = to leave oneself, s.o., or s.th. (in a certain condition):

**tla-(tlap-o-h-θ-ti-cāhua)** = to leave s.th. (e.g., a door) open

**Cuix ōtictlapohticāuh?** = **ō#ti-θ+c-θ(tlap-o-h-θ-ti-cāuh)θ+□-θ#** = Did you leave it open?

5. **m-o- ~ tē- ~ tla-(quix-tiā)** = to cause oneself, s.o., or s.th. to exit (in a certain condition or manner):

**tē-(huil-ā-n-θ-ti-quix-tiā)** = to push or drag s.o. out of a place

**Ōquihuilāntiquixtihqueh.** = **ō#θ-θ+qui-θ(huil-ā-n-θ-ti-quix-tih)θ+qu-eh#** = They dragged him out.

6. **m-o- ~ tē- ~ tla-(māy-a-hui)** = to push oneself, s.o., or s.th. down (in a certain condition):

**tē-(tēn-θ-ti-māy-a-hui)** = to push s.o. down flat on the ground

**Tēchtehtēntimāyauhqueh.** = **#θ-θ+t-ēch(teh-tēn-θ-ti-māy-a-uh)θ+qu-eh#** = They knocked us each flat on the ground. [Reduplication indicating distributive action on entities referred to by the object pronoun.]

28.11. *The “Future-Embed” Compound Stem.* This type of VNC + VNC compound is entirely different from those of the connective-t type. It is created by the integrated-compound transformation (see § 28.3). The source is a concatenate sentence in which an adjoined future-tense VNC functions as a supplementary object (see § 19.4). This future-tense VNC allows its predicate to become an incorporated (or embedded) object replacing the object pronoun that served as the supplement’s head in the principal clause. The incorporated future-tense predicate can be

either intransitive or transitive, and its valence becomes that of the compound stem (see § 28.4). The future-tense morph on the embed indicates that the action it speaks of occurs subsequent to the time of the action signified by the matrix (indicated by the tense morph on the compound VNC).

There are only two verbstems that can occur in the matrix subposition.

1. **tlā-(nequi)** = to want s.th., to desire s.th.:

Principal: **Nicnequi**. = I want it. [source of the matrix stem]

Adjunct: **Nicochiz**. = I shall sleep. [source of the embed stem]

Transform: **Nicochiznequi**. = #ni-θ(cochi-z-nequi)θ+θ-θ# = I want to sleep. [The specific-object pronoun c-θ of **nicnequi** has been replaced by the future-tense intransitive predicate . . . (cochi)z+ . . . inside the stem.]

The following is an example of a transitive embed:

**tlā-(cōhua-z-nequi)** = to want to buy s.th.

**Cuix ticcōhuaznequiz?** = #ti-θ+c-θ(cōhua-z-nequi)z+□-θ# = Will you want to buy it? [The future-tense transitive predicate . . . +c-θ(cōhua)z+ . . . has replaced the specific-object pronoun c-θ of the matrix-source VNC **ticnequiz**.]

A VNC built on a compound stem with **tlā-(nequi)** in the matrix subposition manifests the passive or impersonal voice in the embed:

Passive: **Titlazohtlalōznequiyah**. = #ti-θ(tlā-zo-h-tlā-lō-z-nequi)ya+θ-h# = We wanted to be loved.

Impersonal: **Tētlazohtlalōznequiya**. = #θ-θ-tē(tlā-zo-h-tlā-lō-z-nequi)ya+θ-θ# = Everyone wanted to love (people).

**Netlazohtlalōznequiya**. = #θ-θ+ne(tlā-zo-h-tlā-lō-z-nequi)ya+θ-θ# = Everyone wanted to love one another.

2. **\*tlā-(qui)** = to have a volition for s.th., to will s.th., to intend s.th. This verb is an anomaly. It occurs only in the matrix subposition of a “future-embed” compound stem and is, furthermore, limited to the imperfect tense. Compound VNCs created with it have been traditionally called “conditional-tense forms,” because they are used to state a conditional result (the condition may be merely implied). This is another instance of translation fomenting a misunderstanding of Nahuatl grammar.

Principal: **\*Nicquiya**. = #ni-θ+c-θ(qui)ya+θ-θ# = I used to will it. [source of the matrix stem]

Adjunct: **Nicochiz**. = #ni-θ(cochi)z+□-θ# = I shall sleep. [source of the embed]

Transform: **Nicochizquiya**. = #ni-θ(cochi-z-qui)ya+θ-θ# = I would sleep. I would have slept.

The following is an example with a transitive embed:

**tlā-(cōhua-z-qui)** = to will to buy s.th.

**Ticcōhuazquiyah**. = #ti-θ+c-θ(cōhua-z-qui)ya+θ-θ# = We would buy it. We would have bought it.

Since the VNC has an imperfect-tense morph, the antecessive-order particle may occur:

**Ōconih̄tōzquiya.** =  $\bar{o}\#\emptyset\text{-}\emptyset\text{+c-}\emptyset\text{+on(iht-}\bar{o}\text{-z-qui)ya+}\emptyset\text{-}\emptyset\#$  = He would say it. He would have said it.

A VNC built on a compound stem with **\*tla-(qui)** in the matrix subposition manifests the passive or impersonal voice in the embed:

Passive: **Titlazohtlalōzquiyah.** =  $\#ti\text{-}\emptyset\text{(tla-zo-h-tla-lō-z-qui)ya+}\emptyset\text{-h}\#$  We would have been loved.

Impersonal: **Tētlazohtlalōzquiya.** =  $\#\emptyset\text{-}\emptyset\text{+tē(tla-zo-h-tla-lō-z-qui)ya+}\emptyset\text{-}\emptyset\#$  = Everyone would have loved (people).

**Netlazohtlalōzquiya.** =  $\#\emptyset\text{-}\emptyset\text{+ne(tla-zo-h-tla-lō-z-qui)ya+}\emptyset\text{-}\emptyset\#$  = Everyone would have loved one another.

*Note:* A VNC formed on **\*tla-(qui)** as the stem's matrix is most frequently found as the principal clause in a conditional sentence (see § 50.7). Notice also its usage in the included-referent supplementation construction of the "want/desire/hope to" kind (see § 19.4), in which the adjoined clause contains a past-optative VNC.

**Nicnequizquiya in mā caic ōnicchihuani.** = *I-would-want-it* adjr if-only never I-might-have-done-it; i.e., I should like never to have done it.

28.12. *Recursion in Compounding.* As suggested in § 28.1, compounding is recursive. The following examples demonstrate how a compound stem can itself become a component (embed or matrix) of a compound stem.

**tla-(cuah- $\emptyset$ -t-ahci- $\emptyset$ -ti-uh)** = to go along eating upon arrival

**Nitlacuahtahcitiyāz.** = I shall go along eating upon arrival.

**tla-(cuah- $\emptyset$ -t-ahci- $\emptyset$ -ti-yā-z-nequi)** = to want to go along eating upon arrival

**Cuix antlacuahtahcitiyāznequizqueh?** = Will you (pl) want to go along eating upon arrival?

**(coch- $\emptyset$ -ti-pil-ca- $\emptyset$ -t-o)** = to remain asleep with one's head hanging down

**Ōnicochtīpilcatoca.** = I had remained asleep with my head hanging down.

**tē-(cui- $\emptyset$ -ti-huetzi-z-nequi)** = to want to rush upon s.o.

**Niquincuitihuetziznec.** = I got the desire to rush upon them.

## LESSON 29

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### Purposive VNCs

29.1. *Purposive Verbstems.* Compound verbstems that signify movement toward the speaker or away from him *for the purpose of carrying out an action* are future-embed stems but of a radically different kind from that in § 28.11. Instead of having an integrated structure, these stems have a linked one. The structure is, however, of the connectiveless type (see § 28.2), so these stems are also different from the connective-**t** compound stems of Lesson 28. The following points outline the peculiarities of the formation.

1. Embed subposition. The filler in the embed subposition is a future-tense predicate in which the future-tense morph **z** is replaced with a silent variant,  $\square$ . The imperfective stem has the same shape it would have if the sounded variant of the tense morph were used (i.e., Class C verbs delete the final /a:/ and lengthen the remaining /i/ or /o/; Class D verbs have the final /a:/ long). The appropriateness of having a future-tense predicate as embed in the compound is evident in the fact that the movement signified by the matrix stem occurs prior to the action, process, etc., signified by the embedded future-tense predicate.

*Note:* Occasionally, in texts not noted for stylistic quality, one can find VNCs such as **quimomachtizquihui** (i.e., **quimomachtizquihuih**), “they will come in order to learn it,” where the embed has the sounded future-tense morph [s] instead of the silent one [ $\square$ ].

2. Matrix subposition. The verbstem occurring in the matrix subposition is intransitive (as contrasted with the transitive stem in § 28.11). It consists of a directional prefix fused to a stem; thus, the matrix stem is formed on the same principle as the verbstem (**huāl-la-uh**) (see § 11.5.3).

a. Directional prefixes:

**t** = thither [Compare **on** in § 8.1. This directional **t** is a prefix *inside* the matrix subposition, while the connective **t** of Lesson 28 stands *outside* it. The two are totally different.]

**c/qu** = hither [Compare **huāl** in § 8.1. The two shapes of the prefix are merely spelling variants; the morpheme /k/ has only one morph, [k], in its morphic inventory.]



These directional prefixes are archaic survivals, found now only in purposive verb stems. The variant future tense morph  $\square$  ALWAYS precedes them. It should be remembered that these compound-stem internal prefixes are not mere connectives like the connective **t** but are an integral part of the matrix stem.

*b.* The base stem. The base stem to which the directional prefix is fused is manifested by two quite different-looking morphs, because the perfective shape is suppletive. The meaning of the base stem is “to move purposefully.”

The imperfective base stem is (**ī**), which has a compound variant (**ī-uh**) ~ (**ī-hui**). The (**uh**) and (**hui**) are the same stems that participate as the second component in the compound verb stem (**ya-uh**) ~ (**ya-hui**) (see § 11.5.2). Here as there, (**uh**) associates with a singular/common-number dyad and (**hui**) with a plural one.

The perfective base stem is (**o**). It should not be confused with the (**o**) of (**on-o**) (see § 11.4.2).

29.2. *Purposive VNCs.* Because of the presence of the directional prefix inside the matrix subposition, there are two sets of purposive VNCs: one for inbound movement (or movement toward the speaker); the other for outbound movement (or movement away from the speaker). Both sets occur in VNCs in the indicative and optative moods. The indicative mood has only two tenses (the outbound forms show a past/nonpast tense contrast; the inbound forms show a future/nonfuture tense contrast). The optative mood has only one tense, the nonpast.

Contrasts in *stem* shapes establish the differences in moods and tenses. The tense morph for all tenses is  $\emptyset$ . The number dyad for the singular/common is  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$  and for the plural,  $\emptyset$ -**h**.

29.3. *Outbound Purposive VNCs.* The matrix of a compound-stemmed VNC signifying outbound purposive action is distinguished by its **t** directional morph. The VNCs have only nonpast and past tense distinctions.

1. The nonpast indicative VNC. The tense morph  $\emptyset$  has a nonpast indicative meaning when it cooperates with the imperfective stem (**-t-ī-uh**) ~ (**-t-ī-hui**). Nonpast covers the meaning areas of the present and the future tenses.

Class A verbs in the embed subposition:

**nicuīcatiuh** = #**ni- $\emptyset$ (cuīca- $\square$ -t-ī-uh) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #** = I am going in order to sing; I shall go in order to sing

**ticuīcatiuhuih** = #**ti- $\emptyset$ (cuīca- $\square$ -t-ī-hui) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -**h**#** = we are going in order to sing; we shall go in order to sing

Class B verbs in the embed subposition:

**titēnōtzatiuh** = #**ti- $\emptyset$ +tē(nōtza- $\square$ -t-ī-uh) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #** = you are going in order to call s.o.; you will go in order to call s.o.

**antēnōtzatiuhuih** = #**an- $\emptyset$ +tē(nōtza- $\square$ -t-ī-hui) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -**h**#** = you (pl) are going in order to call s.o.; you (pl) will go in order to call s.o.

Class C verbs in the embed subposition:

**tlahcuilōtiuh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tla(hcuil- $\bar{o}$ - $\square$ -t- $\bar{i}$ -uh) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he is going in order to write s.th.;  
he will go in order to write s.th.

**tlahcuilōtiuhuih** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tla(hcuil- $\bar{o}$ - $\square$ -t- $\bar{i}$ -hui) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -h# = they are going in order to write  
s.th.; they will go in order to write s.th.

Class D verbs in the embed subposition:

**nitlacuātiuh** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +tla(cuā- $\square$ -t- $\bar{i}$ -uh) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I am going in order to eat; I shall go in  
order to eat

**antlacuātiuhuih** = #an- $\emptyset$ +tla(cuā- $\square$ -t- $\bar{i}$ -hui) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -h# = you (pl) are going in order to eat;  
you (pl) will go in order to eat

Master the difference in meaning between the purposive VNC (e.g., **nitlapōhuatiuh**, “I go in order to count things”) and the progressive VNC with (**ya-uh**) as matrix (e.g., **nitlapōuhtiuh**, “I go counting things”). In the purposive, the action of counting is to begin after the action of going has been completed (the action of going will end up in the action of counting, a fact indicated by the use of the future-tense predicate in the embed). In the progressive with (**ya-uh**), the action of counting has already begun (a fact indicated by the use of the preterit-tense predicate in the embed) and is continuing while the action of going is taking place. In the purposive VNC, the **t** is a directional prefix fused to the base stem and is therefore inside the matrix subposition. In the progressive VNC, the **ti** is merely a connective morph that stands apart from the matrix stem and therefore outside of the matrix subposition.

When a Class A verb occurs in the embed subposition, traditional spelling does not distinguish a present-tense progressive VNC from a nonpast purposive VNC. Pronunciation makes their structural (and semantic) difference evident by the length of the **i** after the **t**.

Progressive VNC: **nicuīcatiuh** = #ni- $\emptyset$ (cuīca- $\emptyset$ -ti-uh) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I go singing

Purposive VNC: **nicuīcatiuh** = #ni- $\emptyset$ (cuīca- $\square$ -t- $\bar{i}$ -uh) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I go in order to sing, I  
shall go in order to sing

When Class C and Class D verbs occupy the embed subposition, the progressive VNC (which has a glottal stop before **ti**) is distinguished from the purposive VNC (which has length on the vowel before **t- $\bar{i}$** ):

Progressive VNC: **nitlahtohtiuh** = #ni- $\emptyset$ (tla-ht-o-h- $\emptyset$ -ti-uh) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I go speaking

Purposive VNC: **nitlahtōtiuh** = #ni- $\emptyset$ (tla-ht- $\bar{o}$ - $\square$ -t- $\bar{i}$ -uh) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I go in order to speak,  
I shall go in order to speak

Progressive VNC: **nitlacuahtiuh** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +tla(cuah- $\emptyset$ -ti-uh) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I go eating

Purposive VNC: **nitlacuātiuh** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +tla(cuā- $\square$ -t- $\bar{i}$ -uh) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I go in order to eat, I  
shall go in order to eat

In texts that do not indicate glottal stops or vowel length, these distinctions are blurred and one must decide which kind of VNC is being used.

With a Class B verb in the embed subposition there is never any difficulty in distinguishing progressive and purposive VNCs, because they are so different.

Progressive VNC: **nitēnōtztiuh** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +tē(nōtz- $\emptyset$ -ti-uh) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I go along calling  
people

Purposive VNC: **nitēnōtzatiuh** = #ni- $\theta$ +tē(nōtza- $\square$ -t-ī-uh) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I go in order to call people, I shall go in order to call people

2. The past indicative VNC. The tense morph  $\theta$  has a past indicative meaning when it cooperates with the perfective stem (-t-o). The VNC is optionally accompanied by the antecessive-order particle  $\bar{o}$ #. The tense meaning covers the area of the preterit, imperfect, and distant-past indicative tenses.

Class A verbs in the embed subposition:

**ōtīcuīcato** =  $\bar{o}$ #ti- $\theta$ (cuīca- $\square$ -t-o) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = you went in order to sing, you used to go in order to sing, you had gone in order to sing

**ōancuīcatoh** =  $\bar{o}$ #an- $\theta$ (cuīca- $\square$ -t-o) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h# = you (pl) went in order to sing, etc.

Class B verbs in the embed subposition:

**ōtēnōtzato** =  $\bar{o}$ # $\theta$ - $\theta$ +tē(nōtza- $\square$ -t-o) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = he went in order to call s.o., etc.

**ōtēnōtzatoh** =  $\bar{o}$ # $\theta$ - $\theta$ +tē(nōtza- $\square$ -t-o) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h# = they went in order to call s.o., etc.

Class C verbs in the embed subposition:

**ōnitlahcuilōto** =  $\bar{o}$ #ni- $\theta$ +tla(hcuil- $\bar{o}$ - $\square$ -t-o) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I went in order to write s.th., etc.

**ōtitlahcuilōtoh** =  $\bar{o}$ #ti- $\theta$ +tla(hcuil- $\bar{o}$ - $\square$ -t-o) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h# = we went in order to write s.th., etc.

Class D verbs in the embed subposition:

**ōtitlacuāto** =  $\bar{o}$ #ti- $\theta$ +tla(cuā- $\square$ -t-o) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = you went in order to eat, etc.

**ōtitlacuātōh** =  $\bar{o}$ #ti- $\theta$ +tla(cuā- $\square$ -t-o) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h# = we went in order to eat, etc.

*Note:* A VNC with a first- or third-person subject formed on a past-indicative outbound purposive stem that has a Class A verb as embed looks like an ordinary optative VNC built on a connective **t** compound stem with (**on-o**) as the matrix. Both end in **to**.

**nicuīcato** = #ni- $\theta$ (cuīca- $\square$ -t-o) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I went in order to sing, etc.

**mā nicuīcato** = #ni- $\theta$ (cuīca- $\theta$ -t-o) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$ # = I hope I may lie/sit/be singing

In texts that do not indicate glottal stops, the problem also occurs in Class C and D verbs. The presence of the particle **mā** is the distinguishing factor, since it never precedes a past-indicative outbound purposive VNC.

3. The nonpast optative VNC. The tense morph  $\theta$  has a nonpast optative meaning when it cooperates with the imperfective stem (-t-ī), the vowel of which is reduced long when followed by silent morphs and short when the VNC ends with **h** in the *num*<sup>2</sup> subposition. (The examples show the VNCs in command/exhortation sentences.)

Class A verbs in the embed subposition:

**Mā cuīcati.** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (cuīca- $\square$ -t-ī) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = If only he would go in order to sing. Let him go in order to sing. [Not in the sense of “allow.”] May he go in order to sing.

**Mā cuīcatih.** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (cuīca- $\square$ -t-ī) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h# = Let them go in order to sing. May they go in order to sing.

Class B verbs in the embed subposition:

**Mā nitēnōtzati.** = #ni- $\theta$ +tē(nōtza- $\square$ -t-ī) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = Let me go in order to call. [Not in the sense of “allow”; this is an expression of self-encouragement or self-suggestion.]

**Mā titēnōtzatih.** = #ti- $\theta$ +tē(nōtza- $\square$ -t-ī) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h# = Let’s go in order to call.

Class C verbs in the embed subposition:

**Mā xitlahcuilōti.** = #xi- $\emptyset$ +tla(hcuil- $\bar{o}$ - $\square$ -t-i) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = Go in order to write.

**Mā xitlahcuilōtih.** = #xi- $\emptyset$ +tla(hcuil- $\bar{o}$ - $\square$ -t-i) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -h# = Go (pl) in order to write.

Class D verbs in the embed subposition:

**Mā tlacuāti.** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tla(cuā- $\square$ -t-i) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = Let him go in order to eat. May he go in order to eat.

**Mā titlacuātih.** = #ti- $\emptyset$ +tla(cuā- $\square$ -t-i) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -h# = Let's go in order to eat.

For a nonpast optative VNC, there is an irregular plural-number morph **n** that may be used as a free variant of the regular one shown above:

**Mā xitēnōtzatīn.** = #xi- $\emptyset$ +tē(nōtza- $\square$ -t-i) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -n. = Go (pl) in order to call people.

Care must be taken not to confuse the purposive plural ending (-t-i) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -h# and its variant (-t-i) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -n# with the admonitive plural dyad t-ih and its variant t-in (see § 10.2). In the following contrasting VNCs study the difference between the purposive optative (“let’s go in order to shout/fall/flee/eat s.th.”) and the admonitive (“let’s beware of shouting/falling/fleeing/eating s.th.”).

	Purposive optative	Admonitive
Class A verb:	<b>mā títzachtzítih</b>	<b>mā títzachtzihtih</b>
Class B verb:	<b>mā tíhuetzítih</b>	<b>mā tíhuetztihtih</b>
Class C verb:	<b>mā ticholótih</b>	<b>mā ticholohtih</b>
Class D verb:	<b>mā titlacuātih</b>	<b>mā titlacuahtih</b>
Class A verb:	<b>mā títzachtzítīn</b>	<b>mā títzachtzihtīn</b>
Class B verb:	<b>mā tíhuetzítīn</b>	<b>mā tíhuetztihtīn</b>
Class C verb:	<b>mā ticholótīn</b>	<b>mā ticholohtīn</b>
Class D verb:	<b>mā titlacuātīn</b>	<b>mā titlacuahtīn</b>

The difference in the morphological structure of the two kinds of VNCs should be kept in mind; for example:

Purposive optative: #ti- $\emptyset$ (tzahtzi- $\square$ -t-i) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -h#

Admonitive: #ti- $\emptyset$ (tzahtzi)h+t-ih#

*Remarks:* The length on the /i/ before the **n** is distinctive.

The second-person subject of the purposive optative VNC is distinguished by the *pers*<sup>1</sup> morph **x** or **xi**: **xítzah-tzítih**, **xítzachtzítīn**, etc.

Another point of distinction is that the admonitive plural dyad **t-ih** or **t-in** is attached to the perfective stem bearing the tense morph **h** (for Class A verbs) or  $\emptyset$  (for verbs of the other classes), while the purposive optative VNC ending (-t-i) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -h or (-t-i) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -n is the *matrix* of the compound stem followed by tense and number morphs and embeds the future-tense predicate in which the future-tense morph is  $\square$  (so the imperfective stem of the embed has a long vowel in Class C and Class D verbs).

In texts that indicate neither the glottal stop nor vowel length, the only distinguishing marks occur in the *pers*<sup>1</sup> morph of the VNCs with a second-person subject and in the contrast between the perfective stem and the imperfective embed in Class B verbs. All other VNC-pair members built on verbs of other stem classes are identical; so, in translating from such a text a collocation such as **ma títzachtzítīn**, one must choose between the two possibilities “let’s beware of shouting” and “let’s go in order to shout.”

*Note:* Certain early Spanish grammarians of Nahuatl recommended a variant *singular* form for the present optative outbound purposive VNC, the stem of which ends in a glottal stop instead of **t-i**; e.g., **mā nitlapōhuah**, “I wish to go in order to count s.th.” How or why such an aberrant form came into being is not known; the implications of its morphological structure are a puzzle. The singular VNCs with **t-i** (like their plural counterparts) have a venerable heritage and are justified by all the other members of the paradigms of purposive VNCs.

29.4. *Inbound Purposive VNCs.* The matrix of a compound-stemmed VNC signifying inbound purposive action is distinguished by the directional prefix /k/ (spelled **c** or **qu**) as the introductory part of the matrix stem. The VNCs have only nonfuture and future tense distinctions.

1. The nonfuture indicative VNC. The tense morph  $\emptyset$  has a nonfuture indicative meaning when it cooperates with the perfective stem (**-c-o**). The tense meaning covers the area of the present, preterit, imperfect, and distant-past indicative tenses. The antecessive-order particle  $\bar{o}\#$  optionally accompanies the VNC even if a present-tense meaning is intended, since the particle refers not to the intended/proposed action but to the act of purposing, which, no matter how recent, lies in the past at the moment of speaking (the present).

Class A verbs in the embed subposition:

**nicuīcaco** = #**ni- $\emptyset$ (cuīca- $\square$ -c-o) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ \#** = I come in order to sing, I have come in order to sing, I came in order to sing, I used to come in order to sing, I had come in order to sing

**ticuīcaco**h = #**ti- $\emptyset$ (cuīca- $\square$ -c-o) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -h\#** = we come in order to sing, etc.

Class B verbs in the embed subposition:

**tītēnōtzaco** = #**ti- $\emptyset$ +tē(nōtza- $\square$ -c-o) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ \#** = you come in order to call s.o., you came in order to call s.o., etc.

**antēnōtzaco**h = #**an- $\emptyset$ +tē(nōtza- $\square$ -c-o) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -h\#** = you (pl) come in order to call s.o., you (pl) came in order to call s.o., etc.

Class C verbs in the embed subposition:

**flahcuilōco** = # **$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tla(hcuil- $\bar{o}$ - $\square$ -c-o) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ \#** = he comes in order to write, he is coming in order to write, he came in order to write, etc.

**flahcuilōco**h = # **$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tla(hcuil- $\bar{o}$ - $\square$ -c-o) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -h\#** = they come in order to write, they are coming in order to write, they came in order to write, etc.

Class D verbs in the embed subposition:

**nitlacuāco** = #**ni- $\emptyset$ +tla(cuā- $\square$ -c-o) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ \#** = I come in order to eat, I came in order to eat, etc.

**tlacuāco**h = # **$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tla(cuā- $\square$ -c-o) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -h\#** = they come in order to eat, they are coming in order to eat, they came in order to eat, etc.

2. The future indicative VNC. The tense morph  $\emptyset$  has a future indicative meaning when it cooperates with the imperfective stem (**-qu-ī-uh**) (when the subject pronoun of the VNC has singular/common number) or (**-qu-ī-hui**) (when the subject pronoun has plural number).

Class A verbs in the embed subposition:

**ticuīcaquiuh** = #**ti-θ**(cuīca-□-**qu-i-uh**)**θ+θ-θ#** = you will come in order to sing

**ancuīcaquiuhuih** = #**an-θ**(cuīca-□-**qu-i-hui**)**θ+θ-h#** = you (pl) will come in order to sing

Class B verbstems in the embed subposition:

**tēnōtzaquiuh** = #**θ-θ+tē**(nōtza-□-**qu-i-uh**)**θ+θ-θ#** = he will come in order to call s.o.

**tēnōtzaquiuhuih** = #**θ-θ+tē**(nōtza-□-**qu-i-hui**)**θ+θ-h#** = they will come in order to call s.o.

Class C verbstems in the embed subposition:

**nitlahcuilōquiuh** = #**ni-θ+tla**(hcuil-ō-□-**qu-i-uh**)**θ+θ-θ#** = I shall come in order to write s.th.

**titlahcuilōquiuhuih** = #**ti-θ+tla**(hcuil-ō-□-**qu-i-hui**)**θ+θ-h#** = we shall come in order to write s.th.

Class D verbstems in the embed subposition:

**tlacuāquiuh** = #**θ-θ+tla**(cuā-□-**qu-i-uh**)**θ+θ-θ#** = he will come in order to eat

**antlacuāquiuhuih** = #**an-θ+tla**(cuā-□-**qu-i-hui**)**θ+θ-h#** = you (pl) will come in order to eat

3. The nonpast optative VNC. The tense morph **θ** has a nonpast optative meaning when it cooperates with the imperfective stem (**-qu-i**), the vowel of which is reduced long when followed by silent morphs and short when the VNC ends with **h** in the *num*<sup>2</sup> subposition. (The examples show the VNCs in command/exhortation sentences.)

Class A verbstems in the embed subposition:

**Mā xicuīcaqui.** = #**xi-θ**(cuīca-□-**qu-i**)**θ+θ-θ#** = Come in order to sing.

**Mā xicuīcaquiuh.** = #**xi-θ**(cuīca-□-**qu-i**)**θ+θ-h#** = Come (pl) in order to sing.

Class B verbs in the embed subposition:

**Mā nitēnōtzaqui.** = #**ni-θ+tē**(nōtza-□-**qu-i**)**θ+θ-θ#** = Let me come in order to call s.o.

[Not in the sense of “allow”; this is an expression of self-encouragement or self-suggestion.]

**Mā titēnōtzaquiuh.** = #**ti-θ+tē**(nōtza-□-**qu-i**)**θ+θ-h#** = Let’s come in order to call someone.

Class C verbs in the embed subposition:

**Mā tlahcuilōqui.** = #**θ-θ+tla**(hcuil-ō-□-**qu-i**)**θ+θ-θ#** = Let him come in order to write s.th. If only he would come in order to write s.th.

**Mā tlahcuilōquiuh.** = #**θ-θ+tla**(hcuil-ō-□-**qu-i**)**θ+θ-h#** = Let them come in order to write. If only they would come in order to write s.th.

Class D verbs in the embed subposition:

**Mā xitlacuāqui.** = #**xi-θ+tla**(cuā-□-**qu-i**)**θ+θ-θ#** = Come in order to eat.

**Mā titlacuāquiuh.** = #**ti-θ+tla**(cuā-□-**qu-i**)**θ+θ-h#** = Let’s come in order to eat.

29.5. *Purposive VNCs in the Passive and Impersonal Voices.* A future-tense predicate built on a nonactive stem may occupy the embed subposition of a purposive VNC. It will be in either the passive or the impersonal voice. (Compare the “future-embed” compound stem in § 28.11.)

**Ōtipōhualōtoh.** =  $\bar{o}\#ti-\theta(p\bar{o}hua-l\bar{o}-\square-t-o)\theta+\theta-h\#$  = We went in order to be counted.

**Mā ānalōqui.** =  $\#\theta-\theta(\bar{a}na-l\bar{o}-\square-qu-i)\theta+\theta-\theta\#$  = If only it would come to be grasped.

**Mā cacōqui.** =  $\#\theta-\theta(cac-\bar{o}-\square-qu-i)\theta+\theta-\theta\#$  = May it come in order to be heard.

**Ahcuihualōco.** =  $ah\#\theta-\theta(cui-hua-l\bar{o}-\square-c-o)\theta+\theta-\theta\#$  = It did not come in order to be taken.

**Mā cahuechohuati.** =  $ca\#\theta-\theta(huech-o-hua-\square-t-i)\theta+\theta-\theta\#$  = May it not go and fall.

29.6. *Purposive VNCs with a Compound-Stemmed Embed.* The embed of a purposive VNC can be a compound-stemmed predicate. (Compare the “future-embed” compound stem in § 28.11.)

**ahcitihuetzico** =  $\#\theta-\theta(ahci-\theta-ti-huetzi-\square-c-\bar{o})\theta+\theta-\theta\#$  = he came in order to arrive abruptly

**quinōnōtztihuetzitoh** =  $\#\theta-\theta+qui-\theta(n\bar{o}-n\bar{o}tz-\theta-ti-huetzi-\square-t-o)\theta+\theta-h\#$  = they went in order to advise him quickly

**titotlāztotoh** =  $\#ti-\theta+t-o(tl\bar{a}z-\theta-t-o-\square-t-o)\theta+\theta-h\#$  = we went in order to lie having thrown ourselves down, i.e., we went in order to lie recumbent

**ōahcimoquetzato** =  $\bar{o}\#\theta-\theta(ahci-\theta-ti-m-o-quetza-\square-t-o)\theta+\theta-\theta\#$  = it has gone to stand after having arrived

29.7. *The Directional Prefixes huāl and on and the Purposive Notion.* VNCs containing the stem-external directional morphs **huāl** and **on** can be used in situations where a purposive VNC would appear in a more formal expression (see § 8.1).

**nichuāl nāmiqui** =  $\#ni-\theta+c-\theta+hu\bar{a}l(n\bar{a}miqui)\theta+\theta-\theta\#$  = I come in order to meet s.o. [= **nic-nāmiquico** =  $\#ni-\theta+c-\theta(n\bar{a}miqui-\square-c-o)\theta+\theta-\theta\#$ .]

**nontēihitta** =  $\#n-\theta+on+t\bar{e}(ih-itt-a)\theta+\theta-\theta\#$  = I go in order to see/visit s.o. frequently [= **nitēihittatiuh** =  $\#ni-\theta+t\bar{e}(ih-itt-a-\square-t-\bar{i}-uh)\theta+\theta-\theta\#$ .]

A stem-external directional morph can also occur on a purposive VNC, continuing or intensifying the movement expressed by the stem-internal directional morph.

**nonāt lacutiuh** =  $\#n-\theta+on(\bar{a}-tla-cui-\square-t-\bar{i}-uh)\theta+\theta-\theta\#$  = I shall go in order to fetch water  
[For (**ā-tla-cui**), “to fetch water,” see § 30.4.]

**nihuāl lachiyaco** =  $\#ni-\theta+hu\bar{a}l(la-chiya-\square-c-o)\theta+\theta-\theta\#$  = I come/have come in order to look

Since the action of the embed and that of the matrix are in fact separate actions, it is also possible for the stem-external directional morph (which affects the embed) and the stem-internal directional morph (which affects the matrix) to disagree (compare English “he came in order to continue on”).

**ōtonquīzaco** =  $\bar{o}\#t-\theta+on(quīza-\square-c-o)\theta+\theta-\theta\#$  = you have come in order to emerge/exit thither

**ōontlamico** =  $\bar{o}\#\theta-\theta+on(tlami-\square-c-o)\theta+\theta-\theta\#$  = it came in order to conclude there

**ōcontlatehtëquīlico** =  $\bar{o}\#t\text{-}t+c\text{-}t+on+tlā(tēh\text{-}tēqui\text{-}lī\text{-}□\text{-}c\text{-}o)t\text{-}t\text{-}t\#$  = he came in order to set down (in order) various things for him there

**ōquīmonihcalico** =  $\bar{o}\#t\text{-}t+qu\text{-}im+on(ihcali\text{-}□\text{-}c\text{-}o)t\text{-}t\text{-}t\#$  = he came in order to go and fight against them

**ōquīhuālihuātoḥ** =  $\bar{o}\#t\text{-}t+qui\text{-}t+huāl(ihuā\text{-}□\text{-}t\text{-}o)t\text{-}t\text{-}h\#$  = they went in order to send him hither

*Note:* A purposive VNC can shift the normal meaning of purposeful action (“to go/come in order that . . .”) to one of fulfilled purpose (“to go/come with the result that . . .”). The notion of movement may be metaphorical and the notion of intention or purpose may be muted.

**Miquito** = He went and died. [*Also possible:* He up and died.]

**Momanaco cocoliztli.** = Sickness became prevalent here. [*Literally,* Sickness came in order to set itself down flat.]

**In ōtlāluhāccāquīzacoh, niman huāllamelāuhqueh in Mēxihco.** = When they had come out [*literally,* had come in order to come out] upon dry land, immediately they made straight hither to Mexico.



## Compound Verbstems: Nominal Embed

30.1. *The NNC + VNC Compound VNC.* When a compound verbstem results from embedding or, more strictly speaking, incorporating the predicate of an NNC into a VNC, the relation of the embed subposition to the matrix subposition in the compound stem always exhibits integrated structure (see § 28.3).

Whether the source for the nominal embed is the predicate of an absolutive-state NNC or of a possessive-state NNC, the filler in the embed subposition of a compound verbstem is the general-use nounstem (see § 14.1). There are exceptions, however; for example, nounstems of subclass 2-B of the **tl** nounstem class with an ephemeral stem-final /a/ (see § 14.7.2.b) retain the /a/ when occupying the embed subposition. But even this exception has exceptions; for example, although **(cuīca)-tl-**, “song,” normally uses **(cuīca)-** when in the embed subposition (e.g., **(cuīca-ih̄t-o-ā)**, “to start a song”), it unexpectedly has the shape **(cuīc)-** in **tl̄a-(cuīqu-ē-hu-a)**, “to lift s.th. in song,” “to sing about s.th.”

The subordination of the nounstem embed to the verbstem matrix may operate in one of three radically different manners. There are, then, three types of incorporated-NNC compound verbstems: (1) the incorporated-object type, (2) the incorporated-adverb type, and (3) the incorporated-complement type.

30.2. *The Incorporated-Object Compound Verbstem.* This formation is possible only when a transitive VNC serves as the matrix. The NNC predicate occupying the embed subposition qualifies the action signified by the verbstem occupying the matrix subposition by indicating a general patient area upon which that action discharges its transitivity, so that an action having a wide range of possible patients (e.g., “to watch”) becomes restricted to a single kind (e.g., “to bird-watch”).

Since in the transformation process a valence position in a VNC functioning as the principal clause in the multiple-clause source is replaced *inside* the compound stem by what was a supplementary object, the compound VNC loses that valence position. That is, a VNC formed on an incorporated-object compound verbstem has a “lower” valence than one formed on the source verbstem; consequently, when the source of the matrix stem is a single-object VNC, the compound VNC will have intransitive valence (i.e., no object pronoun is permitted); when the

source of the matrix stem is a double-object VNC, the compound VNC will have only one valence position; when the source of the matrix stem is a triple-object VNC, the compound VNC will have two valence positions. (An *incorporated* object is not to be confused with a *nuclear* object [see § 17.2]; the latter is an objective-case pronoun that fills a valence position outside the stem in a VNC; the former is the predicate of a downgraded NNC that has become part of the compound verbstem.)

30.3. *The Incorporated-Object VNC*. The following examples demonstrate the formation of incorporated-object VNCs.

1. Single-object VNC > intransitive VNC:

Double-nucleus source: **Nictēmoa xōchitl**. = I seek *a/the* flower. I seek flowers/the flowers.

Principal: **Nictēmoa**. = #ni-θ+c-(tēm-o-a)θ+θ-θ# = I seek it/them. [source of the matrix stem]

Adjunct: **Xōchitl**. = It is *a/the* flower. They are flowers/the flowers. [source of the embed stem]

Transform: **Nixōchitēmoa**. = #ni-θ(xō-chi-tēm-o-a)θ+θ-θ# = I flower-seek; i.e., I seek flowers.

The following are further examples:

**nipatiyōtlālia** = #ni-θ(pa-ti-yō-tlāl-i-a)θ+θ-θ# = I price-set; i.e., I set prices [ $\langle$  (pa-ti-yō)-tl-, “exchange value, price” + tla-(tlāl-i-ā), “to set s.th. down.”]

**ahquetza** = #θ-θ(ah-quetza)θ+θ-θ# = he head-erects; i.e., he raises his head [ $\langle$  (ā)-tl-, “crown of the head” + tla-(quetza), “to erect s.th.” The nounstem has the glottalized embed shape (ah)-; see § 14.1.8.]

**nitlāhuāna** = #ni-θ(tlāhu-āna)θ+θ-θ# = I red-ochre-take; i.e., I get tipsy [ $\langle$  (tlāhui)-tl-, “red ochre” + tla-(āna), “to take s.th.” Compare English slang “to get a glow on,” i.e., “to be in a state of moderate intoxication.”]

**tichtequi** = #t-θ(ich-tequi)θ+θ-θ# = you maguey-fiber-cut; i.e., you steal [ $\langle$  (ich)-tli-, “maguey fiber” + tla-(tequi), “to cut s.th.”]

**cuīcaihtlacoa** = #θ-θ(cuīca-ihltlac-o-a)θ+θ-θ# = he song-damages; i.e., he is singing off-key [ $\langle$  (cuīca)-tl-, “song” + tla-(ihltlac-o-ā), “to cause s.th. to become damaged, to damage s.th., to ruin s.th.”]

**netlāza** = #n-θ(e-tlāza)θ+θ-θ# = I bean-throw; i.e., I plant beans [ $\langle$  (e)-tl-, “bean” + tla-(tlāza), “to throw s.th.”]

*Note:* The compound verbstem (ā-tl-i), “to drink water,” is irregular in that the incorporated object consists of the nounstem plus the *num'* filler associated with the absolutive state: (ā)-tl- = water + tla-(ī) = to drink s.th.

**nātlī** = #n-θ(ā-tl-i)θ+θ-θ# = I water-drink; i.e., I drink water

Contrast this with the following incorporated-object compound stem: (necu-ā)-tl- = honey-water; i.e., unfermented maguey juice [A compound nounstem; see § 31.5.1.] + tla-(ī) = to drink s.th.

**ninecuāi** = #ni-θ(necu-ā-i)θ+θ-θ# = I drink unfermented maguey juice

2. Double-object VNC > single-object VNC:

Double-nucleus source: **Nimitztēmolia xōchitl.** = I seek a/the flower for you. I seek flowers/the flowers for you.

Principal: **Nimitztēmolia.** = #ni-θ+m-itz+□-θ(tēm-o-lia)θ+θ-θ# = I seek it/them for you. [Source of the matrix stem. The shuntline object pronoun is silently present.]

Adjunct: **Xōchitl.** = It is a/the flower. They are flowers/the flowers. [source of the embed stem]

Transform: **Nimitzxōchitēmolia.** = #ni-θ+m-itz(xō-chi-tēm-o-lia)θ+θ-θ# = I flower-see for you; i.e., I seek flowers for you.

The following are further examples:

**nēchihiyōcāhualtia** = #θ-θ+n-ēch(ih-ī-yō-cāhua-l-tia)θ+θ-θ# = he breath-abandon-causes me; i.e., he is suffocating me [< (ih-ī-yō)-tl-, “breath” + tē+tlā-(cāhua-l-tiā), “to cause s.o. to abandon s.th.”]

**niquincuīcamaca** = #ni-θ+qu-in(cuīca-maca)θ+θ-θ# = I song-give-to them; I set the pitch for them, I lead them in song [< (cuīca)-tl-, “song” + tē+tlā-(maca), “to give s.th. to s.o.”]

**quitlequechia** = #θ-θ+qui-θ(tle-quech-ia)θ+θ-θ# = he fire-erects-to it; i.e., he sets fire to it [< (tle)-tl-, “fire” + tla+tlā-(quech-iā), “to erect s.th. in relation to s.th.,” a type-one applicative from tla-(quetza), “to erect s.th.”]

### 3. Triple-object VNC > double-object VNC:

Double-nucleus source: **Nimitztēmoltilia xōchitl.** = I have him seek a/the flower for you. I have him seek flowers/the flowers for you

Principal: **Nimitztēmoltilia.** = #ni-θ+m-itz+□-θ+□-θ(tēm-o-l-ti-lia)θ+θ-θ# = I cause him to seek it/them for you. [Source of the matrix stem. Both the second-level and the first-level shuntline object pronouns are silently present.]

Adjunct: **Xōchitl.** = It is a/the flower. They are flowers/the flowers. [source of the embed stem]

Transform: **Nimitzxōchitēmoltilia.** = #ni-θ+m-itz+□-θ(xō-chi-tēm-o-l-ti-lia)θ+θ-θ# = I have him seek flowers for you. [The incorporated object is replacing the silently present first-level shuntline object pronoun. This VNC is also spelled **Nimixxōchitēmoltilia.**]

*Note:* Obviously, the formation of a single-object or double-object VNC with an incorporated object is not limited to the operations presented in subsections 2 and 3 above. Causative and applicative stems can be derived from already-existing incorporated-object stems, as can be seen in the following two examples:

**nictēēlehuiltia** = #ni-θ+c-θ+tē(ēl-ē-hu-i-l-tia)θ+θ-θ# = I cause s.o. to cause the liver to rise for it/them, i.e., I cause s.o. to yearn for it/them [This VNC is built on a causative stem that comes from the applicative stem tla-(ēl-ē-hu-iā), “to yearn for s.th.” (see § 26.2), which is itself derived from the causative incorporated-object compound stem \*(ēl-ē-hu-a), “to cause the liver to rise.” The incorporated-object nounstem is (ēl)-li-, “liver.”]

**nimitzēlēhuilia** = #ni-θ+m-itz+□-θ(ēl-ē-hu-i-lia)θ+θ-θ# = I cause the liver to rise for it/them on your behalf, i.e., I yearn for it/them for you [This VNC is built on an applicative stem that comes from the applicative stem tla-(ēl-ē-hu-iā). The lower-level applicative object pronoun has become a shuntline object and is therefore represented by □-θ.]

30.4. *An Exceptional Formation.* In certain incorporated-NNC compound verb stems, what should presumably be the object seems to be incorporated into an intransitive stem created by

**tla** fusion. Since the **tla** should represent a fused object pronoun, the only role left for the incorporated-NNC predicate is that of an adverbial modifier (to be translated “in the form of,” “having the nature of,” “resembling,” etc.; see § 30.11). It is not, however, clear why such a roundabout expression would be desirable.

Principal: **Nitlacui.** = #**ni-θ(tla-cui)θ+θ-θ#** = I make an acquisition. [source of the matrix stem]

Adjunct: **ātl.** = It is water. [source of the embed stem]

Transform: **Nātlacui.** = #**n-θ(ā-tla-cui)θ+θ-θ#** = I make an acquisition in the form of water; i.e., I fetch water.

The following is another example of the construction:

**Nohtlatoca.** = #**n-θ(oh-tla-toca)θ+θ-θ#** = I follow s.th. in the form of a road; i.e., I follow a road. [This VNC is ambiguous. It may be formed according to § 30.7 with the meaning “I go in pursuit along the road.”]

30.5. *The Incorporated-Adverb VNC.* An incorporated-adverb VNC can result from two very different transformations. In the less common of these a supplementary subject or a supplementary object in the concatenate source is transformed into an adverbial embed (see § 30.14). The more common type simply incorporates an adverbial NNC as an adverb into the VNC whose stem serves as the matrix of the compound stem. On the surface, transform VNCs resulting from these two transformations look the same. In both, the matrix verbstem may be either intransitive or transitive and the valence of the compound verbstem remains the same as that of the matrix stem (although by different routes). The incorporated adverb is frequently translated by an adverbial prepositional phrase in English. An incorporated-adverb compound verbstem frequently has an idiomatic translation value.

30.6. *The Incorporated-Adverb Compound Verbstem.* Even the simpler transformational process that creates an incorporated-adverb verbstem is more complicated than one for creating an incorporated-object verbstem. There are a number of ways to form an adverbial expression in Nahuatl (these are presented in Lessons 44 to 50) and consequently a number of transformational routes for an NNC to enter a compound VNC as an adverb.

In the following presentation of the varieties of incorporated-adverb VNCs, the complexities of the transformation creating them are overlooked. Instead of giving the adjunct clause (which may or may not be a single-clause construction) that serves as the source of the incorporated adverb, only the pertinent nounstem in the adverbial adjunct is given.

30.7. *Incorporated Adverbs of Means or Instrument.* The incorporated NNC may represent the *means* or *instrument* by which the action is performed:

Principal: **Tōna.** = It is sun-shining. [source of the matrix stem]

Stem in the adverbial adjunct: (**mētztli-**) = moon [source of the embed stem]

Transform: **Mētztōna.** = #**θ-θ(mētzt-tōna)θ+θ-θ#** = It is sun-shining by means of the moon; i.e., There is moonlight. The moon is out. The moon is shining. [Warning! The embed is *not* functioning as a subject—it is an adverbial modifier. See § 30.18.]

The following are further examples:

**nitlatlehuātza** = #ni- $\theta$ +tla(tle-huā-tz-a) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I fire-dry s.th.; i.e., I roast s.th. [< (tle)-tl-, “fire” + tla-(huā-tz-a), “to cause s.th. to become dry; to dry s.th.”]

**niccūiquēhua** = #ni- $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ (cuīqu-ē-hu-a) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I song-lift him; I lift him by means of a song; i.e., I sing a song in his praise [< (cuīca)-tl-, “song” + tē-(ē-hu-a), “to lift s.o.” Concerning the form of the embed here, see § 30.1.]

**tāmatlahcuiloa** = #t- $\theta$ (āma-tla-hcuil-o-a) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = you paper-write; you write by means of paper; i.e., you write a letter [< (āma)-tl-, “paper” + (tla-hcuil-o-ā), “to write.” The matrix is an intransitive stem created by tla fusion; compare this with the situation in § 30.4.]

**niteuhpachihui** = #ni- $\theta$ (teuh-pach-i-hui) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I dust-become-pressed-down; i.e., I become covered with dust [< (teuh)-tli-, “dust” + (pach-i-hui), “to become pressed down”; the compound stem is also spelled (tep-pach-i-hui).]

**nictlāpachoa** = #ni- $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ (tlā-pach-o-a) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I with-a-covering-press-down-on-it; i.e., I cover it [The tlā is written in traditional texts as tla, thereby misleading readers into thinking that it is the object pronoun tla, but this would create an overload of verb objects. It is, rather, the nounstem (tlā)-tl-, “a covering,” serving as an adverbial embed. The matrix stem is tla-(pach-o-ā), “to press down on s.th.”]

Frequently, the adverb of means or instrument in the concatenate source sentence contains a nounstem signifying a body part. When incorporated into a compound the possessive pronoun that would cooperate with such a stem has no representation in the compound VNC, because it is coreferential with a personal pronoun (subject or object) working with the matrix stem.

**ticmāneloa** = #ti- $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ (mā-nel-o-a) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = you hand-stir it; i.e., you stir it by hand [< (māi)-tl-, “hand” + tla-(nel-o-ā), “to stir s.th.”]

**tītlamāneloa** = #ti- $\theta$ (tla-mā-nel-o-a) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = you arm-stir s.th.; i.e., you swim [Here (māi)-tl- means “arm and hand.” Notice also tla fusion.]

**tlamahtēmoa** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ +tla(mah-tēm-o-a) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = he hand-seeks s.th.; i.e., he is groping for s.th. [< (māi)-tl-, “hand” + tla-(tēm-o-ā), “to seek s.th.” When incorporated in a compound stem, (māi)-tl- frequently has the glottalized shape (mah)-; see § 14.2.8.]

**nīxhuetzca** = #n- $\theta$ (īx-hue-tz-ca) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I face-laugh; I laugh by means of my face; i.e., I smile [< (īx)-tli-, “face” + (hue-tz-ca), “to laugh”]

**tiquīximati** = #ti- $\theta$ +qu- $\theta$ (ixi-mati) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = you face-know him; you know him by his face; i.e., you recognize him, you are acquainted with him [< (īx)-tli-, “face” + tē-(mati), “to know s.o.” The incorporated nounstem is irregular in that it has an added [i], as if the stem were \*(īxi)-tl-.]

**tēchyacāna** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ +t-ēch(yac-āna) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = he nose-takes us; he takes us by the nose; i.e., he guides us, he leads us [< (yaca)-tl-, “nose” + tē-(āna), “to take s.o.” It looks as if (yaca)-tl- is using its general-use stem counter to the rule in § 30.1 (since it is a stem of Subclass 2-B of the tl class), but it is probable that its final /a/ has fused with the initial /a:/ of (āna).]

**icxipano** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (icxi-pano) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he foot-crosses-the-stream, he crosses the stream on foot; i.e., he fords the stream [ $\langle$  (icxi)-tl-, “foot” + (panō), “to cross over to the other side”]

**nitziñquiza** = #ni- $\emptyset$ (tzin-quiza) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I buttocks-exit; I exit by my buttocks, i.e., I back up, I back away, I retreat [ $\langle$  (tzin)-tli-, “buttocks” + (quiza), “to leave/exit”]

30.8. *Incorporated Adverbs of Place.* The incorporated NNC may represent the place where or upon which an action is performed:

Principal: **Nitlehco.** = I ascend. I go up. [source of the matrix stem]

Stem of the adverbial adjunct: **(cuahui)-tl-** = tree [source of the embed stem]

Transform: **Nicuauhtlehco.** = #ni- $\emptyset$ (cuauh-tlehco) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I tree-ascend; I ascend upon a tree; i.e., I climb trees. [Compare this with the double-nucleus version **Cuahuitl niclehcahuia**, “I ascend with regard to a tree,” i.e., “I climb a tree,” where the NNC **cuahuitl** is a supplementary applicative object! (see § 26.10). Contrast § 30.14.2, note 2.]

The following are further examples:

**nicalaqui** = #ni- $\emptyset$ (cal-aqui) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I house-enter; I enter a house; i.e., I enter [ $\langle$  (cal)-li- “house, enclosed area” + (aqui), “to enter.” The compound is more frequent than the source verbstem. As shown in § 28.6.14, it may occur as the matrix for a connective-t compound verbstem: **nitēpetlaticalaqui** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +tē(petla- $\emptyset$ -ti-cal-aqui) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = “I charge into a crowd of people.” The embed verbstem is tē-(petla), “to make one’s way into/among people.”]

**ticācaltēma** = #ti- $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ (ā-cal-tēm-a) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = you water-house-load it/them; you load it/them on a boat [ $\langle$  (ā-cal)-li-, “dugout/boat” + tla-(tēm-a), “to fill s.th.” The embed is a compound nounstem; see § 31.3.]

As in the formation in § 30.7, a stem signifying a body part can appear in the embed subposition, having been generated from an adverbial modifier in the concatenate source sentence. Again, the possessor pronoun in the source is deleted in the transformation.

**nixipetlāuhtinemi** = #n- $\emptyset$ (icxi-petl-ā-uh- $\emptyset$ -ti-nemi) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I walk having become naked at the feet; i.e., I walk barefoot, I go around barefoot [ $\langle$  (icxi)-tl-, “foot” + (petl-ā-uh- $\emptyset$ -ti-nemi), “to walk about naked”]

**tiyōlmiqui** = #ti- $\emptyset$ (yōl-miqui) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = you heart-die; you die in the heart; i.e., you are terrified [ $\langle$  (yōl)-li-, “lively thing” + (miqui), “to die.” Here (yōl)-li- stands for (yōl-lō)-tl-, “heart” (see § 39.9).]

**ninotlancuāquetza** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +n-o(tlan-cuā-quetza) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I knee-erect myself; I erect myself on my knees; i.e., I kneel [ $\langle$  (tlan-cuāi)-tl-, “knee” + m-o-(quetza), “to erect oneself.” The embed is a compound nounstem; see § 31.4.]

**nitlamācāhua** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +tla(mā-cāhua) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I hand-abandon s.th.; I abandon s.th. from my hand; i.e., I drop s.th. [ $\langle$  (māi)-tl-, “hand” + tla-(cāhua), “to abandon s.th.”]

**tictēnēhua** = #ti- $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ (tēn-ē-hu-a) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = you lip-raise it; you cause it to depart from your lips; i.e., you utter it, you mention it [ $\langle$  (tēn)-tli-, “lip” + tla-(ē-hu-a), “to cause s.th. to rise, to raise s.th.; to cause s.th. to depart.”]

30.9. *Incorporated Adverbs of Time or Duration.* The incorporated NNC may signify the time of an action:

Principal: **Niccaqui.** = I hear it. [source of the matrix stem]

Stem of the adverbial adjunct: **(yohua-l)-li-** = night [source of the embed stem]

Transform: **Nicyohualcaqui.** = #ni- $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ (yōhua-l-caqui) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I hear it in the night. I hear it at night.

The incorporated NNC may also signify *duration* of an action:

Principal: **Mozauhqueh.** = They fasted. [source of the matrix stem]

Stem of the adverbial adjunct: **(cen-xihui)-tl-** = one year [The embed is a compound stem.

See § 34.3. Because of assimilation (</n/ + /s/ > [šš]), this is traditionally spelled without the **n** (see § 2.11.1).]

Transform: **Mocenxiuhzauhqueh.** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ +m-o(cen-xiuh-zauh) $\theta$ +qu-eh# = They fasted for one year.

30.10. *Incorporated Adverbs of Cause or Purpose.* The incorporated NNC may represent the cause or purpose of the action:

Principal: **Nimiqui.** = I die. [source of the matrix stem]

Stem of the adverbial adjunct: **(ā)-tl-** = water [source of the embed stem]

Transform: **Nāmiqui.** = #n- $\theta$ (ā-miqui) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I am dying because of (lack of) water. I am dying for water; i.e., I am dying of thirst. I am thirsty.

The following are further examples of the construction:

**tlātlatla** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (tla-ā-tla-tla) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = everything is burning up because of (lack of) water [**(ā)-tl-**, “water” + **(tla-tla)**, “to burn,” here, “to become damaged as if by fire”; the **tla** is the impersonal **tla** of § 22.6.]

**nicochmiqui** = #ni- $\theta$ (coch-miqui) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I die because of (lack of) sleep; I am extremely sleepy [**(coch)-tli-**, “sleep” + **(miqui)**, “to die”]

**niciauhmiqui** = #ni- $\theta$ (ci-a-uh-miqui) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I die because of fatigue; I am dead tired, I am exhausted [**(ci-a-hui)-tl-**, “fatigue.” Spelled traditionally, the VNC would be **nici-ammiqui**, with the /w/ assimilated to the following /m/; see § 2.11.3.]

**nitlemiqui** = #ni- $\theta$ (tle-miqui) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I die because of fire; I am extremely hot [**(tle)-tl-**, “fire.” Compare the English hyperbole, “I am burning up.”]

**nitōnalmiqui** = #ni- $\theta$ (tōna-l-miqui) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I die because of sunheat; i.e., I can hardly stand this hot weather; the sun is almost too much to bear [**(tōna-l)-li-**, “sunheat”]

**nicecmiqui** = #ni- $\theta$ (ce-c-miqui) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I die because of cold; i.e., I am freezing to death [**(ce-c)-tli-**, “cold”: see § 39.6.2.]

**nāxixmiqui** = #n- $\theta$ (ā-xix-miqui) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I die because of urine; i.e., I have an urgent need to urinate [**(ā-xix)-tli-**, “urine”]

**motequipachoa** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ +m-o(tequi-pach-o-a) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = he presses himself down with work; i.e., he is troubled, he is worried [**(tequi)-tl-**, “work, effort, duty” + **m-o-(pach-o-ā)**, “to press oneself down, to bend over”]

**tiyāōtzahtzih** = #**ti-θ(yāō-tzahtzi)θ+θ-h#** = we war-shout; we shout for the purpose of war; i.e., we give a call to arms [**<(yāō)-tl-**, “enemy” + **(tzahtzi)**, “to shout.” When serving as the filler of an embed subposition, the stem **(yāō)-tl-** frequently represents the compound stem **(yāō-yō)-tl-**, “war”; see § 39.9.]

30.11. *Incorporated Adverbs of Manner.* The incorporated NNC may represent the manner in which an action is performed, with either subject or object focus.

Principal: **Nihuetzca.** = I laugh. [source of the matrix stem]

Stem of the adverbial adjunct: **(tequi)-tl-** = work [source of the embed stem]

Transform: **Nitequihuetzca.** = #**ni-θ(tequi-hue-tz-ca)θ+θ-θ#** = I laugh with effort; i.e., I laugh heartily. I laugh a lot. I laugh often.

The following is another example of the formation:

**motlahuēlitzticatcah** = #**θ+θ+m-o(tlahu-ēl-itz-θ-ti-ca-t)ca+θ-h#** = they were looking at each other with hatred; i.e., they continually hated one another [**<(tlahu-ēl)-li-**, “hatred” + **t-o-(itz-θ-ti-ca-h)**, “to be looking at one another”]

A related concept is that of “in the form of,” “in the style of.”

**nenepilquīza** = #**θ-θ(nene-pil-quīza)θ+θ-θ#** = it comes out in the form of a tongue; it (i.e., the maize ear) begins to emerge [**<(nene-pil)-li-**, “tongue” + **(quīza)**, “to come out.” The embed is a compound nounstem; see § 31.4.]

**tlequiyahui** = #**θ-θ(tle-quiy-a-hui)θ+θ-θ#** = it rains in the form of fire, i.e., it rains fire [**<(tle)-tl-**, “fire” + **(quiy-a-hui)**, “to rain”]

**quiyauhtlahtlanih** = #**θ-θ(quiy-a-uh-tla-h-tlani)θ+θ-θ#** = they request s.th. in the form of rain; i.e., they pray for rain [**<(quiy-a-hui)-tl-**, “rain” + **(tla-h-tlani)**, “to request s.th., to make a request.” Despite the **tla** fusion, the modifier is still focussed on the object. Contrast this formation with that of § 30.4.]

**ahhuetzi** = #**θ-θ(ah-huetzi)θ+θ-θ#** = *impers.*, it falls in the form of water, i.e., dew forms  
**cehuetzi** = #**θ-θ(ce-huetzi)θ+θ-θ#** = *impers.*, it falls in the form of ice, i.e., freezing occurs

30.12. *Incorporated Adverbs of Compared Manner.* The incorporated NNC may represent a *compared manner* of action. The formation establishes a comparison between some pronoun in the matrix VNC and an entity that “normally” acts as agent or patient of the matrix action.

1. If the matrix verbstem is intransitive, the incorporated NNC is subject oriented; that is, the comparison is established with the subject pronoun of the compound-stemmed VNC:

Principal: **Ancuepōnih.** = You (pl) bud. [source of the matrix stem]

Stem in the adverbial adjunct: **(xō-chi)-tl-** = flower [source of the embed stem]

Transform: **Anxōchicuepōnih.** = #**an-θ(xō-chi-cuep-ō-ni)θ+θ-h#** = You (pl) bud like flowers. You (pl) bud the way flowers do.

The following are other examples of the formation:



**nimācēhuallahto** = #ni- $\emptyset$ (mā-cē-hua-l-la-ht-o-a) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I speak like a peasant; my manner of speaking is unpolished [< (mā-cē-hu-a-l)-li-, “peasant, commoner” + (tla-ht-o-ā), “to speak”]

**nitōtōtlapītza** = #ni- $\emptyset$ (tōtō-tla-pītza) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I blow a sound like a bird; i.e., I imitate a birdcall [< (tōtō)-tl-, “bird” + (tla-pītza), “to blow a musical instrument (whistle, flute, etc.)”]; this is another instance of **tla** fusion. This example may belong in § 30.10, since it is also translated “I blow a sound for the purpose of (luring) birds,” i.e., “I lure birds by means of a birdcall.”]

**nicoyōchōca** = #ni- $\emptyset$ (coy-ō-chōca) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I cry like a coyote; i.e., I howl like a coyote [< (coy-ō)-tl-, “coyote” + (chōca), “to cry”]

2. If the matrix stem is transitive, there are two possibilities.

a. The comparison may be established with the subject pronoun of the compound VNC (as above):

Principal: **Quinequih**. = They want it/them. [source of the matrix stem]

Stem in the adverbial adjunct: **(pitzo)-tl-** = pig [source of the embed stem]

Transform: **Quipitzonequih**. = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +qui- $\emptyset$ (pitzo-nequi) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -h# = They want it/them like pigs; i.e., They lust for it/them greedily.

The following is another example of the formation:

**tictlohpiya** = #ti- $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ (tloh-piya) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = you guard it like a hawk [< (tloh)-tli-, “hawk” + tla-(piya), “to guard s.th.”]

b. The comparison may be established with the object pronoun of the compound VNC:

Principal: **Nicpehpena**. = I choose it/them. [source of the matrix stem]

Stem in the adverbial adjunct: **(xō-chi)-tl-** = flower [source of the embed stem]

Transform: **Nicxōchipehpena**. = #ni- $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ (xō-chi-peh-pena) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I choose it/them like a flower/flowers.

The following is another example of the formation:

**nicmātlachīhua** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ (mā-tla-chīhua) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I make it similar to a net [< (mā-tla)-tl-, “net” + tla-(chīhua), “to make s.th.” The embed is a compound nounstem; see § 31.5.3.]

*Note:* One of the most frequent incorporated-adverb-of-compared-manner compound verbstems is formed with the preterit-agentive nounstem as embed (see § 44.7).

30.13. *Unique Embed Nounstems in Compound Verbstems.* In certain instances the nounstem serving as an incorporated adverb is no longer used to form simple-stemmed NNCs and occurs only as an embed in compound stem formations. Examples of such nounstems are (**īl-**), (**tel-**), (**pol-**), (**poz-**), and (**ih-**). The meaning of these stems and of others like them is not certain.

**tla-(īl-cāhua)** = to forget s.th. [< **tla-(cāhua)**, “to abandon s.th.” The **i** is a supportive vowel; e.g., **nitlalcāhua**, “I forget s.th.”]

**tla-(īl-nāmiqui)** = to think about/recall s.th. [< **tla-(nāmiqui)**, “to encounter s.th.”]

**tla-(īl-pītza)** = to inflate s.th. [**< tla-(pītza)**, “to blow on s.th. (e.g., a wind instrument/a fire)”]

**tla-(īl-tequi)** = to sip/suck s.th. [**< tla-(tēqui)**, “to cut s.th.”]

**tē- ~ tla-(tel-chīhua)** = to despise s.o. or s.th. [**< tē-(chīhua)**, “to engender s.o.”; **tla-(chīhua)**, “to make s.th.”]

**tē- ~ tla-(tel-icza)** = to kick s.o. or s.th. [**< tē- ~ tla-(icza)**, “to step on/tread on s.o. or s.th.”]

**m-o- ~ tē-(tel-quetza)** = to stop oneself or s.o. in amazement [**< m-o-(quetza)**, “to stand up from a seated position”; **tē-(quetza)**, “to make s.o. stand up; to make s.o. who is walking stop”]

**(pol-aqui)** = to become submerged in water, to plunge into water [**< (aqui)**, “to enter.” The causative stem is **tē- ~ tla-(pol-ac-tiā)**, “to submerge s.o. or s.th. under water; to plunge s.o. or s.th. into water.”]

**tla-(poz-tequi)** = to break s.th. (e.g., a stick/a leg) [**< tla-(tequi)**, “to cut s.th.”]

**tla-(ih-mati)** = to be skilled/clever at s.th.; to be astute in preparing/dealing with/managing s.th. [**< tla-(mati)**, “to know s.th.”]

**tla-(ih-tlani)** = to request/ask for s.th. [**< \*tla-(tlani)**, “to request/order/desire s.th.”; used only as the matrix of a compound verbstem; see § 39.7.]

The nounstem **\*(ih)-** also occurs as an incorporated adverb in frequentative-like compound verbstems that end in intransitive **ca** or causative **tz-a** like the derived destockal verbstems in § 27.4. It is likely that **\*(ih)-** is a glottalized variant (see § 14.2.8) of **\*(ī)-tl-**, “breath/spirit” (a nounstem that has been supplanted by its compound **(ih-ī-yō)-tl-**; see § 39.3), so the adverbially functioning **\*(ih)-** would mean something like “spiritedly.” This is often not evident in the translation value of the resultant stems, which frequently have unexpected meanings. [At times the **ī** of **\*(ih)-** is treated like a supportive [i] after **tla**, which can also happen with **tla-(ih-mati)**, etc.]

**(ih-pot-o-ca)** = to give off a noxious vapor [**< (pot-ō-ni)**, “to stink”]

**(ih-cahu-a-ca)** = (for birds) to twitter noisily; (for people) to make a murmuring sound > **tē-(ih-cahu-a-tz-a)** = to cause s.o. to make a murmuring sound [**< (cahu-ā-ni)**, “to become distinguished/noticed/memorable.” The connection in meaning between the compound stem and the source destockal stem is not clear.]

**(ih-zan-a-ca)** = (for dry leaves, etc.) to make a rustling noise > **tla-(ih-zan-a-tz-a)** = to cause s.th. to make a rustling sound [**< \*(zan-ā-ni)**]

**(ih-zahu-a-ca)** = to be hoarse; to make a rustling sound [**< \*(zahu-ā-ni)**]

**(ih-cot-o-ca)** = to snore [**< (cot-ō-ni)**, “(for thread, cord, etc.) to break”]

**(ih-coy-o-ca)** = (for wind, waves, rushing water, fire, etc.) to roar [**< (coy-ō-ni)**, “to make a yammering sound.” Dictionaries list this source stem as meaning only “to become a hole” (see § 24.5.3), but that it also has to do with making a sound is evident both in this compound stem and in the nounstem **(coy-ō)-tl-**, “coyote” (see § 39.4.4).]

A two-syllabled destockal verbstem (see § 24.5.9) can also form this kind of compound stem (compare § 27.4.3).

**(ih-pō-ca)** = to emit fumes > **m-□-(ih-pō-tz-a)** = to cause o.s. to emit fumes; i.e., to belch  
[**< \*(pō-ni) < \*(po-ō-ni)**]

**(ih-cī-ca)** = to pant [ **< \*(cī-ni) < \*(ci-ī-ni)**]

**(ih-xī-ca)** = (for a pot) to exude/leak/drip > **tla-(ih-xī-tz-a)** = to cause s.th. to drip; i.e., to distill s.th. [ $< *(xī-ni) < *(xī-ī-ni)$ ]

The adverbial embed can occur on destockal frequentative verbstems formed with the reduplicative prefix.

**(ih-ca-cahu-a-ca)** = to twitter shrilly

Or it can itself be reduplicated (the **i** is treated as a real vowel).

**(ih-ih-cahu-a-ca)** = (for birds) to warble

Like the formation in § 27.4.1 the compound stem can have an impersonal **tla** (the **i** is treated as a supportive vowel).

**(tla-h-cahu-a-ca)** = for there to be a hue and cry, for there to be an outburst of war cries

30.14. *The Other Kind of Incorporated-Adverb VNC.* The incorporated-adverb VNCs of §§ 30.6–30.13 are built on a compound verbstem whose adverbial embed is generated from an *adverbial adjunct* in the concatenate source sentence. The other kind of incorporated-adverb VNC mentioned in § 30.5 has a compound stem whose adverbial embed results from the transformation of a *supplement* (subject or object) in the source sentence. This kind of compound-stemmed VNC is especially to be contrasted with those in § 30.7 and § 30.8 that have compound stems which embed nounstems signifying body parts. There a possessor pronoun was taken for granted; here it is explicitly recognized but transformed. Furthermore, here the embedded nounstem can signify not only body parts but also clothing and familial relations.

The following discussion presents first the adverbial embed resulting from a supplementary subject in the source and then that resulting from a supplementary object.

1. An intransitive VNC as principal clause in the source sentence can supply its *supplementary subject* as a candidate for the adverbial transformation if that adjunct NNC is in the possessive state. The predicate of this NNC, unlike those in § 30.7 and § 30.8, does not lose its possessor pronoun when its stem is embedded as an adverbial modifier inside a compound verbstem.

Since, however, a possessor pronoun cannot (normally) appear in a VNC, it replaces its possessive-case feature with a nominative-case feature and becomes the *subject pronoun* of the compound VNC. The following example illustrates the transformation:

Double-nucleus source: **Nomā cepōhuac.** = My hand became numb.

Principal: **cepōhuac** = it became numb [ $< (\mathbf{ce-pōhua})$ , “to become numb from cold or from pressure on a nerve”]

Adjunct: **nomā** = it is my hand [ $< (\mathbf{māi-tl-}$ , “hand, arm.” The NNC functions as a supplementary subject in the source sentence.]

Transform: **nimācepōhuac** =  $\#ni-\emptyset(\mathbf{mā-ce-pōhua})\emptyset+c-\emptyset\#$  = I became numb at my hand, i.e., my hand became numb

While on the surface the subject pronoun of the transform interacts with the matrix stem and the predicate as a whole, beneath the surface (i.e., semantically) its ties are with the embed, since it was its possessor pronoun.

The following are further examples:

**nitzoniztaya** = #ni-θ(tzon-izta-ya)θ+θ-θ# = I become white at the hair, i.e., my hair is turning white [Source sentence: **notzon iztaya**, “my hair is becoming white.”]

**nitēnihza** = #ni-θ(tēn-ihza)θ+θ-θ# = I become awake at the lips; i.e., I eat breakfast [Source sentence: **notēn ihza**, “my lips become awake.”]

**ōnitlanhuetz** = ō#ni-θ(tlan-huetz)θ+□-θ# = I tooth-fell, i.e., I lost a tooth [Source sentence: **ōnotlan huetz**, “my tooth fell.” The antecessive particle **ō#** frequently occurs in front of a supplementary subject; see the integrated-supplement construction in § 18.1.]

**tlanixhua** = #θ-θ(tlan-ix-hua)θ+θ-θ# = he tooth-sprouts, i.e., he is cutting a tooth, he is teething, he is growing a tooth [Source sentence: **itlan ixhua**, “his tooth sprouts.”]

**ōtixichuetz** = ō#ti-θ(xī-c-huetz)θ+□-θ# = you navel-fell, i.e., you have lost honor and esteem [Source sentence: **ōmoxīc huetz**, “your navel has fallen.” The navel represented something like the symbolic center of selfhood and for another person to be treat it with disrespect was an insult.]

**niyōllohtōnhua** = #ni-θ(yōl-loh-tōn-ē-hua)θ+θ-θ# = I heart-suffer; i.e., I have acute pain in my heart [Source sentence: **noyōllo tōnhua** “my heart hurts acutely.”]

**nīxcocoya** = #n-θ(ix-coco-ya)θ+θ-θ# = I am-eye-sick, i.e., my eyes are hurting, my eyes are infected [Source sentence: **nīx cocoya**, “my eyes are sick.” Here **nīx** is #θ-θ+n-(īx)θ-θ#, “they are my eyes.”]

**tihticocomoca** = #t-θ(ihti-co-com-o-ca)θ+θ-θ# = you stomach-crackle, i.e., your bowels have the gripes [Source sentence: **mihti cocomoca**, “your stomach crackles.”]

**ēllelahci** = #θ-θ(ēl-le-l-ahci)θ+θ-θ# = he affliction-arrives, i.e., he is greatly troubled [Source sentence: **īēllel ahci**, “his affliction arrives.” For **(ēl-le-l)-li-**, “affliction, pain,” see § 31.6.]

The following examples incorporate stems signifying personal relations:

**nitahmiqui** = #ni-θ(tah-miqui)θ+θ-θ# = I father-die, i.e., I survive my father, my father is dead [Source sentence: **notah miqui**, “my father dies.”]

**tīcihuāmiqui** = #ti-θ(cihuā-miqui)θ+θ-θ# = you wife-die, i.e., you become a widower, you are a widower [Source sentence: **mocihuāuh miqui**, “your wife dies, you become a widower.”]

**oquichmiqui** = #θ-θ(oquich-miqui)θ+θ-θ# = she husband-dies, i.e., she becomes a widow [Source sentence: **īoquichhui miqui**, “her husband dies, she becomes a widow.” If the subject pronoun of this compound VNC refers to a man, the VNC means “he dies like a man” according to § 30.12.]

**tlahtohcāmicohua** = #θ-θ(tla-ht-o-h-θ-cā-mic-o-hua)θ+θ-θ# = people king-die; i.e., people survive their king, someone’s king is dead [Source sentence: **tētlahtohcāuh miqui**, “someone’s king dies.” The nonspecific possessor **tē** becomes the impersonal subject of the impersonal-matrixed compound VNC. For the structure of **tētlahtohcāuh**, see § 35.6.]

2. A transitive VNC as principal clause in the source sentence can supply its *supplementary object* as a candidate for the adverbial transformation if that adjunct NNC is in the possessive

state. The possessor pronoun replaces its possessive-case feature with an objective-case feature and becomes the *object pronoun* in the compound-stemmed VNC. The following example illustrates the transformation:

Double-nucleus source: **Nictohtoma in mocac.** = I undo your sandals/shoes.

Principal: **nictohtoma = #ni-θ+c-θ(toh-tom-a)θ+θ-θ#** = I cause them to become undone, I undo them [**< tla-(tom-a)**, “to cause s.th. to become undone.” The reduplicative prefix indicates distributive action upon the entities referred to by the object pronoun.]

Adjunct: **mocac** = they are your sandals/shoes [The NNC functions as supplementary object.]

Transform: **nimitzcactohoma = #ni-θ+m-itz(cac-toh-tom-a)θ+θ-θ#** = I undo you at the sandals/shoes; i.e., I undo your sandals/shoes [The pronoun **m-itz** is the causative object.]

While on the surface the object pronoun interacts with the matrix stem, and thus with the compound stem as a whole, beneath the surface (i.e., semantically) its ties are with the embed, since it was its possessor pronoun.

There also exists a double-nucleus sentence with an applicative verbstem that is derived from the stem of the VNC in the sentence that serves as the source for the above compound-stemmed VNC: **Nimitztohtomia in mocac.** = “I undo your sandals/shoes for you.” [Notice the difference in the translation.] Strange though it may seem, a sentence with this kind of applicative principal clause with a supplementary object whose stem names a body part or clothing cannot serve as the source for a compound-stemmed VNC transformation.

The following are further examples of the compound formation:

**quimahpilcotōn = #θ-θ+qui-θ(mah-pil-cot-ō-n)θ+□-θ#** = he finger-cut-off him, i.e., he cut him off at the finger; i.e., he cut off his finger [Source sentence: **quicotōn in imahpil**, “*he-cut-it-off* adjr it-is-his-finger”; i.e., “he cut off his finger.” The supplementary object is a compound NNC; see § 31.1.]

**tinēchtēntzonxīma = #ti-θ+n-ēch(tēn-tzon-xīma)θ+θ-θ#** = you beard-shave me, i.e., you shave my beard, you shave me [Source sentence: **ticxīma in notēntzon**, “*you-shave-it* adjr it-is-my-beard,” i.e., “you shave my beard.” The supplementary object is a compound NNC; see § 31.5.1.]

**nēchcuātlapān = #θ-θ+n-ēch(cuā-tlap-ā-n)θ+□-θ#** = he head-broke-open me, i.e., he broke open my head, he gave me a concussion [Source sentence: **quitlapān in nocuā**, “*he-broke-open-it* adjr it-is-my-head,” i.e., “he broke open my head,” “he gave me a concussion.”]

**quicōtzcuah = #θ-θ+qui-θ(cōtz-cuah)θ+□-θ#** = he calf-ate her, i.e., he bit her on the calf of her leg, i.e., he bewitched her, he cast a spell over her [Source sentence: **quicuah in icōtz**, “*he-ate-it* adjr it-is-her-calf,” i.e., “he bit her calf.”]

**timotahmictih = #ti-θ+m-o(tah-mic-tih)θ+□-θ#** = you caused yourself to father-die, you father-killed yourself, i.e., you committed patricide [Source sentence: **ticmictih in motah**, “*you-caused-him-to-die* adjr he-is-your-father,” i.e., “you killed your father.”]

**niinoxomalina** = #ni- $\theta$ +n-o(xo-mal- $\bar{i}$ -n-a) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I leg-entwine myself, i.e., I cross my legs [Source sentence: **nicmalina in noxo**, “*I-entwine-them* adjr they-are-my-legs,” i.e., “I cross my legs.”]

**niinotlahtōlhuelitta** = #ni- $\theta$ +n-o(tla-ht- $\bar{o}$ -l-huel-itt-a) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I words-well-see myself, i.e., I look with approval upon my words, I like what I have said [Source sentence: **nichuelitta in notlahtōl**, “*I-see-well-them* adjr they-are-my-words,” i.e., “I like my words.” For *huel*, which is an incorporated adverb here, see § 44.5.2.]

*Note 1:* In many instances the concatenate source sentence is rare, since the compound-stemmed VNC is the normal way to express the concept.

At times careful attention is needed to distinguish the “adverbial-NNC-to-incorporated-adverb” transform from the “supplementary-NNC-to-incorporated-adverb” transform. Compare, for example, the following compound VNCs that appear to be the same on the surface but have different meanings because of the difference of their sources:

**niiniquixitohtoca** = #ni- $\theta$ +qu- $\theta$ (icxi-toh-toca) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I feet-chase it/them, i.e., I chase it/them by means of my feet, i.e., I grope for it/them with my feet [The source sentence contains an adverbial expression involving the possessive-state predicate +n-o(cxi)-; the possessor pronoun of this predicate is deleted because of coreference with the subject pronoun of the principal clause. This compound-stemmed VNC is formed according to § 30.7.]

**niiniquixitohtoca** = #ni- $\theta$ +qu- $\theta$ (icxi-toh-toca) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I feet-follow him, i.e., I follow his feet, i.e., I follow his footprints, I track him [The source sentence is **nictohhtoca in icxi**, “*I-follow-them* adjr they-are-his-feet; i.e., “I follow his feet (i.e., his foot prints).” The compound VNC is formed according to the present subsection.]

*Note 2:* The formation presented in this section is further complicated by the possibility that certain possessive-state NNCs signifying possessions not so intimately possessed as body-parts, clothing, and family relations can undergo a transformation that imitates it. For example:

**nitēmilchihua** = #ni- $\theta$ +tē(mil-chihua) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I field-make s.o., i.e., I cultivate s.o.’s field/fields [Source sentence: **nicchihua in tēmīl**, “*I-make-it* adjr it-is-s.o.’s-field, *I-make-them* adjr they-are-s.o.’s-fields,” i.e., “I cultivate s.o.’s field/fields.”]

**mitzcallatiz** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ +m-itz(cal-la-ti)z+ $\square$ - $\theta$ # = he will-house-burn you, i.e., he will burn your house [Source sentence: **quitlatiz in mocal**, “*he-will-burn-it* adjr it is-your-house,” i.e., “he will burn your house.”]

**tiinquimilpatlaz** = #ti- $\theta$ +qu-in(quimil-patla)z+ $\square$ - $\theta$ # = you will bundle-exchange them; i.e., you will take over their bundle/bundles [Source sentence: **ticpatlaz in inquimil**, “*you-will-exchange-it* adjr it-is-their-bundle,” i.e., “you will take over their bundle/bundles.” The possessor pronoun  $\bar{i}$ -n becomes the object pronoun **qu-in** in the transformed sentence.]

What sets these formations apart from those in the main text is the fact that they do permit a compound-stemmed VNC built on an applicative stem.

**nitēmilchihuilia** = #ni- $\theta$ +tē(mil-chihui-lia) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I cultivate fields for s.o. [This is merely an incorporated-object compound VNC formed according to § 30.2. The source sentence is **nictēchihuilia in milli**, “*I-make-it-for-s.o.* adjr it-is-the/a-field,” i.e., “I cultivate the field/fields for s.o.” Notice the difference in translation between this and **nitēmilchihua**.]

3. The *supplementary subject* of an active-voice transitive VNC is obligatorily converted into an adverb when it undergoes passivization. In the passive transformation the basic subject (the pronominal subject) of the source active sentence is discarded (see § 21.1); consequently, having lost its function, a supplementary subject cannot survive passage through the

active-passive barrier unless it undergoes adverbialization. The resultant adverb, normally meaning “by way of,” “with,” “through the agency of,” “due to,” “by means of,” etc., may be incorporated into the nonactive verbstem.

Active: **Mā mitzmīntin xīcohtin.** = Beware lest the bumblebees sting you (sg).

Passive: **Mā tixīcohmināloh.** = #ti-θ(xīcoh-mī-n-a-lo)h+□-θ# = Beware lest you be stung by way of bumblebees.

The adverbialization may also be accomplished by means of an adverbialized NNC (see § 49.1.1):

Active: **Ōquicehuih tahahpilōl.** = Our water jars extinguished it.

Passive: **Ōcheuilōc tahahpilōl.** = It was extinguished by means of our water jars.

30.15. *The Incorporated-Complement Compound VNC.* In Nahuatl a complement is an adjunct-like function that, unlike an adjunct (e.g., a supplement), is a necessary addition to a VNC to complete something said about a personal pronoun in it (creating a *subject* complement or an *object* complement) or about its stem (creating an *adverbial* complement). Only the subject complement and the object complement are of importance to the present discussion. The complement may be added outside the governing VNC (see Lesson 51 for double-nucleus structures of complementation) or inside it in the form of an incorporated complement. The result is an “NNC + VNC”-type compound VNC similar to the incorporated-adverb compound VNC in that the compound verbstem has the same valence as the verbstem serving as the source for the matrix. But it is unlike it in that the subject pronoun of the source NNC shares reference with the subject or object pronoun of the source VNC. This coreferential subject is deleted when the predicate of the NNC is incorporated into the compound VNC.

The following paragraphs illustrate the kinds of incorporated-complement compound VNCs (compare Lesson 51).

1. The compound VNC with an incorporated subject complement:

Matrix source: **Nēci.** = He appears.

Embed source: **Tēlpōchtli.** = He is a youth.

Transform: **Tēlpōchnēci.** = #θ-θ(tēl-pō-ch-nēci)θ+θ-θ# = He seems a youth. He seems young.

2. The compound VNC with an incorporated object complement. The most common varieties of this construction involve notions of *considering* an entity *to be* such and such and *changing* an entity *into* such and such.

- a. “Considering”:

Matrix source: **Quimmah.** = He knew them.

Embed source: **Tēteoh.** = They are gods.

Transform: **Quinteōmah.** = He knew them to be gods. He thought they were gods. He considered them gods.

The following is another example of the construction:

**Ahoc quitētzāuhmatiyah.** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +qui- $\emptyset$ (tētz-ā-uh-mati)ya+ $\emptyset$ -h# = They no longer considered it an evil omen. They no longer considered them evil omens. [ $\emptyset$  (tētz-ā-hui)-tli-, “evil omen” + tla-(mati), “to know s.th.” The compound stem is usually written tla-(tētz-ā-m-mati) because of the assimilation: /w/ + /m/ > [mm].]

In addition to **m-o-(mati)** and **tē-(mati)**, other verbstems among those frequently used in the matrix subposition are: **m-o-(nequi)**, **m-o-(neh-nequi)**, **m-o-(toca)**, **m-o-(tla-pīqu-iā)**, all being translated as “to pretend to be . . .,” “to feign to be . . .,” and **tē-(nequi)**, **tē-(neh-nequi)**, **tē-(toca)**, **tē-(tla-pīqu-iā)**, translated as “to consider without foundation that someone is . . .,” “to claim unjustly that someone is . . .”

**quiteōtocah** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +qui- $\emptyset$ (teō-toca) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -h# = they without foundation consider it a god; i.e., they worship an idol [ $\emptyset$  (teō)-tli-, “god” + tla-(toca)]

**niñotēucnehnequi** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +n-o(tēuc-neh-nequi) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I pretend to be a lord [ $\emptyset$  (tēuc)-tli-, “lord”]

**ōmoquichnehnec** =  $\emptyset$ # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m- $\square$ (oquich-neh-nec) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = he pretended to be a (real) man [ $\emptyset$  (oquich)-tli-, “man”]

*Note:* There may be some question about the precise function of the embed in certain instances. For example, with **tla- ~ tē-(toca)**, the complement function is complicated with the notion of “as if”:

**nicneltoca** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ (nel-toca) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I follow it as if it were the truth, i.e., I believe it [ $\emptyset$  (nel)-li-, “truth”]

b. “Changing”:

Matrix source: **Nimitzcuepa.** = I turn you aside.

Embed source: **Titlācohtli.** = You are a slave.

Transform: **Nimitztlācohcuepa.** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +m-itz(tlācoh-cuepa) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I turn you into a slave. I make a slave of you.

Other examples of the construction are the following:

**motechihuaz** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-o(te-chihua)z+ $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = it will make itself stone; i.e., it will turn into stone.

**niñoteōchihua** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +n-o(teō-chihua) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I make myself god, I make myself become imbued with god, i.e., I pray, I perform a religious ceremony

**titlateōchihua** = #ti- $\emptyset$ +tla(teō-chihua) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = you make s.th. god, i.e., you bless s.th.

30.16. *Reduplication in the Embed of Compound VNCs.* The compound verbstem containing an incorporated predicate of an NNC can have a reduplicative prefix on the embed.

**cohozomahtzitzquiah** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ (oh-ozomah-tzītz-qu-ia) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -h# = they seize it/them again and again like monkeys; they each seize it/them like monkeys [ $\emptyset$  (ozomah)-tli-, “monkey” + tla-(tzītz-qu-iā), “to seize s.th.”]

**nahnacaztlachixitihuih** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (nah-nacaz-tla-chix- $\emptyset$ -ti-hui) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -h# = they go looking toward one ear and the other; i.e., they go looking from side to side [ $\emptyset$  (nacaz)-tli-, “ear” + (tla-chix- $\emptyset$ -ti-uh), “to go looking”]

**timopipilihtoa** = #ti- $\emptyset$ +m-o(pi-pil-ih-t-o-a) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = you say you are like a child; i.e., you claim to be younger than you are [ $\emptyset$  (pil)-li-, “child” + m- $\square$ -(ih-t-o-ā), “to be obliging/to



volunteer,” but here it has the translation “to allege about oneself.” The reduplication on **(pil)-li-** here expresses the notion of similarity (see § 53.1.1).]

The matrix verbstem may, of course, be reduplicated; see **nimitzcactohoma** in § 30.13.2. It is also possible to have reduplication on both the embed stem and the matrix stem:

**nimahmānehnemi** = #ni-Ø(**mah-mā-neh-nemi**)Ø+Ø-Ø# = I walk on my hands and feet, i.e., I walk on all fours [**(māi)-tl-**,”hand” + **(neh-nemi)**, “to walk”]

30.17. *The Incorporated-NNC Compound VNC in the Passive and Impersonal Voices.* A non-active stem can be formed from any of the incorporated-NNC compound verbstems and used to create a passive VNC (if the source VNC is transitive with a specific object pronoun) or an impersonal VNC (if the source VNC is intransitive or if it is transitive with only nonspecific object pronouns).

1. Incorporated-object VNCs.

Active: **Mitzxōchimahah.** = They (specific individuals) are giving you flowers. [In traditional spelling, **mioxochimaca** or **mioxochimaca**]

Passive: **Tixōchimaco.** = You are being given flowers. People are giving you flowers. Flowers are being given to you.

Active: **Tēxōchimahah.** = They (specific individuals) are giving someone flowers.

Impersonal: **Tēxōchimaco.** = People are giving flowers to someone. Someone is giving flowers to someone. Someone is being given flowers. Flowers are being given to someone.

Since it is intransitive, an incorporated-object compound verbstem formed from a single-object verbstem cannot create a passive-voice VNC, only an impersonal one.

Active: **Xōchitēmoah.** = They (specific individuals) seek flowers.

Impersonal: **Xōchitēmōlo.** = Someone is seeking flowers. People are seeking flowers. Flowers are being sought.

Active: **Tōtōpatlānaltiāyah.** = They (specific individuals) used to cause birds to fly.

Impersonal: **Tōtōpatlānaltīlōya.** = People used to cause birds to fly. Birds used to be caused to fly.

2. Incorporated-adverb VNCs:

Active: **Ōquitlehuātzqueh.** = They (specific individuals) roasted it.

Passive: **Ōtlehuātzalōc.** = It (a specific thing) was roasted.

Active: **Ōtlatlehuātzqueh.** = They (specific individuals) roasted something

Impersonal: **Ōtlatlehuātzalōc.** = People roasted something. Something was roasted.

Active: **Cahcalaquih.** = They (specific individuals) separately entered.

Impersonal: **Cahcalacohuac.** = People separately entered. All separately entered.

Active: **Xōchicuepōni**. = It (a specific thing) buds like a flower. They (specific things) bud like flowers.

Impersonal: **Tlaxōchicuepōni**. = Something buds like flowers. Things (in general) bud like flowers. [A **tlā** impersonal; see § 22.6.]

### 3. Incorporated-complement VNCs:

Active: **Nēchtlācamati**. = He considers me a master; i.e., He obeys me.

Passive: **Nitlācamacho**. = I am considered a master; i.e., I am obeyed.

Active: **Tēchnēntōca**. = He considers us useless. He considers us as nothing.

Passive: **Tinēntocoh**. = We are considered useless. We are despised.

Active: **Tētlācohcuepah**. = They (specific individuals) make people slaves.

Impersonal: **Tētlācohcuepalo**. = People are made slaves.

30.18. *Caveats concerning the Embed of Incorporated-NNC Compound VNCs.* Special care must be taken on one point: the embed does NOT represent the agent of an action. For example, **coyōchōca** can never mean that a coyote is performing the action of howling, but rather that precisely some entity *other than* a coyote is doing so: “he (or it) is howling like a coyote.” Proof of this lies in the fact that the subject personal pronoun **θ-θ**(. . . **+θ-θ**) can be replaced by any other subject pronoun: **ōnicoyōchōcac**, **ticoyōchōcazqueh**, etc. Whenever a VNC has an embed nounstem that names an entity capable of performing the action named by the matrix verbstem and the VNC has a third-person subject, an Indo-European reader is likely to misunderstand the meaning of the Nahuatl. This is even more so when the only reasonable translation serves to corroborate such a misunderstanding. For instance, the preferred translation for **huexiuh-tlāhuānah** is “fellow-parents-in-law become tipsy,” which is how an English witness to the event would characterize it. Grammatically, however, (**huexiuh**)-**tli**-, “parent-in-law of one’s child,” is not being said to perform the action of the matrix (**tlāuh-āna**), “to become tipsy.” The performers of the action, represented by **θ-θ**(. . . **+θ-h**), “they,” are said to be acting in the capacity of fellow parents-in-law; that is, Nahuatl encodes the event from a perspective at odds with the English perspective. To the degree that the language learner is interested in entering into the thought-ways of Nahuatl speakers, this is important. When the VNC has a first- or second-person subject, the translation still skews the meaning of the Nahuatl: **tihuexiuh-tlāhuānah**, “we fellow parents-in-law become tipsy.”

The sentence **Nehcatoco**, “I am carried away by the wind” (or more strictly, “I am followed by the wind”) poses a somewhat different problem. It is constructed as a passive VNC in which the embedded stem (**eh-ca**)-**tli**-, “breeze,” is the *means* or *instrument* by which the action is carried out, not the agent. As is stated in § 21.1, the agent of a passive action cannot be mentioned (further discussion of this problem can be found in § 58.7).

Another, somewhat related, point is that the embed does NOT function as the subject of the VNC. The problem exists for Indo-European speakers because of the persistent and insidious belief that the grammar found in a translation mirrors the grammar found in the original. This is seldom true, even though in certain instances it may chance to happen. For example, the

sentence **Xōchitēmōlo** may be translated as “Flowers are sought,” but this translation is structured according to the demands and principles of English grammar and says nothing about the Nahuatl structure. The sentence in Nahuatl is impersonal and its subject is  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$  ( . . . + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$  (a third-person singular nominative-case personal pronoun), representing a faceless (either unknown or unacknowledged) agent. An English sentence whose grammar is closer to that of the Nahuatl is “Someone seeks flowers.”

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## Compound Nounstems

31.1. *Types of Compound Nounstems.* A compound nounstem results from the NNC + NNC = NNC formula of § 28.1. Like compound verbstems, compound nounstems organize the relations between embed and matrix according to either a linked structure (connective-**t** or connectiveless) or an integrated structure. In both kinds of structure the embed subposition precedes the matrix subposition (see § 28.2). The matrix, of course, governs the compound, thereby establishing the nounstem class of the compound stem.

The stem occupying the embed subposition in a compound nounstem usually has the general-use shape (see § 14.1), but a nounstem of Subclass 2-B of the **tl** class (see § 14.7.2.b) retains a stem-final /a/, just as it does when incorporated into a verbstem (see § 30.1).

31.2. *The Meaning of the Embed in Compound Nounstems.* The embed in a compound NNC may be derived either from a supplement or from a modifier in the concatenate source. Whatever the source, the embed stem performs a *modifier* function within the compound stem. As a modifier of the matrix it has a wide variety of possible meaning roles: source, material, purpose, form, appearance, manner, pertinence, possession, association, production, carrier, sex, instrument, means, character, etc.

31.3. *Possessor Orientation.* In dealing with compound-stemmed NNCs one encounters the question of possessor orientation, that is, whether the possessor pronoun on a possessive-state compound-stemmed NNC is oriented toward the matrix or the embed. As pointed out in § 28.2, a matrix stem always governs a compound. Normally, therefore, a possessor pronoun is oriented toward that matrix (and the compound stem as a whole). This happens because only the stem of an adjoined clause becomes embedded in the compound. It is possible, however, for the possessive-state *predicate* of an adjoined clause to become an embed. As a consequence, the possessor pronoun on the compound comes from the embedding transformation and maintains its orientation toward the embed (compare § 30.14, where the transformation is more drastic and the possessor pronoun belonging to the predicate of a supplementary NNC has to replace its possessive-case feature with either a nominative-case one or an objective-case one during the embedding transformation).

A compound-stemmed NNC built on a linked structure is always embed oriented. One having an integrated structure may be either matrix oriented or embed oriented. Compound nounstems built on the linked pattern are presented in Lessons 45 through 47. Attention at present is focussed on stems formed on the integrated pattern. Such stems normally are matrix oriented.

The situation with a matrix-oriented compound stem built on the integrated pattern can be exemplified by **(ā-cal)-li-**, “water-house,” i.e., “dugout canoe, boat.” [Actually “house” is a very unsatisfactory translation of **(cal)-li-**; the stem signifies something like “an area or structure inclosed by sides.” See § 1.13.]

**ācalli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**ā-cal**)**li**- $\emptyset$ # = it is a canoe ~ they are canoes

**nācal** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-□(**ā-cal**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is my canoe ~ they are my canoes

In the possessive-state NNC it is obvious that the possessor pronoun has no direct relationship with the embed stem **(ā)-tl-**, “water,” but rather indicates the possessor of the matrix stem **(cal)-li-**, “house,” as qualified by the embed.

There are, however, instances in which the compound nounstem built on an integrated pattern is embed oriented. Consider, for example, the stem **(mā-cpa-l-yōl-lō-h)-tli-**, “hand-seat-heart,” i.e., “center of the palm.”

**mācpalyōllohtli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**mā-cpa-l-yōl-lo-h**)**tli**- $\emptyset$ # = it is the center of the palm

**nomācpalyōlloh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(**mā-cpa-yōl-lo-h**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is the center of my palm

Here the possessor pronoun of the possessive-state NNC relates to the embed **(mā-cpa-l)-li-**, “palm,” and has no direct relation with the matrix stem, while the incorporated possessive-state predicate **+n-o(mā-cpa-l)-** functions as a possessive modifier of the matrix. The double-nucleus source is **nomācpal iyōlloh**, “it is my palm’s center.”

Frequently the orientation is unimportant; for example, it matters little whether **nocalix**, # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(**cal-ix**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #, is embed oriented (“it is my house’s façade”) or matrix oriented (“it is my house façade”). The question of embed orientation is, however, of importance in NNCs built on a linked structure.

31.4. *The Importance of the Matrix Stem.* The matrix stem in a Nahuatl compound nounstem is as important as it is in an English one. The difference that an English speaker recognizes between compounds such as “house fire” (which is a kind of fire) and “firehouse” (which is a kind of house) is just as strongly present in Nahuatl compounds. For example, **(ā-tōy-a-mich)-in-**, “river fish,” i.e., “catfish,” is not at all the same thing as **(mich-ā-tōy-a)-tl-**, “fish river,” i.e., “river characterized by fish, river abundant with fish.”

It is understandable that Spanish translators of Nahuatl have difficulty in grasping the principles of compound-stem structure (since Spanish does not have this type of compounding), but many English translators have trouble, too. For example, the compound-stemmed NNC **malteōtl** is mistranslated in the *Florentine Codex* (II, 60) as “god-captive,” when both the structure of the compound and the context of its use show that the correct translation is “it is a god made out of a captive” (since the idol in this instance is fashioned from the thighbone of a captive).

It is not enough to look up the constituent stems in a dictionary and put them together without regard to their structural interrelationships. One must pay attention to compound-stem structure. There are, however, two problems that should be mentioned. First, there is the important fact that Nahuatl frequently classifies or represents reality in a way totally different from English. For example:

Matrix stem: (**xō**)-**tl-** = a green thing

Embed stem: (**e**)-**tl-** = a bean

Compound stem: (**e-xō**)-**tl-** = a green thing in the form of a bean, i.e., a green bean, a string bean

In such instances the English translation completely falsifies the structure of the Nahuatl by reversing embed and matrix. Even though in translating one must obviously cater to the requirements of English, one must not allow these requirements to corrupt one's understanding of Nahuatl structure or to mislead one into believing that there is no structure.

Admittedly, there are times when the structure seems to violate all logic; for example: (**cal**)-**li-**, "house" + (**ocuil**)-**in-**, "worm" = (**cal-ocuil**)-**in-**, "a house-worm," i.e., "a worm (encased) in a house," but translated "cocoon of a silkworm." [Molina: "capullo de gusano de seda"; it is possible that Molina was in error here, since the meaning would seem to require the translation "pupa," with the unattested \*(**ocuil-cal**)-**li-**, "house containing a worm," being translated "cocoon." It is also possible that this apparently defective compound was invented by a Spanish speaker, since silkworms and the silk industry were alien impositions brought in by Spanish colonists.]

Much more frequently, however, what seems illogical from an English perspective is simply the result of an alien vision. Nahuatl compound nounstems thus often offer an intriguing glimpse into the Nahuatl speakers' way of seeing the world. For example:

(**nene**)-**tl-**, "doll, figurine" + (**pil**)-**li-**, "dependent entity, appendage" = (**nene-pil**)-**li-** "appendage in the form of a doll," i.e., "tongue"

(**te**)-**tl-**, "rock" + (**mētztli**)-**tl-**, "moon" = (**te-mētztli**)-**tl-**, "the moon in the form of a rock," i.e., "lead" [The matrix stem mentions the perceptual quality (dull gray color), and the embed stem points to the substance quality (hardness).]

(**tlān**)-**tl-**, "low down area" [See § 47.3.2.] + (**cuāi**)-**tl-**, "head" = (**tlān-cuāi**)-**tl-**, "head in a low part," i.e., "knee" [The meaning becomes more available if one looks at the knee of someone squatting bare legged.]

(**māx-tla**)-**tl-**, "breechcloth" [A compound nounstem; see § 31.5.3.] + (**tzon**)-**tl-**, "hair" = (**māx-tla-tzon**)-**tl-**, "hair in the form of a breechcloth," i.e., "headband" [This may strike an English speaker as whimsical or ridiculous, but in fact it is quite descriptive: by being wrapped around the head, the breechcloth (or a strip of cloth or leather that resembles a breechcloth) is covering the area where one would otherwise see hair; i.e., the headband is taking the place of hair. It is therefore reasonable to choose (**tzon**)-**tl-** as the matrix stem. The choice of the embed might argue that breechcloths predated headbands, or, on the other hand, this may merely be an instance of native humor.]

As these few examples suggest, one should not be content to learn mere translational equivalences for Nahuatl compound stems (either nounstems or verbstems). Translation stops at

analogy, at what is similar or shared by two languages. It thus bars access to the understanding of meaning, which operates from within the particularity, the peculiarity, of a language.

The second problem to be faced in dealing with compound nounstems is more troublesome, but it is also much more rare. In certain infrequent instances a compound nounstem seems indifferent to the selection of matrix and embed.

Matrix/embed source: **(māi)-tl-** = hand

Embed/matrix source: **(ōpōch)-tli-** = left side

Compound stem: (1) **(ōpōch-māi)-tl-** = hand on the left side; i.e., left hand

(2) **(mā-ōpōch)-tli-** = left-side thing in the form of a hand; i.e., left hand

Although the English translation is unable to capture the semantic difference between such compounds, it is probable that a difference does in fact exist.

31.5. *Examples of Compound Nounstems.* The following examples of compound nounstems exhibit the various classes of nounstems as embeds (the stem in the matrix subposition never causes problems).

1. The embed subposition is filled with a **tli**, **in**, or **∅** stem:

**(tēn)-tli-**, “lip, edge, rim” + **(tzon)-tli-**, “hair” = **(tēn-tzon)-tli-**, “mustache, beard”

**(neuc)-tli-**, “honey” + **(ā)-tl-**, “water” = **(necu-ā)-tl-**, “unfermented juice of the maguey”

[Concerning the spelling, see § 2.5.]

**(tōtol)-in-**, “turkey hen” + **(te)-tl-**, “rock; egg” = **(tōtol-te)-tl-**, “turkey egg” [postconquest: “chicken egg”]

**(zōl)-in-**, “quail” + **(ez)-tli-**, “blood” = **(zōl-ez)-tli-**, “quail blood”

**(tlatzcan)-∅-**, “cypress” + **(copal)-li-**, “gum (from trees); incense” = **(tlatzcan-copal)-li-**, “cypress gum”

**(chichi)-∅-**, “dog” + **(ē-hua)-tl-**, “skin, pelt, (raw)hide” = **(chichi-ē-hua)-tl-**, “dog hide”

2. The embed subposition is filled with a **tl** stem of Subclass 1:

**(teō)-tl-**, “god” + **(cuitla)-tl-**, “excrement” = **(teō-cuitla)-tl-**, “noble metal”

**(cōā)-tl-**, “snake” + **(ē-hu-a)-tl-** “skin, pelt” = **(cōā-ē-hu-a)-tl-**, “snakeskin”

**(icxi)-tl-**, “foot” + **(oh)-tli-**, “path, trail, road” = **(icxi-oh)-tli-**, “footpath”

3. The embed subposition is filled with a **tl** stem of Subclass 2:

**(petla)-tl-**, “mat” + **(cal)-li-**, “house” = **(petla-cal)-li-**, “hamper, wickerwork chest” [The embed stem’s ephemeral /a/ is kept; see § 31.1.]

**(māxa)-tl-**, “crotch, bifurcation” + **(tla)-tl-**, “strip of cloth/leather” = **(māx-tla)-tl-**, “breechcloth” [The loss of the embed stem’s ephemeral /a/ is irregular. Compare **(māxa-c)-tli-** in § 46.7.]

**(quili)-tl-**, “green leafy vegetable” + **(mil)-li-**, “cultivated field” = **(quil-mil)-li-**, “vegetable garden”

**(cuahui)-tl-**, “tree, wood” + **(ē-hu-a)-tl-**, “skin, pelt, hide” = **(cuauh-ē-hu-a)-tl-**, “bark”

[For the spelling of the /w/, see § 2.5.]

- (**cuāi**)-**tl-**, “head” + (**cuahui**)-**tl-**, “tree” = (**cuā-cuahui**)-**tl-**, “antler/horn”  
 (**tōcāi**)-**tl-**, “name” + (**āma**)-**tl-**, “paper” = (**tōcā-āma**)-**tl-**, “register”  
 (**māi**)-**tl-**, “hand, arm” + (**quech**)-**tli-**, “neck” = (**mā-quech**)-**tli-**, “wrist”  
 (**māi**)-**tl-**, “hand” + (**tla**)-**tl-**, “strip(s) of cloth/leather” = (**mā-tla**)-**tl-**, “net”

Nounstems of the **tl** class (of either subclass) that end in a stem-final long vowel in their general-use stem at times replace the long vowel with a short vowel plus a glottal stop (see § 14.2.8):

- (**teō**)-**tl-**, “god” + (**cal**)-**li-**, “house” = (**teoh-cal**)-**li-**, “temple, church”  
 (**māi**)-**tl-**, “hand” + (**tlāc**)-**tli-**, “torso, upper body” = (**mah-tlāc**)-**tli-**, “ten digits,” i.e., “ten in number” [See § 34.6.]

*Note 1:* In addition to negating a nuclear clause, the negative prefix **ah#** can negate a stem by serving as an adverbial embed (in which case it is equivalent to the English prefixes “non-,” “in-,” and “un-”).

- (**ah-tla**)-**tl-** > *poss*, (**ah-tla**)-**uh-** = nonsling, i.e., spear-thrower, throwing slat; atlatl [< (**tla**)-**tl-**, “strip of cloth/hide; sling”]  
 (**ah-tlāca**)-**tl-** = nonperson, i.e., inhuman person, evil person [< (**tlāca**)-**tl-**, “person, human being”]

*Note 2:* Unexpected formations occasionally occur. For example:

- (**xō-chi**)-**tl-**, “flower” + (**cua-l**)-**li-**, “edible thing” = (**xō-ch-ih-cua-l**)-**li-** = “fruit” [The embed subposition is filled with the otherwise unused variant stem (**xō-ch-ih**)-**tli-**.]  
 (**mich**)-**in-**, “fish” + (**huāuh**)-**tli-**, “amaranth” = (**michi-huāuh**)-**tli-**, “fish amaranth” [The additional [i] on (**mich**)-**in-** here is reminiscent of that on (**ix**)-**tli-** in **tē-(ixi-mati)** in § 30.7.]

If the embed stem has the glottalized shape (see § 14.2.8.c) and the matrix stem begins with a vowel, the embed stem’s final [h] can show up as [y] (see § 2.13.1).

- (**māi**)-**tl-**, “hand” + (**ē-hu-a**)-**tl-**, “skin, pelt” = (**māy-ē-hu-a**)-**tl-**, “glove”

31.6. *Unique Nounstems as Fillers in the Embed or Matrix Subpositions.* Occasionally, a nounstem that does not occur as the stem in a simple-stemmed NNC is found as a filler in a subposition of a compound stem (compare § 30.13).

- \*(**chi**)-**tl-** + \*(**nāmi**)-**tl-** = (**chi-nāmi**)-**tl-**, “hedge, cane fence”  
 (**te**)-**tl-**, “rock” + \*(**nāmi**)-**tl-** = (**te-nāmi**)-**tl-**, “rock wall”  
 \*(**cuez**)-**tli-** + (**coma**)-**tl-**, “container, receptacle” = (**cuez-coma**)-**tl-**, “granary”  
 \*(**tēl**)-**li-** + (**pō-ch**)-**tli-**, “incense smoke” = (**tēl-pō-ch**)-**tli-**, “a youth, young man”  
 \*(**ma**)-**tl-** + \*(**īl-aca**)-**tl-** = (**ma-l-aca**)-**tl-**, “spindle” [The stem \*(**īl-aca**)-**tl-** itself consists of the unique stems \*(**īl**)- and \*(**aca**)-**tl-**. Although it is unattested, it is the source for (**īl-aca-ch**)-**tli-**, “vortex,” and (**īl-aca-tz**)-**tli-**, found in **tē-(īl-aca-tz-cot-ō-n-a)**, “to pinch s.o. with a twisting motion,” and also in the intransitive destockal verbstem (**īl-aca-tz-i-hui**), “to revolve or spiral around a center,” and its causative counterpart **tla-(īl-aca-tz-o-ā)**, “to roll s.th. into a tube shape.”]  
 (**te**)-**tl-**, “rock” + \*(**poz**)-**tli-** = (**te-poz**)-**tli-**, “hard metal, copper, iron” [The nounstem \*(**poz**)-**tli-** appears as an adverbial embed in the compound verbstem **tla-(poz-tequi)**, “to break s.th. long (such as a bone, stick, or pole)”]; see § 30.13.]  
 (**ēl**)-**li-**, “liver” + \*(**tle-l**)-**li-**, “fiery sensation” (?) = (**ēl-le-l**)-**li-**, “affliction, pain” [While \*(**tle-l**)-**li-** is not attested, it is derived from (**tle**)-**tl-**, “fire,” in the same way that (**te-l**)-**li-**, “pile of rocks, rock mound, mound,” is derived from (**te**)-, “rock.” See § 57.7.]



There are two nounstems of this type that are exceptionally prolific as fillers of the matrix subposition.

1. **\*(ca)-tl-**, “being, entity.” This stem has already been encountered in the irregular verbstem **\*(ca-ti) > (ca-t) ~ (ca-h)**, “to become a being,” i.e., “to be” (see § 11.5; the verbstem suffix **-ti** is presented in § 54.2). As a matrix nounstem, **(-ca)-tl-** means “entity associated with/characterized by/made of (the entity named by the embed nounstem).”

**(ā)-tl-**, “water” + **(-ca)-tl-**, “being” = **(ā-ca)-tl-**, “reed”

**(ich)-tli-**, “maguey fiber” + **(-ca)-tl-** = **(ich-ca)-tl-**, “cotton” [postconquest: “wool”; *by extension*, “sheep”]

**(tez)-tli-**, “abraded thing” + **(-ca)-tl-** = **(tez-ca)-tl-**, “mirror”

**(ilhui)-tl-**, “day” + **(-ca)-tl-** = **(ilhui-ca)-tl-**, “sky”

**(me)-tl-**, “maguey” + **(-ca)-tl-** = **(me-ca)-tl-**, “rope, cord”

**(cal)-li-**, “house” + **(-ca)-tl-** = **(cal-ca)-tl-**, “dweller”

**(xō-chi)-tl-**, “flower” + **(-ca)-tl-** = **(xō-chi-ca)-tl-**, “little green frog that breeds among the grass”

**(yōl)-li-**, “lively thing” + **(-ca)-tl-** = **(yōl-ca)-tl-**, “bug, insect”

**(āhua)-tl-**, “oak” + **(-ca)-tl-** = **(āhua-ca)-tl-**, “avocado; testicle” [The connection between avocados and oaks is not clear.]

At times the meaning of the embed is hypothetical or unknown.

**\*(āz)-tli-**, “implement, tool” (?) + **(-ca)-tl-** = **(āz-ca)-tl-**, “ant” [See § 58.1.]

**\*(tzi)-tl-**, “stinging sensation” (?) + **(-ca)-tl-** = **(tzi-ca)-tl-**, “large ant with a poisonous bite”

**\*(cōz)-tli-**, “yellow color” (?) + **(-ca)-tl-** = **(cōz-ca)-tl-**, “jewel, bead; necklace”

**\*(pīna)-tl-**, ? + **(-ca)-tl-** = **(pīna-ca)-tl-**, “large red flightless beetle”

**\*(tlā)-tl-**, “covering” (?) + **(-ca)-tl-** = **(tlā-ca)-tl-**, “person, human being; lord”

**\*(tapal)-li-**, ? + **(-ca)-tl-** = **(tapal-ca)-tl-**, “potsherd, broken tile”

**\*(yō)-tl-**, ? + **(-ca)-tl-** = **(yō-ca)-tl-**, “property”

**\*(cocō)-tl-**, ? + **(-ca)-tl-** = **(cocō-ca)-tl-**, “property”

The above are only a few examples of compound nounstems formed on **(-ca)-tl-**. This stem is also used as the matrix for the associated-entity nounstem (see § 47.4), the gentilic-name nounstem (see § 48.9), and the nounstem of profession (see § 48.13).

Compound nounstems formed on **(-ca)-tl-** usually belong to **tl** Subclass 1-A or, less commonly, Subclass 2-C.

**nācauh** = **#θ-θ+n-□(ā-ca)uh-θ#** = it is my reed ~ they are my reeds [**< (ā-ca)-tl-**]

**nocōzqui** = **#θ-θ+n-o(cōz-qui)θ-θ#** = it is my necklace [**< (cōz-ca)-tl-**]

Not included in this kind of compound nounstem are those nounstems that end in /ka/ but belong to Subclass 2-B of the **tl** class. For example:

**(naca)-tl-** = meat, flesh

**(ciyaca)-tl-** = armpit

**(yaca)-tl-** = nose

**(cuīca)-tl-** = song

**(ma-l-aca)-tl-** = spindle

**(ihtaca)-tl-** = victuals; travel provisions

2. **(-yō)-tl-**, “a thing abundantly owning . . .”; i.e., “a thing/state/condition/quality that pertains to or is characteristic of. . .” This is a deverbal nounstem whose derivation is described in § 39.3. It is frequently translated by the English abstract suffixes “-ness” and “-ity.”

**(ā)-tl-**, “water” + **(-yō)-tl-** = **(ā-yō)-tl-**, “turtle, tortoise” [There is another meaning for this compound stem in which the derived nature of **(-yō)-tl-** is more obvious: “a watery thing”; see § 39.3.]

**(yōl)-li-**, “a lively thing” + **(-yō)-tl-** = **(yōl-lō)-tl-**, “heart” [There is another stem **(yōl-lo-h)-tli-** with the same meaning but formed according to § 39.1.]

\***(xā)-tl-**, “face, surface” + **(-yō)-tl-** = **(xā-yō)-tl-**, “dregs, grounds, lees, sediment”

A number of compound stems formed on **(-yō)-tl-** participate in an unusual formation: the embed is a possessive-state predicate containing the nonspecific possessor pronoun **tla** (see § 15.1.6). At times one finds both this stem and another one formed on an absolutive-state predicate as embed. The two stems have related but different meanings, as in the following four examples:

**(īx-xō)-tl-** = a thing having the quality of a surface, a covering > **(tla-īx-xō)-tl-** = grease floating on the surface (e.g., in a cooking utensil) [ < **(īx)-tli-**, “face, surface”; notice the assimilation of /š/ + /y/ > [šš].]

**(pa-ti-yō)-tl-** = payment > **(tla-pa-ti-yō)-tl-** = selling price, cost [ < **\*(pa-ti)-tl-**, “exchanged item” < **tla-(pa-tla)**, “to exchange s.th.”; see § 39.3.3.]

**(īx-xīp-tla-vō)-tl-** = image, likeness > **(tla-īx-xīp-tla-yō)-tl-** = painted image, portrait

**(cuāuh)-tli-**, “eagle” + **(ōcēlō)-tl-**, “jaguar” = **(cuauh-tl-ōcēlō)-tl-**, “eagle-and-jaguar,” i.e., “an eagle-jaguar warrior”

Such combinations frequently break up into separate conjoined NNCs in the possessive state; see § 52.6 for double-nucleus constructions.

31.8. *Multiple-Stemmed Fillers in the Compound Nounstem’s Subpositions.* Since compounding is recursive (see § 28.1), both the embed and the matrix subpositions of a compound nounstem can be filled by compound nounstems.

1. Compound stem in the embed subposition:

**(ā-l-tepē)-tl-**, “town” + **(tla-tqui)-tl-**, “equipment” = **(ā-l-tepē-tla-tqui)-tl-**, “public property”

**(teō-cuitla)-tl-**, “gold” + **(nacocho)-tli-**, “ear pendant, ear hoop” = **(teō-cuitla-nacocho)-tli-**, “gold ear pendant”

**(xo-pil)-li-**, “foot appendage,” i.e., “toe” + **(izti)-** “nail” = **(xo-pil-izti)-tl-**, “toenail”

**(te-nex)-tli-**, “rock ash,” i.e., “lime” + **(te)-tl-**, “rock” = **(te-nex-te)-tl-**, “limestone”

2. Compound stem in the matrix subposition:

**(tzo)-tli-**, “hair” + **(te-coma)-tl-**, “jar” = **(tzo-te-coma)-tl-**, “head”

**(cuitla)-tl-**, “excrement” + **(te-coma)-tl-**, “jar” = **(cuitla-te-coma)-tl-**, “belly”

**(xō-chi)-tl-**, “flower” + **(chi-nān-cal)-li-** “fenced-in area” = **(xō-chi-chi-nān-cal)-li-**, “flower garden” [ < **(chi-nāmi)-tl-**, “hedge; cane fence”; see § 31.6.]

3. Compound stems in both the embed and matrix subpositions:

**(te-poz)-tli-**, “hard metal” + **(petla-cal)-li-**, “wickerwork chest” = **(te-poz-petla-cal)-li-**, “iron or copper box or chest”

**(teō-cuitla)-tl-**, “gold” + **(cōz-ca)-tl-**, “jewel, bead; necklace” = **(teō-cuitla-cōz-ca)-tl-**, “gold ornament, gold bauble”

At times possibly ambiguous combinations occur. For example, **(chil-mōl-caxi)-tl-** could come from either **(chil)-li-**, “chili pepper,” plus **(mōl-caxi)-tl-**, “sauce bowl,” or **(chil-mōl)-li-**, “chili-pepper sauce,” plus **(caxi)-tl-**, “bowl.”

31.9. *Compound Nounstems Expressing Sex Distinction.* A matrix nounstem signifying an animate entity can incorporate either **(oquich)-tli-**, “man, male being,” or **(cihuā)-tl-**, “woman, female being” to form a compound nounstem indicating the sex of that entity.

**(oquich-mazā)-tl-** = male deer, buck [ < **(mazā)-tl-**, “deer” ]

**(cihuā-mazā)-tl-** = female deer, doe

Ordinarily, nounstems signifying humans are neutral with regard to sex, but if sex needs to be specified, a compound nounstem built on this pattern can be used.

**(cihuā-tlācoh)-tli-** = female slave

In the case of **(tēuc)-tli-**, “lord,” and **(pil)-li-**, “nobleman,” it is customary to use **(cihuā)-tl-** when a woman is being spoken of:

(**cihuā-tēuc**)-**tli** = female lord; i.e., lady of high rank  
 (**cihuā-pil**)-**li** = female noble, noblewoman

31.10. *Compound Nounstems Expressing the Notion of Progeny.* The stem (**conē**)-**tl**-, “child, offspring,” may serve as a matrix incorporating a nounstem signifying an animal to create a compound nounstem signifying that animal’s progeny:

(**canauh-conē**)-**tl** = duck child; i.e., duckling [**<** (**canauh**)-**tli**-, “duck”]  
 (**miz-conē**)-**tl** = puma child; i.e., puma cub [**<** (**miz**)-**tli**-, “puma”]  
 (**oquich-ich-ca-conē**)-**tl** = male sheep child; i.e., male lamb [**<** (**ich-ca**)-**tl**-, “sheep”]  
 (**tē-cuā-n-cōā-conē**)-**tl** = man-eating snake child; i.e., young poisonous snake

At times the stem (**pil-tōn**)-**tli**-, “child” (see § 32.6.1.b), is used as the matrix:

(**tē-cuā-m-pil-tōn**)-**tli** = man-eater child; i.e., fierce-animal cub [This is a synonym for  
 (**tē-cuā-n-conē**)-**tl**-.]  
 (**huilō-pil-tōn**)-**tli** = dove child; i.e., young dove

*Note:* In speaking of humans, the stem (**conē**)-**tl**- specifies that the child (son or daughter) is of a woman. For the stem signifying “child (son or daughter) of either a man or a woman,” see § 32.6.1.]

31.11. *Compound Nounstems Expressing the Notion of Fellowship.* The stem (**poh**)-**tli**-, “companion, match, equal, peer,” which was presented in § 15.2.2 as always occurring in a possessive-state NNC, can serve as the matrix stem of a compound-stemmed possessive-state NNC:

**nimotōcāpoh** = #**ni-θ+m-o(tōcā-poh)θ-θ**# = I have a name like yours, I am your namesake  
 [**<** (**tōcāi**)-**tl**-, “name”]  
**tinocihuāpoh** = #**ti-θ+n-o(cihuā-poh)θ-θ**# = you are a woman like me; you are my  
 (female) companion; you are my kinswoman  
**nīhuāmpoh** = #**n-θ+i-θ(huām-poh)θ-θ**# = I am his fellow man, I am his kinsman [The  
 nounstem (**huān**)-**tli**-, “associate, fellowship, company,” does not occur in a simple-  
 stemmed absolutive-state NNC; see § 45.4.1.]  
**tamohuāmpohhuān** = #**t-θ+am-o(huām-poh)hu-ān**# = we are your (pl) fellow men, we  
 are your kinsmen

31.12. *Affinity-Stem Formation in Compound Nounstems.* When the subject pronoun is plural, an absolutive-state NNC may use an affinity stem (see § 14.3.1) in which the reduplication occurs on the embed stem:

(**ich-ca**)-**tl** = sheep  
**iichcameh** = #**θ-θ(i-ich-ca)m-eh**# = they are sheep  
 (**tlā-ca-tecol-ō**)-**tl** = owl in the shape of a human being; i.e., evil sorcerer  
**tlātlācatecoloh** = #**θ-θ(tlā-tlā-ca-tecol-o)θ-h**# = they are evil sorcerers

At times, however, the notion of affinity is expressed by reduplication on the matrix stem.

(**cihuā-teō**)-**tl** = goddess  
**cihuātēteoh** = #**θ-θ(cihuā-tē-teo)θ-h**# = they are goddesses

**(miz-conē)-tl-** = puma cub

**mizcōconeh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (miz-cō-cone) $\emptyset$ -h# = they are puma cubs

At times this reduplication on the matrix is optional, but there are instances in which it is obligatory; for example:

**(tēl-pō-ch)-tli-** = a youth, young man

**titēlpōpōchtin** = #ti- $\emptyset$ (tēl-pō-pō-ch)t-in# = we are youths

**(ich-pō-ch)-tli-** = maiden, young woman

**amichpōpōchtin** = #am- $\emptyset$ (ich-pō-pō-ch)t-in# = you are maidens

A given nounstem in the matrix subposition may allow reduplication now on the matrix and now on the embed; for example:

**(ōl-teō)-tl-** = god (figure) made out of rubber

**ōltēteoh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ōl-tē-teo) $\emptyset$ -h# = they are gods made out of rubber

**(cin-teō)-tl-** = god (figure) made out of a dried ear of maize

**cīcinteoh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cī-cin-teo) $\emptyset$ -h# = they are gods made out of dried ears of maize

At times affinity is expressed on both the embed stem and the matrix stem:

**cīcintēteoh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cī-cin-tē-teo) $\emptyset$ -h# = they are gods made of dried ears of maize

The matrix stem of a possessive-state NNC may show reduplication:

**īāchcōcōlhuān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ī- $\emptyset$ (āch-cō-cōl)hu-ān# = they are his familial succession of great-grandfathers, i.e., they are his forebears

31.13. *Distributive/Varietal-Stem Formation in Compound Nounstems.* In compound nounstems, the notions of distribution and variety (see § 14.3.2) are expressed on the embed stem:

**(mōl-caxi)-tl-** = sauce bowl

**mohmōlcaxitl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (moh-mōl-caxi)tl- $\emptyset$ # = they are different kinds of sauce bowls

**(cuez-coma)-tl-** = granary

**cuehcuezcomatl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cueh-cuez-coma)tl- $\emptyset$ # = they are granaries located in various places

Notice the difference in the following compound-stem formations, one built on an affinity stem as matrix and the other on a distributive/variatal stem:

**tēlpōpōchtin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tēl-pō-pō-ch)t-in# = they are youths

**tehtēlpōchcalli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (teh-tēl-pō-ch-cal)li- $\emptyset$ # = they are different kinds of young-men houses

## LESSON 32

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### Affective NNCs

32.1. *Affective NNCs.* A speaker of Nahuatl can express a valuing or a disparaging attitude toward the referent of the subject of an NNC either in the nounstem or in the subject pronoun. The first method uses a *compound affective nounstem*, the second a *flawed subject*. The former, being the more important, is discussed first; the latter is presented in § 32.8.

A compound affective nounstem has its matrix subposition filled by an *affective-matrix nounstem*. Like the nounstems mentioned in § 31.6, **(-ca)-tl-** and **(-yō)-tl-**, these affective-matrix nounstems are not capable of forming simple-stemmed NNCs (although it would seem that they were originally able to do so).

Affective-matrix nounstems may be divided into three groups according to the stem class of the compound stem in relation to the stem class of the nounstem in the embed subposition.

32.2. *The Affective-Matrix Nounstems (-pīl)-θ- and (-pōl)-θ-.* Two affective-matrix nounstems always form compound affective stems that belong to the **θ** class regardless of the class of the embedded stem.

1. The matrix nounstem **(-pīl)-θ-** expresses smallness with affection:

**(tōtō)-tl-** = bird > **(tōtō-pīl)-θ-** = (dear) little bird, birdie

**(icn-īuh)-tli-** = friend > **(icn-īuh-pīl)-θ-** = (dear) little friend

**(a-chi)-θ-** = small amount [See § 16.9.6.] > **(a-chih-pīl)-θ-** = a very small amount, a tiny amount [Concerning the glottal stop, see § 16.7, *note*.]

2. The nounstem **(-pōl)-θ-** expresses largeness with disparagement or contempt:

**(ich-ca)-tl-** = sheep > **(ich-ca-pōl)-θ-** = big ugly sheep

**(oquich)-tli-** = man > **(oquich-pōl)-θ-** = hulking man

**(quimich)-in-** = mouse > **(quimich-pōl)-θ-** = big old mouse

**(eh-huā)-tl-** = an/the entity [See § 16.3.2.] > **(eh-huā-pōl)-θ-** = a/the worthless entity  
[For example: **nehhuāpōl**, “I am a worthless person”; “worthless I/me.”]

**(ix-a-chi)-θ-** = a large amount/number [See § 16.9.8.] > **(ix-a-chih-pōl)-θ-** = an awkward or unsatisfying amount/number [Concerning the glottal stop, see § 16.7, *note*.]

(**tl-e-in**)-**θ**- = what thing? [See § 16.4.1.] > (**tl-e-im-pōl**)-**θ**- = what miserable thing? [Notice the noninterrogative use in **Ca zan titleimpōl**, “You are only a good-for-nothing.”]

If the compound affective nounstem becomes lexicalized in a special meaning, the stem-class membership of the compound stem changes to the **tli** class.

(**cal-pōl**)-**li**- = big house; *lexicalized as* city district, precinct, town quarter, enclave, ward

**calpōlli** = #**θ**-**θ**(**cal-pōl**)**li**-**θ**# = it is a city district

**cahcalpōlli** = #**θ**-**θ**(**cah-cal-pōl**)**li**-**θ**# = they are various/separate city districts

**ticalpōltin** = #**ti**-**θ**(**cal-pōl**)**t-in**# = we are (members of) a city district

32.3. *The Affective-Matrix Nounstems (-tzin)-tli- and (-tōn)-tli-*. Two affective-matrix nounstems allow the embedded nounstem to determine the stem class of the compound stem. If the embedded stem belongs to the **θ** class, the compound affective stem also belongs to that class. If the embedded stem belongs to one of the other classes, the compound affective stem belongs to the **tli** class.

1. The nounstem (**-tzin**)-**tli**- basically conveys the notion of special regard, ranging in meaning from deference and esteem (i.e., it expresses the honorific), through compassion or affection to cherished smallness.

(**chichi**)-**θ**- = dog > (**chichi-tzin**)-**θ**- = dear dog

(**tepi**)-**θ**- = small thing > (**tepi-tzin**)-**θ**- = a tiny thing

(**cōl**)-**li**- = grandfather > (**cōl-tzin**)-**tli**- = honored grandfather

(**te-coma**)-**tl**- = jar > (**te-con-tzin**)-**tli**- = a valuable jar [This is an irregular formation; although the stem-final /a/ is deleted in a possessive-state NNC, it is normally kept when the stem is incorporated in a compound stem (see § 31.1).]

(**eh-huā**)-**□**- = an/the entity [See § 16.3.2.] > (**eh-huā-tzin**)-**□**- = an/the honorable entity [For example, **tehuātzin**, “you are an honorable person”; “honorable you”; “you, Sir.”]

(**tl-e-in**)-**θ**- = what thing? [See § 16.4.1.] > (**tl-e-in-tzin**)-**θ**- ~ (**tl-e-i-tzin**)-**θ**- = what worthy thing? [These are variants for (**tl-eh-tzin**)-**θ**-.]

(**a-qui**)-**θ**- = a small amount/number [See § 16.9.5.] > (**a-qui-h-tzin**)-**θ**- = a nicely small amount/number [Concerning the glottal stop, see § 16.7, *note*.]

The honorific forms of the demonstrative pronominal NNCs **in** and **ōn** (see § 16.5) have compound stems according to the general rule:

**īntzin** = #**θ**-**θ**(**īn-tzin**)**θ**-**θ**# = he/she/it is this honorable one

**ōntzin** = #**θ**-**θ**(**ōn-tzin**)**θ**-**θ**# = he/she/it is that honorable one

When these demonstrative NNCs are marked by the adjunct **in** (i.e., **in īntzin**, **in ōntzin**), the adjunct and the NNC are usually written solid in traditional texts (i.e., **inintzin**, **inontzin**).

The affective-matrix nounstem (**-tzin**)-**tli**- may also embed nounstems that signify masslike entities. The resultant compound affective nounstem usually has the meaning of a portion, part, or delimited amount:

(**ā**)-**tl**- = water > (**ā-tzin**)-**tli**- = water in domestic use; water in a well or tank

In a vocative construction containing the vocative particle #é (see § 18.11), the stem of the NNC involved may have as its matrix either the full stem **(-tzin)-tli-** or its abbreviated version **(-tz)-tli-**. The vocative unit containing the NNC with the abbreviated stem is less formal or ritualistic than the one with the full stem.

**nocniũhtziné = #θ-θ+n-o(cn-ĩuh-tzin)θ-θ#é = (O) my dear friend**

**nocniũhtzé = #θ-θ+n-o(cn-ĩuh-tz)θ-θ#é = (O) my dear buddy**

Personal names borrowed from Spanish use the abbreviated stem; e.g., **Petolohtzé**, “(O) Peter.”

The nounstem **\*(il)-li-** is attested only in a vocative #é construction. When embedded into the abbreviated matrix stem **(-tz)-tli-**, it has a derogatory quality.

**niltzé = #θ-θ+n-M(il-tz)θ-θ#é = hey, you there!**

For it to have a truly honorific/affective value, its compound affective stem **(il-tzin)-tli-** must be embedded in the full matrix stem **(-tzin)-tli-** (compare the honorific **tinopiltzintzin** in § 32.6.2).

**niltzintziné = #θ-θ+n-□(il-tzin-tzin)θ-θ#é = (O) Sir!; (O) my friend!**

This is not an instance of reduplication.

2. The nounstem **(-tõn)-tli-** expresses smallness but without the connotation of admiration or affection found in **(-tzin)-tli-**.

**(chichi)-θ-** = dog > **(chichi-tõn)-θ-** = small dog

**(tepi)-θ-** = small thing > **(tepi-tõn)-θ-** = tiny little thing [This compound affective stem frequently becomes the matrix stem for a larger compound affective stem: e.g., **(tõtõ-tepi-tõn)-θ-**, “little bird, tiny bird.”]

**(tõtõl)-in-** = turkey hen > **(tõtõl-tõn)-tli-** = puny turkey hen

**(quimich)-in-** = mouse > **(quimich-tõn)-θ-** = small mouse [The **θ** class membership is an exception to the rule.]

**(cihuā)-tl-** = woman > **(cihuā-tõn)-tli-** = insignificant woman

**(icxi)-tl-** = foot/lower leg > **(icxi-tõn)-tli-** = small foot; thin/spindly lower leg

**(te-coma)-tl-** = jar > **(te-con-tõn)-tli-** = small jar [As with **(te-con-tzin)-tli-** in subsection 1 above, the formation is irregular.]

**(itl-ah)-θ-** = something [See § 16.6.] > **(itl-ah-tõn)-θ-** = a little something

**(quē-x-qui-ch)-θ-** = how large an amount or quantity? [See § 16.8.2.] > **(quē-x-qui-ch-tõn)-θ-** = how small an amount or quantity?

**(a-chi)-θ-** = a small amount or quantity [See § 16.9.6.] > **(a-chih-tõn)-θ-** = a meager/scanty amount or quantity [Concerning the glottal stop, see § 16.7, *note*.]

32.4. *The Affective-Matrix Nounstem (-zol)-li-*. One affective-matrix nounstem always forms compound affective stems that belong to the **tli** class regardless of the class of the nounstem filling the embed subposition. This stem, **(-zol)-li-**, “an old, worn-out thing,” embeds only nonanimate nounstems.

**(cal)-li-** = house > **(cal-zol)-li-** = old, tumble-down house

**(cac)-tli-** = sandal/shoe > **(cac-zol)-li-** = old sandal/shoe



(**caxi**)-**tl-** = bowl > (**cax-zol**)-**li-** = old bowl

(**cōm**)-**tl-** = pot > (**cōn-zol**)-**li-** = old pot; *also*, cradle

(**tlatzcan**)-**θ-** = cypress > (**tlatzcan-zol**)-**li-** = time-battered cypress

The compound affective stem can occur as an embed in a larger compound stem:

(**petla-zol-cōā**)-**tl-** = frayed-mat snake, i.e., centipede (whose many legs along its sides look like the frayed edge of a mat) [< (**petla-zol**)-**li-**, “old, frayed mat” < (**petla**)-**tl-**, “mat”]

(**tilmah-zol-tōn**)-**tl-** = small worn-out blanket [< (**tilmah-zol**)-**li-**, “worn-out blanket” < (**tilmah**)-**tl-**, “blanket.” Here a compound affective nounstem occupies the embed subposition in a compound affective nounstem; (**-zol**)-**li-** is the only affective matrix nounstem that permits this freely (a stem such as (**pil-tzin-tzin**)-**tl-** in § 32.6.2 is an anomaly).]

The nounstem (**-zol**)-**li-** can serve as the source of a denominal verbstem (see § 55.6):

(**zol-i-hui**) = to become worn-out and frayed from use

(**tla**-(**zol-o-ā**)) = to cause s.th. to become worn-out and frayed from use

The affective-matrix nounstems (**-tzin**)-**tl-** and (**-pōl**)-**θ-** can do this too, but the resultant verbstems are restricted to serving as matrices in honorific and pejorative verbstem formations (see § 33.7 and § 33.9).

32.5. *The Affinity Shape of Compound Affective Nounstems.* Compound affective nounstems have a special affinity shape when occurring in NNCs with a plural subject pronoun. The affective-matrix stem takes a reduplicated prefix without length on the vowel (contrast this with the affinity stems in § 31.12, where the reduplicative prefix, either on the matrix or the embed, requires length on the vowel).

1. Absolute-state NNCs. The absolute-state NNC built on an affinity-shaped compound affective nounstem has the number position of the subject pronoun filled by the plural dyad **t-in** or by its silent variant  $\square$ - $\square$ . The sounded variant is used when the corresponding singular-number subject would have a sounded filler in the *num*<sup>1</sup> subposition in an absolute-state NNC. The silent variant is used when the corresponding singular-number subject would have a silent filler in the *num*<sup>1</sup> subposition.

(**ich-ca-tōn**)-**tl-** = small sheep

**ichcatotōntin** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (**ich-ca-to-tōn**)**t-in**# = they are small sheep

(**tōtō-pīl**)-**θ-** = (dear) little bird

**tōtōpipīl** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (**tōtō-pi-pīl**) $\square$ - $\square$ # = they are (dear) little birds

(**tēl-pō-ch-pīl**)-**θ-** = young boy

**tēlpōchpipīl** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (**tēl-pō-ch-pi-pīl**) $\square$ - $\square$ # = they are young boys

(**chichi-tzin**)-**θ-** = (dear) dog

**chichitzitzin** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (**chichi-tzi-tzin**) $\square$ - $\square$ # = they are (dear) dogs

(**ich-ca-pōl**)-**θ-** = big sheep

**ichcapopōl** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (**ich-ca-po-pōl**) $\square$ - $\square$ # = they are big sheep

The honorific stems of the demonstrative pronominal NNCs (see § 32.3.1) use this formation (the symbol “(H)” = honorific):

**ĩntzitzin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**ĩn-tzi-tzin**) $\square$ - $\square$ # = they are these honorable ones; these (H)

**õntzitzin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**õn-tzi-tzin**) $\square$ - $\square$ # = they are those honorable ones; those (H)

These NNCs can appear in plural collocations as the supplementary subject to the subject pronoun of the VNC **ihqueh** (see § 19.2.1):

**ihqueh ĩntzitzin** = they-exist they-are-these-honorable-ones; i.e., these (H)

**ihqueh õntzitzin** = they-exist they-are-those-honorable-ones; i.e., those (H)

The VNC and its supplementary subject are traditionally written solid: **iqueintzitzin**, **iqueontzitzin**.

In the instance of some nounstems, both the embedded stem and the affective-matrix stem have an affinity shape. The formation may be optional:

**tĕlpõpõchpĭpil** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**tĕl-põ-põ-ch-pĭ-pĭl**) $\square$ - $\square$ # = they are small boys

Or it may be obligatory:

**ampĭpiltzintin** = #**am**- $\emptyset$ (**pĭ-pĭl-tzi-tzin**)**t-in**# = you are children [See § 32.7.]

2. The possessive-state NNC with a plural subject is formed by adding either the sounded plural-number dyad **hu-ān** or its silent variant  $\square$ - $\square$  to the affinity shape of the affective compound stem. The formation with **hu-ān** tends to be more frequent.

(**ich-ca-pĭl**)- $\emptyset$ - = (dear) little sheep

**nochcapĭlhuān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +**n-o**(**ch-ca-pĭ-pĭl**)**hu-ān**# ~ **nochcapĭl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +**n-o**(**ch-ca-pĭ-pĭl**) $\square$ - $\square$ # = they are my little sheep

(**tõtõl-põl**)- $\emptyset$ - = big turkey hen

**motõtõlpopõlhuān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +**m-o**(**tõtõl-po-põl**)**hu-ān**# ~ **motõtõlpopõl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +**m-o**(**tõtõl-po-põl**) $\square$ - $\square$ # = they are your big turkey hens

(**cõl-tzin**)-**tli-** = honorable grandfather

**amĭcõltzintinhuān** = #**am**- $\emptyset$ +**ĩ**- $\emptyset$ (**cõl-tzi-tzin**)**huān**# ~ **amĭcõltzintin** = #**am**- $\emptyset$ +**ĩ**- $\emptyset$ (**cõl-tzi-tzin**) $\square$ - $\square$ # = you are his grandfathers [The stem-final /n/ of . . . **tzinhuān** is frequently not written.]

(**chichi-tõn**)- $\emptyset$ - = little dog

**nochichitõtõnhuān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +**n-o**(**chichi-to-tõn**)**hu-ān**# ~ **nochichitõtõn** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +**n-o**(**chichi-to-tõn**) $\square$ - $\square$ # = they are my little dogs [The stem-final /n/ of . . . **tõtõnhuān** is frequently not written.]

*Note:* In his *Arte* Antonio del Rincón says that, unlike **tzitzin** and **tõtõn**, **pĭpil** and **popõl** cannot take **huān** (i.e., for him the possessive-state plural-number dyad follows the same rule as the absolutive-state plural-number dyad). His only example is **notĕlpõchpĭpil**. On the other hand Andrés de Olmos gives the examples **noquichpĭpilhuān** and **nocihuāpopõlhuān**. Carochi says nothing about the problem, but Paredes gives **nochcapĭpil** or **nochcapĭlhuān** as well as **nochcapopõl** or **nochcapopõlhuān**.

32.6. *The Nounstem (pĭl)-li-*. The basic meaning of the nounstem (**pĭl**)-**li-** is “a pendant/dependent thing; an appendage.” This is seen, for example, in the intransitive verbstem (**pĭl-ca**),

“to act in the manner of a pendent thing,” i.e., “to hang down” (see § 11.4.3), and in the causative verbstem **tla-(pil-o-ā)**, “to cause s.th. to hang down, to hang s.th. up” (see § 24.7, *note*). The meaning is also obvious in certain compound nounstems; e.g., (**mah-pil**)-**li-**, “hand-appendage,” i.e., “finger,” (**xo-pil**)-**li-**, “foot-appendage,” i.e., “toe,” (**cuitla-pil**)-**li-**, “rump-appendage,” i.e., “tail,” and (**nene-pil**)-**li-**, “doll(like)-appendage,” i.e., “tongue.”

When, however, the nounstem is used in simple-stemmed and affective-stemmed NNCs, the basic meaning is no longer apparent in the English translation values. There are two of these: (1) a primary one, “a child (of a family)” or “a child (of a man or woman)” (contrast this with (**conē**)-**tl-**, “child (of a woman)”); see § 31.10), and (2) a secondary or extended value, “child (of a clan, tribe, etc.),” hence “a special-privilege child,” i.e., “nobleman/noble lady.” For the most part, NNCs built on the stem attempt to distinguish between the difference in usage behind these two translation values, but ambiguous NNCs exist.

### 1. “Child”

a. The simple stem of (**pil**)-**li-** is used primarily in possessive-state NNCs with a plural subject pronoun.

**annopilhuān** = #**an-θ+n-o(pil)hu-ān**# = you are my children

Such a plural-subject NNC can be involved in a very irregular affective formation in which the affinity-shaped affective-matrix stem **\*(tzi-tzin)-t-** embeds the entire possessive-state NNC. This strange formation is totally unique in the language and seems to be a relic of a time when what is now only a matrix stem was capable of forming a simple-stemmed NNC that stood apart from another NNC in a structure of modification. In the resultant NNC the subject pronoun’s plural-number dyad is normally filled by  $\square-\square$ , but **hu-ān** is also possible:

**nopilhuāntzitzinhuān** = #**θ-θ+n-o(pil-hu-ān-tzi-tzin)hu-ān**# ~ **nopilhuāntzitzin** = #**θ-θ+n-o(pil-hu-ān-tzi-tzin)** $\square-\square$ # = they are my dear children

A distributive/variety formation of this irregular affective NNC is possible:

**impilpilhuāntzitzin** = #**θ-θ+i-m(pih-pil-hu-ān-tzi-tzin)** $\square-\square$ # = they are the dear children of each of them

The affinity stem of (**pil**)-**li-** is also used for absolutive-state NNCs with a plural subject pronoun. The NNCs are ambiguous (see subsection 2 below):

**pīpiltin** = #**θ-θ(pī-pil)t-in**# = they are children

A gender-specific stem can be used:

**oquichpīpiltin** = #**θ-θ(oquich-pī-pil)t-in**# = they are boys

**cihuāpīpiltin** = #**θ-θ(cihuā-pī-pil)t-in**# = they are girls [This formation is ambiguous; see subsection 2 below.]

b. All the other NNCs involving (**pil**)-**li-** in the meaning of “child” are formed on affective-matrix stems. The following are examples of absolutive-state NNCs with a singular-number subject pronoun:

**tīpiltzintli** = #**ti-θ(pil-tzin)tli-θ**# = you are a child [The affective meaning is weak.]

**pīltōntli** = #**θ-θ(pil-tōn)tli-θ**# = he/she is a child [The affective meaning is weak.]

**pilpīl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (pil-pīl) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he/she is a darling child

**pilpōl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (pil-pōl) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he/she is a brat

The affinity stem formation is used on both the embed and the matrix stems when the subject pronoun of an absolutive-state NNC is plural:

**ampīpiltzitzintin** = #am- $\emptyset$ (pī-pil-tzi-tzin)t-in# = you are children

**pīpiltotōntin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (pī-pil-to-tōn)t-in# = they are little children

**pīpīlpīpīl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (pī-pil-pi-pīl)□-□# = they are darling children

The following example is of a possessive-state NNC with a singular-number subject pronoun:

**tinopiltzin** = #ti- $\emptyset$ +n-o(pil-tzin) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = you are my child

This formation can appear in the vocative collocation with the expected meaning:

**nopiltziné** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(pil-tzin) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #é = (O) my child

But if the affective-matrix stem is abbreviated to (-tz)-tli- (see § 32.3.1), the translation value of the NNC changes:

**nopiltzé** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(pil-tz) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #é = hey, you there! [Compare **niltzé** in § 32.3.1.]

But notice the following:

**notlazohpiltzé** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(tla-zo-h-pil-tz) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #é = (O) my beloved child [For (tla-zo-h)-tli-, see § 39.1.2.]

## 2. “Noble”

a. The simple stem of (pil)-li- is used in an absolutive-state NNC with either a singular or a plural subject pronoun.

**nipilli** = #ni- $\emptyset$ (pil)li- $\emptyset$ # = I am a nobleman/a noble lady

**tīpīltilin** = #ti- $\emptyset$ (pī-pil)t-in# = we are nobles [This kind of NNC is ambiguous; see subsection 1 above.]

The nounstem is used of both men and women, but it is customary to use a gender-specific stem when speaking of a woman (see § 31.9):

**cihuāpilli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cihuā-pil)li- $\emptyset$ # = she is a lady

**cihuāpīltilin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cihuā-pī-pil)t-in# = they are ladies [This formation is ambiguous; see subsection 1 above.]

b. To form a possessive-state NNC, the stem (pil)-li- is embedded in the matrix stem (-yō)-tl-: (pil-lō)-tl-, “nobility” (see § 15.1.2). [The absolutive-state NNC **pillōtl**, with a third-person common-number subject pronoun, is ambiguous, meaning either “it is nobility” or “it is childishness” (see § 39.3).]

**tinopillo** = #ti- $\emptyset$ +n-o(pil-lo) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = you are my noble

**annopillōhuān** = #an- $\emptyset$ +n-o(pil-lō)hu-ān# = you are my nobles

c. A very strange honorific NNC with a singular-number subject pronoun is used in the vocative collocation. The stem (pil-tzin)-tli-, which one would expect to mean “child,” is embedded in the affective-matrix stem (-tzin)-tli-.

**nopiltzintziné** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(pil-tzin-tzin) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #é = (O) Sir [There is no affinity-stem formation here; the subject pronoun is singular. Compare **niltzintziné** in § 32.3.1.]

32.7. *Nonanimate Compound Affective Nounstems and Affinity.* A special, rather strange situation arises with certain compound affective nounstems whose embed is a nonanimate stem. When given an affinity shape (i.e., with reduplication on the affective-matrix stem), the resultant nonanimate stem can be used to form an absolutive-state NNC with a *plural*-number third-person subject pronoun; that is, the nonanimate subject pronoun's number position is filled by the plural-number dyad **t-in**.

**mōlcaxtotōntin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (mōl-cax-to-tōn)t-in# = they are small sauce bowls

**zoquitecontotōntin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (zoqui-te-con-to-tōn)t-in# = they are small clay pots

What is even more strange is that these ostensibly plural NNCs are treated as if they have common number when they function as supplements. This means that there is a discrepancy in number agreement between the plural-number supplement and the common-number pronoun that is its head.

**Xōchitotōntin quittayah.** = They were seeing small flowers. [The plural-number subject pronoun  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (. .)t-in on the supplement is in cross-reference to the common-number object pronoun **qu- $\emptyset$**  that is its head.]

More frequently, an NNC formed on an affective stem takes common-number fillers in the subject pronoun's number position.

**īcxitotōn** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ī- $\emptyset$ (cxi-to-tōn) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = they are her small feet

But even these normal-looking NNCs with common-number subject pronouns present a problem. While the reduplicative prefix has an affinity meaning when appearing on animate stems (as witnessed by the fact that in doubly marked affinity stems such as **pīpiltotōntin**, the affinity prefix on the embed requires the reduplicative prefix on the matrix to match it in meaning), it has an ambiguous meaning on nonanimate stems, being either an affinity prefix or a distributive/variational one. The distributive/variational meaning is obvious in an example such as:

**Zan quēzquihotōn, zan quēcizquihpipil quihilpiah.** = They bind together the very few of the various kinds, the very few of each kind. [Both the reduplicative prefix with a glottal stop on the verbstem and the distributive/variational nature of **quēcizqui** (see § 16.9.4) require the two supplementary-object NNCs to have a distributive/variational meaning.]

32.8. *“Flawed-Subject” NNCs.* Besides indicating an attitude toward a subject's referent by means of affective nounstems, one may also, with certain stems, use a “flawed-subject” NNC. In this kind of NNC one replaces the sounded *num'* morphs **tl**, **tli**, and **in** with the irregular silent variant to express ridicule, disparagement, or scorn toward entities suffering from the abnormality or defect named by the nounstem. It is as if, by flawing the linguistic signifier (the pronoun), one can register the sentiment elicited by the perception of the flaw in the signified (the entity in the real world). The flawing occurs only in absolutive-state NNCs with a singular/common subject pronoun.

**nacaztzatzatl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (nacaz-tzatzatl)- $\emptyset$ # = he is a deaf person

**nacaztzatza** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (nacaz-tzatzatl)- $\emptyset$ # = he is a deaf person [Speaking disparagingly.]

**tzapatl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tzapa)- $\emptyset$ # = he is a dwarf

**tzapa** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tzapa)- $\emptyset$ # = he is a dwarf [Speaking disparagingly.]

When a nounstem that signifies an abnormal or defective entity is embedded in the affective matrix stem (**tzin**)-**tli**- or (**tōn**)-**tli**-, the resultant compound affective NNC always has a flawed subject pronoun even though the source NNC may not have one.

**ixpopoyōtl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ix-po-poy-ō)- $\emptyset$ # = he is clouded at the eyes; i.e., he is blind

**ixpopoyōtzin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ix-po-poy-ō-tzin)- $\emptyset$ # = he is a blind man [speaking with pity]

*Note 1:* Frequently the nounstem signifying a defective entity also signifies the defect itself or the source of the defect:

(**ix-cuitla**)-**tli**- = eye excrement, i.e., bleariness

**nīxcuitl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-(ix-cuitl)- $\emptyset$ # = it is my bleariness

**nīxcuitla** = #n- $\emptyset$ (ix-cuitla)- $\emptyset$ # = I am a blear-eyed person [These two examples illustrate the importance of stem shape in assessing pronominal case (possessive versus nominative).]

(**ix-te-coh-coy-o-c**)-**tli**- = eye sockets [< (**ix-te**)-**tli**-, “eyeball”; the reduplicative prefix **coh**- indicates that both eyes are involved.]

**nīxtecohcoyoc** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-(ix-te-coh-coy-o-c)- $\emptyset$ # = they are my eye sockets [This is a nonanimate NNC.]

**nīxtecohcoyoc** = #ni- $\emptyset$ (ix-te-coh-coy-o-c)- $\emptyset$ # = I am a person with sunken eyes [This is an animate NNC with a flawed-subject formation. It can have the plural subject counterpart **fixtecohcoyoctin**, #ti- $\emptyset$ (ix-te-coh-coy-o-c)-**t-in**#, “we have sunken eyes”; with its plural subject this NNC, of course, does not have the flawed-subject formation.]

*Note 2:* Certain stems are used only in a flawed-subject NNC. It seems best simply to assign these stems to the  $\emptyset$  stem class:

**tepi** = it is a small thing, they are small things

**tepitōn** = it is a very small thing, they are very small things

**tepitzin** = it is a quite small thing, they are quite small things

Other nounstems, for example those signifying repugnant or disagreeable insects, can participate in NNCs that have a flawed subject or not. Unless there seems to be an obvious difference of attitude expressed by the two forms, it seems reasonable to set up an alternative pair of stems (see § 14.2.6), one of which belongs to the  $\emptyset$  stem class: (**tecpin**)-**tli**- ~ (**tecpin**)- $\emptyset$ - = flea

*Note 3:* Nahuatl frequently uses its morphosyntactical devices for more than one purpose. For instance the use of an irregular silent morph as a filler for the *num'* subposition is not restricted to “flawed-subject” NNCs. It is also found in adverbialization (see § 44.4.2) and in one type of personal-name NNCs (see § 57.3). Flawing of the subject, adverbialization, and personal-name formation are three totally different, completely unrelated procedures. The meaning-effect accomplished by the silencing of the *num'* subposition’s filler in each of its uses is controlled by the meaning of the stem involved as well as by the context of the NNC in which the silencing occurs.

*Note 4:* It is interesting that the singular-subject absolute-state NNC meaning “it is a chicken” has a flawed-subject formation.

(**cuā-naca**)-**tli**- = flesh on the head, i.e., a chicken’s comb

**cuānacatl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cuā-naca)- $\emptyset$ # = it is a chicken’s comb

**cuānaca** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cuā-naca)- $\emptyset$ # = it is a chicken/rooster/hen [Usually used only for the rooster, since (**tōtol**)-**in**-, “turkey hen,” was extended to mean “hen” after the Spaniards introduced chickens.]

## LESSON 33

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# Honorific VNCs. Pejorative VNCs

33.1. *Honorific VNCs.* An honorific VNC indicates an attitude of respect or high esteem toward another entity (person or thing). Obviously, to avoid the odium of presumption, one should not use an honorific to speak of oneself.

The honorific VNC is created by transforming a neutral VNC into a causative or applicative one in which a reflexive pronoun is used as a mainline object. If, however, the neutral VNC has a mainline reflexive object, a special compound stem must be used (see § 33.7).

It is frequently difficult to capture the respectful nature of an honorific VNC in the English translation; therefore, in the examples in the following paragraphs, the symbol H is used to indicate an honorific source for an English gloss.

33.2. *The Honorific-via-Causative Transformation for Intransitive Sources.* As a general rule, an intransitive verb creates an honorific VNC by involving its *causative* stem in a reflexive construction. The honored entity is presented as causing itself to perform an action; by a flattering fiction the agent is presented as solely responsible for his/her action, as if he/she were autonomous.

The intransitive verbstem (**cal-aqui**) forms an honorific VNC by means of its type-one causative stem:

Neutral: **Calaqui**. = He enters.

Honorific: **Mocalaquia**. = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-o(cal-aqui-a) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = He causes himself to enter; i.e., He (H) enters.

Also, the inchoative verbstem (**tlā-t-hui-l-ti**), “to have a dawn” (formed from the impersonal-**tlā** verbstem (**tlā-t-hui**), “for things in general to become visible,” i.e., “to dawn”) uses the type-one causative stem **m-o-(tlā-t-hui-l-ti-ā)**, “to cause o.s. to have a dawn” [compare (**tlā-t-hui-l**)-li-, “dawn,” with (**tlā-yohua-l**)-li-, “darkness, night,” in § 38.1.a]:

Source: **Ye tlathui**. = Dawn is already coming.

Neutral: **Quēn ōtitlathuiltic?** = How have you dawned? I.e., Good morning. [Compare Spanish ¿*Cómo amaneciste?*]

Honorific: **Quēn ōtimotlathuiltih, nozcacāuhtziné?** = How have you caused yourself to dawn, O my honored Father? I.e., Good morning (H), Father (H). [< (*izca-cāuh*)-*tli*-, “father, male parent”]

Most intransitive verbstems use type-two causative stems:

Neutral: **Cuix tonēhua?** = Are you leaving?

Honorific: **Cuix tonmēhuītia?** = #*t-θ+on+m-□(ē-huī-tia)θ+θ-θ#* = Are you causing yourself to leave? I.e., Are you (H) leaving? [Also, **tonmēhualtia**, #*t-θ+on+m-(ē-hua-l-tia)θ+θ-θ#*.]

Neutral: **Mā xihuetzicān.** = Fall (pl); i.e., Sit (pl) down.

Honorific: **Mā ximohuetziticān.** = #*xi-θ+m-o(huetzī-tī)θ+c-ān#* = Cause yourselves to fall; i.e., Sit down (H, pl).

Those intransitive verbs that form their *causative* stem with the suffix *liā* (see § 25.5) follow the general rule by using this stem for their honorific VNC:

Neutral: **Tlahtohcāti.** = He governs.

Honorific: **Motlahtohcātilia.** = #*θ-θ+m-o(tla-ht-o-h-θ-cā-ti-lia)θ+θ-θ#* = He is causing himself to govern; i.e., He (H) is governing.

Several of the irregular intransitive verbs of Lesson 11 form their honorific VNCs on a causative stem:

Neutral: **Tihcac?** = Are you standing?

Honorific: **Timihquiltia?** = #*tī-θ+m-□(ihqui-l-tia)θ+θ-θ#* = Are you causing yourself to stand? I.e., Are you (H) standing? [This has the variant **Timihcatiltia**, built on the anomalous stem *m-□-(ihca-t-i-l-tiā)*.]

Neutral: **Onoc.** = He is lying down.

Honorific: **Monoltia.** = #*θ-θ+m-□(on-o-l-tia)θ+θ-θ#* = He is causing himself to lie down; i.e., He (H) is lying down.

Neutral: **Pilcac.** = It is hanging.

Honorific: **Mopilquītia.** = #*θ-θ+m-o(pil-quī-tia)θ+θ-θ#* = It is causing itself to hang; i.e., It (H) is hanging.

Neutral: **Ca nicān ancateh.** = Here you (pl) are.

Honorific: **Ca nicān ammoyetztiah.** = #*am-θ+m-o(ye-tz-ti-a)θ+θ-θ#* = You are causing yourselves to be here; i.e., Here you (H, pl) are; i.e., Welcome. [The stem formation is strange. A possible derivational history is as follows: (*ye*), “to be” > \*(*ye-tl-*), “a being” > \*(*ye-tz-tli-*), “an honored being” > \*(*ye-tz-ti*), “to become an honored being” > *m-o-(ye-tz-ti-ā)*, “to cause o.s. to become an honored being,” i.e., “to be (H)” (this is a type-one causative stem formation; see § 54.5.1.b). The VNC is also spelled **ammoetz-tiah**. For *nicān*, see § 46.3.2.b.]

Usually, however, all four of these irregular verbs prefer honorific VNCs built on a connective-*t* compound stem (see § 28.6) in which—with the exception of (*pil-ca*)—the matrix stem is the same as the neutral stem that is the source for the causative embed:



**Mopilquĩtĩtĩhac.** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-o(pil-quĩ-tih- $\emptyset$ -t-ihca) $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ # = It is standing causing itself to hang; i.e., It (H) is hanging.

**Timihquĩtĩtĩhac.** = #ti- $\emptyset$ +m- $\square$ (ihqui-l-tih- $\emptyset$ -t-ihca) $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ # = You (sg) are standing causing yourself to stand; i.e., You (H, sg) are standing.

**Monolĩtĩtoc.** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m- $\square$ (on-o-l-tih- $\emptyset$ -t-o) $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ # = He/she is recumbent causing himself/herself to be recumbent; i.e., He/she (H) is lying down.

**Ca nicān ammoyetztcateh.** = #am+m-o(ye-tz- $\emptyset$ -ti-ca-t) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ -eh# = You (H, pl) are here; i.e., Welcome. [The embedded verbcore is ill formed. If \*(ye-tzi) were a valid verbstem (which it is not), it would be intransitive, and this would leave the presence of the reflexive object pronoun unmotivated. Molina and the others who have given VNCs built on \*m-o-(ye-tz- $\emptyset$ -ti-ca-h) have been unaware that the embed stem has to be m-o-(ye-tz-ti-ā), the causative stem used in the honorific VNC in the earlier example. Therefore, the correct form of this connective-t compound-stemmed VNC would be ammoyetztihticateh, #am- $\emptyset$ +m-o(ye-tz-ti-h- $\emptyset$ -ti-ca-t) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ -eh#. Besides listing the moyetztcateh (and its spelling variant moetztcateh), Molina also lists moyetzinohticateh (he translates both VNCs as “he (H) is at home”). In the latter, the embed stem is m-o-(ye-tzin-o-ā), in which the causative ā justifies the presence of the reflexive causative object pronoun. But this is a unique formation, having a structure completely different from the stems in the honorific VNCs with reflexive object pronouns presented in § 33.7.]

