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A beginning sketch of the Huastec noun phrase

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A BEGINNING SKETCH OF THE HUASTEC NOUN PHRASE

by

Abdías Pablo E., Daniel Everett, and James Walker

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1 Introduction

The present paper proposes a preliminary analysis of nominal phrases in Huastec, a Mayan language spoken in the states of Veracruz and San Luis Potosí, Mexico.¹ This analysis is important in that it provides one of the first discussions of phrase structure in Huastec, a language regarded by some authorities as somewhat independent in its development in the Mayan family (for one classification of Huastec, cf. Voeglin and Voeglin (1977:224ff)).

While earlier studies of Huastec (cf. Walker (1983)) have claimed the basic word order to be VSO, material found in texts has adduced little evidence for this. In fact, the most frequent orders encountered in our Huastec discourse data are SVO and VOS, respectively. Sentences given in isolation by our language consultant and co-author, Abdías Pablo, are exclusively SVO. In any case, it seems that Huastec can safely be considered VO (note that it also has both prepositions and genitive-head noun orders, two statistically common correlates of this basic word order type.) Nevertheless, we leave the question open since its resolution is tangential to the question of noun phrase structure.

This study is organized as follows: First, a brief outline of the noun morphology is proposed, with indications as to the semantic range and co-occurrence restrictions among the positional classes listed. The second section addresses the facts of constituent order and configuration as well as some derived orders and relative clauses. The study concludes with an overview of pronouns.

2 Noun morphology

2.1 Introduction

Word classes or lexical categories in Huastec are nouns, verbs, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, conjunctions, articles, prepositions, and the negative particle, *yaba?*. Before turning to nominal morphology, let us state briefly the structural and distributional features which distinguish nouns from other lexical categories in Huastec.

Nouns are distinguished from other lexical classes distributionally as well as by their internal structure. Thus, to begin with a rather obvious fact, nouns, and not adjectives, etc., may occur in subject position. Similarly, only nouns may occur in direct object (generally immediately postverb) position (But there is some overlap with quantifiers in these positions. cf. 3.2.3 below). On the other hand, nouns may never occur in prehead position within the noun phrase, whereas adjectives may. Only nouns may appear in the position X article clitic adjective _____ Z.

Structurally, nouns are distinguishable from other word classes in taking the suffixes **-e** 'pretransitional', **-il** 'possessive', **-lom** 'verbalizer/collectivizer', and perhaps a few others (cf. below for more discussion).²

2.2 Positional classes

2.2.1 Basic structure and co-occurrence restriction. The nominal affix position classes may be represented as in (1):

(1)	clas	-	ROOT	-	pret	-	ver/nom	-	pos	-	pl
	0		1		2		3		4		5
	lab-		root		-e		-lab/-lom		-il		-tsik

The following co-occurrence restrictions have been noticed:

(i) Position class 2, **-e** 'pretransitional' may not co-occur with classes 3 and 4.

- (2) a. kwitol -e 'still (like) a boy'
 b.* u kwitol -e -il 'still like my boy'
 c. kwitol -e -tsik 'still like boys'

(ii) Members of class 3 may not co-occur (for example:

- (a) itsich 'seed'
 (b) itsich-lab 'seeds of the same kind'
 (c) itsich-lom 'seedfield'
 (d) *itsich-lom-lab
 (e) *itsich-lab-lom

(iii) **-lom** 'verbalizer/collectivizer' and **-tsik** 'plural' may not co-occur.

Once again, although evidence supporting these claims is provided below, the linear diagram in (1) (representing a decision based on distribution and function) is to be taken as quite tentative.

2.2.2 Individual affixes.

2.2.2.1 lab- 'classifier'. Larsen (no date) lists two prefixes **at-** 'similarity/proximity' and **lab-** 'foreignness' for the Otofíel Oyarvide dialect of Huastec near San Luís Potosí. However, for the dialect spoken by A. Pablo, (henceforth APE) that which we are describing here, only the morpheme **lab-** may be considered a prefix, and that in a very restricted number of cases. Due to the limited number of prefixes and their infrequent manifestation, we hypothesize that **lab-**

may have been an adjective meaning 'foreign' which has been restricted in use to a few crystallized forms. For example,

- (3) a. tom 'grass'
 b. lab-tom 'Mexico City'
- (4) a. chanak?w 'black beans'
 b. lab-chanak?w 'foreign beans' (ie. not indigenous to area)
- (5) a. kaw 'language'
 b. lab-kaw 'Spanish' (this term is used exclusively for Spanish)

We have chosen to label **lab-** as 'classifier' due to its principle function of distinguishing or classifying a particular object as of a non-Huastec origin.

It would not be very useful to consider **lab-** as simply an adjective with limited distribution due to the rather idiosyncratic effect it produces when combined with a particular noun (only a small set of nouns may in fact appear with **lab-**) as well as the fact that **lab-N** constructions behave as a single noun in allowing adjectives to precede them (the co-occurrence of other adjectives is almost nonexistent).

- (6) k?achenek lab-chanak?w
 rotten nclas-kind of bean
 'rotten (foreign) beans'

2.2.2.2 -e 'pretransitional'. This suffix is used to mark a particular noun (generally human, although examples such as (8) below are found as well).

- (7) Jaja? chapik jun-t?a u t?oj-n-al abal
 3 hard one-very 3 work-?-pres sub
- kwitol-e bel
 youth-pret still
- 'He works very hard because he is still a youth.'

- (8) Dajaw-e in kal-el t u k?ima?
 early morning-pret 1 leave-pres prep my house
- abal kin ulich alwa? n in ajum-tal
 sub 1 arrive(nonp) well det 1 read-inst
- n a k?itsa
 det hon day

'I would have to leave my house while it's still
 early morning to arrive at a good hour of the day.'

- (9) akal-e bel tam ti ulich an ab
 night-pret still when prep arrive the rain
 'It was still night when it started raining.'

- (10) It ti tom-ki-nek n a Chabela bel t?a
 new prep marry-?-perf det hon Chabela still very

tsidan-e
 girl-pret

'Chabela is newly married; she is still just a girl.'

