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Concomitance in Huave

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1.   The Huave and their language

Huave is a genetically isolated language spoken in four main variants by approximately 14,000 persons[1] settled in the south-eastern part of the State of Oaxaca, between the mouth of the Tehuantepec River and the border of the State of Chiapas. From west to east there are four main Huave villages: San Mateo (SMo), Santa Maria (SMa), San Dionisio (SD) and San Francisco (SF). All of them include in their name the specification "del Mar," and Huaves are frequently called *mareños* 'from the seaside'. This ethnic denomination, the same as *Huave*, is perceived by most young persons as derogatory terms, so that in recent years in SMo the independent 1st plural inclusive pronoun *ikoots*[2] (*konajts* in SF) 'all of us' has been selected as the ethnic self-reference name. Similar motivations led to an increasingly accepted use of the SMo expression *ombeayiüts* (*umbeyajts* in SF) 'our mouth', to refer to the Huave language itself. In the first and in the third village (SMo and SD), but particularly in the first one, the Huave language is used in daily life. According to the 2000 Census, 2,300 speakers (approximately one sixth) declared to be monolingual (INEGI 2004: 24). In the second and in the last village (SMa and SF) widespread bilingualism with Spanish has led local Huave varieties to obsolescence. At present they are spoken mostly by elders who do not have many chances to transmit their native language to young generations. Linguistic differences among the four main varieties are not insignificant: their phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, as well as discourse forms, differ quite sharply from one village to the other.

In this paper we will focus on the SMo variety studied in the past mostly by missionary linguists who produced, among other works, a dictionary (Stairs and Stairs 1981, quoted as SS) and a grammar (Stairs and Hollenbach 1981). Another linguist (Suárez 1975) made available, in an historical-comparative perspective, some data from the other three varieties of Huave. However, many linguistic dimensions, ranging from phonetics to discourse patterns, are still waiting to be dealt with by researchers.

During the last fifty years a few person wrote, only for personal use, some accounts. Recently, a set of these texts, written by a local native speaker (Olivares, w. d.) has been published by one of us (Cuturi 2003) as part of an anthropological monograph.

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[1] 13,678 according to the 2000 census, with an average 1,55% of annual increase (INEGI 2004: 16).
[2] We adopt here the San Mateo writing convention where *ü* represents a high central-back vowel, and the other symbols (such as *j*) are used with a phonological value similar to that of standard Spanish writing, although, as for *j*, the sound it represents in Huave is less strongly articulated from the Spanish standard.

Some salient phonological aspects of SMo variety are: two series of non-vocalic segments one plain and the other palatalized, the presence of pre-nasalized segments, a vowel system with five articulatory positions, each one with lengthening opposition, a pervasive system of vowel harmony, presence of tone with a very low functional load, stress frequently (but not always) falling on the final syllable (Suarez 1974, Pike and Warkentin 1961, Noyer 1992).

Word order is right-branching and basically VOS. The clause is head-marking and its structure is mostly accusative. Increasing bilingualism with Spanish has led to a high degree of variation in basic word order, and at present it is frequent to hear sentences produced with a SVO order. A large set of roots, many of them with a CVC structure, are verbo-nominal (frequently with "adjectival" derivations), while another large set (mostly plant and animal nouns), are exclusively nominal. We do not find any adjectival root but rather nominal derivations that refer to qualities. There are a few roots that can be considered adverbials and several that are indexicals: these include a set of eight independent pronouns, with one 1PL inclusive (quoted above) and one exclusive pronoun, and two pronouns 1+3 and 2+3, some pronominal forms which are tripartite along a scale of proximality, such as *aaga...kam* 'this here' to *aaga... kiün* 'that there,' and two grammaticalized prepositions, such as *ti-(ül/üt)*[3] 'spatial location' (LOC) and *wüx* 'space (LOC), temporal and some logical relations of co-occurrence (REL),' as the one in (6) 'by radio....' Both can have a sentence-final use, almost an adverbial one, as is exemplified in sentences (16) and (48) below.

Beyond the five inherently plural pronominals, and a few demonstratives (DEM), as *aag/ ajk-üw*[4], only a reduced set of nouns (mostly those referring to humans and to some parts of human body) can carry a pluralizing prefix or suffix (*mon-, -üw*).

Case is almost totally absent as only one mark (-V) can be interpreted as a case mark and it occurs on the nominative forms of each one of the six 1 and 2 (SG and PL) independent pronouns (-e in *xik-e* 'I,' but −a in *ikon-a* 'you (PL)' and of the demonstrative *aag-(a)*[5].

Most morphological information is concentrated in the verb forms, where roots are modified by prefixes, suffixes and two infixes. Pronominal subject is always coded in the verb form, while direct and indirect pronominal object can be also cross-referenced on the verb. Tense and aspect (and only with limited presence, mood) are mostly (but not always) coded through grammaticalized auxiliary forms prefixed to the verb root. These are: Ø, for present reference, -*t*- for reference to 'accomplished, past' t/a (as in *ta-jaw-as* 'I saw'), *la*- for 'complete, recent' t/a, *ap*- for 'unrealized, future' t/a (as in *ap-ma-jaw* 's/he will see,' that can carry also a prescriptive value), *t(ing)ia(-l)* 'while, durative, in progress' aspect. Some adverbial forms, such as *aliün* 'still' are also used in aspectually 'continuative' verbal forms. Person markers, different from independent pronouns, can either precede (as in *sa-jaw* 'I see' and in *sa-na-jaw* 'I will see'), or follow (as −*as* '1,' in *ta-jaw-as* above) the verb root, and in some cases can be incorporated into the forms of the above mentioned t/a markers. Subordinate verbal forms, characterized by prefixed nasal consonants (*m-, n-*), are highly frequent not only because they occur obligatorily

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[3] In our analysis there is good evidence to single out the preposition as *ti-*, as in *ti kambaj* 'in the village', while −*ül* is the determiner −*al*, whose vowel underwent the SMo phonological change *a > ü; -üt* derives from *iüt* 'ground, down'.

[4] A phonological rule, very productive in Huave morphophonology, has to do with the moras: (-) (V)VV C[+son] # > VVj C[-son] + Suf : *aag > ajk-üw* and *a-kiüb > a-kiüjp-ühw*. This change is different from the one enacted by the inserting of the morpheme −*j*- "ergative mark".

[5] Young speakers quite frequently dismiss the −V mark of nominative case, producing actually an independent pronoun at the indirect case; this is clearly exemplified by the self-reference term, the independent pronoun *ikoots*, assumed by them to be a nominative form, while by older speakers it is perceived as an indirect pronoun.

after t/a prefixes (as in *ap-ma-jaw* above 's/he will see') and after auxiliary and modal verbs, but also because they connect verbal clauses, to express in this way chains of logical and syntactic relations, such as circumstance and aim[6].

(1) *kiür   i-saj   ndo-t   wüx   ma-ndiüm   me-kiiüb   m-iün*
     2/IMP/go 2-tell can-CMP REL 3/SUB-want 2/SUB-move with 3/SUB-DIR/CNT
     'Go to tell (him) if by chance he wants you to come with him'

2.   Concomitance relations

In this paper we study the linguistic representation of several 'concomitance' relations in Huave. In a functional-typological perspective, in which a functional domain organizes a linguistic description, we adopt the framework developed by Christian Lehmann and Yong-Min Shin (forthcoming). The two authors distinguish seven relevant participant relations inside the functional domain of concomitance, a subdomain of the functional domain of participation. Lehmann and Shin refer "to a set of concepts and operations situated at the cognitive level which are manifested in the structure of particular languages via such typological concepts as comitative, instrumental, etc." (Lehmann and Shin, forthcoming, p 7).

