Comparing Mesoamerican areal features in two varieties of Huave

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A Introduction

(1) Mesoamerican Linguistic Area (Campbell, Kaufman, & Smith-Stark 1986:538-9)

(2) Huave: an isolate on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec (southeastern Oaxaca State, Mexico)
• 4 varieties: San Mateo del Mar, San Dionisio del Mar, Santa María del Mar, San Francisco del Mar
• 12,000-15,000 speakers, mostly in San Mateo (the only variety still being actively learned by children)
• Internal differentiation comparable to Swedish/Norwegian/Danish
• Isthmus Zapotec spoken in immediately surrounding regions; many other languages not far

(3) Contact history/phenomena have not been studied extensively
• Main sources for previous studies: Stairs & Stairs (1981) dictionary, Stairs & Hollenbach (1981) grammar sketch of the San Mateo variety
• Proto-Huave reconstruction by Suarez (1975); time depth ca. 500? years

(4) Goals:
• A closer look at Mesoamerican areal features in Huave, based on recent fieldwork in San Francisco del Mar¹ (& other recent research in San Mateo)
• Contribute to understanding of contact between Huave and other Mesoamerican languages

(5) Main findings:
• Most if not all main areal features are found in Huave, although some non-canonical patterns are debatable
• Differences between two closely related varieties w.r.t. areal features may arise from internal developments, different contact patterns, and/or endangerment-related attrition.

¹ I gratefully acknowledge my Huave teachers in San Francisco del Mar, as well as financial support received from the Salus Mundi Foundation through the Huave Language and Culture Project run by Maurizio Gnerre and Bill Hanks. Citations of San Francisco del Mar field data are in the form (Notebook #; Page #); unlabeled San Mateo data is from Stairs & Stairs (1981).
B  Major areal features

(6) Principal Mesoamerican features and their presence in Huave (Campbell, Kaufman, Smith-Stark 1986)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>CKS</th>
<th>This paper</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Possessive construction <em>his-dog (the) man</em> ‘the man’s dog’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>b. Non-verb-final word order</td>
<td>SVO</td>
<td>VOS, SVO</td>
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<tr>
<td>c. Vigesimal (base-20) numeral system</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Relational nouns, e.g. <em>my-with</em> ‘with me’ where <em>with</em> is a noun</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. 12 common semantic calques</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>~6</td>
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Also:

f. Pied-piping with inversion (Smith-Stark 1988, Broadwell 2006) is found in Huave.

(7) Possessive NPs

• Construction *his-dog (the) man* is robustly used in Huave; it is the main (only?) type of possessive NP.
  a. Tiol ngo me mi-tajk yus, mi-tajk chiñch.
     if not PRED POSS-skin flea POSS-skin bedbug.
     ‘If it’s not a flea’s shell, it’s a bedbug’s shell; if it’s not a bedbug’s shell, it’s a louse’s shell.’ (2;24)

• A less common but still closely related construction uses a possessed “dummy” noun root *-kwej*. (Loanwords seem to favor it but do not require it.) Its exact syntactic structure is not known, nor its use in SMo.
  b. ventan u-kwej a iom
     window POSS[1]-thing DET house
     ‘house’s window’, or “window its-thing the house” (2;76)

(8) Basic word order

• Huave previously reported as SVO based on example sentences in Stairs & Stairs (1981)
• Cuturi & Gnerre (2005:38) report VOS as the basic word order for San Mateo, in variation with SVO
• VOS/SVO variation in San Francisco depends partly on information structure, though this - and other, non-basic word orders - need to be studied more. More clearly, VS is more frequent than SV for intransitives.
• SVO tends to be overrepresented in translations from Spanish SVO sentences, for multiple reasons.
  a. T-a-rang fis a Dios.
     CPL-TV-make justice DET God
     ‘God did an act of justice.’ (2;76)
  b. Dyu-m-a-jing-ajch ñu a n-a-kiñ.
     PROG-SUB-TV-dance-CAUS 3SG DET STAT-TV-cold
     ‘The cold is making him shiver,’ lit. “Is dancing / him / the / cold.” (2;151)
  c. Sa-puy a-rang ñutiol.
     1POSS[2]-daughter.in.law TV-make tamal
     ‘My daughter-in-law makes tamales.’ (2;114)
  d. Aj ka pi dyu-m-a-mily a us.
     DET DEM chicken PROG-SUB-TV-pick.up DET maize
     ‘The’ chicken is picking up (*pepenando*) the corn.’ (2;67)