(11) and (12) show the co-occurrence possibilities of **-e**:

- (11) bel t?a tsidan-e-tsik
 still very girl-pret-pl
 'still just girls'

- (12) a.* bel in tsidan-il-e
 'still his girl'

b.* bel tsidan-lab-e
 'still girls (girl-like)'

c.* bel tsidan-lom-e
 'still a group of girls'

2.2.2.3 -lab 'nominalizer/generic'. Although **-lab** may also occur on verbs as a nominalizing suffix, here we discuss only its use with non-nominalized noun forms. When **-lab** is suffixed to a noun, the result expresses a more generic meaning of the noun, as in (13):

- (13) a. mim 'aunt'
 b. mim-lab 'lady'

- (14) a. pay?lom 'father-in-law'
 b. pay?lom-lab 'gentleman'
- (15) a. akan 'foot/stem/tree trunk'
 b. akan-lab 'post (e.g. used in house building)'
- (16) a. itsich 'seed'
 b. itsich-lab 'seeds (of the same kind)'

Compare also (17) in which the more prestigious reading associated with **-lab** seems to suggest some sort of sense like 'epitome of':

- (17) a. An kwitol xi tin tol-mi-y-al tin
 the youth relative 3-1 help-?-tr-pres 1
- t?oj-n-al jaja? u chakam-lab ba n a Fernando
 work-?-pres 3 3 son-genr on the hon Fernando
- b. An kwitol xi tin tol-mi-y-al tin
 det youth relative 3-1 help-?-tr-pres 1
- t?oj-n-al jaja? in chakam-il n a Fernando
 work-?-pres 3 3(pos) son-pos the hon Fernando

'The boy who helps me work is Fernando's son.'

Although both (17a) and (17b) may be translated as suggested immediately above, in (17b) the son is viewed as somehow more prestigious. Note, too, that different clitics are used, as well as the fact that **Fernando** is preceded by a preposition in (17a).

One possibility is to interpret **chakam-lab** as a generic expression along the lines of 'boy-epitome-of-boy-qualities'. In this more general sense, it is natural that **chakam-lab** cannot be possessed. Thus the preposition **ba** is used but **-it** 'possessive' may never be. Then **Fernando**, although seen as intimately associated with this exemplar of boyhood, may not possess it.

2.2.2.4 -lom 'verbalizer/collectivizer'. Although **-lom** is used to derive a verbal sense from a noun, it is not limited to this. It may also express the notion of collectivity. Examples of both uses are found in (18)-(20).

- (18) Yejat tu bitsow-lom waxik ti waxik
 it's necessary we town-ver eight at eight
 'It's necessary that we shop around in town every week.'
 visit
 mess around in, etc.

- (19) a. ale 'field'
 b. ale-lom 'to go to the field (to see what needs to be done)'

- (20) Nana? u kul-bet-n-al ku ko?oy jun i
 1 1-3 like-?-?-pres 1-3 have (nonp) one det
 wich-lom abal ku nuju an
 flower-col sub/pur 1-3 sell(nonp) the
 wich ani abal ku wich-ix-n-a? an
 flower and sub/pur 1-3 flower-?-?-nonp the
 t u k?ima?
 prep my house
 'I would like to have a flower garden so I could sell
 the flowers and also decorate my house with them.'

Note again that **-lom** and **-tsik** generally do not co-occur:

- (21) a. Nana? u ko?ol yan i pakab-tsik
 I 1-3 have many det sugar cane-pl
 'I have many (cut stalks of) sugar cane.'
 b. Nana? u ko?ol yan i pakab-lom
 I 1-3 have many det sugar cane-col
 'I have many sugar cane fields.'
 c.* Nana? u ko?ol yan i pakab-lom-tsik

Also **-lom** cannot appear with any specific number:

- (22) a.* Nana? u ko?ol jun i pakab-lom
 one
 b.* Nana? u ko?ol che? i pakab-lom
 four

But cf. (23):

- (26) a. karro 'car'
 b. u karro-jil 'my car'
 m car-pos

-al is a phonologically unpredictable variant of **-il** (that is, the phonetic contexts in which **-al** and **-il** may occur seem to be indistinguishable).

- (27) a. tumin 'money'
 b. u tumin-al 'my money'

- (28) a. k?id 'thorn'
 b. u k?id-al 'my thorn'

-tal has been observed in one case:

- (29) a. alwa? 'good'
 b. u alwa?-tal 'my good'

Other examples include:

- (30) Yab-ich u le? ku uch?-a? n u
 neg-already 1-3 want 1-3 drink-nonp the my
 ilal-il abal yab-ich alwa?
 medicine-pos sub neg-already good

'I no longer want to take my medicine because it isn't any good any more.'

(31) shows that nominalized forms can also be marked with **-il**.

- (31) a. tam ti ch?akay an pejex-ta-lab
 when prep rise up(nonp) the fight-inst-nom
 'when the revolution started'
 b. u pejex-ta-lab-il
 my fight-inst-nom-poss
 (i) 'my revolution'
 (ii) 'my arms (ie. military hardware)'

A final observation on the possessive morpheme **-il** is that it is not found on nouns denoting body parts:

- (32) a. u akan
 my foot
 'my foot'

b.* u akan-il

- (33) a. akan-lek
 foot-print
 'footprint'

b. u akan-lek-il
 'my footprint(s)'

An exception to this lack of co-occurrence with body parts is the word **xi?** 'hair'.

- (34) U chu?t -al jun in xi?-il i bitsim
 1-3 see-pres one posp hair-pos det horse

kwachat chabal.
 spread-out ground

'I see a horse hair lying on the ground.'

2.2.2.6 -tsik 'plural'. **-tsik** may be suffixed to adjectives and verbs as well as nouns. In Sect. 3.3.2.3 we discuss the semantic effects of multiple appearances of **-tsik** in a clause (cf. also Sect. 3.4 below on the interaction of **yan** 'many' and **-tsik** 'pluralizer'. As is shown above, **-tsik** may not co-occur with **-lom** 'collectivizer'.

- (35) Nana? u ko?ol i bitsim-tsik.
 I 1-3 have det horse-pl
 'I have some horses.'

- (36) an olom-tsik wat?ey t in tamet an wi?leb
 the pig-pl pass by(nonp) prep ppr front the door
 'The pigs passed by the door.'

2.3 Suppletion

Although suppletion is a common feature of Huastec verb morphology, it is rarer in other classes such as adjectives. We have registered but one example of suppletion in nouns:

(37) a. ata 'house'

b. u k?ima?
'my house'

c.* u ata
'my house'

An example of suppletion in adjectives is (38):

(38) a. pulek 'big'

b. pakda? 'big plural'

(39) a. jun i pulek olom
one det big pig
'one big pig'

b. yan i pakda? olom(-tsik)
many det big pig -pl
'many big pigs'

c.* jun i pakda? olom
'one big pig'

d.* yan i pulek olom(-tsik)
'many big pigs'

2.4 Stress⁴

Stress in Huastec words (all categories) is predictable according to the following rule:

(40) Stress rule: Stress falls on the rightmost long vowel in the word. If there is no long vowel it defaults to the leftmost short vowel.⁵

In the following examples, ' indicates intensity and * indicates vowel length.

