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A Grammar of South Eastern Huastec, a Mayan Language from Mexico

Volume 1

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Abstract

This dissertation consists of a description of the South Eastern Huastec grammatical features: Phonology, Morphology, Syntax and expression of Space. South Eastern Huastec is a Mayan language spoken by about 12 thousand people in the area of the mountain range Sierra de Otontepec, in the north of the state of Veracruz, Mexico. The highest concentration of speakers is found in the village of San Francisco, Municipality of Chontla. South Eastern Huastec has not been passed to the new generations for about 25-30 years; children do not speak this language any more. It is difficult to find anybody younger than 30 who can speak it.

This is the first grammatical description of South Eastern Huastec. This descriptive work is based on the 12 months of field work and the documentation program that has been financed by a SOAS HRELP grant, an 8-month Mexican government scholarship and financial support from the DDL University of Lyon 2, France.

South Eastern Huastec is of a particular interest for Mayan linguistics as well as for linguistic theory in general. This language is the only Mayan language that has developed a particularly interesting person marking: it has a unique pattern of an Ergative system with embedded inverse alignment; South Eastern Huastec has a very elaborate Middle voice developed from the Proto-Maya antipassive. Apart from this, HSF has other features that are of a high typological interest: this language does not have directionals (like Yucatec) or serial verbs, and as a consequence it sequences events.

South Eastern Huastec is a language with several features of interest. This dissertation represents a detailed description of its grammatical structure. Chapters 2 to 11 take a semasiological approach as they are based on the HSF grammatical structure, and

Chapter 12 is based on a cognitive function of this language. This is the outline of this grammar's chapters: Chapter 1 describes the HSF Phonology, while Chapter 2 outlines word classes, Chapter 3 Verbal Morphology and Chapter 4 Nominal Morphology. Personal marking is particularly interesting in this language; details on this topic are found in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 deals with HSF valency-decreasing operations, and Chapter 7 with HSF valency-increasing operations. In Chapter 8 the HSF basic clause structure is described; Chapter 9 is dedicated to complex predication, and Chapter 10 to complementation. HSF complex sentences are outlined in Chapter 11, and Space in Chapter 12. HSF stories, a dictionary, details on the language documentation project and the HSF teaching materials, as well as a summary in French are found in Volume 2 of this dissertation.

Abbreviations

A	absolute
ABST	abstractive derivational morpheme
AP	antipassive voice
CAUS	causative morpheme
COL	collective derivational morpheme
COM	completive verbal aspect
DEF	determinator ('definite article')
DEM	demonstrative
DM	derivational morpheme
E	ergative
Ep	ergative plural
EP	epenthesis
FUT	future
GEN	generic derivational morpheme
HON	honorific determinator
HUM	human determinator
HUS	Huastec of Veracruz
HSF	Huastec of San Francisco/South Eastern Huastec
HVA	Huastec of San Luis Potosi
INC	incompletive verbal aspect
INCHOA	inchoative
INT	intensifier

irr	irregular
IRR	irrealis subordinator/complementiser, irrealis particle
MID	middle voice
NM	nominal modifier
PASS	passive voice
POSIT	positional
PERF	perfect verbal aspect
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PPL	participle
prep	preposition
PROGR	progressive
QUOT	quotative
R	realis subordinator/complementiser
RED	reduplication
REL	relative
Sp	loan from Spanish
SPEC	speculative
SP	stative participle
TS	transitive suffix
1,2,3	person, singular
1p,2p,3p	person, plural

Introduction

This is a grammar of South Eastern Huastec, a language of great interest for the Mayan family. Here it is documented and described for the first time. This Introduction places the language in its Mexican and Mayan contexts, first outlining its position within the Huastecan complex and then the position of this branch within the family. It then surveys the previous studies of the Huastecan languages, before presenting the organization of the thesis and outlining the contents of the two volumes.

1 South Eastern Huastec, Language and People

South Eastern Huastec (Ethnologue code HSF, according to its alternative name Huastec of San Francisco) is a Mayan language of Mexico. It is spoken as a native language by people in the village of San Francisco Chontla, and surrounding towns in the north of the state of Veracruz, Mexico, in the region called La Huasteca (see map 1).

South Eastern Huastec/Huastec of San Francisco is called by yet another name, Huastec of Sierra de Otontepec, according to the mountain range in the area where it is spoken. This name was first mentioned in Kaufman (1985), and later by Norcliffe (2003). Huastec itself also has alternative spellings: Waxtec, Huaxtec, Huastek. In this grammar, the language will be called South Eastern Huastec, with the traditional spelling used in Mexico (Huastec), and it will be referred to by the code HSF.

The endonym of Huastec is **Teenek**. That is how the Huastec people refer to themselves and their language. Edmonson (1988:21) believes that the term **Teenek** derives from the verb **te'en** *smile, laugh*, plus the noun **inik** *man*, meaning '*the smiling people*,' for their smiling faces. Grosser Lerner also mentions that the speakers of Huastec refer to their languages as Teenek and explains the term as a combination of the adverb **tehee'** or **tee'** *here* plus **inik** *man*, '*the man of here*' (1991:18).

South Eastern Huastec has never before been described or documented. This language is considered endangered because it is no longer transmitted to new generations; there is hardly anyone under 30 years of age who can speak it. Its usage is very restricted: it is used by mature people only within the family and among friends, and sometimes in social interactions in local shops. HSF has never been taught in schools.

Huastecan culture and contemporary lifestyle are described in detail in the book *Thunder Doesn't Live Here Any More*, by cultural anthropologist Anath Ariel de Vidas (2005). Her description is based on several years of living closely with Huastec people of western Veracruz, in the Tantoyuca area, where the Huastec of Veracruz (HUS) variant is spoken. This book reflects the Huastec of Veracruz beliefs and lifestyle from about twenty years ago; the Ethnology of the Huastec people of Sierra de Otontepec has never been researched, but without doubt, it is very similar to the one described in Ariel de Vidas (2005). However, it seems that not much of the traditional life described in this work remains in the area today.

1.1 The Huastecan Branch of Mayan Languages South Eastern Huastec (HSF) is one of the three known varieties of Huastecan languages; together with Huastec of San Luis Potosí (HVA) and Huastec of Veracruz (HUS) it forms the Huastecan branch of the Mayan languages. According to Kaufman (1985: 473), the

three main variants may have diversified about 400 years ago. The fourth member of this group is the extinct Chicomuceltecó (COB).

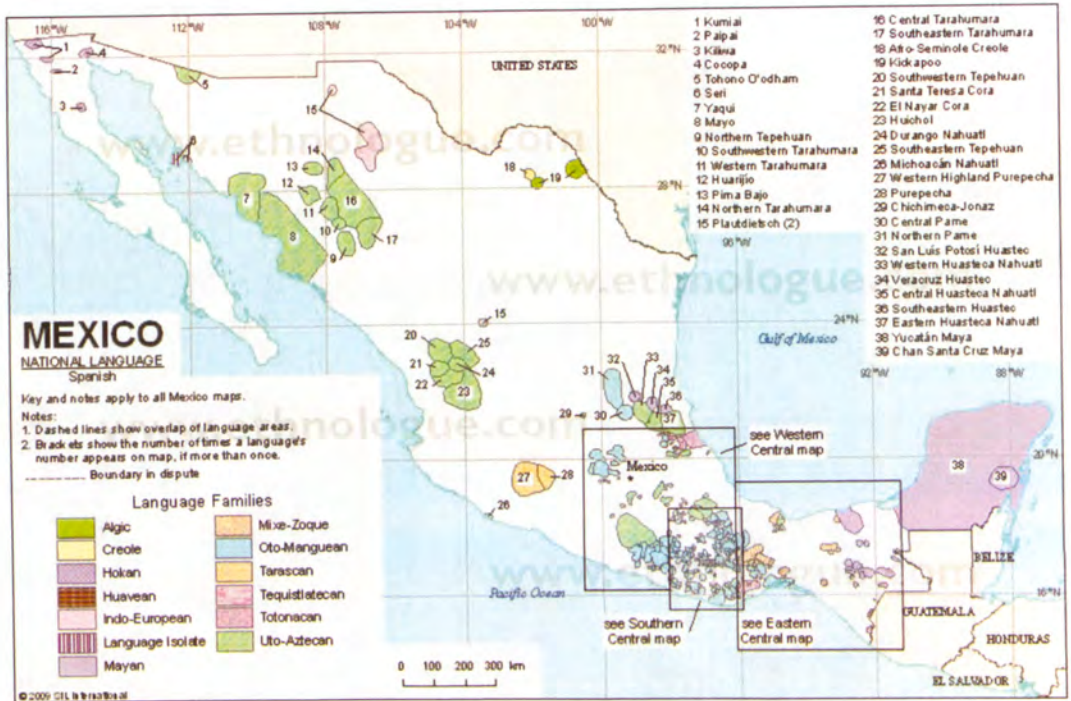
1.1.1 Location The Huastecan languages are spoken in the states of Hidalgo, Veracruz, San Luis Potosí, Puebla and Tamaulipas (Kaufman 1985: 473-474), an area which is situated rather far from the rest of the Mayan languages:



Map 2: Location of Mayan Languages

The above map shows the Mayan territory in green. It is easily noticeable that the Huastecan branch in Mexico is located very far from the rest of the compact Mayan area (South Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, and parts of Honduras and El Salvador).

The Ethnologue map of Mexican indigenous languages from 2009 (Map 3 below) identifies three varieties of Huastecan: Huastec of San Luis Potosí (HVA) is shown under reference number 32, Huastec of Veracruz (HUS) under number 34 and Huastec of San Francisco/South Eastern Huastec (HSF) under number 36.



Map 3 : Ethnologue 2009 Map of Mexican Indigenous Languages

It should be noted that the name 'Huastec of San Luis Potosí' refers to the Mexican state of San Luis Potosí and not the capital of that state of the same name. The same applies to 'Huastec of Veracruz'; it refers to the state of Veracruz, not to the city of Veracruz.

1.1.2 Number of Speakers of Huastecan Languages According to the 2010 Mexican Census, there are a total of 166,952 Huastec people. However, it is difficult to obtain an exact number of speakers of each of the particular Huastecan languages. The variety with the most speakers is spoken in the state of San Luis Potosí (HVA), with around 70,000 speakers (Ethnologue, according the Census 1990). The central Veracruz variety (HUS) is spoken by 22,000 people (Norcliffe 2003, INALI's website, Wikipedia) in the northern part of the state of Veracruz (places which include Tempoal and Tantoyuca). For South Eastern Huastec, some sources estimate that there are about 12,000 speakers (Kaufman 1985, Norcliff 2003). According to Kaufman (1985: 473), this language is spoken in seven towns in the Sierra de Otontepec area, in the north of the state of Veracruz: Chontla, Tantima, Tancoco, Chinampa, Naranjos, Amatlan, and Tamiahua. Some local sources from the Municipality of Chontla state that

there are 3,000 speakers of this language in the area; Ethnologue states that there are 1,750 speakers of the HSF language.

1.2 Huastecan : Languages or Dialects?

There is a question as to the status of the members of the Huastecan branch, whether they are to be considered as languages or dialects. They are generally called “variants” without further explanation. It is largely agreed that there are three variants: HVA, HUS and HSF, and that, according to Kaufman (1985), diversified about 400 years ago.

The question is whether they are (a) three independent languages, (b) two independent languages, with one of the variants as a dialect of another, or (c) the three variants are all dialects of one language. Before 2009, Ethnologue stated that there were three individual languages, HVA, HUS and HSF. However, in January of 2009, Ethnologue merged all three languages into one, and added ISO code, ISO 639-3-hus, the same for all the three languages, and ISO 639-3-cob for Chicomuceltec (the extinct member of the Huastecan branch). This merging happened, as stated by Ethnologue, on a request by several Mayan linguists. (Their letters can be seen on the Ethnologue website under “code change history documentation.”)

The INALI (Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas) in Mexico City states that the Huastecan branch of the Mayan languages has three ‘variants’ (Western, Central and Eastern), without specifying if they are taken to be languages or dialects. Wikipedia also gives three varieties for Huastec, agreeing with INALI in calling them Western (spoken in the state of San Luis Potosí (HVA) by 48,000 people), Central (Central state of Veracruz (HUS), by 22,000), and Eastern (Otontepec area in the state of Veracruz (HSF), by 12,000). Interestingly, the Wikipedia.org page in French considers Huastec to be just one language, and does not mention any varieties or dialects, and gives it the code ISO 639-3-hus.

In the Mayan linguistic literature, this issue of variants of Huastecan languages has been treated on multiple occasions. Tapia Zenteno (1767: 2) identifies ‘regional differences.’ McQuown (1984: 85) does not mention any varieties: “The Huastec people (and the Huastec language) occupied and continue to occupy sizable portions of eastern San Luis Potosí and northern Veracruz.” A number of studies mention only two variants of Huastec with no mention of the variant of interest here (HSF). Ochoa (1984: 4)

identifies two varieties of Huastec – Potosí no, and Veracruzano. Edmonson (1988: 7) also mentions only “two closely related dialects,” which she also calls Potosí no and Veracruzano, (i.e. HVA and HUS). Constable (1989: 1) states that “Huastec is spoken by an estimated 73,000 people in “at least two dialects” – that spoken in SLP (the state of San Luis Potosí), and that spoken in the state of Veracruz. However, Kaufman (1985) states that “Huastec itself (Hua) has three dialects neatly distinguished from one another.” It seems that Ethnologue made their initial division on the basis of this statement by Kaufman. Robertson (1992: 213) talks of Huastec as one language (his data come from Chinampa, where the HUS variety is spoken), which is therefore compatible with the analysis of one language and three dialects for that language.

In the end, it would seem that South Eastern Huastec (HSF) is a variant of Huastec, one of three such variants, which are more identifiable as dialects than as languages. This is said on the basis of widespread statements of variants and dialects, the calculation made by Ethnologue of a high intelligibility percentage for the three varieties (HSF has 80% intelligibility with Veracruz Huastec (HUS), and the HUS intelligibility rate with HVA is 84%), and Kaufman’s estimation of 400 years of divergence. In this thesis, HSF will be called a “variant” of Huastec.

1.3 Another Huastecan Language: Chicomuceltec There is agreement that Chicomuceltec (COB) is another member of the Huastecan branch, and a language of its own. According to Kaufman (1980: 101), Huastec and Chicomuceltec are closely related, with about 1,000 years of divergence. However, the separation of Chicomuceltec and Huastec is still a puzzle for Mayan linguistics.

The language was studied in the twentieth century and seemed to still be spoken in the nineteen-fifties, but is now extinct (Campbell 1988, Norcliffe 2003). The field trips undertaken by Canger in 1970 and Campbell in 1972 and 1976 confirmed that Chicomuceltec was no longer spoken.

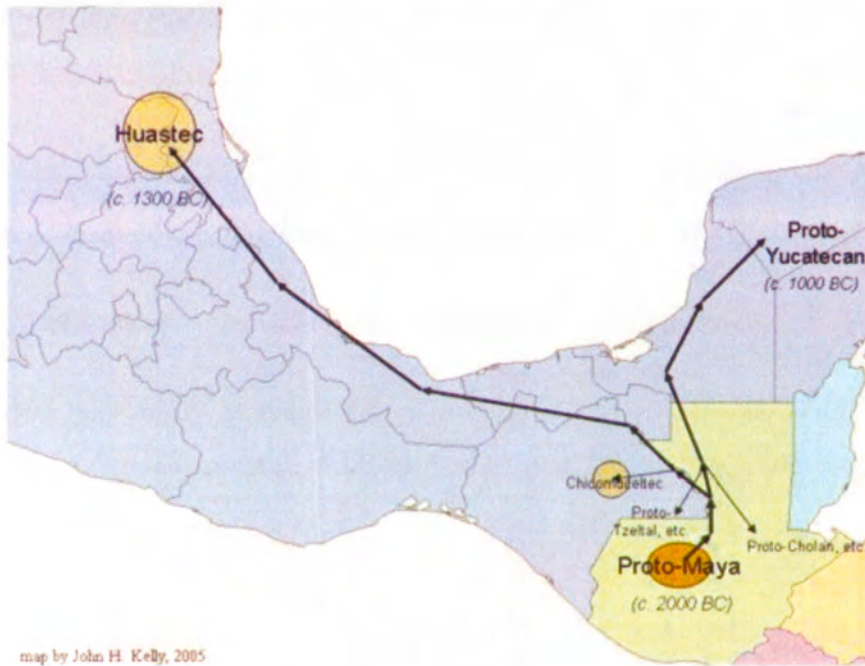
Chicomuceltec is sometimes referred to as *Cotoque*, but this name can cause confusion, as Kaufman uses *Cotoque* to refer to Motozintlec-Tuzantec (1976: 102). While Huastec is spoken in a territory that is very far from the Mayan homeland (Southern Mexico, Guatemala, Beliz, Honduras), Chicomuceltec was spoken in the Mexican state of Chiapas, closer to languages of other branches of the Mayan family.

2

Huastecan as Mayan

2.1 Huastec Split

According to Kaufman (1976: 106), Proto-Mayan was probably spoken in the Cuchumatán highlands of Guatemala (near Soloma, Huehuetenango) until ca. 2200 BC, when the Huastec people migrated north towards La Huasteca, around 1500 BC. This is illustrated by the following map:



Map 4: The Split of the Maya

The languages of the Huastecan branch seem not to be closely related to other Mayan languages, although some similarities are evident, for example, with Tseltalan or Yucatecan groups (Campbell 1977, Fox 1978). The Huastecan languages have grammatical characteristics that place them without doubt into a particular group within the Mayan languages. The vocabulary of Huastecan languages differs greatly from the vocabulary of the rest of the family. According to Kaufman (1980: 102), a typical

Mayan language will have about 500-600 common Mayan etyma, but Huastec has only about 300.

Sapper (1897) recognised early the relationship between Chicomuceltec and Huastec. Kroeber (1939) divided the family into ‘lowland’ and ‘highland’ subgroups, and provided more evidence for placing Chicomuceltec and Huastec into one group. Chicomuceltec shares many phonological, lexical and grammatical features with Huastec (Kaufman 1976: 111). The fact that both Chicomuceltec and Huastec have several Mixe-Zoquean and Zapotecan loan words² suggests the possibility that they existed together in the same area (Kaufman 1980). Kaufman (1980: 108) proposes a chronology of Huastec language-contact history based on the loan words found in Huastecan languages:

- (1) Pre-Olmec period ca. 1500 BC (early Mayan borrowing from Mixe-Zoque)
- (2) Olmec period, ca 1000-500 BC: a) contact with Mixe-Zoque (southern Gulf area), b) contact with Zapotecan
- (3) Classic period, 1 AD on ? : contact with languages of north-eastern Mexico (northern Gulf area),
- (4) Post-classic period, ca 1000 AD on ? : contact with Totonacan (central Gulf area)
- (5) Proto-historic period, 1400 AD on : contact with Nahua (Huastec area).
- (6) Colonial period, ca. 1525 on (Huastec area): contact with Spanish

2.2 Place of the Huastecan Branch in the Mayan Family. The classification of Mayan languages has received a lot of attention. There are five commonly accepted branches of the Mayan languages: Huastecan, Yucatecan, Cholan-Tzeltalan, Greater Q’anjobalan, and Eastern Mayan. Norcliffe (2003) outlines an early classification of Huastec, mentioning the following authors who have placed the Huastecan group of languages as a separate branch of the Mayan family: Charency (1870), Berendt (1876), Stoll (1884), and Gatschet (1985), who see Huastec as a “most archaic Mayan dialect” (Campbell 1978: 79). Halpern (1942) based his classification on the reconstructed Proto-Mayan phonology, and classified Huastec as a separate subgroup.

² HSF *pik’o’* < **bi’ku’* Zapotecan *dog*, HSF *bitxim* < Zapotecan *bijina deer*; from their northern neighbours Coahuiltec or Comecrudo: HSF *momop grandchild* < **mamou male first cousin* ; HSF *chemech die* < **tzam die* , from Comecrudo *kamau kill*; HSF *chiw squash* from proto-Mixean **tsi’wa gourd*, HSF *koy rabbit* from proto Mixe-Zoquean < **koya rabbit* (Wichmann 1995:272,359); Totonacan *kalam pumpkin*, *maax if*, etc

Kaufman’s classification of the Mayan languages (1976), presented below in Table 1, places Huastecan among the four branches of the family, with Yucatecan, Western Mayan, and Eastern Mayan. Campbell and Kaufman later, in 1985, presented Huastecan as one of five subgroups (with Yucatecan, and the two distinct Greater Tzeltalan and Greater Q’anjobalan, plus Eastern Mayan).

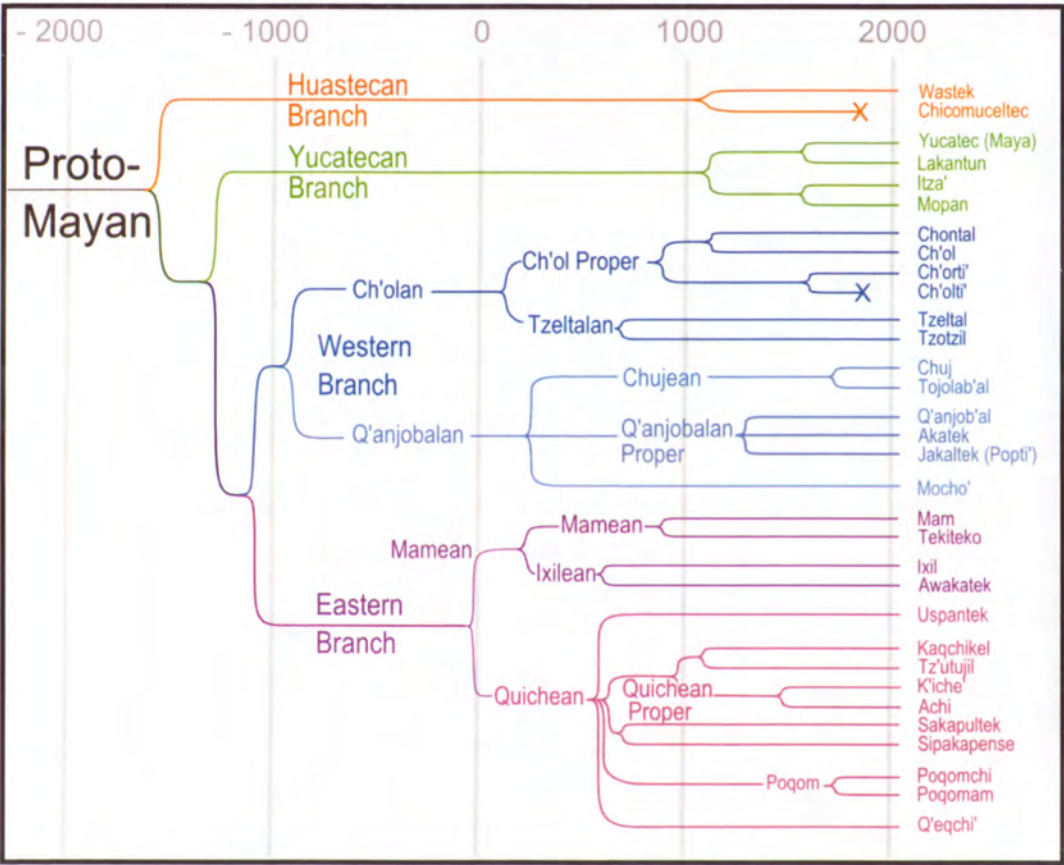


Table 1: Mayan Language Family According to Kaufman (1976).

There has been a long discussion about the separation of Huastec from Chicomuceltec, and from the rest of the Mayan family; basically, two hypotheses have developed, which vary according to the time of split and the dynamics between Chicomuceltec and Huastec.

Hypothesis 1: Early Split.

Kaufman (1964, 1969, 1972, 1976) argues that the Huastecan languages were the first to split off from Proto-Mayan around 2200 BC, and states that this language “has no known special relations with any other group of the Mayan family” (1976: 106). Kaufman also states that (1980: 101), the Huastec people may have stayed in the Huasteca region for about one thousand years, and the Chicomuceltec then split off from Huastec there. According to Campbell (1988), the Chicomuceltec remained in the Mayan area and the Huastec migrated to their present day location in the north east of Mexico, or else these two ethnic groups split somewhere in the middle.

Hypothesis 2: Contacts with the Cholan-Tzeltalan Branch.

Fox (1978)

placed Huastecan closer to the Tzeltalan and Cholan groups. Campbell (1977: 100) initially believed that Huastecan had a special relationship with the Cholan-Tzotzil languages, basing this belief on the fact that Huastecan shares phonological innovations with this subgroup. However, he later (Campbell 1985: 188) placed the Huastecan group as independent from these languages.

Robertson and Houston (2003) reject the theory accepted by McQuown, Swadesh and Kaufman that Huastec migrated away from the Maya common area 4,000 years ago. They believe that Huastec had geographic and linguistic contacts with the Cholan-Tzeltalan branch of Mayan languages. According to Robertson and Houston (2003), the Huastecan group of languages is ‘exceptionally innovative,’ and these innovations likely came from Proto-Mayan through the common Huastecan-Ch’olan language. They conclude that “this suggests that the Ch’olan-Tzeltalan area was the home land of the Huastec” (Robertson and Houston 2003: 719). They identify an interesting point without an answer, that Huastec is still very similar to Chicomuceltec, which suggests a shorter time of separation, meaning that these languages may have stayed in contact and maintained the similarities by frequent exchanges via the coast. The conclusion is that the Huastec separated from the Mayan family later than previously thought, as it demonstrates similarities with the Cholan-Tzeltalan group, proposing a common Cholan-Tzeltalan-Huastecan language community.

South Eastern Huastec has not been studied before. This is the first grammatical description of its grammatical system. Other languages of the same group have attracted more attention (Huastec of San Luis Potosí (HVA) or Huastec of Veracruz (HUS)). Early works on the Huastecan languages, before 2000, include the following:

The earliest work on Huastecan languages, mentioned by McQuown (1984), Edmonson (1988), Ochoa (1984), and Constable (1989), among others, is Tapia Zenteno's *Noticia de la lengua Huasteca* from 1767, reprinted by UNAM in 1985. It contains a vocabulary of about 2,000 words, grammar, a doctrine and a manual of sacraments in San Luis Potosí Huastec. *Doctrina Christiana* by Jesus de la Cruz (Mexico 1571) is another microfilmed old work. Some other early works on Huastec from the 16th century have not survived, such as *La Doctrina*, by Fray Juan de Guevara (1548), *La Doctrina y Atre*, by Fray Juan de la Cruz (1571), and *Arte, Vocabulario, Catecismo, Confesionario y Sermones*, by Fray Andres de Olmos.

An interesting sidenote is that a copy of the long lost book, which now seems to be the oldest source on Huastec, by Seberino Bernardo de Quiroz, *Arte y 'Bocabulario de la lengua Guasteca* from 1711, has been found in the Bibliothek des Ibero-Amerikanischen Instituts - Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin by Professor Bernhard Hurch. The old (handwritten) manuscript is still not in the catalogue there. The book was outlined in a presentation by Hurch at the 54th International Conference of Americanists in Vienna 2012. Another interesting work has recently been found by the same person in the same library: the second 'lost' manuscript mentioned by Viñaza (1892: 141), Edmonson (1988), Ochoa (1984) and Quiros (1711: 136), among others, namely the *Conversación en Lengua Huasteca*, (un-known author, early 17th Century) (Hurch, p.c.).

Stoll's Mayan dictionary published in Guatemala (1884), includes a list of Huastec words and a discussion about the place of Huastec in the Mayan family. Other dictionaries and word lists include those by Manuel Andrade (fieldwork notes from 1946) and Raymond Larsen (Huastec vocabulary from 1955). There is a translation of the New Testament in San Luis Potosí Huastec (HVA) by Raymond and Kay Larsen from 1984. Norman McQuown is author of a dictionary, morpheme list and a

grammatical sketch of the San Luis Potosí Huastec from 1984. Angela Ochoa wrote a grammatical sketch of Huastec of Xiloxuchil (HUV) in 1984, and there also exists a sketch of San Luis Potosí Huastec (HVA), by Eva Grosser-Lerner, from 1991.

A detailed study of the Huastec of Veracruz (HUV) basic clause was done in terms of Relational Grammar theory by Constable in 1989 (SIL, unpublished). Several articles by Kaufmann (1980, 1985) and Campbell (1988) deal with Huastec historical phonology. Larsen's and Pike's work was on Huastec intonation and phonemes (1949), and Nieves Noriega and Valinas's, on Huastec phonology in 1987.

A descriptive grammar of San Luis Potosí Huastec was written by Barbara Edmonson (unpublished PhD thesis) in 1988. It outlines the HVA Phonetics, Phonology and Morphosyntax. Robertson's (1992) study on Mayan TAM and Voice also briefly presents the Huastec (HVA) grammatical system (the colonial data in this work come from Tapia Zenteno (1767), and the modern Huastec data "come from the Chinampa Veracruz dialect of Huastec (HUS)," p.213). Robertson (1993) treats the origins and development of Huastec pronouns. Zavala (1994) wrote a detailed article on Huastec (HVA) Inverse Alignment, and Watatani on the HVA verbal complex (1995).

The most recent studies (after 2000), include Zavala's study of the Huastec (HVA) verbs of motion (2002), as well as Elizabeth Norcliffe (2003) Master in Linguistics at the University of Canterbury (New Zealand), "The Reconstruction of Proto-Huastecan," which had as an objective, a phonological and lexical reconstruction of Proto-Huastecan, using the comparative method. Norcliffe outlined the probable sound changes that took place in the evolution of the language from which Chicomuceltec and Huastec originated.

4 HSF Language Documentation and Description Project

This grammar is a result of a documentation program supported by a SOAS HRELP grant, Mexican Government scholarship and ALLED DDL ISH (University of Lyon 2, France) financial support. The objectives of this project were to create a comprehensive digital data base (audio, video and texts), to produce teaching materials, and to write a

descriptive grammar. The fieldwork, of a total of 12 months, was carried out over 4 years.

The thesis is organized into two volumes, the first one being a descriptive grammar of the language, and the second, a detailed description of the documentation program on which the grammar is based.

4.1 Volume 1: A Grammar of South Eastern Huastec (HSF). Volume 1 covers all areas of the grammar of this language. An account of basic Phonology and word classes is provided in the first two chapters of the grammar (Chapters 1 and 2). The next two chapters establish the verbal and the nominal morphology. The three chapters that follow attend to the core of the grammar, and deal with special topics of great interest for this language: one chapter (Chapter 5) details the HSF version of the complex person-marking system, including the challenge of an inverse transitive agreement system, as the most interesting trait of the Huastecan languages. The voices of this Mayan language are also amply described in two chapters (Chapters 6 and 7). This first (Chapter 6) describes the functioning of the three antipassives, the three passives and a middle voice unusual for a Mayan language. The next chapter, on valency-increasing operations (Chapter 7) concentrates on applicatives, which are interesting for various reasons; first the fact that there are two different applicatives in the language, and second, because they can accumulate in a verb form, and sometimes together with an antipassive as well.

The last part of the grammar is dedicated to the syntax of simple and complex sentences. Chapter 8 establishes the structure of basic clauses, including a demonstration of the rare free word order for a Mayan language, and the complexity of equative construction encoding kinship and other close relations. Chapter 8 also considers a special kind of cleft construction, particular to South Eastern Huastec, and lacking in other Huastecan languages.

The next chapters present different cases of complex structures. The first one (Chapter 9) is that of complex predication with auxiliaries and depictive secondary predication. The next ones cover different types of complex sentences, such as complementation (Chapter 10), and subordination and relative clauses (Chapter 11). The final chapter (Chapter 12) fulfils two functions: it provides a detailed description of the elements used for the expression of space in the language, including the Mayan elements of verbs

of motion, relational nouns and positionals, but focuses in the end on a special kind of complex sentence. It is the rare kind of event sequencing found in this language, very unlike the kinds of directional systems found across the Mayan family.

4.2 Volume 2 : South Eastern Huastec Narratives and Documentation-Related Data

The second Volume contains about one hundred pages of different HSF narratives (stories, descriptions, a song) as an illustration of the language. This is followed by a detailed description of the documentation project that was carried out over a period of four years (12 months of actual field work, in total) in the village of San Francisco Chontla, in the state of Veracruz, Mexico.

As this PhD project was done in Cotutelle, between the University of Sydney, Australia and the Université Lyon 2, France, fulfilling the requirement, one part of this grammar is presented in French. This part is placed in Volume 2. It is a translation of Chapter 5 on Person Marking, as typologically, it is the most interesting feature of this language. The French section also contains a sociological profile of South Eastern Huastec. A Spanish-Huastec thematic dictionary follows this section. Volume 2 ends with a collection of language maintenance materials, the first, written words in the language. These materials were produced as part of the project with a hope that they will be used by the future generations, at least partly, for language revitalisation efforts.

4.3 Codification of the Data

As much as possible the data used in the grammar come from the collection of HSF texts from the documentation section of the project. All descriptive statements are abundantly illustrated by examples from the data. Interesting illustrations of grammatical facts are cross-referenced throughout the grammar. The translation into English (or French) of the HSF texts and of the sentences used in the chapters of the grammar has been done directly from HSF and not from the translation of the original texts into Spanish provided by the speakers.

This grammar has been induced from all the data collected during the 12 months of fieldwork. During the fieldwork a large amount of data was collected, and a great

quantity of direct elicitation to complete or check analyses has been done. The origin of the data used for illustrating the grammatical points is given throughout the thesis so that their origin is easily identified. Below are some examples that illustrate the codes used in this thesis. Taking **AmE6-12-3** or **CirArch235** for instance, the following information can be retrieved:

- Am, Cir** abbreviation of the consultant name (Amelio, Cirila)
- E, Arch** stands for the source of the data, whether:
 - a. Spontaneous:** C= stories (*cuentos, Sp*) notebook,
Con =conversation notebook
 - b. From Stimuli:** R=Rana (*'Frog, where are you?'*)
V = video notebook
Tr = Video "*Trajectoires*"
 - c. Elicited:** E = elicitation
 - d. Other sources:** Arch = *Archivo de las lenguas indigenas mexicanas*
- 6** Number of the elicitation notebook if own data,
- 12** Page of the elicitation notebook
- 3** Line number in the page of a notebook
- or
- 235** number of the sentence (for *Archivo de las lenguas indigenas mexicanas*)

Chapter 1

PHONOLOGY

This chapter describes the phonemic inventory of South Eastern Huastec, its syllable structure, stress, and common phonological and morpho-phonological processes.

The practical orthography produced for this language is also presented. This orthography has adopted the letter /**tx**/ for the HSF retroflex and the letter /**x**/ for the alveopalatal fricative from the proposed orthography, developed by the Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquin OKMA (Oklajuuj Keej Maya' Ajtxiib') and ALMG (Academia de Lenguas Mayas), Guatemala, for representation of the Mayan languages of Guatemala.

1.1 Inventory

South Eastern Huastec has 30 phonemes: 20 consonants and 10 vowels. The HSF sounds with examples illustrating them are presented here. It is interesting to mention

that HSF is the only language of the Huastecan branch to have the retroflex $\widehat{[t\zeta]}$ sound (in practical orthography /tx/).

Table 1 HSF Consonants						
	Bila- bial	den- tal	alveo- palatal	retro- flex	velar	labio- velar glot- tal
Occlusive						
simple	p	t			k	kw
glottalised		t'			k'	k'w '
implosive	b[ɓ]					
Affricate						
simple			ch [tʃ]	tx [$\widehat{t\zeta}$]		
glottalised			ch' [tʃʰ]			
Fricative						
		th [θ]	x [χ]		j [x]	
Sonorants						
nasal	m	n				
lateral		l				
glide	w		y [j]			

Table 2 HSF Vowels

short		long	
front	back	front	back
i	u	ii [i:]	uu [u:]
e	o	ee [e:]	oo [o:]
a		aa [a:]	

1.1.1 HSF Consonants

The HSF consonants, outlined in Table 1, are described here. The (') marks stress falling on the following syllable.

1.1.1.1 HSF Stops. The HSF occlusive consonants are as follows: /p/, /t/, /k/, /b/, /t'/, /k'/, /kw/, /kw'/. These sounds occur in the following positions:

/p/ voiceless bilabial stop

[p]	initial	['pu:lik]	pulik	<i>big</i>
	intervocalic	[tʃi'pi:l]	chipiil	<i>small</i>
	final	['takap]	takap	<i>comal (tortilla grill)</i>

/b/ implosive voiced bilabial stop

[ɓ]	['ɓeklek]	beklek	<i>bone</i>
	[ɓo:k]	book	<i>brandy</i>
	['paɓap]	pabap	<i>wing</i>
	['iɓlap]	iblap	<i>root</i>

This sound is only slightly implosive in South Eastern Huastec, the reason for spelling this sound as /b/ in the practical orthography. This sound does not occur in final position, which suggests a devoicing process: [b'] > [p], already noted by Kaufman (1985: 475),

who mentions that “all Oto[n-tepec] towns merge final /b/ with /p/,” and adds that the origin of this sound in Huastecan languages is that “the Hua /b/ descends from Proto-Maya *b’.”

/t/ voiceless dental stop

[t]	[ˈmaθat]	mathat	<i>float</i>
	[ˈkatu]	katux	<i>bite</i>
	[tool]	tool	<i>fish</i>

This sound has an allophone, interdental [θ] when preceding [p] and [n] (clusters are rare in HSF, this could be a strategy to ‘smooth’ the cluster):

[ˈkiθpaʔaj]	kitpa’ay	<i>take down</i>
[ˈpiθk’anal]	pitk’anal	<i>remove</i>

/k/ voiceless velar stop

[k]	[kulˈbe:l]	kulbeel	<i>happy</i>
	[ˈθakniˈ]	thakniˈ	<i>white</i>
	[ʃek]	bek	<i>guayaba</i>

Some speakers may pronounce this sound slightly aspirated in word-final position.

/tʰ/ voiceless glottalised dental stop

[tʰ]	[ˈtʰuxup]	tujup	<i>stone</i>
	[ˈtotʰoj]	totʰoy	<i>scar</i>
	[u:tʰ]	uutʰ	<i>opossum</i>

/kʰ/ voiceless glottalised velar stop

[kʰ]	[kʰaal]	kʰaal	<i>with</i>
	[kʰaˈkʰa:l]	kʰakʰaal	<i>heath</i>
	[ˈpokʰoθ]	pokʰoth	<i>animal</i>
	[ikʰ]	ikʰ	<i>air, wind</i>

/kw/ voiceless labialised velar stop

[kʷ]	[ˈkʷitaˈ]	kwitaˈ	<i>chicken</i>
	[pa:kʷla:p]	paakwlaap	<i>nest (generic)</i>
	[pa:kʷ]	paakw	<i>nest</i>

/kʰw/ voiceless glottalised labialised velar stop

[kʰʷ]	[kʰʷe:t]	kʰweet	<i>sweep</i>

['tik'ʷnal]	tikwnal	<i>jump</i>
['tʃanak'ʷ]	chanak'w	<i>bean</i>

According to Campbell (1998: 363), the Huastecan languages are the only ones in the Mayan family that have labialised velars. Campbell mentions written attestations from the 18th Century which show that “the labialized velars in Huastec are the results of a recent change. In words which originally had a velar stop (*k* or *k'*) followed by a back rounded vowel (*u* or *o*), followed by a glide (*w*, *j*, *h* or ') followed by a vowel, the velars were labialised and the rounded vowel together with the glide was lost.” Campbell represents this phenomenon with the schema below (1998: 363):

$$[k, k'] + [u, o] + [w, j, h, '] + V > [kw, kw'] + V$$

Here are the examples from Colonial Huastec and modern San Luis Potosí Huastec that Campbell gives in this work (1998: 364):

Colonial Huastec	Modern Huastec	HSF
<cuyx> [kuwi(:)š] ‘vulture’	kwi:š ‘vulture’	?
<coyen>[kojen] ‘mass’	kwen ‘piled together’	koyej ‘dough’
<cohuych>[kowi(:)č] ‘tamale’	kwi:č ‘tamale’	kwitx ‘tamale’

According to Campbell, this shows that Huastec [kʷ] and [k'ʷ] are the results of a later sound change, and because of that, do not belong in “separate correspondence sets which would require reconstruction of these sounds to Proto-Mayan. ... when the change took place, sometime after these 18th Century sources were written.” (1998: 364).

/ʔ/ glottal stop

Glottal stop can be the initial sound of prototypical Mayan roots. In the initial position, the glottal stop is hardly audible in HSF. It is traditional in Mayan linguistics not to represent this initial glottal stop in orthography:

[ʔ]	['ʔaxat]	ajat	<i>sing</i>
	['tu:ʔlek]	tuu'lek	<i>meat</i>
	[xaʔ]	ja'	<i>water</i>
	['ʂaʔteʔ]	ba'te'	<i>river bank, side</i>

It is maintained at a morpheme boundary:

['k ^w a:ʔ t̚sim]	kwaa'-txim	<i>clothes</i>
['ʃe:ʔɪntal]	xe'-ch-in-tal	<i>life</i>
['ʃaʔ t̚s iyal]	cha'-tx-iy-al	<i>buy(tr,DAT)</i>

However, the glottal stop is deleted if followed by the vowel *i*:

[ʃaʔ]	cha'-	<i>buy</i>
versus:		
[ʃaij]	cha-iy	<i>buy it</i>
	buy-TS	

Some words with combinations of glottalised sounds and retroflex are found in HSF, for example:

- two glottalised stops:

['t'ek'at]	t'ek'at	<i>upstairs</i>
[k'a'k'a:l]	k'ak'aal	<i>heat</i>
[ʃ'e:pek']	ch'eepek'	<i>shiver</i>

- two retroflexes: [t̚s̚ut̚sem] txutxem *mojo(a tree)*

- retroflex and glottalised:

['ʃ'it̚sap]	ch'itxap	<i>comb</i>
[k'it̚s̚'ma:l]	k'itxmaal	<i>steam</i>
['t'ut̚sat]	t'utxat	<i>full</i>
['ʃ'aʔ t̚sal]	ch'a'txal	<i>flat, field</i>

1.1.1.2 Affricates Below are examples of the HSF affricates:

/ch / voiceless alveopalatal affricate

[tʃ]	[tʃi'pi:l]	chipiil	<i>small</i>
	[putʃiy]	puchiy	<i>cut</i>
	[itʃ]	ich	<i>chile</i>

/ch'/ voiceless alveopalatal glottalised affricate

[tʃ̥]	[ʔ̥exet]	ch'ejet	<i>leg</i>
	[i: ʃ̥]	iich'	<i>moon</i>
	[apaʃ̥]	apach'	<i>palm</i>
	[ʔ̥oʃ̥on]	ch'och'on	<i>calm</i>

/tx/ voiceless retroflex affricate

[ʈ̥]	[ʈ̥su'ʈ̥su:l]	txutxuul	<i>suck</i>
	[k'i:itʂa']	k'iitxa'	<i>day</i>
	[kwetʂo'ʈ̥so:l]	kwetxotxool	<i>round</i>
	[luxutʂ]	lujutx	<i>straight</i>

Norcliffe (2003) attempts to trace all the Huastecan sounds to Proto-Mayan, comparing Huastec of San Luis Potosí (HVA) with Huastec of Veracruz (HUS), and Chicomuceltec. However, it is not always possible to do, as some data is missing. It seems that Norcliff was not aware of the existence of the retroflex /tx/ in HSF. It is interesting to compare the data on these affricates found in Norcliff (2003: 40-66) to the data from our HSF corpus. The following table illustrates these sounds in four Huastecan languages: Chicomuceltec (COB), Veracruz Huastec (HUS), San Luis Potosí Huastec (HVA), South Eastern Huastec (HSF) and outlines, where possible, their origin in Proto-Mayan.

Table 3: Huastecan Affricates

	COB	HUS	HVA	HSF	PM
1	[t]	[ts]	[tʃ]	[ʈ̥]	*t[t]

	tucul	tsukul	chukul	txukul	<i>stomach</i>	
	vitim	bitsim	wichim	bitxim	<i>horse</i>	
	k'ita	k'iitsa	k'icha	k'iitxaj	<i>day</i>	
	?	tsin	achin	atxim	<i>to bathe</i>	*atin
	pat	pats	pach	patx	<i>pot</i>	*pat
2	[tʃ]	[tʃ]	[ts]	[tʃ]		*k[k]
	cham	chaam	tsam	cham	<i>snow, ice</i>	*kam
	chenuk	chanak'w	tsanak'w	chanak'w	<i>bean</i>	*kenaq'
	chiik	chi'ik	tsi'ik	chi'ik	<i>sweet</i>	*ki'
	chichin	ch'ichin	ts'itsin	ch'ichin	<i>bird</i>	
	sanich	thanich	thanits	thanich	<i>ant</i>	*sanik
	ich	ich	its	iich	<i>chile</i>	*iik
3	[tʃ]	[tʃ̠]	[ts']	[tʃ̠]		*k'[k']
	chak	ch'ak	ts'ak	ch'ak	<i>flea</i>	*k'aq
	chichin	ch'ichin	ts'itsin	ch'ichin	<i>bird</i>	
	xich	xich'	xits'	xich'	<i>blood</i>	
	ich	iich'	iits'	iich'	<i>moon</i>	*iik'
	chen	ch'en	ts'een	ch'een	<i>hill</i>	*k'e'n

It is interesting to note that in San Luis Potosí Huastec (HVA) as well in Veracruz Huastec (HUS) there is an opposition between the affricates /ts/ : /ts'/ and /ch/ : /ch'/, while in HSF, the fourth affricate, a glottalised retroflex, **tx'**, does not exist; in HSF there are only three affricates: /tx/ : /ch/ : /ch'/.

1.1.1.3 Fricatives

/x/ voiceless alveopalatal fricative (in practical orthography represented by /x/).

[ʃ]	[ʃi'itʃ]	xi'ich'	<i>blood</i>
	[ʃiʃ'ne:l]	bixneel	<i>dance</i>
	[la'na:ʃ]	lanaax	<i>orange</i>

/ɣ/ voiceless velar fricative

[x]	[ʰxu:nik]	juunik	<i>friend</i>
	[ʰnaxaʰ]	najaʰ	<i>there</i>

There is an allophone of this voiceless velar fricative: it is realised as a very weak laryngeal-fricative [h] word-finally:

[h]	[xo:h]	jooj	<i>brazada</i>
	[ʰkʰaleh]	kʰalej	<i>I go</i>

but it reappears as [x] if the following word begins with a vowel:

[ʰkʰalexitʃ]	kʰalej	ich	<i>I am leaving</i>
libro > [ʰliiβroxiltʃik]	libro-j-il-txik		<i>my books</i>
	book-EP-POSS-PL		

or at a morpheme boundary:

ataaj	<i>house</i>	ataaj-txik	[a'ta:xtʃik]	<i>houses</i>
		house-PL		

/θ/ voiceless dental fricative (from Proto-Mayan */s/):

[θ]	[θu:m]	thuum	<i>worm</i>
	[tʰiθap]	tʰithap	<i>needle</i>
	[pokʰoθ]	pokʰoth	<i>animal</i>

1.1.1.4 Nasals

/n/ dental nasal

[n]	[ʰnaxaʔ]	najaʰ	<i>there</i>
	[ʰtinaʔ]	tinaʰ	<i>press</i>
	[ʰθi:man]	thiiman	<i>witch</i>

/m/ voiced bilabial nasal

[m]	[manu'nu:l]	manunuul	<i>yellow</i>

[ʔamaɪ]	chamay	<i>cold</i>
[kʷinim]	kwinim	<i>cotton</i>

1.1.1.5 Liquid

/l/ dental lateral

[l]	[la'na:f]	lanaax	<i>orange</i>
	[ʔalteʔ]	alteʔ	<i>hill, wood</i>
	[wi'ta:l]	witaal	<i>be able</i>

1.1.1.6 Glides

/w/ bilabial glide

[w]	[wit]	wich	<i>flower</i>
	[wa'wa:ʔ]	wawaaʔ	<i>we</i>
	[u:ʷ]	uuw	<i>paper</i>

In the final position this sound is very weak—it almost disappears.

/y/ palatal glide

[y]	[ʔ yaxunek]	yajunek	<i>green</i>
	[ka'yu:m]	kayuum	<i>slowly</i>
[i]	is found in final position after a vowel:		
	[t'oneɪ]	t'oney	<i>what</i>

1.1.2 Consonants in Loan Words

There are several studies

about loan words from Spanish in American Indigenous languages, including: Boas 1930, Bartholomew 1955, Bright 1952, 1960, 1979a, 1979b, 2000a, 2000b, Campbell 1976, 1991, Hill 1990, and Munzel 1985. The time at which a word was borrowed can be determined according to the adaptation to the phonology of the borrowing language. The words borrowed from Spanish into Huastec at early stages are more assimilated, meeting the syllable patterns and adapting to the sounds of the language:

lanaax	[la'na:f]	<i>orange</i>	< 'naranja'
theejthe	[ʔexθe]	<i>from</i>	< 'desde'

Loan words of later stages show less adaptation (non-native sounds and a Spanish syllable pattern). Some words show just a partial adaptation to the phonology of the borrowing language.

HSF Spanish loan words exhibit the lengthening of the last stressed vowel. Besides this feature, the Spanish loans from the early stages show the following processes:

Spanish		HSF
[r]	voiced dental trill	> /l/ almuthaal <almorzar <i>have lunch</i> wueelta < huerta <i>garden</i>
[s]	voiceless dental fricative	> /x/ [ʃ] ['baʃta] < no esta <i>s/he isn't here</i> ['aʃta] < hasta <i>until</i>
/d/	voiced dental stop	> /th/ [θ] ['θexθe] < desde <i>from</i> [pa'reeθ] < pared <i>wall</i>
/f/	voiceless labiodental fricative	> /p/ [ka'pe:] < café <i>coffee</i> /j/ [x] [di'xu:nto] < difunto <i>deceased</i>
/g/	voiced velar stop	> /k'/ [k'i'sa:r] > guisar <i>cook</i>

In newer borrowings, two patterns are observed:

a) The loan word shows lengthening of the stressed vowel, and the consonants stay unchanged (Spanish):

baaka	< 'vaca'	<i>cow</i>
buuro	< 'burro'	<i>donkey</i>
deesde	< 'desde'	<i>from</i>
meesa	< 'mesa'	<i>table</i>
kuchiiyo	< 'cuchillo'	<i>knife</i>

b) The loan word phonology is Spanish. This occurs for the youngest speakers of HSF.

The sounds found in newer Spanish loan words in Huastec are as follows:

[d]	voiced dental stop	desde	<i>from</i>
[g]	voiced velar stop	domingo	<i>Sunday</i>
[f]	voiceless labiodental fricative	kafe	<i>coffee</i>
[r]	voiced dental trill	visitar	<i>visit</i>

Spanish loan words that end in a vowel are followed by an extremely weak [h], that reappears as [x] when a.) the word has a possessive morpheme, b.) the following word begins with a vowel, or c.) at a morpheme boundary.

Since this sound is actually never pronounced clearly in the final position of a loan word, we decided not to register it in that position in the orthography.

1.1.3 Consonant contrasts

1.1.3.1 Minimal Pairs – Evidence of Constrasts

An illustration of HSF

sounds in minimal pairs:

t:t'	taam	[ta:m]	<i>then, when</i>	:	t'aam	[t'a:m]	<i>puppy</i>
	oot	[ʔo:t]	<i>star</i>	:	oot'	[ʔo:t']	<i>skin, leather</i>
t:th	tuu'lek	[t'u:ʔlek]	<i>meat</i>	:	thuum	[θu:m]	<i>worm</i>
	kutuul	[ku'tu:l]	<i>sitting</i>	:	utuubil	[ku'tu:βil]	<i>hook (possessed)</i>
k:k'	kalej	[k'aleh]	<i>go out</i>	:	k'alej	[k'aleh]	<i>go away, leave</i>
k ^w :k ^w	kwa'	[k ^w aʔ]	<i>frog</i>	:	k'walej	[k ^w aleh]	<i>thicken</i>
b:'	baliy	[βaliij]	<i>throw</i>	:	'aliy	[ʔaliij]	<i>look for, search</i>
k':t'	k'iil	[k'i:l]	<i>be hungry</i>	:	t'iil	[t'i:l]	<i>toast</i>
' :h	joo'	[xo:']	<i>heron</i>	:	jooj	[xo:h]	<i>handful</i>
ch:ch'	chakay	[tʃaka i]	<i>squid</i>	:	ch'akay	[tʃ'aka i]	<i>get up</i>
	cha'uw	[tʃa'uʷ]	<i>hit, smash</i>	:	ch'a'uw	[tʃa'uʷ]	<i>chew</i>
ch:tx	bachiy	[βatʃij]	<i>smear</i>	:	batxiy	[βatʃ i i]	<i>twist</i>
ch':tx	ch'ukuxtalaap	[tʃ'ukuʃtala:p]	<i>pain</i>	:	txukuxtalaap	[tʃukuʃtala:p]	<i>sewing</i>

1.1.4 Geminate Consonants

Geminate consonants are not common in

HSF. They are found at morpheme boundaries; in this case they are pronounced as geminates, that is, they are not eliminated by simplification (they are heard clearly in slow speech). Below is one of the rare examples of geminate consonants in HSF:

kan-n-al

call-MID-INC

is called

ejat-tal-laap

alive-ABST-GEN

life

1.1.5 HSF Vowels

South Eastern Huastec, as outlined in Table 2, has ten vowels of different position and articulation (front, central, back; high, central, low), and duration (short and long). As

typical Mayan roots are CVC, a vowel cannot be placed word-initially; this is a reason why a glottal stop is put in front of all Mayan vowels word(root)-initially (CVC in this case looks like ʔVC). In Huastecan languages this initial glottal stop is very weak, but it appears stronger in a word-cluster situation. A word-initial glottal stop in Mayan words traditionally is not presented in the orthography, due to its predictability and its weakness.

HSF vowels can be short or long:

[a]	lam	[lam]	<i>mirror</i>
[a:]	aam	[ʔa:m]	<i>spider</i>
[e]	lem	[lem]	<i>butterfly</i>
[e:]	xuwee'	[ʃu'we:ʔ]	<i>now, today</i>
[i]	ich	[ʔiʃ]	<i>chilli</i>
[i:]	iich	[ʔi:ʃ]	<i>month</i>
[o]	ch'ok	[ʃ'ok]	<i>tordo (bird)</i>
[o:]	yooy	[jo: i]	<i>mosquito</i>
[u]	uj	[ʔuh]	<i>avocado</i>
[u:]	yuu'	[ju:ʔ]	<i>atole (drink)</i>

As previously mentioned, the vowel [o] can be pronounced as [u] in word-final position in Spanish loan words by some speakers (usually older).

Minimal Pairs – Evidence of Contrasts:

a. Short Vowels

a/e	lam	[lam]	<i>mirror</i>	:	lem	[lem]	<i>butterfly</i>
a/o	ch'ak	[ʃ'ak]	<i>lice</i>	:	ch'ok	[ʃ'ok]	<i>tordo (bird)</i>
u/o	uj	[ʔuh]	<i>avocado</i>	:	oj	[ʔoh]	<i>perfumed avocado</i>
i/o	ch'itxik	[ʃ'itʃik]	<i>small</i>	:	ch'itxok	[ʃ'itʃok]	<i>dardo (bird)</i>
i/u	pich-iy	[ʔiʃi]	<i>take out</i>	:	puch-iy	[ʔuʃi]	<i>cut</i>
i/e	k'ij	[k'ih]	<i>time</i>	:	k'ej	[k'eh]	<i>old</i>

b. Long Vowels in Contrast with Short Vowels

a/aa	pakap [ˈpakap] <i>cane</i>	:	pakaap [paˈka:p] <i>reed</i>
	uch'al [ˈʔuʃˈal] <i>drink</i>	:	uch'aal [ʔuʃˈa:l] <i>drunkard</i>
i/ii	ich [ʔiʃ] <i>chilli</i>	:	ich [ʔi:ʃ] <i>month</i>
e/ee	te' [teʔ] <i>tree</i>	:	tee' [te:ʔ] <i>here</i>
	ebaal [ʔeˈba:l] <i>south</i>	:	eebaal [ʔe: ba:l] <i>sibling</i>
u/uu	juch'ul [ˈxuʃul] <i>smoke</i>	:	juuch'ul [ˈxu:ʃul] <i>bedbug</i>
o/oo	kotoy [ˈkotoj] <i>cut, tr.</i>	:	kootol [ˈko:tol] <i>cut, AP</i>

c. Long Vowels in Contrast with Long Vowels

aa/uu	thaam [θa:m] <i>nose</i>	:	thuum [θu:m] <i>worm</i>
uu/oo	uut' [ʔu:t'] <i>opossum</i>	:	oot' [ʔo:t'] <i>leather</i>
ee/oo	eem [ʔe:m] <i>maize</i>	:	oom [ʔo:m] <i>seed</i>
ii/oo	iit [ʔi:t] <i>new</i>	:	oot [ʔo:t] <i>star</i>

1.1.5 Vowels in Loan Words from Spanish

As mentioned and

exemplified above, stressed vowels in Spanish words undergo lengthening. Some of the older HSF speakers pronounce the Spanish final (unstressed) vowel [o] as [u].

1.2 Stress

The main lexical HSF stress is regular, and commonly falls on the (first) long vowel (HSF stress seems to be attracted by a heavy syllable). If there is no long vowel in a word, then the accent is on the first short vowel. This rule has already been proposed by Larsen and Pike (1949) for San Luis Potosí Huastec.

[ˈʔuxum]	uxum	<i>woman</i>
[manuˈnu:l]	manunuul	<i>yellow</i>
[taˈta:ʔ]	tataa'	<i>you, 2sg</i>
[ˈtamup]	tamup	<i>year</i>
[ʃaθiˈθi:l]	bathithiil	<i>straight</i>
[ˈkamap]	kamap	<i>tooth</i>

In South Eastern Huastec two long vowels normally do not occur in one word. The only cases when two long vowels are found in one word is when the Reciprocal marker -VVx, or Stative Participle marker -VVm are added to a root; this marker causes lengthening of the root vowel (see section 1.6 of this Chapter):

peej-eex *they are fighting (each other)*

The **personal markers** that precede a verbal complex are never stressed. They are written separately from the word in order to show that they do not interfere with the stress rule. In the following words, the stress is on the first short vowel, namely ['tuju^w] **tuj-uw** *start* and ['ʃataʔ] **chat-a'** *stick*. If the personal marker (in this case preceded by the irrealis subordinator k-) was written together with the verb, the stress would appear to fall on the second syllable of the word:

[ku'tuxu ^w]	k-u	tuj-uw	<i>that I start it</i>
[ku'ʃataʔ]	k-u	chat-a'	<i>that I stick it</i>

1.3 HSF Root Structure

Typical Mayan roots have a CVC structure, where V stands for a short or a long vowel. Spanish loan words sometimes have many more syllables. Consonant clusters are very rare in Huastecan languages. They arise in HSF when derivational suffixes are added to roots (details are found in Chapter 3 on verbal morphology):

k'et-p-a'	<i>turn over (something)</i>
ch'at-k'-an	<i>stick (oneself to others)</i>
xal-k-'uy	<i>change (something)</i>
pax-k-uy	<i>boil (something)</i>

Consonant clusters are avoided by inserting an epenthesis **-Vn-** in cases when the following suffix is a consonant:

ul-th-an-tx-in	<i>delivered (to somebody)</i>
t'aj-an-tx-iy	<i>done (for somebody)</i>

As mentioned above, in all Mayan languages, a typical HSF root is CVC (including initial glottal stop, as in [ʔVC], which is not written in the practical orthography). In HSF this is clearly seen, especially in verbal roots, although nouns have the same structure:

CVC	pith-	<i>give</i>	'VC	uut'	<i>opossum</i>
	witx-	<i>return</i>		eem	<i>maize (plant)</i>
	kaaw	<i>word</i>		iit	<i>new</i>
	lem	<i>mirror</i>			

yooy *mosquito*

However, there are many words in HSF that have a more complex structure (disyllabic, for example), or sometimes polysyllabic (trisyllabic) structure:

CVCVC:	txithan	<i>daughter, girl</i>	CVCVCVC:	alobeel	<i>beautiful</i>
	k'iitxaaj	<i>day, sun</i>			
	kwita'	<i>chicken</i>			

The most complex words in HSF are verbal complexes. The following example illustrates the phonological structure of a fully inflected verbal form (different from a root):

CVCCVCCVC:	ulthantxin	ul-th-an-tx-in
		arrive-CAUS-EP-DAT-MID(COM)
		<i>delivered (to be delivered something)</i>

Like in other Mayan languages, a typical HSF syllable is composed of at least a short or a long vowel, and a consonant. The shortest structures in HSF are personal markers (see Chapter 3 on Verbal Morphology, and Chapter 5 on Person Marking), grammatical words, prepositions and affixes (see list of all HSF affixes in Chapter 3, section 3.3.1), for instance:

V	u	Ergative Marker 1 st p.sg
CV	ti	General Preposition
-VC	-a'	Transitive Suffix
	-(V)x	Antipassive Marker

As mentioned above, a vowel cannot be found root-initially (CVC) in HSF native words. Mayan languages do not have empty onsets. Normally, a vowel in an HSF syllable/root is found in the inter-consonant position; it is found syllable-initially only in suffixes. HSF has closed final syllables.

1.4 Vowel Harmony

In HSF, as in the majority of the Mayan languages, some suffixes trigger vowel adjustment (vowel harmony or disharmony), some don't: two passive markers and the following transitive suffixes do not trigger vowel harmony in HSF:

Transitive suffix **-a'**:

pith-a'	<i>give</i>	pa'b-a'	<i>take down</i>
jun-a'	<i>gather</i>	tejw-a'	<i>see</i>
xap-a'	<i>put</i>	k'etp-a'	<i>turn</i>
tel-a'	<i>see</i>		

Passive markers:

COM: - at/aaj /INC: - aap		but: PERF -(VV)mej
jap-iy-at/jap-iy-aap	<i>open</i>	jap-iy-aamej
puk'-iy-at/puk'-iy-aap	<i>fallen down</i>	puk'-iy-aamej
exl-at/exl-aap	<i>known</i>	exl-aamej
koj-w-at/k'oj-w-aap	<i>harvested</i>	k'oj-oomej
xal-w-at/xal-w-aap	<i>mixed</i>	xal-uumej

The Passive Perfect marker **-(VV)mej** most commonly contains a vowel [a:]. Following the sound [w] of the transitive suffix, the vowel of the Passive Perfect becomes [u:] or [o:], as shown above. This seems to be more of a phonological process of assimilation by the place of articulation, than a vocal harmony rule.

All other suffixes sometimes trigger vowel assimilation and sometimes dissimilation. It is difficult to establish a rule. Below are some examples of the HSF suffixes that show both assimilation and dissimilation:

a. Transitive suffix **-(V)y:**

assimilation		dissimilation	
t'een-ey	<i>play</i>	peth-oy	<i>sweep</i>
ch'at-ay	<i>stick</i>	xalk'-uy	<i>change</i>
iik'-iy	<i>bring</i>	paxk-uy	<i>boil</i>

thaj-ay *cry*

kan-iy *call*

waath-iy *spray*

b. Transitive suffix **-(V)w**

assimilation

nuj-uw *sell*

k'un-uw *approach*

ul-uw *say*

pok'-ow *break*

dissimilation

k'at-uw *bite*

tam-uw *occur*

jat'-uw *break*

It seems that the transitive suffix **-(V)w** takes only [u] and [o], which are the result of assimilation; in the case of the root vowel [a], the vowel of the suffix dissimilates into [u].

c. Antipassive Suffixes

The vowels of the all three Antipassive suffixes remain the same in the Completive and Perfect aspect forms. It is only the vowel of the Incompletive form that sometimes changes:

	INC	COM	PERF
-(V)x	chuk-ux	chuk-xin/chuk-xineenek	<i>ache</i>
	k'at-ux	k'at-xin/k'at-xineenek	<i>eat</i>
	thaj-ax	thaj-xin/thaj-xineenek	<i>call</i>
	took'-ox	took'-xin/took'-xineenek	<i>answer</i>
	el-ax	el-xin/el-xineenek	<i>find</i>
	al-ix	al-xin/al-xineenek	<i>search</i>
-(V)m	choy-om	choy-maach/choy-maamath	<i>fish</i>
	al-im	al-maach/al-maamath	<i>search</i>
	bix-om	bix-maach/bix-maamath	<i>dance</i>
	pit-om	pit-maach/pit-maamath	<i>cut</i>

	laatx-um	laach-maach/laatx-maamath	<i>swim</i>
	tel-om	tel-maach/tel-maamath	<i>see</i>
- (V)l	koy-ol	koy-laach/koy-laamath	<i>relax</i>
	nuuj-ul	nuuj-laach/nuuj-laamath	<i>sell</i>
	t'een-el	t'een-laach/t'een-laamath	<i>play</i>
	chix-il	chix-laach/chix-laamath	<i>clean maize</i>
	aath-il	aath-laach/aath-laamath	<i>run</i>
	k'ap-ul	k'ap-uuch/k'ap-uumath	<i>bite</i>
	jay-ul	jay-uuch/jay-uumath	<i>have lunch</i>

It must be mentioned that the last two verbs show the loss of the [l] from the AP marker in the Completive and Perfect, while at the same time, these forms have [u:] instead of [a].

d. Middle Suffix -(V)n:

assimilation		dissimilation	
ch'e-en	<i>grind</i>	map-un	<i>close</i>
t'oj-on	<i>work</i>	wiik-an	<i>tie</i>
palk'-an	<i>stay</i>	peth-on	<i>clean</i>
		chipk'-an	<i>calm down</i>

As with the Antipassive markers, the vowels of the Middle markers remain unchanged:

COM	INC	PERF	
map-un/map-n-al/map-n-eenek			<i>close</i>
t'oj-on/t'oj-n-al/t'oj-n-eenek			<i>work</i>
peth-on/peth-n-al/peth-n-eenek			<i>clean</i>
chipk'-an/chipk'-an-al/chipk'-an-eenek			<i>calm down</i>

Possessive Marker Vowel Alternation: Another case of dissimilation is in the vowel of the possessive suffix -(V)l. The possessive morpheme -il becomes -al to avoid the repeating of the same vowel of the root:

-il > -al

k'utup -	nu k'utuubil	(my) hook
kithip -	nu kithi ibal	(my) sand (* -iibil > -iibal)
ch'ajip -	nu ch'aji ibal	(my) molcajete (a stone dish)

Free Vowel Alternation of an Absolutive Marker

In HSF, a case of a free vowel alternation has been observed: the Absolutive personal marker for the 3rd person plural can be **up** or **ip**. The alternation appears to be free. It is a Mayan phenomenon.

up bixneel versus: **ip** bixneel *they dance*

Other Alternations In the following example, the first form is a possessive of **k'oyop** *stairs*, and the second form is another word for *stairs* (historically a combination of two different morphemes):

nu k'oyoobil *my stairs*
k'oybaal *stairs*

1.5 Consonant Epenthesis

Epenthesis in HSF is a strategy of avoiding vowel hiatus and consonant clusters. In a situation of vowel hiatus, South Eastern Huastec inserts an epenthetic glide [w-]. To avoid consonant clusters, an epenthetic syllable, composed of a vowel and a nasal [-in], is inserted. Epenthesis in HSF seems to be required in the following environments:

1) In **vowel hiatus** between the last vowel of a word and the Absolutive marker for the 3rd person singular. Compare a. without epenthesis and b. with epenthesis:

a. a	way-al	or:	an	ch'ojool-txik	a	ilaal
A3	sleep-INC		DEF	herb-PL	A3	cure-INC
	<i>S/he sleeps.</i>			<i>The herbs cure.</i>		

b. jajaa' wa t'oj-n-al
s/he A3 work-MID-INC
S/he works.

(1) na aana wa kal-el kalaam

HON Ana A3 leave-INC tomorrow
Ana is leaving tomorrow. (Dahprog66)

- (2) n-in tiuu wa t'ojl-in-tx-ix
 DEM-E3 uncle(Sp) A3 order-EP-DAT-AP.COM
His uncle ordered him (to do it). (E4-66)

Although the vowel of the word **jajaa'** in (b.) is followed by a glottal stop (which is rather weak), the personal marker **a** receives an epenthetic glide, **w-**, and becomes **wa**. This is the only environment where this epenthesis strategy operates in vowels.

2) In Consonant Clusters: The vowel in epenthetic syllable **-an-** is not sensitive to the type of vowel of the stem of the word (it is always **-an-**):

in ul-th-an-tx-in
 A1 arrive-CAUS-EP-DAT-MID(COM)
I was delivered it.

1.6 Vowel Lengthening

Vowel lengthening has been observed in three situations in HSF. First, as mentioned earlier, the Reciprocal suffix **-VVx** always causes lengthening of the root vowel:

pej-ey	<i>fight (tr)</i>	peej-eex	<i>fight each other</i>
thaj-a'	<i>call (tr)</i>	thaaaj-aax	<i>call each other</i>
k'at-uw	<i>bite (tr)</i>	k'aat-uux	<i>bite each other</i>

Second, the Stative Participle suffix **-VVm**, and the Stative Participle Passive suffix **-VVmtej** always cause lengthening of the root vowel of the verb:

xap-a'	<i>wear (tr)</i>	xaapoom	<i>is wearing</i>
		xaapoomtej	<i>being worn</i>

Third, the same phenomenon of root vowel lengthening is observed occasionally in a few verbs with the AP suffix. It is unclear why and when this happens:

kot-oy	<i>cut</i>	vs:	koot-ol	<i>cut, AP</i>

1.7 Consonant Assimilation

Assimilation in HSF occurs in the

following environments of consonant accumulation (clusters):

[ʃ] > [ʃ]	ne'ech ti	>	['ne:ʃti]	<i>I am going to...</i>
	ne'ech xee'	>	[ne:'ʃe:ʔ]	<i>Now I am going to....</i>
[t] > [θ]	u kulb'etnaal	>	[ukulʃeθ'na:l]	<i>I like it</i>
	kit k'wajay	>	[kiθ'k'waxaj]	<i>Sit down!</i>
[t] > [tʰ]	kubattxik	>	['kuʃatʃik]	<i>(is, are) standing</i>
	it txiyich	>	[i'tʃi:ch]	<i>you_{sg} came</i>

1.8 Vowel Reduction (Elision)

Vowels are dropped if accumulated:

in the following examples the glottal stop in word final position is lost and the [i] is assimilated into a long [a:], or the long and the short [a] are reduced to one long [a:]

a. nanaa' in ulnek [na'na:nulnek] <i>I said</i>	b. babaa' ip thabal [ʃa'ʃa:pθaʃal] <i>they have</i>	c. baa' ix k'wajay ['ʃa:ʃk'waxaj] <i>you_{pl} were not there</i>
d. tataa' it bixneel [ta'ta:tʃiʃne:l] <i>you dance</i>	e. jajaa' a bixneel [xa'xa: ʃiʃne:l] <i>s/he dances</i>	f. naa' ich [na:ʃ] <i>.. there already</i>

Final Consonant Reduction

The following consonants -w, -y, -j

word-

finally are very weak:

uw	[u:w]	<i>paper</i>
k'ij	[k'ih]	<i>time</i>
ataaj	[ʔa'ta:h]	<i>house</i>
aliy	[ʔaliʃ]	<i>look for it</i>

In loan words that end in a vowel, a very weak [h] appears. It is difficult to notice, as it is never pronounced at normal speed.

1.9 Final Devoicing of [b'] (in practical orthography /b/).

There are

several words with a final devoiced bilabial stop [p] (In HSF, a case of devoicing of an underlying [ʃ] at a word-final position is observed. There are several words with a final

devoiced bilabial stop [p]. Consultants did not accept the voiced counterpart [b] instead. In all these words the final sound becomes its voiced counterpart [b] when the possessive suffix **-(V)l** is added, or when the following word starts with a vowel:

Table 4	Final Voicing of [p] > [b]	
t'ithap	nu t'ithaabil	<i>needle-my needle</i>
k'utup	nu k'utuubil	<i>hook</i>
kithip	nu kithiibal	<i>sand</i>
takap	nu takaabil	<i>comal(a tortilla grill)</i>
k'oyop	nu k'oyoobil	<i>stairs</i>
chaap	chaabiil	<i>two, twice</i>
ch'ajip	ch'ajiibal	<i>molcajete (a stone dish)</i>
ch'itxap	ch'itxaabil	<i>comb</i>
t'ujup	t'ujuubil	<i>stone</i>
olip	oliibal	<i>river</i>
iyalaap	iyalaabil	<i>seed</i>
ojop	ojoobil	<i>cough</i>
t'ojlaap	t'ojlaabil	<i>(my) work/job</i>

The following example illustrates this phenomenon at a morpheme boundary where a [p] is followed by a voiced consonant:

t'ujup	<i>stone</i>	t'ujublam	<i>stony place</i>	(Rec3-1)
k'oyop	<i>stairs</i>	k'oybaal	<i>ascension</i>	(Tr63b)

1.10 De-labialisation The labialised velar stops [k^w] and [k^{'w}] lose their labialisation under a certain condition: the [w] component changes into the vowel [u] when followed by a labialised vowel, namely [o] and [u]. The following examples illustrate this phenomenon:

t'ikwnal, t'ikwneenek	versus	t'ikon	<i>jump</i>
k'apwat, k'apwaa		k'apuumej	<i>eat</i>
paakwlaach, paakwlaamath		paak'ul	<i>waste</i>
ak'wlaach, ak'wlaamath		ak'uul	<i>bring</i>

1.11 Vowel Alternations

Some verbs display two variants of the same root. This could be considered as a suppletion of root forms (multiple stem forms). At the moment it is not clear why or when this happens. This topic is open for more research. The following examples illustrate this phenomenon:

Table 5 Root Alternation a / o				
ach'- / och'-	ach'-a'	hear/listen	och'-owiy	hear/listen
thay- / thoy-	thay-a'	lift, tr.	thoy-om	lift, AP
t'aj- / t'oj-	t'aj-a'	do, make	t'oj-on	work, MID
t'ak- / t'ok-	t'ak-uy	wash, tr.	t'ok-om	wash, AP

Table 6: Root alternation o/e				
k'ot- / k'et-	k'ot-iy	take clothes off	k'etal	nude

This may appear to be a vowel harmony issue, however these alternations are not a pattern, but occur only in the above examples.

1.12 South Eastern Huastec Orthography

So far there have been five different orthographies for writing Huastec (mainly Huastec of San Luis Potosí). INALI does not offer any particular orthography for Huastecan languages.

South Eastern Huastec has never been written before. The practical orthography proposed for this language is presented here. As previously mentioned, in the HSF orthography two letters are adopted (/x/ and /tx/) from the one developed by the Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquin (OKMA: Oklajuuj Keej Maya'Ajtxiib')

ALMG (Academia de Lenguas Mayas), used for representation of the Mayan languages of Guatemala. The South Eastern Huastec alphabet is the following:

Table 7 HSF Alphabet						
[a]	A,a	[k]	K, k	T	[t]	T, t
[a:]	Aa, aa	[k']	K', k'		[t']	T', t'
[b']	B, b	[kw]	Kw, kw		[θ]	Th, th
[ɟ]	Ch, ch	[k'w]	K'w, k'w		[t͡ʂ]	Tx, tx
[ɟ']	Ch', ch'	[l]	L, l		[u]	u, u
[e]	E, e	[m]	M, m		[u:]	Uu, uu
[e:]	Ee, ee	[n]	N, n		[w]	W, w
[x]	J, j	[o]	O, o		[ʃ]	X, x
[i]	I, i	[o:]	Oo, oo		[y]	Y, y
[i:]	Ii, ii	[p]	P, p		[ʔ]	'

For Spanish loan words the HSF orthography uses the letters of the Spanish alphabet: **D, d; F, f; G, g; R, r; S,s; V,v.**

A national program of standardisation of orthographies for the indigenous languages of Mexico began in 2010 at INALI (Instituto Nacional de las Lenguas Indigenas) in Mexico City. The objective of this project is to try to unify the orthographies of various languages into one group (there have been about five different orthographies for Huastecan languages so far; the present one appears to be the sixth one). Several language teachers, writers and linguists are taking part in the project. For the Huastecan languages, the project already began in 2010 with San Luis Potosí Huastec (HVA). It is expected to include into discussion, the people of San Francisco Chontla and their language, HSF, in 2012.

Chapter 2

Word Classes

Previous studies on Mayan languages have defined the roots and word classes by their inflectional, derivational and syntactic properties (Haviland 1994, Vapnarsky 2007, Vapnarsky & Lois 2010). This chapter is an overview of South Eastern Huastec word classes. Major root and word classes in HSF are nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and positionals.

South Eastern Huastec, as all Mayan languages, has a CVC root as a basic structure of its words. It is clearly seen only in its verbal roots. There are many HSF nouns, adjectives and adverbs that do not show this morphological transparency for which the languages of the Mayan family are famous. Many words are composed of more than one syllable and the root cannot be reduced to a CVC structure, as exemplified in:

ataaj	<i>house</i>	kwita'	<i>chicken</i>
alobeel	<i>beautiful</i>	k'iitxaaj	<i>day, Sun</i>
chipiil	<i>small</i>	txithan	<i>girl</i>

Morphology for changing word classes is discussed in Chapter 4 on Noun Morphology.

2.1 HSF Nouns

HSF nouns function as the head of noun phrases. They are never inflected for aspect or tense; they can bear the plural marker, but it is not compulsory in HSF. There are several subgroups of HSF nouns.

2.1.1 Kinship Nouns A small closed class of nouns are obligatorily possessed (inalienable). See more on HSF possession in Chapter 4 on Noun Morphology.

nu txithaanil	<i>my daughter</i>
nu tomkiil	<i>my husband</i>
nu aliip	<i>my daughter/mother/father-in-law</i>

Spanish loan words behave as Huastecan:

nu maa/paa/awueelo/awueela/tiia
<i>my mother/father/grandfather/grandmother/ aunt</i>

2.1.2 Proper Names All (but one, mentioned below) HSF names are Spanish. For a long time the Huastec people have been giving Spanish names to newborns; the eldest members of the San Francisco community all have Spanish names only. They do not remember any other names. The places bear Spanish names too. The only Huastec name of a place I have found during my field work is ‘Jilim’ (“*Evergreen Oak*”), a tiny hamlet of Ensinal (Sp), adjacent to San Francisco, that bears the name of a tree growing abundantly in the area.

2.1.3 Common Nouns Common Nouns are an open class of words in South Eastern Huastec. Interestingly, unlike in many other Mayan languages, nominal classifiers do not exist. HSF nouns can be possessed, or modified by a definiteness modifier, a quantifier or an adjective. The HSF nouns are very rarely inflected for plural (a suffix – **txik**).

nu k’imaa’	<i>my house</i>	an pik’o’	<i>the dog</i>
i pik’o’	<i>a dog</i>	oox i mixtun	<i>three cats</i>

juun i txithan alobeel t'ajatx *a very beautiful girl*

2.2 HSF Verbs

HSF verbs express actions, states and processes. The verbs function as the head of a predicate and are obligatorily inflected for person, transitivity and aspect. A verb in Mayan languages, and so in South Eastern Huastec, is a bound morpheme (of the CVC structure) that cannot function on its own and needs inflection. For example, it obtains a transitive form after adding to it one of the transitive thematic suffixes (-a', -uw, - uy). The HSF verb, inflected for aspect or transitivity, can have the following forms:

Intransitive: k'al-ej	Transitive: pith-a'-al
go-COM	give-TS-INC
<i>went</i>	<i>give(s)</i>

There are three aspects in HSF: completive (glossed COM), incompletive (glossed INC) and perfect (PERF). Progressive and Future tenses are expressed periphrastically (the HSF verbal aspect is dealt with in 3.10). A verb in HSF can be modified by an adverb. The HSF verbal morphology is discussed in detail in Chapter 3 on Verbal Morphology.

In general, the Mayan verbal complex is rather elaborate. The HSF verbal complex looks less complex in comparison with the verb complex of other Mayan languages. One of the most complex verbal forms found in the data is as follows. It shows the majority of the morphemes that can inflect a verb: Person, Causative, Applicative, Voice, Aspect:

baa' in ul-th-an-tx-in-Ø
no A1 arrive-CAUS-EP-DAT-MID-COM
"I have not been delivered (it)/ they didn't deliver (it) to me"

2.3 HSF Adjectives

Another major word class in South Eastern Huastec is adjectives. They are not verbs, as they are never inflected for aspect. Here are some of the HSF non-derived adjectives.

puulik *big* iit new

piil *far away*

k'aak' *warm, hot*

They have the typical Mayan CVC structure, while the majority of HSF adjectives have a CVCVC form that suggests a kind of derivation (see the list under 2.3.2 Physical Properties on the next page); this issue needs more research. Inchoative verbs can be formed from adjectives by adding inchoative morphemes, **-bej/-beel/-beenek** or **-mej/-meel/meenek**. They bear the plural morpheme **-txik** very rarely. The function of adjectives is to modify nouns. Some adjectives can modify verbs, thus fulfilling an adverbial function. HSF adjectives can be inflected with Versive/Inchoative derivational morphemes. Here are some HSF adjectives classified according to R. Dixon's (1982) semantic types:

2.3.1. Attributive Adjectives

a. dimension

chipiil *small, young*

puulik *big*

thakni' *white*

b. colour

ejekni' *black*

manunuul *yellow*

chakni' *red*

c. age

weje' *old*

2.3.2 Physical Properties

xi'ith *hairy*

ch'o'ot *stained*

at'emlith *salty*

ichith *chilli, hot*

k'otxool *fat*

alobeel *beautiful*

piil *far away*

alwa' *good*

chapik *strong*

paluw *soft*

ch'apuw *salty*

txubax *real*

k'aak' *warm, hot*

iit *new*

luklith *dirty*

kujuw *delicious*

t'okat *clean*

oow *far, distant*

yaan *many, multiple*

altxik *heavy*

ya'ul *sick*

tolow *thick, dense*

at'ax *evil*

ok'ox *first*

Some HSF adjectives are borrowed from Spanish; they do not differ in meaning from Spanish:

konteento (Sp. contento) <i>glad, happy</i>	looko (Sp. loco) <i>crazy</i>
bweeno (Sp. bueno) <i>good</i>	ootro (Sp. otro) <i>other</i>
riiko (Sp. rico) <i>rich</i>	toonto (Sp. tonto) <i>silly</i>

A couple of adjectives have an irregular plural:

puulik - paktha'	<i>big</i>
k'otxool - kotxtha'	<i>fat</i>
nakat - naktha'	<i>long</i>
t'ek'at - t'ek'tha'	<i>high</i>

2.3.3 Adjective Derivation Adjectives can be derived from nouns with the suffix - irth :

xi'il	<i>hair</i>	xi'-irth	<i>hairy</i>
ich	<i>chilli</i>	ich-irth	<i>chilli, hot</i>
at'em	<i>salt</i>	at'em-l-irth	<i>salty</i>
lukuk	<i>mud</i>	luk-l-irth	<i>dirty</i>
ich	<i>chilli</i>	ich-irth	<i>hot</i>
jujul	<i>feather, fur</i>	juj-l-irth	<i>feathered, furry</i>

2.3.4 Bivalent Stems Some words have both noun and adjective function (a.), or adverbial and adjectival function (b.):

- a.
- | | | | |
|---------|--------------|------|--------------------------|
| chikam | <i>small</i> | and: | <i>the small (child)</i> |
| yejchel | <i>old</i> | | <i>the old (man)</i> |
| ya'ul | <i>sick</i> | | <i>the sick (person)</i> |
- b.
- | | | | | | | | |
|--------|-------------|------|---------------|--------|---------------|------|--------------------------|
| alwa' | <i>good</i> | and: | <i>well</i> | piil | <i>other</i> | and: | <i>aside, separately</i> |
| txubax | <i>true</i> | | <i>really</i> | chapik | <i>strong</i> | and: | <i>hard, forcefully</i> |

2.3.5 Comparison Comparison of adjectives is not a genuine Mesoamerican trait. HSF uses Spanish borrowings to express comparison:

- (1) a.
- | | | |
|----------|----------|-------|
| ... naa' | maas | nakat |
| DEM | more(Sp) | tall |

....*that taller (one)*. (AmE4-25)

- b. jajaa' ni maas a yejchel
 s/he REL more(Sp) A3 old
He is the older (one). (AmArch510)

2.4 HSF Adverbs

Another word class of HSF is adverbs. They do not have a special form. Adverbs in HSF modify verbs. Adverbs never receive aspect or mode markers; they may be inflected for plural but, as with other word classes, it is optional. All the details on HSF adverbs and spatial expressions are found in chapter 12 on Space.

2.4.1 Adverbial Words with Locative Meaning

k'unat	<i>close</i>	jee'	<i>here</i>	t'ek'at	<i>up(stairs)</i>
altaa'	<i>inside</i>	naja' (naa')	<i>there</i>	piil	<i>separately, far</i>
eleep	<i>outside</i>	taja' (taa')	<i>there</i>	junpuk'ej	<i>next to</i>
nuwa'	<i>over there</i>	tuwa'	<i>there</i>	alk'ith	<i>down</i>
oweel	<i>far</i>				

- (2) naja' k'waj-at an t'eel.
 there be-INC DEF rat
The rat is over there. (AmE1-73)

- (3) nuwa' al an alelaap wa'ach i eem.
 there prep DEF corn.field exist NM maize
Over there in the corn field there is maize. (AmE1-72)

2.4.2 Nouns Used with Locative Meaning

ch'ejel	<i>(in) the middle</i>
ebaal	<i>(in) the south</i>
alaal	<i>(in) the north</i>

2.4.3 Loan Adverbs from Spanish

enfrente *in front of* (Sp. enfrente)

detraas *behind* (Sp. detras)

2.4.4 Words with Temporal Meaning

ok'ox *first* taalbeel *still*

xuwee' *now, today* tayiil *later*

beel *still* jaat'al *when*

kalaam *tomorrow* taam *then* (also conjunction *when*)

2.4.5 NP Expressions with Adverbial Meaning

yaan iil (many time) *many times*

juuniil ej k'ij (again PERDUR time) *again*

juun k'alel (one time) *once*

ti we'eel (prep yesterday) *yesterday*

ti chaap k'ij (prep two time) *two days ago*

juun iil (one time) *once*

tamup ti tamup (year by year) *every year*

txuthey ka txuthey (day by day) *every day*

we'txik i k'ij (little NM time) *from time to time, seldom*

2.4.6 Adverbs of Manner

alwa' *well* kweteem *by itself, alone*

k'ayuum *slowly* inchana' *so, that way, thus*

jikat *quickly* junax *together*

2.4.7 Positionals with Adverbial Meaning of Manner

HSF

positionals often have an adverbial meaning of manner; they are part of secondary

predication, namely, depictive constructions (more on depictives in Chapter 9 on complex predicates).

2.4.8 Adverbs of Degree

yaan	<i>much</i>	t'ajatx	<i>very</i>
we'	<i>little</i>	maas (Sp)	<i>more</i>
juun t'ajatx	<i>very much</i>		

- (4) tin txi'-th-an-tx-iy we' i ja'
 2>1 come-CAUS-EP-DAT-TS(COM) little NM water
Bring me a little water. (PetrE1-78)

- (5) ti we'eel in kulb-eel wik t'ajatx.
 prep yesterday A1 happy-INCOA.COM PAST very
Yesterday I was very happy. (AmE1-68)

2.4.9 Modal Adverbs

apeen as (Sp)	<i>just</i>
jelat	<i>like, as, it looks like</i>
jayeej/naayej/waayej	<i>also (me too, you too, we too....)</i>
lajni'	<i>truly</i>

2.4.10 Comparison of Adverbs Like adjectives, HSF adverbs can be modified by a word borrowed from Spanish, 'maas' (from *mas* Sp), *more*, or 'mejoor' from Sp irregular *mejor*, 'better.' Comparison is not a genuine concept in many Mesoamerican indigenous languages.

2.5 Pronouns

HSF personal pronouns are a closed word class. They distinguish singular and plural number, and have a full and a short version. The personal pronouns for first person

plural do not distinguish inclusive/exclusive reference. The HSF personal pronouns have a similar distribution to nouns. They occur in the head of the noun phrase slot:

(6) wawaa’ u teenek
 we Alp Huastec
We are Huastec.

(7) jajaa’ alobeel t’ajatx
 s/he beautiful very
She is very beautiful.

2.5.1 Independent Personal Pronouns

Full Personal Pronouns		Emphatic (Short) Personal Pronouns	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 nanaa’	wawaa’	na’	wa’
2 tataa’	xaxaa’	ta’	xa’
3 jajaa’	babaa’	ja’	ba’

The short personal pronouns emphasise the independent personal pronoun:

(8) jajaa’ kal-ej **ja’** in ay-al in tomol
 s/he leave-COM s/he E3 search-INC E3 spouse
He left to look for a spouse. (CirR156)

(9) nanaa’ in teenek **na’**
 I A1 Huastec I
I am Huastec. (EulConv)

2.5.2 The Absolutive, the Ergative, and the Inverse Sets of Personal Markers

This issue is discussed in detail in Chapter 5 on Person Marking in HSF, while here only the forms of the HSF personal markers are introduced. In the Ergative set there is no person distinction in the plural.

1. Absolutive Set

	SG	PL
1	in	u
2	it	ix
3	a/ə	ip

2. Ergative Set

	SG	PL
	u	i
	a	i
	in	i

3. Inverse Set

Marker Subject Object

tin	2 sg/pl, 3sg/pl	1sg
ti	3 sg/pl, 1pl	2sg
tu	2sg, 3sg/pl	1pl
	1sg	2sg
tixi	3sg/pl, 1pl	2pl
tuxu	1sg	2pl
	2pl	1pl

2.5.3 Indefinite Pronouns

baa' tama'	<i>nobody</i>
tant'ooj	<i>nothing</i>

2.5.4 Interrogative Pronouns

jaay	<i>how many</i>	taam	<i>what</i>
jaat'al	<i>when</i>	tama'	<i>who</i>
juun	<i>where</i>	tamtamaa'	<i>who</i>
juntana'	<i>where</i>	t'anthooj	<i>what</i>
nitii'	<i>why</i>	t'oneey	<i>what</i>

- (10) **juun** an ti k'waj-at n-a paa?
 where DEF prep be-INC DEM-E2 father
Where is your father? (lrArch36)

- (11) **tama'** n-in koo'-y-al an machete?
 who REL-E3 have-TS-INC DEF machete
Who (is the one who) has the machete? (AmArch67)

- (12) **nitii'** an ti baa' ix k'al-ej ?
 why DEF R no A2p go-COM
Why didn't you pl go? (AmArch303)

2.5.5 Demonstratives

HSF demonstratives make a distinction

between two levels of proximity. They modify nouns.

axee'	<i>this</i>	axee' i k'imaa'	<i>this house</i>
naa'(ninaa', ninaja')	<i>that</i>	naa' i pik'o'	<i>that dog</i>

2.6 Prepositions

The HSF prepositions are as follows:

al	<i>on/at/in/into</i>	k'aal	<i>with</i>
baal	<i>for</i>	ti	<i>general locative</i>

- (13) na jwaan kwaj-l-an **al** an moom
 HUM Juan fall-DM-MID(COM) prep DEF well
Juan fell into the well. (AmArch460)

- (14) chank'w k'waj-at **al** an patx
 bean be-INC prep DEF saucepan
The beans are in the pan. (IrArch55)

- (15) an ich'aamal kal-ej ich taam ti aath-il
 DEF deer go-COM INT then R run-AP(INC)
 koomo ch'at'-w-at **k'aal** an pik'o
 as bark-TS-PASS.COM with DEF dog
The deer was running as the dog barked at it. (AR48-100)

- (16) k-a mo'k-a' an baaso **ti** meesa
 IRR-E2 put-TS(COM) DEF glass(Sp) prep table(Sp)
Put the glass on the table! (PetrE1-80)

- (17) na jwaan kal-ej ti wii'lep
 HUM Juan leave-COM prep door
Juan left through the door. (SanArch459)

2.7 Conjunctions

HSF conjunctions are clause-linking words which can express modifying relationships between clauses. They can also link simultaneous or sequential events. Conjunctions **o** or (of Spanish origin), and **ani** and, can link two or more nouns, adjectives or adverbs within a clause. As in all other Mayan languages, many of the HSF conjunctions are Spanish loans.

2.7.1 Spanish Loan Conjunctions in HSF:

peero (Sp. pero) <i>but</i>	koomo (Sp. como) <i>so, as, like</i>
oo (Sp. o) <i>or</i>	paara (Sp. para) <i>for, so that</i>
kee (Sp. que) <i>that</i>	porkee (Sp. porque) <i>because, why</i>
lweego (Sp. luego) <i>then</i>	

2.7.2 HSF Conjunctions:

abaaal	<i>although</i>	taam	<i>when, then</i>
ani	<i>and</i>	max	<i>if</i>
jaaxtaam	<i>so that, therefore</i>	baal	<i>that, because, in order to</i>

- (18) an inik kal-ej an ti ataaj ani pun-ey ti bitxim (AmE1-74)
 DEF man leave-COM DEF prep house and ride-COM prep horse
The man left the house and rode (away on) the horse.

- (19) baa' in jilk'-a' ti t'oj-n-al abaal wa ya'ul
 no E3 stop-TS(COM) R work-MID-INC although A3 sick
S/he didn't stop working although s/he was sick. (IrArch317)

2.8 Particles

There are thirteen particles in South Eastern Huastec. Their meanings and functions are different. They occur in different places in a clause, and some of them cannot be placed in sentence-initial position.

a. Quotation Particles

kwa' *'they say, it is said'*

koo' *I think, I believe*

The following three have the form of a transitive verb (**xan-a'**, **bel-a'**, **tejw-a'**, where **a'** is a transitive suffix), but are never inflected for person or aspect; this is their unique form:

xana' *I believe, I would say*

bela' *I believe*

tejwa' *one can see*

b. The following particles modify the verb:

wik PAST

ej PERDURATIVE

ak IRREALIS

chaap *again*

c. Meaning-intensifying particles:

ich *already*

k'ij INTENSIFIER

ch'iij INTENSIFIER

k' elej INTENSIFIER

2.8.1 Quotative

kwa' they say, it is said

The quotative particle is used with quotations, especially in indirect speech, or to express the speaker's attitude to what he is saying. It is often found with the verbs *say* and *tell*:

- (20) t-in utx-a' baal ne'ech **kwa'** k-a txi-ich
 3>1 tell-TS(COM) that FUT QUOT IRR-A3 come-COM
She told me she would come. (AmE1-75)

2.8.2 Speculatives

a. koo' *I think, I believe*

- (21) kal-ej **koo'** ja' t-in k'imaa'
 leave-COM SPEC s/he prep-E3 home
He left his home. (IrBor3)

b. bela' *I think, I believe*

- (22) **bela'** wa nuuj-ul an ti kwaj-at
 SPEC A3 sell-AP(INC) DEF R be-INC
I believe she is selling. (AmDescr)

c. xana' *I think, I believe*

- (23) an ataaj weje' ich **xana'** jayej
 DEF house old INTENS SPEC it.too
The house is also very old, I think. (AmDes64)

2.8.3 Mirative (Visual Evidentiality) tejwa' one can see

- (24) **tejwa'** **na** **iich'** **a** **tajb-ax**
 MIR HON moon A3 illuminate-AP(INC)
One could see the Moon illuminating. (AmR-13)

2.8.4 Past **wik**

This particle is used in non-verbal predicates to indicate the past. It can occur in different positions in a clause.

- (25) **jajaa'** **alobeel** **wik**
 s/he beautiful PAST
She was beautiful. (PetE1-58)

- (26) **ti** **we'eel** **in** **kulb-eel** **wik** **t'ajatx**
 prep yesterday A1 glad-INCHOA.INC PAST very
Yesterday I was happy. (AmE1-68)

It is also found with verbs that are inflected for aspect. In this situation **wik** emphasizes the meaning of repetitive action in the past (a habitual '*used to*'), where it 'reinforces' the aspectual marker on the verb. This particle, as mentioned already, can occur in different positions in a clause but cannot be placed clause-initially. More on this clitic is found in Chapter 3 on Verbal Morphology, section 11.

2.8.5 Perdurative **ej**

This enclitic occurs with adjectives or nouns in non-verbal predicates. Most often it appears with equative constructions in the past. As mentioned above, it is especially common with **wik**.

- (27) **jajaa'** **wa** **kwitool** **ej**
 s/he A3 boy PERDUR
He is young. (PetrE1-67)

More on this clitic is found in section 11 of Chapter 3 on Verbal Morphology.

2.8.6 Irrealis ak This particle is used to encode irrealis, conditional, or probable action in the future. It can occur in different places in a clause. Its relationship to the subordinator **k-** is discussed in Chapter 4 on verbal morphology.

- (28) taam k-a ul-ich / an te'neel chaj-unek **ak** ich.
 when IRR-A3 come-COM DEF food get.cold-COM IRR INTEN
When he comes, the food will already be cold. (DahlF26)

- (29) max k-it ul-ich a las ocho/ nanaa' beel **ak** in t'ojoj-ool
 if IRR-A2 come-COM at 8 (Sp) I still IRR A1 cook-AP(INC)
If you come at 8, I will still be cooking. (Dahl Pr73)

- (30) it chem-th-a-amej **ak** k'aal babaa'
 A2 die-CAUS-TS-PASS.PERF IRR by they
You will be killed by them. (AmE5-69)

2.8.7 chap again This proclitic always precedes a verb. It is used with the same semantics as the prefix *re* (*re-write*, *re-think*) in Romance languages or English; this may be an influence of Spanish on Huastec. See more about this proclitic and other verb-modifying particles in Chapter 3 on verbal morphology.

2.8.8 Intensifiers They are often interchangeable; it is not clear what governs the choice. They are often not translated into Spanish. Both can be added to verbs, adverbs, nouns or adjectives to intensify their meaning:

- a. **ich** *already*

It is used only with verbs, usually with completive or perfect aspects to emphasise the completion of an action. It cannot occur at the beginning of a clause. Very often this enclitic is not translated into Spanish or English (ex. 36). Edmonson (1988) calls it 'emphatic'.

