Exploring between the lines:
the role of texts and interlinear representation in the description of Coahuitlán Totonac

By

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ABSTRACT

Recording and transcribing textual material is a critical part of documentary and descriptive linguistics. The advantages of text collection in minority language communities are recognised to extend beyond linguistics and texts offer a valuable record of the community's oral history. Although there is broad agreement to their importance, in practice texts remain underutilised. This dissertation brings texts to the fore of a documentary and descriptive undertaking, with a focus on the representational choices underlying their presentation, in particular the use of interlinear glossing. Interlinear glossing is a ubiquitous strategy used to illustrate the structure of a language by parsing and glossing meaningful units (morphemes) within a larger string of speech. It shows how meaning is expressed in the language under study and forms a kind of bridge to the English translation. Although interlinear glossing is widespread, a generally accepted standard of representational conventions is lacking, and there is little discussion of the variation that exists in this kind of representation. In the context of the documentation and description of Coahuitlán Totonac, this dissertation presents texts in a number of representational styles, highlighting the value different systems of conventions bring for different levels of analysis. Each chapter presents one level of grammatical analysis: phonology, prosody, derivational morphology, and inflectional morphology. Chapters are structured in three parts: a sketch of the relevant grammatical domain, a discussion of representational choices given the challenges of that domain, and one or more texts presented with a focus on the particular level of analysis.

The Totonacan (a.k.a. Totonac-Tepehua) language family is spoken by communities in the Sierra Madre Oriental of Mexico in the states of Puebla, Veracruz, and Hidalgo. Coahuitlán Totonac belongs to the Northern Totonac branch, and is spoken by around 3000 people in

Coahuitlán, Veracruz. Previously undocumented, Coahuitlán Totonac remains the primary language of speakers in family and community settings, and although it faces the familiar challenges of minority languages around the world, at present it appears to be sustainable. A number of features of Coahuitlán Totonac present challenges to representation—for example, it is highly agglutinative and polysynthetic, the large number of derivational morphological processes resulting in many complex words. When derivations are not transparent or are non-compositional, fully-parsed forms can become distracting and add visual clutter. The context in which the example is used is critical: a discussion of derivation and word-formation requires this level of detail, but in a discussion of phonology or inflection, the expanded derivation can be distracting. Extensive inflectional morphology, including polypersonal agreement, poses a similar challenge where over-glossing can lead to opaque examples. A number of verb forms in Coahuitlán Totonac are non-compositional or idiomatic: the signifier of these forms consists of multiple meaningful elements borrowed from other parts of the paradigm. Representation of these forms is complicated because the elements within the pattern continue to exhibit the same behaviour they have when used compositionally: so in some contexts it is helpful to identify the individual elements to explain their morphophonological alternations. In other contexts, we can safely disregard the origins of the signifier and focus only on the non-compositional form. Another feature, a system of segmental processes conditioned by prosodic units ("juncture phenomena") requires the inclusion of additional information on prosodic boundaries because without reference to the prosody, it is impossible to describe the distribution of these processes. Outside of a discussion of prosody, the processes may be minimized or left out of the representation entirely.

To meet these challenges, this dissertation explores the choices made in the interlinear representation, between the lines of text and translation. These representational choices include varying the number of lines, introducing new symbols and bracketing, and the inclusion or exclusion of certain information. The result is a distinct style of textual representation for each chapter: a practical application of principles underlying interlinear glossing for different levels of grammatical analysis. Exploring the interlinear lines encourages further research and discussion into the use of texts in documentation efforts. The grammatical sketch and texts taken together constitute a beginning to the documentation of Coahuitlán Totonac, providing linguistic and extra-linguistic information for this community.

PREFACE

This thesis is an original work by Devin Moore. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project Name "Coahuitlán Totonac", No. Pro00041017, 22 September 2013.

Examining Committee:

    David Beck, Supervisor
    Jordan Lachler, Supervisory Committee
    Paulette Levy, Supervisory Committee
    Marianne Huijsmans, Examiner
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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to Henry and Elisabeth, my lights.

And to Hannah, who walked with me on the other side of faith.

"The truth about stories is that that's all we are"
-Thomas King

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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List of abbreviations

−	affix boundary	IND	indicative
=	clitic boundary	INDEF	indefinite
≡	phonological juncture	INSTR	instrumental
+	compound boundary	INTENS	intensifier
~	alternation	INTJ	interjection
→	is realised as, is changed to	IP	intonational phrase
⇒	phonological alternation	IRR	irrealis
1, 2, 3	first-, second-, third-person	JNC	juncture phenomena
ADD	additive	LOC	locative
ADJ	adjective	NEG	negative
AGT	agentive	NOM	nominaliser
ALIEN	alienative	NREL	non-human relativiser
ALL	allative	OBJ	object
AMB	ambulative	OPT	optative
BEN	benefactive	PERF	perfect
C	consonant	PFV	perfective
CLF	classifier	PL	plural
COM	comititative	PLC	place of
COMP	complementizer	PO	possessive
COP	copula	POT	potential
CS	causative	PROG	progressive
DCS	decausative	PROX	proximal
DEB	debitative	PRS	present
DEM	demonstrative	PTCL	discourse particle
DIM	diminutive	QUOT	quotative
DIST	distal	RCP	reciprocal
DSD	desiderative	RPT	repetitive
DTb	distributive	RT	round trip
DTR	detransitiviser	SG	singular
DTV	determinative	STM	stimulus
EXC	exclusive	SUBJ	subject
FUT	future	SUBST	substitutive
GNC	generic	TOT	totalitative
HREL	human relativiser	TR	transitiviser
IDPH	ideophone	TRANSIT	transitative
IMPF	imperfective	V	vowel
INC	inclusive	VBL	verbaliser

Language abbreviations

A	Apapantilla Totonac
CX	Cerro Xinolatépetl Totonac
Ch	Coahuitlán Totonac
Ct	Coatepec Totonac
Co	Coyutla Totonac
FM	Filomeno Mata Totonac
HT	Huehuetla Tepehua
H	Huehuetla Totonac
M	Misantla Totonac
Oz	Ozelonacaxtla Totonac
P	Papantla Totonac
PT	Pisaflores Tepehua
TT	Tlachichilco Tepehua
U	Upper Necaxa Totonac
Z	Zapotitlán Totonac
Zi	Zihuateutla Totonac

List of source texts

Alberto Reyes Castillo

14 September 2015	Armadillo (section 2.12)
1 July 2014	Caminandes
12 August 2013	Conejo (tar baby; section 2.11)
8 July 2014-07	Daily chores
13 August 2014	For the birds
6 August 2014	Geri's game
13 August 2014	La luna (section 3.4)
30 August 2013	Muchacho flojo
1 July 2014	Ormie
22 July 2014	Out of sight
30 July 2014	Paperman
30 July 2014	Presto
8 September 2015	Macho

Antonio Jiminéz Santiago

17 September 2015	Anciana (y su cabrita)
17 September 2015	Arriero
1 August 2014	Confianza
31 May 2019	Coyote and gavilán
17 September 2015	Debedor (section 5.6)
10 September 2015	Llorona
1 August 2014	Matrimonio
7 August 2014	Nagual and hunter (section 4.3)
7 August 2014	Pichawa
17 September 2015	Pitón
10 September 2015	Pollito
31 May 2019	Puente (de Zacapoaxtla)
31 May 2019	Relámpagos / A̱kc̱ịnị́ʔ
10 September 2015	Serpiente (section 3.5)
10 September 2015	Tigrecito
10 September 2015	Zorillo

Augustín Barrera Juárez

2 August 2013	Conejo y léon

Mattias Antonio Reyes

2 August 2013	Antonio Jiminéz
2 August 2013	Conejo

Miguel Antonio Sosa

27 February 2017	Plato de anciano (section 3.6)

1 Introduction

The goals of documentary and descriptive linguistics, as described by Chelliah and DeReuse (2011), focus on the gathering of linguistic data and the production of texts, lexicon, and grammar. There is considerable variation in the importance ascribed to these products and the methods used to create them; however, there seems to be broad agreement that texts are an important part of the documentary and descriptive process. Chelliah and DeReuse (2011:422) provide the following quotes from "seasoned field workers":

> Texts are the lifeblood of linguistic fieldwork. The only way to understand the grammatical structure of a language is to analyze recorded texts in that language (not by asking how to translate sentences from the lingua franca). (Dixon 2007:11)

> An account of any language needs to be based primarily on a substantial corpus of continuous spontaneous speech. (Crowley 2007:120)

> The text collection seeks to show the language as it really is, and among other things provides a corpus against which the grammar's claims can be tested, and which subsequent linguists may scrutinize for generalization overlooked by the original grammarian. (Evans and Dench 2006:12)

> There is general agreement, I believe, that a grammar should describe a language as it is spoken… Thus, in fieldwork, the need for working with spoken language of a variety of genres has long been recognized; grammars that do not draw richly from such material are probably unlikely to attain the goal of describing the genius of a language [referring here to Sapir (1921)]… These are, I believe, absolutes… (Rice 2006:23)

Despite the agreement in principle on the value of texts, in practice texts are undervalued as descriptive tools (Chelliah and DeReuse 2011:422). Epps et al. (2017), published in a special centennial edition of the *International Journal of American Linguistics* (*IJAL*), look at the occurrence of text and text-based submissions to *IJAL* over its history and note a decline of text-focused articles starting in the 1970s, which the authors associate with disciplinary developments moving from a focus on texts to one focussed on grammatical structure. Mosel (2006:52-53) denounces the backgrounding of texts to "marginal appendices", and claims texts need to be a

larger part of documentation efforts as 1) evidence for claims made in grammatical description, 2) a method of documenting language features and phenomena not recognised by the author of the grammar due to constraints of time or analysis, and 3) a way to overcome trends in linguistic analysis by providing theory-agnostic data. Chelliah and DeReuse (2011:423-425) list further advantages of text collection: in conditions of language endangerment, collected texts can become extralinguistic records, documenting the oral tradition and culture of a community; texts, as natural speech, are free of translation and elicitation biases; and texts include some features of language that do not emerge in elicitation.

The contrast between the stated importance of texts and the decline of text-focused research and continued backgrounding of texts shows the need for new ways of using and presenting texts in documentary and descriptive linguistics. This dissertation is my attempt to give texts a more prominent role in the description of Coahuitlán Totonac: specifically, by exploring different ways of presenting interlinear glossed texts. Interlinear glossing is an analytic tool used to illustrate the structure of a language by parsing and glossing meaningful units (morphemes) within a larger string of speech. These elements are presented between lines of the object language and the translation (meta language); because languages differ in the ways they combine meaningful elements, the interlinear gloss shows how meaning is expressed in the language under study, by providing a kind of map showing how the presented text compares to the translation. Although interlinear glossing is ubiquitous, there is no generally accepted standard of representational conventions, and little discussion of the variation that exists in this kind of representation. Further, modern practices arose from a variety of precursors, but the lack of explicit thought going into their design has led to challenges as different authors use interlinearistion for different purposes. In some sense, expecting one standard for

interlinearisation is expecting the same solution for different problems. Rather than presenting or looking for a standard, this dissertation looks to provide a practical discussion and exploration of interlinear glossing at different levels of grammatical analysis. Texts are presented alongside each chapter of the grammatical sketch of Coahuitlán Totonac, with the level of grammatical analysis defining the purpose of each representation. Within each context, challenging aspects of presentation can be discussed and decisions rationalised.

Section 1.1 will answer the question "what is interlinear glossing?" and provide a brief overview of their history and a summary of modern practices, with a focus on the question of standards. In section 1.2, I discuss the Totonacan language family, Coahuitlán Totonac and the community where it is spoken, and my own fieldwork in Coahuitlán. Section 1.3 covers the conventions used in this dissertation, beginning with general conventions used throughout the dissertation, and proceding to the particular modifications used in each chapter to adapt the interlinear gloss to each level of analysis. The goal throughout is to show how representational challenges in Coahuitlán Totonac can be met by modifying interlinear glossing to better illustrate aspects of the language.

1.1   Interlinear glossing

Texts are recordings of naturally occurring discourse. The first step of analysis is presenting a transcription of the text with a translation: [1]

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[1] My examples are presented in the Americanist IPA used by researchers of Totonacan languages: an acute accent on vowels is used to mark primary stress, /y/ is used in place of IPA /j/, /š/ is used instead of /ʃ/, and /c/, /č/ and /ƛ/ represent affricates /t͡s/, /t͡ʃ/, and /t͡ɬ/.

(1)   mat šwí: tantím *conejo* mat lu: sqáłał peɾo šačúnca
        'There was a rabbit. He was very clever, but mischievous'

<div align="right">Debedor:1-2[2]</div>

Interlinear glossing is a style of annotation that comes between these lines: meaningful elements of the target language are parsed, separated, and aligned with labels or glosses in the meta language. The primary purpose of interlinear glossing is to show how meaning is expressed in the target language by illustrating the arrangement of meaningful elements to accompany the translation, showing how these elements express the meaning seen through the translation. Although often focused on morphology, interlinear glossing provides information at multiple levels of analysis, including phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and lexicon.

One of the salient visual characteristics of interlinear glossing is the multi-line framework: each part of the text is given a number of lines: a line showing a transcription of the target language, a line showing the translation into the meta language, and between these lines, an interlinear gloss. The components of an interlinearised text are given in Table 1.

Component	Description
Transcription	Written version of target language text
Parse	Division of text into smaller elements
Gloss	Description of each parsed element in meta language
Translation	Meaning of text rendered into meta language

<div align="center">Table 1: Components of interlinearised text</div>

Depending on the purpose and audience of a text, the transcription of the target language may be in practical orthography, or a phonetic or phonemic transcription using phonetic symbols. The parse line may also be used to illustrate different levels of division: typically, white space separates words (single tabs allow easy separation of words and alignment of parse and gloss)

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[2] The sources of examples drawn from my collected texts are cited by the name of the text and line number: a table of all texts used in this work with full name and author can be found in List of source texts. Examples in Coahuitlán Totonac without a source are taken from my field notes.

and hyphens represent morphemic divisions (I use the wider n-dash in numbered examples and texts). The gloss line, aligned with the parse, gives a literal translation or names the grammatical category of each parsed element. Exponents of grammatical categories are abbreviated, with abbreviations written in small caps. The translation is typically assumed to be a free or idiomatic translation, because the purpose of the interlinearisation is to illustrate the structure of the target language without recurse to literal translations which easily become awkward (Lehmann 2004 and Comrie et al. 2015).

Three- and four-line formats are both common: in three-line presentations, the first line combines the transcription with the parsing of elements and the second line gives a gloss for each element (2).

(2) mat š–wi: tan–tim *conejo* mat   lu: sqalala   peɾo   šaču:nca
     QUOT PAST–sit CLF–one rabbit   QUOT very clever   but   mischievous
     'There was a rabbit. He was very clever, but mischievous'
                                                                        Debedor:1-2

Four-line formats add a line under the transcription dedicated to showing the parse (3).

(3) [mat šwí: tantím kuné:xu mat lu: sqálał peɾo šaču:ncą̦]
     / mat š–wi: tan–tim *conejo* mat lu: sqalala   peɾo   šaču:nca /
     QUOT PAST–sit CLF–one rabbit   QUOT very clever   but   mischievous
     'There was a rabbit. He was very clever, but mischievous'
                                                                        Debedor:1-2

With a separate parse line, the first line of text does not have any visual interruptions, which may be desireable; however, the first line may also be employed for other purposes. In some cases this "extra" line is used to present a practical orthography to make the text more accessible for the language community and language learners. Another use employs the first two lines to give transcriptions of the text at two different levels of analysis: in my example (3), the first line gives a broad phonetic transcription and the second line gives a phonemic transcription. These

different levels of analysis reveal phonological processes such as stress (not represented in my phonemic transcriptions) and devoicing (/sqalala/ → [sqálał] 'wise', /šaču:nca/ → [šačú:ncą] 'mischievous'). In phonemic transcriptions, loan words are flagged by being written in italics with their native orthography (here Spanish); a phonetic line here allows me to show the actual pronunciation used by my consultants. As we will see throughout this work, my exploration of interlinearisation will often include additional lines; however, the basic components of interlinear glossing will always be present.

1.1.1   History of interlinear glossing

Modern interlinear glossing practices developed from a variety of precurors and annotation strategies. I briefly discuss some of these precursors, drawing from accounts of the history given in Lehmann (2004) and Epps et al. (2017). Lehmann describes interlinear glosses as relatively recent: before interlinear glossing, the very first grammars often did not include translations at all, being intended for learners to work out the details for themselves as an exercise or for the use of those with learning, already fluent in the language under discussion (especially in the case of familiar languages like English, French, German, Latin, etc.). Lehmann gives examples of two precursors to interlinearization: von Humboldt (1836) and Finck (1909). Notably, both use "literal" translations—that is, they connect each part of the target language with a literal translation in the metalanguage, with no labels or categories. Von Humboldt (1836) used an indexing presentation of his own invention:

(4) 1 2 3   4 5 6 7   8 9   1 3   2 4 5 6   7   8 9
     ni-c- chihui -lia in   no- piltzin ce calli   ich mache es für der mein Sohn ein Haus
                                                            from von Humbolt 1836, 534

This example gives a sentence in Classical Nahuatl and German translation, in English "I made a house for my son". The numbers written above the text and translation show how they align. The

German translation is literal, giving a discrete word for each part of the Classical Nahuatl utterance: for example, number 2 is an object agreement marker prefixed to the verb in Classical Nahuatl, while in German it is a pronoun (and unnecessary in/for the German sentence). Individual elements of Classical Nahuatl words are separated with a hyphen.

Finck (1909) uses a much more modern-looking interlinearisation of Turkish:

(5) *xodža-da*   *esbāb-ın*   *dzümle-si-ni*   Der Meister warf nun
     Meister=auch   Kleider=(der)   Gesamteit=ihre=die   sämtliche Kleider ins Feuer
     ateš-e   *vur-up*   *yak-ar*   und verbrannte sie.
     Feuer=zu   werf=enderweise verbrenn=end

<div align="right">from Finck 1909, 83</div>

Here, the Turkish is given aligned with an interlinear gloss in German, with the free translation set to one side, on the right (in English "The master now threw all the clothes into the fire and burned them"). The gloss is again literal, and elements are separated with a symbol. Interestingly, while hyphens are used to separate parts in Turkish, the German gloss uses the equals sign to separate parts. This may be to show that in German the elements are separate words and not affixes, a use that could be seen as a precursor to the use of the equals sign for clitics.

In addition to von Humboldt and Finck, two more forms of early interlinearisation are given in Biase-Dyson et al. (2009): Athanasius Kircher's *Œdipus Ægypticus* (1652; shown in Figure 1) and Champollion's posthumously published *Grammaire Égyptienne* (1836-1841; shown in Figure 2). Both these works present text on multiple lines: Kircher's example gives an inscription in early Semitic characters, followed by lines with "transliterations" in Hebrew, Syriac, and Latin, followed by a word-by-word translation.

Figure 1: 17th century interlinear analysis of an obscure inscription
(taken from Biase-Dyson et al. 2009)
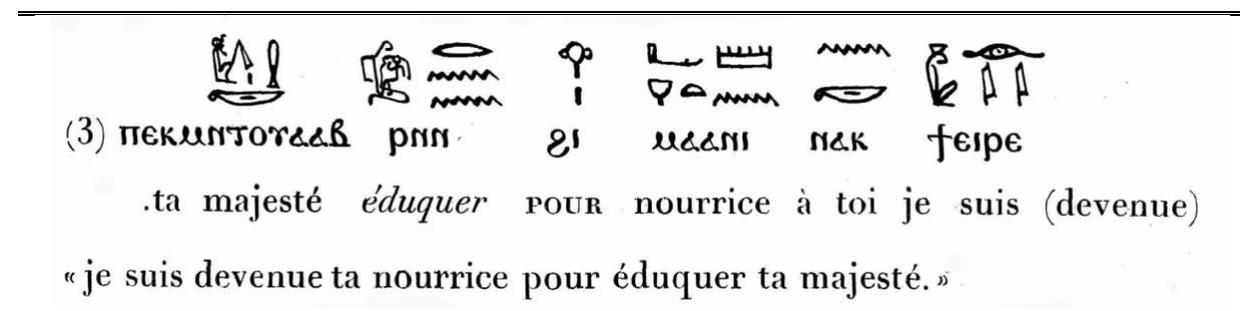
Figure 2: 19th century interlinear glossing in Egyptology
(taken from Biase-Dyson et al. 2009)

Champollion gives hieroglyphic texts separated into smaller units, a line of Coptic equivalents, a line with French word-by-word translations to give the semantic sense of each unit of hieroglyphic text, followed last of all by a running translation.

Lehmann claims interlinearisation did not become common until the 1960s-1970s, giving Bloomfield's influential book *Language,* published in 1933, as an example of a relatively recent work still lacking interlinearisation: Bloomfield presents numerous examples with

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practical orthography, phonemic transcription, and translation all coming in-line with the prose. In early efforts (beginning in the early 1900s) to document indigenous languages in the Americas, Franz Boas and others used an alternative form of annotation: instead of annotation coming between text and translation, footnotes or endnotes linked each word to a discussion of lexical composition, or derivational and inflectional characteristics (Epps et al. 2017, and Figure 3 taken from Boas 1900).

G·ō′kula⁶laēda ¹   g·ā′läsa ²   Dzā′wadᴇēnoxwē ³ lā′xa ⁴
The village was it is said the   first of the   Dzā′wadᴇēnoxᵘ   at the

¹ g·ōkᵘ house ; -la continuative verbal suffix ; -⁶la quotative ; -ē pronominal ending pointing to following noun ; - da pronominal subjective ending pointing to following noun.
² g·ā′la first ; g·ā′lä contraction of g·ā′la-a terminal *a* indicating absence ; -sa possessive ending indicating following noun.
³ dzā′Xun olachen (a fish) ; - ad having, requires the dropping of the formative suffix - un in dzā′Xun and softens the terminal X to w ; - ēnoxᵘ people of ; - ē demonstrative suffix.
⁴ laq at it ; with ending indicating following noun, laxa.

Figure 3: Footnote-indexed text (taken from Boas 1900)

Early fieldwork in the Americas prompted other innovations: Levy (2015) presents an interesting case study dealing with the recovery of texts in Coatepec Totonac from Norman McQuown's research between 1938 and 1940. These texts, coded on an early IBM computer, present a recognisable yet highly idiosyncratic style of interlinear glossing, seen in Figure 4 (from Levy 2020).

> &TO MAT|7AK|$|NI|I'| $|7AN|QUU'| PA$|TA|XUU|NAN|QUU'|
> PA$|NI'7| , N|AA|L'|$|TU|KUT|QUU'| . &ID (2.6.) &=SP DIZQUE
> CUANDO SE IBAN A METERSE A BAN'AR LOS PUERCOS ,
> YA NO SE SALI'AN (DEL AGUA) . &/
>
> &TO WAN|QUU'| PII|NII|4AAN|H|$|WA|NII'T| . &ID (2.2.) &=SP
> DICEN QUE NO ERA BUENO . &/
>
> &TO WA|A'| TUU| $|WA'N| PAALI'|, 4AAN|H|NII|4AA'N|, WA|A'|
> $|LA'|Y &ID (11.9) &=SP LO QUE DIJERAN LOS PADRES,
> CON RAZO'N O SIN ELLA, (SU DICHO) SE CUMPLI'A &/

Figure 4: McQuown's coded texts of Coatepec Totonac

The development of interlinear glossing drew on a diverse array of annotation strategies to become widely used in the 1960s and 1970s; today its use is ubiquitous.

1.1.2 Modern interlinear glossing

In the preamble to their *Leipzig glossing rules* (Comrie et al. 2015),[3] the authors claim linguists largely conform to certain conventions of interlinear glossing; their stated purpose is to make explicit "the most widely used". Assessing that claim is challenging: while interlinear glossing is ubiquitous, there is a remarkable degree of variation in the details. A quick scan of some of the articles citing the Leipzig glossing rules shows many qualifications: the rules are "largely followed", "followed where possible", or given as "the author's version". Flexibility is built into the document itself, which gives multiple options for many of its "rules" (which might better be called "principles" or "guidelines", especially considering the document's descriptive aims), and further acknowledges that most authors will feel a need to add to or modify its conventions.

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[3] An earlier version was published in 2008.

Setting aside the question of how much the Leipzig glossing rules represent a standard, the aim of describing the most widely used conventions of interlinear glossing has led to the creation of a fine overview of modern interlinear glossing practice. I will provide a brief summary of the Leipzig glossing rules for this perspective, before returning to the question of standards.

The Leipzig glossing rules consist of two parts: first a set of 10 rules about the use of interlinear glossing, followed by a collection of abbreviations for grammatical categories. The authors give a metaphor for these two parts: the rules are the syntax and semantics, while the abbreviations provide a lexcion. The ten rules are summarised in Table 2.

Rule	Summary	Rule	Target
1	word-by-word alignment	6	non-overt elements
2	morpheme-by-morpheme correspondence	7	inherent categories
3	grammatical category labels	8	bipartite elements
4	one-to-many correspondences	9	infixation
5	person and number labels	10	reduplication

Table 2: 10 rules of the Leipzig glossing rules

These rules begin with simple but powerful principles and continue into guidelines for very specific situations. The first few rules build the familiar, basic framework: rules one and two establish word-by-word alignment and morpheme-by-morpheme correspondence. This is done by separating words with tabs, and aligning them from the left, and separating morphemes with hyphens. Rule three details the use of grammatical categories and their abbreviations, which are printed in small capitals.

Rule four discusses a more complex issue: cases of uneven correspondence where one element in the target language expresses multiple elements in the analysis. The basic treatment is to use a period < . > to join the multiple metalanguage elements, i.e., *pucá* 'look.for', *-ṭį* 'PFV.2SG.SUBJ'. Because there are different reasons to ascribe a one-to-many correspondence, rule four includes five subrules allowing the description of distinct types of correspondences.

Subrules 4A and 4B deal with object-language elements that are not segmentable. Subrule C describes using a colon < : > to treat object-language elements which *are* segmentable, but where the author does not wish to show formal segmentation, i.e., for -*ti̠*, the second person subject perfective affix given above, it is possible to analyse it as a combination of -*t* '2SG.SUBJ' and -*li̠* 'PFV', but for convenience this is glossed as one affix -ti̠ 'PFV:2SG.SUBJ', with the colon to indicate that further segmentation is possible. Subrule D is similar in that the object-language element is open to further analysis: in this case, the meaning or grammatical property is signalled by a morphophonological change (ablaut, mutation, tone alternation, etc.). The final subrule, 4E describes the use of the greater than symbol < > > as an arrow in polypersonal agreement, pointing from the agent-like argument to the patient-like argument, i.e., *ka̠:– –n* '1>2' describes a first person argument acting on a second person argument (in Totonac, these markers come with the added complication in Totonac that one or both of these arguments must be plural, cf. 5.2.1).

Rules 5 through 9 have much smaller scope, dealing with more specific circumstances. Rule 5 says that for person and number labels, no period is needed to separate them (i.e., *k-* '1SG.SUBJ' not '1.SG.SUBJ'). Rule 6 gives two options for marking elements which are not overtly expressed: square bracketing < […] >, or the sign < Ø > (cf. section 5B). Rule 7 uses round bracketing < (…) > to indicate inherent categories without overt expression. Rule 8 deals with bipartite elements, including circumfixes. The author has two options: giving both elements the same gloss (e.g., for '1>2' *ka̠:– –n* we saw above in *ka̠:pucán*, glossed 1>2–see–1>2), or alternatively, giving a special label for one of the two parts, such as STEM for bipartite stems. Rule 9 uses angle brackets < <…> > for infixes and rule 10 uses a tilde instead of hypen (or n-dash) for reduplicative elements.

Another perspective on interlinear glossing is found in articles by Christian Lehmann (1982, 2004). Although his system of interlinear morphemic glossing is not as widely used as the Leipzig glossing rules, Lehmann's 2004 paper includes a much fuller discussion of the history, theoretical prerequisites and assumptions, and principles underlying interlinear glossing. A starting principle, which we have discussed above, is that each line of text in the target language is matched by a gloss and a translation. Each of these parts gives a different view of the target language: the gloss shows the morphological structure while the translation provides a semantic equivalent. As a consequence, Lehmann supports a free translation, while not expecting the interlinear gloss to include redundant information. For example, a polysemous morpheme may be glossed with its most basic sense because the translation will give its sense in context. Further, Lehmann discusses two important principles creating opposing pressures: first, the interlinear gloss should be as precise and detailed as possible; and second, the interlinear gloss should avoid overcomplexity. Discussing these principles without a context, it is difficult to resolve the different priorities; however, part of the value of a text is that it may be useful beyond the original purposes foreseen by the author. Considering this, there may be good reason to err on the side of detail. I will return to these principles throughout this work.

In many ways, the Leipzig glossing rules has been adopted as a de-facto standard, but there are two notable caveats: first, the Leipzig glossing rules describe a great deal of variation, both in different options given in the document, and in how people follow the rules (or claim to). Second, the scope of the Leipzig glossing rules, perhaps unintentially due to their focus on describing the most widely used conventionsm, results in typologically common features receiving better coverage than uncommon features. Chelliah et al. (2021) offer a few critiques of the Leipzig glossing rules in support of their argument that more specific conventions are needed

at the level of the language family. These critiques include noting that the focus on typologically common features requires linguists to innovate for less common features. Chelliah et al. point out that the Leipzig glossing rules are not very helpful for beginners, and show how even general principles can be difficult to apply: in their example, applying the principle of a one-to-one correspondence of constituents and glosses is difficult given the polysemy of case markers and directionals in South Central Tibeto-Burman languages.

The argument that each language family needs specific conventions is intriguing. In some ways, certain conventions are already apparent within the research tradition of a given language family, such as the continued use of Americanist IPA in descriptions of Mesoamerican languages. Chelliah et al. call for a more explicit discussion to establish specific guidelines. Interestingly, several articles can be found predating this call: Biase-Dyson et al. (2009) discusses glosses for Ancient Egyptian and Nau & Arkadiev (2015) proposes guidelines for glossing Baltic languages (Latvian and Lithuanian).

Another important development in interlinear texts is the use of computers to help produce and manage annotations. I will briefly mention three commonly used applications: Praat (Boersma & Weenick 2023), ELAN (2023), and SIL's FieldWorks Language Explorer or FLEX (whose homepage can be found at http://www.sil.org/computing/fieldworks/). Each of these tools has unique goals and functions: Praat is primarily used for phonetic analysis (spectral, pitch, formant analyses, etc.) but includes functionality to align transcriptions on various tiers. ELAN's primary function is the annotation of audio and video recordings. FLEX uses XML file structure to integrate texts with a lexical database and a database of word forms. Its baseline structure includes morpheme representation, lexical entry, lexical gloss, word gloss, and free translation.

In the section below (1.2.1), I discuss some of the text-focused research in Totonacan languages; however, this dissertation does not propose to focus on language-family specific guidelines. Instead, I approach from another angle, and consider the purposes for which we use interlinear glossing. If we return to the range of variation allowed in the Leipzig glossing rules, and the greater variation seen in the many authors' adaptations thereof, there is an important question left unanswered in the literature: what is the motivation for one choice over another? The Leipzig glossing rules give the author's purpose and audience as motivations for varying the degree of detail in an interlinear gloss. The audience of a text is an important factor, especially in the case of language revitalisation where community outreach is an essential goal. However, in this dissertation I limit my discussion to an academic audience, and focus instead on a discussion of purpose. Although each author must make decisions as they use a text, there is little discussion in the literature about how to fit an interlinear gloss to a specific purpose. Rather than seeking a better standard for interlinear glossing (whether general or limited to Totonacan), my goal is to encourage thought and discussion into how to prepare interlinear glossed texts, and provide a practical example by presenting a text and a grammatical sketch for different levels of analysis (phonology, prosody, derivational and inflectional morphology). Each text is accompanied by an overview of the challenges this level of analysis poses for representing text, and a discussion of how I adapted styles of interlinearisation to meet those challenges.

1.2   Background

In this section, I address some of the context and background of this research: I give an overview of the Totonacan language family and the research literature of Totonacan languages (1.2.1), I

introduce Coahuitlán Totonac and its community (1.2.2), and give a brief account of my

fieldwork in the community (1.2.3).

1.2.1   Totonacan language family

Coahuitlán Totonac is part of the Totonacan (a.k.a Totonac-Tepehua) family, which consists of

several languages spoken in the Mexican states of Puebla, Hidalgo, and Veracruz (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Map of Totonacan speaking languages (taken from Beck ms)

There are approximately 270,000 speakers of Totonacan languages (INALI 2021). At face value,

this seems to be a fairly high number of speakers,[4] but the language family's vitality remains a

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[4] These numbers are estimates based on Mexico's General Census (INEGI 2020) and a Catalogue of National Indigenous Languages (INALI 2008): the numbers show some growth between 2000 and 2015, possibly due to increasing willingness of individuals to identify themselves for the census for various sociological reasons (solidarity, pride, etc.).

concern: despite its reported size, the language family is fractured into a number of languages and dialects, most of which have fewer than 10,000 speakers and are considered to be at risk. Though the vitality of specific varieties depends on each community, all minority communities face considerable social and economic pressures from Spanish. A common belief that proficiency in Spanish provides children an advantage and mobility has lead parents in many communities to prioritise Spanish over Totonac in the home (Lam 2009; Beck & Lam 2009; McGraw 2019).

The exact number of Totonacan languages has not been determined: most Totonac speakers refer to their own language simply as "Totonaco", despite being aware of significant differences between communities. To the immediate south of Coahuitlán, for example, the communities of Coyutla, Mecatlán, and Filomeno Mata all maintain unique varieties and speakers are aware of differences between the speech of each community. In practice, researchers mostly refer to different varieties by the name of the community, as for Coahuitlán Totonac, Filomeno Mata Totonac, etc., or by the name of a larger urban centre, as Papantla Totonac–spoken in El Escolín and Cerro del Carbón, and Misantla Totonac–spoken in several communities including San Marcos Atexquilapan and Yecuatla. Upper Necaxa Totonac is one exception, being spoken in several communities along a stretch of the Necaxa river.

The Totonacan language family has traditionally been considered an isolate, without connections to other language families; however, recent work suggests a connection to the Mixe-Zoquean languages spoken in southern Mexico (Brown et al. 2011). Concerning the internal structure, the traditional view of the family tree divides into two branches: Totonac and Tepehua. The Tepehua branch has three languages—Huehuetla, Pisaflores, and Tlachichilco—and is spoken in the northwestern corner of the map where the states of Puebla, Hidalgo, and Veracruz

meet (cf. Figure 5). The traditional division of Totonac languages recognizes four groups: Misantla, Northern, Lowland (or Papantla), and Sierra (a fuller overview of the traditional view, elaborated by early fieldworkers, is described in Mackay & Trechsel 2012). Misantla Totonac is spoken in a number of communities in the area south of the urban centre of Misantla, Veracruz. Lowland or Papantla Totonac is spoken in communities along the Gulf coast and around Papantla, Veracruz. Northern and Sierra are both spoken in many communities in the Sierra Madre, mostly in the state of Puebla.

The internal relationship of Totonacan languages has attracted some interest in recent years, with more systematic efforts broadly affirming the outlines of the traditional classification hypothesized by early fieldworkers, and beginning to address the many questions remaining. The ramification of the four Totonac branches has been more debated, particularly the Sierra, Northern, and Lowland branches (Misantla Totonac is a clear outlier both geographically and linguistically). Each possible arrangement of these three branches, together refered to as "Central Totonac" in Brown et al. (2011), has been discussed; however, the main question seems to be whether to place Lowland with Sierra or with Northern (the final grouping, combining Northern and Sierra together against Lowland was proposed in an Honours thesis by García Rojas (1978) based on a dialectological survey but has received no further support). The Sierra-Lowland grouping, first proposed by Aschmann (in Ichon 1973), has been further supported by several authors (Davletshin 2008, 2018; Brown et al. 2011; Levy & Beck 2012; Moore 2017). The primary evidence for this grouping is the large set of lexical isoglosses shared by Sierra and Lowland branches. MacKay & Trechsel (2014, 2015) acknowledge the lexical similarity between Northern and Lowland languages, but draw attention to the lack of morphological differences between Northern and Lowland languages. With respect to the morphological

features surveyed in their investigation, they suggest Northern and Lowland form a "rather homogenous group", particularly in contrast with the robust set of morphological patterns shared by Sierra languages. Although they do not strongly propose the Northern-Lowland grouping, MacKay & Trechsel do consider the presence of these shared morphological patterns as necessary and sufficient evidence that a language belongs to the Sierra branch. This is somewhat problematic because, while shared innovations are the primary evidence for subgrouping, the lack of shared innovations is unreliable in determining subgrouping (Fox 1995:220). In a forthcoming article, Beck (ms) expands upon a list of proposed shared innovations (cf. Moore 2017), and argues that the features described as diagnostic of Sierra languages in MacKay & Trechsel are not consistent within that group and do not define a consistent set of languages.

Early modern research on Totonacan languages began with two centers: Norman McQuown, and researchers with the Wycliffe Bible Translators/Summer Institute of Linguistics. Norman McQuown's fieldwork in Mexico began in 1938 and resulted in his 1940 dissertation,[5] which was later published in 1990 as *Gramática de la lengua totonaca. Coatepec, Sierra Norte de Puebla*. McQuown's research focused on Coatepec Totonac (also called Highlands or Sierra Totonac), but his publications include vocabularies from a lexical survey conducted in several other Totonac communities: one in Hueytlalpan, Olintla, Ozomatlan, Papantla, El Tajín, Tepanco, Zapotitlán, and Zongozotla (survey conducted in 1940, published in 1976); and another in the Tepehua community of Huehuetla (survey conducted in 1941, published in 1978). Shortly after, researchers with the Wycliffe Bible Translators (part of the Summer Institute of Linguistics) began work in several Totonac communities. Herman Aschmann began work in Zapotitlán de Mendez, Puebla around 1942 (Aschmann 1946), and worked in many communities

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[5] He began with Edward Sapir as supervisor and finished with Leonard Bloomfield (Furbee 2008).

including Nanacatlán, Papantla, Coyutla, and Mecatlán (Steven 2011). [6] Aileen Reid and Ruth Bishop, beginning around 1950, were based in Xicotepec de Juárez, Puebla, and worked in the surrounding communities.

The number of researchers working with Totonacan languages increased slowly, with James Watters working on Tlachichico Tepehua from around 1980, Paulette Levy from 1982 in Papantla, and Carolyn MacKay with Misantla Totonac beginning in 1985. Levy suggested Upper Necaxa Totonac as a research area to David Beck, who published a grammatical sketch in 2004 and a dictionary in 2011. A grammatical sketch of Huehuetla Totonac was published by Duna Troiani in 2004 (though her fieldwork began much earlier, in 1980, with a thesis published in 1988). There have also been a number of grammars-as-thesis from additional varieties: Huehuetla Tepehua by Susan Smythe Kung (2007), Filomeno Mata Totonac by Teresa McFarland (2009), and Zihuateutla Totonac by Michelle Garcia-Vega (Zihuateutla Totonac, 2022). A comprehensive bibliography of research on Totonacan languages is found in MacKay & Trechsel (2012), and more recent developments can be found in Garcia-Vega (2022) and Beck (ms.). These recent works include a number of papers studying the sociolinguistic aspects of Totonacan communities (Lam 2012, 2020, and McGraw 2019), works on various theoretical topics such as relative clauses (Moore 2016, Beck 2017, and Moore & Beck ms.), laryngealisation and glotalic articulation (Puderbaugh 2015, 2016, 2019), grammatical relations (Beck 2016), and a number of articles on historical issues and reconstruction (Brown et al. 2011,

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[6] It is also possible Herman Aschmann briefly visited Coahuitlán: one of my consultants recalled a tall light-skinned man coming into Coahuitlán when he was a much younger. My consultant remembers everyone feeling some awkwardness because no one was comfortable speaking Spanish, but the man came into the town square and unexpectedly read a few lines of Totonac from his own notes, including: *kips kips la čičíʔ* 'the dog jumps or skips eagerly around'. According to his memoirs (Steven 2011), Aschmann conducted a month long survey of towns surrounding Papantla and Coyutla in 1962.

MacKay & Trechsel 2014, 2015, Moore 2017, Davletshin 2018). There has also been a number

of Totonacan and Mexican students undertaking research in Mexico, among them two master's

theses: Jorge Tino on children's usage of posture verbs in Olintla (2006) and Gabriela Román

Lobato on prosodic juncture phenomena in Ozelonacaxtla (2008). Indicative of the growth in this

field, Beck presents a table showing published primary sources for 16 languages in the

Totonacan family, noting nine of them were published after the year 2000 (ms., reproduced in

Table 3).

Apapantilla Totonac (A)	Reid et al. (1968); Reid & Bishop (1974); Reid (1991)
Cerro Xinolatépetl Totonac (CX)	Andersen (2012)
Coatepec Totonac (Co)[7]	McQuown (1990)
Filomeno Mata Totonac (FM)	McFarland (2009)
Huehuetla Tepehua (HT)	Smythe Kung (2007)
Huehuetla Totonac (Hu)	Troiani (2004)
Misantla Totonac (Mi)	MacKay (1999)
Ozelonacaxtla Totonac (Oz)	Román Lobato (2008)
Papantla Totonac (P)	Aschmann (1973); Levy (1987, 1990)
Pisaflores Tepehua (PT)	MacKay & Trechsel (2010)
Tlachichilco Tepehua (TT)	Watters (1988)
Tlayehualancingo Totonac (Ty)	Espinoza (1978)
Tuxtla Totonac (Tu)	A. Juárez Esteban (2016); T. Juárez Esteban (2020)
Upper Necaxa Totonac (UN)	Beck (2004, 2011)
Zapotitlán Totonac (Z)	Aschmann (1962); Aschmann & Wonderly (1952)
Zihuateutla Totonac (Zi)	García-Vega (2022)

Table 3: Varieties of Totonac and Tepehua languages with published primary sources

Both McQuown and the researchers with the Summer Institute of Linguistics produced relatively large numbers of texts. McQuown collected 36 texts between 1932 and 1942. These texts were recorded and transcribed, and have been archived at the University of Chicago (McQuown 1971, McQuown & Oropeza [1943]2013). Recently Levy has undertaken a reanalysis, discovering a unique style of interlinear glossing that parses prosodic boundaries (Levy 2015). Four of these texts are also available as part of the *International Journal of Linguistics'* Texts Online series (Levy 2020). Herman and Elizabeth Aschmann recorded numerous texts in various communities (Zapotitlán, Nanacatlán, Coyutla, Mecatlán, and Papantla), many of which are available in the Summer Institute of Linguistics' web archive (2023). That archive also includes a number of texts contributed by Aileen Reid and Ruth Bishop. All these texts are presented in a variety of styles: straight Totonac texts, texts with a free Spanish or English translation, and texts with a

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[7] Elsewhere, I use the abbreviation Ct for Coatepec and Co for Coyutla.

sort of word-level gloss where each word in the target language is given a fairly literal translation and accompanied by a freer phrase-level translation.

Perhaps mirroring the decline in text-focused articles noted in Epps et al. (2017) and discussed above, more recent text-focused research has been limited to a number of texts appearing in the appendices of grammars or grammatical sketches (MacKay 1994; Beck 2004 and 2011; Troiani 2004; Smythe Kung 2007; McFarland 2009; Garcia-Vega 2022), and a very interesting compilation edited by Levy & Beck (2012) entitled *Las lenguas totonacas y tepehuas*. This volume was first conceived at the First International Conference on Totonac-Tepehua Languages held in Banff in 2007. The fifteen texts presented come from 10 Totonacan languages, and represent a collaborative effort by nearly all researchers active in Totonac-Tepehua languages at the time, including graduate students and native speakers of Totonacan languages. The texts come from a variety of genres, and although the goal was to use a basic interlinear representation, submissions were made in a number of different styles. Many of the differences are preserved and reflect different priorities: some texts come in a practical orthography to make them more accessible to the community, while others give a closer phonetic transcription to highlight features of interest in that particular variety of Totonac. Other differences were standardized and the editors include an interesting discussion highlighting the challenge of standardising the conventions used by each contributor. One concern they address is standardising the abbreviations used by the different contributors: they note a few different types of issues arising here: the use of different abbreviations to refer to the same thing (the initial submissions included five or six different abbreviations for 'past'), use of the same abbreviation to refer to different things (the use of RPT for 'repetitive' or 'reportative'), and also the use of abbreviations refering to categories instead of exponents (the use of EVI for 'evidential', but used

to gloss different exponents of the evidential category). More abstract issues of comparison and theoretical analysis were also addressed, and the editors note that "Los intercambios con los autores sobre 'abreviaturas' fueron uno de los aspectos mas gratificantes de la tarea de edición" (The exchanges with the authors on 'abbreviations' were one of the most gratifying aspects of task of editing). Although this document did not result in the kind of language-family level standards suggested by Chelliah et al. (2021), I take the meaningful discussion it generated as an illustration of carefully considering the purpose and conventions of interlinear glossing.

1.2.2 Coahuitlán Totonac & community

Coahuitlán is a community of just over 3000 people in the northern part of the state of Veracruz.

Figure 6: Coahuitlán (photo by Devin Moore, July 2013)

Coahuitlán Totonac is spoken by nearly 3,000 people in the town itself, and perhaps another 900 in the neighbouring communities in the *municipio* (county; INEGI 2020). Coahuitlán has the second highest number of speakers and the highest number of monolingual speakers of any Totonac-speaking *localidad* (community) in the 2010 census: around 38% of community members do not speak Spanish. Although Spanish bilingualism is common, the status of Coahuitlán Totonac is fairly robust: Ethnologue lists it as stable, and statistics from INEGI show an increase in speakers of indigenous language between 1990 and 2010 and between 2010 and

2020.[8] From my observation, Coahuitlán Totonac is the predominant language used by children and adults. Spanish bilingualism is common and children learn Spanish in school, but they continue to use Totonac in community and family settings (and with myself—an early highlight of my field research was correctly understanding and responding to a young child asking me *či mą́qlat*? 'what time is it?'). Despite this, Coahuitlán Totonac faces many of the same challenges common to Totonac languages in the area and indigenous languages around the world (Beck and Lam 2009).

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[8] Yvonne Lam led a project to design an interactive demographic map of Totonacan communities using data from the Mexican census by INEGI; however, Google Maps made changes to their API in 2018 that rendered this map inoperable.
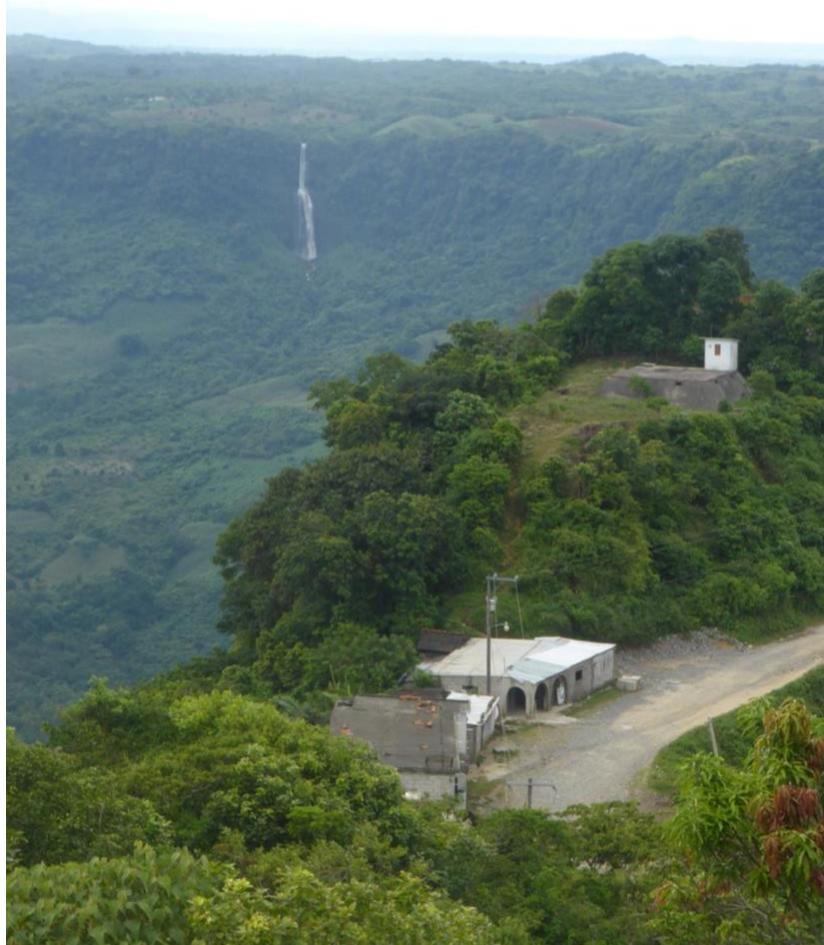
Figure 7: Coahuitlán & Tambortitla waterfall
(photo by Devin Moore, September 2015)

Geographically, Coahuitlán is located atop a hill over the Necaxa River, on the edge of

the mountains of the Sierra Madre Oriental near the edge of the gulf coast plain. It is in the

Veracruz Moist Forest ecological area and the local economy is centered on sustenance farming

and the cultivation of corn and coffee (INAFED 2005). Large numbers of young adults travel to

and from Mexico City for temporary or seasonal employment. Many of these return regularly to

participate in village culture and agriculture (cf. Govers 2006), including the town's annual

festival during Semana Santa or Holy Week, where dances such as los Huehues, Negritos, Tejoneros Quetzales and the Voladores are performed.
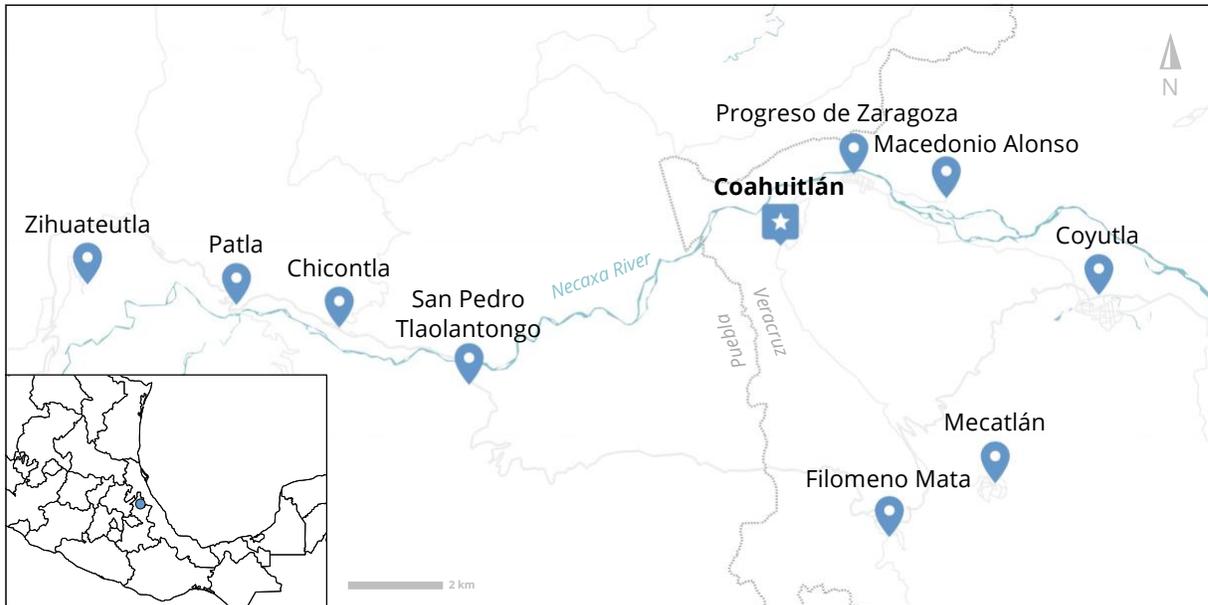
Figure 8: Map of Coahuitlán and surrounding communities

Coahuitlán is also located at the geographical boundary of the Northern and Sierra Totonac branches of the Totonac sub-family: to the west, along the Necaxa River, are communities where two Northern languages are spoken: Patla, Chicontla, and San Pedro Tlaolantongo speak a variety called Upper Necaxa Totonac, and beyond them is Zihuateutla. To the south and east are three communities speaking varieties belonging to the Sierra branch. Coyutla, Mecatlán, and Filomeno Mata (Figure 8). Further east of Zihuateutla is the urban centre of Xicotepec de Juárez. Although these communities are fairly close, the road network does not easily connect them to Coahuitlán. Xicotepec is about 23 km in a straight line, but over 55 km following the road which passes through Filomeno Mata to the south. One of my consultants assured me that Xicotepec Juárez is within travelling distance, and one of the stories I recorded describes a man walking there with his donkey to sell firewood. To the east, directly downhill from Coahuitlán lie two

non-Totonac towns: Progresso de Zaragoza, seat of the Coahuitlán municipality since 1897 (INAFED 2005), and Macedonio Alonso.[9] The road continues through Coyutla, and eventually to the cities of Papantla and Poza Rica. Although Papantla is slightly further away at 72 km than Xicotepec, this route avoids the mountains and is fully paved, resulting in much quicker travel time by car or bus.