2 The DET-DEM combination without a postposed deictic (proximal or distal) marker seems to be a strategy in elicitation for translating artificially definite noun phrases that have no obvious referent in previous discourse, the physical context, etc. It may be appropriate to read the English ‘the’ here as having more to do with referentiality than givenness, but the use of the DET-DEM combination in more natural speech has not been studied.
Vigesimal (base-20) numeral system

- Attested in San Mateo (Stairs & Stairs 1981:395, 398-99; numerals 1-3 are given here from the default “classifier” series, about which more below.)

a. San Mateo numerals 10-19 parsable into 10-1, 10-2, etc.; unique root *miow* for 20

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>noik</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>anaíw</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ijkiaw</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>ayaíw</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>arej</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>ojpeaküw</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>pikiw</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>ojkiyej</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>akokiaw</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>gajpowüw</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. 21-100 are counted by how many *miow*, followed by a numeral 1-19 as appropriate

<p>| | | | |</p>
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<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>ñimiow gajpowüw (20-10)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>ik miow (2-20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>ik miow gajpowüw (2-20-10)</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>er miow (3-20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>er miow gajpowüw (3-20-10)</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>peik miow (4-20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>peik miow gajpowow (4-20-10)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>koik miow (5-20)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. Multiples of 100 counted by how many hundreds (lit. how many 5-20s)

<p>| | | | |</p>
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<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>ikiaw akiok miow (2-5-20)</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>arej akiok miow (3-5-20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OR gajpow miow (10-20)</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>pikiw akiok miow (4-5-20)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500</td>
<td>akokiaw akiok miow (5-5-20)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- In San Francisco, the original numeral system has been obscured through contact with Spanish; numerals above 3 or 4 have largely been replaced with Spanish loans. (Again, numerals 1-3 here are from the default series.)

d. Numerals remaining in San Francisco. (Note that 7-10 are data from a single speaker that have not been corroborated; also, cognatehood of SMo. and SFco. 6-10 is not entirely straightforward.)

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>anek</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>anajoyuf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>akiaw</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>ajayuf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>aruj</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>anoyuf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>apokiuuf</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>apékaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>akokiuf</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>akapaf</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Relational nouns

- Possessed nouns expressing concepts that usually translate to Spanish or English prepositional phrases, e.g. Pipil nu-wan ‘with me’, mu-wan ‘with you, i-wan ‘with him/her’ (CKS, p. 545)
- Not previously reported for Huave
- Huave has various superficially similar roots, but the roots’ status as A) nominal and/or B) possessed is dubious. Are they constructions where language contact played a supporting role, or just coincidence?

San Mateo comitatives I (Cuturi & Gnerre 2005:48-51)

- Root *kiüjp* has person and number inflection... but this inflection is verbal. A more literal translation of (11a) could be ‘I speak I accompany them’.
- Accordingly, Cuturi & Gnerre classify this as a “concomitant predication” strategy
- But, they observe that the primary meaning of *kiüjp* is one involving displacement (taking, bringing), so non-motional uses may represent incipient grammaticalizations of some sort.

a. s-a-ndeak n-a-kiüjp-üw
   1-TV-speak 1SUB-TV-accompany-3PL
   ‘I speak with them’ (CG 2005:50)

- San Francisco has *-kiujp* as a verbal root of accompanied motion, and also a preposition akiu(j)p.
- It is not known to what extent constructions like (11a) are idiomatic in San Francisco.

b. Xiok x-i-ñ-u-ty akiup pe Juan.
   I 1-FUT-1SUB-TV-eat with Mr. Juan
   ‘I’ll eat with Juan.’ (1;171)
(12) San Mateo comitatives II (Cuturi & Gnerre 2005:45-48)

- Depending on person relations between participants, San Mateo speakers use *anaag* (1st/2nd person “pivot”) or *aweaag* (relations between 3rd persons) instead of the (verb) root -*kiiujp*.
- No productive or compositional person-marking is evident, although plural-marking is possible.
- San Francisco speakers do not appear to use anything corresponding to these words.

a. S-ändeak anaag. b. a-ndeak aweajk-üw
   1-TV-speak with TV-speak with-3PL
   ‘I speak with him/her’ ‘he speaks with them’

Alongside these “adverbial” uses, there are prepositional uses. This, along with the absence of possessive marking, make the connection to relational nouns rather tenuous.

c. ... ap-m-e-jlüy anaag xik
   FUT-SUB-2-*estar* with me
   ‘You’ll stay [here] with me.’