(31) in witx-iy ich
 A1 return-COM already
I have (already) come back. (lrC12-23)

(32) k-a ok'-y-at ich an rosaario ...
 IRR-A3 finish-TS-PASS.COM already DEF rosary(Sp)
When the rosary is finished (AmC1-138-90)

b. k'ij indeed, only, straight away

(33) k-a chuuj k'ij !
 IRR-E2 see.COM INT
Just look at it! (E4-79)

c. ch'ij only, indeed, really

Intensifier **ch' ij** can be placed at the beginning of a clause; it usually precedes an adjective:

(34) t'ajatx ch'ij alobeel naa' k'imaas'
 very INT beautiful DEM house
That house is very, very beautiful. (AmeCas4-96)

(35) ch'ij juun wik eskweela taa' ti k'waj-at naa' i apach'.
 INT one PAST school(Sp) there R be-INC REL NM palm(BerC2-123-3)
There was only one school there, the one that was made of palm trees.

d. k'elej indeed, really

(36) k' elej na' u ul-uw baal ne'ech k-a aab-an
 INTENS I E1 say-TS.INC that FUT IRR-A3 rain-MID(COM)
I indeed said that it was going to rain. (AmE2-83)

2.10 Numerals

2.10.1 Cardinal Numbers Most HSF speakers do not know more original numbers than *ten*. Almost all use Spanish numbers, even if they are fluent speakers of HSF who use it in everyday conversation. Ochoa Peralta (1984: 84) gives an extensive list of HUS numbers. Here are all the HSF numbers that I was able to collect:

1 juun	11 lajuuj juun
2 chaap	12 lajuuj chaap
3 oox	13 lajuuj oox
4 che'	14 laajuuj che'
5 boo'	15 laajuuj boo'
6 akak	16 laajuuj akak
7 buuk	17 laajuuj buuk
8 waxiik	18 laajuuj waxiik
9 beleejuj	19 laajuuj beleejuj
10 laajuuj	

Numerals in HSF function as quantifying modifiers. The nominal marker *i* is used after the number in a NP:

juun i mixtun	<i>one cat</i>
chaap i mixtun	<i>two cats</i>
oox i mixtun	<i>three cats</i>

Usually no plural marker is used with numbers:

chaaboox	<i>a couple of, some (lit.: two-three)</i>
chaaboox i mixtun	<i>a couple of cats, some cats</i>

2.10.2 Ordinal Numbers They are formed by adding a suffix **-tal** to the numeral. There are not many examples of them in the data. One of my consultants gave them to me during elicitations but said that they are used 'very rarely these days':

yijital	<i>first</i>

chaptal	<i>second</i>
ooxtal	<i>third</i>
chee'tal	<i>fourth</i>
boo'tal	<i>fifth</i>
akaktal	<i>sixth</i>
laajutal	<i>tenth, etc</i>

Yiijtal *first* is the suppletive form of **juun** *one*. For numbers over 10 the cardinal and ordinal numbers have the same form:

laajujuun	<i>eleven and eleventh</i>	laajuchaap	<i>twelve and twelfth, etc</i>

2.10.3 Iterative Numbers

They are made of a numeral and a

suffix **-iil**: juuniil *once, again*; chaabiil *twice*

2.11 Demonstratives

According to Dryer (2007:162) “all languages appear to have words that we can call ‘demonstratives’ ”; Dryer differentiates two types of demonstratives: demonstrative pronouns (that occur by themselves as noun phrases, like *this* in English), and demonstrative modifiers of nouns. Both are present in South Eastern Huastec. The first type includes the demonstrative pronoun **jaach** *it, that, this*.

The second type of demonstrative present in HSF is a nominal modifier of nouns that can also function as the first type (function as a noun phrase). These indicate two levels of distance from the speaker. The distal demonstrative **ninaja'** has shortened variants **naja'** and **naa'**, which are much more common in the data.

axee'	<i>this</i>	DEM (PROX)
ninaja'/naja'/naa'	<i>that</i>	DEM (DIST)

In a noun phrase, both types of demonstratives are placed **before the nominal marker and the noun**:

a. **axee'** i ataaj chipiil

DEM.PROX NM house small

This house is small. (JuaArch1)

b. **naa'** i t'aknaap tataa' it thabal

DEM.DIST NM basket you A2 owner

That basket is yours. (IrArch131)

The distal demonstrative functions as a relative particle. Details about this function of the demonstrative are found in the section on relative clauses in Chapter 11 on complex sentences. In some languages demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative modifiers have the same form; in HSF they are different, as shown above.

Typologically, two main features of demonstratives in most languages, according to Dryer (2007:162), are to 'draw the hearer's attention to something in the perceptual space of the speaker and hearer,' and to express "at least a two-way contrast in terms of distance from the speaker". These features are observed in HSF too. As in some languages, the pronominal demonstrative is identical to the demonstrative adverb *here* or *there* (Dryer 2007:163), which is also true for HSF where **naa'** has both of these functions, as a demonstrative modifier and a demonstrative adverb *there*.

2.12 Determiners

Determiners are words that vary for definiteness or specificity (Dryer 2007:157). HSF determiners always precede the nominal they modify.

2.12.1 Definite Markers There are three different definite markers in South Eastern Huastec:

an	with common nouns	glossed DEF
na	for human personal names	glossed HUM
a	'honorific' with planets, months, days ...	glossed HON

The 'honorific' marker **a** is the only marker that comes with this kind of noun and does not distinguish definiteness.

na Jwaan	<i>Juan</i>	a k'iitxaaj	<i>the day/ Sun</i>
an mixtun	<i>the cat</i>	a iich'	<i>Moon, the month</i>

The function of **an** is very similar to the Indo-European definite articles; it occurs when “the speaker has a specific referent in mind” (Dryer 2007:154). The **an** refers to entities mentioned earlier in the discourse, or to any entity that is recoverable via contextually available knowledge (Heine & Kuteva 2006). A definiteness hierarchy operates in South Eastern Huastec. It is described in 7.2.9 (Chapter on valency-increasing operations, section on Definiteness hierarchy and object marking).

An interesting fact to mention is that the determiner **an** precedes the preposition **ti** while it is placed after two other HSF prepositions (**k’aal** *with* and **baal** *for*). It seems that the determiner **an** could be regarded as a clitic; both the prepositions **k’aal** *with* and **baal** *for* have heavy syllables, so maybe this feature could explain the pattern (Wichmann, p.c.).

2.12.2 Indefiniteness: Nominal Marker i According to Dryer (2007: 157), markers of definiteness and indefiniteness “are most commonly separate words”. The marker that encodes indefiniteness in HSF is used in some other contexts too. This marker is called a ‘nominal modifier’ by R. Zavala (1994), and an ‘indefinite marker’ by Constable (1989); here it is called a nominal marker because it is also used in situations of definiteness (with demonstratives). The nominal marker **i** precedes the noun in an NP. It is probably a trace of the pan-Mayan nominal classifiers.

The function of the nominal marker **i** is, at first sight, similar to the function of the Indo-European indefinite article. A difference from an Indo-European indefinite article is that this nominal marker is used in constructions with the demonstratives (**axee’ i** + noun), numbers (**oox i** + noun) and some quantifiers (**yaan i** + noun). That is why it cannot be called an indefinite marker; as it is also used in demonstrative constructions and with quantifiers, its meaning does not imply indefiniteness. However, the HSF word for the number *one*, **juun**, together with this nominal marker, **i** is used to encode both the indefiniteness and the singular (the number *one*):

juun i mixtun
one NM cat
a/one cat

Another function of this nominal marker is to modify uncountable nouns (like *some* in English): **i** aroos **i** meeluj

NM rice(Sp)
some rice

NM money
some money

If used with countable nouns, this marker encodes their non-definite nature:

Non-Specific Indefinite

i pik'o' versus
 NM dog
a dog (any, whichever)

Specific Indefinite

juun i pik'o'
 one NM dog
a/one dog

This nominal marker **i** can co-occur with demonstratives, which is a reason it cannot be called an indefinite article, because it appears in definite contexts too:

axee' i ataaj
 DEM NM house
this house

2.12.3 Individuation Both the definiteness marker **an** and the nominal marker **i** can occur with HSF demonstratives and numbers. The construction with the definiteness marker **an** encodes reference to an entity that both speech act participants (SAPs) know, while the one with the nominal marker **i** encodes the non-individualised nature of the entity (both SAPs or one of them does not know the entity). This phenomenon refers to the non-specific definite, and the specific definite meaning.

axee'/naa' i	non-specific definite	<i>this/that</i>
axee'/naa' an	specific definite	<i>this/that</i>

Non-Specific Definite

axee' i mixtun
 DEM NM cat
this cat

Specific Definite

axee' an mixtun
 DEM DEF cat
this cat (that both SAP know)

naa' i inik
DEM NM man

this man

(somebody that addressee may not know)

naa' an pik'o'
DEM DEF dog

this man

(that both SAP know)

oox i pik'o'
three NM dog

three dogs (any three dogs)

oox an pik'o'
three DEF dog

three dogs (that the hearer knows)

It seems that the nominal marker **i** is a trace of a pan-Mayan nominal classifier. For the determiner **an** the origin looks unclear. Historically, the rise of definite/indefinite markers stems from two different processes (Creissels 2006:137). Demonstratives and numerals are two possible sources: very often a demonstrative pronoun develops into a definite article and a numeral one into an indefinite article (Givon 1981, Heine 1997, Dryer 2005, Himmelmann 2001), although some other sources are possible, like possessives or personal pronouns (Himmelmann 2001).

2.13 Quantifiers

The most common HSF quantifiers include:

juun *one*

yaan *many*

chaaboox *some, a couple of*

exat *all*

(37) **tenchee' wa'ach yaan i ataaj takw-txik.**

here existINC **many** NM house lovely-PL

There are many lovely houses here. (AmE1-1-66)

There are some Spanish loan words that function as quantifiers in HSF:

kaada (Sp. *cada*) *every*,

pookos (Sp. *pocos*) *few*

There are also two sorts of numeral words in South Eastern Huastec that can occur as modifiers of nouns: the cardinal numerals, which show how many referents are denoted by the noun phrase, and the ordinal numerals, which identify the order of referents. Ordinal numerals are derived from the cardinal numerals in HSF. Cardinal numerals cannot modify nouns directly; in HSF they must be followed by a nominal marker **i**. In a typical Mayan language cardinal numerals are accompanied by a numeral classifier.

This HSF nominal marker **i** could be a trace of those numeral classifiers that HSF has lost (or has not developed). All the quantifiers in HSF precede nouns.

2.14 Greetings and Interjections

All the traditional greetings in HSF have been forgotten. They greet now with **prisma!** (most probably coming from the old Spanish greeting “*Santa Maria Purisima*”), with a reply **jasya!** (most probably from the Spanish “*gracia*”). Other interjections are **ojoo** *yes*, and **baa’** *no*.

Chapter 3

Verbal Morphology

This chapter is a general introduction to the structure of HSF verbs. The following chapters will deal in detail with specific topics: Chapter 5 on Person marking, Chapter 6 on Valency-decreasing operations (Active, Antipassive, Middle, Passive), Chapter 7 on Valency-increasing operations (Applicatives, Causatives). In this Chapter the general features of the verbal complex in South Eastern Huastec are outlined.

HSF verb roots are bound morphemes that require at least a subject and an aspect marker. The verb stem indicates the meaning of the verb. The majority of HSF verbs have a root, a thematic suffix (transitive, causative, applicative) and an aspectual marker. There are seven derivational morphemes that can be added to the root to modify the meaning of the main verb, which is discussed further.

The HSF verbal complex is different from that in other Mayan languages:

- it does not incorporate an object
- TAM are suffixed (never prefixed)
- it almost never contains an overt mark of plurality
- it does not contain a directional
- object is marked on the verb (by inverse clitic) only if it is the 1st or the 2nd person, that is, a SAP (see Chapter 5 on person marking for more detail); the 3rd person object is never overtly expressed in HSF.

3.1 Classification of HSF Verbal Constructions

The following HSF verbal roots are, as mentioned above, bound morphemes that require status suffixes (transitivity suffix, voice or aspect):

al-	<i>search</i>	koy-	<i>relax</i>
ch'a'-	<i>buy</i>	muth-	<i>put</i>
chuu-	<i>see</i>	pith-	<i>give</i>
ch'ak-	<i>get up</i>	utx-	<i>say</i>
kal-	<i>go out</i>	way-	<i>sleep</i>
k'al-	<i>go</i>	witx-	<i>return</i>

Every HSF verb is unambiguously transitive or intransitive, according to the presence or absence of a transitive suffix. If a verbal root is used in a transitive construction, it will have a transitive suffix followed by status suffixes. The intransitive construction is different from a transitive one: there is just a verbal root with an aspectual marker, that is, an intransitive verb lacks a transitive suffix. This is exemplified in the following.

3.1.1 Intransitive Construction An intransitive construction has only one argument, a Subject. In an Antipassive construction, which is also considered intransitive, a demoted Object can be present.

There are two kinds of intransitive verbs in HSF. One kind are the root intransitive verbs like **kal-ej go**, or **bel-ej walk**, and the other are the detransitivized transitive verbs; these have different forms from the above mentioned underived intransitive verbs. The detransitivized verbs in the Passive, Middle Voice and Antipassive have their own suffixes and paradigms. See Chapter 6 on HSF Valency-decreasing operations for more details.

Here are some HSF intransitive verbs. In the following examples **-ej** is the incomplete aspect marker of the underived transitive verbs; **-in** and **-om** are the Middle Voice and Antipassive suffixes, and **-aap** is the Passive Incomplete marker. The Middle voice suffix is followed by a $\emptyset$ Complete aspectual marker, and the Antipassive marker is followed by a $\emptyset$ Incomplete aspectual marker:

I. underived/basic intransitive verbs: **kal-ej** **witx-iy**

leave-COM

reutrn-COM

left

returned

II. detransitivized verbs (Middle Voice, Antipassive, Passive):

tomk-in

marry-MID(COM)

married

bix-om

dance-AP(INC)

dance

pajn-a-ap

chase-TS-PASS.INC

was chased

In an intransitive clause in HSF a verbal complex can look like this:

a. verb-aspect:

in **kal-ej** it

A1 leave-COM A2

(I) left

b. verb-AP/MID-aspect:

thutx-um

write-AP(INC)

(you) write.

∅ **puj-k-in**

A3 fall-DM-MID(COM)

(s/he) fell down.

c. verb-TS-PASS-aspect:

kon-y-at

ask-TS-PASS.COM

requested, asked

(1) jik'at k'ij ne'ech k-a **kon-y-at** an kaaja.

quickly INT HAB IRR-A3 ask-TS-PASS.COM DEF coffin(Sp)

The coffin is requested quickly. (AmC1-136-71)

(2) inchana' taam an ti **ejt-ow-at** k-a **chem-th-a-aj.**

that.way then DEF R can-TS-PASS.COM IRR-A3 die-CAUS-TS-PASS.INC

And so it (coyote) could be killed. (CirCoy67)

3.1.2 Transitive Construction

A

transitive

construction/clause in HSF contains two arguments (an Agent and a Patient). A Patient is overtly expressed in an HSF verbal complex (is cross-referenced on a verb) only if it is a SAP; this is done by an inverse transitive agreement clitic (more on this is found in

Chapter 5 on Person Marking). A verb in a transitive verbal complex is marked by one of three transitive markers:

-a', -(V)w, -(V)y

utx-a'	<i>say (something)</i>
al-iy	<i>look for (something)</i>
kap-uw	<i>eat (something)</i>

The distribution of these markers is unclear (more on these transitive markers is found in 3.3.2.1). An HSF verbal complex with a transitive verb is exemplified in following:

a.	in utx-a'	b.	u kap-w-al
	E3 say-TS(COM)		E1 eat-TS-INC
	<i>(s/he) said</i>		<i>(I) am eating</i>

and an HSF transitive clause/construction is shown in the following example:

(3) **tataa' a t'aj-a-amal yaan i mulutx**
 You E2 make-TS-PERF many NM wrap
 You have made many wraps. (CirE5-21)

3.1.3 Ditransitive Constructions HSF ditransitive constructions contain an Agent, a Beneficiary and a Theme. The structure of a verbal complex of a ditransitive complex is identical to the verbal complex of a transitive clause. The Beneficiary can be marked on a verb by an applicative; the Theme is not marked on the verb; the only time when a Beneficiary is marked on the verb is when it is amalgamated in a transitive agreement marker that encodes a non-3rd person patient. In all other cases it is only the Agent that is cross-referenced by a personal clitic on a verbal complex (since there is only one slot for an argument in the HSF verbal complex). An example follows:

(4) **n-u taay u pith-a-al an pik'o'.**
 DEM-1E leftover E1 give-TS-INC DEF dog
 I give my leftovers to the dog. (AmE1-19)

Neither the object **taay** *leftovers* nor **pik'o'** *dog* is marked. This is a case of a double-object construction. In a ditransitive construction very often an applicative is present. An applicative marker on a verb encodes a Beneficiary or an Instrument. They cause a restructuring in the argument configuration. Examples of a verbal complex with an Applicative marker follow. In (a.) the verb bears a transitive suffix only (the completive aspect marker is zero), while in (b.) the verb bears the dative applicative marker **-tx** as well as the transitive marker (and the completive aspect marker remains zero):

- a.

nuj-uw

sell-TS(COM)

sold
- b.

nuj-tx-iy

sell-DAT-TS(COM)

sold to somebody

(5)

u

nuj-tx-iy

an

ti

kwita'

na

josee

E1

sell-DAT-TS(COM)

DEF

prep

chicken

HUM

Jose

I sold José the chicken.

(CirE5-19)

In the following example the Agent and the Beneficiary are fused into a transitive agreement clitic (inverse alignment marker):

(6)

tu

ch'a'-tx-iy

juun

i

maango

1>2

buy-DAT-TS(COM)

one

NM

mango

I bought you a mango.

(CirE5-37)

More details on this phenomenon are found in Chapter 7 on HSF valency-increasing operations.

3.2 HSF Verbal Complex Schema

Here the HSF verbal complex schema is presented. It is discussed in greater detail further in this chapter. An HSF verbal complex (phrase) will normally have these elements:

person marker	verbal root	status suffixes

Status suffixes are:

- verbal derivational suffixes
- voice markers
- applicatives
- aspectual markers
- plural marker

Pye (1992) calls verbal suffixes “status suffixes” and Kaufman (1977) “status markers”, as they mark distinctions in transitivity, aspectual categories, modality and derivation of verbs. As a point of difference from, for example, another Mayan language, **K’iche’**, which is unusual in combining so many diverse functions in its status suffixes (it differentiates, for example, phrase-medial and phrase-final suffixes), HSF status suffixes mark only differences in verb transitivity and aspect, since, as mentioned above, the HSF indicators of mode and tense are marked by clitics.

3.2.1 Person Marking

HSF has developed an atypical and a very interesting person marking system that places Huastec apart from other Mayan languages. The HSF person marking system is not a typical Absolutive/Ergative, nor a typical tripartite system, although it has characteristics of both these systems. This is discussed in detail in Chapter 5 on HSF Person Marking; here only the basic morphology of the HSF personal markers is described.

As in all Mayan languages, HSF has two sets of person markers, an Ergative set (called traditionally ‘Set A’) and an Absolutive set (traditionally called ‘Set B’), which have different functions depending on their syntactic roles. These sets are called ‘the Ergative set’ and ‘the Absolutive set’ in this grammar and are glossed as E and A.

Ergative person markers are used to indicate the Subject of a transitive verb, while the Absolutive markers indicate the Subject of an intransitive verb; contrary to other Mayan languages, where the object is indexed in a verbal complex by Absolutive markers, in HSF the object is cross-referenced in a verbal complex only if it is a SAP. In this case the object is indexed by a special transitive agreement clitic (inverse clitic). The details of this phenomenon are described in Chapter 5 on HSF person marking.

In the ex (7a.) there is the verb **ka l-ej** *leave* , and the subject marker is **in** since it is an intransitive verb. The same happens in example (8a.): the verb *to marry* is used in its Middle Voice form, hence intransitively, and bears the Absolutive mark for the first person plural, **u**. In example (7b.) the verb **ch'a'-** *buy* bears the transitive suffix **-iy** and therefore it is accompanied by an Ergative marker for the first person singular, **u**. In example (8b) the verb *to marry* is used in its transitive form (meaning to organize somebody's wedding), it has a transitive suffix **-iy** and is marked with an Ergative pronoun for the first person plural, **i**.

(7)a. nanaa' **in** kal-ej.
 I A1 leave-COM
I left.

b. nanaa' **u** ch'a' -iy juun i kwita'.
 I E1 buy-TS(COM) one NM chicken
I bought a chicken.

(8)a. **u** tomk-in
 A1p marry-MID(COM)
*We married (*ourselves).*

b. **i** tomk-iy n-u kwitool-il
 Ep marry-TS(COM) DEM-E1 son-POSS
We married my son.

3.2.1.1 Ergative Person Markers

Different from all the rest of the Mayan languages, which have two subsets of Ergative person markers, a pre-vocalic and a pre-consonantal, Huastec of San Francisco has only one set that is used in both situations. These Ergative personal markers are placed before the verbal root in an HSF verbal complex.

HSF Ergative Markers		
	Singular	Plural
1	u	i
2	a	i
3	in	i

u	koo'-y-al		a	chu'-uj
E1	have-TS-INC		E2	see-COM.irr
	<i>I have (it)</i>			<i>you saw (it)</i>

i	paak'-w-al	an	k'waa'txim
Ep	wash-TS-INC	DEF	cloths
	<i>we/you(pl)/they</i>		<i>wash clothes</i>

3.2.1.3 One Ergative Set As mentioned above, HSF lacks two Ergative personal marker subsets, i.e. only one set is used with verbal roots that start with a vowel, as well as with those that start with a consonant, as exemplified in (9)a. and b.:

- (9)a. u koo'-y-al juun i mixtun
E1 have-TS-INC one NM cat
I have got a cat.
- b. u ay-a-al i t'ojnal
E1 search-TS-INC NM worker
I look for workers.

Mayan languages have two sets of ergative markers, a pre-consonant and a pre-vocalic, as, for example, in Tzeltal (Polian 2011:107):

Pre-Consonantal:		Pre-Vocalic:	PL:
1	j-	jk-/k-	-tik
2	a-	aw-	-ik
3	s-	y-	-ik

Tseltal adds to these singular ergative markers, a suffix for plural. HSF has designated specific markers for both singular and plural.

3.2.1.4 Possessor Marking Ergative person markers have another function: they are used to signal the possessor of a noun:

a k'iimaa'
E2 home
your house

3.2.1.5 Absolutive Person Markers An interesting fact about HSF Absolutive personal markers is that they are very similar to the Proto-Mayan ones, as already noted by Kaufmann (1992). As mentioned above, in an HSF verbal complex the Absolutive person markers are placed immediately before the verbal root. They are not written together with a verbal complex, as that would interfere with the HSF accentuation rule (as explained in Chapter 1 on Phonology).

HSF Absolutive Markers			
	Singular	Plural	
1	in	u	
2	it	ix	
3	a/Ø	ip	

in	k'al-ej	it	way-al	u	t'oj-on

A1 go-COM

I went

A2 sleep-INC

you sleep

A1p work-MID(COM)

we worked

3.2.1.9 3rd p sg/pl zero as a Direct Object

If a transitive clause

has no object overtly expressed, the interpretation is that there is a third person singular pronoun or plural object (as HSF does not express overtly 3rd person sg/pl direct objects). The zero Absolutive markers for the 3rd person are not marked in the examples included in this grammar.

u chuuj

E1 see.COM

I saw it/him/her/them. (AmE1)

3.3 Structure of the HSF Verbal Complex

HSF verbal complex structure is simpler than the rest of the Mayan languages. As already mentioned above, the HSF verbal phrase does not have exactly the same structures/features as in other Mayan languages. As mentioned above, an HSF verb has the following main structure:

personal markers + root morpheme + suffixes

For intransitive verbs, the HSF aspectual and applicative suffixes are placed immediately after the roots, while in a transitive verbal complex they are placed after the stem. This distribution is specific to Huastec. Plural is very seldom expressed, but when it is marked, it goes at the very end of the verbal complex. The HSF verbal complex can be presented as follows:

verbal root - “special derivational morpheme” – applicatives – transitive or

voice suffixes - aspectual suffixes - plural marker

3.3.1 List of HSF Suffixes

Below are all the HSF verbal suffixes.

Suffix	Abbreviation	
a. HSF Transitive Suffixes		
-(V)y	Transitive Suffix	TS
-a'	Transitive Suffix	TS
-(V)w	Transitive Suffix	TS
b. HSF Aspectual Markers		
-al	Tr Verbs, Incompletive Aspect	INC
-el	Intr, Incompletive Aspect	INC
- Ø	Tr Verbs, Completive Aspect	COM
-ej	Intr, Completive Aspect	COM
-iy	Intr, Completive Aspect	COM
-aamal	Tr Verbs, Perfect Aspect	PERF
-nek	Intr, Perfect Aspect	PERF
c. HSF Voice Suffixes		
-at	Passive, Completive Aspect	PASS.COM
-aaj	Passive, Completive Aspect	PASS.COM
-aach	Antipassive Completive	AP.COM
-aamath	Antipassive Completive	AP.COM
-(V)xin	Antipassive Completive	AP.COM
-(V)n	Middle Voice Completive	MID(COM)
-aap	Passive, Incompletive Aspect	PASS.INC
-(V)x	Antipassive Incompletive	AP(INC)
-aamej	Passive, Perfect Aspect	PASS.PERF
-(V)xineenek	Antipassive Perfect	AP.PERF
-neenek	Middle Voice Perfect	MID.PERF
-n	Instrumental Voice (Applicative)	INSTR
-tx	Dative/Ben/Rec (Applicative)	DATIVE

e. HSF Plural Suffix		
-txik	Plural	PL
f. HSF Causative Markers		
-(V)th	Causative	CAUS
- b	Causative	CAUS
g. HSF Participle Markers		
-th	Participle	PPL
-tx	Participle	PPL
-at	Participle	PPL
-(V:)m	Stative Participle	SP
-tej	Stative Participle Passive	PASS
h. HSF “special” derivational morphemes		
- k- , -k’-, -l-, -m-, -ch- , -ch’-, -p-		DM

3.3.2 HSF Verbal Derivation

The above list gives all the suffixes of HSF verbs that derive different meanings from the basic roots. Here are some examples of an HSF verbal root plus the above derivational suffixes that make different forms:

a.	t’aj-	<i>do/work</i>	Root
	t’aj-an-tx-iy	<i>do it for somebody</i>	Applicative
	t’aj-a’	<i>do it</i>	Transitive
	t’oj-on	<i>work</i>	Middle Voice
	t’aj-atx	<i>done</i>	Participle
	t’oj-om	<i>do/work</i>	Antipassive
b.	pith-	<i>give</i>	Root
	pith-an	<i>be given</i>	Middle Voice
	pith-an-tx-iy	<i>give it to somebody</i>	Applicative, Transitive

pith-a'	<i>give it</i>	Transitive
pith-a-amej	<i>given</i>	Passive Perfect
pith-aach	<i>give</i>	Antipassive

3.3.2.1 Transitive Suffixes -a', -(V)w, -(V)y As already mentioned, their distribution is unclear. They are not interchangeable in HSF. It is parallel to Spanish conjugation markers, for example, when a verbal root “habl-“ *speaking* receives “-ar” (“hablar”) infinitive marker, “com-“ *eat* receives “-er” (“comer”), and “viv-“ *live* forms the infinitive with “-ir” (“vivir”). A non-native speaker has to learn by heart the Spanish verbal conjugations. This issue in Huastec needs more research and more information from the history of Mayan verbal roots and transitive suffixes. Here are the three HSF transitive suffixes:

t'aj-a' *did it* ul-uw *said it* ch'a-iy *bought it*

3.3.2.2 Causative -th, -b The causative form of an intransitive verb can be derived from a root by adding the suffix **-th** or **-b** immediately after the root. In this process a transitive verb with two arguments is made. For the moment it is unclear when one or the other is used; they are not interchangeable, and there are just a few verbs with the causative marker **-b**. This marker is not productive any more.

chem-th-om	txi'-th-a'	pa'-b-a'
die-CAUS-AP(INC)	come-CAUS-TS(COM)	go.down-CAUS-TS(COM)
<i>kill, Lit: cause to die</i>	<i>bring, Lit: cause to come</i>	<i>take down (cause to go down)</i>

3.3.2.3 HSF Applicatives: Dative -tx and Instrumental -n

The applicatives add an argument and augment semantic complexity of a verb; they can be added to both transitive and intransitive verbs. According to Dixon & Aikhenvald (2000:6) “an applicative applies to an intransitive verb root, deriving a transitive verb.” Constable (1989) considers applicatives to be a voice because of the fact that there is a special morpheme added to the verbal root. Details about the HSF Applicatives as an extension of basic valency are found in Chapter 6 on HSF Voice.

a. Dative -tx The Dative marker is added immediately after a root; very often an epenthetic **(V)n-** is introduced to resolve a cluster that would

otherwise be formed (**pith-a'** *give something* becomes **pith-an-tx-iy** *give it to somebody*).

cha-iy	<i>apply something</i>	cha'- tx -iy	<i>apply it for/to somebody</i>
pith-a'	<i>give something</i>	pith-an- tx -iy	<i>give it to somebody</i>

b. Instrumental -n The instrumental marker **-n** is placed just after the verbal root, before the transitive suffix.

way-al	way- n-a -al
sleep-INC	sleep-INSTR-TS-INC
<i>sleep</i>	<i>sleep on/with</i>

The Instrumental marker is also used as a verbaliser (details of this verbaliser can be found in Chapter 7 on Applicatives, in the section on Instrumental):

- (10) u **taat-n-a-al** naa' i **taat**
 E1 *petate*-INSTR-TS-INC DEM NM *petate*
I sleep on that 'petate' (corn straw mat). (GoyE4-37-1)

3.3.3 “Special” HSF Suffixes with Aspectual/Adverbial Semantics There are seven HSF derivational morphemes with adverbial and aspectual meaning. Their origins are not determinable. They slightly modify the main meaning of the verb; they seem to belong to the Aktionsart domain and the semantics of verbs. They are placed straight after the root. If a root is consonant-final, then a consonant cluster is formed, which is one of the rare cases of consonant clusters in HSF. These morphemes are typical ‘Huastecan’ as they do not exist in other Mayan languages. Grinevald (p.c.) suggests that these suffixes may be traces of the directionals that Huastecan languages have lost, in which case these suffixes would have changed their semantics (directionals have spatial meaning). This is one of the HSF issues that remain to be researched more. It should be studied in detail how these verbs function in other Mayan languages within a historical perspective.

These HSF adverbial/aspectual suffixes are: **-k-**, **-k'-**, **-l-**, **-m-**, **-ch-**, **-ch'-**, **-p-**. Some verbs exist only with one of these suffixes (and they do not have the usual CVC form of

a verb, but CVC-Derivational Morpheme-aspect). When this suffix is added, a verb either:

- a. distinguishes two different roots
- b. keeps the usual meaning but gets a nuance of
suddenly, quickly, for a moment
- c. or changes its voice and becomes middle

as illustrated in the following list:

a.	wat'-ey	<i>pass by</i>	
	wat'-k-an	<i>pass by quickly, suddenly</i>	MID
b.	pax-uw ³	<i>turn around</i>	
	pax-k'-uw	<i>boil it</i>	
	pax-k'-in	<i>to cover itself</i>	MID
c.	chuj-uw	<i>lose fur (animal)</i>	
	chuj-k-an	<i>fall down on its own (a thing)</i>	MID
d.	map-uy	<i>cover it</i>	
	map-k-un	<i>cover/close oneself</i>	MID
e.	pal-ey	<i>hang it, grab it</i>	
	pal-k'-an	<i>remain</i>	MID
f.	pej-a'	<i>separate it</i>	
	pej-k'-an	<i>separate oneself quickly</i>	MID
g.	buk'-uw	<i>water (plants)</i>	
	buk'-l-an	<i>separate (oneself from someone)</i>	MID
h.	eb-ay	<i>add filling it up (water to a glass)</i>	
	eb-l-in	<i>go up</i>	MID

³ In this case there may be two different verb roots, as 'turn around,' 'boil,' and 'cover' seem to be quite different meanings.

i.	lej-ey lej-k-iy	<i>pass though with difficulty (squeeze)</i> <i>fix it, prepare it</i>	
j.	bal-in bal-k'-in	<i>get in</i> <i>fall into</i>	MID MID
k.	chuj-an chuj-k'-an	<i>lose leaves, hair</i> <i>fall (leaves)</i>	MID MID
l.	witx-iy witx-k'-on	<i>return</i> <i>return quickly</i>	MID
m.	pun-uw pun-k-uw pun-ch'-uw	<i>put, place it</i> <i>put, place it quickly</i> <i>put, place it quickly</i>	
n.	jil-a' jil-p-iy	<i>leave it</i> <i>leave it for a moment</i>	
o.	ik'-iy ik'-p-iy	<i>bring it</i> <i>bring it quickly</i>	
p.	k'ap-uw k'ap-ch'-uw	<i>eat it</i> <i>eat everything, quickly</i>	
r.	tep- tep-th-a' tep-ch-in	<i>does not exist</i> <i>turn it down (light, candle)</i> <i>turn down quickly</i>	CAUS MID
q.	yik'-ox yik'w-ch-in	<i>get dark</i> <i>get dark quickly</i>	MID
s.	kal-ej kal-p-an	<i>leave</i> <i>escape (leave quickly)</i>	MID
t.	taj-aj-aal taj-b-ay	<i>clear, illuminated</i> <i>illuminate it</i>	CAUS

	taj-k-an	<i>dawn</i>	
u.	kwaj-ay	<i>sit down</i>	
	kwaj-l-an	<i>fall</i>	MID
v.	juum-an	<i>fly</i>	MID
	juum-	<i>does not exist</i>	
	jum-ch-in	<i>jump over (jump to the other side)</i>	MID
z.	tey-om	<i>hold</i>	AP
	tey-k-om	<i>grab</i>	AP

The verb roots that do not exist without these suffixes:

	puj-k'-iy	<i>turn something over</i>	
	puj-k'-in	<i>fall down</i>	MID
	*puj-	<i>does not exist as a basic form</i>	
	chal-p-ay	<i>think</i>	
	kal-m-an	<i>eat</i>	MID
	tol-m-iy	<i>help</i>	
	ch'i'-k-iy	<i>start it</i>	
	ch'i'-k-in	<i>start itself</i>	MID

This choice of suffixes looks rather lexicalised. There is no evident regularity. Extensive direct elicitation did not bring any answer. Maybe a detailed comparison with other Mayan languages would shed more light on this phenomenon.

3.4 Reduplication Edmonson (1988:226) finds this derivational process very productive in general, in Huastec of San Luis Potosí. In HSF it does not seem very productive. Only a couple of verbs with reduplication have been found in the HSF corpus. The verb **toj-oj-ool** *cook* is a grammaticalised form with a reduplicated root. (This is the only form of this verb; there is no verb with the same meaning but without reduplication.) The reduplicated verbs seem to have an intensified meaning, although not always. Some pairs of the HSF verbs with and without the reduplication are shown here:

a. mo'k-a' *put*

mo' k-ak-ay *put attentively, with patience*

- b. wik-iy *tighten up*
 wik-ik-iy *tighten up firmly*
- c. lok-a' *destroy*
 look-ook-n-a' *destroy totally*
- d. ch'at-ay *stick*
 ch'at-at-ay *stick to others*

3.5 Participles -th, -tx, -at There are two morphemes that derive participles in HSF: **-th** and **-tx**. It is interesting to mention that the vowel added to the marker for the Participle behaves according to the vocal harmony rule (the vowel of the marker is a repeated vowel of the root), which is usually not the case in South Eastern Huastec.

- a. **-th** is used with verbs that have **-(V)y** as a transitive suffix:

chaj-iy	<i>tighten up</i>	chajl-ith	<i>tightened up</i>
mat-iy	<i>lend, borrow</i>	mat-ith	<i>lent, borrowed</i>
lukl-iy	<i>make dirty</i>	lukl-ith	<i>dirtied</i>
ch'e-ey	<i>grind</i>	ch'e-eth	<i>ground</i>
bijtx-iy	<i>teach</i>	bijtx-ith	<i>taught</i>

- b. **-tx** is used with verbs that have **-a'** as a transitive suffix:

kwath-a'	<i>hit</i>	kwath-atx	<i>hit</i>
txik-a'	<i>burn</i>	t'a'-atx	<i>burnt</i>
luj-a'	<i>straighten</i>	luj-utx	<i>straight(ened)</i>
t'ak-a'	<i>wash</i>	t'ak-atx	<i>washed</i>

- c. **-at** There are a dozen participles that have this PPL marker. The marker vowel in this case does not follow the vocal harmony rule like in the other two PPL marker cases.

t'ok-iy	<i>clean</i>	t'ok-at	<i>clean(ed)</i>
koch-iy	<i>lie down</i>	koch-at	<i>lay (lying down)</i>
pal-ey	<i>hang</i>	pal-at	<i>hung (hanging)</i>
kub-a'	<i>stand</i>	kub-at	<i>standing</i>
xap-a'	<i>wear</i>	xap-at	<i>worn</i>
muth-uw	<i>collect</i>	muth-at	<i>collected</i>
ch'at-a'	<i>stick</i>	ch'at-at	<i>stuck</i>
k'wal-ey	<i>condense</i>	k'wal-at	<i>condensed</i>

- (11) xee' che'-en / xee' che'-eth.
 now grind-MID(COM) now grind-PPL
*Now it ground (*itself), it is ground.* (GoyC2-87-21)

- (12) inchana' an t-u bijtx-ith.
 that.way DEF R-Alp teach-PPL
We've been taught that way. (CirC2-131-36)

- (13) ...xoo'n ti k'waj-at ch'ajl-ith.
 REL R be-INC tighten-PPL
....where he was tightened up. (BerC2-119-13)

3.6 Stative Participle Active and Passive

- V:m Active Stative Participle (marked with Erg)
- V:m-tej Passive Stative Participle (marked with Abs)

Although the semantics (and partly the behaviour) of these forms resembles gerund/coverbs, these forms do not have this function. The HSF stative participles are personal verbal forms and can form a clause. They are functional counterparts of the Yucatec resultative **-a'an** (Lehmann,p.c.). These stative participles exist only in HSF; they are not found in the other two variants of the Huastecan languages. Stative participles exist in the Mayan family as deverbal nouns, but they do not have two different forms (active and passive) like in HSF. The stative participles represent a kind of nominalisation of a verb, thus the absence of aspectual marking of these forms. Their

semantics is ‘to be in the state of x-ing’, therefore, their name. A similar phenomenon has been reported for Tibeto-Burman languages (Noonan 1997, Bickel 1999, Morey 2010, Waters 2006), where it is called a non-subordinated nominalisation.

It should be noted that these forms sometimes behave like a nominal:

- they do not take the usual verbal aspectual markers
- the active SP forms past with the particle **wik** like HSF non-verbal predicates

On the other hand, unlike the nominals, these forms never take the determiner **an** *the*, or any modifier. Their verbal feature is reflected by the fact that, like in English, they:

- have an active and a passive form
- can have an object (ex 14a.b.)

The active stative participle is marked Ergatively, and the passive stative participle form is marked Absolutively. Unlike verbs, these forms are never marked for aspect. They have the unique passive marker **-tej** (this stative participle passive marker is different from the HSF canonical Passive markers, see Chapter 6, section 6.3 on Passive). The following examples illustrate the HSF Stative Participles:

Active	u	jootxk-iim	
	E1	carry-SP	
		<i>tengo cargado/ I carry</i>	
Active past	u	jootxk-iim	wik
	E1	carry-SP	PAST
		<i>tenía cargado/ I was carrying</i>	
Passive	in	jootxk-iim-tej	
	A1	carry-SP-PASS	
		<i>me tienen cargado/ I am being carried</i>	

(14) a. u koj-aam juun i sombreero.

E1 wear.on.head-SP one MN hat(Sp)

I wear/I am wearing a hat. (I am in the state of wearing a hat)

b. u koj-aam wik juun i sombreero.

E1 wear.on.head-SP PAST one MN hat(Sp)

I was wearing a hat. (AmBowPed5)

c. an sombreero koj-aam-tej.

DEF hat(Sp) wear.on.head-SP-PASS

The hat is being worn.

(15) an sigaaro puyk-uum-tej

DEF cigarette be.in.mouth-SP-PASS

The cigarette is (put) in the mouth. (BowPed39)

(16) a. in eeb-oom

E3 look.up-SP

He is looking up. (AmR38b)

b. in eeb-oom wik

E3 look.up-SP PAST

He was looking up.

Compare with a non-verbal predicate encoding for past:

c. jajaa' alobeel wik

s/he beautiful PAST

She was beautiful. (PetE1-58)

and for a verbal encoding for past, as a contrast (where the aspectual marker for past is zero for Compositive or **-aamal** for Perfect):

d. in tel-a' / tel-a-amal t'ek'at

E3 look-TS(COM)/look-TS-PERF up
He looked up.

The active Stative Participle form has the same shape as one of the AP markers, namely the **-(V)m**, but it cannot be confused with the antipassive, as the antipassive is marked Absolutively and the active stative participle is marked Ergatively (being a kind of nominalisation, it is marked like nouns for possession *my looking up*).

(17) a. nanaa' in och'-oox
 I A1 hear-AP(INC)
I (can) hear (=I am not deaf).

b. nanaa' u och'-oom
 I E1 hear-SP
I am listening.

c i och'-oom k'ij taam an ti taal altxik an olip.
 Ep hear-SP INT when DEF R come.INC straight DEF stream
*They were listening attentively as it (coyote) was coming straight
 down the stream. (CirCoy66-14)*

(18) na jwaan in jil-oom ti alelaap.
 HUM Juan E3 leave-SP prep corn.field
Juan comes from a corn field. (AmArch465)

(19) wawaa' u juun-iim-tej k'aal n-i paa /
 we A1p accompany-SP-PASS with DEM-Ep father
 jaachtaam an ti baa' u jik'-eel. (AmE5-46)
 therefore DEF R no A1p scare-INC
We are accompanied by our father, that's why we are not scared.

(20) naa' i kubeeta teey-oom-tej

DEM NM bucket carry-SP-PASS

This bucket was carried. (AmE5-22)

Interestingly, the native speakers of HSF, who are at the same time native speakers of Spanish, do not translate these HSF forms into Spanish by a passive: *estaba cargada* (it would be **kitnaaj**, a HSF passive) *was being carried*, but like *la tenian cargada* - *they had it carried*. For comparison with the canonical passive see Chapter 6 section 6.3 on Passive.

- (21) na jwaan ayk-oom-tej k'aal juun i buuru. (CirE4-94)
 HUM Juan follow-SP-PASS with one NM donkey(Sp)
Juan was (being) followed by a donkey.

- (22) tu pith-a' xoo'ni n-u tey-oom wik (CirE4-94)
 1>2 give-TS(COM) REL REL-EI hold-SP PAST
I gave you what I held. (had in my hand).

A sentence like 'Maria came carrying her child on her shoulder' is expressed 'Maria came, she was in the state of carrying her child on her shoulder.':

- (23) na mariia txi'-ich tenchee' // (CirE-6)
 HUM Maria come-COM here

in kit-aam n-in chikaam-il ani
 E3 carry.at.back-SP DEM-E3 child-POSS and

wa ajat an ti taal //
 A3 singMID.INC DEF R come.INC

ani in bechk-eem juun i kubeeta.
 and E3 carry.in.hand-SP one NM bucket

Maria came here carrying her child on her back, singing and carrying a bucket.

Or, a sentence *He is doing homework listening to the music* is expressed in South Eastern Huastec as two juxtaposed clauses without a complementiser/subordinator ‘*He is doing homework, and he is listening to the music*’. All these examples resemble the situation of sequencing events discussed in the context of Trajectory (see Chapter 12 on Space).

- (24) Paawlo in thutx-a-al an tarea ani in och'ow-iy-al an ajattalaap
 Pablo E3 write-TS-INC DEF homework and E3 listen-TS-INC DEF music
Pablo is doing his homework and listening to music. (CirE6)

- (25) jajaa' in tel-a-al ich an telebisyoon ani (CirE6)
 s/he E3 watch-TS-INC already DEF television and
 in baath-iy-al ich an miis
 E3 cuddle-TS-INC already DEF cat
She is watching TV, cuddling the cat.

Interestingly, as shown in example (26), the stative participle can have an object:

- (26) ani in bechk-eem juun i kubeeta.
 and E3 carry.in.hand-SP one NM bucket
“and I was in the state of carrying a bucket”. (CirE6)

The following example is a construction ‘movement-cum-manner’, that is why the two clauses are connected by a subordinator *t-*. This event ‘She left crying’ cannot be expressed as monoclausal in HSF, most probably because of the already-mentioned HSF way of sequencing complex events: *she left, she was crying*):

- (27) in kal-ej t-in thaj-n-al
 A1 leave-COM R-A1 cry-MID-INC
I left crying.

A clause like ‘*reading is tiring*’ is expressed by two clauses ‘*you read, you get tired*’:

- (28) t-it aj-um k-it chik-ej (CirE6)

R-A2 read-AP(INC) IRR-A2 get.tired-COM

Reading is tiring.

- (29) t-it koy-ooch t'ajatx k-it way-ich
 R-A2 relax-AP(INC) very IRR-A2 sleep-COM
Relaxing much, one falls asleep. (CirE6)

The stative participles can be negated independently:

- (30)a. nanaa' in koy-ooch in koch-at u eeb-oom t'ek'at (CirE6)
 I A1 relax-AP(INC) A1 lie-PPL E1 look-SP up
I am relaxing, lying and looking up.

- b. nanaa' in koy-ooch in koch-at / **baa'** u eeb-oom t'ek'at
 I A1 relax-AP(INC) A1 lie-PPL no E1 look-SP up
I am relaxing, lying (and) not looking up.

The active and the passive stative participles seem to be used for background information, that is, in contexts where a coverb/gerund is used in English, for example. Also, their function seems to be attributive (*she came, she was in the state of carrying her child on her back*); they are a kind of depictive-like construction. This issue needs more research.

3.7 HSF Positionals

Positionals are rather distinctive in Mayan languages, where they have a specific derivation and functions. According to Dayley (1984:58), the positional roots “typically indicate the position, condition, state or form that an object is in.” They are roots only and need to be derived to form a stem (England, 1983:78). The HSF positionals have only one unchangeable form. In other Mayan languages, for example in Chol, the positional roots can take several derivational suffixes (Vázquez 2011). Unlike in other Mayan languages, positionals are not very numerous in HSF (see Table 1).

Their suffix is **-(V:)l**, which is a Pan-Mayan positional derivation. The vowel of the derivational suffix should be in harmony with the root vowel, but this is not consistent

(see the words with *). The only possible derivational process is reduplication (see Table 1). There are no other forms of HSF positionals; they do not take aspect markers, or any other suffix. Table 1 lists the majority of HSF Positionals:

Table 1. HSF Positionals

bux-uul	<i>squatting</i>
beth-eel	<i>hanging</i>
boy-ool	<i>reduced, shrank</i>
ch'a'-aal	<i>open (mouth)</i>
em-eel	<i>leaning</i>
ich'-iil	<i>protruding(branches of a tree)</i>
jeb-eel	<i>open, ajar</i>
joy-ool	<i>open (cracked)</i>
kex-eel	<i>separated, open</i>
k'uch-uul	<i>curvaceous</i>
kut-uul	<i>sitting</i>
lak-aal	<i>skinny</i>
mo-ool	<i>positioned, placed, being there</i>
mok-uul*	<i>piled up</i>
much-uul	<i>short</i>
nit' -iil	<i>showing teeth</i>
tek-w-eel	<i>protruding, leaning</i>
xuy-uul	<i>reduced</i>
wix-ool*	<i>wrinkled</i>

Positionals with reduplication:

buk-uk-uul	<i>spread out</i>
chub-eb-eel*	<i>waiving</i>
k'uch'-uch'-uul	<i>noisy</i>
kwetx-otx-ool*	<i>round</i>
math-ath-aal	<i>floating</i>
mul-ul-uul	<i>rounded</i>

t'aw-iw-iił*	<i>in form of a swirl</i>
txub-ub-uul	<i>careless</i>
ya'u'uul*	<i>weak, fallen, sick</i>

Positionals are used as predicates in a stative and modifying function. Positionals as adjectives are exemplified in (31) and (32):

- (31) naa' i patx t'ajatx **xuy-uul** n-in wi'
 DEM NM sauce.pan very be.tight-POSIT DEM-E3 mouth
That sauce pan has a very tight opening. (AmE4-77)

- (32) naa' i baaka t'ajatx **lak-aal**
 DEM NM cow(Sp) very be.skinny-POSIT
That cow is very skinny. (AmE4-76)

Positionals are most often part of depictive constructions, as in examples (33) and (34), since they usually encode position, posture and manner:

- (33) in uch'-a' juun i baaso i ja' **kut-uul**
 E3 drink-TS(COM) one NM glass(Sp) NM water sit-POSIT
(He) drank a glass of water (while) sitting. (GoyTr5)

- (34) naa' i kupte' **em-eel** an ti kub-at
 DEM NM 'istante' incline-POSIT DEF R stand-PPL
That 'istante'(tree) is leaning. (Lit: stands leaning) (CirE4-76)

Examples of a complex predicate with a positional are (35), (36) and (37):

- (35) naa' i kwitool **kut-uul** an ti exom ti aj-um.
 DEM NM young.man sit-POSIT DEF R PROGR R read-AP(INC)
That young man is sitting reading. (CirTr41)

- (36) **buxuul** chabaal juun i txithan an ti k'wajat
 squat-POSIT ground one NM girl DEF R be-INC
The girl is squatting on the floor. (GoyTr29)

- (37) an wii'lep **jeb-eel** an ti k'waj-at
 DEF door open-POSIT DEF R be-INC

3.8 Verbalizers: transitive suffixes and the suffix **-n**

When one of the HSF transitive suffixes, namely **-(V)y** is added to a noun, a transitive verb is formed:

chi'im	<i>honey</i>	chi'm-ay	<i>sweeten</i>
at'em	<i>salt</i>	at'm-iy	<i>to salt</i>
chaam	<i>ice</i>	cham-ay	<i>to chill</i>

Also, when a suffix **-n** (that encodes applicatives as well) is added to a noun, a transitive verb is formed:

taat	<i>mat</i>	taat-n-aal	<i>to use as a mat</i>
k'weet	<i>broom</i>	k'weet-n-aal	<i>to sweep</i>

- (38) u **taat-n-a-al** naa' i **taat**
 E1 *petate*-INSTR-TS-INC DEM NM *petate*
I sleep on that 'petate' (corn straw mat). (GoE4-37-1)

- (39) u **k'weet-n-a-al** axee' i **k'weet**
 E1 *broom*-INSTR-ST-INC DEM NM *broom*

baal k-u ejt-iy an altaaj.
 for IRR-E1 clean-TS(COM) DEF interior
I use this broom for cleaning the house. (CirE4-53-3)

3.9 Inchoative/Versive **-bej/-beel/-beenek, -mej/-meel/-meenek** These derivational morphemes, which are often interchangeable, make an inchoative verb from an adjective (become x).

altxik	<i>heavy</i>	altxik-beej	<i>become heavy</i>
jiliy	<i>sour</i>	jil-beej	<i>become sour</i>
teenek	<i>Huastec</i>	teenek-beej	<i>learn to speak Huastec</i> (Lit: <i>become Huastec</i>)

(40) baal baa' k-a cha'-bej taam exom an ti paak'-um
 that no IRR-A3 wet-INCHOA.COM when PROGR DEF R wash-AP(INC)
So that it does not get wet when somebody washes... (MarcC2-173-50)

(41) lajni' u ya'ul-meel.
 really A1p sick-INCHOA.INC
We really get sick. (MandAngC2-144-75)

(42) jelat xee' baal a cham-beel
 like now that A3 cold-INCOA.INC
Like now that it is getting cold... (CirE2-130-28)

3.10 HSF Verbal Aspect

In Huastec of San Francisco there are five different aspectual forms that indicate the type of action or time. Three of them are marked on the verb by particular aspect markers. The other two are expressed periphrastically. These aspectual markers in HSF are always placed, as mentioned above, after the verb root (intransitive verbs) or after the stem (transitive verbs).

HSF expresses aspectual distinctions, and not time distinctions. According to Bohnemeyer (1998: 22), "there is no grammaticalized expression of absolute time reference, i.e. reference to a moment in time as defined with respect to coding time." The meaning of time in an HSF verb is determined pragmatically from context.

There are three different verbal aspect markers in Huastec of San Francisco: **completive, incompletive and perfect.**

Huastec of San Francisco has three kinds of suffixes that encode aspect. Almost each paradigm (or verbal group) has its own aspectual markers, but there are cases when they are shared:

Voice _____ COMPLETIVE __ INCOMPLETIVE __ PERFECT

Active	- Ø	- al	- aamal
Passive	- aj/-at	- aap	- aamej
Antipassive	- in	- Ø	- neenek
	- aach	- Ø	- aamath
Middle	- Ø	- al	- eenek

3.10.1 Completive

The completive marker conveys the meaning of a completed action, with no reference to whether it happened recently or some time ago. In Active transitive and Middle voice the completive marker is zero (a.); in this grammar these cases are glossed as in (b.):

- a.
- | | |
|---------------|------------------------|
| ch'a'-iy-Ø | map-un-Ø |
| buy-TS-COM | close-MID-COM |
| <i>bought</i> | <i>closed (itself)</i> |
- b.
- | | |
|-------------|----------------|
| ch'a'-iy | map-un |
| buy-TS(COM) | close-MID(COM) |

Intransitive verbs have the completive aspectual marker **-(V)y**, which is identical in its form to one of the transitive markers:

- c.
- | | |
|---------------|-----------------|
| chak'-ay | witx-iy |
| get.up-COM | return-COM |
| <i>got up</i> | <i>returned</i> |

For the rest of the verbs, namely the Antipassive and the Passive, the Completive aspect marker is **-aach** and **-in**, and **-aj/-at** respectively.

- d.
- | | | | |
|------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| atl-aach | chalp-ax-in | nujuk-a-aj | junk-uw-at |
| run-AP.COM | think-AP-COM | lay-TS-PASS.COM | gather-TS-COM |
| <i>ran</i> | <i>thought</i> | <i>was laid</i> | <i>were gathered</i> |

3.10.2 Incomplete The incomplete marker signalizes action that has not finished yet. It is used to refer also to an action in progress, a repetitive or a habitual action. The incomplete marker is:

- a. **-al** with Active transitive voice:

thutx-a-al	ch'a'-y-al
write-TS-INC	buy-TS-INC
<i>write</i>	<i>buy</i>

- b. **-(V:)l** with non-derived and Inchoative intransitive verbs:

witx-iil	ya'ulm-eel
return-INC	sick-INCOA.INC
<i>return</i>	<i>become sick</i>

- c. **-∅** with verbs in Antipassive voice:

thutx-um	chu-ux	aath-il
write-AP(INC)	watch-AP(INC)	run-AP(INC)
<i>write</i>	<i>watch, see</i>	<i>run</i>

- d. **-aap** with Passive:

jap-iy-aap
open-TS-PASS.INC
is being opened

3.10.3

Perfect

The perfect marker encodes the result of a finished action. According to Comrie (1976), there are four meanings of a Perfect: 1. result of an action (*I have broken a glass*); 2. experiential perfect (*Have you ever been to France?*); 3. recent past (*I have just seen John.*); 4. persistent situation (*I have taught English for ten years*). It is necessary to note that the HSF Perfect aspect does not have the above meaning number 4. The perfect aspect markers in HSF are:

- a. **-(V)nek** with non-derived intransitive and the Middle Voice:

witx-inek	k'al-nek	ch'aw-neenek
return-PERF	leave-PERF	hit-MID.PERF
<i>has returned</i>	<i>has left</i>	<i>hit (himself)</i>

- b. **-neenek** with Antipassive that uses **-x** in the Incomplete:

chalp-ax-neenek

think-AP-PERF

has thought

k'at-ux-neenek

bite-AP-PERF

has bitten

c. **-aamal** with transitive verbs:

ch'a'-y-aamal

buy-TS-PERF

has bought

d. **-aamath** with other two Antipassive types:

thutx-m-aamath

write-AP-PERF

has written

aath-l-aamath

run-AP-PERF

has run

e. **-aamej** with Passive:

utx-aamej

tell-PASS.PERF

have been told

It can be noted that the transitive verb, antipassive and passive perfect forms share the same morpheme **-aam-**. Watatani mentions it too, and expresses the opinion that most-likely all these forms “represent synthetic morphemes with the primordial Perfect marker ***-aam**” (1995:167).

3.10.4 Progressive Progressive aspect is conveyed by using the auxiliary verb, **exom** which indicates that the action is in progress. It is used with both transitive and intransitive verb stems. Naturally, the progressive is used with a verb in its incomplete aspect. If the auxiliary verb **exom** is followed by an Absolutive person marker, it is preceded by a subordinator **t-**, as illustrated in (43)a. and b.. If it is followed by the Ergative person maker, the subordinator **t-** is not used, as in (43)c.

(43)a. **exom t-in** way-al

PROGR R-A1 sleep-INC

I am sleeping. (IrArch38)

b. **exom** **t-ip** **estudiar-n-al**

PROGR R-A3p study(Sp)-MID-INC

They are studying. (AmC1-24-14)

c. **exom** **i** **wit'-a-al** **an** **t-ip** **aj-um**

PROGR Ep learn-TS-INC DEF R-A3p write-AP(INC)

They are learning how to write. (AmC1-24-15)

Progressive aspect can be encoded by other verbs, as discussed in detail in Chapter 9 on Auxiliary constructions.

(44) **ip** **xe'ech** **t-up** **pajjn-aax**

A3p go.INC R-A3p chase-REC.INC

They are chasing each other. (CirRec65)

3.10.5

Future

As a point of difference from the majority of Mayan languages, South Eastern Huastec, like Tzeltal, does not have a specific Future verbal form. A future action in HSF is expressed in a periphrastic construction with the grammaticalised verb **ne'ech** *go*, plus the **subordinator t-** or the **subordinator k-**. It is used with both transitive and intransitive verbs. This construction is described in detail in section 1 of Chapter 9 on Complex Predication.

Subordinators t- and k- The subordinator **t-** is used with the incomplete aspect form of the verb, and **k-** with the complete:

a. **ne'ech** **k-in** **t'oj-on**
FUT IRR-E1 work-MID(COM)
I will work.

b. **ne'ech** **t-in** **t'oj-n-al**
FUT R-A1 work-MID-INC
I am going to work.

c. **ne'ech** **k-in** **koy-ooch**
FUT IRR-A1 rest-AP.COM
I will rest.

d. **ne'ech** **t-in** **koy-ol**
FUT R-A1 rest-INC
I am going to rest.

When used for future actions, the difference between the two is very subtle: according to Zavala (1994), the future construction with **t-** has a meaning of **immediate future** related to the present (*going to*), and the construction with **k-** indicates that the action is not relevant to the present and will take place **sometime in the future** (*will*).

a. subordinator t-

- (45) kalaam an ajip / ne'ech t-in koy-ol (AmE1-72)
 tomorrow DEF holiday FUT R-A1 relax-AP(INC)
Tomorrow is a holiday, I will rest.

b. subordinator k-

- (46) ne'ech k-u thutx-a' juun i kaarta (AmDahlfut036)
 FUT IRR-E1 write-TS(COM) one NM letter
I am going to write a letter.

The irrealis subordinator **k-** is also used to encode the counterfactual ('future in the past'):

- (47) n-u eebaal in chalp-ay ti we'eel (AmDFu71)
 DEM-E1 sibling E3 think-TS(COM) prep yesterday

 ne'ech k-it ul-ich xuwee'
 FUT IRR-A2 come-COM today
*My brother thought yesterday that you **would** come today.*

An interesting example with both subordinators in the same sentence that illustrates this phenomenon is the following:

- (48) xuwee' t-a k'iitxaaj puees ne'ech t-in tojoj-ool
 today prep-HON day then(Sp) FUT R-A1 cook-AP(INC)

 taam k-in ok'-oy t-in kalm-ax /
 when IRR-E1 finish-TS(COM) R-A1 make.lunch-AP(INC)

 ne'ech t-in paak'-um /

FUT R-A1 wash-AP(INC)

ne'ech k-u jay-un-th-a' ok'-ox
 FUT IRR-E1 have.lunch-EP-CAUS-TS(COM) first

naa' i aluumnu ne'ech k-up ul-ich
 REL NM pupils(Sp) FUT IRR-A3pl come-COM

Today I am going to cook, when I finish cooking I am going to wash. I am going to feed first the pupils who come. (Con1-04-8)

It could be noted here that in HSF **t-** has three different functions, namely:

- general locative preposition (pan- Mayan)
- realis subordinator
- inverse alignment marker

More details on its function as a preposition are found in Chapter 12 on Space; details on its function as realis subordinator in Chapter 9 on subordination, and more information on this prefix as a signal of inverse alignment is found in Chapter 5 on Person Marking.

3.11 Particles with Temporal/Aspectual Meaning:

- **wik** PAST
- **ich** *already*
- **ej** PERDUR

As mentioned in Chapter 2 on Word Classes, there are thirteen different particles in HSF. Three of them: **wik**, **ich** and **ej** are morphemes with temporal/aspectual meaning. They are used to convey different nuances of the meaning of past, mostly with non-verbal predicates.

a. particle **wik** The particle **wik** is used with non-verbal predicates to indicate the past or habitual. In the following examples, the auxiliary verb **ne'ech** is used in the meaning *always* (habitual). The particle **wik**

is used with a verb in Incompletive aspect and enhances the meaning of habituality (repetitiveness). It is usually placed immediately after the verb, although it can occur in different places in a verbal complex.

- (49) a ne'ech ch'ak-iil **wik** a las 6 de la mañana (AmE2-82-5)
 A3 HAB get.up-INC PAST at 6 am (Sp)
S/he used to get up at 6 am.

- (50) n-u maa tin ne'ech t'aj-tx-iy-al **wik** yaan i bakan
 DEM-E1 mother 3>1 HAB make-DAT-TS-INC PAST many NM tortillas
My mother used to make for me a lot of tortillas. (AmE2-82-6)

- (51) nanaa' in ne'ech ul-el **wik** an ti eskweela punctual
 I A1 HAB arrive-INC PAST DEF prep school on.time(Sp)
I used to come to school on time. (AmE2-82-7)

The clitic **wik** can indicate that the whole verbal phrase was in the past; this occurs in the case of counterfactuals. In the following example there is the auxiliary verb **ne'ech**, indicating the future:

- (52) an kwitool tejwa' baal **ne'ech** **ich**
 DEF boy MIR that FUT already

wik ti way-al.
 PAST R sleep-INC (AmR27-16)
One could see that the boy was already going to sleep.

As Huastec of San Francisco does not have a verbal copula, this particle is normally used with non verbal predicates to indicate that the event was in the past:

- (53) jajaa' alobeel **wik**.
 s/he beautiful PAST
She was beautiful. (CirE1-58)

- (54) n-u k'iimaa' puulik **wik**.
 DEM-E1 home big PAST

My house was big. (IrArch9)

This particle is commonly found in combination with the clitic **ej** PERDUR:

- (55) jajaa' alobeel **wik** taam taa' txithan **ej**
s/he beautiful PAST when there girl PERDUR
She was beautiful when she was young. (CirE1-58)

- (56) jajaa' maas kwitool **ej** t'ajatx wik wa poj-ax.
s/he more(Sp) young PERDUR very PAST A3 get.angry-AP(INC)
When he was younger, he used to get angry often. (PetrC1-119-10)

b. particle **ich** This has the meaning of the adverb *already* (*ya* in Spanish). Edmonson (1988) calls it 'emphatic' as very often it just enhances the meaning of the perfect aspect of a verb.

- (57) ...max k'aak' **ich** an takap
if hot already DEF tortilla.grill
...if the tortilla grill is already hot. (VerV12-19)

- (58) xee' u wenk'-a' **ich**
now E1 turn-TS(COM) already
I turned them already. (VerV15-33)

- (59) exom ich i lej-k-iy-al an kooyej
PROGR already Ep prepare-DM-TS-INC DEF dough
We are already preparing the dough. (ErmV81-2)

c. particle **ej** **PERDUR** This particle has the meaning of the English adverb *still*. It is often used with the particle **wik** to enhance/support the meaning of duration.

- (60) jajaa' alobeel wik taam taa' txithan **ej**. (CirE1-58)
s/he beautiful PAST when there girl PERDUR
She was beautiful when she was young

- (61) in ul-al baal jajaa' ne'ech ti tomk-in chipiil **ej**. (PetrC1-120-24)

E3 say-INC that s/he FUT R marry-MID(COM) small PERDUR
He says he is going to get married (while still) young.

d. proclitic chap

There is a large number of examples in the data showing a verb with a proclitic **chap**, with a meaning of repetition (*again, for the second time*, etc), like *re-* in English or Romance languages. In the majority of cases, the clitic **chap** *again* is placed immediately before the verb (ex.62); very seldom a personal marker can be placed between this clitic and the verb (ex.63). This clitic is almost identical to the number two **chaap**; the only difference is the length of the vowel. This particle is most likely a grammaticalised form of the number *two*.

man-tx-iy	<i>add</i>	chap	man-tx-iy	<i>add again</i>
el-a'	<i>meet, find</i>	chap	el-a'	<i>meet, find again</i>

- (62) baa' chik-eej aasta ke in **chap** el-a'
 no get.tired-INCHOA.COM till(Sp) that(Sp) E3 again meet-TS(COM)
He didn't rest till he met/found her again. (AmR59-2006)

- (63) u **chap** u man-tx-iy-al ti ja'
 E1 again E1 add-DAT-TS-INC prep water
I added some water to it again. (MADC2-152-8)

Sometimes the adverb **juniil** *again, another time* is added to emphasize the meaning of repetitiveness:

- (64) ne'ech k-ip **chap** maj-un **juniil**.
 FUT IRR-A3pl again paint-MID(COM) again
They will paint themselves again. (FabC2-149-122)

- (65) ne'ech k-u **chap** witx-iy **juniil** al an lukuk
 FUT IRR-A1pl again return-COM again prep DEF mud
We will return to the earth. (FabC2-149-122)

3.13 Mode

There are the following modes in Huastec of San Francisco: Conditional, Imperative, Interrogative and Negative. HSF Questions and Negation are described in Chapter 8 on the Basic Clause.

3.13.1 Imperative

Imperative is not marked on the verb by a special marker; there is no suffix specific to the Imperative mode. HSF imperative is encoded by a verbal construction with the Irrealis subordinator **k-** attached to the absolutive or the Ergative personal marker. In an Imperative construction the verb is usually in the Completive aspect. The HSF conveys the imperative meaning by the following construction:

Irrealis Subordinator k + A/E personal marker + verb

a. Imperative of intransitive verbs

k-it kub'-ey
IRR-A2 stop-COM
stop!

k-it kaw-in
IRR-A2 speak-MID(COM)
speak!

k-ix k'waj-ay
IRR-A2p sit-COM
sit down!

k-ix kal-ej
IRR-A2p leave/go.out-COM
go out!

b. Imperative of transitive verbs:

k-a jap-iy an wii'lep
IRR-E2 close-TS(COM) DEF door
closes_{sg} the door!

k-i mo'k-a'
IRR-Epl put-TS(COM)
put_{pl} it!

(66) k-it k'ath-iy k-a pa'b-a' naa' i uj.
IRR-A2 climb-TS.INC IRR-E2 take.down-TS(COM) DEM NM avocado
Climb_{sg} (the tree) and takes_{sg} down that avocado. (AmArch305)

(67) k-it txi'-ich tin tolm-iy
IRR-A2 come-COM 2>1 help-TS(COM)
Come to help me. (Come so that you help me.) (AmArch306)

For the Transitive Agreement Markers the inverse marker **t-** replaces the subordinator **k-** :

- (68)a. tin bij-tx-iy ti teenek
 2>1 teach-DAT-TS(COM) prep Teenek
Teach me Huastec!

The HSF hortative imperative is the same construction:

k-a kal-ej
 IRR-A3 go.out-COM
Let him go out!

- (69) jajaa' k-in jap-iy an wii'lep
 s/he IRR-E3 open-TS(COM) DEF door
Let him open the door. (AmE81-2)

- (70) k-a jil-a' k-a och-ich
 IRR-E2 leave-TS(COM) IRR-A3 enter-COM
Let him enter! (AmArch316)

b. Periphrastic Construction with wanaj let us

- (71) wanaj ich
 come.IMP already
Let us go. (CirE2-3)

- (72) wanaj k-i paak'-uw an kwaa'xim.
 come.IMP IRR-Ep wash-TS(COM) DEF clothes
Let us wash the cloths. (CirE1-80)

3.13.3 Conditional

The meaning of condition is conveyed by adding the conjunction **max** to a clause:

- (73) **max** baa' tu ulaal-iy...
 if no 1>2 heal-TS.INC

If I do not heal you... (AmC214-110)

- (74) **max** in k'ib-a-al juun i pat'aal / baa' wa bel-al
 If E3 miss-TS-INC one NM part no A3 walk-INC
If it is lacking a part, it does not run. (=a bicycle) (CirC2-180-26).

Often in combination with the conditional **max** there is the Irrealis particle **ak** :

- (75) nanaa' **max** u koo'-y-al **ak** juun i milion de pesos /
 I if E1 have-TS-INC IRR one NM million of pesos (Sp)

nanaa' k-u ch'a-iy xoo'n k-u le'n-a' /
 I IRR-E1 buy-TS(COM) REL IRR-E1 want-TS(COM)

k-in k'al-ej t-in ton-el t-u kwitool-il-txik ...
 IRR-A1 go-COM R-A1 visit-AP(INC) prep-E1 child-POSS-PL

*If I had a million pesos I would buy what I want, I would go
 to visit my children...* (PetrE1-69)

3.14 Auxiliary Verbs

There are four verbs with auxiliary function in HSF. The first two form a complex predicate, and the second two verbs form a complementation in HSF:

- **exom** PROGR
- **ne'ech** FUT/HAB
- **k'wajat** *be*
- **xe'ech** *go*

These verbs as parts of complex predication are discussed in detail in Chapter 9, section 9.1 on HSF Auxiliary constructions.

3.15 HSF Irregular Verbs There are a very few irregular verbs in HSF. Their irregularity is seen in their forms.

3.15.1 **chuu***j* *see* All three forms of this verb have irregular forms. It is not clear where this comes from. The root of this verb in its completive form is also irregular: it finishes with **j**, which is most unusual in HSF:

COM: chuuj INC: chuu'-tal PERF: chuu'-mal

3.15.2 **txi'ich** *arrive, come* This irregular verb demonstrates irregularity in the form of its completive aspectual marker only:

COM: txi'-ich INC: txi'-iil PERF: txi'-nek

3.15.3 **verb** **taal** *come* This is the only form of this verb (**taal**). It is used in Incompletive aspect. In other aspects this verb does not exist. Instead, the verb **txi'ich** is used, so the paradigm looks as follows:

COM: txi'-ich INC: taal PERF: txi'-nek

These forms look like suppletion. It seems that this verb is actually a directional, which is very common in the Mayan family (Tsotsil **taal** '*come towards here*'); since it has no other forms, it is perceived in HSF as an incompletive aspect, that is why the verb **txi'-ich** is used for the other two aspects. In Yucatec Maya, which like Huastec does not have directionals, this word is present and means '*come towards here*.'

3.16.4 **verb** **awich** *can* This is the only form of this verb; it seems to be incompletive aspect. It is used very seldom, there are only a couple of examples in the corpus.

3.15.5 **verb** **kwaal** *have* This is the only form of this verb, also in its incompletive form. For other aspects the verb **koo'-oy** *have* is used.

3.15.6 Other Irregular Verbs A couple of HSF verbs, extremely common in the corpus, show a specific irregularity: in incompletive form they do not bear any kind of suffix, while in completive and perfect they are marked for transitivity and aspect; the interesting thing is that they bear the instrumental marker **-n** (that is used in HSF in its function of a verbaliser as well):

COM	cho'oob- n-a'	<i>know</i>	lee'- n-a'	<i>want, like</i>
INC	cho'oob		lee'	

3.15.7 Verbs with Middle Marker

There is a relatively small group of verbs that always bear the Middle Voice marker (except in their incomplete form). In other words, a form without the middle voice marker does not exist. Their form in the incomplete aspect is equal to the 'action word' form (according to Kaufmann, 1990; a kind of a gerund). This 'action word' functions as the verb's incomplete aspect of the Middle Voice, that is, the following verbs do not have a verbal form with a suffix for the incomplete aspect:

COM	INC	PERF	
ajt-in,	ajat (*ajtinal),	ajt-in-eenek	<i>sing</i>
xe'ch-in,	che'ech ,	xe'ch-in-eenek	<i>go, walk</i>
kwe't-in,	kwe'et ,	kwe't-in-eenek	<i>sweep</i>
kaaw-in,	kaaw ,	kaaw-n-eenek	<i>speak</i>
wa'ch-in,	wa'ach ,	wa'ch-in-eenek	<i>exist, get born</i>
ubat'-in,	ubat' ,	ubat'-n-eenek	<i>play</i>
koo'-in,	koo' ,	koo'-n-eenek	<i>take care</i>
kaach'-an,	kaach' ,	kaach'-n-eenek	<i>scream</i>

The form that is used as incomplete is a noun:

ajat'	<i>song</i>
k'weet	<i>broom</i>
kaaw	<i>word</i>
kaach'	<i>scream</i>
ubat'	<i>game</i>

- (76)a. in **kaw-in** k'aal an chikam kwitool ti we'eel
 A1 talk-MID(COM) with DEF small boy prep yesterday
I spoke with the little boy yesterday. (CirE6)

- (77) jajaa' a **kaaw** t'ajatx
 s/he A3 speak/word much
He speaks a lot. (CirE4-89)

- (78) pueš wa'ach yaan i kaaw ti teenek.
 then(Sp) exist.INC many NM word prep Huastec
There are many words in Huastec. (AmCo93-209)

3.15.8 Verbs with AP Marker A couple of intransitive verbs in HSF always come in the Antipassive form. They do not exist without an Antipassive marker, as mentioned above. Some examples follow: **koy-ol** *rest, relax*, **laatx-um** *swim*, **ojb-al** *cough*. They are present in Mam as well (England 1983).

3.16 Suppletive Verbs Only the following two forms are found in the HSF corpus. Their origin is not clear.

winiich *go (you_{sg})* **wana'** *let's go*

3.17 Plural Marking on Verbs -txik

The marking of Plural in HSF is very uncommon. It is usually sufficient in HSF to convey the meaning of plurality by verbal personal markers or free personal pronouns. The usage of verbal personal markers can however, occasionally be ambiguous because of the high level of homophony, as mentioned above. Therefore, a full or a short personal pronoun is used. In the following example both **babaa'** *they* and **ip** A3p convey the plurality of the clause/event:

babaa' ip way-al	*baba' ip way-al-txik
they A3p sleep-INC	they A3p sleep-INC-PL
<i>they sleep</i>	<i>they sleep</i>

- (79) **babaa'** **i** koo'-y-al jun i bitxim alobeel t'ajatx. (AmE2-10)
 they Ep have-TS-INC one NM horse beautiful very
They have a very beautiful horse.

For the above example, the consultants commented that putting the plural marker **-txik** on the verbal complex **i koo'-y-al-txik** after **babaa'** *they* would be 'unnecessary' and 'too much'. The same applies to the two following examples:

- (80) wawaa' i ajt-a' juun i ajattallap ti teenek.

we Ep sing-TS(COM) one NM song prep teenek
We sang a song in Teenek. (AmE2-28)
 * wawaa' i ajt-a'-**txik**

- (81) xaxaa' i thutx-aamal chaboox i kaarta. (AmE2-28)
 you(Pl) Ep write-PERF 2-3 NM letters
You have written a couple of letters.
 * thutx-a-amal-**txik** chaboox-**txik** i kaarta-**txik**

Here are some of the rare examples of the plural marker on the verb (obtained in elicitation):

- (82) i kun-uw-**txik** ti baa' an ti ch'ejet (GoyRec48)
 Ep hit-TS-PL prep self DEF prep leg
They hit themselves on their leg.

- (83) babaa' siempre tin kon-tx-iy-al-**txik** ti bakan.
 they always(Sp) 3p>1 ask-DAT-TS-INC-PL prep tortilla
They always ask me for tortillas. (PetrArch192)

- (84) tee' u k'waj-**txik** (PetrBod25)
 here A3p be-PL
We are here.

Inanimate nouns are not marked for plural in HSF. If a clause is out of context, it is difficult to differentiate if the meaning is plural or singular, because the inanimate nouns are not cross-referenced on verbs for plural. The following example comes from a video recording of Doña Berna who was showing how she makes tamales (she was making many):

(85) b'aal k-a kal-ej paluw an t'u'uth (BerV83-24)

for IRR-3A leave-COM soft DEF tamal

...so that tamales come out soft.

* baal k-ip kal-ej-txik paluw-txik an t'u'uuth-txik

Chapter 4

Nominal Morphology and Noun Phrase

As mentioned in Chapter 2 on word classes, in Mayan linguistics, nouns are usually classified in groups according to their behaviour, in terms of possession. In South Eastern Huastec, similarly to San Luis Potosí Huastec, there are six classes of nouns, that is, six types of possession.

As mentioned earlier, personal names and place names (except only one hamlet's name, mentioned earlier, '**Jiliim**' *evergreen, oak*) are all Spanish.

A large number of nouns in HSF are made of a CVC root, for instance **ja'** *water*. In addition, there are a great number of nouns with a CVCVC, or similar more complex morphological structure, as the following words: **k'iitxaaj** *day*, **pik'o'** *dog*, **tuu'lek** *meat*, **inik** *man*, **k'ima'** *home*, **ajatalaap** *song*, **thutxumlaap** *pencil*.

4.1 HSF Nominal Derivation

In South Eastern Huastec there are simple CVC nouns. For instance: ‘**uj** *avocado*,
iich’ *month*, **k’ij** *time*, **lem** *mirror*, **wii’** *mouth*, as well as derived nouns.
There are five derivational morphemes that can appear on an HSF noun:

4.1.1 GENERIC -laap

The generic suffix is added to a noun that is usually possessed:

 nu papaaj *my father* papaaj-laap *a father, a parent in general*

ejat-tal-laap
alive-ABSTR-GEN
life(somebody’s, life in general)

4.1.2 COLLECTIVE -lek

 bitxow *town*

 bitxow-lek *town dwellers*

4.1.3 ABSTRACTIVE -tal

This suffix derives an abstract meaning:

inik-tal	xe’ch-in-tal
man-ABSTR	go-EP-ABSTR
<i>body</i>	<i>life</i>

4.1.4 POSSESSIVE -(V)l

The possessive suffix is added to some HSF nouns.

an kwita’	n-u kwitaa-il
DEF chicken	DEM-E1 chicken-POSS
<i>the chicken</i>	<i>my chicken</i>

4.1.5 Nouns Derived from Verbs There has been a long discussion in
Mayan linguistics about whether nouns are derived from verbs, or whether it is the other
way around (Vapnarsky 2003, Vapnarsky & Lois 2006, among others). Here are some

examples of how nouns are derived from verbs in South Eastern Huastec. The examples in (b.) and (c.) contain a morpheme that could be either an antipassive (V)m or a nominaliser.

a.	ajat	<i>sing</i>	
	ajat-tal-laap	<i>song</i>	an object
	sing-ABSTR-GEN		
b.	uch'-	<i>drink</i>	
	uch'-am-tal	<i>glass</i>	an instrument
	drink-AP?-ABSTR		
c.	kap-	<i>eat</i>	
	kap-um-tal	<i>plate</i>	an instrument
	eat-AP?-ABSTR		
d.	thutx-	<i>write</i>	
	thutx-laap	<i>letter</i>	an object
	write-GEN		
	thutx-um-tal	<i>pencil</i>	an instrument
	write-AP(INC)(?)-ABSTR		
	thutx-um	inik	<i>writer</i> an agent
	write-AP(INC)(?) man		

4.1.6 Compounds Compounds are made of two juxtaposed elements. These elements can be two nouns, or a noun and a verb. Noun-compounding is very uncommon in HSF; only a few compound words have been found in the whole corpus (about 1500 pages) of HSF texts. There are no examples of a compound noun of more than two elements.

- a. Here is an example of a compound word made of two nouns. The head of the compound is the first noun:

ataaj ch'en
house hill
house of the hill

- b. and a compound word made of a verb and a noun, where the head is the noun:

ajat inik
sing man
singer

4.1.7 Noun Derivation from Verbs

It is possible to derive a noun from an HSF verbal root. The following morphemes form an 'agentive' noun from a verb: **-(V)l** and **-(V)x**.

a.	uch'-	<i>drink</i>	b. och-	<i>listen, hear</i>
	uch'-al	<i>drunkard</i>	och-ox	<i>one who listens, who can hear</i>

4.1.8 Noun as a Source for Verbal Derivation

There is an example in HSF of a verb derivation from a noun (the function of the suffix **-l** is unclear):

- c. ook' *head*
ook'-l-iy *put a roof to a house*

4.2 Noun Incorporation

Nouns are incorporated into an HSF verb only in about a dozen expressions (see Chapter 6 on Voices, section 6.2 on Antipassive); this typical Mayan process of noun incorporation into a verb does not take place in HSF. In HSF, as in many languages, this incorporating construction is used for traditional activities, as for example, the "reindeer slaughter" in Koryak (Siberia) or "pig watching" in Jakalteq (Guatemala). Mithun (1984:856) in her article on this type of incorporation, suggests that the incorporation is done because "some entity, quality, or activity is recognized sufficiently often to be considered name-worthy in its own right."

- (1) n-u tomk-iil k'al-ej an ti ak'-um eem
DEM-E1 husband-POSS go-COM DEF R clean-AP(INC) maize

My husband went to clean maize. (AmE4-30)

4.3 HSF Noun Phrase

Noun phrases are “syntactic constituents which serve as arguments” (Dryer 2007). This author differentiates simple, complex and headless noun phrases. Noun phrases in South Eastern Huastec are made up of the nominal that is the head of the noun phrase and the determiners and nominals that modify it. The most common constituents of a noun phrase are the head nominal, modifiers and determiners. The HSF noun phrase can be simple or complex (genitive or possessive constructions). Headless noun phrases have not been found in the corpus.

4.3.1 The simplest noun phrase in HSF consists of:

a. One nominal (a pronoun):

- (2) **tama'** n-in koo'-y-al an machete?
 who REL-E3 have-TS-INC DEF machete
Who has the machete? (AmArch67)

- (3) **nanaa'** in way-al.
 I A1 sleep-INC
I sleep. (IrArch37)

b. A determiner and a head nominal. Determiners precede the head nominal:

na	Jwaan		an	pik'o'
HUM	Juan		DEF	dog
	<i>Juan</i>			<i>the dog</i>
- (4) **t'oneey** k'aal an t-a t'aj-n-al an **bakan**
 what with DEF R-A3 make-MID-INC DEF tortilla
What are the tortillas made from? (AmArch173)

c. A possessive construction:

- (5) **junti** k'waj-at **n-a** **paa**

where be-INC DEM-A2 father

Where is your father? (IrArch36)

This construction cannot co-occur with determiners (an expression like * **an n-a paa** is ungrammatical).

4.3.2 A noun can be modified by different modifiers:

a. An adjective, a demonstrative, a quantifier:

oox i olom
 three NM pig
three pigs

Or a combination of them:

oox i mixtun alobeel t'ajatx
 three NM cat beautiful very
three very beautiful cats

b. A relative clause:

(6) u koo'-y-al an machete
 E1 have-TS-INC DEF machete

[naa' t-in mat-in-tx-iy]
 REL 2>1 lend-EP-DAT-TS(COM)

I have the machete that you lent me. (AmArch78)

Much more complex noun phrases have been found in the corpus. Demonstratives, as well as numerals and quantifiers, usually precede the head nominal:

(7) naa' otro juun i kwitool maas puulik
 DEM other(Sp) one NM boy more(Sp) big
that other, bigger boy (PetrBoda)

Nominals that function as modifiers follow the head nominal:

- (8) oox i mixtun alobeel t'ajatx
 three NM cat beautiful very
three very beautiful cats (AmE1)

- (9) taa' ti k'waj-at juun i yejchel te'
 there R be-INC one NM old tree

 k'otxool ani ch'olax
 thick and with.holes (CirR151-59)
There was a tree there, thick and with holes....

The most common noun phrases in HSF have two or three elements. A fully expanded HSF Noun Phrase can have these components:

demonstrative - quantifier – adjective 1 - determiner – noun – (adjective 2) – intensifier-plural

4.4 Relational Nouns

Mesoamerican languages are well-known for their relational nouns. Contrary to the rest of the Mayan languages, which have numerous expressions involving relational nouns, South Eastern Huastec has only a few. It seems that this language has lost the majority of them. Locational words, mainly loans from Spanish, are used instead. The relational nouns are possessive constructions: “in its front the house”= *in front of the house*.

- a. t-in kuux b. t-in txuum an te'
 prep-E3 back prep-E3 top DEF tree
'at his back' = behind him 'at its top the stick' = on the top of the stick

- (10) an kapiiya k'waj-at t-in tameet naa' i ataaaj. (AmArch50)
 DEF chapel be-INC prep-E3 front DEM NM house
The chapel is in front of that house.

HSF does not have a lot of relational nouns. It is interesting to mention that my consultants laughed when I asked if it is possible to say **tin piikip** *on his front*, meaning *in front of him/her*. Below are all the relational nouns found in the corpus.

4.4.1 Relational nouns with body parts - lexical source:

t-Erg kuux	<i>behind</i>	kuux	<i>back</i>
t-Erg ook'	<i>on top of</i>	ook'	<i>head</i>

4.4.2 Relational Nouns with Geographical Reference:

t-Erg txuum	<i>at the summit of</i>	txuum	<i>summit, top</i>

4.4.3 Relational Nouns of an Unknown Origin: The following nouns are found in these relational constructions only, and do not appear independently in the HSF corpus:

t-Erg tameet	<i>in front of</i>
t-Erg tamteem	<i>in front of</i>

t-Erg juntxal	<i>in the direction of</i>
t-Erg lujtal	<i>in the direction of</i>

t-Erg kwetxonkaal *around*
t-Erg toninkaal *around*

t-Erg choyiil *next to, by the side of*

The relational noun **t-Erg choyiil** *by the side of*, is found only once in the corpus, and is a result of an elicitation (Bow-Ped Questionnaire).

4.4.4 The Structure of Relational Nouns

4.4.4 The Structure of Relational Nouns The polysyllabic structure of these relational nouns suggests a combination of two or more lexical items, or a lexical item and a suffix or a preposition. For example, the first two of the relational nouns of unknown origin have **tam-** in common. Two others (**in toninkaal**, **in kwetxonkaal**) have **-kaal** in common, and the last five share a morpheme **-V(vowel)l**.

As mentioned earlier, typical Mayan words are short and have a CVC structure. Therefore, one could expect a longer word like, for example, **toninkaal** *around, in its surroundings* to be some kind of compound word, possibly **ton-in-kaal**, or a combination with an affix (the typical Mayan affix structure is V/CV/VC). The only thing that could be associated with the expression **t-Erg kwetxonkaal** is the verb **kwetx-** *to encircle*.

The vast majority of these relational nouns in HSF do not seem to have an obvious lexical source; they do not appear in South Eastern Huastec as independent words in other environments. For the moment their origin seems unclear. Elicitation did not produce any result, so this problem remains to be further investigated.

The expressions of space encoded with a relational noun can have the following structures:

- a. **t-Erg N** (as in example 11 below) and
- b. **ti RN DEF/DEM NP** (examples 12,13,14,15)

- (11) jee' k'waj-at t-u tamteem
 here be-INC prep-E1 front
(S/he) is sitting in front me. (=in my front) (AmArch450a)

- (12) k'waj-at ch'aj-l-ith t-in txuum an te'
 Be.irr-INC tighten-DM-PPL prep-E3 top DEF tree
(The balloon) is tied on the top of the stick. (AmBowPed20)

- (13) an mapuxtalaap k'waj-at t-in kwetxonkaal an ataaj
 DEF fence be-INC prep-E3 circle? DEF house
The fence encircles the house. (AmBowPed15)

- (14) an kapiiya k'waj-at t-in tameet naa' i ataaj
 DEF church(Sp) be-INC prep-E1 front that NM house
The church is in front of that house. (IrArch50)

- (15) an pik'o'-txik ip k'waj-txik t-in tonink'aal an k'amal
 DEF dog-PL A3p be-PL prep-E3 surrounding? DEF fire

Often, a locational word is used together with a relational noun to emphasise the expression of space:

- (16) jee' k'waj-at jee' t-u tameet
here be-INC here prep-E1 front
(S/he) is sitting here in front of me. (AmArch450c)

- (17) k'waj-at jee' t-u kuux
be-INC here prep-E1 back
(S/he) is sitting here behind me. (AmArch45)

In example (18) and (19) the space is encoded by a locational word **t'ek'at** that encodes the static location (*up*), plus a relational noun to signal the direction **t-in juntxal** *in the direction of*. The idea of trajectory (Path) is therefore encoded in the combination of an adverbial word that encodes a point of localization, and a relational noun that encodes direction. This is an instance of a Trajectory without movement (C. Grinevald, p.c.). More about the encoding of Trajectory in HSF is found in Chapter 13 on Space.

- (18) k'waj-at t'ek'at t-in juntxal an meesa (AmBPed13)
Be.irr-INC up there prep-E3 direction DEF table(Sp)
(The lamp) is upstairs in the direction of the table.

- (19) pal-at we' i tokow t'ek'at t-in lujtal an cheen
hang-PPL small NM cloud up.there prep-E3 direction DEF hill
There is a small cloud (suspended) up there towards the hill. (BowPed36C)

4.5 Noun Possession in HSF

There are different types of possession/relationship expressions across languages. In Mayan languages the main distinction is between alienable and inalienable possession. “Languages with an alienable/inalienable distinction differ in interesting ways in how

they categorise specific objects.... In many languages one’s relatives are categorised as inalienable possessions.” (Mithun 2011:6).

There are many works on possessive constructions in Mayan languages (Bricker 1970, Larsen 1976, Hofling 1990, Haviland 1988, Lehmann 2003, among others). Also, all the grammars of Mayan languages treat possession to a certain extent. Lehmann (2003:17) argues that “a picture of great uniformity in Mayan possessive constructions emerges. Both the morphological and the semant syntactic factors conditioning them are similar throughout. The subdivision of body-part nouns into morphological classes based on alienability is widespread.”

On the basis of the fact that the inherited or permanent relationship between a possessed noun with its possessor can be morphologically marked, nouns are usually classified in Mayan linguistics according to their types of possession. It is usually the pattern of alienability/inalienability that governs the choice of possessive structure, but this issue is far from being clear in Huastecan languages, as there are words that share the semantic domain but follow a different pattern in possessive structures. Kaufman (1986) proposes the following classes of Mayan nouns:

Table 4.1: Kaufman’s classification of Mayan nouns

CLASS	NON-POSSESSED	POSSESSED
1	no affix	no affix
1a	no affix	lengthen last vowel
1b	no affix	lengthen last 2 vowels
2	no affix	-VVI suffix
3	Suffix	no affix

Constable believes that the Huastecan nouns are “typical in this respect, although the classifications into which they break are slightly different from those in table IX [here the table 4.1]” (Constable 1989: 39). Edmonson (1988) identified six classes of noun in San Luis Potosí Huastec, based on their possession pattern. These classes are found in South Eastern Huastec too, although it is not always clear why a noun belongs to one class or another. As in other Mayan languages, the Ergative markers function as possessors of nouns. They agree with the person and number of a possessor, and are

inflected on the head of the noun phrase. In HSF the following six types of constructions have been observed. When possessed, the word can:

1. take possessive suffix and lengthens the root vowel
2. take possessive suffix and does not lengthen the root vowel
3. not take possessive suffix but lengthens the root vowel
4. take abstractive suffix and there is no vowel lengthening
5. not take a suffix and there is no vowel lengthening
6. not be possessed

The HSF relationship constructions (*x is my y*) are treated in Chapter 8 on HSF Basic Clause structure, section 9 on Equative constructions/kinship.

4.5.1 HSF Noun Possession Types

Dryer considers genitive and possessive constructions as complex noun phrases; that is, cases when a noun “occurs with another noun phrase denoting a possessor” (2007:177):

n-in	wii'lep	an	ataaj
DEM-E3	door	DEF	house
<i>the house's door</i>			

Possession is expressed in the form of a complex noun phrase in HSF. It is an oblique relation. As mentioned before, there are two types of possession in HSF, the alienably-possessed objects and the inalienably-possessed objects. These possessive constructions in HSF are head-marking: the demonstrative **n-** is prefixed to the ergative marker of the possessor, and placed before the head (plus the possessive suffix on alienable nouns), and the possessor is placed immediately after the possessed noun. In both cases of possession (alienable/inalienable), if the possessor is expressed as a full personal pronoun, it can be omitted; the Ergative marker is sufficient to signal the possessor:

(nanaa')	n-u	k'imaas'	(nanaa')	n-u	ook'
I	DEM-E1	home	I	DEM-E1	head
<i>my home</i>			<i>my head</i>		

The HSF possession constructions are described in what follows. As mentioned above, the HSF nouns fall into one of the following groups: the Table 4.2 outlines the different morphological structure of these six groups.

Table 4.2: HSF noun groups

Group	Suffix	Vowel lengthening
1	POSS	yes
2	POSS	no
3	no	yes
4	ABSTR	no
5	no	no
6	unpossessed	noun

Type I: Ownership

The majority of common nouns are possessed this way. This construction can be represented by the following scheme:

DEM - Erg – noun with vowel lengthening – possessive suffix (V)l

bakan	<i>tortilla</i>	n-u	bakaan-il	<i>my tortilla</i>
		n-a	bakaan-il	<i>your tortilla</i>
		n-in	bakaan-il	<i>her/his/its tortilla</i>
		n-i	bakaan-il	<i>our/your/their tortilla</i>

olom	<i>pig</i>	n-u	oloom-il	<i>my pig</i>
chaptxam	<i>bee</i>	n-u	chaptxaam-il	<i>my bee</i>
k' amal	<i>fire</i>	n-u	k' amaal-il	<i>my fire</i>
yuj	<i>atole</i>	n-u	yuuj-il	<i>my atole (traditional drink)</i>
bitxim	<i>horse</i>	n-u	bitxiim-al	<i>my horse</i>

Type II: DEM- Erg- noun - (V)l There are some nouns that receive the possessive suffix **-(V)l** without vowel lengthening:

ja'	<i>water</i>	n-in	ja' -il	<i>its juice</i>
ich	<i>chile</i>	n-u	ich-al	<i>my chilli</i>

uj *avocado* n-u ujil *my avocado*

Spanish loan nouns behave as native. They receive the possessive suffix **-(V)l** ; sometimes a Spanish word that ends in a vowel receives an epenthetic **-j-** before the suffix **-(V)l** , as exemplified in the following:

aniiyo *ring* n-u aniiyo-j-il *my ring*

Type III: DEM-Erg-noun with vowel lengthening There are
some nouns for body parts that do not receive a possessive suffix; their only mark of possession is vowel lengthening, as in:

tham *nose* n-u thaam *my nose*

Type IV: DEM-Erg noun – abstract suffix There are very few
nouns of this type; they receive derivational morphemes in order to be possessed:

kaw *word* n-u kaaw-in-tal *nu kaaw
DEM-E1 word-EP-ABSTR
my word

Type V: DEM-Erg noun The majority of words for body parts
remain unchanged when possessed:

a. Body parts: ook' *head* n-u ook' *my head*
 ichik' *finger* n-u ichik' *my finger*
 ithim *beard* n-u ithim *my beard*
 txukul *stomach* n-u txukul *my stomach*
 ichiitx *heart* n-u ichiitx *my heart*

Since the Ergative marker for plural does not distinguish person, full personal pronouns are often used to disambiguate:

(wawaa') i ook' / i ook' wa' *our head*
(xaxaa') i ook' / i ook' xa' *your head*
(babaa') i ook' / i ook' ba' *their head*

b. Other Words Besides the nouns for body parts, there are some other nouns (extremely common in the corpus) that have this form of personal possession:

waytal	<i>bed</i>	n-u	waytal	<i>my bed</i>
ale'	<i>corn field</i>	n-u	ale'	<i>my corn field</i>
ataaj	<i>house</i>	n-u	ataaj	<i>my house</i>
k'imaa'	<i>home</i>	n-u	k'imaa'	<i>my home</i>

The noun **k' imaa'** *home*, is obligatorily possessed; but the generic suffix **-laap** is accepted:

- (20) ninaa' ip kal-ej i jil-a' i **k' imaa' -laap** takw-txik.
REL A3p go-COM Ep leave-TS(COM) NM home-GEN beautiful-PL
Those who have gone left lovely houses. (AmE6-23)

Type VI: Un-possessed words As in many of the world's languages, there are some words in HSF that can never be possessed. These are the words that represent wild animals, plants, geographical phenomena etc:

ik'	<i>air, wind</i>	aam	<i>spider</i>
ch'ojool	<i>herb, plant</i>	jutxkan	<i>blister</i>
thiniy	<i>scorpion</i>	pich'al	<i>rainbow</i>
thiiman	<i>witch (a man)</i>		

In case of a drawing of a rainbow one can say **n-u pich'aal-il** *my rainbow*. It is also possible to say **n-u thiiman** *my witch* "if you have one working for you on a contract!" as one of the consultants pointed out.