With its geographic location at the boundary between Northern and Sierra languages, the placement of Coahuitlán Totonac on the family tree has occasioned some dispute. Somewhat inexplicably, Ethnologue (Lewis et al. 2015) does not treat Coahuitlán Totonac as a variety per se, instead grouping it with nearby Filomeno Mata Totonac. Although Coahuitlán and Filomeno Mata are alike in showing some mixing of Sierra and Northern features (Beck ms), McFarland (2009) is clear that Filomeno Mata and Coahuitlán do not speak the same variety, a conclusion strongly supported by my research and my consultants in Coahuitlán who report low mutual intelligibility between the two communities. One of the earliest modern fieldworkers believed Coahuitlán to belong to the Sierra branch (Aschmann cited in Ichon 1973), but MacKay & Trechsel (2011a) note Coahuitlán Totonac lacks the morphological patterns of personal agreement they were investigating as a feature of Sierra Totonac languages, and tentatively suggest Coahuitlán may belong to the Northern branch. Brown et al. (2011) also propose Coahuitlán belongs in the Northern branch, based on reports of higher mutual intelligibility between speakers of Coahuitlán and speakers of Upper Necaxa Totonac. As much of this discussion lacked a strong empirical base, one of my early priorities was investigating this

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[9] According to Porfirio Sampayo Macín (one of David Beck's consultants from Patla) many people here speak some variety of Totonac, possibly that of Coyutla. My own consultants did not think many in Macedonio Alonso spoke the same variety as they do. The most recent census lists 34% of the population speaking an indigenous language: considerably higher than the 8% in the municipal seat of Progreso de Zaragoza, but much lower than the 92% of Coahuitlán (INEGI 2020).

question. Moore (2017) proposes a list of shared innovations, of which Coahuitlán lacks eighteen of twenty innovations shared by Sierra languages and has five of six innovations shared by Northern languages. Beck (ms) continues to explore Totonac subgrouping, adding data from more communities and expanding the list of innovations to 41 lexical items, of which Coahuitlán shares 30 Northern forms, and 10 Sierra. Both studies support classifying Coahuitlán as a Northern Totonac language, though there seems to have been notable contact with Sierra languages.

1.2.3 My fieldwork

My interest in the representational choices for the presentation of texts began early in my fieldwork experience, which totaled around forty weeks in six trips between 2013 and 2019. I had two goals during my early fieldwork: completing a linguistic questionnaire of Coahuitlán Totonac, and recording as many texts as possible. As my research continued I began to prepare a grammatical sketch. I found myself drawn increasingly to textual data and I started to look for ways to include more of the texts I was collecting. I have already discussed the importance of texts from a linguistic perspective; in addition to this, the texts I have recorded are a tangible representation of the gift of language so generously shared with me by members of the Coahuitlán community. More prominent inclusion and increased focus on textual data are my way of honouring that gift. The plan to discuss representational choices rose from this desire to promote texts, as well as from difficulties encountered "along the way". For example, as I discuss in chapter 3, during my first field trip, I encountered juncture phenomena: segmental processes conditioned by prosodic boundary environments. These presented a challenge because I found certain processes to be very salient (especially n- and i-epenthesis), but my consultants confidently ignored these segments and I was unable to determine what conditioned these

segments.[10] Before my second field trip, I was fortunate to hear a presentation by Paulette Levy describing similar juncture phenomena conditioned by prosodic boundaries in Coatepec Totonac (Levy 2014; cf. Levy 2015). Although the specific juncture phenomena are different in Coahuitlán Totonac, this work—and Levy's representation—was instrumental to my description in 3A, and the question of how and where to represent juncture phenomena became a pertinent concern. Similar challenges came in representing features at the various levels of analysis described in each chapter. Before continuing to discuss these challenges in 1.3, this section will give some of the practical and technical details of my fieldwork.

As I mentioned above, one of my first field objectives was to complete a linguistic questionnaire of Coahuitlán Totonac. The starting point of this effort was a questionnaire that had already been sent to Coahuitlán as part of a survey of Totonac varieties (Kaufman et al. 2004). However, the employee sent to administer the survey and record the answers had no linguistic training or familiarity with Totonac languages. My first goal was to revisit this questionnaire in more detail with multiple consultants: eventually I produced a version of the questionnaire based on answers from four consultants, three men and one woman, all around 40–50 years old. The completed questionnaire was used as the primary source of data for my paper discussing the subgrouping of Coahuitlán Totonac (Moore 2017).

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[10] Questions about the juncture phenomena often resulted in my consultants giving me the individual words, which divorced them from the prosodic context where juncture phenomena would occur. However, in one small written sample from a consultant, juncture phenomena are represented, if somewhat variably: devoicing is observable on the perfective suffix -l̨i, but not elsewhere, i-epenthesis is represented, but no n-epenthesis.

Figure 9: Alberto Reyes Castillo, gathering firewood
(photo by Devin Moore, July 2014)

Figure 10: My office (photo by Devin Moore, August 2013)

After this survey, the focus of my fieldwork turned decisively to the recording, transcription, and analysis of texts. Most of my texts are recordings of my primary consultants, Alberto Reyes Castillo and Antonio Jiménez Santiago, with a few from other community members. Recordings were made in the spare room I let from my primary consultant. Although the room, with concrete walls, roof, and floor does not represent an ideal recording environment, the house is located on the outskirts of the village and the sound of car traffic was only an infrequent intrusion.[11] Recordings were made with two professional solid state recording devices: a Sound Devices 702 in 2013, 2015, and summer of 2017; and a Marantz PMD 661 in winter of 2017 and 2019. Both recording devices used a pre-amp for voice recording. In 2013 I used an Audix tabletop microphone, the other years I switched to a Countryman Lavalier microphone attached to consultants' shirt collar. Sound files were saved in 48 KB 24-bit WAV format to a memory card and backed up onto my personal computer and an external hard drive.

Most of the texts are traditional *cuentos* or village stories, including several stories about *naguales*—people believed to have the power of transformation—and a handful of stories about the trickster rabbit *Conejo*. I also recorded a number of texts after discussion and questions from other elicitation: for example, Antonio Jiménez Santiago told me a story about finding a snake in his field in Spanish, which we then recorded quite spontaneously in Totonac. Additionally, a number of texts were elicited by asking for retellings of narratives from hand drawn pictures or small animated shorts. Once a text is recorded, it requires transcription and translation: using Praat, I created TextGrid files with three tiers: one for the IPA transcription in Totonac, one for the Spanish translation, and one for notes on complex words. Working mostly

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[11] Not to mention announcements from stores made by megaphone, a problem encountered at another consultant's house.

with Alberto Reyes Castillo, I went through texts word by word to transcribe them into (Americanised) IPA. Once the transcription was complete, we went back to give a line by line translation, stopping to break down and discuss complex or novel words (free translations were also given at the time of recording for most texts). Interlinearisation and English translations were completed at a later date; although I worked on these during my time in the field, the bulk of this work was completed at home with any arising questions flagged for the next fieldwork trip.

Figure 11: Miguel Antonio Sosa (photo by Devin Moore, February 2017)

Figure 12: Antonio Jiminéz Santiago, giving a tour of plants in his field
(photo by Devin Moore, July 2014)

Figure 13: Antonio Jiminéz Santiago and Devin Moore
(photo by Hannah Moore, July 2014)

Once texts were recorded, transcribed, and translated, they became the primary source of data for writing a grammatical sketch. Elicitation was necessary to expand many areas, especially verbal paradigms,[12] but text data provided a very good starting point and helped establish the scope of the grammatical sketch. Grammatical descriptions in the literature also helped to establish the scope of analysis and to identify interesting aspects for discussion: the text of my grammar makes frequent comparative reference to other Totonacan languages.

Finally, texts were prepared to accompany each section of the grammar, with consideration of how changes to the representation could show the focus and address challenges of each level of analysis.

1.3   Conventions for representation

As a starting point for exploring the different representations, I adopted a number of fairly standard conventions. The basic framework follows the Leipzig glossing rules: morphosyntactic words are aligned from left to right, and separated with tabs. The first line, by default, shows a phonemic transcription. On this line, there is no punctuation, except for < … > to indicate a false start. On the second line, morphemes are separated with n-dash (this is mostly a matter of preference as I find the length of the n-dash helpful in reading the parse); though I depart from the Leipzig glossing rules in indicating clitics with the equals sign < = >, and compounds with a plus sign < + > both of which are visible in (6).

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[12] I was very fortunate here because Alberto came to enjoy working out paradigms and patiently helped me to come up with complete paradigms for many verbs: although we started slowly, Alberto told me he had seen paradigms for Spanish verbs but was unaware that paradigms could be made for Totonac. I think he felt quite proud to have Totonac paradigms laid out and written down like he had seen done for Spanish; he took some pleasure in both the size and complexity of the paradigms.

(6) *entonces*ca taslumatáya:l**i̱** *conejo*
     entonces=ca   ta–sluma+taya:–l**i̱**   *conejo*
     then=now   DCS–glue+stand–PFV   rabbit
     'so the rabbit was stuck'

Conejo:44

The clitic =*ca* 'now' is extremely common and like other clitics, such as =*kut* 'yet' and =*tunkan* 'very', does not take stress or affect stress patterns.[13] The compound *slumatayá:* 'stand stuck in place' is formed of two verbs: *slumá* 'glue sth' and *tayá:* 'stand', the dynamic form of the posture verb *yá:* 'be standing'. While hesitations and false starts are shown in line 1, especially in chapter 3, they do not appear in the parse on line 2 or the interlinear gloss on line 3.

Each morpheme is labeled on the third line: the label for morphemes expressing grammatical categories use small capitals, and are abbreviated (see list of abbreviations). One issue of note here is that while typically each morpheme is labeled with a unique gloss, Levy & Beck describe how some authors use labels to describe a category or class of morphemes instead of an exponent of a grammatical category (2011). The example given of this was the label EVI 'evidential' used to describe a class of morphemes involved in discourse. The problem here is that this usage can create the false impression that two different morphemes are semantically or functionally equivalent because both receive the same gloss. Despite this problem, it is sometimes quite useful to gloss a morpheme as a member of a class. For example, Totonac languages have a group of ideophones which describe situations in detailed onomatopoeic or synesthetic ways (Beck 2008). To show the specificity of these words, in Coahuitlán Totonac, I have a number of ideophones which describe various sounds or situations associated with horses: *ƛapaƛapa* describes 'a horse walking with metal horseshoes', *maračmarač* describes 'a horse

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[13] For this reason, clitics are an extremely helpful elicitation tool in removing the context of devoicing and other junture phenomena to record an accurate base form with the correct final vowel and lexical stress.

taking off running', *tarak* describes 'a horse going quickly', and *taraka* describes 'several horses going quickly'. When ideophones occur in texts, it is a non-trivial challenge to gloss these words appropriately. Instead of a gloss which must fall short of the specific meaning of the ideophone, it is much more convenient to label these words as IDPH 'ideophone', and allow the free translation to describe the meaning (with occasional footnotes). Because these category labels are different than the label for an individual morpheme, I have put labels indicating membership in a category in bold (7).

(7)   taraka tạ:n kawá:yu
       taraka   ta–ạn   kawa:yu
       IDPH   3PL.SUBJ–go horse
       'the horses go quickly'

There are a number of categories for which I use this strategy: ideophones (IDPH), numeral classifiers (CLF), interjections (INTJ), discourse particles (PTCL), and demonstratives (DEM). While ideophones and numeral classifiers present a challenge to gloss concisely, discourse particles and demonstratives are grouped this way because of unanswered questions in their analysis: I do not have a good description of discourse particles, and demonstratives appear to have undergone significant leveling from a complex system with several semantic distinctions. I do make additional departures from the Leipzig glossing rules: instead of using the colon for language elements which are formally and semantically segmentable elements but which the author does not wish to show segmentation, I use the colon < : > to gloss portmanteaux (e.g., "RPT:IMPF"). Spanish borrowings are written in italics (except borrowings which have undergone significant rephonologisation).

The final line or lines are for the translation: in the body of the dissertation, one line is given with an English translation, but in the texts, both Spanish and English translations are provided. Because my fieldwork is conducted with Spanish-Totonac bilinguals, the Spanish

translation is provided by a consultant, Alberto Reyes Castillo, with occasional notes or corrections coming from other consultants. While the interlinear glossing removes the need for a strictly literal translation, my own English translations tend towards literal, while the Spanish lines are often much freer: for example, the Spanish translation might use a reflexive verb, changing the subject. Because Spanish is the second language of everyone involved in this process, translations are not always standard Spanish as, I have not edited the non-standard Spanish of my bilingual consultants beyond spelling and graphical accent. It is my hope that this will better preserve the data presented to me, and perhaps even give helpful insight into Coahuitlán Totonac and Totonac-Spanish bilingualism. One further feature of the glosses is the use of parens and square brackets. Parens are used to show alternate wordings of the translation or to fill in "missing" arguments which are present only as verbal agreement in Coahuitlán Totonac. Square brackets are used to indicate who is speaking when the text includes dialogue with multiple characters that could be hard to follow.

From this starting point, each chapter in the dissertation aims to show a practical example of how decisions behind representations are made at different levels of analysis. By pairing a text to a specific level of grammatical analysis, I define the scope of representation and allow discussion of a range of the specific challenges to representation of Coahuitlán Totonac. This purpose gives a critical context for the choices underlying a representation. We have already seen how a four-line glossing format can introduce a second level of transcription by transcribing the parse line with a different style than the first line: for the discussion of the phonology in Chapter 2, I expand this concept to highlight the phonological and morphophonological processes discussed in the grammatical sketch (8).

(8)   [kimáχšteχtimatwanixó:n li:maqe:qɬan]
      / kimaqšteqti mat waní xo:n li:maqe:qɬan /
      kin–maqšteq–ti   mat   wan–ní   xo:≡n   li:maqe:qɬan
      1OBJ–leave–2SG.SUBJ:PFV   QUOT   say–BEN:IMPF   **PTCL**≡JNC   scarecrow
      ' "sueltame" le dijo al espantapájaros'
      ' "let go of me," he said to the scarecrow'

                                                                        Conejo:27

The transcription of the Coahuitlán Totonac text is given in two lines: first a broad phonetic

transcription, followed by a phonemic transcription. Phonological processes can be observed in

differences between these two lines, such as the uvular spirantisation in [maχšteχ] → /maqšteq/.

The parse (line 3) is given with a phonemic transcription; however, there are differences between

the phonemic transcriptions given in line 2 and 3: these represent morphophonological processes,

here coda nasal deletion in /kin-/ → /ki-/. Because the texts in chapter 2 focus on phonology, the

representation of prosody and morphology is condensed. Prosodic features are glossed (≡JNC) but

not fully expanded, and morphological processes are abbreviated or left out; for example,

li:maqe:qɬán 'scarecrow' has a transparent derivation which is not shown here.

Although chapter 2 does not expand the prosodic features, Coahuitlán Totonac has a

complex prosodic system where prosodic boundaries condition a number of segmental processes:

without reference to prosody, it is impossible to describe the distribution of these fairly salient

processes (a frustration my consultants and I experienced in my early fieldwork before

understanding the nature of these processes). In Chapter 3, alongside the grammatical sketch

discussing the prosody and juncture phenomena, texts are presented with a special set of

conventions (following Levy 2015) to illustrate juncture phenomena and prosodic structure (9).

(9) ⟨ {(čḁːtímin)} {(či̯škų̄ʔ)} , ⟩ ⟨ {(y)} (šqǫ́ːča) (yː)} … ⟩ ⟨ {(čḁːtim) (wanpaɾáš)} … ⟩
čḁː–tim≡in   či̯škuʔ   y   š–qoːča   yː   čḁː–tim   wan–paɾá
CLF–one≡JNC   man   and   3PO–boy   and≡JNC   **CLF**–one   COP–RPT:IMPF
'había un hombre y su niño y el otro'
'there was a man and his son and another one'

<div align="right">La luna:1–3</div>

The transcription and parse line both appear in a phonemic transcription; however, the first line is characterised by a series of brackets enclosing each unit of the prosodic structure: intonational phrases are inserted between chevrons ⟨…⟩, and phonological phrases appear within brackets {…}; morphosyntactic words are indicated with parens (…). Further, a punctuation mark at the end of each intonational phrase specifies which type of intonational phrase by contour pattern: < , > for continuations and < . > for finalities (which does not appear in this example). Hesitations are indicated by elipses < … >. Juncture phenomena are parsed, segmented with < ≡ >, and graphical accent is also used in a specific way: giving the phrase accent in the transcription (line 1) and the lexical accent in the parse (line 2). With the focus on prosody, these examples lack a phonetic transcription and have abbreviated morphological representation.

Coahuitlán Totonac is highly agglutinative and polysynthetic. The very large number of morphological processes results in extremely complex words that are not simple to parse and gloss. The grammatical sketch gives a separate chapter for derivational and inflectional morphology; the texts for these chapters show different considerations appropriate to each kind of morphology. One consideration that arises with derivational processes is the matter of synchronic and diachronic processes: often a word can be split apart to different levels if the author wants to show a complete etymology of the word; however, the segmentation of any given word may involve processes that are purely historical and no longer synchronically productive. With the focus on derivational morphology, chapter 4 texts shows the most comprehensive breakdown of word formation (10).

(10) maktím tḁla:tnḁ́ʔ *que* štatu:támḁ: lakatampíšnḭ

mak–tim	tḁla:tnḁʔ	que	š–tatu:ta–mḁ:	lakatampišnḭ
CLF–one	hunter	that	PAST–go.downhill–PROG	plain
	tḁla:t–nḁʔ		*ta–tu:–ta*	laka–tampišnḭ
	hunt–AGT		*DCS–foot–down/ground*	face–base
				tampiš–nḭ
				base–PART.NOM
				tan–piš
				buttocks–neck

'Una vez el cazador se estaba bajando hasta llanura.'
'Once a hunter was going down to the plain.'

Nagual and hunter:1

Unlike other chapters, the number of lines used for these texts varies from example to example. Phonological and prosodic details are removed to highlight the focus on morphology: the first line gives a simple phonemic transcription (juncture phenomena are not represented), followed by paired lines of parse and gloss: the first two give the parse and gloss for the example and underneath, additional lines show how complex words are further broken down, allowing each derivational process to be seen step-by-step.

Inflectional morphology in Coahuitlán Totonac is also complex, including polypersonal agreement, and complex tense-aspect-mood morphology. This poses a similar challenge, where over-glossing can lead to opaque examples, particularly for the case of non-compositional (also called idiomatic or phrasematic) verb forms. For these forms, the signifier consists of multiple meaningful elements borrowed from other parts of verbal morphology. In terms of constructing these forms, showing how those elements combine is helpful, especially because the constituent parts retain their morphophonological alternations and behaviour. In other contexts, it is more important to focus on the resulting meaning of the non-compositional form. For example, present irrealis forms appear to be formed with the markings for past (typically the prefix *š-*) and the perfective (typically the suffix -*lḭ*). If we are considering the different forms arising from

morphophonology or prosody, it is helpful to refer to these constituent parts because we will see the same allophony of the past prefix and the same complex realisation of perfective.

The presentation in chapter 5 gives particular focus to inflectional processes (11).

(11) šakmaškín kinkúši a̱šni šlál i̱
     šak–Ø–maški–Ø–n   kin–kuši
     IRR:PRS_{PAST}:1SG.SUBJ–SG.OBJ–give–IRR:PRS_{PFV}–2OBJ   1PO–corn

            a̱šni   š–Ø–la–l i̱
            when   IRR:PRS_{PAST}–3SG.SUBJ–do– IRR:PRS_{PFV}

     'te doy mi maíz cuando cosecho'
     'and I'd give you my corn when it's ready (producing fruit)'
                                                          Debedor:12

Leaving out phonological, prosodic, and derivational details leaves more room to address problems specific to inflection: zero-exponence, non-segmental morphology, and morphological idioms. Morphological zeroes are an important part of the inflectional paradigm of Coahuitlán Totonac, i.e., the absence of other agreement markers is the expression of third person subject in *šlál i̱* 'it's ready (irrealis)'. While Coahuitlán Totonac is highly agglutinative and much of the morphology is quite transparent, some categories are expressed idiomatically: for example, the irrealis mood is expressed by a combination of affixes which, when used individually, express their own inflectional categories. However, when these affixes come in a certain pattern, they have a phrasemic or idiomatic expression, e.g., the present irrealis is expressed by the combination of past and perfective marking in both *šakmaškín* 'I'd give it to you' and *šlál i̱*.

2   Phonology

For textual representation with a focus on phonology, a four-line glossing format is commonly used, with the "extra" line allowing for an added level of analysis: a phonetic transcription on the first line is accompanied by a phonemic transcription on the parse line.

This chapter comprises three parts: Section 2A presents a phonological sketch of Coahuitlán Totonac, beginning with a phoneme inventory, then discussing phonological and morphophonological processes, syllable structure, and stress. Section 2B describes the line-by-line framework used to present this chapter's texts, with the goal of having the representation support the analysis present in the sketch. Finally, Section 2C presents two texts: Conejo and the Tar Baby, and Armadillo.

2A   Phonological sketch of Coahuitlán Totonac

The phonemic inventory of Coahuitlán Totonac is fairly typical for a Totonac language: it has a relatively simple consonant inventory, and a vowel inventory showing contrasts of length and phonation (modal vs. laryngeal). Like all Totonac languages, Coahuitlán Totonac lacks voiced obstruents, has marginal rhotic segments, and has a glottal stop with a restricted distribution. The consonant inventory is presented in 2.1, followed by the vowel inventory in 2.2. Phonological and morphophonological processes are presented in sections 2.3 and 2.4; Coahuitlán Totonac syllables are described in section 2.5, and stress and accent in section 2.6.

2.1   Consonant inventory

The consonant phonemes of Coahuitlán Totonac by place and manner of articulation are shown in Table 4.

	LABIAL	ALVEOLAR		PALATAL	VELAR	UVULAR	GLOTTAL
		CENTRAL	LATERAL				
NASAL	m	n					
STOP	p	t			k	q	ʔ
AFFRICATE		c	ƛ	č			
FRICATIVE		s	ɫ	š	x		
APPROXIMANT	w		l	y			
RHOTIC		ɾ, r					

Table 4: Consonant inventory of Coahuitlán Totonac

Coahuitlán Totonac has two nasal phonemes: /m/ and /n/. Contrasts are shown in minimal and near minimal pairs (1).

(1)   **Initial**
    a.   **m**in   'come'
            ni:n   'dead person'
    b.   **m**a:n   'only'
            ná: ą̱   'mother'
    c.   **m**a:-   'CS'
            na-   'FUT'
  Medial
    d.   ta**m**ú: 'they pour (sth)'
            ta**n**ú: 'enter'
  Final
    e.   tantí**m**   'one (animal)'
            tantí**n**   'defecate'

These examples show the /m/ and /n/ contrasting in different positions of the word. /n/ undergoes place assimilation to match following stops, resulting in allophones [m, ŋ, ɴ] (2.3.1). Nasals are sometimes deleted before fricatives (2.3.2), a process similar to the morphophonological deletion of coda nasals in prefixes (2.4.2).

The series of stops includes five phonemes: /p/, /t/, /k/, /q/, and /ʔ/. Minimal and near minimal pairs for /p/, /t/, /k/, and /q/ are shown in (2).

(2) **Initial**

a. **p**a:n   'belly, abdomen'
    tán̪i̪   'buttocks'
    káni   'delicious'
    qa:n   '*naguas*, traditional white skirt worn by women'

Medial

b. stá:**p**a̪:t   'you are selling'
    štá:**t**a̪ʔ   'his/her father'
    ská:**k**a   'get dry'
    šá:**q**a   '*temascal*, steam bath'
c. stá**p**u   'bean'
    sta**k**áka   'thin (like a board or a book or table); sharp (of a knife)'
    št̪a̪**q**á   'to make tortillas'

Initial and medial

d. **p**u**p**ú   'boil, foam'
    tu̪**t**u̪pu̪šáma   'sixty'
    kú**k**u   'uncle'
    ɬmo̪**q**ó̪**q**o̪   'dark yellow, golden'
    qó:**q**u   'non-verbal person'

Final

e. šúlu**p**   'cockroach'
    stanqúlu**t**   'scorpion'
    slúlu**k**   'lizard'
    túlo**q**   'rooster'

Uvular stops are sometimes spirantised to /χ/ (2.3.3).

    The glottal stop has a restricted distribution, occuring frequently only in stem-final

position (3).

(3) monqšú̪**ʔ**   'owl'
     papá**ʔ**   'moon'
     ta̪:lá**ʔ**   'kin, relation; friend'
     cisní̪**ʔ**   'night'
     či̪škú̪**ʔ**   'man'
     či̪činí̪**ʔ**   'sun'
     čičí̪**ʔ**   'dog'

Glottal stop also occurs in two suffixes *-čaʔ* 'distal' (5.2.3.4) and *-na̪ʔ* 'agentive' (4.1.1), as in

(4).

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(4)   činčáʔ   'he/she arrived there'
        aːmaːčáʔ   'that one there'
        qa̜łaná ʔ   'thief, robber'
        kučuːnų́ʔ   'healer'

Glottal stops do occur in word-initial position as the result of glottal-stop epenthesis (2.3.4); in

medial-position, I have only a handful of examples (5).

(5)   cúː**ʔ**mit   'blanket'
        ča**ʔ**án   'ant'
        náː**ʔ**a̜   'mommy'
        a**ʔ**a   'no'
        škiwa̜**ʔ**nán   'swim'
        ta̜laː**ʔ**náʔ   'hunter'

The word *náːʔa̜* 'mommy' is an affectionate version of *náːna̜* 'mother'; in another two words in

(5), the glottal stop occurs in free variation with /t/: *škiwa̜ʔnán / škiwa̜tnán* 'swim' and

ta̜laːʔná̜ʔ / ta̜laːtná̜ʔ 'hunter'.

        There are three affricate phonemes: /c/, /č/, and /ƛ/ (6).

(6) **Initial**
    a.   **c**e: 'good'
        če:ma: 'thus, in such a way'
        ƛe:n   'hello'
    b.   **c**a̧pá   'sew'
        čalá   'grind corn'
        ƛapa   'standing up straight, at attention'
    c.   a̧k**c**i̧ní̧ʔ   '*A̧kci̧ní̧ʔ*, chief of lightning (a cultural hero)'
        či̧n   'arrive here'
        ƛinkɬ   'something straight and vertical falling over'
    d.   **c**íya   'mouse, rat'
        číwiš   'stone'
        ƛiwéqe   'strong'

Medial
    e.   **c**i̧céqe   'black'
        čičí̧ʔ   'dog'
    f.   **c**ínci   'chigger'
        a̧q**č**ínči   'horse for riding'
    g.   a̧qkí**c**is   'five'
        a̧q**č**íšit   'hair'
    h.   má**c**at   'pineapple'
        ča**č**áqa̧   'frog'
        taƛaqáxa   'worry'

Affricates are quite rare word-finally and I have encountered only two examples: *qárač* 'crab' and *maračmarač*, an ideophone which describes 'a horse taking off running'. In addition, while /ƛ/ remains in a few words (as seen in (6)), Coahuitlán Totonac has undergone a merger where most reflexes of **/ƛ/ have become /t/ (7).

(7) a.   qáta̧   'big'   from *qa̧ƛa̧
      b.   ta̧:wán   'walk, walk around'   from *ƛa̧:wan
      c.   taqá   'scare or chase birds' from *ƛaqa
      d.   pu:tú̧:n   'mud'   from *pu:ƛu̧:n
      e.   tó: 'make, do'   from *ƛawa
      f.   taxá   'win, earn'   from *ƛaxa

For words which do retain /ƛ/, the lateral affricate shows free alternation with /ɬ/ (8).

(8) a. li:ƛá:n / li:łá:n   'favour'
     b. ƛe:n / łe:n   'hello'
     c. ƛi:wéqe / łi:wéqe   'strong'

While some cases of /ƛ/ may be due to retention in low frequency words (i.e., *taƛaqáxa* 'worry'),

other cases of /ƛ/ are likely borrowings from nearby communities such as Coyutla, Mecatlán, and

Filomeno Mata which have retained /ƛ/. One such example is *li:ƛá:n* 'favour', formed with the

instrumental nominaliser *li:-* and the word *ƛa:n* 'good'; *ƛa:n* is a Sierra word which does not

otherwise occur in Coahuitlán Totonac (cf. *ce:* 'good' and Upper Necaxa Totonac *li:céy*

'favour'). In addition to borrowings, /ƛ/ is relatively common in ideophones (a word class with

unique phonological properties such as lacking lexical stress, extensive sound symbolism, and

reduplication; cf. Beck 2008) like *ƛapa* 'standing straight up' and *ƛinkł* 'something straight and

vertical falling over' seen above (6); additional examples are given below (9).

(9) a. ƛapł   'flat things (books, tortillas) piled up on top of each other;
                            also, the loops of a coiled snake'   (Serpiente 14)
          ƛapłƛapł   'many or larger flat things piled up'
     b. ƛinkł   'something straight and vertical falling over'
          ƛinkłƛinkł   'chopping, smacking'   (Serpiente 32)
     c. ƛapa   'bird flapping wings'
          ƛapaƛapa   'a horse walking with metal horseshoes'

In ideophones, there is no /ƛ ~ ł/ alternation attested; I also have no examples of /*ƛ → t/ in

ideophones, though cross-linguistic comparison of ideophones is challenging.

    Coahuitlán Totonac has four fricatives: /s/, /š/, /ł/, and /x/. These are contrastive in sets of

minimal and near minimal pairs (10), though /x/ is less frequent.

(10) **Initial**
    a.   **s**álạt   'rattle'
             šalǎ   'foreigner; native of a place'
             cạ:lá   'flee, escape'
             xa:la: 'piled up in a disordered heap, e.g., a pile of wood'
    b.   **s**aqáqa   'white'
             šá:qa   '*temazcal*, sweat lodge'
             łạqá: 'wear something'
    c.   **s**aká: '*tepezcuintle*, agouti (a rodent of genus *Dasyprocta*)'
             šaká   'wipe off, scrub, clean'
             xá:ka   '*zapote*, mamey (the fruit of *Pouteria sapota*)'
Medial
    d.   pá**s**mạ   '*olote*, bare corncob'
             pá**š**mạ   'dirty water left after bathing'
             pá**ł**ma   'leaf'

Fricatives are relatively uncommon in word-final position (11).

(11) **Final**
    a.   ạqkíci**s**   'five'
             taséri**s**   'scissors'   (cf. Sp. *tijeras*)
             pak**s**   'all'
             tank**s**   'right, correct'
    b.   wi**š**   'you'
             číwi**š**   'rattle'
             lášu**s**   'orange'
    c.   ạqạšqọ́**ł**   'head'
             pa**ł**   'if'
             slu**ł**   'cayman, alligator'
             tampú:**ł**   'barrel; drum'   (cf. Sp. *tambor*)

There are no examples of /x/ in word-final position in Coahuitlán Totonac due to a sound change

that deletes /x/ in this position (12).

(12)   te: 'road'   cf. A *tex* and U *te:x*
        čo: 'tortilla'   cf. A *čaux* and U *čox / čaux*
        ce: 'good'   cf. A *cex* and U *cey*
        lakacuná: 'near'   cf. A *lakačunạx* and U *lakacunáx*

Vowels preceding the deleted /x/ show compensatory lengthening. In the derived verb

talakacunaxí: 'approach, come near', the suffix *-i:* (4.2.1) protects the /x/.

There are three contrastive approximant phonemes: /y/, /w/, and /l/ (13).

(13) **Initial**

a.	**y**aː	'stand up'
	wa	'eat something'
	laː	'where; no'
	la	'do'
b.	**y**a̰káːt	'lake'
	wáka̰	'be high'
	lakán	'face'

Medial

c.	a̰qca**y**án	'eight'
	ca̰ː**w**am	'cornstalk'
	ca̰ː**l**á	'flee, run away'
d.	sta**y**a̰	'squirrel'
	ta̰ː**w**án	'walk around'
	ta̰ː**l**áʔ	'relative, family member'

I have no examples of word-final /y/ or /l/; word-final /w/ is rare, but appears in *a̰qkáːw* 'ten' and in first person plural forms, for example *pucáːw* 'we are looking for it' (see 5.2.1.1).

Finally, Coahuitlán Totonac has two rhotic consonants, an alveolar flap /ɾ/ and a trill /r/, both of which show a restricted distribution. The greatest number of instances of both come in Spanish loan words (14).

(14) a.   séɾa   'bee' (from Spanish *cera* 'wax')
      b.   taséɾis   'scissors' (from Spanish *tijeras*)
      c.   kweɾsa   'it must be' from Spanish *fuerza*
      d.   kiɾisiyánu   'people' from Spanish *christiano* 'christian'
      e.   koraɫ   'corral'
      f.   karo   'car' from Spanish *carro*
      g.   ciɾínspu:n   '*clarín,* small bird, probably Slate-Coloured Solitaire'

Both rhotics also appear in some words and affixes that do not appear to be borrowings (15).

(15) a.   -paɾa   'RPT'   cf. U, P –pala
      b.   qáɾač   'crab'
      c.   qo:rucín   'old man'   cf. A, P, Z qo:lu[14]
      d.   ras   'falling or crashing down loudly'
      e.   (s)rum   'taking off or passing quickly'
      f.   xuru   'falling or flying through the air'

Several of these native Coahuitlán Totonac words are ideophones (*ras, srum, xuru*), a class of

words we have already seen to have unique phonological properties. The appearance of trills in

ideophones has led some reconstructions of proto-Totonacan phonology to include *r (Albert

Davletshin, p.c.). It is possible that some nouns such as *qáɾač* 'crab', derive from ideophones

with *r. In Coahuitlán Totonac however, the situation is further complicated by alternation of

both /r/ and /ɾ/ with /l/ (16).[15]

(16) a.   **–paɾa** / –pala   'RPT'
      b.   sikwaɾán / **sikwalán** 'god'
      c.   qo:rucín / **qo:lucín** 'old man'
      d.   **qáɾač** / qálač   'crab'

Each of these forms has one variant that is more common in my experience, here given in bold.

This preference seems to hold across my small group of consultants, but there does not seem to

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[14] The *-cin* here seems to be diminutive borrowed from Nahuatl; in Coahuitlán Totonac, I have encountered just one instance of *qo:lu* 'old man'.
[15] The alternation of /ɾ/ and /l/ is also described in Papantla (Levy 1987), Coatepec (McQuown 1990), Filomeno Mata (McFarland 2009), and Zihuateutla (Garcia-Vega 2022).

be any conditioning for these forms, which vary within the speech of individuals. Due to the

relative rarity of /r/ and /ɾ/, there are not many minimal or near minimal pairs; however, I have a

pair of ideophones where a difference in /r/ and /l/ signals a contrast (17).

(17) las / laslas   'slapping, hitting something with an open hand'
      ras / rasras   'hitting something with a fist'

In phonetic and phonemic transcriptions, I have chosen to write /l/, /ɾ/, or /r/ as I perceive them.

2.2   Vowel inventory

Coahuitlán Totonac has a five-vowel system of /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/, and /a/, with a phonemic short-

long contrast and a contrast between modal and laryngeal phonation, resulting in the inventory

presented in Table 5.

	FRONT	BACK
HIGH	i iː	u uː
	ḭ ḭː	ṵ ṵː
MID	e eː	o oː
	ḛ ḛː	o̰ o̰ː
LOW	a aː	
	a̰ a̰ː	

Table 5: Vowel inventory of Coahuitlán Totonac

Mid-vowels /e/ and /o/ have been described in most Totonacan languages as allophones

conditioned primarily by adjacent uvulars. However, in Northern Totonac languages have

developed a five-vowel system, with phonemic mid-vowels (Brown et al. 2011, Beck 2014). One

context associated with /e/ and /o/ in Northern languages is proximity to /x/ (18).

(18) čéxet   'hail'
     o̯xonún   'cough'
     sipéxčiči̯ʔ   'coyote'
     moːx   'sound of owl (considered a bad omen)'
     xeːn   'look!'
     xeːsu   'or'
     xeːɾo   'but'
     xeːma   'even though'
     xoː   'okay, fine'

Although /x/ may play a role in the phonemicisation of /e/ and /o/, it does not regularly condition this change, as seen by the high vowels beside /x/ in *xiːkwán* 'fear' and *xuːkí* 'deer' and the low vowel in *-náxac* 'nine' and *cu̯mo̯xáːt* 'daughter'. Further, as we have seen above, several words in Coahuitlán Totonac have undergone a sound change that deletes word-final /x/ (19).

(19) a.   teː   'road'   cf. A *tex* and U *teːx*
     b.   čoː   'tortilla'   cf. A *čaux* and U *čox / čaux*
     c.   ceː   'good'   cf. A *cex* and U *cey*

If /x/ conditions /e/ and /o/, these cases provide clear evidence of phonemicisation: after the conditioning environment is removed, the mid-vowels remain. Further, these now appear in minimal and near minimal pairs (20).

(20) a.   teː   'road'
           tiː   'who'
     b.   čoː   'tortilla'
           čuː   '**PTCL**'
     c.   ceː   'good'
           ka̯cí   'know'
           talaqacíː   'become blind'

In addition to these examples, /e/ and /o/ occur as the result of other phonological processes involving assimilation (see 2.3.5 and 2.3.6). Given the minimal pairs, I have described /e/ and /o/ as phonemes in all contexts, including when they occur beside uvulars.

   The length contrast between short and long vowels is evident in several lexical (21) and grammatical (22) minimal pairs.

(21) a.   či: 'tie'
           či   'how'
    b.   ča̰:n   'arrive'
           ča̰n   'plant'
    c.   la: 'where', 'no, negative (NEG)'
           la   'do, happen'

(22) a.   ka:-   'plural object (PL.OBJ)'
           ka-   'optative (OPT)'
    b.   ki:-   'round-trip (RT)'
           ki-   'first person object (1OBJ)'

The phonation contrast between modal and laryngeal also distinguishes lexical (23) and

grammatical (24) minimal pairs.

(23) a.   stápu   'bean'
           stápṵ   'very small type of mosquito'
    b.   łkáka   'spicy, hot'
           łkáka̰   'ashes'
    c.   qa̰łá   'to rob, steal'
           qałán   'to float'
    d.   číči   'hot'
           čičḭʔ   'dog'
    e.   cíci   'warm'
           cícḭ   'sore, small wound'

(24) a.   -a̰   'second person subject, imperfective (2SUBJ:IMPF)'
           -a   'imperfective (IMPF)'
    b.   ka:-   'plural object (PL.OBJ)'
           ka̰:-   'place of (PLC)'
    c.   -ka̰n   'plural possessive (PL.PO)'
           -kan   'indefinite (INDEF)'

Laryngealisation has proved a challenging aspect of Totonac phonology, not least because there

seems to be considerable variation between speakers, and perhaps within the speech of

individuals; however, despite my non-native ears, with close listening, examination of

spectrograms, and cross-linguistic comparison with other Totonacan languages, I am at least

tolerably confidant in my transcriptions. Impressionistically, my consultants did differ in the

strength of laryngealisation, with one individual occasionally producing extremely pronounced laryngeal vowels.

2.3   Phonological processes

This section gives an overview of phonological processes that concern allophonic variation.

Phonological processes are regular and consistent, applying everywhere the conditioning environment holds; however, some processes I describe are not so consistent and produce what appears to be free variation. This could be due to an imperfect understanding of the conditioning environment or due to other factors like rate of speech or stylistics. I have decided to include these anyways because I found them to be quite salient and wanted to include them in my description. Following Mel'čuk's (2006) description of quasi-inflection, the term quasi-phonological may be more appropriate, and the relevant processes are signaled with this term.

2.3.1   Nasal place assimilation

Nasal /n/ assimilates to match the place of following stops, (25).

(25) a.   [nakmi**m**paɾá]
na̰k–min–paɾa
FUT:1SG.SUBJ–come–RPT:IMPF
'I will come again'

<div align="right">Serpiente:9</div>

b.   [ki**m**pulatokán]
kin–pulato–ka̰n
1PO–plate–PL.PO
'our plates'

<div align="right">Plato:24</div>

c.   [ki**ŋ**kásḭtlḭxo:**ŋ**kíwḭ]
k–kinka–sḭt–lḭ   xo:≡n   kḭwḭ
1SG.SUBJ–nose–cut–PFV   **PTCL**≡JNC tree
'I cut the tip of the branch (to sharpen it)'

<div align="right">Serpiente:28</div>

d.   [a̰ɴqó̰:ča]
a̰n   qo̰:ča
go   boy
'the boy goes'

<div align="right">La luna:28</div>

Nasal assimilation is highly frequent across morpheme and word boundaries.

2.3.2   Nasal deletion

Coahuitlán Totonac has a quasi-phonological process of /n/ deletion before fricatives and

affricates (26).

(26) a.   mat wá xo: *zorro*
mat   wán   xo: *zorro*
QUOT say:IMPF **PTCL** fox
'so the fox says …'

<div align="right">Conejo:71</div>

b.   laqcíca mina:čáʔ ta̰la:tna̰ʔ
la̰qcín=ca   min–a:–čaʔ   ta̰la:tna̰ʔ
see:IMPF=now   come–IMPF–DIST hunter
'he saw the hunter coming away off'

<div align="right">Debedor:125</div>

In these examples, the verbs *wan* 'say' and *la̰qcín* 'see' appear without a final /n/. This process is

similar to a more productive morphophonological pattern that applies to a number of n-final

prefixes (2.4.2). However, this process is applied somewhat inconsistently applied, and in some

<div align="right">57</div>

cases /n/ is not deleted when followed by fricatives and affricates. Rate of speech may also be a factor.

A somewhat surprising aspect of /n/ deletion is that the deleted nasal is often meaningful (27).

(27) a.　[la: katimaškí: xáyi̱ cu̱ma̱xá:t]
　　　la:　　ka–ti–maški:–n　　　　　　xa̱yi̱　　　cumaxa:t
　　　NEG　　FUT:IRR–FUT:IRR–give–2OBJ　　my.son　　girl
　　　' "they won't give the girl to you, my son" '
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Muchacho flojo:45

　　b.　[wanikán *conej*… waniká *zorro*]
　　　wan–ni–kan　　*conejo*　　wan–ni–kan　　*zorro*
　　　say–BEN–INDEF　rabbit　　say–BEN–INDEF　fox
　　　'they say to the rabbit… they say to the fox'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Conejo:70

In (27)a the deleted nasal is the entire suffix *-n* 'second person object (2OBJ)', an agreement marker showing the verb has a second person object. In b, the first part of the phrase is a speech error, but shows the expected form of the word, *wanikán* 'they say to him/her', with indefinite imperfective *-kan*. When the object is corrected from rabbit to fox, the initial fricative of *zorro* 'fox' deletes the nasal of *wanikán.* The /n/ in this form differentiates it from the indefinite perfective *waníka* 'they said to him/her'; however, final stress (due to the heavy syllable ending with /n/) seems to be enough to help determine this is not the perfective form.

2.3.3　Uvular spirantisation

A quasi-phonological process causes the uvular stop /q/ to undergo spirantisation to [χ] in word-medial and word-final positions (28).

(28)　　čačá̱ a̱　　　'frog'　　　→ [čačáχa̱]
　　　a̱qšá q　　　'head'　　　→ [a̱χšá:χ]
　　　táqnu̱　　　'hat'　　　→ [táχnu̱]

Similar processes of uvular spirantisation are described as optional in other Totonac languages, albeit with different conditioning environments (see Garcia-Vega 2022:33-34 for a summary). As in these languages, rate of speech appears to be a conditioning feature in Coahuitlán Totonac; however, I have encountered spirantisation in citation forms and instances of /q/ in texts show a high degree of variation. For example, in the Conejo text (2.11), there are six forms of the word *mₐqštₑq-* 'to leave, abandon' (29).

(29) mₐqštₑq- 'to leave, abandon, let go'
a. [kimáχštₑχti̯] 'let go of me' Conejo 27
b. [la:ktimáχštₑqni̥] 'I'm not going to let go of you' Conejo 28
c. [ki.maq.štₑq.ti̯] 'let go of me' Conejo 34
d. [la:ktimáχštₑqni] 'I'm not going to let go of you' Conejo 34
e. [kimáχštₑχti̯] 'let go of me' Conejo 38
f. [la:ktimáqštₑχni] 'I'm not going to let go of you' Conejo 38

These examples come from a repeated exchange between two characters; the stem *mₐqštₑq-* in these examples has two instances of /q/ and every possible combination of /q/ ~ /χ/ is attested.

2.3.4 Glottal stop epenthesis

Glottal stop epenthesis occurs regularly at the beginning of words beginning with a vowel (30).

(30) ánca 'there' → [ʔánca] Conejo 10
ₐn 'go' → [ʔₐn] Conejo 11, 76
u: 'she, he' → [ʔu:] Conejo 46
ášni 'when' → [ʔášni] Conejo 49

This process is very visible on Spanish borrowings (31).

(31) *entonces* 'then' → [ʔintó:nsis]
y 'and' → [ʔi:]

Glottal stop epenthesis occasionally occurs between prefixes and vowel-initial stems (32).

(32) a.   taʔán
              ta–a̱n
              3PL.SUBJ–go
              'they go'
      b.   tá a̱li̱
              ta–a̱n–li̱
              3PL.SUBJ–go–PFV
              'they went'

In this environment, which seems to be conditioned by the laryngealisation of the vowel in the

stem, the glottal stop is optional; and there is variation between the epenthetic forms *taʔá̱n* and

tá̱ʔa̱li̱ and forms *ta̱ːn* 'they go' and *tá̱ːli̱* 'they went' where the vowels of stem and prefix are

combined.

2.3.5   Vowel coalescence

Vowel coalescence in Coahuitlán Totonac occurs when /i/ is followed by /a/, resulting in /e/ (33).

(33) a.   léːqškit
              liː–a̱q–škit
              INSTR.N–head–comb
              'comb'
      b.   ke̱qšáːq
              ki–a̱qšaːq
              1PO–head
              'my head'
      c.   me̱qtáli
              mi–a̱qtali
              2PO–trap
              'your trap'

<div align="right">Pitón:17</div>

In these examples, length and laryngealisation in either vowel is preserved after assimilation.

This process is sometimes visible in the history of words where /e/ corresponds to /i/ and /a/ in

the etymology: *čeːmáː* 'thus' is derived from *či* 'how' and a demonstrative *aːmaː*; likewise, *le̱ːn*

'take sth' is originally derived from the instrumental *liː-* and *a̱n* 'go'.

2.3.6 Vowel-approximant coalescence

Sequences of vowel–approximant–vowel undergo coalescence resulting in a long vowel. The quality of the vowel is determined by approximant involved. This process most productively involves /awa/ becoming /o:/.

(34) a. lakawán / lakó:n   'wake up'
      b. ta̰:wán / to̰:n   'go for a walk'

Some words, as those in (34) show variation between both forms; for other words, only the shortened form is used (35).

(35) a. to:ká   'go up'   cf. A *tawa̰ká*, U *tawaká*, P *tawaká*
      b. lakčó: 'be closed'   cf. U and P *lakčawá*, Z *lakčaway* / *lakčuway*
      c. skó:wa   'dry'   cf. A, Z, and P *skawawa̰*, U *skawáwa̰*
      d. qo̰:ča   'boy'   cf. A *qawa̰ču*, U (Chicontla) *ʔawá̰ča̰*

Similar sound changes have been reported to occur in Apapantilla and Papantla and Coatepec. In these communities it is a synchronic process conditioned by rate of speech (Levy, p.c.). In Upper Necaxa, this sound change is a distinguishing dialectal marker between the two primary villages where Upper Necaxa is spoken: Patla has undergone this assimilation and thus has the /o:/ form while Chicontla retains /awa/.

Coalescence occurs with other vowel-approximant-vowel sequences as well (36).[16]

(36) a. to:lá   'sit down'   cf. A *tawḭlá*, U and P *tawilá*
      b. te: 'take'   cf. A and U *tayá*

The approximant /w/ moves the coalesced vowel back—/awi/ and /awa/ becoming /o:/—while /y/ moves the coalesced vowel forward: /aya/ becomes /e:/.

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[16] There are a small number of words in my data that show assimilation with a vowel–approximant sequence: for example, *-kaw* 'ten' becomes *-ku:* in the numbers 12-19 when it is followed by a further numeral stem (i.e., *a̰qkáw* 'ten', *a̰qku:tú:* 'twelve').

2.4   Morphophonological processes

This section gives an overview of phonologically conditioned allomorphy that applies to the realisation of certain morphemes in different environments.