(13) San Francisco -kwej

- In San Francisco, the bound nominal root -*kwej* (roughly ‘thing’) is used with possessive morphology to express what may be oblique arguments.
- The grammatical form matches that of relational nouns, although the semantics (i.e. the specific relation expressed) are unclear.
- I do not know whether San Mateo speakers use a similar construction.

a. I-xot-e xi-kwej.
   2-hide-RFL 1 POSS[1]-thing
   ‘(You) hide yourself from me.’ (2;1)

b. T-a-ñujt-iow xi-kwej.
   CPL-TV-rob-3PL 1 POSS[1]-thing
   ‘They robbed me.’ (2;135)

c. ... a-paj xi-kwej xa-najta ...
   TV-call 1 POSS[1]-thing 1 POSS-woman
   ‘My wife called for me’ (2;10)

(14) Pied-piping with inversion

- Not previously reported for Huave (?), but robust in San Francisco (not yet checked for San Mateo).
- In WH-interrogatives, the entire NP is pied-piped to the beginning of the question, AND the order of the constituents is reversed (“inversion”). To my knowledge this is obligatory.

a. Poss-N1 N2 b. N2 Poss-N1
   mi-kwal pa C. Jang mi-kwal iok?
   POSS-child Ms. C. who POSS-child you
   ‘C.’s son/daughter’ ‘Whose son/daughter are you?’

- Mesoamerican languages differ in the range of NPs showing this pattern (Smith Stark 1988, Broadwell 2006).
- In Huave, besides possessive NPs, prepositional phrases also display pied-piping with inversion.

   who with 1SUB-TV-speak not SUB-TV-exist
   ‘Who would I speak [Huave] with? There isn’t anyone.’ (3;27)
d. **Mion Tilam** t-a-mal-as tiot aj ke ndix a nday tiol Jayats Kambaj.

From Ixhuatán I carried (on the head) that firewood to San Francisco Pueblo Nuevo. (3:34)

e. Ke nday i-lox?
f. Ke mion i-jngot?

*Where are you going?*  
*‘Where do you come from?’*

- There may be a split system where loan prepositions (e.g. *asta* ‘toward’ < Sp. *hasta*) pied-pipe without inversion, similar to Copala Trique and some Zapotec (Broadwell 2006), but no systematic data collection yet.
- Quantifier phrases have not yet been investigated.

(15) **Semantic calques**

- CKS identify several widespread loan-translation calques within Mesoamerica
- Not all data collected yet for Huave, but at least half have been found so far
- More recent loans from Spanish obscure whether Huave used to have the Mesoamerican patterns, e.g. in (c) for SMo. and (h) for SFco.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>SFco.</th>
<th>SMo.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Knee: ‘head of leg’</td>
<td>kos ‘knee’</td>
<td>kos ‘knee’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. lime: ash</td>
<td>ng(w)iat ‘ash; lime’</td>
<td>ngwiat ‘ash’; posoel ‘lime’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. wrist: neck of hand</td>
<td>u-ñok u-wix (2;8) POSS[1]-neck POSS[1]-hand</td>
<td>o-nik o-wix-eran its-neck his-hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. egg: stone/bone of bird</td>
<td>um ‘egg’</td>
<td>omb ‘egg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. vein: road of blood</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>mi-xiüt-aran ‘vein’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. molar: grindstone (metate)</td>
<td>kolmi (2;76, needs rechecking)</td>
<td>i-chep-eran (cf. kow ‘metate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. edge: mouth</td>
<td>mbe ‘mouth; edge’ (2;10)</td>
<td>mbeay ‘mouth; edge’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. thumb: mother of hand</td>
<td>mi-mam mi-ndix u-wix POSS-mother (POSS-stick) POSS[1]-hand ‘mother of (fingers of) hand’ (2;76)</td>
<td>mi-müm o-wix-eran POSS-mother POSS[1]-hand-ABS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. gold/silver: god-excrement</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. alive: awake</td>
<td>-pak ‘alive; awake; strong’</td>
<td>-pak ‘alive; awake; strong’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l. town: water-mountain</td>
<td>kambaj</td>
<td>kambaj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**C Other morphosyntactic and lexical areal features**

(16) CKS (1986:558) suggest that other features widely attested within Mesoamerica “provide further support for Mesoamerica as a linguistic area to the extent that they have been diffused across language boundaries.”

