

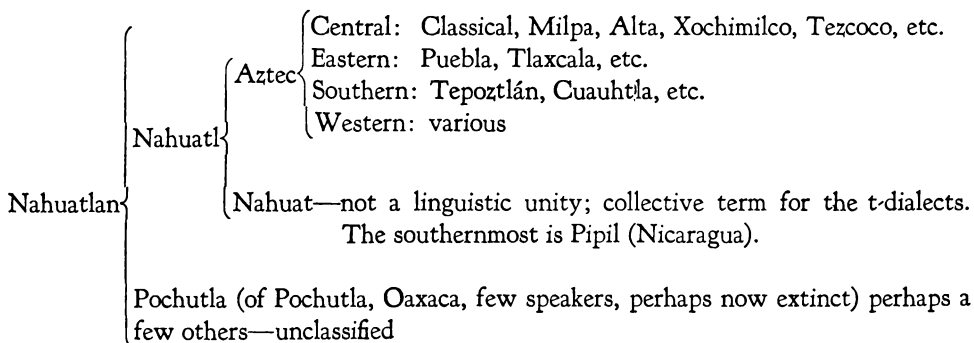
THE MILPA ALTA DIALECT OF AZTEC

WITH NOTES ON THE CLASSICAL AND THE TEPOZTLÁN DIALECTS

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1. INTRODUCTORY

§1. Aztec is by far the largest language of the Utaztecan (Uto-Aztecan, UA) stock in number of speakers. For that matter, it is the largest native language of North America, approached only by Maya in size. In the classification of the stock by the author and J. Alden Mason, Aztec is the name given to a number of closely similar, mutually intelligible dialects of Central Mexico, all distinguished by λ ('tl') as representing original UA *t before UA *a. This linguistic area merges into a fringe of dialects closely related to Aztec, but having t in place of λ. There is less mutual intelligibility among these dialects than within Aztec itself, and some of the dialects well distant from the central territory rank as separate, mutually un-intelligible languages, Pochutla being probably the most distinct. Aside from these the group forms in a broad sense one language, Nahuatl, and including these a subfamily, Nahuatlan, of the Aztecoidan family (containing also Cora and Huichol) of Utaztecan. The following is a simplified version of Mason's and Whorf's classification of Nahuatlan:



§2. The speakers of Nahuatlan are believed to number something over a million, of whom the greater part, probably nearly a million, are speakers of Aztec. "Aztec" is a familiar word, deriving from the Aztec *astekal* "person of *aslan*" (the legendary home of the Aztecs) and adopted into all European languages (Azteco, Aztèque, Aztekisch, etc.). This familiarity and traditional use in a sense substantially like that above make "Aztec" the logical term for the language, far preferable to "Nahuatl," which has often been used for all dialects besides Classical

Aztec. In Mexico however the term Aztec is little used, the language being called in Spanish usually Mexicano, and in Aztec itself *ma sewalkopa* "in Indian fashion."

§3. "Classical Aztec" (Cl) at the time of the Conquest was the dialect of populous Mexico City (*meši'ko* or *teno·čtilan*) and the surrounding Valley of Mexico. Soon reduced to writing, it became a notable literary vehicle; and the mass of chronicles, town annals, traditional histories, songs, poems, grammars, the great dictionary of Molina, and the native ethnographic texts gathered by Sahagún form a literature of great interest to the Americanist. The language is no longer spoken in Mexico City, though various scholars there keep alive its literary traditions, but it is still the native speech of Indian towns in and around the Valley. The dialect of the village of Milpa Alta, D.F., spoken by a few hundred people, is one of these survivals, in my opinion one of those which are most like Cl.

§4. My studies of Cl were pursued from documentary evidence away from Mexico, until by means of a Grant-in-Aid from the Social Science Research Council, New York, I was able to visit Mexico and study the dialects of Milpa Alta and Tepoztlán, Morelos, in the winter and early spring of 1930. My main informant at Milpa Alta was Milesio Gonsales, with some material also from Luz Jiménez and Pedrita Jiménez. I obtained further valuable insights from Professor D. Mariano Rojas of the National Museum, himself a native of Tepoztlán, but well acquainted with Milpa Alta and a most learned and scholarly exponent of the classical speech. I must record my thanks to all these, and to Miss Anita Brenner for her assistance in finding such excellent informants.

§5. On account of the interest, especially in Mexico, in Cl and the many local dialects, I have tried to make this sketch serve as a guide to them also, taking advantage of the close similarity between Milpa Alta and Cl. Footnotes and remarks in the text have been used to point out the more important differences between MA (Milpa Alta) and Cl. Many differences must of course be ignored in a work of these dimensions. Finally, a note is appended on the markedly different dialect of Tepoztlán, since that town is a favorite field for ethnologists, folklorists, and students of the impact of the old Aztec and the modern cultures.

§6. Aztec is a highly inflecting language using both prefixing and suffixing, the latter to the greater extent, with little internal change and that incidental to affixing processes. Its lexicon is divided into well-marked parts of speech, reminiscent of Indo-European on the whole, yet with differences that the traditional treatment has tended to obscure. Cl especially developed derivation to an astonishing pitch; it is one of the world's most "deriving" languages; compounding also is most abundant and free, and in power of coining new words the language in classical times must have had few equals on the globe. Its vocabulary then was enormous, and pre-Conquest culture had already developed an extensive system of religious, philosophical, and similar 'abstract' terminology. Phonetically simple, morphologically it is complex by the standard of Western European tongues, yet it is one of the simpler of the Utaztecan languages on this score. Mexican Spanish

has borrowed heavily from it; and it has given to all modern languages many words, e.g., chocolate, cacao, copal, tomato, istle, chicle, sapote, aguacate, teosinte, peyote, guayule, atlatl, tonalamatl. Finally, the euphony and liquid flowing character of its words, its melodious tonal patterns, its poetic styles and wealth of allusion to the picturesque antique culture of Middle America, add to the enthusiasm with which most students of Aztec, in or out of Mexico, regard it.

2. PROSODICS

Note. These prosodic principles apply only to the native Aztec words. Words borrowed from Spanish may show all the syllabic and accentual possibilities of Spanish.

§1. Syllables. Syllables are of the forms V, VC, CV, CVC. Consonant clusters are hence limited to intersyllabic C-C. They are pronounced with close transition. Geminate clusters are rare except for the extremely common ll, a long l of two pulses. Vocalic clusters occur in syllabic sequences of types V-V and V-VC. They are limited to the common (i+any other V) and the uncommon ao, eo—which however occur in some common words, e.g., *laon* ‘what?’ and *teo·λ* ‘God’ and its many derivatives. At first it might seem that (o+any other V) occurs, but it can be shown that such utterances are owV. On the other hand the iV utterances are not iyV, which also occurs, but sounds slightly different in rapid talk, the y then becoming prominent, so that *λapiyani* approaches *λapyani*, while in the rapid pronunciation of *ia*, the common instance of iV, the i tends toward (i), and in the case of *-tia-* with stressed a the result in rapid speech is (t^əa) with a very short glide ə, or even (t·a), *ki·ctiaya* becoming *ki·ct^əaya*, *ki·ct·aya*. Moreover the behavior of iyV and iV in certain morphophonemic alternations in which V disappears is different, and the behavior of owV in similar alternations is analogous to that of iyV.¹

§2. Accent.

§2:1. MA has a stress accent with associated pitch differences. Words over one syllable have primary accent on the penult. This accent consists of loud stress together with one of two varieties of tone-pattern. In ‘normal tone-pattern’ these varieties are: 1) words ending in *-C*, including *?*, have high tone on penult and low tone on ultima, e.g., *í·nòn síwà·λ*; 2) words ending in *-V* have on penult a tone falling from medium high (less high than the high of pattern one) to medium (higher than ‘low’) and remaining medium on ultima, e.g., *kisâya*, *kwepô·ni*; except that the ultima may show a further slight fall before a pause. Words ending in *-lli* e.g., *kalli* tend to show a compromise with pattern one by often having a nonfalling high tone on the penult, the fall seeming to occur on the long l. One-syllable words usually have stress and a moderately high tone, but a few, marked thus, *kà*, have low tone and optional stress. This tone-feature alone distinguishes *kà* “with, by”

¹ Viz. *-ia >·i = -owa >·ow* (with voiceless w) = *-iya >·iš* (š a voiceless continuant analogous to voiceless w and probably stemming from pre-Aztec voiceless y).

from ka (high tone) "is": kà no-tómìn "with my money," ká no-tómìn "it is my money."

§2:2. Secondary accents and unaccented syllables have a medium tone and the former a louder stress than the latter, nearly approaching the stress of the primary accent. Secondary accent occurs on: 1) an ultima ending in -C; 2) the first syllable of a long word; 3) alternate syllables before the primary accent except that a short-V open syllable is usually hurried and does not count, and two in succession count as one, e.g., o'nonok^wep[?]ia''ya, where no, no, k^we, and pi are thus hurried.

§2:3. Emphatic tone-pattern. On a word to be emphasized, or the last word of a clause to be emphasized, the stress-feature of the primary accent is unchanged or made louder, but the tone-pattern alters. The last two syllables become low and the antepenult, if any, high and less hurried; e.g., normal ayé''mo "not yet," emphatic áyè''mò! Emphasis appears to be connected with *low-toned* loud stress. There may perhaps be other slight alterations of tone-pattern for questioning and other nuances of the speaker's attitude. Questions do not differ in form from statements. They often have the emphatic tone-pattern, and may possibly be signalized by some subtle modification of this pattern, such as I have not yet discovered.

§3. Vowel length. Vowels are "inherently" (morphophonemically) either short or long, and these lengths are maintained in actualization regardless of position in the word, subject to the following minor alterations: 1) a primary-accented long vowel tends to lose some of its length, especially in rapid speech (though on the contrary long vowels *without* primary accent tend to compensate for their lack of accentual prominence by holding their length well); 2) a primary-accented short vowel is slightly lengthened; 3) there is, increasing with speed of talk, the hurrying of short-V open syllables mentioned in §2:2(3). In some common expressions such a vowel may disappear, though initially only when a sibilant-stop cluster results, e.g., škawa "wait!" ški[?]ta "see it!" for šikawa, šiki[?]ta. Long vowels are marked thus: aː. Because of the confusing effect of (1) and (2) to a nonnative, it cannot be guaranteed that vowel length is always correctly shown in this sketch, though I have tried to achieve reasonable exactitude.

§4. Word limits.

§4:1. A word is a prosodic entity in MA, word division always being clear from the penultimate accent. Coordinated with this are other features: secondary stress on beginning of a long word, hurrying occurring only within the word, lack of external sandhi, weakening of word-final n, and restrictions in word-final phonemes. No native word ends in -m, and probably none in -e (apparent -e being -e[?], -ey), and only a very few in -t. The common C-finals are w, n, s, λ, l, k, ?; others are relatively infrequent. There are different limitations on syllable-final C within words, e.g., no syllable ends in λ within a word. No native word begins in l, nor in ?, though possibly V-initial corresponds to ?-initial—yet there is not, word-initially, the contrast between V and ?V that is possible within words.