2.4.1   Vowel harmony

Coahuitlán Totonac, like other Totonacan languages, shows vowel harmony in a number of suffixes. Vowel harmony in Coahuitlán Totonac always involves a harmonic vowel in the suffix which matches the quality of the final vowel of the stem (or a vowel in a preceding suffix). The first harmonic suffix is the agentive nominaliser *-nV̰ʔ* (37).

(37)	a.	ka̰cí:	'know'	→ ka̰ci:nḭ́ʔ	'diviner, sorcerer'
	b.	kučú:	'heal'	→ kuču:nṵ́ʔ	'healer, doctor'
	c.	ma̰qtayá	'help'	→ ma̰qtayaná̰ʔ	'helper; buddy, friend'
	d.	qa̰ła:	'steal, rob'	→ qa̰ła:ná̰	'robber, thief'
	e.	ta̰:la:tó:	'act against'	→ ta̰la:to:nṵ́ʔ	'enemy, opponent'

Vowel harmony matches only quality, and not other properties like length and laryngeal phonation.

Where the stem vowel is /o/, as in (37)e, the harmonic vowel becomes /u/. This is a vestige of the Proto-Totonac three-vowel system; /e/ in the stem becomes /i/. While many agentive forms show vowel harmony, there is also a non-harmonic form *-ná̰ʔ* (e.g., *ka̰cinḭ́ʔ ~ ka̰ciná̰ʔ* 'diviner', *ta̰:la:tonṵ́ʔ ~ ta̰la:to:ná̰ʔ* 'enemy') which may be displacing the vowel harmonic forms. Harmonic and non-harmonic forms were both given during elicitation and texts, and upon questioning, both forms were accepted for most words.

The second harmonic suffix is detransitive *-nVn* (38).

(38) a.   či̯čín   'warm sth up'   → čičinín   'be sunny'
     b.   ta̯qnú: 'put sth on one's head' → ta̯qnu:nún 'wear a hat'
     c.   xašá   'breathe hard, pant' → xašanán   'breathe'
     d.   qos-   'fly'   → qosnún   'run'

The detransitive vowel is always short with modal (i.e., not laryngeal) phonation. Like the agentive, the detransitive has a non-harmonic form -*nan* which may be displacing the harmonic forms.

The third harmonic affix is the suffixing part of the causative *ma:- -(n)V:* (39).

(39) a.   miš-   'cool off, get cold'   → ma:mišíː   'cool sth off; put out (fire)'
     b.   qos-   'fly'   → ma:qosúː   'throw'
     c.   cumá: 'full'   → ma:cumáː   'fill'
     d.   če̯qé   'wash'   → ma:čeqe̯ní: 'have/make sby wash sth'

The causative vowel is always long with modal phonation. The non-harmonic form of the causative is -*(n)i:*. For the causative, harmonic forms are less common. In particular, nearly all stems with /a/ take -*(n)i:*; however, other stem vowels show more variation between harmonic and non-harmonic forms.

2.4.2   Coda nasal deletion in prefixes

The coda nasal in *kin-* 'first person possessive' and *min-* 'second person possessive' is deleted before sonorants (vowels, liquids, and nasals) and fricatives (40).

(40) a.   ki̧aqšá:q   'my head'
             mi̧aqtáli̧   'your trap'
             kiamíkus   'my friends (cf. Spanish *amigo* 'friend')
     b.   kilakaştápu   'my eye'
             mili:ẃat   'your food'
     c.   kimačí:ta   'my machete'
             minápa   'your aunt'
     d.   kistápu   'my beans
             misintarón   'your belt' (cf. Spanish *cinturón* 'belt')
     e.   kiští:lan   'my chicken'
             mišáwat   'your *milpa*, cornfield'
     f.   kiɬka̧ka̧kán   'our ashes'
     g.   kixu:kikán   'our deer'
             kixa:kakán   'our zapotes'

The first person possessive's homophonous counterpart *kin-* 'first person object' undergoes the same process (41).

(41) a.   ki–li:šoqoní   '(s)he pays me for something'
     b.   ki–ma̧škí: '(s)he gives me sth'
     c.   ki–ski̧ní   '(s)he asks me'
     d.   ki–šoqoní   '(s)he pays me'

Outside of these n-final prefixes, nasals are well attested preceding vowels, liquids, and fricatives (42).

(42) a.   ná:na̧   'mother'
     b.   ťa:wanli̧   '(s)he walked around'
     c.   ɬma:nšní:n   'very long'
     d.   cirínspu:n   'clarín, small bird, probably Slate-Coloured Solitaire'
     e.   siyénsu̧   'incense'

In these examples, /n/ appears in a number of environments: (42)a is within a word, as is (42)e (although a fairly transparent borrowing from Spanish *incienso*, it has been fairly well adapted to Coahuitlán Totonac phonology). (42)c is a compound word where the first component ends with an /n/ and the second begins with /s/. Finally, in (42)b and c, /n/ precedes two suffixes: perfective aspect -*li̧*, and -*šni:n* 'very, exceedingly'.

2.4.3   Sibilant dissimilation

Totonacan languages show significant variation in morphophonological processes involving

sibilants, perhaps related to a proposed constraint of sibilant harmony where /s/, /š/, and /ɬ/

cannot co-occur root-internally in Totonacan languages (Davletshin, p.c.). In Coahuitlán

Totonac, there are two homophonous prefixes that participate in a process of sibilant

dissimilation: *š-* 'past' (43) and *š-* 'third person possessive' (44).

(43) a.   s–cumạxá:t   'his/her daughter'
     b.   k–servieta   'his/her napkin'
     c.   k–ška:n   'his/her water'
     d.   k–ɬúku   'his/her cave'
     e.   š–makán   'his/her hand'

(44) a.   s–cạnqaní: '(s)he had been lost'
     b.   k–sta:ní   '(s)he sold sth to sby'
     c.   k–škiwạtnán   '(s)he was swimming'
     d.   k–ɬtataní: '(s)he had been asleep'
     e.   š–taštú   '(s)he left'

The allomorphs of both prefixes are somewhat unusual: *s-* before the alveolar affricate /c/, *k-*

before all fricatives except for /x/, with *š-* elsewhere.

2.5   Syllables

Syllables in Coahuitlán Totonac consists minimally of a vowel in the nucleus with an onset. The

nucleus may be a short or long vowel; there are no syllabic consonants. Word-initial syllables

with no underlying onset have an epenthetic glottal stop (cf. 2.3.4). Any consonant may appear

as a syllable onset. In contrast, codas are more restricted: affricates are very rare (I have

encountered only two examples, seen above: *qárac̆* 'crab' and *marac̆marac̆*, an ideophone which

describes 'a horse taking off running'), and approximants /r, ɾ, l, and y/ do not appear in coda

position (except in a Spanish borrowings, e.g., *kweɾ.sa* 'it must be', *a.ni.ma:l* 'animal,

livestock').

Monomorphemic syllables allow complex onsets and codas, with clusters of up to two consonants in the onset and three in the coda. Complex onsets are restricted to sibilant-consonant clusters, the first part of the cluster is always /s, š, or ɬ/, followed by stops (45)a-c, nasals (45)d-f, or approximants /l/ and /w/ (45)g-h.

(45) a. spuxúxu   'straight'
          stakáka   'sharp'
          ská:ka   'dry out'
          sqaláxa   'spy on somebody'
      b. špipiĺe:q   'butterfly'
          šta:n   'possum'
          ška:n   'water'
          šqóyut   'charcoal, coal, soot'
      c. ɬpipí   'tremble, shake, shiver'
          ɬtukún   'thorn, spine'
          ɬkuyú   'burn something'
          ɬqó:nqa   'snore'
      d. smaxán   'weasel'
          snapápa   'white'
      e. šmų́:ta   'bend, fold'
          šnúxut   'vein, blood vessel; nerve'
      f. ɬma:n   'long'
      g. slatáta   'thin'
          šla   'his/hers'
      h. swaqá   'mill, grind corn'
          šwá:ti̱   '*metate,* quern (stone used for grinding corn)'
          ɬwéqa   'scratch'

No clusters are formed with a second fricative, nor with affricates, /y/, or rhotics. Initial /ɬn/ is unattested in Coahuitlán Totonac, but present in other Totonac languages. This a possible lacuna in my data. Approximant /l/ occurs only following /s/ and /š/, not /ɬ/; however, across syllable boundaries there are some cases of /ɬl/.

Complex codas mostly occur with dorsal stops /k/ and /q/.[17] This is combined either with a preceding nasal (46)a, a following sibilant (46)b, or both (46)c.

(46) a.   ɬtank.lị̥   'pulled'
           ɬqó:nq.lị̥   'snored'
      b.   paks   'all, every'
           púqɬ.ni   'cloud'
      c.   tanks   'right, correct'
           pónqš.lị̥   'washed (clothing)'

An overview of syllable types in Coahuitlán Totonac is shown in Table 6.

CV	**ta**.cán	'tooth'	CV:	**ná**:.nạʔ	'mother'
CCV	**stá**.pu	'bean'	CCV:	**stá**:	'sell'
	ɬta.tá	'sleep'			
CVC	**pin**	'chili'			
	wiš	'you'	CV:C	**ča:n**	'ripe, uncooked'
	kaw	'ten'			
	skị̥n	'ask'		**ška:n**	'water'
CCVC	a.li:.**sta:n**	'**PTCL**'	CCV:C	**šta:n**	'possum'
	pa:.**stak**.lị̥	'remembered'		**ɬma:n**	'long'
	tụks.li	'hit'		**čó**:**qš**.ma	'net bag'
CVCC	**tóqɬ**.lị̥	'pushed'	CV:CC	ta.**nọ́:qɬ**.lị̥	'met somebody'
	ta.**mánk**	'pot'			
CCVCC	**ɬtank**.lị̥	'pulled'	CCV:CC	**ɬqó:nq**.lị̥	'snored'
CVCCC	**tanks**	'right, correct'			
	tínkš.lị̥	'shook'			

Table 6: Syllable types in monomorphemic stems

Outside these basic syllable types found in monomorphemic stems, there are three prefixes that create more complex syllables: the agreement marker for first-person singular subjects *k-*, past tense *š-* and the third-person possessive prefix *š-*. The prefix *k-* '1SG.SUBJ' creates clusters beginning with a stop which may be followed by any consonant (47).

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[17] There is a small number of words that have /p/ followed by a sibilant, particularly ideophones, e.g., *caps* and *ƛapɬ* 'piled up in an organised stack', *kipš.kipš* 'children or small animals jumping or playing; keys clicking on a typewriter'

(47) ktÚ̹ksa   'I hit someone/something'
    kmạ: 'I lay, am laying'
    kčán   'I plant'
    kšoqó   'I pay'
    klạqcín   'I see'
    kya: 'I stand'

The first-person singular subject marker can also create larger clusters with three consonants (48).

(48) ksqalá: 'I spy someone/something'
    kstá: 'I sell'
    kɬpipí   'I tremble'
    kɬtatá   'I sleep'

Likewise, the past prefix and the third person possessive *š*- can also create complex clusters with affricates, fricatives, and /y/ (49).

(49) ščạ:n   'she/he arrived'
    ščik   'her/his house'
    šxúrulị   'he lost'
    šya: 'he stood'

Both past and third person possessive *š*- undergo allomorphy in the context of fricatives and affricates, becoming /s-/ before the alveolar affricate /c/, and /k-/ before alveolar, post-alveolar, and lateral fricatives (5.1.1). When the possessive is put on words beginning with a sibilant-consonant cluster, complex clusters with three consonants can occur (50).

(50) kstápu   'her/his bean'
    kška:n   'her/his water'
    kšti:lán 'her/his chicken'

These one-consonant prefixes often undergo resyllabification to become codas of preceding syllables, resulting in simpler onsets for the following syllable (51).

(51) a.   lak.ti.ná: šti:.lán
         lak–tina: k–šti:lan
         PL.ADJ–small   3PO–chicken
         'her small chickens'

<div align="right">Pollito:3</div>

     b.   ʔu:k to:nímạ:
         u: k–to:–ni–mạ:
         DEM   1SG.SUBJ–make–BEN–PROG
         'I'm making it'

<div align="right">Plato:20</div>

In (51)a, instead of syllable [ksti:] which we see in (50), the *k-* is syllabified as a coda with the previous word *laktiná:* 'small'. (51)b shows *k-* syllabified with the preceding word, demonstrative *u:*, giving [ʔu:k] and [pu:n] instead of [kpu:n]. This sort of resyllabification seems to reflect a preference for simple onsets.

Devoicing, a prosodic process of devoicing which occurs at the end of intonational phrases (3.1.2), also creates more complex syllables by the deletion or devoicing of final short vowels which become nonsyllabic (52).

(52) /qọ́:.ča/   →   [qọ́:č̥] ~ [qọ́:čạ]   'boy'
      /ka.tặ.yạ/   →   [ka.tặy̥] ~ [ka.tạyạ]   'stand there!'

The resulting syllables do not follow the patterns of codas described above: for example, final approximants are unattested in syllables without devoicing. Devoicing also creates coda clusters that deviate from the pattern of nasal-/k ~ q/-sibilant when the onsets of the final syllable, without a vocalic nucleus, become attached to the coda of the preceding syllable (53).

(53) /páqɬ.ča/   →   [páqɬč̥ạ]   'tomato'
      /púš.kụ/   →   [púšk̥ụ]   'older brother'
      /lí:.pałna/   →   [lí:.pałnạ]   'broom'
      /páł.ki/   →   [páłk̥ị]   *'comal*, clay griddle'
      /mís.tu/   →   [místụ]   'cat'
      /ta.píš.nu/   →   [ta.píšn̥ụ]   'necklace'
      / kin.qaš.mát.ka/   →   [kin.qaš.mátkạ]   'someone heard me'

These examples show several types of clusters that do not occur in codas in monomorphemic stems.

2.6   Stress and accent

In Coahuitlán Totonac, I describe two levels of syllable prominence: lexical stress and phrase accent. Lexical stress is largely predictable for simple and complex words, and can be seen with words in isolation. Phrase accent is part of a phonological phrase (3.2): within the phrase, accent is attracted to syllables with lexical stress, but other lexical items lose prominence. Acoustic correlates of stress and accent include duration, amplitude, and pitch. Increase in duration for stressed short vowels creates a lengthened segment comparable to a phonemically long vowel, whereas phonemically long vowels do not show much difference in duration. Stressed syllables also show higher pitch, although this interacts with the phrase accent and the pitch contour of the intonational phrase (3.1). Lexical stress follows a pattern of final or penultimate stress, depending on syllable weight: final long vowels and closed syllables ending with a sonorant count as heavy and take final stress, final short vowels and closed syllables ending with an obstruent count as light, and the word takes penultimate stress. This pattern is fully described for monomorphemic roots in 2.6.1; however, although Coahuitlán does not show many individual exceptions to this pattern of lexical stress within monomorphemic roots, there are a number of exceptional stress patterns that accompany different grammatical processes. I discuss stress patterns involved with derivational processes in 2.6.2, and with inflectional processes in 2.6.3.

2.6.1   Stress in monomorphemic roots

Stress is predictable in most monomorphemic roots based on the weight of the final syllable. When the final syllable of a word is heavy, this syllable takes stress, when the final syllable is

light, the word takes penultimate stress. In Coahuitlán Totonac, a heavy syllable is one that contains a long vowel (54), or is closed by a sonorant consonant (55).[18]

(54)   **Heavy: V:(C)#**
  a.   monqšnų́:   'owl'
  b.   kukų́:   'sand'
  c.   kiłtamakų́:   'day'
  d.   puská:t   'woman'
  e.   cųmąxá:t   'girl'

(55)   **Heavy: VC[+son]#**
  a.   ikinán   'we'
  b.   staxán   'tail'
  c.   ąqtím   'one'
  d.   ąqkáw   'ten'
  e.   škayáw   'green'

In these examples, the final syllable is heavy which results in word-final stress. A light syllable contains a short vowel (56), or is closed by an obstruent consonant (57).

(56)   **Light: V#**
  a.   ká:tą   'year'
  b.   stáku̜   'star'
  c.   casánką   'peccary, boar'

(57)   **Light: VC[–son]#**
  a.   pá:lak   'staff'
  b.   mácat   'salt'
  c.   túloq   'rooster'

Ending in light syllables, these words receive penultimate stress. One exception to this rule of syllable weight concerns glottal stops: although they are not sonorants, syllables ending in glottal stops are also considered heavy and take final stress, (58).

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[18] Sonorant consonants are /m, n, w, l /; /y/ is unattested in coda position.

(58)   **Heavy: VɁ#**
    a.   či̜škṹɁ   'man'
    b.   ta̜:láɁ   'kin, relation; friend'
    c.   papáɁ   'moon'

Spanish borrowings tend to follow these same patterns, with Spanish stress often being

reinterpreted as vowel length (59).

(59) a.   kuné:xo   'rabbit'   from Spanish *conejo* /koˈnexo/
    b.   animá:l   'animal'   from Spanish *animal* /aniˈmal/
    c.   wá:kaš   'cow'   from Spanish vaca /ˈbaka/
    d.   kawá:yu   'horse'   from Spanish *caballo* /kaˈbaɟo/

2.6.2   Stress in derived roots

For the most part, complex words have the same right-edge pattern of lexical stress as

monomorphemic words, with stress applied once the word has been derived or inflected (60).

(60) a.   ku̜ču: 'cure, heal sby'   → ku̜ču:náɁ / ku̜ču:nṹɁ 'doctor'
    b.   ka̜ci: 'know sth'   → ka̜ci:náɁ / ka̜ci:ní̜Ɂ   'fortune-teller'
    c.   či̜čin   'warm up, get warm' → či̜činí̜Ɂ   'sun'
    d.   xín   '(make) smoke, steam' → xíni̜   'smoke'

The examples in (60)a-c are formed with the agentive nominaliser *-nV̜Ɂ* or *-na̜Ɂ* which give them

a final heavy syllable (4.1.1). (60)d shows the general nominaliser *-ni̜*, a light syllable resulting

in penultimate stress (4.1.2).

Two exceptions are the instrumental nominaliser *li:-*, which surprisingly attracts stress

away from the right edge (2.6.2.1), and compounding, where there are a number of stress

patterns for nominal compounds (2.6.2.2).

2.6.2.1   Instrumental nominaliser li:- (INSTR.N)

The instrumental nominaliser *li:-* takes a unique pattern of stress, shifting away from the right-

edge, and instead stressing the prefix *li:-* itself (61).

(61) a.   kučuː   'cure, heal'   → líːkuču̠   'medicine'
b.   škuli   'smoke'   → líːškuli   'tobacco'
c.   paɬ-   'sweep'   → líːpaɬna   'broom'
d.   a̠qškit-   'comb (hair)'   → léːqškit   'comb'
e.   sqo̠ːli   'play, blow (flute)'   → líːsqo̠ːli   'whistle, flute'
f.   ɬta̠ma̠   'glue together'   → líːɬta̠ma̠   'glue'
g.   tampači̠ː   'tie around the waist'   → líːɬtampači̠ː   'red sash worn by women'
h.   ča̠n   'plant'   → líːča̠nat / liːčá̠nat   'seed'
i.   ƛiwéqe   'strong'   → líːƛiweqe   'strength'

There are some words that appear to begin with *liː-* that do not take this pattern of stress, such as *liːkáːsna̠* '*suyacal*, rain cape'. The reason for these exceptions may arise from ambiguity between the instrumental nominaliser *liː-* and the homophonous verbal prefix *liː-* which is an instrumental applicative (4.2.3). The word *liːkáːsna̠* '*suyacal*, rain cape' likely comes from an intermediate verb *liːkaːsnán* 'protect oneself from the rain with something' (although I do not have this form, it is attested in U). The alternation between *líːča̠nat* and *liːčá̠nat* 'seed' in (61) may be the result of two potential derivations, one directly from the verb *ča̠n* which would have the nominaliser *liː-* (nominalisers often co-occur, so the derivation with *liː-* 'INSTR.N' and -*t* 'resultative' is not unexpected, see 4.1.3) and the other via an intermediate (and unattested) verb *liːča̠n* 'plant with something' with the applicative *liː-*.

2.6.2.2   Stress in compounds

Nominal compounds in Coahuitlán show three stress patterns. The first and most common pattern is to have stress on the final syllable of the first member of the compound, regardless of syllable weight (62).

(62) a.   xuːkíluːwa
                 xuːki+luːwa
                 deer+snake
                 'boa constrictor'

      b.   puːšqápa̠ːqa̠
                 puːšqa+pa̠ːqa̠
                 stream+brown.jay
                 'Moctezuma Oropendola' (Sp. *papán real*)

The second pattern assigns stress as predicted by the weight of the final syllable of the entire compound: final stress if the compound ends with a heavy syllable, penultimate if it ends with a light syllable (63).

(63) a.   staxamaqšašáːt
                 staxa+ma̠qšášaːt
                 tail+rattle
                 'rattlesnake'

      b.   kiɬmaːnspúːn
                 kiɬ–ɬmaːn+spuːn
                 mouth–long+bird
                 'toucan'

      c.   lakaxúːki
                 laka+xuːki
                 face+deer
                 'Red Fire Ant'

The final pattern assigns stress to the penultimate syllable of the whole compound, even in cases where the final syllable is heavy (64).

(64) a. tiya̰tsáka:
         tiya̰t+saka:
         ground+agouti
         'gopher'
     b. šoqḛmísin
         šoqḛ+misin
         snail+jaguar
         'ocelot'[19]
     c. šwa̰:tḭtácan
         šwa̰:tḭ+tacan
         metate+tooth
         'molar tooth'

My data also includes two compounds composed of the same bases, with two separate meanings

differentiated only by stress (65).

(65) a. qa̰tá̰ška:n
         qa̰ta̰+ška:n
         big+water
         'rainshower, storm'
     b. qa̰ta̰šká:n
         qa̰ta̰+ška:n
         big+water
         'sea, ocean'

These two forms are composed of the same two parts, and differ only in stress. In (65)a, stress

appears on the final syllable of the first part of the compound, the first compound stress pattern.

(65)b shows the second compound stress pattern with word-final stress.

2.6.3   Stress in inflected stems

Verbs in Coahuitlán Totonac follow different stress patterns according to their aspect: each

aspect is associated with a pattern of stress that supercedes lexical stress in certain inflections:

imperfective has final stress (2.6.3.1), perfective has antepenultimate stress (2.6.3.2), and

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[19] This etymology is questionable: although Ch attests *šóqḛ* 'snail', two potential cognates of *šoqḛmísin* in U and P each pose a problem: Beck 2011 gives U *šaʔe:misín* 'ocelot, margay' derived as *ša-* 'determinative' + *ʔe:-* 'back' + *misín* 'tiger'. In Papantla Totonac, *soqe:misin* '*tigrillo*' has a different initial consonant than *šoqe* 'snail'.

progressive has penultimate stress (2.6.3.3; the final aspect, perfect, has entirely predictable

stress.

2.6.3.1 Imperfective
One expression of imperfective aspect (5.2.2.1) is a pattern of final-stress (66).

  (66) a.   pucá
                 pucá
                 look.for:IMPF
                 'he/she looks for it'
          b.   taštú
                 taštú
                 leave:IMPF
                 'he/she leaves'

In other expressions of imperfective aspect where an allomorph of /-ya:/ 'imperfective' is overtly

present, stress falls as expected (67).

  (67) a.   pucayá:n
                 puca–ya:–n
                 look.for–IMPF–2OBJ
                 'she/he looks for you'
          b.   tṵks–a
                 hit–IMPF
                 'she/he hits it'
          c.   tṵksá:w
                 tṵks–a:–w
                 hit–IMPF–1PL.SUBJ
                 'we hit it'

Final stress on imperfective verbs is common in Totonac languages. In Sierra Totonac languages,

-*y,* an allomorph of imperfective /-ya:/ occurs in the same distribution as final stress in

Coahuitlán Totonac. Given that CVy forms a heavy syllable which would attract final stress,

deletion of the -*y* allomorph gives a likely diachronic explanation for the imperfective pattern of

stress.

2.6.3.2 Perfective
Perfective verbs with the suffix -*lḭ* have antepenultimate stress (68).

(68) a. púcali̤
         puca–li̤
         look.for–PFV
         'he/she looked for sth'

     b. a̤qatánu:li̤
         a̤qa–ta–nu:–li̤
         ear–DCS–in–PFV
         'he/she understands sth'

When the inflected verb is only two syllables (i.e., with monosyllabic stems) -li̤ will show

penultimate stress, but prefixes added will move the stress left from the stem to accommodate the

antepenultimate stress pattern, (69).

(69) a. tṳ́ks–li̤
         hit–PFV
         '(s)he hit sth'

     b. tá–tṳks–li̤
         PL.SUBJ–hit–PFV
         'they hit sth'

A number of perfective inflections involve affixes clearly related to -li̤: -ti̤ 'second person

singular subject perfective (2SG.SUBJ:PFV)', -ni̤ 'second person object perfective (2OBJ:PFV)', and

-wi̤ 'first person plural subject perfective (1PL.SUBJ:PFV)' (see 5.2.2.1). Of these, only -li̤ and -ti̤

'2SG.SUBJ:PFV' show the pattern of antepenultimate stress (70).

(70) a. ká:tṳksti̤   'you hit them'
     b. ka:tṳ́ksni̤   'she/he hit you all'
     c. ka:tṳ́kswi̤   'youpl hit them'

These examples, with the monosyllabic stem tṳks-, include the plural object marker ka:- to give a

form with three syllables. The perfective aspect is also sometimes expressed with a zero-

morpheme (in Class 1and 3 see 5.2.2.1): these forms do not have antepenultimate stress, instead

stress falls as expected (71).

(71) a. pucán
       puca–Ø–n
       look.for–PFV–2OBJ
       'he/she looked for you'

     b. pucáw
       puca–Ø–w
       look.for–PFV–1PL.SUBJ
       'we looked for it'

In each of the examples in (71), final stress is explained by the final syllable being heavy.

One further exception involves one of the quasi-inflectional suffixes *-qǫ:* 'totalitative'

(5.2.3.9). When this suffix directly precedes the perfective *-li̠*, as in (72), stress is on the

penultimate syllable instead of the antepenultimate.

(72) ni:qǫ́:li̠
     ni:–qǫ:–li̠
     die–TOT–PFV
     'it was completely dead'

                                                                              Serpiente:40

A historical bisyllabic form of this suffix may explain this exception. In Northern and Sierra

Totonac languages, this suffix is monosyllabic *-qǫ:* and *-qu̠:* respectively; however, the

corresponding form in Misantla Totonac is bisyllabic *-kuhu*, as it is in Tlachichilco and

Huehuetla Tepehua *-ʔoho* and *-ʔohu* respectively (Beck 2012).

2.6.3.3 Progressive

Notwithstanding the final long vowel of the progressive marker *-ma̠:*, verbs ending with this

marker show penultimate stress (73).

(73) a.   pucámạ:
                puca–mạ:
                look.for–PROG
                'she/he is looking for it'
      b.   kintų́ksmạ:
                kin–tụks–mạ:
                1OBJ–hit–PROG
                'she/he is hitting me'

The second person subject progressive *–pạ:t* is also accompanied by penultimate stress (74).

(74) a.   pucápạ:t
                puca–pạ:t
                look.for–PROG:2SG.SUBJ
                'you are looking for it'
      b.   kintų́kspạ:t
                kin–tụks–pạ:t
                1OBJ–hit–PROG:2SG.SUBJ
                'you are hitting me'

Other expressions of progressive result in forms with the expected stress (75).

(75) a.   pucamá:n
                puca–mạ:–n
                look.for–PROG–2OBJ
                'he/she is looking for you'
      b.   tụksmạ:náw
                tụks–mạ:–nan–w
                hit–PROG–ST.PL–1PL.SUBJ
                'we are hitting it'

In these examples, as in (71), the final syllable is heavy which results in word-final stress. The

progressive aspect has a number of complexities arising from its historical origin as a compound

verb formed with stative posture verb *mạ:* 'be lying', including the stative plural *-nan* seen in

(75)b. As we see in 2.6.2.2, there is a pattern where the final syllable of the first word takes the

stress: if we consider (73)a as a compound of *pucá + mạ:*, this matches the most common pattern

of stress in compounds where the final syllable of the verb stem is stressed. If this is the origin of

the penultimate progressive stress pattern, the regularisation of the progressive aspect has been

accompanied by the regularisation of stress in most forms, as in (75). Additionally, although

stative verbs do not inflect for aspect, they are associated with perfective marking: in U, the base

forms of the stative posture verbs end in -ł, for example *maːł* 'be lying'. Although the base forms

of these verbs in Coahuitlán Totonac do not end in -ł, the third person plural forms show

perfective marking (76).

(76) tatu̠ksmá:nali̠
      ta–tu̠ks–ma̠:–nan–li̠
      3PL.SUBJ–hit–PROG–ST.PL–PFV
      'they are hitting it'

In addition to the stative plural we saw in (75), this form appears to include the perfective *-li̠* as

well as the antepenultimate stress pattern discussed in 2.6.3.2.

2B   Phonetic and phonemic representation

The phonological sketch (2A) covers four main areas: phonological processes,

morphophonological processes, syllables, and lexical stress. This section discusses the approach

used in the representation of texts, with the goal of having the representation support the analysis

given in the sketch and illustrate features of Coahuitlán Totonac in these four areas. This

approach uses an expanded interlinear format (77).

(77) a. [ki.má̠χ.šte̠χ.ti̠.mat.wa.ní.xo:n liː.ma.qe̠ːq.łán]
      / kimá̠qšte̠qti̠ mat waní xo: liːmaqe̠ːqłán /
         kin–ma̠qšte̠q–ti̠   mat   wan–ní   xo:≡n   liːmaqe̠ːqłan
         1OBJ–leave–2SG.SUBJ:PFV   QUOT   say–BEN:IMPF   **PTCL**≡JNC   scarecrow
         ' "let go of me" he said to the scarecrow'
                                                                              Conejo:27
      b. [láːk.ti.ma̠q.šte̠qni̠]
       / laː ktima̠qšte̠qni̠ /
         laː   k–ti–ma̠qšte̠q–ni̠≡.
         NEG   1SG.SUBJ–POT–leave–2OBJ:PFV≡JNC
         ' "I'm not letting go of you" '
                                                                              Conejo:28

The first three lines give different levels of transcription: first, a broad phonetic transcription on line 1, a phonological transcription on line 2 which preserves morphophonological alternations, and finally on line 3 a morphological parse with phonemic transcription of all morphemes. These lines are followed by an interlinear parse and a gloss (in the texts, there are two gloss lines to accommodate the Spanish translation). Beyond having different levels of transcription represented, contrasting the different levels of transcription illustrates phonological and morphophonological processes discussed in 2A (2.7). Also discussed are issues of representation of syllables (2.8), stress and phrase accent (2.9), and prosodic features (2.10).

2.7 Representation of phonological and morphophonological processes

The representation takes advantage of multiple lines showing different levels of transcription: the difference between these levels allows the highlighting of phonological and morphophonological processes discussed in this chapter. As stated above, the first three lines of the representation give different levels of transcription: first, a broad phonetic transcription, and second a phonological transcription which preserves morphophonological alternations. The third line gives the morphological parse with a phonemic transcription of all morphemes. Phonological processes are visible in the contrasts between lines 1 and 2, and morphophonological processes are visible between lines 2 and 3 (78).

(78) [ki.máχ.šte̯χ.ti̯.mat.wa.ní.xo:n li:.ma.qe̯:q.łán]
      / kimáqšte̯qti̯ mat waní xo: li:maqe̯:qłán /
      kin–ma̯qšte̯q–ti̯   mat   wan–ní   xo:≡n   li:maqe̯:qłan
      1OBJ–leave–2SG.SUBJ:PFV   QUOT   say–BEN:IMPF   **PTCL**≡JNC   scarecrow
      ' "let go of me" he said to the scarecrow'

                                                                    Conejo:27

In (78), comparison of line 1 and 2—with their differing transcriptions—illustrates the phonological processes which differentiate the phonetic and phonemic transcriptions. The first

word of this example is written as [kimₐχšteₑχti̱] one line 1, and / ki-mₐqšteq-ti̱ / on line 2.The

representation of this word differs, with uvular fricatives [χ] on line 1 corresponding to uvular

stops /q/ on line 2. Together, the two lines illustrate the quasi-phonological process of uvular

spirantisation described in the sketch (2.3.3). At the same time, the contrast between lines 2 and

3 illustrates morphophonological processes. The first person possessive prefix appears as /ki-/ on

line 2 and /kin-/ on line 3, the result of a morphophonological process: coda nasal deletion in

prefixes (2.4.2).

　　　Along with level of transcription, the parse differs from line to line. This is most notable

with the morphological parse on line 3; however, the use of white space is meaningful in lines 1

and 2 as well. On line 1, spaces correspond to actual, significant pauses in the utterance. On line

2, spaces separate morphosyntactic words; although this is not a phonologically motivated

boundary, I found it increases the readibility of the example, without removing information on

pauses which is available in line 1.

2.8   Representation of syllables

The phonological sketch also considers syllable structure. The established convention for

syllable breaks in the International Phonetic Alphabet[20] is a period < . > as in (79).

(79) [ki.mₐχ.šteₑχ.ti̱.mat.wa.ni.xo: li:.ma.qeₑ:q.łan]
　　　　/ kimₐqšteₑqti̱ mat wani xo: li:maqeₑ:qłán /

kin–mₐqšteₑq–ti̱	mat	wan–ni	xo:	li:maqeₑ:qłan
1OBJ–leave–2SG.SUBJ:PFV	QUOT	say–BEN	**PTCL**	scarecrow

　　　' "let go of me," he said to the scarecrow'

Conejo:27

Here, syllables are indicated in line 1, though it is worth considering their placement. Like

phonemes, syllables are abstract units, so there is an argument for putting syallables on line 2

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[20] Included since the 1989 version of the IPA.

with the phonemic transcription, which represents a further level of abstraction from the more "surface" phonetic transcription in line 1. However, because of the decision made to differentiate line 2 by morphosyntactic words, I chose to place syllable breaks on line 1. In part this is due to resyllabification, a process of simplifying complex onsets which occurs across morphosyntactic word-boundaries (80).

(80)   a. [čạ.naː.nan.lị.nakš puː.ku.štu]
            / čạnaːnlị̦ nakšpuːkuštu̦ /
         čạnaː.nan–lị̦   nak=š–puːkuštu̦
         plant.crops–PFV   LOC=3PO–field
         'he was out planting in his field'
                                                                    Conejo:3

       b. [mat.wa.ni.pa.ɾaš čị̦.šku̦ʔ.pu.ska:t]
            / mat wanipaɾa ščị̦šku̦ʔ puska:t /
         mat   wan–ni–paɾá   š–čišku̦ʔ   puska:t
         QUOT   say–BEN–RPT:IMPF   3PO–man   woman
         'the man's wife says again'
                                                          Muchacho flojo:89

Although syllables with complex onsets of the type CCV are common, single-consonant prefixes such as the possessive *š*- '3PO' are commonly resyllabified as part of the coda of the preceding syllable. This prefix is syllabified in (80)a with the locative clitic *nak*= in *nakšpuːkúštu̦* 'in his field', and in (80)b instead of [*ščị̦.škuʔ*], the possessive prefix is syllabified with the final syllable of the preceding word: [*wa.ni.pa.ɾaš čị̦.šku̦ʔ*]. In both these cases, the syllabification is made very obvious by an audible pause between the two words (indicated by the white space in line 1). A further reason supporting the placement of syllable breaks on the first line is that prosodic processes which alter syllables appear in line 1 but not line 2; however, this is discussed in 2.10 below.

The division of text into syllables depends, at least in part, on my intuition.[21] However, to mitigate the shortages of my non-native intuition, I have followed the principles in the grammatical sketch 2.5 and prioritised simpler syllable structures, such as avoiding complex onsets like those which result in resyllabification.

2.9   Representation of stress and accent

Representation of stress introduces a challenge in Coahuitlán Totonac due to the different levels of stress placement: lexical stress and the overlying phrasal accent (2.6). To quickly summarise these levels, lexical stress is almost entirely predictable based on the weight of the final syllable of the word: a heavy word-final syllable (ending in a long vowel or a sonorant) results in word-final stress, while a light word-final syllable (ending in a short vowel or a non-sonorant consonant) results in penultimate stress on the word. A number of grammatical exponents are marked by exceptional stress patterns, for example, the nominal instrumentive prefix *li:*- attracts stress in shorter words, and imperfective aspect is marked by word-final stress (2.6.2 and 2.6.3). In larger prosodic contexts, lexical stress attracts phrase accent in phrase-final words, while other words may lose lexical stress.

My representation of stress and accent uses the three levels of transcription described in 2.7: essentially, phrase accent is shown on line 1, lexical stress on line 2, and line 3 mostly shows no lexical stress (81).

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[21] I was unfortunately unable to enlist a native-speaker for their intuition of syllables due to the timing of my thesis and fieldwork, coupled with travel restrictions due to the global COVID-19 pandemic.

(81) [ki.mɑ́χ.štɛχ.ti̠.mat.wa.ní.xo: li:.ma.qɛ̠:q.ɬán]
     / kimáqštɛqti̠ mat waní xo: li:maqɛ̠:qɬán /
     kin–mɑ̠qštɛq–ti̠   mat   wan–ní   xo: li:maqɛ̠:qɬan
     1OBJ–leave–2SG.SUBJ:PFV   QUOT   say–BEN:IMPF   **PTCL**   scarecrow
     ' "let go of me," he said to the scarecrow'

                                                                          Conejo:27

Both stress and accent are commonly shown with graphical accents < á, é, í, ó, and ú >, so the

meaning of these symbols is determined by each line. Phrase accent is shown on line 1 because it

describes the most prominent syllables heard in the spoken text; however, we will return to

phrase accent with the discussion of prosody in chapter 3. The division of text into

morphosyntactic words on line 2 fits the representation of lexical stress in two ways: first, this

division makes it is possible to mark the expected stress for each word in isolation, and second,

lexical stress cannot be described before a word has been derived and inflected. It follows that

lexical stress does not appear on line 3 where the parse represents components of the

morphosyntactic words before they have been combined (and thus also prior to

morphophonological processes); however, there are two exceptions. The first exception concerns

the stress patterns that accompany certain grammatical exponents (cf. 2.6.2 and 2.6.3). For the

most part, these stress patterns accompany concatenative morphological processes, and appear

on line 2 as other expressions lexical aspect: this is seen in (81) with *kimɑ́qštɛqti̠* 'you let go of

me'. This word is inflected for perfective aspect, marked by -ti̠ '2SG.SUBJ:PFV' and

antepenultimate stress. However, the verb *waní* 'say something to somebody' is inflected for

imperfective aspect and so has word-final stress (in both words, the expected stress would be

penultimate, with a final light syllable ending in a short vowel). Because word-final stress is the

marker of imperfective aspect, it is indicated on line 3 and glossed 'imperfective'. The second

exception involves a prosodic juncture phenomenon that removes the conditioning without

changing the lexical stress (82).

(82) [tanuːčánakɬú̱ku̱]
      / tanuːčáʔ nakɬú̱ku̱ /
      tanuː–čá   nak=ɬu̱ku̱≡◦
      go.in–DIST:JNC   LOC=cave≡JNC
      'he went into his cave'

Here, the glottal stop in *tanuːčáʔ* 'he goes in' makes the final syllable heavy and gives final stress: although the juncture phenomenon of glottal stop deletion removes the glottal stop, the syllable remains stressed. On line 2, both the lexical stress and underlying glottal stop are marked; on line 3, distal *-čaʔ* is written *-čá*, glossed 'DIST:JNC'.

2.10 Representation of prosodic features

With phrase-level accent, we have already seen some aspects of prosody appearing in our transcriptions: another feature of Coahuitlán Totonac prosody is a series of segmental processes which appear at the juncture of prosodic units: while these are discussed at length in chapter 3, I elected to include them in the phonetic transcription because they are involved with syllabification and are generally quite salient in spoken Coahuitlán Totonac.

(83) a. [ki.má̱χ.šte̱χ.ti̱.mat.wa.ní.xoːn liː.ma.qe̱ːq.ɬán]
         / kimá̱qšte̱qti̱ mat waní xoː liːmaqe̱ːqɬán /
         kin–ma̱qšte̱q–ti̱   mat   wan–ní   xo̱≡n   liːmaqe̱ːqɬan
         1OBJ–leave–2SG.SUBJ:PFV   QUOT   say–BEN:IMPF   **PTCL**≡JNC scarecrow
         ' "let go of me" he said to the scarecrow'

      b. [láːk.ti.ma̱q.šté̱qni̱]
         / laː ktima̱qšté̱qni̱ /
         laː   k–ti–ma̱qšte̱q–ni̱≡◦
         NEG   1SG.SUBJ–POT–leave–2OBJ:PFV≡JNC
         ' "I'm not letting go of you" '

In (83), two juncture processes are visible: n-epenthesis and devoicing (3.2.1). The phonemic transcription on line 2 does not include juncture phenomena (the phonemic transcriptions in chapters 4 and 5 will likewise exclude juncture phenomena), and though this difference between

lines 1 and 2 allows the reader to distinguish which material in line 1 is added or modified through prosodic processes, for clarity these juncture phenomena are parsed on line 3 with the symbol < ≡ >, somewhat like the division of morphemes with hyphen or n-dash. Alongside the interlinear morphemic gloss on line 4, juncture phenomena are glossed 'JNC'. As mentioned in 2.8, juncture phenomena do affect the syllabification of words: this is seen in b where a juncture phenomena causes the devoicing and desyllabification of /-nị/.

2C   Texts

2.11   Conejo and the tar baby

Alberto Reyes Castillo

Conejo 'Rabbit' is a mischevious character in tales throughout the Eastern United States and Mesoamerica (Berezkin 2014). Although he appears in many tales of American origin,[22] many stories told throughout this region today originate in West Africa and brought into the Americas during the period of the transatlantic slave trade, before diffusing widely throughout North and Central America. This story is one such, and aspects of it may be familiar to readers from stories such as Br'er Rabbit and the Tar Baby. Although it ultimately originates outside of Mesoamerica, it fits well within the group of traditional *cuentos*, as shown by the usage of the quotative *mat* 'according to'; although this word occasionally appears with its literal meaning, in *cuentos* it is ubiquitous. In this usage, it is semantically bleached, but a remarkably good indicator of genre. When I recorded this story during my first field trip, I was unaware of these connections: recounting the tale to my wife by telephone, I was greatly surprised when she told me she knew the story from a picture book she had read as a child. This text was given to me by Alberto Reyes Castillo after we discovered that earlier recordings of Conejo stories made with two of his acquantainces were of poor audio quality. The initial recording included the following text, alongside a brief description of a handful of other adventures featuring Conejo. This text was recorded the 12 August 2013.

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[22] A painted vessel from the Classic Mayan Culture found in Naranjo depicts a rabbit stealing the clothes, hat, and staff from another character (Grofe 2009).

(1)   [we:.nó: na̰.kwán.ša.kwén.to ko.né.xo]
/ *bueno* nakwán ša*cuento conejo* /
bueno   na̰k–wán   ša–*cuento*   *conejo*
well   FUT:1SG.SUBJ–say:IMPF   DTV–story   rabbit
'bueno voy a contar la cuenta del conejo'
'well, I'll tell the story of the rabbit'

(2)   [če:.má:n.či.la.nḭ:]
/ če:má: či lánḭ: /
če:ma:≡n   či   la–nḭ:
thus≡JNC   how   do–PERF
'así fue'
'this is how it happened'

(3)   [ča̰:.tí.ma.tin.čḭ.škṵʔ ča̰.ná:.nan.lḭ.nakš pu:.kúštṵ]
/ ča̰:tím mat čḭškṵʔ ča̰ná:nanlḭ nakšpu:kúštṵ /
ča̰:–tim   mat≡in   čḭškṵʔ   ča̰na:nan–lḭ   nak=š–pu:kúštṵ≡
CLF–one   QUOT≡JNC   man   plant.crops–PFV   LOC=3PO–field≡JNC
'un hombre sembró en su campo'
'a man was out planting in his field'

(4)   [čán.lḭ: kstápṵ]
/ čánlḭ kstápu /
ča̰n–lḭ≡:   š–stapu≡
sow–PFV≡JNC   3PO–bean≡JNC
'sembró su frijol'
'he planted his beans'

(5)   [pe.ɾó.mat la.qaɬ.la.qa.lé:n.la̰q.cín]
/ péɾo mat laqaɬlqalí:an la̰qcín /
peɾo   mat   laqaɬlaqali: an   la̰qcín
but   QUOT   every.day   go:IMPF   see:IMPF
'pero cada día iba a verlo'
'but every day he sees'

(6)   [ʔak.wa.ni:.ni.ka.nḭ:]
/ a̰kwani:nikanḭ: /
a̰k–wa–ni:–ni–kanḭ:
head–eat–SUBST–BEN–INDEF:PERF
'lo habían comido las hojas tiernas (de sus frijoles)'
'somebody was eating the tops of the plants'

(7)   [ʔin.to:n.sis.wa.ní: či.škʉ́ʔ pé.ɾo ti:.lu:.a̧k.wá.ma̧:ŋ.ki.stápʉ]
/ *entonces* waní či̧škʉ́ʔ pé o ti: lu: a̧kwáma̧: kistápu /
entonces   wan–ní≡:   či̧škʉʔ   pero   ti: lu: a̧k–wa–ma̧:≡n
then   say–BEN:IMPF≡JNC   man   but   HREL   very   head–eat–PROG≡JNC

        kin–stapu≡̥
        1PO–bean≡JNC
'entonces dijo el hombre, quien está comiendo mis hojas de frijol?'
'so the man said, who is eating the tops of my beans?

