

13. DERIVED CAUSATIVE VERBS

INFLECTION AND DERIVATION

Inflection refers to the process of marking stems (mainly nouns and verbs) for things like person, number, tense, possession (as in English birds, he goes, washed, Bob's). Inflection can apply to basic stems, to compounds (like English doghouse) or derivations (like English concept, conception, conceptualize, conceptualization¹). By *derivation* is meant adding something to a stem to change it from one part of speech to another (like making a verb from a noun or a noun from a verb, as in English: to orchestrate < orchestra; establishment < to establish²) or to simply change the meaning of a stem without changing the part of speech (patriotism < patriot; unhappy < happy). Derivation is an "inside" process. It happens first, and inflection happens to the result of derivation (as in English mannerisms < mannerism < manner).

Until now we have been mainly dealing with basic noun and verb inflection in Nahuatl, although there have been some compound and derived items in the vocabulary lists. Now we will practice some derivation, beginning with the derivation of causative verbs, some of which you have already met.

CAUSATIVE VERBS

The meaning of the causative derivation is 'to cause s.o./s.t. to (verb)':

miqu(i)	to die	
mictiā	to kill s.o., s.t.	(literally: to cause s.o. to die)
nicmictia	I kill him/her/it	
(i)tta	to see s.t.	
(i)ttitiā	to cause s.o. see s.t.	
anāēhititiāh	y'all make me see (it)	
caqu(i)	to hear s.t.	
caquitiā	to cause s.o. hear s.t.	

¹The basic stem of these three derived forms is the verb to conceive.

²Verbs made out of nouns are called *denominal* verbs; an example is to orchestrate. Nouns made out of verbs are called *deverbal* nouns; an example is establishment.

quincaquītia they make them hear (it)

The basic rule for recognition of the causative is to look for *-tiā*. But there is a bit more to the causative derivation than that. First of all, there are some verbs with causative meaning that are not made by means of causative derivation:

tēm(i)	to fill up	tēm(a)	to fill s.t. up, to cause s.t. to fill up
pozōn(i)	to boil	pozōniā	to boil s.t., to cause s.t. to boil
xelihu(i)	to split in two	xeloā	to split s.t. in two, to cause s.t. to split

Excluding these causative-in-sense-but-not-in-form verbs, we come to the causative derivation, the basic suffix for which is not just *-tiā* but *-ltiā*:

chōca	to weep
chōcaltīā	to make s.o. weep, to cause s.o. to weep

However, there are three things that can happen, all of them optional (although some verbs tend toward one form more than the others).

- (1) If the stem ends in short *a*, it may change to *i*:

chōca-ltiā	>	chōquiltiā
------------	---	------------

- (2) If *-ltiā* follows *i* (either because the verb stem ends in *i*, or because *a* has changed to *i*) the *l* after the *i* may drop out, in which case the *i* lengthens in compensation:

miqui-ltiā	>	miquītiā
chōqui-ltiā	>	chōquītiā

- (3) Alternatively, the *il* sequence may drop out:³

miqui-ltiā	>	mictiā
chōqui-ltiā	>	chōctiā

This means that for verbs ending in short *a* there are four possibilities, while for those ending in *i* there are three:

³Loss of *-il-* also may be seen with the nonactive derivation, which comes up in Chapter 16, and in deverbal nouns derived with *-liz-tli*, which appear in Chapter 18.

<u>Stem:</u> chōca	<u>Stem:</u> miqu(i)
chōcaltīā	-----
chōquiltīā	miquiltīā
chōquītīā	miquītīā
chōctīā	mictīā

Since these three options apply only to stems ending in i and short a, they are limited to verbs of Classes 1 and 2.

Class 3 verbs drop final ā and add -ltīā. Verbs in -oā clearly have compensatory lengthening, but verbs in -iā don't seem to:

(i)htoā	(i)htōltīā
choloā	cholōltīā
BUT	
tlālīā	tlāliltīā

Class 4 verbs shorten ā before -ltīā:

cuā	cualtīā
māmā	māmaltīā

In some cases, there may be a change of consonant in the verb stem:

ahci	ahxītīā
mat(i)	machītīā

A few verbs use forms ending in -liā and -huiā as causatives:

tlācat(i)	to be born
tlācatiliā	to engender or to give birth to s.o., to cause s.o. to be born
temō	to descend
temohuiā	to lower s.t., to cause s.t. to descend ⁴
tlehcō	to ascend
tlehcahuiā	to raise s.t., to cause s.t. to ascend

⁴The long final ō of temō shortens before -huiā. When -huiā is added to other verbs ending in ō, the ō changes to short a, as in tlehcahuiā < tlehcō.

Although Nahuatl causative verbs may always be logically translated into English phrases such as 'I cause him to (verb)' or 'we make them (verb)', sometimes there is a more succinct English translation that is more natural. Here are some examples:

mictiā	to kill s.t., s.o.	(to cause s.o., s.t. to die)
cholōltiā	to chase s.o.	(to cause s.o. to flee)
itfītiā	to show s.t. to s.o.	(to cause s.o. to see s.t.)
machtīā	to teach s.t. to s.o.	(to cause s.o. to know s.t.)
mauhtiā	to frighten s.o.	(to cause s.o. to be frightened)
nēxtiā	to find s.t.	(to cause s.t. to appear)

Some causative verbs incorporate the nonspecific-object prefixes *tla-/tē-*:

tlacualtiā	to feed s.o.	(to cause s.o. to eat something nonspecific)
tlacaquiltiā	to complain to s.o.	(to cause s.o. to hear something nonspecific)
tlaitfītiā	to show s.o.	(to cause s.o. to see something nonspecific)
tlamachtīā	to preach to s.o.	(to cause s.o. to know something nonspecific)
tēmachtīā	to teach	(to cause someone nonspecific to know) ⁵

Examples:

Here are examples of the whole range of Nahuatl causative verbs:

nimitzchīhualtia	I make you do it
annēchchīhualtia	y'all make me do it
mitztlachiyaltia	he makes you stare
quincholōltia	they chase them, they make they flee
nēchpāquiltia	he/she/it makes me happy
tinēchhuetzquītia	you make me laugh
(a > i, l-loss, i-lengthening)	
timitzitfītia	we show it to you
(a > i, l-loss, i-lengthening)	
nēchneltoquītia	they make me believe
(a > i, l-loss, i-lengthening)	
tēchchōctia	he makes us cry
(a > i, il-loss)	
nicquīxtia	I make him leave
(a > i, il-loss, z > x)	

⁵This is the basis of the derived noun *tēmachtīlōyān* 'school'.

tinēchpāctia	you make me happy
(il-loss)	
quimictiah	they kill him/her/it
(il-loss)	
ticmautiah	we frighten him
(il-loss)	
niquincochītia	I put them to sleep
(l-loss, i-lengthening)	
nicnextia	I find it, I make it appear
(il-loss, c > x)	
mitztlacualtia	he feeds you, he causes you to eat s.t.
(nonspecific tla-, ā-shortening in Class 4 verb stem)	
tinēchtlacauiltia	you inform me, you complain to me, you cause me to hear s.t.
(nonspecific tla-)	
tēchtlamachtia	he preaches to us, he causes us to know s.t.
(nonspecific tla-, il-loss, t > ch)	
tēchtlaitītia	he shows us s.t., he causes us to see s.t.
(nonspecific tla-, a > i, l-loss, i-lengthening)	
nitētlacaquiltia	I inform s.o., I complain to s.o., I cause s.o. to hear s.t.
(nonspecific tē-, nonspecific tla-)	
quitēmah	they fill it up
(causative in sense, but not a causative derivation)	
quimana	he lays it out
(causative in sense but not a causative derivation)	
tinēhcualānia	you make me angry
(causative in sense but not a causative derivation)	
quipozōniah	they boil it
(causative in sense but not a causative derivation)	

MULTIPLE OBJECTS

Notice that all derived causatives are Class 3 transitive verbs, no matter whether the basic verb stem is transitive or intransitive. Whatever the subject of the basic verb is, it becomes the object of the related causative verb:

nichōca	I weep
tinēchchōcaltia	you cause me to weep

<u>t</u> icholoah	we flee
ant <u>t</u> echcholōltiah	y'all make us flee
<u>a</u> mpāquih	y'all are happy
<u>a</u> mēchpāctiah	they make you be happy

When a causative verb is derived from an intransitive verb, there is no problem, but what about when a transitive verb undergoes causative derivation? Now there are two objects, the original direct object, and the object that was the subject of the basic verb.

This is related to the problem of double-object verbs such as *maca* 'to give s.t. to s.o.' and (i)lhuia 'to tell s.t. to s.o.', which was mentioned earlier. We have postponed discussion of double-object verbs until now, because the same rules apply to both basic double-object rules and to causatives derived from transitive verbs.

In dealing with basic verbs, a principle we have kept firmly in mind and practiced through recognition and production exercises is that in Nahuatl a transitive verb **MUST** have an object prefix. In English we may say, "he eats," but in Nahuatl, one must say the equivalent of, "he it-eats," or, "he something-eats," or, in the case of a *tēcuañi*, "it someone-eats." Since *cuā* is a transitive verb, its object must be given recognition with an object prefix. *Cuā* is an *inherently* transitive verb.

Some verbs are inherently *bi-transitive*. They logically presuppose both a direct object and an indirect one⁶. An example of this is *maca*. In English one can omit mention of the indirect object: "Generous alumnae have given over a hundred thousand dollars this year." (It is understood, of course, that they have given their money to their university.) But once again, Nahuatl recognizes both direct object and indirect object. However, this principle of full recognition of all objects collides with another Nahuatl principle limiting compatibility of object prefixes.

Aside from inherently bi-transitive verbs, double-object constructions in Nahuatl arise in causative derivations, which are the topic of this chapter, and applicative derivations, which come in the following chapter.

In cases of derivation from an inherently bi-transitive verb, there may be as many as three objects involved:

I made him give it to us.

There are three factors that cause a great deal of ambiguity in Nahuatl verb constructions with multiple objects. The first is that the object prefixes do not have

⁶Another term for *indirect object* is *oblique object*. Indirect objects can be expressed in English in prepositional phrases such as "to us", but Nahuatl **NEVER** expresses this sort of grammatical relationship with a particle and a pronoun.

different forms for direct object and indirect object. English, at least, has the option of expressing the indirect object in a prepositional phrase:

I gave him the book.

OR

I gave the book to him.

Nahuatl is restricted to its one set of object prefixes, so there is no way of telling from the prefix itself, whether it refers to a direct or indirect object.

Second, the order in which the object prefixes precede the verb stem does not correspond to the grammatical roles of the objects, i.e., the direct-object prefix does not always precede the indirect-object prefix. It seems a rather poor design feature of the language that one cannot tell by either the shape or the order of object prefixes which refers to the direct object and which to the indirect object.

Third, not all object prefixes are compatible with each other. If a verb has two objects for which the object prefixes are incompatible, then one of the prefixes is omitted, despite the fact that Nahuatl otherwise insists on having an object prefix for every logical object of the verb.

OBJECT PREFIX ORDER

There are three principles governing the order of the prefixes:

- (1) specific before everything else
- (2) reflexive before nonspecific
- (3) human before nonhuman

These three principles must apply in the order given; a specific nonhuman object prefix will precede a nonspecific human prefix. It follows from these three ordered principles that before the verb stem there are, at least hypothetically, the following slots for object prefixes:

specific - reflexive - nonspecific human - nonspecific nonhuman - (verb stem)

In a Nahuatl construction meaning 'he gave something to her', the indirect object 'her' would precede the direct object 'something', because 'her' is specific and 'something' is nonspecific. But in a Nahuatl construction meaning 'he gave it to someone', the direct object 'it' would come first, and the indirect object 'someone' would come second.

For speakers of English and Spanish, the fact that Nahuatl recognizes this hierarchy of specificity rather than the grammatical roles of the different objects is very confusing.

Because of the existence of bi-transitive verbs and derived causative and applicative verbs, a given verb may potentially have as many as three of ANY TYPE of object prefix. For instance, a verb may have three specific objects:

I made you give them to her.

Or three nonspecific human objects:

I sent someone to someone for someone.⁷

Or any combination:

I gave her something for them.

(specific, nonspecific nonhuman, specific)⁸

I relinquished something to him for someone.

(nonspecific nonhuman, specific, nonspecific human)

I made myself purify something for you.

(reflexive, nonspecific nonhuman, specific)

I made them do something to themselves.

(specific-nonspecific nonhuman-reflexive)

They made themselves do something to themselves.

(reflexive, nonspecific nonhuman, reflexive)

However, there is another set of rules that reduces the number of possible object-prefix combinations:

(1) Reflexive rules:

(a) With double-object verbs, only one object can be reflexive.

(This eliminates sentences of the type: 'they gave themselves to themselves')

(b) In causative and applicative derivations, when two reflexive-object prefixes come together, the second changes to *ne-*.⁹

⁷This corresponds to a Nahuatl applicative construction, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

⁸These labels identify the objects in the order in which they appear in the English sentences. The order of object prefixes in Nahuatl sentences will be different because of the three rules above and the additional ones below.

⁹This is sometimes referred to as *reflexive dissimilation*. It is part of a more general rule that in derived multiple-object constructions, the reflexive prefix of the basic verb always changes to *ne-*. If there is another reflexive prefix, it remains *mo-*. The prefix *ne-* always comes last after the other object prefixes.

(2) The incompatibility rule:

Only ONE specific-object prefix may appear with a verb.

In double- and triple-object verb constructions where there are multiple specific objects, such as 'I gave them to her for him', the following strategies apply for reducing the number of object prefixes:

(a) Discard the direct-object prefix.

(b) If, after doing this, two indirect-object prefixes remain, discard the primary indirect object.

Following these strategies, the following reductions take place:

it to me	>	to me
us to him	>	to him
it to me for you	>	for you

Now in Nahuatl:

ō-ni-mitz-qui-maca-c' I gave it to you' > ōnimitzmacac¹⁰

There are no rules that reduce the number of nonspecific-object prefixes; in principle there may be three, so one may come across sequences of *tē-tē-tē-* or *tla-tla-tla-*, but these are quite rare in actual use. However, the sequence *tē-tla-* is very common, and because human always precedes nonhuman, *tē-tla-* may mean either 'something to someone' or 'someone to something'. In such cases, the ambiguity can only be resolved by consulting the whole context in which the verb construction is used. J. Richard Andrews gives a comprehensive list of double- and triple-object prefix combinations in Appendix C of his *Introduction to Classical Nahuatl*.

¹⁰There is one exception to this rule, and the exception is optional. The specific-object prefix *quim-* 'them' may be just shortened to *im-* rather than completely eliminated: *ō-ni-mitz-quim-maca-c* 'I gave them to you' may become either *ōnimitzimmacac* or *ōnimitzmacac*.

CHAPTER 13 EXERCISES

CAUSATIVE VERB RECOGNITION EXERCISE

Translate the following Nahuatl causative verbs into English:

tinēchhuetzquītia

nimitzchīhualtia

tēchchōctia

tinēchpāctia

nicquīxtia

quimictiah

mitztlachiyaltia

niquincochītia

timitzitūtiah

annēchchīhualtia

nicnēxtia

nēchneltoquītiah

quincholōltiah

tēchtlamachtia

mitztlacualtia

tinēchtlacaquiltia

tēchtlaitūtia

ticmauhtiah

CAUSATIVE VERB PRODUCTION EXERCISE

Translate the following Nahuatl causative verbs into English:

he makes you stare

I make you do (it)

he makes us cry

I find it, I make it appear

I make him leave

you make me laugh
 they kill it, they kill him
 he points s.t. out to us, he causes us to see s.t.
 y'all make me do it
 we show it to you
 they make me believe
 they chase them, they make them flee
 he teaches us something, he causes us to know s.t.
 he feeds you, he causes you to eat s.t.
 you inform me of s.t., you complain to me, you cause me to hear s.t.
 I put them to sleep
 you make me happy
 we frighten him

CAUSATIVE MATCHING EXERCISE 1

This is a new type of exercise. Instead of being asked to provide an English translation, you are asked to choose one. Not all the verbs in these exercises have appeared in the vocabulary lists. To do the exercises, you need to examine each Nahuatl word to see if you can recognize what elements it is made up of and then use a dictionary for the unfamiliar parts. The component parts can be found in Karttunen's dictionary, Molina's dictionary, and Campbell's morpheme index to Molina's dictionary. Using Molina's dictionary will introduce you to spelling conventions different from the regularized spelling used in these lessons. For help with this, see Appendix 1.

Match the derived causative verbs in the first column with their English meanings in the second column:

1. nēchpāquiltia 5
2. nicquīxtia 1
3. nimitzchīhualtia 4
4. nitētlacaquiltia 7
5. tēchchōctia 3
6. tinēchhuetzquītia 6
7. tinēchpāctia 2

1. I make him leave
2. you make me be happy
3. he makes us cry
4. I make you do it
5. he makes me be happy
6. you make me laugh
7. I inform s.o. of s.t.

CAUSATIVE MATCHING EXERCISE 2

- | | | |
|---------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| 1. annēchchīhualtia | 1 | 1. y'all make me do (it) |
| 2. mitztlachiyaltia | 2 | 2. he makes you stare |
| 3. nēchneltoquītiah | 3 | 3. they make me believe (it) |
| 4. nicnēxtia | 6 | 4. I put them to sleep |
| 5. niquincochītia | 4 | 5. they kill it |
| 6. quimictiah | 5 | 6. I find it, I make it appear |
| 7. timitzitūtiah | 7 | 7. we show it to you |

CAUSATIVE MATCHING EXERCISE 3

- | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---|
| 1. mitztlacualtia | 3 | 1. we frighten him |
| 2. quincholōltiah | 6 | 2. you inform me |
| 3. tēchtlamachtia | 4 | 3. he feeds you |
| 4. tēchtlaitūtia | 5 | 4. she teaches us s.t. |
| 5. ticmauhtiah | 1 | 5. she shows us s.t. |
| 6. tinēchtlacaquiltia | 2 | 6. they chase them, they cause them to flee |

CAUSATIVE MATCHING EXERCISE 4

- | | | |
|----------------------|---|-------------------------|
| 1. mitztlachiyaltia | 2 | 1. he makes us cry |
| 2. nicquīxtia | 4 | 2. he makes you stare |
| 3. nimitzchīhualtia | 5 | 3. they kill it |
| 4. quimictiah | 3 | 4. I make him leave |
| 5. tēchchōctia | 1 | 5. I make you do (it) |
| 6. tinēchpāctia | 7 | 6. you make me laugh |
| 7. tinēchhuetzquītia | 6 | 7. you make me be happy |

CAUSATIVE MATCHING EXERCISE 5

1. annēchchīhualtia
2. nēchneltoquītiah
3. nicnēxtia
4. niquincochītiah
5. quincholōltiah
6. timitzitūtiah

1. I find it
2. they chase them
3. y'all make me do (it)
4. they make me believe (it)
5. we show (it) to you
6. I put them to sleep

CAUSATIVE MATCHING EXERCISE 6

1. mitztlacualtia
2. tēchtlaitūtiah
3. tēchtlamachtiah
4. ticmauhtiah
5. tinēchtlacaquiltiah

1. she shows us s.t.
2. you inform me
3. he feeds you
4. we frighten him
5. he teaches us s.t.

CAUSATIVE MATCHING EXERCISE 7

1. ahmō xiquimmauhtī!
2. xictlacualti!
3. xinēchtlacaquilfīcān!
4. xinēchtlaitītī!
5. xitētlamachfīcān!

1. teach s.t. to s.o. (y'all)!
2. inform me (y'all)!
3. show me s.t.!
4. don't frighten them!
5. feed her!

CAUSATIVE MATCHING EXERCISE 8

1. ahmō xicmictī!
2. ahmō xinēchchōctī!
3. ahmō xiquintlachiyaltī!
4. xicpāctī!
5. xicquīxtī!
6. xinēchitūtī!

1. don't make me cry!
2. don't kill it!
3. don't make them stare!
4. take it out!
5. make him be happy!
6. show (it) to me!

CAUSATIVE MATCHING EXERCISE 9

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. ahmō xicchihualti! | 1. make me be happy (y'all)! |
| 2. ahmō xiquimhuetzquiti! | 2. don't make me cry (y'all)! |
| 3. ahmō xinēchneltoquiti! | 3. don't make me believe (it)! |
| 4. ahmō xinēchchōcūcān | 4. don't make them laugh! |
| 5. xiquincholōlti! | 5. find it! |
| 6. xiccochīfūcān! | 6. chase them! |
| 7. xicnēxti! | 7. don't make him do (it)! |
| 8. xinēchpāquilti! | 8. put her to sleep (y'all)! |

CAUSATIVE MATCHING EXERCISE 10

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. ahmō xinēchcholōlūcān! | 1. make them ascend (y'all)! |
| 2. ahmō xinēchcochīfūcān! | 2. don't put me to sleep (y'all)! |
| 3. ahmō xiccualānālūcān | 3. don't chase me (y'all)! |
| 4. xicmauhfūcān! | 4. don't make him angry (y'all)! |
| 5. xicnēxtūcān! | 5. frighten him (y'all)! |
| 6. xictemohūcān! | 6. make him descend (y'all)! |
| 7. xiquintlehcahūcān! | 7. find it (y'all)! |

CAUSATIVE-IN-SENSE MATCHING EXERCISE 1

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| 1. quipozōniah | 1. you finish it up, you make it end |
| 2. quitēmah | 2. I make it drip |
| 3. quimana | 3. you cure me, you cause me to get better |
| 4. nicchipīnia | 4. she lays it out, she makes it spread out |
| 5. niquimaquia | 5. he loosens them |
| 6. quintoma | 6. they fill it, they make it fill up |
| 7. tictlamia | 7. they boil it, they make it boil |
| 8. tinēchpahtia | 8. I insert them, I make them go in |

CAUSATIVE-IN-SENSE MATCHING EXERCISE 2

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. ahmō xicaqui! | 1. lay them out! |
| 2. ahmō xicpozōñicān! | 2. cut it! make it break! |
| 3. xicchipīni! | 3. make it drip! |
| 4. xiccotōna! | 4. don't insert it! |
| 5. xiquintēma! | 5. destroy it! |
| 6. xicpolo! | 6. don't loosen it! |
| 7. xiquimmana! | 7. don't make it boil (y'all)! |
| 8. ahmō xictoma! | 8. fill them up! |

14. THE BENEFACTIVE/APPLICATIVE FORM OF VERBS

The *applicative* (sometimes called *benefactive*) is the second of three Nahuatl verb derivations we will take up. (The others are *causative* and *nonactive*.) To repeat, when we speak of *derivation*, we mean that after the verb stem is made into a new, more complex form by the addition of a derivational suffix, the inflectional affixes for person, tense, and number are attached to the whole thing. Derivation creates an amplified stem to which inflection then applies.

Just as Nahuatl has several different plural suffixes for nouns, the distribution of which is not very predictable, Nahuatl also has more than one way to form the applicative of verbs. So when we talk of *applicative derivation*, we are talking about a small collection of suffixes, one or another of which will apply to a particular verb stem. The collection of applicative forms of Nahuatl verbs is a bit more arbitrary than the causative group, where the range of different forms is mainly caused by optional phonological processes.

Just as we talk about *pluralization* in the case of the various ways of forming noun plurals, what holds the collection of applicative suffixes together is common meaning. When a verb is made into applicative form, it means that the verb is done WITH RESPECT TO some other person. In English this may translate into 'for', 'to', 'from', 'of', or even 'on', as in the colloquial 'he up and died on me', 'don't give up on me'.¹

The applicative is completely ambiguous about whether this 'with respect to' some person is directed to or from that person:

cui	to take s.t.
cuīliā	to take s.t. for/from s.o.
cuihcuīliā	to steal things from various people, to commit robbery

¹Some grammarians, including one of us, use the word *benefactive* rather than *applicative*, following Spanish grammatical terminology which recognizes that the results of some of these constructions are far from benefiting the recipient of the action. Examples from Spanish include the following sort of constructions:

Me quitó la cartera. He stole my wallet.
Me rasguñó la cara. He scratched my face.

In Nahuatl, applicative constructions with cui 'to take s.t.' are not likely to literally benefit the recipient.

Other decidedly negative applicative verbs include the following:

- (i) *hulacalhuiā* to damage s.t. of s.o.'s
īnāyiliā to hide s.t., s.o. from s.o.
polhuiā to lose s.t. of s.o.'s
tzitzquiliā to touch, handle s.t. of s.o.'s

Applicative verbs are always transitive. If the basic verb stem is intransitive, then the derived verb has a direct object and takes an object prefix. If the basic verb stem is already transitive, then the derived verb takes two objects. If the basic verb stem is one of the inherently bi-transitive verbs such as *maca* 'to give s.t. to s.o.', then there are three objects. Where there are more than one specific object, the rules for bumping extra object prefixes come into effect.

To make applicative forms from verb stems, one usually adds the suffix *-liā* to the verb stem:

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| <i>caqui</i> | to hear s.t. |
| <i>caquiliā</i> | to understand s.o. (lit: 'to hear s.t. with respect to s.o.') |
| <i>piya</i> | to look after s.t. |
| <i>piyaliā</i> | to look after s.t. for s.o. (lit: 'to look after s.t. with respect to s.o.') |
| <i>māmā</i> | to bear s.t. on one's back |
| <i>māmāliā</i> | to bear s.t. on one's back for s.o.
(lit: to bear s.t. ... with respect to s.o.) |

Sometimes adding *-liā* brings about a change in the last vowel of the verb stem. One of the most common changes is that stem-final *a* changes to *i* (short vowels only):

- | | | |
|---------------------|---|------------------|
| <i>chīhu(a)-liā</i> | > | <i>chīnuiliā</i> |
| <i>chōca-liā</i> | > | <i>chōquiliā</i> |
| <i>zaca-liā</i> | > | <i>zaquiliā</i> |

The spelling changes above involving *c* and *qu* are the familiar Spanish-based spelling conventions, but, just as with causative derivations, sometimes there are also real changes of pronunciation of the stem itself:

- | | | |
|---------------------|---|------------------|
| <i>mōtla-liā</i> | > | <i>mōchiliā</i> |
| <i>quetz(a)-liā</i> | > | <i>quechiliā</i> |

tlāz(a)-liā > tlāxiliā

The verb *cui* 'to take s.t.' is idiosyncratic, because the stem vowel lengthens before the applicative suffix:

cui-liā > cuīliā

Some verbs drop final -y(a):

yōcoy(a)-liā > yōcoliā

Class 3 verbs in -iā (and a few in -oā) drop final ā, but there is no compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, as there is when one forms the future tense or the optative plural:

celiā-liā > celiliā

tēmoā-liā > tēmoliā

Class 3 verbs in which -oā is preceded by l usually drop the whole -oā and add an entirely different applicative suffix -huiā:

piloā-huiā > pilhuiā

xeloā-huiā > xelhuiā

(i)hcuiloā-huiā > (i)hcuilhuiā

Some other verbs that end in -oā drop the -oā and add -al-huiā:

(i)htoā-al-huiā > (i)htalhuiā

yēcoā-al-huiā > yēcalhuiā

For some verbs of this type, the a of al-huiā changes to i:

pachoā-al-huiā > pachilhuiā

ilacatzōā-al-huiā > ilacatzilhuiā

And finally, some verbs use the causative form in place of the applicative:

namaca to sell s.t.

namaquiltiā to sell s.t. to s.o. (not: to make s.o. sell s.t.)

All applicative verbs are transitive and belong to Class 3.

The applicative derivation is *recursive*. This means that you can make a derived applicative from a verb that is already applicative (as you will in using a derived applicative verb honorifically, as we will see in the following chapter) by adding another -liā to it. In fact, one commonly sees verbs ending in:

-li-liā < -liā-liā

-hui-liā < -huiā-liā

If a verb with an applicative ending (or one of these double-applicative endings) is being used honorifically, it will also have the reflexive prefix **mo-**. But suppose a genuinely reflexive verb is used applicatively. How does one distinguish it from an honorific verb? In a real (nonhonorific) reflexive applicative derivation, the reflexive prefix changes to **ne-**:

zōmā to frown in anger (reflex.)

timozōma you frown

tinēchnezōmilia you frown at me

tlātiā to hide s.t., s.o.

ninotlātia I hide (myself)

nicnetlātilia I hide (myself) from him

pechtēca to bow down, to humble oneself (reflex.)

titopechtēcah we bow

timitznepechtēquiliañ we bow to you

CHAPTER 14 EXERCISES

BENEFACTIVE/APPLICATIVE RECOGNITION EXERCISE

Give the English translations of the following Nahuatl verb forms:

nitētlacaquilia

nimitztlacuālia

tinēchtlapia^ulia

nimitzhuetzquilia

tinēchchoquilia

mitzcōhuilia

anquintlapācah

mitzcuilia

titētlah^tl^acalhuia^h

niquin namaquilia

i.e., niquinnamaquilia

quitequilia

tiquintzatzilia

anquitēcaquilia

tiquin t^lazaquilia

titēchnepechtēquilia

anquimpālia

nimitztlapiyalia

tinēchtequilia

quintlacelilia

nictēinayilia

ticōyilia

tamēchnōchilia

nictēmāmālia

anquimpāhuaxilia

quitlatzīt^zquilia

quitlāxilia

nimitz^xelhuia

mitztlapolhuia

tinēchhuetzquilia

tiquin tēht^lhuia

BENEFACTIVE/APPLICATIVE PRODUCTION EXERCISE

Give the Nahuatl for the following English phrases:

I laugh at you
we shout to them
I understand s.t. s.o. says
he cuts (it) for her
you take care of s.t. for me
you cry over me
they buy (it) for me
y'all launder s.t. for them
she takes (it) from you
I sell s.t. to them
I eat s.t. of yours
y'all understand what s.o. says
you bow to them
you dye (it) for them
I take care of s.t. for you
we damage s.t. of s.o.'s
you work for me
they receive s.t. from them
I hide s.t. from him
you shell it for her
we call (him) for y'all
I carry it for s.o.
we carry something for them
y'all cook (it) for them
they handle s.t. of his
she causes her to abort
I divide (it) with you
she loses s.t. of yours
you laugh at me
we tell them about s.o.
y'all finish s.t. for us

BENEFACTIVE/APPLICATIVE MATCHING EXERCISE 1

Match the ~~passive~~ verbs in the first column with their English meanings in the second column:

- | | |
|---------------------|--|
| 1. nēchtomilīzqueh | 1. they will loosen it (clothing) for me |
| 2. nimitznāmoyālīz | 2. I loosened it (clothing) for you |
| 3. nitēānilia | 3. he took care of it for us |
| 4. ōmitzāmilih | 4. you stole it from me |
| 5. ōnimitztomilih | 5. you will take care of s.t. for s.o. |
| 6. ōtēchpiyalih | 6. I hunt for s.o. ² |
| 7. ōtinēchnāmoyālīh | 7. I will steal it from you |
| 8. titētłapiyalīz | 8. he hunted for you |

BENEFACTIVE/APPLICATIVE MATCHING EXERCISE 2

- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| 1. mitzcuepilia | 1. I will tell him his faults to his face |
| 2. nēchtūlmahcopīnīlīz | 2. they returned it to us |
| 3. nictēcotōnilia | 3. he shared it with me ³ |
| 4. niquīxmanilīz | 4. I removed (men's) clothing from you ⁴ |
| 5. ōnēchcotōnilih | 5. I share it with s.o. ⁵ |
| 6. ōnimitztūlmahcopīnīlih | 6. she tells s.o. his faults to his face |
| 7. ōtēchcuepilihqueh | 7. he will remove (men's) clothing from me |
| 8. quitēīxmanilia | 8. he returns it to you |

²Molina glosses this benefactive/applicative form as 'to beat the woods for others to hunt'.

