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 PUBLISHED JANUARY, APRIL, JULY, AND OCTOBER 1980

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS  
 CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, U.S.A.

PM 361  
 .I6  
 v. 46  
 1980  
 RRS

77-170 210/s

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## ABSTRACTS

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as in the above examples. Since the speaker is actually expressing the "extralinguistic" context, in a sense, the second yite is appropriate. The decision to use both occurrences of yite seems to depend on how "unexpected" the speaker judges the situation to be. For instance, in the following examples, which appear to parallel the three above, only one occurrence of yite is employed. However, in both cases, the information being imparted comes as no surprise, since it happens to refer to people and their attributes that are a part of both the speaker's and the hearer's knowledge about the world.

- (62) Jeni-ch pa nmirv-h 'um-k  
 Jeni-Sj person kind-Ir neg-ss  
 yu-ch-a vIwi yite pa  
 be-Pl-Incr seem ModAux person  
 nmirv-ch yu-m  
 kind-Sj be-Inc

*Jeni doesn't seem kind, but she is.*

- (63) Steve-ch pa qyat-oo '  
 Steve-Sj person very-Dub  
 'iv-ra-h 'um yite  
 pretend-Ints-Ir neg ModAux  
 pa qyat-ch yu-m  
 person very-Dub be-Inc  
*Steve doesn't act like a big shot, but he is.*

The semantic unity of yite in its various uses has thus been demonstrated. As did many of the other adverbial types, this construction indicates a contrast between reality and some other mode. The expression of "contrary to expectation" in this distinctive way is apparently unique to Upland Yuman and thus is historically interesting. The morphosyntactic strategies for indicating the range of adverbial expressions described here for Tolkapaya should provide valuable points of comparison for studies of higher-level syntax in Yuman.

## THE REGISTRATION OF TRANSITIVITY IN THE GUERRERO AZTEC VERB

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0. Introduction
1. The effective causative
2. The compulsive causative
3. The benefactive
4. Reflective causatives and benefactives

0. As in many other languages, in Guerrero Aztec there are certain morphemes which form part of the verb stem and which convert a verb stem from one degree of transitivity to another.<sup>1</sup> The morphemes which increase transitivity are: (a) the effective causative, (b) the compulsive causative, and (c) the benefactive. The morphemes which decrease transitivity are: (d) the reflexive, (e) the general subject, and (f) the general object, subdivided into impersonal and indefinite. Table 1 lists these affixes in something like a base form. There are morphophonemic variants, as will be shown later.

TABLE 1  
MORPHEMES WHICH AFFECT TRANSITIVITY

Increased Transitivity	Decreased Transitivity
(a) effective causative -a	(d) reflexive mo-
(b) compulsive causative -tia, -ltia	(e) general subject -lo
(c) benefactive -lia	(f) general object te-, tla-

<sup>1</sup> The Guerrero Aztec described here is that spoken in the town of Atliaca, Guerrero and surrounding towns. Recent dialect intelligibility surveys conducted by the Summer Institute of Linguistics group it with other towns which understand the Tezcoco variety at a very high percentage into what is now being called Central Aztec.

[JAL, vol. 46, no. 3, July 1980, pp. 197-204]  
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 0020-7071/80/4603-0005\$00.95

All of these morphemes have been described for Classical Aztec in grammars like the ones by Carochi<sup>2</sup> and Garibay.<sup>3</sup> These grammars also describe the morphophonemic variants as stem and affixes come together. The allomorphic processes described for Classical Aztec and those observed in Guerrero Aztec are quite parallel. Where specific words are compared, however, Guerrero Aztec frequently demonstrates a different allomorphic process than that recorded in Molina's Aztec dictionary.<sup>4</sup> Carochi's grammar often lists alternate derived stems, one corresponding to the form cited in Molina and the other corresponding to the form found in Guerrero Aztec. It turns out that variant stems with the same derivational morpheme (i.e., doublets) also occur in Guerrero Aztec and are reported for other present-day dialects too. Possible explanations for these doublets are discussed and evaluated later.

This article describes the allomorphic processes for each of the morphemes which increase transitivity, comparing and contrasting the Guerrero processes with those

Data for the article were gathered by David Mason of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Doris Bartholomew is responsible for the interpretation and presentation of the data.