The irregular intransitive verbs (ya-uh) and (huāl-la-uh) form their honorific VNCs with m-o-(huĩca), “to carry o.s.,” and huāl+m-o-(huĩca), “to bring o.s..”

Neutral: **Tiyauh?** = Are you going?

Honorific: **Timohuĩca?** = Are you carrying yourself? I.e., Are you (H) going?

Neutral: **Cuix huāllauh?** = Is he coming?

Honorific: **Cuix huālmohuĩca?** = Is he bringing himself? I.e., Is he (H) coming?

The verb (huĩ-tz) forms honorific VNCs with the compound stem m-o-(huĩca-tz), “to come bringing o.s.” (see § 11.4.5).

Neutral: **Anhuĩtze?** = #an- $\emptyset$ (huĩ-tz) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ -eh# = Are you (pl) coming?

Honorific: **Ammohuĩcatze?** = #am- $\emptyset$ +m-o(huĩca-tz) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ -eh# = Are you (pl) bringing yourselves? I.e., Are you (H, pl) coming?

Neutral: **Õtihuĩtza.** = õ#ti- $\emptyset$ (huĩ-tz)a+ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = You (sg) have come.

Honorific: **Õtimohuĩcatza.** = õ#ti- $\emptyset$ +m-o(huĩca-tz)a+ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = You (sg) have brought yourself. I.e., You (H, sg) have come.

Because optative-mood VNCs cannot be formed on the verbstem m-o-(huĩca-tz), indicative-mood VNCs are used in command sentences:

**Mā nicān timohuĩcatz.** = Bring yourself here; i.e., Welcome (H, sg).

**Mā nicān ammohuĩcatzeh.** = Bring yourselves here; i.e., Welcome (H, pl).

33.3. *The Honorific-via-Applicative Transformation for Intransitive Sources.* Certain intransitive verbs create honorific VNCs by using their *applicative* stem in a reflexive construction.

The honored subject-entity is presented as performing an action for his/her own sake or in his/her own interest:

Neutral: **Miqui**. = He is dying.

Honorific: **Momiquilia**. = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-o(mi $\emptyset$ qui-lia) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = He is dying for his own sake; i.e., He (H) is dying. [The applicative stem m-o-(mi $\emptyset$ qui-li $\bar{a}$ ) can occur only in honorific VNCs.]

Neutral: **Cuix tichōca?** = Are you crying?

Honorific: **Cuix tímochōquilia?** = #ti- $\emptyset$ +m-o(chōqui-lia) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = Are you crying for your own sake? I.e., Are you (H) crying?

*Note:* The description of the formations in § 33.2 and § 33.3 should be expanded by pointing out that while certain intransitive verbs choose either a causative or an applicative formation for their honorific VNCs, others are more indulgent and permit both; for example, the verb (chōca), while apparently preferring the applicative stem m-o-(chōqui-li $\bar{a}$ ) shown above, can also use the causative stems m-o-(chōc-ti $\bar{a}$ ), m-o-(chōqui-l-ti $\bar{a}$ ), and m-o-(chōqui-ti $\bar{a}$ ).

33.4. *The Honorific-via-Applicative Transformation for Projective-Object Sources.* As a general rule, a VNC with a projective-object pronoun creates an honorific counterpart by using an *applicative* stem in a reflexive construction.

From the point of view of meaning, the construction is not as neat as honorific VNCs formed from intransitive verbstems. Not just the subject-entity but an object-entity also, by his/her honored status, may justify the use of the construction. When the latter is the case (i.e., when respect for an object-entity motivates the honorific transformation), it is as if the subject-entity becomes imbued with honor, since the VNC still presents *him/her* as the one acting for his/her own sake or benefit. In addition to this “logical” difficulty, the VNC is at least potentially a source of ambiguity, since no signal is present to indicate which of the entities involved is the honored one.

Neutral: **Quihuica**. = He carries it.

Honorific: **Quimohuiquilia**. = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +qui- $\emptyset$ +m-o(huiqui-lia) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = He carries it for his own benefit; i.e., He (H) carries it. He carries it (H).

Neutral: **Ōnēchmacac**. =  $\bar{o}$ # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-ēch+ $\square$ - $\emptyset$ (maca) $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ # = He has given it to me. He has given them to me.

Honorific: **Ōnēchmomaquilih**. =  $\bar{o}$ # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-ēch+ $\square$ - $\emptyset$ +m-o(maqui-lih) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = He has given it/them to me for his own sake; i.e., He (H) has given it/them to me. He has given it (H) to me. He has given them (H) to me.

With projective verbs, the honorific VNC may occur even when the subject is a first-person pronoun. In this instance, however, the entity being honored must be the patient.

Neutral: **Niquihcuiloa**. = I write it.

Honorific: **Nicnohcuilhuia**. = #ni- $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ +n-o(hcuil-huia) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I write it for my own sake; i.e., I write it (H).

33.5. *Honorific VNCs for Causative and Applicative VNCs.* Causative and applicative VNCs create their honorific VNCs according to the general rule for VNCs with projective-object pronouns.

Neutral causative VNC: **Nēchtlachihualtia**. = He has me make something.

Honorific VNC: **Nēchmotlachihualtilia**. = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-ēch+m-o+tla(chihua-l-ti-lia) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = He has me make something for his own sake; i.e., He (H) has me make something. He has me make things (H).

Neutral applicative VNC: **Nēchtlacelilia**. = He receives something from me.

Honorific VNC: **Nēchmotlacelililia**. = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-ēch+m-o+tla(ce-li-li-lia) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = He receives something from me for his own benefit; i.e., He (H) receives something from me. He receives something (H) from me.

33.6. *The Honorific-via-Causative Transformation for Projective-Object Sources.* Certain transitive VNCs that have projective-object pronouns create honorific VNCs by involving a *causative* stem in a reflexive construction. The resultant VNCs are potentially ambiguous, since the honored status of either the patient or the agent may justify the honorific transform (as in § 33.4); i.e., regardless of which entity motivates the honorific transformation, the honorific VNC presents the agent as causing him-/herself to perform the action.

Neutral: **Quicaqui**. = He hears it.

Honorific: **Quimocaquītia**. = He causes himself to hear it; i.e., He (H) hears it. He hears it (H). [**Quimocaquiltia** is an alternative form.]

Neutral: **Nicnequi**. = I want it.

Honorific: **Nicnonequiltia**. = I cause myself to want it; i.e., I want it (H).

*Note:* The description of the formations in § 33.4, § 33.5, and § 33.6 should be expanded by pointing out that while certain projective-object verbs choose either an applicative or a causative formation for their honorific, others are more permissive and allow both; for example, the verbstem **tla-(cuep-a)**, “to turn s.th., to return s.th.,” allows both the applicative stem **m-o+tla-(cuep-i-līā)** and the causative stem **m-o+tla-(cuep-i-l-tiā)**.

33.7. *Honorific VNCs from Reflexive-Object Sources.* VNCs with a mainline reflexive-object pronoun create their honorific counterparts by means of a “preterit-embed” compound verbstem. This is a stem built on the “integrated-compound” pattern and is therefore like the future-embed compound stem of § 28.11 except that the embed is a preterit predicate rather than a future predicate.

The matrix VNC is built on the causative stem **\*tla-(tzin-o-ā)**, “to cause s.th. to become honored.” This stem is created according to the stem-forming rule of § 55.6 on the affective-matrix nounstem **(tzin)-tli-** of § 32.3. Since the preterit predicate functions as an incorporated object replacing the specific projective object of the matrix VNC, the verb object pronouns on the honorific transform VNC are the same as those on the source VNC.

The transformational process that creates this preterit-embed compound is similar to the one that creates the future-embed compound. The description given in § 28.11 is therefore valid here, except that a perfective stem and the preterit-tense morph  $\emptyset$  instead of an imperfective stem and the future-tense morph **z** are used.

Principal: **\*Tictzinoa**. = You cause it to become honored.

Adjunct: **Timotlālīh**. = You seated yourself.

Transform: **Timotlālihtzinoa.** = #ti-θ+m-o(tlāl-i-h-θ-tzin-o-a)θ+θ-θ# = You cause your act of having seated yourself to become honored; i.e., You (H) seat yourself. [The specific object c-θ of \*tictzinoa has been replaced by the preterit-tense reflexive predicate ... +m-o-(tlāl-i-h)θ+...]

The following examples illustrate a neutral VNC formed on a stem from each of the verbstem classes followed by its honorific counterpart.

Class A verbstem source:

Neutral: **Ammopātlayah.** = You (pl) were becoming tired of waiting.

Honorific: **Ammopātlatzinoāyah.** = #am-θ+m-o(pātla-θ-tzin-o-ā)ya+θ-h# = You (H, pl) were becoming tired of waiting.

Class B verbstem source:

Neutral: **Moxīma.** = He shaves. He cuts his (own) hair.

Honorific: **Moxīntzinoa.** = #θ-θ+m-o(xīn-θ-tzin-o-a)θ+θ-θ# = He (H) shaves. He (H) cuts his (own) hair.

Class C verbstem source:

Neutral: **Motlaloa.** = He runs.

Honorific: **Motlalohtzinoa.** = #θ-θ+m-o(tlal-o-h-θ-tzin-o-a)θ+θ-θ# = He (H) runs.

Neutral: **Ōtimāltih.** = You bathed.

Honorific: **Ōtimāltihtzinoh.** = ō#ti-θ+m-□(ā-l-ti-h-θ-tzin-o-h)θ+□-θ# = You (H) bathed.

Class D verbstem source:

Neutral: **Mozōmāz.** = He will frown in anger.

Honorific: **Mozōmahtzinōz.** = #θ-θ+m-o(zōmah-θ-tzin-ō)z+□-θ# = He (H) will frown in anger.

*Note:* Study the difference between the following honorific formations, one from a shuntline reflexive source, the other from a mainline reflexive source.

**Timotēneihyānilia.** = You (H) hide (yourself) from s.o. [*< titēneihyānilia*, “you hide (yourself) from s.o.” *< timihyāna*, “you hide (yourself)”]

**Timotlainyānilihztzinoa.** = You (H) hide s.th. for yourself. [*< timotlaihyānilia*, “you hide s.th. for yourself” *< titlainhyāna*, “you hide s.th.”]

33.8. *Reverential VNCs.* A reverential VNC is a subtype of the honorific VNC. The expression of respect is heightened to the point of reverence by doubling the honorific construction. Since an honorific VNC from an intransitive or a projective-object VNC is a reflexive-object VNC, the preterit predicate of this honorific VNC is incorporated as the object of a preterit-embed compound VNC with \*tla-(tzin-o-ā) as matrix (the symbol R indicates a reverential form in the following examples):

Neutral: **Ticiyahui.** = You are tired.

Honorific: **Timociyahuitia.** = #ti-θ+m-o(ciya-huī-tia)θ+θ-θ# = You cause yourself to become tired; i.e., You (H) are tired.

Reverential: **Timociyahuitihtzinoa.** = #ti-θ+m-o(ciya-huī-tih-θ-tzin-o-a)θ+θ-θ# = You (H) cause yourself to become tired; i.e., You (R) are tired.

Neutral: **Quicuih**. = They take it/them.

Honorific: **Quimocuiltiah**. = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ +qui- $\theta$ +m-o(cui-l-tia) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h# = They cause themselves to take it/them. They (H) take it/them. They take it (H). They take them (H).

Reverential: **Quimocuiltihtzinoah**. = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ +qui- $\theta$ +m-o(cui-l-tih- $\theta$ -tzin-o-a) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h# = They (R) take it/them. They take it (R). They take them (R).

33.9. *Pejorative VNCs*. Just as there are special VNCs a speaker can use to express respect towards the entity to which or about which he is speaking, there are also special VNCs he can use to express his contempt or scorn. These pejorative VNCs are constructed according to the preterit-embed compound formation described in § 33.7, except that here the matrix that incorporates the preterit predicate is the causative stem \*tla-(pōl-o-ā), “to cause s.th. to become disparaged.” This matrix stem, which is used only in this construction, is created (according to the rule of § 54.10) on the affective-matrix nounstem (-pōl)- $\theta$ - of § 32.2. The formation of the compound VNC is the same as for the honorific VNC on \*tla-(tzin-o-ā), but the incorporated predicate can be formed on an intransitive stem or projective-object stem as well as on a reflexive-object stem. Also different is the fact that while one should not praise oneself, one can easily disparage oneself (the symbol P indicates a pejorative form in the following examples):

Principal: \*Nicipōloa. = I cause it to become disparaged.

Adjunct: Nicchiuh. = I made it.

Transform: Nicchiuhpōloa. = #ni- $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ (chiuh- $\theta$ -pōl-o-a) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = I cause my act of having made it to become disparaged; i.e., I (P) am making it. I am making it (P). [The specific object pronoun c- $\theta$  of the matrix VNC \*nicipōloa has been replaced by the preterit predicate . . . +c- $\theta$ (chiuh) $\theta$ + . . . , which has become the incorporated object.]

The following examples illustrate a neutral VNC formed on a stem from each of the verbstem classes followed by its pejorative counterpart.

Class A verbstem source:

Neutral: Ōnihuetzac. = I laughed.

Pejorative: Ōnihuetzacpōloh. =  $\bar{o}$ #ni- $\theta$ (hue-tz-ca- $\theta$ -pōl-o-h) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$ # = I (P) laughed.

Class B verbstem source:

Neutral: Xiquiza. = Leave. Go away.

Pejorative: Xiquizpōlo. = #xi- $\theta$ (quiz- $\theta$ -pōl-o) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$ # = Go (P) away. Get out of here.

Class C verbstem source:

Neutral: Timotlalōz. = You will run.

Pejorative: Timotlalohpōlōz. = #ti- $\theta$ +m-o(tlal-o-h- $\theta$ -pōl-ō)z+ $\square$ - $\theta$ # = You (P) will run.

Neutral: Quihcuaniah. = They are moving it/them.

Pejorative: Quihcuanihpōloah. = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ +qu- $\theta$ (ihcuani-h- $\theta$ -pōl-o-a) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h# = They (P) are moving it/them. They are moving it (P). They are moving them (P).

Class D verbstem source:

Neutral: **Tlacuahca.** = He had eaten.

Pejorative: **Tlacuahpōlohca.** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ +tla(cuah- $\theta$ -pōl-o-h)ca+ $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = He (P) had eaten. He had eaten something (P).

33.10. *Honorific and Pejorative VNCs Involving Compound Verbstems.* VNCs built on compound verbstems can undergo honorific and pejorative transformations.

In the instance of an intransitive matrix connective-**t** compound VNC (see § 28.6), it is the embed that normally undergoes the transformation:

Neutral: **Cuix tichōcatoc?** = #ti- $\theta$ (chōca- $\theta$ -t-o) $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ # = Are you lying there crying?

Honorific: **Cuix timochōquilihtoc?** = #ti- $\theta$ +m-o(chōqui-lih- $\theta$ -t-o) $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ # = Are you (H) lying there crying?

Neutral: **Tzahtzitēhua.** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (tzahtzi- $\theta$ -t-ē-hua) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = He shouts and runs away.

Pejorative: **Tzahtzipōlohtēhua.** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (tzahtzi- $\theta$ -pōl-o-h- $\theta$ -t-ē-hua) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = He (P) shouts and runs away.

Neutral: **Quicuitihuetz.** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ +qui- $\theta$ (cui- $\theta$ -ti-huetz) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$ # = He took it quickly. He took them quickly.

Honorific: **Quimocuilhtihuetz.** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ +qui- $\theta$ +m-o(cui-lih- $\theta$ -ti-huetz) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$ # = He (H) took it/them quickly. He took it (H) quickly. He took them (H) quickly.

For the honorific stem of \***tē-** ~ **tla-(itzi)** in a connective-**t** compound verbstem (see § 28.7.4), the applicative stem **m-o+tē-** ~ **m-o+tla-(itz-ti-liā)** is used. This stem presupposes the unattested causative stem \***tē-** ~ **tla-(itz-tiā)**, formed according to the rule of § 25.3, not the intransitive stem (**itz-ti**) of § 25.4.7.

Neutral: **Niquitzticah.** = #ni- $\theta$ +qu- $\theta$ (itz- $\theta$ -ti-ca-h) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$ # = I am seeing him.

Honorific: **Nicnotztilihticah.** = #ni- $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ +n-o(tz-ti-lih- $\theta$ -ti-ca-h) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$ # = I am seeing him (H).

If a compound stem has taken on an idiomatic meaning (i.e., if the combined elements have fused into a fixed, lexicalized unity) the transformation works upon the matrix stem.

Neutral: **Ōquincuitihuetz.** =  $\bar{o}$ # $\theta$ - $\theta$ +qu-in(cui- $\theta$ -ti-huetz) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$ # = He attacked them.

Honorific: **Ōquimmocuitihuechilih.** =  $\bar{o}$ # $\theta$ - $\theta$ +qu-im+m-o(cui- $\theta$ -ti-huechi-lih) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$ # = He (H) attacked them. He attacked them (H).

In the instance of a shared-object compound VNC (see § 28.10), the honorific or pejorative is formed on the *matrix* stem, which proves that this kind of connective-**t** compound is more tightly bound together as a unit than the other types (see § 28.10).

Neutral: **Niquēhuatitlāliz.** = #ni- $\theta$ +qu- $\theta$ (ē-hu-a- $\theta$ -ti-tlāl-ī)z+ $\square$ - $\theta$ # = I will raise him into a sitting position.

Honorific: **Nicnēhuatitlāliliz.** = #ni- $\theta$ +c- $\theta$ +n- $\square$ (ē-hu-a- $\theta$ -ti-tlāl-i-lī)z+ $\square$ - $\theta$ # = I will raise him (H) into a sitting position.

The neutral counterparts of the following honorific VNCs are found in § 28.10.

**Ōnicnēhuatiquechilih.** =  $\bar{o}\#ni-\emptyset+c-\emptyset+n-\square(\bar{e}-hu-a-\emptyset-ti-quechi-lih)\emptyset+\square-\emptyset\#$  = I stood him (H) on his feet. I stood it (H)/them (H) upright.

**Ōniqinnotlāpachohitētēquilih.** =  $\bar{o}\#ni-\emptyset+qu-in+n-o(tlā-pach-o-h-\emptyset-ti-tēqui-lih)\emptyset+\square-\emptyset\#$  = I put them (H) to bed and covered them (H).

**Cuix ōticmotlapohticāhuilih?** =  $\bar{o}\#ti-\emptyset+c-\emptyset+m-o(tlap-o-h-\emptyset-ti-cāhui-lih)\emptyset+\square-\emptyset\#$  = Did you (H) leave it/them open? Did you leave it (H) open? Did you leave them (H) open?

**Ōquimohuilāntiquixtilihqueh.** =  $\bar{o}\#\emptyset-\emptyset+qui-\emptyset+m-o(huil-ān-\emptyset-ti-quix-ti-lih)\emptyset+qu-eh\#$  = They (H) dragged him out. They dragged him (H) out.

## LESSON 34

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# Cardinal-Numeral NNCs

34.1. *The Nahuatl Number System.* The numerical system of Nahuatl is vigesimal; that is, the base of the system is twenty. The successive orders are, therefore, one, twenty, four hundred and eight thousand.

A cardinal numeral in Nahuatl is structured on the absolutive-state NNC formula. Like pronominal NNCs, cardinal-numeral NNCs do not occur in the possessive state. Like nounstems, cardinal-numeral stems may be embedded in compound-stemmed NNCs and VNCs.

There are five sets of numeral NNCs, each set related to certain kinds of entities, although certain entities may be classed in more than one set. These five sets consist of a basic set and four derived sets. The latter are made up of compound nounstems that employ the numeral stems of the basic set as embeds.

Numeral stems (both those of the basic set and those of the derived sets) that count “two” or more may (1) refer simply to the count as such or (2) specify that it represents an aggregate, total, complete, or gross count. Gross-count numeral stems are distinguished from simple-count stems by being compound stems built on the matrix stem (*ix*)-, “total, totality” (see § 16.7). This nounstem occurs as an embed in the quantitative pronominal stems (*ix-qui-ch*)- $\emptyset$ -, “a total amount” (§ 16.8.1), (*quē-x-qui-ch*)- $\emptyset$ -, “how large a (total) amount?” (§ 16.8.2), and (*ix-a-chi*)- $\emptyset$ -, “a very large amount” (§ 16.9.8).

An NNC built on a gross-count stem can occur only with a plural subject pronoun regardless of whether the pronoun’s referent is animate or nonanimate. This is a violation of the rule that nonanimate entities are represented by common-number pronouns. An NNC built on an ordinary-count stem follows the normal rule: the subject pronoun is singular or plural number for animate reference and common number for nonanimate reference.

34.2. *The Basic Set of Numeral Stems.* NNCs built on the basic set of numeral stems are used to count animate entities, flat things (such as boards, heavens, blankets, mats, hides, paper, tortillas, dried chili peppers, etc.), and more or less long, cylindrical things (such as dugout canoes, boats, knives, candles, ropes, etc.).

The basic set consists of only eleven stems and a connective morph and is therefore extremely simple to learn. The twelve elements are presented in §§ 34.3–34.8. Being based on



the twenty digits (fingers and toes), the twenty-count distinguishes four stages (one hand; two hands; two hands and one foot; two hands and two feet) and the first four units (one digit, two digits, three digits, four digits) within these stages.

34.3. *One*. The stem (**cem**)- $\emptyset$ -, meaning “one,” is a nounstem. The /m/ is subject to the rules of assimilation (see § 2.11). When not occurring as the embed of a compound stem, (**cem**)- $\emptyset$ - loses its final /m/ and acquires compensatory length: (**cē**)- $\emptyset$ -. An NNC with a plural subject uses the plural dyad **m-eh**.

**cē** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**cē**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is one in number

**ticemmeh** = #**ti**- $\emptyset$ (**cem**)**m-eh**# = we are one in number, we are a unit

**azcemmeh** = #**az**- $\emptyset$ (**cem**)**m-eh**# = you (pl) are one in number [/nasal/ + /s/ > [ss]]

The following examples show the numeral stem as an embed in compound-stemmed NNCs:

**cemmahpilli** = it is one finger length [< (**mah-pil**)-**li**-, “finger”]

**cemilhuilt** = it is one whole day [< (**ilhui**)-**tl**-, “day”]

**cenxihuilt** = it is one whole year [< (**xihui**)-**tl**-, “year.” Usually spelled **cexihuilt** : /m/ + /š/ > [šš], but the long consonant is seldom spelled as such.]

**mocexiuhzauhqueh** = they fasted for one year [Usually spelled **mocexiuhzauhqueh**.]

In an incorporated-adverb compound stem (see § 30.5), (**cem**)- $\emptyset$ - may be translated as “completely,” “entirely,” “together,” or “forever.”

**ticenyāzqueh** = we will go together [Usually spelled **ticeyāzqueh**, since /m/ + /y/ > [y].]

**nitēcemitta** = I look at s.o. completely; i.e., I stare at s.o.

**nicempolihui** = I perish forever

**nitlacemāna** = #**ni**- $\emptyset$ +**tla**(**cem-āna**) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I take s.th. to completion, I continue, I persevere

**Mocemmana in quiyahuilt** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +**m-o**(**cem-man-a**) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = The rain spreads itself out as one; i.e., It rains continuously. It rains without stopping.

**Ōniccemilcāuh**. = **ō**#**ni**- $\emptyset$ +**c**- $\emptyset$ (**cem-il-cāuh**) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = I have forgotten it as one; i.e., I have completely forgotten it.

34.4. *Two, Three, Four*. The stems (**ōme**)- $\emptyset$ -, (**ēyi**)- $\emptyset$ -, and (**nāhui**)- $\emptyset$ -, meaning “two,” “three,” and “four” respectively, are pronominal stems. An NNC built on the ordinary-count stem has that stem pluralized by **n**; its subject pronoun’s number position is filled by the morphic dyad **t-in** or  $\square$ - $\square$  (see § 16.1). The stem (**ēyi**)- $\emptyset$ - sometimes occurs with an initial [y] when the NNC has the person position filled with  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ . The stem is also spelled (**ēi**)- $\emptyset$ -, (**yēyi**)- $\emptyset$ -, and (**yēi**)- $\emptyset$ -. The stems (**ōme**)- $\emptyset$ -, (**ēyi**)- $\emptyset$ -, and (**nāhui**)- $\emptyset$ - usually lose the final vowel when occurring as the embed of a compound stem. Furthermore, as an embed (**ēyi**)- $\emptyset$ - either loses its /y/ or changes it to [š].

1. (**ōme**)- $\emptyset$ - ~ (**ōm**)- $\emptyset$ - = two. The /m/ of (**ōm**)- $\emptyset$ -, which is used only as an embed, is subject to the rules of assimilation (see § 2.11). The (**ōme**)- $\emptyset$ - variant may also appear as an embed,

especially in a compound verbstem, where it is frequently a substitute for (**ōme-yō**)-**tl-**, “twoness/duality.”

**ōme** = **#θ-θ(ōme)θ-θ#** = *nonan*, they are two in number

**tōmentin** ~ **tōmen** = **#t-θ(ōme-n)t-in#** ~ **#t-θ(ōme-n)□-□#** = we are two in number

**ōmextin** = **#θ-θ(ōme-x)t-in#** = *anim/nonan*, they are (all) two, they are a total of two

[This can be translated “the two of them,” “both of them.”]

**tōmextin** = **#t-θ(ōme-x)t-in#** = we are (all) two [This can be translated “the two of us,” “both of us.”]

The following examples show the ordinary-count stem as an embed in compound stems:

**ōmilhuitl** = they are two days

**ōnxihuitl** = they are two years [Also spelled **ōxihuitl**.]

**nitlaōmetēma** = I double s.th.

**nitlaōmetēca** = I place two things together

2. (**ēyi**)-**θ-** ~ (**yēyi**)-**θ-** ~ (**ēi**)-**θ-** ~ (**yēi**)-**θ-** ~ (**ē**)-**θ-** ~ (**yē**)-**θ-** = three. The (**ē**)-**θ-** and (**yē**)-**θ-** variants are used only as an embed. The stem (**ēx**)-**θ-** is also found as an embed (concerning /y/ > [š], see § 2.13.3).

**ēyi** ~ **yēyi** = **#θ-θ(ēyi)θ-θ#** ~ **#θ-θ(yēyi)θ-θ#** = *nonan*, they are three in number [Also spelled **ēi** and **yēi**.]

**tēintin** ~ **tēin** = **#t-θ(ēi-n)t-in#** ~ **#t-θ(ēi-n)□-□#** = we are three in number

**ēixtin** = **#θ-θ(ē-ix)t-in#** = *anim/nonan*, they are (all) three

**tēixtin** = **#t-θ(ē-ix)t-in#** = we are (all) three

The following examples show the ordinary-count stem as an embed in compound stems:

**ēilhuitl** = they are three days

**ēxihuitl** = they are three years

**ēxcān** = it is in three places [This is an adverbialized NNC. See § 46.3.2.b.]

3. (**nāhui**)-**θ-** ~ (**nāhu**)-**θ-** ~ (**nāuh**)-**θ-** = four. The (**nāhu**)-**θ-** and (**nāuh**)-**θ-** variants are used only as embeds, the former before vowels, the latter before consonants.

**nāhui** = **#θ-θ(nāhui)θ-θ#** = *nonan*, they are four in number

**tīnāhuintin** ~ **tīnāhuin** = **#ti-θ(nāhui-n)t-in#** ~ **#ti-θ(nāhui-n)□-□#** = we are four in number

**nāhuixtin** = **#θ-θ(nāhu-ix)t-in#** = *anim/nonan*, they are (all) four

**tīnāhuixtin** = **#ti-θ(nāhu-ix)t-in#** = we are (all) four

The following examples show the ordinary-count stem as an embed in compound stems:

**nāhuilhuitl** = **#θ-θ(nāhu-ilhui)tl-θ#** = they are four days

**nāuhxihuitl** = they are four years

34.5. *Five*. There are two nounstems that mean “five.”

1. The stem (**mā-cu-ī-l**)-**li-** is a compound nounstem derived as a passive patientive stem (see § 37.9.1) from the applicative verbstem **tlā-(mā-cu-īā)**, “to take a hand in comparison to

s.th.,” from the incorporated-object compound verbstem (**mā-cui**), “to take a hand” [**(māi)-tl-**, “hand” + **tla-(cui)**, “to take s.th.”]. Therefore, (**mā-cu-ī-l**)-**li-** means “s.th. taken as corresponding to a hand,” i.e., “s.th. having five members (like a hand).”

A plural subject of an NNC built on the stem has the number position filled with the dyad **t-in**.

**mācuilli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**mā-cu-ī-l**)**li**- $\emptyset$ # = *nonan*, they are five in number

**tīmācuiltin** = #**ti**- $\emptyset$ (**mā-cu-ī-l**)**t-in**# = we are five in number

**mācuilixtin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**mā-cu-ī-l-ix**)**t-in**# = *anim/nonan*, they are five as the total number, they are (all) five

**tīmācuilixtin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**mā-cu-ī-l-ix**)**t-in**# = we are (all) five

**mācuiltiānquiztli** = it is the market held once every five days [**(tiānqui-z)-tli-**, “market”]

**mācuiloctli** = it is “five pulque” (a kind of pulque that priests drank during certain ceremonies) [**(oc)-tli-**, “pulque”]

2. The nounstem (**chicua-**)- ~ (**chiuc-**)- /čik<sup>w</sup>/ ~ (**chic-**)- occurs only as the embed of a compound number stem whose matrix is (**cem**)- $\emptyset$ -, (**ōme**)- $\emptyset$ -, (**ēyi**)- $\emptyset$ -, or (**nāhui**)- $\emptyset$ -. This embed-only nounstem is a special form of the adverbialized nounstem (**chico**)-□-, “to one side” (see § 44.6). The compound stem therefore means something like “the count on one hand (indicated by the matrix stem) with the addition of the full count of five already made on the other hand,” i.e., “five plus x” (where “x” can be only “one,” “two,” “three,” or “four”).

**chicuacē** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**chicua-cē**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = *nonan*, they are 5 + 1 (six) in number

**tichicuacemintin** = #**ti**- $\emptyset$ (**chicua-cem-in**)**t-in**# = we are 5 + 1 (six) in number

**tichicuacemixtin** = #**ti**- $\emptyset$ (**chicua-cem-ix**)**t-in**# = we are (all) 5 + 1 (six) in number

**chicōme** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**chic-ōme**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = *nonan*, they are 5 + 2 (seven) in number

**tichicōmentin** = #**ti**- $\emptyset$ (**chic-ōme-n**)**t-in**# = we are 5 + 2 (seven) in number

**tichicōmextin** = #**ti**- $\emptyset$ (**chic-ōme-x**)**t-in**# = we are (all) seven

**chicuēi** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**chicu-ēi**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = *nonan*, they are 5 + 3 (eight) in number

**tichicuēintin** = #**ti**- $\emptyset$ (**chicu-ēi-n**)**t-in**# = we are 5 + 3 (eight) in number

**tichicuēixtin** = #**ti**- $\emptyset$ (**chicu-ē-ix**)**t-in**# = we are (all) eight

**chiucnāhui** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**chiuc-nāhui**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = they are 5 + 4 (nine) in number

**tichiucnāhuintin** = #**ti**- $\emptyset$ (**chiuc-nāhui-n**)**t-in**# = we are 5 + 4 (nine) in number

**tichiucnāhuixtin** = #**ti**- $\emptyset$ (**chiuc-nāhu-ix**)**t-in**# = we are (all) nine

34.6. *Ten. Fifteen.* The stems (**mah-tlāc**)-**tli-**, “ten,” and (**cax-tōl**)-**li-**, “fifteen,” are nounstems. The stem (**mah-tlāc**)-**tli-** is a compound stem consisting of the embed (**māi**)-**tl-**, “hand” (in its glottalized shape) and the matrix (**tlāc**)-**tli-**, “torso, upper part of the body.” The compound stem therefore refers to the fingers of both hands taken together. When the subject pronoun is animate, an NNC built on (**mah-tlāc**)-**tli-** or (**cax-tōl**)-**li-** has its number position filled with the plural dyad **t-in**.

**mahtlāctli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**mah-tlāc**)**tli**- $\emptyset$ # = *nonan*, they are ten in number

**timahtlāctin** = #**ti**- $\emptyset$ (**mah-tlāc**)**t-in**# = we are ten in number

**mahtlāquixtin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (mah-tlāqu-ix)t-in# = *anim/nonan*, they are (all) ten  
**timahtlāquixtin** = #ti- $\emptyset$ (mah-tlāqu-ix)t-in# = we are (all) ten  
**caxtōlli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cax-tōl)li- $\emptyset$ # = *nonan*, they are fifteen in number  
**ticaxtōltin** = #ti- $\emptyset$ (cax-tōl)t-in# = we are fifteen in number  
**caxtōlixtin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cax-tōl-ix)t-in# = *anim/nonan*, they are (all) fifteen  
**ticaxtōlixtin** = #ti- $\emptyset$ (cax-tōl-ix)t-in# = we are (all) fifteen

*Note:* Besides appearing in an absolutive-state NNC, gross-count numeral stems can also appear in a strange possessive-state formation in which the subject personal pronoun's number dyad is the same **t-in** as that in the absolutive state NNCs. An animate possessor pronoun must be plural, and the common number of a nonanimate possessor pronoun must have a plural referent.

**tonāhuixtin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +t-o(nāhu-ix)t-in# = there are all four of us  
**amomahtlāquixtin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +am-o(mah-tlāqu-ix)t-in# = there are all ten of you  
**imōmextin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i-m(ōme-x)t-in# = there are both of them  
**ichiucnāhuixtin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i- $\emptyset$ (chiuc-nāhu-ix)t-in# = there are all nine of them [nonanimate possessor]

When the possessor is nonanimate, some write the subject pronoun's number dyad as **tī** (i.e., **tī-□**) instead of **tin** (but this is problematic, since a vocable final /n/ was frequently not written):

**imahtlāquixti** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i- $\emptyset$ (mah-tlāqu-ix)tī-□# = there are all ten of them (e.g., boards, mats, etc.)  
**iōmexti** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i- $\emptyset$ (ōme-x)tī-□# = there are both of them

34.7. *Multiples of Twenty, Four Hundred, and Eight Thousand.* Multiples of twenty, four hundred, and eight thousand are expressed by compound nounstems whose embed is a numeral stem having a value from one through nineteen.

1. Multiples of twenty are expressed by compound nounstems whose matrix is the stem (**pōhu-a-l**)-**li-**, which is derived from **tla-(pōhu-a)**, “to count s.th.,” and means “something counted.” It refers to the digits of both hands and both feet taken together, i.e., “twenty/a score.”

**cempōhualli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cem-pōhu-a-l)li- $\emptyset$ # = *nonan*, they are one score (1 x 20 = 20) in number  
**ticempōhualtin** = #ti- $\emptyset$ (cem-pōhu-a-l)t-in# = we are twenty in number  
**cempōhualixtin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cem-pōhu-a-l-ix)t-in# = *anim/nonan*, they are twenty as a full count, they are (all) twenty  
**ticempōhualixtin** = #ti- $\emptyset$ (cem-pōhu-a-l-ix)t-in# = we are (all) twenty  
**ōmpōhualli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ōm-pōhu-a-l)li- $\emptyset$ # = *nonan*, they are two score (2 x 20 = 40) in number  
**chiucnāuhpōhualli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (chiuc-nāuh-pōhu-a-l)li- $\emptyset$ # = *nonan*, they are 5 + 4 (nine) score (9 x 20 = 180) in number

2. Multiples of four hundred (400 = 20 x 20) are expressed by compound nounstems whose matrix subposition is filled by the stem (**tzon**)-**tli-**, which means “hair” and possibly refers to the barbs on a feather taken as a set (the symbol was a feather). In regard to numbering, (**tzon**)-**tli-** originally designated an unspecified multitude and can still on occasion be found with the translation value “many.”

**centzontli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cen-tzon)tli- $\emptyset$ # = it is one set of feather barbs (1 x 400 = 400) in number [The compound stem (**cen-tzon**)-**tli-** also serves as a general term for any large number; from this one arrives at the secondary meaning of the NNC **centzontli**, “it

is a mockingbird,” a shorthand way of saying **centzontlahtōleh**, “it is an owner of four hundred (i.e., many) songs.”]

**ētzontli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ē-tzon)tli- $\emptyset$ # = they are three sets of feather barbs (3 x 400 = 1,200) in number

**mahtlāctzontli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (mah-tlāc-tzon)tli- $\emptyset$ # = they are ten sets of feather barbs (10 x 400 = 4,000) in number

3. Multiples of eight thousand (8,000 = 20 x 20 x 20) are expressed by compound noun-stems whose matrix subposition is filled by the stem (**xiqu-ipil**)-li-, “enclosed stack/pile,” i.e., “sack/bag,” here possibly a bagful of cacao beans (the symbol was a bag or sack).

**cenxiquipilli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cen-xiqu-ipil)li- $\emptyset$ # = it is one bagful (1 x 8,000 = 8,000) in number [Also written **cexiquipilli**.]

**nāuhxiquipilli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (nāuh-xiqu-ipil)li- $\emptyset$ # = they are four bagfuls (4 x 8,000 = 32,000) in number

34.8. *Conjoined Numeral NNCs*. In order to link the digits one through four to the number ten (to create the equivalent of eleven through fourteen) and to the number fifteen (to create the equivalent of sixteen through nineteen) and to link the digits one through nineteen to the scores (twenty, forty, etc.), Nahuatl uses a conjunctless structure of conjunction (its favorite kind of conjunction; see § 52.2) in which the first conjunct is a higher numeral NNC and the second conjunct is a lower numeral NNC. Since conjunction is recursive, the second conjunct can itself be a structure of conjunction, with its second conjunct being a still lower-numeral NNC.

1. The stem of the NNC that functions as a second conjunct must embed the adverbial morph (**om-**-), an embed-only nounstem that can be loosely translated “as an additional number.” (When followed by a consonant other than /m/ or /p/, it is subject to the rules of regressive assimilation presented in § 2.11 and therefore at times is spelled **on-** or **oz-**.) One should not confuse (**om-**-) with (**ōm-**-); the two stems are distinguished by vowel length (as well as by distribution).

**mahtlāctli oncē** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (mah-tlāc)tli- $\emptyset$ # # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (on-cē) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = *nonan*, they are ten in number (and) it is one as an additional number; i.e., they are eleven in number

**mahtlāctin omōmen** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (mah-tlāc)t-in# # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (om-ōme-n)□-□# = *anim*, they ten in number (and) they are two as an additional number; i.e., they are twelve in number

**caxtōlli omēi** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cax-tōl)li- $\emptyset$ # # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (om-ēi) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = *nonan*, they are fifteen in number (and) they are three as an additional number; i.e., they are eighteen in number

**ticaxtōltin tonnāhuin** = #ti- $\emptyset$ (cax-tōl)t-in# #t- $\emptyset$ (on-nāhui-n)-# = *anim*, we are fifteen in number (and) we are four as an additional number; i.e., we are nineteen in number

**cempōhualli ommācuilli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cem-pōhu-a-l)li- $\emptyset$ # # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (om-mā-cu-ī-l)li- $\emptyset$ # = *nonan*, they are twenty in number (and) they are five as an additional number; i.e., they are twenty-five in number

**cempōhualli ommahtlāctli omōme** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cem-pōhu-a-l)li- $\emptyset$ # # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (om-mah-tlāc)tli- $\emptyset$ # # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (om-ōme) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = *nonan*, they are twenty in number (and) they are ten as an

additional number (and) they are two as an additional number; i.e., they are thirty-two in number

**tōmpōhualtin toncaxtōltin tonnāhuin = #t-θ(ōm-pōhu-a-l)t-in# #t-θ(on-cax-tōl)t-in# #t-θ(on-nāhui-n)□-□# = anim**, we are forty in number (and) we are fifteen as an additional number (and) we are four as an additional number; i.e., we are fifty-nine

2. In addition to linking numeral NNCs by means of a structure of conjunction with NNCs as conjuncts, it is also possible for the conjunction to be achieved by means of a conjunctive-compound stem (see § 31.7). The following compound-stemmed NNCs illustrate the formation:

**mahtlāctlozcē = #θ-θ(mah-tlāc-tl-oz-cē)θ-θ# = nonan**, they are eleven in number  
[Notice /m/ > [s].]

**mahtlāctlomōme = #θ-θ(mah-tlāc-tl-om-ōme)θ-θ# = nonan**, they are twelve in number

**mahtlāctlomēintin = #θ-θ(mah-tlāc-tl-om-ēi-n)t-in# = anim**, they are thirteen in number

**timahtlāctlonnāhuintin = #ti-θ(mah-tlāc-tl-on-nāhui-n)t-in# = we are fourteen in number**

3. In order to obey the rule about numeral embeds stated in § 34.7, a structure of conjunction involving numerals can be *downgraded to the rank of a stem* and then embedded to create a compound numeral stem in which the matrix stem is (**pōhu-a-l**)-**li-**, (**tzon**)-**tli-**, or (**xiqu-ipil**)-**li-**. The downgrading of the structure of conjunction is accomplished by deleting the number position on the rightmost conjunct in the source. Notice that the relationship between the embed and matrix is exactly the same as when the embed is a simple numeral stem (in the analyzed examples a plus mark is placed between the conjoined NNCs serving as the embed stem).

Source: **caxtōlli omōme** = they are 15 + 2 in number; i.e., they are seventeen in number

Outcome: **caxtōlli omōmpōhualli = #θ-θ(θ-θ-cax-tōl-li-θ+θ-θ-om-ōm-pōhua-l)li-θ#**  
= they are (15 + 2) x 20 in number; i.e., they are 340 in number

Source: **mahtlāctli onnāhui** = they are 10 + 4 in number; i.e., they are fourteen in number

Outcome: **mahtlāctli onnāuhtzontli = #θ-θ(θ-θ-mah-tlāc-tli-θ+θ-θ-on-nāuh-tzon)tli-θ#**  
= they are (10 + 4) x 400 in number) i.e., they are 5,600 in number

This ability to downgrade an entire concatenate structure to the rank of an embed stem attests to the power and versatility of Nahuatl's compounding resources. The ability is not limited to numerical expressions; see, for example, § 35.14.

*Note 1:* In traditional texts one can find conjoined NNCs, such as **caxtōltin omei**, that look as if the first conjunct has a plural subject pronoun (i.e., animate) and the second a singular/common one (i.e., nonanimate). Such items are the result of the failure to write a final **n**. Properly spelled, the exemplified unit is **caxtōltin omēin**, "they (animate) are fifteen in number (and) they are three as an additional number"; i.e., "they are eighteen in number."

*Note 2:* The possessive-state NNCs **ihuān**, "in company with it," and **ipan**, "on top of it," link the higher orders (the four hundreds and the eight thousands) to the lower orders (the digits and the scores). Both can be loosely translated as "with the addition of. . ." They are presented in § 45.4.1 and § 47.3.3.

*Note 3:* In the *Primeros Memoriales* (82, n.12), the annotator says that in the text **matlacpohualli omei** (correctly translated by Sahagún as 203) "should be read **matlacpohualli omeipohualli**, 260." This shows a serious

misunderstanding of numerical expressions in Nahuatl. Numeral NNCs with the same matrix stem cannot be conjoined (if they could, according to the foregoing grammatical presentation, the annotator's reading would be not 260 but “((10 x 20) + 3) x 20”, i.e., 4,060, the correct expression for which is **mahtlāctzontli ipan ēpōhualli**, i.e., “(10 x 400) + (3 x 20)”). The Nahuatl equivalent to 260 is **mahtlāctli omēpōhualli**, “(10 + 3) x 20.” Notice also that **ēi** cannot be a scribal error for \***ēipōhualli**; (**ē-**) is the required embed form of (**ēi**)-**θ-** in this context (see § 34.4.2). In the *FC* (II, 207) we find the same erroneous translation of “260” with no annotation attempting to justify it.

34.9. *The “Rock” Set.* The set of numeral stems used in counting round, plump things (such as hens, fruit, eggs, loaves, berries, beans, melons, squash, turnips, nuts, rocks, jugs, hills, etc.) and also books is formed by embedding the stems of the basic set into a compound nounstem whose matrix subposition is filled by the stem (**te**)-**tl-**, “rock.”

**centetl** = #**θ-θ**(**cen-te**)**tl-θ**# = it is one-rock; i.e., it is one in number

**chicuētetl** = #**θ-θ**(**chicu-ē-te**)**tl-θ**# = they are 5 + 3 rocks; i.e., they are eight in number

**yēpōhualtetl** = #**θ-θ**(**yē-pō-hu-a-l-te**)**tl-θ**# = they are 3 x 20 rocks; i.e., they are sixty in number

When there is a structure of conjunction, the stem of an NNC serving as a rightward conjunct does not have (**te**)-**tl-** in the matrix subposition.

**caxtōltetl omōme** = #**θ-θ**(**cax-tōl-te**)**tl-θ**# #**θ-θ**(**om-ōme**)**θ-θ**# = they are fifteen rocks in number (and) they are two as an additional number; i.e., they are seventeen in number

A plural subject pronoun of an NNC built on an ordinary-count stem has its number position filled with the plural dyad **m-eh**.

**ōntemeh** = #**θ-θ**(**ōn-te**)**m-eh**# = *anim*, they are two rocks in number; i.e., they are two in number

The plural subject pronoun on a gross-count stem refers to nonanimate as well as animate entities.

**ōnteixtin** = #**θ-θ**(**ōn-te-ix**)**t-in**# = they are two rocks as a total count; i.e., they are (all) two

The ordinary-count compound stem may itself participate as the embed of a compound stem.

**centemilli** = #**θ-θ**(**cen-te-mil**)**li-θ**# = it is a one-rock cultivated field; i.e., it is one cultivated field

**centeconētl** = #**θ-θ**(**cen-te-conē**)**tl-θt**# = he/she is a one-rock child; i.e., he/she is a single child

**mōntetōcā** = #**θ-θ**+**m-**□(**ōn-te-tōcā**)**θ+θ-θ**# = it is your two-rock name; i.e., it is your second name, it is your nickname

**ōntemani** = #**θ-θ**(**ōn-te-mani**)**θ+θ-θ**# = it lies as two-rocks; i.e., it is in two sections (or parts)

*Note:* The gross-count NNC can also be built on a possessive-state predicate (see § 34.6, *note*).

**īōnteixti** = *nonan*, they are all two; they are both of them

**innāuhteixtin** = *anim*, they are all four of them

**imācuilixti** = *nonan*, they are all five of them

34.10. *The “Row” Set.* The set of numeral stems used for counting rows of things or people is formed by embedding the stems of the basic set into a compound stem with the stem (**pān**)-**tli-** “row,” filling the matrix subposition.

**cempāntli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cem-pān)tli- $\emptyset$ # = it is one-row; i.e., it is one in number

**nāppāntli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (nāp-pān)tli- $\emptyset$ # = they are four rows; i.e., they are four in number  
[because of assimilation /w/ + /p/ > [pp]]

When there is a structure of conjunction, the stem of an NNC serving as a rightward conjunct does not have (pān)-tli- in the matrix subposition.

**mahtlācpāntli oncē** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (mah-tlāc-pān)tli- $\emptyset$ # # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (on-cē) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = they are ten rows in number (and) it is one as an additional number; i.e., they are eleven in number

34.11. *The “Thing” Set.* The set of numeral stems used in counting things that can be folded one over another or stacked (such as pairs of sandals, plates, bowls, conversations, sermons, heavens, etc.) is formed by embedding the stems of the basic set into a compound stem having (tla-man)-tli-, “a thing that has been set down,” i.e., “thing,” “object,” “part,” occupying the matrix subposition.

**centlamantli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cen-tla-man)tli- $\emptyset$ # = it is one thing; i.e., it is one in number

**centlamantín** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cen-tla-man)t-in# = *anim*, they are the (members of) one thing; i.e., they are one herd; they are one flock; they are one yoke (of oxen); they are one team; they are one squad; i.e., they are one in number

**caxtōllamantli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cax-tōl-la-man)tli- $\emptyset$ # = *nonan*, they are fifteen things; i.e., they are fifteen in number

The gross-count stem occurs, as expected, only in NNCs with a plural subject.

**mācuillamanixtín** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (mā-cu-i-l-la-man-ix)t-in# = *anim/nonan*, they are a total count of five things; i.e., they are (all) five

When there is a structure of conjunction, the stem of an NNC serving as a rightward conjunct does not have (tla-man)-tli- in the matrix subposition.

**mahtlāctlamantli omēi** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (mah-tlāc-tla-man)tli- $\emptyset$ # # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (om-ēi) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = they are ten things (and) they are three as an additional number; i.e., they are thirteen in number

*Note:* The gross-count NNC can also be built on a possessive-state predicate (see § 34.6, *note*).

**iōntlamantli** = *nonan*, there are all two of them

34.12. *The “Maize Cob” Set.* The set of numeral stems used in counting things that are roundish or oblong-shaped (such as ears of maize, bananas, cacao pods, pinecones, oblong rolls, tamales, etc.) is formed by using the stem (ōlō)-tl-, “maize cob,” as the filler in the matrix subposition. The set is used to count only through nineteen.

**cemōlōtl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cem-ōlō)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is one maize cob; i.e., it is one in number

**mahtlācōlōtl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (mah-tlāc-ōlō)tl- $\emptyset$ # = they are ten maize cobs; i.e., they are ten in number

When there is a structure of conjunction, the stem of an NNC serving as a rightward conjunct does not have (ōlō)-tl- in the matrix subposition.

**caxtōlōlōtl onnāhui** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cax-tōl-ōlō)tl- $\emptyset$ # # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (on-nāhui) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = they are fifteen maize cobs in number (and) they are four as an additional number; i.e., they are nineteen in number



To continue the count beyond nineteen and on through thirty-nine, the NNC **tlamic**, “it is a finished thing,” i.e., “a completed count of twenty,” is used. **Tlamic** is a preterit-agentive NNC (see § 35.2) formed from the verbstem (**tlami**), “to come to an end, to become finished,” used as a Class A stem (although it is regularly a Class B stem).

**tlamic** = it is a finished thing; i.e., they are twenty in number

**tlamic oncē** = they are twenty-one in number

**tlamic ommahtlāctli** = they are thirty in number

**tlamic oncaxtōlli** = they are thirty-five in number

To continue the count beyond thirty-nine, the stems of the basic set are used.

**ōmpōhualli** = they are forty in number

*Remark:* Such elements as (**te**)-**tl**-, (**ōlō**)-**tl**-, etc., are called *classifiers* or *numeral coefficients*; cf. English “ten head of cattle.” Their usage in Nahuatl is not extremely rigid, and variant usages are possible; for example:

**ōme mētztli** ~ **ōntetl mētztli** = they are two moons (i.e., months)

34.13. *Special Sets for Counting by Twenties.* In addition to the unit sets, there are special sets to count certain entities by groups of twenty.

1. When counting people, animals, houses, and rocks, the stem (**tecpān**)-**tli**-, “a group set in order, a group arranged in a row,” is used as a filler in the matrix subposition.

**centecpāntli** = #0-0(**cen-tecpān**)tli-0# = *nonan*, they are one lined-up set; i.e., they are twenty in number

**centecpāntin** = #0-0(**cen-tecpān**)t-in-# = *anim*, they are (members of) one line-arranged set; i.e., they are twenty in number

**ētecpāntli** = #0-0(**ē-tecpān**)tli-0# = *nonan*, they are three lined-up groups; i.e., they are sixty in number

**ōntecpāntli ommahtlāctli omēi** = *nonan*, they are two lined-up sets (and) they are ten as an additional number (and) they are three as an additional number; i.e., they are fifty-three (40 + 10 + 3) in number

2. When counting blankets, paper, tortillas, or hides, the nounstem (**ipil**)-**li**-, “pile,” fills the matrix subposition.

**cemipilli** = #0-0(**cem-ipil**)li-0# = *nonan*, they are one pile; i.e., they are twenty in number

**ōmipilli** = #0-0(**ōm-ipil**)li-0# = *nonan*, they are two piles; i.e., they are forty in number

**chicuēipilli** = #0-0(**chicu-ē-ipil**)li-0# = *nonan*, they are eight piles; i.e., they are one hundred sixty in number

3. When counting just blankets, the stem (**quimil**)-**li**-, “bundle,” fills the matrix subposition.

**cenquimilli** = #0-0(**cen-quimil**)li-0# = they are one bundle; i.e., they are twenty in number

**yēquimilli** = #0-0(**ye-quimil**)li-0# = they are three bundles; i.e., they are sixty in number

34.14. *Reduplication in Numeral Stems.* Numeral stems make the same distinctions of affinity and distribution/variety as other nounstems (see § 14.3). Since affinity expresses the notion of continuity or relatedness, affinity numeral stems (reduplication with vowel length) are translated on the pattern of “one by one,” “one after another,” “by twos,” “two and two,” “two followed by two more,” etc. On the other hand, since distribution/variety expresses the notion of separateness, dispersion, and fragmentation, the distributive/variety numeral stems (reduplication with glottal stop) are translated on the pattern of “one apiece,” “one here and one there,” “one for each,” “in two/three/etc. separate lots,” etc.

Except for (**mah-tlāc**)-**tli**-, reduplication always responds to the first part of the stem:

**cēcen** ~ **cēcentetl** ~ **cēcentlamantli** = *nonan*, they are one by one, they are one after another

**cehcen** ~ **cehcentetl** ~ **cehcentlamantli** = *nonan*, they are one apiece [Notice the [n] on

**cēcen** and **cehcen** as freestanding NNCs.]

**ticēcentin** ~ **ticēcemmeh** = *anim*, we are one after another

**cēcentlamantīn** = *anim*, they are one herd after another

**māmācuilli** ~ **māmācuiltetl** ~ **māmācuillamantli** = *nonan*, they are by fives

**mahmācuilli** ~ **mahmācuiltetl** ~ **mahmācuillamantli** = *nonan*, they are five apiece

**chīchicuacē** ~ **chīchicuacentetl** ~ **chīchicuacentlamantli** = *nonan*, they are by sixes

**chihchicuacē**, etc. = *nonan*, they are six apiece

**chīchicuacemintin** = *anim*, they are by sixes

But with “seven,” “eight,” and “nine,” reduplication occurs both on the embed and on the basic-numeral matrix:

**chīchiucnānhui** ~ **chīchiucnānuhtetl** ~ **chīchiucnānuhtlamantli** = *nonan*, they are by nines

**chihchiucnānhui**, etc. = *nonan*, they are nine apiece

**tichīchiucnānhuintin** = *anim*, we are by nines

With (**mah-tlāc**)-**tli**-, reduplication occurs on the matrix stem:

**mahtlātlāctli** ~ **mahtlātlāctetl** ~ **mahtlātlāctlamantli** = *nonan*, they are by tens

**mahtlahtlāctli**, etc. = they are ten apiece

**timahtlātlāctin** = *anim*, we are by tens

When there is a structure of conjunction, the reduplication occurs on all conjuncts:

**cācaxtōlli omēēi** ~ **cācaxtōltetl omēēi** ~ **cācaxtōllamantli omēēi** = *nonan*, they are by eighteens

**cahcaxtōlli omehēi**, etc. = *nonan*, they are eighteen apiece

34.15. “Approximately” and “More.” When **canah**, “somewhere,” **quēn**, “in a manner,” or **ahzo quēn**, “perhaps in a manner,” is placed before a numeral NNC, it has the meaning of “more or less,” “around,” or “approximately”:

**Canah mahtlāctli.** = They are approximately ten in number.

**Ahzo quēn mācuilli.** = They are around five in number.

When **oc**, “still,” is placed before a number NNC, it has the meaning of “another” or “more”:

**Oc cē.** = It is another. It is one more.

**Oc ōme** = They are another two. They are two more.

As a supplementary subject, the sentence **oc cē**, “he/she is another one,” can be equivalent to the English collocations “who else,” “someone/anyone else,” and “no one else.”

**Quihtohqueh in tēteoh, “Āc in oc cē?”** = The gods said, “Who is the one who is another one?” I.e., The gods said, “Who else is there?”

**Ayāc oc cē.** = He who is another one is no one; i.e., There is no one else.

34.16. *Measures.* A compound-stemmed NNC whose stem contains a numeral stem in the embed subposition can express a measure or amount.

**cencamatl** = it is one mouthful; *also*, it is one word [**< (cama)-tl-**, “mouth”]

**cenzomahtli** = it is one spoonful [**< (xomah)-tli-**, “a clay spoon”]

**cencuahuitl** = it is one branchful, i.e., it is a cluster (of grapes, etc.) [**< (cuahui)-tl-**, “tree, stick, branch”]

**centexcalli** = it is one ovenful/oven load [**< (te-xca-l)-li-**, “oven”]

**cenmāpīchtli** = it is one gripful (of a sheaf or fagot) [**< (mā-pīch)-tli-**, “fist, clenched hand”]

**centlamāpīctli** = it is one fistful (of beans, sand, etc.) [**< (tla-mā-pīc)-tli-**, “a thing enclosed in a fist”]

A similar formation can express a measure of length.

**cemiztetl ~ cemiztitl** = it is one fingernail length (i.e., the distance from the end of the thumbnail to the end of the forefinger nail when both are spread wide apart) [**< (izte)-tl- ~ (izti)-tl-**, “fingernail”]

**cemmolicpitl** = it is one elbow length (i.e., the distance from the elbow to the end of the middle finger) [**< (molic-pi)-tl-**, “elbow”]

**cenciyacatl** = it is one armpit length (i.e., the distance from the armpit to the end of the hand) [**< (ciyaca)-tl-**, “armpit”]

**cemmecatl** = it is one rope length (i.e., the distance over a plot of ground separated by landmarks) [**< (me-ca)-tl-**, “rope, cord”]

**cenyōllohtli** = it is one heart length (i.e., the distance from the middle of the chest to the tip of the middle finger) [**< (yōl-lo-h)-tli-**, “heart”]

Measure NNCs are combined with NNCs denoting the thing measured by serving as the principal clause in a structure of adjectival modification (see Lesson 42); for example:

**Quimacah centlamāmalli in tlacualli.** = They give him one load that is food; i.e., They give him a load of food. [**< (tla-māma-l)-li-**, “a thing carried on the back”; here, “a native carrier’s load”]

**Quēn ōmixtli conitiah in tlacuātl icuitlapil.** = They make her drink approximately two knuckles, which is the tail of an opossum; i.e., They have her drink an infusion of ground-up opossum tail, about as much as would reach up to the second finger joint in a cup. [**< (ix)-tli-**, “node,” which is here used for **(mah-pil-ix)-tli-**, “knuckle, finger joint”]

## Nominalization of VNCs (Part One)

35.1. *Nominalization.* Nominalization is a conversion process whereby a VNC takes on characteristics of an NNC. Since supplementation is one of the “natural” functions of an NNC, the VNCs participating as supplements in the sentence constructions in § 19.1 illustrate *functional* nominalization. At this point, however, the focus is on *structural* nominalization, that is, on the process that converts the structure of a VNC into that of an NNC.

There are eight kinds of nominalized VNCs. One is discussed in this lesson; the remaining seven are dealt with in Lesson 36.

35.2. *The Preterit-Agentive NNC.* The stem of any kind of agentive NNC names the *agent* of an action (compare the English agentives “preacher,” i.e., one who preaches, “president,” i.e., one who presides). The most common kind of agentive NNC is the preterit-agentive NNC. Although the mechanics of the transformation are entirely different, the logic behind the Nahuatl preterit-agentive NNC is similar to that behind certain English agentive nouns; for example, *a person who has killed once is deemed a killer* (contrast § 36.1).

Like all nounstems, a preterit-agentive nounstem has two shapes—restricted use and general use. The restricted-use stem is simply the predicate of a preterit-tense VNC. The general-use stem is a compound that uses the restricted-use stem as its embed. The restricted-use stem is used in absolutive-state NNCs. The general-use stem is used everywhere else. The restricted-use stem is discussed first.

35.3. *The Absolutive-State Preterit-Agentive NNC.* A preterit-tense VNC is converted into an absolutive-state preterit-agentive NNC simply by reanalyzing the constituents filling its formulaic structure into those of an NNC formula. The VNC predicate becomes a nounstem. A projective object is represented by **tē** or **tlā**; a mainline reflexive object by **n-o**, **t-o**, or **m-o** (since it continues to respond to the person-number of the subject pronoun, although it is now judged to be inside the nounstem). The preterit-tense morph **θ** is ALWAYS the final constituent of the restricted-use nounstem. The dyadic number morphs of the VNC’s subject pronoun continue unchanged except that, since preterit-agentive NNCs are more conservative than preterit-tense

VNCs, they frequently keep **qui-θ** instead of using the silent variant **□-θ** (see § 35.4 for further comments).

The following examples show the relation of intransitive Class A preterit-tense VNCs to their converted preterit-agentive NNCs:

Pret-tns VNC: **nipixcac** = **#ni-θ(pix-ca)θ+c-θ#** = I harvested

Pret-agen NNC: **nipixcac** = **#ni-θ(pix-ca-θ)c-θ#** = I am one who has harvested; i.e., I am a harvester

Pret-tns VNC: **pixaqueh** = **#θ-θ(pix-ca)θ+qu-eh#** = they harvested

Pret-agen NNC: **pixaqueh** = **#θ-θ(pix-ca-θ)qu-eh#** = they are ones who have harvested; i.e., they are harvesters

The only thing that has happened is that the preterit predicate has been reanalyzed as a nounstem. Phonologically there is no difference in the source VNC and the resultant NNC. The difference is a morphosyntactical one; the VNC and NNC are structured differently. Obviously, if the source VNC were represented as having the antecessive order particle prefixed to it (e.g., **ōnipixcac**), in that case there would in addition be a phonological difference, since the particle does not appear on the NNC. (In these lessons, since the intransitive valence position and the absolutive state position are not represented in their respective formulas, the former does not show up inside the resultant nounstem and the latter does not show up outside it; see § 4.5.)

Monomorphemic intransitive Class A verbstems tend not to participate in this VNC-into-NNC reanalysis, using the customary-present agentive NNC in § 36.1 instead. The following preterit-agentive NNCs are formed on dimorphemic Class A intransitive verbstems:

**ēhuac** = **#θ-θ(ē-hua-θ)c-θ#** = he is one who has left [**(ē-hua)**, “to depart”]

**ixhuic** = **#θ-θ(ix-hui-θ)c-θ#** = he is one who has become satiated [**(ix-hui)**, “to become full”]

**iuccic** = **#θ-θ(iuc-ci-θ)c-θ#** = it is a thing that has become ripe/cooked [**(iuc-ci)**, “to become ripe, to become cooked”]

As can be seen, English frequently does not have a one-word agentive noun with which to translate the Nahuatl agentive nounstem.

The following are examples of preterit-agentive NNCs resulting from the conversion of VNCs formed on a Class B verbstem:

Pret-tns VNC: **mauh** = **#θ-θ(mauh)θ+□-θ#** = he became afraid [**(mahui)**, “to become afraid”]

Pret-agen NNC: **mauhqui** = **#θ-θ(mauh-θ)qui-θ#** = he is one who has become afraid; i.e., he is a coward

Pret-tns VNC: **timauhqueh** = **#ti-θ(mauh)θ+qu-eh#** = we became afraid

Pret-agen NNC: **timauhqueh** = **#ti-θ(mauh-θ)qu-eh#** = we are ones who have become afraid; i.e., we are cowards

Preterit-tense VNCs formed on monomorphemic Class B and D stems are easily converted into preterit-agentive NNCs. The following are a few examples:

**nenqui** = **#θ-θ(nen-θ)qui-θ#** = he/she is a dweller [**(nemi)**, “to dwell”]

**yōlqui** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (yōl- $\emptyset$ )qui- $\emptyset$ # = he/she is a living being [< (yōli), “to live”]

**tlanqui** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tlan- $\emptyset$ )qui- $\emptyset$ # = it is a thing that has become finished [< (tlami), *nonan*, “to become finished”]

**cochqui** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (coch- $\emptyset$ )qui- $\emptyset$ # = he is a sleeper [< (cochi), “to sleep”]

**yahqui** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (yah- $\emptyset$ )qui- $\emptyset$ # = he is a goer [< (ya-uh), “to go”]

**ihqui** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ih- $\emptyset$ )qui- $\emptyset$ # = he/she/it is one who has become thus-and-so, he/she/it is that way/thus/such/of that kind/similar [< (ihui), “to become such-and-so/thus/that way/of that kind”]

The following examples illustrate preterit-agentive NNCs formed from VNCs built on single-object verbstems. There is one example each from the four verbstem classes:

**nitlanamacac** = #ni- $\emptyset$ (tla-namaca- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = I am one who has sold things; i.e., I am a vender [< tla-(namaca), “to sell s.th.”]

**tēchixqui** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tē-chix- $\emptyset$ )qui- $\emptyset$ # = he is one who has waited for people; i.e., he is an innkeeper [< tē-(chiya), “to wait for s.o.”]

**titomachtihqueh** = #ti- $\emptyset$ (t-o-mach-tih- $\emptyset$ )qu-eh# = we are ones who have caused ourselves to become knowledgeable; i.e., we are students [< m-o-(mach-tiā), “to teach oneself, to study”]

**tlahlamahqui** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tla- $\emptyset$ -tla-mah- $\emptyset$ )qui- $\emptyset$ # = he is one who has caught things repeatedly; i.e., he is a fisherman [< (tla- $\emptyset$ -tla-mā), “to fish.” The verbstem shows **tla** fusion with reduplication.]

Certain absolutive-state preterit-agentive NNCs use an affinity stem (see § 14.3 and § 14.5.2) when the subject pronoun is plural. The use of the affinity stem may be obligatory or optional.

Sg-subj.: **micqui** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (mic- $\emptyset$ )qui- $\emptyset$ # = he/she is one who has died; i.e., he/she is a dead person [< (miqui), “to die”]

Pl-subj.: **mimicqueh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (mī-mic- $\emptyset$ )qu-eh# = they are dead people [The affinity stem is obligatory.]

Sg-subj.: **tlattac** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tla-tt-a- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = he is one who has seen s.th.; i.e., he is an onlooker [< tla-(itt-a), “to see s.th.”]

Pl-subj.: **tlattaqueh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tla-tt-a- $\emptyset$ )qu-eh# = they are onlookers

**tlatlattaqueh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tlā-tla-tt-a- $\emptyset$ )qu-eh# = they are onlookers

Sg-subj.: **tlahtohqui** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tla-ht-o-h- $\emptyset$ )qui- $\emptyset$ # = he is one who has spoken; i.e., he is a king/ruler [< (tla-ht-o-ā), “to speak.” The verbstem shows **tla** fusion. Its preterit-agentive nounstem is not commonly used to form NNCs with a singular subject pronoun; the customary-present-agentive NNC is used instead (see § 36.1).]

Pl-subj.: **tlatohqueh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tla-ht-o-h- $\emptyset$ )qu-eh# = they are kings/rulers

**tlatlahtohqueh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tlā-tla-ht-o-h- $\emptyset$ )qu-eh# = they are kings/rulers

*Note 1:* Since a preterit-as-present-tense VNC has a predicate with the preterit-tense morph  $\emptyset$ , there can also be absolutive-state preterit-as-present-agentive NNCs. An important instance of this is an NNC built on the Class A verbstem ( $\tilde{a}$ ), “to be present” (see § 11.4.4).

**āc** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ā- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = he is one who is present, i.e., he is someone

This preterit-as-present-agentive NNC has become frozen in the third-person singular form and is most often used interrogatively: **Āc?**, “Who is it?” This clause is frequently translated into English as the interrogative pronoun “who?” (see § 16.4.4). **Ayāc**, “he is not present,” as an NNC is rendered as “he is no one.”

*Note 2:* A preterit-patientive NNC can be formed from a passive-voice VNC. The formation is not frequent.

**nitlahuēlilōc** = #ni- $\emptyset$ (tlahu-ēl-i-lō- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = I am one who has been hated and despised; i.e., I am a villain/knave/rogue/ruffian [< tē-(tlahu-ēl-i-ā), “to hate and despise s.o., to abhor s.o.” From an active-voice VNC comes the preterit-agentive nounstem (tē-tlahu-ēl-i-h- $\emptyset$ )-qui-, “one who hates and despises s.o.”]

**cecuālōc** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ce-cua-lō- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = he is one who has been eaten by means of ice; i.e., he is one who has frozen to death [< tē-(ce-cuā), “to eat s.o. by means of ice”]

**cehuechililōc** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ce-huechi-li-lō- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = he is one in relation to whom it (i.e., the weather) has fallen in the form of ice; i.e., he is one who has frozen to death; *also*, it is a plant that has become frozen [< tē-~tla-(ce-huechi-liā), *impers. applic. stem*, “for freezing to happen to s.o. or s.th.” < (ce-huetzi), *impers*, “to fall in the form of ice,” i.e., “for the weather to be freezing cold”]

*Note 3:* It is, of course, easy for a preterit-agentive NNC to be built on a compound stem. The last two examples in the preceding note show a source that has an incorporated adverb. The following example is built on an incorporated-object compound stem.

**huetzquiztomac** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (hue-tz-qui-z-tom-a- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = he is one who has untied the act of laughing; i.e., he is one who laughs [< (hue-tz-qui-z)-tli-, “act of laughing” (see § 37.2), in the embed subposition plus tla-(tom-a), “to untie s.th.,” in the matrix subposition.]

**teōpixqui** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (teō-pix- $\emptyset$ )qui- $\emptyset$ # = he/she is a god-guarder, i.e., he is a priest, she is a priestess [< (teō)-tl-, “god” + tē-(piya), “to guard s.o.”]

### 35.4. Further Comments on the Number Position in Absolutive-State Preterit-Agentive NNCs.

When built on Class B, C, or D verbstems, a preterit-agentive NNC’s subject pronoun’s number position is normally filled by **qui- $\emptyset$**  when that pronoun is singular/common (see § 35.3). There are, however, instances in which  $\square$ - $\emptyset$  occurs instead. At times the  $\square$ - $\emptyset$  is either expected (see, for example, § 35.9) or the one in common use.

**pāin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (pāin- $\emptyset$ ) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = he is one who has run fast; i.e., he is a fast runner [< (pāina), “to run fast”]

**nitlahcuiloh** = #ni- $\emptyset$ (tla-hcuil-o-h- $\emptyset$ ) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = I am one who has painted/written things; i.e., I am a painter, I am a writer/scribe [< tla-(ihcuil-o-ā), “to paint s.th., to write s.th.”]

**tlamēmeh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tla-mēmeh- $\emptyset$ ) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = he is one who has carried things on his back; i.e., he is a carrier [< tla-(mēmē), “to carry s.th. on the back”]

At times only the **qui- $\emptyset$**  is used; for example:

**tlapixqui** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tla-pix- $\emptyset$ )qui- $\emptyset$ # = he is one who has guarded s.th.; i.e., he is a guard [< tla-(piya), “to guard s.th.”]

**tēchiuhqui** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tē-chiuh- $\emptyset$ )qui- $\emptyset$ # = he is one who has made people; i.e., he is a governor/director [< tē-(chihua), “to make s.o., to engender s.o.”]

At times either form is used:

**tēnāmicqui** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tē-nāmic- $\emptyset$ )qui- $\emptyset$ # = **tēnāmic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tē-nāmic- $\emptyset$ ) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = he is one who has encountered s.o.; i.e., he is a competitor, he is an opponent [< tē-(nāmiqui), “to encounter s.o., to meet with s.o., to have a confrontation with s.o.” This **tēnāmic** should not be confused with a homonym: **tēnāmic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tē(nāmic) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = “he is s.o.’s

husband, she is s.o.'s wife," a possessive-state NNC from the nounstem (**nāmic**)-**tli-**, "a matched one," i.e., "a spouse" (see § 37.9.1.b). A plural of the preterit-agentive NNC is **tēnāmicqueh** = **#θ-θ(tē-nāmic-θ)qu-eh#** = "they are competitors/opponents"; a plural of the possessive-state NNC is **tēnāmicchuān** = **#θ-θ+tē(nāmic)hu-ān#**, "they are people's spouses."]

At times when both **qui-θ** and **□-θ** are possible, there may be a difference in meaning. This difference may be related to the fact that verbstems can be classified according to the type of subject they permit in VNCs formed on them. Some permit only animate subjects, some only nonanimate ones; some permit either (compare animate and nonanimate subject pronouns in NNCs). The meaning of a nominalized VNC depends on the VNC's subject type. The stem of the agentive NNC may name an animate entity ("a person who," "an animal that") or a nonanimate one ("a thing that"). In the latter case, the notion of agent merges with the notion of agency or means.

There is a tendency for a preterit-agentive NNC whose number dyad is filled by **□-θ** to have a nonanimate subject.

**tēmāuh** = **#θ-θ(tē-māuh-θ)□-θ#** = it is a thing that infects people; i.e., it is an infectious thing [**< tē-(māhua)**, "to infect s.o."]

But, as is obvious from previous examples, this is not a rule, only a tendency. Many preterit-agentive NNCs with **□-θ** permit both the animate and the nonanimate meanings.

**tēmictih** = **#θ-θ(tē-mic-tih-θ)□-θ#** = (1) he is a killer; (2) it is a lethal thing

Nevertheless, because of this tendency, if the preterit-agentive NNC permits the alternative of **qui-θ** or **□-θ** as fillers of the subject pronoun's number dyad in the singular/common absolutive-state NNC, there may be a difference in meaning in the two forms, so that the one with **qui-θ** will name an animate being and that with **□-θ** a nonanimate one.

**tēizcalihqui** = **#θ-θ(tē-izcal-i-h-θ)qui-θ#** = he is a coach, a trainer [**< tē-(izcal-i-ā)**, "to nurture s.o., to revive s.o."]

**tēizcalih** = **#θ-θ(tē-izcal-i-h-θ)□-θ#** = they are words that coach or train; i.e., they are training instructions

**tēchōctihqui** = **#θ-θ(tē-chōc-tih-θ)qui-θ#** = he is a lamentable person [**< tē-(chōc-tiā)**, "to cause s.o. to cry"]

**tēchōctih** = **#θ-θ(tē-chōc-tih-θ)□-θ#** = it is a lamentable thing

*Note:* It is possible for a nonspecific projective object pronoun in an absolutive-state preterit-agentive nounstem to become activated, escape the confines of the nounstem, and assume specific projective object status, especially if there is a need for a supplementary object. The result is a verbal-plus-nominal NNC hybrid.

**niocūtihtihqui** = **#ni-θ+c-θ+n-o(cū-tih-θ)qui-θ#** = I am one who has admitted guilt; I am one who has confessed [**< m-o+tlā-(cū-tiā)**, "to cause o.s. to take s.th.," i.e., "to admit guilt about s.th." The preterit-agentive NNC can also have the number dyad **□-θ**: **quimocūtihtih** = "he/she is one who has confessed"]

**ahquimahmatqui** = **ah#θ-θ+qui-θ(mah-mat-θ)qui-θ#** = he is an ignorant/stupid/clumsy person [**< tlā-(mah-mati)**, "to know about various things"]

**tlayohualli quimonāhualtihtih** = **#θ-θ+qui-θ+m-o(nāhua-l-tih-θ)□-θ#** = he is one who has embraced darkness, i.e., he is a person hidden in the shadows [**< m-o+tlā-(nāhua-l-tiā)**, "to cause o.s. to embrace s.th." **< tlā-(nāhuā)**, "to embrace s.th." For **(tlā-yohua-l)-li-**, "darkness," see § 38.1.1.a.]



35.5. *The General-Use Preterit-Agentive Stem.* While the restricted-use preterit-agentive nounstem is merely a verbal predicate that has been reanalyzed, the general-use preterit-agentive nounstem is strictly a nounstem. It is a compound one in which the embed subposition is filled with the preterit predicate (acting like a nominalized stem) and the matrix subposition is filled by the nounstem (**cā**)-**tl-**, “entity, person, thing.” (Since this stem keeps its long /a:/ even when followed by NNC-final silent morphs, it was evidently originally a Subclass 2-A **tl** nounstem, (**cāi**)-**tl-**, but now belongs to Subclass 1-A (see § 14.7.2; compare (**māi**)-**tl-**, “hand, arm,” and (**mā**)-**tl-**, “fathom.”)

In addition to occurring in possessive-state NNCs, the general-use form of the preterit-agentive nounstem occurs in adverbialized NNCs (see Lesson 44) and as an embed in nominal and verbal compound stems.

Since the nominalized preterit-predicate-as-nounstem that was described in § 35.3 becomes demoted to the rank of an embed in the general-use preterit-agentive nounstem, if its source stem is reflexive, the reflexive-object morph has the shuntline shape **ne**.

The preterit-tense morph **θ**, being an integral part of the embedded nounstem, ALWAYS occurs immediately to the left of (**cā**)-**tl-**.

*Note:* The general-use form of the preterit-agentive nounstem even has the potential to occur in an absolutive-state NNC, but it does so only in extremely rare instances. In archaic texts (usually of a poetic nature), one finds absolutive-state preterit-agentive NNCs with the nounstem (**quē**)-**tl-** rather than (**cā**)-**tl-** filling the matrix subposition (concerning the raising of /a:/ to /e:/, see § 2.2).

**yahquētl** = **#θ-θ(yah-θ-quē)tl-θ#** = he is a person who has gone; i.e., he is a goer; i.e., he is a warrior [**<** (**ya-uh**), “to go”]

**micquētl** = **#θ-θ(mic-θ-quē)tl-θ#** = he is a person who has died, i.e., he is a dead man, he/it is a corpse [**<** (**miqui**), “to die”]

**temquētl** = **#θ-θ(temō-θ-quē)tl-θ#** = he is a person who has descended; i.e., he is a descender [**<** (**temō**), “to descend”]

**moquetzquētl** = **#θ-θ(m-o-quetz-θ-quē)tl-θ#** = it is a thing that has erected itself; i.e., it is an upstanding (banner) [**<** **m-o-(quetza)**, “to erect itself.” Notice the unexpected use of the mainline reflexive object in the derived nounstem.]

**nicuicatlamatquētl** = **#ni-θ(cuica-tla-mat-θ-quē)tl-θ#** = I am a person who has become knowledgeable about songs; i.e., I am a skillful singer [**<** (**cuica**)-**tl-**, “song” + (**tla-mati**), “to be knowledgeable,” **tla-**fusion version of **tla-(mati)**, “to know s.th.”]

35.6. *The Possessive-State Preterit-Agentive NNC.* Since the general-use preterit-agentive nounstem belongs to Subclass 1-A of the **tl** stem class, a possessive-state NNC built on it has its subject pronoun’s number position filled with the morphic dyad **uh-θ** if that pronoun is singular. If it is plural, the morphic dyad is **hu-ān**. The following are a few examples:

**tomiccāuh** = **#θ-θ+t-o(mic-θ-cā)uh-θ#** = he is our person who has died; i.e., he is one of our dead, he is our dead body [**<** (**miqui**), “to die”]

**notēmachtihcāuh** = **#θ-θ+n-o(tē-mach-tih-θ-cā)uh-θ#** = he is my person who has taught people; i.e., he is my teacher [**<** **tē-(mach-tiā)**, “to teach s.o.”]

**nītlamāmahcāuh** = **#n-θ+i-θ(tla-māmah-θ-cā)uh-θ#** = I am his person who has carried things on the back; i.e., I am his carrier, i.e., I am a carrier in his employ [**<** **tla-(māmā)**, “to carry s.th. on the back”]

**tamotēizcalihcāhuān** = #t- $\emptyset$ +am-o(tē-izcal-i-h- $\emptyset$ -cā)hu-ān# = we are your (pl) persons who have trained people; i.e., we are your (pl) trainers/coaches [< tē-(izcal-i-ā), “to train s.o.”]

**intlanamacacāuh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i-n(tla-namaca- $\emptyset$ -cā)uh- $\emptyset$ # = he is their person who has sold things; i.e., he is their vender, i.e., he is a vender in their employ [< tla-(namaca), “to sell s.th.”]

**timonemachtihcāhuān** = #ti- $\emptyset$ +m-o(ne-mach-tih- $\emptyset$ -cā)hu-ān# = we are your persons who have taught themselves; i.e., we are your students [< m-o-(mach-tiā), “to teach oneself, to study”]

**nitētlapixcāuh** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +tē(tla-pix- $\emptyset$ -cā)uh- $\emptyset$ # = I am someone’s person who has guarded things; i.e., I am someone’s guard, i.e., I am a guard in someone’s employ [< tla-(piya), “to guard s.th.”]

**notētlazohtlacāuh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(tē-tla-zo-h-tla- $\emptyset$ -cā)uh- $\emptyset$ # = he/she is my person who has loved people; i.e., he/she is my lover; i.e., he/she is the one who loves me [< tē-(tla-zo-h-tla), “to love s.o.”]

*Note 1:* Just as there are irregular possessive-state NNCs of the ordinary kind built on compound stems with \*(yō)-tl- as matrix (e.g., **ipillōhuān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i- $\emptyset$ (pil-lō)hu-ān# = “they are his nobles”; see § 15.1), there are possessive-state preterit-agentive NNCs with the same irregularity; e.g.: **itlahtohcāyōhuān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i- $\emptyset$ (tla-ht-o-h- $\emptyset$ -cā-yō)hu-ān# = “they are his kings.”

*Note 2:* The absolutive-state preterit-patientive NNC (see § 35.3, *note 2*) can have a possessive-state counterpart: **motlahuēlilōcāuh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-o(tlahu-ēl-i-lō- $\emptyset$ -cā)uh- $\emptyset$ # = he is your one who has been hated and despised; i.e., he is your villain/knave/rogue.

*Note 3:* The irregular verb (ya-uh) has the preterit agentive nounstem (yah- $\emptyset$ -qui- > (yah- $\emptyset$ -cā)-uh-, “a goer” (literally, “one who has gone”). When the possessor pronoun tē enters into a predicate with the general-use stem, it is blurred to ti, forming the possessive-state predicate . . . +ti(yah- $\emptyset$ -cā) . . ., which is translated as “a brave, a warrior.”

**tiyahcāuh** = he is people’s goer, i.e., he is a brave

**tiyahcāhuān** = they are people’s goers, i.e., they are braves

**antiyahcāhuān** = you are people’s goers, i.e., you are braves

This possessive-state predicate can be downgraded to the rank of a stem in a secondary possessive-state NNC formation (see § 15.1.5):

**ītiyahcāhuān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i- $\emptyset$ (ti-yah- $\emptyset$ -cā)hu-ān# = they are his braves, they are his warriors

The tē- > ti- shift that occurs in this stem is also found, for example, in (ti-āch-cāuh)- $\emptyset$ -, “elder brother”; see § 15.1.5.

35.7. *Preterit-Agentive Nounstems as Embeds in Compound-Stemmed NNCs and VNCs.* The general-use preterit-agentive nounstem is used as the embed in compound stem formations.

1. Ordinary compound-stemmed NNCs and VNCs:

**nitlahcuilohcāpoh** = #n- $\emptyset$ +i- $\emptyset$ (tla-hcuil-o-h- $\emptyset$ -cā-poh) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I am a writer like him [< (tla-hcuil-o-h- $\emptyset$ )- $\emptyset$ -, “writer/scribe/painter”]

**notlahtlamahcāpoh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(tlah-tla-mah- $\emptyset$ -cā-poh) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he is a fisherman like me [< (tlah-tla-mah- $\emptyset$ )- $\emptyset$ -, “fisherman.” The source is the Class D verbstem (tlah-tla-mā), “to fish,” which is a frequentative form of a tla-fusion verbstem from tla-(mā), “to hunt/capture s.th.”]

- teōpixcātilmahtli** = # $\emptyset$ -(teō-pix- $\emptyset$ -cā-tilmah)tli- $\emptyset$ # = it is a nun's dress/a monk's robe  
[< (teō-pix- $\emptyset$ )-qui-, "priest/nun/monk"]
- mihmatcātīlācatl** = # $\emptyset$ -(m- $\square$ -ih-mat- $\emptyset$ -cā-tlāca)tli- $\emptyset$ # = he is a prudent person [The mainline reflexive pronoun is unexpected.]
- miccāquīxtihqueh** = # $\emptyset$ -(mic- $\emptyset$ -cā-quīx-tih) $\emptyset$ +qu-eh# = they caused a dead person to emerge; i.e., they exhumed a corpse [< (mic- $\emptyset$ )-qui-, "dead one"]
- teōpixcātīlālia** = # $\emptyset$ -(teō-pix- $\emptyset$ -cā-tlāl-i-a) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he establishes a priest; i.e., he ordains a priest [< (teō-pix- $\emptyset$ )-qui-, "priest"]

## 2. Compound-affective preterit-agentive NNCs:

- tlahcuilohcāpōl** = # $\emptyset$ -(tla-hcuil-o-h- $\emptyset$ -cā-pōl) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he is a lousy writer/painter [< (tla-hcuil-o-h- $\emptyset$ )- $\square$ -, "writer/painter"]
- tlahtohcātepitōn** = # $\emptyset$ -(tla-ht-o-h- $\emptyset$ -cā-tepi-tōn) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he is a small king [< (tla-ht-o-h- $\emptyset$ )-qui-, "king"]
- tlahtohcātōntli** = # $\emptyset$ -(tla-ht-o-h- $\emptyset$ -cā-tōn)tli- $\emptyset$ # = he is a petty king
- tēmachtihcātzintli** = # $\emptyset$ -(tē-mach-tih- $\emptyset$ -cā-tzin)tli- $\emptyset$ # = he (H) is a teacher [< (tē-mach-tih- $\emptyset$ )-qui-, "teacher"]
- momachtihcāpipiltin** = # $\emptyset$ -(m-o-mach-tih- $\emptyset$ -cā-pi-pil)t-in# = they are dear little pupils [< (m-o-mach-tih- $\emptyset$ )-qui-, "pupil/student"]
- ayoc ācātzintli** = # $\emptyset$ -(ā- $\emptyset$ -cā-tzin)tli- $\emptyset$ # = he is one who is no longer a worthy present one; i.e., he is no longer anyone worthy [The nonaffective form is **ayoc āc**, "he is no longer anyone."]

*Note:* The verbal-and-nominal NNC hybrid of the type presented in § 35.4, *note* (in which a nonspecific object pronoun inside the nounstem escapes to become a specific one outside of it) also occurs in compound affective NNCs. The hybrid nature of the formation is even more striking.

**Tleh ticmatcātzintli?** = #ti- $\emptyset$ +c-(mat- $\emptyset$ -cā-tzin)tli- $\emptyset$ # = What are you (H) the knower of? [Tleh functions as supplementary object. The question is rhetorical, with the expected answer being "Nothing." It is therefore equivalent to the statement, "You are ignorant (on this matter)," and this is equivalent to the command, "Pay attention (to what I have to say)." This preterit-agentive NNC construction is matched by an honorific VNC construction: **Tleh ticmomachītia?** "What do you cause yourself to know?" I.e., "What do you (H) know?," I.e., "Pay attention (to my words)." The source for the hybrid NNC is the preterit-agentive nounstem (tla-mat- $\emptyset$ )-qui-, "one who has known s.th.," i.e., "a knower."]

35.8. "Old Woman" and "Old Man." To express the notions of "old woman" and "old man," Nahuatl usually takes recourse to preterit-agentive NNCs. In the absolutive-state NNC for both, the singular subject pronoun's number position is filled with  $\square$ - $\emptyset$ . (For the verbstem-forming suffix **ti**, see § 54.2.1.)

1. "Old woman": source verbstem, (ilama-ti) > *perf.*, (ilama-t) ~ (ilama-h) = to become an old woman (see § 11.3.2):

- nilamah** = #n- $\emptyset$ (ilama-h- $\emptyset$ ) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = I am one who has become an old woman; i.e., I am an old woman
- tilamatqueh** = #t- $\emptyset$ (ilama-t- $\emptyset$ )qu-eh# = we are old women

**nimilamatcāuh** = #ni- $\theta$ +m- $\square$ (ilama-t- $\theta$ -cā)uh- $\theta$ # = I am your person who has become an old woman; i.e., I am your old woman

**tamilamatcāhuān** = #t- $\theta$ +am- $\square$ (ilama-t- $\theta$ -cā)hu-ān# = we are your (pl) old women

The general-use stem fills the embed subposition in a compound affective nounstem:

**ilamatcātzintli** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (ilama-t- $\theta$ -cā-tzin)tli- $\theta$ # = she is an honorable old woman, she is a dear old woman

**ilamatcātzitintin** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (ilama-t- $\theta$ -cā-tzi-tzin)t-in# = they are honorable old women

**tinilamatcātzin** = #ti- $\theta$ +n- $\square$ (ilama-t- $\theta$ -cā-tzin) $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = you are my dear old woman

**antilamatcātzintzinhuān** = #an- $\theta$ +t- $\square$ (ilama-t- $\theta$ -cā-tzi-tzin)hu-ān# = you are our dear old women

The general-use stem can also be used as embed in a compound stem with (-yō)-tl- (see § 39.3) as matrix:

**ilamatcāyōtl** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (ilama-t- $\theta$ -cā-yō)tl- $\theta$ # = it is old-womanhood

The verbstem given above as the source stem is derived from the nounstem (ilama)-tl-, “old woman.” [There is also a variant tli class stem (ilan)-tli-.] This stem is found in simplestemmed NNCs and as an embed.

**tilamatl** = #t- $\theta$ (ilama)tl- $\theta$ # = you are an old woman

**ilamayōtl** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (ilama-yō)tl- $\theta$ # = it is old-womanhood

**ilamapil** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (ilama-pil) $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = she is a tiny old woman

**ilamatōtōtl** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (ilama-tōtō)tl- $\theta$ # = it is an old-woman bird; i.e., it is a brown towhee

2. “Old man”: source verbstem, (huē-huē-ti) > *perf*, (huē-huē-t) ~ (huē-hue-h) = to become an old man (see § 11.3.2) [see § 2.3.3 on vowel-length loss]:

**nihuēhueh** = #ni- $\theta$ (huē-hue-h- $\theta$ ) $\square$ - $\theta$ # = I am one who has become an old man; i.e., I am an old man

**tihuēhuētqueh** = #ti- $\theta$ (huē-huē-t- $\theta$ )qu-eh# = we are old men

**nimohuēhuētcāuh** = #ni- $\theta$ +m-o(huē-huē-t- $\theta$ -cā)uh- $\theta$ # = I am your person who has become an old man; i.e., I am your old man

**tamohuēhuētcāhuān** = #t- $\theta$ +am-o(huē-huē-t- $\theta$ -cā)hu-ān# = we are your (pl) old men

The general-use stem fills the embed subposition in a compound affective nounstem:

**huēhuētcātzintli** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (huē-huē-t- $\theta$ -cā-tzin)tli- $\theta$ # = he is an honorable old man

**huēhuētcātzitintin** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (huē-huē-t- $\theta$ -cā-tzi-tzin)t-in# = they are honorable old men

**tinohuēhuētcātzin** = #ti- $\theta$ +n-o(huē-huē-t- $\theta$ -cā-tzin) $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = you are my dear old man

**antohuēhuētcātzintzinhuān** = #an- $\theta$ +t-o(huē-huē-t- $\theta$ -cā-tzi-tzin)hu-ān# = you are our dear old men

The general-use stem can also be used as embed in a compound stem with (-yō)-tl- (see § 39.3) as matrix:

**huēhuētcāyōtl** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (huē-huē-t- $\theta$ -cā-yō)tl- $\theta$ # = it is old-manhood

The verbstem given above as the source stem is derived from a reduplicated form of the no-longer-extant nounstem **\*(huē)-tl-**, “big entity” (see the adjectival nounstem **(huē-i)-θ-**, “big one,” in § 40.2.1), creating the nounstem **(huē-huē)-tl-**, “old man,” which has a metaphorically extended meaning of “upright drum.” This reduplicative nounstem is used in simplestemmed NNCs only in this metaphorical sense:

**huēhuētl = #θ-θ(huē-huē)tl-θ#** = it is an upright drum, they are upright drums

**nohuēhuēuh = #θ-θ+n-o(huē-huē)uh-θ#** = it is my upright drum, they are my upright drums

In this metaphorical sense it can also be used as an embed:

**(huē-huē-chiuh-θ)-qui-** = one who has made a drum; i.e., a drum maker

**(huē-huē-tzac-θ)-qui-** = one who has closed a drum; i.e., a drum maker

**(huē-huē-tzo-tzona)** = to beat a drum, to play a drum

Or as a matrix:

**(te-huē-huē)-tl-** = stone drum; butte, steep-walled mesa

**(ā-huē-huē)-tl-** = upright drum in water; i.e., cypress

When **(huē-huē)-tl-**, in its basic meaning of “old man,” occurs as an embed, the final long vowel of the stem is always replaced by a short vowel plus a glottal stop: **(huē-hueh)-**. DO NOT confuse this with the homophonous preterit-agentive nounstem **(huē-hue-h-θ)-**, which differs in both morphological structure and distribution. With regard to the variants **ē** and **eh** in **(huē-huē)-tl-** and **(huē-hueh)-**, compare **ō** and **oh** in **(teō)-tl-** and its glottalized stem variant **(teoh)-**, the latter likewise being used only as an embed. The source stem **\*(huē)-tl-** as such now occurs only as an embed and only with this shift of vowel length to glottal stop; e.g., **(hueh-pāmi)-tl-**, “big hewn beam”; **(hueh-ca)-□-**, “at a distance, far away” (see § 46.9); **(hueh-xōlō)-tl-**, “turkey cock”; etc.

The following examples illustrate the use of the reduplicative embed stem **(huē-hueh)-**:

**(huē-hueh-tla-ht-ō-l)-li-** = words of old men

**(huē-hueh-yō)-tl-** = old-manhood

**(huē-hueh-poh)-tli-** = old-man match, fellow old man [As in **nihuēhuehpoh = #n-θ+i-θ(huē-hueh-poh)θ-θ#** = I am his old-man match; i.e., I am an old man like him.]

**(huē-hueh-pōl)-θ-** = a decrepit old man

**(huē-hueh-pīl)-θ-** = a fragile old man

Compare the two following examples, one with a double-nucleus construction and the other with a single-nucleus construction:

**huēhueh teōtl = #θ-θ(huē-hue-h-θ)□-θ# #θ-θ(teō)tl-θ#** = he is an old man who is a god, he is a god who is an old man [Here **huēhueh** is a preterit-agentive NNC, functioning either as head or as adjectival modifier (see Lesson 42).]

**huēhuechteōtl = #θ-θ(huē-hueh-teō)tl-θ#** = he is a god in the form of an old man [Here **(huē-hueh)-** is merely the embed form of **(huē-huē)-tl-**.]

There is also a variant stem that ends in /n/: (**huē-huē-n-tli-**). This stem is used in the compound affective stem (**huē-huē-n-tōn**)-□-. The -□- as a filler in the *num'* subposition indicates an attitude of disparagement (see the flawed-subject formation in § 32.8).

35.9. *The Preterit-Agentive NNC of Ownership.* The preterit-agentive NNC formation has an even more important role in the language than that so far described. It is used to create preterit-agentive NNCs of ownership. In this kind of NNC the preterit-agentive nounstem signifies the *owner* of an entity. This is so important in Nahuatl because the language has no single-stemmed VNC built on a verbstem that means “to possess, to have.” (After the conquest the verbstem **tla-(piya)**, “to guard s.th.,” was made to serve as a translation of the Spanish verb *tener*, “to hold, to possess, to have.”)

The restricted-use preterit-agentive nounstem is created by carrying out the nominalized-preterit transformation upon an incorporated-object compound (see § 35.3, *note 3*) whose matrix subposition is filled by the Class D verbstem **\*tla-(ē)**, “to own/possess s.th.” This stem has the variant shape **\*tla-(-hu-ā)**, in which the vowel /e:/ has been lowered to [a:] after the connective morpheme /w/ (for other uses of this /w/, see the applicative morphemic carriers /ia:/ and /w-ia:/ in § 26.3 and §§ 26.9–10 as well as the instrumentive morphemic carriers /a:s/ and /w-a:s/ in § 58.1). From this point on **\*tla-(-hu-ā)** will be written solid as **\*tla-(-huā)**. The choice of **\*tla-(ē)** or **\*tla-(-huā)** is determined primarily by the fore-lying sound (see below). Neither of these variant verbstems can occur in any but this incorporated-object compound verbstem formation. (Because of this, grammarians have disregarded their essential verbal nature and have relegated them to the status of suffixes. In doing so they have rendered themselves unable to explain the various regularly formed derivations created from compound stems built on these verbstems.)

VNCs can no longer be formed on compound verbstems using **\*tla-(ē)** or **\*tla-(-huā)** as a matrix, except when they are used as embeds in a connective-**t** compound verbstem (see § 28.5):

**nicaquehtinemi** = #ni-**θ**(caqu-eh-**θ**-ti-nemi)**θ**+**θ**-**θ**# = I go around owning sandals; i.e., I go around wearing sandals

**tilmahhuahtoc** = #**θ**-**θ**(tilmah-huah-**θ**-t-o)**θ**+c-**θ**# = he lies there owning a blanket; i.e., he lies there with a blanket

Since these incorporated-object compound verbstems can occur only in the connective-**t** formation and as the source for preterit-agentive NNCs of ownership, it is evident that the preterit-tense morph is the only one with which **\*tla-(ē)** and **\*tla-(-huā)** can associate.

The subject pronoun’s number position in an absolutive-state preterit-agentive NNC of ownership is normally filled by □-**θ** when that pronoun is singular/common, although **qui-**θ**** is possible.

As a rule **\*tla-(ē)** and **\*tla-(-huā)** embed different kinds of nounstems as their incorporated object. (The incorporated nounstem has the general-use shape.)

1. **\*Tla-(ē)** incorporates the following kinds of nounstems:

a. Nounstems of the **tli** class (except those ending in /w/ or /ʔ/). (The general-use stem of the resultant preterit-agentive compound nounstem of ownership is formed according to the rule given in § 35.5. It is illustrated only for the first example of each subsection, all other examples of which have the same formation.)

(**chān-eh-θ**)-□- > (**chān-eh-θ-cā**)-**uh-** = one who has a home [< (**chān**)-**tli-**]

(**nacac-eh-θ**)-□- = one who has ears [< (**nacaz**)-**tli-**; notice spelling change.]

(**caqu-eh-θ**)-□- = one who has sandals/shoes [< (**cac**)-**tli-**]

(**cem-ēl-eh-θ**)-□- = one who has a liver that is one (i.e., entire/whole); i.e., a contented, tranquil person [The negative stem (**ah-cem-ēl-eh-θ**)-□- means “an unhappy, troubled person,” and the compound stem (**ah-tlāca-cem-ēl-eh-θ**)-□- means “a person who is happy as an inhumane person,” i.e., “a cruel-hearted, sadistic person” (the embed stem is (**ah-tlāca**)-**tl-**, “an inhumane, vicious person”). All of these stems are commonly written with **ll**, a practice that is patently wrong, since it violates the rules generating [ll]; see § 2.10.]

(**mīl-eh-θ**)-□- = one who has a field [< (**mīl**)-**li-**]

(**cuitla-pil-eh-θ**)-□- = one that has a tail [< (**cuitla-pil**)-**li-**]

But the stem (**pil**)-**li-**, “child,” is incorporated only into the **\*tla-(-huā)** matrix:

(**pil-huah-θ**)-□- > (**pil-huah-θ-cā**)-**uh-** = one who has a child

Occasionally, a **tli** stem permits a variant formation with **\*tla-(-huā)**:

(**āmox-eh-θ**)-□- ~ (**āmox-huah-θ**)-□- = one who has books [< (**āmox**)-**tli-**]

b. Subclass 2-B of **tl** stems (see § 14.7.2):

(**cōm-eh-θ**)-□- = one who has a pot [< (**cōmi**)-**tl-** > (**cōn**)-**θ-**]

(**yaqu-eh-θ**)-□- = one who has a nose [< (**yaca**)-**tl-** > (**yac**)-**θ-**]

(**cuahu-eh-θ**)-□- = one who has trees [< (**cuahui**)-**tl-** > (**cuauh**)-**θ-**]

Frequently, such stems permit a variant formation with **\*tla-(-huā)**:

(**cax-eh-θ**)-□- ~ (**cax-huah-θ**)-□- = one who has a bowl [< (**caxi**)-**tl-** > (**cax**)-**θ-**]

c. Subclass 2-C of **tl** stems that have an ephemeral vowel after a consonant cluster (see § 14.7.2) omit the supportive [i] of the general-use stem:

(**māx-tl-eh-θ**)-□- = one who has a breechcloth [< (**māx-tla**)-**tl-** > (**māx-tli**)-**θ-**]

(**cōz-qu-eh-θ**)-□- = one who has a necklace [< (**cōz-ca**)-**tl-** > (**cōz-qui**)-**θ-**]

d. Subclass 2-A of **tl** stems that can use a glottalized shape as embed frequently replace the stem-final [h] with [y] (see § 2.13.1; compare § 31.5, *note*):

(**māy-eh-θ**)-□- = one who has hands [< (**māi**)-**tl-** > (**mā**)-**θ-** > (**mah**)-]. One can also find (**mā-eh-θ**)-□-]

(**cuēy-eh-θ**)-□- = one who has a skirt [< (**cuēi**)-**tl-** > (**cuē**)-**θ-** > (**cueh**)-]

(**īx-cuāy-eh-θ**)-□- = one who has a forehead; i.e., one who has a high or prominent forehead [< (**īx-cuāi**)-**tl-** > (**īx-cuā**)-**θ-** > (**īx-cuah**)-]

But the stem (**āxcāi**)-**tl-**, general-use stem (**āxcā**)-**θ-**, is incorporated only into the **tla-(-huā)** matrix:

(**āxcā-huah-θ**)-□- = one who has property

2. The \***tlā-(-huā)** matrix incorporates the following kinds of nounstems:a. Subclass 1 of **tl** stems (see § 14.7.2):

(**ā-huah-θ**)-□- > (**ā-huah-θ-cā**)-**uh-** = one who has water [< (**ā**)-**tl-** > (**ā**)-**uh-**]

(**ōztō-huah-θ**)-□- = one who has a cave; i.e., a fox [< (**ōztō**)-**tl-**]

(**āhui-huah-θ**)-□- = one who has an aunt [< (**āhui**)-**tl-**]

(**tlā-tqui-huah-θ**)-□- = one who has equipment [< (**tlā-tqui**)-**tl-**]

(**izte-huah-θ**)-□- = one who has fingernails [< (**izte**)-**tl-**]

But the following Subclass 1-B of **tl** stems are incorporated into \***tlā-(-ē)** after the deletion of the stem-final /i/:

(**izt-eh-θ**)-□- = one who has fingernails [< (**izti**)-**tl-**. Contrast this formation with that of the variant stem (**izte**)-**tl-** above.]

(**iht-eh-θ**)-□- = one who has a stomach [< (**ihti**)-**tl-**]

(**icx-eh-θ**)-□- = one who has feet [< (**icxi**)-**tl-**]

Also, the stem (**cama**)-**tl-**, general-use stem either (**cama**)-**θ-** or (**can**)-**θ-**, is incorporated only into the \***tlā-(-ē)** matrix:

(**cama-eh-θ**)-□- = one who has a mouth [One also finds (**camay-eh-θ**)-□-, as if the stem were (**camāi**)-**tl-**, but without length on the /a/; see 1.d above.]

Since the general-use stem of preterit-agentive NNCs (including preterit-agentive NNCs of ownership) belongs to Subclass 1 (Subclass 1-A, specifically) of **tl** nounstems (see § 35.6), it is incorporated into the \***tlā-(-huā)** matrix to create a preterit-agentive NNC of ownership.

(**teō-pix-θ-cā-huah-θ**)-□- > (**teō-pix-θ-cā-huah-θ-cā**)-**uh-** = one who has a priest [< (**teō-pix-θ**)-**qui-** > (**teō-pix-θ-cā**)-**uh-**, “a god-guarder; a priest”]

(**tē-yac-ān-θ-cā-huah-θ**)-□- > (**tē-yac-ān-θ-cā-huah-θ-cā**)-**uh-** = one who has a guide [< (**tē-yac-ān-θ**)-**qui-** > (**tē-yac-ān-θ-cā**)-**uh-**, “one who has taken people by the nose; i.e., a guide, a leader”]

(**tlā-quetz-θ-cā-huah-θ**)-□- > (**tlā-quetz-θ-cā-huah-θ-cā**)-**uh-** = one who has a storyteller [< (**tlā-quetz-θ**)-**qui-** > (**tlā-quetz-θ-cā**)-**uh-**, “one who has erected things; i.e., one who has told stories; i.e., a storyteller”]

The following stems show recursiveness in preterit-agentive NNCs of ownership:

(**mich-huah-θ-cā-huah-θ**)-□- > (**mich-huah-θ-cā-huah-θ-cā**)-**uh-** = one who has owned one who has owned fish; i.e., a master of fishermen [< (**mich-huah-θ**)-□- > (**mich-huah-θ-cā**)-**uh-**, “one who owns fish; i.e., a fisherman”]

(**cuā-cuahu-eh-θ-cā-huah-θ**)-□- > (**cuā-cuahu-eh-θ-cā-huah-θ-cā**)-**uh-** = one who owns a horn owner; i.e., a cattle owner [< (**cuā-cuahu-eh-θ**)-□- > (**cuā-cuahu-eh-θ-cā**)-**uh-**, “one that owns trees on the head; i.e., a cow or bull” (see § 31.5.3).]

b. **tli** stems that end in /w/ or /ʔ/:

(**tah-huah-θ**)-□- = one who has a father [< (**tah**)-**tli-**. One also finds (**tat-eh-θ**)-□-, where [t] represents /ʔ/, the opposite of § 11.3.2.]

(**tilmah-huah-θ**)-□- = one who has a blanket/cape [< (**tilmah**)-**tli-**, “blanket”]



If the incorporated stem ends in /w/, this sound is assimilated to the /w/ of *\*tla-(-huā)* and disappears according to the rule /w/ + /w/ > [w]:

(*ixhūi-huah-θ*)-□- = one who has a grandchild [< (*ixhūih*)-*tli*-]

Occasionally, when the incorporated stem ends in /w/, an alternate formation with *\*tla-(-ē)* is possible:

(*huexī-huah-θ*)-□- ~ (*huexihu-eh-θ*)-□- = one who has a co-parent-in-law [< (*huexih*)-*tli*-]

c. *in* stems:

(*mich-huah-θ*)-□- = one who has fish [< (*mich*)-*in*-]

Frequently such stems permit a variant formation with *\*tla-(-ē)*:

(*zā-yōl-huah-θ*)-□- ~ (*zā-yōl-eh-θ*)-□- = one who has a fly [< (*zā-yōl*)-*in*-]

d. *θ* stems:

(*chichi-huah-θ*)-□- = one who has a dog [< (*chichi*)-*θ*-]

If the stem ends in a consonant, it may have a variant formation with *\*tla-(-ē)*:

(*tlatzcan-huah-θ*)-□- ~ (*tlatzcan-eh-θ*)-□- = one who owns a cypress [< (*tlatzcan*)-*θ*-]

35.10. *The Preterit-Agentive NNC of Abundant Ownership.* Another preterit-agentive NNC of ownership similar to those in § 35.9 is created by nominalizing a preterit-tense VNC built on an incorporated-object compound stem whose matrix subposition is filled by the Class C verbstem *\*tla-(-yo-ā)*. Unlike *\*tla-(-ē)* and *\*tla-(-huā)*, however, *\*tla-(-yo-ā)* means “to own abundantly,” “to own characteristically,” “to possess in every part.” But like them, the compound verbstem it creates can occur only with a preterit-tense morph and the preterit-tense predicate is limited to two constructions. First, it can occur as the embed of a connective-*t* compound VNC:

**teuhyoticah** = #*θ-θ*(*teuh-yo-h-θ-ti-ca-h*)*θ*+□-*θ*# = it is owning dust in every part; i.e., it is covered with dust

**titeuhyohtih** = #*ti-θ*(*teuh-yo-h-θ-ti-uh*)*θ*+*θ-θ*# = you go owning dust in every part; i.e., you go covered with dust

**tizoquiyohtihuitzeh** = #*ti-θ*(*zoqui-yo-h-θ-ti-hūi-tz*)*θ*+□-*eh*# = we come owning mud in every part; i.e., we come covered with mud

Second, it can undergo the nominalizing transformation and appear as a nounstem in a preterit-agentive NNC. (As with *\*tla-(-ē)* and *\*tla-(-huā)*, grammarians have obscured the formation by failing to recognize *\*tla-(-yo-ā)* as a matrix verbstem and reducing it to the status of a mere suffix.)

The general-use stem of the resultant preterit-agentive nounstem is shown only in the first example:

(*ā-yo-h-θ*)-□- > (*ā-yo-h-θ-cā*)-*uh*- = a thing that has abundant water; i.e., a watery thing [< (*ā*)-*tl*-]

(**tilmah-yo-h-θ**)-□- = one who has a blanket on every part; i.e., one who is covered by a blanket, one who is clothed [**< (tilmah)-tli-**]

The stem-initial /y/ undergoes assimilation according to the rules given in § 2.10. Frequently, the resultant long consonant is written as a short one (see § 2.8):

(**xāl-lo-h-θ**)-□- = one that is covered with sand [**< (xāl)-li-**]

(**te-poz-zo-h-θ**)-□- = one that is covered with iron [**< (te-poz)-tli-**]

(**mix-xo-h-θ**)-□- = a thing that is covered with clouds [**< (mix)-tli-**]

(**cuich-cho-h-θ**)-□- = one that is covered with soot [**< (cuich)-tli-**]

(**huitz-tzo-h-θ**)-□- = a thing that is covered with thorns [**< (huitz)-tli-**]

As in the case of \***tla-(-huā)**, \***tla-(-yo-ā)** can incorporate a preterit-agentive nounstem as its object (see § 35.8):

(**tla-ht-o-h-θ-cā-yo-h-θ**)-□- = one who has owned kings [**< (tla-ht-o-h-θ)-qui- > (tla-ht-o-h-θ-cā)-uh-**]

35.11. *Analysis and Translation of Preterit-Agentive NNCs of Ownership.* The following examples demonstrate the use of the stems described in §§ 35.9–35.10 in NNCs:

**atemeh** = #**θ-θ(atem-eh-θ)**□-**θ**# = he is a louse owner; i.e., there is a louse on him; he has lice [**< (atemi)-tl-**]

**atenyoh** = #**θ-θ(aten-yo-h-θ)**□-**θ**# = he is an owner of abundant lice; i.e., he is covered with lice [Literally, “he has owned lice in abundance.”]

**nizāyōleh** = #**ni-θ(zā-yōl-eh-θ)**□-**θ**# = I am a fly owner; i.e., there is a fly on me [Literally, “I have owned a fly.”]

**nītlatzcanhuahcāuh** = #**n-θ+i-θ(tlatzcan-huah-θ-cā)uh-θ**# = I am his cypress owner

**tīmīlehqueh** = #**ti-θ(mīl-eh-θ)qu-eh**# = we are cultivated-field owners

**cuācuauhtōneh** = #**θ-θ(cuā-cuauh-tōn-eh-θ)**□-**θ**# = it is an owner of small horns; i.e., it has small horns [Literally, “it has owned small horns.”]

**mahmāeh** = #**θ-θ(mah-mā-eh-θ)**□-**θ**# = it has arms/hands [The incorporated object has a distributive/varietal prefix.]

**timomihuahcāhuān** = #**ti-θ+m-o(mī-huah-θ-cā)hu-ān**# = we are your arrow owners

**nāxcāhuah** = #**n-θ(āxcā-huah-θ)**□-**θ**# = I am a property owner

**āc āxcāhuah?** = #**θ-θ(ā-θ)c-θ**# #**θ-θ(āxcā-huah-θ)**□-**θ**# = who is he who is the one who has owned property? i.e., who is the owner of this? [Both constituents of the sentence are preterit-agentive NNCs, the second one being a preterit-agentive NNC of ownership.]

**nicihuāhuah** = #**ni-θ(cihuā-huah-θ)**□-**θ**# = I am a woman owner; i.e., I am married

**nicuācuahuehcāhuah** = #**ni-θ(cuā-cuahu-eh-θ-cā-huah-θ)**□-**θ**# = I am an owner of a horn owner; i.e., I am a cattle owner; I am a cattleman

**nixālloh** = #**ni-θ(xāl-lo-h-θ)**□-**θ**# = I am a sand owner in every part; i.e., I am covered with sand

**tixāllohqueh** = #**ti-θ(xāl-lo-h-θ)qu-eh**# = we are covered with sand

**tlahtohcāyohqueh** = #**θ-θ(tla-ht-o-h-θ-cā-yo-h-θ)qu-eh**# = they are possessors of kings, they have kings [Literally, “they have had kings in abundance.”]

At times an NNC formed on *\*tla-(-yo-ā)* and one formed on *\*tla-(-ē)* can have subject pronouns with a difference in animacy, resulting in quite different translation values.

**tōcāyoh** = #*θ-θ*(tōcā-yo-h-*θ*)□-*θ*# = it (e.g., a document) is an owner of abundant names; i.e., it is a document (etc.) with many signatures [*<* (tōcāi)-tl-, “name”]

**tōcāyeh** = #*θ-θ*(tōcāy-eh-*θ*)□-*θ*# = he is an owner of a name; i.e., he is a famous/renowned person [For the y, see § 35.9.1.d.]

The following examples show preterit-agentive nounstems of ownership used as embeds in compound affective-stemmed NNCs.

**chānehcāztintli** = #*θ-θ*(chān-eh-*θ*-cā-tzin)tli-*θ*# = he (H) is a home owner [*<* (chān-eh-*θ*)-□-, “one who has owned a home,” i.e., “a home owner”]

**atenyohcāpōl** = #*θ-θ*(aten-yo-h-*θ*-cā-pōl)*θ-θ*# = he is a miserable lice-infested person [*<* (aten-yo-h-*θ*)-□-, “one covered with lice”]

**mocuācuahuehcāhuahcāztitzinhuān** = #*θ-θ*+m-o(cuā-cuah-eh-*θ*-cā-huah-*θ*-cā-tzintzin)hu-ān# = they are your honorable ones who have owned the ones that have owned horns; i.e., they (H) are your cattlemen; they are your (H) cattlemen [*<* (cuā-cuah-eh-*θ*-cā-huah-*θ*)-□-, “owners of horn owners,” i.e., “cattle owners, cattlemen”]

35.12. *Further Comments on the Preterit-Agentive Nounstem as Embed in VNCs.* The use of a preterit-agentive nounstem as an embed in a VNC was presented briefly in § 35.7.1. The examples given there showed a preterit-agentive nounstem functioning as an incorporated object. The following are three more examples:

**niyāōquizcāyacāna** = #*ni-θ*(yāō-quiz-*θ*-cā-yac-āna)*θ*+*θ-θ*# = I take soldiers by the nose; i.e., I lead/command soldiers [*<* (yāō-quiz-*θ*)-qui-, “one who has gone out to war,” i.e., “a soldier.” The stem (yāō)-tl-, “enemy,” is here being used in place of (yāō-yō)-tl-, “enmity/war/battle”; see § 39.9.]

**ticuācuauhtēntzonehcāhuah** = #*ti-θ*(cuā-cuah-tēn-tzon-eh-*θ*-cā-huah-*θ*)□-*θ*# = you are an owner of a head-tree lip-hair owner, i.e., you are the owner of a goat/goats, you are a goat owner [*<* (cuā-cuah-tēn-tzon-eh-*θ*)-□-, “head-tree-lip-hair owner, horn-and-beard owner,” i.e., “goat”]

**mitztlahuēlilōcāmaca** = #*θ-θ*+m-itz(tlahu-ēl-i-lō-*θ*-cā-maca)*θ*+*θ-θ*# = he is giving you perversity; i.e., he is perverting/corrupting you [The preterit-patientive stem (tlahu-ēl-i-lō-*θ*)-c-, “a wicked/pernicious entity” (see § 35.3, note 2) stands here for (tlahu-ēl-i-lō-*θ*-cā-yō)-tl-, “what is characteristic of a perverted/wicked person,” i.e., “perversity/wickedness” (see § 39.9). The matrix is the double-object verbstem *tē*+tla-(maca), “to give s.th. to s.o.”]

A far more frequent use of an embedded preterit-agentive nounstem is, however, as an incorporated adverb of manner. As pointed out in § 30.11 and § 30.12, the adverbial modification can be focused toward either the subject or an object. The following are a few examples:

**nihciuhcāyauh** = #*n-θ*(ihc-i-uh-*θ*-cā-ya-uh)*θ*+*θ-θ*# = I am going in the manner of one who has hurried; i.e., I am going in a hurry [*<* (ihc-i-uh-*θ*)-qui-, “one who has hurried”]

**ōtīmelāhuacācac** =  $\bar{o}\#ti-\emptyset+c-\emptyset(mel-\bar{a}-hua-\emptyset-c\bar{a}-cac)\emptyset+\square-\emptyset\#$  = you heard it in the manner of a thing that has become straight; i.e., you heard it correctly, you understood it correctly [ $\langle mel-\bar{a}-hua-\emptyset \rangle$ -c-, “a thing that has become straight”]

**ōtīctīlamelāuhcācac** =  $\bar{o}\#tī-\emptyset+c-\emptyset(tla-mel-\bar{a}-uh-\emptyset-c\bar{a}-cac)\emptyset+\square-\emptyset\#$  = you heard it in the manner of a thing that has caused s.th. to become straight; i.e., you heard it correctly, you understood it correctly [ $\langle tla-mel-\bar{a}-uh-\emptyset \rangle$ -qui-, “a thing that has caused s.th. to become straight.” At times an incorporated adverb from an intransitive source, as in the preceding example, and one from a causative source, as in this one, may create compound stems with such a subtle difference in meaning that an English translation may not be able to capture it.]

**nītlahtōhcālahtoā** =  $\#ni-\emptyset(tla-ht-o-h-\emptyset-c\bar{a}-tla-ht-o-a)\emptyset+\emptyset-\emptyset\#$  = I speak in the manner of one who has spoken; i.e., I speak as a king would

The mainline or shuntline shape of the reflexive object depends on the valence of the matrix verbstem.

**nīnochīxcācah** =  $\#ni-\emptyset(n-o-chix-\emptyset-c\bar{a}-ca-h)\emptyset+\square-\emptyset\#$  = I am in the manner of one who awaits himself; i.e., I am self-confident and hopeful [ $\langle m-o-(chiya) \rangle$ , “to await oneself.” Since the verbstem in the matrix subposition is intransitive, the reflexive object in the preterit-agentive predicate in the embed subposition is mainline. Even though it is part of the stem, the reflexive pronoun still responds to the person and number of the subject pronoun.]

**nīnozcalīhcānemi** =  $\#ni-\emptyset(n-o-zcal-i-h-\emptyset-c\bar{a}-nemi)\emptyset+\emptyset-\emptyset\#$  = I am living prudently and discreetly [ $\langle m-o-(izcal-i-\bar{a}) \rangle$ , “to cause oneself to revive”; *by extension*, “to be prudent and discreet.” The matrix verbstem is intransitive; the reflexive object on the embed stem is mainline.]

**nīcnezcalīhcāittaya** =  $\#ni-\emptyset+c-\emptyset(ne-zcal-i-h-\emptyset-c\bar{a}-itt-a)ya+\emptyset-\emptyset\#$  = I was looking at it prudently and discreetly [Since the matrix verbstem is transitive, the reflexive object on the embed stem is shuntline.]

**ōnīnihmatcālahto** =  $\bar{o}\#ni-\emptyset(n-\square-ih-mat-\emptyset-c\bar{a}-tla-ht-o-h)\emptyset+\square-\emptyset\#$  = I spoke prudently [The matrix verbstem is intransitive because of *tla* fusion.]

**nīcnehmatcātēmoā** =  $\#ni-\emptyset+c-\emptyset(ne-h-mat-\emptyset-c\bar{a}-tēm-o-a)\emptyset+\emptyset-\emptyset\#$  = I look for it prudently, carefully [The matrix stem is transitive.]

If the preterit-agentive nounstem has become fully lexicalized, the reflexive object keeps its mainline shape and, furthermore, escapes the required response to the person-number of the subject pronoun, always being in the non-first-person form.

**nīcmahcīcācaqui** =  $\#ni-\emptyset+c-\emptyset(m-\square-ahci-\emptyset-c\bar{a}-caqui)\emptyset+\emptyset-\emptyset\#$  = I hear it in the manner of a thing that has reached itself; i.e., I understand it completely/perfectly [The embed is the preterit-agentive nounstem ( $\langle m-\square-ahci-\emptyset \rangle$ -c-, “a thing that has reached itself; i.e., a thing that is complete, entire.” The stem’s meaning suggests the forming of a circle, as when the leader in a line of dancers circles around to catch up with the last member of the line.]

**nītlamahcīcācaqui** =  $\#ni-\emptyset+tla(m-\square-ahci-\emptyset-c\bar{a}-caqui)\emptyset+\emptyset-\emptyset\#$  = I understand s.th. completely/perfectly

Another important use of the preterit-agentive nounstem as embed in a VNC is as an incorporated complement.

**nictōpilehcātālīa** = #ni-θ+c-θ(tōpīl-eh-θ-cā-tlāl-i-a)θ+θ-θ# = I establish him as a staff holder; i.e., I make him a constable [**<(tōpīl-eh-θ)-□-**, “one who has owned a staff,” i.e., “a constable”]

**ticāxcāhuahcācāhuah** = #ti-θ+c-θ(āxcā-huah-θ-cā-cāhua)θ+θ-θ# = we leave him as a propertied person [**<(āxcā-huah-θ)-□-**, “a property owner.” The matrix verbstem is **tē-(cāhua)**, “to leave/abandon s.o.”]

**quitēyacāncāpehpenah** = #θ-θ+qui-θ(tē-yac-ān-θ-cā-peh-pena)θ+θ-h# = they choose/select him for a guide [**<(tē-yac-ān-θ)-□-**, “one who has taken people by the nose,” i.e., “a guide/leader”]

**moxoxōuhcāi** = #θ-θ+m-o(xo-xō-uh-θ-cā-i)θ+θ-θ# = it drinks itself as an uncooked thing; i.e., it is drunk uncooked [See § 21.4. The reflexive object is mainline because it belongs to the matrix stem; the source of the embed stem is intransitive.]

The matrix stem of an incorporated-complement VNC may be one of the verbstems listed in § 30.15.

**nictlahuēlīlōcāmati** = #ni-θ+c-θ(tlahu-ēl-i-lō-θ-cā-mati)θ+θ-θ# = I consider him a scoundrel [**<(tlahu-ēl-i-lō-θ)-c-**, “one who has been despised”]

**niнопāccātlapīquiāya** = #ni-θ+n-o(pāc-θ-cā-tla-pīqu-iā)ya+θ-θ# = I was pretending to be a happy person; I was pretending to be happy [**<(pāc-θ)-qui-**, “one who has become happy”]

**ninocochcānehnequiya** = #ni-θ+n-o(coch-θ-cā-neh-nequi)ya+θ-θ# = I was pretending to be asleep [**<(coch-θ)-qui-**, “one who has slept, one who has fallen asleep”]

**mococoxcātoca** = #θ-θ+m-o(coco-x-θ-cā-toca)θ+θ-θ# = he is pretending to be a sick person, he is pretending to be sick [**<(coco-x-θ)-qui-**, “one who has become sick”]

When **m-o- ~ tē-(toca)** is used as the filler in the matrix subposition, the nounstem (**ye-tl-**, “being,” may optionally serve as a matrix for the general-use shape of the preterit-agentive nounstem (see § 39.7). The combination **-cā-ye-** creates a tautological sequence meaning “a being who is a being who.”

**ōnimitzmiccāyetocac** = **ō#ni-θ+m-itz(mic-θ-cā-ye-toca)θ+θ-θ#** = I thought you were dead [**<(mic-θ)-qui-**, “one who has died”]

**momiccāyetoca** = #θ-θ+m-o(mic-θ-cā-ye-toca)θ+θ-θ# = he is pretending to be dead

*Note:* In all the examples of the incorporated-complement VNC given above, the compound verbstem is a single-object stem. If, however, the matrix verbstem has a reflexive-object pronoun and the source of the preterit-agentive nounstem serving as an incorporated complement is a projective-object verbstem, the verbal force latent in the preterit-agentive embed can become activated so its nonspecific object pronoun is enabled to escape the confines of the compound stem to become a specific object filling a Valence position (compare § 35.4, *note* and § 35.7.2, *note*). As a result the compound-stemmed VNC becomes a double-object formation. This violates the valence principle of § 23.1, since no suffix is present to justify the object pronoun.

**ahtictocaccānehnequih** = **ah#ti-θ+c-θ+t-o(cac-θ-cā-neh-nequi)θ+θ-h#** = we pretend we do not hear him [**<(tē-cac-θ)-qui-**, “one who has heard s.o.” The **ah#** is modifying the embed!]

**niquinnīximatcānehnequi** = #ni-θ+qu-in+n-□(īxi-mat-θ-cā-neh-nequi)θ+θ-θ# = I pretend I know them [**<(tē-īxi-mat-θ)-qui-**, “one who has recognized s.o., one who has known s.o.”]

35.13. *The Vocative Particle and the Preterit-Agentive NNC.* When the vocative particle #é (see § 18.11) is used with a preterit-agentive NNC, the spelling in a traditionally written text may present difficulties, since **que** may be read either as **qué** (a /k/ sound plus the vocative particle) or as **queh** (the plural number dyad **qu-eh**).

1. When the NNC's subject pronoun has the singular-number dyad **c-θ** (i.e., when the source verbstem belongs to verbstem Class A), the /k/ is spelled **qu** when the vocative particle is attached to the NNC.

**tlattaqué** = #θ-θ(tla-tt-a-θ)qu-θ#é = O onlooker! [Traditionally written **tlattaque.**]

**tlanamacaqué** = #θ-θ(tla-namaca-θ)qu-θ#é = O vender! [Traditionally written **tlanamacaque.**]

2. When the NNC's subject pronoun has the singular-number dyad **qui-θ**, the supportive [i] is dropped when the vocative particle is present.

**tlapixqué** = #θ-θ(tla-pix-θ)qu-θ#é = O guard! [Traditionally written **tlapixque.**]

3. When the source verbstem belongs to Class B and has a perfective stem ending in a /k/ sound and the preterit-agentive NNC's subject pronoun has the singular-number dyad □-θ, the stem-final /k/ sound is spelled **qu** when the vocative particle is present.

**tēnāmiqué** = #θ-θ(tē-nāmiqu-θ)□-θ#é = O competitor! [Traditionally written **tenamique.**]

A problem would occur here only in the instance of a nonvocative NNC with a plural subject pronoun. For example, **tēnāmicqueh**, #θ-θ(tē-nāmic-θ)qu-eh#, "they are competitors," might be spelled **tenamique** in a traditionally written text in which /kk/ is written **qu** instead of **cqu**.

4. Although it should cause no problem, one should remember that an intervocalic [h] can occasionally be replaced by [y] (see § 2.13.1):

**tlāōlehé** = #θ-θ(tla-ō-l-eh-θ)□-θ#é = O shelled-maize owner! [This has **tlāōleyé** as a possible variant.]

**pilhuahquehé** = #θ-θ(pil-huah-θ)qu-eh#é = O parents! [This has **pilhuahqueyé** as a possible variant.]

35.14. *The Compound NNC with a Double-Nucleus Embed.* Certain verbstems and nounstems can serve as a matrix stem that has the power to create a compound stem by incorporating an entire double-nucleus structure.

The verbstems of ownership, **\*tla-(-ē)**, **\*tla-(-huā)**, and **\*tla-(-yo-ā)**, are among this kind of matrix stems. This means that a preterit-agentive NNC can have a structure that is more complicated than that presented in § 35.9 and § 35.10. Normally, the incorporated structure is a lexicalized unit and therefore has a fixed-order sequence in its constituent nuclear clauses. For example, the structure of possessor supplementation **michin īx**, #θ-θ(mich)in-θ# #θ-θ+i-θ(īx)θ-θ#, "it is an eye of a fish" ~ "they are the eyes of a fish," can be accepted as a set expression with the metaphorical meaning "it is a wart" ~ "they are warts." Using the verbstem **\*tla-(-yo-ā)** as the matrix, one can create a preterit-agentive NNC with this expression serving as an

incorporated object. The following example has a first-person singular subject pronoun. (In the analyzed example a plus-sign inside the stem indicates the boundary between the NNCs serving as the embed, while all the other boundaries within the stem are represented by hyphens.)

**nimichin̄xxoh = #ni-(θ-θ-mich-in-θ+θ-θ-ī-θ-ix-xo-h-θ)□-θ# = I am one who has possessed warts in abundance, i.e., I have a lot of warts**

As can be seen, the compound stem is matrix oriented, and therefore the NNC's subject pronoun has no association with the stem of the downgraded supplementary-possessor NNC **michin**. In fact this stem is protected from that pronoun by the continued presence of the morphic fillers in the person position of its own subject pronoun. The downgraded principal clause **ix** has lost its number position just like any other NNC upon being incorporated in a compound stem; unlike them, however, it keeps its person position intact.

## LESSON 36

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### Nominalization of VNCs (Part Two)

36.1. *Customary-Present Agentive NNCs.* The second most frequent type of agentive NNC results from the nominalization of the active-voice customary-present VNC. The predicate of the VNC becomes a nounstem. The logic behind the transformation is similar to that behind certain English agentive nouns, *one who habitually paints is a painter*.

A customary-present VNC permits two degrees of nominalization: one creates an NNC by conversion (or reanalysis); the other creates a fully nominal NNC by a more thoroughgoing transformation.

36.2. *The Customary-Present Agentive NNC by Reanalysis.* As is the case with the absolutive-state preterit-agentive NNCs in Lesson 35, an absolutive-state customary-present agentive NNC can be created by reanalyzing the constituents of the source VNC into the formula of an NNC. When a transitive predicate is thereby downgraded to the rank of a nounstem, any valence position in the source ends up inside the nounstem. If projective, it is filled with **tē** or **tlā**; if reflexive, with **n-o**, **t-o**, or **m-o** (since the reflexive object pronoun still responds to the subject pronoun even though it is inside the stem). The last constituent of the nounstem is ALWAYS the customary-present tense morph **ni**. The resultant absolutive-state NNC has its subject pronoun's number position filled with the VNC-associated number dyads (singular/common, **θ-θ**; plural, **θ-h**).

The following examples show the VNC source and the absolutive-state NNC result:

VNC: **titlahtoāni** = **#ti-θ(tla-ht-o-ā)ni+θ-θ#** = you customarily speak [An example of **tlā** fusion; see § 7.10.]

Cus-pres agen NNC: **titlahtoāni** = **#ti-θ(tla-ht-o-ā-ni)θ-θ#** = you are one who customarily speaks; i.e., you are a speaker, you are a king/ruler

VNC: **antlahtoānih** = **#an-θ(tla-ht-o-ā)ni+θ-h#** = you (pl) customarily speak

Cus-pres agen NNC: **antlahtoānih** = **#an-θ(tla-ht-o-ā-ni)θ-h#** = you (pl) are ones who customarily speak; i.e., you are speakers, you are kings/rulers

As a rule only absolutive-state NNCs are formed by this reanalysis procedure. To fill out the paradigm, the possessive-state *preterit*-agentive NNC described in § 35.6 is used.



Abs sg: **tlaneltiliāni** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**tlā-nel-ti-liā-ni**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he is one who customarily attests to s.th.; i.e., he is a testifier [< **tlā-(nel-ti-liā)**, “to cause s.th. to be the truth; i.e., to verify s.th., to attest to s.th. as a witness”]

Abs pl: **tlaneltiliānih** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**tlā-nel-ti-liā-ni**) $\emptyset$ -**h**# = they are ones who customarily attest to s.th.; i.e., they are testifiers

Pos sg: **tētlaneltilihcāuh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +**tē**(**tlā-nel-ti-lih- $\emptyset$ -cā**)**uh- $\emptyset$** # = he is s.o.’s one who has attested to s.th.; i.e., he is s.o.’s testifier

Pos pl: **motlaneltilihcāhuān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +**m-o**(**tlā-nel-ti-lih- $\emptyset$ -cā**)**hu-ān**# = they are your ones who have attested to s.th.; i.e., they are your testifiers

At times there is a difference in translational value between the absolutive-state and possessive-state formations.

Abs sg: **nitlacuāni** = #**ni- $\emptyset$** (**tlā-cuā-ni**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I am one who customarily eats things; i.e., I am a glutton [< **tlā-(cuā)**, “to eat s.th.”]

Abs pl: **tītlacuānih** = #**ti- $\emptyset$** (**tlā-cuā-ni**) $\emptyset$ -**h**# = we are gluttons

Pos sg: **nitētlacuahcāuh** = #**ni- $\emptyset$** +**tē**(**tlā-cuah- $\emptyset$ -cā**)**uh- $\emptyset$** # = I am s.o.’s one who has eaten things; i.e., I am a person indebted to s.o., I am grateful to s.o.

Pos pl: **tīmotlacuahcāhuan** = #**ti- $\emptyset$** +**m-o**(**tlā-cuah- $\emptyset$ -cā**)**hu-ān**# = we are people indebted to you, we are grateful to you

In rare instances, however, it is possible for a possessive-state NNC to be built on a reanalyzed stem. What is strange about this is that VNC-associated fillers of the subject pronoun’s number position (singular/common,  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ; plural,  $\emptyset$ -**h**) continue to be used even though the NNC’s state position is filled by a possessive pronoun.

VNC: **tēyāōchihuani** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +**tē**(**yāō-chihua**)**ni+ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$** # = he customarily makes war against people

Pos sg cus-pres agen NNC: **itēyāōchihuani** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +**i- $\emptyset$** (**tē-yāō-chihua-ni**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he is his one who customarily makes war against people; i.e., he is his warrior

VNC: **tēyāōchihuānih** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +**tē**(**yāō-chihua**)**ni+ $\emptyset$ -h**# = they customarily make war against people

Pos pl cus-pres agen NNC: **itēyāōchihuānih** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +**i- $\emptyset$** (**tē-yāō-chihua-ni**) $\emptyset$ -**h**# = they are his warriors

The final /i/ of the customary-present tense morph may be dropped in a singular-subject possessive-state NNC formed using this procedure:

**itēcūān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +**i- $\emptyset$** (**tē-cuā-n**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is his one that customarily eats people; i.e., it is his wild beast

36.3. *The Fully Nominalized Customary-Present Agentive NNC.* A fully nominal NNC can be built on a customary-present-predicate-as-nounstem by simply changing the fillers of the subject pronoun’s number position from VNC-associated ones to those that occur in NNCs built on Subclass 1-A stems of the **tl** nounstem class.

The result is demonstrated in the following paradigm of customary-present NNCs.

Abs sg: **tlamatinitl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tla-mati-ni)tl- $\emptyset$ # = he is one who customarily knows things;  
i.e., he is a wise man, he is a sage

Pos sg: **intlamatiniuh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i-n(tla-mati-ni)uh- $\emptyset$ # = he is their wise man

Abs pl: **antlamatinimeh** = #an- $\emptyset$ (tla-mati-ni)m-eh# = you are wise men

Pos pl: **amintlamatinihuān** = #am- $\emptyset$ +i-n(tla-mati-ni)hu-ān# = you are their wise men

The absolutive state NNC with the dyadic singular-number filler **tl- $\emptyset$**  in the subject pronoun's number position is uncommon except in archaizing or poetic texts; for example:

**nicuicanitl** = #ni- $\emptyset$ (cuica-ni)tl- $\emptyset$ # = I am one who customarily sings; i.e., I am a singer

**tēcūānitl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tē-cuā-ni)tl- $\emptyset$ # = he is one who customarily eats people; i.e., he is a cannibal [Also: "it is a wild beast."]

In normal usage, however, the *num*' subposition filler **tl** is replaced by its variant,  $\square$ . The morphosyntactical difference with the merely reanalyzed kind of customary-present agentive NNC is real, even though it is not phonologically evident (the difference between  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$  and  $\square$ - $\emptyset$  can only be intuited).

**tlamatini** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tla-mati-ni) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = he is a wise man

While the phonological identity prevents one from really knowing which formation (§ 36.2 or § 36.3) is being used in the case of an absolutive-state NNC with a singular subject pronoun, one thing is certain: it is the NNC with  $\square$ - $\emptyset$  (or **tl- $\emptyset$** ) that stands behind the other members of the paradigm. The formation of § 36.2 cannot possibly justify the presence of the fillers that belong to Subclass 1-A of **tl** nounstems. Also, only the fully nominalized NNC of the present paragraph can fill the embed subposition of a compound stem.

**āhuiyanitl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (āhui-ya-ni)tl- $\emptyset$ # ~ **āhuiyani** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (āhui-ya-ni) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = she is one who customarily has fun; i.e., she is a prostitute [ $\langle$  (āhui-ya), "to have fun, to be content"]

**āhuiyanicalli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (āhui-ya-ni-cal)li- $\emptyset$ # = it is a house of prostitutes; i.e., it is a brothel

The following are further examples that presuppose a totally nominalized stem in the embed subposition of the compound stem.

**cuicanitōtōtl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cuica-ni-tōtō)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is a songbird

**niotlahtlacoānitoca** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +n-o(tla-htlac-o-ā-ni-toca) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I consider myself a sinner [ $\langle$  (tla-htlac-o-ā), "to sin," an instance of **tla** fusion derived from **tla-(ihtlac-o-ā)**, "to cause s.th. to become ruined"]

**niotlahtlacoāniyetoca** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +n-o(tla-htlac-o-ā-ni-ye-toca) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I consider myself to be a sinner [Concerning the nounstem (ye)-tl-, "a being," as the matrix of an embedded compound nounstem that serves as the embed to a larger compound stem, see § 35.12.]

Ordinarily, the customary-present agentive nounstem is not used as an embed in compound affective NNCs. The stem of the *preterit*-agentive NNC is used instead (see § 35.11). Many exceptions, however, can be found.

**tlahtlacoānipōl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tla-htlac-o-ā-ni-pōl) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he is a big sinner

**tlahtoānitōn** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tla-ht-o-ā-ni-tōn) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he is a petty king (an insignificant king)

**tēmāquixtiānizitzin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tē-mā-quix-tiā-ni-tzi-tzin) $\square$ - $\square$ # = they are saviors/rescuers (H)

In certain instances the /i/ of the tense morph **ni** may be dropped when the customary-present agentive nounstem is in the embed subposition:

**tēcuāntocatl** =  $\#0-0(tē-cuā-n-toca)tl-0\#$  = it is a man-eating spider; i.e., it is a poisonous spider

**tēcuāmpiltōntli** =  $\#0-0(tē-cuā-m-pil-tōn)tli-0\#$  = it is a fierce animal's cub [The loss of the /i/ makes the /n/ vulnerable to assimilation.]

**ontēcuāncualōzqueh** =  $\#0-0+on(tē-cuā-n-cuā-lō)z+qu-eh\#$  = they will go and be eaten by wild beasts [The translation falsifies the Nahuatl; the embed is functioning as an adverb of means: “by means of wild beasts”; see § 30.18.]

*Note 1:* Since the /i/ of the customary-present-tense morph **ni** is not a supportive vowel but a “real” one, its loss in a nounstem such as **(tē-cuā-n)-□** is not expected. A similarly unexpected loss of the /i/ can occur before the vocative particle **#é** (see § 18.11). The regular construction is:

**tlahtoānié** =  $\#0-0(tla-ht-o-ā-ni)0-0\#é$  = O King!

**tēmachtīānié** =  $\#0-0(tē-mach-tiā-ni)0-0\#é$  = O Teacher!

It is possible, however, for the irregular loss to occur:

**tēmachtīāné** =  $\#0-0(tē-mach-tiā-n)0-0\#é$  = O Teacher!

*Note 2:* Like preterit-agentive NNCs, customary-present-agentive NNCs can shift a nonspecific projective object pronoun from inside the nounstem into a specific one outside it, thus creating a verbal-and-nominal NNC hybrid (see § 35.4, *note*, and § 35.7.2, *note*).

**quimāmāni** =  $\#0-0+qui-0(māmā-ni)0-0\#$  = he is one who customarily carries it on his back, i.e., he is one who governs/directs [ **tla-(māmā)**, “to carry s.th. on the back”]

**mochi āyini** =  $\#0-0+□-0(āyi-ni)0-0\#$  = he is one who customarily does everything, i.e., he is one who is practiced in business [ **tla-(āyi)**, “to do s.th.” For the peculiarity of the silently present specific object pronoun on a VNC built on **tla-(āyi)**, see § 18.8.]

**cualli yēctli quimotēmaquiliāni** =  $\#0-0+qui-0+m-o+tē(maqui-liā-ni)0-0\#$  = he is one who gives good things and consummate/good things habitually to people for himself, i.e., he (H) is a giver of good things [ **m-o+tē+tla-(maqui-liā)**, “to give s.th. to s.o. for one’s own sake.” This is an applicative honorific verbstem with **m-o** serving as the mainline applicative object, **tē** as the 2nd-level shuntline (applicative) object, and **tla** as the 1st-level shuntline (directive) object. The combination of **cualli**, “it is a good thing,” and **yēctli**, “it is a consummate/good thing,” constitutes a structure of conjunction; see § 52.2.]

If the source of the verbal-and-nominal NNC hybrid is an incorporated-complement compound, the procedure of § 35.12, *note*, comes into play.

**moch nicnohuitocani** =  $\#ni-0+c-0+n-o(t-hui-toca-ni)0-0\#$  = I am one who pretends to see everything [ **(tla-t-hui)-tl-**, “a seen thing,” an impersonal patientive nounstem (see § 38.1.3.c) derived from the causative verbstem **tla-(it-hu-a)**, “to see s.th.”]

**moch quimothuicāyetocani** =  $\#0-0+qui-0+m-o(t-hui-0-cā-ye-toca-ni)0-0\#$  = he is one who pretends to see everything [The embed is a compound nounstem whose embed is a patientive nounstem and whose matrix is **(ye)-tl-**; see § 35.12.]

36.4. *Contrast of Preterit-Agentive NNCs and Customary-Present Agentive NNCs.* The notion of habitual action implicit in the customary-present tense morph is not necessarily recognized by the agentive NNC.

**timotahmictiāni** =  $\#ti-0(m-o-tah-mic-tiā-ni)0-0\#$  = you are one who customarily causes yourself to survive your father; i.e., you are a patricide [The act of patricide is, from an English speaker’s perspective, a punctual event, and the perpetrator would more expectably be named by a preterit-agentive nounstem. To be sure, the Nahuatl speaker may not be focusing on the event but on the patricide’s relation to it.]

Instances such as this and the fact that the customary-present NNC of § 36.2 uses the possessive-state preterit-agentive NNC to fill out its paradigm might lead one to think that there is no clear difference in meaning between these two kinds of agentive NNCs. The many instances where the two NNCs have the same translation seem to confirm this impression:

<b>mih̄tōtiāni</b>	}	= he is a dancer [ <b>&lt; m-∅-(ih̄tōtiā)</b> , “to dance.”]
<b>mih̄tōtih̄qui</b>		
<b>tēmachtīāni</b>	}	= he is a teacher [ <b>&lt; tē-(mach-tiā)</b> , “to teach s.o.”]
<b>tēmachtih̄qui</b>		
<b>tlamīnani</b>	}	= he is an archer [ <b>&lt; tla-(mī-n-a)</b> , “to pierce s.th. with an arrow”]
<b>tlamīnqui</b>		
<b>ih̄cihuini</b>	}	= he is one who hurries [ <b>&lt; (ih̄c-i-hui)</b> , “to hurry”]
<b>ih̄ciuh̄qui</b>		
<b>tequitini</b>	}	= he is a worker; he is a tribute payer [ <b>&lt; (tequi-ti)</b> , “to work/pay tribute”]
<b>tequitqui</b>		

It may be, however, that the synonymy in items such as these is a translational mirage. There are other pairs in which the meaning of the stem does seem to be affected by the meaning difference inherent in the customary-present tense morph **ni** and the preterit-tense morph **∅**. For example:

**cochini** = he is a sleepy-head [**< (cochi)**, “to sleep”]

**cochqui** = he is one who has fallen asleep

**huetzcani** = he is a merry person [**< (hue-tz-ca)**, “to laugh”]

**huetzac** = he is a laugher

**yāni** = he is a pilgrim, he is a traveler [**< (ya-uh)**, “to go.”]

**yahqui** = he is a goer (i.e., one who goes when called upon, or one who goes to a particular place)

**tēmīni** = he is an overeater; it is s.th. that is usually full

**tēmqui** = he is full; it is full [**< (temi)**, “to become full”]

**pilichahuini** = it is a thing that usually wilts or becomes wrinkled

**pilichauh̄qui** = it is a wilted thing, it is a wrinkled thing [**< (pil-i-ch-a-hui)**, “to wilt, to become wrinkled”]

**quimocuītih** = he is one who confesses/admits what he has done or said amiss

**quimocuītiani** = he is one who is embarrassed/ashamed about what he had done or said

Given the existence of distinctions such as these, one should be alert to the possible nonsynonymous meanings of the two kinds of agentive NNCs.

36.5. *The Customary-Present Patientive NNC.* Nominalization also creates a customary-present *patientive* NNC (i.e., an NNC in which the nounstem names the patient or undergoer of an action). A passive-voice VNC with a customary-present tense morph is converted into an NNC by converting the VNC's predicate into a nounstem with the meaning, "an entity customarily treated in such and such a way." Following the logic that customary treatment implies justified treatment, this meaning is extended to "an entity worthy of being so treated" or "an entity fit to be so treated." The converted nounstem is thus similar to certain English adjectives ending in "-able" (except that the Nahuatl stem names an entity). At times it is equivalent in meaning to the potential-patient nounstem presented in § 37.5.2. The formation should not be confused with that of the instrumentive nounstem of § 36.6 (which is formed from a VNC in the *impersonal* voice). Since this customary-present patientive NNC is simply a reanalyzed VNC with a *passive-voice* predicate, it does not take a projective-object pronoun if the original active-voice VNC source is a single-object projective verb. A reflexive object is represented by the shuntline reflexive object pronoun *ne*. The customary-present patientive nounstem cannot occur in a possessive-state NNC. (The /o:/ of the passive suffix is long, since it is protected on the right by the customary-present tense morph.)

The following examples show the customary-present passive-voice VNC source and the customary-present patientive NNC result:

VNC: **tlazohtlalōni** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**tlā-zo-h-tlā-lō**)ni+ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he is customarily loved [**< tē-(tlā-zo-h-tlā)**, "to love s.o."]

NNC: **tlazohtlalōni** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**tlā-zo-h-tlā-lō-ni**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he is a lovable person

VNC: **tinecuitlahuīlōni** = #**ti- $\emptyset$ +ne**(**cuitlā-huī-lō**)ni+ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = you are habitually taken care of [**< m-o+tē-(cuitlā-huīā)**, "to take care of s.o."]

NNC: **tinecuitlahuīlōni** = #**ti- $\emptyset$ (ne-cuitlā-huī-lō-ni)** $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = you are a person worthy of being taken care of

VNC: **pāhuaxōni** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**pā-hua-x-ō**)ni+ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is customarily cooked in a pot [**< tlā-(pā-hua-ci)**, "to cook s.th. in a pot"]

NNC: **pāhuaxōni** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**pā-hua-x-ō-ni**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is a thing that can be cooked in a pot

VNC: **ihuani** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**ī-hua**)ni+ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is customarily drunk [**< tlā-(ī)**, "to drink s.th."]

NNC: **ihuani** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**ī-hua-ni**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is a thing fit to be drunk, it is a potable thing

Some verbstems permit variant formations, since they have variant passive stems. For example, all of the three following NNCs are translatable as: "it is a thing that can be seen; it is a visible thing":

**ittalōni** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**itt-a-lō-ni**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #

**ittōni** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**itt-ō-ni**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #

**ithualōni** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**it-hu-a-lō-ni**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #

If the source verbstem takes two projective objects, the passive-voice VNC will have either **tē** or **tlā** (see § 21.2.5). Consequently, if **tē** appears in the nounstem of the patientive NNC, that stem will name a nonanimate entity; if **tlā** appears, the nounstem will name an animate entity.

**tēpohpolhuiḷōni** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tē-poh-pol-hui-lō-ni) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is a thing worthy of being pardoned (of s.o.); it is a pardonable thing [The source VNC is translated as “it is habitually pardoned of s.o.” < tē+**tla**-(poh-pōl-huiā).]

**tlapohpolhuiḷōni** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tla-poh-pol-hui-lō-ni) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he is a person worthy of being pardoned (for s.th.); he is a pardonable person [The source VNC is translated as “he is habitually pardoned for s.th.”]

If the subject of the NNC is plural, the number position is filled with the morphic dyad **m-eh**. This automatically implies that the nounstem belongs to Subclass 1-A of the **tl** nounstem class and that it is the result of a “full” nominalization (as in § 36.3), not that of a mere reanalysis (as in § 36.2).

Abs sg: \***nitlazohtlalōnitl** = \*#**ni**- $\emptyset$ (tla-zo-h-tla-lō-ni)**tl**- $\emptyset$ # = I am one who is worthy of being loved

Variant abs sg: **nitlazohtlalōni** = #**ni**- $\emptyset$ (tla-zo-h-tla-lō-ni) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = I am one worthy of being loved

Abs pl: **titlazohtlalōnimeh** = #**ti**- $\emptyset$ (tla-zo-h-tla-lō-ni)**m-eh**# = we are ones worthy of being loved

As in § 36.3, because of the phonological identity, there is no way of knowing when an NNC with a singular subject pronoun contains  $\square$ - $\emptyset$  or  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ; but the plural NNC with **m-eh** always presupposes an NNC whose singular subject pronoun has  $\square$ - $\emptyset$  in its number position.

36.6. *The Instrumentive NNCs.* The nominalization of a VNC also can create an *instrumentive* NNC; that is, an NNC whose nounstem serves as the name for an *instrument*, *faculty*, or *means*. The paradigm of an instrumentive NNC requires two different stems, each the result of a different nominalization.

The *absolute*-state instrumentive NNC results from the nominalization of a customary-present *impersonal-voice* NNC (do not confuse the result with the customary-present patientive NNC in § 36.5). The customary-present predicate becomes the nounstem, and the subject pronoun of the VNC becomes the subject pronoun of the NNC. The lack of a specific participant in the impersonal source means that one is not available for transformation into a possessor pronoun; consequently, a possessive-state NNC on this newly created nounstem is not possible.

The *possessive*-state instrumentive NNC results from the nominalization of an imperfect-indicative-tense *active-voice* VNC. The predicate of the VNC becomes the nounstem of the instrumentive NNC, and the subject pronoun of the source VNC becomes transformed into the possessor pronoun of the instrumentive NNC. If the source VNC has a mainline reflexive object, it is converted into a shuntline one. A nonanimate subject pronoun is imported from outside the source VNC; its common-number dyad is filled by  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$  (the instrumentive nounstem belongs to **tl** Class 1-B).

As can be seen, both instrumentive nounstems are nominalizations of verbal predicates that express the notion of customary or habitual action. One contains the customary-present tense morph, the other the imperfect (i.e., the customary-past) tense morph.

The following examples show the relationship of the source VNC and the resultant instrumentive NNC:

1. “cutting instrument”: source verbstem, **tla-(tequi)**, “to cut s.th.”:

VNC: **tlatecōni** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tla(tec- $\bar{o}$ )ni+ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = people customarily cut things

Abs-state NNC: **tlatecōni** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tla-tec- $\bar{o}$ -ni) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is a thing with which people customarily cut things; i.e., it is an instrument (such as a knife, an axe, etc.) by which s.th. is cut

VNC: **nitlatequiya** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +tla(tequi)ya+ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I used to cut things

Pos-state NNC: **notlatequiya** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(tla-tequi-ya) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is my thing with which (I) used to cut things; i.e., it is my instrument for cutting s.th.

2. “means for sleeping”: source verbstem, **(cochi)**, “to sleep”:

VNC: **cochihuani** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cochī-hua)ni+ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = people customarily go to sleep

Abs-state NNC: **cochihuani** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cochī-hua-ni) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is a means by which one goes to sleep (such as a sleeping pill)

VNC: **nicochiya** = #ni- $\emptyset$ (cochi)ya+ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I used to sleep

Pos-state NNC: **nocochiya** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(cochi-ya) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is my means of sleeping; i.e., they are my eyelashes [While the absolutive-state NNC and the possessive-state NNC agree in their basic meaning, they are surprisingly different in their pragmatic meaning.]

3. “means for curing”: source stem, **m-o-(pah-ti-ā)**, “to cure oneself”:

VNC: **nepahtilōni** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ne(pah-ti-lō)ni+ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = people customarily cure themselves

Abs-state NNC: **nepahtilōni** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ne-pah-ti-lō-ni) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is a means by which one is cured; it is a curative

VNC: **ninopahtiāya** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +n-o(pah-ti-ā)ya+ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I was curing myself

Pos-state NNC: **nonepahtiāya** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(ne-pah-ti-ā-ya) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is my means for curing myself; i.e., it is my remedy

Since the nonactive stem in **hua** has **hua-lō** as a variant, there may be variant nounstems for the absolutive-state instrumentive NNC:

**tlamamalihuani** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tla-mamalī-hua-ni) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # ~ **tlamamalīhualōni** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tla-mamalī-hua-lō-ni) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is an instrument for boring holes; i.e., it is a drill [**tla-(mamali)**, “to bore a hole”]

Source verbstems that begin with a supportive [i] lose that vowel not only after the pronoun **tla** but also frequently after **ne**:

**tlachpānōni** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tla-chpān- $\bar{o}$ -ni) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is an instrument for sweeping; i.e., it is a broom [**tla-(ichpān-a)**, “to sweep s.th.”]

**nettōni** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ne-tt- $\bar{o}$ -ni) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is an instrument for looking at oneself; i.e., it is a mirror [**m-o-(itt-a)**, “to see oneself”]

The following set of NNCs again shows the possible difference in meaning of absolutive-state and possessive-state NNCs:

Abs-state NNC: **tlalnāmicōni** =  $\#0-0(\text{tla-l-nāmic-ō-ni})0-0\#$  = it is an instrument for remembering; i.e., it is a notebook, it is a memorandum book [**< tla-(l-nāmiq̄i)**, “to remember s.th.”]

Pos-state NNC: **notlalnāmiquiya** =  $\#0-0+n-o(\text{tla-l-nāmiqui-ya})0-0\#$  = it is my instrument for remembering; i.e., it is my memory, it is my faculty for remembering

*Note 1:* When it occurs as a simple stem or as the matrix of a compound stem in a possessive-state instrumentive NNC (as illustrated above), the nominalized imperfect-tense active-voice predicate is basically a customary-action nounstem that becomes lexicalized in the meaning of instrument or means (compare the active-action nounstem in § 36.11, which also frequently names a means or source for an action). When, however, the nounstem created from an imperfect-tense predicate serves as an *embed* in a compound-stemmed NNC, its meaning reverts to that of naming an action (see, for example, § 46.4).

*Note 2:* While, as shown above, a nominalized customary-present impersonal-voice predicate normally creates only an absolutive-state NNC, it is nevertheless possible to find one forming a possessive-state instrumentive NNC; e.g., **tinētlaxōniuh**,  $\#t-0-i-0(\text{ne-tlax-ō-ni})uh-0\#$ , “you are his apparatus for throwing himself down”; i.e., “you are his backrest” (a metaphor; *FC* VI, 50). This presupposes the fully nominalized **tl** Class 1-A stem (**ne-tlax-ō-ni**)-**tl**. Incidentally, the usage does not have to be metaphorical: **inētlāxōniuh**, “it is his back rest.”

Similarly, while one expects to see only a possessive-state NNC formed from the nominalized imperfect-tense active-voice predicate, in Molina we find the following absolutive-state NNCs:

**cochiyātl** = it is an eyelash

**tlaczayātl** = it is the means/instrument for treading on s.th.; i.e., it is the sole of the foot [Molina also has an entry for the expected form, **totlaczaya**, “it is the sole of the foot of one of us,” i.e., “it is the sole of a foot.”]

*Remark:* Instrumentive NNCs afford one an opportunity to become aware of one of the differences that exist between Indo-European and Nahuatl manners of classifying items of experience. In English, for example, the instrumentive noun “washer” (in the sense of “washing machine”) signifies a particular type of device used for washing clothes. In Nahuatl the stem of the instrumentive NNC **tlapācōni** signifies any one of the entire range of devices or means that enter into the process of washing: washerwoman’s beetle, rubbing cloth, scrub brush, dishcloth, bucket, tub, soap, scrub board, etc. The stems of instrumentive NNCs in Nahuatl consistently name set-defined entities. English may frequently accomplish a similar generality in such phrases as “farm implement” or “household gadget” (phrases such as “fishing tackle” and “diving gear” are not to the point here, since they name sets as sets). This high-generality naming occurs in other types of derived nounstems in Nahuatl. While English derivation occasionally produces a high-generality word (e.g., “clothing”), Nahuatl derivation *habitually* produces a high-generality nounstem, although usage may later idiomatically restrict the range of meaning so that the derivation has not a set definition but an item definition.

**36.7. The Present-Agentive NNC.** Much less important than the customary-present agentive NNC but nevertheless of some consequence is the present-agentive NNC. It is formed by converting the predicate of a present-indicative VNC into a nounstem. This present-agentive nounstem is used only to form absolutive-state NNCs.

The following examples show the present-indicative VNC source and the absolutive-state present-agentive NNC:

VNC: **mihmati** =  $\#0-0+m-□(\text{ih-mati})0+0-0\#$  = he is convalescing; he is prudent and shrewd  
[**< m-□-(ih-mati)**, “to convalesce; to be prudent and shrewd”]

NNC: **mihmati** =  $\#0-0(\text{m-□-ih-mati-0})0-0\#$  = he is one who is recovering from sickness; i.e., he is a convalescent [With a nonanimate subject pronoun, this NNC means “it is an ingenious thing.”]



VNC: **motoliniah** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-o(tol-ī-ni-a) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -h# = they are poor [ $\langle$  m-o-(tol-ī-ni-ā), “to cause oneself to suffer distress, to be poor”]

NNC: **motoliniah** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (m-o-tol-ī-ni-ā- $\emptyset$ ) $\emptyset$ -h# = they are poor people

VNC: **tēimacaci** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tē(īmaca-ci) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he fears s.o.; he feels awe for s.o. [ $\langle$  tē-(īmaca-ci), “to fear s.o., to hold s.o. in awe”]

NNC: **tēimacaci** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tē-īmaca-ci- $\emptyset$ ) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he is one who fears people; i.e., he is a timid person

VNC: **tētlahtlaāyilia** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tē(tlah-tla-āyi-lia) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he does various things for s.o. [ $\langle$  tē+tlā-(āyi-lia), “to do s.th. for s.o.” The VNC shows reduplication after **tlā** fusion.]

NNC: **tētlahtlaāyilia** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tē-tlah-tla-āyi-lia- $\emptyset$ ) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he is one who does various things for people; i.e., he is an odd-job man

VNC: **moquichnehnequi** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-□(oquich-neh-nequi) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he is pretending to be a (real) man [The verbstem is an incorporated-complement stem.]

NNC: **moquichnehnequi** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (m-□-oquich-neh-nequi- $\emptyset$ ) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he is one who pretends to be a (real) man

VNC: **tōnatiuh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tōna- $\emptyset$ -ti-uh) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it goes along producing heat [ $\langle$  (tōna), “(for the sun) to produce heat, to be warm, to shine.” This is a connective-**t** compound VNC with (ya-uh), “to go,” serving as the matrix verbstem.]

NNC: **tōnatiuh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tōna- $\emptyset$ -ti-uh- $\emptyset$ ) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is one that goes along producing heat; i.e., it is the sun

The NNC in the last example was lexicalized as the name of the Sun-god. It is found, for example, in the vocative: **Tōnatiuhé**, # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (Tōna- $\emptyset$ -ti-hu- $\emptyset$ ) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #é, “O Sun!” The nounstem can also be used metaphorically in the meaning of “husband/wife,” in which case it can appear in a possessive-state NNC: **notōnatiuh**, # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(tōna- $\emptyset$ -ti-uh- $\emptyset$ ) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #, “he/she is my sun (i.e., my husband/my wife).” The nounstem can also mean “image or design of the sun,” as in the preterit-agentive-NNC-of-abundant-ownership, **tōnatiuhoh**, # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tōna- $\emptyset$ -ti-uh- $\emptyset$ -yo-h- $\emptyset$ )□- $\emptyset$ #, “it is a thing that has owned abundant suns”; i.e., “it is a thing decorated with sun-designs.” The stem can also mean “an age of the world,” in which meaning the present-agentive nounstem can serve as the matrix nounstem in a compound nounstem, as, for example, in the NNC **ātōnatiuh**, # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ā-tōna- $\emptyset$ -ti-uh- $\emptyset$ ) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #, “it is the Water Sun” (the name of the first age of the world, which came to an end by a flood).

36.8. *The Future-Agentive NNC.* The nominalization of a future-tense VNC to create a future-agentive NNC is rare. It resembles the preterit-agentive NNC in that its restricted-use stem is simply the VNC’s predicate, while the general-use stem embeds that stem in a compound nounstem whose matrix is the nounstem (cā)-tl- (see § 35.5).