(41) a. tú? 'gourd'

b. tú*? 'over there'

(42) a. k?álam 'squash'

b. kalá*m 'tomorrow'

(43) a. tólmiyal 'to help someone'

b. juntsikí'l 'at times'

(44) a. ch?éjwaliyal 'to give to someone'

b. jalbintsí'ch 'thank you'

Suffixes are also relevant to rule (40). Thus, an added long vowel suffix, such as **-la*b** 'nominalizer' will attract primary stress to itself, as in (45b):

(45) a. jalbintsí'ch 'thank you'

b. jalbintsí'ch-ta-lá*b
inst-nom
'thanks (noun)'

For further details and exemplification, the reader is referred to Larsen and Pike (1949).

3 The phrase

3.1 Basic linear order

The basic linear order of noun phrase (NP) constituents in Huastec may be represented by:

(46) Quantifier Demonstrative Article clitic Adjec NOUN Rel
Numeral Hon preposition

In this section we describe several features of NP structure and distribution in Huastec, including case assignment, pseudocleft constructions, relative clauses, and hierarchial structure, as well as classification and distribution of the elements in (46). We begin with a discussion of each of the constituents in (46), taking them up according to their left to right ordering in the NP. This is followed by a discussion of the other items just mentioned.

3.2 Quantifiers

3.2.1 Structure and distribution of quantifiers. It is necessary to posit a distinct lexical category 'Quantifier' on distributional grounds.⁶ Thus, although adjectives and quantifiers are similar in that both may manifest many of the same affixes (eg, **-tsik** 'pl', **-da?** 'pl', **-ich** 'posttransitional', and **k?i** 'limitivizer'), they appear in distinct syntactic positions:

For example, whereas adjectives must immediately precede the

they modify following the article, quantifiers never appear in this position:

- (47) a. ejtal an (dak) idid
 all the (white) corn
 'all the white corn'
- b.* (dak) an ejtal idid
- c.* an ejtal (dak) idid
- d.* an (dak) ejtal idid

Moreover, quantifiers may appear to the right of the noun which they modify, as well as sentence initially or sentence finally, while adjectives may never appear in these positions. This is exemplified and discussed in 3.2.3 below.

3.2.2 Discussion and exemplification. A partial list of quantifiers includes the following:

- (48) a. ejtal 'all/everyone'
 b. we? 'a little'
 c. tokot 'only'
 d. putal 'everywhere'
 e. yan 'many'
 f. tabat 'much'
 g. ch?ejel 'half'
 h. jidtal 'first'
 i. chab-ox 'some' (lit. 'two-three')

These quantifiers may manifest one of several suffixes. Although as yet no exhaustive study of quantifier suffixes has been carried out for Huastec, a few examples are found below and elsewhere in this section. None of these suffixes is exclusive to quantifiers, however, appearing also on nouns, adjectives, and/or numerals (and, in the case of **-tsik** 'pl', on verbs as well).

The suffix **-il** may be used to express the notion of succession.

- (49) Yan-il tin kwaj-lan ban lichiy bel
 many-suc 1 fall-nonp on slippery road
 'I fell many times in succession on a slippery road.'

-ich 'posttransitional' may be suffixed to certain quantifiers to produce an effect similar to 'already' in English.

- (50) Jeche? an chakam kwitol tabat-ich in
 this the small boy a lot-post 3-3
 ejt-um-al an exob-lach xi
 be:able:to-perf-pres the study-nonp rel
 ok?-tsi-nek k?al an ok?-ts-ix
 teach-app-perf with the teach-app-ant
 'This child has already learned a lot of the lessons
 that the teacher has taught him.'

k?i 'limitivizer' may be used in the sense of 'just', focussing on the quantification of the NP, as in (51):

- (51) Tokot jilk?on chab-ox-k?i xi k?os-da?
 only remain two-three-lim rel thick-pl
 in akan-lab-il an ata.
 pospro foot-nom-pos the house
 'Just a few of the big poles of the house remain.'

- (52) Jeche? i tamub u chu?-t-al putal-k?i
 this indef year 1-3 see?-pres all-lim
 t?oj-nek an inik-tsik
 work-perf the man-pl
 'This year I see that men have worked just everywhere.'

-da? and **-tsik** express collective and multi-individual plurality, respectively.

- (53) N a Pedro tam ka k?ale an ti nuj-ul
 the hon Pedro when he goes-nonp the prep sell-ant
 yan-da? in jun-al an nuj-nel
 many-colpl 3-3 carry-pres the sell-nom
 'When Peter goes out selling he has a lot of
 merchandise to carry.'

- (54) In ey-n-al yan-tsik i t?ojnal n a Juan
 3-3 use-?-pres many-pl det worker the hon John
- x in chu-m-al alwa? u t?oj-n-al tam
 rel 3-3 see-perf-pres well 3 work-?-pres when
- kin t?oj-on-d-a? n a Juan
 3 work-?-caus-nonp the hon Juan
- 'John hires a lot of workers whom he has seen to work
 well when he has hired them.'

3.2.3 Quantifier placement

The following examples show that quantifiers may appear in several different positions within the clause:

- (55) a. Jaja? in tsi?-d-al ch?ejel i xomom.
 3 3-3 come-caus-pres half indef gourd
 'She brings in half a gourd.'
- b. Jaja? in tsi?-d-al in xomom ch?ejel.
 'She brings in half a gourd.'
- (56) a. Ne?ech ki juna? ejtal an tumin
 go 1pl-3 carry all the money
 'We are going to carry all the money.'
- b. Ejtal ne?ech ki juna? an tumin.
- c. Ne?ech ki juna? an tumin ejtal.
- d.* Ne?ech ejtal ki juna? an tumin.
- e.* Ne?ech ki ejtal juna? an tumin.
- f.* Ne?ech ki juna? an ejtal tumin.

(56a)-(56c) represent the only grammatical options for placement of a quantifier in this sentence.

Other examples of quantifier placement are (cf (50) and (53) above):

- (57) a. Tabat-ich jeche? an chakam kwitol in
a lot-post this the small boy 3-3

ejt-um-al an exob-lach
be:able:to-perf-pres the study-?

'This child has already learned a lot of the lessons.'

- b. Jeche? an chakam kwitol tabat-ich in
this the small boy a lot-post 3-3

ejt-um-al an exob-lach
be:able:to-perf-pres study-nom(?)

'This child has already learned a lot of the lessons.'

- c. Jeche? an chakam kwitol in ejt-um-al tabat-ich
an exob-lach.

- (58) a. N a Pedro tam ka k?ale an ti nuj-ul
the hon Pedro when he goes-nonp the prep sell-ant

in jun-al yan-da? an nuj-nel
3-3 carry-pres a lot-colpl the sell-nom

'Peter has a lot of merchandise when he goes out
selling and so he has a lot of merchandise to carry.'

- b. N a Pedro tam ka kale an ti nuj-ul in jun-al an

tam ka k?ale an ti nuj-ul anij in
when he leave the prep sell-antip also 3-3

jun-al an nuj-nel yan-da?.
carry-pres the sell-nom a lot-colpl

'Peter has a lot of merchandise...'