The background of the perspective adopted here is provided by the empathy hierarchy (Kuno 1987), similar to the "animacy hierarchy" proposed by Comrie (1981, Ch. 9) in which at least seven different levels or degrees of empathy are recognized: starting from the closest SAP group, the second level is the non-SAP (3rd person and part of the 1pl, depending on the person pronouns present in each individual language). The third level is provided by the human/non-human opposition, while the fourth by the opposition between this level of animate beings and that of inanimate entities. At a fifth level individual objects are opposed to substances or mass. The sixth level is provided by the opposition between reference to objects or substance/mass and to their location. Finally, at a seventh level of the empathy hierarchy the opposition between an entity and a proposition is included.

A perspective on involvement in the action and control on it is also very important for concomitance relations. Involvement and control are gradient hierarchies that usually extend

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[6] The morphemic and lexical glosses represent an intermediate level of detail, with several approximations: for instance, both *a-*, *aag* and *aaga* are glossed "DET" (Determiner), while in a more detailed analysis the difference among the three forms should be pointed out (from a "simple" to an emphatic determiner); a verb-nominal root such as *-kiiüb-/ -kiüjp-* which occurs in several examples is glossed either "displace with" or "be with", although it is clear that it assumes several other meanings, such as "to take"; a noun such as *ombas* is glossed "body", but its meaning is very complex and this gloss represents only a small part of that complexity. Some morphemes need "complex" morphemic glosses: for example under past (PST) and future (FUT) tense morphemes. The first (*ta-*) carries a "complex" gloss with a person gloss (2, 3...) preceding the tense gloss, because the person semantic definition is part of the tense mark; when *ta-*is associated to 1S and 1PL exclusive (EX), however, there is no need of a "complex" gloss, as in these two cases the person morpheme (*-Vs*) shows at the end of the verb form and the gloss is put under it. As for the future (FUT) something opposite happens as we find "complex" glosses in 1S and 1P (EX), because the person morpheme *sa-* "displaces" or substitutes the future mark (*ap-*) which characterizes the other persons of the same tense. Abbreviations used: 1 = 1st singular; 2 = 2nd singular; 3 = 3rd singular; ABS = Absolutive; ADJ = Adjective; AG = Agent; ANM = Animate; APAS = Antipassive; CAUS = Causative; CLS = Close; CMP = Completive; COM = Comitative; CTF = Centrifugal; CTP = Centripetal; DEM = Demonstrative; DET= Determiner; DIR= Directional; DIST= Distant; EXC= Exclusive; FUT = Future; GNR =Generalizer; IMP = Imperative; INCL= Inclusive; IND = Indexical; INT = Interrogative; NEG = Nrgative; NMR = Nominalizer; OBJ = Object; OBL = Oblique; PL = Plural; PN = Pronoun; POS =Possessive; PRG = Progressive; PST = Past; PSV = Passivizing mark (infix); QST = Question; RCP = Reciprocal; REL = Relational (*wüx* only); RFL = Reflexive; RND = Round; S = Singular; SBJ = Subject; STA = Stative; SUB = Subordinate; VCH = Valence Changing.

from a central participation (a situation core), in the perspective selected by the speaker to depict a situation, to the peripheral participation in the same situation. Situations "are constituted by a set of entities, called participants, which are assembled around an immaterial center called the situation core" (Lehmann and Shin, forthcoming, p. 7). Along this dimension we should distinguish an experiencer, a recipient/addressee, or goal, an emitter/source, a beneficiary/place, and concomitance relations. This is a very relevant hierarchy for Huave speakers.

As has been shown, starting from Seiler 1974, concomitance is a conceptual network that any language has to build upon. As is well-known, the analysis of the Tool (TL) and Companion (CM) relations was confused in the past by claims such as that by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) who proposed a «metaphor of the companion» to explain the fact that in most European languages one single case relator, such as *with, mit, avec, con*, is used to codify both relations. In recent years a good deal of work has been done, in particular by a research team led by Thomas Stolz (Bremen, Germany), and it has been shown that the European type (called by Stolz and associates the "coherent" type) is found only in a minority of the languages of their substantial worldwide sample, while most languages codify TL and CM relations through two different forms. Some other languages, a minority indeed, have been found to follow more complex patterns, called "mixed pattern". Huave should be included in this last group of languages[7]. A full control is exerced either by a member of the closest SAP group (1s and 2s) in establishing a CM relation with a human (or even an animate) inside or outside that group, or by a human controlling an inanimate object, as in the TL relation. These participant relations form a continuum in terms of the empathy hierarchy as well as of the control hierarchy. According to Lehmann and Shin concomitance includes seven participant relations, viz. Partner (PR), Companion (CM), Tool (TL), Material (ML), Vehicle (VL), Manner (MR), and Circumstance (CE).

The same authors identify seven types of syntactic strategies employed in codifying concomitant relations, viz. Concomitant predication (Cp), Adpositional marking (Am), Case marking (Cm), Verb derivation (Vd), Incorporation (In), Conversion (Cv), and Lexical fusion (Lf). Each one of the fourteen languages taken into account in Lehmann and Shin's study implement two or more of the above strategies. Furthermore, out of the 49 theoretically possible combinations of the seven participant relations with the seven coding strategies, ten have not been found in any one of the languages studied. For instance, in Yucatec Maya, that we point out here as the only Mesoamerican language in their sample, one coding strategy, Am, is widely used to codify all the seven participant relations; two other strategies, In and Lf, are used to codify TL relations, In to codify VL, and Lf PR and MR. An important dimension that must be taken into account is that of the degree of grammaticalization and lexicalization of each one of the syntactic codings

In Huave, four strategies are implemented: Am, Cp, Cv and Lf. Due to the space limit, in this paper we will outline in some detail the first two and we will only mention, with a few examples each, the remaining two. A more extended discussion of Cv and Lf would lead into an extended discussion of Huave lexicon.

Although we believe that in general terms a correct expositive order would start from relations where human participants play the central role, viz. PR and CM, and proceed towards the abstract relations as MR and CE, in the following section, to make our presentation easier to follow, taking into account Huave peculiarites, we prefer the expositive order moving from less

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[7] Although Stolz (1996) includes Huave among the languages that make a plain distinction between CM and TL, probably misled by the data available through Stairs and Stairs (1981), and Stairs and Hollenbach (1981).

to more prototypical forms of concomitance. So, we will start from the codification of the TL and ML relations (2.1.) moving from these to the VL relation (2.2.). At that point we move on to the CM and PR relations (2.3.). After this subsection we include a set of examples on food preparation and description (2.4.), a sub-area of concomitance that in SMo Huave presents some interesting peculiarities. In each subsection we will include a paragraph to discuss the codification of the "WITHOUT" relations, i.e. the absence of a possible or expected concomitance relation. Such relation puts some interesting challenges to Huave speakers, mostly to those of them who are bilingual with Spanish. In 2.5. we will briefly discuss some data of the MR and CE relations. In the final section (3.) we present a synthesis of our findings.

2.1. Tool (TL) and Material (ML): shared Am and Cp

In SMo Huave TL and ML relations are codified mostly through the Am strategy. No fully grammaticalized preposition is used to codify these relations, but rather a form quite close to grammaticalization, *n-aag*, that we analyze as the demonstrative (DEM) *aag*, (probably in the oblique case: not *aag-a*, nominative case) preceded by the "nominalizer" (NMR) *n-. Naag* usually precedes a non-human or an inanimate object, providing a nominalized emphasis to the concomitant relation the agent (AG) establishes with it.