1. The restricted-use nounstem found in the absolutive-state future-agentive NNC is characterized by the future-tense morph **z**, which is always the nounstem’s final constituent. When the subject pronoun is plural, its number position is filled by the dyad **qu-eh**. When

it is singular, however, its number position is filled by the original dyad **qui-θ**, not by **□-θ** as is usual in future-tense VNCs.

VNC: **titētlamacaz** = **#ti-θ+tē+tlā(maca)z+□-θ#** = you will give things to people [**< tē+tlā-(maca)**, “to give s.th. to s.o.”]

NNC: **titlamacazqui** = **#ti-θ(tlā-maca-z)qui-θ#** = you are one who will give things (to a god); i.e., you are an offering priest [Concerning the lack of the applicative object on this nounstem, see § 26.1.1.]

VNC: **titētlamacazqueh** = **#ti-θ+tē+tlā(maca)z+qu-eh#** = we will give things to people

NNC: **titlamacazqueh** = **#ti-θ(tlā-maca-z)qu-eh#** = we are offering priests

2. The general-use stem is a fully nominal stem that belongs to Subclass 1-A of the **tl** nounstem class. In creating possessive-state NNCs, as in the case of preterit-agentive NNCs, the possessor pronoun is imported from outside the source VNC.

**titotlamacazcāuh** = **#ti-θ+t-o(tlā-maca-z-cā)uh-θ#** = you are our offering priest

**amīntlamacazcāhuān** = **#am-θ+i-n(tlā-maca-z-cā)hu-ān#** = you are their offering priests

The general-use future-agentive nounstem also occurs as an embed in compound stems:

**tlamacazcātōntli** = **#θ-θ(tlā-maca-z-cā-tōn)tli-θ#** = he is a minor priest

**tlamacazcātepitiztin** = **#θ-θ(tlā-maca-z-cā-tepi-tzi-tzin)□-□#** = they are novice offering priests

**tlamacazcāyahqueh** = **#θ-θ(tlā-maca-z-cā-yah-θ)qu-eh#** = they are goers in the form of priests; i.e., they are priest warriors (who have taken a captive in battle) [The matrix stem is the preterit-agentive nounstem (**yah-θ-qui-**, “a goer, i.e., a warrior.”)]

The restricted-use stem apparently became so lexicalized that it could appear as an embed stem; that is, it is as if it were accepted as being **\*(tlā-maca-z)-tli-**:

**tlamacaztōntli** = **#θ-θ(tlā-maca-z-tōn)tli-θ#** = he is a minor priest

**tlamacaztēicāhuān** = **#θ-θ(tlā-maca-z-tē-ic-cā)hu-ān#** = they are s.o.’s younger brothers in the form of offering priests; i.e., they are novice offering priests [The matrix nounstem is a secondary general-use stem in which the possessive-pronoun **tē** has been taken inside the nounstem; i.e., . . . **+tē(ic-cāuh)** . . . has become . . . **(tē-ic-cāuh)** . . . , so that “someone’s younger brother” has become “a younger brother” (see § 15.1.5; also notice that the /w/ + /w/ > /w/ rule is in effect). The NNC is traditionally spelled **tlamacazteicahuan**. The NNC has a [k] that is a delabialized variant of the phoneme /k<sup>w</sup>/; consequently, **tlamacaztēiuccāhuān** is another representation of the NNC.]

36.9. *Action NNCs Created by Nominalization.* The nominalization process also produces “action” NNCs whose stem names an action, process, event, resultant state, etc. The term “action NNC” is not entirely satisfactory, however, since these stems can also name a thing that is an instance or a result of an action. (Compare English “action” words such as “reflection,” which is defined as “the act or state of being reflected” as well as “something reflected, such as light, sound, image, etc.”)

There are two kinds of action NNCs, those of *passive* action and of *active* action. As with certain other NNCs resulting from nominalization, the restricted-use stem is different from the general-use stem, but with action NNCs it is the restricted-use stem that is formed by compounding, not the general-use one.

36.10. *Passive-Action NNCs*. The stem of a passive-action NNC names an action, etc., from the point of view of the passive voice.

1. The possessive-state passive-action NNC. The general-use stem that occurs in a possessive-state *passive-action* NNC results from the downgrading of the predicate of a distant-past-tense *passive-voice* VNC into a nounstem. The last constituent of the nounstem is, therefore, the distant-past-tense morph **ca**. The presence of object pronouns inside the nounstem is determined by the passive-voice source VNC. The possessive pronoun in the NNC predicate results from the transformation of the subject pronoun of the source. The nonanimate subject pronoun (which is imported from outside the source VNC) has its number position filled with the morphic dyad **θ-θ** (for common number, the only number possible). The stem belongs to the 1-B Subclass of the **tl** class.

The following examples show the distant-past passive-voice VNC source and the resultant possessive-state passive-action NNC:

VNC: **nitlazohtlalōca** = #**ni-θ(tla-zo-h-tla-lō)ca+θ-θ**# = I had been loved [**< tē-(tla-zo-h-tla)**, “to love s.o.”]

NNC: **notlazahtlalōca** = #**θ-θ+n-o(tla-zo-h-tla-lō-ca)θ-θ**# = it is my having been loved; i.e., it is the love with which I am loved, it is the love felt toward me

VNC: **necocolilōca** = #**θ-θ+ne(coco-lī-lō)ca+θ-θ**# = he had been self-hated [**< m-o(coco-līā)**, “to hate oneself”]

NNC: **īnecocolilōca** = #**θ-θ+i-θ(ne-coco-lī-lō-ca)θ-θ**# = it is the hatred with which he hates himself; i.e., it is his self-hatred

VNC: **tilnāmicōca** = #**t-θ(il-nāmic-ō)ca+θ-θ**# = you had been remembered [**< tē-(il-nāmiqui)**, “to remember s.o.”]

NNC: **moilnāmicōca** = #**θ-θ+m-o(il-nāmic-ō-ca)θ-θ**# = it is the memory with which you are remembered; i.e., it is the memory of you, it is your memory (in the minds of others) [Notice that both the /o/ of the possessive pronoun and the initial [i] of the stem are retained.]

The following examples are from a double-object verbstem. A close translation of such formations into English sometimes poses a challenge.

VNC: **nitlatzacuiltlōca** = #**ni-θ+tla(tzacui-l-tī-lō)ca+θ-θ**# = I had been made to pay the penalty for s.th.; i.e., I had been punished for s.th. [**< tē+tla-(tzacui-l-tiā)**, “to make s.o. pay the penalty for s.th.,” i.e., “to punish/penalize s.o. for s.th.” The source verbstem **tla-(tzacu-a)** is translated basically as “to cause s.th. to become closed/enclosed,” but it can also be rendered as “to pay the penalty imposed by the law.”]

NNC: **notlatzacuiltilōca** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(tla-tzacui-l-tī-lō-ca) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is my punishment for s.th. (i.e., the punishment meted out to me)

VNC: **tētzacuiltilōca** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tē(tzacui-l-tī-lō)ca+ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it (e.g., a theft) had been been punished

NNC: **itētzacuiltilōca** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i- $\emptyset$ (tē-tzacui-l-tī-lō-ca) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is its (e.g., a theft's) punishment (i.e., it is the punishment meted out to s.o. for it)

2. The *absolutive*-state passive-action NNC. The restricted-use stem found in an absolutive-state *passive-action* NNC is a compound stem in which the general-use stem of section 1 above occupies the embed subposition and the matrix subposition is filled by the nounstem **\*(yō)-tl-**, “a thing that is characterized by” or “a thing that is characteristic of” (see § 39.3.6). Here the distant-past tense morph has its regular shape **cā** (see § 5.5.2 concerning the morpheme /ka:/), since it is protected by **\*(yō)-tl-**. Again, only NNCs with a common-number subject are possible.

The following examples are the absolutive-state versions of the examples given in section 1 above:

**tlazohtlalōcāyōtl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tla-zo-h-tla-lō-cā-yō)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is what is characteristic of having been loved; i.e., it is the act of being loved, it is the state of being loved, it is the love by which a given person is loved

**necocolilōcāyōtl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ne-coco-lī-lō-cā-yō)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is what is characteristic of having been self-hated; i.e., it is the act of being self-hated, it is the hatred by which a given person hates himself, it is self-hatred

**ilnāmicōcāyōtl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (il-nāmic-ō-cā-yō)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is what is characteristic of having been remembered

The compound nounstem in these absolutive-state passive-action NNCs can also be used in a possessive-state formation. This possessive-state NNC is synonymous in meaning with the possessive-state NNCs in section 1 above. The compound stem belongs to Subclass 1-B of the **tl** nounstem class, and therefore the morphic dyad in the subject pronoun's number position is  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ .

**notlazohtlalōcāyo** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(tla-zo-h-tla-lō-cā-yo) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is what is characteristic of my having been loved, i.e., it is the love with which I am loved

**īnecocolilōcāyo** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i- $\emptyset$ (ne-coco-lī-lō-cā-yo) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is what is characteristic of his having hated himself; i.e., it is the hatred with which he hates himself

**moilnāmicōcāyo** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-o(il-nāmic-ō-cā-yo) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is what is characteristic of your having been remembered, i.e., it is the memory with which you have been remembered, it is the memory of you

36.11. *Active-Action NNCs (First Type)*. Nahuatl has two types of *active-action* NNCs, one created by nominalization and the other created by derivation (the latter type is discussed in § 37.1). The active-action NNC created by nominalization is merely an active voice counterpart to the passive-action NNC of § 36.10. The passive-action NNC deals with transitive sources;

the active-action NNC deals with intransitive ones and with a few transitive ones having a reflexive-object pronoun.

1. The *possessive*-state active-action NNC. The general-use stem that is used in a possessive-state active-action NNC results from the downgrading of the predicate of a distant-past *active-voice* NNC to the rank of a nounstem. The last constituent of the nounstem (as in § 36.10.1) is the distant-past-tense morph **ca**. A mainline reflexive-object pronoun in the source VNC must be represented by its shuntline variant inside the nounstem. The possessive pronoun on the NNC results from the transformation of the subject pronoun of the source VNC. The nonanimate subject pronoun, which is imported from outside the source VNC, has its number position filled by the morphic dyad **θ-θ** (for common number). The stem belongs to Subclass 1-B of the **tl** nounstem class.

The following examples show the distant-past-tense VNC and the resultant possessive-state active-action NNC:

VNC: **ninocuepca** = **#ni-θ+n-o(cuep)ca+θ-θ#** = I had returned, I had retreated [**< m-o-(cuep-a)**, “to return, to retreat”]

NNC: **nonecuepca** = **#θ-θ+n-o(ne-cuep-ca)θ-θ#** = it is my action of returning or retreating; i.e., it is my return, it is my retreat

Frequently, the meaning of the nominalized stem may undergo an idiomatic shift. Instead of naming an action, it may name a means of or source for an action:

**noneēuhca** = **#θ-θ+n-o(ne-ē-uh-ca)θ-θ#** = it is the means of my getting up; it is my breakfast [The source is **ōninēuhca**, **ō#ni-θ+n-□(ē-uh)ca+θ-θ#**, “I had gotten up.”]

**nonecāuhca** = **#θ-θ+n-o(ne-cāuh-ca)θ-θ#** = it is the means by which I remain behind; i.e., it is a relic of me [The source is **ōninocāuhca**, “I had remained behind.” This nominalized stem may be used metaphorically to refer to human beings, in which case the NNC formed on it may have a plural subject pronoun: **amīnneccāuhcāhuān** = **#am-θ+i-n(ne-cāuh-cā)hu-ān#** = “you are their relics”; i.e., “you are their present-day descendants.”

Notice the long [a:] on the distant-past tense morph, because it is protected on the right.]

While an active-action NNC can have its source in certain VNCs with a reflexive object pronoun as shown above, it is for the most part limited to source VNCs built on intransitive verb-stems (i.e., to VNCs that do not permit the passive transformation):

VNC: **pēuhca** = **#θ-θ(pēuh)ca+θ-θ#** = it had begun [**< (pēhua)**, “to begin”]

NNC: **īpēuhca** = **#θ-θ+i-θ(pēuh-ca)θ-θ#** = it is its beginning, it is its origin

VNC: **nimicca** = **#ni-θ(mic)ca+θ-θ#** = I had died [**< (miqui)**, “to die”]

NNC: **nomicca** = **#θ-θ+n-o(mic-ca)θ-θ#** = it is the source of my dying, it is the thing for which I am condemned to die

VNC: **nēzcah** = **#θ-θ(nēz)ca+θ-h#** = they had appeared [**< (nēci)**, “to appear”]

NNC: **īnezca** = **#θ-θ+i-n(nēz-ca)θ-θ#** = it is the means by which they (continue to) appear, it is what has been left of their appearance; i.e., it is their trace, it is the trace of them, they are their traces

VNC:  $\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{i}x\bar{q}u\bar{i}m\bar{i}l\bar{i}u\bar{h}c\bar{a} = \bar{o}\#n-\bar{\theta}(\bar{i}x\text{-}q\bar{u}i\bar{m}i\bar{l}\text{-}i\text{-}u\bar{h})c\bar{a}+\bar{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}\# =$  I had become enwrapped at the eye/eyes; i.e., I had closed my eye/eyes [This is an incorporated-adverb compound formed according to § 30.14.1 from the structure of supplementation  $\bar{n}\bar{i}x\ \bar{o}\bar{q}u\bar{i}m\bar{i}l\text{-}u\bar{h}c\bar{a}$ ,  $\#\bar{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}+n\text{-}\square(\bar{i}x)\bar{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}\# \bar{o}\#\bar{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}(q\bar{u}i\bar{m}i\bar{l}\text{-}i\text{-}u\bar{h})c\bar{a}+\bar{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}\#$ , “my eye/eyes had become enwrapped.”]

NNC:  $\bar{n}\bar{i}x\bar{q}u\bar{i}m\bar{i}l\bar{i}u\bar{h}c\bar{a} = \#\bar{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}+n\text{-}\square(\bar{i}x\text{-}q\bar{u}i\bar{m}i\bar{l}\text{-}i\text{-}u\bar{h}\text{-}c\bar{a})\bar{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}\#$ , “it/they is/are the means of my becoming enwrapped at the eye/eyes; i.e., it is my eyelid, they are my eyelids

VNC:  $\bar{o}\bar{i}l\bar{p}i\bar{c}\bar{a} = \bar{o}\#\bar{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}(\bar{i}l\bar{p}i)c\bar{a}+\bar{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}\# =$  it had become tied [ $\langle \bar{i}l\bar{p}i \rangle$ , “to become tied]

NNC:  $\bar{i}t\bar{z}c\bar{u}i\bar{n}t\bar{l}i\ \bar{i}l\bar{p}i\bar{c}\bar{a} = \#\bar{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}+\bar{i}\text{-}\bar{\theta}(\bar{l}p\bar{i}\text{-}c\bar{a})\bar{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}\# =$  it is the dog’s means of becoming tied, i.e., it is the dog’s leash

Frequently, the meaning of an active-action NNC is that of a result or consequence or of a resultant state or condition:

VNC:  $\bar{t}i\bar{c}h\bar{i}p\bar{a}h\bar{u}\bar{a}c\bar{a} = \#\bar{t}i\text{-}\bar{\theta}(\bar{c}h\bar{i}p\text{-}\bar{a}\text{-}h\bar{u}\bar{a})c\bar{a}+\bar{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}\# =$  you had become clean [ $\langle \bar{c}h\bar{i}p\text{-}\bar{a}\text{-}h\bar{u}\bar{a} \rangle$ , “to become clean”]

NNC:  $\bar{m}o\bar{c}h\bar{i}p\bar{a}h\bar{u}\bar{a}c\bar{a} = \#\bar{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}+m\text{-}o(\bar{c}h\bar{i}p\text{-}\bar{a}\text{-}h\bar{u}\bar{a}\text{-}c\bar{a})\bar{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}\# =$  it is your resultant state of cleanliness, it is your cleanliness

VNC:  $\bar{p}e\bar{p}e\bar{t}l\bar{a}c\bar{a}c\bar{a} = \#\bar{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}(\bar{p}e\text{-}\bar{p}e\bar{t}l\text{-}a\text{-}c\bar{a})c\bar{a}+\bar{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}\# =$  it had sparkled [ $\langle \bar{p}e\text{-}\bar{p}e\bar{t}l\text{-}a\text{-}c\bar{a} \rangle$ , “to sparkle,” a frequentative verbstem from  $\langle \bar{p}e\bar{t}l\text{-}\bar{a}\text{-}\bar{n}i \rangle$ , “to shine” (see § 27.4).]

NNC:  $\bar{i}p\bar{e}p\bar{e}t\bar{l}a\bar{c}\bar{a}c\bar{a} = \#\bar{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}+\bar{i}\text{-}\bar{\theta}(\bar{p}e\text{-}\bar{p}e\bar{t}l\text{-}a\text{-}c\bar{a}\text{-}c\bar{a})\bar{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}\# =$  it is its resultant state of shininess, it is its shininess, it is its gloss, it is its luster, it is its glaze

Certain intransitive verbstems that consist of a root plus *ya* use an obsolete distant-past VNC in forming an active-action NNC. The predicate that is downgraded to the rank of nounstem in this instance is made up of the *root* plus the distant-past-tense morph (compare the use of these roots in the adjectival NNCs in § 40.9).

VNC:  $\bar{i}z\bar{t}\bar{a}y\bar{a}c\bar{a} = \#\bar{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}(\bar{i}z\bar{t}\bar{a}\text{-}y\bar{a})c\bar{a}+\bar{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}\# =$  it had become white [obsolete form:  $\ast\bar{i}z\bar{t}\bar{a}c\bar{a} = \#\bar{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}(\bar{i}z\bar{t}\bar{a})c\bar{a}+\bar{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}\#$ ]

NNC:  $\bar{i}i\bar{z}\bar{t}\bar{a}c\bar{a} = \#\bar{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}+\bar{i}\text{-}\bar{\theta}(\bar{i}z\bar{t}\bar{a}\text{-}c\bar{a})\bar{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}\# =$  it is its resultant state of whiteness; i.e., it is its whiteness

VNC:  $\bar{c}e\bar{l}i\bar{y}\bar{a}c\bar{a} = \#\bar{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}(\bar{c}e\bar{l}\text{-}i\text{-}y\bar{a})c\bar{a}+\bar{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}\# =$  it had sprouted [obsolete form:  $\ast\bar{c}e\bar{l}i\bar{c}\bar{a} = \#\bar{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}(\bar{c}e\bar{l}\text{-}i)c\bar{a}+\bar{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}\#$ ]

NNC:  $\bar{i}c\bar{e}l\bar{i}c\bar{a} = \#\bar{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}+\bar{i}\text{-}\bar{\theta}(\bar{c}e\bar{l}\text{-}i\text{-}c\bar{a})\bar{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}\# =$  it is its consequence of having sprouted; it is its resultant freshness, it is its freshness, it is its (recently sprouted kind of) greenness

2. The *absolute*-state active-action NNC. The restricted-use stem that occurs in an absolute-state active-action NNC is formed exactly like that of the passive-action NNC counterpart in § 36.10.2: the general-use stem of section 1 above becomes the embed of a compound nounstem that has  $\ast(-y\bar{o})\text{-}t\bar{l}\text{-}$  (see § 39.3.6) as matrix.

The following examples are the absolute-state versions of the examples in section 1 above:

**necuepcāyōtl = #θ-θ(ne-cuep-cā-yō)tl-θ#** = it is what is characteristic of having returned; i.e., it is the act of returning, it is the act of retreating; it is the state resulting from a return or a retreat

**neēuhcāyōtl = #θ-θ(ne-ē-uh-cā-yō)tl-θ#** = it is what is characteristic of having gotten up; it is the act of breakfasting, it is breakfast

**necāuhcāyōtl = #θ-θ(ne-cāuh-cā-yō)tl-θ#** = it is what is characteristic of having remained behind; it is a relic

**pēuhcāyōtl = #θ-θ(pēuh-cā-yō)tl-θ#** = it is what is characteristic of having begun; it is a beginning; it is the base (of a pedestal, column, etc.)

**miccāyōtl = #θ-θ(mic-cā-yō)tl-θ#** = it is what is characteristic of having died; it is deathliness

**nēzcāyōtl = #θ-θ(nēz-cā-yō)tl-θ#** = it is what is characteristic of having appeared; it is a mark/sign/token

**chipāhuacāyōtl = #θ-θ(chip-ā-hua-cā-yō)tl-θ#** = it is what is characteristic of having become clean; it is cleanliness

**pepetlacacāyōtl = #θ-θ(pe-petl-a-ca-cā-yō)tl-θ#** = it is what is characteristic of having sparkled; i.e., it is shininess

**iztacāyōtl = #θ-θ(izta-cā-yō)tl-θ#** = it is what is characteristic of having become white; i.e., it is whiteness

**celicāyōtl = #θ-θ(ce-l-i-cā-yō)tl-θ#** = it is what is characteristic of having sprouted; i.e., it is freshness, it is fresh greenness

Here again, as in § 36.10.2, the compound nounstem in these absolute-state active-action NNCs can also be used in a possessive-state formation that is synonymous with the possessive-state NNCs in section 1 above. The compound stem belongs to Subclass 1-B of the **tl** nounstem class, and therefore the morphic dyad in the subject pronoun's number position is **θ-θ**.

**mochipāhuacāyo = #θ-θ+m-o(chip-ā-hua-cā-yo)θ-θ#** = it is your cleanliness

**iiztacāyo = #θ-θ+i-θ(izta-cā-yo)θ-θ#** = it is its whiteness

36.12. *The Possessive-State Active-Action NNC Compared to the Possessive-State Preterit-Agentive NNC.* The stem of the possessive-state active-action NNCs of § 36.11 should not be confused with that of possessive-state preterit-agentive NNCs of § 35.6. They are different in structure and meaning. The possible phonological identity of the two stems in certain formations should not obscure the fact that in the morphosyntactical domain they are quite different.

Study the following contrastive pair built on the verbstem (**catz-ā-hua**), “to become dirty.” In the active-action NNC the stem contains the distant-past tense morph **cā**. In the preterit-agentive NNC the stem contains the preterit-tense morph **θ** as well as the matrix nounstem (**cā**)-**tl**-. The stem of the active-action NNC belongs to Subclass 1-B of the **tl** nounstem class, while that of the preterit-agentive NNC belongs to Subclass 1-A. The stem of the active-action NNC signifies an action or the result of an action; that of the preterit-agentive NNC signifies a person or a thing that does an action or that enters or has entered a state or condition.

Active-action NNC: **nocatzāhuaca** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(catz-ā-hua-ca) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is my having become dirty; it is my state of being dirty, it is my dirtiness [The subject pronoun of the source VNC, **nicatzāhuaca**, namely **ni- $\emptyset$** (. . . - $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ), has become the possessor pronoun of the transform NNC, **n-o**.]

Preterit-agentive NNC: **nocatzāhuacāuh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(catz-ā-hua- $\emptyset$ -cā)uh- $\emptyset$ # = it is my thing that has become dirty, it is my dirty thing; he/she is my person who has become dirty, he/she is my dirty person (e.g., a child) [The subject pronoun of the source VNC, **catzāhuac**, namely  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (. . . +c- $\emptyset$ ), has remained the subject of the transform NNC but of course has changed its shape to  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + . . .)uh- $\emptyset$ . The possessive pronoun **n-o** has been imported from outside the source VNC.]

*Note:* The difference between a possessive-state preterit-patientive NNC (see § 35.6, *note 2*) and a possessive-state passive-action NNC (see § 36.10.1) may also present difficulties, but because of the infrequency of the preterit-patientive NNC, they pose no real problem. The stem of the preterit-patientive NNC signifies a person or thing that has undergone an action; the passive-action NNC signifies an action or condition resulting from an action.

Passive-action NNC: **notlazohtlalōca** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(tla-zo-h-tla-lō-ca) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is my having been loved; i.e., it is the love felt for me

Preterit-patientive NNC: **nocehuechililōcāuh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(ce-huechi-lī-lō- $\emptyset$ -cā)uh- $\emptyset$ # = it is my thing (e.g., plant) that has become frozen; it is my frozen plant, they are my frozen plants



## LESSON 37

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### Deverbal Nounstems (Part One)

37.1. *Deverbal Nounstems.* A deverbal nounstem is a nounstem that is derived from a VNC core. It is not formed from a VNC predicate like the nominalized verbstems of Lessons 35 and 36. In other words, no member of the paradigm of NNCs formed on a deverbal nounstem is the result of a mere functional (or reanalytical) change; no NNC in the paradigm contains merely relabeled (reclassified) VNC constituents.

37.2. *Active-Action NNCs (Second Type).* Deverbal active-action nounstems are more versatile than the nominalized ones presented in § 36.11, since both absolutive- and possessive-state NNCs are formed on the same stem. There are two subtypes of the derivation, one formed with the suffix **z**, the other with the suffixal unit **liz**. Both **z** and **liz** have the same basic meaning of “action” or “process” (or a result thereof) or of “state” or “condition” (or a thing so conditioned); compare *-ion* in English; e.g., *rejection*, (1) “the act or process of rejecting,” (2) “the condition of being rejected,” (3) “something rejected.”

Both the **z** and the **liz** subtypes of active-action nounstems belong to the **tli** class. Since NNCs formed on the stems have nonanimate subject pronouns, only common-number forms are possible. In the possessive-state NNC the possessor pronoun indicates the one responsible for the action or process (i.e., it represents the transformation of the subject of the source VNC).

The **z** derivation is discussed first; the presentation of **liz** begins in § 37.3.

The active-action suffix **z** is added to the core of a future-tense VNC (but the derivational, nounstem-forming morph **z** should not be confused with the inflectional, future-tense morph **z**). As a rule, the active-action **z** is compatible only with a preceding [i]:

(**cochi-z**)-**tli**- = an act of sleeping; sleep [< (**cochi**), “to sleep”]

**cochiztli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**cochi-z**)**tli**- $\emptyset$ # = it is sleep

**nocochiz** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(**cochi-z**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is my sleep

(**tzahtzi-z**)-**tli**- = act of shouting; a shout [< (**tzahtzi**), “to shout”]

(**tlatz-i-hui-z**)-**tli**- = laziness [< (**tlatz-i-hui**), “to be lazy”]

When a verbstem that permits this formation ends in /a/, it adds the **z** to a replacive imperfective stem that changes the /a/ to [i] (e.g., **hua** changes to **hui**, **ca** to **qui**):

(**chiy-ā-hui-z**)-tli- = body fluid [< (**chiy-ā-hua**), “to become greasy”]

(**pīn-ā-hui-z**)-tli- = shame; *by extension*, a type of beetle that was believed to be an omen of a shameful experience [< (**pīn-ā-hua**), “to be(come) ashamed”]

(**chōqui-z**)-tli- = an act of weeping [< (**chōca**), “to weep”]

(**cuīqui-z**)-tli- = an act of singing [< (**cuīca**), “to sing”]

(**hue-tz-qui-z**)-tli- = an act of laughing [< (**hue-tz-ca**), “to laugh”]

Intransitive frequentative destockal verbstems ending in /ka/ follow this rule:

(**cha-chal-a-qui-z**)-tli- = noise of people talking or murmuring [< (**cha-chal-a-ca**), “to chatter”]

(**chi-chin-a-qui-z**)-tli- = suffering/pain [< (**chi-chin-a-ca**), “to be in pain, to suffer”]

Only a few *transitive* verbstems permit the active-action nounstem derivation with **z**; for example:

(**tē-ihxili-z**)-tli- = act of stabbing s.o. [< **tē-(ihxili)**, “to stab s.o.”]

(**ne-ihcali-z**)-tli- = act of fighting; a fight [< **t-□-(ihcali)**, “to fight one another”]

There are a few verbstems that are exceptions to the general rule, permitting **z** to follow a vowel other than [i]:

(**toz-ō-z**)-tli- = vigil [< (**toz-o-ā**), “to keep vigil/remain awake.” The stem (**toz-ō-liz**)-tli-, formed according to § 37.3, also exists.]

(**ā-temō-z**)-tli- = descent in the form of water [< (**ā-temō**), “to descend in the form of water.” See Appendix E for usage of the nounstem. Compare (**temō-liz**)-tli- in § 37.3.]

37.3. *The Active-Action Nounstem Derivation with **liz***. The derivation of an active-action nounstem by means of **liz** is not hampered by the restrictions imposed on that with **z**. Although written solid in these lessons, **liz** is a compound suffix in which the active-action morph [s] of § 37.2 is introduced by the connective morph [l], with a supportive [i] making their union possible.

The following examples show nounstems derived from each of the verbstem classes. Since **liz** is suffixed to the future-tense verbcore, Class C verbstems delete the final /a:/ of the imperfective stem and lengthen the remaining /i/ or /o/; Class D verbstems keep the length on their final /a:/; and those Class A verbstems ending in /o:/ keep that long vowel in the nounstem.

Class A: (**miqui-liz**)-tli- = act of dying; death [< (**miqui**), “to die”]:

**miquiliztli** = #**θ-θ(miqui-liz)tli-θ**# = it is death/a death

**nomiquiliz** = #**θ-θ+n-o(miqui-liz)θ-θ**# = it is my death

(**temō-liz**)-tli- = act of descending; descent [< (**temō**), “to descend”]

**temōliztli** = #**θ-θ(temō-liz)tli-θ**# = it is a descending

**notemōliz** = #**θ-θ+n-o(temō-liz)θ-θ**# = it is my descent

Class B: (**huetzi-liz**)-tli- = act of falling, a fall [< (**huetzi**), “to fall”]:

**huetziliztli** = #**θ-θ(huetzi-liz)tli-θ**# = it is a fall

**nohuetziliz** = #**θ-θ+n-o(huetzi-liz)θ-θ**# = it is my fall

Class C: (**chol-ō-liz**)-**tli-** = act of bounding away/fleeing [< (**chol-o-ā**), “to bound away/ flee”]:

**cholōliztli** = #**θ-θ**(chol-ō-liz)tli-**θ#** = it is a jump/leap/bound/flight (i.e., a running away)

**nocholōliz** = #**θ-θ+n-o**(chol-ō-liz)**θ-θ#** = it is my leap/running away

Class D: (**yā-liz**)-**tli-** = act of going; departure from someplace [< (**ya-uh**), “to go”]:

**yāliztli** = #**θ-θ**(yā-liz)tli-**θ#** = it is an act of going

**noyāliz** = #**θ-θ+n-o**(yā-liz)**θ-θ#** = it is my going

Active-action nounstems that are derived from a transitive verbcore use the nonspecific projective-object pronouns **tē** and **tla** and the shuntline reflexive object pronoun **ne**.

(**tē-tequi-liz**)-**tli-** = act of cutting s.o.; surgery [< **tē-(tequi)**, “to cut s.o.”]

(**tla-mati-liz**)-**tli-** = act of knowing s.th.; knowledge [< **tla-(mati)**, “to know s.th.”]

(**tē-tla-l-huī-liz**)-**tli-** = act of saying s.th. to s.o.; act of inviting s.o. [< **tē+tla-(il-huīā)**, “to say s.th. to s.o.”]

(**ne-chip-ā-hu-a-liz**)-**tli-** = act of causing o.s. to be clean; cleanliness [< **m-o-(chip-ā-hu-a)**, “to make o.s. clean”]

Source transitive verbstems that begin with a supportive [i] always lose that vowel after the pronoun **tla** and may lose it after **ne**:

(**tla-l-nāmiqui-liz**)-**tli-** = act of remembering s.th.; act of thinking [< **tla-(īl-nāmiqui)**, “to remember s.th.”]

(**ne-h-mati-liz**)-**tli-** = prudence [< **m-□-(ih-mati)**, “to be prudent.” The stem (**ne-ih-mati-liz**)-**tli-** is also possible.]

Certain verbs add the **liz** suffixal unit to a verbcore with a replacive imperfective stem.

1. A verbstem ending in /ka/ has a replacive imperfective stem that changes the /a/ to [i] (**-ca** changes to **-qui**):

(**chōqui-liz**)-**tli-** = act of crying [< (**chōca**), “to cry/weep”]

(**cuīqui-liz**)-**tli-** = act of singing [< (**cuīca**), “to sing”]

Some intransitive frequentative destockal verbstems make the change, while others do not.

(**chi-chin-a-qui-liz**)-**tli-** = pain/suffering [< (**chi-chin-a-ca**), “to suffer/be in pain”]

(**cha-chal-a-ca-liz**)-**tli-** = the noise of people talking/murmuring [< (**cha-chal-a-ca**), “to chatter”]

2. A verbstem ending in /wa/ may use the base stem or a replacive stem that changes the final /a/ to [i]:

(**ne-ahhua-liz**)-**tli-** ~ (**ne-ahhui-liz**)-**tli-** = quarrel/dispute [< **t-□-(ahhua)**, “to quarrel with one another”]

Some prefer to keep the /a/:

(**tla-pōhu-a-liz**)-**tli-** = act of counting/reading s.th. [< **tla-(pōhu-a)**, “to count/read s.th.”]

Among these are the intransitive destockal verbstems of § 24.6:

(**chic-ā-hua-liz**)-**tli-** = strength/fortitude/vigor [< (**chic-ā-hua**), “to become strong”]

3. A verbstem ending in /si/ has a replacive imperfective stem that changes the /s/ to [š] (**ci** changes to **xī**):

(**tē-ahxi-liz**)-**tli-** = act of overtaking s.o. [< **tē-(ahci)**, “to overtake s.o.”]

(**huel-nēxi-liz**)-**tli-** = beauty/elegance [< (**huel-nēci**), “to be evident; to have a good appearance”]

And a verbstem ending in /ti/ may optionally change the /t/ to [č] (**ti** may become **chi**).

(**tla-teō-mati-liz**)-**tli-** ~ (**tla-teō-machi-liz**)-**tli-** = act of devotion; ecclesiastical ceremony

4. Certain intransitive verbstems that consist of a root plus **ya** (see § 54.2.3.a) delete the **ya** and suffix **liz** to the root (this is a relic formation from an archaic stage of the language):

(**ahhuiā-liz**)-**tli-** = aroma [< (**ahhuiā-ya**), “to have a pleasant odor”]

(**coco-liz**)-**tli-** = sickness/pestilence [< (**coco-ya**), “to be sick”]

(**yancui-liz**)-**tli-** = newness [< (**yancui-ya**), “to be new”]

Certain verbstems of this “root plus **ya**” kind use the stem, however, rather than the root:

(**huē-i-ya-liz**)-**tli-** = growth/increase [< (**huē-i-ya**), “to become big”]

(**tlaōco-ya-liz**)-**tli-** = sadness [< (**tlaōco-ya**), “to be sad”]

Verbstems derived by means of **ya** from denominal verbstems formed with **ti** or **hui** (see § 54.2.3.b) delete the **ya** before adding **liz** (but it is also possible for such a verbstem ending in **hui-ya** to keep the **ya**).

(**te-ti-liz**)-**tli-** = hardness [< (**te-ti-ya**), “to become like a rock”]

(**xo-xō-hui-liz**)-**tli-** ~ (**xo-xō-hui-ya-liz**)-**tli-** = greenness/sickly pallor/sickly greenish cast to the skin/dyscoloration of a welt [< (**xo-xō-hui-ya**), “to become green; (for a sick person) to have a greenish or bluish cast to the skin”]

37.4. *Another Translation Value for the **liz** Nounstem.* Occasionally, an active-action nounstem derived by means of **liz** may be translated as “the way of —ing”:

**iyeliz** = it is his way of being, it is the way he is, it is his nature, it is his state/condition [< (**ca-h**), “to be.” See § 11.5.1.]

**itlachiyeliz** = it is its way of looking, it is the way it looks, it is its appearance [< (**tla-chiya**), “to look.” It is curious that English and Nahuatl agree in combining the contrary notions of “action of looking” and “aspect/appearance” in a single semantic item.]

37.5. *Further Particulars on Active-Action Nounstems.* Further remarks may be made concerning deverbal nounstems formed with the suffixes **liz** and **z**.

1. An active-action nounstem can be derived from a compound verbstem:

(**ā-miqui-liz**)-**tli-** = death due to (lack of) water; i.e., a terrific thirst [< (**ā-miqui**), “to die of thirst; to have a strong thirst”]

(**cal-aqui-liz**)-**tli-** = act of entering [< (**cal-aqui**), “to enter a structure; to enter”]

(**oh-tzacu-a-liz**)-**tli-** = act of obstructing a road [< (**oh-tzacu-a**), “to close/obstruct a road”]

(**yōl-θ-ti-nemi-liz**)-**tli-** = life [< (**yōl-θ-ti-nemi**), “to continue living/be alive”]

**(huetz- $\theta$ -t-o-liz)-tli-** = the act of remaining seated [**< (huetz- $\theta$ -t-o)**, “to lie after having fallen,” i.e., “to remain seated.” This is a connective-**t** compound with **(on-o)**, “to be recumbent,” as matrix. The embed stem, **(huetzi)**, “to fall,” has the extended meaning of “to sit down.”]

**(cual- $\bar{a}$ -n- $\theta$ -ti-huetzi-liz)-tli-** = outburst of anger [**< (cual- $\bar{a}$ -n- $\theta$ -ti-huetzi)**, “to become abruptly angry.” The action nounstem can also have the shape **(cual- $\bar{a}$ -n- $\theta$ -ti-huechi-liz)-tli-**.]

**(ne-cāuh- $\theta$ -t-ē-hua-liz)-tli-** = act of stopping somewhere as a visitor; the act of making a will or testament [**< m-o-(cāuh- $\theta$ -t-ē-hua)**, “to arise leaving o.s.,” i.e., “to stop over somewhere as a visitor; to write a will or testament”]

**(tla-mat- $\theta$ -cā-ye-liz)-tli-** = the serenity of a peaceful life [**< (tla-mat- $\theta$ -cā-ca-h)**, “to be like one who knows things,” i.e., “to be calm and serene”]

**(ne-chix- $\theta$ -cā-ye-liz)-tli-** = self-confident hope [**< (m-o-chix- $\theta$ -cā-ca-h)**, “to be in the manner of one who awaits himself,” i.e., “to be self-confident and hopeful”]

**(tla-tzon-quīz- $\theta$ -cā-nequi-liz)-tli-** = final desire/last will [**< tla-(tzon-quīz- $\theta$ -cā-nequi)**, “to want s.th. in the manner of a final thing”]

**(ne-mic- $\theta$ -cā-nequi-liz)-tli-**  
**(ne-mic- $\theta$ -cā-tla-pīqu-i-liz)-tli-**  
**(ne-mic- $\theta$ -cā-ye-toqui-liz)-tli-** } = act of pretending to be dead; pretense of being dead

2. A deverbal nounstem derived by either **z** or **liz** may mean “an entity that is capable of being —ed.” An NNC built on such a potential-patient nounstem is *not* limited to a third-person common-number subject pronoun as NNCs built on active-action nounstems are.

a. If the source verbstem is *intransitive*, these potential-patient nounstems and the active-action nounstems of § 37.2 and § 37.3 are homophonous:

**(mahui-z)-tli-** = a person who is capable of being feared; i.e., a person worthy of respect, an honorable person

**(mahui-z)-tli-** = an act of fearing; fear

An NNC with a third-person singular-number subject pronoun built on such stems is ambiguous:

**mahuiztli = # $\theta$ -(mahui-z)tli- $\theta$ #** = (1) he is an honorable person; (2) it is fear

There is no ambiguity when the subject pronoun shows any other person and number:

**timahuiztli = #ti- $\theta$ (mahui-z)tli- $\theta$ #** = you are an honorable person

b. If the source verbstem is *transitive*, the potential-patient nounstem is distinguished from the active-action nounstem by the lack of the object pronoun:

**(chihua-liz)-tli-** = a thing that is capable of being done; i.e., a practicable thing, a feasible thing

**(tla-chihua-liz)-tli-** = act of doing s.th.; accomplishment

**(caqui-z)-tli-** = a thing that can be heard, i.e., a sound; also, a person worthy of being heard, i.e., a reputable person

**(tla-caqui-liz)-tli-** = act of hearing/understanding; ability; good judgment

*Note:* Certain double-object verbstems with **m-o+tlā-** create a nounstem with **liz** that lacks the projective object, but the result is an active-action nounstem, not a potential-patient nounstem.

**(ne-cui-ti-liz)-tli-** = confession or awareness of what one has done or said; embarrassment of one who is embarrassed by something said to him [**< m-o+tlā-(cui-tiā)**, “to be aware of one’s own misdeed”]

**(ne-chihua-l-toca-liz)-tli-** = unjustified self-praise [**< m-o+tlā-(chihua-l-toca)**, “to praise o.s. unjustifiably about having done s.th.”]

3. The suffixal unit **liz** can be added to an impersonal-voice verbcore to create a nounstem indicating a general action; i.e., an action performed by everyone involved.

a. The source impersonal verbstem may be created by a nonactive suffix:

**(huī-lo-hua-liz)-tli-** = act of everyone leaving to go somewhere; general or wholesale departure [**< huīlohua**, “everyone goes.” The active-action NNC is frequently misspelled **huiloaliztli**.]

**(ahxī-hua-liz)-tli-** = act of everyone arriving from somewhere; general or wholesale arrival [**< ahxīhua**, “everyone arrives”]

b. The source impersonal verbstem may be created by the impersonal **tlā**:

**(tlā-yohui-liz)-tli-** = process of becoming night; shade, shadow [**< (tlā-yohua)**, “to become night”]

**(tlā-cua-cual-a-ca-liz)-tli-** = act of thundering [**< (tlā-cua-cual-a-ca)**, “to thunder”]

**(tlā-tlatz-ī-ni-liz)-tli-** = act of thundering, thunderclap [**< (tlā-tlatz-ī-ni)**, “to thunder, for a thunderclap to occur”]

4. An active-action nounstem can be used as the embed in a compound stem.

a. With a verbstem filling the matrix subposition:

**ōnicocolizcuic** = **ō#ni-θ(coco-liz-cui)θ+c-θ#** = I took sick, I became sick

**chōquiliztzahtzi** = **#θ-θ(chōqui-liz-tzahtzi)θ+θ-θ#** = she shouts while weeping [Also spelled **chōquiliztzahtzi** or **chōquiliztzahtzi** because of the assimilation of the /s/ to the /ç/ creating /çç/.]

b. With a nounstem filling the matrix subposition:

**tlanamaquilizcalli** = **#θ-θ(tlā-namaqui-liz-cal)li-θ#** = it is a mercantile building [**< (tlā-namaqui-liz)-tli-**, “act of selling s.th.”]

**tētlapolōltilizpahtli** = **#θ-θ(tē-tlā-pol-ō-l-tī-liz-pah)tli-θ#** = it is a deranging potion [**< (tē-tlā-pol-ō-l-tī-liz)-tli-**, “act of causing s.o. to lose things (i.e., his/her good sense), act of deranging s.o.”]

**pīnāhuiliznemiliztli** = **#θ-θ(pīn-ā-hui-liz-nemi-liz)tli-θ#** = it is a shameful life [**< (pīn-ā-hui-liz)-tli-**, “act of feeling shame” + **(nemi-liz)-tli-**, “act of living, life”]

**nezahualizmiccātlatquihuah** = **#θ-θ(ne-zahua-liz-mic-θ-cā-tlā-tqui-huah-θ)-θ#** = he is an owner of mourning clothes; i.e., he is dressed in mourning [**< (ne-zahua-liz)-tli-**, “act of fasting” + **(mic-θ)-qui-**, “one who has died” + **(tlā-tqui)-tl-**, “equipment” + **\*tlā-(-huā)**, “to own s.th.”]

**iztlacatiliztōntli** = **#θ-θ(iztlaca-ti-liz-tōn)tli-θ#** = it is a little act of lying, it is a little lie [**< (iztlaca-ti-liz)-tli-**, “an act of lying”]

5. When a nounstem created with **liz** or **z** is embedded in a compound stem with the affective matrix stem (**tzin**)-**tli**- as matrix, the /s/ is assimilated to the /ç/, thereby producing /çç/. This is usually not represented as such in spelling (see § 2.11).

**motlanequiliztin** = it is your will (H)/desire (H) [Usually spelled **motlanequilitzin**.]

**imiquiztin** = it is his death (H) [Usually spelled **imiquitzin**.]

37.6. *Contrast between Active-Action NNCs and Passive-Action NNCs.* Nahuatl makes a formal distinction between passive-action NNCs (see § 36.10.1) and active-action NNCs that is not ordinarily made in Indo-European languages. Study the difference between the members of the following pairs of possessive-state NNCs. In the ones derived from the active voice, the possessor pronoun represents the agent of the action. In the NNCs derived from the passive voice, the possessor pronoun represents the patient of the action:

Active: **notētlahpalōliz** = it is my action of greeting s.o.

Passive: **notlahpalōloca** = it is the action of my being greeted

Active: **notlataliz** = it is my action of seeing s.th.

Passive: **nottaloca** = it is the action of my being seen

Active: **itlanōtzaliz** = it is his/her action of summoning/invoking s.th.

Passive: **inōtzaloca** = it is the action of its being summoned/invoked; it is its invocation

Active: **notētlatzacuilitiz** = it is my action of punishing s.o. for s.th.

Passive: **notlatzacuilitloca** = it is the action of my being punished for s.th.

37.7. *Active-Action NNCs in a Multiple-Nucleus Construction.* The role of supplement may be performed either by a VNC or an active-action NNC. The following sentences exemplify this in a supplementary-object construction:

VNC as adjunct: **Nicmati nitlahcuilōz.**

NNC as adjunct: **Nicmati in tlahcuilōliztli.**

Both sentences are translated as “I know how to write/paint.” [See § 19.4.]

37.8. *Patientive Nounstems.* In addition to the preterit-patientive NNCs created by nominalization (See § 35.3, *note* 2), Nahuatl has patientive NNCs of a much more prolific type: NNCs built on deverbal patientive nounstems. While the stem of the nominalized kind signifies only the *patient* of an action (i.e., the entity that suffers or undergoes the action), the stem of this deverbal kind has a wider meaning; also, contrary to what the term suggests, a patientive nounstem may be derived (immediately or ultimately) from an intransitive core as well as from a transitive one. The nounstem may be translated as “an entity that can be —ed,” “an entity that has been —ed,” or “an entity that has become. . . .” In these two latter senses it frequently has the meaning of product or result (especially if the source is an intransitive verbstem) and can be rendered as “a thing that results from . . .” (e.g., “a thing that results from sleeping” is “sleep”; “a

thing that results from becoming angry” is “anger”). Patientive nounstems offer another example of high-generality naming (see § 36.6, *remark*).

There are five basic kinds of patientive nounstems, each determined by the nature of the source VNC core. This source may be (1) a passive core, (2) an impersonal core, (3) a perfective active core, (4) an imperfective active core, or (5) a verb root or stock. “Passive core” and “impersonal core” refer to cores built on nonactive verbstems and distinguished by the non-specific object pronoun(s) appropriate to passive and impersonal VNCs (see Lessons 21 and 22).

In serving as a source for a nounstem, the nonactive stem in the passive or impersonal core is truncated in one way or another. When the nonactive suffix is **lō**, the nounstem is created by deleting the final /o:/. An /i/ or /o/ preceding the // is always long; an /a/ preceding the // has a reduced-long pronunciation and is spelled without a macron. If the nonactive suffix is **lo-hua**, both the **hua** and the **o** are deleted. When the nonactive suffix is **ō** or **o-hua**, the derived nounstem deletes the entire suffix. In all these instances the derived nounstem belongs to the **tli** class. When the nonactive suffix is **hua**, the patientive nounstem is created by deleting the **hua**. Such a nounstem belongs to the **tl** class.

Due to the many idiosyncrasies in the formation of patientive nounstems, no exact rules can be given. The following description (in § 37.9 and in Lessons 38 and 39) merely outlines some of the possibilities.

37.9. *The Passive Patientive Nounstem.* The passive patientive nounstem has the core of a passive VNC as its source. Since a passive VNC cannot be derived from an intransitive active verbstem, there is no passive patientive nounstem with an intransitive VNC as its ultimate source (this is the only exception to the general rule mentioned in § 37.8). The nounstem includes any nonspecific projective object pronoun or the shuntline reflexive object pronoun associated with the passive source; see § 21.2).

1. If the core of the passive-voice VNC source has no object pronouns, the patientive nounstem will have none (i.e., the ultimate source is an active-voice VNC built on a single-object projective verbstem; see § 21.2.1).

a. Derivation from a passive-voice VNC whose stem is formed with the suffix **lō**:

**(ma-l)-li-** = a person who has been captured; i.e., a captive [< passive stem: **(ma-lō)**, “to be captured.” The passive stem is derived from the active-voice core **+qui-θ(ma)-**, from the verbstem **tē-(mā)**.]

**nimalli** = I am one who has been captured, i.e., I am a captive

**nimomal** = I am your captive

**timaltin** ~ **tīmāmallin** = we are captives

**tīmomalhuān** = we are your captives

**(mal-ī-n-a-l)-li-** = a thing that can be twisted (or rolled) on one’s thigh; i.e., grass [< passive stem: **(mal-ī-n-a-lō)**, “to be twisted (or rolled) on the thigh.” The passive stem is derived from the active-voice core **+qui-θ(mal-ī-n-a)-**, from the verbstem **tla-(mal-ī-n-a)**.]



**malinalli** = it is grass

**nomalinal** = it is my grass

Occasionally, the meaning of the derived nounstem has been lexicalized in a particular meaning or the nounstem has taken on a figurative meaning:

**(cua-l)-li-** = a good entity (originally, “an entity that can be eaten”) [Contrast the idiomatic meaning of this passive patientive nounstem with that of the corresponding impersonal patientive nounstem of § 38.1.3.a. The original meaning of the nounstem can, however, be found in nounstems derived from compound verbstems; e.g., **(tē-cuā-n-cua-l)-li-**, “one who is eaten by (means of) a wild beast,” a passive-patientive nounstem derived from the passive verbstem **(tē-cuā-n-cua-lō)**, “to be eaten by (means of) a man-eating animal”; for **(tē-cuā-ni)-tl-**, see § 36.3.]

**(quetza-l)-li-** = a highly valued long green feather (originally, “a thing that can be stood upright”) [Contrast this passive patientive nounstem with the corresponding impersonal patientive nounstem of § 38.1.3.a.]

**(tēm-a-l)-li-** = pus/putrid matter (originally, “a thing that has been put in a container”; see § 24.3.1.a) [There is a frequently found variant in which the /e:/ is heightened to /i:/: **(tīm-a-l)-li-**, but usually in the sense of. “that which swells s.o. up,” i.e., “vanity”; see § 2.2.]

The following are further examples of passive patientive nounstems derived from a **lō** source:

**(nāhua-t-ī-l)-li-** = a thing that has been commanded; i.e., a law; a duty/obligation [**< tla-(nāhua-t-īā)**, “to be clear regarding s.th.”]

**(iht-ō-l)-li-** = a thing that is said; e.g., a word/utterance/phrase [**< tla-(iht-o-ā)**, “to say s.th.”]

**(piya-l)-li-** ~ **(piye-l)-li-** = a thing that is kept/guarded; i.e., a cache/deposit [**< tla-(piya) ~ tla-(piye)**, “to guard s.th.”]

**(it-hu-a-l)-li-** = an open inner courtyard, a patio [**< tla-(it-hu-a)**, “to see s.th.”]

b. Derivation from a passive VNC whose stem is formed with the nonactive suffix **ō**:

**(nāmic)-tli-** = a person who has been met and received (on an equal basis), a matched one; i.e., a spouse [**< passive stem: (nāmic-ō)**, “to be met and received.” The passive stem is derived from the active-voice verbcore **+qui-∅(nāmiqui)-**, from the verbstem **tē-(nāmiqui)**, “to encounter s.o.”]

**nināmic** = I am a married person

**nīnāmic** = I am her/his spouse

**nānāmic** = they are married people

**tēnāmicuān** = they are people’s spouses; they are married people

The following are further examples of passive patientive nounstems derived from a source with the nonactive suffix **ō**:

**(tītlan)-tli-** = a person who has been sent with a message; i.e., a messenger [**< passive stem (tītlan-ō) < active stem tē-(tītlani)**, “to send s.o. with a message”]

**(tex)-tli-** = a thing that has been ground; i.e., flour, meal [< passive stem (**tex-ō**) < active stem **tla-(teci)**, “to grind s.th. (e.g., maize)”]

**(quech)-tli-** = a thing that has been stood upright; i.e., a neck [< passive stem (**quech-ō**) < active stem **tla-(quetza)**, “to stand s.th. upright.” For the /*ɸ*/ > [č] shift, see § 2.3.4.]

c. Derivation from a passive VNC whose stem is formed with the nonactive suffix **hua** ([i:] becomes [i] when **hua** is deleted):

**(zō)-tl-** = a piece of quilting [< passive stem (**zō-hua**) < active stem **tla-(zō)**, “to pierce s.th.”]

The following are further examples of passive patientive nounstems derived from a **hua** source:

**(moh-mōchi)-tl-** = a thing that has been repeatedly thrown; i.e., popcorn [< passive stem (**moh-mōchi-hua**) < active stem **tla-(moh-mōtla)**, a reduplicated stem from **tla-(mōtla)**, “to throw s.th.” For the /*λ*/ > [č] shift, see § 2.3.4.]

**(icxi)-tl-** = a thing that has been trod upon, i.e., a foot [< passive stem (**icxi-hua**) < active stem **tla-(icza)**, “to step on s.th.” For the /*s*/ > [š] shift, see § 25.2.2. The initial [i] is a supportive vowel, as can be seen in the possessive-state NNC **nocxi**, “it is my foot, they are my feet.”]

**(ohxi)-tl-** = a thing that can be rubbed on as a salve, i.e., a salve [< passive stem (**ohxi-hua**) < active stem **tē-(ohza)**, “to rub salve on s.o.”]

*Note:* As the last three examples show, the nonactive stem that serves as the source for a patientive nounstem is frequently unexpected or irregular.

Also, in the area of semantics Nahuatl cultural perspectives may be at odds with our own. For example, as illustrated here by **(icxi)-tl-**, an active sense would at times seem more appropriate than a passive one. While a foot is in a certain sense something that is trod on, from our point of view it would seem more reasonable for it to be something that treads on. Similarly, in subsection *b* **(quech)-tli-** might, from our point of view, be something that stands upright. Other examples can be found later. Since Nahuatl does not give such items an agentive formulation, they offer another opportunity to glimpse the peculiarity of the Nahuatl speakers’ view of the world.

2. If the passive VNC source is reflexive, the shuntline reflexive pronoun **ne** occurs in the derived nounstem:

**(ne-ht-ō-l)-li-** = a thing that has been self-said; i.e., a promise, a vow [< passive stem: **ne-(iht-o-lō)**, from the verbstem **m-□-(iht-o-ā)**, “to say one’s own name,” i.e., “to volunteer”; see § 26.23.]

3. If the passive VNC source is derived from a VNC having two projective objects, only one object pronoun will appear in the deverbal nounstem according to the object pronoun present in the source:

**(tla-quēn-tī-l)-li-** = a person who has been clothed in s.th. [< passive stem: **tla-(quēn-tī-lō)**, from the verbstem **tē+tla-(quēn-tiā)**, “to cause s.o. to wear s.th.; to clothe s.o. in s.th.”]

**nitlaquēntilli** = I am a clothed person

**nimotlaquēntil** = I am a person clothed by you (or for you)

**tītlaquēntīlīn** = we are clothed people

**tīmotlaquēntīlhuān** = we are people clothed by you (or for you)

**(tē-mac)-tli-** = a thing given to others [< passive stem **tē-(mac-ō)** < active verbstem

**tē+tla-(maca)**, “to give s.th. to s.o.”]

**tēmactli** = it is a thing given to s.o.

**notēmac** = it is a thing given by me to s.o.

When the object pronoun on the passive VNC source is **tē**, it may be deleted in the derived nounstem:

**(tē-tlan-ē-uh-tī-l)-li-** ~ **(tlan-ē-uh-tī-l)-li-** = a thing that has been loaned to s.o.; i.e., a loan [< passive stem **tē-(tlan-ē-uh-tī-lō)** < active verbstem **tē+tla-(tlan-ē-uh-tiā)**, “to lend s.th. to s.o.”]

## Deverbal Nounstems (Part Two)

38.1. *The Impersonal Patientive Nounstem.* The impersonal patientive nounstem has the core of an impersonal VNC as its source. The formation is the same as with the passive patientive nounstem except for the difference between a passive VNC and an impersonal VNC; that is, the inclusion of a nonspecific projective-object pronoun or a shuntline reflexive-object pronoun in the nounstem depends on the nature of the impersonal-voice source. There are certain peculiarities, however. The following remarks illustrate some of the properties of the derived stem.

1. Intransitive active source. At times it is difficult to capture through translation the meaning difference between an agentive nounstem and a patientive one when the source is an intransitive verbstem, although the difference in meaning is clear, since the former names a doer of an action and the latter a result of an action. The difference between them is *vaguely* similar to that between English present and past participles (one should remember, among other things, that participles are adjective *words*, while Nahuatl agentive and patientive nounstems signify entities and occur in NNCs).

a. Nounstem derived from an impersonal-voice VNC's core whose stem is formed with the nonactive suffix **lō**:

**(tzāhua-l)-li-** = a thing that results from spinning; i.e., a spiderweb [*<* impersonal stem **(tzāhua-lō)** *<* **(tzāhua)**, “to spin.” Molina lists **(zāhua-l)-li-**, with /ç/ unexpectedly reduced to /s/. Sahagún has the expected form.]

**tzāhualli** = it is a spiderweb

**notzāhual** = it is my spiderweb

In some instances the source is doubly impersonal (i.e., an inherently impersonal verbstem has been given a nonactive suffix):

**(tōna-l)-li-** = a thing that is sun warmed, i.e., heat of the sun; dry season (fall and winter); *by extension*, “day,” “day sign,” “birthright” [*<* **(tōna)**, “to become sun-warmed, for the sun to shine”]

**(cē-hua-l)-li-** = a thing that is cooled; i.e., a shadow [*<* **(cē-hua)**, “to become cool” (see § 24.6.2).]

- (yohua-l)-li-** = a thing that results from the onset of darkness; i.e., night [< (**yohua**), “to become dark, to become night”]  
**(tla-yohua-l)-li-** = thing that results from night; i.e., darkness [< (**tla-yohua**), which is a **tla** impersonal verbstem from the impersonal verbstem (**yohua**) (see § 22.6). This doubly impersonal stem has been made triply impersonal by the addition of the suffix **lō**.]

Certain intransitive verbstems consisting of a root plus **ya** form this type of impersonal patientive nounstem on the root instead of the stem (compare § 25.4.8):

- (coco-l)-li-** = ailment, ache [< (**coco-ya**), “to be sick.” Compare the stem (**cocō-l)-li-**, “irritation, anger, dispute,” derived as a passive patientive nounstem from the causative verbstem **tla-(coco-ā)**.]  
**(tlaōco-l)-li-** = sadness, affliction [< (**tlaōco-ya**), “to be sad”]  
**(āhui-l)-li-** = frivolity, pleasure, lewdness [< (**āhui-ya**), “to be happy”]  
**(izta-l)-li-** = a white thing [< (**izta-ya**), “to become like salt, i.e., to become white”]  
**(ihye-l)-li-** = flatulence [< (**ihyā-ya**), “to smell foul/stink.” The /a:/ of the verbstem has been raised to [e] in the nounstem.]  
**(tla-hye-l)-li-** = a stench; bloody diarrhea [< (**tla-hyā-ya**), “for there to be a foul odor/a stench,” a **tla** impersonal verbstem, which has been made doubly impersonal by the addition of the nonactive suffix **lō**.]

b. Nounstem derived from an impersonal-voice VNC’s core whose stem is formed with the nonactive suffix **ō** or **o-hua**:

- (tēmīc)-tli-** = a thing that is dreamed; i.e., a dream [< (**tēmīqui**), to dream”]  
**tēmictli** = it is a dream  
**notēmīc** = it is my dream

The following stems are other examples of the formation:

- (cual-ā-n)-tli-** = a thing that results from becoming angry; i.e., anger [< (**cual-ā-ni**), “to become angry”]  
**(mic)-tli-** = a thing that results from death; i.e., a corpse/cadaver [< (**miqui**), “to die”]  
**(tiāmīc)-tli-** = a thing that can be marketed; i.e., merchandise [< (**tiāmīqui**), “to engage in marketing”]  
**(coch)-tli-** = a thing that results from sleeping; i.e., sleep [< (**cochi**), “to sleep”]  
**(huach)-tli-** = a thing that has fallen; i.e., a seed [< impersonal stem (**huech-o-hua**), from active stem (**huetzi**), “to fall.” Notice the shift from /e/ to [a]. Also notice the /ç/ to /č/ shift.]  
**(tlacō-ch)-tli-** = a thing that has become like a stick; i.e., an arrow [< impersonal stem (**tlacō-ch-ō**), from active stem (**tlacō-ti**), “to become like a stick.” Notice the /ti/ to /č/ shift.]  
**(tla-cōl-ō-ch)-tli-** = a thing that results from detouring; i.e., a detour [< \*(**tla-cōl-ō-ch-o**), the doubly impersonal verbstem from the **tla** impersonal stem \*(**tla-cōl-ō-ti**). See § 54.5.1, note 2.]

**(tla-nēx)-tli-** = light [< **(tla-nēx-ō)**, the doubly impersonal stem from the **tla**-impersonal stem **(tla-nēci)**, “for everything to appear,” i.e., “for dawn to break” (see § 22.6). Notice the /s/ to /š/ shift.]

c. Nounstem derived from an impersonal-voice VNC’s core whose stem is built on the nonactive suffix **hua** ([i:] become [i] when **hua** is deleted):

**(pix-qui)-tli-** = a thing that is harvested; i.e., a harvest [< **(pix-qui-hua)** < **(pix-ca)**, “to bring in the harvest, to gather/reap”]

**(chihchi)-tli-** = a thing that is spit; i.e., saliva/spit [< **(chihchi-hua)** < **(chihcha)**, “to spit.” Compare **(chihcha-l)-li-**, “saliva/spit,” formed according to § 38.1.1.a.]

**(xō-chi)-tli-** = a thing that has blossomed [< **(xō-chi-hua)** < **(xō-tla)**, “to bloom/blossom.” For the /ʌ/ to [č] shift, see § 2.3.4. Compare **(moh-mōchi)-tli-** in § 37.9.1.c.]

d. Nounstem derived from an impersonal-voice VNC’s core whose stem is built on the nonactive suffix **hua-lo**:

**(chīchī-hua-l)-li-** = a thing that can become suckled, i.e., a breast/teat/nipple [< **(chīchī-hua-lō)** < **(chīchī)**, “(for a baby) to suckle”]

2. Transitive active source with reflexive object pronoun. Unless a projective object pronoun (**tē** or **tla**) is present, it is difficult to distinguish the impersonal patientive from a passive patientive (see § 37.9.2).

**(ne-nōtza-l)-li-** = a thing that has been agreed on; i.e., a compact or agreement made in assembly [< **t-o-(nōtza)**, reciprocal, “to come to a mutual agreement”]

**(ne-tē-il-hui-l)-li-** = a thing said to s.o. in favor of oneself; i.e., a complaint/appeal/accusation [< **m-o+tē-(il-huiā)**, “to take a complaint to court”]

**(ne-tla-cu-ī-l)-li-** = a thing that has been borrowed; i.e., a debt, a borrowed thing [< **m-o-(tla-cu-īā)**, “to borrow s.th.”]

3. Transitive active source with projective object pronoun(s) **tla** or **tē+tla**. The direct-object pronoun of the source must not refer to a human being and is therefore represented in the patientive nounstem by a mainline **tla** or a shuntline **tla** (in **tē+tla**).

a. Nounstem derived from an impersonal-voice VNC’s core whose stem is formed with the nonactive suffix **lō**:

**(tla-pitza-l)-li-** = a thing that is blown; i.e., a flute [< **tla-(pitza)**, “to blow on s.th.”]  
**tlapitzailli** = it is a flute; they are flutes

**notlapitzaal** = it is my flute; they are my flutes

**(tē-tla-tqui-tī-l)-li-** = a thing that is sent by means of s.o. [< **tē+tla-(itqui-tiā)**, “to have s.o. carry s.th.”]

**tētlatquitilli** = it is a thing sent by means of s.o.

**notētlatquitil** = it is my thing sent by means of s.o.

In rare instances a transitive verbstem that ends in **ya** deletes the **ya** before adding the **lō** suffix (compare **(coco-l)-li-** in subsection 1.a above):

**(tla-ō-l)-li-** = a thing that is shelled; specifically, shelled maize [< **tla-(ō-ya)**, “to shell s.th. (e.g., maize, peas).” There is also an impersonal patientive nounstem formed on the full verbstem: **(tla-ō-ya-l)-li-**, with a general meaning of “anything shelled (including maize).”]

The following deverbal nounstems are further examples of the impatientive stem formed from a **lō** source:

**(tla-quetza-l)-li-** = a thing that has been set upright, i.e., a column/pillar; a thing that has been recounted, i.e., a fable/story [< **tla-(quetza)**, “to stand s.th. upright.” Contrast the passive patientive nounstems in § 37.9.1.a and b.]

**(tla-cua-l)-li-** = a thing that is eaten; i.e., food [< **tla-(cuā)**, “to eat s.th.” Contrast the passive patientive nounstem in § 37.9.1.a.]

**(tla-ī-l)-li-** = a thing that is drunk; i.e., a drink/beverage [< **tla-(ī)**, “to drink s.th.”]

**(tla-ht-ō-l)-li-** = a thing that is said; e.g., a word/utterance/speech/language [< **tla-(iht-o-ā)**, “to say s.th.”]

b. Nounstem derived from an impersonal-voice VNC’s core whose stem is formed with the nonactive suffix **ō**:

**(tla-mal-ī-n)-tli-** = a thing that has been twisted on the thigh; i.e., cord/twine/string [< **tla-(mal-ī-n-a)**, “to twist s.th. on the thigh.” Contrast **(mal-ī-n-a-l)-li-** in § 37.9.1.a.]

**tlamalintli** = it is twine; it is a cord; they are cords

**notlamalin** = it is my twine/my cord; they are my cords

**(tē-tla-mac)-tli-** = a thing that is administered to s.o. [< **tē+tla-(maca)**, “to give s.th. to s.o.” Contrast **(tē-mac)-tli-** in § 37.9.3.]

**tētlamactli** = it is an administered thing

**notētlamac** = it is a thing administered to s.o. to/for me

The following deverbal nounstems are further examples of this derivation:

**(tla-man)-tli-** = a thing placed on the floor/ground; i.e., a thing [< **tla-(man-a)**, “to set s.th. on the floor or some other flat surface”]

**(tla-tex)-tli-** = a thing ground up into powder [< **tla-(teci)**, “to grind s.th. up.” Compare **(tex)-tli-** in § 37.9.1.b.]

**(tla-huic)-tli-** = a thing that is transported [< **tla-(huica)**, “to carry s.th.” The passive patientive nounstem that matches this impersonal one, **(huic)-tli-**, “a thing that is carried,” has taken on the specialized meaning of “a digging stick.”]

**(tla-h-mach)-tli-** = a thing done with skill; skill in doing s.th.; *also*, skilled needlework, embroidery [< **tla-(ih-mati)**, “to do s.th. with skill and deftness”]

**(tla-chp-ā-n)-tli-** = a thing that has been swept [< **tla-(ichp-ā-n-a)**, “to sweep s.th.”]

c. Nounstem derived from an impersonal-voice VNC’s core whose stem is formed with the nonactive suffix **hua**. Unless the vowel in front of **hua** represents a phonemically long vowel in the active-voice verbstem, it becomes short when the **hua** is deleted.

**(cāhui)-tl-** = a thing that results from lasting; i.e., time [< **(cāhui)**, “to last/abide/persist/remain”]

**(tla-ī)-tl-** = a thing that is drunk; i.e., a drink [< **tla-(ī)**, “to drink s.th.” Compare **(tla-ī-l)-li-** in subsection a above.]

**(tla-cui)-tl-** = a thing that is taken [< **tla-(cui)**, “to take s.th.”]

**(tla-tqui)-tl-** = a thing that is carried; i.e., property, belongings, equipment [< **tla-(itqui)**, “to carry s.th.”]

**(tla-ahxi)-tl-** = a thing that is reached and taken [< **tla-(ahci)**, “to overtake s.th., to seize s.th.”]

A final /a/ in the active-voice verbstem is replaced by [i].

**(tla-chcui)-tl-** = a thing dug out as a chunk; i.e., a clod, a piece of sod, a piece of turf [< **tla-(ichcua)**, “to dig out s.th. as a chunk (e.g., a clod, sod, turf)”]

**(tla-xqui)-tl-** = a thing that is roasted in hot coals [< **tla-(ixca)**, “to roast s.th. on or in hot coals, to bake s.th.”] The other impersonal patientive nounstem from this source, **(tla-xca-l)-li-**, usually has the specialized meaning of “maize tortilla” and has been extended to mean “bread” in general.]

**(tla-pā-tz-qui)-tl-** = a thing that is squeezed out; i.e., milk, juice [< **tla-(pā-tz-ca)**, “to squeeze liquid from s.th.”]

**(tla-t-hui)-tl-** = one who has been perceived/seen [< **tē- ~ tla-(it-hu-a)**, “to perceive/see s.o./s.th.” See the homonymous nounstem in § 39.2.2.]

4. Projective active source with **tē**. When the active-voice source is a single-object VNC whose valence position is filled by the nonspecific human object pronoun **tē**, the impersonal patientive nounstem does not contain **tē**. Instead, it has the impersonal **tla** prefix (see § 22.6); that is, the impersonal source is not an impersonalized active but an impersonalized passive.

a. Nounstem derived from a nonactive verbstem formed by **lō**:

**(tla-pach-ō-l)-li-** = a person who is governed; i.e., a subject [The ultimate source is the active causative stem **tē-(pach-o-ā)**, “to cause s.o. to be pressed down,” i.e., “to govern s.o.” The derivational sequence is: **+qui-θ(pach-o-ā)-** = active verb core meaning “govern a specific person” > passive verbstem **(pach-ō-lō)** > impersonalized passive verbstem **\*(tla-pach-ō-lō)** > impersonal patientive nounstem **(tla-pach-ō-l)-li-**]

**nitlapachōlli** = I am a subject

**nimotlapachōl** = I am your subject

**titlapachōltin** = we are subjects

**annotlapachōlhuān** = you are my subjects

The nounstem **(tla-pach-ō-l)-li-** has a homonym derived (according to subsection 3.a above) from the active verbstem **tla-(pach-o-ā)**, “to press down on s.th.” This homonym means “a thing that is thickly packed” (like a canebrake, a thatched roof, a blanket weave, etc.) and is limited to NNCs with a common-number subject pronoun.

The following deverbal nounstems are further examples of this impersonal formation. Some of these stems may have homonyms derived ultimately from active-voice VNCs with *non-human* patients according to subsection 3.a above.



**(tla-cual-ā-nī-l)-li-** = a person who is provoked to anger [**< tē-(cual-ā-nī-ā)**, “to cause s.o. to become angry”]

**(tla-quix-tī-l)-li-** = a person who is freed [**< tē-(quix-tiā)**, “to cause s.o. to leave”]

**(tla-pan-a-huī-l)-li-** = a person who has been surpassed or overtaken [**< tē-(pan-a-huīā)**, “to surpass or overtake s.o.”; an applicative stem. There is a homonym derived from the causative stem **tla-(pan-a-huīā)**, “to transport s.th. to the other side,” with the meaning “a thing transported across.”]

**(tla-coco-lī-l)-li-** = a person who is hated [**< tē-(coco-liā)**, “to be sick with regard to s.o.”; i.e., “to hate s.o.”]

**(tla-pal-ē-hu-ī-l)-li-** = a person who is helped [**< tē-(pal-ē-hu-īā)**, “to lift a favor with regard to s.o.”; i.e., “to do s.o. a favor, to help s.o.”; see § 26.2.]

**(tla-ēl-ē-hu-ī-l)-li-** = a person who is coveted [**< tē-(ēl-ē-hu-īā)**, “to lift the liver (i.e., heart) with regard to s.o.”; i.e., “to covet s.o.”; see § 26.2. This impersonal patientive nounstem has a homonym formed according to subsection 3 above from the verbstem **tla-(ēl-ē-hu-īā)**, “to covet s.th.,” with the meaning “a thing that is coveted.”]

*b.* Nounstem derived from a nonactive verbstem formed by the suffix **ō**:

**(tla-tītlan)-tli-** = a person who is sent with a message; i.e., a messenger [The ultimate source is the active stem **tē-(tītlani)**, “to send s.o. with a message.” The derivational sequence is: **+qui-∅(tītlani)-**, an active verbcore meaning “to send a specific person with a message” > passive stem (**tītlan-ō**) > impersonalized passive stem **\*(tla-tītlan-ō)** > impersonal patientive nounstem **(tla-tītlan)-tli-**. Compare the passive patientive **(tītlan)-tli-**, “messenger/ambassador.”]

**nitlatītlantli** = I am a messenger

**nimotlatītlan** = I am your messenger

**tītlatītlantīn** = we are messengers

**annotlatītlanhuān** = you are my messengers

*c.* Nounstem derived from a nonactive verbstem formed by the suffix **hua** ([i:] becomes [i] when hua is deleted):

**(tla-ahxi)-tl-** = a person who is overtaken; i.e., a prisoner [The ultimate source is the active stem **tē-(ahci)**, “to overtake s.o.” The derivational sequence is: **+qui-∅(ahci)-**, an active verbcore meaning “to overtake a specific person” > passive stem (**ahxī-hua**), “to be overtaken” > impersonalized passive stem **\*tla-(ahxī-hua)** > impersonal patientive nounstem **(tla-ahxi)-tl-**. Contrast this nounstem with the homonym derived (according to subsection 3.c above) from the active verbstem **tla-(ahci)**, “to reach for and take s.th.”]

**nitlaahxitl** = I am a prisoner

**nimotlaahxiuh** = I am your prisoner

**tītlaahximeh** = we are prisoners

**annotlaahxihuān** = you are my prisoners

Another example of the formation is:

**(tla-ohxi)-tl-** = one who has been rubbed with ointment [The ultimate source is the active stem **tē-(ohza)**, “to rub s.o. with ointment.” The impersonal patientive nounstem **(tla-ohza-l)-li-** (formed according to subsection *a* above) has the same meaning. Contrast the passive patientive nounstem **(ohxi)-tl-**, “a thing that can be rubbed on,” i.e., “ointment,” in § 37.9.1.c.]

*Note:* On rare occasions a writer may contradict his own general usage or that of others by creating an exceptional impersonal patientive nounstem with **tē** that names a human being:

**(tē-huica-l)-li-** = servant/companion [The usual nounstem is **(tla-huica-l)-li-**, a stem that has a homonym formed according to subsection 3.a above and has the meaning of “a thing carried somewhere.”]

**(tē-ilpi-l)-li-** = a person who has been tied up; i.e., a prisoner [The stem is found as an embed in Molina’s entry **(tē-ilpi-l-cal-la-pix-θ)-qui-**, “one who has guarded things (i.e., people) at the prisoner-house”; i.e., “a prison warden/guard.” The source is the causative stem **tē-(ilpi-ā)**, “to cause s.o. to become tied, i.e., to tie s.o. up.”]

5. Impersonal patientive nounstems with human versus nonhuman contrast. Occasionally, an applicative verbstem that permits either human or nonhuman object pronouns (see § 26.21) has one patientive nounstem with **tla** signifying a human entity and another with **tē** signifying a nonhuman one. Those with **tla** are formed according to subsection 4 above. Those with **tē** are anomalous formations.

**(tla-nāhua-t-ī-l)-li-** = a person who is commanded s.th.; i.e., an agent/a deputy [< **tē-(nāhua-t-īā)**, “to give orders to s.o.”]

**(tē-nāhua-t-ī-l)-li-** = a thing that is commanded to s.o.; i.e., a law/decree [< **tla-(nāhua-t-īā)**, “to give orders about s.th.”]

But the contrast may be due to other factors. For example, both patientive nounstems can come from the same verbcore source. The nounstems with **tē** are anomalous.

**(tla-cn-ēl-ī-l)-li-** = a person who has been privileged to receive a favor [< **tē-(icn-ēl-i-ā)**, “to do a favor to s.o.”; see § 54.13.2.]

**(tē-icn-ēl-ī-l)-li-** = a benefit/favor [< **tē-(icn-ēl-i-ā)**]

**(tla-tlāuh-tī-l)-li-** = a person who has received a gift/boon [< **tē-(tlāuh-ti-ā)**, “to give a gift/boon to s.o.”; see § 54.5.1.a. Molina translates this as “a gift or present to s.o.,” an apparently erroneous rendering.]

**(tē-tlāuh-tī-l)-li-** = a gift/present/boon to s.o. [< **tē-(tlāuh-ti-ā)**]

**(tla-nō-nōtza-l)-li-** = a person who has been reproached/reprimanded/scolded [< **tē-(nō-nōtza)**, “to reproach/reprimand/scold/advise/counsel s.o.”]

**(tē-nō-nōtza-l)-li-** = a reproach/reprimand [< **tē-(nō-nōtza)**. Although the stem **tla-(nō-nōtza)** exists, its meaning is given as “to relate s.th.” and not as anything having to do with a reprimand.]

Another reason for the contrast may be that one of the nounstems is an impersonal patientive from a single-object verbstem and the other a passive patientive from a double-object verbstem:

**(tla-mach-tī-l)-li-** = a person who is taught; i.e., a pupil/student [< **tē-(mach-ti-ā)**, “to teach s.o.”; see § 25.3.]

**(tē-mach-tī-l)-li-** = a thing that is taught; i.e., a lesson [**< tē+tlā-(mach-tiā)** “to teach s.th. to s.o.”; the derivation of the nounstem is according to § 37.9.3.]

6. At times an impersonal passive nounstem and an active-action nounstem can have the same translation value (which does not suggest that they mean the same thing):

**(ne-cuil-tōn-ō-l)-li-** ~ **(ne-cuil-tōn-ō-liz)-tli-** = wealth [**< m-o(cuil-tōn-o-ā)**, “to be wealthy”]

**(tlā-pil-chīhua-l)-li-** ~ **(tlā-pil-chīhua-liz)-tli-** = misdeed/wrongdoing/offense [**< tlā-(pil-chīhua)**, “to do s.th. like a child,” i.e., “to err/do wrong”]

38.2. *Compound Patientive Nounstems.* Passive and impersonal patientive nounstems may be compound in two ways.

1. The source of the patientive nounstem may be a compound verbstem. When the source verbstem has an adverbial embed, the derived patientive nounstem ordinarily presents no difficulty for translation into English.

**(cuā-zta-l)-li-** = a person who has become white at the head; i.e., a white-haired person; also, a thing that has become white in the form of a head; i.e., a white head, a head of white hair [**< (cuā-zta-ya)**, “to become white at the head/in the form of a head.” There is a preterit-agentive nounstem of ownership with this nounstem as embed: **(cuā-zta-l-eh-Ø)-□-**, “one who has owned a white head,” i.e., “a white-headed person.”]

**(ah-huech)-tli-** ~ **(ah-huach)-tli-** = a thing that has fallen in the form of water; i.e., dew [**< (ah-huetzi)**, “to fall in the form of water”; i.e., “for dew to form.” The nounstem **(ā)-tl-**, “water,” here has its variant glottalized shape (see § 14.2.8.c.)]

**(tequi-xqui)-tl-** = a thing that has been thoroughly baked, i.e., a substance found in dried-up lake beds consisting mainly of soda and sodium chloride [A passive patientive nounstem from **tlā-(tequi-xca)**, “to bake s.th. with work/insistence.” Compare the impersonal patientive nounstem **(tlā-xqui)-tl-** in § 38.1.3.c. The embed nounstem is **(tequi)-tl-**, “work,” not **(te)-tl-**, “rock,” as widely believed. The compound nounstem has nothing to do with Molina’s entry **(te-quīz-Ø)-qui-**, a preterit agentive nounstem meaning “a thing that has come out in the form of a rock” and translatable as “s.th. petrified/solidified.” Apparently this was the basis for F. J. Santamaria’s statement in his *Diccionario de Mejicanismos* that the components are **(te)-tl-** and **(quīzqui)-tl-**, which he invented to mean “efflorescent.”]

**(tlā-quech-tec)-tli-** = a person who has been decapitated [**< tē-(quech-tequi)**, “to cut s.o. at the neck”]

**(tlā-pah-mic-tī-l)-li-** = one who has been killed with (bad) medicine; i.e., one who has been poisoned to death [**< tē-(pah-mic-tiā)**, “to kill s.o. with (bad) medicine”; i.e., “to poison s.o. to death”]

Compare the problem discussed in § 41.2.1.

When, however, the source of the patientive nounstem is a compound verbstem with an embedded object, translation into English is not so straightforward. English does not use

the past participle of a verb such as “bird-watch” in a sentence such as “It is a bird-watched thing.”

At times these Nahuatl patientive nounstems can be translated by the formula “a/the X that has been —ed” or “a/the —ed X” (where X represents the embedded object). This translation reverses the governed-to-governing relationship of the Nahuatl constituents.

(**e-pā-hua-x-tli-** = beans that have been stewed; i.e., cooked beans [**< (e-pā-hua-ci)**, “to stew/cook beans”])

(**cuauh-huā-tz-a-l-li-** = a wood that has been dried; i.e., dried-out wood [**< (cuauh-huā-tz-a)**, “to cause wood to become dry, to dry out wood”])

(**tlāl-pol-ō-l-li-** = land that has been conquered/laid waste [**< (tlāl-pol-o-a)**, “to conquer/destroy lands”])

At times other ways of translating these nounstems are needed; for example:

(**tle-cui-l-li-** = a thing that can receive fire; i.e., a fireplace, a fire pit [**< (tle-cui)**, “to take/receive fire”])

Compare the problem discussed in § 41.2.3.

2. The deverbal nounstem, like any other nounstem, can be used as the matrix of a compound nounstem:

(**ā-huīc-tli-** = a thing that has been carried for use in water; *or, by way of extension*, digging stick for water; i.e., paddle, oar [**< (ā-tl-**, “water” + (**huīc-tli-**, “a thing that has been carried” (with the specialized meaning of “digging stick”); source **tlā-(huīca)**, “to carry s.th.”])

(**miqui-z-tla-cua-l-li-** = a deadly food [**< (miqui-z)-tli-**, “act of dying, death” + (**tla-cua-l-li-**, “a thing that can be eaten, i.e., food”); source, **tlā-(cuā)**, “to eat s.th.”])

(**mic-∅-cā-tla-tatac-tli-** = a thing that has been dug out for a person who has died; i.e., a grave, a burial pit [**< (mic-∅)-qui-**, “one who has died, a dead person” + (**tla-tatac-tli-**, “a thing that has been dug in the ground, i.e., a pit, a hole dug in the ground”); source, **tlā-(tataca)**, “to dig s.th. in the ground”])

(**huē-hueh-tla-ht-ō-l-li-** = a thing said by old men; i.e., old men’s sayings [**< (huē-hueh-)**, “old man” (glottalized, embed-only stem; see § 35.7.2.) + (**tla-ht-ō-l-li-**, “a thing that has been said, i.e., a word, a speech, a saying”); source (**tlā-ht-o-ā)**, “to say s.th.”])

*Note:* For a discussion of the patientive nounstem as the *embed* in a compound stem, see § 39.6.

## Deverbal Nounstems (Part Three)

39.1. *The Perfective Patientive Nounstem.* A perfective patientive nounstem has a perfective active verbstem as its source. The formation is possible when a perfective verbstem ends in /w/, /k/, /kʷ/, /s/, /š/, /n/, /ʎ/, /l/, or /ç/. The derivation probably arose from a confusion of the replacive *imperfective* nonactive verbstem underlying the passive and impersonal patientive nounstems with the *perfective* active verbstem (see § 20.4 and § 20.5 for the formation of the nonactive verbstem using the **o** and **o-hua** suffixes). Supporting this probability is the fact that, although built on an active stem, the nounstem is modeled after either a passive or an impersonal formation.

The perfective patientive nounstem belongs to the **tli** class. The stem formation makes the following distinctions.

1. If the source verbstem is transitive, the perfective patientive nounstem may be formed on the analogy of a passive patientive nounstem (i.e., it has the object pronouns appropriate to a passive-voice VNC); compare § 37.9.1.b.

**(quēn)-tli-** = a thing that is worn; i.e., clothing [**tla-(quēmi)**, “to put s.th. on, to wear s.th.”]

**quēntli** = it is clothing

**noquēn** = it is my clothing

Another example of the formation is **(tzauc)-tli-**, “glue, paste,” from the verbstem **tla-(tzacu-a)**, “to close s.th.”

2. With a transitive or an intransitive verbstem as source, the perfective patientive nounstem may be formed on the analogy of an impersonal-patientive nounstem; compare § 33.1.3.b.

**(tla-pā-hua-z)-tli-** = a thing that is cooked in a pot; e.g., a stew [**tla-(pā-hua-ci)**, “to cook s.th. in a pot.” Compare this nounstem with the impersonal-patientive nounstem

**(tla-pā-hua-x)-tli-** with the same meaning, formed according to § 38.1.3.b.]

**tlapāhuaztli** = it is a stew

**notlapāhuaz** = it is my stew

**(tla-nōtz)-tli-** = a person who is summoned; a guest [The source is **tē-(nōtza)**, “to call s.o.”; the derivational sequence that sets up the use of **tla** instead of **tē** can only be explained as the result of the confusion with the nonactive stem mentioned above; that is, the derivational sequence is on the analogy of that described in § 38.1.4.]

**nitlanōztli** = I am a guest

**nimotlanōtz** = I am your guest

**titlanōztin** = we are guests

**timotlanōtzhuān** = we are your guests

The following are further examples of the formation:

**(ne-xīn)-tli-** = one who is self-shaved [< **m-o-(xīm-a)**, “to shave o.s.”]

**(tla-chīuh)-tli-** = a thing that is made, a work, a creation [< **tla-(chihua)**, “to make s.th.”]

**(tla-tzau)-tli-** = a thing that is closed [< **tla-(tzacu-a)**, “to close s.th.” Compare **(tzau)-tli-** in section 1 above.]

**(tla-ō-x)-tli-** = a thing that is shelled; e.g., shelled maize [< **tla-(ō-ya)**, “to shell s.th. (e.g., maize, peas, etc.)”]

**(tla-quetz)-tli-** = a thing that is stood upright; e.g., a column [< **tla-(quetza)**, “to stand s.th. upright”]

**(tla-zo-h)-tli-** = a thing that is cherished, a precious thing, a valuable thing [< \***tla-(zo-ā)**, “to value s.th., to cherish s.th.” This verbstem is apparently no longer used except in derivations. Its existence is attested by the general-use preterit-agentive nounstem **(tla-zo-h-θ-cā)-**-. Compare **tē-(tla-zo-h-θ-cā-mati)**, “to know s.o. in the manner of one who has valued s.th.” with **tē-(tla-zo-h-mati)**, “to know s.o. as a valued one.” The former has a nominalized embed, the latter a deverbal one. Both verbstems are translated as “to be grateful to s.o.”]

**(yōl)-li-** = a thing that results from living; i.e., life [< **(yōli)**, “to live.” The nounstem normally occurs only as an embed as a stand-in for **(yōl-lō)-tl-**, “heart”; see § 39.9.]

3. As in the case of the passive and impersonal patientive nounstems, the source verbstem may be compound:

**(tla-mā-tla-chīuh)-tli-** = a thing made like a net [< **tla-(mā-tla-chihua)**, “to make s.th. in the form of a net”; **(mā-tla)-tl-**, “strips of cloth like a hand”; i.e., “a net”]

**(tla-ōl-cha-chap-a-tz)-tli-** = a thing that has been splattered with liquid rubber [< **tla-(ōl-cha-chap-a-tz-a)**, “to cause s.th. to become splattered with liquid rubber”; i.e., “to splatter s.th. with liquid rubber”]

**(tla-toca-θ-ti-cal-ac)-tli-** = one who has been pursued into a place where he has taken refuge [< **tē-(toca-θ-ti-cal-aqui)**, “to enter pursuing s.o.” Notice the replacement of **tē** by **tla**; see § 38.1.4.]

A limited number of perfective patientive nounstems are formed on compound verbstems of ownership whose matrix stem is \***tla-(-hua)** or \***tla-(-yo-ā)**. The latter has only one example:

**(yōl-lo-h)-tli-** = a thing with abundantly owned life, i.e., a heart [< \***(yōl-lō-ā)**, “to own life abundantly.” Compare **(yōl-lō)-tl-**, “heart,” in § 39.3.3.]

The patientive nounstems formed from compound verbstems with **\*tla-(-hua)** in the matrix subposition are restricted to nominal embeds that refer to acquired family relations (including slaves); that is, **\*tla-(-hua)** here usually means “to acquire s.th.” (rather than “to own s.th.”), so the matrix nounstem **\*(-huah)-tli-** usually means “an acquired (family member).” Another point of interest about these patientive nounstems is that they are found almost exclusively either in honorific NNCs or in denominal verbstem formations (see § 54.5.1.a and § 54.5.2).

(**oquich-huah)-tli-** = an acquired man; i.e., a husband [E.g., **noquichhuahtzin**, **#θ-θ+n-□(oquich-huah-tzin)θ-θ#**, “he is my husband (H).” Compare **noquichhui**, “he is my man/husband”; cf. § 14.7.1.]

(**cihuā-huah)-tli-** = an acquired woman; i.e., a wife [E.g., **īcihuāhuahtzin**, **#θ-θ+i-θ(cihuā-huah-tzin)θ-θ#**, “she is his wife (H).” Compare **īcihuāuh**, “she is his woman/wife”; cf. § 14.7.2.]

(**pil-huah)-tli-** = an acquired dependent; i.e., a child

(**huez-huah)-tli-** = an acquired sister-in-law (of a woman); i.e., a sister-in-law (of a woman) [E.g., **nohuezhuahtzin**, “she is my sister-in-law (H)” (a woman is speaking). The nounstem (**huez)-tli-** is otherwise found only in possessive-state NNCs; e.g., **nohuezhui**, “she is my sister-in-law”; cf. § 14.7.1.]

(**oquich-tī-huah)-tli-** = an older brother (of a sister) [E.g., **īoquichtīhuahtzin**, “he is her older brother (H).” From the nounstem (**oquich-tīuh)-tli-**, “older brother (of a sister)”; the stem-final /w/ disappears before the /w/ of **\*(-huah)-tli-**.]

(**huēl-tī-huah)-tli-** = an older sister [E.g., **nohuēltīhuahtzin**, “she is my older sister (H).” From the nounstem (**huēl-tīuh)-tli-**, “older sister”; the stem-final /w/ disappears before the /w/ of **\*(-huah)-tli-**.]

(**tlāca-huah)-tli-** = an acquired person; i.e., a slave

39.2. *The Imperfective Patientive Nounstem.* The imperfective patientive nounstem has an imperfective active stem as its source. It probably arose from a confusion of the imperfective verbstem minus the nonactive suffix **hua** with the imperfective verbstem proper (see § 20.6 for the formation of nonactive verbstems using the **hua** suffix). As in § 39.1, the nounstem is again modeled after either a passive or an impersonal formation.

Class C verbs use the truncated imperfective verbstem with final long /o:/ or /i:/. Class D verbs use the imperfective verbstem with final long /a:/.

The derived nounstem belongs to the **tl** class.

1. If the source verbstem is transitive, the imperfective patientive nounstem may be formed on the analogy of a passive patientive nounstem (i.e., the projective object pronoun **tē** or **tlā** is not present unless the passive source verb core contains it).

(**pā-tz-ca)-tl-** = a thing that is squeezed out; i.e., juice [**< tla-(pā-tz-ca)**, “to squeeze s.th. (i.e., a liquid) out”]

**pātzcatl** = it is juice

**nopātzca** = it is my juice

- (toca)-tl-** = a thing that is followed (by filament); i.e., a spider [< **tlā-(toca)**, “to follow s.th.”]  
**tocatl** = it is a spider  
**tocameh** = they are spiders  
**(ē-hu-a)-tl-** = a thing that can be or has been lifted, stripped, or peeled away; i.e., skin, pelt, (raw)hide; bark; rind [< **tlā-(ē-hu-a)**, “to raise s.th., to lift s.th.”]

Occasionally, a patientive gloss—although conceivably possible—seems strained:

- (cōl-ō)-tl-** = a thing that is bent; i.e., a scorpion [< **tlā-(cōl-o-ā)**, “to cause s.th. to become bent,” i.e., “to bend s.th.”]  
**(tzo-pil-ō)-tl-** = a thing that is hung over filth; i.e., a turkey vulture [< **(tzo)-tl-**, “filth” + **tlā-(pil-o-ā)**, “to cause s.th. to become pendent”; i.e., “to hang s.th. up”]

The English speaker’s worldview would prefer an agentive gloss in these instances (“a thing that bends,” “a thing that hangs/soars over filth”). In other instances an agentive gloss is unavoidable:

- (pā-pal-ō)-tl-** = a thing that sips and samples constantly; i.e., a butterfly [< **tlā-(pal-o-ā)**, “to sip s.th.”]

2. With a transitive or an intransitive verbstem as source, the imperfective patientive nounstem may be formed on the analogy of an impersonal patientive nounstem.

- (cuīca)-tl-** = a thing that is sung; i.e., a song [< **(cuīca)**, “to sing”]  
**cuīcatl** = it is a song, they are songs  
**nocuīc** = it is my song, they are my songs  
**(tlā-pāca)-tl-** = a thing that is washed; i.e., laundry [< **tlā-(pāca)**, “to wash s.th.”]  
**tlapācatl** = it is laundry  
**notlapāc** = it is my laundry

The following nounstems are further examples of the formation:

- (āy-a-hui)-tl-** = fog, mist [< **(āy-a-hui)**, “for there to be a mist, for there to be a fog, to be foggy”]; see § 55.6.]  
**(copi)-tl-** = firefly [< **(copi)**, “to wink, to blink.” As in some of nounstems in subsection 1 above, an agentive gloss seems more appropriate than a patientive one. Molina lists only the verbstem **(ih-copi)**, but Sahagún gives **(copi)**.]  
**(eh-ca)-tl-** = breeze [< **(eh-ca)**, “for a breeze to blow.” Because of the existence of this verbstem, **(eh-ca)-tl-** is seen as a deverbal nounstem rather than as an instance of a compound nounstem with **(-ca)-tl-** as matrix (see § 31.6). The verbstem-forming suffix **ca** found here also occurs in other intransitive verbstems, such as **(pil-ca)**, “to become pendent,” **(ih-ca)**, “to stand,” etc. The glottal stop in **(eh-ca)** and **(eh-ca)-tl-** is abundantly attested in Sahagún. See § 14.3.]  
**(te-c-i-hui)-tl-** = hail [< **(te-c-i-hui)**, “to hail”]  
**(tlā-cuā)-tl-** = a thing that is eaten; i.e., an opossum [< **tlā-(cuā)**, “to eat s.th.” The nounstem is usually in the affective form, **(tlā-cuā-tzin)-θ-**, “opossum.”]  
**(tlā-t-hui)-tl-** = a thing that results when everything becomes visible/perceptible; i.e., dawn [< the impersonal **tlā** verbstem **(tlā-t-hui)**, “for things in general to become



visible/perceptible,” from the intransitive verbstem (**it-hui**), “to become visible/perceptible”]

39.3. *The Imperfective Patientive Nounstem of Characteristic Properties.* The imperfective patientive derivation is especially productive, since it is used to form deverbal nounstems from compound verbstems of abundant ownership whose matrix is the verbstem **\*tla-(-yo-ā)** (see § 35.10 regarding the preterit-agentive NNCs of abundant ownership). Since **\*tla-(-yo-ā)** means “to possess abundantly,” and therefore “to possess characteristically,” the meaning of the imperfective patientive nounstem derived by means of it has to do, either directly or obliquely, with the idea of “that which pertains to” or “that which is characterized by.” The /y/ of the matrix nounstem (**-yō-tl-**) is assimilated according to the rules set down in § 2.10 (see § 35.10). For example, the nounstem (**tla-ix**)-**tli-**, “a coating/surface, slick/oily surface” (which is created by downgrading the possessive-state predicate **+tla(ix)-** to the rank of a nounstem according to § 15.1.6), is incorporated as an object into **\*tla-(-yo-ā)** to form the verbstem **\*(tla-ix-yo-ā)**, and from this are derived the two following deverbal nounstems:

pret. agen.: (**tla-ix-xo-h-θ**)-**□-** = a thing that has owned an oily surface abundantly; i.e., a greasy thing

imperf. patien.: (**tla-ix-xō**)-**tl-** = a thing that is characteristically an oily surface; i.e., grease (e.g., in a pot)

Since (**-yō**)-**tl-** is a Subclass 1-B **tl** nounstem, the subject pronoun of a possessive-state NNC formed on it has its number position filled by the morphic dyad **θ-θ**. When followed by this dyad, the stem (**-yō**)-**tl-** loses length on the /o:/.

1. The patientive nounstem may signify the state or quality inherent in the entity signified by the incorporated nounstem:

(**teō-yō**)-**tl-** = a thing characteristic of a god; i.e., divinity, godhood

**teōyōtl** = it is divinity

**iteōyo** = it is his divinity

The following nounstems are further examples of this derivation:

(**chichi-yō**)-**tl-** = a thing characteristic of dogs, i.e., dogginess

(**oquich-chō**)-**tl-** = virility, manliness [/*č*/ + /y/ > [čč]]

(**cua-l-lō**)-**tl-** = goodness [The embed is a passive patientive nounstem.]

(**huē-hueh-yō**)-**tl-** = a thing characteristic of old men; i.e., old agedness [The embed is the glottalized, embed-only stem (**huē-hueh-**)- (see § 35.8).]

(**huē-huē-t-θ-cā-yō**)-**tl-** = a thing that is characteristic of one who has become an old man; i.e., old agedness [The embed is a preterit-agentive nounstem; see § 35.8.]

(**tla-ht-o-h-θ-cā-yō**)-**tl-** = kingliness, kingship [The embed is a preterit-agentive nounstem.]

(**tōpil-eh-θ-cā-yō**)-**tl-** = officeship of a constable [The embed is a preterit-agentive nounstem of ownership.]

The nounstems (**(pil-lō)-tl-**, “nobility,” and **(tēuc-yō)-tl-**, “lordship,” serve as the possessive-state NNCs of **(pil)-li-**, “noble,” and **(tēuc)-tli-**, “lord” (see § 15.1.2).

2. The patientive nounstem may signify a thing pertaining to the incorporated nounstem:

**(tīci-yō)-tl-** = a thing that pertains to doctors; i.e., medical art

**tīciyōtl** = it is medical art

**īntīciyo** = it is their medical art

The following nounstems are further examples of this derivation:

**(teō-yō)-tl-** = a thing that pertains to God; i.e., doctrine, ritual

**(yāō-yō)-tl-** = a thing that pertains to enemies; i.e., enmity; war, battle

**(mahui-z-zō)-tl-** = a thing that pertains to a man worthy of respect; i.e., honor

[The stem is traditionally misspelled **(mahuizo)-tl-**, a spelling that misleads one into believing it is derived from **tla-(mahui-z-o-ā)**, “to be astonished at s.th.”]

**(tla-ht-o-h-θ-cā-yō)-tl-** = a thing that pertains to kings; i.e., dignity, grandeur

**(mich-huah-θ-cā-yō)-tl-** = a thing that pertains to fish owners; i.e., the customs and mode of life of fish owners

**(tla-mati-ni-yō)-tl-** = a thing that pertains to wise men; i.e., doctrine, teaching [The embed is a customary-present agentive nounstem.]

**(tla-maca-z-cā-yō)-tl-** = a thing that pertains to priests; i.e., priestly privileges [The embed is a future-agentive nounstem.]

3. The patientive nounstem may signify a thing intrinsic to the incorporated nounstem, an essential aspect of it:

**(cual-ā-n-yō)-tl-** = a thing that is intrinsic to anger; i.e., irritation [The embed is the impersonal patientive nounstem **(cual-ā-n)-tli-**, “anger.” Compare **(cual-ā-n-θ-cā-yō)-tl-**, “a thing characteristic of an angry person,” i.e., “anger.”]

**cualānyōtl** = it is irritation

**nocualānyo** = it is my irritation

Included in this category are such nounstems as the following:

**(yōl-lō)-tl-** = that which is essential to a living being; i.e., a heart [See § 39.1.3 for the perfective patientive nounstem **(yōl-lo-h)-tli-**.]

**(tē-mach-tī-liz-zō)-tl-** = that which is essential to an act of teaching; i.e., a lesson

*Remark 1:* At times the incorporated nounstem no longer exists, since the derived nounstem has taken over its meaning:

**(pa-ti-yō)-tl-** = pay, price, exchange value, exchange [**<\*(pa-ti)-tl-**, “exchanged item, exchange value,” a passive patientive nounstem from **tla-(pa-tla)**, “to exchange s.th.” The compound nounstem is traditionally spelled **(patio)-tl-**.]

**(ih-i-yō)-tl-** = breath; by extension, essence, influence [The embed is the reduplicative nounstem **\*(ih-i)-tl-**, “breath.” The compound nounstem is traditionally spelled **(ihio)-tl-**.]

**(machi-yō)-tl-** = sign, symbol, example, model, pattern [The embed is derived from the verbstem **(mati)**, “to be knowledgeable.”]

*Remark:* Occasionally the possessive-state NNC is formed on the embed, not on the compound stem:

(pāc-yō)-tl- = joy  
 pācyōtl = it is joy  
 nopāc = it is my joy

*Remark 3:* A possessive-state predicate that has been downgraded to the rank of a general-use stem (see § 15.1.5) can be incorporated into (-yō)-tl-.

(ti-yah-θ-cā-uh-yō)-tl- = warriorhood [For *tiyahcāuh*, see § 35.6, note 3.]

4. In a possessive-state NNC, if the entity referred to by the *subject pronoun* is part of a whole, the entity referred to by the *possessor pronoun* may or may not be the whole to which the part inheres (or originally inherited). The NNC is therefore ambiguous.

**notlan = #θ-θ+n-o(tlan)θ-θ#** = it is my tooth

This may mean (1) “it is a tooth that is/was an integral, organic part of me,” or (2) “it is a tooth that I acquired from a dead bear or from the hunter who killed the bear,” etc. The plural translation, “they are my teeth,” has, of course, the same ambiguity.

Nahuatl, like English, tolerates this ambiguity in the majority of instances of possessorhood in a part-whole relationship, possibly because one of the two options ordinarily seems the obvious, intended meaning.

When, however, a nounstem names a part that can be taken from a whole (e.g., a human body, an animal body, a plant, etc.), the language often, but not always, makes a distinction between *acquired*, *adventitious* possession and *integral*, *organic* possession.

When the possessor pronoun refers to an entity that *adventitiously* possesses the part/segment/appendage referred to by the subject pronoun, the possessive-state NNC is built on a “normal” nounstem:

**nomiuh = #θ-θ+n-□(omi)uh-θ#** = it is my bone, they are my bones [i.e., I came into possession of the bone(s) by discovery, purchase, etc.]

The nounstem can occur in an absolutive-state NNC:

**omitl = #θ-θ(omi)tl-θ#** = it is a bone, they are bones

When, however, the possessor pronoun identifies the whole to which the part named by the stem belongs *organically* or *integrally*, the possessive-state NNC is built on a compound nounstem in which (-yō)-tl- occupies the matrix subposition.

**nomiyo = #θ-θ+n-□(omi-yo)θ-θ#** = it is my bone, they are my bones [i.e., I am the whole of which the bone/bones is/are an organic part]

**tomiyo = #θ-θ+t-□(omi-yo)θ-θ#** = it is our organically possessed bone; i.e., it is a bone of one of us, it is a bone as an organic integral part of a body; they are our organically possessed bones [See § 13.6 concerning the use of the possessive pronoun **t-o**.]

The compound nounstem with this meaning of “organically possessed part” occurs only in a possessive-state NNC. Of course, a compound-stem with (-yō)-tl- as matrix may have a different meaning and, if it does, it can appear in an absolutive-state NNC:

**omiyōtl = #θ-θ(omi-yō)tl-θ#** = it is boniness

Nahuatl uses this adventitious-possessor-versus-organic-possessor contrast with part-items such as bones, flesh, blood, skin, fur, wings, feathers, down, leaves, flowers, etc. The

following are a few examples (Adv owshp = adventitious ownership; Org owshp = organic ownership):

Adv owshp: **nez** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n- $\square$ (ez) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is my blood (not part of my body)

Org owshp: **nezzo** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n- $\square$ (ez-zo) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is my blood (part of my body or that has flowed from my body)

Adv owshp: **nonac** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(nac) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is my meat (not part of my body)

Org owshp: **nonacayo** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(naca-yo) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is my flesh (part of my body)

Adv owshp: **nahtlapal** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n- $\emptyset$ (ah-tla-pa-l) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is my leaf, they are my leaves; it is my wing, they are my wings

Org owshp: **iahtlapallo** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i- $\emptyset$ (ah-tla-pa-l-lo) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is its leaf, they are its leaves, they are their leaves (part of the plant or plants); it is its wing, they are its wings (part of the bird)

Adv owshp: **nihhuiuh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n- $\square$ (ihhui)uh- $\emptyset$ # = it is my feather, they are my feathers

Org owshp: **iihuiyo** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i- $\emptyset$ (ihhui-yo) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is its feather; they are its feathers (part of the bird)

Adv owshp: **noxochiuh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(xō-chi)uh- $\emptyset$ # = it is my flower, they are my flowers

Org owshp: **ixōchiyo** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i- $\emptyset$ (xō-chi-yo) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is its flower, they are its flowers; they are their flowers (part of the plant or plants) [When the possessor is an animate being, this nounstem means “(animal) fat, grease, suet,” so this NNC would then be translated “it is its fat,” “it is its grease,” “it is its suet.”]

Other body parts, such as hair, eyes, fingers, fingernails, etc., do not merit the formal contrast of adventitious versus organic possession. Even a body part named by a compound nounstem with (-yō)-tli- as matrix need not imply the distinction:

**itzo**yo = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i- $\emptyset$ (tzo-yo) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is his anus [ $\square$  (tzo)-tli-, “body filth”]

**ixā**yo = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i- $\emptyset$ (ix-ā-yo) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is his tear, they are his tears [ $\square$  (ix-ā-yō)-tli-, “eye-wateriness,” i.e., “tear”]

Furthermore, a compound stem with (-yō)-tli- as matrix and a body-part-naming stem as embed may not imply the distinction either:

**itē**nyo = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i- $\emptyset$ (tēn-yo) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is his fame [A possessive-state NNC from the stem (tēn-yō)-tli-, “fame,” it is formed with the nounstem (tēn)-tli-, “lip,” as embed. Compare the English expression “he is on everyone’s lips.”]

Peculiar discrepancies may occur. For example, (tzon)-tli-, “hair,” does not have an organic-possession form, but the compound stem (ah-co-l-tzon)-tli-, “hair on the shoulder,” does.

**notzon** = it is my hair, they are my hairs

**nahcoltzo**nyo = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-(ah-co-l-tzon-yo) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is my shoulder hair, they are my shoulder hairs

Furthermore, when in the meaning of “upper part/end/tip,” (tzon)-tli- does show organic possession.

**ītzonyo** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + $\bar{i}$ - $\emptyset$ (**tzon-yo**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is its top/peak [As in **ītzonyo tepētl**, “it is the mountain’s peak.”]

The notion of organic versus adventitious possession is not limited to parts of living entities; for example:

Adv owshp: **nocaltech** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +**n-o**(**cal-tech**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is my house-wall; they are my house-walls [**<** (**cal-tech**)-**tli-**, “house-wall” (see § 47.3.1.b).]

Org owshp: **icaltechyo** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + $\bar{i}$ - $\emptyset$ (**cal-tech-yo**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is its house-wall; they are its house-walls; they are their house-walls (integral part or parts of a building or buildings)

Adv owshp: **notecol** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +**n-o**(**tecol**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is my [**<** charcoal (**tecol**)-**li-**, “charcoal.”]

Org owshp: **itecollo** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + $\bar{i}$ - $\emptyset$ (**tecol-lo**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is its/their charcoal [As in **in nāhui ocotl itecollo**, “it is the charcoal of the four pine torches.”]

5. The kind of compound stem in which **\*(-yō)-tl-** fills the matrix subposition while a preterit-agentive nounstem fills the embed subposition has been presented in § 35.6, *note*, and § 35.8. The following is another example:

**tōnacāyōtl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**tōna- $\emptyset$ -cā-yō**)**tl- $\emptyset$** # = it is what is characteristic of the thing that shines warmly, it is a thing that is characteristic of sun-warmth; i.e., it is agricultural produce, it is sustenance, it is maize [**<** (**tōna**), “for the sun to shine”; general-use preterit-agentive nounstem (**tōna- $\emptyset$ -cā**)-**□-**, “a thing that shines warmly”]

**ītōnacāyo** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + $\bar{i}$ - $\emptyset$ (**tōna- $\emptyset$ -cā-yo**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is his agricultural produce, it is his maize

*Remark:* There are those who misread **tōnacāyōtl** as if it were **tonacayo** (see subsection 4 above), that is, as if it were a possessive-state NNC with (**naca**)-**tl-** as embed. This obviously cannot be the case, since it is clearly an absolute-state NNC; for example, **tōnacāyōtl tomiyo** (*FC*, XI, 279) is NOT “our flesh, our bones”; it is to be translated “Maize is our bones” or “Our bones are maize” (depending on which NNC is taken to be the principal clause).

6. The kind of compound nounstem in which **(-yō)-tl-** fills the matrix subposition while a nounstem formed from a distant-past predicate-based VNC fills the embed subposition has been presented in § 36.10.2 (passive-action nounstem) and § 36.11.2 (active-action nounstem, first type). The following examples recall the formations.

a. The passive-action nounstem as embed:

**cualōcāyōtl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**cua-lō-cā-yō**)**tl- $\emptyset$** # = it is what is characteristic of having been eaten; i.e., it is the act of being eaten, it is the state of having been eaten [**<** **tla-**(**cuā**), “to eat s.th.”]

**īcualōca** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + $\bar{i}$ - $\emptyset$ (**cua-lō-ca**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is its eclipse [As in the supplementary-possessor construction **mētztli īcualōca**, “it is the moon’s eclipse, it is the eclipse of the moon.”]

b. The active-action nounstem as embed:

**chiyāhuacāyōtl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**chiy-ā-hua-cā-yō**)**tl- $\emptyset$** # = it is what is characteristic of having become fatty or oily, it is the state of being fatty or oily [**<** (**chiy-ā-hua**), “to become fatty or oily”]

**īchīyāhuaca** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ī- $\emptyset$ (chīy-ā-hua-ca) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is its fattiness, it is its oiliness

**īchīyāhuacāyo** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ī- $\emptyset$ (chīy-ā-hua-cā-yo) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is its fattiness, it is its oiliness

**cuepōncāyōtl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cuep-ō-n-cā-yō)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is what is characteristic of having bloomed/blossomed, it is the state of having blossomed [ $\langle$  (cuep-ō-ni), “to bloom, to blossom”]

**īcuepōnca** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ī- $\emptyset$ (cuep-ō-n-ca) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is its state of having blossomed

*Note:* There is a difficulty in that the absolutive-state NNCs of subsections 5 and 6 may be homophonous and therefore ambiguous (compare § 36.12). For example, **chīyāhuacāyōtl**:

1. # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (chīy-ā-hua-cā-yō)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is what is characteristic of an act of having become fatty or oily

2. # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (chīy-ā-hua- $\emptyset$ -cā-yō)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is what is characteristic of a thing that has become fatty or oily

Also, **cuepōncāyōtl**:

1. # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cuep-ō-n-cā-yō)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is what is characteristic of the state resulting from having blossomed

2. # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cuep-ō-n- $\emptyset$ -cā-yō)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is what is characteristic of a thing that has blossomed

It is difficult for English to capture the fineness of the distinction between “what is characteristic of a resultant state” and “what is characteristic of a thing that has performed (or performs) an action.” As a result the meaning intended in a given instance goes unrecognized. For example, the NNCs above are always translated summarily as “oiliness” (or “fattiness”) and as “blossom.”

*Remark:* The derivational sequence that generates a compound nounstem with (-yō)-tl- in the matrix subposition may be complicated. For example, (tla-aquí-l-lō)-tl-, “fruit,” is created by the following sequence:

1. (aqui) = to enter

2. tla-(aqui-ā) = *causative*, to cause s.th. to enter, to add s.th. on

3. tlaaquito = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tla(aquí-lo) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = *impersonal VNC*, s.th. is added on

4. (tla-aquí-l-li) = *impersonal patientive nounstem*, an added-on thing

5. \*(tla-aquí-l-l-ā) = *incorporated-object compound verbstem*, to own added-on things in every part, to be covered with added-on things (said, for example, of a tree) [The asterisk indicates that the verbstem is reconstructed; it is found only in a preterit-agentive NNC of abundant ownership: tlaaquilloh = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tla-aquí-l-l-h- $\emptyset$ )- $\emptyset$ # = “it is an owner of added-on things”; i.e., “it is a tree covered with fruit.”]

6. (tla-aquí-l-lō)-tl- = *imperfective patientive nounstem*, a thing characteristic of a thing (e.g., a tree) with added-on things (such as fruit); a thing characteristic of a tree with fruit on it; i.e., fruit.

39.4. *The Root- or Stock-Based Patientive Nounstem.* A destockal verb may derive a patientive nounstem from its stock or from the root underlying that stock.

1. Intransitive destockal verbstems of the **ni** kind (see § 24.5) may have a stock patientive nounstem formed from the stock plus **c**, **x**, **z**, or **ch**, the choice depending on factors no longer evident in the surface grammar. The long vowel that serves as the stock formative is made short.

(cual-a-x)-tli- = a thing that has resulted from becoming angry; i.e., anger, rage [ $\langle$  (cual-ā-ni), “to become angry”]

(coy-o-c)-tli- = a thing that has become a hole; i.e., a hole, a cavity, a depression [ $\langle$  (coy-ō-ni), “to become a hole”]

(tlap-a-c)-tli- = a thing that has become broken [ $\langle$  (tlap-ā-ni), “to become broken.”] This nounstem should not be confused with the perfective patientive nounstem (tla-pāc)-tli-, “a thing that has been washed,” derived from tla-(pāca), “to wash s.th.,” according to § 39.1.2. Besides the difference in vowel length, the internal structure is different.]

**(yam-a-z)-tli-** = a thing that has become soft [< **(yam-ā-ni)**, “to become soft”]

**(chacu-a-ch)-tli-** = a thing that is used for soaking; i.e., a tub [< **(chacu-ā-ni)**, “to become soaking wet, to soak (speaking of clothes, etc.)” Notice the instrumentive meaning of the nounstem.]

The irregular destockal verbstems in which the root vowel and the stock-formative vowel have become fused into one (see § 24.5.9) form stock-based patientive nounstems that keep the vowel length.

**(xī-c)-tli-** = a thing that has caved in; i.e., a navel [< **(xī-ni)**, “to cave in/collapse”; cf.,

**(ā-xī-c)-tli-**, “a thing that has caved in in the form of water,” i.e., “a whirlpool”]

In the following examples of this derivation, the simple destockal verbstem is no longer used (see § 24.5.9).

**(pō-c)-tli-** = a thing that results from smoke emission; i.e., smoke [< **\*(pō-ni)**, “to emit smoke”]

**(pō-ch)-tli-** = a thing that results from smoke emission; i.e., incense smoke [< **\*(pō-ni)**]

**(tō-ch)-tli-** = a thing that has run swiftly; i.e., a rabbit [< **\*(tō-ni)**, “to run fast.” The nounstem can also belong to the **in** class: **(tō-ch)-in-**. With this nounstem an agentive gloss seems more appropriate than a patientive one.]

It is possible that a similar derivation, using the destockal verbstem **(mī-ni)**, “to become arrow-pierced” (see § 25.4, *note*), produced the nounstem **(mi-ch)-in-**, “a thing that has become arrow-pierced,” i.e., “a fish,” except that the vowel is short.

The frequentative intransitive destockal verbstem can also generate a patientive nounstem by this procedure:

**(chī-chip-i-e)-tli-** = drop [< **(chī-chip-ī-ni)**, “to drip repeatedly”]

**(tō-tom-o-ch)-tli-** = a thing that has become blistered; i.e., dried maize shucks [< **(tō-tōm-ō-ni)**, “to become blistered”]

The derived frequentative intransitive destockal verbstem in which **ca** replaces **ni** can serve as the source of a stock-based patientive nounstem, often adding **ch** to the stock but occasionally using **c** or a glottal stop.

**(po-pō-ch)-tli-** = perfume, incense [< **(po-pō-ca)**, “to emit smoke” (see § 27.4.3). Notice that, as with **(pō-c)-tli-** and **(pō-ch)-tli-**, the length is kept on the root vowel.]

**(ca-cal-a-ch)-tli-** = a clay rattle [< **(ca-cal-a-ca)**, “to emit a quick succession of short, sharp sounds”]

**(pe-pey-o-c)-tli-** = a thing that has scintillated, a pendent jewel [< **(pe-pey-o-ca)**, “to scintillate”]

**(cha-chal-a-h)-tli-** = a bird that cackles a lot [< **(cha-chal-a-ca)**, “to chatter incessantly”]

**(cha-chap-a-h)-tli-** = a wide-mouthed clay pot [< **(cha-chap-a-ca)**, “for large drops to splatter”]

Occasionally, an compound intransitive destockal verbstem formed with a **ca** stem as matrix and the nounstem **\*(ih-)-tli-** as embed (see § 30.13) may derive a patientive nounstem by adding **c** to its stock.

**(ih-pot-o-c)-tli-** = breath/exhalation/vapor/fumes [< **(ih-pot-o-ca)**, “to give off fumes/a vapor”]

**(ih-zahu-a-c)-tli-** = hoarseness [< **(ih-zahu-a-ca)**, “to become hoarse”]

*Note:* Frequentative transitive destockal verbstems formed with **tz-a** can serve as the source for patientive nounstems according to § 39.1.2:

**(tla-chi-chin-a-tz)-tli-** = one who has been cruelly tormented [< **tē-(chi-chin-a-tz-a)**, “to cause s.o. pain, to make s.o. suffer.” Concerning the **tla** in the nounstem, see § 38.1.4.]

2. Intransitive destockal verbstems of the **hua** kind (see § 24.6) may have stock-based patientive nounstems formed by adding **c** to the stock. The long vowel that serves as the stock formative is made short.

**(pitz-a-c)-tli-** = a thing that has become narrowed/thin [< **(pitz-ā-hua)**, “to become narrow/thin”]

**(cham-a-c)-tli-** = a thing that has become thick/larger [< **(cham-ā-hua)**, “to become larger”]

**(tom-a-c)-tli-** = a thing that has become plump [< **(tom-ā-hua)**, “to become plump”]

Intransitive destockal **hua** verbstems that have **ē** as the stem formative frequently use this patientive formation to create nounstems meaning “a thing that has somewhat the characteristic (color, texture, etc.) of.”

**(zōn-e-c)-tli-** = a spongy/squashy thing [< **(zōn-ē-hua)**, “to become spongy/squashy”]

**(pin-e-c)-tli-** = a pallid thing [< **(pin-ē-hua)**, “to become palid”]

As mentioned in § 24.6.2, the role of root may be filled by a downgraded nounstem. In the following examples such a nounstem is referred to as a “root.”

**(tīc-e-c)-tli-** = a chalkish-colored thing [< **(tīc-ē-hua)**, “to become the color of chalk.” The root is **(tiza)-tl-**, “white clay, chalk.”]

**(pō-ch-e-c)-tli-** = a smoky-colored thing, s.th. smoke-blackened [< **(pō-ch-ē-hua)**, “to become darkened by smoke.” The root is **(pō-ch)-tli-**, “incense smoke, smoke.”]

**(tlīl-e-c)-tli-** = an ink-colored thing, a blackish thing [< **(tlīl-ē-hua)**, “to become like ink, to become black, to become blackish.” The root is **(tlīl)-li-**, “ink, black ink.”]

**(nex-e-c)-tli-** = an ash-colored thing [< **(nex-ē-hua)**, “to become the color of ashes.” The root is **(nex)-tli-**, “ash, ashes.”]

**(izta-l-e-c)-tli-** = a pallid-colored thing [< **(izta-l-ē-hua)**, “to become pallid.” The root is the impersonal patientive nounstem **(izta-l)-li-**, “a thing that has become white, a whitish thing, a pallid thing,” from the verbstem **(izta-ya)**, “to become like salt, i.e., “to become white.”]

A destockal **hua** verbstem may occasionally form a patientive nounstem by adding **ch** to its stock.

**(patl-a-ch)-tli-** = a thing that has become wide, i.e., a wide thing (such as a board, table, etc.) [< **(patl-ā-hua)**, “to become wide”]

A destockal **hua** verbstem can also form a patientive nounstem by using the stock itself as a nounstem.



- (tom-a)-tl-** = a thing that has become plump; i.e., the green-husk tomato [< **(tom-ā-hua)**, “to become plump”]
- (cham-a)-tl-** = one who claims (without reason) that he has become large; i.e., one who brags about himself, a braggart [< **(cham-ā-hua)**, “to become thick, dense”]
- (iy-e)-tl-** = a thing that has become offered up in sacrifice; i.e., tobacco [< **(iy-ā-hua)**, “to become lifted up in a sacrificial offering to a deity.” Notice the raising of /a/ to [e] (see § 2.21.)]
- (ā-tōy-a)-tl-** = a thing that has become flowing in the form of water; i.e., a river [< **(ā-tōy-ā-hua)**, “to become flowing in the form of water”; an incorporated-adverb compound verbstem: **(ā)-tl**, “water” + **(tōy-ā-hua)**, “to flow forth”]

3. Intransitive destockal verbstems of the **i-hui/a-hui** kind (see § 24.7) can occasionally form a stock-based patientive nounstem by adding **x** or **c** to the stock.

- (cuetl-a-x)-tli-** = a thing that has become withered/shriveled; i.e., tanned hide/leather [< **(cuetl-a-hui)**, “to become withered/shriveled.” The meaning of the related stem, **(cuetl-ā-ni)**, “(for wind, sickness, etc.) to abate/become attenuated,” is not close enough to justify taking it as the source for the nounstem.]
- (poy-a-c)-tli-** = a thing that has become thin or has nearly faded away [< **(poy-a-hui)**, “(for a cloud) to become thin or fade away”]

Both the intransitive **i-hui/a-hui** destockal verbstems and their causative **o-ā** derivative stems may form a patientive nounstem from their root. Since deverbal nounstems are formed on verbcores (see § 37.8) and **o-ā** verbstems are causatives, a nounstem derived from them includes the causative object pronoun **tla**.

- (yēc)-tli-** = a thing that has become finished or completed; i.e., a consummate/good thing [ < **(yēc-a-hui)**, “to become finished or completed”]
- (tzol)-li-** = a thing that has become narrow toward the end; i.e., a tapering thing [ < **(tzol-i-hui)**, “to become narrow, to taper”]
- (tzic)-tli-** = a thing that has become gummy; i.e., resin gum, chewing gum [ < **(tzic-a-hui)**, “to become gummy, to adhere”]
- (tla-zāl)-li-** = a thing that has been made to be sticky (e.g., birdlime) [ < **tla-(zāl-o-ā)**, “to cause s.th. to become sticky; to cause s.th. to stick, to glue s.th., to paste s.th., to solder s.th.”]
- (tla-huī-tōl)-li-** = a thing that has been bowed; i.e., a bow (for shooting arrows) [ < **tla-(huī-tōl-o-ā)**, “to bend s.th. in the shape of an arc”]

*Note:* Since an intransitive destockal verbstem ending in **i-hui** or **a-hui** can be formed from a nounstem as root (see § 54.1), it is possible that a nounstem such as **(tzic)-tli-** is the source of the verbstem **(tzic-a-hui)** rather than a derivative of it. No such possibility exists, of course, in the instance of a nounstem such as **(tla-zāl)-li-**, since the presence of the verb object pronoun inside the nounstem is a clear indication that the nounstem is derived from a verbstem.

4. The stock of certain intransitive destockal verbs is used as a nounstem with an agentive meaning (compare the imperfective patientives of § 39.2.1).

**(coy-ō)-tl-** = an entity that yips/howls; i.e., a coyote [**(coy-ō-ni)**, “to make a yipping/howling sound.” This meaning of the verbstem is conjectural; dictionaries list only “to become a hole” (see § 24.5.3). But that it also signifies the making of a sound is witnessed by its derived stem **(ih-coy-o-ca)**, “(for flames/rushing water/wind or a hurricane) to make a noise; to buzz/hum”; see § 30.13. Notice also that the nounstem **(tocuil-coy-ō)-tl-** signifies “a sandhill crane” (i.e., a bird whose call is a loud trumpeting, rattling *gar-oo-oo*), while **(ā-coy-ō)-tl-** signifies “an anhinga” (whose call is a low grunt). The verbstem Molina lists as meaning “to howl” is **(te-coy-ō-hua)**.]

**(pey-ō)-tl-** = an entity that glows; crystalis, cocoon; *by extension*, peyote [**(pey-ō-ni)**, “to glow”]

**(mōy-ō)-tl-** = an entity that swarms; i.e., mosquito/gnat [**(mōy-ō-ni)**, “to swarm”]

*Note:* There are some nounstems that are obviously derived from verbcores, but one cannot be sure what that source is. In the following two examples the **tlā** and the **ne** are clearly verb-object pronouns, but the verbstem is unknown.

**(tlā-lhua)-tl-** = sinew, tendon [Organic possession is expressed by a possessive-state NNC built on the stem **(tlā-lhua-yō)-tl-** (see § 39.3.4).]

**(ne-lhua)-tl-** = root [Organic possession is expressed by a possessive state NNC built on the stem **(ne-lhua-yō)-tl-**.]

39.5. *Multiple Derivation of Patientive Nounstems.* Some verbs allow the formation of patientive nounstems by means of more than one of the five procedures for deriving such stems.

In the majority of instances the various patientive nounstems from a common source have synonymous translations (but perhaps not synonymous meanings):

**(tlā-tlāza-l)-li-** = **(tlā-tlāx)-tli-** = **(tlā-tlāz)-tli-** = a thing that is thrown

**(tlā-pā-tz-ca-l)-li-** = **(pā-tz-ca)-tli-** = **(tlā-pā-tz-qui)-tli-** = a thing that is squeezed out; e.g., milk, juice

**(tlā-quēmi)-tli-** = **(quēmi)-tli-** = **(tlā-quēn)-tli-** = **(quēn)-tli-** = a thing that is worn; i.e., clothing

**(cual-ā-n)-tli-** = **(cual-a-x)-tli-** = anger

In some instances, however, the difference in formation is accompanied by a difference in translation value, which is frequently due to an idiomatic restriction of the high-generality meaning of one or more of the derived nounstems:

**(tlā-cua-l)-li-** = a thing that can be eaten; i.e., food

**(tlā-cuā)-tli-** = an opossum

**(cua-l)-li-** = a thing that is good, a good thing

**(tlā-tzacu-a-l)-li-** = a thing that is closed

**(tlā-tzau)-tli-** = a thing that is closed

**(tlā-tzacu-ī-l)-li-** = a thing that can be closed; i.e., a door

**(tzacu-a-l)-li-** = a pyramid

**(tzau)-tli-** = glue, paste

**(tlā-xca-l)-li-** = tortilla, bread

**(tlā-xqui)-tli-** = a thing cooked in hot coals

39.6. *The Patientive Nounstem as Embed in Compound Stem Formations.* The patientive nounstem may serve as the embed of both nominal and verbal compound stems.

1. With a nominal matrix:

**(cē-hua-l-cal)-li-** = a shade-house; e.g., a canopy

**(tla-cua-l-cal)-li-** = a pantry, a larder

**(petz-caxi)-tl-** = a highly glazed bowl [The embed **(petz)-tli-**, “a highly polished, slick-surfaced thing; e.g., pyrite,” is a root patientive nounstem from **(petz-i-hui)**, “to become very smooth and highly polished.”]

**(yohua-l-ah-huach)-tli-** ~ **(yohua-l-ah-huech)-tli-** = night dew [Both embed and the matrix are patientive nounstems (see § 38.1.1 and § 38.2.1).]

2. With a verbal matrix:

**(ce-c-miqui)** = to die from cold [The embed **(ce-c)-tli-** is a variant of **(ce-uc)-tli-**, “a thing that has taken ice,” i.e., “coldness,” a perfective patientive nounstem from **(ce-cui)**, “to take ice,” i.e., “to be cold” (see § 11.3.1 concerning the irregularity of this stem).]

**(pā-tz-miqui)** = to die like a bruised thing; i.e., to be deeply distressed, to suffer extreme anxiety [The embed **(pā-tz)-tli-** is a root patientive nounstem from **(pā-tz-i-hui)**, “to become bruised, battered, deflated.”]

**tla-(nel-hua-yō-toca)** = to try to get to the root of s.th. (e.g., a problem) [See § 39.9.]

*Note:* As always, the derivational history behind the formation of compound nounstem or verbstem is important in the understanding of its final shape and its meaning. For example, the stem **(tla-tatac-tzac-θ-cā-yō)-tl-**, “grave slab,” does not result from embedding **(tla-tatac)-tli-**, “hole/pit/grave,” into **(tla-tzac-θ-cā-yō)-tl-**, “cover/lid” (*/k/* + */k/* > [kk]). It originates in the incorporated-object compound verbstem **(tla-tatac-tzacu-a)**, “to close up/cover graves” (from **(tla-tatac)-tli-** + **tla-(tzacu-a)**, “to close s.th.”), which is the source for the preterit agentive nounstem **(tla-tatac-tzacu-θ)-qui-**, “one that covers graves.” It is then incorporated as a verb object into **\*tla-(yo-ā)**, creating **\*tla-tatac-tzac-θ-cā-yo-ā**. This compound verbstem in turn becomes an imperfective patientive nounstem according to § 39.3.

39.7. *The Patientive Nounstem as an Incorporated Complement.* When a patientive nounstem is incorporated as an object complement in a compound verbstem, the formation can use either an absolutive-state NNC (as in § 30.15 and § 35.12) or a possessive-state NNC as the source of the embed.

1. When the source of the embed as object complement is an absolutive-state NNC, the (discarded) subject pronoun of that NNC has the same referent as the object pronoun of the matrix verbcore.

a. The matrix verbstem can be a verb of perception:

**tē-** ~ **tla-(cua-l-itt-a)** = to see s.o. or s.th. as a good one; i.e., to like the appearance of s.o. or s.th. [**(cua-l)-li-**, “a thing that can be eaten,” i.e., “a good one” < **tla-(cuā)**, “to eat s.th.”]

b. The matrix verbstem may be one of the five mentioned in § 30.15.2:

**m-o-(icn-ēl-i-l-mati)** = to consider o.s. to be a favored/privileged one; i.e., to be grateful [**< (icn-ēl-i-l)-li-**, “one to whom a favor has been done” **< tē-(icn-ēl-i-ā)**, “to do a favor to s.o.”]

**m-□-(ixi-mach-nequi)** = to want o.s. to be considered a known/recognized person; i.e., to pretend to be known/recognized [**< (ixi-mach)-tli-**, “a known/recognized one” **< tē-(ixi-mati)**, “to know/recognize s.o.”]

**tē-(pol-ō-l-toca)** = without foundation to believe s.o. to be a destroyed/lost one [**< (pol-ō-l)-li-**, “an entity that has been destroyed/lost” **< tē-(pol-o-ā)**, “to destroy s.o.” Molina translates the compound verbstem as “to want s.o. to be destroyed or to perish.”]

**m-o-(yēc-tla-pīqu-iā)** = to create the illusion of o.s. as a good person; i.e., to pretend to be good [**< (yēc)-tli-**, “a thing that has been finished,” i.e., “a consummate/good one” **< (yēc-a-hui)**, “to become finished.” The embed is a complement to the applicative object pronoun.]

As in § 35.1.2 and § 36.3, the embed can be a compound nounstem that has **(ye)-tl-**, “a being,” as its matrix.

**m-o- ~ tē-(cua-l-ye-toca)** = to consider o.s. or s.o. to be a good person (without justification); to boast baselessly about being good [**< (cua-l-ye)-tl-**, “a good being”]

c. The matrix verbstem may be **m-o- ~ tē- ~ tla-(tlani)**, “to desire/want o.s./s.o./s.th. to become/be regarded as. . .” This verbstem is peculiar in that it can occur only in a matrix subposition in a compound-stemmed VNC. It has a short /a/, which distinguishes it from **tla-(tlāni)**, “to win s.th. in a game” (the latter stem *can* appear in a simple-stemmed VNC).

**m-o-(mahui-z-tī-l-lani)** = to want o.s. to be considered a person worthy of respect; i.e., to want to be honored/respected [**< (mahui-z-tī-l)-li-**, “a person who has become worthy of respect” **< (mahui-z-tī)**, “to become a person worthy of fear (i.e., respect)”]

**tla-(chihua-l-lani)** = to desire s.th. as a made thing; i.e., to want s.th. to be made [**< (chihua-l)-li-**, “a made thing” **< tla-(chihua)**, “to make s.th.”]

**m-o-(tlāca-mat-tlani)** = to want o.s. to be known as a lord; i.e., to want to be obeyed [**< (tlāca-mat)-tli-**, “one known as a lord,” i.e., “an obeyed one,” the perfective patientive nounstem from **tē-(tlāca-mati)**, “to know s.o. as a lord,” i.e., “to obey s.o.” There is a synonymous compound verbstem **m-o-(tlāca-mach-tlani)** in which the embed is a passive patientive nounstem formed according to § 37.9.1.]

**m-o-(huē-i-lī-l-lani)** = to desire o.s. to be an esteemed person; i.e., to want to be esteemed [**< (huē-i-lī-l)-li-**, “a person caused to be big,” i.e., “an esteemed one” **< tē-(huē-i-liā)**, “to cause s.o. to be big,” i.e., “to esteem s.o.”]

**m-o- ~ tē-(miqui-tlani)** = to desire o.s. or s.o. to be a dead person; i.e., to want to die, to want s.o. to die [**< (miqui)-tl-**, “one who has died” **< (miqui)**, “to die”]

**tla-(ahxi-tlani)** = to want s.th. to be a thing that has approached, i.e., to permit s.th. to approach [**< (ahxi)-tl-**, “one that has arrived/approached” **< (ahci)**, “to arrive/approach.” The verbstem **tla-(ahci-tlani)**, with an imperfective patientive nounstem as embed, is also possible.]

2. When the source of the embed as object complement is a *possessive* state NNC, its possessor pronoun is transformed into a mainline object pronoun (the possessive case feature of the source pronoun is replaced by an objective case feature). This is reminiscent of the transformation described in § 30.14, but it more closely resembles what happens in § 54.5.2, because a verbstem (here the matrix stem) with a single-object valence is allowed to inflate to a double-object valence without adding a justifying suffix. This is another violation of the valence principle of § 23.1 (see § 24.2 and § 26.1.3; see also § 39.8).

a. The matrix verbstem may be **m-o- ~ tē-(toca)**, “to consider o.s. or s.o. baselessly to be . . .,” “to claim falsely that o.s. or s.o. is . . .”:

**m-o+tlā-(chihua-l-toca)** = to consider falsely s.th. to be one’s own made thing, i.e., to boast/brag vainly about having made/done s.th. [E.g., **ōnicnochihualtocac**, **ō#ni-θ+c-θ+n-o(chihua-l-toca)θ+c-θ#**, “I boasted of having made/done it.” The possessor pronoun **n-o** of the source NNC’s predicate . . . **+n-o(chihua-l)** . . ., “my made thing,” has become the mainline (applicative) reflexive object pronoun **n-o**.]  
**tē+tlā-(chihua-l-toca)** = to consider baselessly s.th. to be s.o.’s made thing; i.e., to claim baselessly s.o. has made/done s.th. [E.g., **nimitzchihualtocaz**, **#ni-θ+m-itiz+□-θ(chihua-l-toca)z+□-θ#**, “I shall claim you made/did it.” The possessor pronoun **m-o** of the source NNC’s predicate . . . **+m-o(chihua-l)** . . ., “your made thing,” has become the mainline (applicative) projective verb-object pronoun **m-itiz**.]

As in subsection 1 above, the embed can be a compound nounstem formed with **(ye)-tl-** as its matrix:

**m-o+tlā-(chihua-l-ye-toca)** = to boast vainly of having made/done s.th. [E.g., **ahnnochihualyetocac**, **ah#ni-θ+c-θ+n-o(chihua-l-ye-toca)θ+c-θ#**, “I did not boast that it was my made thing,” i.e., “I denied making/doing it.”]

b. The matrix verbstem may be **tlā-(tlani)**, “to desire/want s.th. to be(come) one’s own or s.o.’s . . .,” but the meaning is usually more aggressive, ranging from the notion of requesting to that of permitting or commanding, so the usual translation is “to request/permit/command s.o. or s.th. to . . .” The compound verbstem thus creates the third type of causative mentioned in § 24.3. The mainline (causative) object pronoun results from the transformation of the possessor pronoun that was originally in the predicate of the NNC serving as the source of the embed.

**tē+tlā-(chihua-l-lani)** = to want s.th. to be(come) s.o.’s made thing; i.e., to request/tell s.o. to make/do s.th. [also, **tē+tlā-(chihuh-tlani)**]  
**nimitzchihualani** = **#ni-θ+m-itiz+□-θ(chihua-l-lani)θ+θ-θ#** = I tell you to make/do it  
**tichihualano** = **#ti-θ+□-θ(chihua-l-lan-o)θ+θ-θ#** = you are requested/told to make/do it [a passive formation]  
**tētlachihualano** = **#θ-θ+tē+tlā(chihua-l-lan-o)θ+θ-θ#** = s.o. requests/tells s.o. to make/do s.th.; s.o. is requested/told to make/do s.th. [an impersonal formation]

*Remark:* In this type-three causative verbstem formation, the causative constituent inside the verbstem is obviously a matrix verbstem and not a suffix (or what can be taken to be a suffix) as in type one and type two (see the comment in § 24.9). At times type-two causative verbstems and type-three causative verbstems are synonymous:

Type-2: **tē+ne-(nōtza-l-tiā)** } = to cause/make/get people to talk to one another  
 Type-3: **tē+ne-(nōtza-l-lani)** }

[The source of the embed is **t-o-(nōtza)**, “to talk to one another.” The mainline reciprocal pronoun of the source becomes shuntline in the causative formation, because the causative object must be mainline. Notice the placement of the **ne** after the **tē**.]

At other times there may be a slight difference in meaning:

Type-2: **tē+tle-(īl-nāmic-tiā)** = to make s.o. recall/remember s.th.; i.e., to remind s.o. of s.th.

Type-3: **tē+tle-(īl-nāmic-tlani)** = to urge s.o. to (try to) recall/remember s.th.

39.8. *The Patientive Nounstem as an Incorporated Object.* There is another kind of compound-verbstem formation with a patientive nounstem as embed that also transforms a possessor pronoun of a source NNC’s predicate into a verb object pronoun. Three stems, **tle-(tlani)**, “to want/request s.th.,” **tle-(ih-tlani)**, “to request s.th.,” and **tle-(tēm-o-ā)**, “to seek s.th.,” serve as the matrix. The stem **tle-(ih-tlani)** is itself a compound stem; it has the stem **tle-(tlani)** as matrix (see § 30.13). With these three verbstems the embedded patientive nounstem functions as an incorporated object. Unlike the formation in § 30.3, however, the valence of the compound stem is here the same as that of the source verbstem, because the possessor pronoun of the source NNC becomes transformed into an applicative verb object in the transform without the addition of an applicative suffix. That is, the transitive force of the matrix verbstem is discharged upon two objects, one inside the verbstem (i.e., the incorporated nounstem) and one outside it (i.e., the ex-possessor-now-applicative-object pronoun) without explicit acknowledgment by a suffix in the verbstem. This is another violation of the basic principle of valence in VNCs set out in § 23.1.

The use of **tle-(tlani)** in this formation is rare:

**tē-(cuīca-tlani)** = to request s.o.’s song; i.e., to request/command s.o. to sing [< . . . +tē(cuīca) . . ., “s.o.’s sung thing,” i.e., “s.o.’s song”]

The following are examples of the other two matrix stems:

**tē-(tle-ht-ō-l-ih-tlani)** = to request s.o.’s words; i.e., to request advice from s.o. [E.g., **ōniquntlahtōlihtlan, ō#ni-θ+qu-in(tle-ht-ō-l-ih-tlan)θ+[-]θ#**, “I asked them for advice.” The possessor pronoun of the source NNC’s predicate . . . +ī-n(**tle-ht-ō-l**) . . ., “their words,” has become the projective verb-object pronoun **qu-in**.]

**tē-(nō-nōtza-l-tēm-o-ā)** = to seek s.o.’s counsel; i.e., to seek advice from s.o. [E.g., **tēchnōnōtzahtēmōzqueh, #θ-θ+t-ēch(nō-nōtza-l-tēmō)z+qu-eh#**, “they will seek advice from us.” The possessor pronoun of the source NNC’s predicate . . . **t-o(nō-nōtza-l)** . . ., “our counsel,” has become the projective verb-object pronoun **t-ēch**.]

39.9. *The Imperfective Patientive Nounstem of Characteristic Properties as Embed.* Like the other patientive nounstems, the imperfective patientive nounstem of § 39.3 may occur as the embed in a compound:

**tle-(ne-lhua-yō-toca)** = to follow s.th. to the root; i.e., to go to the root of a matter [< **nel-hua-yō-tl**, “root”]

**m-o-(yōl-lō-chic-ā-hu-a)** = to strengthen o.s. in the heart; i.e., to encourage oneself, to bolster up one's own spirits [**< (yōl-lō)-tl-**, “heart”]

More often, however, only the embed of the derived nounstem is used, but with the meaning of the full derived stem:

**m-o-(yōl-chic-ā-hu-a)** = to strengthen o.s. in the heart; i.e., to encourage oneself, to bolster up one's own spirits

**(yāō-ih-taca)-tl-** = provisions for battle [**< (yāō-yō)-tl-**, “battle” + **(ih-taca)-tl-**, “provisions, victuals”]

The same omission of **(-yō)-tl-** occurs when its embed is a general-use preterit agentive nounstem; for example, **(tōna-θ-cā-tepē)-tl-**, “hill (or mountain) of agricultural produce,” “hill (or mountain) of maize,” occurs much more frequently than the full form **(tōna-θ-cā-yō-tepē)-tl-**. Incidentally, the NNC **Tōnacātepētl** is frequently mistranslated as “Hill of *Our Sustenance*” (as if the **tō-** were the possessor pronoun **t-o**, “our,” when in fact it is part of the verbstem **(tōna)**, “for the sun to shine,” and as if the subject pronoun's *num*<sup>1</sup> subposition were not filled by the absolutive-state connector morph **tl**); see § 39.3.5, *remark*.

## LESSON 40

# Adjectival NNCs (Part One)

40.1. *The Adjectival Nuclear Clause.* In Nahuatl grammar the term *adjective* labels a syntactical class, not a formal one. Consequently, an adjectival nuclear clause is merely a nominal nuclear clause in the adjectival function of modifying another NNC. It is vaguely analogous to the relative clause in English (e.g., “he is a priest *who is a warrior*,” “it is a tree *which is a tall one*”). As a rule, an adjectival NNC occurs only in the absolutive state.

40.2. *Exceptional Adjectival NNCs.* Certain adjectival NNCs have peculiarities that set them apart from the rest.

1. One adjectival stem, (**huē-i**)-**θ**-, “big person, big thing,” has the same paradigm of NNCs as a pronominal stem. When the subject pronoun is plural, its number position is filled by either **t-in** or **□-□** and the stem is pluralized by a stem-final **n** (compare § 16.3.2); but the stem also has a distributive/variational shape.

**nihuēi** = #**ni**-**θ**(**huē-i**)**θ**-**θ**# = I am a big one; i.e., I am big  
**tihuehhuēintin** = #**ti**-**θ**(**huch-huē-i-n**)**t-in**#  
**tihuehhuēin** = #**ti**-**θ**(**huch-huē-i-n**)**□-□**# } = we are big  
**huēi** = #**θ**-**θ**(**huē-i**)**θ**-**θ**# = he/she/it is big; it is big, they are big

The distributive/variational stem can, of course, also be used when the subject pronoun has common number.

**huehhuēi** = #**θ**-**θ**(**huch-huē-i**)**θ**-**θ**# = they are each big

*Note:* As pointed out in § 35.8.2, the stem for “old man” is based on the same root as that in the adjectival stem (**huē-i**)-**θ**-. Concerning the **-i**, see § 54.2.3.a.

2. One adjectival NNC, **nepāpan**, “they are various ones, they are diverse ones,” is an affinity-stemmed form of the relational NNC **nepan**, consisting of the reciprocal possessive pronoun **ne** and the relational nounstem (**pan**)-**θ**-, “upper surface” (see § 47.3.3).

**nepāpan** = #**θ**-**θ**+**ne**(**pā-pan**)**θ**-**θ**# = they are on top of one another; i.e., they are of various kinds, they are of diverse kinds; i.e., various, diverse



3. Two adjective stems are anomalous. The NNCs formed on them are translated into English as if the possessor pronouns associated with them were acting in a subject function. Despite the presence of the possessor pronoun, the NNCs are obviously not in the possessive state since, when the subject pronoun is plural, the morphic dyad in its number position is **t-in** instead of **hu-ān** (compare the gross-count numerals in § 34.6, *note*). The peculiarity here is that these NNCs have “possessor-included” stems; that is, the stem is a downgraded possessive-state predicate; consequently, the possessor pronoun is inside the stem. The NNC’s subject pronoun’s person position is filled by the third-person dyad **θ-θ**.

a. The stem (**cē-l**)-**θ**-, translated “alone,” is related to the numeral NNC **cē**, “it is one in number” (see § 34.3). It creates the equivalent of an English exclusive-pronoun construction (e.g., “I alone am responsible”):

<b>nocēl</b> = # <b>θ-θ</b> ( <b>n-o-cē-l</b> ) <b>θ-θ</b> # = I am alone	<b>tocēltin</b> = we are alone
<b>mocēl</b> = you are alone	<b>amocēltin</b> = you (pl) are alone
<b>icēl</b> = he/she/it is alone; it is alone, they are alone	<b>incēltin</b> = they are alone [Usually spelled <b>izcēltin</b> as it is pronounced; /m/ + /s/ > [ss].]

The honorific NNC is formed on the matrix stem (**tzin**)-**tli**-:

**mocēltzin** = you (H) are alone  
**amocēltzitzin** = you (Hpl) are alone

An NNC expressing the diminutive is formed on the matrix stem (**tōn**)-**tli**-:

**nocēltōn** = I am alone  
**tocēltotōn** = we are alone

NNCs formed on the stem (**n-o-cē-l**)-**θ**-, (**m-o-cē-l**)-**θ**-, etc., are usually preceded by the adverbial particle **zan**, “only”:

**zan nocēl** = I am alone

b. The stem (**el**)-**θ**- is translated by the English adjective “diligent/eager/active.” Because the stem begins with a vowel it is only the NNCs with second-person singular or third-person possessor pronouns that make it clear that the personal pronoun used in the other forms is not filling the subject pronoun’s person position, i.e., that the absolutive-state NNCs are being built on the possessor-included stems (**n-□-el**)-**θ**-, (**m-□-el**)-**θ**-, etc. When the subject pronoun is plural, its number position may be filled by **t-in** or **□-□**:

<b>nel</b> = # <b>θ-θ</b> ( <b>n-□-el</b> ) <b>θ-θ</b> # = I am diligent	<b>teltin</b> ~ <b>tel</b> = we are diligent
<b>mel</b> = you are diligent	<b>ameltin</b> ~ <b>amel</b> = you (pl) are diligent
<b>iel</b> = he/she is diligent	<b>imeltin</b> ~ <b>imel</b> = they are diligent [One also sees the confusing form <b>ieltin</b> in this meaning.]

The negative is translated as “lazy”:

**ahnel** = I am lazy

See § 51.3.3.b for usage.

40.3. *NNCs and VNCs as Adjectives.* Since an adjectivally functioning unit in Nahuatl is somewhat analogous to an English relative clause (see § 40.1), it should be obvious that almost any absolutive-state NNC or any VNC can function as an adjective. Structures of adjectival modification will be discussed in Lessons 42 and 43. For the present, the possibility of treating absolutive-state NNCs and VNCs as adjectives can be shown by means of translation (as can be seen, it is only the predicate of an NNC or VNC that is translated as the equivalent of the English adjective).

1. The predicates of NNCs translated as adjectives:

**cihuātl** = it is female [Literally, “it is a woman.”]

**oquichtli** = it is male [Literally, “it is a man.”]

**cuahuilitl** = it is wooden; it is of wood [Literally, “it is a tree.”]

2. The predicates of VNCs translated as adjectives:

**nitlatta** = I am attentive, I am observant [Literally, “I see things.”]

**monequi** = it is necessary [Literally, “it wants itself.”]

**quināmiqui** = it is meet/fitting/just [Literally, “it encounters it.”]

**ahtēmo** = it is indigestible [Literally, “it does not descend.”]

**mihmati** = he is astute [Literally, “he manages himself.”]

**teuhti** = they are many/numerous [Literally, “they are like dust.”]

40.4. *Derivationally-Generated Nounstems as Adjectives.* Among the nounstems created by derivation, the potential-patient nounstem of § 37.5.2 and the various kinds of patientive nounstems of § 37.8 and Lessons 38 and 39 create NNCs that very often can be translated as adjectives.

1. Patientive nounstems. Unlike English adjectives, which assign an abstract quality or property (a descriptive characteristic, such as color, size, condition, etc.) to the (explicit or implied) subject (e.g., “it is pure”) in a subject-complement structure, an NNC built on a patientive nounstem links the NNC’s (always explicit) subject pronoun to an entity-class identified only in terms of process/activity impact (e.g., “it is *a thing that has become pure*”; “it is *a purified thing*”); i.e., an entity that is in a resultant state or condition. (In the examples, the adjectival NNCs are translated loosely. A stricter rendering would always show the substantive nature of the Nahuatl stems; i.e., “good” would be spelled out as “good person,” “good thing,” “thing that is good,” etc.)

a. The patientive nounstem of the passive-stem type:

**nicualli** = I am good

**ahticualtin** = we are bad

**amīmacaxtin** = you (pl) are grave and authoritative, you (pl) are worthy of respect

b. The patientive nounstem of the impersonal-stem type:

**tlalcāhualli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tla-l-cāhua-l)li- $\emptyset$ # = it is forgotten (i.e., a forgotten thing)

**tlacuepalli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tla-cuepa-l)li- $\emptyset$ # = it is upside down

**tlalnāmic̄tli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**tlā-l-nāmic**)**tli- $\emptyset$** # = it is remembered (i.e., a remembered thing)  
**tlapāctli** = it is washed (i.e., a washed thing)

c. The patientive nounstem of the perfective-stem type:

**tlalcāuhtli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**tlā-l-cāuh**)**tli- $\emptyset$** # = it is forgotten (i.e., a forgotten thing)  
**tlacueptli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**tlā-cuep**)**tli- $\emptyset$** # = it is upside down  
**tlazoh̄tli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**tlā-zo-h**)**tli- $\emptyset$** # = it is precious

d. The patientive nounstem of the root or stock type:

**yēctli** = it is good (i.e., a consummate thing)  
**cōztli** = it is yellow  
**tomactli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**tom-a-c**)**tli- $\emptyset$** # = it is plump, it is thick

2. Potential-patient nounstems. NNCs formed on a nounstem derived by means of the suffixes **liz** and **z** and signifying an entity that can be considered or dealt with in a certain way can be translated as adjectives (see § 37.5.2).

**machiztli** = it is worthy of being known, it is worth knowing  
**ayēhualiztli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**ay-ē-hu-a-liz**)**tli- $\emptyset$** # = it is unbearable [The negative particle **ah**# in its variant shape **ay**# has been included inside the stem. The analysis, however, could be **ay**# $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**ē-hu-a-liz**)**tli- $\emptyset$** #, with the translation “it is not bearable.”]

40.5. *The Predicates of Nominalized VNCs as Adjectives.* Nominalized VNCs are another group of NNCs whose predicates can frequently be translated as adjectives. Of these, the predicates of agentive NNCs appear with particular frequency. They simply assert that an entity (represented by the subject pronoun) has reached a certain condition, customarily does something, or has done something.

*Note:* Since, as was stated in § 40.3, VNCs can occur in an adjectival function, it may seem somewhat arbitrary to maintain that these VNCs are nominalized (since in the absolutive state they are simply reanalyzed as NNCs). The analysis is justified, however, by the fact that they, unlike strictly classified VNCs, can be embedded in an affective matrix (see § 41.1.4.a).

40.6. *The Predicate of a Customary-Present Agentive NNC as Adjective.* The nominalized active-voice customary-present predicate (i.e., the customary-present agentive nounstem; see § 36.1) may be translated as an English adjective.

**nimiquini** = I am mortal [Literally, “I am in the habit of dying.”]  
**ahmiquini** = he/she is immortal [Literally, “he/she is in the habit of not dying”; the NNC can also be read “he/she is not in the habit of dying,” i.e., “he/she is not mortal.” I.e., the analysis can be either # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**ah-miqui-ni**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # or **ah**# $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**miqui-ni**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #. A non-third person subject would remove the problem; e.g., either **nahmiquini** or **ahnimiquini**.]  
**ticualānini** = you are irritable [Literally, “you are in the habit of becoming angry.”]  
**nāhuatini** = it is clear and good sounding [Literally, “it customarily sounds clear and good.”]

A VNC built on a connective-**t** compound verbstem can be reanalyzed as a customary-present agentive NNC with a predicate in an adjectival function.

**tlamattāni** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**tlā-mat- $\emptyset$ -t-ā-ni**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it (e.g., the sea/the weather) is calm and serene [The fuller version of this NNC is **tlamattiyāni**; concerning this syncope, see § 28.6.3, *note 1*.]

40.7. *The Predicate of a Customary-Present Patientive NNC as Adjective.* The nominalized customary-present passive-voice predicate (i.e., the customary-present patientive nounstem; see § 36.5) may be translated as an English adjective.

**neteōtilōni** = it is worthy of being considered a god, it is worthy of being adored [Literally, “it is customarily considered a god.”]

**piyalōni** = it is worthy of being guarded [Literally, “it is habitually guarded.”]

**ittōni** = it is visible [Literally, “it is customarily seen.”]

**titlazohtlalōni** = you are lovable [Literally, “you are customarily loved.”]

**neltililōni** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**nel-ti-li-lō-ni**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is provable [Literally, “it is customarily caused to be the truth.”]

The predicate of a customary-present patientive NNC and that of the potential-patient NNC of § 40.4.2 can have the same translation as adjectives.

**ahchihualōni** = it is illicit, it is improper [Literally, “it is not customarily done.”]

**ahchihualiztli** = it is illicit, it is improper [Literally, “it is not worthy of being done.”]

**neltoconi** = it is believable [Literally, “it is customarily followed as the truth.” From **tlā-(nel-toca)**, “to follow s.th. as the truth”; i.e., “to believe s.th.”]

**neltoquiztli** = it is believable [Literally, “it is worthy of being followed as the truth.”]

At times there may be a difference in translation of the two formations.

**necōni** = it is advantageous, it is necessary [Literally, “it is customarily wanted.”]

**nequiztli** = it is desirable [Literally, “it is worthy of being wanted.”]

40.8. *The Predicate of a Preterit-Agentive NNC as Adjective.* The nominalized preterit predicate (i.e., the preterit-agentive nounstem; see § 35.2) may be translated as an adjective. The majority of these nominalized VNCs are built on intransitive verbstems.

1. Class A verbstems (including passive stems):

**tihuintic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**iHuin-ti- $\emptyset$** ) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = you are drunk [Literally, “you have become intoxicated.”]

**tichicāhuaqueh** = #**ti- $\emptyset$ (chic-ā-hua- $\emptyset$ )qu-eh**# = we are strong [Literally, “we have become strong.”]

**catzāhuac** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**catz-ā-hua- $\emptyset$** ) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is dirty [Literally, “it has become dirty.”]

**cēhuilōc** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**cē-hui-lō- $\emptyset$** ) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he is frozen, he is dead from the cold [Literally, “he has been chilled”; from **tē-(cē-hui-ā)**, “to cause s.o. to become”; chilled.” See § 35.3, *note 2*, for the preterit patientive.]

Occasionally, the adjectival NNC shows an idiomatic or metaphorical shift in meaning:

**cemihcac** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**cem-ihca- $\emptyset$** ) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is eternal [Literally, “it is standing as one.” This is a nominalized preterit-as-present tense VNC.]

**tōnac** = it is abundant [Literally, “it has become sun-warmed.”]

**titlahuēlilōc** = you are wicked [Literally, “you have been abhorred.”]

There are a vast number of adjectival NNCs derived from denominal verbstems ending in the verbstem-forming suffix **ti** (see § 54.2). The adjectival NNC usually implies the notion of likeness.

**cihuātic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cihuā-ti- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = he is effeminate [Literally, “he has become (like) a woman.”]

**mahuiztic** = he is admirable/illustrious [Literally, “he has become (like) one worthy of fear, he has become (like) an honored person.”]

**neltic** = it is true, it is truthful [Literally, “it has become (like) truth.”]

One must be prepared to locate the quality associated with certain entities differently from the way in which one’s English experience might suggest:

**cuauhtic** = it has become like a tree; i.e., it is tall

**camohtic** = it has become like a sweet potato; i.e., it is soft

**quiltic** = it has become like a leafy vegetable; i.e., it is light green

**zoquitic** = it has become like mud; i.e., it is wet

**etic** = it has become like a bean; i.e., it is heavy

**itztic** = it has become like obsidian; i.e., it is cold

Occasionally, the predicate of a transitive VNC may be translated as an adjective in English:

**mahcic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (m- $\square$ -ahci- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = it is whole, it is complete [Literally, “it has reached itself.”]

2. Class B verbstems. The singular/common subject pronoun’s number position is frequently filled with **qui- $\emptyset$** :

**huācqui** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (huā-c- $\emptyset$ )qui- $\emptyset$ # = it is dry [Literally, “it has become dry.”]

**ticialānqueh** = #ti- $\emptyset$ (cual-ā-n- $\emptyset$ )qu-eh# = we are angry [Literally, “we have become angry.”]

**tiuhqui** = #t- $\emptyset$ (iuh- $\emptyset$ )qui- $\emptyset$ # = you are thus [Literally, “you have become thus.”]

**cenquīzqui** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cen-quīz- $\emptyset$ )qui- $\emptyset$ # = it is perfect, it is unblemished [Literally, “it has come out as one.”]

**iztlacatqui** = he is mendacious [Literally, “he has lied.”]

The singular/common subject pronoun of NNCs formed on certain Class B verbstems prefers to have its number position filled with  $\square$ - $\emptyset$  (see § 35.4):

**huehcāuh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (hueh-cāuh- $\emptyset$ ) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is old [Literally, “it has remained for a big one (i.e., for a long time).]

Occasionally, the preterit-tense predicate of a *transitive* verbstem may serve as the stem for an adjectival NNC:

**moyēcchihchiūhqui** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (m-o-yēc-chih-chiūh- $\emptyset$ )qui- $\emptyset$ # = he is well decked out [Literally, “he has decked himself out well.”]

**tēchicāuh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tē-chic-ā-uh- $\emptyset$ ) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is wholesome, it is beneficial [Literally, “it has strengthened s.o.”]

**tēmāuh** = it is contagious [Literally, “it has infected s.o.”]

3. Class C verbstems. The singular/common subject pronoun’s number position is usually filled with  $\square$ - $\emptyset$ . The adjectival NNC is usually built on a transitive verbstem:

**tēchōctih** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tē-chōc-tih- $\emptyset$ ) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is lamentable [Literally, “it has caused s.o. to cry.”]

**tēcēhuih** = it is soothing [Literally, “it has cooled s.o. off, it has rested s.o.”]

4. Class D verbstems. The singular/common subject pronoun’s number position is usually filled with  $\square$ - $\emptyset$ :

**tēcuaacuah** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tē-cua-cuah- $\emptyset$ ) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is rough, it is harsh (to the touch) [Literally, “it has chewed s.o.”]

5. The predicate of a compound-stemmed NNC can be translated as an adjective:

**ihchictihcac** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ihchic- $\emptyset$ -t-ihca- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = it is clean of debris [Literally, “it stands having become scraped clean.” The tense morph here represents the preterit-as-present tense. The incorporated preterit predicate is from the intransitive verbstem (ihchiqui), “to become scraped/shaved.”]

6. Occasionally, the source VNC is no longer used:

**ohhuih** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (oh-hui-h- $\emptyset$ ) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is difficult/dangerous [See § 54.2.4 for the verbstem \*(oh-hui-ā).]