<sup>2</sup> Horacio Carochi, *Compendio del arte de la lengua mexicana* (Mexico, 1759; reprint ed., Puebla: el Escritor, 1910).

<sup>3</sup> Angel Maria Garibay, *Llave del nahuatl* (Mexico: Porrúa, 1961).

<sup>4</sup> Fray Alonso de Molina, *Vocabulario en lengua castellano y mexicana* (Mexico: Antonio de Spinola, 1571), reprinted as vol. 4 of *La Colección de Incunables Americanos* (Madrid: Cultura Hispánica, 1944).

of Classical Aztec. The Classical Aztec use of reflexive causatives and reflexive benefactives in honorific speech is described briefly, along with examples of similar forms in Guerrero Aztec which are not honorific, but genuine cases of reflexive causative or benefactive. A few instances are cited which appear to be vestiges of honorific usage.

1. The effective causative morpheme is added to a stem which indicates a change of state. The construction implies that a volitional agent does something to an object that results in a change of state. For example, *patlahui it becomes wide* and its effective causative *qui-patlahua he widens it*. The effective causative is marked by the suffix *-a*. In some cases the *-a* replaces the stem-final vowel (usually *-i*), but in most cases the stem-final vowel is retained before the *-a* suffix. The replacement by *-a* appears to be an older causative formation than the *-a* additive. The latter is the productive process, whereas the former is found with fewer stems and the relationship between noncausative and causative meaning is less direct (i.e., one or the other has become lexically specialized). For example, one set cited by Carochi is *tلامي acabar (it finishes)* and *tla-tlama cazar, tomar (he hunts it)*. Molina also lists *ni-tla-tlami-a consumir o acabar toda la comida que tiene delante (finish off a meal)*. Both Classical and Guerrero Aztec have the process where a stem ending in *-ihui* has that ending replaced by *-ohua*. The Guerrero Aztec data include sets where final *-ehui* is replaced by *-ehua*, but parallel words in Molina have *-ehua* in both noncausative and causative stems. The Guerrero data show a number of sets where the final *-ahui* is replaced by *-ahua* and just one set where *-ahui* is replaced by *-ohua*; the parallels in Classical Aztec have *-ahua* in both stems. On the other hand, Garibay lists several sets from Classical

TABLE 2  
ALLOMORPHIC PROCESSES FOR EFFECTIVE  
CAUSATIVES

Classical Aztec	Guerrero Aztec
(1) <i>i</i> → <i>a</i> (rare)	<i>i</i> → <i>a</i> (rare)
(2) <i>i</i> → <i>ia</i>	<i>i</i> → <i>ia</i>
(3) <i>ihui</i> → <i>ohua</i>	<i>ihui</i> → <i>ohua</i>
(4) <i>ehua</i> = <i>ehua</i>	<i>ehui</i> → <i>ehua</i>
(5) <i>ahua</i> = <i>ahua</i>	<i>ahui</i> → <i>ahua</i>
(6) <i>ahui</i> → <i>ohua</i> (rare)	<i>ahui</i> → <i>ohua</i> (rare)

Aztec where *-ahui* is replaced by *-ohua*. Unfortunately, the Guerrero corpus does not include parallels of the verbs cited by Garibay. Table 2 displays the allomorphic processes for effective causatives in the two dialects.

Examples of *-i* replaced by *-a* are: *temi it becomes full, qui-tema he fills it; tojtomi it is unraveling, qui-tojtoma he unravels it*.

Examples of *-a* added to stem final *-i* are: *cualani he is angry, qui-cualani-a he angers him; posoni it is brewing, qui-posoni-a he brews it*.

Examples of *-ihui* replaced by *-ohua* are: *petzihui it becomes smooth, qui-petzohua he smooths it; mimilihui it lengthens, qui-mimilohua he lengthens it*.

Examples of *-ehui* replaced by *-ehua* in Guerrero Aztec are: *pochehui it becomes smoked, qui-pochehui he smokes it (Classical pocheua ahumarse [get smoked], nitla-pocheua ahumar algo [smoke something]); tlilehui it becomes black, qui-tlilehua he blackens it (Classical tlilehua pararse alguna cose negra [get blackened], nitla-tlilehua hazer algo negro [blacken something])*.