2.1.1. Tool (TL)
2.1.1.1. Adpositional marking (Am)
Naag is used when the TL is a part of the human body as, almost prototypically, the hand:

(2)   *mea w-an ne-jew   ap-me-ndeak-üw   mbich n-aag-an   owix   nej-iw*
      all-ABS NMR-deaf FUT-SUB-speak-3PL but   NMR-DEM-ABS arm/hand 3-PL
      'All deaf persons speak but only with their hands'

(3)   *i-wüüch n-aag   ngot*
      2-blow NMR-DEM stick
      'Blow (him) with a stick'

(4)   *sa-ndok n-aag   xa-ndok*
      1-fish   NMR-DEM 1/POS-fishing net
      'I fish with my fishing net'

In few, mostly lexicalized, cases *wüx*, with a REL more than LOC value, is used to codify some TL relations:

(5)   *xik-e sa-ndok aag-an   wüx tarrüy*
      1-SBJ 1-fish   DEM-ABS REL casting net
      'I fish only with the casting net'

Perhaps under the influence of bilingualism with Sp. (that, as a "coherent" language has *con* as a multi-purpose preposition), *n-aag* can be used to codify relations that can be interpreted as at half way between a TL and a Companion (CM) relation. An animate being as a dog can be referred to in such an intermediate role, even if its participation in human activities is not frequent among the Huave:

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(6)   *sa-na-sap   pixix   n-aag   xa-pet*
       1/FUT-SUB-catch duck NMR-DEM 1/POS-dog
       'I will go to hunt ducks with my dog'

2.1.2. Material (ML)

In cases where there is not a clear-cut distinction between ways of codifying TL and ML relations *naag* codifies the last, as in:

(7)   *ta-xembe-as xa-pet   n-aag   yow*
       PST-wash-1 1/POS-dog NMR-DEM water
       'I washed my dog with water'

Naag codifies most, but not all, ML relations:

(8)   *ta-rang   tey n-aag   opang xiül a   Ben*
       PST-make mask NMR-DEM bark tree DET Benigno
       'Benigno made a mask with a tree bark'

(9)   *Müm Tine   ta-jüy   mi-meed   nej n-aag   ni-ndil-aran   jaünch*
       Lady Justina 3/PST-weave 3/POS-huipil 3   NMR-DEM NMR-spin-GNR thread
       'Lady Justina wove her *huipil* with hand-spun thread'

(10)   *ta-nchom   a   cruz n-aag   chicot   iüt   a   Chey*
       3/PST-paint DET cross NMR-DEM muddy-reddish earth DET José
       'José painted the cross with reddish mud' (SS: 36)

In (8), as no verb such as "to cut, to carve" exists in Huave, that meaning is provided by the verb –*rang* with the generic meaning "to do, to make", combined with the reference to the material used (bark tree) and the result of the action (a mask). Not so in (9) and (10), where –*jüy* 'to weave' and –*nchom* 'to paint' have much more focussed meanings, complemented by the explicit reference to the materials employed.

2.1.3. "WITHOUT"

The Spanish preposition *sin* 'without', together with several others, found its way into Mesoamerican Indigenous linguistic use, probably since early contact days (Suárez 1983). Also in SMo everyday speech "WITHOUT" is often codified through Sp. *sin*. However, in several cases, to express the absence of a usually assumed concomitance relations a set of linguistic devices is implemented. In several cases, absence of TL/ML relations can be expressed through different constructions and/or rhetoric devices by speakers who refuse to use Sp. *sin*. In the most common of these constructions the Verb –*jiür* 'to have' follows NEG:

(11)   *Xowan a-pal a   ombiüm nawiig ngo ma-jiür   nekiandeay*
       Juan 3-close DET covering paper NEG 3/SUB-have glue
       'Juan seals up the envelope without any glue'

This way of expressing the absence of a TL or ML reveals, as expected, a proximity with a possession relation, the same expressed in positive terms to codify relations that in several SAE languages take advantage of the WITH preposition:

(12) *a   naxey a-jiür soots*
     DET man 3-have moustache
     'The man with moustaches...'

In other cases, even when the idea of absence of possession is implied, other, more complex, devices are implemented. To say that somebody left for a trip "WITHOUT" having any money, a rhetoric device such as a question and an answer was used in a narrative produced by a consultant:

(13) *ta-mb   Latiük;   ngineay ta-mb?   ngo ma-jiür   tomiün*
     3/PST-go Tehuantepec; how   3/PST-go? NEG 3/SUB-have money
     'He went to Tehuantepec; how did he go? He does not have any money'

2.1.2. Conversion (Cv) and Lexical fusion (Lf)

Some examples of Cv and many of Lf strategies are found in the codification of TL and ML relations. However, when we watch at the Cv strategies, we must be very careful about the Verb-Nominal roots. So, in (4) above we find –*ndok* glossed both 'to fish' as a Verb and 'fishing net' as a Noun, so that –*ndok* could be interpreted as an example of Cv, but we prefer to consider it as one of the many cases of Verb-Nominal roots that show up in their multiple lexical realizations. In the same way, we have -*rants* 'strainer, filter' and (*a)-r)rants* 'to strain, to filter', –*jimb* 'to sweep' and *ni-jimb* 'broom', -*ndil* 'to spin' (in (9) above) and *ni-ndil* 'spindle'.

Some verbs lexicalize the TL used to perform a specific action: -*ntsom-tsom* 'to cut with a sow'; -*jeng* 'to cut with a hook'; another verb of the same semantic area, -*jok* 'to cut wood', lexicalizes the ML being cut, implying at the same time the TL used: an ax or at least a machete; in a similar way -*peed* 'to cut flowers or fruits' implies the use of a knife or of scissors. In another area of activities -*peat* 'to weave, to braid, to plait, to intertwine', lexicalizes the ML being used: the dry palm leaves intertwined to build the roofs.

Some verb roots lexicalize body parts as the TL of the action: –*kuüüch* 'kick (with the foot)', –*kuüüch tiüt* 'press, squeeze (with the foot)', -*küüch* 'to bite (with the teeth) without the aim of eating'; -*peand* 'squeeze, pinch, press with the hand'; in some cases even the position of the body part used in the action is lexicalized, as, for instance, in -*anotot tiüt* 'to carry something in the hand with the arm straight down'.

As for ML, the verbs –*jüy* and -*nchom* found in (9) and (10) above, imply the use of threads and a hand loom (the first) and some coloring material and some tool to smear it on a surface, as it means not only 'to paint', but also 'to stain, to spot'.

2.2. Vehicle (VL)
2.2.1. Adpositional marking (Am)
Vehicles can be perceived, and codified, as special types of instruments; for instance, in several European languages "WITH" prepositions are used to codify VL relations. In SMo Huave the two basically locative prepositions mentioned above, *ti-(üt)* and *wüx*, are alternatively used to codify VL relations:

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(14) *oxep   sa-na-mb   Sevesend sa-mb ti-ül   müx*
tomorrow 1/FUT-SUB-go Juchitan 1-go   LOC-DET canoe
'Tomorrow I will go to Juchitan by bus'

(15) *tim   ta-mb-as Latiük   sa-mb wüx xe-bisiklet*
yesterday PST-go-1 Tehuantepec 1-go   REL 1/POS-bicycle
'Yesterday I went to Tehuantepec by bicycle'

In (14) *ti-(ül)*, expresses the conception of the canoe, as a "container", while in (15) *wüx* expresses the perception of the bicycle as a vehicle that somebody "rides", as a horse. In questions about the vehicle someone came in, such as "how did you come?", *ti-ül* is the commonly used preposition, because the most unmarked assumption is that one came in a "container" as a bus. In the story told by the same consultant of example (13) we find:

(16) *kwa-ne   ir-iümb ti-ül*
what-INT 2-come LOC-DET
'How did you come?'