The preterit predicate formed on the verbstem \*(iyo-ā) can be used in an NNC whose predicate is translated as an adjective with a value similar to that of the adjectival nounstem (n-o-cē- $\mathbf{l}$ )- $\emptyset$ -, etc. (see § 40.2.3). The particle **zan** ordinarily precedes the NNC. The verb \*(iyo-ā) also occurs in an adverbial VNC (see § 44.3.11); see also § 44.8.1.

**zan niyoh** = #n- $\emptyset$ (iyo-h- $\emptyset$ ) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = I am alone      **zan tiyohqueh** = we are alone

**zan tiyoh** = you are alone

**zan amiyohqueh** = you (pl) are alone

**zan iyoh** = he/she/it is alone

**zan iyohqueh** = they are alone

The predicates of preterit-agentive NNCs of ownership formed on the verbstems \*tla-(-ē) and \*tla-(-yo-ā) are frequently translated as adjectives:

**tenāmeh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (te-nām-eh- $\emptyset$ ) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is walled [Literally, “it has owned walls.”]

**tēneh** = it is sharp [Literally, “it has owned an edge.”]

**tēnyoh** = he is famous [Literally, “he has owned lips in abundance (because everyone is talking about him).”]

**tleyoh** = he is renowned [Literally, “he has owned fire in abundance.”]

**zoquiyoh** = it is muddy [Literally, “it has owned mud in every part.”]

**mahuizzohqueh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (mahui-z-zo-h- $\emptyset$ )qu-eh# = they are honored/respected [Literally, “they have owned in abundance that which is worthy of fear.”]

**xālloh** = it is sandy [Literally, “it has owned sand in every part.”]

The predicates of preterit-agentive NNCs of ownership formed on the verbstem \***tlā-(-huā)** are occasionally translated as adjectives:

**icnōhuah** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**icn-ō-huah- $\emptyset$** ) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = he is compassionate [Literally, “he has owned misery.” The embed (**icn-ō**)-**tl-** here represents the stem (**icn-ō-yō**)-**tl-**, “misery, poverty, wretchedness” (see § 39.8). The form (**icn-ō-yō-huah- $\emptyset$** )- $\square$ - is also possible. The stem (**icn-ō-yo-h- $\emptyset$** )- $\square$ - is also used with the same translation value.]

40.9. *The Predicates of Nominalized Obsolete Preterit VNCS as Adjectives.* Intransitive “root-plus-**ya**” verbstems permit a special adjectival formation; they nominalize obsolete preterit-tense VNCs formed on the root alone (see §36.11.1 for active-action NNCs formed on the obsolete distant-past-tense VNCs formed on the roots of these root-plus-**ya** verbstems). The roots are treated as Class A verbstems, so the formation of the adjectival NNC is according to § 40.8.1.

**ahhuiāc** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**ahhuiā- $\emptyset$** )**c- $\emptyset$ #** = it is fragrant [< (**ahhuiā-ya**), “to emit a fragrant odor”]  
**cecec** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**ce-ce- $\emptyset$** )**c- $\emptyset$ #** = it is cold [< (**ce-ce-ya**), “for a thing to become cold”]  
**poyec** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**poye- $\emptyset$** )**c- $\emptyset$ #** = it is salty tasting [< (**poye-ya**), “to be salty, to have a salty taste”]  
**celic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**cel-i- $\emptyset$** )**c- $\emptyset$ #** = it is fresh and tender [< (**cel-i-ya**), “to become freshly green”]  
**huēlic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**huēl-i- $\emptyset$** )**c- $\emptyset$ #** = it is delicious [< (**huēl-i-ya**), “to be delicious, to be tasty”]  
**yancuic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**yancui- $\emptyset$** )**c- $\emptyset$ #** = it is new [< (**yancui-ya**), “to be new”]  
**ihyāc** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**ihyā- $\emptyset$** )**c- $\emptyset$ #** = it is foul-smelling [< (**ihyā-ya**), “to emit a foul smell”]  
**iztāc** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**iztā- $\emptyset$** )**c- $\emptyset$ #** = it is white [< (**izta-ya**), “to become like salt,” i.e., “to be white”]

Denominal verbstems ending in **ti-ya**, formed according to § 54.2, use this formation. Compare § 40.8.1 concerning denominal verbstems ending in **ti**.

**cōztic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**cōz-ti- $\emptyset$** )**c- $\emptyset$ #** = it is yellow [< (**cōz-ti-ya**), “to become yellow”]  
**īztic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**ītz-ti- $\emptyset$** )**c- $\emptyset$ #** = it is cold [< (**ītz-ti-ya**), “to become like obsidian,” i.e., “to become cold”]

Some of these “root-plus-**ya**” verbs also use their full Class B stems to form adjectival NNCs according to § 40.8.2; e.g., **cocoxqui**, “he is sick,” “it is withered” [< (**coco-ya**), “to be(come) sick”]

A few of these “root-plus-**ya**” verbs do not use the nominalized obsolete preterit formation.

1. The verbstem (**huē-i-ya**), “to become big, to grow,” uses its base, the pronoun-like stem (**huē-i- $\emptyset$** ), “a big one” (see § 40.2.1). The verb’s Class B stem is also used according to § 40.8.2 to form the metaphorical preterit-agentive nounstem (**huē-i-x- $\emptyset$** )-**qui-**, “one who is big in honor.” The preterit-agentive nounstem built on the verb’s Class A stem expresses a different dimension of size, that of length: (**huē-i-ya- $\emptyset$** )-**c-**, “one that is long.” The form (**huī-ya- $\emptyset$** )-**c-** is a frequently found variant. The general-use form of this Class-A type preterit-agentive stem serves as an embed in the following nounstems: (**huē-i-ya- $\emptyset$ -cā-tōn**)-**tli-**, “a somewhat long thing”; (**huē-i-ya- $\emptyset$ -cā-pōl**)- $\square$ -, “a very long thing”; (**huē-i-ya- $\emptyset$ -cā-yō**)-**tl-**, “length.” While the obsolete preterit-agentive nounstem \*(**huē-i- $\emptyset$** )-**c-** is not used, its general-use stem (**huē-i- $\emptyset$ -cā**)- $\square$ - is used in an adverbial NNC and as an embed (adverb or complement); see § 44.7.

**huēicā** = highly/loftily/authoritatively

**nichuēicāmati** = I esteem him [The stem **tē-(huē-i-mati)** has the same meaning of “to consider s.o. big, to esteem s.o.”]

**huēicāyōlloh** = he is a big-hearted person

See § 54.2.3 for the formation of the verbstem (**huē-i-ya**).

2. The verbstem (**tlāōco-ya**), “to be sad,” uses only its Class B stem according to § 40.8.2 to form **tlāōcoxqui**, “he is sad.”

40.10. *Synonymous Pairs of Adjectival NNCs.* Some adjectival NNCs exist in synonymous pairs. Their source verbstems are synonymous formations from a single root.

1. Intransitive destockal verbstems with the suffix **ni** and, rarely, those with the suffix **hui** (see § 24.5) have synonyms that end in **c-ti-ya**. (These are denominal verbstems derived from the deverbal nounstems presented in § 39.4.1.) The preterit-agentive nounstems formed from these synonymous verbstems can be translated as adjectives according to § 40.8.2 and § 40.9 respectively.

a. “it is green”:

**xoxōuhqui** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**xo-xō-uh- $\emptyset$** )**qui- $\emptyset$** # [**< (xo-xō-hui)**]

**xoxoctic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**xo-xo-c-ti- $\emptyset$** )**c- $\emptyset$** # [**< (xo-xo-c-ti-ya)**]

b. “it is diminished”:

**cotōnqui** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**cot-ō-n- $\emptyset$** )**qui- $\emptyset$** # [**< (cot-ō-ni)**]

**cotoctic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**cot-o-c-ti- $\emptyset$** )**c- $\emptyset$** # [**< (cot-o-c-ti-ya)**]

2. Intransitive destockal verbstems ending in **hua** (see § 24.6) also have synonyms ending in **c-ti-ya**. (These are denominal verbstems derived from the deverbal nounstem presented in § 39.4.2.) The preterit-agentive nounstems formed from these synonymous verbstems can be translated as adjectives according to § 40.8.1 and § 40.9 respectively.

a. “it is dirty”:

**catzāhuac** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**catz-ā-hua- $\emptyset$** )**c- $\emptyset$** # [**< (catz-ā-hua)**]

**catzactic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**catz-a-c-ti- $\emptyset$** )**c- $\emptyset$** # [**< (catz-a-c-ti-ya)**]

b. “it is ashen”:

**nexēhuac** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**nex-ē-hua- $\emptyset$** )**c- $\emptyset$** # [**< (nex-ē-hua)**]

**nexectic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**nex-e-c-ti- $\emptyset$** )**c- $\emptyset$** # [**< (nex-e-c-ti-ya)**]

c. “it is faded”:

**tīcēhuac** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**tīc-ē-hua- $\emptyset$** )**c- $\emptyset$** # [**< (tīc-ē-hua)**]

**tīcectic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**tīc-e-c-ti- $\emptyset$** )**c- $\emptyset$** # [**< (tīc-e-c-ti-ya)**]

There are occasions when translation can express something of the difference in meaning between the members of a pair.

**tlīlēhuac** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**tlīl-ē-hua- $\emptyset$** )**c- $\emptyset$** # = it is black [**< (tlīl-ē-hua)**]

**tlīlectic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**tlīl-e-c-ti- $\emptyset$** )**c- $\emptyset$** # = it is blackish [**< (tlīl-e-c-ti-ya)**]



3. Intransitive destockal verbstems ending in **i-hui** and **a-hui** (see § 24.7) have synonymous intransitive verbstems ending in **ti-ya**. These are denominal verbstems derived from the deverbal nounstems presented in § 39.4.3. The preterit-agentive nounstems from these synonymous verbstems can be translated as adjectives according to § 40.8.2 and § 40.9 respectively.

a. “it is black”:

**tlīliuhqui** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tlīl-i-uh- $\emptyset$ )qui- $\emptyset$ # [ $\langle$  (tlīl-i-hui)]

**tlīltic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tlīl-ti- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # [ $\langle$  (tlīl-ti-ya)]

b. “it is wrinkled”:

**xolochauhqui** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (xol-o-ch-a-uh- $\emptyset$ )qui- $\emptyset$ # [ $\langle$  (xol-o-ch-a-hui)]

**xolochtic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (xol-o-ch-ti- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # [ $\langle$  (xol-o-ch-ti-ya)]

[The source verbstems are both formed on the stock-patientive nounstem (**xol-o-ch**)-**tli-** (see § 39.4), from the intransitive destockal verbstem (**xol-ō-ni**), “for a wound to fester.”]

40.11. *Synonymous Triplets of Adjectival NNCs*. Some adjectival NNCs exist in synonymous triplets. Their source verbstems are synonymous formations from a single root. Two of the preterit-agentive nounstems are like those described in § 40.10. The other is derived according to § 40.9 from a verbstem ending in **z-ti-ya**. (These are denominal verbstems derived from the deverbal nounstems presented in § 39.4.1.)

a. “it is slippery (like a fish or soap):

**alāhuac** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (al-ā-hua- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ #

**alactic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (al-a-c-ti- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ #

**alaztic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (al-a-z-ti- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ #

[The source verbstems are (**al-ā-hua**), (**al-a-c-ti-ya**), and (**al-a-z-ti-ya**).]

b. “it is soft”:

**yamānqui** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (yam-ā-n- $\emptyset$ )qui- $\emptyset$ #

**yamactic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (yam-a-c-ti- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ #

**yamaztic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (yam-a-z-ti- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ #

[The source verbstems are (**yam-ā-ni**), (**yam-a-c-ti-ya**), and (**yam-a-z-ti-ya**).]

Occasionally, there may be a translatable difference in the meaning of the forms:

**melāhuac** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (mel-ā-hua- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = it is true, it is correct

**melactic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (mel-a-c-ti- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # } = it is straight (and long)

**melaztic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (mel-a-z-ti- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # }

[The source verbstems are (**mel-ā-hua**), (**mel-a-c-ti-ya**), and (**mel-a-z-ti-ya**).]

*Remark:* Along with the synonymous preterit-agentive NNCs discussed in both this and the preceding section, there may be a deverbal nounstem with a synonymous translation value: **yamactli** = it is soft. [Compare **yamānqui**, **yamactic**, and **yamaztic**.]

40.12. *The Predicate-Adjective Sentence.* An NNC whose stem is translatable as an adjective creates the Nahuatl equivalent of an English predicate-adjective sentence (i.e., a sentence in which an adjective functions as a subject complement).

**Nō cualli.** = It is also good. They are also good.

**Zan quēn tēl cualli.** = It is somewhat good. They are somewhat good.

**Ahmiquini.** = He/She/It is immortal.

**Cuix cualnēzqui?** = Is it beautiful? Are they beautiful?

When an adjectival subject-complement sentence in Nahuatl consists of a multiple-nucleus construction, an NNC whose predicate is translatable as an adjective serves as the principal clause.

**Ticualli in tehhuātl.** = *You-are-good* adjr you-are-that-one; i.e., *You* are good. [The NNC **tehhuātl** is an adjunct functioning as a supplementary subject, used here for emphasis.]

**Ezzoh noxāyac.** = *It-is-blood-covered* it-is-my-face; i.e., My face is covered with blood.

**Īchīmal huēipōl.** = *It-is-his-shield* *it-is-quite-big*; i.e., His shield is really big.

**Ītztic in ātl.** = *It-is-cold* adjr it is water; i.e., The water is cold.

**Nōnōtzālōni motēlpōch.** = *He-is-worthy-of-reprimand* he-is-your-youngman; i.e., Your son is worthy of reprimand.

**Cococ in amochīl.** = *They-are-stinging/piquant/pungent* adjr they-are-your (pl)-chili-peppers; i.e., Your (pl) chili peppers are hot.

**Yehhuāntin huel neltic in intlahtōl.** = They-are-those *successfully it-is-truthful* adjr it-is-their-word; i.e., *Their* word is very truthful. [**Yehhuāntin** is the sentence topic and functions as the supplementary possessor of **intlahtōl**, which is the supplementary subject of the principal clause **neltic**. **Huel** is an adverb (see § 44.5), here functioning as an intensifier.]

**Ca cualli in tichuīcazqueh in tlacualli** = *Indeed it-is-good* adjr we-shall carry-it adjr it-is-food; i.e., Our carrying the food is good. It is good that we are going to carry food. It is good for us to carry food. [The multiple-clause unit **tichuīcazqueh in tlacualli** is the supplementary subject for the principal clause **cualli**.]

## Adjectival NNCs (Part Two)

41.1. *Intensified Adjectival NNCs.* Some adjectival NNCs are built on intensified stems. These may be created in several different ways.

1. When, as a result of either nominalization or deverbalization, the adjectival stem has a verbal source, it can be intensified by the long-vowelled reduplication of § 27.2.2 (not that of § 14.3).

**cuācualli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cuā-cua-l)li- $\emptyset$ # = it is very good, it is excellent [ $\langle$  (cua-l)-li-, “a good thing”]

**cācamohtic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cā-camoh-ti- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = it is very soft [ $\langle$  (camoh-ti- $\emptyset$ )-c-, “a thing that has become like a sweet-potato,” i.e., “a soft thing”]

**tētepitōn** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tē-tepi-tōn)□- $\emptyset$ # = it is a very tiny thing, it is an insignificant thing [ $\langle$  (tepi-tōn)-□-, “a tiny thing”]

**tzītziqui** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tzi-tziqui) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is a very small thing [ $\langle$  (tziqui)- $\emptyset$ -, “a small thing”]

*Remark:* Although reduplication with vowel length is different in adjectival and strictly nominal stems, reduplication with a glottal stop is the same in the two, expressing the notions of distribution and variety. This formation is possible any time the NNC’s subject pronoun (usually showing common number) refers to at least two entities differentiated by location or shape.

**huihuitztic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (huih-huitz-ti- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = they are each one pointed, each is pointed; they are pointed [ $\langle$  (huitz-ti- $\emptyset$ )-c-, “a thing that has become like a thorn,” i.e., “a sharp-pointed thing”]

**huehhuēi** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (hueh-huē-i) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = they are each big, each is big; they are big [ $\langle$  (huē-i)- $\emptyset$ -, “a big one”]

2. An intensified adjectival stem may be created by means of a compound nounstem in which the preterit-agentive stem (**pah-ti- $\emptyset$ )-c-**, “a thing that has got medicine,” i.e., “a thing that has become potent,” occupies the matrix subposition. The nounstem in the embed subposition carries the implication of “in the form of” or “with regard to.”

a. The embed may be a nounstem from which an adjective stem of the . . . **ti- $\emptyset$ )-c-** kind can be made:

**celpahtic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cel-pah-ti- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = it is very freshly green [See (cel-ti- $\emptyset$ )-c-, “a freshly green thing.”]

**cuechpahtic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cuech-pah-ti- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = it is very finely ground up [See (cuech-ti- $\emptyset$ )-c-, “a finely ground-up thing.”]

Included in this type of embed are the patientive nounstems from a destockal verb stock formed according to § 39.4 (see § 40.11):

**yamazpahtic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (yam-a-z-pah-ti- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = it is very soft [See (yam-a-z-ti- $\emptyset$ )-c-, “a thing that has become soft”]

*b.* The embed may be the root of an adjectival preterit-agentive NNC formed from a “root-plus-ya” verbstem:

**iztāpahtic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (iztā-pah-ti- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = it is very white, it is very salty [See (iztā- $\emptyset$ )-c-, “a thing that has become like salt,” i.e., “a thing that has become white”; from (izta-ya).]

**poyepahtic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (poye-pah-ti- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = it is very salty (to the taste) [See (poye- $\emptyset$ )-c-, “a thing that has become salty (to the taste)”; from (poye-ya).]

**chichipahtic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (chichi-pah-ti- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = it is very bitter [See (chichi- $\emptyset$ )-c-, “a thing that has become bitter”; from (chichi-ya).]

**cecepahtic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ce-ce-pah-ti- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = it is very cold [See (ce-ce- $\emptyset$ )-c-, “a thing that has become cold”; from (ce-ce-ya).]

**yancuipahtic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (yancui-pah-ti- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = it is very new [See (yancui- $\emptyset$ )-c-, “a thing that has become new”; from (yancui-ya).]

**cocopahtic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (coco-pah-ti- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = it is very pungent to the taste, it is very peppery [See (coco- $\emptyset$ )-c-, “a pungent thing, a peppery thing, a thing that stings the mouth”; from (coco-ya).]

*c.* The embed may be the general-use form of the adjectival preterit-agentive nounstem (see § 35.5):

**iztācāpahtic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (iztā- $\emptyset$ -cā-pah-ti- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = it is very white [ $\langle$  (iztā- $\emptyset$ )-c-]

**yancuicāpahtic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (yancui- $\emptyset$ -cā-pah-ti- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = it is very new [ $\langle$  (yancui- $\emptyset$ )-c-]

*d.* The embed may be intensified by reduplication according to subsection 1 above:

**cēcelpahtic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cē-cel-pah-ti- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = it is very very freshly green [See **celpahtic** in subsection *a* above.]

*e.* The matrix stem can be augmented by an internal expansion, an instance of sound symbolism (increase in phonological “weight” suggesting an increase in semantic “weight”): (pah-ti- $\emptyset$ )-c- becomes (palalah-ti- $\emptyset$ )-c-.

**cecepalahahtic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ce-ce-palalah-ti- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = it is extremely cold [See **cecepahtic** in subsection *b* above.]

3. Other less frequent compound-stemmed NNCs that express intensification of adjectival meaning can be built on other preterit-agentive nounstems as matrix.

One of these is (cal-ti- $\emptyset$ )-c-, which translated literally is “a thing that has become like a house,” but the translation is highly unsatisfactory.

**chipaccaltic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**chip-a-c-cal-ti- $\emptyset$** )**c- $\emptyset$** # = it is very clean [See (**chip-a-c-ti- $\emptyset$** )-**c-**, “a thing that has become clean”; from (**chip-a-c-ti-ya**), which presupposes (**chip-a-c-tli-**, “a clean thing,” from (**chip-ā-hua**), “to become clean.”]

**itzcaltic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**itz-cal-ti- $\emptyset$** )**c- $\emptyset$** # = it is very cold [See (**itz-ti- $\emptyset$** )-**c-**, “a thing that has become like obsidian,” i.e., “a cold thing,” from (**itz-ti-ya**).]

This matrix stem may be expanded internally to signify a greater intensity: (**cal-ti- $\emptyset$** )-**c-** becomes (**calalah-ti- $\emptyset$** )-**c-**.

**itzcalalahtic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**itz-calalah-ti- $\emptyset$** )**c- $\emptyset$** # = it is extremely cold

Another preterit-agentive nounstem that can occupy the matrix subposition is (**tzon-ti- $\emptyset$** )-**c-**, which can be translated as “a thing that has become the end,” and therefore, “a thing that goes all the way.”

**chichipahtzontic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**chichi-pah-tzon-ti- $\emptyset$** )**c- $\emptyset$** # = it is exceedingly/utterly bitter [The embed here is (**chichi-pah-tli-**, “a potently bitter thing,” formed from (**chichi- $\emptyset$** )-**c-**, “a thing that has become bitter.”]

4. Another type of intensified adjectival nounstem is created by the use of the affective matrix nounstems (**pōl**)- $\emptyset$ -, (**pīl**)- $\emptyset$ -, (**tōn**)-**tli-**, and (**tzin**)-**tli-** (see Lesson 32). When serving as an embed, a preterit-agentive nounstem must, of course, have the general-use shape.

a. The matrix stem (**pōl**)- $\emptyset$ - implies an increase in intensity in the quality named by the embed.

**huēipōl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**huē-i-pōl**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is very big [< (**huē-i- $\emptyset$** )-, “a big one”]

**cōzpōl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**cōz-pōl**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is very yellow [< (**cōz-tli-**, “a yellow one”)]

**tomacpōl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**tom-a-c-pōl**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is very plump [< (**tom-a-c-tli-**, “a plump thing”)]

**tlahuēlīlōcāpōl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**tlahu-ēl-ī-lō- $\emptyset$ -cā-pōl**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he is very wicked [< (**tlahu-ēl-ī-lō- $\emptyset$** )-**c-**, “one who has been abhorred”]

Stems with (**pōl**)- $\emptyset$ - as matrix may have the reduplicative prefix of § 41.1.1.

**huēhuēipōl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**huē-huē-i-pōl**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is very very big

**tōtomacpōl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**tō-tom-a-c-pōl**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is very very plump

b. The matrix stems (**pīl**)- $\emptyset$ -, (**tōn**)-**tli-**, and (**tzin**)-**tli-** imply a decrease in intensity in the quality named by the embed.

**huitzpīl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**huitz-pīl**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is slightly pointed [< (**huitz-tli-**, “a thorn,” i.e., “a pointed thing”)]

**huēitōntli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**huē-i-tōn**)**tli- $\emptyset$** # = it is somewhat large [< (**huē-i- $\emptyset$** )-, “a big thing.”] Notice the unexpected presence of **tli** on the affective stem (see § 32.3).]

**celticātōntli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**cel-ti- $\emptyset$ -cā-tōn**)**tli- $\emptyset$** # = it is slightly tender (fresh and green) [< (**cel-ti- $\emptyset$** )-**c-**, “a thing that has become freshly green”]

**iztācāztintli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**iztā- $\emptyset$ -cā-tzin**)**tli- $\emptyset$** # = it is delicately white [< (**iztā- $\emptyset$** )-**c-**, “a thing that has become white”]

5. Another means of expressing intensity with regard to a quality is metaphor or simile.

**āztapiltic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**ā-zta-pil-ti- $\emptyset$** )c- $\emptyset$ # = it is a thing that has become like the child of a snowy egret; i.e., it is extremely white [The nounstem (**ā-zta-pil**)-in-, “child of a snowy egret,” is the name of the very white base of a **tōlmimilli** (a type of reed).]

*Note:* In addition to the intensification of adjectival stems by the various morphological means presented in this section, adjectival NNCs can be intensified by syntactical means through the use of intensifiers (see § 49.6).

41.2. *Adjectival Nounstems from Compound Verbstems with a Nominal Embed.* The matrix verbstem in the various types of compound verbstems with a nominal embed (see Lesson 30) may be converted into a matrix nounstem by reanalysis or derivation. The NNC built on the resultant compound nounstem can function as an adjective.

1. Incorporated-adverb compound verbstems as source. This kind of compound verbstem is the most frequent of the compound verbstems to serve as the source for an adjectival NNC. There are two possible constructions.

a. The adverb may be incorporated according to §§ 30.7–12, with the modification being one of means, instrument, place, time, duration, cause, purpose, manner, or compared manner.

**ocuilcualōc** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**ocuil-cua-lō- $\emptyset$** )c- $\emptyset$ # = it is a thing that has been eaten by means of worms; i.e., it is worm-eaten

**tleihyāc** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**tle-ihyā- $\emptyset$** )c- $\emptyset$ # = it is a thing that has become foul-smelling because of fire; i.e., it is burnt-smelling [**(ihyā-ya)**, “to stink”]

**pōccōztic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**pō-c-cōz-ti- $\emptyset$** )c- $\emptyset$ # = it is a thing that has become yellow like smoke; i.e., it is smoky yellow

**nicochmiquini** = #**ni- $\emptyset$ (coch-miqui-ni) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$** # = I am one who habitually dies from (lack of) sleep; i.e., I am heavy/dull for want of sleep

**titequihuetzac** = #**ti- $\emptyset$ (tequi-hue-tz-ca- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$** # = you are one who has laughed with work; i.e., you are cheerful/easily moved to laughter

**tlacochtłāzalli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**tla-coch-tłāza-l**)li- $\emptyset$ # = he/she is one who has been thrown into sleep; i.e., he/she is hypnotized/in a spell-induced trance

b. The adverb may be incorporated according to § 30.14; that is, the source of the compound stem is a structure of supplementation in which the supplementary subject is a possessive-state NNC. There are two subtypes of the formation.

i. In one subtype the embed signifies a kind of entity different from that referred to by the subject pronoun of the NNC. The English translational formula or the compound nounstem is “adjective + noun + *-ed*” (e.g., “brown-eyed”).

The NNC’s subject pronoun may be animate or nonanimate.

**cuāpetlānqui** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**cuā-petl-ā-n- $\emptyset$** )qui- $\emptyset$ # = he is one who is polished at the head; i.e., he is bald headed

**titlahtōlhuēlic** = #**ti- $\emptyset$ (tla-ht-ō-l-huēl-i- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$** # = you are one who is sweet with words; i.e., you are pleasant speaking [**(huēl-i-ya)**, “to be delicious, to taste good”]

**nitzoniztalli** = #ni- $\emptyset$ (tzo*n*-izta-*l*)li- $\emptyset$ # = I am one who has become white at the hair; i.e., I am white haired [*<* (izta-ya), “to become like salt,” i.e., “to become white”]

**tepāmpitzāhuac** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (te-pām-pitz-ā-hua- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = it is a thing that has become thin at the walls; i.e., it is thin walled [Also **tepāmpitzactli**.]

The matrix stem may have a reduplicative prefix to indicate distribution or variety with regard to the entity named by the adverbial embed.

**nacazhuihuiztic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (nacaz-huih-huiz-ti- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = it is a thing that is pointed at the ears; i.e., it is pointy eared; its ears are pointed [*<* (huiz-ti-ya), “to become like a thorn”; i.e., “to come to a point”]

**izticohcōltic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (izti-coh-cōl-ti- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = it is a thing that is curved at the claws; i.e., it is curve clawed; its claws are curved

*ii.* In the other subtype, the embed signifies the same kind of entity as that referred to by the subject pronoun. The English translational formula for the compound stem is “adjective + noun” (e.g., “brown eye(s)”). This kind of compound nounstem is similar to the structure and translational formula of (e-xō)-tl-, “a green thing in the form of a bean,” i.e., “a green bean,” the compound nounstem mentioned in § 31.4. Here as there, English reverses the governed-and-governor relationship of the Nahuatl constituents, translating the matrix as an adjectival modifier and the embed as the noun head.

Unlike the subtype in subsection 1 above, the NNC’s subject pronoun is nonanimate.

**tepāmpitzāhuac** = it (i.e., a wall) is a thing that has become thin in the form of a wall; i.e., it is a thin wall [Also **tepāmpitzactli**. As in this instance, at times NNCs of the two subtypes can be ambiguous; both of these NNCs are identical in shape to the two in subsection 1.]

**ohpitzactli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (oh-pitz-a-c)tli- $\emptyset$ # = it (i.e., a road) is a thing that has become narrow in the form of a road; i.e., it is a narrow road/path

**āchipactli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ā-chip-a-c)tli- $\emptyset$ # = it (i.e., water) is a thing that has become clean in the form of water; i.e., it is clean/pure water

**tlālhuāctli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tlāl-huā-c)tli- $\emptyset$ # = it (i.e., land) is a thing that has become dry in the form of land; i.e., it is dry land; it is an island

**tlālcocoxqui** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tlāl-coco-x- $\emptyset$ )qui- $\emptyset$ # = it (i.e., land) is a thing that has become sick in the form of land; i.e., it is sick/exhausted land

Instead of conveying the notion of “in the form of,” the embed might be conveying that of “in comparison with (other).” Since a sentence such as “It (i.e., a wall) is a thin wall” can be reworded in English as “The wall is thin,” a linguistically naive person might be tempted to think of the embedded stem as the subject in these compound-stemmed NNCs (see § 1.13 concerning the mistaken belief that a translation reflects the structure of the source; remember that Nahuatl does not permit an embedded nounstem to function as subject of the compound; see § 30.18; see also § 58.7). The temptation is probably all the stronger here, since English has nothing similar to this formation. In the choice of matrix Nahuatl focuses on

qualitative notions (e.g., narrowness, whiteness), while English focuses on substantive notions (e.g., road, wall, land). One should train oneself to accept such perspectival differences in order to gain not only a firmer grasp of the language but also a better understanding of the culture.

2. Incorporated-complement compound verbstem as source. Only a few NNCs manifest the formation.

**xoxōuhcācualōni** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (xo-xō-uh- $\emptyset$ -cā-cua-lō-ni) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is edible green/raw [ $\langle$  (xo-xō-uh- $\emptyset$ )-qui-, “a thing that is green/raw”]

**cececāihuani** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ce-ce- $\emptyset$ -cā-ī-hua-ni) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is potable cold [ $\langle$  (ce-ce- $\emptyset$ )-c-, “a thing that has become cold”]

3. Incorporated-object compound verbstem as source. The compound verbstem can occur in a preterit-agentive NNC.

**cualāncuic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cual-ā-n-cui- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = he is one who has taken anger; i.e., he is angry [ $\langle$  (cual-ā-n)-tli-, “anger”]

**yōlizmatqui** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (yōli-z-mat- $\emptyset$ )qui- $\emptyset$ # = he is one who has known the act of living; i.e., he is cunning/clever [ $\langle$  (yōli-z)-tli-, “the act of living”]

When the adjectival NNC has a patientive structure, it is not easy for English to capture the difference between the impersonal-patientive NNC built on an incorporated-object compound verbstem and the passive-patientive NNC built on an incorporated-adverb compound verbstem. A morphological analysis of the two is unable to distinguish between them; only a knowledge of the underlying source compound verbstem can do so. The following NNCs exemplify the problem. Compare the first two with the second two.

**tlālcōhualli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tlāl-cōhua-l)li- $\emptyset$ # = it is a land-bought thing; it is bought land [an impersonal patientive NNC from the incorporated object compound verbstem (tlāl-cōhua), “to buy land”]

**tlālchiuhtli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tlāl-chīuh)tli- $\emptyset$ # = it is a land-made thing; it is worked land, it is cultivated land [an impersonal patientive NNC from the incorporated-object compound verbstem (tlāl-chīhua), “to make land,” i.e., “to work land”]

**tlālmanalli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tlāl-man-a-l)li- $\emptyset$ # = it is a thing that has been set down on land; i.e., it is an area of packed-down, leveled land, it is packed-down, leveled land [a passive patientive from the incorporated-adverb compound verbstem tla-(tlāl-man-a), “to set s.th. down on land,” i.e., “to level-off land by tamping or pounding it down (for laying the foundation of a wall, etc.) “]

**tlālmantli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tlāl-man)tli- $\emptyset$ # = it is a thing that has been set down on land; i.e., it is an area of packed-down, leveled land, it is packed-down, leveled land [The source is the same as the preceding one.]

The adjectival use of the compound-stemmed patientive NNCs in this subsection and in subsection 1.a is not as obvious or as frequent as that of those in subsection 1.b, but Nahuatl has the option of using any patientive NNC as an adjectival NNC, and these are no exception.



41.3. *Adjectival NNCs from Denominal Verbstems from Compound Nounstems.* A compound nounstem can be the source for a derived verbstem created by means of the verbstem-forming suffix **ti** (see § 54.2). The most frequent use of these verbstems is in adjectival preterit-agentive NNCs (formed according to § 40.8.1).

**cōnnacaztic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cōn-nacaz-ti- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = it has become (like) a jar ear; i.e., it is like a jar handle [The underlying compound nounstem (cōn-nacaz)-tli-, “jar ear,” i.e., “jar handle,” consists of the embed (cōmi)-tl-, “jar, pot” and (nacaz)-tli-, “ear.”]

**xilōtzontic** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (xilō-tzon-ti- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # = it has become (like) maize-ear hair; i.e., it is like maize silk [ $\langle$  (xilō-tzon)-tli-, “maize silk”]

41.4. *Adjectival Nounstems as Embeds in Compound-Stemmed NNCs.* While adjectival NNCs frequently occur in double- or multiple-nucleus structures of modification (see Lessons 42 and 43), an adjectival nounstem can be incorporated as the modifier of a matrix nounstem (see § 31.4).

**tlazohtilmahtli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tla-zo-h-tilmah)tli- $\emptyset$ # = it is a costly blanket; it is an expensive blanket

**nohuēimahpil** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(huē-i-mah-pil) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is my big finger; i.e. it is my thumb

**ichcahuipilli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ich-ca-huipil)li- $\emptyset$ # = it is a cotton blouse

**ninēntlācatl** = #ni- $\emptyset$ (nēn-tlāca)tl- $\emptyset$ # = I am a useless person [The nounstem (nēn)-tli-, “vain thing, useless thing,” can serve as a stem on its own in an NNC only if the NNC is adverbialized; see § 44.5.3.]

**īlihuizcihuātl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (īlihui-z-cihuā)tl- $\emptyset$ # = she is a worthless woman [The nounstem (īlihui-z)-tli-, “worthless thing, useless thing,” can serve as a stem on its own in an NNC only if the NNC is adverbialized; see § 44.6.]

When the adjectivally functioning embed is a preterit-agentive nounstem, the general-use shape of the stem must be used. This is simply the compound-nounstem construction of § 35.7.

**mococoxcāhtzin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-o(coco-x- $\emptyset$ -cā-tah-tzin) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he is your sick father (H)

**yamāncācuīcatl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (yam-ā-n- $\emptyset$ -cā-cuīca)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is a soft song; i.e., it is a pleasant song

As is evident in Lesson 34, a numeral stem can be embedded adjectivally in the formation of a compound stem.

**nāuhquimilli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (nāuh-quimil)li- $\emptyset$ # = it is four bundles, they are four bundles; i.e., it is eighty blankets, they are eighty blankets

**ōnxihuitl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ōn-xihui)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is two years [Frequently spelled **ōxxihuitl**, as it is pronounced.]

## LESSON 42

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### Adjectival Modification (Part One)

42.1. *Modification.* In Nahuatl, modification can occur in a single nucleus construction (as, for example, in § 30.5 or § 41.4) or in multiple nucleus constructions. In the latter as in the former, the modification may be adjectival (i.e., an adjectival NNC modifies a substantival NNC) or adverbial (i.e., an adverbial NNC modifies a VNC). Adverbial modification involving two or more nuclear clauses is discussed in Lessons 49 and 50. Multiple-nucleus adjectival modification is taken up in this lesson and Lesson 43.

42.2. *Multiple-Nucleus Adjectival Modification.* In Nahuatl, except for those embedded in compound nounstems, all adjectival modifiers are clauses. The language has no modifier-word plus head-word structures such as English “a tall tree” or “my two children”; instead it relies on a structure that is vaguely similar to an English relative clause (e.g., “a tree that is tall” or “my children who are two in number”), except that it has no relative pronoun (such as “that,” “who/whom,” or “which”) to act as the link between the modifier clause and its head clause (see § 16.2). This kind of device is not needed, since in Nahuatl a multiple-clause structure of adjectival modification (a head plus a modifier) results from a transformation carried out upon a structure of shared-referent supplementation (a head plus a supplement) in such a way that the rank of the constituent clauses is reversed. That is, the principal clause of the source becomes the adjunct clause of the transform, and the adjunct clause of the source becomes the principal clause of the transform. In both, the link between the principal and the adjunct is established by shared-referent affixal personal pronouns. The difference between the two structures can be summarized as follows.

1. Structure of supplementation (see Lesson 17):

head = affixal personal pronoun in the principal clause

supplement = the adjunct clause (whose core *identifies* the head)

2. Structure of modification:

head = core in an NNC functioning as the principal clause

modifier = the adjunct clause (whose core *describes, qualifies, or limits* the head)

Compare the following two sentences (the principal clause is italicized):

Source: *Canāhuac in cuēitl.* = The skirt *is thin*. The skirts *are thin*. [The adjunct, **cuēitl**, is the supplementary subject standing in cross-reference to the subject pronoun **θ-(. .)c-θ** of the principal, **canāhuac**.]

Transform: *Cuēitl canāhuac.* = *It is a skirt* that is thin. *They are skirts* that are thin. *It is a thin skirt*. *They are thin skirts*. [The stem of the principal, **cuēitl**, is being described by the stem of the adjunct, **canāhuac**. The subject pronouns of the two clauses, **θ-θ(. .)tl-θ** and **θ-θ(. .)c-θ**, have the same referent.]

The following is another example, again using a substantival NNC and an adjectival NNC but with first-person plural subject pronouns:

Source: *Ticualtin in timocnihuān.* = *We, your friends, are good*.

Transform: *Timocnihuān ticualtin.* = *We are your friends* who are good; i.e., *We are your good friends*.

The modifier may be marked by the adjunctor **in**:

*Cuēitl in canāhuac.* = *It is a thin skirt*. *They are thin skirts*.

*Timocnihuān in ticualtin.* = *We are your good friends*.

42.3. *The Preposed Modifier.* The unmarked adjectival modifier may be shifted to a position in front of its head. This proposing transformation does not create a topic (see § 17.5); that is, the preposed adjunct in a structure of modification does not announce what is going to be talked about as one does in a structure of supplementation. In a transform created by preposing an adjectival modifier, the adjunct clause is joined more tightly to the principal clause than in one resulting from topicalization; in the former, no hiatus is heard between modifier and head (contrast § 17.5).

**Canāhuac cuēitl** = It is a thin skirt. They are thin skirts.

**Ticualtin timocnihuān.** = We are your good friends.

42.4. *The Structure of Adjectival Modification as Adjoined Unit.* A structure of modification as a unit may be adjoined to a principal clause in a larger concatenate structure:

**Quinamaca cuēitl canāhuac.** = He sells skirts that are thin.

**Quinamaca cuēitl in canāhuac.** = He sells skirts that are thin.

**Quinamaca canāhuac cuēitl.** = He sells thin skirts.

The multiple-nucleus adjoined unit may be introduced by the adjunctor **in**:

**Quinamaca in cuēitl canāhuac.** = He sells skirts that are thin.

**Quinamaca in cuēitl in canāhuac.** = He sells skirts that are thin.

**Quinamaca in canāhuac cuēitl.** = He sells thin skirts.

The adjunctor **in** placed before the preposed adjectival modifier always subordinates the entire structure of modification and not just the modifier. In the last example, **in canāhuac cuēitl** is incomplete and must be an adjoined unit. Similarly, in the following example **in ticualtin timocnihuān** functions as an adjoined unit:

**Timitzpalēhuizqueh in ticualtin timocnihuān.** = We, your good friends, shall help you.

42.5. *The Structure of Adjectival Modification as Principal Unit.* A structure of modification as a unit may serve as the principal of a larger concatenate structure:

**In quinamaca cuēitl canāhuac** = That which he is selling *is a skirt that is thin*. That which he sells *is skirts that are thin*.

**In quinamaca cuēitl in canāhuac.** = That which he is selling *is a skirt that is thin*. That which he sells *is skirts that are thin*.

**In quinamaca canāhuac cuēitl.** = That which he is selling *is a thin skirt*. That which he sells *is thin skirts*.

42.6. *Ambiguity: Supplementation and Adjectival Modification.* There are two reasons for ambiguity between a structure of supplementation and one of adjectival modification. First, both are structures of apposition. In supplementation, the adjunct-as-supplement stands in apposition to an affixal *personal pronoun* in the principal clause (see § 17.2). In modification, the adjunct-as-modifier stands in apposition to the *core* in the principal clause. Second, a structure of adjectival modification is generated from a structure of shared-referent supplementation and has no special adjunctor that distinguishes it as modification.

The probability that this potential for ambiguity will be realized becomes obvious when one surveys the patterns theoretically possible to structures of supplementation and adjectival modification. In the following chart, a *topi-transform* is a transform created by topicalization; a *prepo-transform* is a transform created by a preposing transformation.

	Unmarked Adjunct	Marked Adjunct
<b>Supplementation:</b>		
Transform	PRINCIPAL + adjunct	PRINCIPAL + <b>in</b> + adjunct
Topi-transform	adjunct + PRINCIPAL	<b>in</b> + adjunct + PRINCIPAL
<b>Modification:</b>		
Transform	PRINCIPAL + adjunct	PRINCIPAL + <b>in</b> + adjunct
Prepo-transform	adjunct + PRINCIPAL	. . . <b>in</b> + adjunct + PRINCIPAL

The prepo-transform with a marked adjunct is not a complete sentence (the suspension points indicate this); it can function only as an adjoined unit (see § 42.4). This disambiguates the **in** + adjunct + PRINCIPAL pattern: when standing alone, it is a structure of supplementation; when adjoined as a unit, it is a structure of modification.

Even though all the theoretically possible patterns may not actually occur (the meaning of the concatenated items enters as an important factor in eliminating the possibilities), the potentiality for ambiguity is still high, especially since the majority of concatenated items may serve either as adjunct or as principal. Meaning depends upon which nucleus is understood to be the

principal clause. The following examples illustrate the problem. (The principal clause of each sentence is italicized.)

*Canāhuac cuēitl.* = (suppl) The skirts *are thin.*

*Canāhuac cuēitl.* = (modif) *They are thin things* that are skirts.

*Canāhuac cuēitl.* = (modif) *They are thin skirts.*

*Cuēitl canāhuac.* = (suppl) The skirts *are thin.*

*Cuēitl canāhuac.* = (modif) *They are skirts* that are thin.

*Canāhuac in cuēitl.* = (suppl) The skirts *are thin*

*Canāhuac in cuēitl.* = (modif) *They are thin things* that are skirts.

*In canāhuac cuēitl.* = (suppl) The thin ones *are skirts.* [not ambiguous]

*In cuēitl canāhuac.* = (suppl) The skirts *are thin.* [not ambiguous]

*Cuēitl in canāhuac.* (suppl) The thin ones *are skirts.*

*Cuēitl in canāhuac.* = (modif) *They are skirts* that are thin.

Since either nuclear clause can serve as principal, ambiguity also appears in structures of modification when such a structure serves as an adjoined unit. The following examples illustrate the problem. (The principal clause of each structure is italicized.)

. . . *cuēitl canāhuac* = . . . *skirts* that are thin [not ambiguous]

. . . *in cuēitl canāhuac* = . . . *skirts* that are thin [not ambiguous]

. . . *cuēitl in canāhuac* = . . . *skirts* that are thin [not ambiguous]

. . . *in cuēitl in canāhuac* = . . . *skirts* that are thin [not ambiguous]

. . . *canāhuac cuēitl* = . . . *thin skirts*

. . . *canāhuac cuēitl* = . . . *thin ones* that are skirts

. . . *in canāhuac cuēitl* = . . . *thin skirts*

. . . *in canāhuac cuēitl* = . . . *thin ones* that are skirts

. . . *canāhuac in cuēitl* = . . . *thin ones* that are skirts

. . . *in canāhuac in cuēitl* = . . . *thin ones* that are skirts

*Note:* Head + modifier constructions such as *in cuēitl canāhuac* and *in cuēitl in canāhuac* may also be converted into modifier + head constructions in which the adjunct remains *immediately* before the head: . . . *canāhuac in cuēitl* and . . . *in canāhuac in cuēitl*. Consequently, the last two examples given above are ambiguous and can also mean “thin skirts” and “skirts that are thin,” respectively. Consider as a further example *Cencah mic in quitquiqueh in teōcuitlatl*. While this may represent “That which they carried, which was gold, was quite a lot” (with *in teōcuitlatl* modifying *in quitquiqueh*), context may easily demand that it represent “The gold that they carried was quite a lot” (with *in quitquiqueh* modifying *in teōcuitlatl*); concerning *cencah* see § 44.3.1.

42.7. *Adjectival Modifier with a Compound-Stemmed NNC as Head.* The head of a structure of modification may be a simple-stemmed NNC or a compound-stemmed NNC. The modifier in the latter structure—while modifying the compound as a whole—actually tends to relate to the matrix, since it is the governing center of the compound stem. Compare:

*in tlazohtli ihhuītl* = expensive feathers

*in tlazohtli xiuhtōtōihhuītl* = expensive turquoise-bird feathers; i.e., expensive lovely-cotinga feathers [The embed stem is itself compound: (*xiuhtōtō*)-*tl*-, “turquoise bird,” i.e., “lovely cotinga.”]

Of course, if the compound nounstem's meaning is metaphorically distanced from the meaning of the matrix stem, the modification will seem to relate to the compound stem as a whole.

**in tomāhuac āhuēhuētl** = the thick upright drum in water (see § 35.7.2); i.e., the thick cypress

This “normal” structure of modification should be compared to that presented in § 42.10.

42.8. *Various Kinds of Sentences in the Modifier Function.* The prototype of adjectival modification has a substantival NNC as principal and an adjectival NNC as modifier. This is not the only structure possible, however, as is obvious from § 42.6, where the roles are shown reversed. There is, in fact, a wide variety of nuclear clause types that can serve as adjectival adjuncts. For the sake of economy, only the marked prepo-transforms will be shown in the following descriptions.

1. An intransitive VNC. This has already been implied in the examples with **canāhuac** in § 42.6, since it is a preterit-agentive NNC, i.e., a reanalyzed VNC. But the VNC need not undergo nominalization:

- . . . **in nechca cah cihuātl** = . . . the woman who is there, . . . the woman there, . . . that woman there [E.g., **In nechca cah cihuātl tēchtlaxcalchihuiliz.** “That woman there will make tortillas for us.” For **nechca**, “there,” see § 46.9.]
- . . . **in ixmantiuh ātl** = . . . the smoothly flowing water [E.g., **Niquitta in ixmantiuh ātl.** “I look at the smoothly flowing water.” The adjectival adjunct is a connective-t compound-stemmed VNC: # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ix-man- $\emptyset$ -ti-uh) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #, “it goes spreading out on the surface.”]

2. A transitive VNC. If the transitive clause contains only a reflexive object pronoun or a nonspecific projective object pronoun, the syntactical possibilities are the same as with the intransitive clause:

- . . . **in omotēnēuhqueh mācuil̄tin** = . . . the five who have been mentioned [E.g., **In omotēnēuhqueh mācuil̄tin quinnāhuatia in Motēuczōma.** “Moteuczoma gives commands to the five who have been mentioned.”]
- . . . **in tēcuāni cōātl** = . . . the people-eating snake; i.e., . . . the poisonous snake [E.g., **Ōquicuah in tēcuāni cōātl.** “The poisonous snake bit him.”]

If, however, a transitive clause has a specific projective object pronoun, the syntactical possibilities are more complicated. For one thing, the point of shared-referent contact between the concatenated nuclear clauses may be either in a subject pronoun (as in the adjectival intransitive VNC) or in an object pronoun. For another, the construction may or may not show supplementation/modification ambiguity, depending on several factors: the animate or nonanimate nature of the referents of the pronouns, contrasts in person or number, and meaning of the stems involved. The following examples illustrate the problem.

- a. Unambiguous concatenation: modification only.
  - i. Concatenation by means of the NNC's subject pronoun:

- . . . **in ōnēchittac cihuātl** = . . . the woman who saw me [E.g., **Ahōniquittac in ōnēchittac cihuātl**. “I did not see the woman who saw me.”]
- ii. Concatenation by means of the VNC’s object pronoun:
- . . . **in ōniquittac cihuātl** = . . . the woman whom I saw [E.g., **Ahōnēchittac in ōniquittac cihuātl**. “The woman whom I saw did not see me.”]
- b. Ambiguous concatenation: either supplementation or modification.
- i. Concatenation by means of the VNC’s subject pronoun:
- . . . **in quichīuhqueh Tōltēcāh** = *suppl*, . . . what the Toltecs built, . . . the one(s) that the Toltecs built [E.g., **Mahuiztic in quichīuhqueh Tōltēcāh**. “What the Toltecs built was marvelous. The one that the Toltecs built was marvelous. The ones that the Toltecs built were marvelous.” For **Tōltēcāh**, see § 48.9.4.b.iii.]
- . . . **in quichīuhqueh Tōltēcāh** = *modif*, . . . the Toltecs who built it/them [E.g., **Tlāmatinimeh in quichīuhqueh Tōltēcāh**. “The Toltecs who built it/them were clever.”]
- ii. Concatenation by means of the VNC’s object pronoun:
- . . . **in quichīuhqueh calli** = *suppl*, . . . the ones who built the house(s) [E.g., **Ca Tōltēcāh in quichīuhqueh calli**. “The ones who built the house(s) were Toltecs.”]
- . . . **in quichīuhqueh calli** = *modif*, . . . the houses(s) that they built [E.g., **Mahuiztic in quichīuhqueh calli**. “The house that they built was marvelous. The houses that they built were marvelous.”]

The ambiguity is even more complicated when the transitive VNC permits the ambiguity pointed out in § 17.4.4:

- . . . **in ōquittac cihuātl** = *suppl*, . . . the one whom the woman saw, . . . the one who saw the woman
- . . . **in ōquittac cihuātl** = *modif*, . . . the woman who saw him, . . . the woman who saw her, . . . the woman whom he saw, . . . the woman whom she saw

When the concatenate structures are adjoined to a larger concatenate structure, all of these ambiguities may be present:

**Ōtzahtzic in ōquittac cihuātl**. = The one whom the woman saw shouted. The one who saw the woman shouted. The woman who saw him shouted. The woman who saw her shouted. The woman whom he saw shouted. The woman whom she saw shouted.

In the special instance where the nounstem of the principal clause involves a sex property and the concatenate structure is adjoined as a constituent in a larger concatenate structure whose head also involves a sex property, the ambiguity may be reduced but not completely dissolved:

**Notahtzin in ōquittac cihuātl**. = The one whom the woman saw was my father.  
The one who saw the woman was my father.

**Nonāntzin in ōquittac cihuātl.** = The woman who saw him was my mother. The woman who saw her was my mother. The woman whom he saw was my mother. The woman whom she saw was my mother.

3. An adverbialized NNC (see Lesson 44):

... **in nicān tlālli** = ... the land here [E.g., **Ātoctli in nicān tlālli**. “The land here is fertile and moist.”]

4. A cardinal-numeral NNC:

... **in cē tlācatl** = ... one person, ... a (certain) person [E.g., **Ahonnēzticatca in cē tlācatl**. “One person did not come forward; i.e., “Not a single person came forward.”]

... **in ōntetl ācalli** = ... (the) two boats [E.g., **In ōntetl ācalli zan onotihuītz**. “The two boats just come floating along.”]

... **in yēin ipilhuān** = ... his three children [E.g., **Ōquimpiyaya in yēin ipilhuān**. “He guarded his three children.” I.e., “He had three children.”]

The numeral NNC may be the head in the structure of modification. The construction is obvious when an adjunct is present (but, of course, the **in** is optional). English translation prefers to ignore the construction by rendering the numeral NNC as the modifier.

**cē cihuātl** = she is one (in number) who is a woman; i.e., she is one woman

**nāuhtetl in calli** = they are four that are houses; i.e., they are four houses

**ōnquimilli in cuāchtli** = they are two bundles that are large capes; i.e., they are forty large capes [E.g., **In ipatiuh ōnquimilli in cuāchtli**. “His price is forty large capes.”]

A structure of modification containing a cardinal numeral NNC as modifier may be a double-nucleus counterpart of a compound-stemmed NNC with an incorporated numeral stem:

**Nāhui mēztli.** }  
**Nāuhmēztli.** } = They are four moons; i.e., They are four months.

*Note:* A common use of the cardinal numeral NNC as modifier is found in dates. (For the day and year names, see Appendix E):

**In xiuhtōnalli Ēi Calli.** }  
**In xiuhtōnalli Ēcalli.** } = The year name is Three House.

5. A quantitative pronominal NNC:

... **in ixquichtin tlanōtzaltin** = ... all the guests [E.g., **Calaquiyah in ixquichtin tlanōtzaltin**. “All the guests were entering.”]

In structures of modification containing a quantitative NNC, the construction is frequently put in the singular even though the subject pronoun is referring to more than one animate entity:

**In ixquich mēcēhualli cenhuetzī.** = All the commoners sit down together.

**Mochi tlācatl conchihcha.** = All the people spit at her. Every person spits at her. [Notice the formally unjustified applicative object.]

In relation to this, when a structure of modification serves as a supplement, the subject pronouns in its NNCs may not agree in number with their head in the principal clause (see § 18.5).



**In ye ixquich tlācatl momauhtihqueh.** = As for all the people, they were afraid. All the people were afraid. Everyone was afraid. [Although it has a singular-number subject pronoun, the plural meaning of **tlācatl** is made evident by its modifier **ixquich**. The plural-number subject pronoun on **momauhtihqueh** acts as if its VNC were in a sentence of its own.]

The quantitative pronominal NNC may be the head in the structure of modification. English translation ignores the internal relationships of the Nahuatl construction by reversing head and modifier.

**ixquich in ihhuītl** = they are all that are feathers; i.e., they are all the feathers

**mochi in necuiltōnōlli** = it is everything that is wealth/riches; i.e., it is all the wealth/ riches

6. An NNC:

... **tlātlacohtin oquichtin** = ... slaves who are males; i.e., ... male slaves

... **in oquichtli mazātl** = ... male deer, ... buck [E.g., **Cuācuahueh in oquichtli mazātl**. "The male deer has antlers."]

*Note:* A structure of modification containing an NNC as modifier may be a double-nucleus counterpart of a compound-stemmed NNC:

**Oquichtli mazātl.** } = It is a male deer. It is a buck.  
**Oquichmazātl.** }

7. A structure of supplementation:

... **in cualli iyōllo ichpōchtli** = ... the maiden whose heart is good, ... the virtuous maiden [E.g., **In cualli iyōllo ichpōchtli yōllohchipāhuac**. "The virtuous maiden is pure of heart."]

8. Contrary to what translation suggests, when a personal pronominal NNC (see § 16.3) or a demonstrative pronominal NNC (see § 16.5 and § 19.2.1) cooperates with an NNC in a structure of adjectival modification, the NNC is the appositive and, therefore, the modifier.

... **in yehhuāntin ozomahtin** = they are the ones who are monkeys; i.e., these monkeys, those monkeys, ... the monkeys [E.g., **In yehhuāntin ozomahtin quihuālihneuih**. "These monkeys come to smell it."]

... **in in tlahtoāni** = he is this one who is a ruler; i.e., this ruler [E.g., **In in tlahtoāni miequintin in quiptiyah Otomih**. "The Otomis who guard this ruler are numerous."]  
The structure of modification **in in tlahtoāni** is the topic functioning as the supplementary object standing in cross-reference to the object pronoun **qui-Ø** of **quiptiyah**. The structure of modification **in quiptiyah Otomih** (in which **Otomih** is modified by **quiptiyah**) functions as the supplementary subject in cross-reference to the subject pronoun **Ø-Ø(. . .)t-in** of the principal clause **miequintin**.]

**in ihqueh in Otomih** = they are these who are Otomis; i.e., these Otomis [E.g., **In ihqueh in Otomih mīlehqueh**. "These Otomis are garden owners."]

9. As explained in § 34.16, a measure NNC serves as the head, and the NNC reporting the thing measured serves as the adjectival modifier.

**centlaxōchtli ichcatl** = it is one tuft/flock that is of cotton; it is a tuft/flock of cotton  
**nāuhtlayahualōlli centli** = they are four bunches that are of dried ears of maize; i.e., they are four bunches of dried ears of maize

42.9. *Recursion in Adjectival Modification.* The modification transformation is recursive; that is, a structure of adjectival modification may participate as head in a larger structure of modification:

**Miyec in mahuiztic quichihuhqueh calli.** = The marvelous houses that they built were many. [The structure of modification **quichihuhqueh calli** is modified by **mahuiztic.**]

**Cuix ticcualitta in in yancuic nochimal?** = Do you like this one which is my new shield (i.e., this new shield of mine)? [**Yancuic nochimal** is modifying the demonstrative pronoun **in.**]

**Ōquimacac cē tlazohtli tetl.** = He gave her one which was a precious stone (i.e., one precious stone). [**Tlazohtli tetl** is modifying **cē.**]

42.10. *Incorporated Structures of Adjectival Modification.* Compounding has already been shown to be a very powerful device in Nahuatl. Not only can the language incorporate the predicate of an NNC into the embed subposition to create compound-stemmed VNCs (see Lesson 30) and compound-stemmed NNCs (see Lesson 31), but, as has been shown, it also has the power to incorporate entire structures, such as a structure of conjunction (see § 34.8) or a structure of supplementation (see § 35.14). It should come as no surprise, then, that a structure of adjectival modification has the same privilege. That is, an entire structure consisting of adjectival modifier plus substantival head can fill the embed subposition in a compound stem. As in the other instances of incorporation of concatenated clauses, the constituent NNCs of the structure keep their subject pronouns intact inside the compound stem, except that the number dyad of the head NNC of the incorporated structure is deleted.

A structure of adjectival modification that participates in this kind of compounding is one that has a more or less strong degree of lexicalization; that is, the structure consists of a set, or “frozen,” concatenate sequence; for example, **huēi ātl**, “it is the big water,” i.e., “it is the ocean.” The following are a few examples of this kind of compound. (A plus sign inside the compound stem marks the boundary between the constituents—modifier and head—of the structure that is filling the embed subposition.)

Source of embed: **huēi ātl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (huē-i) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ā)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is the big water, i.e., it is the ocean

Absolutive-state compound NNC: **huēi-ātēntli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ( $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -huē-i- $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -ā-tēn)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is the shore of the big water, i.e., it is the ocean shore

Source of embed: **cōztic teōcuitlatl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cōz-ti- $\emptyset$ )c- $\emptyset$ # # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (teō-cuitla)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is yellow god-excrement, i.e., it is gold

Absolutive-state compound NNC: **cōztic-teōcuitlaōztōtl** = #θ-θ(θ-θ-cōz-ti-θ-c-θ+θ-θ-teō-cuitla-ōztō)tl-θ# = it is a cave of yellow god-excrement, i.e., it is a gold mine

Possessive-state compound NNC: **nocōztic-teōcuitlaōztōuh** = #θ-θ+n-o(θ-θ-cōz-ti-θ-c-θ+θ-θ-teō-cuitla-ōztō)uh-θ# = it is my cave of yellow god-excrement, i.e., it is my gold mine

Source of embed: **iztāc teōcuitlatl** = #θ-θ(iztā-θ)c-θ# #θ-θ(teō-cuitla)tl-θ# = it is white god-excrement, i.e., it is silver

Compound VNC: **niztāc-teōcuitlachipāhua** = #n-θ(θ-θ-iztā-θ-c-θ+θ-θ-teō-cuitla-chip-ā-hu-a)θ+θ-θ# = I cause white god-excrement to become clean, i.e., I purify silver [The incorporated structure of modification is functioning as an incorporated causative object.]

Source of embed: **iztāc cactli** = #θ-θ(iztā-θ)c-θ# #θ-θ(cac)tli-θ# = it is a white sandal, they are white sandals

Compound preterit-agentive NNC: **iztāc-caqueh** = #θ-θ(θ-θ-iztā-θ-c-θ+θ-θ-caqu-eh-θ)□-θ# = he/she is a white-sandal owner; i.e., he/she has white sandals

*Note:* There are certain modifier-NNC-plus-head-NNC sequences that have become lexicalized as a compound even without serving as an embed in a compound.

**chichicātl** = #θ-θ(θ-θ-chichi-θ-c-θ+θ-θ-ā)tl-θ# = it is bitter water; i.e., it is bile [< (chichi-θ)-c-, “a thing that has become bitter”]

**nochichicāuh** = #θ-θ+n-o(θ-θ-chichi-θ-c+θ-θ-ā)uh-θ# = it is my bitter water; i.e., it is my bile

**tlazohchayāhuaccōzcatl** = #θ-θ(θ-θ-tla-zo-h-chay-ā-hua-θ-c-θ+θ-θ-cōz-ca)tl-θ# = it is a precious radiating (*lit.*, scattering) bead necklace [< (tla-zo-h)-tli-, “a precious thing,” and (chay-ā-hua-θ)-c-, “a thing that has become scattered”]

**ītlazohchayāhuaccōzqui** = #θ-θ+ī-θ(θ-θ-tla-zo-h-chay-ā-hua-θ-c-θ+θ-θ-cōz-qui)θ-θ# = it is his/her precious radiating bead necklace

**iztācmichin** = #θ-θ(θ-θ-iztā-θ-c-θ+θ-θ-mich)in-θ# = it is a whitefish

**iztācmichtin** = #θ-θ(θ-θ-iztā-θ-c-θ+θ-θ-mich)t-in# = they are whitefish [The *iztāc* does not become *iztāqueh*, and the normal reduplication found in *mīmichtin* does not occur.]

## Adjectival Modification (Part Two)

43.1. *Constructions Involving the Nonpreposed Adjectival Modifier.* The adjectival modifier that follows its head has several peculiarities.

1. A nonpreposed adjectival adjunct may contain supplementary elements not permitted in a preposed modifier (compare the relative clause in English):

**Tlaminimeh in Tōltēcah in quichīuhqueh in calli.** = The Toltecs who built the house(s) were clever. [Compare **Tlaminimeh in quichīuhqueh in Tōltēcah** in § 42.8.2.b.]

**Mahuiztic in calli in quichīuhqueh in Tōltēcah.** = The house that the Toltecs built is marvelous. The houses that the Toltecs built are marvelous. [Compare **Mahuiztic in quichīuhqueh calli** in § 42.8.2.b.]

2. A supplementary element in the adjectival adjunct may be at a distance:

**In oquichtin, cuācualli in cactli quichīhuah.** = The sandals that the men make are excellent. [**Oquichtin** is the topic. It functions as the supplementary subject of **quichīhuah**, which modifies **cactli**, which is the supplementary subject of the principal clause **cuācualli**.]

3. A favorite construction combines a nonpreposed adjectival modifier with a personal pronominal NNC whose stem is the head. Since English is not fond of this arrangement, translation usually falsifies the Nahuatl structure.

**Yehhuātl in notahtzin.** = He is the one who is my father. [Preferred translation: “He is my father.” **Yehhuātl** is the principal clause; **notahtzin** is an adjectival modifier. This is the more likely way to understand this sentence, but see § 18.3 for a translation that treats **notahtzin** as the supplementary subject.]

**In pahltli quimacac, yehhuātl in iztāc octli.** = The potion that he gave him was that which is white pulque. [Preferred translation: “The potion he gave him was white pulque.” **Yehhuātl** is the principal clause. **In pahltli quimacac** is its supplementary subject. **In iztāc octli** is an adjectival adjunct.]

**In quinamaca yeh in cualli.** = That which he sells is that which is good. [Preferred translation: “That which he sells is good.” **Yeh** is the principal clause. **In quinamaca** is its supplementary subject. **In cualli** is an adjectival modifier.]

**Āc yeh in oc cencah cualli?** = Who is that one who is the best? [Preferred translation: “Which is the best?” **Yeh** is the principal clause. **Āc** is its supplementary subject. **In oc cencah cualli** is an adjectival adjunct (concerning **cencah**, see § 44.3.1).]

**Xinēchitta; ca nehhuātl in nimonān.** = Look at me; indeed, I am the one who is your mother. [Preferred translation: “Look at me; I indeed am your mother.” As the **ca** indicates, **nehhuātl** is the principal clause of **ca nehhuātl in nimonān**. The clause **nimonān** modifies it adjectivally.]

**Huel yehhuātl in conāna.** = He is the very one who takes it. [Preferred translation: “He himself takes it.” Concerning **huel**, see § 44.5.2.]

4. Nahuatl frequently uses the nonpreposed adjectival adjunct as the modifier of a numeral NNC or quantitative NNC (contrast § 42.8.4 and § 42.8.5, where the numeral NNC or the quantitative NNC is the adjunct). English prefers to disregard the weighting in the Nahuatl structure.

**Ōhuāllahqueh ēintin in tlācatecoloh.** = Three who were wizards came; i.e., Three wizards came.

**Ōcenquiz in ixquich in tēlpōchtli.** = All who were youths came together; i.e., All the youths came together. [an example of generalization]

43.2. *Cooperation of Preposed and Nonpreposed Modifiers.* There may be both preposed and nonpreposed adjectival modifiers adjoined to the same head:

**Huāllah in cē tlācatl in itōcā Cuauhcoātl.** = There came a man whose name was Cuauhcoatl.

**Ixquich tlācatl in mēcēhualli mohuāuhquiltamalhuia.** = All the people who are common folk make themselves tamales with amaranth greens.

**Yehhuāntin quinēxtihqueh in ye ixquich nepāpan tlazohtli tetl in mahuiztic.** = They discovered all kinds of precious stones that were marvelous.

43.3. *The Discontinuous Adjectival Modifier.* In addition to permitting the modifier to be in either the preposed or the nonpreposed position, the structure of modification may also be discontinuous; that is, the head and the modifier may be placed at a distance from one another. This split results from a transformation that topicalizes the head while leaving the modifier untouched. It is an extremely frequent construction in Nahuatl (cf. § 18.4).

Source: **Neucyoh in nanacatl in quicuāyah.** = The mushrooms that they used to eat were covered with honey. The mushrooms that they used to eat were honeyed.

Transform: **In nanacatl neucyoh in quicuāyah.** = The mushrooms that they used to eat were honeyed.

The following are further examples of this peculiar construction:

**Ahzo acah quiqixtīh in mēcēhualli.** = Perhaps someone who is a commoner made it leave; i.e., Perhaps some commoner took it.

**Cē huitz in ācalli.** = One that is a boat comes; i.e., One boat comes.

**Quil miyec yāomiqiz in cuāuhtli.** = It is said that many who are eagles will die in battle; i.e., It is said that many eagle warriors will die in battle.

**Mochi quichīuhqueh in itēnāhuatīl teōpixqui.** = They carried out all the divine commands of the priest.

At times the modifier is not introduced by an adjunct:

**Centetl cahciqueh tōtōtl nextic.** = They captured one that was an ashen-colored bird; i.e., They captured an ashen-colored bird.

**Ahtleh huetzoc cē tlahzollī.** = Nothing that is a piece of rubbish lies fallen; i.e., Not a particle of rubbish lies about.

A less frequent means of creating discontinuity within the structure of adjectival modification leaves the head in place and shifts the modifier to a distant position:

**In cihuah yancuic ommaquiah in incuē.** = The women cause themselves to enter into their new skirts; i.e., The women dress in their new skirts. The women put on their new skirts. [**Yancuic . . . in incuē** is functioning here as an adverbial adjunct; see § 49.2.]

**Nō yancuic nequēntilo in tilmahtli.** = Also, new capes are put on. [**Yancuic . . . in tilmahtli** functions as the supplementary subject of **nequēntilo**.]

43.4. *Interrogative Pronominal NNCs as Head in Structures of Modification.* As stated in § 16.2, Nahuatl has no relative pronouns. This is clearly evident in the example sentences presented in Lesson 42 and in previous sections in this lesson (the relative pronouns in the English translations reflect no corresponding pronominal NNC in Nahuatl but are dictated by English requirements). There are, however, sentences in which the interrogative pronominal NNCs **āc** and **tleh** seem to act as relative pronouns, since they occur as the principal clause in a structure of adjectival modification. But this is merely a translational mirage. In § 17.6 and § 19.1.1, examples were presented in which **āc** and **tleh** perform the role of principal clause in structures of supplementation. As pointed out in § 42.2, the essential difference between a structure of supplementation and a structure of adjectival modification is that the head for a supplement is some nuclear pronoun (subject, object, possessor) in the principal clause, while the head for an adjectival modifier is the core (i.e. the nominal predicate) in an NNC functioning as the principal clause. Consequently, sentences in which **āc** and **tleh** occur as principal clauses are inherently ambiguous, as can be seen in the following examples. Notice that the adjunct **in** is normally present to indicate the beginning of the adjoined clause. Traditionally, the sequences **āc in . . .** and **tleh in . . .** are written solid (i.e., **aquin** and **tlein**), a practice that disguises the fact that **in** forms a unit with what follows, and it is this unit as a whole that cooperates (as either supplement or modifier) with the **āc** or the **tleh**. (Remember that **tleh in** is normally pronounced **tle in** (i.e., /ʔ/ changes to [y]; see § 2.13.1 and § 16.4.1). Between /e/ and /i/ the [y] is not heard.) In translating both structures (supplementation and modification), English imposes a relative pronoun to perform the role of adjunct.

Supplementation: **Āc in ōquichīuh?** = *Who-is-he/she* adjr he/she-made-it? I.e., The one who made it is who? I.e., Who is the one who made it? Who made it? [The adjoined clause **in ōquichīuh** is the supplementary subject for the basic subject **θ-θ . . . c-θ** in the NNC **āc**.]

Modification: **Āc in ōquichīuh?** = *Who-is-he/she* adjr he/she-made-it? I.e., Is he/she someone who made it? I.e., Is there someone who made it? [The adjoined clause **in ōquichīuh** is the adjectival modifier of the nominal predicate (**ā-θ**)- in the NNC **āc**.]

Supplementation: **Tleh in ticnequi?** = *What-is-it* adjr you-want-it? I.e., The thing you want is what? I.e., What is the thing that you want? What do you want? [The adjoined clause **in ticnequi** is the supplementary subject for the basic subject **θ-θ . . . θ-θ** in the NNC **tleh**.]

Modification: **Tleh in ticnequi?** = *What-is-it* adjr you-want-it? I.e., Is it something that you want? I.e., Is there something that you want? [The adjoined clause, **in ticnequi**, is the adjectival modifier of the nominal predicate (**tl-eh**)- in the NNC **tleh**.]

Both the structure of supplementation and the structure of modification can serve as an adjoined unit in a larger sentence, this adjoined unit functioning as a supplement there. The adjunct **in** normally appears before the subordinated principal clauses **āc** and **tleh**. The important point here is that in the adjoined unit, as in its source, **āc** and **tleh** are not functioning as relative pronouns. It is the adjunct (or lack of one) after them that is translated as such (which is to be expected, since a relative pronoun is one type of English adjunct).

### 1. Adjoined structure of supplementation.

a. **Āc** is translated “the one(s)” or “the person(s),” and the adjunct (or the lack of one) following it is translated “who” or “whom.”

**Ōquittac in āc in ōquimacaqueh.** = He saw the one to whom they gave it.

**Ōittōqueh in āc ihqueh ōhuāllahqueh.** = The ones who came were seen. [Traditionally written **aquique**.]

b. **Tleh** is translated “the thing(s),” and the adjunct (or the absence of one) following it is translated “that” or “which”; often, “the thing(s) that” is rendered as “what.”

**Xiccaqui in tleh in nimitzilhuia.** = Listen to what I am saying to you.

**Monequi ticnemilizqueh in tleh in ticchihuaznequih.** = It is necessary that we consider that which we want to do. We must consider what we want to do.

**In tleh in ōquichīuhqueh ye ōpolōlōc.** = What they built has been destroyed.

**Tictolhuilizqueh in tleh in ōtiquittaqueh.** = We shall tell him (H) what we have seen.

### 2. Adjoined structure of adjectival modification.

a. **Āc** is translated “someone” or “anyone,” and the adjunct (or the absence of one) following it is translated “who” or “whom.” The sequence **āc in** can also be translated “whoever.” When **zā zo** modifies **āc**, the sequence **zā zo āc in** is translated “anyone so ever who” or “whoever.”

**In āc in quitemiqui in, miquiz.** = Anyone who dreams this will die.

**Mihtoa in āc in ihciuhcā quinēxtia tlatquitl, ca ipiltzin in Quetzalcōātl.** = It is said that anyone who quickly acquires property is Quetzalcoatl's child. [For **ihciuhcā**, “quickly,” see § 44.7.]

**In zā zo āc in acah cihuātl oquitēcac ihciuhcā quimictiah.** = Whoever has lain with some woman they quickly kill. [lit., “someone who is a woman”]

*b.* **Tleh** is translated “something” or “anything,” and the adjunct (or the absence of one) following it is translated “that.” The sequence **tleh in** can also be translated “whatever.” When **zā zo** modifies **tleh**, the sequence **zā zo tleh in** is translated “anything so ever that” or “whatever.”

**Nimitzmacaz in tleh in ticnequiz.** = I shall give you anything that you may want.

**Mā xicmopōhuili in tleh in ticmopōhuiliz.** = Predestine (H) for her whatever you (H) will predestine for her. Predestine (H) for her whatever you (H) will. [The stem underlying the honorific one is **tē+tla-(pōhu-iā)**, “to count s.th. for s.o.,” i.e., “to read s.o.’s fortune (in the way tossed maize kernels fall).” A god is being addressed in the sentence.]

**Quimocemmacac in zā zo tleh in quittaz.** = He fully/wholly gave himself whatever he might see.

**Necoc cāmpa cuico; quēhuah in zā zo tleh in quilnāmiquih.** = There is singing on both sides; they give voice to whatever they remember. [For **necoc**, “on both sides,” see § 44.6; for **cāmpa**, “at a place,” see § 46.10.]

*Remark:* Other interrogative NNCs may be used in structures of modification:

**Quimatiz cātlehhuāt in cualli quichihuaz.** = He will know which it is that it is good that he will do; i.e., He will know what he should do.

**Ommotectiuh in ihhuil in quēnamih monequi.** = Feathers of whatever kind that is needed go along being cut. Feathers of whatever kind needed are cut.

43.5. *The oc cē Collocation Modified.* The **oc cē** collocation mentioned in § 34.15 as equivalent to “who else,” “someone/anyone else,” and “no one else” can serve as the head in a structure of adjectival modification.

**Āc in oc cē in quimati?** = Who is he who is another one who knows it? I.e., Who else is there who knows it?

**Ayāc oc cē oncān māltiāya.** = Another one who bathed there was no one; i.e., No one else bathed there. [For **oncān**, see § 46. 3.2.b.]

**Ahoc āc oc cē quiquēmi.** = Another one who wears it is no longer anyone; i.e., No longer does anyone else wear it. No one else may wear it now.

43.6. *Violations of the Shared-Referent Restriction.* There are several idiomatic structures of modification that violate the general restriction concerning shared referents. One of these involves the nounstem (**cem**)-Ø-, “one,” when it is used to single an individual out of a group (e.g., “one of the men,” “one of us,” etc.).



1. The group may be designated by a pronominal NNC. A plural subject pronoun on an NNC containing **(cem)-Ø-** is preferable. (The meaning of the NNC seems strangely reversed; e.g., **ticēmeh** seems to shift from “we are one” to “he/she is one of us.”)

**Cēmeh tehhuāntin ōmpa yāz.** = He is one of those who are we who is to go there; i.e., One of us will go there. [None of the subject pronouns of the concatenated clauses agree in person and number; **yāz** has a third-person singular subject, reflecting the number of the nonlinguistic referent; **cēmeh** has a third-person plural subject; **tehhuāntin** has a first-person plural subject.]

**Cēmeh tehhuāntin ōmpa tiyāzqueh.** = He is one of those who are we who are to go there; i.e., One of us will go there. [Only two of the subject pronouns of the concatenated clauses agree. This is the preferred construction.]

**Ticēmeh tehhuāntin ōmpa tiyāzqueh.** = He is one of us who are we who are to go there; i.e., One of us will go there. [All the subject pronouns of the concatenated clauses agree on the first-person plural; the membership of the individual in the group is emphasized.]

A third-person singular subject pronoun on an NNC containing **(cem)-Ø-** is also possible:

**Cē tehhuāntin ōmpa yāz.** = He is one who are we who is to go there; i.e., One of us will go there.

**Ahmō cē yehhuāntin nēchiximati.** = He is not one of those who (he) knows me; i.e., None of them knows me. [Concerning **ahmō**, see § 44.5.4.]

2. The group may be designated by an NNC. A plural subject pronoun on the NNC containing **(cem)-Ø-** is preferable:

**Cēmeh azcihuah cuīcaz.** = She is one of those who are you women who is to sing; i.e., One of you women will sing. [None of the subject pronouns of the concatenated clauses agree.]

**Cēmeh azcihuah ancūcazqueh.** = She is one of those who are you women who are to sing; i.e., One of you women will sing. [Only two of the subject pronouns of the concatenated clauses agree. This is the preferred construction.]

**Azcēmeh azcihuah ancūcazqueh.** = She is one of you who are women who are to sing; i.e., One of you women will sing. [All of the subject pronouns of the concatenated clauses agree.]

Again, the third-person singular subject pronoun on the NNC containing **(cem)-Ø-** is also possible:

**Cē azcihuah cuīcaz.** = She is one who are you women who is to sing; i.e., One of you women will sing.

43.7. *Further Ways of Expressing “One of” or “None of.”* The “singling-out” notion may be expressed by other means.

1. An NNC built on the pronominal stem (**a-c-ah**)- $\emptyset$ -, “someone,” and using a third-person singular subject pronoun may replace the NNC **cēmeh** in the construction presented in § 43.6 or may be used in cooperation with it:

**Ahzo acah in amehhuāntin quittazqueh.** = Perhaps he is someone who are you (pl) who are (3rd pl) to see it; i.e., Perhaps one of you will see it. [None of the subject pronouns of the concatenated clauses agree.]

**Ahzo acah cēmeh in amehhuāntin quittazqueh.** = Perhaps he is someone who is one of them who are you (pl) and who are to see it; i.e., Perhaps one of you will see it. [Only the subject pronouns of **cēmeh** and **quittazqueh** agree.]

2. The negative pronominal NNC **ayāc**, “he/she is no one,” may be used:

**Ayāc huicōc in cihuātzitzintin.** = She is no one who were the beloved women who was carried away; i.e., None of the beloved women was carried away. [Instead of meaning “they are beloved women,” **cihuātzitzintin** seems to mean “she is one of the beloved women.” The subject pronouns of **ayāc** and **cihuātzitzintin** do not agree.]

**Ayāc cēmeh huicōc.** = She is no one who were the ones who was carried away; i.e., None of them was taken away.

43.8. *The “Male-Bonding” Modifier.* Another idiomatic structure of modification involves the nounstem (**oquich**)-**tli**-, “man.” As stated in § 18.7, a male speaker having some social or familial tie with a group of men mentioned uses a first-person plural subject pronoun to form an NNC on this stem: **toquichtin** = **#t- $\emptyset$ (oquich)t-in#**, “we are men.” In a structure of modification there is no agreement between this subject pronoun and that of a cooperating NNC.

**Cē toquichtin ōmpa yāz.** = One man will go there. [The third-person plural subject pronoun may be used according to § 43.6: **cēmeh toquichtin** (“one of us men”).]

**Nō cequintin pehpenalōqueh in toquichtin.** = Also, a number of men were selected.

If a woman, or a man not associated with the man or men referred to, had spoken these sentences, they would have been as follows:

**Cē oquichtli ōmpa yāz.** = One man will go there.

**Nō cequintin pehpenalōqueh in oquichtin.** = Also, a number of men were selected.

43.9. *The “Named-Partner” Modifier.* When the makeup of a group includes a known entity and a third-person entity newly identified in the utterance by an NNC (e.g., “he and the man,” “the woman and I”), as a rule only the named third-person entity is mentioned in a modifier (compare § 18.6):

**Mozaunqueh ōmextin in Tēucciztēcatl.** = The total two who were he and Teucciztecatl fasted; i.e., Both he and Teucciztecatl fasted.

## Adverbial Nuclear Clauses

44.1. *The Adverbial Nuclear Clauses.* Except for the adverbial particles presented in Lesson 3, adverbial modifiers in Nahuatl are either nuclear clauses (i.e., VNCs, NNCs) or adjoined concatenate-clause units with an adverbial function. The latter will be dealt with in Lessons 49 and 50.

Adverbial VNCs and NNCs are the result of a transformation that assigns an adverbialized subject pronoun to a predicate whose potential for adverbial meaning thereby becomes realized. This means that the possibility for adverbialization is constrained entirely by the meaning of the nounstem or verbstem, a meaning that necessarily falls into certain semantic domains: location, direction, time, duration, manner, degree, etc.

*Remark:* English has nothing equivalent to Nahuatl adverbialized subject pronouns. Perhaps the pronoun in expressions such as “It’s now or never” (i.e., “The time for action is now or never”) gropes in that direction. At any rate, in the “literal” translations of Nahuatl adverbialized NNCs and VNCs that follow, “it,” inadequate though it is, represents the Nahuatl subject pronoun. This “it” should not be thought of as referring to a thing; it communicates a pronominally mirrored image of the adverbial domain (place, time, manner, etc.) dealt with in the stem of the VNC or NNC.

44.2. *Degrees of Adverbialization.* Adverbialization in Nahuatl can occur in two degrees. The first degree is merely semantic; that is, there is nothing in the shape of the subject pronoun to indicate its adverbialization. In second-degree adverbialization, however, the semantic change is made evident by the fact that the sounded filler of the subject pronoun’s *num'* subposition is replaced by a silent one, the morphic variant (compare the flawed-subject pronoun of § 32.8 and the personal-pronoun subject of one type of personal-name NNCs in § 56.2.2.a).

VNCs and possessive-state NNCs permit only first-degree adverbialization. In these formations, therefore, the nuclear clause may be (1) ambiguously adverbial or nonadverbial, (2) nonambiguously adverbial because of the peculiarity of the stem, or (3) nonambiguously adverbial because the VNC or NNC has become lexicalized (i.e., fixed by usage) in an adverbial meaning.

Absolutive-state NNCs react idiosyncratically to adverbialization: some accept only the first degree, some accept only the second degree, and some permit either. Those that manifest first-degree adverbialization have the same problem with ambiguity as those mentioned above.

44.3. *Adverbialized VNCs.* Only a small number of VNCs permit adverbialization. Most of those that do are lexicalized in an adverbial meaning. The following are some of the most common. The use of these formations is so alien to English that it takes an extraordinary leap of imagination to understand what is happening.

1. **cencah** =  $\#0-0(\text{cen-ca-h})0+\square-0\#$  = it is as one; i.e., it is to a whole/entire/complete degree; i.e., wholly, entirely, completely; much; very [a preterit-as-present tense VNC]:

**Cencah nimahui.** = I am much afraid. I am very afraid.

**Cencah ihciuh?** = Did he hurry much? Was he in a big hurry?

2. **huālcāh** =  $\#0-0+\text{huāl}(\text{ca-h})0+\square-0\#$  = it is here, it is in this direction, it is hither; i.e., much more [a preterit-as-present tense VNC]:

**Oc huālcāh chicāhuaqueh.** = They are much more strong.

This adverbialized VNC itself is almost always adverbially modified by the adverbial particle **oc**, “still,” as in the example.

3. **cemihcac** =  $\#0-0(\text{cem-ihca})0+\text{c}-0\#$  = it stands as one; i.e., it stands during a whole/entire/complete time; i.e., eternally, forever [a preterit-as-present tense VNC]:

**Cemihcac ninemiz.** = I shall live forever.

4. **ihui** =  $\#0-0(\text{ihui})0+0-0\#$  = it becomes thus and so, it becomes in a certain manner; i.e., thus, in this manner, in that manner [a present-tense VNC]:

**Zan ihui ticchihuz.** = You will do it just this way.

5. **iuh** =  $\#0-0(\text{iuh})0+\square-0\#$  = it has become thus and so; i.e., thus, in this manner, in that manner [a preterit tense VNC as alternant to the present-tense VNC in subsection 4]:

**Ye iuh ninemi.** = Already in this way do I live; i.e., Such is my custom. The VNC **iuh** (pronounced [iɰ], with the final /w/ voiceless) is frequently written **yuh**. This **y** is not a consonant here but merely a variant spelling of the vowel /i/ (see Appendix F).

The preterit-agentive NNC **iuhqui**,  $\#0-0(\text{iuh-0})\text{qui}-0\#$ , “it is such a one,” is very frequent, but its use is substantival or adjectival rather than adverbial (compare it with the adverbialized preterit-agentive NNCs in § 44.7). The subject pronoun can therefore be other than third-person singular:

**Ye niuhqui.** = I am one who has already become thus; i.e., That is my nature.

**In Otomih ca ahmō iuhqueh in Mēxihcah.** = The Otomis are indeed unlike the Mexihcas.

**In tehhuān ca zan tiuhqueh.** = We are all the same.

6. **ihuīhuīh** =  $\#0-0(\text{ihuīhu-i-h})0+\square-0\#$  = it has become accepted with reluctance; it has become onerous; i.e., under coercion, at a high cost [the verbstem  $\#(\text{ihuīhu-i-ā})$ , from which this preterit-tensed VNC is formed, is not attested]:

**Ihuīhuīh ōniccāuh.** = I abandoned it at a high cost. I abandoned it because I was forced to. I abandoned it reluctantly.

7. **ici** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**ici**) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it becomes present; i.e., here, to here, from here, through here [a present-tense VNC]:

**Ici òonquìz.** = He passed through here.

8. **iz** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**iz**) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = it has become present; i.e., here, to here, from here, through here [a preterit-tense VNC alternant to the VNC in subsection 7]:

**Iz ònēhuac.** = I left from here.

**Iz catqui in monequi.** = Here is what is needed. [Usually written solid as **izcatqui**. The collocation **iz cah** is also found.]

**Aiz cah.** = It is not here. [**Ahiz** > **ayiz** > **aiz**. See § 2.13.1.]

**Quin iz òhuālahcic.** = He arrived a short while ago. [Here **quin iz** is equivalent to “not long ago.”]

**Zan ye iz tihuítz.** = You are just already coming here; i.e., Come here immediately. [Also, **Zan ye tihuítz**. Since the verb (**huí-tz**) has no optative, the preterit-as-present indicative is used in a command sentence.]

The preterit-agentive NNC **izqui**, # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**iz- $\emptyset$** )**qui- $\emptyset$** #, “it is one that has become present,” is also found, but its use is substantival or adjectival rather than adverbial (compare it with the adverbialized preterit-agentive NNCs in § 44.7).

**Quin izqui in.** = This is a recent thing.

**Zan izqui in.** = This was a thing that occurred soon afterward.

9. **nohmah** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**noh-mah**) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = it remained/has remained as previously; i.e., still [The analysis of the stem of this VNC is conjectural. The matrix is presumably **tlā-(mati)** or **tlā-(ih-mati)**; the embed is unknown (possibly it is the particle **nō**, “also”). This adverbialized VNC is synonymous with the adverbial particle **oc**, and their combination in the collocation **oc nohmah**, “still,” is frequent. Contrast the VNC **nohmah** with the possessive-state NNCs in § 44.8.]

**Oc nohmah cochih?** = Are they still sleeping?

10. **yēhua** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**yē-hua**) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is already; i.e., it has happened a little while ago; i.e., a little while ago, just now [**(ye-ē-hua)** < **ye**, “already”; for this kind of verbstem formation, see § 24.6.2]:

**Cuix yēhua òtihuāllah?** = Did you get here just now?

11. **iyoh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**iyoh**) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = it became single/solitary; i.e., only, singly, exclusively; except, except for [See § 40.8.6 for the adjectival use of a preterit-agentive NNC formed on the stem (**iyoh**). The adverbial VNC is preceded by either **zan** or **zā**.]

**Zan iyoh xōpan in nemi.** = It is only in summer that it lives. [English prefers “It lives only in the summer.” For **xōpan**, see § 47.3.3.b.]

**Ahmō monēxtia zan iyoh in xīcalli icuitlapan mani.** = It does not show itself except for the bowl that rests on its back. [For **icuitlapan**, “on its back,” see § 47.3.3.b.]

12. **motquiticah** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-o(tqui- $\emptyset$ -ti-ca-h) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is carrying itself; i.e., entirely/completely/integrally [The stem is a connective-t compound verbstem. This adverbialized VNC is synonymous with the one below.]

**Xihuitzilli motquiticah texohtic.** = The turquoise hummingbird is completely light blue. [ $\langle$  (xihui)-tl-, “grass/turquoise” + (huitz-tzil)-li-, “thorn-hum,” i.e., “hummingbird.” Again, /w/ + /w/ > [w].]

13. **mahciticah** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m- $\square$ (ahci- $\emptyset$ -ti-ca-h) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is reaching itself; i.e., completely/totally/entirely [The stem is a connective-t compound verbstem. This adverbialized VNC is synonymous with the one above.]

**Xihuitzilli mahciticah texohtic.** = The turquoise hummingbird is completely light blue.

44.4. *Adverbialized NNCs.* The vast majority of adverbialized nuclear clauses are NNCs. Depending on the nounstem, the adverbialization of the NNC may be of the first or the second degree.

1. First-degree adverbialization. If an NNC permits first-degree adverbialization, its third-person singular subject pronoun is ambiguous, being either adverbialized or not. The difference between a “normal” subject pronoun and an adverbialized one permits the NNC to have two quite different translations, one as an equative-predicate sentence, the other as an adverbial-predicate sentence (see § 15.3). A limited number of English nounwords permit something *vaguely* similar to the same-form-different-function contrast found in this type of Nahuatl formation; compare, for example, “Monday is the first day of the week” (substantive) and “I’ll see you Monday” (adverb), or “Home is where the heart is” (substantive) and “I’m going home” (adverb).

**cemilhuítl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cem-ilhui)tl- $\emptyset$ #

a. equative: “it is an entire day/festival day”

b. adverbial: “it is for/during one day/festival day”

**tequítl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tequi)tl- $\emptyset$ #

a. equative: “it is work/tribute”

b. adverbial: “it is with work/effort” [The adverbial NNC always occurs in the collocation **zan tequítl**, which is translated as “only,” “just,” “exclusively,” “not to do anything else but”; e.g., **Zan tequítl ōnitlacuah, niman ōniyah**, “I just ate and (doing nothing else) immediately left.”]

Those possessive-state NNCs that can, because of their meaning, undergo first-degree adverbialization are also susceptible to ambiguity:

**īnchān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ī-n(chān) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #

a. equative: “it is their home, they are their homes”

b. adverbial: “it is at/to/from their home/homes”

Context, of course, usually clarifies the usage. For example:

**Huēi in inchān.** = Their home is large. Their homes are large.

**Īlōtīh in inchān.** = They return to their home/homes.

2. Second-degree adverbialization. Those NNCs (always in the absolutive state) that undergo second-degree adverbialization are not ambiguous, because the shape of the subject pronoun is distinctive.

**(cen-yohua-l)-li-** = one night

a. equative: **cenyohualli** =  $\#0-0(\text{cen-yohua-l})\text{li}-0\#$  = it is one night

b. adverbial: **cenyohual** =  $\#0-0(\text{cen-yohua-l})\square-0\#$  = it is for one night, it is during one night

*Note:* Adverbialized NNCs can be built on distributive/variety and affinity stems if their meaning permits.

**cēcemilhuītīl** = it is on one day after another; i.e., on one day after another, day after day

**cēcenyohual** = it is on one night after another; i.e., on one night after another, night after night

**inchahchān** = it is to/in their (separate) homes; i.e., to/in the homes of each of them

44.5. *Particle-Looking NNCs.* When second-degree adverbialization creates a single-syllabled NNC, the nuclear clause can look like a particle. The following are a few examples.

1. **nel** =  $\#0-0(\text{nel})\square-0\#$  = it is in truth; i.e., in truth, truly, really [**(nel)-li-**, “truth”]

2. **huel** =  $\#0-0(\text{huel})\square-0\#$  = it is with ability/power; i.e., in a successful manner, successfully, properly, well; (to be) possible, (to be) able [From the nounstem (**hueli-tl-**; see the verbstem (**hueli-ti**), “to have ability/power,” i.e., “to be able,” and also the nounstem (**hueli-yō-tl-**, “power, might.”)]

**ahhuel** =  $\text{ah}\#0-0(\text{huel})\square-0\#$  = it is without ability/power; i.e., unsuccessfully, badly; (to be) impossible, (to be) unable

**Huel nicchīhuaz.** = I shall do it well. I shall be able to do it.

**Ahhuel nicuīcaz.** = I cannot sing (later). I shall not be able to sing.

**Huel nehhuātīl.** = I am quite the one; i.e., It is I in person.

**Huel** can also be translated “to a considerable extent or degree.”

**Huel monequi.** = It is greatly needed. It is very necessary.

*Remark:* There is also a flawed-subject NNC formed on the nounstem (**hueli-tl-**) that occurs only with a negative:

**ahhueli** = it is not possible

**ahoc hueli** = it is no longer possible

**aya hueli** = it is still not possible

Notice also the possessive-state NNC:

**ixquich ihueli** = his power is all, i.e., he is all-powerful

3. **nēn** =  $\#0-0(\text{nēn})\square-0\#$  = it is in vain, it is to no effect; i.e., in vain, to no avail, uselessly, worthlessly, inadequately [The nounstem (**nēn**)- $\square$ - occurs either (1) in an obligatorily adverbialized simple-stemmed NNC or (2) as the embed in a compound nounstem (where it functions adjectivally) or in a compound verbstem (where it functions adverbially).]

**Zan nēn huetzi.** = It falls to no avail; i.e., It is unfortunate.

**Zan nēn cah.** = It is just in vain. It is useless.

**Nicnēncāhua.** = I abandon it without effect; i.e., I fail to do it through negligence.

**Nicnēmpoloa in cemilhuatl.** = I lose the entire day uselessly; i.e., I waste the whole day.

**Ninēncihuātl.** = I am a worthless woman (born on one of the five days of **Nēm-Ontēmi**, “They (i.e., the days) go in order to become full fruitlessly”).

4. **mō** = #~~θ~~-~~θ~~(**mō**)-~~θ~~# = it is probable/quite likely; i.e., probably, in all likelihood [The nounstem (**mō**)-~~θ~~- has an even more restricted use than (**nēn**)-~~θ~~-, since it never occurs as an embed. It may well be merely an adverbial particle, since it meets the criteria for particles in § 3.1. It has been analyzed here as a nounstem in an adverbialized NNC in view of its meaning.]

Contrary to what Carochi (p. 526) states, **mō** is not an interrogative. The proof of this is that, unlike a true interrogative, it can still participate (like most noninterrogative adverbs) in a question even when not in the sentence-initial position.

When used affirmatively in a question, **mō** has the ironic import of a rhetorical question that in English might begin with “Can there be any doubt that . . . ?” so the question implies an answer in the affirmative.

**Mōztla huīptla mō tlamahuizōlli ticchiuhtiyāz?** = (Can there be any doubt that) one of these days you will in all likelihood go performing miracles? [The question is spoken with a sarcastic or mocking tone; its implied answer is a sarcastic “Of course you will.” The example comes from Carochi. Concerning **mōztla huīptla**, “tomorrow or the day after,” i.e., “one of these days,” see § 44.6 and § 52.2.2.]

**Mō tiquittaz?** = (Can there be any doubt that) you will probably see it? [I.e., Just wait; you will.]

When preceded by the interrogative particle **cuix**, the implied answer to the rhetorical question is in the negative (notice that **cuix** precedes **mō**; if **mō** were inherently interrogative, it would follow it; for example, contrast **Cān cuix**, “Where perchance?” (with an interrogative NNC in initial position), and **Cuix canah**, “Perchance somewhere?” (with a noninterrogative NNC following **cuix**, which now occupies the initial position).

**Cuix mō huel nicchihuaz?** = Is it perchance at all likely that I shall be able to do it? [I.e., I doubt that I can.]

Like other NNCs, **mō** can be negativized by the prefixal negative particles **ah#** and **ca#** (see § 3.3).

**ahmō** = **ah#**-~~θ~~-~~θ~~(**mō**)-~~θ~~# = it is not at all likely; i.e., not at all [**Ahmō** is also used alone to express refusal, denial, or disagreement and is therefore equivalent to “No.”]

**ca ahmō** = it is indeed not at all likely; i.e., not at all [Frequently written **camo**.]

**Ahmō nicnequi.** = I do not at all want it. I do not want it. [This is ordinarily accepted as being identical in meaning to **Ahnicnequi**, “I do not want it,” but is in fact more intensely negative.]

**Mā camō xicchihua.** = Do not at all do it. Do not do it. [Again, this is ordinarily accepted as being synonymous with **Mā caxicchihua**, “Don’t do it,” but the negativity of the sentence with **camō** is stronger than that with only **ca#**.]



**Cuix ahmō tiyāz?** = Will you not at all go? Won't you go? [Compare **Cuix ahtiyāz?** "Won't you go?"]

**Ahmōtzin.** = No Sir. [Honorific; see § 32.3.1.]

The **mō** can also follow certain negativized adverbial adjuncts (particles or nuclear clauses).

**Ahoc mō huel tlahtoa.** = He cannot even still speak; i.e., He still cannot speak. [The sequence **huel tlahtoa** is sometimes written **huellahtoa**, as it is pronounced. **Ahoc mō** has the variants **ayoc mō** and **aoc mō** (see § 3.3); it is usually written solid as **aocmo** and **ayocmo**.]

**Ahnō mō niceya.** = I am also not willing. I am not willing either. [This could also be expressed by **Ahmō nō niceya**.]

**Aya mō cuica.** = It is not yet at all singing; i.e., It is not yet singing. [**Ayā mō** is usually written solid as **ayamo**. This sentence can also be expressed as **Ahmō ye cuica**. See **aya** in § 3.3.]

In certain subordinate clauses, **mō** alone (i.e., without the negative prefix) can take on a negative meaning.

**Quil mach mō yahqueh.** = It is said that they did not go. [See § 19.5.]

In Nahuatl a negative (**ah#**, **ca#**, **ahmō**, **camō**) immediately preceding a VNC denies the action. Consequently, negativity in a sentence in which the action is not denied must be attached to an adjunct. Compare:

**Ahmō nicuica.** = I am not at all singing. I am not singing.

**Ahmō huel nicuica.** = I do not sing well at all. I am unable to sing. [Compare these sentences with English "I don't sing" and "I don't sing well"; in the second there is (from the Nahuatl point of view) an apparent logical contradiction.]

This rule for negative adjunct explains the position of **ah#** or **ca#** (or **ahmō** or **camō**) before rather than after the antecessive-order particle **ō#**. The **ō#** is always the negativized element, not the VNC.

5. **cuēl** = **#ō-ō(cuēl)□-ō#** = it is in the manner of a crease; i.e., briefly, suddenly, quickly; already [The nounstem **\*(cuēl)-li-** is not attested, but its existence (as a root patientive nounstem) is presupposed by the intransitive verbstem **(cuēl-i-hui)**, "to become bent/folded."]

**Cuēl ōtihuāllah.** = Already you have come. You have arrived.

**Zan nō cuēl ahcico.** = He just also quickly came in order to arrive; i.e., He arrived quickly also.

**Zan cuēl ōmic.** = Just in a brief time he died; i.e., He died shortly thereafter.

**Mā cuēl eh nitlapōhua.** = If only right now I may read! I.e., I wish I could read. [Also, **Mā cuēl yeh**; these are traditionally spelled **macuele** and **macuelle**. See § 9.5 and § 16.3.1.]

6. **mach** = **#ō-ō(mach)□-ō#** = it is in the manner of a known thing; i.e., positively, evidently, assuredly, especially, notably, namely [This adverbialized NNC is formed on a passive patientive nounstem from the verbstem **tla-(mati)**, "to know s.th." Compare **tlamach** in § 44.6.]

**Nelli mach tēmahmauhtih.** = It is true that it is positively very frightening; i.e., It is truly extremely frightening.

**Mach** occurs in a number of idiomatic usages. The collocation **mach eh** (traditionally written **mache**) is translated “especially, above all.” After an interrogative, **mach** is translated as an exasperated or perplexed “ever”: **quēn mach?**, “how ever? how the devil? how in God’s name?” The **mach** translated negatively in § 16.6.2 (**Mach itlah**, “It is nothing at all”—as a reply) is probably an ironic usage. In the meaning “notably,” **mach** also occurs after **ō#** before a preterit-tense VNC that describes a condition:

**Ōmach nihuintic.** = I have become notably drunk; i.e., I am very drunk.

**Ōmach notēn huahhuāc.** = My lips have become notably dry; i.e., I am very thirsty and hungry.

*Note:* The homophonous nounstem (**mach**)-**tli-**, “nephew/niece (of a man),” can never be confused with the adverbialized **mach**, since it can never be adverbialized and normally appears in a possessive-state NNC; e.g., **tinomach, #ti-θ+n-o(mach)θ-θ#**, “you are my nephew/niece.”

7. **quēn? = #θ-θ(quē-n)□-θ#** = in what manner is it that . . . ?; how is it that . . . ? [This is a special formation because, although the existence of the nounstem **\*(quē)-θ-**, “what manner? what degree?” is vouched for by its role as embed in the compound pronominal stem **(quē-x-qui-ch)-θ-** (see § 16.8.2) and **(quē-z-qui)-θ-** (see § 16.9.4), it never occurs in a free-standing NNC without the final **n**. This morph is here assumed to be the adjunct **in** that has become fused to **\*quē** in the same way as in **tlein** and its colloquial form **tlen** (see § 16.4.1); the same fusion can occur in **cānin** (see § 46.3.2.a) and **iquin** (see § 46.3.2.a). But while **tleh**, **cān**, and **ic** have retained the power to appear in freestanding NNCs, **\*quē** has not. The fusion of **\*quē** and **in** has been so complete that another **in** can follow it (the collocation is frequently written solid as **quenin**).]

**Quēn tlazohti?** = In what manner is it that it is valuable? I.e., What is it worth?

**Quēn in in?** = How is it that it is this one? I.e., What is going on here? How is this possible? [Usually mistakenly written **quenin in?**]

When not sentence initial, like all inherent interrogatives, it loses its interrogative force.

**zā zo quēn in . . .** = in whatever manner . . . , however it may be that . . .

**Ahquēn nicmati.** = It is in no manner that I know it; i.e., I have nothing to do with it. It does not concern me. It is no concern of mine.

In certain collocations **quēn** and a following VNC or NNC have become so thoroughly lexicalized that they can become fused into a single unit.

**tiquēnamih** = you are in some manner [See § 11.4.6.]

**quēmman?** = at what time is it? [See § 44.6.]

44.6. *Examples of Other Adverbialized Absolutive-State NNCs.* While in § 44.5 second-degree adverbialization creates NNCs whose nuclear-clause structure is not always easy to recognize, its effect in the following NNCs is obvious. The examples are ordered according to subcategories of meaning (primarily time, place, manner).

**teōtlāc** = #~~θ~~-(teō-tlāc)-~~θ~~# = it is during the god's torso; i.e., it is at the hour when the god's upper body is at the zenith; i.e., in the afternoon [< (teō-tlāc)-tli-, "the god's torso/upper body." The image captured by the NNC is that if the Sun-god's upper body is at the highest point in the sky, his head, the sun itself, has to have passed beyond into an afternoon position.]

**mōztla** = it is on the morrow; i.e., tomorrow [The reduplicated form is **mōmōztla**, "it is on one tomorrow after another," i.e., "every day, daily."]

**huīptla** = it is on the day after tomorrow; i.e., day after tomorrow [The reduplicated form, **huīhuīptla**, means "it is on every other day," i.e., "every other day."]

**yālhua** = it is on the day before today; i.e., yesterday

**tīcatla** = it is at midnight; i.e., at midnight

**tlahcah** = it is during the day; i.e., during the day, in the daytime [The NNC **tlahcahtli** with a "normal" subject pronoun is translated "it is daytime/daylight."]

**nīman** = it is at this very time; i.e., immediately, right then [The nounstem is compound: (nī-man)-, "this very time"; compare the use of (nī-) in (nī-cā-n)-, "this very place" (see § 46.3.2.b). The matrix stem (man)-tli-, whose basic meaning is probably something like "occupied space," is the impersonal patientive nounstem from the nonactive verbstem (man-o), from (mani), "for s.th. to rest/sit on a flat surface." ]

**imman** = it is at this time/hour; i.e., at the appropriate/right time [Here apparently the adjunctive **in** has become fused to the stem (man)-tli-; the NNC occurs frequently in the collocation **imman in**, "this is the time/the hour."]

**quēmman?** = at what time (today) is it? [The stem has the interrogative **quēn** (see § 44.5.7) incorporated into the adverbialized NNC formed on (man)-tli-.]

**ihcuāc** = it was at that time; i.e., at that time, then

**yectel** = it was days ago; i.e., days ago, the other day [This NNC is formed on a compound stem whose embed is the root patientive nounstem (ye-c)-tli-, which is from the destockal verbstem (yē-hua); see § 44.3.10. The shortening of the /e:/ to [e] in (ye-c)-tli- is according to the rule of § 39.4.1. The meaning of the matrix stem \*(tel)- is uncertain; see § 30.13.]

**huehcāuh** = it has been for a long time; i.e., for a long time [The nounstem is (hueh-cāhui)-tl-, "big period of time, a long time." The collocation **ye huehcāuh** is translated "a long time ago," "in olden times."]

**ixquichcāuh** = it has been for a total amount of time; i.e., up to the present, in the meanwhile [The first-degree adverbialized NNC is used in the same meaning: **ixquichcāhuītl**, "down to the present."]

**achtzan** = it is often; i.e., often, frequently [Also spelled **achtza**, **atzan**, and **atza**. Compare **achca** in § 46.9.]

**achto** = it is in the forefront; i.e., first [Also **acachto**, **yacachto**, **acatto**, and **yacatto**. Of these **yacatto** and **yacachto** obviously contain the nounstem (yaca)-tl-, "nose, point," and the **t** (with its variant [č]) is from the verbstem-forming suffix **tī**; therefore, the source verbstem is (yaca-tī), "to become like a nose, to become out in front," i.e., "to be first"; compare the progressive verbstem (yaca-t-θ-tī-uh), "to go in the vanguard."]

**cemi** = it is by means of a single one; i.e., in one stroke, once and for all

**cen** = it is in the manner of a single one; i.e., completely, entirely; together as one; forever  
[This is the numeral NNC used adverbially; see § 34.3.]

**cēcen** = it is in the manner of one after another; i.e., one after another

**cehcen** = it is in the manner of one apiece; i.e., one apiece

**necoc** = it is at/to/from both sides; i.e., at/to/from both sides [The reduplicated form, **nēnecoc**, is used when more than one entity is involved.]

**nōncuah** = it is off in a separate place; i.e., to one side, separately, apart [The reduplicated form **nōnōncuah**, “severally apart/separately apart,” is used when more than one entity is involved.]

**chico** = it is to one side; i.e., to one side; irregularly, falsely, badly, perversely, tactlessly [See § 34.5.2.]

**pani** = it is at the top; i.e., at the top/on top, above/upstairs

**tlani** = it is at the bottom; i.e., at the bottom, below, downstairs

**ixtlapal** = it is with the side as the face; i.e., crosswise/across/athwart; sideways [The nounstem is (**ix-tla-pa-l**)-**li-**, a compound nounstem whose embed is (**ix**)-**tli-**, “face,” and whose matrix is (**tla-pa-l**)-**li-**, “a dyed thing, a colored thing,” and by extension, “side” (because each of the four cardinal points was associated with a color).]

**centlapal** = it is to one side; i.e., to one side, at/on one side [There is a variant adverbialized NNC **cectlapal**; for the embed (**ce-c**)-**θ-**, see § 16.9.2.]

**quēxquich?** = what distance is it at? [This is the pronominal NNC in § 16.8.2 used adverbially.]

**ixquich** = it is at an equal distance [This is the pronominal NNC in § 16.8.1 used adverbially.]

**achi** = it is to a small extent; i.e., slightly [This is the pronominal NNC in § 16.9.6 used adverbially.]

**tlacuāuh** = it is in the manner of a hardened thing; i.e., strongly, positively; especially [The nounstem is (**tlacu-ā-uh**)-**tli-**, “a thing that has become hard,” i.e., “a hardened thing,” an impersonal patientive nounstem from the verbstem (**tlacu-ā-hua**), “to become hard.”]

**tlapīc** = it is in the manner of an imagined thing; i.e., falsely, in vain, futilely [The nounstem is (**tla-pīc**)-**tli-**, “an imagined thing, a fabricated thing, an invented thing,” a perfective patientive nounstem from the verbstem **tla-(pīqui)**, “to imagine s.th., to invent s.th.”]

**ilhuiz** = it is in a thoughtless manner; i.e., thoughtlessly, helter-skelter; also, much more, especially [A passive patientive nounstem?]

**tlalhuiz** = it is in a thoughtless manner; i.e., thoughtlessly, inconsiderately; without reason [An impersonal patientive nounstem?]

**īlhuiz** = it is in a thoughtless manner; i.e., thoughtlessly, carelessly

**tlamach** = it is in the manner of a known thing; i.e., quietly, calmly, gently [The nounstem is (**tla-mach**)-**tli-**, an impersonal patientive nounstem from the verbstem **tla-(mati)**, “to know s.th.” Compare **mach** in § 44.5.6.]

**quēmah** = yes [Also **quēmahca**, which is more polite; the honorific form is **quēmahcatzin**; see § 58.4.]

As in § 44.5.5 and § 44.5.6, some of these adverbialized NNCs can form a stress group with the personal pronominal NNC **yeh** or **eh**; see § 16.3.1.

**mōmōztla yeh** ~ **mōmōztla eh** = it is on every day, it is day in and day out [Mōmōztla eh is traditionally written **momoztlae**.]

**ilhuiz eh** = it is much more; i.e., much more, especially [Traditionally written **ilhuice**.]

There are two adverbial collocations with **eh** that are always written solid but whose cooperating constituents are unknown. The length markings are according to Carochi, though it is not impossible that he was wrong.

**yēqueneh** = likewise, furthermore; finally [\*yēquen = ? The length on **yē-** prevents it from being the particle **ye**, and the lack of length on **quen** prevents it from being the adverbial NNC **quēn**. Notice the collocations **quēn yēqueneh . . . ?** “how much more . . . ?” and **zā yēqueneh . . . ?** “is it possible that . . . ?”]

**yēceh** = however, on the other hand [\*yēz = ? The /s/ might represent an elided version of the particle **zo** (see § 3.2.4), but the length on **yē-** prevents it from being the particle **ye**. The length also prevents the **yēz-** from being a future-tense VNC formed on the verb-stem (**ca-h**). See § 52.4.3.a for a contrast of **yēceh** with the particle **tēl** of § 3.2.4. **Yēceh** is also spelled **ēceh** (or in traditional spelling **yece** and **ece**).]

44.7. *The Adverbialized Preterit-Agentive NNC.* The general-use stem of a preterit-agentive nounstem (see § 35.5) is one of the richest sources for adverbialized NNCs. By adverbializing the subject pronoun, Nahuatl creates adverbs of manner meaning “it is in the manner of one who has . . . -ed.” English usually translates these adverbialized NNCs by means of an adjective stem plus “-ly.”

**pāccā** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (pāc- $\emptyset$ -cā)□- $\emptyset$ # = it is in the manner of one who has become happy; i.e., happily [**pāc- $\emptyset$ -qui-**, “one who has become happy, a happy one”]

The source for these adverbialized preterit-agentive NNCs is usually an intransitive verbstem.

**chicāhuacā** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (chic-ā-hua- $\emptyset$ -cā)□- $\emptyset$ # = it is in the manner of one who has become strong; i.e., strongly, firmly

**chipāhuacā** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (chip-ā-hua- $\emptyset$ -cā)□- $\emptyset$ # = it is in the manner of one that has become clean; i.e., cleanly, chastely

**ihuinticā** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ihuin-ti- $\emptyset$ -cā)□- $\emptyset$ # = drunkenly

**tōnacā** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tōna- $\emptyset$ -cā)□- $\emptyset$ # = abundantly [See the adjectival preterit-agentive NNC **tōnac** in § 40.8.1.]

**cualāncā** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cual-ā-n- $\emptyset$ -cā)□- $\emptyset$ # = it is in the manner of one who has become angry; i.e., angrily

**ihciuhcā** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ihc-i-uh- $\emptyset$ -cā)□- $\emptyset$ # = hurriedly, quickly

**cenquīzca** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cen-quīz- $\emptyset$ -cā)□- $\emptyset$ # = it is in the manner of one that has come out as one; i.e., entirely, perfectly

**cēcenyahcā** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cē-cen-yah- $\emptyset$ -cā)□- $\emptyset$ # = it is in the manner of one that has gone one by one; i.e., each one by himself/itself, separately, individually [Traditionally written **ceceyaca**.]

In certain instances, the source verbstem is obsolete (i.e., it no longer permits a VNC to be built on it).

**ohhuihcā = #θ-θ(oh-hui-h-θ-cā)□-θ#** = it is in the manner of a thing that has become dangerous/difficult; i.e., with difficulty, with danger [Compare the preterit-agentive NNC **ohhuih**, “it is a difficult/hazardous thing” (see § 40.8.6).]

**nehneuhcā = #θ-θ(neh-ne-uh-θ-cā)□-θ#** = it is in the manner of things that have become equal; i.e., equally [< **(neh-ne-uh-θ)-qui-**, “an equal one”]

All of the adjectival preterit-agentive NNCs formed on the obsolete preterit predicate of root-plus-**ya** verbstems (see § 40.9) can have corresponding adverbialized NNCs. For example:

**ahhuiācā = #θ-θ(ahhuiā-θ-cā)□-θ#** = fragrantly [Cf. **(ahhuiā-ya)**.]

**cececā = #θ-θ(ce-ce-θ-cā)□-θ#** = coldly [Cf. **(ce-ce-ya)**.]

**cococā = #θ-θ(coco-θ-cā)□-θ#** = painfully [Cf. **(coco-ya)**.]

**celicā = #θ-θ(ce-i-θ-cā)□-θ#** = freshly [Cf. **(cel-i-ya)**.]

**ītzticā = #θ-θ(ītz-ti-θ-cā)□-θ#** = coldly [Cf. **(ītz-ti-ya)**.]

**yancuicā = #θ-θ(yancui-θ-cā)□-θ#** = recently [Cf. **(yancui-ya)**.]

**huēicā = #θ-θ(huē-i-θ-cā)□-θ#** = highly, exceedingly [Cf. **(huē-i-ya)**, “to become large, to grow.”]

Other root-plus-**ya** verbs use the full stem:

**yōcoxcā = #θ-θ(yōco-x-θ-cā)□-θ#** = calmly, peacefully [The intransitive source verbstem (**yōco-ya**) is not attested, but its preterit-agentive nounstem (**yōco-x-θ)-qui-** is translated “one who has become well formed.”]

At times the adverbialized preterit-agentive NNC is irregular:

**ichtacā = #θ-θ(ich-ta-θ-cā)□-θ#** = it is in the manner of one who steals; i.e., secretly [The preterit-agentive nounstem is **(ich-tec-θ)-qui-**, “one who steals, a thief,” from the verbstem **(ich-tequi)**, “to cut maguey fiber,” i.e., “to steal.”]

Occasionally, a transitive verbstem may serve as the source of the adverbialized preterit-agentive NNC.

**tlacemāncā = #θ-θ(tla-cem-ān-θ-cā)□-θ#** = it is in the manner of one who has taken things as one (i.e., as a whole); i.e., continually, constantly [< **tla-(cem-āna)**, “to take s.th. as one single thing”]

**tēcocohcā = #θ-θ(tē-coco-h-θ-cā)□-θ#** = it is in the manner of one that has caused s.o. to be sick; i.e., painfully [< **tē-(coco-ā)**, “to hurt s.o.”]

**tlamatcā = #θ-θ(tla-mat-θ-cā)□-θ#** = it is in the manner of one who has known things; i.e., prudently, calmly [< **tla-(mati)**, “to know s.th.”]

Adverbialized preterit-agentive NNCs with a reflexive object pronoun are rare. As pointed out in § 35.5, the shuntline form of the reflexive pronoun is the one used in the general-use stem:

**nehmatcā = #θ-θ(ne-h-mat-θ-cā)□-θ#** = it is in the manner of one who has become an expert; i.e., wisely, calmly, patiently

However, if the preterit-agentive nounstem has become strongly lexicalized in a certain meaning, the mainline form **m-o-** is used:

**mihmatcā** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**m-□-ih-mat- $\emptyset$ -cā**)□- $\emptyset$ # = it is in the manner of one who has become an expert; i.e., skillfully [**< m-□-(ih-mati)**, “to know how to do s.th. skillfully, to be an expert”]

**mahcicā** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**m-□-ahci- $\emptyset$ -cā**)□- $\emptyset$ # = it is in the manner of one that has overtaken itself; i.e., perfectly, entirely, completely [**< m-□-(ahci)**, “to overtake itself.” The preterit-agentive nounstem is (**m-□-ahci- $\emptyset$ -c-**, “a thing that has overtaken itself (like one end of a bight of a rope touching the other end to form a circle),” i.e., “a perfect/entire/complete thing.”]

*Note:* The incorporation of the preterit-agentive nounstem as an adverb of compared manner has been presented in § 35.12 (see, for example, the compound VNCs with (**m-□-ahci- $\emptyset$ -cā**)-□- given there).

44.8. *Possessive-State Adverbialized NNCs.* As pointed out in § 44.2, an adverbialized NNC can occur in the possessive state. The majority of instances of such formations are dealt with in Lessons 45, 46, and 47. There are, however, a few rare instances of a patientive nounstem or an active-action nounstem (of the type in § 36.11.1) occurring in a possessive-state NNC that has an adverbial function.

1. From the verbstem (**īyo-ā**) (see § 44.3.11), possessive-state NNCs can be built on the active-action nounstem (**īyo-h-ca**)- $\emptyset$ -; the initial [i] is a supportive vowel.

**īyohca** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ī- $\emptyset$ (**yo-h-ca**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is in his state/condition of being alone; i.e., by himself

**Īyohca yacattihiütz.** = He comes in the lead by himself.

**Noyohca ninotlālia.** = I establish myself in my individuality; i.e., I rebel against authority.

**Moyohca tiquetzalo.** = You are erected in your aloneness; i.e., You are shunned.

2. From the verbstem \*(**noh-mati**), the analysis of which is conjectural, come two formations.

a. NNCs can be built on the perfective patientive nounstem (**noh-mat**)-**tli-**, the general-use stem of which, (**noh-mah**)- $\emptyset$ -, shows the /t/ to [h] shift; see § 11.3.2). While this stem is evidently related to the adverbialized VNC **nohmah** of § 44.3.9, the translation value is quite different.

**nonohmah** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(**noh-mah**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is of my own free will; i.e., I of my own free will, I personally, I in person, I myself alone

**tonohmah** = it is by our own free will; i.e., we of our own free will, we personally, we in person, we ourselves alone

**Huel inohmah quihcuiloh.** = He wrote it quite on his own. He wrote it by his very own hand. He himself strictly alone wrote it.

b. NNCs can be built on the active-action nounstem (**noh-mat-ca**)- $\emptyset$ -. The formation is more common than that in subsection a.

**nonohmatca** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(noh-mat-ca) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is by my act of being personally involved; i.e., I on my own, I personally, I in person, I myself alone

**tonohmatca** = it is by our act of being personally involved; i.e., we on our own, we personally, we in person, we ourselves alone

**Ca inohmatca quimoquechilia in ātōyatl in tepehxitl.** = Indeed, of his own free will he erects for himself a river and a precipice; i.e., He willingly creates his own destruction. [Concerning *ātōyatl tepehxitl*, see § 52.6.2.]

*Note:* The descriptions given in subsections 2.a and 2.b are at variance with Carochi (pp. 410–11). For one thing, he shows a final glottal stop on the forms ending in **-ca** (e.g., **nonohmatcah**, **tonohmatcah**) that, if correct, invalidates the analysis of these NNCs as active-action forms and makes them unexplainable. For another thing, he says that the honorific forms for both **inohmah** and his **inohmatcah** are **inohmahtzinco** (with a glottal stop instead of a /t/ as would be expected) and **inohmatcatzinco** (with the /a/ of **-ca** unmarked for either length or a glottal stop). This use of **tzinco** and not **tzin** as the honorific ending is totally unexpected and seems to claim that these NNCs are (in some unknown way) relational NNCs (see § 45.1, *note*).

Incidentally, the failure of the [h] to revert to /t/ when no longer vocable-final in **inohmahtzinco** is found in other compound stems in which **(noh-mat)-tli-** occurs in an embed subposition. (All of the following verbstems are formed according to § 30.14.2, by which the possessor pronoun of the NNC serving as the source for the embed is converted into an object pronoun in the compound-stemmed VNC.)

**m-o(noh-mah-ixi-mati)** = to know o.s. with regard to one's will

**m-o(noh-mah-tel-chihua)** = to dispise o.s. with regard to one's will

**m-o(noh-mah-huiā)** = to act of one's own free will [See § 55.4.]

Perhaps the explanation is that the shape has become lexicalized.

44.9. *Another Look at Incorporated Adverbial Modifiers.* As explained in § 30.5, the predicate of absolutive-state NNCs can be brought into a compound VNC as the filler of the embed subposition inside the stem of a VNC formula. Obviously, since the subject pronoun is discarded in the incorporating transformation, the matter of the two degrees of adverbialization disappears.

When an adverbially functioning NNC stands outside the VNC that it modifies, the NNC modifies the VNC as a whole; when it is incorporated into the VNC, it modifies only the matrix verbstem. This does not mean that there is necessarily a translatable difference between the two constructions. For example, there is no way for English to capture the difference between the following three sentences, all of which are translated “I had fallen down”:

**Ōnitlanihuetzca.**

**Ōtlani nihuetzca.**

**Tlani ōnihuetzca.**

On occasion, however, the compound verbstem takes on an unexpected, idiomatic translation value. The following are a few examples:

**Tinēnquīza.** = You are coming out without profit; i.e., You are working in vain.

**Ōanchicohuetzcaqueh.** = You (pl) laughed on the side; i.e., You laughed tactlessly.

**Ticcenquīzcāittah.** = We see it perfectly; i.e., We understand it thoroughly.

While the stem **(tlani)-□-** occurs without change when serving as an incorporated adverb (see example above), the stem **(pani)-□-** ordinarily loses its final /i/:

**Ōnipancholoh.** = I jumped.



**Cuix panhuetziz?** = Will he fall on top? I.e., Will he obtain honor? Will he top the hill?

**Ōhuālpanhuetz.** = He fell in this direction onto the surface; i.e., He rose to the surface (of the water). [See § 8.1.1, *remark.*]

Certain adverbial NNCs tend not to occur or do not occur except in a compound stem; for example, **(nāl)-li-**, “the far side; throughout, beyond” (see also § 46.12) and **(ne-pan)-□-**, “mutually.”

**Nālquīz.** = It came out on the far side. It came out beyond. It went all the way through.

**Titonepantlahpaloah.** = #**ti-Ø+t-o(ne-pan-tlahpal-o-a)Ø+Ø-h#** = We mutually cause/urge one another to be healthy; i.e., We mutually greet one another.

Others can occur either in compound stems or in possessive-state NNCs (see § 47.1).

## Relational NNCs (Part One)

45.1. *The Lack of Prepositions and Postpositions.* As should be obvious from the discussion of adverbialization in Lesson 44, Nahuatl does not need prepositions to express adverbial modification. It has none. The relational notions expressed in English by prepositions (“on,” “in,” “at,” “to,” “from,” “by,” “with,” etc.) are merely inherent in a Nahuatl adverbialized NNC or VNC.

Early grammarians of Nahuatl, fully in the grip of translational mirage, spoke of “prepositions.” Recent grammarians, realizing that Nahuatl in fact places no such device *before* an item to relate it to another, speak of “postpositions,” that is, adverbializing devices placed *after* nouns or pronouns for relational purposes (as Latin *-cum*, “with,” in *tecum*, “with you,” or Hindi *-ko*, “to,” in *Rama ko*, “to Rama”). This desire to impose either prepositions or postpositions on Nahuatl is merely an ethnocentric (or “linguicentric”) response. Just because English (or Spanish, etc.) must have a special kind of function word to explain how one word is linked to another (e.g., “go *to* town,” not \**“go town”*), one need not encumber Nahuatl with this alien device. The language copes excellently with the problem of adverbial modification by using its own resources: (1) adverbialization and, if need be, (2) supplementation (namely, the use of a supplementary possessor in cooperation with an adverbialized possessive-state NNC).

The problem of “postpositions” arises for grammarians because of a small number of nounstems that have relational meanings (i.e., location, direction, comparison, means, purpose, accompaniment, etc.). These relational nounstems do possess certain peculiarities, but they are, after all, merely nounstems that are used to form adverbialized NNCs. In acknowledgement of their special character they are called relational NNCs. Like most other adverbialized NNCs, they are usually *translated* by the help of prepositions, and in the case of some the stem is even translated *as* a preposition (e.g., **nohuān**, “it is in my company,” i.e., “in my company,” is normally translated “with me”). In such circumstances the pressures of translational mirage are difficult to resist, and they are impossible to resist if one gives any credence to the fallacious belief that translation is a trustworthy reflection of the source language.

Relational nounstems are a different kind of device from prepositions (or postpositions). They are another instance of Nahuatl’s high-generality naming (see § 36.6, *remark*, § 37.8,

and § 39.5). For example, a given *locative* relational nounstem, depending on its context, can refer to either a locale (place at/in which), a source (place from which), a goal (place to which), or a path (place through which). Similarly, a given *directional* relational nounstem can refer to either a source (movement from) or a goal (movement toward). This means that in translating a relational NNC one must assess its context in order to choose the preposition that English needs to impose on the text in order to capture the notion implicitly expressed in the Nahuatl. (Warning: The major deterrent to understanding Nahuatl grammar here as elsewhere occurs when one succumbs to linguicism and naively demands that Indo-European rules apply. One should not be duped by translational mirage. Any preposition that appears in an English or Spanish translation of Nahuatl has NO morphological or syntactical counterpart in the source.)

*Note:* The formation of affective stems for a relational nounstem is slightly more complicated than for a nonrelational one. First, the relational stem follows the normal procedure of being embedded in (-*tzin*)-*tli*- (affectionate/honorific) or (-*tōn*)-*tli*- (deprecatory/pejorative), but then the adverbial nature of the resultant compound stem has to be validated by being further embedded in the relational nounstem (-*co*)-□- (see § 46.7). For example, *ipan*, “on its surface,” becomes not \**ipantzin* but *ipantzinco*, “on its (H) surface.”

45.2. *Relational Nounstems and Their Options for Usage.* There are four options for usage open to relational nounstems, which are listed below. Except for the third, there is nothing distinctive about these options. What is perhaps peculiar about relational stems, however, is the fact that some are limited to only one of the first three options and others are open to two; only three of these stems are open to all three. (When reading the translations given below in the examples of adverbialized NNCs, one should remember that “it” is a very inadequate rendering of the Nahuatl adverbialized subject pronoun. This “it” does not point to a particular non-linguistic entity.)

Option 1. A relational nounstem may occur in a simple-stemmed NNC. The NNC is in the possessive state. For example:

**nopan** = it is on my surface; i.e., on me, above me, over me; in my time

Option 2. A relational nounstem may occur as the matrix of an integrated-structure compound nounstem. The NNC built on this compound stem can be used in either the absolutive or the possessive state. Very frequently the NNC has an embed-orientation (see § 31.3). For example:

**caltzālan** = #*θ*-*θ*(*cal-tzālan*)□-*θ*# = it is in the intervening space between the houses;  
i.e., between the houses

**toaltzālan** = #*θ*-*θ*+*t-o*(*cal-tzālan*)*θ*-*θ*# = it is in the intervening space between our houses; i.e., between our houses

Option 3. A relational nounstem may occur as the matrix of a linked-structure compound nounstem. The NNC built on this compound stem can be used in either the absolutive or the possessive state. The stem-formation is analogous to that of the connective-*t* compound verbstem in that the connective morph *t* here also has a separating function as much as a linking

one; it makes absolutely clear the fact that the compound-stemmed NNC is embed-oriented (i.e., the state position, while serving the predicate as a whole, relates semantically only to the embed; this is exactly analogous to what happens with the valence position in the connective-t compound verbstem in § 28.6). For example:

**caltitlan** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cal-ti-tlan) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is in the vicinity of the house(s); i.e., near the house(s)

**nocaltitlan** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(cal-ti-tlan) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is in the vicinity of my house; i.e., near my house

Option 4. As is the case with nounstems in general, a relational nounstem may fill the embed subposition in a compound stem. The following are examples of simple relational nounstems in this function:

**nohuāmpoh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(huām-poh) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he is my companion [See § 45.4.1.]

**tloqueh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tloqu-eh- $\emptyset$ ) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = he is one who has owned proximity [See § 45.4.2.]

**tlancuāitl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tlan-cuāi)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is a nether head; i.e., it is a knee

The following are examples of compound relational-nounstems (created by either option 2 or option 3) in the embed subposition of a compound stem:

**tlāllancalli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tlāl-lan-cal)li- $\emptyset$ # = it is an underground house; i.e., it is a cellar

**nictlāllanaquia** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ (tlāl-lan-aqui-a) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I put it under the ground, I hide it under the ground, I hide it in the ground

**ōtitlālticpacquizeh** =  $\bar{o}$ #ti- $\emptyset$ (tlāl-t-icpa-c-quiz) $\emptyset$ +qu-eh# = we came out onto the world, we were born.

*Remark:* As the above options make clear, relational nounstems are merely nounstems. Consequently, although the compound stems created by options 2 and 3 occur predominantly in adverbialized NNCs, it is not surprising (if the meaning is amenable) for them to occur in NNCs with a normal (i.e., nonadverbialized) personal-pronoun subject. For example:

**caltzālantli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cal-tzālan)tlī- $\emptyset$ # = it is a passageway between houses, it is an alley; they are passageways between houses, they are alleys

**tlālticpacitli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tlāl-t-icpa-c)tlī- $\emptyset$ # = it is the world, they are worlds

Only a few examples of this usage will be mentioned in the following discussion.

45.3. *The Relational Nounstem Groupings.* The presentation of the relational-stemmed NNCs that follows divides them into five groups, established by the manner in which the relational stem accepts the first three options of § 45.2. The relational nounstems in the first group permit only option 1 (see § 45.4); those in the second group permit only option 2 (see Lesson 46); those in the third group permit both option 1 and option 2 (see § 47.1); those in the fourth group permit both option 1 and option 3 (see § 47.2); and those in the fifth group permit options 1, 2, and 3 (see § 47.3).

*Warning:* Any preposition in the English translations of the relational NNCs in the following sections comes in answer to *English* requirements in expressing the adverbial notion inherent in the Nahuatl. Since Nahuatl has no prepositions, the English preposition shown in the examples may not be the one English needs in a particular sentence context (e.g., “on” may need to be replaced by “at,” “to,” “from,” etc.).

45.4. *Relational Nounstems that Permit Only Option One.* The four following relational nounstems occur only in single-stemmed possessive-state NNCs. A second NNC may be combined with one of these NNCs *only* by appearing in a supplementary-possessor construction. (From this point on, the translations of the examples ignore the clausal structure of the Nahuatl NNC.)

1. **(huān)-Ø-** = company

**tēhuān** = in s.o.'s company, with s.o.

**nohuān** = in my company, with me

**ihuān** = in his/her/its company, with him/her/it; with it/them; therewith

**nehuān** = in one another's company, both together [The reciprocal possessive-state predicate **-ne(huān)-** can be downgraded to the rank of a nounstem: **(ne-huān)-Ø-**. This derived stem may occur in an absolutive-state NNC with a plural subject pronoun: **nehuāntin**, "they are both together." It may also occur in a possessive-state NNC but only with a plural possessor pronoun: **tonehuān**, "both of us"; **amonehuān**, "both of you"; **innehuān**, "both of them." The honorific nounstem is formed on the reduplicated matrix stem **(-tzi-tzin)-□-□**; e.g., **innehuāntzitzin**, "both of them (H)"; that is, the stem **(ne-huān)-Ø-** is not treated as a relational stem.]

The NNC **ihuān** can be used to add a lower numeral NNC to a higher one. Remember that the creation of a numeral-NNC group is accomplished by means of an *unmarked* (i.e., conjunctorless) structure of conjunction (see § 34.8). Great care must be taken NOT to look upon **ihuān** as a conjunctor. Anyone who agrees with Molina (whose entry reads "y. y tambien. Conjunction," i.e., "and; and also; *conjunctor*") is, along with him, a victim of translational mirage. **Ihuān** is not a *conjunctor*. It is an NNC showing first-degree adverbialization, meaning "it is in its company/with it," "added onto it" (see § 52.4.1.a for further comment). When participating in a numeral group, it performs exactly the same function as **ipan** (see § 47.3.3.a).

**ōmpōhualxihuitl ommahtlāctli ihuān ōnxihuitl** = they are 40 years (and) they are an additional 10 (and) with them they are 2 years; i.e., they are 52 years

Usage in sentences:

**Nehhuātl nohuān yah.** = He went with *me*. [The supplementary possessor **nehhuātl** is used for emphasis here.]

**Nehuān nemih.** = They live with one another. They live together.

**Nicnehuānilpia.** = I tie them one with another. [The downgraded-predicate-as-stem can fill an embed subposition as incorporated adverb.]

**Mā caīc inhuān xinemi in tlāhuānqueh.** = Never live in the company of drunkards. Never associate with drunkards. [The adjoined preterit-agentive NNC **tlāhuānqueh**, **#Ø-Ø(tlāhu-ān-Ø)qu-eh#**, "they are ones who have taken red ochre," i.e., "they are drunkards" (see § 30.3), functions as supplementary possessor in cross-reference to its head, the possessor pronoun **i-n** in **ihuān**. For the **ic** of **caīc**, see subsection 4 below.]

A possessive-state NNC formed on **(huān)-Ø-** may be used as a modifier of an NNC formed from the preterit-agentive nounstem **(yōl-Ø)-qui-**, "one who has lived," i.e., "one who lives,"

to create the equivalent of “relative/kinsman.” The two NNCs are usually written solid and the /n/ of **(huān)-θ-** is usually not spelled, since it precedes a /y/ (see § 2.12.4).

**nohuān yōlqui** = he is one who lives with me; i.e., he is my relative

**ihuān tiyōlqueh** = we are ones who live with him; i.e., we are his relatives

**mohuān yōlqueh cihuah** = they are women who live with you; i.e., they are your kinswomen [Here **mohuān yōlqueh** constitutes the modifier in a structure of adjectival modification.]

Because of the frequent juxtaposition of **(huān)-θ-** and **(yōl-θ)-qui-**, a new stem has been created that may even occur in an absolutive-state NNC whose subject pronoun’s number dyad is filled by **t-in** (in violation of all expectations).

**in amehhuāntin annohuānyōltin.** = You are my relatives.

The strangeness of the collocation is also seen in stems such as the following:

**(cihuā-tē-huān-yōl-θ)-qui-** = a female relative by marriage

**(cihuā-huān-yōl-θ-cā)-tl-** = a female relative by marriage

**(cihuā-huān-yōl-θ-cā-yō)-tl-** = female kinship by marriage

The honorific stem of **(huān)-θ-** is **(huān-tzin-co)-θ-** (for **(-co)-θ-**, see § 46.7).

**ihuāntzinco** = in his/her (H) company, with him/her (H)

2. **(tloc)-θ-** = side; proximity

**tētloc** = at the side of s.o.; along with s.o.

**notloc** = at my side, with me; on my side, for me

**netloc** = at each other’s side, together

Usage in sentences:

**Notloc ximonemiti.** = Live (H) with me.

**Ayāc itloc.** = There is no one at his side/beside him; i.e., He is peerless; *also*, He has a high opinion of himself.

**Ītloc quiza.** = It comes out beside it; i.e., It resembles it.

The nounstem **(tloc)-θ-** may appear as the embed in the preterit-agentive-NNC-of-ownership formation:

**tloqueh = #θ-θ(tloqu-eh-θ)□-θ#** = he is one who has possessed proximity; i.e., he is a possessor of proximity [See § 46.8.1.]

The honorific form of **(tloc)-θ-** is **(tloc-tzin-co)-θ-** (for **(-co)-θ-**, see § 46.7).

**Ītloctzinco ninoquetza.** = I stand beside him (H). I belong to his (H) faction.

3. **(pal)-θ-** = grace; favor, sake, help [See § 26.2.]

**tēpal** = by s.o.’s grace

**amopal** = on your (pl) account, on account of you (pl)

Usage in sentences:

**Mopal nitlacua.** = I eat because of you. I eat by your grace. I eat thanks to you.

**Īmpal otlamah.** = With their help he took a captive.

The honorific nounstem of **(pal)-Ø-** is **(pal-tzin-co)-Ø-** (for **(-co)-Ø-**, see § 46.7).

**Īpaltzinco in Dios, ca niman ahtleh ònimitzichtequilih.** = (I swear) by God I have not stolen anything from you. [**Niman** (see §44.6) placed in front of a negative unit intensifies its negative meaning; therefore, **niman ahtleh** is equivalent to “it is absolutely nothing.”]

4. **(c)-Ø-** = means, purpose, reason, cause; time. Unlike the other relational nounstems discussed in this Lesson, an NNC formed on **(c)-Ø-** can take only the third-person common-number possessor pronoun **ī-Ø**.

**īc = #Ø-Ø+ī-Ø(c)Ø-Ø#** = by means of it, with it, by it, from it, for the purpose of it, because of it; by means of this, with this, by this, from this, for the purpose of this, because of this; by this means, for this purpose, for this reason, in this manner, in this fashion, to this extent, to this degree; by means of which, whence, for the purpose of which, because of which, by reason of which, hence, thus, so; by which, for which, from which, with which; thereby, therefor, thereupon, therefrom, therewith; whereby, wherefor, wherefrom, wherewith, whereupon; etc.

The NNC **īc** is one of the most frequent NNCs in the language. Its basic meaning is instrumental, but, as can be seen from the above glosses, it is frequently used with other meanings. The following examples suggest some of these. (The adjunctive **in** frequently introduces **īc**. The collocation **in īc** is traditionally written solid as **inic**.)

a. Means:

**Tilmahtli īc titlapohpōhuaz.** = You will clean things with a cloth/blanket. [**Tilmahtli** is the supplementary possessor in cross-reference to the possessor pronoun **ī-Ø** in **īc**.]

**Ahmō īc miqui in mītl** = It does not die from the arrow. [**Mītl** is the supplementary possessor for the **ī-Ø** of **īc**.]

**Onyez tlaōlli īc niquintlacualtiz in nōpilhuān.** = There will be shelled maize with which to feed my children. [Literally, “There will be shelled maize, with it I will feed them . . .”]

**Yehhuātl in, in īc quinmahuiztiliāya in tlahtohqueh.** = The things with which he paid honor to the rulers were these; i.e., These were the things with which he paid honor to the rulers. [**Yehhuātl in** is the antecedent of the possessor pronoun **ī-Ø** in **īc**.]

**Miyequintin in īc micqueh mītl.** = Those who died from the arrows were many. [English prefers “Many died from the arrows.”]

b. Purpose:

**Tleh īc ticchihuaznequi in?** = For what purpose do you want to do this? Why do you want to do this? [**Tleh** is the supplementary possessor in cross-reference to the possessor pronoun **ī-Ø** in **īc**.]

**Nimitzilhuia in īc ticmatiz.** = I am telling it to you so that you will know it. [The possessor pronoun **ī-Ø** in **īc** has the clause **ticmatiz** as its supplementary possessor.]

**In Motēuczōmatzin ahmō tlanāhuatiāya in īc acah quinyāōchihuaz.** = Moteuczoma didn't give commands in order that anyone make war upon them. [The  $\bar{i}$ - $\emptyset$  in **īc** refers to the act of commanding. Compare this sentence with the one in § 50.6.1, in which the same notion of purpose is expressed without **īc**.]

**Zan īc ninemi nitlacua.** = I live only for the purpose of eating. I live only for eating. I don't do anything but eat. [The  $\bar{i}$ - $\emptyset$  of **īc** refers to my act of eating; that is, the clause **nitlacua** is the supplementary possessor whose head is the  $\bar{i}$ - $\emptyset$  in **īc**.]

c. Reason:

**Īc, cencah mauhcāittōyah.** = Because of it, they were regarded with much fear.

**In īc nicān ōnihuāllah, huel yehhuātl in īc namēchmachtīz.** = The reason I have come here is to instruct you. [For **nicān**, see § 46.4.2.]

**Īc ahmō mochīuh.** = Because of this it was not done.

d. Time:

Among the many translations of the NNC **īc** is the important one “thereupon,” or, more specifically, “at that time.”

When appearing at the beginning of a question sentence, **īc** in its temporal meaning serves as an interrogative adverbial NNC of time translatable as “at what time?” or “when?” The interrogative particle **cuix** can appear after it.

**Īc yāz?** = When will he go?

**Īc cuix ōtihuītza?** = When perchance did you come? I.e., When did you come?

When **īc** serves as the principal clause in a question sentence, the adjoined clause may be introduced by the adjunct **in**, producing **īc in . . . ?**, “when is/was it that . . . ?”

**Īc in tequiti?** = When is it that he works? [English prefers “When does he work?”]

**Īc in ōquichīuh in?** = When was it that he did this? [English prefers “When did he do this?”]

This sequence of **īc in** is traditionally written solid as **iquin**, an unfortunate representation that obscures the fact that **īc** is functioning here as the principal clause. But the collocation **īc in** is used so frequently that when the clause that **in** should introduce is left unsaid, the **in** is fused to the **īc**. This fusion, brought about by the absence of a following adjunct, should be spelled **iquin**.

**Ach iquin.** = I don't know when. [as a reply]

When an adjunct does follow, the **īc** and the **in** should always be written separately.

Like all interrogatives, when **īc** does not occur in the sentence-initial position, it loses its interrogative force and is translated “at which time, “at the time,” etc.

**Iz ōhuāllahqueh in īc in ōn.** = They came here in past times. [It should be obvious that the traditional spelling **iquin** is erroneous, since the adjunct **in** relates syntactically to the **ōn** and not to the **īc**. The demonstrative pronoun **ōn** is functioning as the supplementary possessor of the pronoun  $\bar{i}$ - $\emptyset$  in **īc**: “at that one's/thing's time.”]

**Zan īc niyauh.** = I go at just any time. I go frequently. I am in the habit of going.



**Mā camō xitlahto in oc ic nitlahto.** = Do not speak at the time that I am still speaking; i.e., Don't talk while I am talking. [The collocation **oc ic**, “still at that time, while, meanwhile,” is traditionally written solid as **oquic**.]

**Ahoc tleh ipahyo in ic tēcua; micohuani.** = Its cure when it bites one is no longer anything; it is fatal; i.e., There is no cure for it when it bites one; it is fatal.

**Ye ic onyah in nimitztēmoa.** = It has gone already during/for a time that I am looking for you; i.e., I have been looking for you for quite a while.

The collocation **niman ic** is translated “immediately thereupon,” “immediately following that,” “immediately thereafter”:

**Niman ic quihtoh in Huehmac, “Mā huāllauh ihciuhcā.”** = Immediately thereupon Huemac said, “Let him come at once.” [For Huehmac, see § 56.2.2.a.]

The construction is frequently further intensified by the adverbial particle **ye**, “already”:

**In ōmachōc, niman ye ic tzahtzihua.** = When it became known, then immediately thereupon people shouted. [Notice the use of the present tense to express past time; see § 57.1.]

The collocation **ic cen** means “at a time which is/was only once,” i.e., “once and for all” or “forever,” “finally.” [See the adverbialized NNC **cen** in § 44.6.] The two NNCs are usually written solid: **iccen**. That the two do not form a fused unit is clearly seen in that the antecessive-order particle **ō#** can be prefixed to the **cen**.

**In ōiuh yahqueh in Españoles, iuh nemachōc in ca ic ōcen yahqueh.** = When the Spaniards had thus gone, it was thought that they had departed forever.

**Īc** also ceases to be interrogative when made negative; **ayic** is translated “at no time,” “never” (**ahic** = **ayic**; but this is always written **aic**, as it is pronounced).

**Aic miqini.** = He is one who customarily never dies; i.e., He is immortal.

**Aic cēmēleh.** = He is at no time one who has owned a whole liver (i.e., heart); i.e., He is never at peace. He is always irascible. [**Cēmēleh**, i.e., **#0-0(cem-ēl-eh-0)□-0#**, is a preterit-agentive-of-ownership NNC (see § 35.9.1a). Traditional texts almost always write the // incorrectly as **ll** (see § 2.10).]

**Aic cāhui.** = It never ceases. [This can be used as an adverbial collocation meaning “always, perpetually, unceasingly.”]

**Mā caic nimiqui.** = May I never die. [**ca#0-0+i-0(c)0-0#**.]

**Ayoc ic nimitzittaz.** = I shall never see you again. [The collocation **ayoc ic**, “never again,” is traditionally written solid as **ayoquic**.]

**Aya ic ōmochiuh.** = It never happened before. It never happened until now. [The collocation **aya ic**, “never before,” is traditionally written solid as **ayaic**.]

The NNC **ic** can be downgraded to the rank of a stem, serving as an embed in a compound nounstem with **(-ah)-0-**, “undetermined, unspecified, or unknown entity,” as matrix. The vowel length on the embed is lost, as with **acah** (see § 16.6.1) and **canah** (see § 46.3.2.a):

**icah** = **#0-0(i-c-ah)□-0#** = at some time, sometimes

e. Special uses. Among the various special uses of *īc*, the following four call for attention.

i. When preceding a numeral or quantitative NNC, *īc* creates the equivalent of an English ordinal numeral:

**Īc cē. ~ Īc centetl. ~ Īc centlamantli.** = With this, it is one in number; i.e., It is the first.

**Īc ēyi āmoxtli.** = With this, the books are three in number; i.e., It is the third book.

**In ic mahtlāctloncē tlahtoāni, itōcā Cuitlahuatzin.** = The name of the eleventh ruler was Cuitlahuatzin (i.e., Honorable Excrement-Owner).

**Īc quēxquich?** = With this, how many are there?

ii. When following an adjectival NNC that functions as its supplementary possessor, *īc* creates a collocation that is the translational equivalent of an English adverb:

**In cualli ic mihtōtia, in ipatiuh ōnquimilli in cuāchtli.** = If he dances well, his price is forty large capes. [**Cualli**, “it is a good thing,” is the supplementary possessor of the pronoun *ī-∅* in *īc*.]

iii. In cooperation with an adjectival (or descriptive) NNC, *īc* can appear in several constructions expressing the notion of degree:

**Yeh ic cualli?** = How good is it?

**Yeh in ic cualli!** = Oh how good it is!

**In ic ticocōleh!** = What an anger owner you are! I.e., How angry you are!

**Mā nicmāma, in tlā camō ixquich ic etic.** = I would carry it, if it were not so heavy.

iv. When preceding an adjectival NNC of size, length, shape, etc., *īc* produces expressions of measurement:

**In Xocotl in ic huīyac catca cempōhualmātl ommācuilli.** = The Xocotl was twenty-five fathoms long. [The Xocotl was a tall ceremonial pole.]

**In intlaxcal cemmolicpilt catca in ic yahualtic.** = Their tortillas were an ell round (i.e., in circumference).

## LESSON 46

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### Relational NNCs (Part Two)

46.1. *Relational Nounstems That Permit Only Option Two.* There are eleven relational nounstems that occur only as the matrix in integrated-structure compound nounstems. Despite their inability to form simple-stemmed NNCs, they should not be considered suffixes. They function as the matrix of their compound-stemmed NNC in exactly the same way as the relational nounstems in § 47.1, which *can* form simple-stemmed NNCs.

46.2. *The Locative Nounstem (-n)-tli-.* The matrix-only nounstem **(-n)-tli-**, “place,” is used to create compound nounstems with a locative meaning. On occasion, however, the meaning can give way to a temporal one. There are two possible formations: the embed may end (1) in **(cā)-tl-** or (2) in the imperfect-tense suffix **yā**. The compound nounstems formed on **(-n)-tli-** belong to the **tli** class, but since they appear almost exclusively in second-degree adverbialized NNCs, they are listed with □ as the *num*<sup>1</sup> filler.

*Note:* On the rare occasions when **(-n)-tli-** comes after a consonant, it becomes **(-ni)-tl-** (with [i] as a supportive vowel).

**(ce-c-ni)-□-** = in one place [For the embed stem **(ce-c)-θ-**, see § 16.9.2.]

**(cē-ce-c-ni)-□-** = in one place after another, in a number of places

**Cecni mani.** = It stands/rests in one place; i.e., It stands/rests in a separate place.

**Cecni quizqui.** = It is a thing that has come out in one place; i.e., It is a thing that is different from others.

[As can be seen, **cecni** frequently means “in only one place/in one particular place.”]

The stem can also serve as an incorporated adverb.

**tla-(ceh-ce-c-ni-tlāl-i-ā)** = to put things each in its own place

46.3. *The Matrix Nounstem (-n)-tli- with Embeds Containing (cā)-tl-.* The combination of **(cā)-tl-** and **(-n)-tli-** occurs in two varieties, one in which **(cā)-tl-** is tightly tied to a preceding stem, the other in which it is tightly tied to the **(-n)-tli-**. In terms of formulas, the first may be represented as “(X + **-cā**) + **(-n)-tli-**” and the second as “(X) + **(cā- + -n)-tli-**”

1. In the “(X + **-cā**) + **(-n)-tli-**” formula, the filler in the embed subposition represented by “(X + **-cā**)” is either the general-use stem of a preterit-agentive nounstem (see § 35.5) or, if the NNC manifests the possessive state, the active-action nounstem (see § 36.11).

a. Preterit-agentive embed. The resultant locative compound nounstem means “place of a person who (or a thing that) has done the action named by the source VNC’s core,” i.e., “place of a person who (or a thing that) does that action.” The compound nounstem is used in an *absolute*-state NNC. [In the following examples both the restricted-use and the general-use stems of the embed are shown, although only the latter is of importance here. The *num*<sup>1</sup> filler **tl** is included with the general-use stem only to indicate its nounstem class.]

(**mich-namaca-θ-cā-n**)-□- = place of one who sells fish; fish market [< (**mich-namaca-θ**)-c- > (**mich-namaca-θ-cā**)-tl-, “one who has sold fish,” i.e., “fish seller”; from a Class A verbstem.]

(**tla-chīuh-θ-cā-n**)-□- = place of one who makes things; a craftsman’s shop [< (**tla-chīuh-θ**)-qui- > (**tla-chīuh-θ-cā**)-tl-, “one who has made things,” i.e., “a craftsman”; from a Class B verbstem.]

(**tīza-yo-h-θ-cā-n**)-□- = place of one who has owned white clay in abundance; place containing much white clay [< (**tīza-yo-h-θ**)-□- > (**tīza-yo-h-θ-cā**)-tl-, “one who has owned white clay in abundance”; a preterit-agentive nounstem of abundant ownership from a Class C verbstem.]

(**ōztō-huah-θ-cā-n**)-□- = place of one that has owned a cave; place of foxes [< (**ōztō-huah-θ**)-□- > (**ōztō-huah-θ-cā**)-tl-, “one that has owned a cave,” i.e., “a fox”; a preterit-agentive nounstem of ownership from a Class D verbstem.]

(**yancui-θ-cā-n**)-□- = time of that which has occurred recently, i.e., a recent time (*in its adverbial meaning*, “recently, for the first time”) [Here (**-n**)-tli- has a temporal meaning. From (**yancui-θ**)-c- > (**yancui-θ-cā**)-tl-, “a thing that has become new; a new thing”; a preterit-agentive nounstem from the “root-plus-ya” verbstem (**yancui-ya**), “to become new.”]

It is possible for this kind of compound nounstem to be used to form an NNC with a “normal” (nonadverbialized) subject pronoun: for example:

**calohhuihcāntli** = #θ-θ(**cal-oh-hui-h-θ-cā-n**)tli-θ# = it is a house with many twists and turns, it is a labyrinth [< (**cal-oh-hui-h-θ**)-□- > (**cal-oh-hui-h-θ-cā**)-tl-, “a thing that has become difficult/hazardous in the form of a house”; concerning the preterit-agentive nounstem (**oh-hui-h-θ**)-□-, see § 54.2.4.]

Much more frequently, however, these compound locative nounstems occur in an NNC with an adverbialized subject pronoun.

**calohhuihcān** = #θ-θ(**cal-oh-hu-i-h-θ-cā-n**)□-θ# = in a labyrinth

**tlahtohcān** = #θ-θ(**tla-ht-o-h-θ-cā-n**)□-θ# = in/at a/the place of a speaker/ruler; i.e., in/at a/the council hall/palace

**ihcān** = #θ-θ(**ih-θ-cā-n**)□-θ# = in such a place, in that kind of place

**quēnamihcān?** = #θ-θ(**quē-n-am-i-h-θ-cā-n**)□-θ# = in what kind of place? in what manner of place? [See § 11.4.6.]

**āxcān** = #θ-θ(**āx-θ-cā-n**)□-θ# = at the time of one who does a thing; i.e., now, today [The source verbstem is **tla-(āyi)** > **tla-(āx)**, “to do s.th.” The lack of an object

pronoun in the locative nounstem suggests that the doer is doing a specific thing; see § 18.8.]

**ayāxcān** = **ay#θ-(āx-θ-cā-n)□-θ#** = hardly, barely, slowly, with difficulty [The collocation **ayoc āxcān** has the same translation value. Contrary to appearances, this is not the negative of the preceding example (notice the wide difference in meaning). In this instance the source verbstem is **\*(āya)** > **(āx)**, which presumably is equivalent to “to be fluent/easy/effortless.” There is an adverbialized VNC with a present-tense predicate (as in § 44.3) with the same meaning: **ayāya**, i.e., **ay#θ-(āya)θ+θ-θ#**, “hardly, slowly, difficultly,” as well as the collocation **ayoc āya**.]

**iyohcān** = **#θ-θ(iyo-h-θ-cā-n)□-θ#** = in a single place [Compare **iyoh** in § 44.3.11.]

*b.* Active-action embed. The resultant locative compound nounstem means “place of an action.” It is used in a *possessive*-state NNC, with the agent of the action represented by a possessor pronoun (see § 36.11); the nounstem therefore has a strong embed orientation. Since the NNC is in the possessive state, the subject personal pronoun is ambiguously either normal or adverbialized (see § 44.2). Since the matrix stem **(-n)-tli-** is protecting it, the distant-past tense morph has its regular shape **cā** (the morpheme is /ka:/; see § 5.5.2).

**īpēuhcān** = **#θ-θ+i-θ(pēuh-cā-n)θ-θ#** = it is the place of its action of beginning; i.e., it is the place of its beginning ~ at/in the place of its action of beginning; i.e., at/in its beginning [**īpēuhca**, “it is its action of beginning, it is its beginning”]

**īonocān** = **#θ-θ+i-θ(on-o-cā-n)θ-θ#** = it is the place of its lying down; i.e., it is where it lies down ~ at/in the place of its lying down; i.e., at/in the place where it lies down [**īonoca**, “it is its action of lying down, it is its action of being recumbent”]

**nocanāhuacān** = **#θ-θ+n-o(can-ā-hua-cā-n)θ-θ#** = it is the place of my action of becoming thin and flat; i.e., it is my temple, they are my temples ~ at/on my temple, at/on my temples [**nocanāhuaca**, “it is my action of becoming thin and flat”; as is obvious, the source active-action NNC has an extremely low likelihood of occurrence.]

**īcētcan in ōme ātōyatl** = **#θ-θ+i-θ(cē-t-cā-n)θ-θ#** = it is the place of two rivers’ action of becoming one; i.e., it is the place where two rivers converge ~ at the place where two rivers converge [**īcētca in ōme ātōyatl**, “it is the action of two rivers converging, it is the convergence/confluence of two rivers.”]

**īmāhcāuhcān in tlaxīmalli** = **#θ-θ+i-θ(mah-mā-cāuh-cā-n)θ-θ#** = it is the place of various beams becoming separated; i.e., it is the place of the interstices between the beams (of a wooden structure) ~ at/in the interstices between the beams [**īmāhcāuhca**, “it is its action of becoming split/cleaved/cleft”; **(tla-xīm-a-l)-li-**, “a thing that has been hewn,” i.e., “a beam, a board”]

Among the verbstems used in this formation are the compound verbstems of ownership formed on **\*tla-(-ē)**, **\*tla-(-huā)**, and **\*tla-(-yo-ā)** (see §§ 35.8-35.9). As has been pointed out, these stems are used only in preterit-agentive NNCs and occasionally as the embed in connective-**t** compound verbstems. This means that they do not participate in VNCs that manifest the

distant-past tense morph. Consequently, the active-action NNC that serves as the source for the locative compound nounstem is not attested. This suggests that the locative nounstem is a relic of an archaic formation.

**itzinehcān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i- $\emptyset$ (tzin-eh-cā-n) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is the place of its action of owning a base, i.e., it is the place of its beginning, it is where it began ~ at the place of its action of owning a base; i.e., at its beginning, at its start

**totēchuahcān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +t-o(tēc-huah-cā-n) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is the place of our action of owning lords; i.e., it is our main city/our metropolis ~ at/in the place of our action of owning lords; i.e., at/in our main city, at/in our metropolis [The stem (tēc)-tli- is a variant of (tēc)-tli-, “lord.”]

**īncuauhyohcān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ī-n(cuauh-yo-h-cā-n) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is the place of their action of owning abundant trees; i.e., it is the place where they own abundant trees ~ in/at their place of owning abundant trees, in/at the place where they own abundant trees [Do not confuse this formation with that involving (-yō)-tli- in subsection 2.b below.]

2. The “(X) + (cā- + -n)-tli-” locative stem formation also has two possible types.

a. The X component may be absent. This results in the compound stem (cā-n)-□-, in which the embed is the nounstem (cā)-tli-, “entity, person, thing” (see § 35.5). The compound stem therefore means literally “an entity’s/a person’s/a thing’s place,” but the NNC built on it serves as an interrogative adverb of place. The interrogative particle **cuix** can follow it.

**cān?** = at what place? where? to/from what place?

**Cān ōtihuāllah?** = From what place have you come? Where have you come from?

**Cān cuix ōtlācat?** = At what place was he born? Where was he born?

When **cān** serves as the principal clause, the adjoined clause may be introduced by the adjunct **in**. The collocation **cān in**, which is equivalent to “at what place is it that . . . ?,” is unfortunately usually written solid as **canin**. Obviously, the adjunct **in** is not directly associated with the **cān** but with what it adjoins on its right.

**Cān in titēquiti?** = At what place is it that you work? [English prefers “Where do you work?”]

The collocation **cān in** was used so frequently that the adjunct **in** could become fused to the **cān**, as can be seen in instances such as the following, where the adjunct does not follow but is understood:

**Ach cānin.** = I don’t know where. [as a reply]

When not occurring in a sentence-initial position, **cān** loses its interrogative force:

**zā zo cān** = at any place whatsoever, at just any place, anywhere

**Ahmō nimitzilhuia in cān niyāznequi.** = I am not telling you where I want to go.

It also ceases to be interrogative when negativized:

**ahcān** = at no place, nowhere

**aya cān** = no place yet, nowhere yet [Traditionally written solid: **ayacan**.]

The NNC **cān** can be downgraded to the rank of a stem, serving as an embed in a compound nounstem with **(-ah)-θ-**, “undetermined, unspecified, or unknown entity,” as matrix. The vowel length on the embed is lost, as with **icah** in § 45.4.4.d:

**canah** = #θ-θ(**ca-n-ah**)-□-θ# = at some place, somewhere

b. When the X component is present, it is represented by a nounstem functioning as an incorporated modifier. It may be a pronominal stem:

**(on-cā-n)-□-** = at that place, there

**(ni-cā-n)-□-** = at this place, here [The embedded stem **(ni)-** also occurs in **(ni-man)-□-** in § 44.6.]

The embed may be a quantitive pronominal stem or a numeral nounstem:

**(miye-c-cā-n)-□-** = in many places

**(quē-z-qui-cā-n)-□-** = in how many places?

**(quē-c-iz-qui-cā-n)-□-** = in a number of different places

**(ce-c-cā-n)-□-** = in one place [For the embed **(ce-c)-θ-**, see § 16.9.2.]

**(ō-c-cā-n)-□-** = in two places [The stem **(ō-c)-** is a variant of **(ōm)-**, “two in number.”]

**(yēx-cā-n)-□-** = in three places [Also **(ēx-cā-n)-□-**; see § 34.4.2.]

**(ōm-pōhua-l-cā-n)-□-** = in forty places/parts

**(cem-pōhua-l-cā-n)-□-** **(om-mah-tlāc-cā-n)-□-** = in thirty places/parts

The embed may be a patientive nounstem:

**(cua-l-cā-n)-□-** = in a good place [Also used with a temporal meaning: “at an opportune time.”]

**(yēc-cā-n)-□-** = at a good place [Also used with a temporal meaning: “at an opportune time.”]

When the embed is an imperfective patientive nounstem formed on **(-yō)-tl-** as matrix (see § 39.3), the resultant locative nounstem with **(cā-n)-□-** as matrix occurs in an absolutive-state NNC or a possessive-state NNC depending on the absolutive or possessive state of the NNC that serves as the source for the embed.