4.5.2 Kinship Words In many languages, kinship terms are categorised as inalienable possessions. In HSF they behave the same way as the alienable possessions above. A very detailed study of HSF kinship terms can be found in "*Los sistemas de parentesco de la Huasteca. Un estudio etnolingüístico*" by Rosa Elena Anzaldo Figueroa (INAH, Mexico City, 2000). We will mention here just the

most frequent HSF kinship terms from the corpus. The kinship terms in HSF are not coherent: they display different patterns and cannot be classified under one possession type:

a. vowel lengthening and possessive suffix -(V)l:

txithan	<i>girl</i>	n-u txithaan-il	<i>my daughter</i>
yejchel	<i>husband</i>	n-u yejcheel-il	<i>my husband</i>
ilow	<i>spouse</i>	n-u iloow-il	<i>my spouse</i>

b. vowel lengthening only:

tomkil	<i>spouse</i>	n-u tomkiil	<i>my spouse</i>
alip	<i>in-law</i>	n-u aliip	<i>my in-law</i>

c. remain unchanged when possessed:

jawan	<i>daughter in law</i>	n-u jawan	<i>my daughter in law</i>

The Spanish loan words **maa** *mother, mum* and **paa** *father* do not change if possessed:

maa	n-u	maa	<i>my mother</i>
paa	n-u	paa	<i>my father</i>

n-in maa na don ameeliu
 DEM-E3 mum HUM mister(Sp) Amelio
Don Amelio's Mum

But when the possessor is not known, these kinship terms take the generic suffix **-laap**:

mamaaj	in	mamaaj-laap	<i>somebody's mother</i>
papaaj	in	papaaj-laap	<i>somebody's father</i>

4.5.3 As in Mam (England 1983:142) and Chol (Vázquez 2011), a possessor in HSF can be possessed itself, creating a strings of possessed nouns: **n-in k'ima'** **n-u txithaan-il** *our daughter's house (Lit: her house our daughter).*

- (21) k'waj-at t-in k'ima' n-a paa (IrArch37)
 be-INC prep-E3 home DEM-E2 father
Is your father at home? (Lit: Is your father at his home?)

The examples in (22)-(24) illustrate the same point.

4.5.4 The presence or absence of the demonstrative **n-** is determined by the role of the NP. When not part of a predicate, these expressions receive the HSF demonstrative prefix **n-** :

a. n-u maa	b. n-in k'ima'	c. n-i mixtun
DEM-E1 Mum	DEM-E3 house	DEM-Ep cat
<i>my mother</i>	<i>his/her house</i>	<i>our/your(pl)/their cat</i>

- (22) n-in maa n-u tomk-iil (CirE6-11)
 DEM-E3 mum DEM-E1 spouse-POSS
my spouse's mother

- (23) n-in yaawej-il n-u k'ima' (CirE6-11)
 DEM-E3 key(Sp)-POSS DEM-E1 house
the key of my house

- (24) jaach axee' n-in oloom-il n-u maa. (AmE6-10)
 it DEM DEM-E3 pig-POSS DEM-E1 mum
This is my mum's pig.
 * jaach axee' n-in oloom-il u maa is ungrammatical.

- (25) n-u k'ima' baa' lej oow an ti k'waj-at. (AmE6-22)
 DEM-E1 house no INTENS far DEF R be-INC
My house is not very far.
 * u k'ima' baa' lej oow an ti k'waj-at.

When the possessive expression is a part of a predicate, the noun cannot take a modifier (does not take the demonstrative *n-*): *u maa is my Mother*

In his extensive study on possession in Yucatec Maya, Lehmann (2003:104) argues that “a predication of belonging is a possessive predication which takes the possessum as the point of departure and predicates over it that it belongs to the possessum” and adds that, in syntactic terms, “the possessum is usually the subject”. A grammatical construction that forms a predication of belonging in Yucatec Maya is a nominal clause that has a possessed nominal as its predicate. Below are some examples of a HSF possessive expression in its predicative function:

- (26) *nanaa' u atchukwe' na' na jwaan.*

I E1 wife I HUM Juan

I am Juan's wife. (CirE6)

* *nanaa' nu atchukwe' na' na jwaan*

- (27) *na jwaan u juunik xoo'k'ij ich an t-u kal-ej*

HUM Juan E1 friend wherever already DEF R-A1p go-COM

Juan is my friend wherever we go. (Lit: my company) (AmE6-4)

* *na jwaan nu juunik xoo'k'ij ich an t-u kal-ej*

- (28) *naa' maas nakat an kwitool u kwitoolil*

DEM more(Sp) tall DEF youth E1 youth-POSS

The tallest boy is my son.

* *naa' maas nakat an kwitool nu kwitoolil*

- (29) *u k'imaa' ninaa' a chuu't-al majuth.*

E1 house DEM E2 sec.INC painted

My house is the one you see painted.

* *nu k'imaa' ninaa' a chuu't-al majuth*

As shown above in the description of the six HSF possession types, there are some nouns that belong to the same semantic group but form possession in different ways: kinship terms have three different patterns; some body parts belong to type III and some to type V. This suggests that the alienability/inalienability approach does not fully

explain the Huastec possessive system. This issue remains extremely complex in South Eastern Huastec and needs to be researched extensively in the future. Such a study has been done for San Luis Potosí Huastec by Maldonado (1994), who proposes, in contrast with the alienability/inalienability hypothesis, an iconic proximity organisation of Huastec possessive structures. This author defines proximity as “the degree of natural association attributed to two elements under normal circumstances.” This proximity is culture-specific; therefore some things can be alienable and independent in one culture, and conceptually dependent in another. In his study, Maldonado shows that there is “an iconic organization determined by conceptual proximity of the possessum with respect to the possessor.” (1994:21). For example, the internal/external character of the possessum in relation to the possessor is reflected in possession constructions (the things inside the body tend to get a zero marking, while those externally identifiable are marked with **-il**, like smallpox, pus etc.). Some expressions of emotion and sickness follow the same pattern; they take an Absolutive personal marker and form predicative constructions, while other words for emotions take a zero possession marker. Happiness and anger follow different marking strategies (anger is perceived internally, while happiness and laughter constitute external manifestations, and are marked by the possessive suffix, **-il**, which is reflected in relevant possession structures.)

4.6 Adjectives

Adjectives modify nouns; they are a class of descriptive words that denote properties (Dryer 2007). HSF adjectives are described in Chapter 2 on Word Classes. The adjectives in HSF precede the noun if there is no other modifier. If there is an intensifier in the same noun phrase, the adjective follows the noun:

a. juun i chikam pik'o' one NM small dog <i>a small dog</i>	b. juun i pik'o' alobeel t'ajatz one NM dog beautiful very <i>a very beautiful dog</i>

If there is a second adjective, it will also be placed after the noun:

- c. **juun i chikam pik'o' alobeel t'ajatz**
 one NM small dog beautiful very
 a very beautiful small dog

Nouns sometimes can function as modifiers, which is the case with compounds (Dryer 2007:175). Locative demonstratives can also be used to modify nouns.

4.7 Plural Marking on Nominals -txik

Two numbers are distinguished in HSF, a singular and a plural. The morpheme **-txik** can be added to verbs, nouns or adverbs to convey plurality, as previously mentioned. Interestingly, most of the time plurality is not expressed at all in HSF. The language has a strong tendency to avoid redundancy marking, as plurality in a clause is marked on the pronoun and Ergative or Absolutive personal markers.

- (30) u pak'-a-al k'ij an bakan k'aal u k'ubak.
 E1 make.tortillas-TS-INC INT DEF tortilla with E1 hand
I made tortillas just with my hands. (BeC1-112-16)

Sometimes a modifier present in a noun phrase implies plurality, making a plural marker redundant:

- (31) pues wa'ach yaan i kaaw ti teenek.
 then(Sp) exist.UNC many NM word prep Huastec
There are many words in Huastec. (AmCo93-209)

Although in HSF there is a strong avoidance of plural marking, the plural is sometimes expressed:

- (32) an inik-txik ip junk-un t-ip til-om
 DEF man-PL A3p gather-MID(COM) R-A3p chat-AP(UNC)
The men gathered to chat. (AmE1-71)

Interestingly, in the following examples the number marker is found on the adjective and the number/quantifier, but not on the noun:

- (33) ani ti piil-txik i komunidaad
 and prep other-PL NM community(Sp)

chaap-**txik** oox-**txik** i maestro. (AmConv125-138)
 two-PL three-PL NM teacher(Sp)

And in other communities (there are) two to three teachers.

- (34) i ich wa'ch-in-th-a-al yaan-**txik**.
 NM chilli grow-EP-CAUS-TS-INC many-PL

They cultivated a lot of chilli. (MarcConv144-98)

In the following example, the plural marker is added to a Spanish loan noun that is already in plural form:

- (35) a penas siinku ektaarias-**txik**
 only(Sp) five(Sp) hectare(Sp)-PL

Only five hectares. (MarcCo141-51)

4.8 Comparison and Equivalence

As previously mentioned, comparison is not a genuinely Mesoamerican trait.

4.8.1 Comparative Comparison in HSF is expressed periphrastically. There are no morphologically-derived comparative or superlative forms. Like many languages in the area, Huastec has borrowed comparison words from Spanish:

maas	(Sp. mas)	<i>more</i>
meenós	(Sp. menos)	<i>less</i>
mejoor	(Sp. mejor)	<i>better</i>
peoor	(Sp. Peor)	<i>worse</i>

The following examples illustrate this structure, with the comparison in a post-nominal position: **nominal 1+maas(Sp)+verb/zero copula+ adjective- than –nominal 2**

- (36) an ladriiyo maas alwa' an ti maplap kee an lukuk
 DEF brick more(Sp) good DEF prep wall than(Sp) DEF mud

The wall of brick is better than that of adobe (mud).

(Lit: The wall is better of brick than of mud) (AmArch527)

- (37) jajaa' maas a nakat kee ni nanaa'
 s/he more(Sp) A3 tall than(Sp) prep I
He is taller than me. (AmArch528)

As in example (38) below, comparison in HSF consists of the Spanish comparative and an adjective, both placed after the nominal head:

- (38) naa' otro juun i kwitool maas puulik
 DEM other(Sp) one NM boy more(Sp) big
that other, bigger boy (=that other boy that is bigger) (PetrBoda)

4.8.2 Equivalence Equivalence is conveyed by **jelat** *like, as* preceding the object of comparison:

- (39) jajaa' wa naktam jelat nanaa'
 s/he A3 tall like I
He is as tall as I am. (Arch528)

- (40) jajaa' wa naktam jelat n-a kwitool-il
 s/he A3 tall as DEM-E2 son-POSS
He is as tall as your son. (Arch 529)

4.8.3 Superlative The superlative construction is borrowed from Spanish. The Spanish definite article is replaced by the HSF demonstrative **naa'** :

a.	naa' maas puulik DEM more(Sp) big <i>the biggest one</i>	Sp: el mas grande DEF more big <i>the biggest one</i>
b.	naa' mejoor DEM better (Sp) <i>the best</i>	

Chapter 5

Person Marking

South Eastern Huastec has an unusual person-marking system from a Mayan point of view: the Huastecan languages use three distinct sets of pronominal person markers (not two, as is typical for Mayan languages), and which do not pattern in a typical Mayan Ergative way. The way the system works in transitive clauses in Huastecan languages resembles an inverse system. The Huastecan languages have developed an atypical person-marking system, which is described in detail in this chapter. The Huastecan languages are the only Mayan languages that encode person and transitive agreement this way. An extensive study on this issue is done by Zavala (1994).

5.1 Three HSF Person Marking Sets and Their Functions

South Eastern Huastec is a head-marking language where the grammatical relations are indicated in the head, by means of pronominal markers. South Eastern Huastec has three sets of person markers: the **Absolutive set**, the **Ergative set** and the **Inverse set**.

These three sets have different functions depending on their syntactic roles. The Ergative person markers (glossed E) are used to indicate the subject of transitive verbs and the possessor of nouns, while the Absolutive markers (glossed A) indicate the subject of intransitive verbs and of the equative construction. The Inverse set has a specific role, described in what follows.

We decided to keep the terms ‘ergative’ and ‘absolutive’ throughout this grammar because these two sets match the absolutive and ergative sets in other Mayan languages, so there is a diachronic connection. But synchronically, as clearly shown in this chapter, there is no ergative/absolutive pattern in South Eastern Huastec. Although these terms may sound misleading from a typological point of view, they will be used in this grammar for the above-mentioned reason.

In HSF, contrary to all other Mayan languages, the object of a transitive verb is marked on a verb only in the case when that object is a non-third-person singular or plural (a SAP): it is encoded by a special transitive agreement marker (that is, an inverse clitic).

All of these markers (Absolutive, Ergative and Inverse) are pre-posed only. They always precede a verb in an HSF verbal complex, and never appear in a different position. In HSF orthography they are not attached to the verbal complex, as that would interfere with the HSF accentuation rule (explained in Chapter 1 on Phonology).

5.1.1 Set One: Ergative person markers

HSF Ergative Markers		
	Singular	Plural
1	u	i
2	a	i
3	in	i

It is noted that plural person marking has been neutralised: only one form for plural is used no matter what person it refers to. Set One (Ergative) markers encode the subjects **of transitive verbs and possessors of nouns**. These markers cross-reference Agent only when that Agent is higher than Object in SAP>3 hierarchy; in the case when Object is higher than Agent, the inverse clitics are used.

Different from all other Mayan languages, which have two subsets of Ergative person markers, a pre-vocalic and a pre-consonantal, Huastec of San Francisco has only one set, which is used in both situations.

a. Subjects of transitive verbs:

- (1) **u** koo'-y-al
 E1 have-TS-INC
 I have (it, him, them).
- (2) **a** chu'-uj
 E2 see-COM.irr
 you saw (it, him, them).
- (3) **i** paak'-w-al an k'waa'txim
 Epl wash-TS-INC DEF cloths
 We/you(pl)/they wash clothes.
- (4) **u** ch'a-iy juun i kwita'
 E1 buy-TS(COM) one NM chicken
 I bought a chicken.
- (5) **in** thutx-iy-aamal an kaarta
 E3 write-TS-PERF DEF letter(Sp)
 He has written the letter.

In the examples with transitive verbs, (3), (4) and (5) above, the direct objects are overtly expressed (as NPs) 3rd person singular or plural. The 1st or 2nd person transitive

verb objects trigger the usage of the Set Three markers, which are discussed further in this chapter.

In examples (1) and (2), the object is a 3rd person singular or plural pronoun. In HSF these 3rd person sg/pl pronouns are never overtly expressed in their role of a direct object. It is interesting to note that the personal marker Absolutive for a 3rd sg person is zero, but for the 3rd person plural the Absolutive marker is **ip**.

b. Possessors of nouns: The Ergative set indicates a possessor.

u	k'ima'a'	in	k'ima'a'
E1	house	E3	house
	<i>my house</i>		<i>her/his/its house</i>
a	k'ima'a'	i	k'ima'a'
E2	house	Epl	house
	<i>your house</i>		<i>our/your(pl)/their</i>

c. Relational Nouns:

t-in	kuux
prep-E3	back
	<i>behind it/him/her/them. (=at his/its/their back)</i>

It should be noted that in the other type of possession, which are called 'relationship' here (ex. '*She is my neighbour*'), the markers of Set Three are often used. HSF possession is described in detail in Chapter 4 on Nominal Morphology, and the HSF relationship construction in Chapter 8 on Basic Clause, in the section on equative constructions.

A Unique Ergative Set (No Phonological Variation)

As previously

mentioned, there is only one set of Ergative markers in HSF, which are used both with verbs beginning in a consonant and with verbs beginning in a vowel. As mentioned above, HSF lacks two Ergative personal marker subsets, i.e. only one set is used with both verbal roots that start in a vowel, as well as with those that start in a consonant:

- a.

u

koo'-y-al

juun

i

mixtun

E1

have-TS-INC

one

NM

cat

I have got a cat.
- b.

u

ay-a-al

i

t'ojnal

E1

search-TS-INC

NM

worker

I look for workers.

Comparison with the Proto-Mayan Ergative Set Just for comparison, below are the Proto-Mayan Ergative markers. While HSF Absolutive markers are almost identical to Proto-Mayan (shown further in this chapter), the HSF Ergative set shows some differences from the one reconstructed for Proto-Mayan :

Proto-Mayan Ergative Markers				
Singular		Plural		
	pre-v	pre-c	pre-V	pre-C
1	*w-/*nu-		*q-/*qa-	
2	*aaw-/*aa-		*eer-/*ee-	
3	*r-/*u-		*k'/*ki-	

5.1.2

Set Two:

Absolutive Person Markers

HSF Absolutive Markers		
	Singular	Plural
1	in	u
2	it	ix
3	a/Ø	ip

The Absolutive set marks the Subjects of un-derived intransitive and detransitivised verbs, as well as the Subject of equative constructions (non-verbal predicates):

a. Subjects of Intransitive Verbs:

- (6) **in** **k'al-ej** **Wamantla.**
 A1 go-COM Huamantla
 I went to Huamantla.

- (7) **it** **way-al**
 A2 sleep-INC
 You sleep.

The Absolutive markers are also used with subjects of intransitive verbs with complex stems:

- (8) **tataa'** **it** **puj-k'-in**
 you A2 fall-DM-MID(COM)
 You fell down.

- (9) **ix** **koy-ol**
 A2p relax-AP(INC)
 You(pl) relax.

- (10) **nanaa'** **baa'** **na'** **in** **apn-a-aj** **ti** **eskweela**
 I no I A1 send-TS-PASS.COM prep school
 I was not sent to school. (LeoC1-91-38)

b. Subject of Non-Verbal Predicates:

- (11) **wawaa'** **u** **teenek**
 we A1p Huastec
 We are Huastec.

In other languages of the family, the Absolutive personal markers index the object of transitive verbs. In HSF this is not the case, as the object is uniquely marked by the inverse set, as previously mentioned. The interesting thing about HSF Absolutive personal markers is that they are almost identical in their form to the Proto-Mayan forms, as already noted by Kaufmann (1992):

Proto-Mayan Absolutive Markers		
	singular	plural
1	*iin-	*on-
2	*at-	*ix-
3	*ə	*eb'-

Variations of the Third Person Singular Absolutive Marker, a/wa/Ø In the incomplete and the perfect aspect, the 3rd person singular marker is a. There is a phonological restriction: it is realised as wa if it follows a word that ends in a vowel. It is deleted in the completive aspect.

- a. a way-al
A3 sleep-INC
S/he sleeps.

b. jajaa' wa t'oj-n-al
s/he A3 work-MID-INC
S/he works.
- c. baa' Ø witx-iy
no A3 return-COM A3
(S/he) didn't return

d. Ø t'oj-on
work-MID(COM)
(s/he) worked

Absolutive Marker of the Third Person Singular As previously mentioned, the Absolutive person marker for the 3rd person singular in completive aspect is zero:

- (12) Josee Ø k'al-ej.
Josee A3 go-COM
Jose went/left.

(13) Ø way-nek.
A3 sleep-PERF
(S/he) has slept.

- (14) n-u paa Ø pujk-in
 DEM-E1 father A3 fall-MID(COM)
My father fell down.

- (15) na josee Ø thutx-um
 HUM José A3 write-AP(INC)
José writes.

The Object of transitive verbs is not indexed on the verb when it is a 3rd p sg/pl (it is never overtly expressed):

- (16) josee in ch'a-iy juun i kwita'
 José E3 buy-TS(COM) one NM chicken
José bought a chicken. (CirE3-12)

- (17) u chuuj
 E1 see.COM
I saw him/her/them/it.

- (18) u chuuj ti we'el ti plaasa (ni babaa')
 E1 see.COM prep yesterday prep market DEM they
I saw them yesterday at the market place. (AmArch78)

As mentioned above, it is interesting to note that the personal marker for the 3rd person plural does exist; it is **ip**, but it is never overtly expressed in its direct object role. This is the evidence for the claim that 3rd person objects are not marked by agreement affixes. See the section 5.1.3 of this Chapter that discusses the Set Three where 1st and 2nd person objects are discussed.

Widespread Homophony of the HSF Ergative and Absolutive Person Markers An interesting fact about the HSF system of Ergative and Absolutive person markers is the high level of homophony, which causes ambiguity. In order to avoid ambiguity, HSF uses the independent personal pronouns or their short forms, the emphatic personal pronouns.

- in** = Absolutive 1st person singular AND Ergative 3rd person singular
u = Absolutive 1st person plural AND Ergative 1st person singular
i = Ergative for 1st/2nd/3rd person plural

5.1.3 Set Three: Transitive Agreement (Inverse) Markers

The third set of personal markers in HSF are the special transitive agreement markers. They are a particularity of the Mayan Languages of the Huastecan branch. They are particular because they represent a third set of markers not known in other Mayan languages. This is an issue that has long been a challenge for analysis, and has given a lot of headache to linguists who have attempted to resolve this issue (including McQuown 1984, Edmonson 1988, Constable 1989, Robertson 1992, Zavala 1994). In this chapter the previous attempts to analyse this system will be outlined and our approach will be presented. The HSF Set Three markers are shown in Table 5.1 below:

Table 5.1: HSF Inverse Transitive Agreement Markers

Marker	Subject	Object
tin	2 sg/pl, 3sg/pl	1sg
ti	3 sg/pl, 1pl	2sg
tu	2sg, 3sg/pl	1pl
	1sg	2sg
tixi	3sg/pl, 1pl	2pl
tuxu	1sg	2pl
	2pl	1pl

These Set Three markers encode:

- the majority of the cases of transitive agreement
- one part of the relationship/possession domain

5.1.3.1 Inverse Marker **tin**

a) 2nd sg/pl subjects acting upon 1st sg object:

- (19) **tin** chuuj ti we'eel nuu' ti plaasa
 2>1 see.COM prep yesterday there prep market
You saw me yesterday at the market. (AmArch204)

- (20) xaxaa' **tin** chuuj ti we'eel an ti merkaadu
 you(pl) 2>1 see.COM prep yesterday prep prep market
You saw me yesterday at the market. (IrArch204)

- (21) **tin** pak'w-tx-iy an ti k'waa'txim.
 2>1 wash-DAT-TS DEF prep clothes
Wash the clothes for me! (CirE1-80)

b) 3sg/pl subject acting upon 1sg object:

- (22) jajaa' **tin** ne'ech kon-tx-iy-al ti bakan
 s/he 3>1 HAB ask-DAT-TS-INC prep tortilla
She always asks me for tortillas. (AmArch192)

- (23) **tin** utx-a' baal ne'ech kwa' k-a txi'-ich
 3>I say-TS(COM) that FUT QUOT IRR-A3 arrive-COM
He told me he would come. (AmE1-75)

- (24) babaa' **tin** chuuj ti we'eel an ti merkaadu
 they 3p>1 see.COM prep yesterday prep prep market
They saw me yesterday at the market. (AmArch204)

In the following example, the verb *teach* has three arguments: *she*, *I* and *song*. The grammatical relation between *she* and *I* is encoded as the inverse clitic **tin**. The verb has an applicative morpheme (Dative **-tx**) showing promotion of the indirect object *I* to a direct object (a secondary object of the underlying clause to a primary

object of the applicative construction). The remaining direct object, namely *song*, is then encoded as an oblique argument (the only free slot for this argument), introduced by the preposition ‘*ti*’:

- (25) jajaa’ **tin** ok’-tx-iy axee’ **ti** ajattalaap.
 she 3>1 show-DAT-TS(COM) DEM prep song
She taught me this song. (IrArch202)

Below in (26) is a similar example with the verb **kontx-** *ask for*. (This verb always occurs with a Dative morpheme; it has been lexicalised as such.) In this instance, the verb has four arguments (*she, I, tortillas, her mum*), with the subject and the object encoded in the inverse clitic **tin**, and two oblique arguments, one introduced by the preposition **ti**, and the other introduced by the preposition **baal**:

- (26) jajaa’ **tin** kon-tx-iy **ti** **bakan** **baal** **n-in** **maa**
 s/he 3>1 ask-TS(COM) prep tortilla for DEM-E3 Mum
She asked me for tortillas for her mum. (IrArch192)

5.1.3.2 Inverse Transitive Agreement Marker **ti**

The following examples illustrate the use of the inverse marker **ti** as a 3rd sg/pl or 1st pl subject acting upon a 2nd sg object:

a) 3rd sg/pl subject acting upon a 2nd sg object :

- (27) jajaa’ **ti** ne’ech kon-tx-iy-al **ti** **bakan**
 she 3>2 HAB ask-DAT-TS-INC prep tortilla
She always asks you for tortillas. (AmArch192)

- (28) babaa’ **ti** ne’ech kon-tx-iy-al **ti** **bakan**
 they 3pl>2 HAB ask-DAT-TS-INC prep tortilla
They always ask you for tortillas. (AmArch192)

- (29) jajaa' ti walb-iy baal tataa' n-a kwe'-tx-iy-aamal
 she 3>2 accuse-TS(COM) that you REL-E2 steel-DAT-TS-PERF
She accused you of having robbed her (=that you had robbed her). (AmArch214)

b) 1st pl subject acting upon a 2nd sg object:

- (30) wawaa' ti ne'ech kon-tx-iy-al ti bakan (ni tataa').
 we 1pl>2 HAB ask-DAT-TS-INC prep tortilla prep you.sg
We always ask you for tortillas. (AmArch192)

In example (30) above, the direct object is repeated by a personal pronoun **tataa'** *you_{sg}*, to avoid ambiguity. For the same purpose, the personal pronoun, first person plural **wa'** *we*, is used in the following example, this time disambiguating the subject:

- (31) ti chuuj wa' ti we'eel an ti merkaadu
 1pl>2 see.COM we prep yesterday DEF prep market
We saw you yesterday at the market. (AmArch204)

The word order in this example is interesting: the personal pronoun **wa'** *we* comes after the transitive agreement clitic and the verb.

5.1.3.3 Inverse Marker **tu**

a) 2nd sg, 3rd sg/pl subject acting upon 1st pl object

- (32) tataa' tu chuuj ti we'eel nuu' ti plaasa
 you.sg 2>1pl see.COM prep yesterday there prep market
You saw us yesterday at the market. (IrArch204)

- (33) jajaa' tu ne'ech kon-tx-iy-al ti bakan.
 s/he 3>1pl HAB ask-DAT-TS-INC prep tortilla
She always asks us for tortillas. (IrArch142)

b) 1st sg subject acting upon 2nd sg object:

- (34) nanaa' ne'ech tu kan-iy ni tataa'
 I FUT 1>2 call-TS(COM) prep you.sg
I will call you. (AmE1-36)

- (35) na k'iitxaa'j ke nanaa' k-in jalb-in //
 REL day that(Sp) I IRR-A1 pay-MID(COM)

ne'ech tu ivitaar-iy ti juun i serveesa
 FUT 1>2 invite-TS(COM) prep one NM beer(Sp)
The day I am paid, I will buy you a beer. (AmDperf87)

5.1.3.4 Inverse Marker tixi

a) 3rd sg/pl subject acting upon 2nd pl object:

- (36) jajaa' tixi tawn-a' ti we'eel peero
 s/he 3>2pl call-TS(COM) prep yesterday but(Sp)

xaxaa' baa' ix kwaj-ay ti k'ima
 youPL no A2pl be-INC prep home
He called you yesterday, but you were not at home. (AmE1-40)

- (37) jajaa' tixi ne'ech kon-tx-iy-al ti bakan.
 she 3>2pl HAB ask-DAT-TS-INC prep tortilla
She always asks you for tortillas. (AmArch192)

Below is another example where personal pronouns are used to disambiguate.

- (38) jajaa' tixi juunik ich ni xaxaa'
 he 3>2pl friend already DEM youPL
He is your friend. (Lit: He is to you a friend.) (AmE1-44)

b) 1st pl subject acts upon 2nd pl object:

- (39) wawaa' tixi ne'ech kontx-iy-al ti bakan ni xaxaa'
 we 1pl>2pl HAB ask-TS-INC prep tortilla DEM you.pl
We always ask you for tortillas. (AmArch192)

- (40) wawaa' tixi kan-y-al ni xaxaa'
 we 1pl>2pl call-TS-INC prep you.pl
We call you. (AmE1-38)

5.1.3.5 Inverse Marker tuxu

a) 2nd pl subject acting upon 1st pl object:

- (41) xaxaa' tuxu ne'ech kontxiyal ti bakan
 you.pl 2pl>1pl HAB ask-DAT-TS-INC prep tortilla
You always ask us for tortillas. (AmArch192)

- (42) xaxaa' tuxu thutx-in-tx-iy juun i kaarta
 you.pl 2pl>1pl write-EP-DAT-TS one NM letter(Sp)
You wrote us a letter. (AmE1-33)

b) 1st sg subject acting upon 2nd pl object:

- (43) nanaa' tuxu kan-iy
 I 1>2pl call-TS(COM)
I called you. (AmE1-33)

- (44) nanaa' tuxu thutx-in-tx-iy juun i kaarta baal xaxaa'. (AmE1-33)
 I 1>2pl write-EP-DAT-TS one NM letter for you.pl
I wrote a letter to you.

5.1.4 Relationship (Possession)

Set Three markers are also used to encode relationships. (For more details, see Chapter 8 on Basic Clause Structure.) Below are some examples that illustrate this phenomenon:

- (45) tataa' ti kwitool-il
 you.sg 3>2 son-POSS
He is your son. (Lit.: he to you is a son) (AmE1-41)

- (46) nanaa' tu eebaal.
 I 1>2 sibling
I am your sister. (Lit.: I "sibil" you). (AmE1-55)

- (47) wawaa' tu at.k'imaath.
 we 1p>2 neighbour
We are your neighbours. (Lit: We 'neighbour' you)

- (48) nanaa' tuxu juunik ich ni xaxaa'.
 I 1>2pl friend already DEM you(pl)
I am your friend. (Lit: I 'befriend' you.) (AmE1-44)

5.1.5 Configuration 3 : 3. No Obviation Morphology

HSF is a language that lacks obviative morphology: there is no dedicated morpheme to encode obviation. Huastecan languages encode this configuration in a direct way: Proximate to Obviative configuration is encoded as active, and Obviative to Proximate configuration is encoded as passive. The distinction between Obviative and Proximate is made on the referential hierarchies such as human>non-human>animate>inanimate or Topical > non-Topical (see more details on this in Chapter 6, section 3, on Passive).

a. Proximate to Obviative: Active

Proximate acting upon Obviative is encoded by active voice in HSF:

- (49) naa i inik in exl-a-al an kwitool
 DEM NM man 1E know-TS-INC DEF boy
That man knows the boy. (AmE1-61)

- (50) jajaa' Ø-in exl-a-al

he A3-E3 know-TS-INC
He knows him. (AmE1-61)

- (51) an kwitool in exl-a-al naa' i inik
 DEF boy E3 know-TS-INC DEM NM man
The boy knows that man. (AmE1-61)

b. Obviative to Proximate: Passive

Obviative acting on Proximate is encoded by passive voice:

- (52) pues an pik'o' aath-in-th-aaj,
 then DEF dog run-LIN-CAUS-PASS.COM

 paj-n-aaj k'al an ebath chaptxam...
 follow-INTR-PASS.COM prep DEF all bee
They made the dog run; he was followed by all the bees.... (AmR48-100)

- (53) como jik'-eeth-aaj k'aal an pik'o' an ich'aamal...
 as fear-CAUS-PASS.COM prep DEF dog DEF deer
As the deer got scared by the dog... (AmR48-94)

5.2 Typical Mayan Person Marking

The person indexation system of the

Mayan languages is typically Ergative/Absolutive. The Mayan Ergative system of person marking is very well known in the linguistic literature. In this system of person marking the transitive subject is encoded Ergatively (traditionally called set A) and usually prefixed to the verb, while the transitive object is encoded Absolutively (traditionally called set B) and usually suffixed to the verb. Both set A and set B have been reconstructed for Proto-Mayan, witnessing the long history of ergativity in the Mayan family (Robertson 1992).

Mayan ergativity represents a typologically relatively common system of person indexation on the verb, with a combination of two sets of markers (each with possible subsets). In this system of person marking, both the subject marker and the object marker are present in a typical Mayan verbal complex. This typical Mayan situation is illustrated in the following examples from three different Mayan languages, Jakaltek

(Craig 1977), Tsotsil (Aissen1987) and Tojolab'al (Peake 2007), (the glosses 'A' for Absolutive and 'E' for Ergative are used for consistency):

(54) a. **xk-ach** to-yi
 JAK CMP-A2 go-VI
You went. (Craig1977)

b. **ch-in** **haw-il-a**
 ICP-A1 E2-see-VT
You see me.

(55) a. **ch-i-tal-otik**
 TZO ICP-A1-come-A1PL.INC
We are coming. (Aissen 1987)

b. **k-il-oj-ø-tik**
 E1-see-PERF-A3-E1PL.INC
We (inc) have seen it/him/them.

(56) a. wa la-waj-y-**on**
 TOJ ICP ICP12-go-VI-A1s
I go/am going. (Peake 2007)

b. wa **x-aw-il-aw-on-ex**
 ICP ICP-E2-see-VT-A1s-PL
You see me.

5.3 Discussion

The transitive agreement of South Eastern Huastec is clearly not typically Absolutive/Ergative, or typically inverse. Comparing the above examples from other Mayan languages to the examples from HSF, it is clear that the HSF system is particular. There are different approaches to this phenomenon, which are briefly outlined in the following.

Approach 1. Portmanteau Clitics and Ergative Marking In the previous (earliest) studies of the grammar of Huastecan languages, these special inverse transitive agreement markers were called “**portmanteau**” clitics, and the agreement Absolutive/Ergative (McQuown 1965, Ochoa Peralta 1984, Edmonson 1988, Constable 1989, Robertson 1992).

Constable (1989: 21) precises: “these clitics must be treated as fused and cannot be analyzed in any regular way,” and he adds that these clitics “have evolved from Proto-Mayan set A and set B prefixes by process of fusion of pairs of prefixes followed by the introduction of suppletive forms”. McQuown (1984: 106) calls these clitics ‘object/subject combinations.’; Edmonson (1989: 114): labels these transitive agreement markers “bireferential/portmanteau pronouns that indicate subject and object of transitive verbs when the object is a non-3rd person, and the possessor and possessed in stative constructions when possessed object is a non-3rd person.”

Approach 2. Inverse Clitic and Inverse Alignment A different approach to this issue is presented in Zavala (1994). This author believes that the Huastec (HVA) special transitive agreement markers illustrate the phenomenon called Inverse Alignment and argues that the prefix **t-** marks inversion, as it is added to the transitive agreement clitic when the object is a SAP. In Zavala’s approach, the Set Three markers are called Inverse Proclitics, and the prefix **t-** is interpreted as a prefix signaling inversion: Zavala (1994: 34) notes that “the same part of the paradigm that receives the **t(V)-** prefix only has one pronominal marker instead of two”; he argues that these clitics are not portmanteau and analyzes them as a “subset of transitive pronominal markers which signals inversion,” where **t(V)-** represents an “inverse marker that attaches to the proclitic that occupies the higher rank in a deictically based hierarchy.” According to Zavala (1994: 74) Huastec is an inverse language that uses the “inherited ergative/absolutive case system together with the inverse directive to encode that the endpoint, or object of event, is a deictic participant.”

For some linguists it remains unclear why this prefix **t-** is present in clitics that encode the local configuration 1>2, as it should be regarded as ‘direct.’ In other words, in this approach there are no ‘direct’ alignment clitics that would contrast with inverse

alignment clitics for the direct direction in the case of local configuration (Creissels, Rose, Guillaume, p.c.). But in some languages, like the Lower Sepic family or Algonkian (W.F. p.c.), the local configuration is also encoded by inverse.

Approach 3. Tripartite Marking and Transitive Agreement Markers that Encode the Fact that SAP is an Object The HSF data demonstrate a transitive agreement, that to some linguists, may look tripartite: the analysis of the HSF data from the corpus could provide support for the belief that this system is tripartite, which is one of the rarest agreement systems known in the literature (Siewerska 2006, 2011, among others). Namely, HSF marks all the three arguments (Subject, Agent and Patient) in a different way, and some linguists (Creissels, Rose, A. Guillaume, p.c.) believe that this phenomenon in HSF is a person hierarchy only, and that these markers could be called just ‘transitive agreement markers’. Their point of view is that these clitics are triggered simply when a Speech Act Participant (SAP) is an object (in other words, the prefix **t-** is triggered when a SAP is object). Under this approach there is no inverse alignment in South Eastern Huastec, but only the person hierarchy in HSF ($1/2 > 3$, or in other words, a $SAP > 3$). The transitive agreement markers of Set Three encode the fact that a SAP is an object and nothing else.

This approach also emphasizes the impossibility of morphological segmentation of the HSF transitive agreement markers: it is clear that there is a prefix **t-** in the morphological structure of these HSF Transitive Agreement markers; what is unclear is what remains when this prefix **t-** is taken off; the morphological structure of these HSF transitive agreement markers is unclear; the only thing that can be said about these forms is:

- the **only portmanteau** appears to be **tuxu** (P1pl/A2pl), as it resists all the attempts to be analysed, versus the other meaning of **tuxu** < tixi-u (P2pl/A1sg)
- one marker **tu** (P1pl) is insegmentable, while the other **tu** can be segmented as **ti-u** (P1pl/A1sg)

These transitive agreement markers appear to be a mark of an Agent only (Patient not encoded), or a mark of a Patient only (Agent not encoded), or a combination of an

Agent marker plus a Patient marker (and these transitive agreement markers are the only case when a Patient is overtly marked, although only to a certain extent, as it is amalgamized/not recognizable/not identifiable):

- **Agent markers:** u (A1sg), a (A2sg), in (A3sg), i (Apl)
- **Patient markers:** tin (P1sg), ti (P2sg), tu (P1pl), tixi (P2pl)

The majority of these markers are in fact mono-morphemic, and can be reduced to the mark of an Agent or to the mark of a Patient. However, there are three forms that do not fit this explanation:

tu	P2sg/A1sg	<	ti-u
tuxu	P2pl/A1sg	<	tixi-u
tuxu	P1pl/A2pl		(portmanteau)

A summary of this approach: 1.) The HSF verbal agreement is tripartite. 2.) HSF possesses a very complicated, unusual and unclear way of transitive agreement marking. Except for a portmanteau **tuxu** (P1pl/A2pl), this is a system of a hierarchic agreement, where only one argument is encoded, A or P (**Patient is encoded only if 1st or 2nd person; Agent is encoded if 1st or 2nd person, or in case where Patient is a 3rd person**).

However, as it can be noted so far, the Patient in HSF is not consistently marked and because of this, some linguists (W. Foley, p.c.) believe that Huastec cannot be regarded as tripartite. Besides this, it seems that it is logical that a tripartite language would not need inverse alignment to show grammatical relations since such a language marks the three arguments in different ways.

5.3.2 Our Attempt to Analyze the Markers

It seems clear that South Eastern Huastec has an inverse system (we cannot call it a voice as there is no change of grammatical relations), where the direction 1, 2 > 3 is unmarked ('natural') and the direction 3 > 1, 2 is marked inversely ('counter-natural') because of the following:

- a. The inverse prefix **t-** is added to the Set Three markers every time when a SAP is the object of a sentence. This prefix **t-** is present in the marker for the

local configuration as well, but as previously mentioned, this is the case in many languages.

- b. The transitive agreement clitics seem to be analyzable⁴, as outlined below. It is clear that the prefix **t-** exists in the morphological structure of these Set Three markers. What follows is the **object of the event** represented by the Absolutive personal marker :

tin:	t- ɔ - in INV prefix- subject (Erg)-object (1 st sg Abs)
ti:	t- ɔ - i < it INV prefix- subject (Erg)-object (2 nd sg Abs)
tu:	t- ɔ - u INV prefix- subject (Erg)-object (1 st pl, 2 nd sg Abs) This marker could, by analogy, be applied for the direction 1sg>2sg: me and you = we.
tixi:	t- ɔ -ix- i INV prefix- subject (Erg)- PL object- object (2 nd pl Abs) The -ix here could be for plurality of the object.
tuxu:	t- ɔ -ux- u INV prefix- subject (Erg)- Pl of object - object (1 st pl) The same explanation here: the -ux encodes the plurality of the object here.

In languages like Husastec, the 1st and 2nd person singular or plural (that is, a SAP) outrank the 3rd person singular and plural. If a 3rd person singular or plural acts upon a SAP (that is, when a SAP is the object of a sentence), it is 'counter-nature'; the 'counter-nature' of the event is registered in the grammar of the language: in many languages of the world there is a dedicated marker that encodes this 'unnatural'

⁴ I am grateful to W. Foley for the suggestion how to analyse these markers.

alignment, called by many authors, the ‘inverse alignment,’ between the two arguments, the subject and the object.

According to Givon (1994) and Klaiman (1991), any situation where P is more topical than A, but A is still topical, can be considered inverse. A canonical inverse language expresses the inverse direction with a dedicated morphosyntactic device. In HSF this dedicated morphosyntactic device seems to be the inverse prefix **t-** added to a clitic representing the object every time this object is a SAP.

It is still unclear why there is so much homophony: all the following transitive agreement markers encode more than two combinations of subjects and objects: **tin** and **tu** encode *four*; **ti** and **tixi** represent *three*, and **tuxu** marks *two*. The full personal pronouns are used to disambiguate, otherwise without a context (but often within the context as well), the relation/direction would be totally unclear.

An interesting approach to the intransparency and ‘weirdness’ of these inverse transitive agreement markers can be found in Heath (1998). This author argues that in many languages the subject/object combinations are fused, difficult to segment, irregular or unusually complex (p.83), especially the $1 > 2 > 1$ markers; their transparency is also avoided by different phonological distortions.

Heath mentions twelve different strategies in avoiding maximal transparency, and the following strategies could apply to Huastec: **1. Marker disguised by partial phonological distortion, 3. One of the two markers (elsewhere non-zero) expressed by zero, 10. Subject and object markers compete for a single slot.** Heath believes that the motivation for this phenomenon is a socio-pragmatic suppression, in other words, intention to avoid a negative target (expressing overtly a 1st or a 2nd person). But, according to Heath, often an optional free pronoun is used to resolve ambiguities, and this is exactly what happens in HSF.

At the end of this discussion it can be summarized that there are basically two main approaches to this issue: The functional approach (Givon 1994) sees inverse whenever Patient is more topical than Agent, while Agent is still topical. The syntactic approach

considers the hierarchical indexation and the marking of direction (direct versus inverse) to be independent (De Lancey 2001).

For some authors (Nichols 1992, Siewierska 2004) inverse systems are particular types of hierarchical systems, while others (De Lancey 2001) interpret both hierarchical systems and inverse systems as expressions of deictic orientation. Zuniga (2006:28) discusses:

“Hierarchical alignment and direction are logically independent features that can, but need not, co-occur. A particular language may display verbal morphology that can be meaningfully described with the concept of hierarchical alignment alone, without there being direction marking. Similarly, the morphosyntax of a certain language may (i) be adequately described with a simple SAO model but (ii) allow for additional direction marking if there is no hierarchical alignment.”

5.4 **Summary of the Personal Markers in HSF**

Set 1:

HSF Ergative Markers		
	Singular	Plural
1	u	i
2	a	i
3	in	i

Set 2:

HSF Absolutive Markers		
	Singular	Plural
1	in	u
2	it	ix
3	(w)a/Ø	ip

Set 3: **HSF Inverse Markers**

Marker	Subject	Object
tin	2 sg/pl, sg/pl	1sg
ti	3 sg/pl, 1pl	2sg
tu	2sg, 3sg/pl	1pl
	1sg	2sg
tixi	3sg/pl, 1pl	2pl
tuxu	1sg	2pl
	2pl	1pl

HSF Transitive Agreement: Set 1 and Set 3 Combinations

		O B J E C T					
S U B J E C T		1	2	3	1P	2P	3P
	1	/	tu	u	/	tuxu	u
	2	tin		a	tu	/	a
	3	tin	ti	in	tu	tixi	in
	1P	/	ti	i	/	tixi	i
	2P	tin	/	i	tuxu	/	i
	3P	tin	ti	i	tu	tixi	i

Chapter 6

Valency Decreasing Operations

We attempted to describe, at least to a certain extent, the correlation between syntactic structure and pragmatic function of voice alternations in HSF. Previous works on Mayan voices have focused mostly on the morphosyntactic aspects of voices (except Zavala 1997). The following two chapters (Chapter 6 and Chapter 7) deal with various voice alternations in South Eastern Huastec.

South Eastern Huastec registers change in valency with a specific marker that occurs in the verbal complex. According to England (1983), voices are the relationship between a transitive verb and its nominal dependents, and a change in that relationship is a change in voice. Valency-changing operations that take place in South Eastern Huastec are as follows: Antipassive, Passive and Middle Voices; Reflexives, Reciprocals, Applicatives and Causative. Lexical realisations of core and non-core arguments in HSF valency-decreasing operations are described in this chapter. Other operations related to valency change are described in Chapter 7 on HSF valency-increasing operations, namely Applicative and Causative. A description of HSF Reflexives is found within the Middle Voice section, and the Reciprocals are described within the Antipassive section.

6.1 HSF Active Voice

This section describes the structure of the HSF Active Voice.

a. Intransitive Verbs The morphological structure of the Active voice of these verbs is the simplest in HSF. They consist of a root and an aspectual marker:

kal-ej	way-al
go-COM	sleep-INC
<i>went</i>	<i>slept</i>

- (1) ul-ich juun i tonel.
 come-COM one NM visitor
A visitor came. (AmE1-73)

- (2) in way-al
 A1 sleep-INC
I sleep. (IrArch58)

b. Active Voice of Transitive Verbs The transitive verbs contain a root, a transitive suffix and an aspectual marker. In the completive aspect, the aspectual marker is zero.

t'aj-a'-al	ch'a-iy	pith-a'
make-TS-INC	buy-TS(COM)	give-TS(COM)
<i>make it</i>	<i>bought it</i>	<i>gave it</i>

- (3) pwes inchana' an ti t'aj-a-al tenchee'
 then(Sp) that.way DEF R-Ep make-TS-INC here

wawaa' t-u teenek an ataaj
 we prep-Alp Huastec DEF house
This is how we Huastec build the houses here. (AmV28-66)

- (4) axee' u thatx-uw ich
 DEM E1 remove-TS(COM) already
I have already removed (off the fire) this one. (VerV17-42)
- (5) ne'ech xee' k-u lej-k-iy an k'ooyej.
 FUT now IRR-E1 prepare-DM-TS(COM) DEF dough
I am going to prepare the dough now. (VerV9-1)

6.2 HSF Antipassive

It was Smith-Starck (1976, 1978) who introduced the term “antipassive” into Mayan linguistics to label a process of detransitivisation of semantically transitive predicates. South Eastern Huastec has a morphologically-marked antipassive that derives intransitive forms from transitive verbs. Like Passive and Middle, Antipassive represents a valency-decreasing operation.

6.2.1 HSF Antipassive Morphology There are three different HSF antipassive markers of unclear origin (Proto Mayan had two AP morphemes : *-(V)n, *-(V)w) :

- (V)x, - (V)l, - (V)m

These three AP markers are not interchangeable; their distribution remains a mystery (see the list in the Annex), although I have noticed that almost all verbs that receive AP marker (V)-x have -(V)y as a transitive marker. Almost all verbs that form AP with the morpheme -(V)l have -(V)w as Transitive marker, and the majority of verbs that have AP -(V)m have -a' as a transitive marker. All five HSF vowels can occur in the marker, depending on vowel harmony. This vowel is always short, except in the case of Reciprocals (see section 6.2.9 of this chapter). This vowel can also be zero, depending on the syllable structure of the verbal complex.

The following **restrictions** on the distribution of the AP markers have been identified:

- a. Marker -(V)x is added to Spanish loan verbs, applicatives and reciprocals.
- b. Marker -(V)m is added to verbs with a Causative marker.

For example, the same verb that receives **-(V)l** as the antipassive marker will have **-(V)m** in a verbal complex with a Causative, or **-(V)x** with a Reciprocal :

k'ap-uw	<i>eat it, bite it</i>	(transitive)
k'ap-ul	<i>eat, bite</i>	(antipassive)
k'ap-un-th-om	<i>feed, make bite</i>	(causative antipassive)
k'aap-uux	<i>bite each other</i>	(reciprocal)

There are a certain number of HSF verbs that do not exist without an AP marker:

aath-il	<i>run</i>
ch'uk-ux	<i>ache</i>
koy-ol	<i>relax</i>
laatx-um	<i>swim</i>
objb-al	<i>cough</i>

These kinds of verbs exist in other Mayan languages (England 1983: 219 on Mam) and are considered as verbs with a pragmatic cognate object (Zavala, p.c.). They imply an object that is never expressed (*'run a race,' 'cough a cough'*). They are never found with an object in HSF. When asked to translate the sentence *'This horse ran three races,'* the consultant came up with the sentence *'This horse ran three times.'*

HSF AP Paradigms There are two types of AP paradigms in HSF, as shown in the following table:

	Table 6.1 HSF AP Paradigms			
	COM	INC	PERF	
-(V)x	tajb-ax-in	tajb-ax-Ø	tajb-ax-neenek	<i>illuminate</i>
-(V)m	choy-m-aach	choy-om-Ø	choy-m-aamath	<i>fish</i>
-(V)l	waat'-l-aach	waat'-il-Ø	waat'-l-aamath	<i>grind</i>

6.2.2 HSF Antipassive Function

The HSF Antipassive

function is rather canonical. Cooreman (1993) argues that there are two different types of Antipassive: the first is described in terms of semantic and pragmatic characteristics (absolutive antipassive), and the second type is a structural antipassive (traditionally called Agentive Voice in Mayan linguistics). While both these types have been attested in the majority of Mayan languages, only the first type exists in South Eastern Huastec, like in Chol, Tzeltal and Tzotzil, where the structure of the sentence does not change when an Agent is extracted for focusing, questioning or negation. In regard to the treatment of objects, there are typologically two types of languages with antipassive constructions; those that have a patient-like argument left implicit, and those that have a patient-like argument expressed as an oblique complement. South Eastern Huastec presents both of these features.

The antipassive has traditionally been associated with Ergative languages (Silverstein 1976, Spencer 1991: 24, Dayley 1990, Cooreman 1994: 50, Dixon 1994: 144, 147), although some authors have discussed the antipassive in the context of nominative-accusative languages (Heath 1976: 210, Givón 2001: 168, Bogard 1999, 2007, Nougier-Voisin 2002, 2005, Polinsky 2005: 438). Authors agree that the presence of the antipassive is more visible in Ergative languages: there is a dedicated antipassive marker, and there are also modifications in the system of argument marking. The South Eastern Huastec antipassive has all the features of an antipassive construction of Ergative languages (Hopper & Thompson 1980, Cooreman 1994, Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000, Polinsky 2005). In an HSF antipassive construction :

- there is a special verbal marker
- detransitivisation takes place
- the object is demoted (omitted, marked as oblique, or incorporated into the verb)
- the subject of the corresponding transitive verb, typically marked Ergatively, becomes the subject of the antipassive intransitive construction and is marked Absolutively
- generally the verbs appear in incomplete aspect, as opposed to passive, which prefers complete/perfect

The HSF Antipassive is found in semantically transitive constructions, as in many languages of the world, where the same verb and arguments are present as in a canonical transitive construction. According to Cooreman (1993: 50), the antipassive is “a construction typical for ergative languages and occurs along with ergative construction as a morphosyntactic alternative for the same transitive proposition.” The difference in syntactic coding is triggered, according to Cooreman, by semantic or pragmatic factors. This author defines the first type of Antipassive as “indicating a certain degree of difficulty with which an effect stemming from an activity by A on an identifiable O can be recognized.” In this type of Antipassive, Cooreman defines three subgroups according to the properties of low identifiability and low affectedness of the object, (in a sentence like ‘*He hit *at the cat,*’ the object is not totally affected by the action of hitting), as well as the aspectual changes of the predicate. The HSF Antipassive occurs most commonly with incomplete aspect, but there are several examples of the usage of the Antipassive with other aspects.

The following examples illustrate the usage of Antipassive in South Eastern Huastec. In examples (6a) and (7a), the verb bears a transitive suffix. The Agent is marked Ergatively and the Patient is present. In examples (6b) and (7b), a valence-decreasing operation takes place; the verbs bear the AP marker and the objects are deleted.

- (6) a. neech k-i thu'b-ay an boliim
 FUT IRR-Epl wrap-TS(COM) DEF boliim
We are going to wrap the “boliims”. (ReiC2-58-4)

- b. neech bela' an t-u thu'b-ax ich
 FUT SPEC DET R-A1pl wrap-AP(INC) already
I think we are already going to wrap (them). (MargV86-53)

- (7) a. u wit'-a-al wik na' k-u txuk-uy an pateep.
 E1 can-TS-INC PAST I IRR-E1 sew-TS(COM) DEF underwear
I could sew underwear. (EulConv52-56)

- b. neech na' t-in txuk-ux.
 FUT I R-A1 sew-AP(INC)
I am going to sew. (BasC1-8-26)

6.2.1 Absolute Antipassive of Low Identifiability/ Importance/ Affectedness of the Object

This function of the antipassive is usually called absolute, or indefinite (Cooreman 1993). The object gets demoted or completely deleted because it is “unimportant in the discourse, indefinite, unknown, or obvious from the context.” The identification of the object in an antipassive construction is not crucial for the communication. The usage of the antipassive in these situations is triggered by the degree to which “the hearer can identify the Object referent as a unique individual in the discourse. The occurrence of an antipassive in many languages correlates with a low degree of identifiability of the Object in the proposition” (Cooreman 1993: 52).

There are several studies on absolute antipassive in the Mayan family (Aissen 1990, Bricker 1978, Campbell 2001, Constable 1989, Dayley 1981, Edmonson 1988, England 1983, Grinevald & Peake 2011, Kaufman 1986, Klaimann 1991, Robertson 1992, Smith-Stark 1976 and 1978, Stiebels 2006, Zavala 1997). In South Eastern Huastec there are three types of Antipassive: 1. Absolute AP, 2. AP of Demotion, 3. AP of Incorporation. Patient can be expressed in an HSF Antipassive construction as a bare object or an oblique NP. In HSF the Antipassive voice marker in a verbal complex appears with a:

- a. deleted object: *I eat. I sing.*
- b. demoted object (oblique): *He shot at the deer.*
- c. bare object (incorporated): *I *truck-drive. I *cigar-smoke.*

a. Absolute Antipassive: Object Deleted Below are cases where the object is totally deleted, as in the English clauses *I eat.* and *I sing.* In example (8)a below, the object is present in a canonical transitive construction, while in example (8)b, there is an Antipassive marker on the verb, as the object is obvious in this context, and it is not necessary to repeat it:

- (8) a. neech k-i thu'b-ay an boliim
 FUT IRR-pl wrap-TS(COM) DEF boliim
 We are going to wrap the “boliims”. (ReiC2-58-4)

- b. neech bela' an t-u thu'b-ax ich
 FUT SPEC DET R-A1pl wrap-AP(INC) already
I think we are already going to wrap (them). (MargV86-53)

In the following examples the focus is on activity and the object is not important:

- (9) neech na' t-in txuk-ux
 FUT I R-1A sew-AP(INC)
I am going to sew. (BasC1-8-26)
- (10) tejwa' na iich' a tajb-ax
 MIR HON moon A3 illuminate-AP(INC)
One could see the Moon illuminating. (AmR-13)
- (11) lajni' an t-u wit'-a' an t-in thutx-um
 really DEF R-E1 learn-TS(COM) DEF R-A1 write-AP(INC)
I really learned to write. (PolCo86-150)
- (12) ne'ech k-u ontx-iy t-in waat'-il
 FUT IRR-E1 continue-TS(COM) R-A1 grind-AP(INC)
- axee' i semaana
 DEM NM week(Sp)
I am going to continue grinding this week. (DanC2-163-24)
- (13) nanaa' in t'ojoj-ool t'ajatx baal n-u famiilia.
 I A1 cook-AP(INC) much for DEM-E1 family(Sp)
I cook a lot for my family. (CirE4-89-4)

Absolutive Antipassive is also employed to convey the general properties of the subject, and can be paraphrased as *the subject is in a habit of x-ing*. Examples (14a.) and (15a.) below refer to a feature of the animals. Examples (14b.) and (15b.) refer to the action of biting or butting at the moment of speech. The examples in (14c.) and (15c.) encode reciprocal action. In examples a. and b., both the general feature of the Subject and the progressive action are encoded by the same form of the Absolutive antipassive:

- (14) a. axee' i pik'o' a k'at-ux.
 DEM NM dog A3 bite-AP(INC)
 This dog bites. (is in a habit of biting people). (GoyE6)
- b. k-a chuu / naa' i pik'o' exom ti k'at-ux
 IRR-E2 see.COM DEM NM dog PROGR R bite-AP(INC)
 Look, that dog is biting (somebody)!
- c. naa' i pik'o'-txik up k'aat-uux
 DEM NM dog-PL A3p bite-REC.INC
 Those dogs are biting each other.
- (15) a. k-a chuu / ninaja' i baaka wa ich'm-ax
 IRR-E2 see.INC DEM NM cow A3 butt-AP(INC)
 Watch out, that cow butts.
- b. ninaja' i baaka exom ti ich'm-ax.
 DEM NM cow PROGR R butt-AP(INC)
 That cow is butting (somebody)!
- c. axee' i baaka-txik up iich'm-aax
 DEM NM cow-PL A3p butt-REC
 These cows butt (are butting) each other. (GoyE6)

b. HSF Antipassive with a Demoted Object

In an antipassive construction the only argument is the subject. An object can be present as an adjunct in an oblique phrase. The agent in an antipassive construction does not act directly on a specific object. The object in this construction is less affected, not referential, not individualised. If an object is present and overtly expressed in an HSF Antipassive construction, it can be an oblique NP or a bare NP:

- introduced by preposition **ti** *at, of*
- “bare” object

It is very common in HSF antipassive constructions that objects are overtly expressed as oblique noun phrases introduced by the preposition **ti** *at, of* (*He shot at the deer*).

- (16) in txuk-ux ti kwaa'txim baal an yaneel (AmE4-36)
 A1 sew-AP(INC) prep cloth for DEF people
I sew clothes for people.

- (17) jajaa' thutx-maamath ti kaarta-txik t'ajatx importaante-txik.
 s/he write-AP.PERF prep letter(Sp)-PL very important(Sp)-PL
He has written some very important letters. (AmE5-68)

c. Antipassive of Incorporation: Bare Object

According to Smith-

Stark (1978), the Antipassive of Incorporation is a type of voice found in Mayan languages. Incorporating a patient in the verb is another way of deriving an intransitive verb from its transitive counterpart. The following examples illustrate the case of an overtly expressed incorporated bare object. According to Zavala (1997), this construction with a bare object is considered as a special case of object incorporation. Although bare object/incorporation is not common in HSF, about a dozen examples have been found in the corpus. Like in other Mayan languages, these expressions usually refer to some traditional activity (compare, for example, Craig 1978 on Jakaltek). The bare object is placed straight after the verb and cannot change its position as it is part of the verbal complex.

- (18) ani chik-el t'ajatx an t-in baal-im t'uuth
 and get.tired-COM very DEF R-A1 put.into-AP(INC) tamal
And I got very tired (of) putting tamales (into the big pan)... (BerV92-100)

- (19) in paak'-ul tuu'lek
 A1 chop-AP(INC) meat
I am chopping meat. (PilV82-11)

- (20) na aana exom ti aj-um periodiko
 HUM Ana PROGR R read-AP(INC) newspaper(Sp)
Ana is reading a newspaper. (DahlPro7)

- (21) nanaa' u wit'-a-al t-in t'oj-om paan
 I E1 can-TS-INC R-A1 make-AP(INC) bread(Sp)

baal in oktx-iy-at (AmE4-12)
 as A1 teach-TS-PASS.COM

I can make bread as I was taught (how to do it).

An incorporated object does not take determiners or modifiers, but in HSF there exists the possibility to express the same object as an oblique NP. According to consultants, there is a difference in meaning between an AP clause with a bare object and an AP clause with an object expressed as an oblique noun phrase. In sentence (22a.), the traditional activity of cleaning maize plants of parasites **ak'um eem** is contrasted with the construction in sentence (22b.), where the person went to clean precisely maize plants and not, for example, chilli; the oblique object bears some sort of emphasis/focus, and the meaning of the clause with a bare (incorporated) object is more general.

- (22)a. n-u tomk-iil k'al-ej an ti ak'-um eem
 DEM-E1 husband-POSS go-COM DEF R clean-AP(INC) maize
My husband went to clean maize. (AmE4-30)

- b. n-u tomk-iil k'al-ej an ti ak'-um an ti eem
 DEM-E1 husband-POSS go-COM DEF R clean-AP(INC) DEF prep maize
My husband went to clean maize. (AmE4-30)

6.2.2 Issue of Definiteness An object of an AP clause is usually indefinite, generic, unspecified or non referential, and in many Mayan languages, for example Mam (England, 1983), the usage of an AP marker is obligatory with an indefinite object. Although the usage of antipassive with an indefinite object is not obligatory in South Eastern Huastec, it is very common. This pattern is exemplified in (23a.), where the object is a maize cob, which is indefinite. The verb *eat* bears the AP marker. In (23b.), the maize cob is defined as *new* (newly harvested, fresh) but we find the nominal modifier *i*. The noun phrase is nevertheless indefinite, and the verb is still in the Antipassive form. In (23c.), the maize cob is definite, the marker on the

verb has changed; it is now in active voice with a transitive marker, and not in antipassive. The consultant did not accept a clause with a definite maize cob plus an antipassive marker, as it is ungrammatical (23d.).

- (23)a. an olom k'ap-uumath ti way
 DEF pig eat-AP.PERF prep maize-cob
The pig ate a maize cob. (AmE5-68)
- b. an olom k'ap-uumath ti iit way
 DEF pig eat-AP.PERF prep new maize-cob
The pig ate a fresh maize cob. (AmE5-68)
- c. an olom in k'ap-uw an iit way
 DEF pig E3 eat-TS(COM) prep new maize-cob
The pig ate the fresh maize cob. (AmE5-68)
- d. *an olom k'ap-uumath an way
 DEF pig eat-AP.PERF DEF maize-cob
The pig ate a maize cob. (AmE5-68)

The following examples illustrate the same pattern. In example (24a.) we find the determiner **an**, and the verb is in the active voice, while in (24b.), the object is indefinite and the verb is in the AP.

- (24)a. jajaa' in thutx-a-al an kaarta-txik t'ajatx importaante-txik.
 he E3 write-TS-INC DEF letter(Sp)-PL very important(Sp)-PL
He writes very important letters. (AmE5-68)
- b. jajaa' thutx-maamath ti kaarta-txik t'ajatx importaante-txik.
 he write-AP.PERF prep letter(Sp)-PL very important(Sp)-PL
He has written some very important letters. (AmE5-68)

As mentioned above, the object that appears in an AP clause can be definite as well as indefinite, and both definite and indefinite noun phrases can be expressed as oblique. The following examples show that a definite object can be used in an AP clause, expressed as an oblique NP. The person in example (25) is repairing a definite lamp; the

focus is on the process of (finishing) repairing it, hence the usage of a construction with an AP marker and a demoted object expressed by an oblique NP:

- (25) exom in ok'-y-al ti lejk-ix an ti laampara.
 PROGR E3 finish-TS-INC R repair-AP(INC) DEF prep lamp(Sp)
He is finishing repairing the lamp. (DahlProg24)

- (26) na mariia inees a k'isaar-in-tx-ix an ti te'neel
 HUM Maria Ines A3 cook-EP-DAT-AP(INC) DEF prep food
 an t-in k'imaa' na luiisa (AmE4-65-17)
 DEF prep-E3 family prep Luisa
Maria Ines cooks the food for the Luisa's family.

HSF native speakers also agree that there is no difference in the meaning of the following sentences. Example (27)a. is an antipassive construction with an indefinite object expressed as an oblique NP; example (27)b. is an active transitive construction with an indefinite object.

- (27)a. tamup ti tamup u t'oj-om ti boliim
 year prep year Alp make-AP(INC) prep 'boliim'
Year after year we make 'boliim's. (CirC2-59b)
- b. tamup ti tamup i t'aj-a-al i boliim
 year prep year Ep make-TS-INC NM 'boliim'
Year after year we make 'boliim's.

6.2.3 AP and Aspect

Antipassive generally occurs more often with the incomplete aspect than with other aspects. It is related to the fact that the action of an AP is often uncompleted, which accounts for the high correlation between the use of the antipassive and the habitual, durative, iterative and imperfective in world languages (Tchekhoff 1987, Cooreman 1994, Dixon 1994, Dowty 1991, Van den Berg 2001). In some languages there are certain restrictions of the usage of verbal aspects with the antipassive marker, but in HSF the antipassive is found with all three

verbal aspects. The HSF antipassive with a deleted object is often found with incomplete aspect because of its nature (generic events).

6.2.4 Absence of Structural Antipassive in HSF Cooreman's second type of Antipassive (called 'the Agentive voice' in traditional Mayan linguistics) is not found in HSF. This type of Antipassive is present in the majority of Mayan languages, where antipassivization makes the sole argument of the detransitivized verb accessible to relevant grammatical processes. In many ergative languages, where the absolutive is the pivot for all or most grammatical processes, antipassivization allows the subject to occur in the absolutive case (Polinsky 2005). Unlike other languages, South Eastern Huastec, as with Chol, Tzeltal and Tzotzil (Polian 2011, Vázquez 2011), does not extend the usage of Antipassive for these purposes. According to Vázquez (2011), only the Absolutive Antipassive and Antipassive of Incorporation are found in Chol. Unlike the majority of Mayan languages, Antipassive in HSF is not used for extracting the Agent to make it available for certain syntactic operations, such as focusing, questioning, relativisation, negation, etc. As mentioned above, an HSF structure does not change if an Agent is extracted. Stiebels (2006) researches in detail the issue of focus achieved by antipassivisation in Mayan languages.

a. In HSF, **focusing** is achieved by a relative clause as well (see relative clauses in Chapter 11 on Complex Sentences), and independent personal pronouns that are normally not obligatory in an unmarked construction.

- (28) a. nanaa' u kwath-a' ninaa' i inik
 I E1 hit-TS(COM) DEM NM man
 I hit that man. (AmE5-47)

- b. nanaa' n-u kwath-a' ninaa' i inik
 I REL-E1 hit-TS(COM) DEM NM man
 I am the one who hit that man. (AmE5-47)

- (29) nanaa' n-u lejk-iy axee' i te'neel.
 I REL-E1 prepare-TS(COM) DEM NM food
 It was me who prepared this food. (CirE5-11)

- (30) ja' n-u ajaatik an tu pithaal. (AmMus101)
 he REL-E1 God DEF 3>1p give-TS-INC
It is our God that gives it to us.

b. Questions Below are cases where an AP construction is used in other Mayan languages. This is another illustration of the fact that the structural antipassive function is not identified in HSF. In these cases in HSF a cleft construction with the relative marker **n-** is used:

- (31) tamaa' n-in map-uy an wi'lep
 who REL-E3 close-TS(COM) DEF door
Who closed the door? (AmE4-33-6)

- (32) tamaa' n-in ko'-oy?
 who REL-E3 take-care-TS(COM)
Who took care of him? (AmE4-84)

- (33) t'oneey k'aal an t-u koo'-y-al
 what with DEF prep-E1 have-TS-INC
 k-u kot-oy an pastel?
 IRR-E1 cut-TS(COM) DEF cake(Sp)
What am I supposed to cut the cake with? (CirE5)

6.2.5 AP Used to Disambiguate/Relativise

Two examples of AP usage to focus/disambiguate have been obtained by elicitation. Two consultants were asked to translate the sentence *It was me who hit that man*. One gave the sentence in (34)a. with a transitive construction, and the other gave the sentences in (34)b. with an Antipassive. This function of the Antipassive is not obligatory in HSF, and other examples of this AP function are not found in the data.

- (34)a. nanaa' n-u kwath-a' naa' i inik.
 I REL-E1 hit-TS(COM) DEM NM man
It was me who hit that man. (CirE5-11)

- b. nanaa' n-in kwath-xin naa' ti inik.
 I REL-A1 hit-AP.COM DEM prep man
I was the one who hit that man. (AmE5-11)

Example (35) is an active transitive construction that is ambiguous, as this is an Obviative construction (encoded actively in HSF):

- (35) axee' i inik n-in kwath-a' na maaria. (AmE5-47)
 this NM man REL-E3 hit-TS(COM) HUM Maria
This is the man who hit Maria. = This is the man whom Maria hit.

As the ambiguity was noticed by the consultant, the consultant came up with the following sentence, which would mean something like *It was Maria who hit.* (=who did the hitting).

- (36) jajaa' na mariia ni kwath-xin (Ø)
 s/he HUM Maria REL hit-AP.COM (him/her/it/them)
It was Maria who hit. (=who did the hitting) (AmE5-47)

A reminder here that the object 3rd person sg/pl pronoun in HSF is zero (never overtly expressed).

6.2.6 Antipassive and Applicatives In a verbal complex with an Antipassive Marker, an applicative can be found. See more on Applicatives in Chapter 7.

a. Antipassive and Dative An antipassive clause can contain a Dative/Benefactive applicative. Below are examples from the corpus. The applicative/Dative marker **-tx-** is placed before the Antipassive marker. As mentioned above, **-(V)x** is the only antipassive marker that can be added to a verbal complex that has a dative applicative marker.

a.	t'i'-om	t'i'-tx-ix
	sort-AP(INC)	sort-DAT-AP(INC)
	sort (maize)	sort (maize) for somebody
b.	t'een-el	t'een-tx-ix

play-AP(INC)	play-DAT-AP(INC)
<i>play (an instrument)</i>	<i>play (music) for people/others</i>

c.	jay-ul	jay-tx-ix
	eat-AP(INC)	eat-DAT-AP(INC)
	<i>eat (something)</i>	<i>eat (something) belonging to somebody</i>

(37) na josee wa ne'ech tolm-in-**tx-ix**
 HUM Jose A3 HAB help-EP-DAT-AP(INC)

taam wa'ach juun i k'ibeltalaap (AmE4-66)
 when exist.INC one NM disaster

Jose always helps (people with something) when there is a disaster.

b. Antipassive and Instrumental

About half of all the examples of

Instrumental applicatives found in the HSF corpus contain an AP marker. The applicative Instrumental marker follows the AP marker, and the verbal complex looks as follows:

V-DAT-AP-INSTR-TS-aspect

a.	thoy-om	thoy-om-n-a'
	lift-AP(INC)	lift-AP-INSTR-TS(COM)
	<i>lift (things)</i>	<i>lift (things) with something</i>
b.	k'isaar-ix	k'isaar-ix-n-a'
	cook(Sp)-AP(INC)	cook-AP-INSTR-TS(COM)
	<i>cook (something)</i>	<i>cook (something) using/with something</i>
c.	txuk-ux	txuk-ux-n-a'
	sew-AP(INC)	sew-AP-INSTR-TS(COM)
	<i>sew (something)</i>	<i>sew something using/with something</i>

There are a few verbs that change the AP marker when used with the Instrumental marker. At the moment the reason for this change is not clear.

aath-il > aath-**im**-n-a'

run-AP(INC)		run-AP-INSTR-TS(COM)
<i>run</i>		<i>run with something</i>
waat'-il	>	waat'- im-n-a'
grind-AP(INC)		grind-AP-INSTR-TS(COM)
<i>grind (something)</i>		<i>grind (something) with something</i>
ton-el	>	ton- em-n-a'
visit-AP(INC)		visit-AP-INSTR-TS.INC
<i>visit</i>		<i>visit with something</i>

6.2.7 Accumulation of Valency Markers A construction with both an AP marker and an Instrumental marker present in a verbal complex is found in the HSF data. The presence of an Instrumental marker causes a change in argument marking, so that the Subject is marked ergatively and the sentence is transitive. Examples (38), (39) and (40) below show verbal complexes with two valency markers, namely the antipassive marker and the applicative. More details on Applicatives are found in Chapter 7.

- 38) axee' i te' jaach n-u thoy-**om-n-a-al**. (AmE4-89)
 this NM stick it REL-E1 lift-AP-INSTR-TS-INC
It is with this stick that I lift things. (I use this stick to lift things).

There are several examples of accumulation of voice markers, in this case, of an antipassive marker and a transitive suffix (Active transitive marker), present in one verbal complex. It is a situation where the antipassive marker refers to the object expressed as an oblique NP and the transitive suffix refers to the Instrument. The new role of the instrument is the object. Now the instrument is placed at the transitive subject's position, in the beginning of the sentence. This is the advancement of the instrument. The Instrumental applicative marker is placed right after the AP marker. In the following sentence there are two object-like NPs; one coded as oblique and one unmarked, Instrument is unmarked.

- (39) axee' i lapis u ch'o-**ox-n-a-al** an ti wich
 this NM pen E1 draw-AP-INSTR-TS-INC DEF prep flower

baal k-u regalaar-iy n-u maa (CirE4-67b)
 to IRR-E1 offer(Sp)-TS.INC DEM-E1 Mum
With this pen I am drawing the flower to offer to my mum.

The literal translation of this HSF sentence would be: **This pen I am writing to draw-with the flower to offer my mother.*

- (40) na josee ne'ech ti t'i'-**tx-ix** ti way
 HON José FUT prep seed-DAT-AP(INC) prep maize
- t-in kweenta na paawlo
 prep-E3 count(Sp) HON Pablo
Jose will seed corn for Pablo.

Fronting of the instrument is not obligatory in HSF, but it is common. More details about this are found in Chapter 7 on Applicatives.

6.2.8 Lexicalisation of AP Forms A few lexicalised AP forms have been identified in the data. Below are some examples:

bij-tx-ix
 name(things)-DAT-AP(INC)
teacher (Lit: "the one who names (things) for others")

- (41) babaa' i chuuj i iit **bijtxix**
 they E3p see.COM NM new teacher
They saw new teachers. (AmArch60)

bel-m-aach
 believe-AP-COM
belief, faith, religion

- (42) ... porkee jelat ich an **belmaach**
 because(Sp) like already DEF belief

...because it is already like a belief. (AmConv101-280)

One antipassive incomplete verbal form and one antipassive nominalised form are identical, so the following sentences containing that form can be interpreted in two different ways:

- (43) nanaa' t'ajatx na' in **belom.** (CirE5-45)
I very I A1 believer
I believe strongly. = *I am a great 'believer'. (I am very religious)*
- (44)a. babaa' ip oom (AmE4-50)
they A3pl seed.AP(INC)
They seed. = *They are the "seeders" (a noun, the ones who seed)*
- b. nuwa' ich ip ne'-ech an **oom.**
there already A3p go-INC DEF seeder
Over there, the seeders already go.

In (41), (42), and (44)b., it is obvious that these are the AP nominalised forms as they are preceded by modifiers (an adjective or the determiner **an**):

i	ii	bijtxix	an	belmaach
NM	new	teacher	DEF	belief
	<i>new</i>	<i>teachers</i>		<i>the belief, the faith</i>

6.2.9 Antipassive and Reciprocal root V: - V: x

While the Antipassive has often been associated with reflexivity (Foley and Van Valin 1984, Polinsky 2005, Terrill 1997, Nedjalkov 2005, Creissels 2006), there are relatively few languages that link antipassive to reciprocal (for example, Oceanic languages). Huastec is one of those languages. In HSF, it is not clear if the antipassive marker developed out of the reciprocal marker, or vice versa.

In South Eastern Huastec, a special grammaticalised form of the Antipassive encodes reciprocal events. The Antipassive marker **-(V)x** with lengthening of both the stem and the marker vowel encodes HSF reciprocal events.

pej-ey	<i>fight (tr)</i>	peej-eex	<i>fight each other</i>
thaj-a'	<i>call (tr)</i>	thaaaj-aax	<i>call each other</i>
k'at-uw	<i>bite (tr)</i>	k'aat-uux	<i>bite each other</i>

- (45) babaa' ip thaaj-aax txuthey ka txuthey. (AmE2-77-5)
 they A3p call-REC.INC day to day
They call each other every day.

The Max Planck Institute video stimulus, with its 64 clips was the basis for the HSF research on reciprocals. These video stimuli were used to elicit data from three native speakers of HSF aged 40, 51 and 54.

According to Frajzyngier (2000), the fundamental prerequisite for a reciprocal is the plurality of participants (two or more) playing the same role. Reciprocity is encoded in various ways in the world's languages. South Eastern Huastec is one of the languages that use a special marker to convey reciprocity. The marker **-V:-V:x** encodes uniquely reciprocal events. This marker is a specialized Antipassive marker. Again, Huastec is the only Mayan language that uses a special Antipassive marker to convey reciprocity; there is a similar construction in Mam, where an Antipassive marker is used in combination with the reflexive marker. The following examples illustrate a reciprocal event and a habit (a property), both expressed by antipassive. The reciprocal event is encoded by the reciprocal marker (52), and the habit/general property of the Subject is encoded by the canonical antipassive marker (53):

- (46) up ch'uuch'b-aax
 A3p kiss-REC.INC
They kiss each other. (GoyE6)

- (47) jajaa' a ch'uch'b-ax
 s/he A3 kiss-AP(INC)
He kisses around.

6.2.9.1 Grammaticalised Antipassive Marker as Reciprocal

- (48)a. na jwaan in ch'uch'-b-ay-al na mariia.
 HUM Juan E3 kiss-DM-TS-INC DEF Maria.
Juan kisses Maria. (AmE2-85)

- b. babaa' ip ch'uuch'-b-aax (AmE2-85-36)
 they A3p kiss-DM-REC.INC
They kiss (each other).

In example (48a.) the verb is in active voice and bears a transitive suffix, as it is a transitive construction. In example (48b.), instead of the transitive suffix **-ay**, the verb bears the Antipassive Reciprocal morpheme **-aax** as the only marker on the stem. If we compare the verb of the two examples, we will notice that except for this AP.REC morpheme, there is another feature of reciprocity: the lengthening of the vowel of both the stem and the AP morpheme (ch'uch'bayal versus ch'uuchbaax). This is the only case of vowel lengthening with a differentiating function. Below are some further examples:

- (49) wawaa' u taawn-aax wa' txuthey ka txuthey.
 we A3p call-REC.COM we day to day
We call each other every day. (CirE3-12-3)

- (50) axee' i chaap i inik baa' ip k'aak'n-aax,
 DEM NM two NM man no A3p respect-REC.INC
 jachtaam an t-ip t'iink'-aax.
 therefore DEF R-A3p fight-REC.INC
These two young men do not respect each other, therefore they push each other. (AmR22)

South Eastern Huastec has different markers for reciprocity and reflexivity (Middle voice marker, as well as the construction **t- baa'** *at oneself*). Many languages use the same marker to convey reflexivity and reciprocity, but in this language there is no ambiguity regarding the reciprocal clause, as is the case in the rest of the Mayan

languages, which express reciprocity by a construction with the reflexive nominal **baa'** *self*. The grammaticalised Antipassive form used in HSF to convey reciprocity simply does not present this possibility, as seen in the following examples. Example (51) expresses reciprocity, and example (52) reflexivity:

- (51) up piik'-iix-in
 A3p slam-REC-COM
 They slammed each other. (GoyR50)
- (52) i pik'-iy t-i baa'
 Ep slam-TS(COM) prep-E3p self
 They slammed themselves.

6.2.9.2 Reciprocals with a Theme

Syntactically, reciprocal clauses are intransitive (subject is marked by Absolutive). But several transitive counterparts, and reciprocal clauses where the subject and the object are distinct, have been found in the corpus. Those are examples of a situation when the participating entities are coded as two syntactic slots, a subject and an object. The following examples illustrate ditransitive verbs with two objects (an oblique object introduced by a preposition, as in examples (a) and (b), and of a different object, as in (c)).

a. preposition ti at:

- (53) up piith-aax ti liibru
 A1 give-REC.INC prep book
 They give each other a book. (AmR4)
- (54) up taak-tx-iix ti ook'
 A1p touch-DAT-REC.INC prep head
 They touch each other's head. (GoyR10)

b. preposition k'aal with:

- (55) up taam-aax k'aal i kuux
 A3p meet-REC.INC with NM back
They lean against each other's back. (CirR12)

c. a whole complement clause:

- (56) ip koon-oox t'oneey an t-it uw-atx
 A3p ask-REC.INC how DEF R-A2 do-PPL
They ask each other "How are you?" (AmR9)

- (57) up jaal-tx-iix xoo'n n-i txi'-th-a-al
 A3p exchange-DAT-REC.INC REL DEM-Ep come-CAUS-TS-INC
They exchange what they bring. (GoyR19)

Examples (53), (54) and (55) illustrate cases of an oblique object introduced by a preposition, which also occurs in the canonical Antipassive situation in this language. Examples (56) and (57) show that an object of the reciprocal clause can be a whole embedded clause.

6.2.9.3 Reciprocal and Applicatives

The reciprocal marker can occur in constructions with applicatives, as in examples (54) and (57). Below are some examples:

- a. **Dative/Benefactive** **-tx**
- (58) ip kwaaj-tx-iix ti ch'ejet
 A3p hit-DAT-REC.INC prep leg
They are hitting each other on their legs. (AmR48)

- b. **Instrumental** **-n**

In the following example, the reciprocal marker **-aax-** occurs in a transitive situation, and the construction is ergative, as in:

- (59) i piith-aax-n-a-al axee' i kaaja.
E3p give-REC-INSTR-TS-INC this NM box
They're giving each other this box. (AmR34)

6.2.10 Summary An interesting fact is that HSF has three different antipassive markers with the same semantics. It is difficult to say what their origin is. According to Polinsky (2005), a dedicated marker “can often be associated diachronically with other functions (ex. middle, reflexive).” Polinsky adds that in languages that have several different antipassive markers, these markers can co-occur or ‘stack’ (2005: 4), but this does not happen in South Eastern Huastec. It may be worth mentioning that a loan word in a new language usually takes a canonical marker, and the verbs of Spanish origin take the marker **-(V)x** only.

6.2.11 Schema of the HSF Antipassive:

Argument	Object Status	Type of HSF AP
Subject	no object	Absolutive (object deletion)
Subject	‘bare’ object	AP of Incorporation
Subject	oblique object	AP of Demotion

6.3 HSF Passive Voice

6.3.1 HSF Passive Morphology The HSF passive is normally made from transitive verbs. They appear in sentences where the object of the underlying sentence is promoted to a Subject, and where the subject of a transitive verb of the underlying sentence is demoted to an oblique introduced by the preposition **k’aal** *by*. The transitive suffix is present in the Passive forms, except when a transitive suffix is the vowel, **-a**, (which in combination with the passive marker, would result in a third vowel **a**,) the transitive suffix is deleted:

thay-a’ *raise* would produce ***thay-a-aaj** or ***thay-a-aap**, a three-vowel combination, which is not permitted in HSF. Therefore it is deleted and the passive forms for this verb look as follows: **thay-aaj** and **thay-aap**

There are four Passive morphemes in HSF that decode Aspect:

COMPLETIVE	-aaj or -at
INCOMPLETIVE	-aap
PERFECT	-aamej

The following examples illustrate some HSF verbs in their transitive and passive forms:

	root-TS	meaning	COM/INC/PERF passive forms
a)	thay-a'	<i>raise it</i>	thay-aaj/thay-aap/thay-aamej
	ach'-a'	<i>hear it</i>	ach'-at/ach'-aap/ach'-aamej
	k'oj-ow	<i>harvest it</i>	k'oj-w-at/koj-w-aap/koj-oomej
	k'ap-uw	<i>eat it</i>	k'ap-w-at/k'ap-w-aap/k'ap-uumej
	juj-uy	<i>cover with palm leaves</i>	juj-y-at/juj-y-aap/juj-y-aamej
	jap-iy	<i>close it</i>	jap-iy-at/jap-iy-aap/jap-iy-aamej

The HSF passive can be made of complex stems as well:

b. with a causative derivational morpheme **-b-** :

wal-b-aaj > walb-a' *abandon* (v63)

c. with a causative and instrumental suffix:

bel-ath-n-aaj > bel-ath-n-a' *maintain*

Verbs of Spanish origin always behave as Huastecan:

solisitaar-iy *ask* solisitaar-iy-at/solisitaar-iy-aap/solisitaar-iy-aamej (Co114-40)

Two passive forms from modal verbs have been identified in the corpus:

ejt-ow *can* ejt-ow-at/ejt-ow-aap/ejt-ow-aamej (Coy67-21)
koo'-y-al *have to* koo'-y-at/koo'-y-aap/koo'-y-aamej (C1-134-55)

A passive construction is always intransitive, therefore it is cross-referenced by the Absolutive set, never by the Ergative. A passive clause has a maximum of one non-oblique nominal. A transitive HSF clause can have two (three in the case of the applicative). Example (62) is a transitive construction; the verb bears the transitive

suffix; the subject of the transitive verb is cross-referenced with the ergative clitic, and the object is Absolutive (unmarked). Example (63) is a corresponding passive sentence; the subject is Absolutive (that is, not referenced); the verb bears both a transitive suffix and a passive marker. The object of the transitive sentence in (62) has become the subject of the passive sentence in (63).

- (62) na Josee in ch'a-iy an kwita'
 HUM Jose E1 buy-TS(COM) DEF chicken
José bought a chicken. (GoyE5-60)

- (63) an kwita' ch'a'-y-aamej (k'aal na Josee)
 DEF chicken buy-TS-PASS.PERF with HUM Jose
The chicken has been bought (by José). (GoyE5-60)

In example (64), the object is not expressed as the third person singular, and plural pronouns as objects are never overtly expressed. In (65), the object of the transitive sentence in (64) is expressed as subject, and is cross-referenced Absolutively (that is, as zero).

- (64) jajaa' in kwath-a'
 s/he E3 hit-TS(COM)
He hit her. (AmE4-10-1)

- (65) jajaa' kwath-a-amej
 s/he hit-TS-PASS.PERF
She was hit. (AmE4-10-1)

a. Passive Completive Marker -aaj/ -at

The morpheme **-aaj** is restricted to stems that end in transitive suffix **-a'**, and the morpheme **-at** is restricted to verbal stems that end in transitive suffix **-(V)y** or **-(V)w**.

b. Passive Completive Marker -aaj:

- (66) **le'n-a-aj** **k-a** **thep-iy-at** (AmR43-48)
 want-TS-PASS.COM IRR-A3 chase.away-TS-COM
They wanted to chase him away.

c. Passive Completive Marker -at:

- (67) **jik'at** **k'ij** **ne'ech** **k-a** **kon-y-at** **an** **kaaja.** (AmFun136-71)
 quickly INT FUT IRR-A3 ask-TS-PASS.COM DEF coffin
A coffin is asked for quickly.

Verbs of Spanish origin behave like Huastecan and take a passive marker:

- (68) **neech** **k-a** **entregaar-iy-at** **an** **ti** **chabaal.** (AmFun-139-100)
 HAB IRR-A3 deliver-TS-PASS.COM DEF prep earth
It is delivered to the earth. (funeral)

d. Passive Incompletive -aap

- (69) **a** **le'n-a-aap** **k-a** **k'at-w-at** (AmR40-24)
 A3 want-TS-PASS.INC IRR-A3 bite-TS-PASS.COM
*They wanted to bite him. (= *he was wanted to be bitten)*

e. Passive Perfect -aamej

- (70) **koomo** **in** **utx-aamej** **baal** **k-u** **al-iy** **i** **t'ojnal**
 as(Sp) A3 tell-PASS.PERF that IRR-E1 search-TS(COM) NM worker
As I have been told to look for workers... (FilC1-2-3)

- (71) **jaach** **an** **ti** **map-iy-aamej** (MarcC2-173-43)
 it DEF R close-TS-PASS.PERF
That is why it has been fenced.

f. Passive Marker -waalej Besides the four
 passive markers mentioned above, there is another in HSF, namely **-waalej**. This
 marker has not been attested in other Huastecan languages. There are only four

examples of it found in the HSF corpus of 1700 pages. It is always used in past meaning. Its usage is unclear, but it is interchangeable with other forms.

- (72) axee' i t'ujup kal-th-aw-aalej al an ja' k'aal babaa'
 DEM NM rock go-CAUS-TS-PASS prep DEF water by they
This rock was taken out of water by them. (AmE5-69)

- (73) an reey chem-th-aw-aalej
 DEF king(sp) die-CAUS-TS-PASS
The king has been assassinated. (Dahtama57)

6.3.2 HSF Passive Function

Passive clauses in South Eastern Huastec are always intransitive: the only argument of an HSF passive clause is the Subject, which is marked absolutely. The Ergative set of clitics do not appear in HSF passive clauses. HSF has a set of passive suffixes (outlined in chapter 3 on Verbal Morphology) which occur on the predicate of a passive clause. They are added to transitive verbs. The Agent of an underlying transitive clause can be overtly expressed as an oblique noun phrase of the corresponding passive clause introduced by the preposition **k'aal** *by*. However, the agent of a passive clause is restricted to the third person (neither first nor second person can be an agent of a passive clause). When the underlying Agent is not specified, it is not overtly expressed in a passive clause ('agentless' or 'impersonal' passive).

The HSF Passive satisfies the criteria for a prototypical passive: the object of the active clause becomes the subject of the passive clause; the subject of the active clause can either be expressed as an oblique of the passive clause, or omitted. There is an explicit formal marking of a passive construction: the set of HSF passive markers. This will be illustrated further in this chapter.

According to Dixon, there are three varieties of passive clause: first, a **prototypical** passive ("original Agent becomes a peripheral argument and may either be included or omitted" (2000:7)). This corresponds to the Keenan's 'basic passive.' Second, an **agentive** passive (original Agent not stated, but understood to be in underlying structure'). This corresponds to Keenan's 'passive with Agent phrase.' Third, an **anticausative** passive ('no Agent stated or implied'). While the prototypical and the

agentive passive are found in HSF, the third variety, the anticausative, is encoded by the Middle voice marker - n (see section 4 on the Middle Voice of this chapter).

The effects of the basic passive can be summarised as follows: it focuses attention on the basic object and demotes the original subject (when it is unknown, or when the speaker does not want to mention it, or it is not necessary to specify its identity). In the majority of cases, the HSF passive occurs with verbs in completive or perfect aspect, which can be interpreted as a result of the passive's focus on the state of the basic object as a result of the activity.

The most interesting trait of the HSF passive is that it is triggered by pragmatic reasons, like in other languages of the Mayan family. HSF pays particular attention to the degree of prominence of the participants involved in a transitive clause. Different parameters influence the appearance of the passive in South Eastern Huastec:

• Topicality	(Topic has to be expressed as Subject)
• Animacy Hierarchy	(human>animal>inanimate)
• Person Hierarchy	(1,2>3)
• Definiteness/specificity	(DEF>INDEF)
• Obviation	(PROX>OBV)

Following these rules, the HSF Passive appears in contexts when:

- the object is more topical, definite, higher on animacy/person scale than the subject.
- the subject is generic, collective, indefinite, unspecified, unknown, irrelevant, unexpressed, obvious, or when the speaker does not want to mention the subject.

For the above reasons, the passive is found with a high frequency in HSF explanatory texts, such as descriptions of traditional ceremonies, traditional knowledge, traditional food recipes and other similar texts. In this genre of texts transitive subjects are usually generic, not expressed, unspecified, or unimportant. This is the case of an 'impersonal passive.' In the HSF corpus the passive appears with a very high frequency in the

following texts: *How a Traditional House is Made*, *Funerals*, *How Maize is Seeded*, and *A Story about a Coyote*, among others.

Another type of text where the passive is very frequent in South Eastern Huastec is animal stories, that is, when the topic is an animal. In this type of text, the passive appears in sentences where the Topic is a transitive object (for example, the *Story About a Coyote*), or whenever it is triggered by a higher animacy rank of a transitive object (as in the *Story About a Villager*).

6.3.2.1 Topicality: Basic object is Topical Topicality plays a decisive role in the use of the Passive: Topicality decides whether a sentence is Passive or Active. If the transitive object is the Topic, the passive is used. In the following sentence, (74) from *The Frog Story*, ‘little boy’ is the transitive object, and at the same time, is the topic of the story and also of higher animacy rank, so the passive voice is used to encode this event:

- (74) taam ti **pujk’-iy-at** k’aal an ich’aamal ...
 when R push-TS-PASS.COM with DEF deer
When he was pushed by the deer... (CirR154-94)

In (75) *coyote* is the topic of the story, but it is the transitive object; moreover, the transitive subject is non-specified, indefinite, unknown. In this sentence there are two passives; one of them is the modal verb **ejt-** *can* :

- (75) inchana’ an ti **ejt-ow-at** k-a **chem-th-aaj**
 thus DEF R can-TS-PASS.COM IRR-A3 die-CAUS-PASS.INC
And that way it (coyote) could be killed. (CirCoy67-21)

Below *little boy* is the Topic, and higher on the animacy scale, but is also the object of the event, as *bees* (lower on animacy scale) wanted to bite him:

- (76) a **le’n-aap** k-a **k’at-w-at**
 A3 want-PASS.INC IRR-A3 bite-TS-PASS.COM
He was wanted to be bitten. (AmR43-49)

- (77) como an chikam kwitool **baj-w-at** k'aal an wayich
 as(Sp) DEF little boy catch-TS-PASS.COM with DEF sleep
As the little boy was getting sleepy... (Lit.: 'caught by sleep') (AmR30-3)

In the following example the transitive object is topical:

- (78) an ich'aamal kal-ej ich taam ti aath-il koomo
 DEF deer go-COM already then R run-AP(INC) as(Sp)

ch'a'-w-at k'aal an pik'o' (AmR48-100)
 bark-TS-PASS.COM by DEF dog
The deer went running as it was barked at by the dog.

6.3.2.2 Animacy Hierarchy

South Eastern Huastec has an atypical animacy hierarchy. It is shown only when an object is topical in obviation, that is, in the combination 3:3. In this situation a human transitive object triggers the passive, but it seems not to be compulsory in HSF. The following sentences are the result of elicitation, taken from the Dahl (2000) verbal aspect questionnaire (79) and the *Archivo de las lenguas indigenas de Mexico (Colegio de Mexico, Mexico)* (80), therefore there was no obvious context/topic. Nevertheless, in (79), since an inanimate entity cannot act upon an animate (human) entity, the event is coded passively; that is, the object is coded as subject because the subject of the transitive verb is inanimate (a car, in this case); in (80), a dog acts upon a human.

- (79) ti we'eel we' k-in **k'ach-iy-at** k'aal juun i kooche
 prep yesterday little IRR-A1 pass-TS-PASS.COM with one NM car(Sp)
Yesterday I almost got passed by a car. (AmDah-fu68)

- (80) an inik in chem-th-a' an pik'o'
 DEF man E3 die-CAUS-TS(COM) DEF dog

ninaa' k'aal exom ti **k'at-w-aap** (Arch492)
 REL with PROGR R bite-TS-PASS.INC
The man killed the dog that was biting him.

6.3.2.3 Unknown/Unimportant Subject of the Transitive Clause When

the subject of the transitive verb is unknown, unimportant, or when, for any reason, a speaker does not want to mention it, the passive is used. The following sentence was obtained in elicitation as a translation of the sentence ‘*They will kill you,*’ without a context. Since ‘*they*’ are unspecified and unknown, the object (Patient) of the sentence is expressed as the subject, therefore in the passive:

- (81) neech k-it chem-th-aaj (CirE5-69)
 FUT IRR-A2 die-CAUS-PASS.COM
You will be killed.

- (82) nanaa’ baa’ na’ in apn-aaj t-in eskweela
 I no I A1 send-PASS.COM prep-E1 school(Sp)
I wasn’t sent to school. (LeonC1-91-38)

The next example comes from a legend about an enchanted church bell that mysteriously disappeared and where the subject (Agent) of the transitive verb is not known at all:

- (83) i chalp-ay baal witx-b-aaj (GoyC1-166-18)
 Ep think-TS(COM) that return-CAUS-PASS.COM
 o xoo’n ti k’al-ej...
 or(Sp) REL R go-COM
They thought it was taken back, or (who knows) where it went...

In the following example, doña Filiberta says her family was so poor that the father had to work for others in order to maintain their family. The first passive **t’ojonthaap** *made to work* is used here because there is no known subject of the transitive verb in this clause. The other passive, **belathnaaj** *we are maintained* is used because the transitive object (Patient) *we* is Topical.

- (84) n-u papaa t’ajatx ch’o’ontaal / a t’oj-on-th-a-ap
 DEM-E1 father very poor A3 work-EP-CAUS-PASS.INC

baal tu belathn-a' / baal k-u belathn-aaj
 for 3>1p maintain-TS(COM) for IRR-A1p maintain-PASS.COM
*Our father was very poor; he had to work for others in order to maintain us....
 so that we were maintained.* (FilC1-71-4)

Below is another example of an unknown/unimportant subject of the transitive verb (Agent):

- (85) an te'neel exom ti jot'-iy-aap
 DEF food PROGR R serve-TS-INC
The food is being served. (AmDahpr75)

This sentence comes from a text where a man comments on the victims of a natural disaster, and hopes they will not think that no one cares about them:

- (86) o ip wal-b-aamej
 or(Sp) A3p abandon-CAUS-PASS.PERF
...or (that) they have been abandoned. (SatV63-23)

A “generic” subject of the transitive verb (unknown/unimportant/unexpressed) can often be found in explanatory texts – texts that outline tradition. The following examples come from HSF texts describing traditional ways of seeding maize (87), building a house (99), burying a deceased person (89),(90),(91),(92).

- (87) ... neech k-a muth-w-at an way /
 HAB IRR-A3 collect-TS-PASS.COM DEF maize

neech k-a junk-uw-at ejtal naa'
 HAB IRR-A3 gather-TS-PASS.COM all REL

k-a k'oj-w-at al an ale'laap (AmMaizeC1-151-15)
 IRR-A3 piscar-TS-PASS.COM prep DEF corn.field

... the maize is collected, everything that is cleaned is gathered in the corn field.