2.2.2. Concomitant predication (Cp) and Conversion (Cv)
In some cases a human being can assume the role of a VL for another being, for instance, when s/he carries a chicken. In these cases verb roots such as *-kiüb* and *-joy* are used. However, in these cases the way in which something is carried is usually made clear and some verbs derived from Conversion are used: one example is provided by *-pech tiüt* 'to carry somebody, or something, on the shoulders' (*o-pech*); another verb lexicalizes a sort of "meta-vehicle" relation: *-mbej* 'carry something on the neck on the top of another burden'. While the first verb lexicalizes a human as a VL, the second, that implies also a basic "human" meaning, is frequently employed to refer to an over loaded bus or truck.

2.2.3. Lexical fusion (Lf)
While in many languages we find several examples of Lf, usually verbs such as "ride (a horse)" or "sail (in a boat)", codifying a VL relation, in SMo Huave the only verb of this type is *-jüy* 'to walk' (found in (9) with the meaning 'to weave', probably by metaphorical extension, as the thread "walks" through the weft).

2.2.4. "WITHOUT"
To codify the idea of the absence of a VL, usually two sentences are needed: the first carries the absolutive mark *–an*, 'only' and the second one the NEG, as in (17):

(17) *Xowan a-mb a-ndok a-jüy-an   ti-üt;   ngo na-mb   ti-ül   müx*
Juan   3-go 3-fish 3-walk-ABS LOC-ground; NEG 3/SUB-go LOC-DET canoe
'Juan goes to fish only walking; he does not go by canoe'

2.3. Companion (CM) and Partner (PR)
As we have seen, the three Concomitance relations discussed above, TL, ML and VL involve, as obvious, mostly inanimate entities, some animate non-human participants or parts of the human body.

Partner (PR) and the Companion (CM) are Concomitance relations in which mostly human or at least animate beings must be involved (as in 6) above). A basic distinction between "AND" and "WITH" languages has been made by some linguists. This reflects on the symmetry, or asymmetry, found in different languages in codifying PR and CM relations. SMo Huave definitely joins the set of "WITH" languages, and it has no parithetic conjunction such as "AND" (nor any disjunction such as "OR"). As a consequence, the expression of PR relations in Huave discourse is much rarer, and difficult, than that of CM relations. The basic point is that relations must be centered around a referential core (or "pivot") that assumes the agency and the control on the relation. So we will discuss first the codification of the CM relations and only marginally PR relations.

2.3.1. CM
In SMo Huave, CM relations are coded basically through three main strategies: two of them through Am strategies (*ANAAG* and *AWEAAG* types) and one through a Cp strategy (*-KIIÜB* type). Lexical fusion (Lf) and conversion (Cv) strategies play also important roles.

The first two types on one side, and the third, on the other, occupy two different levels in the grammaticalization scale, while each one of them codifies three different levels of agency and control in the CM relation. Each one of the three types is selected by speakers on the base of a) which Speech Act Participant(s) (SAP) is/are "concomitant" with whom, b) the level of agency of the core ("pivot") of the comitative relation, and c) the presence/absence of displacement or movement.

The first type, *ANAAG* is the most restrictive of the three, as it codifies a face-to-face interaction inside the SAP group, with the speaker or the addressee as the core, or "pivot", of the relation: 1S + 2(P); 1S + 3(P) and 2S + 3(P), all three highly marked as for agency and control. Relations centered on 1P or 2P are codified with the *KIIÜB* type, as we will see below.

The second type, *AWEAAG*, codifies the relations external to the closest SAP group and as such, it is much less marked as for agency and control: in a sense it codifies relations where "control", or responsibility, is much less relevant (3S/P + 3S/P).

The third type, the Cp *-KIIÜB*, a verb-nominal root, is fully flexible and as such it can carry a set of morphological marks so that it codifies with a relatively high definition a large set of CM relations, as well as the relative agency and responsibility of their participants. It can cover the following CM relations: 1S + 3P; 1S + 2P; 2S + 3P; 2S + 2P; 1(3)P + 2P; 1(3)P + 3P; 2P + 3P; 3P + 3P. This type is also used to codify displacement or movement in a CM relation.

Each one of the three types, but particularly the last one, assumes, as we will see in the following examples, diversified forms. While the two Am types, can occur in two forms each (with their plural forms *anajküw* and *aweajküw*, respectively), the third, *-KIIÜB*, can occur in at least ten derived forms. In all, as many as approximately 15 forms codify CM relations.

2.3.1.1. Am
2.3.1.1.1. The *ANAAG* type
It is easy to observe the similarity of *ANAAG* and *naag*, which codifies TL and ML relations. We tentatively interpret the initial morpheme (*a-*, shared with the *a-we-aag*) as an agency mark (AG) preceding the nominalized demonstrative *n-aag*, as *ANAAG* implies some degree of agency, connecting the core referent with another human, or at least with an animate being.

There is some degree of variation among SMo speakers for the use of *a-n-aag*. Everyone accepts its use when the core of the CM relation is 1S (the speaker); most elder speakers,

however, use it also when the core is 2S, i.e. they use *a-n-aag* when the pivot is one of the two closest SA Participants, connecting in this way a SAP core with a 3rd person human participant. Those speakers who reject the use of *a-n-aag* to codify a CM relation between 2 and 3 persons use the *–KIIÜB* type (2.3.1.2.1.). Usually *a-n-aag* is followed by a pronoun or a noun, but it has also an adverbial use, and as such it can be used in a sentence-final position (as in (18)):

(18)   *xik-e sa-na-jlüy   a-n-aag   ik   pero ik-e la-ngo-me-amb*
       1-SBJ 1/FUT-SUB-stay AG-NMR-DEM 2/OBL but 2-SBJ CMP-NEG-2/SUB-go
       wüx ombas mi-ntaj   ap-me-jlüy   a-n-aag   xik
       LOC body 2/POS-wife FUT-2/SUB-stay AG-NMR-DEM 1/OBL
       'I will stay with you, but you will not go to have relations with your wife; you will stay with me' (Olivares, w.d.)

(19)   *i-nganeow a-n-aag   ti-ül   no-ik   xax*
       2-drink   AG-NMR-DEM LOC-DET one-RND cup
       'You drink (with him) from one (single) cup'

(20)   *sa-ndeak a-n-aag*
       1-speak   AG-NMR-DEM
       'I speak with him/her'

A sentence such as (21) conveys an emphatic and angry attitude of the speaker:

(21)   *nej sa-ndeak a-n-aag!*
       3   1-speak AG-NMR-DEM
       'I speak with him/her!'

(22)   *sitel tea-xom (aaga nüx) kyaj ap-me-saj   me-xood a-n-aag*
       if 2/PRG-find (DEM girl) IND FUT-2/SUB-tell 2/SUB-rest AG-NMR-DEM
       'If you find a girl, you will tell her that you will rest with her' (Cuturi 2003: 116)

(23)   *i-t   a-n-aag   Dinis*
       2-eat(IMP) AG-NMR-DEM Dionisio
       'Eat with Dionisio!'