Examples of *-ahui* replaced by *-ahua* in Guerrero Aztec are: *tomahui it is fattening, qui-tomahua he fattens it (Classical nitomaua pararse gordo [get fat], nitla-tomaua engordar [fatten something]); patlahui it is widening, qui-patlahua he is widening it (Classical patlahua ensancharse*

*lo angosto [widen], nitla-patlahua ensanchar camino [widen something])*.

An example of *-ahui* replaced by *-ohua* in Guerrero Aztec is: *yacapitzahui it becomes sharp, qui-yacapitzohua he sharpens it (Classical nitla-yacapitzahua ahusar punta de algo [sharpen the point of something])*. Compare Guerrero *pitzahui it becomes thin and round, qui-pitzahua he thins and rounds it (Classical pitzahua pararse delgado y flaco [become thin], nitla-pitzahua aldelgazar palos o sogas [make a stick thin])*.

Examples of *-ahui* replaced by *-ohua* in Classical Aztec are: *pixahui estar esparcido (be scattered), pixoa esparcir (scatter something) (cited by Garibay); pipxauilloviznar, cerner, o caer nieve (sprinkle snow), nitla-pipixoa derramar por el suelo trigo o otras cosas semejantes (spill on the ground wheat or similar things [in Molina's dictionary]); tlacahui sufrir daño (get damaged), tlacoa dañar (damage it)*.

Apparently the *-ahui* replaced by *-ohua* is an older formation for the effective causative. In Classical Aztec the more regular process has *-aua* in both noncausative and causative stems. In Guerrero Aztec, the productive pattern now is *-ahui* replaced by *-ahua*.

2. The compulsive causative is added to either a transitive or an intransitive verb stem. The meaning of the compulsive causative is that a volitional agent does something to influence another volitional agent to do something. There are two forms of the compulsive causative suffix: *-tia* and *-ltia*. Some verb stems occur with the first suffix; others occur with the other. A number of verbs have been recorded with both. Attempts to distinguish the variants on semantic or phonological grounds have not been very fruitful. Other factors are obviously involved, including

analogical formations and a mixture of geographical or social variants.

Carochi's grammar suggests that some causative verbs are based on the passive or impersonal stem, whereas others are based on the present stem. The passive or impersonal stem described by Carochi corresponds to what is here called the general subject (e). The general subject is indicated by the suffix *-lo* in most cases and by *-o* in a restricted set of verbs. Carochi's rule is to drop the *-o* and substitute the suffix *-tia*. Examples are: *tlaça arrojar (throw), tlaçalo (pasiva), tlaçaltia hago a otro que deje o suelte algo (make somebody let go of something); mati saber (know), macho (pasiva), machtia hacer saber a otro (make somebody know something)*. Causative verbs based on the present stem simply add *-tia* or *-ltia*. Examples are: *nemi vivir (live), nemitia vel nemiltia vivificar, hacer vida o dar vida (give life to); caqui oír (hear), caquiltia vel caquiltia hacer oír a otro (make somebody hear)*. Further, he cites some transitive verbs which have a causative based on the passive (general subject) stem and a causative based on the present stem, for example, *nequi querer (want), neco (pasiva) nectia, nequiltia hacer querer (make somebody want)*. He also cites an intransitive verb with alternate causative stems: *choca llorar (cry), choctia, choquiltia vel chocaltia hacer llorar e otro (make somebody cry)*.

Whorf, in his description of Milpa Alta Aztec, suggests that the process of adding *-tia* to impersonal stems ending in *-lo* resulted in the emergence of *-ltia* as an independent causative suffix, which subsequently spread by analogy.<sup>5</sup>

Perhaps there was a stage of Aztec when causatives formed via the general subject

<sup>5</sup> Benjamin Lee Whorf, "The Milpa Alta Dialect of Aztec, with Notes on the Classical and Tepoztlán Dialects," in *Linguistic Structures of Native America* (New York: Viking Fund, 1946), pp. 367-97.

stem were distinguished from causatives formed via the present stem, with implications about the possibility of expressing the immediate agent of the action involved; that is, it would not be expressed with causatives formed via the general subject construction. However, there are many examples which do express a definite immediate agent as the object of the causative verb. Thus, the *-ltia* ending and the *-tia* ending after a consonant have the same usage as the *-tia* suffix after the vowel of the present stem.