§4:2. There is an "enclitic" (possibly a few others), which is prosodized as part of the preceding word and alters the accent like a suffix, but is grammatically grouped in a class of words, i.e., -on "that" (syn. of i·non), which may refer to preceding or following word but is always prosodized with preceding word, e.g.· siwa·λon "that woman" but o·k·i·?takon siwa·λ "he saw that woman." The morphological unit λaso·?kamati "thank you" is usually prosodized as λaso·?kamat i, with primary accent on ka.

§4:3. It follows from the rarity of such distortions that prefixes and suffixes are easily distinguished from independent words, and hence that the bound lexeme of an affix-bearing word is itself easily distinguished from its affixes. To help the reader follow this native ease of analysis I shall henceforth place a hyphen before the lexeme of each prefix-bearing word, thus exposing the initial letter of the lexeme, which will facilitate alphabetic reference, and understanding of cited forms. Thus, certain above-cited forms become· k·i·ctiaya, o·nono·k·w·e·?k·w·epiaya, ši·kawa, ši·k·i·?ta. When it is desired to cite in isolation a lexeme always preceded by some prefix it will be done thus: e.g., ·i·?ta "sees it."

3. PHONEMICS

§1. Consonant phonemes (native).

§1:1. Table of correlated groups.

		Labial	Alve- olar	Alve- olar Lateral	š Position	Mid- Palatal	k ^w Position	Glottal
Voiceless, fortis, lightly aspirated	Stops	p	t			k	k ^w	ʔ
	Affricates		c	λ	č			
	Continuants		s	l	š			
	Semivowels	w				y		
	Nasals	m	n					

§1:2. Allophones. All sequences referred to are sequences in the same word.

- 1) l, w, syllable-final, unvoiced (but y is not).
- 2) w, p, word-final, followed by brief voiceless i as off-glide:
o·k·w·ep:(o·k·w·epI), o·pew:(o·peWI).
- 3) clusters of l, n + w, y, both consonants unvoiced.
- 4) in ·w, w unvoiced.
- 5) k, k^w before C:x, x^w.
- 6) n before k, k^w:ŋ.
- 7) k, l before e, i fronted, before a, o receded.

- 8) unvoiced l after e, i spirantal (ʔ), after a, o only slightly so, or nonspirantal.
- 9) ʔ (“aleph” or “saltillo”) is postaspirated, strongly so before voiceless C (ʔeʔko:[ʔeʔhko]), so that ʔ sounds somewhat like h and is sometimes written as h. Nevertheless the glottal check can always be heard before the aspiration except in word-final, when this check is quite faint. Aztec ʔ must not be likened too much to ʔ in many other languages, for in Aztec it is in general type a *voiceless* consonant, strange as that may seem. The glottal feature is a mere check, not a sonant twang, and is accompanied always by voiceless breath.

§1:3. Speed effects. In moderately rapid speech word-final n tends to become a nasal echo-vowel: i·pan > i·pa^h. Before a quickly-following voiceless C the echo-vowel is unvoiced and resembles a soft voiceless m, n, or ŋ, accommodated to the following C. In slower speech n usually remains n, though some speakers tend to drop word-final n entirely; there seems to be a colloquial alternation between this n and zero, which might be compared to the alternation in English between ·iŋ and ·in.

§2. Vowel phonemes (native).

§2:1. These phonemes are: a, e, i, o.

§2:2. Allophones.

	Short Vowel	Long Vowel
e	[e] (lax)	[e] but somewhat lax, and approaching [ɪ]
o	[o] lax and open, but less open than [ɔ] except that before syllable-final l and before ll very close, practically [u]	[o] close, but somewhat lax
i	is always [i] except in the speed-form of ia described in II, §1.	

The speed effects mentioned in II, §1 and 2:2, are the only ones noted of vowels.

§3. Introduced phonemes. Appearing only in loanwords from Spanish are the introduced phonemes b, δ, g, f, r, rr, h or x, and vowel u, representing Sp. b or v, d, g, f, r, rr, j, u. Spanish j varies between h and x, and will be written always h, which sometimes represents not only j but the Spanish vocalic beginning, e.g., ha·seyte “oil,” Sp. aceite. r patterns after l in being unvoiced in syllable-final and in unvoicing a following w, which results from Aztec inflection of Spanish loanwords, e.g., tikm·atrabesarwis “you (respectful) will traverse it.” Some words introduced early into Aztec were Aztecized in form, e.g., awaš “broad-beans” <Sp. habas.

4. MORPHOPHONEMICS

§1. Grammatical operations within bound forms:

§1:1.

<i>Incremental</i>	<i>Internal</i>	<i>Tactical</i>
Affixing (prefixing, suffixing).	Ablaut of stem-final	Compounding.
Reduplication (of word-initial syl.):	vowel (see below).	
a. Simple.		
b. Infixed (with inserted ? , e.g., $k^w\text{epa} > k^w\text{e?k}^w\text{epa}$).	Contraction (see below).	

§1:2. A secondary form (sec.) is a form that shows one or more of the above operations in contrast to a related form (primary, pr., or simplex) that does not.

§1:3. Reduplication. It is regularly infixed, but many lexemes are exceptions and use simple reduplication. The distinction appears to be in the lexeme. In simple reduplication the first vowel is usually long, but there are also exceptions to this.

§1:4. Ablaut. a) pr. stem-final $\text{?a} >$ sec. ?i (iotization, the most common form of ablaut); b) pr. stem-final ?a or $\text{?i} >$ sec. ?o .

§1:5. Contraction. This is loss of final vowel of the pr. in the sec., leaving the sec. ending in C or i.² Morphemes which contract are indicated when necessary by . . . °.

§2. Automatic morphophonemic processes. 1) pr. m, becoming in sec. syllable-final, becomes n except before p; e.g., $\text{?} \lambda \text{ami} + \text{contraction} > \text{?} \lambda \text{an}$. 2) pr. $\lambda >$ sec. t if the morphophoneme (λ/t) is not followed by a in the sec.; e.g., $\lambda \lambda \text{a} + \text{iotization} + \text{?a} > \text{?} \lambda \text{atia}$, $\text{a} \text{wewel}(\text{i}) + \text{?} \lambda \text{an} > \text{a} \text{wewet}(\text{i}) \lambda \text{an}$. 3) pr. l + pr. $\lambda >$ sec. ll, e.g., $\text{kal} + \text{?} \lambda \text{i} < \text{kalli}$. Process (2) precedes (3), e.g., $\text{kal} \text{?} \lambda \text{i} \text{?} \lambda \text{an} > \text{kalti} \lambda \text{an}$. 4) pr. iw + k $>$ sec. i ?k , e.g., $\text{?} \text{?i} \text{?} \text{wa} + \text{contraction} + \text{?} \text{?ke} \text{?} > \text{?} \text{?i} \text{?} \text{?ke} \text{?}$ (this process not in Cl).

§3. Processes incidental to prefixing.

§3:1. The types of prefixes are: 1) *simplex*, which are invariable in form. 2) *contract*, which contract before a vowel, e.g., $\text{ni} \text{?} \text{a} \text{?} \text{si} > \text{na} \text{?} \text{si}$. 3) the prefix *ki*, which contracts *after* a V (e.g., $\text{ni} \text{?} \text{k} \text{?} \text{mati}$) and *before* i and the prefix *on* ($\text{k} \text{?} \text{on} \text{?} \text{ana}$) but otherwise is simplex ($\text{ki} \text{?} \text{ana}$). 4) *duplex*, e.g., $\text{i} \text{?} \text{n}^{\text{m}} \text{?}$, $\text{a} \text{?}$, the superscript showing the form before V: $\text{i} \text{?} \text{m} \text{?} \text{a} \text{?} \text{kal}$, $\text{i} \text{?} \text{n} \text{?} \text{ta} \text{?} \text{cin}$; $\text{a} \text{?} \text{k}^w \text{?} \text{alli}$, $\text{ay} \text{?} \text{okmo}$. The n^{m} type however can be regarded as simplex, and will be written with m, which then $>$ n automatically by §2.(1).

§3:2. Initial i followed by C-cluster is eclipsed by differing V of a prefix, even a contract prefix, e.g., $\text{mo} \text{?} + \text{i} \text{?} \text{ta}$, $\text{?} \text{ilpia}$, $\text{?} \text{ik} \text{?} \text{si} > \text{mo} \text{?} \text{ta}$, $\text{no} \text{?} \text{lpia}$, $\text{mo} \text{?} \text{k} \text{?} \text{si}$ (a few irregular exceptions, e.g., $\text{m} \text{?} \text{i} \text{?} \text{towa}$ instead of expected $\text{mo} \text{?}$).

§4. Processes incidental to suffixing.

² Sometimes also a long V in primary syllable before the vowel to be lost becomes short in the contracted secondary.

§4:1. The types of suffixes are: 1) *regular*, which do not alter the regular forms of the stem. 2) *eliding*, with verbs only, before which *-ia-* > *-i-* and *-owa-* (with certain exceptions) > *-o-*, denoted by superscript zero, e.g., *·miktia +⁰lia* > *·miktilia*. 3) A few suffixes are modified in special ways, herein treated as irregularities. In Cl, *-yo* > *-lo* after *l*, and > *-o* after a sibilant. This still holds in MA, but also the form *-lyo* has been restored by analogy, e.g., *·lapalyoλ* "color," Cl *·lapalloλ*.

§5. Processes incidental to compounding. 1) A V-sequence resulting from compounding is broken by interposed *?*, except for the sequence *i* + any other V. 2) If the first element of a compound is a noun stem of the contract class (VII, §3:1) it is usually contracted.

§6. Processes in derived forms. Among derivations (IX) are found sporadically changes not accounted for by any of the above principles. These forms date from an earlier stage of the language, preserving certain processes no longer operative because at a previous period they came to be felt as vocabulary items rather than as results of free synthesis. Most of them are easily explained on historical principles, for which a certain amount of historical treatment of the language would be needed. Thus at one time contraction of a stem ending in *-i* did not completely remove the *i* but left the stem ending in *-y* or something similar, which palatalized preceding *t, c, s*, to *č, č, š*. Hence, corresponding to *te-si* "grind" we have *te-šli* "flour." In a short descriptive treatment such changes seem best treated as irregularities. The above-mentioned change may be called "palatalization."

5. LEXEMIC CLASSES AND GENERAL TRAITS OF EXPRESSION

§1. Lexemic classes.

§1:1. The lexicon is divided into the following lexemic classes (parts of speech) and subclasses. Three classes are paradigmatic, having extensive systems of inflection except in two subclasses, adjectives and uninflected entitives. Three classes are analytic, or uninflected.

§1:2.