**tēnyōcān** = #θ-θ(**tēn-yō-cā-n**)-□-θ# = in a place of fame [Also spelled **teyocan**.]

**mauhcāyōcān** = #θ-θ(**mauh-cā-yō-cā-n**)-□-θ# = in a place of dread, in a fearful place  
[See § 36.10.2.]

**īnlhuayōcān** = it is the place of its root/roots ~ at/to/in the place of its root/roots

**tonacayōcān** = #θ-θ+t-o(**naca-yō-cā-n**)θ-θ# = it is the place of our fleshiness, i.e., it is the place of our buttocks, they are the buttocks of one of us, they are buttocks ~ at/on the place of our buttocks, at/on our buttocks, at/on the buttocks

**īmalacayōcān in cuahuitl** = #θ-θ+i-θ(**malaca-yō-cā-n**)θ-θ# = it is the place of the tree’s spindleness; i.e., it is the tree’s crown (branches and foliage), they are tree crowns, etc., in the place of the tree’s spindleness; i.e., in the tree’s crown, in the crown of the tree, in the trees’ crowns, in the crowns of the trees

A locative NNC can serve as the supplementary object whose head is the nonspecific object pronoun **tlā**:

**Onahcic in oncān ōquitlatēnhēhuilihqueh.** = He reached the place that they had mentioned to him. [**Oncān** serves as the supplementary object of **tla.**]

**Oncān tlatōcāyōtīh Cochtocān.** = He named the place Cochtocan. [**Oncān** serves as the supplementary object of **tla.** The place-name NNC functions as an object complement (see § 51.2.3).]

46.4. *The Matrix Nounstem (-n)-tli- and the Nominalized Imperfect-Tense Predicate as Embed.* The imperfect-tense predicate of a VNC can be nominalized to fill the embed subposition in a compound nounstem whose matrix is (-n)-tli-. Since the imperfect-tense morph **ya** is protected by the /n/, it has length on its vowel (the tense morpheme is /ya:/; see § 5.5.2).

The compound nounstem has the meaning of “place of customary activity.” There are three possible stem formations, according to whether the source is a VNC manifesting the active, the passive, or the impersonal voice.

1. When the source is an active-voice VNC, the resultant locative nounstem normally occurs in a possessive-state NNC. The possessor pronoun on the NNC results from the transformation of the subject pronoun on the source VNC; see § 36.6. (Remember that with Class C and D verbs, the final /a:/ of the verbstem is long before the imperfect-tense morph.)

**nocochiyān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(cochi-yā-n) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is the place of my customary sleeping; it is my bedroom ~ in my customary sleeping place, in my bedroom [**< nicochiya**, “I customarily slept”]

**noyeyān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(ye-yā-n) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is the place of my customary being; i.e., it is my place, it is my seat ~ in my place, in my seat [**< niyeya**, “I customarily was.” An absolute-state NNC is also possible: **yeyāntli**, “it is a place, it is a seat.”]

**monoyān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m- $\square$ (on-o-yā-n) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is the place of your customary lying down, it is your bed ~ in your customary lying-down place, in your bed [**< tonoya**, “you used to lie down”]

**totlacuāyān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +t-o(tla-cuā-yā-n) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is the place of our customary eating; i.e., it is our dining room ~ in our dining room [**< titlacuāyah** “we customarily ate”]

**nonetlālīāyān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(ne-tlāl-i-ā-yā-n) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is the place of my customary seating myself; i.e., it is my seat ~ in my customary sitting-down place; i.e., in my seat [**< ninotlālīāya**, “I customarily sat down”]

**tōchtli inetēcayān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i- $\emptyset$ (ne-tēca-yā-n) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is a rabbit’s customary stretching-out place, i.e., it is a rabbit’s warren ~ in a rabbit’s warren [**< motēcaya**, “it customarily stretched itself out”]

When the active-voice VNC that serves as the source for the nounstem has a reflexive object pronoun under the control of a nonanimate subject pronoun, the locative nounstem contains the reflexive pronoun **m-o** instead of **ne** as in the two preceding examples. Obviously, the possessor pronoun of the NNC must be third-person common number.

**imomanayān ātōyatl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i- $\emptyset$ (m-o-man-a-yā-n) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is a river’s lying-flat place, i.e., it is a pool of still water of a river ~ in a pool of still water of a river [**< momanaya**, “it used to set itself down flat.”]



**imochihuayān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i- $\emptyset$ (m-o-chihua-yā-n) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is the time of its customary making itself; i.e., it is its growing time/season ~ in its growing time/season [< **mochihuaya**, “it customarily made itself”; i.e., “it customarily grew.”]

**Imonequiyan nicnequi in tlatquitl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i- $\emptyset$ (m-o-nequi-yā-n) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I want the equipment at the time of its customarily wanting itself, i.e., I want the equipment at the time it is needed. [< **monequiya**, “it customarily wanted itself,” i.e., “it was customarily wanted/needed” (see § 21.4).]

The temporal meaning shown in the two previous examples occurs in many other NNCs; for example:

**totlacuāyān** = it is our customary eating time, it is our mealtime ~ at our mealtime [The same NNC is shown above with a locative meaning.]

**notēlpōchtiyān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(tēl-pōch-ti-yā-n) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it was the time of my process of becoming a young man; i.e., it was the time of my youth ~ in my youth [< **nitēlpōchtiya**, “I was becoming a young man.”]

This formation also creates NNCs that are translated by manner adverbs in English:

**ihuiyān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i- $\emptyset$ (hui-yā-n) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is its manner of being thus and so ~ by its manner of being thus and so; i.e., slowly, moderately, cautiously; gently, quietly, calmly [< **ihuiya**, “it used to be thus and so.” The possessor pronoun on the NNC is always third-person singular. The verbstem’s initial [i] is omitted after i- $\emptyset$  in the NNC.]

**tonehhuīyān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +t-o(neh-hui-yā-n) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is our manner of acting on our own initiative ~ on our personal initiative, of our personal choosing, by our own free will, of our own accord, by our own doing [The source verbstem \*(**neh-hui**), or improbably \***m-o-(ih-hui)**, is unattested. When modifying an NNC, this adverbial NNC is translated into English by an adjective; e.g., **nonehhuīyān notlahtlacōl**, “it is my own fault.”]

**nīxcohtiyān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n- $\square$ (ix-co-h-ti-yā-n) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is my manner of acting on my own initiative ~ on my personal initiative/of my personal choosing/by my own free will/of my own accord/by my own doing [The verbstem \*(**ix-co-h-ti**) is unattested. It is obviously created by attaching the verbstem-forming suffix -**ti** (see § 54.2.1) to the impersonal patientive nounstem \*(**ix-co-h**)-**tli-**; see -the nounstem (**ix-co-h-yā-n**)- $\square$ - in § 46.5.]

*Note:* At times an active-voice imperfect-tense predicate embedded in (-n)-**tli-** has an incorporated adverbial particle or nounstem. The NNC built on this kind of stem is in the absolutive state.

**nōhuiyān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (nō-hui-yā-n) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = everywhere, from everywhere, to everywhere [The particle **nō**, “also” (see § 3.2.4), fills the embed subposition. The verbstem’s initial supportive [i] is not needed.]

**quēmmaniyan** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (quē-m-mani-yā-n) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = from time to time, at times, occasionally, sometimes [The stem (**quē-n**)- $\square$ -, “how, in what manner” (see § 44.5.7), fills the embed subposition.]

**nēmmaniyan** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (nēm-mani-yā-n) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = during uselessly existing days, i.e., during nonfestival time, during ordinary days [The nounstem (**nēm**)- $\square$ -, “useless thing,” fills the embed subposition. See also **nēmmaniyan** in § 46.5, *note*.]

**cemmaniyan** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cem-man-yā-n) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = during an entire stretching-out time, i.e., for all time, throughout all time, forever [The nounstem (**cem**)- $\square$ -, “one,” fills the embed subposition. See also **cemmaniyan** in § 46.5, *note*.]

See also the place-name **Quinēhuayān** in § 48.2.1.a.

2. When the source is a passive-voice VNC, the resultant locative nounstem occurs in a *possessive*-state NNC only. The possessor pronoun on the NNC results from the transformation of the subject pronoun on the source VNC.

**innāmicōyān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i-n(nāmic-ō-yā-n) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is the place of their being met ~ in the place where they are met [**nāmicōyah**, “they were customarily met”]

**amochiyelōyān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +am-o(chiye-lō-yā-n) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is the place of your (pl) being awaited ~ in the place where you (pl) are awaited [**anchiyelōyah**, “you (pl) were customarily awaited”]

**imalacachōlōyān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i- $\emptyset$ (malaca-ch-ō-lō-yā-n) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is the place of its being revolved ~ in the place where it is revolved; i.e., in all directions around it, in a circle around it; around it [**malacachōlōya**, “it was customarily revolved”]

3. When the source is an impersonal-voice VNC, the resultant locative nounstem occurs in an *absolute*-state NNC only; the impersonality of the source prevents the place of action from being associated with any specific individual.

**tlacualōyān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tla-cua-lō-yā-n) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = in a place where people customarily eat; i.e., in a dining room [**tlacualōya**, “people customarily ate things”]

**tlanamacōyān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tla-namac-ō-yā-n) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = in a place where people customarily sell things; i.e., in a market [**tlanamacōya**, “people customarily sold things”]

**tlacacōyān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tla-cac-ō-yā-n) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = in a place where people customarily hear things; i.e., in a court where cases are heard [**tlacacōya**, “people customarily heard things”]

**onohuayān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (on-o-hua-yā-n) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = in a place where people customarily are recumbent; i.e., in a populated place, in a town [**onohuaya**, “people customarily were recumbent”]

**yelohuayān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ye-lo-hua-yā-n) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = in a place where people customarily are; i.e., in an inhabited place [**yelohuaya**, “people customarily were”]

**miquizcalacohuayān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (miqui-z-cal-ac-o-hua-yā-n) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = at the place/time where/when people enter by the act of dying; i.e., at the door of death [**miquizcalacohuaya**, “people customarily entered by dying”]

**netlālilōyān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ne-tlāl-i-lō-yā-n) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = in a place where people customarily seat themselves; i.e., in a seat [**netlālilōya**, “people customarily seated themselves”]

When a source VNC is built on a **tla**-impersonal verbstem (see § 22.6), the **(-n)-tli-** embeds the imperfect predicate formed on that stem:

**tlaceliyayān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tla-cel-i-ya-yā-n) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = in a place where everything becomes freshly green; i.e., in a pleasant meadow [**tlaceliyaya**, “everything customarily became freshly green”]

A VNC built on an inherently impersonal verbstem simply embeds the nominalized active-voice imperfect-tense predicate into the matrix **(-n)-tli-**. (Contrast this with the formation in subsection 1 above.)

**tōnayān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tōna-yā-n) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = in a place where it is warm; i.e., in the hot country, in the east

*Note 1:* In the instance of (**yohua**), “to become night,” the matrix stem (**-n**)-**tli**- embeds the present-tense active-voice predicate:

**yohuan** = #**θ**-**θ**(**yohua-θ-n**)-**θ**# = at a time when it is night; i.e., at nighttime [The stem (**yohua-yā-n**)-**θ**- is also used.]

*Note 2:* Any of the above locative nounstems can have a varietal formation; for example:

**mōlchihchihualōyān** = #**θ**-**θ**(**mōl-chih-chihua-lō-yā-n**)-**θ**# = in a place where various kinds of sauces are made; i.e., in a kitchen [**<** (**mōl-chih-chihua**), “to make a variety of sauces”]

**nehnehnemohuayān** = #**θ**-**θ**(**neh-neh-nem-o-hua-yā-n**)-**θ**# = in a place where people continually walk; i.e., in a public walk, in a promenade [**<** (**neh-nemi**), “to walk.” The locative NNC built on the simple verb-stem (**nemi**), “to live,” is **nemohuayān**, “in a place where people live”; i.e., “in an inhabited place.”]

*Note 3:* The honorific form of (**-n**)-**tli**- is (**-n-tzin-co**)-**θ**- (concerning the matrix stem (**-co**)-**θ**-, see § 46.7):

**tlacacōyāntzinco** = #**θ**-**θ**(**tla-cac-ō-yā-n-tzin-co**)-**θ**# = in a court (H)

46.5. *The Locative Matrix (-yā-n)-tli-*. The sequence (**-yā-n**)-**tli**- can serve as a matrix for a locative nounstem. It was possibly created in view of the formation in § 46.4.1 in analogy with the (**-n**)-**tli**- formation in § 46.3.1.b. The active-voice perfective core is nominalized to serve as embed. The NNC built on the compound stem is in the *possessive* state, with the possessor pronoun resulting from the transformation of the subject pronoun of the source VNC. In a number of instances, NNCs formed on this kind of stem are variants of those formed according to § 46.4.1. Perfective stems ending in /w/, /k/, /t/, /ʔ/, and /n/ are prime candidates for the embed subposition (compare this with what happens in the formation of the perfective patientive nounstem in § 39.1).

**nocatyān** = #**θ**-**θ**+**n**-**o**(**ca-t-yā-n**)-**θ**-**θ**# = it is my place of being; i.e., it is my place/seat ~ in my place/seat

**īmochiuhyān** = #**θ**-**θ**+**i**-**θ**(**m-o-chiuh-yā-n**)-**θ**-**θ**# = it is the time of its making itself; i.e., it is its growing time/season ~ in its growing time/season [See **īmochihuayān** in § 46.4.1 concerning the **m-o** of the stem.]

**nīxcohyān** = #**θ**-**θ**+**n**-**θ**(**īx-cō-h-yā-n**)-**θ**-**θ**# = it is my manner of acting on my own initiative ~ on my personal initiative, by my own free will, of my own accord, by my own doing [**<** \*(**īx-co-ā**). According to Carochi, NNCs built on (**īx-co-h-yā-n**)-**θ**- are more common than those built on (**īx-co-h-ti-yā-n**)-**θ**- in § 46.4.1. When modifying an NNC, adverbs built on the stem can be translated into English as adjectives; e.g., **nīxcohyān notlanēxtīl**, “it is my personal invention.”]

**īmonāmicyān ilhuicaātīl** = #**θ**-**θ**+**i**-**θ**(**m-o-nāmic-yā-n**)-**θ**-**θ**# = it is a place of the meeting of the seas, i.e., it is a strait ~ in a strait

**īmonāmicyān in tlālli** = it is the place of the meeting of lands, i.e., it is an isthmus ~ on an isthmus

**nozāliuhyān** = #**θ**-**θ**+**n**-**o**(**zāl-i-uh-yā-n**)-**θ**-**θ**# = it is my becoming glued place; i.e., it is my joint, they are my joints ~ in/at my joint/joints

*Note 1:* At times a perfective core embedded in (**-yā-n**)-**tli**- has an incorporated adverbial particle or nounstem. The NNC built on this kind of stem is in the absolutive state (compare § 46.4.1, *note*).

**nēmiuhyān** = #**θ**-**θ**(**nēm-i-uh-yā-n**)-**θ**# = in an empty place, in a vacant place, in an uninhabited place, in a deserted place

**cemmanyān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cem-man-yā-n)□- $\emptyset$ # = for all time, forever [This is a variant of **cemmaniyān** in § 46.4.1, *note.*]

**nēmmanyān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (nēm-man-yā-n)□- $\emptyset$ # = during nonfestival time, during ordinary days [This is a variant of **nēmmaniyān** in § 46.4.1, *note.*]

*Note 2:* The NNC **nēnyān**, # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (nēn-yā-n)□- $\emptyset$ #, “in vain, to no avail,” is exceptional in that it is not in the possessive state. It presupposes the unattested verbstem \*(**nēmi**), “to become useless/futile/ineffectual,” which may lie behind the unattested imperfective patientive nounstem \*(**nēmi**)-**tl-**, from which would come the adverbialized NNC **nēn**, “in vain, to no avail, uselessly,” (see § 44.5.3). The two NNCs, **nēnyān** and **nēn**, are synonymous.

*Note 3:* An impersonal **tlā** verbstem embedded in (-yā-n)-**tl-** occurs in an absolutive-state NNC:

**tlānēzyān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tlā-nēz-yā-n)□- $\emptyset$ # = in a/the place of brightness [ < (**tlā-nēci**), “(for things in general) to appear,” i.e., “for dawn to come” < (**nēci**), “to appear”]

46.6. *The Matrix Nounstem (-tlah)-tli-*. The nounstem (-**tlah**)-**tli-** serves as the matrix in a compound locative nounstem signifying “place where there is an abundance of . . .” or “place characterized by. . .” The compound stem may form either an absolutive- or a possessive-state NNC. The subject pronoun of this NNC may be either “normal” or adverbialized. [In the following examples, when the subject pronoun is adverbialized, the translation ignores the true dimensions of the NNC.]

**xōchitlah** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (xō-chi-tlah)□- $\emptyset$ # = it is a place of abundant flowers; i.e., it is a garden [The *num*<sup>1</sup> morph may also be sounded: **xōchitlah<sup>1</sup>tli**, # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (xō-chi-tlah)**tli**- $\emptyset$ #, “it is a garden.”]

**xōchitlah** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (xō-chi-tlah)□- $\emptyset$ # = in a place of abundant flowers; i.e., in a garden

**noxōchitlah** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(xō-chi-tlah) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is my place of abundant flowers; it is my garden ~ in my place of abundant flowers; in my garden

**cuauhtlah** = it is a place of abundant trees; i.e., it is a forest/grove ~ in a place of abundant trees; i.e., in a forest/grove

**xāllah** = it is a place of abundant sand; i.e., it is a sand pit, it is sandy ground ~ in a sand pit, on sandy ground [// + /λ/ = [ll]]

The NNC may be formed on a varietal stem.

**xohxōchitlah** = it is a place of diverse kinds of flowers, it is a garden ~ in a place of diverse kinds of flowers, in a garden [Also possible, **xohxōchitlah<sup>1</sup>tli**, “it is a garden.”]

**huihhuitztlah** = it is a place characterized by different kinds of thorns ~ in a very thorny place

**ohōztōtlah** = it is a place of many various caves ~ in a place of many various caves

The affective form of (-**tlah**)-**tli-** is (-**tlah-tzin-co**)-□- or (-**tlah-tōn-co**)-□-.

**cuauhtlah<sup>1</sup>tōnco** = in a small grove

46.7. *The Matrix Nounstem (-co)-□- ~ (-c)-tli-*. A highly frequent kind of locative NNC is built on a compound stem that has (-**co**)-□- or its variant (-**c**)-**tli-** as its matrix. Although they are variants of the same morpheme, (-**co**)-□- apparently cannot appear in an absolutive-state NNC that has a nonadverbialized subject pronoun, while (-**c**)-**tli-** can. Like (-**n**)-**tli-**, this (-**co**)-□- (-**c**)-**tli-** means “place” but refers to a more restricted area, a specific location. Pairs

taking (**cā-n**)-**tli**- and (**-c**)-**tli**- exist, however, with a synonymous translation value. [The translation of the following examples ignores their NNC construction.]

**inelhuayōcān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + $\bar{i}$ - $\emptyset$ (nel-hua-yō-cā-n) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # } = at the place of its root  
**inelhuayōc** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + $\bar{i}$ - $\emptyset$ (nel-hua-yō-c) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # }  
**īpanocān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + $\bar{i}$ - $\emptyset$ (panō-cā-n) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # } = everywhere; usually, generally  
**īpanoc** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + $\bar{i}$ (panō-c) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # }

The choice between the shapes (**-co**)- and (**-c**)- depends upon the preceding sound: (**-co**)- embeds a nounstem ending in a consonant; (**-c**)-**tli**- embeds one ending in a vowel. There is only one exception to this rule: the nounstem (**tle**)-**tl**-, “fire,” although ending in a vowel, is embedded in (**-co**)-□-:

(**tle-co**)-□- = in the place of a/the fire; i.e., in a/the fire

The following are a few examples of compound nounstems formed with (**-co**)-□- and (**-c**)-**tli**- in the matrix subposition:

(**ā-mēya-l-co**)-□- = at a place of a thing that has welled up in the form of water; i.e., at a spring, at a fountain

(**ā-l-tepē-yōl-lo-h-co**)-□- = at/in a place of the heart of a town; i.e., at/in the center of a town/city

(**te-coma-c**)-□- = in the place of a jar; i.e., in a jar

(**cōmi-c**)-□- = in the place of a bowl; i.e., in a bowl

(**te-pān-cama-c**)-□- = in the place of a wall-mouth; i.e., in an opening in a wall, in a hole in a wall

(**cal-me-ca-c**)-□- = in the place of a rope of houses/rooms; i.e., in the/a school [This was a monastery-like school where the sons of nobles and outstandingly qualified sons of commoners led austere, rigorously disciplined lives throughout most of their childhood and youth, being trained in religion, astrology, calendar reckoning, dream interpretation, history, literature, rhetoric, and correct social behavior.]

An NNC built on a compound stem having (**-co**)-□- or (**-c**)-**tli**- as matrix may be in either the absolutive or the possessive state.

**īmāc** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + $\bar{i}$ - $\emptyset$ (mā-c) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = at/in the place of his hand; i.e., in his hand

**tōpco** = in a sheathlike case

**tānahco** = in a basket

**tzonhuāzco** = in a snare [See § 58.1.]

**tlatzonco** = at s.th.’s end, at the end

**īyōlic** = slowly, little by little, calmly, carefully, cautiously [This NNC is the equivalent of an English adverb of manner. The other possessor pronouns, although not common, may be used: **noyōlic**, **moyōlic**, etc. Also, the absolutive-state form **yōlic** can be found. The embed subposition is filled by the impersonal patientive nounstem (**yōli**)-**tl**-, “life,” from (**yōli-hua**) (compare **īyōlipan** in § 47.3.3). Incidentally, Molina renders **moyōlic** as “aha (said on finding s.o. doing s.th. evil),” but a better translation might be “Easy there!”]

**yohuac** = in the night, at night [Notice the temporal meaning. Compare **yohuan** in § 46.4.3, *note*. The embed here is the imperfective patientive nounstem (**yohua**)-**tl**-, “night.”]

**ahco** = #**θ**-**θ**(**ah-co**)**□**-**#** = at a nonplace, at no specific place; i.e., above, up, upward [The negative particle **ah#** serves as an “embed” here. Since a possessive-state formation is not possible, another potential candidate for embed, the nounstem (**ah**)-, an embedding form of (**ā**)-**tl**-, “crown of the head,” is not acceptable. Compare this NNC with **ahhuic**, “in no specific direction,” in § 47.1.4. Also, contrast it with **ahcān**, “at no place,” in § 46.3.2.a; that is, the notion of “nonplace” differs from that of “no place.”]

The matrix stem (**-c**)-**tl**- is used to form temporal nounstems that occur in a possessive-state NNC. The stem in the embed subposition is itself a compound stem, being built on the matrix stem (**-yō**)-**tl**- which has as its embed a stem with a temporal meaning. The possessor pronoun on the NNC refers to the event from whose perspective the time relation is seen. The following NNCs offer a few examples:

**iyāluayōc** = #**θ**-**θ**+**i**-**θ**(**yāl-hua-yō-c**)**θ**-**θ**# = on the previous day

**imōztlayōc** = on the next day [But the collocation **oc imōztlayōc** is translated “on the day before.”]

**ihūiptlayōc** = two days later

**iyēilhuiyōc** = three days later

**zan iquēzquilhuiyōc** = only a few days later

**icenziuhyōc** = one year later [Traditionally spelled **icexiuhyoc**.]

**iyēxiuhyōc** = three years later

A compound stem formed on (**-yō**)-**tl**- and expressing a nontemporal notion can serve as embed to (**-c**)-**tl**- as matrix:

**itzonyōc** = at its top, on its summit [**<** (**tzon-yō**)-**tl**-, “upper end. As in **tepētl itzonyōc** or **itzonyōc in tepētl**, “on the mountain’s summit.” See **itzonyo** in § 39.3.4.]

**imecayōc** = at the place of his lineage; i.e., along with his blood kin [**<** (**me-ca-yō**)-**tl**-, “lineage, consanguinity”]

**incalpōllōc** = in the place of their (shared) clanhood; i.e., along with their clan members [**<** (**cal-pōl-lō**)-**tl**-, “relationship that pertains to a clan or to a town division/ward/barrio”]

**icallōc** = in the place of his household; i.e., along with his household [**<** (**cal-lō**)-**tl**-, “household”]

**icalaquiyānyōc** = at its entryway [The compound locative nounstem formed on (**-n**)-**tl**- as matrix is embedded in (**-yō**)-**tl**-, and the resultant stem becomes the embed of (**-c**)-**tl**-. The sequence **-n-yō-c**- expresses the idea of “the place of the inherently owned place of. . . .”]

A compound stem formed on the matrix stem (**-c**)-**tl**- can occur in a nonadverbialized NNC; for example:

**māxactli** = #**θ**-**θ**(**māxa-c**)**tl**-**θ**# = it is a place of bifurcation [The adverbialized NNC is, of course, **māxac**, “at a/the place of bifurcation”; possessive-state example,

**nomāxac**, “it is my crotch ~ at my crotch.” Notice also **āmāxactli**, “it is a/the place where the stream/river divides”; **āmāxac**, “at a/the place where the stream/river divides.”]

A compound stem formed on the matrix stem **(-c)-tli-** can occupy the embed subposition in a larger compound stem:

**īmāccuauh** = **#θ-θ+i-θ(mā-c-cuauh)θ-θ#** = it is his in-the-hand staff; i.e., it is his obsidian-bladed sword [**(mā-c-cuauh)-tl-**; there is a variant stem, **(mā-cuauh)-tl-**, “a for-the-hand club/stick.”]

**nicācāna** = **#ni-θ+c-θ(ā-c-āna)θ+θ-θ#** = I take it from in the water [As in **nicācāna** in **ācalli**, “I take the dugout from in the water.”]

If compound nounstems have a relational stem as matrix, an affective morph can either precede or follow the relational stem. When one precedes, nothing unusual happens (e.g., **(xāl-te-tōn-tlah)-□-**, “at a/the place of abundant small pebbles”), but when one follows, the construction presented in § 45.1, *note*, goes into effect (e.g., **(cuauh-tlah-tōn-co)-□-**, “in a/the small place of abundant trees,” i.e., “in a/the small grove”).

As in the case of other relational nounstems, when **(-co)-□-** or **(-c)-tli-** serves as the matrix stem there is nothing unusual about a compound stem with an affective morph before the relational-stem matrix.

**yohuatzinco** = **#θ-θ(yohua-tzin-co)□-θ#** = at the time of the little night; i.e., in the small of the night/just before dawn/at early daybreak [**(yohua-tzin)-tli-**, “the small of the night”]

**noxahcaltōnco** = **#θ-θ+n-o(xah-cal-tōn-co)θ-θ#** = at my little/lowly grass hut [**(xah-cal-tōn)-tli-**, “little/humble grass hut”]

**tepānzolco** = **#θ-θ(te-pān-zol-co)□-θ#** = at the dilapidated wall(s) [**(te-pān-zol)-li-**, “dilapidated wall”]

**calpōlco** = **#θ-θ(cal-pōl-co)□-θ#** = at/in the town quarter, at/in the barrio [**(cal-pōl)-li-**, “town quarter/barrio”]

Also, when an affective morph *follows* **(-c)-tli-**, the procedure of § 45.1, *note*, remains in effect; i.e., **-c-tzin-co** remains **-c-tzin-co**.

**momāctzinco** = **#θ-θ+m-o(mā-c-tzin-co)θ-θ#** = at/in the place of your (H) hand(s); i.e., in your (H) hand(s) [**momāc**, **#θ-θ+m-o(mā-c)θ-θ#** = “at/in the place of your hand(s)”; i.e., “in your hand(s)”]

But when an affective morph *follows* **(-co)-□-**, the situation is different. The **(-co)-□-** must be replaced with **-□-** before being embedded in the affective stem; i.e., **\*-co-tzin-co** becomes **-□-tzin-co**. The resultant stem therefore has only one **(-co)-□-**, the final one.

**teohcaltzinco** = **#θ-θ(teoh-cal-□-tzin-co)□-θ#** = at/in the place of the temple (H) [**(teoh-cal-co)-□-**, “at/in the place of the temple”]

As can be seen, this is unfortunate, because often there is no way to know whether the embed is an affective stem or a nonaffective one (for instance, the above example could just as easily have come from **(teoh-cal-tzin)-tli-**, “small temple”).

46.8. *The Seeming “Compound-Matrix” Relational Nounstems.* Like two other relational nounstems that will be mentioned later (see § 47.2.2 and § 47.3.2), the nounstem **(-co)-□- ~ (-c)-tli-** can occur in cooperation with a few stems to form what seems to be a compound matrix stem somewhat similar in structure to **(cā-n)-□-** in § 46.3.2.b. The list of stems that seem to embed so tightly with **(-co)-□- ~ (-c)-tli-** includes **(nāhua)-tli-**, “clearly audible sound,” and a few simple stems naming body parts (primarily, **(ihtl)-tli- ~ (ih-te)-tli-**, “stomach,” **(īx)-tli-**, “face, eye,” **(tepotz)-tli-**, “back,” **(tzo)-tli-**, “hair,” **(cuāi)-tli-**, “head,” **(tēn)-tli-**, “lip,” **(tzīn)-tli-**, “fundament,” **(nacaz)-tli-**, “ear,” **(yaca)-tli-**, “nose”) as well as a few compound stems (such as **(īx-cuāi)-tli-**, “forehead,” and **(yōl-lo-h)-tli-**, “heart”).

Although grammarians (from Olmos and Molina down to the present) have consistently taken sequences such as **-nāhuac** and **-īxco** as unified items (calling them “compound prepositions” or “compound postpositions”), the embed-plus-matrix combination they display is structurally the same as that found in the compound stems in § 46.7; that is, the compound stem consisting of **(-co)-□- ~ (-c)-tli-** as matrix can have either a simple stem or a compound stem in the embed subposition. The following three NNCs illustrate the point.

Simple-stemmed embed:

**nonacazco = #θ-θ+n-o(nacaz-co)θ-θ# = at/in the place of my ear/ears; i.e., at/in my ear/ears**  
[< **(nacaz)-tli-**, “ear”]

Compound-stemmed embed:

**calnacazco = #θ-θ(cal-nacaz-co)□-θ# = in/at the place of the house corner/corners** [ < **(cal-nacaz)-tli-**, “house ear,” i.e., “(exterior) corner of a house”]

**nocalnacazco = #θ-θ+n-o(cal-nacaz-co)θ-θ# = in/at the place of my house corner/corners;**  
i.e., in/at my house corner/corners

The structure of such stems is, then, not at all similar to that of **(cā-n)-□-** in § 46.3.2.b. No “compound matrix” is involved. Nevertheless, in view of the fact that these embed-and-matrix combinations have been somewhat lexicalized (although this may merely be a matter of translational mirage), it is convenient to list them by means of a simple-stemmed-embed format. The following are among the most common.

1. **(nāhua-c)-tli-** = place of an audible sound; i.e., an audible distance; i.e., proximity, vicinity [ < **(nāhua)-tli-**, “clear, audible sound.”]

a. With simple-stemmed embed:

**tonāhuac = in/at a place of our audible sound; i.e., in earshot of us, in our vicinity,**  
near us

**tlanāhuac = in the vicinity of s.th.; i.e., nearby**

**cuahuitl ināhuac = near the tree/trees** [**Cuahuitl** is a supplementary possessor in cross-reference to its head, the nuclear possessor **ī-θ** of **ināhuac**.]

The compound nounstem **(nāhua-c)-tli-** may be used as an incorporated object in a preterit-agentive NNC of ownership:



**nāhuaqueh** = #~~θ~~-~~θ~~(nāhua-qu-eh-~~θ~~)□-~~θ~~# = he is a possessor of vicinity [Compare § 45.4.2.]

b. With a compound-stemmed embed:

**cuahñāhuac** = in the vicinity of trees, near the trees

**nocalñāhuac** = in the vicinity of my house, near my house

**nīxnāhuac** = in the vicinity of my eyes; i.e., within my sight

The compound stem can occur in a nonadverbialized NNC; for example:

**cemanāhuactli imachiyo** = it is an image/representation of the world; i.e., it is a map/globe of the world [< (**cem-a-nāhua-c**)-**tli**-, “world.” The meaning of the embed is uncertain since the first (**a**)- has no length and therefore is not (**ā**)-**tli**-, “water,” as is usually assumed. Notice also the curious formation **cematonāhuac**, “all around our vicinity,” which has the possessor pronoun **t-o**, “of us,” “our,” included inside it.]

The honorific form of (**nāhua-c**)-**tli**- is (**nāhua-c-tzin-co**)-□-.

2. (**ih̄ti-c**)-**tli**- ~ (**ih̄te-c**)-**tli**- = stomach location, i.e., the interior part, the inner place, the inside [< (**ih̄ti**)-**tli**- ~ (**ih̄te**)-**tli**-, “stomach.” The initial supportive [i] can also appear as a real /i/.]

a. With simple-stemmed embed:

**tēih̄tic** = on the inside of s.o., inside s.o.

**tlahtic** = on the inside of s.th., inside s.th.

**nihtic** = inside me [Notice **n**-□ instead of **n-o**, despite the fact that a supportive [i] is in stem-initial position.]

**Itlah tih̄tic ticnemītiah.** = We cause s.th. to dwell in our insides; i.e., We mull s.th. over to ourselves.

b. With compound-stemmed embed:

**calih̄tic** = on the inside of a/the house, inside a/the house

**nocalih̄tic** = on the inside of my house, inside my house

**āih̄tic** = out in the water, out in a/the gulf

**āih̄tictli** ~ **āih̄tectlī** = it is a/the gulf

The honorific stem of (**ih̄ti-c**)-**tli**- is (**ih̄ti-c-tzin-co**)-□-.

3. (**ix-co**)-□- = face location, eyes location; i.e., the visual presence, the presence, position in front of; surface location [< (**ix**)-**tli**-, “face, eyes”]

a. With simple-stemmed embed:

**tēixco** = at the place of s.o.’s face/eyes; i.e., in s.o.’s presence, before s.o.

**tlaixco** = on the surface of s.th.; in front of s.th.; on the surface; up front

**īxco** = in his/her/its presence; before him/her/it [Traditionally written **ixco**.]

**tōnatiuh īxco** = in the presence of the sun; facing the sun; i.e., in the east

- b. With compound-stemmed embed:

**calixco** = in front of the house

**nocalixco** = in front of my house

**ātlixco** = #θ-θ(ā-tl-ix-cō)-□-θ# = on the surface of the water, above the water; facing the water [The formation is irregular because of the retention of the *num*<sup>1</sup> morph **tl**; compare the verbstem (ā-tl-ī), “to drink water,” in § 30.3.1, *note*.]

The honorific form of (ix-co)-□- is (ix-□-tzin-co)-□- (see § 46.7).

4. (tepotz-co)-□- = back location; i.e., back, rear [< (tepotz)-tli-, “back”]

- a. With simple-stemmed embed:

**tētepotzco** = at s.o.’s back, behind s.o.

**flatepotzco** = at the rear of s.th., behind s.th., out back

**notepotzco** = at my back, behind me

- b. With compound-stemmed embed:

**caltepotzco** = at the rear of the house, behind the house

**nocaltepotzco** = at the rear of my house, behind my house

The honorific form of (tepotz-co)-□- is (tepotz-□-tzin-co)-□- (see § 46.7).

5. (tzon-co)-□- = hair location; i.e., a/the upper part; top; end

- a. With simple-stemmed embed:

**flatzonco** = at the end/tip of s.th.; at/on the upper part; at the tip

**itzonco in cuahuītl** = at the top of a/the tree, in the highest part of a/the tree

- b. With compound-stemmed embed:

**cuauhuātztzonco** = at the end of a/the dried stake [Also spelled **cuahuātztzonco**.]

**nocuauhuātztzonco** = at/on the upper part of my dried stake [Also spelled **nocuahuatztzonco**.]

The honorific form of (tzon-co)-□- is (tzon-□-tzin-co)-□- (see § 46.7).

6. (yōl-lo-h-co)-□- = heart location; i.e., middle part, middle

- a. With simple-stemmed embed:

**iyōllohco** = in its middle

- b. With compound-stemmed embed:

**āyōllohco** = in the middle of the water; in a/the gulf; on the open ocean

**nomācpalyōllohco** = in the middle of the palm of my hand, in the palm of my hand

The honorific form of (yōl-lo-h-co)-□- is (yōl-lo-h-□-tzin-co)-□- (see § 46.7).

46.9. *The Relational Nounstem (-ca)-□-*. The matrix-only relational nounstem (-ca)-□- means “interval, intervening space or time; distance.” It embeds the quantitative pronominal stems of

§ 16.8 and § 16.9, the stem **\*(huē)-tl-**, “big” (in the glottalized shape **(hueh-)**- (see § 35.8.2)), and a few unique stems.

**(a-chi-ca)-□-** = for a short time; often, frequently; at a short distance [Notice the following collocations: **zan achica**, “very often”; **zan cuēl achica**, “for a very brief time still.”

Also, **achica cāhuitl**, “for a short time.” The NNC is frequently written **achchica**.]

**(a-ch-ca)-□-** = often, frequently [A variant of the above.]

**(a-chih-tōn-ca)-□-** = in a very short time, soon

**(a-chih-tzin-ca)-□-** = in a very short time, soon [The same notion is expressed by **achih-tzin cāhuitl**.]

**(ix-qui-ch-ca)-□-** = at the full interval; i.e., up to a given place

**(quē-x-qui-ch-ca)-□-** = at how much intervening space or time? I.e., how far? at what distance? at how great a distance? for how long? until when? [Notice the collocation: **oc quēxquichca** “for how long yet? how much longer? how far still? how much farther?”]

**(ne-ch-ca)-□-** = at a small interval; i.e., there near here (pointing to a place that can be seen).

[Notice the collocation **oc ōn ye nechca**, “in the recent past, in days gone by.”]

**(na-ch-ca)-□-** = at an unspecifiable interval; i.e., over there, off in the distance; in the beyond, off in the hereafter

**(hueh-ca)-□-** = at a big intervening space (between two things) [The affinity stem **(huē-hueh-ca)-□-** and the distributive stem **(hueh-hueh-ca)-□-** are both translated “at big intervening spaces (between more than two things),” but they differ in meaning according to the difference implicit in affinity and variety.]

*Note 1:* There is also a stem **(a-chi-c)-□-** that means “in a short time, soon,” with collocations such as **oc achic**, “for a short time yet,” **oc cuēl achic**, “for a very brief time still.” Apparently, this matrix stem **(-c)-□-** is a variant of the **(-ca)-□-** stem and is not the locative stem **(-c)-tli-** of § 46.8.]

*Note 2:* The **achic** given in Note 1 should not be confused with the collocation **achi ic**, which is always written with elision as **achic**. It serves as a principal clause (normally followed by the adjunct **in**), translatable as “it makes (or would make) sense (for/about/that/if) . . .” or “it is (or would be) reasonable/right (for/about/if) . . .” The following example is one given by Carochi: a person bumps into something, knocking it over and breaking it, and then claims he is not to blame. A bystander retorts, **Achi ic in tlā tixpopoyōtl**, “That would make sense if you were blind.” It also serves in sentences of contrast, such as this one given by Carochi: **Achi ic in tehhuātl, ca ōitēmicitih; ca motlahtlacōl in tictzacua; auh in nehhuātl aic mā nel zan cē pinacatl nomāc miqui**, “It makes sense for you [to be in prison], you have killed someone; it is your crime for which you are paying, but as for me, never has even a single beetle died by my hand.”

46.10. *The Directional Nounstem (-pa)-□-*. The relational nounstem **(-pa)-□-**, meaning “place” or, more frequently, “direction,” can embed particles or nounstems. The stem is often translated “at/in/to/from the place of” or “to/in/from the direction of.”

**(ni-pa)-□-** = at this place; nearby, near at hand [See **(ni-cā-n)-□-**, “at this place/here,” in § 46.3.2.b, where **(ni)-** also has the meaning of proximity.]

**(nē-pa)-□-** = in that place, there (pointing to a place that cannot be seen); formerly, in past times [Contrast this with **(ne-ch-ca)-□-** in § 46.9.]

**(ōm-pa)-□-** = at that place, there; to/from there [Compare **(on-cā-n)-□-**, “at that place, there,” in § 46.3.2.b. Notice the difference in length on the /o/ in the two stems; **(ōm)-**

is the stem of the demonstrative pronoun of § 16.5 and **on** is the directional/locative prefix of § 8.1.1. (Its unexpected use here is apparently due to its adverbial nature; i.e., as an adverb, it is allowed to modify an adverb.)]

- (**pani-pa**)-□- = in a surface direction; i.e., toward the surface; toward the outside, outside  
 (**tlani-pa**)-□- = in a lower direction; i.e., downward  
 (**ix-qui-ch-ca-pa**)-□- = up to/from a given point [See § 46.9.]  
 (**ilhui-ca-pa**)-□- = from/to the sky; from/to heaven [< (**ilhui-ca**)-**tl**-, “sky, heaven”]  
 (**yē-p-pa**)-□- = before now, previously [This is a pronunciational variant of (**yē-uh-pa**)-□-, since /w/ + /p/ > [pp]; (**yē-uh**)-**tli**- is the perfective patientive nounstem of (**yē-hua**) (see § 44.3.10). Notice the temporal meaning of (-**pa**)-□-.]

The nounstem (**īcan**)-**tli**-, “back, rear,” is special in that it can occur only (1) as an embed for (-**pa**)-□- in a possessive-state NNC or (2) as an incorporated adverb in a compound verbstem. In the first usage only option 1 is possible. As can be seen in the following examples, the locational sense of (-**pa**)-□- is stronger than the directional one:

- tēīcampa** = at s.o.’s rear, behind s.o.’s back, behind s.o.  
**tlāicampa** = at s.th.’s rear, behind s.th.; beyond the mountains  
**mīcampa** = #**θ-θ+m**-□(**īcam-pa**)**θ-θ**# = at your rear, behind you  
**īcampa** = at his/her/its back, behind him/her/it [Traditionally spelled **icampa**.]  
**zan īcampa īn** = immediately after this [The pronominal NNC **īn** serves as the supplementary possessor to the nuclear possessor pronoun **ī-θ**.]

The following is an example of (**īcan**)-**tli**- incorporated as an adverb in a compound verbstem:

- niquīcanihtoa** = #**ni-θ+qu-θ(īcan-ih-t-o-a)**θ+θ-**θ**# = I speak (ill) of him behind his back

The matrix nounstem (-**pa**)-□- can also embed compound nounstems formed on other relational nounstems:

- (**cā-m-pa**)-□- = where? from/to where? [One would expect this compound stem to have only a directional meaning, but it is frequently used with merely a locative one.]  
 (**ne-ch-ca-pa**)-□- = to/from/through a place nearby [pointing to a place that can be seen]  
 (**hueh-ca-pa**)-□- = from afar, from far away  
 (**ah-co-pa**)-□- = upward  
 (**tlāuh-co-pa**)-□- = from the place of red ochre, i.e., from the east [This is the form given in Molina. In the *FC* the form of the stem is (**tlap-co-pa**)-□-. Olmos says the **tlapco** means “in the coffer.”]  
 (**āx-θ-cā-m-pa**)-□- = then/afterward/from then on, with time [**Zan āxcāmpa**, “immediately, right away”]  
 (**tlacō-ch-cal-co-pa**)-□- = in the direction of the armory  
 (**quiy-ā-hua-c-pa**)-□- = from out of the doorway, toward the outside of the house [< (**quiy-ā-hua**)-**tl**-, “entrance, doorway”]  
 (**cal-ihti-c-pa**)-□- = toward the interior of a/the house  
**tomācpa** = #**θ-θ+t-o(mā-c-pa)**θ-θ# = from in our hands, from between our hands

A numeral stem may be embedded in (**cā-m-pa**)-□-; for example:

(**ō-c-cā-m-pa**)-□- = from two places, toward two places

(**ēx-ca-m-pa**)-□- = from three places, toward three places

(**necoc-cā-m-pa**)-□- = from both sides

A gross-count formation (see § 31.1) can be used:

**nāuhcāmpaixtin** = #**θ-θ**(**nāuh-cā-m-pa-ix**)**ti-n**# = in all four directions

**necocāmpaixtin** = from both sides

At times the sequence (**-co-pa**)-□- seems to be different from the combination of (**-co**)-□- plus (**-pa**)-□-, since it is found after vowels (where only (**-c-pa**)-□- would be expected). One finds, for example, both the expected **ilhuicacpa** and the unexpected **ilhuicacopa** (both translatable by “heavenward” or “from heaven”). The sequence (**-co-pa**)-□- is even found embedding a compound stem formed on (**-c**)-**tli**- as matrix (as, for example, **ilhuicacopa**, “heavenward/from heaven”). Frequently, (**-co-pa**)-□- is equivalent to “by means of,” “because of,” or “with” (although these may be construed as merely translational versions of the notion of “from within,” that is, of (**-co**)-□- plus (**-pa**)-□-).

**ahtlacopa** = by means of a spear thrower, with a spear thrower [**<** (**ah-tla**)-**tli**-, “spear thrower/throwing slat”]

**nopināhuilizcopa** = because of my shame [**<** (**pīn-ā-hui-liz**)-**tli**-, “action of becoming ashamed”]

**noyōlohcopa** = with all my heart, gladly, willingly [**<** (**yōl-lo-h**)-**tli**-, “heart”]

**nocualāncācopa** = with anger, in anger, because of my anger [**<** (**cuāl-ā-n-cā-yō**)-**tl**-, “the state of having become angry.” Concerning the loss of (**-yō**)-**tl**-, see § 39.9.]

**yōlcēuhcācopa** = with patience, with kindheartedness [**<** (**yōl-cē-uh-θ-cā-yō**)-**tl**-, “the state of one who has become cool at the heart.” Again, for the loss of (**-yō**)-**tl**-, see § 39.9.]

In certain collocations the (**-pa**)-□- can have a variable position.

**cāmpa nel** ~ **cān nelpa** = where in truth? from/to where in truth?

The honorific form of (**-pa**)-□- is (**-pa-tzin-co**)-□-:

**mihcīpatzinco** = #**θ-θ**+**m**-□(**ihti-c-pa-tzin-co**)**θ-θ**# = from in your (H) belly/womb

**iyōlohcopatzinco** = #**θ-θ**+**i**-**θ**(**yōl-lo-h-co-pa-tzin-co**)**θ-θ**# = with all his/her (H) heart

46.11. *The Frequency Nounstem (-pa)-□-*. The matrix-only nounstem of § 46.10 has a homonym, (**-pa**)-□-, translated “occasion, occasions, times.” The two nounstems can never be confused, however, since this one embeds only a quantitative or numeral nounstem. The resultant compound stem appears in an adverbialized NNC of frequency.

**ceppa** = on one occasion, one time, once [Note the exceptional assimilation: /m/ + /p/ > [pp].]

**ōppa** = on two occasions, two times, twice [Again, /m/ + /p/ > [pp].]

**ēxpa** = three times [Concerning /y/ > [š], see § 2.13.3.]

**nāppa** = four times [/w/ + /p/ > [pp].]

**mahtlācpa oncē** = eleven times

**mācuilpa ixquich** = five times as much

**miecpa** = on many occasions, many times

**izquipa** = on as many occasions, as many times

**mochipa** = on all occasions, every time, always

**quēzquipa** = on how many occasions? how many times?

**ahmō zan quēzquipa** = no few times

**ahmō tlapōhualpa ~ ahmō zan tlapōhualpa** = innumerable times

**cēceppa** = every time

**ohōppa** = on each two occasions, each two times; two times each

**mahtlahtlācpa omehēxpa** = thirteen times each, each thirteen times

**oc ceppa** = on one more occasion, another time, once more

**achtopa** = on the first occasion, the first time [Also, **acachtopa**, **yacachtopa**, **acattopa**, and **yacattopa**. See § 44.6.]

**iyohpa** = on a single occasion [The embed is the perfective impatientive nounstem \*(**iyō-h**)-**tli-**; compare **iyoh** in § 44.3.11. The NNC is always preceded by either **zan**, **zā**, or **quin**; e.g., **zan iyohpa**, “only once,” **zā iyohpa**, “only this one time and no more,” **quin iyohpa**, “for the first and only time.”]

46.12. *The Relational Nounstems (nāl)-li- and (chi)-□-*. Two relational nounstems are peculiar in that they each embed a “favorite” nounstem and are rarely or never found with any other.

1. The nounstem (**nāl**)-**li-**, “the far bank, the other side,” embeds only the stem (**ā**)-**tl-**, “water.” It is frequently translated “beyond” or “across”:

**ānāl** = on the other side of the water, beyond the water, on the far shore

The compound nounstem can also occur in a nonadverbialized NNC:

**ānālli** = it is the far shore

The compound stem can also be embedded in a locative compound with (-**co**)-□- as matrix:

**ānālco** = #**θ-θ**(**ā-nāl-co**)□-**θ**# = at a place on the far shore

**ānālcopa** = to/from the far shore

While (**nāl**)-**li-** cannot appear in a simple-stemmed NNC, it easily occurs as an incorporated adverb in compound verbstems; for example:

(**nāl-quīza**) = to come out on the other side, to pass completely through

**tlā-(nāl-quīz-θ-cā-caqui)** = to hear s.th. through and through, i.e., to understand s.th. perfectly

(**nāl-tōna**) = to be clear and bright throughout, to be transparent

2. The relational nounstem (**chi**)-□-, “direction toward,” has the stem (**tlāl**)-**li-**, “ground,” as its favorite embed:

**tlālchi** = toward the ground; groundward, downward

**tlālchipa** = #**θ-θ**(**tlāl-chi-pa**)□-**θ**# = toward the ground

Only on rare occasions does one find **(chi)-□-** with another stem as embed:

**ātēnchi = #θ-θ(ā-tēn-chi)□-θ#** = down toward the shore, down toward the beach

46.13. *Another Directional Nounstem.* A few nounstems referring to body parts can be embedded in the matrix-only stem **(-ic)-□-**, which is translated “downward direction of.” The resultant compound nounstem can occur in absolutive-state NNCs:

**tzonic = #θ-θ(tzon-ic)□-θ#** = with the hair in a downward direction, headfirst, upside down [**< (tzon)-tli-**, “hair.”]

**nacacic = #θ-θ(nacic-ic)□-θ#** = with one ear in a downward direction, with a side of the head turned downward [**< (nacaz)-tli-**, “ear”]

**ixic = #θ-θ(ix-ic)□-θ#** = with the face turned downward, face down [**< (ix)-tli-**, “face, eye”]

The following examples show the compound stems of these NNCs used as embeds in compound verbstems:

**tla-(tzon-ic-cuepa)** = to turn s.th. upside down

**m-o-(nacac-ic-tēca)** = to lie down on one side

**(nacac-ic-on-o)** = to be lying on one’s side

**tē-(ix-ic-quetza)** = to push s.o. making him fall on his face

46.14. *The Relational Nounstem (teuh)-□-*. The matrix-only relational nounstem **(teuh)-□-**, “similarity, resemblance,” is translated “in the manner of,” or “like.” It is used to create adverbialized NNCs of manner.

**teteuh = #θ-θ(te-teuh)□-θ#** = like a rock, like stone [**< (te)-tl-**, “rock, stone”]

**cihuāteuh** = like a woman, effeminately [**< (cihuā)-tl-**, “woman”]

The compound stem can be embedded as an incorporated adverb in a compound verbstem.

**nicuauhteuhihcac = #ni-θ(cuauh-teuh-ihca)θ+c-θ#** = I stand like a tree, i.e., I stand erect

**nicteteuhtzītquia = #ni-θ+c-θ(te-teuh-tzītquia)θ+θ-θ#** = I grasp/grip it firmly

46.15. *Example Sentences Involving NNCs Built on Relational Nounstems.* The following are a few examples showing how NNCs involving matrix-only compound nounstems are used in sentences. Although it should be amply evident at this point, it is important that one remember that any preposition required by the English translation must be supplied by *inference* from the context in the Nahuatl sentence.

**In mazātl cuauhtlah chāneh.** = The deer is a homeowner in a forest; i.e., The deer is a forest dweller.

**Tlahuāqui nocamac.** = Everything is dry in my mouth; i.e., My mouth is dry.

**In nextli imixco calaqui.** = The ashes get into their eyes.

**Onahcotlachixtihuih in tlapanco.** = They keep looking up at the roof/roofs. [For the structure of **(tla-pan)-tli-**, “flat roof,” see § 47.3.3.]

**Notēncō nicmati.** = I know it at my lips; i.e., I know it by heart.

**Oncān contēmayah in tlexōchtli in tlemahco.** = Then they laid live coals in the incense ladle. [**Oncān** has a temporal meaning here. The stem (**tle-xō-ch**)-**tli-** is “a thing that has blossomed in the form of fire,” i.e., “a burning coal.” The stem (**tle-māi**)-**tl-** is “a hand for fire,” i.e., “a fire ladle”; for the embedding glottalized variant (**mah-**)- of (**māi**)-**tl-**; see § 14.2.8.c.]

**Centetl imāc yetiuh.** = One goes being in his hand; i.e., He has one in his hand.

**Onyahqueh in yāōc.** = They went off to war. [The stem (**yāō**)-**tl-** is here used with the meaning of the stem (**yāō-yō**)-**tl-**; see § 39.9.]

**Yēppa mochalānihticatcah.** = Previously they were quarreling with one another.

**Achtopa nāhuilhuitl mozahuayah.** = At first they used to fast for four days.

**Īmmāc mohuihuitlatinemi in tlamacazqueh.** = He goes plucking himself from the hands of the priests. He manages to get free from the priests.

**In cequintin canahpa itztihuah.** = A few of them went elsewhere.

**Cuix notlacaquiāmpa nimitzcaquiz?** = Will I not hear you from my hearing place? [A sarcastic rhetorical question.] I.e., I am not deaf. I can hear you.

**Nāuhcāmpaixtin coniyāhua in itlemā.** = To all four directions he lifts up in sacrificial offering his fire ladle.

**Quihuālcuilia in chīmalli iōpōchcopa.** = He takes the shield from him with his left hand.

When an NNC built on a numeral nounstem modifies an adverbialized NNC formed with (-co)-□- ~ (-c)-**tli-**, it must itself have an adverbialized formation; e.g., **cecni** or **ceccān** instead of **cē** must be used; **ōccān** instead of **ōme** must be used, etc.

**Cecni xahcalco ōtlacat.** } = He was born in a grass hut.  
**Ceccān xahcalco ōtlacat.** }

Contrast these sentences with one such as **Cē xahcalli ōxihxīn**, “A grass hut collapsed.”



## LESSON 47

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### Relational NNCs (Part Three)

47.1 *Relational Nounstems That Permit Both Option One and Option Two.* There are two relational nounstems that have the options of occurring both in simple-stemmed possessive-state NNCs and as the matrix of integrated-structure compound nounstems.

1. **(tzālan)-tli-** = area between; place among/amidst

a. Possessive-state NNC:

**tētzālan** = between people, among people

**ītzālan** = in their midst, among them [The common-number possessor pronoun has a plural referent.]

**totzālan** = in our midst, among us, between us

b. Compound-stemmed NNC (absolutive and possessive states):

**cuauhtzālan** = in the midst of the trees, among the trees

**nocuauhtzālan** = in the midst of my trees, among my trees

**tepētzālan** = in a gap between mountains, in a mountain pass

The nounstem **(tzālan)-tli-** and compound stems built on it can be used in absolutive-state NNCs with a nonadverbialized subject pronoun.

**tzālantli** = it is a trail between mountains

**caltzālantli** = it is a street between buildings/houses

**tepētzālantli** = it is a gorge, it is a ravine

**cuauhtzālantli** = it is a path between trees

The following are a few example sentences:

**Zan ācatzālan in nemi.** = It is only among reeds that it lives. [English prefers “It lives only among the reeds.”]

**Totzālan ihcatinemi.** = It goes standing in our midst. It continues to stand between us.

**Īntzāhtzālan mantihuih in mihtōtiah.** = They go spreading out in among the dancers. [The varietal stem on the relational NNC indicates that a variety of dancers are involved. The translation takes **mihtōtiah** to be the supplementary possessor

in cross-reference to the possessor pronoun **i-n** of **ĩntzahtzālan**. Another possibility is to take it as the supplementary subject in cross-reference to the subject pronoun of **mantihuic**, in which case the translation would be “The dancers go spreading out in among them.” Context must decide which translation should be used.]

**Amotzahtzālan actihuĩtzeħ.** = They come getting in among you.

**Zan quicuahtzālan aquia in ĩtlahtōl.** = #~~ħ~~-~~ħ~~+qui-~~ħ~~(cuauh-tzālan-aqui-a)~~ħ~~+~~ħ~~-~~ħ~~#  
= He just causes his words to enter among trees, i.e., He is a dissembler.

The honorific form of (**tzālan**)-**tli**- is (**tzālan-tzin-co**)-**□**-.

**Tētzālantzinco motlālia.** = He sits down among people (H).

## 2. (**huic**)-**□**- = direction

### a. Possessive-state

**tēhuic** = in s.o.’s direction, toward s.o.

**nohuic** = in my direction, toward me

### b. Compound-stemmed NNC (absolute and possessive states):

**tlanihuic** = in a downward direction

**ĩcuiťlahuic** = in a direction toward his rear

There is also the negativized NNC **ahhuic**, #~~ħ~~-~~ħ~~(**ah-huic**)-**□**-~~ħ~~#, “in no specific direction, back and forth, here and there, on all sides”; compare **ahco** in § 46.7.

The following are a few example sentences:

**Oc ceppa ĩcuiťlahuic yauh.** = Once more he goes to his rear. Once more he backs away. Once more he retreats.

**Ōnohuic ēhuac in tľacualli.** = Food rose up against me; i.e., I felt repelled by food.

**Ĩnhuic ōnēhuac in noyāōhuān.** = I rose up against my enemies.

**Ĩhuic ĩtzťyah.** = It went going toward him; i.e., It fell to his lot.

The relational nounstem (**huic**)-**□**- may serve as the matrix for compound stems built on other locative or directional relational nounstems.

**ahcohuic** = in an upward direction

**quiyāhuacpahuic** = toward outdoors

**ilhuicachuic** = toward/from heaven

The reverse arrangement is also possible:

**tlanihuicpa** = in a downward direction

**tēhuicpa** = toward s.o., against s.o.

**ahhuicpa** = from no specific direction, from here and there; to no specific direction, to here and there

Example sentences:

**Tēhuicpa nicholola.** = I jump/bound toward s.o.

**Ĩnhuiccoħpā ōnēhuac in noyāōhuān.** = I rose up against my enemies.

The honorific stem of (**huic**)-□- is (**huic-tzin-co**)-□-:

**Īhuictzinco ntlachiya.** = I look toward him (H).

47.2. *Relational Nounstems That Permit Both Option One and Option Three.* There are two relational nounstems that can serve as the stem of a simple-stemmed NNC and as the matrix for a connective-**t** compound nounstem.

1. (**ca**)-□- = means

a. Possessive-state NNC:

**tēca** = with the help of s.o., by means of s.o.

**īnca** = thanks to them, by means of them

**ica cuahuītl** = by means of a stick, with a stick, with sticks

b. Connective-**t** compound-stemmed NNC (absolute and possessive states):

**tetica** = by means of rocks, with rocks, with a rock

**ītētōliniliztica** = by means of his action of abusing people, by means of his abuse (of people)

**tlamahuiztiliztica** = with honor, by dint of honor, honorably

**cōztic-ihhuitica** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ( $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -cōz-ti- $\emptyset$ -c- $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -ihhui-ti-ca)□- $\emptyset$ # = by means of yellow feathers [The embed is a structure of adjectival modification; see § 42.10. In a text with traditional spelling, this may be found written solid: **coztiquihuitica**.]

In colonial times a structure of adjectival modification consisting of an NNC formed on a nounstem Nahuatlized from a Spanish noun naming a monetary unit plus a numeral NNC as modifier could serve as the embed in a connective-**t** compound stem with (**ca**)-□- as matrix.

**cē-tomintica** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ( $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -cē- $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -tomin-ti-ca)□- $\emptyset$ # = by means of/with one tomin; i.e., one tomin's worth [From # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cē) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tomin) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #, "it is one tomin."]

The noun "tomin" is an obsolete Spanish name for a small coin.]

**ōme-tomintica** = two tomins' worth

The formation could be collapsed by omitting the name of the monetary unit. The resulting compound NNC keeps the stem of the numeral NNC in the same shape that it has in the full form. The type of coin is unspecified, however, so context of usage is needed to clarify what is meant.

**cētica** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ( $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -cē-ti-ca)□- $\emptyset$ # = by means of/with one (coin); i.e., one coin's worth

**ōmetica** = two coins' worth

**yēitica** = three coins' worth

**nāhuītica** = four coins' worth

The matrix stem (**ca**)-□- is used to form certain connective-**t** compound nounstems having a temporal meaning:

**yēilhuitica** = on the third day

**cēcemilhuitica** = every day, day after day

**nānāhuilhuitica** = every four days, one four-day period after another

- nahnāhuilhuitica** = each four-day period  
**mācuilxiuhtica** = for a period of five years  
**huiptlatica** = on the third day  
**huihuiptlatica** = every third day  
**cēcemmēztica** = every month, month after month  
**yohualtica** = at night  
**huehcāuhtica** = after/for a long time [< (**hueh-cāhui**)-tl-, “a long time”]  
**huēhuehcāuhtica** = every once in a long while

The following are a few example sentences:

- Noca huetzca.** = He is laughing at me.  
**Ayāc noca mochihua.** = No one bestirs himself/makes any effort on my behalf.  
**Moca nitlāōcoya.** = I am sad for you. I am sad about your troubles.  
**Noca pāqui.** = He is happy about my troubles.  
**Īnca titocayāhuah.** = We are making fun of them. We are scoffing at them.  
**Toca timonohnōtza.** = You gossip about us.  
**Tleh īca in ahmō anhuāllāznequih?** = By reason of what is it that you (pl) don't wish to come? Why don't you wish to come? [The collocation **tleh īca** is traditionally written **tleica**.]  
**Yeh īca tinēchnōtza, ic niyāz mochān.** = Since you invite me, therefore I shall go to your home. [The collocation **yeh īca** is traditionally written solid: **yehica**.]  
**Ītztlī īca in contequiyah in innacazco.** = It was with an obsidian blade that they cut a place on their ears. They cut a place on their ears with an obsidian blade. [The principal clause is **īca**; the NNC **ītztlī** serves as a supplementary possessor for its possessor pronoun **ī-θ**. Notice that the relational NNC **innacazco** is functioning *not* as an adverb but as a supplementary object; the object pronoun in the VNC is **c-θ**, not **qu-in**.]  
**Quintocah ācaltica.** = They chase them in boats.  
**In motlaloah quītihuih in ohtlica.** = Those who run drink it while on the road. [The NNC **ohtlica**, **#θ-θ(oh-tli-ca)□-θ#**, “by means of the road, on the road,” is irregular; \***ohtica** does not occur.]  
**Cēcemilhuitica nitlāhuāna.** = I get drunk every day.  
**In ihcuāc nāppōhualtica, ihcuāc tlatlah.** = When eighty days (have passed), then they burn. [/w/ + /p/ > [pp.]]  
**Ōme-ilhuitica ōmocuep.** = On the second day he returned.  
**Ōniccōuh cētica xōchihcualli.** = I bought fruit with one (coin); i.e., I bought one coin's worth of fruit. [Also **cē-tomintica**, “with one tomin.”]

The honorific stem of (ca)-□- is (ca-tzin-co)-□-.

- Mā icatzinco in Dios xinēchmoccōittlī.** = For the love of God have pity (H) on me.

2. (**icpa-c**)-tli- = top location; i.e., top, head [Obviously this stem does not really belong in this section, since it is not simple but compound. It is formed on the matrix stem (**-c**)-tli-

like the compound stems in § 46.8. Unlike them, however, it does indeed constitute a compound matrix and it cannot embed another nounstem in an integrated structure. It acts, in other words, exactly like (ca)-□- in subsection 1 above. Its embed (*icpa*)-**tl**-, “top, upper part, summit,” also occurs as a morph in (*icpa*)-**li**-, “seat with a back (or upper part)”; concerning the stem-final /l/, see § 55.7. Do not confuse the stem (*icpa*)-**tl**- with (*icpa*)-**tl**-, “thread.”]

a. Possessive-state NNC:

**tēicpac** = over s.o.’s head, above s.o., on s.o.’s head

**īcpac** = #*θ*-*θ*+*i*-*θ*(*cpa*-*c*)*θ*-*θ*# = over his/her/its head; above him/her/it

**nocpac** = over my head, above me, on my head

**tlacpac** = over s.th., up above

**huel tlacpac** = in the highest part [Usually written solid, **huellacpac**, as it is pronounced.]

b. Connective-t compound-stemmed NNC (absolute and possessive states):

**tlālticpac** = #*θ*-*θ*(*tlāl*-*t*-*icpa*-*c*)□-*θ*# = on the top of the land, on the upper part of the ground, over the land; i.e., on the earth, in the world [The stem of this adverbialized NNC can also be used with a nonadverbialized subject pronoun: **tlālticpactli**, “it is the world.” This compound nounstem can also function as the incorporated object of a preterit-agentive NNC of ownership: **tlālticpaqueh**; #*θ*-*θ*(*tlāl*-*t*-*icpa*-*qu*-*eh*-*θ*)□-*θ*#, “he is one who has owned the world,” i.e., “he is the world owner,” i.e., “he is God.” See also **tlālticpacayōtl** in § 47.5.2.]

**ītlālticpac** = in his/her world [Or with a nonadverbialized subject pronoun, “it is his/her world.”]

**tepēticpac** = on top of the mountain, on the tops of the mountains, on the mountain’s summit

The following are a few example sentences.

**Īcpac contēcah ātl.** = They pour water on his head.

**Cuix ticpacxōchichihua?** = #*t*-*θ*(*icpa*-*c*-*xō*-*chi*-*chihua*)*θ*+*θ*-*θ*# = Are you making a garland?

**Ninotolinia in tlālticpac.** = I suffer in the world.

**Ōmōtlapolōltihqueh in tlālticpac tlācah.** = The men on earth became confused.

**Quimacah in ītlālticpactōcā.** = They give him his earthly name.

**Quinōnōtzah in imman ōtlālticpacquiz.** = They tell him the instant it has been born.

The compound stem (*icpa*-**c**)-**tli**- can be embedded in a compound with the directional stem (*pa*)-□- as matrix.

**tlacpacpa** = from above

**tepēticpacpa** = from the top of the mountain

The affective forms of (*icpa*-**c**)-**tli**- are (*icpa*-**c**)-**tzin**-**co**)-□- and (*icpa*-**c**)-**tōn**-**co**)-□-.

**ītlālticpactzinco** = in his (H) world

**tlacpactōnco** = on a small elevation (of s.th.); on a rise

47.3. *Relational Nounstems That Permit Options One, Two, and Three.* There are three relational nounstems that can serve as the stem in a simple-stemmed NNC, as the matrix of a compound stem manifesting integrated structure, and as the matrix of a connective-t compound nounstem.

1. **(tech)-tli-** = side surface; contact

a. Possessive-state NNC:

**notech** = in contact with me, i.e., concerning me, about me

**netech** = in contact with one another, contiguous to one another [Instead of reduplicating the stem as **nepan** does with **nepāpan** (see § 47.3.3), this NNC expresses affinity by reduplicating the possessor pronoun: **nēnetech**, “in contact with one another (when more than two entities are involved), close to one another.”]

The stem **(tech)-tli-** can serve as an embed in a compound stem with **(-pa)-□-** or **(-co-pa)-□-** as matrix.

**Īntechpa tlahtoa in itlah ĩntequiuh cah.** = It speaks about those whose work is something; i.e., It discusses those who work. [The possessor pronoun **ī-n** of **Īntechpa**, “from in contact with them,” i.e., “about them,” and that of **ĩntequiuh** have the same referent. It is by means of this identity that the adjoined clause **itlah ĩntequiuh** is brought under the control of **Īntechpa**.]

**In ĩtechcopa nitlahtōz in nehcaliztli.** = I shall speak about fighting.

The honorific nounstem for **(tech)-tli-** is **(tech-tzin-co)-□-**. [Because of the assimilation of /č/ + /ç/ > [çç], this is usually written **(te-tzin-co)-θ-**, with a single digraph **tz** instead of the double one **tztz**.]

**Motechtzinco huel cah in noyōllo.** = My heart is successfully in contact with you (H); i.e., I have confidence in you (H). I am fond of you (H).

The following are a few example sentences:

**Notech yetinemi.** = It goes along being on me; i.e., I have it with me [This expression is more explicit than the one in § 28.8.]

**Notech monequi.** = It is necessary for me. I need it.

**In nonāntzin ĩtech ōcualān in notahtzin.** = My mother became angry with my father. [Also possible: “My father became angry with my mother.” Context must indicate which NNC is in which of the two supplementary functions.]

**In ācachapolin, in itōcā ĩtech quīza in “ācatl.”** = As for the reed grasshopper, its name comes from “reed”; i.e., The reed grasshopper’s name comes from “reed.”

**In ixquich mēcēhualli netech quimomacayah in ĩnhuāuhquiltamal.** = All the commoners used to give their tamales of amaranth greens to one another. [Concerning the discrepancy of number between the subject pronoun on the supplement **mēcēhualli** and that on its head **quimomacayah**, see § 19.5. **Netech** intensifies the reciprocal object pronoun **m-o**.]

**Ninocxinetechmōtla.** = I strike my feet against one another when I walk.

**Tinēchmīlnetechāna.** = You take me by the mutual contiguity with regard to fields; i.e., My field and yours are contiguous. Our fields border on one another.

b. NNC on an integrated-structure compound stem (absolute or possessive state):

**caltech** = against the side of the house, touching the side of the house [The stem of this adverbialized NNC can also appear in an NNC with a nonadverbialized subject pronoun: **caltechtlī**, “it is the facing of a wall, it is a house wall.” There is also an integrally possessed NNC **īcaltechyo**, “it is its house wall” (see § 39.3.4). See also the connective-**t** compound-stemmed NNC **caltitech** in subsection c below.]

**tlacaltech** = against a wall (of s.th.), in contact with a wall

c. NNC on a connective-**t** compound nounstem (absolute and possessive state):

**tepāntitech** = in contact with a/the wall, on a/the wall

**notepāntitech** = in contact with my wall, on my wall

**caltitech** = in contact with a/the house

**nocaltitechtōnco** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(cal-ti-tech-tōn-co) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = in contact with my hut [The NNC is built on an affective nounstem.]

The following are a few example sentences:

**In tēlpōpōchtin cuauhtitech quimilpiāyah in tōtōmeh.** = The youths used to tie birds to sticks.

**Īnacaztitech ninopiloa.** = I hang myself in contact with his ears; i.e., I advise/admonish him.

**Mā motilmahtitech quittahtin tlahzoltōntli.** = Beware lest they see a small bit of trash on your cape/blanket.

**Zan mochipa cuauhtitech in nemi.** = It is always in the trees that it lives. [English prefers “It always lives in trees.”]

2. (**tlān**)- $\square$ - = bottom surface, under surface; low-down location; an adjacent location, a location overshadowed by s.th. nearby, a location in the shelter of s.th. [See (**tlāni**)- $\square$ - in § 44.6.]

a. Possessive-state NNC:

**tētlan** = at s.o.’s side, next to s.o., with s.o.

**notlan** = at my side, next to me, with me

Example sentences:

**In ehecatl itlan calaqui.** = The wind penetrates it.

**Ōintlan nicalac.** = I slipped in among them.

**Notlan ōniquihcuanih.** = I have moved it away from me.

b. NNC on an integrated-structure compound stem (absolute and possessive state):

**callan** = near the house, outside the house, beneath the house

**toquechtlan** = near our necks, near the neck of one of us, near the neck

**xāllan** = beneath the sand

**huehcatlan** = in a deep place, s.th. deep [See **(hueh-ca)-□-** in § 46.9. This compound-stemmed NNC can be used as an adjective: **cē huehcatlan huēi ātezcatl**, “it is a deep big pond (i.e., a deep lake).”]

**ixachicatlan** = in an abyss, s.th. very deep [**(ix-a-chi-ca)-□-**, “at a great distance.”]

The matrix stem **(tlan)-□-** can embed certain “body part” nounstems to create expressions of more precise locative notions in the same way as **(-co)-□-** ~ **(-c)-tli-** in § 46.8; for example:

i. **(ix-tlan)-□-** = eyes adjacency, place under (the gaze of) the eyes; i.e., presence, front

**tēixtlan** = in front of s.o., in s.o.’s presence

**tixtlan** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +t-**(ix-tlan)** $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = in front of us, in our presence

ii. **(tzin-tlan)-□-** = place beneath the fundament, fundament adjacency; i.e., base

**itzintlan** = at the base of it, at its base [This can also be a nonadverbialized NNC:

“it is his buttock, they are his buttocks.” There is also an absolutive-state NNC:

**tzintlantli**, “it is a buttock, they are buttocks.”]

**tlatzintlan** = at the base of s.th.; down below, downstairs

The **(tlan)-□-** can also embed a compound stem that has **(ix)-tli-** or **(tzin)-tli-** as matrix (compare the formations in § 46.8):

**cuauhtzintlan** = at the base of the tree, in the shelter of the tree/trees

**nocuauhtzintlan** = at the base of my tree, in the shelter of my tree/trees

The stem **(tlan)-□-** may serve as an embed to the relational nounstem **(pa)-□-**:

**itlampa** = towards/from beneath it

**callampa** = toward/from outside the house

The following are a few example sentences:

**Ātlan nicalaqui.** = I dive beneath the water. I dive into the water.

**Mocxitlan ninotlancuāquetza.** = I kneel at your feet. [See § 31.4.]

**Tlāllan in ichān.** = It is underground that its home is. [English prefers “Its home is underground.”]

**Nictlāllantōca.** = I bury it beneath the ground.

**Īxtlan motētēca in nīxāyo.** = His tears roll down his face.

**Niyauh tlatzintlan.** = I’m going downstairs. I’m going below. [The adverbialized NNC **tlani** is not used with a VNC built on the stem **(ya-uh)**, “to go.”]

**Ītzintlan tiquimittaqueh in tepētl.** = We saw them at the base of the mountain.

**Yehhuātl in tlāllampa yahticah cuauhhuātzalli.** = It is (the part of) the dried-out stake that enters the ground. It is the buried part of the stake.

The honorific form of **(tlan)-□-** is **(tlan-tzin-co)-□-**:

**Nitlacuahticacā itlantzinco in nocōltzin.** = I was eating with my grandfather.

*Note:* The matrix stem **(tlan)-□-** embeds the unattested nounstem **\*(xī-l)-li-** to create a compound nounstem **(xī-l-lan)-tli-**, “belly; womb.” The stem **\*(xī-l)-li-** is related to **(xī-c)-tli-**, “a depressed thing,” i.e., “a navel” (see §



39.4; concerning the stem-final //, see § 57.7). The stem (**xī-l-ian**)-**tli**- therefore means “place beneath the area of the navel.”

**noxillan** = it is my belly ~ on my belly

**ixillantzinco** = on his/her (H) belly

**tepētl ixillan** = it is the flank of the mountains on the flank of the mountain

c. NNC on a connective-**t** compound nounstem (absolute and possessive state):

**cuauhtitlan** = under/beneath the trees, near the trees

**nocaltitlan** = near my house

**tenāntitlan** = near the wall

**ihhuititlan** = among the feathers

The following are a few example sentences:

**Ōntetl ičīmaltitlan yetiuh.** = Two are going being on the lower part of his shield; i.e., He has two on the lower part of his shield.

**Iztācātítlan nactinemi.** = I go having entered under white things; i.e., I am dressed in white. [The embed of **iztācātítlan** is the general-use stem of the preterit-agentive nounstem (**iztā-θ**)-**c**-, “a thing that has become white, a white thing”: **#θ-θ(iztā-θ-cā-ti-tlan)□-θ#**.]

**Ōnicātítlan aquih.** = **ō#ni-θ+c-θ(ā-ti-tlan-aqui-h)θ+□-θ#** = I caused it to enter under water; i.e., I submerged it in water.

**Mā no zo oc monacaztitlampatzinco xicmottili in mēcēhualli.** = May you also for a moment look (H) toward your ear (H) at the common people. May you (H) also cast a kind glance at the common people. [This double-nucleus construction is related to the compound verbstem **tē-(nacaz-itt-a)**, “to ear-see s.o.,” i.e., “to look at s.o. affectionately.”]

3. (**pan**)-**□**- = upper surface/surface appearance/superior location; place/area; time [See (**pani**)-**□**- in § 44.6.]

a. Possessive-state NNC:

**tēpan** = on s.o., above s.o., at s.o.’s time [This NNC includes among its usages the adverbial collocations **zā tēpan**, “only at s.o.’s time,” and **quin tēpan**, “afterward in s.o.’s time,” both translated as “afterward, later, finally, at last.” They are usually written solid as **zātēpan** and **quintēpan**. **Quin zā tēpan** expresses the same notion.]

**tlapan** = on s.th., above s.th.

\***nepan** = on one another, over one another [This NNC, whose possessor pronoun shows reciprocal possession, occurs only as an embed and as the source for the adjectival NNC **nepāpan** (see § 40.2.2).]

**nopan** = on me, above me, over me

**īpan** = on him/her/it; at his/her/its time; at that time; thereupon

**īpan in ohtli** = on the road, in the road [**Ohtli** is a supplementary possessor in cross-reference to the possessor pronoun **ī-θ** of **īpan**.]

**īpan Cuāuhtemōc** = in the time of Cuauhtemoc

**īpan nonāmictiliz** = at the time of my marriage; from the time of my marriage, after my marriage

The possessive-state predicates **+tla(pan)-** and **+ne(pan)-** may be downgraded to the rank of stems: **(tla-pan)-tli-**, “roof”; **(ne-pan)-tli-**, “a crisscross.”

**tlapantli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tla-pan)tli- $\emptyset$ # = it is a roof/a flat roof

**tlapanco** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tla-pan-co)□- $\emptyset$ # = on a flat roof, on a roof terrace

**ohnepanco** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (oh-ne-pan-co)□- $\emptyset$ # = at a place where roads are upon one another; i.e., at a crossroads

When **(ne-pan)-tli-** is embedded in **(tlah)-□-**, “place of abundant . . .,” it creates the compound nounstem **(ne-pan-tlah)-□-**, “place of abundant mutual overcrossings,” i.e., “the point of intersecting lines,” i.e., “middle point, the middle.”

**tonepantlah** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +t-o(ne-pan-tlah) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = in our middle ground, i.e., between us; on our mutual ground, i.e., among us

**cuahnepantlah** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cuauh-ne-pan-tlah)□- $\emptyset$ # = in the middle of the forest

**yohualnepantlah** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (yohua-l-ne-pan-tlah)□- $\emptyset$ # = in the middle of the night, at midnight

**tocuānepantlah** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +t-o(cuā-ne-pan-tlah) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = in the middle of our heads, in the middle of the head of one of us, in the middle of one’s head

**nepantlah tōnatiuh** = when the sun is in the middle; i.e., at midday

**tla-(ne-pan-tlah-tequi)** = to cut s.th. down the middle [Here **(ne-pan-tlah)-□-** is acting as an incorporated adverb.]

The stem **(ne-pan)-tli-** also serves as the source of the verbstem **tla-(ne-pan-o-ā)**, “to place s.th. on top of another, to stack s.th.” This serves as the source for the imperfective patientive nounstem **(ne-pan-ō)-tl-**, “mutuality, reciprocity” (see § 39.2.1), which is used in the adverbialized NNC **nepanōtl**, “mutually, reciprocally”: **nepanōtl titotlahpaloah**, “we order/urge one another reciprocally to be healthy,” i.e., “we greet one another.” In the compound-stemmed VNC version of this, **titonepantlahpaloah**, #**ti- $\emptyset$ +t-o(ne-pan-tlahpal-o-a) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -h#**, only **(ne-pan)-tli-** is incorporated.

The stem **(pan)-□-** can serve as an embed for the matrix stem **(pa)-□-** “direction.”

**topampa** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +t-o(pam-pa) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = in the direction of our surface; i.e., toward us

**īpampa** = toward him/her/it

In addition to the usage of **(pam-pa)-□-** in this literal meaning, there is its usage in a metaphorical meaning, which ranges from “support, benefit, favor” to “reason.”

**tēpampa** = on s.o.’s behalf

**nopampa** = on my behalf, in my favor

**yeh īpampa** = because of it [Yeh is the supplementary possessor in cross reference with the possessor pronoun **ī- $\emptyset$**  of **īpampa**.]

**īpampa in** = because of this [Īn is the supplementary possessor.]

**tleh īpampa?** = because of what? why? [Tleh is the supplementary possessor.]

The honorific stem of (pam-pa)- is (pam-pa-tzin-co)-.

The following sentences illustrate some of the usages of NNCs built on (pan)- in the possessive-state option.

**Nopan ōcholoh.** = He jumped upon me. He ran after me.

**Itlah ohhuih ipan mochihuaz.** = Something dangerous will happen to him.

**Onhuetzi in mitl in impan Españoles.** = Arrows fell upon the Spaniards. [The adjunct **Españoles** is the supplementary possessor in cross-reference to the possessive pronoun **i-m** in **impan**. Notice that the construction forces the Spanish word **Españoles** to be structured as a Nahuatl NNC; that is, as **#Ø-(Españoles)-#**. A more obviously Nahuatlized form of this NNC is **Españolesmeh**, i.e., **#Ø-(Españoles)m-eh#**.]

**Īpan ōnihuetz in ātl.** = I fell into the water. [Ātl is the supplementary possessor.]

**Yehhuātl in calli ipan mani tlālli.** = It is that which is land upon which a house rests. [English prefers “It is the land upon which a house rests.” **Yehhuātl** is the principal clause and **in calli ipan mani tlālli** is an adjectival adjunct, which in turn consists of the principal clause **tlālli** and the preposed adjectival adjunct **calli ipan mani**, which is adjoined to **tlālli** by means of the **i-Ø** of **ipan**.]

**Tēpan mahmāzōuhtihuetzi in oncān cochihua.** = He falls with outspread arms upon people who are sleeping there. [The adjoined clause **oncān cochihua** is functioning as the supplementary possessor in cross-reference to the possessor pronoun **tē** of **tēpan**, a situation made possible by the shared reference between the impersonal subject pronoun of **cochihua** and the nonspecific possessor pronoun **tē**.]

**Īpan mihtōtihtihuitz.** = At this time he comes dancing.

**Ca nicān catca ipan mochīuh in yāōyōtl.** = Verily he was here at the time the war was waged. [The adjunct **mochīuh in yāōyōtl** is the supplementary possessor in cross-reference to the **i-Ø** of **ipan**.]

**Teōtl ipan machōya.** = He used to be known for a god; i.e., He used to be considered a god.

**Nipiltōntli ipan ninomati.** = I know myself in the form of my being a child; i.e., I pretend I am younger than I am.

**Ahtleh ipan tinēchitta.** = You look at me as upon nothing; i.e., You have no regard for me.

**Quil mach huēhuēntōn ipan mocuep.** = It is said that he turned himself into a little old man.

**Cacahuacuahuatl ipan quicueptia mizquitl.** = He changes the cacao trees into mesquite. [Or: “He changes the mesquite into cacao trees.” Context must decide which NNC functions as supplementary object and which as supplementary possessor.]

**Īpan moquixtih tohuēnyo.** = He took the form of a stranger.

**Īpan mīxēuh tohuēnyo.** = He played the part of a stranger.

**Mopampa nicchihuaz in.** = I will do this for you.

**Yeh ipampa, miec tētolīnih mihīyōhuia.** = Because of it, many afflictions are suffered. Because of this, there are many difficulties.

**Ahmō tlācatēuctli oncān quiza, ipampa in ahmō cencah cualli in innemiliz tēlpōpōchtin.** = No lord comes out of there, because the way of the life of the youths is not very good. [The adjoined sentence **ahmō cencah cualli innemiliz tēlpōpōchtin** functions as supplementary possessor in cross-reference to the possessor pronoun **ī-θ** of **ipampa**.]

**Tleh ipampa ahmō ōtocontlahpalōto in cocoxqui?—Īpampa ca nō nehhuātl ninococoāya.** = Why didn't you visit the sick person?—Because I myself was also sick. [In the answer, the adjoined sentence **ca nō nehhuātl ninococoāya** is the supplementary possessor of the **ī-θ** of **ipampa**.]

**Tleh in mach ipampa tiquīzaznequi?** = Why ever do you want to leave? Why in the world do you want to leave?

The NNC **ipan** is used as a connective to add the higher-order number NNCs (the four hundreds and the eight thousands) to one another and to the lower orders. The resultant numeral-NNC group is an unmarked (i.e., conjunctorless) structure of conjunction (see § 34.8); compare **ihuān** in § 45.4.1.

**centzontli ipan mahtlācpōhualli** = they are 400 in number (and) on top of it they are 200 in number; i.e., they are 600 in number

**cenxīquipilli ipan centzontli ipan mahtlācpōhualli** = they are 8,000 in number (and) on top of it they are 400 in number (and) on top of it they are 200 in number; i.e., they are 8,600 in number

**ixquich ipan centlahcolli** = it is a full amount (and) on top of it it is one half; i.e., it is a full amount and one half

b. NNC (absolutive or possessive state) on an integrated-structure compound stem.

**petlapan** = on a mat, on mats

**ahtēnemachpan** = **ah#θ-θ+tē(ne-mach-pan)θ-θ#** = not on s.o.'s awareness; i.e., without anyone realizing it; suddenly, unexpectedly [**(ne-mach)-tli-**, “awareness, mindfulness”]

**amotlahtōlpan** = in your (pl) language

**tlāhuilizpan** = in candlelight

**tlāhuizcalpan** = at the time of early dawn, at dawn [**(tlāhui-z-cal)-li-**, “house of light emission, house of light,” i.e., “daybreak, early dawn, dawn.” In this analysis, the embed stem is taken to be **(tlāhui-z)-tli-**, an active-action nounstem meaning “an/the action of giving off light,” from the verbstem **(tlāhui-ā)**, “to emit light” (see § 54.2.4). Since this action nounstem is frequently used in the metaphorical meaning of “military insignia,” **(tlāhui-z-cal)-li-** could possibly mean “house for insignias” (compare **(tlacō-ch-cal)-li-**, “house for darts/arrows”).]

**notlācatilizpan** = at the time of my birth

**xōpan** = at the time of green things; i.e., in the summer [Note also **(xō-pan-i-z)-tli-**, “summer,” which is used in a nonadverbialized NNC, as well as **(xō-pan-tlah)-□-**,

“summer,” which is used in an adverbialized NNC with the same translation value as **xōpan**. Notice that it presupposes the stem (**xō-pan**)-**tli**-.]

**quiyappan** = at the time of rain, during the rainy season [< (**quiy-a-hui**)-**tli**-, “rain”; notice the assimilation: /w/ + /p/ > [pp].]

**iztapan** = in a place with a salty surface; i.e., on a salt flat [With a nonadverbialized subject pronoun: “it is a salt flat.”]

**tēcpan** = in an area of a lord; i.e., in a palace [With a nonadverbialized subject pronoun: “it is a palace.” The embedded stem (**tēc**)-**tli**- is a variant of (**tēuc**)-**tli**-; the /k<sup>w</sup>/ has been delabialized to /k/; see § 2.13.4. The compound stem (**tēc-pan-cal**)-**li**-, “lordly manor; palace,” is more explicit with regard to the building.]

**huehcapan** = in a high place; s.th. high [See (**hueh-ca**)-**□**- in § 46.9. This compound-stemmed NNC can be used as an adjective: **cē huehcapan cuahuitl**, “it is a tall tree.”]

**iyōlipan** = slowly, calmly [See **iyōlic** in § 46.7.]

**cēcentlalpīpan** = one bunch/bundle after another, bunch by bunch, bundle by bundle [< (**cen-tla-lpī-l**)-**li**-, “one tied thing,” i.e., “one bunch/bundle”]

**āpan** = on the surface of the water, on the water, in the water

**huēi-āpan** = #**θ**-**θ**(**θ**-**θ**-**huē-i-θ**+**θ**-**θ**-**ā-pan**)-**□**-**θ**# = the surface of the big water, i.e., on the ocean, in the ocean [The embed is a structure of adjectival modification; see § 42.10.]

A few compound stems built on (**pan**)-**□**- occur in an absolutive-state NNC with a “normal” subject pronoun that has **tli** in its *num*<sup>1</sup> subposition. For example:

**tlālpan** = it is the surface of the land; i.e., it is the ground [Notice **tētlālpan**, “it is s.o.’s homeland.” The adverbialized NNC is **tlālpan**, “on/above the land,” as in **Tlālpan nitlachiya**, “I look at the ground.”]

**teōpan** = it is an area of a god, it is an area consecrated to a god; i.e., it is a temple

The matrix stem (**pan**)-**□**- frequently embeds body-part stems, but the resultant compound stems, unlike those created with (**co**)-**□**- ~ (**c**)-**tli**-, do not invite further embedding.

(**quech-pan**)-**□**- = neck surface; shoulder(s)

**noquechpan** = on my neck, on my shoulders [Understood as having a nonadverbialized subject pronoun: “it is my shoulder; they are my shoulders.”]

(**tēm-pan**)-**□**- = lip surface

**motēmpan** = upon your lips; on your word [Notice **Tētēmpan nitlahto**, “I speak about things on people’s lips,” i.e., “I speak from hearsay evidence.”]

(**ēl-pan**)-**tli**- = place above the liver; i.e., breast/chest/bosom

**ēlpantli** = it is a breast/chest

**nēlpan** = it is my breast ~ on my breast

(**tzom-pan**)-**tli**- = hair surface; i.e., end [Do not confuse this stem with (**tzom-pān**)-**tli**-, “hair row(s),” i.e., “skull rack.”]

**tlatzompan** = at the end of s.th., at the end [Synonymous with **tlatzonco**.]

- (**ix-pan**)-**-** = face surface; i.e., front, presence  
**tēixpan** = in the presence of s.o., publicly, in public  
**tlaixpan** = in the front of s.th., up front  
**īxpan** = in front of him, in his presence [Traditionally written **ixpan**.]  
(**cuitla-pan**)-**tl-** = area above the rump; i.e., the lower back, the back  
**cuitlapantli** = it is a back [The NNC with a flawed subject pronoun (see § 32.9) shows a shift in meaning: **ticuitlapan**, “you are a back,” i.e., “you are always on your back,” i.e., “you are a lazy, slovenly person.”]  
**nocuitlapan** = it is my back ~ at/on my back  
**tlacuitlapan** = it is the rear of s.th. ~ at the rear of s.th., behind s.th.

Since (**cuitla**)-**tl-** also has the meaning “excrement,” the NNC **cuitlapan** can also mean “at/on a dung heap/rubbish heap.”

The following examples illustrate a few uses of (**pan**)-**-** in sentences.

- In in mochiuh ye tlacualizpan.** = This happened during the hour of eating.  
**Āpan ōmic in notēāhcāuh.** = My older brother died in the water; i.e., My older brother drowned.  
**Māpantlāza.** = He hurls himself into the water.  
**Tlālpan ōnitlachix.** = I looked down at the ground.  
**Ōmpa quicāhuatoh yāōpan.** = They went in order to abandon him in battle there.  
**Tēcpan in oncalacqueh.** = It was into the palace that they entered. [English prefers “They entered the palace.”]  
**Ahzo tlepantlāxo.** = Perhaps one was cast into the fire.  
**Zoquipan oncahcalac in imācpal.** = His palms sank into the mud (leaving an impression).  
**In oncān onoca in itēōpan.** = There was his temple.  
**Ahmō inemachpan in icōtzco choloa.** = It is not at the time of his awareness that it springs at the calf of his leg; i.e., Suddenly (i.e., before he was aware), it sprang at the calf of his leg. [Notice the use of the present tense to report a past event; see § 57.1.]

c. NNC on a connective-**t** compound nounstem:

- xāltipan** = in an area of sand, at a sandy place  
**xāltetipan** = in an area of pebbles, in a pebbly place  
**tzacualtipan** = in the area of a pyramid  
**ōntlamanixtipan** = #**0-0**(**ōn-tla-man-ix-ti-pan**)-**0#** = in all two parts/things, in both parts/things [The embed is built on the matrix stem (**ix**)-, “total number” (see § 34.1).]  
**achtotipan** = in the first position; first [Traditionally written **achtotipa**.]

47.4. *Associated-Entity NNCs.* A compound nounstem whose matrix is a relational nounstem can enter into a larger compound stem as an embed to the matrix-only nounstem (**-ca**)-**tl-**, “entity/being.” The meaning of the resultant compound stem is “entity (human or nonhuman) associated with. . .” (see § 31.6). The stem occurs in an “associated-entity” NNC.

**cuauhtlahcatl** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (cuauh-tlah-ca)tl- $\theta$ # = he is a person associated with a forest, he is a forest dweller [< (cuauh-tlah)- $\square$ -, “a place of abundant trees”]

**nātlahcatl** = #n- $\theta$ (ā-tlah-ca)tl- $\theta$ # = I am a person associated with a place of abundant water; i.e., I am a lake dweller

**timillahcah** = #ti- $\theta$ (mīl-lah-ca) $\theta$ -h# = we are people associated with abundant cultivated fields; i.e., we are farmers

**huehcapancatl** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (hueh-ca-pan-ca)tl- $\theta$ # = it is a thing associated with high things/heights [< (hueh-ca-pan)- $\square$ -, “a high thing.”]

**huehcatlancatl** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (hueh-ca-tlan-ca)tl- $\theta$ # = it is a thing associated with low things/depths [< (hueh-ca-tlan)- $\square$ -, “a low thing.”]

**huēi-āpancatl** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ ( $\theta$ - $\theta$ -huē-i- $\theta$ - $\theta$ - $\theta$ -ā-pan-ca)tl- $\theta$ # = it is a thing associated with the ocean’s surface [The embed inside the embed is a structure of adjectival modification; see **huēi-āpan** in § 47.3.3.b.]

**huēi-ātlancatl** = it is a thing associated with the ocean’s depth [The structure here is the same as in the foregoing example.]

**tōnatiuh-īquīzayāncatl** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ ( $\theta$ - $\theta$ -tōna- $\theta$ -ti-uh- $\theta$ - $\theta$ - $\theta$ - $\theta$ -ī- $\theta$ +quīza-yā-n-ca)tl- $\theta$ # = it is a thing associated with the sun’s emerging place, it is a thing associated with the east [The matrix stem (-ca)-tl- is exercising its power to embed a structure of possessor supplementation (see § 35.14); inside the embed **tōnatiuh īquīzayān**, “it is the place of the sun’s customary coming out/emergence,” **tōnatiuh** is functioning as a supplementary possessor.]

**tōnatiuh-icalaquiyāncatl** = it is a thing associated with the sun’s entering place, it is a thing associated with the west [The structure here is the same as in the foregoing example.]

**ilhuicaātl-īpitzāhuayāncatl** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ ( $\theta$ - $\theta$ -ilhui-ca-ā-tl- $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ -ī- $\theta$ -pitz-ā-hua-yā-n-ca)tl- $\theta$ # = it is a thing associated with the place of the sky-water’s narrowing, i.e., it is a thing associated with a/the strait (or straits) [The matrix stem (-ca)-tl- embeds the structure of possessor supplementation **ilhuicaātl-īpitzāhuayān**, “it is the place of the ocean’s act of customarily becoming narrow,” in which **ilhuicaātl**, “it is sky-water, it is the ocean,” is functioning as the supplementary possessor.]

When a compound locative stem formed on the relational nounstem (-co)- $\square$ - ~ (-c)-tli- as matrix is embedded in a compound nounstem formed on the matrix stem (-ca)-tl-, the (-co)- $\square$ - ~ (-c)-tli- is replaced by a silent variant. (Contrast § 46.7, where only (-co)- $\square$ - reacts in this way.)

**cuauhtēncatl** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (cuauh-tēn- $\square$ -ca)tl- $\theta$ # = he is a person associated with a place at the edge of trees, i.e., he is a forest-edge dweller [< (cuauh-tēn-co)- $\square$ -, “a place at the edge of trees”]

**ātōyatēncah** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (ā-tōy-a-tēn- $\square$ -ca) $\theta$ -h# = they are people associated with a place at the edge of a river, i.e., they are riverbank dwellers [< (ā-tōy-a-tēn-co)- $\square$ -, “a place of an edge of a river, place on a riverbank.”]

**nixōchitepāncalcatl** = #ni- $\theta$ (xō-chi-te-pān-cal- $\square$ -ca)tl- $\theta$ # = I am a person associated with a place of flowers enclosed by a wall; i.e., I am a (flower) gardener [< (xō-chi-te-pān-cal-co)- $\square$ -, “in a walled enclosure for flowers”]

**tepehxicatl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tepe-hxi- $\square$ -ca)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is a thing associated with the place of a precipice/cliff [ $\langle$  (tepe-hxi-c)- $\square$ -, “at the place of a precipice/cliff”]

**tlālticpacatl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tlāl-t-icpa- $\square$ -ca)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is a thing associated with the world [ $\langle$  (tlāl-t-icpa-c)- $\square$ -, “at a place on top of the land,” “at a place in the world”]

47.5. *NNCs of Pertinency.* Certain compound nounstems with a relational nounstem as matrix can be embedded in a larger compound stem with (-yō)-tl- as matrix (see § 31.6.2 and § 39.3). The resultant compound stem has a meaning of pertinency. There are two formations.

1. The (-yō)-tl- can embed the stem of an adverbialized NNC directly. The meaning of the compound stem is “a thing/state/condition/quality pertaining to/characteristic of. . .”

**huehcapanyōtl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (hueh-ca-pan-yō)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is a quality of high/lofty things; it is height/altitude [ $\langle$  (hueh-ca-pan)- $\square$ -, “a high thing”]

**huehcatlanyōtl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (huēh-ca-tlan-yō)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is a quality of deep things; it is depth/deepness [ $\langle$  (hueh-ca-tlan)- $\square$ -, “a deep/low thing”]

**ihuiyānyōtl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ī- $\emptyset$ -hui-yā-n-yō)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is the quality of acting mildly/peaceably/with restraint; it is modesty

**tlāicampayōtl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tla-īcam-pa-yō)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is something characteristic of what lies beyond the mountains; it is a transmontane quality

**tlacpacyōtl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tla-cpa-c-yō)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is what is characteristic of what is at the top [The stem of this NNC also functions in a structure of integral possession (see § 39.3.4); e.g., **ītlacpacyo tepētl**, “it is a/the mountain’s summit”; this is also expressed by **tepētlacpacyōtl**.]

In the last three examples above, the possessor pronoun is inside the stem and therefore has no effect on the absolutive state of the NNC.

**tōnatiuh-īcalaquiyānyōtl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ( $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -tōna- $\emptyset$ -ti-uh- $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -ī- $\emptyset$ -cal-aqui-yā-n-yō)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is a thing pertaining to the sun’s entering place, it is a thing characteristic of the west [The matrix stem (-yō)-tl- here includes the structure of possessor supplementation **tōnatiuh-īcalaquiyān** as its embed.]

**huel-īpanyōtl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ( $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -huel- $\square$ - $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -ī- $\emptyset$ -pan-yō)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is a thing pertaining to precisely its time; i.e., it is a thing characteristic of a proper/opportune time [The matrix stem (-yō)-tl- here exercises its power to embed a structure of adverbial modification, **huel īpan**, “it is precisely at its time,” i.e., “it is at a proper/opportune time.” Compare the same structure in the compound-stemmed NNC **huel-immanyōtl**, # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ( $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -huel- $\square$ - $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -im-man-yō)tl- $\emptyset$ #, “it is a thing pertaining to a proper/opportune moment,” from **huel imman**, “at the proper/opportune moment.”]

2. The matrix stem (-yō)-tl- can embed an associated-entity compound stem formed with (-ca)-tl- (see § 47.4). The meaning is “a thing pertaining to/characteristic of an entity associated with. . .” Translation usually has ignored the morphological complexity of this formation and renders it in the same way as that in subsection 1 above.



- cuauhtlahcayōtl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cuauh-tlah-ca-yō)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is a thing pertaining to/characteristic of a person associated with forests
- xōpantlahcayōtl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (xō-pan-tlah-ca-yō)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is a thing pertaining to/characteristic of a thing that is associated with summer, it is a thing characteristic of things that grow in the summer [ $\langle$  (xō-pan-tlah-ca)-tl-, “a thing associated with summer”]
- tlālticpacayōtl** = #(tlāl-t-icpa-□-ca-yō)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is a thing pertaining to/characteristic of things that are in the world, it is a thing characteristic of worldly things [ $\langle$  (tlāl-t-icpa-□-ca)-tl-, “a thing associated with the world”]
- huehcacayōtl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (hueh-ca-ca-yō)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is a thing pertaining to a thing associated with a distant place, it is a thing pertaining to long-distance transportation/conveyance [ $\langle$  (hueh-ca-ca)-tl-, “a thing associated with a distant place”]
- huehcapanca-yōtl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (hueh-ca-pan-ca-yō)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is a thing pertaining to/characteristic of a thing associated with height [ $\langle$  (hueh-ca-pan-ca)-tl-, “a thing associated with height”]
- huehcatlancayōtl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (hueh-ca-tlan-ca-yō)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is a thing pertaining to/characteristic of a thing associated with depth [ $\langle$  (hueh-ca-tlan-ca)-tl-, “a thing associated with depth.”]
- huēi-āpanca-yōtl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ( $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -huē-i- $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -ā-pan-ca-yō)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is a thing pertaining to/characteristic of a thing associated with the ocean surface [ $\langle$  ( $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -huē-i- $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -ā-pan-ca)-tl-, “a thing associated with the ocean surface”]
- tōnatiuh-īquīzayāncayōtl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ( $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -tōna- $\emptyset$ -ti-uh- $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -ī-quīza-yā-n-ca-yō)tl- $\emptyset$ # = it is a thing pertaining to/characteristic of a thing associated with the sun’s emerging place, i.e., it is a thing pertaining to/characteristic of an eastern thing [ $\langle$  ( $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -tōna- $\emptyset$ -ti-uh- $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -ī-quīza-yā-n-ca)-tl-, “a thing associated with the east”]

## Place-Name NNCs. Gentilic NNCs

48.1. *Place-Name NNCs.* Nahuatl place-names are peculiar in that they are adverbial; that is, they are NNCs with an adverbialized subject pronoun. The vast majority are built on compound nounstems whose matrix subposition is filled with one of six relational nounstems having a locative meaning: **(-n)-tli-**, **(pan)-tli-**, **(-co)-[ ]** ~ **(-c)-tli-**, **(-tlah)-tli-**, **(tzālan)-tli-**, and **(-ti-tlan)-[ ]**. In addition there are a few place-names involving a possessive-state NNC built on the nounstem **(chān)-tli-**, “home,” used in a structure of possessor supplementation. These permit the establishment of seven groups, which split up into various stem-formation types. Except for two of these and the **(chān)-tli-** construction, all are simply the formations presented in Lessons 46 and 47. This means that at times a place-name NNC will be identical to an adverbialized locative NNC, the only difference being in the nature of the subject pronoun. In a place-name NNC the subject pronoun refers to a unique socially designated relation; in an adverbialized locative NNC it refers to a particular relation contextually chosen from a class. For example, the place-name NNC **Ātēncō**, “It is At the Place on the Beach,” has a subject pronoun with a socially recognized unique reference, while the ordinary adverbialized NNC **ātēncō**, “it is at a/the place on a/the beach,” has a subject pronoun with a reference assigned by the context of its use. Of course the meaning limitations introduced by the embed of a place-name stem may help in the unique reference of the NNC’s subject pronoun; e.g., **Quīmichātēncō**, “It is At the Place on the Bank of Mouse River.” But theoretically, even an NNC like this really has a stem with a class meaning and allows a subject pronoun that points to a particular context-chosen instance: “it is at a/the place on a/the bank of Mouse River” (i.e., any given place on either bank).

In addition to naming settlements of any size (cities, towns, villages), a Nahuatl place-name can name a region, territory, or province, a nation or state, or, on the other hand, a district or quarter of a town, a building, temple, oratory, altar, shrine, or any other socially significant site. The place so named may be real, fictional, mythical, or transcendental.

A place-name NNC can be used in the following three ways.

1. As an ordinary NNC:

**Aoc ic yez in Mēxihco** = No longer at that time will Mexihco be; i.e., Mexihco will then no longer be. [Mēxihco functions as a supplementary subject.]

**Ca āltepētl in ināhuac Tōllān.** = It is a city in the vicinity of Tollan. [Tōllān functions as a supplementary possessor.]

**Xōlōc ic ōniquiz.** = I passed by way of Xoloc. [Xōlōc functions as the supplementary possessor of the *i-θ* of *ic*.]

2. As an adverbial NNC (this is the most common usage):

**Teticpac ichān** = His/her home is/was at Teticpac. [Adverb of place serving as principal clause, since *cah* or *catca* has been deleted; see § 18.9.]

**Cōchqueh āmaquēmehcān.** = They slept in/at Amaquemehcan. [adverb of place]

**Ontlehcōh Teohcalhuēiyacān.** = They climb up to Teohcalhueiyacan. [adverb of goal]

**Caxtillān huitz in puercoh.** = The pig comes from Castile. [Adverb of source; notice the glottal stop added to the Nahuatlized Spanish word *puerco*.]

**Xōlōc ōniquiz.** = I passed through Xoloc. [Adverb of path; another way to say this is with *ic* (see example in subsection 1 above).]

3. As an adjectival NNC:

**Caxtillān tōtolin.** = It is a hen from Castile; i.e., It is a Castilian chicken. [The context forces *tōtolin*, “it is a turkey hen,” to be translated as “hen” or “chicken.”]

**Ixquich Mēxihco calli.** = They are all the houses in Mexihco.

**Tlacōpan tlahtoāni.** = He is the ruler in Tlacopan [This is usually translated “. . . ruler of Tlacopan,” but there is no idea of possession in the Nahuatl.]

**. . . in āltepētl Mēxihco.** = . . . which is the city that is/was Mexihco, i.e., . . . the city of Mexihco

The translations given above (1) disregard the fact that Nahuatl place-names are always structured as NNCs and (2) impose whatever preposition is required by English.

The translation of many Nahuatl place-name NNCs is conjectural; some are open to various interpretations; some are opaque. The problem is often due to inadequate spelling practices (failure to indicate vowel length and glottal stops; failure to indicate /n/ in certain positions; etc.). Or the problem may be due to sound changes, ignorance of writers, distortions due to scribal error, etc. Moreover, even when place-name glyphs exist, one cannot rely on them for help, since they are usually not concerned with meaning (generally being mere promptings for recognition by way of hints at sound). Furthermore, the circumstances and rationale behind a naming are almost never available any longer, so that those aids to decipherment are denied us. At times, even when a translation is obvious, the sense of the name may be beyond our reach. For example, what exactly motivated the name **Iztāqu-Īmāxtitlan**, “At the Place Near White Pubic Hairs”? Native speakers of the area at the time would probably have had little difficulty explaining the situation that justified the naming.

The following paragraphs present a display of the important place-name formation types. (In the examples, the translation ignores the NNC structure of the place-name. Furthermore, for “At” one should read “From,” “To,” or “Through,” depending on English translational requirements.)

*Note:* Nahuatl makes a clear distinction between a *topographical-feature* name (such as “Long Mountain” or “Butterfly River”) and a *place-name* (such as “Place at/on Long Mountain” or “Place at/on Butterfly River”), so it has nothing similar to English topographical-feature-names-as-place-names such as “Warm Springs,” “One Hundred Oaks,” “Long Beach,” “Mountain Brook,” “Buffalo Gap,” etc. A Nahuatl topographical-feature name frequently serves as the embed in a place-name nounstem. The following sentence illustrates the distinction between a river name and a place-name: **Companahuihqueh in Tepzōlātl** (cē ātōyatōntli). **Ompanōqueh in oncān Tepzōlāc.**, “They crossed the Tepzolatl (which is a small river). They forded there at (the place called) Tepzoloc.”

48.2. *The (-n)-tli- Group.* The formation types of this group are based on the adverbial NNCs of §§ 46.3–46.5.

1. The **(-n)-tli-** embeds a nominalized imperfect-tense predicate (see § 46.4).

a. Active-voice source:

**Ātl-Īhuetziyān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ( $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ - $\bar{A}$ -tl- $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ - $\bar{I}$ - $\emptyset$ -huetzi-yā-n) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = At the Place of the Water’s Fall; i.e., At the Fall, At the Falls [The embed of **(-n)-tli-** is a structure of possessor supplementation.]

**Cuextēcatl-Īchōcayān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ( $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -Cuex-tē-ca-tl- $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ - $\bar{I}$ - $\emptyset$ -chōca-yā-n) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = At the Place of the Cuextec’s (i.e., Huastec’s) Weeping [The embed is a structure of possessor supplementation.]

The formation may be according to § 46.4.1, note:

**Quinēhuayān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (Quin-ē-hua-yā-n) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = At the Place of Afterward Departing  
**Itztapalnanatzcayān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (Itz-tapal-na-na-tz-ca-yā-n) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = At the Place of Stridulation by Means of Large Flat Stones (~ Like that Made by Large Flat Stones) [The embed stem (**itz-tapal**)-li-, “large flat stone,” is, of course, not the agent producing the sound but an adverbial modifier (of means or similarity); the verbstem (**na-na-tz-ca**) means “to emit a stridulous sound, to creak”; see § 27.5.2.]

b. Nonactive source:

**Tepanōhuayān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (Te-panō-hua-yā-n) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = At the Place Where People Cross Over on Stones

**Ātlacuīhuayān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ( $\bar{A}$ -tla-cuī-hua-yā-n) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = At the Place Where People Fetch Water [See § 30.4 for the irregular verbstem.]

**Ātlīhuayān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ( $\bar{A}$ -tl-ī-hua-yā-n) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = At the Place Where People Drink Water [The embed is formed on the impersonal stem of the verbstem ( $\bar{a}$ -tl-ī), “to drink water”; see § 30.3.1, *note*.]

2. The formation may use **(-yā-n)-tli-** as the matrix (see § 46.5):

**Xolochauhyān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (Xol-o-ch-a-uh-yā-n) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = At the Place of Becoming Wrinkled [(< **xol-o-ch-a-hui**), “to become wrinkled”; see § 55.6.]

**Ātl-Ītlālacayān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ( $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ - $\bar{A}$ -tl- $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ - $\bar{I}$ - $\emptyset$ -tlāl-ac-yā-n) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = At the Place of the Water’s Entering the Ground; At the Sink Hole [The embed of **(-yā-n)-tli-** is a structure of possessor supplementation.]

3. The formation may use (-**mā-n**)-**θ**-, “place of the area of,” a compound matrix stem used only in place-name NNCs:

**Ōlmān** = #**θ**-(**Ōl-mā-n**)-**θ**# = At the Place of the Area of Latex

**Chīchīmān** = #**θ**-(**Chīchī-mā-n**)-**θ**# = At the Place of the Area of Milk [This place-name has *nothing* to do with dogs as most assume; the embedded stem is not (**chichi**)-**θ**-, “dog,” but (**chīchī**)-**tl**-, “a sucked-in liquid,” i.e., “milk.”]

**Ācōlmān** = #**θ**-(**Ā-cōl-mā-n**)-**θ**# = At the Place of the Area of Water Bends

**Ōztōmān** = #**θ**-(**Ōztō-mā-n**)-**θ**# = At the Place of the Area of Caves

4. The formation may use (-**tlā-n**)-**□**-, “place in the vicinity of,” a compound matrix stem used only in place-name NNCs. It should not be confused with the relational nounstem (**tlān**)-**□**- in § 47.3.2.b and § 47.3.2.c (the connective-**t** construction; see § 48.7). The compound matrix stem (**tlā-n**)-**□**- has length on the /a:/. The integrated-structure compound stem built on (**tlān**)-**□**- (as in § 47.3.2.b) cannot create a place-name NNC. One must, therefore, carefully distinguish the adverbialized locative NNC **tlāllān**, “beneath the ground,” from the place-name NNC **Tlāllān**, “At the Place Close to the Ground.”

**Āzatlān** = #**θ**-(**Ā-zta-tlā-n**)-**θ**# = At the Place in the Vicinity of Snowy Egrets [**(ā-zta)**-**tl**-, “white in the water,” i.e., “snowy egret”]

**Āztlān** = #**θ**-(**Āz-tlā-n**)-**θ**# = At the Place in the Vicinity of Tools [This translation is conjectural. Nahuatl speakers (at least during colonial times) were themselves confused about the meaning. In the *Crónica Mexihcáyotl* we find the explanation “Az-tlan, or Aztatlan, the resting place of herons,” an instance of folk etymology; **Āzatlān** (see above) and **Āztlān** name two different places (the nounstem (**ā-zta**)-**tl**-, “snowy egret,” is *not* involved in **Āztlān**). Some have suggested that **Āztlān** means “The Country of Whiteness,” possibly misled by the preterit agentive stem (**ā-zta-pil-ti**)-**θ**-**c**-, “an extremely white thing,” but this is a metaphor that means “a thing that has become like an **āztapilin** (i.e., the very white base of the type of reed called **tōlmimilli**); see § 41.1.5. Turning from blind guesses to facts, it is clear that the embed subposition is filled by (**āz**)-**tl**-, “tool, implement,” a nounstem that occurs mainly as the matrix in a large number of instrumental nounstems (see § 58.1). The stem also occurs in the embed subposition of the compound nounstem (**āz-ca**)-**tl**- (see § 31.6) and in a reduplicated form in the nounstem (**ah-āz**)-**tl**-, “a thing like a tool,” i.e., “a wing” (see § 53.1 concerning this kind of reduplication).]

**Tōllān** = #**θ**-(**Tōl-lā-n**)-**θ**# = At the Place in the Vicinity of Rushes

**Tepoztlān** = #**θ**-(**Te-poz-tlā-n**)-**θ**# = At the Place in the Vicinity of Copper [**(te-poz)**-**tl**-, “copper”; in Colonial times, “iron/hard metal”]

**Huēi-Mōllān** = #**θ**-(**θ**)-**θ**-**Huē-i**)-**θ**)-**θ**)-**θ**)-**Mōl-lā-n**)-**θ**# = At the Place in the Vicinity of the Big Sauce [A structure of adjectival modification serves as the embed to the matrix nounstem (-**tlā-n**)-**□**-.]

The stem (**Mic-tlā-n**)-**tl**-, “Place in the Vicinity of Dead Ones,” “the Region of the Dead” (embed: the perfective patientive nounstem (**mic**)-**tl**-, “a thing that has resulted from dying,” i.e., “dead one, dead body”), is peculiar in that it forms both an NNC with a nonadverbialized

subject personal pronoun as well as the expected NNC with an adverbialized one. The NNC with the nonadverbialized subject pronoun was probably not a native usage but a Christian one, the result of Catholic friars and priests usurping the stem in order to assign it the meaning of “Hell.” In native usage **Mictlān** had nothing to do with punishment of the wicked after death.

**Mictlāntli** = #θ-θ(Mic-tlā-n)tli-θ# = it is Hell

**Mictlān** = #θ-θ(Mic-tlā-n)□-θ# = In the Region of the Dead; *also, in colonial times, “in/to/from Hell”*

One also finds place-names formed on the conjoined-NNC lexical unit (i.e., biclausalism) construction described in § 52.6. An example using **(tlā-n)-□-** is:

**Tlillān Tlapallān** = In the Vicinity of Black Ink and In the Vicinity of Color; i.e., In the Vicinity of Writing (i.e., the Maya lands) [See **tlilli tlapalli** in § 52.6.2.]

5. The formation can use the compound matrix stem **(cā-n)-□-** of § 46.3.2.b. The embed is any nounstem that is not formed from a nominalized VNC.

**Xōchiācān** = #θ-θ(Xō-chi-ā-cā-n)□-θ# = At the Place of Flower Waters

**Cōāixtlāhuacān** = #θ-θ(Cōā-ix-tlā-hua-cā-n)□-θ# = At the Place of the Snake Plain

**Huēiyac-Ixtlāhuacān** = #θ-θ(θ-θ-Huē-i-ya-θ-c-θ+θ-θ-Ix-tlā-hua-cā-n)□-θ# = At the Place of the Long Plain [The embed is the structure of adjectival modification **huēiyac ixtlāhuatl**, “it is a/the long plain.”]

Among the place-name NNCs having this formation are a few whose embed is a compound nounstem in which the matrix-only stem **\*(to)-tl-**, “site, setting,” serves as matrix (this **\*(to)-tl-** presumably also occurs in the adverbialized NNCs **achto**, **acatto**, etc., “first”). The following are all the commonly found place-names with this formation.

**Xāltocān** = At the Place of the Sand Site [ $< *(xāl-to)-tl- < (xāl)-li-$ , “sand”]

**Ātocān** = At the Place of the Water Site [ $< *(ā-to)-tl- < (ā)-tl-$ , “water”]

**Tepētocān** = At the Place of the Hill Site [ $< *(tepē-to)-tl- < (tepē)-tl-$ , “hill/mountain”]

**Huēhuētocān** = At the Place of the Drum Site [ $< *(huē-huē-to)-tl- < (huē-huē)-tl-$ , “upright drum.” Some believe that the internal embed is the embed-only glottalized nounstem **(huē-hueh)-**, “old man” (see § 35.7.2). This would entail the translation “At the Place of the Old-Man Site” (with a reference to the fire god).]

**Cochtocān** = At the Place of the Sleep Site [ $< *(coch-to)-tl- < (coch)-tli-$ , “the state of sleep.” This is the name given by Quetzalcoatl to the place where he fell asleep in a drunken stupor. Contrary to what might seem to be the case, the connective-**t** compound verbstem **(coch-θ-t-o)**, “to lie sleeping,” is not involved here. The **(coch)-** is not the perfective verbstem but the perfective patientive nounstem **(coch)-tli-**, “sleep,” a nounstem also found in the same context as the place-name (*FC* III, 36) as an embed in the compound verbstem **(coch-huetzi)**, “to fall into sleep.”]

6. The formation can use the **(-n)-tli-** of § 46.3.1, in which the embed is the general-use form of a preterit-agentive nounstem.

**Cohcoyōncān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (coh-coy-ō-n- $\emptyset$ -cā-n)□- $\emptyset$ # = At the Place of the Holes

**Tlailōtlacān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (Tla-ilō-tla- $\emptyset$ -cā-n)□- $\emptyset$ # = At the Place of Those Who Retrieved Things

**Cōātl-Xoxōuhcān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ( $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -Cōā-tl- $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -Xo-xō-uh- $\emptyset$ -cā-n)□- $\emptyset$ # = At the Place of the Green Snakes [The matrix stem (-n)-tli- has embedded the structure of adjectival modification **cōātl xoxōuhqui**, “it is a green snake.”]

**Tepētl-Huēiyacān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ( $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -Tepē-tl- $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -Huē-i-ya- $\emptyset$ -cā-n)□- $\emptyset$ # = At the Place of the Long Mountain [The matrix stem (-n)-tli- has embedded the topographical-feature name **Tepētl-Huēiyac**, “It is Long Mountain,” which manifests a structure of adjectival modification.]

The embed is frequently the general-use stem of a preterit-agentive nounstem of ownership (see § 35.8 and § 35.9):

**Āmaquēmehcān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (Āma-quēm-eh- $\emptyset$ -cā-n)□- $\emptyset$ # = At the Place of Those Who Own Paper Clothing

**Cōlhuahcān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (Cōl-huah- $\emptyset$ -cā-n)□- $\emptyset$ # = At the Place of Those Who Own Grandfathers; i.e., At the Place of Venerable Tradition

**Teōhuahcān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (Teō-huah- $\emptyset$ -cā-n)□- $\emptyset$ # = At the Place of Those Who Own Gods

**Teōtihuahcān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (Teō-ti-huah- $\emptyset$ -cā-n)□- $\emptyset$ # = At the Place of the Owners of the Elder Gods [The embed of the internal matrix \*tla-(-huā) is (**teō-tiuh**)-tli-, “elder god”; since /w/ + /w/ > [w], the ... **tīuhhuah** ... becomes ... **tīhuah** ... This place-name has been translated in a number of ways; for example, “Place where they made lords” (*FC* X, 191, n. 84), “Place of the Gods,” “Abode of the Gods,” “Birthplace of the Gods,” “Place Where Men became Gods.” None of these translations is based on a knowledge of the morphological makeup of the stem. The fifth one apparently assumes the source to be the impersonal verbstem (**teō-ti-hua**), “for people in general to become gods,” but a place-name nounstem involving an impersonal verbstem does not end in -cā-n but in -yā-n. Another translation, “Place of Those Who Have Gods” (given in *Nombres Geográficos Indígenas del Estado de México*, 158), while correctly recognizing the presence of the notion of ownership, fails to distinguish **Teōtihuahcān** from **Teōhuahcān** (see above). The failure is due to the belief that the -tī- is the connective **tī**, although the compiler immediately acknowledges that this is improper (he proposes to solve the problem by getting rid of the -tī- and, in order to force the Nahuatl to conform with his preconceived interpretation, emending the name to **Teteohuahcan**).]

**Tenānyohcān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (Te-nān-yoh- $\emptyset$ -cā-n)□- $\emptyset$ # = At the Place of Those Who Own Walls in Abundance [**(te-nāmi)**-tl-, “wall”]

**Tīzayohcān** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (Tīza-yo-h- $\emptyset$ -cā-n)□- $\emptyset$ # = At the Place of Those Who Own White Clay in Abundance [**(tīza)**-tl-, “white clay”]

7. The formation can use the matrix stem (-n)-tli- with an action-noun nounstem as embed (see § 46.3.1.b). The -cā- before the (-n)-tli- is the distant-past tense morph:

**Iztāc-Cōātl-Īnocān** = #θ-θ(θ-θ-Iztā-θ-c-θ+θ-θ-Cōā-tl-θ+θ-θ-Ī-θ-on-o-cā-n)□-θ# = At the Place of the White Snake's Action of Being Recumbent [The matrix stem (-n)-tli- has embedded a structure of possessor supplementation whose supplement, **iztāc cōātl**, is a structure of adjectival modification.]

**Iztāc-Huexōtl-Ihcacān** = #θ-θ(θ-θ-Iztā-θ-c-θ+θ-θ-Hue-xō-tl-θ+θ-θ-I-θ-hca-cā-n)□-θ# = At the Place of the White Willows' Action of Standing [The /i:/ of the possessor pronoun has lost its length because of the following glottal stop.]

**Ātl-Xoxōuhqui-Īmancān** = #θ-θ(θ-θ-Ā-tl-θ+θ-θ-Xo-xō-uh-θ-qui-θ+θ-θ-Ī-θ-man-cā-n)□-θ# = At the Place of the Green Water's Action of Lying Flat

**Tozpalātl-Īnocān** = #θ-θ(θ-θ-Toz-pal-ā-tl-θ+θ-θ-Ī-θ-on-o-cā-n)□-θ# = At the Place of the Yellow Water's Action of Resting [*< (toz-pa-l)-li-*, “color of a yellow-headed parrot”]

48.3. *The (pan)-□- Group.* The formation types in this group are based on the adverbial NNCs of § 47.3.3.

1. The formation may be built according to the integrated structure (see § 47.3.3.b):

**Iztapan** = #θ-θ(Izta-pan)□-θ# = At the Surface of Salt; At the Salt Flats

**Tepan** = #θ-θ(Te-pan)□-θ# = At the Surface of Rock, At the Place on/over Rock

**Tlacōtēmpān** = #θ-θ(Tlacō-tēm-pan)□-θ# = At the Area at the Edge of Sticks

**Tēcūānipān** = #θ-θ(Tē-cuā-ni-pan)□-θ# = At the Area of the Man-eaters [*< (tē-cuā-ni)-tl-*, “man-eater”]

**Huēi Mīlpān** = #θ-θ(θ-θ-Huē-i-θ-θ+θ-θ-Mīl-pan)□-θ# = In the Area of the Big Cultivated Field(s) [The matrix stem (pan)-□- embeds the structure of adjectival modification **huēi milli**, “it is a big cultivated field.”]

The matrix stem (pan)-□- seems to have an affinity for embedding watercourse names (names of rivers, streams, etc.).

**Pāpalōāpan** = #θ-θ(Pā-pal-ō-ā-pan)□-θ# = At the Place on Butterfly River [*< (Pā-pal-ō-ā)-tl-*, “Butterfly River”]

**Āhuilizāpan** = #θ-θ(Āhui-liz-ā-pan)□-θ# = At the Place on Enjoyment River [*< (Āhui-liz-ā)-tl-*, “Enjoyment River”]

**Xālāpan** = #θ-θ(Xāl-ā-pan)□-θ# = At the Place on Sand River [*< (Xāl-ā)-tl-*, “Sand River, Sandy River”]

**Tīzāpan** = #θ-θ(Tīza-ā-pan)□-θ# = At the Place on White Clay River [*< (Tīza-ā)-tl-*, “White Clay River.”]

Since (pan)-□- is related to the verbstem (panō), “to cross over to the other side,” in place-names like the four above it may express the notion of passageway (i.e., “fording place,” “crossing place”), so the translation for the above NNCs might be better represented by “At the Crossing/Fording Place on. . . .”

A place-name nounstem formed on (pan)-□- can involve a compound stem with a body-part embed, such as (ix-pan)-□-:



**Xālīxpan** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (Xāl-īx-pan)□- $\emptyset$ # = At the Face-Surface of Sand; i.e., At the Place Overlooking Sand

**Tepētl-Īixpan** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ( $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -Tepē-tl- $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -Ī- $\emptyset$ -īx-pan) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = At the Surface of the Mountain's Face [This is traditionally written **Tepetlixpan**. The embed is the structure of possessor supplementation **tepētl īix**, “it is the mountain's face.”]

2. The formation may be built on a connective-**t** compound stem (see § 47.3.3.c):

**Xāltipan** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (Xāl-ti-pan)□- $\emptyset$ # = At the Place above Sand

**Ohxitipan** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (Ohxi-ti-pan)□- $\emptyset$ # = At the Place above Turpentine Ointment [**(ohxi)-tl-**, “ointment/salve” < **tē-(ohza)**, “to rub ointment/salve on s.o.”]

48.4. *The (-co)-□- ~ (-c)-tli- Group*. The formation types in this group are based on the adverbial NNCs of §§ 46.7–8 and § 47.2.2.

1. The formation may use **(-co)-□-** ~ **(-c)-tli-** according to § 46.7.

a. The following examples exhibit the formation with **(-co)-□-**:

**Mēxihco** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (Mē-xi-h-co)□- $\emptyset$ # = At the Place of the Moon's Navel [Presumably the embed is the compound stem (**mēt̄z-xī-c)-tli-**, “navel of the moon,” in which the embed is (**mēt̄z)-tli-**, “moon,” and the matrix is (**xī-c)-tli-**, “navel.” The / $\emptyset$ / assimilates to the /š/ and the resulting [šš] degeminates to [š] (Rincón in his *Arte* has *Mexico*); the /k/ of (**xī-c)-tli-** and the /k/ of **(-co)-□-** form /kk/, which dissimilates to [hk] (see § 2.11, *note*), which automatically entails the shortening of the /i:/ to [i]. There is much disagreement about the meaning of this place-name. Even Nahuatl speakers (at least of the colonial period) had difficulty with it. The informant in the *Florentine Codex* (X, 199) says it comes from the personal name **Mecih-tli**, i.e., (**me)-tl-**, “maguey,” plus (**cih)-tli-**, “jackrabbit/hare,” and tells a myth to justify this folk etymology. The explanation is not viable for two reasons: (1) (**me)-tl-** has a short vowel and, furthermore, /s/ does not change to [š] in this environment and (2) the only personal-name nounstems used as an embed in a place-name NNC are those of gods and only in the meaning given in § 56.5, *note* 2. In the *Crónica Mexihcáyotl* we are told it comes from the tribal name **Mexihtin** (which comes from the personal name **Mexih**, for which no translation or explanation is given), but the later description of the change of **Mexihtin** to **Mēxihcah** again suggests folk etymology (for the formation of **Mēxihcah**, see § 48.9.4.b.i).]

**Chālco** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (Chāl-co)□- $\emptyset$ # = At the Place of the Start [**(chāl)-li-**, “start; starting point.” This translation is based primarily on the verbstem **tla-(chāl-i-ā)** “to inaugurate s.th.”]

**Tlachco** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (Tlach-co)□- $\emptyset$ # = At the Place of the Ball Game, At the Ball Court

**Huēi-Tenānco** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ( $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -Huē-i- $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -Te-nān-co)□- $\emptyset$ # = At the Place of the Big Wall(s) [The matrix nounstem **(-co)-□-** embeds the structure of modification **huēi tenāmitl**, “it is a big wall.”]

Affective nounstems can serve as an embed to **(-co)-□-** (see § 46.7):

**Ācapōlco** = #θ-θ(Ā-ca-pōl-co)□-θ# = At the Place of the Big Reeds

**Chīmalzolco** = #θ-θ(Chīmal-zol-co)□-θ# - At the Place of the Frayed Shield(s)

A place-name nounstem can serve as an embed to the affective nounstems (**tzin**)-**tli**- and (**tōn**)-**tli**-, with the resultant compound stem being embedded in (-**co**)-□- (see § 46.7). The notion expressed in such a formation is similar to that in English place-names such as New York or Little Miami.

**Tōllāntzinco** = At the Place of New Tollan

**Xālpantzinco** = At the Place of New Xalpan

**Iztapantōnco** = At the Place of Little Iztapan

Due to the replacement of (-**co**)-□- with the silent variant □ before -**tzin-co** and -**tōn-co** in place-name stems (compare § 47.4), it is not always clear which of the two above formations is being used.

**Ātōyatzinco** = (1) #θ-θ(Ā-tōy-a-tzin-co)□-θ# = At the Place on the Little River [ $\langle$  (ā-tōy-a-tzin)-**tli**-, “little river”]; (2) #θ-θ(Ā-tōy-a-□-tzin-co)□-θ# = At the Place of Little Atoyac [ $\langle$  (Ā-tōy-a-c)-□-, “The Place on the River”]

**Āzcapōtzaltōnco** = (1) #θ-θ(Āz-ca-pōtza-l-tōn-co)□-θ# = At the Place of the Small Anthill(s) [ $\langle$  (āz-ca-pōtz-a-l-tōn)-**tli**-, “small anthill”]; (2) #θ-θ(Āz-ca-pōtz-a-l-□-tōn-co)□-θ# = At the Place of Little Azcapotzalco [ $\langle$  (Āz-ca-pōtz-a-l-co)-□-, “The Place of Anthills”]

Historical information, if available, must decide which formation is being used.

b. The following examples exhibit the formation with (-**c**)-**tli**-:

**Tecōāc** = #θ-θ(Te-cōā-c)□-θ# = At the Place of the Stone Snake

**Tepēyacac** = #θ-θ(Tepē-yaca-c)□-θ# = At the Place of the Mountain’s Nose, i.e., At the Place of the Mountain Spur

**Tēcuāntepēc** = #θ-θ(Tē-cuā-n-tepēc-c)□-θ# = At the Place of Man-Eater Mountain [The embed is the topographical-feature name nounstem (Tē-cuā-n-tepē)-**tl**-, “Man-Eater Mountain”; the embed of the stem is (tē-cuā-ni)-**tl**-, “man-eater; fierce beast; cannibal.”]

**Tlīliuhqui-Tepēc** = #θ-θ(θ-θ-Tlīl-i-uh-θ-qui-θ+θ-θ-Tepēc-c)□-θ# = At the Place on Black Mountain [The matrix nounstem (-**c**)-**tli**- embeds the topographical-feature name **Tlīliuhqui-Tepētīl**, “It is Black Mountain,” based on the structure of adjectival modification **tlīliuhqui tepētīl**, “it is a/the black mountain.”]

**Cōātl-Īcamac** = #θ-θ(θ-θ-Cōā-tl-θ+θ-θ-Ī-θ-cama-c)□-θ# = At the Place in the Snake’s Mouth [The matrix nounstem (-**c**)-**tli**- embeds the structure of possessor supplementation **cōātl īcan**, “it is the snake’s mouth,” but uses the restricted-use stem (**cama**)- instead of the general-use stem (**can**)-, in keeping with § 30.1.]

2. The formation may be built on a so-called “compound matrix” stem:

**Cuahnāhuac** = #θ-θ(Cuahn-nāhua-c)□-θ# = At the Place within Hearing Distance of the Trees; i.e., At a Place Near the Trees

**Ānāhuac** = #0-0(Ā-nāhua-c)□-0# = At the Place within Hearing Distance of Water; i.e., At the Place Near Water [Ānāhuac traditionally names two areas, one around the lakes in the Valley of Mexico and the other bordering the sea coasts of southern Mexico, with the Pacific Coast being identified as Ānāhuac Āyōtlān and the Gulf Coast as Ānāhuac Xicalanco.]

**Xālixco** = #0-0(Xāl-ix-co)□-0# = At the Place in Front of Sand

**Ātlīxco** = #0-0(Ā-tl-ix-co)□-0# = At the Place in Front of Water [The embed stem is irregular in that it includes the **num**<sup>1</sup> morph **tl**, which belongs to the source NNC's subject pronoun's number dyad.]

**Tepētīcpac** = #0-0(Tepē-t-īcpa-c)□-0# = At the Place on the Top of the Mountain

**Öztōtīcpac** = #0-0(Öztō-t-īcpa-c)□-0# = At the Place over the Cave

48.5. *The (tlah)-□- Group.* The formation types in this group are based on the adverbial NNCs of § 46.6 and § 47.3.3.a.

1. The embed may be a “normal” kind of nounstem:

**Huexōtlah** = #0-0(Huexō-tlah)□-0# = At the Place of Abundant Willows

**Mīllah** = #0-0(Mīl-lah)□-0# = At the Place of Abundant Cultivated Fields

**Āyōtōchcuitlatlah** = #0-0(Ā-yō-tōch-cuitla-tlah)□-0# = At the Place of Abundant Armadillo Excrement [**< (ā-yō-tō-ch)-tli-**, “rabbit in the form of a turtle,” i.e., “armadillo”]

2. The embed may be formed on the relational nounstem (**pan**)-□-:

**Nepantlah** = #0-0(Ne-pan-tlah)□-0# = At the Place of Multiple Layerings; i.e., At the Center

**Tlālnepanlah** = #0-0(Tlāl-ne-pan-tlah)□-0# = At the Place of Multiple Crisscrossing on the Land; i.e., At the Center of the Land

48.6. *The (tzālan)-tli- Group.* The formation type here is based on the adverbial NNCs of § 47.1.1:

**Cōātzālan** = #0-0(Cōā-tzālan)□-0# = At the Place in the Midst of Snakes

**Cuauhtzālan** = #0-0(Cuauh-tzālan)□-0# = At the Place in the Midst of Trees

48.7. *The (-ti-tlan)-□- Group.* The formation type here is based on the adverbial NNCs of § 47.3.2.c:

**Tenōchtīlan** = #0-0(Te-nōch-ti-tlan)□-0# = At the Place Near Rock-cactus-Fruit

**Ātīlan** = #0-0(Ā-ti-tlan)□-0# = At the Place Near Water

**Ācatzintīlan** = #0-0(Ā-ca-tzin-ti-tlan)□-0# = At the Place Near Small Reeds

48.8. *The (chān)-tli- Group.* The formation type created by means of this stem is that of a structure of possessor supplementation. Being a place-name, the construction is typically adverbialized.

**Cōātl-Īchān** = #0-0(0-0-Cōā-tl-0+0-0-Ī-0-chān)0-0# = At the Place of the Snake's Home

**Cuāuht-Īnchān** = #~~θ~~-~~θ~~(~~θ~~-~~θ~~-Cuāuh-t-□+~~θ~~-~~θ~~-Ī-n-chān)~~θ~~-~~θ~~# = At the Place of the Eagles' Home [The expected form of the supplementary possessor is **Cuāuhtin**. For another instance of **t-□** for **t-in**, see § 18.11.]

*Note:* There is another place-name NNC that apparently involves the stem (**chān**)-**tli-**, the enigmatic **Tamoanchan**, the name of a terrestrial paradise. Sahagún's informant says it means **temooa tocha**, i.e., **temōhua tochān** (or better, in order to account for the /n/: **temōhua in tochān**), i.e., "everyone descends at our home," which Dibble and Anderson translate, "We seek our home," as if it were **Tictēmoah tochān**. It is probable that the informant was as ignorant about the meaning of this name as he was about the term **Mēxihcatl** earlier in the same paragraph (see *FC X*, 190). There are those who say that **Tamoanchan** is Huastec or Maya.

48.9. *Gentilic NNCs.* In grammatical terminology "gentilic" (from Latin *gens*, "clan") refers to lexical items that denote nationality or place of origin. Here the word is used in a wider sense as a cover term for any lexical item naming a human being intimately associated with any kind of place named by a Nahuatl place-name NNC; therefore, it covers such things as regional-inhabitant names, tribal-member names, clan-member names, dweller names, building-steward names, etc. (Compare the associated-entity NNCs in § 47.4.)

There are four principal ways of forming gentilic NNCs. The first one is limited to tribal-member names, but the others permit all gentilic-name meanings.

1. A gentilic NNC may be created by means of absolutive-state NNCs built on nonlocative nounstems:

- (**Otomi**)-**tl-** = Otomi; e.g., **nOtomitl** = I am an Otomi; **tOtomih** = we are Otomis
- (**Nāhua**)-**tl-** = Nahuatl; e.g., **niNāhuatl** = I am a Nahuatl; **tiNāhuah** = we are Nahuas
- (**Yopih**)-~~θ~~ = Yopi; e.g., **niYopih** = I am a Yopi; **tiYopihmeh** = we are Yopis
- (**Cuā-ta**)-**tl-** = Cuata ["Rock-at-the-Head," i.e., "Hard-Head" (?)]; **niCuātatl** = I am a Cuata; **tiCuātah** = we are Cuatas

2. A gentilic-name unit may be created by means of a two-clause concatenate structure. The adjoined clause is a place-name NNC functioning as an adjectival modifier. The place-name NNC is one of the formation types presented in § 48.2.1.a, § 48.2.2, § 48.4.2 (that of **(-t-icpa-c)-□-**), § 48.7, and § 48.8. The principal clause is an absolutive-state NNC built on one of the following four nounstems (the two NNCs are frequently written solid).

- (**tlāca**)-**tl-** = person
- (**cal-ca**)-**tl-** = one associated with a house; i.e., inhabitant, dweller
- (**cal-θ**)-**qui-** = one who has dwelled; i.e., inhabitant, dweller [From the unattested verb-stem **\*(cal-i)**, "to occupy a house, to dwell."]
- (**chān-eh-θ**)-**□-** = one who has owned a home; i.e., a home owner, a dweller

a. With the place-name type in § 48.2.1.a:

- Ātlacuīhuayān nītlācatl/nīcalcatl/nīcalqui/nīchāneh** = I am a dweller in Atlacuīhuayan
- Ātlacuīhuayān tītlācah/tīcalcah/tīcalqueh/tīchānehqueh** = we are dwellers in Atlacuīhuayan

- b. With the place-name type in § 48.2.2:

**Xolochauhyān nītlācatl**, etc. = I am a dweller in Xolochauhyān  
**Xolochauhyān titlācah**, etc. = we are dwellers in Xolochauhyān

- c. With the place-name formed with **(-t-icpa-c)-** in § 48.4.2.

**Āticpac nicalcatl**, etc. = I am a dweller in Aticpac  
**Āticpac ticalcah**, etc. = we are dwellers in Aticpac

- d. With the place-name type in § 48.7.

**Cuauhtitlan nicalqui**, etc. = I am a dweller in Cuauhtitlan  
**Cuauhtitlan ticalqueh**, = we are dwellers in Cuauhtitlan

- e. With the place-name type in § 48.8.

**Cōātl-Īchān nichāneh**, etc. = I am a dweller in Coatl-Ichan  
**Cōātl-Īchān tichānehqueh**, etc. = we are dwellers in Coatl-Ichan

*Note:* There may be exceptional formations. For example, the gentilic nounstem associated with **Tenōchtitlan** is **(Te-nōch- $\square$ -ca)-tl-**, although this stem properly belongs to **Tenōcho** (a town near Tetzcohcō); see subsection 4.b.i below for this kind of formation. Another example, the gentilic nounstem **(Xoco-tē- $\square$ -ca)-tl-** (see subsection 4.b.iii below), which properly belongs to **Xocotlān**, is associated with **Xocotitlan**. At times **(Mētzc- $\square$ -ca)-tl-**, which properly belongs to **Mētzcō**, is used as the gentilic nounstem for **Mētztitlan**.

3. Certain place-names are formed on a preterit-agentive nounstem (see § 48.2.6) as gentilic. This gentilic serves as the embed of a relational nounstem acting as matrix, usually **(-n)-tli-** but occasionally **(-pan)-**. Although the place-name is derived from the gentilic, the presentation here follows that of the other subsections.

- a. When the embed is a preterit-agentive nounstem of ownership (see subsection 4.b.ii below for an alternative formation):

**(Āma-quēm-eh- $\theta$ -cā-n)-** = Amaquemehcan, At the Place of Paper-Clothes Owners; e.g., **nĀmaquēmeh** = I am a Paper-Clothes Owner; i.e., a dweller in Amaquemehcan; **tĀmaquēmehqueh** = we are dwellers in Amaquemehcan

**(Cōl-huah- $\theta$ -cā-n)-** = Colhuahcan, At the Place of Grandfather-Owners; e.g., **niCōlhuah** = I am a Grandfather Owner; i.e., a dweller in Colhuahcan; **tiCōlhuahqueh** = we are dwellers in Colhuahcan

**(Te-nān-yo-h- $\theta$ -cā-n)-** = Tenanyohcan, At the Place of Owners of Abundant Walls; **niTenānyoh** = I am an Owner of Abundant Walls; i.e., a dweller in Tenanyohcan; **tiTenānyohqueh** = we are dwellers in Tenanyohcan

- b. When the embed is a preterit-agentive nounstem that does not signify ownership:

**(Tla-ilō-tla- $\theta$ -cā-n)-** = Tlailotlacan, At the Place of the Retrievers; **niTlailōtlac** = I am a Retriever; i.e., a dweller in Tlailotlacan; **tiTlailōtlaqueh** = we are dwellers in Tlailotlacan

**(Tōl-o-h- $\theta$ -cā-n)-** = Tolohcan, At the Place of the Head Bowers; **niTōloh** = I am a Head Bower; i.e., a dweller in Tolohcan; **tiTōlohqueh** = we are dwellers in Tolohcan

**(To-tōn-a-θ-cā-pan)-□-** = Totonacapan, In the Area of the Continually Sun-Warmed Ones; **niTotōnac** = I am a Continually Sun-Warmed One, i.e., a dweller in Totonacapan, I am a Totonac; **tiTotōnaqueh** = we are dwellers in Totonacapan; we are Totonacs

4. A gentilic NNC can be created on a compound stem formed by embedding one of the remaining types of place-name nounstems into the matrix nounstem **(-ca)-tl-**, “entity/being associated with. . .” (Compare and contrast these gentilic NNCs with the associated-entity NNCs, of § 47.5.) There are five types of stem formations, falling into two groups: (1) stems in which the full place-name nounstem serves as embed to **(-ca)-tl-** and (2) stems that replace the relational-nounstem matrix of the place-name with a silent morph before being embedded in **(-ca)-tl-**.

a. Group 1 has two subtypes.

i. Place-name nounstems with **(tlah)-□-** (see § 46.6) or **(tzālan)-□-** (see § 47.1) as matrix are simply embedded in **(-ca)-tl-**. The resulting gentilic nounstem is identical to the associated-entity stem of § 47.4:

**(Huexō-tlah)-□-** > **(Huexō-tlah-ca)-tl-** = dweller in Huexotlah; e.g., **niHuexōtlahcatl** = I am a dweller in Huexotlah; **tiHuexōtlahcah** = we are dwellers in Huexotlah

**(Cōā-tzālan)-□-** > **(Cōā-tzālan-ca)-tl-** = a dweller in Coatzalan; e.g., **niCōātzālancah** = I am a dweller in Coatzalan; **tiCōātzālancah** = we are dwellers in Coatzalan

ii. Place-name nounstems formed on **(pan)-□-** (see § 48.3) and those formed on the **(cā-n)-□-** of § 48.2.5 add **ē** to the full place-name nounstem before embedding it into **(-ca)-tl-**. Those with **(cā-n)-□-** also change the matrix nounstem **(-n)-□-** to **(-m)-□-**.

(a) The following examples illustrate the formation from **(pan)-□-**:

**(Izta-pan)-□-** > **(Izta-pan-ē-ca)-tl-** = dweller in Iztapan; e.g., **niIztapanēcatl** = I am a dweller in Iztapan; **tiIztapanēcah** = we are dwellers in Iztapan

**(Tlacō-tēm-pan)-□-** > **(Tlacō-tēm-pan-ē-ca)-tl-** = dweller in Tlacotempan; e.g., **niTlacōtēmpanēcatl** = I am a dweller in Tlacotempan; **tiTlacōtēmpanēcah** = we are dwellers in Tlacotempan

**(Xāl-ix-pan)-□-** > **(Xāl-ix-pan-ē-ca)-tl-** = dweller in Xalixpan; e.g., **niXālixpanēcatl** = I am a dweller in Xalixpan; **tiXālixpanēcah** = we are dwellers in Xalixpan

**(chi-nām-pan)-□-** > **(chi-nām-pan-ē-ca)-tl-** = a dweller in the wetlands; e.g., **nichināmpanēcatl** = I am a dweller in the wetlands; **tichināmpanēcah** = we are dwellers in the wetlands

**(tlāl-huāc-pan)-□-** > **(tlāl-huāc-pan-ē-ca)-tl-** = a dweller in the drylands; e.g., **nitlālhuācpanēcatl** = I am a dweller in the drylands; **titlālhuācpanēcah** = we are dwellers in the drylands

Notice how different the above gentilic nounstems with (. . . **-pan-ē-ca)-tl-** are from the associated-entity nounstems with (. . . **-pan-ca)-tl-** in § 47.4.

(b) The following examples illustrate the formation from (**cā-n**)-□-:

(**Xāl-to-cā-n**)-□- > (**Xāl-to-cā-m-ē-ca)-tl-** = dweller in Xaltocan; e.g., **niXāltocāmēcatl** = I am a dweller in Xaltocan; **tiXāltocāmēcah** = we are dwellers in Xaltocan

(**Cōā-ix-tlā-hua-cā-n**)-□- > (**Cōā-ix-tlā-hua-cā-m-ē-ca)-tl-** = dweller in Coaxtlahuacan; e.g., **niCōāixtlāhuacāmēcatl** = I am a dweller in Coaxtlahuacan; **tiCōāixtlāhuacāmēcah** = we are dwellers in Coaxtlahuacan. [There are writers who erroneously think that the embed in the place-name is a preterit-agentive nounstem of ownership (i.e., they mistake the **-hua-** for **-huah-θ-**) and use, for example, **Coaxtlahuaque** (i.e., **Cōāixtlāhuahqueh**) as a gentilic NNC. The embed in the place-name nounstem, however, is (**cōā-ix-tlā-hua**)-tl-, “snake plain” (see § 48.2.5).]

Notice how different the above gentilic nounstems are from those formed from place-name nounstems with a preterit-agentive nounstem as embed (see § 48.9.3).

*b.* Group 2 has three subtypes. In all of them the relational nounstem that serves as matrix for the place-name nounstem is replaced by the silent morph □ before being embedded in (**-ca**)-tl-.

*i.* The silent variant □ replaces both (**-co**)-□- and (**-c**)-tl- (compare the affective formations in § 48.4.1.a) in a place-name nounstem before being embedded in the matrix stem (**-ca**)-tl- to form the gentilic nounstem (the only exception is a place-name stem built on (**-t-icpa-c**)-tl-; see § 48.9.2).

(**Mē-xi-h-co**)-□- > (**Mē-xi-h-□-ca**)-tl- = dweller in Mexihco; e.g., **niMēxihcatl** = I am a dweller in Mexihco; **tiMēxihcah** = we are dwellers in Mexihco

(**Mā-tla-tzin-co**)-□- > (**Mā-tla-tzin-□-ca**)-tl- = dweller in Matlatzinco; e.g., **niMātlatzincatl** = I am a dweller in Matlatzinco; **tiMātlatzincah** = we are dwellers in Matlatzinco

(**Ā-ca-pōl-co**)-□- > (**Ā-ca-pōl-□-ca**)-tl- = dweller in Acapulco; e.g., **nĀcapōlcatl** = I am a dweller in Acapulco; **tĀcapōlcah** = we are dwellers in Acapulco

(**Ā-tl-ix-co**)-□- > (**Ā-tl-ix-□-ca**)-tl- = dweller in Atlixco; e.g., **nĀtlīxcatl** = I am a dweller in Atlixco; **tĀtlīxcah** = we are dwellers in Atlixco

(**Te-cōā-c**)-□- > (**Te-cōā-□-ca**)-tl- = dweller in Tecoaac; e.g., **niTēcōācatl** = I am a dweller in Tecoaac; **tiTēcōācah** = we are dwellers in Tecoaac

(**θ-θ-Tlil-i-uh-θ-qui-θ+θ-θ-Tepē-c**)-□- > (**θ-θ-Tlil-i-uh-θ-qui-θ+θ-θ-Tepē-□-ca**)-tl- = dweller in Tliluhqui-Tepec; e.g., **niTliluhqui-Tepēcatl** = I am a dweller in Tliluhqui-Tepec; **tiTliluhqui-Tepēcah** = we are dwellers in Tliluhqui-Tepec

(**Cuauh-nāhua-c**)-□- > (**Cuauh-nāhua-□-ca**)-tl- = dweller in Cuauhnahuac; e.g., **niCuauhnāhuacatl** = I am a dweller in Cuauhnahuac; **tiCuauhnāhuacah** = we are dwellers in Cuauhnahuac

ii. In addition to the formation of its gentilic nounstem by means of the procedure of § 48.9.3.a, a place-name nounstem formed on the matrix stem **(-n)-□-** having a preterit-agentive nounstem of ownership as embed can replace the **(-n)-□-** with its silent variant **(□)-□-** in order to embed it into **(-ca)-tl-**. When **(-n)-□-** becomes silent, the **(cā)-tl-** preceding it is no longer needed and disappears.

**(Āma-quēm-eh-θ-cā-n)-□-** > **(Āma-quēm-eh-θ-□-ca)-tl-** = dweller in Amaquemehcan; e.g., **nĀmaquēmehcatl** = I am a dweller in Amaquemehcan; **tĀmaquēmehcah** = we are dwellers in Amaquemehcan

**(Cōl-huah-θ-cā-n)-□-** > **(Cōl-huah-θ-□-ca)-tl-** = dweller in Colhuahcan; e.g., **niCōlhuahcatl** = I am a dweller in Colhuahcan; **tiCōlhuahcah** = we are dwellers in Colhuahcan

**(Te-nān-yo-h-θ-cā-n)-□-** > **(Te-nān-yo-h-θ-□-ca)-tl-** dweller in Tenanyohcan; e.g., **niTenānyōhcatl** = I am a dweller in Tenanyohcan; **tiTenānyohcah** = we are dwellers in Tenanyohcan

*Remark:* The /a/ of **(-ca)-tl-** is short, so there is a contrast between these gentilic nounstems and the general-use form of the preterit-agentive nounstem (see § 35.5). One should take care not to confuse the two kinds of stems.

iii. Place-name nounstems that have **(mā-n)-□-** (see § 48.2.3) and **(tlā-n)-□-** (see § 48.2.4) as matrix form their gentilic nounstems by replacing the **(-n)-□-** with its silent variant **(□)-□-** and changing the /a:/ to /e:/ before embedding the stem into **(-ca)-tl-**. In **(tlā-n)-□-** and its variant **(lā-n)-□-** the [λ] and the [l], furthermore, are changed to [t].

**(Ōl-mā-n)-□-** > **(Ōl-mē-□-ca)-tl-** = a dweller in Olman, an Olmec; e.g., **nŌlmēcatl** = I am a dweller in Olman, I am an Olmec; **tŌlmēcah** = we are dwellers in Olman, we are Olmecs

**(Chichī-mā-n)-□-** > **(Chichī-mē-□-ca)-tl-** = dweller in Chichiman, a Chichimec; e.g., **niChichīmēcatl** = I am a dweller in Chichiman, I am a Chichimec; **tiChichīmēcah** = we are dwellers in Chichiman, we are Chichimecs

**(Āz-tlā-n)-□-** > **(Āz-tē-□-ca)-tl-** = dweller in Aztlan, an Aztec; e.g., **nĀztēcatl** = I am a dweller in Aztlan, I am an Aztec; **tĀztēcah** = we are dwellers in Aztlan, we are Aztecs

**(Chol-ō-l-lā-n)-□-** > **(Chol-ō-l-tē-□-ca)-tl-** = dweller in Cholollan, a Chololtec; e.g., **niCholōltēcatl** = I am a dweller in Cholollan, I am a Chololtec; **tiCholōltēcah** = we are dwellers in Cholollan, we are Chololtecs

Notice how different these gentilic nounstems with **(-tē-□-ca)-tl-** are from the associated-entity nounstems with **(-tlan-ca)-tl-** in § 47.4.

*Note 1:* A place-name that normally forms a gentilic nounstem according to subsection 3 or 4 above can form an alternative by the procedure in subsection 2; for example:

**(Tlach-mal-aca-c)-□-** = Place of the Ball-Game Spindle; e.g., **niTlachmalacacatl** ~ **Tlachmalacac nitlācatl** = I am a dweller in Tlachmalacac

**(Tzinācan-tlā-n)-□-** = Place in the Vicinity of Bats; e.g., **niTzinācantēcatl** ~ **Tzinācantlān nitlācatl** = I am a dweller in Tzinacantlan

Similarly, a place-name that normally forms a gentilic-name unit according to subsection 2 can form an alternative by the procedure in subsection 4.



( $\theta$ - $\theta$ - $\bar{A}$ - $\bar{t}$ - $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ - $\bar{I}$ - $\theta$ - $c\bar{e}uh$ - $y\bar{a}$ - $n$ )- $\square$ - = Place of the Water's Rest; e.g.,  $\bar{A}tl$ - $\bar{I}c\bar{e}uhy\bar{a}n$   $nitl\bar{a}catl$  ~  $n\bar{A}tl$ - $\bar{I}c\bar{e}uhcatl$  = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ ( $\theta$ - $\theta$ - $\bar{A}$ - $\bar{t}$ - $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ - $\bar{I}$ - $\theta$ - $c\bar{e}uh$ - $\square$ - $ca$ ) $tl$ - $\theta$ # = I am a dweller in Atl-Iceuhyan

*Note 2:* Due to the defective spelling of Nahuatl in traditional texts (vowel length never represented, a final glotal stop almost never represented, and a final /n/ often not represented), it is frequently impossible to know whether a place-name NNC contains ( $t\bar{l}\bar{a}$ - $n$ )- $\square$ - or ( $t\bar{l}ah$ )- $\square$ -. Only a knowledge of the gentilic nounstem will resolve the difficulty. For example, the defectively written *Ayotla* will be revealed as either  $\bar{A}y\bar{o}tl\bar{a}n$ , "At a Place in the Vicinity of Turtles," or  $\bar{A}y\bar{o}tlah$ , "In a Place of Abundant Turtles," by the gentilic NNCs  $\bar{A}y\bar{o}t\bar{e}catl$  and  $\bar{A}y\bar{o}tlahcatl$  respectively. Of course, there is nothing to resolve the other ambiguity here; namely, the possibility that the defectively spelled NNC may also be  $\bar{A}yoht\bar{l}an$ , "At the Place in the Vicinity of Squashes," or  $\bar{A}yohtlah$ , "At the Place of Abundant Squashes."

48.10. *Incorporation of Gentilic Nounstems into Compound Stems.* Like any other nounstem, a gentilic nounstem may be incorporated into a compound stem.

**Huel mot\bar{o}lt\bar{e}catlamachtih.** = He made much sport of the Toltecs.

**Quinonohualcatl\bar{l}\bar{a}li\bar{a}yah in innex\bar{i}n.** = They wore their haircut like the Nonohualcas. They cut their hair according to the Nonohualca fashion.

**Moch\bar{a}lcachihch\bar{i}uh. Moch\bar{a}lcanehnequi.** = He arrayed himself as a person from Chalco. He pretended to be an inhabitant of Chalco. [Notice the use of the present tense with a past time meaning; see § 57.1.]

Occasionally, a gentilic nounstem can serve as the embed in a place-name nounstem.

**Otompan** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ ( $Otom$ - $pan$ )- $\square$ - $\theta$ # = At the Area of the Otomis

**Mixt\bar{e}capan** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ ( $Mix$ - $t\bar{e}$ - $\square$ - $ca$ - $pan$ )- $\square$ - $\theta$ # = At the Area of the Mixtecs [ $\langle$  ( $Mix$ - $t\bar{e}$ - $\square$ - $ca$ )- $tl$ -, "a person from Mixtlan, a Mixtec"]

**Tepan\bar{e}capan** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ ( $Te$ - $pan$ - $\bar{e}$ - $ca$ - $pan$ )- $\square$ - $\theta$ # = At the Area of the Tepanecs [ $\langle$  ( $Te$ - $pan$ - $\bar{e}$ - $ca$ )- $tl$ -, "a person from Tepan, a Tepanec"]

**Te\bar{o}huahcatl\bar{a}n** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ ( $Te\bar{o}$ - $huah$ - $\theta$ - $\square$ - $ca$ - $t\bar{l}\bar{a}$ - $n$ )- $\square$ - $\theta$ # = At the Place in the Vicinity of Teohuas [ $\langle$  ( $Te\bar{o}$ - $huah$ - $\theta$ - $\square$ - $ca$ )- $tl$ -, "a person from Teohuahcan"]

The gentilic nounstem can also be more deeply embedded; for example:

**Ch\bar{i}ch\bar{i}m\bar{e}catl\bar{a}lpan** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ ( $Ch\bar{i}ch\bar{i}$ - $m\bar{e}$ - $\square$ - $ca$ - $t\bar{l}\bar{a}l$ - $pan$ )- $\square$ - $\theta$ # = At the Area of the Chichimec Land(s) [ $\langle$  ( $Ch\bar{i}ch\bar{i}$ - $m\bar{e}$ - $\square$ - $ca$ - $t\bar{l}\bar{a}l$ )- $li$ -, "Chichimec land"]

Care must be taken, however, in analyzing compound nounstems. For example, in the place-name NNC  $\bar{A}tlancatep\bar{e}c$ , the embed is not a gentilic nounstem from the place-name  $\bar{A}tl\bar{a}n$ , "At the Place Near Water" (since it is not  $\bar{A}t\bar{e}catep\bar{e}c$ ); the embed is the associated-entity nounstem ( $\bar{a}$ - $tlan$ - $ca$ )- $tl$ -, "thing associated with water's depth," from the locative nounstem ( $\bar{a}$ - $tlan$ )- $\square$ -, "under water/water side" (see § 47.4).  $\bar{A}tlancatep\bar{e}c$  can therefore be translated "At the Place of Fossilized Seashell Mountain"(?).

Occasionally, the gentilic nounstem serving as the source for a place-name NNC has an affective formation:

**M\bar{e}xihcatz\bar{i}nco** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ ( $M\bar{e}$ - $xi$ - $h$ - $\square$ - $ca$ - $tzin$ - $co$ )- $\square$ - $\theta$ # = At the Place of Honorable Mexihcas [ $\langle$  ( $M\bar{e}$ - $xi$ - $h$ - $\square$ - $ca$ - $tzin$ )- $tli$ -, "honorable Mexihca"]

**Cōlhuahztinco** = #θ-θ(Cōl-huah-θ-tzin-co)□-θ# = At the Place of Honorable Colhuas [ $\langle$  (Cōl-huah-θ-tzin)-tli-, “honorable Colhua”  $\langle$  (Cōl-huah-θ)-□-, “a person from Colhuahcan”; see § 48.9.3.a.]