(88) neech taam k-a maplab-iy-at ich taam (AmV24-35)
 HAB then IRR-A3 put.wal-TS-PASS.COM already then
Then the walls are constructed. (Lit: then it (the house) is 'walled')

(89) ... a chem-th-aap an kwita' (AmC1-155-57)
 A3 die-CAUS-PASS.INC DEF chicken
... a chicken is killed.

An unknown/unimportant subject of the transitive verb is also found in generic statements, such as impersonal expressions, in English with 'people, one':

(90) alobeel t'ajatx taam kwidaar-iy-at an geente
 beautiful very when take.care(Sp)-TS-COM DEF people
It is beautiful when people are taken care of. (SatV64-31)

(91) a kulb-eth-n-aap an muusika (NarcMus150)
 A3 be.glad-CAUS-INSTR-PASS.INC DEF music(Sp)
People like music. (Lit: one gets rejoiced by music)

(92) a eyn-aap ich xee' i kaaro (AmC1-140-115)
 A3 use-PASS.INC already now NM car
Cars are used now. (=Now people use cars.)

Cases when a subject of a transitive verb (Agent) is not implied at all (*the glass broke*, anticausative) are coded as Middle in South Eastern Huastec.

6.3.2.4 Definiteness The following examples illustrate the interaction between the passive and the hierarchy of definiteness in HSF. In (93)a. the transitive subject is unknown/indefinite and the transitive object is indefinite. In (93)b. the subject of the transitive verb is definite and the object is indefinite and inanimate.

(93) a. a t'aj-n-al i mulutx
 A3 make-MID-INC NM wrap
.. wraps are made.(= for a celebration). (AmC1-132)

- b. an uxum i t'aj-a-amal i mulutx
 DEF woman Ep make-TS-PERF NM wrap
 Women made wraps. (AmC1-132b)

In (93)c. the transitive object (Patient) is definite, inanimate and topical, while the subject of the transitive verb (Agent) is definite and human, but oblique:

- (93) c. an mulutx t'aj-w-aalej k'aal an uxum-txik
 DEF wrap make-TS-PASS.COM with DEF woman-PL
 The wraps were made by the women. (AmC1-132b)

When there is a conflict between Animacy, Definiteness and Topicality, Topicality prevails. In the above example (93)b., both the transitive subject (Agent) and object (Patient) are definite; the transitive subject (Agent) is human and the object (Patient) is inanimate, so an active construction is expected. The important and decisive fact in (93)c. is that the object (Patient) is Topical. It is because of its topicality that the object (Patient) in this example is expressed as subject of the passive clause.

In the examples below, *stone* is the object (Patient); it is an inanimate object (Patient) and can be an object, but it is definite, '*this stone*.' The transitive subject (Agent) '*they*' is indefinite, unknown, unspecified (this sentence was elicited without a context, hence no topic), therefore the sentence can be either (94) passive, or (95) relative:

- (94) axee' i t'ujup kal-th-aaj k'aal babaa' al an ja'
 DEM NM stone leave-CAUS-TS(COM) with they prep DEF water
 This stone was taken from the water by them. (CirE5-69)

- (95) babaa' n-i kal-th-a' axee' i t'ujup al an ja'
 they REL-Ep leave-CAUS-TS(COM) DEM NM stone prep DEM water
 It was they who took this stone out of the water. (AmE5-69)

6.3.3 Agent of the Passive Clause

In a passive construction an agent is usually suppressed, defocused or demoted (Thompson, 1994:47). The agent of HSF passive clauses, when overtly expressed, can only be a peripheral participant/phrase and is never

cross-referenced in the verbal complex. If present in a passive clause, a basic transitive subject (Agent) is expressed as an oblique noun phrase introduced by the preposition **k'aal** *by*. This is a case of a basic argument (Agent) becoming an adjunct. Agent phrases in HSF occur in non-passive structures (in active clauses).

The following example illustrates the demotion of the basic transitive subject (Agent). In (96)a. the sentence is active transitive, **an inik** *the man* is the transitive subject (Agent) which is cross-referenced in the verbal complex by the ergative clitic **in**; **an uxum** *the woman* is a transitive object (Patient), hence marked Absolutively (which is a zero marking for third person); the verb bears the transitive suffix **-a'**. The example below in (96)b. is a passive clause: the verb no longer bears the transitive suffix, but a passive perfect marker; **an uxum** *the woman* is promoted from the direct object role (Patient) into the subject of the intransitive clause; therefore it is not cross-referenced in the verbal complex. The transitive subject (Agent) of the active sentence in (96)a., **an inik** *the man* has undergone a demotion to a peripheral adjunct, and is now expressed as an oblique noun phrase introduced by the preposition **k'aal** *by*. The example in (96)c. is a passive clause without an Agent. **An uxum** *the woman* is still the subject and the only argument of the verb bearing a passive marker.

(96)a. **an inik in kwath-a' an uxum** (GoyE5-60)
 DEF man E3 hit-TS(COM) DEF woman
The man hit the woman.

b. **an uxum kwath-aamej k'aal an inik**
 DEF woman hit-PASS.PERF by DEF man
The woman has been hit by the man.

c. **an uxum kwath-aamej**
 DEF woman hit-PASS.PERF
The woman has been hit.

It should be added that the word order of (96)a. is a fixed SVO order because it identifies the main grammatical roles of this clause.

When the transitive basic subject is not specified, it is not overtly expressed in a passive clause. Such a construction is usually called ‘agentless passive’ or ‘impersonal passive.’ Therefore, South Eastern Huastec has two passive constructions:

- Agentless passive construction
- Passive construction with Agent phrase

The Agentless passive construction is called ‘basic passive’ by Keenan (200x: 342), as opposed to the ‘passive with agent phrase’ which is considered to be ‘non-basic.’ Both of these constructions are intransitive, as ergative marking in a passive clause does not occur.

In passive constructions, when a subject of the active clause is overtly expressed, as mentioned above, it is expressed as an oblique noun phrase introduced by the preposition **k’aal** *by*, as in the following examples (97), (98) and (99):

- (97) pwees an pik’o’ aath-in-th-aaj //
 then DEF dog run-EP-CAUS-TS-PASS.COM

pajn-aaj k’al an ebath chaptxam (AmR48-100)
 follow-PASS.COM with DEF all bee
Then the dog was made to run, it was followed by the bees.

- (98) n-u senyoora-jil exat ja’ n-in cho’oop baal
 DEM-E1 lady-POSS only s/he REL-E3 know.INC that

in kwe’-y-at k’aal an uungara. (AmC2-20-170)
 A1 rob-TS-PASS.COM with DEF gypsy
Only my wife knows that I was robbed by the gypsies.

- (99) como ch’a’-w-at k’aal an pik’o’ (AmR48-100)
 as(Sp) bark-PASS.COM with DEF dog
...as the dog barked at him. (=as he was barked at by the dog)

The fact that the transitive subject of the active clause is expressed as an oblique phrase introduced by the preposition **k’aal**, cannot serve as the only indicator of a passive

construction, as this preposition is used to introduce other participants, for example, the Instrument.

6.3.4 Restrictions on Oblique Agents There are numerous examples in the HSF corpus of sentences where the Agent is expressed as an oblique. However, first and second person singular and plural cannot be expressed as Agents in an oblique noun phrase introduced by **k'aal** *by*. Passive adjuncts cannot be first or second person.

(100)a tataa' it ne'-th-aap k'aal n-u mamaa. (AmE5-67)
 yousg A3 come-CAUS-PASS.INC with DEM-E3 mother(Sp)
You are being carried by my Mum.

b tataa' it ne'-th-aap k'aal babaa'
 yousg A3 come-CAUS-PASS.INC with they
You are being carried by them.

However, the following sentence is ungrammatical because it contains a first person singular (or plural) as the agent:

c tataa' it ne'-th-aap k'aal *nanaa'/wawaa'
 yousg A3 come-CAUS-PASS.INC with I we
You are being carried by me/us.

The consultant gave the following two possibilities for the translation of the above sentence, with a first person pronoun acting as the Agent:

(101) nanaa' tu ne'-th-a-al (AmE5-67)
 I 1>2 come-CAUS-TS-INC
I carry/bring you. (Lit: I made you come.)

(102) tataa' it k'al-ej baal nanaa' tu ne'-th-a' (AmE5-67)
 yousg A3 go-COM because I 1>2 come-CAUS-TS(COM)
You came because I brought you (made you come).

The active inverse is used in both the above cases since a Passive clause cannot be formed with an Agent of the first (or second) person pronoun.

- (103)a. naa' i chikam ne'-th-aamej k'aal jajaa'/babaa'
 DEM NM little.boy come-CAUS-PASS.PERF with s/he them
The little boy had been carried/brought by them/him/her. (AmE5-67)

but not:

- b. naa' i chikam ne'-th-aamej k'aal *nana'/wawaa'/tataa'/xaxaa'
 DEM NM little.boy come-CAUS-PASS.PERF with I/ we/ yousg/ youpl
The little boy had been carried by me/us/yousg/youpl.

When asked to translate the sentence “*This sandwich was eaten by me,*” the consultant hesitated for a while, and then produced the following sentence (a cleft construction):

- (104) a. axee' i toorta nanaa' n-u k'ap-uW (AmE4-12-6)
 DEM NM sandwich(Sp) I REL-E1 eat-TS(COM)
This sandwich is what I ate.

A sentence with a passive form like the following would not be grammatical:

- b. axee' i toorta *k'ap-uumej k'aal nanaa'
 DEM NM sandwich(Sp) eat-PASS.PERF with I
This cake was eaten by me.

Toorta *sandwich* is pragmatically prominent; it is topical and placed at the beginning of a sentence where an Agent or a Subject usually stands. This situation requires that **toorta** *sandwich* be expressed as Subject, hence in a passive sentence. However, there is a restriction in HSF: a human cannot be an obliquely-expressed Agent in a Passive sentence with an inanimate Subject; it can be expressed in a relative/cleft sentence like “*This sandwich is what I ate,*” as in (105)a. Therefore, the above sentence “*This sandwich was eaten by me*” must be realised in South Eastern Hustec as active relative/cleft, as in (105)a. On the other hand, example (105)b., with an animal as the Agent, is perfectly grammatical:

- (105)b. axee' i toorta k'ap-uumej k'aal an t'eel
 DEM NM sandwich(Sp) eat-PASS.PERF with DEF rat
This cake has been eaten by the rat.

6.3.7 Summary: Passive meaning is achieved by various means in South Eastern Huastec:

- canonical passive
- middle voice with passive meaning
- passive stative participle **-(V):mtej** (Chapter 3)

Passives are present in the Mayan family; Mam has three different types of passives (England 1983, Dixon 2000:17): one is used when the basic subject acts purposely, another when the subject has lost or does not have control of the action (an accident), and the third one is used when the basic subject ‘went to do it.’ These types are not present in HSF, which has only one type of passive which serves different functions, as outlined above. The common passive trait in Mayan languages is that it is triggered by pragmatic and discursive parameters, rather than syntactic. The parameters that trigger the HSF passive are pragmatic. HSF behaves here as a typical Mayan language. The Mesoamerican restriction that a subject of an active clause can be expressed as an oblique noun phrase in a passive clause only if it is a third person (R. Zavala, p.c.) applies to South Eastern Huastec as well. The HSF passive is realised differently depending on the aspect it is covering (and the unclear suffix **-waalej**).

Keenan (2007: 334) argues that formal passive morphology is often used to derive “verbal phrases which are not passives,” such as reflexives and middles. This does not happen in HSF, which has a distinct Middle marker that encodes a whole range of meanings, including reflexives. According to Keenan (2007: 348), some languages may have impersonal constructions which are syntactically and morphologically independent from the basic passives. This is true for HSF, which has the Middle with an impersonal (passive) meaning.

In double-object languages, passives on a ditransitive verb phrase are an indication of the (direct) object status of a noun phrase. Ditransitive verbs like *give*, *show*, and *teach* manage two objects in an applicative construction (where the HSF verb takes an applicative marker); the direct object is the object that can be passivised, that is, the one which can appear as the derived subject of a passive clause. In Kinyarwanda, both the Patient and the Recipient can be passivised (Keenan, 2007: 349). In French or Spanish, the Recipient cannot become the Subject of a passive, while in English it can (*I was given a book*), exactly like in South Eastern Huastec. In HSF, it is the case that the

Middle construction interferes with the Passive; Recipients of these verbs are regularly passivized by the Middle marker - n. The Theme of these verbs can be passivized as well (see Chapter 7 on Valency Increasing Operations: Applicatives), however, in this case it is the canonical passive.

The Passive in Mayan languages, despite some differences in their ergative patterns, fulfills quite similar functions. These functions, “minimally syntactic and mostly semantic, pragmatic and discursive” (Vapnarsky et al. 2011:1), are exactly as described above for South Eastern Huastec.

6.4 HSF Middle Voice

This section of the chapter describes the Middle Voice in South Eastern Huastec. It appears to be the only Mayan language, apart from Mocho (Palosaari 2011), that has an elaborate Middle Voice. The Middle Voice marker in South Eastern Huastec is the suffix **-(V)n: verb-(V)n-aspect marker**

Theoretical basis for this research is the study by Kemmer (1993, 1994). The analysis shows that HSF uses Middle Voice to encode a broad range of meanings: reflexive, spontaneous change of state, change of position/movement (translational and non-translational semantics), expressions of emotions, and passive meaning. This will be discussed in detail. Below are examples of the HSF semantic domain:

a. **Reflexive Meaning** Huastec appears to be the only Mayan language that encodes reflexiveness with a Middle Voice construction:

- (106) a. u wach-iy-al n-u aliip.
 E1 shave-TS-INC DEM-E1 father-in-law
 I shave my father-in-law. (CirE5-26)

- b. in wach-n-al.
 A1 shave-MID-INC
 I shave (myself).

b. **Spontaneous Change of State**

- (107) jal-k'-un-eenek.
 change-DM-MID-PERF
 He has changed. (AmCo132-200)

c. Change of Position and Movement (translational meaning):

- (108) ... xoo'n ti ul-k-an an ich'aamal.
 REL prep arrive-DM-MID(COM) DEF deer
 ... where the deer has come to. (AmR154-96)

d. Expressions of Emotion

- (109) t'e'p-in-eenek an ti k'waj-at. (CirR148-29)
 be.sad-MID-PERF DEF R be-INC
 He has been very sad.

e. Passive Meaning

- (110) aase uunos aanyos in pith-an juun i pik'o.
 some years ago(Sp) A1 give-MID(COM) one NM dog
 A couple of years ago I was given a dog. (BeC2-118-1)

In example (106)a., the verb is in its active transitive form, which is marked by a transitive suffix - **iy** . In example (106)b., instead of the transitive suffix, **the middle suffix** -(V)n appears. In all these instances, the suffix -(V)n indicates the middle voice. This Middle Voice marker, - (V)n, can occur with both transitive and intransitive verbal bases. As a valence-reducing operation, Middle Voice detransitivizes a transitive verb, but intransitives remain the same, as they already have only one participant.

There are three main points in the issue of Middle Voice in Huastec that are discussed in this chapter: first, its competition with the canonical forms of the passive, antipassive and reflexive. Another relevant point is that the analysis of the South Eastern Huastec Middle Voice reveals that there is a range of verbs with the middle meaning, but without middle marking; for instance: **ch'at-ey** *stick to others*; **jik'-ey** *feel frightened*; **way-ey** *get dried*; **ya'ul-meej** *get sick* (all these verbs have the

reflexive pronoun in Spanish: *pegarse, espantarse, secarse, enfermarse*..) This is also the case for inchoative and unacusative verbs (verbs of spontaneous change, emotion and movement), which means that only one part of the Middle domain in HSF is encoded as middle, i.e. bears a middle voice marker; the other part behaves as underived intransitive verbs in their active voice.

The Middle Voice category in existing grammars of Mayan languages is only briefly mentioned, and in the context of “middle-passive” (Dayley 1975, 1985; Kaufman 1990, Aissen 1987, 1990; Craig 1977, among others), with the exception of a recent study in Yukatek Middle by Martinez (2006), and Martinez and Maldonado (2007).

Huastec is a Middle-Voice-marking language with an overt morphological indicator of the middle category. The HSF Middle Voice is one of the language’s most interesting characteristics; its domain is large in HSF. A large number of verbs in this voice have been found in the data.

It is clear that the middle voice marker **-n** in Huastec and Mocho (Palosaari 2011) originates from the Proto-Mayan antipassive marker **-n**, and not from contact with Spanish (in the time of the Conquista, the Middle voice already existed in Huastec, as mentioned by Tapia Zenteno (1571)), but could have spread its domain from Spanish influence. This may be a reason why the Middle domain in Huastec is so similar to that of Spanish. In previous studies of the different variants of Huastec (from the state of San Luis Potosí, and the western part of the state of Veracruz), the Middle Voice has not been particularly explored (Edmonson 1988, Constable 1989, Watatani 1995, Ochoa 1984).

HSF is a language with an overt morphological indicator of the middle category. The semantic property crucial to the nature of the MID is the notion of subject-affectedness. In general, the central semantic aspect of the middle action is directed at one’s own body, and it often expands its meaning to reflexives, reciprocals, and the expressions of body position, body movement, mental processes and emotions. The broad usage of Middle Voice in HSF makes it different from other Mayan languages, which encode the middle voice meanings in two ways: for the reflexive (and often reciprocal) meaning, the majority of languages from the family use a construction with a reflexive pronominal **baa**; for other semantic instances, verbs of middle meaning, but without any particular marking, are used.

6.4.1 Middle Voice Paradigm: MID Marker -(V)n A large number of verbs in the Middle Voice have been found in the data.⁵ The HSF middle voice paradigm is as follows:

Completive	-(V)n
Incompletive	-(V)n-aal
Perfect	-(V)n-eenek

The middle marker **-(V)n** can be added to all kind of verbs, thus changing their valency if they are transitive. A verb in middle voice has the MID marker instead of a transitive suffix. (V) stands for a vowel, which can vary according to the vowel harmony rules:

TS	MID Marker				
-a'	-an	k'et-p-a'	<i>turn something</i>	k'et-p-an	<i>turn (oneself)</i>
-ay	-an	ch'at-ay	<i>stick something</i>	ch'at-k'-an	<i>stick (to others)</i>
-ey	-en	t'een-ey	<i>play it</i>	t'een-en	<i>sound (play by itself)</i>
-iy	-in	ch'i'-k-iy	<i>start something</i>	ch'i'-k-in	<i>start(*oneself)</i>
-uy	-un	xal-k'-uy	<i>change something</i>	xal-k'-un	<i>change oneself</i>
-oy	-on	peth-oy	<i>sweep something</i>	peth-on	<i>sweep oneself</i>
-uw	-un	pax-k-uy	<i>boil something</i>	pax-k-un	<i>boil (*itself)</i>

As mentioned above, transitive verbs can be detransitivized by adding the middle marker **-(V)n**. The subject is marked Absolutively, as it is the only argument. Some examples of the HSF verbs in middle, contrasted to their transitive form are provided below:

		COM	INC	PERF
a	<i>get married</i>	tom-k-in/tom-k-in-al/tom-k-in-eenek		
b	<i>marry somebody</i>	tom-k-iy/tom-k-iy-al/tom-k-iy-aamal		
a	<i>work</i>	t'oj-on/t'oj-n-al/t'oj-n-eenek		

⁵ Watatani (1995) calls these verbs ‘type 4 verbs’, and Constable (1989) has categorized them as ‘type 3 verbs with suffix -Vn’.

- b *make/do something* t'aj-a'/t'aj-a-al/t'aj-a-amal
- a *get together* jun-k-un/jun-k-un-al/jun-k-un-eenek
- b *collect something* junk-uw/jun-k-uw-al/jun-k-uw-aamal
- a *finish* ok-p-in/ok-pi-nal/okp-in-eenek
- b *finish something* ok-p-iy/ok-p-iy-al/ok-p-iy-aamal
- a *get dirty* luk-l-in/luk-l-in-al/luk-l-in-eenek
- b *make smtg dirty* luk-l-iy/luk-l-iy-al/luk-l-iy-aamal

The intransitive verbs in middle voice mainly have a meaning of motion or body position:

eb-l-in	<i>climb, go up</i>	puj-k'-in	<i>fall down</i>
jum-an	<i>fly</i>	ul-k-an	<i>arrive, come</i>

6.4.2 Middle Voice Semantics

According to Kemmer (1993), the semantic

property crucial to the nature of the Middle Voice is the notion of subject-affectedness (“relative elaboration of events” 1993: 3). The subject performs the action upon itself. This non-distinguishability of participants is one of the features of the middle voice Kemmer proposes. As shown in examples (106), (107), (108), (109), and (110) the middle marker **-(V)n** is found in the following situations in South Eastern Huastec: 1. reflexive, 2. spontaneous change of state, 3. change of position/movement (translational and non translational meaning), 4. expressions of emotion, and 5. passive.

a. Reflexives in South Eastern Huastec

A small group of self-

grooming verbs show a middle voice marker when the action is performed on the subject:

- (111) a. in ch'itx-b-**an**-al
 1A comb-DM-MID-INC
 I comb myself.
- b. u ch'itx-b-ay-al n-u txithaan-il (CirE5-26)
 E1 comb-DM-TS-INC DEM-E1 daughter-POSS

I comb my daughter.

- (112) a. in loch'-n-al
 A1 scratch-MID-INC
 I scratch myself.
- b. u loch'-iy-al n-u chikaam-il
 E1 scratch-TS-INC DEM-E1 child-POSS
 I scratch my child.

In the above examples (111a. and 112 a.), we find the MID form, with the MID marker **-n**; the subject is marked Absolutively. In examples (111b. and 112b.) the same verb is used transitively, with transitive suffix **-iy** instead of the MID marker that conveys reflexiveness. In examples (111b. and 112b.), the subject is marked with the Ergative case. In examples (111a. and 112a.), the only argument is marked Absolutively and the clause is intransitive. Only transitive verbs can undergo this derivational process and be transformed to a reflexive form.

Besides the small group of self-grooming verbs, there are some additional cases of reflexiveness:

- (113) a. luk-l-iy n-u xakeet k'aal an lukuk
 E1 dirty-DM-TS(COM) DEM-1E jacket with DEF mud
 I made my jacket dirty with mud. (AmArch336)
- b. luk-l-in n-u xakeet k'aal an lukuk.
 dirty-DM-MID(COM) DEM-1E jacket with DEF mud
 *My shirt got dirty (*made itself dirty) with mud.* (AmArch337)
- c. a lukl-in-al juun
 A3 dirty-DM-MID-INC one
 One gets dirty. (on a muddy road). (AmCo112)

- (114) u tom-k-in.

A1p marry-DM-MID(COM)

*We got married (*we married ourselves).* (LeC2-101-3)

- (115) tee' an ti tal-p-in n-in istooria,
here DEF R end-DM-MID(COM) DEM-E3 story

nin t'ilaab-il an kwa'.
DEM-E3 story-POSS DEF frog

*Here ended (*itself) its story, the story about a frog.* (AmR61-223)

- (116) jaachtaam an t-u jun-k-un-eenek tenchee'
therefore DEF R-A1p collect-DM-MID-PERF here

*That is why we gathered (*ourselves) here.* (FeC2-27-27)

As mentioned above, Huastec of San Francisco seems to be the only Mayan Language that uses Middle Voice to convey reflexivity. Since it has developed the Middle Voice to express auto-benefactive events and actions directed at one's own body, it seems logical that its meaning is extended to reflexive events. According to Kemmer, middle events are closely related to reflexives.

b. Canonical Reflexive Construction 't-ERG baa' Other Mayan languages express reflexive events using a transitive construction with a reflexive nominal that is also present in HSF, as is illustrated in examples (117b.) and (118b.):

- (117) a. in ch'itx-b-an-al.
A1 comb-DM-MID-INC
I comb myself.

- b. u ch'itx-b-ay-al t-u baa'
E1 comb-DM-TS-INC prep-E1 self
I comb myself.

- (118) a. in cha'-un.
A1 hit-MID(COM)

I hit myself.

- b. u cha'-uw t-u baa'.
 E1 hit-TS(COM) prep-E1 self
I hit myself.

There is no difference in meaning between the MID constructions in examples (117a.) and (118a.), and the transitive constructions with the reflexive nominal (117b.) and (118b.), as confirmed by native speakers of HSF. The reasons for the co-existence of these two reflexive constructions (the middle reflexive and the canonical reflexive) need to be explored.

More research is also needed to further understand this competition of the middle construction with this transitive **t-Erg baa'** construction. At this stage of analysis of HSF it can be said that the latter construction is far less common. Its function seems to be to differentiate the reflexive (119b.) from the reciprocal (119a.) and the passive meaning (119c.). The Middle in passive meaning has a signification *they are hit*, and not *they are hitting themselves*:

- (119) a ip kwaath-aax *they hit each other*, Recip
 A3p hit-REC.INC
- b i kwath-ay t-i baa' *they hit themselves*, Refl
 E1p hit-TS(COM) prep-E3p self
- c up kwath-an *they are hit*, Midd.Pass
 A3p hit-MID(COM)

According to Klaiman (1993), there is an association between middle and reflexive, and in many languages reflexive meaning is associated with reductions in valence, since any morpheme which expresses reflexivity “automatically marks the verb as having one less referentially distinct argument than the number of arguments it is lexically assigned” (Klaiman 1993: 45).

Several authors view the middle's central function as reflexive (Woodstock 1959, Geniushiene 1987:8:61). According to Mous (2002), the most productive meaning of the middle derivation is auto-benefactive, and it often extends to reflexive and reciprocal meaning. Another interesting HSF feature is that the Middle Voice has not extended its meaning to reciprocal events, for which a special AP form is used (see this Chapter, section 6.2.9 on Reciprocals).

c. HSF Middle Voice Meaning of Spontaneous Change of State According to Kemmer (1993) spontaneous events are within the semantic domain of middle, as they involve non-volitional, spontaneous acts of involuntary action. The only participant in these expressions acts upon itself, i.e. it is an affected participant. The agent of the clause is, at the same time, the patient that the action is performed on.

A few HSF intransitive verbs have a Middle Voice with a meaning of spontaneous processes or change in state (the majority of the verbs with this meaning belong to those that do not mark middle):

che'-en	<i>grind</i>	le'-ch-on	<i>burn</i>
el-b-an	<i>get sick</i>	pax-k'-un	<i>boil</i>
jal-k'-un	<i>change, transform</i>	pej-k-an	<i>break, crack</i>
maal-in	<i>get swollen</i>	pok'-ch-on	<i>break, crack</i>

(120) jal-k'-un-ee nek. (AmCo132-200)

change-DM-MID-PERF

He has changed.

(121) an takap pej-k-an junax ch'ejel.

DEF grill break-DM-MID(COM) middle centre

The tortilla grill broke in the center. (SaArch478)

(122) maal-in n-u akan. (SaArch334)

swell-MID(COM) DEM-E1 feet

My feet swelled up.

To these verbs of spontaneous change, we can add the HSF verbs with a meaning of atmospheric/meteorological change. Morphologically, these verbs are verbalised from a

noun (**aab** *rain*, **akal** *night*, **wakal** *afternoon*), and the following middle forms are their only verbal forms:

aab-an	<i>rain</i>	youth-b-an	<i>drizzle</i>
akl-an	<i>get dark</i>	taj-k-an	<i>dawne</i>
och-k-an	<i>(sun) set</i>	wak-l-en	<i>get late</i>

- (123) och-k-an-al a k'iixaaj ne'ech k-u kal-ej.
 set-DM-MID-INC HON day HAB IRR-A1p go-COM
We used to go (home) at the sun set (when the sun sets itself).* (LeC2-102-19)

- (124) nanaa' ti we'eel in k'waj-ay t-u
 I prep yesterday A1 be-INC prep-E1

k'ima'a' baal aab-n-al.
 home because rain-MID-INC (AmC1-28-6)
I stayed at home yesterday, as it was raining.

d. Change of Body Position and Movement: Translational Meaning

According to Kemmer (1993) and Talmy (1985), verbs of motion like *climb*, *go*, and *leave* are often found in Middle Voice form, and have a translational meaning. In HSF the verbs of this meaning are intransitive verbs of motion, and by their nature they have a meaning of translation/changing place. They represent events with only one participant, and are therefore coded as absolutive. This type of verb is usually not very numerous (there are 13-14 in the family).

It is worth mentioning that the vast majority of items in this class of verbs have a verbal suffix. Several verbs that have a frozen middle form with these suffixes have been found in the data (i.e. they do not have a form without the verbal suffix; for instance **pujk'in** *fall down*, cannot be found to have the form of **puj-**, plus a transitive suffix).

Another interesting issue is that some verbs of translational meaning, such as **kal-ej** *go out*, and **k'al-ej** *go*, mark middle uniquely in the form derived with a verbal suffix (forms like ***kal-an**, ***k'al-an**, ***k'ath-an**, ***ch'ak-an** are ungrammatical):

Active Voice Form

Middle voice form

kal-ej	<i>leave</i>	versus:	kal- p-an	<i>go away, go quickly</i>
k'al-ej	<i>go</i>		k'al- p-an	<i>get into (water, well) unwillingly</i>
k'ath-iy	<i>go up</i>		k'ath- p-an	<i>go up quickly</i>
ch'ak-iy	<i>get up</i>		ch'ak- p-an	<i>leap out of bed</i>

Besides the above examples, below are some additional verbs with this middle meaning:

I verbs with semantics of movement (translational meaning):

bal-k'-in	<i>enter</i>
ul-k-an	<i>arrive, come</i>
xe'-ch-in	<i>go</i>
thij-k'-on	<i>fall down</i>
look-an	<i>fall down</i>
chaw-k'-in	<i>turn around</i>

II some of the HSF Positionals

bux-k-an	<i>squat</i>
k'et-p-an	<i>turn around</i>

III manner: t'ik-on *jump*

There are very few positionals used in middle form; only the above two have been found in the data so far. More research is needed in order to determine which positionals can have these middle forms, and which cannot.

Besides these verbs, there are a few others with a meaning of movement that have an antipassive form (verbs with cognate objects), ex. **laatx-um** *swim*, **aath-il** *run*. In a language that has middle, a middle form coding for these two events would be expected. This is one of the issues of the HSF middle that requires more research.

- (125) taam t-u ok'-oy tee' t-in xe'**ch-in** (FilC1-2-5)
 when R-A1 finish-TS(COM) here R-A1 go-MID(COM)

an t-u bitxow/ in k'al-ej tuwa' ti Las Cruces.
 DEF prep-E1 town / A1 go-COM there prep Las Cruces
When I finished walking around this town, I went over there to Las Cruces.

- (126) ... baal taa' an ti bal-k'-in-eenek an kwa'. (AmR34-5)
 that there DEF R enter-DM-MID-PERF DEF frog
... that the frog has entered there.

- (127) ip kal-ej t-ip jum-n-al. (AmR39-11)
 A3p go.out-COM R-A3p fly-MID-INC
They went out flying.

- (128) ani an kwitool puj-k'-in. (AmR43-49)
 and DEF boy fall-DM-MID(COM)
And the boy fell down.

- (129) na jwaan kwaj-l-an an ti olip.
 HUM Juan fall-DM-MID(COM) DEF prep river
Juan fell down into the river. (SaArch467)

e. Expression of Emotions and Locution The following are the verbs of the HSF Middle Voice that expresses emotions, plus a couple of logophoric verbs. It is worth mentioning here that a large group of verbs with the Inchoative meaning of “become x,” are not marked for middle in HSF. Much more research remains to be done before one can answer the question of why there are so many verbs in HSF within the semantic domain of middle, that are not coded as middle, in a language that has that possibility. Another interesting issue is that some expressions of emotion have a basic form as a non-middle, and a derived middle form with a nuance in meaning, such as **jik'-ey** *be afraid*, and **jik'-p-an** *startle someone* (in this case the derivational suffix **-p-** seems to have a causative semantics).

I Expressions of Emotions

chip-k'-an *calm down* tith-en *be ashamed*

confiaar-in *trust* t'e'-p-in *be sad*
 desanimaar-in *feel down*

II Logophoric

ka'kaal-in *chat* thaaj-an *cry*
 took'-on *answer*

- (130) nanaa' taam in ajat ti teenek (NaMus564)
 I when A1 sing.INC prep Huastec

baa' na' in tith-en-al max in teen-tx-in-al.
 no I A1 shame-MID.INC if A1 laugh-DAT-MID-INC
When I sing in Huastec I am not ashamed if they laugh at me.

- (131) t'e'-p-in-eekek an ti k'waj-at. (CirR148-28)
 be.sad-MID-PERF DET R be-INC
He has been very sad.

The middle of emotions is very often expressed with a verb of Spanish origin. Nevertheless, a Spanish loan word behaves like Huastecan one, and in the case of the middle voice, bears a middle marker:

- (132) ne'ech k-in sentiir-in triiste... (NarMus230)
 FUT IRR-A1 feel-MID(COM) sad (Sp)
I will feel sad...

- (133) nanaa' baa' in desanimaar-n-al. (NarMus230)
 I no A1 feel down-MID-INC
I do not feel down.

A middle of spontaneous/inchoative or movement events in HSF can appear not only with human subjects, but also with **non-human subjects** that cannot act volitionally to perform an action to affect themselves:

- (134) kwaj-l-an an te'. (AmArch333)
 fall-DM-MID(COM) DEF tree
 The tree fell down.

- (135) an bitxim chik-enek. (SaArch356)
 DEF horse get.tired-MID.PERF
 The horse got tired.

- (136) an wii'lep map-un. (AmArch391)
 DEF door close-MID(COM)
 The door closed (by itself).

f. HSF Middle with Passive Meaning

The Middle voice can have a passive meaning. There are a lot of examples of this meaning in the data. Only transitive verbs can have this (middle) passive meaning because the verbs of that type have an overt object, i.e. two arguments (when they are in an active form); the rest of the verbs that can have a Middle Voice are intransitive, or used in reflexive meaning. This passive meaning of the Middle Voice is usually called Middle Passive (Medio-passive), cross-linguistically. The subject is an affected patient that corresponds to the patient object of the active clause. In this situation, the Agent is suppressed and the Patient advances to Subject:

- (137) a. tamup ti tamup i t'aj-a-al an t'uuth. (MargV-84)
 year prep year Elp do-TS-INC DEF tamal
 We make tamales every year.

- b. an b'akan a t'aj-n-al k'aal an k'oyej. (IrArch174)
 DEF tortilla A3 do-MID-INC with DEF nixtamal
 Tortillas are made from nixtamal.

In example (137a.), the verb is in Active voice, and in (137b.) it is in the Middle Passive.

- (138) an patx a t'aj-n-al k'aal an lukuk.
 DEF saucepan A3 make-MID-INC with DEF mud
The saucepans are made of mud. (AmArch439)

- (139) alobeel n-a xal-k'-an-al juun i
 beautiful REL-A3 appear-DM-MID-INC one NM
 ataaj taam iit ej. (AmCa27-61)
 house when new PERDUR
*A new house looks beautiful (*a new house shows itself beautiful).*

According to Kemmer (1993), in some languages (including South Eastern Huastec), the Middle Voice can also be used to express situations in which an external causer, usually human, exists, but is of relative unimportance, from the speaker's point of view. This passive usage of the Middle Voice has a special semantic property of genericity or habituality, as illustrated in examples (138) and (139) (it is their habit to make saucepans of mud; a house is usually beautiful when new).

The existence of an (usually unimportant) external causer also refers to the case of English, *I was given a book*. This function of a middle passive is sometimes called a "personal" passive, as opposed to the "impersonal" mentioned above. In these clauses, the primary object becomes the subject of the middle, as shown in (140b.), (141b.), (142), and (143).

- (140) a ...tin utx-a' an uungara. (Amc2-14-118)
 3>1 tell-TS-COM DEF gypsy(Sp)
... the Gypsy woman told me.

- b u utx-n-al baal u lukuk. (FabC2-139-19)
 A1p tell-MID-INC that A1p mud
We are told we are mud.

(141) a. tin pith-a' an patx ! (TelE1-65)
 2>1 give-TS-COM DEF saucepan
 Give me the saucepan!

b. aase uunos aanyos in pith-an juun i pik'o.
 some years ago(Sp) A1 give-MID(COM) one NM dog
 A couple of years ago I was given a dog. (BeC2-118-1)

(142) baa' in ul-th-an-tx-in. (BeV1-35-7)
 no A1 come-CAUS-EP-DAT-MID(COM)
 They didn't deliver it to me. (I wasn't delivered it.)

(143) koomo baa' ip jil-tx-in yaan i chabaal.
 as(Sp) no A3p leave-DAT-MID(COM) much NM land
 Since they were not left (given) more land... (MarCo141-51)

In this type of middle clause the Agent is suppressed, and the Recipient functions as Subject of the middle sentence.

6.3.5 Passive Versus Middle According to Keenan, some languages “exhibit constructions that resemble passive constructions” (2007: 352); the author adds that linguists are often unsure whether or not to consider the middle construction a passive. The main difference between a passive construction and a middle construction (with passive meaning), is that in passive “the subject in the corresponding active is expressed by an element that is neither a subject nor an object in the corresponding passive, or is not expressed at all; if it is not expressed, its existence is still entailed by the passive” (2007: 352).

The difference between the Middle and the Passive is often presented as the possibility of expressing the Agent (as an oblique): “the entailment of an agent is definitional of passives. Constructions which lack this characteristic but which otherwise resemble passives are generally called middles” (Keenan 2007: 352). The HSF passive is often found with an oblique Agent, as seen in examples (77), (78), (79) above, among others. Sometimes in a Middle clause with a passive meaning, an overtly expressed Agent is present as well. This is contrary to what Keenan states: “...if the language allows

expression of the agent in passive clauses, such is possible in a passive but not in a middle” (2007:353). However, in the vast majority of Middle clauses the Agent is not expressed, and not even implied. The agent is implied only in ditransitive verbs, like in the following sentences: *I was given a dog (by somebody, by my brother, We were told (by them, by somebody) we are earth*, but it would not be implied for an intransitive verb as in the following:

an wi’lep map-un
 DEF door open-MID(COM)
the door opened

Here no agent is implied. The absence of an explicit agent is the explanation for why, in many languages, reflexive morphology is used with the middle and passive meaning. “Despite the morphological and semantic similarities between middles and passives, the two can be distinguished by the diagnostic of whether an agent is entailed” (Keenan 2007: 353).

Examples of Middle with passive meaning are very numerous in the HSF corpus. It could be due to Spanish influence. During elicitations, when asked to translate a passive sentence from Spanish into Huastec, the first answer by consultants is given in Middle voice, and later, after insisting, in Passive. For example, the sentence *These pupils were hit by the teacher* can be translated in two different ways. The first version is as follows:

(144) naa’ juunik-txik ip kwath-an k’aal an oktxix
 DEM companion-PL A3pl hit-MID(COM) with DEF teacher
These pupils were hit by the teacher. (AmE4-10-4)

and the second one with a passive:

(145) naa’ juunik-txik ip kwath-aamej k’aal an oktxix
 DEM companion-PL A3p hit-PASS.PERF with DEF teacher
These pupils were hit by the teacher. (AmE4-10-4)

Native speakers do not find any difference in the meaning of the above sentences. In the following examples there are several passive forms in the same sentence with one in Middle voice with passive meaning:

- (146) ... neech k-a **muth-w-at** an way / neech k-a **junk-uw-at**
 HAB IRR-A3 collect-TS-PASS.COM DEF maize HAB IRR-A3 gather-TS-PASS.COM

ejtal naa' k-a **k'oj-w-at** al an ale'laap (AmMaizeC1-151-15)
 all REL IRR-A3 clean.maize-TS-PASS.COM prep DEF corn.field
... the maize is collected, everything that is cleaned is gathered in the corn field.

- (147) neech taam k-a **iy-an** ich an way // (AmMaizeC1-151-16)
 HAB then IRR-A3 carry-MID(COM) already DEF maize

neech k-a **ne'-th-aaj** ich an t-in k'imaa'
 HAB IRR-A3 come-CAUS-PASS.INC already DEF prep-A3 home
Then maize cob is carried, it is brought home.

HSF Middle is often used in its passive meaning (see section on Middle Voice, 6.4.2 of this chapter). When that occurs, the same parameters are important as those for the HSF passive:

- a. Basic transitive object is higher on the Animacy scale:

- (148) taam ti chuuj an at.k'imaath baal exom
 when R see.COM DEF neighbour that PROGR

t-up **k'ap-tx-in-al** an ti pok'oth... (CirCoy4)
 R-A3p eat-DAT-MID-INC DEF prep animal
When the villagers saw that their animals are being eaten...

- b. Basic transitive object is Topical:

- (149) taja' taam an ti **ch'ajl-in-tx-in** an ti kwita'
 there then FOC R tighten-EP-DAT-MID(COM) DEF prep chicken
They tightened him a chicken there. (CirCoy11)
(Lit: he (coyote) was tighten a chicken there)

- (150) juun i inik **kan-an** kwa' ti t'oj-n-al
 one NM man call-MID(COM) QUOT R work-MID-INC

ti juun i ale'laap kwa' ti kot-ool
 prep one NM corn.field QUOT R cut-AP(INC)

ti apach' k'aal juun in at.k'imaath. (CirCamp)
 prep palm with one E3 neighbour

*A man was called by one of his neighbours to work in
 a corn field to cut palm trees.*

(151) taa' ich taam ti koo'-y-at axta ip ul-ich an
 there already then R have-TS-PASS.COM till(Sp) A3p come-COM DEF

t'ojlith naa' al bitxow // taam an ti thay-an baal
 authorities there prep town then DEF R carry-MID(COM) for

k-a ne'thaaj ni Tantoyuka baal k-a lejk-in-tx-in
 IRR-A3 come-CAUS-PASS.COM prep Tantoyuca for IRR-A3 fix-EP-DAT-MID(COM)
*Then he was kept there till the authorities from the town came; then
 he was carried to Tantoyuca for help. (CirCamp)*

(152) taam xee' k-a ul-un baal ne'ech k-a
 when now IRR-A3 say-MID(COM) that FUT IRR-A3

ne'-th-aaj ich k-a jol-iy-at (AmFunC1-140-116)
 come-CAUS-PASS.COM already IRR-A3 bury-TS-PASS.COM
When it is said that he would be taken to be buried, ...

6.3.6 Passive/Middle Restrictions: Defective Distribution There are several examples in the HSF corpus of verbs that have an incomplete paradigm, both in Middle and Passive. These are the cases where a paradigm is composed of Middle forms in completive and incompletive aspect and a Passive form in Perfect. At the same time, the other forms of that same verb (that is, Middle Perfect and Passive Completive and Incompletive) do not exist. A paradigm of such verbs looks as follows:

MID(COM)
 MID.INC
 PASS.PERF

in kan-an	in kan-n-al	in kan-aamej
A1 invite-MID(COM)	A1 invite-MID-INC	A1 invite-PASS.PERF
<i>I was invited</i>	<i>I am being invited</i>	<i>I had been invited</i>

The forms *kan-neenek MID.PERF, *kan-y-at PASS.COM, *kan-y-aap PASS. INC do not exist.

Below are more examples:

a.	in thayan	<i>I was lifted</i>	MID (completive)
	in thaynal	<i>I am being lifted</i>	MID (incompletive)
	in thyaamej	<i>I have been lifted</i>	PASS (perfect)
b.	in makan	<i>I was approached</i>	
	in maknal	<i>I am being approached</i>	
	in maknaamej	<i>I have been approached</i>	
c.	in utxan	<i>I was told</i>	
	in utxnal	<i>I am being told</i>	
	in utxaamej	<i>I have been told</i>	
d.	in pithan	<i>I was given</i>	
	in pithnal	<i>I am being given</i>	
	in pithaamej	<i>I have been given</i>	
e.	in takan	<i>I was touched</i>	
	in taknal	<i>I am being touched</i>	
	in takaamej	<i>I have been touched</i>	

Further research is needed to determine the nuances in meaning and the differences in functions between the canonical and the middle passives. As mentioned above, the first

impression is that the middle passive is used when the Agent is not known or important, when it is not implied, and therefore is not expressed (as in cases such as *I was given a dog*, and *Tortillas are made with nixtamal*). The canonical passive appears to be used when the Agent is known and can be expressed as the oblique of a passive clause.

The above examples of the Middle Passive can be compared to the following canonical passive:

- (153) pues an pik'o' aath-in-th-aaj, paj-n-aaj
 then DEF dog run-EP-CAUS-PASS.COM follow-INSTR-PASS.COM

k'aal an ebath chaptxam... (AmR48-100)
 with DEF all bee

Then the dog was made run, it was followed by the bees...

However, it must be mentioned that the canonical passive is also used when the Agent is not expressed (but in this example, and many others in the data, it is known from the context):

- (154) a lee'-n-aap k-a k'at-w-at. (AmR40-24)
 A3 want-INSTR-PASS.INC IRR-A3 bite-TS-PASS.COM

*They wanted to bite him. = *he was wanted to be bitten*

(by the bees, mentioned earlier in the story).

Elicitation has brought up an example with the same verb in the middle form of the passive meaning and in the canonical passive. Several consultants confirmed that there is no difference in meaning between these two examples:

- (155) in pith-an juun i pik'o'. (AmE4-82)
 A1 give-MID(COM) one NM dog

I was given a dog.

- (156) in pith-aamej juun i pik'o'.
 A1 give-PASS.PERF one NM dog

I was given a dog.

6.4.3 Phenomena That are Not Encoded as Middle in HSF There are some phenomena referred to as Middle by Kemmer (1993) that are not encoded as Middle in HSF.

a. For example, talking about grooming and reflexiveness, Kemmer (1993: 17) mentions an indirect middle that she calls a “benefactive middle” of naturally reciprocal events, such as *acquire*, *ask*, *request*, and *take for yourself*. These events are not encoded as Middle in HSF, but rather as Active transitive.

(157) u ch’a’-iy juun i maango.
 A1 buy-TS(COM) one NM mango.
I bought a mango (for myself). (CiE5-7)

b. There are also verbs of cognition, such as *think*, *believe*, and *meditate*, that Kemmer considers as Middle, but are not coded that way in HSF, and instead have an Antipassive or transitive form.

(158) jaach n-u chalp-ay-al.
 it REL-E1 think-TS-INC
That is what I think. (AmC2-11-89)

c. Next, the logophoric middle, verbs of saying/belief/perception that come with complement clauses, like *I hope to go* are not coded as middle in HSF (except for a couple of verbs mentioned in section 4.4), but are transitive verbs in their Active voice form, and require a complement clause as their primary object.

(159) pues nanaa’ u utx-a’.....
 then I E1 tell-TS(COM)
Then I told her..... (AmC2-7-43)

d. Further, as mentioned above, HSF does not encode its reciprocals with a reflexive construction, but with a special Antipassive form (the AP marker *-(V)x*, plus lengthening of both the root vowel and the AP marker vowel):

(160) ip kwaath-aax. (GoRec3)

A3p hit-REC.INC
They are hitting each other.

e. As mentioned earlier, a couple of verbs with translational meaning are coded in HSF as AP and not Middle; for instance, **laatxum** *swim* and **aathil** *run*.

f. And finally, the whole class of verbs mentioned above, whose meaning is within the domain of middle, but which do not mark the middle at all. These are the verbs that denote the same range of meanings elaborated in section 4. They appear to be the unaccusative verbs.

(161) peero baa' ta' k-a awich k-it jik'-ey
 but(Sp) no you IRR-2sgE can IRR-A2 be.afraid-COM
But you do not have to be afraid. (MarCo9-13)

6.4.4 Discussion The only Mayan languages that have an elaborated Middle Voice (already documented), as previously mentioned, are Huastec and Mocho (Palosaari 2011). A large number of examples of verbs in this voice have been found in the data. As discussed above, in HSF the Middle Voice encompasses the meanings of self-grooming, (and other cases of reflexiveness), spontaneous change of state, body position, movement and translation, expression of emotions, cognitive and mental processes and passive. Again, HSF and Mocho (Palosaari 2011:3) are the only Mayan languages that use the Middle Voice to express reflexiveness, as the rest of the languages of the family do it with a reflexive nominal “ba”. The coexistence of the two reflexive constructions in HSF remains to be investigated.

A great number of middle passives have been found in the data. Certain authors identify middlehood with reflexive morphology even when it does not express reflexive meaning, as for example, when a reflexive morpheme marks a passive construction (“the reflexive passive,” Siewierska 1987). As a result of the association between the middle and passive voice function, many authors use the term “mediopassive” (Geniushiene, 1987, among others) to refer broadly to non-active voices, and believe that the middle category has extended its functions, like in some Indo-European languages, to the passive meaning. This can also be said of Huastec. As a difference

from the canonical passive, the first impression is that the middle passive is much more frequent, contrary to Kemmer (1993: 149), who assumes that in languages which have a passive form different from middle passive, the former is more productive. Another difference between the usage of the passive and the middle passive in HSF is that the examples found in the data suggest the usage of the middle passive in clauses where an Agent is not usually expressed. In general, in passive clauses there is a causer to the event but it is either not expressed or not topical, and demoted into an oblique argument. In canonical passive clauses in HSF, the causer is usually expressed as an oblique argument introduced by *k'aal* *by*.

According to Hewson and Bubenik (1997: 19) “both perfect and passive represent the final term of the event,” where perfect focuses on the event “retrospectively, seen from the point of view of its goal or term.” Shibatani (1985: 841) mentions the correlation of the perfect with resultatives, passives, and statives due to the “inactive nature of the passive subjects and the fact that the patient is placed in the subject position.”

Another interesting issue is the competition of the HSF middle with the antipassive. Kaufman (1990: 104) notes that “suffixes containing *-n* in Huastecan and Yucatecan are the Proto-Mayan absolutive antipassive,” although he does not give any examples or explanation. The verbs *chat*, *cry*, *scream*, and *work* are within the AP semantic domain in all the Mayan languages, and in HSF they are expressed like middle with the morpheme *-n* mentioned by Kaufman. Following this analysis, it seems clear that the Huastec (and the Mocho) middle voice originated from the Proto-Mayan absolutive antipassive. And once the Proto-Mayan antipassive absolutive *-n* was employed as a Middle marker in Huastecan, other markers were needed for the antipassive (see the HSF antipassive markers earlier in this chapter; they are very different from the antipassive markers in the rest of the family). This hypothesis seems much more plausible now, when a Middle Voice with the marker *-n* has been identified in Mocho, another Mayan language (Palosaari 2011: 3). The situation seems a little clearer in Mocho, which does not have an antipassive voice, but does have the Middle voice with the marker *-n* (Palosaari 2011). Palosaari states that this Mocho Middle voice marker *-n* originates from the Proto-Mayan antipassive, *-n* (2010: 3).

The Middle voice is present in all the three variants of the Huastec language (Edmonson 1988, Constable 1989, Kondic 2011). An elaborated middle voice is not a characteristic

feature of Mayan languages. In general, the Middle Voice in Mesoamerica has not been studied in depth except in Otomí, by Palancar (2004), and in Pima Bajo, by Estrada (2005).

Tapia Zenteno, in his short study of the San Luis Potosí variant of Huastec (which reflects the state of the Huastec grammar from more-or-less the 16th Century, as documented in *Doctrina Christiana*, by Jesus de la Cruz (Mexico 1571)), talks about the Middle Voice forms under the name of a “second conjugation of verbs” that “form preterit with **-nek** or **-nenek**” (applying the terminology and the ways of analysis of Latin at those times), but without mentioning its usage to encode reflexive or passive meanings. He gives a list of verbs of this conjugation, for instance, verbs of change: atmospheric: *dawn, get late*, spontaneous events: *grow up, mature, get tired*, die; of emotions: *get angry, get frightened*; translational events: *enter, arrive, stop, go out, return*. So it can be seen that in the 16th Century, Huastec already had the middle forms of the verbs from all the groups of meaning mentioned above for the modern language.

The passive function of the middle is mentioned by Zenteno under “Imperfective Future” with a comment that it is another form of a passive, different from the two other forms mentioned under the paragraph of passives. Examples of this Middle passive, such as **kin kwathan** *I am hit* are given the translation of future tense in Spanish, “*me azotaran*,” *I will be hit* (Zenteno 1571: 54), and called “impersonal future,” identifying their impersonal nature. Therefore it is without doubt that the middle voice was used in its passive function in those earlier times.

The Reflexive meaning in this study is mentioned with its transitive construction **t-Erg baa’** in the paragraph about passives (Zenteno 1571: 51), but Zenteno does not mention the reflexive meaning of the verbs of the “second conjugation.” The reason could either be that the study is very short (35 pages), or that the author has supposed that reflexives/reciprocals (as in Spanish) automatically go with this group of verbs, like ‘cansarse’ *to get tired*. The self-grooming verbs are not mentioned in Zenteno’s study.

The grammaticalisation of the middle voice cross-linguistically has been widely discussed. Kemmer (1993) believes, based on the study of a large number of typologically different languages, that the reflexive marker is the most common source of the middle marker. This cannot be applied to HSF, because the canonical reflexive in

the family is a transitive construction with a reflexive pronoun, **t-ERG baa'**, and this construction exists in HSF along with the middle.

6.4.6 Issues for Further Research A relevant point would be to further research the competition of the middle with other voices in these languages (middle versus canonical reflexive, canonical passive and Antipassive). Another issue which needs more research is taht of verbal suffixes with aspectual meaning that often occur in the middle voice form.

6.4.7 A Summary of the HSF Middle Voice Meanings and Argument Structure:

<i>Verb</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i>Argument structure</i>
Intransitive	Translational, Change	
Transitive	Reflexive	Subject=Object
	Passive 1 (Impersonal)	Object→Subject
Ditransitive	Passive 2 (Personal)	Oblique(Recipient) →Subject

Table 6.2: HSF MID Usage

Kemmer’s Middle Domain	HSF Voice
1. grooming and body care (Reflexivity)	MID
Indirect MID (benefactive)	ACTIVE transitive
2. spontaneous events	MID
3. passive, impersonal, facilitative	MID
4. translational MID	MID, ACTIVE intr
5. cognition/perception	AP, ACTIVE tr)

6. reciprocals	AP REC
7. some 'body action' verbs (<i>'cough'</i>)	AP
8. logophoric MID	AP, ACT
9. emotions	MID, ACTIVE intr

MID Domain not Mentioned by Kemmer

10. meteorological events	MID

HSF -(V)n Marker Syntactic Functions:

1	Detransitiviser
2	Anticausativiser/anaccusativiser

Chapter 7

Valency-Increasing Operations

The South Eastern Huastec valency-increasing operations (Causatives and Applicatives) are described in this chapter. The HSF causative is rather simple and is described first. The Applicatives are described in section 2 of this Chapter.

7.1 HSF Causative

The notion of manipulation (causatives) is expressed in South Eastern Huastec by the causal morpheme **-th** that is used as a suffix to the relevant verb. Some linguists consider this construction a complex predicate derived morphologically rather than syntactically (W.F., p.c.). The following examples illustrate an HSF verbal complex with the causative morpheme **-th**:

- (1) na mariia in way-th-a' an chikam txithan
HUM María E3 sleep-CAUS-TS(COM) DEF small daughter
María made the little girl sleep. (AmArch360)

- (2) na jwaan in ath-in-**th**-a-al an bitxim.
 HUM Juan E3 run-EP-CAUS-ST-INC DEF horse
Juan is making the horse run. (AmArch394)

- (3)a. na jwaan tin te'-en-**th**-a'.
 HUM Juan 3>1 laugh-MID-CAUS-TS(COM)
Juan made me laugh. (AmArch369)

In very few verbs, the causative morpheme is **-b**, as mentioned above, in section 3.3.2.2 of Chapter 3 on Verbal Morphology. A different type of construction with causative semantics is described in Chapter 10 on complementation.

7.2 HSF Applicatives

Some languages have several applicatives, for instance Oluta (Mixe-Zoquean, Mexico), with its six applicatives is the language with the most elaborate system of applicatives in Mesoamerica (Zavala 2007). An early work on applicatives in Mayan languages was the “Indirect Object Advancement in Tzotzil” in 1983, and the study of the Tsotsil ‘benefactive voice’ in 1987, both by Aissen, carried out in the syntactic framework of Relational grammar. Mayan languages have a semantically non-specific applicative: **-b'eej**, while HSF has two different morphemes (DAT **-tx**, INSTR **-n**). Each of these two morphemes has a semantically specific role. In HSF the use of applicatives is not obligatory (except in the case of intransitive verbs when it is the only way to introduce an object to an intransitive verb); however it often occurs in cases of salience of applicative arguments.

In Q'anjob'alan languages an Instrumental NP advances to subject, while in K'iche'an languages it advances to an object (Craig 1978). In HSF an oblique of the base construction (Recipient or Instrument) is promoted to an applicative object, while the base direct object is demoted to the function of an oblique object (except when it is indefinite). This phenomenon is described in this Chapter.

Applicative constructions are “a means some languages have for structuring clauses which allow the coding of a thematically peripheral argument or adjunct as a core-object argument. Such constructions are signalled by overt verbal morphology.” (Peterson 2007: 75). This syntactical operation is called the “advancement of indirect object to direct object” in relational grammar (Aissen 1983).

Applicatives are present in the Mayan family. South Eastern Huastec has two applicatives, namely Dative/Benefactive/Recipient (Malchukov et al. (2010) offer different labels for Dative alternations: indirective, secondative, neutral, flagging, and indexing, but this morpheme will here be glossed DAT for convenience), and Instrumental (glossed INSTR).

The morpheme ***-b'ee** has been reconstructed for the Proto-Mayan applicative (Mora-Marin 2003: 196), of which reflexes are present in the family with different semantics, for example:

PM	*-b'ee	>	Tz'utujil	- b'e	BEN
		>	K'iche'	- b'e	INSTR
		>	Pokomam	- '	INSTR

As previously mentioned, the HSF applicatives are two different morphemes (**-tx**, **-n**) with two different semantic roles: Dative/Benefactive/Substitute(Recipient) **-tx** and Instrumental **-n**. It is obvious that these forms do not derive from the Proto-Mayan form. It looks as though the Huastecan Dat/Ben/Rec morpheme **-tx** could have originated from Proto-Mayan ***-t**, as there is a transitivisor **taj** in Tseltal (Polian 2011) and Yucatec (Zavala, p.c.).

Another interesting trait of Huastecan languages is that the usage of applicatives is not obligatory (Constable 1989, Watatani 1993, Edmonson 1988), and an oblique noun phrase can be used instead. In Tseltal an applicative is obligatory with a Recipient (Polian 2011); Chol is more similar to Huastecan languages, as applicatives are optional (Vázquez 2011). In Mixe-Zoquean languages (Zavala, p.c.) applicativisation is obligatory, as it is the only way to introduce a Recipient into a clause. The Huastecan languages and Tseltal are the only Mayan languages that have a specific applicative morpheme for a Recipient.

An HSF verbal complex with applicatives looks like this:

Verb-DAT-(AP)-INSTR-TS-aspect

Applicatives add a new core argument to the verbal complex, which can be represented by following:

intransitive verb + Applicative = transitive construction
transitive verb + Applicative = ditransitive construction

Argument Marking Restructuring in Applicative Clauses

The main rule

is that when an applicative morpheme is added to the verb, the oblique noun phrase of the base clause converts into the direct object of the applicative construction; at the same time, the base direct object is demoted to an oblique object (an oblique noun phrase introduced by a preposition). However, if the base direct object is indefinite, it does not get demoted, that is, it does not change into an oblique noun phrase, but remains the same. This phenomenon is triggered by the definiteness hierarchy of HSF. An indefinite object is not 'taken seriously' by the verb because it is indefinite and consequently, it does not get demoted in an applicative construction.

7.2.1 Dative/Benefactive -tx Sometimes called Referential Voice (Dayley 1985). This morpheme can be added to transitive verbs, and very rarely to intransitive verbs. As previously mentioned, its origin is unknown. The semantics of this applicative is dative/benefactive/recipient/substitute. It is placed directly after the verb root.

7.2.1.1 Dative with Transitive Verbs

Example (4a) below is a

usual transitive construction; the verb contains a transitive suffix and is cross-referenced by an Ergative clitic that denotes the subject; the object (Theme) is unmarked. Example (4b) is an extended transitive construction where a Beneficiary is expressed obliquely. An applicative construction is exemplified in (4c): the verb contains the applicative morpheme **-tx**; the underlying direct object (Theme) is now expressed obliquely (marked by preposition **ti**), which means that it is no longer a direct object: it has become the oblique NP (applied oblique) of this new, applicative construction. The underlying indirect object (Beneficiary) is expressed without the preposition, which means that it is not an oblique NP any more; the underlying indirect object has become

a direct object of the new (applicative) construction. The underlying indirect object (Beneficiary) is now converted into a direct object (the applied object).

(4)a. u nuj-uw an kwita' (CirE5-19)

Erg1 sell-TS(COM) DEF chicken

I sold the chicken.

b. u nuj-uw an kwita' baal na josee

Erg1 sell-TS(COM) DEF chicken for HUM José

I sold the chicken to/for José.

c. u nuj-tx-iy an ti kwita' na josee

Erg1 sell-DAT-TS(COM) DEF prep chicken HUM José

I sold José the chicken.

Example (5a) below contains a Beneficiary expressed as an oblique noun phrase (**baal tataa'** *for you_{sg}*). In example (5b) this Beneficiary is indicated in the transitive agreement clitic (**tu** *I to you_{sg}*, first person singular acting upon second person singular). In (5b) the Theme is not expressed as an oblique noun phrase as expected, but remains unchanged. The reason for this is the HSF definiteness hierarchy: the Theme in (5b) is indefinite, and therefore it is not demoted to an oblique noun phrase. More information on this construction is provided in section 7.2.1.9 on the Definiteness hierarchy.

(5)a u ch'a'-iy juun i maango baal tataa'

Erg1 buy-TS(COM) one NM mango for you

I bought a mango for you. (AmE5-37)

b tu ch'a'-tx-iy juun i maango

1>2 buy-DAT-TS(COM) one NM mango

I bought you a mango. (CirE5-37)

A Beneficiary of an applicative construction can also be a 1st person pronoun:

- (6) tu kontx-iy-al baal k-it k'al-ej Chontla
 1>2 ask-TS-INC that IRR-A2 go-INC Chontla

ani tin ch'a'-tx-iy. (AmE3-31-13)
 and 2>1 buy-DAT-TS(COM)

I ask you to go to Chontla and buy it for me.

7.2.1.2 Dative with Intransitive Verbs This occurs very seldom. As applicativization is the only way in HSF to express a peripheral participant as a morphologically marked argument on the verb, it is also the way to add an object to an otherwise intransitive verb. There are only five or six examples in the corpus (from the video "Trajectory" for eliciting spacial expressions). Describing scenes 8 and 15, three consultants gave sentences using different intransitive verbs. In the following examples, a child is jumping over/to/from a stone. Since HSF does not have prepositions to encode motion *over/on/to/from* (see more in Chapter 12 on Space), the only way to express this is to say something like *This boy jumps a stone*, with *stone* as a direct object of the verb *jump*; the only way that *stone* can be coded as an argument of the intransitive verb *jump* in HSF is to apply the applicative construction:

- (7) juun i inik wat'-ey ti aath-il, in xak-an-tx-iy (AmTr8)
 one NM man pass-COM R run-INC / E3 jump-EP-DAT-TS

juun i k'otxool te' naa' ti koch-at
 one NM fat tree DEM R lie-PPL

A man passed running, he jumped over a big tree that was lying there.

- (8) naa i inik in juum-an-tx-iy naa' i k'otxool te' (CTr8)
 DEM NM man E3 fly-EP-DAT-TS DEM NM fat tree

That man jumped over that big tree.

- (9) wat'-ey ti aath-il ani t'ik-on-tx-iy juun i te' (GTr8)
 pass-COM R run-INC and jump-EP-DAT-TS one NM tree

(He) passed by running and jumped over a tree.

In the above examples, the intransitive verbs **tik'**- *jump*, **juum-** *fly*, **xak-** *jump* have been transitivised by the applicative **-tx** in order to accommodate the

object of the action they express; they bear the transitive suffix **-iy**, and have a direct object. It is interesting to note that the consultants, also native speakers of Spanish, gave a translation that is incorrect in Spanish, with the object expressed as Dative, and without the preposition, *over* (Sp: *sobre*, *en*).

However, the next examples show how usage of applicatives can be avoided: in the following examples the same verbs as above are used in middle voice form, and the underlying direct object is expressed as oblique (clip 15). In the following two examples the Middle voice requires the object to be expressed as oblique.

- (10) **naa i kwitool juum-an an ti kotop**
 DEM NM boy fly-MID(COM) DEF prep cliff
That boy jumped from the cliff. (CTr15)

- (11) **t'ik-on ti juun i kotop**
 jump-MID(COM) prep one NM cliff
(He) jumped from a cliff. (GTr15)

7.2.2 Instrumental -n Some authors call it Instrumental voice (Dayley 1985; Constable 1989). The Instrumental applicative in HSF is used much less frequently than the Dative. Most often an oblique noun phrase is used instead of an applicative construction with an Instrumental marker. There is also a restriction on the verbs that it can be used on: the general rule seems to be that the Instrumental applicative is used with intransitive verbs only (the underived intransitive verbs and the detransitivised ones). There are about a dozen transitive HSF verbs that contain the morpheme **-n**, but do not have the semantic of an instrumental. In these cases, we are probably dealing with lexicalisation.

7.2.2.1 Instrumental with Intransitive Verbs When the Instrumental marker is applied to an intransitive verb, it becomes transitive. This is a case of a real valence increasing. In (12a) the verb **way- sleep** is used in its basic intransitive form. Being an intransitive verb, in incomplete aspect, it receives an aspect marker only; it has only one argument, and it is marked absolutely. In example (9b) below, the instrumental marker **-n** is present; the verb is cross-referenced by an Ergative

clitic, and there is a direct object/Patient (axee' i waytalaap *this bed*). This construction is clearly ergative, although the verb **way- sleep** is intransitive.

way-al	way-n-a-al
sleep-INC	sleep-INSTR-TS-INC
<i>sleep</i>	<i>sleep in/with</i>

- (12)a. in way-al ti axee' i waytalaap
 Abs1 sleep-INC prep this NM bed
I sleep in this bed. (GoE4-53-1)

- b. u way-n-a-al axee' i waytalaap
 Erg1 sleep-INSTR-TS-INC DEM NM bed
*I sleep in this bed. (*I in-sleep this bed.)* (GoE4-53-1)

The examples of the usage of Instrumental with intransitive verbs are very few in the HSF corpus. They have been obtained by elicitation. In the following examples the Instrumental marker is also a verbaliser:

- (13) u taat-n-a-al naa' i taat (GoE4-37-1)
 E1 petate-INSTR-TS-INC DEM NM petate
I sleep on that 'petate' (corn straw mat).

- (14) u k'weet-n-a-al axee' i k'weet
 E1 broom-INSTR-ST-INC DEM NM broom

baal k-u ejt-iy an altaaj. (CirE4-53-3)
 for IRR-E1 clean-TS(COM) DEF interior
I use this broom to clean the house.

- (15) axee' i waat-laap wawaa' i waat-n-a-al. (CirE4-39)
 DEM NM cover-ABST we E1 cover-INSTR-TS-INC
This is a cover(blanket) that we cover (ourselves) with.

7.2.2.2 Instrumental Applicative with Transitive Verbs

verb-INSTR-TS-aspect

The general rule is that a transitive verb must first be detransitivized by an antipassive marker, and then applicativized by the marker **-n**. This is discussed in detail in section 7.2.1.4 of this Chapter (accumulation of valency markers).

There are about a dozen HSF transitive verbs that can receive the morpheme **-n** directly after the root. These verbs seem to be cases of lexicalisation, as they always appear with the suffix **-n** (that etymologically does not have to be an instrumental, this **-n** could be a trace of something else); only a couple of these verbs show traces of instrumental semantics. Syntactically they do not show an advancement of instrument, that is, there is no change of argument coding with these verbs. It is evident in examples (16), (17), (18), (19), (20). This is the reason why they are considered cases of lexicalisation of the morpheme **-n**.

Below are the majority of these types of verbs which can be found in the corpus:

a)	ja'-n-a'	<i>like</i>	uj-n-a'	<i>get used to</i>
	paam-n-a'	<i>carry (wear)</i>	paj-n-a'	<i>chase</i>
	k'ak'-n-a'	<i>respect</i>	puy-n-a'	<i>take into the mouth</i>
	ey-n-a'	<i>use</i>	ab-n-a'	<i>send</i>
	ch'ej-n-a'	<i>be scared</i>	jay-n-a'	<i>ache</i>

- b) Some of the verbs that behave this way have a derivational morpheme (more details about derivational morphemes are found in chapter 3 on HSF verbal morphology) between the root and the Instrumental marker:

jotx-ik-n-a'	<i>carry (load)</i>	chumit-n-a'	<i>feel down</i>
look-ook-n-a'	<i>destroy</i>	tok'-n-a'	<i>accept</i>

- (16) naa' i inik in **ayokn-a'** naa' i uxum
 DEM NM man E3 follow-TS(COM) DEM NM woman
That man followed that woman. (AmRec27)

- (17) tayiil u **took'n-a'** na'yej.
 later E1 accept-TS(COM) me.too
Later I accepted it too. (C2-6-31)

- (18) nanaa' u k'ak'n-a-al na' axee' i ch'ojool
 I E1 respect-TS-INC I DEM NM plant/herb
I respect this plant. (GoC2-74-68)
- (19) jachtaam an ti paamn-a-al an ch'ojool (FabC2-137-4)
 therefore DEF R carry-TS-INC DEF plant/herb
That is why we carry herbs. (as a head decoration)
- (20) neech k-u jotxikn-a' an pik'o' (AmE5-2)
 FUT IRR-E1 carry-TS(COM) DEF dog
*I will carry the dog. (*I will load myself with a dog?)*

7.2.2.3 Instrumental as Verbaliser The marker **-n** is found in some verbs of nominal origin where it acts as a verbaliser (the same polysemy/polufunctionality occurs in Tseltal; Polian 2011). This is also an example of lexicalisation of the morpheme **-n** (which, again, does not have to be etymologically an instrumental marker). In these cases the marking of the arguments does not change, that is, there is no advancement of the Instrument.

okop-n-a'	<i>carry on arms</i>	<	okop	<i>arm</i>
watxip-n-a'	<i>dream</i>	<	watxip	<i>dream</i>
cho'oop-n-a'	<i>know</i>	<	?	
tilip-n-a'	<i>envy</i>	<	tilip	<i>envy</i>
jun-ik-n-a'	<i>accompany</i>	<	juunik	<i>friend</i>

- (21) tantamaa' an ti tilip-n-a-al (AmUngC2-18-154)
 somebody DEF R envy-INSTR-TS-INC
Somebody envies you.
- (22) an inik naa' ip junk-il i okop-n-a-al
 DEF man REL A3p accompany-AP(INC) // Epl shoulder-INSTR-INC
- k'ij ti okoop an cha' i te' (AmC1-136-76)
 INT prep shoulder DEF 'paribuella'

The people who accompany (the deceased), they carry the paribuella (coffin) on their shoulders.

7.2.3 Usage of Applicatives in HSF

As mentioned above, the usage of applicatives in HSF is not obligatory. Very often an oblique noun phrase is used instead. The applicative constructions appear usually, but not always, in a situation where a Beneficiary or an Instrument is discursively prominent, that is, topicalised or focalised. Examples (23) and (24) illustrate two varieties of the same sentence: (23a) and (24a) are applicative constructions, while in (23b) the Beneficiary is expressed by an oblique noun phrase introduced by the preposition **baal** *for*, and in (24b) the Instrument is expressed as an oblique noun phrase introduced by the preposition **k'aal** *with*.

- (23)a. jajaa' k'al-ej ja' in ak-tx-iy-al an ti bakan n-in tomkiil
 s/he go-COM s/he E3 bring-DAT-TS-INC DEF prep tortilla DEM-E3 husband
She went to take her husband the tortillas. (CirE5-2)

- b. jajaa' ne'ech k-in ne'-th-a' an bakan an ti alelaap
 s/he FUT IRR-E3 go-CAUS-TS DEF tortilla DEF prep corn.field

baal n-in tomkiil. (AmE5-2)
 for DEM-E3 husband

She is going to take tortillas for her husband to the corn field.

- (24)a. in t'ak-ax-n-a' axee' i kwaa'txim (CirE5-51)
 E3 wash-AP-INSTR-TS(COM) DEM NM cloth
He washed (things/it/him) with this cloth.

- b. na martiin in t'ak-a-al n-in chikaam-il
 HUM Martin E1 wash-TS-INC DEM-E3 child-POSS

k'aal juun i kwaa'txim (AmE5-37)
 with one NM cloth

Martin washes his child with a cloth.

7.2.4 Accumulation of Valency Markers There are several situations in HSF when different valency markers coexist in a verbal complex. According to Dixon (2000: 27), this is a combination of derivational processes. In Dyirbal, up to four different markers can appear in the same verbal complex: (i) antipassive, reflexive, or reciprocal followed by (ii) comitative or instrumental applicative, followed by (iii) reflexive again (but not antipassive or reciprocal), followed again by (iv) applicative.

In South Eastern Huastec up to four different valency markers have been attested in the same verbal complex at a time (the following example is elicited):

paak'w-tx-in-tx-ix-n-a'

wash.cloths –Benefactive-EP-Substitute- AP- Instrumental-TS(COM)

wash clothes for somebody with something instead of somebody

7.2.4.1 Instrumental and Antipassive

verb-AP-INSTR-TS-TAM

The most numerous examples of instrumental applicative in the HSF corpus are those which have an antipassive marker present in the same verbal complex. As already mentioned, a general rule for the HSF Instrumental applicative is that it can be added only to intransitive and detransitivized verbs. Therefore, in the majority of cases the antipassive marker is found together with the instrumental marker in the same verbal complex; the antipassive marker (a valency-reducing marker) refers to a direct object that is demoted or not expressed, and the Instrumental (a valency-augmenting marker) refers to the indirect object (Beneficiary, Instrument). So, an HSF verb must be first detransitivized in order to receive an Instrumental marker.

As mentioned in section 6.2 on Antipassive, there are three antipassive markers in HSF. Interestingly, the most common antipassive morpheme that is found with the Instrumental marker is **-(V)m**. In cases of Reciprocals, and some other exceptions, it is **-(V)x**.

Below are some of the examples of verbal complexes with two valence markers, the Antipassive and Instrumental:

koot-om-n-a'	<i>cut with</i>	paak'-um-n-a'	<i>wash cloths with</i>
koy-om-n-a'	<i>relax with</i>	k'a'-um-n-a'	<i>bring water with</i>
che'-em-n-a'	<i>grind with</i>	atx-im-n-a'	<i>wash with</i>
t'oj-om-n-a'	<i>make with</i>	ch'a-um-n-a'	<i>buy with</i>
pit-om-n-a'	<i>cut with</i>		
	pith-aax-n-a'		<i>share</i>
	tolm-ix-n-a'		<i>help with</i>
	txuk-ux-n-a'		<i>sew with</i>
	ay-tx-ix-n-a'		<i>wait with</i>
	k'isaar-ix-n-a'		<i>cook with</i>

The following four verbs change their antipassive marker from **-(V)l** into **-(V)m** when the instrumental marker is added. It is not clear why, but it could be a case of assimilation with a nasal.

waat'-il	>	waat'-im-n-a'	<i>grind</i>
aath-il	>	aath-im-n-a'	<i>run</i>
ton-el	>	ton-em-n-a'	<i>visit</i>
koy-ol	>	koy-om-n-a'	<i>relax</i>

- (25) maria // tin pith-a' an ti kuchiil // ne'ech k-u
 Maria 3>1 give-TS(COM) DEF prep knife(Sp) FUT IRR-EI

kot-ox-n-a' an ti baleeya. (AmE5-9)
 slice-AP-INSTR-TS(COM) DEF prep water.melon
Maria, give me the knife, I will slice the water melon.

- (26) mariia jaach naa' axee' i aseete n-a k'isaar-ix-n-a-al
 Maria // it REL DEM NM oil(Sp) REL-2E cook-AP-INSTR-TS-INC
Maria, do you cook with this oil? (AmE4-62-6)

- (27) u lee' n-u kamiisa ninaa' u t'ooj-oom-n-a-al an t-u ale'

E1 want.INC DEM-E1 shirt(Sp) REL E1 work-AP-INSTR-TS-INC DEF prep-E1 corn.field
I want the shirt I wear when I work in the corn field. (AmE4-65-16)

As can be noted from the above examples (25), (26), (27), very often these verbal complexes with antipassive and instrumental markers are found in a relative clause.

7.4.2 Constructions with Two Applicatives Two applicative markers can be present in the same verbal complex in South Eastern Huastec. According to Dixon (2000: 27), a language “may have a number of applicative derivations, with different meanings; these are particularly likely to co-occur.” In this case, the HSF verbal complex looks as follows:

verb-DAT-AP-INSTR-TS-TAM

7.4.3 Dative and Instrumental When both applicatives are present in the same verbal complex, Dative precedes Instrumental.

jaal-tx-iix-n-a' *exchange something with somebody*
paak'w-tx-ix-n-a' *wash clothes for somebody with something*

(28) ne'ech k-u t'aj-a' juniil axee' i te'neel jaach
 FUT IRR-E1 do-TS again DEM MN food // that

n-u ne'ech ay-tx-ix-n-a-al taam ch'ejel k'iitxaaj
 REL-E1 HAB wait-DAT-AP-INSTR-TS-INC when half day
I am going to make that dish again, it is what I usually wait (for my family) with at noon. (=offer to my family for lunch) (AmE4-61-2)

The following examples illustrate this phenomenon; in a situation where two applicatives could have been used, only Dative appears. The instrument is expressed as an oblique noun phrase (even after insistence during elicitation, that an applicative be used). More research is needed to establish a rule.

(29) jajaa' tin pakw-tx-iy an t-u kwaa'txiim-al
 s/he 3>1 wash-DAT-TS(COM) DEF prep-E1 cloth-POSS

k'aal juun i iit jaboOn (AmE5-18)

with one NM new soap

She washed me the clothes with a new soap.

(30) n-u maa tin lejk-in-tx-iy (AmE5-5)

DEM-E1 mother 3>1 prepare-EP-DAT-TS(COM)

juun i plaato k'aal yaan i kwajtxixtalaap.

one NM dish(Sp) with many NM spice

My mother prepared a dish for me with a lot of spices.

(31) jajaa' tin txi'-th-an-tx-iy an ti ja'

s/he 3>1 come-CAUS-EP-DAT-TS(COM) DEF prep water

k'aal ninaa' i balixtalaap. (CirE5-5)

by DEM MN bottle

She brought me water in this bottle.

7.2.4.4 Iteration (Repetition of the Same Applicative Marker) Sometimes a repeated DAT/BEN/REC applicative **tx-** is found in an HSF verbal complex. In this case, it is used first with a Benefactive meaning, and the second time with a meaning of a substitute or addressee.

(32) axee' i kwitx in nuj-tx-in-tx-in-al

DEM MN wrap Al sell-DAT-EP-BEN-MID-INC

k'aal n-u at.k'imaath (CirE4-74)

by DEM-E1 neighbour

My neighbour sells (to people) these wraps for me.

(Lit: I am sold (to people) these wraps by my neighbour.)

7.2.4.5 Dative and Passive The instance of a dative applicative in a passive clause is evidence that the oblique NP has become the direct object: in this case, a basic indirect object becomes an applicative direct object by applicativization, and then a subject by passivisation. The Agent can be expressed as an oblique noun phrase.

- (33) in nuj-**tx**-iy-at ti bakan k'aal na Irene (AmE5-46)
 A1 sell-DAT-TS-PASS.COM prep tortilla by HUM Irene
I was sold tortillas by Irene. (= Irene sold tortillas to/for me).

7.2.4.6 Dative and Causative In the following example, the applicative **-tx** has malefactive meaning. This is a case of external possession, which is discussed in section 7.2.1.5 of this chapter.

- (34) na peedro in chem-**th**-an-**tx**-iy (CirE5-52)
 HUM Pedro E3 die-CAUS-EP-DAT-TS

 an ti pik'oo'-il na jwaan
 DEF prep dog-POSS HUM Juan
Pedro killed (made it die) Juan's dog.

An applicative can be used in a verbal complex along with a causative and a middle marker with a passive meaning, as in the following example:

- (35) baa' in ul-**th**-an-**tx**-in
 no A1 arrive-CAUS-EP-DAT-MID(COM)
I was not delivered it. (VerV1-35-7)

7.2.4.7 Dative and Middle The most common use of Dative with a Middle voice marker occurs when the Middle is used in its passive meaning with ditransitive verbs.

- (36) ne'ech k-a al-**tx**-in an t-in kwaa'txiim-al
 HAB IRR-A3 search-DAT-MID(COM) DEF prep-E3 clothes-POSS //

 ne'ech k-a k'wajb-an-**tx**-in an t-in kwaa'txiim-al

HAB IRR-A3 put on-EP-DAT-MID(COM) DEF prep-E3 clothes.POSS

antes k-a nuj-k-a-aj (AmFunC1-129-15)

before(Sp) IRR-A3 lie-DM-TS-PASS.COM

They would look for clothes for him, they would put the clothes on him before he is laid down. (in a context of preparation of a body for a funeral)

7.2.4.8 Instrumental and Reciprocal

(37) na jwaan ani na josee i peej-eex-n-a-al an kamara.

HUM Juan and HUM José Ep argue-REC-INSTR-TS-INC DEF camera(Sp)

Juan and Jose are fighting over the camera. (AmE4-61-3)

7.2.4.9 Instrumental and Passive

The only example of both Instrumental and Passive markers present together in one verbal complex, is the case of the verb ‘**ey-n-**’ *use*. This verb always appears with the Instrumental marker, **-n**. Most likely, this is a case of a lexicalised Instrumental (*serve oneself with something*).

(38) juun i macheet ni ey-n-a-amej

one NM machete REL use-INSTR-TS-PASS.PERF

baal k-it tak’-iy-at (AmE5-46)

for IRR-A2 wound-TS-PASS.COM

A machete has been used to wound you.

7.2.5 External Possession

The External Possession construction is a common Mesoamerican trait. It exists in Romance and Slavic languages too: “*Me comiste el pastel*” (**You ate me the cake*, with the meaning of *You ate my cake*), in Spanish, “*Il m’a tue le chien*” in French (*He killed my dog*), or “*Bolestan mi je brat*” in Serbocroat (*My brother is sick*). This construction, where a possessor is expressed as a recipient, is very common in HSF. The above example (34), as well as (39) below, illustrate this phenomenon. Sometimes it is referred to as ‘malefactive.’

(39) u **xap-tx-iy** an t-in kwaa'txiim-al
 E1 put.on-DAT-TS(COM) DEF prep-E3 clothes-POSS

n-u eebal. (CirE5-53)
 DEM-E1 sibling

I put on my sister's dress.

b. u **xap-tx-iy** an t-in kwaa'txiim-al
 E1 put.on-DAT-TS(COM) DEF prep-E3 clothes-POSS

n-u eebal * baal n-u **mamaa'** (CirE5-53)
 DEM-E1 sibling for DEM-E1 mother

I put on my sister's dress for our mother (=our Mother asked me to).

If a secondary Beneficiary exists in an event, like *my mother* in (39b.), it must be expressed in a separate clause, as the Dative **-tx** refers to the beneficiary; that is, the Dative in (39b and c) expresses the possessor of the dress; the secondary Beneficiary (the person who asked me to do so) must be expressed as a separate clause, as in (39c.):

c. u **xap-tx-iy** an t-in kwaa'txiim-al
 E1 put.on-DAT-TS(COM) DEF prep-E3 clothes-POSS

n-u eebaal baal tin **utx-a'** n-u **mamaa'**
 DEM-E1 sibling because 3>1 say-TS(COM) DEM-E1 mother

I put on my sister's dress because my mother told me to. (CirE5-53)

7.2.6 Genitive Constraint

In many Mayan languages, Tsotsil (Aissen 1997), Chol (Vázquez 2011:349), Tseltal (Polian 2011), Akatek (Zavala 1993), and in Q'anjobal (Pascual 2007), there is a genitive constraint: in an active transitive clause, it is not possible for the third person lexical possessor of the subject to be interpreted as coreferential with the object. The possessor of the subject is interpreted as co-referent with the object only if the clause is passive. It seems that in HSF this is not the case; as shown in the following examples, there is no genitive constraint in HSF. The lexical possessor of the subject is interpreted as coreferent with the object in a transitive active

clause without triggering passivisation motivated by obviation. In the following examples the verb does not bear an applicative:

- (40) n-in papaa' in tolm-iy-al (CirE6-63)
 DEM-E3 father E3 help-TS-INC
Her father helps her.

- (41) n-i eebaal a k'ok-eth-om (AmE6-63)
 DEM-Ep sibling A3 disturb-CAUS-AP(INC)
Their brother disturbs them.

7.2.7 Fronting of the Instrument In HSF fronting of the Instrument is not obligatory as it is in majority of other languages of the Mayan family, but it is still very common. The following examples illustrate both possibilities.

- (42) axee' i kuchiiil n-u kot-ox-n-a-al an ti xeklek.
 DEM NM knife REL-E1 cut-AP-INSTR-TS-INC DEF prep branch
This knife is what I cut branches with. (AmE5-9)

- (43) axee' i macheet n-u pak-um-n-a-al an ti thi'
 DEM NM machete REL-E1 cut-AP-INSTR-TS-INC DEF prep wood
This is the machete I cut the wood with. . (CirE5-72)

- (44)a in chem-th-om-n-a' juun i macheet (CirE5-51)
 E3 die-CAUS-AP-INSTR-TS one NM machete
She used a machete to kill him. = She killed him with a machete.
- b juun i macheet in chem-th-om-n-a' (CirE5-51)
 one NM machete E3 die-CAUS-AP-INSTR-TS(COM)
She used a machete to kill him. = She killed him with a machete.

7.2.8 Theme and Recipient are not Overtly Expressed The following example is an illustration of a case where neither the underlying direct object (a pronoun *it*, which refers to a healing patch), nor the underlying oblique object (*him*), are overtly expressed. In this case, both Theme and Beneficiary are zero:

(45) ne'ech k-i jalk-un-**tx**-iy
 FUT IRR-Ep change-EP-DAT-TS(COM)

chap lejk-in-**tx**-iy
 again prepare-EP-DAT-TS(COM)

chap cha'-**tx**-iy oox-iil t-a k'iitxaaj //
 again apply-DAT-TS(COM) three-time prep-HON day

chap k'ij a k'iitxaaj //
 again INT HON day //

ne'ech k-a jel-ey juun a ya'ul
 FUT IRR-A3 heal-COM one HON sick.person

*You change it (a healing patch) (for him), you prepare it (for him)
 again and re-apply it (to him) two or three times a day; in two days
 an ill person will heal. (GoyC2-91-60)*

7.2.9 Definiteness Hierarchy and Object Marking As mentioned above, the definiteness hierarchy has consequences in object marking. In (46b.) the Theme, **juun i maango** *a mango*, is not demoted to an oblique noun phrase, because it is indefinite; in (46c.) and (47) the Theme is demoted to an oblique noun phrase, because it is definite. In South Eastern Huastec a definite object is a 'real' object and it interferes with the object marking in an applicative construction. An indefinite object is not a 'real' object because it is indefinite; an indefinite object is not registered by the verb as a 'real' object, and it is thus 'left alone' in an applicative construction; that is (as mentioned above), it does not get demoted in an applicative construction.

(46)a. u ch'a'-iy juun i maango baal tataa'
 El buy-TS(COM) one NM mango for you
I bought a mango for you. (AmE5-37)

b. tu ch'a'-**tx**-iy juun i maango
 1>2 buy-DAT-TS(COM) one NM mango
I bought you a mango. (CirE5-37)

c. tu ch'a'-**tx**-iy an ti maango
 1>2 buy-DAT-TS(COM) DEF prep mango
I bought you the mango. (CirE5-37)

(47) baa' u koo'-y-al i meeluj baal k-u
 no E1 have-TS-INC NM money for IRR-E1

ch'a'-um-**n**-a' an t-u sapaatu
 buy-AP-INSTR-TS(COM) DEF prep-E1 shoe
I do not have money to buy the shoes (with it). (AmE4-64-15)

South Eastern Huastec seems to be a symmetric double-object language, as for example, some Bantu languages (Bresnan & Moshi 1988). Multiple-object constructions in the world's languages have attracted a lot of attention (Dryer 1986, Siwierska 2004, Haspelmath 2005, 2006). Double-object constructions have been researched by many authors (Comrie 1978, Dixon 1994, Lazard 1994, Creissels 2006, Bresnan & Moshi 1998, Malchukov & Haspelmath & Comrie 2010), and different types of alignment have been identified: Direct/indirect alignment (where $Th=O \neq D$), primary/secondary alignment ($D=O \neq Th$), and neutral alignment ($Th=D=O$).

Two types of constructions have been attested in South Eastern Huastec: a direct/indirect object construction, and a multiple object construction. These are constructions where the Recipient is treated as a unique object of a mono-transitive clause, and where the Theme is treated differently. This is a situation where two different arguments share the same grammatical relation. In this way, an argument becomes available for different syntactic operations: passivization, reciprocalisation, reflexivisation, and antipassivisation. South Eastern Huastec language that treats two different non-Subject arguments the same way (Kozinsky & Polinsky 1993): the Recipient and the Theme are treated identically, and in this situation, South Eastern

Huastec appears to be a double-object language that displays object symmetry (Bresnan & Moshi 1998).

In an HSF detransitivised clause, while a verb bears an antipassive, passive or middle marker, an object can be present only under certain constraints: it is demoted if it is definite, but it remains unmarked if it is indefinite. This has already been mentioned in relevant chapters. In an HSF multi-transitive clause, up to three objects can be managed by a verb. They are expressed in different ways depending on their semantic roles in the clause. This issue is very interesting and complex in South Eastern Huastec and requires extensive research in the future.

Chapter 8

Basic Clause Structure

The structure of the South Eastern Huastec basic clause is described in this chapter: besides the main elements of a basic clause, the HSF adverbs, negation, interrogation, clause-level clitics, non-core arguments, and word order are also presented in this chapter.

In HSF, a predicate can be verbal or non-verbal. Verbal predicates obligatorily take an aspectual marker and can take a valence marker. These two types of markers are called ‘status suffixes’ in Mayan literature. Verbal predicates have already been discussed in relevant chapters of this grammar; the non-verbal predicates in this language are discussed in detail in this chapter.

8.1 Basic Clause structure: Verbal Predicates

The morphology of verbal predicates is described in detail in earlier chapters of this grammar (Chapter 3 on Verbal Morphology, Chapter 5 on Person Marking, Chapter 6 and 7 on Valency Alternations). A minimal HSF basic clause with an **intransitive verb** is exemplified in (1); the only argument in this example is a Subject that is cross-referenced with an Absolutive marker. The simplest form of an intransitive predicate in HSF can be represented as

absolutive marker - verb -aspect

- (1) a. in k'al-ej
 A1 leave-COM
 I left.
- b. nanaa' in k' al-ej
 I A1 leave-COM

I left.

- c. in k'al-ej nanaa'
 Alp leave-COM I
I left.

In (1a.) the minimal basic clause with an intransitive verb is represented. It contains the absolutive personal marker **in** and the verb **k'alej**. The HSF full personal pronoun is often omitted, but when present in a clause, it can be placed before (1b.) or immediately after the verb (1c). The Ergative or Absolutive personal marker is always placed immediately before the verb.

As seen earlier in this grammar, an HSF basic clause with an intransitive verb can sometimes appear with a demoted object. In this case a verbal complex is marked by an antipassive voice marker. These cases are discussed in section 10.5.3 of this chapter, on Adjuncts.

A basic clause in HSF can contain one word. This is the case of some meteorological expressions:

a.	k'itx-ow	b.	cham-ay
	hot-TS(COM)		cold-TS(COM)
	<i>It is hot.</i> (CirArch170)		<i>It is cold.</i>

A basic clause with a verbal predicate in South Eastern Huastec can contain an Agent cross-referenced with an Ergative clitic, and a verbal complex that is marked with a transitive suffix (TS). The simplest transitive verb predicate in HSF is represented by:

Erg-verb-TS-valency marker-aspectual marker

Unlike other Mayan languages, as mentioned earlier, the object is not inflected consistently on the verb in HSF. There is only one syntactic slot for an argument in the HSF verbal complex. Naturally, in intransitive verbs it is a subject. In the case of transitive verbs, subject and object compete for this slot. The only instance when an object is cross-referenced on the verbal complex is when it is amalgamated into an inverse transitive agreement marker (details about this are found in chapter 5 on Person Marking), and under a condition that it (the object) is a first or a second person

singular/plural. In other words, object is cross-referenced in an HSF verbal complex only if it is a SAP.

The following examples illustrate the simplest verbal predicate with a transitive verb:

- (2) a t'aj-a-al
 E2 make-TS-INC
 You are making/doing it.

- (3) u ch'a'-iy juun i kwita'
 E1 buy-TS(COM) one NM chicken
 I bought a chicken.

In the following example the Patient is amalgamated into the transitive agreement marker **tu** (1st sg as the subject and 2nd sg as the object):

- (4) tu chuu ti plaasa. (IrArch)
 1>2 see.COM prep market
 I saw you at the market.

The transitive agreement marker (inverse clitic) always precedes the verb; nothing can be placed in between this marker and the verb. The word order of these constituents is discussed in section 8.7 of this chapter.

8.2 Non-Verbal Predicates

HSF non-verbal predicates are predicative constructions that lack verbs. Unlike in San Luis Potosí Huastec, in HSF there is no copula. An HSF non-verbal predicate can be headed by a noun, adjective, participle, or positional. Non-verbal predicates can be of almost any word class except verbs. Stative predicates appear in depictive constructions (see section 9.2 on Depictives, in Chapter 9 on Complex Predication). Another type of equative construction, namely relationship/possession (*he is my father*) is described in section 9 of this chapter.

8.2.1 The non-verbal predicates in HSF do not take aspectual suffixes. The temporal meaning is indicated by the clitic **wik** for past, or the clitic **ej** as a perdurative. These clauses are rarely found with the future temporal marker, as they imply the equative constructions and are rather interpreted as 'timeless statements'

(“*Maria is beautiful*”, “*Juan is intelligent*”), which with a future marker would not make much sense for the native speakers of this language. The future is generally not accepted with predicate nominals by speakers of South Eastern Huastec; they simply would not say something like ‘*this will be my house*,’ and instead, this statement would be expressed as ‘*I will live in this house*.’

The only argument of these predicates is a subject, as the non-verbal predicates are mono-valent. Their only argument is always cross-referenced by an Absolutive marker; the full personal pronoun is optional, as in (6) and (7). As the word order in South Eastern Huastec is rather free, these sentences have two variants:

- (5) a. na jwaan a inik
 HUM Juan A3 man
 Juan is a man. (AmE2)

- b. a inik na jwaan
 A3 Juan HUM man
 Juan is a man.

- (6) a. (xaxaa') ix k'otx-tha'
 you(pl) A2p fat-PL
 You are fat.

- b. ix k'otx-tha' (xaxaa')
 A2p fat-PL you(pl)
 You are fat.

- (7) a. (jajaa') a kwitool wik
 s/he A3 young PAST
 He was young.

- b. a kwitool wik (jajaa')
 A3 young PAST s/he
 He was young.

- (8) a. axee' i ataaj puulik (JuaArch20)
 DEM NM house big
 This house is big.
- b. puulik axee' i ataaj
 big DEM NM house
 This house is big.
- (9) u jeente ch'o'ontaal (AmCasa)
 Alp people(Sp) poor
- u jeente teenek
 Alp people(Sp) Huastec
 We are poor people, we are Huastec.

Sometimes the Absolutive marker is omitted in these constructions, especially when an adjective precedes the noun, as below in (10):

- (10) puulik an esqueela
 (AmHistSF)
 big DEF school(Sp)
 The school is big.
- (11) San Francisco alobeel
 (AmHistSF)
 San Francisco beautiful
 San Francisco is beautiful.

8.2.2 Special Cases of Nominal Predication: There are two constructions where a noun functions as a verb without any additional derivation. The first are the biactantial constructions that are employed to encode one part of kinship relations. The biactantial construction is described in detail in section 10.9.3 on Possession/Relationships in this chapter. The other construction where a noun acts as a verb without any derivation is in the construction “My name is x”:

Ergative - bij - t-Absolutive - proper name

This is another construction where a noun can be understood as functioning like a verb without being alternated by any kind of derivation (a verbaliser, for instance). A particularity of this construction is that both Ergative and Absolutive markers are present. This is the only case in HSF where both markers are present in one clause; interestingly, in this construction both the Ergative and Absolutive marker refer to the subject. The Ergative marker refers to the word **bij** *name*, and the function of the Absolutive marker is unclear (it may refer to *oneself*, but then, there is also the possibility to express *oneself* by **t-in baa'**). The meaning of this construction is something like **I name myself by my name Maria*, which stands for *My name is Maria*. (=I am named by my name Maria).

- (12) u bij t-in peedro.
 E1 name prep-A1 Pedro
 My name is Pedro.

- (13) in bij t-a inees.
 E3 name prep-A3 Ines
 Her name is Ines.

8.3 Core Arguments

Core arguments are present in an HSF basic clause as pronouns, or amalgamated in the inverse clitic, and as a noun phrase if they are third person main participants.

- (14) nanaa' in k'al-ej Wamantla.
 I A1 leave-COM Huamatla.
 I went to Huamantla. (Arch76)

- (15) tu chuuj ti plaasa.
 1>2 see.COM prep market
 I saw you at the market. (Arch126)

- (16) n-u maa in koo'-y-al juun i mixtun
 DEM-E1 Mum E3 has-TS-INC one NM cat
 My Mother has a cat. (AmE1)

In Mayan languages, in a transitive verbal complex with a 3rd person argument, the subject NP is cross-referenced by an Ergative clitic, and the object NP is cross-referenced by an Absolutive clitic. This does not happen in HSF (as mentioned in section 8.1), where a Patient is cross-referenced (by an inverse transitive agreement clitic) in a verbal complex, only if it is a SAP.