	<i>Lexemic classes</i>	<i>Subclasses</i>
Paradigmatic	(1) pronominals	a. pronouns (personal) b. pronominal cases, including prepositions
	(2) entitives	a. nouns b. adjectives (including adverbials) c. uninflected entitives
	(3) verbs	a. intransitives
	classes of resolution, or resolutions	
	transitives	b. direct terminatives c. first causatives d. second causatives e. applicatives

Analytic	{ 4) conjunctions 5) adverbs 6) interjections	a. introducers
		b. connectives

§1:3. Selection and overtness. The lexemic classes and subclasses are *selective*, i.e., each is a group of stems not coterminous with the whole lexicon and except to very small extent not overlapping in membership any other group of coordinate rank. Each belongs in just one of the subclasses of one of the main classes and cannot be inflected or handled syntactically except in the manner of that subclass. All these selective groups are moreover overt, not covert as in Hopi. That is, in nearly all sentences there is another indicator of the class and subclass besides selection of the lexeme, an indicator either in the collocation of word neighbors, or in the paradigmatic classes usually by the paradigmatic affixes, which are seldom either zero or like those of another subclass. These affixes cannot be applied to any lexeme, but only to one of the proper subclass. Change in subclass may be made by the operation of *derivation* (IX), which requires usually different affixes from the paradigmatic ones.

§1:4. Absolute suffix. In most cases the primary form of the noun paradigm is marked by a special suffix called the absolute suffix, denoted by the formula $\lambda(i)$, which is actualized when word-final after V as $\cdot\lambda$, word-final after C as $\cdot\lambda i$, and word-internal as morphophonemically altered to $\cdot ti$, which before V other than a is usually contracted to $\cdot t$. Besides occurring in the primary form of most nouns, its internal variant may occur in sec. forms and in the lexeme (stem) of non-nouns derived from nouns. It also occurs final on some adjectives, some uninflected entitives, and the full forms of the pronouns, which syntactically are like entitives, though differently inflected. Hence it may be said to denote the end of an entitive stem.

§2. Types of reference. On the whole the lexemic classes do not refer to distinctly different types of reference, as in Hopi. Both verbs and entitives may refer to action having movement, with only the difference that a verb refers to a particular action as occurring in a particular situation, while an action-entitive ("direct participial," IX §2:1) refers to a class of particular actions (as also does the verb) without like the verb denoting that a particular representative of the class is being singled out for attention. There is also a distinction in type of reference between the two entitive subclasses of nouns and adjectives, but not quite the same distinction as in Western European. It is treated in §3:2.

§3. Entitives.

§3:1. An entitive, noun, adjective, or other, has two *moduli*,³ the modulus of a *substantive*, and that of a *modifier*. The mark or *signature* of each modulus is

³ Categories freely producible by either inflectional or collocational techniques are called *moduli* in the system used by the author for describing Utaztecan languages. Thus numbers, tenses, aspects, and categories denoted by definite and indefinite articles are *moduli*.

simply word order. The meaning of the moduli is difficult to define, but fortunately it is a familiar one; in most cases it is very similar to what we understand by substantive and modifier, or head and attribute, in English and Western European generally. An entitive not adjacent to another is a substantive. When two or more entitives or entitive stems are in immediate sequence, bound or free, the last is a substantive, the others all its modifiers—exactly like English, where in e.g., “brick chimney top,” “top chimney brick,” and “top brick chimney” the last word is a substantive, the others modifiers. Moreover, as in the case of English “red brick chimney” and “brick chimney red,” the matter of whether these terms are selectively and paradigmatically nouns or adjectives has no bearing on the substantive and modifier distinction.

§3:2. There is also a semantic distinction between all nouns and all adjectives that deserves some attempt at description since it could scarcely be inferred from Western European analogies, though the author cannot hope to achieve any very good brief definement of the matter. An adjective seems to denote a portion of the objective field of space having a vague outline in which is localized a quality; while a noun denotes 1) portion of the objective field with definite or semidefinite outline (e.g., “house,” “man”) or 2) generalized class of objective situations (e.g., “running,” “color,” “whiteness”) or 3) generalized class of subjective experience (e.g., “happiness,” “anger”). When an adjective is a modifier its sense of vague outline is lost, but when it is a substantive this reference to some specific though vague patch of the external scene seems to be present, and might need to be translated by “something”—which would include “somebody.” Thus the adjective “white” as substantive would not mean “whiteness” or “the color white” but rather “white effect” or “something white.” “Happy” as substantive would not mean “happiness” but some objective localizer of this quality, “somebody or something happy.”⁴ If my *Sprachgefühl* is equal to the task of predicting what such a collocation as “brick chimney red” might mean, assuming that it can be said, I should be inclined to think that it would not mean a shade of red like that of a brick chimney but rather a patch of red which turns out to be a brick chimney. Red in the sense of redness is not the substantive adjective but a derived noun.

§3:3. When a quality which we think of as adjectival itself denotes a semidefinite outline, i.e., implies a certain kind of shape, it is referred to usually by a passive participial (IX, §2:2), an entitive derived from a verb and formally a noun. Passive participials are combined with other nouns in bound groupings, i.e., compound words, and in a manner called herein “reversed construction.” The participial is treated as the substantive and placed last, the other noun before it as modifier. Thus “narrow” in the sense of long and narrow, is expressed as “narrowed,” and “narrow road” as “road narrowed-effect.” As passive participials are

⁴ This is not to be confused with the more specific use of Romance languages in which the adjective denotes a person. Thus *čipawak* is neither “la hermosa,” “the beauty,” nor “lo hermoso,” “the beautiful”; “cosa hermosa,” or “thing of beauty,” or “something beautiful” come nearer to it.

described in IX §2:2, it will be noted that they bear prefixes $\lambda a\text{-}$ or $te\text{-}$. These are usually omitted in combinations with another noun. "Something narrowed" is $\lambda a\text{-picak}\lambda i$, "road" is $o\text{?}\lambda i$, its bound stem is $o\text{?}$, hence "narrow road" is $o\text{?}\text{-picak}\lambda i$.

§4. Sentences.

§4:1. Types. A sentence may be roughly defined as an utterance that is intelligible though followed by a long pause. A minor sentence is intelligible only with the aid of a recently-occurred context, e.g., the minor sentence "a man" which is intelligible as answer to a question such as "what is that?" A major sentence does not need the support of such a previous context, e.g., "the man ran." Aztec has two types of major sentence, verbal and nonverbal. A verbal sentence contains a verb, the minimal verbal sentence being simply one verb. A nonverbal sentence contains at least two words, representing subject and predicate. The subject comes first and is usually the full form of a pronoun, but may be a noun, especially a construct (i.e., possessed) noun, like "his name." An unpossessed noun as subject is usually followed by a full-form pronoun referring to it; e.g., "John is a man" is expressed "John he man" ($hwa\text{-}n\ ye\text{?}wa\lambda\ \lambda a\text{-}ka\lambda$). A third person pronoun subject without noun is usually followed by enclitic -on "that," e.g., $ye\text{?}wa\lambda on\ \lambda a\text{-}ka\lambda$ "he is a man." A nonverbal sentence cannot be conjugated, expresses a general truth, a predication always applicable to the subject, and is used to translate Spanish *ser*. A sentence with the verb *ka* "be" can be conjugated, reports the condition in a particular situation, and is like Sp. *estar*.

§4:2. Sentence technique. The verb is usually the first paradigmatic word in a verbal sentence, though it is usually preceded by conjunctions (X §2). The verbs "be," "go," and "come" however usually follow the noun subject and are followed by the complement or the word expressing place with reference to motion. With transitive verbs, noun subject and noun object usually follow verb, and it seems to make little difference which comes first. In complex sentences (X) clause connection may require placing either subject or object after the verb. Hence there is much irregular order, and one might think this would make it hard to tell what is subject and object, since nouns have no cases. But probably such confusion rarely occurs, for various reasons. Obviously many combinations of verb, subject, and object are not reversible, e.g., "man eats bread." In many more, e.g., "king punishes slave," the reversal is so improbable that it would be accompanied by an explanatory context. Aztec has extended such lexical particularization as compared with many languages. If "kills bear man" would be ambiguous, one can say "shoots and kills bear man" or use a particularized verb that implies that a nonpersonal object is killed; or the verb inflections which show number of both subject and object may indicate the relation. The "shoots and kills" type of sentence, called "twin verbs," the verbs bearing identical inflections and juxtaposed without any connective, was very common in Cl, not only to give clarity but as a general pattern. Such verbs often were almost or quite synonymous, e.g., "shapes, molds, the workman the clay," the couplet being used like a unitary vocabulary item, and giving

greater richness of meaning than a single verb. In fact this syntactic coupling is what corresponds in Aztec to the compounding of bound stems, when the stems to be combined are all verbal. The pattern is still found to some extent in MA.

§5. Compounding. Compounding requires that all stems in the compound but the last must be entitive stems; the last may be either an entitive or a verb. It is a common and freely used technique, but there is not enough combination of elements for it to be called polysynthesis; compounds are essentially binary, and in most cases only two stems are combined. When more than two are combined, it is as a binary whose parts are compounds. The parts stand in the modifier-modified relation, and the modifier-substantive construction already described may be worked out either as a compound or as a syntactic group. The two are easily distinguished since the compound is one word by its accent and morphophonemic processes, but they have practically the same meaning. When the first term is an adjective the syntactic group is preferred; when a noun, the bound compound, although the syntactic group may still be used. The first term of a compound is usually a bare noun stem, contracted if the noun is of the contract class, or it may be a noun with absolutive suffix in form *-ti-* (this type is associated today with derived verbal nouns, also found in old petrified compounds), or an adjective, usually in adverbial form with suffix *-ka-*. If the final is a transitive verb the antecedent may refer to its object ("incorporated object") in which case the verb is inflected like an intransitive, without pronominal object, e.g., *mepam-po'powa* "weeds agave-row(s)," <*mepami^oλ* <*me-λ* "agave," *pami^oλ* "row." But the antecedent is basically a modifier, and its equivalence to an object is conditioned by grammatical logic; e.g., *λe·k'epo'ni* (intransitive verb, no object) "bursts from the action of fire (*λe·λ*)." Cl *λa·šoči·i'k'wilowa* (transitive with transitive inflection) "paints or engraves something (*λa-*) with flowers, floral designs (*šočiλ* "flower")."

§6. Reverentials and diminutives. Aztec abounds in polite and respectful forms of verbs and nouns, for which the term "reverential" of the old grammarians will be used. In verbs, the reverential is a technique of using two-object verbs, explained in VIII §10:6 and has no diminutive sense. In nouns it is formed by the suffix *-cin(-λi)*, an "affective," having a sort of diminutive sense, for which the term "diminished augmentative" may be used. It implies that a thing is great but the speaker's contact with it is of diminished degree, modest, humble. Used of a person or his possessions it thus implies respect. It also has a very limited use with natural phenomena, apparently in the sense that a small portion of some great and widespread phenomenon is being dealt with; e.g., water in domestic use, or the water of a tank or well is *a·cinλi*, <*a·λ*, water in nature; while "a day" is *tonal·cinλi* <*tonal·li* "sun, daytime, light." Another diminutive, *-ton(-λi)* is not reverential and means that the thing is small, e.g., *piltonλi* "boy." In MA the reverential is largely confined to verbs and nouns and second person subject or possessor and has become equated to the Spanish use of *Usted*. It is impolite to use the reverential of oneself; thus "my house" is *no·kal*; "your house," polite, is *mo·kalcin*. But where

“my” does not refer to ownership but to kinship or a social relation, it is no bar to polite use of the revential. “My mother” is always *no-nancin*.