The importance of the SAP core ("pivotal") reference is stressed by the rejection of a sentence such as:

(24)   **nej üe-t a-n-aag   xik*
       3   3-eat AG-NMR-DEM 1/OBL
       'He eats with me'

Non-human animates can be referred to either as "instruments", if not exactly as "Tools" (TL) of an action, or rather as CM: if someone goes out with his dog without any plan of engaging it in an activity such as hunting (as in 6)), the CM, rather than TL component in the relation between the human and the dog prevails:

(25) *ta-mb-as   Gatapan   a-n-aag   xe-pet*
     1/PST-go-1 Huazontlan AG-NMR-DEM 1/POS-dog
     'I went to Huazontlan with my dog'

The use of the pluralized form *a-n-ajk-üw* is perfectly accepted by some SMo (elder?) speakers, while others (mostly young ones) ascribe its use to SMa and SD varieties, but exclude its use from a "correct" use of the SMo variety[8]:

(26) *ta-ndeak-as a-n-ajk-üw*
     PST-speak-1 AG-NMR-DEM-3PL
     'I spoke with them'

2.3.1.1.2. The *AWEAAG* type

This type codifies mostly "Companion" relations among 3rd persons, i.e., relations in which the members of the closest SAP group are not involved. As for *a-n-aag*, we tentatively assume that the DEM *aag* is preceded by an AG morpheme (*a-*) followed by *–w-* interpreted as a Centrifugal (CTF) morpheme: **a-w-a-aag > a-w-e-aag* (?). The presence of this morpheme only suggested by us, as it could mark a relation "out" of the speaker's control or out of reach for his/her agentivity. This a dimension is very important for SMo Huave speakers. In most of its uses *AWEAAG* implies a relation between two persons:

(27) *ta-jlüy   no-p   müm nata-jtaj a-kül a-we-aag   no-p   nine nench*
     3/PST-stay one-ANM lady old-woman 3-live AG-CTF-DEM one-ANM little boy
     'There was an old lady; she lived with a little child' (Cuturi 2003: 231)

(28) *no-p   nipilan na-jneaj omeaats naxey ngo ma-jküy   a-we-aag   aljane*
     one-ANM person ADJ-good heart man no 3S/SUB-be upset AG-CTF-DEM anyone
     'A person (to be elected should be) kind-hearted, a man not upset with anybody'
     (Mikwal iüt 2001: 7)

As *ANAAG*, also *AWEAAG* is used adverbially in a sentence-final position:

(29) *a-nganeow a-we-aag*
     3-drink   AG-CTF-DEM
     'He drinks with another one'

(30) *ta-piüng aaga najtaj para ma-rang-üw no-ik   gusto   ma-jlüy   a-we-aag*
     3/PST-say DET woman for 3/SUB-do-3PL   one-JOINT pleasure 3/SUB-stay AG-CTF-DEM
     'The woman told (the man) to do something pleasant together' (Cuturi 2003: 114)

With a sentence as (29) the speaker means that two persons are drinking, each one on its own. To convey the meaning that more than two persons are drinking from the same cup (or glass) a form

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[8] Some elders volunteered on this sentence the observation that the persons spoken with are a little removed from the speaker. Such a "space" or "distance" dimension deserves further research, as this observation could suggest that in Huave a distinction could be found out between close and distant location between the participants in a CM relation, as in sentences (56)-(58) below, where the relation "be upset with somebody" is expressed.

such as:

(31)   *a-nganeow-üw*
      3-drink-PL
      'They drink together'

must be used. If a person speaks with a group, understood as another entity, the plural form of *AWEAAG* is used:

(32)   *a-ndeak a-we-ajk-üw*
      3-speak AG-CTF-DEM-3PL
      'He speaks with them'

A construction such as **andeaküw aweajküw* 'they speak together (with them)' is rejected: this relation (3P+3P) must be codified through the *-KIIÜB* type (see 2.3.1.2.1.)).

In some cases *aweaag* (but, of course, never *anaag*) can be used for CM relations in which not human animates are involved:

(33)   *a-meay a-we-aag   a   miüs a   pet*
      3-sleep AG-CTF-DEM DET cat DET dog
      'The dog sleeps with the cat'

In some cases either *a-n-aag* or *a-we-aag* are used with the verb root *–ngoch* "to meet, to contact, to be in front of", to refer to spatial limits or borders, or to a more or less proximal contiguity between both static and moving objects. An example of "static" contact, with a 1S core is provided by:

(34)   *xik-e sa-ngoch a-n-aag   xa-koj   sa-ngoch a-n-aag   calle*
      1-SBJ 1-contact AG-NMR-DEM 1/POS-brother 1-meet   AG-NMR-DEM street
      '(My house) borders on my brother's house and on the street'

An example of a similar use of *aweaag*, with 3S core is:

(35)   *aag agüy sa-niüng nganüy a-ngoch a-we-aag-an a-niüng   xa-koj*
      DET IND 1/POS-place now 3-meet AG-DEM-ABS 3/POS-place 1/POS-brother
      '(This is) my house now is just in front of that of my (older) brother's' (SS: 41)

One example of non-"static" contact is provided by:

(36)   *kos   na-pak   a-kwiür a   kamion, a-ngoch a-we-aag   ali-no-ik*
      because ADJ-be strong 3-run DET bus 3-meet AG-CTF-DEM DET-one-JOINT
      'The car crashes with another one because it speeds'

2.3.1.2. Cp
2.3.1.2.1. The *-KIIÜB* type
Movement, or displacement, is an important, but as we will see below, not exclusive dimension

in the use of the third type, *-KIIÜB*. We suggest that the basic meanings of *-KIIÜB* are: 'to move, with, to displace with', implying a shared aim among the agents acting together, and also, even if in a relation of asymmetrical agency, 'to take away somebody'. The following sentences provide some examples of *-KIIÜB* used with these meanings. Usually a directional, either centripetal (CTP) or centrifugal (CTF), accompanies *–KIIÜB*, and the translation we provide is, respectively, either "to come with" or "to go with":

(37)   *ı-iün   na-kiiüb*
       3/PST-DIR/CTP 1/SUB-move with
       'I came with him'

(38)   *ngo na-yaag   ombas-üw mon-xey i-kiüjp-an-üw   m-iün   kyaj*
       NEG 1/SUB-know body-PL PL-sir 2-move with-2PL-3PL SUB-DIR/CTP IND
       'I don't know these men you came with'

(39)   *ta-mb-as-an   na-kiüjp-an   Latiük,   ndoj*
       PST-DIR/CTF-1-1PL/EXC 1/SUB-move with-1PL/EXC Tehuantepec after
       ta-ndilil-üs-an
       PST-come back-1-1PL/EXC
       'We (excl.) went together to Tehuantepec and later we came back (together)'

Examples of *–KIIÜB* expressing a relation of asymmetrical agency, 'to take away somebody', are:

(40)   *sa-kiiü-raa-b   ma-mb   ti-ül   manchiük*
       1-move with-(VCH?) SUB-DIR/CTF LOC-DET prison
       'Somebody takes me away (forcedly) to the prison'

In the above sentence *–r(aa)-* is a valence-changing infix: it changes the syntactic function of the Verb-initial 1S morpheme *sa-* from subject to object. In the two sentences below, - *KIIÜB* is used with a similar meaning, with different degrees of asymmetrical agency:

(41)   *Teat Beto ta-mb   ma-jan   xik   xa-niüng   na-kiiüb /*
       Mister Beto 3/PST-DIR/CTF 3/SUB-take 1/OBJ 1/POS-place 1/SUB-move with /
       ta-kiüjp-as   ma-mb   ti-ül   plas
       PST-move with-1S SUB-DIR/CTF LOC-DET market
       'Mister Beto came (from his place) to my place to pick me up for the two of us to go to the market'

(42)   *Teat Beto ta-mb   ma-jan   xik   xa-niüng   ma-kiiüb*
       Mister Beto 3/PST-DIR/CTF 3/SUB-take 1/OBJ 1/POS-place 3/SUB-move with
       xik   (ma-sey   ngo n-ind   pero ta-mb-as)
       1/OBL (SUB-matter NEG 1/SUB-want but   PST-go-1)
       'Mister Beto came (from his place) to my place to pick me up (I went, but without participation)'

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The last sentence implies that the speaker joined Beto without any special involvement or agency. The two forms of -*kiiüb* in (41) and (42) show the important difference between the 1S subordinate marker *na-* and the 3S subordinate marker *ma-*. The difference is one of perspective, as in SMo Huave the use of a 3rd person agent is possible only to convey the meaning that the speaker does something together with somebody else without any special involvement or will, something like a passive or subordinate participation. In some cases, displacement can be understood also in its time dimension, as in:

(43) *la-me-ngoch   i-wix   me-kiiüb   mi-noj   nganüy*
      CMP-2/SUB-cross 2/POS-hand 2/SUB-be with 2/POS-husband now
      la-ma-sap   i-mbas   me-kiiüb
      CMP-3/SUB-take 2/POS-body 2/SUB-move with
      'You already married with your husband; now get acquainted with him'

In (43) the first occurrence of –*kiiüb* is glossed 'be with', the second 'move with'; quite often indeed -*kiiüb* does not convey any meaning of displacement, in these cases the core of its meaning is that of the asymmetry of the agency: an action is led by somebody and is not parithetically shared among the participants. In the following examples –*kiiüb* is used with its static meaning:

(44) *sa-ndeak na-kiiüjp-üw*
      1-speak 1/SUB-be with-3PL
      'I speak with them'

(45) *ap-m-üet-iüts   ma-kiiüjp-ajts-üw*
      FUT-SUB-eat-1PL/INC SUB-be with-1PL/INC-3PL
      'We (inc.) will eat with them'

In several uses of -*kiiüb* the prefixed person mark refers to the agent (the core of the action), while the suffix(es) refer(s) to the person(s) with whom the action is realized.

(46) *ndol na-tsoj-on   na-kiiüjp-an   aaga nipilan kyaj*
      if   1/SUB-fight-1PL/EXC 1/SUB-be with-1PL/EXC DEM people IND
      ap- ne-tam   xiyay tomiün na-ndroch-ey-on   wüx
      FUT-SUB-need much money 1/SUB-loose-RFL-1PL/EXC REL
      'If we (excl.) fight with those people there, we should expect to loose much money in the fight'

Static relations of contiguity among inanimate entities can be codified through -*KIIÜB* as well:

(47) *al-ma-kiiüb   manguix   kyaj aaga xor*
      STA-3/SUB-be with baking surface IND DET pan
      'The pan is close the comal (baking surface)'

2.3.1.2.2.   Non-human participants and inanimate entities
The following is a sentence parallels (6), but in place of *naag, –kiiüb* is used to codify a fully CM relation with an animal:

(48)   *sa-na-sap   pixix na-kiiüb   xa-pet*
        1/FUT-SUB-catch duck 1/SUB-move with 1/POS-dog
        'I will go to hunt ducks with my dog'

If somebody means that he will go somewhere taking his bicycle with him on its wheels (but not riding it) *kiiüb* is used:

(49)   *tim   ta-mb-as   Latiük   ta-kiüjp-as   xa-bisiklet*
        yesterday PST-DIR/CTF-1 Tehuantepec PST-move with-1 1/POS-bycicle
        'Yesterday I went to Tehuantepec with my bycicle'

In case he is going to carry his (seriously broken) bycicle, say, on his shoulder, the verb *-j-o-y* 'to carry, to bring' is used, preceded by the DIR *-mb-*:

(50)   *oxep   sa-na-mb   Gatapan   sa-na-joy   xa-bisiklet*
        tomorrow 1S/FUT-SUB-DIR/CTF Huazontlan 1S/FUT-SUB-carry 1S/POS-bycicle
        'Tomorrow I will carry my bycicle to Huazontlan'

    In some cases, as when the reference is to an object ritually carried, as the holy candles by the *Alcalde* judges we find an emphatic use of *–kiiüb* referring to the village authorities, who walk togethere, while the verb *-j-o-y-* is used as in (50):

(51)   *nej-iw teat   Alcalde kyaj   a-kiiüb-kiüjp-üw   ma-mb*
        3-PL   mister judge   IND 3-move with-move with-3PL SUB-DIR/CTF
        ingow-iw   nej-iw a-joy-iw   ma-mb   nangaj kandeal
        in place of-3PL 3-PL   3-carry-PL SUB-DIR/CTF holy   candle
        'The *Alcalde* judges go, each one with his substitute, bringing with them
        the holy candles' (Mikwal iüt, 2001: 11)

In this sentence we find a reduplicated form of *–kiiüb* with a distributive meaning: 'each one going with (his own)'.
    -Kiiüb- shows up also in serial constructions, that we cannot analyze here, such as:

(52)   *oxep   i-ji-m-iün   üüch a-kiiüb   machat a-kiiüb   üech*
        tomorrow 2-carry-SUB-DIR/CTP 3/give 3-move with machete 3-move with ax
        'Tomorrow come with the machete and the ax'

where *-ji-* is a variant of the form *-j-o-y-* occurring in (50) and (51).

2.3.1.4.   Some "special" or apparent, CM relations
To express a psychological state such as "to be upset with somebody", only marginally related to concomitance, a construction with the verb *-jaw* "to see" is used:

(53) *na-j-küy   ma-jaw   xik   ta-tsamb   xik   a   pet*
NOM-RFL-be upset 3/SUB-see 1/OBJ 3/PST-bite 1/OBJ DET dog
'Upset with me the dog bite me'

Another way to express the same meaning is likely to be a calque from Sp. *enojarse con* 'to be upset with': the comitative adposition *anaag* is used (introducing a fully coded concomitance relation):

(54) *sa-j-küy   a-n-aag   a   Dinis*
1-RFL-be upset AG-NMR-DEM DET Dionisio
'1 am upset with Dionisio'

2.3.2. Partner relations (PR)
2.3.2.1. Cp
As already stated, in the basic distinction between "WITH" and "AND" languages, Huave goes with the first group. Plain conjunction is totally missing under any possible form: independent, prefixed or suffixed to a complex form. So, the codification of a relation conceived of as one of full parity is completely absent. Reference to a core or pivot is needed to talk about either an action or a state of things, and a form of the verb *–kiiüb*, glossed in these cases as "be with", inevitably shows up:

(55) *sa-na-tepe-aiw   ningüy   nej-iw teat Xowan ma-kiiüb*
1/FUT-SUB-greet-3PL IND/CLOSE 3-PL mister Juan 3/SUB-be with
müm Blanca mi-ntaj   nej
lady Blanca 3/POS-wife 3
'I will greet here Mr. Juan and his wife Ms. Blanca'

2.3.2.2. Lf
A basic coding of human co-presence is found in the four plural (not 3rd person) pronominal forms: *ikora, xikona, ikona* and *ikootsa.* The last one has been mentioned above, in 1. as the 1PL form with the most inclusive meaning, 'all of us' (usually the Huave people). This form, as well as the first and the third, is based on the forms *ik* '2', while the second one, on *xik* '1'; *–or, -on,* and *–oots,* are the same pronominal endings of the corresponding verbal forms.