Non-core arguments in South Eastern Huastec, like agents of the passive, or secondary objects, are introduced by prepositions. More information on this is given later in this chapter (section 8.5). The non-arguments expressed as oblique NPs are not indexed in the HSF verbal complex.

8.4 Adverbs Adverbs of time, location and manner can modify the HSF predicate.

8.4.1 Adverbs of Time

kalaam *tomorrow*

- (17) a. k-u chuu'-uuxin **kalaam**
 IRR-Alp see-REC.COM tomorrow
 We will see each other tomorrow.

- b. **kalaam** k-u chuu'-uuxin
 tomorrow IRR-Alp see-REC.COM
 We will see each other tomorrow.

The adverbial can be placed clause-finally (17a.), or clause-initially (17b.). Another way of introducing the time reference, or an adverbial in general in an HSF basic clause, is the usage of an adverbial word or expression introduced by the preposition **ti**:

- a.

ti we'eel

prep yesterday

yesterday
- ti juun i semaana

prep one NM week

in one week

(18)

t'oneey n-a t'aj-a' ti we'eel

what DEM-E2 do-TS(COM) prep yesterday

What did you do yesterday? (AmDahfut96)

- b.

weje' ich

old already

in the old times

Time adverbials in HSF are often of Spanish origin:
aase muchos aanyos (Sp. hace muchos años) many years ago

Temporal reference can be encoded by a whole phrase:

(19)

an tamup naa' a taal (Dahlfut28)

DEF year REL A3 come

next year (Lit: the year that is coming)

Table 1. HSF Expressions of Time

ti wat'ey i tamup	last year
an tamup naa' a taal	next year
ni taal i tamup	next year
we'txik ich	almost
juun txutheel	next day

jikat	<i>soon</i>
baa k'ij	<i>not yet</i>
jay k'ij	<i>never</i>
chaaboos i k'ij	<i>a couple of times</i>
juun k'alel	<i>once</i>
putat an k'ij	<i>all the time</i>
naa' ti k'ij	<i>in those times</i>
iitej	<i>recently</i>
beel	<i>still</i>
taalbeel k'ij	<i>suddenly</i>
k'ij	<i>always, normally</i>
iitej k'ij	<i>short time ago</i>
weje' ich	<i>in the old times, long time ago</i>
taam k'iitxaaj/akal	<i>day/night time</i>
ok'ox ej	<i>early</i>
thajaw ej	<i>early</i>
ch'ejel k'iitxaaj	<i>mid day</i>
nakeel an akal	<i>all night</i>
taam k'ij	<i>in that moment</i>
chaptal an akal	<i>the second night</i>

- (20) **thajaw ej an t-in ej-enek a las kwaatro de la manyana**
 early PERDUR DEF R-A1 wake.up-PERF at 4 in the morning(Sp)
I woke up early, at four in the morning. (AmDahperf16)

- (21) **an treen wa kal-el chejel k'iitxaaj**
 DEF train(Sp) A3 leave-INC middle day
The train leaves at noon. (Dahfut90)

- (22) **aab-neenek nakeel an akal**
 rain-MID.PERF all DEF night
It has rained all night. (AmDahlfperf14)

- (23) **juun i tamup n-u kwitool-il**
 one NM year DEM-E1 son-POSS

ne'ech k-a inik-bej
 FUT IRR-A3 man-INCOA.COM
Next year my son will become a man. (AmArch162)

- (24) **in k'al-ej t-a k'imaa' chaab-iil**
 A1 go-COM prep-E2 home two-time
I went to your home twice. (AmArch549)

In all the above examples the time reference/expression can be placed clause-initially.

Dates are expressed as follows. The numbers are always expressed in Spanish in HSF.

a.	ti 1492	b.	t-a eneeru 1987
	prep		prep-HON January
	<i>in 1492</i>		<i>in January 1987</i>

- (25) **in wa'ch-in k'aal an primeeru n-a**
 A1 exist-MID(COM) with DEF first(Sp) DEM-HON

juuniu k'aal an tamup 1950
 June with DEF year
I was born on the first of June 1950. (AmDahl)

8.4.2 Adverbs of Location Often, location is expressed by the deictic clitics **naa'** (naja'), **nuwa'** *there*. More details on adverbs are found in the Chapter 2 on HSF Word Classes.

- (26) **naja' k'waj-at an t'eel.** (AmE1-73)
 there be-INC DEF rat
The rat is over there.

- (27) **an chitxik kwitool ne'ech t-ip atx-im nuwa' ti olip.**

DEF small boy FUT R-A3p bath-AP(INC) there prep stream
The children are going to have a bath over there in the stream. (AmE1-73)

An interesting and a very common feature of HSF is the pre- and post-verbal placement of the adverb, that is, the repetition of an adverbial of time or location before *and* after the verb:

(28) **taam** i ontx-iy ba' **taam** t-up kwach-ix
 then Ep continue-TS(COM) they then R-A3p spy-AP.COM
Then they continued spying on him. (CirCoy)

(29) **xee'** che'-en / **xee'** che'-eth.
 now grind-MID(COM) now grind-PPL
*Now it ground (*itself), it is ground.* (GoyC2-87-21)

8.4.3 Adverbs of Manner

(30)a. ... an chaam exom ti cha'-el **we'txik ti we'txik**.
 DEF snow PROGR R cover-INC little prep little
The snow was covering the land little by little. (AmDahprog55)

b. ... **we'txik ti we'txik** an chaam exom ti cha'-el
 little prep little DEF snow PROGR R cover-INC
The snow was covering the land little by little.

c an chaam **we'txik ti we'txik** exom ti cha'-el
 DEF snow little prep little PROGR R cover-INC
The snow was covering the land little by little.

The adverbs of manner can be placed clause-initially (as in 30a.) or clause-finally (as in 30b); it is perfectly grammatical, but not common, for an adverbial to be found clause-medially (30c) between the NP and the verbal complex. However, adverbials are usually not found between the elements of a verbal complex (never between a subordinator and the verb).

8.5 Oblique Constituents (Adjuncts)

Besides the core participants (intransitive subject, transitive subject, transitive object), there are several participants of an HSF clause which are non-arguments. The non-core participants in HSF can be expressed as oblique NPs introduced by a preposition. These non-core participants, expressed as oblique NPs (adjuncts) in HSF, are instrument, benefactive, and agents of passive constructions. They are introduced by the prepositions **k'aal** *with* and **baal** *for*. They have already been described in relevant chapters and are repeated here in regard with their place in an HSF basic clause.

8.5.1 Instruments It is important to point out that an instrument in HSF can be coded as a core argument. This is the case when an instrument appears as a primary object of an applicative construction. More on this can be found in chapter 7 on HSF applicative constructions.

(31)a. **nanaa' in aj-um k'aal axee' i leente.**
 I A1 read-AP(INC) with DEM NM lense(Sp)
I read with these glasses. (AmE4-64-14)

b. **k'aal axee' i leente nanaa' in aj-um .**
 with DEM NM lense(Sp) I A1 read-AP(INC)
I read with these glasses.

c. **nanaa' k'aal axee' i leente in aj-um .**
 I with DEM NM lense(Sp) A1 read-AP(INC)
I read with these glasses.

Since the word order is rather free in South Eastern Huastec, the Instrument can be placed clause-initially (31b.), or clause-finally (31a.); it is somewhat unusual, but perfectly grammatical, for an Instrument to be placed clause-medially: in (31c) it is placed between the full personal pronoun and the Absolutive personal marker.

8.5.2 Benefactive/Malefactive/Substitute (Recipient)

Recipient, like Instrument, can be expressed as a core argument (primary object) in HSF. The details about the HSF applicative constructions are found in chapter 7. Like Instruments, Recipients in South Eastern Huastec can be expressed, and very often are,

as adjuncts. An oblique NP encoding a Recipient is introduced by the preposition **baal** *for*, as exemplified in (32):

- (32)a. u t'aj-a' juun i soopa **baal na isabeel**.
 E1 make-TS(COM) one NM soup for HUM Isabel
I made some soup for Isabel. (CirE6)
- b. **baal na isabeel** u t'aj-a' juun i soopa
 for HUM Isabel E1 make-TS(COM) one NM soup
I made some soup for Isabel.
- c. u t'aj-a' **baal na isabeel** juun i soopa
 E1 make-TS(COM) for HUM Isabel one NM soup
I made some soup for Isabel.

Like Instrument, Recipient can be placed clause-finally (32a.), clause-initially (32b), or, rare but grammatical, clause-medially (32c).

8.5.3 Obliques: Agents in Passive Constructions

Agents

of passive constructions are very often expressed as adjuncts. They are introduced by the preposition **k'aal** *with, by*.

- (33) porkee jiik'-eeth-a-aj **k'aal an tecolote**
 because(Sp) frighten-CAUS-TS-PASS.COM by DEF owl
Because he was frightened by the owl. (CirR152-72)
- (34)a. ani an pik'o' paaajn-a-aj jayej
 and DEF dog chase-TS-PASS.COM him.too
- k'aal an ebath chaptxam**
 by DEF all bee
And the dog he too was chased by all the bees. (CirR152-70)
- (35)a. it chem-th-a-amej ak **k'aal babaa'**
 A2 die-CAUS-TS-PASS.PERF IRR by they
You will be killed by them. (AmE5-69)

The word order can be different: in (34b.) and (35b.) the adjunct can be placed clause-initially:

- (34b.) ani **k'aal** an ebath chaptxam
 and by DEF all bee
- an pik'o' paajn-a-aj jayej (CirR152-70)
 DEF dog chase-TS-PASS.COM him.too
- And the dog, he too was chased by all the bees.*

- (35b.) **k'aal** babaa' it chem-th-a-amej ak
 by they A2 die-CAUS-TS-PASS.PERF IRR
- You will be killed by them.* (AmE5-69)

8.5.4 Multiple Adjuncts Since applicative constructions are not obligatory in HSF, it is very common that a Recipient and an Instrument can co-exist in a clause as two oblique adjuncts. Usually, the Instrument is followed by the Recipient:

- (36)a. u jap-iy an wii'lep **k'aal** an yaawe baal na josee.
 E1 open-TS(COM) DEF door with DEF key for HUM José
- I opened the door with the key for José.* (AmE6)

8.6 Question Formation

Question formation is simple in HSF. Unlike in other Mayan languages, the structure of the clause in HSF does not change if the Agent is extracted for questioning, relativising, or negation. There is no contrast in structure between a declarative and an interrogative sentence in HSF. The structure of a sentence in a polarity question remains the same as in a declarative sentence. A question word present in a sentence triggers cleft construction, or sometimes relativisation in HSF.

8.6.1 Polarity Questions This is a case of interrogation without question words. These are questions that require an affirmative or a negative answer. Intonation

Compare the structure of the statement in (37a.) (descending intonation at the end of the clause) with the structure of the polarity question in (37b.) (rising intonation at the end of the clause):

- As seen in the examples above, the statement (37a) and the polarity question (37b) have identical structure. More examples follow:

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A polarity question in HSF can contain the negative particle **baa'** *no, not*. An affirmative or negative answer can be given to this kind of question.

- (41) **baa'** **k'waj-at** **n-a** **maa**
 no be-INC DEM-E2 Mum
Your Mum is not there? (AmE1)

- (42) **n-a** **paa'** **baa'** **k'waj-at** **t-in** **k'ima'**
 DEM-E2 father(Sp) no be-INC prep-E3 home
Your father is not at home? (IrArch29)

8.6.2 Question Formation Involving Question Words

Questions in HSF can be formed with question words, like *wh-* questions in English. Several interrogative pronouns can be used to form *wh-* questions in HSF: **tant'ooj** *what*, **t'oneey** *how*, **tamaa'** *who*, **juun** *where*, **jaatal** *when*, **jayki** *how many*. **Tamaa'** *who* triggers relativisation, and the other question words trigger the cleft construction (cleft constructions are described in more detail in section 10.10.3 of this chapter).

- (43) **tamaa'** **n-in** **koo'-oy?**
 who REL-E3 take.care-TS(COM)
Who took care of him? (AmE4-84)

- (44) **tamaa'** **n-in** **thutx-in-tx-iy** **na** **Peedru?**
 who REL-E3 write-EP-DAT-TS(COM) HUM Pedro
Who wrote to Pedro? (AmE4-84)

- (45) **tamaa'** **in** **plaatuj-il** **ni** **pujk'in?**
 who E3 plate-POSS REL fall-MID(COM)
Whose plate fell down? (AmE6)

- (46) **tamaa'** **k'aal** **an** **ti** **k'waj-at** **n-a** **paa?**
 who with DEF R be-INC DEM-E2 father
With whom is your father? (AmArch42)

(47) **t'oneey** an t-it uw-atx

what DEF R-A2 do-PPL

How are you?

(48) **jaat'al** an t-a cho'oobn-a' baal

when DEF R-E2 know.irr-TS(COM) that

nanaa' in ul-nek (Arch223)

I A1 arrive-PERF

When did you learn that I had arrived?

(49) **juun** ti k'waj-at na jwaan xuwee'

where R be-INC HUM Juan now

Where is Juan now? (Arch331)

8.7 Word Order

Word order has been treated throughout this chapter. In this section the issues that have not been described previously will be dealt with.

8.7.1 SVO with Flexibility Unlike in other languages of the family, the word order in South Eastern Huastec appears to be **SVO with flexibility**. Edmonson (1988:565) argues that the HVA word order is SV in intransitive verb clauses, and SVO in transitive verb clauses. The most common, unmarked word order in HSF appears to be SVO. However, VOS and OVS (and sometimes VSO) are also possible, and present throughout the HSF corpus. The following example illustrates the three possibilities, although (50a.) and (50b.) are identified by the native speakers as the most acceptable; (50c.) is not very common, but still perfectly grammatical.

(50) a. na beatriis in koo'-y-al juun i mixtun **SVO**

HUM Beatriz E3 have-TS-INC one NM cat

Beatriz has got a cat.

b. juun i mixtun in koo'-y-al na beatriis **OVS**

one NM cat E3 have-TS-INC HUM Beatriz

Beatriz has got a cat.

- c. in koo'-y-al juun i mixtun na beatriis VOS
 E3 have-TS-INC one NM cat HUM Beatriz
Beatriz has got a cat. (CirE6-12)

The free placement of the subject and object in (50) is possible partly because of the 'natural state of the things' as, for example, a cat cannot possess Beatriz; (50b.) is an instance of a free word order (it is not a case of topicalisation; topicalisation would be expressed by clefting or relativisation; see further in this chapter, section 8.10.3 on clefts).

The following example illustrates the same phenomenon. All the combinations below (51 a.,b.,c.,d.) are possible because of the 'natural state of the things'; an interpretation like '*I gave a man to some money*' would not make sense.

- (51) a. u pith-a' i meeluj juun i inik SVOO
 E1 give-TS(COM) NM money one NM man
I gave some money to a man. (CirE6-11)
- b. u pith-a' juun i inik i meeluj SVOO
 E1 give-TS(COM) one NM man NM money
I gave some money to a man.
- c. i meeluj u pith-a' juun i inik OSVO
 NM money E1 give-TS(COM) one NM man
I gave some money to a man.
- d. juun i inik u pith-a' i meeluj OSVOO
 one NM man E1 give-TS(COM) NM money
I gave some money to a man.

When both Subject and Object are 3rd person humans, SVO is the only possibility to avoid ambiguity, as exemplified in (52).

- (52) a. naa' i inik in exl-a-al an kwitool
 DEM NM man E3 know-TS-INC DEF boy
That man knows the boy. (AmE1-61)

- b. an kwitool in exl-a-al naa' i inik
 DEF boy E3 know-TS-INC DEM NM man
The boy knows that man. (AmE1-61)

However, in context, or focusing the object by putting the intonational stress on it, both SVO and OVS are fine in examples like (52). The following examples show the word order in a clause with a **ditransitive verb**. There are three participants, that change their syntactic roles depending on the construction of the clause. In (53a) **na maarta** *Marta* is subject, **i aroos** *some rice* is object, and **nin mamaa** *her Mum* oblique. In (53b) the applicative construction has changed the syntactic roles of the participants. but not, of course, their semantic roles: **na maarta** *Marta* is still the Agent, **ti aroos** *some rice* is still Theme, but now expressed obliquely, and **nin mamaa** *her Mum* Recipient, is now a direct object.

- (53)a. na maarta in ch'a'-y-al i aroos baal n-in mamaa
 HUM Marta E3 buy-TS-INC NM rice(Sp) for DEM-E3 mother
Marta buys rice for her mother. (AmE5-37)

- b. na maarta in ch'a'-tx-iy-al ti aroos n-in mamaa
 HUM Marta E3 buy-DAT-TS-INC prep rice(Sp) DEM-E3 mother
Marta buys her mother (some) rice. (AmE5-37)

In (54) the Recipient can precede the Theme (oblique):

- (54) na maarta in ch'a'-tx-iy-al na kaarla ti aroos
 HUM Marta E3 buy-DAT-TS-INC HUM Carla prep rice(Sp)
Marta buys rice for Carla. (AmE5-37)

The following example is a very interesting illustration of the HSF word order:

V-Oblique-S-Oblique-Oblique

- (55)a. lew-tx-in t-in baasuj-il juun i inik
 pour-Applic-MID(COM) prep-E3 glass-POSS one NM man
 ti ja' k'aal juun i txithan

prep water by one NM girl

A man was poured water into his glass by a girl. (CirTr34)

The following word order is also perfectly correct (b.): **S-V-Oblique-Oblique-Oblique**; both obliques of this example can be placed clause-initially (c: **Obl-Obl-S-V-Obl**; d: **Obl-S-V-Obl-Obl**):

- b. juun i inik lew-tx-in t-in baasuj-il
 one NM man pour-DAT-MID(COM) prep-E3 glass-POSS

ti ja' k'aal juun i txithan
 prep water by one NM girl

A man was poured water into his glass by a girl.

- c. t-in baasuj-il ti ja' juun i inik lew-tx-in
 prep-E3 glass-POSS prep water one NM man pour-DAT-MID(COM)

k'aal juun i txithan
 by one NM girl

A man was poured water into his glass by a girl.

- d. k'aal juun i txithan juun i inik lew-tx-in
 by one NM girl one NM man pour-DAT-MID(COM)

t-in baasuj-il ti ja'
 prep-E3 glass-POSS prep water

A man was poured water into his glass by a girl.

The only cases of a **post-positional use of an HSF preposition** are when **k'aal** *with/by* refers to:

- a. an oblique focused by clefting or relativisation (see ex. (46) as well):

(56) t'oneey k'aal an t-a t'aj-n-al an bakan

what with DEF R-A3 make-MID-INC DEF tortilla

What are the tortillas made from? (AmArch173)

- (57) **jaach an chikam kwitool naa' k'aal**
it DEF little boy REL with

t-in kaw-in ti we'eel
R-A1 talk-MID(COM) prep yesterday

This is the boy I talked to yesterday.

- b.** introduces a passive agent (meaning *by*):

- (58) **an inik in chem-th-a' an pik'o' ninaa'**
DEF man E3 die-CAUS-TS(COM) DEF dog REL

k'aal exom ti k'at-w-aap (Arch492)

with PROGR R bite-TS-PASS.INC

The man killed the dog that was biting him.

On the basis of all that has been shown above, the Huastecan languages appear to be SVO languages with high flexibility of the constituents. SVO word order is not very common in Mesoamerica; Mayan languages are normally verb-initial, as well Totonacan and Nahuatl; some Mixe-Zoquean are verb-final. If the Huastecan languages have had a strong influence from Mixe-Zoquean languages (those with a verb-final word order), perhaps that is the reason why they appear to now be half way between the verb-initial Mayan and (towards) the verb-final Mixe-Zoquean.

8.8 Negation

Negation is simple in HSF. The negative particle **baa'** *no, not* is employed to negate the entire clause, or a part of it, without causing any syntactic changes. It is always placed before the word, or the part of a clause, that it is negating.

- (59) **baa' u exb-ay-al**
 (IrE1)

no E1 understand-TS-INC

I do not understand.

- (60) tataa' baa' a koo'-y-al juun i baaka
you no E2 have-TS-INC one NM cow(Sp)?
You do not have a cow? (IrE1)

- (61) taam t-in witx-iy ti ataaj baa' k'waj-at n-u paa
when R-A1 return-COM prep home no be-INC DEM-E1 father
When I came back home my father wasn't there. (AmE4-26)

Phrasal negation is somewhat unusual in HSF. A sentence like *It is not shoes that I bought, but a new blouse* would normally be expressed by an HSF native speaker as *I did not buy shoes, I bought a new blouse*. The following examples, however, were obtained by elicitation:

- (62) juun i mixtun n-in koo'-y-al na Isabeel/ baa' juun i pik'o'
one NM cat REL-E3 have-TS-INC HUM Isabel no one NM dog
Isabel has a cat, not a dog. (Lit: It is a cat that Isabel has, not a dog.) (AmE6-T)

- (63) baa' jaach an baaka naa' in nuj-uw na luuis
no it DEF cow REL E3 sell-TS(COM) HUM LUIS
It is not the cow that Luis sold. (CirE6)

8.9 HSF Equative Constructions: Encoding Kinship/Relationship

The issues of possession and relationships are extremely complex in South Eastern Huastec. They remain open for more research. There are two detailed studies of possession (Maldonado 1994) and relationship (Zavala 1994) constructions in Huastec of San Luis Potosí, and comparing them to HSF helps to understand the issue. However, the situation in HSF still looks somewhat different.

8.9.1. Relationship Constructions with 3rd Person Possessum If a 3rd person singular/plural is ‘possessed,’ the equative construction consists of a (pro)noun, plus ergative marker, and a noun as a predicate. The 3rd person sg/pl is marked zero when it is an object.

pronoun/noun + Erg + noun

- (64) a. jajaa’ a atk’imaath
 s/he E2 neighbour
 S/he is your neighbour. (Lit: You “neighbour” him/her)
- c. wawaa’ i atk’imaath ja’
 we Ep neighbour s/he
 We are his/her neighbours. (Lit: We “neighbour” him).

The kinship words function the same way:

- (65) a. tataa’ a eebaal (AmE6-69)
 you E2 sibling
 You are his/her sibling. (Lit: You “sibling” him/her).
- b. jajaa’ a eebaal.
 s/he E2 sibling
 S/he is your sibling. (Lit: You “sibling” him/her.)

8.9.2 Biactantial Constructions The above examples illustrate the biactantial construction. This construction is typologically very interesting, because a kinship/relationship noun here functions as verbal predicate. These terms act as a verb without any derivation/verbaliser. As seen in the above examples, the nouns **atk’imaath** *neighbour* and **eebaal** *sibling* function as verbs. These constructions are called “biactantial” (Zavala 2006), as the noun functioning as a verb is ‘acting’ two ways: *you ‘brother’ him* and *he ‘brothers’ you* refer in fact, to the same relationship: you are a brother to him, and he is also a brother to you. This construction in South Eastern Huastec has the same person marking as a transitive construction, where the subject is marked Ergatively. The interesting fact here is that the role of the

verb is played by a noun without any derivation/verbaliser. A noun is found in this function in HSF in this kinship/relationship domain only.

These kinship and relationship constructions are non-verbal equative constructions, where the function of the verb is carried out by a noun without a verbaliser. This kind of construction in world languages has been researched for some time. Contrastive typological studies have been carried out on Australian languages (Evans 2000) and on Nahuatl by Amith & Smith-Stark (1994). A particularly detailed study of this phenomenon in Mesoamerica has been done by Zavala (2006), in “Construcciones possessivas biactanciales en oluteco,” (in *encuentro internacional de Linguística en el Noroeste, Hermosillo, Sonora, UniSon*, p. 353-377). The discussion about the lexical status of these ‘nouns-verbs’ is particularly interesting. South Eastern Hustec, like Australian languages and Iroquoian, as reported in Evans (2000) and Smith-Stark (1994), use kinship/relationship nouns in verbal functions without any kind of derivation.

This is also a common practice in Mesoamerican languages, as illustrated in the following examples: (66) from Nahuatl de Oapan, (Amith and Smith-Stark 1994: 347), and (67) from Cora de Presidio de los Reyes (data by Vázquez, from Zavala 2006: 362).

(66) ni-mo-naan
Nahuatl 1sgS-2sgPSR-mother
 I am your mother.

(67) ne-ra-téih
Cora 1sgS-3sgOP-aunt
 I am your aunt.

8.9.3 Encoding Aspect/Tense with Biactantial Constructions There are two ways of encoding aspect/tense with these constructions. One is to encode the past by the clitic **wik**, which is used for the following purposes with non-verbal predicates:

- a) usage of the clitic **wik** PAST

(68) a. nanaa' u atk'imaath na Laaura
 I E1 neighbour HUM Laura
 I am Laura's neighbour. (CirE1-58b)

b. nanaa' u atk'imaath **wik** na Laaura
 I E1 neighbour PAST HON Laura
 I was Laura's neighbour.

(69) a. na jwaan in iniik-al na mariia
 HON Juan E3 lover-POSS HON Maria
 Juan is Maria's lover. (AmE6-50)

b. na jwaan in iniik-al **wik** na mariia
 HON Juan E3 lover-POSS PAST HON Maria
 Juan was Maria's lover. (AmE6-50)

b) The other way is to use the **verbaliser -n** (instrumental) and turn the noun into a full verb, as exemplified in (70):

(70) nanaa' u atk'imaath-n-a' na Laaura
 I E1 neighbour-VERBL/INSTR-TS(COM) HON Laura
 I was Laura's neighbour. (Lit: I "neighbourised" Laura.)

8.9.4 Equative Kinship/Relationship Construction with 1, 2 Person Possessum

When a 1st or a 2nd person singular or plural is possessed, the construction changes. The South Eastern Huastec 1, 2>3 person hierarchy operates in these relationship constructions. This construction, which encodes the kinship/relationship with 1st or 2nd person, involves the HSF transitive agreement marker (inverse marker). As the inverse (transitive agreement) markers are highly homophonous, often the possessum is repeated as a full personal pronoun. These types of constructions are as follows:

pro(noun) - Transitive Agreement Marker - relationship term

a) Possessor and Possessum are both 1st or 2nd erson sg/pl:

- (71) wawaa' tuxu exlomnawaal (ni xaxaa')
 we 1p>2p friend REL you.p
We are your friends. (Lit: We "befriend" you.) (AmE6)

- (72) a. tataa' tu eebaal
 you 1>2 sibling
You are my brother/sister. (Lit: I "sibling" you.) (AmE6)

This same relationship is encoded in the following two constructions:

- b. nanaa' tin eebaal
 I 2>1 sibling
I am your brother/sister. (Lit: You "sibling" me.) (AmE6)
- c. nanaa' tu e'ebaal
 I 1>2 sibling
I am your sibling. (Lit: I "sibling" you.)
- (73) tataa' tu kwitool-il (AmE6)
 you 1>2 son-POSS
You are my son. (Lit: I 'son' you.)
- (74) nanaa' tu papaa' (Am E6)
 I 1>2 father
I am your father. (Lit: I 'father' you.)

b) Possessor is the 3rd Person singular or plural

- (75) jajaa' tixi juunik ich (ni xaxaa')
 s/he 3>2p friend already DEM you.p
He is your friend.
- (76) na Pablo tixi tiyu
 HUM Pablo 3>2p uncle

You are Pablo's uncles.

(Lit: Pablo "uncles" you, "Pablo has you as uncles".)

In his study of Huastec inverse alignment, Zavala explains how this functions in San Luis Potosí Huastec (Zavala 1994: 76): "The *direct* possessive structure is selected when the person of the possessor is closer to the speaker than the person of the possessum or when both are third person. On the contrary, an *inverse* possessive construction is chosen when the person of the possessum is closer to the speaker than the person of the possessor." This is found in the South Eastern Huastec too. The following pairs of examples illustrate this phenomenon:

- (77) a. tataa' a sobriinu na jesuus (AmE6-69)
 you E2 cousin HUM Jesús
 Is Jesús your cousin? (Lit: Do you cousin Jesús?)

- b. na jesuus ti tiyu
 HUM Jesús 3>2 uncle(Sp)
 You are Jesús' uncle.
 (Jesús has you as an uncle). = Jesus "uncles" you.

However, in South Eastern Huastec both of these constructions (direct and inverse) have been attested:

- (78) a. na isabeel tin tiiyu.
 HUM Isabel 3>1 uncle(Sp)
 I am Isabel's uncle.
 (Isabel uncles me).

- b. nanaa' in tiiyu-laap k'aal na isabeel.
 I A1 uncle(Sp)-ABS with HUM Isabel
 I am Isabel's uncle.

- (79) a. jajaa' n-a paa
 s/he DEM-A2 father
 He is your father.

- b. jajaa' ti paa
 s/he 3>2 father
He fathers you. =he is your father.

8.9.5 Kinship/Relationship Construction Involving Preposition k'aal

Below is another way to encode relationship in South Eastern Huastec:

(pro)noun - Abs - kinship term-generic - prep k'aal - (pro)noun

- (80) babaa' ip eebaal-laap k'aal na jwaan (AmE6-69)
 they A3p sibling-GEN with HUM Juan
They are Juan's siblings. (Lit: They are siblings with Juan)

- (81) nanaa' in tiy-e-laap k'aal na jesuus.
 I A1 uncle(Sp)-EP-GEN with HON Jesus
I am Jesús's uncle. (AmE6-70)

As mentioned above, the HSF way of encoding possession and relationship is open for more research in the future.

8.10 HSF Focusing Strategies and Cleft Constructions

In general, in Mayan languages, Focusing and Topicalisation use a special morphology. All the Mayan languages except Huastecan have a rather rigid word order; most of Mayan languages are generally predicate-initial (Aissen 1992), VOS, or sometimes VSO (which is regarded as an innovation in Mayan languages, according to England 1989). When a noun phrase is put in clause-initial position, it is clearly a focused argument. According to Norman (1977), noun phrases move before the verb in Focus (cleft constructions) and Topic: the Focus is preverbal, and Topic is sentence-initial. The SOV word order represents a topicalised subject and a focalised object; the OSV word order represents a topicalised object and a focalised subject.

Focusing and Topicalisation strategies are different across Mayan languages. In Tsotsil, cleft constructions are used for Focalisation; Topicalisation has a different strategy: the

particle *a* precedes the Topic (which is almost always definite); the topic is closed by enclitic *-e*. This means that Topic and Focus in Mayan languages are clearly identified by the morphology they employ. In HSF the situation is different. At this time it seems that there is no special strategy for Topicalisation in HSF, except the sentence-initial position, and there is no particular morphology employed. However, this issue needs more research. In the following sections, HSF Focusing strategies are described.

8.10.1 HSF Strategies for Focalisation

Below are the means for encoding information structure in HSF: prosodic (intonation, stress), morphological (morphological marking of focused arguments or predicates) and syntactic (designed position):

- word order
- clefts or relativisation
- equative construction **jaach** + NP

HSF employs relativisation (one form of HSF clefting) as a strategy for focusing on arguments:

a. Focus on Subject of Intransitive Clause

- (82) nanaa' n-in ul-nek
 I REL-A1 arrive-PERF
It is I who arrived. (AmE6-T)

b. Focus on Subject of Transitive Clause

- (83) nanaa' n-u ch'a-iy an maango
 I REL-E1 buy-TS(COM) DEF mango
It was I who bought the mango.

- (84) jaach axee' i pik'o' ni k'ap-uuch an t-u kwit'aa-il
 it DEM NM dog REL eat-AP.COM DEF prep-E1 chicken-POSS
It was this dog who ate my chicken. (AmE6-T)

c. Focus on Object

- (85) jaach an maango naa' u ch'a-iy
 it DEF mango REL E1 buy-TS(COM)

It is a mango that I bought. (AmE6-T)

- (86) baa' jaach an baaka naa' in nuj-uw na luuis
 no it DEF cow REL E3 sell-TS(COM) HUM LUIS

It is not the cow that Luis sold. (CirE6)

Focusing on adjuncts, such as place, time, and manner NPs, requires a different HSF cleft construction (a construction with **an t-**, which is described in section 8.10.3 of this chapter), as shown in following examples:

d. Focus on Adjunct

- (87) naa' ti kapiiya taa' [an ti tomk-in.] (PetC1-105-14)
 DEM prep chapel there DEF R marry-MID(COM)

He married in that chapel. (=In that chapel, there he got married)

- (88) baa' ja' tee' [an ti k'waj-at] (PetC1-106-23)
 no s/he here DEF R be-INC

(S/he) is not here. = (Lit: It is not here where she is.)

e Focus on Time

- (89) thamuul ich [an t-in witx-iy]
 late already DEF R-A1 return-COM

It was already late when I came back. (FilC1-1-10)

- (90) thajaw ej [an t-in ej-enek], a las 4 de la mañana
 early PERDUR DEF R-A1 wake-PERF / at 4 in the morning(Sp)

It was early when I woke up, at four in the morning. (AmDperf16)

f. Focus on Manner

- (91) jajaa' bel-al [an ti txi'-ich.] (Arch404)
 S/he walk-INC DEF R come-COM

He came walking. (Lit: It was by walking that he came.)

- (92) juun i inik kut-uul [an ti aj-um] (Tr2)
 one NM man sit-POSIT DET R read-AP(INC)

A man is sitting reading. (Lit: It is sitting that this man is reading.)

8.10.2 HSF Word Order and Information Structure In South Eastern Huastec, pronouns appear to have a tendency to topicalise. A focused noun phrase is often placed clause-initial, as shown in (93b), as contrasted with a non-marked word order in (93a):

- (93)a. juun i uxum in ch'a-iy juun i maango
 one NM woman E3 buy-TS(COM) one NM mango

A woman bought a mango. (AmE6-T)

- b. juun i maango in ch'a-iy juun i uxum
 one NM mango E3 buy-TS(COM) one NM woman

A woman bought a mango.

8.10.3 HSF Clefts This issue is very complex and needs more attention, but at the moment it seems that there are two types of clefts in HSF: one is the previously-mentioned relative construction as in examples (82) through (88) above. Another is the construction that is described in this section. It involves the determinant **an**, and the realis subordinator **t-**. It is extremely frequent in the corpus. This construction is similar to the Yucatecan cleft construction (Kugler & Skopeteas & Verhoven 2007), and Jacaltec adverbial constructions (Craig 1978). This construction has not been attested in other Huastecan languages. As HSF is considered a rather conservative language, this construction could be a reflex from Proto-Mayan. The structure of this type of HSF cleft is as follows:

DEF – Realis t - Erg/Abs clitic - verb

These clefts are introduced by determiner **an** *the*, which, in HSF, always precedes the noun; however, this determiner, **an**, is placed before a verb here (which suggests nominalisation). It can occur with all types of verbs, as well as all aspects and voices. Although it is still not very clear how this construction functions in South Eastern Huastec, it is obligatory after question words (94a. and b.), adverbials, and all other

words that need any kind of complementation (late = *it was late when*). There is a restriction: it never occurs after the relative clitic, **xoo'n**, or the demonstrative, **n-**.

- (94)a. **juun** [**an** **ti** **k'waj-at** **na** **jwaan** **xuwee'**]
 where DEF R be-INC HUM Juan now
Where is Juan now? (Arch31)

- b. **tuwa'** **wamantla** [**an** **ti** **k'waj-at**]
 there Huamantla DEF R be-INC
Is he there in Huamantla? (Arch33)

Below is the list of adverbial words that require the construction **an t-** :

inchana'	<i>this way, so, like that</i>
jaach, jaachtaam	<i>therefore</i>
jaat'al	<i>when</i>
jee'	<i>here</i>
max	<i>if, whether</i>
ninaa'	<i>those who</i>
nitii'	<i>why</i>
taam	<i>when</i>
tamaa'	<i>who</i>
taa', tee'	<i>there</i>
tant'ooj	<i>what</i>
t'oneey	<i>how</i>
thamuul	<i>early</i>

- (95) **ani** **inchana'** [**an** **t-i** **uw-a-al**] (AmC1-136-79)
 and that.way DEF R-Ep make-TS-INC
And we do it this way. = And it is this way that we do it.

- (96) **taam** [**an** **ti** **ne'ech** **k-a** **pax-k'-iy-at** **ich** **juniil**]
 then DEF R FUT IRR-A3 close-DM-TS-PASS.COM already again.
Then it (the box) is closed again. (AmC1-138-93)

- (97) **koomo** **jaach** **baayej** [**an** **ti** **wat'-a-al**] (AmDescr)

as(Sp) it they.too DEF R-Ep maintain-TS-INC

an t-up nuuj-ul tant'ooj an k-in el-a'.]
 DEF R-A3p sell-AP(INC) whatever DEF IRR-E3 find-TS(COM)
(It looks like) they maintain themselves by selling anything she finds.

(98) **jaat'al [an t-a cho'oob-n-a' [baal**
 when DEF R-E2 know-INSTR-TS(COM) that

nanaa' in ul-nek]] (Arch223)
 I A1 arrive-PERF
When did you learn that I had arrived?

(99) **t'oneey k'aal [an t-u koo'-y-al k-u kot-oy an pasteel?]**
 what with DEF R-E1 have-TS-INC IRR-E1 cut-TS(COM) DEF cake(Sp)
What am I supposed to cut the cake with? (CirE5)

(100) **tamaa' [an ti thaj-an-th-a']**
 who DEF R cry-LNK-CAUS-TS(COM)
Who made you cry? (AmE5)

In the majority of Mayan languages (except in Chol and Tseltalan languages), making questions triggers the usage of the antipassive (called Agentive Voice in Mayan linguistics, and Structural Antipassive by some authors (Cooremann 1993, for instance)). According to Aissen (1992: 63), the general property of focus verbs in Mayan is that they can carry only absolutive affixes, and not the ergative ones; therefore, the focus verbs are morphologically intransitive. There is an extensive literature on focus verbs, which includes Smith Starck 1978, Craig 1979, Aissen 1980, Ayres 1983, Dayley 1990, Larsen 1987, Davies & Sam-Colop 1990. In HSF, making questions triggers clefting, as illustrated in (98), (99), (100).

Cleft constructions with depictive semantics are described in Chapter 9 on Complex Predication, in section 9.2 on Depictives.

8.10.4 Another Function of the HSF **an t-** Clefts: Construction **an t-** Introduces a Subordinate Clause

The use of a determiner or a demonstrative as a subordinator is quite common; here the HSF determiner **an** *the* has the role of a subordinator, as it introduces a subordinate clause (that is, the determiner **an** supports the subordinator **t-**).

a) Purpose clauses introduced by **an t-**

(101) in **k'al-el** [**an t-in** aal-im tool]

A1 go-COM DEF R-A1 search-AP(INC) fish

I went looking for fish. (PauC2-98-10)

(102) ip **jun-k-un-al** yaneel an jeente [**an t-ip** koo'].

A3p gather-DM-MID-INC many DEF people(Sp) DEF R-A3p vigil.INC

A lot of people gather to vigil. (AmC1-132-36)

b) Temporal clauses introduced by **an t-**

In the following examples, *at bathing*, *at 13*, *at being found*, etc., are subordinate clauses; in these cases, the construction **an t-** introduces a subordinate clause that can be interpreted as temporal: *at bathing* = *when we bathe*, *at 13* = *when I was 13 years old*, etc. In these sentences, the clause introduced by the construction **an ti-** is an unmarked subordinate clause, not a focus construction. The only possible reading is with inferred temporal meaning:

(103) u **koo'-y-al** 13 anyos [**an t-u** **tuj-uw**

E1 have-TS-INC 13 years(Sp) DEF R-E1 start-TS(COM)

t-in t'oj-on-th-aap.] (BeC1-111-1)

R-A1 work-MID-CAUS-PASS.INC

I was 13 when I started working for a wage.

(104) ani in **koo'-y-al** ich i ebath chitxik

and E3 have-TS-INC already MN all small

chikaam-il [**an ti** el-a'.] (CirR157-126)

children-POS DEF R find-TS(COM)
(She) already had all those little kids when they found her.

(105) baal baa' k-u chuu't-at
for no IRR-A1p sec-PASS.COM

[an t-u atx-im.] (MarcC2-175)
DEF R-A1pl bath-AP(INC)
So that we are not seen when we have a bath.

This topic remains open for an extensive research in the future.

Chapter 9

Complex Predication: Auxiliaries and Depictives

There are two constructions of complex predicates in HSF that represent syntactic mono-clausality. According to Butt (2010: 13), complex predicates are mono-clausal structures “involving two or more predicating morphemes.” As mentioned above, South Eastern Huastec has two types of complex predicates: first, the construction with auxiliary particles **exom** for progressivity, and **ne’ech** for future/habitual. The second type uses secondary predication constructions of depictives. These complex predication constructions are described in this chapter.

9.1 HSF Auxiliaries

South Eastern Huastec demonstrates two strategies for auxiliation. Firstly, a **complex predicative construction** with auxiliary verb **exom** for progressivity and **ne’ech** for future/habitual; secondly, a **particular complementation construction** with full verbs **k’waj-** *be* and **xe’ech** *go*, which denote progressivity, and require a complementation construction (bi-clausal construction). Both constructions have are mentioned in Chapter 3 on Verbal Morphology, sections 3.10.4 and 3.10.5; they are described with much more detail in this chapter.

9.1.1 Complex predication with **exom** and **ne'ech**

As mentioned in Chapter 3 on Verbal Morphology, there are four verbs with auxiliary semantics in HSF. Two of them have been grammaticalised into particles and form canonical auxiliary constructions (complex mono-clausal predicates):

- **exom** PROGR
- **ne'ech** FUT/HAB

9.1.1.1 Auxiliary Verb **exom** (glossed PROGR)

The auxiliary verb **exom** PROGR is always in its incomplete form. It denotes an action in progress. Its origin is unclear. The structure of the predicate with the auxiliary verb **exom** looks like following:

- **exom** – Erg person marker – full verb
- **exom** – R/IRR **t-** - Abs person marker – full verb

a) **exom**- Erg- verb

- a. **exom u lejk-iy-al an cha'axlaap**
PROGR E1 prepare-TS-INC DEF dinner
I am making dinner.

- b. **xaxaa' exom i aytx-iy-al an autobus**
you(pl) PROGR Ep wait-TS-INC DEF bus(Sp)
You are waiting for the bus.

- (1) **na mariia exom in way-th-a-al an chikam**
HUM María PROGR E3 sleep-CAUS-TS-INC DEF child
Maria is putting the child to sleep. (Arch358)

b) **exom-t-Abs-verb**

The verb **exom** occurs with the Realis subordinator **t-** (and never the irrealis subordinator **k-**) when is it followed by an Absolutive marker. This does not happen if the verb **exom** is followed by the

Ergative marker. This suggests that the usage of the subordinator **t-** is with intransitive verbs only. At present I cannot offer an explanation for this phenomenon.

- a. **exom t-in ch'itxb-an-al** b. **exom t-it aj-um**
 PROGR R-A1 comb-MID-INC PROGR R-A2 read-AP(INC)
I am combing (myself). *You are reading.*

- c. **xaxaa' exom t-ix way-al**
 you(pl) PROGR R-A2p sleep-INC
You are sleeping.

The full verb in this construction is always in its incomplete form, as exemplified in the following:

- (2) **an bitxim exom ti aath-il**
 DEF horse PROGR R run-AP(INC)
The horse is running. (AmArch393)

- (3) **exom t-in way-al**
 PROGR R-A1 sleep-INC
I am sleeping. (IrArch179)

- (4) **exom ti aab-n-al**
 PROGR R rain-MID-INC
It is raining. (AmArch171)

In the following example, the clitic **ich** is placed between **exom** and the main verb, which is very uncommon:

- (5) **jwaan exom ich ti t'oj-n-al**
 Juan PROGR already R work-MID-INC
Juan is already working. (Arch329)

To convey the progressivity of an action in the past, the particle **wik** is used:

- (6) **an pik'o' exom wik in k'at-w-al an inik**
 DEF dog PROGR PASS E3 bite-ST-INC DEF man
The dog was biting the man. (AmArch491)

9.1.1.2 Auxiliary Verb ne'ech FUT/HAB

This auxiliary verb is a grammaticalised form of the verb **ne'ech** *go*. For more information, see the detailed study of Huastec verbs of movement by Zavala (2002). The meaning of this auxiliary verb is future and habitual.

Future/habitual: aux + ti/ka + V-INC/COM

a. Future The future in South Eastern Huastec is expressed by a grammaticalised verb of movement, **ne'ech** *go*. This is the only way of expressing future in HSF. There is no morphological way of encoding future events; a periphrastic construction with the auxiliary verb **ne'ech** is the only way this language encodes future events.

Its complement can be in completive or incomplete aspect. Complements that occur with **ne'ech** can have two different **complementisers**, namely **t-** or **k-**, depending on the aspect or the nature of the future action. If the complement is in an incomplete aspect it will bear the Realis complementiser/subordinator **t-** (glossed R); if the complement is in a completive aspect, the Irrealis complementiser/subordinator **k-** (glossed IRR) will be used.

There is another subtlety regarding the usage of these subordinators and their function of encoding the future: “The temporal set **t-** is used when the reported event does not have clearly cut temporal boundaries and the action is relevant to the present; **t-** but not **k-** is used in the two forms of the progressive”; “temporal set **k-** is used when the temporal frame of the event has more defined beginning or ending point, and the event is not relevant to the present” (Zavala 1994: 55).

- (7) **ne'ech t-in koy-ol**
FUT R-A1 relax-AP(INC)
I am going to relax (from now on).

- (8) **ne'ech k-in koy-ooch**
FUT IRR-A1 relax-AP.COM
I will relax (in the future).

The irregular verb **ne'ech** *go* has grammaticalised to mean future and habitual (see more details in Zavala's 2002 article on verbs of movement in Huastec), but there are still several examples of its usage as a full verb:

ne'ech *ich* *na'*
 go.INC already I
I am leaving (a greeting).

- (9) *max it* **ne'ech**, *k-a* *jik'at-n-a'* *k'ij*
 if A2 go.INC / IRR-E2 hurry-INSTR-TS(COM) INT
If you are going, (then) hurry up (with it)! (AmArch559)

The verb **ne'ech** *go* can occur with both subordinators (**t-** and **k-**) in its auxiliary function:

a) **With the Realis Complementiser/Subordinator t-**

- (10) **ne'ech** **t-in** *t'oj-n-al* *juniil*
 FUT R-1A work-MID-INC again
I am going to work again. (AmArch328)

b) **With the Irrealis Complementiser/Subordinator k-** Because this Irrealis complementiser/ subordinator is used with an action that has not yet happened, or is expected in the future (not certain when it will happen), it is called the irrealis subordinator in this grammar. In this case, the complement verb is in its completive aspect.

- (11) **ne'ech** **k-it** *t'oj-on* *kalaam*
 FUT IRR-2A work-MID(COM) tomorrow
Will you work tomorrow? (AmArch327)

- (12) **ne'ech** *ich* **k-a** *aab-an.*
 FUT already IRR-A3 rain-MID.INC
It will rain. (AmDahfut47)

- (13) **ne'ech** *xee'* **k-u** *lejk-iy* *an* *k'ooyej*
 FUT now IRR-E1 prepare-TS(COM) DEF dough
I will prepare the dough now. (VerV1-1-5-1)

The following is an interesting example with several subordinations, with both **t-** and **k-**:

- (14) xuwee' t-a k'iitxaaaj pues ne'ech t-in tojoj-ool
 today prep-HON day then(Sp) FUT R-A1 cook-AP(INC)

taam k-in ok'-oy t-in kalm-ax
 when IRR-E1 finish-TS(COM) R-A1 make.lunch-AP(INC)

ne'ech t-in paak'-um
 FUT R-A1 wash-AP(INC)

ne'ech k-u jay-un-th-a' ok'-ox
 FUT IRR-E1 have.lunch-EP-CAUS-TS(COM) first

naa' i aluumnu ne'ech k-up ul-ich
 REL NM pupils(Sp) FUT IRR-A3pl come-COM

*Today I am going to cook, when I finish cooking I am going to wash,
 I am going to feed first the pupils who come.* (Conv1-04-8)

b. ne'ech as Habitual

The grammaticalised verb **ne'ech** *go* in its auxiliary function, is also used to encode habitual actions. This verb is glossed HAB in this function. Native speakers of South Eastern Huastec translate it into Spanish with *siempre* (English *always*).

- (15) txuthey ka txuthey ne'ech ich t-in t'oj-on-th-a-ap
 day to day HAB already R-A1 work-EP-CAUS-TS-PASS.INC
Every day I used to go to work. (VerC1-112-17)

It is used to express habitual, like constructions with the adverb *always* in English, or *siempre* in Spanish, or as our consultants put it, *ponerse a soler*. The auxiliary verb **ne'ech** is used with the particle **wik** to denote 'past habitual.'

It is interesting that in the following examples the personal marker is placed before **ne'ech**; that is, the verb and the cross-referenced personal marker are separated by

ne'ech HAB (Sp *siempre* = *always*); this is one of the rare cases when the personal marker and the verb are separated.

- (16) babaa' ip **ne'ech** kul-beel ba'
 they A3pl HAB happy-INC.HOA.INC they
They are always happy. (AmE1-68)

- (17) in **ne'ech** t'oj-n-al
 A1 HAB work-MID-INC
I always work. (AmE2-82-1)

- (18) na jesuus wa **ne'ech** k'al-el ti eskweela.
 HUM Jesus A3 HAB go-INC prep school(Sp)
Jesus always goes to school. (AmE2-82-3)

- (19) n-u paa **ne'ech** k'waj-at tee' an ti ataaj.
 DEM-E1 father(Sp) HAB be-INC here DEF prep home
My father is always at home. (AmArch39)

Sometimes the meaning of habitual (*always*) is expressed by both the Spanish *siempre* and the HSF **ne'ech**, as if the Spanish *siempre* is used as a kind of reinforcement of the native word **ne'ech**. In the following example, the Spanish word *siempre* (*always*) is placed in the focus position, at the beginning of the clause:

- (20) **siempre** ip **ne'ech** ul-el an uungara
 always(Sp) A3p HAB arrive-INC DEF gypsy(Sp)
The gypsies always used to come. (AmC2-3-3)

9.1.2 HSF Complement Constructions of Auxiliary Semantics

The second strategy of auxiliation in HSF discussed here is the complementation construction, with the verbs **k'waj-** *be* and **xe'ech** *go*, which have the auxiliary semantics of progressivity. The auxiliary complementation constructions are marked Absolutively in HSF. This makes these auxiliary complementation constructions different from the other case of HSF complementation constructions,

which are marked ergatively in South Eastern Huastec, as canonical transitive constructions (these constructions are discussed in Chapter 10 on Complementation).

Apart from the verb **exom** that participates in complex verbal predication, these two HSF verbs that encode progressivity, namely **k'waj-** *be*, and **xe'ech** *go*, require a complementation construction. They are inflected for aspect and person, and therefore represent a construction of complementation. Constructions with the verbs **k'waj-** and **xe'ech** are not complex predicates; having personal and aspectual markers, these constructions are bi-clausal.

9.1.2.1 Auxiliary Verb **k'waj-** '*be*'

This verb is a verb of posture. Apart from being used for encoding progressivity, this verb has a full meaning of *sit down, live, be (located)*. The verb **k'waj-** is extremely common in its function of an auxiliary verb. It can also be used in its full meaning as exemplified in the following:

- meaning '*sit down*':

- (21) Na jwaan **k'waj-ay**.
 HUM Juan sit.down-COM
Juan sat down. (AmArch395)

- meaning '*be (located)*,' very similar to the Spanish verb *estar*:

- (22) lajni' in ut'-ey u tel-a-al xoo'n t-ip
 really Al approach-COM El see-TS-INC REL R-A3p

k'waj-txik an uungara. (AmC2-19-65)
 be-PL DEF gypsy(Sp)
I really came closer to see where the gypsies were.

- (23) in lee' koo' k-in chuuj maax taa'
 E3 want.INC SPEC IRR-E3 see.COM if there

k'waj-at an k'wa'. (CirR150-53)
 be-INC DEF frog

He wanted to see if the frog was there.

- meaning ‘live’, ‘be’:

(24) baa’ ne’ech k-in ejt-ow k-a k’waj-ay juun tayiil
 no FUT IRR-E3 can-TS(COM) IRR-A3 live-COM one later
Nobody will be able to live here later (in the future)? (IrCo141-53)

(25) nanaa’ ne’ech k-in k’waj-ay tixcacal an tamup naa’ a taal
 I FUT IRR-A1 live-COM Tixcacal DEF year REL A3 come
I am going to live in Tixcacal next year. (AmDalfut28)

(26) it k’waj-inek juun k’alel Euroopa?
 A2 be-PERF one time Europe(Sp)
Have you ever been to Europe? (AmDahperf28)

(27) an dueende k’waj-at an ti ale’-laap.
 DEF duende(Sp) be-INC DEF prep corn.field-ABS
The ‘duende’ (a bird) is at the corn field. (AmDahpro59)

This verb in its auxiliary function, as contrasted with the verb **exom**, can take all aspectual markers. Its complement can also bear different aspectual marks, but in the majority of cases it is in the incomplete form. The auxiliary verb **k’waj-** bears a personal marker. The position of this verb as an element of a complex predicate is not fixed: it can be placed before or after the complement. This suggests its status of a main verb and not of a canonical auxiliary, which is the reason for classifying it as a full verb that takes a complement. Examples follow:

(28) taa’ t-up k’waj-txik an t-up koy-ol.
 there prep-A3p be-PL DEF R-A3p relax-AP(INC)
They were relaxing there. (CirR155-109)

(29) ip k’waj-ay ich taam t-i ay-al
 A3p be-COM already then R-Ep search-AP(INC)

They were looking (for it). (CirR147-20)

- (30) taam an ti k'waj-ay ti pitk'-on-al
then DEF R be-COM R escape-MID-INC
Then it started escaping. (CirR146-11)

The auxiliary verb **k'waj-** is commonly used in expressions of emotions:

- (31) in kul-beel an t-in k'waj-at.
A1 happy-INCHOA.INC DEF R-A1 be-INC
I am happy. (PetrC1-107-26)

- (32) t'e'p-in-eenek an ti k'waj-at
be.sad-MID-PERF DEF R be-INC
He was very sad. (CirR148-28)

It should be noted that when the plural suffix **-txik** is added to the incomplete form of the verb **k'waj-at**, the incomplete suffix **-at** is assimilated with the plural suffix, and disappears: Instead of **k'waj-at-txik** be-INC-PL, the form is **k'waj-txik** be-PL, as illustrated by the above examples, (22) and (28).

9.1.2.2 Auxiliary Verb **xe'ech** 'walk'

This verb is rather common in its auxiliary function. Sometimes it is used in its full meaning *walk, go*, often in a middle voice form:

- (33) taam t-u ok'-oy t-in xe'ch-in-al tee' an t-u bitxow...
when R-E1 finish-TS(COM) R-A1 walk-MID-INC here DEF prep-E1 town
When I finish walking here in my town... (FilibC1-5)

In its auxiliary function, this verb always implies **movement**:

- (34) xe'-ech an ti laatz-um al an ja'
go-INC DEF R swim-AP(INC) prep DEF water
He was swimming in the water. (CirR155-104)
- (35) up xe'ech t-up paajn-aax
A3p go-INC R-A3p chase-REC.INC

They are chasing each other. (CirRec64/69)

In its function of an auxiliary verb, it is found in all aspects. In the following example, the verb **xe'ech** *go* is in completive and perfect aspects. It is also interesting to note that this verb is often found in the middle voice, but in this case it cannot be in its auxiliary function. This is another argument for the claim that this verb is a full verb, able to take a complement.

- (36) porkee nanaa' taam t-in **xe'ch-in-eenek**
 because I when R-A1 go-MID-PERF

weje'ich an t-in t'oj-n-al....
 before DEF R-A1 work-MID-INC

Because before, when I used to go to work.... (C1-178-87)

- (37) **xe'ch-in** kwa' ti ubaat'
 go-MID(COM) QUOT R play.MID.INC
He was (going around) playing. (C2-166-6)

Interestingly, the three HSF verbs used in South Eastern Huastec for denoting progressivity: **exom**, **k'waj-** and **xe'ech**, are often interchangeable, although it must be noted that the verb **xe'ech** always implies movement. So, in many cases **k'wajat** = **exom** = **xe'ech**, as illustrated in the following example:

- (38) a. babaa' ip **k'waj-at** t-up aj-um
 they A3p be-INC R-A3p study/read-AP(INC)
They are going to school. (AmE6)

- b. babaa' **exom** t-up aj-um
 they PROGR R-A3p study/read-AP(INC)
They are going to school.

- c. babaa' ip **xe'-ech** t-up aj-um
 they A3p be-INC R-A3p study/read-AP(INC)

They are going to school.

In (38c.) the verb is translated into Spanish: *ellos andan estudiando* (literally: *they go around studying*), and the consultant highlighted that the meaning is equal to *van a la escuela* (*they go to school*). Meanwhile, in (39), the verb **xe'ech** *go* cannot be used, since waiting for a bus usually does not imply going around, but standing in one spot.

- (39)a. xaxaa' **exom** i aytx-iy-al an autobuus
you(pl) PROGR Ep wait-TS-INC DEF bus(Sp)
You are waiting for the bus. (AmE6)
- b. xaxaa' ix **k'waj-at** t-i aytx-iy-al an autobuus
you.p A2p be-INC R-Ep wait-TS-INC DEF bus(Sp)
You are waiting for the bus.
- c. *xaxaa' ix **x'e'-ech** t-i aytx-iy-al an autobuus
you.p A2p go-INC R-Ep wait-TS-INC DEF bus(Sp)
You are waiting for the bus.

Another example where these three verbs are interchangeable:

- (40) a. tataa' **exom** a lejk-iy-al n-a koochej-il
you PROGR E2 fix-TS-INC DEM-E2 car(Sp)-POSS
You are fixing your car. (AmE6)
- b. tataa' it **k'waj-at** t-a lejk-iy-al n-a koochej-il
you A2 be-INC R-E2 fix-TS-INC DEM-E2 car(Sp)-POSS
You are fixing your car.
- c. tataa' it **xe'ech** t-a lejk-iy-al n-a koochej-il
you A2 go-INC R-E2 fix-TS-INC DEM-E2 car(Sp)-POSS
You are fixing your car. (=looking around for a mechanic)

9.2 HSF Secondary Predication: Depictives

A depictive secondary predication has been identified in South Eastern Huastec. It is a case of a typical depictive construction, where, in a mono-clausal situation, two predicative elements are found. Both the primary and the secondary predicate share one semantic argument, one person marker, and one aspect marker. In other words, the depictive element is never inflected for aspect/time or person. It should also be noted that this type of predication in HSF is usually one intonational unit, where normally the depictive element is stressed. A detailed analysis of HSF depictive constructions is found in this chapter.

The HSF Depictives are analysed on the basis of the works by Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann (2004), Aissen & Zavala (2010), and Mateo Toledo (2008). The morpho-syntactic properties of the HSF depictive predication are presented in this section.

As mentioned above, in an HSF depictive construction, two predicates are involved: a primary predicate and a secondary predicate. This can be considered a case of a complex predication, like, for example, in Chol (Vázquez 2011). Mayan languages employ different strategies to convey depictive semantics; HSF has three: 1.) depictive secondary predication, 2.) subordination (including cleft constructions), and 3.) juxtaposition.

The following examples illustrate the phenomenon of the HSF depictive secondary predication. In spite of having two predicates, HSF depictive constructions are considered mono-clausal on the basis of their morpho-syntactical and intonational properties, described in what follows. Being mono-clausal constructions, the HSF depictives are therefore complex predicates. According to Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann (2004), the secondary predication refers to a state of affairs situated in the temporal framework of the event referred to by the primary predicate.

- (41) ... **paluw** baal k-a kalej an bakan
 soft for IRR-A3 leave-COM DEF tortilla
 ... *so that the tortilla comes out soft.* (BerV10)

- (42) u k'imaa' ninaa' a chuu't-al **majuth**
 E1 home REL E2 sec-INC painted
 My house is the one you see painted. (AmE6-22)

- (43) jajaa' **chakni'** in t'aj-a-al naa' i mole
 s/he black E3 make-TS-INC REL NM mole
He is making the mole black. (CirE2-46)

- (44) in uch'-a' juun i baaso i ja' **kut-uul**
 E3 drink-TS(COM) one NM glass(Sp) NM water sit-POSIT
(He) drank a glass of water (while) sitting. (GoyTr5)

9.2.1 The Scope of Negation in HSF Depictives

The scope of negation

is another diagnostic tool for detecting depictive constructions, as it distinguishes between one and two predicates (mono-clausal or bi-clausal). In a depictive construction, the negation has scope over the depictive element only. As observed in (45b.), the negation refers to the depictive element only, namely **at'emlith** *salty*, and not the event of making tortillas. They did make tortillas, but they were not salty:

- (45)a. i t'aj-a' an **bakan** **at'emlith**
 Epl make-TS(COM) DEF tortilla salty
We made the tortillas salty. (LeC2-102-17)

- b. baa' i t'aj-a' an **bakan** **at'emlith**
 no Epl make-TS(COM) DEF tortilla salty
We did not make the tortillas salty. (E6)

The fact that the secondary predicate can be negated independently from the primary predicate is more proof that the secondary predication is an independent predication within the same clause.

9.2.2 Plural Marking and Depictives

As previously

mentioned, on several occasions (for example, in Chapter 3 on Verbal Morphology, and Chapter 4 on Noun Morphology), plural marking on HSF nouns, adjectives and verbs is optional, and very rarely found. However, a depictive construction is one of the rare cases when plural marking is obligatory: in the following example (46), the plural

marker is obligatory, as it signals which argument it refers to, the object, **maango** *mango*, and not the subject, *I*:

- (46) **wejnek-txik** **u** **le'k-a'** **an** **maango-txik**
 ripe-PL E1 taste-TS(COM) DEF mango-PL
I tasted mangos ripe. (AmE6)

Moreover, the distinction between singular and plural marking in HSF is related to the semantic distinction animate/inanimate in HSF: as mentioned earlier, in the chapter on Nominal Morphology, inanimate nouns are never marked for plural in verbal agreement. The marking of plural on the depictive element in a depictive construction is more proof of the secondary predicates' independence from the primary predicates.

As seen in the examples above, many types of words can participate in HSF depictive constructions as secondary predicates: **adjectives, participles, positionals, adverbs of manner, and quantifiers**. These are the same words that head non-verbal predicates.

9.2.3 Secondary Predicate Controllers

As previously mentioned, the

secondary predicates do not take any person or aspect markers (they can take plural markers in agreement with one of the arguments of the primary predicate). According to Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann (2004), a secondary predicate is obligatorily controlled by an argument of the primary predicate. In South Eastern Huastec a depictive can be controlled by all core arguments: an intransitive subject (47), a transitive subject (48), or an object (49):

a. Subject-Controlled Depictives:

- (47) **alwa'** **ich** **baal** **k-i** **jay-uw** **an** **t'uuth /**
 good INT that IRR-Ep eat-TS(COM) DEF tamal

 k-ip **kal-ej** **jayuumath**
 IRR-A3p leave-COM full/eaten
Good that they will eat tamales, so that they leave full. (FabC2-145)
- (48) **in** **uch'-a'** **juun** **i** **baaso** **i** **ja'** **kut-uul**
 E3 drink-TS(COM) one NM glass(Sp) NM water sit-POSIT
(He) drank a glass of water sitting. (GoyTr5)

b. Object-Controlled Depictive:

- (49) **iit** (ej) i ch'a'-iy an kwita'
 new (PERDUR) Ep buy-TS(COM) DEF chicken
We bought the chicken fresh. (AmE6)

9.2.4 HSF Depictives and Word Order

Although the HSF word order is relatively free, the adjective is usually placed before the noun. In example (50a.) below, the participle **wiyatx** *baked* is in its adjectival function, and is placed before the noun, in its usual place; this construction is unmarked. In (50b.), the adjectival word is put at the end of the clause. The intonational stress falls on this word. This construction is a depictive construction, with the participle **wiyatx** *baked* as a depictive element:

- (50)a. i k'ap-uw an **wiy-atx** tuu'lek
 Ep eat-TS(COM) DEF bake-PPL meat
We ate the baked meat. (CirE2-42)

- b. i k'ap-uw an tuu'lek **wiyatx**
 Ep eat-TS(COM) DEF meat bake-PPL
We ate the meat baked.

Although very often the HSF depictive element is found before the primary predicate, many HSF depictives are in a post-verbal position:

- (51) komo u koo'-oy **ch'ajlith**
 as(Sp) E1 have-TS(COM) tied.up
... as I had him tied up (=he was tied up) (VerC2-118-4)

- (52) i ne'-th-a-al an bakan inchana' k'ij
 Epl go-CAUS-TS-INC DEF tortilla that.way INT

maj-uj-uuth k'aal an ich (LeC2-102-14)
 smear-REDUP-PPL with DEF chilli
We used to carry with us tortillas smeared with chilli only.

The main predicate in the above cases is **u koo'oy** in (51), and **i ne'thaal** in (52), while the secondary predicate, that is, the depictive element, is placed after the main predicate, as in (51) **ch'ajlith**, and (52) **majujuuth**:

- (53) **jajaa' in och-b-a' altaaj pakwtx**
 s/he E3 enter-CAUS-TS(COM) inside mouth.down
He brought her/him inside the house looking down. (CirE2-39)

- (54) **u jil-a' an meesa t'apay**
 E1 leave-TS(COM) DEF table(Sp) dirty
I left the table dirty. (AmE2-45)

- (55)a. **an inik-txik ip kal-ej an ti**
 DEF man-PL A3p leave-COM DEF prep

ataaj chaap-txik ti chaap-txik
 house two-PL by two-PL
The men left the house two by two. (AmArch550)

Taking into account that HSF order is rather flexible, the above sentence can have the following word order as well, where the depictive element is put at the beginning.

- b. **chaap-txik ti chaaptxik an inik-txik**
 two-PL by two-PL DEF man-PL

ip kal-ej an ti ataaj
 A3p leave-COM DEF prep house
The men left the house two by two.

As illustrated in the following example, all the three possible positions (beginning, middle or final) are accepted by the native speaker:

- (56)a. **wejnek-txik u le'k-a' an maango-txik**
 ripe-PL E1 taste-TS(COM) DEF mango-PL
I tasted the mangos ripe. (AmE6)

b. u le'k-a' an maango-txik **wejnek**
 E1 taste-TS(COM) DEF mango-PL ripe
 I tasted the mangos ripe. (AmE6)

c. u le'k-a' **wejnek** an maangotxik.
 E1 taste-TS(COM) ripe-PL DEF mango-PL
 I tasted the mangos ripe. (AmE6)

Wherever the depictive element is placed, a depictive construction is distinguished from a non-depictive construction in HSF by the fact that in a non-depictive construction, the determiner **an** *the* is placed before the modifier. In (56d.), which is a non-depictive construction, the determiner **an** *the* has scope over both the adjective *ripe* and the noun *mango*:

d. u le'k-a' **an** **wejnek** **maango-txik.**
 E1 taste-TS(COM) DEF ripe-PL mango-PL
 I tasted the ripe mangos. (AmE6)

9.2.5 Semantic Scope of HSF Depictives The last point discussed here on depictive constructions in HSF is their semantic scope. Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann (2004) propose a semantic hierarchy for depictive constructions, and give the following list of meanings:

- Condition or state
- Phase or role
- Quantity
- Concomitance
- Comparison
- Manner
- Location
- Time

According to these authors, the use of a depictive construction in a lower category implies the use of the same construction for the upper side of this hierarchy. In South Eastern Huastec, as in Chol (Vázquez 2011), for example, the following meanings of a depictive construction have been attested so far: condition/state, phase/role, quantity,

and manner. Although a detailed study on HSF depictives still remains to be done, it appears now that the meanings of concomitance, comparison, and location cannot be expressed by means of depictive constructions in this language; they are expressed only as adjuncts. In Tseltal and Tsotsil, by contrast, comparison can be expressed with a depictive construction (Aissen & Zavala 2010).

9.2.6 Depictive-Like Constructions in HSF

In South Eastern Huastec there exist some similar constructions with depictive semantics, but with a different structure. They are:

- a. simple juxtaposition of two clauses (with two separated/different/unrelated predicates, two person markers, two aspect markers)
- b. complex sentence construction of two clauses connected by a complementiser/subordinator (that is, two different predicates with two person markers and two aspect markers)
- c. clefts with depictive semantics
- d. several other cases of depictive-like complex predication.

These are not cases of depictive constructions, as they lack the most important features of depictives: the presence of two predicative elements sharing one argument, one aspect, and one person marker in a mono-clausal situation. These cases of constructions with depictive semantics have been described in several Mesoamerican languages: juxtaposition in Awakatek (Mateo Toledo 2010), Tseltal (Polian & Sánchez & Gómez 2010), and complex predicates in Nahuatl (Peralta Ramírez 2010: 223), among others. Below are examples of these depictive-like constructions in HSF:

a. Juxtaposition with Depictive Semantics

(57) in el-an / in kulb-eel
 A1 find-MID(COM) A1 glad-INCOA.INC
They found me happy. (Lit: I was found, I was happy.) (AmE2-38)

(58) in way-al in kub-at
 A1 sleep-INC A1 stand-PPL
I sleep standing. (Lit: I sleep, I stand.) (AmE2-40)

- (59) u txi'-th-an-tx-iy an t-in chikaam-il
 E1 come-CAUS-EP-DAT-TS(COM) DEF prep-E3 child-POSS

na Maariia a way-al
 HUM Maria A3 sleep-INC
I brought Maria her child sleeping. (CirE2-37)

(Lit: I brought Maria her child, s/he was sleeping).

b. Complex Sentence Constructions with Depictive Semantics

- (60) in ul-ich t-in ajt-it-iil
 A1 come-COM R-A1 sing-REDUPL-AP(INC)
I came singing. (AmArch398)

- (61) babaa' ip k'al-ej t-ip aath-il
 they A3p leave-COM R-A3p run-AP(INC)
They left running. (AmE2-38)

The motion-cum-manner constructions, a pan-Mayan structure (described in Chapter 11, section 3, on complex sentences), offer the same depictive-like interpretation in HSF:

- (62) it kal-ej t-it thaaj-n-al
 A2 leave-COM R-A2 cry-MID-INC
You left crying. (Lit: You left that you were crying.) (CirE6)

c. Clefts with Depictive Semantics

According to Schultze-

Berndt & Himmelmann (2004), depictives are often focused. Depictive elements are found in HSF cleft constructions: there is a 'shared' predicate with only one aspectual and personal marker, but in a cleft construction the semantically secondary predicate is clefted, that is, coded as a main predicate.

- (63) alobeel an t-a t'i'-n-al an way
 beautiful DEF R-E2 clean.maize-MID-INC DEF maize.cob
Maize cobs are cleaned nice. (AmC1-151)

- (64) **pikwtx-ith** **k'ij** **an** **t-a** **t'aj-n-al** **an** **kaaldu** (AmC1-155)
 'empty' INT DEF R-A3 make-MID-INC DEF soup(Sp)
The soup is made simple. (without meat or any ingredients left, just 'water')

- (65) **bux-uul** **chabaal** **juun** **i** **txithan** **an** **ti** **k'wajat**
 squat-POSIT soil one NM girl DEF R be-INC
The girl is squatting on the floor. (GoyTr29)

- (67) **naa'** **i** **kupte'** **em-eel** **an** **ti** **kub-at**
 DEM NM 'istante' incline-POSIT DEF R stand-PPL
That 'istante'(tree) is leaning. (Lit: stands leaning) (CirE4-76)

d. There are several examples of depictive-like secondary predication in the corpus that are open for more research, like, for example a construction with verb **jik'-on** *get, become, remain* as in (66) below, which is a construction with inchoative semantics:

- (66) ... **baal** **k-a** **jilk'-on** **ja'-lith**
 for IRR-A3 remain-MID(COM) wet-PPL
 *so that it gets wet. (=absorbs all the liquid)* (GoyC2-87-29)

9.2.7 A Schema of the HSF Primary and Secondary Predicate Structure:

_____ Table 8.1: HSF Primary and Secondary Predicates _____

	Primary Predicate	Secondary Predicate
Constituents	Predicate+Arguments	Primary+Sec Pred +Arguments
Person markers	Obligatory	Synthetic: one marker for the entire Secondary predication
Word classes	verb, positional, adverb, noun, adjective, quantifier, participle	positional, adverb, adjective, quantifier, participle

Chapter 10

Complementation

There are several complement-taking verbs in HSF. Complementation is different from the complex predicates described in Chapter 9. The complements of these verbs fill the syntactic slot of object. The complement-taking predicates (CTP) are therefore marked Ergatively in South Eastern Huastec. As a contrasted with complex predicates, complement-taking constructions in HSF are multi-clausal.

Following Noonan (2007: 52), complementation is the syntactic situation “that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate” (subject or object). Noonan does not consider relative and adverbial (purpose, manner, locative, temporal, etc.) clauses as complements, since they are not arguments of verbs. These type of South Eastern Huastec clauses are described in Chapter 11 on Complex sentences.

South Eastern Huastec complement clauses have the role of objects. HSF does not have subject-like complements, or nominalised complements (predications with the internal structure of noun phrases). A sentence like *Reading is tiring* is expressed in Huastec as *You read, you get tired*; or, a sentence like *I disapprove of children smoking* would be an object-like complement, as in *I disapprove that children smoke*.

In South Eastern Huastec the complement clause has the same syntactic form as a main clause. Verbs in a complement clause occur with all aspects, and the word order is the

- (2) n-u paa ul-ich [baal k-a jay-uuch]
 DEM-E1 father come-COM for IRR-A3 eat-AP.COM
My father came to eat.

- (3) axee' in kub-a' n-u yejcheel-il
 this E3 erect-TS(COM) DEM-E1 husband-POSS

[baal k-i muth-uw i way.] (MarcC2-172-36)
 for IRR-Ep collect-TS(COM) NM maize
My husband built this so that we store the maize (in it).

The HSF complementiser **baal** *that* is in fact, a conjunction with several meanings. According to Nunnan (2007: 57), complementizers are usually derived from pronouns, conjunctions, adpositions, or case markers. This seems to be the case of HSF. However, as conjunctions are not a typical Mesoamerican trait, it could be that the HSF complementiser **baal** (as well as other HSF conjunctions) could be a later formation, perhaps based on the Spanish model. The complementiser **baal** appears to be optional, but the usage of the HSF subordinators **t-** and **k-** is obligatory. This could lead to the conclusion that the typical Huastecan complementisers are in fact these subordinators. This issue remains to be researched in more detail.

b. Without a Complementiser The complementiser in HSF, just as in English, can be omitted. These examples are very numerous in the corpus. It seems that the usage of the HSF complementiser **baal** is optional. According to Noonan (2007: 55), the omission of a complementiser is contextually determined by pragmatic, and not grammatical, considerations.

When the complementiser **baal** is omitted, one of the subordinators is usually present and it seems that the presence of the subordinator **t-** or the irrealis subordinator **k-** is sufficient:

- (4) n-a paa in ul-uw [k-a t'aj-a' kwa' an tareca]
 DEM-E2 father E3 say-TS.INC IRR-E2 do-TS(COM) QUOT DEF homework
Your father told you to do the homework. (CirE3-32-17)

In the following example the complementiser **baal** cannot occur; this is the case of modal verbs when a complement is introduced by the subordinator **t-** :

- (6) a wit'-a-al [**t-it** laatx-um]
 E2 can-TS-INC R-A2 swim-AP(INC)
 Can you (do you know how to) swim? (SantArch218)

c. With Other Conjunctions (relativiser **xoo'n** or conditional **maax** if, weather)

- (7) baa' u bel-a-al [**xoo'n** in utx-a-al]
 no E1 believe-ST-INC REL E3 say-TS-INC
 I do not believe what he says. (IrArch249b)

- (8) in lee' koo' [k-in **chuu**j
 E3 want.INC SPEC SUB-E3 see.COM

[**maax** taa' k'waj-at an k'wa'].
 if there be-INC DEF frog

He wanted to see if the frog was there. (CirR150-53)

The difference in the choice of subordinators **t-** and **k-** is explained in Chapter 8 on Complex Predication, but it is repeated here for convenience: the realis subordinator **t-** is used only with verbs in their incomplete aspect; the irrealis subordinator **k-** is used with verbs in their complete aspect; the irrealis subordinator **k-** is used in imperative, counterfactuals, and future.

10.1 Reported Speech Clauses

“Given that there is no shift in personal or temporal deixis, the status of the speech report is unclear” (Aikhenvald 2005, Munro 1982). In speech report constructions, the matrix clause can precede or follow the reported speech, unlike the complement clause, which always follows the controlling verb. Verbs of speech are transitive verbs; therefore the reported speech content is a direct object argument. Direct and indirect reported speech are also arguments and can be questioned with the word, *what*. Indirect reported speech in HSF

is followed by an evidential particle, the quotative **kwa'** *he says*, or speculative **koo'** *I think* (see example 11 below), which is not the case in indirect reported speech.

a. Direct Reported Speech

In the case of direct reported speech in HSF there is no shift in personal or temporal deixis. Direct reported speech is easy to identify, as it is limited by an intonation break that can be interpreted, or equivalent to, quotation marks. The following example shows the embedded direct reported speech. The matrix verbs of a direct speech report include the following verbs: **uluw** *say*,

utxa' *tell*

- (9) in ul-uw taam / [nanaa' u lee' na' juun i mesa/
E3 say-TS(COM) then I E1 want.INC I one NM table

[k-a txi'-th-a' juun i serviyeeta] ani
IRR-E2 come-CAUS-TS(COM) one NM cloth and

[k-a al-iy juun i thak'txok']
IRR-E2 search-TS.INC one NM egg (AmUngC1-154)

She said then: "I want a table. Bring a cloth and look for an egg."

- (10) ani u utx-a-al [peero baa' u koo'-y-al i serviyeeta]
and E1 tell-TS-INC but(Sp) no E1 have-TS-INC NM cloth
And I was saying: "But I do not have a cloth". (AmUngC1-156)

b. Indirect Reported Speech

The indirect reported speech in HSF has an identical structure to any other complement construction. The matrix verbs are the same as for the direct reported speech. There is no shift in temporal deixis, but there is one in personal deixis:

- (11) pwees tayiil tin utx-a' [taam
then later 3>1 say-TS(COM) then

baal max kwa' u lee' baal [tin tolm-in-tx-iy /
that if QUOT E1 want.INC that 3>1 help-EP-DAT-TS(COM)

ne'ech kwa' [k-in taw-n-a' n-in aweela.]
 FUR QUOT IRR-E3 talk-INSTR-TS(COM) DEM-E3 grandmother(Sp)
Later she told me that if I want her to help me,
she would talk to her grandmother. (AmUngC1)

10.2 HSF Complement Taking Verbs Cristofaro (2003) proposes a semantic hierarchy of complement taking verbs: verbs of higher semantic category take syntactically independent complements, and verbs of a lower semantic category usually take dependent complements. The HSF **semantic classes** of the complement-taking predicates (CTP), according to Stiebels (2007), are divided into the following groups:

- **Communication :**

ach'-a'	<i>hear</i>	ul-uw	<i>say</i>
kontx-iy	<i>ask</i>	utx-a'	<i>tell</i>

(12) n-a paa in ul-uw [k-a t'aj-a'
 DEM-E2 father E3 say-TS.INC IRR-E2 do-TS(COM)

kwa' an tareea]
 QUOT DEF homework (CirE3-32-17)
Your father told you to do the homework

(13) tu utx-a-al [baal k-a cho'oob-n-a']
 1>2 say-TS-INC that IRR-E2 know-INSTR-TS(COM)
I am telling you this so that you know. (Arch225)

(14) tin kon-tx-iy [baal k-u ch'a'-tx-iy
 INC ask-DAT-TS(COM) that IRR-E1 buy-DAT-TS(COM)

juun i kojaal baal jajaa']
 one NM hat for s/he
He asked me to buy a hat for him. (Arch210)

- **Propositional attitude:**

bel-a'	<i>believe</i>	cho'oob(n-a')	<i>know</i>
chalp-ay	<i>think</i>	uktx-iy	<i>forget</i>

- (15) in lee' [k-in **cho'oobn-a'** [xoo'ni an ti
E3 want.INC IRR-E3 know-TS(COM) REL DEF R

k'waj-at an kwa'] (AmR28)

be-INC DEF frog

He wants to know where the frog is.

- (16) nanaa' u **bel-a-al** [baal jajaa' k'al-ej k'aal na jwaan]
I E1 believe-TS-INC that s/he go-COM with HUM Juan
I think he went with Juan. (AmArch246)

- (17) baa' u **uktx-iy** [xoo'n tin in utx-a']
no E1 forget-TS-INC REL 3>1 E3 say-ST.COM
I didn't forget what he told me. (AmArch250b)

- (18) k'al-ej ich taam juniil [in ay-a-al [xoo'ni
go-COM already then again E3 search-TS-INC REL

an t-in **chalp-ay-al** [baal k-in el-a' an kwa']
DEF prep-E3 think-TS-INC that IRR-E3 find-TS(COM) DEF frog

*Then he went again **there where** he thought he could find the frog.* (AmR44-62)

There is no verb *doubt* in HSF; instead the expression *do not believe* is used.

- **Knowledge.** The following verbs are used with the meaning of knowledge. The last two are very irregular (see Chapter 3 on Verbal Morphology for more details on HSF irregular verbs).

awich	<i>be able to</i>	ejt-ow	<i>know how</i>
cho'oob(n-a')	<i>know</i>	wit'-a'	<i>can</i>

- (19) in **ejt-ow-al** ich [ti k'isaar-ix]
 E3 can-TS-INC already R cook(Sp)-AP(INC)
She can already cook. (PetrC1-121-32)

- (20) a **wit'-a-al** [t-it laatx-um]
 E2 can-TS-INC R-A2 swim-AP(INC)
Can you (do you know how to) swim? (SantArch218)

- (21) a **cho'oop** [t-it laatx-um]
 E2 know.irrINC R-A2 swim-AP(INC)
Can you (do you know how to) swim? (SanArch218)

The verb **wit'a'** is sometimes used in its full meaning *know*:

- (22) baa' in **wit'-a-al** ti eskweela.
 no E3 know-TS-INC prep school(Sp)
She does not know in school. (=she is not a good student) (PetrC1-121-30)

In the complementation cases with verbs of knowledge, the Realis subordinator **t-** is used (and never the irrealis subordinator **k-**), and the complementiser **baal** never occurs.

- **Direct perception:**

ach'-a' <i>feel</i>	och'-ow <i>hear</i>
chuuji <i>see</i>	tel-a' <i>watch</i>

- (23) in lee' koo' [k-in **chuuji**
 E3 want.INC SPEC IRR-E3 see.COM

 [maax taa' k'waj-at an k'wa'].
 if there be-INC DEF frog
He wanted to see if the frog was there. (CirR150-53)

- **Desiderative:** lee'(n-a') *want, would like*

(24) i le'n-a' [t-up way-al]
 Ep want-TS(COM) R-A3p sleep-INC
They wanted to sleep. (CirR146-7)

- **Manipulatives** The notion of manipulation (causatives) is

expressed in South Eastern Huastec by the causal morpheme **-th**, which is used as a suffix to the relevant verb, as described in Chapter 7 on Valency-increasing operations. However, causation in HSF can also be expressed as a complex predicate, with the verbs **t'aj-a'** *do* and **uw-a'** *make*. I believe that these are calques from Spanish. There is another verb of manipulation that looks like a calque from Spanish, namely **jil-a'** *leave, let* (from Spanish *dejar*). Here is the list of the HSF verbs used with semantics of manipulation:

t'aj-a'	<i>do</i>	tolm-iy	<i>help</i>
jil-a'	<i>let, leave to</i>	ul-uw	<i>say</i>
kontx-iy	<i>ask</i>	utx-a'	<i>tell</i>
tojl-iy'	<i>order, tell to</i>	uw-a'	<i>make</i>

(25) u **utx-a'** n-u maa [baal k-in
 E1 tell-TS(COM) DEM-E1 Mum that IRR-E3

koo'-oy	n-u	paa]
take.care-TS(COM)	DEM-E1	father

I told my mum to take care of father. (AmE3-31-11)

(26) tu kon-tx-iy-al [baal k-it k'al-ej Chontla
1>2 ask-DAT-TS-INC that IRR-A2 go-COM Chontla

ani tin ch'a'-tx-iy.] (AmE3-31-13)
and 2>1 buy-DAT-TS(COM)
I am asking you to go to Chontla and buy it for me.

- (27) n-a paa in ul-uw [k-a t'aj-a'
DEM-E2 father E3 say-TS(COM) IRR-E2 make-TS(COM)

kwa' an tarea] (CirE3-32-17)

SPEC DEF homework

Your father told you to do the homework.

- (28) jajaa' ti t'ojl-iy [k-it k'al-ej wamantla] (AmArch213)
s/he 3>2 order-TS(COM) IRR-2A ir-COM Huamantla

He ordered you to go to Huamantla.

- (29) k-a jil-a' [k-a och-ich]
IRR-E2 leave-ST.COM IRR-3A enter-COM

Let him come in. (AmArch316)

- **Modals:** koo'-oy *must, have to* plus the verbs already mentioned above in the group 'knowledge' *know how*; here they are used with the semantics of modality:

awich *can, be able* ejt-ow *can, be able* wit'-a' *can, be able*

- (30) exat ja' an istooria n-u koo'-y-al [k-u ul-uw.]
only it DEF story REL-E1 have-TS-INC IRR-E1 say-TS(COM)

It is only this story that I have to tell. (AmeC2-22-199)

- (31) tin pith-a' an ti meeluj n-u paa [baal nanaa'
3>1 give-TS(COM) DEF prep money DEM-1E father for I

k-u ejt-ow [k-u pith-a' an uungara.]

IRR-E1 can-TS(COM) IRR-E1 give-TS(COM) DEF gypsy(Sp)

My father gave me the money so that I could give it to the gypsy. (AmC2-17-142)

- (32) a los 14 años u koo'-y-al [an t-in tomk-in
at 14 years (Sp) E1 have-TS-INC DEF R-A1 marry-MID(COM)

k'aal na luis].

with HUM Luis (VerC1-112-19)

When I was fourteen years old I had to marry Luis.

- **Phasals:**

ok'-oy *finish, stop*

talp-iy *finish, stop*

ontx-iy *continue, keep*

tuj-uw *start*

- (33) kalaam ne'ech k-u **tuj-uw** [**t-in** oom]
tomorrow FUT IRR-E1 start-TS(COM) R-1A seed.AP(INC)
Tomorrow I will start seeding. (Arch293)

- (34) in **ontx-iy-al** [an ti ch'a'ux ni t'ek'at]
E3 continue-TS.INC DEF R bark-AP(INC) DEM up
He kept on barking towards up(stairs). (CirR150-51)

- (35) u koo'-y-al 13 años [an t-u **tuj-uw**]
E1 have-TS-INC 13 years(Sp) DEF R-E1 start-TS(COM)

t-in **t'oj-on-th-a-ap.**]

R-A1 work-EP-CAUS-TS-PASS.INC

I was thirteen when I started working. (BerC1-111-1)

- (36) ti we'eel u **ok'-oy** [t-in oom]
prep yesterday E1 finish-TS(COM) R-A1 seed-AP(INC)
Yesterday I finished seeding. (AmArch296)

10.3 Complementation with the Same or Different Subject

In South Eastern Huastec, unlike the rest of the Mayan languages, it is not difficult to identify complement control (Aissen 1979, Craig 1977, England 1983, Stiebels 2007) simply because the control of both the matrix clause and the complement clause is always indexed on the verb. For example, a sentence such as *I tried to bake a cake* in

HSF is expressed as ‘*I tried that I bake a cake.*’ The following example shows two different subjects of the matrix clause and the complement clause:

- (37) **k-a** **jil-a’** [**k-a** **och-ich**]
 IRR-E2 leave-ST.COM IRR-3A enter-COM
Let him come in! (Arch316)

10.3.1 Same Subjects of the Matrix Clause and of the Complement:

- (38) **i** **ontx-iy** [**an** **t-up** **aal-im** **an ti k’wa’**]
 Ep continue-TS(COM) DEF R-A3pl search-AP(INC) DEF prep frog
They continued looking for the frog. (CirR149-35)

- (39) **u** **uktx-iy** [**k-u** **map-uy** **an wii’lep.**]
 E1 forget-TS(COM) IRR-1E close-TS(COM) DEF door
I forgot to close the door. (Arch262)

- (40) **u** **uj-n-a-amal** [**k-in** **ch’ak-ay** **thajaw ej**]
 E1 accustom-INSTR-TS.PERF IRR-A1 get.up-TS(COM) early PERDUR
I (have had a habit of) get up early. (Arch288)

10.3.2 Two Different Subjects In case of **two different subjects** it is easy to identify the arguments, as the subject is always cross-referenced on the verb:

- (41) ... **micentras an kwa’ jajaa’ in aytx-iy** [**k-up way-ich**]
 while(Sp) DEF frog s/he E3 wait-TS(COM) R-A3p sleep-COM
...while the frog waited for them to fall asleep. (CirR146-10)

- (42) **n-u aweela tin bijtx-iy** [**t-in ajat**].
 DEM-1E grandmother(Sp) 3>1 teach-TS(COM) R-A1 sing.INC
My grandmother taught me to sing. (Arch227)

- (43) **baa’ u cho’oop** [**tant’ooj an ti txi’-ich**].
 no E1 know.INC what DEF R come-COM

I do not know why he came. (Arch256)

- (44) **k-a chalp-ay k'ij baal [koo'-y-al k-u t'oj-on]**
IRR-E2 think-TS(COM) INT that have-TS-INC IRR-A1pl work-MID(COM)
Remember that we have to work. (Arch281)

Complex Sentences and Clause Linking

Complex sentences in South Eastern Huastec are constructions with two or more clauses. There are three different types of constructions of complex sentences in South Eastern Huastec:

- **complement clauses**
- **subordinate clauses**
- **coordinate clauses**

HSF complement clauses are described in Chapter 9 on Complement-Taking Predicates. Section 8.1.2 of Chapter 8, on HSF Complex Predication also deals with a particular kind of complementation with auxiliary semantics. In this chapter, section 11.1 introduces the HSF subordinate (adverbial) clauses: time, purpose, causal, conditional; section 11.2 deals with HSF relative clauses, and finally, in section 11.3 HSF coordination strategies are presented.

Subordinate clauses are grammatically dependent on another clause, or on some element in another clause. An HSF subordinate clause can function as a noun phrase

(complement clause) or it can modify a noun (relative clause); adverbial clauses modify a verbal complex in HSF.

The main feature of the HSF subordination is that a subordinate clause has the same structure as the main clause. This is not a pan-Mayan feature, as in some Mayan languages the structure of a subordinate clause differs considerably from a main clause. This is not the case in HSF.

11.1 HSF Subordination

Subordinate clauses are embedded clauses which bear a semantic relationship to a main clause. Relative clauses are considered a subtype of subordinate clause. Subordinators express temporal, purposive, conditional, and causal relation between the main and the subordinate clause. Manner adverbial clauses are expressed in HSF by means of complement-taking predicate constructions or depictive constructions, and are described in the Chapter 11, section 3 on motion-cum-manner constructions, and Chapter 9, section 2 depictive constructions.

Thompson & Longacre & Hwang (2007: 243) distinguish twelve basic types of adverbial clauses, of two larger groups: a.) clauses that can be substituted by a single word (time, location, manner), and b.) clauses that cannot be substituted by a single word (including purpose, reason, circumstantial, conditional, etc.). The subordinate clauses in HSF are usually introduced by a subordinator, without any other syntactic means to indicate dependency.

11.1.1 Temporal Clauses

According to Thompson & Longacre & Hwang (2007: 244), the semantic relationship between the temporal adverbial clause and the main clause is the same as that between the temporal adverbial word and the main clause. Temporal clauses in HSF are introduced by the following HSF temporal adverbs:

The most common temporal adverb in the HSF corpus is:

taam *when*

but often Spanish loan words are used:

mieentras	(Sp. mientras)	<i>while</i>
aantes	(Sp. antes)	<i>before</i>
despwees	(Sp. despues)	<i>after</i>
theejthe	(Sp. desde)	<i>from, since</i>

- (1) up way-ich ba' [**mieentras** an k'wa'
 A3p sleep-COM they while(Sp) DEF frog

jajaa' in aytx-iy k-up way-ich] (CirR146)
 s/he E3 wait-TS(COM) IRR-A3p sleep-COM

They were falling asleep while the frog was waiting for them to fall asleep.

- (2) [**taam** t-in witx-iy tu tawn-a'] (PetrE1-76)
 when R-A1 return-COM 1>2 call-TS(COM)

in koch-iy ich ani in koy-ooch ich
 A1 lay-COM already and A1 relax-AP.COM already

When I came back, I called you, I went to bed and relaxed.

- (3) [**taam** **ti** ul-ich an akal] i lee'n-a' t-up way-al
 when R come-COM DEF night Epl want-TS(COM) R-A3pl sleep-INC

ani an kwa' jil-k'-on bal-ith an ti fraasko (CirR146-7)
 and the frog stay-DM-MID(COM) put.inside-PPL DEF prep jar

When the night came they wanted to sleep and the frog remained in the jar.

The temporal adverb **taam** *when* is always placed clause-initially; the temporal clause can be put before the main clause, as in (3), but it can also occur after the main clause, as exemplified in (4):

- (4) na jwaan wa way-al wik [taam t-it uli-ch]
 HON Juan 3A sleep-INC PAST when R-2A come-COM
Juan was sleeping when you arrived. (AmArch565)

The temporal adverb **taam** *when* often encodes the meaning of simultaneity, *while*:

- (5) [taam ti exom t-in almuthaal-ix] u ach-a' an notiisia
 when R PROGR R-A1 eat.lunch(Sp)-AP(INC) E1 hear-tS.COM DEF news
While having lunch I heard the news (Lit: when I was having lunch...). (AmE1-74)

The subordinators **k-** or **t-** differentiate the temporal placement of the clause: the irrealis subordinator **k-** (as mentioned in Chapter 9 on Complementation), is used for irrealis, and the Realis subordinator **t-** is used for realis. The sentence in (6) below refers to the past, and the sentence in (7) refers to the future:

- (6) [taam t-in witx-iy] / tu tawn-a' (PetrE1-76)
 when R-A1 return-COM I>2 talk-TS(COM)

 in koy-ooch ich / in koch-iy ich
 A1 relax-AP.COM already A1 lay.down-COM already
When I came back I called you, I relaxed, I went to bed.

The temporal adverb **taam** *when* is used with the Irrealis subordinator, **k-** to encode counterfactuality (the future action that has not yet been realised, or the conditional):

- (7) [taam k-in witx-iy] / ne'ech k-in koch-iy (PetrE1-76)
 when IRR-A1 return-COM FUT IRR-A1 lay.down-COM

 ne'ech k-in koy-ooch ich
 FUT IRR-A1 lay.down-AP.COM already
When I come back, I will go to bed/I will call you/I will relax.

In the following example the action that has been completed before the action in the temporal clause is encoded by perfect aspect, identical to the way some Indo-European languages encode the *consecutio temporum*.

- (8) taam t-in witx-iy ti ataaj ti we'eel (AmDper75)
- when R-A1 return-COM prep house prep yesterday
- [n-u eebaal in thutx-a-amal chaap i kaarta]
- DEM-E1 sibling E3 write-TS-PERF two NM letter
- When I came home yesterday, my brother had written two letters.*

As already mentioned, iconic sequencing of events is typical for HSF. One reason seems to be the lack of converbs, and the other, the typical lack of conjunctions in Mesoamerican languages. Instead of saying, *Before leaving home I shut the windows*, an HSF native speaker would say, *'I shut the windows, I left home.'*

11.1.2 Purpose Clauses

In HSF there are two ways of expressing purpose clauses. One way is the usage of the conjunction **baal** *for, in order to*. The other strategy for purposive clauses is the pan-Mayan construction '**motion-cum-purpose**,' already described in Chapter 10 on complement-taking predicates. In this construction, the subject of the matrix clause and that of the subordinate clause is identical.

The purpose clauses introduced by the conjunction **baal** *for, in order to* are very common in the corpus. A purpose subordinate clause expresses the purpose towards which the event expressed in the main clause is oriented. The subject of the matrix clause and the subject of the subordinate clause can be identical, or they can be different.

a. Same Subject in the matrix and the complement clause:

- (9) an inik in pen-a' an te' [baal
DEF man E3 grab-TS(COM) DEF tree for

k-in kwath-a' an pik'o']
IRR-E3 hit-TS(COM) DEF dog

The man grabbed a stick to hit the dog. (CirE3-32-18)

- (10) n-u paa txi'-ich [baal k-in tel-a' an telebisyoan.]
DEM-E1 father come-COM for IRR-E3 watch-TS(COM) DEF television(Sp)

My father came to watch TV. (AmE3-33-24)

The following example (as well as (13)), is a further illustration of the omission of the subordinator when the inverse prefix *t-* is present in the clause:

- (11) ut'-ey [baal tin kwath-a'.]
approach-COM for 3>1 hit-TS(COM)

He approached (me) to hit me. (IrE3-34-25)

b. Different Subject in the matrix and the complement clause:

- (12) tin pith-a' an ti meeluj n-u paa [baal nanaa'
3>1 give-TS(COM) DEF prep money DEM-E1 father for I
k-u ejt-ow k-u pith-a' an ungara.]AmC2-17-142)
IRR-E1 can-TS(COM) IRR-E1 give-TS(COM) DEF gypsy

My father gave me the money so that I could give it to the gypsy.