- To the extent that they are found in Huave, an isolate, the case for diffusion is obviously made stronger.
- They suggest 5 morpho-lexico-syntactic-type features and 4 phonological ones; I will leave the phonological ones aside for now.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
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<th>This paper</th>
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<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>b. Limited plural marking on nouns</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Inclusive vs. exclusive first-person distinction</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Pronominal copular constructions with affixes</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Numeral classifiers</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
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</table>

3 More precisely, ‘from another location towards the speaker’.
Body-part locatives

- Robustly used to express spatial relations
- In SFCO, there appears to be more frequent use of Spanish loan prepositions (probably exaggerated by the elicitation-by-translation method), and possibly a less elaborated system of body-part locatives than in SMO.
- Aside from (a)-(d), there is some locative use in SFCO. of roots *puch* ‘back’, *taing* ‘belly’, and possibly others.

a. head = top
   wax *u-mal* a tiok
   on POSS[1]-head DET hill
   ‘on the top of the hill’ (3;17)

b. foot = bottom, underneath
   ty-*u-lyej* a mésa
   LOC-POSS[1]-foot DET table
   ‘under the table’

c. heart/stomach = inside
   t-a-mbuty t-a-kaly a tomion ty-*u-miajets* ka
   CPL-TV-sew CPL-TV-stay DET money LOC-POSS[1]-heart PROX
   ‘He sewed up [the handkerchief] and the money was then inside it.’ (3;13)

d. forehead = outside, front, surface
   Al-m-a-jaik anek korral ...ty-*u-mbas* a iom.
   DUR-SUB-TV-be one corral ...LOC-POSS[1]-front DET house
   ‘There is a corral... in front of the house.’ (3;31)

e. Al-m-a-jaik anek korral ...*sérka* u-kwej a iom.
   DUR-SUB-TV-be one corral ...near POSS[1]-thing DET house
   Prompt: There is a corral *al lado de* ‘beside’ the house. (3;31)

f. Atras u-kwej a iom k-a-jaik anek korral.
   behind POSS[1]-thing DET house NOM-TV-be one corral
   ‘There is a corral behind the house.’ (3;31)

Limited plural marking on nouns

- Plural can be marked on determiners but generally not on nouns themselves.

a. *Aj* ka-*w* a *kuk* ke ndy-a-ja-jlal-uif.
   DET DEM-PL DET bird DIST PROG-TV-fly-3PL
   ‘Those birds are flying.’ (1;156)

- Main exception: words for people, pluralized with a prefix *mu-* (SFCO.; Kim 2008:219) or *mo-* (SMO.).

b. mu-*naxuy* ‘men’
   NPL-man

c. mu-*nax* ‘girls’
   NPL-girl

- The other apparent exception is nouns with possessive marking (Kim 2008:220), but it is not known under what conditions this is permitted and/or obligatory.

f. Xa-chijk-**iow** ŋu-*af.*
   1POSS-young.sib-3PL s/he-3PL
   ‘They are my younger siblings.’ (2;140)

g. Xiok i xa-chijk-**iow** ...
   I and 1POSS-young.sib-3PL
   ‘I and my younger siblings...’ (2;140)
(19) First-person inclusive and exclusive distinction

- This distinction is present in Huave.
- First-inclusive kunar and kunajts in San Francisco were originally dual and plural respectively, to judge by the corresponding San Mateo pronouns (Stairs & Hollenbach 1981:296), but this difference has been lost.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. San Francisco pronouns</th>
<th>b. Person/number markers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>x-iok ‘I’</td>
<td>s/x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iok ‘you’</td>
<td>i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñu ‘s/he’</td>
<td>-Vf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kun-ar ‘we (incl.)’</td>
<td>kun-ajts ‘we (incl.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x-in-an ‘we (excl.)’</td>
<td>s/x, -Vn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in-an ‘you (pl.)’</td>
<td>i-, -Vn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñu-af ‘they’</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- In verbal paradigms, first-person exclusive has first-person morphology s (x when allophonically palatalized), whereas first-person inclusive is similar to 3rd person in that it has no dedicated person marking, but rather a portmanteau suffix marking plural + person.
- Language change in SFco: exclusive verb forms sometimes used with inclusive pronouns.