Robinson, in his discussion of the Sierra de Puebla dialect, points out the phonological complementation of *-ltia* with stems ending in a vowel and *-tia* with stems ending in a consonant.<sup>6</sup> This also seems to be the case in the dialect of Pómaro, Michoacán, described by Sischo and Robinson.<sup>7</sup> Robinson points out, however, that some verbs have two corresponding causatives, such as *choca to cry*, *qui-choctia* or *qui-chocaltia to cause to cry*. He suggests that another participant may be implied in the *-ltia* form (grouping it with the causative benefactive *-tilia*), but he is unable to demonstrate this. The phonological complementation which seems to work well for the Sierra de Puebla and the Michoacán dialects does not work for Classical Aztec nor for Guerrero Aztec, where both *-ltia* and *-tia* occur with vowel-final stems: *nemitia*, *nemiltia*; *caquitia*, *caquiltia*.

In Guerrero Aztec there are also instances of causative doublets with *-tia* and *-ltia* suffixes: *tlatlasi he has a cough*, *quitlatlaxi-tia he makes him have a cough*, *quitlatlaxi-ltia it causes him to have a cough*. There are other causative doublets which

<sup>6</sup> Dow F. Robinson, "Sierra Nahuatl Word Structure," in *Aztec Studies II* (Norman, Okla.: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1970).

<sup>7</sup> William R. Sischo and D. F. Robinson, "Clause Structure in Michoacan (Pómaro) Nahuatl," in *Aztec Studies I* (Norman, Okla.: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1969), pp. 53-74.

point to the difference between effective causatives and compulsive causatives: *canahui it becomes thin and flat*, *qui-canahua* or *qui-canahua-ltia he flattens it*.

The neutralization between the effective and the compulsive causative noted in Guerrero Aztec and the synonymy which exists between the *-tia* and *-ltia* causative endings noted earlier have resulted in co-existent causative stems in some cases, but in the majority of the cases they have resulted in the choice of one variant over another as the main or only causative stem. One variant may be chosen in one dialect and a different one in another dialect. Examples of such choices in Guerrero Aztec and Classical Aztec (Molina's dictionary) are: *cochi he is asleep*, *qui-cochi-ltia he causes him to be asleep* (*nite-cochi-tia dar posada a otro* [give somebody a place to sleep], *hazer dormir a alguno* [cause somebody to sleep]); *siahui he is tired*, *qui-siahui-tia he causes him to be tired* (*nite-ciaui-ltia cansar a otro* [cause somebody to tire]), *qui-tequiti he works it*, *te-tequiti-ltia he tells them to work* (*nite-tequiti-a dar obra o tequio a otro* [give somebody work]).

The allomorphic processes which show up in the Classical and Guerrero sets of compulsive causatives and their noncausative parallels are very similar, as shown in table 3. The examples of the processes show the same word in both dialects whenever possible. In such cases, only the Guerrero form is cited. When the words are not the same in each dialect, each of the forms is identified by dialect.

Examples of stem-final *-a* or *-i* replaced by zero before *-tia* are: *choca he cries*, *quichoc-tia he makes him cry*; *miqui he dies*, *qui-mic-tia he kills him*.

Examples of stem-final *-a* replaced by *-i* before *-tia* are: *huetzca he laughs*, *c-ueztquiti he causes him to laugh*; *qui-ita he sees it*, *quite-iti-tia he shows him something*.

Examples of stem-final *-i* retained before

TABLE 3  
ALLOMORPHIC PROCESSES FOR COMPULSIVE CAUSATIVE

Classical Aztec	Guerrero Aztec
Suffix <i>-tia</i>	
(1) a, i → ∅	a, i → ∅
(2) a → i	a → i
(3) i = i	i = i
(4) a = a	a = a
Suffix <i>-ltia</i>	
(5) oa → o	ohua → o
(6) a → i	a → i
(7) ia → i	ia → i
(8) a = a	a = a
(9) i = i	i = i
(10) i → a	i → a

*-tia* are: *nemi he lives*, *qui-nemi-tia she gives birth* (causes to be alive); *chichi he nurses*, *qui-chichi-tia she makes him nurse*.