(8)   [nak.sqa.láxa̧]
/ na̧ksqaláxa /
na̧k–sqalax–a≡̥
FUT:1SG.SUBJ–spy–IMPF≡JNC
'voy a espiar'
'I'm going to keep watch'

(9)   [ʔin.to:n.sis.mat tó:.li̧: šli:.ma.χȩ:χ.ɬá lí:.ɬta.ma̧]
/ *entonces* mat tó:li̧ šli:maqȩ:qɬán lí:ɬta̧ma̧ /
entonces   mat   to:–li̧≡:   š–li:maqȩ:qɬan   lí:ɬta̧ma̧≡̥
then   QUOT   make–PFV≡JNC   3PO–scarecrow   glue≡JNC
'entonces hizo un espantapájaros de pegamento'
'so he made a scarecrow of glue'

(10)   [ʔán.ca.la̧:.yó:.li̧:]
/ ánca la̧: yó:li̧ /
a̧nca   la̧:   yo:–li̧≡:
there   where   stand.up–PFV≡JNC
'y lo puso…'
'and he put it…'

(11)   [nak.šk̥a̧:.sta.pú.ni.ʔi:.šlí:.la.qa.li:.ʔa̧m.pa:.la̧q.cín]
/ nakšk̥a̧:stapúni *y* šlí:laqali: a̧npá: la̧qcín /
nak=š–ka̧:–stapu–ni   *y*   š–li:–laqali: a̧n–pa: la̧qcín
LOC=3PO–PLC–bean–PL   and   3PO–INSTR.N–tomorrow   go–RPT:PFV   see:IMPF
'en su frijolar, y mañana voy a ir a ver'
'in his bean patch, and the next day he goes back to see'

(12)   [ʔin.tó:n.sis.pus.mat wa.ní.lí:.ɬta̧ma̧]
/ *entonces* pus mat waní lí:ɬta̧ma /
entonces   pus   mat   wan–ní   li:ɬta̧ma≡̥
then   well   QUOT   say–BEN:IMPF   glue≡JNC
'entonces dijo el pegamento'
'then the glue (scarecrow) says to him'

(13)   [laː.ca.ka̰ː.qwaŋ.ki.stápu̥]
/ laːca ka̰áqwa̰ kistápu /

la:=ca	ka–a̰q–wa̰≡n	kin–stapu≡̥
NEG=now	OPT–head–eat:PFV:2SG.SUBJ≡JNC	1PO–bean≡JNC

'ya no lo comes mi frijol'
' "don't eat my beans" '

(14)   [laː.ca.ka̰ː.qwaŋ.ki.stá.pu.mat.wá.nin.čiː]
/ laːca ka̰áqwa̰ kistápu mat wán či /

la:=ca	ka–a̰q–wa̰≡n	kin–stapu
NEG=now	OPT–head–eat:PFV:2SG.SUBJ≡JNC	1PO–bean

mat	wán≡in	či≡ː
QUOT	say:IMPF≡JNC	how≡JNC

'ya no lo comes mi frijol'
' "don't eat my beans" '

(15)   [pu.swa.ni.ka.nḭ́ː Ɂi.čúːn.ca.ma̰ː.ma̰q.ta̰.qa̰ɬ.nḭː.má̰ː.kaŋ.ka̰ː.sta.pṵ́ni̥]
/ pus wanikanḭ́ː y čúnca maːma̰qta̰qa̰ɬnḭːmaːka ka̰ːstapúni /

pus	wan–ni–kanḭː	y	ču:nca	ma:–ma̰qta̰qa̰ɬ–ni:–ma:ka≡n
well	say–BEN–INDEF:PERF	and	thus	CS–guard–CS–PROG:INDEF≡JNC

ka̰ː–stapu–ni≡̥
PLC–bean–PL≡JNC

'asi le han dicho el espantapájaros como encargado en frijolar'
'that's what they told (the scarecrow), because they set him to watch over the bean field'

(16)   [Ɂin.tóːn.sis.wa.ni.ma.tiŋ.ku.néː.xə̰]
/ entonces wán mat conejo /

entonces	wán≡i	mat≡in	conejo≡̥
then	say:IMPF≡JNC	QUOT≡JNC	rabbit≡JNC

'entonces dijo el conejo'
'and the rabbit said'

(17)   [ki.ɬḱak.sa.ka.tá.ya̰ː ki.ɬḱak.sa.ka.táya̰]
/ kiɬḱaksa katáya̰ kiɬḱaksa katáya̰ /

kiɬ–ka̰ksa	ka–taya̰≡ː	kiɬ–ka̰ksa	ka–taya̰≡̥
mouth–quiet	OPT–stand:2SG.SUBJ≡JNC	mouth–quiet	OPT–stand:2SG.SUBJ≡JNC

' "callase donde estás" '
' "be quiet, be quiet" '

(18)   [si.nóː paɬ.laː.na.ki.ɬka̰k.slíː.ya̰]
/ sino paɬ la: nakiɬka̰kslaíːya̰ /

sino≡ː	paɬ	la:	na–kiɬ–ka̰ks–la–i:–ya̰
if.not≡JNC	if	NEG	FUT–mouth–quiet–do–VBL–IMPF:2SG.SUBJ

' "sino si no te callas" '
' "if you don't quiet your mouth" '

(19) [nạ.kạ.na:.čá.ni: ki.ɬtṳk.sá:n]
/ nạkạna:čán kiɬtṳksá:n /

nạk–ạn–a:–čaʔ–n≡i: k–kiɬ–tṳks–a:–n
FUT:1SG.SUBJ–go–IMPF–DIST–2OBJ≡JNC   1SG.SUBJ–mouth–hit–IMPF–2OBJ

' "yo le voy a golpearte" '
' "I'll come and hit you in the mouth" '

(20) [mat.wa.niŋ.ko.né:.xǫ]
/ mat waní conejo /

mat   wan–ní≡n   conejo≡̥
QUOT   say–BEN:IMPF≡JNC   rabbit≡JNC

'dijo el conejo'
'the rabbit says to him'

(21) [pe.ɾo.li:.ma.qę:χ.ɬán ču:n.ca.ma.ti.se.giɾ.li:.mạ:.wán]
/ pero li:maqę:qɬán čú:nca mat seguirlaí:mạ: wán /

pero li:maqę:qɬan   ču:nca   mat≡i   seguir–la–i:–mạ: wán
but scarecrow   thus   QUOT≡JNC follow–do–VBL–PROG   say:IMPF

'pero el espantapájaros continuó diciendo (sigio hablando)'
'but the scarecrow kept saying'

(22) [la:.ca.kạ:.qwạ.ki.stá.pu.ko.nȩ:.xǫ]
/ la:ca kaạqwá kistápu conejo /

la:=ca   ka–ạq–wạ   kin–stapu   conejo≡̥
NEG=now   OPT–head– eat:PFV:2SG.SUBJ 1PO–bean   rabbit≡JNC

' "ya no le comes mi frijol conejo" '
' "don't eat my beans rabbit" '

(23) [la:.ca.kạ:.qwa.ki.stá.pu.ku.nȩ:.xṳ.mat.wán]
/ la:ca kaạqwá kistápu conejo mat wán /

la:ca   ka–ạq–wạ   kin–stapu   conejo   mat   wán
NEG=now   OPT–head– eat:PFV:2SG.SUBJ 1PO–bean   rabbit   QUOT   say:IMPF

'ya no le comes mi frijol conejo'
' "don't eat my beans, rabbit" he says'

(24) [ʔen.to:n.si.sí:.cị̆:ɬ.ma.ti:n ko.né:.xo lá.qạɬ]
/ entonces si:cị́:lị̆ mat conejo láqạnlị̆ /

entonces   si:cị̆:–lị̆≡̥   mat≡in   conejo   lạq–ạn–lị̆≡̥
then   get.angry–PFV≡JNC   QUOT≡JNC rabbit   ALL–go–PFV≡JNC

'se enojó el conejo, se fue contra el'
'so the rabbit got mad, and went against (i.e., lunged at) him'

(25) [ʔi.mat.la.ká.tu̜ksɬ]
      / y mat lakátu̜ksli̜ /
      y   mat   laka–tu̜ks–li̜≡。
      and   QUOT   face–hit–PFV≡JNC
      'y le golpeó'
      'and hit him in the face'

(26) [ka:.na:.ma.tá.ya:.li̜š.ma.kán]
      / ka:ná: mat táya:li̜ šmakán /
      ka:na: mat   taya:–li̜   š–makan
      truly   QUOT   stand–PFV   3PO–hand
      'se quedó pegado en su mano (de conejo)'
      'his hand got stuck'

(27) [ki.má̜χ.štȩχ.ti̜.mat.wa.ní.xo:n li:.ma.qȩ:.χɬán]
      / kimá̜qštȩqti̜ mat waní xo: li:maqȩ:qɬán /
      kin–ma̜qštȩq–ti̜   mat   wan–ní   xo:≡n   li:maqȩ:qɬan
      1OBJ–leave–2SG.SUBJ:PFV   QUOT   say–BEN:IMPF   PTCL≡JNC   scarecrow
      'sueltame le dijo al espantapájaros'
      ' "let go of me" he said to the scarecrow'

(28) [lá:k.ti.ma̜χ.štȩqn̥i̜]
      / la: ktima̜qštȩqni̜ /
      la: k–ti–ma̜qštȩq–ni̜≡。
      NEG   1SG.SUBJ–POT–leave–2OBJ:PFV≡JNC
      'no te voy a soltar'
      ' "I'm not letting go of you" '

(29) [por.ke.lu:.lá:.χa.špa̜:.tu:n.či.ʔa̜.qwa.ya̜.ki.stápu̥]
      / porque lu: la: qašpa̜:t u: či a̜qwáya̜ kistápu /
      porque   lu: la: qašpa̜:t
      because very   NEG   hear:PFV:2SG.SUBJ

          u:≡n   či   a̜q–wá–ya̜   kin–stápu̥≡。
          DEM≡JNC   how   head–eat–IMPF:2SG.SUBJ   1PO–bean≡JNC
      'porque no entiendes de dejar de comer mi frijolar'
      ' "because you didn't listen and stop eating my beans" '

(30) [mat.wa.ní]
      / mat waní /
      mat   wan–ní
      QUOT   say–BEN:IMPF
      'le dijo'
      'he said to him'

(31)   [pus.nak̲ la.ka.tu̲k.spa.ɾa.yá:.ni.ʔa:.ma̲.χá.tu̲]
/ pus na̲klakatu̲ksparayá:n a:maqátu /
pus   na̲k–laka–tu̲ks–paɾa–ya:–n≡i   a:–ma̲qa–tu≡̥
well   FUT:1SG.SUBJ–face–hit–RPT–IMPF–2OBJ≡JNC   ADD–hand–other.part≡JNC
'te voy a golpear con otra mano'
' "well, I'll hit you in the face with my other hand" '

(32)   [ʔin.tó:.n.sis.mat.la.ka.tu̲k.spá:]
/ entonces mat lakatu̲kspá: /
entonces   mat   laka–tu̲ks–pa:
then   QUOT   face–hit–RPT:PFV
'y otra vez lo golpeo'
'and he hit him again'

(33)   [ma.ta̲:.na:.ɬti.ma.ta.ya:.pa:.šma.kán]
/ mat a̲:ná: ɬtimataya:pá: šmakán /
mat   a̲:na: ɬtima+taya:–pa: š–makan
QUOT   also   fasten+stand–RPT:PFV   3PO–hand
'y también se quedó pegado su mano'
'and again his hand stuck fast'

(34)   [ki.máq.šte̲q.ti̲.mat.wa.ní.la:.k.ti.ma̲q.šté̲χ.ni̲.mat]
/ kimáqšte̲qti̲ mat waní la: ktimáqšte̲qni̲ mat /
kin–ma̲qšte̲q–ti̲   mat   wan–ní
1OBJ–leave–2SG.SUBJ:PFV   QUOT   say–BEN:IMPF

        la: k–ti–ma̲qšte̲q–ni̲   mat
        NEG   1SG.SUBJ–POT–leave–2OBJ:PFV   QUOT
'sueltame, le dijo, pero él le dice no te suelte'
' "let go of me" he said, "I won't let go" '

(35)   [pus.na̲k.la̲k.ta.ya:.yá:mat.wa.ní]
/ pus na̲kla̲ktaya:yá:n mat waní /
pus   na̲k–la̲ktaya:–ya:–n   mat   wan–ní
well   FUT:1SG.SUBJ–kick–IMPF–2OBJ   QUOT   say–BEN:IMPF
'pues te voy a patear lo dijo'
' "then I'll hit you with my foot" he said to him'

(36)   [ʔin.ton.sis mat.la̲k.ta.ya:.pá:]
/ entonces mat la̲ktaya:pa: /
entonces   mat   la̲ktaya:–pa:
then   QUOT   kick–RPT:PFV
'entonces le pateó'
'so he kicked him'

(37) [ʔa̰ː.na:.ka:.na:.ta.ya:.pá:.štan.tún]
/ a̰ːná: ka:ná: taya:pá: štantún /

a̰ːna:	ka:na:	taya:–pa:	š–tantun
also	truly	stand–RPT:PFV	3PO–foot

'y se quedó también pegado su pie'
'and he got stuck again, his foot'

(38) [ki.má̰χ.štḛχ.tḭ.mat.la:.k.ti.m̰aq.štḛχ.nḭ.mat.wa.ni.pús]
/ kimá̰qštḛqtḭ mat la: ktimá̰qštḛqnḭ mat waní pus /

kin–m̰aqštḛq–tḭ		mat	la:	k–ti–m̰aqštḛq–nḭ
1OBJ–leave–2SG.SUBJ:PFV		QUOT	NEG	1SG.SUBJ–POT–leave–2OBJ:PFV

mat	wan–ní	pus
QUOT	say–BEN:IMPF	well

'sueltame le dijo, pero él le dijo no te suelte'
' "let go of me" he said to him, "I won't let go" he said'

(39) [na̰klaktaya:paɾayá:n]
/ na̰klaktaya:paɾaya:n /

na̰k–laktaya:–paɾa–ya:–n
FUT:1SG.SUBJ–kick–RPT–IMPF–2OBJ

'otra vez te voy a patear'
' "I'll kick you again" '

(40) [ʔa:.tan.tú.tṵ]
/ a:tantútu /

a:–tantu–tṵ˳
ADD–**CLF**–other.part≡JNC

'con otro pie'
' "with the other foot" '

(41) [na̰k.li:lak.ta.ya:.pa.ɾa.ya:.niŋ.kin.tan.tún.mat.wa.ní]
/ na̰kli:laktaya:paɾayá:n kintantún mat waní /

na̰k–li:–laktaya:–paɾa–ya:–n≡in	kin–tantun	mat	wan–ní
FUT:1SG.SUBJ–INSTR–kick–RPT–IMPF–2OBJ≡JNC	1PO–foot	QUOT	say–BEN:IMPF

'con otro pie te doy otro golpe'
' "I'll hit you again with my foot" '

(42) [lak.ta.ya:.pá:]
/ laktaya:pá: /

laktaya:–pa:
kick–RPT:PFV

'le pegó otra vez'
'he kicked him again'

(43)   [ʔi.ka:.ná:.ma.ta.ya:.pá:.š.tan.tún]
       / *y* ka:ná: mat taya:pá: štantún /

y	ka:na:	mat	taya:–pa:	š–tantun
and	truly	QUOT	stand–RPT:PFV	3PO–foot

       'y se quedó pegado otra vez su pie (otro pie)'
       'and his other foot got stuck too'

(44)   [ʔin.ton.sis.ca ta.slu.ma.tá.ya:.li̯n.ko̯.né:.xu̯.nak]
       / *entonces*ca taslumatáya:li̯ *conejo* /

entonces=ca	ta–sluma+taya:–li̯	*conejo*
then=now	DCS–glue+stand–PFV	rabbit

       'entonces se quedó pegado el conejo'
       'so the rabbit was stuck'

(45)   [nak.li:.ma.qe̯:χ.ɬán]
       / nakli:maqe̯:qɬán /

nak=li:maqe̯:qɬan
LOC=scarecrow

       'en el espantapájaros'
       'to the scarecrow'

(46)   [ʔu:n.tu:.što:.ka.ni̯:.lí:.ɬta̯.ma̯.li:.ma.qe̯:χ.ɬán]
       / u: tu: što:kani̯: lí:ɬtama li:maqe̯:qɬán /

u:≡n	tu:	š–to:–kani̯:	lí:–ɬta̯ma	li:maqe̯:qɬan
DEM≡JNC	NREL	PAST–do–INDEF:PERF	INSTR.N–glue	scarecrow

       'lo que habían hecho de pegamento el espantapájaros'
       'the scarecrow that had been made out of glue'

(47)   [xo:š.li:.lá.χaɬ.ma.ti.mí.li̯š…]
       / xo: šli:laqalí: mat míli̯ /

xo:	š–li:–laqali:	mat≡i	min–li̯
PTCL	3PO–INSTR–tomorrow	QUOT≡JNC	come–PFV

       'al otro día vinó'
       'the next day, he came'

(48)   [ti:ŋkš.ka̯:.sta.púni̯]
       / ti: nkška̯:stapúni̯ /

ti:	nak=š–ka̯:–stapu–ni̯≡̥
HREL	LOC=3PO–PLC–bean–PL≡JNC

       'el dueño de frijolar'
       'he who was in his bean field'

(49) [ʔa̰š.ni.ĺaq.cił]
/ ́ašni ĺaqcilḭ /
a̰šni   la̰qcin–lḭ≡ ̥
when   see–PFV≡JNC
'cuando lo vio'
'when he saw'

(50) [ču.mat.ku.né:.xun.ti:.lu:.šą̰q.wa:.ma:.stá.pu:]
/ ču mat *conejo* ti: lu: šą̰qwá:ma̰: stápu /
ču   mat   *conejo*≡n   ti: lu: š–a̰q–wa:–ma̰:   stapu≡:
PTCL QUOT   rabbit≡JNC   HREL   very   PAST–head–eat–PROG   bean≡JNC
'que era el conejo él que estaba comiendo el frijolar'
'that it was the rabbit who was eating his beans'

(51) [ʔi:.tas.lu.ma.ta.ya:.nḭ́:.nak.lí:.łt̰ạ.ma̰ŋ.kli:.ma.qḛ:χ.łán]
/ *y* taslumatayá:nḭ: naklí:łt̰ạm̰ạ nakli:maqḛ:qłán /
y   ta–sluma+taya:–nḭ:   nak=lí:–łt̰ạm̰ạ   nak=li:maqḛ:qłan
and   DCS–glue+stand–PFV   LOC=INSTR.N–glue   LOC=scarecrow
'alli estaba pegado el conejo en el espantapájaros de pegamento'
'and he was stuck there in the glue, to the scarecrow'

(52) [ʔin.tó:n.sis.mat.lu:.pa:.šu.wán.čo:.pus]
/ *entonces* mat lu: pa:šuwá čo: pus /
entonces   mat   lu: pa:šuwa≡n   čo: pus
then   QUOT   very   be.happy≡JNC   **PTCL**   well
'entonces se puso muy contento'
'then he was very happy'

(53) [čo:.ni.mó:.ðo pus.čo:.na: …]
/ čo: *ni modo* pus čo: na /
čo: *ni.modo*   pus   čo:
PTCL   no.matter   well   **PTCL**
'y le dijo, ahora ni modo'
'and he said, "well, no matter" '

(54) [kma:.nǫq.łú:n.wi:.wí.šit.lu:.šaq.wa.pạ:t.ki.stá.pu.pus]
/ kma:nǫqłú:n wi: wíšit lu: šą̰qwápạ:t kistápu pus /
k–ma:–nǫqł–u:–n   wi: wišit   lu: š–a̰q–wa–pạ:t
1SG.SUBJ–CS–be.found–CS–2OBJ sit   you   very   PAST–head–eat–2SG.SUBJ:PROG

   kin–stapu   pus
   1PO–bean   well
'te encontré tú que estás comiendo mi frijolar'
' "I found you who is eating my beans" '

(55) [mat.wa.ni.xoːn.či̯š.kų́ʔ]
/ mat waní xoː čiškų́ʔ /
mat   wan–ní   xoː≡n   čiškuʔ
QUOT   say–BEN:IMPF **PTCL**≡JNC man
'le dijo el hombre'
'the man told him'

(56) [lȩ̃ː.liŋk.ščík]
/ léːli̯ nakščík /
lȩːn–li̯   nak=š–čik
take–PFV   LOC=3PO–house
'lo llevo a su casa'
'and he took him (the rabbit) to his house'

(57) [ʔin.tóːn.sis.mat nakš.čík.či̯š.kų́ʔ mat.šwíː.xoːš]
/ *entonces* mat nakščík čiškų́ʔ mat šwíː xoː /
entonces mat   nak=š–čik   čiškuʔ   mat   š–wíː   xoː
then   QUOT   LOC=3PO–house   man   QUOT   PAST–sit:IMPF   **PTCL**
'entonces en casa del hombre había'
'at the man's house, there was'

(58) [wiːxoːš ʔamiːɣóːʔosiaː]
/ wíː xoː š*amigo o sea* /
wíː   xoː   š–*amigo*   *o.sea*≡ː
sit:IMPF   **PTCL**   3PO–friend   that.is≡JNC
'había su amigo o sea'
'there was his friend, that is'

(59) [mat sóː.ro.xoːš šwi.liː.ní̯ː nakš.čík]
/ mat *zorro* xoː šwiliːní̯ː nakščík /
mat   *zorro*   xoː   š–wiliː–ni̯ː   nak=š–čik
QUOT   fox   **PTCL**   PAST–put–PERF   LOC=3PO–house
'él (hombre) tenía zorro en su casa'
'the fox that the man had put in his house'

(60) [ʔin.tóːn.sis.mat.wa.ni.xoː sóː.rǫ]
/ *entonces* mat waní xoː *zorro* /
entonces mat   wan–ní   xoː   *zorro*≡̥
then   QUOT   say–BEN:IMPF   **PTCL**   fox≡JNC
'entonces le dijo al zorro'
'then he said to the fox'

(61)　　[pu.sik.ma:.mạq.tạ.qạɫ.ni:.yá:.na:.ma:ŋ.ku.né:.xǫ]
　　　　/ pus kma:mạqtạqạɫni:yá:n a:má: *conejo* /

pus≡i	k–ma:–mạqtạqạɫ–ni:–ya:–n	a:ma:≡n	*conejo*≡ ₒ
well≡JNC	1SG.SUBJ–CS–guard–CS–IMPF–2OBJ	**DEM**≡JNC	rabbit≡JNC

　　　　'te encargo a este conejo'
　　　　' "I entrust you with this rabbit" '

(62)　　[la: ti.cạ:.lá.ʔạq.mạq.čo:.nú:]
　　　　/ la: ticạ:lá ạqmạqčo:nú: /

la:	ti–cạ:lá	ạq–mạq–čo:–nú:
NEG	POT–flee:IMPF	head–body–close–in:IMPF

　　　　'no se vaya a huirse, le voy a dejarlo encerrado (enjaulado, tapado)'
　　　　' "he isn't going to run away, he's closed inside and covered" '

(63)　　[u:n.ti:.lu:š.kạ:q.wa.mạ:ŋ.ki.stá.pụ]
　　　　/ u: ti: lu: ška:ạqwámạ: kistápu /

u:≡n	ti:	lu:	š–ka:–ạq–wa–mạ:	kin–stapu≡ ₒ
DEM≡JNC	HREL	very	PAST–PL.OBJ–head–eat–PROG	1PO–bean≡JNC

　　　　'porque estaba comiendo mucho mi frijolar'
　　　　' "this is the one who has been eating my beans so much" '

(64)　　[lá:.ti.lak.ta.la.ka.cu.na.xí:.yạ la:.ti.ša.má:.yạ]
　　　　/ la: tilaktalakacunáxi:yạ la: tišamá:yạ /

la:	ti–lak–ta–lakacunax–i:–yạ	la:	ti–šama:–yạ
NEG	POT–foot–DCS–near–VBL–IMPF:2SG.SUBJ	NEG	POT–touch–IMPF:2SG.SUBJ

　　　　'no te vayas a cercar donde estás, no le vayas a agarrar'
　　　　' "don't try to get close to it, don't try to touch it" '

(65)　　[poɾ.ke.pạɫ.na.ša.má ́ .yạ:.ma:n.ku.ne:.xụ.na.lạq.ci.ku.tú.nạ.qo:s.taš.tú]
　　　　/ *porque* pạɫ našamá:yạ a:má: *conejo* nalạqcikutúnạ qo:staštú /

porque	pạɫ	na–šama:–yạ	a:ma:	*conejo*
because	if	FUT–touch–IMPF:2SG.SUBJ	**DEM**	rabbit

	na–lạqcin–kutun–ạ	qo:s+taštú
	FUT–see–DSD–IMPF:2SG.SUBJ	run+leave:IMPF

　　　　'porque si lo quieres ver a este conejo, se va a salir'
　　　　' "because if you'll touch this rabbit, if you want to see it, it's going to get away" '

(66)　　[ʔin.tó:n.sis.na: na.cạ:.lá]
　　　　/ *entonces* nacạ:lá /

entonces	na–cạ:lá
then	FUT–flee:IMPF

　　　　'entonces se va a huir'
　　　　' "and then he'll run away" '

(67)   [na.ki.mą.qa.sị̆.cí̧.yą]
/ nakimąqasị̆:cí̧yą /
na–kin–mąqa–sị̆cị̆–yą≡。
FUT–1OBJ–STM–be.angry:2SG.SUBJ–IMPF:2SG.SUBJ≡JNC
'me vas a hacer enojar'
' "you'll make me angry" '

(68)   [ʔiː.wí.ši.nak nąk.mąq.niː.yáːn wi.ši.nąk.wa.yáːn]
/ y wiš nąkmąqniːyáːn wiš nąkwayáːn /
y   wiš≡i   nąk–mąqni:–ya:–n   wiš≡i   nąk–wa–ya:–n
and you≡JNC FUT:1SG.SUBJ–kill–IMPF–2OBJ you≡JNC FUT:1SG.SUBJ–eat–IMPF–2OBJ
'tú te voy a matar y te voy a comer'
' "and I'll kill you, I'll eat you" '

(69)   [poɾ.ke.nąk ną ną.mą.qní:ŋ.ko.ne:.xo.nąk.wa.ša ša.kál.do]
/ porque nąkmąqní: conejo nąkwá šacaldo /
porque   nąk–mąqní: conejo   nąk–wá   ša–caldo
because FUT:1SG.SUBJ–kill:IMPF rabbit   FUT:1SG.SUBJ–eat:IMPF   DTV–soup
'porque el conejo lo voy a matar y comer en caldo'
' "because I'm going to kill the rabbit and I'm going to eat him as soup" '

(70)   [mat.wa.ni.xo:n.čị̆š.kų́ʔ wa.ni.kaŋ.ko.né:x wa.ni.ká só:.rǫ]
/ mat waní xo: čị̆škų́ʔ wanikán zorro /
mat   wan–ní   xo: čị̆škų̆ʔ   wan–ni–kán   zorro≡。
QUOT say–BEN:IMPF **PTCL** man   say–BEN–INDEF:IMPF fox≡JNC
'dice el hombre, le dijeron al zorro'
'says the man, they said this to the fox'

(71)   [ʔin.tó:n.sis.pus.mat.wá.xo:.só:.ro lá:.tu.kąq.wá:.mą:]
/ entonces pus mat wán xo: zorro lá:tu: kąqwámą: /
entonces   pus   mat   wán   xo: zorro   la:tu: k–ąq–wa–mą:
then   well   QUOT say:IMPF **PTCL** fox   nothing 1SG.SUBJ–head–eat–PROG
'entonces dice el zorro no voy a comer'
'so the fox says "I'm not eating anything" '

(72)   [la:.tu:k.ša.má:.mą:]
/ la:tu: kšamá:mą: /
la:tu: k–šama:–mą:
nothing 1SG.SUBJ–touch–PROG
'no voy a tocarlo'
' "I'm not touching anything" '

(73) [laː.tuːk.ma.ʼqéːmạː mat.wán ʔin.tóːn.sis.pus]
/ laːtúː kmạqẹːmạː mat wán *entonces* pus /

laːtuː	k–mạːqẹː–mạː	mat	wán	*entonces*	pus
nothing	1SG.SUBJ–uncover–PROG	QUOT	say:IMPF	then	well

'no voy a destaparlo'
' "I'm not opening anything" he says'

(74) [ʔạː.ḱá.nik.tạː.q.čo.qó ʔạːk.maː.mạq.tạ.qạɬ.niː.yáːn]
/ aːḱán ktạqčoqó aːkmaːmạqtạqạ̱ɬniːyáːn /

aː–k–ạn≡i	k–ta–ạqčoqó
ADD–1SG.SUBJ–go≡JNC	1SG.SUBJ–DCS–stroll:IMPF

aː–k–ma–mạqtạqạɬ–niː–yaː–n
ADD–1SG.SUBJ–CS–guard–CS–IMPF–2OBJ

'entonces voy de paseo, te lo encargo'
' "I'm going out again for a walk, I entrust him to you" '

(75) [mat.wa.ni.ká sóː.ro.pus]
/ mat wanikán *zorro* pus /

mat	wan–ni–kán	*zorro*	pus
QUOT	say–BEN–INDEF:IMPF	fox	well

'le dijeron al zorro'
'he said to the fox'

(76) [yóː.mat.wán ʔạ́ɬ]
/ yoː mat wán ʼánlị̱ /

yoː	mat	wán	ạn–lị̱≡̥
okay	QUOT	say:IMPF	go–PFV≡JNC

'bueno dijo (zorro) y se fue (hombre)'
' "okay" said (the fox, and the man) left'

(77) [ʔin.tóːn.sis.pu.sạ̱š.ni.ma.tiš.la.ka.páːs.tak.lị̱.sóː.ro]
/ *entonces* pus ạ̱šni mat šlakapáːstaklị̱ *zorro* /

entonces	pus	ạ̱šni	mat≡i	š–lakapaːstak–lị̱	*zorro*
then	well	when	QUOT≡JNC	PRS:IRR–think.about–PRS:IRR	fox

'cuando el zorro se vino en su mente (pensó)'
'well, then the fox thought'

(78) [nạk.lạq.cí.ki.tiŋ.ku.néː.xon]
/ nạklạqcín íkit *conejo* /

nạk–lạqcin	ikit≡in	*conejo*≡n
FUT:1SG.SUBJ–see:IMPF	I≡JNC	rabbit≡JNC

'voy a verlo el conejo'
'I'll look at the rabbit'

(79)   [čin.ca᷄.ma.ce̥q.ka.nį́: mat.wa.ní]
/ či c̣ama ce̥qkanį́: mat waní /

či≡n	c̣ama	ce̥q–kanį̠:		mat	wan–ní
how≡JNC	**DEM**	hide–INDEF:PERF		QUOT	say–BEN:IMPF

'donde lo tienen escondido'
' "how they had hidden that one" '

(80)   [ʔin.tó:n.sis.šma:.qaɬ.qe᷄:.m̥a̠:.ma.ti.nak]
/ *entonces* šma:qaɬqe:m̥a̠: mat /

entonces	š–ma:–qaɬ–qe̠:–m̠a:		mat≡i
then	PAST–CS–mouth–uncover–PROG		QUOT≡JNC

'entonces lo está destapando'
'so then he's uncovering it'

(81)   [ka.xó:.nin.čiš m̠a̠q.čo.nu:.ka.nį́: ma.ti:]
/ nak*cajon* či šm̠a̠qčo:nu:kaní: mat: /

nak=*cajon*≡in	či	š–m̠a̠q–čo:–nu:–kanį̠:		mat≡i:
LOC=box≡JNC	how	PAST–body–close–in–INDEF:PERF		QUOT≡JNC

'en el cajón donde lo tenían'
'in the box how they had closed him inside'

(82)   [sru tá.štu.lin̥.ku̥.ne᷄:.xu̥ ca᷄:.laɬ]
/ sru tá tuli̥ *conejo* ca᷄:lḁ̊li̥ /

sru	taštu–li̥	*conejo*≡₀	ca̠:la–li̥≡₀
IDPH	leave–PFV	rabbit≡JNC	flee–PFV≡JNC

'y salé corriendo, se fue'
'and woosh! the rabbit took off. he got away'

2.12 Armadillo

Alberto Reyes Castillo

This short narrative was given to me in the middle of working on the transcription and translation of the text Serpiente (which can be found in 3.5). In Serpiente, a first-hand account from Antonio Jiminéz Santiago of an everyday encounter with a snake, the said snake tries to hide in an armadillo's den. Don Alberto told me that snakes and armadillos are considered to be friends, and gave me this narrative as a sort of teaching story to explain this friendship. It was recorded the 14 September 2015.

(1)   [čą̈:.tím ma.tin.tą.la:t.ná?]
/ čą̈:tím mat tą̈la:tná? /

čą̈:–tim	mat≡in	tą̈la:tną?
CLF–one	QUOT≡JNC	hunter

'un cazador'
'there was a hunter'

(2)   [?ą.lị:ŋ.ką:.kị.wín tą.la:t.ná?]
/ ánlị naką:kịwín tą̈la:tná? /

ąn–lị≡:	nak=ką:kịwịn	tą̈la:tną?
go–PFV≡JNC	LOC=forest	hunter

'fue al monte el cazador'
'the hunter went to the woods'

(3)   [?i.láq.ciɬ.tun.ka.ni.la: má.qą.ti ku.yú: ?i.cu.ku.lẹ:k.sta:.lá]
/ y láqcilịtunkan la: máqat kuyú: y cúkulị ąksta:lá /

y	lą̈qcin–lị=tunkan≡i	la:	maqat≡i	kuyu:
and	see–PFV=later≡JNC	NEG	far≡JNC	armadillo

y	cuku–lị	ąksta:lá
and	begin–PFV	follow:IMPF

'y luego vio no muy lejos (alcanzo cerca) un armadillo, y comenzó a seguirlo'
'and later he saw an armadillo not far away, and he began to follow him'

(4)   [?in.tó:n.sis.ma.ta.nu:.čá.nak]
/ *entonces* mat tanu:čá/

entonces	mat	ta–nu:–Ø–čá
well	QUOT	DCS–in–PFV–DIST:JNC

'entonces entró…'
'then he went into…'

(5)   [cu.ku.lịn.cą̈:.lá.?i.ta.nu:.čá.nak.ɬú̧.ku̧]
/ cúkulị cą̈:lá *y* tanu:čá nakɬú̧ku̧ /

cuku–lị	cą̈:lá	*y*	ta–nu:–Ø–čá	nak=ɬu̧ku̧≡̥
begin–PFV	flee:IMPF	and	DCS–in– PFV–DIST:JNC	LOC=cave≡JNC

'comenzó a correr y entró en su cueva'
'he started to flee and went into his cave'

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(6)　　[nakš.či.ku.yú: pe.ɾo.ma:.t́an.caš.ta.nu:.mạ.lú:.wạ]
　　　　/ nakščík kuyú: *pero* mat́anca štanú:mạ: lú:wa /
　　　　nak=š–čik　　　　　kuyu:　　　*pero*　mat　　ạnca　　š–ta–nu:–mạ:　　　　　　lu:wa≡̥
　　　　LOC=3PO–house　　armadillo　but　　QUOT　there　PAST–DCS–in–PROG　　snake≡JNC
　　　　'en su casa de armadillo pero allí estaba la serpiente'
　　　　'in the armadillo's house, well, there was a serpent in there'

(7)　　[ʔin.tó:n.sis.lạq.ta.nu:.čáʔ ʔi.mat.wa.ní]
　　　　/ *entonces* lạqtanu:čáʔ *y* mat waní /
　　　　entonces　lạq–ta–nu:–Ø–čáʔ　　*y*　　　mat　　　wan–ní
　　　　then　　　　ALL–DCS–in–PFV–DIST　and　　QUOT　　say–BEN:IMPF
　　　　'entonces alcanzó entrar y le dijo'
　　　　'and he made it inside, and he said'

(8)　　[pus.kim.pu.cas.ta:.lạ.ḿa:.ka.kom.pá:.dɾe:]
　　　　/ pus kimpucasta:lamá:ka *compadre* /
　　　　pus　　kin–puca+sta:la–mạ:ka　　　　　　　　*compadre*≡:
　　　　well　1OBJ-look.for+go.behind–PROG:INDEF　friend≡JNC
　　　　'pues me están persiguiendo compadre'
　　　　' "someone is chasing after me, friend" '

(9)　　[ʔa.sí:.ke:.pạɫ.kwéɾ.sa.lu:.na ki.lạq.min.ká.nạ:.cạ.na.kin.čík]
　　　　/ *asi que* pạɫ kwéɾsa lu: nakinlạqminkán ạ:cá nakkinčík /
　　　　asi.que　pạɫ　kweɾsa　　lu:　na–kin–lạq–min–kan　　　　　ạ:cạ　　nak=kin–čik
　　　　so　　　　if　　necessary　very　FUT–1OBJ–ALL–come–INDEF　here　　LOC=1PO–house
　　　　'así si llegan aquí en mi casa'
　　　　' "so, if they arrive here at my house," '

(10)　　[wí.ši.na.qạɫ.ti.ná.nạ.kom.pá:.dɾe]
　　　　/ wiš naqạɫtinánạ *compadre* /
　　　　wiš≡i　　　　na-qạɫti–nan–ạ　　　　　　　　　　　　*compadre*
　　　　you≡JNC　　FUT–respond–DTR–IMPF:2SG.SUBJ　　friend
　　　　'usted va a contestar, compadre'
　　　　' "you are going to be answering, friend" '

(11)　　[poɾ.ke.ki.mạq.ni:.ku.tuŋ.ká:n]
　　　　/ *porque* kimạqni:kutunkán /
　　　　porque　　kin–mạqni:–kutun–kán
　　　　because　　1OBJ–kill–DSD–INDEF:IMPF
　　　　'porque me quieren matar'
　　　　' "because they want to kill me" '

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(12)   [wi.šiŋ.ka.la.ka.ti.tó:.lą.nak šla.ka.tín ma:.lák.čį̥]

/ wiš kalakatitó:lą nakšlakatín ma:lákči /

wiš≡in	ka–lakati–to:lą	nak=š–lakatin	ma:lakčį̥≡̥
you≡JNC	OPT–face–sit:2SG.SUBJ	LOC=3PO–face	door≡JNC

'usted quedan en la entrada de la puerta'

' "you stay at the entrance of the door" '

(13)   [mat.wa.ní: škom.pá:.dɾe lú:.wa.mat]

/ mat waní š*compadre* lú:wa mat /

mat	wan–ní–:	š–*compadre*	lu:wa	mat
QUOT	say–BEN:IMPF–JNC	3PO–friend	snake	QUOT

'le dijo su compadre la serpiente'

'he said to his friend the snake'

3   Prosody

Prosody is a productive area for both aspects of this thesis: description and representation. The first part of this chapter describeds a series of segmental processes occuring at prosodic junctures in Coahuitlán Totonac. Although a formal study of the prosodic hierachy of Coahuitlán Totonac has yet to be undertaken, the distribution of juncture phenomena—together with intonation—give the first outlines for a description of prosodic hierachy. The prosody of Coahuitlán Totonac is of special interest, as it differs markedly from other Northern Totonac languages. Similar prosodic phenomena have been described in Sierra languages and it seems plausible that the juncture phenomena I describe are the result of contact with nearby Sierra communities.

The second part of this chapter states how juncture phenomena are transcribed and represented. My primary concern is to show the prosodic units motivated by the distribution of juncture phenomena and intonation. The bracketing used to show these units follows Levy 2015.

3A   Prosody and juncture phenomena

One of the conspicuous features of Coahuitlán Totonac phonology is a series of segmental processes that occur at the junctures of prosodic units. I found these juncture phenomena to be relatively salient but their distribution is difficult to describe without reference to units of prosodic hierarchy. Juncture phenomena can be seen on the word *čạ:tím* 'one (person)', as it occurs in different prosodic and phonological environments (1).

(1) a.   wanín čạ:tím
         wan–ni≡n   čạ:–tim
         say–BEN:IMPF≡JNC   **CLF**–one
         'the one (man) tells him that'

<div align="right">La luna:9</div>

     b.   y čạ:tími šatiná:kut
         y   čạ:–tim≡i   ša–tina:=kut
         and   **CLF**–one≡JNC   DTV–small=yet
         'and one who was still young'

<div align="right">La luna:4</div>

     c.   čạ:tímin čịškụʔ
         čạ:–tim≡in   čịškụʔ
         CLF–one≡JNC man
         'one man'

<div align="right">La luna:1</div>

(1)a shows the bare form: *čạ:tím* 'one (person)', without any juncture phenomena (although it does contribute to the prosodic environment for the n–epenthesis appearing on the previous word *waní* 'tell'). In b and c, there are two juncture phenomena at work: n-epenthesis and i-epenthesis, During my first field experiences, I found i- and n-epenthesis to be quite salient, but I was unable to describe their conditioning environment. My attempts to elicit examples or to isolate the relevant words served to remove the prosodic context for juncture phenomena to appear. When asked about the specific /i/ and /n/ sounds, my consultants would give noncomittal responses saying "there's nothing there". Paulette Levy gave a presentation describing a similar set of phenomena in Coatepec Totonac texts recorded by McQuown which occured at the juncture of prosodic boundaries (University of Alberta April 11, 2014; see also Levy 2015). Her work on this topic opened the door to my description, and this chapter follows her use of prosodic hierarchy and notation to describe the unique juncture phenomena of Coahuitlán Totonac.
The goal in this chapter is to describe juncture phenomena and intonational patterns. Together, these features motivate the first outlines of prosodic hiearchy; however, this chapter does not represent a full prosodic analysis of Coahuitlán Totonac. This work follows the analyses done in

other varieties (Roman Lobato 2008, Levy 2015, Levy & Hernández-Green, 2017, Levy 2020, Godoy 2022), and recognises the unanswered questions concerning details of the prosodic hierarchy and the domain of different phenomena in Totonac languages. It is my hope that by documenting and describing these features as best I can, this work will contribute to the continuing future analysis of Totonac prosody.

Given that the prosodic domains are not fully understood, the levels I propose are provisional, motivated by a combination of juncture phenomena and intonation (accent and tonal contour). The two levels of prosodic hierarchy I discuss in this chapter are: intonational phrase 3.1 and phonological phrase 3.2. A final feature of prosody, hesitations are discussed in 3.3.

3.1   Intonational phrase (IP)

To determine the boundaries of intonational phrases, the largest prosodic unit of an utterance, I listened for by intonational contour 3.1.1, and right-edge border juncture phenomena 3.1.2.

3.1.1   Intonational contours

I have observed two subtypes of intonational phrase defined by differing contour patterns: a continuation pattern and a finality pattern. There may be additional patterns that either didn't show up in my texts, or haven't yet shown up with enough frequency to analyse. As the names suggest, these contour patterns are associated with specific semantic usage patterns.

Continuation pattern

The continuation pattern signals the speaker has more to say, that the speaker intends to continue the utterance. One or more continuations are typically followed by a finality. Continuations have an intonational rise at their right edge, aligning with the phrase-level accent of the final phonological phrase in the IP (when the accent is not on the last syllable, the intonational contour

remains high or tapers slightly for the remaining syllables). This pitch rise may show a sloped

increase or a sudden jump.

y	čạ:–tim≡i	ša–tina:=kut
and	**CLF**–one≡JNC	DTV–small=yet
'and one who was still young'		
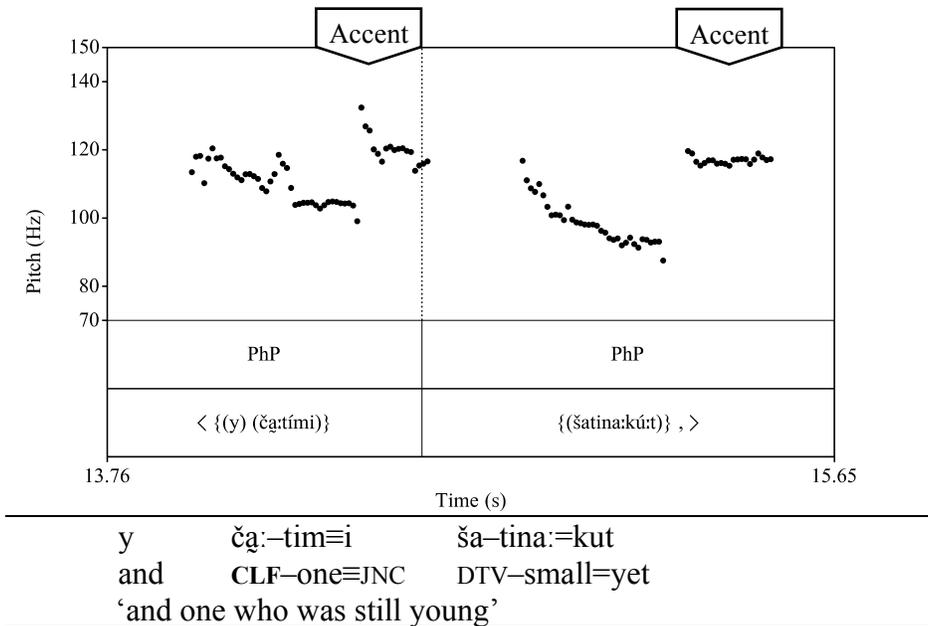
Figure 14: Continuation IP pitch contour (Luna 4)

In Figure 14, the pitch contours are drawn for Luna 4, (1) above. In this extract, we can see the

increased pitch associated with phrase-level accent, but the details of the pitch contour further

show different types of IP: continuation, or finality (Luna 4 is a continuation, followed by the

finality in the next line, after only a short pause). The pitch shows a marked increase on the

accented syllable of the final PhP in the continuation IP. At the juncture of PhPs, final /m/

(*čạ:tím*) and initial /š/ (*šatina:kứ:t*) provide the environment for i- but not n-epenthesis: the PhP

boundary comes between two consonants, but the right consonant is not a stop or affricate.

Finality pattern

The finality pattern signals a completed thought, perhaps the end of a speaker's utterance. Short

utterances and one word responses are usually finalities: longer utterances often consist of one or

more continuations and a finality. Finalities have an intonational fall at their right edge, aligning

with the phrase-level accent of the final phonological phrase in the IP. This fall can be either a

downward curve or a jump to a lower pitch. The end of a finality is consistently a context for devoicing and final glottal stops.

Isolated phrases or one-word answers tend to be final IPs. One result of this is that stem-final vowels are often obscured by devoicing (3.1.2). In the case of my own fieldwork, this necessitated supplementary elicitation using forms with additional suffixes to clarify the vowel in the stem which would otherwise be devoiced or deleted (primarily: for nouns, the plural possessive suffix –*kąn*, an intensifier clitic, =*tunkan*, for adjectives, and for verbs the clitic =*ca* 'now').

PhP	PhP	PhP
⟨ {(ta̧ːmá̧ːnali̧)	(nakbárco)}	{(šaka̧ːcísa̧)} . ⟩

ta–a̧n–má:nali̧	nak=barco	ša–ka̧:–cisa≡₀
3PL.SUBJ–go–PROG:3PL.SUBJ	LOC=boat	DTV–PLC–late≡JNC
'they are going in a boat at night'		
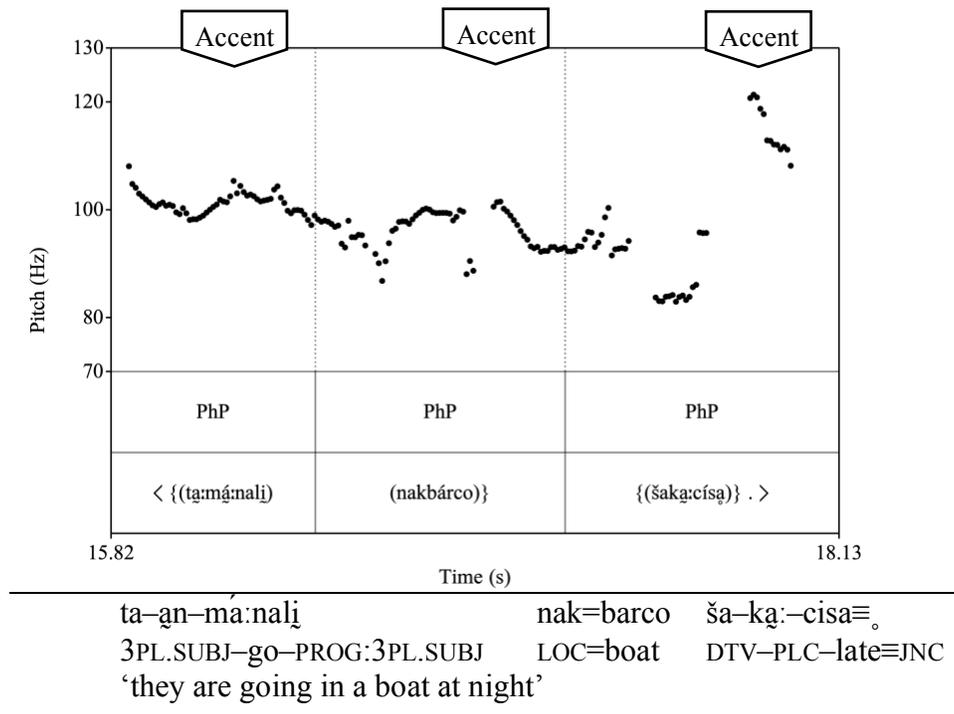
Figure 15: Finality IP pitch contour (Luna 5)

In Figure 15, Luna 5 shows a finality with three PhPs. The final PhP shows an increase of pitch for the accented syllable, but the pitch descends rapidly over the duration of the syllable. Luna 5 shows a completed thought and is followed by a much longer pause before the speaker begins again.

3.1.2   Right-edge juncture phenomena

The right edge border of an intonational phrase is the locus of two juncture phenomena: the

surfacing of glottal stops which are deleted in other prosodic contexts, and devoicing.

Glottal stop deletion

Underlying word- and affix-final glottal stops are deleted in any prosodic context excepting the

end of intonational phrases, (2).

(2)   a.   ⟨ {(čị̌škǘ) (ikit)} . ⟩
            čị̌škų̄   ikit
            man:JNC   I
            'I am a man'
       b.   ⟨ {(čạ:tímin)} {(čị̌škǘʔ)} . ⟩
            čạ:–tim≡in   čị̌škų̄ʔ
            CLF–one≡JNC   man
            'one man'

<div align="right">La luna:1</div>

The word *čị̌škǘʔ* 'man' in (2)a. loses /ʔ/ in the middle of a phonological phrase, while in b.,

coming at the end of an intonational phrase, it is realised (cf. also *papą́ʔ* 'moon' in Luna 18, 19).

In addition to their appearance at the end of intonational phrases, these glottal stops are assumed

to be part of the lexical item for reasons of stress placement (cf. (58) in 2.6.1) and with

comparison to cognate forms.

After the context for retaining glottal stops is at the right edge of intonational

phrases, in La Luna, there are two hesitations where *papą́ʔ* 'moon' loses its glottal stop and adds

n-epenthesis instead (la Luna 33, 50).

Devoicing

The ends of intonational phrases are the site of another salient juncture phenomenon, devoicing.

This process that affects short vowels and approximants at the end of intonational phrases.

Devoicing is something of a continuum which may see the vowel (or approximant) deleted, devoiced, or reduced, (3).

(3)   a.   [pusma̤qatu:n̥]
            ⟨ {(pus) (ma̤qatún̥u̥)} . ⟩
            pus   ma̤qa–tunu≡ ̥
            well   **CLF**–one.by.one≡JNC
            'well, sometimes (several times)'

                                                                 Plato:3

    b.   [kcukuli̥xokli:lakawaša kíwi̥]
            ⟨ {(kcukuli̥) (xo) (kli:lakawaša) (kíwi̥)} . ⟩
            k–cuku–li̥   xo: k–li:–laka–waš–a   kiwi̥≡ ̥
            1SG.SUBJ–begin–PFV   **PTCL**   1SG.SUBJ–INSTR–face–dig–IMPF   tree≡JNC
            'I began to chop at it with the wooden stake'

                                                                   Serpiente:23

    c.   [kli:lakáwašli̥ŋkíwə̥]
            ⟨ {(kli:lakawášli̥n)} {(kíwi̥)} , ⟩
            k–li:–laka–waš–li̥≡n   ki̤wi̥≡ ̥
            1SG.SUBJ–INSTR–face–dig–PFV≡JNC   tree≡JNC
            'I scraped at it with the stick'

                                                                   Serpiente:24

In these three examples, devoicing juncture phenomena can be seen at the end of each intonational phrase. For these examples, the phonetic transcription has been provided to show the different patterns of devoicing—in the phonemic and prosodic transcription, both here and elsewhere, < ̥> will be used for all devoicing juncture phenomena, and only at the phonetic level will finer details (deletion, devoicing, or reduction) be transcribed. In (3)a, the final /u/ of *maqatúnu* 'sometimes' is deleted. In (3)b and c, the word *kíwi̥* 'tree' comes at the end of two sequential intonational phrases: in the first it is unvoiced, and in the second it is reduced. Another aspect of devoicing, more fully described below, appears in (3)a and b: when a nasal or approximant precedes the short vowel, it can also be devoiced. Reduction seems to be more common with continuation IPs, while deletion is more common with finalities, a pattern to which these examples conform.

SHORT VOWEL	–V	→	–V̥
APPROXIMANT	–C[approx]	→	–C̥[approx]
APPROXIMANT – SHORT VOWEL	–C[approx]V	→	–C̥[approx]V̥
NASAL – SHORT VOWEL	–NV	→	–N̥V̥

<div align="center">Table 7: Areas affected by devoicing</div>

The phonological sequences affected by devoicing are not limited to short vowels. As mentioned above, approximants and sequences of approximant-short vowel and nasal-short vowel are also affected by devoicing, as shown in Table 7. Although uncommon, word final approximants are subject to the same devoicing as short vowels. The most frequent example is the 1PL.SUBJ agreement marker /-w/, (4).

(4)   /kpucayá:w/   →   [kpuxayá:w̥]
      k–puca–ya:–w
      1SG.SUBJ–look.for–IMPF–1PL.SUBJ
      'we see it (1PL.EXC>3)'

Sequences of approximants and nasals before a short vowel at the ends of words are also devoiced (in the appropriate prosodic context). In these sequences, as in (3)a, the vowel is often deleted, with the nasal devoiced. Examples of nasals followed by a short vowel are shown in (5)a, approximants followed by a short vowel are shown as well: /y/ in b, /w/ in c, and /l/ in d.

(5)   a.   /xíni̥/   →   [xín̥i̥] or [xín̥]
            'smoke'
          /séqna/   →   [séqn̥ḁ] or [séqn̥]
            'banana'
      b.   /stáyḁ/   →   [stáyḁ]
            'squirrel'
          /cíya/   →   [cíyḁ]
            'rat'
          /pucáyḁ/   →   [pucáyḁ]
            puca–yḁ
            look.for–2SUBJ:IMPF
            'you look for him/her (2>3)'
      c.   /kíwi̥/   →   [kíw̥i̥]
            'tree'
          /qe̥:wíwi̥/ →   [qe̥:wíw̥i̥]
            'cold'
      d.   /ḁqtím míli̥/ → [ḁqtím míli̥] or [míɬ]
            'one thousand'
          /ɬtulúlu/   →   [ɬtulúlu̥] or [ɬtulúɬ]
            'thick'
          /púcali̥/   →   [púcali̥] or [púcaɬ]
            puca–li̥
            look.for–PFV
            'he/she looked for him (3>3)'

The final word in (5)d, *púcali̥* 'he/she looked for him' shows a frequent and salient example of devoicing: the perfective /–li̥/, which appears as [ɬ], this being treated as the devoiced variant of /l/. Perfective marking shows variation in /l/ and /ɬ/ across the Totonacan family, with many languages describing /ɬ/ as an allomorph of /–li̥/ or /–ɬi̥/. In Coahuitlán Totonac the variation between these two forms is explained by the devoicing juncture phenomenon at prosodic boundaries.