³Literally: he broke it off for me.

⁴The choice of verb here and in 7 implies that the garment is snug.

⁵Literally: I break it off for s.o.

BENEFACTIVE/APPLICATIVE MATCHING EXERCISE 3

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. nēchnēxtīlīz | 1. you snatched it away from me |
| 2. nimitzcaquiztīlīz | 2. you will offer s.t. to us |
| 3. ōmitznēxtīlīhqueh | 3. he explains s.t. to s.o. |
| 4. ōtinēchcuihcūlīh | 4. he snatches it away from s.o. |
| 5. quitēcuihcūlīa | 5. they revealed it to you |
| 6. tētlamanīlīa | 6. he will reveal it to me |
| 7. tētlacaquiztīlīa | 7. I will explain it to you |
| 8. titēchtlamaniīlīz | 8. he offers s.t. to s.o. |

BENEFACTIVE/APPLICATIVE MATCHING EXERCISE 4

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| 1. nēchtlatamachīhuīlīa | 1. I will forget what you did |
| 2. nimitzilcāhuiīlīz | 2. they prayed for us |
| 3. nitētlatlātlaughtīlīa | 3. he measures s.t. for me |
| 4. ōnīctlamelāhuiīlīh | 4. we measured s.t. for you |
| 5. ōtēchtlatlātlaughtīlīhqueh | 5. they will explain s.t. to us ⁶ |
| 6. ōtīmitztlatamachīhuiīlīhqueh | 6. you forget what s.o. did |
| 7. tēchtlamelāhuiīlīzqueh | 7. I pray for s.o. |
| 8. tictēīlcāhuīlīa | 8. I explained s.t. to him ⁷ |

⁶Literally: they will straighten s.t. for us.

⁷Literally: I straightened s.t. for him.

BENEFACTIVE/APPLICATIVE MATCHING EXERCISE 5

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| 1. nictlazōhuiñiz | 1. he spread s.t. out for you |
| 2. nitētlacēhuiñiz | 2. you weep for me |
| 3. ōmitztlazōhuilih | 3. they will buy it for us |
| 4. ōnēchtlacēhuilih | 4. I bought s.t. for you |
| 5. ōnimitztlacēhuilih | 5. I will spread s.t. out for him |
| 6. quichōquifizqueh | 6. he did put out my fire ⁸ |
| 7. tēchcōhuiñizqueh | 7. they will weep for him |
| 8. tinēchchōquilia | 8. I will put out s.o.'s fire ⁹ |

BENEFACTIVE/APPLICATIVE MATCHING EXERCISE 6

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| 1. nimitzilnāmiquilia | 1. you heard what s.o. said |
| 2. niquintlahtōlcaquiliz | 2. she remembered what we did |
| 3. nitēixhuetzquiliz | 3. I remember what you did |
| 4. nitētlatzintoquilia | 4. you smiled at him |
| 5. ōmitztlatzintoquilih | 5. I will hear what they say |
| 6. ōtēchilnāmiquilih | 6. he inquired into your life ¹⁰ |
| 7. ōtūtēlahtōlcaquilih | 7. I inquire into s.o.'s life ¹¹ |
| 8. ōtiqūixhuetzquilih | 8. I will smile at s.o. |

⁸Literally: he cooled s.t. off for me.

⁹Literally: I will cool s.t. off for s.o.

¹⁰Literally: he pursued your foundation (a rather psychoanalytic turn of phrase).

¹¹Literally: I pursue the foundation of s.o.

BENEFACTIVE/APPLICATIVE MATCHING EXERCISE 7

- | | |
|----------------------------|--|
| 1. nitētzahtzilīz | 1. they touched his (private) parts ¹² |
| 2. ōmitzhuelcaquilīh | 2. you hear s.t. from him approvingly |
| 3. ōnimitzahxilīh | 3. he touches s.o.'s (private) parts ¹³ |
| 4. ōquitlatzītzaquilīhqueh | 4. you shouted at me |
| 5. ōtinēchtzahtzilīh | 5. he heard it from you approvingly |
| 6. tētlatzītzaquilīa | 6. he stalks/captures s.t. for s.o. |
| 7. tētlahxilīa | 7. I stalked/captured it for you |
| 8. tictlahuelcaquilīa | 8. I will shout at s.o. |

BENEFACTIVE/APPLICATIVE MATCHING EXERCISE 8

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| 1. nictlātōyāhuilīa | 1. you poured s.t. for me to drink ¹⁴ |
| 2. nimitztlamātataquilīz | 2. I pour s.t. for him to drink ¹⁵ |
| 3. nimitztlacāhuilīz | 3. he lays out s.t. for s.o. |
| 4. ōnēchtlamātataquilīh | 4. we will lay out s.t. for them |
| 5. ōquicāhuilīh | 5. I will seek s.t. from you diligently ¹⁶ |
| 6. ōtinēchtlātōyāhuilīh | 6. he left it to her |
| 7. tētlatēquilīa | 7. I will leave s.t. to you |
| 8. tiquintlatēquilīzqueh | 8. he sought s.t. from me diligently ¹⁷ |

¹²Literally: they took hold of s.t. of his.

¹³Literally: he took hold of s.t. of s.o.'s.

¹⁴Literally: you threw s.t. in the stream for me.

¹⁵Literally: I throw s.t. in the stream for him.

¹⁶Literally: I will scratch s.t. from you by hand.

¹⁷Literally: he scratched s.t. from me by hand.

BENEFACTIVE/APPLICATIVE MATCHING EXERCISE 9

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| 1. xictomili! | 1. remove his snug clothing! |
| 2. xicnāmoyāli! | 2. share s.t. with s.o.! ¹⁸ |
| 3. xictlaīxmanili! | 3. steal it from him! |
| 4. xictilmahcopīnili! | 4. tell him s.t. to his face! |
| 5. xinēchcucupili! | 5. beat the woods for others (s.o.) to hunt! |
| 6. xiquimpiyali! | 6. loosen it for him! |
| 7. xitēāmili! | 7. take care of it for them! ¹⁹ |
| 8. xitētlacotōnili! | 8. return it to me! |

BENEFACTIVE/APPLICATIVE MATCHING EXERCISE 10

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. xicnēxtili! | 1. reveal it to him! |
| 2. xictlatamachīhuili! | 2. explain s.t. to me! |
| 3. xinēchtalamanili! | 3. pray for me! |
| 4. xinēchtamelāhuili! | 4. forget what she did! |
| 5. xinēchtlatlātlauhuili! | 5. snatch s.t. away from s.o.! |
| 6. xiquilcāhuili! | 6. offer me s.t.! |
| 7. xitētlacuihcuili! | 7. explain it to us! |
| 8. xitēchtlacaquiztili! | 8. measure s.t. for him! |

¹⁸Literally: break s.t. off for s.o.!

¹⁹This can also mean 'take care of it from them, protect it from them'.

BENEFACTIVE/APPLICATIVE MATCHING EXERCISE 11

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| 1. xictlatz̄intoquili! | 1. remember what I did! |
| 2. xictlacōhuili | 2. cry for them! |
| 3. xictlatz̄itzquili! | 3. inquire into his life! |
| 4. xinēchtlacēhuili! | 4. listen to my words! |
| 5. xinēchilnāmiquili! | 5. buy s.t. for him! |
| 6. xinēchtlahtōlcaquili! | 6. put out s.t. (fire) for me! ²⁰ |
| 7. xiquinchōquili! | 7. smile at s.o.! |
| 8. xitēixhuetzquili! | 8. touch his (private) parts! |

BENEFACTIVE/APPLICATIVE MATCHING EXERCISE 12

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1. xictlātōyāhuili! | 1. cry for me! |
| 2. xictlahuelcaquili! | 2. seek s.t. from him diligently! |
| 3. xictlamātataquili! | 3. leave it to me! |
| 4. xinēhcāhuili! | 4. pour s.t. for him! |
| 5. xinēchtzāhtzili! | 5. shout to me! |
| 6. xinēchtēquili! | 6. lay it down for me! |
| 7. xinēhcōhuili! | 7. buy it for me! |
| 8. xinēchchōquili! | 8. listen to s.t. from him approvingly! |

²⁰Literally: cool s.t. off for me!

15. HONORIFIC SPEECH

All languages have special forms for expressing deference and politeness. In English we say "thank you" and "please," "sir" and "m'am," and we avoid direct requests. Spanish, and most other European languages restrict use of the second-person singular pronoun to family and intimate friends and use second-person plural or third-person forms for addressing less familiar people or people of higher rank. Spanish *usted* is a contraction of *vuestra merced* 'your (pl.) grace'. Some languages have much more elaborate systems of polite speech, which involve special vocabulary and special endings for words. Japanese, Korean, Tibetan, and other Asian and Pacific languages are known for their elaborate systems of *honorifics*.¹

Nahuatl has several ways of referring to persons or things toward which the speaker wishes to show deference, respect, affection, or honor. Aside from epithets and metaphors referring to the preciousness and power of individuals, there are special forms of verbs and special endings for nouns. With virtually no exceptions, these are used with second- and third-person forms. To use first-person honorific forms would be counter to the very motive of the system, which is displacement of oneself with regard to the person or thing spoken to or about.

VERBS

Applicative and causative verbs are used reflexively to mark honorific speech. Literally, one maintains the polite fiction that 'you-H do (the action of the verb) for your own benefit' or 'you-H make yourself do (the action of the verb)':

quicui he/she takes it

quimocuīlia he/she-H takes it

(literally: 'he/she takes it for his/her own benefit')

ticochi you sleep

timocochītia you-H sleep (literally: 'you make yourself sleep')

¹ These languages are not of common ancestry, so we are not dealing with a familial relationship. Highly developed systems for deferring to class, rank, age, sex, etc., are widespread in languages of the world.

The signal of honorific usage is the prefix *mo-*. The first person reflexive prefixes *no-* and *to-* are excluded from honorific usage, since one does not express deference to oneself. The presence of *mo-* by itself, however, does not identify an honorific construction. (A logician would say that it is a *necessary* but not *sufficient* condition.) Having registered a *mo-*, one must then pay attention to what suffixes are present. Here are some examples, of which just the last is honorific. The second example is not honorific, despite the *mo-*, because the *mo-* is not paired with a causative or applicative suffix.

<i>cāhu(a)</i>	to remain	(when used reflexively)
<i>mo</i> <i>cāhuah</i>	they remain	(plain reflexive)
<i>tiquinnecāhualtia</i>	you get them to remain	(causative reflexive)
<i>tinēchmo</i> <i>cāhualtia</i>	you-H leave me behind	(causative honorific, not reflexive)

To make a genuinely reflexive verb honorific as well, one uses the suffix *-tzīnoā* (added to the preterite stem) instead of the applicative or causative:

<i>mo</i> <i>cāhuah</i>	they remain
<i>mo</i> <i>cāhu</i> <i>tzīnoah</i>	they-H remain
<i>timopechtēca</i>	you bow down
<i>timopechtēca</i> <i>tzīnoa</i>	you-H bow down

Thus, when one encounters *mo-*, one looks to see if it is paired with an applicative or causative suffix. If it is paired with *-ltiā* (or any of its contractions), *-liā*, *-huiā*, or *-tzīnoā*, the whole construction is honorific and not really reflexive at all. If *mo-* is paired with *-tzīnoā*, it is an honorific reflexive construction. (How one ever manages to say ANYTHING politely in Nahuatl is astounding, but Nahuatl speakers are adept at it.)

- Intransitive verbs used honorifically most often (but not always) take a causative suffix.
- Transitive verbs used honorifically most often (but not always) take an applicative suffix.
- Reflexive verbs used honorifically take the suffix *-tzīnoā*.

Plain:

Honorific:

<i>chōcah</i>	they weep	<i>mo</i> <i>chōca</i> <i>ltiah</i>	they-H weep
<i>nemi</i>	he/she lives	<i>mo</i> <i>nemī</i> <i>tia</i>	he/she-H lives
<i>titequiti</i>	you work	<i>ti</i> <i>motequiti</i> <i>lia</i>	you-H work

ticmaca	you give (it) to him/her	tic <u>moma</u> quilia	you-H give (it) to him/her
tlapiya	he/she keeps s.t.	motlapiy <u>alia</u>	he/she-H keeps s.t.
anquipiloah	y'all hang it up	anquimopilhuia <u>h</u>	y'all-H hang it up
timopectēca	you bow down	timopectēquit <u>zīnoa</u>	you-H bow down
mihtōtia <u>h</u>	they dance	mihtōtiht <u>zīnoa</u> h	they-H dance

ATTITUDINAL SUFFIXES

There is a set of five elements that are added to the end of noun stems to indicate attitudes toward what the nouns refer to. By far the most used of these five is *-tzīn*, which is used both as an honorific marker, indicating respect, and as a diminutive.

In place names the *-tzīn* form usually indicates a new settlement in the area of an older one, such as *Tenāntzīnco*, which is near the ancient site of *Tenāncō*. (These towns are known in Spanish as Tenancingo and Tenango respectively.²)

The length of the vowel in this ending is problematical. In Carochi's grammar, it is short, and the honorific ending contrasts with the stem of the noun *tzīn-tli* 'base, foundation, buttocks', but in modern Nahuatl, the vowel is long, and there is no contrast. There are a number of place-name glyphs for locations that end in *-tzīnco* which include a crouching human body from the waist down, indicating that *tzīntli* could be used to suggest the sound of the attitudinal ending. Here we will treat the vowel of *-tzīn* as long.

The full set of these attitudinal elements is:

-tzīn(-tli)	reverend (honorific); dear little (affectionate diminutive)
-tōn(-tli)	small, insignificant (negative diminutive)
-pīl	small (affectionate diminutive, used with children) ³
-pōl	large, overgrown (negative) ⁴
-zol(-li)	old, worn out (used only with inanimate nouns) ⁵

²Their names are not derived from an honorific form of the word for 'mother', as you might expect. Notice that the first element has a short vowel; it isn't *tē-* 'someone's'. They are derived from *tenāmitl* 'wall'. Not only does the attested vowel length tell us that, but a visit to the site will show that the original Tenango was a walled fortress.

³This contrasts with the element *-pil* 'appendage' that has a short vowel and occurs in words like *mahpilli* 'finger', *xopilli* 'toe', and *nenepilli* 'tongue'.

⁴Just as there is honorific *-tzīnoā* associated with attitudinal *-tzīn*, there is also a pejorative verb ending *-pōloā* associated with *-pōl*, but their frequency of use is low compared with the ubiquity of *-tzīn/-tzīnoā*.

⁵Notice that the vowel of *-zol* is short.

Examples:

Xuantzīn	dear Juan
tlahpaltzīntli	marriageable young man
tlahpaltōntli	insignificant fellow
tlahpalpōl	big oaf
piltzīntli	dear little child
piltōntli	miserable little child
tōtōpilli	nice little bird
tōtōtōntli	worthless little bird
cactli	shoe
caczolli	worn-out shoe
caczolchīuhqui	one who repairs shoes

In the case of -tzīn, -tōn, and -zol, if the noun one of these is attached to normally takes an absolutive suffix, the whole construction will take one too:

cihuā-tl	woman	cihuā-tzīn-tli	revered woman, little woman
oquich-tli	man	oquichtōn-tli	worthless man
āma-tl	paper	āmazol-li	worn out paper
BUT			
ilama	old woman	ilamatzīn	revered old woman, little old woman
chichi	dog	chichitōn	puppy, worthless little dog

According to Carochi, -pōl and -pīl don't take the absolutive suffix, even if the noun by itself would. However, the word Mexican historians use in the form "calpul" or "calpulli" meaning 'ward of an indigenous community' seems to be formed with -pōl and does take the absolutive suffix:

cal-li	house	cal-pōl-li
--------	-------	------------

These attitudinal elements are not exactly suffixes (although we have called them that for convenience), because they have their own plural forms. The plural suffix -tin is added to their special reduplicated plural forms (in the case of constructions with animate nouns):

Singular:Plural:-t_zin(-tli)-t_zit_zin(-tin)

-tōn(-tōn)

-tōtōn(-tin)

-pīl

-pīpīl

-pōl

-popōl

(There is no plural form for -zol, since it is only used with inanimate nouns.)

Notice that the plural reduplication is different from the plural reduplication of noun stems, because the vowel in the reduplication is short, not long.⁶ The plural suffix -tin is used if the singular form takes -tli. However, in the absence of -tin, the reduplication itself is sufficient to indicate plurality. Possessed plural animate nouns take plural -huān.

Examples:cuāuh_tli

eagle

cuāuht_zintli

noble eagle

cuāuht_zit_zintin

noble eagles

cuāuht_zit_zine

oh, noble eagles! (vocative)

tucuāuht_zit_zinhuān

our noble eagles

chichi

dog

chichitōn

puppy

chichitotōn

puppies

tochichitotōnhuān

your puppies

cahuāyoh

horse

cahuāyohpōl

big (useless) horse

cahuāyohpopōl

big (useless) horses

amocahuāyohpopōluān

y'all's big (useless) horses

The noun stem pil, which means 'child' when possessed and 'noble person' in other contexts, behaves exceptionally with respect to attitudinal endings to. Pilt_zintli 'dear

⁶On folio 8r of the 1645 edition of Carochi's grammar, the first four elements are illustrated with the noun stem pil meaning 'child'. For the case of the affectionate diminutive, this leads to the sequences -pil-pīl (singular) and -pīpil-pipīl- (plural). Carochi omits the possessive prefix and possessive plural suffix -huān in his examples.

child'and *piltōntli* 'miserable, helpless child' are not possessed but nonetheless have the 'child' sense rather than the 'noble person' sense. Moreover, when these two words ARE possessed, the reduplicated attitudinal endings come AFTER *-huān*, instead of before it:

<i>īpilhuāntzitzīn</i>	his dear children
<i>īpilhuāntotōn</i>	his miserable little children, his kids

With respect to *pil-li* 'noble person', *-tzīn* also behaves exceptionally. In the vocative (the form used for direct address, as in 'oh, noble eagles' above), *-tzīn* totally reduplicates: *piltzīntzīne* 'oh, noble person(s)' instead of "*piltzīne*" (singular), "*piltzitzīne*" (plural). No other forms made with *-tzīn* or any of the other elements in this set behave this way. This exceptional behavior may have to do with disambiguation of 'child' from 'noble person'.

One might think that since the honorific apparatus of Nahuatl is so different from anything in Spanish, over the long colonial and post-colonial period of Mexico's history it would have eroded away or been abandoned. But on the contrary, in some Nahuatl-speaking communities today it is even more elaborate than it appears in sixteenth-century documents. Jane Hill and Kenneth Hill have written extensively about honorific speech in towns in the Puebla/Tlaxcala area. For more information about the role honorific speech plays in modern Nahua society, please consult their book *Speaking Mexicano*, University of Arizona Press, 1986, pp. 144-155.

CHAPTER 15 EXERCISES

HONORIFIC VERB RECOGNITION EXERCISE

Give English translations for these Nahuatl verbs:

tēchmomāmālia

amēchmotquiliah

timahxītia

ammomiquiliah

quimonehtoquītia

tiquimmonequiltia

Xuantzīn quimocualtia

quimmotēmoliah

quimotequitililia

ammoyōlītiah

ticmomaquilia

mocochītiah

nēchmotemohuiliah

mitzmotlehcahuilia

mēuhtzīnoah

timonehnmītia

Mariatzīn mocāuhtzinoa

tēchtlazohtlaliah

HONORIFIC VERB PRODUCTION EXERCISE

Give the Nahuatl for these English phrases:

he-H appears

y'all-H take care of them

they-H want it

you-H do it

she-H knows it

they-H return

y'all-H weep

he-H does it for us
 y'all-H frighten us (make us be afraid)
 they-H dance
 you-H chase them
 they-H kill it
 she-H feeds us

ATTITUDINAL SUFFIX RECOGNITION EXERCISE

Give appropriate English translations of the following Nahuatl nouns:

metzīntli
 tepētōtōntin
 tēteōtzitzīntin
 coyōpōl
 ācapōlco
 cahuāyohpīl
 teōpixcātzīn (< teōpixqui)
 cuēzōlli
 xōctōntli
 xōchipīl⁷
 metlapōl
 chiquihuizōlli
 tlāltzīntli
 moxocpīl
 nopilhuāntzitzīn
 amotlahtōltzīn
 tonāntzīn totahtzīn
 Xuantzīn
 nocihtzīn

Write ten more nouns with attitudinal suffixes and give their equivalents in English.

⁷This is different from the name of the Aztec deity Xōchipilli. Observe the difference in vowel length.

16. THE NONACTIVE FORM OF THE VERB

AGENTLESS PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Grammarians contrast *active* and *passive* sentences. The use of the passive serves to focus attention on the recipient of the action, which would, in an active sentence, usually be represented by the direct object of the sentence. Consequently, use of the passive downplays the role of the agent, or doer of the action. Compare the following examples:

niccua	I eat it
cualo	it is eaten

ticchīhua	you do it
chīhualo	it is done

nicāltia	I bathe him
ālūilo	he is bathed

qui	he drinks it
īhua	it is drunk

niccui	I grab it
cuihua	it is grabbed

Nahuatl grammarians sometimes call the verb form in the second of each of these sample pairs the *passive*, but it differs from English passives in that the *agent* (i.e., whoever actually did whatever was done) cannot be expressed:

<u>English active:</u>	He saw you.
<u>English passive:</u>	You were seen by him.
<u>English agentless passive:</u>	You were seen.

The English agentless passive is very handy for evasion of responsibility. Cooky jars can be broken and funds embezzled without attribution.

To make it clear that the Nahuatl construction is not exactly like the English one, we will use the term *nonactive* rather than *passive*.

In Nahuatl, nonactive derivations of transitive verbs can correspond ONLY to English agentless passives. There can be no 'by ...' phrase in the construction. Otherwise, the Nahuatl nonactive is like the English passive in that what was the object of the active sentence becomes the subject of the nonactive sentence:

ni- <u>mitz</u> -itta	I see <u>you</u>
<u>ti</u> -tta-lo	<u>you</u> are seen

A further restriction on Nahuatl nonactives is that the corresponding active sentence would have to have a specific object prefix. It couldn't be a construction with *tla-* or *tē-*, because there are no corresponding Nahuatl nonspecific subject prefixes they could correspond to:

mitz-itta	he/she/it sees you	>	ti-tta-lo	you are seen
BUT NOT				
tē-tta	he/she/it sees s.o.	>	??-itta-lo	someone is seen

IMPERSONAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Another difference between Nahuatl nonactive derivation and English passive formation is that in English only transitive verbs may be made into passives:

he saw you	>	you were seen (by him)
BUT NOT		
he slept	>	??

However, intransitive Nahuatl verbs CAN undergo the nonactive derivation. The sense of these derived forms is that the action was done by some nonspecific agent, by people in general, by everybody. In other words, the nonactive derived forms of intransitive verbs in Nahuatl are *impersonal*:

<u>Active</u> :	mayāna-h	they are hungry
<u>Nonactive</u> :	mayāna-lo	people are hungry, hunger is going on

To repeat, the nonactive form of Nahuatl transitive verbs corresponds to the English agentless passive. The nonactive form of Nahuatl intransitive verbs corresponds to the English impersonal (which is pretty cumbersome—many languages do it more elegantly than English).

NONACTIVE FORMATION

The nonactive suffixes are **-lō** and **-hua**. All nonactive derived verbs are Class 1 invariant vowel stems. To form the preterite singular they add **-c**. Although the final **ō** of **-lō** shortens in word-final position and before **h**, it is clearly long in the preterite plural, the imperfect, etc.

Adding **-lō** to Class 1 and 2 verbs causes no change in their stem vowels:

huīca-lō	>	huīcalō
chīhu(a)-lō	>	chīhualō

With Class 3 verbs, the final **ā** drops before **-lō**, and the preceding vowel undergoes compensatory lengthening:

āltiā-lō	>	āl <u>ī</u> lō
choloā-lō	>	chol <u>ō</u> lō

Class 4 verbs add **-lō**. The verb **cuā** 'to eat' idiosyncratically has a short vowel before **-lō**:

cuā-lō	>	cualō
māmā-lō	>	māmālō

Loss of **il**: in some verbs with the suffix **-lō**, the **l** drops out and takes preceding **i** with it. The **i** may be either the stem vowel or the result of **a > i**:¹

tequi-lō	>	tecō
caqu(i)-lō	>	cacō
nequ(i)-lō	>	necō ²
pāc(a)-lō	>	(pāquilō) > pācō

¹ Compare this to **-il**-loss in causative derivations.

² All the examples in this first group are Class 2 verb stems, so one could have an alternative analysis here, namely, that the stem vowel drops before **-lō** just as it does in the preterite, and the **l** then also drops out, because Nahuatl does not tolerate the consonant sequence **/kl/**. One could extend this analysis to **ān(a)** and **tlāz(a)** in the following examples as well, since they are also Class 2 verb stems that function as consonant stems in some contexts, and one can say that Nahuatl does not tolerate **/nl/** and **/sl/** either. But problems for this analysis arise, because some verbs that end up with **-ō** rather than **-lō** are Class 1 verb stems that do not lose their final vowels in other contexts: **cuica**, **itta**, **huetzca**, etc. Since **il**-loss is also to be seen in the causative and in shortened forms of nouns derived with **-liz-tli** (**chōcaliztli**, **chōquiliztli**, **chōquiztli**), thinking of this process as **il**-loss is somewhat more general. Choose whichever way you find most helpful in thinking about this process.

ān(a)	>	(ānilō)	>	ānō
(i)ttā-lō	>	(ittūlō)	>	ittō ³
cuīca-lō	>	(cuīquilō)	>	cuīcō
huetzca-lō	>	(huetzquilō)	>	huetzcō

There may be a consonant change in the stem as well:

tlāz(a)-lō	>	(tlāzilō)	>	tlāxō ⁴
mat(i)-lō			>	machō
(i)hnecu(i)-lō			>	(i)hnecō

Verbs that end in o/ō take the suffix **-hua**:

zō-hua	>	zōhua
on-o ⁵ <i>hua</i>	>	onohua
temō-hua	>	temōhua

When the impersonal suffix **-hua** is added to verbs of Classes 1 and 2 that end in i, the i is always lengthened:

cui-hua	>	cuīhua
quēmi-hua	>	quēmīhua

The consonant may also change before this lengthened stem vowel:

ahci-hua	>	ahxīhua
----------	---	---------

For stems that end in ī to begin with, **-hua** is used:

ī-hua	>	īhua
pī-hua	>	pīhua

A few verbs take **-o-hua**, with the o replacing the stem vowel:

chōca-o-hua	>	chōcohua
nem(i)-o-hua	>	nemohua
miqu(i)-o-hua	>	micohua

³The form (i)ttalō is also used.

⁴The form tlāzalō is also used.

⁵This is the preterite-as-present verb that means 'to be lying stretched out'.

There may be a change of stem consonant before **-o-hua**:

huetz(i)-o-hua	>	hue <u>ch</u> ohua
quī z(a)-o-hua	>	quī <u>x</u> ohua

Even fewer verbs take **-lohua**. These are suppletive irregular verbs:

cah	yelohua
yā	huīlohua

A very few verbs have the option of **-hua** or **-hualō**:

cui	>	cūihua, cūihualō
-----	---	------------------

How does one know which nonactive suffix to use? The more common of the two basic suffixes is **-lō**. It is almost always the one used with transitive verbs ending in **i** or **a**. Moreover, it is used with all verbs of Classes 3 and 4.

The **-hua** suffix is added to verbs ending in **o**, **ō** and **ī**. When it is added to verb stems ending in short **a** or **i**, it replaces the stem vowel with **-o-** or, if the vowel is **i**, the alternative is to lengthen it to **ī**:

Verbs in **o**, **ō**:

zō	zōhua
on-o	onohua
temō	temōhua

Verbs in **ī**:

ī	īhua
pī	pīhua

Replacement of stem vowel with **-o-** before **-hua**:

chōca	chōcohua
quīz(a)	quīxohua
huetz(i)	huechohua
miqu(i)	micohua
nem(i)	nemohua

Lengthening of stem i:

cui	cūihua
cochi	cochīhua
ahcī	ahxīhua

Hence, verb stems ending in *o*, *ō*, and *ī* will always take *-hua*. Class 3 and 4 verbs will always take *-lō*. For verbs ending in *a* and *i* one can't predict which suffix will be used, although the better bet would be *-lō*.