§7. Intrusions from Spanish. Spanish has contributed various prepositions, conjunctions, and adverbs, e.g. *para*, *por*, *pos* or *pwes*; *ko'sa*, <*cosa*, is an adverb “very.” The Spanish element *que* is usually dropped: *mientras* for *mientras que*. There are loan translations of many Spanish or Mexican Spanish idioms, e.g., *ika ni-kan* “this way,” *ika ompa* “that way” (*por acá*, *por allá*); *kà kema*, *kà amo* (*que sí*, *que no*); *aša:n kema* (*ahora sí*); *kenin amo* “certainly” (*como no*); *k-i'tosneki* “it means” (*quiere decir*); use of *ye* “already” with preterite for a past perfective (Sp. *ya* with preterite). Spanish verbs are used by adding *-owa* to the infinitive: *ki-atrabesarowa* “he traverses it” (Sp. *atravesar*). These Hispanisms have not made for any substantial alteration in Aztec grammar.

6. THE PRONOMINAL AND CASE SYSTEM

§1. Pronouns (personal pronouns).

§1:1. Table of forms

	Full form (independent word)	Base (bearing suffixes, or used as prefix)	Other forms
Singular			
1	<i>ne?waλ</i> , or <i>ne?wa?</i>	<i>no^o</i>	The system of verb prefixes, subject, object, and reflexive, listed under Verb System, VIII (the verbal first & second person reflexives are identical with bases in preceding column)
2	<i>te?waλ</i> , <i>te?wa?</i>	<i>mo^o</i>	
3	<i>ye?waλ</i> , <i>ye?wa?</i>	<i>i⁻</i>	
Plural			
1	<i>te?wantin</i> , <i>te?wan</i>	<i>to^o</i>	
2	<i>ame?wantin</i> , <i>ame?wan</i>	<i>am⁻</i>	
3	<i>ye?wantin</i> , <i>ye?wan</i>	<i>i'm⁻</i>	
		Indefinite <i>te⁻</i>	

§1:2. Full forms are used chiefly as subjects of nonverbal sentences (V §4:1). Bases are used as prefixes to nouns, in which case they are possessive pronouns (VII §3:2), and as bases for the suffixes of the case system, e.g., *no-teč* “to me,” *i-pan* “at it.”

§2. Case system.

§2:1. This system is a vocabulary of suffixes, of which some of the commonest are:

<i>-teč</i> (third sing. <i>-?teč</i>) to, for, pertaining to	<i>-kopa</i> in the manner of
<i>-pan</i> in, at (locative)	<i>-pampa</i> for (ethical)
<i>-itik</i> (third sing. <i>i'tik</i>) within	<i>-lak^w</i> with (sociative)
<i>-ka</i> (third sing. <i>ika</i> , <i>kà</i> , or <i>i'k</i>) by (with)	<i>-na'wak</i> near
<i>-kpak</i> over, & in the direction over	<i>-xwan</i> and (chiefly used in third sing. <i>i'wan</i> or <i>wan</i>)
<i>-cinlan</i> under, & in the direction under	

§2:2. Sometimes suffixes are added to noun stems, e.g., ma·sewalkopa “in the manner of Indians, in Aztec (language)” <ma·sewalli “commoner, Indian.” In general this is not done. Usually such a form as kalpan “in the house,” le·k·wilpan “on the hearth” is archaic or literary, or it might be idiomatic in that particular case, much as in English “homeward” is idiomatic but “dogward” is not, though a possible form. To apply the case relations to nouns in general, the third sing. (third plural rarely, even for plural nouns) base form is used as a *preposition*, e.g., i·pan kalli, i·pan le·k·willi. Some case forms seem to be used only on third singular base, e.g., i·ʔki (Cl i·w, i·wki) “like it, likewise, like . . .”

§2:3. The ideas of “to” and “from,” purely motional or directional, are not handled by cases, but by the verb, which is given (if it does not have lexically) a centrifugal or a centripetal (VIII §1:3 on, wal, VIII §5 ·tiw, ·kiw) sense, and the noun is placed after the verb, before which is often one of the adverbs ompa “there, thither,” ni·kan “here, hither,” onkan “there, thence,” e.g., ompa o·ni·ya no·kal “I went to my house,” lit. “thither went my house.” The noun is not the verb’s object and is not represented by an objective prefix.

§2:4. Suffixes with directional meaning are attached to the base λa· (VIII §1:6) for directional adverbs, e.g., λakpak “upward, up,” λacin·lan “downward, down,” and through Spanish analogy we find e.g., ika λakpak “por arriba.”

§2:5. Aztec place names are *ipso facto* in a locational case-relation and end in a case suffix, e.g., k·waw·na·wak “Cuernavaca” or rather “at Cuernavaca,” lit. “near tree(s).” Usually place names do not have a “regular” suffix like ·na·wak (though ·pan is common) but special ones which are found in MA only on place names and derived common nouns of place in ·lan, ·kan, etc. (IX §3). These suffixes are ·k, ·ko, ·lan, ·la, ·kan, ·yan, ·ya. It is idiomatic to relate speaker’s position to place by an adverb, e.g., ompa meši·ʔko “in Mexico City” (speaker in Milpa Alta), ni·kan meši·ʔko id., speaker in Mexico City. These suffixes are found attached either to a noun, e.g., to ama·λ “Ficus tree” or to its stem (ama·): ama·tilan or ama·lan “(at) Ficus-grove,” Amatitlán, Amatlán.⁵

7. THE ENTITIVE SYSTEM

§1:1. Entitives contrast among themselves in three ways: 1) nouns/adjectives/uninflected entitives, 2) substantives/modifiers, 3) radical entitives/derived entitives. For (1) and (2) see V §1:2, 3:1. Radical entitives are determined selectively (in the lexeme) as nouns, adjectives, or uninflected entitives. Derived entitives are determined as nouns or adjectives by derivative suffixes. Any entitive, radical or derived, can be converted from noun or adjective to the other by derivation or superposed derivation; theoretically derivations can be superposed indefinitely (IX).

⁵ The Spanish accent on ultima applies only to the Hispanized version of Aztec place names; in Aztec they are accented on the penult.

§1:2. The *absolute suffix* $\lambda(i)$ is attached to the absolute state singular of all nouns with the minor exceptions noted in §3:4 and to some radical adjectives, e.g., $k^{\text{w}}\text{alli}$ "good," $\text{yek}\lambda i$ "right." When it is word-final after V, $(-i)$ does not occur, e.g., $\lambda a\text{-ka}\lambda$ "man," though $\lambda a\text{ka}^{\text{?}}\lambda i$ "day." Derivative suffixes usually add to the absolute suffix, which then becomes $\cdot\text{ti-}$ (IV §2 (2)). Sometimes however these suffixes add directly to the stem (contracted if a contract noun), the absolute suffix being dropped.

§2. Inflections and categories.

§2:1. Nouns have the moduli of *state*, absolute and construct (the latter inflected for person and number of possessor); of *number*, singular and plural; of the *affectives*, all the foregoing determined inflectionally; and of *determination*, indefinite and definite, for which the signatures are special modifiers (articles).

§2:2. Adjectives have two moduli: *primary* and *adverbial*, to be referred to for simplicity as adjectives and adverbials. The ideas of comparison are expressed unsystematically by various lexemes, thus not being grammatical categories in Aztec.

§3. Nouns.

§3:1. Nouns occur in three isosemantic classes ('declensions'): *simplex class*, in which the "construct base" is the primary stem (the word minus $\lambda(i)$), e.g., kalli "house" $>$ $\text{no}\text{-kal}$ "my house"; *contract class*, in which it is the stem contracted, e.g., $\text{komi}\lambda$ "pot" $>$ $\text{no}\text{-kon}$ "my pot"; and *w-class*, in which it is the stem extended by $\cdot\text{w}$, e.g., $\text{siwa}\lambda$ "woman, wife" $>$ $\text{no}\text{-siwa}\cdot\text{w}$ "my wife." Stems ending in $\cdot\text{C}$ are simplex, those in $\cdot\text{V}$ are selectively apportioned among the three classes. Nouns not using $\lambda(i)$ are simplex except that those in $\cdot\text{ki}$ are *w-class*, construct base in $\cdot\text{kaw}$.

§3:2. The *construct state* consists of the construct base with a pronominal base as prefix: $\text{no}\text{-kal}$ "my house," $\text{t}\cdot\text{a}\text{-kal}$ "our boat," $\text{i}\cdot\text{kone}\cdot\text{w}$ "his child," $\text{te}\text{-si}^{\text{?}}$ "somebody's grandmother"—the base $\text{te}\cdot$ means "somebody's, one's, people's." Also $\text{to}\cdot$ "our" can be used in an indefinite sense, e.g., "our father" as "the father of any one of us." Kinship terms occur in context only as construct, but their *absolute state* (nonconstruct) can perhaps exist in isolation as the "official" name form of the word, as in dictionaries. For a noun possessor, e.g., "the child's house" the form is "the child his house": $\text{kone}\lambda\text{ i}\cdot\text{kal}$. In the plur. of *w-class* nouns, $\cdot\text{w}$ becomes $\cdot\text{wan}$: $\text{no}\text{-kone}\text{-wan}$ "my children"; $\cdot\text{wan}$ is also added in the plural of a few simplex nouns. The subject prefixes of the verb system (VIII §1:2) are sometimes added to absolute state nouns with the meaning of a pronoun in apposition: $\text{ti}\text{-kno}\lambda\text{aka}^{\text{?}}$ or $\text{ti}\text{-pobres}$ "we poor people." In Cl (at least) they could be added to constructs: $\text{tino}\text{-kniw}$ "thou my friend."

§3:3. Plural. Nouns are divided into several selective classes according to formation of plural, as follows, these classes being distinct from the three classes of construct base.

<i>Plural class and membership</i>	<i>Operation from singular > plural</i>
a. many stems in $\cdot V$, few in $\cdot l$, $\cdot n$	$\cdot \lambda(i) > \cdot me?$ (sometimes +reduplication)
b. many stems in $\cdot C$	$\cdot \lambda(i) > \cdot tin$ ($< \cdot me?$, loss of $?$, added upon $\cdot \lambda(i)$ and contracted)
c. many contract nouns	construct base + $\cdot tin$
d. derived nouns in suffixes viz.:	$\cdot k$, $\cdot ki > \cdot ke?$ $\cdot wa?$ $> \cdot wa?ke?$ $\cdot (y)o?$ $> (y)o?ke?$
e. many stems in $\cdot V$	$\cdot \lambda(i) > \cdot ?$ (usually +reduplication)
f. various, see §§3:4(2), 3:6	reduplication alone
g. Spanish loans, except "horse"	Spanish plural in $\cdot s$
h. few, e.g., kawayo "horse"	irregular, e.g., $> kawa?tin$

These rules apply to the absolute state. In construct the only difference is that $\cdot me?$ and $\cdot tin$ become $\cdot wan$, $\cdot ke?$ becomes $\cdot kawan$, rarely $\cdot wan$ is added irregularly. The Aztec plural appears to be an optional modulus, and is often not used when the plural sense is otherwise clear, as with a numeral or a modifier connoting plurality. This is less true of the borrowed plural in $\cdot s$, which is generally used as it would be in Spanish, but not always, e.g., *na wi pe:so* "four pesos."