At present, we are unable to find any differences in semantic scope, pragmatic markedness, discourse function, etc. for the different quantifier orders. Nevertheless, such relative freedom of placement within the sentence strongly supports the positing of quantifiers as a separate lexical category.

To sum up the observations of this subsection, quantifiers, when used to modify a noun, may appear in sentence initial, sentence final, NP initial, or NP final positions. Although a fuller discussion would lead us too far afield at this point, we should note that quantifier placement is restricted by the simple principle (59):⁸

- (59) Quantifier Placement (or "Q Landing Sites") Principle:
A quantifier may be placed at the periphery of its
(minimally) containing phrase or clause.

A final observation concerns the use of quantifiers in positions generally reserved for NPs, namely, subject and object positions.

- (60) Witsich ejtal t in k?ima?.
return(nonp) everyone prep 3(pl) house
'Everyone returned to his/her/their house.'

- (61) U le? tikin pid-a? we?.
1-3 want 2-1 give-nonp a little
'I want you to give me a little.'

This fact parallels nominal usage of quantifiers in various languages, as the English gloss shows as well. However, this is merely overlap in distribution rather than evidence for collapsing nouns and quantifiers into one category, as the previous examples of this section clearly indicate.

3.3 Demonstratives and numerals

3.3.1 Demonstratives. The basic demonstrative forms in Huastec are:

- (62) a. je?/jeche 'this'
b. jachan? 'this' (very close to speaker)
c. nu? 'that' (proximate to speaker)
d. nuwa? 'that' (medium distance from speaker)
e. tu?/tuwa? 'that' (out of sight)

The plural marker **-tsik** may be suffixed to the long forms in (62) to produce plural readings. (Thus **nu?** 'that', which has no long form, has no plural form.)

- (63) a. jeche? -tsik 'these' cf. *je?-tsik
b. jachan? 'these'
c. * nu? -tsik 'these'
d. nuwa? -tsik 'those'
e. tuwa? -tsik 'those' cf. *tu?-tsik

Other deictic forms include:

- (64) a. ja?ich 'this' (APE translates this
 as 'ése/ésa' cf. 3.7.2 below)
- b. teche? 'here'
- c. na? 'there' (medium distance from speaker)
- d. taja? 'there' (in a particular known spot)

Examples of these elements in context are (unless specified, either the short or the long form may be used):

- (65) Je? an bitsim(-tsik) ne?ech ku ch?o?may.
 dem the horse (-pl) go 1-3 brand
 'I am going to brand this horse/these horses.'

- (66) Ka k?waj-b-a? an k?alam k?al (xi) je?
 2-3 put-caus-nonp the squash with (rel) this
 'Put the squash with this one.'

(66) shows that Huastec demonstratives may modify or substitute for NPs.

- (67) nu? an bitsim(-tsik) ne?ech ku cho?o?may.
 dem the horse(pl) go 1-3 brand
 'I'm going to brand that horse.'

- (68) Jeché? an xi nu? an xi nuwa? yab u
 dem and rel dem and rel dem neg 1-3

cho?ob xita? in dabal.
know who pospro owner

'I don't know who the owners are of this one or that one or the one over there.'

The focus or pseudocleft particle **ja?ich** is discussed in 3.7.2 below.

3.3.2 Numerals. The numeric system of Huastec follows the pattern of Mayan languages in general in its base-twenty system. Thus, **jun inik** 'one man' (**without** the article) refers to twenty, the basic unit of the system. Cardinal numbers occur in pre-article position while ordinal numbers appear between the article and the head noun, in normal adjective position (cf. (46) above). The indefinite article (cf. 3.4 below) is always required following a numeral.

- (69) Nana? u ko?ol jun i dak bitsim.
 1 1-3 have one indef white horse
 'I have one/a(particular) white horse.'

As the translation of (69) indicates, the cardinal numeral **jun** 'one' may also be used to express the notion of indefiniteness. According to APE, the interpretation of (67) is **referential** indefiniteness. The notion of **nonreferential** indefiniteness seems to be expressed simply by using the indefinite article **i** without **jun**, as in (70):

- (70) Nana? u ko?ol i (?dak) bitsim.
 1 1-3 have indef (white) horse
 'I have some (white) horse.'

Note that when the numeral **jun** is absent, the modifier is less acceptable. Evidently it is semantically anomalous to use a nonreferential indefinite construction and then modify it since modification of individuals generally implies reference. (However, the judgments are much sharper when a number other than **jun** is used, that is, without a quantifier e.g. **yan** or a numeral. Plurals are almost always interpreted as nonreferentially indefinite.)

Ordinal numbers have no similar function as the one described above and in fact behave as adverbs:

- (71) x in chab-lab ti wa?chi-nek an olom ja?ich
 rel 3pospro second prep born-perf the pig this one
 ne?ech ku jil-a?
 go 1-3 leave-nonp

'The second pig to be born is the one I am going to keep.'

As is seen in (71) the ordinal numeral is derived from the cardinal numeral through the suffixation of **-lab** 'nominalizer' (but cf. the discussion in Sect. 2 on **-lab** and **-lom**).

3.2.1 Suffixation of numerals. Ordinals, such as **chab-lab** 'second one' in (71) are but one type of notion which can be expressed through the suffixation of cardinal forms. In addition to ordinals, temporal and adverbial expressions may also be derived.

For example, **-il** 'enumerator' can be suffixed to a particular number or the quantifier **yan** 'many' to express the idea of succession, as in (72)-(74):

- (72) Jun-il ti seman in k?waj-il tin koy-ol.
 one-enum prep week 1 be-pres 1 rest-pres
 'Once a week I spend resting.'

- (73) Yan-il tin kwaj-lan ban lichiy bel.
 many-enum 1 fall-nonp on slippery road
 'I fell many times (in succession) on a slippery road.'

The suffix **-ich** 'posttransitional' can be added to express the idea that a succession of events is over:

- (74) Yan-il-ich t?ajat ti tsi?-nek jeche? an kwitol
 many-enum-post very prep come-perf this the boy

 an ti mat tumin xo? yab-ich ne?ech ku pid-a?.
 the prep borrow money now neg-post go 1-3 give-nonp

 'This boy has already come many(times) to borrow money;
 now I'm no longer going to give him any.'

Other examples of suffixation on cardinal numerals include:

- (75) An t?oj-nal-tsik xi exom ti chix-il yaba? u
 the work-?-pl rel prog prep hoe-antip neg 3pl

 jil-ax. Jun-unul u kal-el ban k?adil.
 get behind-ant one-man(?) 3pl out-pres in furrow

 'The workers who are hoeing do not get behind. They
 go out evenly in the furrows.'