**Cōlhuahcatōnco** = #θ-θ(Cōl-huah-θ-□-ca-tōn-co)□-θ# = At the Place of Lesser Colhuas [ $\langle$  (Col-huah-θ-□-ca-tōn)-tli-, “lesser Colhua”  $\langle$  (Cōl-huah-θ-□-ca)-tli-, “a person from Colhuahcan”; see § 48.9.4.b.ii.]

48.11. *Adjectival Use of Gentilic NNCs.* Like other NNCs, a gentilic NNC may be used adjectivally.

**Cuextēcatl in īchīmal.** = His shield is Cuextec (= Huastec); i.e., His shield is in the Huastec style.

**Onaqui tlāhuiztli Cuextēcatl.** = He puts on the Huastec insignia. [Compare **Onaqui tlāhuiztli cuāuhtlōcēlōtl.** = “He puts on the eagle-jaguar insignia.” The structure of adjectival modification with **tlāhuiztli** as its head is functioning as an adverbial modifier to the intransitive VNC **onaqui**, “he enters thither,” so **tlāhuiztli** is a first-degree adverb meaning “into the insignia.”]

**Quimomacah Cuextēcatl tlāhuiztli.** = They give one another Huastec insignias.

48.12. *Gentilic-Collectivity NNCs.* Gentilic nounstems can be embedded in the matrix nounstem (-yō)-tl- to create a gentilic-collectivity nounstem; that is, a nounstem that signifies the collective body of people identified by the gentilic nounstem. It can signify what is typical or characteristic of that people (compare the NNCs of pertinency in § 47.5).

**Mēxihcayōtl** = #θ-θ(Mē-xi-h-□-ca-yō)tl-θ# = it is the Mexihca nation/the Mexihca people/what is typical of the Mexihca people/what is (typically) Mexihca/what is characteristic of the Mexihcas

**Tōltēcayōtl** = #θ-θ(Tōl-tē-□-ca-yō)tl-θ# = it is the Toltec nation/the Toltec people/what is typical of the Toltecs/what is characteristic of the Toltecs

**Cuauhtitlancayōtl** = #θ-θ(Cuauh-ti-tlan-ca-yō)tl-θ# = it is the Cuauhtitlan citizenry; it is what is typical of the inhabitants of Cuauhtitlan [Built on the gentilic stem (Cuauh-ti-tlan-ca)-tl-.]

**Cuāuht-Īnchāncayōtl** = #θ-θ(θ-θ-Cuāuh-t-□+θ-θ-Ī-n-chān-ca-yō)tl-θ# = it is the general public of Cuauht-Inchan; it is what is typical of the people of Cuauht-Inchan [Built on the gentilic stem (θ-θ-Cuāuh-t-□+θ-θ-Ī-n-chān-ca)-tl-.]

**Ānāhuacayōtl** = #θ-θ(Ā-nāhua-□-ca-yō)tl-θ# = it is the populace of the region of Anahuac; it is what is typical of the people around the lakes of the Valley of Mexico; it is what is characteristic of the people in the territories along the southern seacoasts; it is what is brought in from the territories along the southern seacoasts

**Āmilpanēcayōtl** = #θ-θ(ā-mil-pan-ē-ca-yō)tl-θ# = it is the Amilpan populace/the people of Amilpan/what is typical of the inhabitants of Amilpan

If an NNC such as **āmilpan** is functioning not as a place-name but merely as a locative adverbial NNC, to be translated as “above an/the irrigated field, in the area of irrigated fields,” it can

have an NNC of pertinency (see § 47.5) that is identical to the NNC of gentile collectivity: **āmīlpanēcayōtl**, “it is a thing characteristic of irrigated fields, it is the variety (of a kind of plant) that grows in irrigated fields,” etc.

The possessive-state NNC built on a gentile-collectivity nounstem may have the subject pronoun’s *num’* subposition filled by either **θ** or **uh**:

**noMēxihcayo** } = { it is my Mexihcaness, it is a thing that belongs  
**noMēxihcayōuh** } = { to me that is typically Mexihca

The gentile-collectivity NNC can function as an adjectival NNC; for example:

**cuīcatl Chichimēcayōtl** = it is a song that is a thing characteristic of the Chichimecs; it is a typically Chichimec song; it is a Chichimec song, it is a song in the Chichimec style

48.13. *Nounstems of Profession.* Certain places were famed for certain trades or professions. As a consequence, their gentile nounstems took on an extended meaning as nounstems of profession:

**(tōl-tē-□-ca)-tl-** = craftsman/master craftsman [**< Tōllān.**]

**(ā-man-tē-□-ca)-tl-** = feather worker [**< āmantlān**]

**(pō-ch-tē-□-ca)-tl-** = merchant [**< Pōchtlān**]

**(ōztō-mē-□-ca)-tl-** = vanguard merchant [**< Ōztōmān**]

These nounstems can occur in absolute-state or possessive-state NNCs:

**titōltēcah** = we are craftsmen

**amītōltēcahuān** = #am-θ+i-θ(tōl-tē-□-ca)hu-ān# = you are his craftsmen

Nounstems of profession can form a nounstem of pertinency with **(-yō)-tl-** as matrix (see § 47.5).

**āmantēcayōtl** = #θ-θ(ā-man-tē-□-ca-yō)tl-θ# = it is a thing that pertains to feather workers; it is the art/skill of feather working

In an extension of meaning somewhat similar to that resulting in nounstems of profession, gentile nounstems also came to be lexicalized as titles for people occupying certain high-ranking administrative or military positions. By official order the person was formally linked to a place (building, district, etc.) in a way vaguely analogous to titling among European nobility (e.g., “Prince of Wales”). The following are a few examples of titles:

**tlacōchcalcatl** = #θ-θ(tlacō-ch-cal-□-ca)tl-θ# = he is one associated with (or in charge of) the tlacochcalco; i.e., he is a commanding general [**< (tlacō-ch-cal-co)-□-**, “place of the house of darts, place of the arsenal”]

**tlācatēccatl** = #θ-θ(tlāca-tēc-□-ca)tl-θ# = he is one associated with (or in charge of) the tlacatecco; i.e., he is a general [**< (tlāca-tēc-co)-□-** = **(tlāca-tēc-co)-□-**, “place of the lord of lords.” The **tlācatēcco** was a temple dedicated to Huitztzilopochtli.]

**Tlillān-calqui** = he is a dweller in the Tlillan; i.e., he is one of the four principal officials in the supreme council [**< (Tlil-lā-n)-□-**, “Place in the Vicinity of Black Ink”]

**toquiltēcatl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**toquiltē-□-ca**)tl- $\emptyset$ # = he is a dweller in the Tocuillan; i.e., he is one of the members of the ruler's council [ $\langle$  (**Tocuiltē-lā-n**)-□-, "Place in the Vicinity of ?"]

**ātēmpāncatī** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**ātēmpāncā-ē-ca**)tl- $\emptyset$ # = he is a dweller in Atempan; i.e., he is one of the members of the ruler's council [ $\langle$  (**Ā-tēmpān**)-□-, "Place upon the Water's Edge."]

**tezcacōācatl** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**tezcacōā-□-ca**)tl- $\emptyset$ # = he is a dweller in the Tezcacoac; i.e., he is one of the members of the ruler's council [ $\langle$  (**Tezcacōā-c**)-□-, "Place of the Mirror-Snake"]

## LESSON 49

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### Adverbial Modification (Part One)

49.1. *The Simple Structure of Adverbial Modification.* A structure of adverbial modification is simple if neither the modifier (the adjoined clause) nor the head (the principal clause) is itself a structure of adverbial modification. While the modifier normally precedes the head, it is possible for it to follow. Examples of simple structures of adverbial modification have already been given in Lessons 44–48. The following are a few further examples:

1. Sentences using NNCs with first-degree adverbialization.

a. Place:

**Nehhuātl in āltepētl niyah.** = I went to the town.

**Tochān ticateh.** = We are at home.

**Onaqui tlāhuiztli.** = He enters into the insignia; i.e., He puts on the insignia.

**Onactinenca ēhuatl.** = He had gone about having entered into the skin; i.e., He had gone about wearing the skin.

b. Duration:

**Mozauhqueh nāhuilhuitl.** = They fasted for four days.

c. Manner:

**Nepanōtl ammotlahpalohqueh?** = Did you urge each other with mutuality to be healthy? I.e., Did you greet each other mutually? Did you greet one another? [Nepanōtl strengthens the reciprocity expressed by a VNC.]

**Monohmah timotolinia.** = You are doing harm to yourself. [(nohmah)-Ø- strengthens the reflexivity expressed by a VNC.]

d. Compared manner:

**Xōchitl ancuepōnqueh.** = You (pl) have budded like flowers.

**Cuīcatl anyōlqueh.** = You (pl) have lived like songs.

**Quetzaltōtōtl nipatlāni.** = I fly like a quetzal.

**Chālchihuitl nimamalihuaz.** = I shall be perforated like jade.

These constructions should be distinguished from the following, which are simply metaphorical expressions in which the adjunct is functioning as a supplementary subject:

**Niquetzaltōtōtl nipatlāni.** = I, who am a quetzal, am flying. [The adjunct **niquetzaltōtōtl** is the supplementary subject standing in cross-reference to the subject pronoun of **nipatlāni**.]

**Nichālchihuitl nimamalihuaz.** = I, who am jade, shall be perforated.

These metaphorical expressions do not have single-nucleus counterparts. Sentences such as **Niquetzaltōtōpatlāni** and **Nichālchihuitl nimamalihuaz** are only incorporated-adverb constructions, the single-nucleus versions of the double-nucleus compared-manner constructions (**Quetzaltōtōtl nipatlāni**; **Chālchihuitl nimamalihuaz**). Notice that if the principal clause has a third-person singular subject pronoun, a sentence with such an adjunct is ambiguous; for example, **Quetzaltōtōtl patlāni** may be either a supplementary-subject construction (translated as “A quetzal is flying”), a metaphorical construction (translated as “He, a quetzal, is flying”), or a compared-manner construction (translated as “He is flying like a quetzal”). The single-nucleus counterpart is not ambiguous, being only a compared-manner-adverb compound: **Quetzaltōtōpatlāni**, “He is flying like a quetzal.”

e. Means:

**Tlā cēhuilōz amahahpilōl!** = Let it be extinguished by means of your (pl) water jars!

**Ōhuetz in innāhuatl in tlaquiquitzli.** = The fire-trumpet fell by means of their command; i.e., The gun discharged/fired at/upon their command.

**Tlāihua caxitl.** = All drink by means of (i.e., from) a bowl.

**Mā itlahtzin xictlaōcoli in nochpōchtzin.** = Take pity on my daughter by means of a little s.th.; i.e., Provide my daughter with a little s.th.

2. Sentences using NNCs with second-degree adverbialization.

a. Place:

**Oncān nēnquīztinemih.** = There they go along wasting their time.

**Ocozacatl tlani quihuīcah.** = They carry long-bladed straw in the bottom. [The noun-stem (**oco-zaca**)-**tl**- is literally “pine straw/grass,” but Molina translates it as “special straw for making huts or straw houses.”]

**Tliltic in panī.** = It is black on the surface.

**Centlapal quīza.** = It comes out at one side.

**Quēzquicān ōtinenca?** = In how many places had you lived?

**Cāmpa ōmicqueh?** = Where did they die?

**Quēxquichca catca?** = At what distance was it?

**In octli nicān mīya itōca mātālaoctli.** = The pulque that was drunk here was called dark-green pulque. [The adjectival modifier **nicān mīya**, “it used to drink itself here” is a structure of adverbial modification with **nicān** modifying **mīya**.]

b. Time:

**Īxmihmiquini in tlahcah.** = It is blind during the day.

**Huīptla niyāz.** = I shall go the day after tomorrow.

**Quēmman ticuīcazqueh?** = At what time (today) shall we sing?

c. Manner:

**Īlihuiz ōtīlahtoh.** = You spoke rashly.

d. Compared manner:

**Nehmatca tinemih.** = We are living like a prudent person; i.e., We are living prudently.

49.2. *Multiple-Nucleus Simple Structures of Adverbial Modification.* A simple structure of adverbial modification need not be limited to the single-nucleus constructions illustrated in § 49.1. It may contain a structure of adjectival modification, a structure of supplementation, or a combination of these.

a. Place:

**In cihuah yancuic onaquiyah in incuē.** = The women used to enter into their new skirts; i.e., The women used to put on their new skirts. [The adjectival modifier **yancuic** stands at a distance from its head in the NNC **incuē**. **Yancuic . . . in incuē** is the adverbial modifier of **onaquiyah**.]

**In Mātlatzincāh itech quīza in intōcā in intlatequipanōliz.** = As for the Matlatzincas, their name comes from their livelihood. [The NNC **Mātlatzincāh** is a topic for the rest of the sentence (which serves as the comment on it). It functions as the supplementary possessor of both **intōcā** and **intlatequipanōliz**. The NNC **intōcā** is the supplementary subject for the subject pronoun in **quīza**. The NNC **intlatequipanōliz** is the supplementary possessor for the possessor pronoun of **itech**. The unit **itech . . . in intlatequipanōliz** is the adverbial modifier with **quīza** as its head.]

**Nehhuātl in huēi āltepētl niyāz.** = I shall go to the city.

**Onaqui tlāhuiztli cuāuhtlōcēlōtl.** = He enters into the eagle-jaguar insignia; i.e., He puts on the eagle-jaguar insignia.

**Īpan mantinencah in tiyahcāhuān in tenāmitl.** = The braves had continued to lie on top of the wall. [The NNC **tenāmitl** is the supplementary possessor of **ī-∅**, in **īpan**.]

b. Time:

**Quilhuilh in ahzo quiyahuiz cē xihuitl.** = He asked him whether it would rain during a (certain) year. [Literally, “He said to him perhaps it will rain. . . .”]

**Yehhuātl ōmic cē xihuitl.** = He died after one year.

**Ōmpa mochīhua in camohtli in ixquich in mēztli.** = The sweet potato grows there every month.

**Ixquich cāhuītl quimpixtinemizqueh.** = All the time they will continue to guard them.

c. Manner:

**Ximotilinicān ixquich amotlahpal!** = Pull with all your might!

**Cē tlācatl mochihchihuaya in īxxīptla in Huitztzilōpōchtli.** = A person arrayed himself as Huitzilopochtli's impersonator. [The NNC **īxxīptla** is traditionally spelled **ixiptla** or, more usually, **ixiptla**.]

49.3. *The Complex Structures of Adverbial Modification.* A structure of adverbial modification can be recursive. This means that either the adverbial modifier or the head or both can themselves be patterned as structures of adverbial modification. The result is a complex structure of adverbial modification.

49.4. *The Head as the Locus for Adverbial Recursion.* When the head of a structure of adverbial modification is itself a structure of adverbial modification, the pattern is “modifier + (head (= modifier + head)).” The following are a few examples:

**Yohuac mauhcā ōtzahtzic.** = She shouted frightenedly during the night. [The NNC **yohuac** modifies the structure of adverbial modification **mauhcā ōtzahtzic**.]

**Ōmpa ontlamahcēuhtinencah nāuhyohual.** = They were there doing penance for four nights. [**Nāuhyohual** modifies **ōmpa ontlamahcēuhtinencah**.]

**Ca nel totech ihtauhqui.** = It is truly a thing that has been promised to us. [**Nel** modifies **totech ihtauhqui**.]

**In tiyahcāhuān cencah mopachoah tenāntitlan.** = The braves crouch low beside the wall. [**Tenāntitlan** modifies **cencah mopachoah**.]

**Niman ihciuhcā tlaihuah.** = Immediately, he quickly sent out messengers. [**Niman** modifies **ihciuhcā tlaihuah**.]

**Ācaltica quimonhuīcaqueh in Xicalāncō.** = They carried them by boat to Xicalanco. [**Xicalāncō** modifies **ācaltica quimonhuīcaqueh**.]

Since the structure of adverbial modification is recursive, a complex structure can itself be modified.

**Ahcān huel tēpan calaqui.** = Nowhere can he enter among people. [**Ahcān** modifies **huel tēpan calaqui**; **huel** modifies **tēpan calaqui**; and **tēpan** modifies **calaqui**.]

The interrogative particle **cuix**, “perchance?” can participate in this “adverbial-modifier-plus-structure-of-adverbial-modification” construction. When the modifier is an inherently interrogative NNC, it must come first.

**Quēn cuix ōquīz?** = In what manner did she leave? [Cf., **Cuix ōquīz?** “Did she leave?”]

**Quēzquīpa cuix ōquimihcalqueh?** = How many times did they fight them? [Cf., **Cuix ōquimihcalqueh?** “Did they fight them?”]

**Īc cuix tiyāz?** = When will you go? [Cf., **Cuix tiyāz?** “Will you go?”]

**Cāmpa cuix ōmicqueh?** = Where did they die? [Cf., **Cuix ōmicqueh?** “Did they die?”]  
Notice also **Cān cuīpa ōmicqueh?** “Where did they die?”]

In such question sentences, the **cuix** is, of course, optional; for example:

**Quēn ōquīz?** = In what manner did she leave?

If there is no inherently interrogative modifier, **cuix** comes first:



**Cuix ahmō ōtiquittac?** = Didn't you see it?

**Cuix tlaōcoxcā ōquíz?** = Did she leave sadly?

Inherently interrogative NNCs can also modify a structure of adverbial modification containing **mach**. The result is a question that is tinged with exasperation or amazement.

**Cān mach cochi?** = Wherever does he sleep? Where the devil does he sleep? [Usually spelled **canmach**. Cf., **Mach cochi?** “Does it seem that he is sleeping?”]

**Quēn mach tāhuiya?** = How in the world can you be content? [Usually spelled **quem-mach**. Cf., **Mach tāhuiya?** “Does it seem you are content?”]

The adverbialized NNC **nel**, “in truth” (either alone or with **no zo**: i.e., **no zo nel** or **nel no zo**) is used after an interrogative adverbial NNC to express a rhetorical question containing a note of surrender (acceptance of the lack of alternatives):

**Quēn nel panōz?** = How else will he cross? How will he cross otherwise? [The implication is that there is no other possible manner for him to cross. Traditionally written **Quen-nel**. Cf., **Nel panōz?** “Will he really cross?”]

**Cān no zo nel panōz?** ~ **Cān nel no zo panōz?** = Where else will he cross? Where else can he cross? [Usually written **cannozonel** and **cannelnozo**.]

**Cāmpa nel panōz?** = Where will he cross otherwise? [Traditionally written **campanel**. Notice also **Cān nelpa panōz?** which has the same translation. Traditionally written **cannelpa**.]

49.5. *The Modifier as the Locus for Adverbial Recursion.* When the adverbial modifier is itself a structure of adverbial modification, the pattern is “(modifier (= modifier + head)) + head.”

**Mā camō yāōyōtica ticnāmiquicān in Teōtl.** = Let's not meet the God with war. [The negative adverbialized NNC **camō** modifies **yāōyōtica**, then the unit formed therewith modifies **ticnāmiquicān**. **Teōtl** here refers to Cortés.]

There are many lexicalized collocations in which a particle modifies an adverbialized nuclear clause. As in the particle-plus-particle collocations in § 3.4, the translation of the combination often seems unjustified by the translation of the constituent parts. The following are a few examples:

**oc achi** = a little more; **oc achto** = first of all; **oc cencah** = especially/much more; **oc ceppa** = one more time, again; **oc huālcāh** = very, exceedingly; **oc nohmah** = still; **oc iuh** = still; **oc ic** = meanwhile; still at that time (traditionally written **oquic**); **oc yēhua** = at a prior time, in past times;

**quin āxcān** = recently, a little while ago; **quin ihcuāc** = at that time, then; **quin yēhua** = recently, a little while ago; **quin iz** = recently, a little while ago; **quin tēpan** = later, finally (lit., “afterwards in the time of s.o.”); **quin iuh** = just recently

**ye āxcān** = at this time, around this time; **ye cen** = lastly; **ye cuēl** = already; **ye nēpa** = further on; **ye nechca** = days ago; **ye tlahcāh** = it is late (referring to time between dawn and noon); **ye teōtlāc** = it is late (referring to time between noon and dusk); **ye yēhua** =

a while ago; **ye cuēl yēhua** = just a while ago; **ye huel yēhua** = quite some time ago; **ye ōn huīptla** = the day before yesterday (always written **ye ohuīptla**; concerning /n/ + /w/, see § 2.12.5); **ye ōn ēyōpan** = three days ago; **ye ōn nāuhyōpan** = four days ago; etc. (For the matrix nounstem (**pan**)-[-] in such collocations, see § 47.3.3.)

**zan achtzan** = many times, quite frequently; **zan icah** = seldom; **zan iz** = nearby, right here; **zan niman** = immediately; **zan oncān** = right there, in that very place; **zan cuēl** = soon, in a short time; **zan iyōlic** = little by little; **zan ihuiyān** = little by little; **zan quēmman** = now and then, once in a while, occasionally; **zan tlapīc** = without reason, without purpose; **zan nēn** = in vain; **zan cen** = together, at one and the same time; **zan quēn mach** = little by little (usually written **zan quemmach**)

**zā nēn** = by chance; **zā tēpan** = afterward, finally, lastly (*lit.*, “only in the time of s.o.”); **zā cemi** = once and for all, only once; **zā cen** = once and for all, only once; **zā achi** = almost, nearly; to come near (to doing s.th.)

**zā zo canah** = anywhere; **zā zo canahpa** = from anywhere; **zā zo cāmpa** = anywhere, no matter where; **zā zo ic in** = anytime, no matter when (traditionally written **za zo iquin**, or with elision **zaciquin**; see § 2.13); **zā zo quēmman** = anytime (today), no matter when (today); **zā zo quēn** = no matter how; **zā zo eh** = at last (usually written **zaceh**, with elision. For **eh**, see § 16.3.)

Included among these collocation are the many negative adverbial expressions involving **ah#**, **ca#**, **ahmō**, and **camō**. Many examples have already been given. Here are a few more:

**ayoc ic** = nevermore, never again (traditionally written **ayoquic**); **aya quēmman** = early; **aya mō** = not yet; **aya ic** = never until now; **aīc** = never (for **ay#** + **īc**); **ahquēn** = at no place; **ahoc mō** = no longer (traditionally written **aocmo**); etc.

In addition to the collocations already indicated, many others of this type are written solid in traditional texts; for example, **zatepan**, **ocachi**, **yecuel**, **zaniz**, **zacemi**, etc.

49.6. *Intensifiers*. Among the most frequent adverbial modifiers of adverbial modifiers is a group of adverbialized NNCs and VNCs known as “intensifiers” (also called “qualifiers”). In addition to being able to perform normal adverbial functions, the members of this group have the special capability of intensifying the meaning of their head (compare English “terribly” in “terribly slowly”). In this function the adverbial modifier always precedes its head. When functioning as an intensifier, an adverbial nuclear clause may have a special translation value. The following are a few of the most common intensifiers:

**achi** = almost, somewhat, slightly

**cencah** = very

**huālcāh** = much more; more, most

**cenquīzcā** = entirely, perfectly

**huel** = quite, very, more

**nel** = truly, really

**nēneuhcā** = equally

**tlacuāuh** = strongly, especially

The adverbialized NNC **niman**, “at this very moment, now,” takes on an intensifier function when appearing before negatives, where it is translated “absolutely.” For example: **niman ahcān** = absolutely nowhere, nowhere at all; **niman aīc** = absolutely never, at no time whatsoever; **niman ahmō** = absolutely not, not at all; **nimān ahhuēl** = absolutely unable to. Notice also its translation value in the collocation **niman āxcān**, “immediately afterward.”

There are also a few adverbial particles that can perform as intensifiers:

**ahzo** = perhaps

**zan** = only, merely, just

**zā** = only, merely

There are a number of lexicalized collocations of intensifier plus adverbial. The following are a few examples:

**achi iuh** = almost thus (frequently written **achiuh**); **cencah zan achihtōnca** = in an exceedingly short space of time; **cencah zan canah** = in exceedingly few places

**huēl āxcān** = at this very moment; **huēl achto** = first of all; **huēl miecpa** = very many times, frequently; **huēl cenyohual** = for the entire night, during the entire night; **huēl ipan** = moderately, fairly; at a good time; **huēl ihcuāc** = right at that time, right then; **huēl imman** = right at this moment, right then

**ayoc āxcān** = with difficulty, hardly [Traditionally written **ayocaxcan**. See **ayāxcān** in § 46.3.1.a.]

The following are a few examples of sentences containing intensifiers:

**Zan tequitl ōnitlacuah.** = I just ate. I only ate. I didn’t do anything but eat. [**Tequitl** occurs here in first-degree adverbialization: “with work, by means of work; diligently”; see § 44.4.1.]

**Huel itech peuhcāh in Quetzalcōātl in ixquich in tōltēcayōtl.** = All craftsmanship is beginning right in connection with Quetzalcoatl.

**Huel miyeccān ihcaca in cacahuatl catca.** = What was cacao stood in quite a number of places.

**Zan ipaltzinco titiximaticoh in toTēcuiyo.** = Only by the grace of our Lord have we come to know ourselves. [or “one another”]

**Ahzo achihtzin quimotoctiliz in yehhuātzin toTēcuyo.** = Perhaps for a little while he who is our Lord will prop him up.

*Note:* As an adverbial modifier of a modifier, the intensifier can also function as the modifier of an adjectival NNC.

**In cencah huehhuēintin inteōhuān Otomih ōmentin.** = The very big gods of the Otomis are two in number. [**Cencah** modifies **huehhuēintin**, and the unit **cencah huehhuēintin** modifies **inteōhuān**.]

**Quichihuah in huēl cuācualli cactli** = They make very excellent sandals. [**Cuācualli** (which is an intensive form of **cualli**, “it is a good thing”) is modified by **huēl**, and the unit **huēl cuācualli** modifies **cactli**.]

**In ihqueh in quititlanih in mītl in achi pitzāhuac.** = These use the arrow that is slightly slender. These use slightly slender arrows. [**Achi** modifies **pitzāhuac**, and the unit **achi pitzāhuac** modifies **mītl**.]

49.7. *Recursion within the Adverbial Modifier.* A modifier of an adverbial modifier can exhibit recursion. The following are a few collocations that show this:

**ye nō ceppa** = once again [Traditionally written **yenoceppa**.]

**huel zan icah** = quite seldom [Frequently written **huel zanicah**.]

**ahzo zan nōhuiyān** = perhaps everywhere [Traditionally written **azozan nohuian**.]

**quin zā tēpan** = just afterward [Traditionally written **quin zatepan**.]

**zan niman ahmō** = absolutely not

**quin huel āxcān** = just at this very moment

**niman ye ic** = immediately thereupon, immediately after that

49.8. *Collocations of Adverbial Adjunct Plus “Appositive.”* Another very frequent kind of recursion inside the modifier in a structure of adverbial modification that is found in place and time adverbials. A unit is formed by combining an adverbial adjunct (nuclear clause or participle) having a general place or time meaning with an adverbialized NNC that has a more specific place or time meaning (compare English “there in the corner” or “last night at ten o’clock,” where the prepositional phrases “in the corner” and “at ten o’clock” identify more precisely the place and time respectively of the adverbial expressions “there” and “last night”). In this structure of adverbial apposition, the modifier follows the head.

**āxcān teōtlāc** = this afternoon [*lit.*, today in the afternoon]

**mōztla teōtlāc** = tomorrow afternoon

**huiptla teōtlāc** = day-after-tomorrow afternoon

**yālhua teōtlāc** = yesterday afternoon

**āxcān yohualtica** = tonight, during tonight, for tonight

**āxcān xihuitl** = this year, during the present year

**yālhua imman in** = yesterday at this time

**nicān pani** = up here on top

**nicān monāhuac** = here beside you

**ōmpa Mēxihco** = there in Mexihco

The following are a few sentences showing the construction:

**Mochintin oncān onhuetzqueh in ātl.** = All fell there into the water. [The NNC **ātl** is here functioning as an instance of first-degree adverbialization.]

**Ca ōmpa tihuāllahqueh in Mēxihco.** = We have come from there in Mexihco.

**Quicalaquihqueh imācal in ōmpa Xōcōtitlan.** = They caused their boat(s) to enter there at Xocotitlan.

**Mā oncān pani tlanēzyān huālmotlāli in quēnamih inemac.** = May his gifts of whatever kind be placed there above in the place where everything is bright. [I.e., “place of brightness”; see § 46.5, *note 3*.]

**Oncān ināhuac niyeznequi.** = I want to be there beside her.

**Mā tlapiyelo in nōhuiyān ātēncō.** = Let guard be kept everywhere along the coast.

**Niman iquēzquilhuiyōc ōntetl in ācalli quizaco.** = Then several days later two boats came forth. [Literally, “two that were boats came to exit.”]

*Note:* Adverbial collocations created by modification must be distinguished from those created by conjunction. For example, in the phrase **āxcān mochipa**, “now and always,” i.e., “from now on,” **āxcān** does not stand in a

structure of modification with **mochipa** but is coordinately linked with it (see § 52.2). Another example is **mōztla huīptla**, “tomorrow and the day after,” i.e., “in the future,” “from now on.”

49.9. *Recursion in Both the Modifier and the Head in Structures of Adverbial Modification.* When both the modifier and the head in a structure of adverbial modification are themselves structures of adverbial modification, the pattern is “(modifier (= modifier + head)) + (head (= modifier + head)).”

**Niman ic ōmpa yahqueh.** = Immediately thereupon, they went there. [The structure of adverbial modification **niman ic** modifies the structure of adverbial modification **ōmpa yahqueh.**]

The possibility of recursion means that such structures can be increasingly complex.

**Niman ye ic ōmpa yahqueh in Cholōllān.** = Immediately after that they went there to Cholollan.

49.10. *The Adverbialized Nuclear Clause as Principal Clause.* There is another construction involving adverbial nuclear clauses (or constructions centered on them) that, while not a matter of adverbial modification, can be conveniently discussed here, since the structure is the reverse of that described in the foregoing paragraphs. The adverbial unit is functioning not as the adjunct but as the principal. A number of examples showing this usage have already been given. The following are a few more.

1. Time. The construction is more frequent in Nahuatl than its counterpart in English.

**Ca ahoc mō huehca; ahzo zā ēilhuītl ahxihualōz.** = It is indeed not far now; perhaps it is in only three days that it will be reached. [English prefers “perhaps it will be reached in only three days.”]

**Nāppa in pozāhua.** = It is four times that she swells up. [English prefers “She swells up four times.”]

**Ca ye imonequiyan in ic titequitizqueh.** = Indeed already it is its needed time when thereupon we shall work; i.e., Now is the time when we shall work; i.e., Now is the time for us to work. It is time for us to get to work.

**Cenyohual in cuīcah.** = It is all night that they sing. [English prefers “They sing all night.”]

**Cēcenyohual in nitēmiqui.** = It is every night that I dream. [English prefers “I dream every night.”]

**Ca ye ixquich cāhuītl in cencah tiquittaznequih.** = It is indeed already for a long time that we much wish to see him. [English prefers “For a long time we have greatly wished to see him.”]

**Huel cemilhuītl in manca yāōyōtl.** = It was for one full day that the battle lasted. [English prefers “The battle lasted for one full day.”]

**Ca ye imman in ticcentlāzazqueh in toyōllo.** = It is already time that we shall make up our minds; i.e., It is time for us to make up our minds.

**Oc huel yohuan in calaquih.** = It is still very dark when they enter.

**Ōmilhuitl in huāqui.** = It is in two days that it becomes dry. [English prefers “In two days it becomes dry.” “It is dry after two days.”]

**Huehcāuhtica in nehcālīhuac in tiānquizco.** = It was for a long time that people fought in the marketplace. [English prefers “Fighting went on for a long time in the marketplace.”]

2. Place. The construction is not as frequent as the time construction described above.

**Zan cecltupal in huālonotiyah in ācalli.** = It was at one side only that the boat(s) came floating along. [English prefers “The boat(s) came floating along at one side only.”]

**Ca ōmpa in quīzaquīuh.** = Verily it is there that he will come in order to leave. Verily there is where he will come out.

**Zā tēpan monohmahnēxtih zan ye nō oncān in motlālīco.** = Afterwards he appeared of his own free will in the very same place where he had come in order to sit.

**Ca nel ahmō nicān tocenchān in tlāltīpac.** = Our eternal home is truly not here on earth. [Nicān . . . in tlāltīpac is a structure of adverbial apposition (see § 49.8).

Tocenchān is the supplementary subject of the missing VNC **cah** (see § 18.9).]

**Texcalco in tlācati.** = It is among the crags that it is born. [English prefers “It is born among the crags.”]

**Zan cuauhtlah in mochīhua.** = It is just in the forest that it makes itself; i.e., It is just in the forest that it grows. [English prefers “It grows just in the forest.”]

3. Manner:

**Cencah ihuiyān in yahtihuih.** = It is very softly that they keep going. [English prefers “They keep going very softly.”]

**Ca zā zan quēn in tīcualāni.** = It is indeed in a senseless manner that you become angry; i.e., You are getting angry for no reason.

**Ahmō zan quēn in tīchicāhua.** = It is not in some vague manner that you are strong; i.e., You are really strong.

**Zan huel ihciuhcā in huālahxīhuaya** = It was very swiftly that people were reaching here. [English prefers “People were reaching here very swiftly.”]

4. To maintain their interrogative status, interrogative adverbial NNCs must appear in sentence-initial position. This obligatory position tends to upgrade the adverbial adjunct to the rank of a principal clause and thereby downgrade the original principal clause to the rank of an adjunct, which explains the frequency of occurrence of the adjunctor **in** after an interrogative adverbial NNC (compare what happens with the interrogative pronominal NNCs **tleh** and **āc** in § 43.4). Traditionally, the adjunctor **in** is written solid with the interrogative NNC, thereby falsifying the syntactical relationships. Here the **in** is written separately whenever an adjoined clause is present. **Quēn** is, of course, an exception (**quē** in is never found).

**Cān in tiyāznequi?** = To where is it that you want to go? I.e., Where do you want to go?

**Cān in mach tinehnentiniemi?** = To where is it that notably you go along walking? I.e., Where the blazes have you wandered off to?

**Īc in ōhuāllahqueh?** = When was it that they came? I.e., When did they come?

**Īc in mach timozcaliz?** = When is it that notably you will revive? I.e., When the devil are you going to wake up (i.e., become aware of how things are)? When the devil will you come to your senses?

**Quēmman in titlacuāzqueh?** = When is it (today) that we shall eat? I.e., When shall we eat? At what time are we going to eat?

**Quēn in ōmic?** = In what manner was it that he died? I.e., How did he die?

When one of these sentences is included as part of a larger sentence, the interrogative adverbial NNC ceases to be interrogative but the principal-to-adjunct relationship within the included sentence remains the same.

**Ahmō nimitzilhuiz in cān in niyāznequi.** = I shall not tell you where it is that I want to go. I shall not tell you where I want to go.

**Ōquicac in quēn in huetzi in innāhuatīl in tlequiquixtli.** = He heard how the fire-trumpet fell at their order; i.e., He heard how the gun discharged at their order.

## LESSON 50

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### Adverbial Modification (Part Two)

50.1. *Nonadverbialized Clauses or Clause Units Adjoined as Adverbial Modifiers.* Structures of adverbial modification can be more complicated than those presented in Lesson 49. There the adverbial modifier was an adverbialized nuclear clause (i.e., a nuclear clause with an adverbialized subject pronoun) or an adverbial unit with such a clause as its head. In the structures of adverbial modification presented in this lesson, the adverbial modifier is not adverbialized; it is merely an adjoined clause (or clause unit) that may or may not contain an explicit indication (i.e., an adjoined adverbialized NNC) of the nature of the adverbial modification. There are ten meaning types, which will be taken up in the following paragraphs.

50.2. *Time.* The principal clause unit is modified by an adverbial clause unit that has a temporal meaning.

1. The temporal meaning may be implicit, with the adjoined clause unit containing no time-indicating NNC:

**Ye ōnitlacuah in ōahcico.** = *Already I-ate-s.th.* adjr he-came-to-arrive; i.e., I had already eaten when he arrived. [Notice that the preterit tense in the principal clause is translated as an English past perfect tense.]

**In tihuāllāz, ye ōnitlacuah.** = Adjr you-will-come, *already I-ate-s.th.*; i.e., When you come, I shall already have eaten. [The future tense in the adjunct is translated as an English present tense, and the preterit tense in the principal is translated as a future perfect tense.]

**Ye ōcuēl nitlacuah in huāllāzqueh.** = *Already quickly I-have-eaten* adjr they-will-come; i.e., I shall already have eaten when they come.

**Ye ōcuēl mic in tahciquih.** = *Already quickly he-has-died* adjr you-will-come-in-order-to-arrive; i.e., He will already have died when you get here.

**In ōcētica micqueh, mochipa tlaōcoxtinemi in centetl.** = Adjr by-means-of-one they-have-died, *always it-goes-along-being-sad* adjr it-is-one-rock; i.e., When one of them has died, the other always lives in mourning.



**In ōquicac in iuh tlanōnōtzqueh in tītlantīn, cencah momauhtih.** = Adjr he-heard-it adjr thus they-reported-things adjr they-are-messengers, *very he-became-afraid*; i.e., When he heard the messengers report in this manner, he became very afraid. [The unit **iuh tlanōnōtzqueh in tītlantīn** functions as the supplementary object in cross-reference to the object pronoun **qui-Ø** in **ōquicac**.]

**In ōtlathuic, ye nō ceppa huel quicentlāz in toyāōuh.** = Adjr it-dawned, *already one-more-time sucessfully he-threw-it-as-one adjr he-is-our-enemy*; i.e., When it had dawned, our foes once again made an assault. [The singular subject pronoun in **quicentlāz** and in its supplementary subject **toyāōuh** may be an example of nonanimation or of generality. It should be noticed that the preterit tense in the adjunct is translated as a pluperfect tense in English.]

**In ōiuh quicac in, Motēuczōma cencah nomauhtih.** = Adjr thus he-heard-this, *he-is-Moteuczoma very he-allowed-himself-to-become-afraid*; i.e., When he had thus heard this, Moteuczoma became very afraid.

In the preceding example **iuh** is an adverbialized VNC; in the following examples it is a non-adverbialized VNC.

**In ye iuh, ōmic.** = Adjr already it-became-thus, *he-died*; i.e., When this had become the state of affairs, he died. [In old texts **in ye iuh** is frequently written **iyehuh**; /n/ + /y/ > [y].]

**In ōiuh ōnxihuitl, ōmpa ōahcico.** = Adjr it-became-thus for-two-years, *he-came-in-order-to-arrive there*; i.e., When things had been in this state of affairs for two years, he reached there. After two years, he reached there. [This could also be expressed as **In ye iuh ōnxihuitl, ōmpa ōahcico**. The particles **ye** and **ō#** are synonymous.]

The preterit agentive NNC **iuhqui**, “it is a thing that has become thus,” can also be used in this construction:

**In ye iuhqui, ōyahqueh.** = Adjr already it-was-such-a-condition, *they-went*; i.e., When this had come to pass, they left.

**In ye iuhqui in, niman quimilhuh in capitan, “Tlā xiccaquicān!”** = Adjr-already-this-was-the-way-it-was, *immediately adjr he-is-captain he-said-it-to-them, “If-only you-(pl)-may-listen”*; i.e., When this was the way things stood, the captain said to them, “Listen!”

The construction may be elliptical (i.e., without the **iuhqui**):

**Auh in in, mā xiquihto in izquitlamantli ic tinēchnāhuatiz.** = And adjr it-is-this-one, *if-only you-may-say adjr they-are-all-the-things wherewith you-will-command-me*; i.e., And since this is the case, tell me everything you will command of me.

Nahuatl also extends the use of this temporal construction to express the equivalent of English expressions such as “one out of ten,” etc.:

**In mahtlāctli, cē. ~ In mahtlāctetl, centetl. ~ In mahtlāctlamantli, centlamantli.** = When they are ten in number, *it-is-one-in-number*; i.e., It is one out of ten.

**In caxtōlli once, ōme.** = They are two out of sixteen.

2. The temporal meaning may be explicitly expressed by an adverbialized NNC in the adjoined clause unit:

**In ihcuāc tihuāllāz, ye ōnitlacuah.** = Adjr at-the-time you-will-come, *already I-have-eaten-s.th.*; i.e., By the time you come, I shall have already eaten. When you come, I shall have already eaten.

**Ye ōcuēl nitlacuah, in ihcuāc huāllāzqueh.** = *Already quickly I-have-eaten*, adjr at that time they-will-come; i.e., I shall already have eaten by the time they come.

**Ihcuāc patlāni, zan cen quiquinacatiuh.** = At the time it-flies, *just forever it-goes-buzzing*; i.e., When it flies, it always makes a buzzing sound.

Instead of **ihcuāc**, the synonymous possessive-state adverbialized NNC **īc** can be used.

**Huel tēcocoh in īc tēcua.** = *It-causes-s.o. quite-a-lot-of pain* adjr at-the-time it-bites-s.o.; i.e., It is quite painful when it bites one.

**Chōca in īc moteōchīhua.** = *He-cries* adjr at-the-time he-prays; i.e., He cries when he prays. He cries while praying. [This is synonymous with **Chōca ihcuāc moteōchīhua.**]

**Ca ye imman in īc titequitizqueh.** = *Indeed already this it-is-the-moment* at which we shall work; i.e., Now is the time when we shall work. Now is the time for us to work. [This could also be expressed by **Ca ye imman in titequitizqueh.**]

The adverbial particle **oc** frequently modifies **īc** in this usage. Traditionally the two are written solid as **oquic**.

**Mā camō xicochi in oc īc tēmachtīlo.** = *Do not sleep* adjr still at the time people teach people; i.e., Do not sleep while teaching is going on.

Other temporal adverbial expressions besides **ihcuāc** and **īc** may appear in the embed of this construction:

**In aya mō tōna, mocentlālihqueh in tēteoh.** = Adjr not-yet at-all it-is-sunshining, *they-are-the-gods they sat-down-as-one*; i.e., Before there was sunlight, the gods sat down together. [Notice that the present tense in the adjunct is translated as the past tense in English.]

**In aya mō miqui, mihtōtiāya.** = Adjr not-yet at-all she-dies, *she-used-to-dance*; i.e., Before she died, she danced. Before she was sacrificed, she danced. [Again, notice the translation of the present tense.]

**In oc tīletlāliah, xitlachpānacān.** = Adjr still we-lay-fires, *may-you-(pl)-sweep*; i.e., While we are laying fires, do (pl) the sweeping.

**Ye mācuilli, ōniquittac.** = *Already it-is-five-in-number, I-saw-him*; i.e., I saw him five days ago. [Mācuilli = mācuililhuitl, “it is five days.”]

3. The principal clause unit may contain a corroborating adverbial element.

**In ihcuāc ōmayānalōc, zan nō ihcuāc ōnecocōlōc.** = Adjr at-the-time people-became-hungry, *only also at-the-time people-became-sick*; i.e., When there was a famine, then sickness also spread.

**In ōconittac, mec tzahtzi.** = Adjr he-saw-him, *then he-shouts*; i.e., When he has seen him, then he shouts. After he has seen him, then he shouts. [The adjoined clause contains no adverbial element; see subsection 1 above.]

**Ihcuāc mic in Motēuczōma, niman quinhuālmāmalthiqueh.** = At the time Moteuczoma died, *immediately they had them carry him hither*; i.e., When Moteuczoma died, they immediately had them bring him here.

*Note:* At times the principal clause within the adverbial clause unit is an adverbialized NNC as predicate with a demonstrative pronominal NNC as its subject. The tense of the VNC in the higher principal clause determines the past, present, or future time reference of the adverbialized NNC.

**In ihcuāc in, huālcacqueh.** = Adjr this was at that time, *they-came-in*; i.e., When this was occurring, they came in. While this was occurring, they came in. Meanwhile, they came in.

The construction can, however, be downgraded to become merely an instance of § 49.2.

**Quil mach in nicān in ic in ōn ōhuāllahqueh.** = It-is-said namely adjr to-this-place adjr at-its-time adjr it-is-that-one *they-came*; i.e., It is said that they came here in past times. [The **in ōn** is the supplementary possessor of the possessor pronoun **i-θ** in the NNC **ic**. The collocation **in ic in ōn** is traditionally written **in iquin on**.]

**Ahmō yēppa iz chānehqueh in Mēxihcah. Quil cān in huehca ōhuāllahqueh in ic in ōn.** = Not formerly here were homeowners adjr Mexihcas. It-is-said it-was-a-place adjr far-away *they-came* adjr at-its-time adjr it-is-that-one; i.e., The Mexihcas did not dwell here previously. It is said they came from a distant place in past times.

**Quil mach in nicān in ic in ōn huāllāzqueh.** = It-is-said namely adjr to-this-place adjr at-its-time adjr it-is-that-one *they-will-come*; i.e., It is said that they will come here in times to come.

**Teh in quinēzcāyōtia in in tēmictli? At itlah ye huitz. At itlah topan mochihuaz in ic in ōn.** = What-is-it adjr it-means adjr it-is-this-one it-is-a-dream? Perhaps s.th. already comes. *Perhaps it-is-s.th. upon-us it-will-make-itself* adjr at-its-time adjr it-is-that-one; i.e., What does this dream mean? Perhaps something will soon come [upon us]. Perhaps something will happen to us at some future time.

50.3. *Place.* The principal clause unit is modified by an adverbial clause unit that has a locative meaning.

**Ōconahxīthiqueh oncān miquiz.** = *They-caused-her-to-arrive* to-that- place she-will-die; i.e., They carried her to the place where she would die. They carried her to where she would be sacrificed. [Notice the use of the future tense to signify future time from a past moment.]

**Huel ihciuhcā ahcituhtziyah in cāmpa huiah.** = *They-used-to-abruptly-arrive* very quickly adjr to-the-place they-were-going; i.e., They would arrive very swiftly to where they were going.

**Xiquitta in nochpōchtzin, in ōmpa piyalo.** = *See-her* adjr *she-is-my-daughter*, adjr at-that-place she-is-guarded; i.e., Look upon my daughter there where she is guarded. [Nochpōchtzin is usually spelled nochpotzin.]

*Note:* At times the principal clause within the adverbial clause unit is an adverbialized NNC with a subject because of the omission of **cah** or **catca**.

**In ōmpa in, cencah tōna.** = Adjr at-that-place it-is-this-one, *the-sun-shines fully*; i.e., There it is very hot.

This construction affords another interpretation for sentences such as the following that can also be seen as structured according to § 49.8.

**Quimoncāhuayah in impilhuān in ōmpa tēlpōchcalli.** = *They-left-them* adjr *they-were-their-sons* adjr at-that-place the-young-men's-house; i.e., They used to leave their sons there in the young-men's house. [This interpretation assumes that **ōmpa tēlpōchcalli** is a reduced version of **ōmpa catca tēlpōchcalli**, "the young-men's house was there." Either way the structure is understood, there is only one English translation.]

**Huālmauhcāquízqueh in oncān imāltepēuh.** = *They-came-frightenedly-out* adjr at-that-place it-was-their-city; i.e., They frightenedly left from their city there. [This interpretation assumes that **oncān imāltepēuh** is a reduced version of **oncān catca imāltepēuh**, “their city was there.” As in the preceding example, the English translation does not distinguish between this interpretation and the appositive one described in § 49.8.]

50.4. *Manner.* The principal clause unit is modified by an adverbial clause unit that indicates the manner in which the action, event, etc., occurs.

**Quinnahnāmicqueh, in iuh mochihuaya ye huehcāuh.** = *They-received-them severally,* adjr thus it-used-to-make-itself already at-a-long-time; i.e., They received each of them, as was done in the old days.

**In ōiuh mihtoh itlahtōllo Xipe, zan ye nō iuh mochihuaya.** = *Adjr thus it-said-itself it-was-his-description he-was-Xipe, only already also thus it-used-to-do-itself;* i.e., As has been told in the description of Xipe, just so was it done.

**Mā nemohua in quēn in nemohuaz.** = *If-only people-may-live* adjr in-the-manner adjr people-will-live; i.e., Let people live as they will live.

50.5. *Consideration.* The principal clause unit is modified by an adverbial clause unit that expresses such notions as “concerning,” “regarding,” “with regard to,” “in relation to,” “with reference to,” etc. The construction should be especially noted, since it might be confused with the included-referent supplementation of § 19.3. That the adjoined clause is adverbial, not substantival (i.e., not a supplementary object), can best be seen in a sentence that has an intransitive VNC in the principal clause unit.

**Huel xinacazōcān, tleh in quihtōz.** = *Use-your-ears well* what-it-is adjr he-will-say; i.e., Listen carefully to what he will say.

The adverbial nature of the adjunct is again clear when the principal contains a reflexive VNC. The verb **m-o-(mati)**, “to know oneself,” in this construction is translated “to think,” “to assume,” “to conjecture,” “to hold an opinion,” “to believe,” “to be convinced.”

**Ninomati ca in notlah ihciuhcā quipoloo in iāxcā.** = *I-know-myself* indeed adjr he-is-my-uncle swiftly he-destroys-it adjr it-is-his-property; i.e., I know myself with regard to my uncle’s consuming his possessions quickly; i.e., I think that my uncle is consuming his possessions quickly.

**Cequintin momatqueh ca ōmpa in quīzaquīuh.** = *They-were-some they-knew-themselves* indeed it-is-from-there adjr he comes-in-order-to-exit; i.e., Some knew themselves with regard to his coming out there; i.e., Some thought he would come out there. [Notice the use of the future tense of the purposive VNC to signify a future from a past moment.]

**Ninomatiya ahca zo ayāc nēchpalēhuiz.** = *I-used-to-know-myself* perhaps he-is-no-one he-will-help-me; i.e., I thought that perhaps no one would help me. [The future tense is used to express a future time in the past. The collocation **ahca zo ayāc**, “perhaps no one,” is usually spelled solid and with elision (and no glottal stop) as **acazayac**. This could also have been expressed by **ahzo ayāc** (or in the traditional spelling **azayac**).]

The adverbial nature of the adjunct may not be so immediately obvious when the principal contains a transitive VNC with a projective object pronoun. If, however, that object pronoun is nonspecific, the construction cannot be included-referent supplementation (see § 19.3).

**Titlamatizqueh, āc yeh tlani huetziz.** = *We-will-know-s.th.*, who is he who will-fall downward; i.e., We will know s.th. regarding who is the one who will fall downward; i.e., We will know which one will fall down.

**Ahoc āc ontlamati in quēn in ōmpa ahcito.** = No-longer he-is-anyone he-knows-s.th. adjr what-was-the-manner adjr he-went-in-order-to-arrive at-that-place; i.e., No longer does anyone know s.th. regarding how he went in order to arrive there; i.e., No longer does anyone know how he arrived there. [Compare this adverbial construction with that of included reference in **Ōquimah in quēn in zan huālmocuepqueh**, “He knew how they had returned,” where the adjoined clause **quēn in zan huālmocuepqueh** is a supplementary object in cross-reference to its head, the nuclear object pronoun **qui-Ø** of **ōquimah**.]

**Huel xontlachiye cān ye huitzeh.** = *Well watch* through-what-place already they-are-coming; i.e., Watch well with regard to where they come; i.e., Watch well to see where they come.

**In āc in tēcōhuaz cencah huel motlahlatlīāya in āc yehhuātl cānaz.** = Adjr he-is-some-one adjr he-will-buy-s.o. *very well he-used-to-see-various-things-for-himself* adjr who-is-he he-is-the-one he-will-take-him; i.e., Whoever was going to buy s.o. considered (H) things very carefully with regard to who was to be the one he would take; i.e., Whoever was going to buy a slave considered very carefully which one he was going to take.

When VNCs in both the principal and the adjunct clauses have personal pronouns with shared reference, care must be taken not to confuse the structure of adverbial modification with a structure of supplementation.

**Namēchittaznequi in quēn in antlahpalihuih.** = *I-wish-to-see-you-(pl)* adjr in-what-manner-it-is adjr you-(pl)-are-stalwart; i.e., I wish to see you with regard to how stalwart you are. I wish to see you to know how stalwart you are; i.e., I wish to see how stalwart you are.

**Namēchyehyecōznequi in quēn in anchicāhuaqueh.** = *I-want-to-test-you-(pl)* adjr in-what-manner-it-is adjr you-(pl)-are-strong; i.e., I want to test you with reference to how strong you are. I want to test you to see how strong you are; i.e., I want to test how strong you (pl) are.

**Huel quinnemiliah in quēn in huel quinchihuazqueh.** = *Well they-dwell-on-them* adjr in-what-manner adjr successfully they-will-make-them; i.e., They study them carefully concerning how they will perform well against them; i.e., They study them carefully to find out how well they will perform against them.

50.6. *Purpose.* The adverbial clause may express the purpose of the action, event, etc., in the principal clause. The VNCs in the two clauses frequently have personal pronouns that share the same referent.

1. The adjoined clause may contain no explicit expression of purpose. Its NNC is usually in the future tense.

**Calaquih in tēmictizqueh.** = *They-enter* adjr they-will-kill-people; i.e., They enter in order to kill people.

**Quihuicah in tlahtoāni in tēnāmiquizqueh.** = *They-accompany-him* adjr *he-is-the-chief* adjr they-will-meet-s.o; i.e., They accompany the chief in order to meet someone.

**Huuh in quicāhuazqueh in mōntli.** = *They-go* adjr they-will-abandon-him adjr *he-is-the-son-in-law*; i.e., They go so that they can abandon the son-in-law.

**In Motēuczōmatzin ahmō tlanāhuatiāya in acah quinyāōchihuaz.** = *Adjr he-is-Moteuczoma not he-was-giving-commands* adjr *he-is-someone he-will-make-war-on-them*; i.e., Moteuczoma did not give commands in order that anyone make war on them. Moteuczoma did not command anyone to make war on them. [Compare the sentence in § 45.4.4.b.]

The adjunctor **in** need not appear in front of the adjoined adverbial clause.

**Ticcāhuah tēlpōchtiz.** = *We-leave-him* he-will-become-a-youth; i.e., We leave him so that he will become a youth.

**Huitzeh quinōntzazqueh in tlahtoāni.** = *They-come* they-will-inform-him adjr *he-is-the-chief*; i.e., They come in order to inform the chief.

**Mā tihuiān tātatacazqueh.** = *Let's-go* we-shall-dig-for-water; i.e., Let's go in order to dig for water.

The tense of the VNC in the adjoined clause unit can be other than the future tense.

**Zā tlapēpentli in quinōtza in ātli.** = *Only he-is-the-chosen-one* adjr *he-summons-him* adjr *he-drinks-water*; i.e., Only the chosen one is the one whom he summons in order to drink.

**Huel ixquich tlācatl ōyah in quittazquiya.** = *Quite he-is-everyone he-is-a-person he-went* adjr *he-would-see-him*; i.e., Every single person went in order to see him.

The purposive VNCs of Lesson 29 may be combined with a VNC built on the verbstems (**ya-uh**) and (**huāl-la-uh**) to express more emphatically the notion of purposive action.

**Ōniyah nicuīcato.** } = I went in order to sing.  
**Ōniyah ōnicuīcato.** }

**Niyauh nicuīcatīuh.** = I am going in order to sing.

**Niyāz nicuīcatīuh.** = I shall go in order to sing.

**Ōnihuāllah nicuīcaco.** } = I came in order to sing.  
**Ōnihuāllah ōnicuīcaco.** }

**Nihuāllauh nicuīcaco.** = I am coming in order to sing.

**Nihuāllāz nicuīcaquiuh.** = I shall come in order to sing.

The purposive VNCs may be used in the more usual type of adverbial clause of purpose.

**Motēuczōma quihuah cē tlācatl in quinnāmiquito Españoles.** = *He-was-Moteuczoma he-sent-him he-was-one he-was-a-person* adjr *he-went-in-order-to-meet-them they-were-Spaniards*; i.e., Moteuczoma sent a person in order that he go to meet the

Spaniards. [Occasionally, as in this instance, the construction is ambiguous: **in quin-nāmiquito Españoles** might be construed as an adjectival clause, “who went to meet the Spaniards.”]

*Remarks:* When the adjunctor **in** is not present, the construction expressing purpose resembles certain conjunctive constructions (see § 52.2.1); compare English “go (in order to) buy it” and “go and buy it.”

**In tlenamacac yauh quinnacaztecpahuia.** = The fire priest goes in order to cut their ears with a flint knife. The fire priest goes and cuts their ears with a flint knife.

**Mōmōztla eh niyauh niquitta nomil.** = Every day I go to see my field. Every day I go and see my field. [The collocation **mōmōztla eh** is usually written solid: **momoztlaeh.**]

The construction does not always contain a strong notion of purpose.

**Ye yauh ōnxiuhtiz in mochīuh.** = Already it goes in order to become two years that it happened; i.e., It will soon be two years since it happened.

2. The adjoined clause may suggest the purposive notion by means of the particle **mā** (or **in mā**) plus a VNC in the optative mood.

**In ahzo itlah ōquilcāuhtiyah, in mā oc concui, aoc mō hueliti.** = Adjr perhaps he-went-away-having-forgotten something, adjr if only still he-may-go-get-it, *not-any-longer he-is-able*; i.e., If perhaps he went away forgetting something, in order to go get it, he is no longer able; i.e., If he forgot something, he could not go back and get it.

**Pohpolihuiz in Mēxihcatl, mā camō amēchyōlihtlacōcān.** = The Mexihca-man will become thoroughly destroyed, if-only they not harm you (pl); i.e., The Mexihcas will be destroyed so that they will not harm you. [Notice the shift from singular number in the principal to plural number in the adjunct. This is possible because **Mēxihcatl** is used in a collective sense (see § 12.6).]

The notion of “lest” is expressed by an adjoined clause unit introduced by **mā** or **in mā** plus a VNC in the admonitive mood.

**Xitequitlanelōcān, mā itlah nicān tāxtin.** = *Row-with-diligence*, let’s-beware-of-doing something here; i.e., Row diligently lest something happen to us here.

**Mā zan tehhuāntin tihuiān, mā tonmictin.** = *Let’s-just-go*, let’s-beware-of-dying; i.e., Let’s just go, lest we die.

**Ticchīmalcaltiah in mā quimīntin.** = *We-shelter-him-under-our-shield* adjr let-them-beware-of-shooting-him-with-arrows; i.e., We shelter him under our shield, lest they shoot him with arrows.

50.7. *Condition.* The adjoined clause unit may indicate the condition under which the action, event, etc., of the principal clause unit occurs or might occur. The particle **tlā**, “if,” introduces the adverbial clause unit. If the adjunctor **in** is present, it and the **tlā** are traditionally written solid as **intla**. The principal clause can be any type of sentence: statement, question, wish, command, admonition. The adjoined clause may precede or follow the principal clause.

The condition set up in the adverbial clause may be either *open* (i.e., its fulfillment is possible) or *hypothetical* (i.e., its fulfillment is impossible; this is frequently called a “contrary-to-fact” condition). Notice the similarity with the wish sentences in § 9.5 (a wish sentence with **tlā** is simply an adjoined clause of a conditional sentence upgraded from adjunct clause

to principal clause rank by the omission of the original principal clause and the deletion of the adjunctor).

### 1. Open-condition sentences

a. The center of the adjunct may be an NNC. The time referred to by the condition set up in the NNC is future, present, or past, depending on the tense of the VNC governing the principal clause.

**In tlā cē Mēxihcatl, huel quintocaz in mā nel mahtlāctin in iyāōhuān.** = If the Mexihca is one in number, he will be able to chase his enemies even though they are ten in number. [**Mēxihcatl** is the supplementary subject of the nuclear subject contained in **cē**. For **in mā nel**, see § 50.8.]

**In tlā oc itlah tomahcēhual, ca tihuālmocuepaz.** = If our merit is still something, you will return; i.e., If the Lord still looks favorably on us, you will come back. [**Tomahcēhual** is the supplementary subject of the nuclear subject contained in **itlah**.]

**In tlā āc in nēchtēmōz, tiquihtōz ahmō iz nicah.** = If there is someone who will seek me, you will say that I am not here; i.e., If someone comes looking for me, tell him I'm not here. [**In nēchtēmōz** is the supplementary subject for the nuclear subject contained in **āc**.]

**In tlā oquichtli, niman quimacah in tlahuītōlli.** = If it is a male (child), they immediately give him a bow.

**In tlā nelli ōmpa ōanhuāllahqueh, iz catqui anquimacazqueh in tlahtoāni.** = If it is the truth that you (pl) have come from there, here is what you will give the ruler. [**Ōmpa ōanhuāllahqueh** is the supplementary subject of the nuclear subject in **nelly**. **Anquimacazqueh in tlahtoāni** is the supplementary subject of the nuclear subject in **catqui**.]

**In tlā pōchtēcah in īmpan ōhuehuetzac huāctli, quihtoāyah ahzo ye itlah commonāmicitizqueh.** = If they were merchants at whom the white-hooded hawk laughed, they used to say that perhaps soon they would encounter something (baneful). [The clause **in īmpan ōhuehuetzac in huāctli** is modifying **pōchtēcah** adjectivally.]

**In tlā tlahtoāni ipiltzin, icōzqui ōmpa concāhuayah.** = If he was a ruler's son, they left his jewel there.

The collocation **in tlā ca#**, or the slightly more emphatic variant **in tlā camō**, expresses the negative "if . . . not."

**In tlā catlaxcalli, ahmō nitlacuāz.** = If it is not bread [i.e., if there is no bread], I shall not eat.

**In tlā catleh māxcā, ahuel ticalaquiz.** = If your property is nothing, you cannot enter; i.e., If you have nothing, you cannot enter.

**In tlā camō cualli, in conitta tecolli.** = If it [i.e., his luck] is not good, what he sees is charcoal.



**In tlā caoc tleh ĩcuach in ĩc quiquixtīz, ōmpa pohpolihuiya in ĩnacayo.** = If his large cotton cape with which he will ransom him were nothing, there his [i.e., the slave's] flesh became eradicated; i.e., If he had no large cotton capes with which to ransom him, he [i.e., the slave] was eaten there (or at that time). [The future tense of **quiquixtīz** is equivalent to a future-in-the-past tense, "he would ransom him."]

*b.* The center of the adjunct may be a VNC. The VNC may manifest the nonpast optative, in which case the condition is put forth with a degree of uncertainty.

**Itlah nimitzmacaz in tlā catleh xiquihtō.** = I shall give you something if you say nothing.

**In tlā xihuāllauh, nimitztlacualtīz.** = If you would come, I'll feed you.

**In tlā itlah yoyōlitōn motlāli, achto moxīma in equimitl ĩc momiyōtia.** = If some little animal would be made, first one trims coral-bean wood with which the skeleton is made. [**< tla-(omi-yō-ti-ā)**, "to cause s.th. to have boniness"]

**In tlā tiquimpalēhuicān, cuix tēchtlacuepcāyōtilizqueh?** = If we should help them, will they do something for us in return?

**In tlā iuh ye moyōllo, tleh ĩpampa ahticchihuatīuh?** = If your heart be thus, why don't you go in order to do it? I.e., If that is the way you feel, why don't you go and do it?

It is also possible to use the future optative or the preterit optative (see § 9.2).

**In tlā huel ĩtech tahciz in āltepētī in ōmpa titlamattīuh, mā xoconcuittihuetzi in ixquich in tlamahcēhualiztli.** = If you succeed in reaching the city where you are heading, be quick to take up all the acts of penance.

**In tlā camō iuh ticchihuaz, tihuālīxpopoyōtiz.** = If you don't do thus, you will become blind. Unless you do this, you will become blind.

**In tlā canah ōmpān yohuac, canah cuahuītl itzintlan ommololoah.** = If somewhere night fell on them, somewhere at the base of a tree they huddle [i.e., huddled] together. [The present tense of **ommololoah**, #~~θ~~+om+m-□(olol-o-a)~~θ~~+~~θ~~-h#, has a past-tense meaning (see §57.1).]

**In tlā ōmic in tēāltiāni, ĩpan quitlatiāyah.** = If the bather of people [i.e., of sacrificial victims] died, they burned it [i.e., his property] on him [i.e., along with him].

It is also possible for the VNC in the adverbial adjunct to manifest the present indicative tense, in which case the condition is put forth as purely neutral. Remember that at times a present indicative VNC and a nonpast optative VNC are identical in shape (see § 9.4); in these instances the conditional clause is ambiguous.

**In tlā ye itlah ticpiyelia, mā mitznacaztlachiyeltih.** = If you guard something for him, beware lest it seduce you. [Molina lists **nēchnacaztlachiyaltia** with the translation "it causes me to look at it with affection." It can be rendered literally as "it-causes-me-to-ear-look." Compare **tē-(nacaz-itt-a)**, "to ear-see s.o.," i.e., "to look at s.o. affectionately."]

**In tlā ye ōmpa itztiuh Mictlāmpa, ic quimati ca ye miquiz in ōquimottītih.** = If already it goes there toward the North [lit., toward Dead-man Land], thereby the one who has seen it knows that he will soon die.

At times the present indicative is standing for a past tense (see § 57.1):

**In tlā ye acah mococoa in ipan tzahtzitiqūiza, quihtoāyah, “Ca ticcāhuazqueh.”** = If the one at whom it lets [i.e., let] out a screech is [i.e., was] someone already sick, they used to say, “We shall let go of him [i.e., he will soon die].”

**In tlā ōittōqueh, niman oncān quimmictiah.** = If they were seen, immediately they kill [i.e., killed] them. [Here it is the VNC governing the main clause that has a present tense with a past-tense meaning.]

The collocation **in tlā camō ihcuāc**, “if not at that time,” is equivalent to “until.”

**Ahmō nimitzcāhuaz in tlā camō ihcuāc ōtinēchmacac in tinēchhuīquilia.** = I shall not leave you if at that time you have not given me what you owe me; i.e., I shall not leave you until you have given me what you owe me. [Literally, **tinēchhuīquilia** is “you carry it for me.”]

## 2. Hypothetical-condition sentences.

*a.* When the supposition refers to *present* or *future* time, the VNC governing the adverbial clause manifests the past optative. The antecessive-order prefix is obligatorily absent. The principal clause has a VNC built on a future-embed compound stem with **\*tla-(qui)** as the matrix (see § 28.11.2).

**In tlā mocniuh yeni, mitzpalēhuizquiya.** = If he were your friend, he would help you.

**In tlā oc neminih, cuix ahpināhuiztamatizquiyah?** = If they were still alive, would they not be ashamed?

**In tlā camō quiyauhtiyeni, huel toconittazquiyah in māhui.** = If it were not raining, we should be able to go see your aunt.

*b.* When the supposition refers to a *past* time, the VNC governing the adverbial clause manifests the past optative; the antecessive-order prefix is optionally present. The VNC governing the principal clause is built on a future-embed compound stem with **\*tla-(qui)** as the matrix (see § 28.11.2). If the antecessive-order prefix is used in the adverbial clause, it is also used in the principal clause. Without the prefix, the conditional sentence is the same as that in subsection 2.a above, but context makes the meaning clear. With the prefix, the conditional sentence refers strictly to the past.

**In tlā huel ninemini, ahquēn ninochihuazquiya.** = If I had lived well, I would not be troubled.

**Quil mach ihcuāc tēmictizquiyah, in tlā miec tlācatl cenquīzanih toquichtin.** = It is said namely at that time they would have slain people, if many people who were we men had come out as one; i.e., It is said that at that time they would have slain people, if many warriors had been assembled.

**Nipāquizquiya, in tlā camō yānih.** = I would have been happy, if they had not gone.

**In tlā ōquimatini, ca ōquinnemachtizquiya.** = If he had known it, he would have advised them.

**In tlā ōtiyeni tiānquizco, ca ōnimitzittazquiya.** = If you had been at the market-place, I would have seen you.

**In tlā ōmoyehyecoānih, ca huel āyizquiyah.** = If they had tried, they could have done it.

**In tlā yēhua ōtihuāllāni, ye ōnimitzmacazquiya.** = If you had come earlier, I would have given it/them to you.

*Remark:* The particle **tlā** may be omitted if some other element suggesting a condition is present.

**At canah anquittah, xichuāluhicacān.** = (If) perchance you (pl) see him somewhere, bring him here.

**Ahzo ticnēxtiz, xinēchhuāluhiquili.** = (If) perchance you find it, bring it to me.

**Ahzo canah tontēnepanoa tocōāpan, huel ximotlahtōlti; cualli ic ximotēnōchili.** = (If) perhaps somewhere you mingle with people during one of our social affairs, speak (H) well; address people (H) nicely.

50.8. *Concession.* The adjoined clause unit may concede a hypothetical or real situation for the occurrence of the action, event, etc., named in the principal clause unit. The introductory collocation **in tlā nel**, “if in truth,” may be translated “even if,” “even if it were the case that,” or “even supposing that.” It is traditionally written solid as **intlanel**. The collocation is made more intense by adding the pronominal NNC **yeh** or **eh**: **in tlā nel yeh/eh**. Traditionally, these are often spelled **intlanelle** and **intlanelle** respectively.

**In tlā nel ōticmomictilih in motahtzin, ca huel titlahtlacōlpohpolhuilōz.** = If in truth you killed your father (H), indeed you will be able to be pardoned for your crime; i.e., Even if you killed your father (H), you will be able to be pardoned for your crime. [The example is from Carochi. The VNC **titlahtlacōlpohpolhuilōz** is the passive-voice form of an active-voice VNC built on the applicative verbstem **tē-(tla-htlac-ō-l-poh-pol-huiā)**, “to destroy misdoings for s.o.,” i.e., “to pardon s.o. for a crime, defect, etc.,” “to absolve s.o. of a sin.” The incorporated-object, **(tla-htlac-ō-l)-li-**, “damage, misdeed, defect, etc.,” is an impersonal patientive nounstem from the verbstem **tla-(ihtlac-o-ā)**, “to spoil s.th., to damage s.th.”]

**In tlā nel cencah āc tehhuātli, ahmō huel ticchihuaz** = If in truth you are fully who it is, you will not be able to do it; i.e., Even if you are in fact who you are, you will not be able to do it. Even if you are of high esteem, you will not be able to do it.

The negative is **in tlā canel** or **in tlā canel mō**, “even if . . . not in truth,” “even if . . . not in fact.” This is usually written solid as **intlacanel** or **intlacanelmo**.

**In tlā canel mō etic, ahmō nicmāmāznequi.** = Even if it is not in fact heavy, I do not want to carry it on my back.

The concessive notion may also be expressed by introducing the adjoined clause unit by **mā**. The adverbialized NNC **nel**, “in truth, in fact, really,” almost invariably follows **mā**, and the adjunctor **in** is usually present. The collocation **in mā nel** may be translated “although,” “although in fact,” “although given the fact that,” “even though it is a fact that.” The collocation is traditionally written solid: **inmanuel**, or **immanuel**. It is made more expressive by the addition of the pronominal NNC **yeh** or **eh**: **mā nel yeh/eh** and **in mā nel yeh/eh**.

**In mā nel nipīnāhua, tleh in mach nicchīhuaz?** = Even if in truth I am ashamed, what is it that notably I shall do? I.e., Although I am ashamed, what ever am I to do?

**Ca niman ahmō huelitiz in niquiz, in mā nel achih̄tōn noconpalōz.** = It will be absolutely impossible for me to drink it, although I shall taste a very small amount.

**Ahmō huel centetl in mi, in mā nel tihuehuēin.** = It is not quite one-in-number adjr it-drinks-itself, adjr if-only in-truth we-are-big-ones; i.e., Not a single one is imbibed, even though we are elderly.

One may also express concession by the collocation **mā zo** (traditionally written solid: **mazo**). This can also be **mā zo eh** (traditionally written solid and with liaison as **mace**). **Mā zo** may be combined with **nel** or with **ihui** (or **ihuh**) or with both: **mā zo nel**, **mā zo ihui** (usually written solid and with liaison as **macihui**), **mā zo nel ihui**, **mā zo nel ihuh** (usually written **mazonelihui** and **mazoneliuh**). These collocations may be introduced by the adjunctor **in**. The combinations are usually written **immazo**, **immacihui** (with liaison), **immazonel**, **immazonelihui**, **immazoneliuh**.

**Ahmō tlai, mā zo āmiqui.** = He does not drink, even though he is thirsty.

**Mochintin quimōlinih, mā zo ihui in huellamahuizōlli in teohcalli.** = He caused them all to move, even though the temple was [or the temples were] very marvellous. [The distance of the translation from the Nahuatl is evident in the fact that **ihui** is the governing center of the adjoined clause unit, as is indicated by the adjunctor preceding both **huellamahuizōlli** and **teohcalli**. In the source text **mā zo ihui in** is written **macihuin**, a spelling that might also represent **mā zo ihuh in**. The **huellamahuizōlli** is a pronunciational spelling of the collocation **huel tlamahuizōlli**.]

**In Otomih tlatziuhqueh, mā zo ihui in ichtiqueh.** = The Otomis are lazy, although they are wiry. [Again, **ihui** is the governing center of the adjoined clause unit. The source text has **maçihui in**.]

The particle **tēl**, “nevertheless,” “nonetheless,” can be added to **mā zo**, creating the collocation **mā zo tēl**, “even if,” “supposing that. . . .

**Mā zo tēl ōniccuic, cuix motequih?** = Supposing that I took it, is it your business? I.e., Supposing I did take it, what business is it of yours?

The negative of these collocations is expressed by **ca#**: e.g., **mā canel**, **mā cazo**, **mā cazo mō**, **mā cazo tēl**.

**In tleh in cualtotōn quinehnequih, in mā canel cencah monequi.** = They hanker after things that are fairly good, even though they are not really necessary.

The collocations **mā nel zan** (~ **mā zan nel**), **mā nel zā** (~ **mā zā nel**), and **mā tēl zā** (~ **mā tēl zā yeh**) express the notion of “although it may be only” and can be translated “at least.” It should be remembered that **zā** expresses the notion of “only” as a diminution in view of the past (i.e., “formerly more, now only”), while **zan** expresses “only” unconditioned by the past (see § 3.2.4).

**Mā zā nel ipan xinēchmomachilti in cēmeh monencātzitzinhuān.** = [Since I have lost the right to be your son,] consider (H) me at least as one of your (H) servants. [The example

comes from Carochi, who explains that if the speaker had used **zan**, he would have implied that he was worthy of being a son, companion, etc., but would be satisfied with being accepted as a servant.]

**Mā nel zan centlapactzin tlaxcalli xinēchmomaquili.** = Give (H) me at least a small piece that is a tortilla; i.e., Give (H) me at least a small piece of a tortilla.

50.9. *Consequence.* The adjoined clause unit may express a consequence, in which case it contains the adverbialized VNC **iuh**, “so as a result.”

**Zan ahhuachquiyahuiya, in iuh tētzāmmachōc.** = It was only sprinkling, so that it (i.e., the lightning) was considered a bad omen. [/w/ + /m/ > [mm]]

50.10. *Proviso.* The adjoined clause unit may express a proviso, in which case it contains the negativized particle **ahzo**, “perhaps.”

**Nōhuiyān ontlahxiltihuih in tlatēmoah, in ahzo acah ōmpa mināya.** = The searchers go making thrusts everywhere, in case someone is hiding there. [The sequence **ahzo acah** may be found written solid and with liaison as **ahzacah**, or, if glottal stops are not represented, **azaca**.]

50.11. *Reason.* The adjoined clause unit may express a reason or explanation. The reason-stating clause is introduced by **ca**, “indeed,” which is a principal-clause introducer. This means that the Nahuatl construction simply juxtaposes two separate sentences, with the one containing **ca** merely implying an explanation, clarification, or justification for the statement made in the other. The particle **ca** does *not* mean “because, for, since.” In his dictionary Molina is incorrect in his translation: “porque. Conjunction para dar razon de algo” (i.e., “because. Conjunction to give a reason for something”). Not only is the translation wrong, the grammatical explanation is also wrong (**ca** is NOT a conjunction). Molina’s mistake is a result of translational mirage. Notice that in the following examples the “for,” “since,” and “because” come in because of the requirements of English and have no counterpart in the Nahuatl.

**Zā tēpan huel tlaxtlāuh in coyōtl, ca miyec in quimacac tōtolin in yehhuātl tiyahcāuh in quimomāquixtilih.** = Later the coyote paid its debt well; indeed it gave many turkeys to this warrior who saved it; i.e., Later the coyote paid its debt well, because indeed it gave many turkeys to this warrior who saved it; i.e., Later the coyote paid its debt well, because it gave many turkeys to this warrior who saved it.

**Ca nel tlācamāyeh, huel cuauhtlehco.** = Indeed it has truly human hands; it can climb trees; i.e., Since indeed it has truly human hands, it can climb trees; i.e., Since it has truly human hands, it can climb trees. [The source text has **nellacamaye**, since /l/ + /ɫ/ > [ll].]

**Huel quineltillah, ca yehhuāntin cahciqueh.** = They can confirm it; indeed they captured him; i.e., They can confirm it, for indeed they captured him; i.e., They can confirm it, for they captured him.

The negative is **ca ah#** or **ca ahmō**. The latter is frequently written solid as **camo** (with only one /a/ and with the glottal stop not represented).

## LESSON 51

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# Complementation

51.1. *Double-Nucleus Structures of Complementation.* In addition to the incorporated-complement compound verb stems presented in § 30.15, there are also structures of complementation in which the complement is an adjoined NNC. As stated in § 30.15, the complement can be one of three kinds: an object complement, a subject complement, or an adverbial complement.

51.2. *The Object Complement.* An NNC as an object complement has an object pronoun as its head, with the grammatical relation between the two established by a reference shared by the object pronoun and the subject pronoun of the NNC serving as complement. Although this sounds like what happens in shared-referent supplementation (see § 17.3), there is quite a difference between the two structures.

Only VNCs built on certain verb stems permit their object pronouns to be complemented. These fall into several meaning categories.

1. Change. The complement names a role that the entity referred to by the object pronoun is made to assume.

**Tlahtoāni quichīuhqueh.** = He is a chief they made him; i.e., They made him chief.

**Titlahtoāni mitzchīuhqueh.** = You are a chief they made you; i.e., They made you chief.

The object pronoun being complemented can be reflexive.

**Oc ceppa tipiltōntli timochīhuaz.** = Still one time you are a child you will make yourself; i.e., You will become a child again.

**Zā tēpan imōn mochīuh in tlahtoāni.** = Later he became the chief's son-in-law.

**In nixolopihtli ninocuepa.** = I am turning into a fool. [Compare the incorporated-complement formation: **ninoxolopihcuepa.**]

**Moch temeh mocuepqueh.** = All turned into rocks. [On the lack of agreement between the subject pronouns on the supplementary subject NNC and the principal VNC, see § 18.5.]

The preceding examples show substantival NNCs in the complement function. This function can also be performed by adjectival NNCs.

**Quil in tōnacāyōtl chichipahtic mochīuh.** = It is said that the food became very bitter.

2. Material composition. The object complement NNC is built on a nounstem that signifies a material from which the entity referred to by the object pronoun is made.

**Cuezalin in inepil mochīhua.** = It is of red-macaw feathers that its tongue is made; i.e., Its tongue is made of red-macaw feathers.

**In ipetl mochīhua ōcēlōēhuatl.** = His mat is made of jaguar skin.

This object-complement construction serves as the source for such transformed sentences as the following:

**Teōcuitlatl in tlachiuhitli.** = It is of gold that it is a made thing; i.e., The thing made is of gold; i.e., It is made of gold.

**Īchīmal yeticah, otlatl in tlachīhualli.** = His shield is being, it is of bamboo that it is a made thing (i.e., the thing made is of bamboo); i.e., He has his shield made of bamboo with him.

**Ca oncān catca in ūxxiptla āyōtl, tetl in tlaxihxīntli.** = An image of a turtle was there, it was of stone that it was a carved thing; i.e., An image of a turtle was there, carved out of stone.

**Mochihuaya tlenamaquiliztli in ica tlemāitl, zoquitl tlachihchīhualli, cacalachyoh.** = The act of offering fire used to be performed with a fire ladle made of clay, filled with rattle pellets. [**(ca-cal-a-ch)-tli-**, “rattle pellet(s),” a patientive nounstem from **(ca-cal-a-ca)**, “to make a rattling sound,” a frequentative verbstem from the destockal verb **(cal-ā-ni)**, “to rattle.”]

3. Designation. The object complement can indicate the name of the entity referred to by the object pronoun.

**Yehhuāntin īntlaiximach in mihtoa peyōtl.** = They-are-the-ones it-was-their-discovery adjr it calls itself it-is-peyote; i.e., That which is called peyote was *their* discovery.

**Āc mitztōcāyōtih in tOtomitl?** = Who caused you to have the name you are an Otomi? I.e., Who called you an Otomi?

**Quitōcāyōtihqueh ilhuicaātl.** = They caused it to have the name it is sky water; i.e., They named it “sky water.”

**Cuātatl motōcāyōtia.** = He causes himself to have the name he is a Cuata; i.e., He calls himself a Cuata.

**In Mēxihcah mihtoa Chichīmēcah.** = The Mexihcas call themselves Chichimecas. [Compare the incorporated-complement construction: **Mōchichīmēcaihitoah Mēxihcah**, “The Mexihcas call themselves Chichimecas.”]

Notice the following variants of this construction in which there is a lack of agreement between the complement and the object pronoun that is its head.

**Iz nicaḥ in mihtoa nitīcitl.** = Here am I, who am called a midwife. [The speaker gets herself into grammatical difficulty, because she does not want to imply that she is the

only one to call herself a midwife (with **ninihtoa niticitl**, “I call myself a midwife”) but to say that people in general call her that.]

**Āc titēchmati?** = Who do you know us to be? Who do you take us to be?

There is an interesting structure of complementation in which the nonspecific object pronoun **tla** can have a locative NNC as a supplementary object and a place-name NNC as an object complement.

**Oncān tlatōcāyōtih Huēhuehcuauhtitlan.** = He named that place “At the Place Beside the Old-Man Tree.” [The adverbial subject pronoun of the place-name NNC and that of the adverbial NNC **oncān** are in harmony with the causative object pronoun **tla** (see § 46.3.2.b).]

When, however, a possessive-state NNC takes the place of the “designating” VNC the *specific* possessor pronoun **i-Ø** is used. The object complement changes to a possessor complement.

**Onahcico cecni itōcāyōcān Cochtocān.** = He came in order to reach thither to a certain place whose name was Cochtocan.

**Ahcico itōcāyōcān Tepanohuayān.** = He came to arrive at a place whose name was Tepanohuayan. [In this instance only the place-name complement is used.]

4. State. The object complement is an adjectival NNC that indicates the state of the entity referred to by the object pronoun.

**In yehhuātl xoxōuhqui moteci.** = This is ground raw. This is ground while raw.

**Niman ihciuhcā quītiuetzi itztic.** = Then he quickly drinks it cold. Then he quickly drinks it while it is cold.

**Niman ihciuhcā quītiuetzi itztic in cōāxihuitl.** = Then he quickly drinks the snake-leaf (tea) cold.

**In yehhuātl xoxōuhqui mi.** = This is drunk uncooked. [Compare the incorporated-complement formation **Moxoxōuhcāi**, “It is drunk uncooked.”]

**Chipacpōl moquetz ohtli.** = The road stood quite clear. [Compare the connective-**t** compound formation in **Chipāhuatimoquetz in ohtli**, “The road stood having become clean.”]

51.3. *The Subject Complement.* The subject pronoun of the NNC that functions as the subject complement shares its referent with the subject pronoun that is its head in the VNC functioning as the principal. The stem of the subject-complement NNC may be substantival or adjectival.

There are several meaning categories into which these constructions fall.

1. Identity. The subject complement indicates the nature of the entity referred to by the subject pronoun that is its head.

**Tinocniuh tiyez.** = You will be my friend.

**Zan titēlpōchtli tinēci.** = You seem to be only a youth. [Compare **Titēlpōchnēci**, “You seem a youth.”]



2. Composition. The subject complement indicates the material of which the entity referred to by the subject pronoun that is its head is made.

**In panōhuani tetl catca.** = The bridge was of stone.

**In calli zacatl nēci.** = The house seems to be of straw.

3. State. The subject complement indicates the state of the entity referred to by the subject pronoun that is its head.

**Chipacpōl ihcac in ochpāntli.** = The wide road stands empty. [Compare **Chipāhuati-hcac in ochpāntli**, “The wide road stands having become clean.”]

**Xoquihyāc ēhuatoc in eztili.** = The blood lies rising foul; i.e., The blood gives off a foul odor.

This construction frequently resembles that of the adjoined adverbial of manner (see § 50.4), except that the adjunct-to-head relationship centers upon the subject pronoun of the principal clause rather than upon its predicate. NNCs formed on the following three nounstems are frequent in the construction.

a. **(cē-l)-θ-** (see § 40.2.3). When an NNC built on this nounstem acts as a subject complement, it is its possessor pronoun (which, it should be remembered, is included inside the stem) that shares entity reference with the subject pronoun of the principal clause.

**Zan nocēl ōnihuāllah.** = I alone came. Only I came.

**Zan tocēltin ōtihuāllahqueh.** = We alone came. Only we came.

**Ayāc huel icēl cāmpa huia.** = No one could go anywhere alone.

b. **(el)-θ-** (see § 40.2.3). Again, when an NNC built on this nounstem acts as a subject complement, it is its possessive pronoun that shares entity reference with the subject pronoun of the principal clause.

**Nel nicchihua.** = I do it willingly.

**Ahnel nicchihua.** = I do it unwillingly.

**Ahmel tiquimitta.** = You look at them unwillingly.

c. **(iyo-h-θ)-□-** (see § 40.8.6). The subject pronoun of an NNC built on this-preterit-agentive nounstem shares entity reference with the subject pronoun of the principal clause to which it is adjoined as subject complement.

**Zan niyoh ninocuep.** = Only I returned.

**Zan iyohqueh tlāhuānah in huēhuētqueh.** = Only the old men get drunk.

**Zan iyoh nēci in inxāyac cencah iztāc.** = Only their very white faces show. [The **zan** is frequently written solid with **iyoh: zaniyoh.**]

4. A subject-complement construction may also be generated as a passive transformation of the object-complement construction of § 51.2.

Active source: **Mitzōcāyōtiah in tOtomitl.** = They call you an Otomi.

Passive transform: **Titōcāyōtilo in tOtomitl.** = You are caused to have the name you are an Otomi; i.e., You are called an Otomi.

The following are other examples of the construction.

**In tlā icnōyoh iyōllo, niman tōcāyōtīlo Tiāchcāuh.** = If he is of a compassionate heart, then he is named “(Someone’s) Elder Brother.”

**Tlahtoāni chihualo.** = He is made chief.

**In iyōllo cualōni mihceccui.** = Its center is customarily eaten roasted. Its center is edible roasted.

51.4. *The Adverbial Complement.* An adverbial complement is a complement with adverb-like capabilities. The following are a few of the possible constructions.

1. As a complement to an NNC built on the stem (**mo-ca**), “to look/seem full.” [The morph (**mo-**), “full,” is also found in the quantitative pronominal stem (**mo-chi**)-**θ**-, “full amount”; see § 16.9.7. The verbstem is apparently limited to present-tense VNCs.]

**Nimoca zoquitl.** = I am covered with mud.

**Moca tzontli.** = It is covered with hair. It is hairy.

**In moxāyac moca eztli.** = Your face is covered with blood. Your face is bloody.

**Timoca zahuatl.** = You are covered with a rash.

The complement may also be a preterit-agentive NNC of abundant ownership.

**Moca teyoh.** = It is a thing covered with rocks.

Normally, the NNC acting as complement has a singular subject pronoun even when built on an animate stem.

**Moca tecpin.** = It is full of fleas. It is covered with fleas.

2. As a complement to a VNC formed on the verbstem (**pēhua**), “to begin.” When a VNC built on (**pēhua**) occurs as the principal clause, a construction results that at times resembles an adverb-of-purpose construction (see § 50.6) and at times a conjunctive construction (see § 52.2) but cannot be fully assigned to either. The subject of the adjoined clause and that of the principal clause refer to the same entity. As a rule, the adjoined clause manifests the present tense regardless of the tense of the VNC that is acting as principal.

**Pēhua in cuica in tlācatecolōtl.** = The demon begins to sing.

**Pēhua in quiyahui.** = It is beginning to rain.

**Nipēhua nitlacua.** = I start eating. I start to eat. I begin eating.

**Tipēhuaya titlacua.** = You were starting to eat.

**Tipēhuazqueh titlacuah.** = We shall begin to eat.

One occasionally finds the future tense in a clause adjoined as complement:

**In ye pēhuazqueh mihtōfizqueh cuicanimeh, achtopa ontlanayah.** = When the singers were about to start dancing, first they used to make oblations. [Notice the translation of the future tense of **pēhuazqueh** due to the pressure of the past tense of **ontlanayah**.]

The construction may be impersonal.

**Niman pēōhua in tlatlāxo.** = Then all begin throwing things.

**Niman pēhualo in necōcōlōlo.** = Then the serpent dance is begun.

Contrast the above constructions with the following supplementary-object construction:

**Oc achih̄tōn tōnatiuh in quipēhualtiāh in cuīcah,** = There is still a little sunlight when they cause their singing to begin. There is still a little sunlight when they begin to sing.

**Compēhualtīzqueh cuīcanimeh mihtōtīzqueh.** = The singers will cause their dancing to begin. The singers will begin to dance.

3. As a complement to a VNC formed on the verbstem (**pach-i-hui**), “to become satisfied.” The construction is the same as with (**pēhua**); as a rule, the VNC in the adjoined clause manifests the present tense.

**Ōpachih̄queh ātlih.** = They got their fill of drinking. They finished drinking.

4. As a complement to a VNC formed on the verbstem (**tlahpal-i-hui**), “to become healthy/vigorous/courageous,” or **m-o-(tlahpal-o-ā)**, “to dare.” The tense of the VNC in the adjoined clause unit is determined by that of the VNC in the principal clause, ordinarily being subsequent to it.

**Ācah tlahpalihui cānaznequiz.** = Someone dares to want to take it.

**Huālmotlahpaloh huālcētlami.** = He dared to finish here.

**Zan niman ahoc mō motlahpaloāyah in mā onhuiān.** = They no longer dared to go there. [Notice the use of the optative mood in the adjoined clause to indicate the heightened sense of insecurity involved: “if only they may go there.”]

5. As a complement to a VNC formed on the verbstem **m-o-(cāhua)**, “to stop.”

**Zan cuēl in timocāhuaz timēya.** = Soon you will cease to flow.

6. As a complement to a VNC formed on the verbstem (**huch-cāhua**), “to tarry.”

**Ahmō tihuehcāhuazqueh tahcitihuih in ōmpa.** = We shall not be long in arriving there.

7. Another kind of adverbial complement involves an NNC formed on a relational nounstem (see Lessons 45–47) in cooperation with a meaning-compatible verbstem to create a lexical unit. The verbstem and the relational nounstem become idiomatically associated in a manner vaguely similar to the idiomatic association of certain verbs and prepositions in English (e.g., “to ask for s.th.,” “to see to s.th.”). Such combinations in both languages must be learned as vocabulary items.

**+tē(ca) m-o-(cah-cay-ā-hu-a)** = to make fun of s.o., to ridicule/deride/mock s.o. [As in: **Īnca ninocahcayāhua.** “I make fun of them.”]

**+tē(pan) tē-(tēca)** = to slander s.o. [As in: **Tēpan tinēchtēca.** “You slander me.” Literally, “you stretch me out before people”; **Tēpan nitēco.** “I am slandered.”]

**+tē(tech) (chico-tla-mati)** = to be suspicious of s.o., to suspect s.o. [As in: **Motech tichicotlamatiyah.** “We were suspicious of you.”]

**+tē(tech-pa) (tlaōco-ya)** = to feel sorry for s.o., to have compassion for s.o., to pity s.o. [As in: **Cuix ahmō itechpa antlaōcoyah?** “Don’t you (pl) feel sorry for her?”]

The lexicalized association between the two constituents is so strong that in the active-action derivation the adverbialized NNC becomes incorporated into the verbstem to form a compound nounstem.

**( $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -tē-ca- $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -ne-cah-cay-ā-hu-a-liz)-tli-** = the act of making fun of people; the act of ridiculing/deriding/mockery people

The presence of the person dyad at the beginning of the compound stem prevents the subject pronoun of the absolutive-state compound-stemmed NNC or the possessor pronoun of the possessive-state NNC from having direct commerce with the possessor pronoun of the incorporated NNC.

**tēcanecahcayāhualiztli** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ( $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -tē-ca- $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -ne-cah-cay-ā-hu-a-liz)tli- $\emptyset$ # = it is ridicule/derision/mockery

**ītēcanecahcayāhualiz** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ī- $\emptyset$ ( $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -tē-ca- $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -ne-cah-cay-ā-hu-a-liz) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is his act of ridicule/derision/mockery

## LESSON 52

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# Conjunction

52.1. *Conjunction.* As mentioned in § 1.12, a conjunctive structure is a special kind of concatenate structure. It is created by a transformational process that joins two items in a balanced relationship. Since neither of the conjuncts (conjoined items) in a structure of conjunction is subordinate to the other, there is no head, only two constituents cooperating at the same level of syntactic rank.

Because of the nature of Nahuatl syntax, conjuncts are almost always nuclear clauses or nuclear-clause groups (one earlier mentioned exception is the conjoined particle unit **zā zan**). A structure of conjunction may exist at the level of principal clauses (i.e., may have principal clauses as conjuncts) or at the level of adjoined clauses (i.e., may have adjoined clauses as conjuncts).

Conjunction may be either additive (English *and*), alternative (English *or*), or adversative (English *but*). Any of these may be either *marked* or *unmarked*. In marked conjunction, there is an *explicit* conjunctive linking the conjuncts. In unmarked conjunction, the linkage is merely *implicit* [technically, this is called “asyndeton”].

Be alert to the fact that Nahuatl by far prefers unmarked conjunction.

52.2. *Unmarked Conjunction.* Since unmarked conjunction is achieved by simply juxtaposing two or more nuclear clauses or nuclear clause groups, one must infer not only the existence of conjunction but also the nature of the conjoining. That is, the content of the combined clauses is sufficient to establish the conjunction.

1. Additive conjunction. The conjuncts may be a pair or a series. The conjunction may be positive (“and”) or negative (“nor”).

The following sentences show conjunction at the level of principal clause units. (The marked conjunctive required by English is italicized in the translation.)

**In ōtēmāātēquīlōc, niman ye īc tētlamaco, tlacualo.** = When hands have been washed, then immediately thereupon food is served *and* people eat. [The spelling given of the VNC **ōtēmāātēquīlōc** here contradicts Carochi (see Karttunen, 131.). The VNC is traditionally spelled **otematequiloc**, since traditionally double long vowels were

spelled with a single macronless letter. The source verbstem is **tē-(mā-ā-tēqu-īā)**, “to spread water on s.o. at the hands,” i.e., “to wash s.o.’s hands.” The formation is exactly parallel to **tē-(cuā-ā-tēqu-īā)**, “to wash s.o.’s head”; also, in colonial times, “to baptize s.o.” (traditionally spelled not **quaa** but **qua**). The source of both stems is the applicative stem **tē- ~ tla-(ā-tēqu-īā)**, “to spread water on s.o./s.th., to pour water on s.o./s.th., to get s.o./s.th. wet” < **(ā-tēca)**, “to spread/pour water (on a surface).” The embed of one is **(māi)-tl-**, “hand,” and of the other **(cuāi)-tl-**, “head.”]

**Mimiltic, achihztzin huitztic, achi tzīmpitzāhuac.** = It is cylindrical, somewhat pointed, and slightly narrow at its base.

**Ahmō mahmōlhuia ahmō mīxamia.** = He does not use soap, *nor* does he wash his face.

Very frequently conjoined principal clauses share a supplement. Nahuatl normally puts the supplement after the last conjunct, while the English translation shifts a subject or possessor to a position in front of the first conjunct but often leaves an object after the last one.

**Ahmō quicelia, ahmō quihuelitta in yōlohchicāhuac.** = The strong-hearted one does not accept it *and* does not like it. [A supplementary subject construction. The sentence is an example of *hysteron proteron*, since the not liking would normally precede the refusal to accept.]

**Ca ināhual inecuepaliz in Tezcatl-Ihpōca.** = It is Tezcatl-Ihpoca’s disguise *and* transfiguration. [a supplementary possessor construction]

**Ye quichīhuah, ye quitlālah in īcal in Huitzilōpōchtli.** = Already they make *and* establish Huitzilopochtli’s house. [a supplementary object construction]

**Īmpan huālihcatiyah, quinquālyacāntiyah in Mēxihcah.** = He came standing over the Mexihcas *and* came guiding them hither. [The supplement is first a supplementary possessor and then a supplementary object.]

The following sentences show additive conjunction at the level of adjoined clause units:

**Mā ticcōhuacān in tetl in cuahuītl.** = Let’s buy the stone *and* the wood. [The structure of conjunction **in tetl in cuahuītl** functions as a supplementary object for the nuclear object **c-∅** contained in **ticcōhuacān**.]

**In cihuah cualli in incuē in inhuīpil.** = The women’s skirts *and* blouses are good. [The structure of conjunction **in incuē in inhuīpil** functions as the supplementary subject in cross-reference to the subject pronoun of **cualli** (the principal clause). **In cihuah** (the sentence topic) functions as the supplementary possessor of the possessor pronouns in the conjoined NNCs.]

**Tōltzālan, ācatzālan onmotlālicoh.** = They come to settle among the rushes *and* reeds. [The structure of conjunction **tōltzālan, ācatzālan** functions as the adverbial adjunct.]

**Ōcenquīz in ixquich in tēlpōchtli in ichpōchtli.** = All the youths *and* maidens gathered together. [An example of generalization. The structure of conjunction **in tēlpōchtli in ichpōchtli** functions as the adjectival modifier of **ixquich** (i.e., “all who were youths and maidens”), and **ixquich** is the supplementary subject in cross-reference to the subject pronoun of **ōcenquīz**, the principal clause.]

The adjunct group may consist of a series or list:

**Quicua in tōnacāyōtl, in cintli, in etl, in chilli, in iztatl, in tomatl.** = It eats maize, dried-maize ears, beans, chili peppers, salt, *and* tomatoes. [The adjunct group functions as a supplementary object.]

The following sentence shows conjunction at both the principal and adjunct levels:

**Ātlauhtli, tepētl quitemohuiah, quitlehcahuiah.** = They climb down *and* up gorges *and* mountains. [The structure of conjunction **ātlauhtli tepētl** functions as the supplementary object of the object pronouns in both **quitemohuiah** and **quitlehcahuiah**, which also constitute a structure of conjunction.]

The structure of conjunction may be so tightly bound together that a modifier that affects each conjunct may appear only before the first one.

**Ahmīxco mocpac tonmati.** = Not to the place of your face *and* (not) to the place of your head top do you know the way; i.e., You don't how to find your face or the top of your head; i.e., You are a fool. [The **ah#** negates both locative NNCs. For **om-(mati)**, see § 8.1.]

**Aīc cemēleh, yōcoxcā monōtztinemih.** = They never communicate harmoniously and peacefully. [**Cemēleh, #θ-θ(cem-ēl-eh-θ)[]-θ#**, “he is the owner of a whole liver,” i.e., “he is a person with a good disposition,” is a preterit-agentive NNC that has been frozen in a third-person singular form in order to function as an adverb: “as a harmonious person.” Both conjuncts are modified by **aīc**. The conjunction could also be understood as alternative: “harmoniously or peacefully.”]

## 2. Alternative conjunction:

**Ōppa, ēxpā in coniz.** = It is two *or* three times that he will drink it. [English prefers “He will drink it two or three times.”]

**Ahzo nican nēchmopohpolhuiz mōztlatiz huīptlatiz.** = Perhaps here he (H) will destroy me tomorrow *or* the next day [literally, “it will be tomorrow *or* it will be the day after”]; i.e., Perhaps here he (H) will destroy me one of these days.

**In mēcēhualtin ahmō zan tlapōhualtin tlāhuāntinemih, mā tēlpocameh, mā ich-pocameh, mā huēhuētqueh, mā ilamatqueh, mā nāmiquehqueh.** = The commoners who go around drunk are innumerable, be they youths, be they maidens, be they old men, be they old women, *or* be they married people.

3. Adversative conjunction. Often, the expression of antithesis or opposition involves the counterbalancing of negative and positive clauses. Unlike additive and alternative conjunction, only two conjuncts can participate in adversative conjunction.

**Ahmō zan quēxquichtin, huel ixachintin in īxpoliuhqueh.** = The ones who were destroyed were not just a few *but* a great number.

**Ōntetzontecomehqueh, zan cē in īntlāc.** = They have two heads, *but* only one in number is their body; i.e., They have two heads but only one body.

52.3. *Marked Conjunction.* Marked conjunction is achieved by inserting the conjunctive **auh** between the conjoined principal clauses or sentences. **Auh** has a somewhat restricted use, not joining, as a rule, the conjuncts on an adjunct level (although it can be found so used).

## 1. Additive conjunction:

**Piciyetl, pahpatlāhuac, achi huīyac in īquillo, auh in ixōchiyo cōztic.** = As for a tobacco plant, its leaves are wide *and* somewhat long, and its blossoms are yellow. [Piciyetl is the sentence topic for the marked structure of conjunction that serves as its comment. It functions as the supplementary possessor for both **īquillo** and **ixōchiyo**, which in turn function as the supplementary subjects in their respective conjuncts.]

**Quin ōtimēuh, auh ye cuēl tonquīza!** = You just now got up, and you are leaving already so soon!

**Zan ic in auh zan cān in itto.** = It is seldom and in few places that it is seen. [Unfortunately, the **ic** and the **cān** are always written solid with the adjunctor **in** in such constructions, creating **iquin** and **canin**. This practice totally obscures the Nahuatl structure, since **ic** and **cān** are *principal* clauses. To avoid the inelegant repetition of **Zan ic in itto auh zan cān in itto**, “It is only at times that it is seen and it is only in places that it is seen,” the clause adjoined by the first adjunctor is deleted (silenced), because it is identical to the clause adjoined by the second one. It is precisely because the presence of the silent adjunct is so strongly felt that the first **in** is kept.]

A sentence can begin with **Auh**, thereby claiming that it is the rightward conjunct in a structure of conjunction whose leftward conjunct is also a sentence (the leftward conjunct can even be absent).

**Auh in in, mā ixquich motlahpaltzin xicmochihui.** = And since this is the way things are, put (H) forth all your (H) effort. [Concerning **in in** in this context, see § 50.1.]

## 2. Alternative conjunction:

**Zā tehhuān in, auh zā tiuhqueh in, in titlahlacohcāhuān totēucyo.** = We are (now) only these, or we are (now) only such as these, who are we sinners of our lord.

## 3. Adversative conjunction:

**Momati ayāc quimachilia, auh ca ye ōmachililōc.** = He thinks no one knows about it, but in fact it is already known.

**Cualli in quihtoa pani, auh in ihtic ahmō cualli in quihtoa tēhuicpa.** = What he says on the surface is good, but in his insides what he says about people is bad; i.e., What he says outwardly about people is good, but what he says inwardly about them is bad. [The possessor pronoun **i-∅** on **ihtic** is short because of the glottal stop.]

52.4. *Adverbial Modifiers and Conjunction.* There are a number of adverbial modifiers (particles or adverbialized NNCs) that frequently occur where one might expect a conjunct. These items are not in fact conjunctors, however. They may accompany either marked or unmarked structures of conjunction.

## 1. Additive conjunction



a. Unmarked. The adverbial particles **nō** (“also”), **oc** (“still”), and the combination **oc nō** (“still also”) may occur at the beginning of a rightward conjunct. As is customary in translating unmarked additive conjunction, English normally supplies the word “and” (giving the translation: “and also,” “and still,” “and yet also”).

**Ōmpāntih in Tenōchcah, nō ōmpāntih in Tlatelōlcah.** = The Tenochcas form two rows, also the Tlatelolcas form two rows; i.e., The Tenochcas form two rows, *and* also the Tlatelolcas form two.

**Centlapal incalmā in pōchtēcah, nō centlapal incalmā in āmantēcah.** = The merchants’ neighborhood is on one side, also the feather-workers’ neighborhood is on one side; i.e., The merchants’ neighborhood is on one side, *and* also the feather-workers’ neighborhood is on the other. [After inserting the “and,” English style would prefer to eliminate the “also.”]

The possessive-state relational NNC **ihuān**, “it is in its company” (see § 45.4.1), frequently occurs as an adverbial modifier at the beginning of a rightward conjunct. Everyone looks upon this **ihuān** as a conjunct meaning “and,” but this perception is only the result of translational mirage. **Īhuan** is an adverbialized NNC, the correct translation of which in this context is “therewith,” “herewith,” “thereby,” “hereby,” “moreover,” “furthermore,” “along with that,” or “in addition to that.” As with any of these adverbial modifiers that stand at the beginning of a rightward conjunct, a translator can impose an English conjunct and either omit the Nahuatl adverbial modifier or translate it, depending on his/her feeling for English style. But, of course, if the adverbial modifier is not translated, it is illogical to think of the inserted English conjunct as its translation. Those who see **ihuān** as a conjunct (starting with Olmos and Molina) have succumbed to linguicism, which here insists on forcing a foreign preference for marked conjunction upon a Nahuatl preference for unmarked conjunction.

The antecedent of the possessor pronoun **ī-∅** of **ihuān** is the state of affairs, or some aspect of it, reported in the leftward conjunct.

The head that **ihuān** modifies adverbially in the rightward conjunct may be either explicitly mentioned or (for the sake of linguistic economy) merely understood. In the following examples, the head is mentioned.

**In oc centetl in imācal in Españoles huālcac, ihuān miyec in imācal in Xōchimilcah in quihuālhucacalac.** = Another of the Spaniards’ boats entered, *and* therewith many were the boats of the Xochimilcas that entered accompanying it. [**Īhuān** is an adverbial modifier of the principal clause **miyec** in the rightward conjunct. The possessor pronoun **ī-∅** of **ihuān** refers to the entrance of the Spanish boat.]

**Ōmotlālih, ihuān ōtlacuah.** = He sat down, therewith he ate; i.e., He sat down *and* ate. [**Īhuān** is an adverbial modifier of **ōtlacuah**. The **ī-∅** of **ihuān** refers to the act of sitting down.]

**Cencah tomāhuac in cuahuil, ihuān cencah huīyac.** = The tree is very thick; moreover, it is very tall; i.e., The tree is very thick *and* very tall. [**Īhuān** is an adverbial modifier of **cencah huīyac**. The possessor pronoun **ī-∅** of **ihuān** refers to the state of being thick.]

In the following examples the head, modified by **ihuān**, is only understood. In this case the **ihuān** can be said to be promoted to the rank of a proxy principal clause in the rightward conjunct (with the adjoined clause being introduced by **in**).

**Xichuālcuicān in tlacualli, in chipāhuac ātl, ihuān in ixquich monequi.** = Bring food and fresh water, *and* therewith (bring) everything that is needed.

**Īntechpa tlahtoa in xōchihcualnamacaqueh ihuān in tlacualnamacaqueh.** = It speaks about the fruit venders *and* therewith (it speaks about) the food sellers; i.e., It speaks about the fruit venders *and* the food sellers.

In this construction the adverbial modifier **ihuān** can itself be adverbially modified by **oc**, **nō**, or **oc nō**, producing the collocations **oc ihuān**, “still therewith,” “furthermore” (traditionally written **oquihuan**); **nō ihuān**, “also therewith” (sometimes written solid as **noihuan**); and **oc nō ihuān**, “still also therewith.” All of these collocations can be *translated* “and also,” “and besides,” “and furthermore” (translations that disregard the **ihuān**).

**Oncān oquinnōtz in Huittzilōpōchtli in yehhuāntin in Āztēcah in motēnēhuah teōmāmahqueh . . . , nō ihuān oquinnōtz in yehhuātl in intēyacāncāuh, in intlahtocāuh in yehhuāntin Āztēcah Mēxihtin.** = There Huittzilopochtli summoned the Aztecs who were called god-carriers. . . . also therewith he summoned the leader *and* ruler of the Aztecs *or* Mexihs; i.e., There Huittzilopochtli summoned the Aztecs called god-carriers . . . , *and* also he summoned the leader *and* ruler of the Aztecs *or* Mexihs.

The adverbial modifiers **ahnō**, **ahmō nō**, **no zo**, and **no zo eh** (traditionally written solid and with liaison as **noce**) as well as the expressions **mā no zo** (traditionally written solid as **manozo**) and **mā no zo eh** (traditionally written solid and with liaison as **manoce**) are found where an English speaker might expect a negative additive conjunct (“and not,” “nor”). [The **eh** in **no ceh** and **mā no ceh** is the pronominal NNC **eh**.]

**Ca ahmō quimati, no ceh quimatiznequi. ~ Ca ahmō quimati, mā no ceh quimatiznequi.** = He does not know it, *nor* does he want to know it.

**Zan icēl in nehnemi ; ahmō ōntemantinemi, ahmō nō yehēteyetinemi.** = It goes about only alone; it does not go about in pairs *nor* in threes.

*b.* Marked:

**Ahcān huel itto in cān in onoc, auh nō tleh in quicua.** = Where it lies and also what it is that it eats can nowhere be seen; i.e., One can see neither where it dwells nor what it eats.

**Achi coniz in cōztomatl, auh ihuān ic moyacapācaz in cōztomatl.** = He is to drink a little yellow-tomato (juice), and therewith he is to wash his nostrils with yellow-tomato (juice). [The possessor pronoun **i-Ø** of **ihuān** refers to the drinking of the juice. The sequence **auh ihuān** confirms that **ihuān** is not a conjunct.]

## 2. Alternative conjunction

*a.* Unmarked. The adverbial particles and collocations **ahzo**, **ahzo eh** (written solid and with liaison as **ahceh**), **no zo**, **no zo eh** (written solid and with liaison as **noceh**), **mā no zo**

(or **manozo**), **mā no zo eh** (or **manocch**), **ahno zo** (written solid as **ahnozo**), and **ahno zo eh** (written solid and with liaison as **ahnoceh**) occur where an English speaker would expect an alternative conjunctive (“or”). They are frequently preceded by the adjunctive **in** (**in ahno zo**, **in ahno ceh**).

**Cuix ōtitlāhuān, cuix no zo ōtitētlāhuānaltih?** = Did you get drunk or did you get someone else drunk? [There is no translatable difference between this and the slightly more intense expression **Cuix ōtitlāhuān, cuix no ceh ōtitētlāhuānaltih?**]

**In tlā nipa xiyauh, in tlā no ceh nipa xiyauh, ōmpa tonhuetiz.** = If you go over here *or* if on the other hand you go over there, you will fall in; i.e., If you go over here *or* go over there, you will fall in.

**Zan xoxōuhqui in quicua ahno zo qui** = It is only an uncooked thing that he eats *or* he otherwise drinks; i.e., He eats *or* drinks it only uncooked.

**In ihcuāc ōtlācat piltōntli, niman caquiah in calmecac, in ahno zo tēlpōchcalli.** = When a boy was born, then they entered him in the calmecac *or* otherwise in the tēlpōchcalli; i.e., When a boy was born they entered him in the calmecac *or* in the tēlpōchcalli. [The calmecac (“it is at the place of a rope of rooms”) was a religious preparatory seminary where boys and young men were disciplined in religion, astrology, history, and rhetoric. The tēlpōchcalli (“it is a house for youths”) was a military school attended primarily by the sons of commoners.]

**Cepa tlahtlamāyah mā no zo tlamātlahuiāyah.** = Once they were fishing *or* possibly they were seining; i.e., Once they were fishing *or* seining.

b. Marked:

**Cuix huel canah tētech timahxītiz in yāōc? Auh cuix no zo tlaōcoyaz in iyollohtzin toTēucyo?** = Will you somewhere cause yourself to approach someone in war? Or will our Lord’s heart otherwise be compassionate? I.e., Will you fall victim in battle? Or will our Lord’s heart be compassionate?

**Cān tēcamaça motzilihtoz? Auh quēn no ceh amih mopohpolihuitiz?** = From what rock cranny will he (H) lie looking? Or in what other manner will he (H) perish?

### 3. Adversative conjunction

a. Unmarked. The adverbial particle **zan**, “only,” may be used in an unmarked adversative construction (compare English “He said he would go; only he didn’t.”).

**Ahmō cemilhuittl, zan yohualtica in ācaltica huācalactihuetziyah.** = It was not by day, *but* only by night that they used to swiftly enter by boat.

The adversative notion can be supported by the adverbial particle **tēl**, “nevertheless,” and by the adverbial expression **yēcch**, “even so.”

**Tzoncōztiqeh, tēl cequīn tilitic in intzon.** = They have yellow hair, *but* nevertheless the hair of some is black.

**Huel tetl, yēcch ahmō cencah tepitztic.** = It is really a rock, *but* even so it is not very hard.

The adversative notion can be supported by **yeh** or **neh** (i.e., **ye + eh** and **no + eh**), meaning “on the other hand.” They may be introduced by the adjunctor **in**. Again, they function as adverbial modifiers, not as conjunctors.

**Nehhuātl aīc ōnimitzcocolih, yeh tehhuātl mochipa tinēhcocolia.** = I have never hated you, *but* on the other hand you always hate me.

b. Marked:

**Cencah nēchmoxīctia, in ic ahmō huel nitlanānquilia. Auh yēceh huel nicnemilia in ic ninopalēhuiz.** = He disrespects me a great deal so that I cannot answer. But even so, I can think about how to help myself. [See § 54.5.2.b for the structure of the double-object verbstem **m-o+tē-(xī-c-ti-ā)**, “to disrespect/offend s.o.”]

**Tlamattimomana in āltepētī, auh tēl inchān tlahtohqueh cuicōya.** = The city lies [i.e., lay] silent, but nevertheless there was singing in the ruler’s home.

**Nehhuātl aīc ōnimitzcocolih, auh in neh tehhuātl mochipa tinēhcocolia.** = I have never hated you, but on the other hand you always hate me.

52.5. *Correlative Conjunction.* To express the notion of correlative conjunction (in English expressed by “either . . . or . . .”), Nahuatl does not use a conjunctor.

1. The standard type of correlation is expressed by paired conjuncts introduced by the adverbial particles **ahzo . . . ahzo, ahzo eh . . . ahzo eh** (written solid and with liaison as **ahceh . . . ahceh**), **ahzo . . . ahzo nō**, etc., “perhaps . . . perhaps (also),” all translationally equivalent to “either . . . or.” For negative correlation, the paired adverbial particles **ahmō nō . . . ahmō nō** express the equivalent of “neither . . . nor.”

**Quiquixtia in ahzo alāhuac, in ahzo tēmali.** = It causes *either* phlegm *or* pus to come out.

**Ihuac quinōtza, in ahzo eh ipan tlathuiznequi, in ahzo eh quitlathuiltia.** = Then it calls to him, *either* when it is about to dawn *or* when morning is breaking. [Literally, “it causes him to have dawn.”]

**Ahmō nō huēi, ahmō nō huēiyac in incuē catca.** = Their skirts were *neither* full *nor* long.

2. A looser kind of correlation is expressed by the pairing of adverbial NNCs or pronominal NNCs, so that one conjunct is set in contrast with another.

**Quēmmaniyān hueli, quēmmaniyān ahhueli** = Sometimes it is possible, *and* sometimes it is impossible.

**Nipa centlani, nipa centlani.** = Over here there is an abyss, *and* over there there is an abyss.

**Centlapal quīza, centlapal calaqui in īnacazco.** = It comes out of his ear at one side *and* enters at one side; i.e., It goes in one ear *and* comes out the other. [Notice the *hysteron proteron* in which coming out is mentioned before going in.]

**Cequi chamāhuac, cequi piciltic.** = Some are thick, *and* some are thin.

52.6. *Conjunction in the Service of Lexical Innovation.* Nahuatl fuses two (at times three) NNCs by means of *unmarked* conjunction to create new lexical items, called biclausalisms. Unlike a compound nounstem or verbstem, in which a new lexical item results from the combination of *stems*, here it is a matter of combining *nuclear clauses*. Making due allowance for the difference between Nahuatl nuclear clauses and English words, one may compare this with such English constructions as “hammer and tongs” (= “energetically,” as in “He went at it hammer and tongs”), “tooth and nail” (= “with great ferocity,” as in “They fought tooth and nail”), “hook, line, and sinker” (= “unquestioningly,” as in “He accepted the explanation hook, line, and sinker”), and “lock, stock, and barrel” (= “completely,” as in “They moved out lock, stock, and barrel”). While this type of construction (which always involves metaphorical displacement) is fairly rare in English, it is very common in Nahuatl.

It should be obvious that in order to create a new lexical item the subject pronouns of all such conjoined nuclear clauses must refer to one and the same entity or group of entities. As a result a Nahuatl conjoined unit on the pattern of “x = a and x = b” is to be translated into English as “x = a and b”; e.g., “it is my bread and it is my butter” is translated “it is my bread and butter,” (i.e., “it is my means of support”). The difference between the source and the translation is another consequence of the ever-important fact that Nahuatl is built on nuclear clauses and not on words.

The lexical item created by the conjoined NNCs can at times be transformed into a conjunctive compound nounstem, examples of which have already been presented in § 31.7; thus, the compound nounstem (**ā-l-tepē**)-**tl-**, “a water-and-hill,” i.e., “a town/city,” is formed from the conjoined-NNC lexical unit **ātl tepētl**, “it is water and it is a hill,” i.e., “it is a town/city.” The possessive state may be formed on the compound nounstem (e.g., **nāltepēuh**, “it is my water-and-hill,” i.e., “it is my town/city”) or on the stems of the conjoined NNCs (e.g., **nāuh notepēuh**, “it is my water and it is my hill,” i.e., “it is my town/city”).

The notion expressed by a conjoined-NNC lexical item may be merely synonymous with one already expressed by a single-stemmed NNC, but on the other hand the conjoined unit may be the only way to express the notion; for example, Nahuatl has no other means of expressing the notion of “town/city” than by (**ā**)-**tl-** + (**tepē**)-**tl-** or (**ā-l-tepē**)-**tl-**.

The lexical unit composed of the stems of the conjoined NNCs remains valid even when incorporated into compound stems.

**Āpiyaz tepēpiyaz.** = It will guard the water and it will guard the hill; i.e., It will guard the town/city.

**Āhuahquehé tepēhuahquehé!** = O owners of water, O owners of a hill! I.e., O lords of the town/city!

**Nōhuiyān āhuahcān tepēhuahcān micohua.** = People are dying everywhere in the place of the owners of water and in the place of the owners of a hill; i.e., People are dying everywhere in town/city sites.

The lexical unit can survive when its members are used to derive verbstems.

**mōztlatiz huīptlatiz** = it will be tomorrow or it will be the day after; i.e., it will be one of these days, it will be for yet a little while [**mōztlā huīptla**, “it is tomorrow or it is the day after,” i.e., “tomorrow or the day after, soon”]

If the conjoined-NNC unit functions as supplement or as a modifier, the adjunctor **in** (if used) normally appears before each NNC: e.g., **in ātl in tepētl; in nāuh in notepēuh**. It can, however, also appear only in front of the leftward conjunct: **in ātl tepētl**.

Because of the already mentioned requirement that the subject pronouns of a conjoined-NNC lexical unit must have the same referent, a situation that is peculiar (from the English viewpoint) arises when the constituent stems refer to human beings differing in sex. For example, **(nān)-tli-**, “mother,” and **(tah)-tli-**, “father,” combine to create a lexical item that is translated “parent/caregiver.”

**nāntli tahtli** = he is a mother and he is a father, i.e., he is a parent [not “she is a mother”]; she is a mother and she is a father, i.e., she is a parent [not “he is a father”]

**nimonān nimotah** = I am your mother and I am your father, i.e., I am your parent [As in **Ca nelli in nimitzilhuilh in nimonān in nimotah**, “That which I, your parent, said to you is indeed true.” The first-person singular subject pronouns on the conjoined NNCs that, as a unit, function as the supplementary subject match their head, the first-person singular subject pronoun on the VNC.]

**timonānhuan timotahhuān** = we (two) are your mothers and we (two) are your fathers,” i.e., we are your parents [As in **Mixco mocpac ōtitlachixqueh in timonānhuān in timotahhuān**, “We who are your parents look at your face and at your head top,” i.e., “We who are your parents behold you in person.” [The unit meaning of the lexeme created by the combined stems forces a seeming illogic on the person-number of the subject pronouns of the individual NNCs.]

Since Nahuatl syntax is based on nuclear clauses and not on words, the only way of creating what in English are conjoined predicate nouns such as “We are *your mother and father*” would be by means of compounding (which it does not do in this two-sex situation).

Two types of conjoined-NNC lexical units should be recognized.

1. The “lord-and-master” type. The two conjoined NNCs are synonymous or nearly so. Usually, the meaning of the combination is simply that of one of the conjuncts, but it may also idiomatically have to do with some implication behind the combined NNCs. This type is not as numerous as the type in subsection 2 below.

**motloc monāhuac** = beside you and near you; i.e., near you

**tōpco petlcalco** = in a sheathlike case and in a wickerwork chest; i.e., undercover, secretly

**mixtitlan āyauhtitlan** = among clouds and among mists; i.e., mysteriously

**iyōlca inenca tonacayo** = it is our body’s means of living and its means of existing; i.e., it is our body’s sustenance

**māmālōni itcōni** = it is a thing that can be carried on the back and it is a thing that can be carried; i.e., he is a vassal/a commoner [The NNCs are built on customary-present passive patientive nounstems (see § 36.5).]

**tlatcōni tlamāmālōni** = it is the carrying means and it is the on-the-back carrying means; i.e., it is the paraphernalia for carrying things; *metaphorically*, it is the means of governing, it is government [The NNCs are built on instrumentive nounstems (see § 36.6).]

**tōltzālan ācatzālan** = amid rushes and amid reeds; i.e., in a/the marsh

2. The “bread-and-butter” type. The two conjoined NNCs are situationally associated. The meaning of the combination is different from that of either of the NNCs and is a sort of metaphorical amalgam of the two (for example, “bread and butter” means “subsistence” or “livelihood”).

**tilli tlapalli** = it is black ink and it is color; i.e., it is (indigenous) writing

**mītl chīmalli** = it is an arrow and it is a shield; i.e., it is a battle/war

**xōchitl cuīcatl** = it is a flower and it is a song; i.e., it is a poem

**cōzcatl quetzalli** = he/she is a bead/a necklace and he/she is a valuable long green feather; i.e., he/she is (one’s) child

**iztactli tēncualactli** = it is saliva and it is slobber; i.e., it is a lie [(iztlac)-tli-, “saliva,” also “venom,” and hence “poison,” as in (iztlac-mī)-tl-, “poisoned arrow.” The compound stem (tēn-cual-a-c)-tli-, “anger on the lips,” i.e., “frothy saliva, slobber, slaver,” has as its matrix stem (cual-a-c)-tli-, “a thing that results from becoming angry,” a root-patientive nounstem from the destockal verbstem (cual-ā-ni), “to become angry” (see § 39.4.1).]

**ātōyatl tepehxitl** = it is a river and it is a precipice; i.e., it is destruction/a disaster

**teohpōuhqui cocōc** = it is a sad thing and it is a painful thing; i.e., it is affliction/anguish

**ātl tlahchinōlli** = it is water and it is a burnt-over field; i.e., it is a war/a battle [This also occurs as **teōāt tlahchinōlli**, “it is god-water and it is a burnt-over field.”]

**in teōātēmpān in tlahchinōltēmpān** = at a/the place overlooking the edge of a/the battle

**cohcāyōtl neūhcāyōtl** = it is what is characteristic of going to sleep and it is what is characteristic of getting up; i.e., it is supper and it is breakfast; i.e., it is sustenance [See § 36.11.2; **neūhcāyōtl** is frequently spelled **neuhcayotl**.]

**cutlapilli ahtlapalli** = they are a tail and they are wings; i.e., they are commoners/subjects/vassals

**nacaceh īxeh** = he has ears and he has eyes; i.e., he is prudent

Although a conjoined NNC lexical unit usually consists of only two conjuncts (i.e., a biclausism), a three-conjunct construction (i.e., a tricusism) is possible.

**ihhuītl tlapalli tīzatl** = it is a feather and it is a dye and it is a white clay; i.e., it is a good example/good advice

**cuexāneh tepotzeh mācocheh** = he is a lap owner and he is a back owner and he is an arm-crook owner; i.e., he is an administrator

Just as with certain simple or compound nounstems, certain conjoined-lexical-unit stems tend to or must appear in possessive-state NNCs.

**nomā nocxi** = it is my hand and it is my foot; i.e., it is my body

**itlahtōl ihhiyo** = it is his word and it is his breath; i.e., it is his discourse/utterance/oral communication

**itēntzon ūxcuāhmōl** = he is his beard and he is his eyebrows; i.e., he is his grandson/great grandson

**tēix tēnacaz** = he is s.o.’s eyes and he is s.o.’s ears; i.e., he is s.o.’s ambassador

- ihuic imecapal** = he is his digging stick and he is his tumpline; i.e., he is his slave  
**tēezzo tētlapallo** = he is s.o.'s blood and he is s.o.'s redness; i.e., he is a person of good breeding  
**nocotōnca nohuiltecca** = it is my means of becoming cut off and it is my means of becoming severed at the joints; i.e., it is my body part, they are my body parts; *also*, he is my fellow being

The stems of a biclausalism (or a triclausalism) may have an affective formation. All stems involved must show the formation.

- mātzin motepētzin** = it is your (H) water and it is your (H) hill; i.e., it is your (H) town/city

The following are a few example sentences illustrating the idiomatic nature of biclausalisms.

- Amix amonacaz xiccuicān.** = Take (pl) your eyes and your ears; i.e., Use (pl) your eyes and your ears; i.e., Be (pl) prudent.

- Aoc mō mācuil mahtlāc onquīzaquīuh, onmoquetzaquīuh.** = No more after five or after ten will he come in order to emerge forth or come in order to stand forth; i.e., No more in the future will he be present among us. [**Mācuil** and **mahtlāc** are abbreviated forms for **mācuililhuītl**, “it is in/after/for five days,” and **mahtlāquilhuītl**, “it is in/after/for ten days.” Concerning the presence of **on** in an inbound purposive VNC, see § 29.7.]

- Yohuatzinco tlāhuizcalpan nitēchiyaz.** = I shall guard people at the time of the small night and in the time of the house of light; i.e., I shall guard people in the early dawn. [Concerning **tlāhuizcalpan**, see § 47.3.3.b.]

- Mā mōztla, mā huīptla nēchonmotlaōcolili in toTēucyo.** = May it be tomorrow or may it be on the day after that our Lord shows me mercy; i.e., May our Lord show me mercy for yet a little while.

- Tizatl ihhuītl tictlālia.** = You set down white clay and a feather; i.e., You set a good example. You give good advice.

- Ītztic ātl tzitzicāztli notech ōquipachoh.** = He pressed cold water and nettles into contact with me; i.e., He inflicted punishment on me. [**Ītztic ātl tzitzicāztli**, “it is cold water and it is nettles,” i.e., “it is physical punishment.”]

- Nocuitlapan notepotzco yelohuac.** = People are on my lower back and on my upper back; i.e., I have the task of governing.

- Nocuexānco nomāmahuāzco yelohuatiuh.** = People go being in my lap and on my carrying frame; i.e., I have the task of governing people.

- Anquimotequimacah in mixītl in tlāpāt.** = You (pl) diligently give yourselves jimsonweed and jimsonweed; i.e., You drink to excess. You are addicts.

- Xiyōtl cuahtzontli nictēca.** = I lay down a heddle and a warp; i.e., I set a good example.

- Ca ahmō ihuiyān yēcān in petlapan in icpalpan.** = Upon the mat and upon the seat (of authority) is indeed not in a calm place or in a good place; i.e., Rulership is not easy.

- Iz tehhuātl in ticuētl in tihuipilli.** = You who are the one who is a skirt and who is a blouse are here; i.e., You who are a woman are here. You, a woman, are here.



**Cuix huel centēntli cencamatl?** = Is he perhaps able with one lip and with one mouth?  
I.e., Is he skillful with few words? Can he speak succinctly?

*Note:* Occasionally, what looks like a biclausism may be an instance of simple (nonmetaphorical) conjunction.  
Contrast:

**Tetl cuahuitl nimitztoctiz.** = I shall cause stones-and-sticks to pursue you; i.e., I shall punish you. [biclausism]  
**Cāmpa nel quicuizqueh in tetl in cuahuitl?** = From where in truth would [*lit.*, will] they get stones and wood? [i.e., as building materials]

52.7. *Parallel Structure.* Conjunction is the means by which Nahuatl's favorite stylistic device, parallel structure, is created. There are many varieties of parallel structure, but they may be satisfactorily covered by presenting the two extremes: the rephrasive and the progressive types.

1. Rephrasive parallelism. This is a static type of parallel structure in which what has been said is repeated in a slightly different form. The speaker keeps to a similar (or synonymous) content while either keeping or changing the grammatical structure. The result is a linguistic marching-in-place. There are a number of varieties; for example, a sentence with a nonspecific object is recast with a specific one (or vice versa), a sentence in the active voice is recast in the passive voice (or vice versa), a sentence in one tense is recast in another tense, a sentence containing an incorporated object is recast as one containing a supplementary object (or vice versa), a sentence containing an intransitive VNC is recast as a sentence containing a reflexive transitive VNC (or vice versa), etc. The following are a few examples:

**Ye huel ōmpa motlanequiliāya, motlanequilih in Cincalco.** = Now he (H) was wishing, and he (H) wished (to go) there to Cincalco.

**Niman oc ceppa tzīnquiza, tzīnehnemi, tzīnīlōti; oc ceppa īcuitlahuic yauh.** = Then once again he retreats, he steps back, and he turns back; once again he goes to his rear.

**Quil in tōnacāyōtl chichix; chichipahtic, chichipahtzontic mochiuh.** = It is said that the food turned bitter; it became very bitter, exceedingly bitter.

**Huīh in tlatlācānazqueh in Tōltēcāh, in quintlācānazqueh in īnyāōhuān.** = The Toltecs go to enslave (people), to enslave their foes.

**Tlatzotzona, quitzotzona in ihuēhuēuh.** = He drums; he beats his upright drum.

**Ahcopa conitzinencāh; conahcopaitzinencāh.** = They continually looked upward at it; they continually looked up at it.

**Ca nihuālnōtzalo; nēchālnōtza in tōnatiuh.** = I am called hither; the sun calls me hither. [/č/ + /w/ > [č]; nēchhuālnōtza is here written as it is pronounced.]

**In tlāhuiztli cencāh teōcuitlayoh, moça teōcuitlatl.** = The insignias are fully covered with gold; they are covered with gold.

**Auh in in xōchitl, ipan yohuac, ipan oncalac in tōnatiuh, in icuepōnca.** = And as for this flower, it is at night, it is when the sun has set, that it is its opening; i.e., This flower opens at night, when the sun has set.

Related to rephrasive parallelism is the appositive or parenthetical construction. There are several types; the following discussion is limited to only two.

a. The clarifying appositive:

**Iz catqui anquimacazqueh in tlahtoāni Motēuczōma.** = Behold what you (pl) will give to the ruler Moteuczoma.

**Miquiyah cequintin cihuah, imixxiptlahuān Tētepeh.** = Some women, impersonators of the Mountains, died (i.e., used to be sacrificed).

**Tlā xoconi in, in octli in ōnichuālcuic.** = Drink this, the pulque that I have brought.

**In eztlī, imezzo in miquiyah, huel, ōmpa huālahciya.** = The blood, the vital blood of those who died, reached all the way to there.

**In yehhuātl, in motēnēhua Titlācahuān, quihtoāyah ca yehhuātl ilhuicahuah, tlālticpaqueh.** = Of this one, the aforementioned Titlacahuan, they used to say that he was the owner of heaven and earth. [Concerning the personal-name NNC **Titlācahuān**, see § 56.2.2.b.]

b. The summarizing appositive:

**Auh in ixquich in intlacuāya, mōlcaxtotōntin, cuahcaxtotōntin, zoquitecototōntin—mochi ōmpa concāhuayah Tepētzinco.** = And all their eating utensils, the little sauce bowls, the little wooden bowls, the little clay cups—all these they left at Tepetzinco. [Notice the plural (i.e., animate) subject pronouns on these NNCs. See § 32.7.]

**In in ōmotēnēuh āltepētī, moch huehhuēi.** = As for these aforementioned cities, all were large; i.e., All these aforementioned cities were large. These aforementioned cities were all large.

2. Progressive parallelism. This is a type of parallel structure in which, while keeping to a similar grammatical makeup, the speaker changes the content (talks about a different entity or event). The result is a listlike collection of statements. The concept has already been introduced and exemplified in previous paragraphs (for example, see § 52.2.1 concerning serial conjunction and § 52.5 concerning correlative conjunction).

**In ihcuāc cuacualaca quiyahuitl, ihcuāc ihza, ihcuāc mohōlinia, ihcuāc mozcalia.** = When the rain rumbles, at that time it awakens, at that time it moves, at that time it revives.

**Teōhuahqueh. Quinōtzqueh, quitlātlauhtihqueh, quimoteōtihqueh in teōtl in quitēcāyōtihqueh Yohualli-Ehecatl.** = They had a god. They addressed him, they prayed to him, and they worshipped as a god the god whom they called Night-and-Wind. [See § 56.4.]

**Quinequi mā cuēl yeh ihīyōtl onquīza, mā cuēl yeh conihīyōhui, mā cuēl yeh ompolihui, mā cuēl yeh conmotlāxili in imiquiztequiuh.** = He wishes that quickly breath may end, that quickly he may endure his task of dying, that quickly it may perish, that quickly he may cast it off from himself. [Notice how **imiquiztequiuh** reaches back to serve as supplementary object, supplementary subject, and again supplementary object.]

3. More complicated parallel structures are achieved by combining the rephrasive type with the progressive type.

**In zōzōltin in ōquechcotōnalōqueh, tlapapatlatztinemih, papatlacatinemih, tlālli ic mohuihuītequih, tlālli ic momohmōtlah.** = The quail, when their necks were wrung, went floundering and fluttering, thrashing against the earth, hurling themselves against the earth.

**Cholōzquiya, cholōznequiya; mocholōltiznequiya, mocholōltizquiya; motlātizquiya, motlātiznequiya; quinnētālīlizquiya, quinneīnāyiliznequiya in tēteoh.** = He would flee, he wished to flee; he wished to escape, he would escape; he would hide himself, he wished to hide himself; he would hide from the gods, he wished to conceal himself from them.

**Quimoyōllōtihca, quimoyōllōtiāya; quimopictihca, quimopictiāya; quiyōcoxca, quiyōcoyaya; ic moyōlnōnōtzca, ic moyōlnōnōtzaya; ihtic quimolhuihca, ihtic quimolhuiāya:canah ōztōc calaquiz?** = He had thought to himself and was thinking to himself; he had imagined and was imagining; he had conceived the idea and was conceiving the idea; he had asked himself and was asking himself; within himself he had said to himself, within himself he was saying to himself: would he enter some cave? [The possessor pronoun **i-∅** of **ih**tic has a short vowel because of the following glottal stop.]

## The Notion of Similarity. Comparison

53.1. *The Notion of Similarity.* There are a number of ways of expressing the notion of similarity in Nahuatl. Among them are the following.

1. A reduplicative prefix:

**(na-naca)-tl-** = quasi meat; i.e., mushroom [**< (naca)-tl-**, “meat”]

**(ca-cal)-li-** = quasi house; i.e., shell, eggshell [**< (cal)-li-**, “house.” Used as the matrix in compound nounstems: **(tōtō-te-ca-cal)-li-**, “bird-egg-shell”; **(tōtol-te-ca-cal)-li-**, “turkey-egg-shell.” It occurs as the embed in the compound nounstem **(ca-cal-lō)-tl-**, which can mean “shell of a nut (acorn, hazelnut, etc.)” or can serve in a possessive-state NNC to indicate an organically possessed shell: **icacallo in tōtoltetl**, “it is the turkey egg’s shell” (see § 39.3.4).]

**(xo-xō-uh-θ)-qui-** = a thing that has become like a green thing, i.e., a green-colored thing [**< (xo-xō-hui)**, “to become like a green thing; **< (xō)-tl-**, “a green thing”]

**(tla-tlā-uh-θ)-qui-** = a thing that has become like red ochre, i.e., a red-ochre-colored thing, a red-colored thing [**< (tla-tlā-hui)**, “to become like red ochre”; for **(tla-tlāuh-hui)**, since /w/ + /w/ > [w]; from **(tlāhui)-tl-**, “red ochre.”]

**(ya-yā-uh-θ)-qui-** = a thing that has become like dark maize kernels, i.e., a purplish-brown-colored thing [**< (ya-yā-hui)**, “to become like dark maize kernels”; for **(ya-yāuh-hui)**, since /w/ + /w/ > [w]; from **(yāhui)-tl-**, “dark maize kernel, maize with dark-colored kernels”]

**(chī-chīl-ti-θ)-c-** = a thing that has become like chili pepper, i.e., a chili-red-colored thing [**< (chīl)-li-**, “chili pepper”]

**(cue-cuetlax-ti-θ)-c-** = a thing that has become like leather, i.e., a leathery thing [**< (cuetlax)-tli-**, “leather”]

**(co-coy-ō-neh-nemi)** = to walk like a coyote, i.e., to walk on all fours [**< (coy-ō)-tl-**, “coyote”; **(neh-nemi)**, “to walk”]

**(cih-cihuā-tla-ht-o-ā)** = to talk like a woman [**< (cihuā)-tl-**, “woman”; **(tla-ht-o-ā)**, “to talk”]

2. A nounstem created by downgrading a possessive-state predicate containing the non-specific possessor pronoun **tla**, “something’s” (see § 15.1.6):

**(tla-māi)-tl-** = something’s arm, i.e., a quasi arm; i.e., a sleeve [**< (māi)-tl-**, “hand, arm”]

**(tla-nacaz)-tli-** = something’s ear, i.e., a quasi ear; i.e., a corner of a building [**< (nacaz)-tli-**, “ear”]

3. A possessive-state NNC formed on the relational nounstem **(tloc)-Ø-**, “vicinity, nearness; side.” The NNC serves as the principal clause.

**Tzīcatl itloc in cuitlaāzcatl.** = The tzīcatl is similar to the dung ant. [For **(tzī-ca)-tl-**, see § 31.6.]

**Chianpāpalōtl achi itloc in xicalpāpalōtl.** = The chia butterfly is somewhat similar to the gourd-bowl butterfly.

4. A nonpreposed-adjectival modifier construction using as the principal clause **zan nō yehhuātl**, **zan ye yehhuātl**, or **zan ye nō yehhuātl** (or **zan nō yeh**, **zan ye yeh**, or **zan ye nō yeh**); see § 43.1.3.

**Chālchiuhxōchitl, zan nō yehhuātl in cuauhiyexōchitl.** = The *chalchiuhxochitl* (jade flower) is only also the one that is the *cuauhiyexochitl* (wild tobacco flower); i.e., The *chalchiuhxochitl* is the same as the *cuauhiyexochitl*

**In in ahmō zan ye nō yeh in teh?** = As for this one, is he not only already also the one who you are? I.e., Is not this one the same as you?

**Tzohyāc iyexōchitl zan ye yehhuātl in iyexōchitl, yēceh tzohyāc.** = The *tzohyāc iyexochitl* (stinking tobacco flower) is just already the one that is the *iyexochitl* (tobacco flower), *but* even so it is fetid; i.e., The *tzohyāc iyexochitl* is the same as the *iyexochitl*, but it is fetid. [The stem **(tzo-hyā-Ø)-c-**, “a thing that has stunk like body filth,” i.e., “a foul-smelling thing,” is a compound agentive nounstem whose embed is **(tzo)-tl-**, “body filth, sweat,” and whose matrix is **(ihyā-Ø)-c-**, “a thing that has stunk,” i.e., “a stinking thing,” from the verbstem **(ihyā-ya)**, “to stink.”]

**“Imāmox, intlahcuilōl” zan ye nō yehhuātl quihtōznequi “intlil, intlapal.”** = “It is their books and it is their paintings” is just already also that which “it is their ink and it is their dyed thing” means; i.e., “Their books and their paintings” means the same as “their ink and their color.”

**In iōmiyo, in inacayo, ahmō zan ye nō yeh in mitzomiyōtih, in mitznacayōtih toTēucyo?** = His bones and his flesh, are they not even already also the ones with which our Lord boned and fleshed you? I.e., Are not his bones and flesh the same as those with which our Lord provided you?

5. An incorporated-complement compound verbstem with **m-o-(neh-nequi)** as matrix (see § 30.15).

**Moxonacanehnequi.** = It resembles the onion. [**< (xo-naca)-tl-**, “meat-at-the-foot,” i.e., “onion”]

**Xoxōuhqui tecpatl, achi mochālchiuhnehnequi.** = Green flint resembles jadeite a little.

6. An NNC built on a verbstem meaning “to resemble,” “to be equal to,” etc., serves as the principal clause of a sentence.

**Cocho quinēnehuilia in toznene.** = The white-fronted parrot resembles the immature yellow-headed parrot.

**Ahmō quinehuihuilia in puercoh in Caxtillān huītz.** = It is not like the pig that comes from Castile.

7. A construction involving a VNC built on the verbstem (**ihui**), “to be thus,” or an NNC built on its preterit-agentive nounstem (**ih-Ø**)-**qui**-, “one that has become thus,” i.e., “such a one,” “one of such a nature,” etc.:

**Tehhuāntin, ca zan tiuhqueh.** = As for us, we are indeed just thus. We are just alike.

**Ahcān iuhqui niccaqui.** = Nowhere have I heard such a thing (~ such things). [**Iuhqui** is the supplementary object of **niccaqui**.]

**Quittītiuhqueh in iuhqui intlacual.** = They showed him what their food was like. [The group **in iuhqui intlacual** functions as the supplementary object to its head, the silently-present shuntline object pronoun **□-Ø**.]

**In iuhqueh pīpiltin, zan nō iuhqueh in pōchtēcah.** = If the noblemen were such, just also such were the merchants; i.e., The merchants were like the noblemen.

**Iuhqueh in oquichtin, iuhqueh in cihuah.** = If such were the men, such were the women; i.e., The women were like the men.

The NNC built on (**ih-Ø**)-**qui**- can serve as the principal clause in regard to an NNC in the function of an adverbial modifier serving as the measure of the similarity.

**Ca ye tiuhqui in.** = Already you are such a one as this.

**Iuhqui yez in.** = He will be such a one as this.

**Āc iuhqui ōn?** = Who is the one such as that? Who is like that?

**In angelohmeh, ca ahmō iuhqueh in tlālticpactlācah.** = Angels are not like worldlings.

**Ōmpa nemih in Tlāloqueh, iuhqueh in tlamacazqueh, pāpapahhuahqueh; iuhqueh in tlenamacaqueh catcah.** = There dwelt the Tlalocs, (celebrants/acolytes/priests of Tlaloc) who were like priests, the tangled-haired ones; they were like the fire priests. [Notice that **nemih** is in the present tense but is translated as past because of **catcah**.]

**Huel iuhqui in itohmiyo mazātl itohmiyo.** = Its fur is quite like deer fur.

**In iuhqui in xināchtli ontōco, ahmō zan nō iuhqui in huālixhua?** = When such and such a seed is sown, is it not just also such a one that sprouts? [When **iuhqui** is followed by the adjunct **in**, as here, the two are traditionally written solid: **iuhquin**.]

Frequently, the NNC formed on (**ih-Ø**)-**qui**- has an impersonal subject pronoun. The NNC functions as the principal clause.

**Iuhqui ahtitlehmeh.** = The case is such that we are nothing; i.e., It is as if we are nothing. We are as nothing.

**Iuhqui titōtōztintli.** = The case is such that you are a little bird; i.e., You are like a little bird.

The adjoined clause may be, and frequently is, introduced by the adjunct **in**.

**Iuhqui in titōtōtzintli.** = You are like a little bird.

**Zan achi huel iuhqui in tetzmetl.** = It is just about as if it were *tetzmetl*; i.e., It is just about like *tetzmetl* (a plant of the *Sedum* genus).

The adjoined clause need not be an NNC.

**Iuhqui in tipatlāni.** = It is as if you are flying.

**Iuhqui in nehcatoco.** = It is as if I am pursued by means of the wind; i.e., I run swiftly.

**Iuhqui in ic ihuintih.** = It is as if they become drunk by means of it.

If the clause adjoined to **iuhqui** has a supplementary NNC, the favorite position of the latter is that of a sentence topic.

**In iyōllo iuhqui in xālli.** = As for its heart, it is as if it were sand. It is as if its heart were of sand; i.e., Its center is like sand.

**In iyōllo, ahmō zan nō iuhqui in moyōllo?** = His heart, is it not only also like your heart? I.e., Isn't his heart just like your heart?

The concatenate structure containing **iuhqui** may be adjoined to a larger concatenate structure.

**Ahmō iuhqui tichichi ticcuahthuetziz.** = You will not gulp it down like a dog.

**Iuhqui in titēcuāni ipan nimitzmatī.** = I consider you a beast.

**Iuhqui in anchichimeh ammocuepah.** = It is as if you become dogs; i.e., You become like dogs.

**Mā nēn iuhqui in titēcuāni timochīuh.** = Beware of becoming like a man-eater beast.

**Iuhqui in teōtl quinnōtzaya.** = He used to address them as if he were a god. [This could also be “It was as if he were a god when he addressed them.”]

**Zā iuhqui in chipacpōl ihcac in ochpāntli.** = The wide road stood as if quite clean.

The relationship may be established by means of **ic**.

**Huel iuhqui in icuitlapil ic cah.** = It (e.g., a deer's tail) is quite similar to its (i.e., some other animal's) tail.

**Iuhqui in moquequetztihuih in ic huih.** = They go along as if they go trampling one another.

**Iuhqui in tlācatl ic tlachiye.** = It looks like a human being. It resembles a human being.

**In imezzo in tiyahcāhuān iuhqui ātl ic totocac.** = The blood of the braves ran like water.

**Iuhqui in cepayahuitl ic iztāc.** = It is white as snow.

53.2. *Comparison.* Comparison may be with regard to sameness (English “like” or “as...as”) or with regard to difference (English “more . . . than” or “less . . . than”).

53.3. *Comparison of Equality.* A comparison of equality that involves a quality or manner may be expressed in several ways.

1. With an **iuhqui** construction:

**In inchichihuān tomāhuaqueh, iuhqui in tichcahuān.** = Their dogs are as fat as our sheep.

**In Cholōltēcatl iuhqui in Mēxihcatl ic chicāhuac.** = A Chololtec is as strong as a Mexihca.

**Ahoc tleh iuhqui, in ic tēmauhtih, in miquiztli.** = Nothing is as terrifying as death.

**Ahcān iuhqui ōniquittac cē caūcuahueh, in mā iuhqui in ic huēi.** = Nowhere have I seen a bull that is as big as it (i.e., as big as this one; as big as that one).

2. With an **ihuān** (“it is in the company of it”) construction:

**In inchihuān tomāhuaqueh, ihuān in tichcahuān.** = Their dogs are as fat as our sheep.

**Ahoc tleh ihuān, in ic tēmauhtih in miquiztli.** = There is nothing as terrifying as death.

53.4. *Comparison of Equality with Regard to Size.* A comparison of equality with regard to size is expressed in the following ways.

1. With an NNC built on the quantitative pronominal stem (**ix-qui-ch**)-**Ø**-:

**Ixquich in.** = It is as large as this. [Speaker indicating size.]

**Huāctli ixquich in cuānaca.** = The black-crowned night heron is the size of the rooster. A black-crowned night heron is as large as a rooster.

**In ic tomāhuac, mecacōātl ixquich in tohuēimahpil, auh ahmō huel macho in quēxquich huēiyac.** = The rope snake is as thick as a thumb, but it is not well known how long it is.

**Mixcōācuāuhtli ahmō cencah huēi; zan cualtōn, zan achi ixquich in nicān nemi cihuātōtolin.** = The crab hawk is not very large; it is average in size, somewhat as large as the turkey hen living here.

2. With a correlative structure containing **quēzqui . . . no izqui**:

**In quēzquipa cuicōyānōlōya, no izquipa micohuaya.** = As many times as there was song and dance, so many times was there dying. [The impersonal verbstem (**cuic-ō-yā-n-ō-lō**) is from the intransitive verbstem (**cuic-ō-yā-n-o-ā**), “to use the **cuicōyān** (i.e., the place where people sing),” but is usually extended to mean “to perform song and dance.”]

Another correlative structure expresses the notion of “the more . . . the more . . .”:

**In ic cencah mahuiztililōya, oc cencah quiteohpōhuayah.** = The more he was honored, the more they tormented him.

53.5. *The Comparative Degree.* A comparison of inequality may occur in two degrees, the comparative degree (English “more . . . than” or “less . . . than”) and the superlative degree (English “most” or “least”). The comparative degree may be expressed in several ways. The constructions frequently involve conjunction (with only two conjuncts permitted).

1. The simplest construction contrasts two affirmative statements by means of a structure of adversative conjunction. One of the conjoined clause units contains the adverbialized VNC **cencah** or a collocation containing it: **oc cencah, huel oc cencah**, etc.



**In Petoloh cualli, zan oc cencah cualli in Xoan.** = Peter is good, only still very good is John; i.e., Peter is good, but John is better. John is better than Peter.

**In Petoloh cualli, yēceh oc cencah cualli in Xoan.** = Peter is good, even so still very good is John; i.e., Peter is good, but John is better. John is better than Peter.

**Nitlamatini, yēceh oc cencah titlamatini.** = I am learned, even so still very (i.e., especially) you are learned; i.e., I am learned, but you are more learned. You are more learned than I.

2. Another construction contrasts an affirmative statement with a negative one. There are several varieties of the construction, but in all of them the negative statement is introduced by any one of the following expressions (the adjunct **in** is optional).

**in ahmō**

**in ahmō iuh/iuhqui**

**in ahmō mach iuh/iuhqui**

All five are translated “while not thus”; i.e., “than.” [Traditionally these collocations are sometimes written solid; e.g., **amomachiuhqui**.]

The variety of the affirmative-plus-negative construction is due to the nature of the affirmative statement.

a. The affirmative statement may contain one of the following adverbial collocations,

**oc achi** = a bit more

**oc cencah ~ oc cencah yeh/yehhuātl ~ oc yeh ~ oc yeh cencah** = more/especially/particularly

Traditionally these collocations are sometimes written solid; e.g., **ocachi**, **ocyecenca**. They may be intensified by placing **huel** before them (e.g., **huel oc cencah**, “much more.”).

**Nehhuātl oc achi nitlamatini, in ahmō iuhqui tehhuātl.** = I am still somewhat learned, when it is not thus that you are; i.e., I am somewhat more learned than you. [The NNC **titlamatini** has been deleted from the adjoined clause unit. This comparison could also have been expressed as **Nehhuātl oc achi nitlamatini, in ahmō mach iuhqui tehhuātl**; etc.]

**Nehhuātl huel oc achi nitlamatini, in ahmō iuhqui tehhuātl.** = I am quite still somewhat learned, when it is not thus that you are; i.e., I am quite a bit more learned than you.

**In cōztic teōcuitlatl oc cencah huellazohtli, ahmō mach iuh tlazohtli in iztāc teōcuitlatl.** = Gold is more precious than silver. [**huellazohtli** = **huel tlazohtli**]

**Ca oc yeh cencah cualli in tichuicazqueh in tlacualli, in ahmō iuhqui in tilmahkli.** = It is better for us to carry the food than the clothing.

b. The affirmative statement may consist of a concatenate structure whose principal clause unit contains either **tāchcāuh**, “it is a superior/more excellent thing,” “it is a greater thing” (from **tiāchcāuh**, which in turn represents **tēāchcāuh**, “he is s.o.’s older brother,” so the nonspecific possessor pronoun **tē** has been reduced to **ti** and finally to **t**) or **huālcāh**, “it is in this

direction.” These two nuclear clauses are modified by **oc**, **oc achi**, **oc cencah**, **huel oc**, **huel oc achi**, or **huel oc cencah**. The point of the comparison is presented in an adverbial adjunct introduced by **īc** (with the adjunctor **in** optionally present), while the supplementary subject of this adjoined adverbial clause unit is frequently placed as a topic before the principal clause.

**Nehhuātl ca oc tāchcāuh, īc nitlamatini, in ahmō iuh tehhuātl.** = As for me, indeed still it is a superior thing, whereby I am learned, when not thus you are; i.e., I am more learned than you. [The topic **nehhuātl** is functioning as the supplementary subject for **nitlamatini**. This comparison could also have been expressed as **Nehhuātl ca oc huālcāh, īc nitlamatini, in ahmō iuh tehhuātl**; etc.]

c. A somewhat similar construction of the affirmative statement has a principal clause that contains a VNC built on the verbstem **tla-(pan-a-huiā)**, “to pass beyond with regard to s.th., to surpass s.th., to excel s.th.” or its derivative **tla-(cem-pan-a-huiā)**, “to pass completely beyond with regard to s.th., to outstrip s.th., to transcend s.th.” These stems are applicative derivations of (**panō**), “to cross a river.” In the comparison construction, their verb object pronoun is not specified. The VNC formed on these stems is optionally modified by **achi**, **cencah**, **oc**, **oc achi**, **oc cencah**, **huel oc**, **huel oc achi**, or **huel oc cencah**.

The adjoined clause unit containing the point of the comparison is introduced by **īc** or **in īc**:

**Nehhuātl nitlapanahuia in īc nitlamatini, in ahmō iuhqui tehhuātl.** = As for me I excel by the fact that I am learned, when it is not thus that you are; i.e., I am more learned than you. [This could have also been expressed as **Nehhuātl nitlacem-panahuia in īc nitlamatini, in ahmō iuhqui tēhhuātl**; etc.]

**In cōztic teōcuitlatl huel tlapanahuia in īc tlazohtli, ahmō mach iuh tlazohtli in iztāc teōcuitlatl.** = Gold is more precious than silver. [The source text has **huel-lapanahuia**, with the two clauses written solid in imitation of the pronunciation: /l/ + /ʎ/ > [ll].]

The VNC **tlapanahuia** can also be used like **huālcāh** and **tāchcāuh**:

**Tlapanahuia īc nichicāhuac, in ahmō tehhuātl.** = It surpasses things whereby I am strong, when you are not; i.e., I am stronger than you.

**In tlā āxcān in oc tipiltōntli titlatziuhqui, cencah tlapanahuia in īc titlatziuhqui in ihcuāc tihuēiyaz!** = If now while you are still young you are lazy, it much surpasses things whereby you are lazy at the time that you will become big! I.e., If you are lazy now while you are young, you will be much more so when you grow up!

d. A VNC with a personal subject pronoun formed on the verbstem **tē- ~ tla-(pan-a-huiā)** may also be used in a construction that has a specified applicative object pronoun:

**Nimitzpanahuia in īc nitlamatini.** = I surpass you by the fact that I am learned; i.e., I am more learned than you.

**Cohuixin zan tepitōn; achi quipanahuia in palomah.** = The black-bellied plover is quite small; a pigeon slightly surpasses it; i.e., The black-bellied plover is quite small; it is a little smaller than a pigeon.

**Mēxihco quipanahuia in Tetzcohco in ic huēi āltepētli.** = Mexihco exceeds Tetzcohco as a large city; i.e., Mexihco is a larger city than Tetzcohco.

53.6. *The Question “How Much More . . . ?”* A comparison containing the question “how much more . . . ?” may be created by inserting **quēn** before **oc yeh, oc eh** (traditionally written solid as **oque**), **zan yeh, oc yeh cencah huālcah**, or **oc yeh cencah tlapanahuia**.

**In tla āxcān tāmiqui, quēn oc yeh mōztla tāmiquiz?** = If you are thirsty today, how much more thirsty will you be tomorrow? [This could also have been expressed as **In tla āxcān tāmiqui, quēn oc yeh cencah huālcah in ic mōztla tāmiquiz?** etc.]

53.7. *The Superlative Degree.* General superiority is expressed by deleting the contrasting negative statement of the comparative construction. In addition to the adverbial expressions **cencah** and **huel** and the adverbial collocations **cencah huel, zā cencah**, and **zā cencah huel** (all translationally equivalent to “very” or “exceedingly”; i.e., “most”), one may also use **cem** (incorporated as an adverb) or **cenquīzcā**. Alternatively, one may use **ahcic**, “it is a thing that has arrived,” **cemahcic**, “it is a thing that has arrived as one” (both of these as equivalents to “complete,” “perfect”), or the VNCs **tlapanahuia** and **tlacempanahuia**, in cooperation with an adjoined clause unit introduced by **ic** or **in ic**.

The following sentences exemplify variant ways of expressing the superlative. All may be translated “The maiden is most beautiful” or “The maiden is exceedingly beautiful.”

**In ichpōchtli ca cencah cualnēzqui.**  
**In ichpōchtli ca cencah huel cualnēzqui.**  
**In ichpōchtli ca zā cencah huel cualnēzqui.**  
**In ichpōchtli cencualnēzqui.**  
**In ichpōchtli cenquīzcācualnēzqui.**  
**In ichpōchtli cemahcicācualnēzqui.**  
**In ichpōchtli ahcic in ic cualnēzqui.**  
**In ichpōchtli cemahcic in ic cualnēzqui.**  
**In ichpōchtli tlapanahuia in ic cualnēzqui.**

The following examples show the honorific construction. They may all be translated “The eagle warrior is most valiant” or “The eagle warrior is exceedingly valiant.”

**In cuāuhtli cencah yōlchicāhuacātzintli.**  
**In cuāuhtli ca cencah huel yōlchicāhuacātzintli.**  
**In cuāuhtli zā cencah huel yōlchicāhuacātzintli.**  
**In cuāuhtli cenyōlchicāhuacātzintli.**  
**In cuāuhtli cenquīzcāyōlchicāhuacātzintli.**  
**In cuāuhtli mahcitzinohticah in ic yōlchicāhuacātzintli.**  
**In cuāuhtli mocemahcitzinohticah in ic yōlchicāhuacātzintli.**  
**In cuāuhtli motlacempanahuilia in ic yōlchipāhuacātzintli.**

## Denominal Verbstems (Part One)

54.1. *Denominal Verbstems.* Verbstems may be derived from nounstems by means of verbstem-forming suffixes. This is an area of strong creative power for Nahuatl, and the following presentation exhibits only a selection of the formation types and resources.

*Note:* It is possible, as mentioned in relation to causatives and applicatives, that at least some of the items here being called suffixes are in fact verbstems and that, instead of derivational suffixation, the stem-forming process involved is that of compounding. Since, however, one would never find a VNC such as \***niti**, #**ni-θ(ti)θ+θ-θ#**, “I become,” the suffixation approach has been accepted in the following discussion.

54.2. *The Inceptive/Stative Suffixes **ti**, **hui**, **ya**, **ā**, and **huā**.* The five verbstem-forming suffixes **ti**, **hui**, **ya**, **ā**, and **huā** express the notion of the inception (or beginning) of, entry into, or being in a state or condition. Of these, the suffixes **ti**, **hui**, and **ya** may operate individually or be combined into the sequences **ti-ya** and **hui-ya** for a slightly more emphatic expression. The combinations **ti-ya** and **hui-ya** are traditionally spelled **tia** and **huia**, which is unfortunate because of the possible confusion with the causative suffix **tiā** described in Lesson 25 and the applicative suffix **huiā** described in Lesson 26 whenever the latter are spelled traditionally (i.e., without vowel length indicated).

These five suffixes create intransitive verbstems having the translation value of “to become/ become like (the entity signified by the source nounstem).” Since Nahuatl (like Arabic) does not normally distinguish being from becoming, a translation of “to be” or “to be like” may at times be more appropriate in English.

The verbstems derived by these suffixes are much more common than the constructions described in § 51.2.1 for expressing the notion of becoming. One of the most common uses of these verbstems is that of forming preterit-agentive NNCs having an adjectival function (see Lesson 40).

The following subsections survey the principal points important to verbstem formation by means of these five suffixes.

1. The inceptive/stative suffix **ti** is attached directly to an NNC’s absolutive-state predicate to form an intransitive verbstem.

(**ā-ti**) = to become water; i.e., to melt [**< (ā)-tl-**, “water”]

(**tlāca-ti**) = to become a person; i.e., to be born [**< (tlāca)-tl-**, “person.” The verbstem is used of animals as well as of humans.]

(**tlācoh-ti**) = to become like a slave; to work hard [**< (tlācoh)-tli-**, “slave”]

A derived or compound nounstem may serve as the source:

(**ma-l-ti**) = to become a captive [**< (ma-l)-li-**, “a captured one”]

(**mahui-z-ti**) = to become respected [**< (mahui-z)-tli-**, “a person worthy of fear; i.e., a person worthy of respect and honor”]

(**tla-zo-h-ti**) = to be expensive [**< (tla-zo-h)-tli-**, “s.th. precious and dear or expensive”]

(**teō-xiuh-ti**) = to become like turquoise; *figurative*, to become generous/excellent [**< (teō-xihui)-tl-**, “turquoise.”]