§3:4. The absolutive suffix is not found in 1) derived nouns in $\cdot k$, $\cdot ki$, $\cdot wa?$, $\cdot (y)o?$, $\cdot ni$ (type a. plural $\cdot nime?$), or place-suffixes; 2) nouns in $\cdot lin$ (type f.) and a few in $\cdot in$, $\cdot an$ (λ ackan); 3) affectives, with some special exceptions; 4) in Cl, some personal names, especially stems in $\cdot l$, e.g., *teskawicil* (personal names in Milpa Alta today are all Spanish).

§3:5. Determination. A singular noun is in either definite or indefinite determination. Definite, similar in meaning to a noun with definite article, is the zero form, either absolute or construct. The indefinite cannot be construct and is the absolute state preceded by the indefinite article *sente* λ or *sente* or its substitutes, e.g., *se* "one," *oksente* λ "another." In the plural the whole category of determination is absent.⁶

§3:6. Affectives. These forms indicate feeling-attitude toward the referent. They are the diminutives $\cdot ton$, $\cdot pil$, the diminished augmentative and reverential

⁶ This system of two determinations with the *indefinite* article, the one expressed, is rather unusual and historically interesting. It derives from Spanish *un*, *una*, but disregards the Spanish *el*, *la*, as well as the plural *unos*, *unas*, and it reverses the system of Cl. In Cl the indefinite was the zero form, the definite was either the construct or the absolute preceded by *in* "this" (unemphatic) used like a definite article (it was also used frequently before personal proper names). The later imitation of Spanish may have arisen through trade, where there was much counting and saying "one"; for Cl *sente* "one unit" (lit. "one-stone") was used as a counter. It was evidently Spanish *un*, and not the contrasting *el*, that struck the Aztecs as most significant. This fitted the pattern of Aztec verbs, in which the subject "the one, he" is unexpressed (zero form) but "a one, someone" as subject is expressed by an uninflected entitive. Hence imitation of Spanish seems to have reversed the Aztec pattern and at the same time made it more Aztec, or more internally consistent, and less Spanish, than before!

-cin, and in Cl the augmentative -pol. In MA only -ton and -cin are widely used (see V §6). The suffix adds to the stem, sometimes the contracted stem. The final -λ(i) is omitted except in certain words, e.g., a·cinλi “(some) water,” le·cinλi “(a) fire,” siwa·pilli “lady,” piltonλi “boy,” but however siwanton⁷ “girl.” Plural reduplicates both stem and suffix: pipiltoton “boys,” sisiwantoton “girls.” Reduplication of stem alone yields a more diminutive and colloquial form of singular: pipiltonλi, sisiwanton.

§4. Adjectives. Adjectives are determined either by the derivational operations -k, -ti·k contrasting with primaries not showing these operations, or selectively, in which case they often show the suffix -k though there is no contrasting primary, or again they may lack -k and have -λ(i), e.g., k^walli “good.” Substantive adjectives have no number and state distinctions like nouns. Occasionally, in imitation of Spanish, adjectives take the affective -cin, usually with reduplication: k^wak^walcin “pretty,” imitating Sp. bonito.

§4:1. The *adverbial* is denoted by -ka (adjectival -k > -ka), e.g., yekλi > yektika “rightly,” čikawak “strong” > čikawaka “strongly.” This adverbial is also the “adjectival base” for derivation, e.g., yekλi + deriv. -yoλ > yektikayoλ “rightness.”

§5. Uninflected entitives. These words behave syntactically like entitives and may be substantives or modifiers in the same way, but cannot take case suffixes like pronouns and have no systematic inflections, though a few have optional plurals, adverbials, etc., which are rather supplementary lexemes than inflections. Here are many words traditionally called pronouns, herein termed *substitutions*, and the *quantifiers*, including the numerals and words like miyak “much, many,” noči “all,”⁸ keškič “how much?” The numerals actually have inflections, though not those of the entitive system, denoting combining-forms, ordinals, and repetitives. The substitutions may be classified as demonstratives, interrogatives, indefinites, relatives, and (indefinite) articles, e.g., “a,” “a one,” “another,” which are also in a sense quantifiers.

8. THE VERB SYSTEM

§1. Prefix-system of the verb.

§1:1. The verbal prefix-system denotes the modulus of *pronominal reference* (consisting of subject, object, and reflexive references), and certain noncategorized notions. It is thus tabulated:

⁷ The first n in siwanton, <siwa'λ “woman,” is perhaps an importation from the branch of Aztec represented by the Tepoztlán dialect (Southern Aztec), in which it could be accounted for historically.

⁸ Cl moči or i'skič, the latter also found in MA.

position 1	position 2 pron. subject	position 3 definite pron. object	position 4 direction, optional	position 5 reflexive object	position 6 indefinite pron. object	position 7 verb stem
	singular	singular		singular		
o·	1 ni°	1 ne·č	centrifugal	1 no°	impersonal	
ye o·	2 ti°	2 mi·c	on	2 mo°	la	
or yo·	3 zero	3 ki	centripetal	3 mo°	personal	
	plural	plural	wal	plural	te	
	1 ti°	1 te·č		1 to°		
	2 am	2 ame·č		2 mo°		
	3 zero	3 kim		3 mo°		
	imperative			ne (indefinite as to person)		
	2 ši° (sing. or plur.)					

§1:2. Peculiarities of the prefix *ki* are treated in IV §3:1(3). Before *k-on*, *ni*, *ti*, *ši* assimilate to *nokon*, *tokon*, etc.; *on* before *no*, *mo* loses *n*. *o·*, *yo·* denote past time (§3:2).

§1:3. Use of *on* and *wal* is optional and often greatly changes the sense: *wal* "hither" changes ideas of going, sending, to those of coming, bringing; *on* intensifies the idea of onward, away. Both can be used a) with verbs of motion, b) with most transitives, giving a directional idea to the transference from subject to object, e.g., *kon-ana* "onward-gets it, goes and gets it." These elements inserted among preposed pronominals are strikingly comparable to French *y* and *en*.

§1:4. Resolutions. Use of the pronominal prefixes depends on the two categories of *resolution*, transitive and intransitive, every verb form being one or the other. These are either selective (in the lexeme) or modulated, i.e., determined by the moduli of voice or terminative; e.g., passive voice is always intransitive. Subject prefixes are not affected by resolution and are obligatory, even with an independent pronoun subject.

§1:5. Subject number is also shown by final plural suffix of verb, an element tied up with the prefix-system. These suffixes are: for preterite, perfective and future *-ke?* (save in a few irregular verbs), for imperative *-kan*, otherwise *-?*. These pluralizers distinguish "they" from "he" and "we" from "thou."

§1:6. Object prefixes (including reflexive and indefinite) are used only with transitives and are obligatory with them, e.g., *ki-či-wa kalli* "he makes the house" (one cannot say simply *či-wa*). For indefinite object, *te* "someone, people" is used for persons, *la* "something, things" for impersonals (things, animals), e.g., *la-či-wa* "he makes something," *te-laso?la* "he loves someone": contrast *k-i?k-wilowa* "he writes it" and *la-?k-wilowa* "he writes"; *k-i?towa* "he says it" and *la-?towa* "he speaks." As the total scheme of meanings is often well summed up by the indefinite and reflexive uses alone, a convenient form of lexical citation is e.g., *-polowa*: *la-* "lose, destroy," *mo-* "be lost, be lacking, fail" etc. The unspecified reflexive *ne*

“oneself, self” appears in derivatives, e.g., mo-miktia “kills himself” > ne-miktilisli “killing oneself, suicide.”

§2. Iosemantic verb classes (conjugations).

§2:1. Class A. Preterite stem by contraction of primary (e.g., temi > ten, ·či·wa > ·či·w), with word-final y > š: ·piya > ·piš, ·yokoya > ·yokoš, (and ·ʔ added to V, e.g., ·lalia > ·laliʔ. This only in Cl).

Note. Aztec has a few irregular verbs, some with suppletion in certain forms, which cannot be described fully in this sketch. Most have an irregular preterite of the contractive type: yaw “go” > ya, walaw “come” > wala, wi·c “come” > wi·c, ami “hunt” > aʔ, ay “do” > aš.

§2:2. Class B. Pret. stem by eliding-suffix ·⁰k, e.g., ·nami > namik, lalia > ·lalik, čolowa > čolok. All passives are class B: či·walo > či·walok.

Note. In MA nearly all verbs in ·ia, ·owa are B, but in Cl all were A, e.g., ·lali, čolow. A very few irregular verbs have pret. in ·ka, e.g., ka “be” > katka, manı “extend” > manka.

§2:3. Thematic conjugation. Some of these verbs are A, some B, but all form one group on another level of similarity. The stem is a “theme” consisting of the ultimate lexeme (“root”) plus a “theme suffix”: ·wa, ·na, ·ca, which are A, ·wi, ·ka, which are B, ·ni which is A unless it contrasts with ·na on the same root, when it is B. A long vowel becoming final in sec. shortens. Thus k^wepo·ni > k^wepon, ·koto·na > ·koton, koto·ni > koto·nik. The suffixes are a part of the derivational system (see IX) that is too complex to be treated herein; some make transitive verbs, some intransitives, and they have other slight nuances of difference; a given suffix is constant throughout a paradigm except in certain types of *aspect* (§4) but may change in derivatives. Many of the thematic verbs are of a type of meaning (outline or shape manifestation) recalling the k-class verbs of Hopi.

§3. Tense-aspect system.

§3:1. There are seven tense-aspects, unit forms which are systematically related as the product of three implicit tenses and three implicit primary aspects, less two forms missing. The tenses are past, present, future; Cl had a fourth, remote past (called “pluperfect”), with suffix ·ka; it may still exist in moribund condition. Besides the three primary aspects of this system, some one of which is always present, verbs can receive as secondary aspects: two repetitive aspects, two transference aspects, ten auxiliary aspects. The three primary aspects are *simple*, *imperfective*, *perfective*. The simple denotes a single act or a motion or state of short duration, unless durativized by one of the secondary aspects. The imperfective is durative, a continuing action or state, either unterminated or terminated in the past. Its present tense form includes the idea of having begun in the past, or in dependent clauses is timeless, time being shown by the main clause. In main clauses its *present* tense usually denotes *past* action, being used much like the Spanish imperfect. Its past tense emphasizes the past idea. Its present can express a usitative nuance, without time distinction. Future imperfective is a future durative. Perfective denotes completion in either recent or remote past (“has done, had done”).

and is a loan translation of Spanish. "Preterite" will be used for convenience instead of "simple past." In the following table, pr. denotes "primary" (= "present stem"), pr-st. "preterite stem."