NOUNS DERIVED FROM THE NONACTIVE FORM OF THE VERB

There are several major types of derived nouns based on the nonactive, of which we will discuss two here. The first is the class of instrumental nouns, which are made by adding the suffix *-ni* to the nonactive form. The suffix *-ni* refers to customary action. When it is added to an active form of the verb, it usually forms a noun meaning 'one who customarily (verb)s'. Added to the nonactive form of the verb, it means an instrument, 'something that is customarily used to (verb)':

Active:

chōcani	one who customarily weeps
cūcani	singer, one who customarily sings
michnamacani	fishmonger, one who customarily sells fish

Nonactive:

cuahtecōni	instrument for cutting wood	(< tequ(i))
tāmāmālōni	gear for carrying things on one's back	(< māmā)
tēhuītecōni	whip	(< huītequ(i))

The second is the class of location names that refer to places where some action takes place. These are formed by adding locative *-yān* to the nonactive form of the verb:

tēmachfīlōyān	school, place where people are taught	(< machtiā)
tlacualōyān	diningroom, place where s.t. is eaten	(< cuā)
tlacualchīhualōyān	kitchen, place where food is made	(< chīhu(a))
cochīhuayān	bedroom, place where sleeping goes on	(< cochi)

CHAPTER 16 EXERCISES

NONACTIVE VERB RECOGNITION EXERCISE 1

Match the nonactive verbs in the first column with their English meanings in the second column:

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. mētztlī cualō | 1. it is given |
| 2. ninacazcualō | 2. they are called |
| 3. neco | 3. it is sold |
| 4. nināmico | 4. I will be buried |
| 5. namaco | 5. you are carried away by the wind |
| 6. nitōcōz | 6. the moon gets eclipsed |
| 7. nōtzaloh | 7. you will be eaten by worms |
| 8. āno | 8. I have an ear ailment |
| 9. nimahuizpolōlo | 9. you have decayed teeth |
| 10. ticualihitōlo | 10. it is grabbed |
| 11. tlāzalo | 11. they get chilled |
| 12. tlāxo | 12. I get slandered |
| 13. maco | 13. it is wanted |
| 14. tēcatoco ⁶ | 14. you are praised |
| 15. tocuilcualōz | 15. I am met |
| 16. titlancualō | 16. it is thrown away |
| 17. cēhuīloh | 17. it is thrown away |

⁶tēcatoco < ēcatoca

NONACTIVE VERB RECOGNITION EXERCISE 2

Match the Nahuatl verbs in the first column with their English meanings in the second column:

- | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. icxo | 1. it is done |
| 2. chīhualo | 2. they are stood up |
| 3. quetzaloh | 3. it is drunk |
| 4. cuīhuah | 4. they will be done |
| 5. ahxīhua | 5. they are grabbed |
| 6. ittalo | 6. he is dressed |
| 7. ihtlanīlo | 7. it is grabbed or reached |
| 8. āyihuazqueh | 8. it will be ground |
| 9. quēmīhua | 9. it is known |
| 10. macho | 10. you will be loved |
| 11. itto | 11. it is seen |
| 12. titlazohtlalōz | 12. it is seen |
| 13. nipehpenōz | 13. I will be chosen |
| 14. tipolōlōz | 14. it is requested |
| 15. texōz | 15. it is stepped on |
| 16. īhua | 16. you will be destroyed |

NONACTIVE VERB RECOGNITION EXERCISE 3

Match the Nahuatl verbs in the first column with their English meanings in the second column:

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. ocuicualōyah | 1. it is requested |
| 2. tlāfīlōz | 2. it is stepped on |
| 3. ōchīhualōya | 3. I will be taught |
| 4. polōlōz | 4. you will be helped |
| 5. tihuītecōz | 5. it will be destroyed |
| 6. ihtlano | 6. it will be washed |
| 7. nimachfīlōz | 7. they are heard |
| 8. ōtūnōtzalōyah | 8. he will be taught |

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| 9. macōzqueh | 9. they will be given |
| 10. iczalo | 10. you will be whipped |
| 11. cacoh | 11. I am given the paper |
| 12. ōnicacōya | 12. it will be hidden |
| 13. ōnēcatocōya | 13. I was being heard |
| 14. tipalēhuīlōz | 14. we were being called |
| 15. pācōz | 15. it was being done |
| 16. machīlōz | 16. I was being carried away by the wind |
| 17. nimaco in āmatl | 17. they were being eaten by worms |
| 18. ōtimahuizpolōlōya | 18. you were being slandered |

NONACTIVE AGENTLESS PASSIVE MATCHING EXERCISE 1

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. chīhualōz | 1. it will be done |
| 2. izcalīlōzqueh | 2. it was said |
| 3. nitelchīhualo | 3. they will be nourished |
| 4. nīxtelolohcohcopīnalōz | 4. you were bidden to drink |
| 5. ōihtōlōc | 5. my eyes will be torn out (removed) |
| 6. ōtītlāhuāncānōtzalōc | 6. I am despised |
| 7. titēnēhualōz | 7. he has good repute |
| 8. tlācaihtōlo | 8. you will be mentioned |

NONACTIVE AGENTLESS PASSIVE MATCHING EXERCISE 2

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. ancōānōtzaloh | 1. he was snared |
| 2. huītecōzqueh | 2. you will be hired |
| 3. ōālīlōc | 3. they will be beaten |
| 4. ōcholōlīlōc | 4. he was chased |
| 5. ōtzonhuāzhuīlōc | 5. we will be awaited |
| 6. tīchiyalōzqueh | 6. y'all are invited to a feast |
| 7. tītlāquēhualōz | 7. they are pounded |
| 8. tzotzonaloh | 8. he was bathed |

NONACTIVE AGENTLESS PASSIVE MATCHING EXERCISE 3

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. antehtepachōlōzqueh | 1. y'all will be stoned |
| 2. cochīfīlōz | 2. you will be helped |
| 3. nānchīhualōz | 3. we will be forgotten |
| 4. ōnicalaquilōc | 4. I was imprisoned |
| 5. ōnicaquīfīlōc | 5. she will be made a mother |
| 6. ʔtēmpachōlōzqueh | 6. he will be put to sleep |
| 7. tīlcāhualōzqueh | 7. I was notified |
| 8. tīpalēhuīlōz | 8. they were bribed |

NONACTIVE AGENTLESS PASSIVE MATCHING EXERCISE 4

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------------------|
| 1. ōahxīhuaqueh | 1. it was hidden |
| 2. ōnimacōc | 2. you will be accompanied |
| 3. ōtlāfīlōc | 3. I was given |
| 4. pācōzqueh | 4. they will be washed |
| 5. tātōcōzqueh | 5. you will be thrown |
| 6. tīhuīcōz | 6. we will be drowned |
| 7. tītīlāxōz | 7. they were seized |

NONACTIVE AGENTLESS PASSIVE MATCHING EXERCISE 5

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. īhuaz | 1. it will be drunk |
| 2. neco | 2. I will be buried |
| 3. nitōcōz | 3. I will be seen |
| 4. nittalōz | 4. I will be seen |
| 5. nittōz | 5. they were thrown |
| 6. ōtlāxōqueh | 6. we will be destroyed |
| 7. ōtlāzalōqueh | 7. it is wanted |
| 8. tīpolōlōzqueh | 8. they were thrown |

NONACTIVE AGENTLESS PASSIVE MATCHING EXERCISE 6

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------------|
| 1. caco | 1. it will be ground |
| 2. namaco | 2. it is sold |
| 3. nimālōz | 3. it was eaten |
| 4. nipehpenalōz | 4. I will be hunted |
| 5. ōpehpenalōc | 5. it was chosen |
| 6. ōcualōc | 6. I will be chosen |
| 7. texōz | 7. it is heard |

NONACTIVE AGENTLESS PASSIVE MATCHING EXERCISE 7

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| 1. itcōz | 1. it will be carried |
| 2. ōittōqueh | 2. I will have my teeth cleaned ⁷ |
| 3. nitlanyēctilōz | 3. they were seen |
| 4. ōitcōqueh | 4. it will be cut |
| 5. ōnitēnāxhuīlōc | 5. I was bribed |
| 6. ōnitēnpachōlōc | 6. we will be invited to a feast |
| 7. tecōz | 7. axin was applied to my lips |
| 8. ticōānōtzalōzqueh | 8. they were carried |

NONACTIVE AGENTLESS PASSIVE MATCHING EXERCISE 8

- | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. ihtlanilōz | 1. your fingernails will be torn out |
| 2. ihtlanōz | 2. they were despised |
| 3. nitlācaihtōlo | 3. you will be called, given a name |
| 4. ōtelchihualōqueh | 4. it will be requested |
| 5. tāmoxtmacōz | 5. it will be requested |
| 6. ticuīhuaz | 6. I have good repute |
| 7. titōcāyōfīlōz | 7. you will be given a book |
| 8. tizticohcopīnalōz | 8. you will be captured |

⁷Literally: I will be put right toothwise.

NONACTIVE AGENTLESS PASSIVE MATCHING EXERCISE 9

- | | |
|------------------|------------------------|
| 1. cuīhuaz | 1. they were cut |
| 2. macōzqueh | 2. it was seen |
| 3. ōchīhualōc | 3. we will be met |
| 4. ōittōc | 4. they will be given |
| 5. ōnicuīhuac | 5. I was captured |
| 6. ōtecōqueh | 6. he will be bled |
| 7. tināmicōzqueh | 7. he will be captured |
| 8. zōhuaz | 8. it was done |

NONACTIVE IMPERSONAL MATCHING EXERCISE 1

- | | |
|---------------|-------------------------|
| 1. ahxīhua | 1. there is life |
| 2. ātlīhua | 2. people arrive |
| 3. huetzcōz | 3. people died |
| 4. mayānalo | 4. people will laugh |
| 5. ōmicōhuac | 5. everyone is hungry |
| 6. tlacualōz | 6. there is sorrow |
| 7. tlaōcoyalo | 7. there is drinking |
| 8. yōlīhua | 8. there will be eating |

NONACTIVE IMPERSONAL MATCHING EXERCISE 2

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| 1. huetzquiīlo | 1. there is dancing |
| 2. neātōyāhuīlo | 2. there is occasion for mirth |
| 3. nehtōūlo | 3. there is falling from a crag |
| 4. ōnequehquetzalōc | 4. there was jostling |
| 5. netepehxihuīlo | 5. everyone loves s.o. |
| 6. tētlazohtlalo | 6. there is falling into the river |
| 7. xōchipācōz | 7. there will be rejoicing with flowers |

NONACTIVE IMPERSONAL MATCHING EXERCISE 3

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. calacohuaz | 1. everyone will enter |
| 2. cuīcōya | 2. there will be vomiting |
| 3. nechōquizcuīcafilo | 3. everyone will ascend |
| 4. nehzōtlalo | 4. people make s.t. |
| 5. pācōya | 5. there was rejoicing going on |
| 6. temōhua | 6. people descend |
| 7. tlachīhualo | 7. there were songs of tears |
| 8. tlehcōhuaz | 8. there was singing |

NONACTIVE IMPERSONAL MATCHING EXERCISE 4

- | | |
|------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. chihchalōz | 1. there is ridicule |
| 2. chōcohuaya | 2. there will be drinking |
| 3. necuīcafilōya | 3. everyone looks |
| 4. nemalhuīlōz | 4. there was crying |
| 5. tēchiyalo | 5. everyone waits for s.o. |
| 6. tētelchīhualo | 6. there will be spitting |
| 7. tlachiyalo | 7. one will take care |
| 8. tlatlāhuānōz | 8. there was singing |

NONACTIVE IMPERSONAL MATCHING EXERCISE 5

- | | |
|---------------|---------------------------|
| 1. huechohua | 1. people will live |
| 2. huīlohuac | 2. everyone will see s.o. |
| 3. necāhualōz | 3. people went |
| 4. nemohuaz | 4. everyone falls down |
| 5. pēhualo | 5. everyone will be |
| 6. quīxohuaz | 6. there is beginning |
| 7. tēittōz | 7. people will remain |
| 8. yelohuaz | 8. people will go out |

NONACTIVE IMPERSONAL MATCHING EXERCISE 6

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. necuepalo | 1. people hear themselves |
| 2. neālīlōz | 2. there is fasting |
| 3. necaco | 3. everyone will bathe |
| 4. nezahualo | 4. everyone returns |
| 5. ōnequetzalōc | 5. people make s.o. happy |
| 6. ōnetlālīlōc | 6. people stood up |
| 7. tēpahpāquilfīlo | 7. one carries s.t. on his back |
| 8. tlamāmālo | 8. people sat down |

NONACTIVE IMPERSONAL MATCHING EXERCISE 7

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. neximalo | 1. people drink s.t. |
| 2. nēxohua | 2. people laughed |
| 3. ōhuetzcōc | 3. people mention s.o. |
| 4. tēīmacaxōz | 4. people will fear s.o. |
| 5. tētēnēhualo | 5. s.o. appears |
| 6. tlāīhua | 6. there is shaving |
| 7. tlapolōlōz | 7. people will destroy s.t. |
| 8. tlaquēmīhuaz | 8. people will get dressed |

INSTRUMENTAL NOUN RECOGNITION EXERCISE 1

Match the Nahuatl instrumental nouns in the first column with their English meanings in the second column. These nouns and the glosses are from Molina's dictionary. Try using Campbell's *Morphological Dictionary of Classical Nahuatl* as an aid in these and future exercises.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. cuauhtlahuītecōni | 1. shaving razor |
| 2. xocomecatecōni | 2. adze or something similar |
| 3. tlapātzcōni | 3. syringe |
| 4. tlahcuiyalōni ⁸ | 4. bowl for washing gold |

⁸tlahcuiyalōni < (i)hcuiy(a)

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| 5. teōcuitlapācōni | 5. ear cleaner |
| 6. tlaxīmalōni | 6. toothpick |
| 7. tlatecōni | 7. water conduit |
| 8. tēilnāmicōni | 8. axe for cutting firewood |
| 9. tēpahmacōni | 9. hammer for mashing flax |
| 10. netlantatacōni | 10. whip for whipping s.o. |
| 11. tlapātzcalōni | 11. axe |
| 12. nexīmalōni | 12. pruning knife for grapevines |
| 13. nenacaztatacōni | 13. memento, s.t. to remind one of s.o. |
| 14. ātēcōni | 14. press for squeezing s.t. |
| 15. cuauhtlatecōni | 15. press for squeezing s.t. |
| 16. tēmecahuītecōni | 16. reel |

INSTRUMENTAL NOUN RECOGNITION EXERCISE 2

Match the Nahuatl nouns in the first column with their English meanings in the second column:

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| 1. tlaīxpetlāhualōni | 1. stone breaking hammer |
| 2. ātōyāhualōni | 2. hammer |
| 3. tepoztetlapānalōni | 3. iron nail |
| 4. neyacapohpōhualōni | 4. handkerchief |
| 5. netlampohpōhualōni | 5. ear cleaner |
| 6. tlatzacualōni | 6. napkin |
| 7. tlatepozminālōni | 7. toothbrush |
| 8. netēmpohpōhualōni | 8. hoe |
| 9. tlapālōni | 9. dye |
| 10. zāyōltzacualōni | 10. pump for draining something |
| 11. tlaīxchipāhualōni | 11. plug for stopping the flow of water |
| 12. tlapohpōhualōni | 12. bed canopy to ward off insects |
| 13. tlālxiuhpohpōhualōni | 13. plane for planing something |
| 14. ātzacualōni | 14. plane, or file for a sword |
| 15. tepoztlatetzotzōnalōni | 15. any object used for cleaning |
| 16. nenacazpohpōhualōni | 16. cover or lid |

INSTRUMENTAL NOUN RECOGNITION EXERCISE 3

Match the Nahuatl nouns in the first column with their English meanings in the second column:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| 1. tlachpānōni | 1. bellows |
| 2. tēpilōlōni | 2. chair |
| 3. tētzopīnīlōni | 3. spur or goad |
| 4. tepoztēmāilpīlōni | 4. drill |
| 5. michpihpīlōlōni | 5. garter |
| 6. tlanēlōlōni | 6. handcuffs |
| 7. tlatēntīlōni ⁹ | 7. scarecrow |
| 8. netlāfīlōni | 8. stone for grinding or sharpening a knife |
| 9. netlancuāilpīlōni | 9. shoemaker's dye |
| 10. tepozcuauhxelelōlōni | 10. fishhook |
| 11. tlatexōni | 11. gallows |
| 12. ēhuatlepītzalōni | 12. axe for making firewood |
| 13. tlacoyōnīlōni ¹⁰ | 13. stirrer or oar |
| 14. tlamauhīlōni | 14. broom |
| 15. cactlīlhuīlōni | 15. stone pestle or grindstone |

LOCATION NOUN EXERCISE 1

Match the Nahuatl nouns in the first column with their English meanings in the second column:

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| 1. xomecapātzcōyān | 1. place where grapes are pressed |
| 2. pahnamacōyān | 2. library, or place where books are kept |
| 3. tlacacōyān | 3. store for books or paper |
| 4. tlapācōyān | 4. hide-selling shop |
| 5. tlahuītecōyān | 5. place where fish are sold |
| 6. ēhuanamacōyān | 6. meat shop |

⁹tlatēntīlōni < tēntiā

¹⁰tlacoyōnīlōni < coyōniā

- | | |
|---------------------|--|
| 7. tetatacōyān | 7. brothel |
| 8. tlaxcalnamacōyān | 8. tavern, pulquería |
| 9. tētōcōyān | 9. medicine store |
| 10. āmanamacōyān | 10. quarry |
| 11. nacanamacōyān | 11. tribunal or place of legal proceedings |
| 12. ocnamacōyān | 12. market |
| 13. āmoxpiyalōyān | 13. place where they wash |
| 14. tlatatacōyān | 14. place where they dig |
| 15. michnamacōyān | 15. place where they sell bread |
| 16. netzīnnamacōyān | 16. threshing floor |
| 17. tlanamacōyān | 17. cemetery |

LOCATION NOUN EXERCISE 2

Match the Nahuatl nouns in the first column with their English meanings in the second column:

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1. tetlapānalōyān | 1. kitchen shelf |
| 2. tlamālōyān | 2. saltworks, or place where salt is made |
| 3. tēnōnōtzalōyān | 3. place where they urinate |
| 4. iztachīhualōyān | 4. place where people are purified |
| 5. nechipāhualōyān | 5. parlor, or place for assembly |
| 6. nenōnōtzalōyān | 6. place where medicine is kept |
| 7. tēcaltzacualōyān | 7. neighborhood of carpenters |
| 8. tlazōhualōyān | 8. jail |
| 9. neāxīxalōyān | 9. inn |
| 10. cuauhxīmalōyān | 10. school |
| 11. tēchiyalōyān | 11. quarry |
| 12. caxmanalōyān | 12. fair or market |
| 13. tiānquizmanalōyān | 13. place where clothes are spread out |
| 14. tlaōyalōyān | 14. place where they hunt |
| 15. tlapiyalōyān | 15. place where they shell ears of corn |
| 16. pahpiyalōyān | 16. place of exchange |
| 17. tlapatlalōyān | 17. place where something is kept |

LOCATION NOUN EXERCISE 3

Match the Nahuatl nouns in the first column with their English translations in the second column:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 1. mazātlacualfīlōyān | 1. place they play flutes or smelt metal |
| 2. xāmīxcalcopīnalōyān | 2. kitchen |
| 3. āmoxtlāfīlōyān | 3. dining room or place to eat |
| 4. tlacualchihchīhualōyān | 4. place where something is laid |
| 5. tlaxcalpiyalōyān | 5. place where they pour water |
| 6. xāmīxcalchīhualōyān | 6. place where property is kept |
| 7. cozticteōcuitlaquīxtīlōyān | 7. place where bread is kept |
| 8. iztaquīxfīlōyān | 8. henhouse for raising chickens |
| 9. tlatquiapiyalōyān | 9. place where they make bricks |
| 10. tlapītzalōyān | 10. place where they make bricks |
| 11. tlatēcālōyān | 11. place where the grapes are pressed |
| 12. xocomecapātzcalōyān | 12. library where books are kept |
| 13. ānōquīlōyān | 13. place where they pour water or urinate |
| 14. neālūlōyān | 14. gold mine |
| 15. tlacualōyān | 15. saltworks or place where they remove salt |
| 16. tlātōyāhualōyān | 16. manger |
| 17. tōtolhuapāhualōyān | 17. place where they bathe |

LOCATION NOUN RECOGNITION EXERCISE 4

Match the Nahuatl nouns in the first column with their English meanings in the second column:

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| 1. netlālōlōyān | 1. place for resting |
| 2. netlālōlōyān | 2. school or place for learning |
| 3. netzincōhuilōyān | 3. place of refuge |
| 4. nemachūlōyān | 4. place where weddings are performed |
| 5. tēpilōlōyān | 5. place where they sit down |
| 6. nehtōlōlōyān | 6. brothel |
| 7. tēcōchiūlōyān | 7. hiding place |
| 8. tequīxtlōlōyān | 8. place of poverty and misery |
| 9. nenāmiclōlōyān | 9. place where they dance |
| 10. omicentlālōlōyān | 10. brothel |
| 11. tēilpīlōyān | 11. ossuary or place where bones are collected |
| 12. āmatlahcuilōlōyān | 12. inn |
| 13. netlanēuhlōlōyān | 13. jail |
| 14. netolīnīlōyān | 14. quarry |
| 15. nemāquīxtlōlōyān | 15. chicken pen |
| 16. necēhuilōyān | 16. public place where scribes write |
| 17. tōtolnemīlōlōyān | 17. place where they hang people |
| 18. tlattōyān | 18. place for swimming |
| 19. tlamānelōlōyān | 19. window or place for watching |

17. MORE ABOUT POSSESSION; FORMS WITH -yō

NECESSARILY POSSESSED FORMS

In the preceding chapters we have dealt with the fact that the noun stem *pil* has two meanings: 'child' and 'noble person'. The 'child' sense with few exceptions always appears in possessed form: *nopil* 'my child', *īmpīlhuān* 'their children'. The citation form *pilli*, with the absolutive suffix, has the 'noble person' sense. One might say that the 'child' sense of the word is *necessarily possessed*, and one way to indicate that is to give it in citation form with a leading hyphen to show that it will always take one of the possessive prefixes: *-pil*.

There are some words that appear in Molina's dictionary and in other dictionaries and glossaries with the absolutive suffix, but that in context virtually always appear in possessed form. Typical of such forms are words for relatives (*nāntli* 'mother', *tahtli* 'father') and body parts (*māitl* 'hand, arm', *cuāitl* 'head'). Other such words are *chāntli* 'home' and *āxcāitl* 'possessions, property' which are almost as exceptionlessly possessed as *-pil*. If such a word is EVER attested anywhere with an absolutive suffix, we use that form as a citation form. But the fact of the matter is that there are quite a few such words that are NEVER attested with an absolutive suffix, and rather than artificially create an absolutive form for these, we give them with a leading hyphen to indicate that they are necessarily possessed. Here are some examples:

-huēinān	one's grandmother (a synonym for <i>cihtli</i>)
-huānyōqui	one's relative
-cihuāpoh	one's female companion (said only of a woman)
-huāmpoh	one's companion, one's countryman
-camapach	one's beard
-māyēc mā	one's right-hand side
-ahhuitz	one's wing
-tlanequiya	one's will, desire
-ciyaya	one's consent
-itcōca	one's responsibility
-yohcāuh	one's personal possession, property
-tēcocolihcā	one's enemy

-xōtlaca blooming (of flowers)

Another group of such words are derived ones that end in locative suffixes such as -cān, -yān, -pan, -tlan, and -c(o):

-īxcohyān	something of one's own, one's personal possession
-cochiyān	one's customary sleeping place, bed
-yōlcān	one's homeland, birthplace
-tzīnpan	one's waist
-camanacaztlan	one's cheek
-cuexānco	one's lap
-māmomoloc	one's elbow

THE MANY USES OF THE SUFFIX -yō

• Inalienable possession:

One's body parts and one's relatives are defined in relation to oneself. Unless we get into the grisly business of severed extremities or the surrealist world of Gogol's wayward nose, my hand goes where I go and does not live a life of its own. Likewise, a mother is defined in terms of her offspring. She is always someone's mother, and as we have seen, when the exact identity of the offspring is unknown or irrelevant, Nahuatl tends to use the form *tēnān* 'mother of s.o.' These are instances of *inalienable possession*. Often, but not always, Nahuatl uses the suffix -yō together with the possessive prefixes to indicate inalienable possession:

-tlancuacuayō	one's molar tooth
-(i)cxitalhuayō	the tendon of one's leg

In many cases, a noun may be either simply possessed or inalienably possessed, and -yō is used to make the distinction. A good example is *nacatl* 'meat, flesh':

nacatl	meat, flesh
nonac	my meat (that I just bought in the market)
nonacayo	my own flesh

Often inalienably possessed forms of nouns have meanings quite distinct from simply possessed ones:

māitl	hand
-māyō	the crown (of a tree)

xōchitl	flower
-xōchiyō	the flowers (of a plant or tree)
xōchihcualli	fruit (in general)
-xōchihcuallō	the crop of fruit (of a tree)
chināmitl	sugarcanes or cornstalks
-chinānyō	the stalks of a canefield or cornfield
ihetl	belly, stomach
-ihteyō	one's entrails
eztli	blood
-ezzō	one's own blood
tzīntetl	foundation, basis, buttocks
-tzīnteyō	one's buttocks

Two common Nahuatl metaphors make use of the inalienable possession construction:

eztli	blood
tlahpalli	dye
-ezzō, -tlahpallō	one's blood

tlālli	earth
zoquitl	clay
-tlāllō, -zoquiyō	one's (earthly) body

There are a number of necessarily possessed forms built on -nacayō:

-camanacayō	the gum of one's mouth
-cihuānacayō	one's female genitals
-oquichnacayō	one's male genitals

A few nouns take -yō in possessed form for no clear reason:

tēuctli	lord, ruler
-tēcuiyō	one's lord, ruler ¹

pilli	noble person
-pillō	one's noble person

• Abstract noun formation with -yo-tl:

Quite aside from possessive constructions, nouns can be made into abstract nouns by adding -yō. These nouns take the absolutive suffix -tl:

nānyōtl	motherhood
tahyōtl	fatherhood ²
yōllōtl	heart, life, spirit
nacayōtl	carnality, s.t. having to do with flesh
teōpīxcāyōtl	priesthood ³
tlahōhcāyōtl	kingdom, realm

Translators of Christian devotional literature made full use of Nahuatl derivational suffixes, attaching them to Spanish nouns as they felt necessary and useful. In Sahagún's work one finds, for example, "diabloyotl" to express the notion of 'evil'.

Verbs can also be made into abstract nouns by adding -yō-tl. In this case, a ligature -cā- is used to join the suffix to the verb stem, and if the verb ends in -ya, the final syllable usually drops:

cuepōn(i)	for flowers to bloom
cuepōncāyōtl	the blooming of flowers
yamāniy(a)	for something to soften
yamāncāyōtl	softness
cualnēc(i)	to look good
cualnēcāyōtl	attractiveness, good appearance

¹Notice the completely idiosyncratic -i- between stem and suffix.

²A common Nahuatl construction is *nānyōtl*, *tahyōtl* 'parenthood'. This kind of double construction, whether quite literal as in 'parenthood', half-literal as in 'blood' above, or figurative as in 'body' above, is known in Spanish as a *difrasismo*, and it is a common rhetorical device in Nahuatl and other Mesoamerican languages.

³Nouns that end in agentive -qui have -cā instead when another suffix follows.

ihyāya	to stink
ihyācāyōtl	stench
tōna	for the sun to shine
tōnacāyōtl	one's daily sustenance ⁴

These nouns behave in a way that contrasts with inalienably possessed nouns. Whereas (some) inalienably possessed forms ADD **-yō** to a stem that lacks it (**nacatl**, **-nacayō**), these abstract nouns derived from verbs by adding **-cā-yō-tl**, DROP the **-yō** in possessed forms:

-cuepōncā	the blooming of flowers
-tzopēlicā	the fragrance of s.t.
-ihyācā	the stench of s.t.
-yamāncā	the softness of s.t.
-cualnēzcā	one's good appearance

Possessed forms of this sort may be derived not only from simple verb stems, but also from nonactive verb forms:

-tlazohtlalōcā	the love with which one is loved ⁵
-necuitlahuīlōcā	the sustenance with which one is nurtured ⁶
-neltocōcā	the faith others have in one ⁷

• Verbs formed with **-yō-hua**:

Just above we have seen how **-yō** can be used to make abstract nouns from verbs. Verbs can also be made from abstract nouns by dropping the absolutive suffix from **-yō-tl** and adding **-hua**:

tīlli	soot, black ink
tīllōtl	blackness
tīllōhua	to get blackened, covered with soot

⁴This is an example of the importance of knowing where the long vowels are. This word is often misanalyzed as being derived from **to-naca-yō** 'our flesh'. However, quite aside from the fact that a possessed form would not have the absolutive suffix **-tl**, there is a mismatch of long vowels in two syllables.

⁵ < **tlazohtla** 'to love s.o.'

⁶ < **cuitlahuīā** 'to raise, care for s.o.'

⁷ < **neltoca** 'to believe in s.t., s.o.'

tzontli	head of hair
(tzonyōtl	hairiness)
tzonyōhua	to get covered with hair

tlālli	earth
(tlāllōtl	earthiness)
tlāllōhua	to get covered with earth

āzcatl	ant
(āzcayōtl	antiness??)
āzcayōhua	to get covered with ants

In many cases the corresponding -yō-tl noun is not used and may seem a little strange.

NOUNS FORMED WITH -yoh

Traditional Nahuatl spelling tends to disguise the fact that there are two different suffixes: -yō and -yoh. The first has the several uses mentioned above. It is used to mark inalienable possession and to make abstract nouns. The second is added to nouns to make concrete (not abstract) nouns meaning 's.t. or s.o. invested with the quality of (noun)':

tetl	stone
teyoh	place full of stones
ŕizatl	chalk, white earth
ŕizayoh	s.t. chalky ⁸
tetzontli	stone foundation
tetzonyoh	place full of stone foundations, ruins ⁹
teōtl	god
teōyoh	s.t., s.o. invested with divinity

⁸This is the basis for the placename Tizayohcān.

⁹There is also a place name Tetzonyohcān.

tōcāitl	name
tōcāyoh	s.o. invested with a name, namesake; or a document bearing a signature, i.e., s.o., s.t. invested with a name

There are a number of pairs of words made with -yō-tl and -yoh:

tēnyōtl	fame
tēnyoh	famous person, s.t. invested with fame

teōyōtl	divinity
teōyoh	s.t., s.o. invested with divinity

yōllōtl	heart (abstract), life, spirits
yōlloh(-tli)	heart (concrete), pith, pit, core

Generally, nouns formed with -yoh do not take the absolutive suffix -tli, but yōlloh is an exception. It often functions as the second part of compounds ending in -tli:

xocoyōllohtli	fruit pit	(< xocotl 'fruit')
meyōllohtli	heart of a maguey plant	(< metl 'maguey plant')
ococenyollohtli	pine seed	(< ococentli 'pine cone')

There are a few body parts and attributes that end in -yōlloh and which are usually or always possessed:

-cuāyōlloh	the crown of one's head
-ixtlahtlālloh	one's dirty face

CHAPTER 17 EXERCISES**POSSESSION EXERCISE**

Give the third-person singular possessed form of each of the following nouns together with its meaning:

tlancuāitl

āmatl

cihtin

-pil

ohtli

tēuctli

mīlli

nāntli-H

-cochiyān

chāntli

pitzomeh

pilli-ʼ

chichitotōn

tēmachūlōyān

āxcāitl

-yōlcān

tēnyōtl

-yamāncā

eztli

-huānyōlqui

tetl

ōquichtin

-cuexānco

-xelihuiyān

-cihuāpoh

-tlazohtlalōcā

ABSTRACT NOUN FORMATION EXERCISE 1

Make abstract nouns of these nouns and provide an English gloss for each:

nāntli

tahtli

necatl

teōtl

tōtēcātl

mēxihtl

pilli

yōlli

ilama

teōpīxqui

Choose five other Nahuatl nouns that can appropriately be made into abstract nouns, add -yō-tl to them, and give the meanings of the resulting nouns.

ABSTRACT NOUN FORMATION EXERCISE 2

Form abstract nouns from the following verbs and give their meanings:¹⁰

ahhuiāya	to be fragrant
canāhu(a)	to make s.t. long and thin
chiyāhua	to get greasy
cocoy(a)	to be sick
cualān(i)	to become angry
cuepōn(i)	for a flower to open
huihuixōā	to tremble
(i)hcihu(i)	to hurry
(i)lpiā	to tie s.t.
melāhu(a)	to straighten s.t.