Examples of stem-final *-a* retained before *-tia* are: *tlatla it is burning*, *qui-tlatla-tia he burns it*. (Guerrero Aztec only documented: *qui-motla he hits him*, *qui-motla-tia he makes him hit somebody*; *qui-telicsa he kicks him*, *qui-telicsa-tia he makes him kick somebody*.)

Examples of stem-final *-ohua* replaced by *-o* before *-ltia* are: *qui-tolohua he swallows it*, *qui-tolo-ltia he makes him swallow it*; *qui-yehualohua he encircles it*, *qui-yehualo-ltia he encircles it* (*tlayahualo rodear algo* [encircle something], *tlayahualo-ltia hazer que otro rodee algo* [have somebody encircle something]).

Examples of stem-final *-a* replaced by *-i* before *-ltia* are: *qui-tlaxtlahua he pays it*, *qui-tlaxtlahui-ltia he makes him pay for it*; Guerrero: *qui-neltoca he believes it*, *qui-neltoqui-ltia he makes him believe it*; Classical: *ni-choca llorar* (cry), *qui-choquitia hazer llorar a otro* (make somebody cry).

Examples of stem-final *-ia* replaced by *-i* before *-ltia* are: *tlanocua he has diarrhea*, *qui-tlanocui-ltia he causes him to have diarrhea*; Classical only: *tlahuia alumbrar*

(to shine), *qui-tlahui-ltia hazer que otro alumbrar* (cause somebody to shine).

Examples of stem-final *-a* retained before *-ltia* are: *pehua he begins*, *qui-pehua-ltia he causes it to begin*; *tlacha he is awake*, *quitlacha-ltia he causes him to be awake*; (*nitlachia mirar o ver* [see], *nite-tlachia-ltia hazer ver algo a otro* [cause somebody to see]).

Examples of stem-final *-i* retained before *-ltia* are: *tلامي it is finished*, *qui-tلامي-ltia he makes him finish it*; Guerrero: *tequiti he works it*, *qui-tequiti-ltia he makes him work*; Classical: *nitla-caqui oir* (hear), *nite-caqui-ltia hazer oir a otro* (cause somebody to hear).

Examples of stem-final *-i* replaced by *-a* before *-ltia* are: Guerrero: *poni it blooms*, *qui-pona-ltia he causes it to bloom*; Classical: *cueponi brotar la flor* (flower blooms), *cuepona-ltia hazer que brote* (make it bloom).

3. The benefactive is added to transitive verbs. It makes explicit the fact that an action was performed to the advantage or disadvantage of a certain person or that one of the complements of the verb is the possession of that person. The benefactive suffix is *-lia* (or perhaps *-ilia*). The allomorphic processes for the benefactive, listed in table 4, show a decided palatalizing effect on the preceding stem. Except for the treatment of stems ending in *-ohua*, the processes are the same in both Classical and Guerrero Aztec.

Examples of stem-final *-a* replaced by *-i* before *-lia* are: *qui-chihua he does something*, *qui-chihui-lia he does something for him*; *qui-pohua he counts it*, *qui-pohui-lia he counts it for him*.

Examples of stem-final *-ia* replaced by *-i* before *-lia* are: Classical: *tzitzquia asir* (grab), *tzitzqui-lia asir para otro* (grab for somebody); Guerrero: *qui-palehuia he helped him*, *qui-palehui-lia he helped him for somebody*.

TABLE 4  
ALLOMORPHIC PROCESSES FOR BENEFACTIVE

Classical Aztec	Guerrero Aztec
(1) a → i	a → i
(2) ia → i	ia → i
(3) i = i	i = i
(4) a = a (monosyllabic root)	a = a
(5) tla → chi	tla → chi
(6) tza → chi	tza → chi
(7) s → x	s → x
(8) tla → ti	tla → ti
(9) ya → ∅	ya → ∅
(10) ti → chi	ti → chi
(11) oa → huia /I ____	ohua → ohuilia
(12) oa → alhuia	(no parallel)
(13) oa → ilhuia	ohua → ohuilia

Examples of stem-final -i retained before -lia are: qui-nequi *he wants it*, qui-nequi-lia *he wants it for him (something which belongs to him)*; qui-caqui- *he hears it*, qui-caqui-lia *he hears his voice (he listens to him)*.