- (13) in ul-ich [baal tuxu chapne'th-a']
A1 come-COM for 1>2pl greet-TS(COM)

I came to greet you. (AmE3-33-21)

- (14) k-a tepth-a' an k'amal [baal
IRR-E2 turn.off-TS(COM) DEF fire for

k-i ejt-ow t-u way-al.]
IRR-Epl can-TS(COM) R-A1pl sleep-INC

Turn the light off so that we can sleep! (CirE3-33-22)

- (15) k-a map-tx-iy ti wii'lep [baal baa' k-ip och-ich]
 IRR-E2 close-DAT-TS(COM) prep door for not IRR-A3pl enter-COM
Close (them) the door so that they do not enter! (CirE3-33-23)

The purposive marker **baal** *for, in order to* is sometimes omitted. Its function seems to be completed by the subordinator:

- (16) jaachtaam ne'ech k-in kwajb-an-tx-iy [k-a bel-ej ich
 therefore FUT IRR-E3 fix-EP-DAT-TS(COM) IRR-A3 walk-COM already

taam alwa' an bisikleeta.] (CirC2-181-36)
 then well DEF bicycle(Sp)
Then you will get it fixed so that the bicycle runs well then.

- (17) baa' in yej-en-tx-iy-al t'ajatx ak yaan an book
 no E3 need-EP-DAT-TS-INC very IRR much DEF brandy

naa' ne'ech k-a jol-tx-iy [baal k'ij k-a chab-ej,]
 there FUT IRR-A3 add-DAT-TS(COM) for INT IRR-A3 get.wet-NCOA.COM

[baal k'ij k-a ja'l-in alwa' /]
 for INT IRR-A3 mix-MID(COM) well

[k-a jil-k'-on ja'l-ith k'aal an book.]
 IRR-A3 stay-DM-MID(COM) mix-PPL with DEF brandy

You do not need a lot of brandy to add, it (the mixture) absorbs it (the brandy), it gets mixed well, the mixture absorbs the brandy well. (GoC2-87-29)

11.1.3 Causal Clauses

The HSF causal clauses are introduced by the following conjunctions:

jaachtaam *therefore, that's why*

baal *because, so that*

porkee (Sp. porque) *because*

por eeso (Sp. por eso) *that's why, so that*

koomo (Sp. como) *as, since*

In complex sentences connected with one of the above conjunctions, the order of clauses is not fixed; the causal clause (causal sequence of events) can follow or precede the main (result) clause:

- (18) baa' u koo'-y-al i meeluj / **jaachtaam** baa' u ejt-ow-al
no E1 have-TS-INC NM money therefore no E1 can-TS-INC

k-u ch' a-iy axee' i kwita' (AmE3)

IRR-E1 buy-TS(COM) DEM NM chicken.

I do not have money; therefore I cannot buy this chicken.

- (19) baa' ne'-ech t-in kwetemtai **koomo** wa jik'-eel.
no ir-INC prep-3E alone? as(Sp) 3A be.frightened-INC
He is not going alone, as he is scared. (Arch564)

- (20) **jaachtaam** an ti baa' witx-iy / **jaachtaam** an ti baa' el-a-amal /
therefore DEF R no return-COM therefore DEF R no find-TS-PERF

porkee ja' kal-ej ja' in ay-a-al in tomol

because s/he go-COM s/he E3 search-TS-INC E3 spouse

*That is why it (from) did not come back, that is why they have not found it,
because it went to look for a spouse.* (CirR156)

An important fact to remember is that the conjunction **baal** has other functions as well. It is used in HSF with three meanings: causal *because*, and purposive *for, in order to*; it is also a complementiser **that**. The following examples illustrate the usage of the polysemous conjunction **baal**:

- (21) t'e'pi-n-eenek an ti k'waj-at baal in k'ipth-a' an kwa'
 sad-MID-PERF DEF R be-COM because E3 lose-CAUS-TS(COM) DEF frog
He was sad because he had lost the frog. (CirR148)

- (22) ch'at-ey jayej taam an pik'o' ti aath-il
 stick-COM he.too then DEF dog R run-AP(INC)

baal in chuu'tal [baal t'ek'at an t-a ne'-th-a-ap
 because E3 see.INC that up.there DEF R-A3 arrive-CAUS-TS-PASS.INC

pun-at an t-in ich'aam an ich'aamal].
 put-PPL DEF prep-E3 horn DEF deer

*The dog followed them (Lit : 'stuck to them') running because he (the dog) saw
 that he (the boy) was being carried away in the deer's horns.* (CirR154-90)

11.1.4 Conditional Clauses

This section consists of a description of HSF conditional clauses. South Eastern Huastec has two groups of conditional clauses, factual and counter-factual. Both of these types use the particle **maax** *if*. In counter-factual conditional clauses, this particle, **maax** *if*, is combined with the irrealis clitic **ak**, which refers to factual implications of a conditional clause. Conditional clauses across languages can generally be divided into two subgroups: factual (reality) and counter-factual (irreality). The structure of these sentences can also differ as to whether the sentence is referring to the present or the past. In HSF it appears that all the conditional sentences are marked with the same morphological means: the conjunction **maax** *if*, and the irrealis clitic, **ak**. If the event of the main clause refers to the future, it will be marked by the irrealis clitic, **ak**, or the subordinator, **k-**. It appears that the irrealis clitic **ak** conveys counter-factuality, and the conjunction **maax** *if*, the condition. The conjunction **maax** *if* is placed before the verb, and the irrealis clitic **ak** is usually placed after the verb:

- a. nanaa' **maax** u koo'-y-al b. nanaa' **maax** u koo'-y-al **ak**

I if E1 have-TS-INC
if I have

I if E1 have-TS-INC IRR
if I had

In the following example, the sentence in (23b.) bears the irrealis clitic **ak** in order to convey the unsureness of the speaker towards the factuality of the statement (factual implications of the clause):

(23) a. baa' u cho'oob [xoo'n ti k'waj-at]
 no E1 know.INC where R be-INC
I do not know where it is. (AmE6-39)

b. baa' u cho'oob [xoo'ni **ak** an ti k'waj-at]
 no E1 know.INC where IRR DEF R be-INC
I do not know where it would/could be.

The two types of HSF conditional clauses, factual/realis (ex. 24a.) and counterfactual /irrealis (ex.24b.), for present and (ex. 24c.) for past, are illustrated in the following example:

(24)a. [**maax** k-u chuuj]
 if IRR-E1 see.COM
 ne'ech k-u kon-tx-iy an ti macheet.
 FUT IRR-E1 ask-DAT-TS(COM) DEF prep machete
If I see him, I will ask him for the machete. (AmArch560)

b. [**maax** u chuut'al **ak**] /
 if E1 see.INC IRR
 k-u kon-tx-iy an ti macheet.
 IRR-E1 ask-DAT-TS(COM) DEF prep machete
If I saw him, I would ask him for the machete. (AmArch561)

c. [**maax** u chuul-mal **ak**] /

if E1 see-PERF IRR

u kon-tx-iy-aamal **ak** an ti macheet. (AmArch562)

E1 ask-DAT-TS-PERF IRR DEF prep machete

If I had seen him, I would have asked him for the machete.

The irrealis clitic **ak** is omitted if the subordinator **k-** is present in the clause, as in example (24a.); perhaps the irrealis clitic **ak** is fused with the irrealis subordinator **k-**, or perhaps the irrealis clitic **ak** is realized as the irrealis subordinator **k-** when it precedes a personal marker:

- (25) [max n-u exlornawaal k-ip ul-ich k'aal an
if DEM-E1 friend IRR-A3pl come-COM prep DEF

cha'xtalaap]/ in kul-beel **ak** t'ajatx.

dinner A1 be.glad-INCHOA.INC IRR very

If my friends come to dinner I will be very happy. (AmE1-68)

The irrealis clitic **ak** is used in the imperative mode, or in wishes:

- (26) it k'waj-at **ak** ich alwa' / kanat
A2 be-INC IRR already well healthy
(I wish you to) be always well/healthy! (CirDahfut108)

- (27) max it ne'-ech/ k-a jik'at-n-a' k'ij.
if A2 go-INC IRR-E2 hurry-INSTR-TS(COM) INT
If you are going, hurry up! (AmArch559)

11.1.4.1 Hypothetical Conditional Clauses

The HSF hypothetical conditional clauses can be divided into two subgroups, according to their meaning:

a. For Present

- (28) [maax k-a aab-an kalaam] ne'ech

if IRR IRR-A3 rain-MID(COM) tomorrow FUT

k-u jil-k'-on tee' an ti ataj
 IRR-A1pl stay-DM-MID(COM) here DEF prep home
If it rains tomorrow, we will stay at home. (AmDahFut66)

- (29) [max baa' tu kal-th-an-tx-iy] /
 if no I>2 go.out-CAUS-EP-DAT-TS(COM)

ne'ech k-it destruiir-in. (AmC2-14-111)
 FUT IRR-A2 destroy(Sp)-MID(COM)
If I do not take it out for you, you will be destroyed.

- (30) [max it ne'-ech] / k-a jik'at-n-a' k'ij.
 if A2 go-INC IRR-E2 hurry-INSTR-TS(COM) INT
If you are going, hurry up! (AmArch559)

b. Habitual/Generic

- (31) [max in k'ib-a-al juun i pat'aal] / baa' wa bel-al
 if E3 miss-TS-INC one NM part no A3 walk-INC
If it misses a part, it does not run. (a bicycle) (CirC2-180-26)

Compare the above example with the following one of the counter-factual/hypothetical semantics, where the counter-factuality is conveyed by the irrealis clitic **ak** in the conditional clause **wawaa' max baa' ak n-i akan** *If we did not have feet* :

- (32) wawaa' max baa' ak n-i akan / baa' k-u bel-al
 we if no IRR DEM-Ep feet / no IRR-A1p walk-INC
If we did not have feet, we would not walk. (CirC2-180-27)

11.1.4.2 Counter-factual HSF Conditional Clauses

a. For Present

- (33) **nanaa'**[**maax** u koo'-y-al **ak** juun i milyoon de peesos]
 I if E1 have-TS-INC IRR one NM million of peso (Sp)

k-u ch'a'-iy juun i iit ataaj/ k-u kwaj-b-a'
 IRR-E1 buy-TS(COM) one NM new house IRR-E1 sit-CAUS-TS(COM)

juun i negoosyo,
 one NM buiness(Sp)

k-u al-iy i t'ojnal / k-u ch'a'-iy i chabaal
 IRR-E1 search-TS(COM) NM worker IRR-E1 buy-TS(COM) NM land

k-u ch'a'-iy i animaal
 IRR-E1 buy-TS(COM) NM animal(Sp)

If I had one million pesos I would buy a new house, start a business, look for employees, buy some land, buy animals... (AmE1-51)

b. For Past The verb in both the main clause and the conditional clause is marked for perfect aspect: conditional clause: **maax PERF ak**, main clause: **PERF ak**

- (34) **maax txi'-nek ak** / u jalb-iy-aamal **ak**
 if come-PERF IRR E1 pay-TS-PERF IRR
If he had come, I would have paid him. (AmE536)

- (45) **maax in bach'-uumal ak an meeluj** / in ch'a'-y-aamal
 if E3 receive-PERF IRR DEF money E3 buy-TS-PERF

ak juun i regaalu baal n-in noobia (AmDahtam106)
 IRR one NM present(Sp) for DEM-E3 girlfriend(Sp)

If he had received the money, he would have bought a present for his girlfriend.

The following words require the usage of the irrealis clitic **ak** (this could be an influence from Spanish, which requires subjunctive after these words): whoever, wherever, however:

- (36) **xowa' ak ich an t-a k'alej**
 wherever IRR already DEF R-3A go-COM

k-in ejt-ow k-a kaaw-in juun
 IRR-E3 can-TS(COM) IRR-A3 speak-MID(COM) one
Wherever you go, you can speak. (AmConv82-120)

- (37) **tamaa' ak ich an k-a ul-ich es bien recibido.**
 somebody IRR already DEF IRR-A3 arrive-COM is well received(Sp)
Whoever comes is welcome (well received). (AmConv128-163)

- (38) **ni juun ak ip ya'ul axee' i chikaamtxik**
 nor(Sp) one IRR A3p sick DEM NM child-PL
None of these children is sick. (Arch537)

- (39) **a lee' ak k-it t'oj-on k'aal nanaa'**
 E2 want IRR IRR-A2 work-MID(COM) with I
Would you like working for/with me? (AmE1-50)

The following example looks like a calque from Spanish, where words like '*some*' require subjunctive:

- (40) **tin pith-a' juun i boteeya in koo'-y-al ak i ja'**
 2>I give-TS(COM) one NM bottle(Sp) E3 have-TS-INC IRR NM water
Give me a bottle of water. (Lit: that would have some water). (IrArch503)

11.2 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are considered a subtype of subordinate clause. Most of the time, these clauses follow their head noun. They comprise a part of a noun phrase, and may

represent subject or object. In HSF, as well as in all other Mayan languages, relative clauses modify all types of arguments. The relativizer in HSF always follows the noun that it modifies. The HSF resources for relativisation are:

- ‘general’ relativizer **ninaa’** (shortened: **naa’** and sometimes realized as **n-** if a word begins with a vowel)
- relativizer for location **xoo’n** (sometimes realized as **xoo’ni n-...**)
- absence of relativizer

A very interesting fact about HSF relativization is that the relative clause has the same structure as the main clause; in majority of the Mayan languages (except in the languages of the Tseltalan group), for an argument to be relativized, it is obligatory that it is marked absolutely. In HSF, as said before, this is not the case.

The relativiser **ninaa’/naa’/n-** is the only relativiser for humans; it can also relativise animals, plants and things. Relativising locations is achieved by **xoo’n** only; it is never used with humans; it can relativise animals, plants and things. Animals, plants and things can be relativised by both of these relativisers, although **xoo’n** seems to be more common, but the choice is not always clear.

Restrictions on the Usage of the Relativiser: The relativiser **ninaa’/naa’/n-** is used to relativise people:

(41) jajaa’ axee’ i inik **ninaa’/naa’/n-** in kot-iy-aamal an tuu’lek.

s/he DEM NM man REL E3 cut-TS-PERF DEF meat

It was this man who cut the meat. (CirE6)

* jajaa’ axee’ i inik ***xoo’ni n-** in kot-iy-aamal an tuu’lek

(42) n-u at.k’imaath **naa’ (*xoo’n)** up k’waj-at

DEM-E1 neighbour REL A3p live-INC

an t-u ejaat t’ajatx alwa’. (AmE6)

DEF prep-E1 right very good

My neighbours who live to the right are very good.

(43) u ja'n-a-al an chitxik chikam
 E1 like-TS-INC DEF small child

naa' (*xoo'n) ip wit'-om alwa'
 REL A3p study-AP(INC) well

I like children who study well. (CirE6)

(44) an uxum naa'=ninaa' (*xoo'ni) in ne'-eth-a-al
 DEF woman REL E3 bring-CAUS-TS-INC

an paraguas jaach n-u maa.
 DEF umbrella(Sp) it DEM-E1 Mum

The woman with the umbrella is my mother. (AmE1-74)

The choice of relativiser depends on the nature of the head, and not on the head's grammatical function. Examples of relativising a noun phrase with different functions are as follows.

11.2.1 Relativising Transitive Subjects

a) As mentioned above, **naa'/ninaa' / ninaja'** is used for human transitive subjects:

(45)a. jajaa' in kot-oy an tuu'lek k'aal juun i kuchiil.
 s/he E3 cut-TS(COM) DEF meat with one NM knife(Sp)
He cut the meat with a knife. (AmE6)

b. jajaa' axee' i inik n-/ninaa'/naa' in
 s/he DEM NM man REL E3

kot-iy-aamal an tuu'lek.
 cut-TS-PERF DEF meat
He is the one who cut the meat.

(46)a. an uxum in nuj-w-al an olom-txik

DEF woman E3 sell-TS-INC DEF pig-PL

The woman sells the pigs. (CirE6)

b. an uxum naa' in nuj-w-al an olom-txik k'al-ej.

DEF woman REL E3 sell-TS-INC DEF pig-PL go-COM

The woman who sells pigs left.

(47)a. u exl-a-al an inik.

E1 know-TS-INC DEF man

I know the man. (CirE6)

b. an inik in kwath-a' na peedro

DEF man E3 hit-TS(COM) DEF Pedro

The man hit Pedro.

c. u exl-a-al an inik naa' in kwath-a' na peedro

E1 know-TS-INC DEF man REL E3 hit-TS(COM) DEF Pedro

I know the man who hit Pedro.

b) If an animal, a plant, or an object is a transitive subject, it is often relativised by **xoo'n/xoo'ni**:

(48) ne'ech tuxu oltx-iy otro juun i ch'ojoool

FUT 1>2p show-TS(COM) other one NM herb

xoo'ni in jel-th-a-al an papeera

REL E3 cure-CAUS-TS-INC DEF mumps

I am going to show you another herb that cures the mumps. (GoyC2-85-1)

(49) jaach axee' i pik'o' xoo'ni in k'ap-uw n-u kwitaa'-il

it DEM NM dog REL E3 eat-TS(COM) DEM-E1 chicken-POSS

This is that dog that ate my chicken. (AmE6)

(50) baal an k'apuuch n-u at.k'imaath i t'aj-a-amal

for DEF wedding DEM-E1 neighbour Ep do-TS-PERF

yaan i te'neel Ø/xoo'ni/*naa' kal-ej alwa' t'ajatx (CirE6)
 much NM food REL leave-COM well very

For my neighbour's wedding we cooked a lot of things that came out very well.

11.2.2 Relativizing Subject of Intransitive Verbs

a) Subject of Non-Verbal Predicate

(51)a. an chikam-txik t'okat(-txik)

DEF child-PL clean-PL

The children are clean. (CirE6-45)

b. u ja'n-a-al an chikam-txik naa' t'okat(txik).

E1 like-TS-INC DEF child-PL REL clean-PL

I like the children who are clean.

(52)a. axee' i txithan chipiil ej

DEM NM girl young PERDUR

This girl is young. (CirE6)

b. u ali-y-al an txithan naa' chipiil ej

E1 search-TS-INC DEF girl REL young PERDUR

I am looking for the girl who is young.

b) Subjects of Intransitive Verbs

(53) an inik naa' ul-ich xee' tee' an ti k'waj-at.

HUM man REL come-COM now there DEF R be-INC

The man who arrived is there now. (CirE6)

- (54) an txithan naa' chitxb-an-al alobeel t'ajatx.
 HUM girl REL comb-MID.INC beautiful very
The girl who is combing (herself) is very beautiful. (CirE6)

- (55) n-u atk'imaath naa' up k'wajat
 DEM-E1 neighbour REL A3p live-INC
 an t-u ejaat t'ajatx alwa'. (AmE6)
 DEF prep-E1 right very good
My neighbours who live to the right are very good.

- (56) naa' i uxum-txik naa' exom t-up lejk-ix tee' ba'
 DEM NM woman-PL REL PROGR R-A3p cook-AP(INC) here they
The women who are cooking are from here. (CirE6-64)

There are many examples of an intransitive subject without a relativiser:

- (57) an animal [och-ich an ti ataaj] i t'eel.
 DEF animal(Sp) enter-COM DEF prep house NM rat
The animal that entered the house is a rat. (AmE6-11)
- (58) u chuu'-tal juun i chikam kwitool [jee' bux-uul]
 E1 see-INC one NM little boy there sit-POSIT
I can see a boy (that is) sitting there. (AmR2)

11.2.3 Relativising Object of Monotransitive Verbs

- (59)a. babaa' i k'ip-th-a-amal an yaave
 they Ep lose-CAUS-TS-PERF DEF key(Sp)
They have lost the key. (AmE6-17)

- b. jaach an yaave [**ninaa'** i k'ip-th-a-amal]
 it DEF key(Sp) REL Ep lose-CAUS-TS-PERF
This is the key that they have lost.

- (60)a. u k'ap-u-umal juun i soopa
 (AmE6) E1 eat-TS-PERF one NM soup
I have eaten a soup.

- b. an soopa [**naa'** u k'ap-uw] t'ajatx watkantxith k'aal i at'em
 DEF soup REL E1 eat-TS(COM) very too.much with NM salt
The soup that I have eaten was much too salty.

- (61)a. u chuuj an uxum
 E1 see.COM DEF woman
I saw the woman. (CirE6-11)

- b. an uxum [**naa'** u chuuj] k'alnek t-in k'ima
 DEF woman REL E1 see.COM go-COM prep-E3 home
The woman I saw went home.

11.2.4 Objects of Ditransitive Verbs/Applied Ditransitive Verbs

- (62)a. tin txi'-th-an-tx-iy juun n-u bluusa ti meejiko
 2>1 come-CAUS-EP-DAT-TS(COM) one DEM-E1 blouse(Sp) prep Mexico
You brought me a blouse from Mexico. (CirE6-17)

- b. n-u bluusa [**naa'** tin txi'-th-an-tx-iy] t'ajatx alobeel
 DEM-E1 blouse(Sp) REL 2>1 come-CAUS-EP-DAT-TS(COM) very beautiful
The blouse (that) you brought me is very beautiful.

- (63)a. u pith-a' i meeluj juun i inik.
 E1 give-TS(COM) NM money one NM man
I gave some money to a man. (AmE6-11)

- b. naa' i inik [**naa'** u pith-a' an ti meeluj]

DEM NM man REL E1 give-TS(COM) DEF prep money

an tin tolm-in-tx-iy

DEF 3>1 help-EP-DAT-TS(COM)

That man to whom I gave the money helped me.

The relativiser **xoo'n n-** can alternate with **naa'** in some cases of object relativisation:

- (64)a. n-u at.puulik in kub-a-amal juun i ataaj
 DEM-E1 husband E3 erect-TS-PERF one NM house
My husband has built a house. (CirE6)

- b. an ataaj [naa' (xoo'ni n-) in kub-a-amal
 DEF house REL E3 erect-TS-PERF
 n-u at.puulik] t'ajatx alobeel
 DEM-E1 husband very beautiful
The house that my husband built is very beautiful.

- (65) a. wawaa' i ch'a'-y-aamal wa' juun i belemtalaap baal n-i chikaam-il
 we Ep buy-TS-PERF we one NM bicycle for DEM-Ep son-POSS
We bought a bicycle for our son. (CirE6)

- b. an belemtalaap [naa' (xoo'ni n-) i ch'a'-iy baal
 DEF bicycle REL Ep buy-TS(COM) for
 n-i chikaam-il] t'ajatx alobeel
 DEM-Ep son-POSS very beautiful
The bicycle that we bought for our son is very beautiful.

11.2.5 Relativization of an Oblique Constituent:

a) Instrument

In (66a.) the instrument is an oblique NP introduced by the preposition **k'aal** *with*.
 In (66b.) the verb bears the applicative marker (instrumental) **-n**, and the instrument is coded as object, and not as an oblique.

(66)a. jajaa' in kot-oy an tuu'lek k'aal juun i kuchiil
 s/he E3 cut-TS(COM) DEF meat with one NM knife(Sp)
He cut the meat with a knife. (AmE6-18)

b. jaach axee' an kuchiil [ninaa' (xoo'ni n-)
 it DEM DEF knife(Sp) REL REL REL-
 in kot-ox-n-a' an ti tuu'lek]
 E3 cut-AP-INSTR-TS(COM) DEF prep meat
This is the knife that he cut the meat with.

(67)a. in kaw-in k'aal an chikam kwitool ti we'eel
 A1 talk-MID(COM) with DEF small boy prep yesterday
I talked to the little boy yesterday. (CirE6)

b. jaach an chikam kwitool [naa' k'aal t-in kaw-in ti we'eel]
 it DEF little boy REL with R-A1 talk-MID(COM) prep yesterday
This is the boy I talked to yesterday.

b) Location

Location is always relativised by **xoo'n**, which appears in two different structures. There are two slightly different structures: first, a clearly clefted construction: **xoo'ni - an - t-Abs/Erg - verb**, and second, the following relative structure: **xoo'n - t-Abs/Erg -verb**. This issue is open for more research in the future.

(68)a. an kwa' bal-ith ti juun i fraasco
 DEF frog be.inside-PPL prep one NM jar(Sp)
The frog is (sitting) in a jar. (CirE6-4)

- b. jaach an fraasko **xoo'ni** an ti bal-ith an kwa'
 it DEF jar(Sp) REL DEF R be.inside-PPL DEF frog
This is the jar where (inside of which) the frog is (sitting).

- (69)a. in way-aamal jenchee' ti ataaj
 A1 sleep-PERF there prep house
I have slept there in the house. (CirE6-5)

- b. an ataaj [**xoo'n** t-in way-aamal] chipiil t'ajatx.
 DEF house REL R-A1 sleep-PERF small very
The house where I have slept is very small.

- (70)a. in paak'um an ti olip
 E1 wash-AP(INC) DEF prep river
I wash (clothes) in the river. (CirE6-6)

- b. an olip [**xoo'n** t-in paak'-um] baa' k'wajat oow
 DEF river REL R-A1 wash-AP(INC) no be-INC far
The river where (in which) I wash is not far.

- (71) k'al-ej ich taam juniil in ay-al [**xoo'ni** an t-in
 go-COM already then again E3 search-TS(COM) REL DEF R-E3

chalp-ay-al [baal k-in el-a' an kwa'.]
 think-TS-INC that IRR-E3 find-TS(COM) DEF frog (AmR44-62)
Then he went again (there) where he thought he would find the frog.

- (72) in lee' k-in **cho'oobn-a'** [**xoo'ni** an ti
 E3 wantINC IRR-E3 know-TS(COM) REL DEF R

k'waj-at an kwa'.]
 be-INC DEF frog
He wants to know where the frog is. (AmR28)

The relativizer **xoo'n** triggers a cleft construction (more on clefts in Chapter 10 on Basic Clause) only when relativizing location. The relativiser **xoo'n** is interchangeable with **tant'ooj** *what* in the following examples of the **Indirect Speech**:

- (73) k-a awich tin oltx-iy [tant'ooj/xoo'ni n-a tam-w-al?]
 IRR-E2 can 2>1 say-TS(COM) what REL DEM-A2 happen-TS-INC
Can you tell me what is happening to you? (CirE6-14)

- (74) baa' na' u oltx-iy jik'at [tant'ooj/xoo'ni n-u tam-w-al]
 no I E1 say-TS(COM) quickly what DEM-E1 happen-TS-INC
I didn't tell him straight away what had happen to me. (AmC2-16-138)

c) Recipient

It should be noted that in HSF, as mentioned earlier in the chapter on Valency-Increasing Operations (Applicatives), a Recipient is transformed into a direct object in an applicative construction.

- (75) kal-ej an inik [naa' u chem-th-an-tx-iy an ti pik'o'].
 go.out-COM DEF man REL E1 die-CAUS-EP-DAT-TS(COM) DEF prep dog
The man whose dog I killed (to whom I killed the dog) left. (AmArch498)

- (76) u chuuj an inik [ninaa' a nuj-tx-iy an ti kwita']
 E1 see-COM DEF man REL E2 sell-DAT-TS(COM) DEF prep chicken
I saw the man to whom you sold the chicken. (AmArch507)

Conclusion on HSF Relative Clauses There are different relativising strategies in Mayan languages. Tseltalan languages use the determiner **te** or a relative pronoun: **mach'a'** *who*, **beluk** *what*, or **banti** *where*. Tsotsil uses the relativiser **bu** in cases where the head has a locative function (Vasquez 2011: 403). South Eastern Huastec uses three different strategies: the relativiser **xoo'n**, obligatory with location, and relativiser **naa'/n-**, obligatory with humans. Both relativisers can be used with animals, plants, and things, where the choice is unclear. This issue needs

more research. The preferred relativising strategy with intransitive subjects is the absence of a relativiser.

11.3 Motion-cum-Manner and Motion-cum-Purpose Complex Clauses

There are specific types of complex clauses in HSF to express motion with manner or motion with purpose.

11.3.1 Motion-cum-Purpose

This construction in HSF is very common.

It is a typical construction of Mayan languages. This construction expresses purpose, and as its name says, it is a combination of a verb of motion with another full verb that denotes a purpose:

- (77) **up k'al-ej** altxik an te' [an **t-up aal-im**]
 A3p leave-COM among DEF tree DEF R-A3p find-AP(INC)
They went to the bush to look for it. (CirR149-38)

- (78) an inik-txik ip **junk-un** [**t-ip til-om.**]
 DEF man-PL A3p gather-MID(COM) R-A3pl talk-AP(INC)
The men gathered to talk. (AmE1-71)

- (79) **k'ath-iy** [**k-in aln-a-al** [maax koo']
 climb-COM IRR-E3 look.for-TS-INC if SPEC

 taa' ak k'waj-at an k'wa']...
 there IRR be-INC DEF frog
He went up to see if the frog was there. (CirR151-61)

In the following example there is no subordinator, as the inverse marker is present, so the subordinator (**t-** or **k-**) is omitted; the Realis subordinator **t-** can be considered to be fused with the transitive agreement marker **t-**, as in the following examples:

- (80) ut'-ey [**tin** taw-n-al.]
 approach-COM 3>1 speak-MID-INC

She approached me (in order) to speak. (AmC2-4-18)

- (81) jaachtaam an t-in txi'-ich [tuxu visitaar-iy-al] ...
 therefore DEF R-A1 come-COM 1>2pl visit-TS-INC
That is why I came to visit you... (Co1-03-25)

11.3.2 Motion-cum-Manner

This construction is also very common in HSF and other Mayan languages. It is a combination of a verb of motion plus a verb that describes the manner of the motion. Both verbs are marked with a personal marker, which suggests a complex sentence; however, the manner/purpose clause could be regarded as an adjunct.

Often the verb that describes the manner is, naturally, in incomplete aspect. Sometimes a positional is used to denote manner/posture/position (details on Positionals are found in Chapter 3 on Verbal Morphology). In these cases of purposive construction, the conjunction **baal** is never used.

- (82) ul-ich [ti ajt-it-ill]
 come-COM R sing-REDUPL-AP(INC)
He came singing. (AmArch398)

- (83) ip kal-ej [t-ip jum-n-al.]
 A3p leave-COM R-A3p fly-MID-INC
They left flying. (AmRana39-11)

- (84) naa' ich jayeej wa kal-el [ti laatx-um k'ayuum.]
 there already he.too A3 leave-INC R swim-AP(INC) slowly
Here he is coming, swimming slowly. (AmR54-156)

Placement of the Elements

The elements of this type of construction, in most cases, have a fixed position: as seen in the examples above, the manner element immediately follows the main verb. Nevertheless, the manner element sometimes can precede the main verb (few examples in the corpus); in that case a cleft construction (focusing strategy) is triggered (85b.):

- (85) a. jajaa' bel-al [an ti txi'ich.]
 S/he walk-COM DEF R come-COM

The frog was not there, it has gone, it hid. (CirR147-16)

(88) k'waj-ay ich taam t-i ay-aal /
 be-COM INT then R-Ep search-TS-INC

i al-iy an ti sapaatu,
 Ep search-TS(COM) DEF prep shoe(Sp)

xowa' k'ij i al-iy / baa' i el-a'
 wherever INT Ep search-TS(COM) no Ep find-TS(COM)

*They were looking for it (frog), they looked in the shoes,
 everywhere they looked for it, they did not find it.* (CirR147-20)

(89) kal-ej an ti bentaana / i thaaj-y-al /
 go-COM DEF prep window(Sp) Ep call-TS-INC

an pik'o' in bal-iy-al n-in ook' an ti fraasko
 DEF dog E3 put.in-TS-INC DEM-E3 head DEF prep jar(Sp)

*He went to the window, they are calling it, the dog is putting its head
 into the jar.* (CirR148)

As mentioned above, the South Eastern Huastec independent clauses can be connected with coordinating conjunctions that include:

- general coordination conjunction

ani *and*

- conjunctions that express temporal relationship between the two

clauses:	taam	<i>then</i>
	tayiiil	<i>later</i>
	beel	<i>still</i>
	abaaal	<i>although</i>

The majority of HSF coordination conjunctions are Spanish loan words:

lueego	(Sp. luego)	<i>then</i>
peero	(Sp. pero)	<i>but</i>
coomo	(Sp. como)	<i>as</i>
tambyeen	(Sp. tambien)	<i>also</i>

Clause connectors can be used in a situation of temporal, causal, or contrastive relationship between the two juxtaposed clauses. The order of clauses in these cases is fixed.

- (90) baa' na' u k'ip-th-a-amal / beel na' u eyn-a-al
 no I E1 lose-CAUS-TS-PERF still I E1 use-TS-INC
I have not lost it, I still use it. (FilLenH52)

- (91) pun-ey koo' ja' ti juun i bitxim ani k'al-ej
 ride-COM SPEC s/he prep one NM horse and leave-COM

t-in chuu't-al juun i txithaan-il in koo'-y-al
 R-E3 see.INC one NM daughter-POSS E3 have-TS-INC

ti juun i bitxow in bij ti Floriida /
 prep one NM town E3 name prep Florida

tayiil taja' kal-ej / ani an ti beel yik'wch-in.
 later there go-COM and DEF prep road darken-MID(COM)

*He rode a horse and went to see a daughter he has in a town called Florida;
 Later he went there and (while) on the road it became dark.* (IrBorr12)

- (92) ne'ech k-in kal-ej [abaal k-a aab-an]
 FUT IRR-A1 ir-COM although IRR-A3 rain-MID(COM)
I will go although it is raining. (Arch558)

Expression of Space and Complex Motion: Sequencing Events

This chapter is dedicated to the expression of space and complex motion (sequencing events) in South Eastern Huastec. This Chapter deals with the some of the facts already discussed in previous chapters (Chapter 2 on Word Classes, Chapter 8 on Basic Clause Structure, and Chapter 11 on Complex Sentences, for instance), but in a semasiological perspective.

The expression of space in world languages has received a lot of attention in the past years. The study of the Mayan family has brought up some very interesting issues. The expression of space in South Eastern Huastec has never been studied before. These are the first insights into the problem of linguistic description of the location, Source and Goal, and Path in this language. In this chapter, the basic notions of the expression of space in HSF are discussed. The bases for this study have been the following questionnaires and material collected in the village of San Francisco during field work:

- a. Bowermann-Pederson Questionnaire, done with three different native speakers of Huastec in January 2008.
- b. The 78 video "Trajectoires" (Federation de Typologie – DDL, University of Lyon 2). (done with four different native speakers of HSF in July 2009).
- c. The picture book "*Frog, where are you?*" (done with two speakers)

- d. All materials collected during field work (about 1700 pages of HSF texts).

The first insights into this issue show that South Eastern Huastec encodes static location/position the way it is encoded in the languages of the family (only one basic locational preposition). The most interesting issue of the expression of space in HSF is related to the expression of movement, namely to the encoding of roles of Goal and Source of movement.

HSF does not possess directionals like other Mayan languages; in general, as mentioned before, the HSF morphology is somewhat simpler than that of the languages of the rest of the family. HSF does not have verbal suffixes or prefixes, particles or pre-verbs to express spatial meaning, as in many other languages of the world; these tasks are accomplished by other means in South Eastern Huastec. The lack of these means in this language has led to an interesting coding of the Trajectory/Path, which is the topic of this chapter. The Huastecan and Yucatecan languages are the only Mayan languages that lack directionals (Bohnenmeyer & Stoltz 2006, Bohnemeyer 1997, Bohnemeyer et al. 2006, Brown 1994, Craig 1994, Grinevald 2006, Grinevald 2010, Mateo-Toledo 2004, Zavala 1993, Zavala 2002). These two groups of languages do not encode Path using directionals. Instead, HSF often uses complex sentences sequencing the event, with one clause describing motion/Path, and the other describing Source/Goal/setting. This is discussed in detail further in this chapter.

12.1 HSF Means for Encoding Space

HSF uses the following means to express space and trajectory:

- **verbs of movement and posture/position**
- **prepositions**
- **relational nouns**
- **locational words/spatial adverbs**
- **nouns used with locational meaning**

12.1.1 Verbs of Motion Verbs of motion are pan-Mayan. HSF is a verb-framed language (in Talmy's typology terms), that is, this language encodes movement

uniquely by verbs (unlike all other languages, except Yucatec, which encodes movement/motion by a verb plus a directional). The following verbs of motion are found in South Eastern Huastec:

belal	<i>walk</i>	taal	<i>arrive (towards the speaker)</i>
kalej	<i>leave, exit</i>	txi'ich	<i>arrive</i>
k'alej	<i>go</i>	ulel	<i>come</i>
k'athiy	<i>ascend</i>	wat'ey	<i>pass</i>
ochich	<i>enter</i>	witxiy	<i>return</i>
pa'ay	<i>descend</i>	xe'ech	<i>walk around</i>
pujk'in	<i>fall</i>		

The verbs of motion in many languages are neutral regarding Goal and Source, since it is possible to say something like, *He fell from a cliff into the water*. In HSF, as is shown further in this chapter, the only possibility to describe the same event is as follows: “*He stood at the cliff. He fell into the water.*” In HSF, Source and Goal are related to only one ground; the verb, *fall*, in this language is related to the Goal only.

- (1) juun i kwitool a **pa'-iil** ti juun i t'ujublam.
 one NM boy A3 go.down-INC prep one NM stoney.place
A boy is going down the stony place. (AmT3)

- (2) naa i txithan **och-ich** an ti jool /
 DEM NM girl enter-COM DEF prep hole
That girl entered the cave,

pa'-ay an ti t'i'atx t'ujup.
 go.down-COM DEF prep big stone
She went down the stairs. (CirT7)

- (3) juun i kwitool a **wat'-eel** ti juun i wat'emtalaap.
 one NM boy A3 pass-INC prep one NM bridge
A boy is crossing a bridge. (AmT9)

- (4) **kal-ej** an ti jool ani **pun-ey** ti juun i t'ujup.
 leave-COM DEF prep hole and climb-COM prep one NM stone

He came out of a cave and climbed up a stone. (MauT66)

12.1.2 Prepositions in HSF

There are only two prepositions in this language: **ti** and **al**. They are prepositions of general location and express the basic static notion of space (a general typological relation), like *at/in/on/under*, and they function similarly to these sentences in English: *A book is **on** the table. Take the book ***from on** the table.*

at (5) n-u paa k'waj-at **ti** ale'/merkaadu/olip
 DEM-E1 father be-INC prep corn.field/market/river
*My father is **at** a corn field/at a market/on a river.* (IrArch40)

in (6) chanak'w k'waj-at **al** an patx
 bean be-INC prep DEF pan
*The beans are (Sp: estan) **in** the pan.* (IrArch55)

under (7) an mixtun bux-uul **al** an mesa
 DEF cat squat-INC prep DEF table
*The cat is sitting **under** the table.* (GoyBowP)

They are used also with motion verbs to express source and goal: in HSF, the same preposition is used for both static and dynamic situations, i.e. HSF does not distinguish between a Source and a Goal. This meaning is encoded by verbs.

out (8) n-u paa kal-ej **ti** ataa
 REL-E1 father exit-COM prep house
*My father went out **of** the house.* (SanArch453)

into (9) na jwaan kwaj-l-an **al** an moom
 HUM Juan fall-DM-MID(COM) prep DEF well
*Juan fell **into** the well.* (AmArch460)

a. Preposition ti As mentioned above, the preposition **ti** is the typical Mayan preposition, present in almost all Mayan languages (Yucatec: **ti'**, Tseltal: **ta**, Jakalteq/Popti: **to**, Q'anjobal: **ti**, etc). This is a typical Mayan trait.

- (10) bal-ith ti juun i balixtalaap

be.inside-PPL prep one NM container

(It) is inside a container. (BowPed2)

- (11) k-a mo'-k-a' an baaso ti meesa

IRR-E2 put-DM-TS(COM) DEF glass(Sp) prep table(Sp)

Put the glass on a table! (PetE1-80)

- (12) na jwaan kal-ej ti wii'lep

HUM Juan leave-COM prep door

Juan went out through the door. (SanArch459)

b. Preposition al

This preposition looks like a loan from Spanish; the preposition **al** *to the*, represents a combination of the preposition **a** *to*, and the definite article of masculine gender **el** *he, it*. At the time, it could not be said with certainty whether this is a loan or not, but this preposition in HSF looks identical to this Spanish preposition, and moreover it appears in definite instances. This issue needs more research.

The preposition **al** expresses the same meaning as the preposition **ti**, but is related to the notion of definiteness in HSF: its usage is restricted to definite environments. The preposition **al** comes uniquely in combination with the determiner **an**.

- (13) chanak'w k'waj-at al an patx

bean be-INC prep DEF pan

The beans are in the pan. (IrArch55)

- (14) an mixtun bux-uul al an mesa

DEF cat squat-POSIT prep DEF table

The cat is sitting under the table. (BowPed)

- (15) wa'ach juun i ya'ulaach al an bitxow

exist one NM illness prep DEF town

There is an epidemic in the village. (IrArch114)

- (16) na jwaan kwaj-l-an al an moom
 HUM Juan fall-DM-MID prep DEF well
Juan fell into the well. (AmArch460)

Both these prepositions belong to the same spatial topology (the prepositions of very general meaning, as *at/on/in* in English). We deal here with an issue of definiteness. A short discussion follows.

c. **The Issue of al an/an ti** In the following example, like in many others in the corpus, there is **an ti** instead of **al an**. The nominal phrase is definite in both cases. The consultants accept both possibilities as grammatical. At the moment I do not know the reason behind this issue.

- (17) naa' i txithan och-ich an ti jool /
 DEM NM girl enter-COM DEF prep cave

 pa'-ay an ti t'i'atx t'ujup.
 go.down-COM DEF prep big stone
This girl entered the cave, she went down the stairs. (CirT7)

So, there are three possibilities of combinations of preposition plus noun:

- a. **ti + N** b. **an ti + N** c. **al an + N**

The preposition **al**, as said above, occurs only with the definite article **an**. The preposition **ti** occurs, 1) in an indefinite environment, and 2) with the definite article **an**, but in this case, the determiner **an** precedes the preposition **ti**. This way, the preposition **ti** is placed **between the definite article and the noun** separating the noun from its article, as in example (10) above. This word order is very unusual. For this reason (the position of **an** before the preposition **ti**), the determiner **an** is considered a clitic. Another opinion is (Lehmann, p.c.) that this definiteness marker is a newer development in Mayan languages; by the time this definite marker was developed in HSF, the old Mayan preposition **ti** was so strongly attached to the noun that it was impossible to break this 'bond' for the 'newcomer' **an**. The following example (18)

shows two different descriptions of drawing 23 of the Bowermann & Pedersen Questionnaire. The sentence in (18)a is an instance of an indefinite environment, and the preposition **ti** is used; (18)b contains the determiner **an**, so the preposition **ti** is used again, but the word order changes.

- (18) a. an mangeera k'waj-at **ti** juun i tutup te'
 DEF hose(Sp) be-INC prep one NM trunk tree
The hose is on a tree trunk. (BowPed23A)

- b. pun-at **an** **ti** tutup te'
 put-PPL DEF prep trunk tree
It is put on the tree trunk. (BowPed23C)

The following example illustrates the alternation **al an/ an ti** in the same definite situation: (19)a uses **an ti**, and (19)b uses **al an**. The meaning of both sentences is absolutely the same.

- (19) a. k'och-at alk'ith **an ti** laktem
 lay-PPL down DEF prep chair
It lies under the chair. (Lit: down *from at the chair) (BowPad16B)

- b. k'och-at alk'ith **al an** laktem an peloota
 lay-PPL down prep DEF chair DEF ball
The ball lies under the chair. (BowPad16C)

Several instances of the combination of the preposition **ti** with the definite article **an** are found in the corpus. It appears in the Bowermann and Pederson Questionnaire of expression of Space with a high frequency: there are 69 pictures done with three speakers, which makes 207 answers: the combination **an ti** appears 97 times.

12.1.3

Relational Nouns

Relational nouns are

present in all Mayan languages. These are, as stated earlier in the chapter on Verbal Morphology, possessive constructions: “in its front the house”= *in front of the house*.

a. **t-in kuux**
 prep-E3 back
 'at his back' = behind him

b. **t-in txuum an te'**
 prep-E3 top DEF tree
 "at its top the stick" = on the top of the stick

Relational nouns are not very numerous in HSF. They are described in detail in chapter 4 on Nominal Morphology, section 4.4. Often, a locational word (discussed in the next section) is used with a relational noun to emphasize the expression of space:

(20) k'waj-at jee' t-u kuux
 be-INC here prep-E1 back
 (S/he) is sitting here behind me. (AmArch45)

In examples (21) and (22) the space is encoded by a locational word **t'ek'at**, which encodes the static location (*up*), plus a relational noun to signal the direction **t-in juntxal** (*in the direction of*). The idea of trajectory (Path) is therefore encoded in the combination of an adverbial word that encodes a point of localization, and a relational noun that encodes direction. This is an instance of a Trajectory without movement (Grinevald 2011).

(21) k'waj-at **t'ek'at** **t-in juntxal an meesa**
 be-INC up.there prep-E3 direction DEF table(Sp)
 (The lamp) is upstairs in the direction of the table. (AmBPed13)

(22) pal-at we' i tokow **t'ek'at t-in lujtal an cheen**
 hang-PPL small NM cloud up.there prep-E3 direction DEF hill
 There is a small cloud (suspended) up there towards the hill. (BowPed36C)

12.1.4 Locational Words/Spatial Adverbs

a. Locational Words, General These words have been mentioned in Chapter 2 on Word Classes. Several different words have been recorded with the same locational

meaning; at the moment it is not clear what rule governs their choice. Below is the list of HSF locational words:

jee'	here	taja' (taa')	there
aja' (naa')	there	tuwa'	there
nuwa'	over there		

- (23) naja' k'waj-at an t'eel
 there be-INC DEF rat
*The rat is **over there**.* (AmE1-73)

The following examples illustrate the very common HSF combination of an adverbial word with a preposition (usually a deixis plus a preposition):

- (24) an chitxik kwitool ne'ech t-ip atx-im nuwa' ti olip
 DEF small boy FUT R-A3p bath-AP(INC) there prep river
*The children will bathe **over there in the river**.* (AmE1-73)

- (25) nuwa' al an alelaap wa'ach i eem
 there prep DEF corn.field exist.INC NM maize
***Over there at the corn field** there is maize.* (AmE1-72)

b. 'Boundary-Marking' Words: These words are used when a marked boundary is a reference point.

altaa'	in, into, inside (a house)
leep	out, outside

- (26) n-u paa och-ich alta'
 DEM-E1 father(Sp) enter-COM inside
My father went inside. (AmArch451b)

c. Distance Words:

k'unat	close	leep	on, on top of
oweel	far	eeplith	on, on top of

alk'ith down	piil separately, far
t'ek'at up	junpuk'ej next to

- (27) wat'-ey **k'unat** an t-in akan an te'
 pass-COM close DEF prep-E3 foot DEF tree
He passed close to the tree. (T22-2)

- (28) nuk'-at **eeplith** ti meesa an manteel
 spread-PPL on/over prep table(Sp) DEF tablecloth(Sp)
The tablecloth is spread over the table. (BowP29Cx)

The origin of these words seems unclear.

12.1.5 Question Direction Words

The origin of these words is also unknown. Both contain the morpheme **jun-**, meaning the number, *one*. In several languages an indefinite word plus a preposition appear in question words. This seems a plausible explanation as these words are indeed used to make questions in HSF:

juntana' (to) where? (Sp adonde)	junti' where?

- (29) **junti'** kal-ej n-a paa
 where leave-COM REL-E2 father
From where did your father leave/go out? (AmArch454)

As seen earlier, the location word can have initial (ex. 23 and 25) or final (ex. 26) position. However, very often a locational word is used together with a preposition in order to specify the location, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (30) k'waj-at **alk'ith** al an kwajlaap
 be-INC down prep DEF chair
It is under the chair. (down from at the chair)* (BowP16A)

- (31) och-ich **altxik** al an te'.
 enter-COM among prep DEF tree
He went into the forest. (T27-1)

- (32) wat'-ey k' unat an t-in akan an te'
 pass-COM close DEF prep-E3 foot DEF tree
He passed close to the tree. (T22-2)

At first sight, the location words **t'ek'at** *up* and **alk'ith** *down* in the following example look like directionals, but here they are used only to specify the final position. In Papuan linguistics, for example, these words are called “elevationals,” and are considered a special case of directionals, as they can specify direction and movement at the same time (Foley, p.c.) In the video, “Trajectoires,” scene 52, the boy jumps on a stone that is lower than his initial position; example (33b.) is a result of an elicitation.

- (33) a. t'ik-on t'ek'at' an ti t'ujup
 jump-MID(COM) up.there DEF prep stone
 (He) jumped (up) on the stone. (T52, E)
- b. t'ik-on alk'ith an ti t'ujup
 jump-MID(COM) down DEF prep stone
 (He) jumped (down) on the stone.

12.1.6 Nouns Used with Locative Meaning Some nouns in HSF can be used as words with locative meaning. Although the majority of these words contain a final morpheme **-(V)l**, the origin of these words is not clear.

List of HSF Locational Nouns		
		meaning
• Cardinal:		
	alaal	<i>north</i> <i>in the north</i>

ebaal	<i>south</i>	<i>in the south</i>
• General:		
ch'ejel	<i>middle</i>	<i>in the middle of</i>
• Geographic:		
ba'te'	<i>bank, corner, side</i>	<i>in the corner, at the side of</i>
chabaal	<i>soil, ground, earth</i>	<i>on the floor/ground</i>
-

In the following example, the word **chabaal** *land, soil, ground*, is used as a noun (is modified by a quantifier **yaan** *much*, and a nominal marker **i**). In the sentence below, this word is in its function of an argument:

- (34) ip jil-tx-in yaan i **chabaal**
 A3p leave-DAT-MID(COM) much NM land
They were left (given) much land. (AlEns)

And below are the examples of its usage with a locative meaning, i.e. in its oblique function, but without an overtly expressed preposition:

- (35) na jwaan k'waj-ay **chabaal**
 HUM Juan sit-COM earth
Juan sat (down) on the floor. (SanArch462)

- (36) an patx **naa'** k'waj-at **ba'te'**
 DEF saucepan there be-INC corner
The saucepan is there in the corner. (AmArch45)

Example (37)a. shows that the verb **k'waj-** *sit (down)*, normally requires a preposition. In (37)b. **chabaal** is used with locational meaning, without a preposition.

- (37) a. na jwaan k'waj-ay an ti laktem

HUM Juan sit-COM DEF prep chair
Juan sat on the chair.

- b. na jwaan k'waj-ay **chabaal**
 HUM Juan sit-COM ground
Juan sat on the floor. (SanArch462)

Nouns with locative meaning, like prepositions, can be used in both static and dynamic situation:

- (38) a. an patx naa' k'waj-at **chabaal/ba'te'**
 DEF saucepan there be-INC ground/corner
The pan is on the floor/in the corner. (AmArch45)
- b. na jwaan k'waj-ay **chabaal**
 HUM Juan sit-COM ground
Juan sat (down) on the floor. (SanArch462)

The verb **k'waj-**, as previously mentioned in chapter 8 on complex predication (the section on auxiliaries), has several meanings: *be, sit, live*.

12.1.7 Positionals in HSF Positionals in HSF, as discussed in chapter 3 on Verbal Morphology, are normally used to encode manner of posture. In that way, they also encode the space and the movement in this language:

bux-uul *squat*
em-eel *lean*
kut-uul *sit*
kex-eel *open*
metx-eel *lying with head on hands*

- (39) **bux-uul** an ti maplap an pik'o'
 squat-POSIT DEF prep wall DEF dog
The dog is squatting next to the wall. (BowPed6C)

12.1.8 Other Verbs In HSF, there is a rather common verb that encodes the meaning of *being inside a closed entity*: **bal-iy** *be inside*

- (40) an koy **bal-ith** ti juun i jaula
 DEF rabbit be.inside-PPL prep one NM box(Sp)
The rabbit is inside a box. (AmBowP54)

12.2 Trajectory Encoding in HSF: Sequencing Events

This section deals with a typologically very interesting and rare way of encoding the path component of complex motion events in South Eastern Huastec. The following examples demonstrate the type of constructions discussed in this section. They show how the expression of source or goal, as in *A girl walked away from the tree*, which is done with one clause in English, consists of distinct verbal phrases in HSF, with one clause describing motion, and another clause relating to Source/Goal ground:

- (41) a. **bel-ej** **juun** **i** **txithan** //
 walk-COM one NM girl
 b. **kub-at** **wik** **t-in** **akan** **i** **te'**
 stand-PPL PAST prep-E3 feet NM tree
 Desired reading: *A girl walked away from the tree.* (T32-4)
 (Litt: a. *A girl walked*; b. *(she) had been standing at the foot of the tree.*)
- (42) a. **taal** **ti** **bel-al** // b. **och-ich** **ti** **eemlam**
 come.INC R walk-INC enter-COM prep corn.field
 Desired reading: *She went into a corn field.* (T69-26-3)
 (Litt: a. *(S/he) comes walking*; b. *(she) entered the corn field.*)

The typological framework for this study of the expression of Path in South Eastern Huastec is outlined in section (12.3.1). The basics of the expression of space across the Mayan family will be outlined in section (12.3.2), in order to put the HSF data into perspective. Section (12.3.3) will deal in detail with the expression of Path in HSF, and section (12.3.4) will conclude the discussion on sequencing events in HSF.

12.2.1 The Framework for This Analysis

This is the first study

on the expression of space in Huastecan languages, based on fieldwork in Mexico, and carried out within the “Trajectoire” project of the Fédération de Typologie based at the University of Lyon 2, France. The study of the encoding of Path in HSF originated in my participation in the Trajectoire project through the DDL at the University Lyon 2. Some very interesting facts showed up while looking at the HSF data on space from different perspectives.

A Typology of Complex Motion Events by Bohnemeyer et al. (2007)

The typological framework used for the present analysis is Bohnemeyer et al. (2007). These authors were interested in establishing a semantic typology of motion-event encoding; in other words, in studying ‘how conceptually comparable event representations are segmented across units of linguistic code’ (2007: 524), since events are encoded not just by lexical terms, but by verb phrases, clauses, and larger discourse units, which vary in the packaging of event information. After having researched the typology of event-encoding in eighteen genetically and typologically diverse languages, the group of authors divided the languages into three types. This approach takes into account the language-specific lexicalisation patterns and the availability of certain kinds of multi-verb constructions for the expression of motion events. Huastec, together with Yucatec, seem to belong to group three: these languages “require a separate verbal phrase for encoding each location-change sub-event that involves a distinct ground” (2007: 515). These languages express location-change exclusively in verb roots or stems and lack multi-verb constructions that combine multiple location-change-denoting verbal phrases into a single construction (such as Kilivila, Jalonke, Saliba, Yeli Dnye, Tidore, and Zapotec).

12.2.2 Space Studies in Mayan Languages

The expression of

Space in Mayan languages has been studied for some time. Some studies are focused on the presence of positionals and their use (Brown 1993, Martin 1994, Grinevald 2006). Others focus on the widespread phenomenon of directionals of verbal origin that are at different levels of grammaticalisation in various languages, and can appear as verbal suffixes, post-verbal particles, or verbal prefixes (Craig 1994, Grinevald 2006, Grinevald 2010, 2011, De Leon and Levinson 1992, Mateo-Toledo 2004, Larsen 1994,

Quizar 1994, Zavala 1994, among others). However, in Yucatecan and Huastecan, these directionals are not found. Mayan directionals are illustrated with inventories from Mam and Tzeltal, from two distinct branches of the family:

Directionals in Mam and Tzeltal

Mam (N.England 1978)		Tzeltal (G.Pollan 2004)	
aj	<i>return from here</i>	beel	<i>towards there</i>
ajtz	<i>return from there</i>	jajch'el	<i>getting up</i>
b'aj	<i>complete</i>	jilel	<i>without movement</i>
el	<i>out</i>	julel	<i>arriving here</i>
etz	<i>out toward</i>	k'axel	<i>passing</i>
ex	<i>out away</i>	k'oel	<i>reaching the goal</i>
iky'	<i>passing</i>	koel	<i>downwards</i>
iky'tz	<i>passing to this side</i>	lok'el	<i>towards outside, leaving/going out</i>
iky'x	<i>passing to other side</i>	moel	<i>upwards</i>
jaw	<i>up</i>	ochel	<i>towards inside, entering</i>
jatz	<i>up toward</i>	sujt'el	<i>returning</i>
jax	<i>up away</i>	tel	<i>towards here</i>
kub'	<i>down</i>		
ku'tz	<i>down toward</i>		
ku'w	<i>down away</i>		
kyaj	<i>remaining</i>		
ok	<i>in</i>		
okx	<i>in away</i>		
oktz	<i>in toward</i>		
pon	<i>here to there</i>		
tzaj	<i>toward</i>		
ul	<i>there to here</i>		
xl	<i>away</i>		

The usage of the directionals in encoding Path in these languages is illustrated in the following examples:

(43) itzaajal a' wu'na **maax** **jaw-nax**
MAM will.bring water by.me **up.there** **DIR-ADV**
 I will bring the water up there. (England 1978:229)

(44) wil-Ø **lok'el** **moel** **beel**

TZEL fly-B3 DIR:exit DIR:go.up DIR:go
He flew out far up. (Polian 2004:158)

According to Zavala (2002), Huastecan verbs of motion have not grammaticalised into directionals. Comparing the HSF data in (41) and (42) to those from other Mayan languages with directionals, as in (43) and (44), it seems plausible to argue that the South Eastern Huastec way of encoding space and motion-events could represent an early stage of the expression of trajectory in the family, before the grammaticalisation of motion verbs into directionals.

12.2.3 HSF Means for Encoding Motion The means for encoding motion in South Eastern Huastec are presented in this section.

12.2.3.1 Expression of Motion: Verbs of Motion Verbs of motion are found in all Mayan languages. They are often very similar, if not identical, across the languages of the family. The HSF verbs of motion are presented in 12.1.1.

12.2.3.2 Expression of Ground: General Prepositions As mentioned above, there are only two prepositions in South Eastern Huastec: *ti*, a typical Mayan general preposition, and *al* a loan from Spanish, (a combination of the Spanish preposition *a* *to*, plus the definite article for masculine gender *el* *the*.)⁶ HSF data suggest that both of these prepositions, as shown in the following examples, do not have a reference to space at all, but are used with very general prepositional meaning. The meaning of Path in HSF is therefore encoded by a verb, in other words, the expression of motion is completely in the verb, and not in adpositions in HSF. Notice the general use of the preposition for the expression of location (45, 46, 47), source (48), or goal (49) of motion events (already mentioned earlier, but repeated here for convenience):

(45) chanak'w k'waj-at al an patx
 bean be-INC prep DEF pan
 The beans are (Sp: estan) in the pan. (IrArch55)

⁶ As previously mentioned, the loan preposition *al* is usually used in a definite environment, although there are some exceptions. At this time, this issue is very unclear and needs more research. However it has no impact on the encoding events.

- (46) an mixtun bux-uul al an mesa
 DEF cat squat-INC prep DEF table
*The cat is sitting **under** the table.* (GoyBowP)

- (47) n-u paa k'waj-at ti ale'/merkaadu/olip
 DEM-E1 father be-INC prep corn.field/market/river
*My father is **at** a corn field/at a market/on a river.* (IrArch40)

- (48) n-u paa kal-ej ti ataaj
 DEM-E1 father exit-COM prep house
*My father went out **of** the house.* (SanArch453)

- (49) na jwaan kwaj-l-an al an moom
 HUM Juan fall-DM-MID prep DEF well
*Juan fell **into** the well.* (AmArch460)

12.2.3.3 Expression of Figure: Positionals and Verbs of Posture Positionals are a Pan-Mayan phenomenon. In South Eastern Huastec they are not numerous; a detailed description of the HSF positionals is found in Chapter 3 on Verbal Morphology.

bux-uul *squat* **em-eel** *lean* **kut-uul** *sit*

- (50) **bux-uul** an ti maplap an pik'o'
 squat-POSIT DEF prep wall DEF dog
The dog is sitting (Lit: 'squatting') next to the wall. (BowPed6C)

Some of the HSF intransitive verbs used to encode the posture of the Figure are:

kub-ey *stand* **koch-iy** *lie*

As will be seen later, sometimes the expression of source or goal in HSF complex motion events may include the use of such posture/positional elements.

12.2.4 Expression of Complex Motion Events in HSF As

mentioned above, the main characteristic of the HSF expression of Trajectory is the segmentation of motion events into sub-events (separated macro-event expressions).

This phenomenon is outlined in detail in this section. There are different ways of segmenting events in South Eastern Huastec.

12.2.4.1 Motion-cum-manner The first kind of sequencing of events in HSF is between motion, and manner of motion. In HSF these constructions are complex sentence constructions involving two different verb phrases; the first one with the motion verb, and the second with an embedded manner-verb introduced by the subordinator **ti**.

- (51) a. **wat'-ey** b. **ti aath-il** juun i chikam kwitool
 pass-COM R run-AP(INC) one NM small boy
 a. *he passed* b. *he ran, the little boy*
 Desired reading: *A boy **ran past/by**.* (T23-4)

- (52) a. **kal-ej** b. **ti bel-al** al an jool
 exit-COM R walk-INC prep DEF cave
 a. *she went* b. *she walked out of the cave.*
 Desired reading: *She **walked out of the cave**.* (Traj23-40)

- (53) a. **naa' i chikam och-ich** b. **ti laatx-um**
 DEM NM boy enter-COM R swim-AP(INC)
 a. *that boy entered* b. *he swam.*
 Desired reading: *That boy **swam into** (it, the water).*

12.2.4.2 Sequencing Events for the Expression of Source and Goal The most basic way to express Source or Goal in South Eastern Huastec is with an adpositional phrase, introduced by the same basic preposition (**ti**, **al**), indicating that it is the verb that bears the meaning of Path, and not the preposition. The following examples illustrate this phenomenon.

- (54) a. **goal** och-ich **ti** juun i jool
 entrar-COM prep one NM cave
 (*S/he*) *entered/went into a cave.* (T70)

b. **source** kal-ej **ti** juun i jool
 leave-COM prep one NM cave
 (S/he) came out of a cave. (T73)

(55) a. **goal** och-ich **al** **an** alte'
 enter-COM prep DEF bush
 (S/he) entered/went into the bush. (T56)

b. **source** kal-ej **al** **an** alte'
 leave-COM prep DEF bush
 (S/he) came out of the bush. (T73)

The above examples show how Huastec encodes both the Source and the Goal with the same prepositions; the verb bears the main meaning—not the preposition. In the following example the same scene is described by two different speakers; one uses the preposition **ti**, and the other one **al**, but in both cases it is the same preposition that encodes the source and the goal:

(56) a. naa' i txithan **kal-ej** **an** **ti** jool ani in ik'-iy
 DEM NM girl leave-COM DEF prep cave and E3 bring-TS(COM)

n-in t'aknaab-il ani **witx-iy** **an** **ti** jool
 DEM-E3 basquet-POSS and return-COM DEF prep cave
 ...*came out of the cave and brought her basket, and returned into the cave.*

b. **kal-ej** **al** **an** jool, in pen-a' juun i balixtalaap /
 leave-COM DEF prep cave E3 take-TS(COM) one NM basket

ani **witx-iy** **al** **an** jool
 and return-COM prep DEF cave
 ...*came out of the cave and brought a basket, and returned into the cave.*

12.2.4.3 Motion with Goal (towards) The expression of motion with a goal is an area where Huastecan (and Yucatecan) languages behave very differently from the rest of the languages in the family, in that they sequence events in two motion clauses. The following example illustrates how the change of ground

triggers a different clause, in this case with a simple juxtaposition of two clauses in (57):

- (57) a. **kub-ey** // b. **ut-ey** t-in akan an te
 stand-COM approach-COM prep-E3 feet DEF tree
 a. *She stood up/stopped.* b. *She approached the tree trunk*
 Desired reading: She went towards the tree. (Traj61-75)

The following example combines the event-sequencing of motion with an embedded manner-verb and the juxtaposition of the motion with a goal event:

- (58) a. **taal** **ti** **bel-al** // b. **och-ich** al an alte'
 come-INC R walk-INC enter-COM prep DEF bush
 a. *(He) is coming walking.* b.. *He entered the bush.*
 Desired reading: He walked into the bush. (T52-3)

Besides juxtaposition, a relative clause can be used instead, as shown in the following example (59), (see also (66)):

- (59) a. ip k'al-ej // b. **xoo'n** ti wa'ach i ja'
 A3p go-COM REL prep exist NM water
 Lit: a. *they went* b. *there where there is water.* (T76-1)
 Desired reading: They went towards the water.

It should be mentioned that the translation given by the consultants clearly sequenced the events in Spanish as well, although all the consultants were native speakers of Spanish.

12.2.4.4 Case of no Preposition with Goal There are a couple of examples of movement towards a goal expressed with no preposition. It is similar to English where it is possible to say '*He went home,*' but **He went Paris* is ungrammatical.

- (60) k'al-ej Wamantla.
 go-COM Huamantla
 (S/he) went to Huamantla.

- (61) naa' i inik och-ich alte'
 DEM NM man enter-COM bush
That man entered the bush. (Traj27-)

- (62) och-ich piil i jool.
 enter-COM other NM hole
(S/he) entered another hole. (T36-3)

12.2.4.5 A Transitive Construction Expressing a Goal Several examples of verbs of movement without any preposition were found in transitive sentences. The following example illustrates this case:

- (63) (jajaa') in mak-a' naa' i uxum.
 he E3 approach-TS(COM) DEM NM woman
He approached that woman. (CIT17)

In this case, the verb **maka'** *approach* is transitive and needs a direct object, like in English. In fact, there is no word for *towards* in HSF. Above is an example of expressing this direction in HSF. Example (63) is the way in which to express the English sentence '*He went towards that woman*'.

12.2.4.6 Motion with a Medium Point The same way of sequencing events is present in this construction: In (64) below, the girl *ran* (manner of motion) and *crossed or passed by a tree* (medium):

- (64) a. wat'-ej b. ti aath-il c. ani in jek-a' juun i te'
 pass-COM R run-AP(INC) and E3 cross-TS(COM) one NM tree
 a. *(She) passed* b. *she ran* c. *and she crossed a tree.*
 Desired reading: *She ran past a tree.* (Traj67-3)

The same phenomenon is observed in the following example, with a sequencing totaling four verbs, of a.) motion, b.) manner of motion, c.) medium-passing motion verb and d.) boundary-crossing verb with goal:

- (65) a. **wat'-ey** b. **ti** **bel-al** c. **ani** in **crusaar-iy** oox i persoonaa
 pass-COM R walk-INC and E3 cross(Sp)-TS(COM) three NM people
 d. **ani och-ich** al an **jool**
 and enter-COM prep DEF hole
 a. *He passed* b. *he walked* c. *he crossed three people,* d. *and went into the cave.*

Desired reading: *He walked by three people into the cave.* (T120)

The following sentence, on the other hand, is another example of the use of relative clauses to express motion with a Medium Point:

- (66) a. **wat'-ey** naa' // b. **xoo'n** ti wa'ach an **chalam**
 pass-COM there REL R exist-INC DEF shade
 a. *He passed through there* b. *where there was a shade.*

Desired reading: *He passed through the shade there.* (T22-1)

Here too, the translation into Spanish has the same sequencing expression as the one found in HSF (*Paso alli por donde habia la sombra*, instead of simply *Paso por la sombra* - “He went through the shade”), although all the consultants are full native speakers of Spanish.

12.2.4.7 Motion from a Source

The

expression of motion from a source is particularly interesting in South Eastern Huastec, in that it seems to often call for the description of the posture the Figure was in before the motion. The following examples illustrate this particular case of event sequencing:

- (67) a. **bel-ej** juun i txithan //
 walk-COM one NM girl
 b. **kub-at** wik t-in akan i te'
 stand-PPL PAST prep-E3 feet NM tree
 a. *A girl walked.* b. *She was leaning on the tree.* (T32-4)

Desired reading: *A girl walked away from the tree*

The order of these sequences can vary. In the following example the first clause encodes the posture of the Figure, the second clause encodes the posture of another person that represents the Ground, and the third clause expresses the motion from that Ground:

- (68) a. juun i inik kub-at b. xoo'n ti koch-at juun i txithan //
 one NM man stand-PPL REL R lie-PPL one NM girl
 c. tayiil an inik bel-ej
 later DEM man walk-COM (AmT35-57)
 a. *A man stands* b. *where a girl lies.* c. *Later the man walked.*
 Desired reading: *A man walked away from the lying girl.*

In the following example, the sequence involves a plain motion-verb followed by an embedded manner-of-motion verb with its own ground, then the source ground is expressed through a third clause, with a boundary-crossing motion-verb with its own source ground:

- (69) a. ne'-ech b. ti bel-al an ti toomlam //
 go-INC R walk-INC DEF prep field
 c. kal-ej al an alte'
 leave-COM prep DEF bush
 a. *(He)goes* b. *he walks across the field.* c. *He went out of the bush.*
 Desired reading: *He walked out of the bush.* (T55-3-19)

12.2.4.8 Relative Clauses Relative clauses are marked by a combination of a demonstrative locational word, a relative particle, and a preposition. Below is an instance of a headless relative clause, with only the relative particle **xoo'n** *that*, and the preposition **ti**. The following examples show that instead of the preposition “towards,” HSF uses a relative clause:

- (70) wat'-ey naa' xoo'n ti wa'ach an chalam.
 pass-COM there REL R exist-INC DEF shade
He passed through (there where there was) a shade. (T22-1)
- (71) kal-ej juun i inik in mak-a'
 leave-COM one NM man E3 meet-TS(COM)

xoo'n **ti** **koch-at** **juun** **i** **uxum**
REL R lie-PPL one NM woman

A man left, he approached (where) a woman (was) lying. (T11-4)

(72) **juun** **i** **inik** **kub-at** **xoo'n** **ti** **koch-at**
one NM man stand-PPL REL R lie-PPL

juun **i** **txithan** // **tayiil** **an** **inik** **bel-ej**.
one NM girl. later DEF man walk-COM (T35-1)

A man is standing where a girl is lying. Later the man walked.

12.2.4.9 Order of Event-Sequencing Segments The above example (72) and the following example (73) illustrate Bohnemeyer et al.'s macro-event linking principle, which restricts subevents encoded in a macro-event expression, according to the temporal and causal relations encoded by the expression, which ensures that the 'temporal interpretation of the sub-event is independent of the order of path phrases' (2007: 525). These two examples are descriptions of the same scene given by two different consultants. The only difference between (72) and (73) is the order of constituents (segments), which is a proof that these sequences are independent segments:

(73) a. **an** **inik** **bel-ej** b. **kub-at** **wik**
 one man walk-COM stand-PPL PAST

c. **xoo'n** **ti** **koch-at** **juun** **i** **txithan**
 REL R lie-PPL one NM girl

a. *a man walked* b. *he was standing* c. *where a girl was lying*

A man walked away from the lying girl. (CirTraj35-57)

In South Eastern Huastec an adverbial can be placed between these segments/sequences of an event. For example, **tayiil** *then, later*, a conjunction **ani** *and*, or a pause in the intonation. These segments/sequences represent independent clauses.

(74) a. **kal-ej** **al** **an** **eem** b. **ani** **wat'-ey** **an** **ti** **beel**
 leave-COM prep DEF corn.feeld and pass-COM DEF prep way
 (She) came out of the maize field and crossed the way. (GoyTr38-51)

12.2.4.10 Multiple Sequences

As seen above, the complex motion-sequencing can have several segments in HSF. Here is an illustration of an example with four sequences:

(75) a. axee' i chikam kwitool **pun-at** wik an ti t'ujup //
 DEM NM little boy climb-PPL PAST DEF prep stone

b. **tayiil** bel-ej c. ani **och-ich**
 later walk-COM and enter-COM

d. **xoo'n** ti k'waj-txik an pak-tha' t'ujup
 REL R be-PL DEF big-PL stone

a. *This little boy was standing at the stone.* b. *later he walked*
 c. *and he entered* d. *where there are big stones.* (Tr31-4)

Desired reading: *The little boy walked into the stony place (from the rock).*

The Yucatec language behaves the same as Huastec (Bohnenmeyer et al.2007):

(76) ba'l=e', be'oora=a' t-inw=il-ah=e', hun-p'éeel chan àasul ba'l
 [thing=TOP] [now=D1] [PRV-A.1=see-CMP(B.3SG)=TOP] [one-CL.IN DIM blue thing]
But now, I saw it, a little blue thing.

k-u=p'àat-al t-u=xùul le=tu'x h-luk'
 IMPF-A.3=await.ACAUS-INC LOC.A.3=end DEF=where PRV-leave(B.3SG)
It stayed at the end where it left.

le=chan ba'l chak=o', k-u=bin u=balk'=e', k-u=ts'o'k-ol=e'.
 DEF=DIM thing red(B.3SG)=D2] [IMPF-A3=go A3=roll=TOP] [IMPF-A.3=end-INC=TOP]
The little thing that's red, it went rolling, and then

k-u=màan y=iknal hun-p'éeel chan ba'l chak xan=e',
 [IMPF-A.3=pass A.3=at one-CL.IN DIM thing red(B.3SG) also=TOP]

then it passes by a little thing that's also red,

k-u=ts'o'k-ol-e' , k-u=k'uch-ul y=inknal le=tràangulo àasul=o'.
 [IMPF-A.3=end-INC-TOP] [IMPF-A.3=arrive-INC A.3=at DEF=triangle blue(B.3SG)=D2]
and then it arrives at the blue triangle.

The same pattern is observed in Kilivila (Papua New Guinea), a type III language as well (Bohnenmeyer et al.2007):

(77) Kaukwau e-kaitau bunukwa e-la va vaya e-lupeli e-la va kai.
 KIL [dog 3-carry pig]s [3-go ITI creek]s [3-cross 3-go ITI tree]s
The dog carries pork, it goes to the creek, it crosses it, it goes to the tree.

and in Wan (Southeastern Mande, Ivory Coast; Nikitina 2009:18):

(78) yāá kpɔ dō bilà lé yi é gó bé é lā tá yi-tā-gòŋ é gó
 WAN 3SG+COP fish one pull PROG water DEF in then 3SG it put boat DEF in
a. he pulls a fish out of the water; b. then he puts the fish into the boat.
 Desired reading: *He is pulling a fish into the boat.*

A Tacanan language from Amazonia, Esse Ejja (data by M. Vuillermet,p.c.), has the same pattern of sequencing events:

(79) eta'a =jo neki kwaji-kwaji -jaasowa-ani (ese_01_mv_37)
 river =LOC stand run-RED -go.up-PRS
 Lit.: *He stands at the river, he goes up running.*
 Desired reading: *He runs from the river (where he was standing).*

South Eastern Huastec is clearly a Type III language according to the Bohnemeyer et al. (2007) classification. In South Eastern Huastec, any location change with respect to

each ground must be encoded in a separate expression by a separate verbal phrase. This phenomenon works like *Floyd left Nijmegen, crossed the river, and arrived in Elst*, and not like *Floyd arrived from Nijmegen to Elst crossing the river*. It represents, cognitively, another way of packaging information, and this is the only way to do this in HSF. The Path functions are lexicalized uniquely in verbs and not in adpositions or similar. Huastecan and Yucatecan languages are verb-framed (no double-marking of path relations like in Tzotzil, with directionals). In Huastecan and Yucatecan, there are no multi-verb constructions (serial verbs) that combine multiple location-change-denoting verbal phrases into a single construction.

All the above examples demonstrate that multiple verbal phrases are often used in describing one event of complex motion. Huastec is sensitive to ground changes, and when there are two or more grounds involved, HSF registers these changes. Slobin (1996: 204), comparing space expressions from the *Frog Story* in English and Spanish, notices that languages seem to differ in ‘relative allocation of attention to movement and setting,’ and that the speakers of Spanish often elaborate on descriptions of settings, leaving Paths to be inferred. For Slobin it is a rhetorical style that favors separate clauses for each segment of a complex motion event. He also notes that the speakers of Spanish use more descriptive locative constructions, such as relative clause constructions, to encode setting (background) of events. This applies in totality to the Huastec and Yucatec way of encoding Path.

The South Eastern Huastec way of sequencing events is interesting, firstly, for the Typology, as this language is one of the few known languages that sequence events into sub-events in this way. Secondly, it is interesting for Mayan linguistics. This phenomenon may represent the Proto-Mayan way of expressing Path: it looks like the other Mayan languages have lexicalised one of these sequences into a directional.

Conclusion:

South Eastern Huastec

in Huastecan and Mayan Perspective

Introduction This thesis is meant to be a contribution to the study of a Mayan language of Mexico, South Eastern Huastec, which has a unique position in the Mayan language family. The Huastecan branch of the family has always been an “intriguing, problematic and under-represented area of Mayan linguistics” (Norcliffe 2003). The major contribution of this study is the description of Huastec of San Francisco, which had not been described at all, prior to this grammar. This is a study based on a rich collection of data that constitutes a first documentation of this particular variety of Huastec. As of today, further work on Huastec is also being done, which focuses on some of the main characteristics of the language. One is a comparative historical study of person marking in all three Huastec varieties, done by Lucero Melendez in 2011 (a PhD at UNAM Mexico City), and the other a study of valency in the Huastec of San Luis Potosi by Veronica Munoz Ledo (forthcoming PhD at UC Santa Barbara).

Besides this other on-going work on Huastecan languages, it is interesting to note that a number of recent grammars of other languages in the Mayan family spoken in Mexico have recently come out. Two are of a particular interest for the Huastecan languages, considering how Robertson and Houston (2003) propose putting Huastec in a subgroup with the Cholan-Tzeltalan group of Mayan languages. These works are the new grammars of Polian (2011) on Tzeltal and Vazquez (2011) on Chol. The recent work of Palosaari (2011) on Mocho (Q'anjob'alan branch) is also interesting in terms of confirming the existence of a Middle Voice in another Mayan language, which happens to have the same marker as in HSF (marker **-n**), which comes from the Proto-Mayan Antipassive marker **-*n**.

In this conclusion I offer some synthesis of what the study of the South Eastern variety of Huastec presented here can confirm for the analysis of Huastec particularities found in the literature. I also review some of the original contributions on topics not treated in the literature. This discussion is presented in two steps, first by placing South Eastern Huastec within what is known of the Huastecan branch (section 1), and then enlarging the discussion of issues of the Mayan linguistic family and of general typological interest (section 2).

Section 1: South Eastern Huastec (HSF) as a Huastecan Language

Although South Eastern Huastec (HSF) has a lot in common with the other two varieties of Huastec (Huastec of San Luis Potosi or HVA, and Huastec of Veracruz or HUS), it has some particular features that will be pointed out in what follows.

It is worth noting first that it is not always easy to compare the three Huastecan varieties because of the nature of the earlier work. Earlier work either emphasizes derivational processes and does not cover syntactic issues (McQuown 1984, Edmunson 1988), or focuses on a specific theoretical perspective, such as Relational Grammar (Constable 1989), with its own issues. The comparison with the other varieties of Huastec is also limited in the new domains considered in this thesis that were not yet treated in general or Mayan linguistics at the time when the previous works on Huastec were written. This is the case, for example, of the issue of depictives, double object,s or the expression of Path. However, when some of the HSF issues raised in this thesis are not comparable to other Huastecan varieties, they can be taken up within the perspective of languages of other Mayan branches. This is the case with recent information found in the above-mentioned recent works on languages of the Cholan-Tzeltalan group.

Following the chapters of this thesis, the themes to be considered below are phonology (1.1.), person marking (1.2.), valency-changing processes (1.3.) and an assessment of the place of HSF among Huastecan varieties (1.4.).

1.1 Phonology The three Huastecan languages seem to have an almost identical inventory of phonemes, and have much in common with other Mayan languages.

The interdental /**th**/ is common to all the three varieties, and according to Kaufman (1985), originates in the Proto-Mayan *[s]. The only difference between the three Huastecan varieties is the distribution of affricates; while both HVA and HVS have four /**ts**/ : /**ts'**/ and /**ch**/ : /**ch'**/, South Eastern Huastec has only three: /**ch**/ : /**ch'**/, /**tx**/. It is interesting to highlight that South Eastern Huastec (HSF) is the only Huastecan language that has the retroflex affricate /**tx**/. It is further interesting to note that its glottalised counterpart /**tx'**/ does not exist in HSF, although the pair exists in a language such as Jakalteek Popti' (Craig 1977).

Root and syllable structures, as well as stress assignment (see Chapter 1 on Phonology), seem to be the same across all three varieties (Edmonson 1988, Constable 1989). The rule for stress in South Eastern Huastec (HSF) is the same as the one proposed by Larsen and Pike (1949) for San Luis Potosi Huastec (HVA), as well as the one stated for Veracruz Huastec (HUS) by Constable (1989): the stress in these languages falls on the first long vowel; if there are no long vowels in a word, the stress falls on the first short vowel.

1.2 Pronouns and Person-Marking Clitics There are two major characteristics in the person-marking system of Huastec, in general. One is that, as noted by Kaufman

(1985), the full personal pronoun forms used in HSF and HUS clearly originated in the Proto-Mayan pronominal system. The other characteristic is the most interesting feature of Huastecan languages, from a typological point of view: its very complex person-marking system, with three sets of markers which is described in detail for South Eastern Huastec in Chapter 5.

It is important to mention that the main difference among the Huastecan varieties is found exactly in the person-marking system (full personal pronouns and set one, two and three markers).

1.2.1. Personal Pronouns in Huastecan Languages As previously mentioned, in Chapter 4 on Nominal Morphology, HSF has a full personal pronoun of a different form for each person, singular forms being different from plural ones, and the system is almost identical to Proto-Mayan. Veracruz Huastec (HUS) has the same full personal pronouns as HSF (Ochoa 1984), while San Luis Potosi Huastec (HVA) has

plural personal pronouns for the 2nd and the 3rd person that are actually the singular form (plus the plural morpheme added to the verb).

Table 1: Full Personal Pronouns in HSF, HUS and HVA:

South Eastern Huastec (HSF)		Huastec of Veracruz (HUS)		San Luis Potosi Huastec (HVA)	
sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
nanaa'	wawaa'	nanaa'	wawaa'	nanaa'	wawaa'
tataa'	xaxaa'	tataa'	xaxaa'	tataa'	tataa'.... (chik)
jajaa'	babaa'	jajaa'	babaa'	jajaa'	jajaa'(chik)

The data presented in this section come from this grammar (for HSF), from Constable (1989) and Ochoa (1984) for HUS, and from Edmonson (1988) for HVA.

1.2.2. Ergative Clitics in Huastecan Languages Comparing the Ergative and Absolutive personal markers in the three Huastecan varieties shows small variation (here again the HVA adds the plural marker **-chik** to the verb, to encode plurality):

Table 2: HSF, HUS and HVA Ergative clitics

South Eastern Huastec (HSF)		Huastec of Veracruz (HUS)		San Luis Potosi Huastec (HVA)	
sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
u	i	u	i	u	i
a	i	a	i	a	a ...(chik)
in	i	in	in	in	in...(chik)

Just for comparison, below are the Proto-Mayan Ergative markers with the pre-vocalic and pre-consonantal sets, as outlined in Chapter 5, but repeated here for convenience. It can be noted straight away that the contemporary Huastecan forms are rather different from the Proto-Mayan:

Proto -Mayan Ergative Clitics	
Singular	Plural

	pre-v	pre-c	pre-V	pre-C
1	*w-/*nu-		*q-/*qa-	
2	*aaw-/*aa-		*eer-/*ee-	
3	*r-/*u-		*k'/*ki-	

1.2.3 Absolutive Clitics in Huastecan Languages

The Absolutive clitics

across the three varieties of the Huastecan languages show many similarities; however it is clear that the South Eastern Huastec (HSF) Absolutive clitics are closest to the Proto-Mayan forms. South Eastern Huastec (HSF) is the only variety that has a particular clitic for the 3rd person plural, namely -ip, almost identical to the Proto Mayan form *eb'- :

Table 4: HSF, HUS and HVA Absolutive Clitics:

South Eastern Huastec (HSF)		Huastec of Veracruz (HUS)		San Luis Potosi Huastec (HVA)	
sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
in	u	in	u	u	u
it	ix	it	ix	it	it.... (chik)
Ø/a	ip	Ø	Ø	Ø/u/i	Ø/u/i...(chik)

Proto-Mayan Absolutive Markers

	singular	plural
1	*iin-	*on-
2	*at-	*ix-
3	*Ø	*eb'-

1.2.4 Third Set of Person Clitics in Huastecan Languages

The most

interesting issue in the person-marking system in Huastecan, and from a general typological perspective, is the existence of a third set of person clitics. Such a set has clearly been identified in all three Huastec varieties, although under different labels. Five of them exist in South Eastern Huastec (HSF), while according to Constable (1989)

there are six in Veracruz Huastec (HUS); and, according to Edmonson (1988), only three in San Luis Potosi Huastec (HVA).

- HSF: ti, tu, tin, tixi, tuxu
- HUS: ti, tu, tin, tix(i), tixu, tux
- HVA: ti, tu, tin

As mentioned in Chapter 5 on Person Marking, these clitics were previously interpreted in a different way, and also given different names. Edmonson (1988) called them “**portemanteaux**,” and Constable (1989) used the term “**fused agreement markers**,” while the more recent studies consider them “**inverse proclitics**” (Zavala 1994, Watatani 1995, as well as this grammar). Since this alignment is not a typical inverse alignment, others (Creissels, Guillaume, Rose, p.c. in 2011) have suggested the label of “**transitive agreement markers of a tripartite system**.”

1.2.5 Transitive Agreement in Huastecan Languages

Transitive agreement in Huastecan languages is shown as follows. Table 5 illustrates the marking of Agent and Patient in South Eastern Huastec (HSF), Veracruz Huastec (HUS) and San Luis Potosi Huastec (HVA):

a. HVA transitive agreement (Edmonson 1988:122)

	1	2	3	1p	2p	3p
1	/	tu	u	/	tu	u
2	tin	/	a	tu	/	a
3	tin	ti	in	tu	ti	in
1p	/	tu	i	/	tu	i
2p	tin	/	a	tu	/	a
3p	tin	ti	in	tu	ti	in

Marker	Subject	Object
tin	2sg/pl,3sg/pl	1 sg
tu	1 sg/pl	2 sg/pl
	2sg/pl,3sg/pl	1 pl
ti	3 sg/pl	2 sg/pl

b. HUS transitive agreement (Constable 1989:34)

	1	2	3	1p	2p	3p
1	/	tu	u	/	tixu	u
2	tin	/	a	tu	/	a
3	tin	ti	in	tu	tix(i)	in
1p	/	tu	i	/	tixu	i
2p	tin	/	i	tux	/	i
3p	tin	ti	in	tu	tix(i)	in

Marker	Subject	Object
tin	2sg/pl,3sg/pl	1 sg
tu	2sg, 3sg/pl	1pl
	1 sg/pl	2sg
ti	3 sg/pl	2sg
tix(i)	3 sg/pl	2pl
tixu	1 sg/pl	2pl

tux	2pl	1pl

c. HSF transitive agreement (this grammar)

	1	2	3	1p	2p	3p
1	/	tu	u	/	tuxu	u
2	tin	/	a	tu	/	a
3	tin	ti	in	tu	tixi	in
1p	/	ti	i	/	tixi	i
2p	tin	/	i	tuxu	/	i
3p	tin	ti	i	tu	tixi	i

Marker	Subject	Object
tin	2sg/pl, 3sg/pl	1 sg
tu	2sg, 3 sg/pl	1 pl
	1sg	2sg
ti	3 sg/pl, 1pl	2 sg
tuxu	1sg	2pl
	2pl	1pl
tixi	3sg/pl, 1pl	2pl

1.3 Valency-Changing Processes in Huastecan Languages It seems that there are no important differences in valency-changing processes across all three varieties of the Huastecan languages, but the present description of South Eastern Huastec (HSF) is the most extensive discussion of the phenomenon, based on ample textual data. Two large chapters have been dedicated to the issue of valency-changing: Chapter 6 on valency-decreasing operations (Antipassive, Middle, and Passive), and Chapter 7 on valency-increasing operations (Applicatives). These processes will be reviewed in turn, in a Huastecan perspective.

- **Antipassive** It can be said that the three varieties share the fact that they have three Antipassive markers, the same in all the varieties: **-(V)x**, **-(V)l**, **-(V)m**, that seem to perform the same roles. This study on South Eastern Huastec (HSF) has shown in much more detail how they are used. It is not mentioned for HVA or HUS whether or not Antipassive is used for extracting the Agent, but it is not expected to be much different from HSF where it does not.
- **Middle** The middle voice seems to be very elaborate in Huastecan languages. Both Edmonson (1989) and Constable (1989) describe the presence of the Middle voice marker **-(V)n**, which seems to be used within the same semantic domains as the other Huastecan varieties.
- **Passive** The Passive markers look almost identical across the three varieties:

HSF:	COM	-aj/-at	INC:	- aap	PERF:	-(VV)mej
HUS:	COM	-aa/-at	INC:	- aab	PERF:	not given by Constable
HVA:	COM	-aa/at	INC:	- aab	PERF:	-ame

Topicality governs the usage of passive in HSF, as well as in the majority of other Mayan languages (Vapnarsky et al 2011). It is not known if passives function the same in the other two varieties, as not much has been written on their usage.

- **Applicatives** There are two applicatives in Huastecan languages, namely **Dative**, - tx, and **Instrumental**, -n. It can be noted straight away that they do not originate from the Proto-Mayan Applicative -*b. A typical Huastecan trait is that the usage of applicatives is not obligatory, but optional, a difference from other Mayan languages (except in Chol, where it also seems to be optional). In Tseltal, for example, an applicative is obligatory when coding Recipient (Polian 2011), as well as in Tsotsil (Aissen 1983).

As was pointed out in Chapter 7 on valency-increasing operations, it is very interesting that an indefinite base direct object is not demoted to an oblique in an applicative construction in South Eastern Huastec. This may not be the case in San Luis Potosi Huastec (HVA) (Zavala, p.c.). Constable (1989) shows a demotion of the object in an Applicative construction for HUS; this demotion does not happen if a noun is preceded by a numeral (1989: 130). The definiteness hierarchy is not mentioned in previous studies of Huastecan languages. It seems that an extensive study of the multiple objects constructions across the Huastecan languages would be very interesting.

Typologically rare double-applicative constructions have been identified in South Eastern Huastec, and described in detail (see Chapter 7, section on Multiple Applicative markers).

1.4. Issues Not Previously Discussed for Huastec

- **HSF Cleft Construction** An interesting point of Huastecan grammar is the South Eastern Huastec (HSF) cleft construction **an t-Abs/Erg**. This

construction is not mentioned in Edmonson (1988), or in Constable (1989), and does not appear in HUA or HUS texts; therefore it seems that this type of cleft is present in HSF only. This construction needs further research. An interesting fact is that a similar construction exists in Jakalteq/Popti (Craig 1977), as well as in some other Q'anjobalan languages.

- **Biactantial Construction.** This is another typologically interesting construction, not analysed for other Huastecan languages (see 8.9.2). Zavala (2006) named it and analysed it in detail for Mesoamerican languages, on the basis of Oluta. In this construction, a kinship/relationship noun functions as a verbal predicate without any derivation/verbaliser, and 'acts' in two ways (*you 'brother' him* and *he 'brothers' you*), hence the name, "biactantial."
- **Other Constructions** Previous studies of Huastecan languages have not dedicated much space to the syntactic features of complex sentences, for instance. In this grammar, complex predicates, auxiliarisation, and depictive constructions are described in detail. They are treated in section 2, on Huastecan languages versus other Mayan languages.

Concluding this section on the place of HSF among the Huastecan languages, it could be said that, bearing in mind that the available descriptions of the other two Huastecan varieties (HVA and HUS) do not reveal all the possible features, the following traits of South Eastern Huastec (HSF) can be highlighted as unique among the languages of the Huastecan branch:

- **the retroflex /tx/**
- **five inverse clitics**
- **particular cleft construction 'an t-Abs/Erg - verb'**
- **vocabulary**

As a short summary of this discussion, it could be said that on the basis of presently available descriptions of the Huastecan languages, and this work, it appears that the three Huastecan varieties are very similar, with South Eastern Huastec (HSF) much closer to Veracruz Huastec (HUS) than to San Luis Potosi Huastec (HVA). Both the

HSF and HUS varieties lack the copula (*peel be* in HVA); they have the same full personal pronouns and their Ergative and Absolutive personal markers are very similar.

2 Huastecan Languages as Mayan Languages

This ‘exceptionally innovative’ (Robertson and Houston 2003: 719) group of Huastecan languages have several features that position them at a special place among the languages of the Mayan family. These features are outlined below.

2.1 Unusual Features for a Mayan Language Huastecan languages have several features that differentiate them from the rest of the Mayan languages:

- **Word Order:** The Huastec flexible word order (Kaufman 1985, Edmonson 1988: 563, Watatani 1995: 40, Constable 1989: 43), is a specificity of that branch, while other Mayan languages are predominantly verb-initial, with the order of core arguments, at times, determined by animacy and/or definiteness.
- **Verbal Inflectional Patterns:** These are complex and numerous in Huastecan languages, with up to 18 suffixal variations (Watatani 1995: 49). At the same time, there has been no development of directionals by grammaticalisation of motion verbs, either as verbal inflection or as particles, although it is widespread in the family (Zavala 2002).
- **Aspectual Markers:** Aspect is usually prefixed in Mayan languages, but in Huastecan, Cholan-Tzeltalan and Yucatecan, aspect is expressed with suffixes (Robertson and Houston 2003: 718, Zavala 1994). Kaufman and Norman (1984: 95) believe this is ‘an independent innovation’ of Huastecan languages. Watatani (1995) noted it as part of the uniqueness of the Huastecan languages.

2.2 Person-Marking and Ergativity: Some features of Huastecan show conservative Mayan traits, while others show independent innovation. Robertson and Houston (2003) agree that the Huastec **pronominal system** is very close to the reconstructed Proto-Mayan pronominal system. The HSF pronominal system is

relatively conservative, similar to the Tsotsil system of the same model, absolutive-ergative-verb, while for example Cholti' is ergative-verb-absolutive. Robertson and Houston suppose that Tseltal represents the common Huastecan-Cholan system (2003: 718). In his study on Huastec person-marking, Zavala (1994: 30) states that "pronominal proclitics in this language have a striking behaviour when compared with the use of pronominal markers in other Mayan languages."

- **Ergativity** Huastec does not follow the typical Ergative/Absolutive system of the Mayan family languages, although it clearly used to, according to Watatani (1995) and Zavala (1994). For instance, Huastecan ergative pronouns lack pre-vocalic and pre-consonantal variations, although it was a Proto-Mayan trait, retained in other Mayan languages (Edmonson 1988, Kaufman 1985, Watatani 1995: 78). Neither does Huastec admit the Mayan accumulation of absolutive and ergative markers on transitive verbs, nor does it show split ergativity in any of the forms known in the family, either by aspect or in embedding.
- **Inverse Alignment** The Huastecan languages are the only languages of the Mayan family with an **inverse alignment** (Watatani 1995:71, Zavala 1994) through a third paradigm of person markers, besides ergative and absolutive. This means that in many cases, Absolutive person markers do not mark independently the O-argument, while they function as S-argument markers. Meanwhile, the A-argument is not always marked by an Ergative marker (Watatani 1995: 71). This innovative system, which has been analysed as a direct-inverse system, is a feature of the Huastecan languages. One of its features is that it encodes transitive relations of referents (quite divergent from other Mayan languages) by using some of the morphological resources of the original Ergative system to accomplish this innovative schema (Watatani 1995: 97).

2.3 Voices As mentioned earlier on several occasions, South Eastern Huastec, as well as the other two variants of the same language group, has an elaborate system of voices, generally with a larger list than in other Mayan languages, and the possibility of more voice markers on the same verb form than is usual. One major characteristic of these voices is their relation to Proto-Mayan markers of voices.

- **Antipassive** As previously mentioned, South Eastern Huastec (HSF) has three Antipassive markers: **-(V)x**, **-(V)l**, **-(V)m**, which is more than usual in Mayan languages. In addition these markers are of unknown origin. Another very interesting HSF feature is that the Antipassive in HSF is not employed for Agent extraction (the same as is in Cholan languages). A special grammaticalised Antipassive marker encodes reciprocity (**root VV-VVx**), so there is no ambiguity, as in many other Mayan languages where a reflexive construction is used to convey reciprocity.
- **Middle** The Middle Voice is atypical for the family of Mayan languages. The Huastecan languages have developed a very elaborate Middle Voice, with the marker **-(V)n**, interestingly from the Proto-Mayan Antipassive marker. A Middle voice has recently been described for Mocho as well (Palosaari 2011), where the Proto-Mayan Antipassive marker **-*(V)n** is also employed to encode it. In both Huastecan and Mocho, the Middle Voice marker encodes very similar semantics. However, it is interesting to mention that at the same time, Mocho does not have an Antipassive voice at all (Palosaari 2011: 3).
- **Passive** Like most other Mayan languages, Huastec has several passives. The Passive morphology is almost identical across the three varieties, although it appears that South Eastern Huastec (HSF) is the only variety that has the passive marker **-waalej**, of unclear origin and function. In previous works on Huastecan languages, not much is said about the Passive function. This grammar examines the function of the passive in detail in South Eastern Huastec. The usage of the Passive voice in HSF is governed by topicality, as it is in the majority of Mayan languages (Vapnarsky, Becquey, Monod-Becquelin 2011).
- **Applicative** Applicative constructions in HSF deserve a lot of attention. One interesting feature is that there are two different applicative morphemes in the language (Instrumental **-n**, and Dative **-tx**), and not just one, as is in the other Mayan languages that have applicatives; and neither of the markers derive

from the Proto-Mayan applicative **-*b**. A very interesting feature of Huastecan languages is the accumulation of valency markers, like for example Antipassive and Dative (see Chapter 7, section 7.2.4) in one verbal complex. A typologically interesting fact is the **differential object marking** in HSF: an underlying direct object is demoted to an oblique in the applicative construction, only if it is definite. If it is indefinite, it remains unchanged (it does not get demoted).