§3:2. Tabulation of tense-aspect system and its formative operations:

<i>Primary aspects</i>	<i>Present</i>	<i>Past</i>	<i>Future</i>
simple	(pr.)	o·(pr-st.)	(pr.)-°s
imperfective	(pr.)-ya	o·(pr.)-ya	o·(pr.)-°sskia
perfective	lacking	ye o·(pr-st.) or yo·(pr-st.)	lacking

Note. Irregular verbs wi·c "come," ·wikac "bring" have no future, except suppletion by verbs walaw and ·walmika of similar meaning. With ka "be," future is yes on suppletive stem ye·.

§4. Repetitive aspects. 1) *frequentative*, denoting continued pulsing of the action, when the stem meaning does not preclude this, is formed by reduplication. In thematic verbs the theme suffix ·ni (and sometimes ·wi or others) is replaced by ·ka: k°eyo·ni "flashes (once)" > k°e°k°eyo·ka "is flashing." 2) *intensive frequentative*, only in thematic verbs, increases the idea of intensity or force in the frequentative, from which it differs only by substituting ·ca for all other theme suffixes: k°e°k°eyo·ca "is flashing violently or intensely."

§5. Transference aspects. 1) centrifugal: (pr.) +·°tiw present (·°tiwe°) plural). ·°to past, ·°ti imperative (see §7). 2) centripetal: similarly ·°kiw, ·°kiwe°, ·°ko, ·°ki. The imperfective row and future column of forms is lacking. 1) Denotes motion away to be ended in the action ("goes to do it"); 2) denotes motion hither to be ended in the action ("comes to do it"); e.g., ·çi·wa > ki·çi·watiw "goes to make it," ·lalia > o·mo·lali°ko "came to seat himself."

§6. Auxiliary aspects. These are compounds of an entitive base derived from the verb with ten independently existing verbs, the auxiliary verbs. The sense is derived from the meaning of the auxiliary, but in Cl, which richly developed these forms, they practically constituted a set of aspects supplementing the other aspects and extending their powers of expression. The auxiliary is suffixed to (pr.) ·°ti, e.g., with auxil. ka "be" and mo·lalia "sits," o·mo·lali°tikatka "he was sitting," mo·lali°tiyes "he will be sitting." The auxiliaries are: 1) ka "be" = continuative; 2) nemi "walk, travel" = "goes along doing it"; 3) wi·c "come" = "comes doing it"; 4) mani "extend, lie" = "goes around doing it, does it all around (over an area), extends around in such a state," e.g., kiyawtimani "rains all around"; 5) ikak "stand" = "stands in such a state" of things erect; 6) ewa "lift" = nondurative, moves or starts into the action, or simply an inceptive, kon·anatewa "starts forward to get it" (·ana); 7) momana and 8) mote·ka, both "settle down," the former with an idea of spreading also, idiomatic in use; 9) kisa "go forth" and 10) weci "fall," nondurative and vigorous launching-forward inceptives, e.g., ·k°itiweci "dashes upon and takes (·k°i)." Only the ·ka form and perhaps a few others seem to be common now in MA.

§7. Imperative. Formed with imperative subject prefix *ši-*, present stem with final *-ia, -owa* > *-i, -o*, (and for the transference aspects as in 5), to which for plural subject is suffixed *-kan*. A related form called optative in Cl grammars is of doubtful existence in MA; the same may be said of a Cl form called subjunctive.

§8. Order of suffixes with reference to any stem or base taken as origin, is 1), nearest to the stem, derivatives, 2) terminatives, 3) derived entitive stem in *-ti-*, 4) auxiliary aspect, 5) voice, 6) transference aspect, 7) tense-aspect, 8) number. Thus, taking from §6 above the form *k-on-ana-t-ewa*, *pref.-pref.-stem (ana)-* (3) to (4), and adding the applicative suffix *-li* (a terminative, 2), and the simple future 7) and plural 8) suffixes, we get *k-on-ani-li-t-ewa-s-ke?*.

§9. Voices: *Direct voice*, zero form, corresponds to the English active, but in some cases has a stative meaning, e.g., *maya-na* "is hungry." *Passive voice* can be formed from any transitive direct voice, and intransitivizes it and reverses subject and object like the English passive. It is formed by *-^olo*, e.g., *ki-^olatia* "burns it," *latilo* "is burned," except that thematic verbs in *-na, -ka*, and some anomalous verbs in *-a* passivize by *-a* > *-o*. The *essive* occurs in Cl, may or may not be present in MA; by contraction *+tok*, from transitives; it intransitivizes and reverses but indicates resulting state, inactive, e.g., *ki-^olapana* "breaks it" > *lapantok* "lies broken." It is defective as to tense-aspects, and has only this form, probably a preterite but capable of a present sense.⁹

§10. Terminatives.

§10:1. The terminatives; direct (i.e., primary transitive), causatives, and applicative, are moduli of the transitive resolution, indicating a relation of action to object. Similarly the voices, considering the direct voice only when it is intransitive, are moduli of the intransitive resolution. Just as the voices may be applied to transitives, making them intransitives, the nondirect terminatives may be applied to intransitives, except essives and some passives, transitivizing them.

§10:2. The *direct terminative*, zero form, is simply the ordinary selective transitive, considered as a member of the system of terminatives instead of simply as a resolution or transitive. Thus *-či-wa* "makes," *-^olasa* "throws" are inherently or selectively transitive, i.e., direct terminatives.

§10:3. The *first causative* makes a transitive from an intransitive: "causes it to be . . ." (the condition denoted by the intransitive), e.g., *kaša-ni* "becomes loose" > *ki-kaša-nia* "loosens it." Usually the first causative must be learned along with its primary as a lexical item, the formation being various (sometimes irregular) as follows: 1) thematics in *-ni, -wi* often by *-i* > *-a*. 2) some others by *-i* > *-a*. 3) verbs in *-iwi* > *-owa*. These (1, 2, 3) are simply pairs of parallel ablaut verbs in *-i* and *-a*, and either or both forms could be considered primary. From the standpoint of general pattern consistency and also the historical standpoint the *-i* forms ap-

⁹ It should also be said that the reflexive pronominal reference often has a medio-passive sense and, while formally a transitive, it is much used as the semantic equivalent of intransitivizing a transitive; but it is not formally a voice.

pear more secondary (iotizations), but from the standpoint of applying the causative technique they are the primary. 4) by either *-i* or *-a* > *-ia* (this is common, even for thematic verbs in *-ni*). 5) by contraction *+tia*, 6) by *-⁰ltia*. Passives in *-lo* are transitivized by method 5, the contraction of *-lo* yielding this same form *-ltia*, which form has probably spread by analogy and become an independent suffix. 7) a few in *-o* and *-owa* > *-wia*. 8) some quite irregular, but ending in *-tia*, *-lia*, *-wia*; several show *-lowa* > *-ločtia*.

§10:4. The *second causative* uses methods 4, 5, 6, 7, or 8 to make a verb already transitive into a two-object transitive, "causes him (or it) to . . . it": *ki-či-wa* "makes it" > *ki-či-waltia* "makes him make it, makes him do it." If the prefixes referring to the two objects would be the same, only one is used, if *ki-kim*, only *kim* is used, otherwise both are used. In combinations with another objective prefix the indefinites and the reflexive are always the object of the lexeme idea, e.g., *ki⁰la-či-waltia* "makes him make something"; apparently one cannot say "make someone make it." Transitives of over two syllables in *-owa* use method 7 > *-wia*, most others 6 (*-ltia*), some 4, 5, 8.

§10:5. The *applicative* converts a transitive into a two-object transitive with direct and indirect objects (indirect in sense of "to, for"), with prefixes used as in the second causative, e.g., *ki-či-wilia* "makes it for him," *ki⁰la-či-wilia* "makes something for him." The formative methods are: a) most often, iotization, and to the result *-⁰lia* (this may be denoted *-lia*). b) verbs in *-lowa*, *-rowa*, > *-lwia*, *-rwia*. c) sometimes *-⁰ltia* like (6) for causatives. d) sometimes aside from (b) like (7) for causatives. e) a few quite irregular, e.g., *k-i[?]towa* "say it" > *k-i[?]talwia* "says it to him." In methods (b), (c), (d) the applicative would be like the second causative, but these are mostly verbs in which second causative would not be used, or *-⁰lia* may be added, giving applicatives in *-lwilia*, *-litlia*, *-wilia*. The verbs *k-ilwia* "says it to," *ki-maka* "gives it to," *ki-nanankilia* "answers (it to) him" are applicatives without underlying direct forms.

§10:6. The *reverential* is the use of a two-object transitive in reflexive, making it equivalent to a one-object transitive, or of a first causative in reflexive, equating it to an intransitive. Thus to say "you walk" one would say "you cause yourself to walk." The idea seems to be "you deign to walk" and so indicates respect (see V §6). For a transitive reverential, with two-object transitive, the applicative is generally used rather than the second causative, e.g., *tikmo-ma-kištilis* "you will set him free (*-ma-kištia*)." The idea seems to be that here the *reflexive* object is the indirect one: "you will set him free for yourself," i.e., if you think it to your interest, "if you please," you will set him free. Suppletive reverential stems are used in the case of *yaw* "go" (> *mika*) and *ka* "be" (reflexive of *-e[?]ctika*, an auxiliary aspect in *-ka*). For reverential reflexives the regular reflexive is used suffixing *-⁰cinowa*, e.g., *timo-⁰alycinos* "you will sit down (seat yourself)."¹⁰

¹⁰ The source of this form seems to be a verb *-cinowa* meaning "apply the suffix *-cin* to, treat politely or considerately."

9. THE DERIVATIONAL SYSTEM

§1. Derivation.

§1:1. In Aztec the derivation of lexemic classes (parts of speech) from other ones, or of one lexemic subclass from another, is of great importance, in contrast to Hopi, where it is of little importance. In fact the extent of derivation and the huge vocabulary built up out of a small number of roots is perhaps the outstanding characteristic of Aztec.

§1:2. Definition. For the purposes of Aztec, derivation may be defined as formation from a relative primary of a secondary such that there is a change in lexemic class or subclass and that from the secondary may be formed a tertiary that restores the original class or subclass but not the equivalent of the original primary. To illustrate from English, though the definition is not framed for English, from the primary "care," a noun, may be formed the secondary "careful," which is a derivative because it is an adjective and because it can yield the tertiary "carefulness" which is a noun but not the equivalent of the original "care." An example of class change which is not derivation in this sense is the Hopi annex-verbation, which makes a noun or adjective formally equivalent to a verb, but which verb cannot be reconverted to noun or adjective without removing the annex-verbation and restoring the original noun or adjective. The Aztec derivational processes are so coordinated as to form practically one system. The terminative forms are in an ambivalent position by being part of this system as well as inflections of verbs; thus the first causative technique may be applied not only to verbs but to entitives also, forming derived transitive verbs, though the applicative may not be so applied.