An example of retention of root vowel -a before -lia is: qui-cua *he eats it*, qui-cua-lia *he eats it for him*.

Examples of stem-final -tla replaced by -chi before -lia are: Classical: motla *tirar con piedra (throw stones at)*, mochi-lia *tirar con piedra para otro (throw stones at for somebody)*; Guerrero: qui-motla *he hits him*, qui-mochi-lia *he hits him for somebody*; qui-huihuitla *he plucks it (chicken)*, qui-huihuichi-lia *he plucks it for him*.

Examples of stem-final -tza replaced by -chi before -lia are: qui-notza *he calls him*, qui-nochi-lia *he calls him for somebody*; Guerrero: qui-piltza *he blows it*, qui-pilchilia *he blows it for somebody*.

Examples of stem-final -a replaced by -x before -lia are: c-asi *he grasps it*, c-axi-lia *he grasps it for him*; qui-telicsa *he kicks him*, qui-telixi-lia *he kicks it for somebody*.

Examples of stem-final -tla replaced by -ti before -lia are: qui-tlajsotla *he loves him*, qui-tlajsoti-lia *he wants it for him*.

Examples of stem-final -ya replaced by zero before -lia are: Classical: yocoya *criar (raise)*, yoco-lia *criar para alguien (raise for*

*somebody)*; Guerrero: qui-tejcuiya *he wraps it*, qui-tejcui-lia *he wraps it for him*.

An example of stem-final -ti replaced by -chi before -lia is: qui-mati *he knows it*, qui-machi-lia *he tastes it for him*.

Examples of stem-final -ohua replaced by -ohui in Guerrero Aztec correspond with the loss of -ohua and the -huia allomorph of -lia in Classical Aztec: Guerrero, qui-nelohua *he mixes it*, qui-nelohui-lia *he mixes it for him*; Classical, neloa *remar, mecer (row, rock)*, nel-huia *mecer para otro (rock for somebody)*; Guerrero, qui-pilohua *he hangs it*, qui-pilohui-lia *he hangs it for him*; Classical, piloa *colgar (hang)*, pil-huia *colgar para otro (hang for somebody)*.

Examples of stem-final -oa replaced by -a before the -lhuia allomorph of -lia in Classical Aztec are: itoa *decir (say)*, ita-lhuia *decir para otro (say for somebody)*; yecoa *acabar (finish)*, yeca-lhuia *acabar para otro (finish for somebody)*.

Examples of the replacement of stem-final -oa by -i before the -lhuia allomorph of -lia in Classical Aztec (corresponding to replacement of -ohua by -ohui before -lia in Guerrero) are: pachoa *apretar (squeeze)*, pachi-lhuia *apretar para otro (squeeze for somebody)*; qui-pachohua *he presses it*, qui-pachohui-lia *he presses it for him*; cuechoa *remoler (grind)*, cuechi-lhuia *remoler para otra (grind for somebody)*; qui-cuechohua *she grinds it*, qui-cuechohui-lia *she grinds it for her*.

The benefactive morpheme may be added to a causative verb stem: miqui *he dies*, qui-mictia *he kills him*, qui-micti-lia *he kills him for somebody*. When a benefactive is added to an effective causative stem, the morphophonemic processes replace the -a with -i before the -lia suffix and threaten the identity of the effective causative. A new causative benefactive formation then appears which retains the effective causative -a and utilizes the -ltia allomorph of

the compulsive causative before the -lia. Examples: chopahui *it becomes clean*, qui-chopahua *he cleans it*, nech-in-chopahui-lia, nech-in-chopahua-lti-lia *he cleans them for me (nech- me, -in- them)*; tomahui *it is fattening*, qui-tomahua *he fattens it*, nech-in-tomahui-lia, nech-in-tomahua-lti-lia *he fattens them for me*.

4. One of the methods for decreasing transitivity employs the reflexive prefix mo-. (The use of the generalized subject suffix -lo and the generalized object prefixes te- and tla- will not be discussed in detail in this article.) The reflexive prefix may apply to the direct object, the causative object, or the benefactive object: ni-no-tequi *I cut myself*; ni-no-sehuia *I rest myself (sehuia he rests, qui-sehuia he causes him to rest)*; no-tla-cahua-ltia *he made himself leave it*, ti-mo-tla-cahui-lia *you leave something for yourself (qui-cahua he leaves it, qui-cahua-ltia he makes him leave it)*.