According to Dryer's (1986) typology of object marking, some languages are sensitive to the distinction between a direct object and an indirect object ("direct object languages"), and other languages differentiate between a primary and a secondary object ("primary object languages"). As mentioned in Chapter 7, South Eastern Huastec displays both of these features: in this language there are **constructions with a direct object and an indirect object**, since the usage of the applicatives is not obligatory; in this type of a construction, the third argument (the indirect object) has an oblique relationship, while the direct object has a core relation. At the same time, South Eastern Huastec demonstrates a property of a **primary/secondary object language**: once a verb bears the applicative marker, the third participant (the underlying indirect object) is no longer introduced by the preposition, that is, in an applicative construction the third participant is not demoted to an oblique; in the same time, the underlying direct object gets demoted if definite or remains unchanged if indefinite.

2.4 Complex Structures

The Syntax of the Huastecan languages had not been researched in detail prior to this grammar. We dedicate several chapters to the HSF study of syntax, and highlight several syntactical points: Chapter 6 treats valency-decreasing operations, chapter 7 deals with valency-increasing operations. The following chapters deal with different degrees of syntactic complexity: Chapter 9 describes Auxiliary constructions and Depictives. Chapter 10 deals with Complementation, Chapter 11 with Complex sentences, and Chapter 12 a special form of complex sentences that encode complex motion (sequencing events) in South Eastern Huastec (HSF).

- **Complex Predicates** This grammar of HSF treats two types of complex predicates: auxiliary constructions and depictives. This work identifies two constructions with auxiliary semantics in HSF: a) auxiliary constructions with the verbs **exom**, for progressivity (glossed in this grammar as PROGR), and **ne'ech**, for future or habitual (glossed FUT/HAB), which are mono-clausal constructions, described in section 1 of Chapter 9; and b) a special case of complementation with auxiliary semantics: a particular complementation construction denoting progressivity with the full verbs **k'waj-** *be* and **xe'ech** *go*. (Bi-clausal constructions are described in Chapter 9). This is the first work on Huastecan languages that shows that these four verbs of auxiliary semantics are actually interchangeable (at least in HSF), although with some restrictions.

As previously mentioned, the verbs of motion have not grammaticalised into directionals in Huastecan and Yucatecan languages. However, it is interesting to point out that the verb **ne'ech** *go* in Huastecan has grammaticalised into an auxiliary that encodes Future (Zavala 2002).

The depictive secondary predication constructions have been studied for a number of Mayan languages: Aissen (2010) on Tsotsil, Polian (2010) on Tseltal, Toledo (2008) on Q'anjob'alan, and Vazquez (2009) on Chol, among others. The second construction that represents syntactic mono-clausality in South Eastern Huastec (besides the auxiliary construction outlined in 9.1.1) is described in Chapter 9, section 2 of this grammar, where the morphosyntactic properties of the HSF depictive predication are outlined. In spite of having two predicates (a primary and a secondary), the HSF depictive constructions are considered mono-clausal. In HSF, as in Chol (Vazquez 2011), the following meanings of the depictive construction have been attested: condition/state, phase/role, quantity and manner, while in Tseltal and Tsotsil, comparison can also be expressed by a depictive construction (Aissen and Zavala 2010).

For South Eastern Huastec, as for many other Mayan languages, several kinds of depictive-like constructions have been described: complex sentences, juxtaposition, clefts, and some other cases as well (see section 2.6 in Chapter 9).

These constructions, which lack the most important features of depictives (two predicative elements sharing one argument, one aspect and one person marker in a mono-clausal situation) can be compared to those of Awakatek (Toledo 2010), or Tseltal (Polian and Sanchez Gomez 2010).

The present grammar of HSF deals with topics rarely covered by grammars of indigenous languages, such as the above-mentioned depictive predication. The types of complements distinguished by matrix predicates are also dealt with extensively in Chapter 10 on Complementation. HSF complement clauses have the role of objects, and the HSF complement clause has the same syntactic structure as the main clause.

- **Subordinate Clauses** It is interesting to mention that in HSF, unlike many other Mayan languages, subordinate clauses have the same structure as main clauses. It is very interesting that the relativisation is not restricted to Absolutive, and therefore there is no Agentive voice (Aissen 1999, Stiebels 2006, Grinevald and Peake 2011).
- **Complex Motion: Sequencing Events** Talking about the expression of Space in HSF, it should be mentioned that the Huastecan languages, likewise the Yucatecan, have not grammaticalised the verbs of motion into directionals (Zavala 2002). Apart from that, this grammar shows that HSF employs complex sentences to encode complex motion. Sequencing events, as a strategy to encode complex motion, is described in detail and abundantly illustrated in Chapter 12 of this grammar.

Some of the interesting issues of Huastecan grammar, such as person marking and double applicatives, among others, also raise the question of language contact. South Eastern Huastec has been in direct contact with Nahuatl since about 1430 (Kaufman 1985: 474), while San Luis Potosí Huastec has had contact with Otomi. Historically, during the Huastecan linguistic co-existence with the Cholan-Tzeltalan group, there may have been extensive contact with the Mixe-Zoquean group of languages (see

Introduction). A detailed research remains to be done in order to establish to what extent the Huastecan typologically unusual features are due to language contact.

At the very end of this grammar we wish to express a hope that this work, a long-needed grammar and documentation of South Eastern Huastec, will shed a new light on the Huastecan group of languages, and that it will represent our modest contribution to the knowledge of the Mayan languages and of linguistic Typology in general.

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Volume 2

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HSF NARRATIVES

HSF Story 1: In t'ilaabil ti juun i t'ojnal inik

El cuento de un campesino

The story about a villager

Told by Cirila Santos Santiago

- 1 in koo'-y-al juun i iich'
E3 have-TS-INC one NM month
One month ago,
- 2 juun i inik kan-an kwa'
one NM man call-MID(COM) QUOT
a man was called
- 3 ti t'oj-n-al
R work-MID-INC
to work
- 4 ti juun i ale'laap kwa'
prep one NM corn.field QUOT
in a corn field
- 5 ti kot-ool ti apach'
R cut-AP(INC) prep palm
to cut palms

- 17 n-in ch'ejet taam
 DEM-E3 leg then
his leg.
- 18 taa' ich taam ti koo'-y-at
 there already then R take.care-TS-PASS.COM
He was then taken care of there
- 19 axta ip ul-ich an t'ojlith
 until(Sp) A3p come-COM DEF authority
till the authorities came
- 20 naa' al bitxow
 there prep town
from the town of Chontla.
- 21 taam an ti thay-an
 then DEF R lift-MID(COM)
Then he was lifted
- 22 baal k-a ne'-th-aaj
 to IRR-A3 arrive-CAUS-PASS.INC
and transported
- 23 ni Tantoyuca
 DEM Tantoyuca
to Tantoyuca
- 24 baal k-a lej-k-in-tx-in.
 to IRR-A3 repara-DM-DM-DAT-MID(COM)
to be helped.

In t'ilaabil ti juun i t'ojnal inik

In koo'yal juun i iich', juun i inik kanan kwa' ti t'ojnal ti juun i ale'laap kwa' ti kotool ti apach' k'aal juun in at k'imaath. T'oney ti baal? Taam ti k'athiy an ti k'oyop, baa' kwa' in chuumal baal max an k'oyop baa' kubat alwa'. Taam ti t'ek'at ich ti punat, chawk'in an k'oyop, je'at kwa' ti chujk'an ni chabaal. Neyti' taam baal, in jat'uw taam nin ch'ejet taam. Taa ich taam ti koo'yat axta ip ulich an t'ojlith naa al bitxow. Taam an ti thayan baal ka ne'thaah ni Tantoyuca baal ka lejkontxin.

El cuento de un campesino

Hace un mes, un señor fue llamado a trabajar en una milpa para cortar palma de un vecino. Qué pasó? Cuando se subió en la escalera no había visto que la escalera no estaba bien parada. Cuando ya estaba arriba trepado, se volteó la escalera y él se cayó boca arriba en el suelo. Que pasó es que se quebró la pierna. Allí entonces lo tuvieron hasta que llegaron las autoridades de Chontla. Luego lo llevaron a Tantoyuca para que lo arreglaran.

The story about a villager

One month ago, a man was called to work in a corn field where he was to cut palms for a neighbour. What happened? When he climbed the ladder, he didn't notice that the ladder was not stable. When he was already on the ladder, the ladder twisted, and the man fell to the ground landing on his back. So what happened? He broke his leg. The man was then taken care of (in that place) until the authorities arrived from the town of Chontla. He was lifted and transported to Tantoyuca for help.

HSF Story 2: In t'ilaabil juun i uch'aal

Cuento de un borracho

A Story of a Drunkman

Told by Irene Hernandez del Angel

1	nanaa'	ne'ech	na'	tu	t'il-tx-iy
	I	FUT	I	1>2	tell-DAT-TS(COM)
	<i>I am going to tell you</i>				
2	juun	i	t'ilap		
	one	NM	story		
	<i>a story.</i>				
3	juun	i	uch'aal	juun	koo' i thajuw
	one	NM	drunken	one	SPEC NM morning
	<i>A drunken man one morning</i>				

- 4 kal-ej koo' ja' t-in k'imaas'
 leave-COM SPEC s/he prep-E3 home
left his home.
- 5 k'al-ej koo' ja' ti uch'-a-al tayiil
 go-INC SPEC s/he R drink-TS-INC later
Later he went drinking.
- 6 thamuul an ti ul-ich ti pej-eel
 afternoon DEF R arrive-COM R curse-INC
In the afternoon he came home and cursed
- 7 baal baa' xta tamaa' t-in k'imaas'
 because no be(Sp) nobody prep-E3 home
because nobody was at home.
- 8 kal-ej koo' ja' in tam-a-al ti beel
 go-COM SPEC s/he E3 encounter-TS-INC prep road
He went to look for them in the road
- 9 porkee ip k'al-nek ba'
 because(Sp) A3p leave-PERF they
because they had left
- 10 t-ip t'oj-n-al
 R-A3p work-MID-INC
to work.
- 11 ip witx-iy t-in k'imaas'
 A3p return-COM prep-E3 home
They returned back home.
- 12 taam t-ip witx-iy
 when R-A3p return-COM
When they returned,
- 13 taam t-ip ul-ich t-in k'imaas'
 when R-A3p come-COM prep-E3 home
when they came back home,
- 14 pun-ey koo' ja' ti juun i bitxim
 rid-COM SPEC s/he prep one NM horse
he rode a horse

- 15 ani k'al-ej in chuu't-al
 and go-COM E3 see-INC
 and he went to see
- 16 juun in txithaan-il
 one E3 daughter-POSS
 his daughter
- 17 in koo'-y-al ti juun i bitxow
 E3 have-TS-INC prep one NM town
 that he has in a town
- 18 in bij ti Floriida
 E3 name prep Florida
 by the name of Florida.
- 19 tayiil taja' kal-ej
 later there go-COM
 Later he went there
- 20 ani an ti beel ti yik'w-ch-in
 and DEF prep road R dark-DM-MID(COM)
 but while he was on the road it became dark.
- 21 k'ib-ej koo' ja' taa'
 lose-COM SPEC s/he there
 He got lost there,
- 22 taa' koo' ti xe'ech
 there SPEC R go.INC
 there (while) he was going.
- 23 taa' koo' ti xe'ch-in ejtal an akal
 there SPEC R go-MID(COM) whole DEF night
 There he went around all night
- 24 k'aal an bitxim
 with DEF horse
 with the horse.
- 25 an bitxim a jik'-eel koo' ja'
 DEF horse A3 scare-INC SPEC s/he
 The horse was scared

- 26 porkee in ach'-a-al koo' juun i apach'
because(Sp) E3 hear-TS-INC SPEC one NM palm
because he could hear a palm
- 27 both-on-th-a-ap koo'
make.noise-EP-CAUS-ST-PASS-INC SPEC
making a noise.
- 28 a witx-eel ani a witx-eel juniil
A3 return-INC and A3 return-INC again
He (the horse) returned over and over again
- 29 axta juntana' an t-in
till(Sp) where DEF R-E3
to where he could
- 30 ach'-a-al jachana'
hear-TS-INC that
hear it.
- 31 an inik baa' ja' jayk'ij
DEF man no s/he at.all
The man didn't
- 32 in chuuj tanto'ooj
E3 see.COM something
see anything at all,
- 33 baa' in chuuj tant'ooj
no E3 see.COM something
he didn't see anything.
- 34 in chuu't-al ja' an bitxim
E3 see-INC s/he DEF horse
It was the horse who heard it
- 35 axta ootro juun a k'iitxaa
until(Sp) other(Sp) one HON day
until the next day.
- 36 taa' an ti thajuu-mej ich
there DEF R morning-INCHOA.COM already
It was already morning,

- 37 k'iitxaaj ich an t-in chuuj
day already DEF R-E3 see.COM
it was already day when he realised
- 38 baal jajaa' k'ib-enek ja'
that s/he lose-PERF s/ he
that he had been lost
- 39 ejtal an akal
all DEF night
all night.
- 40 koomo a uch'aal
as(Sp) A3 drinker
Because he had been drinking
- 41 baa' in cho'oob-n-a' tant'ooj
no E3 know-INSTR-TS(COM) something
he didn't know what
- 42 n-in t'aj-a' ejtal an akal
REL-E3 do-TS(COM) all DEF night
he had been doing all night,
- 43 exat k'ij baal in chuuj
only INT that E3 see.COM
he only realised
- 44 baal k'ib-enek
that lose-PERF
that he had been lost.
- 45 witx-iy ja' t-in k'imaa'
return-COM s/he prep-E3 home
He went back home.
- 46 tayiil in ul-uw ejtal
later E3 say-COM all
Later he told everything
- 47 tant'ooj n-in tam-uumal
something REL-E3 encounter-PERF
that had happened to him.

In t'ilaabil juun i uch'aal

Nanaa' ne'ech na' tu t'iltxiy juun i t'ilap. Juun i uch'aal juun koo' i thajuw kalej koo' ja' tin k'ima'. K'alej koo ja' ti uch'aal tayiil. Thamuul an ti ulich ti pejel, baal baa' xta tamaa' tin k'ima'. Kalej koo' ja' in tamaal ti beel porkee ip k'alnek ba' tip t'ojnal. Ip witxiy tin k'ima'. Taam tip witxiy, taam tip ulich tim k'ima', puney koo' ja' ti juun i bitxim ani k'alej in chu'tal juun in txithaanil in koo'yal ti juun i bitxow in bij ti Floriida. Tayiil taja' kalej, ani an ti beel ti yik'wchin. K'ibej koo' ja' taa', taa' koo' ti xe'ech. Taa' koo' ti xe'chin ejtal an akal k'aal an bitxim. An bitxim a jik'eel koo' ja' porke in ach'aal koo' juun i apach' bothonthaap kwa' A witxeel, ani a witxeel juniil axta juntana' an tin ach'aal jachana'. An inik baa' ja' jayk'ij in chuuj tanto'ooj, baa' in chuuj tant'ooj, in chuu'tal ja' an bitxim. Axta ootro juun a k'iitxaaj.... Taa' an ti thajuwmej ich, k'iitxaaj ich, an tin chuuj baal jajaa' k'ibenek ja' ejtal an akal. Koomo a uch'aal, baa' in cho'oobna' tant'ooj nin t'aja' ejtal an akal, exat k'ij baal in chuuj baal k'ibenek. Witxiy ja' tin k'ima', tayiil in uluw ejtal tant'ooj nin tamuumal.

Cuento de un borracho

Voy a decirte un cuento de un borracho. Un borracho una manana salió de su casa. Fue para beber despues. Hasta por la tarde llegó (a casa) peleando porque no estaba nadie en su casa. Salió a encontrar a su familia en el camino, porque habian salido a trabajar. Regresaron a casa. Cuando regresaron, cuando llegaron a casa. El montó a un caballo, se fue a ver a una hija que tenia en un lugar llamado Florida. Despues de allí salió, pero en el camino se le hizo noche. Se perdió. Allí andaba. Anduvo asi toda la noche en el caballo. El caballo tenia miedo porque escuchaba el ruido de una palma que lo rastraba. Regresaba (el caballo) y regresaba otra vez hasta donde escuchaba eso. El hombre no vió nada, no vió nada de lo que el caballo veia. Hasta el otro dia cuando amaneció, ya era de dia cuando se dió cuenta que el estaba perdido toda la noche. Como estaba borracho no supo nada de lo que hizo toda la noche, solo se dio cuenta que se habia perdido. Regresó a su casa. Despues dijo todo que lo habia pasado.

A Story about a Drunken Man

I am going to tell you a story. One morning, a drunk left his home. Later he went drinking, and in the afternoon he came home cursing as nobody was at home. He went to look for the people in the road, because they had left for work. Later they came back home. When they

returned, the drunk took a horse and rode to see his daughter in a town by the name of Florida. But while he was on the road it became dark, and he became lost. All night long, he kept going with his horse. The horse got scared because he could hear palm trees making noises. The horse returned over and over again, to the source of the sound. The man didn't see anything at all. He didn't see anything. It was only the horse who heard it. It was already morning, it was already day when the man realised that he had been lost all night. As he had been drinking, he didn't know what he had been doing all night, only that he had been lost. He went back home. Later he told everything that had happened to him.

HSF Story 3: An ataaj teenek

Como se hace una casa tradicional

How to make a traditional house

Told by Telésforo (Amelio) del Angel Domínguez

- 1 axee' i ataaj t'aj-atx k'aal i akamlaap
 DEM NM house make-PPL with NM pole
 This house is made with poles.

- 2 baal k-a t'aj-an an ataaj
 to IRR-A3 make-MID(COM) DEF house
 To make the house

- 3 ne'ech k-a al-iy-at an akamlaap
 FUT IRR-A3 search-TS-PASS.COM DEF pole
 one will look for poles.

- 4 ne'ech k-a jun-k-uw-at
 FUT IRR-A3 gather-DM-TS-PASS.COM
 They (poles) will be gathered.

- 5 tayiil ne'ech k-a trasaar-iy-at an chabaal
 later FUT IRR-A3 measure-TS-PASS.INC DEF ground
 Later the ground will be measured

- 6 baal k-a jil-k'-on
 for IRR-A3 remain-DM-MID(COM)
to be
- 7 tant'ooj an ti uw-atx
 what DEF R make-PPL
as one wants it to be made,
- 8 t-in lee' an ataaj
 R-E3 want.INC DEF house
as one wants the house,
- 9 max in lee' chipiil o
 if E3 want.INC small or(Sp)
if one wants it small
- 10 in lee' puulik
 E3 want.INC big
or wants it big.
- 11 koo'-y-al k-in lej-b-ay
 have-TS-INC IRR-E3 measure-CAUS-TS(COM)
One has to measure it.
- 12 tayiil ne'ech taam k-in chaj-a'
 later FUT then IRR-E3 dig-TS(COM)
Later they will dig
- 13 ich an jool
 already DEF hole
the hole
- 14 baal k-in kub-at-txik an akamlaap
 to IRR-A3 stand-PPL-PL DEF pole
to put the poles in.
- 15 ne'ech taam k-in al-iy
 FUT then IRR-E3 search-TS(COM)
Then one will look for
- 16 ich an chajip
 already DEF bamboo.tree
the bamboo trees.

- 17 baal k-in pelk'-oy ni t'ek'at
 for IRR-E3 cross-TS(COM) DEM up.there
for the beams up there.
- 18 taam i pelk'-oy-aamal ak ich
 when Ep cross-TS-PERF IRR ya
When the beams are already put there,
- 19 ne'ech taam k-in tak-uy-txik
 FUT then IRR-E3 chose-TS-PL
then the bamboo trees are chosen,
- 20 an chajip ninaa' maas lujutx
 DEF bamboo.tree REL more(Sp) straight
The straightest ones.
- 21 ne'ech k-in ook'l-iy ni t'ek'at
 FUT IRR-E3 put.roof-TS(COM) DEM up.there
The roof is constructed up there
- 22 baal k-a jilk'-on an jaula
 for IRR-A3 stay-MID(COM) DEF dome
so that the dome is made
- 23 jelat ti k'waj-at an ataaj
 like R be-INC DEF house
for the size of the house.
- 24 maas tayiil taam t-in ook'l-iy-aamal
 more(Sp) later when R-E3 put.roof-TS-PERF
Straight after the roof has been put on,
- 25 ne'ech k-in xil-a'-txik an chajip
 FUT IRR-E3 fix-ST.COM-PL DEF bamboo.tree
the bamboo trees are attached.
- 26 ne'ech k-in pok'-ow
 FUT IRR-E3 tie-TS(COM)
To tie them up
- 27 in kal-th-a-al i wiil
 E3 leave-CAUS-TS-INC NM pin
the pins are taken out,
- 28 baal k-in ejt-ow k-in wiil-iy
 for IRR-E3 can-ST.COM IRR-E3 attach-ST.COM
in order to tie it (the roof) up,

- 29 baal k-a pal-ey an apach'
 for IRR-A3 fix-TS(COM) DEF palm
to attach the palm.
- 30 an apach' jaach k'aal
 DEF palm it with
The palm is used
- 31 an t-a juj-n-al an ataaj
 DEF R-A3 put.palm-INSTR-INC DEF house
for the roof of the house.
- 32 ani taam t-in ok'-y-aamal ich
 and when R-E3 finish-TS-PERF already
When finished
- 33 an ti juj-y-aap an ataaj
 DEF R put.palm-TS-PAS.INC DEF casa
putting the palm to the roof
- 34 pwees taam ne'ech k-a kwaj-b-an-tx-in
 then(Sp) then FUT IRR-A3 be-CAUS-EP-DAT-MID(COM)
then there are attached to it
- 35 ninaa' ti chajip
 DEM prep bamboo.tree
those bamboo trees
- 36 k'waj-txik t'ek'at
 be-PL up.there
(that) are up there.
- 37 jaach baal k-a wiik'-an
 it for IRR-A3 tie-MID(COM)
In order to tie them up,
- 38 an alambre baal k-a paambok'-on
 DEF cable(Sp) for IRR-A3 put.roof-MID(COM)
the cable is used for fixing the roof
- 39 baal baa' k-a t'uut'-un
 for no IRR-A3 drop.water-MID(COM)
so that water cannot pass through

- 40 baal k-a jil-k'-on
 for IRR-A3 stay-DM-MID(COM)
 so that there is
- 41 alwa' an chalam
 well DEF shade
 good shade.
- 42 ani taam k'waj-at ich
 and when be-INC already
 And when already
- 43 ejtal an ataaj juj-uth
 all DEF house put.palm-PPL
 the whole house is covered by palm
- 44 ne'ech taam k-a maplab-iy-at ich taam
 FUT then IRR-A3 wall-TS-PASS.COM already then
 a wall will then be made,
- 45 baal k-a jil-k'-on
 for IRR-A3 stay-DM-MID(COM)
 so that
- 46 an maplap komo seerka
 DEF mud.wall as(Sp) wall
 the mud wall serves as a house wall
- 47 jaach inchana' an ti
 it this.way DEF R
 this is how we
- 48 uw-a-al an ataaj
 make-TS-INC DEF house
 make the house
- 49 baal wawaa' t-u teenek
 with we prep-A3p Huastec
 for us, the Huastecs.
- 50 jaach n-i k'imaa'
 it DEM-Ep home
 This is our home.

- 51 koomo baa' i koo'-y-al i meeluj
as(Sp) no Ep have-TS-INC NM money
As we don't have money
- 52 jaach an ti t'aj-a-al jelat k'ij
it DEF R make-TS-INC like INT
we make them like this,
- 53 axee' ch'ij sensiiyo an ataaj
DEM INT simple(Sp) DEF house
simple houses like this one.
- 54 ejtal i puuru te' an ti t'aj-a-al
all NM pure wood DEF R make-TS-INC
We make everything from pure wood.
- 55 taam ti maas weje' ich
when R more(Sp) old already
And in the old times
- 56 i chajl-iy-al an maplap
Ep fix-TS-INC DEF mud.wall
the mud walls were fixed
- 57 k'aal i puuru ch'aaj
with NM pure liana
with pure liana
- 58 koomo baa' wik wa'ach i meeluj
as(Sp) no PAST exist. INC NM money
as there was no money
- 59 ani wa'ach wik maas i materiyaal
and exist. INC PAST more(Sp) NM material(Sp)
And there was more material,
- 60 xowa' k'ij k-in kal-th-a' juun
whatever INT IRR-E3 leave-CAUS-TS(COM) one
wherever one finds,
- 61 jelat an te' / jelat an ch'aaj
like DEF wood like DEF liana
like wood, like liana,

- 62 xowa' k'ij k-in el-a' juun
 whatever INT IRR-E3 find-TS(COM) one
whatever one could find.
- 63 ani xuwee' baa' ich
 and now no already
And now
- 64 xee' wa'ach i ch'aaj
 here exist.INC NM liana
there is no more liana here
- 65 jaachtaam an ti eyn-a-al
 therefore DEF R use-TS-INC
therefore we use
- 66 ich xee' i alambre
 already here NM cable(Sp)
cables now
- 67 baal k-i chajl-iy an maplap
 for IRR-Ep fix-TS(COM) DEF mud.wall
to fix the mud walls.
- 68 ani pwees taam ok'-iy-aamej ich ejtal
 and then(Sp) when finish-TS-PERF already everything
and once everything is finished
- 69 ne'ech taam juun k-in
 FUT then one IRR-E3
then the house will
- 70 k'waj-n-a' ich
 inhabit-INSTR-TS(COM) already
be inhabited,
- 71 ne'ech k-in ejt-ow ich
 FUT IRR-E3 can-TS(COM) already
one will be able
- 72 k-in koo'-oy alta'
 IRR-E3 have-TS(COM) inside
to put (have) inside

- 73 xoo'ni n-in koo'-y-al
 REL DEM-E3 have-TS-INC
what one has.
- 74 ani max i kosiina
 and if NM kitchen(Sp)
And if there is a kitchen
- 75 pwees ejtal ich ne'ech
 then all already FUT
than everything will be
- 76 k-i akomodaar-iy
 IRR-Ep accommodate-TS(COM)
accommodated
- 77 xoo'ni n-in koo'-y-al
 REL DEM-E3 have-TS-INC
what one has.
- 78 alobeel naa' xal-k'-an-al
 beautiful there appear-DM-MID-INC
It looks beautiful
- 79 juun i ataaj taam iit ej
 one NM house when new PERDUR
when a house is new
- 80 taam an chajip ejtal iit-txik ej
 when DEF bamboo.tree all new-PL PERDUR
when the bamboo trees are all new
- 81 an akamlaap an apach'
 DEF pole DEF palm
the poles, the palm.
- 82 t'ajatx alobeel an ataaj
 very beautiful DEF house
The house is very beautiful,
- 83 cham-am-aal an ti k'waj-at an chalam
 cool-REDUPL-POSIT DEF R be-INC DEF shade
the shade is cool.

- 84 pwees inchana' an ti t'aj-a-al tenchee'
 well(Sp) this.way DEF R make-TS-INC here
 That is how we make here
- 85 wawaa' u teenek an ataaj
 we Alp Huastec DEF house
 the house, we Huastecs.

An ataaj teenek

Axee' i ataaj t'ajatx k'aal i akamlaap. Baal ka t'ajan an ataaj, ne'ech ka aliyat an akamlaap, ne'ech ka junkuwat . Tayiil ne'ech ka trasaariyat an chabaal baal ka jilk'on tant'oo an ti uwatx tin lee' an ataaj, max in lee' chipiil o in lee' puulik . Koo'yal kin lejbay . Tayiil ne'ech taam kin chaja' ich an jool baal kin kubatxik an akamlaap, ne'ech taam kin aliy ich an chajip baal kin pelk'oy ni t'ek'at. Taam i pelk'oyaamal ak ich, ne'ech taam kin takuytxik an chajip ninaa' maas lujutx, ne'ech kin ook'liy ni t'ek'at baal ka jilk'on an jaula jelat ti k'wajat an ataaj. Maas tayiil taam in ook'liyaamal, ne'ech kin xila' txik an chajip, ne'ech kin pok'ow in kalthaal i wiil baal kin ejtow kin wiiliy baal ka paley an apach' . An apach' jaach k'aal an ta jujnal an ataaj.

Ani taaam in ook'yaamal ich an ti jujaap an ataaj, pwees taam ne'ech ka kwajbantxin ninaa' ti chajip, k'wajtxik t'ek'at jaach baal ka wiik'an an alambre baal ka paambok'on, baal baa' ka t'uut'un, baal ka jilk'on alwa' an chalam. Ani taam k'wajat ich ejtal an ataaj jujuth, ne'ech taam ka maplabiyat ich taam, baal ka jilk'on an maplap koomo seerka . Jaach inchana' an ti uwaal an ataaj baal wawaa' tu teenek . Jaach ni k'ima'. Komo baa' i koo'yal i meeluj, jaach an ti t'ajaal jelat k'ij axee' ch'i sensiio an ataaj . Ejtal i puuru te' an ti t'ajaal. Taam ti maas weje' ich, an ataah i chajliyal an maplap k'aal i puuru ch'aaj, komo baa' wik wa'ach i meeluj, ani wa'ach wik maas i materiyaal xowa' k'ih kin kaltha' juun , jelat an te' jelat an ch'aaj, xowa' k'ij kin ela' juun . Ani xuwee' baa' ich xee' wa'ach i ch'aaj, jaachtaam an ti eynaal ich xee' i alambre baal ki chajliy an maplap. Ani pwees taam ok'iyaamej ich ejtal, ne'ech taam juun kin k'wajna' ich , ne'ech kin ejtow ich kin koo'oy alta' xoo'ni nin koo'yal, ani max i kosiina , pwees ejtal ich ne'ech ki komodaariy xooni nin koo'yal . Alobeel na xalk'anal juun i ataaj taam iitej, taam an chajip ejtal iittxik ej,

an akamlaap, an apach', t'ajatx alobeel an ataaj, chamamaal an ti k'wajat an chalam.
Pwees inchana' an ti t'ajaal tenchee' wawaa' tu teenek an ataaj.

Como se hace una casa tradicional

Esta casa está hecha con orcones. Para construir una casa se va a buscar los orcones, se les va a juntar, después se va a trasar el terreno para que quede según como lo quiera uno la casa, si se quiere pequeña o grande . Se tiene que medir. Después se hacen los hollos, para parar los orcones. Cuando ya estan parados los orcones, se tiene que buscar los otates par alas travesillas de arriba. Ya una vez puestas las traversilas, entonces se tiene que escojer los otates que son más derechos, se forma el techo de arriba para que quede la jaula como está la casa. En seguida hecha la jaula, se va a rajar los otates. Para rajar se saca viles para poder envilar, para pegar la palma. La palma es con que se empaja la casa .

Ya terminado de empajar la casa, entonces se le ponen esos otates que estan arriba. Es para amarrar el alambre, para techar, para que no cotee, para que quede bien la sombra. Y cuando ya está toda la casa empajada, entonces se va a cercar para que queden los otates como pared. Es así como hacemos la casa nosotros huastecos, es la nuestra casa. Como no tenemos dinero, por eso las hacemos tan sencillas como esta casa. Todo de pura madera hacemos. Antes, se amarraba la cerca con puro bejuco como no había dinero y había más material dondequiera para que saque uno, como la madera, como el bejuco, dondequiera los encontraba uno. Y ahora ya no hay bejuco, por eso ocupamos ahora el alambre para marrar la cerca. Ypués cuando se ha terminado todo, luego uno tiene que habitarla, ya puede tener adentro lo que tiene, y si hay cocina,pués todo se va a acomodar lo que uno tiene. Bonita se ve una casa nueva, cuando los otates son todos nuevos, los orcones, la palma, muy bonita. La casa está fresca, hay sombra. Púes así hacemos las casas aquí, nosotros los huastecos.

How a Traditional House is Made

This house is made with bamboo trees. In order to make a house, one will look for and gather poles. Later the ground will be measured to make the house the size one wants it, eather small or big. It has to be measured. Later holes will be dug in which to put the poles. They go to look for bamboo trees for the beams. When the beams are put in place, then the straightest bamboo trees are chosen. The roof is constructed up there so that the dome matches the size of the house. Straight after the dome is made, the bamboo trees are attached. To attach

themthe pins are taken out, in order to tie it up, to tie up the palm. The palm is used as the roof of the house. When the palm roof is in place, then the bamboo sticks are put up there, those bamboo trees, up there. In order to attach them, a cable is used to attach well the roof so that water cannot not pass through, and so that there is good shade. And when the whole house is covered with palm, then a mud wall is made, so the mud panels serve as walls. This is how we, the Huastecs, make our house. This is our house. As we don't have money we make them like this, simple houses like this one. We make everything with wood. And in the old times the mud walls were fixed just with liana as there was no money and there were more building materials, whatever one could find, like wood, like lianas, whatever one could find. Now there is no more liana, therefore we use a cable now to attach the mud wall. And when everything is finished, the people move in. They can store all their belongings inside. And there may be a kitchen, everything is accommodated, whatever one has. A house is very beautiful when it is new, when the bamboo trees are very fresh, the poles, the palm leaves. The house at that time is very beautiful, the shade is cool. So this is how we, the Huastecs, make our houses.

HSF Story 4: In t'ilaabil an alte' pik'o'

El cuento del coyote A story about the coyote
Told by Cirila Santos Santiago

- 1 in t' ilaab-il an alte' pik'o'
- E3 story-POSS DEF bush dog
- A story about the coyote.*

- 2 juun i k'ij ul-ich juun i alte' pik'o'
- one NM time come-COM one NM bush dog
- Once a coyote came*

- 3 axee' ti luk'aar
- here prep place(Sp)
- to this place.*

- 4 in yak'-w-a' juun i at'axtallaap
- E3 acquire-TS(COM) one NM bad.thing
- He had a bad habit*

- 5 ti k'ap-ul ti kwita'
 R eat-AP(INC) prep chicken
of eating chicken.
- 6 taam t-i chuuj an atk'imaath
 when R-Ep see.COM DEF neighbour
When the neighbours saw
- 7 baal exom t-up k'ap-tx-in-al
 that PROGR R-A3p eat-DAT-MID-INC
that he had been eating
- 8 an ti pok'oth
 DEF prep animal
their animals
- 9 juun a k'iitxaaaj i jun-k-uw t-i baa'
 one HON day E3p gather-DM-TS.INC prep-E3p self
one day they got together
- 10 i ul-uw baal
 Ep say-TS(COM) that
they said that
- 11 ne'ech kwa' k-i pax-tx-iy
 FUT QUOT IRR-Ep ambush-DAT-TS(COM)
they would ambush him.
- 12 i t'aj-tx-iy taam an ti ch'awlaap
 Ep put-DAT-TS(COM) then DEF prep trap
Then they put out a trap for him.
- 13 taam i kwach-iy
 then Ep spy-TS(COM)
Then they waited for him.
- 14 taam ti ul-ich an akal
 when R arrive-COM DEF night
When night came
- 15 baa' taam up way-ich t-up koo'
 no then A3p sleep-COM R-A3p care.INC
they didn't sleep, they were waiting for him

- 16 taam baa' taam ul-ich oox i akal
 then no then come-COM three NM night
 then he didn't come for three nights
- 17 taam i ontx-iy ba' taam
 then Ep continue-TS(COM) they then
 then they continued
- 18 an t-up kwach-ix axta ul-ich
 DEF R-A3p await-AP(INC) till(Sp) come-COM
 to wait till he came
- 19 juun i akal
 one NM night
 one night
- 20 i och'-oom k'ij taam
 Ep hear-SP INT then
 they could hear him then
- 21 an ti taal altxik an olip
 DEF R arrive down prep stream
 coming down the stream.
- 22 ani koomo lej-k-ith ich an ti koo'-y-al
 and since(Sp) prepare-DM-PPL already DEF R have-TS-INC
 And as they had everything prepared already
- 23 ani cho'oob ich
 and know.INC already
 and as they already knew
- 24 xoo'ni t-in koo'-y-al n-in wat'emtaal
 REL R-E3 have-TS-INC DEM-E3 path
 where his path was.
- 25 taja' taam an ti ch'aj-l-in-tx-in
 there then DEF R tie-DM-EP-DAT-MID(COM)
 There they tied for him
- 26 an ti kwita'
 DEF prep chicken
 the chicken.

- 27 taam ti taal txub-ub-uul
 when R come.irr straight-REDUP-POSIT
 When he came straight forward
- 28 taa' an ti ul-ich
 there DEF R come-COM
 there he went (to the place)
- 29 xoo'ni an t-in choop
 REL DEF R-E3 know.INC
 where he knew
- 30 t-in el-a-al n-in k'apwaal
 R-E3 find-TS-INC DEM-E3 food
 he would find his food
- 31 ani inchana' taam an ti ejt-ow-at
 and that.way then DEF R can-TS-PASS.COM
 and so they could
- 32 k-a chem-th-a-aj
 IRR-A3 kill-CAUS-TS-PASS.COM
 kill him.

In t'ilaabil an alte' pik'o'

Juun i k'ij ulich juun i alte' pik'o' axee' ti luk'aar. In yak'wa' juun i at'axtalaap ti k'apul ti kwita'. Taam ti chuuj an k'imaath baal exom tup k'aptxinal an ti pok'oth, juun a k'iitxaaj i junkuw ti baa', i uluw baal ne'ech kwa' ki paxtxiy. I t'ajtxiy taam an ti ch'a'ulaap. Taam i kwachiy. Taam ti ulich an akal, baa' taam up wayich tup koo'. Taam baa' taam ulich oox i akal. Taam i ontxiy ba' taam an tup kwachix axta ulich juun i akal. I och'oom k'ij taam an ti taal altxik an olip, ani koomo lejkithich an ti koo'yal, ani cho'oob ich xooni tin koo'yal nin wat'emtal. Taja' taam an ti ch'ajlintxin an ti kwita'. Taam ti taal txububuul, taa' an ti ulich xooni an tin choop tin elaal nin k'apwaal, ani inchana' taam an ti ejtowat ka chemthaaj.

El cuento del coyote

Un día llegó un coyote en esta comunidad. Agarró una manía de comer pollos. Cuando lo vieron la gente que les estaba comiendo sus animales, un día se juntaron y dijeron que le iban a hacer una emboscada. Le hicieron entonces la emboscada. Entonces lo espieron. Cuando

llegó la noche no se durmieron de espiar. No llegó tres noches. Entonces siguieron espiando hasta que llegó una noche. No más lo estaban oyendo cuando venía entre las piedras del arrollo, y como ya lo tenían arreglado, y ya sabían donde tenía su pesadero, allí entonces le habian amarrado una gallina. Cuando el animal venía derecho, allí llegó donde sabe que encontraba su comida. Así lo pudieron matar.

A Story about the Coyote

Once a coyote came to this place. He had a bad habit of eating chicken. When the neighbours saw that he had been eating their animals, one day they got together. They said that they would ambush him. Then they put out a trap for him. Then they waited for him. When night came they didn't sleep, they were waiting for him then he didn't come for three nights then they continued to wait till he came. One night they could hear him then coming down the stream, and as they had everything prepared already and as they already knew where his path was, there they tied a chicken for him. When he came straight forward, there he went to the place where he knew he could find his food, and so they could kill him.

HSF Story 5:

La lengua huasteca

An teenek kaaw

The Huastec language

Told by Felipa Mendo del Angel

- 1

nanaa'

I

taam

when

t-in

R-A1

chipiil

small

ej

PERDUR

When I was small,
- 2

u

E1

sufriir-iy

suffer-TS(COM)

na'

I

t'ajatx

very

I suffered a lot.
- 3

n-u

DEM-E1

paa

father(Sp)

baa'

no

t-in

R-E3

el-tx-iy-al

find-DAT-TS-INC

My father didn't find (enough food, resources)
- 4

baal

to

k-u

IRR-A1p

wat'-a'

maintain-TS(COM)

to maintain us.

- 5 baa' tin el-tx-iy-al t-u kwaa'txiim-al
 no 3>1 find-DAT-TS-INC R-E1 clothes-POSS
He didn't buy any clothes for me.
- 6 i sufriir-iy / baa' wa'
 Ep suffer-TS(COM) no we
We suffered,
- 7 i koo'-y-al i te'neel
 Ep have-TS-INC NM food
we didn't have any food,
- 8 baa' i el-a-al baal k-i k'ap-uw
 no Ep find-TS-INC for IRR-Ep eat-TS(COM)
we didn't find anything to eat.
- 9 taam ti maas weje' ich
 when prep more(Sp) old already
And in the old days,
- 10 n-u awueelu-txik n-u puulik paa
 DEM-E1 grandfather(Sp)-PL DEM-A1 big father(Sp)
my grandparents, my grand father
- 11 i utx-a-al
 Ep say-TS-INC
used to say,
- 12 i ch'ej-n-aal wik ba' an ejek
 Ep fear-MID-INC PAST they DEF white.person
they were scared of the white people.
- 13 taam ti wat'-ey naa' i abyoon
 when R pass-COM DEM NM plane(PL)
When an airplane passed by,
- 14 in jil-oom t'ek'at
 E3 leave-SP up.there
passing above,
- 15 babaa' ip kal-ej ba'
 they A3p leave-COM they
they used to go

- 16 i ik-b-ay-al
 Ep burn.incense-DM-TS-INC
to burn incense,
- 17 inchee' k'aal i ikop
 this.way with NM incense.burner
like this, in an incense burner,
- 18 es ke koomo babaa' baa' ba'
 because(SP) they no they
because they did not
- 19 i wit'-a-al t-ip laapkaaw
 Ep can-TS-INC R-A3p Spanish
speak Spanish,
- 20 puuru teenek ba'
 Pure(SP) Huastec they
they spoke only Huastec.
- 21 jaach ba' taam n-i chuuj
 it they then DEM-Ep see.COM
That's what they saw,
- 22 n-u puulik paa
 DEM-E1 big father
my grandparents.
- 23 inchana' ba' taam ti weje' ich kwa'
 this.way they then prep old already QUOT
They were like that in the old days.
- 24 an chitxik chikam xuwee'
 DEF small child now
The small children now
- 25 axee' ti k'ij xuwee'
 DEM prep time now
these days
- 26 baa' ich ba' xee'
 no already they now
they do not want

- 27 i lee' t-ip teenek
Ep want.INC R-A3p Huastec
to speak Huastec.
- 28 baa' ich ba' i lee'
no already they Ep want.INC
They don't want
- 29 t-ip teenek
R-A3p Huastec
to speak Huastec
- 30 maas ba' i lee' t-ip laapkaaw
more(Sp) they Ep want.INC R-A3p Spanish
they only want to speak Spanish.
- 31 peero koomo inchana' an t-ip
but(Sp) as(Sp) this.way DEF R-A3p
Because they are
- 32 bijtx-in-al k'aal n-i papaa
teach-MID-INC with DEM-Ep father(Sp)
taught (it)by their parents,
- 33 jaachtaam baa' ich ba' i ex-b-ay-al
therefore no already they Ep understand-DM-TS-INC
that is why they don't understand it (Huastec).
- 34 baa' ich ba' i lee'
no already they Ep want.INC
They don't want
- 35 k-i ey-n-a' an teenek
IRR-Ep use-INSTR-TS(COM) DEF Huastec
to use Huastec any more...
- 36 ani nanaa' beel na'
and I still I
And me, I still
- 37 u ey-n-a-al an teenek
E1 use-INSTR-TS-INC DEF Huastec
use Huastec.

- 38 baa' k'ij na' u k'ip-th-a-amal
 no INT I E1 lose-CAUS-TS-PERF
I haven't lost it,
- 39 u ey-n-a-al na' beel an teenek
 E1 use-INSTR-TS-INC I still DEF Huastec
I still use Huastec.
- 40 beel na' in ka'k-aal k'aal
 still I A1 speak-INC with
I still speak Huastec to
- 41 u at kristyaanu-txik ti teenek
 E1 peer christian-PL prep Huastec
other Christians (from the village),
- 42 ani naa' ip chitxik ej
 and DEM A3p small PERDUR
but the small ones
- 43 baa' ich ba' i lee'
 no already no E3p want.INC
do not want it any more,
- 44 baa' ich ba' i lee'
 no already they E3p want.INC
they do not want it,
- 45 i k'ip-th-a' ich
 Ep lose-CAUS-TS(COM) already
they have already lost it,
- 46 exom ich i k'ip-th-a-al an teenek
 PROGR already Ep lose-CAUS-TS-INC DEF Huastec
they are losing Huastec.
- 47 nanaa' u kaaw-im-n-a-al na'
 I E1 spak-AP-INSTR-TS-INC I
I speak
- 48 an ti teenek txuthey ka txuthey
 DEF prep Huastec day prep day
Huastec every day.

- 49 no maas ke naa' i chitxik chikam
only(Sp) that(Sp) DEM NM small child
Only to these little children,
- 50 n-u momop
DEM-E1 grandchild
to my grandchildren,
- 51 baa' u taw-n-aal ti teenek
no E1 speak-INSTR-TS-INC prep Huastec
I do not speak Huastec to them,
- 52 komo babaa' baa' i lee' k-i ach'-a'
as(Sp) they no Ep want.INC IRR-Ep listen-TS(COM)
as they do not want to listen.
- 53 exat ja' n-u taw-n-a-al ti laapkaaw
only it DEM-E1 speak-INSTR-TS-INC prep Spanish
I speak to them only in Spanish,
- 54 n-u chitxik chikam
DEM-E1 small child
to my little ones.
- 55 peero nanaa' in teenek na'
but(Sp) I A1 Huastec I
But I am Huastec.
- 56 in teenek na'
A1 Huastec I
I am Huastec.
- 57 baa' na' u k'ip-th-a-amal
no I E1 lose-CAUS-TS-PERF
I haven't lost it,
- 58 beel na' u eyn-a-al
still I E1 use-TS-INC
I still use it,
- 59 jaachtaam baa' na' u ach'-a-al
therefore no I E1 feel-TS-INC
therefore I don't feel

- 60 max k-u k'ip-th-a'
 if IRR-E1 lose-CAUS-TS(COM)
 I could lose it,
- 61 koomo jaach n-in bijtx-in
 As(Sp) it REL-A1 teach-MID(COM)
 as that is what I was taught
- 62 k'aal n-u papaa-txik
 by DEM-E1 father-PL
 by my parents
- 63 n-u puulik paa
 DEM-E1 big father
 (and) my grandparents.
- 64 n-u maa jaach an tin
 DEM-A1p mother it DEF 3>1
 My mother is the one who
- 65 bijtx-iy naa' ti kaawintalaap
 teach-TS(COM) DEM prep language
 taught me that language,
- 66 ani baa' na' u k'ip-th-a-amal
 and no I E1 lose-CAUS-TS-PERF
 and I haven't lost it.
- 67 naa' i leengua teenek
 DEM NM language(Sp) Huastec
 That Huastec language,
- 68 baa' na' u k'ip-th-a-amal
 no I E1 lose-CAUS-TS-PERF
 I haven't lost it,
- 69 beel na' u eyn-a-al
 still I E1 use-TS-INC
 I still use it.

La lengua huasteca

Nanaa' taam tin chipiilej u sufriiriy na' t'ajatx. Nu papaa baa' tin eltxiyal baal ku wat'a', baa' tin eltxiyal tu kwaa'txiimal. I sufriiriy, baa' wa' i koo'yal i

te'neel. Baa' i elaal baal ki k'apuw. Taam ti maas weje' ich pues nu awueelutxik, nu puulik paa in utxaal, i ch'ejnaal wik ba' an ejek... Taam ti wat'ey naa i abyoon in jiloom t'ek'at, babaa' ip kalej ba' i ikbayal inchee' k'aal i ikop, es que como babaa' baa' ba' i wit'aal tip laapkaaw, puuru teenek ba'. Jaach ba' taam ni chuuju nuu puulik paa, inchana' ba' taam ti weje' ich kwa' ... ajaa....

An chitxik chikam xuwee' axee' ti k'ij xuwee' baa' ich ba' xee' i lee' tip teenek, baa' ich ba' i lee' tip teenek, maas ba' i lee' tip laapkaaw, pero komo inchana' an tip bijtxinal k'aal ni papaa, jaachtaam baa' ich ba' i exbayal, baa' ich ba' i lee' ki eyna' an teenek. Ani nanaa' beel na' u eynaal an teenek, baa' k'ij na' u k'ipthaamal. U eynaal na' beel an teenek, beel na' in ka'kaal k'aal u at kristyaanutxik ti teenek, ani naa ip chitxikey baa' ich ba' i lee', baa' ich ba' i lee', i k'iptha' ich, exom ich i k'ipthaal an teenek. Nanaa' u kaawimnaal na' an ti teenek txuthey ka txuthey. No maas ke naa i chitxik chikam, nu momop, baa' u tawnaal ti teenek komo babaa' baa' i lee' ki ach'a'. Exat ja' nu tawnaal ti laapkaaw, nu chitxik chikam. Pero nanaa' in teenek na', in teenek na'. Baa' na' u k'ipthaamal, beel na' u eynaal. Jaachtaam baa' na' u ach'aal max ku k'iptha' komo jaach nin bijtxin k'aal nu papaatxik, nu puulik paa. Nu maa jaach an tin bijtxiy naa ti kaawintalaap ani baa' na' u k'ipthaamal naa i leengua teenek, baa' na' u k'ipthaamal, beel na' u eynaal.

La lengua Huasteca

Cuando yo era pequeña sufrí mucho. Mi padre no encontraba para mantenernos, no nos daba bastante ropa. Nosotros sufrimos, no teníamos comida, no encontrábamos de comer. En aquellos tiempos mis abuelos, mi abuelo me decía, le tenían miedo a los mestizos. Cuando pasó por primera vez ese avión que venía de arriba, ellos salieron a copalear aquí con un copalero. Es que como ellos no hablaban español, solo eran teenek (solo hablaban en teenek). Es lo que vieron mis abuelos, así eran ellos anteriormente.

Los niños de hoy en este tiempo ya no quieren hablar huasteco, no quieren hablar huasteco, nas les gusta hablar español, pero como así les enseñan sus padres, pore so ya no entienden, ya no quieren utilizar el teenek. Y yo todavía utilizo el teenek, no lo todavía he perdido. Todavía utilizo huasteco, todavía platico con otros cristianos en teenek. Y los pequeños ya no quieren, ya no quieren, ya lo perdieron, ya estan perdiendo el teenek. Yo hablo teenek cada dia. No mas que los niños, mis nietos, no les hablo en huasteco, como ellos no quieren

escuchar. Nada mas a ellos les hablo en español, a mis nietos. Pero yo soy husteca, soy teenek. Yo no lo he perdido, todavia lo utilizo, por eso yo no siento si lo puedo perder. Como eso es lo que me enseñaron mis padres, mis abuelos. Es lo que me enseñó mi madre, esta lengua. Y yo no he perdido esta lengua teenek, no la he perdido, todavía la utilizo.

The Huastec Language

When I was young, I suffered a lot. My father could not find enough food/resources to maintain us. He didn't buy me any clothes. We suffered, we didn't have any food, we didn't find anything to eat. And in the old days, our grandparents, our grand father used to say that they were scared of the white people. When an airplane passed above, they used to go to burn insence like this, in an insence burner. Because they did not speak Spanish, they spoke only Huastec. That's what they saw, our grandparents. They were like that in the old days. And the children now these days they do not want to speak in Huastec. They don't want to speak Huastec, they only want to speak Spanish, because they are taught the Spanish by their parents, that is why they don't understand Huastec. They don't want to use Huastec any more... And me, I still use Huastec. I haven't lost it, I still use Huastec. I still speak Huastec to other Christians from the village, but the small ones do not want it any more. They do not want it, they have already lost it, they are losing Huastec. I speak Huastec every day. Only to these little children, to my grand children, I do not speak Huastec to them, as they do not want to listen. I speak to them only in Spanish, to my little ones. But I am Huastec. I speak Huastec. I haven't lost it, I still use it. Therefore I don't feel I could lose it, as that is what my parents taught me, and my grandparents. My Mother is the one who taught me that language, and I haven't lost the Huastec language. I haven't lost it, I still use it.

HSF Story 6: In t'ilaabil an ataj ch'een

La leyenda de la Sierra de Otontepec

The Legend of the Otontepec Hill

Told by Goyo García del Angel

1 axee' jaach an t'ilaap
 DEM it DEF story
This is

- 2 ti weje' ich
 prep old already
an old story.
- 3 a ach'-at beel kwa' wik
 A3 hear-PAS.COM still QUOT PAST
One could hear
- 4 a t'een-n-al kwa'
 A3 play-MID-INC QUOT
playing
- 5 juun i puulik kampaana nuu' kwa'
 one NM big bell(Sp) there QUOT
a big bell over there
- 6 an ti ataaj ch'een
 DEF prep house hill
on top of the hill.
- 7 ani taam up junk-un koo'
 and then A3p gather-MID(COM) QUOT
And then
- 8 kwentxal an bitxoow-lek
 all DEF Chontla-COLL
all the Chontla dwellers gathered
- 9 i jun-k-uw kwa' n-i chalap
 Ep gather-TS(COM) QUOT DEM-Ep thought
and they decided
- 10 baal ne'ech k-up k'al-ej
 that FUT IRR-A3p go-COM
that they would go
- 11 k-i pa'-b-a'
 IRR-Ep go.down-CAUS-TS(COM)
to take it down
- 12 ne'ech kwa' k-i ik'-iy
 FUT QUOT IRR-Ep bring-TS(COM)
to bring it

- 13 ne'ech k-i txi'-th-a'
 FUT IRR-Ep come-CAUS-TS(COM)
to bring it
- 14 tee' al an bitxow
 here prep DEF Chontla
here to Chontla.
- 15 up junk-un kwa' taam kwentxal
 A3p gather-MID(COM) QUOT then all
Then all the people gathered
- 16 kweentxal an bitxow-lek
 all DEF Chontla-ABS
all the Chontla dwellers
- 17 kwentxal an k'imaath-txik
 all DEF neighbour-PL
all the neighbours
- 18 ani up k'al-ej kwa'
 and A3p go-COM QUOT
and they left.
- 19 juun a k'iitxaaj up bel-al
 one HON day A3p walk-INC
One day they walked,
- 20 up bel-al axta kwa' up ul-ich
 A3p walk-INC till(Sp) QUOT A3p arrive-COM
and walked till they arrived
- 21 tuu' ti ataaj ch'een.
 there prep house hill
there at the top of the hill.
- 22 i pa'-b-a' kwa' taam
 Ep go.down-CAUS-TS(COM) QUOT then
They took it down then
- 23 xoo'n ti pal-at ti ch'een
 REL R hang-PPL prep hill
(from) where it was hanging on the hill,

- 24 xoo'n ti pal-at an yejchel kampaana
 REL R hang-PPL DEF old bell
from where the old bell was hanging,
- 25 naa' puulik an kampaana
 DEM big DEF bell(Sp)
that big bell.
- 26 kwentxal kwa' i thay-a' kwa'
 all QUOT Ep carry-TS(COM) QUOT
All of them carried it.
- 27 up bel-al kwa' up bel-al
 A3p walk-INC QUOT A3p walk-INC
They walked and walked
- 28 baal k-i txi'-th-a'
 for IRR-Ep come-CAUS-TS(COM)
to bring it (to the village).
- 29 up chik-el i thay-a-al
 A3p get.tired-INC Ep carry-ST-INC
They got tired carryng it
- 30 ani up chik-el
 and A3p get.tired-INC
and they got tired,
- 31 ani thay-a-al ani
 and carry-TS-INC and
and they carried it and
- 32 up jaalk'-uux k'ij kwa'
 A3p change-REC.INC INT QUOT
they changed
- 33 axta kwa' ch'ejejeel ich an beel
 till QUOT half already DEF way
half way (to the village).
- 34 ul-ich kwa' an akal
 come-COM QUOT DEF night
Night came

- 35 taam up koy-ooch ich kwa' taam
 then A3p relax-AP.COM already QUOT then
 and then they rested.
- 36 ani ip way-ich kwa'
 and A3p sleep-COM QUOT
 And then they slept
- 37 up chik-enek kwa'
 A3p get.tired-PERF QUOT
 as they were tired.
- 38 taam kwa' t-up k'al-ej
 when QUOT R-A3p go-COM
 When they
- 39 t-up ej-el
 R-A3p wake.up-COM
 woke up
- 40 baa' exta kwa' an kampaana
 no be(Sp) QUOT DEF bell(Sp)
 the bell wasn't there.
- 41 witx-b-a-aj kwa'
 return-CAUS-TS-PAS.COM QUOT
 It had gone back
- 42 tuu' an ti ch'een
 there DEF prep hill
 there to the hill,
- 43 i chalp-ay kwa'
 Ep think-TS(COM) QUOT
 they thought
- 44 baal witx-b-a-aj
 that return-CAUS-TS-PAS.COM
 that it had returned
- 45 o xoo'n ti k'al-ej
 or(Sp) REL R go-COM
 or have gone somewhere...

- 46 taam i chalp-ay baal k-up witx-iy
 then Ep think-TS(COM) that IRR-A3p return-COM
 Then they thought of going back (to the hill)
- 47 i chalp-ay kwa' juniil
 Ep think-ST.COM QUOT again
 and they thought again
- 48 baal k-up witx-iy
 for IRR-A3p return-COM
 of going back,
- 49 k-up k'al-ej
 IRR-A3p go-COM
 going
- 50 k-i chuuj xoo'n ti pa'-b-a'
 IRR-Ep see.COM REL R go.down-CAUS-TS(COM)
 to see (the place) where they took it down,
- 51 tuu' kwa' ti chap pal-at
 there QUOT R again hang-PPL
 there where it was hanging again,
- 52 an thabal in witx-b-a' kwa'
 DEF owner E3 return-CAUS-ST.COM QUOT
 (if) the 'owner' had put it back,
- 53 o an k'ij an ch'een
 or(Sp) DEF spirit DEF hill
 or the spirit of the hill
- 54 o an at'ax inik
 or(Sp) DEF evil man
 or the devil...
- 55 baa' kwa' i cho'oob taamtama'
 no QUOT Ep know.INC who
 They did not know who
- 56 n-in witx-b-a'
 REL-E3 return-CAUS-TS(COM)
 had put it back ...

57	baa'	kwa'	i	ejt-ow	jayk'ij
	no	QUOT	Ep	can-ST.COM	never
	<i>They could never</i>				
58	k-i		txi'-th-a'		
	IRR-Ep		come-CAUS-TS(COM)		
	<i>bring it (to the village),</i>				
59	witx-iy	kwa'	tuwa'	xoo'n	
	return-COM	QUOT	over.there	REL	
	<i>it always went back to where</i>				
60	t-i	k'al-ej			
	R-Ep	go-COM			
	<i>they had gone</i>				
61	i		pit-a-al		
	Ep		pick.up-ST-INC		
	<i>to take it down,</i>				
62	an	ti	ataaj	ch'een	
	DEF	prep	house	hill	
	<i>to the top of the hill.</i>				
63	jaach	axee'	an	t'ilap	
	it	DEM	DEF	story	
	<i>That is the story</i>				
64	naa	yaan	i	lee'	bayej
	DEM	many	Ep	want.INC	they.too
	<i>that many (people) want</i>				
65	k-i		cho'oob-n-a'		
	IRR-Ep		know-TS(COM)		
	<i>to know</i>				
66	k-up	k'al-ej	k-i	chuu	
	R-A3p	go-COM	IRR-Ep	see.COM	
	<i>and (want) to go and see</i>				
67	xoo'n	ti	pal-at		
	REL	R	hang-PPL		
	<i>where it hangs</i>				

- 68 naa' i kampaana
 DEM NM bell
 that bell.
- 69 peero baa' tamaa' i koo'-y-al
 but(Sp) no who Ep have-TS-INC
 But nobody has
- 70 naa' i chaap
 DEM NM strength
 that strength,
- 71 baa' tamaa' i koo'-y-al
 no who Ep have-TS-INC
 nobody has
- 72 naa' i utx-a-al ti baloor kwa'
 REL Ep say-TS-INC prep courage(Sp) QUOT
 what they call courage
- 73 baal k-up k'al-ej k-i chuuj
 for IRR-A3p go-COM IRR-Ep see.COM
 to go and see it
- 74 axta tuwa'
 till(Sp) over.there
 there
- 75 porkee ip ch'ej-n-aal
 because(Sp) A3p scare-MID-INC
 because they are scared,
- 76 a lo mejoor taa' kwa'
 maybe(Sp) there QUOT
 maybe there
- 77 k'waj-at an puulik at'ax
 be-INC DEF big evil
 the devil lives ...
- 78 jaach kwa' axee' an t'ilap
 it QUOT DEM DEF story
 This was the story

79 an ti ataaj ch'een
 DEF prep house hill
 about the top of the hill,

80 naa' i utx-a-al ti Cerro de Otontepec
 REL Ep say-ST-INC prep Hill of Otontepec
 the one they call Otontepec Hill.

In t'ilaabil an ataaj ch'een

Axee' jaach an t'ilaap ti weje' ich. A ach'atbeel koo' wik a t'ennal kwa' juun i puulik kampaana nuu' kwa' an ti ataaj ch'een, ani taam up junkun koo' kwentxal an bitxowlek. I junkuw kwa' ni chalap baal ne'ech kup k'alej ki pa'ba', ne'ech kwa' ki ik'iy, ne'ech ki txi'tha' tee' al an bitxow.

Up junkun kwa' taam kwentxal, kweentxal an bitxowlek, kwentxal an k'imaathtxik ani up k'alej kwa'. Juun a k'iitxaaj up belal, up belal axta kwa' up ulich tuu' ti ataa' ch'een. I pa'ba' kwa' taam xoon ti palat ti ch'een, xoon ti palat an yejchel kampaana, naa' puulik an kampaana. kwentxal kwa' i thaya' kwa', up belala kwa', up belal baal ki txi'tha'. Up chikel i thayaal ani up chikel ani thayaal ni up jaalk'uux k'ij kwa', axta kwa' ch'ejejeel ich an beel. Ulich kwa' an akal. Taam up koyooch ich kwa' taam ani ip wayich kwa' up chickenek kwa', taam kwa' tup k'alej tup ejel, baaxta kwa' an kampaana... witxbaaj kwa' tu an ti ch'een. I chalpay kwa' baal witxbaaj, o xoon ti k'alej...

Taam i chalpay baal kup witxiy, i chalpay ko juniil baal kup witxiy kup k'alej, ki chuuw xoon ti pa'ba', tuu' kwa' ti chap palat, an thabal in witxba' kwa', o an k'ij an ch'een, o an at'ax inik. Baa' kwa' i cho'oob taamtama' nin witxba', baa' kwa' i ejtow jayk'ij ki txi'tha'. Witxiy kwa' tuwa' xoon ti k'alej i pitaal an ti ataaj ch'een. Jaach axee' an t'ilap naa yaan i lee' bayej ki cho'oobna', kup k'alej ki chuuj xoon ti palat naa' i kampaana, peero baa' tamaa' i koo'yal naa' i chaap, baa' tamaa' i koo'yal naa' i utxaal ti baloor kwa' baal kup k'alej ki chuuj axta tuwa', porkee i ch'ejnaal. A lo mejoor taa kwa' k'wajat an puulik at'ax ... Jaach kwa' axee' an t'ilap an ti ataaj ch'een, naa' i utxaal ti Cerro de Otontepec.

La leyenda del Cerro de Otontepec

Esto es el cuento de hace años. Se oía tocar una campana grande allá en la casa del cerro. Después se juntaron todos los chontalejos, se juntaron y pensaron que lo van a ir a bajar, que lo van a traer a Chontla. Se juntaron todos, todos los chontlejos, todos los caseros, y salieron un día. Salieron caminando hasta que llegaron allá en la casa del cerro. Bajaron la campana donde estaba colgada en el cerro, donde estaba colgada semejante campana. La campana era grande. Todos la levantaron. Caminaban y caminaban, la trajeron caminando.

Se cansaban y lo levantaban, se cansaban y lo levantaban... Se cambiaban, nada más, hasta medio camino. Llegó la noche. Entonces descansaron y se durmieron bien cansados. Cuando se fueron despertando ya no estaba la campana, lo habían regresado allá en la cierra... Pensaban que lo regresaron, o quien sabe a donde se fue ...

Entonces pensaron que tenían que regresar. Pensaron en regresar para volver ir a ver , para ir a ver donde lo bajaron, si allá estaba colgado de nuevo, si el dueño lo regresó, o el espíritu del cerro, o el diablo ... No sabían quien lo regresó. Nunca lo pudieron traer. Se regresaba allá de donde lo bajaron, en la casa del cerro. Este es el cuento que muchos quieren entender, que lo vayan a ver también donde está colgada la campana. Pero nadie tiene esa fuerza. Nadie no tiene lo que dicen valor para que vayan a ver hasta allá porque tienen miedo. A lo mejor allí está el diablo. Eso es el cuento de la casa del cerro, el que le dicen “el Cerro de Otontepec”.

The Legend of the Otontepec Hill

This is an old story. A big bell could be heard ringing on top of a hill. So the Chontla dwellers gathered, and decided to go and take it down, and bring it to Chontla. They all gathered, all the Chontla dwellers, all the neighbours, and they went to the hill. They walked and arrived in the Casa del Cerro. They took down the bell from where it was hanging on the hill. The bell was big. They all lifted it together. They walked and walked carrying the bell. They got tired, and carried it, got tired again and carried it again. They shared the carrying of it. They changed carriers, and went half way. Night came. Then they relaxed and fell asleep as they were very tired. When they woke up the bell wasn't there, it had returned to the hill. They thought that somebody had taken it back.

Then they thought that they should go back. They thought they should go back to see it again, to see the place from where they had taken it, to see if it was hanging there again. Maybe the owner had taken it back, or the spirit of the hill, or the devil. They didn't know who had returned the bell. They were never able to take it to the village. It always went back the place

it was hanging, at the top of the hill. This is the story that many want to understand, to go to see where the bell is hanging. But nobody has the strenght. Nobody is courageous enough to go and see it there because they are scared. Maybe the devil is there. This is the story about the top of the hill, that is called « the Otontepec Hill ».

HSF Story 7: Mi rutina diaria

My daily routine

Told by Berna Santiago Neri

- 1 nanaa' baa' t'ajatx in jol-k'-an-al
I no very A1 be.free-DM-MID-INC
I don't have much free time.

- 2 a las siinko de la mañana in ej-at ich
at 5 of the morning(Sp) A1 wake.up-PPL already
At 5 in the morning I wake up.

- 3 porkee koomo u koo'-y-al i tienda
Because(Sp) as(Sp) E1 have-TS-INC NM shop
Because as I have a shop,

- 4 jaach an ti baa' u ejt-ow-al
it DEF R no E3 can-TS-INC
I can not (be free),

- 5 porke n-u klientee-j-il ul-el
because(Sp) DEM-E1 client(Sp)-EP-POSS come-INC
because my customers come

- 6 thajaw ej
early PERDUR
early.

- 7 thajawee' ip ul-el / in ch'ak-iil
early A3p come-INC A1 get up-INC
They come early, I get up.

- 8 in ch'akiil yik'ox eej
A1 get up-INC dark PERDUR
I get up when it is still dark.

- 9 baa' ich in koch-iil baal ak
 no already A1 lay-INC for IRR
I can't lay down at all
- 10 baal in k'waj-iil
 for A1 sit-INC
nor even sit down,
- 11 in xe'ech k'ij t-in bel-el-eel
 A1 go.INC INT R-A1 walk-REDUPL-INC
I just walk around,
- 12 baal in nuuj-ul
 as A1 sell-AP(INC)
as I sell.
- 13 ani taam k-u chuuj
 and when IRR-E1 see.COM
And when I see that
- 14 baa' wa'ach i jeente
 no exist NM people(Sp)
there is nobody (in the shop),
- 15 ne'ech taam t-in k'weet
 FUT then R-A1 sweep.INC
I sweep,
- 16 ne'ech t-in k'ap-un-th-om ti kwita'
 FUT R-A1 eat-EP-CAUS-AP(INC) prep chicken
I feed the chicken
- 17 ne'ech t-in paak'-um
 FUT R-A1 wash.clothes-AP(INC)
I wash clothes,
- 18 o ne'ech k-u t'ak-a' i traaste
 or(Sp) FUT IRR-E1 wash-TS(COM) NM dishes(Sp)
or I wash the dishes
- 19 baal a las oonse ne'ech taam
 because at 11(Sp) FUT then
because at 11 am I then

- 20 t-in paak-al
R-A1 make.tortillas-AP(INC)
make tortillas,
- 21 taam wa' n-u jay-ul a las onse
then we DEM-E1 have.lunch-AP(INC) at 11(Sp)
We have lunch at 11 am.
- 22 de ayii ne'ech taam
from there(Sp) FUT then
After that
- 23 t-in koy-ol juun i we'
R-A1 relax-AP(INC) one NM moment
I relax for a moment.
- 24 u koo'-y-al n-u klieente-j-il
E1 have-TS-INC DEM-E1 customer(Sp)-EP-POSS
I have my customers,
- 25 komokiera baa' ak
somehow no IRR
somehow
- 26 in pith-n-al t-in jay-ul alwa'
A1 give-MID-INC R-A1 eat-AP(INC) well
they don't let me eat well.
- 27 ani jaach n-u t'ojlaab-il
and it DEM-E1 job-POSS
It is my job
- 28 n-u koo'-y-al putaal a k'iitxaaj
REL-E1 have-TS-INC whole HON day
that I do all day long.
- 29 baa' in koy-ol
no A1 relax-AP(INC)
I don't relax,
- 30 in paak-um / max ne'ech t-in atx-im
A1 wash-AP(INC) if FUT R-A1 wash-AP(INC)
I wash clothes, maybe wash myself.

- 31 jaach k'ij n-u t'aj-a-al
 it INT REL-E1 do-TS-INC
 That is what I do
- 32 k-a k'al-ej a k'iitxaaj
 IRR-A3 leave-COM HON day
 as the day goes by,
- 33 an t-in t'oj-oj-ool
 DEF R-A1 work-REDUPL-AP(INC)
 I work and work
- 34 ani axta k-a tham-uy
 and till(Sp) IRR-A3 get.late-COM
 till it gets late.
- 35 jaach n-u t'ojlaab-il n-u koo'yal
 it DEM-E1 work-POSS REL-E1 have-TS-INC
 That is the work I have (do)
- 36 baal in nuuj-ul
 as A1 sell-AP(INC)
 because I sell.
- 37 ul-el an jeente
 arrive-INC DEF people(Sp)
 People come
- 38 jaach an ti baa' u ejt-ow-al
 it DEF R no E1 can-TS-INC
 that is why I can not
- 39 k-in k'waj-l-el-en
 IRR-A1 sit down-DM-REDUPL-MID.INC
 sit down.
- 40 ani koomo ne'ech k'ij
 and as(Sp) FUT INT
 and as it
- 41 ti tham-uul n-a k'iitxaaj
 R get.dark-MID.INC DEM-HON day
 gets dark,

- 42 baa' ja' ay-tx-iy
 no s/he/it wait-DAT-TS-COM
it doesn't wait,
- 43 taam ne'ech k-u chap t'aj-a' ich
 then FUT IRR-E1 again do-TS-COM already
then I again make
- 44 taam i bakan
 then NM tortilla
tortillas
- 45 baal k-u jay-uuch n-u cha'ax
 to IRR-E1 eat-AP(INC) DEM-E1 dinner
for my dinner.
- 46 ani komokiera an jeente
 and anyway(Sp) DEF people
and anyway the people
- 47 ip ul-el ba'
 A3p arrive-INC they
come,
- 48 aba' yik'ox ak ich
 even late IRR already
even if it is late.
- 49 axta las nueve de la noche
 till(Sp) nine of the night (Sp)
Till nine pm
- 50 komokiera ul-el an jeente
 anyway arrive-INC DEF people
people come.
- 51 wa'ach i k'ij
 exist NM time
Sometimes
- 52 aba' in koch-at ak ich
 even A1 lay-PPL IRR already
even if I am already in bed,

- 53 in thay-n-al
 A1 lift-MID.INC
I get up.
- 54 komo baal in nuuj-ul
 as because A1 sell-AP(INC)
As I sell,
- 55 ul-el n-u jeente-j-il
 arrive-INC DEM-E1 people-EP-POSS
my people come
- 56 ani baa' u ejt-ow-al
 and no E1 can-TS-INC
and I can not
- 57 k-u negaar-in-tx-iy
 IRR-E1 ignore-EP-DAT-TS(COM)
ignore them.
- 58 in koo'-y-al k-u chuuj
 A1 have-TS-INC IRR-E1 sec.COM
I have to take care of them,
- 59 u klieente-j-il ich naayej
 E1 client-EP-POSS already too
they are my clients.

Mi rutina diaria

Nanaa' baa' t'ajatx in jolk'anal. A las siinko de la mañana in ejat ich, porkee komo u koo'yal i tienda, jaach an ti baa' u ejtowal porke nu klienteejil ulel thajaweej, thajawee' ip ulel in ch'akiil. In ch'akiil yik'oxeej, baa' ich in kochiil baalak baal in k'wajiil, in xe'ech k'ij tin beleleel baal in nuujul. Ani taam ku chuuj baa' wa'ach i jeente, ne'ech taam tin k'weet, ne'ech tin k'apuntom ti kwita', ne'ech tin paak'um o ne'ech ku t'aka' i traaste baal a las onse ne'ech taam tin paakal taam wa' nu jayul a las onse. De ayii ne'ech taam tin koyol juun i we'. u koo'yal nu klieentejil komokiera baalak in pithnal tin jayul alwa'. ani jaach nu t'ojlaabil nu koo'yal putaal a k'iitxaaj. Baa' in koyol. In paakum, max ne'ech tin

atxim, jaach k'ih nu t'ajaa ka k'alej a k'iitxaa, an tin t'ojojool. Ani axta ka thamuy jaach nu t'ojlaabil nu koo'yal baal in nuujul. Ulel an jeente, jaach an ti baa' u ejtowal kin k'wajlelen. Ani koomo ne'ech k'ij ti thamuul na k'iitxaa, baa' ja' aytxiy. Taam ne'ech ku chapt'aja' ich taam i bakan baal ku jayuuch nu cha'ax. Ani komokiera an jeente ip ulel ba' aba' yik'ox ak ich.... axta las nueve de la noche komokiera ulel an jeente. Wa'ach i k'ij aba' in kochat ak ich in thaynal. Komo baal in nuujul, ulel nu jeentejil, ani baa' u ejtowal ku negaarintxiy, in koo'yal ku chuuj, u klieentejil ich naayej....

Mi rutina diaria

Yo casi no tengo tiempo libre. A las 5 de la mañana ya estoy despierta, porque como tengo la tienda... pore yo no puedo, porque mis clientes llegan temprano. Temprano llegan, me levanto cuando todavía está oscuro. Ya no me acuesto ni tampoco me siento, solo ando para allá y para acá porque vendo. Y cuando veo que no hay gente, me pongo a barrer, voy a darles de comer a los pollos, voy a lavar la ropa o voy a lavar los trastes porque a las 11 voy a tortear. Entonces nosotros desayunamos a las 11. De allí voy a descansar un rato. Tengo mis clientes, comoquiera no me dejan comer bien. Es mi trabajo que yo tengo todo el día. No descanso. Lavo la ropa, a lo mejor me voy a bañar, eso es lo que hago todo el día, en el quehacer, y hasta la tarde. Es mi trabajo que tengo porque vendo. Llega la gente, por eso no puedo estar sentada, y como va siendose tarde el día, eso no espera, entonces voy a hacer de nuevo las tortillas para comer mi cena. Y comoquiera la gente llega aunque sea de noche. Hasta las nueve de la noche comoquiera llega la gente. A veces aunque ya esté acostada, me levantan. Pues como vendo, llegan mis clientes. Y no puedo negarles, tengo que verlos, ya son mis clientes.

My daily routine

I don't have much free time. At 5 in the morning I am already up. Because as I have a shop, I am not free, because my customers come early. They come early, so I get up. I get up when it is still dark. I can't lay down at all nor even sit down, I just walk around, as I sell. And when I see that there is nobody (in the shop), I sweep, I feed the chicken I wash clothes, or I wash the dishes because at 11 am I will then make tortillas, I have lunch at 11 am. At that time I relax for a moment. I have my customers, so I can't eat well. It is my job which I do all day long. I don't relax, I wash clothes, maybe wash myself. That is what I do

as the day goes by, I work and work till it gets late. That is the work I have because I sell. People come that is why I can not sit down. And as it gets dark, then again I make tortillas for my dinner. And still the people come, even if it is late. Till 9 pm people come. Sometimes even if I am already in bed I get up. Because I sell, my people come and I cannot ignore them. I have to take care of them, they are my customers.

HSF Story 8:		In t'ilaabil an pik'o'		
El cuento del perro		The story of the dog		
Told by Berna Santiago Neri				
1	aase uunos aanyos	in	pith-an	
	some years ago(Sp)	A1	give-MID(COM)	
	<i>Some years ago I was given</i>			
2	juun i pik'o'			
	one NM dog			
	<i>a dog</i>			
3	chipiil ej wik an t-in			
	small PERDUR PAST DEF R-A1			
	<i>He was still small when</i>			
4	txi'-th-an-tx-in	Meejiko		
	come-CAUS-EP-DAT-MID(COM)	Mexico		
	<i>he was brought to me from Mexico.</i>			
5	pero naa' i pik'o' pub-ey			
	but(Sp) DEM NM dog grow.up-COM			
	<i>but the dog grew up</i>			
6	in bij t-a roki			
	E3 name prep-A3 Rocky			
	<i>His name was Rocky.</i>			
7	u koo'-oy ch'ajl-ith			
	E1 have-TS(COM) tighten.up-PPL			
	<i>I kept him tied up,</i>			
8	baa' i wal-k-a'			
	no Ep let.free-DM-TS.OM			
	<i>we didn't let him free,</i>			

- 9 ani naa' i pik'o' pub-ey t'ajatx
 and DEM NM dog grow.up-COM very
and that dog grew up to be very big.
- 10 pero k'al-ej at'ax porkee
 but(Sp) leave-COM evil because(Sp)
But he turned out to be evil as
- 11 in k'ap-w-al i kwita'
 E3 eat-TS-INC NM chicken
he ate chicken,
- 12 in k'ap-w-al i chitxik k'athaw
 E3 eat-TS-INC NM small turkey
he ate little turkeys
- 13 ani asta an chitxik olom
 and till(Sp) DEF small pig
even small pigs
- 14 in k'ap-w-al
 E3 eat-TS-INC
he ate.
- 15 ani nanaa' u ko'oy na' owat
 and I E1 have-TS(COM) I long.time
I had him for a long time,
- 16 naa' i pik'o'
 DEM NM dog
that dog.
- 17 pero tayiil baa'
 but(Sp) later no
But later
- 18 taam u kulb-eth-n-a'
 then E1 glad-CAUS-INSTR-TS(COM)
I disliked him
- 19 porkee in k'ap-w-al ejtal
 because(Sp) E3 eat-TS-INC everything
because he ate everything

- 20 kasi tin komprometeer-iy-al
almost(Sp) 3>1 embarrass-TS-INC
he almost embarrassed me.
- 21 in k'ap-uw juun i palach puulik
E3 eat-TS(COM) one NM turkey big
He ate a big turkey
- 22 peero koomo el animal
but(Sp) as(Sp) the(Sp) animal(Sp)
but as the animals
- 23 baa' ba' ip kaaw
no they A3p speak.irr
don't speak
- 24 a mak-n-al xoo'n
A3 approach-MID-INC REL
they approached him where
- 25 ti k'waj-at ch'aj-l-ith
R be-INC tie.up-DM-PPL
he was tied up,
- 26 ani ja' in k'ap-w-al ich ja'
And s/he E3 eat-TS-INC already s/he
and he ate them,
- 27 ejtal xoo'n k-up ut'-ey
all REL IRR-A3p pass.by-COM
all that approached
- 28 t'aja' xoo'n ti ch'aj-l-ith
there REL R tie.up-DM-PPL
where he was tied up.
- 29 ani baa' u kulbeet-n-a'
and no E1 be.glad-INSTR-TS(COM)
and I wasn't happy with him
- 30 pwees u koo'-oy na'
then(Sp) A1 have-TS(COM) I
so I had

- 31 k-u nuj-uw
IRR-E1 sell-TS(COM)
to sell him.
- 32 ul-ich juun i nujul kolchoon
come-COM one NM seller mattress(Sp)
A mattress seller came.
- 33 taa' kwa' jalapa n-in jiloom
there QUOT Xalapa REL-E3 place
He was from Xalapa,
- 34 naa' i nujul kolchoon
DEM NM seller mattress(Sp)
that mattress seller
- 35 pwees in ul-uw ja' baal in lee' kwa'
then(Sp) E3 say-TS(COM) that E3 want.INC QUOT
He said he wanted
- 36 k-in ch'a'-iy an pik'o'
IRR-E3 buy-TS(COM) DEF dog
to buy the dog.
- 37 pero nanaa' baa' na' u nuj-uw
but (Sp) I no I E1 sell-TS(COM)
But I didn't sell it
- 38 inchana' k'ij
that way INT
just like that (=without explanation),
- 39 nanaa' u ol-tx-iy na'
I E1 say-DAT-TS(COM) I
I told him
- 40 baal a at'ax an pik'o'
that A3 evil DEF dog
that the dog is bad.
- 41 u ol-tx-iy naa' i persoon
E1 say-DAT-TS(COM) DEM NM person(Sp)
I told that person that.

- 42 u nuj-tx-iy
 E1 sell-DAT-TS(COM)
I sold him (the dog) to him.
- 43 ani in ul-uw taam baal
 and E3 say-TS(COM) then that
and he said then that
- 44 jajaa' in lee' kwa' ja'
 s/he E3 want.INC QUOT s/he
he wanted him (the dog)
- 45 abaa' a at'ax
 although A3 evil
although he is bad
- 46 porkee jajaa' in koo'-y-al kwa'
 because(Sp) s/he E3 have-TS-INC QUOT
because he had (the man)
- 47 juun i weerta
 one NM garden(Sp)
a garden
- 48 ani ip och-eel kwa' i kwita'
 ani A3p enter-INC QUOT NM chicken
where chickens got in
- 49 ani jaach koo' ja' baa' koo' ja'
 and it SPEC s/he no SPEC s/he
and he doesn't
- 50 in kulbeet-n-al
 E3 be.glad-CAUS-INSTR-INC
like it.
- 51 u ol-tx-iy baal a at'ax
 E1 say-DAT-TS(COM) that A3 evil
I told him that he (the dog) is evil
- 52 in ch'a'-iy
 E3 buy-TS(COM)
he bought him (the dog).

- 53 in ul-uw baa' kwa'
 E3 say-TS(COM) no QUOT
He said that
- 54 tant'ooj max a at'ax
 what if A3 evil
even if he (the dog) is bad
- 55 jaach koo' ja' n-in lee'
 it SPEC s/he REL-E3 want.INC
it was what he wanted.
- 56 baa' koo' ja' in lee'
 no SPEC s/he E3 want.INC
He didn't want all those animals
- 57 k-ip och-ich
 IRR-A3p enter-COM
to get into
- 58 k'iyat i animal t-in weertaj-il
 all NM animal(SP) prep-E3 garden-POSS
his garden.
- 59 u nuj-uw ich taam
 E3 sell-TS(COM) already then
So I sold him then.
- 60 exat k'ij ja'
 all INT it
That's all.

In t'ilaabil an pik'o'

Aase uunos aanyos in pithan juun i pik'o' chipiile wik an tin txi'thantxin meejiko. Peero naa' i pik'o' pubey. In bij ta roki. Pero resulta que u koo'oy ch'ajlith, baa' i walka' ani naa' i pik'o' pubey t'ajatx. In bij naa' ta Rooki. Pero k'alej at'ax porkee in k'apal i kwita', in k'apal i chitxik k'athaw, ani asta an chitxik olom in k'apal ani nanaa' u ko'oy na' owat naa' i pik'o' pero tayiil baa' taam u kulbetna' porkee in k'apal ejtal, kaasi tin kompometeeriyal, in k'apuw juun i palach puulik pero koomo el animal baa' ba' ip kaaw a maknal xoo'n ti k'wajat ch'ajlith ani ja' in k'apal ich ja' taam ejtal xoo'n kup ut'ey, t'aja'

xoo'n ti ch'ajlith . Ani baa' u kulbeetna' pwees ko'oy na' ku nujuw . Ulich juun i nujul kolchoon, taa' kwa' jalapa nin jiloom naa i nujul kolchoon. Pwees in uluw ja' baal in lee' kwa' kin ch'a'iy an pik'o' pero nanaa' baa' na' u nujuw in lee' chana k'ij. N anaa' u oltxiy na' baal a at'ax an pik'o'. U oltxiy naa i persoona u nujtxiy ani in uluw taam baal jajaa' in lee' kwa' ja' aba a at'ax porkee jajaa' in koo'yal kwa' juun i weerta ani ip ocheel kwa' i kwita'. Ani jaach koo' ja' baa' koo' ja' in kulbeetnal. U oltxiy baal a at'ax, in ch'a'iy, in uluw baa' kwa' tant'ooj max a at'ax, jaach koo' ja' nin lee', baa' koo' ja' in lee' kip ochich k'iyat i animal tin weertajil . U nujuw ich taam . Exat k'ij ja' .

El cuento del perro

Hace unos años me regalaron un perro chico. Me lo trajeron de México. Pero ese perro creció. Se llamaba Roki. Pero resulta que ... como lo tuve amarrado y no lo soltamos, y ese perro creció mucho. Se llamaba Roki. Pero salió malo, porque comía pollos, pequeños guajolotes, hasta puerquitos comía ...Por eso yo tuve mucho tiempo ese perro, pero despues no me gustaba porque comía de todo, casi me comprometía, se comió un guajolote grande. Pero como los animales no hablan, se acercaban donde elestaba amarrado y el se comía todos los que se acercaban allí donde el estaba amarrado. Y eso no me gusto, pues tuve que venderlo. Llegó un vendedor de colchones que venía de Xalapa, ese vendedor de colchones. Pues el dijo que querría comprar el perro. Pero yo no lo vendí así nada más, yo le avisé que el perro era malo. Le dije a esa persona que lo vendí. El dijo entonces que lo quería aunque fuera malo, porque el tenía una huerta donde entraban pollos. Eso a el no le gustaba. Le dije que el perro era malo. El lo compró y dijo que no importaba si era malo, es lo que el quería. El no quería que entraran otros animales en su huerta. Si, este... ya lo vendí entonces. Esto es todo.

The story about the Dog

Some years ago I was given a dog. He was still small when he was brought to me from Mexico. But the dog grew up. His name was Rocky. I kept him tied up, we didn't let him free, and that dog grew up to be very big. But he turned out to be bad as he ate chicken, he ate little turkeys, he even ate small pigs. I had him for a long time, that dog. But later I disliked him because he ate everything. He almost embarrassed me, he ate a big turkey. But as the animals don't speak, they approached him where he was tied up, and he ate them, all that approached where he was tied up. And I wasn't happy with him so I had to sell him. A

mattress seller came. He was from Xalapa, that mattress seller. He said he wanted to buy the dog. But I didn't sell him without explanation, I told him that the dog is evil. I told that person that, and I sold the dog to him. And he said then that he wanted him (the dog) although the dog is evil because he had a garden where chickens got in and he doesn't like it. I said that he (the dog) is bad. He bought him. He said that even if the dog was evil, it was what he wanted. He didn't want all those animals to get into his garden. So I sold the dog to him then. That's all.

HSF Text 9 (Song): ‘Puulik Chalpaxtalaap’
Gran Pensamiento Great Memory

Words and music by: Narciso de la Cruz Domínguez
Sings: Narciso de la Cruz Domínguez

- 1 wat'-enek n-a k'iitxaaj
pass.by-PERF DEM-HON day
Those days have passed

- 2 an akal ani an k'ij
DEF night and DEF time
those nights and time.

- 3 k'aal yaan taam u kulbetal
with much then E1 pleasure
With much pleasure

- 4 in exom u chalpaya
A1 PROGR E1 think-TS-INC
I think about

- 5 u kwaal an t-u xe'chintal
E1 have.INC DEF prep-E1 life
(what) I have in my life,

- 6 ninaja' t'ajatx alobeel
DEM very beautiful
something very beautiful

- 7 ninaja' t-in pith-a-amal
 DEM 3>1 give-TS-PERF
 that she gave me
- 8 juun a k'iitxaaj
 one NM day
 one day
- 9 jelat juun i chalpaxtalaap
 like one NM memory/souvenir
 as a memory.
- 10 n-a k'ambixtal k'waj-at
 DEM-E2 cheating be-INC
 Your cheating stays
- 11 an t-u chalap
 DEF prep-E1 mind
 in my mind,
- 12 ani in chalp-ax
 and A1 think-AP(INC)
 and I think
- 13 baal ne'ech k-it witx-iy
 that FUT IRR-A2 return-TS(COM)
 that you will return
- 14 ani n-a wi' k-u chap
 and DEM-E2 mouth IRR-E1 again
 and (that) I will
- 15 ch'uch'b-ay juniil
 kiss-TS(COM) again
 kiss you again.

Puulik Chalpaxtalaap

Wat'enek na k'iitxaaj
 An akal ani an k'ij
 K'aal yaan taam u kulbetal
 In exom u chalpaxal

Gran Recuerdo

Han pasado los días
 Las noches y el tiempo
 Con mucho gusto
 Estoy pensando

U kwaal an tu xe'chintal
Ninaja' t'ajatx alobeel
Ninaja' tin pithaamal
Juun a k'iitxaaj
Jelat juun i chalpaxtalaap
Na k'ambixtal k'wajat an tu chalap
Ani in chalpax baal ne'ech kit witxiy
Ani na wi' ku chap ch'uch'bay juniil.

Que en mi vida tengo
Eso tan bonito
Que me dió ella
Un día
Como un recuerdo.
Tu mentira existe en mi pensamiento
Y pienso que vas a volver
Y que tu boca voy a volver a besar.

A Great Memory

Those days have passed
Those nights, and time
I think of it
With great pleasure
I have in my life
Something very beautiful,
That she gave me
One day
To remember
Your cheating stays in my mind
And yet I think
That you will come back
And that I will kiss you again.

Documentation of South Eastern Huastec

1 Introduction

This project was to document the usage of the language in all its varieties and to create a digital database. It was financed by a SOAS HRELP grant (Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Program with the School of African and Asian Studies of the University of London, UK), a Mexican Government scholarship and financial support by AALLED DDL at the Université Lyon 2, France. This collection of primary data is deposited in ELAR for long term archiving, where it is accessible to other interested parties.

The field work with HSF was conducted in three parts: firstly, I spent eight months attached to the Institute for Anthropological Studies at the Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico in Mexico City. The major part of this first stage of fieldwork with HSF was dedicated to data collecting in the village of San Francisco, Municipality of Chontla, state of Veracruz (Mexico). During the first part of the project I tried to document the usage of South Eastern Huastec in all the contexts.

The second part was conducted in 2009 when a further three months were spent in the village collecting more data and eliciting grammatical patterns. The third was a stay of two months in 2011. This last part of the fieldwork was spent checking the data and doing the final elicitations in order to finish writing the grammar. Now, at the end of this project my outcomes are as follows:

- a descriptive grammar of South Eastern Huastec has been written
- 40 hours audio and 18 hours of video recordings representing the primary database of this language, which have been archived with the ELAR SOAS London
- teaching materials for language maintenance have been produced (included at the end of this volume), handed out to the HSF community and archived with the local elementary school in San Francisco and the Library at the Municipality of Chontla
- orthography workshops have been conducted within the community
- a group of young children has been inspired to learn the HSF language and songs

- some liaison regarding the creation of a bilingual school in San Francisco has been carried out to help get the authorisation

More details on this documentation project follow.

2 Work organization and consultants

In the beginning I concentrated on learning the language and looking for consultants. These first steps were not easy, as I had to allow time for the community to get to know me and to understand what the project was about. Little by little I met people who were willing to contribute to the project. We spent hours and hours recording, transcribing, translating, analysing, and my collection grew. During and especially after the field work a lot of time was spent on data processing, editing and annotating the material (Toolbox, ELAN, Transcriber) in order to prepare a database.

The following works about data collecting, field work organisation and field linguistics in general guided me during my fieldwork and interaction with the community: Himmelmann (1998), Ashmore (2003), Austin, P. (ed.) *Language Documentation and Description*; London: SOAS. (2003-2011) SOAS HRELP London; Bower (2007), Everett (2007), Grinevald (2003, 2007), among many others.

Since the beginning of my stay in the village I have made sure that the people understand and get enough information on what my project is. I always underlined the importance of interaction and collaboration of the entire community. I sought contributions from a wide variety of people from San Francisco. At the end, I can say that I worked with about 50 consultants, some casual and some permanent, of different genders, ages, and educational backgrounds who helped me gather appropriate samples of different HSF speech varieties in its natural context. They were compensated daily or hourly depending on the kind of contribution they made. Working with the members of the community I applied the principles from the “National Statement of Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans from June 1999”, an authority in Australia in the field of Humanities.

3 Material collected

At the end of the project my data base contains:

- about 75 items from a range of genres, including: personal narratives, expository texts (explaining tradition), procedural texts, creative (fiction), historical texts.
- about 40 hours of audio recordings that contain about 30 hours of elicitations, 6 hours of different audio recordings (stories and speeches) and about 3 hours of conversations (casual, spontaneous, without my presence).
- 18 hours of video recordings documenting the usage of HSF: stories, celebrations, religious ceremonies, traditional knowledge, different culturally relevant events, as well as gestures, body orientation, facial expressions.
- language/grammar questionnaires (Aspect by Osten Dahl, Archivo de las lenguas indigenas de Mexico by Colegio de Mexico; Bowermann-Pedersen Questionary on Space; Questionary for eliciting Reciprocals by Max Planck; Video “Trajectories” by the French Typology Association and DDL ISH Lyon 2)
- a dictionary of about 3000 items (found in this volume 2)
- about 400 pages of teaching materials that have been handed out to the community of San Francisco Chontla at the special ceremony on 5th of November 2011 in Chontla.

Collecting this data I used a combination of different data collection techniques: elicitation of lexical items and grammatical paradigms and audio and video recordings of the widest variety of texts possible (oral histories, myths and oral traditions, recipes, procedures, prayers and religious texts, descriptions of visual stimuli, and conversations).

4 Equipment

For the purpose of documenting this language I used all available new digital technologies like a video and a still camera, and audio recording devices to help me produce as rich a database as possible. As I had the chance to borrow some field work equipment from a branch of PARADISEC, a language archive based at the University of Sydney, I took with me a video camera SONY DCR-TRV900E PAL that worked with mini tapes; an audio recorder Nagra Ares BB+ with a microphone Sony ECM-MS 957, and my own still camera Olympus SP-310. For data processing I used a Toshiba Satellite 100/400 laptop (120 GB HDD, 200 GB RAM) with software including Transcriber, Toolbox and ELAN.

The region of la Huasteca is tropical and very humid, but I didn't have any problem at all with the equipment, which I kept in an air tight case (*Pelican, Germany*) at night and whenever it was not in use.

5 Documenting everyday life

On several occasions I documented the everyday life in the village of San Francisco Chontla. I spoke to the villagers about their daily routine and other aspects of their lives. Many of them agreed to tell me stories that I recorded for my project. I started with simple things like 'What did you do yesterday?', or "What is your daily routine like?" (see the HSF story no 7 in this volume), later moving onto more precise or personal topics like "What was your wedding day like?", or "Can you describe your family members for me?". Many villagers were happy to talk to me, among them doña Petrunila, who told me all the details about her son's wedding. On another occasion she described for me the physical appearance and character of her family members. Doña Berna told me about her primary school days, as well as a story about a dog that she had had been given as a present (see the HSF story no 8 of this volume). Every part of their lives was interesting for me.

Besides the stories that individuals told me, I tried to record as many conversations as I could. This was not an easy task as many people were often not comfortable with being recorded. However I managed to collect about six hours of conversations between two or more people. These conversations were casual, although I tried to prepare the topic with the consultants in advance: a conversation between two friends about their daily life and families, a discussion about composing music and singing; a conversation about a two-day religious retreat in the neighbouring village. I also had an opportunity to video interaction among people in the dona Berna's shop: several people came to buy things and they agreed to being recorded. This material is a record of the daily life in the village.

6 Documenting Tradition

Before starting my field work I read a very interesting book on Huastec world view "*Thunder Doesn't Live Here Any More*", and a couple of articles written by the cultural anthropologist Anath Ariel de Vidas. These explored in detail the worldview, beliefs and habits of this indigenous group and helped me better understand the people I was going to live and work with for a couple of years.

In recent years the cultural diversity in general has received international recognition. The notion of cultural heritage encompasses now cultural traditions that communities all over the world have inherited from their ancestors. This intangible cultural heritage is mainly transmitted orally and if it is not passed on to future generations, it will disappear. Its safeguarding has recently become one of the priorities of UNESCO.

The intangible cultural heritage is manifested in the domains of oral traditions and expressions, performing arts, social practices, rituals and festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe, traditional craftsmanship etc, and in the 2003 *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* language is recognized as its vehicle and its core element. From knowledge about the universe to rituals and handicrafts, everything is reflected in the language, its lexicon, its oral tradition and expression, including proverbs, chants, songs, legends, dramatic performances, healing practices, ceremonies and so on.

The intangible cultural heritage depends on language for its transmission and continuity. As it is mainly transmitted orally, many elements of it are endangered. I was very happy to be able to document the usage of Huastec of San Francisco in this context and to contribute in this way to its preservation.

Soon after my arrival I started collecting materials focusing on traditional lifestyle, religious practices, festivities and oral expressions. I planned to use the video camera extensively as cultural practices are visually attractive too, and as this material can then later be used in research by other specialists, like ethnologists, anthropologists, or anybody who in the future may become interested in this ethnic group and their cultural expression (see the HSF story 2 “How to make a traditional Huastec house”, the story no 5 “The Huastec Language”, the story no 6 “The Legend of the Otontepec Hill” of this volume).

I was aware of the delicate issues video recording can create in some societies where it may be culturally inappropriate (taboo violations or similar), or when somebody simply doesn't want to be filmed, and I strived to respect the rights of the individuals and the community should they wish to restrict the extent of public availability of the data (Himmelman 1998, Ashmore 2003). I asked the members of the community of San Francisco Chontla for permission. They did not oppose me videoing their social practices, rituals and festive events, and did not restrict the usage of materials I made in any ways, so I started working on collecting materials.