¹⁰There are unfamiliar verbs in this exercise. Each basic verb is provided with a gloss. Given this information, you should be able to provide the gloss of the abstract noun without reference to a dictionary or vocabulary list.

molōn(i)	to waft, drift on air currents
cualnēc(i)	to look good
nem(i)	to live
pēhu(a)	to begin
poxcahu(i)	to get moldy
tomāhua	to grow fat, to swell
tlatzihu(i)	to be lazy
tzopēliy(a)	to become sweet
cuauhxīm(a)	to work wood, to do carpentry
xīpēhu(a)	to peel, skin, or flay s.t.
yamāniy(a)	to become soft

-yō-hua VERB EXERCISE 1

The verbs in this exercise are made from nouns by adding **-yō-hua**. Match the verbs in the first column with their English meanings in the second column:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 1. nichicoyōllōhua | 1. it fills up with flies |
| 2. nīxocuillōhua | 2. it gets covered with worms |
| 3. titīllōhua | 3. you get blackened or covered with soot |
| 4. tōmeyōllōhua ¹¹ | 4. you doubt |
| 5. zāyōllōhua | 5. it gets sandy |
| 6. ocuillōhua | 6. I have freckles on my face |
| 7. nitōcāyōhua | 7. I suspect |
| 8. tlahzōllōhua | 8. it gets covered with trash |
| 9. xāllōhua | 9. I become famous |

¹¹ < ōmeyōlli 'double heart', i.e., 'doubt'.

-yō-hua VERB EXERCISE 2

Match the verbs in the first column with their English meanings in the second column:

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| 1. tāzcayōhua | 1. it sprouts roots (e.g., a tree) |
| 2. nelhuayōhua | 2. I get covered with filth (e.g., sweat) |
| 3. iztāyōhua | 3. we become famous |
| 4. cuitlayōhuah | 4. it gets salty |
| 5. timahuizzōhua | 5. you get covered with ants |
| 6. tzonyōhua | 6. he gets covered with hair |
| 7. nitzoyōhua | 7. you get bloody |
| 8. tezzōhua | 8. they get covered with excrement |

-yoh EXERCISE

Add -yoh to the following nouns and give the meaning of each word you have formed:

tetl	stone
tōcāitl	name
yōlli	heart
tēntli	lip, edge
teōtl	god
zoquitl	clay
cuitlatl	excrement
ātēntli	edge of a body of water
xālli	sand
ocuilin	worm
tlālli	earth

Think of five other Nahuatl nouns that can have -yoh added to them appropriately and give the meanings of the -yoh forms.

18. DEVERBAL DERIVATION WITH -liz-tli

In the preceding chapter, we saw how abstract nouns can be made from verbs by the addition of -cā-yō-tl. Another suffix used for making nouns from verbs is -liz. Nouns made with this suffix always take the absolutive suffix -tli. The sense of these derived nouns is 'the action of (verb)ing'. They often correspond to English gerunds, which end in -ing, but they sometimes also correspond to uninflected English verbs used as nouns:

They fired my uncle.

His firing angered me.

Can you boil the water for me?

The water came to a boil.

I am going to run five miles.

Running five miles is tough.

That five mile run wore me out.

Notice that in these English examples, more than the actual verb is involved. Objects, articles, and possessive pronouns are part of the grammatical construction functioning as a noun. You will see that -liz-tli derivations also incorporate objects, manner adverbials, and the like; nouns made from transitive verbs may have the object directly incorporated, or they may begin with *tē-*, *tla-*, or *ne-*, depending on whether the assumed but nonspecified object is human, nonhuman, or reflexive. Naturally, -liz-tli nouns from intransitive verbs do not begin with incorporated objects or nonspecific object prefixes.

Intransitive:

cochiliztli	sleep, the act of sleeping
chōcaliztli	weeping, the act of weeping

Transitive with nonspecific objects:

tēpahiliztli	the practice of medicine, the act of curing of people
tlapōhualiztli	reckoning, the act of counting s.t.

Reflexive:

necuepaliztli	act of returning
nepoliztli	suicide, act of destroying oneself

Transitive with incorporated object:

āmaihtzomaliztli	bookbinding, the act of sewing paper (into book form)
yetequiliztli	bean harvesting, the act of cutting beans
āltepētztīntiliztli	the act of founding a town (< tzīntiā 'to establish s.t.')

-liz-tli derivations may incorporate nouns that serve not as objects, but as manner adverbials:

<u>mātlapītzal</u> iztli	act of whistling <u>with one's hands</u>
<u>yōlloh</u> cocoliztli	act of being <u>heartsick</u> (< intrans. cocoy(a) 'to be sick')
<u>mācēhuallahtōl</u> iztli	act of speaking <u>in the manner of the common people</u>

Although it may prove awkward, these can always be accurately translated as '(noun)-wise':

<u>īxcocol</u> iztli	disease of the eye, act of being sick <u>eye-wise</u>
<u>yāōtzahtzil</u> iztli	call to battle, act of shouting <u>enemy-wise</u>

(1) Addition of -liz-tli directly to intransitive verb stems of Classes 1 and 2:

chōca	to weep
chōcaliztli	weeping
āmiqu(i)	to be thirsty
āmiquiliztli	thirst
coch(i)	to sleep
cochiliztli	sleep
nem(i)	to live
nemiliztli	life
pāqu(i)	to be happy
pāquiliztli	happiness

tlācat(i)	to be born
tlācatiliztli	birth
zotlāhua	to faint
zotlāhualiztli	act of fainting
(2) Addition of -liz-tli directly to transitive verb stems of Classes 1 and 2:	
tlazohtla	to love s.o.
tētlazohtlaliztli	love for s.o.
īxpahti	to cure the eyes for s.o.
tēīxpahtiliztli	act of curing a sickness of the eyes
caqu(i)	to hear s.t.
tlacaquiliztli	act of hearing, understanding
piy(a)	to guard, keep s.t.
tlā p iyaliztli	act of guarding s.t.
chīhu(a)	to do, make s.t.
tlachīhualiztli	act of doing s.t., deed
cochtlāz(a)	to enchant s.o., to place a spell on s.o.
tēcochtlāzaliztli	act of enchanting s.o.
mīn(a)	to shoot an arrow at s.o., to pierce s.o.
tēmīnaliztli	act of shooting an arrow at s.o.; a sting
pehpen(a)	to choose, elect s.o.
tēpehpenaliztli	election
pōhu(a)	to count s.o., s.t.
tēpōhualiztli	esteem for people
tlapōhualiztli	reckoning (counting, reading), act of counting
pītz(a)	to blow on s.t.
tlapītzaliztli	act of playing a flute or melting metal (with the aid of bellows)

yacān(a)	to govern s.o.
tēyacānaliztli	act of governing s.o.

(3) Verbs may drop final -ya before -liz-tli:

cocoy(a)	to be sick
cocoyaliztli, cocoliztli	sickness

(4) a > i for some verb stems:

chōca	to weep
chōcaliztli, chōquiliztli	weeping

huetzca	to laugh
huetzcaliztli, huetzquiliztli	laughter

pīnāhua	to be ashamed
pīnāhuiliztli	shame

tōca	to bury s.o., s.t.
tētoquiliztli	burial

(5) Some forms undergo il-loss:

miqu(i)	to die
miquiliztli, miquiztli	death

āmiqu(i)	to be thirsty
āmiquiliztli, āmiquiztli	thirst

chōca	to weep
chōquiliztli, chōquiztli	weeping

huetzca	to laugh
huetzquiliztli, huetzquiztli	laughter

chichinaca	to hurt, burn, suffer pain
chichinaquiztli	pain, burning

(6) Class 3 verbs drop final ā with no compensatory lengthening:

cholōltiā	to chase s.o.
tēcholōltiliztli	act of chasing s.o.

callāliā	to imprison s.o. (< calli, tlāliā)
tēcallāliztli	act of imprisoning s.o.
celiā	to receive s.t.
tlaceliztli	act of receiving something
chichinoā	to burn s.t., s.o.
tēchichinoliztli	act of burning a heretic
chinoā	to burn (land)
tlachinoliztli	act of burning a field
machiā	to teach s.o.
tēmachtiliztli	act of teaching
tepotzihtoā	to gossip about s.o. (< tepotztli 'back', (i)htoā)
tētepotzihtoliztli	act of gossiping; piece of gossip
zāloā	to stick, glue s.t.
tlazāloliztli	act of gluing s.t.
(7) Class 4 verbs add -liz-tli directly to stem:	
mā	to hunt s.t.
tlamāliztli	the act of hunting
pā	to dye s.t.
tlapāliztli	the act of dyeing s.t.
cuā	to eat s.t.
tlacualiztli	the act of eating ¹

¹The vowel of **cuā** idiosyncratically shortens. Other Class 4 verbs do not have shortening before -liz-tli.

CHAPTER 18 EXERCISES

-liz-tli EXERCISE 1

Inspect the following Nahuatl nouns and identify their component morphemes. Tell which meaning each noun has by labelling it with the appropriate number from the second column.

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| 1. chōquitzahtziliztli | 1. screams of one who weeps |
| 2. āmoxtlahtōlxēxeloliztli ² | 2. fatigue |
| 3. āxcāpiyaliztli | 3. sleep |
| 4. calmanaliztli | 4. hoarseness or cough |
| 5. chololiztli | 5. sleepiness |
| 6. cochiztli | 6. founding of a town |
| 7. cochiliztli ³ | 7. bookbinding |
| 8. ahhuiāliztli ⁴ | 8. chapter of a book |
| 9. chipāhualiztli | 9. hunger |
| 10. tlatlāciztli | 10. pleasantness of smell |
| 11. āmaihtzomaliztli | 11. possession of property |
| 12. ciahuiliztli | 12. act of entering |
| 13. chicāhualiztli | 13. act of building houses |
| 14. chōquiliztli | 14. strength or courage |
| 15. āltepētzīntiliztli | 15. cleanness or beauty |
| 16. āpīzmiquiliztli | 16. flight |
| 17. calaquiliztli | 17. weeping |

-liz-tli EXERCISE 2

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------|
| 1. yōllohocoliztli | 1. dream |
| 2. ihuintiliztli | 2. sickness |

²There are two different verbs: *xeloā* 'to divide s.t. up' and *xēloā* 'to scatter, spread s.t.' Each can be reduplicated with glottal-stop (distributive) reduplication or long-vowel (successive) reduplication: *xehxeloā*, *xehxēloā*; *xēxeloā*, *xēxēloā*. Here we are dealing with *xēxeloā* 'to divide s.t. up in successive parts'.

³7 is synonymous with 6.

⁴The basic verb in this form is not *āhuiy(a)*.

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 3. zotlāhualiztli | 3. act of fainting |
| 4. etequiliztli | 4. burst |
| 5. yāliztli | 5. act of picking beans |
| 6. yollohchicāhualiztli | 6. weight |
| 7. īxcocoyaliztli | 7. trip or departure |
| 8. cocoliztli | 8. call to battle |
| 9. ihcihuiliztli | 9. act of hurrying |
| 10. yōliliztli | 10. stench or bad odor |
| 11. yōllohpōzōniliztli | 11. life |
| 12. īxāyōquīzaliztli | 12. courage or strength |
| 13. etiliztli | 13. sickness of the heart |
| 14. yāōtzahtziliztli | 14. anger |
| 15. ihyāyāiztli | 15. drunkenness |
| 16. cochulachiyaliztli | 16. act of weeping with tears |
| 17. cuepōniliztli | 17. sickness of the eyes |

-liz-tli EXERCISE 3

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| 1. neāpitzaliztli | 1. sickness of the eyes |
| 2. neecāhualiztli | 2. levelness or equalness |
| 3. mecanuēhuētztotzonaliztli | 3. act of uncovering the face |
| 4. miquiliztli | 4. act of nodding and consenting |
| 5. īxpetlāhualiztli | 5. laughter |
| 6. īxhuetzquiliztli | 6. rustic speech |
| 7. neātliliztli | 7. act of whistling with one's hands |
| 8. mātlapitzaliztli | 8. act of making cords |
| 9. mecamaḥinaliztli | 9. act of making cords |
| 10. īxmaniliztli | 10. act of playing a guitar |
| 11. īxtlahtōliztli | 11. act of fishing |
| 12. michmāliztli | 12. death |
| 13. mixtēmiliztli | 13. cloudy weather |
| 14. neahhualiztli | 14. act of bathing |
| 15. īxcocoliztli | 15. sickness of diarrhea |
| 16. mēcēhuallahtōliztli | 16. quarrel |
| 17. mecachīhualiztli | 17. goodbye, leavetaking, or act of stopping |

-liz-tli EXERCISE 4

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1. nelcāhualiztli | 1. act of arranging one's self and dressing |
| 2. nemātzayānaliztli | 2. marriage of a man with a woman |
| 3. nechihchihualiztli | 3. pain of any part of the body |
| 4. neyōlnōnōtzaliztli | 4. act of returning, or retreat in battle |
| 5. nemelāhualiztli | 5. act of binding up one's feet |
| 6. neoquichhuahtiliztli | 6. preparation for armed combat |
| 7. nepoliztli | 7. confession |
| 8. necocoliztli | 8. meditation |
| 9. neyāōchihchihualiztli | 9. act of forgetting s.t. related to one's self |
| 10. nezcoliztli ⁵ | 10. divorce |
| 11. nehnemiliztli | 11. divorce or parting |
| 12. neyōlmelāhualiztli | 12. act of warming up at the fire |
| 13. nemātomaliztli | 13. act of lying down stretched out |
| 14. necxiilpiliztli | 14. act of walking |
| 15. necihuāhuahtiliztli | 15. marriage of a woman |
| 16. necuepaliztli | 16. act of warming up at the fire |
| 17. neozcoliztli | 17. suicide |

Choose five intransitive verbs, make **-liz-tli** derivations from them, and give their meanings.

Choose five transitive and /or reflexive verbs, make **-liz-tli** derivations from them, and give their meanings.

⁵This form and the one in 17 are derived from the verb **ozcoā** 'to warm oneself at the fire'. We are uncertain about the length of the first vowel.

19. MORE NOUNS DERIVED FROM VERBS

In addition to the -liz-tli action nouns derived from verbs, there are also derived nouns that refer to the results of verbs. Sometimes referred to as *resultant state nouns* and *patientive nouns*, they are shorter than -liz-tli nouns, because they are formed by simply adding the absolutive suffix directly to some form of the verb stem. This may be the nonactive form or the preterite stem. The absolutive suffix will have the form -tli or -li depending on the immediately preceding consonant.

RESULTANT STATE NOUNS

Both English and Spanish form adjectives from verbs, using the past participle for this purpose:

This shirt is wrinkled.

My window is broken.

Esta camisa está arrugada.

Mi ventana está rota.

Both languages also allow these participles/adjectives to be used as nouns. English requires a little additional syntactic machinery, namely, the addition of the word *one*, but in Spanish the participle alone can serve as a substantive:

The wrinkled shirt is mine.

The wrinkled one is mine.

La camisa arrugada es mía.

La arrugada es mía.

La ventana rota está en la sala.

La rota está en la sala.

Nahuatl forms what Carochi called "nombres adjetivos" (i.e., adjectival nouns, which we refer to here as *resultant state nouns*) by adding the absolutive suffix to the nonactive form

of transitive verbs. These nouns refer to the someone or something that has undergone the action referred to by the verb. That is, they are in a state resulting from the action of the verb. These nouns begin with one of the object prefixes *tē-*, *tla-*, or *ne-*, depending on whether the recipient of the action is human, nonhuman, or reflexive.

In these derivations, the *ō* of the impersonal suffix *-lō* drops off when the absolutive suffix is added. In general, this means that the stem ends in *l*, and the form of the absolutive suffix is *-li*:

<i>tlahtoā</i>	to speak (to say s.t.)
<i>tlahōlo</i>	s.t. is said
<i>tlahōlli</i>	speech, that which is said

Some nonactive forms, as you will recall, have a shortened form as the result of *-il-* loss, and in these cases, removing the *ō* leaves a stem ending in some other consonant. In these cases, the absolutive suffix takes the form *-tli*:

<i>tequ(i)</i>	to cut s.t.
<i>teco</i>	it is cut
<i>tlatectli</i>	that which is cut

Further examples:

<i>ī</i>	to drink s.t.
<i>īlo</i>	it is drunk
<i>tlaiilli</i>	beverage, that which is drunk

<i>chīhu(a)</i>	to make, do s.t.
<i>chīhualo</i>	it is done, it is made
<i>tlachīhualli</i>	deed, that which is done

<i>celiā</i>	to receive s.t.
<i>celilo</i>	it is received
<i>tlacelilli</i>	that which is received

<i>zāloā</i>	to glue s.t.
<i>zālōlo</i>	it is glued
<i>tlazālōlli</i>	that which is glued (to s.t.)

cuiltōnoā	to be wealthy (reflexive)
necuiltōnōlo	people are being wealthy
necuiltōnōlli	wealth

cuā	to eat s.t.
cualo	it is eaten ¹
tlacualli	food, that which is eaten

PATIENTIVE STATE NOUNS

Given the English glosses, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish a patientive noun from a resultant state noun. Both types of derived nouns refer to entities that have undergone the action of the verb. But in terms of how they are made, most patientive nouns are easy to distinguish from resultant state nouns; whereas resultant state nouns are made by adding the absolutive suffix to the impersonal form (minus its final *ō*), patientive nouns are made by adding the absolutive suffix (always *-tli*) to the preterite stem:

yōcoy(a)	to create, invent s.t.
ōtlayōcox	he/she invented s.t.
tlayōcox ^{tli}	creation, invention

cotōn(a)	to cut s.t. off
ōtlacotōn	he/she cut s.t. off
tlacotōn ^{tli}	s.t. cut off

Notice that for some verbs which have a shortened nonactive form, the derived resultant state noun and the derived patientive noun are identical in form:

tequ(i)	to cut s.t.
teco	it is cut
ōtlatec	he/she cut it
tlatec ^{tli}	s.t. which is cut (either derivation)

pehpen(a)	to choose s.t.
pehpeno	it is chosen
ōtlapehpen	he/she chose it

¹In this particular verb there is idiosyncratic shortening of *ā* before *-lō*.

tlapehpentli s.t. chosen (either derivation)

Even when the resultant state and patientive derived forms are different, for all intents and purposes the meanings are virtually synonymous:

chihu(a) to make, do s.t.

chihualo it is done

tlachihualli deed, s.t. which is made or done

ōtlachīuh he/she did, made s.t.

tlachīuhtli deed, s.t. that is made or done

In some cases, verbs that have preterite stems ending in -n change the last consonant to -c before the absolutive suffix and shorten the preceding vowel:

cotōn(i) to break off, to snap

cotōntli, cotoctli s.t. broken off

We will see more of the alternation of short vowels followed by -c with long vowels followed by -n (and also -uh) in a later chapter on reduplication.

Direct objects and nouns functioning as manner adverbials may be incorporated into these derived nouns:

pōhu(a) to count, measure s.t.

tlapōuhtli s.t. counted, measured

tlatlālpōuhtli measured land (literally: s.t. measured land-wise)

tec(i) to grind s.t.

tlatextli s.t. ground

tlaxcaltextli tortilla crumbs (migas)

cuauhtextli sawdust

As you have seen elsewhere, in these derivations, too, the final consonant of the verb stem may change:

tec(i) to grind s.t.

tlatextli s.t. ground

tlāz(a) to cast s.t. down

tlatlāztli, tlatlāxtli s.t. cast down

yōcoy(a) to create, invent s.t.

tlayōcoxtli invention

CHAPTER 19 EXERCISES

RESULTANT STATE AND PATIENTIVE NOUN EXERCISE

Inspect the following Nahuatl words and identify their component morphemes. Match each word with the appropriate gloss from the second column.

- | | |
|---------------------|--|
| 1. tlacaccopīntli | 1. s.t. glued to s.t. |
| 2. tlacochtlāztli | 2. barefoot person or horse that lost a shoe |
| 3. tlacueptli | 3. s.o. who is put to sleep by a spell |
| 4. tlacuepalli | 4. a woman who is seduced |
| 5. tlachicāhualli | 5. s.o. who is put to sleep |
| 6. tlacochtēctli | 6. s.t. which is trimmed or cut off |
| 7. tlacohcochtēctli | 7. s.t. which is turned upside down |
| 8. tlazālōlli | 8. s.t. which is received |
| 9. tlachipāhualli | 9. s.t. which is strengthened |
| 10. tlayōcoyalli | 10. slander |
| 11. tlayohualli | 11. s.t. written |
| 12. tlacēfilli | 12. s.t. which is made or done |
| 13. tlachinōlli | 13. s.t. burned |
| 14. tlacotōntli | 14. s.t. which is cleansed, purified |
| 15. tlahcuilōlli | 15. s.t. which is turned upside down |
| 16. tlachicoihtōlli | 16. invention, s.t. which is created |
| 17. tlachīhualli | 17. s.t. bought |
| 18. tlacōhualli | 18. darkness |

Indicate which nouns are resultant state derivations by marking them with an asterisk.

Indicate which nouns may be either resultant state or patientive with a crosshatch.

PATIENTIVE NOUN EXERCISE 1

- | | |
|-----------------|------------------------------|
| 1. tlamānōtztli | 1. s.t. which is beaten |
| 2. tlapāctli | 2. s.t. which is remembered |
| 3. tlapoztectli | 3. sip, s.t. which is sipped |

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 4. tlaihyāntli | 4. s.o. who is beckoned |
| 5. tlatēnnāmic̄tli | 5. laundry, s.t. washed |
| 6. tlatlālcopīntli | 6. s.t. which is cooked |
| 7. tlatectli ² | 7. s.t. which is broken |
| 8. tlatnāmic̄tli ³ | 8. s.t. dug up, an excavation |
| 9. tlaceptli | 9. s.t. which is cut |
| 10. tlauhuitōntli | 10. s.o. who is kissed on the mouth |
| 11. tlapāhuaxtli | 11. s.t. torn down, destroyed |
| 12. tlaquechtectli | 12. s.t. which is buried |
| 13. tlatatactli | 13. s.o. who is beheaded |
| 14. tlatōctli | 14. s.t. set apart, or a person who is led |
| 15. tlahuītectli | 15. groundwork for a building |
| 16. tlahuahuan̄tli | 16. s.t. cut off |
| 17. tlamalīntli | 17. s.t. returned or turned |
| 18. tlatectli | 18. s.t. which is marked |
| 19. tlaāntli | 19. s.t. hidden |
| 20. tlacotōntli | 20. s.t. twisted |

PATIENTIVE NOUN EXERCISE 2

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. tlatlāxtli | 1. ground which is paved |
| 2. tlatzotzōntli | 2. s.t. stolen |
| 3. tlayōcoxtli | 3. wide road |
| 4. tlapehpentli | 4. s.t. which is chosen |
| 5. tlatetēntli | 5. s.t. which is carded |
| 6. nāmic̄tli | 6. flour dough |
| 7. tlapahmactli | 7. s.t. which is filled |
| 8. totōntli | 8. s.t. which is broken |
| 9. tlatzayāntli | 9. s.t. thrown or dropped |
| 10. tlaahcicācactli | 10. s.t. precious |
| 11. tlahuīctli | 11. frayed cloth |
| 12. tlatlapāntli | 12. s.t. scraped or skinned |

²< (i)ltequ(i)

³< (i)lnāmiqu(i)

- | | |
|---------------------|--|
| 13. textli | 13. fragment, piece of s.t. |
| 14. tlatēmantli | 14. drum, or a person beaten |
| 15. ochpāntli | 15. s.t. which is scraped |
| 16. tlaxīntli | 16. s.t. created or invented |
| 17. tlatocaticactli | 17. one who is pursued |
| 18. ichtectli | 18. s.t. well understood |
| 19. tlanamactli | 19. island or dry land |
| 20. tlazochtli | 20. s.t. carried to another place, fetched |
| 21. tlatoxōntli | 21. s.t. beaten |
| 22. tlanāmoxctli | 22. s.t. stolen |
| 23. tlapochīntli | 23. s.t. purged with medicine |
| 24. tlāluhuāctli | 24. s.t. sold |
| 25. tlahuītectli | 25. married person, spouse |

PATIENTIVE NOUN EXERCISE 3

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1. tlachipāuhtli | 1. s.t. washed |
| 2. tlacoyāuhtli | 2. s.t. created or invented |
| 3. tlamelāuhtli | 3. s.t. broken |
| 4. tlacaxāuhtli | 4. tomb or excavation |
| 5. tlachayāuhtli | 5. s.t. poured out on a flat surface |
| 6. tlacāuhtli | 6. s.t. cut |
| 7. poztectli | 7. merchandise |
| 8. tōctli | 8. young stalk of corn |
| 9. tlahuapāuhtli | 9. s.t. which is carried |
| 10. tlamāyāuhtli | 10. s.t. which is left or abandoned |
| 11. tlachīuhtli | 11. s.t. which is trimmed and made thin |
| 12. tlapīctli | 12. s.t. weakened |
| 13. tlatectli | 13. s.o. flattered |
| 14. tiāmictli | 14. s.t. scattered |
| 15. tlamohmoyāuhtli | 15. s.t. fortified |
| 16. tlachahchamāuhtli | 16. s.t. which is made or done |
| 17. tlachicāuhtli | 17. s.t. purified or clean |
| 18. tlacōuhtli | 18. s.t. bought |
| 19. tlapōchēuhtli | 19. s.t. widened or peeled |

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| 20. tlamahcēuhtli | 20. s.t. smoked up |
| 21. tlatēctli ⁴ | 21. s.t. which is supported or strengthened, raised |
| 22. tlazactli ⁵ | 22. spoils, or s.t. which is deserved |
| 23. tlacanāuhtli | 23. s.t. which is thrown |
| 24. tlapāctli | 24. s.t. explained or straightened out |
| 25. tlatatactli | 25. s.t. scattered or put to flight |

PATIENTIVE NOUN EXERCISE 4

- | | |
|---------------------|--|
| 1. tlapatlāuhtli | 1. ink blot |
| 2. tlaxīpēuhtli | 2. s.t. widened |
| 3. pitzactli | 3. person whose eye is put out |
| 4. tēntomactli | 4. measure which is full of liquid |
| 5. tlatepēuhtli | 5. s.t. which is trimmed, made thin |
| 6. tlazōuhtli | 6. s.t. counted |
| 7. tlapehpeyāuhtli | 7. s.t. cleaned or scrubbed |
| 8. tlapōuhtli | 8. s.o. dazzled or deceived |
| 9. tlatomāuhtli | 9. s.t. scattered |
| 10. calmelactli | 10. grease or s.t. fattened |
| 11. ēcapeyactli | 11. s.t. which is pushed with one's hand |
| 12. tepoxactli | 12. s.t. which is peeled |
| 13. tīlchapactli | 13. s.t. scraped or hurt |
| 14. tlamātopēuhtli | 14. s.t. unfolded or spread out |
| 15. tlaxolēuhtli | 15. s.t. weakened |
| 16. tlazotlāuhtli | 16. snap of the fingers |
| 17. tlaīxpoyāuhtli | 17. s.o. with thick lips |
| 18. tlaīxpatzāuhtli | 18. large long room or corridor |
| 19. mācapactli | 19. wide flat stone |
| 20. tlapohpōuhtli | 20. cool and gentle breeze |
| 21. tepatlactli | 21. s.t. slender and long |
| 22. tlapitzāuhtli | 22. light stone, pumice |

⁴Notice that this is different from 13. above.

⁵We are uncertain about the vowel length of the middle a of this word.

23. āltepētenānxitictli⁶

24. cotoctli

25. tetlapactli

26. tlacoyoctli

23. hole

24. flagstone

25. door of a rampart or wall of a city

26. piece (of bread)

⁶This includes the nouns āltepētl 'town' and tenāmitl 'wall'.

20. REVIEW OF AGENTIVE AND LOCATIVE DERIVATIONS

In the very first vocabulary list there are some agentive nouns formed with **-ni** and **-qui** and some locative nouns formed with **-yān**:

āmōxpōhuani bookreader

michnamacani fish seller

cacchīuhqui shoemaker

teōpixqui priest (literally: god-keeper)

cochīhuayān bedroom

tēmachīlōyān school

This chapter serves as a review of these three deverbal derivations.

CUSTOMARY AGENTIVES WITH **-ni**

In the chapter on the nonactive form of verbs there are exercises dealing with *instrumental* nouns formed by adding **-ni** to the nonactive:

cuahtlatecōni axe for cutting wood

michpihpilōlōni fishhook

When **-ni** is added to active verb stems, it forms *agentive* nouns meaning 'one who customarily (verb)s'. The verb stem is not altered in any way. No vowels are dropped, no consonants changed, nothing lengthened or shortened. This is a very simple derivation. If the verb is transitive, it can take a nonspecific object prefix (**tē-** or **tlā-**), or it may incorporate the direct object:

chiy(a) to wait for s.o.

tēchiyani one who customarily waits for s.o., innkeeper

tlachiyani one who customarily waits for s.t., watchman

mā to hunt s.t.

michmāni fisherman

tōtōmāni bird-hunter

If the object of the transitive verb is 'one's own', the reflexive prefix *mo-* is used; it does not change to *ne-*:

mictiā to kill s.o.
motahmictiāni patricide, one who kills one's own father

Notice that *-ni* can be added to causative verb forms like *mictiā* as well as basic verb stems. (When it is added to nonactive verb forms, however, it forms instrumental nouns rather than agentive ones.)

AGENTIVE NOUNS FORMED WITH *-qui*

While *-ni* is added to the basic, active stem, agentive *-qui* is added to the preterite stem. For this reason, products of this derivation are sometimes referred to as *preterite agentive nouns*. In meaning, they are often synonymous with *-ni* agentive nouns:

tēmactiāni teacher
tēmactihqui teacher

In one case, the form derived with *-ni* is used for the singular and the form derived with *-qui* is used in the plural, in possessed forms, and in compounds and extended derivations:

tlahtoāni ruler, spokesman
tlahtoqui (rarely seen in the singular)
tlahtoqueh rulers, spokesmen
īmtlahtohcāuh their ruler, their spokesman
tlahtohcācalli palace
tlahtohcāyōtl realm, kingdom, rulership

As can be seen in these examples, when any further suffix, derivational or inflectional, follows, *-qui* is replaced by *-cā-*.

When *-qui* is used to form a noun from a Class 2 verb ending in *-qu(i)*, by normal phonological processes one gets a double consonant /kk/, which by the regular spelling conventions of Nahuatl is spelled *c-qu*:

miqu(i)	to die
ōmic	he/she/it dies
micqui	corpse, s.o. or s.t. dead
tequ(i)	to cut s.t.
ōtec	he/she cuts s.t.
tētecqui	surgeon, one who cuts s.o.

It can be easy to confuse verbs ending in **-qu(i)** with nouns derived with **-qui**, but for this type of verb/noun pair, the extra consonant identifies the noun.