3.3.2.2 Repetition. Repetition is found frequently in Huastec discourse and when it involves numbers is used to express succession of equal groups, e.g. one-by-one, two-by-two, two at a time, etc.

- (76) a. Chab-tsik (ti) chab-tsik ka tsi?-d-a? an
 two-pl (prep) two-pl 2-3 come-caus-nonp the
 t?ujub xi yab lej pak-da?
 rock rel neg very big-colpl:
 'Bring two stones at a time which are not very big.'
- b. Chab ti chab ka tsi?-d-a? an t?ujub xi yab
 two prep two 2-3 come-caus-nonp the rock rel neg
 lej pak-da?
 very big-bolpl
 'Bring two stones at a time which are not very big.'

As (76) shows, the preposition **ti** is optional when the plural morpheme **-tsik** is added. Interestingly, this may also be attached to **jun** 'one':

- (77) a. jun-tsik (ti) jun-tsik ka tsi?-d-a? an
 one-pl (prep) one-pl 2-3 come-caus-nonp the
 t?ujub xi yab lej pak-da?
 rock rel neg very big-colpl
 'Bring one stone at a time, etc.'
- b. jun ti jun...
 'Bring one stone at a time, etc.'

These adverbial phrases of numerals are also encountered sentence finally, as (78) shows:

- (78) An animal-tsik o -d -a b an arka chab ti chab
 the animal-pl enter-caus-nonp in the ark two prep two
 or- chab-tsik (ti) chab-tsik.
 two-pl (prep) two-pl
 'The animals were caused to enter the ark two by two.'

3.3.2.3 -tsik 'pl' and quantification. It is noted at various points in this paper that numerals and other categories may bear the suffix **-tsik** 'pl'. We also note above in Sect. 2 that this use of **-tsik** may affect the interpretation of the predication of a clause in a manner similar to quantifier scope variation as in English:

- (79) two men sold two pigs.
 some some
 the the
 etc. etc.

(79) may take (among others) one of the two interpretations in (80):

- (80) a. (i) For two pigs there are two men who sold them.
 (ii) x (x=set of two pigs), y (y=set of 2 men)
 (y sold x)
 b. (i) For two men, there are two pigs which they sold.
 (ii) y (y=set of 2 men), x (x=set of two pigs)
 (y sold x)

Huastec has a rather interesting way of resolving this ambiguity (although this option is not always chosen). **-tsik** may be used on the verb to indicate multiple actions/events. For example, compare the translations in (81)-(83).

- (81) Chab i inik(-tsik) in nuju
 two indef man(-pl) 3-3 sell(nonp)

 an / i olom(-tsik).
 the/indef pig(-pl)

 'Two men sold the/some pigs.'

(81) has only the interpretation corresponding to (80a) above. Note that either **inik** 'man' or **olom** 'pig' may accept the suffix **-tsik** 'pl', without forcing a change in the translation. Now compare (82) and (83):

- (82) in nuju-tsik an /i olom(-tsik)
 3-3 sell-pl the /indef pig(-pl)
 (i) 'They sold the/some pigs.'
 (ii) 'Each of them sold the/some pigs separately.'

 (83) Chab i inik(-tsik) in nuju-tsik an/i olom(-tsik).
 'Each man sold the/some pigs separately.'

Thus according to APE, (81) and (83) are not ambiguous, each having the reading indicated. The ambiguity of (82) might be explained by the hypothesis that the lack of an overt agent allows the **-tsik** on the verb to refer either to some discourse specified subject, producing interpretation (i), or to the action itself, resulting in (ii). In (83), however, the **-tsik** is obligatorily noncoreferent with the overt subject.¹⁰ (The **-tsik** may not occur on **chab** 'two' either, for reasons we believe to be related to our suggestions in (8)).

Although these facts are not directly related to numerals in Huastec, they reveal some suggestive aspects of syntactic number and quantification in "logical form" in Huastec (cf. Everett (this volume) for an introduction to logical form).

3.3.2.4 Co-occurrence of numerals and demonstratives. We note in the introduction to this section that demonstratives and numerals occupy the same syntactic position in the NP and, therefore, would not be expected to co-occur. There is a way to circumvent this restriction, however, as (84) indicates:

- (84) (xi) nu? xi chab an bitsim
 (rel) that rel two the horse
 'those two horses'

In (84) the relativizer **xi** is used to allow the demonstrative **nu?** and the numeral **chab** 'two' to co-occur. While the first **xi** is optional, the second is obligatory. Further investigations are necessary to determine the properties of the relative construction so formed, as well as the presence of the definite article **an** following the numeral. We have no answer presently to this exception to our general statement that only **i** 'indefinite' may follow a numeral.

3.4 Articles

There are two articles in Huastec, **an** 'definite' and **i** 'indefinite'. In this section we discuss some of the facts concerning their distribution and restrictions, again noting that this is only a partial, initial listing.

The basic uses of these articles may be seen in (85) and (86):

- (85) N a Juan in chu?u an pik?o?.
 the hon John 3-3 see(nonp) the dog
 'John saw the dog.'
- (86) N a Juan in chu?u i pik?o?.
 the hon John 3-3 see(nonp) indef dog
 'John saw a dog.'

However, there are various restrictions on the use of these articles. For example, **i** may not appear sentence initially or following the relativizer **xi**:

- (87) An olom-tsik wat?ey t in tamet an wi?leb.
 the pig-pl pass:by(nonp) prep ppro front the door
 'The pigs passed by the door.'

(88) * I olom-tsik wat?ey t in tamet an wi?leb.
 indef
 'Some pigs passed by the door.'

(89) * I ch?ichin-tsik exom ti ajat b an te?.
 indef bird-pl prog 3-3 sing prep the tree
 'Some birds are singing in the tree.'

Compare (90) and (91):

(90) An ch?ichin-tsik exom ti ajat b an te?.
 the bird-pl pres-pro 3pl sing prep the tree
 'The birds are singing in the tree.'

(91) Wa?ach an /i ch?ichin-tsik xi exom ti
 focus the /indef bird-pl rel prog 3-3
 ajat b an te?,
 sing in the tree

'There are birds which are singing in the tree.'

(90) shows that the definite article may occur sentence initially with no ungrammaticality, to the contrary of the indefinite. (91) shows that in an almost identical construction where *i* is not in sentence initial position no ungrammaticality is produced.

(92) and (93) show that the indefinite may not occur after *xi* 'relativizer' + numeral:

(92) xi jun an/*i piko?o? chemech.
 rel on the/a dog die(nonp)
 'The/*A one dog died.'

(93) xi chab an/*i piko?o? chemech.
 'The/*some two dogs died.'

That this is a restriction related to this particular sequence and not either item individually is shown by (94) and (95), where we see that, in fact, only the indefinite may follow numerals when *xi* is not present (cf. also (96)):

(94) jun i/*an pik?o?
 *one/a /*the dog

- (95) chab i/*an piko?o?
 (*the) Two dogs.