   As mentioned in 3.1.1, one word utterances are often finalities, and often show devoicing. This obscures stem-final vowels and can make it difficult to provide a citation form. With experience, I became more accurate in determining by ear the quality of many devoiced vowels (devoiced sequences of approximant/nasal and vowel remain difficult to transcribe: my initial transcription of the words in (5)a was <xi:> and <seq>). I also used additional elicitation

of word forms with suffixes or clitics to shield stem-final vowels from devoicing (primarily the plural possessive suffix -*kan* and clitics =*tunkan* 'intensifier' and =*ca* 'now').

3.2   Phonological phrase (PhP)

Another set of juncture phenomena occur within utterances which seem to co-occur with phrase-level accent (2.6). Following the literature, I call this level the phonological phrase—three phonological phrases from Serpiente 28 are shown in Figure 16.

pus	k–kinka–sįt–lį	xo:≡n	kįwį	kinka–sįt–li
well	1SG.SUBJ–nose–cut–PFV	**PTCL**≡JNC	tree	nose–cut–PFV

'I cut off the point, I took the tip of the stick'
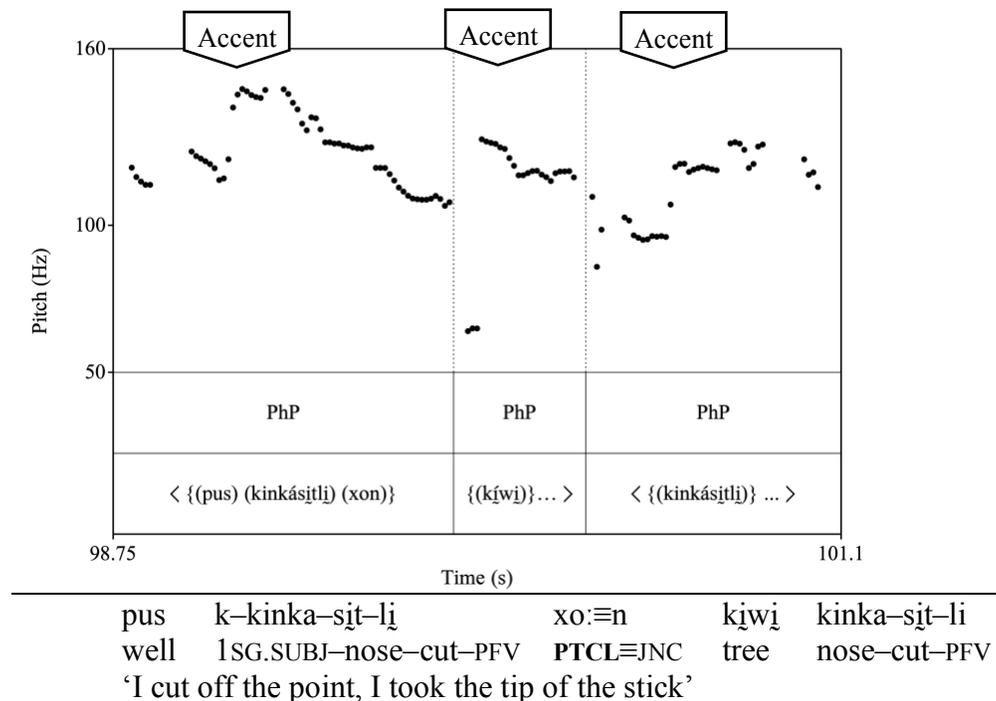
Figure 16: Phonological phrases in Serpiente 28

These phonological phrases show the phrase accent: in both instances of *kinkásįtlį* 'I cut the tip', the pitch rises sharply at the second, accented syllable; in *kįwį* 'tree', the first syllable carries the accent, and the rise is visible from the preceding word. In 3.2.1, I discuss the juncture phenomena occuring at this level. In 3.2.2, I discuss a subset of examples where these juncture phenomena occur within phonological phrases.

3.2.1   PhP juncture phenomena

Juncture phenomena i- and n-epenthesis appear at the right edge of phonological phrases before another phonological phrase. In Serpiente 28 (Figure 12 above) , the only environment for juncture phenomena is the end of the first phonological phrase, where we see n-epenthesis coming before a stop /k/.

n-epenthesis

One of the most salient juncture phenomena is n-epenthesis, shown twice in (6).

(6)   ⟨ {(pus) (mat) (šwí:n)} {(čḁ:tímin)} {(či̯škų́ʔ)} , ⟩
         pus   mat   š–wi:≡n   čḁ:–tim≡in   či̯škų́ʔ
         well   QUOT   PAST–be≡JNC   **CLF**–one≡JNC   man
         'there was a man'
                                                                                Plato:1

A similar process has been noted in Sierra Totonac languages and described as nasal epenthesis in Filomeno Mata Totonac (McFarland 2009) and prenasalisation in Coatepec Totonac (McQuown 1990; Levy 2015; Levy & Hernández-Green, 2017). While McQuown first described this as prenasalisation, seemingly due to left edge phonological constraints, there is a combination of left and right edge conditioning on this phenomenon in Coahuitlán Totonac.

n-epenthesis is conditioned by prosodic boundaries and phonological environment. It appears between phonological phrases when it is followed by a stop or affricate (/p, t, k, q, c, č, ƛ/). This left edge (phrase initial) conditioning, and the assimilation of the nasal with the following consonant (2.3.1) are properties of the phenomenon in other Totonac languages and seem to underly the use of the term "prenasalisation" by McQuown. However, I have opted to treat n-epenthesis as a phrase-final feature because the epenthesised segment is perceptually closer to the right edge and appears within the pitch contour of the preceding phrase (i.e., /n/ is part of the pitch contour of *čatímin* and not *či̯škų́ʔ* in (6)). n-epenthesis is also often present

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before a pause, and occasionally when the following phrase does not start with the proper

phonological conditioning. In these cases, the n-epenthesis seems to be part of the turn-taking

cues, signalling the speaker is not yielding their turn or finished speaking.

i-epenthesis

Like n-epenthesis, i-epenthesis comes between phonological phrases (7).

(7)   ⟨ {(y) (čạ:tími)} {(šatiná:kut)} , ⟩
        y   čạ:–tim≡i   ša–tina:=kut
        and   **CLF**–one≡JNC   DTV–small=yet
         'and one is still a boy'

<div align="right">La luna:4</div>

The phonological condition for i-epenthesis is between two consonants. I describe this

phenomenon on the right edge because it often occurs immediately before n-epenthesis, although

the two are conditioned separately. For example, i-epenethesis appears alone between /m/ and /š/

in (7), n-epenethesis appears alone before /k/ below in (8)a, and in (6) where both occur, the /n/

is conditioned by /č/, and the /i/ can be thought of as conditioned by /m/ and either the

epenethetic /n/ or the /č/ of *čạ:tím*.

3.2.2   Juncture phenomena within PhP

The occurrence of n- and i-epenthesis seem to be obligatory at phonological phrase boundaries,

given the proper conditioning environment. However, n- and i-epenthesis also occur inside of the

phonological phrase (8), (9).

(8) a.   ⟨ {(če:ma:n) (kat̯aqnú:nunti̯)} . ⟩
           če:ma:≡n   ka–t̯aqnu:–nun–ti̯꞉
           thus≡JNC   OPT–put.on.hat–DTR–2SG.SUBJ:PFV≡JNC
           ' "this is how you should wear your hat" '

                                                                    La luna:8

     b.   ⟨ {(wanin) (ča̯:tím)} , ⟩
           wan–ní≡n   ča̯:–tim
           say–BEN:IMPF≡JNC   CLF–one
           'the one man tells him that'

                                                                    La luna:9

(9) a.   ⟨ {(y) (a̯šnin) (tal̯aqcini) (pu̯nčán)} {(papá̯ʔ)} , ⟩
           y   a̯šni≡n   ta–l̯aqcín≡i   pu̯n–Ø–ča≡n   papa̯ʔ
           and   when≡JNC   3PL.SUBJ–see:IMPF≡JNC   rise—PFV–DIST:JNC≡JNC   moon
           'and when they see the moon rising'

                                                                    La luna:18

     b.   ⟨ {(y) (waní) (pus)} … ⟩
           y   wan–ní   pus
           and   say–BEN:IMPF   well
           'so he says to him'

                                                                    La luna:31

     c.   ⟨ {(mat) (pú:ni) (xo:n)} {(či̯škú̯ʔ)} . ⟩
           mat   pu:n≡i   xo: či̯šku̯ʔ
           QUOT   think:IMPF≡JNC   PTCL   man
            'thinks the man'

                                                                    Plato:11

In (8), n-epenthesis appears on *če:ma* 'thus' and *waní* 'he tells him'; these words have the conditioning environment preceding a stop or affricate, but do not occur at the end of a phonological phrase with phrase accent. In (9) there are several examples of i-epenthesis which also come within a phonological phrase. Importantly however, while the first two lines (a and b) show the conditioning environment for n-epenthesis, this does not occur. There are at least two possibilities for this distribution: these juncture phenomena may occur at an additional, third level of the prosodic hierarchy where they are optional due to rate of speech or stylistic concerns (for example, this level may be the phonological word and co-occur with lexical accent), or they may provide evidence that the domain of these juncture phenomena is not best described by the phonological phrase.

3.3   Hesitations

One common concern in transcribing texts is how to treat hesitations and false starts. In

Coahuitlán Totonac, I have observed that false starts and hesitations often show specifc

intonational and juncture features: these include a slow descent in the tonal contour beginning on

the syllable with phrase accent to the end of the word, and an often significant lengthening of

word-final vowels. Figure 17 shows the tonal contour of Luna 6.

y   ta–ta̠:wan–má:nali̠≡:
and   3PL–walk–PROG:3PL.SUBJ≡JNC
'and they're going along at night in a boat'
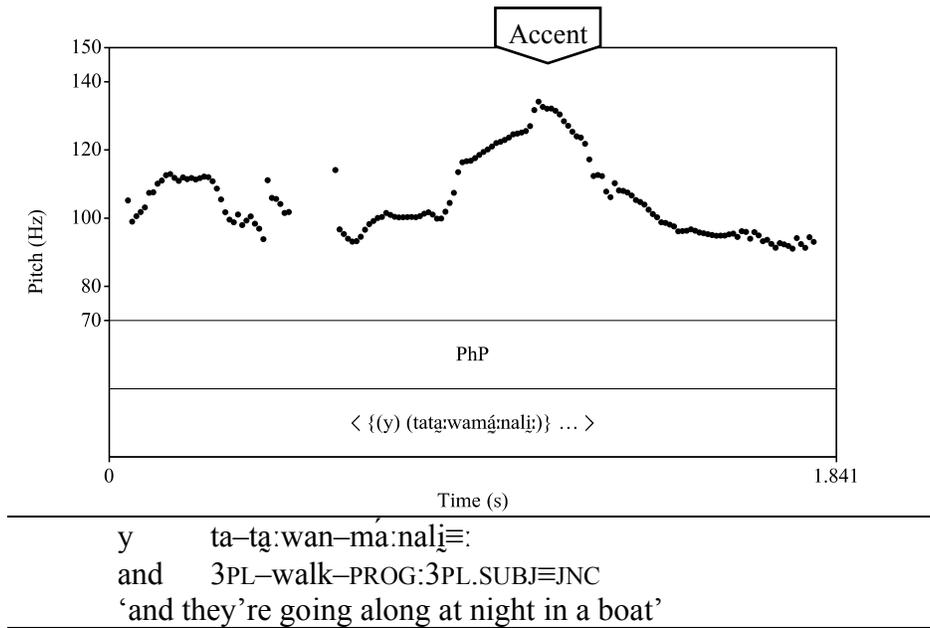
Figure 17: Hesitation IP pitch contour (Luna 6)

In the narration, this hesitation is followed by a restatement of the information in the previous

line (as a continuation) before moving forward in the story. The pitch rises to the accented

syllable, before slowly descending through the rest of the word. The final vowel of

tata̠:wamá:nali̠ 'they're going along together'shows considerable lengthening.

In some ways, this hesitation pattern is like an IP subtype; however, hesitations do not

show the right-edge juncture phenomena of final glottal stop or devoicing. Further, hesitations

occur in various places in an utterance, between words or interrupting mid-word. In Luna 6

(Figure 17) and Plato 19 in (10), the hesitation comes neatly between words.

(10) ⟨ {(pus) (u:) (kto:nímạ:) (amali:)} … ⟩ ⟨ {(špuláto) (kinta:tạ́kan)} . ⟩

pus	u:	k–to:–ni–mạ:		amali≡:	pulato	kin–ta:tạ–kạn
well	**DEM**	1SG.SUBJ–make–BEN–PROG		**PTCL**≡JNC	plate	1PO–father–PL.PO

'I'm making a plate for grandpa'

<div align="right">Plato:20</div>

In (10) the hesitation comes between the verb *kto:nímạ:* 'I'm making' and its object *puláto* 'plate', and is additionally marked with a particle *amali* which appears to be a filler word.[23]

Hesitations sometimes interrupt words and come in the middle of a morphosyntactic word (11).

(11) a. ⟨ {(y) (titamimpá:)} nakš … ⟩ ⟨ {(*barco*kán)} . ⟩

y	ti–ta–min–pá:	nak=š–barco–kạn
and	POT–3PL.SUBJ–come–RPT:PFV	LOC=3PO–boat–PL.PO

'and they returned into their boat'

<div align="right">La luna:62</div>

   b. ⟨ {(cajónin) (čiš)} … ⟩ ⟨ {(mạqčo:nu:kaṇí:) (mati:)} … ⟩

cajon≡in	či	š–mạq–čo:–nu:–kaṇi:	mat≡i:
box≡JNC	how	PAST–body–close–in–INDEF:PERF	QUOT≡JNC

'the box where they had closed him inside'

<div align="right">Conejo:81</div>

Both examples in (11) show morphosyntactic words interrupted by hesitations: in Luna 62, the speaker resumes the word smoothly after the interruption and in Conejo 80, the hesitation comes after a resyllabified past *š*- which has attached to the preceding word *či* 'how', and the next intonational phrase finishes the word *šmạqčo:nu:kaṇí:* 'they had closed him inside'. Hesitations may also mark false starts, with material repeated or corrected after the hesitation (12).

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[23] Even more so than with other common particles like *xo:* and *ču*, my consultants are extremely reluctant to assign *amali* any meaning or even word-hood.

(12) a. ⟨ {kiɬšákali̯n} kin… ⟩⟨ {(ki*machete*)} . ⟩
         k–kiɬ-saka–li̯≡n   ki–machete
         1SG.SUBJ–mouth–wipe–PFV≡JNC   1PO–machete
         'I wiped off the blade of my machete'

                                                                     Serpiente:16

      b. ⟨ {(kla̯qcín) (čo:)} lak… ⟩⟨ {(taq) (lakacuná:ca)} {(wí:) (pus)} , ⟩
         k–la̯qcin   čo: taq   lakacuna:=ca   wi: pus
         1SG.SUBJ–see:IMPF **PTCL** more   near=now   sit   well
         'I saw that now it was closer'

                                                                     Serpiente:26

In Serpiente 15-16, the narrator first gives the first person possessive *kin-* before a hesitation, and the reprisal contains the corrected allomorph *ki-* coming before a nasal in *machete.* As mentioned above, false starts do not appear in the parse or interlinear gloss. Serpiente 26 appears to give the start of the word *lakacuná:* 'near, close' before hesitating. Upon reprisal, the speaker corrects by saying *taq* 'more' before *lakacuná:*.

3B   Prosodic representation

The presentation of texts in this chapter aims to showcase juncture phenomena and the prosodic units motivated by the combination of these juncture phenomena and intonational features. These two things are interrelated as visible juncture phenomena are one of the primary motivators for the prosodic structure, together with phrase accent and tonal contour. The representation has 6 lines, shown in Table 8.

LINE 1	phonemic transcription with prosodic units
LINE 2	morphological parse
LINE 3	interlinear gloss
LINE 4	Spanish translation
LINE 5	English translation

Table 8: Lines used in 3C texts

Line one presents a phonemic transcription of the lexical phonology, divided by different types of parens to show the postlexical prosodic phenomena and the intonations. As a full analysis of Coahuitlán Totonac prosody is still to be done, this may be thought of as a phonetic representation of prosodic phenomena: I describe the distribution of juncture phenomena under the assumption that their distribution is governed by the provisional prosodic units described above. The phonemic transcription, like that in chapter 2, shows allophony segmental processes conditioned by prosody and morphology, but not allophonics. Prosodic conditioning refers to the changes effected by juncture phenomena: i- and n-epenthesis, lengthening, devoicing, and glottal stop deletion. The epenthetic segments and lengthening appear in the phonemic transcript, and underlying glottal stops do not appear where they are deleted. Segments affected by devoicing appear with the combining ring below that the IPA uses to mark voicelessness i.e., /ą/. The differing reach of devoicing to reduce or delete segments is not shown, thus [štá:t], [štá:tą] and [štá:tą] all correspond to / štá:tą /. One reason for not transcribing schwa phonemically is that rate-of-speech-related vowel reduction of any vowel can result in /ə/. The different levels of devoicing are discussed above (3.1.2).

The focus of line 1 is the representation of prosodic features: specifically, the juncture phenomena, intonational contours, and phrase accent. Boundaries are drawn—with a series of parens and brackets (cf. Levy 2015)—around morphosyntactic words, phonological phrases, and intonational phrases. In addition to parens, intonational phrases are marked according to their subtype (3.1.1).

⟨ { (Morphosyntactic word)	Phonological phrase (PhP) }	Intonational phrase (IP) ⟩
		Continuation , ⟩
		Final . ⟩

Table 9: Parens marking prosodic units

As we have seen above, this representation follows that Levy employs in her discussion of prosody in Coatepec Totonac (2015, 2020, in press). The annotation of prosodic units is built up from observable prosodic features (juncture phenomena, intonational contour, etc.). Once these prosodic features are added to the transcription, I separate morphosyntactic words with special attention to clitics, resyllabification, and i- and n-epenthesis. The boundaries of phonological phrases are likewise marked by i- and n-epenthesis, but I primarily identified phonological phrases by the occurrence of phrase accent (graphical accents on line 1 show phrase accent, and lexical stress is not shown in this chapter). Intonational phrases are marked with a different set of juncture phenomena and have tonal contours. For hesitations, I have attempted to perserve the prosodic units in which they are found; however, this is as much a stylistic choice as a matter of analysis. Where the break is within a word or the boundary is unclear, hesitations are represented without parens.

Lines 2 and 3 show the morphological parse and interlinearisation. With a focus on prosody, some morphological analysis is abbreviated, particularly derivational affixes (13).

(13) a. tanú:
          tanú: | ta–nú:
          go.in:IMPF | DCS–in:IMPF
          'she/he enters'
      b. tamakanú:
          tamakanú: | ta–maka–nú:
          put.inside:IMPF | DCS–hand–in:IMPF
          'she/he puts it inside; she/he puts their hand inside'

The words in (13), which occur several times in Serpiente (ll. 6, 7, 8, 20, 21, 34; ll. 9, 25, 32), are here shown with two different parses: immediately under the first phonemic line is the abbreviated parse used in chapter 3 texts. To the right of the abbreviated form is a deeper analysis that includes the decausative marker *ta-* is extremely productive, here attaching to bound stative stem -nu: 'in' to form the verb *tanú:* 'go inside'. This derivational pattern also commonly includes part prefixes such as *maka-* 'hand' in (13)b and laka- 'face' in Serpiente 35. In this chapter, relexing these forms helps focus on the prosody over morphology. In addition to some derivation, compound but non-compositional inflectional marking has also been reduced

(14) tapa:šuwamá:nali̧
      ta–pa:šuwan–má:nali̧ | ta–pa:šuwan–ma̧:–nan–li̧
      3PL.SUBJ–be.happy–PROG:3PL.SUBJ | 3PL.SUBJ–be.happy–PROG–ST.PL–PFV
      'they were happy'

<div align="right">La luna:66</div>

The abbreviated gloss shown immediately under the phonemic transcription in the first line collapses the historical pieces used to derive the third person plural progressive marking, while it is shown in full to the right. For the third person plural subject, progressive marking is derived from the posture verb ma̧: 'lay'; although posture verbs are not inflected for aspect, they historically show perfective marking (cf. Upper Necaxa *wi:ɫ* 'sit', *ma̧:ɫ* 'lay'). While this perfective marking has mostly disappeared in Coahuitlán Totonac (cf. *wi:* 'sti' *ma̧:* 'lay'), it persists in third person plural in posture verbs (*tawi:lánali̧* 'they are sitting', *tamá̧:nali̧* 'they are laying') and in the marking for progressive aspect (tapa:šuwamá:nali̧). In addition to the shallow versus deep analysis of parts, another important difference in these two transcriptions is the inclusion of stress in the abbreviated form. In the full form, the presence of perfective *-li̧* signals the antepenultimate stress pattern (2.6.3.2) even in this context where it is not marking perfective aspect. In the abbreviated parse, stress is added to show it falls outside of the expected syllable.

The only graphical accents on this line are in this and similar places where stress is irregular or meaningful: mostly shown as a marker of imperfective aspect. Juncture phenomena that add segments or features (i- and n-epenthesis, lengthening, and devoicing) appear on this line (15).

(15)   a.   { (ča̠:tímin) (či̠šku̠ʔ) }
                    ča̠:–tim≡in   či̠šku̠ʔ
                    CLF–one≡JNC   man
                    'one man'

                                                             Plato:1

    b.   ⟨ {(i) (tata̠:wamá:nali̠:)} … ⟩
                    y   ta–ta̠:wan–ma̠:–nan–li̠≡:
                    and   3PL.SUBJ–walk–PROG–ST.PL–PFV≡JNC
                    'they're walking along'

                                                             La luna:6

    c.   ⟨ {(če:ma:n) (kata̠qnú:nunti̥)} . ⟩
                    če:ma:≡n   ka–ta̠qnu:–nun–ti̠≡̥
                    thus≡JNC   OPT–put.on.hat–DTR–2SG.SUBJ:PFV≡JNC
                    ' "this is how you should wear your hat" '

                                                             La luna:8

In each of these examples, the added segment or feature (voicelessness, length) is marked like an affix with the identical sign < ≡ >. The final juncture phenomenon deletes word-final glottal stops in non-IP-final positions. This is marked differently: in line 2 the glottal stop does not appear, and the gloss in line 3 is added with a colon instead of an identical sign (16).

(16)   ⟨ {(tanu:čá)} {(nakłúku)} … ⟩
          ta–nu:–Ø–čá   nak=łuku
          DCS–in–PFV–DIST:JNC   LOC=cave
          'he went into the cave'

                                                             Armadillo:5

3C   Texts

3.4   La luna

Alberto Reyes Castillo

In the summer of 2014 I recorded a number of short texts with the help of animated short films as prompts: after watching the short on my laptop, I invited Don Alberto to retell the story in his own words. This text is a retelling of the story told in the Pixar short *La Luna* (Casarosa 2012), recorded 13 August 2014.

(1)   〈 {(ča̰:tímin)} {(čḭškṵʔ)} , 〉
        ča̰:–tim≡in   čḭškṵʔ
        CLF–one≡JNC   man
        '(había) un hombre'
        '(there was) a man'

(2)   〈 {(y) (šqó̰:ča) (y:)} … 〉 〈 {(ča̰:tim) (wanpaɾáš)} … 〉
        y   š–qo̰:ča   y≡:   ča̰:–tim   wan–paɾá
        and   3PO–boy   and≡JNC   **CLF**–one   COP–RPT:IMPF
        'y su niño y el otro'
        'and his son and another one'

(3)   〈 {(šqałatṵtuká́n)} . 〉
        š–qała–tṵtu–ka̰n
        3PO–**CLF**–three–PL.PO
        'son tres'
        'there's three of them'

(4)   〈 {(*y*) (ča̰:tími)} {(šatiná:kut)} , 〉
        y   ča̰:–tim≡i   ša–tina:=kut
        and   **CLF**–one≡JNC   DTV–small=yet
        'y un niño acompaña'
        'and one is still a boy'

(5)   〈 {(ta̰:má:nalḭ)} {(nak*bárco*)} {(šaka̰:cḭ́sa̰)} . 〉
        ta–a̰n–ma:nalḭ   nak=barco   ša–ka̰:–cḭsa̰≡̥
        3PL.SUBJ–go–PROG:3PL.SUBJ   LOC=boat   DTV–PLC–late≡JNC
        'van en el barco de noche'
        'they are going in a boat at night'

(6)　⟨ {(y) (tat̠a:wamá:nali̠:)} … ⟩ ⟨ {(cís̠a)} {(nak*bárco*)} , ⟩
　　　y　　ta–ta̠:wan–má:nali̠≡:　　　　cis̠a　　　nak=barco
　　　and　3PL–walk–PROG:3PL.SUBJ≡JNC　late　　　LOC=boat
　　　'y van caminando de noche en el barco'
　　　'and they're going along at night in a boat'

(7)　⟨ {(y) (qó̠:ča:)} … ⟩ ⟨ {(lakita:t) (yá:)} , ⟩
　　　y　　qo̠:ča≡:　　lakita:t　　yá:
　　　and　boy≡JNC　half　　　　stand:IMPF
　　　'y el niño esta en medío'
　　　'and the boy is standing in the middle (between the other two)'

(8)　⟨ {(y) (waní)} . ⟩ ⟨ {(če:ma:n) (kat̠aqnú:nunti̠)} . ⟩
　　　y　　wan–ní　　če:ma:≡n　　ka–ta̠qnu:nun–ti̠≡ᵒ
　　　and　say–BEN:IMPF thus≡JNC　　OPT–wear.hat–2SG.SUBJ:PFV≡JNC
　　　'y le dice así llevas su gorra'
　　　'and he tells him, "this is how you should wear your hat" '

(9)　⟨ {(wanin) (č̠a:tím)} , ⟩
　　　wan–ni≡n　　čḁ:–tim
　　　say–BEN≡JNC　**CLF**–one
　　　'le dice uno (abuelo)'
　　　'the one man tells him that'

(10)　⟨ {(y) (waniparán)} {(čḁ:tími)} {(šta:tḁ) (qó̠:čḁ)} , ⟩
　　　y　　wan–ni–paɾá≡n　　　　čḁ:–tim≡i　　š–ta:tḁ　　　　qo̠:čḁ≡ᵒ
　　　and　say–BEN–RPT:IMPF≡JNC　**CLF**–one≡jnc　3PO–father　　　boy≡JNC
　　　'y le dice el otro, su papa de niño'
　　　'and the other one tells him (the boy), he's the boy's father'

(11)　⟨ {(če:ma:n) (kat̠aqnú:nunti̠)} . ⟩
　　　če:ma:≡n　　　ka–ta̠qnu:nun–ti̠≡ᵒ
　　　thus≡JNC　　　OPT–wear.hat–2SG.SUBJ:PFV≡JNC
　　　'así llevas su gorra'
　　　' "this is how you should wear your hat" '

(12)　⟨ {(tali:cukučá)} {(šqo̠:čakán)} . ⟩
　　　ta–li:–cuku–Ø–ča　　　　　　š–qo:ča–ka̠n
　　　3PL.SUBJ–INSTR–begin–PFV–DIST:JNC　3PO–boy–PL.PO
　　　'así empezaron a tratarlo el niño'
　　　'that's how they're starting to treat their son'

(13)　⟨ {(y:ca) (čú:ncan) (či:)} … ⟩
　　　y:=ca　　　　ču:nca≡n　　　či≡:
　　　and=now　　thus≡JNC　　　how≡JNC
　　　'y así como'
　　　'and that's how'

(14) ⟨ {(štat̪:wamá:naɬ)} , ⟩ ⟨ {(nak*bárco*:)} … ⟩
      š–ta–t̪:wan–má:nali̥≡˳   nak=barco≡:
      PAST–3PL.SUBJ–walk–PROG:3PL.SUBJ≡JNC   LOC=boat≡JNC
      'iban caminando en el barco'
      'they were going along in the boat'

(15) ⟨ {(a:ma:n) (qó̥:čạ)} , ⟩ ⟨ {(šqaɬatu̥tukán)} . ⟩
      a:ma:≡n   qo̥:ča≡˳   š–qaɬa–tu̥tu–kạn
      DEM≡JNC   boy≡JNC   3PO–**CLF**–three–PL.PO
      este niño, los tres
      'that boy, the three of them'

(16) ⟨ {(čú:ncan) (či)} {(štat̪:wamá:nali̥)} {(šakạ:cí̥sạ) (a:ma:)} … ⟩
      ču:nca≡n či   š–ta–tạ:wan–má:nali̥   ša–kạ:–cí̥sạ   a:ma:≡:
      thus≡JNC how   PAST–3PL.SUBJ–walk–PROG:3PL.SUBJ   DTV–PLC–late   DEM≡JNC
      'así como caminaban de noche estos…'
      'that's how they're going along in the boat, these'

(17) ⟨ {(lakči̥šku̥wín)} . ⟩
      lak–či̥šku̥–win
      PL–man–PL
      'hombres'
      'men'

(18) ⟨ {(*y*) (ạšnin) (talạqcini) (pu̥nčán)} {(papḁ́ʔ)} , ⟩
      y   ạšni≡n   ta–lạqcín≡i   pu̥n–Ø–čạ≡n   papạʔ
      and   when≡JNC   3PL.SUBJ–see:IMPF≡JNC   rise–PFV–DIST:JNC≡JNC moon
      'y cuando vieron nacer la luna'
      'and when they see the moon rising'

(19) ⟨ {(*péro*)} … ⟩ ⟨ {(qạtạ) (papá) (y)} {(tasú̥:n)} {(ču) (lu:) (lakacuná:)} . ⟩
      pero   qạtạ   papạ   y   tasú̥:≡n   ču   lu: lakacuna:
      but   big   moon:JNC and   be.visible:IMPF≡JNC   **PTCL** very   near
      'pero se ve muy grande de cerca'
      'well, the moon looks really big up close'

(20) ⟨ {(*entónces*)} {(šta:tạ) (qó̥:ča) (pus)} … ⟩
      entonces š–ta:tạ   qo̥:ča   pus
      then   3PO–father   boy   well
      'el padre dice'
      'then the boy's father'

(21) ⟨ {(waní) (pus)} na … ⟩ ⟨ {(nato:káyạn)} {(ta:ɬmán)} na… ⟩
      wan–ni   pus   na–to:kạ–yạ≡n   ta:ɬman
      say–BEN   well   FUT–go.up–IMPF:2SG.SUBJ≡JNC   high
      'le dice a su hijo vas a subir arriba muy alto'
      'he says (to his son), "you're going to go up very high" '

(22) 〈 {(napína) (*hasta*)} {(nakpapáʔ)} , 〉 〈 {(napína)} , 〉
na–pin–a̧   *hasta*   nak=papa̧ʔ   na–pin–a̧
FUT–go:2SG.SUBJ–IMPF:2SG.SUBJ   until   LOC=moon   FUT–go:2SG.SUBJ–IMPF:2SG.SUBJ
'vas ir hasta la luna,'
' "you're going to go up to the moon" '

(23) 〈 {(la̧qcín)} {(či) (čun) (ka̧:wa:nán)} . 〉 〈 {(waní)} , 〉
la̧qcín   či   ču≡n   ka̧:wa:nán   wan–ní
see:IMPF   how   PTCL≡JNC   sky.be.clear:IMPF   say–BEN:IMPF
'vas a ir a ver como es'
' "you're going to go see, as it's a clear night" he says to him'

(24) 〈 {(yó:li̧š)} {(*escaléra*)} , {(*peroł*) (ma:nšní:n)} {(*escalera*) (yó:ł)} , 〉
yo:–li̧   š–*escalera*   *pero*   łma:n–šni:–n   *escalera*   yo:–li̧
place.upright–PFV   3PO–ladder   but   long–exceed–NOM   ladder   place.upright–PFV
'pone su escalero, pero muy largo'
'he put up his ladder, well it's such a long ladder he put up'

(25) 〈 {(*y* šqó̧:ča:)} … 〉 〈 {(tačí̧:)} … 〉 〈 {(táči̧:ł)} , 〉 〈 {(*y*) (cukuli̧n) (to:ḱa)} . 〉
y   š–qo̧:ča≡:   ta–čí̧:≡:   ta–či̧:–li   y   cuku–li̧≡n   to:ḱa
and   3PO–boy≡JNC   DCS–tie:IMPF≡JNC   DCS–tie–PFV   and   begin–PFV≡JNC   go.up:IMPF
y el niño se amaró, y empezó a subir
'and the boy ties, he tied it, and he starts to go up' (the boy ties an anchor onto his back)

(26) 〈 {(*y*) (ča̧:li̧) (*hasta*)} nakš … 〉
y   ča̧:n–li̧   *hasta*
and   arrive–PFV   until
'y llegó …'
'and he got there'

(27) 〈 {(nakšata:łmá:n)} , 〉 〈 {(nakšli:a̧qaspútni̧)} {(*šescaléra*)} , 〉
nak=ša–ta:łma:n   nak=š–li:a̧qasputni̧   š–*escalera*
LOC=DTV–tall   LOC=3PO–extremity   3PO–ladder
'hasta el arriba, asta en el ultima de su escalera'
'up high, up to the end of the ladder'

(28) 〈 {(ášni:)} … 〉 〈 {(án)} {(qó̧:ča)} , 〉 〈 {(*hasta*) (nakpapáʔ)} . 〉
a̧šni≡:   án   qo̧:ča   *hasta*   nak=papa̧ʔ
when≡JNC   go:IMPF   boy   until   LOC=moon
cuando va el niño y se fue hasta en la luna
'that's when the boy goes towards the moon'

(29) 〈 {(šo:qwate:čáʔ)} , 〉 〈 {(papáʔ)} , 〉 〈 {(*y*) (ča̧:li̧)} {(nakpapán)} {(qó̧:ča̧)} . 〉
šo:qwa+te:–Ø–čaʔ   papa̧ʔ   y   ča̧:n–li̧   nak=papa̧≡n   qo̧:ča≡̥
inhale+take–PFV–DIST   moon   and   arrive–PFV   LOC=moon:JNC≡JNC   boy≡JNC
'como lo jaló (la gravedad) el *papá*, y llegó en la luna el niño'
'the moon pulls him in, and the boy arrived on the moon'

(30) ⟨ {(pu̲:lánan)} {(qó̲:čan)} {(čá:li̲)} {(nakpapá?)} , ⟩
      pu̲:lana≡n   qo̲:ča≡n   ča:n–li̲   nak=papa̲?
      first≡JNC   boy≡JNC   arrive–PFV   LOC=moon
      'el niño llegó primero'
      'the boy arrived first on the moon'

(31) ⟨ (y:) … ⟩ ⟨ {(talá̲qcili̲š)} {(tá:ta̲)} {(y) (waní) (pus)} … ⟩
      y≡:   ta–la̲qcin–li̲   š–ta:ta̲   y   wan–ní   pus
      and≡JNC   3PL.SUBJ–see–PFV   3PO–father   and   say–BEN:IMPF   well
      'y el niño vió su papa, y le dice (el papa) '
      'and his dad and grandpa (lit. his fathers) saw him, and said to him,'

(32) ⟨ { (kači̲:yo:čín)} ki … ⟩ ⟨ {(ki*barco*ká̲n)} {(la:) (tasa̲qa̲:lí:)} , ⟩
      ka–či̲:–yo:–Ø–či≡n   ki–barco–ka̲n   la: tasa̲qa̲:li:
      OPT–tie–stand.up–PFV–DIST:2SG.SUBJ ≡JNC   1PO–boat–PL.PO   NEG   shake:IMPF
      'amarralo nuestro barco, no se vaya a mover'
      ' "tie up our boat so it doesn't move" '

(33) ⟨ {(wanikán)} {(qó:ča) (pus)} {(či̲:ki̲ltičá̲)} {(nakpapá̲n)} … ⟩ ⟨ {(š*barco*ká̲n)} , ⟩
      wan–ni–kan   qo̲:ča pus   či̲:ki̲lti–Ø–ča   nak=papa̲n   š–barco–ka̲n
      say–BEN–INDEF   boy   well   tie–PFV–DIST:JNC   LOC=moon:JNC≡JNC   3PO–boat–PL.PO
      'le dice al niño, pues lo amarró su barco en la luna'
      'they tell the boy, so he ties it to the moon'

(34) ⟨ {(y) (á:na:)} {(cukuli̲n) (tató:ka̲š)} {(tá:ta̲)} . ⟩ ⟨ {(y) (š*abúelo*)} . ⟩
      y   a̲:na: cuku–li̲≡n   ta–to:ka̲   š–ta:ta̲   y   š–abuelo
      and   also   begin–PFV≡JNC   3PL.SUBJ–go.up   3PO–father   and   3PO–grandpa
      'y tambien empezaron a subirse el papa y el abuelo'
      'and his dad also begins to go up, and his grandpa'

(35) ⟨ {(y) (ašni)} {(la̲qcín)} {(qó̲:ča)} , ⟩ ⟨ ({yúxli̲s)} {(táku̲)} {(šaciná:)} , ⟩
      y   a̲šni   la̲qcín   qo̲:ča   yux–li̲   sta̲ku̲   ša–cina:
      and   when   see:IMPF   boy   fall–PFV   star   DTV–small
      'y cuando el niño vió caer una estrella pequena'
      'and then the boy sees a small star fall'

(36) ⟨ {(y) (ašni)} {(tika̲cí:n)} {(qó̲:ča)} , ⟩ ⟨ {(tačá:li̲:)} … ⟩ ⟨{(štá:ta̲)} {(y) (š*abúelo*)} , ⟩
      y   a̲šni   ti–ka̲cí:≡n   qo̲:ča   ta–ča:n–li̲≡:
      and   when   POT–know:IMPF≡JNC   boy   3PL.SUBJ–arrive–PFV≡JNC

          š–ta:ta̲   y   š–abuelo
          3PO–father   and   3PO–grandpa
      'entonces supo, se dio cuenta que llegaron su papa y su abuelo'
      'and then he realises that his dad and grandpa have arrived'

(37) ⟨ {(y) (łú:wa)} {(lakcina:) (*estrélla*š)} {(wí:)} {(nakpapá?)} . ⟩
y   łu:wa   lak–cina: estrella   š–wí: nak=papa̰?
and   many   PL.ADJ–small   star   PAST–sit:IMPF   LOC=moon
y muchas estrellas pequenas había en la luna
'and there were lots of little stars on the moon'

(38) ⟨ {(y:)} … ⟩ ⟨ {(qo̰:ča) (y:)} … ⟩ ⟨ {(štá:ta̰)} {(y) (*š*abúelo)} , ⟩
y≡:   qo̰:ča   y≡:   š–ta:ta̰   y   š–abuelo
and≡JNC   boy   and≡JNC   3PO–father   and   3PO–grandpa
'el niño, su papa y su abuelo'
'the boy, his dad, and his granpa'

(39) ⟨ {(tača̰:lḭ) (nakpapá?)} … ⟩
ta–ča̰:n–lḭ   nak=papa̰? …
3PL.SUBJ–arrive–PFV   LOC=moon
'llegaron a la luna'
'arrived on the moon'

(40) ⟨ {(tawi:lanančáca̰)} . ⟩
ta–wi:la–nan–Ø–ča=ca≡₀
3PL.SUBJ–sit–ST.PL–PFV–DIST:JNC=now≡JNC
'ya estan allá'
'and now they're up there'

(41) ⟨ {(*entónces*) (pus)} {(como) (lu:) (łú:wa)} {(lakcina:) (*estréllas*)} {(la:) (lán)} {(taya:kán)} . ⟩
entonces   pus   como   lu: łu:wa   lak–cina: estrellas
then   well   like   very   many   PL.ADJ–small   star

    la: lá n   taya:–kan
    NEG   do:IMPF≡JNC   stand.up–INDEF
'como habia muchas estrellas, no se podia pararse'
'because there were so many little stars, they couldn't stand (on the lunar surface?)'

(42) ⟨ {(taki:té:lḭ)} {(lí:pałna̰)} . ⟩
ta–ki:–te:–lḭ   li:pałna≡₀
3PL.SUBJ–RT–take–PFV   broom≡JNC
'fueron a traer escoba'
'they went to go get brooms'

(43) ⟨ {(y) (štá:ta̰)} {(qo̰:ča) (pus)} … ⟩ ⟨{(qa̰łčḭšḭwa̰) (šwanḭ́:)} , ⟩
y   š–ta:ta̰   qo̰:ča   pus   qa̰ł–čḭšḭt–wa̰   š–wan–nḭ:
and   3PO–father   boy   well   mouth–hair–SEM   PAST–COP–PERF
'y el padre tenía bigote'
'and the boy's father, he had a mustache'

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(44) ⟨ {(laktina:š) (qałčí<u>š</u>i̱t)} , ⟩ ⟨ {(y) (š*abúelo*)} {(pus) (lakłmá:n)} . ⟩
　　　lak–tina:　　š–qa̱ł–či<u>š</u>i̱t　　　 y　 š–*abuelo*　　　 pus　 lak–łma:n
　　　INTENS–small 3PO–mouth–hair　　and 3PO–grandpa　　　 well　 INTENS–long
　　　'chicos su vigote, y su abuelo tenía su barba largo'
　　　'a little mustache, and his grandpa, (his beard) was long.'

(45) ⟨ {(y)} {(quasi) (šta̱:ču:nca) (šli:pałnaká̱n)} {(taki:té:li̱n)} {(ča̱:túnu̱)} , ⟩
　　　y　 quasi šta̱:ču:nca š–li:pałna–ka̱n　　　 ta–ki:–te:–li̱n　　　　　　 ča̱:–tunu̱
　　　and almost equal　　3PO–broom–PL.PO　　 3PL.SUBJ–RT–take–PFV≡JNC CLF–one.by.one
　　　y quasi parecido sus vigotes con sus escobas que fue a traer cada quien
　　　'and each one's brooms which they went to get, were just about the same' (the dad's broom
　　　looked like his mustache, and the grandfather's looked like his beard)

(46) ⟨ {(y) (wanikán)} {(qó̱:ča̱)} , ⟩ ⟨ {(kaká:pałti̱)} . ⟩
　　　y　　wan–ni–kán　　　　　 qo̱:ča≡。　　ka–ka̱:–pał–ti̱≡。
　　　and　say–BEN–INDEF:IMPF　boy≡JNC　　OPT–PL.OBJ–sweep–PFV:2SG.SUBJ≡JNC
　　　'y le dicen el niño barrelos'
　　　'and they told the boy "sweep them up" '

(47) ⟨ {(y) (a:ma:) (kali:ká:pałti̱)} {(waníka̱)} ⟩
　　　y　 a:ma:　ka–li:–ka̱:–pał–ti̱　　　　　　　　　　 wan–ni–ka≡。
　　　and DEM　 OPT–INSTR–PL.OBJ–sweep–2SG.SUBJ:PFV　 say–BEN–INDEF:PFV≡JNC
　　　'y le dicé uno barre con esta escoba,'
　　　'and they said, "sweep with this one (broom)", and the other said the same'

(48) ⟨ {(wanín)} {(ča̱:tim) (ča̱:tím)} , ⟩ ⟨ {(y:)} …⟩ ⟨ {(y) (ca̱) (ču:nca)} la: …⟩
　　　wan–ni≡n　 ča̱:–tim　ča̱:–tim　y≡:　　y　 ca̱　 ču:nca
　　　say–BEN≡JNC CLF–one　 CLF–one and≡JNC and PTCL thus
　　　'y le dicé el otro, barre con esta escoba, y así'
　　　'and the other said the same (they each try to give the boy their broom). and so…'

(49) ⟨ {(la:) (ka̱cí:n)} {(qó̱:ča)} {(tu:) (ču) (namaklakaski̱n) (lí:pałna̱)} . ⟩
　　　la:　　ka̱cí:≡n　　　 qo̱:ča　tu:　ču　　na–maklakaskí̱n　　li:pałna≡。
　　　NEG　 know:IMPF≡JNC boy　 NREL PTCL FUT–use:IMPF　　　broom≡JNC
　　　'no sabe el niño cual escoba lo va occupar'
　　　'the boy didn't know which broom to use' '

(50) ⟨ {(y) (ášnin) (čin)} {(tawila:na̱čá)} {(nakpapa̱n)} … ⟩
　　　Y　　 a̱šni≡n　　 či≡n　　 ta–wila:–nan–Ø–ča　　　　　　 nak=papa̱n
　　　and　 when≡JNC how≡JNC 3PL.SUBJ–sit–ST.PL–PFV–DIST:JNC LOC=moon:JNC≡JNC
　　　'y cuando estaban en la luna'
　　　'and when they were on the moon,'

(51)　⟨ {(qǫ́:ča) (y:)} … ⟩ ⟨ {(štá:tạ) (y)} {(šabúelǫ)} , ⟩
　　　　qǫ:ča　　y≡:　　š–ta:tạ　　　　y　　　š–abuelo≡˳
　　　　boy　　and≡JNC　3PO–father　　and　　3PO–grandpa≡JNC
　　　　'el niño papa y abuelo'
　　　　'the boy, and his dad, and his grandpa'

(52)　⟨ {(como) (łú:wa)} {(*estréllas*i)} {(má:)} {(šalakciná:)} , ⟩
　　　　como　　łu:wa　　estrellas≡i　　　mạ:　　ša–lak–cina:
　　　　like　　many　　star≡JNC　　　lay　　DTV–PL.ADJ–small
　　　　'como habia muchas estrellas pequenas'
　　　　'and there were so many little stars'

(53)　⟨ {(y) (ášnin)} {(taštúči)} {(ạqtími)} {(šaqátạ)} , ⟩
　　　　y　　ạšni≡n　　taštu–Ø–či　　　　　　　ạq–tim≡i　　　ša–qatạ≡˳
　　　　and　when≡JNC　leave/appear–PFV–PROX　CLF–one≡JNC　DTV–big≡JNC
　　　　'entonces appareció una estrella grande'
　　　　'then there appeared a large star'

(54)　⟨ {(pero) (qátạ) (y:)} … ⟩ ⟨ {(tá:yali̧)} {(ŋšlakatinkán)} . ⟩
　　　　pero　　qatạ　　y≡:　　ta:ya–li̧　　　　nak=š–lakatin–kạn
　　　　but　　big　　and　　stand/stop–PFV　LOC=3PO–face–PL.PO
　　　　'pero grande, y se paró delante de ellos'
　　　　'very big, and it stood in front of them'

(55)　⟨ {(y) (tama:qani:kutún} {(y) (la:) (lá)} . ⟩
　　　　y　　　ta–ma:qani:–kutún　　　　　　　　y　　　la:　　lá
　　　　and　　3PL.SUBJ–knock.over–DSD:IMPF　　and　　NEG　　do:IMPF
　　　　'y querian tumbarlo pero no podian'
　　　　'and they wanted to knock it over, but they couldn't'

(56)　⟨ {(*entonces*) (tó:kạli̧n)} … ⟩ ⟨ {(qǫ́:ča)} {(nakšạqpun) (stáku̧)} , ⟩
　　　　entonces　to:kạ–li̧n　　　qǫ:ča　　nak=š–ạqpun　　　stạku̧≡˳
　　　　then　　　　go.up–PFV≡JNC　boy　　LOC=3PL–crown　　star≡JNC
　　　　'el niño se subió arriba de la estrella'
　　　　'then the boy went up to the top of the star'

(57)　⟨ {(y) (ánca) (lạ:)} … ⟩ ⟨ {(wiliničá)} {(ạqtími)} {(š*martíllo*)} {(li:tálạł)} , ⟩
　　　　y　　ạnca　　lạ:　　wilini–Ø–ča　　　　　ạq–tim≡i　　š–martillo　　li:–tạlạ–li̧
　　　　and　there　where　hit–PFV–DIST:JNC　CLF–one≡JNC　3PO–hammer　INSTR–hit/strike–PFV
　　　　'y adonde su martillo le pegó'
　　　　'and where he hit it with a hammer,'

(58)　⟨ {(y) (łáqspu̧tli̧)} {(laktina:) (wanpá:)} , ⟩ ⟨ {(stáku̧)} . ⟩
　　　　y　　lạqspu̧t–li̧　　lak–tina:　　　　wan–pa:　　stạku̧≡˳
　　　　and　run.out–PFV　PL.ADJ–small　COP–RPT　　star≡JNC
　　　　'y desapareció en otros estrellas pequenas'
　　　　'it disappeared and became little stars'

(59) 〈 {(sĺaqspu̱tli̱)} {(šaqáta̱)} , 〉
sla̱qspu̱t–li̱   ša–qa̱ta̱
run.out–PFV   DTV–big
'se desapareció la grande'
'the big one disappeared'

(60) 〈 {(y) (cina:) (wanqó̱:li̱)} {(šli:qa̱ta̱) (estrélla)} . 〉 〈 {(y) (táyuxli̱)} {(qó̱:ča̱)} . 〉
y   cina: wan–qo̱:–li̱   š–li:–qa̱ta̱   estrella   y   ta–yux–li̱   qo̱:ča≡。
and   small   become–TOT–PFV   3PO–GNC–big   star   and   DCS–fall–PFV   boy≡JNC
'y se hizó pequenos de la grande, y el niño cayó'
'and little ones came from the big star, and the boy fell'

(61) 〈 {(ču̱:ncan)} {(čín)} {titakí:lali̱} 〈 {(nakpapá?)} … 〉
ču:nca≡n   či≡n   ti–ta–ki:–la–li̱   nak=papa̱?
thus≡JNC   how≡JNC   POT–3PL.SUBJ–RT–do–PFV   LOC=moon
'así fueron a la luna'
'that's how their trip to the moon went'

(62) 〈 {(qó̱:ča̱)} , 〉 〈 {(y) (štá:ta̱)} {(y) (šabuelo̱)} . 〉
qo̱:ča≡。   y   š–ta:ta̱   y   š–abuelo≡。
boy≡JNC   and   3PO–father   and   3PO–grandpa≡JNC
'el niño su papa y su abuelo'
'the boy, and his father, and his grandpa'

(63) 〈 {(titaki:láqci̱ɫ)} , 〉 〈 {(lú:wa)} {(stáku̱)} . 〉
ti–ta–ki:–la̱qcin–li̱≡。   ɫu:wa   sta̱ku̱≡。
POT–3PL.SUBJ–RT–see–PFV≡JNC   many   star≡JNC
'y vieron muchas estrellas'
'they went and saw many stars'

(64) 〈 {(y) (titaminpá:)} , 〉 〈 {(nakšbarcokán)} . 〉
y   ti–ta–min–pa: nak=š–barco–ka̱n
and   POT–3PL.SUBJ–come–RPT:PFV   LOC=3PO–boat–PL.PO
'y regressaron otra vez a su barco'
'and they returned into their boat'

(65) 〈 {(tačinpá:)} {(tata̱ktapá:)} . 〉
ta–čin–pá: ta–ta̱:kta–pá:
3PL.SUBJ–arrive–RPT:PFV   3PL.SUBJ–descend–RPT:PFV
'llegaron otra vez, bajaron otra vez'
'and they came again and went down again'

(66) 〈 {(y) (tapa:šuwamá:naɫ)} . 〉 〈 {(pus) (ču̱:nca)} {(spú̱tli̱) (a:ma:)} … 〉 〈 {(cuento̱)} . 〉
y   ta–pa:šuwa–má:nali̱≡。   pus   ču:nca   sput–li̱   a:ma: cuento≡。
and   3PL.SUBJ–be.happy–PROG:3PL.SUBJ≡JNC   then   thus   end–PFV   **DEM**   story≡JNC
'y pusieron contento, y así termina el cuento'
'and they were happy, and that's how this story ends'

3.5   Serpiente

Antonio Jiminéz Santiago

This text was recorded the 10 September 2015, during an elicitation session with Don Antonio, a natural storyteller. That same day, we recorded several stories about *naguales* that he had prepared, and a retelling of the *Llorona* story. During our conversation in Spanish, he also told me a quick story about finding a snake in his field while he was working. All snakes are considered dangerous, so he had gone to some effort to kill the snake he had seen to make sure it didn't surprise him later. I asked him if we could record the same story in Totonac, and was delighted when he told the story in first-person (my other texts are mostly told in third person).