(20) Pronominal copular constructions with affixes

- Constructions of the type fisherman-1sg to mean ‘I am a fisherman.’
- To my knowledge Huave does not have these with nouns.
- There is a predicate adjective construction Adjective + Person-marker to mean ‘I am (adj.)’, but it is not clear whether this is related in any way to the areally diffused construction. The morphological status of such “adjectives” is often ambiguous between stative verbs and deverbal nouns, all sharing an affix n-, or at least diachronically related (cf. discussion of word-class ambiguities in Kim 2008:197ff., 208ff.).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. n-a-ndyu-as</th>
<th>b. ñ-u-kwal-as</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STAT-TV-sick³-1</td>
<td>STAT-TV-(bear.)child-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I am sick’ (2;55)</td>
<td>‘I am pregnant’ (2;107)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- In San Francisco, there is a construction using possessive person/number marking to express a “predicate adjective”-type meaning. It is limited to a few roots, which might be considered nominal since they take possessive marking (though note apparent reflexive marker in (d)).
- This construction is not found (or if so, is extremely rare) in the San Mateo variety (Cuturi & Gnerre, p. c.).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>c. Xa-anch.</th>
<th>d. Xa-rramb-ey-an.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lPOSS-lazy</td>
<td>lPOSS-greedy-RFL-PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I am lazy’</td>
<td>‘We (excl.) are greedy’ (2;140)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(21) Numeral classifiers

- Huave reported in CKS (1986:550) as having numeral classifiers.
- It is worth noting that Huave classifiers are somewhat non-canonical: different numeral series 1-3 are used with different categories of objects, but in most series there is no clear morphological separation between the numeral and the classifier (although “segmental residues” indicate that there may once have been).
- There is language variation in San Francisco, possibly endangerment-related, in which numeral series are used to count which objects. The more frequent numerals tend to be generalized at the expense of less frequent ones.

(22) San Francisco del Mar numeral series

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>Objects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anop</td>
<td>aj-paw</td>
<td>aruj-paw</td>
<td>People, fish, animals...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anek</td>
<td>aj-kiaw</td>
<td>aruj</td>
<td>Default; birds, days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anots</td>
<td>aj-tsaw</td>
<td>aruj (default)</td>
<td>Long thin objects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anom</td>
<td>aj-kiaw (default)</td>
<td>aruj (default)</td>
<td>Years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anom</td>
<td>aj-mbaw</td>
<td>aruj-mbaw</td>
<td>Times (once, twice...)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

4 This root shows polysemy relating to sickness, death, and getting cold (e.g. wax when making candles).
San Mateo del Mar numeral series (Stairs & Hollenbach 1981:395ff.; includes extensive lists of which objects go in which categories)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>Objects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nop</td>
<td>ij-piüw</td>
<td>aroj-piüw</td>
<td>Rectangular</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noik</td>
<td>ij-kiaw</td>
<td>arej</td>
<td>Round or square</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nots</td>
<td>ij-tsüw</td>
<td>aroj-tsüw</td>
<td>Long and thin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nomb</td>
<td>iüm</td>
<td>aroomb</td>
<td>Years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nomb</td>
<td>ij-mbiüw</td>
<td>aroj-mbiüw</td>
<td>Times (once, twice...)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noik (default)</td>
<td>iik</td>
<td>er</td>
<td>Days</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**D Conclusions**

- Huave has many features typical of the Mesoamerican linguistic area and therefore strengthens the case for it, although some non-canonical pattern instantiations may not be due to diffusion.
- Understanding of contact patterns and history can be helped through study of multiple varieties, even closely related ones, and preferably at stages prior to severe endangerment.

**Abbreviations**

SFco. = San Francisco del Mar, SMo. = San Mateo del Mar.
Numbers 1, 2, and 3 in isolation or preceding another category indicate person-marking.


**References**