While either **i** or **an** may follow a demonstrative when the head noun is plural, only **an** is used with a singular head noun:

- (96) a. xi je? an /*i bitsim ne?ech ku k?apu-n-d-a?.
 rel dem the/*indef horse go 1-3 eat-?-caus-nonp
 'I'm going to feed this horse.'

- b. xi je? an/i bitsim-tsik ne?ech ku kapu-n-d-a?.
 rel dem the/indef horse-pl go 1-3 eat-?-caus-nonp
 'I'm going to feed these horses.'

There are various other restrictions on the use of these articles as well as conditions which demand their use. A discussion of these goes beyond our knowledge of the language at present, and so we leave these for future research.

Before closing this section, however, we describe the facts of article contraction with honorifics and personal pronouns. Only the definite article undergoes this process which is just deletion of initial /a/ when the article is followed by an honorific or possessive pronoun:

With possessives:

(97)	an + u	'my'	nu
	a	'your'	na
	in	'his/her/their/its'	nin
	i	'your(pl) ours'	ni

With honorific **a**:

- (98) an + a na

3.5 Clitics, honorific a, and prepositional case markers

This section is merely a preliminary listing of some phenomena which we would like to know more about. As such it presents some basic facts with little analysis.

3.5.1 Clitics. There are four pronominal clitic possession morphemes in Huastec:

- (99)
u	'my'
a	'your'
in	'his/hers/their/its'
i	'your(pl)/our'

These appear frequently throughout this paper and therefore no further exemplification is given.

3.5.2 Honorific. a 'honorific' occurs with all proper nouns as well as *ich?* 'moon', *k?itsa* 'sun', and occasionally with *Dios* 'God'. Although *a* also occurs with *Cristo* 'Christ', it does not occur with *ajatik* 'lord' (*ajatik* when used of Christ is always possessed: (i) *ajatik* (our) 'Lord'). Some examples are:

- (100) u ul tam enche? max ja?ich a Dios
 1-3 say(nonp) then thus if that hon God

 in le? bel tikin lo?o
 3-3 want still 3-1 save(nonp)

 'Then I said thus, "If that way God still wants to
 save me...'

- (101) alwa? pik?o? jun t?a ti kale n a Duke
 good dog one very prep turnout the hon Duke

 abal ti belkol ata
 sub prep take care of house

 'Duke turned out to be a very good dog for guarding
 the house.'

3.6 Modifiers

3.6.1 Stative verbs A full account of the Huastec NP should include a discussion of stative verbs as well as adjectives since both may appear as NP internal modifiers. However, there is still too much we do not know about these to discuss them here besides the fact that they may appear in pre-article or post-head positions whereas adjectives may only appear in pre-head position within the NP. According to APE, in almost every instance of modification, the stative verb option is preferred.

- (102) Pulek n u pik?o?-il.¹¹
 big(stat) the my dog-poss
 'My dog is big.'

 (103) Nana? u ko?ol jun u piko?o?-il pulek.
 1 1-3 have(nonp) one my dog-poss big(stat)
 'I have a big (my) dog.'

In (104) and (105), we see that adjectives may not appear in these positions (here *pulek* is the adjective form with a short vowel, cf. note 10).

- (104) * Pulek n u pik?o-il
 big(nonstat) the my dog-poss
 'my big dog'
- (105) * Nana? u ko?ol jun u pik?o?-il pulek
 1 1-3 have(nonp) one my dog-il big(nonstat)
 'I have a big (my) dog.'

3.6.2 Adjectives. As we note in 3.6.1, the adjective is less used to modify nouns than the stative verb. Further, adjectives are more restricted in their syntactic order, appearing obligatorily in pre-head position.

- (106) Tikin pak?w-tsi n u chak xeket.
 2-1 wash-appl the my red shirt
 'Wash my red shirt.'
- (107) u dak bitsim
 my white horse
 'my white horse'

Other examples are to be found throughout the paper.

3.7 Relative clauses

We organize our discussion here around the two kinds of relative clauses in Huastec, the "normal" relative and the cleft construction, marked by **ja?ich** 'this one'. The basic justification for positing two classes of relatives, besides the pressure of **ja?ich** is the fact in cleft relatives only the subject of the embedded clause can be focussed cf. below for more details.

3.7.1 Nonclefted relatives. Nonclefted relatives have the structure NP - S with the basic interpretation "NP who...".

- (108) An inik x in chu?u n a Juan
 the man rel 3-3 see(nonp) the hon John

 ja?ich n u kidab.
 that one the my brother

 'The man who saw John is my brother.'
- (109) an inik xita? in chu?u n a Juan
 the man rel 3-3 see(nonp) the hon John
 'the man who John saw'

Note the difference in relativizers between (108) and (109). Although more investigation of **xi** and **xita?** and their distribution is necessary, **xita?** does seem to be the preferred (only?) way of marking object relativization.¹² It is noted below, however, that **xita?** and **xi** may in fact co-occur in some situations.

Since we are unable to provide any further details of nonclefted relatives other than these elementary observations, we move on now to clefted relatives which do provide a means for better understanding relatives in general.

3.7.2 Clefted relatives. In Huastec the demonstrative **ja?ich** 'this one' may be placed before or after the head of a relative clause to produce an effect of focus like the following:

- (110) Ja?ich -NP- S or NP, Ja?ich - S
 It was NP who...

For this reason we have labelled this type of relative a clefted relative. More examples include:

- (111) a. Ja?ich n a Juan x in chu?u an pik?o?.
 this one the hon John rel 3-3 see(nonp) the dog
 'It was John who saw the dog.'
- b. N a Juan, ja?ich x in chu?u an pik?o?.
 the hon John this one rel 3-3 see(nonp) the dog
 'It was John who saw the dog.'

Note in (111) that when the NP precedes **ja?ich**, it must be followed by pause. Other variations of form encountered, and generally are related to the type of relativizer(s) involved. In (112) and (113) two different sets of possibilities are listed, the a-c examples reflecting decreasing order of preference.

- (112) a.?? N a Juan ja?ich xita? x in chu?u
 the hon John this one rel rel 3-3 see(nonp)
 an pik?o?.
 the dog
 'It was John who saw the dog.'
- b.? N a Juan ja?ich xita? in chu?u an pik?o?.
 the hon John this one rel 3-3 see(nonp) the dog
 'It was John who saw the dog.'
- c. N a Juan ja?ich x in chu?u an pik?o?.
 the hon John this one rel 3-3 see(nonp) the dog
 'It was John who saw the dog.'