(1)   ⟨ {(pus) (mạqtím)} , ⟩ ⟨ {(šakaní̧:)} {(klaqkạ:) (kapé:)} . ⟩
pus   mạq–tim   ša–k–ạn–ni̧:   k–laqka: kape:
well   CLF–one   PAST–1SG.SUBJ–go–PERF   1SG.SUBJ–weed:IMPF coffee
'una vez fui a limpiar el cafetal'
'one time, I went to weed my coffee'

(2)   ⟨ {(y: … ⟩ ⟨ {(ạšnik) (tikací:n)} … ⟩ ⟨ {(kma:nọqłí:)} {(lú:wa:)} … ⟩
y   ạšni   k–ti–kací̧≡n   k–ma:nọqłí: lu:wa≡:
and   when   1SG.SUBJ–POT–know:IMPF[24]≡JNC   1SG.SUBJ–
meet:IMPF   snake≡JNC
'y cuando de repente encontré la víbora,'
'and then suddenly I met (came across) a snake'

(3)   ⟨ {(łwi̧téq)} , ⟩ ⟨ {(tacạps) (to:laní̧:)} . ⟩
łwi̧téq   tacạps   to:la–ni̧:
coiled   piled.up   sit–PERF
'enrollado sentado'
'it was sitting coiled up'

(4)   ⟨ {(pus) (má:n) (lạqcín)} , ⟩ ⟨ {(kmạqni:kutún)} {(pus) (táškutł)} . ⟩
pus   ma:n   lạqcín   k–mạqni:–kutún   pus   taškut–li̧
well   only   see:IMPF 1SG.SUBJ–kill–DSD:IMPF   well   unroll–PFV
'cuando la víbora vio que quería matarlo pus se desenrolló,'
'when the snake saw that I wanted to kill it, it started to uncoil itself'

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[24] The literal translation of *ktikací:* might be something like 'before I knew it'; it seems to be largely lexicalised as 'suddenly'

(5) ⟨{(cukuli̯n) (ca̯:lá)} , ⟩ ⟨ {(ca̯:lá)} , ⟩ ⟨ {(ca̯:lá)} , ⟩
cuku–li̯   ca̯:lá   ca̯:lá   ca̯:lá
begin–PFV   flee:IMPF   flee:IMPF   flee:IMPF
'y empezó a correr'
'and it started to run run run away'

(6) ⟨ {(tanu:čá)} {(nák)} … ⟩ ⟨ {(nakikɬu̯ku̯) (kuyú:)} . ⟩
tanu:–Ø–čá   nak=k–ɬu̯ku̯   kuyu:
go.in–PFV–DIST:JNC   LOC=3PO–cave   armadillo
'y entró en la cueva de armadillo'
'it went into the armadillo's cave'

(7) ⟨ {(tanu:čá)} {(xo:) (kwan) (čí)} {(na̯któ:)} . ⟩
tanu:–Ø–čá   xo: k–wán   či   na̯k–tó:
go.in–PFV–DIST:JNC   PTCL   1SG.SUBJ–say:IMPF   how   FUT:1SG.SUBJ–do:IMPF
'entró y pensé como lo voy a hacer'
'he went in and I thought, "how am I going to do it" '

(8) ⟨ {(porque) (tánu:ɬ)} . ⟩ {(pero) (como) (la:) (kma̯qaca̯:lakutún)} , ⟩
porque tanu:–li̯≡̥   pero   como   la: k–ma̯qa–ca̯:la–kutún
because go.in–PFV≡JNC   but   like   NEG   1SG.SUBJ–STM–flee–DSD:IMPF
'porque entró y no quiero que se vaya, se huyó'
'because (the snake) went in, and I don't want to make him flee'

(9) ⟨ {(porque) (kxi:kwaní:)} … ⟩ ⟨ {(a̯šni) (na̯kmimpaɾa) (laqká:)}
porque k–xi:kwan–ni≡:   a̯šni   na̯k–min–paɾá   laqká:
because 1SG.SUBJ–fear–BEN:JNC when   FUT:1SG.SUBJ–come–RPT:IMPF   weed:IMPF
'porque me asusta cuando vuelvo a limpiar'
'because I'm scared when I come back to weed again'

(10) ⟨ {(taštuninún)} {(nakimaqeqɬapaɾák)} {(pú:n)} {(mejór)} , ⟩
taštu–ni–nun   na–ki–maqeqɬa–paɾá   k–pu:n   mejor
leave–BEN–DTR   FUT–1OBJ–frighten–RPT:IMPF   1SG.SUBJ–think   better
'y va a salir otra vez (la culebra) pensé, mejor'
'he'll come out and frighten me again, I thought, I'd better'

(11) ⟨ {(kcukuli̯) (lakpa:stáka) } … ⟩
k–cuku–li̯   lakpa:sta̯k–a
1SG.SUBJ–begin–PFV   think–IMPF
'(mejor) que busco la manera de cómo matarlo'
'(I'd better) start finding a way (to kill the snake)'

(12) ⟨ {(como) (lá:)} {(tasu̯:n)} {(či) (tiyá:)} {(ščik) (kuyú:) (pus)} … ⟩
como la: tasu̯:≡n   či   ti–ya: š–čik   kuyu: pus
how   NEG   be.visible:IMPF≡JNC   how   POT–stand   3PO–house   armadillo   well
'como no se ve en la cueva de armadillo'
'because you can't see how things might be in the armadillo's house'

(13) ⟨ {(*como*) (kạ:púkswan)} {(čí)} {(ma:si) (ka:talakán)} {(la:) (tasú:)} . ⟩
como kạ:–puks–wa či ma:si ka–ta–laka-ạn la: tasú̃:
how PLC–dark–SEM how although OPT–DCS–face–go NEG be.visible:IMPF
'porque está obscuro aun que lo vienes por dentro, no se ve'
'because it is dark. Even if you could put your head inside, it can't be seen.'

(14) ⟨ {(ạšni) (klakpá:stạkli)} {(pus) (če:má:)} {(nạkto:) (kpú:n)} . ⟩
ạšni k–lakpa:stạk–li pus če:ma: nạk–tó: k–pú:n
when 1SG.SUBJ–think–PFV well thus FUT:1SG.SUBJ–do:IMPF 1SG.SUBJ–think:IMPF
'cuando lo pensé pus lo voy a hacer así,'
'then I thought, well, this is how I'll do it'

(15) ⟨ {(lu:) (máqati)} {(wi:lačák) (wan) (pus)} ⟩
lu: maqat≡i wi:la–čá k–wán pus
very far≡JNC sit–DIST:JNC 1SG.SUBJ–say:IMPF well
'está muy metido adentro pues …'
'it's sitting really far (inside)'

(16) ⟨ {(kiłšákali̯n)} kin… ⟩ ⟨ {(ki*machetẹ*)} . ⟩
k–kił–šaka–li̯≡n kin–machete≡̥
1SG.SUBJ–mouth–wipe–PFV≡JNC 1PO–machete≡JNC
'lo limpié mi machete'
'I wipe my machete'

(17) ⟨ {(pus)} . ⟩ ⟨ {(tasú̯:n)} {(čón)} {(či) (spé:xu)} {(li:táštuli̯)} … ⟩
pus tasú̯:≡n čo≡n či spe:xu li:–taštu–li̯
well be.visible:IMPF≡JNC PTCL≡JNC how mirror INSTR–leave–PFV
'ahora se ve su reflejo como espejo (salió su reflejo)'
'and then you can see in it like a mirror (the reflection comes out like a mirror)'

(18) ⟨ {(pus) (slami) (kli:tamakánu:li̯n)} {(čo:) (pus) (tasú̯:ł)} , ⟩
pus slam≡i k–li:–tamakanu:–li̯≡n čo: pus tasu̯–li̯≡̥
well IDPH≡JNC 1SG.SUBJ–INSTR–put.inside–PFV≡JNC PTCL well be.visible–PFV≡JNC
'lo reflejé por dentro, pues apareció?'
'I reflected it inside and it was visible '

(19) ⟨ {(čin) (čó:)} {(ƛapł) (wilačáʔ)} , ⟩
či≡n čo: ƛapł wila–Ø–čaʔ
how≡ JNC PTCL piled.up sit–PFV–DIST
'como estaba apilado'
'how it was sitting there (with its coils) piled up'

(20) ⟨ {(štasnátạ)} . ⟩ ⟨ {(tanu:ní̯:) (pus)} . ⟩
š–tasnat–a≡̥ tanu:–ni̯: pus
PAST–roll.up–IMPF≡JNC go.in–PERF well
'estaba metido adentro enrollado'
'it was inside all coiled up'

(21) ⟨ {(máqat)} {(tanu:mḁ:ča) (klḁqcín)} , ⟩
    maqat   tanu:–mḁ:–ča   k–lḁqcín
    far   go.in–PROG–DIST:JNC 1SG.SUBJ–see:IMPF
    'viendo que está muy adentro, '
    'I see that (the snake) is deep inside'

(22) ⟨ {(pus) (la:) (kintimakáškalḭ)} {(kpú:n)} , ⟩
    pus   la: kin–ti–maka–ška–lḭ   k–pú:n
    well NEG   1OBJ–POT–hand–bite–PFV   1SG.SUBJ–think:IMPF
    'y no me va a picar, pensé'
    'and I thought, "it's not going to bite my hand" '

(23) ⟨ {(kcukulḭ) (xo:) (kli:lakawaša) (kḭwḭ̥)} . ⟩
    k–cuku–lḭ   xo: k–li:–laka–waš–a   kḭwḭ̥≡₀
    1SG.SUBJ–begin–PFV   PTCL 1SG.SUBJ–INSTR–face–dig–IMPF tree≡JNC
    'empezó a picarlo con la barra, estaca'
    'I began to chop at it with a wooden stake'

(24) ⟨ {(kli:lakáwašlḭn)} {(kḭwḭ)} , ⟩
    k–li:–laka–waš–lḭ≡n   kḭwḭ̥≡₀
    1SG.SUBJ–INSTR–face–dig–PFV≡JNC   tree≡JNC
    'lo rascó con el palo'
    'I scraped at it with the stick'

(25) ⟨ {(ḁšni) (xó:)} , ⟩ ⟨ {(kli:tamakan:paɾá) (xo:)} {(šli:mḁqtú:)} , ⟩
    ḁšni xo: k–li:–tamakanu:–paɾá   xo: š–li:–mḁq–tu:
    when PTCL 1SG.SUBJ–INSTR–put.inside–RPT:IMPF   PTCL 3PO–INSTR–CLF–two
    'y cuando lo vi por segunda vez'
    'when I reflected light inside again, the second time'

(26) ⟨ {(klḁqcín) (čo:)} lak… ⟩ ⟨ {(taq) (lakacuná:ca)} {(wí:) (pus)} , ⟩
    k–lḁqcín   čo: taq lakacuna:=ca wi: pus
    1SG.SUBJ–see:IMPF   PTCL more near=now   sit   well
    'vi que estaba ya muy cerca'
    'I saw that it was nearer now'

(27) ⟨ {(pusin) (kḁmpá:)} {(kḁ:) (kḭwḭ) (a:qantím)} . ⟩
    pus≡in   k–ḁn–pa: ká: kḭwḭ a:–qan–tim
    well≡JNC   1SG.SUBJ–go–RPT:PFV chop:IMPF tree ADD–CLF–one
    'y otra vez fui a cortar otro palo'
    'I went again to cut another branch'

(28) ⟨ {(pus) (kinkásḭtlḭ) (xo:n)} {(kḭwḭ)} … ⟩ ⟨ {(kinkásitlḭ)} … ⟩
    pus   k–kinka–sḭt–lḭ   xo:≡n   kḭwḭ kinka–sḭt–li
    well 1SG.SUBJ–nose–cut–PFV   PTCL≡JNC   tree nose–cut–PFV
    'pues lo saqué la punta, le saqué la punta del palo'
    'I cut off the point, I took the tip off the stick'

(29) ⟨ {(kcukuli̲) (xo:) (kli:lakałtukunú:)} , ⟩
     k–cuku–li̲   xo: k–li:–laka–łtuku–nú:
     1SG.SUBJ–begin–PFV   PTCL   1SG.SUBJ–INSTR–face–pierce–in:IMPF
     'y empezó a picarlo, clavarlo'
     'and I started to stab it in'

(30) ⟨ {(*pero*)} … ⟩ ⟨ {(li:ḻiwe̦qe) (kcukuli) (kli:lakałtukunú:)} , ⟩
     pero li:–ḻiwe̦qe   k–cuku–li   k–li:–laka–łtuku–nú:
     but   INSTR–strong   1SG.SUBJ–begin–PFV   1SG.SUBJ–INSTR–face–pierce–in:IMPF
     'pero con fuerza empecé a picarlo'
     'but with strength I started to stab it in'

(31) ⟨ {(kmaqka̦cí) (xo:n)} {(lá:ca)} lu: … ⟩ ⟨ {(luku̦nún)} {(kmaqkací) (pus)} , ⟩
     k–maqka̦cí   xo:≡n   la:=ca   lu: luku̦nún   k–maqka̦cí   pus
     1SG.SUBJ–feel:IMPF PTCL≡JNC   NEG=now very   be.brave:IMPF   1SG.SUBJ–feel:IMPF   well
     'sentí que ya no era fuerte'
     'and I felt that now it wasn't very brave (aggressive)'

(32) ⟨ {(xo:) (kli:tamakanu:pará) (xo:n)} {(kimachíta̦)} . ⟩
     xo: k–li:–tamakanu:–pará   xo:≡n   kin–machete≡̦
     PTCL 1SG.SUBJ–INSTR–put.inside–RPT:IMPF   PTCL≡JNC   1PO–machete≡JNC
     'y de nuevo lo reflejé con mi machete'
     'and I reflected light inside again with my machete'

(33) ⟨ {(či)} {(šlakpín)} {(čín)} {(čičiní̲:)} . ⟩
     či   š–lakpin   či≡n   čičin–ni̲:
     how   3PO–cheek   how≡JNC   shine–PERF
     'como su lamina brilla'
     'with how the flat side shone'

(34) ⟨ {(či) (*lámpara*)} . ⟩ ⟨ {(*lampara*) (li:taštún)} {(tašqéqetin)} {(tánu:ł) (pus)} , ⟩
     či   lampara lampara   li:–taštu≡n   tašqeqet≡in   tanu:–li̲   pus
     how lamp   lamp   INSTR–leave:IMPF≡JNC reflection≡JNC   go.in–PFV   well
     'como lampara se metió el reflejo'
     'like a lamp, the reflection comes out like a lamp'

(35) ⟨ {(kla̦qcín) (čon)} … ⟩ ⟨ {(ca̦ca) (pa:ya:wa:ma̦:n) (tasú̲:)} {(ktalakanú:) (pus)} . ⟩
     k–la̦qcín   čo≡n   ca̦=ca   pa:–ya:wa:–ma̦:≡n   tasú̲:
     1SG.SUBJ–see:IMPF   PTCL≡JNC   PTCL=now   belly–stand.up–PROG≡JNC   be.visible:IMPF

       k–talakanú: pus
       1SG.SUBJ–look.inside:IMPF   well
     'yo vi que ya estaba tirado, estaba ya acostado, su panza arriba, asomandome'
     'I saw it, I looked inside and (the snake) looked like it was was laying belly up'

(36) ⟨ {(qa̱ɬqe̱qa) (xo:) (ki:ka̱:pá:) (xo:)} , ⟩
      qa̱ɬqe̱qa   xo: ki:–ka̱:–pa: xo:
      hook   **PTCL** RT–cut–RPT:PFV   **PTCL**
      'fui a cortar al gancho'
      'I cut a hook'

(37) ⟨ {(kcukúɬ)} . ⟩ ⟨ {(li:ɬtankté:)} {(šli:qáta̱n)} … ⟩
      k–cuku–li̱   li:–ɬtank–te: š–li:–qata̱n
      1SG.SUBJ–begin–PFV INSTR–pull–take:IMPF   3PO–GNC–big≡JNC
      'lo jalé algo largo'
      'I started to pull out something big'

(38) ⟨ {(xo:) (ɬiwá:)} {(tača̱:štučá)} {(nakštankiɬtin) (ɬu̱ku̱)} , ⟩
      xo: ɬiwa: ta–ča̱–štu–Ø–čá   nak=š–tankiɬtin   ɬuku≡
      PTCL coil   DCS–shin–out–PFV–DIST:JNC   LOC=3PO–outside.area   cave≡JNC
      'y salío una parte fuera de la cueva'
      'and a coil of it came out the front of its cave'

(39) ⟨ {(xo:) (kcúkuɬ)} , ⟩ ⟨ {(li:ča̱:ɬtukúma̱:) (ya) (pus)} {(xo:ca) (qaɬštuqo̱:li̱)} {(šlí:ku̱ni̱)} , ⟩
      xo: k–cuku–li̱≡   li:–ča̱–ɬtuku–ma̱:   ya   pus
      PTCL 1SG.SUBJ–begin–PFV≡JNC INSTR–shin–pierce–PROG   **PTCL** well

      xo:=ca   qaɬ–štu–qo̱:–li̱   š–lí:ku̱ni̱≡
      PTCL=now mouth–out–TOT–PFV   3PO–thickness≡JNC
      'y empezé a picarlo (allí tirado) y lo jalé todo completo lo grueso'
      'I start stabbing it and then I pulled it all out'

(40) ⟨ {(ƛinkɬƛinkɬ) (ka̱ká:) (nakša̱qšá:q)} {(xo:) (ní:qo̱:ɬ)} . ⟩
      ƛinkɬƛinkɬ   k–a̱k–ka̱:   nak=š–a̱qša:q   xo: ni:–qo̱:–li̱≡
      IDPH   1SG.SUBJ–head–chop:IMPF   LOC=3PO–head   **PTCL** die–TOT–PFV≡JNC
      'y le pegué en la cabeza y se murió por completo'
      ' "whap!, bam!" I chopped its head, and it was completely dead'

3.6   Plato de anciano

Miguel Antonio Sosa

This text is a story told to me by Don Miguel the 27 February 2017. Though the story is humorous, it fits into the category of traditoinal *cuento*, as can be seen by the frequent usage of the quotative *mat* 'according to'. The challenge of humour across cultural boundaries is well known, but it is perhaps worth noting that my consultant found the punchline in line 32 to be considerably funnier than what I expected to be the punchline in lines 28-30.

(1) ⟨ {(pus) (mat) (šwí:n)} {(čą̆:tímin)} {(či̧škų́ʔ)} , ⟩
pus   mat   š–wí:≡n   čą̆:–tim≡in   či̧škų ʔ
well   QUOT   PAST–be:IMPF≡JNC   **CLF**–one≡JNC   man
'había un hombre'
'there was a man'

(2) ⟨ {(lu:wa) (papaca) (šwaní̧:)} {(štá:tą̆)} . ⟩
lu:wa   papa=ca   š–wan–ni̧:   š–ta:tą≡̥
very   old=now   PAST–COP–PERF   3PO–father≡JNC
'ya estaba muy anciano su papa'
'his father was now very old'

(3) ⟨ {(pus) (mą̆qatúnų̆)} . ⟩ ⟨ {(mat) (šmaški:kán)} {(šlí:wat)} , ⟩
pus   mą̆qa–tunu≡̥   mat   š–maškí:–kan   š–li:wat
well   **CLF**–one.by.one≡JNC   QUOT   PAST–give:IMPF–INDEF   3PO–food
'cuando se lo daba su comida'
'sometimes when they would give him his food'

(4) ⟨ {(pus) (mat) (łkita) (mą̆qšťéqą̆)} . ⟩
pus   mat   łkita   mą̆qšťeq–a≡̥
well   QUOT   suddenly   drop–IMPF≡JNC
'lo soltaba'
'he would drop it suddenly'

(5) ⟨ {(šlakpáqłam)} {(pulátų̆)} . ⟩
š–lak–paqł–a≡n   pulatu≡̥
PAST–INTENS–burst–IMPF≡JNC   plate≡JNC
'lo quebraba el plato'
'he broke the plate'

(6) ⟨ {(comoš) (makałpipícan)} {(pápą̆)} . ⟩
como   š–maka–łpipí=ca≡n   papa≡̥
because   PAST–hand–tremble:IMPF=now≡JNC   old≡JNC
'porque ya le temblaban las manos'
'because now the old man's hands trembled'

(7) ⟨ {(pus) (xó)} {(como) (luː) (o̯qšlúːca) (xoː)} {(lakpáqɬli̯)} {(aːmaːš) (pulátọ)} , ⟩

    pus   xoː   *como*   luː   o̯qš–ɬuːwa=ca   xoː

    well   **PTCL**   as   very   **CLF**–many=now   **PTCL**

        lak–páqɬ–li̯   aːmaː   š–puláto≡̥

        INTENS–burst–PFV   **DEM**   3PO–plate≡JNC

    'pero como ya a roto various platos'

    'but as he had broken several plates'

(8) ⟨ {(pus) (mat) (lakapáːstakli̯) (xoːš)} {(qọ́ːča̯)} . ⟩

    pus   mat   lakapaːstak–li̯   xoː   š–qoːča≡̥

    well   QUOT   think.about–PFV   **PTCL**   3PO–boy≡JNC

    'entonces pensó el muchacho'

    'well his son thought'

(9) ⟨ {(či) (xoːš) (líːlatin)} {(čéːma̯)} . ⟩

    či   xoː   šliːlat≡in   čeːma≡̥

    how   **PTCL**   proper≡JNC   thus≡JNC

    'y ahora que haré'

    'what is proper, i.e., what ist he proper thing to do'

(10) ⟨ {(či) (luː) (o̯qšlúːwaca)} , ⟩ ⟨ {(lakpáqɬliː)} … ⟩ ⟨ {(pulato) (kintáːta̯)} , ⟩

    či   luː   o̯qš–ɬuːwa=ca   lak–paqɬ–li̯≡   pulatu   kin–taːta̯≡̥

    how   very   **CLF**–very=now   INTENS–burst–PFV≡JNC   plate   1PO–father≡JNC

    'que ya hay quebrado varios platos mi papa'

    'now that my father is breaking some plates'

(11) ⟨ {(mat) (púːni) (xoːn)} {(či̯škú̯ʔ)} . ⟩

    mat   púːn≡i   xoː≡n   či̯šku̯ʔ

    QUOT   think:IMPF≡JNC   **PTCL**≡JNC   man

    'penso el hombre'

    'thinks the man'

(12) ⟨ {(pus) (ésteː)} … ⟩ ⟨ {(luː) (kana̯kpucáŋ)} {(kḭwi̯)} , ⟩

    pus   *este*≡ː   luː   ka–na̯k–pucá=n   kḭwi̯≡̥

    well   this≡JNC   very   OPT–FUT:1SG.SUBJ–look.for:IMPF≡JNC   tree≡JNC

    'mejor buscaré palo'

    'Let me go look for wood'

(13) ⟨ {(na̯któːniːš)} … ⟩ ⟨ {(špulatu) (šakḭwi̯)} . ⟩

    na̯k–toː–ní≡ː   š–pulato   ša–kḭwi̯≡̥

    FUT:1SG.SUBJ–make–BEN:IMPF≡JNC   3PO–plate   DTV–tree≡JNC

    'le haré un plato de madera'

    'I'll make a wooden plate for him'

(14) ⟨ {(čo:) (mási)} {(kamáqštęqli̧)} … ⟩
　　　čo:　　　masi　　　ka–mąqštęq–li̧
　　　PTCL　　although　　OPT–drop–PFV
　　　'ahora aun que lo suelte'
　　　'now although he may drop it'

(15) ⟨ {(kamąqštęqpá:) (pus)} . ⟩ ⟨ {(la:) (katitapáqɬ)} . ⟩
　　　ka–mąqštęq–pa:　　pus　　la:　　ka–ti–tapaqɬ–li̧ ≡。
　　　OPT–drop–RPT:PFV　well　NEG　　FUT:IRR–FUT:IRR–burst–FUT:IRR≡JNC
　　　'que suelta otra vez, no se va a quebrar'
　　　'although he may drop it again, it won't shatter'

(16) ⟨ {(mat) (pú:ni) (xo:)} … ⟩ ⟨ {(pús)} . ⟩ ⟨ {(čó:) (mat)} , ⟩ ⟨ {(xó:)} … ⟩
　　　mat　　pú:n≡i　　　　xo:　　　pus　　čo:　　mat　　xo:
　　　QUOT　think:IMPF≡JNC　**PTCL**　　well　**PTCL**　QUOT　**PTCL**
　　　'pensó ahora'
　　　'now he thought'

(17) ⟨ {(a̧:cą) (mat) (míli̧) (xo:n)} {(cina:š) (qǫ́:ča) (amaɬ)} . ⟩
　　　a̧:cą　　mat　　min–li̧　　　xo:≡n　　　cina:　š–qǫ:ča　amali≡。
　　　here　　QUOT　come–PFV　　**PTCL**≡JNC　small　3PO–boy　　**PTCL**≡JNC
　　　'de repente vino su pequeño hijo'
　　　'so then the man's small son comes along'

(18) ⟨ {(tu:n) (tó:pa̧t)} {(tá:tą)} {(mat) (waní) (xo:n)} {(qaɬaski̧ní)} … ⟩
　　　tu:≡n　　　to:–pa̧:t　　　　ta:tą　　mat　　wan–ní　　　　xo:≡n
　　　what≡JNC　do–PROG:2SG.SUBJ　father　QUOT　say–BEN:IMPF　**PTCL**≡JNC

　　　　qaɬaski̧n–ní≡:
　　　　ask–BEN:IMPF≡JNC
　　　'que estas haciendo papa, le pregunta'
　　　' "what are you doing father?" he asks'

(19) ⟨ {(šta:tą) (qǫ́:čą)} , ⟩ ⟨ {(pusi) (qaɬaski̧ní)} {(šqǫ́:čą)} , ⟩
　　　š–ta:tą　　　qǫ:čą≡。　pus≡i　　　　qaɬaski̧n–ní　　　　š–qo:čą≡。
　　　3PO–father　boy≡JNC　well≡JNC　ask–BEN:IMPF　　　　3PO–boy≡JNC
　　　'a su papa, es el niño que pregunta'
　　　'his dad, the little one asks him'

(20) ⟨ {(pus) (u:k) (to:nímą:) (amali:)} … ⟩ ⟨ {(špuláto) (kinta:tąkán)} . ⟩
　　　pus　u:　k–to:–ni–mą:　　　　　　　amali≡:　　š–pulato　　kin–ta:tą–kąn
　　　well　**DEM**　1SG.SUBJ–make–BEN–PROG　**PTCL**≡JNC　3PO–plate　1PO–father–PL.PO
　　　'pues estoy haciendo un pulato para nuestro papa'
　　　' "I'm making a plate for grandpa (our father's plate)" '

(21) ⟨ {(šakíwi̱) (to:níma̱:)} , ⟩ ⟨ {(mat) (waní) (xo:š)} {(qo̱:ča̱)} . ⟩
         ša–ki̱wi̱   k–to:–ni–ma: mat   wan–ní   xo: š–qo̱:ča≡̥
         DTV–tree   1SG.SUBJ–make–BEN–PROG   QUOT say–BEN:IMPF PTCL 3PO–boy≡JNC
         'le estoy haciendo de madera le dice su hijo'
         ' "I'm making it out of wood for him" he says to his son'

(22) ⟨ {(či) (xo:) (li:to:nípa̱:t)} {(ú:)} … ⟩ ⟨ {(mat) (waní) (xo:)} . ⟩
         či   xo: li:–to:–ni–pa̱:t   u:≡   mat   wan–ní   xo:
         how PTCL INSTR–make–BEN–PROG:2SG.SUBJ   DEM≡JNC QUOT say–BEN:IMPF PTCL
         'porque le haces esa clase de plata?'
         ' "why are you making that kind of plate?" '

(23) ⟨ {(pus) (ca̱) (u:) (kli:to:níma̱:)} , ⟩
         pus   ca̱   u: k–li:–to:–ni–ma̱:
         well   PTCL   DEM 1SG.SUBJ–INSTR–make–BEN–PROG
         'pues le estoy haciendo eso'
         ' "I'm making this" '

(24) ⟨ {(como) (lu:) (o̱qšłú:ca)} {(lákpaqłli̱ca)} , ⟩ ⟨ {(kinpulatokán)} . ⟩
         como   lu: o̱qš–łuwa=ca   lak–paqł–li̱=ca≡̥   kin–pulato–ka̱n
         because very CLF–many=now INTENS–burst–PFV=now≡JNC 1PO–plate–PL.PO
         'porque ha quebrado ya mucho de nuesto plato'
         ' "because many of our plates have broken" '

(25) ⟨ {(pus)} . ⟩ ⟨ {(a̱šni) (namaškiparakán)} {(šlí:wat)} {(masi) (kamá̱qšte̱qli̱) (xo:)} , ⟩
         pus   a̱šni   na–maški–para–kan   š–li:wat   masi   ka–ma̱qšte̱q–li̱   xo:
         well when FUT–give–RPT–INDEF 3PO–food although OPT–drop–PFV PTCL
         'para que cuando se le de otra vez su comida, ahora cuando lo suelte'
         ' "well, when grandpa is given his food again, even if he drops it" '

(26) ⟨ {(la:) (katitapáqł)} . ⟩ ⟨ {(mat) (wani) (xo:š) (qó̱:ča̱)} , ⟩
         la: ka–ti–tapaqł–li̱≡̥   mat   wan–ní   xo: š–qo̱:ča≡̥
         NEG FUT:IRR–FUT:IRR–burst–FUT:IRR≡JNC QUOT say–BEN:IMPF PTCL 3PO–boy≡JNC
         'no se quebra le dijo el muchacho'
         ' "it won't break", he says to his son'

(27) ⟨ {(pus) (čo:) (mat) (waní) (xo:)} … ⟩ ⟨ {(tina:) (χó̱:ča̱)} . ⟩ ⟨ {(tina:š) (qó̱:ča̱)} , ⟩
         pus čo: mat   wan–ní   xo: tina: qo̱:ča≡̥ tina: š–qo̱:ča≡̥
         well PTCL QUOT say–BEN:IMPF PTCL   small boy≡JNC small 3PO–boy≡JNC
         'entonces le dice su hijo, el pequeño'
         'and so then he says… the little boy. His little boy (sayss'

(28) ⟨ {(á:ʔa)} . ⟩ ⟨ {(u:n) (ké:n)} {(to:nípa̱:t)} {(špuláto)} {(kinta:ta̱kán)} . ⟩ ⟨ {(ú:)} . ⟩
      a:ʔa   u:≡n   ke:≡n   to:–ni–pa̱:t   š–pulato
      PTCL   DEM≡JNC   PTCL≡JNC   make–BEN–PROG:2SG.SUBJ   3PO–plate

          kin–ta:ta̱–ka̱n   u:
          1PO–father–PL.PO   DEM
      'aha, entonces, le estas haciendo plato de papa'
      ' "ahh, so that's why you're making a plate for grandpa (lit. for our father). That's why." '

(29) ⟨ {(a̱:na:) (čú:nca) (xo:)} {(na̱kto:niyá:n)} , ⟩
      a̱:na: ču:nca   xo: na̱k–to:–ni–ya:–n
      also   thus   PTCL   FUT:1SG.SUBJ–make–BEN–IMPF–2OBJ
      'lo haré lo mismo'
      ' "I'll make the same for you" '

(30) ⟨ {(ašni)} {(papaca) (xó:šit)} . ⟩ ⟨ {(mat) (waní) (xo:)} …⟩
      A̱šni   papa=ca   xo: wišit   mat   wan–ní   xo:
      when   old=now   PTCL   you   QUOT   say–BEN:IMPF   PTCL
      'cuando usted ya sea grande/anciano'
      ' "when you are old", says the boy'

(31) ⟨ {(pus) (tú:)} {(mati) (čú:nca)} {(wániɬ)} , ⟩
      pus   tu: mat≡i   ču:nca   wan–ni–li̱≡
      well   what   QUOT≡JNC   thus   say–BEN–PFV≡JNC
      'cuando le dijo asi'
      'well, when he said it like that'

(32) ⟨ {(pus) (mat) (má̱qšte̱qli̱)} {(lá:ca) (to:ɬ)} . ⟩
      pus   mat   ma̱qšte̱q–li̱   la:=ca   to:–li̱≡
      well   QUOT   leave–PFV   NEG=now   make–PFV≡JNC
      'lo dejo de hacer, ya no le hizó'
      'he stopped (working on the plate), he didn't make it.'

4   Derivational morphology

Coahuitlán Totonac has complex derivational morphology: affixes and processes that create new lexemes. A primary concern in representing derivational morphology is differentiating between synchronic and historical patterns of word formation. Complex words may contain recognisable elements that are combined in non-systematic ways; treating historical etymology the same as synchronic morphology is misleading. The representation in this chapter aims to include as much information as possible with a series of additional lines of parse and interlinear gloss to show the derivational path of each complex word: when the steps of word formation belong to etymology, they are presented in italic type.

4A   Sketch of derivational morphology

Complex derivational morphology in Coahuitlán Totonac is present in the different parts of speech of the language; this sketch is divided into verbal and non-verbal derivation. Verbal derivation covers morphological processes resulting in verbs: in Coahuitlán, these mostly concern a robust set of affixes that increase and decrease valency; even the verbaliser -iː, which creates verbs from non-verbal bases, also creates transitive verbs from intransitive bases. Non-verbal derivation includes several processes which create nouns and adjectives. For deverbal nominalisers, in addition to an agentive nominaliser, there are a number of different forms which all seem to be general nominalisers: I treat each form separately, though further work is needed to determine the semantics of these processes.

4.1   Non-verbal derivational morphology

This section includes derivational processes that do not result in verbs. The first three sections deal with deverbalisers, primarily taking verbal bases and creating nouns. These include the agentive nominaliser (4.1.1), a number of general nominalisers (4.1.2), and two instrumental

prefixes (4.1.3). Following these are three additional derivational processes that primarily create

nouns from nominal bases: 'place of', generic, and 'fellow' (4.1.4).

4.1.1   Agentive nominaliser

The suffix *-nV̰ʔ* is added to a verb to derive a noun expressing an agent performing the action or

process of the verb (1).

(1) a.   ta̰lá   'hit with a projectile'   → ta̰la̰náʔ   'hunter'
     b.   qa̰łá   'steal sth'   → qa̰łanáʔ   'thief, robber'
     c.   ma̰qní: 'kill sby'   → ma̰qni:níʔ / ma̰qni:náʔ   'murderer'
     d.   kṵčú: 'cure, heal sby'   → kṵču:nų́ʔ / kṵču:náʔ   'doctor'
     e.   ka̰cí: 'know sth'   → ka̰ci:nįʔ / ka̰ci:náʔ   'fortune-teller'
     f.   la̰qcín   'see sth'   → la̰qcinįʔ / la̰qcináʔ   'witness; visitor'
     g.   pał-   'sweep'   → pałnáʔ   'sweeper'

This suffix has a harmonic vowel that duplicates the last vowel of the base; however, it may be

regularising to *-na̰ʔ* (2.4.1). The first forms given in elicitation varied; however, both the form

with *-na̰ʔ* and the harmonic form were accepted in nearly all cases; and within one text—

Muchacho Flojo—an ill omen is described with alternating forms *ma:qašniná̰ʔ* and *ma:qašninį̰ʔ*

(derived from *ma:qašnín* 'to portend').

4.1.2   General nominalisers

Coahuitlán Totonac has a number of morphological processes that nominalise verbal bases

resulting in nouns—and adjectives—with diverse semantic relationships to their base. There is

more work to be done describing the semantics of these different nominalisers; although these

patterns are salient in my data, it is unclear how much they represent synchronic morphology.

Without clear semantic groupings, I describe the processes in this section as general

nominalisers, and discuss each affix and process by their forms. An additional reason for

grouping them together is that the words derived with instrumental nominalisers *liː-* and *puː-* always co-occur with one of the general nominalisers, (4.1.1).

Nominaliser -n or -ni̱
The nominaliser *-ni̱* derives a noun or an adjective from a verbal stem. It has two forms, *-n* following a vowel, and *-ni̱* elsewhere (2).

(2) a. mas-   'rot, decay'   → masni̱   'rotten; worn out'
     b. ma̱qlip-   'flash (lightning)' → ma̱qlípni̱   'lightning'
     c. lonq-   'to be cold'   → lonqni̱   'cold'
     d. níː   'die'   → niːn   'dead person; corpse'
     e. laqacíː   'be blind'   → laqacíːn   'blind person'
     f. si̱ːcíː   'be angry'   → si̱ːcíːn   'angry person'

As mentioned above, this nominaliser results in a range of semantic relationships between the nominal and its verbal base. For *mas-* 'rot', the nominalised form is an adjective and describes the end point of the process. From *ma̱qlip-* 'flash (lightning)', the nominal is a noun that describes the event. The form *lonqni̱* is an abstract noun refering to cold weather (and nearly synonymous with the adjective *qe̱ːwíwi̱* 'cold' as discussed in Upper Necaxa Totonac in Beck 2000). The word *niːn* 'dead person' denotes someone who has died, while the last two forms— *laqacíːn* 'blind person' and *si̱ːcíːn* 'angry peson'—denote a person characterised by the verb.

This suffix sometimes occurs in conjunction with the decausative *ta-* (cf. 4.2.4) (3).

(3) a. paš-   'bathe, take a bath' → tapášni̱   'bath'
     b. číː   'tie sth'   → tačíːn   'knot'
     c. kiɫtíː   'sing'   → takiɫí̱ːn   'song'

These examples are different from words where the nominalisation is applied to a verbal base that has already undergone derivation with decausative *ta-*. For example, the word *tači̱kín* 'earthquake' is formed from the intransitive verb *tačikí* 'shake', itself derived from *čikí* 'shake sth'. In contrast, there are no intermediate verbal forms attested for *paš-* 'bathe' and *kiɫtíː* 'sing' (**tapaš-* and **takiɫtíː*). For the word *tači̱ːn*, there is a form *tačí̱ː* meaning 'tie oneself; be tied up',

though this may not be the base of *tačí:n* 'knot' (however, *tačį:* does seem to be the base of homophonous *tačį:n* 'prisoner').

This suffix is also seen in nominalisations from bound roots (4).

(4) a.   čiwi:nán   'speak'   → tačiwí:n   'word'
       b.   ʔǫxo:nún   'cough'   → taʔǫxó:n   'cough'
       c.   qama:nán   'play'   → taqamá:n   'game'

Several verbs, like those given in (4), have bound forms as roots. -*čiwi:*, -*ʔǫxo:*, and *qama:n* are likely historical forms but they no longer occur as unbound roots (which also occur in other forms such as *pu:čiwí:n* – '*presidencia*, municipal office' and *qama:ną́ʔ* 'children')

The nominaliser -*n/-nį* bears a similarity to the homophonous empty base used to form bodyparts from combining prefixes as seen in *laka*– and *lakán* 'face', *maka*- and *makán* 'hand', *piš*- and *píšni* 'neck', and *kił*- and *kíłnį* 'mouth' (also cf. Beck 2011 and Garcia-Vega 2018 for more on bodyparts in Upper Necaxa Totonac).

Nominaliser -t or -Vt
The second general nominaliser has two forms: -*t* following a vowel (5) and -*Vt* with harmonic vowel following a consonant (6).

(5) a.   pupú   'bubble; boil'   → púput   'foam'
       b.   cįkį́:   'suckle'   → cįkį́:t   'mother's milk'
       c.   ča:lá   'render (grease, fat)' → čá:lat   'grease, fat'
       d.   lakatí: 'like sth'   → lakatí:t   'pretty'
       e.   ąqčukú   'cut the top off sth' → ąqčúkut   'bottle-gourd'
       f.   šušú   'become mouldy'   → šúšut   'mould'
       g.   latamá: 'live'   → latáma:t   'life'

(6) a.   skux-   'work'   → skúxut   'job, task'
       b.   čux-   'spit'   → čúxut   'saliva'
       c.   lonqnún   'be cold'   → lónqot   'cold'
       d.   maklakaskįn 'need something' → šmaklakaskínit 'something needed, necessity'

Most of these forms are nouns, though (5)d is an adjective. Several forms denote states or objects resulting from the action or process of the verb base (i.e., *púput* 'foam' and *čá:lat* 'grease'), but

there are a variety of other relationships (i.e., *lakatí:t* 'pretty, *latáma:t* 'life', and *skúxut* 'job, task'). Beck describes the cognate nominaliser *-t/-Vt* in Upper Necaxa Totonac as a resultative, but notes many derivations formed have lexicalised meanings (2011, p.c.). It is possible that *-t/-Vt* was historically a resultative, but synchronically, it is difficult to distinguish from the other general purpose nominalisers.

Nominaliser -tat
Coahuitlán Totonac has another nominaliser *-tat* (7).

(7)	a.	ni:	'die'	→ ní:tat	'death'
	b.	kun	'swell up'	→ kúntat	'swelling'
	c.	qo:n	'get fat'	→ qóntat	'fat, fatness'
	d.	cįnks-	'be hungry'	→ tacínkstat	'hunger; famine'

I have grouped this form with the other general nominalisers because I have only a small number of examples, but it seems to derive abstract concepts. This suffix may be related to *-t/-Vt*, but the nature of this relationship is unclear.

Nominalising laryngeal apophony
The final general nominaliser is not an affix, but a stem-modifying process: laryngeal apophony. This process is quite common in Coahuitlán Totonac (8).

(8)	a.	taqnú:	'wear on one's head'	→ táqnų	'hat'
	b.	tapišnú:	'wear on one's neck'	→ tapíšnų	'necklace'
	c.	tamąqnú:	'wear on one's body'	→ tamáqnų	'blouse'
	d.	mano:qɬú:	'come across, meet'	→ manóqɬų	'encounter'

Although I term this "laryngeal apophony" as this alternation involves the laryngealisation of the final vowel, these forms also see the shortening of long final vowels, and the deletion of /n/ (as in *xikwán → taxíkwą* 'fear', in (9) below)

As with other nominalisers, the derivation sometimes includes the decausative *ta-* (9)

(9)	a.	xi:kwán	'be afraid'	→ taxí:kwą	'fear'
	b.	łtatá	'sleep'	→ tałtátą	'sleep, rest'
	c.	li:cín	'laugh, smile'	→ talí:cį	'laughter'
	d.	xilikšnín	'hiccough (v)'	→ taxilíkšnį	'hiccough (n)'

Like -*nį*, stem-modification nominalisation is fairly general, deriving a wide range of nouns.

Beck links this nominalisation pattern to a historic *-ʔ (Beck 2011: 42).

4.1.3   Instrumental nominalisers

Coahuitlán Totonac has two instrumental nominalisers, *li:-* and *pu:-*. Both of these affixes

primarily occur in conjunction with one of the general nominalizers to create nouns denoting

instruments or items needed to complete the action of the verb.

Nominal instrumental li:-
The prefix *li:-* is the more general of the two instrumental nominalisers, denoting a wide range of

instruments (10).

(10)	a.	pał-	'sweep'	→ lí:pałnį	'broom'
	b.	muksún	'have an odour'	→ lí:muksunį	'perfume'
	c.	čukú	'cut, saw'	→ lí:čukut	'saw'
	d.	kučú:	'cure, heal'	→ lí:kučų	'medicine'
	e.	škulí	'smoke (a pipe, cigarette)'	→ lí:škulį	'tobacco'

Each of these examples shows the prefix *li:-* wih a second nominaliser, one of the general

nominalisers of section (4.1.2): -*n/nį* appears in (10)a-b, -*t/-Vt* in c, and laryngeal apophony in

e-f. In addition to the prefix *li:-*, nominal instrumentals are marked with a unique stress pattern,

with the *li:-* prefix attracting stress: for example, lexical stress for *lí:pałnį* 'broom', would be

expected to fall on the penultimate syllable (cf. 2.6).

Like the nominalisations that use both the nominaliser -*n/nį* and the descausative *ta-*

(4.2.4), these examples are different from words where the nominalisation is applied to a verbal

base that as already undergone derivation with the applicative instrumental, also *li:-*. However, it

is more difficult to differentiate for instrumentals because the applicative instrumental can be

applied to most verb bases, giving two possible verbal bases for nominalisations: *lí:paɬni̠* 'broom' could come from either *paɬ-* 'sweep' or *li:paɬ-* 'sweep with something'. For other forms, there is no attested verbal instrumental form: for example, **li:skulí* and **li:muksún* are unattested. I have described forms such as those in (10) as being derived from the bare verbal base (i.e., *paɬ-* 'sweep) because of the stress pattern that deviates from the expected lexical stress. There are other nominalised instruments that lack this stress pattern: I describe these as nominalised directly from verbal instrumentals. For example, *li:ká:sna̠* '*suyacal*, rain cape' has the expected penultimate stress due to the light final syllable; this form is derived from *li:ka:snán* 'protect oneself from the rain with something' (I have not encountered this form in Coahuitlán Totonac, but it is attested in Upper Necaxa Totonac, see Beck 2011:285).

Container pu:-
The prefix *pu:-* more specially denotes containers, container-like instruments, and locations (11).

(11)						
	a.	kučú:	'cure, heal'	→	pu:kučú:n	'health clinic'
	b.	č a̠š-	'carry, hold in both arms'	→	pu:č́ašni̠	'stretcher'
	c.	tasti̠wí	'swing, rock'	→	pu:tastí̠wit	'swing, hammock'
	d.	ta̠:wán	'walk around'	→	pu:tá:wa̠	'vehicle'
	e.	tamá:	'lay down'	→	pu:táma̠	'bed'
	f.	qaɬtoká	'learn'	→	pu:qaɬtóka̠	'school'

Like *li:-* 'instrumental', the prefix *pu:-* occurs in conjunction with a general nominaliser: *-n/ni̠* appears in (11)a-b, *-t/-Vt* in c, and laryngeal apophony in d-f. While not as general as *li:-*, the range of meanings seen in these examples is still quite broad: for example, *pu:kučú:n* 'health clinic' refers to a place where the event of *kučú:* 'heal' occurs, and *pu:tá̠:wa̠* 'vehicle' refers to an object used for transport.

The prefix *pu:-* can also derive nouns from nominal bases (12).

(12)	a.	čo:	'tortilla'	→ pu:čó:	'tortilla warmer gourd'
	b.	sikwalán	'god'	→ pu:sikwalán	'church, chapel'
	c.	páškwa	'party'	→ pu:páškwa	'location of a party'
	d.	í:tat	'middle' (cf. Sp. *mitad*)	→ pu:í:tat	'town or village centre'
	e.	Sp. *escuela* 'school'		→ pu:skwé:la	'school'

These examples describe a similar range of meanings: *pu:čó:* is a container made out of a gourd to hold tortillas, *pu:sikwalán* 'church' describes a location associated with the noun sikwalán 'god'. The form *pu:skwé:la* gives an example of Totonac morphology joined to a Spanish stem: *sikwalán* 'god' and *páškwa* 'party' are also borrowed from Spanish, but there is no Coahuitlán Totonac form *skwé:la*.

4.1.4 Additional nominalisers

In this section, I describe three additional nominalisers. Unlike the general and instrumental nominalisers, these primarily apply to non-verbal bases.

Place of ka̰:-

The place prefix *ka̰:-* is added to a noun to create a location noun denoting a place or location where many of the objects or items expressed by the nominal base are found (13).

(13)	a.	cikín	'houses'	→ ka̰:čikín	'village, town'
	b.	qa:ʔnáni̠	'nettles'	→ ka̰:qaʔnáni̠	'place with lots of nettles'
	c.	stapúnu̠	'beans'	→ ka̰:stapúnu̠	'bean field'

The prefix *ka̰:-* 'place of' only combines with the plural form of nouns, an otherwise non-obligatory marking which is not commonly used (cf. 5.1.2).

A common usage of these location nouns is to create community names (14)

(14)	a.	ki̠wín	'trees'	→ ka̰:ki̠wín	'forest, wooded area; Coahuitlán'
	b.	mayákni̠	'vines'	→ ka̰:mayákni̠	'area with many vines; Mecatlán'
	c.	łtuku̠:ní:n	'thorns, spines'	→ ka̰:łtuku̠:ní:n	'place with thorns; Espinal'

Communities in this part of Mexico, like those given in (14), have a Totonac name alongside their "official" name which in most communities comes from Nahuatl or Spanish. The offical

names typically have the same meaning as the Totonac name: for example, Coahuitlán from

Nahuatl *cuahuitl* 'tree' and *-tlan* 'place' corresponding to *ka:kiwín* from *ka:-* 'place of' and *kiwín*

'trees'. Mecatlan is from *mecatl* 'vine' and *-tlan* 'place', and Espinal is from Spanish *espina*

'thorn' and *-al* 'a place where something is grown'.

In addition to nominal bases, *ka:-* also combines with non-nominal bases to form

adverbs (15).

(15) a. puks   'cloudy, dark'   → ka:púkswa   'in the dark'
      b. laqwán   'disintegrate'   → ka:laqwán   'outside, in open air; void'
      c. li:taskúxut   'work'   → ka:li:taskúxut 'workplace'
      d. cisná?   'night'   → ka:cisná?   'at night'
      e.   → ka:kuwiní?   'by day, during daytime'
      f. cí:sa   'night time; late; dark'   → ka:cí:sa   'at night; in the dark'
      g. laqsóqa   'very early'   → ka:laqsóqa   'very early in the morning'

The example in (15)e does not have a non-derived form attested in Coahuitlán Totonac;

however, it can be compared to Upper Necaxa *kuwiní* 'be late in the morning'. (15)f-g are all

temporal adverbs; *ka:-* is also used productively to derive adverbs that express the time of

day (16).