Two verbs that are especially active in this derivation are **chīhu(a)** 'to make, do s.t.', and **piy(a)** 'to keep, take care of s.t.'. There are a great many **-chīuhqui** and **-pixqui** nouns, and since the derivational process is fully productive, new ones can be created at will:

cacchīuhqui	shoemaker
mīchīuhqui	arrowmaker
tomīnchīuhqui	coinmaker
mecachīuhqui	ropemaker
pahchīuhqui	pharmacist, medicine-maker
calpixqui	house steward
teōpixqui	priest
ichcapixqui	shepherd
coyamepixqui	swineherd, pig keeper
xōchipixqui	gardener

LOCATIVE NOUNS FORMED WITH **-yān**

Just as **-ni** refers to customary action, **-yān** refers to a place where something customarily takes place. The rooms of a house where cooking, dining, and sleeping go on every day are good examples. Likewise, institutions such as schools where activities take place on a regular basis are appropriate to **-yān**. Most **-yan** locatives are formed on the nonactive stem; they are places where nonspecified people-in-general do things. However, **-yān** can be attached to active stems, and it is not uncommon to find such a derivation in possessed form, associated with the name of an individual:

Quextēcatl īchōcayān Quextēcatl's customary weeping place

The processes of compounding and derivation can produce very long words. The notion of 'gold mine', so concise in English, is conveyed by the following ten-syllable Nahuatl locative:

cozticteōcuitlaquīxtīlōyān

The notion of 'precious metal' is expressed in Nahuatl as **teōcuitlatl**, which is made up of the words for 'god' (which as a modifier can mean 'super, extraordinary') and 'excrement'. The precious metals silver and gold are distinguished from one another as **iztāc** 'white' and **coztic** 'yellow' **teōcuitlatl**, respectively. One might literally gloss the word **cozticteōcuitlatl** 'gold' as 'yellow god-excrement'.

In a mine, one makes the precious metal emerge: **quīxtiā**, the causative form of **quīz(a)** 'to go out'. The identity of the miners is of no particular significance, so the verb is cast in the nonactive form: **quīxtīlō**. Mining is an activity that goes on day-in, day-out, so **-yān** is appropriate to the context. Hence: habitual-[[yellow-(god-excrement)]-[cause-to-go-out]]-place

Although **-yān** locatives may grow long in principle, most of those actually attested are not as long as this monster, as you will see from the exercises.

CHAPTER 20 EXERCISES

-ni AGENTIVE EXERCISE 1

Match the agentive nouns in the first column with their English glosses from the second column:

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| 1. huetzcani | 1. one who is covetous of others' property |
| 2. īxhuetzcani | 2. one who desires s.t. |
| 3. nemiliztlacuiloāni | 3. one who laughs |
| 4. tlahtōlihcuiloāni | 4. one who laughs |
| 5. tlachiyani | 5. one who smiles |
| 6. chōcani | 6. one who accompanies s.o. |
| 7. tēcōchītiāni | 7. one who sweeps |
| 8. cuīcani | 8. historian or chronicler |
| 9. ichtacatlachiyani | 9. scribe |
| 10. tlachpānani | 10. one who writes what people say |
| 11. tlahcuiloāni | 11. prostitute |
| 12. tlaēlēhuiāni | 12. one who spies |
| 13. huehhuetzcani | 13. one who waits for s.o. |
| 14. tlaquechcotōnani | 14. watchguard |
| 15. āxīxcozahuiyani | 15. sentinel |
| 16. tlanquiquizcuīca | 16. one who weeps |
| 17. āhuiyani | 17. one who flees |
| 18. tēhuīcani | 18. innkeeper |
| 19. cuīcuīcani | 19. one who cuts and shortens s.t. |
| 20. tēāxcāēlēhuiāni | 20. one who cuts off s.t. ¹ |
| 21. tēchiyani | 21. one who cuts s.t. with his teeth |
| 22. yāōtlachiyani | 22. sufferer from jaundice |
| 23. choloāni | 23. singer |
| 24. tlacotōnani | 24. cricket |
| 25. tlatlancotōnani | 25. one who whistles a tune |

¹ Molina gives this as 'one who cuts off tassels of wheat'. Literally it means 'one who neck-cuts things'.

-ni AGENTIVE EXERCISE 2

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. mazāmachtiāni | 1. tailor |
| 2. xicohcuitlanamacani | 2. fisherman |
| 3. nacanamacani | 3. one who hunts birds |
| 4. tecolnamacani | 4. one who leads singing |
| 5. tlācanamacani | 5. cupbearer |
| 6. tēichtacamictiāni | 6. colt tamer ² |
| 7. michnamacani | 7. teacher |
| 8. mecamaḷinani | 8. cord maker |
| 9. mayānani | 9. wax seller |
| 10. michmāni | 10. one who is hungry |
| 11. iztanamacani | 11. one who killed his mother |
| 12. motzīnnamacani | 12. one who killed his father |
| 13. tēāmacani | 13. stealthy murderer |
| 14. tēmachtiāni | 14. s.t. that dazzles and blinds |
| 15. motahmictiāni | 15. murderer |
| 16. tlācamictiāni | 16. one who shoots an arrow |
| 17. tēcūicamacani | 17. salt seller |
| 18. tlahtzomani | 18. fish seller |
| 19. tōtōmāni | 19. prostitute |
| 20. pahnamacani | 20. meat seller |
| 21. tlatquinamacani | 21. medicine seller |
| 22. tlamīnani | 22. charcoal seller |
| 23. monānmictiāni | 23. slave seller |
| 24. tēixmictiāni | 24. seller of property |

-ni AGENTIVE EXERCISE 3

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. ichtacatlahtōlpiyani | 1. one who rows or stirs s.t. |
| 2. pahpiyani | 2. one who swims with his hands |
| 3. tlazoquinoāni | 3. one who covers s.t. with mud |

²The Nahuatl noun literally means 'deer teacher'. In the sixteenth century, European horses were identified with deer, and for a while *mazātl* was used before *cahuāyoh* took its place.

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| 4. tētēnpachoāni | 4. believer |
| 5. tlapahpaloāni | 5. one who washes s.t. |
| 6. tlapehpenani | 6. one who governs his property and family |
| 7. iztateōcuitlacaxpīani | 7. president or governor |
| 8. tlapiyani | 8. one who bribes s.o. |
| 9. tlapochīnani | 9. one who angers s.o. |
| 10. tēpoloāni | 10. one who licks something |
| 11. tlapācani | 11. elector |
| 12. tēpachoāni | 12. one who chooses s.t. |
| 13. tēyōlquixtiāni | 13. secretary |
| 14. tēpiyani | 14. guardian of silver table service |
| 15. pohpōcani | 15. one who keeps medicines |
| 16. tēquixtiāni | 16. one who protects s.o. |
| 17. tēmāquixtiāni | 17. one who keeps s.t. |
| 18. tēpehpenani | 18. s.t. that gives off smoke |
| 19. tlaneloāni | 19. one who cards cotton or wool |
| 20. tlamāneloāni | 20. one who breaks a treaty |
| 21. tlaneltocani | 21. conqueror |
| 22. tlapachoāni | 22. conqueror of land |
| 23. nenōnōtzalpoloāni | 23. one who digs stone |
| 24. tlālpoloāni | 24. savior |

-ni AGENTIVE EXERCISE 4

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| 1. tlatōcani | 1. one who squeezes out pus |
| 2. huēhuētzotzōnani | 2. one who wastes his property |
| 3. tlatetzotzōnani | 3. one who digs in the earth |
| 4. tēxehxeloāni | 4. one who lies down with a woman |
| 5. tlamauliztlazohtlani | 5. one who flatters and deceives a woman |
| 6. āltepētālaliāni | 6. one who moans |
| 7. tlahtōllāliāni | 7. one who becomes drunk |
| 8. tēmalquixtiāni | 8. one who will not drink wine |
| 9. tlatatacani | 9. founder of a town |
| 10. ēhuahuēhuētzotzōnani | 10. one who sets a price |
| 11. mecahuēhuētzotzōnani | 11. composer of verses |

- | | |
|---------------------|--|
| 12. tlatlazohtlani | 12. one who loves s.o. |
| 13. tētōcāni | 13. one who loves s.t. |
| 14. tētatzayānani | 14. one who loves knowledge |
| 15. tetzintzayānani | 15. gravedigger, one who buries people |
| 16. tēcochtēcāni | 16. sower of seeds |
| 17. ahtlāhuānani | 17. one who quarters people, executioner |
| 18. tlatlāliāni | 18. one who corrupts a virgin |
| 19. tētēcāni | 19. one who tears something to bits |
| 20. tlatatzayānani | 20. tambourine player |
| 21. tenani | 21. drum player |
| 22. tlāhuānani | 22. guitar player |
| 23. tētlazohtlani | 23. one who pounds s.t. (with a stone implement) |
| 24. tlanēnquixtiāni | 24. one who quarters people, executioner |

-qui AGENTIVE EXERCISE 1

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 1. teōcuitlacōzcachīuhqui | 1. one who prepares clay |
| 2. tepozmātlachīuhqui | 2. one who lodges someone |
| 3. huēhuēchīuhqui | 3. one who buys s.t. |
| 4. iztachīuhqui | 4. one who drains water |
| 5. mīlchīuhqui | 5. one who dries skins |
| 6. āhuātzqui | 6. drum maker |
| 7. tomīnchīuhqui ³ | 7. one who makes wool blankets |
| 8. yāōtlatquichīuhqui | 8. salt maker |
| 9. tepozapazchīuhqui | 9. rope maker |
| 10. tlālchīuhqui | 10. one who makes arrows |
| 11. mīchīuhqui | 11. field worker |
| 12. pahchīuhqui | 12. medicine maker |
| 13. ichcatilmahchīuhqui | 13. jewelry maker |
| 14. tlahcohcōuhqui | 14. one who makes gold or silver vessels |
| 15. zoquichīuhqui | 15. one who makes metal cauldrons |
| 16. teōcuitlatecomachīuhqui | 16. one who makes coats of mail |

³This incorporates the Spanish noun *tomín*, which was a unit of currency during the colonial period. Nahuatl and other Mesoamerican languages borrowed the word to simply mean 'money'.

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| 17. tlachihchīuhqui | 17. one who decorates and arranges s.t. |
| 18. tlahtōlchīuhqui | 18. cook |
| 19. tlaxcalchīuhqui | 19. one who composes verses |
| 20. mecachīuhqui | 20. field worker |
| 21. tēcochitihqui | 21. baker |
| 22. ēhuahuātzqui | 22. coin maker |
| 23. tlacualchīuhqui | 23. candle maker |
| 24. xicohcuitlaocochīuhqui | 24. one who makes arms for soldiers |

-qui AGENTIVE EXERCISE 2

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1. āhuilnehnēnqui | 1. one who sweeps s.t. |
| 2. nehnēnqui | 2. thief |
| 3. cuauhtlahnēnqui | 3. one who asks for s.t. |
| 4. tōtōnōtzqui | 4. bookbinder |
| 5. tēnāmicqui | 5. tailor |
| 6. āmaihtzonqui | 6. teacher |
| 7. tēmachtihqui | 7. cord maker |
| 8. nenqui | 8. confessor |
| 9. tlācatecolōnōtzqui | 9. one who shoots an arrow |
| 10. tēpehpenqui | 10. one who evens s.t. up with other things |
| 11. tlazoquinēlohqui | 11. competitor or adversary |
| 12. tlaihtlanqui | 12. one who rows or stirs s.t. |
| 13. tēyōlmēlāuhqui | 13. one who covers something with mud |
| 14. tlanāmicitihqui | 14. carnal and debauched person |
| 15. tlachpānqui | 15. pedestrian |
| 16. tlapahqui | 16. walker |
| 17. cahuāyohpīxqui | 17. vagabond |
| 18. icxinehnēnqui | 18. dweller |
| 19. ahhuīcnēnqui | 19. forest dweller or savage |
| 20. mecamaīnqui | 20. one who invokes the devil |
| 21. tlamīnqui | 21. hunter who uses birdcalls |
| 22. tlanelohqui | 22. one who dyes s.t. |
| 23. ichtecqui | 23. elector |
| 24. tlahtzonqui | 24. one who chooses or picks s.t. up |

25. tlapehpenqui

25. horse groom

-qui AGENTIVE EXERCISE 3

1. tlaticqui

1. one who manages a house, steward

2. pōchtēcatequitqui

2. pig keeper

3. tlatlālihqui

3. shepherd

4. cuīcatlāzqui

4. secretary

5. tlapoztecqui

5. priest

6. nacatētecqui

6. treasurer

7. tlapixqui

7. sacristan

8. teōcuitlapitzqui

8. one who takes care of s.t.

9. tlapītzqui

9. gardener

10. teōcuitlapixqui

10. vineyard keeper

11. calpixqui

11. song composer

12. tequitqui

12. bagpipe player

13. ēhuapītzqui

13. goldsmith

14. tepozpītzqui

14. blacksmith

15. ichcapixqui

15. one who plays a flute or smelts metal

16. teōpixqui

16. hunter who uses birdcalls

17. teōtlatquipixqui

17. one who breaks s.t. (sticks or tree branches)

18. xocomecamīlpixqui

18. one who carves meat

19. tētecqui

19. surgeon

20. tlatlātihqui

20. lapidary

21. tōtōtlapītzqui

21. tax collector

22. ichtacatlahtōlpixqui

22. worker

23. xōchipixqui

23. composer of a song or prose

24. cuīcapīcqui

24. one who hides something

25. coyamepixqui

25. one who begins the singing

-qui AGENTIVE EXERCISE 4

- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| 1. huēhuētzotzōnqui | 1. artilleryman |
| 2. tetzotzōnqui | 2. tambourine player |
| 3. cuauhtēixīptlaxīnqui | 3. one who plays a drum |
| 4. tlazōzōuhqui | 4. one who plays a guitar |
| 5. ēhuatzotzōnqui | 5. stonecutter |
| 6. tēxīnqui | 6. one who plays a drum |
| 7. tēxīfīnīhqui | 7. one who makes wooden statues |
| 8. mecahuēhuētzotzōnqui | 8. carpenter |
| 9. tlequiquiztlāzqui | 9. barber |
| 10. cuauhxīnqui | 10. adulterer |
| 11. tētlaxīnqui | 11. one who puts people to flight |
| 12. tlatzotzōnqui | 12. one who lays out s.t. (like blankets) |

-yān LOCATION EXERCISE 1

Analyze the locative nouns in the first column and match them with their English glosses from the second column:

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| 1. ēhuanamacōyān | 1. meat shop |
| 2. michnamacōyān | 2. quarry |
| 3. ocnamacōyān | 3. tavern |
| 4. netzīnnamacōyān | 4. place where fish are sold |
| 5. nacanamacōyān | 5. store for books or paper |
| 6. pahnamacōyān | 6. tribunal, place where legal proceedings are held |
| 7. tetatacōyān | 7. medicine store |
| 8. tīlacacōyān | 8. brothel |
| 9. āmanamacōyān | 9. hide-selling shop |

-yān LOCATION EXERCISE 2

1. amoxpiyalōyān
2. tlahuītecōyān
3. tlanamacōyān
4. tlapācōyān
5. tlatatacōyān
6. tlaxcalnamacōyān
7. caxmanalōyān
8. tētōcōyān
9. xocomecapātzcōyān

1. market
2. threshing floor
3. kitchen shelf
4. place where grapes are pressed
5. laundry, place where washing is done
6. place where bread is sold
7. library, place where books are kept
8. cemetery
9. place where people dig

-yān LOCATION EXERCISE 3

1. iztachihualōyān
2. neāxīxalōyān
3. nechipāhualōyān
4. cuauhxīmalōyān
5. tēcaltzacualōyān
6. nenōnōtzalōyān
7. pahpiyalōyān
8. tēmachfilōyān
9. tēchīyalōyān

1. parlor, or place for assembly
2. school
3. place where people urinate
4. neighborhood of carpenters
5. saltworks, or place where salt is made
6. place where people are purified
7. inn
8. jail
9. place where medicine is kept

-yān LOCATION EXERCISE 4

1. tlapītzalōyān
2. tlacualchihchihualōyān
3. tlapatlalōyān
4. tlapīyalōyān
5. tlamālōyān
6. tlaōyalōyān
7. tetlapānalōyān
8. tiānquizmanalōyān
9. tlazōhualōyān

1. place where people hunt
2. place people play flutes or smelt metal
3. fair or market
4. place where ears of corn are shelled
5. kitchen
6. place where something is kept
7. quarry
8. place where s.t. is spread out (such as clothes)
9. place of exchange

21. DENOMINAL VERBS

Examples of nouns being transformed into verbs in English are to use the noun **bomb** as an intransitive verb: "The play bombed on Broadway," or the noun **ax** as a transitive verb: "He axed all his company's managers."

In Nahuatl, one cannot simply use a noun as a verb directly, since Nahuatl nouns and verbs have more involved morphology than their English counterparts. For a noun to be used as a verb, it needs to be made into a verb stem to which the verbal inflectional suffixes can be attached.

MAKING VERBS FROM NOUNS

(1) with -ti:

A productive way to make verbs meaning 'to be/become a (noun)' or 'to become (like a) (noun)' is to simply add the suffix -ti to the noun.

tlāca-tl	person
tlācati	to be born, to become a person
zoqui-tl	mud
zoquiti	to get/become muddy
omi-tl	bone
omiti	to become like a bone (i.e., thin)

Verbs derived with -ti are Class 1 intransitive verbs that form the preterite singular by adding -c. This preterite form (without antecessive *ō-*) is often best translated into English as an adjective. However, lacking articles and grammatical gender which would call for agreement, Nahuatl does not have a grammatical class *adjective* clearly distinct from *nouns/substantives*. (We have more to say about this below.) These -tic forms are more accurately thought of as equivalent to English past participles (which also are used adjectivally in English):

tīl-li	ink
tīlti	to become like ink (i.e., black)

tīltic	s.t. that has become like ink (hence, black)
cihuā-tl	woman
cihuāti	to become a woman/like a woman
cihuātic	s.o. effeminate (i.e., s.o. who has become like a woman)

(2) with -tiya:

Some verbs derived from nouns with the same sense as -ti verbs have a longer form: -tiya, but the *qualitative* ("adjectival") form drops the -ya when adding -c:

ā-tl	water
ātiya	to melt (i.e., to become like water)
ātic	s.t. melted

Most verbs formed with this longer form are Class 1 verbs that form the preterite by adding -c, but some have alternative preterite forms in which the final -a drops, and y changes to x:

ātiya	it melts
ōātiyac, ōāfix	it melted

The same lengthening of i before x that we have seen in verbs like piy(a) and chiy(a) may apply to these derived verbs, as can be seen in ōāti_x. Sometimes the relationship between -tiya/-tiy(a) verbs, their related qualitative forms, and the source noun may be a challenge to the imagination: etiy(a) 'to become heavy' and etic 's.t. heavy' appear to be derived from etl 'bean'.

(3) with -tiā:

Verbs derived with -tiya are intransitive and should not be confused with a type of Class 3 verb derived from nouns by adding -tiā. These Class 3 verbs are used either transitively or reflexively. They look like causatives, but they are derived from nouns, not verbs, and the sense is more applicative than causative.

āxcāi-tl	property, possessions
āxcātiā	to give possession of s.t. to s.o.
yaca-tl	nose
yacatiā	to sharpen s.t., to give s.t. a point

cal-li	house
caltīā	to build oneself a house (reflexive)
te-tl	stone
tetiā	to lay eggs (reflexive) (Cf. tōtoltetl 'bird egg')

(4) with -oā:

The derivational suffix -oā also makes nouns into Class 3 verbs, most of them intransitive. (Not all -oā verbs are derived from nouns. These derived -oā verbs here simply join the company of Class 3 verbs.)

tlaxcal-li	tortilla
tlaxcaloā	to make tortillas
teponāz-tli	lateral log drum
teponāzoā	to play the teponaztli
malaca-tl	spindle
malacachoā	to revolve (reflexive), to spin s.t. (transitive)
-tech	together with (postposition)
netech	(two objects) close to each other (reflexive/reciprocal)
netechoā	to connect s.t. to another thing (transitive)

(5) with -huiā:

The applicative of these verbs is formed by replacing -oā with -huiā. When -huiā is added directly to a noun, it means 'to use, wield s.t. with respect to s.o.' or 'to make s.t. for s.o.' Notice once again that the applicative is completely noncommittal about whether the effect is good or bad for the recipient of the action of the verb; it can mean 'to', 'on', 'for', or 'from'.

cuauhhuiā	to beat s.o. with a stick (literally: to use a stick on s.o.)
tamalhuiā	to make tamales for s.o.

(6) with -ihu(i):

There is a verb ihu(i) meaning 'to be or become a certain way'. It has a much less than complete paradigm, being limited to the singular present and preterite only, and it is

mainly lexicalized as particles: *ih* 'thus, so, such', *ihqui* 'thus, in such a manner'.¹ Some transitive *-oā* verbs made from nouns have intransitive counterparts made by adding *-ihu(i)* to the noun:

<i>tlil-li</i>	ink
<i>tliloā</i>	to make s.t. become black like ink (transitive)
<i>tlilihu(i)</i>	to become black like ink ²

The verb *tamaloā* used intransitively means 'to engage in tamale making', but it can also be used transitively. It then has an intransitive counterpart *tamalihu(i)*:

<i>tamaloā</i>	to engage in tamale-making (intransitive)
<i>tamaloā</i>	to make s.t. become like a tamale, to shape s.t. into a lump (transitive)
<i>tamalihu(i)</i>	to become shaped like a tamale (intransitive)

These suffixes that are used to derive verbs from nouns are not restricted to basic noun stems. They may also be added to derived noun stems. Particularly productive are transitive *-tiā* and intransitive *-hua* added to nouns derived with *-yō-tl*:

<i>zoquitl</i>	mud
<i>zoquiyōtiā</i>	to get s.t. muddy
<i>xālli</i>	sand
<i>xāllōhua</i>	to get sandy

SUBJECT PREFIXES ATTACHED DIRECTLY TO NOUNS

Having said at the beginning that in Nahuatl nouns cannot be used as verbs without being converted into verbs with one or another of the above suffixes, how are we to account for the fact that Nahuatl nouns are to be found with subject prefixes attached directly to them with no change whatsoever in their shape?

You will recall that the copula verb *cah* 'to be' is optional in sentences such as:

Nomīl ōmpa. My field is over there.

¹These two particles are generally, and misleadingly, written "yuh" and "yuhqui" in Nahuatl documents. One needs to keep in mind that there is no /u/ vowel in Nahuatl. In these written forms, the "y" represents the vowel /i/, and the "uh" is the digraph for /w/. Phonetically these particles are /iw/ and /iwki/, not /yuh/ and /yuhki/.

²This is synonymous with the *-ti* derivation: *tlīlti* 'to become black like ink'.

It is also optional in *equational sentences* such as:

Maria tonān.	Maria is our mother.
Xuan tēpahtiāni.	Xuan is a curer.

But what about sentences that have as subject not a noun but a pronoun? In these cases, in addition to the pronoun, the subject prefixes attach directly to nouns to form the equivalent of English equational sentences with predicate nouns:

Nehhuātl <u>nicihuātl</u> .	As for me, I am a woman.
-----------------------------	--------------------------

In fact, the presence of the pronoun provides a degree of emphasis that one may not want, in which case the pronoun is omitted, but the subject prefix must remain:

Nicihuātl.	I am a woman.
Nicnōcihuātl.	I am a poor woman.
Tahtlācatl.	You are a poor excuse for a human being. ³
Timēxihcah.	We are Mexica, we are Aztecs.
Amoquichtin.	Y'all are men.

In these constructions, although the subject prefixes are present, the noun is not converted into a verb. It does not take any tense markings. If one wants to say "I will be a woman," one must use a denominal verb:

Nicihuātiz.

NAHUATL ADJECTIVES (OR THE LACK THEREOF)

How do we recognize an adjective and distinguish it from a noun or a *substantive*, i.e., an attribute word used as a noun, as in Spanish *el pobre* 'the poor one, the poor fellow'? In Spanish the answer is clear. A true noun has grammatical gender. An adjective does not have inherent gender but agrees with the noun it modifies (whether expressed or unexpressed). That is, if one asks for "*dos frías*," one is asking for "*cervezas*" rather than "*refrescos*."

Whereas in Spanish, the mark of an adjective is its gender and number agreement, in English, an adjective is notable for the fact that it does not take plural -s; one says "the red tables", not "the reds tables".

³ < ti-ahtlācatl; ah- 'not' and tlācatl 'person'

Naturally, in both English and Spanish adjectives can be used as substantives: "The Reds are perceived as a threat to western democracy." "Los pobres del mundo ..."

In Nahuatl, there is simply no distinct grammatical category for adjectives, no test of agreement with nouns, no special inflectional morphology. Some grammarians feel that *-tic* is an adjective-forming suffix, but as can be seen from the associated *-ti* verbs, it is *-ti-c*, the preterite form of verbs derived from nouns. (How subtle of the Nahuatl!)

Historically Nahuatl has been very quick to borrow Spanish nouns and extremely resistant to borrowing Spanish adjectives except in cases where the Spanish adjectives could be interpreted as substantives.

Lately some Spanish words have been borrowed into Nahuatl with *-tic* added to the end of them. This may mean that Nahuatl has over centuries of contact with Spanish acquired the grammatical class *adjective* and Nahuatl speakers now think of *-tic* words as "adjectivos" made by adding a unitary suffix *-tic* that has nothing to do with making verbs of nouns and preterites of the resulting verbs. But this is not an absolutely sure thing.

CHAPTER 21 EXERCISES

-ti DERIVATION EXERCISE 1

Inspect the following Nahuatl verbs and identify their component elements. Tell which meaning each noun has by labelling it with the appropriate number from the second column:

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. ònitlācat | 1. he will become a merchant |
| 2. tahtlehti ⁴ | 2. you become nothing |
| 3. mazātiz | 3. you will become an old woman |
| 4. pōchtēcatiz | 4. he becomes young |
| 5. niteōpixcātiz | 5. we will become old |
| 6. tilamatiz | 6. I was born, I became a person |
| 7. tihuēhuehtizqueh | 7. he will become an animal |
| 8. tēlpōchti | 8. I will become a doctor, midwife |
| 9. nīcīcitiz | 9. I will become a priest |

-ti DERIVATION EXERCISE 2

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1. āhuiyanitiz | 1. they will become captives |
| 2. titlāltiz | 2. I am a glutton |
| 3. tlācohtih | 3. you will become earth |
| 4. mālūzqueh ⁵ | 4. they become slaves |
| 5. nicuetzpalti ⁶ | 5. she will become a prostitute |
| 6. tiyōllōtetizqueh | 6. you will become careful and diligent |
| 7. nohomitiz | 7. I will become thin and bony |
| 8. tēltiz | 8. he will get well |
| 9. zoquiti | 9. you will become sinewy and skinny |
| 10. titlahtlalhuatiz | 10. he gets wet, soaked, muddy |
| 11. iztlacatizqueh | 11. we will become hard of heart |
| 12. pahtiz | 12. they will lie |

⁴ < ahtleh 'nothing'

⁵ < mālli 'captive'

⁶ < cuetzpalin 'iguana, lizard'. This is a metaphor.

-ti DERIVATION EXERCISE 3

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| 1. nelti | 1. you will be esteemed |
| 2. timahuiztiz | 2. it will begin to exist, it will be established |
| 3. nicaquizti ⁷ | 3. it is verified or confirmed |
| 4. tzīntiz | 4. I speak loudly and clearly |

-tiya/-tiy(a) EXERCISE

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. nicoztiya | 1. it hardens |
| 2. ātiya | 2. he is orphaned |
| 3. tepoztiya | 3. it becomes hard like iron |
| 4. tiyēctiya | 4. I turn yellow |
| 5. icnōpiltiya | 5. you become young again |
| 6. tetiya | 6. they unite |
| 7. titēlpōchtiya | 7. I turn into earth |
| 8. nitlāltiya | 8. it melts |
| 9. cētiyah, centiyah | 9. you become good |

-ti-c QUALITATIVE EXERCISE 1

The following qualitative derivations are formed by adding **-c** to derived **-ti** verbs. Match the Nahuatl word in the first column with its gloss from the second column:

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. tlalhuatic | 1. black |
| 2. yacacuātic | 2. refined, like a nobleman |
| 3. xaxaltic | 3. melted or runny |
| 4. īxtliltic | 4. yellow |
| 5. coztic ⁸ | 5. cured |

⁷ < caquiztli 'sound, voice that is clearly heard'

⁸ There is no clear source for coztic. There is a noun cōztli 'necklace, collar', but it has contrasting vowel length. It is abundantly clear that cōztli and related cōzcatl have long vowels and that the words incorporating coztic 'yellow' have a corresponding short vowel.

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 6. piltic | 6. having nerves and sinews |
| 7. tetic | 7. feminine |
| 8. zoquitic | 8. without a nose (cut off) |
| 9. chīchīltic | 9. having a long wide nose |
| 10. tēntzontīltic | 10. hard like a rock |
| 11. ātic | 11. thin and bony |
| 12. pahtic | 12. wet, muddy |
| 13. cuāchīchīltic | 13. sparse, like a blanket or mat |
| 14. tīltic | 14. red |
| 15. cihuātic | 15. black faced |
| 16. yacahuictic ⁹ | 16. red-headed bird |
| 17. ohomitic | 17. black-bearded |

-ti-c QUALITATIVE EXERCISE 2

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| 1. īxpiyāztic ¹⁰ | 1. having a large head |
| 2. cuācōcoztic | 2. having large lips |
| 3. nextic | 3. green |
| 4. tēmmetlapīltic | 4. very soft, juicy |
| 5. ātōltic | 5. having a long sharp nose, or something similar |
| 6. camohtic | 6. soft, like well cooked sweet potatoes |
| 7. yacapiyāztic | 7. soft, like mashed sweet potatoes |
| 8. piyāztic | 8. blond haired |
| 9. quiltic | 9. long and thin |
| 10. cācamohuc | 10. sweet |
| 11. yacahuitztic | 11. ash-colored |
| 12. neuctic | 12. finely ground |
| 13. textic | 13. having a long straight nose |
| 14. cuāmetlapīltic | 14. long-faced |

⁹The second element in this word is the stem of *huictli* 'digging stick'. We are not sure about the vowel length of the vowel in *huic-*.

¹⁰This is not derived from the verb *piy(a)* but is related to *piyāzoā* 'to make s.t. long and straight'.