- (113) a.?? N a Juan ja?ich xi chu?-tat k?al an pik?o?.
 the hon John this one rel see-pass by the dog
 'It was John who was seen by the dog.'
- b.? N a Juan ja?ich xita? chu?-tat k?al an pik?o?
 the hon John this one rel see-pass by the dog
 'It was John who was seen by the dog.'
- c. N a Juan ja?ich xita? xi chu?tat k?al an pik?o?.
 the hon John this one rel rel see-pass by the dog
 'It was John who was seen by the dog.'

First, note that in clefted relatives, as opposed to non-clefted, only subjects may be relativized. Thus to relativize an object, a passive rule must apply for the clefted relative to be grammatical. Thus cf. the passive marking on the verb of the relative clause (113) with the active marking in (112).

An intriguing fact is the exact opposite orders of preference for relative marking found in (112). A likely hypothesis is that we might link the different underlying grammatical roles of **Juan** in (112) and (113) with the relativizer differences. Remembering that **xita?** is preferred with relativized objects and **xi** with relativized subjects we can understand the preference for **xi** in (112). But then why is **xita?** **xi** preferred in (113)? Our speculation is that this double relative marking represents a recognition of the fact that the relativized element bears two grammatical functions simultaneously - underlying object and superficial subject.¹³ Under this assumption all the preferences are straightforwardly explained: (112a) would be strange since **Juan** only bears one grammatical function at all "levels", that of subject. (112b) uses an object relativizer and is thus also less preferable than (112c) in which **Juan** is marked unambiguously as subject. However, (112b) might be superior to (112a) because it claims correctly that **Juan** only bears one grammatical function to the clause. This reasoning then would apply in an obvious fashion to (113).

3.8 Case marking

We begin once again by noting that a great deal of what we believe to be occurring in Huastec cannot be mentioned due to the elementary stage of our knowledge. Especially interesting is the prepositional case marker **ti**. Nonetheless, we must content ourselves with the following listing of various cases which we do have some controlled data on:

Benefactive:

- (114) U t?aja? abal n a Guillermo.
 1-3 do(nonp) sub the hon William
 'I did it for (the benefit of) William.'

Source:

- (115) U ach?a? ba n a Guillermo.
 1-3 hear(nonp) from the hon William
 'I heard it from William.'

Instrument:

- (116) U cha?aw k?al jun i martillo.
 1-3 hit(nonp) with one indef hammer
 'I hit him with a hammer.'

Negative instrument:

- (117) a.??U t?aja?, yab k?al (jun) i martillo.
 1-3 build/do(nonp) (neg) with one indef hammer
 'I built it, without a hammer.'
- b. Yab k?al (jun) i martillo u t?aja?
 neg by one indef hammer 1-3 build/do(nonp)
 'I built it without a hammer.'
- c. Yab u t?aja? k?al (jun) i martillo.
 neg 1-3 do/build(nonp) with one indef hammer
 'I built it without a hammer.'

Comitative

- (118) In k?ale k?al n a Guillermo.
 1 go(nonp) with the hon William
 'I went with William.'

Negative comitative

- (119) Yab in k?ale k?al n a Guillermo.
 neg 1 go(nonp) by the hon William
 'I did not go with William.'
 'I went without William.'

Circumstance

- (120) Jaja? jun i inik, x in ko?ol in k?ima?
 he one a man rel 3-3 have(nonp) 3 home
 'He is a man with a home.'

Negative circumstance

- (121) Jaja? jun i inik, xi yab in ko?ol in k?ima?.
 he one a man rel neg have(nonp) 3 home
 'He's a man without a home.'

Quality

- (122) Jun i inik xi (yab) u k?ak?na-x.
 one indef man rel neg 3 honor-antipass
 'A man with(out) honor.'

Reference quality

- (123) in k?ak?na-x-tal an inik
 his honor-ant-poss the man
 'the honor of the man (the man's honor)'

Reference quantity

- (124) Jeche? i kamion in altsik ox i toneladas.
 this a truck its weight three indef tons
 'The weight of this truck is three tons.'

Alienable vs Inalienable possession

No distinction

Temporary vs Permanent possession

No distinction

Present vs Past possession

- (125) Jeche? an ata ja?ich n u k?ima? wi?ik.
 this the house this one the my house formerly
 'This (is the) house (that) used to be mine.'

Material

- (126) Jun i ata t?ajad k?al i te?.
 one indef house made(stat,nonp) by indef wood
 'a house made of wood'

Negative material

- (127) Jeche? an ata t?ajad yab k?al i te?.
 this the house made(stat) neg by indef wood
 'This house is not made of wood.'

Manner

- (128) Jaja? in cha?aw k?al in chakub.
 3 3-3 hit(nonp) by his anger
 (abal) u chaku-l.
 (sub) 3 anger-intr
 'He hit him in anger.'

Negative manner

- (129) Jaja? in cha?aw yab k?al in chakub.
 3 3-3 hit(nonp) neg by his anger
 (abal) u chaku-l.
 (sub) 3 anger-intr
 'He hit him without/not in anger.'

Cause

- (130) Jaja? in t?ek?a? tinba? k?al in chakub an mim-lab
 3 3-3 upset(nonp) reflex by his anger the lady
 'He was upset by the lady's anger.'

Purpose

- (131) Nana? u eyna? jeche? abal n u t?oj-lab-il.
 1 1-3 use(nonp) this sub the my work-nom-poss
 'I used this for my work.'

Function

- (132) Nana? u eyna? jun i t?ujub abal ti martillo.
 1 1-3 used one indef rock sub prep hammer
 'I used a rock as a hammer.'

Reference

- (133) N u ichan tin t?il-tsi an ti pejex-ta-lab
 the my uncle 3-1 told-appl the prep fight-instr-nom
 'My uncle told me about the war/revolution.'

Essive

- (134) Jaja? k?awajat wi?ik lab-tom ti t?ojnal.
 3 be formerly Mexico City prep worker
 'He used to be in Mexico City as a worker.'

Translative

- (135) I bijiy ti ok?lek.
 we named(nonp) chief
 'We named (elected) him as chief.'

Part-whole

- (136) in ok? an pik?o?
 3 head the dog
 'the head of the dog'

Part - number

- (137) chab ti eb (xi) an kwitol-tsik
 two prep among (rel) the boy-pl
 'two of the boys'

Part - quantifier

- (138) chab-ox ti eb (xi) an kwitol-tsik
 two-three prep among (rel) the boy-pl
 'some of the boys'

Part - negative quantifier

- (139) ni jun (xi) an kwitol-tsik
 neg one (rel) the boy-pl
 'none of the boys'

Nonpart - negative quantifier

- (140) ni jun i kwitol
 neg one a boy
 'no boys'

Price

- (141) U ch?a?ay k?al jun inik i peso.
 1-3 buy(nonp) with/for one man indef peso
 'I bought it for twenty pesos.'

Value

- (142) Jun i ata x in jalb-il jun million i peso.
 one indef house rel 3 price-poss one million indef pesos
 'A house worth one million pesos.'