§1:3. Types. The basic types of derivation will be denoted by formulas, e.g., the type (verb > entitive) by the formula V·E; these formulas will be used for brevity in referring to the types. The basic types, then, are:

V·V verb > verb—changing from one subclass of verb (V §1:2) to another; this has described under vb. terminatives.

V·E verb > entitive—yielding deverbal entitives, or participials; these are formally nouns, not adjectives.

E·E entitive > entitive—changing subclass, e.g., noun > adjective, or vice versa.

E·V entitive > verb—yielding de-entitive verbs.

§2. V·E Participials.

§2:1. Direct participial, noun of action and active state. a) regularly by ^olis, after which, as noun, λi. b) in certain irregular cases by ^os(λi), e.g., mi·ki "dies" > mi·kisλi "dying, death." When formed from a transitive the prefixes λa, te, or ne are generally used to imply the sort of objects to be understood; they become a fixed part of the new derived lexeme and are no longer operational prefixes, hence will not be hyphenated; e.g., k^wa "eat" > λak^walisλi "eating," tek^walisλi "man-eating; cannibalism"; miktia "kill" > λamiktisλi "killing (of animals)," temiktisλi

“murder,” *nemiktilisli* “suicide.” One may go on deriving from the new lexeme; thus by E-V, *la-temiktilistia* “causes something (e.g., explosives) to commit murder, kill someone,” from which could be formed still another noun, e.g., *latemiktilistikan* “place where things are caused to kill people”—a likely name for a mine-field, for instance! This participial answers to our abstract noun, e.g., *te-laso?la* “loves someone” > *te-laso?lalisli* or *laso?lalisli* “love” (when the root idea connotes chiefly people *te* is not always required), and it would seem to be also the name-form of the verb, corresponding to the Spanish infinitive used as name-form.

§2:2. Passive participial: a) regularly by contraction of the passive with nominal *-li* and inclusion in lexeme of indefinite prefix, e.g., *miktlo* “is killed” > *temiktilli* “someone killed,” or as modifier, or when combined with a noun in “reversed construction” (V §3:3), simply “killed.” From a passive not in *-lo*; e.g., *pepeno* “is chosen” > *lapepenli* “thing chosen.” b) often when the passive is not in *-lo* but the direct voice is in *-Ca*, this participial is formed in *-alli* as if from such a passive. c) sometimes irregular, e.g., *k*ik*wi* “carve” > *lak*ik*wiλ* “thing carved.” This participle may also have the meaning “suitable to be . . . ed,” e.g., *lak*alli* “food” as well as “thing eaten.” If verbs are rederived from these participials by E-V they will end in *-ltia*, *-tia*, or *-lowa* and be related to the original verbs as second causatives; this is probably the source of these second causative suffixes.

§2:3. Agentive participial, or agentive, by *-ni*, one of the types of nouns not taking *-λ(i)*. Formed from a transitive it usually attaches the indefinite prefixes, except that for reflexive it uses *mo* instead of *ne*: *lak*ani* “eater,” *tek*ani* “man-eater; cannibal,” *temiktiani* “murderer,” *momiktiani* “suicide (person).” It means either immediate or customary agent, and as modifier like an English present participle, e.g., *weckani siwanton* “the laughing girl”; as predicate substantive it is often equivalent to the English adjective, e.g., *kone-λ ko-sa mawiltiani* “the child is much the player, is very playful.” A subtype of agentive is the *instrumentive*, or agentive of a passive, a noun denoting nonpersonal instrument or means, e.g., *-teki* “cut” > passive *teko* > *tekoni* or *latekoni* “means by which something is cut, knife.” Also *-loni*, originating from the *-lo* passive, may be used as instrumentive suffix on reflexives, e.g., *-ilpia* “bind,” *mo-lpia* “binds, girds himself” > *nelpiloni* “means of girding oneself, belt” (no longer a strict agentive, it takes *ne* instead of *mo*). Agentives are also formed by *-ki*, pl. *-ke?*, often on contracted stem, e.g., *-piya* “have, keep” > *lapiški* “keeper, guard, soldier,” pl. *lapiške?*.

§2:4. Place participials. The suffixes *-⁰kan*, *-⁰lan*, *-yan* or *-ya* applied in the now familiar V-E technique form nouns denoting place of action or state, e.g., *te-lamačtia* “delights one” > *te-lamačtikan* “where it delights one, (at the) delightful spot”—like all Aztec place names these contain an adverbial or locative-case sense. The *-yan* or *-ya* is also used on passive bases to denote “instrumentive place,” place used for a purpose or instrument which provides a place for the

action, e.g., pa·ko "is washed" > λapa·koyan "place for washing things, washbowl, etc."; mo·λalia "sits" > neλaliloa "sitting-place, seat, chair."

§2:5. Compounding with participials. Participials are freely used in compounds, and modifying nouns usually represent subjects of intransitives and objects of transitives, e.g., for the former tonalli "sun," kisa "go forth" > tonalkisayan "where the sun rises, east." With modifier representing object the λa or te are usually omitted since a definite incorporated object has been substituted for the indefinite one, e.g., ikšiλ "foot" + (-λa)pa·koyan > ikšipa·koyan "place, bowl, for foot-washing." See also V §3:3.

§3. E-E. The following list is representative and incomplete. Superscript ^r means that the suffix usually replaces λ(i); otherwise it usually adds to the latter. 1) ·k adjective, meaning usually "having quality of": seλ "ice" > setik "cold." (The noun as modifier has more than meaning of "pertaining to.") Many adjectives are of this form though the base does not occur free, e.g., kostik "yellow," etik "heavy." 2) ·yo·λ (with morphophonemic changes, ·lo-, ·o-) noun, name of the quality of the primary, e.g., k^ralli "good" > k^ralloλ "goodness"; kostikayoλ "yellowness" (see VII §4:2). 3) ·wa?, ·yo? (and ·o?) noun, person having the primary or its quality. 4) ·lan, ·kan, ·yan noun "(at) place of": a·weweλ "cypress" (*Taxodium* sp.) > a·wewetiλan "(at) cypress grove." In a sense these are not derivatives (they do not change subclass) but the special case in which case-suffixes are applicable to nouns, however they are conveniently treated here. 5) ·teka·λ, ·^rteka·λ noun, person living at or native of the place of the primary, gentilic modifier (the ·tec of Aztec, Zapotec, Mixtec, etc.).

§4. E-V de-entitive verbs: 1) ·a added after λ(i) forms a transitive, usually with causative sense, which when reflexive may mean producing the thing denoted by the base: teλ "stone; egg" > ki·tetiā "stone-izes it, rigidifies it," mo·tetiā "lays egg(s)." 2) ·owa, replacing λ(i) on C-ending and contracted stems, forms similar transitives, also transitives meaning using the thing in question upon something, or if reflexive, simply using it. This suffix converts the borrowed Spanish infinitive, treated as a noun, into an Aztec verb.¹¹ There are other such formatives, while compounding of entitives with verbs of somewhat general meaning, e.g., λalia "put, set," ·keca "put upright," ·te·ka "lay, pour," ·či·wa "make," is much used as a quasi-derivative process, yielding verbs with meanings more precisely related to the base than the regular de-entitives. A feature which should be mentioned is the compounding of ·neki "want" with the future of another verb as if the latter were a noun, which I believe is the only case in which a verb is used as antecedent

¹¹ Note that the causative inflections of verbs are simply de-entitive verbs made from entitive bases derived from the verb. By treating the verb stem or contracted verb stem as a noun to which is then added ·λ(i) (though there may be no such noun in isolation) it can be again verbified to yield the form in ·tia. Similarly, from the passive participial in ·lli come the forms in ·ltiā, ·lowa. It is also possible that the applicative in ·lia is derived from an entitive base in ·li which appears plus nominalizing ·s in the direct participial ·lisli.

in a compound without conversion to an entitive stem, e.g., *ki-či-wasneki* "wants to make it."

§5. Modifying prefixes. A small number of true prefixes, found as bound proposed elements only, are used in word building and are accessory to the derivational system, though formally the results of such prefixing are a type of compounds rather than true derivatives. The chief is *aʷ*, negative, which is much used, some ideas being given only in negative form, e.g., *akʷalli* for "bad" (or *amokʷalli* with *amo* "not," which is more common in MA). Much more numerous are certain entitive stems used in an extended meaning; e.g., *i-š*, stem of *i-šli* "face" is widely used in the sense of "external" somewhat like Latin *ex*; *yol*, root of *yollo* "heart, mind," in the sense of "mental" etc. Free prepositions and adverbs are also used as bound prefixes in a manner reminiscent of Indo-European, e.g., *neteč* "to each other" (case-suffix *-teč* on base *ne*) like Latin *inter*: Cl *netečewa* (lift to each other) "contend, quarrel." The free adverb *wel* "well, intensely, strongly" is used much like Greek *eu*, e.g., *łaneštia* "shine" > Cl *wellaneštia* "shine as well-polished, etc."

§6. The above is the barest sketch of this vast derivational system, which employs many other less frequent affixes and complicated ways of superposing derivatives, using of bases formed by contraction, and other operations not treated herein. The system is rather inactive in modern MA, due to the pressure of Spanish, the Indians preferring to use Spanish terms for new things and ideas instead of the power of free coinage given by the system. Nevertheless the impress of the system remains in the structure of the vocabulary and in a transparency of etymology and an effect of interrelatedness binding together the whole of the vocabulary. In Cl times the system was fully alive and in active use. For seemingly many centuries the building of words had gone on till much of the original Utaztecan vocabulary had been superseded by new syntheses. Probably the majority of all lexical items is derived ultimately and to a large extent transparently from 200 or fewer roots, which in turn are largely, even without using Utaztecan comparisons, clearly reducible to a much smaller number of subradical elements. I have used the term "oligosynthetic" to denote a lexicon of this type. The vocabulary of modern chemistry with its vast number of names coined from a comparatively few roots and affixes, would also be an example of oligosynthesis.

10. SYNTAX OF CLAUSES AND PHRASES

§1. Section V dealt with word classes and certain general principles of sentence syntax and phraseology, such as conveniently precede the discussion of entitive and verb morphology. This section is a continuation of the syntactic discussion in V. It was noted in V that there are two types of major sentence, verbal and nonverbal. The nonverbal sentence is of limited use, principally for cases in which Spanish would use *ser*—except that unlike *ser* the nonverbal sentence cannot be conjugated, and to express aspect and tense distinctions must be changed to

a verbal one, using perhaps *ka* "is," which is not wholly similar to *estar*, or perhaps *mo-kawa* "remains," *mani* "extends, lies," *ikak* or *mo-keca* "stands," etc.

§2. Clauses.