-ti-c QUALITATIVE EXERCISE 3

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| 1. catzactic | 1. sharp or having a cutting edge |
| 2. canactic | 2. hard |
| 3. huitztic | 3. pointed and narrow at the base |
| 4. cuechactic | 4. sharp-tipped |
| 5. tēnīztic | 5. firm and strong |
| 6. huapactic | 6. damp or wet |
| 7. tzatzayactic | 7. slippery |
| 8. pitzactic | 8. weak, loose, or limp; of little courage |
| 9. zotlactic | 9. straight |
| 10. cōtztōtomactic | 10. having heavy calves of the legs |
| 11. tzīnhuitztic | 11. thin or flat |
| 12. chīchipactic | 12. clean |
| 13. chiyactic | 13. strong and stiff |
| 14. tepīztic | 14. oily |
| 15. chicactic | 15. broken or cut into many pieces |
| 16. alactic | 16. dirty, filthy |
| 17. melactic | 17. slender |

-tiā EXERCISE 1

Match the derived verbs in the first column with their meanings from the second column:

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| 1. nicyacatia | 1. it sprouts branches |
| 2. tinēchihtacatia | 2. we put a mask on him |
| 3. tictēāxcātia | 3. you give possession of it to someone |
| 4. ninocōzcatia | 4. you provide me with food for the road |
| 5. ticxāyacatiah | 5. I adorn myself with gold and jewels |
| 6. nimitzcuīcatia | 6. I give music to you |
| 7. momātia | 7. I put arms on it (e.g., a statue) |
| 8. momāxtlatia | 8. he puts on his loincloth |
| 9. nicmahmātia | 9. I sharpen or put a point on it |

-tiā EXERCISE 2

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1. nimitzcorōnahtia ¹¹ | 1. I put a horseshoe on it (i.e., a horse) |
| 2. tinēchpahtia | 2. you take charge of s.t. |
| 3. ninocactia | 3. you cure me |
| 4. tinēchtequitia | 4. you keep the best seed for sowing |
| 5. timoxināchtia | 5. you give work to me |
| 6. ninotēicnīuhtia | 6. I put a crown on you |
| 7. motetia | 7. it lays eggs |
| 8. nictepozcactia | 8. I put on sandals |
| 9. ticmotequitia | 9. I become a friend of s.o. |

-tiā EXERCISE 3

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 1. nictēntia | 1. he puts chile pepper in it |
| 2. ninocaltia | 2. I put a blanket on you |
| 3. timonāntia | 3. he sets himself up as a god |
| 4. nimitzquēntia | 4. I build a house for myself |
| 5. quichillōtia | 5. I sharpen it (e.g., a knife) |
| 6. moteōtia | 6. your hair grows |
| 7. timotzontia | 7. I draw it, I make a sign on it |
| 8. nimitzāmacaltia | 8. I put a cone-shaped paper cap on you |
| 9. nicmachiyōtia ¹² | 9. you take s.o. as a mother or godmother |

-yō-tiā EXERCISE

Match the derived verbs in the first column with their meanings from the second column:

- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| 1. quinelhuayōtia | 1. it (e.g., water) makes waves |
| 2. nictēnmecayōtia | 2. he becomes fat |
| 3. monacayōtia | 3. I put water in it |
| 4. nicxicohcuitlayōtia | 4. I put a halter on it (e.g., a horse) |

¹¹ < Spanish *corona* 'crown, tonsure'.

¹² < *machiyōtl* 'sign'

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| 5. mocuēcuēyōtia | 5. I wax it |
| 6. tinēchtepozmecayōtia | 6. you inspire me with s.t. |
| 7. ticmecayōtia | 7. you chain me |
| 8. tinēchyōllōtia | 8. you put cords on it |
| 9. nicāyōtia | 9. he roots it in s.t. (e.g., authority) |
| 10. niczoquiyōtia | 10. I get it muddy |

-huiā EXERCISE 1

Match the derived verbs in the first column with their meanings from the second column:

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. ticchīlāhuia | 1. he chains you |
| 2. niquiztācteōcuitlahuia | 2. he goldplates it |
| 3. tēmātlahuia | 3. he nets s.o. |
| 4. quimecahuia | 4. I put s.t. under my arm |
| 5. mitztepozmecahuia | 5. he ties it with cords |
| 6. nitlaciyacahuia | 6. you pour chile water into it |
| 7. tinēchiztlacahuia | 7. he fertilizes it with manure |
| 8. quicozticteōcuitlahuia | 8. you deceive me |
| 9. quicuitlahuia | 9. I silverplate it |

-huiā EXERCISE 2

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 1. timahhuahuia | 1. you beat it with a stone |
| 2. quēhuahuia | 2. I wax it |
| 3. nitlahuichuia ¹³ | 3. I dig in the earth with a hoe, digging stick |
| 4. nicxicohcuitlahuia | 4. he blackens it with soot |
| 5. tiquimāmahuia | 5. you wrap them with paper |
| 6. niquiztahuia | 6. you prick yourself with a thorn |
| 7. quicalcuēchhuia | 7. I put salt in it |
| 8. tictehuia | 8. he covers it with skin or leather |
| 9. tinēchtamalhuia | 9. you make tamales for me |

¹³Notice that this contains **-huic-huiā**. In this case, **ch** is not a digraph; instead, **c** is followed by the digraph **hu**. The incorporated noun is **huictli** 'digging stick', and we are not sure of the vowel length.

-huiā EXERCISE 3

- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. ticzoquihuia | 1. I make tortillas for you |
| 2. quitepozmihuia | 2. you point at me |
| 3. tinēchmahpilhuia | 3. you put mud on it |
| 4. ninahmōlhuia | 4. he shoots it with an arrow |
| 5. quitlālhuiah | 5. you all put chile pepper in it |
| 6. nimitztlaxcalhuia | 6. I wash myself with soap |
| 7. anquichilhuia | 7. they put earth on it |

-huiā EXERCISE 4

- | | |
|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. nictexōlōhuia | 1. you smear it with pinepitch |
| 2. ninezhuia | 2. I get myself bloody |
| 3. ticocotzohuia | 3. I mash it with a stone pestle |
| 4. quinexhuia | 4. you prick me with a thorn |
| 5. tinēchhuitzhuia | 5. he puts ashes on it |

-oā EXERCISE 1

Match the derived verbs in the first column with their meanings from the second column:

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. ammāpihpītzoah | 1. you make tortillas |
| 2. antlacualoah | 2. y'all prepare a meal |
| 3. niquiquizoa | 3. I play a trumpet |
| 4. tāyacachoa | 4. y'all whistle with your fingers |
| 5. cuitlapilāyacachoa | 5. I tell jokes or witticisms |
| 6. teponāzoah | 6. you play a rattle |
| 7. titlaxcaloa | 7. it wags its tail |
| 8. tamaloah | 8. they make tamales |
| 9. nicamanāloa ¹⁴ | 9. they play a hollow log drum |

¹⁴ < camanālli 'joke'

-oā EXERCISE 2

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| 1. tictlilloa | 1. you turn red in the face |
| 2. ninoteponāzoa | 2. I swell (like a drum; e.g., from dropsy) |
| 3. timīxchīchīloa | 3. I make it red |
| 4. nicchīchīloa | 4. you blacken it |

-yō-hua EXERCISE 1

Match the derived verbs in the first column with their meanings from the second column:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 1. nichicoyōllōhua | 1. it fills up with flies |
| 2. nīxocuillōhua | 2. it gets covered with worms |
| 3. titlillōhua | 3. you get blackened or covered with soot |
| 4. tōmeyōllōhua ¹⁵ | 4. you doubt |
| 5. zāyōllōhua | 5. it gets sandy |
| 6. ocuillōhua | 6. I have freckles on my face |
| 7. nitōcāyōhua | 7. I suspect |
| 8. tlahzōllōhua | 8. it gets covered with trash |
| 9. xāllōhua | 9. I become famous |

-yō-hua EXERCISE 2

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| 1. tāzcayōhua | 1. it sprouts roots (e.g., a tree) |
| 2. nelhuayōhua | 2. I get covered with filth (e.g., sweat) |
| 3. iztayōhua | 3. we become famous |
| 4. cuitlayōhuah | 4. it gets salty |
| 5. timahuizzōhuah | 5. you get covered with ants |
| 6. tzonyōhua | 6. he gets covered with hair |
| 7. nitzoyōhua | 7. you get bloody |
| 8. tezyōhua | 8. they get covered with excrement |

¹⁵ < ōmeyōlli 'double heart'

-ihu(i) EXERCISE

Match the derived verbs in the first column with their meanings from the second column:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 1. xiquipilīhui ¹⁶ | 1. it turns black |
| 2. tīlīhui | 2. I get covered with dirt |
| 3. nīxtlālīhui | 3. it becomes very shiny |
| 4. tichīchīlīhui | 4. it bulges (like poorly sewn clothes) |
| 5. tepitōnīhui ¹⁷ | 5. you turn red |
| 6. petzīhui ¹⁸ | 6. it becomes small |

¹⁶ < xiquipilli 'purse, pouch'

¹⁷ < tepitōn 's.t. small, insignificant'

¹⁸ < petztli 'pyrite'

22. COMPOUND NOUNS

We began with mainly basic nouns and verbs and first covered inflection, then derivation. From the beginning, however, we have dealt with some compounds such as the following from Vocabulary List 1:

chichicalli	doghouse	
pitzonacatl	pork	(literally: pig meat)
xōchimilli	garden	(literally: flower field)

Nahuatl is very rich in compound words. It makes use of many noun-noun combinations like these, and also compounds of compounds:

tōtōtetl	(wild) bird egg (literally: bird stone)
tōtōtecaxitl	bird's nest (literally: bird-stone bowl)

xocotl	fruit
xocomecatl	grape vine
yacatl	nose
yacatzontli	nose hair
xocomecayacatzontli	tendrils of a grape vine (little curling shoots that secure it)

In a noun-noun compound, the first noun modifies the second. For instance, **te-teōtl** is a 'stone god', but **teō-tetl** is a 'divine stone', i.e., jet or black obsidian. This is analogous to English, in which a townhouse is a type of house, a grocery store is a type of store, a shoe box is a type of box, etc. In Nahuatl compounds of this sort, when you have X-Y, expect the meaning to be 'an X sort of Y'.

To form a noun-noun compound, one simply removes the absolutive suffix from the first noun and joins the resulting noun stem to the second noun. The absolutive suffix of the second noun then serves for the whole thing. In general, vowels do not drop, although in pronunciation, two identical vowels will merge into one long one. If one or both of the vowels is already long, it can't get any longer.

There are a very few unusual cases.

ātl, tepētl	>	āltepētl	town
teōtl, calli	>	teohcalli	temple, church

Some nouns that end in *i* sometimes drop it along with the absolutive suffix:

<i>xōchitl, ātl</i>	>	<i>xōchātl</i>	rose water, perfume
<i>cōmitl, tīlli</i>	>	<i>cōntīlli</i>	soot from pots

Generally the meaning of a compound word is more or less the sum of its parts, but in some cases the sense is metaphorical or simply rather opaque:

<i>zaca-ah^ulapalli</i>	grass leaf (literally: grass-wing)	i.e., <i>ah^ulapalli</i>
<i>tlācatecolōtl</i>	devil (literally: person-owl)	

The following examples illustrate the type of dynamic word formation which Nahuatl makes use of. After the compound word, the component words are given in citation form.

<i>tepozāmatl</i>	metal foil
<i>tepoztlī</i>	metal
<i>āmatl</i>	paper
<i>tōnalāmatl</i>	calendar
<i>tōnalli</i>	day
<i>āmatl</i>	paper
<i>āmoxcalli</i>	bookstore
<i>āmoxtlī</i>	book
<i>calli</i>	house
<i>āmoxtōcāitl</i>	book title
<i>āmoxtlī</i>	book
<i>tōcāitl</i>	name
<i>ācalli</i>	boat, canoe
<i>ātl</i>	water
<i>calli</i>	house
<i>calnacaztlī</i>	corner of a house
<i>calli</i>	house
<i>nacaztlī</i>	ear

In the exercises you will have the opportunity to become acquainted with many more Nahuatl compound nouns and get a sense of the somewhat extended and metaphorical senses of some common nouns that are particularly productive in the compounding process.

tlāltetl	clod of earth
tliltetl	paragraph mark or a diacritical mark in a manuscript
tzintetl	foundation of a wall
tehuapalli	large wide tombstone or slab
texālli	sandy stone for grinding stones
xāltetl	pebble
texocotl	tejocote, apple of the Indies (type of fruit)
xocotetl	very green fruit, and yet to ripen (often used to mean 'plum')
cuahtexōlōtl	wooden pestle of a mortar, tejolote
ātēzcatl	pool of water, or a water gauge
īxtēzcatl	spectacles
tilmahcactli	cloth slipper
tilmahcuitlapilli	tail of a piece of clothing
ēhuatilmahtli	leather garment
ocotōchtulmahtli	cape made from martens' hides
tilmahocuilin	clothes moth
tilmahtēntli	edge of a piece of clothing
āltepētācatl	townsman, layman (not of a holy order), vecino
(i)cnōtlācatl	orphan or needy person
iztatācatl	salt maker
tlācamazātl	person who behaves like a beast, s.o. vicious, rabid
tlācamichin	catfish or a large fish
cihuātlācamichin	mermaid
mīllacatl	worker or peasant
tlācanacatl	human flesh
tlācatecolōtl	devil
tlācaxināchtli	semen
cihuātlācohtli	female slave
cōtztlalhuatl	tendons of the calf of the leg
tlalhuamecatl	guitar string
metztlalhuatl	tendons of the leg
quechtlalhuatl	tendons of the neck
āltepētālalli	community lands
ātālalli	irrigated land
tlālāl	bog
callālalli	house yard, ground that is next to a house

tlālcoyōtl	kind of burrowing jackal which hides underground
teōcuitlatlālli	gold dust
tepoztlālli	iron filings
tlālmāitl	laborer or worker
tlālmecatl	cord for measuring fields
tlālcuahuitl	rod for measuring fields
tlālōztōtl	underground chamber or basement
cōātlantli	fang
cōātlancapolin	blackberry fruit
cōātlānxocotl	blackberry fruit
tlānocuilin	caries, cavities (perceived as caused by a worm that ruins teeth)
tlānomitl	ivory
tlāhtohcācihuāpilli	princess or great lady
tlāhtohcāicpalli	throne
tlāhtohcāpilli	nobleman
tlāhtohcātilmahtli	royal or lordly clothing
tlāhtohcātlatquitl	property of a king or of the nobility
teōtlatquicalli	sacristy
cahuāyohtlatquitl	harness and trappings for a horse
chāntlatquitl	household furniture
tlecalli	chimney
tlecaxitl	clay incense burner
tepoztlecaxitl	metal incense burner
tlecōmitl	crucible for melting gold
tlelmāitl	clay scoop for carrying fire
tepoztlelmāitl	fire shovel
tlelmōyōtl	spark
tlelmōyōnextli	dead spark
tlexōchtli	red-hot coal (note variant form of xōchtli)
nextlexōchtli	embers
tlecuahuitl	fire drill, wooden instrument for making fire
tlilāzcatl	black ant (poisonous)
cactlilli	shoemaker's dye
tlilcōātl	black snake
comāltlilli	soot from a griddle
cōntlilli	soot from pots

ocotlilli	black stain from pine smoke
t̄iltecomatl	inkwell
t̄ilhuāuhli	wild black amaranth
t̄ilxōchitl	vanilla bean plant
tōcāāmatl	registry of names
āmoxitōcāitl	book title
tēuctōcāitl	renowned lineage
ātocatl	water spider
tōchcalli	rabbit burrow
tōchconētl	bunny, young rabbit
ocotōchli	mountain cat or marten
tōtolācatl	quill or feather for writing
tōtolācatecomatl	inkwell
tōtoltetl	chicken, turkey egg
tōtolcalli	henhouse
cihuātōtolin	hen, turkey hen
tōtolconētl	chick
tōtolcuitlatl	chicken dung
(i)chpōchtōtolin	pullet which is beginning to lay eggs
teohcaltōtōtl	sparrow
tōtōtecaxtli	birds' nest
tōtōchiquihuitl	birds' nest
tōtōconētl	young (wild) bird
tōtōmātlatl	net for hunting birds
quetzaltōtōtl	bird with rich green plumage
tōtōtlacualtecomatl	gizzard of a bird
tōtōtēntli	beak of a bird
tōtōtēnhuitztli	beak of a bird
tzīnicpalli	small portable chair
tzīntamalli	buttock
tzīntepoztli	hilt of a lance or staff
tzīntetl	foundation of a wall
ahcoltzontli	shoulder hair
tzoncalli	wig
āmatzoncalli	(conical) paper helmet
camatzontli	cheek fuzz

tzonicpalli	pillow, headrest
metztzontli	leg hairs
cuātzontli	hairs of the head
quechtzontli	mane
tzontecomatl	skull, head
tēntzontli	beard
yacatzontli	nose hairs
xocomecayacatzontli	tendrils of a vineshoot
tzoātl	washwater
tzocuitlatl	body sweat
ocotzotl	pine resin
ocotzotetl	pitch or tar (congealed resin)
mātzōtzopāztlī	forearm
cachupalli	sole or last of a shoe
huapalcalli	house or hut made of boards
tehuapalli	large wide tombstone or slab
ēhuahuēhuētl	tambourine
mecahuēhuētl	guitar
āhuictli	oar
tepozhuictli	iron hoe
huīlōcalli	pigeonhouse
huīlōconētl	young pigeon
oquichhuīlōtl	male pigeon
tlācahuīlōtl	gray pigeon with a white neck
ichcahuīpīlli	padded armor for battle
tepozhuīpīlli	upper-body armor
tepoz mātlahuīpīlli	coat of chain mail
cōāhuitzmecatī	bramble
huitzomitl	needle for sewing
cuauhhuitztli	kind of thorn bush
huitzcuahuītl	thorny tree
huitzquilitl	cardoon, an edible thistle-like plant
huitzquiltzontecomatl	artichoke
tlācatecolōhuitztli	kind of thistle or thorn
āxālli	kind of sand with which they cut precious stones
āzcaxālli	anthill

iztaxālli	grain of salt
xātemalacatl	stone roller for sharpening tools
texālli	sandy stone for grinding tools
xāltetl	pebble
cuāxīcalli	skull of the head
cuauhxīcalli	wooden container, vessel
xīcaltecomatl	vessel made of a gourd
tlancuāxīcalli	knee bone
ātexīcolli	scrotum, sack of the testicles
xīcohcuitlatl	wax
xīcohcuitlaocotl	candle
āxīctli	whirlpool
ēhuaxiquipilli	leather bag
mātlaxiquipilli	net bag
mīxiquipilli	quiver for arrows
teōcuitlaxiquipilli	money bag
āxīxcalli	outhouse, latrine
āxīxcōmitl	chamberpot
āxīxtecomatl	bladder
xōchātl	rose water, perfume
xōchicōzcatl	garland of flowers
xōchineuctli	nectar, sweet liquid in flowers
omixōchitl	a white, fragrant lily-like flower
xōchitōtōtl	kind of yellow bird
xōchihuāuhtli	wild yellow amaranth
yōllohxōchitl	magnolia
xocomecatl	grapevine
xocomecamāitl	vineshoot or tendril
xocoicxītī	stem of a piece of fruit
xoco-octli	beverage made from fermented fruit, tepache
xococuahuitl	fruit tree
xocoyōllohtli	fruit pit
ācalyacatl	prow of a ship
yaca-ātōlli	mucus
yacacuitlatl	mucus
tozcayacacuitlatl	phlegm

yāōcalli	fortress
yāōihtacatl	food for battle
meyōllohtli	heart of the maguey (century cactus)
ococentli	pine cone
ococenyōllohtli	pine seed
cuāyōllohtli	crown of the head
zaca-ahtlapalli	grass leaf
zacachīmalli	arbor for shade, ramada
zacamecatl	rope made of grass
zacaocuilin	grass worm
zoquiātl	mud, muddy water
zoquitecomatl	clay cup

COMPOUND RECOGNITION EXERCISE 2

Give the English meaning of the following Nahuatl words. List the component elements of each word and their meanings:

pahcalli
 ācalli
 āmoxtōcātl
 āxīxcalli
 ācachiquihuitl
 omicaxitl
 tōnalāmatl
 tepozāmatl
 tzoncalli
 meocuilin
 ēlchiquihuitl
 ācītlalin
 calocuilin
 cihuāteōpixqui
 xoco-octli
 ācaxitl
 āmoxcalli

cihuātlācamichin

pitzocalli

chōquizcuīcatl

Create ten original compound nouns and give their meanings.

23. NOUN-VERB COMPOUNDS

In the preceding chapter we examined noun-noun compounds. Nahuatl is also rich in noun-verb constructions. Nouns may be attached to verbs either as incorporated objects or as manner adverbials.

REVIEW OF OBJECT INCORPORATION

We might profitably compare the two possible positions of direct objects in Nahuatl with the two options for postpositions. With postpositions one can have the postposition following a possessive prefix, and the noun after:

īpan calli at the house (literally: its-at the house)

Or one can attach the postposition directly to the noun:

calpan at the house (literally: the house-at)

One has a similar pair of options with direct objects. With transitive verbs we have an object prefix attached to the verb, and then the direct object itself following the verb:

nicchīhua cactli I am making a shoe/shoes. (literally: I-it-make shoe(s))

The other option is to replace the object prefix with the noun stem itself:

niccacchīhua I am engaged in shoemaking.

Recall that one can only incorporate the direct object noun into the verb if the object is *generic/nonspecific*. The sentence immediately above cannot refer to any particular shoe or shoes. And as a matter of fact, one might get interrupted and never get a single shoe finished, for which reason this sort of construction seems more natural in the imperfect than in the preterite. Object incorporation is also highly compatible with the customary present and is the source of such nouns as *michnamacani* 'fish seller' and *āmoxpōhuani* 'book reader'. These refer to individuals who customarily sell fish and customarily read books in general, not specific fish and specific books. Likewise, a *cacchīuhqui* is a shoemaker, one who makes shoes in general, and a *pitzopixqui* looks after pigs in general—some this year, others next year, etc.

Observe this difference:

Nit <u>l</u> achīhua	I am making s.t. (and I'm not saying what it is).
Nic <u>h</u> īhua	I am making it.
Nic <u>h</u> īhua <u>cactli</u>	I am making a shoe/shoes (some specific one/ones).
Nic <u>a</u> cchīhua	I am engaged in shoe-making.

By definition, object incorporation can only be done with transitive verbs (i.e., verbs that take direct objects), because otherwise there would be no object available to incorporate. If a verb is intransitive, it cannot participate in this process, but its causative form may:

miqu(i)	to die
mictiā	to kill s.t., s.o.
mazāmictiā	to engage in killing deer, wild animals

ADVERBIAL CONSTRUCTIONS

There are some constructions that look like verbs with incorporated objects, but the first element is actually used adverbially to describe the manner in which the verb is done.

coyōchōca	to howl <u>like a wolf</u> , <u>coyote</u>
āpīzmiqu(i)	to be hungry (literally: to die <u>of hunger</u>)
(i)cnōcāhu(a)	to leave s.o. abandoned <u>in destitution</u>

These can always be translated literally, albeit awkwardly, as '(noun)-wise', as in 'to howl coyote-wise', 'to die hunger-wise', 'to leave s.o. orphan-wise'.

These are easy to spot when they are transitive and/or reflexive verbs, because in addition to the incorporated noun, there is also an object prefix:

nitēāpīzmictiā	I starve s.o., I kill s.o. by means of hunger
ninōcoyōquetza	I get down on my hands and knees, I stand like a coyote

Here is a contrasting pair based on the verb *tēmoā* 'to seek s.t.':

nixōchitēmoa	I seek flowers	(incorporated object)
ni <u>x</u> ōchitēmoa	I seek it elegantly (flower-wise)	(adverbial)

The latter sentence is used in the context of seeking songs as one would flowers and refers to the Nahuatl *difrasismo* in *xōchitl in cuīcatl* 'poetry' (literally: flowers, songs).

Here is another sample pair with the noun *mātlatl* 'net':

nimātlachīhua	I engage in netmaking	(incorporated object)
nitlamātlachīhua	I make s.t. like a net, net-wise	(adverbial)

Incorporated adverbial constructions may also involve intransitive verbs. One recognizes these by the fact that intransitive verbs cannot have incorporated direct objects. Therefore, a noun within such a construction must be functioning adverbially:

nehnem(i)	to walk
(i)cxitl	foot
nicxinehnemi	I walk on foot
tēm(i)	to fill up
ātl	water
tātēmih	we fill up with liquid, we suffer from dropsy

Since inflectional and derivational processes apply equally to basic, derived, and compounded forms, a verb with an incorporated adverbial can then be made into a qualitative noun. The name of the Aztec ruler **Cuāuhtemōc** is made by adding preterite -c to a verb formed in the following way:

cuāuhtli	eagle
temō	to descend
cuāuhtemō	to descend eagle-wise
Cuāuhtemōc	he who has descended like an eagle

Contrary to folk etymology, the name does not mean 'falling eagle' or 'fallen eagle'.

calman(a)	to build houses
calquetz(a)	to build houses
calcuēchtlāz(a)	to remove soot
cahuāyohcaccopīn(a)	to take shoes off horses
cahuāyohmāilpiā	to hobble horses
mazāmāilpiā	to hobble animals
cecui	to be (take) cold
chiltēca	to plant chiles
chiltequ(i)	to harvest chiles
cuenchīhu(a)	to work the earth, to turn over soil with a hoe
zoquichīhu(a)	to make clay for building a wall
cocōlcui	to become irritated and impatient
īxcuēloā	to consent to something by nodding
cuetlaxyamāniā	to tan or curry hides
cuīcaihtoā	to begin a song
cuīcapīqu(i)	to compose songs
cuīcachalāniā	to sing out of tune
ēcatzacu(a)	to take shelter from the wind
etequ(i)	to harvest beans
etlāz(a)	to plant beans
ēhuahuahuan(a)	to clean or cure skins
ēhuahuēhuētzotzon(a)	to play the tambourine
ichcapiy(a)	to take care of sheep
ihīyōcāhu(a)	to be out of breath
īxpīloā	to lower one's eyes
mātlaquetz(a)	to drive in stakes for nets, snares
māzōhu(a)	to extend one's hand or arm
mazāmactiā	to tame colts
mazāmictiā	to kill animals
mazātlacualtiā	to feed animals

INCORPORATED ADVERBIAL EXERCISE

The following verbs, given with Molina's glosses, have incorporated nouns that function adverbially. Write out the component elements and give their meanings. Also write a literal gloss for the whole verb construction:

Example:

(i)cxinehnem(i) to walk on foot

Literally: to walk foot-wise

(i)cxitl 'foot', nehnem(i) 'to walk'

ahcolēhu(a)	to threaten s.o. or to raise one's arm (trans)
āmaulahcuiloā	to write a letter
ahmōllāliā	to soap up s.t. (trans)
cūica-ān(a)	to lead voices in song (trans)
(i)cxīān(a)	to hurry, to lengthen one's stride (reflex)
ihīyōān(a)	to draw s.t. with one's breath (trans)
yaca-ān(a)	to guide, govern s.o. (trans)
yōllohān(a)	to attract s.o. with flattery (trans)
āpīzmiqu(i)	to be hungry
āpīzmictiā	to starve s.o. (trans)
āmiqu(i)	to be thirsty
āpītz(a)	to have diarrhea (reflex)
ātēm(i)	to be dropsical
āhuītequ(i)	to whitewash s.t. like a wall (trans)
mācapāniā	to snap one's fingers (reflex)
(i)cnōcāhu(a)	to leave s.o. orphaned and abandoned (trans)
cihuāmiqu(i)	for a man's wife to die
āxīxcocoy(a)	to suffer from bladder stones
(i)cxicōloā	to show respect by kneeling (reflex)
coyōchōca	to howl like a coyote
coyōquetz(a)	to get down on one's hands and knees (reflex)
ēhuatlapītz(a)	to play the bagpipe
eztēm(i)	to be bruised
(i)cxitlahtoā	to talk while shifting one's feet
camanāltlahtoā	to say s.t. as a joke

ācallapān(i)	to suffer shipwreck
ihīyōquīz(a)	to breathe

ADVERBIAL PRODUCTION EXERCISE

Using the indicated verbs, write the Nahuatl for the following phrases:

ahmōllāliā to soap up s.t. (trans)
Y'all soap it up.

(i)cxicōloā to show respect by kneeling (reflex)
We show our respect by kneeling.

(i)cnōcāhu(a) to leave s.o. orphaned and abandoned (trans)
You leave them orphaned and abandoned.

mācapāniā to snap one's fingers (reflex)
They snap their fingers.

yaca-ān(a) to guide, govern s.o. (trans)
I govern them.

cūica-ān(a) to lead voices in song (trans)
You lead us in song.

cihuāmiqu(i) for a man's wife to die
His wife died.

āxīcocoy(a) to suffer from bladder stones
They suffered from bladder stones.

ācallapān(i) to suffer shipwreck
They will suffer shipwreck.

24. REDUPLICATION

Nahuatl differs from English and Spanish by making much heavier use of prefixes and suffixes than they do. It is not unusual for a Nahuatl verb form to begin with the antecessive prefix, a subject prefix, one or more object prefixes, and a directional prefix and to have lined up after the stem a derivational suffix followed by a singular or plural preterite suffix. By comparison, English and Spanish verbs usually have no more than one prefix at most and perhaps a derivational suffix and an inflectional suffix indicating tense and number. Nonetheless, prefixes and suffixes are familiar to us, and what is noteworthy about Nahuatl is that it uses more of them.

However, in addition to *affixation* (use of prefixes and suffixes), Nahuatl uses *reduplication* as another means of expressing a number of grammatical concepts. To speakers of English and Spanish, this is an unfamiliar process. Reduplication involves making a copy of the first consonant and the vowel of a syllable. Using the symbols C for consonant and V for vowel, an example of reduplication is: CV > CVCV.

There are actually three types of reduplication in Nahuatl:

- (1) short-vowel reduplication: CVCV
- (2) long-vowel reduplication: CVC̄VCV
- (3) glottal-stop reduplication: CVhCV

It is this third type of reduplication, applying to syllables that have no initial consonant, that accounts for the only context in which *h* occurs between vowels:

ēcatl	wind	>	ehēcatl	wind
āhuiy(a)	to be happy	>	ahāhuiy(a)	to take pleasure here and there
(no unreduplicated form)		>	ihīyōtl	breath
ōme	two	>	ohōme	two-by-two

USES OF NAHUATL REDUPLICATION

Reduplication in Nahuatl is always used for purposes of some sort of intensification. Most often this refers to multiplicity (plurals, distributives, consecutive actions, frequentatives). Some types of reduplication are productive, some types apply to closed sets of stems, and some instances are lexicalized and need to be learned case by case.

(1) short-vowel reduplication:

There are three uses of short-vowel reduplication. We have seen one of them in the plural forms of the attitudinal suffixes:

<u>Singular:</u>	<u>Plural:</u>
-tẓīn	-tzitzīn
-tōn	-totōn
-pīl	-pipīl
-pōl	-popōl

(-zol does not have a plural form, because it is restricted to inanimate nouns)

This is an example of a grammatical process applying to a *closed set* of forms. There are only four of these endings that have a plural form. No other suffixes behave this way.

Short-vowel reduplication is also to be seen in a group of derivationally related verbs. Many Class 2 verbs that end in a long vowel followed by -n(i)¹ are related to verbs that have short-vowel reduplication and end in -ca and -tz(a):

tziīn(i)	to ring, to make a metallic sound
tzitzilica	to jingle
tzitzilitz(a)	to ring s.t. (like bells)

In this set of verbs the unreduplicated form ending in -n(i) and the reduplicated form ending in -ca are intransitive, while the reduplicated -tz(a) form is transitive. Many of the verbs have to do with making characteristic types of noises, and the reduplication seems to indicate frequentative action, doing something repeatedly. For instance, a bell may ring once, but if it jingles, it keeps it up, and likewise, when people ring bells, they usually ring them several times. Examples of such verbs that do have the frequentative meaning but do not relate to sounds are the following:

cotōn(i)	for s.t. to separate, come apart
cocotoca	for s.t. to come apart a lot, to tear
cocototz(a)	to make s.t. come apart a lot, to break or tear s.t.
teīn(i)	to break
teteica	to shatter, to break into many pieces
teteitz(a)	to break s.t. to pieces, to shatter s.t.