Distance

- (143) In at-lach chab i kilometro.
 1 fast-nonp two indef kilometer
 'I ran two kilometers.'

Extent

- (144) jun i pulek ata laju i metro in t?ek?-il
 one a big house ten a meter 3 height-poss
 'a building ten meters high'

Concessive

- (145) Tsich n a Juan aba an ab.
 come(nonp) the hon John inspite:of the ran
 'John came in spite of the rain.'

Inclusion

- (146) Tsich ejtal ti eb aniy jey n a Juan.
 come(nonp) all prep among also emph the hon John
 'Everyone came including John.'

Exclusion

- (147) Tsich ejtal tokot n a Juan yab tsich.
 come(nonp) all only the hon John neg come(nonp)
 'Everyone came except John.' (lit. 'Everyone came, only
 John did not come')

Addition

- (148) kale an presidente ani ox i belal-tsik
 leave(nonp) the presidet addition 3 indef walker-pl
 'Three people, in addition to the president, left.'

4 Pronouns

There are independent personal, emphatic and reflexive pronoun paradigms in Huastec. In this section we will merely list them with a few comments since we have not yet studied these in any detail.

4.1 Personal pronouns

Huastec independent personal pronouns may occur in full or abbreviated form, according to the following table:

	BASIC	ABBREVIATED
1	nana?	na(?)
2	tata?	ta(?)
3	jaja?	ba(?)
3'	baba?	ba(?)
11	wawa?	wa(?)
22	xaxa?	xa(?)
33	jaja?tsik	ja(?)
33'	baba?tsik	ba(?)

Table 1¹⁴

4.2 Emphatic personal pronouns

As with nonemphatic pronouns, the emphatic pronouns have both a long and a short form, seen in the following table:

	BASIC	ABBREVIATED
1	neye	ney
2	teye	tey
3	jeye	jey
3'	beye	bey
11	weye	wey
22	xeye	xey
33	jeye	jey
33'	beye	bey

Table 2

Emphatic forms may never occur sentence initially, as seen in the contrast between (149) a and b.

(149) a. Anchan? ney t u kul-bet-n-al.
 that:way emph prep 1-3 like-?-?-pres
 'I like it **that** way.'

b.* Ney anchan? t u kul-bet-n-al.
 emph that:way prep 1-3 like-?-?-pres
 'I like it **that** way.'

5 Conclusion

This brief and in many places all too superficial sketch of Huastec noun phrases is meant to serve as a guide for future research on Huastec itself as well as provide initial documentation of this language for specialists and others interested in Mayan languages in general or Huastec in particular. We have attempted, therefore, to survey the basic features of noun morphology, noun phrase structure, and pronoun paradigms.

Notes

1. The Veracruz dialect of Huastec has approximately thirty thousand speakers, the San Luís Potosí dialect slightly more. The dialect of Veracruz is spoken primarily near the city of Tantoyuca. However, there are apparently two other subdialects, one in Tantoyuca and another spoken in the area of Chontla.

The responsibility for this paper is divided among the authors in the following way:

The first named author, a native Huastec speaker, is the primary language consultant, and has provided approximately fifty percent of the data for this paper, as well as checking and discussing the remainder of the examples used here.

The second author is responsible for the prose, organization of examples and issues, as well as a large percentage of the analysis presented.

The final author is the primary field worker among the Huastec and responsible for some eighty percent of the analysis presented, as well as some of the prose.

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2. Abbreviations used in this paper are: ant - antipassive; , col - collectivizer, det - determiner, genr - generic, hon - honorific, indef - indefinite, nclas - noun classifier, nom - nominalizer, nonp - nonpresent, pos - possessive, pret - pretransitional, pospro - possessive pronoun, pur - purpose, quan - quantifier, tr - transitive, ver - verbalizer, man - manner.

3. This use of ~~-lom~~ with animals, with a translation as in (*23b) is found, however, in the San Luís Potosí subdialect.

4. The constant acoustic correlate of what we refer to as (primary) stress in Huastec is intensity.

5. Since stress and vowel length are peripheral to the present description we have not represented either in this paper, other than the examples given. We are in the process of making amends for this lacuna here by reviewing nouns in Huastec for length and stress, which will be marked in future work.

6. An alternative would be to consider quantifiers a subclass of nouns since they overlap in distribution, as quantifiers may occupy subject or object position in the clause:

- (i) witsich ejtal t in k?ima?
 return(nonp) all(Q) prep 3 house
 (a) 'Everyone returned to his house.'
 (b) '(They) all returned to their houses.'
- (ii) u le? tikin pid-a? we?
 1-3 want 2-1 give-nonpres a little(Q)
 'I would like you to give me a little.'

However, quantifiers may not take any other nominal affix other than **-tsik** and thus differ from other nouns morphologically. Further, only quantifiers may occur between pronominal clitics and verbs, only quantifiers may appear in posthead position in NP, only quantifiers may appear in sentence initial position preceding a temporal expression, etc. Thus on the basis of these morphological and distributional distinctions, in spite of the distributional overlap between quantifiers and nouns in subject and object positions, we maintain that quantifiers are best treated as an independent category cf. the text for further exemplifications.

7. This list is intended to be representative rather than exhaustive.

8. cf. Baltin (1982).

9. However, **-tsik** is not necessary to get a plural interpretation. All of these forms may appear with a plural interpretation and in fact frequently have a plural interpretation while disallowing the use of **-tsik**. We have nothing to say on this except that it demands study.

Note, too, that **nu?** looks suspiciously like the short form of **nuwa?** and would balance out the paradigm if it were. The historical development of **nuwa?** has resulted in the short form being used for short distances and the larger form for larger distances. The temptation to invoke analogy as a partial explanation is strong.

10. Although such considerations go beyond the scope of this paper, it is interesting that this **-tsik** behaves similarly to a pronominal element subject to the "Binding Conditions" of Chomsky (1981), 1982). See Everett (this volume) for an introduction to the Binding Conditions.

11. Stative verbs are frequently distinguished from adjectives by vowel length and stress. Once again we apologize for not including length in our representations due to our lack of understanding the phonological role of length in Huastec. cf. **pu:lek** 'it is big' and **Pulek** 'big'.

12. Compare this to interrogatives:

(i) Jita? x in chu?u n a Juan
 who(inter) rel 3-3 see(nonp) the hon Juan
 'Who saw John?'

(ii) Jita? in chu?u n a Juan
 who(inter) 3-3 see(nonp) the hon Juan
 'Who did John see?'

13. We might also mention that these examples might provide some evidence in favor of a theory such as Government and Binding Theory which predicts that a NP may bear more than one grammatical simultaneously over a theory such as RG which does not.

14. It appears that **baba?/ba?/baba?tsik/ba?** and also **beye/bey** have all but died out.

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