In Classical Aztec there was an interesting use of reflexive causatives and reflexive benefactives to express honor and reverence for a socially superior person. An intransitive verb adds a causative suffix and a reflexive prefix, as if to say that the honored person causes himself to act. For example: mo-cochi-tia *the lord sleeps (lit. he causes himself to sleep)*, mo-ciammiquitia, mo-ciammictia *the lord gets tired*. A transitive verb adds a benefactive suffix and a reflexive prefix, implying that his honor does something for his own benefit. For example: qui-tlaçotla *he loves him*, mo-tlaçoti-lia *the lord loves him*. The honorific benefactive may be added to a stem which has a causative morpheme or to one which already has a benefactive morpheme: qui-chihua *he does something*, qui-chihua-ltia *he causes somebody to do something (honorific, mo-chihua-lti-lia)*, qui-chihui-lia *he does something for somebody (honorific, mo-chihui-li-lia)*.

Although the general rule was to use causative for honorific intransitives and benefactive for honorific transitives, Carochi cites certain verbs which do the opposite: miqui *he dies*; mo-miqui-lia *his honor dies (mo-mic-tia would normally mean he kills himself)*; choca *he cries*, mo-choqui-lia *his honor cries*; and on the other hand, qui-nequi *he wants it*, qui-mo-nequi-ltia *his honor wants it*; qui-neltoca *he believes it*, qui-mo-neltocui-tia *his honor believes it*. Also, intransitive verbs ending in -ti (derived from nouns) use -lia instead of -tia in the honorific.

The reasons for the substitution of benefactives for causatives and vice versa are partly phonetic and partly semantic. Many of the verbs which are cited by Carochi have a velar stop in the second syllable of the stem: miqui, choca, tiamiqui; caqui, nequi, neltoca. There are, however, verbs with such shapes that follow the normal rule: amiqui, ciammiqui; calaqui, huica, cui. There are also stems without a velar stop in the last syllable which follow the inverted pattern: tlahui *alumbrar (give light)*, teponacoa *tocar el teponaztil (play the teponaztli)*, ayacachoa *tañer sonajas (shake the rattles)*; toloa *tragar (swallow)*, i *beber (drink)*, cua *comer (eat)*, ihiyohuia *padecer (suffer)*, mati *saber (know)* (but iximati *conocer [recognize]* follows the normal pattern). The benefactive morpheme seems to be preferred when there is an element of possession involved. For example, in the verb formed from the name of a musical instrument, which indicates the use of that thing in the performance of the action, the honorific chooses the benefactive suffix, which implies that the subject is the owner of the noun from which the verb was formed: mo-teponaçi-lhuia *his honor plays the teponaztli*.

Carochi describes an analytic honorific used with verbs which are already reflexive by adding the suffix -tzino. It may well be

that this device is relatively late and that some of the early switching of the benefactive and causative suffixes was due to the desire to avoid ambiguities. The later device became the usual one for most situations, but the older system survived in verbs that were frequently used in the reflexive or for which a reflexive causative or a reflexive benefactive already existed with quite a different meaning than the honorific reflexive form would have.

In Guerrero Aztec the honorific system is not in use, but there are some vestiges of it which have shown up in text material. For example, *o-no-miqui-li-j he died* versus the more normal *o-mic he died*. Another example is *yo-ni-no-tlacua-lti-j I ate* versus the normal *o-ni-tlacua I ate*. The context for the vestigial forms is ritualistic: *I came, sat down, began to call on God when I ate*.

In the process of data gathering in Guerrero Aztec, one technique we used for obtaining complex forms was to construct possible combinations of morphemes and ask the informant to supply meanings for them. Some combinations were rejected as meaningless and others presented problems for explaining situations where they would be used. Second-person reflexive causatives and reflexive benefactives most frequently called forth a translation or explanation. For example, *ti-mo-tla-sehui-lia tu lo apagas la luz (porque no quieres luz) (you put out the light for your own benefit)*. In text material, first- and third-person complex reflexives are also found. In fact, in a sample of text material there were many more instances of reflexive causatives in first and third person than in second person (perhaps because narratives are usually told in third or first person).