(16) a. maqtím   'one hour'   → ka:maqtím   'at one o'clock'
      b. maqtú: 'two hours'   → ka:maqtú: 'at two o'clock'
      c. maqkícis   'five hours'   → ka:maqkícis   'at five o'clock'
      d. maqkáw   'ten hours'   → ka:maqkáw   'at ten o'clock'

These forms are derived from numerals with the classifier *maq-* used to count hours.

Generic li:-
The generic prefix *li:-* applies to nominal bases to give nouns with generic or non-specific

reference (17). Although I have taken the name 'generic' from Beck (2011:44), I have very few

examples of this use with nominal bases in my data. However, this prefix occurs with non-

nominal bases in a variety of ways.

(17) łu:wašní:n šli:taskúxut
      łu:wa–šni:n   š–li:–taskuxut
      many–exceedingly   3PO–GNC–work
      'there is a lot of work'

This example is from a description of daily work—not a specific task—done in a typical household. A further use of the generic affix gives the meaning of 'among a group' (18).

(18) a.   ikinán   'we'   → li:ikinán   'among us'
      b.   u:tanan   'them'   → li:u:tanán   'among them'
      c.   nata̰:lá?ni 'kin, relations' → li:nata̰:lá?ni 'among family'

For Coahuitlán Totonac, I only have a few examples of this use, but it is attested in other Totonac languages, for example: Coyutla *li:ạmigos* 'among friends' and Papantla *li:putum* 'among a group' from *putum* 'group'. The form *ḭšli:po̰?tuká̰n* 'everyone' in Upper Necaxa may be of this type: it combines possessive morphology, the generic, and the adjective *pó̰?tu* 'all, everything'.

With adjectival bases, the generic prefix often creates abstract nouns (19).

(19) a.   cínka   'heavy'   → li:cínka   'weight'
      b.   ƛiwéqe   'strong' → li:ƛiwéqe   'strength'
      c.   stilíli   'round'   → li:stilíli   'surroundings'
      d.   skáxwa   'dirty'   → li:skáxnit   'dirtiness'

These examples show *li:-* with adjectival bases forming abstract nouns describing the quality expressed by the adjectives. For some adjectival bases, the derived form remains an adjective (20).

(20) a.   lakátit   'pretty' → li:lakátit   'pretty'
      b.   qá̰ta̰   'big'   → li:qá̰ta̰   'big'

The meaning of these adjectives does not seem to be clearly different than that of the base.

In my data, I also have two derivations where the generic *li:-* is used with verbal bases, combined with one of the general nominalisers (see above) (21).

(21) a. ni: 'die'   → li:nín   'death'
      b. kųn   'swell'   → li:kų́nį   'thickness'
      c. pa:šuwá   'be happy' → li:pa:šú: 'happily'

The meaning and part of speech of these examples shows much less consistency: *li:nín* 'death' and *li:kų́nį* 'thickness' are abstract nouns, similar to the examples in (19); and *li:pa:šú:* 'happily' is an adverb.

Fellow tạ:-
The prefix *tạ:-* is applied to nouns in combination with possessive morphology to derive an inherently possessed noun denoting someone belonging to the same group or class as the possessor (22).

(22) a. štạ:sá:kwạ
          š–tạ:–tasạ:kwạ
          3PO–FELLOW–hired.worker
          'his partners at work, colleagues'

      b. y lakapastákmạ: ču wí: ti: tạ:qama:námạ: štạ:qo:lucín
          y   lakapastak–mạ: ču   wi: ti: tạ:–qama:nan–mạ: š–tạ:–qo:lucín
          and think–PROG   **PTCL** be HREL COM–play–PROG   3PO–FELLOW–old.man
          'he is thinking that there is another old man like him who he is playing with'
                                                                  Geri's game:7

In (22)b the derived form is *štạ:qo:lucín* 'another old man like him' and the possessor is the subject of the matrix verb *lakapastak-* 'think' and the verb *tạ:qama:nán* 'play with' in the relative clause introduced by *ti:*. The relative verb in this example additionally shows the comitative *tạ:-*, a verbal applicative used to add an argument accompanying the agent of the verb (4.2.3).

4.2 Verbal derivational morphology

Verbal derivational morphology in Coahuitlán Totonac is complex. The bulk of this section

focuses on derivational processes that take verbal bases and increase or decrease valency. Even

the verbaliser *-i:*, which creates verbs from non-verbal bases, is involved with valency when

applied to verbal bases (4.2.1). After discussing this verbaliser, I follow the organisation of Beck

2011 and discuss valency increasers: causatives (4.2.2) and applicatives (4.2.3), and valency

decreasers (4.2.4).

4.2.1 Verbaliser

Coahuitlán Totonac has a verbalising suffix *-i:*, with two functions: first, it creates verbs from

non-verbal bases, and second, it derives transitive verbs from intransitive verbal bases. The

names used for this suffix in the literature reflect these two roles: McQuown describes the

cognate *-i:* in Coatepec Totonac as a verbaliser (1990:191), while MacKay describes it as a

transitivizer in Misantla Totonac (1994:269).

In Coahuitlán Totonac, *-i:* derives verbs from adjectival bases in conjunction with the

decausative prefix *ta-* (23).

(23) a. łmá: 'long'   → tałma:ní: 'lengthen, get longer'
      b. lakacuná: 'near'   → talakacunaxí:[25] 'approach, get closer'
      c. ạkcuná: 'short'   → tạkcunaxí: 'shorten'
      d. lạqamáqạt 'far'   → talạqamạqati: 'withdraw, move away'
      e. cé:ya   'good'   → tace:yí: 'improve, get better'
      f. pị:qátạ   'wide'   → tapị:qạtị́:   'widen, broaden'
      g. makštím   'together' → tamakštimí: 'join together, be gathered'

When *-i:* follows a vowel, the vowel is deleted; if that vowel is laryngealised *-i:* gains this

phonation. The verbs in (23) are intransitive, describing the accomplishment of the state

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[25] The long vowel in -cuná: '' comes from cunax

described by the adjective (MacKay describes verbs derived with *-i:* in Misantla Totonac as "verbs of accomplishment"). The combined derivation *ta- -i:* in these examples resembles the causative circumfix *ma:- -(n)i:*, see below. The forms *talakacunaxí:* 'approach' and *ṭakcunaxí:* 'shorten' are formed with bound root *-cuna:* 'a little bit'; historically this root was *-cunax*, before a sound change in Coahuitlán Totonac that deletes word-final /x/ with compensatory lengthening for the final vowel (cf. example (19) in section 2.2).

I have one derivation with a nominal base (24).

(24)   kíwi̧   'tree; wood'   → takị̧wí̧:   'collect firewood'

Although formally similar to the examples in (23), *takị̧wí̧:* 'collect firewood' is derived from a nominal base, and seems to be a one-off derivation with a unique meaning.

With verbal bases, the suffix *-i:* creates transitive verbs from intransitive ones (25).

(25)   a.   palá   'change'   → palí: 'change sth'
       b.   muksún   'smell like'   → muksuní: 'smell sth'
       c.   paš-   'bathe'   → paší: 'bathe sby'
       d.   -wi:la   'be seated'   → wilí: 'set sth down'

The derived verbs add an argument expressing an agent who performs the action of the verb. The form *wila* 'be seated' is a bound root in present day Coahuitlán Totonac, though it is part of the form *to:la* 'sit down' (*ta–wi:la* before vowel-approximant coalescence, cf. 2.3.6).

Transitive verbs borrowed from Spanish show the suffix *-li:* (26).

(26)   a.   *seguir*   Spanish 'follow'   → *seguir*lí: 'follow sth'
       b.   *preparar*   Spanish 'prepare'   → *preparar*lí: 'prepare sth'
       c.   *maltratar*   Spanish 'mistreat' → *maltratar*lí: 'treat sby or sth poorly'
       d.   *cosquilla*   Spanish 'tickle'   → skulí: 'tickle sby'

These words, with the exception of *skulí:* 'tickle', were used by speakers in natural speech while recording texts, with very Spanish pronunciation; however, Totonac morphology seems to be

necessary even for this kind of casual borrowing. As a side note, intransitive verbs from Spanish are borrowed with the detransitiviser *-nan* suffix (4.2.4). The suffix *-li:* seems to originate from a combination of the verb *la* 'do' and the verbaliser *-i:*.

There is one Spanish adjective that has the suffix *-li:* (27).

(27)   ríku   'rich'   → taṛikulí: 'enrich oneself'

This example also shows the decausative prefix *ta-* which gives the inchoative sense of 'becoming rich'.

4.2.2   Causatives

Coahuitlán Totonac has two morphological causatives: a circumfix *ma:-...-(n)i:* and a prefix *mɑqa-*. Both causatives increase the valency of the base by adding a Causer that becomes the syntactic subject, while the Causee (which would be the subject of the base verb) becomes an object. The circumflex is a more general causative, while *mɑqa-* expresses a specific type of causative where the Causer acts as a stimulus for an internal process in the Causee. However, Beck notes that in Upper Necaxa Totonac, most verb stems are limited to one or the other causative (2011:13).

Causative ma:- -(n)i:
The causative circumfix *ma:- -(n)i:* is very common in Coahuitlán Totonac (28).

(28)   a.   miš-   'cool off, get cold'   → ma:miší: 'cool sth off; put out (fire); turn off'
       b.   tạ:wán   'walk around'   → ma:tạ:waní: 'lead, make walk; drive (a vehicle)'
       c.   laqó:n   'wake up'   → ma:laqo:ní: 'wake sby up'
       d.   ɬatá   'sleep'   → ma:ɬatí: 'put to sleep'
       e.   ka:wá   'get wet'   → ma:ka:wí: 'wet, dampen sth'
       f.   ska:ká   'dry out'   → ma:ska:kí: 'dry something'
       g.   pasá: 'be on fire, burn'   → ma:pasí: 'light (a flame); set on fire; turn on'

With vowel-final stems, as in d-g, the vowel in the stem is deleted before *-i:* as with the verbaliser *-i:* which seems to be the historical source of *-i:* in the causative. Although some

authors treat the causative and verbaliser/transitiviser separately (see Mackay 1994:272, 303 for Misantla Totonac and McFarland 2009:150 for Filomeno Mata Totonac), I treat it as a circumfix (as Beck 2011:13 and Garcia-Vega 2022:314), as some causatives take the form *ma:- -ni:* (instead of *ma:- -i:*) (29).

(29) a. tíː   'dance'   → maːti̯ːní: 'cause sby to dance'
      b. kiɬtíː   'sing'   → maːkiɬti̯ːní: 'cause sby to sing'
      c. lakapaːstak- 'think, remember'   → maːlakapaːstakní: 'remind'

Causatives with the inclusion of /n/ are less common and may reflect an older pattern.[26] The /n/ appears with both vowel- and consonant-final stems, and appears to be lexically conditioned. Although most causatives are formed with the circumfix, the prefix alone appears on a small number of stems, for example on stative verbs (30).

(30) a. wáką   'be high'   → móːką   'raise'
      b. -xuː   'enter vertically'   → maːxúː   'pour; put sth in a container'
      c. qeːnú   'be out of the way'   → maːqeːnú   'remove to one side; put away'
      d. lakanú: 'wear on one's face'   → maːlakanú: 'put on one's face; harness'
      e. -sų̥ː   'be visible'   → maːsų́ː   'show sth; teach, explain sth'

These verbs act like the causatives in (28) and (29) by adding a causer and demoting the causee to an object (from being subject of the base verb). Non-verbal bases also form causatives with the prefix *ma:-* (31).

(31) a. kaš   'ready, prepared'   → maːkaš-   'to make ready, prepare'
      b. cumáː   'full'   → maːcumáː   'fill up'

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[26] MacKay's treatment of causatives in Misantla Totonac requires a separate affix to increase valency: transitivizer *-i:* for intransitive stems, and applicative *-ni* for transitive stems (1994:303). In my limited data, /n/ does seem to appear with transitive stems, but with the long *i:*, *ma:- -ni:* does not match the applicative *-ni*.

The non-verbal bases *kaš* 'ready' (adverb) and *cumá:* 'full' (adjective) form causative verbs where a Causer brings about the state or property denoted by the base. These two examples are the only causatives formed from non-verbal bases in my data.

I have one additional form of a causative formed with *ma:-* (32).

(32)   sta: 'sell sth'   → ma:sta: 'give, transfer ownership'

Cognates of *sta:* and *ma:sta:* follow the same pattern in most Totonac languages—it is present in Apapantilla, Upper Necaxa, Coatepec, Coahuitlán, Coyutla, Filomeno Mata, Zapotitlán and Papantla Totonac.

Other formal variation includes traces of vowel harmony: in a small number of stems, the second half of the circumfix is *-V:* (33).

(33) a. qos-   'fly'   → ma:qosú: 'throw'
      b. mu̠snún   'well up'   → ma:mu̠sú: 'pour'

The causative in (33)b is derived from bound root *mu̠s-* which also appears in *mu̠snún* 'well up (water)' and *mú̠snị* 'spring, fountain'. Vowel harmony seems not to be synchronically widespread for this affix.

Causative verbs have one more valency slot than the base, and there is a change in grammatical relations: the syntactic subject expresses the additional argument, the Causer of the action. The previous subject, now the Causee, is expressed as an object (34).

(34) a.   ma:qósu:lị štáqnụ qọ́:ča
           ma:–qos–u:–lị   š–tạqnụ   qọ:ča
           CS–fly–CS–PFV   3PO–hat   boy
           'the young man threw his *sombrero*'

Muchacho flojo:77

      b.   lakciná: spu:n táqoslị
           lak–cina: spu:n   ta–qos–lị
           PL.ADJ–small   bird   3PL.SUBJ–fly–PFV
           'the little birds flew off'

For the birds:25

      c.   ka:ma:mạqčuyi:ní: čičị̆ʔ
           ka:–ma:–mạqčuya–i:–nị: čičị̆ʔ
           PL.OBJ–CS–err–CS–PERF   dog
           'he had held up/confused the dogs'

Zorillo:37

(34)a and b show the derived verb *ma:qosú:* and its intransitive base *qos-* 'fly'. In b, qos- takes

the subject *lakciná: spu:n* 'little birds' who are agents flying. In a, the subject *qọ́:ča* 'boy' causes

the object *štạ́qnụ* 'hats' to fly: he throws them.

Stimulus mạqa-
The second causative seems more common with inanimate causers or internal processes where

the causer's role is more that of providing a stimulus for the event (35).

(35) a.   tẹqwán   'get tired'   → mạqatẹqwán   'tire sby/sth'
      b.   sị:cí: 'get angry'   → mạqasị:cí: 'anger sby'
      c.   li:cị́:n   'laugh'   → mạqali:cị́n   'make sby laugh'
      d.   ka:na:la   'believe'   → mạqasị:cí: 'convince, persuade'

The base in each of these words expresses an internal state (perhaps indirectly with *li:cị́:n*

'laugh'); the form with *mạqa-* expresses a causer who brings someone or something into that

state. This can be more clearly seen in textual examples (36).

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(36) a.   peɾo xo:ca kimą̨qasí:ci:li̧ cą̨ma monqšú̧ʔ ma:qašniní̧ʔ
           peɾo xo:=ca   kin–mą̨qa-si̧:ci:–li̧   cą̨ma monqšu̧ʔ   ma:qašni–ni̧ʔ
           but   **PTCL**=now 1OBJ–STM–be.angry–PFV   **DEM** owl   portend–AGT
           ' "now this portentious owl has made me angry" '

                                                                    Muchacho flojo:98

      b.   pus mą̨qaka:ná:lali̧
           pus   mą̨qa–ka:na:la–li̧
           well   STM–believe–PFV
           'so he convinced him'

                                                                    Pitón:21

In (36)a, the base verb is *si̧:cí:* 'be angry'. The man believes an owl is making noise outside his house at night, which—beyond waking him up—is a portent of bad luck; he responds to the ill omen by becoming angry.[27] (36)b, with base verb is *ka:na:la* 'believe', summarises the discussion between a man and a friend who initially disbelieves his claims; however, the narrator explains that the man successfully convinced his friend in the end.

In addition to these verbs expressing internal states, I do have additional verb stems with *mą̨qa-* (37).

(37) a.   la   'do; give fruit'   → mą̨qalá   'harvest'
      b.   šqaqá   'be light; dawn'   → mą̨qašqaqá   'shine'
      c.   min   'come'   → mą̨qamín   'introduce, bring into a place'

These verbs are more highly lexicalised: *mą̨qalá* 'harvest' uses an extended sense of la 'do' meaning 'to give fruit' (i.e., *kinkúši la* 'my corn is ready, it is producing grains'). The verb *šqaqá* and the derived *mą̨qašqaqá* seem to roughly share the same meaning of giving light: in Zapotitlán Totonac *šqaqay* 'the day dawns' is an impersonal verb that becomes *maqašqaqay* 'shine, illuminate'. The form *mą̨qamín* is also intresting. I have it in two texts: the first text describes a type of witch that tries to suck the blood of newborn babies. The witch flies to the

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[27] Apparently Nahuas, who share a belief of the ill portent of hearing an owl's call, believe that cursing and insulting the owl can serve to counter this ill omen (cf. García Garagarza 2020); my consultants did not mention the insult response as part of this omen, but it is interesting to see the man in this story respond with anger.

roof of the house transformed as a kind of eagle, and lets down a long tube like a mosquito that watchful parents must be ready to cut. The verb *mạqamín* is used to describe the witch letting down the tube: she causes it to come into the baby's room. The second text describes mythical beings who have the power to make rain and thunder as *ti: mạqamín škaːn* 'those who make it rain', drawing from the expression *min škaːn* 'it is raining', or literally 'water is coming'.

4.2.3 Applicatives

There are four applicatives in Coahuitlán Totonac that derive verbs with an increased valency. Each applicative adds an object and is associated with different semantic roles in a fairly regular way.

Benefactive -ni
The benefactive suffix *-ni* is extremely frequent, adding an object which may take a range of semantic roles: the primary being beneficiary, maleficiary, and recipient (38).

(38)	a.	wan	'say sth'	→ waní	'say sth to sby'
	b.	liːmín	'bring sth'	→ liːminí	'bring sth for sby'
	c.	maːsụ:	'show sth'	→ maːsụːní	'show sth to sby'
	d.	skịn	'ask a question'	→ skịní	'ask sby a question'
	e.	xiːkwán	'be afraid'	→ xiːkwaní	'fear sth/sby'
	f.	sịːcí:	'be angry'	→ sịːciːní	'get angry with sby'
	g.	kacán	'be sore, hurt (bodypart)'	→ kacaní	'hurt sth (bodypart) of sby'
	h.	staːlá	'go behind, accompany'	→ staːlaní	'follow sby, chase sby'

Benefactive forms are quite regular: the meaning does not change much between benefactive and base, beyond the addition of an argument (39).

(39) nạkwaní kináːna mat wan náːʔa náːʔa waní šnáːnạ
      nạk–wan–ní   ki–náːna   mat   wan náːʔa náːʔa wan–ní   š–náːna
      FUT:1SG.SUBJ–say–BEN 1PO–mother QUOT say   mom   mom   say–BEN 3PO–mother
      le voy a decir a mi mama, mama mama, le dice a su mama
      "I'll go tell my mother" he says. "Mom! Mom!" he says to his mother.

<div align="right">Arriero:16</div>

There are three instances of speaking in this example: in the text, a merchant has just asked the boy if his mother would sell some food: the boy's reply is given with *wán* 'he says': in the reply, the boy says *nakwaní* "I will say (your message) to my mother"; then finally, he turns and *ná:ʔa waní šná:na* 'he says "mom!" to his mother'.

There are many roles associated with *-ni*: in (39), *šná:na* 'his mother' is an Adressee. Addressees and recipients are common, as are beneficiaries (40).

(40) *porque* u: ti: škinka:ma:sụ:niparaṇị:tán a:ma: taqạ̃łí:n
      porque   u: ti: š–kin–ka:–ma:su:–ni–paɾa–nị̃–ta–n   a:ma: taqạ̃łi:n
      because   DEM   HREL   PAST–1OBJ–PL.OBJ–show–BEN–RPT–PERF–2OBJ   this   animal
      'because it's he who had made us find this animal (*lit.* showed it to us) again'
                                                                                                    Macho:26

This sentence comes at the end of a short anecdote my consultant told me: after telling me he and his family were able to find their mule that had been lost for three days, my consultant told me he also gave thanks to God. The benefiary of *ma:sụ:ní* 'show sth to sby' is "us"—my consultant's family—marked with personal agreement and the direct object is the mule.

Instrumental li:-
The instrumental prefix *li:-* adds an object acting as an instrument or tool used in the action denoted by the verb (42).

(41) a.   či: 'tie sth'   → li:či: 'tie sth with sth'
      b.   čukú   'cut through sth'   → li:čukú   'cut through sth with sth'
      c.   kạ: 'chop sth'   → li:ká: 'chop sth with sth'
      d.   kạcí   'know sth'   → li:kạcí: 'be informed; be in agreement'
      e.   čiwi:nán   'speak'   → li:čiwi:nán   'speak with (language)'
      f.   tama:wanán 'buy sth'   → li:tama:wanán 'purchase sth with sth'

The instrumental is fairly regular, and can be applied rather freely to a large number of verbal bases. Commonly, the added argument represents a tool or instrument (42).

(42) a. kcukulị xo: kli:lakawáša kị́wị
          k–cuku–lị   xo: k–li:–laka–waš–a   kịwị
          1SG.SUBJ–begin–PFV   **PTCL** 1SG.SUBJ–INSTR–face–dig–IMPF tree
          'I began to chop at it with the wooden stake'

                                                                    Serpiente:23

      b. klạ́qcilị kli:lạ́qcilị kilạqastápu
          k–lạqcin–li   k–li:–lạqcin–li   kin–laqastapu
          1SG.SUBJ–see–PFV   1SG.SUBJ–INSTR–see–PFV   1PO–eye
          'I saw it! I saw it with my own eyes!'

                                                                    Pollito:13

The instrument in (42)a is a stick used to scratch or chop as my consultant was trying to dig a

snake out of its hole to kill it. In (42)b, the instrument is the speaker's eyes: adding emphasis that

he did indeed see something (in fact, the sky falling—this text is a version of the Chicken Little

story).

    A common extension of *li:*- adds a motive or reason for the action (43).

(43) a. či li:tạsáyạ
          či   li:–tạsa–yạ
          how   INSTR–cry–IMPF:2SG.SUBJ
          'why are you crying?

      b. či čú:nca li:tó:pạ:t
          či   ču:nca   li:–to:–pạ:t
          how   thus   INSTR–do–PROG:2SG.SUBJ
          'why are you doing that?

                                                                    Relámpago:28

      c. kcukúw kli:pa:šuwayá w
          k–cuku–w   k–li:–pa:šuwa–ya:–w
          1SG.SUBJ–begin–1PL.SUBJ:PFV   1SG.SUBJ–INSTR–be.happy–IMPF–1PL.SUBJ
          'We started to be happy because of it (we recovered our mule).'

                                                                    Macho:23

In each example, *li:*- adds a reason for the action. Although Spanish *porque* 'because' is now

quite common, the instrumental is probably the original Totonac way of expressing "because".

    With verbs *min* 'come' and *ạn* 'go', the instrumental forms are highly lexicalised (44).

(44) a. min   'come'   → li:mín   'bring'
      b. a̰n   'go'   → le:n (from *li:a̰n*) 'take'

(45) táštulḭ lé:lḭ šťa̰qnṵ
      taštu-lḭ   le:n–lḭ   š–ta̰qnṵ
      leave–PFV   take–PFV   3PO–hat
      'he left, taking his hat'

In these forms, instead of an instrument, the added argument is an object the subject carries with

them as they come or go, as with the hat in (45).

Comitative ta̰:-
The comitative prefix *ta̰:-* adds an object denoting someone who accompanies the subject during

the event of the verb (46).

(46) a. min   'come'   → ta̰:mín   'come with sby'
      b. a̰n   'go'   → ta̰:a̰n   'go with sby'
      c. čiwi:nán   'converse,'   → ta̰:čiwi:nán 'chat, speak with sby'
      d. la̰qcín   'see'   → ta̰:la̰qcín   'see, view together with'
      e. skux-   'work'   → ta̰:skux-   'work together with'
      f. tano̰qɬ-   'meet, come together' → ta̰:tano̰qɬ- 'meet up with sby'

The additional argument is typically animate and tends to act as a participant with the subject in

the action expressed by the verb (47).

(47) a.   tạ:čiwí:nalị skuwanáʔ ạkcịnịʔ
            tạ:–čiwi:nan–lị   skuwanạʔ   ạkcịnịʔ
            COM–speak–PFV   witch   *Ạkcịnịʔ*
            'the witch spoke with Ạkcịnịʔ'[28]

                                                                    Puente:19

      b.   ka:waní ti: štatạ:ạnị: qałatáti
            ka:–wan–ní   ti: š–ta–tạ:–an–nị: qała–tati
            PL.OBJ–say–BEN:IMPF   HREL   PAST–3PL.SUBJ–COM–go–PERF   **CLF**–four
            'he said to his four helpers (*lit.* the four who went with him)'

                                                                    Confianza:8

      c.   tạ:qama:námạ: štạ:qo:lucín
            tạ:–qama:nan–mạ: š–tạ:–qo:lucin
            COM–play–PROG   3PO–FELLOW–old.man
            'he's playing with an old man like himself'

                                                                    Geri's game:7

In each of these examples, the accompanying argument is a near-equal participant with the subject in the action expressed by the verb: the witch and *Ạkcịnịʔ* speak together in (47)a, four men accompanied the man in (47)b, and in (47)c a man plays a game with *štạ:qo:lucín* "his fellow old man"–a word showing the homophonous nominal derivation *tạ:-* 'FELLOW'(4.1.4).

While the co-actor is typically an animate event-participant, inanimate objects occasionaly accompany the subject (48).

---

[28] Two words in this sentence pose difficulties to translation. First, the word *skuwanạʔ*, which my consultant translated as both *brujo* 'witch' and *adivinó* 'fortune teller'. The word is the agentive form of verb *skuwa* which means roughly 'to tell fortunes'—Beck records *skuxá* 'do ill to someone' in neighbouring Upper Necaxa Totonac (2011); however, the decidedly negative connotation does not seem to be present in the Puente story I recorded. Second, *Ạkcịnịʔ* refers to the hero of a pan-Totonacan myth, with several published versions: "San Juan, dios del Trueno y del Agua" [San Juan, god of thunder and water] in Ichon 1969, "Aktzini" told by Longino Barragán Sampayo in Levy & Beck 2006 and "Aktzini" told by Marcelino Mendoza Ortega in Beck 2011. My consultant said *Ạkcịnịʔ* means *el jefe de relampago* 'the chief of lightning' his appearance in my recording does not seem to be part of the myth told in the above sources.

(48)   a.   ka:tạ:tó:kạḷị xo: štáqnun
             ka:–tạ:–to:kạ–ḷị   xo: š–tạqnu–n
             PL.OBJ–COM–go.up–PFV   **PTCL**   3PO–hat–PL
             'he climbed up with his hats'

<div align="right">Muchacho flojo:59</div>

        b.   ma:kašto:pá: š*escopeta,* tạ:taštupá:
             ma:–kaš–to:–pa: š–escopeta   tạ:–taštu–pa:
             CS–ready–do–RPT   3PO–rifle   COM–leave–RPT
             'he readies his rifle again, and goes out again with it'

<div align="right">Muchacho flojo:90</div>

The inanimate object in these examples is not an instrument used to accomplish the action, but is

simply brought along with the subject: this usage appears to be lexicalised and restricted to only

a few verbs.

Allative lạq-
The allative prefix *lạq-* adds an object that expresses a destination or goal for verbs of motion

(49).

(49)   a.   min   'come'   → lạqmín   'come somewhere, come visit sby'
        b.   ạn   'go'   → lạqán   'go somewhere, go visit sby'
        c.   le:n   'bring'   → lạqle:n   'bring to'
        d.   tanú: 'enter, come in'   → lạqtanú: 'go inside sth'
        e.   -spit   'turn, go back'   → lạqspit- 'return to'

The goal or destination is often a place or location (50).

(50) a.   lḁ: ču nalḁqtanú:
          maka–pucá   lḁ: ču   na–lḁq–tanu:
          hand–look.for:IMPF   where **PTCL** FUT–ALL–enter
          'she felt around with her hands for the place where she could go in'

<div align="right">Out of sight:11</div>

     b.   *entonces* lḁqtanu:čáʔ
          entonces   lḁq–tanu:–čaʔ
          then   ALL–enter–DIST
          'he made it inside'

<div align="right">Armadillo:7</div>

     c.   ki:lḁqtḁ:minčáʔ ti: ču šalánin
          ki:–lḁq–tḁ:–min–čaʔ   ti: ču   šalanin
          RT–ALL–COM–come–DIST HREL **PTCL** foreigners
          '(a group of men) returned, who were foreigners'

<div align="right">Nagual and hunter:29</div>

In (50)a, a blind girl is looking with her hands for an opening her dog has slipped through. In (50)b, a snake is being chased by a hunter, till he arrives inside a cave; and in (50)c, a group of men come together back to the village where the story occurs.

In addition to verbs of motion, I have one example with a posture verb, *to:la* 'sit down'

(51)

(51)   itá t ka:lḁqtó:lali̯ nakščá:n *antena*
       ita:t   ka:–lḁq–to:la–li̯   nak=š–čḁ:n   *antena*
       middle   PL.OBJ–ALL–sit.down–PFV   LOC=3PO–shin   antena
       '(the big bird) sat down in the middle of (the small birds) on the telephone wires'

<div align="right">For the birds:13</div>

Here, a bird sits down in the middle of a group of smaller birds: the allative opens an argument slot for *ita:t* 'middle'.

4.2.4   Valency reducers

There are two productive valency reducers, both of which have a range of uses and meanings. In very broad terms, the decausative *ta-* removes the semantic agent and detransitive *-nan / -nVn* removes the semantic patient or theme.

Decausative ta-

The prefix *ta-* has two primary meanings: the first reduces the valency by removing the semantic

agent on resultative and other transitive verbs (52)

(52) a. tu̱kš-   'snap, break sth'   → tatukš-   'break apart'
      b. paqɬ-   'break sth open'   → tapaqɬ-   'burst'
      c. či̱kí   'shake sth'   → tači̱kí   'shake, tremble'
      d. laqswaq-   'grind, mill sth'   → talaqswaq-   'be finely ground'
      e. sa̱qa̱:lí: 'move sth'   → tasa̱qa̱:lí: 'shake, rock back and forth'

We see both the bare verb *paqɬ-* 'break sth open', describing an agent acting on a patient, and the

decausative *tapaqɬ-* 'burst' in the story "Plato" (3.6). This story is about a man whose father is

growing old; his father's hands have started to tremble, causing him to break his dishes (53).

(53) a. ɬkita ma̱qšťéqa šlakpáqɬa pulátu
          ɬkita   ma̱qšte̱q–a   š–lak–paqɬ–a   pulatu
          suddenly   drop–IMPF   PAST–INTENS–burst–IMPF   plate
          'he suddenly dropped it, he broke the plate'
                                                                            Plato:4–5

      b. kama̱qšte̱qpá: pus la: katitapáqli̱
          ka–ma̱qšte̱q–pa: pus   la: ka–ti–ta–paqɬ–li̱
          OPT–drop–RPT:PFV   well   NEG   FUT:IRR–FUT:IRR–DCS–burst–FUT:IRR
          'although he may drop it again, it won't shatter'
                                                                            Plato:15

At the beginning of the story, we see the man's father break a plate (with *paqɬ-*); the man then

carves a wooden bowl so that even if his father's hands tremble, the bowl won't shatter (*tapaqɬ-*).

The second meaning of *ta-* gives an inchoative reading when combined with stative

verbal bases (54).

(54) a. -nuː 'go in (horizontal)' → tanúː 'go in, enter'
       b. -xuː 'go in (vertical)' → taxúː 'set inside'
       c. -štu 'go out (horizontal)' → taštú 'exit, leave'
       d. -kutu 'go out (vertical)' → takutú 'come out, stick out'
       e. ya 'be standing' → teː 'stand up
       f. ma̧ː 'be laying down' → tama̧ː 'lay down'
       g. wiː 'be sitting' → toː 'sit down'
       h. wáka̧ 'be high' → tóːka̧ 'go up, climb'

Several of these examples—(54)e, g, and h—show approximant-vowel coalescence: ta–ya → teː,

etc. (cf. 2.3.6).

The inchoative reading of this affix is also seen with non-verbal bases (55).

(55) a. lakacunáː 'close' → talakacunaxíː 'approach'
       b. laqamáqat 'far' → talaqama̧qa̧tí: 'withdraw, move away'
       c. liːmašqén 'poor' → taliːmašqéː 'become poor'
       d. ceːya 'good' → taceːyíː 'improve'
       e. piːqáta̧ 'wide' → tapiːqa̧tíː 'expand, widen'
       f. spuxúxu 'straight' → taspuxúta 'straighten'
       g. cȩq 'hidden' → tacȩq- 'hide'

Most of these are adjectives: as we saw in 4.2.1, adjectival bases take *ta-* in combination with the

verbaliser *-iː* to create verbs whose subjects attain the quality or state described by the base. The

base in (55)g *cȩq* 'hidden' is an adverb; though the verbaliser does not appear, the change to

tacȩq- 'hide' has a similar meaning.

Detransitive -nan, -nVn
The suffix *-nan* or *-nVn* reduces the valency of transitive verbal stems by removing the object:

the resultant intransitive verb has the meaning of performing the action with a generic patient

(56).

(56) a.   tama:wá 'buy sth'   → tama:wanán 'go shopping'
      b.   tatu:nú: 'put sth on one's feet'   → tatu:nu:nún 'wear shoes'
      c.   tạqnú: 'put sth on one's head'   → tạqnu:nún 'wear a hat'
      d.   łaqá: 'put on, wear sth'   → łaqạ:nán 'dress, wear clothes'
      e.   neq- 'clear something (land)'   → neqnin 'clear land'
      f.   taĺa? 'shoot, hunt sth'   → taĺa?nan 'go hunting'
      g.   -čiwi: 'say something'   → čiwi:nán 'speak'
      h.   čịčín 'warm sth up'   → čịčinín 'be sunny'

The detransitive has two forms: -*nan* (as with *čiwi:nán* 'speak' derived from bound root *-čiwi:*)

and a harmonic -*nVn* (as with tạqnu:nún 'wear a hat'–cf. 2.4.1).

      This suffix also occurs on intransitive stems, albeit with more lexicalised meanings (57).

(57) a.   qos-   'run'   → qosnún   'fly'
      b.   laqawán 'wake up'   → laqawanán 'dream'
      c.   xašá   'breathe hard, pant' → xašanán   'breathe'
      d.   lakawán 'look around'   → lakawanán 'see, have vision'

The derived forms remain intransitive, the meaning is less systematic, though often expressing

related concepts (as *laqawán* 'wake up' and *laqawanán* 'dream').

      The detransitive also occurs with borrowings of intransitive Spanish verbs (58).

(58) a.   mak*formar*nán 'line up'   cf. Spanish *formar* 'form up in line'
      b.   *pescar*nán[29]   'go fishing'   cf. Spanish *pescar* 'go fishing'

Upon borrowing, Spanish verb bases seem to require specification of valency: here intransitive

borrowings appear with the detransitive, and transitive borrowings appear with the verbaliser -*i:*

(4.2.1).

      A small number of verbs that have an irregular detransitive form (59).

---

[29] Upon introducing some of the village children to the game Go Fish, they immediately disregarded my Spanish version of 'go fish' (*vaya a pescar)* in favour of *kapescarnán*.

(59) a. wa   'eat sth'   → wayán   'be eating'
      b. čạn   'plant sth'   → čạna:nán   'plant crops'

I have no explanation for these irregular forms, though cognates of 'eat' and 'plant' in other

Totonac languages show similar irregular forms.

4B   Representing derivational morphology

The approach presented in this section aims to show as much information as possible about the
derivational morphology of complex words by including an expanded, multi-line
interlinearisation that shows a breakdown of the word affix by affix, as shown with the first line
of Nagual and hunter (60).

(60)   maktím tala:tnáʔ *que* štatu:támạ: lakatampíšnị

mak–tim	tala:tnạʔ	que	š–tatu:ta–mạ:	lakatampišnị
CLF–one	hunter	that	PAST–go.downhill–PROG	plain
	tala:–nạʔ		*ta–tu:–ta*	laka–tampišnị
	hunt–AGT		*DCS–foot–down/ground*	face–base
				tampiš–nị
				base–PART.NOM
				tan–piš
				buttocks–neck

'Una vez el cazador se estaba bajando hasta llanura.'
'Once a hunter was going down to the plain.'

Nagual and hunter:1

The main feature of this representation is the additional lines of parse and interlinear gloss
expanding complex words: on line 2, derivational forms are not parsed, but their derivation is
shown step by step on lines below. One advantage of this approach is seen with a form with two
meanings discussed in (4.1.2): *ta:či:n* 'knot' and 'prisoner'. The two meanings of this word
appear to come from different derivational processes, which can be represented clearly with this
approach, as in (61).

(61)   a.   tači̲:n
            ta–či̲:–n
            DCS–tie–NOM
            'knot'
       b.   tači̲:n
            tačí̲:–n
            get.tied–NOM
            ta–či̲:
            DCS–tie
            'prisoner'

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(61)a shows the nominalisation of *či:* 'tie' with both decausative *ta-* and general nominaliser *-n*, giving the meaning 'knot'; however, the meaning 'prisoner' is derived with the nominaliser *-n* from the verb *tači:* 'become tied, tie oneself'.

A primary concern with the representation of derivation is the question of how far words should be broken down into smaller parts. Beck & Mel'čuk (2011) recognise a tendency in the literature of language documentation to "treat each recognizable portion of a word form as a sign and gloss it according to its inherrent meaning" (p.204) with the resulting representation focused more on etymology than synchronic processes (I also discuss this issue with respect to inflectional morphology in 5B). As we see in (60), I attempt to differentiate different types of word formation: synchronic processes are represented in plain type, while etymology is presented with italics. I will discuss three examples illustrating the division of etymology and derivational morphology.

The first illustration comes from the word *tatu:ta* 'go downhill', appearing in example (60) above. This word consists of three recognisable parts: the decausative *ta-,* the bodypart prefix *tu:-* 'foot', and what appears to be a stative stem *-ta*. The first two, decausative *ta-* (4.2.4) and *tu:-* 'foot' are found in many derivations; however, the stem *-ta* is less common. While it appears with a number of bodyparts, following a common pattern of stative verb stems combining with bodyparts, it is fairly uncommon and its meaning is fairly abstract, involving 'down' or 'the ground'. In a discussion of etymology, it is interesting to note these facts, but in terms of derivational morphology, it isn't clear this form represents a synchronic derivational pattern.

The second example showing the divide between morphology and etymology comes from two forms with the same *-ta* stem found in *tatu:ta* 'go downhill': *ta̧:kta* 'go down' and

mạ:kti: 'take down, lower; detach'. Rather than the stem, for these two forms it is the body part *ạk-* 'head' that illustrates the difference between etymology and derivation. Combining bodypart prefixes are involved a wide range of meanings in derivational and inflectional morphology (cf. Levy 1999): in these two forms the bodypart does not appear to make any contribution to the meaning of the word. The expected meaning would be that a head (or top part of something) makes contact with the ground. In my texts, there is no hint of this meaning (62).

(62)   a.   mạ:kti:kutún š*galleta*
            mạ:kta–i:–kutun   š–*galleta*
            bring.down–DSD   3PO–cookie
            ma:–ạkta–i:
            CS–be.low–CS
            ạk–ta
            head–down/ground
            'he wants to bring down his cookies'

                                                             Ormie:12

       b.   tačịnpá: tatạ:ktapá:
            ta–čịn–pá: ta–tạkta–pá:
            3PL.SUBJ–arrive–RPT:PFV   3PL.SUBJ–go.down–RPT:PFV
                                     ta–ạkta
                                     DCS–be.low
                                     ạk–ta
                                     head–down/ground
            'and they came again and went down (the ladder) again'
                                                           La luna:65

In (62)a, a character is trying to get a cookie that has been placed on top of a fridge, just out of his reach: he makes several attempts to bring the cookies down. In (62)b, three people are going down a ladder. Instead of the expected meaning, where a head or the top of something is involved, *tạ:kta* 'go down' and *mạ:kti:* 'take down, lower; detach' do not behave like typical examples of verbs with combining prefixes (cf. *ạqwa* 'eat the heads/tops of a plant' or *ạqmạqčo:nu:* 'close inside, cover (in a container that opens from the top)' with *ạq-* 'head', or *lakatụks* 'hit someone in the face' with *laka-* 'face'). While the bodypart remains recognisable, it is purely etymology in these forms.

The final example illustrating etymology and derivational morphology are verbs *čą:n* 'arrive (there)' and *čin* 'arrive (here)'. These verbs are formed from the verbs *ąn* 'go' and *min* 'come', and prefixes that appear to be related to the quasi-inflectional markers *-čaʔ* 'DISTAL' and *-či* 'PROXIMAL'. Like other verbs derived from *ąn* and *min*, these verbs have suppletive second person subject forms (cf. Table 24). However, although the distal and proximal seem to fit the meaning of these verbs, this pattern is not present elsewhere in the language: the distal and proximal markers appear as prefixes nowhere other than on these two words. It is a plausible etymology, but definitely does not seem to be part of synchonic derivational morphology in Coahuitlán Totonac.

For the representation of derivational morphology, the question of etymology is important because the tendency to describe every recognisable part can lead to overanalysis. This can be problematic in terms of visual clutter, but it can also mislead the reader about synchronic morphological patterns. This is because representing two things the same way suggests they behave the same: consider two verbs: *tačiwí:n* 'word' and *tapášnį* 'bath'. Both are nominalisations discussed in 4.1.2 above. However, the representation in (63) is somewhat misleading.

(63)   a.   tačiwi:n
              ta–čiwi:–n
              DCS–speak–NOM
              'word'
        b.   tapašnį
              ta–paš–nį
              DCS–bathe–NOM
              'bath'

Both forms are derived with the general nominaliser *-n/-nį* in combination with the decausative prefix *ta-*; however, there is a difference in these two words: while *paš-* is a typical verbal stem that participates in regular patterns of derivation and inflection, **čiwi:* is a bound root, and does

not appear predictably. Treating both forms the same, as in (63) suggests that both bases behave

the same; indicating by italics that *ta–čiwi:–n* is the etymology of 'word' shows this difference

(64).

(64)   tačiwi:n
         tačiwi:n
         word
         ta–čiwi:–n
         DCS–speak–NOM
         'word'

        The representation I use in this chapter, with the extended lines of parse and interlinear

gloss, gives a way to show the processes going into word formation in detail. Because I wanted

to include as much information as possible about word formation, in this chapter I have allowed

myself to break down words as far as possible: however, within the extended lines, the use of

italics to indicate etymology allows a distinction between synchronic and diachronic processes.

Depending on the author's purposes, this basic idea can be adjusted in various ways: footnotes

(reminiscent of Boas) could be used, with one reference number for each occurrence of a given

derivation. Alternatively, instead of several additional lines for each step, the first parse could

give lexemes with just one additional line with a complete breakdown. A method similar to this

is seen in a collection of texts in the Upper Nicola dialect of Okanagan (Lindley & Lyon 2016).

The editor, John Lyon, is also concerned with the issue of overanalysis (65).

(65)   ixíʔ   nk̓ʷúl̓məns   iʔ   sqilxʷ   q̓sápi
         ixíʔ   n+√k̓ʷúl+mn–s   iʔ   s+√qilxʷ   q̓sápi
         DEM   LOC+make+INSTR–3SG.POSS   DET   NOM+native.person   long.ago
         that   their.habits   the   native.people   long.ago
         'That's the way the old people lived long ago.'

                                                              Lindley & Lyon 2016 example 24

Here, the second and third lines give the parse and interlinear gloss; however, Lyon uses an additional line the parse and gloss to provide a stem or word-level translation. On this line, each word or stem is given a translation, independent of the full translation of the line. This extra line allows Lyon's morpheme glossing to focus more on the parts and etymology of the Okanagan words, while providing some assistance (he provides the term "bridge") to make these potentially confusing complexes more accessible to linguists and language learners. This line is a great tool to present the complex parts used to build words and provides an intermediate step to tie these opaque combinations to their meanings, increasing accessibility while preserving the etymological information. This is especially true in the context of Lyon's focus on community outreach.

4C   Texts

4.3   Nagual and hunter

Antonio Jiminéz Santiago

When I asked Don Antonio for "traditional" stories, he readily gave me many stories about *naguales*. The word *nagual* seems to have several meanings in different communities, with two main themes of an animal spirit companion or that of transformation (Brinton 1894). In Totonac communities, the word refers to men and women with the ability to turn themselves into creatures: most often jaguars, but also other animals and even trees (Ichon 1973:207-208). In Patla & Chicontla, Beck reports stories of *naguales* with a decidedly negative connotation: this negative connotation is common, but not universal. Ichon reported a belief that *naguales* would help protect their community from *naguales* of other communities. In Coahuitlán, Don Antonio's stories of *naguales* range from serious to decidedly comical including one where a man accidentally marries a *nagual*. His wife's family try to teach him how to transform himself, but he can't manage a helpful transformation like that of a jaguar; instead, he turns into an opossum, then an armadillo, and finally a skunk. At the end of most of his *nagual* stories, Don Antonio would give me a thoughtful qualification about how *naguales* do not seem to be real today, but were a real part of the world his parents and people before him lived in. This story, Nagual and hunter, is told as a traditional *cuento* and describes an encounter with a *nagual*: the hunter manages to shoot the *nagual*, but he's not out of danger just yet. Recorded 7 August 2014.

(1) maktím tại̦la:tná? que štatu:táma̦: lakatampíšni̦

mak–tim	tại̦la:tna̦?	que	š–tatu:ta–ma̦:	lakatampišni̦
CLF–one	hunter	that	PAST–go.downhill[30]–PROG	plain
	tại̦la:t–na̦?		*ta–tu:–ta*	laka–tampišni̦
	hunt–AGT		*DCS–foot–down/ground*	face–base
				tampiš–ni̦
				base–PART.NOM
				tan–piš
				buttocks–neck

'Una vez el cazador se estaba bajando hasta llanura.'
'Once a hunter was going down to the plain.'

(2) á̦šni xo: qašmáta mako:ntełá casánka̦

a̦šni	xo:	qašmat–a	mako:n–tełá	casanka̦
when	**PTCL**	hear–IMPF	make.noise–AMB:IMPF	wild.boar
			maka–wán	
			hand–say	

'Cuando (comenzó a) escuchar que viene jabalí'
'When he heard a wild boar coming, making a noise'

(3) pus xuru tá:ktali̦ *hasta* čá̦:li̦ lakatampíšni̦

pus	xuru	tại̦:kta–li̦	*hasta*	ča̦:n–li̦	lakatampišni̦
then	**IDPH**[31]	go.down–PFV	until	arrive–PFV	plain
		ta–ạk–ta		*ča–ạn*	laka–tampišni̦
		DCS–head–down/ground		*DIST–go*	face–base
					tampiš–ni̦
					base–PART.NOM
					tan–piš
					buttocks–neck

'pues bajó pronto y llegó hasta la llanura'
'so he went down quickly and came to the plain'

---

[30] A version of this word exists in several Totonac languages (A, Co, Z, P): the primary meaning seems to be 'touch the ground' or 'leave a mark'; from there by extension we get the meaning of 'go down'.
[31] *xuru* idph 'falling, flying through the air'

(4) štaqe:nu:yá ca čo: šli:kán

š–taqe:nu:yá:=ca   čo: š–li:kan
PAST–shoulder:IMPF=now   **PTCL**   3PO–rifle
taqe:nu:–ya:
put.on.back–stand
ta–qe:–nu:
DCS–back–in
'estaba ya recargado con su escopeta'
'he lifted his rifle to his shoulder'

(5) cáma casánką ksta:lanimá:ka

cąma   casanką   k–sta:lani–mą:ka
DEM   wild.boar   PAST–follow–PROG:INDEF
                       sta:la–ni
                       go.behind–BEN
                       s–tan–la
                       DIM–buttocks–do
'y ese jabalí que venia le estaba persegiendo'
'and someone was following the wild boar,'

(6) ksta:lanímą: *tigre* u: wanikán tapaláxa

k–sta:la–ni–mą: tigre   u: wani–kan   tapalax–a
PAST–follow–BEN–PROG   tigre   **DEM**   tell–INDEF:IMPF   transform–IMPF
    sta:la–ni   wan–ni   ta–palax
    go.behind–BEN   say–ben   DCS–change
    s–tan–la
    DIM–buttocks–do

'le estaba persegiendo tigre que se había convertido'
'following it was a jaguar that was what they call transformed (i.e., a *nagual*)'

(7) *entonces* ąqląqcíxuli̧ či štạ:ktaní̧:ca

entonces   ąqląqcixu–li̧   či   š–tạ:kta–ni̧:=ca
then   look.down.at–PFV   how   PAST–go.down–PERF=now
          ąqlạqcin–xu
          look.from.above–down
          ąq–lạqcin
          head–see
'entonces lo miró como había bajado'
'so he watched him below, how he had come down'

(8) ąql̥ąqcíxulį̥ *tigre* ti: sta:laníma̧:

    ąql̥ąqcixu–lį̥   *tigre*   ti: sta:la–ni–ma̧:

    look.down.at–PFV   tigre   HREL   follow–BEN–PROG

    ąql̥ąqcin–xu   sta:la–ni

    look.from.above–down   go.behind–BEN

    ąq–l̥ąqcin   *s–tan–la*

    head–see   DIM–*buttocks*–*do*

    'lo miró el tigre que estaban persiguiendo (el jabalí).'

    'he watched the nagual that was following it (the boar).'

(9) *entonces* cé̜qca šyá: tąla:tná?

    entonces   ce̜q=ca   š–yá: tąla:tną?

    then   hidden=now   PAST–stand:IMPF hunter

                                               tąla:t–ną?

                                             hunt–AGT

    'Y el cazador estaba ya preparado'

    'And the hunter is standing there hidden'

(10) *cuandó*šni la: tó:lį kwenta paɫ ya: tąla:tná?

    cuando+ąšni   la: to:–lį   kwenta   paɫ   ya: tąla:tną?

    when+when   NEG do–PFV   account   if   stand   hunter

                                                        tąla:t–ną?