§2:1. Major sentences consist of one or more main clauses with or without one or more dependent clauses, or they may consist only of linked clauses, all equally dependent. Except when a main clause begins a sentence or follows a beginning clause that is marked as dependent, and often even in these cases, a main clause begins with the type of conjunction called introducer. A verb not preceded by such an introducer and occurring in the midst of a sentence (except in special cases noted presently) constitutes a dependent clause, e.g., *wan o-ne·č-ilwik ki-piya lao·lli* "and (*wan*, introducer) he said to me (*-ilwia* "say to") that it held (lit. "holds," *-piya*) corn." When an introducer is followed by an entitive and then two or more verbs, it is the type of sentence consisting simply of linked clauses, in which it may be merely a matter of translation which we consider main, e.g., *wan i·non kone·λ o-nik-i·ctiaya o·k-ik ci·cikicin* "and that child *whom* I was watching (*-i·ctia*) drank (*-i* "drink") a little bit," or "and that child I was watching her as she drank a little bit." In such linkage without explicit connective words the nature of the connection is of course left rather vague, just as it would be in a gerund type of linkage, which Aztec, at least MA, does not use. For more explicit connection dependent clauses may be begun (and are so begun if they start sentences) with the other type of conjunction, the connective, or with a relative entitive (who, etc.). If such a marked dependent clause begins a sentence the next verb constitutes a main clause without needing an introducer.

§2:2. Introdurers. Some of the common main-clause introdurers are:

<i>i·wan</i> , <i>wan</i>	and	<i>sani·man</i>	and then, next
<i>ni·man</i>	then	<i>pwes</i> , <i>pos</i>	so, well
<i>san</i>	only, but	<i>no·</i> , <i>no· i·ki</i>	also
<i>a·ša·n</i> ¹²	now	<i>noso</i>	or

§2:3. Connectives. Some common dependent-clause connectives are:

<i>para</i> , <i>inik</i>	with future; so that, in order to	<i>i·k·ak</i> , <i>k·ak</i> <i>i·man</i> , <i>i·ma</i>	when, whenever when, while
<i>para</i>	with nonfuture; inasmuch as	<i>la·?</i> <i>ka·li</i>	if who, whom
<i>kampa</i>	where, at which	<i>ke</i>	like Spanish <i>que</i>

§2:4. Tense-aspects in clauses. The tense-aspect of a dependent verb is not controlled by an absolute view of time but by the sort of distinction between the situation which it describes and the situation described by the verb of the main clause or the verb of the preceding linked clause. In this distinction as treated by

¹² Cl *aškan*.

Aztec, aspect is more important than absolute time and the aspect feature in the tense-aspect of the dependent verb is rather to the fore. A distinction that may be called *modality* is also important. There are two modalities, future and nonfuture. Future modality is expressed by the simple future tense-aspect (rarely by the imperfective future) and includes the meaning not only of future time but of purpose, end, goal, desire, wish, intention, assumption, or hypothesis. Whenever this future modality appears, which usually is in dependent clauses, the tense feature of the verb is future. The greatest variety of dependent clauses occurs in narrative type of discourse when the main verb is in the preterite. In that case we have this general scheme:

to express	tense-aspect of dependent clause
1) nondurative event following main-clause event	—preterite
2) nondurative or static event concurrent with main-clause event	—simple present
3) durative event begun prior to main-clause event	—imperfective (present or past)
4) durative event beginning with or after m-c event	—imperfective future
5) "future modality" dependent on main-clause event	—simple future

Continuative auxiliary aspect in *-ka* and other durative secondary aspects may replace imperfective. If the main verb is simple present the scheme is generally similar with certain shifts to bring tense-features into line; thus the dependent clause in 1) is either simple present or simple future, in 2) and 3) unchanged, with the added possibility of a nondurative event completed before the main-clause event denoted by preterite or perfective. If the main verb is imperfective there is another readjustment of the general scheme, as likewise if it is future.

§2:5. Use of connectives. In MA *para* seems to be the most common connective by far. With the future it expresses purpose much as in Spanish with the infinitive, e.g., *wan ki-λalia i-pan le-cinλi para k^wak^walakas* "and he puts it (-λalia) on the fire to (that it may) boil" (future frequentative of thematic verb *k^wala-*). With nonfuture *para* indicates a vague contingent relation like an Indo-European participle or gerund clause, e.g., *sani-man o-ni-tek^wle^wkok para o-nik-i-ckik oksenteλ o^wλi* "next I circlingly-climbed (*tek^wle^wko*) *having taken* (inasmuch as I took, *para +i-ckia*) another road." Another interesting example is *ko-sa n-e-wa k^walkan para ni-yaw nik-k^wis i-non ne-k^wa-λ* "extremely (*ko-sa*) I rise (*n-e-wa*, colloquial abbreviation of *nin-ewa*) early (*k^walkan*) inasmuch as I go (*yaw*) to get (*-k^wi*) (that I may get) that maguey-sap," i.e., "I rise very early because I go out to get that maguey-sap." Here a *para* is omitted, as it usually may be, from a clause, in this case the future clause of purpose. A relative clause is often indicated only by context plus the fact that the noun subject or object of a marked main clause stands before the dependent verb, as in an example above (§2:1, *wan i-non kone-λ* etc.). Or again such a clause may be linked by a relative entitive, e.g., *wan kone-λ o-ki-tilan ša^wšalo^wton ka^wλi*

o'ki-piyaya nek^wli "and the child pulled (tila-na, thematic verb) the little mug which (ka^wli) held (-piya) the pulque."

§3. Entitive phrases. Entitive phrases, i.e., sequences of grammatically inter-coordinated words other than verbs, are of the following main types: 1) two or more entitives, the last a substantive, the others modifiers (V §3:1). 2) two or more entitives and/or pronouns in apposition. 3) an entitive preceded by a preposition. 4) entitives and/or pronouns linked by conjunctions. 5) noun of possessor followed by construct of noun possessed, e.g., "John his-book." An adjective ordinarily precedes as a modifier the noun it refers to, forming a phrase of type (1), but in special cases it may be placed after its noun, in which case it is formally a substantive entitive in apposition, type (2). This order may be used to link the adjective to following words in a phrase or clause, e.g., pwes i'non ičkaλ ki-λapalwia[?] kà λapalli čì-čiltik (adj.) wan li'ltik (adj.) ki-čì-waltia[?] "then that wool they dye with dye scarlet and black which they develop (or fix on the wool, -čì-waltia "cause it to make")." An adjective with a construct noun is usually bound to it as a compound: i-λi-llapal "his black dye." Adjectives borrowed from Spanish are usually placed after the noun.

§4. Verb phrases.

§4:1. A verb phrase, i.e., a sequence of grammatically inter-coordinated words including a verb or verbs, not including subject, object, or conjunctions, and not forming more than one clause, is chiefly of the types: 1) verb and adverb or adverbial, 2) verb preceded by preposition (uncommon in MA), 3) two or more parallel verbs.

§4:2. In (1) the adverb or adverbial regularly precedes verb but may sometimes occur after it for connecting with the next phrase or clause. The adverbial is easily formed from a noun by adjectival derivation, and in Cl served as a sort of general oblique case, and especially instrumental case, of the noun, e.g., tekolli "charcoal" > tekoltika λa-^wk^wilowa "charcoalwise he writes, he writes with charcoal."

§4:3. 2) is the relic of a construction common in Cl, in which a preposition expressing relation of its object to the action of a verb was placed before the verb and its noun-object after the verb; thus "falls into water" was literally "into falls water," i pan weci a λ.

§4:4. 3) is the "twin verb" construction discussed in V §4:2. It is distinguished from verbs forming successive clauses by close similarity of meanings in the verbs and identical inflections (except for possible difference as to reflexive prefix, which might be medio-passive with one verb and lacking with the other), also any short adverbs are usually repeated. Two verbs so juxtaposed form a close semantic association and are like a verbal compound: ko'sa ni-λaokoya ko'sa nino-tekipačowa "greatly I sorrow and grieve."

§5. Adverbs. Aztec has a large number of adverbs which express time, place,

etc. rather in the modern European manner, and also some expressing modal nuances that in the European manner are denoted by auxiliary verbs. These in MA tend to be negative in form, e.g., *awelli* "cannot," *ayewelli* "can no longer," but instead of the implied **welli* "can," I have found actual verbs "is able," "knows," etc. Many adverbs have a negative form in *av*. "Not" and "no!" are both *amo*.

§6. Interjections and clichés. Aztec interjections are remarkable only for their rarity compared to many languages. But polite phrases, clichés, and sentence-condensations abound. A few of the most serviceable are: *ke-ma* "yes," *amo* "no," *laso?kamat i* "thank you" (II §4:2), *m-i-špāncinko* lit. "in your (august) presence" = please excuse me, with your permission, etc., *šimo-pāno!ti* "please proceed," "that's all right," etc.—reply to the one preceding.

11. NOTES ON THE TEPOZTLÁN DIALECT

§1. This dialect (T) differs from MA appreciably, especially in phonology. The differences are such as to indicate that T does not, like MA, stem from the Cl of the Mexico City vicinity, but from a different branch of Aztec. The outstanding differences may be summed up as follows:

§2. Prosodics. 1) *p*, *m*, *w*, *t*, *n*, *k* after accented short vowel are geminated. 2) Although accent is normally penultimate it tends to shift forward in certain phrasal groups. The tone patterns, while generally similar, do not occur in the same way; the pattern high-low occurs on words ending in *V* and is not universal on those ending in *C*.

§3. Phonemics. 1) *š* is a cacuminal *s* with a suggestion of untrilled voiceless *r* (though *č* is not cacuminal, but the ordinary sound, as in MA). 2) *ʔ* is nearly or quite *h* (perhaps always *h* before *C*). 3) *k* is not spirantized before *C* as in MA. 4) word-final *n* is less lightened than in MA but has closure farther back than in other positions, and after *e*, *i* especially in rapid speech may be almost or quite *ŋ*. 5) syllable-final *w* is lacking, see §4(1). 6) *ao* is lacking, replaced by *ayo*, but *eo* exists.

§4. Morphophonemics. 1) *w* becoming secondarily word-final *>n*;¹³ sec. before *C* *>ʔ* (or *h*), e.g., *ki-či-wa* *>* pret. *o'ki-či'n*, pret. plur. *o'ki-či'ʔkeʔ* (this last also MA, but T applies it to all cases, e.g., *ki-senkawa* *>* *o'ki-senka'ʔkeʔ*, MA *o'ki-senkawkeʔ*). The other important morphophonemic rules are as in MA.

§5. Morphology, syntax, and vocabulary. On the whole these are much as in MA but with less intrusion of Spanish features; native conjunctions are used instead of the continual *para* of MA. There is comparatively little Spanish vocabulary and more archaic words are preserved; in vocabulary, T is more like Cl than

¹³ Probably the historical reason for this change is that many of the noninitial *w*'s of Aztec, including probably the final *-w* of the construct of *w*-class nouns, come from Utaztecan **ŋw*, which in the branch represented by T could have become *n* when word-final, the pattern then being extended to all *w*'s.

is MA, though structurally it is much further from Cl. The centrifugal aspect suffixes are ·tin, plur. ·tiwa, pret. ·ta instead of ·tiw, ·tiwe?, ·to; probably the centripetal is analogous. A form of the Cl optative occurs like the imperative, but with the indicative subject prefixes and the adverb ma or man (this may also exist in MA but is not common). "What?" is λen where MA would use λaon. The indefinite article is usually sente; MA prefers senteλ.