There are, however, at least three numeral pronouns (plus the forms derived from them) based on numerals for "two", "three" and "four", that codify a parity relation between two or among three and four persons. In (56) we find a form derived from *ijpüej* 'both of them', preceded by a possessive prefix; in this sentence the difference between the codification of a PR and a CM relation plays a central role:

(56) *wüx ta-ndaab a   iüm ta-ndeow-üw m-ijpüej,   a   pore naxey*
REL PST-burn DET house PST-die-PL POS/3-DUAL/PN, DET poor man
ma-kjiiüb   mi-ntaj   nej
3/SUB-be with POS/3-wife 3
'When the house burnt, both the poor man and his wife died' (SS: 96)

2.3.2.3. Some special PR relations

Some reciprocal and/or symmetrical actions, as well as simultaneous actions, can be codified taking advantage of the same numeral pronouns; in (57) the reciprocal ending *-a-yej* modifies *-kiiüb*, to convey the meaning that a man and a woman decided to stay together as a couple:

(57)　*ta-kiiüb-ayej*
　　　PST-be with-RCP/3PL
　　　'They stayed together'

A metaphor (possibly coined by a Missionary) *a-ngoch owix* literally 'to cross hands', means 'to marry', occurs in (43) followed by a form of *-kiiüb*. The same metaphor can be also followed by *aweaag* as in::

(58)　*a-ngoch　owix　　a-we-aag*
　　　3-contact arm/hand AG-CTF-DEM
　　　'Cross (their) hands'

The opposite action, 'to split, to separate', not necessarily a reciprocal one, to be expressed needs a more elaborate construct, where *-kiiüb-* is used:

(59)　*ta-kweat-ayej　　ma-kiiüb　　mi-noj　nej*
　　　PST-leave-RCP/3PL 3/SUB-be with 3-husband 3
　　　'(She) and her husband separated'

Sentence (53) (and (54) as well) provide examples of two ways of expressing the psychological state of "being upset with somebody". When the same attitude is shared by two persons, only a form of the verb *-j-küy* followed by the reciprocal ending can be used:

(60)　*a-j-küy-ayej　　　nej-aw-ayej*
　　　3- RFL-be upset-RCP 3-PL-RCP/3PL
　　　'They are upset one with the other'

In (61) the same reciprocal ending follows the numeral pronoun *ijpüej*, to convey the meaning of two agents acting simultaneously:

(61)　*ta-xom-üw ijpüe-yej　　　　wüx*
　　　PST-see-PL DUAL/PN-RCP/3PL LOC
　　　'They both saw (it) at the same time'

The same meaning of a simultaneous action is conveyed by the reciprocal ending:

(62)　*wüx　t-ajlos　　a　pet al-e-amb-üw　　kyaj a-jaw-ayej　　alos*
　　　REL PST-thrown DET dog DUR-DIR/CTF-PL IND 3-see-RCP/3PL thrown
　　　'When sombody threw (a stone) at a dog they were walking and saw at the same
　　　time that it had been hit'

Reflexive (RFL) verbal forms are used in many cases with a reciprocal meaning of parity:

(63)   *sa-na-sojnong-ay-on*
       FUT-SUB-meet-RFL-1/2
       'We (incl.) will meet'

2.4.   Food preparation and description

Linguistic coding of several aspects of food preparation and description deserves a special treatment because, as it will be clear in this section, ML (in this specific discourse area "ingredients"), a few TL and some special "Companion" (CM) relations are coded, taking advantage of the linguistic strategies already described, as well as of others, which are peculiar to this discourse area. Beyond the Am strategies already presented above under 2.2. and 2.3., we find some other strategies, basically Cp ones, in which either "putting" or 'adding' (*-yak*) some ingredient is made explicit in referring to food preparation or a sort of peculiar CM relation is codified in a specific way (*ind* 'want') in food description.

2.4.1.   Food preparation

Ti-(ül) is used in talking about food preparation ("confective" according to Lehman and Shin, forthcoming) to express an asymmetric relation (typical of a "WITH" language as Huave) between two ingredients. When two different ingredients are mentioned, stressing their co-presence without assuming any reciprocal interdependency, *-kiiüb*, in this case "to be with", can be used, as in (64) where a female consultant describes the way she prepares a local dish (*meink*) of fish and corn:

(64)   *sa-ol ti-ül   aaga ajtsaj   piid   na-kiiüb   a   kants*
       1-mix LOC-DET DET corn mass epazote 1/SUB-be with DET chilli
       'I mix in the corn mass epazote (*Chenopodium ambrosioides*) with chilli'

The above mentioned verb *-yak* 'to put' or 'to add' is used when two ingredients are fully visible in the final product:

(65)   *kawül sa-na-rang   najngow na-loy küet sa-na-yak   ten*
       later   1/FUT-SUB-do fish soup ADJ-dry fish 1/FUT-SUB-put plum
       'Later I will prepare a soup of dry fish and plums'

2.4.1.1.   Cv and Lf

Materials (ML, in this case, "ingredients") used in a food preparation process are implied through Lf in some verb roots such as: *-pants* 'to fry' (usually in pork's fat, more recently in oil); *-jongoy* 'to boil water'; *-xeng* 'to boil (eggs?)' and, in a less explicit way, *a-kuüik-kuüik* 'to boil (beans, corn...)' (possibly an onomatopoetic form).

Examples of tools (TL) 'converted' into a process are found also in food preparation: *pow* 'oven' *-pow* 'to bake'.

2.4.2.   Food description

Some forms already mentioned above, are used to codify ML relations in food description. One of these forms is *NAAG*:

(66) *peats a-rang-üch   n-aag   ajtsaj*
       tortilla 3-make-PAS NMR-DEM corn mass
       'Tortillas are made of corn mass'

In some cases a use of *AWEAAG*, only remotely understandable as a comitative in this context, can be heard, as in the following sentence uttered by a child while observing with enthusiasm the cake prepared by his mother:

(67) *pan mol   a-we-ajk-üw   pasas !*
       bread outsider AG-CTF-DET-3P raisins
       'Bread with raisins!'

In this case the presence of the raisins in the bread is fully visible. In other cases, however, the presence of an ingredient can be perceived only through tasting the food or knowing about it from somebody else. In these cases we find another use of the verb *-jiür,* as in:

(68) *sa-na-nganeow   chokolüet a-jiür canela*
       1/FUT-SUB-drink chocolate 3-have cinnamoon
       'I will drink chocolate with cinamoon'

When the reference is to some basic, starchy, foods, (mostly tortillas) locally hardly thought of without some accompanying, a specific invariable modal form, *ind* '(to) want' is used, preceding this second food:

(69) *süe-t peats ind   tixem*
       1-eat tortilla (it) wants shrimp
       'I eat tortilla with shrimp'

2.4.2.1.   Cv and Lf

No example of Cv was found as for food description, while, as it can be expected, there are several of Lf, at least in the obvious sense that under one single food name several combined ingredients are referred to. In some, more interesting cases, such as *najngow* 'soup, broth' (in (65), where plums, bananas, plantains or other fruits are mentioned as its ingredients, it is understood that the "soup" is basically a fish soup, i.e., its main ingredient (ML) is fish.