A numeral nounstem may serve as the source:

(**ō-ōme-ti**) = to be by twos [**< (ō-ōme)-θ-**, “by twos”]

(**oh-ōme-ti**) = to be two apiece [**< (oh-ōme)-θ-**, “two apiece”]

Certain pronominal stems may serve as the source:

(**itl-ah-ti**) = to become s.th. [**< (itl-ah)-θ-**, “something”]

(**ah-tl-eh-ti**) = to become nothing [**< (ah-tl-eh)-θ-**, “nothing”]

A customary-present agentive nounstem may serve as the source; the nounstem is, of course, that of the fully nominal customary-present agentive NNC of § 36.3.

(**āhui-ya-ni-ti**) = to become a prostitute [**< (āhui-ya-ni)-tl-**, “a prostitute,” **< (āhui-ya)**, “to be happy/content”]

(**tē-mach-tiā-ni-ti**) = to become a teacher [**< (tē-mach-tiā-ni)-tl-**, “a teacher”]

A preterit-agentive nounstem may serve as the source. The verbstem-forming suffix is attached to the general-use stem of § 35.5.

(**tlahpal-i-uh-θ-cā-ti**) = (for a young man) to become of marriageable age; *also*, to become s.th. that has become robust (e.g., the full moon) [**< (tlahpal-i-uh-θ)-qui-**, “one who has become a vigorous, healthy young man”]

(**teō-pix-θ-cā-ti**) = to become a priest [**< (teō-pix-θ)-qui-**, “one who has guarded a god,” i.e., “a priest”]

(**tē-mach-tih-θ-cā-ti**) = to become a teacher [**< (tē-mach-tih-θ)-qui-**, “one who has taught s.o.,” i.e., “a teacher”]

(**tlahu-ēl-i-lō-θ-cā-ti**) = to become a rogue [**< (tlahu-ēl-i-lō-θ)-c-**, “one who has been despised,” i.e., “a rogue”]

(**icn-ō-pil-lahu-ēl-i-lō-θ-cā-ti**) = to become a rogue in the manner of an orphan, i.e., to become an ingrate [**< (icn-ō-pil-lahu-ēl-i-lō-θ)-c-**, “a rogue in the form of an orphan,” i.e., “an ingrate”]

(**mic-θ-cā-huah-θ-cā-ti**) = to become the owner of a dead person, i.e., to become a bereaved person [**< (mic-θ-cā-huah-θ)-□-**, “one who has owned one who has died,” i.e., “a bereaved person”]

(**āxcā-huah-θ-cā-ti**) = to become an owner of possessions, i.e., to become rich [  
(**āxcā-huah-θ**)-□-, “one who has owned possessions”]

The nounstem of an adverbialized NNC may serve as the source:

(**tlahcah-ti**) = to be late (said of the time from dawn to noon); to be(come) late in the morning [< (**tlahcah**)-**tli**-, “daytime, day (from sunrise to sunset)”]

(**teō-tlāc-ti**) = to be late (said of the time from noon to dusk); to be(come) late in the afternoon [< (**teō-tlāc**)-**tli**-, “afternoon”]

(**nēn-ti**) = to fail [< (**nēn**)-□-, “an empty/useless thing”]

(**mōz-tla-ti**) = *impers*, to become tomorrow; *pers*, to live until tomorrow [< (**mōz-tla**)-**tli**-, “the day after today”]

(**im-man-ti**) = to be the (opportune) moment [< (**im-man**)-□-, “the very moment, this very moment”]

An adverbialized nounstem formed on a relational nounstem may serve as the source:

(**cem-pō-c-tlan-ti**) = to become totally under smoke, i.e., to become totally disoriented/confused [< (**pō-c-tlan**)-□-, “beneath (a cloud of) smoke”; (**cem**)-□-, “as one,” i.e., “completely”]

The resultant verbstem frequently prefixes the impersonal **tla** (see § 22.6) if the notion of time or weather is involved.

(**tla-cua-l-cā-n-ti**) = to become good weather; to become an opportune time [< (**cua-l-cā-n**)-**tli**-, “good weather; opportune time”]

(**tla-xō-pan-tlah-ti**) = to become the time of the rainy season [< (**xō-pan-tlah**)-□-, “time of the rainy season”]

At times the source nounstem is not attested:

(**ilō-ti**) = to return to the point of departure; (for an illness) to abate

(**ihuin-ti**) = to become tipsy/drunken

In certain exceptional instances the **ti** suffix can be added to a nounstem plus the *num*<sup>1</sup> morph found in possessive-state NNCs appropriate to the nounstem:

(**ti-yah-θ-cā-uh-ti**) = to become a brave warrior [< **+ti(yah-θ-cā)uh**-, “s.o.’s goer,” i.e., “a brave warrior.” In this instance not only is the *num*<sup>1</sup> morph included but also the possessor pronoun **tē**, which has been lexicalized in the form **ti** (see § 35.6, note 3).]

Denominal **ti** verbstems belong to Class A when their nounstem source ends in a consonant: (**ihuin-ti**) > *perf*, (**ihuin-ti**). If the nounstem source ends in a vowel, the verbstem can either belong to Class A (which is especially the case when the preterit-agentive NNC formed on it has an adjectival function): (**ā-ti**) > *perf*, (**ā-ti**); or to Class B: (**tlāca-ti**) > *perf*, (**tlāca-t**).

An intransitive inceptive/stative verbstem formed with **ti** may be converted into a single-object causative stem by adding the suffix **liā** (see § 25.5). Do not confuse this **liā** with the applicative suffix discussed in § 26.6.

**tla-(cua-l-ti-liā)** = to cause s.th. to become good, i.e., to restore s.th., to repair s.th. [**< (cua-l-ti)**, “to become good”]

**tē- ~ tla-(ah-tl-eh-ti-liā)** = to reduce s.o.~ s.th. to nothing; to annihilate s.o.~ s.th. [**< (ah-tl-eh-ti)**, “to become nothing”]

2. The suffix **hui** is not as prolific as **ti** in creating inceptive/stative verbstems. Like **ti**, it is attached directly to the absolutive-state predicate of a source NNC.

**(ix-tlā-hui)** = *nonan*, to become given back [**< (ix-tlāhui)-tl-**, “red ochre to the full amount,” from **(ix)-**, “total amount” (see § 16.7), and **(tlāhui)-tl-**, “red ochre,” the general-use stem of which is **(tlāuh)-Ø-** (its final /w/ is assimilated to the /w/ of **hui**: /w/ + /w/ > [w]). The verbstem thus means “to become red ochre to the full amount,” an idiomatic way of saying “to become a full recompense.” The causative stem is formed according to § 24.3.1.a: **tla-(ix-tlā-hu-a)**, “to pay s.th.” The initial [i] is a supportive vowel; e.g., **nitlaxtlāhua**.]

**(ix-hui)** = to become full/satiated [See **(ix)-** in § 16.7. The causative verbstem is formed by **tiā**: **tē-(ix-hui-tiā)**, “to cause s.o. to become satiated.”]

**(xo-xō-hui)** = to become green [**< (xō)-tl-**, “a green thing”]

**(tla-tlā-hui)** = to become like red ochre; i.e., to become red [**< (tlāhui)-tl-**, “red ochre.” The general-use stem is **(tlāuh)-Ø-**; /w/ + /w/ > [w].]

**(ya-yā-hui)** = to become dark colored [**< (yāhui)-tl-**, “dark-colored maize.” The general-use stem is **(yāuh)-Ø-**; /w/ + /w/ > [w].]

If the source stem ends in a consonant, denominal **hui** verbstems belong to Class A: **(ix-hui)** > **(ix-hui)**. If it ends in a vowel, the verbstem belongs to Class B: **(xo-xō-hui)** > **(xo-xō-uh)**.

Many of the **hui** verbstems form a causative counterpart by adding **liā** (see § 25.5; compare the causative formation from **ti** verbstems in subsection 1 above).

**tla-(xo-xō-hui-liā)** = to cause s.th. to become green-colored

3. The inceptive/stative suffix **ya** may form either denominal verbstems or deverbal ones.

a. To form a *denominal* verbstem, **ya** is attached directly to a nounroot or to a nounstem downgraded to the root rank. The result is a “root-plus-**ya**” verbstem (see, for example, § 25.4.8).

**(izta-ya)** = to become like salt; i.e., to become white [**< (izta)-tl-**, “salt”]

**(xoco-ya)** = to become like fruit; to become tart/sour; to turn to vinegar [**< (xoco)-tl-**, “fruit; plum”]

The source root (or stem-as-root) may be unattested.

**(poye-ya)** = to become salty to the taste [**< \*(poye)-**]

**(chichi-ya)** = to become bitter [**< \*(chichi)-**]

**(ce-ya)** = to be willing [**< \*(ce)-**. There is a variant stem **(ci-ya)**.]

**(coco-ya)** = to become sick [**< \*(coco)-**]

Occasionally, the base to which the **ya** is added has an **i** that does not belong to the root (i.e., the **ya** seems to be added to a stock; compare § 24.4).

- (**huē-i-ya**) = to become big [< (**huē-i**)-**θ**-, “a big one” < (**huē**)-**tl**-, see § 40.2.1. The variant verbstem (**huī-ya**) also exists.]
- (**cel-i-ya**) = (for a plant) to sprout/take root/put forth shoots [< \*(**cel-i**)-**tl**-; the root without the **i** occurs in the nearly synonymous derivation (**cel-ti**), “(for a plant) to become freshly green.”]
- (**teō-tlāqu-i-ya**) = to become late in the day, to become afternoon [< (**teō-tlāc**)-**tli**-, “god-torso,” i.e., “afternoon”]
- (**tzopēl-i-ya**) = to be(come) sweet [Neither \*(**tzopēl-i**)-**tl**- nor \*(**tzopēl**)-**li**- is attested.]
- (**huēl-i-ya**) = to be(come) delicious [Neither \*(**huēl-i**)-**tl**- nor \*(**huēl**)-**li**- is attested.]

A curious use of this formation is exemplified in the following two stems:

- (**miye-qu-i-ya**) = to become much/many; to multiply/become increased [The source is the quantitative pronominal nounstem (**miye-c**)-**θ**-, “many/much”; see § 16.9.1.]
- (**huē-i-ya-θ-qu-i-ya**) = to become long [The formation is quite strange in that the /k/ does not lie inside the source stem (as in the preceding example) but outside it, since it is the *num*<sup>1</sup> morph of the preterit-agentive nounstem (**huē-i-ya-θ**)-**c**-, “a long thing” (see § 40.9), which comes from the **i-ya** verbstem (**huē-i-ya**) listed above.]

A denominal verbstem ending in **ya** belongs to Class A, to Class B, or to either. When it belongs to Class B, the perfective stem normally ends in **x** (/y/ > [š]; see § 7.4.2): (**chichi-ya**) > *perf.* (**chichi-x**) [also Class A: *perf.* (**chichi-ya**)]; but it can end in **z** if the source contains an /s/ sound (/y/ > [s]; see § 7.4.2): (**cel-i-ya**) > *perf.* (**cel-i-z**) [also Class A: *perf.* (**cel-i-ya**)]; (**ce-ya**) > *perf.* (**ce-z**).

As pointed out in § 37.3.4, the active action nounstems of verbstems ending in **ya** normally drop the **ya** before adding **liz**; for example:

- (**xoco-liz**)-**tli**- = an/the action of becoming tart/sour; tartness/sourness
- (**tzopēl-i-liz**)-**tli**- = an/the action of becoming sweet; sweetness
- (**huēl-i-liz**)-**tli**- = an/the action of becoming delicious; deliciousness
- (**huē-i-ya-θ-qu-i-liz**)-**tli**- = an/the act of becoming long/lengthening

But the following are among the exceptions:

- (**huē-i-ya-liz**)-**tli**- = an/the action of becoming bigger/growing
- (**ce-ya-liz**)-**tli**- = an/the act of wanting s.th.; an act of will; will

The causative stem of the denominal **ya** verbstems is created by deleting the **ya** before adding the **liā** suffix (see § 25.5.2).

- tla**-(**izta-liā**) = to make s.th. become white; to paint s.th. white [The initial [i] of this stem is a supportive vowel; e.g., **nitlaztalia**.]
- tla**-(**poye-liā**) = to add salt to s.th. (during food preparation)
- tla**-(**huē-i-liā**) = to make s.th. bigger; to increase s.th. (e.g., a bet in gambling) [This causative formation proves that the often-found **hueiac** or **hueyac** in traditionally spelled texts is a misspelling of **huēiyac**; i.e., not only is the **i** present, but stress falls on it (in traditional spelling **ia** and **ya** are notoriously untrustworthy, representing /ia/, /ya/, or /iya/; see Appendix F). Incidentally, in the variant stem



(**huī-ya-θ**)-c-, the /e:/ has become raised to /i:/ and the following /i/ has become absorbed into it.]

**tla-(huē-i-ya-θ-qu-i-liā)** = to lengthen s.th.

Occasionally, the intransitive source is not attested:

**tla-(ōme-liā)** = to cause s.th. to become two, to double s.th., to twist s.th. [< \*(**ōme-ya**), “to become two”]

There are occasions when the **liā** suffix creates an applicative verbstem:

**tla-(ce-liā)** = to be willing in relation to s.th.; i.e., to receive s.th. [< (**ce-ya**), “to be willing”]

*b.* The **ya** is used to form *deverbal* verbstems from the denominal verbstems formed by **ti** and **hui** in subsections 1 and 2 above as well as from certain destockal **ni/hui** verbstems. The source and derived verbstems normally have the same translation value.

*i.* With a **ti** verbstem as source:

(**tlil-ti-ya**) = to be(come) like black ink; i.e., to be(come) black [< (**tlil-ti**), “to be(come) black”]

(**camoh-pa-l-ti-ya**) = to become sweet-potato colored; i.e., to become dark purple  
[< (**camoh-pa-l-ti**), “to become sweet-potato colored” < (**camoh-pa-l**)-li-, “s.th. colored like a sweet potato” < **tla-(camoh-pa)**, “to dye s.th. like a sweet potato”]

(**cē-ti-ya**) = to become one, to merge/unite [< (**cē-θ**), “one in number”]

Certain verbstem formations prefer to use only **ti**, others prefer **ti-ya**, and others are indifferent.

A deverbal verbstem ending in **ti-ya** belongs to either Class A or Class B. When it belongs to Class B, the perfective stem ends in **x** (see § 7.4.2): (**yēc-ti-ya**), “to become finished,” i.e., “to become good” > *perf.* (**yēc-ti-ya**) > (**yēc-ti-x**).

Just like denominal **ya** verbstems, deverbal verbstems ending in **ti-ya** form a causative stem by deleting **ya** and adding **liā**.

**tla-(tle-xō-ch-ti-liā)** = to cause s.th. to become a live coal, to build up live coals  
[< (**tle-xō-ch-ti-ya**), “to become a live coal”]

**tē-(tlāca-ti-liā)** = to engender s.o.

There are, however, occasions when the **liā** suffix has an *applicative* meaning:

**tē-(tlāca-ti-liā)** = to become a person toward s.o., i.e., to treat s.o. well/decently/humanely

*ii.* With a **hui** verbstem as source:

(**xo-xō-hui-ya**) = to become green [< (**xo-xō-hui**), “to become green”]

(**tla-tlā-hui-ya**) = to become red [< (**tla-tlā-hui**), “to become red”]

A deverbal verbstem ending in **hui-ya** belongs to Class B: (**xo-xō-hui-ya**) > *perf.* (**xo-xō-hui-x**).

A causative verbstem is derived from a **hui-ya** stem by deleting the **ya** and adding **liā**.

**tla-(xo-xō-hui-liā)** = to cause s.th. to become green colored [< (**xo-xō-hui-ya**), “to become green colored”]

iii. With certain destockal verbstems of the **ni/hui** type (see § 24.5):

(**tlap-ī-hui-ya**) = to increase in number/multiply [**<** (**tlap-ī-hui**), “to increase in number/multiply.”]

(**cuetl-ā-hui-ya**) = “(for a plant) to wilt/wither [**<** (**cuetl-ā-hui**), “to wilt/wither”]

(**cōz-ā-hui-ya**) = to become/turn yellow [**<** (**cōz-ā-hui**), “to become/turn yellow”]

(**yam-ā-ni-ya**) = (for a body) to be at a normal temperature; (for the weather) to be calm and serene; (for a hide/wax/etc.) to become soft [**<** (**yam-ā-ni**), “to become soft.” Compare (**yam-a-z-ti-ya**), “to become soft,” derived from the stock-based patientive nounstem (**yam-a-z-tli**- (see § 39.4.1).]

(**to-tō-ni-ya**) = to be(come) hot (because of fire, sun, etc.) [**<** (**to-tō-ni**), “to become hot.” This apparently destockal stem is irregular according to § 24.5 and, in addition, has a reduplicative prefix. The stem \*(**tō-ni**) does not occur, and furthermore its associated stem (**tō-n-a**), “(for the sun) to shine; (for the day or weather) to be hot,” is intransitive (the stem is Class A, so the **a** suffix is not causative).]

A **ya** verbstem derived from a destockal **hui** or **ni** stem is preferred over its source stem in forming VNCs, although the source stem is the one that serves as the source for nounstem formations; for example:

(**cuetl-ā-uh-∅**)-**qui**- = a wilted/withered thing

(**cuetl-ā-hui-ni**)-**∅**- = a thing that wilts/withers easily

(**cuetl-a-x**)-**tli**- = tanned hide

(**cōz-ā-uh-∅**)-**qui**- = a yellow thing

(**yam-ā-n-∅**)-**qui**- = a soft thing

(**yam-ā-ni-liz**)-**tli**- = softness

(**to-tō-n-∅**)-**qui**- = a hot thing; fever

(**to-tō-ni-liz**)-**tli**- = warmth, heat

The derived **ya** stems belong to Class B: (**cōz-ā-hui-ya**) > *perf*, (**cōz-ā-hui-x**) ~ (**cōz-ā-hui-z**).

The preference of the source stem over the **ya** stem for derivation is again evident in the formation of the causative stem. It is created by adding the type-one causative suffix **ā** to the **hui** or **ni** stem as in § 24.5.7. In traditional spelling no distinction is made between **hui-ya** and **hui-ā** or **ni-ya** and **ni-ā**. The **ya** stem is, however, always intransitive and the **ā** stem is always transitive.

**tla-(yam-ā-ni-ā)** = to tan s.th. (i.e., hides); to cool off s.th. (e.g., soup that is very hot); to soften s.th. (e.g., wax) with heat

**tla-(tlap-ī-hui-ā)** = to cause s.th. to increase in number

**m-o-(to-tō-ni-ā)** = to warm o.s. (by the fire or in the sun)

4. The inceptive/stative suffix **ā** is of limited use and has a meaning similar to that of **ya**. It is, of course, not to be confused with the causative **ā**. The verbstem it creates belongs to Class C (and therefore the stem looks as if it should be transitive).

(**tlāhui-ā**) = to be like red ochre; i.e., to glow; (for a candle, etc.) to cast a light/radiate light; (for a person with a torch, etc.) to light the way [**<** (**tlāhui-tl-**, “red ochre.”] Contrast the transitive stem **tla-(tlā-huiā)** in § 55.7, *note 1*.]

\*(**oh-hui-ā**) = *nonan.*, to be like a road; i.e., to pose a danger; to be dangerous/difficult [The **ā** is here added to a nounstem that keeps the *num*<sup>1</sup> morph found in a possessive-state NNC built on the stem (**oh-tli-**, “road, path, trail.” The structure is the same as that of (**oh-hui-ti**) in § 54.4 (compare the equally special formation in the nounstem (**oh-hui-yō**)-**tl-**, “what is characteristic of roads/what concerns roads”). Carochi does not show a glottal stop closing the first syllable, although in some texts there is the spelling **hu**, a traditional spelling of /ʔw/, which in standardized spelling is **hhu** (see Appendix F). The asterisk indicates that \*(**oh-hui-ā**) has only a limited use. It is found in adjectival NNCs built on the preterit-agentive stem (**oh-hui-h-θ**)-**□-**, “a dangerous/difficult thing” (see § 40.8.6); also, its general-use shape, (**oh-hui-h-θ-cā**)-**□-**, is found in adverbialized NNCs and as an adverbial embed in compound stems. On the other hand, (**oh-hui-ti**) permits a full range of VNCs. The former stem means “(for s.th.) to pose a danger/difficulty; to be dangerous/difficult”; the latter means “(for s.o.) to face a danger/difficulty; to be in danger/difficulty.” The two verbstems attest to the danger and difficulties (wild beast, robbers, etc.) associated with travel along roads and trails, looking at the problem from two different perspectives.]

5. The inceptive/stative suffix **hua** is added to deverbal nounstems ending in (**-yō**)-**tl-** (see § 39.3) to form intransitive verbstems having the meaning of “to become/become like (the entity signified by the source nounstem).” Since the stem has (**-yō**)-**tl-** as its matrix, however, the translation into English is usually “to become filled/covered with (whatever is signified by the nounstem embedded in (**-yō**)-**tl-**).” Unfortunately, the suffix **hua** is almost always misspelled **a** (because of the preceding /o:/); as a result, this verbstem is susceptible to confusion with the stem formations in § 55.3, but the latter verbstems belong to Class C and these **hua** stems belong to Class A.

(**ā-yō-hua**) = to become s.th. filled with water; i.e., to become watery/thin (applied to liquids); to become diluted with water [ < (**ā-yō**)-**tl-**, “s.th. diluted with water”]

(**ez-zō-hua**) = to become s.th. covered with blood; i.e., to become bloodied [ < (**ez-zō**)-**tl-**, “s.th. covered with blood”]

(**tēm-a-l-lō-hua**) = to become s.th. filled with pus; i.e., (for a wound) to fester [Also (**tīm-a-l-lō-hua**); see § 37.9.1.a. From (**tēm-a-l-lō**)-**tl-**, “s.th. filled with pus”; the ultimate verbstem source is **tla**-(**tēm-a**), “to cause s.th. to become full; to pour s.th. by means of a container.”]

(**mahui-z-zō-hua**) = to become s.o. covered with honor; i.e., to become honored, to receive honor [ < (**mahui-z-zō**)-**tl-**, “honor, dignity of the high and mightly.” The verbstem is usually misspelled (**mahuizoa**), i.e., not only with **a** instead of **hua** but with a single **z** as well.]

(**tōcā-yō-hua**) = to become s.o. covered with a name; i.e., to become famous [ < (**tōcā-yō**)-**tl-**, “name”]

(**ix-xīp-tla-yō-hua**) = to become s.th. covered with substitutes; i.e., (for a debt) to become satisfied/paid off; (for demands) to be met [ < (**ix-xīp-tla-yō**)-**tl-**, “a representative/substitute”]

54.3. *The Inceptive/Stative Suffix ti and the Included-Possessor Verbstems.* There is still another derivational process involving the inceptive/stative suffix **ti**, but the resultant intransitive stem created by it is so different from the intransitive stem described in § 54.2.1 that it deserves special attention.

All of the intransitive **ti** verbstems of § 54.2.1 are derived by attaching the **ti** to the predicate of an *absolute*-state NNC; in effect, this means that only the nounstem shows up in the derived verbstem. It is, however, also possible for the predicate of a *possessive*-state NNC to attach the **ti**. This means that a possessor pronoun (**n-o, m-o, i-θ; t-o, am-o, i-m; tē, tla**) is included *inside* the derived verbstem; i.e., the possessive-case feature of the pronoun is NOT transformed into an objective-case feature. As a consequence, a given nounstem can serve as the source for as many as eight *different* verbstems.

If this inclusion of a possessor pronoun inside a verbstem is strange, stranger still is the fact that this basic possessor pronoun inside the verbstem can serve as the head for a supplementary possessor, just as if it were still on the original NNC.

Only four types of these verbstems are presented here. In all of them the verbstem belongs to Class A. (In the citation forms, the possessor pronoun **tē** can be replaced by any of the other possessor pronouns.)

1. In the first type, the source nounstem expresses the notion of “proxy,” “stand-in,” “substitute,” or “representative.”

a. (**tē-ix-xīp-tla-ti**) = to be s.o.’s substitute, to be in the role of s.o., to act the part of s.o. [**< (ix-xīp-tla)-tl-**, “image, portrait”]:

**Ihcuāc miq̄i cē tlācatl in ōtēixxīptlatic cē xihuitl.** =  $\bar{o}\#\theta\text{-}\theta(\text{tē-ix-xīp-tla-ti})\theta+\text{c-}\theta\#$   
= At that time one man who has been an impersonator (*lit.*, someone’s impersonator) for one year dies (i.e., is sacrificed).

**Ōñxīptlatic in Huitztzilōpōchtli.** =  $\bar{o}\#\theta\text{-}\theta(\bar{i}\text{-}\theta\text{-ix-xīp-tla-ti})\theta+\text{c-}\theta\#$  = He was Huitztzilōpōchtli’s impersonator. [The NNC **Huitztzilōpōchtli** is a supplementary possessor whose head is the possessor pronoun **i-θ** inside the verbstem.]

b. (**tē-hui-hhui-ti**) = to be s.o.’s impersonator/surrogate/stand-in [**< (hui-hhui)-tl-**, “surrogate/resemblance” **< (ihhui)-tl-**, “feather” (compare the English “birds of a feather”)]:

**Tihuihuitiz in Titlācahuān.** =  $\#\text{t-}\theta(\bar{i}\text{-}\theta\text{-hui-hhui-ti})\text{z}+\square\text{-}\theta\#$  = You (sg) will be the impersonator of We-Are-His-Slaves. [Thanks to its third-person singular subject pronoun (see § 56.2.2.b), the personal name NNC **Titlācahuān** is the supplementary possessor of **i-θ** inside the verbstem.]

c. (**tē-pa-ti-l-lō-ti**) = to be s.o.’s proxy/representative/representer [**< (pa-ti-l-lō)-tl-**, “replacement/stand-in/proxy” **< (pa-ti-l)-li-**, “a thing that can be exchanged”; see the verbstem **tla-(pa-tla)**, “to exchange s.th.”]:

**Ca ipatillōti in Tloqueh Nāhuaqueh.** =  $\#\theta\text{-}\theta(\bar{i}\text{-}\theta\text{-pa-ti-l-lō-ti})\theta+\theta\text{-}\theta\#$  = Indeed he is the representer of Ever-Nigh. [The personal-name unit formed by the conjoined NNCs **Tloqueh Nāhuaqueh** has a cloned third-person singular subject pronoun

(see § 56.4), which allows it to be the supplementary possessor of  $\bar{i}-\emptyset$  inside the verbstem. Compare the verbstem  $\bar{t}\bar{e}$ -(**pa-ti-l-lō-ti-ā**) formed according to § 54.5.1.b.]

2. In the second type, the source nounstem expresses the notion of “merit,” “recompense,” or “deserved reward.” The English translation of a possessive-state NNC formed on these source nounstems renders the possessor pronoun as subject (e.g., “I deserve,” “you deserve,” or “I am worthy,” etc.). The derived verbstems normally participate in a VNC that has a nonanimate (3rd-person common number) subject pronoun. The only expected tenses are the present, the preterit, and the future.

a. ( $\bar{t}\bar{e}$ -**icn-ō-pil-ti**) = to be s.o.’s recompense [ $\langle$  (**icn-ō-pil**)-**li**-, “child deserving compassion, orphan”]:

**nocnōpilti** =  $\#\emptyset-\emptyset(\mathbf{n-o-cn-ō-pil-ti})\emptyset+\emptyset-\emptyset\#$  = it is my recompense; i.e., I deserve it, I merit it

**tocnōpiltiz** =  $\#\emptyset-\emptyset(\mathbf{t-o-cn-ō-pil-ti})z+\square-\emptyset\#$  = it will be our recompense; i.e., we shall deserve it, we shall merit it

**Ōimicnōpiltic** =  $\bar{o}\#\emptyset-\emptyset(\bar{\mathbf{i-m-icn-ō-pil-ti})\emptyset+c-\emptyset\#$  = it became their recompense; i.e., they deserved it, they merited it

The preterit-tense VNC built on these verbstems is frequently used in exclamations in an idiomatic meaning:

**Ōmocnōpiltic!** = How fortunate you (sg) are!

**Ōamocnōpiltic!** = How fortunate you (pl) are!

The following example shows the rare occurrence of a VNC with an animate subject pronoun:

**titocnōpiltiz** =  $\#\mathbf{ti}-\emptyset(\mathbf{t-o-cn-ō-pil-ti})z+\square-\emptyset\#$  = you (sg) will be our recompense

b. ( $\bar{t}\bar{e}$ -**il-hui-l-ti**) = to be s.o.’s recompense [ $\langle$  (**il-hui-l**)-**li**-, “merit, recompense”]:

**molhuilti** =  $\#\emptyset-\emptyset(\mathbf{m-o-l-hui-l-ti})\emptyset+\emptyset-\emptyset\#$  = it becomes your recompense; i.e., you (sg) deserve it

**tolhuiltiz** =  $\#\emptyset-\emptyset(\mathbf{t-o-l-hui-l-ti})z+\square-\emptyset\#$  = it will be our recompense; i.e., we shall deserve it

The preterit-tense VNC built on these verbstems is used in exclamations in an idiomatic meaning:

**Ōimilhuiltic!** =  $\bar{o}\#\emptyset-\emptyset(\bar{\mathbf{i-m-il-hui-l-ti})\emptyset+c-\emptyset\#$  = How fortunate they are!

c. ( $\bar{t}\bar{e}$ -**mah-cē-hua-l-ti**) = to be s.o.’s recompense [ $\langle$  (**mah-cē-hua-l**)-**li**-, “merit, recompense”]:

**īmahcēhualti** =  $\#\emptyset-\emptyset(\bar{\mathbf{i-}\emptyset\text{-mah-cē-hua-l-ti})\emptyset+\emptyset-\emptyset\#$  = it becomes his recompense; i.e., he deserves it

**amomahcēhualtiz** =  $\#\emptyset-\emptyset(\mathbf{am-o-mah-cē-hua-l-ti})z+\square-\emptyset\#$  = it will become your (pl) recompense; i.e., you (pl) will deserve it

The preterit-tense VNC built on these verbstems is used in exclamations in an idiomatic meaning:

**Ōnomahcēhualtic!** =  $\bar{o}+\emptyset-\emptyset(\mathbf{n-o-mah-cē-hua-l-ti})\emptyset+c-\emptyset\#$  = How fortunate I am!

The predicate of a VNC built on one of these verbstems can be incorporated into a compound verbstem; for example:

**tomahcēhualtiznequi** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (t-o-mah-cē-hua-l-ti-z-nequi) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it wants to be(come) our recompense; i.e., we are about to deserve it

The following example shows the rare occurrence of a VNC with an animate subject pronoun:

**titomahcēhualtiz** = #ti- $\emptyset$ (t-ō-mah-cē-hua-l-ti)z+ $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = you (sg) will be our recompense

3. In the third type, the various verbstems are formed from only one nounstem. The resultant verbstems are unlike those in subsection 2 above in that these can occur only in VNCs showing a preterit-tense morph. Such a VNC, furthermore, is used only in an exclamation sentence.

(**tē-tlahu-ēl-i-l-ti**) = to be(come) s.o.'s misfortune [ $\square$  (**tlahu-ēl-i-l**)-li-, “one against whom rage is felt”]

**Ōnotlahuēliltic!** =  $\emptyset$ # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (n-o-tlahu-ēl-i-l-ti) $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ # = How unfortunate I am!

**Ōtotlahuēliltic!** = How unfortunate we are!

To emphasize the misfortune, the nounstem (**cē-l**)- $\emptyset$ - (see § 40.2.3.a) is incorporated as an adverb. Since the possessor pronoun is part of the verbstem, (**cē-l**)- $\emptyset$ - must be placed in front of it.

**Ōcēlnotlahuēliltic!** =  $\emptyset$ # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cē-l-n-o-tlahu-ēl-i-l-ti) $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ # = How uniquely unfortunate I am!

Another emphatic expression is created by using the possessive-state predicate built on the compound nounstem (**cen-tzon-tlahu-ēl-i-l**)-li-, “four hundred misfortunes,” as the source for the various derived verbstems.

**Ōamocentzontlahuēliltic!** =  $\emptyset$ # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (am-o-cen-tzon-tlahu-ēl-i-l-ti) $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ # = It has become your (pl) four-hundredfold misfortune!; i.e., How thoroughly unfortunate you (pl) are!

4. In the fourth type, the various verbstems are derived from a possessive-state predicate built on the relational nounstem (**pan**)- $\square$ -, “upper surface; time” (see § 47.3.3).

**nopanti** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (n-o-pan-ti) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is happening in my time

**ōimpantic** =  $\emptyset$ # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ī-m-pan-ti) $\emptyset$ +c- $\emptyset$ # = it happened in their time

**īpanti** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ī- $\emptyset$ -pan-ti) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = it is happening in his/her time

**topantiz** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (t-o-pan-ti)z+ $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = it will happen in our time

When the possessor pronoun is third-person common number and refers, for example, to a target, the VNC has a different meaning:

**īpantiz** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (ī- $\emptyset$ -pan-ti)z+ $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = it/they will hit it/them (i.e., the target/s)

The causative suffix **ā** may be added to the derived verbstem containing this nonanimate possessor pronoun **ī- $\emptyset$** :

**nitlaīpantia** = #ni- $\emptyset$ +tla(ī- $\emptyset$ -pan-ti-a) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I cause s.th. to hit it; i.e., I am right in what I say

**ōtitlaīpantihqueh** =  $\emptyset$ #ti- $\emptyset$ +tla(ī- $\emptyset$ -pan-ti-h) $\emptyset$ +qu-**ch**# = we were right in what we said

54.4. *The Intransitive Suffix **ti** of Possession.* The inceptive/stative suffix **ti** of § 54.2.1 has a homophonous verbstem-forming suffix **ti** that creates a denominal intransitive verbstem with the meaning of “to have/be in possession of (what is signified by the source nounstem).” This **ti** of possession is unlike the inceptive/stative **ti** in that the verbstem it creates cannot form a deverbal verbstem with **ya**.

Another difference between the two suffixes has to do with focus. A VNC formed on the inceptive/stative **ti** is oriented toward the subject pronoun (i.e., the predicate identifies or clarifies the nature of the subject entity just as a subject complement does in English—the **ti** suffix is similar to an English copular verbword), but a VNC formed on the **ti**-of-possession is oriented toward the nounstem source (i.e., it names what in English would be a direct object—the **ti** suffix is similar to an English transitive verbword of having).

(**pah-ti**) = to have (good) medicine; i.e., to get well/recuperate [< (**pah**)-**tli**-, “medicine”]

(**tzin-ti**) = to have a beginning, to commence [< (**tzin**)-**tli**-, “anus, fundament, buttocks; foundation, base”]

(**tequi-ti**) = to have work; i.e., to work; (for a vassal) to have tribute; i.e., to make a tribute payment, to pay tribute [< (**tequi**)-**tl**-, “work; tribute.” In this verbstem the meaning of **ti** seems to shift from having to rendering.]

(**xi-yō-ti**) = to have skin sores [< (**xi-yō**)-**tl**-, “skin sore (such as ringworm or mange)”]

(**nāhua-ti**) = to have a good, clear sound, to be clearly audible [< (**nāhua**)-**tl**-, “a good, clear sound”]

(**caqui-z-ti**) = to have a sound, to resound; to have a good voice; to make o.s. understood [< (**caqui-z**)-**tli**-, “a thing capable of being heard,” i.e., “a sound”]

(**iztlaca-ti**) = to have venom; *metaphorical*, to lie [< (**iztlaca**)-**tl**-, “saliva, venom; poison; by extension, lie, falsehood.” This nounstem, which belongs to the **tl**-Class 2B (see § 14.7.2.b.ii), is now used only as an embed. Its truncated general-use stem (**iztlac**)- has taken over all of the other functions; thus, along with an expected possessive-state NNC such as **noztlac**, “it is my saliva,” one finds the unexpected absolutive-state NNC **iztlactli**, “it is saliva/venom.”]

In certain exceptional instances the **ti** of possession can be added to a nounstem plus the *num*<sup>l</sup> morph found in possessive-state NNCs appropriate to the nounstem (cf. § 54.2.1).

(**oh-hui-ti**) = to have a road; i.e., to be in/face danger [< (**oh**)-**tli**- > (**oh**)-**hui**-, “road.”

Carochi does not show a glottal stop (see § 54.5.1.a, note 1). See § 54.2.4 for comments on (**oh-hui-ti**) and (**oh-hui-ā**).]

A **ti** verbstem of possession belongs to the same classes (A or B) as the inceptive/stative **ti** verbstems in § 54.2.1: (**pah-ti**) > *perf*, (**pah-ti**); (**xi-yō-ti**) > *perf*, (**xi-yō-t**).

A single-object causative verbstem can be derived from a **ti**-of-possession verbstem by means of **liā** (compare § 54.2.1).

**tē-(pah-ti-liā)** = to cause s.o. to have (good) medicine; i.e., to cure s.o.

**tlā-(θ-θ-iztā-θ-c-θ+θ-θ-ā-ti-liā)** = to cause s.th. to have white water; i.e., to apply white paint to s.th., to paint s.th. white, to whiten s.th. [The source of the **ti** verbstem is the

structure of adjectival modification **iztāc ātl**, “it is white water,” i.e., “it is white paint”; see § 42.10.]

54.5. *First-Type Causative Derivations from Intransitive ti Verbstems.* Second-type causative verbstems formed by means of the suffix **liā** have been pointed out for inceptive/stative **ti** verbstems (see § 54.2.1) and **ti**-of-possession verbstems (see § 54.4). There are also first-type causative verbstems formed with the suffix **ā** for both kinds of **ti** stems. The resultant causative stems end in **ti-ā** (obviously, in certain instances this will give rise to a possible confusion with the second-type causative stem ending in **tiā**; see § 54.5.3). The NNC underlying the **ti** verbstem may be in the absolutive or the possessive state.

1. When the source NNC is in the *absolutive* state, there are two possible *single*-object formations.

a. The **ti**-of-possession verbstem as source. A type-one causative stem from a **ti**-of-possession source has the meaning “to cause s.o./s.th./o.s. to have (what is signified by the nounstem)” and is frequently translated as “to provide s.o./s.th./o.s. with (what is signified by the nounstem).” The intransitive verbstem source may not be attested.

**tla-(tzin-ti-ā)** = to cause s.th. to have a beginning; i.e., to begin/originate s.th.

**tē-(pah-ti-ā)** = to cause s.o. to have (good) medicine; i.e., to cure s.o.

**tē-(tlāuh-ti-ā)** = to cause s.o. to have red ochre; i.e., to give a gift/boon to s.o. [**(tlāhui)-tl-**, “red ochre”]

**tē-(tequi-ti-ā)** = to cause s.o. to have work; i.e., to give s.o. a job, to put s.o. to work

**m-o-(chimal-ti-ā)** = to cause o.s. to have a shield; i.e., to get a shield; *also*, to make use of o.s.’s shield (for protection against sun/rain/hail/etc.)

**tē-(cem-ēl-ti-ā)** = to cause s.o. to have a whole liver; i.e., to amuse/entertain s.o., to give s.o. pleasure [**(cem-ēl)-li-**, “a whole liver,” i.e., “a pleased heart”]

The causative stem can have an incorporated causative object.

**(ā-l-tepē-tzin-ti-ā)** = to cause a town/city to have a beginning; i.e., to found a town/city [**(ā-l-tepē)-tl-**, “town/city”]

The meaning of “to cause s.o./s.th./o.s. to have” is at times translated as “to make (the entity signified by the nounstem) for s.o./s.th./o.s.”; that is, the translation gives the false appearance of the verbstem’s being applicative.

**m-o-(ta-pah-zol-ti-ā)** = to cause o.s. to have a nest; i.e., (for a bird) to build a nest for itself [**(ta-pah-zol)-li-**, “nest”; the matrix nounstem **(pah-zol)-li-** means “tangle, tangled mass, snarl” and the embed stem **(ta)-** is a variant of **(te)-tl-**, “egg,” so **(ta-pah-zol)-li-** means “a tangled mass for eggs.”]

**m-o-(me-ca-ti-ā)** = to cause o.s. to have rope/cord; i.e., to provide o.s. with rope/cord; *metaph.*, (for a man) to live in concubinage [**(me-ca)-tl-**, “rope/cord/twine”]

**m-o-(me-ca-pal-ti-ā)** = to cause o.s. to have a tumpline; i.e., to make o.s. a tumpline [**(me-ca-pal)-li-**, “tumpline, a strap passing across the forehead and helping support a load on the back”]



**m-o- ~ tē-(cal-ti-ā)** = to cause o.s./s.o to have a house; i.e., to build a house for o.s./s.o.  
[< (cal)-li-, “house”]

Among these type-one causative stems are a few whose intransitive source stem is built on a compound nounstem having **\*(-huah)-tli-**, “an acquired entity,” as its matrix (see § 39.1.3).

**m-o-(cihuā-huah-ti-ā)** = to cause o.s. to have an acquired woman; i.e., (for a man) to marry/get married [< **\*(cihuā-huah)-tli-**, “an acquired thing that is a woman”]

**m-□-(oquich-huah-ti-ā)** = to cause o.s. to have an acquired male; i.e., (for a woman) to marry/get married [< **\*(oquich-huah)-tli-**, “an acquired thing that is a man”]

**m-o-(pil-huah-ti-ā)** = to cause o.s. to have an acquired child; i.e., to beget a child [< **\*(pil-huah)-tli-**, “an acquired thing that is a child”]

The source of a type-one causative stem is frequently a compound nounstem built on the matrix stem **(-yō)-tl-** (see § 39.3).

**m-o- ~ tē-(tēn-yō-ti-ā)** = to cause o.s./s.o. to have fame; i.e., to become famous, to make s.o. famous [< **(tēn-yō)-tl-**, “fame”]

**tla-(machi-yō-ti-ā)** = to sketch s.th., to put a mark on s.th., to put lines on paper [< **(machi-yō)-tl-**, “sign, symbol, example, model”]

**tla-(θ-θ-iztā-θ-c-θ+θ-θ-teō-cuitla-yō-ti-ā)** = to cause s.th. to have silveriness; i.e., to apply silver to s.th., to silver-plate s.th. [The embed of the **(-yō)-tl-** is the structure of adjectival modification **iztāc teōcuitlatl**, “it is white god excrement,” i.e., “it is silver.”]

**tla-(nēz-cā-yō-ti-ā)** = to signify s.th., to denote s.th. [< **(nēz-cā-yō)-tl-**, “mark, sign.” The embed of the **(-yō)-tl-** is a first-type active action nounstem (see § 36.11).]

At times not only is the source intransitive verbstem unattested, but its source nounstem is also:

**tla- ~ tē-(tlā-ti-ā)** = to cause s.th./s.o. to have a covering; i.e., to hide s.th.; to hide s.o.; *metaphorically*, to kill s.o. [< **\*(tlā)-tl-**, “covering”; see **(tlā-ca)-tl-**, “person,” in § 31.6.1; see also **tē-(tlā-pach-o-ā)**, “to put a covering (e.g., a blanket) over s.o.,” in § 30.6. Contrast **tla-(tla-ti-ā)**, “to burn s.th.,” in § 54.8, *note*, in which the **(tla)-** is a variant of **(tle)-tl-**, “fire.”]

*Note 1:* In the Teteltzingo dialect one finds the first-type causative formation **quojfītia** (i.e., **quiohhuitia**), “he causes him to have a (good) road,” i.e., “he puts him on the right road” or “he guides him.” The intransitive source stem **(oh-hui-ti)** is the **ti**-of-possession verbstem of § 54.4. Although Molina does not list the first-type causative formation, it probably existed. The presence of the glottal stop (represented by “j”) in the Teteltzingo form gives credence to its presence in the Classical source stem.

*Note 2:* A few exceptional causative stems presuppose an **o-ā** verbstem as their ultimate source, but a [č] in the resultant stem presupposes a patientive nounstem derived from a **ti** verbstem as an intermediate step in their derivational history. For example:

**(il-o-ā)** = to return > **\*(il-ō)-tl-** > **(il-ō-ti)** = to return > **(il-ō-ch-ō)** > **\*(il-ō-ch)-tli-** > **tē-(il-ō-ch-ti-ā)** = to make s.o. return; to bring/take s.o. back to the point of origin; **tla-(il-ō-ch-ti-ā)** = to return s.th. to the sender; to change/revoke s.th. (i.e., a sentence/verdict); to turn back the clock; to make s.th. smaller, to reduce/diminish s.th., to sell s.th. at a loss [The step before the **ti** stem, i.e., **\*(il-ō)-tl-**, and the one after the nonactive stem, i.e., **\*(il-ō-ch)-tli-**, are unattested.]

**tla-(cōl-o-ā)** = to make a detour around s.th. > **tē+tla-(cōl-ō-ch-ti-ā)** = to cause s.o. to make a detour around s.th. [None of the intervening steps is attested, but the step with the hypothesized passive patientive nounstem, i.e., **\*(cōl-ō-ch)-tli-**, is supported by the existence of the impersonal patientive nounstem **(tla-cōl-ō-ch)-tli-**, “a detour” (see § 38.1.1.b).]

**tē-(tlal-o-ā)** = to make s.o. hasten/run > **tē-(tlal-ō-ch-ti-ā)** = to grab hold of s.o. and make him/her run, to grip s.o. by the arm and pull him/her speedily along; **tē+tlā-(tlal-ō-ch-ti-ā)** = to seize s.th. belonging to s.o. and run away with it [None of the intervening steps between the **o-ā** source and the resultant causative stems is attested.]

*b.* The inceptive/stative **ti** verbstem as source. The formation of a first-type causative stem from an inceptive/stative source is not as frequent as that from a **ti**-of-possession stem. Only the stems formed according to § 54.2.1 can be used in the derivation. The meaning of the resultant verbstem is “to cause s.o./o.s. to be(come) (what is signified by the nounstem).”

**tē-(pa-ti-l-lō-ti-ā)** = to cause s.o. to be a stand-in; i.e., to assign s.o. as deputy/substitute [**<** (**pa-ti-l-lō**)-**tl-**, “replacement/stand-in/proxy/representative.” Compare (**tē-pa-ti-l-lō-ti**) in § 54.3.1.]

At times this first-type causative stem is synonymous with a second-type one:

**tē-(hueli-ti-ā)** = **tē-(hueli-ti-l-tiā)** = to cause s.o. to be capable; i.e., to give s.o. power/authority

**tē-(pah-ti-ā)** = **tē-(pah-ti-liā)** = to cause s.o. to have (good) medicine; i.e., to cure s.o.

Single-object causative verbstems of both subsection *a* and subsection *b* belong to Class C: **tlā-(tzīn-ti-ā)** > *perf*, **tlā-(tzīn-ti-h)**; **tē-(pa-ti-l-lō-ti-ā)** >, *perf*, **tē-(pa-ti-l-lō-ti-h)**.

2. When the source NNC is in the *possessive* state, there are again two possible causative formations by the addition of the causative **ā**; in this case, the result is a *double*-object verbstem. The source **ti** verbstem is not attested for either of these formations. Unlike the stems in § 54.3, the possessor pronoun of the source NNC is not kept as such INSIDE the resultant verbstem. The suffix **ti** and the causative suffix **ā** combine to work directly on the possessive-state NNC in such a way that they force the subject pronoun to replace its nominative-case feature with an objective-case feature and the possessor pronoun to replace its possessive-case feature with another objective-case feature. The former fills the causative-object function and the latter the applicative-object function. The result is a violation of the valence principle of § 23.1, since two object pronouns occur in the VNC’s predicate although the verbstem has a justification for only one of them. As a consequence of this, in many instances there are two homophonous verbstems, one with single-object valence (derived according in subsection 1 above) and the other with double-object valence.

*a.* The inceptive/stative **ti** as source. The inceptive/stative **ti** is by far the more frequent source for a type-one causative stem. The meaning of the double-object stem is “to cause s.th./s.o. to be(come) o.s.’s/s.o.’s (entity signified by the nounstem).”

NNC: **antopohhuān** = **#an-θ+t-o(poh)hu-ān#** = you are our equals/peers [For (**poh**)-**tli-**, see § 15.2.2.]

VNC: **tamēchtopohtiah** = **#t-θ+am-ēch+t-o(poh-ti-a)θ+θ-h#** = we cause you to become equals to ourselves, i.e., we make you equal to/like us.

The following are further examples.

**m-o+tla-(āxcā-ti-ā)** = to cause s.th. to become oneself's property; i.e., to appropriate s.th. for o.s. [For example, **nicnāxcātia**, "I appropriate it," has its source in **nāxcā**, "it is my property"; **quimāxcātia**, "he/she appropriates it," has its source in **iāxcā**, "it is his/her property." From the nounstem **(āxcāi)-tl-**, "property."]

**tē+tla-(āxcā-ti-ā)** = to cause s.th. to become s.o.'s property; i.e., to appropriate s.th. for s.o. [For example, **nēchāxcātia**, **#θ-θ+n-ēch+□-θ(āxcā-ti-a)θ+θ-θ#**, "he/she appropriates it for me."]

**m-o+tla-(cal-ti-ā)** = to cause s.th. to be(come) oneself's house; i.e., to take over s.th. as oneself's house [For example, **nicnocaltia in mocal**, "I take over your house as my own." Compare the single object stem **m-o-(cal-ti-ā)**, "to cause o.s. to have a house," i.e., "to build o.s. a house," formed according to subsection 1.a above.]

**m-o+tla-(miqui-yā-n-ti-ā)** = to cause s.th. to become oneself's time of dying; i.e., to attempt s.th. arduous [**<(miqui-yā-n)-□-**, "time of dying"]

**m-o+tla-(nemi-liz-ti-ā)** = to cause s.th. to be oneself's manner of living; i.e., to have s.th. as a way of living [E.g., **itlah nicnonemiliztia**, "I have a particular way of living."]

**m-o+tē-(pil-tzin-ti-ā)** = (for a man or a woman) to cause s.o. to become his/her child; i.e., (for a man or a woman) to adopt s.o.

**m-o+tē-(conē-ti-ā)** = (for a woman) to cause s.o. to be her child; i.e., (for a woman) to adopt a child

**m-o+tē-(teō-ti-ā)** = to cause s.o. to become oneself's god; i.e., to worship s.o. as a god

**m-o+tē-(chīmal-ti-ā)** = to cause s.o. to be o.s.'s shield; i.e., to use s.o. as a shield

**m-o+tē-(tla-ht-o-h-θ-cā-ti-ā)** = to cause s.o. to be oneself's king; i.e., to take/consider s.o. as oneself's king [The nounstem source is the preterit-agentive nounstem **(tla-ht-o-h-θ)-qui-**, "ruler/king."]

A double-object type-one causative verbstem can contain a compound nounstem whose matrix is the perfective patientive nounstem **(-huah)-tli-**, "an acquired thing" (see § 39.1.3 and subsection 1.a above).

**m-o+tē-(pil-huah-ti-ā)** = to cause s.o. to be oneself's acquired child; i.e., to adopt s.o. [Contrast **m-o-(pil-huah-ti-ā)**, "to beget a child," in subsection 1.a above.]

**m-o+tē-(tlāca-huah-ti-ā)** = to cause s.o. to be oneself's acquired person; i.e., to make s.o. oneself's slave

Certain double-object type-one causative verbstems reveal their source in a possessive-state NNC by including its *num'* morph.

**m-o+tē-(tlāca-uh-ti-ā)** = to cause s.o. to become one's slave; i.e., to enslave s.o.

**m-o+tla-(tequi-uh-ti-ā)** = to cause s.th. to become oneself's work; i.e., to apply o.s. to s.th. (i.e., a task); to undertake s.th. (i.e., a task) [Also, **m-o+tla-(tequi-ti-ā)**. Compare **tē-(tequi-ti-ā)**, "to give s.o. a job," in subsection 1.a above.]

It is possible that the possessive-state NNC that serves as the source for the verb root originally served as the supplementary subject of an adjectival NNC. After the formation of the verbstem, the adjectival NNC can be retained as an NNC but transformed into the modifier of the root.

Source: **notlāl huēi** = my land is big

Transform: **huēi nicnotlāl̄tia** = I cause it to be my big land; i.e., I take up a lot of space

*b.* The **ti**-of-possession stem as source. When a **ti**-of-possession verbstem is the source for a type-one causative stem, the resultant double-object stem has the meaning “to cause o.s. to have s.o.’s (what is signified by the nounstem).”

**m-o+tē-(xī-c-ti-ā)** = to cause o.s. to have (i.e., to grab) s.o.’s navel; to cause o.s. to attempt to have (i.e., make a grab for) s.o.’s navel; i.e., to disesteem/disrespect s.o., to offend/affront s.o.” [For example, **nicnoxīctia**, “I cause myself to have his navel,” i.e., “I am disrespectful to him/I am insolent to him,” has as its source **ixīc**, “it is his navel,” from the nounstem **(xī-c)-tli-**, “navel.” In Nahua culture, to grab or attempt to grab s.o.’s navel was an insult.]

**m-o+tē-(cal-ti-ā)** = to cause o.s. to have s.o.’s house; i.e., to appropriate s.o.’s house for o.s. [For example, **nimitznocaltiz**, “I shall cause myself to have your house,” i.e., I shall take over your house as my own.”]

Double-object type-one causative verbstems formed according to *a* or *b* belong to Class C: **m-o+tē-(teō-ti-ā)** > *perf*, **m-o+tē-(teō-ti-h)**; **m-o+tē-(xī-c-ti-ā)** > *perf*, **m-o+tē-(xī-c-ti-h)**.

3. The phonological sequence /tia:/ at the end of a verbstem is a source of difficulty. One must not only decide whether the **ti** means “to be” or “to have” but also distinguish homophonous type-one causative stems (meaningful **ti** plus causative **ā**) and type-two causative stems (connective **ti** plus causative **ā**; see **tiā** in § 25.1). Knowing the options in morphological structuring is essential.

*a.* When the source nounstem is not a patientive nounstem, only class-one causative verbstems are possible and only subsections 1 and 2 above are involved.

caus-1: **m-o-(icn-iuh-ti-ā)** = to cause o.s. to have a friend; i.e., to win a friend/friends  
[< **(icn-iuh)-tli-**, “friend”]

caus-1: **tē-(icn-iuh-ti-ā)** = to cause people to become friends

caus-1: **m-o+tē-(icn-iuh-ti-ā)** = to cause s.o. to become one’s friend; to win s.o. as a friend

*b.* When a patientive nounstem is involved, both type-one and type-two causative stems may exist.

*i.* If the source verbstem is intransitive, the translation value of type-one and type-two causatives is usually synonymous.

caus-1: **tē-(cuāl-ā-n-ti-ā)** = to cause s.o. to have anger; i.e., to anger s.o. [< **(cuāl-ā-n)-tli-**, “anger”]

caus-2: **tē-(cuāl-ā-n-tiā)** = to cause s.o. to become angry; i.e., to anger s.o. [< **(cual-ā-ni)**, “to become angry”]

*ii.* If the source verbstem is transitive, the translation value of type-one and type-two causative stems is open to variation.

- caus-1: **tē-(tla-cua-l-ti-ā)** = to cause s.o. to have food; i.e., to provide s.o. with food [**< (tla-cua-l)-li-**, “food.” The **tla** is not specifiable.]
- caus-2: **tē+tla-(cua-l-tiā)** = to cause s.o. to eat s.th.; to have s.o. eat s.th. [**< tla-(cuā)**, “to eat s.th.”]
- caus-1: **tē-(ma-l-ti-ā)** = to cause s.o. to have a captive; i.e., to provide s.o. with a captive [**< (ma-l)-li-**, “captive”]
- caus-1: **tē-(tla-ma-l-ti-ā)** = to cause s.o. to have a captive; i.e., to provide s.o. with a captive [**< (tla-ma-l)-li-**, “a captive”]
- caus-1: **m-o+tē-(ma-l-ti-ā)** = (1) to cause s.o. to become one’s captive; i.e., to make s.o. one’s captive; (2) to cause o.s. to have s.o.’s captive; i.e., to let it be known that someone else’s captive is one’s own [**< (ma-l)-li-**, “a captive”]
- caus-2: **tē+tla-(ma-l-tiā)** = to have s.o. capture s.th. [**< tla-(mā)**, “to capture s.th.”]
- caus-1: **m-o- ~ tē-(quēn-ti-ā)** = to cause o.s./s.o. to have clothing; i.e., to provide o.s./s.o. with clothing [**< (quēn)-tli-**, “clothing”]
- caus-1: **m-o- ~ tē-(tla-quēn-ti-ā)** = to cause o.s./s.o. to have clothing; i.e., to provide o.s./s.o. with clothing [**< (tla-quēn)-tli-**, “clothing”]
- caus-2: **tē+tla-(quēn-tiā)** = to cause s.o. to put on/wear s.th.; i.e., to dress s.o. in s.th. [**< tla-(quēmi)**, “to put on/wear s.th.”]
- caus-1: **m-o-(nāmic-ti-ā)** = to cause o.s. to have a mate; i.e., to get married [**< (nāmic)-tli-**, “mate/spouse”]
- caus-1: **tē-(nāmic-ti-ā)** = to cause s.o. to have a mate; i.e., to marry s.o. off
- caus-1: **tla-(nāmic-ti-ā)** = to bring together/match s.th. with s.th. else; also, (when speaking of dreams) to interpret s.th.
- caus-1: **tē-(tla-nāmic-ti-ā)** = to cause s.o. to have a matched thing; i.e., to make an exchange with s.o.; to recompense s.o. [**< (tla-nāmic)-tli-**, “a matched thing”]
- caus-2: **m-o+tē-(nāmic-tiā)** = to cause o.s. to have an encounter/fight with s.o.; to contend/fight with s.o. [**< tē-(nāmiqui)**, “to go out to meet s.o./to encounter s.o./to contend with s.o.”]

54.6. *First-Type Applicative Derivations from Intransitive ti Verbstems.* A few intransitive **ti** verbstems of either the inceptive/stative or the **ti**-of-possession kind can form an applicative stem by adding **iā** to the stem (see § 26.2). The **iā** suffix is attached to a replacive stem that lacks the final /i/. A new problem now presents itself: one must distinguish between **t-iā** and **ti-ā/tiā**.

**tē-(cuīca-t-iā)** = to have a song for s.o.; i.e., to sing to s.o. [It is possible that this is a first-type causative **ti-ā** stem formation according to § 54.5.1.a, but the applicative interpretation seems preferable.]

**tla-(nāhua-t-iā)** = to be clearly audible with regard to s.th.; i.e., to give orders about s.th., to give a command

This applicative stem belongs to Class C: **tē-(cuīca-t-iā)** > *perf*, **tē-(cuīca-t-ih)**.

## Denominal Verbstems (Part Two)

55.1. *The Temporal Intransitive Suffix tiā.* There is another verbstem-forming suffix **tiā** that looks like it should be transitive but is in fact *intransitive*. It is therefore entirely different from any of the /tia:/ stem formations mentioned previously. The **tiā** apparently has a unitary structure (although the **ti** could conceivably be a connective morph with an intransitive **ā**). The NNC source is formed on a compound nounstem whose matrix is a nounstem signifying a time-segment such as (**ilhui-tl-**, “day,” (**yohua-l-li-**, “night,” (**mētz-tli-**, “month,” or (**xihui-tl-**, “year,” and whose embed is a numeral nounstem. The meaning of the verbstem is “to spend (the named number of time periods) in a place” or “to be (the named number of time periods) old,” although this latter meaning usually has to do with years.

(**cem-ilhui-tiā**) = to spend one day in a place; to be one day old [**< (cem-ilhui)-tl-**, “one day”]  
 (**nāuh-yohua-l-tiā**) = to spend four nights in a place [**< (nāuh-yohua-l)-li-**, “four nights”]  
 (**ōn-xiuh-tiā**) = to spend two years in a place; to be two years old [**< (ōn-xihui)-tl-**, “two years.” Since /nš/ assimilates to [šš], which is traditionally miswritten with a single x, the VNC **ōnxiuhitia** is usually spelled **oxiuhitia**.]

55.2. *The Causative Suffix tla.* Although not very productive, the suffix **tla** may be attached to a nounstem to create a causative verbstem with the translation of “to cause s.o. or s.th. to be/be treated as/be considered as/be characterized as (the entity signified by the source nounstem).” The derived verbstem belongs to Class A.

**tē-(mahui-z-tla)** = to honor s.o. [**< (mahui-z)-tli-**, “a person worthy of fear and respect”]  
**tla-(pā-tla)** = to cause s.th. to become water; i.e., to dissolve/melt s.th. [The nounstem (**pā-tl-** is an archaic stem meaning “water/liquid.”]  
**tla-(pa-tla)** = to exchange s.th. [**< (pa)-tl-**, “exchange item” (?)]  
**tē-(xapo-tla)** = to deflower s.o. (i.e., a virgin) [**< \*(xapo)-tl-**, “a cavity/aperture/hollow/cleft/breach”]  
**tla-(xapo-tla)** = to break through s.th. (e.g., a wall, a hedge)  
**tē-(icn-iuh-tla)** = to introduce people so that they become friends; to make people who are enemies be friends [**< (icn-iuh)-tli-**, “friend, companion”]

**t-o-(icn-iuh-tla)** = to cause one another to be friends, to become friends with one another  
[The object pronoun is a reciprocative.]

**m-o- ~ tē-(tla-zo-h-tla)** = to cause o.s./s.o. to be considered as valued/precious/dear; to consider o.s./s.o. precious; i.e., to love o.s./s.o. [**(tla-zo-h)-tli-**, “s.th./s.o. precious/dear/valued”]

**tē-(yāō-tla)** = to cause s.o. to be an enemy; to consider s.o. an enemy; i.e., to make war on s.o.

**m-□-(ih-zō-tla)** = to vomit [ < **(ih-zō)-tl-**, “vomit” (?).]

The applicative formation for such verbstems changes the **tla** to **ti** before adding **liā** (see § 26.7).

**tē+tē-(tla-zo-h-ti-liā)** = to love s.o. belonging to s.o. (~ for the sake of s.o.)

*Note:* There is another verbstem-forming **tla** that is unlike the one above in that it creates *intransitive* verbstems and means “to be(come).” It is even less productive than the causative **tla**.

**(ilhui-tla)** = to be(come) a holiday [ < **(ilhui)-tl-**, “holiday”]

**(xō-tla)** = (for the land) to swelter; (for coals) to catch fire; (for flowers) to bloom; (for a person) to be feverish [ < **(xō)-tl-**, “a green thing.” The verbstem is the source for both the nounstem **(xō-chi)-tl-**, “flower,” and the matrix stem of **(tle-xō-ch)-tli-**, “live coal.”]

**(tla-tla)** = to become a fire; i.e., to burn [The source nounstem **(tla-)** is a variant of **(tle)-tl-**, “fire.” The causative stem derived from this intransitive stem changes the verbstem-forming **tla** to **ti** before the causative suffix **ā**: **tla-(tla-ti-ā)**, “to cause s.th. to become fire,” i.e., “to burn s.th.” The applicative of this is **tē+tla-(tla-ti-liā)**, “to burn s.th. for s.o.”]

55.3. *The Intransitive Suffix o-ā and Its Applicative Counterpart huiā.* There are several types of denominal verbstems created by means of the suffixal cluster **o-ā**. The one treated in this section is, surprisingly, *intransitive*; that is, the **ā** suffix added to the stock formative /o/ is not a causative suffix. Furthermore, the intransitive verbstem has a single-object counterpart formed with the applicative suffix cluster **hu-iā** (here spelled solid: **huiā**). Both the intransitive **o-ā** stem and its corresponding **huiā** stem belong to Class C. The **o-ā** stem and the **huiā** stem both have two meanings.

1. The **o-ā** intransitive verbstem may mean:

a. “To use or apply (the thing signified by the source nounstem):”

**(āyacach-o-ā)** = to use a gourd rattle [ < **(āyacach)-tli-**, “gourd rattle”]

**(qui-quiz-o-ā)** = to blow a conch-shell horn [ < **(qui-quiz)-tli-**, “conch horn”]

**(nacaz-o-ā)** = to use one’s ears; i.e., to listen [ < **(nacaz)-tli-**, “ear”]

**(chol-o-ā)** = to use hooves; i.e., to bound away, to flee [ < **(chol)-li-**, “hoof”]

**(cama-chāl-o-ā)** = to open the mouth wide [ < **(cama-chāl)-li-**, “start of the mouth,” i.e., “jaw/jawbone”]

**(cuic-ō-yā-n-o-ā)** = to use the place/building where people sing; *by extension*, “to sing and dance” [ < **(cuic-ō-yā-n)-□-**, “place/building where people sing.” See § 53.4. In the verbstem the **y** is frequently left unrepresented; see § 2.13.1.]

**(tih-tiānquiz-o-ā)** = to stroll repeatedly through markets [From a reduplicative stem built on **(tiānquiz)-tli-**, “market.” As can be seen here, the notion of “use” can have a somewhat extended meaning.]

At times the expected meaning is replaced by “to act like”:

(**tōl-o-ā**) = to bow the head, to bend the head down [< (**tōl**)-**in**-, “rush.”]

(**tōz-o-ā**) = to keep vigil at night, to spend the night awake [(**tōz**)-**tli**-, “yellow-headed parrot”]

In some instances the source nounstem is unattested:

(**eucox-o-ā**) = to sneeze [This is probably based on an onomatopoeic stem. There are two variants: (**aucx-o-ā**) and (**iucx-o-ā**).]

(**il-o-ā**) = to return

(**pa-t-o-ā**) = to gamble, to play *patolli* [The source nounstem \*(**pa-t**)-**tli**- probably means “a thing offered for exchange, a bet, a stake.” Its root is also found in the verbstem **tla**-(**pa-tla**), “to exchange s.th.” (see § 55.2). The **o-ā** verbstem’s impersonal patientive nounstem, (**pa-t-ō-l**)-**li**-, designates a game of chance, originally played with bean dice.]

b. “To produce (the thing signified by the source nounstem)”:

(**tamal-o-ā**) = to make tamales [< (**tamal**)-**li**-, “tamale”]

(**tla-xca-l-o-ā**) = to make tortillas [< (**tla-xca-l**)-**li**-, “tortilla”]

The formation is not very productive. For its applicative stem, see subsection 2.b below.

2. The derivational suffix **huiā** creates a single-object denominal verbstem with two possible meanings, both of which are applicative. The resultant verbstem belongs to Class C.

a. “To use or apply (the thing signified by the source nounstem) in relation to s.th./s.o./o.s.”:

**tla**-(**izta-huiā**) = to salt s.th. [< (**izta**)-**tl**-, “salt”]

**tla**-(**xīcal-huiā**) = to use a gourd vessel in relation to s.th. (e.g., a liquid); i.e., to ladle s.th. (e.g., a liquid) with a gourd vessel [< (**xīcal**)-**li**-, “a gourd vessel”]

**tla**-(**tla-chpān-hu-āz-huiā**) = to use a broom on s.th.; i.e., to sweep s.th. [< (**tla-chpān-hu-āz**)-**tli**-, “broom”; see § 58.1.]

**tē**- ~ **tla**-(**mah-pil-huiā**) = to point to s.o./s.th. with the finger [< (**mah-pil**)-**li**-, “finger”]

**tla**-(**icxi-huiā**) = to walk s.th. (road, etc.) on foot; to go on foot [< (**icxi**)-**tl**-, “foot.”]  
The initial [i] on the stem is a supportive vowel; for example, **nitlacxihuia**, “I go on foot.”]

**m**-□-(**oc-huiā**) = to apply pulque to o.s.; i.e., to overindulge in drinking pulque to the point of being sick [< (**oc**)-**tli**-, “pulque”]

**tla**-(**θ-θ-iztā-θ-c-θ+θ-θ-teō-cuitla-huiā**) = to apply silver to s.th., to silver-plate s.th. [The source is the structure of adjectival modification **iztāc teōcuitlatl**, “it is white god excrement,” i.e., “it is silver.”]

The notion of use or application can be quite broad; for example:

**m-o**-(**mētzt-huiā**) = to use the moon (or a month) in relation to oneself; i.e., to menstruate [< (**mētzt**)-**tli**-, “moon/month”]



- m-[- ~ tē- ~ tla-(ā-tōy-a-huiā)** = to throw o.s./s.o./s.th. in a river [**<(ā-tōy-a)-tl-**, “river”]  
**m-o-(tla-xapo-ch-huiā)** = to fall into a shallow hole [**<(tla-xapo-ch)-tli-**, “a shallow hole” **<tla-(xapo-tla)**; see § 55.2.]  
**m-o-(θ-θ-Cē-θ-θ+θ-θ-Tō-ch-huiā)** = to be apprehensive of a year called One Rabbit [The source is the calendrical name **Cē Tōchtli**, “it is (the year of) One-Rabbit,” a year-name associated with disaster (see Appendix E.II.3).]

The source may be a compound nounstem built on the matrix stem **(-yō)-tl-** (see § 39.3):

- tla-(ih-i-yō-huiā)** = to use breath for s.th., i.e., to suffer hardship/wants/needs; to acquire s.th. needed by means of effort [**<(ih-i-yō)-tl-**, “breath”]  
**tla-(yōl-lō-huiā)** = to use the heart on s.th.; i.e., (for one skilled in his craft) to make s.th. without a pattern/diagram/blueprint/plan/standard (compare English, “to make s.th. by heart”) [**<(yōl-lō)-tl-**, “heart”]

At times the **huiā** is added to a nounstem whose meaning presupposes the deletion of the matrix stem **(-yō)-tl-**; see § 39.9.

- tla-(tēuc-huiā)** = to apply lordliness to s.th.; i.e., to officiate at s.th. [The source stem **(tēuc)-tli-**, “lord,” is standing in for **(tēuc-yō)-tl-**, “lordliness.”]  
**tla-(oquich-huiā)** = to use maleness (i.e., manly strength) in relation to s.th.; i.e., to acquire s.th. by exerting an effort [**<(oquich-yō)-tl-**, “maleness/manliness”]  
**tla-(tlahpal-i-uh-θ-cā-huiā)** = to obtain s.th. by means of vigorousness; i.e., to obtain s.th. by means of hard work [**<(tlahpal-i-uh-θ-cā-yō)-tl-**, “vigorousness” **<(tlahpal-i-uh-θ)-qui-**, “a vigorous young man” **<(tlahpal-i-hui)**, “to be vigorous/energetic/healthy”]  
**tē-(tlahpal-i-uh-θ-cā-huiā)** = to use vigorousness against s.o.; i.e., to rape s.o.  
**tla-(tōl-tē-[-ca]-huiā)** = to use craftsmanship on s.th.; to create/make s.th. with the skill of a craftsman [The source is **(tōl-tē-[-ca]-yō)-tl-**, “craftsmanship,” not **(tōl-tē-[-ca)-tl-**, “craftsman” (see § 48.13).]

*Note 1:* A very limited number of denominal **huiā** verbstems permit two object pronouns. Apparently the source is a possessive-state NNC, as in the causative **ti-ā** verbstems of § 54.5.2.

- m-o+tla-(cuitla-huiā)** = to use oneself’s excrement on s.th.; i.e., to take care/charge of s.th. [Compare the one-object verbstem **tla-(cuitla-huiā)**, “to use excrement on s.th.”; i.e., “to fertilize s.th. (e.g., land).” There is also the metaphorical **m-o-(cuitla-huiā)**, “to use excrement on o.s.,” i.e., “to be a freeloader.”]  
**m-o+tē-(cuitla-huiā)** = to take care/charge of s.o.

*Note 2:* Instead of using the **o-ā > huiā** formation, certain *intransitive* denominal verbstems in **o-ā** imitate the **huiā** formation of § 55.6 and invent a hypothetical **i-hui/a-hui** stem that lacks a *transitive* **o-ā** step but goes straight to a *single-object* applicative stem ending in **i-l-huiā/a-l-huiā** (see § 26.9.2). For example:

- (tepon-āz-o-ā)** = to beat a horizontal, two-toned drum **> tē-(tepon-āc-i-l-huiā)** = to beat a horizontal drum for s.o. [**<(tepon-āz)-tli-**, “a hollow-log, horizontal drum whose top was slotted to form two tongues”]

b. “To produce (the thing signified by the source nounstem) for s.o.”:

- tē-(cē-hua-l-huiā)** = to make shade for s.o.; to shade s.o. [**<(cē-hua-l)-li-**, “shade” **<(cē-hua)**, “to become cold”; see § 24.6.]  
**tē-(tla-xca-l-huiā)** = to make tortillas for s.o. [**<(tla-xca-l)-li-**, “a baked thing,” i.e., “tortilla”]

55.4. *Verbstems Formed from Adverbial Nounstems by Means of huiā.* Some of the nounstems that occur in the adverbialized NNCs of Lesson 44 may be used to form single-object applicative verbstems by means of the suffix **huiā**. The derived verbstem can be translated as “to act upon s.o. or s.th. in a manner (indicated by the nounstem).”

**tla-(īlihuiz-huiā)** = to act upon s.th. thoughtlessly/inconsiderately; to do s.th. thoughtlessly  
[< (īlihuiz)-□-, “thoughtlessly/inconsiderately”]

**m-o-(no-h-mah-huiā)** = to act of one’s own free will [< (no-h-mah)-□-, “spontaneously”]

**tla-(nōncuah-huiā)** = to do s.th. for oneself alone; to do s.th. alone [< (nōncuah)-□-, “alone/by oneself”]

**tla-(m-□-ahci-θ-cā-huiā)** = to be thorough with regard to s.th. [< (m-□-ahci-θ-cā)-□-, “completely.” The adverbial stem is so completely lexicalized that the reflexive object pronoun retains its mainline shape despite being included inside the verbstem. Example sentence: **Nicmahciāhuiā in nitlahtlacoāni**, “I am thorough with regard to my being a spoiler/ sinner,” i.e., “I am consummate in evil.”]

55.5. *Verbstems Formed with o-ā and huiā from Compound Nounstems That Have a Relational Nounstem as Matrix.* Certain compound nounstems whose matrix is a relational nounstem can derive verbstems by means of **o-ā** and **huiā**. The **o-ā** verbstems are usually transitive but in exceptional instances may be intransitive. The **huiā** stems are single-object applicative stems.

**tla-(quech-pan-o-ā)** = **tla-(quech-pan-huiā)** = to carry s.th. on the shoulders [< (quech-pan)-□-, “neck upper surface”; i.e., “on the shoulders”]

At times the source of the verbstem is simply a possessive-state predicate built on a relational stem:

**tla-(ne-tech-o-ā)** = to connect things one to another [The source is the possessive-state predicate **-ne(tech)-**, “in one another’s contact.”]

**t-o-(ne-tech-huiā)** = to quarrel with one another (referring to members of a family) [The **t-o** indicates a reciprocative object pronoun (so the subject pronoun of a VNC must be plural).]

At times only one of the derived verbstems is attested:

**tē-(cal-pan-o-ā)** = to go from house to house [< (cal-pan)-□-, “house surface”]

**(tequi-pan-o-ā)** = to work [< (tequi-pan)-□-, “work time”]

**tla-(tequi-pan-o-ā)** = to work on s.th. [applicative]

**tē-(tequi-pan-o-ā)** = to work for s.o. [applicative]

**tla-(īcxi-pan-huiā)** = to walk on s.th. (road, path, etc.) on foot; to go on foot [< (īcxi-pan)-□-, “foot surface,” i.e., “on foot”]

**tē-(īcxi-tlan-huiā)** = to trip s.o. [< (īcxi-tlān)-□-, “underfoot”]

**m-o-(īcxi-ne-tech-huiā)** = to strike one’s ankles against one another while walking [This is a compound stem built on **m-o-(ne-tech-huiā)**, presented above. The initial [i] is a supportive vowel: **ninocxinetechhuia**, “I walk striking one ankle against another.”]

**tla-(ach-to-pa-huiā)** = to be the first to do s.th. [**<(ach-to-pa)-□-**, “for the first time, on the first occasion”]

**tē-(cuauh-t-icpa-c-huiā)** = to knock s.o. down out of a tree [**<(cuauh-t-icpa-c)-□-**, “in the top of a tree”]

55.6. *The Causative o-ā Verbstem and its i-hui/a-hui Source.* Another type of denominal verbstem formed with **o-ā** is *transitive* and is obtained from a deverbal intransitive source formed with **i-hui** or **a-hui**. These intransitive and transitive pairs of verbstems therefore belong to the **i-hui/a-hui** > **o-ā** destockal verbstem of § 24.7. Here, however, the focus is on these destockal verbstems as the result of denominal verbstem formation; that is, instead of a root, a nounstem is to be used as the base to which the stock-formative-plus-stem-formative sequences **i-hui** and **a-hui** are added. The meaning of the resultant verbstem is “to become/become like (the entity signified by the source nounstem).” This means that the **i-hui/a-hui** suffixal sequence is synonymous with the inceptive/stative suffix **ti** of § 54.2.1. On occasion one even finds synonymous denominal verbstems formed on the two.

**(tlil-ti)** = **(tlil-i-hui)** = to become like ink; to become black [**<(tlil)-li-**, “ink/black paint”]

**(xī-pe-tz-ti)** = **(xī-pe-tz-i-hui)** = to become smooth [**<(xī-pe-tz)-tli-**, “a smooth thing”]

**(camil-ti)** = **(camil-i-hui)** = to become ripeningly brown [**<(camil)-li-**, “ripe fruit” (?)]

**(xol-o-ch-ti)** = **(xol-o-ch-a-hui)** = to become wrinkled [The nounstem **(xol-o-ch)-tli-**, “a wrinkle,” is derived from the destockal verbstem **(xol-ō-ni)**, “(for a wound) to fester.”]

The causative **o-ā** verbstems corresponding to the **i-hui/a-hui** stems have the meaning of “to make s.o. or s.th. become like (the entity signified by the source nounstem).”

**tla-(tamal-o-ā)** = to make s.th. become shaped like a tamale; to make s.th. into a loaf [**<(tamal-i-hui)**, “to become shaped like a tamale” < **(tamal)-li-**, “tamale”]

**m-o- ~ tē-(cuetl-a-x-o-ā)** = to cause o.s.~ s.o. to become dispirited/depressed/apathetic [**<(cuetl-a-x-i-hui)**, “to become slack/limp/weak/dispriated/depressed” < **(cuetl-a-x)-tli-**, “tanned hide” < **(cuetl-ā-ni)**, “(for an illness or a wind) to abate; (for a flame) to flicker/tremble”]

**tla-(pil-i-ch-o-ā)** = to cause s.th. to become wrinkled; to crease s.th. [**<(pil-i-ch-a-hui)**, “to become wrinkled/shriveled” < **(pil-i-ch)-tli-**, “a wrinkle” < **(pil-i-ni)**, “to become withered”]

**tla-(tepi-tōn-o-ā)** = to make s.th. small [**<(tepi-tōn-i-hui)**, “to become small” < **(tepi-tōn)-□-**, “s.th. small”]

**tē-(hueh-ca-pan-o-ā)** = to exalt/extol s.o. [**<(hueh-ca-pan-i-hui)**, “to rise in honor/dignity/status.” See **(hueh-ca-pan)-□-** in § 47.3.3.b.]

An **i-hui/a-hui** verbstem belongs to Class B: **(tlil-i-hui)** > *perf*, **(tlil-i-uh)**. An **o-ā** verbstem belongs to Class C: **tla-(tlil-o-ā)** > *perf*, **tla-(tlil-o-h)**.

*Note:* At times an **i-hui/a-hui** stem has no causative counterpart.

**(āy-a-hui)** = to become foggy, to mist [**<(āy-)- <(ah-)- <(ā)-tl-**, “water.” See § 2.13.1 for the shift of [h] to [y]; the **(ah-)-** is an glottalized embed form of **(ā)-tl-**; see § 14.2.8.]

**(ce-pāy-a-hu-i)** = to snow [**<(ce-pāy)- <(ce-pah-)- <\*(ce-pā)-tl-**, “ice water.” The embed stem **(ce)-tl-** means “ice/icicle.” The matrix stem **\*(pā)-tl-** is an archaic stem for “water”; in its glottalized shape, **(pah)-tli-**, it means “medicine.”]

The verbstem (**quiy-a-hui**), “to rain,” is probably best thought of as formed on a root, since neither (**quiy-**), (**quih-**), nor (**qui**)-**tl-** is attested as a stem.

55.7. *The Transitive Denominal i-ā Verbstem.* There are a few denominal verbstems that are created by adding the causative suffix **ā** to a stocklike base that consists of a nounstem plus **i**. There is no intransitive counterpart. The meaning of the resultant stem is “to cause s.th./s.o./o.s. to have/be (the entity signified by the nounstem),” but the actual translation value is frequently quite different due to metaphorical deflection. The majority of the nounstems used in this formation end in [č] or [l].

1. Examples with nounstem-final [č]:

- tlā-(tēm-mach-i-ā)** = to hope for/have confidence in getting s.th. [**< (tēm-mach)-tli-**, “hope/expectation.” Traditionally, the stem is almost always written with a single **m**.]  
**tlā-(tlā-h-mach-i-ā)** = to do s.th. with skill/know-how; to illuminate s.th. (i.e., books) [**< (tlā-h-mach)-tli-**, “skill/know-how; *also*, embroidery”]  
**tlā-(tle-quech-i-ā)** = to set fire to s.th. [**< (tle-quech)-tli-**, “a fire that has been set.” From **(tle-quetza)**, “to start a fire.”]  
**tlā-(ā-l-pīch-i-ā)** = to spray s.th. with water [**< (ā-l-pīch)-tli-**, “water that has been sprayed forth.” From **(ā)-tl-**, “water,” plus **tlā-(īl-pītzā)**, “to blow on s.th.”]  
**m-o-(tlā-quech-i-ā)** = to support o.s. (e.g., on crutches or a staff) [**< (tlā-quech)-tli-**, “a support/crutch.” From **tlā-(quetza)** “to erect s.th.”]  
**tlā-(ah-huach-i-ā)** = to sprinkle s.th. with water [**< (ah-huach)-tli-**, “a thing fallen in the form of water,” i.e., “dew.” From **(ā)-tl-** + **(huetzi)** “to fall.”]  
**tē-(peh-pech-i-ā)** = to fix a bed for s.o. [**< (peh-pech)-tli-**, “mattress/bedding.” Cf. **(petla)-tl-**, “mat”; remember that [č] can be an irregular phone for /ʎ/; see § 2.3.4.]

2. Examples with nounstem-final /l/:

- tlā-(chāl-i-ā)** = to use/wear s.th. for the first time [**< (chāl)-li-**, “starting point”]  
**tlā-(tlāl-i-ā)** = to set s.th. down on the ground; to establish s.th. (e.g., laws/statutes) [**< (tlāl)-li-**, “ground”]  
**tē-(īcn-ēl-i-ā)** = to do a favor for s.o. [**< (īcn-ēl)-li-**, “a compassionate liver,” i.e., “a compassionate heart”]  
**tē-(tlahu-ēl-i-ā)** = to be enraged at s.o.; to hate and despise s.o.; to abhor s.o. [**< (tlahu-ēl)-li-**, “indignation/rage/fury”]  
**m-o-(īzcal-i-ā)** = to revive/come to [**< (īzcal)-li-**, “sprout/new growth.” The initial [i] is a supportive vowel; e.g., **ninozcalia**, “I come to/revive.”]  
**m-□-(ocuil-i-ā)** = to turn into a worm [**< (ocuil)-in-**, “worm”]

3. Examples with nounstem-final /k/ and /n/:

- tlā-(toqu-i-ā)** = to add fuel to/stoke s.th. (i.e., a fire) [**< (toc)-tli-**, “a prop”]  
**m-□-(ī-tō-n-i-ā)** = to sweat/perspire [**< (ī-tō-n)-tli-**, “sweat”]

*Note 1:* When the nounstem ends in /w/, it may be that a verbstem seemingly ending in **i-ā** actually ends in **huiā** according to § 55.3.2, with the stem-final /w/ being lost because of the rule /w/ + /w/ > [w]; for example:

- tla-(tlā-huiā)** = to use red ochre on s.th.; to redden s.th. [**<(tlāhui)-tl-**, “red ochre”; general-use stem, **(tlāuh)-**. Compare the intransitive verbstem **(tlāhui-ā)** in § 54.2.4.]
- tē-(cua-huiā)** = to use a stick on s.o.; i.e., to beat s.o. with a stick; to switch s.o. [**<(cuahui)-tl-**, “tree/wood/stick”; general-use stem, **(cuauh)-**]
- m-o-(tētzā-huiā)** = to apply omens to o.s.; i.e., to see an omen; to be astonished/shocked/astounded [**<(tētzāhui)-tl-**, “s.th. terrifying/astonishing; s.th. ominous; an omen”]
- tē-(tētzā-huiā)** = to apply omens to s.o.; i.e., to shock s.o.

*Note 2:* At times the **i** of an **i-ā** transitive verbstem is merely part of the source nounstem:

- tla-(pani-ā)** = to put s.th. (e.g., chili sauce/honey sauce) over pap/atole/pinole [**<(pani)-□-**, “on top, above”; see § 44.6.]
- m-□- ~ tē-(atemi-ā)** = to delouse o.s./s.o. [**<(atemi)-tl-**, “louse”]

*Note 3:* It is possible for a causative stem that seems to be formed with **i-ā** to have an intransitive source in an **i-hui** verbstem:

- (nōqu-i-hui)** = (for a liquid) to become poured out/spilled
- tla-(nōqu-i-ā)** = to pour out/spill s.th. (i.e., a liquid) [The **i-hui** stem here does not serve as the source for an **o-ā** stem according to § 55.6; contrast **(nol-i-hui)**, “to become bent” > **tla-(nol-o-ā)**, “to cause s.th. to become bent.”]

## Personal-Name NNCs

56.1. *Personal-Name NNCs*. The meaning of Nahuatl personal names is often indecipherable. Sometimes one or more of the constituent stems is not known (either because of not being listed in dictionaries or because of faulty spelling, due to inadequate spelling practices, a recorder's ignorance of the language, etc.). Sometimes, even if the stems are understood, the meaning relationships between them may be opaque or uncertain. Often, the names have been mistranslated because of inadequate knowledge of Nahuatl morphology; unfortunately, these mistranslations have entered the mainstream of scholarly writings and continue to be uncritically repeated by ignorant authors in work after work (a few examples of these mistranslations are mentioned in the following presentation).

Another source of misunderstanding is linguicentrism. Nahuatl personal names (which always appear in historical studies only in their third-person singular form, so that the silently present subject pronoun goes unnoticed) are perceived as words, as if they were European names—such as flower names (e.g., “shooting star,” “Dutchman’s-breeches”), nicknames (e.g., “Kid,” “Blondy”), etc. Thinking of Nahuatl personal names in this way (i.e., as if they were words) sets up a barrier to a real understanding of them. Like any other nominal expression in the language, they are structured on NNC formulas. But it must be immediately pointed out that Nahuatl personal names are very strange formations. They use a two-tiered construction: an *entire statement* (consisting of one or more nuclear clauses) is downgraded to the rank of a *nounstem* that serves as the *predicate* in an absolutive-state NNC. The subject pronoun of this personal-name NNC is almost always in the singular. In every personal-name NNC there are then *two* predicates, an inner one and an outer one, and *two* subject pronouns, one (the inner subject) cooperating with the inner predicate and one (the outer subject) serving as the subject of the personal-name NNC. The outer and inner subject pronouns need have nothing in common. The number position of the outer subject pronoun always has the morphic dyad  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$  as its filler (if a number dyad with  $\text{tl-}\emptyset$ ,  $\text{c-}\emptyset$ , etc., occurs at the end of a personal-name NNC, it belongs to the inner subject pronoun). The inner subject pronoun has an important function: it acts as a barrier that prevents the outer subject pronoun from having direct commerce with the inner predicate.

Since an entire downgraded statement serves as a stem, the predicate of a personal-name NNC has a quoted quality that gives it a different feeling from what it originally had as a statement.

Nahuatl personal-name NNCs are translated by the formula “I am (you are) (he/she is) called/named ‘[clause].’” This formula can obviously be reduced to “I am (you are, etc.) ‘[clause].’” Since this strict translation is so odd and unwieldy from the English point of view (which prefers a format such as “Sitting Bull” or “Black Elk” for American Indian names), the examples given below are accompanied by a translation in brackets that caters to these English expectations. It must, however, be strenuously kept in mind that these bracketed translations are totally foreign to Nahuatl.

The following sections present a survey of the typical formations.

56.2. *Personal-Name NNCs from a Single-Clause Construction.* The source for the personal name can be a VNC or an NNC.

1. Personal-name NNCS whose stem is a nominalized VNC.

a. A preterit-agentive NNC serves as the stem:

Source VNC: **temōc** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**temō**) $\emptyset$ +**c**- $\emptyset$ # = he/it has descended

Preterit-agentive NNC: **temōc** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**temō**- $\emptyset$ )**c**- $\emptyset$ # = he/it is one who has descended; i.e., he/it is a descender

Personal-name NNC: **tiTemōc** = #**ti**- $\emptyset$ ( $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -**Temō**- $\emptyset$ -**c**- $\emptyset$ ) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = you are called/named “He/It is a Descender” [“you are Descender”; the entire preterit-agentive NNC has been downgraded to the rank of stem, keeping intact its third-person singular subject pronoun as an inner subject.]

This analysis, as bizarre as it may seem from a non-native perspective, is confirmed by a number of facts. One of these is the shape of the honorific nounstem. The entire downgraded preterit-agentive NNC becomes the embed to the honorific matrix stem (**tzin**)-**tli**- (in the analyzed version a plus sign is placed before the matrix).

**tiTemōctzin** = #**ti**- $\emptyset$ ( $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -**Temō**- $\emptyset$ -**c**- $\emptyset$ +**tzin**) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = you (H) are called/named “He/It is a Descender” [“you (H) are Descender”]

In the honorific form the affective matrix stem (**tzin**)-**tli**- is prevented from having direct contact with the inner predicate (the nominalized VNC) because of the intervening presence of the inner subject pronoun’s number dyad filler **c**- $\emptyset$ . As pointed out in § 35.7.2, an honorific version of a preterit-agentive NNC must be formed on the general-use stem, which is a compound nounstem built on the matrix nounstem (**cā**)-**tl**-. Such a formation is possible for an honorific personal-name NNC, but it has a different translation value from the one shown above and is not as common (see below). The following are other examples of personal-name NNCs formed on a preterit-agentive NNC source:

**Cuāuhtemōc** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ( $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -**Cuāuh**-**temō**- $\emptyset$ -**c**- $\emptyset$ ) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he is called “It Is One That Has Descended Like an Eagle” [“he is Eagle-like-Descender”; the name has been generally accepted as meaning “Falling Eagle” or “Eagle Which Fell,” an obvious

mistranslation because the inner stem (**cuāuh**)-**tli**-, “eagle,” is not a matrix but an embed that adverbially modifies the matrix stem. The eagle therefore cannot perform the alleged action of “falling” (also, the verbstem (**temō**) does not mean “to fall,” but “to descend”).]

**niCuācuauh-pitzāhuac** = #**ni-θ(θ-θ-Cuā-cuah-pitz-ā-hua-θ-c-θ)θ-θ#** = I am called “It Is One That Has Become Thin at the Horns” [“I am Slender-Horn.”]

**niChālchiuhtepēhuah** = #**ni-θ(θ-θ-Chāl-chiuh-tepē-huah-θ-□-θ)θ-θ#** = I am called “He Is One Who Has Owned Greenstone Mountain”; i.e., I am called “He Is One Who Dwells in Greenstone Mountain Place” [“I am Greenstone-Mountain-Place-Dweller”]; the example illustrates the rather frequent use of a gentilic NNC (here, one formed from **Chālchiuhtepēhuahcān** according to § 48.2.6) as the stem of a personal-name NNC.]

**Tlāltechuīn** = #**θ-θ(θ-θ-Tlāl-teh-tecu-ī-n-θ-□-θ)θ-θ#** = he is called “It Is One That Has Repeatedly Flared Up on the Land” [The underlying source is a reduplicated stem of the intransitive destockal verbstem (**tecu-ī-ni**), “to flare up (said of a fire upon starting).” The nounstem (**tlāl**)-**li**-, “land,” serves as an incorporated adverb.]

**Chīmalpāin** = #**θ-θ(θ-θ-Chīmal-pāin-θ-□-θ)θ-θ#** = he is called “He Is One Who Has Run Swiftly with a Shield” [“he is Runs-Swiftly-with-a-Shield.”]; this personal name NNC is frequently written **Chīmalpahin**, a spelling that unjustifiably uses the Spanish spelling convention of inserting **h** as a syllable divider (as in *ahí*, “there”); it is not a glottal stop.]

**tiPetlāuhtzin** = #**ti-θ(θ-θ-Petl-ā-uh-θ-□-θ+tzin)θ-θ#** = you (H) are called “He Is One Who Has Become Naked”; you (H) are called “He is One Who Is Naked” [“you (H) are Naked”]

**Tēhuetzquitihztin** = #**θ-θ(θ-θ-Tē-huetzqui-tih-θ-□-θ+tzin)θ-θ#** = he (H) is “He Is One Who Has Made People Laugh” [“he is Laughter-Maker”]

While the last two examples above and the earlier **tiTemōctzin** illustrate the normal honorific personal-name NNC formed on a preterit-agentive source, it is possible on occasion to find an honorific formed on the general-use preterit-agentive stem (built on (**cā**)-**tl**- as matrix); for example:

**tiTemōcātzin** = #**ti-θ(θ-θ-Temō-θ-cā-tzin-θ-θ)θ-θ#** = you are called “He (H) Is One Who Has Descended”; you are called “He (H) Is a Descender” [“you are Descender (H)”; compare the translation of this NNC with the translation of the earlier one.]

**tiTenāmmīncātzin** = #**ti-θ(θ-θ-Te-nām-mī-n-θ-cā-tzin-θ-θ)θ-θ#** = you are called “He (H) Is One Who Has Pierced a Wall with an Arrow” [“you are Pierces-Walls-with-Arrows (H)”]

**Tizoquicātzin** = #**θ-θ(θ-θ-Tiz-oqu-ī-θ-cā-tzin-θ-θ)θ-θ#** = he is called “He (H) Is Chalk-Pulque Drinker” [“he is Chalk-Pulque-Drinker (H)”]; some early writer misspelled this name (that of the seventh Aztec ruler) as **Tiçocicatzin** (it is spelled **Tiçocicatzin** in *FC*, VIII, 2), and the spelling has been repeated in its meaninglessness ever since (concerning the misspelling of /ki/ as **ci** instead of **qui**, see



Appendix F). The same fate has befallen the nonhonorific form which is always misspelled **Tizocic** (it is spelled **Tiçocic** in *FC VI*, 22, and *FC XII*, 44), instead of **Tizoquic**, # $\theta$ - $\theta$ ( $\theta$ - $\theta$ -Tiz-*oqu-i- $\theta$ -c- $\theta$ ) $\theta$ - $\theta$ #, “he is called ‘He Is Chalk-Pulque Drinker’.” The personal-name stem is a preterit-agentive NNC (with a third-person singular subject) built on the verbstem (**tiz-oqu-i**), “to drink chalk pulque,” whose embed is the compound nounstem (**tiz-oc**)-**tli-**, “chalk pulque,” as an incorporated object and whose matrix is **tla-(i)**, “to drink s.th.” **Tizoquicātzin/Tizoquic** is more commonly known as **Tizoc** (notice the final /k/ sound; see subsection 2.a below).]*

Since the preterit-as-present agentive NNC has the same form as a preterit-agentive NNC, a personal-name NNC containing one as its stem has the same formation as one containing a preterit-agentive NNC:

**tiTlāloc** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ ( $\theta$ - $\theta$ -Tlāl-o- $\theta$ -c- $\theta$ ) $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = you are called “It Is One That Lies on the Land” [“you are Land-Lier”; the matrix of the stem of the downgraded preterit-as-present agentive NNC is the verbstem (**o**), “to lie/be recumbent,” with (**tlāl**)-**li-** serving as an incorporated adverb (replacing the normally fused adverbial particle **on**). The name identifies the rain god as a cloud resting on the mountaintops.]

**tiMilintoc** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ ( $\theta$ - $\theta$ -Mil-i-n- $\theta$ -t-o- $\theta$ -c- $\theta$ ) $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = you are called “It Is One That Lies Throwing Off Sparks” [“you are Lies-Throwing-Off-Sparks”; the name stem is an NNC formed from the preterit-as-present VNC **milintoc**, “it (i.e., a fire) lies throwing off sparks,” built on a connective-**t** stem whose matrix stem is (**o**), “to lie/be recumbent,” and whose embed is the preterit predicate of the destockal verbstem (**mil-i-ni**), “(for a fire) to throw off sparks/flare up.” As in several earlier examples, the inner subject is nonanimate while the outer one is animate. The discrepancy is another confirmation of the two-tiered structure of personal-name NNCs.]

**tiMilintoctzin** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ ( $\theta$ - $\theta$ -Mil-i-n- $\theta$ -t-o- $\theta$ -c- $\theta$ +tzin) $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = you (H) are called “It Is One That Lies Throwing Off Sparks” [“you (H) are Lies-Throwing-Off-Sparks”]

The honorific preterit-agentive nounstem formed on (**cā**)-**tl-** is also possible:

**Īxhuetzcatocātzin** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ ( $\theta$ - $\theta$ -Īx-huetzca- $\theta$ -t-o- $\theta$ -cā-tzin- $\theta$ - $\theta$ ) $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = he is called “He (H) Is One Who Lies Smiling” [“he (H) is Lies-Recumbent-Smiling”]

b. A present-agentive NNC serves as the stem:

Source VNC: **cuāuh-tlahtoā** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (cuāuh-tla-ht-o-a) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = he speaks/calls/shrieks like an eagle [*Also*, he speaks (i.e., rules/governs) by virtue of being a famed warrior.]

Present-agentive NNC: **cuāuh-tlahtoā** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (cuāuh-tla-ht-o-a) $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = he is one who speaks/calls/shrieks like an eagle [As a title this can be translated as “he is an appointed governor (~ vice-ruler)” (an office bestowed in recognition of military prowess).]

Personal-name NNC: **tiCuāuh-tlahtoā** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ ( $\theta$ - $\theta$ -Cuāuh-tla-ht-o-a- $\theta$ - $\theta$ - $\theta$ ) $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = you are called “He Is One Who Shrieks Like an Eagle” [“you are Shrieks-like-an-Eagle”]

Honorific version: **tiCuāuh-tlahtoātzin = #ti-θ(θ-θ-Cuāuh-tla-ht-o-ā-θ-θ-θ+tzin)θ-θ#** = you (H) are called “He Is One Who Shrieks Like an Eagle” [“you (H) are Shrieks-like-an-Eagle”]

The following are further examples of this formation:

**tiChimalpopōca = #ti-θ(CHimal-po-pō-ca-θ-θ-θ)θ-θ#** = you are called “He Is One That Emits an Aura from a Shield” [“you are Emits-an-Aura-from-a-Shield” There are a number of personal-name NNCs whose stem is a nominalized VNC the compound stem of which has as an adverbial embed such nounstems as (**cuāuh**)-**tli-**, “eagle,” (**huitz-tzil**)-**in-**, “hummingbird,” (**quetza-l**)-**li-**, “quetzal plume,” (**cītlal**)-**in-**, “star,” (**yohua-l**)-**li-**, “night,” (**tzihuac**)-**tli-**, “*tzihuactli* plant,” or (**xihui**)-**tl-**, “grass/turquoise,” and whose matrix is the frequentative destockal verbstem (**po-pō-ca**), “to emit smoke.” This verbstem has the extended sense of “to give off an aura or shimmering waves of heat”; for instance, in *FC X*, 168, one reads that the Toltecs could discover precious stones by observing the **pōctōntli**, **āyauhtōntli**, “the little smoke, the slight mist,” that arose from where they lay buried; **iuhqui in popōcaticah tetl**, “it is as if the rock were emitting smoke.” In his *Psalmodia Christiana*, Sahagún mentions a bracelet that **teōxiuhpopōca**, “it emits an aura like turquoise.” It is a short step from these images to the metaphor of “an aura of fame/glorious,” as in the conjoined lexical unit **ipōcyo**, **iāyauhyo**, “it is his fame/glorious.” Therefore, with the adverbial embed equivalent to “by means of,” “in the manner of,” etc., the inner stem of these personal-name NNCs seems to imply something like “gains fame by means of/in the manner of. . . .” What is absolutely certain is that the entity named in the embed is NOT emitting the exhalation or emanation; thus, for example, the compound verbstem (**xiuh-po-pō-ca**) is *not* a direct transformation of **xihuitl popōca**, “the turquoise emits an aura,” and (**cītlal-po-pō-ca**) is *not* a direct transformation of **cītlalin popōca**, “it is a star that smokes,” i.e., “it is a comet.” The nounstem filling the embed subposition of a compound stem can *never* function as subject (see § 58.7). It should be obvious, then, that the generally accepted translation of **Chimalpopōca**, “Smoking Shield” or “Shield that Smokes” (as in Simeon’s dictionary: “Bouclier qui fume,” Spanish version “Escudo que humea”) is mistaken. The inner embed stem (**chimal**)-**li-**, “shield,” is functioning as an adverbial modifier; therefore, what is “smoking” is *not* a shield.]

**tiNēntlamatitzin = #ti-θ(θ-θ-Nēn-tla-mati-θ-θ-θ+tzin)θ-θ#** = you (H) are called “He Is One Who Becomes Grumpy” [“You (H) are Grumpy.”]

**tiTētlepanquetzatzin = #ti-θ(θ-θ-Tē-tle-pan-quetza-θ-θ-θ+tzin)θ-θ#** = you (H) are called “He Is One Who Casts Spells on People” [“you (H) are Spellbinder”]

c. A customary-present agentive NNC serves as the stem:

Source VNC: **tētlacuīliāni = #θ-θ+tē+tlā(cuī-liā)ni+θ-θ#** = he customarily takes things from people

Cust.-pres. agentive NNC: **tētlacuīliāni = #θ-θ(tē-tlā-cuī-liā-ni)θ-θ#** = he is one who customarily takes things from people

Personal-name NNC: **Tlacuiliāni** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ( $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -Tla-cuī-liā-ni- $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he is called “He Is One Who Customarily Takes Things” [Notice the lack of the applicative object pronoun.]

Honorific version: **Tlacuiliāntzin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ( $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -Tla-cuī-liā-n- $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tzin) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he (H) is called “He Is One Who Customarily Takes Things” [“he (H) is Taker”; the loss of the /i/ of the customary-present tense morph **ni** is optional; see § 36.3.]

The following are further examples:

**tiNōchcuāni** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ( $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -Nōch-cuā-ni- $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = you are called “He Is One Who Customarily Eats Prickly Pears” [“you are Prickly-Pear-Eater”]

**Tlahyelcuāni** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ( $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -Tla-hye-l-cuā-ni- $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = she is called “She Is One Who Customarily Eats Filth”; she is called “She Is a Filth Eater” [“She is Filth-Eater”; this personal-name NNC (which names the goddess of love in her aspect of the receiver of confessions of lust and sexual excess) is traditionally spelled **Tlaelquani**. The embed of the inner stem is (**tla-hye-l**)-li-, “s.th. foul/bloody diarrhea” (see §38.1.1.a).]

**Tēcōhuanitzin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ( $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -Tē-cōhua-ni- $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tzin) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he (H) is called “He Is One Who Customarily Buys People” [“he (H) is People-Buyer”]

**tiChīmalpāquinitzin** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ( $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -Chīmal-pāqui-ni- $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tzin) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = you (H) are called “He Is One Who Is Customarily Happy with a Shield” [“you (H) are Shield-Happy”]

d. A purposive VNC can serve as the stem of a personal-name NNC:

Source VNC: **chāntico** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (chān-ti- $\square$ -c-o) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he/she has come to have a home [< (**chān-ti**), “to have a home”; formed according to § 54.4.]

Past-agentive NNC: **chāntico** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (chān-ti- $\square$ -c-o- $\emptyset$ ) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = he/she is one who has come in order to have a home

Personal-name NNC: **Chāntico** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (Chān-ti- $\square$ -c-o- $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = she is called “She Is One Who Has Come in Order to Have a Home” [“she is Has-Come-to-Have-a-Home”]

e. The stem of the personal-name NNC contains a reflexive-object pronoun. If the NNC serving as the stem of a personal-name NNC has a reflexive-object pronoun, this pronoun cannot respond to the outer subject pronoun because of the preemptive control of the inner subject pronoun (which in this instance is always third person). This constitutes another confirmation of the two-tiered structure of personal-name NNCs.

Source VNC: **motelchīuh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-o(tel-chīuh) $\emptyset$ + $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = he has scorned/despised himself

Preterit-agentive NNC: **motelchīuh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (m-o-tel-chīuh- $\emptyset$ ) $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = he is one who has scorned/despised himself

Personal-name NNC: **niMotelchīuh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ( $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ -M-o-tel-chīuh- $\emptyset$ - $\square$ - $\emptyset$ ) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ # = I am called “He Is One Who Has Despised Himself” [“I am Self-Despiser”; contrast this personal-name NNC with the preterit-agentive NNC **ninotelchīuh**, “I am one who has despised myself.”]

The following are further examples:

**niMōtēuczōma** = #ni-θ(θ-θ-M-o-tēuc-zōma-θ-θ-θ)θ-θ# = I am called “He Is One Who Frowns Like a Lord” [“I am Frowns-Like-a-Lord”; this personal-name NNC was defectively spelled **Moteczuzoma**, **Motecuhzoma**, **Moteuhczoma**, and even **Moteczuzoma** (concerning the early perplexity over the spelling of syllable-final /k<sup>w</sup>/, see Appendix F). Modern writers favor **Motecuhzoma**, unaware that the **cu** is not a syllable but a trigraph, a clumsy use of three letters to spell a single phoneme. Its continued use is a measure of ignorance (**uhc** is the better trigraph, since it does not entail a knee-jerk syllable-creating reaction.)]

**tiMotēnēhuatzin** = #ti-θ(θ-θ-M-o-tēn-ē-hu-a-θ-θ-θ+tzin)θ-θ# = you (H) are called “He Is One Who Mentions Himself” [“you (H) Are Self-Famer”]

f. The stem involves a passive-voice source. When the stem of the personal-name NNC has its inner predicate formed on the passive voice, that stem is a preterit-patientive NNC (see § 35.3, *note* 2) and the personal-name NNC is not too different from the NNCs already discussed, since the inner and outer subject pronouns at least refer to specific entities; for example:

**tiTepotzihtōlōc** = #ti-θ(θ-θ-Tepotz-ih-t-ō-lō-θ-c-θ)θ-θ# = you are called “He Is One Who Has Been Talked About Behind his Back” [“you are Talked-About-Behind-the-Back”]

**Ahhuelittōctzin** = #θ-θ(θ-θ-Ah-huel-itt-ō-θ-c-θ-tzin)θ-θ# = he (H) called “He Is One Who Has Been Seen with Displeasure” [“he (H) is Ugly”]

g. The stem involves an impersonal source. When the stem of a personal-name NNC is a nominalized version of an impersonal VNC the result seems strange, since the inner subject pronoun is nonspecific while the outer one is specific, but the situation is really not fundamentally different from that of those personal-name NNCs with a nonanimate inner subject and an animate outer one. The formation offers still another confirmation of the two-tiered structure of personal-name NNCs. This kind of name has a stem that is a preterit agentive NNC.

**Tla**-impersonal VNC source: **cītlallatōnac** = #θ-θ(cītlal-la-tōna)θ+c-θ# = there has been a general shining by means of stars [See § 22.6.]

Personal-name NNC: **tiCītlallatōnac** = #ti-θ(θ-θ-Cītlal-la-tōna-θ-c-θ)θ-θ# = you are called “There Has Been a General Shining by Means of Stars” [“you Are Broad-Scale-Shining-from-Stars”; the name has been mistranslated as “Glowing Star,” with embed and matrix reversed and no recognition of the **tla**-impersonal.]

The following are other examples:

**tiChālchiuhtlatōnac** = #ti-θ(θ-θ-Chāl-chiuh-tla-tōna-θ-c-θ)θ-θ# = you are called “There Has Been a General Shining by Means of Greenstones” [“You are called Large-scale-Shining-from-Greenstones.”]

**nītztlacōliuhqui** = #n-θ(θ-θ-Ītz-tla-cōl-i-uh-θ-qui-θ)θ-θ# = I am called “Everything has Become Bent by Means of Obsidian,” i.e., I am called “Everything Has Become Bent by Means of Coldness” [“I am called Plant-Killer-Frost”; the (itz)-tli-, “obsidian,” is an incorporated adverb that modifies the **tla**-impersonal verbstem

(**tlā-cōl-i-hui**), “(for things in general) to become bent.” Obsidian is a metaphor for coldness or, as here, frost. The name has been mistranslated as “Curved Obsidian Blade,” which is another instance of the reversal of embed and matrix and the failure to recognize the presence of the **tlā**-impersonal.]

2. Personal-name NNCs whose stem is an NNC that does not result from the nominalization of a VNC. The stem of this kind of personal-name NNC can be an NNC in either the absolute or the possessive state.

a. The stem is a downgraded absolute-state NNC.

Abs-state NNC source: **tōchin** = **#θ-θ(tō-ch)in-θ#** = it is a rabbit

Personal-name NNC: **tiTōchin** = **#ti-θ(θ-θ-Tō-ch-in-θ)θ-θ#** = you are called “It Is a Rabbit” [“you are Rabbit”]

The following are further examples:

**niThilātl** = **#ni-θ(θ-θ-Thil-ā-tl-θ)θ-θ#** = I am called “It Is Black Water” [“I am Black Water”]

**tĀhuitzōtl** = **#t-θ(Ā-huitz-ō-tl-θ)θ-θ#** = you are called “It Is an Otter” [Literally, the nounstem (**ā-huitz-ō**)-**tl-** is equivalent to “water porcupine”; the patientive nounstem (**huitz-ō**)-**tl-**, “one that has used thorns,” i.e., “porcupine,” is derived from (**huitz-o-ā**), “to use thorns,” a denominal verbstem formed according to § 55.3.1.a.]

**Mācuilxōchitl** = **#θ-θ(θ-θ-Mā-cu-i-l-xō-chi-tl-θ)θ-θ#** = he is called “It Is (the date) Five-Flower” [“he is Five-Flower”; this is a calendrical name (see Appendix E) that serves as the stem in the personal-name NNC of a god.]

**tiTepoztēcatl** = **#ti-θ(θ-θ-Te-poz-tē-□-ca-tl-θ)θ-θ#** = you are “He Is a Dweller in Tepoztlan [“you are Tepoztec”; as pointed out earlier, gentilic NNCs (with a third-person singular subject pronoun), here **#θ-θ(Te-poz-tē-□-ca)tl-θ#**, can serve as the stem of a personal-name NNC. In the present instance the name is that of a god.]

**Huitztzilōpōchtli** = **#θ-θ(θ-θ-Huitz-tzil-ōpōch-tli-θ)θ-θ#** = he is called “It Is a Left Foot/Hand Like a Hummingbird (i.e., swift in aggression)” [“he is Left Foot/Hand Like a Hummingbird”; traditionally, the /ç/ is reduced in spelling from **tztz** to **tz** (i.e., **Huitzilōpōchtli**). More rarely, the pronunciation spelling **ttz** (i.e., **Huitztzilōpōchtli**) is found. The name is constantly mistranslated, commonly as “Hummingbird from/ on the Left” and “Southern Hummingbird,” mistranslations that reverse embed and matrix. The matrix of the inner stem is (**ōpōch**)-**tli-**, “left side/foot/hand,” and the embed is (**huitz-tzil**)-**in-**, “a thing that hums in the form of a thorn (because of the thornlike beak),” i.e., “hummingbird.” There are depictions that show the god with his left foot in the shape of a bird’s foot, and in *FC* III, 4, one finds the description **Auh cē pitzāhuac in īxī iōpōhcopa quipōtōnih in īxocpal**, “And one of his legs, the one on the left side, was thin, and he had pasted feathers on the sole of its foot.” Chimalpahin, at a greater colonial distance, says **Ōquitōcāyōtīhqueh Huitztzilōpōchtli ipampa ōpōchmāyeh catca**, “They called him Huitzilopochtli because he was left-handed,” which shows he did not understand.]

The singular-number dyad of the inner subject pronoun is frequently filled with  $\square-\emptyset$ . The result seems to have an informal quality (vaguely like the short form Ed for Edward). Some personal-name NNCs appear only in this truncated-inner-subject formation; others use it optionally.

**tiPāinal** = # $\text{ti}-\emptyset(\emptyset-\emptyset\text{-Pāina-l-}\square-\emptyset)\emptyset-\emptyset\#$  = you are called “He is One who has been Swift in Running” [“he is Swift-in-Running”; the inner predicate is formed on an impersonal patientive nounstem (see § 38.1.1.a) from the intransitive verbstem (*pāina*), “to run swiftly.”]

**Ehca** = # $\emptyset-\emptyset(\emptyset-\emptyset\text{-Eh-ca-}\square-\emptyset)\emptyset-\emptyset\#$  = he is called “It Is a Breeze” [“he is Breeze”]

**Āxāyaca** = # $\emptyset-\emptyset(\emptyset-\emptyset\text{-Ā-xā-yaca-}\square-\emptyset)\emptyset-\emptyset\#$  = he is called “It Is a Water-Mask” [“he is Water-Mask”; the inner stem (*ā-xā-yaca*)-**tl-**, literally “water mask,” is the name of an insect, the water boatman, whose eggs are eaten as a delicacy.]

**tiTēntlil** = # $\text{ti}-\emptyset(\emptyset-\emptyset\text{-Tēn-tlil-}\square-\emptyset)\emptyset-\emptyset\#$  = you are called “There Is Black-Ink on the Lips” [“you are Black-on-the-Lips”]

**Tizoc** = # $\emptyset-\emptyset(\emptyset-\emptyset\text{-Tiz-oc-}\square-\emptyset)\emptyset-\emptyset\#$  = he is called “It Is Chalk Pulque” [“he is Chalk-Pulque”; the stem of the inner NNC is an elided version of (*tīza-oc*)-**tl-**, with the embed (*tīza*)-**tl-**, “chalk/white clay,” and the matrix (*oc*)-**tl-**, “pulque.” Chalk pulque was a white ceremonial pulque. **Tizoc** is a short form for **Tizoquic/Tizoquicātzin** (see subsection 1.a above). The name of this seventh Aztec ruler has been grossly mistranslated as “Bloodletter” due to a misguided interpretation of his name glyph.]

**Xīpe** = # $\emptyset-\emptyset(\emptyset-\emptyset\text{-Xīp-e-}\square-\emptyset)\emptyset-\emptyset\#$  = he is called “It Is a Thing That Has Become Flayed,” i.e., he is called “It Is a Flayed Skin” [“he is Flayed-Skin”; the stem of the inner NNC is the stock patientive nounstem (*xīp-e*)-**tl-**, “a flayed skin,” from the intransitive destockal verbstem (*xīp-ē-hua*), “to become deprived of an outer layer (e.g., skin/shell).”]

**Huehmac** = # $\emptyset-\emptyset(\emptyset-\emptyset\text{-Hueh-mac-}\square-\emptyset)\emptyset-\emptyset\#$  = he is called “It Is a Big Gift” [“he is Big-Gift”; the inner matrix stem is the passive patientive nounstem (*mac*)-**tl-**, “a gift,” from the verbstem *tē-tla*-(*maca*), “to give s.th. to s.o.” Compare the passive patientive nounstems (*tē-mac*)-**tl-**, “s.th. given to s.o.,” and (*ne-mac*)-**tl-**, “a gift received”; there is also the impersonal patientive nounstem (*tē-tla-mac*)-**tl-**, “a handed-over thing” (see § 38.1.3.b). The inner embed stem is an embed-only glottalized form of (*huē*)-**tl-**, “a big thing” (see § 35.8.2). Traditionally, the name has been translated as “Big Hand,” as if the name NNC were **Huehmā**, ignoring the presence of the final *c*. If the stem (*māi*)-**tl-**, “hand,” were involved, the *c* would have to be the locative relational nounstem (*-c*)-**tl-**, “place” (compare *īmāc*, “in his hand(s),” in § 46.7); furthermore, the inner subject would have to be an adverbial pronoun. Consequently, the name NNC would have to be translated “he is called ‘It is In a Big Hand’” (or “he is called ‘It is In Big Hands’”). While it is not impossible for a personal-name NNC to be formed with a relational nounstem as the inner predicate and an adverbial pronoun as the inner subject (e.g., **Cōntzālan**,

“she is called ‘It Is Among the Pots’”), it is rare. (It should be remembered that in **Chāntico** the **co**, which some have taken to be the locative relational nounstem \*(-co)-□-, is in fact the ending of a nonfuture inbound purposive verbstem; see subsection 1.d above.) Some writers (including the early seventeenth-century historian Chimalpahin) spell **Huehmac** as **Hueymac** (i.e., **Huēimac**.)]

The inner stem may have an affective formation:

**tiXocotzin** = #**ti-θ(θ-θ-Xoco-tzin-θ-θ)θ-θ#** = you are called “She Is Beloved Fruit” [“you are Beloved-Fruit”; this is the name of the youngest sister of the four sister goddesses of sensual pleasure.]

The formation can be ambiguous, however. The affective matrix has the option of embedding either the inner stem (as in the foregoing example) or the outer stem. The latter is exemplified in the following NNCs (in the analyzed version, the affective matrix stem is separated from the embed by a plus sign). The affective matrix stem always forces the inner subject pronoun’s number dyad to become □-θ.

**tiYāōtzin** = #**ti-θ(θ-θ-Yāō-□-θ+tzin)θ-θ#** = you (H) are called “He Is The Enemy” [“you are the Enemy”; compare the nonhonorific version **tiYāōtl**, #**ti-θ(θ-θ-Yāō-tl-θ)θ-θ#**, “you are called “He is The Enemy.” This is one of the names of the god Tezcatl-Ihpoca.]

**tiChāmpōchtzin** = #**ti-θ(θ-θ-Chām-pō-ch-□-θ+tzin)θ-θ#** = you (H) are called “It Is a Drop-Earring” [“you are Drop-Earring”; this is a woman’s name.]

**Ītzcuāuhtzin** = #**θ-θ(θ-θ-Ītz-cuāuh-□-θ+tzin)θ-θ#** = he is called “It is a Golden Eagle” [“he is Golden Eagle”; the inner stem (**ītz-cuāuh**)-**tli-** is translated literally as “obsidian eagle.”]

**tĪxtliltōn** = #**t-θ(θ-θ-Īx-tlil-□-θ+tōn)θ-θ#** = you are called little “There Is Black-Ink on the Face.” [“you are Little Black-on-the-Face”]

b. The stem of the personal-name NNC is a downgraded possessive-state NNC:

Poss-state NNC source: **tītlācahuān** = #**t-θ+i-θ(tlāca)huān#** = we are his slaves [See § 15.1.2.]

Personal-name NNC: **niTītlācahuān** = #**ni-θ(T-θ-i-θ-tlāca-hu-ān)θ-θ#** = I am called “We Are His Slaves” [The clear distinction between the inner subject pronoun and the outer one in personal names of this type is another confirmation of the two-tiered structure of personal-name NNCs.]

The following are further examples:

**niTocih** = #**ni-θ(θ-θ-T-o-cih-θ-θ)θ-θ#** = I am called “She Is Our Grandmother” [“I am Our-Grandmother”; just as in the example above, the presence of the inner subject pronoun prevents the outer subject pronoun from having direct commerce with the possessor pronoun of the stem of the personal-name NNC.]

**niTotēc** = #**ni-θ(θ-θ-T-o-tēc-θ-θ)θ-θ#** = I am called “He Is Our Lord” [“I am called Our-Lord”; the inner stem has the delabialized form of (**tēuc**)-**tli-**, “lord.” The NNC **totēc** is a title of address that becomes a personal-name stem on being

downgraded and placed inside an outer NNC. The personal-name NNC is another name for **Xipe**, and the two are frequently used together, e.g., **Xipe Totēc**.]

The inner stem may have an affective formation:

**niTopiltzin** = #ni-(θ-θ-T-o-pil-tzin-θ-θ)θ-θ# = I am called “He Is Our Beloved/Honored Child” [“I am Our-Child”]

**tiTonāntzin** = #ti-(θ-θ-T-o-nān-tzin-θ-θ)θ-θ# = you are called “She Is Our Beloved/Honored Mother” [“you are Our-Beloved/Honored-Mother”]

56.3. *Personal-Name NNCs from a Multiple-Clause Unit Created by Adjunction.* When a multiple-clause structure created by adjunction serves as the source for a personal name, the entire structure is downgraded to the role of predicate in a personal-name NNC. All of these formations confirm the two-tiered structure of personal-name NNCs. [In the analyzed versions, a plus sign marks the boundary between constituent clauses.]

1. A structure of subject supplementation serves as the stem:

Double-nucleus source: **cōātl īcuē** = #θ-θ(cōā)tl-θ# #θ-θ+ī-θ(cuē)θ-θ# = her skirt is of snake [The adjunct clause **īcuē** functions as a supplementary subject.]

Personal-name NNC: **niCōātl-Īcuē** = #ni-(θ-θ-Cōā-tl-θ+θ-θ-Ī-θ-cuē-θ-θ)θ-θ# = I am called “Her Skirt Is of Snake” [“I am Snake-Skirt”]; the outer subject personal pronoun **ni-θ(. . .)θ-θ** has no direct relation to either **Cōātl** or **Īcuē**, because it is isolated from both NNCs by the presence of the inner subject pronouns on each of them. There is a variant of this name from a single-clause source: **niCōācuē**, #ni-(θ-θ-Cōā-cuē-□-θ)θ-θ#, “I am called ‘It Is a Snake Skirt.’”]

The following are further examples:

**tiCoyōtl-Īnāhuāl** = #ti-(θ-θ-Coy-ō-tl-θ+θ-θ-Ī-θ-nāhua-l-θ-θ)θ-θ# = you are called “His Disguise/Spirit-animal Is a Coyote”

**tiCītlalli-Īcuē** = #ti-(θ-θ-Cītlal-li-θ+θ-θ-Ī-θ-cuē-θ-θ)θ-θ# = you are called “Her Skirt Is of Stars” [“you are Star-Skirt”]

**tĪcxi-Cōātl** = #t-(θ-θ-Ī-θ-cxi-θ-θ+θ-θ-Cōā-tl-θ)θ-θ# = you are called “His Foot Is a Snake” [“you are Snake-Foot”]

**niCōzahuic-Īnechihual** = #ni-(θ-θ-Cōz-a-hui-θ-c-θ+θ-θ-Ī-θ-ne-chihua-l-θ-θ)θ-θ# = I am called “His Accouterments Are Yellow” [“I am Yellow-Accouterments”]

2. A structure of possessor supplementation serves as the stem:

Double-nucleus source: **miztli imā** = #θ-θ(miz)tli-θ# #θ-θ+ī-θ(mā)θ-θ# = it is a puma’s paw

Personal-name NNC: **tiMiztli-Īmā** = #ti-(θ-θ-Miz-tli-θ+θ-θ-Ī-θ-mā-θ-θ)θ-θ# = you are called “It Is a Puma’s Paw” [“you are Puma’s-Paw”]

The following is another example:

**Tlohtli-Īix** = #θ-θ(θ-θ-Tloh-tli-θ+θ-θ-Ī-θ-ix-θ-θ)θ-θ# = he is called “It Is a Hawk’s Face/Eye” [“he is Hawk’s-Face/Eye”]



*Note:* Occasionally, an expression that seems to be a personal name is not one structurally because it lacks the two-tiered structure of personal-name NNCs, having merely a statement structure instead. An example of such an identification is one built on possessor supplementation whose adjunct is **tēteoh**, “they are gods,” and whose principal is a possessive-state NNC built on the stem (**nān**)-**tli**-, “mother.”

**tēteoh ninnān** = #**θ**-**θ**(**tē-teo**)**θ**-**h**# #**n**-**θ**+**i**-**n**(**nān**)**θ**-**θ**# = I am the mother of the gods

**tēteoh tinnān** = you are the mother of the gods

**tēteoh innān** = she is the mother of the gods

3. A structure of adjectival modification serves as the stem:

Double-nucleus source: **huēi ozomahtli** = #**θ**-**θ**(**huē-i**)**θ**-**θ**# #**θ**-**θ**(**ozomah**)**tli**-**θ**# = it is a big monkey [This could also be understood as “the monkey is big,” a structure of supplementation.]

Personal-name NNC: **tiHuēi-Ozomahtli** = #**ti**-**θ**(**θ**-**θ**-**Huē-i**-**θ**-**θ**+**θ**-**θ**-**Ozomah-tli**-**θ**)**θ**-**θ**# = you are called “It Is a Big Monkey.” [“you are Big-Monkey”]

Honorific version: **tiHuēi-Ozomahtzin** = #**ti**-**θ**(**θ**-**θ**-**Huē-i**-**θ**-**θ**+**θ**-**θ**-**Ozomah-θ**-**θ**+**tzin**)**θ**-**θ**# = you (H) are called “It Is a Big Monkey” [The entire structure of modification is embedded in the affective matrix nounstem (**tzin**)-**tli**-.]

The following are further examples:

**nIztāc-Coyōtl** = #**n**-**θ**(**θ**-**θ**-**Iztā-θ**-**c**-**θ**+**θ**-**θ**-**Coy-ō**-**tl**-**θ**)**θ**-**θ**# = I am called “It Is a White Coyote.” [“I am White-Coyote.”]

**tiCuāuhtl-Ēhuanitl** = #**ti**-**θ**(**θ**-**θ**-**Cuāuh-tl**-**θ**-**θ**+**θ**-**θ**-**Ē-hua-ni**-**tl**-**θ**)**θ**-**θ**# = you are called “It Is the Rising Eagle” [“you are Rising-Eagle”; the supportive [i] at the end of **Cuāuhtli** is not needed.]

**tiCuāuhtl-Ēhuanitzin** = #**ti**-**θ**(**θ**-**θ**-**Cuāuh-tl**-**θ**+**θ**-**θ**-**Ē-hua-ni**-**θ**-**θ**+**tzin**)**θ**-**θ**# = you (H) are called “It Is the Rising Eagle.” [“you (H) are Rising Eagle”]

**tiTēuctl-Ēhuac** = #**ti**-**θ**(**θ**-**θ**-**Tēuc-tl**-**θ**+**θ**-**θ**-**Ē-hua-θ**-**c**-**θ**)**θ**-**θ**# = you are called “He Is the Lord Who Has Departed” [“you are Departed-Lord”; the source can also be taken to be a structure of subject supplementation meaning “the lord has departed.”]

The following is another example:

**niTopan-Temōc** = #ni-θ(θ-θ-T-o-pan-θ-θ+θ-θ-Tem-ō-c-θ)θ-θ# = I am called “He Has Descended Upon Us” [“I am Descended-Upon-Us”; the adverbial NNC **topan** can also be translated “from above us,” i.e., “from the heavens.”]

5. A calendrical name taken from the divinatory calendar (see Appendix E) can serve as the stem of a personal name. The name suggests some special relation of the person to the date (for example, it might correspond to the day on which a newborn’s horoscope was cast). It often serves as an alternate name, especially if it names a god. The following examples are of god names.

The name may be a double-nucleus construction:

**tiNāhui-Ōlin** = #ni-θ(θ-θ-Nāhui-θ-θ+θ-θ-Ōl-ī-n-θ-□-θ)θ-θ# = you are (called) “It Is [on the day] Four Quake” [Alternate name of the sun god, **Tōnatiuh**]

**niChicōme-Cōātl** = #ni-θ(θ-θ-Chic-ōme-θ-θ+θ-θ-Cōā-tl-θ)θ-θ# = I am (called) “It Is [on the day] Seven Snake” [alternate name of the maize goddess, **Centeōtl**]

The name may be a single-nucleus construction:

**Mācuilxōchitl** = #θ-θ(θ-θ-Mā-cu-ī-l-xō-chi-tl-θ)θ-θ# = he is called “It Is [on the day] Five Flower” [alternate name of **Xōchipilli**]

**nŌmācatl** = #n-θ(θ-θ-Ōm-ā-ca-tl-θ)θ-θ# = I am called “It is [on the day] Two Reed” [alternate name of **Tezcatl-Ihpoca**]

At times only the day-sign NNC serves as the stem:

**Cipactli** = #θ-θ(θ-θ-Cipac-tli-θ)θ-θ# = he is called “It is a Caiman [Day Sign]” [**Cipac** is also used.]

Notice the even more specific form:

**Cipactōnal** = #θ-θ(θ-θ-Cipac-tōn-a-l-θ-θ)θ-θ# = he is called “It is a Caiman Day Sign”

Calendrical names were also used as personalizing names for certain things.

**Xōchitōnal** = #θ-θ(θ-θ-Xō-chi-tōn-a-l-θ-θ)θ-θ# = it is called “It Is a Flower Day Sign” [This was a mythological caimanlike creature that guarded the approach to Mictlan.]

**Cē-Cōātl** = #θ-θ(θ-θ-Cē-θ-θ+θ-θ-Cōā-tl-θ)θ-θ# = it is called “It Is [on the day] One Snake” [This was the metaphorical name merchants gave to a straight path/road.]

56.4. *Personal-Name NNCs from a Multiple-Clause Unit Created by Conjunction.* When a multiple-clause structure created by conjunctless conjunction serves as a source for a personal name, the resultant personal-name unit acts exactly like the conjoined-NNC lexical items (i.e., biclausals) of § 52.6 (i.e., the subject pronouns on the conjuncts refer to one and the same entity and the two conjuncts fuse into one single meaning), except that each conjunct has the two-tiered structure characteristic of personal-name NNCs. This means that the two (or more) inner subject pronouns constitute what amounts to one single subject, and the two outer subject pronouns constitute what amounts to another single subject.

Double-nucleus source: **yohualli ehehcatl** = # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (yohua-l)li- $\theta$ # # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (eh-eh-ca)tl- $\theta$ # = it is the night and it is the wind; i.e., it is an invisible power [This is the “bread-and-butter” type of conjunctive lexical unit described in § 52.6.2.]

Personal-name unit: **tiYohualli tEhehcatl** = #ti- $\theta$ ( $\theta$ - $\theta$ -Yohua-l-li- $\theta$ ) $\theta$ - $\theta$ # #t- $\theta$ ( $\theta$ - $\theta$ -Eh-eh-ca-tl- $\theta$ ) $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = you are called “It Is the Night” and you are called “It Is the Wind”; i.e., you are called “It Is an Invisible Power” [“you are Night-and-Wind,” i.e., “you are Invisible-Power.” One occasionally finds **Yohualehehcatl**, which contains as its predicate a conjunctive compound NNC formed according to § 31.7: # $\theta$ - $\theta$ ( $\theta$ - $\theta$ -Yohua-l-eh-eh-ca-tl- $\theta$ ) $\theta$ - $\theta$ #, “he is called ‘It Is Night-And-Wind.’” This has been erroneously translated “Wind of the Night” and “Night-Wind.” The English-catering translation is “he is Night-and-Wind.”]

Another frequently encountered example of this type of personal-name unit is:

**tiTloqueh tiNāhuaqueh** = #ti- $\theta$ ( $\theta$ - $\theta$ -Tloqu-eh- $\theta$ - $\theta$ ) $\theta$ - $\theta$ # #ti- $\theta$ ( $\theta$ - $\theta$ -Nāhua-qu-eh- $\theta$ - $\theta$ ) $\theta$ - $\theta$ # = you are called “He Is the Owner of Proximity” and you are called “He Is the Owner of Vicinity”; i.e., you are called “He Is the Owner of Omnipresence” [“you are Ever-Nigh”; the conjoined lexical unit formed by the source belongs to the “lord-and-master” type described in § 52.6.1.]

56.5. *Personal-Name NNCs in Sentences.* The following are a few examples showing the use of personal-name NNCs in sentences:

**NiTēucxōch nicihuātl.** = I, Teucxoch, am a woman. I am the woman Teucxoch. [The personal-name NNC is analyzed #ni- $\theta$ ( $\theta$ - $\theta$ -Tēuc-xōch- $\theta$ - $\theta$ ) $\theta$ - $\theta$ #, “I am called ‘It Is a Lord-Flower.’”]

**Quilhuiqueh, “Cuix ye teh in tiMotēuczōma?” Conihtoh, “Ca nehhuātl in namotēchīuhcāuh, in niMotēuczōma.** = They said to him, “Are you Moteuczoma?” He said, “Indeed I am the one who is your governor, Moteuczoma.” [I.e., “the one who is governing for you, as your agent.”]

**In Motēuczōmatzin ipiltōcā, auh Tlācatēuctli in itlahtohcātōcā.** = Moteuczoma (H) was his name as a noble and his title as ruler was Tlācateuctli. [Here **Tlācatēuctli** is not a personal-name NNC but a title NNC; it is analyzed as a “normal” NNC: # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (tlāca-tēuc)tli- $\theta$ #, “he is the lord in the form of a lord/person/human being” or “he is the lord of lords/human beings.”]

**Tlā xihuāllauh, Chālchiuhtlatōnactzé!** = Come, O Chalchiuhtlatonac (H). [The vocative collocation is analyzed # $\theta$ - $\theta$ ( $\theta$ - $\theta$ -Chāl-chiuh-tla-tōna- $\theta$ -c- $\theta$ +tz)□- $\theta$ #. Concerning the affective matrix nounstem (tz)□-, see § 32.3.1. The name is translated “she is called ‘Things in General Have Shone like Jadeite.’”]

**Tlā xiccaqui, Cuāuhlequetzqué.** = Listen, O Cuauhlequetzqui. [The vocative collocation is analyzed # $\theta$ - $\theta$ ( $\theta$ - $\theta$ -Cuāuh-tle-quetz- $\theta$ -qu- $\theta$ ) $\theta$ - $\theta$ #. Concerning the absence of the supportive [i] in the number dyad **qui- $\theta$** , see § 35.13.2. The name is translated “he is called ‘He is One Who Has Set Fires in the Form of an Eagle’” (i.e., an Eagle-Warrior).]

The following three sentences illustrate the use of the adjunctor in conjoined-NNC personal-name units:

**Mā oc xoconmotlaōcolnōchili totēucyo, in Tloqueh in Nāhuaqueh.** = For yet a while call out (H) in sadness to our lord, the Ever-Nigh. [An adjunctor appears before each conjunct.]

**Mitzonmopolhuiz, mitzonmotlāliliz, mitzonmoxipachilhuiz in Tloqueh Nāhuaqueh.** = The Ever-Nigh will destroy you, he will hide (i.e., kill) you, he will press down on you with his foot (i.e., he will crush you underfoot). [An adjunctor appears before the name as a whole.]

**Ca aya tleh in icualān Tloqueh Nāhuaqueh; ca oc oncah in nomahcēhual.** = The Ever-Nigh's anger is nothing yet; indeed my reward is still there; i.e., The Ever-Nigh is not angry yet; I shall still prosper. [No adjunctor is associated with the personal-name unit.]

*Note 1:* In certain instances personal-name NNCs that refer to gods can be downgraded to the rank of “normal” NNCs, taking on a special meaning and acquiring the right to have a plural personal pronoun as subject.

**tlāloc** = #θ-θ(tlāl-o-θ)c-θ# = he is a priest/servant/retainer/etc. of Tlaloc [Plural-subject NNC: **tlāloqueh**, #θ-θ(tlāl-o-θ)qu-eh#, “they are priests/etc. of Tlaloc.”]

**niquetzalcōātl** = #ni-θ(quetza-l-cōā)tl-θ# = I am a priest/servant/retainer/etc. of Quetzalcoatl [Plural-subject NNC: **tiquēquetzalcōah**, #ti-θ(quē-quetza-l-cōā)θ-h#, “we are priests/etc. of Quetzalcoatl.” The form **tiquetzalcōcōah** is also found.]

**xīpe** = #θ-θ(xīp-e)□-θ# = he is a priest/servant/devotee/etc. of Xipe [Plural-subject NNC: **xīxīpeme**, #θ-θ(xī-xīp-e)m-eh#, “they are priests/etc. of Xipe.” Also, **xīpeme**.]

**totēc** = #θ-θ(t-o-tēc)θ-θ# = he is a devotee/follower/etc. of Totec [Plural-subject NNC: **tōtotectin**, #θ-θ(tō-t-o-tēc)t-in#, “they are devotees/etc. of Totec.” Also, **totectin**.]

*Note 2:* The name of a god can appear as an embed in a place-name NNC that signifies a place consecrated to the god (temple, shrine, home, etc.). The personal-name nounstem (i.e., the predicate of the personal-name NNC) is embedded in the locative relational nounstem that serves as the matrix for the stem of the place-name NNC. (In the analyzed versions a plus sign marks the point of juncture between the embed and the matrix.)

**Tlālocān** = #θ-θ(θ-θ-Tlāl-o-θ-cā-θ-θ+n)□-θ# = it is At the Place of Tlaloc; i.e., At the Home of Tlaloc

**Mācuilxōchic** = #θ-θ(θ-θ-Mā-cu-i-l-xō-chi-□-θ+c)□-θ# = At the Place (of the temple) of Macuilxochitl

**Huitzilōpōchco** = #θ-θ(θ-θ-Huitz-tzil-ōpōch-□-θ+co)□-θ# = At the Place (of the temple) of Huitzilopochtli

**Yōpīhco** = #θ-θ(θ-θ-Yō-pih-□-θ+co)□-θ# = At the Place (of the temple) of Yopih

**Totēcco** = #θ-θ(θ-θ-T-o-tēc-θ-θ+co)□-θ# = At the Place (to the temple) of Totec

**Tocihtitlan** = #θ-θ(θ-θ-T-o-cih-θ-θ+ti-tlan)□-θ# = At the Place Near (the temple of) Tocih

**Xīpetlān** = #θ-θ(θ-θ-Xīp-e-□-θ+tlā-n)□-θ# = At the Place in the Vicinity of (the temple of) Xipe

## LESSON 57

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### Miscellany (Part One)

57.1. *Nonsystemic Use of Tense.* In § 5.5.2, *remark*, it was pointed out that tense (a grammatical category) is not the same as time (an existential category). This is made evident in Nahuatl in the frequent use of a tense morph to refer to a time other than that strictly and narrowly associated with it. Such nonsystemic usage occurs primarily in situations where a tense morph in one VNC exerts an influence upon that in another (as when, for example, a present-tense VNC is attracted to a past-time meaning under the influence of a neighboring past-tense VNC). Consequently, such shifts are most frequent in concatenate constructions, although they may occur across sentence boundaries. Many instances of the nonsystemic use of tense have already been pointed out. The tenses most frequently affected are the present, the preterit, and the future.

1. A present-tense VNC may refer to:

a. An event in past time (the so-called historical present; equivalent to an English past tense):

***Onhuetzi in mītl in tetl in īmpan Españoles.*** = Arrows and rocks *fell* upon the Spaniards.

b. An event prior to another event in past time when the latter is in the “historical present” (equivalent to English pluperfect tense):

***Auh in āc in ye miyecpa īlōti, ye miyecpa mocuepa in ye onitzticah in iuhcān, zā quēxquich in quilhuiah.*** = And to one who already many times *had returned* from and already many times *had come back* from and *had* already *gone* to such places it was only a few things that they said. [Notice that the translation of ***iuhcān*** requires the insertion first of the preposition “from” and then of the preposition “to.”]

c. An event subsequent to another event in past time (equivalent to English future-in-the-past tense):

***In aya mō huālahcih Españoles oc mahtlācxihuitl, centlamantli tētzāhuitl achto nēz ilhuicatitech.*** = When the Spaniards *would* not yet *arrive* for ten years (i.e., Ten years before the Spaniards arrived), an omen first appeared in the sky.

d. An event in past time concomitant with another event in the past (equivalent to English past progressive tense):

**Ōquitēmīc in īcal tlatla.** = He dreamed that his house *was burning*.

**Quitēmiquiya patlāni.** = He used to dream that he *was flying*.

2. A preterit-tense VNC may refer to:

a. An event prior to another event in the present (equivalent to English present perfect tense):

**In ōconahxūih, niman ye quiteci Quilāztli.** = When he *has brought* it, then Quilaztli grinds it.

If the present-tense VNC is representing the “historical present” described above, the preterit is translated as the English pluperfect. The foregoing example might, therefore, need to be translated “When he *had brought* it, then Quilaztli ground it,” as in the following example:

**Ye ōmotlālīh in cencah huēi tletl, xoxōhuic copalxīcalli īxpan mani.** = Already a very large fire *had been laid*, before which *rested* a green gourd vessel for incense.

b. An event prior to another event in the past (equivalent to English pluperfect):

**Auh in yehhuātl cihuātl, in ōiuh mozcālīh, niman quinohnōtzato, quilhuīto in Motēuczōma in tleh in quittac.** = And this woman, after she *had thus revived*, then went to converse with Moteuczoma and tell him what she *had seen*.

c. An event prior to another event in the future (equivalent to English future perfect).

**In tihuāllāzqueh, ye ōmic.** = When we arrive, he *will have* already *died*.

*Note:* In a more technical treatment of Nahuatl tense, the usages discussed here would probably not be considered nonsystemic, since they are merely insisting on the notion of priority inherent in the tense’s basic meaning.

3. A future-tense VNC may refer to:

a. An event subsequent to another event in the past (equivalent to English future-in-the-past tense):

**Zā iuh nāuhxihuitl huālahcizqueh in Caxtiltēcāh, ōmochiuh īn.** = Four years before the Spaniards *would arrive* (i.e., Four years before the Spaniards arrived), this happened.

**Auh in āc in oncān tlācatiya, moch quinemactiāya in pahpāquini yez.** = And to him who was born at that time she gave all things as gifts so that he *would be* happy. [**tlā-(ne-mac-ti-ā)**, “to cause s.th. to be a gift”; cf., § 54.1.5.b.]

*Note:* In a more technical treatment of Nahuatl tense, the usage discussed here would probably not be considered nonsystemic, since it is merely insisting on the notion of posteriority inherent in the tense’s basic meaning.

b. An event immediately prior to another event (equivalent to English “just about to”). The adverbial particle **ye**, “already,” is usually present.

**Auh in ye oncalaquiz tōnatiuh, in oc achihtōn tōnatiuh, niman ye ic huāltzahtzi in Ītzcuaūhtzin.** = And when the sun *was about to set*, when there was still a little sun, thereupon Itzcuahtzin cried out.

57.2. *Irregularities in Valence.* While rules governing valence are remarkably strict and clear-cut in Nahuatl, there are exceptional situations. A few of these have been presented; for example, **tlā-(āyi)**, (**ich-tequi**), **tē-(mach-tiā)**, and instances of variable valence such as (**tequi-pan-o-ā**) ~ **tlā-(tequi-pan-o-ā)** or (**ā-l-ti-ā**) ~ **m-□-(ā-l-ti-ā)**, as well as instances of a morphologically unjustified applicative such as **tlā-(tēmiqi)**. There are other instances in which, for no apparent reason, a verbstem appears in a VNC with a valence different from that normal to it. In the following two sentences, for example, verbstems that expectedly require transitive valence occur in intransitive VNCs.

**In tlachixqui in ōnittac, in ōconittac in ye huitz Pāinal, mec tzahtzi.** = The lookout who *has watched*, when he has seen that Painal is already coming, then shouts.

**Zan iuhqui in ichtacācuāyah.** = It was just thus that they *used to eat in secret*.

Care must be taken in this regard when assessing compound verbstems. For example, a VNC such as **āmantēcatlāliāyah** should not be mistaken as an instance of valence irregularity. At first sight, **āmantēca-** here seems to be an incorporated adverb: “they used to set (s.th.) down *in the manner of feather workers*” (since the translation “they used to set down feather workers” makes no sense). This first impression must be rejected: the embed stem (**ā-man-tē-□-ca-**) is here standing for the compound nounstem (**ā-man-tē-□-ca-yō-tl-**, “art of feather workers,” and is functioning as an incorporated object (see § 39.9). The VNC is thus translated “They used to practice the art of feather working.”

57.3. *Absolute Topic.* There is a construction that may be called the absolute-topic construction (“absolute” here means “free from the usual grammatical relations”). In this construction the topic is not a supplement to anything in the comment.

**In ipahyo, nehzōtlalōz.** = *With regard to its cure*, there is to be vomiting. *As its cure*, there is to be vomiting; i.e., Vomiting will bring about its cure.

**Tzontecocōlli ipahyo, mihnecui xihuitl itōcā “eucxoh.”** = *As a cure for headache*, an herb whose name is “eucxo” is inhaled; i.e., To cure a headache, one inhales an herb called “eucxo.”

*Remark:* In a sentence such as **In ixāyac, chālchihuitl in tlachihualli** (“Its mask is made of jadeite”), one might be tempted to see **In ixāyac** as an absolute topic (“As for its mask, the made thing is of jadeite”). Instead, it is the topicalized head of a structure of modification with **in tlachihualli** as its modifier (see § 43.3) and therefore simply the supplementary subject of **chālchihuitl** (“Its mask, which is a made thing, is of jadeite”). Compare § 51.2.2.

57.4. *Lack of Agreement between Supplement and Head.* Ordinarily, a supplement agrees with its head in person, number, and specificity (see Lessons 17 and 18). In certain instances, however, agreement is disregarded.

1. Special instances of the lack of agreement in person have been pointed out in § 18.6 and § 43.6–§ 43.8. The following sentence is an example of such a construction:

**Auh in toquichtin nōhuiyān nemi in teōcuitlatl in īmmāxtlatitlan ihuān īncamac.** =  
And as for the men, the gold was everywhere in their breechcloths and in their mouths.  
[The first-person plural subject pronoun of **toquichtin** is standing in cross-reference

to its heads, the third-person plural possessive pronouns **i-m** and **i-n** of **immāxtlatitlan** and **īncamac**.]

2. Special instances of the lack of agreement in *number* have been pointed out in § 42.8.5 and § 43.6–43.7. The following examples further illustrate this type of lack of agreement (i.e., reference wins out over grammar):

**In yohualtica huellachiya; quimitta in tleh in quintēmoa, in quincua.** = At night it watches carefully; it sees what it seeks, what it eats. [Although grammatically its subject pronoun shows common number, **tleh** in this instance refers to a plurality of animate entities, and it is this plurality that the object pronouns **qu-im** and **qu-in** recognize.]

**In āc in mazātl ōcahcic ahno zo coyōtl, quintlāuhtia in Motēuczōma tēnihuihuahuānqui in tilmahtli.** = And those who caught a deer or a coyote Moteuczoma favored with capes whose edges were striped with feathers. [Although the pronoun NNC **āc** has a singular subject pronoun, as is made evident by the third-person singular pronoun subject **∅-∅+**. . . +**c-∅** of **ōcahcic**, it contains a reference to a possible plurality, and it is this plurality that the object pronoun **qu-in** recognizes.]

**Nō ihcuāc yancuic nequēntilo, nēlpililo in tilmahtli; in cihuātl yancuic ommaquiah in īncuē in īnhuipil.** = Also at this time the capes that are put on, girded on, are new; the women dress in their skirts and blouses that are new. [Although the subject pronoun of **cihuātl** is third-person singular in form, it refers to a plurality.]

**In ōcencuiz in ixquich in tēlpōchtli in ichpōchtli, ahmō zan tlapōhualtin. Huel ixachintin.** = When all the youths and maidens had gathered together, they could not be counted. They were very numerous. [The verbstem (**cen-quiza**) unavoidably implies an action by more than one entity (“(for many) to come out as one,” i.e., “together”); here the VNC built on it shows common number, as do also the subject pronouns of the NNCs **ixquich**, **tēlpōchtli**, and **ichpōchtli**, all instances of generic reference. They stand in contrast to their head, the plural-number subject of **tlapōhualtin** in the principal clause, a plurality confirmed by **ixachintin** in the following sentence.]

The following example illustrates lack of agreement to express the notion of “one of” (compare § 43.7):

**Quimacaqueh in itlahtōl in ūah Motēuczōma.** = One of Moteuczoma’s fathers (i.e., elders) gave his (i.e., Moteuczoma’s) words to him (i.e. Cortés). [Literally, “his father and they gave” (a “named partner” construction; see § 18.6). The source context rejects the other possible versions, “They gave Moteuczoma’s father’s words to him” and “Moteuczoma’s father and he (or they) gave him his words.”]

3. Lack of agreement in *specificity* occurs when an adjunct with a specific pronoun is placed in grammatical relationship with a nonspecific pronominal head. In such a construction the adjunct delineates an area to which the generality of the head is applicable (i.e., the notion of “all in general” is reduced to that of “all of a specific group”).



a. A nonspecific subject pronoun in the principal clause may take a specific supplementary subject. The principal VNC is in the impersonal voice. (Remember that the pronoun subject of an impersonal VNC is nonspecific; see § 22.3.)

**Oncān ātlacuihua, oncān ātlīhua Mēxihcah** = There all Mexihcas fetch water and drink.

**Tlacotōnalo ixquich tlācatl, in cihuātl, in toquichtin.** = All pinch off things—everyone, women and men; i.e., Everyone, women and men, wrings quails by the neck. [The notion of “all” found in the nonspecific subject pronoun of the impersonal VNC is reiterated in **ixquich tlācatl**, which is then more closely defined by the appositive group **in cihuātl, in toquichtin.**]

b. A nonspecific object pronoun in the principal clause may take a specific supplementary object:

**In māmaltin tēhuihuilāno.** = All the captives are dragged along. [The VNC **tēhuihuilāno** is in the impersonal voice. The supplementary object **māmaltin** stands in cross-reference to the nonspecific object pronoun **tē.**]

**Niman ye ic tēzāzaco in cihuātzitzintin, in ilamatzitzin ihuān in ye tlahpalihuih. Mochintin mimictlilōqueh. Ahoc āc mocāuhqueh.** = Then after that all the beloved women, the old women and therewith those already mature were brought out. All were slain. None remained.

**Tētlan tlaāno in pīpiltzitzintin.** = All the little children were taken from among the people. [The **tla** object pronoun on the impersonal VNC **tlaāno** is an example of nonanimation; its supplementary object **pīpiltzitzintin** disagrees with it in both specificity and humanness.]

**Necenmanalo in tepēpan in tlatēmōlo in ixquich xōchitl.** = All scatter over the mountains so that every flower may be sought. [Literally, “so that all may seek all flowers.” The adjunct **ixquich xōchitl**, presenting in specific terms the notion of “allness” as well as the nature of the referent, stands as a supplementary object in cross-reference to the nonspecific object pronoun **tla.**]

c. The constructions described in paragraphs *a* and *b* underlie, or are implicit in, such constructions as the following:

**Tēhuīca in ōmpa miquizqueh.** = All are taken there where they will die. [The nonspecific object pronoun **tē** (i.e., “people in general”), which serves as the object of the impersonal construction, is particularized in the specific subject pronoun **θ-θ(. . . +qu-eh**, “they” (i.e., specific individuals) of **miquizqueh** in the adverbial adjunct.]

**Auh in ihcuāc tlacotōnalo, ihuīc contlāzah, ihuīc conmāyahuih in Huitztzilōpōchtli.** = And when the beheading (of quails) has taken place, they throw them and cast them toward Huitzilopochtli. [The object pronoun **tla** refers to the referent as a totality; the object pronoun **c-θ** refers to it as a group of specific entities.]

**Huihuilohua in tlahtlamanazqueh inteōpan** = All go in order that they may lay offerings in their temples. [The impersonal agent in the principal clause is replaced by a specific, personal plurality of agents in the adjunct clause; the people involved are the same in both instances.]

*Remark:* The constructions mentioned in the various divisions of this section should be handled with care. The referent of each of the pertinent personal pronouns must be the same group of extralinguistic entities, seen, however, from different perspectives of specificity. If a difference in referents exists, the construction is not the one described here. Contrast the above examples with the following sentence:

**Mochintin oncān onhuetzqueh in ātl oncān panohua.** = All fell there into water where people ford. [Even though the people who do the falling are a totality, they are only a portion of the wider totality of those who do the fording.]

At times it is difficult to decide which construction is being used:

**Auh in ōpanhuechohuato, niman quitlemīnah, quitlecāhuiah in cuezcomatl in tlamacazqueh.** = And when all reached the summit, then the priests set fire to and burned the maize bin. [The VNC **ōpanhuechohuato** is a purposive VNC in the impersonal voice built on the verbstem (**pan-huetzi**), “to rise to the top surface,” but here “to top a hill.” As can be seen, the problem of the identity of referents behind the subject pronouns of **ōpanhuechohuato** and **quitlemīnah** continues to be present in the English translation of those VNCs.]

57.5. *Adverbial NNCs as Supplements.* In § 51.2.3 mention was made of a “designating” construction in which the object pronoun **tla** serves as the head of a supplementary object manifested by an adverbial NNC. The following is another example:

**Nōhuiyān nōhuiyān tlatohēcāyōtihtiyah in nicān.** = He went along naming everywhere everywhere here. [The reduplicative prefix on the VNC points up the variety of the places named, an idea that is echoed in the repetition of the supplementary-object adverbial NNC **nōhuiyān**.]

Care must be taken in this matter. There is another construction in which the syntax seems similar to that of the foregoing example but in fact is quite different, since the adjunct has an adverbial function. This other structure has been presented in § 50.5. It is further illustrated, for the purpose of contrast, in the following examples:

**Ahoc āc ontlamati in quēn ahcito in ōmpa Tlapallān.** = No one knows now anything concerning how he came to arrive there at Tlapallan. [The adjunct has no direct grammatical relationship to the object pronoun **tla** of **ontlamati**; it is not a supplement but an adverbial modifier.]

**Tlā xontlachiyačān in Mēxihco, tleh in ye mochihua.** = Look at what is already happening in Mexihco. [The adjunct clause has no relation with the object pronoun **tla** of **xontlachiyačān**.]

*Note:* A lack of agreement between head and adjunct may in fact point to neither the former nor the latter construction; it may result from the deletion transformation described in § 19.6. In the following sentences, for example, the principal clause that should contain the adjoined clause has been deleted:

**Xitlanāhuaticān, “Mā tlapiyelo in nōhuiyān ātēncō.”** = Give orders (saying), “Let guard be kept everywhere on the shores.” [The clause **xiquihtōcān**, or perhaps **xictēilhuicān**, which contains the specific object pronoun that serves as the head for the quotation, has been deleted.]

**Tlanānquilia Tlācohtzin, “Tlā quimocaquiti in Capitan!”** = Tlacotzin answers (saying to him), “May the Captain hear it!” I.e., Tlacotzin answers, “May the Captain hear it!” [The clause **quihua**, which contains the

object pronoun that serves as head for the quotation, has been deleted. Compare this sentence containing **tlā-(nān-qui-liā)** with the sentence given in § 19.6 that contains **tē-(nān-qui-liā)**, i.e., **niquinnānquilia**.]

The deletion also occurs in the indirect speech construction of § 19.6. For instance, the first example above can be rephrased as follows:

**Xitlanāhuaticān mā tlapiyelo in nōhuiyān ātēncō.** = Give order (saying) that guard be kept everywhere on the shores.

57.6. *The Irregular Silent Morph as Filler in the Subject Pronoun's Pers<sup>1</sup> Subposition.* In a sequence of concatenated VNCs all of which have subject pronouns referring to the same first-person entity or entities, stylistic license permits the subject pronoun's *pers<sup>1</sup>* subposition to be filled by  $\square$  after a sounded version has occurred on the first VNC. It is as if the *pers<sup>1</sup>* subposition in the first VNC has been raised from the status of prefix to that of a particle. The sentences may be juxtaposed either by adjunction (creating a seeming lack of agreement) or by conjunction.

**Tinehuihuicān tlamatizqueh, āc yeh tlanī huetziz.** = Let's become equal (so that) (we) will know s.th. concerning who is he that will fall down; i.e., Let's have a contest to see which one will lose. [The subject pronoun on the second VNC seems to be third person but is actually first person:  $\# \square - \emptyset + \text{tla}(\text{mati})\text{z} + \text{qu-eh}\#$ . The ordinary form of this sentence would be **Tinehuihuicān titlamatizqueh. . .**]

**Nixocohcīhui, noztlacmēya, noxocolia.** = My teeth are set on edge; I salivate and become acid (i.e., get a tart taste in my mouth). [The subject pronoun in  $\# \square - \emptyset + \text{n-o}(\text{ztlacmēya})\emptyset + \emptyset - \emptyset\#$  and  $\# \square - \emptyset + \text{n-o}(\text{xoco-lia})\emptyset + \emptyset - \emptyset\#$  has to be first singular because the first-person singular reflexive object pronoun **n-o** requires it. The sentence could also have been **Nixocohcīhui, ninoztlacmēya, ninoxocolia**.]

**Ōtimitzahciqueh tlamacazqueh, ca ōtitlamimiloh.** = (We) priests have arrested you, for indeed you have upset things. [In this instance it is the supplement that has the irregularity:  $\# \square - \emptyset(\text{tla-maca-z})\text{qu-eh}\#$ . Of course this sentence could be an example of the "named partner" construction of § 18.5 (to be translated "the priests and I"), but the context suggests that this is not the case. The text could have read **Ōtimitzahciqueh titlamacazqueh. . .**]

*Note:* There is one other situation in which the  $\square$  morph may occur in the *pers<sup>1</sup>* subposition. Since the reflexive object pronouns for the first person have such distinctive shapes, stylistic consideration may rely on them to signal the information regarding the person of the subject even without the presence of a forelying VNC that spells out that information.

**Nomati aoc tleh oc itlah in tictēhtēmicoc.** = (I) think you don't dream of anything else. [Here  $\# \square - \emptyset + \text{n-o}(\text{mati})\emptyset + \emptyset - \emptyset\#$  so obviously implies a first-person singular subject that it need not be spelled out. The sentence can be expressed more formally with the VNC in its ordinary shape, **ninomati**.]

57.7. *The Nounstem-Forming Suffix /l/.* There are a number of nounstems that end in a suffix that looks like the remnant of the nonactive suffix **lō** found in so many patientive nounstems. There seems, however, in these instances to be no nonactive verbstem source. The source is apparently a nounstem. The following are a few examples:

**(te-l)-li-** = stone mound/rock pile/mound [**(te)-tl-**, "rock." The synonymous, or nearly synonymous, stem **(tla-te-l)-li-**, "large rock mound/hillock," seems to be formed in

imitation of the impersonal patientive nounstem formation of § 38.1.3. It has the variant shape **(tla-ti-l)-li-**; see § 2.2.]

**(ca-l)-li-** = house/walled-in enclosure [< **\*(ca)-tl-**, “being/entity”; see § 31.6.1.]

**(tle-l)-li-** = fiery sensation [< **(tle)-tl-**, “fire”; see § 31.6.]

**(cē-l)-li-** = a lone/single thing [< **(cē)-θ-**, “one.”]

**(icpa-l)-li-** = high-backed seat [< **(icpa)-tl-**, “top/upper part”]

**(cā-cā-l)-li-** = crow [onomatopoeic source imitating a crow’s call]

**(ah-co-l)-li-** = shoulder [< **(ah-co)-□-**, “place above/upward.”]

**(xā-l)-li-** = sand [< **(xā)-tl-**, “surface/surface residue (?)”; see also **(xā-yō)-tl-**, sediment/dregs/lees,” in § 31.6.2, and **(xā-yaca)-tl-**, “a nose on a surface,” i.e., “a mask; face.”]

**(xī-l)-li-** = navel area [Compare **(xī-c)-tli-**, “navel; umbilical depression.” The stem serves as the embed in **(xī-l-lan)-tli-**, “place beneath the area of the navel”; see § 47.3.2, *note*.]

## LESSON 58

### Miscellany (Part Two)

58.1. *Instrumental Nounstems Formed on (āz)-tli-*. A number of instrumental nounstems are formed as compounds with the nounstem **(āz)-tli-**, “a made thing, a thing with which to do s.th.,” i.e., “tool, implement, device, apparatus,” in the matrix subposition. This matrix stem is strange in that its use is restricted almost entirely to this function. Apparently, it is a passive patientive nounstem derived from the verbstem **tla-(āyi)**, “to make/do s.th.,” in which the /y/ has the variant [s] rather than the expected [š], which occurs in the impersonal patientive nounstem **(tla-āx)-tli-**, “a worked thing,” i.e., “tilled land.” The stem **(āz)-tli-** also occurs in **(āz-ca)-tli-**, “ant,” literally “entity associated with implements (i.e., the mandibles which the ant uses as tools)” (see § 31.6), and it occurs with reduplication in **(ah-āz)-tli-**, “a thing like a tool,” i.e., “a wing” (see § 53.1 on this kind of reduplication).

The following are a few compound nounstems illustrating the instrumentive formation:

**(te-nām-āz)-tli-** = one of the three rocks used for supporting cooking vessels in a firepit;  
*metaph*, triplet [**(te-nāmi)-tli-**, “wall.” Molina lists **tenāmāztin**, i.e., with a plural subject as if the rocks are animate, or perhaps the plurality applies only to the metaphorical meaning.]