¹This is not the customary present suffix -ni.

Although this group of verbs is much larger than the group of attitudinal suffixes, it is also a closed set. The process does not apply to all verbs that end in a long vowel followed by *-n(i)*, and it is not used productively the way, for instance, the *-liz-tli* derivation is. Related to these verbs are deverbal patientive nouns that replace a long stem vowel followed by *n* with a short vowel followed by *c*:

cotōn(i)	for s.t. to separate, come apart
cocotoca	for s.t. to come apart

cotōn(a)	to cut, break s.t.
cotoctli	fragment

Third, short-vowel reduplication is to be found with some verbs that do not have *-n(i)* endings. The same frequentative sense seems to hold for these verbs that must be learned individually²:

huetzca	to laugh
huehuetzca	to laugh a lot ³
cuā	to eat s.t.
cuacua	to chew or gnaw at s.t. ⁴
xīcoā	to deceive s.o.
xixīcoā	to defeat s.o. (by sustained deceit)

(2) long-vowel reduplication:

Long-vowel reduplication is used for two purposes. With nouns, it is used to make plural forms. This is limited to a closed set of nouns that must be learned individually:

teōtl	god
tēteoh	gods

²In a situation of this sort, where there is a perceivable pattern but we are unable to predict from the shape of a stem whether the process will apply or not, we say the individual words are *lexicalized*.

³There is also *huēhuetzca* 'to laugh hard' and *huehhuetzca* 'to smile', making full use of different sorts of reduplication with this particular verb stem.

⁴For this verb there is no form with long-vowel reduplication, but there is *cuahcuā* 'to snap, nip at s.t.'

tōchtli	rabbit
tōtōchtin	rabbits

The element **pōch** that is part of the words for 'young woman' and 'young man' undergoes this sort of reduplication, even though it is inside the word:

(i)chpōchtli	young woman
(i)chpōpōchtin	

tēlpōchtli	young man
tēlpōpōchtin	young men

Notice that these plural nouns have a plural suffix as well as stem reduplication. Also, in long-vowel reduplication, it does not matter whether the stem vowel is long or short. If it is short, it will be lengthened, as in **tēteoh**; if it is already long, it can't get longer, as in **tōtōchtin**.

The second use of long-vowel reduplication is in verbs. This is a productive process, and the sense it brings to the verb is that the action was carried out in a consecutive fashion:

xeloā	to divide s.t.	
xēxeloā	to slice s.t.,	to carve s.t. systematically
		↑
tequ(i)	to cut s.t.	
tētequ(i)	to slice s.t.,	to divide s.t. up evenly
		↑
chōca	to weep	
chōchōca	to go on weeping	
huetzca	to laugh	
huēhuetzca	to laugh hard, continuously	

This kind of reduplication may be *iterative*. Just as in English we may say for emphasis, "this is very, very important," Nahuatl can repeat reduplication:

chōchōchōca	to weep inconsolably (to weep and weep and weep)
-------------	--

(3) glottal-stop reduplication:

Glottal-stop reduplication is referred to as *distributive*. With nouns it is different from pluralization, which is (or was prior to sustained contact with Spanish) limited to animate nouns. Distributive glottal-stop reduplication applies to nouns productively and without regard to animacy. An example given by Carochi is:

ĩnchahchān each to his individual home

Chāntli 'home' is an inanimate noun. Īnchān may mean 'their home' or 'their homes'. In this case, glottal-stop reduplication is used to make clear that each of several individuals has a separate home: -chahchān.

Distributive glottal-stop reduplication is also productive for verbs. With verbs, it means that the action was carried out here and there, in a staccato or random fashion rather than in an orderly and consecutive fashion:

nequ(i) to want, desire s.t., s.o.

nehnequ(i) to have a craving for s.t.

pāqu(i) to be happy

pahpāqu(i) to enjoy oneself

cui to take s.t.

cuihcui to work stone or wood by chipping away at the surface

cuā to eat s.t.

cuahcuā to snap, nip at s.t.

Sometimes a reduplicated form has developed a meaning at some remove from its literal one. For instance, 'to live' and 'to walk' are not so obviously related:

nem(i) to live

nehnem(i) to walk

However, as Campbell has pointed out, what is walking, but living spatially distributed?

Glottal-stop reduplication may be iterative, just as long-vowel reduplication:

nehnehnem(i) to stroll, to wander about from place to place

There are a good many contrasts between long-vowel reduplication and glottal-stop reduplication:

tequ(i)	to cut s.t.
tētequ(i)	to slice s.t.
tehtequ(i)	to hack s.t. to pieces
xeloā	to split, divide s.t.
xēxeloā	to slice s.t., to carve s.t. up systematically
xehxeloā	to divide s.t. up into individual portions
xēloā	to scatter s.t.
xēxēloā	to scatter or spread s.t. evenly over a surface
xehxēloā	to scatter s.t. in various directions, here and there in piles ⁵
chōca	to weep
chōchōca	to weep continuously
chohchōca	to sob
huetzca	to laugh
huēhuetzca	to laugh continuously
huehhuetzca	to smile ⁶

(4) others (lexicalized, vowel length unpredictable):

There are other cases of reduplication that are fairly unpredictable. Una Canger, writing about reduplication in *Texas Linguistic Forum* 18, has some suggestions about them, and you may find it profitable to read her article. Here are some examples:

chilli	chile
chīchīltic	s.t. red ⁷
conētl	child, offspring
cōconētl	doll

⁵The failure of traditional Nahuatl spelling to mark long vowels and indicate glottal stops not only obscures the difference between consecutive and distributive actions, but it also obscures the difference between xeloā 'to divide s.t.' and xēloā 'to scatter s.t.'

⁶Smiling as laughing spatially distributed seems odd to us, but we must accept the language on its own terms.

⁷Compare this with unreduplicated tīltic 'black' < tīlli 'soot, black ink'.

nacatl	meat, flesh
nanacatl	mushroom ⁸
tōna	to be warm, for the sun to shine
totōnqui	s.t. hot
cectli	ice
cecec	s.t. cold

SUMMARY OF REDUPLICATION

Some types of reduplication are more *productive* than others. For instance, distributive reduplication, the glottal-stop reduplication that makes 'to cut s.t.' into 'to hack s.t. to pieces', is quite productive with verbs.

Likewise, for verbs that one can make distributive, one can also have the consecutive, long-vowel reduplication that makes 'to cut s.t.' into 'to slice s.t.'.

Long-vowel reduplication for pluralization is less productive. One has to learn which nouns form their plural with reduplication. Most don't.

Short-vowel reduplication that relates unreduplicated verbs ending in -n(i) to reduplicated verbs ending in -ca and -tza is also limited to a closed set of stems, and in addition to the reduplication at the beginning of the stem and the different endings, there is moreover a difference of vowel length at the end of the stem. (This fairly large set of related verbs will be presented in Vocabulary List 24.)

Even more restricted is short-vowel reduplication for pluralization of attitudinal suffixes.

Finally, for the cases in (4) above, there is no recourse but to learn them as they come up.

⁸Canger suggests for both the long-vowel reduplication of cōconētl and the short-vowel reduplication of nanacatl the sense of 'pseudo-'. A doll is an ersatz child; mushrooms are a substitute for meat.

CHAPTER 24 EXERCISES

REDUPLICATION RECOGNITION EXERCISE

Give the basic word from which the reduplicated one is made. Give the meanings for the plain and reduplicated forms:

Example:

ohōme two-by-two

ōme two

ahāhuilli

ahahhua

tēteoh

ahātēm(i)

ahaqu(i)

ahātōltic

ahāy(i)

chichinoā

chāchalān(i)

(i)chpōpōchtin

ehēca

huehhuēintin

cihuātzitzintin

ihitta

nehneloā

chichitotōn

pihpī

pohpōchectic

tōtōchtin

REDUPLICATION PRODUCTION EXERCISE

Given the unreduplicated verb form, translate the following phrases into Nahuatl:

Example:

pozōn(i)

y'all boil it anquipopozotzah

xahuān(i)

they pour down a lot of it (water)

cualān(i)

it (a storm) will break

chitōn(i)

you make it (sparks) fly

chapān(i)

they plop it (many pieces of clay on the ground)

polōn(i)

y'all are unintelligible, y'all speak gibberish

molōn(i)

it (water) will gush

xiḡn(i)

he knocked it completely apart

tziḡn(i)

it was jingling

cuepōn(i)

it customarily bursts into bloom

tomōn(i)

it blisters a lot

petlān(i)

it will shine a lot

patlān(i)

we flutter

Make up ten original Nahuatl constructions with reduplication and give their meanings.

n > c PATIENTIVE NOUN EXERCISE

Match the Nahuatl derived nouns in the first column with their meanings from the second column and give the verb from which the noun is derived:

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. āltepētenānxitictli | 1. speech which is mixed up |
| 2. tlahtōlchochopoctli | 2. flames of fire |
| 3. cotoctli | 3. piece of bread |
| 4. tetlapactli | 4. hole |
| 5. texaxamactli | 5. flagstone |
| 6. tlecocomoctli | 6. wave of water |
| 7. tlacoyoctli | 7. gravel |
| 8. ātotomoctli | 8. breach of a rampart or city wall |

-c-tic EXERCISE

Match the words in the first column with their meanings from the second column:

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. yacacōcototic | 1. blackened or sooted up |
| 2. coyotic | 2. smoked up |
| 3. cuēchectic | 3. blackened |
| 4. pochictic ⁹ | 4. soft, spongy, or light |
| 5. cōcototic | 5. dark or ash-colored |
| 6. tlancototic | 6. teased, inflated, or swollen |
| 7. tīlectic | 7. fluffed up |
| 8. nexectic | 8. broken or torn to pieces |
| 9. molotic | 9. having a piece missing |
| 10. cototic | 10. having no nose |
| 11. mācototic | 11. missing a hand |
| 12. pōchectic | 12. having broken or missing teeth |
| 13. zōnectic | 13. having a hole |

⁹Notice the contrast of pochictic with pōchectic below.

25. BUILDING SENTENCES

The reader at this point has every right to protest that we have spent a great deal of time on inflection, derivation, and compounding of nouns and verbs without doing anything to speak of with sentences. You now have the tools to understand constructions of the sort:

nimitztlahuēlcuītia

I anger you

quimmictia

he/she/it kills them

ōtlaīc

he/she/it had something to drink

āmiquiyah

they were thirsty

How in the world does Nahuatl make sentences of the sort, "Juan angers Maria," "Juan killed Maria's chickens," or "Maria gave Juan a drink because he was thirsty"?

In his *Introduction to Classical Nahuatl*, J. Richard Andrews makes the point that in Nahuatl, every inflected verb form IS a sentence. It has a subject prefix (which in the case of third person 'he/she/it' and 'they' is what Andrews calls a "zero-morpheme") and, if transitive, an object prefix. If the subject is plural, then there is a plural suffix at the end. And moreover, there may be an indirect object prefix, a tense suffix, a directional prefix, the antecessive prefix, an embedded adverbial and/or an embedded generic direct object. Everything we could require of a "full sentence" by the conventions of English grammar as it is taught in our schools is necessarily attached directly to the Nahuatl verb stem. A grammarian might say of Nahuatl that "the syntax is all in the morphology." By this we mean that all the grammatical relationships between elements in a sentence ("subject of," "direct object of," etc.) are indicated by prefixes and suffixes attached to the verb. This is markedly different from English and Spanish, both of which depend heavily on word order to indicate such relationships. I.e., "saw" is not an English sentence, but "John saw the horse" is, and it means something different from "The horse saw John." Even where English has

some lingering vestige of marked *case*, as in the pronouns, the primary role for showing who did what to whom belongs to word order. "She saw them" doesn't get switched around to "them saw she," even though it would still clearly mean the opposite of "They saw her." Languages that are more fully inflected (Latin, for instance, which has endings for nominative, genitive, accusative, dative, and ablative cases) have somewhat freer word order, because the case endings on all nouns, not just pronouns, make clear the individual roles of each noun in a sentence. Word order is largely redundant and is used for other purposes such as emphasis and focus.

Nahuatl is different from both English and Latin. It does not rely on word order within the sentence to express grammatical relationships, and it does not have case endings either. The different forms of the subject and object pronouns and the presence of causative or applicative suffixes provide all the explicit information there is about who does what to whom. When both the subject and object of a sentence are third-person singular or third-person plural, Nahuatl simply tolerates the ambiguity, which is exacerbated by the fact that Nahuatl does not distinguish gender. Given a person and a *tēcuāni*, there is no way to tell grammatically whether *ōquicuah* means 'he ate it' or 'it ate him'. In a complaint about a Spaniard who unsuccessfully tried to seduce a young Indian woman, it is reported that afterward either she complained to her father about him (the Spaniard) or he complained to her father about her (for being so uppity).¹

In Nahuatl the nouns in a sentence tend to follow the verb and serve to amplify the information provided by the prefixes. We might provide a literal translation of the following sort:

Ōquicuah in Xuan.

He ate it, Juan (did).

The particle *in*, which as we mentioned early on is not really equivalent to English *the*, might be translated as "as for." If it is used with a noun and brought out in front of the verb, a literal translation might be the following:

In Xuan ōquicuah.

As for Juan, he ate it.

In Xuan ōquittac tēcuāni.

As for Juan, he saw it, the wild beast.

¹Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart, *Beyond the Codices*, pp. 172-73.

The fact that in **Xuan** has been moved to the front of the sentence does not guarantee that Juan is the subject. The sentence may also mean, 'As for Juan, the wild beast saw him.' As with the object prefixes we saw earlier, so also here, Nahuatl puts up with more ambiguity in its grammatical relationships than we are comfortable with.

Another characteristic of Nahuatl (and of numbers of other Amerindian languages we know of) is that it does not clearly distinguish between *main clauses* and *subordinate clauses*, as English and most Western European languages do. In English, subordinate clauses often are introduced by relative pronouns or other clause-introductory words, and word order is changed:

I asked him what he had in his hand. (He had something in his hand.)

In English subordinate clauses, verbs are often changed into infinitives or participles:

I don't want John to do it. (John will do it.)

For John to shout like that is offensive. (John shouts.)

His shouting in the classroom is counterproductive. (He shouts in the classroom.)

After doing his homework, John went home. (John did his homework.)

Nahuatl and plenty of other languages as well have no infinitive form, and Nahuatl participles behave just like other nouns. Instead of complex *embedded* sentences such as: "This is the food Maria brought over for you to eat," such languages express the same thing in what appear to be a series of main sentences: "This is the food. Maria brought it over. You should eat it."

J. Richard Andrews has gone so far as to characterize Nahuatl nouns as well as verbs as full sentences. This is an enticing analysis, in view of the optionality of *cah* in locational and equational sentences of the sort **Xuan ōmpa īpan calli** 'Juan is there at the house' and **Maria icnōtlācatl** 'Maria is a destitute person'. It is strengthened by the fact that first- and second-person subject markers can be added directly to nouns, as in **ammēxihcah** 'y'all are citizens of Mexico-Tenochtitlan' and **titīcitl** 'you are a midwife'. By this analysis the sample sentence above gets even longer: "This is it. It is food. She is Maria. She brought it. You should eat it."² However, aside from providing an anchor for the subject prefixes in the absence of *cah*, Nahuatl nouns take no other verbal inflectional prefixes and suffixes, so we are cautious about the idea of treating them as sentences.

²We hasten to point out that this sort of atomistic analysis is not special to New World languages. Analysis along the following lines has been seriously discussed for English sentences of the sort "He cut the sausage with a knife": "I declare it to you that he caused it to cut something, and it was a knife, and it cut the sausage."

Nahuatl does have words that serve to weave things together and point to relationships between clauses. These are the *uninflected particles* mentioned much earlier. They include the negative marker **ahmō**, conjunctions like **auh** 'what's more, and another thing', adverbials indicating time and place, postpositions in which the possessive **ī-** refers not to a person or thing but to a clause (**īpampa** 'because'), words that introduce questions, and the like. They serve a multiplicity of roles, and their function partially overlaps with postpositional constructions, quantifiers, and locative constructions, which are often included in lists of particles: **īhuān** 'and' (literally 'its-with'), **mochi** 'all' (plural: **mochtīn**), **oncān** 'there' (literally: 'there-place'). Some are transparently derived from nouns: **yohuac** 'at night' < **yohualli** 'night'. Real particles are invariant; they do not undergo inflection (possession, number, person, etc.). However, acting as though they are all charged with grammatical static electricity, they stick to each other in particle aggregates: **yenōceppa** 'again' < **ye** 'already' **nō** 'also' **ceppa** 'once'; **ayocāxcān** 'hardly' < **ah-** 'not' **oc** 'still' **āxcān** 'now'.

Particles and particle aggregates precede whatever else is in the sentence or clause, so in an unpunctuated, uncapitalized text they are a reliable test for the beginning of a new clause/sentence.

NEGATION

If you look back at the exercises involving negation, you will see that the presence of the negative particle **ahmō** does not cause any change in the shape of the verb. All the work is done by the negative particle. Also, remember that this is a particle, and its final long vowel stays long. The vowel does not shorten, even though it's at the end of a word. However, the particle can drop the entire **-mō** and change into a prefix **ah-**, which you have seen in words like **ahtlācatl** 'person who behaves like a beast'. Literally this means 'not-person' or 'non-person'. Other examples are:

ahcualli	bad (literally: not-good)
ahhuel	impossible (literally: not-possible)
ahtlein	nothing (literally: not-what)

However, not all words beginning with **ah-** are negated words. Some are the result of glottal-stop reduplication (**ahāhuiy(a)** 'to enjoy oneself here and there', **ahātōltic** 's.t. very juicy'), some begin with **ahco-** meaning 'above, up' (**ahcotzicuīn(i)** 'to leap up', **ahcolli** 'shoulder'), and some stems really begin with **ah** (**ahhua** 'to scold s.o.', **ahpāztli** 'tub').

There are numbers of negative particles made with **ahmō** and **ah-**:

ahachi	much	(< achi 'a bit')
ahcān	nowhere	(< cān 'where?')
ahmōacah	nobody	(< acah 'someone')
ahmōquēn	in no manner	(< quēn 'how, in what manner?')
ahno	neither	(Cf. nozo 'or')
ahzo	perhaps	(< -zo [no discernible meaning of its own])
ahquēmman	at no time	(< quēmman 'at times')

There are some other negative particles that seem to have lost the **h** of **ah-** or replaced it with **y**:

aya(mō)	not yet	(< ye, ya 'already')
ayāc	nobody	(< āc 'who?')
ayacān	as yet nowhere	(< cān 'where?')
ayaīc	never	(< īc 'when?')

THE PARTICLE **in**

As mentioned above, the particle **in** is sometimes translated as 'the', but that's poor practice. Most of the time, it should not be translated into English at all. If one were going to be absolutely literal about it, one should translate it 'as for ...' or 'with respect to ...', but it is so prevalent in Nahuatl that if one translated it that way every time it appears, one would drown in the verbiage.

Early in the exercises there were some possessive constructions of this sort:

īchān in Xuan	Juan's home
īxoc in Maria	Maria's pot

Very literally, one would translate these 'as for Juan, it's his home' and 'as for Maria, it's her pot' or 'his home with respect to Juan' and 'her pot with respect to Maria'. This is pretty awful in English, but it's the way Nahuatl works. Note that **in** is optional. It doesn't HAVE to be there, but it generally is. It is a very high-frequency word in Nahuatl, and unlike English, which can have at most one occurrence of "as for" in a clause, Nahuatl can have multiple instances of **in**.

THE PARTICLES *īn* AND *ōn*

These *deictic* particles are frequently postposed after the word they refer to (unlike *in*, which always goes immediately before what it refers to). They point to something and say of it 'this here' and 'that there'. Although the convention is to write them solid with the preceding word, they are not prefixes. When they follow a noun, the noun does not drop its absolutive suffix in order to add them on:

yehhuātlīn	this one here
yehhuātlōn	that one there

immanīn	at this time
immanōn	at that time

The deictic particle *īn* contrasts in vowel length with *in*, but this is obscured by the traditional orthography. When reading a text that does not mark vowel length, one must distinguish the two by position. If it precedes the referent, it's *in*; if it follows, it's *īn*. In fact, one of the things that these deictic particles often adhere to is *in*:

inīn tlācatl	this person here
inōn tlācatl	that person there

QUESTION PARTICLES

Questions that should be answered with "yes" or "no" are made by simply sharply raising the intonation at the end of the sentence. Additionally, one may begin the question with the particle *cuix*, which means something like "perhaps, perchance":

Nēchitta?	Does she see me?
Cuix nēchitta?	Does she perchance see me?

Simple answers to yes/no questions include the following particles:

quēmah	yes (rather emphatic)
ca quēmah	yes, indeed
quēmahcatzīn	yes (honorific)
iye, iyetzīn	yes, yeah (in men's speech)
xizo, xizotzīn	yes, yeah (in women's speech)

ahmō	no
ca ahmō	no, indeed
ahmōtzīn	no (honorific)

Questions that are requests for information begin with interrogative particles. Some of them are the following:

āquin	who?
tlein	what?
tlein īpampa	why? (This shortens to tleīpampa.)
quēn, quēnin	how?
quēmman	when?
īc	when?
cān, cānin, cāmpa	where, to/from where?
quēxquich	how much/how many?
quēzquipa	how many times?

There are more. Check a Nahuatl dictionary under words beginning with quē.

To answer cooperatively to an information question, obviously one provides the information requested. But if one wishes to respond negatively, some of the negative responses are the following, which you have already seen above:

ayāc	nobody
ahtleh	nothing
ahquēn	in no manner, no way
ahquēmman, ayaīc	never
ahcān	nowhere

NONINTERROGATIVE TIME PARTICLES

quin	then
ye	already
āxcān	now
mōztla	tomorrow
huīptla	day after tomorrow
yohuac	at night
teōtlac	in the afternoon/evening
tlahcah	during the daytime

yectel	a while ago, the other day
nēpa	formerly
cemihcac	forever
niman	immediately afterward, then

NONINTERROGATIVE PLACE PARTICLES

iz, ici, nicān	here
oncān, ōmpa, nēpa	there
canah	somewhere ³
huehca	faraway
mieccān	in many places
nōhuiyān	everywhere
ahco	above
tlani	below
chico	to the side
īxtlapal	across
nāl	throughout, beyond

Some place particles can be used for either static location or movement in the stated direction. Others indicate motion by adding -pa:

iz, nicān	here, to here, from here
ahcopa	upward
huehcapa	from far away
canahpa	from some place

MANNER PARTICLES

iuh, iuhqui	thus
huel	well
nēn, tlapīc	in vain, to no end
chico	irregularly, badly
cen	completely
cuēl	suddenly

³One would expect this to be "cānah," but it is not.

DEGREE PARTICLES

achi	a little, slightly
cencah	much, a lot
huel	to a considerable degree
ilhuiz, ilhuiceh	much more, especially
mach	considerably
zan, zā	only

NUMBER OF TIMES

achchica, achtzan	frequently
cemi	once and for all
icah	sometimes
miecpa	many times
mochipa	always
ceppa	once
ōppa	twice

OTHER PARTICLES

ahzo	perhaps
nō	also
oc	in addition, besides
ach	possibly
nozo	either
ahnozo	neither

SOME PARTICLE AGGREGATES

ahzo, ahzo zan	perhaps
ahzo ahmō, ahzocamō	perhaps not
ahzo zan nōhuiyān	perhaps everywhere
zan cen	together
zan cuēl	soon
zannēn	in vain

zanniman	immediately
māciuhqui (māzo iuhqui)	nonetheless

The particle (y)eh has no discernible lexical or grammatical meaning, but it seems to function as a sort of anchor on the end of particle aggregates:

nōcuēlyeh	on the other hand
quēnocyeh	all the more
cuizahzoyeh	I don't know whether ...
mānoceh (mā nozo yeh)	nor

This is by no means an exhaustive list of particles and particle clusters. You will find more in Andrews and in Karttunen's *Analytical Dictionary of Nahuatl*. Some of the clusters do not literally mean the sum of their parts, but fortunately this sort of cluster is usually listed *in toto* in dictionaries (including Molina).

LIGATURES

Particles are not unfamiliar to us, since they have equivalents in English and Spanish, and for the most part, we can give them concise one-word glosses. We will end this study of Nahuatl grammatical structure with something that Nahuatl has and English does not.

We have already encountered ligatures earlier. Some Nahuatl constructions use such an element to join two stems together. (Andrews uses the word *connective*.) Nahuatl has two ligatures. One is -ti-, and we have seen it used to tie the locative ending -tlan to stems, as in *cuauhtitlan*. It is also used in constructions with the preterite-as-present verbs *cah* 'to be' and *oc* 'to lie stretched out', forming words ending in -ti-cah, and -t-oc that are often translated as nouns or adjectives.

chicāhu(a)	to become strong
chicāuhticah	it is strong; s.t. strong and stable
tlahcoxēlihu(i)	to divide in half
tlahcoxēliuhtoc	it lies divided in half; s.t. divided

This construction is not limited to these two verbs. It is quite productive and is often seen with these verbs following -ti-: *ēhu(a)*, *quīz(a)*, *ahci*, *huetz(i)*, *huīc(a)*, *tlehcō*, *nem(i)*, and *ihca=c* (another preterite-as-present verb). Some of these constructions have

conventional meanings not entirely predictable from their basic meanings. For instance, **-t-ēhu(a)** (< **ti-ēhu(a)**) means 'to start (verb)ing quickly':

cualān(i)	to get angry
cualāntēhu(a)	to start getting angry quickly (literally: to rise to get angry)

The construction with **-ti-nem(i)** means 'to go along (verb)ing', not 'to live (verb)ing':

cualāntinem(i)	to go along getting/being angry
cūcatinem(i)	to go along singing
tlāmattinem(i)	to go about jesting and practicing trickery (< tlahmat(i) 'to jest')

The construction with **-ti-man(i)** means 'to extend (verb)ing'. It is often found with a first element **cac-** that does not occur as a free form. Compounds with **cac-** all refer to quietness, lack of activity:

cactiman(i)	to lie quiet
cactihcac	to stand quiet
cactoc	to be quiet/to lie quiet
cactihuetz(i)	to be fair weather (literally: to fall quiet)

When the second element is reflexive, the reflexive prefix follows the **-ti-**. Five verbs often occur in reflexive form in this sort of construction, and they have somewhat conventionalized meanings:

-ti-mo-cāhu(a)	to remain (verb)ed
-ti-mo-tēca	to become/begin to be (verb)ed
-ti-mo-tlāliā	to settle down to (verb)ing
-ti-mo-man(a)	to (verb) gradually
-ti-mo-quetz(a)	to (verb) gradually

Examples:

cualāntimocāhu(a)	to remain angry
cualāntimotēca	to begin to become angry
cualāntimotlāliā	to settle down to being angry
cualāntimoman(a)	to gradually become angry
cualāntimoquetz(a)	to gradually become angry

There is a second ligature **-cā-** which is used to join pairs of verb stems, to join stems to **-yō-tl**, and to join nouns to verb stems. When used with verb stems, the first verb is in its preterite-stem form, as it is with the **-ti-** ligature:

cualāncāitta to look at s.o./s.t. angrily

It is also the preterite stem of a verb that is joined to the abstract-noun forming suffix **-yō-tl** by **-cā-**:

cualnēzcāyōtl attractiveness

Nouns derived with the possessor suffixes **-eh**, and **-huah** can be joined to verb stems with **-cā-**:

caleh house-owner, resident

calehcācāhu(a) to give up residence, to turn over one's house (to s.o.)

You may recall that **-cā-** appears in place of **-qui** when an agentive noun is part of a compound or derived form:

cacchīuhqui shoemaker

cacchīuhcācalli shoemaker's shop

tlahtohqui ruler, leader

tlahtohcāyōtl rule, leadership

In this case, **-cā-** is really the basic form of the agentive suffix, which changes to **-qui** in word-final position.

CONCLUSION

The learning of any language takes much time and practice. Those of us who have learned some Nahuatl know full well that there is much that lies beyond our ken, and that is cause for delight, because we continue to find out new and fascinating things about the way the language works. We doubt there has ever been a blasé scholar of Nahuatl. On the contrary, we have colleagues of four score years who continue their work with relish. It keeps us all young by challenging what J. Richard Andrews calls our "Indo-European mindset." (Karttunen claims to be free of that by virtue of speaking Finnish.) The friar-grammarians of the sixteenth century were an extraordinarily healthy and long-lived group of

men, and we are inclined to credit this to the intellectual challenge of Mesoamerican languages.

We realize that we have taken you on a visit to Nahuatl not unlike a ten-countries-in-eight-days tour, and we beg your forbearance. No one who is not born to it learns a Mesoamerican language by any other means than brute force. We have both found ourselves coming around again and again to the same point, each time understanding a little better what we thought we understood before. We urge you to do the same. Use these grammatical descriptions and these exercises in the way that seems most natural to you. Work on them a while, put them aside, and come back to them. Consult other Nahuatl grammarians such as Garibay, Sullivan, León-Portilla, Horcasitas, Andrews, Lockhart, Canger, Dakin, and Launey. Subscribe to the *Nahua Newsletter*.

Mā xiāhuiyacān

CHAPTER 25 EXERCISES**REVIEW EXERCISE 2**

- (1)
 - a. List 20 noun-noun compound words.
 - b. Tell what each noun means.
 - c. For each compound noun, give its component parts and tell what each part means.
- (2)
 - a. List 20 noun-verb compound words.
 - b. as above
 - c. as above
- (3)
 - a. List 20 nouns derived from verbs.
 - b. as above
 - c. Give the verb from which the noun was derived and its meaning.
- (4)
 - a. Give examples of three different kinds of reduplication.
 - b. Give the base form from which each reduplicated form was made.
 - c. Give the meaning of each base form and each reduplicated form.

SENTENCE TRANSLATION EXERCISE

Translate the following English sentences into Nahuatl. Wherever possible, use compound words rather than phrases.

The man gave me this wine here because I was thirsty.

I left the wig inside that pigsty there.

We don't like the book title.

The mermaid weeps continuously because she doesn't have a reed basket.

The water carrier is in the pharmacy.

I don't like maguey cactus worms because they eat maguey plants.

Juan built his doghouse over there in his garden.

Juan's puppies never eat rabbit meat.

Does Maria perchance feed Juan's turkey hens?

Write ten original sentences containing particles. Be sure to use a variety of time, place, manner, and negative particles.

APPENDIX 1: NAHUATL DICTIONARIES

The making of Nahuatl dictionaries has been going on since the mid-sixteenth century. One of the earliest examples of Nahuatl lexicography is a hand-copied version of Antonio de Nebrija's Spanish-Latin dictionary, with the Spanish and Latin in black and with Nahuatl equivalents written in red beneath. (This is in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, and the Benson Latin American Collection has a microfilm. The manuscript is currently being thoroughly analyzed by Mary Clayton.)