2.4.3.   "WITHOUT"

In the context of food description, "WITHOUT" is expressed through forms of the verbs *-yak* (already found in 2.3.4.1.) or *-jiür* "to have" (already found to codify the same absence of relation), preceded by a negation:

(70) *sa- na-nganeow   café ngo na-yak   ingan*
       1/FUT-SUB-drink coffee NEG 1/SUB-put sugar
       'I will drink coffee without sugar'

2.5.   "Manner" (MR) and "Circumstance" (CR) relations

Huave speakers express both relations through some emphantic strategies or making explicit the

logical relations: the first strategy takes advantage of the absolutive suffix *–an,* 'only', used to codify several types of these relations:

(71) *ta-ndeak   castille a-ngiay-an   wüx   a   radio*
      3/PST-speak Spanish 3-listen-ABS REL DET radio
      'S/he (learnt to) speak Spanish only listening the radio'

The second strategy takes makes explicit the relation linking two events:

(72) *Teat Pol   ta-sap   nop   xikwüw kos   ta-yak   xiüt*
      Mister Hipolito PST-catch one (ANM) deer   because PST-put string
      'Mister Hipolito caught a deer pulling a string out (in the bush)'

3.   Conclusions and Synthesis

In SMo Huave the codification of TL, ML, VL and CM relations takes advantage of different strategies: Am (*ti(-ül), wüx, naag, ANAAG* and *AWEAAG*), Cp (*–KIIÜB, -joy, -yak, -jiür, -ind, -ol*), some of these used in referring to food preparation and description, Cv (*-pech tiüt, ndok,* to mention only two out of several Cv-derived verbs) and Lf (several verbs and at least six personal independent pronouns, including numeral pronouns).

In a "WITH" language as Huave, the PR relation is poorly represented, if not totally absent. As it should be clear, we claim that its marginality in Huave derives from the emphasis on "WITH" asymmetrical relations. Even the personal pronouns *xikona, ikona* and *ikootsa* and *ikora* must be analyzed as representing each one much more a CM than a PR relation, as they are built on the base of the two 1 and 2 independent pronouns, *xik* and *ik* with the suffixes *–on-, -(o)ots-,* and *–or-* (the same present as the corresponding suffixes of verbal forms). As for MR and CE relations, both almost marginal in SMo Huave discourse, their scarcity is due, in our opinion, to the "analytic" attitude that characterizes Huave everyday rhetoric and discourse.

Case marking (Cm), Verb derivation (Vd) and Incorporation (In) are strategies not implemented in Huave. So, out of 28 theoretically possible codifications of the seven relations taken into account, we found 18 of these, with several relations codified, as we have seen, through a set of possible strategies as well as differentiations in the same strategy. We think that the most interesting among these differentiations or splits is the one that opposes *ANAAG* and *AWEAAG* as Am strategies for CM relations. Table 1 synthesizes the data presented here:

TABLE 1.

Concomitance Relations Coding Strategies	VL	TL	ML	CM	PR	MR	CE
Am	*ti(-ül)* *wüx*	*n-aag* *wüx*	*n-aag*	*anaag* *aweaag*		*kos*	*wüx*
Cp	*-kiüb* *-joy*		*-yak* *-jiür*	*-kiüb* *-ind-* *-jiür* *-ol*			
Cv	*-pech* *tiüt*	*-ndok* *-tsom* *-jeng* *-pow*	*-jok* *-peat*				
Lf	*-jüy*	*kuüüch*	*nchom*	*xik-on-ik-on-/or/-ots*	*ijpüej - ye*	*-an*	

In the sample analyzed by Lehmann and Shin (forthcoming) the authors did not find any example of Lf strategy codifying ML and CM relations. As for this last codification, we suggested that some independent pronouns are lexicalizations of CM relations, so we include them as codifications of an otherwise empty combination. As it should be expected, however, most of the forms of the Am and Cp rows (excluding from this generalization *-ind-* and *-jiür*) are much more frequently used than those of the Cv and Lf rows. Cv examples provided in Table 1, as well as in the sentences, are intended to be mere examples of a quite pervasive lexical process.

Overall, SMo Huave presents quite a rich figure. Not so, as much as we know, the other three main varieties of the language. SMo codification of concomitance relations is likely to be more compex than that of several other languages of the Mesoamerican linguistic area. Most existing grammars do not describe in any detail the strategies of codifications of these relations. An exception is provided by the description provided by Lehmann and Shin (forthcoming) of concomitance in Yucatec Maya.

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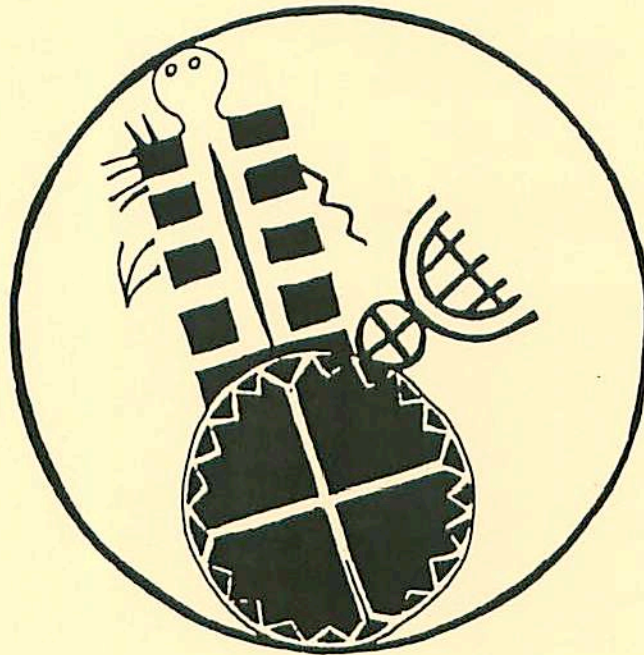Piazza San Giovanni Maggiore Pignatelli
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REPORT 13

SURVEY OF CALIFORNIA AND
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INTRODUCTION

This volume of Survey reports is a sample of the papers heard at the Conference on Otomanguean and Oaxacan Languages (COOL), which took place at UC Berkeley March 19-21, 2004. There is more scholarly investigation being done on Otomanguean languages and other languages of Oaxaca today than ever before, yet unlike other groups such as Uto-Aztecanists and Mayanists, Otomangueanist and Oaxacanist scholars have not had a regular forum in which to meet and share their ideas. In 2000 a one-time conference took place at UCLA called *La Voz Indigena de Oaxaca*, organized by Pamela Munro, G. Aaron Broadwell, and Kevin Terraciano. As a result of this conference many of the participant linguists were able to make new and fruitful contacts with each other and several proposed that the conference should become a recurring event. With the help of the UC Berkeley Graduate Assembly, Graduate Division, Center for Latin American Studies, and the departments of Linguistics, Anthropology, and Ethnic Studies, four years after the original UCLA conference COOL was finally able to follow in its footsteps. Now there are plans for a third conference to be held very appropriately in the city of Oaxaca at the Centro Cultural Santo Domingo in 2006, organized by Alejandro de Ávila. We all hope that this will become an on-going event and it appears that COOL is on its way to becoming a regular, biannual and international conference.

Rosemary Beam de Azcona
COOL 2004 Organizer

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