**(tepon-āz)-tli-** = horizontal two-toned log drum [**(tepon)-tli-**, “stump/log”]

**(tzō-tzop-āz)-tli-** = weaver’s reed [Cf. **(tzopi)**, “(for s.th. woven) to become finished.”]

**(mā-tzō-tzop-āz)-tli-** = forearm

**(tzi-tzic-āz)-tli-** = nettle

**(tle-hcu-āz)-tli-** = fire basin/brazier

**(pi-āz)-tli-** = long, slender gourd used as a drinking tube

**(ā-pi-āz)-tli-** = pipe, tube

**(te-ā-pi-āz)-tli-** = stone pipe, stone tube

There is another formation in which a /w/ appears before the **(āz)-tli-**. This connective /w/ is also found in the matrix verbstem of ownership **\*tla-(-hu-a)** (see § 35.9) and in the applicative suffix /w-ia:/ (see § 26.3 and §§ 26.9–26.10). Here, in the majority of instances, the /w/ follows an /l/, as in the following examples:

**(mamal-hu-āz)-tli-** = fire drill, fire stick [**(mamal)-li-**, “a drilled thing,” from **tla-(mamali)**, “to drill s.th., to bore a hole in s.th.”]

(**māma-l-hu-āz**)-**tli-** = pack frame [< (**māma-l**)-**li-**, “a thing carried on the back,” from **tla-** (**māmā**), “to carry s.th. on the back”]

(**tla-pī-pi-l-hu-āz**)-**tli-** = yoke

(**cuauh-tla-pī-pi-l-hu-āz**)-**tli-** = perch

(**ā-pī-pi-l-hu-āz**)-**tli-** = conduit

(**te-ā-pi-l-hu-āz**)-**tli-** = stone pipe, tube [Same translation value as (**te-ā-pi-āz**)-**tli-** above.]

(**ā-yōl-hu-āz**)-**tli-** = well [Also (**ā-ōl-hu-āz**)-**tli-**; on the omission of /y/ as here, see § 2.13.1.]

(**tla-tze-tzel-hu-āz**)-**tli-** = sieve, sifter [Cf. **tla-(tze-tzel-o-ā)**, “to sift s.th.”]

(**tla-ht-ō-l-hu-āz**)-**tli-** = gullet, windpipe [< (**tla-ht-ō-l**)-**li-**, “uttered thing; utterance, word, speech”]

(**tla-hcal-hu-āz**)-**tli-** = blowgun [Cf. **tla-(ihcali)**, “to fight against s.o.”]

(**te-hcuil-hu-āz**)-**tli-** = stamp (the implement)

(**neh-ne-hcuil-hu-āz**)-**tli-** = stamp (the implement) [Although Molina does not indicate it, there must have been a difference in meaning between this and the preceding stem.]

In a few instances the /w/ follows an /n/:

(**tzon-hu-āz**)-**tli-** = snare (for game) [< (**tzon**)-**tli-**, “hair”]

(**tla-čhpān-hu-āz**)-**tli-** = broom [Cf. **tla-(ičhpāna)**, “to sweep s.th.”]

And in a few instances /w/ follows the vowel [a] (usually a replacement for /o:/):

(**ehca-hu-āz**)-**tli-** = ladder [< (**ehcō**), “to arrive”]

(**cuauh-ehca-hu-āz**)-**tli-** = wooden ladder

(**me-ca-ehca-hu-āz**)-**tli-** = rope ladder

(**cuauh-pana-hu-āz**)-**tli-** = wooden bridge [Cf. (**panō**), “to cross to the other side.” Also spelled (**cuap-pana-hu-āz**)-**tli-**, as it is pronounced when assimilation is allowed to come into play.]

(**tzicua-hu-āz**)-**tli-** = comb [The /k<sup>w</sup>/ is frequently delabialized: (**tzica-hu-āz**)-**tli-**.]

Nounstems formed with the matrix stem (**āz**)-**tli-** (preceded or not by /w/) can serve as the source for a verbstem formed with **huiā** (see § 55.3.2.a):

**tla-(pi-āz-huiā)** = to use a tube on s.th., to drink s.th. through a tube

**m-o-(tzicua-hu-āz-huiā)** = to use a comb on oneself, to comb oneself’s hair

Less frequently, nounstems formed with (**āz**)-**tli-** can serve as the source for an intransitive verbstem using the **o-a** of § 55.3.1.a.

(**tepon-āz-o-ā**) = to use a horizontal log drum; i.e., to play a horizontal drum [< (**tepon-āz**)-**tli-**, “a horizontal log drum (see § 55.3.2.a, note 2).]

(**tla-pi-āz-o-ā**) = to use a quasi-pipe; i.e., (for a man) to urinate [< (**tla-pi-āz**)-**tli-**, “a thing resembling a pipe,” i.e., “a penis”; for the **tla**, see § 53.1.2; (**pi-āz**)-**tli-**, “pipe, tube.”]

58.2. *Problematic Constructions.* The descriptions of stem formations and nuclear-clause formations already presented by no means exhaust the possibilities of the language. There are numerous unaccounted-for constructions that affect only a small number of items. The following are a few examples.

1. Certain incorporated-noun compound verbstems with (**ē-hua**) or **tlā-(ē-hu-a)** as matrix continue to manifest the subject pronoun's *num'* subposition filler associated with the source absolutive-state NNC.

**tlatzahztiztlēhuah** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +**tlā(tzahzti-z-tl-ē-hu-a)** $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -**h**# = they cause s.th. to rise in the form of (*or* by means of) a shouting; i.e., they shout loudly [**< (tzahzti-z)-tli-**, “action of shouting”]

**tlachōquiztlēhuah** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +**tlā(chōqui-z-tl-ē-hu-a)** $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -**h**# = they weep aloud [**< (chōqui-z)-tli-**, “action of weeping”]

**nicochihtlēhua** = #**ni- $\emptyset$ (cochi-h-tl-ē-hua)** $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -**h**# = I start up from sleep, I spring out of bed; *also*, “I dream” (since one's soul was thought to rise from bed during sleep and traveling about) [**< (cochi-h)-tli-**, “sleep.” The expected form would be **(cochi-z)-tli-**.]

**tlatlathuillōtlēhuaz** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**tlā-tlā-t-huī-l-lō-tl-ē-hua**)**z**+ $\square$ - $\emptyset$ # = dawn will break [**< (tlā-t-huī-l-lō)-tl-**, “a thing characteristic of dawn.” The initial **tlā** in the VNC is the impersonal **tlā** (see § 22.6.)]

There are other constructions that result merely from spelling that imitates pronunciation and should not be confused with the above examples.

**Pōctlēhuatoc; pōctli mantoc.** = Smoke lies rising; smoke lies spreading out. [**Pōctlēhuatoc** is simply **pōctli ēhuatoc** spelled solid. Instead of incorporation there is supplementation, with **pōctl-** standing in cross-reference to the subject pronoun of **ēhuatoc**.]

**Ōhuellālimictimotēcac.** = The earth lay quite dead; i.e., It was very late at night. [Written in a standard format, this would be **ōhuel tlālli mictimotēcac**. It is an example of an “integrated supplement” (see § 18.1); the supplementary subject **tlālli** is forced into tight alliance with the principal clause by the placement of **ōhuel** (the antecessive order particle **ō#** plus the adverbialized NNC **huel**), which is thus made to modify not just the VNC **mictimotēcac** but the syntactical unit **tlālli mictimotēcac**. The integrated supplement construction can be dissolved by either **Tlālli ōhuel mictimotēcac** or **Tlālli huel ōmictimotēcac**. The English translation would remain the same.]

2. Occasionally, one finds a connective-**t** compound verbstem in which the embed is a nounstem rather than a verbstem.

**xonāuhtiu** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (**xo-nāuh-ti-uh**) $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -**h**# = he goes on all fours

3. Occasionally, the restricted-use preterit-as-present agentive nounstem formed on a connective-**t** compound is embedded as an object complement in a compound verbstem. Even more surprising is the fact that the subject pronoun's *num'* filler **c** is kept on the embed. The implied subject on this embedded NNC has the same referent as the object pronoun of the matrix VNC.

**quimmictocāhuah** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +**qu-im(mic- $\emptyset$ -t-o- $\emptyset$ -c-cāhua)** $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ -**h**# = they leave them as ones who lie having died; i.e., They leave them lying dead.

**quipetzocāuhqueh** = # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +**qui- $\emptyset$ (petz- $\emptyset$ -t-o- $\emptyset$ -c-cāuh)** $\emptyset$ +**qu-eh**# = they left him as one who lies have become naked; i.e., They left him lying naked. [The preterit tense embed of the connective-**t** stem (**petz- $\emptyset$ -t-o**) bears witness to the existence of the

unattested verbstem **\*(petzi)**, “to become smooth/shiny/polished” (see **(petz-i-hui)**, “(for s.th. polished) to become smooth/shiny,” and **(petz)-tli-**, “pyrite.”)

4. One occasionally finds a connective-**t** compound verbstem that violates the rules for normal formation; for example:

**tē-(pol-i-uh-θ-ti-tlāza)** = to confound s.o. with words [As in: **niquimpoliuhtitlāzaz = #ni-θ+qu-im(pol-i-uh-θ-ti-tlāza)z+□-θ#**, “I shall confound them with words.”]

Not only does the verb object pronoun respond to the matrix instead of to the embed (the verb **(pol-i-hui)** is intransitive), at the same time it apparently represents the deleted subject of the VNC that has provided the preterit predicate that serves as embed. Notice the derived nounstems:

**(tē-pol-i-uh-θ-ti-tlāza-liz)-tli-** = the act of confounding people with words

**(tla-pol-i-uh-θ-ti-tlāx)-tli-** = one who has been confounded with words, one who has been confused [an impersonal patientive nounstem]

The following are further examples of this kind of verbstem, all translatable as “to empty s.th. (such as a grain bin, maize crib, or box)”:

**tla-(iuh-θ-ti-cāhua)**

**tla-(iuh-θ-ti-quetza)**

**tla-(iuh-θ-ti-tēca)**

5. It is possible to find a connective-**t** between the embed and the matrix of a compound nounstem when the matrix is not a relational nounstem:

**titlazohtitlācatl = #ti-θ(tla-zo-h-ti-tlāca)tl-θ#** = you are a valued person [**<(tla-zo-h)-tli-**, “a valued thing”]

6. There is a strange formation in which a reflexive-object pronoun is frozen in a third-person form inside a verbstem because of the incorporation of an adverbial nounstem in front of it; for instance:

**(tlāl-m-□-āhui-l-ti-ā)** = (for a child) to amuse himself/herself by playing with dirt (creating piles with it, etc.) [As in: **nitlālmāhuiltia**, “I have fun playing with dirt.” From the causative verbstem **m-□-(āhui-l-ti-ā)**, “to amuse o.s.”; as in: **nināhuiltia**, “I amuse myself.”]

58.3. *Exclamatory Expressions.* Utterances that express vehement or excited feeling in an abrupt manner may be particles (see § 3.2.5), NNCs, VNCs, or combinations of any of these. The following are a few examples:

**Quēn mach tamih in ticihuāt!** = What a fortunate woman you are! [Traditionally written **Quemmachtami**. . . . See § 11.4.6.]

**Ōimicnōpiltic!** = How lucky they are! [A VNC formed on an included-possessor verbstem; see § 54.3.2.]

**Ōnomahcēhualtic!** = How fortunate I am! [Again, see § 54.3.2.]



**Ōitlahuēilitic!** = Alas for him! [See § 54.3.3.]

**Titelchitl!** = You got what you deserve! It serves you right! [< (**tel-chi**)-**tl**-, “a person who gets his just deserts”]

**Telchitl!** = He got what he deserves! It serves him right!

**Ītepahyo!** = It is what he had coming! It is his just punishment! [< (**te-pah-yō**)-**tl**-, “what is characteristic of rock medicine,” i.e., “deserved punishment”]

**Motepahyo!** = It’s your just punishment! You had it coming!

**Tlakah zo . . .!** = By George, . . .! Holy smoke, . . .!

**Tlakah zo eh!** = Wow! How about that! Well, I’ll be! How the devil . . .! [Traditionally written **Tlacace!**]

**Nicca!** ~ **Niltzé!** ~ **Nopohzté!** ~ **Netlé!** ~ **Hui!** ~ **Tahui!** ~ **Ayo!** ~ **Yeccué!** ~ **Ané!** ~ **Tocné!**  
~ **Nocné!** = Hello! Hi! Hey there! Hey, you! [The accented /e/ is the vocative particle #é.]

**Tlacuah!** = Come here!

The following are exclamatory urgings for haste. They mean something like “Let it forthwith be!” and are translated as “Come!” “Come on!” “Let’s get at it!” “Let’s get to work!” “Let’s get it done!” “Let’s get it over with!” “Let’s get out of here!” “Onward!” “Up and at ’em!” or similar expressions.

**Oc eh!** [Traditionally written **Oque.**]

**Tlā oc eh!** [Traditionally written **Tlaoque** or **Tlaque** (with elision of the /o/).]

**Mā oc eh!** [Traditionally written **Maoque** or **Maque** (with elision of the /o/).]

**Tlā cuēl!** ~ **Tlā cuēl eh!** ~ **Tla cuēl ehhuātl!** [Traditionally written **Tlacuel**, **Tlacuele**, and **Tlacuehuatl.**]

**Mā cuēl!** ~ **Mā cuēl eh!** ~ **Mā cuēl ehhuātl!** [Traditionally written **Macuel**, **Macuele**, and **Macuehuatl.**]

**Mā ye cuēl!** ~ **Mā ye cuēl eh!** [Traditionally written **Mayecuel** and **Mayecuele.**]

**Tlā ye cuēl!** ~ **Tlā ye cuēl eh!** [Traditionally written **Tlayecuel** and **Tlayecuele.**]

The personal pronoun NNCs **eh** and **ehhuātl** can be replaced by **yeh** and **yehhuātl**.

The following are a few examples showing exclamatory expressions in sentences:

**Tleh in ic topan mochihuaz? Āc nel ihcac? Ah! Yēppa nehhuātl.** = What will happen to us? Who, in truth, stands? Alas! Until now, I am the one.

**Hue! nopilhuāntzitziné! Quēn huel amehhuāntin in ōamopan mochīuh in tleh in ye mochihuaz?** = Alas, my children! How is it that you are the ones upon whom will have happened what will soon happen?

**Tlakah ceh! Ye cuēl miyāhuatiznequi in tōctli!** = How about that! The young maize plant is already ready to form a tassel!

**Ihyo ōmotlahuēilitic!** = Woe and alas for you!

**Mēxihcahé, mā ye cuēl yehhuātl!** = O Mexicans, onward!

**Tlā cuēl! Tlā xihuāllauh, nonān, Chālchiuhcuēyeh.** = Let it be soon! Come, my mother, Chalchiuhcueyeh. [I.e., “she is called ‘She is One Who Has Owned a Jadeite Skirt.’” This personal-name NNC is a variant of **Chālchiuhuitl-Īcuē**, “she is called ‘Her Skirt Is of Jadeite.’”]

58.4. *The mah Construction.* The particle **mah**, “such that,” and its negative counterpart **mah ca#** (or **mah camō**), “such that . . . not,” are used to adjoin a clause or clausal unit to a principal clause consisting of the interrogative NNCs **āc**, **tleh**, **cān**, or **īc**. The adjunct **in** is optional. (Do not confuse these particles with the wish markers **mā**, **mā ca#**, and **mā camō**.)

**Āc in mah mitzīximati?** = Who is the one such that he knows you? Is there someone such that he knows you? Who is there that knows you?

**Āc in mah camitzīximati?** = Who is the one such that he does not know you? Is there someone such that he does not know you? Who is there who does not know you?

**Āc in mah ōquittaqueh?** = Who are the ones such that they saw him? Are there people such that they saw him? Did anyone see him?

**Āc in mah caquimati in?** = Who is the one such that he does not know this? Is there anyone such that he does not know this? Who is ignorant of this?

**Tleh in mah ōtinēchmihtlanililih in mah camō niman ōnimitznotlācamachītih?** = What is the thing such that you (H) have asked of me such that I have not immediately obeyed you (H)? What is there that you (H) have asked of me that I have not done immediately? Is there anything that you (H) have asked of me that I have not done immediately?

**Cān in mah ōtiquittac?** = Was there a place such that you saw it? Where was it that you saw it?

**Īc in mah ōticcac?** = Was there a time such that you heard it? When was it that you heard it?

The combination of a negative principal clause plus **mah** expresses a strong negative, while that of a negative principal clause plus **mah ca#** expresses a strong affirmative:

**Ayāc mah quimati in.** = There is no one such that he knows it. No one at all knows it.

**Ayāc mah caquimati in.** = There is no one such that he does not know it. Everyone knows it.

**Ca ayāc nicquixtia in mah camō nicmaca in octli. Tlā xoconi.** = I cause no one to leave such that I do not give him pulque (i.e., I permit no one to leave to whom I have not given pulque). Drink. [Note the translation of the present-tense VNC by means of the English present perfect.]

**Ahoc tlein, in mah itlah.** = No longer is there anything such that it is something; i.e., There is no longer anything at all.

**Ahtleh in mah caōnicchīuh.** = There is nothing such that I did not do it; i.e., I did everything.

**Ahcān mah ōniquittac.** = There is no place such that I have seen it; i.e., Nowhere have I seen it.

**Aīc mah caōticmah.** = There was no time such that you did not know it; i.e., You have always known it.

*Note:* The expressions **quēmah** and **quēmahca** listed in § 44.6 with the translation value of “yes” are simply frozen collocations of the question NNC **quē**, “how?” (see § 16.8.2 and § 44.5.7), plus **mah** or **mah ca#** used in an elliptical construction (since the negative prefix **ca#** is left by this ellipsis without a head to the right, it is written solid with the **mah**):

**quēmah** = how is it such that (it is otherwise)?

**quēmahca** = how is it such that (it is) not (as you say)? [Compare Spanish *cómo no*, “how not,” as the equivalent of “yes.”]

58.5. **Cuix, ahzo, or ahmō as the Principal Clause in the mah Construction.** The adjoined clause introduced by the particles **mah** and **mah ca#** may also have **cuix, ahzo, or ahmō** as its principal clause.

**Ahzo mah tītah?** = Is it perhaps the case that you are his father? Are you his father?

**Ahzo in mah catītah?** = Is it perhaps the case that you are not his father? Aren't you his father?

**Cuix in mah nitēmiqui?** = Is it perchance the case that I am dreaming? Am I perchance dreaming?

**Cuix mah canitēmiqui?** = It is perchance the case that I am not dreaming? Am I perchance not dreaming?

The combination of **ahmō mah** (or **ahmō in mah**) is equivalent to a strong negative and that of **ahmō mah ca#** (or **ahmō in mah ca#**) to a strong affirmative.

**Ahmō in mah niceltoca.** = It is not the case that I believe it; i.e., I certainly do not believe it.

**Ahmō in mah caniceltoca.** = It is not the case that I do not believe it; i.e., I certainly do believe it.

**Ca ahmō mah canicnequi.** = Indeed it is not the case that I do not want it; i.e., I do indeed want it.

58.6. **Iuhqui as Principal Clause in the mah Construction.** The adjoined clause introduced by **mah** and **mah ca#** may also have the preterit-agentive NNC **ihuhqui** or the preterit-tense VNC **ihuh** as its principal clause (compare § 53.1.7):

**Iuhqui in mah amichcameh.** = It is of such a nature that it is the case that you are sheep. It is as though you were sheep. You are like sheep.

**In immalhuān iuhqui in mah intlācahuān catcah.** = It was as if their captives were their slaves. Their captives were like their slaves.

**Iuhqui in mah cailhuitl.** = It is as if it were not a holiday.

**In itlachiyeliz iuhqui in mah centzontli icpitl.** = Its appearance is like four hundred (i.e., many) fireflies.

The construction can also involve **ic** (compare § 53.1.7).

**Iuh in mah miequīntin tōtōmeh ic tlahtoa.** = It sings as if there were many birds.

**Huel iuhqui in mah tlācatl ic mihmati in ic motlapachihuiāni.** = It is quite as cunning as a human being when it is a stalker.

*Remark:* In texts with traditional spelling, collocations involving **ihuhqui, in,** and **mah** are frequently written solid as **ihuhquimma** and **ihuhquimmaca**.

58.7. **The Incorporated Noun and the Subject Function.** The possible functions of a noun-stem incorporated into a verbstem were discussed in Lesson 30. The subject function was not

included in those possibilities. In Nahuatl the nuclear subject (the subject in the VNC) is obligatorily manifested by a personal-pronoun subject (i.e., by a circumfixal pronoun expressed by a person dyad cooperating with a number dyad). There is no way the positions filled by the subject personal pronoun can be usurped by an incorporated nounstem.

Since, however, the third-person subject pronoun has its person position filled by silently present morphs (i.e.,  $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ), many (enticed by translational mirage) are tempted to believe that the incorporated nounstem is functioning as subject. There are two situations in which this temptation is strongest.

1. The active verbstem formation:

**quimichpatlān** = it is a bat

**tlālōlīn** = it is an earthquake

**ehehcapolihui** = the wind disperses it

**monezahualhuītequi** = the fast is broken

The translations are misleading. They cater to the false impression that the entity named by the embed is performing the action. But these VNCs are not at all saying what the following supplementary-subject constructions are saying:

**Ōpatlān in quimichin.** = The mouse flew.

**Ōōlīn in tlālī.** = The earth moved.

**Polihui in ehehcatl.** = The wind subsides.

**Mohuītequi in nezahualli.** = The fast is broken.

The VNCs do not result from a simple transformation performed on the double-nucleus sentences. In every one of the VNCs, the incorporated nounstem is functioning as an adverb and in no way represents the entity performing the action. This is most obvious in **monezahualhuītequi**, where (**ne-zahua-l**)-**li**- is clearly not in a subject position since this position must precede a verb-object position, here occupied by **m-o**. In spite of the fact that the translations of **monezahualhuītequi** and **mohuītequi in nezahualli** are the same, the former is saying something like “an impersonal ‘it’ is breaking ‘itself’ with regard to the fast,” while the latter is saying “the fast is breaking itself.” Neither of these literal translations means anything to English speakers, but the difference between the two Nahuatl sentences is obvious to a Nahuatl speaker. The other examples are equally distinctive to a Nahuatl speaker. For example, **quimichpatlān**, i.e.,  $\#0$ - $\emptyset$ (**quimich-patl-ā-n-0**) $\square$ - $\emptyset$  $\#$ , is a preterit-agentive NNC meaning “it is a thing that has flown having a resemblance to a mouse,” i.e., “it is a bat.” Similarly, **tlālōlīn**, i.e.,  $\#0$ - $\emptyset$ (**tlāl-ōl-ī-n-0**) $\square$ - $\emptyset$  $\#$ , is also a preterit-agentive NNC and means “it is a thing that has moved in the form of the land,” i.e., “it is an earthquake.” The translation given above for **ehehcapolihui** is especially misleading, because not only is **ehehca**- not the subject, but the Nahuatl predicate is not transitive. Yet the translation is a possible one, as is clear when the VNC is used in a sentence such as **Ehehcapolihui in mixtli**, “The wind disperses the clouds.” This is an excellent example of how one should not trust a translation to reveal anything about the structure of the source. A better translation of this sentence would be “The clouds become wind-destroyed,” because **mixtli** is the supplementary subject of the pronominal subject in

**ehehcapolihui**, i.e., # $\theta$ - $\theta$ (**eh-eh-ca-pol-i-hui**) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$ #, an intransitive VNC that means “it becomes lost/destroyed because of (or by means/force of) wind,” with (**eh-eh-ca**)-**tl**- functioning as an incorporated adverb.

Constructions such as **izticohcōltic**, “its claws are curved,” have already been discussed in § 30.14. The incorporated nounstem, contrary to the illusion created by the translation, is not the subject but an incorporated adverb of place resulting from a drastic transformation performed on the double-nucleus construction **cohcōltic in izti**, “its claws are curved,” where the NNC **izti** is functioning as a supplementary subject. The possessor pronoun of **izti** is transformed into the subject pronoun of the incorporated-adverb compound VNC **izticohcōltic**.

2. The nonactive verbstem formation:

**cōācualo** = he is snake bitten [a passive-voiced VNC]

**ocuilcualōc** = it has been worm-eaten [a passive-voiced VNC]

**ontēcuāncualōzqueh** = they will end up wild animal eaten [a passive-voiced VNC]

The incorporated nounstem in the passive-voice formations is obviously not the subject; for example, one can easily find **nicōācualo** (“I am snake bitten”) or **tontēcuāncualōzqueh** (“we shall end up wild animal eaten”). But when the subject pronoun is third person, its silently present person dyad seems to confuse students into thinking an incorporated nounstem names the agent. After all, in the active source of these nonactive formations it functions as a supplementary subject.

**Quicua in cōātl.** = The snake bites him.

**Ōquicuah in ocuilin.** = The worm ate it.

**Quincuāzqueh in tēcuānimeh.** = The wild animals will eat them.

As has been pointed out in § 21.1, however, the passive-voiced VNC does not permit the mention of an agent. Consequently, we must recognize that the transformation in this instance (as in subsection 1 above) is not a simple process. What was a subject-as-agent in the double-nucleus source becomes an adverb of means or instrument in the single-nucleus transform: **ehehcatoco**, “he is pursued by means of the wind” (as if the source were, for example, **quehehcatocah**, “they pursue him by means of the wind”). From the viewpoint of English, this description may seem mere quibbling or a gambit to preserve the integrity of certain rules. But, as has already been suggested, English is not the best door to understanding Nahuatl. In the present instance, a speaker of Arabic, for example, would not find the “active-agent-to-passive-instrument” transformation esoteric or artificial, since, like Nahuatl and unlike English, Arabic has a prohibition against mentioning an agent in a passive construction.

58.8. *Textual Problems.* In dealing with Nahuatl texts one should always be prepared to cope with textual problems due to mistakes. These may be the result of a lack of understanding on the part of the copyist, a slip of the pen, or an error of the typesetter. The following are a few examples:

**Tenechmocnelliz.** This item illustrates two mistakes: **te-** should read **ti-**, and the **-ll-** should be **-l-**. The item, therefore, is **Tinēchmocnēlliz**, “You (H) will do me a favor.”

**Notlacihuiliztica.** The item should include **-tz-** instead of **-c-**; thus, **Notlatzihuiliztica**, “It is by means of my laziness.”

**Tle nellaiz?** The item **nellaiz** illustrates two mistakes; the **-ll-** should read **-l-**, and there should be a separation between **nel** and **aiz**. The corrected version, **Tleh nel āyiz?**, is translated “What, in truth, will he do?”

With regard to the problem of spelling, the conventions used in older texts are presented in Appendix F. In addition to these usages and the problems they involve (such as the unfortunate failure to represent essential distinctions, including vowel length and the glottal stop), there are more idiosyncratic uses that can perplex the reader. The following are a few examples taken from various texts:

**ohuiya**—This should read **ōhuia**, “he had gone.” [The **-a** is not part of the imperfect-tense morph **ya** but is a variant of the distant-past-tense morph **ca** (see Lesson 11).]

**tehuatl**—This should read **teōātl**, “it is divine water,” i.e., “it is blood.” [Elsewhere **tehuatl** might stand for **tehuātl**.]

**xiqualhauca**—This should read **xichuālhuīca**, “bring it here.” The failure to recognize the difference between / . . kwa/ and / . . k<sup>w</sup>a/ is common.

**niquitohua**—This should read **niquihtoa**, “I say it.”

**nicytta**—This should read **niquitta**, “I see it.”

**amechmotillia**—This should read **amēchmottilia**, “he (H) sees you.”

**noyan**—This should read **nōhuiyān**, “everywhere.”

**Anmoxochihuehueuh**—This should read **amoxōchihuēhueuh**, “it is your (pl) flowery drum.”

Related to the problem of faulty spelling is that of faulty recognition of graphological-vocable boundaries. Several common instances, such as **noihuan** (i.e., **nō ihuān**) and **mayecuele** (i.e., **mā ye cuēl eh**), have already been pointed out. The following are other examples:

**Zan iztihuitz.**—This should read **Zan iz tihuitz**, “Come here immediately.”

**Cuix nonechilnamiquiz?**—This should read **Cuix nō nēchilnāmiquiz?** “Will he also remember me?”

**Otlac nelli yn notlachihual yn nechcuicatia.**—The translator of this item rendered it: “Ya ha hablado. De veras mi criatura me canta.” (“It has already spoken. My creature really sings for me.”). But the text should read **Ōtlacnēlih in notlachihual in nēchcuīcatia**, which is to be translated “My creature, which is singing for me, has done a favor.”

**icei**—This should read **īc ēī**, “it is third/the third one.”

**neptālaycac**—This should read **nepantlah ihcac**, “it stands in the middle.” Besides the joining of the two graphological vocables, there is a misprint in the first one. The problem is further complicated by the usual failure to indicate glottal stops.

**Ca iquac timomana in tlalli. . . .**—This should read **Ca īc huāctimomana in tlālli. . . .** “When the land lies (i.e., lay) spread out dry. . . .”

There is another problem in traditional texts—the disregard for sentence division, accompanied by a nonsystematic use of punctuation. Consequently, one must try to figure out where the periods should be placed. This requires a careful analysis of the text. I shall give only one example. In *FC* I, 11, we read of Cihuacoatl: “**Auh ynjc moteittitiaia, motenextiliaia: iuhqujn tecpan cioatl, nanacoche, iitznacoche.**” Anderson and Dibble translated this as two sentences: “And as she appeared before men, she was covered with chalk, like a court lady. She wore ear plugs, obsidian ear plugs.” This arrangement was forced upon them because they read *motenextiliaia* as # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-o(te-nex-ti-liā)ya+ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #, “she used to cause herself to have lime” (which they rendered as “she was covered with chalk”). This required a period after *cioatl*. But their analysis is incorrect (how many people have been misled by this erroneous translation into believing that Aztec court ladies covered themselves in chalk?). The correct analysis of *motenextiliaia* is # $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-o+tē(nēx-ti-liā)ya+ $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ #, “she used to cause herself to appear in relation to people,” i.e., “she used to appear in public” (see § 26.16.1 regarding the use of the mainline reflexive object here). That is, the collocation *motēittitiāya motēnēxti-liāya* is an instance of rephrasive parallelism (see § 52.7.1), and consequently there is only one sentence: **Auh in ic motēittitiāya, motēnēxti-liāya, iuhqui in tēcpan cihuātl nahna-cochēh, ihitznacocheh.** “And when she appeared before people and manifested herself to them, like a court lady she wore ear plugs, obsidian ear plugs.”

## APPENDIX A

# VNC Paradigms

The following paradigms add the (circumfixal) subject pronouns (prefixal person dyads and suffixal number dyads) to the verbal predicates (core and tense constituents) displayed in § 7.7 to create the full array of illustrative examples of VNCs formed on each of the four stem classes (with Class A showing two subclasses). The fore and aft nuclear-clause boundary symbols (# . . . #) have been omitted, since only obligatory VNC-forming morphs are shown.

I. *VNCs on the Imperfective Active Stem.* The imperfective stem is used in four indicative tenses and three optative tenses. In VNCs showing the imperfective aspect of the active voice, Class A-1 and Class B stems use one stem shape, Class A-2 and Class D stems two stem shapes, and Class C stems four shapes.

### 1. *The indicative tenses on the imperfective active stem:*

Class A-1	Class A-2	Class B	Class C	Class D
Present Indicative				
ni- $\theta$ (chōca) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (temo) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (yōli) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (chol-o-a) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ +tla(cua) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$
ti- $\theta$ (chōca) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ (temo) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ (yōli) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ (chol-o-a) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ +tla(cua) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chōca) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (temo) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (yōli) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chol-o-a) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +tla(cua) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$
ti- $\theta$ (chōca) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h	ti- $\theta$ (temo) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h	ti- $\theta$ (yōli) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h	ti- $\theta$ (chol-o-a) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h	ti- $\theta$ +tla(cua) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h
an- $\theta$ (chōca) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h	an- $\theta$ (temo) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h	an- $\theta$ (yōli) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h	an- $\theta$ (chol-o-a) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h	an- $\theta$ +tla(cua) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chōca) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (temo) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (yōli) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chol-o-a) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +tla(cua) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h
Customary Present Indicative				
ni- $\theta$ (chōca)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (temō)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (yōli)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (chol-o-ā)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ +tla(cuā)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$
ti- $\theta$ (chōca)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ (temō)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ (yōli)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ (chol-o-ā)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ +tla(cuā)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chōca)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (temō)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (yōli)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chol-o-ā)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +tla(cuā)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$
ti- $\theta$ (chōca)ni+ $\theta$ -h	ti- $\theta$ (temō)ni+ $\theta$ -h	ti- $\theta$ (yōli)ni+ $\theta$ -h	ti- $\theta$ (chol-o-ā)ni+ $\theta$ -h	ti- $\theta$ +tla(cuā)ni+ $\theta$ -h
an- $\theta$ (chōca)ni+ $\theta$ -h	an- $\theta$ (temō)ni+ $\theta$ -h	an- $\theta$ (yōli)ni+ $\theta$ -h	an- $\theta$ (chol-o-ā)ni+ $\theta$ -h	an- $\theta$ +tla(cuā)ni+ $\theta$ -h
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chōca)ni+ $\theta$ -h	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (temō)ni+ $\theta$ -h	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (yōli)ni+ $\theta$ -h	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chol-o-ā)ni+ $\theta$ -h	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +tla(cuā)ni+ $\theta$ -h
Imperfect Indicative				
ni- $\theta$ (chōca)ya+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (temō)ya+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (yōli)ya+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (chol-o-ā)ya+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ +tla(cuā)ya+ $\theta$ - $\theta$
ti- $\theta$ (chōca)ya+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ (temō)ya+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ (yōli)ya+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ (chol-o-ā)ya+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ +tla(cuā)ya+ $\theta$ - $\theta$
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chōca)ya+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (temō)ya+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (yōli)ya+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chol-o-ā)ya+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +tla(cuā)ya+ $\theta$ - $\theta$
ti- $\theta$ (chōca)ya+ $\theta$ -h	ti- $\theta$ (temō)ya+ $\theta$ -h	ti- $\theta$ (yōli)ya+ $\theta$ -h	ti- $\theta$ (chol-o-ā)ya+ $\theta$ -h	ti- $\theta$ +tla(cuā)ya+ $\theta$ -h
an- $\theta$ (chōca)ya+ $\theta$ -h	an- $\theta$ (temō)ya+ $\theta$ -h	an- $\theta$ (yōli)ya+ $\theta$ -h	an- $\theta$ (chol-o-ā)ya+ $\theta$ -h	an- $\theta$ +tla(cuā)ya+ $\theta$ -h
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chōca)ya+ $\theta$ -h	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (temō)ya+ $\theta$ -h	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (yōli)ya+ $\theta$ -h	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chol-o-ā)ya+ $\theta$ -h	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +tla(cuā)ya+ $\theta$ -h



Future Indicative [The  $\square$ - $\theta$  in the singular number dyad represents the obsolescent *qui*- $\theta$ .]

ni- $\theta$ (chōca)z+ $\square$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (temō)z+ $\square$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (yōli)z+ $\square$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (chol-ō)z+ $\square$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ +tla(cuā)z+ $\square$ - $\theta$
ti- $\theta$ (chōca)z+ $\square$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ (temō)z+ $\square$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ (yōli)z+ $\square$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ (chol-ō)z+ $\square$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ +tla(cuā)z+ $\square$ - $\theta$
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chōca)z+ $\square$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (temō)z+ $\square$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (yōli)z+ $\square$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chol-ō)z+ $\square$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +tla(cuā)z+ $\square$ - $\theta$
ti- $\theta$ (chōca)z+qu-eh	ti- $\theta$ (temō)z+qu-eh	ti- $\theta$ (yōli)z+qu-eh	ti- $\theta$ (chol-ō)z+qu-eh	ti- $\theta$ +tla(cuā)z+qu-eh
an- $\theta$ (chōca)z+qu-eh	an- $\theta$ (temō)z+qu-eh	an- $\theta$ (yōli)z+qu-eh	an- $\theta$ (chol-ō)z+qu-eh	an- $\theta$ +tla(cuā)z+qu-eh
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chōca)z+qu-eh	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (temō)z+qu-eh	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (yōli)z+qu-eh	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chol-ō)z+qu-eh	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +tla(cuā)z+qu-eh

## 2. The optative tenses on the imperfective active stem:

Class A-1                      Class A-2                      Class B                      Class C                      Class D

Nonpast Optative [The  $\square$ - $\theta$  in the singular number dyad represents the hypothetical *c*- $\theta$ .]

ni- $\theta$ (chōca) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (temo) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (yōli) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (chol-o) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ +tla(cua) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$
xi- $\theta$ (chōca) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$	xi- $\theta$ (temo) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$	xi- $\theta$ (yōli) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$	xi- $\theta$ (chol-o) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$	xi- $\theta$ +tla(cua) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chōca) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (temo) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (yōli) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chol-o) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +tla(cua) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$
ti- $\theta$ (chōca) $\theta$ +c-ān	ti- $\theta$ (temō) $\theta$ +c-ān	ti- $\theta$ (yōli) $\theta$ +c-ān	ti- $\theta$ (chol-ō) $\theta$ +c-ān	ti- $\theta$ +tla(cuā) $\theta$ +c-ān
xi- $\theta$ (chōca) $\theta$ +c-ān	xi- $\theta$ (temō) $\theta$ +c-ān	xi- $\theta$ (yōli) $\theta$ +c-ān	xi- $\theta$ (chol-ō) $\theta$ +c-ān	xi- $\theta$ +tla(cuā) $\theta$ +c-ān
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chōca) $\theta$ +c-ān	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (temō) $\theta$ +c-ān	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (yōli) $\theta$ +c-ān	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chol-ō) $\theta$ +c-ān	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +tla(cuā) $\theta$ +c-ān

Past Optative

ni- $\theta$ (chōca)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (temō)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (yōli)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (chol-o-ā)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ +tla(cuā)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$
xi- $\theta$ (chōca)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	xi- $\theta$ (temō)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	xi- $\theta$ (yōli)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	xi- $\theta$ (chol-o-ā)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	xi- $\theta$ +tla(cuā)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chōca)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (temō)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (yōli)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chol-o-ā)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +tla(cuā)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$
ti- $\theta$ (chōca)ni+ $\theta$ -h	ti- $\theta$ (temō)ni+ $\theta$ -h	ti- $\theta$ (yōli)ni+ $\theta$ -h	ti- $\theta$ (chol-o-ā)ni+ $\theta$ -h	ti- $\theta$ +tla(cuā)ni+ $\theta$ -h
xi- $\theta$ (chōca)ni+ $\theta$ -h	xi- $\theta$ (temō)ni+ $\theta$ -h	xi- $\theta$ (yōli)ni+ $\theta$ -h	xi- $\theta$ (chol-o-ā)ni+ $\theta$ -h	xi- $\theta$ +tla(cuā)ni+ $\theta$ -h
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chōca)ni+ $\theta$ -h	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (temō)ni+ $\theta$ -h	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (yōli)ni+ $\theta$ -h	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chol-o-ā)ni+ $\theta$ -h	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +tla(cuā)ni+ $\theta$ -h

Future Optative

(The VNCs are identical to those of the future indicative in every respect.)

II. *VNCs on the Perfective Active Stem.* The perfective active stem is used in two indicative tenses as well as in the preterit optative and the present admonitive tense. In VNCs showing the perfective aspect of the active voice, only Class A-2 stems have two shapes; all other stem classes use only one.

## 1. The indicative tenses on the perfective active stem:

Class A-1                      Class A-2                      Class B                      Class C                      Class D

Preterit Indicative [The  $\square$ - $\theta$  in the singular number dyad represents the obsolescent *qui*- $\theta$ .]

ni- $\theta$ (chōca) $\theta$ +c- $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (temō) $\theta$ +c- $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (yōl) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (chol-o-h) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ +tla(cuah) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$
ti- $\theta$ (chōca) $\theta$ +c- $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ (temō) $\theta$ +c- $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ (yōl) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ (chol-o-h) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ +tla(cuah) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chōca) $\theta$ +c- $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (temō) $\theta$ +c- $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (yōl) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chol-o-h) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +tla(cuah) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$
ti- $\theta$ (chōca) $\theta$ +qu-eh	ti- $\theta$ (temō) $\theta$ +qu-eh	ti- $\theta$ (yōl) $\theta$ +qu-eh	ti- $\theta$ (chol-o-h) $\theta$ +qu-eh	ti- $\theta$ +tla(cuah) $\theta$ +qu-eh
an- $\theta$ (chōca) $\theta$ +qu-eh	an- $\theta$ (temō) $\theta$ +qu-eh	an- $\theta$ (yōl) $\theta$ +qu-eh	an- $\theta$ (chol-o-h) $\theta$ +qu-eh	an- $\theta$ +tla(cuah) $\theta$ +qu-eh
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chōca) $\theta$ +qu-eh	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (temō) $\theta$ +qu-eh	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (yōl) $\theta$ +qu-eh	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chol-o-h) $\theta$ +qu-eh	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +tla(cuah) $\theta$ +qu-eh

Distant-Past Indicative

ni- $\theta$ (chōca)ca+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (temō)ca+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (yōl)ca+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (chol-o-h)ca+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ +tla(cuah)ca+ $\theta$ - $\theta$
ti- $\theta$ (chōca)ca+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ (temō)ca+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ (yōl)ca+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ (chol-o-h)ca+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ +tla(cuah)ca+ $\theta$ - $\theta$
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chōca)ca+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (temo)ca+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (yōl)ca+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chol-o-h)ca+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +tla(cuah)ca+ $\theta$ - $\theta$
ti- $\theta$ (chōca)ca+ $\theta$ -h	ti- $\theta$ (temō)ca+ $\theta$ -h	ti- $\theta$ (yōl)ca+ $\theta$ -h	ti- $\theta$ (chol-o-h)ca+ $\theta$ -h	ti- $\theta$ +tla(cuah)ca+ $\theta$ -h
an- $\theta$ (chōca)ca+ $\theta$ -h	an- $\theta$ (temō)ca+ $\theta$ -h	an- $\theta$ (yōl)ca+ $\theta$ -h	an- $\theta$ (chol-o-h)ca+ $\theta$ -h	an- $\theta$ +tla(cuah)ca+ $\theta$ -h
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chōca)ca+ $\theta$ -h	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (temō)ca+ $\theta$ -h	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (yōl)ca+ $\theta$ -h	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chol-o-h)ca+ $\theta$ -h	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +tla(cuah)ca+ $\theta$ -h

## 2. The optative tense on the perfective active stem:

### Preterit Optative

(The VNCs are identical to those of the preterit indicative in every respect except that the antecessive order prefix is obligatory.)

## 3. The admonitive tense on the perfective active stem:

Present Admonitive [The  $\square$ - $\theta$  in the singular number dyad represents a hypothetical  $t$ - $\theta$ ]

ni- $\theta$ (chōca)h+ $\square$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (temo)h+ $\square$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (yōl) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (chol-o-h) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ +tla(cuah) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$
ti- $\theta$ (chōca)h+ $\square$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ (temo)h+ $\square$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ (yōl) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ (chol-o-h) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ +tla(cuah) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chōca)h+ $\square$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (temo)h+ $\square$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (yōl) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chol-o-h) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +tla(cuah) $\theta$ + $\square$ - $\theta$
ti- $\theta$ (chōca)h+t-in	ti- $\theta$ (temo)h+t-in	ti- $\theta$ (yōl) $\theta$ +t-in	ti- $\theta$ (chol-o-h) $\theta$ +t-in	ti- $\theta$ +tla(cuah) $\theta$ +t-in
an- $\theta$ (chōca)h+t-in	an- $\theta$ (temo)h+t-in	an- $\theta$ (yōl) $\theta$ +t-in	an- $\theta$ (chol-o-h) $\theta$ +t-in	an- $\theta$ +tla(cuah) $\theta$ +t-in
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chōca)h+t-in	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (temo)h+t-in	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (yōl) $\theta$ +t-in	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chol-o-h) $\theta$ +t-in	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +tla(cuah) $\theta$ +t-in

III. VNCs on the Imperfective Nonactive Stem. The nonactive stem in **-hua** forms VNCs that belong to Class A-1. The nonactive stems in **-lō** and **-ō** form VNCs that belong to Class A-2 (long stem-final vowel except when followed by silent morphs or a glottal stop). The following list shows nonactive stems in passive voice VNCs.

## 1. The indicative tenses on the imperfective nonactive stem:

-hua Suffix	-lō Suffix	-ō Suffix
	Present Indicative	
n- $\theta$ (ihcalī-hua) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (pōhua-lo) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$	n- $\theta$ (ān-o) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$
t- $\theta$ (ihcalī-hua) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ (pōhua-lo) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$	t- $\theta$ (ān-o) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (ihcalī-hua) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (pōhua-lo) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (ān-o) $\theta$ + $\theta$ - $\theta$
t- $\theta$ (ihcalī-hua) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h	ti- $\theta$ (pōhua-lo) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h	t- $\theta$ (ān-o) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h
am- $\theta$ (ihcalī-hua) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h	am- $\theta$ (pōhua-lo) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h	am- $\theta$ (ān-o) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (ihcalī-hua) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (pōhua-lo) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (ān-o) $\theta$ + $\theta$ -h
	Customary Present Indicative	
n- $\theta$ (ihcalī-hua)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (pōhua-lō)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	n- $\theta$ (ān-ō)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$
t- $\theta$ (ihcalī-hua)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ (pōhua-lō)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	t- $\theta$ (ān-ō)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (ihcalī-hua)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (pōhua-lō)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (ān-ō)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$
t- $\theta$ (ihcalī-hua)ni+ $\theta$ -h	ti- $\theta$ (pōhua-lō)ni+ $\theta$ -h	t- $\theta$ (ān-ō)ni+ $\theta$ -h
am- $\theta$ (ihcalī-hua)ni+ $\theta$ -h	am- $\theta$ (pōhua-lō)ni+ $\theta$ -h	am- $\theta$ (ān-ō)ni+ $\theta$ -h
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (ihcalī-hua)ni+ $\theta$ -h	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (pōhua-lō)ni+ $\theta$ -h	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (ān-ō)ni+ $\theta$ -h
	Imperfect Indicative	
n- $\theta$ (ihcalī-hua)ya+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (pōhua-lō)ya+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	n- $\theta$ (ān-ō)ya+ $\theta$ - $\theta$
t- $\theta$ (ihcalī-hua)ya+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ (pōhua-lō)ya+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	t- $\theta$ (ān-ō)ya+ $\theta$ - $\theta$
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (ihcalī-hua)ya+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (pōhua-lō)ya+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (ān-ō)ya+ $\theta$ - $\theta$
t- $\theta$ (ihcalī-hua)ya+ $\theta$ -h	ti- $\theta$ (pōhua-lō)ya+ $\theta$ -h	t- $\theta$ (ān-ō)ya+ $\theta$ -h
am- $\theta$ (ihcalī-hua)ya+ $\theta$ -h	am- $\theta$ (pōhua-lō)ya+ $\theta$ -h	am- $\theta$ (ān-ō)ya+ $\theta$ -h
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (ihcalī-hua)ya+ $\theta$ -h	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (pōhua-lō)ya+ $\theta$ -h	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (ān-ō)ya+ $\theta$ -h
	Future Indicative	
n- $\theta$ (ihcalī-hua)z+ $\square$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (pōhua-lō)z+ $\square$ - $\theta$	n- $\theta$ (ān-ō)z+ $\square$ - $\theta$
t- $\theta$ (ihcalī-hua)z+ $\square$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ (pōhua-lō)z+ $\square$ - $\theta$	t- $\theta$ (ān-ō)z+ $\square$ - $\theta$
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (ihcalī-hua)z+ $\square$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (pōhua-lō)z+ $\square$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (ān-ō)z+ $\square$ - $\theta$
t- $\theta$ (ihcalī-hua)z+qu-eh	ti- $\theta$ (pōhua-lō)z+qu-eh	t- $\theta$ (ān-ō)z+qu-eh

am- $\theta$ (ihcali-hua)z+qu-eh  
 $\theta$ - $\theta$ (ihcali-hua)z+qu-eh

am- $\theta$ (pōhua-lō)z+qu-eh  
 $\theta$ - $\theta$ (pōhua-lō)z+qu-eh

am- $\theta$ (ān-ō)z+qu-eh  
 $\theta$ - $\theta$ (ān-ō)z+qu-eh

## 2. *The optative tenses on the imperfective nonactive stem:*

-hua Suffix	-lō Suffix	-ō Suffix
	Nonpast Optative	
n- $\theta$ (ihcali-hua) $\theta$ +□- $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (pōhua-lo) $\theta$ +□- $\theta$	n- $\theta$ (ān-o) $\theta$ +□- $\theta$
x- $\theta$ (ihcali-hua) $\theta$ +□- $\theta$	xi- $\theta$ (pōhua-lo) $\theta$ +□- $\theta$	x- $\theta$ (ān-o) $\theta$ +□- $\theta$
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (ihcali-hua) $\theta$ +□- $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (pōhua-lo) $\theta$ +□- $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (ān-o) $\theta$ +□- $\theta$
t- $\theta$ (ihcali-hua) $\theta$ +c-ān	ti- $\theta$ (pōhua-lō) $\theta$ +c-ān	t- $\theta$ (ān-ō) $\theta$ +c-ān
x- $\theta$ (ihcali-hua) $\theta$ +c-ān	xi- $\theta$ (pōhua-lō) $\theta$ +c-ān	x- $\theta$ (ān-ō) $\theta$ +c-ān
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (ihcali-hua) $\theta$ +c-ān	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (pōhua-lō) $\theta$ +c-ān	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (ān-ō) $\theta$ +c-ān
	Past Optative	
n- $\theta$ (ihcali-hua)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (pōhua-lō)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	n- $\theta$ (ān-ō)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$
x- $\theta$ (ihcali-hua)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	xi- $\theta$ (pōhua-lō)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	x- $\theta$ (ān-ō)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (ihcali-hua)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (pōhua-lō)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (ān-ō)ni+ $\theta$ - $\theta$
t- $\theta$ (ihcali-hua)ni+ $\theta$ -h	ti- $\theta$ (pōhua-lō)ni+ $\theta$ -h	t- $\theta$ (ān-ō)ni+ $\theta$ -h
x- $\theta$ (ihcali-hua)ni+ $\theta$ -h	xi- $\theta$ (pōhua-lō)ni+ $\theta$ -h	x- $\theta$ (ān-ō)ni+ $\theta$ -h
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (ihcali-hua)ni+ $\theta$ -h	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (pōhua-lō)ni+ $\theta$ -h	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (ān-ō)ni+ $\theta$ -h
	Future Optative	

(The VNCs are identical to those of the future indicative in every respect.)

IV. *VNCs on the Perfective Nonactive Stem.* The perfective nonactive stems in **-lō** and **-ō** have two variant shapes: the stem-final vowel is long unless followed by silence or a glottal stop. The perfective nonactive stem in **-hua** has only one shape.

## 1. *The indicative tenses on the perfective nonactive stem:*

-hua Suffix	-lō Suffix	-ō Suffix
	Preterit Indicative	
n- $\theta$ (ihcali-hua) $\theta$ +c- $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (pōhua-lō) $\theta$ +c- $\theta$	n- $\theta$ (ān-ō) $\theta$ +c- $\theta$
t- $\theta$ (ihcali-hua) $\theta$ +c- $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ (pōhua-lō) $\theta$ +c- $\theta$	t- $\theta$ (ān-ō) $\theta$ +c- $\theta$
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (ihcali-hua) $\theta$ +c- $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (pōhua-lō) $\theta$ +c- $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (ān-ō) $\theta$ +c- $\theta$
t- $\theta$ (ihcali-hua) $\theta$ +qu-eh	ti- $\theta$ (pōhua-lō) $\theta$ +qu-eh	t- $\theta$ (ān-ō) $\theta$ +qu-eh
am- $\theta$ (ihcali-hua) $\theta$ +qu-eh	am- $\theta$ (pōhua-lō) $\theta$ +qu-eh	am- $\theta$ (ān-ō) $\theta$ +qu-eh
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (ihcali-hua) $\theta$ +qu-eh	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (pōhua-lō) $\theta$ +qu-eh	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (ān-ō) $\theta$ +qu-eh
	Distant-Past Indicative	
n- $\theta$ (ihcali-hua)ca+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ni- $\theta$ (pōhua-lō)ca+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	n- $\theta$ (ān-ō)ca+ $\theta$ - $\theta$
t- $\theta$ (ihcali-hua)ca+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ (pōhua-lō)ca+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	t- $\theta$ (ān-ō)ca+ $\theta$ - $\theta$
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (ihcali-hua)ca+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (pōhua-lō)ca+ $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (ān-ō)ca+ $\theta$ - $\theta$
t- $\theta$ (ihcali-hua)ca+ $\theta$ -h	ti- $\theta$ (pōhua-lō)ca+ $\theta$ -h	t- $\theta$ (ān-ō)ca+ $\theta$ -h
am- $\theta$ (ihcali-hua)ca+ $\theta$ -h	am- $\theta$ (pōhua-lō)ca+ $\theta$ -h	am- $\theta$ (ān-ō)ca+ $\theta$ -h
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (ihcali-hua)ca+ $\theta$ -h	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (pōhua-lō)ca+ $\theta$ -h	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (ān-ō)ca+ $\theta$ -h

## 2. *The optative tense on the perfective nonactive stem:*

The VNCs are identical to those of the preterit indicative in every respect except that the antecessive order prefix is obligatory.

3. *The admonitive tense on the perfective nonactive stem:*

<b>-hua</b> Suffix	<b>-lō</b> Suffix	<b>-ō</b> Suffix
n-θ(ihcalī-hua)h+□-θ	ni-θ(pōhua-lo)h+□-θ	n-θ(ān-o)h+□-θ
t-θ(ihcalī-hua)h+□-θ	ti-θ(pōhua-lo)h+□-θ	t-θ(ān-o)h+□-θ
θ-θ(ihcalī-hua)h+□-θ	θ-θ(pōhua-lo)h+□-θ	θ-θ(ān-o)h+□-θ
ti-θ(ihcalī-hua)h+t-in	ti-θ(pōhua-lo)h+t-in	t-θ(ān-o)h+t-in
am-θ(ihcalī-hua)h+t-in	am-θ(pōhua-lo)h+t-in	am-θ(ān-o)h+t-in
θ-θ(ihcalī-hua)h+t-in	θ-θ(pōhua-lo)h+t-in	θ-θ(ān-o)h+t-in

## APPENDIX B

# NNC Paradigms

The number of forms in an NNC paradigm depends on whether the subject pronoun is animate or nonanimate, and if animate whether it is human or nonhuman. A nonanimate paradigm has eight possible NNCs, a nonhuman animate paradigm sixteen, and a human animate paradigm forty.

The subclasses of nounstems are determined by what happens in the stem and *num'* morph of a singular-subject possessive-state NNC:

TLI Subclass 1: sg poss-state = base stem +  $\emptyset$ -

TLI Subclass 2: sg poss-state = base stem + **hui-**

IN Class: sg poss-state = base stem +  $\emptyset$ -

$\emptyset$  Class: sg poss-state = base stem +  $\emptyset$ -

TL Subclass 1A: sg poss-state = base stem + **uh-**

TL Subclass 1B: sg poss-state = base stem +  $\emptyset$ -

TL Subclass 2A: sg poss-state = final-vowel truncated stem +  $\emptyset$ -

TL Subclass 2B: sg poss-state = final-one-consonant truncated stem +  $\emptyset$ -

TL Subclass 2C: sg poss-state = final-two-consonant truncated stem +  $\emptyset$ -

No attempt has been made here to give a full exemplification of plural formations for plural-subject (i.e., animate) absolutive-state NNCs (plain stem, affinity stem; **t-in**, **m-eh**,  **$\emptyset$ -h**).

In the following illustrative examples of NNCs formed on the four nounstem classes (TLI ~ LI / IN /  $\emptyset$  / TL) the fore and aft nuclear-clause boundary symbols (# . . . #) have been omitted. The glosses are of stems, not of NNCs.

### I. TLI Stems:

#### 1. Nonanimate NNCs:

##### a. TLI Subclass 1:

Absolutive State

$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ ( $\bar{a}$ mox)tli- $\emptyset$

[= "book"]

Possessive State

$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +t $\bar{e}$ ( $\bar{a}$ mox) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$

$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n- $\square$ ( $\bar{a}$ mox) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$

$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m- $\square$ ( $\bar{a}$ mox) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$

$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i- $\emptyset$ ( $\bar{a}$ mox) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$

$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +t- $\square$ ( $\bar{a}$ mox) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$

$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +am- $\square$ ( $\bar{a}$ mox) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$

$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +i-m( $\bar{a}$ mox) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$

b. TLI Subclass 2:

$\theta$ - $\theta$ (oh)tli- $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +tē(oh)hui- $\theta$
[= “path/road”]	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +n-□(oh)hui- $\theta$
	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +m-□(oh)hui- $\theta$
	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +ī- $\theta$ (oh)hui- $\theta$
	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +t-□(oh)hui- $\theta$
	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +am-□(oh)hui- $\theta$
	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +ī-m(oh)hui- $\theta$

2. Nonhuman Animate NNCs:

a. TLI Subclass 1:

Absolutive State		Possessive State	
Sg. Subject	Pl. Subject	Sg. Subject	Pl. Subject
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (cih)tli- $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (cī-cih)t-in	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +tē(cih) $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +tē(cih)hu-ān
[= “jackrabbit/ hare”]		$\theta$ - $\theta$ +n-o(cih) $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +n-o(cih)hu-ān
		$\theta$ - $\theta$ +m-o(cih) $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +m-o(cih)hu-ān
		$\theta$ - $\theta$ +ī- $\theta$ (cih) $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +ī- $\theta$ (cih)hu-ān
		$\theta$ - $\theta$ +t-o(cih) $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +t-o(cih)hu-ān
		$\theta$ - $\theta$ +am-o(cih) $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +am-o(cih)hu-ān
		$\theta$ - $\theta$ +ī-n(cih) $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +ī-n(cih)hu-ān

3. Human Animate NNCs:

a. TLI Subclass 1:

Absolutive State		Possessive State	
Sg. Subject	Pl. Subject	Sg. Subject	Pl. Subject
ni- $\theta$ (cōl)li- $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ (cōl)t-in	ni- $\theta$ +tē(cōl) $\theta$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ +tē(cōl)hu-ān
[= “grandfather”]		ni- $\theta$ +m-o(cōl) $\theta$ - $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ +m-o(cōl)hu-ān
		n- $\theta$ +ī- $\theta$ (cōl) $\theta$ - $\theta$	t- $\theta$ +ī- $\theta$ (cōl)hu-ān
		n- $\theta$ +am-o(cōl) $\theta$ - $\theta$	t- $\theta$ +am-o(cōl)hu-ān
		n- $\theta$ +ī-n(cōl) $\theta$ - $\theta$	t- $\theta$ +ī-n(cōl)hu-ān
ti- $\theta$ (cōl)li- $\theta$	an- $\theta$ (cōl)t-in	ti- $\theta$ +te(cōl) $\theta$ - $\theta$	an- $\theta$ +te(cōl)hu-ān
		ti- $\theta$ +n-o(cōl) $\theta$ - $\theta$	an- $\theta$ +n-o(cōl)hu-ān
		t- $\theta$ +ī- $\theta$ (cōl) $\theta$ - $\theta$	am- $\theta$ +ī- $\theta$ (cōl)hu-ān
		ti- $\theta$ +t-o(cōl) $\theta$ - $\theta$	an- $\theta$ +t-o(cōl)hu-ān
		t- $\theta$ +ī-n(cōl) $\theta$ - $\theta$	am- $\theta$ +ī-n(cōl)hu-ān
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (cōl)li- $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (cōl)t-in	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +tē(cōl) $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +tē(cōl)hu-ān
		$\theta$ - $\theta$ +n-o(cōl) $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +n-o(cōl)hu-ān
		$\theta$ - $\theta$ +m-o(cōl) $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +m-o(cōl)hu-ān
		$\theta$ - $\theta$ +ī- $\theta$ (cōl) $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +ī- $\theta$ (cōl)hu-ān
		$\theta$ - $\theta$ +t-o(cōl) $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +t-o(cōl)hu-ān
		$\theta$ - $\theta$ +am-o(cōl) $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +am-o(cōl)hu-ān
		$\theta$ - $\theta$ +ī-n(cōl) $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +ī-n(cōl)hu-ān

b. TLI Subclass 2:

n- $\theta$ (oquich)tli- $\theta$	t- $\theta$ (oquich)t-in	ni- $\theta$ +tē(oquich)hui- $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ +tē(oquich)hu-ān
[= “man/husband.”		ni- $\theta$ +m-□(oquich)hui- $\theta$	ti- $\theta$ +m-□(oquich)hu-ān
(This can also		n- $\theta$ +ī- $\theta$ (oquich)hui- $\theta$	t- $\theta$ +ī- $\theta$ (oquich)hu-ān
belong to		n- $\theta$ +am-□(oquich)hui- $\theta$	t- $\theta$ +am-□(oquich)hu-ān
subclass 1).]		n- $\theta$ +ī-m(oquich)hui- $\theta$	t- $\theta$ +ī-m(oquich)hu-ān

t- $\theta$ (oquich)tli- $\theta$	am- $\theta$ (oquich)t-in	ti- $\theta$ +tē(oquich)hui- $\theta$	an- $\theta$ +tē(oquich)hu-ān
		ti- $\theta$ +n-□(oquich)hui- $\theta$	an- $\theta$ +n-□(oquich)hu-ān
		t- $\theta$ +ī- $\theta$ (oquich)hui- $\theta$	am- $\theta$ +ī- $\theta$ (oquich)hu-ān
		ti- $\theta$ +t-□(oquich)hui- $\theta$	an- $\theta$ +t-□(oquich)hu-ān
		t- $\theta$ +ī-m(oquich)hui- $\theta$	am- $\theta$ +ī-m(oquich)hu-ān
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (oquich)tli- $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (oquich)t-in	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +tē(oquich)hui- $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +tē(oquich)hu-ān
		$\theta$ - $\theta$ +n-□(oquich)hui- $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +n-□(oquich)hu-ān
		$\theta$ - $\theta$ +m-□(oquich)hui- $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +m-□(oquich)hu-ān
		$\theta$ - $\theta$ +ī- $\theta$ (oquich)hui- $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +ī- $\theta$ (oquich)hu-ān
		$\theta$ - $\theta$ +t-□(oquich)hui- $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +t-□(oquich)hu-ān
		$\theta$ - $\theta$ +am-□(oquich)hui- $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +am-□(oquich)hu-ān
		$\theta$ - $\theta$ +ī-m(oquich)hui- $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +ī-m(oquich)hu-ān

II. *IN Stems*:

## 1. IN Nonanimate NNCs:

Absolutive State	Possessive State
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (tōl)in- $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +tē(tōl) $\theta$ - $\theta$
[= “rush”]	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +n-o(tōl) $\theta$ - $\theta$
	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +m-o(tōl) $\theta$ - $\theta$
	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +ī- $\theta$ (tōl) $\theta$ - $\theta$
	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +t-o(tōl) $\theta$ - $\theta$
	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +am-o(tōl) $\theta$ - $\theta$
	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +ī-n(tōl) $\theta$ - $\theta$

## 2. IN Nonhuman Animate NNCs:

Absolutive State		Possessive State	
Sg. Subject	Pl. Subject	Sg. Subject	Pl. Subject
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (mich)in- $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ (mī-mich)t-in	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +tē(mich) $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +tē(mich)hu-ān
[= “fish”]		$\theta$ - $\theta$ +n-o(mich) $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +n-o(mich)hu-ān
		$\theta$ - $\theta$ +m-o(mich) $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +m-o(mich)hu-ān
		$\theta$ - $\theta$ +ī- $\theta$ (mich) $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +ī- $\theta$ (mich)hu-ān
		$\theta$ - $\theta$ +t-o(mich) $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +t-o(mich)hu-ān
		$\theta$ - $\theta$ +am-o(mich) $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +am-o(mich)hu-ān
		$\theta$ - $\theta$ +ī-m(mich) $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +ī-m(mich)hu-ān

III.  *$\theta$  Stems*1.  $\theta$  Nonanimate NNCs:

Absolutive State	Possessive State
$\theta$ - $\theta$ (chīyan) $\theta$ - $\theta$	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +tē(chīyan) $\theta$ - $\theta$
[= “chia plant/ seed”]	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +n-o(chīyan) $\theta$ - $\theta$
	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +m-o(chīyan) $\theta$ - $\theta$
	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +ī- $\theta$ (chīyan) $\theta$ - $\theta$
	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +t-o(chīyan) $\theta$ - $\theta$
	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +am-o(chīyan) $\theta$ - $\theta$
	$\theta$ - $\theta$ +ī-n(chīyan) $\theta$ - $\theta$

2.  $\emptyset$  Nonhuman Animate NNCs:

Absolute State		Possessive State	
Sg. Subject	Pl. Subject	Sg. Subject	Pl. Subject
$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (chichi) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (chichi)m-eh	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tē(chichi) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tē(chichi)hu-ān
[= “dog”]		$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(chichi) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(chichi)hu-ān
		$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-o(chichi) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-o(chichi)hu-ān
		$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ī- $\emptyset$ (chichi) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ī- $\emptyset$ (chichi)hu-ān
		$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +t-o(chichi) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +t-o(chichi)hu-ān
		$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +am-o(chichi) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +am-o(chichi)hu-ān
		$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ī-n(chichi) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ī-n(chichi)hu-ān

IV. TL Stems

1. Nonanimate NNCs:

a. TL Subclass 1A:

Absolute State	Possessive State
$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (te)tl- $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tē(te)uh- $\emptyset$
[= “rock/egg”]	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(te)uh- $\emptyset$
	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-o(te)uh- $\emptyset$
	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ī- $\emptyset$ (te)uh- $\emptyset$
	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +t-o(te)uh- $\emptyset$
	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +am-o(te)uh- $\emptyset$
	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ī-n(te)uh- $\emptyset$

b. TL Subclass 1B:

$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (izte)tl- $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tē(izte) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$
[= “fingernail/ toenail”]	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(zte) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ [Also: $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-□(izte) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ .]
	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-o(zte) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$
	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ī- $\emptyset$ (zte) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$
	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +t-o(zte) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$
	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +am-o(zte) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$
	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ī-m(izte) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$

c. TL Subclass 2A:

$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cuēi)tl- $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tē(cuē) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$
[= “skirt”]	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(cuē) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$
	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-o(cuē) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$
	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ī- $\emptyset$ (cuē) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$
	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +t-o(cuē) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$
	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +am-o(cuē) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$
	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ī-n(cuē) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$

d. TL Subclass 2B:

$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (petla)tl- $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tē(petl) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$
[= “mat”]	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(petl) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$
	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-o(petl) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$
	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ī- $\emptyset$ (petl) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$
	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +t-o(petl) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$
	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +am-o(petl) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$
	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ī-m(petl) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$



## e. TL Subclass 2C:

$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (māx-tla)tl- $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tē(māx-tli) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$
[= “breechcloth”]	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(māx-tli) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$
	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-o(māx-tli) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$
	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ī- $\emptyset$ (māx-tli) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$
	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +t-o(māx-tli) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$
	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +am-o(māx-tli) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$
	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ī-m(māx-tli) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$

## 2. Nonhuman Animate NNCs:

## a. TL Subclass 1A:

Absolute State		Possessive State	
Sg. Subject	Pl. Subject	Sg. Subject	Pl. Subject
$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tōtō)tl- $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (tōtō)m-eh	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tē(tōtō)uh- $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tē(tōtō)hu-ān
[= “bird”]		$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(tōtō)uh- $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(tōtō)hu-ān
		$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-o(tōtō)uh- $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-o(tōtō)hu-ān
		$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ī- $\emptyset$ (tōtō)uh- $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ī- $\emptyset$ (tōtō)hu-ān
		$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +t-o(tōtō)uh- $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +t-o(tōtō)hu-ān
		$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +am-o(tōtō)uh- $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +am-o(tōtō)hu-ān
		$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ī-n(tōtō)uh- $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ī-n(tōtō)hu-ān

## 3. Human Animate NNCs:

## a. TL Subclass 1A:

Absolute State		Possessive State	
Sg. Subject	Pl. Subject	Sg. Subject	Pl. Subject
ni- $\emptyset$ (cihuā)tl- $\emptyset$	ti- $\emptyset$ (cihua) $\emptyset$ -h	ni- $\emptyset$ +tē(cihuā)uh- $\emptyset$	ti- $\emptyset$ +tē(cihuā)hu-ān
[= “woman/ wife”]		ni- $\emptyset$ +m-o(cihuā)uh- $\emptyset$	ti- $\emptyset$ +m-o(cihuā)hu-ān
		n- $\emptyset$ +ī- $\emptyset$ (cihuā)uh- $\emptyset$	t- $\emptyset$ +ī- $\emptyset$ (cihuā)hu-ān
		n- $\emptyset$ +am-o(cihuā)uh- $\emptyset$	t- $\emptyset$ +am-o(cihuā)hu-ān
		n- $\emptyset$ +ī-n(cihuā)uh- $\emptyset$	t- $\emptyset$ +ī-n(cihuā)hu-ān
ti- $\emptyset$ (cihuā)tl- $\emptyset$	an- $\emptyset$ (cihua) $\emptyset$ -h	ti- $\emptyset$ +tē(cihuā)uh- $\emptyset$	an- $\emptyset$ +tē(cihuā)hu-ān
		ti- $\emptyset$ +n-o(cihuā)uh- $\emptyset$	an- $\emptyset$ +n-o(cihuā)hu-ān
		t- $\emptyset$ +ī- $\emptyset$ (cihuā)uh- $\emptyset$	am- $\emptyset$ +ī- $\emptyset$ (cihuā)hu-ān
		ti- $\emptyset$ +t-o(cihuā)uh- $\emptyset$	an- $\emptyset$ +t-o(cihuā)hu-ān
		t- $\emptyset$ +ī-n(cihuā)uh- $\emptyset$	am- $\emptyset$ +ī-n(cihuā)hu-ān
$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cihuā)tl- $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ (cihua) $\emptyset$ -h	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tē(cihuā)uh- $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +tē(cihuā)hu-ān
		$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(cihuā)uh- $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +n-o(cihuā)hu-ān
		$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-o(cihuā)uh- $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +m-o(cihuā)hu-ān
		$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ī- $\emptyset$ (cihuā)uh- $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ī- $\emptyset$ (cihuā)hu-ān
		$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +t-o(cihuā)uh- $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +t-o(cihuā)hu-ān
		$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +am-o(cihuā)uh- $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +am-o(cihuā)hu-ān
		$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ī-n(cihuā)uh- $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ +ī-n(cihuā)hu-ān

## b. TL Subclass 1B:

n- $\emptyset$ (āhui)tl- $\emptyset$	t- $\emptyset$ (āhui)m-eh	ni- $\emptyset$ +tē(āhui) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$	ti- $\emptyset$ +tē(āhui)hu-ān
[= “aunt”]		ni- $\emptyset$ +m-□(āhui) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$	ti- $\emptyset$ +m-□(āhui)hu-ān
		n- $\emptyset$ +ī- $\emptyset$ (āhui) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$	t- $\emptyset$ +ī- $\emptyset$ (āhui)hu-ān
		n- $\emptyset$ +am-□(āhui) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$	t- $\emptyset$ +am-□(āhui)hu-ān
		n- $\emptyset$ +ī-m(āhui) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$	t- $\emptyset$ +ī-m(āhui)hu-ān
t- $\emptyset$ (āhui)tl- $\emptyset$	am- $\emptyset$ (āhui)m-eh	ti- $\emptyset$ +tē(āhui) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$	an- $\emptyset$ +tē(āhui)hu-ān
		ti- $\emptyset$ +n-□(āhui) $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$	an- $\emptyset$ +n-□(āhui)hu-ān

		t-θ+i-θ(āhui)θ-θ	am-θ+i-θ(āhui)hu-ān
		ti-θ+t-□(āhui)θ-θ	an-θ+t-□(āhui)hu-ān
		t-θ+i-m(āhui)θ-θ	am-θ+i-m(āhui)hu-ān
θ-θ(āhui)tl-θ	θ-θ(āhui)m-eh	θ-θ+tē(āhui)θ-θ	θ-θ+tē(āhui)hu-ān
		θ-θ+n-□(āhui)θ-θ	θ-θ+n-□(āhui)hu-ān
		θ-θ+m-□(āhui)θ-θ	θ-θ+m-□(āhui)hu-ān
		θ-θ+i-θ(āhui)θ-θ	θ-θ+i-θ(āhui)hu-ān
		θ-θ+t-□(āhui)θ-θ	θ-θ+t-□(āhui)hu-ān
		θ-θ+am-□(āhui)θ-θ	θ-θ+am-□(āhui)hu-ān
		θ-θ+i-m(āhui)θ-θ	θ-θ+i-m(āhui)hu-ān

V. *Preterit Agentive NNCs*. Preterit agentive NNCs, like several of the other nominalized VNCs, have separate stems for the absolutive- and possessive-state formations. They may be nonanimate or animate. The following examples are all animate.

1. With **c-θ** as singular-number-of-subject dyad in absolutive-state NNCs (projective object, Class A verbstem source illustrated):

Absolutive State		Possessive State	
Sg. Subject	Pl. Subject	Sg. Subject	Pl. Subject
ni-θ(tē-zō-θ)c-θ	ti-θ(tē-zō-θ)qu-eh	ni-θ+tē(tē-zō-θ-cā)uh-θ	ti-θ+tē(tē-zō-θ-cā)hu-ān
[= “blood letter”]		ni-θ+m-o(tē-zō-θ-cā)uh-θ	ti-θ+m-o(tē-zō-θ-cā)hu-ān
		n-θ+i-θ(tē-zō-θ-cā)uh-θ	t-θ+i-θ(tē-zō-θ-cā)hu-ān
		n-θ+am-o(tē-zō-θ-cā)uh-θ	t-θ+am-o(tē-zō-θ-cā)hu-ān
		n-θ+i-n(tē-zō-θ-cā)uh-θ	t-θ+i-n(tē-zō-θ-cā)hu-ān

(Etc. for the second and third person dyads of the subject pronoun of the absolutive-state NNCs; since the possessive-state NNCs belong to the TL Subclass 1A the remaining forms are the same as those in section IV.3 above.)

2. With **qui-θ** as singular-number-of-subject dyad in absolutive-state NNCs (projective object, Class B verbstem source illustrated):

Absolutive State		Possessive State	
Sg. Subject	Pl. Subject	Sg. Subject	Pl. Subject
ni-θ(tla-āx-θ)qui-θ	ti-θ(tla-āx-θ)qu-eh	ni-θ+tē(tla-āx-θ-cā)uh-θ	ti-θ+tē(tla-āx-θ-cā)hu-ān
[= “worker”]		ni-θ+m-o(tla-āx-θ-cā)uh-θ	ti-θ+m-o(tla-āx-θ-cā)hu-ān
		n-θ+i-θ(tla-āx-θ-cā)uh-θ	t-θ+i-θ(tla-āx-θ-cā)hu-ān
		n-θ+am-o(tla-āx-θ-cā)uh-θ	t-θ+am-o(tla-āx-θ-cā)hu-ān
		n-θ+i-n(tla-āx-θ-cā)uh-θ	t-θ+i-n(tla-āx-θ-cā)hu-ān

(Etc. for the second- and third-person dyads of the subject pronoun of the absolutive-state NNCs; since the possessive-state NNCs belong to the TL Subclass 1A, the remaining forms are the same as those in section IV.3 above.)

3. With **□-θ** (irregular variant of **qui-θ**) as singular-number-of-subject dyad in absolutive-state NNCs (reflexive object, Class B verbstem source illustrated):

Absolutive State		Possessive State	
Sg. Subject	Pl. Subject	Sg. Subject	Pl. Subject
ni-θ(n-□-ihxil-θ)□-θ	ti-θ(t-□-ihxil-θ)qu-eh	ni-θ+tē(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)uh-θ	ti-θ+tē(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)hu-ān
[= “One who has wounded o.s. with a sharp-pointed object”]		ni-θ+m-o(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)uh-θ	ti-θ+m-o(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)hu-ān
		n-θ+i-θ(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)uh-θ	t-θ+i-θ(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)hu-ān
		n-θ+am-o(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)uh-θ	t-θ+am-o(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)hu-ān
		n-θ+i-n(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)uh-θ	t-θ+i-n(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)hu-ān

ti-θ(m-□-ihxil-θ)□-θ	am-θ(m-□-ihxil-θ)qu-eh	ti-θ+tē(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)uh-θ ti-θ+n-o(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)uh-θ t-θ+i-θ(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)uh-θ ti-θ+t-o(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)uh-θ t-θ+i-n(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)uh-θ	an-θ+tē(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)hu-ān an-θ+n-o(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)hu-ān am-θ+i-θ(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)hu-ān an-θ+t-o(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)hu-ān am-θ+i-n(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)hu-ān
θ-θ(m-□-ihxil-θ)□-θ	θ-θ(m-□-ihxil-θ)qu-eh	θ-θ+tē(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)uh-θ θ-θ+n-o(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)uh-θ θ-θ+m-o(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)uh-θ θ-θ+i-θ(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)uh-θ θ-θ+t-o(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)uh-θ θ-θ+am-o(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)uh-θ θ-θ+i-n(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)uh-θ	θ-θ+tē(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)hu-ān θ-θ+n-o(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)hu-ān θ-θ+m-o(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)hu-ān θ-θ+i-θ(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)hu-ān θ-θ+t-o(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)hu-ān θ-θ+am-o(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)hu-ān θ-θ+i-n(ne-ihxil-θ-cā)hu-ān

## APPENDIX C

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# Object Pronoun Combinations

I. *Object Pronoun Combination Classes.* With regard to their combinatorial potentials, verb object pronouns can be divided into five classes: (a) the nonspecific projective objects **tē** and **tla**; (b) the mainline reflexive objects **m-o**, **n-o**, and **t-o**; (c) the third-person plural object pronoun **qu-im**; (d) the third-person singular object pronoun **c-∅** ~ **qui-∅**; and (e) the first- and second-person object pronouns **n-ēch**, **m-itz**, **t-ēch**, and **am-ēch**. The transformational process introduces the shuntline projective-object pronoun replacements  $\square-\emptyset$  and  $\square-\square$  and the shuntline reflexive-object pronoun replacement *ne*.

When cooperating with double- and triple-object transitive verbstems, these object pronoun classes may occur in the combinations listed below, some of them extremely rare and others possibly merely theoretical. Some may be possible in the causative and not in the applicative and vice versa. The nature and meaning of the verbstem determine what combination is possible in each instance.

The listing does not claim to be exhaustive; for example, it does not include the shift of a source projective-object pronoun into a reflexive-object pronoun. It does not take into consideration the possibility of the semantic criterion of human over nonhuman that some writers use in choosing which of two incompatible specific objects to represent phonologically (instead of the structural one of shuntline over mainline and of secondary shuntline over primary shuntline). The applicative or causative nature of the verbstem drastically changes the translation value of each of these sets; consequently, no attempt has been made to give the English equivalents. To simplify the listing, **m-o** represents any member of object pronoun class b, and **n-ēch** or **m-itz** any member of class e. In instances where an added object pronoun from class b, c, or d is identical to a source object, a superscript number identifies the added object. Superscript 2 indicates the second *identical* object (regardless of whether this object enters as a first or a second addition), and superscript 3 indicates the third *identical* object.

II. *Double-Object Combinations.* When the transformational process introduces a new mainline object into a single-object source, the original object is downgraded to shuntline status. The following double-object combinations result. Since the order of the elements is fixed, the *added* object (i.e., the new mainline object) is italicized to facilitate its recognition in the transform. To a certain extent the italics also help distinguish between ambiguous combinations; for example, **tē+tla** has as one of its possible applicative meanings “s.th. to s.o.” while **tē+*tla*** has “s.o. to s.th.”

Single-Object Source	Added Object	Transform
a. tē ~ tla	<i>tē</i> ~ <i>tla</i> <i>m-o</i> <i>qu-im</i> <i>qui-∅</i> <i>n-ēch</i>	<i>tē+tē</i> ~ <i>tē+tla</i> ~ <i>tē+<i>tla</i></i> ~ <i>tla+tla</i> <i>m-o+tē</i> ~ <i>m-o+tla</i> <i>qu-in+tē</i> ~ <i>qu-in+tla</i> <i>qui-∅+tē</i> ~ <i>qui-∅+tla</i> <i>n-ēch+tē</i> ~ <i>n-ēch+tla</i>

b. m-o	<i>tē ~ tla</i> <i>m-o</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>qu-im</i> <i>qui-∅</i> <i>n-ēch</i>	<i>tē+ne ~ tla+ne</i> (Variant: <i>ne+tē ~ ne+tla.</i> ) <i>m-o</i> <sup>2</sup> + <i>ne</i> <i>qu-in+ne</i> <i>qui-∅+ne</i> <i>n-ēch+ne</i>
c. qu-im	<i>tē ~ tla</i> <i>m-o</i> <i>qu-im</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>qui-∅</i> <i>n-ēch</i>	<i>qu-in+tē ~ qu-in+tla</i> <i>qu-im+m-o</i> <i>qu-im</i> <sup>2</sup> +□-□ <i>qui-∅</i> +□-□ <i>n-ēch</i> +□- <i>im</i>
d. qui-∅	<i>tē ~ tla</i> <i>m-o</i> <i>qu-im</i> <i>qui-∅</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>n-ēch</i>	<i>qui-∅+tē ~ qui-∅+tla</i> <i>qui-∅+m-o</i> <i>qu-im</i> +□-∅ <i>qui-∅</i> <sup>2</sup> +□-∅ <i>n-ēch</i> +□-∅
e. n-ēch	<i>tē ~ tla</i> <i>m-o</i> <i>qu-im</i> <i>qui-∅</i> <i>m-itz</i>	<i>n-ēch+te ~ n-ēch+tla</i> <i>n-ēch+m-o</i> <i>n-ēch</i> +□- <i>im</i> <i>qui-∅</i> +□-□ <i>m-itz</i> +□-□

III. *Triple-Object Combinations.* When the transformational process introduces a new mainline object into a double-object source, the following triple-object combinations result. Since the order of the elements is fixed, the second-level shuntline object (which, in the double-object source, was the mainline object) is italicized and the new mainline object (the final added object) is italicized and underlined to make evident the history of each combination.

When the double-object source is from II.a:

Double-Object Source	Added Object	Transform
aa. <i>tē+tē ~ tē+tla ~</i> <i>tē+tla ~ tla+tla</i>	<i>tē ~ tla</i> <i>m-o</i> <i>qu-im</i> <i>qui-∅</i> <i>n-ēch</i>	<i>tē+tē+tē ~ tē+tē+tla ~ tē+tē+tla ~ tē+tla+tla ~</i> <i>tē+tē+tla ~ tē+tla-tla ~ tē+tla+tla ~ tla+tla+tla</i> <i>m-o+tē+tē ~ m-o+tē+tla ~ m-o+tē+tla ~ m-o+tla+tla</i> <i>qu-in+tē+tē ~ qu-in+tē+tla ~ qu-in+tē+tla ~</i> <i>qu-in+tla+tla</i> <i>qui-∅+tē+tē ~ qui-∅+tē+tla ~ qui-∅+tē+tla ~</i> <i>qui-∅+tla+tla</i> <i>n-ēch+tē+tē ~ n-ēch+tē+tla ~ n-ēch+tē+tla ~</i> <i>n-ēch+tla+tla</i>
ab. <i>m-o+tē ~ m-o+tla</i>	<i>tē ~ tla</i> <i>m-o</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>qu-im</i> <i>qui-∅</i> <i>n-ēch</i>	<i>tē+tē+ne ~ tē+tla+ne ~ tē+tla+ne ~ tla+tla+ne</i> <i>m-o</i> <sup>2</sup> + <i>tē+ne ~ m-o</i> <sup>2</sup> + <i>tla+ne</i> <i>qu-in+tē+ne ~ qu-in+tla+ne</i> <i>qui-∅+tē+ne ~ qui-∅+tla+ne</i> <i>n-ēch+tē+ne ~ n-ēch+tla+ne</i>
ac. <i>qu-in+tē ~</i> <i>qu-in+tla</i>	<i>tē ~ tla</i> <i>m-o</i> <i>qu-im</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>qui-∅</i> <i>n-ēch</i>	<i>qu-in+tē+tē ~ qu-in+tē+tla ~ qu-in+tē+tla ~</i> <i>qu-in+tla+tla</i> <i>qu-im+m-o+tē ~ qu-im+m-o+tla</i> <i>qu-in</i> <sup>2</sup> +□-□+ <i>tē ~ qu-in</i> <sup>2</sup> +□-□+ <i>tla</i> <i>qui-∅</i> +□-□+ <i>tē ~ qui-∅</i> +□-□+ <i>tla</i> <i>n-ēch</i> +□- <i>in</i> + <i>tē ~ n-ēch</i> +□- <i>in</i> + <i>tla</i>
ad. <i>qui-∅+tē ~</i> <i>qui-∅+tla</i>	<i>tē ~ tla</i>	<i>qui-∅+tē+tē ~ qui-∅+tē+tla ~ qui-∅+tē+tla ~</i> <i>qui-∅+tla+tla</i>

	<i>m-o</i>	<i>qui-Ø+m-o+tē ~ qui-Ø+m-o+tla</i>
	<i>qu-im</i>	<i>qu-in+□-Ø+tē ~ qu-in+□-Ø+tla</i>
	<i>qui-Ø<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>qui-Ø<sup>2</sup>+□-Ø+tē ~ qui-Ø<sup>2</sup>+□-Ø+tla</i>
	<i>n-ēch</i>	<i>n-ēch+□-Ø+tē ~ n-ēch+□-Ø+tla</i>
<i>ae. n-ēch+tē ~</i> <i>n-ēch+tla</i>	<i>tē ~ tla</i>	<i>n-ēch+tē+tē ~ n-ēch+tē+tla ~ n-ēch+tē+tla ~</i> <i>n-ēch+tla+tla</i>
	<i>m-o</i>	<i>n-ēch+m-o+tē ~ n-ēch+m-o+tla</i>
	<i>qu-im</i>	<i>n-ēch+□-in+tē ~ n-ēch+□-in+tla</i>
	<i>qui-Ø</i>	<i>qui-Ø+□-□+tē ~ qui-Ø+□-□+tla</i>
	<i>m-itz</i>	<i>m-itz+□-□+tē ~ m-itz+□-□+tla</i>

## 2. When the double-object source is from II.b:

Double-Object Source	Added Object	Transform
<i>ba. tē+ne ~ tla+ne</i>	<i>tē ~ tla</i> <i>m-o<sup>2</sup></i> <i>qu-im</i> <i>qui-Ø</i> <i>n-ēch</i>	<i>tē+tē+ne ~ tē+tla+ne ~ tē+tla+ne ~ tla+tla+ne</i> <i>m-o<sup>2</sup>+tē+ne ~ m-o<sup>2</sup>+tla+ne</i> <i>qu-in+tē+ne ~ qu-in+tla+ne</i> <i>qui-Ø+tē+ne ~ qui-Ø+tla+ne</i> <i>n-ēch+tē+ne ~ n-ēch+tla+ne</i>
<i>bb. m-o<sup>2</sup>+ne</i>	<i>tē ~ tla</i> <i>m-o<sup>3</sup></i> <i>qu-im</i> <i>qui-Ø</i> <i>n-ēch</i>	<i>tē+ne<sup>2</sup>+ne ~ tla+ne<sup>2</sup>+ne</i> <i>m-o<sup>3</sup>+ne<sup>2</sup>+ne</i> <i>qu-in+ne<sup>2</sup>+ne</i> <i>qui-Ø+ne<sup>2</sup>+ne</i> <i>n-ēch+ne<sup>2</sup>+ne</i>
<i>bc. qu-in+ne</i>	<i>tē ~ tla</i> <i>m-o<sup>2</sup></i> <i>qu-im<sup>2</sup></i> <i>qui-Ø</i> <i>n-ēch</i>	<i>qu-in+tē+ne ~ qu-in+tla+ne</i> <i>qu-im+m-o<sup>2</sup>+ne</i> <i>qu-in<sup>2</sup>+□-□+ne</i> <i>qui-Ø+□-□+ne</i> <i>n-ēch+□-in+ne</i>
<i>bd. qui-Ø+ne</i>	<i>tē ~ tla</i> <i>m-o<sup>2</sup></i> <i>qu-im</i> <i>qui-Ø<sup>2</sup></i> <i>n-ēch</i>	<i>qui-Ø+tē+ne ~ qu-in+tla+ne</i> <i>qui-Ø+m-o<sup>2</sup>+ne</i> <i>qu-in+□-Ø+ne</i> <i>qui-Ø<sup>2</sup>+□-Ø+ne</i> <i>n-ēch+□-Ø+ne</i>
<i>be. n-ēch+ne</i>	<i>tē ~ tla</i> <i>m-o<sup>2</sup></i> <i>qu-im</i> <i>qui-Ø</i> <i>m-itz</i>	<i>n-ēch+tē+ne ~ n-ēch+tla+ne</i> <i>n-ēch+m-o<sup>2</sup>+ne</i> <i>n-ēch+□-in+ne</i> <i>qui-Ø+□-□+ne</i> <i>m-itz+□-□+ne</i>

## 3. When the double-object source is from II.c:

Double-Object Source	Added Object	Transform
<i>ca. qu-in+tē ~ qu-in+tla</i>	<i>tē ~ tla</i> <i>m-o</i> <i>qu-im<sup>2</sup></i> <i>qui-Ø</i> <i>n-ēch</i>	<i>qu-in+tē+tē ~ qu-in+tē+tla ~ qu-in+tē+tla ~</i> <i>qu-in+tla+tla</i> <i>qu-im+m-o+tē ~ qu-im+m-o+tla</i> <i>qu-in<sup>2</sup>+□-□+tē ~ qu-in<sup>2</sup>+□-□+tla</i> <i>qui-Ø+□-□+tē ~ qui-Ø+□-□+tla</i> <i>n-ēch+□-in+tē ~ n-ēch+□-in+tla</i>
<i>cb. qu-im+m-o</i>	<i>tē ~ tla</i> <i>m-o<sup>2</sup></i> <i>qu-im<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>qu-in+tē+ne ~ qu-in+tla+ne</i> <i>qu-im+m-o<sup>2</sup>+ne</i> <i>qu-in<sup>2</sup>+□-□+ne</i>

	<u>qui-<math>\emptyset</math></u> <u>n-<math>\bar{e}ch</math></u>	<u>qui-<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\square</math>+ne</u> <u>n-<math>\bar{e}ch</math>+<math>\square</math>-in+ne</u>
cc. <u>qu-im<sup>2</sup>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\square</math></u> <u>[<math>\square</math>-<math>\square</math> = qu-im]</u>	<u><math>t\bar{e}</math> ~ tla</u> <u>m-o</u> <u>qu-im<sup>3</sup></u> <u>qui-<math>\emptyset</math></u> <u>n-<math>\bar{e}ch</math></u>	<u>qu-in<sup>2</sup>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\square</math>+<math>t\bar{e}</math> ~ qu-in<sup>2</sup>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\square</math>+tla</u> <u>qu-im<sup>2</sup>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\square</math>+m-o</u> <u>qu-im<sup>3</sup>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\square</math><sup>2</sup>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\square</math></u> <u>qui-<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\square</math><sup>2</sup>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\square</math></u> <u>n-<math>\bar{e}ch</math>+<math>\square</math>-im<sup>2</sup>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\square</math></u>
cd. <u>qui-<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\square</math></u> <u>[<math>\square</math>-<math>\square</math> = qu-im]</u>	<u><math>t\bar{e}</math> ~ tla</u> <u>m-o</u> <u>qu-im<sup>2</sup></u> <u>qui-<math>\emptyset</math><sup>2</sup></u> <u>n-<math>\bar{e}ch</math></u>	<u>qui-<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\square</math>+<math>t\bar{e}</math> ~ qui-<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\square</math>+tla</u> <u>qui-<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\square</math>+m-o</u> <u>qu-im<sup>2</sup>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\square</math></u> <u>qui-<math>\emptyset</math><sup>2</sup>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\square</math></u> <u>n-<math>\bar{e}ch</math>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\square</math></u>
ce. <u>n-<math>\bar{e}ch</math>+<math>\square</math>-im</u>	<u><math>t\bar{e}</math> ~ tla</u> <u>m-o</u> <u>qu-im<sup>2</sup></u> <u>qui-<math>\emptyset</math></u> <u>m-itz</u>	<u>n-<math>\bar{e}ch</math>+<math>\square</math>-in+<math>t\bar{e}</math> ~ n-<math>\bar{e}ch</math>+<math>\square</math>-in+tla</u> <u>n-<math>\bar{e}ch</math>+<math>\square</math>-im+m-o</u> <u>n-<math>\bar{e}ch</math>+<math>\square</math>-im<sup>2</sup>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\square</math></u> <u>qui-<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\square</math>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\square</math></u> <u>m-itz+<math>\square</math>-<math>\square</math>+<math>\square</math>-im</u>

## 4. When the double-object source is from II.d:

Double-Object Source	Added Object	Transform
da. <u>qui-<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>t\bar{e}</math> ~ qui-<math>\emptyset</math>+tla</u>	<u><math>t\bar{e}</math> ~ tla</u>  <u>m-o</u> <u>qu-im</u> <u>qui-<math>\emptyset</math><sup>2</sup></u> <u>n-<math>\bar{e}ch</math></u>	<u>qui-<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>t\bar{e}</math>+<math>t\bar{e}</math> ~ qui-<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>t\bar{e}</math>+tla ~ qui-<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>t\bar{e}</math>+tla ~ qui-<math>\emptyset</math>+tla+tla</u> <u>qui-<math>\emptyset</math>+m-o+<math>t\bar{e}</math> ~ qui-<math>\emptyset</math>+m-o+tla</u> <u>qu-in+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>t\bar{e}</math> ~ qu-in+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>+tla</u> <u>qui-<math>\emptyset</math><sup>2</sup>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>t\bar{e}</math> ~ qui-<math>\emptyset</math><sup>2</sup>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>+tla</u> <u>n-<math>\bar{e}ch</math>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>t\bar{e}</math> ~ n-<math>\bar{e}ch</math>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>+tla</u>
db. <u>qui-<math>\emptyset</math>+m-o</u>	<u><math>t\bar{e}</math> ~ tla</u> <u>m-o<sup>2</sup></u> <u>qu-im</u> <u>qui-<math>\emptyset</math><sup>2</sup></u> <u>n-<math>\bar{e}ch</math></u>	<u>qui-<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>t\bar{e}</math>+ne ~ qui-<math>\emptyset</math>+tla+ne</u> <u>qui-<math>\emptyset</math>+m-o<sup>2</sup>+ne</u> <u>qu-in+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>+ne</u> <u>qui-<math>\emptyset</math><sup>2</sup>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>+ne</u> <u>n-<math>\bar{e}ch</math>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>+ne</u>
dc. <u>qu-im+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math></u> <u>[<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math> = qui-<math>\emptyset</math>]</u>	<u><math>t\bar{e}</math> ~ tla</u> <u>m-o</u> <u>qu-im<sup>2</sup></u> <u>qui-<math>\emptyset</math><sup>2</sup></u> <u>n-<math>\bar{e}ch</math></u>	<u>qu-in+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>t\bar{e}</math> ~ qu-in+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>+tla</u> <u>qu-im+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>+m-o</u> <u>qu-im<sup>2</sup>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\square</math>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math></u> <u>qui-<math>\emptyset</math><sup>2</sup>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\square</math>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math></u> <u>n-<math>\bar{e}ch</math>+<math>\square</math>-im+m-o</u>
dd. <u>qui-<math>\emptyset</math><sup>2</sup>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math></u> <u>[<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math> = qui-<math>\emptyset</math>]</u>	<u><math>t\bar{e}</math> ~ tla</u> <u>m-o</u> <u>qu-im</u> <u>qui-<math>\emptyset</math><sup>3</sup></u> <u>n-<math>\bar{e}ch</math></u>	<u>qui-<math>\emptyset</math><sup>2</sup>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>t\bar{e}</math> ~ qui-<math>\emptyset</math><sup>2</sup>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>+tla</u> <u>qui-<math>\emptyset</math><sup>2</sup>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>+m-o</u> <u>qu-im+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math><sup>2</sup>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math></u> <u>qui-<math>\emptyset</math><sup>3</sup>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math><sup>2</sup>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math></u> <u>n-<math>\bar{e}ch</math>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math><sup>2</sup>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math></u>
de. <u>n-<math>\bar{e}ch</math>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math></u> <u>[<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math> = qui-<math>\emptyset</math>]</u>	<u><math>t\bar{e}</math> ~ tla</u> <u>m-o</u> <u>qu-im</u> <u>qui-<math>\emptyset</math><sup>2</sup></u> <u>m-itz</u>	<u>n-<math>\bar{e}ch</math>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>+<math>t\bar{e}</math> ~ n-<math>\bar{e}ch</math>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>+tla</u> <u>n-<math>\bar{e}ch</math>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math>+m-o</u> <u>n-<math>\bar{e}ch</math>+<math>\square</math>-im+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math></u> <u>qui-<math>\emptyset</math><sup>2</sup>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\square</math>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math></u> <u>m-itz+<math>\square</math>-<math>\square</math>+<math>\square</math>-<math>\emptyset</math></u>

## 5. When the double-object source is from II.e:

Double-Object Source	Added Object	Transform
ea. <u>n-<math>\bar{e}ch</math>+<math>t\bar{e}</math> ~ n-<math>\bar{e}ch</math>+tla</u>	<u><math>t\bar{e}</math> ~ tla</u>	<u>n-<math>\bar{e}ch</math>+<math>t\bar{e}</math>+<math>t\bar{e}</math> ~ n-<math>\bar{e}ch</math>+<math>t\bar{e}</math>+tla ~ n-<math>\bar{e}ch</math>+<math>t\bar{e}</math>+tla ~ n-<math>\bar{e}ch</math>+tla+tla</u>

	<u>m-o</u>	$n-\bar{e}ch+m-o+t\bar{e} \sim n-\bar{e}ch+m-o+tila$
	<u>qu-im</u>	$n-\bar{e}ch+\square-in+t\bar{e} \sim n-\bar{e}ch+\square-in+tila$
	<u>qui-Ø</u>	$qui-\theta+\square-\square+t\bar{e} \sim qui-\theta+\square-\square+tila$
	<u>m-itz</u>	$m-itz+\square-\square+t\bar{e} \sim m-itz-\square-\square+tila$
<i>eb.</i> $n-\bar{e}ch+m-o$	<u>tē ~ tla</u>	$n-\bar{e}ch+t\bar{e}+ne \sim n\bar{e}ch+tila+ne$
	<u>m-o<sup>2</sup></u>	$n-\bar{e}ch+m-o^2+ne$
	<u>qu-im</u>	$n-\bar{e}ch+\square-in+ne$
	<u>qui-Ø</u>	$qui-\theta+\square-\square+ne$
	<u>m-itz</u>	$m-itz+\square-\square+ne$
<i>ec.</i> $n-\bar{e}ch+\square-im$	<u>tē ~ tla</u>	$n-\bar{e}ch+\square-in+t\bar{e} \sim n-\bar{e}ch+\square-in+tila$
	<u>m-o</u>	$n-\bar{e}ch+\square-im+m-o$
	<u>qu-im<sup>2</sup></u>	$n-\bar{e}ch+\square-im^2+\square-\square$
	<u>qui-Ø</u>	$qui-\theta+\square-\square+\square-\square$
	<u>m-itz</u>	$m-itz+\square-\square+\square-im$
<i>ed.</i> $qui-\theta+\square-\square$ [ $\square-\square = n-\bar{e}ch$ ]	<u>tē ~ tla</u>	$qui-\theta+\square-\square+t\bar{e} \sim qui-\theta+\square-\square+tila$
	<u>m-o</u>	$qui-\theta+\square-\square+m-o$
	<u>qu-im</u>	$qu-im+\square-\theta+\square-\square$
	<u>qui-Ø<sup>2</sup></u>	$qui-\theta^2+\square-\theta+\square-\square$
	<u>m-itz</u>	$m-itz+\square-\theta+\square-\square$
<i>ee.</i> $m-itz+\square-\square$ [ $\square-\square = n-\bar{e}ch$ ]	<u>tē ~ tla</u>	$m-itz+\square-\square+t\bar{e} \sim m-itz+\square-\square+tila$
	<u>m-o</u>	$m-itz+\square-\square+m-o$
	<u>qu-im</u>	$m-itz+\square-\square+\square-im$
	<u>qui-Ø</u>	$qui-\theta+\square-\square+\square-\square$



## APPENDIX D

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# Numeral NNCs and Numbers

I. *Abbreviations.* In this appendix the following abbreviations are used:

- m. = mahtlāctli
- c. = caxtōlli
- p. = pōhualli
- tz. = tzontli
- x. = xiquipilli

II. *The Four-Stage Organization.* The following presentation highlights the four-stage organization in Nahuatl numeral NNCs. In each section, the first line represents one hand; the second line, the addition of the second hand; the third line, the addition of one foot; and the fourth line, the addition of a second foot, thereby creating a full count of twenty (or a score).

*Warning:* All examples of numeral NNCs are shown with a third-person common-number subject. Remember that the other affixal subjects are possible (see Lesson 34).

### 1. Digits (1–19)

cē	ōme	ēi	nāhui	mācuilli
1	2	3	4	5
chicuacē	chicōme	chicuēi	chiucnāhui	mahtlāctli
5 + 1	5 + 2	5 + 3	5 + 4	10
m. oncē	m. omōme	m. omēi	m. onnāhui	caxtōlli
10 + 1	10 + 2	10 + 3	10 + 4	15
c. oncē	c. omōme	c. omēi	c. onnāhui	
15 + 1	15 + 2	15 + 3	15 + 4	

### 2. Scores (20–380)

cempōhualli	ōmp.	ēp.	nāuhp.	mācuilp.
1 x 20	2 x 20	3 x 20	4 x 20	5 x 20
chicuacemp.	chicōmp.	chicuēp.	chiucnāuhp.	mahtlācp.
(5 + 1) x 20	(5 + 2) x 20	(5 + 3) x 20	(5 + 4) x 20	10 x 20
m. oncemp.	m. omōmp.	m. omēp.	m. onnāuhp.	caxtōlp.
(10 + 1) x 20	(10 + 2) x 20	(10 + 3) x 20	(10 + 4) x 20	15 x 20

c. oncemp. (15 + 1) x 20	c. omōmp. (15 + 2) x 20	c.omēp. (15 + 3) x 20	c. onnāuhp. (15 + 4) x 20
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3. Four Hundreds (400–7600)

centzontli 1 x 400	ōntz. 2 x 400	ētz. 3 x 400	nāuhzt. 4 x 400	mācuīltz. 5 x 400
chicuacenz. (5 + 1) x 400	chicōntz. (5 + 2) x 400	chicuētz. (5 + 3) x 400	chiucnāuhzt. (5 + 4) x 400	mahtlāctz. 10 x 400
m. oncentz. (10 + 1) x 400	m. omōntz. (10 + 2) x 400	m. omētz. (10 + 3) x 400	m. onnāuhzt. (10 + 4) x 400	caxtōltz. 15 x 400
c. oncentz. (15 + 1) x 400	c. omōntz. (15 + 2) x 400	c. omētz. (15 + 3) x 400	c. onnāuhzt. (15 + 4) x 400	

4. Eight Thousands (8000–152,000)

cenixquipilli 1 x 8000	ōnx. 2 x 8000	ēx. 3 x 8000	nāuhx. 4 x 8000	mācuīlx. 5 x 8000
chicuacenz. (5 + 1) x 8000	chicōnx. (5 + 2) x 8000	chicuēx. (5 + 3) x 8000	chiucnāuhx. (5 + 4) x 8000	mahtlācx. 10 x 8000
m. oncenz. (10 + 1) x 8000	m. omōnx. (10 + 2) x 8000	m. omēx. (10 + 3) x 8000	m. onnāuhx. (10 + 4) x 8000	caxtōlx. 15 x 8000
c. oncenz. (15 + 1) x 8000	c. omōnx. (15 + 2) x 8000	c. omēx. (15 + 3) x 8000	c. onnāuhx. (15 + 4) x 8000	

III. *Combinations of the Orders.* Scores are combined with digits by means of the embed stem (**om-**) ~ (**on-**). Four hundreds are combined with scores and with digits by the NNC **īpan**, “on top of it,” or the NNC **īhuān**, “in addition to it.” Also, eight thousands are combined with four hundreds, with scores, and with digits by means of either **īpan** or **īhuān**.

1. Scores Combined with Digits

cempōhualli oncē, i.e., (1 x 20) + 1 = 21	ēpōhualli onchicuacē, i.e., (3 x 20) + (5 + 1) = 66
ōmpōhualli oncaxtōlli omēi, i.e., (2 x 20) + (15 + 3) = 58	caxtōlli omēpōhualli oncaxtōlli onnāhui i.e., ((15 + 3) x 20) + (15 + 4) = 379

2. Four Hundreds Combined with Digits

nāuhztontli īpan chicōme, i.e., (4 x 400) + (5 + 2) = 1607	mahtlāctli oncentzontli īpan caxtōlli ((10 + 1) x 400) + 15 = 4415
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3. Four Hundreds Combined with Scores

centzontli īpan mahtlācpōhualli, i.e., (1 x 400) + (10 x 20) = 600	ōntzontli īpan caxtōlpōhualli (2 x 400) + (15 x 20) = 1100
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4. Eight Thousands Combined with Digits

cenixquipilli īpan mācuīlli, i.e. (1 x 8000) + 5 = 8005	ēxiquipilli īpan chiucnāhui, i.e., (3 x 8000) + (5 + 4) = 24,009
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5. Eight Thousands Combined with Scores

chicuacenziquipilli īpan cempōhualli, i.e., (5 + 1) x 8000 + (1 x 20) = 48,020	cenixquipilli īpan chicuēpōhualli, i.e., (1 x 8000 + ((5 + 3) x 20) = 8,160
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## 6. Eight Thousands Combined with Four Hundreds

cenxiquipilli ipan centzontli, i.e.,  
 $(1 \times 8000) + (1 \times 400) = 8400$

nāuhxiquipilli ipan caxtōltzontli, i.e.,  
 $(4 \times 8000) + (15 \times 400) = 38,000$

## 7. Eight Thousands Combined with Four Hundreds Combined with Scores Combined with Digits

cenxiquipilli ipan centzontli ipam mahtlācpōhualli oncaxtōlli omōme, i.e.,  
 $(1 \times 8000) + (1 \times 400) + (10 \times 20) + (15 + 2) = 8617$

IV. *The Symbol Problem.* A large problem in learning Nahuatl numbers lies in the incongruence of decimal symbols and vigesimal names. The following presentation seeks to illustrate this problem with symbols appropriate to a twenty-base system. The number symbols are arbitrary inventions but attempt to be faithful to the four-stage organization presented in § II:

Eight Thousands	Four Hundreds	Scores	Digits
0	0	0	0
cenxiquipilli 1	centzontli 1	cempōhualli 1	cē 1
ōnxiquipilli 2	ōntzontli 2	ōmpōhualli 2	ōme 2
ēxiquipilli 3	ētzontli 3	ēpōhualli 3	ēi 3
nāuhxiquipilli 4	nāuhtzontli 4	nāuhpōhualli 4	nāhui 4
mācuilxiquipilli 5	mācuiltzontli 5	mācuilpōhualli 5	mācuilli 5
chicuacex. 𐑁	chicuacenz. 𐑁	chicuacemp. 𐑁	chicuacē 𐑁
chicōnx. 𐑂	chicōntz. 𐑂	chicōmp. 𐑂	chicōme 𐑂
chicuēx. 𐑃	chicuētz. 𐑃	chicuēp. 𐑃	chicuēi 𐑃
chiucnāuhx. 𐑄	chiucnāuhtz. 𐑄	chiucnāuhp. 𐑄	chiucnāhui 𐑄
mahtlācx. 𐑅	mahtlāctz. 𐑅	mahtlāctz. 𐑅	mahtlāctli 𐑅
m. oncenx. 𐑆	m. oncentz. 𐑆	m. oncemp. 𐑆	m. oncē 𐑆
m. omōnx. 𐑇	m. omōntz. 𐑇	m. omōmp. 𐑇	m. omōme 𐑇
m. omēx. 𐑈	m. omētz. 𐑈	m. omēp. 𐑈	m. omēi 𐑈
m. onnāuhx. 𐑉	m. onnāuhtz. 𐑉	m. onnāuhp. 𐑉	m. onnāhui 𐑉

caxtōlx. 𐌲	caxtōltz. 𐌲	caxtōlp. 𐌲	caxtōlli 𐌲
c. oncenx. 𐌲	c. oncentz. 𐌲	c. oncemp. 𐌲	c. oncē 𐌲
c. omōnx. 𐌲	c. omōntz. 𐌲	c. omōmp. 𐌲	c. omōme 𐌲
c. omēx. 𐌲	c. omētz. 𐌲	c. omēp. 𐌲	c. omēi 𐌲
c. onnāuhx. 𐌲	c. onnāuhtz. 𐌲	c. onnāuhp. 𐌲	c. onnāhui 𐌲

Just as in the decimal system, the figures in the last column indicate the number of digits (or units); those in the next-to-last column indicate the number of times the base is taken; those in the third-from-last column indicate the number of times the square of the base is taken; and those in the fourth-from-last column indicate the number of times the cube of the base is taken. In a twenty-base system, the symbol 10 represents “twenty,” 100 represents “four hundred,” and 1000 represents “eight thousand.” (In the examples that follow, the figures in boxes are ten-base symbols.)

Twenty-base symbols translated into ten-base symbols:

cempōhualli oncē

$$11 = \begin{array}{r} 1 \times 20 = 20 \\ 1 \times 1 = \underline{1} \\ 21 \end{array}$$

ōmpōhualli onchicōme

$$25 = \begin{array}{r} 2 \times 20 = 40 \\ 7 \times 1 = \underline{7} \\ 47 \end{array}$$

mācuīlpōhualli ommahtlāctli

$$5 \text{ } \text{ } = \begin{array}{r} 5 \times 20 = 100 \\ 10 \times 1 = \underline{10} \\ 110 \end{array}$$

caxtōlli omōmpōhualli ommahtlāctli onnāhui

$$7 \text{ } \text{ } = \begin{array}{r} 17 \times 20 = 340 \\ 14 \times 1 = \underline{14} \\ 354 \end{array}$$

ētzontli īpan mahtlāctli onnāuhpōhualli ommahtlāctli omōme

$$3 \text{ } \text{ } = \begin{array}{r} 3 \times 20^2 = 1,200 \\ (10 + 4) \times 20 = 280 \\ 12 \times 1 = \underline{12} \\ 1,492 \end{array}$$

nāuhtzontli īpan chicuēpōhualli onchicuacē

$$4 \text{ } \text{ } = \begin{array}{r} 4 \times 20^2 = 1,600 \\ 8 \times 20 = 160 \\ 6 \times 1 = \underline{6} \\ 1,766 \end{array}$$

mahtlāctli oncenxiqipilli īpan mahtlāctli omētzontli īpan caxtōlpōhualli

$$\text{ } \text{ } 70 = \begin{array}{r} (10 + 1) \times 20^3 = 88,000 \\ (10 + 3) \times 20^2 = 5,200 \\ 15 \times 20 = 300 \\ 0 \times 1 = \underline{0} \\ 93,500 \end{array}$$

caxtōlli onnāuhxiqipilli īpan chiucnāuhtzontli īpan caxtōlli oncempōhualli oncaxtōlli omēi

$$\text{ } \text{ } \text{ } = \begin{array}{r} (15 + 4) \times 20^3 = 152,000 \\ 9 \times 20^2 = 3,600 \\ (15 + 1) \times 20 = 320 \\ 15 + 3 = \underline{18} \\ 155,938 \end{array}$$

## APPENDIX E

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# Day, Month, and Year Names

I. *The Two Calendars.* The Aztecs used two calendars that ran concurrently but differed in the period of time with which they dealt. One was a divinatory calendar counting out a divinatory year (using the term “year,” as in “school year,” to designate a period of time devoted to some special activity). This divinatory calendar was consulted and interpreted by priests primarily for casting a newborn’s horoscope. It was called a **tōnalpōhualli**, “it is a day-sign-counted thing,” a passive-patientive NNC from the verbstem (**tōna-l-pōhua**), “to read day-signs,” and therefore “to cast a nativity, to prognosticate.”) A **tōnalpōhualli** was to be found in a manual called a **tōnalāmatl**, “it is the day-sign papers.”

The other calendar was a solar-year calendar.

II. *The Tōnalpōhualli.* The period dealt with by the **tōnalpōhualli** was 260 days long. Each of these divinatory days was given a distinctive day name by combining a sequence of *thirteen* numeral NNCs with a sequence of *twenty* day-sign NNCs.

1. *The thirteen numeral NNCs.* A sequence of thirteen numeral NNCs can be called a trezen (on the pattern of “dozen”; cf. Spanish *trecena*, “a set of thirteen”). The 260 days of the **tōnalpōhualli** can be arranged in four groups of sixty-five members each, and these groups can be subdivided into five trezens ( $13 \times 5 = 65$ ). Each of these subdivisions can be presented in a format using five line formulas in the following order:  $(5 + 5) + 3$ ,  $(2 + (5 + 5)) + 1$ ,  $4 + (5 + 4)$ ,  $(1 + (5 + 5)) + 2$ , and  $3 + (5 + 5)$ . Therefore, a group of sixty-five numeral NNCs will have the following configuration [**Mah.** = **mahtlāctli**, “ten”]:

cē	1	ōme	2	ēi	3	nāhui	4	mācuilli	5
chicuacē	6	chicōme	7	chicuēi	8	chiucnāhui	9	mahtlāctli	10
mah. oncē	11	mah. omōme	12	mah. omēi	13				

			cē	ōme
ēi	nāhui	mācuilli	chicuacē	chicōme
chicuēi	chiucnāhui	mahtlāctli	mah. oncē	mah. omōme
mah. omēi				

	cē	ōme	ēi	nāhui
mācuilli	chicuacē	chicōme	chicuēi	chiucnāhui
mahtlāctli	mah. oncē	mah. omōme	mah. omēi	

				cē
ōme	ēi	nāhui	mācuilli	chicuacē
chicōme	chicuēi	chiucnāhui	mahtlāctli	mah. oncē
mah. omōme	mah. omēi			

		cē	ōme	ēi
nāhui	mācuilli	chicuacē	chicōme	chicuēi
chiucnāhui	mahtlāctli	mah. oncē	mah. omōme	mah. omēi

This group of five trezens is followed by three more identically arranged groups ( $4 \times 65 = 260$ ).

The arrangement of trezens presented here, in which the first and last lines of a *sixty-five*-day block of five trezens contain five numeral-bearing “slots,” is merely an attempt to find a potential for orderliness in the 260-day cycle. The advantage of this five-slot format is that the Aztecs had a functional “week” of five days (it was not, however, linguistically recognized; there is no Nahuatl nounstem equivalent to “week”), since it was the occasion of a public fair or market. Also, the **Nēn Ontēmi** is a five-day period (see section III below).

There are other possible arrangements. In one of these the first and last lines of a *fifty-two*-day block of four trezens contain four numeral-bearing “slots,” with each of the four slots assigned to a cardinal point. In this four-slot arrangement there are four groups subdivided into four trezens ( $13 \times 4 = 52$ ). Each of these subdivisions can be presented in a format using the following line formulas:  $(4 + 4 + 4) + 1$ ,  $(3 + (4 + 4)) + 2$ ,  $(2 + (4 + 4)) + 3$ , and  $1 + (4 + 4 + 4)$ . A group of fifty-two numeral NNCs will therefore have the following arrangement:

East	North	West	South
cē	ōme	ēi	nāhui
mācuilli	chicuacē	chicōme	chicuēi
chiucnāhui	mahtlāctli	mah. oncē	mah. omōme
mah. omēi			

	cē	ōme	ēi
nāhui	mācuilli	chicuacē	chicōme
chicuēi	chiucnāhui	mahtlāctli	mah. oncē
mah. omōme	mah. omēi		

		cē	ōme
ēi	nāhui	mācuilli	chicuacē
chicōme	chicuēi	chiucnāhui	mahtlāctli
mah. oncē	mah. omōme	mah. omēi	

			cē
ōme	ēi	nāhui	mācuilli
chicuacē	chicōme	chicuēi	chiucnāhui
mahtlāctli	mah. oncē	mah. omōme	mah. omēi

For those who believe that the four year bearers (see section IV below) had cardinal-point assignments, the advantage of the four numeral-slot format would be that in it a year-bearer name NNC is automatically assigned correctly to a given direction. There may also be possible significance concerning the block of 52 days and the cycle of 52 solar years (at which point the solar-year count began again; see section IV below). The disadvantage of the four numeral-slot format is that the Aztec culture gave no recognition to a four-day period.

Another arrangement of the trezens is that given by Sahagún (*FC IV/V*, illustrations 103 and 104), in which the day names are simply presented in twenty lines of thirteen slots each, so neither 65-day blocks nor 52-day blocks of trezens are given recognition (earlier, in the *Primeros Memoriales*, Sahagún listed the day names by trezens in a vertical-column format).

In the extant manuscripts of the **tōnalāmatl** manuals, the trezens were each allotted a page and the day names were given in square cartouches along the bottom and one side or along both sides; thus again, no recognition is given to any principle of grouping of trezens.

2. *The twenty day-sign NNCs.* The following is a listing of the twenty nounstems from which the day-sign NNCs are formed. The listing is given in the conventional sequence (for example, Sahagún uses it in the *Florentine Codex*, but in the *Primeros Memoriales* he begins the sequence in a nonstandard way with **itzcuintli**):

(**cipac**)-tli-, “caiman”; (**eh-ehca**)-tl-, “wind”; (**cal**)-li-, “house”; (**cuetz-pal**)-in-, “lizard”; (**cōā**)-tl-, “snake”; (**miqui-z**)-tli-, “death”; (**mazā**)-tl-, “deer”; (**tō-ch**)-tli-, “rabbit”; (**ā**)-tl-, “water”; (**itz-cuin**)-tli-, “dog”; (**ozomah**)-tli-, “monkey”; (**mal-i-n-a-l**)-li-, “grass”; (**ā-ca**)-tl-, “reed”; (**ōcēlō**)-tl-, “jaguar”; (**cuāuh**)-tli-, “eagle”; (**cōz-ca-cuāuh**)-tli-, “vulture”; (**ol-i-n-θ**)-□-, “quake”; (**tecpa**)-tl-, “flint”; (**quiy-a-hui**)-tl-, “rain”; (**xō-chi**)-tl-, “flower.”

In a calendar these nounstems (whether animate or nonanimate) always form absolutive-state NNCs with third-person singular subjects.

*Note:* The day-sign NNC **Ōlin** is almost always misspelled **Ollin** (see § 2.10), a mistake possibly due to a confusion with the NNC **ōlli**, “it is rubber.” **Ōlin** is, moreover, always mistranslated “movement,” an impossible rendering, since this is not an action NNC but a preterit-agentive NNC, coming from the destockal verbstem (**ōl-i-ni**), “to move/quake.” Therefore, it means “it is a thing that has moved/quaked,” i.e., “one that moves/quakes” (since it means “a moving one,” it is one of the names of the Sun). The compound nounstem (**tāl-ōl-i-n-θ**)-□-, “a moving/quaking thing in the form of land,” is equivalent to “earthquake,” and the simple nounstem also permits this translation.

3. *The day names.* As already stated, a day name results from the combination of a numeral NNC and a day-sign NNC. The result can be either a double-nucleus or a single-nucleus construction (e.g., **Ōme Ācatl** or **Ōmācatl**); see § 42.8.4. In these constructions the numeral modifier does not indicate quantity, which becomes obvious when an animate stem is involved (e.g., one says **Mācuilli Cōāt** or **Mācuilcōāt**, not **Mācuiltin Cōāme** or **Mācuilcōāme**). Therefore, translation does not allow, for example, “they are two reeds” or “they are five snakes,” because the numeral functions like an ordinal specifying the position of a concomitant day-sign advanced by the day-sign series. Instead of “It Is Reed (number) Two” or “It Is Snake (number) Five,” however, the English translation is “It Is Two Reed” or “It Is Five Snake.” Once again, translation obscures meaning.

The combination of the thirteen numeral NNCs and the twenty day-sign NNCs permits every single day of the 260-day cycle to have its own distinctive name. The following example illustrates the first two trezens and the last two of a complete 260-day count. The presentation is based on the **Cipactli**-initial sequence given in the extant manuscripts of **tōnalāmatl** manuals:

1 Cipactli	2 Ehehecatl	3 Calli	4 Cuetzpalin	5 Cōātl
6 Miquiztli	7 Mazātl	8 Tōchtli	9 Ātl	10 Itzcuintli
11 Ozomahtli	12 Malinalli	13 Ācatl		

			1 Ōcēlōtl	2 Cuāuhtli
3 Cōzcacuāuhtli	4 Ōlīn	5 Tecpatl	6 Quiyahuitl	7 Xōchitl
8 Cipactli	9 Ehehecatl	10 Calli	11 Cuetzpalin	12 Cōātl
13 Miquiztli				

				1 Cuāuhtli
2 Cōzcacuāuhtli	3 Ōlīn	4 Tecpatl	5 Quiyahuitl	6 Xōchitl
7 Cipactli	8 Ehehecatl	9 Calli	10 Cuetzpalin	11 Cōātl
12 Miquiztli	13 Mazātl			

		1 Tōchtli	2 Ātl	3 Itzcuintli
4 Ozomahtli	5 Malinalli	6 Ācatl	7 Ōcēlōtl	8 Cuāuhtli
9 Cōzcacuāuhtli	10 Ōlīn	11 Tecpatl	12 Quiyahuitl	13 Xōchitl

After the mention of twenty day names, the day-sign NNCs return to the beginning of the set of twenty, to be repeated over and over again (thirteen times) throughout the entire 260-day count.

*Note:* Nahuatl day names are frequently written as, for example, “2 Acatl.” It is incorrect to read this as “Two Acatl.” It represents “Ōme Ācatl.” The alternative is to translate and say “Two Reed.”

III. *The Solar Calendar.* The other calendar, the solar one, consisted of 365 days. This period, called a **xihuitl** (“it is a year”), was divided into eighteen months, called **mētztli** (“it is a moon”), of twenty days each. While the **tōnalpōhualli** emphasizes numerals, the solar calendar emphasizes month names. The eighteen months resulted in a count of 60 days (18 x 20 = 360). In order to raise the day count to 365, a five-day period, the **Nēn Ontēmi**, was added at the end.

The following is the list of month names given by Sahagún (*FC* II; where the emphasis is on the festival associated with each month and therefore no attention is given to the **Nēn Ontēmi**, since those five days are goddess and hence without festivals in the **xihuitl** round):

**Ātl Cāhualo** = Water Is Abandoned

**Tlācaxipēhualiztli** = It Is the Man-Flaying Action

**Tozōtōntli** = It Is the Short Vigil

**Huēi Tozōtli** = It Is the Long Vigil

**Toxcatl** = It Is a Dry Spell (?)

**Etzalcuāliztli** = It Is the Eating of Maize-Bean Porridge

**Tēcuilhuitōntli** = It Is the Little Festival of the Lords

**Huēi Tēcuilhuitl** = It Is the Great Festival of the Lords

**Tlaxōchimaco** = All Give Flowers to Things

**Xocotl Huetzi** = Fruit Falls

**Ochpāniztli** = It Is the Road Sweeping Action

**Teōtl Ehco** = The God Arrives



**Tepēilhuitl** = It Is the Mountain Festival  
**Quechōlli** = It Is the Roseate Spoonbill  
**Pānquetzaliztli** = It Is the Flag/Banner Raising Action  
**Ātemōztli** = It Is the Descent in the Form of Water  
**Tititl** = It Is Severe Weather (?)  
**Izcalli** = It Is a Sprout/Sprouts

Next came the five so-called profitless days:

**Nēn Ontēmi** = It Becomes Full in Vain

The solar calendar and the **tōnalpōhualli** ran concurrently. After beginning together on their respective initial days, the solar year ran through fifty-two repetitions and the **tōnalpōhualli** through seventy-three repetitions, at which point their original first days once again coincided ( $52 \times 365 = 73 \times 260 = 18,980$  days).

*Note 1:* **Nēn Ontēmi** is always written solid as **Nemontemi** (as it is pronounced; for **nēn**, see § 44.5.3). It was considered to be a time of bad luck. While it was a part of the solar calendar, the **Nēn Ontēmi** had a dire impact on the concurrently running days of the **tōnalpōhualli**, since it foretold that a person born then was doomed. In Sahagún we find: “. . . the one who was born then they named Nemo. They said, ‘It is said that the day is nothing [i.e., the day does not really exist (since it is not validated by a god either as supervisor or as patron)]; (therefore,) his merit becomes nothing [i.e., he will never attain anything]. He will live in misery; he will go living in extreme poverty there on earth’” (*FC* II, 162).

*Note 2:* As indicated in the listing, some of the translations are in doubt, while others present problems. The following are a few examples:

Other translations suggested for **Quechōlli** (literally, “It Is Rubber at the Neck”) are “Flamingo,” “Macaw,” and “Precious Feather.”

**Izcalli** has been translated as “Here Is the House” (i.e., reading it as **Iz Calli**) but also, more reasonably, as “Resuscitation,” “Resurrection,” “Rebirth,” “The Growing,” and “Growth” (translations that presuppose a relationship with the verb **tlā-(izcal-i-ā)**, “to cause s.th. to revive.” My translation is based on the entry in Molina’s *Vocabulario* that reads **izcallo in quauitl** (i.e., **izcallo in cuahuitl**), which Molina translates as “arbor que tiene guia o pimpollo [tree that has a sprout or shoot]” but which is more correctly translated as “a/the tree is covered with sprouts” (literally, “a/the tree is one that has owned abundant sprouts”). The preterit-agentive NNC of abundant ownership **izcallo** presupposes the nounstem (**izcal**)-li-, “sprout,” which Molina does not list. (Incidentally, this nounstem is the source of the verbstem **m-o-(izcal-i-ā)**, “to revive/come to,” literally, “to cause oneself to sprout”; see § 55.7.2.) By serving in the name of the month, the notion of “sprout” is a metaphor for the promise of, or potential for, growth. It is occasionally misspelled **Itzcalli**.

**Tititl** has been translated “Shrunk or wrinkled,” “Contraction,” and “Stretching”; the justification for the last has been sought in the transitive destockal verbstem **m-o-(ti-ti-tz-a)**, “to stretch one’s limbs,” but there is absolutely no possible relation between this verbstem and the month name.

**Toxcatl** has no satisfactory translation. It has been read as **Tozcatl**, “It Is a Throat” (with the presumed implication of “ parched throat”). It has also been read as **Tezcatl**, “It Is a Mirror” (since **Tezcatl-Ihpōca** was one of the gods honored in the festival of **Toxcatl**). The name has also been translated as “Our dryness, our drought” (which is impossible, since the **to-** is not a possessive pronoun) as well as “drought,” “a dry thing.” Clavigero (*Historia antigua* III, 402, mentioned by Anderson and Dibble, *FC* II, 66, n. 1) suggested the translation “it is a necklace of toasted maize kernels” because of a glyph of a head with a chain beneath it, apparently representing that kind of necklace. The nounstem (**tox-ca**)-tl- is formed on the matrix stem (**ca**)-tl- (see § 31.6.1), so that its formation is analogous with that of (**cōz-ca**)-tl-, “jewel, bead; necklace.” But only if (**tox**)-tli- means “toasted maize kernel” could Clavigero’s suggestion be valid.

*Note 3:* Some of the months have other names depending on different localities. For example, **Ātl Cāhualo** was also called **Cuahuitl Ēhua**, “The Tree/Pole Rises.”

In Tlaxcallan **Tlaxōchimaco** was called **Miccāilhuitōntli**, “The Little Festival of the Dead,” and **Xocotl Huetzi** was called **Huēi Miccāilhuitl**, “The Great Festival of the Dead.”

*Note 4:* Sahagún points out that there was much disagreement in differing localities regarding the beginning of the year. He says, “In Tlatilolco I assembled many old men, the wisest I could find, and, together with the most capable students, they argued this question for many days, and all of them concluded that the year used to begin on the second day of February” (*FC* VII, illustration 20). The problem is that we can only speculate as to what day of what

month that was in Aztec terms (Sahagún apparently understood it to be the first day of **Ātl Cāhualo**). Sources conflict, and modern reconstructions disagree. No one knows for certain.

IV. *Naming the Year.* Every solar year had a name, but the names were taken from the divinatory calendar. Consequently a year name had the the same structure as a day name in the **tōnalpōhualli**, i.e., the combination of a numeral NNC and a day-sign NNC (with the latter serving as a year-bearer NNC). As in the **tōnalpōhualli**, there are thirteen numeral NNCs, but there can be only four year-bearer NNCs. Sahagún assigned each year bearer to a cardinal point (*FC VII*, illustration 20):

East	North	West	South
Ācatl	Tecpatl	Calli	Tōchtli

Sahagún says the count begins in the East with **Cē Ācatl**, “One Reed,” but then adds that others start it in the South with **Cē Tōchtli**, “One Rabbit.” Earlier (in *FC VIII*, 21), we find that **Cē Tōchtli** is presented as the first year in the count. Taking this to be the case, the first block of thirteen years would be:

South	East	North	West
Cē Tōchtli	Ōme Ācatl	Ēi Tecpatl	Nāhui Calli
Mācuilli Tōchtli	Chicuacē Ācatl	Chicōme Tecpatl	Chicuēi Calli
Chiucnāhui Tōchtli	Mahtlāctli Ācatl	Mah. oncē Tecpatl	Mah. omōme Calli
Mah. omēi Tōchtli			

Each such thirteen-year block is called a **tlalpilli**, “it is a tied/knotted thing.” The fourth block would be:

			Cē Calli
Ōme Tōchtli	Ēi Ācatl	Nāhui Tecpatl	Mācuilli Calli
Chicuacē Tōchtli	Chicōme Ācatl	Chicuēi Tecpatl	Chiucnāhui Calli
Mahtlāctli Tōchtli	Mah. oncē Ācatl	Mah. omōme Tecpatl	Mah. omēi Calli

At this point—that is, at the end of 52 years ( $4 \times 13 = 52$ )—there occurred a very important ritual ceremony called **toxiuh molpīh** or **toxiuh molpīli**, “our years have become tied to one another,” and also **nexiuh-īlpīliztli**, “it is the act of becoming tied to one another in the form of years” (usually translated as “the binding of the years”). It was the point at which the solar calendar cycle coincided with the 73 year cycle of the **tōnalpōhualli** (see section III above). It was an occasion of great apprehension, since all of life hung in the balance; life could cease totally or be given a reprieve for another 52 years. The moment of the recognition of a reprieve and the start of a new tandem of calendar cycles was marked by a priest rekindling fire in the heart cavity of a sacrificial victim in what was called the New Fire ceremony (the last one took place in **Ōme Ācatl**, i.e., in 1507).

Unfortunately, the Aztecs did not number their 52-year periods as we number our centuries, so a date such as **Cē Ācatl** is as vague as if we were to say “92” without specifying whether we mean 1492, 1592, etc.

The longest period named in Aztec chronology was 104 years, two 52-year periods. This was called a **huēhuētiliztli**, “it is an action of becoming old”; thus **cē huēhuētiliztli**, “it is one period of 104 years.”

*Note:* One constantly finds **xiuhmolpilli** in the literature (for example, see *Primeros Memoriales*, 158, n. 1). Writers and scholars who use this term apparently think it is formed on the nounstem (**xiuh-m-o-lpi-l**)-li-, but there

is no such stem. The **li** is a misspelling of the applicative suffix (perfective aspect); it should be spelled with a single **l** (see Appendix F concerning the frequent misspelling of **l/** as **ll**). The proper form has the **xiuh** in the possessive state as **toxiuh**, “they are our years” (or **inxihuh**, “they are their years”), functioning as a supplementary subject to the basic subject contained in **molpilih**. The supplementary subject can also be in the absolutive state: **xihuitl molpia** (or **molpilia**), “the years become tied to one another.” The nounstem (**ne-xiuh-ilp-i-liz**)-**tli**- presupposes the verbstem **m-o**-(**xiuh-ilp-iā**), “to become tied to one another in the form of years.”

V. *Example Sentences Using Dates:*

**Moquetza Cē Malinali. In in, mihtoa, niman ahmō cualli tōnalli** = One Grass comes next [literally, “stands up”]. This, it is said, is absolutely not a good day sign.

**Īpan Mahtlāctli omōme Calli in pēuh.** = It was in the time of Twelve House that it began; i.e., It began in the year of Twelve House. [The context must clarify whether this is a day name or a year name.]

**Ye itzonquizayān in xihuitl Mahtlāctli omēi Tōchtli in quīzacoh.** = It was already the end of the year Thirteen Rabbit when they came to arrive.

**Auh in ye ixquich cāhuitl āxcān, īpan in xihuitl ticatch, in ye ic mocempōhua in mopiya tlahtohcāyōtl Huexōtlān, ye centzonxihuitl ihuān chichuēpōhualxihuitl ihuān ōnxihuitl in ixquichca īpan āxcān xiuhtōnalli, Ōmācatl.** = And all the time until now, the year we are in, during which kingship has been kept in Huexotla adds up to 562 years up to the present year sign, Two Reed.

**In momanaco, Teōtl Ehco.** = When it came to be prevalent, it was the month of Teotl Ehco.

**Auh in ōmoman chīmalli, in ic tixitīnqueh, in xiuhtōnalli Ēi Calli. Auh in cemilhuaitlapōhualli Cē Cōātl.** = And when the shields were laid down, when we collapsed, the year date was Three House. And the day count was One Snake.

**Quin ihcuāc huāllauh in Ātemōztli.** = It comes later at the time when it is [the month of] Atemoztli.

**Auh in in quichihuayah, ixquichica onahci in Pānquetzaliztli.** = And they used to do this until [the month of] Panquetzaliztli arrived.

[**Chicunāhui ācatl xihuitl.**] **In īpan ācatl in, cempōhualxiuhtihqueh in oncān Tōllān in Mēxihcah.** = [It was the year Nine Reed.] In this Reed the Mexihcas had spent twenty years there in Tollan.

**Oncān ceppa īpan molpīh in xihuitl in Cōātl-Īcamac. Cōātepētl īpac huetz in tlecuahuitl īpan in Ōme Ācatl xihuitl.** = There for the first time for them [lit., upon them] the years became tied to one another at Coatl-Icamac [i.e., “it is at the Place of the Snake’s Mouth”]. On top of Coatepetl [i.e., “it is Snake Mountain”] the fire stick fell [i.e., drilled fire] in the year Two Reed.

**Ca ōncān mocentlālia, monepanoa, monāmiqui in ic ōtlayahualoh nāuhcāmpa mahtlahtlācxihuitl omehēi. . . . Īc mihtoa “Oncān molpia, molpilia in toxiuh.”** = At that time they [i.e., the years] pile themselves up, stack themselves up, encounter one another when the various thirteen year [cycles] have circled four times. . . . Thereby one says “At that time our years become tied to one another or become bound to one another.”

**Mihtoa “cenhuēhuētiliztli” in ōppa tlayahualoa, in ōppa monāmiqui īmolpilihca in xihuitl.** = It is called “it is one action of becoming old” when twice it [i.e., the 52-year cycle] circles around, when twice the years’ action of becoming tied to one another occurs. [Literally, “it encounters itself.” Notice the possessive-state active-action NNC: **#θ-θ+i-θ(m-o-lpi-lih-ca)θ-θ#**, “it is their action of becoming tied to one another.”]

## APPENDIX F

# Spelling Conventions in Older Texts

I. *Variety in Spelling Devices.* When the Spanish missionaries of the sixteenth century faced the problem of assigning graphic symbols to Nahuatl sounds, they used the spelling conventions of the Spanish alphabet. This was not an altogether happy solution. The Spanish alphabet of the time was neither economical nor stable. Furthermore, some of the Nahuatl sounds had no Spanish counterparts, while others occurred in environments different from the corresponding Spanish ones, creating difficulties in regard to how they should be represented.

Although generally there was agreement among writers on the choice of letters to represent sounds, there was no authoritative decision regarding the problem cases. Consequently, a certain lack of uniformity arose in the use of various letters—a lack found not only in the works of different writers but also within a single work (some writers were simply bad spellers). Furthermore, as time has passed and Spanish conventions have changed, the graphic representation of Nahuatl has, with certain notable exceptions, also tended to change. Due to the early irresolution and the later changes, a student of Nahuatl must accustom him/herself to a variety of orthographic devices.

II. *The Vowels.* In older texts vowel length was rarely marked; consequently, forms differentiated by vowel length were written ambiguously (see § 2.2, *Spelling*).

**quitlatia** = (1) [kiłatía], “he burns it”; (2) [kiłá:tía], “he hides it”

**quipoloa** = (1) [kipolóa], “he destroys it”; (2) [kipo:łóa], “he mixes it with water”

**texima** = (1) /teši:ma/, “he works stone”; (2) /te:ši:ma/, “he shaves people”

**tepetl** = (1) /tepe:ł/, “it is a mountain”; (2) /te:peł/, “it is s.o.’s mat”

**in** = (1) /in/ (adjunct); (2) /i:n/ (demonstrative pronoun)

Except for the problem of length, only the vowels /o/ ~ /o:/ and /i/ ~ /i:/ had aberrant spellings.

/o/ ~ /o:/: When the vowels /o/ and /o:/ had the [u] sound, they were frequently spelled **u**: /o:mpa/ > **umpa**; /šomo:ł/ > **xumutl**; /moči/ > **muchi**; [łao:koyalisł] > **tlaoçuializtli**. An /o/ or /o:/, especially in an initial position, could be spelled **v**: /o:mpa/ > **vmpa**; /onka:n/ > **vncan**; /ki<sup>?</sup>toa/ > **qujtva**.

/i/ ~ /i:/: The vowels /i/ and /i:/ were frequently spelled **y**: /in i:k/ > **yn**; /iw/ > **yuh**; /i:teč/ > **ytech**; /ilama<sup>?</sup>/ > **ylama**. They were also frequently spelled **j**: /in i:k/ > **injc**; /ma:k<sup>w</sup>i:li/ > **macujlli**; /miki/ > **mjqui**. An initial /i/ followed by /y/ and a vowel was frequently spelled **y**, while the /y/ was not represented: /iyeł/ > **yetl** (also spelled **yietl**, with the /i/ spelled **y** and the /y/ spelled **i**; see the discussion of /y/ below). The sequence /i:i:/ was always spelled **i**: /i:i:š/ > **ix**; /i:i:kampa/ > **icampa**.

The supportive [i] (see ( 2.6, *note 1*) was frequently not written: /ye<sup>?</sup>wa: in teo:ł/ > **yehuan teotl**.

III. *The Consonants.*

/k/: The /k/ between a vowel and an /e/ or /i/ was occasionally spelled **c** plus an artificial space before the /e/ or /i/: [nike:le:wia] > **nic eleuia**; [tikitta] > **tic itta**. One even finds an otiose **h** inserted after the space:

[tiki:šimačilia] > **tic hiximachilia** (this may be another instance of **h** used as a syllable divider (see /ʔ/ below). Later copyists, not understanding the practice, wrote the vocable solid: **niceleuia, ticitta**. While ordinary items showing this error were later written correctly with **qu** instead of **c**, the personal name **Tizoquicātzin** unfortunately has remained with the erroneous **c** (see §56.2.1.a).

In the sequence /kw/ (where /k/ ends one syllable and /w/ begins another), the /k/ was occasionally spelled **q**: [šikwa:lwi:ka] > **xiquálhuica** (as if /kw/ were /kʷ/; see below); /wa:lmoʒonikweʃ/ > **valmotzoniquetz** (a spelling that invites one to think that the verbstem **tla-(quetza)** rather than (**huetzi**) is involved).

The combination /ki/ was occasionally abbreviated **q̄**: [kiči:wa] > **q̄chiua**; /iškičtin/ > **ixq̄chtin**; /senki:ska:/ > **čēq̄zca**; /miki/ > **miq̄**.

The combination /keʔ/ was occasionally written **q̄**: /anyeskeʔ/ > **ayezq̄**; [ankimikti:skeh] > **āq̄mictizq̄**.

/kʷ/: The /kʷ/ sound was usually spelled with the digraph **qu** before /a/ or /o/: /te:kʷa/ > **tequa**. The sequence /kʷa/ was also occasionally spelled **coa**: /iʔkʷa:k/ > **icoac**; /ame:čkʷa:skeʔ/ > **amechcoazq̄**. At times it was abbreviated **q̄**: /kʷawiʌ/ > **q̄uitl**; [šo:čihkʷalli] > **xuchiq̄lli**.

Since /kʷ/ never occurs in a syllable-final position in Spanish, it caused Spaniards a great deal of trouble when dealing with Nahuatl. While the digraph **uc** (see § 2.3.3, *Spelling*) was occasionally used, the digraph **cu** was favored: /ikʷsi/ > **icuci**, /ekʷsoa/ > **ecuxoa**; /te:kʷli/ > **tecutli**; /o:ʌačakʷ/ > **otlatzacu**. This spelling creates problems, however, since the vowel /o/ was frequently represented by the letter **u** (see § II above), and consequently **cu** can represent /ko/. To avoid this, some writers occasionally used the trigraph **cuh**: /nikʷ/ > **nicuh**; /te:kʷli/ > **tecutli**. Besides being uneconomical (one sound > three letters), this spelling is also troublesome since **u** can be read as /o/ and, in addition, the letter **h** was sometimes used to represent a glottal stop after a vowel (see /ʔ/ below). Unfortunately, moderns who write on Aztec topics have preferred this **cuh** misspelling of /kʷ/, since they mistakenly believe that the Nahuatl sound represented is /ku/. G. C. Vaillant, for example, says that the spelling **Tonacatecutli** is pronounced “to-na-ca-tay-coo-tli” (*The Aztecs of Mexico* [Penguin Books, 1966], 361). This is a complete misstatement; it not only invents the syllable “-coo-” but places an accent on it. The acceptance of **cuh** in a modern text is a clear indication that its writer does not know Nahuatl phonology and morphology.

Another solution to the spelling of syllable-final /kʷ/ was the trigraph **uhc**: /mote:kʷso:ma/ > **Moteuhczoma**; /te:kʷli/ > **teuhctli**; /čikʷna:wi/ > **chiuhcnahui**. This was better than **cuh** since it did not lure one into converting a consonant into a nonexistent syllable.

/ʔ/: Since Spanish does not have a glottal stop, Spaniards seldom acknowledged its presence when writing Nahuatl. Native writers followed their lead. As a result forms differentiated only by its presence or absence were written ambiguously:

**quiqua** = (1) /kikʷa/ “he eats it”; (2) /kikʷaʔ/ “he ate it”; “they eat it”

**tleco** = (1) /ʌeko/ “in a fire”; (2) /ʌeʔko/ “he ascends”

**nochichi** = (1) /nočiči/ “it is my dog”; (2) /nočiʔči/ “it is my saliva”

**tlapalli** = (1) /ʌapalli/ “it is color”; (2) /ʌaʔpalli/ “it is an effort”

**ye** = (1) /ye/ “already”; (2) /yeʔ/ “he is the one”

In texts that do not represent the glottal stop, a vowel letter followed by the *num*<sup>1</sup> morphic carrier **tli** is to be read with a glottal stop; for **tlotli**, read /ʌoʔʌi/. (Care must be taken in such cases if the vowel is spelled **u**, since it may be part of the digraph **cu**, as in the misspelling **tecutli** for /te:kʷli/; see /kʷ/ above). Similarly, the number-connector morphic carrier **qui** following a vowel letter automatically signals the presence of an intervening glottal stop; for **tetlahueliqui**, read /te:ʌawe:liʔki/.

At times the letter **h** was used to spell a glottal stop between vowels: /eʔeʔkaʌ/ > **ehecatli**; /yeʔ i:ka/ > **yehica**. At times the letter **h** was used before the letters **u** or **o** to represent the sequence /ʔw/: /yeʔwa:ʌ/ > **yehuatl** ~ **yehoatl** (in this text the sequence /ʔw/ is spelled **hhu**: **yehhuātl**). In some texts the letter **h** appears before a vowel letter followed by /ʔ/: /aʔo:mpa/ > **haompa**; /aʔʌamati/ > **hatlamati**; /eʔkatepe:k/ > **hecatepec**; /iʔnekʷo/ > **hynequo**; /iʔwiʌ/ > **hiviti**; /iʔtakaʌ/ > **hytcatli**; /aʔsito/ > **haçito**; /ʌoʔʌi/ > **tlhotli**; /te:iʔpo:çal/ > **tehipotza**; /eʔeʔkaʌ/ > **heecatli**; /iʔtiko:sawki/ > **hiticoçauhqui**; /i:mo:ntaʔ/ > **ymontha**; /i:taʔçin/

> **ithatzin**; /o:e<sup>o</sup>ko:ke<sup>o</sup>/ > **ohecoq̃**; /wi<sup>o</sup>/ > **hvi**. Care must be taken with this, however, since an otiose **h** may appear before a vowel where no glottal stop is present: /eλ/ > **hetl**; /i:n/ > **hi**; /in i:n/ > **inhin**; /ipampa in/ > **ipampahi**: /at/ > **hat**. It is possible that in these instances the **h** represents a nonphonemic glottal onset (see (2.3.3)).

Some writers occasionally represented a glottal stop by means of a circumflex accent written over the preceding vowel letter: /ye<sup>o</sup>/ > **yê**; /mi<sup>o</sup>mati/ > **mîmati**; /e<sup>o</sup>katepe:c/ > **êcatepec**; /i:ma<sup>o</sup>se:wal/ > **jmâcecoal**. Carochi used the circumflex to represent an utterance-final glottal stop and a grave accent to represent a glottal stop when it was utterance internal.

There are times when a scribe ignores the presence of a glottal stop far beyond simply not writing it; e.g., **ma moxicon aquin** should read **mā moxīcoh in āquin**. By dropping the supportive [i] of **in** and fusing the **n** to the admonitive VNC, the scribe shows that he is not aware of the glottal stop at the end of /mošiko<sup>o</sup>/ (the context in which this example occurs does not allow reading it as the optative **moxīco**). Similarly, a spelling such as **totlaçoane** shows that the writer is unaware of the glottal stop after the second **o**, since the **oa** spelling would represent \*/tołasowa:né/, not /tołaso<sup>o</sup>wa:né/ as it should.

Spanish at times used (and uses) its silent **h** as a syllable divider between two vowels that would otherwise form a diphthong (e.g., *amohinar*; *mahizal*—modern *maizal*; *sahuco*—modern *saúco*; also notice **h** as a syllable divider in *ahi*—modern *ahí*). Certain writers of Nahuatl adopted this use of a silent **h** to indicate a syllable division (although Nahuatl lacks diphthongs and the usage is vacuous): /çi:malpa:in/ > **Chimalpahin**; /la<sup>o</sup>toa:ni/ > **tlatohani**; /ya:o:yo:λ/ > **yahuyotl**; /i: e:lan/ > **ihelpan** (also spelled **hielpan!**); /te:teo<sup>o</sup>/ > **tetehu**; /te:itto/ > **tehitto**.

In some texts, besides being used erratically to represent /<sup>o</sup>/, the letter **h** occasionally appeared in combination with **u** and **c** to represent /k<sup>w</sup>/ (see above), and it was also used occasionally to represent voicelessness in a syllable final /l/ (see the discussion of /l/ below). The letter **h** was also combined with **u** to spell /w/ (see the discussion of /w/ below).

/s/: The sound /s/ before /a/ and /o/ was sometimes spelled **ç** /sokiλ/ > **çoquitl**; /sakaλ/ > **çacatl**. Occasionally, **ç** was also used before /e/ and /i/: /a<sup>o</sup>sito/ > **haçito**.

/ç/: The sound /ç/ before /e/ and /i/ was sometimes spelled **tc**: [yehwa:çin] > **yeuhatcin**. Before /a/ or /o/ it was sometimes spelled **tc**: /çonki:sal/ > **tçonquiça**; /ankinno:çaya/ > **anquinnotçaya**. Occasionally, one finds /ç/ spelled **z** or **ç**: /o:weçke<sup>o</sup>/ > **ouezq̃**; /o:wa:lweçke<sup>o</sup>/ > **oualuezque**; /o:mołaçontekili<sup>o</sup>/ > **omotlaçontequili**.

/š/: The sound /š/ was sometimes spelled **s**: /šo:ciλ/ > **suchitl**; /laki:štia/ > **tlaquistia**.

/n/: The sound /n/ after vowels was sometimes written as a tilde (˜) over the vowel letter: /i:pan/ > **ipã**; /çonki:sas/ > **tçõquiçaz**. Frequently, a vocable final /n/ was simply not represented: /lano:çaltin/ > **tlanotzalti**; /in i:n/ > **ini**.

/l/: Occasionally, the voicelessness of a syllable final /l/ was represented by an **h** written after the **l**: /te:l/ > **telh**; /nołaškal/ > **notlaxcalh**; /pilçinli/ > **pilhtzintli**; /ilwiλ/ > **ilhuitl** (in these lessons /ilwiλ/ is spelled with the same letters, but the **h** is part of the digraph **hu**).

/w/: The sound /w/ was sometimes spelled **u** when syllable initial: /we:we<sup>o</sup>/ > **ueue**; /na:wati/ > **nauati**; /ye<sup>o</sup>wa:λ/ > **yeuatl**; /yowa/ > **yuua**; /i<sup>o</sup>wiλ/ > **iuittl**. It was sometimes spelled **v**: /we:we<sup>o</sup>/ > **veue**; /wel/ > **vel**; /moka:waya/ > **mocavaya**; /mote:ne:wal/ > **moteneva**; /e:wal/ > **evatl**. The /w/ could also be spelled **hv** (where the **h** has no function): /itwalko/ > **ithvalco**. Before /a/, a /w/ was sometimes spelled **o**: /siwa:λ/ > **ciotatl**; /çika:wak/ > **chicaoac**; /i:wa:n/ > **ioan**; /ye<sup>o</sup>wa:λ/ > **yeoatl**; /ma:çko<sup>o</sup>ko:lwa:n/ > **machcocoloan**; /moma:malwa:sko/ > **momamaloazco**. The sequence /owa/ was often spelled with no representation of the /w/: /lapo:wal/ > **tlapoa**; /i:ya:o:wa:n/ > **yiauañ** (here the /o/ is represented by **u** and the /w/ has no representation). Conversely, the sequence /oa/ was often spelled as if it contained a /w/: /la<sup>o</sup>toa/ > **tlatohua**; /o:a<sup>o</sup>siko/ > **ohuacico**. A final (i.e., voiceless) /w/ was often spelled **hu** (instead of **uh**): /aw/ > **ahu**; /in towe:iła<sup>o</sup>to<sup>o</sup>ka:w/ > **into uey tlatocahu** (concerning the faulty recognition of vocable boundaries here, see section IV). On the other hand, an intervocalic /w/ was often spelled **uh** (instead of **hu**): /amoła:kawa:n/ > **amotlacauhã**; /ye<sup>o</sup>wa:ntin/ >

**yeuhanti**. The spelling **uh** for /w/ was also used even after a consonant: /in i:lači:walwa:n/ > **ini tlachi-hualuhā** (again, the problem of vocable boundaries). Occasionally, a syllable-final /w/ was spelled **u**: /nošwi:wčine/ > **noxuyutzine**.

/y/: The sound /y/ was sometimes spelled **i**: /ye:kli/ > **iectli**; /šonlao:koya/ > **xontlaocuia**; /i:yo:llo/ > **yiollo**; /in ye?wa:λ/ > **yichuatl**. The last two examples show the /i/ spelled with **y** and the /y/ with **i**; see the discussion of /i/ above. Occasionally, /y/ was spelled **j**; /šiyō:λ/ > **xijutl**. A /y/ after an /i/ before another vowel was usually not spelled: /pisiyeλ/ > **picietl**; /lačiya/ > **tlachia**; /tetya/ > **tetia**. The opposite fault also occurred; for example, the sequence /ia/ was spelled as if it were /iya/: /wia/ > **uiya**. An initial /y/ plus a vowel was frequently spelled **yi**: /yowalli/ > **yioalli**; /ya?ke?/ > **yiaque**; /ye?wa:ntin/ > **yiehoantin**.

Double consonants: In older texts a double consonant was frequently not spelled as such: /ye:kka:n/ > **yecan**; /ammoma:ki:šti:ske?/ > **amomaquixtizque**; [kite:mmati] > **quitemati**; /nezzo/ > **neço**. Conversely, a single consonant was frequently spelled as if it were double (intervocalic /l/ was particularly susceptible to this fault): /a?k<sup>w</sup>ala:nli/ > **acoallantli**; /wa:lmoskali?/ > **hualmozcalli**; /ilamato:n/ > **illamato**; /o:li:n/ > **ollin**; /senčonla?to:le?/ > **centzuntlatolle**; /o:kiλa:li?ke?/ > **oquitlallique**; /to:li?tik/ > **tollitic**; /o:kalakiko?/ > **ocallaquico**; /amoλa?to:l/ > **anmotlatol** (here /m/ is spelled **nm**, but **ammotlatol** is also found). The two errors (one letter for two sounds and two letters for one sound) can occur in the same item: /a:mošla?k<sup>w</sup>ilo:lili/ > **amoxtlacuilloli**.

IV. *Vocable boundaries*. The problem of spelling also involves the frequent failure to respect vocable boundaries. For example, collocations that form a stress group were usually written solid: /ma: ne:n/ > **manen**; /ok iλa?/ > **ocitla**; /in i:k/ > **inic**; /in i:n/ > **inin**; /no: i:wa:n/ > **noioñ**; /in i:nča?ča:n/ > **ininchacha**; /in teo?kalli/ > **inteocalli**; /moči λa:kaλ/ > **muchitlacatl**; /i:k ča?či/ > **ictzatzi**; /o:mi?to? λakpak/ > **omitotlacpac**; /in i:teč o:moλa:lia:ya/ > **initechomotlaliaya**; /ka sa: san ok tepito:n/ > **cazazanoctepiton**; /ma: ok tiwia:n/ > **maoc-tihuian**; /ka nikte:mo:ti:w/ > **canic temotiuuh**; /ka nikipo?polo:ti:w/ > **cani quinpopollotiuuh**; /ok iškič ka:wil i:n/ > **oquixquichcauitly** (notice /k/ spelled **qu**).

Just as constantly, one finds the opposite fault: a single vocable is split into two (or more) segments: /a:mošli/ > **am uxtli**; /i:nemak/ > **in emac**; /in ok/ > **y noc**; /in we:we?neno:no:čalisa:mošla?k<sup>w</sup>ilo:lili/ > **inhue-hue nenonotzaliz amoxtla cuiloli**; /in o:n/ > **y non**; /amoλa:kamekayo:wa:n/ > **amo tlacamecayo huan**; /i:kalakiya:npa/ > **ycallaqui yampa**.

# Suggested Reading

## *I. Dictionaries.*

- Arenas, Pedro de. *Vocabulario Manual de las lenguas Castellana y Mexicana*. Mexico City, 1611. Facsimile edition with introductory study by Ascención H. de León-Portilla. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1982.
- Brewer, Forrest, and Jean G. Brewer. *Vocabulario mexicano de Tetelcingo, Morelos*. Mexico City: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1962.
- Hernández, Francisco, *Obras Completas*. 3 vols. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1959.
- Karttunen, Frances. *An Analytical Dictionary of Nahuatl*. University of Texas Press, Austin; 1983. Reprint edition, University of Oklahoma Press, 1992. Since Karttunen has included modern dialectal meanings along with Classical Nahuatl ones, the student should pay careful attention to the letters identifying her sources (see her page xvi).
- Molina, Alonso de. *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana y mexicana y castellana*. Mexico City, 1571. This work was republished in Leipzig, Germany, in 1880 and in Puebla, Mexico, in 1910. A facsimile edition was published by Porrúa (Mexico City, 1970). This is still the best dictionary available; it is the one the student should work with, although this means struggling with old spellings of Spanish and listings according to unfamiliar alphabetical sequences. The *Vocabulario* should not only be used to find the translation of an item; it should also be studied as a text in its own right for what it can reveal about Nahuatl morphology.
- Robelo, Cecilio A., Manuel de Olaguibel, and Antonio Peñafiel. *Nombres Geográficas Indígenas del Estado de México*. Texts revised and annotated by Angel María Garibay K.; edition and prologue by Mario Colin. Mexico City: Biblioteca Enciclopédica del Estado de México, 1966.
- Santamaría, Francisco J. *Diccionario de Mejicanismos*, 3rd ed. Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1978.
- Siméon, Rémi. *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine*. Paris, 1885. Nahuatl-French. A facsimile edition has been printed by the Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt (Graz,



Austria, 1963). A Spanish translation by Josefina Oliva de Coll has been published by Siglo Veintiuno (Mexico City, 1977). Although Siméon's work is the most complete Nahuatl dictionary available, it is actually less helpful than Molina's *Vocabulario* (on which it is in large part based). Siméon's listings blur some of the distinctions made by Molina, and, while he suggests etymologies for entries (as Molina does not), they are frequently wrong.

## II. Grammars.

Carochi, Horacio. *Arte de la lengua mexicana con la declaracion de los adverbios della*. Mexico City, 1645. Reprinted in the *Colección de gramáticas de la lengua mexicana I* (Mexico City, 1904), 395–538. A facsimile edition of the 1645 version has been published by the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Mexico City, 1983). This is the most useful early grammar of Classical Nahuatl.

Galdo Guzmán, Diego de. *Arte mexicana*. Mexico City, 1642. Reprinted in *Colección de gramáticas de la lengua mexicana I* (Mexico City, 1904), 281–394.

Molina, Alonso de. *Arte de la lengua mexicana y castellana*. Mexico City, 1571. Reprinted in *Colección de gramáticas de la lengua mexicana I* (Mexico City, 1904), 127–224. There is also a facsimile edition in the sixth volume of the *Colección de incunables americanos* (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1945).

Olmos, Andrés de. *Arte para aprender la lengua mexicana*. Written in Mexico in 1547. Published in *Colección de gramáticas de la lengua mexicana I* (Mexico City, 1904), 1–126. Also published by Rémi Siméon with notes and explanations under the title *Grammaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris, 1875). Miguel León-Portilla has published a facsimile edition (Guadalajara, Mexico; 1972).

Paredes, Ignacio de. *Compendio del arte de la lengua mexicana del P. Horacio Carochi*. Mexico City, 1759. This work was republished in Mexico City in 1902 and in Puebla, Mexico, in 1910. A facsimile edition of the 1759 version was published by Editorial Innovación (Mexico City, 1979). The *Compendio* is seriously untrustworthy with regard to vowel length and glottal stops.

Rincón, Antonio del. *Arte mexicana*. Mexico City, 1595. Reprinted in *Colección de gramáticas de la lengua mexicana I* (Mexico City, 1904), 225–80.

## III. Texts

*Cantares Mexicanos: Songs of the Aztecs*. Nahuatl text with translation by John Bierhorst (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1985). The value of this work lies in the transcription. It is accompanied by the companion volume, *A Nahuatl-English Dictionary and Concordance to the Cantares Mexicanos with an Analytical Transcription and Grammatical Notes* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1985).

Chimalpahin Cuauhtlehuanitzin, Domingo Francisco de San Antón Muñón. *Memorial breve acerca de la fundación de la ciudad de Culhuacan*, ed. Victor M. Castillo F. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1991.

- Codex Chimalpahin*, Volumes 1 and 2. Edited and translated by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Susan Schroeder. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997.
- Codex Chimalpopoca*. Nahuatl text with a glossary and grammatical notes by John Bierhorst (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1992). The companion volume, *History and Mythology of the Aztecs* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1992) contains Bierhorst's translation of the Codex.
- Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca*. Facsimile edition, transcription, and translation into Spanish by Paul Kirchhoff, Lina Odena Guemes, and Luis Reyes García. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1976.
- Karttunen, Frances, and James Lockhart, eds. *The Art of Nahuatl Speech: The Bancroft Dialogues*. UCLA Latin American Center Nahuatl Studies Series 2. Los Angeles, Calif.: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1987.
- Ruiz de Alarcón, Hernando. *Treatise on the Heathen Superstitions That Today Live Among the Indians Native to This New Spain, 1629*. Transcribed, translated and edited by J. Richard Andrews and Ross Hassig. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984.
- Sahagún, Bernardino de. *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*. This sixteenth-century work is now easily available in A. J. O. Anderson and C. E. Dibble's *Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain*, 12 vols. (Santa Fe: The School of American Research and the University of Utah, 1950–69). By paying diligent attention to this Nahuatl-and-English edition the student can achieve an advanced knowledge of Classical Nahuatl. In working with it, however, one should remain alert and critical. The general excellence of the edition does not preclude an occasional faulty translation.
- Sahagún, Bernardino de. *Primeros Memoriales*. Paleography of Nahuatl text and English translation by Thelma D. Sullivan. Compiled and revised, with additions, by H. B. Nicholson, Arthur J. O. Anderson, Charles E. Dibble, Eloíse Quiñones Keber, and Wayne Ruwet. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press; 1997.
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