6.1 Celebrations and festivities

The first thing I video recorded was related to the celebration of the *Día de los Muertos* (the Day of the Dead), (picture 1 in this section). It is probably the greatest holiday in Mexico, with special significance in the life of indigenous communities, and preparations for it and its celebrations last for several days. These festivities take place each year at the end of October to the beginning of November. It is believed that the souls of the ancestors return to Earth on this occasion, and to facilitate this, families place flower petals, candles and offerings around the home shrine.

One evening I was invited to attend a celebration at a teachers school in a nearby town, San Sebastian Tantoyuca, by Irene (25 years old). She is from San Francisco, speaks HSF and was very interested in preserving the language and the cultural heritage of her people. Irene was herself a student of that school and was going to participate in the competition of decorating altars for the holiday. She had decided to describe her altar, speaking Huastec, as a part of the competition. “Nobody does it (speak in a local language)”, she told me, “so my group can score more points on that!” Her speech was about 1.5 min in length, and it was the first and the only spontaneous usage of HSF in public I encountered during my stay in San Francisco.

Later I documented the dance of *Los Mecos*, (“The Dirty Ones”). As a part of the Carnaval in February, the local men form a group, paint themselves with mud, and visit homes where they greet the owners and dance with bamboo canes. It lasts almost a whole day, and just before evening, the men go into the field for a ‘closing ceremony’ near a previously chosen tree. They dance around the tree and while dancing they leave their canes and the head decorations at the tree. That lasts about one hour, and at the end they carry out ritual cleansing: they brush themselves with a bunch of tree leaves to clear themselves of negative energy that can make them sick during the following year. Once the cleansing is done, they eat traditional food prepared especially for them by the community: a huge tamal (a kind of a wrap) called *boliim*.

During the ceremony I asked a couple of the participants to tell me in Huastec how they felt and what this holiday meant for them. The director of the ceremony, don Fabian, who has directed it for several years, told me what the symbolism of this ceremony is and explained to me in Huastec its value and symbolism. It was very interesting to hear about the connections of these rituals with their system of beliefs.

6.2 Beliefs, religion, rituals, esoteric sciences, cosmology

I video recorded don Fabian (43 years old) on several occasions. As he teaches the Bible to the community (they have been Christian for several hundred of years), I asked him to tell me, in Huastec, about the beliefs of his people, their interpretation of Christianity and their *cosmovision* as he sees it. He understood what my project was about and told me that he would imagine that he was talking to the new generations of Huastec.

HSF is never used in church, but there are several groups of people in the community who regularly gather to *pray in the homes* of some of them. On one occasion I was invited by my main consultant, don Amelio (54), to come and video record a prayer meeting that was going to be held at his home, and he added that he would ask the people to use the Huastec language. So that evening I made about two hours of video recording of HSF usage in prayers

Some months later I was invited to record the *Easter meeting* of Jehova's Witness group in the nearby village of Las Cruces. They told me they wanted me to record it and that they normally didn't use Huastec but on that occasion they would do so. They did speak in Huastec almost all the time, but the Bible passages were read in Spanish (there is a Bible translation into the San Luis Potosi variety of Huastec). Don Amelio, my main consultant who likes talking about tradition, told me a couple of interesting descriptive narrative: how *funerals* are organized (differently for an adult and for a child), and about ceremonies on the occasion of a *child's birth*. Don Amelio has a natural talent for story telling: his texts are very well structured, his narratives have a clear beginning, a body and an end, and he expresses his ideas in a clear way.

I was able to record another "gem" by don Amelio, a story how the *festivity of Thipaak*, the god of maize, is celebrated. Every year in May the community celebrates this holiday to thank the god of maize for the harvest. But, as don Amelio said, like all other traditions, this holiday is slowly disappearing, every year attracting less and less participants. Naturally, these social practices depend greatly on the participation of practitioners, and are threatened by migration and globalisation, as many people are leaving thier homes in search for a better economical situation and not many are left to continue with the tradition.

6.3 Traditional Medicine, ecological wisdom, pharmacopeia

Don Goyo (52), a herbalist and a hairdresser (picture 5), told me how he uses the herbs that grow in the area to heal the members of the community. A couple of years ago he did a

course organized by the Mexican Government to promote the usage of traditional medicine, and since then he has continued to use the *herbal medicines* that he prepares himself. I recorded him making different remedies: a tincture that you drink when you have a sore throat; a compress that you put on your stomach when it hurts; and an ointment for a special kind of ulcer. He demonstrated for the camera how he does it, explaining everything in Huastec. He prepared in advance for the sessions, and prepared in advance and organized things to facilitate the recording process. On the following visit don Goyo told me about three different kinds of soil: one which is used to cultivate plants and vegetables, and different ones used to make walls or floors for houses.

I wanted to meet a healer from the neighbouring village of Arranca Estacas. I had planned to ask him about his vision of the *human body, its parts and their function*, but unfortunately he was too busy to work with me.

6.4 History of the village and the region

Don Policarpo (86) was very happy to talk on my camera about the Mexican revolution as experienced in the area. He told me some stories from that period that he had heard about, and some others from the *post-revolutionary period* that he himself had witnessed. Don Amelio, who loved to talk in Huastec, told me *how and when the San Francisco village was founded* and how it developed into what it is today. He researched these things in particular before talking to me. The only *legend* that I have is the one *about the enchanted church bell*, told to me by don Goyo the herbalist. I had been looking for a legend or a traditional story for a long time, as nobody knew any of them. But one day don Goyo told me a story about an enchanted church bell from la Sierra de Otontepec” (see the HSF story no 6 “The legend of the Otontepec Hill” and the picture no 6 of this volume), a bell that mysteriously rang at night, disappeared and then re-appeared .

6.5 Lifestyle, traditional arts and crafts

Being also a carpenter, don Amelio makes traditional houses. It was a pleasure for him to explain to me how they are built. One day we went around the village to find a suitable traditional house and I was able to video record him explaining how it is constructed. Don Amelio patiently told me about all the steps of making *a traditional house* (see the HSF story no 3 of this volume). As there is not much left of the traditional craftsmanship in the area these days, this procedural text is a very valuable part of my HSF data collection.

Two friends, Petrunila (43) and Maria (51), (picture 2), like to do *embroideries*. They buy them already designed with the threads of particular colours that come in the package. It was not a traditional embroidery at all. As I was not able to find anybody who does the traditional arts and crafts in the village, I was happy to record these two women talking to me about it in Huastec. Two ladies, among the oldest members of the community, dona Paulina (90+) and dona Eulalia (80+) were very glad to talk to me about how their life used to be when they were young in San Francisco: how they married, raised children and what their daily routine was. I was able to record several minutes of these rare stories from them, which were full of information on what *life was like in the yesterdays in this region*.

6.6 Culinary traditions

I collected several *recipies* of how the traditional dishes of the region are made. Don Amelio also told me about how and when different *crops* are seeded, with an emphasis on maize, the staple food of Mesoamerica. It was very interesting to video record the preparation of *tamales* and *boliim* (pictures 3 and 4), the traditional food for the festivities of Niño Jesus (*Baby Jesus*) and the Carnaval. A group of elderly ladies told me how tamales are prepared, while I was filming them doing it. First, as doña Berna (68) and her friends told me, they prepare the dough made from corn flour and water, add pieces of chicken and some chillies, and then they wrap it in palm leaves brought from the hills of the Sierra de Otontepec. Then it is cooked in a huge pan over a fire for several hours.

Cirila (48) and Pablo (52) showed me how they make *boliim*: these look like huge tamales and have the same ingredients. They are also wrapped in a palm leaf but are cooked overnight over a fire in a hole dug in the soil. Very original and very tasty! Don Daniel (60) invited me one evening to come to his home to record how he makes *pilón*, a traditionally prepared cane sugar. I have a one hour recording of this traditional procedure as his wife was happy to tell me everything about it: the extraction of sugar cane juice, and the process of cooking it for a long time so it becomes thick. *K'witx* is a special kind of tamal made with corn flour and water only, wrapped in corn leaf and boiled. Dona Reina (62) promised to tell me how she makes them during my next visit. The preparation of two local drinks, the traditional *atole* (corn flour, water and spices), and the weak and light *Huasteca-style coffee* were explained to me by Pilar (48) and Isabel (55). Dona Berna showed me how she makes *tortillas* (picture 7), the staple Mesoamerican food. She has a "tortillera", a little metal press for making tortillas of exactly the same size and shape. Before she had this, she told me, she had to press

tortillas all by hand. Now she can prepare them much faster. Once prepared, they are fried on a comal, a ceramic frying pan (a kind of grill) over the fire, as she does several times a day for herself and her family.

7 Creating teaching materials

One part of my documentation project was to produce teaching materials for South Eastern Huastec, that is, materials that could be used for language revitalisation. The materials for the maintenance of this language that have been produced are the first ever in South Eastern Huastec. They have been made with the aim to facilitate the future revitalization efforts and the hope that they will be used by the future speech community to learn, teach and revitalise South Eastern Huastec, at least to some extent. Not much time could be dedicated to this task as it was just a part of this documentation project.

Establishing what type of teaching materials should be designed began by my having several conversations with the community members to define their needs. Their participation and collaboration in the production of these materials was crucial. As the children of the area do not speak South Eastern Huastec and have Spanish as a native language, they should be considered as second language learners. Thus in designing materials for their needs the Second Language acquisition principles should be applied. There is also a need for qualified teachers who would use these materials. This language has never been taught in schools and there are no existing language learning resources for it at all. It seemed clear that any language material would be welcomed.

After gaining perspective of their needs at the beginning of the project, I proceeded with data collection; that was the second stage in the production of these materials. This data collection was necessary for writing the grammar too. Recording a corpus of texts by HSF speakers provided data for my research and a foundation for a comprehensive description of this language. The third stage was the design of community materials for language maintenance and revitalisation. These are the materials produced during this project (see the end of this Volume 2):

- Thematic Huastec– Spanish Dictionary with 3000 lexical items
- Stories for children and for adults (with Spanish translation):
 - Our lives
 - Our stories

- Our traditions and legends
- Our songs

- Several DVDs in South Eastern Huastec translated/subtitled in Spanish.

All the material includes photos taken in the village and pictures drawn by children from the village.

7 Discussion

I was particularly glad to see that my project inspired some people to perceive their language differently; I've noticed some interest in preserving their language rising. For example, don Narcizo de la Cruz Dominguez, a musician, started teaching HSF songs to a group of children, 7-15 years old. They meet twice a week at his home and practice songs in South Eastern Huastec, singing and learning the language. As mentioned before, I organized an orthography workshop for the community on 19th of July 2009. It was a 4 hour workshop held in the local elementary school in the village of San Francisco. Fourteen children attended it together with three adults. The orthography produced for this language was outlined and explained and a lot of exercises were done. The students promised to try to write in HSF in their everyday lives and to write down stories and things they hear told by the elderly.

There is the prospect of a bilingual school being established which also gives hope. A couple of years ago a group of three primary school teachers from San Francisco got together and enthusiastically decided to try to open a bilingual school in the village where South Eastern Huastec would be taught. I was very happy to be able to liaise between them and the Department of Education in Mexico City. Their case is currently being considered and the teachers are awaiting authorisation to start the school.

These days there are excellent technologies which can assist a linguist in documenting the usage of language in all its varieties. For example, for those who want to illustrate the usage of a language in its cultural context a video can capture certain things that other devices or ways of documenting and recording can't, things that are important for a linguist including facial expressions, gestures and other body movements used to enhance the meaning of the verbal expression. It was also important to record the geographical, ethnological and anthropological components of my research. I was totally immersed in the cultural matrix of the language and thus was able to document the language in its cultural setting and obtain most comprehensive, multidimensional and culturally situated records of the language

(Ashmore 2003). As a video camera can be intrusive to natural language behaviour, and can even alter the recording situation (Pink, 2001), I always tried to minimise the problem by allowing people to get comfortable with the camera. I find it important to teach consultants how to use it, as they may be interested in recording their linguistic practices and traditions themselves, which would dramatically reduce the intrusiveness of the camera as well as enable the native speakers and the endangered community to control the visual and linguistic representations of the language and culture being documented (Himmelman 1998, Ashmore 2003). Unfortunately, I haven't found much interest from the community.

My fieldwork was not without problems: consultants not turning up, or not being in the mood to talk when I wanted to record, people (especially women) being too shy and speaking too quietly, or people not showing a lot of interest in the project. All of these things are "standard" fieldwork problems that many linguists experience. But the most important is the result, the invaluable recordings that I was able to make. Some things could have been told in more details, making *atole* and coffee, for example. Some recordings turned out not to be very representative for different reasons, but they still have their value and can be used for linguistic analysis.

I agree with Himmelman (1998) that data collection is a separate activity from data analysis, and that language documentation can be viewed as an independent field within Linguistics. I also agree that the task of compiling a language documentation is not an easy one. I invested all my time, as well as physical, emotional and intellectual energy into this project, the result of which I consider my modest contribution to this new emerging paradigm within Linguistics.

Pictures: Documenting Traditional Cultural Practices in the village of San Francisco



1. Altars of the Day of the Dead



2. Petrunila and Maria, embroideries



3. Cirila and Pablo, making boliim



4. Making boliim



5. Goyo the herbalist



6. Sierra de Otontepec



7. Dona Berna making tortillas

Data Archived with ELAR SOAS London

1 Toolbox files

Language: **SOUTH EASTERN HUASTEC**
 Linguist: Ana Kondic, University of Sydney – Université Lyon 2 Lumière
 Type of file: Toolbox 1

No	File name	Consultant	Name of the item (in Span /Eng)	Text type	In other files
1	HSF1_20071204_VCD_N_Tbox	Victoria de la Cruz Domínguez	Que hice ayer / <i>What I did yesterday</i>	Narrative	Transcriber
2	HSF1_20071106_NCD_Song1_Tbox	Narciso de la Cruz Domínguez	Gran Pensamiento/ <i>Great Memory</i>	Love song	Video, Transcr.
3	HSF1_20071111_NCD_Song2_Tbox	Narciso de la Cruz Domínguez	Flor Menudita/Little Flower	Religious song	Video, Transc.
4	HSF1_20071113_FSH_N_Tbox	Filiberto Santiago Hernández	Que hice ayer/ <i>What I did yesterday</i>	Narrative	Transcriber
5	HSF1_20071114_BIS_D_Tbox	Basilia Iglesias Santiago	Mi familia/ <i>My family</i>	Descriptive	Transcriber
6	HSF1_20071118_NCD_N_Tbox	Narciso de la Cruz Domínguez	Que hice la semana pasada/ <i>What I did last week</i>	Narrative	Transcriber
7	HSF1_20071119_TAD_D_Tbox	Telésforo del Angel Domínguez	Yo y mi familia/ My family and I	Descriptive	Transcriber
8	HSF1_20071129_TAD_N_Tbox	Telésforo del Angel Domínguez	Que hice ayer/ <i>What I did yesterday</i>	Narrative	Transcriber
9	HSF1_20071201_IHA_N_Tbox	Irene del Angel Hernández	Una historia real de San Francisco/ <i>A real story from San Francisco</i>	Narrative fiction	Transcriber

10	HSF1_20071202_SAC_D_Tbox	Santos del Angel Cruz	Mi familia/ <i>My family</i>	Descriptive	Transcriber
11	HSF1_20071204_IHA_N_Tbox	Irene del Angel Hernández	Mis fines de semana/ <i>My week-ends</i>	Narrative	Transcriber
12	HSF1_20071206_TAD_N_Tbox	Telésforo del Angel Domínguez	Como empecé a cantar y tocar/ <i>How I started to play and sing</i>	Narrative	Transcriber
13	HSF1_20071223_FAH_N_Tbox	Filiberta del Angel Hernández	Como era mi vida de pequeña/ <i>What my life was like when I was small</i>	Narrative	Transcriber

2 Transcriber files

Language: **SOUTH EASTERN HUASTEC**
Linguist: Ana Kondic, University of Sydney – Université Lyon 2 Lumière
Type of file: Transcriber 1

No	File name	Consultant	Name of the item (in Spanish/English)	Text type	In other files
1	HSF1_20071204_VCD_N	Victoria de la Cruz Domínguez	Que hice ayer / <i>What I did yesterday</i>	Narrative	Toolbox
2	HSF1_20071106_NCD_Song1	Narciso de la Cruz Domínguez	Gran Pensamiento/ <i>Great Memory</i>	Love song	Video, Tbox
3	HSF1_20071111_NCD_Song2	Narciso de la Cruz Domínguez	Flor Menudita/Little Flower	Religious song	Video, Tbox
4	HSF1_20071113_FSH_N	Filiberto Santiago Hernández	Que hice ayer/ <i>What I did yesterday</i>	Narrative	Toolbox
5	HSF1_20071114_BIS_D	Basilia Iglesias Santiago	Mi familia/ <i>My family</i>	Descriptive	Toolbox
6	HSF1_20071118_NCD_N	Narciso de la Cruz Domínguez	Que hice la semana pasada/ <i>What I did last week</i>	Narrative	Toolbox

7	HSF1_20071119_TAD_D	Telésforo del Angel Domínguez	Yo y mi familia/My family and I	Descriptive	Toolbox
8	HSF1_20071129_TAD_N	Telésforo del Angel Domínguez	Que hice ayer/ <i>What I did yesterday</i>	Narrative	Toolbox
9	HSF1_20071201_IHA_N	Irene del Angel Hernández	Una historia real de San Francisco/ <i>A real story from San Francisco</i>	Narrative Fiction	Toolbox
10	HSF1_20071202_SAC_D	Santos del Angel Cruz	Mi familia/ <i>My family</i>	Descriptive	Toolbox
11	HSF1_20071204_IHA_N	Irene del Angel Hernández	Mis fines de semana/My week-ends	Narrative	Toolbox
12	HSF1_20071206_TAD_N	Telésforo del Angel Domínguez	Como empecé a cantar y tocar/ <i>How I started to play and sing</i>	Narrative	Toolbox
13	HSF1_20071223_FAH_N	Filiberta del Angel Hernández	Como era mi vida de pequeña/ <i>What my life like was when I was small</i>	Narrative	Toolbox

Spanish-Huastec Thematic Dictionnary

DICCIONARIO TEMÁTICO ESPAÑOL - HUASTECO DE SAN FRANCISCO

Autor: Telésforo del Angel Domínguez
Con la contribución de: Cirila Santos Santiago, Goyo Garcia del Angel,
Irene Hernandez del Angel
Lingüista: Ana Kondic

Autor del diccionario en español: Dr Albert Davletshin, según las listas de
Swadesh, Yakhantov, Starostin, Kaufman.

Hecho en San Francisco Chontla, Veracruz, México

Abril 2009

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Deseo expresar mi agradecimiento mas profundo a los habitantes del pueblo de San Francisco, municipalidad Chontla, Veracruz, por su colaboracion en este proyecto y por su cordial acogida. Ana Kondic

AGUA

agua	ja'
traer agua	ik'iy i ja'
gota(s de agua)	gota i ja'
gotear	chopnal
húmedo, mojado	molow, chabath
mojarse, humedecer	chabej
mojar	chabay
humedad	molow

exprimir
 bañarse
 lavar

 lavar (ropa)
 espuma
 espumar
 zambullir, chapuzar
 sumergirse, chapuzar

wat'iy
 atxim
 t'aka' (ex. fruta),
 t'okom (traste, nixtamal)
 paak'um
 thopop
 thopetha'
 lupchinal
 lupchinal

FUEGO

fuego
 leña
 traer leña
 ceniza
 carbón
 brasas
 tizne, hollín
 humo
 vapor
 quemar, encender
 arder
 apagar

k'amal
 thi'
 ik'iy i thi'
 joltey
 k'wixix
 k'alul
 k'wixix
 paw
 k'itxmaal
 txika', paltxiy
 jokpanal
 teptha'

TEMPERATURA

Calor
 Calentar
 Caliente
 tibio
 frío

k'itxow
 k'aktha'
 k'aak'
 mamux
 chamay

MUNDO INTERIOR

Actividades vitales

vivir
 vivo
 vida

k'wajay
 ejat
 ejattal, xe'chintal

crecer
 morir
 matar
 muerto (adj)
 muerto (s)
 cadáver
 pudrirse
 podrido
 pedo
 echar pedos
 excremento, mierda
 defecar
 orina
 orinar
 copular, cohabitar
 sudor
 sudar
 nacer
 parir, dar a luz

pubey
 chemech
 chemtha'
 chemenek
 chamnek
 chamnek
 k'achel
 k'achenek
 tiith
 tiiyach
 ta'
 chijaach, chijal
 txiik
 txik'al
 k'wajtxik juunax
 chak'ip
 chakbinal
 wa'chinal
 wa'chinthom, pok'el

Percepción

ver (vt)
 visible
 mirar a alguien (vt)
 mirar (vi)
 observar (vt)
 oír
 escuchar
 ruidoso, de voz alta
 ruido
 sonido
 oler
 olfatear
 olor
 apestar
 maloliente, apestoso
 probar

tela'
 tejwa'
 tela', chuuj
 tela', chuuj
 tela', chuuj
 ochox
 ochowiy
 ch'ixtaal
 thajal, ch'ixtaal
 t'eenen
 jikax
 jikax
 niwiwiil
 kaxiy
 kaxiy
 leka'

lamer
 sabor
 dulce
 agrio, ácido
 amargo
 insípido
 sal
 salado
 picoso, picante
 tocar
 sentir alguna cosa al tacto
 tacto
 duro (no blando)
 fuerte
 poder, fuerza
 blando, suave
 rápido
 áspero
 liso
 extender (las manos)
 extender (los pies)
 pesado
 ligero
 agudo
 punta, filo
 puntiagudo
 pegarse
 resbaladizo
 resbalar

lekoy
 kujuw
 chi'ik
 jiliy
 ch'a'ik
 baa' ch'apuw
 at'em
 ch'apuw
 ichith
 taka'
 taka'
 -
 chapik
 chapni', ejat (color)
 chaaplaap
 paluw
 jik'at
 -
 bathitiil
 thaya'
 lujkuw
 altxik
 ik'ow
 t'iliil (an ti ach'at)
 txuum
 ch'upith
 ch'atk'an
 lichiy, biliy
 lichk'an

Actividades mentales

bueno
 malo
 pensar
 pensar en
 saber
 conocer

alwa'
 at'ax
 chalpay
 chalpay
 cho'oob
 exla'

estar acostumbrado	ujnaamal
recordar	chalpay
olvidar	uktxiy
perder	k'iptha'
fallarse	k'ipthan
dormir	wayal
soñar	watxbil
sueño (sin ver visiones), visión	wayich, watxip
tener miedo	jik'eel
asustar	jik'eetha'
asustado	jik'enek
miedo, espanto	jik'eenep, jik'eeltalaap
avergonzarse	tithejan
vergüenza	tithetalaap
esperar (algo)	aytxiy
buscar	aliy
encontrar, descubrir	ela'
encontrar (a alguien en el camino por causalidad)	tama'
elegir, escoger, recoger	takuy
esconder	pitk'on, china'
enterrar, sepultar	joliy
cesar (de hacer algo)	kupla'
flojo, ídolente	(in koo'yal i)chumilaap, polax
loco	puteel
salvaje, feroz	-
enojarse	chakuy
odiar	chakuntxiy
no le gusta	baa' in kulbetnaal
le gusta	in kulbetnaal, in ja'naal
enemigo	-
luchar contra alguien, pelear	pejeex
ayudar	tolmiy
escapar	pitk'on
huír	pitk'on
correr	aathil
amar, querer a alguien	le'nax

desear (algo)
faltar

le'na'
jiltxiy

Hablar

Pedir
preguntar
responder
hablar
lengua
voz
decir
contar (una historia)
verdad
verdadero
mentir
engañar
nombre
nombrar
llamar
llamar (a alguien)
gritar
llorar
lamentar
maldecir
ofender
reír
burlarse de alguien
sonreír
silbar

konoy
konoy
took'oy
tawna', kaaw
le'k'aap, kaawintal
boos
uluw
t'ila'
txubaxtalaap
alwa'
k'ambiy
k'ambiy
bih, bijlaap
bijiy
thaajay
kaniy
thaajan
thajnal
lamentar, chalpayal
at'ax bijiy
yajtxikiy
te'en
te'entxiy
te'en
thuubal

Enfermedades

sordo
mudo
cojo
borracho
emborracharse

baa' wa ochox
moo'
k'weche'
uch'aal
uch'aalin

enfermo	ya'ul
enfermedad	ya'ulaach
enfermar	ya'ulmej
dolor	ch'ukuxtalaap, yajal
doloroso	yajtxik
doler	yajnaal
sufrir	wat'aal yajtxik
herir	cha'uw, xeka'
llaga	yajal
herida	-
incharse	ma'lin
inchado	ma'lith
vomitarse	xaal
pus	aka'
curar	ilaalin
medicina	ilaal
curandero	chu'ux, ilaalix
médico	ilaalix

Partes de cuerpo

cerebro	kachiin
pelo canoso	thak'uy
pelo (de la cabeza)	xi'
pelo (del cuerpo)	jujuul
pelo (de animales)	jujuul (i animal)
cabeza	ook'
frente	piik'ip
cara	wal
ojo	wal
ceja	maxiix
pestaña	-
lágrima	ja'aal a wal
nariz	thaam
mocos	xolok'
mejilla	ch'a'uup
boca	wi'
baba, saliva	ijil

escupir	tukpay
labio	ot'ool na wi'
diente	kamap
colmillo	choojool
diente incisivo	eleep kamap
mandíbula, quijada	chiyook'
barbilla, mentón	chiyook'
bigote	ithim
patillas	patiya
barba	ithim
oreja, oído	xuchun
cuello	kuux nuuk'
garganta	chuleek'
rodilla	k'walaal
arrodillarse	txuthuw na k'walaal
codo	tiyiik
sobaco	jotooch
hombro	okoop
ala (de ave), aleta (de pez)	pabaap
pluma (de ala)	jujlek
pluma (de cuerpo)	jujuul
brazo	okoop
mano	k'ubak
tomar (un lapiz) en la mano	teyna'
palma (de mano)	pajap i k'ubaklek
dedo	t'ijaax i k'ubaklek
uña (de mano)	ichik'
garra	ichik'lek
cuerno	ich'am
tobillo	puthuuth
pie	akan
pierna	ch'ejet
ir a pie	belal
muslo	txukul u akan
cola	we'uw
culo, trasero	k'wajnap
pecho	-

senos (de mujer), tetas	iimil
leche (de mujer)	-
ombligo	k'o'oon
vientre, panza	txukul
estómago	txukul
intestinos	t'ithiith
corazón	ichiitx
sangre	xich'
hígado	mamal
pulmones	pulmon
riñon	rinyon
tendón	tendon
hueso, hueso con tuétano	beklek
tuétano	to'tom
costilla	chooy
grasa (de hombre)	k'anaal, k'anlap
manteca (de puerco)	k'anlap
aceite (de oliva)	aseite
piel (de hombre)	ot'ool
piel (de animal)	ot'ool
cuero	oot'
cuerpo	iniktalaap
carne (de hombre)	t'uu'lek (t'uul i inik)
carne (de animal)	t'uu'lek (t'uul i animal)

Estados

ser	-
existir	k'wajiil, wa'ach
estar (en algún lugar)	k'wajat
maduro	wejneke
madurar, formarse (sobre las frutas)	wejeel
cocido	tek'at
cocinar	tojojool
crudo	tejtey
sucio	luklith
lleno	t'utxat
llenarse	ajwenek

llenar
estar harto/saciado
vacío
hueco
vaciar

t'utxiy
t'utxat, ajwenek
jablam
jabax, jool
jelow

Dimensiones

profundo
largo
alto
corto, chaparrito
bajo
ancho
estrecho
plano
grueso (tortilla)
grueso (palo)
grueso (manzana)
gordo
espeso
delgado (tortilla)
delgado (palo)
delgado (manzana)
flaco
debíl
fuerte
grande
chico, pequeño

owtxik
nakat
t'ek'at
motool
cha'at
ch'ik'oth
xuyuul
-
tolow
k'otxool
-
k'otxool
kwalat
thaathat
t'iliil
-
t'iliil
ya'ul
chapni'
puulik
chipiil

MUNDO HUMANO

Recreo

jugar
jugar con
juego
juguete
sonaja
tambor

chinej
chineh k'aal
ubaat
ubaatlaap
chinchik
tamboor

música
son
flauta
cantar
cantar (algo)
canción
bailar
baile

t'eenlaach
-
kawichi'
ajat
ajat
ajattalaap
bixom, bixneel
ajip

Posesión

tener
recibir, obtener
tomar
agarrar
tener en su mano
robar
dar algo
dar algo a alguien
tomar prestado
prestar
comprar
vender
pagar
pobre (no tiene dinero)
mercado
tianguis
comercio

ko'oy
bachuw
ucha'
yakwa'
teyna'
kwe'ey
pithna'
pithna'
matith, matiyal
matiy
ch'a'iy
nujuw
jalbiy
ch'oontaal
merkaadu, plaasa
merkaadu, plaasa
nujneel

Poder

mayodormo
rey
jefe, caudillo
enviar, mandar
mensajero
causar, producir
trabajo
labor

tak'ix, awiltalaap
rey
jefe, ook'laap
aba', abna'
akyomkaaw, ne'thomkaaw
t'aja'
t'ojlaap
t'ojlaap

Cosas sobrenaturales

espíritu (bueno)	ejattalaap
espíritu (malo), demonio	at'ax espiiritu
ánima	chamnek
antiguas	weje'
sagrado	sagrado
sobrenatural	sobrenatural
mágico	majiko
poder mágico	poder majiko
brujería	thiimantalaap
brujo	thiiman
embrujar, encantar	kathiim kayat
espanto	jik'eelaam
causar espanto	jik'eethom
iglesia	kapiya
casa de las antiguas	k'imaaj i weje'
temascal	temaskaal

Formas

anillo	aniyo
nudo	thutpith
lazo	laathu
círculo	kwetxonkaal, kwetxe'
redondo (tortilla)	kwetxotxool
redondo (manzana)	mululuul
redondo (palo)	boliliil
pelota, bola	peloota
pelotear	-
doblar	paka'
encorvar, torcer	t'awiy
torcido	t'awith
doblado	pakatx
curvo	k'uchuul
chueco	k'uchuul
derecho, recto	lujutx
cerrar	mapuy
cerrar los ojos	mutuuw (na wal)

abrir
bosteza
bostezar

japiy
ch'a'aplaach
ch'a'aabal

Posiciones

estar acostado
acostarse
poner (acostado: una hoja de papel)
estar sentado
sentarse
colocar, poner (sentado:
un vaso de agua)
estar parado
pararse
poner (parado: un palo)
colgar
amontonar

kochat
kochiil
mo'ka'
k'wajat
k'wajay

ch'aka'
kubat
kubey
kuba'
pala'
junkuw, muthuw

Movimiento

lugar
quedarse (en un lugar)
vivir (en un lugar)
atravesar, cruzar
atravesar (el río)
pasar
lado
lado/mano derecho
lado/mano izquierdo
venir (de un lugar)
venir (a un lugar)
venir (para hacer algo)
aquí, acá
traer
marcharse (de un lugar)
marcharse (para)
marcharse (de aquí)
llevar

k'wajtalaap
jilk'on
k'wajay
wat'ey
wat'ey
wat'ey
ba'te'
ejaat
kwatap
txiich
txiich
txiich
tenchee', jee'
txi'tha'
k'alej
k'alej
k'alej
ne'tha'

fuera, de aquí	eleep
dividir	wela'
separado, aislado	welaameh, welatx
ir	k'alej
andar, caminar	beleleel
moverse	xe'chin
llegar (a un lugar)	ulich
llegar aquí	ulich tenchee'
llegar allí	ulich nuwa'
hasta	axta
dentro de	altaaj, alkith
parte interior	altaaj
entrar	ochich
colocar en	mo'ka'
fuera de	eleep
parte exterior	eleep
salir (de un lugar)	kalej
sacar	kaltha'
encima de	punat, eblith
sobre de	eb lith, punat
hacia arriba	punat, t'ek'at
levantarse	ch'akay
levantar	thaya'
subir (por la escalera)	k'athiy (an ti k'oyop)
subir a montaña	k'athiy (an ti ch'een, alte')
montar a caballo	puney ti bitxim
cima, cumbre (parte superior)	t'ek'at
fondo	alk'ith
parte inferior	altaaj
debajo de	alk'ith
bajo de	ch'a'at
hacia abajo	al chabaal
bajar (por la escalera)	pa'ay (an ti k'oyop)
bajar	pa'ay
caer	kwajlan, pujk'in
hacer caer	kwajla', pujk'iy
abatir los árboles	kwajla' an alte'

delante de, enfrente de
 frente, parte anterior
 proceder
 detrás de
 hacia atrás
 parte posterior
 espina
 cerca de
 acercarse
 estar cerca de
 lejos
 temblar (sobre las manos)
 temblar (sobre la tierra)
 terremoto
 arrastrarse
 voler
 correr
 nadar (sobre el agua)
 nadar (debajo del agua)
 navegar (sobre una barca)
 tirar, arrojar
 echar (afuera)
 soltar, brincar

Respiración

respirar
 aliento
 chupar
 mamar
 sofocarse, jadear
 toser
 tos
 estornudar
 tener hipo
 hipo
 roncar

ok'ok'ool, tin tameet
 tin tameet
 taja'
 tin kuux
 baal tin kuux
 tin kuux
 k'iith
 k'unat ti
 kuney
 k'unat
 oweel
 t'eleleel
 ch'eepeek an chabaal
 ch'eepeek chabaal
 bothothool, lothothool
 -
 aathil
 laatxum
 laatxum (al an ja')
 belal ti ja'
 kwi'na'
 wak'la' (leep)
 t'ikwnal

ixkal
 ixak'
 juchuw
 txutxul
 jupjumath
 ojbál
 ojop
 ja'tixom
 jutxk'el
 jutxek
 ko'otxam

Necesidades fisiológicas

cansar	chikej
descansar	koyol
dormir (para descansar)	wayal
despertarse	ejeech
despertar	ejtha'
tener hambre	k'a'iil
hambre	k'a'iinap, k'a'iil
beber (agua)	uch'a'
tomar (una bebida)	uch'a'
bebida	uch'ap
comer	k'apuw
comer (frutas blandas)	k'apuw
comer (carne)	k'apuw
comer (pan)	k'apuw
dar de comer, alimentar	jayunthom
comida	te'neel
cena	cha'ax
morder	k'atuw
masticar	ch'a'uw
tragar	k'utuw
hervir (algo)	paxk'uw

Cultura material

puente	wat'emtalaap
camino	beel
calle	beel
ruta, vía	beel
barca	barka
canoe	kanoa
balsa	balsa
pared	maplap
cerco	mapuxtalaap, maplap
techo	leek'
casa, edificio	ataaj
domicilio	k'imaa'
choza	pathel

cobertizo
 nido
 puerta
 entrada
 hogar, horno
 tenamaste
 banco
 silla
 estera, petate
 olla
 cubeta
 saco, costal
 red para pescar, tarraya
 canasta, cesta
 colador (tamiz)
 tejer (canastas)
 cucharra

Ornamento

atar, hacer un paquete
 anudar, hacer un nudo
 nudo
 cinturón, faja
 desatar
 liberar, soltar
 libre
 tejer (tela)
 telar
 vestido, ropa
 coser
 aguja
 hilo
 cordón
 mecate, cuerda
 zapatos, huaraches
 vestirse
 cubrir

-
 paakwlaap
 wii'lep
 ochemtalaap
 k'imaá'
 k'imaá' i k'amal
 kwajlaap
 laktem, kwajlaap
 taat
 patx
 balixtalaap
 kostaal
 taraya
 t'aknaap
 thikap
 thipom thaknaap
 jotixtalaap ti te'neel

ch'ajliy, wika'
 thutpiy
 thutpith
 wiik'
 wila'
 walka'
 walkatx
 thipom
 thipom
 k'waa'txiimal
 txukux
 t'ithap
 iilo
 kordoon
 laathu'
 pajap
 jalkuk, k'waa'tximnal
 waatiy, thabuy

envolver
desnudo
collar
peine
peinar
trenza
trenzar

thu'bay
k'etal
oow
ch'itxap
ch'itxban
kwinatxi'
kwina', thipa'

Caza

perseguir a alguien
perseguir a un animal
cazar
pescar
tirar (con la escopeta)
trampa, lazo
tender una trampa
palo
vara
poste, pilar

pajna'
pajna'
kwi'iy
choyom
kwi'iy
ch'a'uw, ch'a'ulaap
paaxul ch'a'ulaap
te'
nakat te'
te'akamlaap (de casa),
poste (de calle)

Herramientas

picar
punzar
hinchar, clavar
atravesar
hacer pasar (por un agujero)
extraer, sacar (de un agujero)
portar
arrastrar
extender, estirar
rasguñar
raspar
marcar
marca
escribir
escritura

pakuw, mu'uw
xeka'
maalin
wat'ey
wat'ba'
kaltha'
xe'chinthā'
lothontha'
wila'
lochiy
wachiy
ch'o'ol, ch'o'omay (animal)
ch'o'omlaap
thutxum
thutxlaap

adornar, ornamentar	thibax
ornamento	thibaxtalaap
llevar algo en las manos	ne'tha'
llevar algo a la espalda	kitaam
llevar algo sobre los hombros	okbaam
atar	ch'ajliy
destruir	loka', pakuw
deteriorado	ya'ul
desplegar, desdoblar	wila', theta'
arrancar	la'uw
desprenderse	pitk'anal
cortar	kotoy, t'ak'ey
talar	kwajlax te'
hacha	acha
cuchillo	kuchiil
golpear	cha'ul
azotar	kwatha'
batir	xaluw
despachurrar, aplastar	yopa'
moler	che'ey
quebrar, desmenuzar	mu'uw
romper	pokow
reventar	tapchin, tapiy
volver, girar	chawintha'
torcer, retorcer	t'awiy
volcar	jepch'ow, k'etpa'
rodar	t'ulintha'
abrazar	muluk'na'
abrazo	muluk'naxtalaap
pintar, teñir	ch'o'oy
remover, revolver	xaluw
mezclar	xaluw, k'achuw
hacer	t'aja'
fabricar, construir	t'aja'

COLORES Y OBJETOS PROTOTÍPICOS DE COLORES

Colores

amarillo
 anaranjado
 azul
 blanco
 café
 gris
 morado
 negro
 pinto
 prieto
 rojo
 verde

manunuul
 anaranjaado
 asuul
 thakni'
 kafe
 mukenek
 moraado
 ejekni'
 k'apitxik
 ejekni', kwixix
 chakni'
 yaxuxuul

Colores básicos

¿Qué color tiene la sangre?
 ¿Qué color tienen los labios?
 ¿Qué color tiene el vino?
 ¿Qué color tiene el chile?
 ¿Qué color tienen las brasas?
 ¿Qué color tiene la yema de huevo?
 ¿Qué color tiene la miel?
 ¿Qué color tiene la arena?
 ¿Qué color tienen las naranjas?
 ¿Qué color tiene la pupila de ojo?

 ¿Qué color tiene el cabello?

 ¿Qué color tienen los carbones?
 ¿Qué color tiene la clara de huevo?
 ¿Qué color tiene el blanco de ojo?
 ¿Qué color tiene el gis?
 ¿Qué color tienen los dientes
 (de un niño recién nacido)?
 ¿Qué color tiene la leche?
 ¿Qué color tiene la sal?
 ¿Qué color tiene el azúcar?
 ¿Qué color tiene el cielo?

chakni'
 chajajaal, chakni'
 ejekniniil, chakni'
 yaxuxuul, chakni'
 ejekni', chakni'
 manunuul
 chakniniil
 ejekniniil
 manunuul
 chokoy(café),
 tajax (azul claro)
 ejekni', thakni', chokoy,
 xujlith (poco canoso)
 ejekni'
 thakni'
 thakni'
 thakni'

 thakni'
 thakni'
 thakni'
 chokoy, thakni'
 yaxuxuul

¿Qué color tiene el agua (de lago)?	chokoy
¿Qué color tiene el agua (de río)?	thakni'
¿Qué color tienen las hojas de plantas?	yaxuxuul
¿Qué color tiene el pasto (el zacate)?	yaxuxuul
¿Qué color tiene el mar?	yaxuxuul, asuul
¿Qué color tiene (la luz d)el día?	tajajaal (claro)
¿Qué color tiene el sol?	manunuul
¿Qué color tiene la luna?	thakni'
¿Qué color tienen las estrellas?	we'txik manunuul
¿Qué color tiene la noche?	ejekni', ejekniniil
¿Qué color tiene la lluvia?	lamamaal (transparente), lamax
¿Qué color tienen las tortillas?	thakni', manunuul
¿Qué color tiene la tierra?	ejekni'
¿Qué color tiene el fuego?	chakni'

Colores de seres humanos

moreno (de piel)	chokoy, ejekni'
güero (de piel)	thakni'
moreno (de cabello)	chokoy xi'
güero (de cabello)	thak xi'
negro	ejkni'

Colores y no colores

limpio	t'okat
colorado	chajajaal, chakniniil
descolorado	pothenek
maduro	wejneq
verde (no maduro)	tejtey, yaxuxuul
luz	k'amal, tajbaxtalaap
amanecer	tajkanal
brillar, resplandecer	ch'axixiil, ch'ajujuul
tinieblas	yik'ox

Oscuro y claro

claro	tajax

transparente
oscuro
amarillo oscuro
amarillo claro
rojo oscuro
rojo claro
verde oscuro
verde claro

tamath tejewa'
yik'ox, yikwyiimath
ejat manunuul
tajax manunuul
ejat chakni'
cha'at chakni'
ejat yaxuxuul
cha'at yaxuxuul, yaxuth

ANIMALES

animal, bestia
animal doméstico, ganado
chivo
perro
ratón
rata
murciélago
pájaro, ave
huevo
lechuza, búho
tecolote
cuervo
paloma, tórtola
culebra (variedades)
víbora
lagartija (variedades)
lagarto
tortuga (variedades)
pez (variedades)
mojarra
pescado
escama
rana
sapo
renacuajo
chacalín
cangrejo

pok'othlaap
pok'othlaap
chiwo
pik'o'
t'eel
t'eel
thut'
ch'ichin
thaktxok
akal ch'ichin
ju'jum
kuerwo
chajkuku'
chan
at'ax chan
otxo'
ajin
pet
to'ol
txumak
to'ol
thepeep
t'im k'wa'
k'wa'
puutx
ch'aliitx
kangreejo

camarrón	chakay
caracol (variedades)	xooch'
hormiga (variedades)	thanich
abeja	chaptxam
miel	chi'iim
panal	okow
cera	t'uyik
avispa	lat'em
araña (variedades)	aam
alacrán	thiniy
pulga	ch'ak
mosquito	yooy
mosca	jajnek
piojo (de cabeza)	uuch'
piojo (de cuerpo)	uuch'
chapulín, langosta, saltamontes	pixkoy
mariposa	lem
lombriz de tierra	luum
lombriz intestinal	thuumal
gusano, oruga	thuum
mono araña	chaanku
saraguate	bexe'
zorro	soora
zorrito	tiyal uut'
coyote	chutx
venado (variedades)	ich'aamal
gato	mixtun
gato de montes	alte' mixtun
jaguar, tigre	pathum
tigrillo, ocelote	pathum
jaguarundi, leoncillo	pathum
león	pathum
oso	ooso
puerco	olom
puerco espín	alte' olom
conejo	koy
liebre	koy

ardilla	tukum
tusa	ba'im
tlacuache	uut'
mapache	ethem
comadreja	komadreeja
tejón, pizote, coatí	bexe'
armadillo	bataw
cojolito	altoom palach
faisán	faysaan
chachalaca	ekwet
tordo	ch'ok
guajolote, pavo (en general)	palach
pavo macho	palach
pavo hembra	k'athaw
codorniz	kubi'
pato	paato
ganso	gaanso
halcon, gavián (variedades)	t'i'uw
águila (variedades)	puulik t'i'uw
zopilote	t'ot
perico	k'ili'
cotorro	kuchu'
chupaflor, chuparosa	txunun

COMPLEJO DE MAÍZ

Planta de maíz

maíz	ithith
maíz desgranado	ixith ithith
planta de maíz	eem
mazorca	way
flor de maíz	wichiil an eem
jilote	k'okoch
elote	ajan
olote	bojol
hoja de mazorca (tusa, doblador)	jojop
pelo de maíz	xi'iil way

caña de maíz
totomoxtle
espiga de maíz

pakaap eem
jojop
kalel an eem, wilnal an eem

Variedades de maíz

maíz blanco
maíz amarillo
maíz rojo (maíz colorado)
maíz morado (maíz prieto)

thak ithith
k'anaw
chak ithith
laap ithith

Cultivo de maíz

cultivar maíz
rozar, rozadura
hacha
aflojar la tierra
azadón
coa=sembradora
escardar
sembrar, siembra
semilla
doblar milpa
cosechar
pizcar maíz
milpa
troja, granero
desgranar (mazorca)

wa'chintha an way, t'aya' an ithith
ejtonal
acha
polk'a' an chabaal
chiximtalaap
oomamtaal
chixil
oom, t'aya'
iyelaap
paka'
koojol
koojow
alelaap
wilde'
ixiy an way

Preparación de maíz

nixtamal
lavar nixtamal
metate
mano de metate, metlapil
cal
ceniza
nixcomitl
molcajete
machacar

chabal
t'okom
cha'
k'ubak i cha'
tay
joltay
kwachip
ch'ajip
k'achuw

moler
moler masa
amasar
comal
asador
batir una bebida con palito
batir mole
batidor
espuma

Platos de maíz

tamal
tortilla
pan
pinole
atole
pozole
mole

ch'e'ey
ch'e'ey an k'oye
k'achuw
takap
tekthomtalaap
xaluw
xaluw
xalumtalaap, xalup
thopop

t'uuth
bakan
pan
che'eth ithith
yuu
kwalitx
mole

Parásitos de maíz

gallina ciega
gusano de elote
palomilla=plaga

jech'
thumaal i ajan
ch'itxik chich'im

Numeros

cero
uno
dos
tres
cuatro
cinco
seis
siete
ocho
nueve
diez
once

sero
juun
chaap
oox
chee'
boo'
akak
buuk
waxiik
beleeju
laaju
laaju juun

doce
catorce
quince
dieciséis
diecisiete
dieciocho
diecinueve
veinte

laaju chaap
laaju chee'
laaju boo'
laaju
laaju
laaju
laaju beleeju
-

Medir

Medir
medida
contar (cosas), contar (días)
mucho
mucho(s)/muchas(s) ...
un montón de ...
muy
más
todo
todo(s)/toda(s) ...
abundante
multiplicarse, aumentarse
la mitad de ...
centro/medio
en el centro/medio de ...
sólo, solamente
gemelo

lejbay
lejab
ajiy
yaan
yaan
yaan taam
t'ajatx
maas, yaan
ejtal
kwentxal
yaan, mathban t'ajatx
yaneel
junax ch'ejel
tam ch'ejel
junax ch'ejel, tam ch'ejel
exat
koya'

Mensurativos

bandejas, jícara
botellas
costales, sacos, 25 kg
cubetas
días, semanas, años
pesos

kwentu', kumtu'
boteeya
kostaal
balixtalaap
k'iitxaa', semana, tamup
peeso

Divisiones

partes

juun peje'

dos lados de manzana,
del ríos,
del cerro
un lado de manzana,
del ríos, del cerro
rodajas de manzana

chaap peje' (fruta)
ba'txik an olip
ba'txik an ch'een
juun peje'
ba'te'
pejmatxik (i mansaana)

Partes del cuerpo

pie, pata
paladar
oreja
boca, pico
orilla
cabeza
mejilla
quijada
corona de la cabeza
mano
codo, esquina
frente (de la cabeza)
sobaco, ala
cuello
muslo
espalda
panza
frente del tronco del cuerpo
diente
cola

akan
t'akaan
xuchun
wi'
ba'te'
ook'
cha'uup
chiyook'
chichiin u ook'
k'ubak
tiyiik
piik'ip
jotooch
nuuk'
paluw
kuux
txukul
tameet an iniktal
kamap
we'uw

PLANTAS

Partes de plantas

hoja
raíz
corteza (de árbol)
rama
palo
espina

xeklek
iblap
otlap, ot'ool an te'
k'we'lek
te'
k'iith

flor
florecer, estar en flor
semilla, grano, pepita
hueso de la fruta
fruta
retoño
brea, resina, trementina

wich
wichnal
ichitxlaap
ichitx an waliilaap
waliilaap
puthlap
xich'lap

Variedades de plantas

planta
árbol
madera
arbusto, mata
pasto, zacate
paja
heno
hierba
carrizo, caña
bejuco
hongo

t'ayaplaap, iyelaap
te'
te'
chikam te'
to'om
jujuxtalaap
thuk'ey
ch'ojoal
pakaap
ch'aj
muchek'

AGRICULTURA

huerto
cerco, cerca

welta'
maplap

PLANTAS DE USO

Frutas

mamey
zapote
zapote prieto, zapote negro
guayaba
anona
guanábana
piña
coyol
plátano

boloom it'ath
boloom it'ath
ejek chaabit'ath
bek
kukey
kukey
pinya
maap
it'ath

aguacate	uj
aguacate oloroso,	
aguacatillo (<i>Nectandra</i> spp.)	oj
capulín	beketh
ciruela	te'en
jobo, jocote (<i>Spondias</i> spp.)	k'inim
platano	it'ath
papaya	uchun

Camotes

camote	ith
yuca	t'intxe'

Quelites

quelite (variedades)	chokoow
quelite blanco	thak watiim
ramón	chum te'
bledo, verdolaga	pichich wal
epazote	tijchan

Otras plantas comestibles

frijol	chanak'w
frijolar	chanak'wlam
ejote	pejchul
vaina de frijol	pejchul
calabaza	k'alam
pipián	thukuk
chayote	chi'uw
espinosos	k'ithath
chile	ich
chile verde	yax ich
chile molido	tetatx ich, che'eth ich
tomate	tuthey
jitomate	tuthey
nopal	pak'ak'
pitahaya	chacha'
tuna	tuuna

cacao
chocolate
cacahuate
caña de azúcar
cañal
trapiche
vanilla
cebolla

kakao
chokolate
kakawate
asuukar pakap
pakablam
muliin
bainilya
sebolya

Otras plantas de uso

algodón
jonote, palo de corcho
papatla
cáñamo
tabaco
puro, cigarro
fumar
pipa
copal
chicle
hule (árbol), hule (resina)
jabón, amole

kwinim
baat
thulup
kanyamo
maay
maay
juchul
piipa
kopaal
k'axik
ule te'
jabon

Cosas hechas de plantas

abanico
hilo
ixtle
mecate, cuerda
amate (papel)
petate
ropa
tela
canasta
huacal (para colgar cosas)
huacal (para llevar cosas)
mecapal
guaje

wa'utxixtalaap
ilo
wey
laathu
uuw
taat
kwa'txiimal
kwa'txim
t'aknaap
jot'op
jot'op
lopch'ool an t'oknal
wit'iim

jícara

kwentu'

PLANTAS SILVESTRES

ocote, pino

ceiba, pochote

bellota

encino, roble

chichicaste, ortiga

palma

piino

tiyow, unup

kwitlox, k'oot

jiilim

lay

apach'

TÉRMINOS DE PARENTESCO

Grupos sociales

bebé, nene

niño, niña

joven

muchacho, muchacha

hombre

macho

mujer

hembra

gente

antiguo

gente de los tiempos antiguos

antepasados

hombre viejo, anciano

mujer vieja, anciana

joven (adj)

viejo (adj)

extranjero, gringo

pueblo, lugar donde vive la gente

chikam

chikam kwitool,

chikam txithan

kwitool inik

kwitool inik, txithan

inik

inik

uxum

uxum

yaneel

weje'

weje' yaneel

weje'txik

yejchel

chuxkwee'

iit kwitool

k'ej (cosas), yejchel,

chuxkwee'(personas)

in jiloom, piil i bitxow

bitxow

Términos de parentesco

pariente(s)

exlomnawal

padre
 madre
 tío
 hermano de padre
 hermano de madre
 tía
 hermana de padre
 hermana de madre
 hermano mayor de hombre
 hermano mayor de la mujer
 hermano menor de hombre
 hermano menor de la mujer
 hermana mayor de hombre
 hermana mayor de la mujer
 hermana menor de hombre

 hermana menor de la mujer

 hijo de hombre
 hija de hombre
 hijo de mujer
 hija de mujer
 primo, prima
 abuelo
 abuela
 bisabuelo, bisabuela
 nieto, nieta
 bisnieto, bisnieta

paa, papaa'
 maa, maaaa'
 ichaan
 eebaal
 eebaal
 mimi'
 uxum eebal
 uxum eebal
 puulik eebaal,ok'ox eebaal
 puulik eebaal,ok'ox eebaal
 tayiil eebaal,ch'ikat eebaal
 tayiil eebaal,ch'ikat eebaal
 ok'ox uxum eebaal
 ok'ox uxum eebaal
 tayiil uxum eebaal,
 ch'ikat uxum eebaal
 tayiil uxum eebaal,
 ch'ikat uxum eebaal
 kwitollaap, chikamlaap
 txitamlaap
 kwitollaap, chikamlaap
 txithanlaap
 eebaal
 awueelo,puulik paa
 awueela, puulik maa
 chabil
 momop
 chabil

Parentesco por afinidad

esposo
 esposa
 madre de esposa
 padre de esposa
 hermano de esposa
 hermana de esposa

tomkiil
 tomkiil
 uxum iyaam
 iyaam
 baay
 ixaam

esposo de hija	iyaam
madre de esposo	uxum iyaam
padre de esposo	iyaam
hermano de esposo	ch'uuch'
hermana de esposo	jawan
esposa de hijo	aliip
padraastro	paple'
madrastra	miimle'
huérfano, huérfana	chemtxineel

CUERPOS CELESTES Y PERÍODOS DE TIEMPO

Cuerpos celestes

el sol	k'iitxaaj
día	k'iitxaaj
fiesta, festejo	ajip
la luna	iich'
mes	iich'
estrella	oot
planeta	planeeta
cometa	komeeta
estrella fugaz	estreya fugaas
cielo	k'aylaal
nubes (cargadas de agua),	
nubes blancas	tokow
lucero de la mañana	thajuw oot, txutheel oot
La Vía Láctea	in beelil a Santiagu
Osa Mayor	oosa mayoor
estrella polar	estreeya polaar
Orión	orioon
Tres Marías	trees mariias
Sirio	puulik beela'
eclipse lunar	a k'apnal na iich'
eclipse solar	a k'apnal na k'iitxaaj

Períodos de tiempo

en los tiempos remotos	taam ti wejey ich
hace mucho tiempo	taam ti wejey ich

ayer
 ahora
 mañana (adv)
 verano, tiempo de la sequía
 invierno, tiempo de la lluvia
 año
 madrugada
 mañana (s)
 tarde
 noche
 semana
 lunes
 martes
 miércoles
 jueves
 viernes
 sábado
 domingo

TIEMPO (ATMOSFÉRICO)

sereno
 neblina
 arco iris
 relámpago
 trueno
 aguacero
 llover
 llovizna
 lluvia
 escarcha
 granizo
 hielo
 nieve
 derretirse
 viento
 soplar (sobre el viento)
 soplar (con la boca)

ti we'eel
 xuwee'
 kalaam
 veraano, in k'ijil i wayeenep
 invierno, in k'ijil i aap
 tamup
 thajawe', txuthey
 thajaw k'iitxaah
 wakal
 akal
 semaana
 luunes
 maartes
 mieerkoles
 jueewes
 byeernes
 saabadu
 domiingu

jeel
 chabal tokow
 pich'al
 leey
 chook
 chapik aap
 aaban
 juthuun
 aap
 eskaarcha
 ithith aap
 chaam
 nieeve
 xo'kanal
 iik'
 jutxuy
 jutxuy

abanicar
seco
secarse, ponerse seco
secar
sombra (de una persona)
sombra (del bosque)

Saludos

Hola!
Buenos días!
Buenas tardes!
Buenas noches!
Respuesta a estos saludos

wa'utxinal
wayinek
wayey
wayetha'
chaalaam
chalam

prisma
prisma
prisma
prisma
jasya

Despedidas

Hasta luego!
Hasta mañana!
Adiós!

ku chuu'uuxin, neechich na'
asta kalaam
taak'ix (a tak'ix
se despido con la mano)

Agradecimientos

Muchas gracias!
De nada!

jalbintxiyich t'ajatx
baa' tant'ooj

Otras palabras importantes

Sí. - No.
Eres un buen amigo!
Perdón!
Me disculpa Usted una molestia.
Mande!
Está bien. Está mal.
Esa persona es buena onda!
Es mala onda!
A mi me gusta eso!
A mi no me gusta eso!
Te amo!
Es mi novia/novio.
Estoy de acuerdo.
Claro.

ojooj - baa'
tataa'it alwa' exlomnawal!
pakwlantxiy
tin pakwlantxiy
t'oneey?
alwa'. baa' alwa'
naa i persoonaa alwa' t'ajatx
naa i persoonaa baa' alwa'
u ja'naal ninaja'
baa' u ja'naal ninaja'
tu lee'
jaach nu noowia/noowio
in k'wajat naaye k'aal xaxaa'
tajka'

Lengua

Cómo se llama su lengua?

Cómo se llama la gente que habla su lengua?

Qué es ...?

Qué es esto?

Cómo se llama ...?

Cómo te llamas?

Hablas huasteco?

– Sí, hablo un poquito.

Hablo español con soltura.

t'oneey nin bij na kaawintal?

- teenek

t'oneey nin bij na jeente ninaa in
eynaal nin kaawintal?

– teenek.

t'oneey in eey axee'?

t'oneey na axee'?

t'oneey nin bij....?

t'oneey na bij?

it kaaw ti teenek?

ojoo, kaaw we'txik.

in kaaw t'ajatx ti laapkaaw.

TOPOGRAFÍA

cueva

hoyo

pozo

escalofrío

granizo

helada

hielo, nieve

neblina

nube

sereno

tierra caliente

tierra fría

bosque

monte

selva

arroyo

barranca

cerro

cumbre, cima

lomo

montaña

jool, ik'ima'laap

jool

moom

ch'uuxeel, chamumbeeltalaap

ithith aap

chaam

yelo

chabal tokow

tokow

ch'och'on

k'aak' chabaal

chamay chabaal

alte'

alte'

alte'

olip

kotop

ch'een

txuum an ch'een, in ook' an ch'een

kuux

puulik alte'

sierra
 valle
 zanja
 pedernal
 peña, peñasco
 piedra (variedades)
 arena
 polvo
 llano
 charco
 ladrillo, adobe
 lodo, barro
 hacer cosas de barro
 pantano, ciénaga
 suciedad
 suelo
 tierra
 temblar
 temblor, terremoto
 agua salada
 costa
 fuente, manantial
 lago
 laguna
 mar
 río
 orilla (del río), orilla (del mar)
 playa
 banco de arena
 remollino
 ojo de agua

PUNTOS CARDINALES

norte
 este (salida de sol)
 sur
 oeste (puesta del sol)

ch'een
 cha'txal
 jool
 t'ujuplam
 puulik t'ujup
 t'ujup
 kithip
 pojoth
 cha'txal
 chaarku
 ladriiyu
 lukuk
 lukuklaap
 ja' lukuk
 ta'
 chabaal
 chabaal
 cheepeek
 cheepek chabaal
 chapuw ja'
 ba'txik an puulik ja'
 el el ja'
 ja'
 ja'
 puulik ja'
 olip
 ba'txik
 ba'te' an puulik ja'
 xon ta k'althaap i kithip
 bajtxik
 el el ja'

alaal
 k'alel k'iitxaaj
 ebaal
 ochel k'iitxaaj

The Section of the Thesis in French

1 Marquage des Personnes en HSF (Chapitre 5 de cette Thèse)

Le HSF a un système de marquage des personnes assez particulier par rapport aux autres langues Maya: les langues du groupe huastèque utilisent trois jeux différents de marques de personnes, et pas deux comme dans les autres langues Maya. Le système de marquage de personnes en HSF n'est pas un système typique ergatif, mais il rassemble à un système inverse. Les langues huastécannes ont développé un système inverse atypique; ces langues sont les seules langues Maya qui encodent l'accord transitif des personnes de cette manière. Zavala (1993) a publié une étude extensive de ce problème.

C'est clair que l'accord transitif du huastèque du sud-est n'est ni un accord transitif ergative/absolutif typique ni un inverse typique. La marque d'inversion dans cette langue est le préfixe *t-* qui est ajouté au clitique transitif chaque fois qu'un objet est un participant à l'acte de langage (PAL ; Speech Ach Participant (SAP) en anglais). L'analyse des données de HSF permet de considérer ce système comme un des systèmes de marquage personnels plus rares, connu dans la littérature linguistique comme tripartite (Siewerska 2006 et 2011, par exemple). Le HSF marque les trois arguments (Sujet, Agent et Patient) de trois manières différentes. Toutefois, le marquage du Patient n'est pas systématique : le Patient est marqué dans le complexe verbal du HSF uniquement s'il est à la 1^{ère} ou 2^{ème} personne. C'est la raison pour laquelle certains linguistes (W. Foley, c.p.) considèrent que l'huastèque n'est pas une langue tripartite. À part le marquage non systématique du Patient, il semble logique qu'une langue tripartite n'ait pas besoin d'un alignement inverse pour préciser les relations grammaticales, puisqu'une langue tripartite marque les trois relations grammaticales de trois manières différentes. Le système de marquage personnel du HSF est décrit en détail dans ce chapitre.

Il est important de mentionner qu'il existe plusieurs approches à ce problème. Certains linguistes considèrent que les marqueurs d'alignement transitif du HSF illustrent le phénomène d'alignement inverse (Zavala 1993); par contre, Edmonson (1988) les appelle clitiques 'portemanteaux'; les autres (D. Creissels, F. Rose, A. Guillaume, c.p.) considèrent

que ce phénomène est simplement la manifestation de la hiérarchie des personnes et que ces marqueurs sont des ‘marqueurs d’alignement transitif’; leur point de vue est que ces clitiques apparaissent quand un PAL est objet (c’est à dire, le préfixe **t-** apparaît quand un PAL est l’objet).

Dans les langues comme le huastèque, les 1^{ère} et 2^{ème} personne singulier ou pluriel (un PAL) sont plus hautes dans la hiérarchie que la 3^{ème} personne singulier ou pluriel; si une 3^{ème} personne singulier ou pluriel agit sur un PAL (c’est à dire, quand un PAL est l’objet), c’est ‘contre-nature’; l’aspect ‘contre-nature’ de l’évènement est encode dans la grammaire de cette langue. Dans beaucoup de langues du monde une marque spéciale encode cet alignement ‘contre-nature’, appelé dans la littérature linguistique alignement inverse entre un sujet et un objet.

5.1 Marquage des personnes typique dans les langues Maya

L’indexation des personnes dans les langues Maya est typiquement Ergatif/Absolutif (seul le Yukatek a une relativité scindée). Le système Ergatif de marquage des personnes dans les langues Maya est très connu dans la littérature linguistique. Dans ce système de marquage personnel le sujet transitif est encodé comme Ergatif (traditionnellement appelle le jeu A) et normalement préfixé au verbe, et l’objet transitif est encodé comme Absolutif (traditionnellement appelé le jeu B) et normalement suffixé au verbe. Les deux jeux, le A et le B, ont été reconstruits pour le Proto Maya, témoignant une longue histoire de l’ergativité dans la famille des langues Maya (Robertson1992).

L’ergativité Maya présente un système de marquage personnel assez commun, ou les personnes sont indexées dans le complexe verbal par deux jeux de marques (les deux avec de possibles sous-jeux). Dans ce système de marquage personnel la marque du sujet et la marque de l’objet se trouvent dans un complexa verbal typique Maya. Cette situation typique Maya est illustrée par les exemples suivants venants de trois langues Maya différentes: Jakaltek (Craig 1977), Tzotzil (Aissen1987) et Tojolab’al (Peake 2007), (la glose A pour Absolutif et la E pour Ergatif sont utilisées pour la cohérence):

- (1) a. **xk-ach** to-yi
JAK **CMP-A2** aller-VI
 Tu es alle.

 b. **ch-in** **haw-il-a**
 ICP-A1 **E2-voir-VT**
 Tu me vois.

(Craig1977)

(2) a. ch-i-tal-otik (Aissen 1987)
 TZO ICP-A1-venir-A1PL.INC
Nous (inc) venons.

b. k-il-oj-Ø-tik
 E1-voir-PERF-A3-E1PL.INC
Nous (inc) l'/les avons vu(s).

(3) a. wa la-waj-y-on (Peake 2007)
 TOJ ICP ICP12-aller-VI-A1s
Je vais.

b. wa x-aw-il-aw-on-ex
 ICP ICP-E2-voir-VT-A1s-PL
Vous me voyez.

5.2 LE MARQUAGE DES PERSONNES DU HSF

Le huastèque du sud-est diffère des autres langues Maya par le fait qu'il a trois jeux de marques personnelles: le jeu **Absolutif**, le jeu **Ergatif**, et le jeu **Inverse**. Ces trois jeux ont des fonctions différentes selon leur rôle syntactique. Les marques personnelles ergatives (glosées E dans cette grammaire) indiquent le sujet des verbes transitifs et le possesseur des noms, alors que les marques absolutives (glosées A) indiquent le sujet des verbes intransitifs et le sujet de la construction aux prédicats non-verbaux. Le jeu Inverse a un rôle spécifique, ce qui est décrit dans ce Chapitre.

En HSF, contrairement aux autres langues Maya, l'objet est marqué uniquement s'il n'est pas la 3ème personne singulier ou pluriel; c'est à dire, l'objet en HSF est indexé dans le complexe verbal seulement s'il est a la 1ère ou 2ème personne singulier ou pluriel (un PAL): dans ce cas-là, il est 'amalgamé' avec le sujet dans la marque transitive (inverse). Les marques Absolutives, Ergatives et Inverses sont pré-posées uniquement. Elles précèdent toujours le verbe et n'apparaissent pas a une autre place dans le complexe verbal du HSF.- Ces trois jeux sont décrits dans ce Chapitre.

J'ai décidé d'utiliser les termes 'ergatif' et 'absolutif' dans cette grammaire parce que les deux jeux correspondent a l'absolutif et a l'ergatif des autres langues Maya, ce qui montre une connection diachronique. Par contre, synchroniquement, comme montré dans ce chapitre, il semble qu'en HSF il n'y a pas d'alignement ergatif/absolutif typique. Du point du vue typologique ces termes peuvent sembler contradictoires, mais ils quand même seront utilisés ici pour les raisons susmentionnées.

Dans un complexe verbal HSF, comme déjà mentionné, ces marques sont placées immédiatement avant la racine verbale. Dans l'orthographe du HSF ces marques ne sont pas attachées au complexe verbal pour ne pas interférer avec la règle d'accentuation (voir le Chapitre 1 sur la Phonologie).

5.2.1 Jeu 1: Marques personnelles ergatives

Marques Ergatives du HSF		
	Singulier	Pluriel
1	u	i
2	a	i
3	in	i

On note tout de suite que les marques du pluriel sont neutralisées: une seule forme exprime les trois personnes du pluriel. Les marques du Jeu 1 (Ergatif) encodent les sujets **des verbes transitifs et les possesseurs des noms**. A la différence des autres langues Maya, qui ont deux sous-jeux de marques Ergatives, l'une pré-vocalique et l'autre pré-consonantique, le Huastèque du sud-est a un seul jeu qui est utilise dans les deux situations.

a. Sujet des verbes transitifs:

- (4)

u

koo'-y-al

E1

avoir-TS-INC

Je l'/les ai.
- (5)

a

chu'-uj

E2

voir-COM.irr

Tu l'/les as vu(e/s).
- (6)

i

paak'-w-al

an

k'waa'txim

Ep

laver-ST-INC

DEF

vêtements

Nous/vous/elles/ils lavent les vêtements.
- (7)

u

ch'a-iy

E1

acheter-ST.COM

juun

i

kwita'

un

MN

poulet

J'ai acheté un poulet.
- (8)

in

thutx-iy-aamal

an

kaarta

E3

écrire-ST-PERF

DEF

lettre(Sp)

Il/elle a écrit la lettre.

Dans les exemples avec des verbes transitifs (6), (7) et (8), les objets directs sont exprimés lexicalement (comme une phrase nominale) et sont à la 3ème personne singulier ou pluriel. Usage de la 1 ère ou 2^{ème} personne comme objet d'un verbe transitif exige l'utilisation des

marques du jeu 3 (inverse) décrit plus tard dans ce Chapitre. Dans les exemples (4) et (5) l'objet est un pronom à la 3^{ème} personne singulier ou pluriel, et en HSF les pronoms personnels ne sont jamais exprimés dans leur rôle d'objet direct. Un détail intéressant est que la marque personnelle absolutive de la 3^{ème} personne singulier est *zé*, mais la marque absolutive de la 3^{ème} personne pluriel est *ip*.

b. Possesseurs des noms: Le jeu Ergatif indique le possesseur:

u	k'ima'	in	k'ima'
E1	maison	E3	maison
	<i>ma maison</i>		<i>sa maison</i>
a	k'ima'	i	k'ima'
E2	maison	Ep	maison
	<i>ta maison</i>		<i>notre/votre/leur maison</i>

c. Noms Relationel:

t-in	kuux
prép-E3	dos
	<i>derrière lui/elle/eux (=à leur dos / à lui/elle)</i>

Il faut mentionner que pour l'autre type de possession, appelé 'relation' ici (ex. '*Elle est ma voisine*'), les marques du jeu 3 sont souvent utilisées. La possession en HSF est décrite dans le Chapitre 4 sur la Morphologie Nominale, et la 'relation' en HSF dans le Chapitre 8 sur la Phrase de base, dans la section sur les constructions aux prédicats non-verbaux (constructions équatives).

Un jeu Ergatif unique (pas de variations phonologiques). Comme déjà mentionné, il y a un seul jeu de marques Ergatives en HSF, qui est utilisé avec les verbes qui commencent par une consonne, ainsi qu'avec les verbes qui commencent par une voyelle:

a.	u	koo'-y-al	juun	i	mixtun
	E1	avoir-TS-INC	un	MN	chat
		<i>J'ai un chat.</i>			
b.	u	ay-a-al	i	t'o'jnal	
	E1	chercher-ST-INC	MN	travailleur	
		<i>Je cherche des travailleurs.</i>			

Comparaison avec le jeu ergatif du ProtoMaya. Ici les marques ergatives du Proto Maya peuvent être comparées avec celles du HSF; alors que les marques absolutives

du HSF sont presque identiques à celles du Proto Maya (illustrées plus tard dans ce Chapitre), le jeu ergatif du HSF montre quelques différences par rapport à celui reconstruit pour le Proto Maya:

Marques Ergatives du Proto Maya				
	Singulier		Pluriel	
	Pré-V	pré-C	pré-V	pré-C
1	*w-	*nu-	*q-/	*qa-
2	*aaw-/	*aa-	*eer-/	*ee-
3	*r- /	*u-	*k’/	*ki-

5.2.2 Jeux 2: Marques Personelles Absolutives

Marques Absolutives du HSF		
	Singulier	Pluriel
1	in	u
2	it	ix
3	a/Ø	ip

Le jeu Absolutif marque les Sujets des verbes intransitifs dérivés et non-dérivés, ou le Sujet des constructions aux prédicats non-verbaux:

a. Sujets des verbes intransitifs:

- (9) in k'al-ej wamantla
A1 aller-COM Huamantla
Je suis allé(e) à Huamantla.
- (10) it way-al
A2 dormir-INC
Tu dors.

Les marques Absolutives sont utilisées aussi avec les sujets des verbes intransitifs dérivés:

- (11) tataa' it pujk'-in
tu A2 tomber-MID.COM
Tu es tombé(e).
- (12) ix koy-ol
A2p reposer-AP.INC
Vous vous reposez.

- (13) nanaa' baa' na' in apn-a-aj ti eskweela (LeoC1-91-38)
 je no je A1 envoyer-ST-PASS.COM prep école
 Je ne suis pas envoyée à l'école.

b. Sujet du predicat non-verbal:

- (14) wawaa' u teenek
 nous A1p huastèque
 Nous sommes huastèques.

Dans les autres langues de la famille Maya les marques personnelles indexent l'objet des verbes transitifs. En HSF ce n'est pas le cas, puisque l'objet est marqué par un clitique inverse seulement quand cet objet est à la 1ere ou 2eme personne singulier ou pluriel, comme déjà mentionné. Il est intéressant de souligner que les marques absolutives HSF sont presque identiques à la forme Proto-Maya (noté par Kaufmann (1992)):

	Marques Absolutives du Proto Maya	
	singulier	pluriel
1	*iin-	*on-
2	*at-	*ix-
3	* Ø	*eb'-

Variations de la marque de 3ème personne singulier de l'absolutif a/wa/Ø

Avec les aspects incomplétif et partait la marque pour la 3^{eme} personne singulier est a. Il y a une restriction phonologique: elle réalisée wa si elle vient après un mot qui se termine par une voyelle. Et la 3eme personne singulier n'est pas marquée a l'aspect completif (elle est zéro):

- a. a way-al
 A3 dormir-INC
 Il/elle dort.
- b. jajaa' wa t'oj-n-al
 il/elle A3 travaille-MID-INC
 Il/elle travaille.
- c. baa' Ø witx-iy
 non A3 retourner-COM
 (ils/elles) ne sont pas retourné(e)s.

- d. Ø t'oj-on
A3 travailler-MID(COM)
(Il/elle) a travaillé.

La Marque Absolutive de la 3eme personne singulier. La marque Absolutive de la 3eme personne singulier a l'aspect complétif est zéro:

- (15) Josee Ø k'al-ej.
José A3 aller-COM
José s'est allé.
- (16) Ø way-nek.
A3 dormir-PERF
(Il/elle) a dormi.
- (17) n-u paa Ø pujk-in
DEM-E1 pere A3 tomber-MID(COM)
Mon père est tombé.
- (18) na josee Ø thutx-um
HUM José A3 écrire-AP(INC)
José écrit.

L'Objet des verbes transitifs est indexé dans le complexe verbal uniquement s'il est représenté par un clitique inverse; autrement il est zéro:

- (19) josee in ch'a-iy juun i kwita' (CirE3-12)
José E3 acheter-TS(COM) un/e NM poulet
José a acheté un poulet.

Comme déjà mentionné, si l'objet direct est une 3eme personne sg/pl, il n'est pas exprimé:

- (20) u chuuj
E1 voir.COM
Je l'/les ai vu(e)s.
- (21) u chuuj ti we'el ti plaasa (ni babaa') (AmArch78)
E1 voir.COM prép hier prép marché DEM eux
Je les ai vu(e)s hier au marché (eux/elles).

Il est intéressant de mentionner que la marque absolutive de la 3eme personne pluriel existe: **ip**, mais elle n'apparaît jamais en tant qu'objet direct. Cela montre que les 3emes personnes sg/pl en tant qu'objets directs ne sont jamais exprimées (voir la section sur le jeu 3 ou les 1^{ère} and 2^{ème} personnes objets sont décrites).

Homophonie des marques de personnes Ergatives et Absolutives en HSF. L’homophonie est une caractéristique intéressante du système de marquage personnel en HSF, ce qui peut causer une ambiguïté. Pour éviter l’ambiguïté le HSF utilise les pronoms personnels indépendants ou leur formes courtes (pronoms personnels emphatiques).

- in** = 1^{ère} personne singulier Absolutif ET 3^{ème} personne singulier Ergatif
- u** = 1^{ère} personne pluriel Absolutif ET 1^{ère} personne singulier Ergatif
- i** = 1^{ère} /2^{ème} /3^{ème} personne pluriel Ergatif

5.2.3 Jeu 3: Marques d’Alignement Transitif Spéciales (Inverses)

Le troisième jeu de marques personnelles en HSF sont les marques d’alignement transitif spéciales, c’est à dire, les marques d’inverse. Ces marques sont exclusives aux langues huastèques de la famille Maya. Elles sont particulières par ce qu’elles représentent un troisième jeu de marques n’existant pas dans les autres langues Maya. C’est un thème qui a toujours été un challenge dans l’analyse des langues Maya, et qui a pendant longtemps gêné les linguistes qui ont essayé de résoudre ce problème (McQuown 1984, Edmonson 1988, Constable 1989, Robertson 1992, Zavala 1994, parmi d’autres). Dans ce chapitre les précédentes tentatives d’analyse de ce système de marquage personnel, ainsi que la notre, sont présentées. Le Jeu 3 des marques personnelles du HSF sont présentées dans le Tableau 1:

Tableau 1 : Marquage transitif en HSF :

Marq.	Sujet	Objet
tin	2SG/PL, 3SG/PL	1SG
ti	3SG/PL, 1PL	2SG
tu	2SG, 3SG/PL	1PL
	1SG	2SG
tixi	3SG/PL, 1PL	2PL
tuxu	1SG	2PL
	2PL	1PL

Les marqueurs du jeu 3 encodent:

- a. la plupart des cas d'alignement transitif
- b. une partie du domaine de la possession (relations personnelles)

5.3 Marques d'alignement transitif Inverses

5.3.1 marque tin

a) sujets 2^{ème} personne sg/pl agissant sur l'objet 1^{ère} sg:

(22) tin chuuj ti we'eel nuu' ti plaasa (AmArch204)
 2>1 voir.COM prép hier là prép marché
Tu m'as vu hier au marché.

(23) xaxaa' tin chuuj ti we'eel an ti merkaadu (IrArch204)
 vous 2p>1 voir.COM prép hier DEF prép marché
Vous m'avez vu hier au marché.

(24) tin pak'w-tx-iy an ti k'waa'txim. (CirE1-80)
 2>1 laver-DAT-TS DEF prép vêtements
Lave-moi les vêtements!

b) sujet 3 sg/pl agissant sur objet 1sg:

(25) jajaa' tin ne'ech kon-tx-iy-al ti bakan (AmArch192)
 Il/elle 3>1 HAB demander-DAT-TS-INC prep tortilla
Elle me toujours demande des tortillas.

(26) tin utx-a' baal ne'ech kwa' k-a txi'-ich (AmE1-75)
 3>1 dire-TS(COM) que FUT QUOT IRR-A3 arriver-COM
Il m'a dit qu'il viendrait.

(27) babaa' tin chuuj ti we'eel an ti merkaadu (AmArch204)
 eux 3p>1 voir.COM prep hier DEF prep marché
Ils/elles m'ont vu(e) hier au marché.

Dans l'exemple (28) le verbe *enseigné* a trois arguments: *elle*, *moi* et *chanson*. La relation grammaticale entre *elle* et *moi* est encodée dans le clitique inverse **tin** ; le verbe a le morphème applicatif - **tx** qui montre la promotion de l'objet indirect (*me/moi*) à l'objet direct. L'autre objet direct ici, **ajattalaap** *chanson*, est alors encodé comme un argument oblique (l'unique emplacement pour cet argument dans la phrase de base), c'est à dire, qu'il est introduit par la préposition **ti** :

(28) jajaa' tin ok'-tx-iy axee' ti ajattalaap. (IrArch202)
 il/elle 3>1 montrer-DAT-TS.COM DEM prép chanson

Elle m'a enseigné cette chanson.

L'exemple (29) est un exemple similaire avec le verbe **kontx-** *demander* (ce verbe contient le morphème applicatif Datif) qui a quatre arguments (*elle, moi, tortillas, sa mère*); le sujet et l'objet sont encodés par le clitique inverse **tin**, tandis que les deux obliques sont introduits par la préposition **ti** et **baal** :

- (29) jajaa' **tin** kon-tx-iy ti bakan baal n-in maa (IrArch192)
 il/elle 3>1 demander-TS.COM prép tortilla pour DEM-E3 mère
Elle m'a demandé des tortillas pour sa mère.

5.3.2 marque **ti**

Les exemples qui suivent sont l'illustration de l'usage de la marque inverse **ti** : sujet 3^{eme} sg/pl ou 1^{ere} pl agissant sur l'objet de 2^{eme} sg :

a) sujet 3^{eme} sg/pl agissant sur objet 2^{eme} sg:

- (30) jajaa' **ti** ne'ech kon-tx-iy-al ti bakan (AmArch192)
 il/elle 3>2 HAB demander-DAT-TS-INC prép tortilla
Elle te demande toujours des tortillas.
- (31) babaa' **ti** ne'ech kon-tx-iy-al ti bakan (AmArch192)
 eux 3p>2 HAB demander-DAT-TS-INC prép tortilla
Ils te demandent toujours des tortillas.
- (32) jajaa' **ti** walb-iy baal tataa' n-a kwe'-tx-iy-aamal (AmArch214)
 il/elle 3>2 accuser-TS(COM) que tu REL-E2 voler-DAT-TS-PERF
Elle t'a accusé de le lui avoir volé.

b) 1st pl sujet agissant sur objet 2^{eme} sg:

- (33) wawaa' **ti** ne'ech kon-tx-iy-al ti bakan (**ni tataa'**). (AmArch192)
 nous p>2 HAB demander-DAT-TS-INC prép tortilla prép tu
Nous vous demandons toujours des tortillas.

Dans l'exemple (33) l'objet direct est répété par le pronom personnel **tataa'** *tu* pour éviter l'ambiguïté. Pour la même raison le pronom personnel **wa'** *nous* dans l'exemple suivant désambigüise le sujet:

- (34) ti chuuj **wa'** ti we'eel an ti merkaadu (AmArch204)
 1pl>2 voir.COM nous prép hier DEF prép marché
Nous t'avons vu hier au marché.

5.3.3 marque tu

a) sujet 2^{eme} sg, 3^{eme} sg/pl agissant sur objet 1^{ere} pl

- (35) tataa' tu chuuj ti we'eel nuu' ti plaas (IrArch204)
 tu 2>1pl voir.COM prép hier là prép marché
Tu nous as vus hier au marché.

- (36) jajaa' tu ne'ech kon-tx-iy-al ti bakan. (IrArch142)
 Il/elle 3>1pl HAB demander-DAT-TS-INC prép tortilla
Elle nous demande toujours des tortillas.

b) sujet 1^{ere} sg agissant sur objet 2^{eme} sg :

- (37) nanaa' ne'ech tu kan-iy ni tataa' (AmE1-36)
 je FUT 1>2 appeler-TS.COM prép tu
Je t'appellerai.

- (38) na k'iitxaaj ke nanaa' k-in jalb-in // (AmDperf87)
 REL jour que(Sp) I IRR-A1 payer-MID.COM
 ne'ech tu ivitaar-iy ti juun i serveesa
 UT 1>2 inviter-TS.COM prep un/e NM bière(Sp)
Le jour que je suis payé, je t'invite à une bière.

5.3.4 marque tixi

a) Sujet 3^{eme} sg/pl agissant sur objet 2^{eme} pl:

- (39) jajaa' tixi tawn-a' ti we'eel peero
 Il/elle 3>2pl appeler-TS.COM prép hier mais(Sp)
 xaxaa' baa' ix kwaj-ay ti k'imaa' (AmE1-40)
 vous non A2pl etre-INC prép maison
Il vous a appelé hier, mais vous n'étiez pas chez vous.

- (40) jajaa' tixi ne'ech kon-tx-iy-al ti bakan (AmArch192)
 Il/elle 3>2pl HAB demander-DAT-TS-INC prép tortilla
Elle vous demande toujours des tortillas.

Autre exemple ou un pronom personnel est utilisé pour désambigüiser:

- (41) jajaa' tixi juunik ich ni xaxaa' (AmE1-44)
 Il/elle 3>2pl ami déjà DEM vous
Il est votre ami. (Litt.: Il est pour vous un ami)

b) sujet 1^{ere} pl agissant sur objet 2^{eme} pl:

- (42) wawaa' tixi ne'ech kontx-iy-al ti bakan ni xaxaa' (AmArch192)
 nous 1pl>2pl HAB demander-TS-INC prép tortilla DEM vous
Nous vous demandons toujours des tortillas.

- (43) wawaa' **tixi** kan-y-al ni xaxaa' (AmE1-38)
 nous 1pl>2pl demander-TS-INC prép vous
Nous vous demandons.

5.3.5 **marque tuxu**

a) sujet 2^{ème} pl agissant sur objet 1^{ère} pl:

- (44) xaxaa' **tuxu** ne'ech kon-tx-iy-al ti bakan (AmArch192)
 vous 2pl>1pl HAB demander-DAT-TS-INC prep tortilla
Vous nous demandez toujours des tortillas.

- (45) xaxaa' **tuxu** thutx-in-tx-iy juun i kaarta (AmE1-33)
 vous 2pl>1pl écrire-EP-DAT-TS un/e NM lettre(Sp)
Vous nous avez écrit une lettre.

b) sujet 1^{ère} sg agissant sur objet 2^{ème} pl objet:

- (46) nanaa' **tuxu** kan-iy (AmE1-33)
 Je 1>2pl appeler-TS.COM
Je vous ai appelé.

- (47) nanaa' **tuxu** thutx-in-tx-iy juun i kaarta baal xaxaa' (AmE1-33)
 Je 1>2pl écrire-EP-DAT-TS un/e NM lettre pour vous
Je vous ai écrit une lettre.

5.4 Relations (possession) Le jeu 3 aussi est utilisé pour indiquer les relations (possession; pour plus de détails voir le chapitre 10). Voici quelques exemples qui montrent ce phénomène:

- (48) tataa' **ti** kwitool-il (AmE1-41)
 tu 3>2 fils-POSS
Il est ton fils. (Litt.: Il pour toi est un fils)

- (49) nanaa' **tu** eebaal. (AmE1-55)
 I 1>2 frere/soeur
Je suis ta sœur/ton frère.

- (50) wawaa' **tu** at.k'imaath.
 nous 1p>2 voisin
Nous sommes vos voisins.

- (51) nanaa' **tuxu** juunik ich ni xaxaa'. (AmE1-44)
 I 1>2pl ami déjà DEM vous
Je suis votre ami.

5.5 Configuration 3 sur 3 : encodage direct (pas de morphologie d'obviation)

HSF est une langue sans morphologie obviative: il n'y a pas de morphème qui encoderait l'obviation. Dans les langues huastecannes cette configuration est encodée comme une configuration directe: la configuration Proximate agissant sur Obviative est encodée comme active, et Obviative sur Proximate est encodée par le passif. La distinction entre Obviative et Proximate est faite à base des hiérarchies révérencielles comme humain>non-humain>animé>inanimé ou Topique > non-Topique (voir section sur Passif dans le chapitre 6 sur les Voix).

a. Proximate sur Obviative: Actif

La relation Proximate agissant sur Obviative est encodée par la voix active en HSF:

- (52) naa i inik in exl-a-al an kwitool (AmE1-61)
 DEM NM homme 1E connaître-TS-INC DEF garçon
L'homme connaît le garçon.

- (53) jajaa' Ø-in exl-a-al (AmE1-61)
 Il/elle A3-E3 connaître-TS-INC
Il le connaît.

- (54) an kwitool in exl-a-al naa' i inik (AmE1-61)
 DEF garçon E3 connaître-TS-INC DEM NM homme
Le garçon connaît l'homme.

b. Obviative sur Proximate: Passif

Obviative agissant sur Proximate est encodé par la voix passive:

- (55) pues an pik'o' aath-in-th-aaJ,
 alors DEF chien courir-EP-CAUS-PASS.COM
 paj-n-aaJ k'aal an ebath chaptxam (AmR48-100)
 suivre-INSTR-PASS.COM prép DEF tout abeille
Il ont fait courir le chien, il était suivi par toutes les abeilles....

- (56) coomo jik'-eeth-aaJ k'aal an pik'o' an ich'aamal
 comme avoir.peur-CAUS-PASS.COM prép DEF chien DEF cerf
Comme le cerf a eu peur du chien.... (AmR48-94)

5.6 Discussion

Les langues huastèques semblent être les moins connues des langues maya, et ce phénomène n'a pas été profondément exploré, sauf dans l'article de Zavala (2003).

5.6.1 Approches différentes à ce problème. Il y a trois approches différentes à ce phénomène:

Approche 1. Clitiques Portemanteau et marquage Ergatif/absolutif. Dans les études précédentes de la grammaire des langues huastèques, ces marques d'alignement transitif spéciales étaient appelées des clitiques "portemanteau" (McQuown 1965, Ochoa Peralta 1984, Edmonson 1988, Constable 1989, Robertson 1992), et l'alignement Absolutif /Ergatif.

Approche 2. Clitiques Inverses et Alignement Inverse. Dans l'étude de Zavala (1993) ces marques sont appelées des proclitiques inverses et ce phénomène Alignement Inverse. Le préfixe **t-** est interprété dans l'approche de Zavala comme un préfixe qui signale l'inversion. Une question se pose: pourquoi le préfixe **t-** est présent aussi dans les clitiques qui encodent la configuration locale 1>2 ? Cette configuration devrait être considérée comme 'directe'. Autrement dit, dans cette approche il n'y a pas de clitique 'direct' qui contrasterait avec les clitiques d'alignement inverse dans le cas de la configuration directe. Mais dans certaines langues (la famille de Lower Sepic, Papou Nouvelle Guinée, ou les langues Algonquiennes, W.F. p.c.) la configuration locale est aussi encodée par un inverse.

Selon Givon (1994) et Klaiman (1991) chaque situation où le Patient est plus topical que l'Agent mais où l'Agent est quand même topical peut être considérée comme inverse. Une langue canonique inverse exprime la direction inverse par un moyen morphosyntactique spécial. Dans le HSF, ce moyen morphosyntactique spécial paraît être ce préfixe **t-** qui est ajouté au clitique représentant l'objet chaque fois que cet Object est un PAL. Une approche intéressante à la non-transparence et 'étrangeté' de ces marques inverses se trouve dans l'analyse de Heath (1998). Cet auteur argumente que dans beaucoup de langues les combinaisons sujet/objet sont fusionnées, difficiles à segmenter, irrégulières ou bizarrement complexes (p.83), spécialement les marques 1>2>1; leur transparence est aussi camouflée par les différentes distortions phonologiques.

Heath mentionne douze stratégies différentes pour camoufler une transparence maximale, et les suivantes semblent pertinentes pour l’huastèque: no 1. **la marque est rendue opaque par une distorsion phonologique partielle**, no 3. **une ou deux marques (qui ne sont pas zéro par ailleurs) sont exprimées par zéro**, no 10. **Les marques du sujet et de l’objet sont en concurrence pour un seul emplacement**. Heath pense que la motivation pour ce phénomène est une suppression socio-pragmatique (‘socio-pragmatic suppression’), autrement dit, une intention d’éviter le ‘*negative target*’, c’est à dire, d’éviter d’exprimer explicitement la 1^{ère} ou la 2^{ème} personne. Mais, selon Heath, un pronom libre optionnel est souvent utilisé pour résoudre les ambiguïtés. C’est exactement ce qui se passe en HSF.

Approche 3. Marquage tripartite et les marques d’alignement transitif qui encodent le fait que le PAL est un objet. Cette approche ne voit pas d’alignement inverse en huastèque du sud-est; c’est uniquement une hiérarchie de personnes (1/2 >3 ou bien un PAL > 3). Selon cette approche, les marques du jeu 3 encodent seulement le fait que un PAL est un objet.

5.6.2 Notre tentative d’analyse de ces marques. Il semble clair que le huastèque du sud-est a un système inverse (ce système inverse ne pourrait pas être appelé une voix puisqu’il ne s’agit pas d’un changement de relations grammaticales) ou la direction 1, 2>3 n’est pas marquée (elle est ‘naturelle’), et la direction 3>1,2 est marquée inverse (‘contre-naturelle’):

- a. le préfixe inverse **t-** est ajouté aux marques du jeu 3 chaque fois qu’un PAL est un objet. Ce préfixe est présent dans la configuration locale aussi, mais comme il a été déjà mentionné, c’est le cas dans quelques familles de langues.
- b. le clitique de cet alignement transitif semble être analysable (W.F.,c. p.), comme décrit ici. C’est clair que le préfixe **t-** est présent dans la structure morphologique des marques du jeu 3; le morphème qui suit est **la marque Absolutive de l’objet de l’événement** :

tin:	t- Ø - in INV préfixe- sujet (Erg)-objet (1 ^{ère} p.sg Absolutif)
ti:	t- Ø - i < it INV préfixe- sujet (Erg)-objet (2 ^{ème} p.sg Abs)

tu: t- Ø - u
INV préfixe- sujet (Erg)-objet (1^{ère} p.pl, 2^{ème} p. sg Abs)

Cette marque pourrait par analogie être appliquée à la direction
1sg>2sg: moi et toi = nous.

tixi: t- Ø -ix- i
INV préfixe- sujet (Erg)- PL objet- objet (2^{ème} pl Abs)

Le **-(i)x** pourrait signaler ici la pluralité d'objets.

tuxu: t- Ø -ux- u
INV préfixe- sujet (Erg) - Pl d'objet - objet (1^{ère} pl)
La même explication: **-(u)x** signale la pluralité d'objets.

Les raisons de tant d'homophonie ne sont pas claires: chaque clitique inverse encode plus de deux combinaisons de sujets et objets: **tin** et **tu** encodent quatre combinaisons; **ti** et **tixi** en encodent trois, et **tuxu** en encodent deux. Les pronoms personnels pleins sont utilisés pour désambigüiser, sans quoi la relation/direction ne serait pas claire du tout en l'absence de contexte.

A la fin de cette discussion, on peut dire en résumé qu'il y a basiquement deux approches principales à ce phénomène: l'approche fonctionnelle (Givon 1994) voit l'inverse dans chaque situation où le Patient est plus topical que l'Agent tandis que l'Agent est toujours topical; l'approche syntactique considère que l'indexation hiérarchique et le marquage de direction (directe versus inverse) sont indépendants (De Lancey 2001). Pour certains auteurs (Nichols 1992, Siewierska 2004) les systèmes inverses sont un type particulier de systèmes hiérarchiques, alors que les autres (De Lancey 2001) interprètent les systèmes hiérarchiques et l'inverse comme des expressions d'orientation déictique. Zuniga (2006:28) discute:

“Hierarchical alignment and direction are logically independent features that can, but need not, co-occur. A particular language may display verbal morphology that can be meaningfully described with the concept of hierarchical alignment alone, without there being direction marking. Similarly, the morphosyntax of a certain language may (i) be adequately described with a simple SAO model but (ii) allow for additional direction marking if there is no hierarchical alignment.”

2 Portrait sociolinguistique du HSF:

Vitalité de HSF d'après l'acte d'UNESCO

En ce qui concerne la vitalité de la langue, d'après l'échelle de l'UNESCO (l'acte « Vitalité et Disparition des Langues ») on pourra la décrire de manière suivante :

Facteur 1 : Transmission de la langue d'une génération à l'autre (3) « en danger » (« *La langue n'est plus enseignée aux enfants comme langue maternelle à la maison....Les parents continuent de s'adresser à leurs enfants dans leur langue, mais en général leurs enfants ne leur répondent pas dans cette langue* ») et (2) « sérieusement en danger » (« *...les parents arrivent encore à comprendre cette langue mais ne l'emploient plus avec leurs enfants ni entre eux* ») comme dans ce village j'ai vu des cas où les parents ne parlent pas le huastèque, et beaucoup plus de cas où les parents ne veulent pas l'enseigner à ses enfants. Ensuite, pour le **facteur 2.**, nombre absolu de locuteurs, le huastèque de San Francisco reçoit 2 points « sérieusement en danger », puisque « *La langue est surtout utilisée par la génération des grands-parents et leurs ascendants.* » Le **facteur 3**, taux de locuteurs sur l'ensemble de la population, on peut lui donner 3 points, comme dans la zone la langue est toujours « parlée par la majorité de la population », mais j'ai une impression que très rapidement la langue ne sera parlée plus que par une minorité. Quant à l'utilisation de la langue dans les différents domaines publics et privés, (**facteur 4**) la situation n'est pas très optimiste. Le teenek de San Francisco est utilisé dans la famille, parmi les amis, dans les petits magasins du village et seulement quelques fois, très rarement dans le domaine public (voir séances organisées à l'occasion de ma présence). Lorsque la majeure partie parle la langue à la maison et avec des amis, ils ne l'utilisent pas dans le domaine public, ce qui place le teenek de San Francisco entre (3)(« *La langue se pratique dans des domaines sociaux limités et pour plusieurs fonctions* ») et (2) (*La langue est réservée à des domaines très restreints et très peu de fonctions* ») de l'échelle d'UNESCO. Je dirais donc que la langue se pratique dans des domaines sociaux limités sans fonction particulière. Le **facteur 5** parle de la réaction face aux nouveaux domaines et médias. Le HSF n'est utilisé dans aucun nouveau domaine, et reçoit 0 points. Pour le **facteur 6**, matériels d'apprentissage et d'enseignement des langues, le HSF reçoit 0, mais il faut noter l'élaboration d'une orthographe et des matériels didactiques qui sont exactement les buts de mon projet ! **Facteur 7.** Autant que je sache, les nouvelles politiques du pays valorisent toutes langues indigènes, et on peut y mettre 4 points (« soutien différencié : *les langues minoritaires sont essentiellement protégées dans le domaine privé. L'usage de la langue dominée est prestigieuse* »). Il y a même un programme pour les bourses d'études pour les indigènes, où l'on prouve l'indianité par sa connaissance de la langue. Mais si les locuteurs eux-mêmes veulent s'en débarrasser (**facteur 8**), ont honte d'être indigènes, ou la voient comme un obstacle au progrès économique et à l'intégration sociale, cette langue ne se trouve pas dans une situation optimiste. En ce qui concerne l'attitude des membres de la communauté vis-à-vis de leur propre langue, on peut dire que « *seul un petit nombre est favorable au maintien de la langue, la majorité du groupe étant indifférent ou favorable au transfert* », et c'est donc 1 point à l'échelle pour HSF.