The first published dictionary of a New World language was Alonso de Molina's 1555 Spanish-to-Nahuatl dictionary, which also followed Nebrija's Spanish model very closely. (At the same time that Molina was at work on creating a Nahuatl dictionary, other missionary friars were compiling large dictionaries of Yucatecan Maya, Zapotec, Mixtec, Tarascan, etc., all based on Nebrija.) In 1571 Molina published a second Nahuatl dictionary. This one is bilingual, and it remains to this day the dictionary everyone uses in dealing with Nahuatl.

The Spanish-to-Nahuatl half of Molina 1571 is a reworked version of the 1555 dictionary, while the Nahuatl-to-Spanish half is a new compilation based on New World realities. It has Mesoamerican animals and foods in it, for instance. It is not based on Nebrija. The result is that the two halves of the dictionary are about the same size but do not contain all the same things. There are some Nahuatl words, for instance, that one finds only in the Spanish-to-Nahuatl side, and many more Nahuatl words that one finds only in the Nahuatl-to-Spanish side. R. Joe Campbell has published a morpheme index to the Nahuatl-to-Spanish half of this dictionary (*A Morphological Dictionary of Classical Nahuatl*, 1985).

In the seventeenth century a friar named Urbano made a trilingual dictionary with Spanish, Nahuatl, and Otomí, basing it not directly on Nebrija, but on Molina 1555.

In 1611 Pedro Arenas published a Nahuatl phrase book for Spanish speakers who needed to instruct servants, buy things from Nahuatl speakers in the market, ask directions, etc. It proved tremendously popular and went through numerous editions, including one in French published in Paris in 1862. (And, by the way, Emperor Maximilian had a court Nahuatl interpreter and took Nahuatl lessons.)

There is at least one eighteenth-century Nahuatl lexicon, but at that time scholars were getting very detached from direct observation and description in favor of recreating "idealizations," and this dictionary is very misguided in its idealizing.

In 1885 Remí Siméon published a Nahuatl-to-French dictionary in Paris. It is a compilation based on Molina and a number of other sources. It is only Nahuatl-to-French, because by that time scholarly interest was in translating "ancient" (i.e., sixteenth-century) manuscripts into modern European languages. Unlike Molina, who, with his associates, was busily writing confessional guides and Christian doctrines, Siméon and his colleagues had no pressing need to translate anything INTO Nahuatl. (And if you look at any modern scholar's copy of Molina 1571, you will notice that the Nahuatl-to-Spanish side is much more worn than the Spanish-to-Nahuatl side.) An excellent translation of Siméon's French into Spanish was published in 1977 by Siglo Veintiuno (*Diccionario de la lengua náhuatl o mexicana*, Josefina Oliva de Coll, trans.).

In this century, the Summer Institute of Linguistics (an arm of the American Bible Society) has published a number of Nahuatl dictionaries and workbooks. Their dictionaries and glossaries, like those of the missionary friars, are bilingual, because once again they have a ruling interest in translating INTO Nahuatl.

In 1975 J. Richard Andrews published *An Introduction to Classical Nahuatl*, which has an excellent glossary, in which words are arranged in derivational families (so *tlaxcalli* 'bread, tortilla' is to be found under (i)xca 'to bake s.t.'). This was the first effort to make a glossary in which vowel-length and glottal stop were represented since a Jesuit named Clavijero made a glossary for his grammar of Nahuatl in the mid-eighteenth century. And it is MUCH better than Clavijero's wordlist.

Frances Karttunen's *Analytical Dictionary of Nahuatl* was published in 1983, and both R. Joe Campbell's morpheme index to Molina 1571 and John Bierhorst's concordance and dictionary to the *Cantares mexicanos* in 1985.

There are also a number of recent dictionaries based on the speech of particular Nahuatl-speaking communities, not produced by the Summer Institute of Linguistics. These dictionaries share with the SIL dictionaries the characteristic of treating Nahua speech communities atomistically. They tend to be called things like "Vocabulary of the Nahuatl of Santa ..." They all have their own orthographic notations, and generally speaking they are difficult to use in towns other than the ones for which they were created.

HOW TO USE MOLINA'S DICTIONARY

The 1571 Molina dictionary is readily available in a facsimile edition (Porrua 1970), but its format is not always well understood by potential users. For instance, entries for verbs are very compact. Without including any grammatical terminology, they inform the user (who understands what is going on) about verb class membership, and transitivity/reflexivity. This information is conveyed by Molina's citation of the present and preterite forms of the verb together with sample prefixes (subject, object if there is one, reflexive prefix if the verb may be used reflexively).

After the verb at the head of the entry, Molina places a subject prefix, and that is all if the verb is intransitive. If it is transitive, Molina gives the subject prefix and an object prefix. The object prefix may be specific, nonspecific human, nonspecific nonhuman, or reflexive. Some "double-object" verbs take a direct object and an oblique object as well, while derived forms from transitive verbs may take multiple object prefixes. For all these cases, Molina gives sample prefix strings.

For his purposes he has chosen the first person singular for subject and reflexive prefixes: *ni-* and *no-*, respectively; and third person for the other object prefixes: *qu(i)-*, *c-* specific singular, *tē-* nonspecific human (but no vowel length indicated in Molina), and *tla-* nonspecific nonhuman. These are illustrative prefixes and stand in for any combination of person and number within the same pattern:

A reflexive verb given with the prefixes *nino-* 'I-myself' also takes *timo-* 'you yourself', etc.

A transitive verb with *nic-* 'I-it/him/her' also takes *annēch-* 'y'all-me', etc.

Following this format, Molina gives grammatical information by example rather than by using linguistic terminology.

In Molina the citation form for the intransitive verb meaning 'to go out, exit' has the form "*quiça.ni.*" This means that 'I go out, I exit' is "*niquiça*" (i.e., *niquīza*). The transitive verb meaning 'to make s.t.' appears as "*chiua.nic.*" I.e., 'I-it-make' is "*nicchiua*" (*nicchīhua*). When the object of this verb is nonspecific human, the sense is 'to engender s.o., to beget s.o.' Molina gives this as a separate entry "*chiua.nite.*" "*Nitechchia*" (*nitēchīhua*) means literally 'I-someone-make'. In this particular case, there is sufficient lexical difference between usages to justify separate entries, but Molina generally lists as separate entries a transitive verb with each of the different possible object classes—specific, nonspecific human, nonspecific nonhuman, and reflexive—even where the basic sense of the verb remains constant and the different senses with the different object prefixes are entirely regular and predictable. In this sense, Molina 1571 is rather redundant.

An example of multiple object prefixes is Molina's "yeyecoltia.nicte" 'to consult s.o. about something'. Because this is a derived verb made with the causative suffix it has both a direct and an oblique object.

The other piece of grammatical information Molina provides by example is verb class membership. He does this by giving as the last item in the entry the preterite form of the verb. This comes after the gloss, and Molina (whose Spanish is entirely without accent marks) either spells out "preterito" or abbreviates it and then gives the verb form beginning with "o" (antecessive \bar{o} -) followed by the same sample set of subject and object prefixes as at the head of the entry: "oniquiz," "onicchiuh," "onicteyeyecolti," etc. Given both a present and a preterite form of the verb, the user knows whether the verb is Class 1, 2, 3, or 4.

Considering the detail of Molina's information about verbs, it is surprising that animate nouns are not given with their plural forms. Since there are several ways to form the plural and which way a particular noun does so is not predictable from the shape of the noun stem itself, this would seem to be an important piece of information to include in the dictionary. Nonetheless, the plural of "tlacatl" (tlācatl) 'person', for instance, is not given as part of that entry. This is not to say, however, that the plural form is not in the dictionary, however. It appears as an independent main entry "tlaca" (tlācah) 'people'.

Since Molina does not indicate long vowels or glottal stops, this plural form of tlācatl falls together in a single entry with "tlaca" (tlahcah) 'during the daytime'.

In Molina there are three separate entries for the plural of mālli 'captive, prisoner of war': "maltin," "mamalti," and "mamaltin," all glossed as 'captives'. The latter two are reduplicated forms with the plural suffix -tin, one without the final n and one with it. Other entries intervene between "malli" and these entries, and there is no pointer to them from the absolutive singular form. Because dictionary citation forms are given with absolutive suffixes, singular and plural forms in Molina's dictionary are almost always separated by intervening entries. In other words, it's very hard to find out from Molina what the plural form of an animate noun is.

Another piece of information about nouns that cannot be entirely predicted from the absolutive form is how the possessed form is made, whether like ātl 'water' it takes -uh in the singular, whether it drops a final vowel in possessed form as in nacatl 'meat', īmnac 'their meat', and whether it adds the suffix -yō to indicate inalienable possession: nonac 'my meat (from the market), nonacayo 'my own flesh'.

Possessed forms can often be found in Molina with the possessive prefixes n(o)- 'my, or t(o)- 'our, but not always, and again there is no sort of cross-reference between the absolutive form and the possessed form.

Other practices of Molina with which a user must be familiar are mainly orthographic:

Molina uses "ç" (always lowercase, even as the initial letter of an entry, where Molina otherwise uses capitals) to represent /s/ before vowels other than /i/ and /e/; "z" is used at the end of syllables, and "s" is not used at all. There are two ways to alphabetize "ç" in a dictionary. One is to treat it as a separate letter that follows c, and the other is not to separate it from c. Treating "ç" as distinct from c creates blocks of "ç"-initial words, while not doing so means c and "ç" are interspersed. Molina is inconsistent between these two approaches, so a user of the dictionary must check both possibilities.

Contrary to modern Spanish usage, the digraph ch is also integrated with c rather than having a separate section of its own (although the Spanish-to-Nahuatl side of Molina observes the conventional Spanish alphabetization).

Molina treats i and y as the same for purposes of alphabetization. Somewhat at variance with the convention of writing "y" initially and "i" elsewhere ("yn" 'the, as for', "yuhqui" 'thus', "ylpia" 'to tie s.t.'), in Molina "y" is written adjacent to vowels and "i" is generally used for a full syllabic vowel: "yaotl" 'enemy', "mayana" 'to be hungry', "maytl" 'hand', but "in," "ihuiqui," "ilpia." This is not consistent, however, so both "aic" and "ayc" occur (and in contiguous entries at that!).

The sequences iya and iā are both written as "ia," a practice that obscures the fact that Nahuatl has the vowel /i/ and a consonant /y/ and that in verb paradigms iya behaves differently from iā.

The same is true for the sequences ohua /owa/ and oā.

Another pair of letters treated as the same for purposes of alphabetization in Molina are "V" and "u." "V" serves as the uppercase counterpart of "u" and appears word-initially in entries, as in "Vetzi" for huetz(i), while "u" appears intervocalically, where we would expect "hu", and "uh" appears at the ends of syllables. Sometimes "hu" appears syllable-initially, especially where the preceding syllable ends in a glottal stop, as in "tehuatl" (tehhuātl).¹

Aside from syllable-final "uh," the letter h is marginally used in Molina. It appears mainly in some exclamations and in Spanish loan words. It is also used, though not very often, to indicate the presence of a glottal stop, especially where reduplication applies to a vowel-initial stem: "ahahuia" (ahāhuiy(a)) 'to enjoy oneself (repeatedly)', "ihiotl" (ihīyōtl) 'breath'.

While Molina's use of "ç" brings together in the C section all words beginning with /s/, he separates /k^w/ before /i/ and /e/ from /k^w/ before /a/ by writing the former as "cu" and

¹ Alternatively, maybe the "h" stands for the glottal stop, and "u" stands for /w/.

the latter as "qu"²: "cui" /k^w/, "qualli" /k^walli/. Thus, /k^wi/- and /k^we/-initial words are in the C section, but /k^wa/-initial words are in the Q section.

Syllable-final /k^w/ is represented by "cu" rather than by the "uc" of later convention. So one finds "tecutli" instead of for tēuctli, which can be misleading, since it suggests a three-syllable word, when in fact, there are only two.

Finally, Molina has both "o" and "u" where the two do not contrast in Nahuatl. This use of "u" is not the one in which "u" alternates with "v" to represent phonetic /w/, but is a way of representing a full syllabic vowel. For instance, yōllohtli "heart" appears in two separate entries as "yollotli" and "yullotli." In some cases only the citation form with "u" occurs in Molina; more often the sole citation form is with "o." The user must check both possibilities. Often, but not always, the "u" represents long ō.

Major omissions from Molina's dictionary are regular notation of glottal stop (the instances of "h" for this being very few) and any indication at all of distinctive vowel length. This leads to single entries in the dictionary that combine the glosses of two (or more) different words. For instance, Molina's "auatl" which he glosses as 'oak, woolly caterpillar, thorn' represents āhuatl 'oak', āhuātl 'woolly caterpillar', and ahhuatl 'thorn'.

The entry "metztli" "moon, or leg of a man or animal, or month" merges mētztli 'moon, month' with metztli 'thigh'.

The entry "patla.nitla" referring to exchanging something or dissolving something represents patla 'to change or exchange s.t.' and pātla 'to melt, dissolve s.t.'

Ambiguity pervades Molina's dictionary and can seriously mislead the unwary. Siméon was one of the unwary. It is ever so tempting to construct semantic bridges between items that do not share the same etymology, derivational history, or phonological shape when the spelling conventions render them identical.

Needless to say, Molina 1571 has misprints, inversions of characters, items out of alphabetical order and the like. Be careful of the inversion of "u" and "n," since each piece of type upside down resembles the other exactly.

The operating alphabetical order for the Nahuatl-to-Spanish side of Molina is the following: A, C (including Ç, CH, and CU), E, H, I/Y, M, N, O, P, Q, T (including TL and TZ), V, X.

Siméon differs from Molina in format in several noteworthy ways. The first is that he combines into one entry the different uses of a single item, especially the combination of a verb with different classes of object prefixes which leads to separate entries in Molina. For nouns, plural and possessed forms appear as part of the entry.

² /k^w/ doesn't occur before /o/.

Siméon gives etymological or derivational material that serves as a cross-referencing device within his dictionary. Unfortunately, he is somewhat unreliable in identifying Nahuatl roots. This is partly due to the handicap of not having information about distinctive vowel length and glottal stops, but the problem extends beyond this, so be careful with information from this dictionary.

William Bright in notes for his Nahuatl course at UCLA once quoted the expressed opinion of William Gates on eighteenth-century dictionaries and grammars:

"In every language and dialect, the sixteenth-century writers wrote down what they found, and by sheer necessity (helped often by great linguistic keenness) gave exquisitely accurate recordings. There was little attempt at theorizing; it was first-hand reporting. In the later seventeenth they began to elaborate, wiping out 'irregularities' they did not understand, or which were dying out under Spanish contact. And then in the eighteenth they openly 'corrected' and formalized the languages themselves, to what they thought they ought to be—to make 'good language'. In the nineteenth, practically everything became worthless."

APPENDIX 2: LONG-VOWEL AND GLOTTAL STOP CONTRASTS

The following is a list of words Carochi gives in the last chapter of his grammar. The pairs or triples contrast in ways that are not indicated in the traditional orthography. Carochi appropriated much of this list from an earlier Nahuatl grammar by Antonio del Rincón (1595) but augmented it with additional examples to drive home the important distinctions that are lost when vowel length is not marked and glottal stops are not written. In Carochi's list, not only are long vowels marked with a macron, but short vowels are marked with an acute accent. Glottal stop is indicated with a circumflex mark at the end of words, and grave accent elsewhere. We have not duplicated this redundant system here. Instead we use the system with which you are familiar: macrons to mark long vowels, and the letter h for glottal stop. The glosses are translations of Carochi's with some modifications, and the order is as he gives it. It is not a strictly alphabetical list here, among other reasons because Carochi uses "ça" for za and "qua" for cua.

ächtlī	older brother of a younger sister
achtli	seed

āhuah	owner of water
ahhua	to scold s.o.

āhuatl	oak
āhuātl	woolly tree worm
ahhhuatl	slender thorn

āhuīc	toward the water
ahhuīc	from here to there

ayohtli	gourd
āohtli	water conduit

āmāc	on the edge of the river
āmac	on the paper

āman(a)	to have water in a tub
ahman(a)	to get upset
āquetz(a)	to beat liquid into a foam
ahquetz(a)	to raise one's head up
ahtlācatl	inhuman person
ātlahcatl	seaman, fisherman ¹
ātlācatl	person made of water ²
zahuatl	mange, rash
zāhuātl	name of a river in Tlaxcala
calli	house
cālli	cane pincers, tongs
cē huetzi	one falls
cehuetzi	it ices up
chīchī	to nurse, suckle
chichi	dog
chihchi-	saliva (noun stem, absolutive form: chihchitl)
chihchi	to mend s.t. (transitive verb)
cococ	s.t. that stings the mouth
cocōc	pain, affliction
huehhuetzca	to smile
huehuetzca	to laugh a lot ³

¹This is derived from ā-tlah 'place of abundance of water' with the -ca-tl suffix used to indicate 'person of, from', as in Tepoztēcatl 'person from Tepoztlan'.

²This third contrasting form is not in the list but occurs elsewhere in Carochi.

³To this contrasting set we can add huēhuetzca 'to laugh hard, continuously'.

īcac	his shoe
ihcac	he/she/it is standing
yēcoā	to finish s.t.
yecoā	to taste s.t., to copulate with s.o.
ōninomahtequih	I washed my hands
ōninomātequih	I cut my hand
nicmātia	I attach hands to it (a statue)
nicmatiya	I knew it (imperfect)
mētztli	moon, month
metztli	thigh, leg
mīmiloā	to trample about
mimiloā	to roll over and over, to wallow
pachihuiā	to spy on s.o.
pahchihuiā	to take medicine
pāpāc(a)	to ridicule, insult s.o.
pahpāc(a)	to wash s.t. very well
pāt(i)	to melt
pahti	to get well, to recover one's health
patla	to switch, exchange s.t.
pātla	to melt, dissolve s.t.
pātla	to get tired of waiting (reflexive)
piloā	to hang s.t. up
pīloā	to make s.t. thinner
pīltic	s.t. slender (like thread)
piltic	s.t., s.o. noble, elegant

poloā	to lose, destroy s.t.
pōloa	to mix s.t. with water
cuacuā	to chew s.t.
cuahcuā	to snap, nip at s.t.
cuāuh-	eagle (noun stem, absolute form: cuāuhtli)
cuauh-	tree (noun stem, absolute form: cuahuitl)
quehquetz(a)	to kick in rage
quequetza	to trample on s.t.
quiahuātl	rain storm
quiāhuatl	entrance to the house
quihtlani	he asks for it
quitlāni	he wins it
tahtli	father
tātlī	you drink water
tēco	it is laid out
teco	it is cut
tēm(a)	to pour s.t. into a container
tem(a)	to bathe in a temazcal (sweat house)
tēpiltzīn	someone's child (honorific/diminutive)
tepiltzīn	vulva (absolute form without attit. suffix: tepilli)
tēquila	to hold something out to s.o. (applic. of tēca)
tequila	to cut for someone (applic. of tequ(i))
tēxtli	brother-in-law
textli	flour

tlācah	people
tlacah	that is to say (word used to emend s.t. one has said)
tlahcah	in the daytime
tlācoh-	slave (noun stem, absolutive form: tlācohtli)
tlacō-	stick, switch, rod (noun stem, absolutive form: tlacōtl)
tlalhuiā	to summon s.o.
tlālhuiā	to heap earth on s.t. (such as a plant)
tlamat(i)	to be knowledgeable, to know s.t.
tlahmat(i)	to jest
tlamāmalli	load, s.t. that is carried
tlamamalli	s.t. that is drilled, perforated
tlanēhuiā	to borrow s.t.
tlahnehuiā	to mistake one person for another
tlapactli	s.t. which is split
tlapāctli	s.t. which is washed
tlapalli	dye, ink, stain, s.t. dyed
tlahpalli	strength
tlahpaloā	to greet s.o.
tlapaloā	to eat soup
tlātiā	to hide s.t.
tlatiā	to burn s.t.
tlahltlan(i)	to ask questions, to inquire
tlatlān(i)	to win (at gambling)
tlehcahuiā	to raise s.t.
tlecāhuia	to ignite s.t.

tleco	in the fire
tlehcō	to ascend
tōca	to bury s.o., to sow s.t.
toca	to follow s.o.
totōca	to hurry
tōtoca	to run after s.t.
tohtōca	to plant things in various places
tzotzon(a)	to pound, beat s.t.
tzohtzon(a)	to pat s.o., s.t.
xēloā	to scatter s.t.
xeloā	to split s.t.
xēxeloā	to carve s.t. up, to quarter a hanged person
xēxēloā	to scatter s.t. evenly
xīhuitl	comet
xihuitl	leaf, year

APPENDIX 3: MATERIAL BORROWED BETWEEN SPANISH AND NAHUATL

NAHUATL BORROWING FROM SPANISH

Nahuatl has borrowed a great many words from Spanish but often with such strong adaption to Nahuatl pronunciation and grammatical structure that the borrowed words are not recognizable, as in the case of *xāpatoh* from Spanish *sábado* 'Saturday, sabbath'.

From documents written during the colonial period, it is clear that around 1650 there occurred a cluster of marked changes in the way Nahuatl dealt with incoming Spanish material. These include:

(1) A shift beginning around 1650 from using both orthographic *x* and *s* for Nahuatl's palatal /š/ to using just *x* for /š/ and *s* for /s/. This appears to reflect the change in Spanish as spoken in Mexico from retracted to dental [s], which put more phonetic space between what was written in Spanish as *x* and what was written as *s*. Nahuatl speakers no longer perceived what was written as *s* by Spaniards as being pronounced like what was written as *x*. (Even after Mexican Spanish entirely lost palatal [š] and gave up orthographic *x*, Nahuatl continued to use *x* for Nahuatl /š/.)

(2) In the sixteenth century, Spanish /l/, /r/, and /d/ were not perceived as different by Nahuatl speakers and were all identified with Nahuatl /l/. During a transitional period through 1650 undifferentiated /r/, /d/ began to be distinguished from /l/. After 1700, /r/ came to be differentiated from /d/. Nonetheless, even today the way to imitate an old-fashioned, countrified Nahuatl accent is to substitute [l] for /r/ and /d/ in Spanish words.

(3) Around 1650 Spanish loan nouns began to be borrowed to replace Nahuatl nouns. Prior to this time borrowing had been used mainly to augment Nahuatl vocabulary when dealing with introduced items and concepts.

(4) Late in the sixteenth century double plurals came into use with Spanish loan words. For instance: singular: *padre*, plural: *padre-s-meh*. During the transitional period of the mid-seventeenth century, these double plurals fell out of use. However, a new type has begun to appear in some Nahuatl communities today for agentive nouns derived with -qui: singular: -qui, plural: -que-s.

(5) Until the beginning of the seventeenth century, what few Spanish verbs were borrowed were borrowed as nouns. In the middle of the seventeenth century the strategy of

adding the suffix -oā to the Spanish infinitive form appeared almost simultaneously all over Mexico, and the borrowing of Spanish verbs became common.

(6) The borrowing of Spanish grammatical particles, especially temporal adverbs, got underway during the mid-seventeenth century.

(7) Some Nahuatl verbs came to be identified with particular Spanish verbs, and beginning during the first half of the seventeenth century, Spanish idioms built on these verbs began being translated directly into Nahuatl. This was particularly true of Spanish tener idioms, which were translated with Nahuatl *piy(a)*.¹

NAHUATL CONTRIBUTIONS TO SPANISH VOCABULARY

One of the most interesting areas for a person who is familiar with Spanish vocabulary (particularly the Spanish spoken in Mexico) is the study of Spanish vocabulary with Nahuatl origins. There is a wealth of material in both common vocabulary and place-names, and there are several substantial dictionaries of these "aztequismos."

Several pronunciation adaptations were made in the process of borrowing Nahuatl words into Spanish. They were necessitated by the fact that Spanish lacks certain sounds which exist in Nahuatl or doesn't have certain of its sounds in the same distribution as Nahuatl. An example of the second case is the fact that Spanish does have /i/, but not in final unstressed syllables. Therefore, Nahuatl words such as *mōlli* 'sauce, gravy' were borrowed into Spanish with final e: *mole*. Not having /t^l/, Spanish changed the absolutive suffix -tl(i) to -te and elsewhere often replaced tl with t.

The following is a list of some Nahuatl loan words in Spanish grouped to show pronunciation adaptations.

(1) Nahuatl -tl(i) became Spanish -te:

coyote	<	coyotl	coyote
cuate	<	cōātl	snake, twin ²
elote	<	ēlōtl	ear of maize
itacate	<	(i)tacatl	sack lunch, provisions
mecate	<	mecatl	rope

¹For a detailed study of the stages of Nahuatl borrowing from Spanish with examples from notarial texts, see Karttunen and Lockhart, *Nahuatl in the Middle Years: Language Contact Phenomena in Texts of the Colonial Period*.

²It is thought that the use of 'snake' to mean 'twin' has to do with the belief that snakes always travel in pairs.

tecolote	<	tecolōtl	owl
papalote	<	pāpālōtl	paper kite (in Spanish), butterfly (in Nahuatl)
tomate	<	tomatl	tomato
zacate	<	zacatl	grass
zoquite	<	zoquitl	clay, mud

(2) Nahuatl final i became Spanish e:

mole	<	mōlli	sauce
pozole	<	pozōlli	hominy soup
chile	<	chilli	chile pepper

(3) Nahuatl absolute -li was dropped:

jacal	<	xacalli	hut
metlapil	<	metlapilli	metate grinder, rolling pin
tamal	<	tamalli	tamale

(4) Nahuatl tli became cle (or just le if the Nahuatl stem already ends in c):

escuincle	<	itzcuīntli	kid, child (in Spanish), (type of indigenous dog in Nahuatl)
cacle	<	cactli	indigenous-style shoe, sandal
chicle	<	tziectli	chicle, gum of the zapodilla used in chewing gum

(5) Nahuatl tz became ch or s:

chicle	<	tziectli	
Malinche	<	Malin(a)tzīn ³	
gachupín	<	cactzopiniā	Spaniard ⁴
escuincle	<	itzcuīntli	

³Apparently the woman who became the consort and interpreter of Hernán Cortés received the baptismal name of Marina (or so various eyewitness chroniclers say). The substitution of l for Spanish r is ubiquitous in Spanish loanwords taken into Nahuatl. However, Carochi claims that Malintzīn is the Nahuatl honorific form of María (1645:f.9r) rather than Marina. Since the intrusion of extraneous n into words is also ubiquitous in Nahuatl, we should perhaps take him at his word.

⁴It is believed that gachupín is derived from the Nahuatl verb tzopiniā 'to jab, prick s.o.' with the noun cactli incorporated as a manner adverbial: 'to kick s.o. with one's shoes on'.

(6) Nahuatl *x* /š/ became Spanish *ch*:

chicote	<	xīcohtli	whip (in Spanish), bee (in Nahuatl)
chocolate	<	xocolātl	chocolate (in Spanish), bitter beverage (in Nahuatl) ⁵

Compound and derived Nahuatl nouns borrowed into Spanish:

tlacuache	<	tlacua(ni)tzīn	possum
ajolote	<	āxōlōtl	(type of edible salamander)
guajolote	<	huehxōlōtl	turkey cock
tejolote	<	texōlōtl	pestle ⁶
zopilote	<	tzopīlōtl	buzzard
jitomate	<	xītomatl	red or yellow tomato (as contrasted with green husk tomato)
guacamole	<	ahuacamōlli	guacamole
metlapil	<	metlapīlli	metate grinder, stone rollingpin
tejocote	<	texocotl	a type of fruit
tocayo	<	tōcāyoh	namesake (in Nahuatl 's.o. or s.t. invested with a name')
tameme	<	tāmāmah	bearer, one who carries a load
pilmama	<	pilmāmah	nursemaid, one who carries a child

NAHUATL PLACE-NAMES

Some Nahuatl locative suffixes are very common in Mexican place-names. Among them are: *-tlān* 'place of ...', *-tlah* 'place of abundant ...', *-ti-tlan* 'below, next to the base of ...', *-c(o)* 'place' (*-co* with consonant stems, *-c* with vowel stems), *-tepē-c* 'at ... hill', *-yān* 'place of habitual ...ing', *-pan* 'on, at', and *-cān* 'place'. A few examples follow, with the official, registered form of each place-name, the basic Nahuatl nouns from which they are derived, and their meanings:

-tlān 'place of...'

⁵This origin of the word *chocolate* is not certain. There really should be *c* rather than *l* in the Nahuatl form. The word has probably been borrowed back and forth between Nahuatl and Spanish (and other Mesoamerican languages) repeatedly.

⁶The *xōlōtl* element in *āxōlōtl* and *huehxōlōtl* seems to be related to *xōlōtl* 'boy servant', but in *texōlōtl* 'rolling pin for grinding', the elements are *textli* 'flour' and *ōlōtl* 'corn cob'.

Acatlan	ācatl	reed
Acaxochitlan	ācatl, xōchitl	reed, flower
Ajuchitlan	ātl, xōchitl	water, flower
Camotlan	camohtli	sweet potato
Cihuatlan	cihuātl	woman
Coatlan	cōātl	snake
Colotlan	cōlōtl	scorpion
Mazatlan	mazātl	deer
Ocotlan	ocotl	pine tree
Tecolotlan	tecolōtl	owl
Teocuitlatlan	teōcuitlatl	precious metal
Tepoztlan	tepoztl	iron, metal
Tototlan	tōtōtl	bird
Cuauhtla	cuāuhtli	eagle ⁷
-tlah 'place of abundant ...'		
Tetla	tetl	stone
-titlan 'below, next to the base of'		
Cuauhtitlan	cuahuitl	tree, woods
-c(o) 'place'		
Acapulco	ācatl, -pōl	worthless big reeds
Atotonilco	ātl, totōnilli	water, s.t. heated
Jalisco	xālli, īxtli	sand, surface (face)
Teotlalco	teōtl, tlālli	god, earth
Xochimilco	xōchimilli	garden
Zacualco	tzacualli	pyramid

⁷This contrasts with the noun *cuauhtlah* 'forest'.

-tepē-c 'at ... hill'

Acaltepec	ācalli	boat, canoe
Coatepec	cōātl	snake
Chapultepec	chapolin	grasshopper
Ecatepec	ēcatl	wind
Jocotepec	xocotl	fruit
Ocatepec	ocotl	pine tree

-pan 'at, on'

Hueyapan	huēi, ātl	big, water
Tuxpan	tōchtli	rabbit

-cān 'place'

Michoacan	michhuah	possessor of fish
-----------	----------	-------------------

Other:

Cuernavaca	cuahuatl, nāhuac	tree, adjacent to
Iztaccihuatl	iztāc, cihuātl	white, woman
Popocatepetl	popōca, tepētl	to give off smoke, hill ⁸
Coatlichan	cōātl, chāntli	snake, home

⁸Possibly the first element is **popōca** 'to give off smoke off and on'.