Carochi says that first-person honorific

forms were rare because of the inappropriateness of referring to oneself in the honorific. Many of the examples he cites are second-person forms. This implies that the honorific is most frequently used in addressing the honored person. It is interesting to note that in Tetelcingo, where the honorific system is still used by wives in speaking to their husbands, the second-person forms correspond to the system described by Carochi.<sup>8</sup> Brewer's dictionary of Tetelcingo Aztec cites the honorific forms of the verb in second and third person.<sup>9</sup> The third-person forms are not reflexive honorifics, however, but stems with the generalized subject suffix *-lo*. For example, Tetelcingo: *quichihua lo hace (he makes it)*, *timochibi-lia* (second-person honorific), *quichihualo* (third-person honorific).

The fact that Tetelcingo uses the reflexive honorific only in the second person represents a loss of such formations in the third person. The residue in Guerrero texts of the first-person reflexive causative suggests that perhaps honorific forms of first-person verbs were used in earlier times, at least in certain ritual contexts. The ease with which second-person complex reflexives were explained probably is due to the greater appropriateness of using such forms when speaking to the honored person.

<sup>8</sup> Richard S. Pittman, "Nahuatl Honorifics," *IJAL* 14 (1948): 236-39, and "A Grammar of Tetelcingo (Morelos) Nahuatl," *Language Dissertation* 50 (1954).

<sup>9</sup> Forrest Brewer and Jean G. Brewer, *Vocabulario mexicano de Tetelcingo, Morelos* (Mexico: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1962); and F. Brewer, "Morelos (Tetelcingo) Nahuatl Verb Stem Constructions," in *Aztec Studies I* (n. 7), pp. 35-51.

## PROTO-TOL (JICAQUE)

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0. Our purpose in this article is to present our reconstruction of Proto-Tol (Proto-Jicaque) phonology and vocabulary with considerations of Tol (Jicaque) historical linguistics generally.

1. Tol (Jicaque, Xicaque, Torrupan, Turrupan) is actually a family of two languages. The language of El Palmar (near Chamelecón in western Honduras) is now extinct. It is known only from a short vocabulary list collected by Antonio S. Maradiaga in 1890 and published by Membreño in 1897<sup>1</sup> and reprinted by Lehmann.<sup>2</sup> Our data for the Jicaque of El Palmar are entirely from Membreño; we have retained his orthography in the examples we present. We call the language of El Palmar Western Jicaque (henceforth WJ), following Con-

<sup>1</sup> Alberto Membreño, *Hondureñismos: Vocabulario de los provincialismos de Honduras*, 2d ed. (Tegucigalpa: Tipografía Nacional, 1897).

<sup>2</sup> Walter Lehmann, *Zentral-Amerika*, pt. 1, *Die Sprachen Zentral-Amerikas* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1920).

zemius.<sup>3</sup> Conzemius also presented some WJ forms, but gave no indication of how or where they were obtained. At least some appear to be extracted from the Membreño list, with confusing orthographic changes; others may be guesses based on forms from the other Jicaque language. In any case, Conzemius's transcriptions of the other Jicaque language are so inconsistent and inaccurate that his rendition of WJ probably should not be trusted either. For that reason, we have ignored Conzemius's WJ forms in our reconstruction, but include them for reference's sake in our cognate lists.

The other Jicaque language, Tol, here called Eastern Jicaque (EJ) after Conzemius, is spoken by about 300 persons in La Montaña de la Flor (MF) near Orica, Department of Francisco Morazán, Honduras. It is also still spoken by a very few old persons in scattered locations in the Department of Yoro, but is quite moribund there. Our MF data are from Oltrogge's notes, collected while doing fieldwork with the Summer Institute of Linguistics from 1960 to 1967; from Campbell's notes, collected during a brief visit to La Montaña de Flor in 1974; and from data generously shared by Ronald Dennis of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, who is currently doing fieldwork in La Montaña de la Flor. We have made much less use of the Jicaque of Yoro (JY) data, which is largely identical to MF. The JY sources are Campbell's field notes from La Pati near El Negrito, Dennis Holt's field notes