                                                        hunt–AGT

    'no se dió cuenta el tigre que estaba el cazador'

    '(The nagual) didn't realise that the hunter was there'

(11) ́ašni tąlákan ćama tapaláxnį

    ąšni   tąla–kan   cąma   tapalaxnį

    when   hunt–INDEF:IMPF   **DEM**   nagual

                                                  tapalax–nį

                                                  transform–NOM

                                                ta–palax

                                                 DCS–change

    'cuando le pegaron ese brujo'

    'when they shot the nagual'

(12) y pus či tạláka tapaláxnị *hasta* lakatampíšni čạ́:lị

y	pus	či	talạ–ka	tapalaxnị	*hasta*	laka–tampišni	čạ:n–lị
and then		how	hunt–INDEF:PFV	nagual	until	face–plain	arrive–PFV
				tapalax–nị		laka–tampišni	*ča–ạn*
				transform–NOM		face–base	*DIST–go*
				ta–palax		tampiš–nị	
				DCS–change		base–PART.NOM	
						tan–piš	
						buttocks–neck	

'y cuando lo pegaron, llegó hasta en la llanura'
'and when he shot the nagual, it fell down to the plain'

(13) y pus ní:lị y ạ́nca tamạ́qstẹqlị

y	pus	ni:–lị	y	ạnca	tamạqstẹq–lị
and then		die–PFV	and	there	stay.behind–PFV
					ta–mạqstẹq
					DCS–leave

'y se murió, se quedó allí.'
'the nagual died, he rested there'

(14) cạ́ma čịškų́ʔ pus táspịtlị y kụ:kạčạ́ lí:čilị ščík

cạma	čịškų	pus	taspịt–lị	y	kụ:kạ–Ø–čaʔ	li:čin–lị	š–čik
DEM	man	then	return–PFV	and	carry–PFV–DIST	bring–PFV	3PO–house
			ta–spịt			li:–čin	
			DCS–turn			INSTR–arrive	
						či–ạn	
						PROX–go	

'Y ese hombre se regresó y cargó (lo que había matado), lo trajó en su casa'
'And the man came back and brought it back to his house'

(15) pus lí:čilị ščik cúkulị šu: mạqti:ní šqóšqa

pus	li:čin–lị	š–čik	cuku–lị	šú:	mạqti:–ní	š–qošqa
then	bring–PFV	3PO–house	begin–PFV	peel:IMPF	remove–BEN:IMPF	3PO–skin
	li:–čin					
	INSTR–arrive					
	či–ạn					
	PROX–go					

'comenzó a despelear su piel, le quitó su piel'
'then he began to skin it, to remove the nagual's hide'

(16) lákạ:lị šali:wá: a:li:stá:n lakatúnku kạ:čikín pus

laka:–lị	ša–li:wạ:	a:li:sta:n	laka–tunku	kạ:čikin	pus
chop–PFV	DTV–meat	later	face–other	village	then
				kạ:–čik–in	
				PLC–house–PL	

'destrozo la carné y salió a venderlo en otro pueblo'
'he cut up the meat and later left to go sell it (the meat) in another village'

(17) lu: mat kạní taqanqawa:nán či mat ma:kašlị pus lakcílilị

lu:	mat	kani	taqanqawa:nan	či	mat	ma:kaš–lị	pus	lakcili–lị
very	QUOT	delicious	smell	how	QUOT	prepare–PFV	then	fry–PFV
			ta–qanqawa:nan			ma:–kaš		
			DCS–sniff/smell			CS–ready		
			qanqawa:–nan					
			smell.sth–DTR					
			qanqa–wan					
			nose–be					

'huele muy saboroso como se alistó (se preparó) pues salió'
'it smelled really good as he readied (the meat), and fried it.'

(18) ạšni čo: cukukán tama:wákan pus

ạšni	čo:	cuku–kan	tama:wa–kan	pus
when	PTCL	begin–INDEF:IMPF	buy–INDEF:IMPF	then

'y comenzaron la gente a comprarlo'
'and people began to buy it'

(19) pus lu: í:tat ksta:nị: cukuparáka mat li:minikán mat

pus	lu:	i:tat	k–sta:–nị:	cuku–paɾa–ka	mat	li:mini–kan	mat
then	very	half	PAST–sell–PERF	begin–RPT–INDEF:PFV	QUOT	bring.to–INDEF:IMPF	QUOT
						li:min–ni	
						bring–BEN	
						li:–min	
						INSTR–come	

'ya había vendido la mitad y de repente le vuelven a traerle'
'when he had sold half, people began to bring it back to him'

(20) pus mat láklalị pus

pus	mat	lakla–lị	pus
then	QUOT	break.down–PFV	then

'porque se deshizó el sabor'
'because it lost its flavour (went bad),'

(21) *como cáma tapaláxni̱ pus la: u: tu: lu: animá:l*

como	ca̱ma	tapalaxni̱		pus	la:	u:	tu:	lu:	anima:l
as	**DEM**	nagual		then	NEG	DEM	NREL	very	animal
		tapalax–ni̱							
		transform–NOM							
		ta–palax							
		DCS–change							

'porque no era un animal normal.'
'because that nagual wasn't a normal animal.'

(22) *pus mat li:miniparáka*

pus   mat   li:mini–pa̱ra–ka
then   QUOT   bring.to–RPT–INDEF:PFV
           li:min–ni
           bring–BEN
           li:–min
           INSTR–come
'Pus le trajeron otra vez'
'Well, they brought it back again'

(23) *cukuparakán li:miníkan púsca*

cuku–pa̱ra–kán   li:mini–kán   pus=ca
begin–RPT–INDEF:IMPF   bring.to–INDEF:IMPF   then=now
'empezaron a traerlo (la carne)'
'they began to bring it back again (his meat)'

(24) *mat ticá:lali̱ ti̱a̱qšte̱qwílili̱ šli:wá:*

mat   ti–ca̱:la–li̱   ti–a̱qšte̱qwili–li̱   š–li:wa̱:
then   POT–flee–PFV   POT–leave.abandoned–PFV   3PO–meat
           a̱qšte̱q–wili
           abandon–put
           a̱q–šte̱q
           head–leave
'entonces iba a huir, a dejar su carné'
'he would have fled, he would have left his meat'

(25) *pus li:miniparakán šli:wá: ma:stá:pa tu:mín*

pus   li:mini–pa̱ra–kán   š–li:wa̱:   ma:sta:–pa   tu:min
then   bring.to–RPT–INDEF:IMPF   3PO–meat   pay–RPT   money
           li:min–ni   ma:–sta:
           bring–BEN   CS–sell
           li:–min
           INSTR–come
'porque la gente traerán su carne, y tenía que regresar el diñero'
'because people were bringing back his meat, he paid back the money'

(26) tu: šma:staní: šli:wá pus

    tu: š–ma:sta–ni: š–li:wa: pus
    NREL PAST–pay–PERF   3PO–meat then
          ma:–sta:
          CS–sell
    'lo que le habían pagado su carné'
    'which they had paid for his meat'

(27) čú:nca ti:lí:le:lị̣ pus

    ču:nca   ti–li:le:n–lị̣   pus
    thus   POT–take.with–PFV   then
          li:–le:n
          INSTR–take
          li:–ạn
          INSTR–go
    'y así fue en vano.'
    'and so it was in vain, it came to nothing'

(28) čo: maš šli:ạqtím papáʔ

    čo: maš   š–li:–ạq–tim   papaʔ
    PTCL maybe   3PO–INSTR–**CLF**–one month
    'Al mes,'
    'Maybe a month later,'

(29) ki:laqtạ:minčáʔ ti: ču šalanín

    ki:–laqtạ:min–Ø–čaʔ   ti: ču   šalaʔ–nin
    RT–show.up.together–PFV–DIST HREL **PTCL**   foreigner–PL
    lạq–tạ:min
    ALL–come.together
    tạ:–min
    COM–come
    'regresaron unos hombres'
    '(a group of men) returned, who were foreigners'

(30) tapaláxnị ki:pucakančáʔ *porque* štapalaxní:

    tapalaxnị   ki:–puca–kan–Ø–čaʔ   porque š–tapalax–nị:
    nagual   RT–look.for–INDEF–PFV–DIST porque PAST–transform–PERF
    tapalax–nị   ta–palax
    transform–NOM   DCS–change
    ta–palax
    DCS–change
    'a buscar lo que habian matado el animal porque se habia convertido'
    'they came to look for the nagual because he had transformed'

(31) cúkuli̱ taskín šqóšqa wa̱ní xo: cáma ta̱la:tna̱ʔ pus

    cuku–li̱   ta–skin   š–qošqa   wani   xo: ca̱ma   ta̱la:tna̱ʔ   pus

    begin–PFV   3PL–ask   3PO–skin   tell   **PTCL**   **DEM**   hunter   then

                              wan–ni   ta̱la:t–na̱ʔ

                              say–BEN   hunt–AGT

    'empezaron a pedir su piel, y contestó el cazador,'

    'they began to ask for the skin, and the hunter answered,'

(32) la:tu: kma̱qní:ma̱: ikit cáma misín

    la:tu: k–ma̱qni:–ma̱:   ikit   ca̱ma   misin

    nothing   1SG.SUBJ–kill–PROG   I   **DEM**   animal

    la:–tu: ma̱q–ni:

    NEG–NREL   ALIEN–die

    'yo no le he matado el tigre.'

    'I didn't kill that jaguar.'

(33) ču ma:n šqóšqa šmakčí̱ši̱t ki:la:ma:su̱:níw

    ču   ma:n   š–qošqa   š–mak–či̱ši̱t   kin–la:–ma:su̱:–ni–w

    PTCL   only   3PO–skin   3PO–body–hair   1OBJ–RCP–show–BEN–1PL.SUBJ

                                                    ma:–su̱:

                                                  CS–be.visible

    'Tan si quiera la piel o su cabello nos enseñara (que nos mostraras)'

    'Even if you just show us the skin or some hide'

(34) pus kací:li̱ čú:nca nata:qe:lí:la

    pus   kaci:–li̱   ču:nca   na–ta–qe:li:la

    then   know–PFV   thus   FUT–3PL–trick

    'se dió cuenta el cazador que lo querian engañarlo'

    'and (the hunter) realised that they were going to trick him'

(35) *porque* cáma ščí̱ši̱t pał šmá su̱:li̱ štama:paláxli̱

    porque   ca̱ma   š–či̱ši̱t   pał   š–ma:su̱:–li̱   š–ta–ma:palax–li̱

    porque   **DEM**   3PO–hair   if   PRS:IRR–show–PRS:IRR   PRS:IRR–3PL–change–PRS:IRR

                                            ma:–su̱:   ma:–palax

                                            CS–be.visible   CS–change

    'porque si iba a mostrarle ese piel lo iban a convertir'

    'because if he showed them the skin, they would have changed (the skin) (i.e., they would have used the skin to bring the nagual back to life'

(36) mat štali:laqapása u:n ti: šma̱qni:ní: cáma či̱šku̱ʔ

    mat   š–ta–li:laqapas–a   u: ti: š–ma̱qni:–ni̱:   ca̱ma   či̱šku̱ʔ

    QUOT   PAST–3PL–be.acquainted–IMPF   **DEM**   HREL   PAST–kill–PERF   **DEM**   man

            li:–laqapas   ma̱q–ni:

            INSTR–know.sby   ALIEN–die

    'porque era conocido de el que lo habia matado'

    'because they knew the one whom that man (the hunter) had killed'

(37) štạ:li:laqapasnịkán tapaláxnị

š–tạ–li:laqapasnị–kạn	tapalaxnị
3PO–COM–acquaintance–PL.PO	nagual
li:laqapas–ni	tapalax–nị
be.acquainted–NOM	transform–NOM
li:–laqapas	ta–palax
INSTR–know.sby	DCS–change

'esos hombres eran conocidos el que habia convertido'

'they knew the nagual; they were friends of his'

(38) pus cáma, skalála cáma čịškų́? pus la: má:sụ:lị *ni* šqóšqa *ni* makčị́šịt

pus	cạma	skalala	cạma	čịškų?	pus	la:	ma:sụ–lị
then	**DEM**	wise	**DEM**	man	then	NEG	show–PFV
							ma:–sụ:
							CS–be.visible

ni	š–qošqa	ni	mak–čịšịt
neither	3PO–skin	neither	body–hair

'pus ese hombre era muy sabio y no enseño, no les dió el piel ni el cabello'

'so this man was very clever, he didn't show them either the skin or the hide'

(39) pał timá sụ:lị šla pus kwérsa štamapálaxlị

pał	ti–ma:sụ–lị	šla	pus	kwersa	š–ta–ma:palax–lị
if	PREV–show–PFV	3	then	necessary	PRS:IRR–3PL–change–PRS:IRR
	ma:–sụ:				*ma:–palax*
	CS–be.visible				*CS–change*

'si hubieron ensenado, podrian convertirse'

'maybe if he had shown them, then they would have changed the skin'

(40) pus šmínka wá:ka čịškų́?

pus	š–min–ka	wa:–ka	čịškų?
then	PRS:IRR–come–INDEF:PRS:IRR	eat–INDEF:PFV	man

'y lo podrian venir comer el hombre'

'and could have come to eat the man'

(41) čú:nca če:ma: tílalị cáma tạla:tná?

ču:nca	če:ma:	ti–la–lị	cạma	tạla:tnạ?
thus	thus	PREV–do–PFV	**DEM**	hunter
	či–a:ma:			*tạla:t–nạ?*
	how–DEM			*strike–AGT*

'asi pasó con ese cazador.'

'that's what happened to this hunter.'

5   Inflectional morphology

This chapter covers inflectional and quasi-inflectional morphology. Inflectional categories are, by definition, obligatory (Mel'čuk 2006:21). Coahuitlán Totonac has complex inflectional morphology, though it is largely limited to verbs which show polypersonal agreement and intricate tense-aspect-mood morphology. Quasi-inflectional processes modify forms of lexemes without either creating new lexemes (derivation) or being part of obligatory categories (inflection; Mel'čuk 2006:124). Number on nouns is a quasi-inflectional category because it is non-obligatory: nouns may mark plural, but the lack of plural marking does not imply the noun is singular. Number agreement on adjectives is also quasi-inflectional. Nominal possession is obligatory for a small class of inherently possessed nouns; for all other nouns, it is non-obligatory and so a quasi-inflectional category. Verbal morphology includes a collection of quasi-inflectional affixes with a wide range of meanings.

The representation of inflectional (and quasi-inflectional) categories is complicated in part because a verb may have many and varied affixes, and also because of several non-concatenative processes where meaning is expressed by something other than affixation or compounding. These include two types of apophony (accentual and laryngeal), zero exponence (for inflectional categories), and morphological idioms.

5A   Sketch of inflectional morphology

Inflection in Coahuitlán mostly involves verbs: non-verbal inflection is limited to possession for a class of inherently possessed nouns. For the most part, number and possession, traditional categories of nominal inflection, are better treated as quasi-inflectional. Although nouns can take plural affixes, bare nouns can describe singular or plural referrents: plural number affixes are non-obligatory. Outside the small set of inherently possessed nouns, possession is similarly non-obligatory. Number agreement for adjectives is also an optional category.

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Verbal inflection is much more complex: Coahuitlán Totonac verbs are inflected for tense, aspect, and mood, as well as person and number agreement with subject and object. In addition to these inflectional categories, there is a set of highly frequent quasi-inflectional affixes marking a variety of meanings.

5.1   Non-verbal inflectional morphology

There is limited non-verbal inflection and quasi-inflection in Coahuitlán Totonac: the main categories discussed in this section are possession, number, and number agreement on adjectives. Possession is obligatory only on a small class of inherently possessed nouns; otherwise, possession is a quasi-inflectional, non-obligatory category. Most nouns have general number; number, as well as adjective number agreement, is also quasi-inflectional.

5.1.1   Possession

Possessive constructions are head-marking: the possessed noun bears a possessive affix and precedes the possessor (1).

(1)   ščik kúyu
         š–čik   kuyu
         3PO–house   armadillo
         'the armadillo's house'

Possessive marking involves three person markers (*kin-* '1PO', *min-* '2PO', *š-* '3PO') and a separate plural marker (*-kąn* 'PL.PO'). The combination of these markers is shown in Table 10.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	kínčik	kinčikán
2	mínčik	minčikán
3	ščik	ščikán

Table 10: Possessive paradigm for *čik* 'house'

As with plural marking on nouns (cf. 5.1.2), the plural possessive is optional: when the number of possessor is obvious from context, *-kąn* is frequently absent.

First- and second-person possessive markers lose their nasal segment (*kin-* → *ki-* and

min- → *mi-)* before sonorants (vowels, liquids, and nasals) and fricatives (2).

(2)   a.   kia̧qšá:q   'my head'
                mia̧qtáli̧   'your trap'
                kiamíkus   'my friends (cf. Spanish *amigo* 'friend')
      b.   kilakastápu   'my eye'
                mili:wát   'your food'
      c.   kimačí:ta   'my machete'
                minápa   'your aunt'
      d.   kistápu   'my beans
                misintarón   'your belt' (cf. Spanish *cinturón* 'belt')
      e.   kiští:lan   'my chicken'
                mišáwat   'your *milpa*, cornfield'
      f.   kiɬka̧ka̧kán   'our ashes'
      g.   kixu:kikán   'our deer'
                kixa:kakán   'our *zapotes*'

This pattern of allomorphy is shared by the homophonous first person object marker (*kin-* → *ki-*),

likely a cognate of the possessive affix.

The third person possessive marker becomes /s-/ before the alveolar affricate /c/, and

/k-/ before non-dorsal fricatives (i.e., all fricatives except /x/), a pattern of allomorphy shared by

the homophonous past-tense prefix /š-/ (2.4.3) (3).

(3)   a.   scu̧ma̧xá:t   'his/her daughter'
      b.   kservieta   'his/her napkin'
      c.   kška:n   'his/her water'
      d.   kɬúku   'his/her cave'

Outside of Coahuitlán Totonac, this pattern seems to be restricted to Sierra Totonac languages.

Coahuitlán Totonac also has a small class of inherently possessed nouns (4).

(4) a. špeqén   'his/her arm'
     b. šmakán   'his/her hand'
     c. kilakacísit   'my eyebrow'
     d. kȩqšá:q   'my head'
     e. špúškų   'his/her older brother'
     f. kinápa   'my aunt'
     g. kimpí:pį   'my older sister'
     h. šma:séqa   'its nest'
     i. štó:kat   'its fruit'
     j. šqóšqa   'it's bark'

This class includes a subset of bodyparts (4)a-d, kin terms (4)e-g, as well as a few relational

nouns (4)h-k. It also includes nouns derived with *tạ:-* 'FELLOW' (5).

(5) a. kintạ:puwíti   'my *concuño*'[32]
     b. kintạ:lá?   'my friend/family member'
     c. štạ:qo:lucín   'an old man like him'
     d. štạ:la:to:ná?   'his/her enemy'

These examples all show a derivational suffix *tạ:-* 'FELLOW' which denotes an individual

belonging to the same class or group as the possessor (4.1.4).

A number of inherently possessed nouns have homophonous common noun

counterparts (6).

(6) a. cųmạxá:t   'girl'   scųmạxá:t   'her/his daughter'
     b. qǫ́:ča   'boy'   šqǫ́:ča   'her/his son'
     c. puská:t   'woman'   špuská:t   'her/his wife'
     d. čįškų́?   'man'   ščįškų́?   'her/his husband'
     e. tátci   'toasted squash seeds' štátci   'its seed'

Possessive affixes also occur with numerals and quantifiers, creating expressions with a

collective or group meaning (7).

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[32] *štạ:puwíti* refers to the relationship between two persons whose spouses are siblings, or the parents of one's child's spouse; cf. *puwíti* which refers to one's in-law across a generation: the parent of one's spouse or spouse of one's child.

(7)   a.   šču̓:tu:ḱan
             š–ču̠:–tu:–ku̠n
             3PO–**CLF**–two–PL.PO
             'a group of two, both of them'

<div align="right">Paperman:6, 54</div>

   b.   šqałatu̠tuḱan
             š–qała–tu̠tu–ku̠n
             3PO–**CLF**–three–PL.PO
             'a group of three, the three of them'

<div align="right">La luna:1, 3, 14</div>

In these examples, the classifiers used are for people, with *ču̠:*- being used to count one or two people and *qała*- being used to count three or more people.

There is also a set of possessive pronouns formed by attaching the possessive morphology to an empty base *laʔ* (Table 11).

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	kiláʔ	kilaḱan
2	miláʔ	milaḱan
3	šláʔ	šlaḱan

Table 11: Possessive pronouns

This base is also found in *ta̠:láʔ* 'friend, companion, kinsman' which we saw in (5), with the derivational prefix *ta̠:*- 'FELLOW' (4.1.4).

5.1.2   Number

Coahuitlán Totonac nouns have "general number" where the bare nominal form is ambiguous as to number (Corbett 2000). A number of number marking affixes are available, but they are quasi-inflectional (and thus optional), unlike English where number is obligatory and inflectional (nouns must be singular or plural). Bare nominal forms are able to denote singular or plural entities, as in (8).

(8)   a.   ma:qósu:li štáqnu̱ qó̱:ča
          ma:–qos–u:–li̱   š–ta̱qnu̱   qo̱:ča
          CS–run–CS–PFV   3PO–hat   boy
          'the young man threw his sombrero'

<div align="right">Muchacho flojo:77</div>

      b.   a̱qceyán o a̱qkáw ta̱qnu̱ šalakmásni ka:púcali̱
          a̱q–ceyan o   a̱q–kaw   ta̱qnu̱   ša–lak–masni   ka:–puca–li̱
          CLF–eight or CLF–ten hat   DTV–PL.ADJ–old PL.OBJ–look.for–PFV
          'he looked for eight or ten beat up sombreros'

<div align="right">Muchacho flojo:54</div>

These two examples have the bare nominal form *tá̱qnu̱* 'hat': in the first, the referent is one sombrero, in the second a handful of sombreros. Instead of relying on nominal plural marking, several other ways to indicate a plural referent appear in (8)b: numerals like *a̱qceyán* 'eight' and *a̱qkáw* 'ten', number agreement on adjectives as in *šalakmásni* 'old_PL' (see 5.1.3), and number agreement on verbs like *ka:púcali̱* 'he looked for them' (cf. 5.2.1).

Plural forms are used occasionally; one of my consultants said he believed plural forms were more commonly employed for people. This claim seems to be born out in the texts: nouns such as *cu̱ma̱xá:t* 'girl', *qó̱:ča* 'boy', *či̱škú̱ʔ* 'man', and *puská:t* 'woman' are frequently seen in plural form (*cu̱ma̱xá:n, qo̱:čán, či̱šku̱wín, puská:n* respectively). Additionally, the plural forms of these words were easily given by consultants during elicitation, while plural forms for animals and inanimate nouns were more difficult to elicit, with consultants comfortably giving the bare nominal form as translation for the Spanish plural and frequently struggling to produce the plural form when asked directly. However, I was able to use a frame involving a derivational prefix which applies to a plural stem: the prefix *ka̱:-* 'PLC' derives words refering to 'the place of something' (4.1.4). My consultants much more readily produced plural forms in this frame, as in (9).

(9) a. máyak 'vine' → ka̲:mayákni 'place of vines; Mecatlán'
     b. stápu 'bean' → ka̲:stapúni 'place of beans, bean field'
     c. páqɬča 'tomato' → ka̲:paqɬčán 'place of tomatoes'

These 'place of' forms are quite commonly used with plants to describe plots for cultivation, as

ka̲:stapúni 'bean field'; and also appear in Totonac name of communities, as *ka̲:mayákni*

'Mecatlan; place of vines' and *ka̲:ki̲wí̲n* 'Coahuitlán; wooded place' (Mecatlán and Coahuitlán

are of Nahuatl origin, with the same meanings).

Number is expressed by a variety of affixes including *-ni*, *-n*, *-in*, *-nin* (10).

(10) a. **-ni**
          túmat 'tomato' → tumátni
          lášuš 'orange' → lašúšni
          stápu 'bean' → stapúni / stapúnu[33]
      b. **-n**
          kíwi̲ 'tree' → ki̲wí̲n
          kuyú: 'armadillo' → kuyú:n
          lú:wa 'snake' → lu:wán
          pášni 'pig' → lakpa̲šnín
          místu̲ 'cat' → lakmistú̲n
      c. **-in**
          čik 'house' → čikín
          misín 'jaguar; wild cat' → misinín
          pin 'pepper' → pinín
          qayán 'turtle' → qayanín
      d. **-nin**
          xú:ki 'deer' → xu:kinín
          puwani̲:ní̲ 'widow' → puwani̲:ni̲nín
          nápa 'aunt' → laknapanín

The most common plural affixes are *-n* and *-ni*. However, although there seems to be a tendency

for plural *-n* after vowels and *-ni* after consonants (a distribution somewhat resembling that of

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[33] The form *stapúnu* 'beans' may indicate some sort of vowel harmony, perhaps a suffix *-nV* 'plural'; however, this is the only form in my data that gives any evidence for vowel harmony in number marking. Further, although *stapúnu* was given in elicitation, the form *stapúni* appears in all my texts.

nominaliser -*nị* in 4.1.2), there are exceptions to this pattern, such as *stapúni* 'beans', as well as the suffixes -*in* and -*nin*. All that can be said is that the affixes are lexically conditioned.

Several forms in (10) were given with a prefix *lak*-. Historically, this appears to be a distributive plural marker in Totonac languages (Beck, p.c.), and is formally related to the plural agreement marker on adjectives (5.1.3) and a quasi-inflectional verbal distributive (Beck 2004:81). However, it is not clear if Coahuitlán Totonac has a synchronic distributive, as plural marking in general is difficult to elicit, and infrequent in texts. For a number of forms, *lak*- is the only overt marking of number I was able to elicit (11).

(11)   qayán   'turtle'   → lakqayán
       ná:nạʔ   'mother'   → lakná:nạʔ

This prefix may have been lexicalised as part of the expression of plural number for some words.

5.1.3   Number agreement on adjectives
Adjectives optionally show number agreement with the nouns they modify by taking the prefix *lak*- 'PL.ADJ'.

(12) a. laktiná pu̯či̯t
       lak–tina: pu̯či̯t
       PL.ADJ–small   rotten.log
       'the little worn out planks'

                                                            Debedor:151

    b. ti: šma:ša̱:qaní laksqalála
       ti: š–ma:ša̱:qaní   lak–sqalala
       HREL   PAST–act.as.midwife:IMPF PL.ADJ–wise
       'the midwives were wise'

                                                            Pichawa:5

    c. y łú:wa lakciná: estrella šwí: nakpapá?
       y   łu:wa   lak–cina: estrella   š–wi: nak=papa̱?
       and   many   PL.ADJ–small star   PAST–sit LOC=moon
       'and there were lots of little stars on the moon'

                                                            La luna:37

    d. pus sqalála wišinán
       pus   sqalala   wišinan
       well   clever   you.PL
       'you are all clever'

                                                            Arriero:110

In these examples we see some adjectives expressing number agreement (*tiná:* 'small' in a.,
sqalála 'wise' in b. and *ciná:* 'small' in c.), while others do not (*łú:wa* 'many' in c. and *sqalála*
'wise' in d.).

5.2   Verbal inflectional morphology

Coahuitlán Totonac has complex verbal morphology. All verbs show agreement with person and
number of subject—and object, for transitive verbs—and inflect for categories of tense (past,
present, and future) and mood (indicative, optative, potential, and irrealis). Coahuitlán Totonac
distinguishes two classes of verbs: stative verbs, which do not inflect for aspect, and dynamic
verbs, which are inflected for one of four aspectual categories (imperfective, perfective, perfect,
and progressive).

5.2.1   Person agreement

Coahuitlán Totonac verbs agree in person and number with their subjects and objects. Person and
number marking are primarily expressed by a mixture of prefixes and suffixes, although there are

some non-segmental markers, for example, third-person singular subjects and objects are zero-marked, and the expression of second-person singular subjects often involves stem apophony. Subject markers express person and number cumulatively (5.2.1.1), while for objects, there are separate person and number markers (5.2.1.2). Full subject-object paradigms are discussed in 5.2.1.3.

5.2.1.1   Subject markers

The set of affixes encoding agreement with the subject of mono- and multivalent verbs is illustrated in Table 12 for the intransitive verb *taštú* 'leave', shown here in the imperfective aspect.

SUBJECT	1SG	k–taštú	'I leave'
	2SG	taštú–ya̱	'you_SG leave'
	3SG	taštú	'she/he/it leaves'
	1PL EXC	k–taštu–yá:–w	'we_EXC leave'
	1PL INC	taštu–yá:–w	'we_INC leave'
	2PL	taštu–yá:–tit	'you_PL leave'
	3PL	ta–taštú	'they leave'

Table 12: Subject markers

The subject markers here are *k-* '1SG', Ø '3SG', *-tit* '2PL', and *ta-* '3PL'. Coahuitlán Totonac marks clusivity for subjects, with the first-person plural inclusive marked by *-w*. The exclusive form uses this same marker, combined with *k-* '1SG'. This is an example of a non-compositional "morphological idiom" (Beck and Mel'čuk 2011)—that is, as in lexical idioms, the meaning of a morphological idiom is not predictable from the parts which make it up, and the meaning and form must be learned as a unit.

The realisation of second-person singular subjects varies according to aspect and conjugation class. Table 13 shows second-person singular subject forms for a verb from each of the four conjugation classes (cf. 5.2.2)— *pucá* 'look for' (Class 1), *tṵks-* 'hit' (Class 2A), *pu:n* 'think' (Class 2B), and *lḁqcín* 'see' (Class 3) in each of the four aspects (imperfective,

perfective, perfect, and progressive). Each of these verbs is transitive, with a zero-marked third-person singular object.

CLASS	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	PERFECT	PROGRESSIVE
1	pucáya̧	púca̧	pucaní̧:ta̧	pucápa̧:t
2A	tú̧ksa̧	tú̧ksti̧	tu̧ksní̧:ta̧	tú̧kspa̧:t
2B	pú:na̧	pú:nti̧	pu:ní̧:ta̧	pu:mpa̧:t
3	la̧qcína̧	lá̧qci̧	la̧qciní̧:ta̧	la̧qcímpa̧:t

Table 13: Second-person subject forms

Aspect, person, and number are expressed cumulatively for second person in the imperfective by -*ya̧* (Class 1) or -*a̧* (Class 2 and 3). The second-person singular subject in the perfective aspect shows laryngealisation and shortening of the final vowel (Class 1 and 3), with the final /n/ of the stem being deleted in Class 3. In Class 2, second-person singular agreement is expressed by -*t* '2SG.SUBJ' and the perfective suffix -*li̧* is shortened to -*i̧:* this is typically glossed as a portmanteau -*ti̧* '2SG.SUBJ:PFV'. Perfect -*ni̧:tan* is realised in the second-person singular as /-ní:ta̧/ (all classes). Progressive -*ma:* is marked with a suppletive second person form /-pa̧:t/ (the final [t] may be related to -*t* '2SG.SUBJ' seen in the perfective aspect). Stem suppletion is common for second-person subjects in many verbs.

5.2.1.2 Object markers

Object markers encode agreement with the objects of polyvalent verbs. The transitive verb *tu̧ks-* 'hit' (Class 2A) marks the imperfective using the suffix -*a*, and agreement with a third-person singular subject with a zero; the object markers are as follows:

	1SG	kin–tú̧ks–a	'she/he/it hits me'
	2SG	tú̧ks–a:–n	'she/he/it hits you_SG'
	3SG	tú̧ks–a	'she/he/it hits him'
OBJECT	1PL	kin–ka:–tú̧ks–a–n	'she/he/it hits us'
	2PL	ka:–tú̧ks–a–n	'she/he/it hits you_PL'
	3PL	ka:–tú̧ks–a	'she/he/it hits them'

Table 14: Object markers

Unlike subject markers, object markers encode person and number separately, with the prefix *ka:-* marking a plural object in each form, independently of the person affixes. The object markers for person are *kin-* '1OBJ', *-n* '2OBJ', Ø- '3OBJ', and for number Ø- 'SG.OBJ' and *ka:-* 'PL.OBJ'. The second-person plural object is marked with *ka:-* (plural), and *-n* (second person). The first-person plural object likewise is marked by the plural *ka:-*, but requires both first-person *kin-* and second-person *-n*. For a first-person plural inclusive object, this is compositional as the inclusive would include the person being addressed, the second person, and would be plural (minimally, the first and the second person). However, this form is used even in cases where the first-person plural does not include the second person encoded by *-n*, and so is semantically exclusive, meaning that clusivity is not marked for objects and the expression of plural first-person objects is vague and not entirely compositional.

5.2.1.3   Subject-object paradigms
The subject-object paradigm in Table 15 illustrates agreement for the transitive verb *pucá* 'look for' (Class 1) inflected in the imperfective aspect.

		OBJECT					
		1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
SUBJECT	1SG	–	kpucayá:n	kpucá	–	ka:pucayá:n	ka:pucá
	2SG	kinpucáyą	–	pucáyą	kila:pucayá:w	–	ka:pucáyą
	3SG	kinpucá	pucayá:n	pucá	kinka:pucayá:n	ka:pucayá:n	ka:pucá
	1PL EXC	–	ka:pucayá:n	kpucayá:w	–	ka:pucayá:n	ka:pucayá:w
	1PL INC	–	–	pucayá:w	–	–	ka:pucayá:w
	2PL	kila:pucayá:w	–	pucayá:tit	kila:pucayá:w	–	ka:pucayá:tit
	3PL	kintapucá	tapucayá:n	tapucá	kinka:tapucayá:n	ka:tapucayá:n	tapucá / ka:pucá

Table 15: Subject-object paradigm

For much of the paradigm, subject and object affixes combine as expected. However, the paradigm contains five types of syncretism, marked by coloured cells in Table 15. The first syncretic form (blue cells in Table 15) is shown in (13) and expresses any combination of

second-person subject and first-person object where the subject, the object, or both are plural—that is, 2PL > 1SG, 2SG > 1PL, and 2PL > 1PL. As with other phrasemic morphology where individual elements are used non-compositionally, the gloss is followed by a subscript showing the name of the component parts (see 5B). This specific form is glossed 2>1, which is shorthand for a second-person subject acting on a first person-object where one participant is plural.

(13)   kila:tu̦ksáw
       kin–la:–tu̦ks–a–w
       2>1$_{1OBJ}$–2>1$_{RCP}$–hit–IMPF–2>1$_{1PL.SUBJ}$
       'you$_{PL}$ hit me'; ' you$_{SG}$ hit us'; 'you$_{PL}$ hit us'

This is not the expected form for any of the subject-object combinations it expresses; instead it is formed by the combination of first-person object *kin-*, the first-person plural subject *-w*, and *la:-*, an affix used to indicate subject-object reciprocity (cf. Beck 2011).

The second syncretism (green cells) involves similar person combinations, but with a first-person subject and second-person object—that is 1PL > 2SG, 1SG > 2PL, and 1PL > 2PL, as in (14). This specific form is glossed 1>2, which is shorthand for a first-person subject acting on a second person-object where one participant is plural.

(14)   šaka:tú̦ksan
       šak–ka:–tu̦ks–a–n
       PAST:1>2$_{1SG.SUBJ}$–1>2$_{PL.OBJ}$–hit–IMPF–1>2$_{2OBJ}$
       'we hit you$_{SG}$'; 'I hit you$_{PL}$'; 'we hit you$_{PL}$'

This is the form expected for first-person singular subject and plural second-person object 'I hit you$_{PL}$'. It is composed of the first-person singular subject *k-*, the plural object *ka:-*, and the second-person object *-n*.

This form is, on the surface, indistinguishable from 3SG>2PL (15).

(15)   ka:túksan
       ka:–tṵks–a–n
       PL.OBJ–hit–IMPF–2OBJ
       'she/he/it hits you_PL'

In (14) and (15) the difference is the underlying first-person singular subject *k-*: when this affix

co-occurs with *ka:-* 'PL.OBJ', it gives rise to a form that participates in three of the syncretic

patterns present in the paradigm: *ka:pucayá:n* (green cells; first-person subject and second-

person object where one argument is plural), *ka:pucá* (grey cells; first-person singular or third-

person subject and third-person plural object), and *ka:pucayá:w* (orange cells; first-person plural

subjects with third-person plural objects). Evidence for the underlying prefix *k-* '1SG.SUBJ' is

found in past and future tenses, where Coahuitlán Totonac has portmanteaux for first-person

singular subjects in the past and future: respectively *šak-* instead of *š-k-*, and *nak-* instead of

na-k- (16) and (17).[34]

(16)   šaka:túksan   nạka:túksan
       šak–ka:–tṵks–a–n   nạk–ka:–tṵks–a–n
       PAST:1SG.SUBJ–PL.OBJ–hit–IMPF–2OBJ FUT:1SG.SUBJ–PL.OBJ–hit–IMPF–2OBJ
       'we hit you_SG/PL'; 'I hit you_PL' 'we'll hit you_SG/PL'; 'I'll hit you_PL'

(17)   ška:túksan   naka:túksan
       š–ka:–tṵks–a–n   na–ka:–tṵks–a–n
       PAST–PL.OBJ–hit–IMPF–2OBJ   FUT–PL.OBJ–hit–IMPF–2OBJ
       'she/he/it hit you_PL'   'she/he/it will hit you_PL'

The final syncretism (yellow cells) arises from a morphological restriction preventing

the prefix *ta-* '3PL.SUBJ' from co-occuring with *ka:-* 'PL.OBJ' in verbs with a third-person plural

subject and third-person plural object, as (18).

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[34] These forms arise from combination of tense prefixes and the historical *ịk-* '1SG.SUBJ', still present in some Totonacan languages (Levy & Beck 2012).

(18) a.   ta:tų́ksa
              ta–tų̃ks–a
              3PL.SUBJ–hit–IMPF
              'they hit him', or 'they hit them'

      b.   ka:tų́ksa
              ka:–tų̃ks–a
              PL.OBJ–hit–IMPF
              'he hit them', or 'they hit them'

      c.   *ka:tatų́ksa
              ka:–ta–tų̃ks–a
              PL.OBJ–3PL.SUBJ–hit–IMPF
              *'they hit them'

For combinations where subject and object are third person plurals, whichever is more salient is expressed—either the subject or the object—but not both. Because only one can be marked, there are two forms for 3PL > 3PL, and each is syncretic with another form: the *ta*- form with 3PL > 3SG (yellow cells) and the *ka:*- form with 3SG > 3PL (grey).

        MacKay & Trechsel (2015) describe this prohibition against *ta*- and *ka:*- in the same 3 > 3 form as a feature of Northern and Lowland; however, these two affixes do occur together in cases where the plural object is not third person—that is, 3PL > 1PL, in (19), or 3PL > 2PL, in (20).

(19)   kinka:tatų́ksan
        kin–ka:–ta–tų̃ks–a–n
        1OBJ–PL.OBJ–3PL.SUBJ–hit–IMPF–2OBJ
        'they hit us'

(20)   ka:tatų́ksan
        ka:–ta–tų̃ks–a–n
        PL.OBJ–3PL.SUBJ–hit–IMPF–2OBJ
        'they hit you_PL'

In each of these cases, without a third person object, *ka:*- and *ta*- can occur together.

5.2.2 Tense, aspect, mood

The categories of tense, aspect, and mood do not combine freely: Table 16, following Beck for Upper Necaxa Totonac (2011:19), shows the permissible combinations using a typical affix as shorthand for the different inflectional categories: *na-* 'future', *š-* 'past', *-ya:* 'imperfective, *-li̱* 'perfective', *-ma̱:* 'progressive', *-ni̱:tan* 'perfect'. Two categories are represented with Ø: the leftmost for present tense, followed by indicative mood.

	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	PROGRESSIVE	PERFECT
	INDICATIVE			
FUTURE	na- Ø- -ya:			
PRESENT	Ø- Ø- -ya:	Ø- -li̱	Ø- Ø- -ma̱:	Ø- Ø- -ni̱:tan
PAST	š- Ø- ya:		š- Ø- ma̱:	š Ø- -ni̱:tan
	OPTATIVE			
	ka- -ya:	ka- -li̱	ka- -ma̱:	ka- -ni̱:tan
	POTENTIAL			
FUTURE	na- ti- -ya:			
PRESENT	Ø- ti- -ya:	Ø- ti- -li̱	Ø- ti- -ma̱:	Ø- ti- -ni̱:tan
PAST	š- ti- -ya:		š- ti- -ma̱:	š- ti- -ma̱:
	IRREALIS			
FUTURE	ka- ti- -li̱			
PRESENT	š- -li̱			
PAST	š- ti- -li̱			

Table 16: Tense, aspect, and mood combinations

The combination of tense, mood, and aspect markers are often transparent and compositional; however, the expression of the irrealis mood is non-compositional—that is, while future irrealis has parseable affixes associated with optative, potential, and perfective, none of these affixes express those categories: instead the combination as a whole expresses future irrealis (Beck & Mel'čuk 2011 describe these as morphological idioms or morphophrasemes cf. 5.5).

5.2.2.1 Aspect and aspectual paradigms

Coahuitlán Totonac has four aspects: imperfective, perfective, perfect, and progressive.[35]

Dynamic verbs are inflected for these aspects, while stative verbs do not inflect for aspect. The

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[35] All definitions of aspect are from Comrie 1976.

perfective aspect portrays an action as an undivided whole, while the imperfective makes it reference with respect to some part of the internal temporal structure of the action. The perfect aspect portrays actions as having been completed at a given point of reference but with continuing relevance at the time of reference. Progressive aspect portrays actions as on-going at the time of reference. Due to the fairly typical nature of these aspects, and the scope of this work, I will focus mostly on providing paradigms and discussing the forms these categories take. For a more detailed discussion, the reader is referred to the descriptions of other Totonacan languages (McQuown 1990; MacKay 1999; Smythe-Kung 2007; and especially Beck 2004, 2011: the organisation of this section closely follows the presentation in Beck 2011). While questions of usage and semantics for verbs remain an important avenue of investigatoin, the reader can also observe these aspects at work in the texts here presented.

Dynamic verbs fall into three conjugation classes, defined primarily by the final segment of the verb stem, class 1 being vowel-final, class 2 consonant-final, and class 3 ending in /n/; however, paradigmatic leveling has undermined class 3, resulting in a large number of n-final verbs moving into class 2. During elicitation, my consultants accepted inflections from either class 2 or 3 for almost any n-final verb; however, the inflectional classes seem to be more consistent in the recorded texts. I begin by presenting the intransitive paradigms, before moving on to the more complex transitive paradigms, and finishing with the irregular paradigms. All paradigms are indicative and present tense.

Dynamic intransitive paradigms
The paradigm for Class 1 verbs, those with stems ending in a vowel, is presented in Table 17.

	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	PERFECT	PROGRESSIVE
1SG	ktaštú	ktáštuli̠	ktaštuní:	ktaštúma̠:
2SG	taštúya̠	táštu̠	taštuní:ta̠	taštúpa̠:t
3SG	taštú	táštuli̠	taštuní:	taštúma̠:
1PL EXC	ktaštuyá:w	ktaštúw	ktaštuni̠:tá:w	ktaštuma̠:ná:w
1PL INC	taštuyá:w	taštúw	taštuni̠:tá:w	taštuma̠:ná:w
2PL	taštuyá:tit	taštútit	taštuni̠:tá:tit	taštupa̠:nántít
3PL	tataštú	tatáštuli̠	tataštuní:	tataštumá:nali̠

Table 17: Paradigm for Class 1 *taštú* 'leave' (intr)

Class 1 verbs are distinguished by the syncope of the imperfective suffix /*ya:*/ in first- and third-person singular: in these forms the imperfective aspect is expressed by accentual apophony with the final syllable receiving stress. The verb *taštú* 'she/he leaves' ends with a short vowel: without inflection we would expect stress to fall on the penultimate syllable: *táštu. Perfective aspect is often expressed by the suffix -*li̠*, which is accompanied by antepenultimate stress (cf section on stress). Expression of perfective aspect lacking overt expression of -*li̠* does not participate in this stress pattern, that is, the first- and second-person plurals where perfective is expressed by a morphological zero, and the second-person singular where perfective is marked by laryngealisation of the final vowel.

Class 2 and 3 verbs have consonant-final stems: class 3 is defined by n-final stems, while all other consonant-final stems belong to class 2; however, a number of n-final stems follow class 2 patterns. I follow Beck 2011 in dividing class 2 into 2A for all consonants other than /n/ and 2B for those n-final stems belonging to class 2. The paradigms of these classes are presented as follows: Class 2A in Table 18, 2B in Table 19, and 3 in Table 20.

	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	PERFECT	PROGRESSIVE
1SG	kpáša	kpášlị	kpašní:	kpášmạ:
2SG	pášạ	pášṭị	pašní:ṭạ	pášpạ:t
3SG	páša	pášlị	pašní:	pášmạ:
1PL EXC	kpašá:w	kpášwị	kpašni:tá	kpašmạ:náw
1PL INC	pašá:w	pášwị	pašni:tá	pašmạ:náw
2PL	pašá:tit	paštít	pašni:tátit	pašpạ:nántit
3PL	tapáša	tápašlị	tapašní:	tapašmá:nalị

Table 18: Paradigm for Class 2A *paš-* 'bathe' (intr)

Class 2A is distinguished by the imperfective allomorph /a/ in third-person and first-person singular and portmanteau affixes that combine person and aspect in the perfective (*-tị* 'second-person subject; perfective'*, -wị* 'first-person plural subject; perfective'). Forms with *-lị* and *-tị* have antepenultimate stress (but not *-wị*), and the only zero is in second-person plural perfective.

	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	PERFECT	PROGRESSIVE
1SG	kiłwán	kíłwanlị	kiłwaní:	kiłwámạ:
2SG	kiłwánạ	kíłwanṭị	kiłwaní:ṭạ	kiłwámpạ:t
3SG	kiłwán	kíłwanlị	kiłwání:	kiłwámạ:
1PL EXC	kiłwaná:w	kiłwánwị	kiłwáni:tá:w	kiłwamạ:ná:w
1PL INC	kiłwaná:w	kiłwánwị	kiłwáni:tá:w	kiłwamạ:ná:w
2PL	kiłwaná:tit	kiłwántit	kiłwani:tá:tit	kiłwampạ:ná:ntit
3PL	takiłwán	takíłwanlị	takiłwaní:	takiłwamá:nalị

Table 19: Paradigm for Class 2B *kiłwán* 'talk' (intr)

Class 2B is closely resembles 2A but lacks the short /a/ imperfective suffix in third-person and first-person singular, which is lost due to syncope as in Class 1 and 3 stems.

	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	PERFECT	PROGRESSIVE
1SG	kčiwi:nán	kčiwí:nalị	kčiwi:naní:	kčiwi:námạ:
2SG	čiwi:nánạ	čiwí:nạ	čiwi:naní:ṭạ	čiwi:námpạ:t
3SG	čiwi:nán	čiwí:nalị	čiwninaní:	čiwi:námạ:
1PL EXC	kčiwi:naná:w	kčiwi:ná:w	kčiwi:nani:tá:w	kčiwi:namạ:ná:w
1PL INC	čiwi:naná:w	čiwi:ná:w	čiwi:nani:tá:w	čiwi:namạ:ná:w
2PL	čiwi:naná:tit	čiwi:nántit	čiwi:nani:tátit	čiwi:nampạ:nántit
3PL	tačiwi:nán	tačiwí:nalị	tačiwi:naní:	tačiwi:namá:nalị

Table 20: Paradigm for Class 3 *čiwi:nán* 'speak' (intr)

Class 3 verbs delete the final /n/ in the perfective in all but second-person plural, after which the inflection resembles class 1 with laryngealisation of the final vowel for second-person singular.

Dynamic transitive paradigms

Person marking for transitive verbs requires agreement in person and number with subject and object: this increases the complexity of paradigms, especially when the agreement markers are suffixes and interact with the aspect markers. Two notable elements of agreement will be addressed with the discussion of agreement markers: syncretism, and the two possible forms for 3PL>3PL, which arises due to a restriction against combining *ta-* 'third-person plural subject' and *ka:-* 'plural object'. Speakers must choose agreement with subject or object, but both forms are equally grammatical. Paradigms are presented as follows: Class 1 in Table 21, Class 2 in Table 22, and Class 3 in Table 23.

Class 1 pucá 'look for'

IMPERFECTIVE

SUBJECT \ OBJECT	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
1SG		kpucayá:n	kpucá		ka:pucayá:n	ka:pucá
2SG	kimpucáya̦		pucáya̦	kila:pucayá:w		ka:pucáya̦
3SG	kimpucá	pucayá:n	pucá	kinka:pucayá:n	ka:pucayá:n	ka:pucá
1PL EXC		ka:pucayá:n	kpucayá:w		ka:pucayá:n	ka:pucayá:w
1PL INC			pucayá:w			ka:pucayá:w
2PL	kila:pucayá:w		pucayá:tit	kila:pucayá:w		ka:pucayá:tit
3PL	kintapucá	tapucayá:n	tapucá	kinka:tapucayá:n	ka:tapucayá:n	tapucá / ka:pucá

PERFECTIVE

SUBJECT \ OBJECT	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
1SG		kpucán	kpúcali̦		ka:pucán	ka:púcali̦
2SG	kimpúca̦		púca̦	kila:pucáw		ka:púca̦
3SG	kimpúcali̦	pucán	púcali̦	kinka:pucán	ka:pucán	ka:púcali̦
1PL EXC		ka:pucán	kpucáw		ka:pucán	ka:pucáw
1PL INC			pucáw			ka:pucáw
2PL	kila:pucáw		pucátit	kila:pucáw		ka:pucátit
3PL	kintapúcali̦	tapucán	tapúcali̦	kinka:tapucán	ka:tapucán	tapúcali̦ / ka:púcali̦

PERFECT

SUBJECT \ OBJECT	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
1SG		kpucani̦:tán	kpucaní:		ka:pucani̦:tán	ka:pucaní:
2SG	kimpucaní:ta̦		pucaní:ta̦	kila:pucaní:táw		ka:pucaní:ta̦
3SG	kimpucaní:	pucani̦:tán	pucaní:	kinka:pucani̦:tán	ka:pucani̦:tán	ka:pucaní:
1PL EXC		ka:pucani̦:tán	kpucani̦:táw		ka:pucani̦:tán	ka:pucani̦:táw
1PL INC			pucani̦:táw			ka:pucani̦:táw
2PL	kila:pucani̦:táw		pucani̦:tátit	kila:pucani̦:táw		ka:pucani̦:tátit
3PL	kintapucaní:	tapucani̦:tán	tapucaní:	kinka:tapucani̦:tán	ka:tapucani̦:tán	tapucaní: / ka:pucaní:

PROGRESSIVE

SUBJECT \ OBJECT	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
1SG		kpucamá:n	kpucáma̦:		ka:pucáma̦:n	ka:pucáma̦:
2SG	kimpucapá:t		pucapá:t	kila:pucama̦:náw		ka:pucapá:t
3SG	kimpucámma̦:	pucamá:n	pucámma̦:	kinka:pucamá:n	ka:pucamá:n	ka:pucámma̦:
1PL EXC		ka:pucamá:n	kpucama̦:náw		ka:pucamá:n	ka:pucama̦:náw
1PL INC			pucama̦:náw			ka:pucama̦:náw
2PL	kila:pucama̦:náw		pucapa̦:nantít	kila:pucama̦:náw		ka:pucapa̦:nántit
3PL	kintapucamá:nali̦	tapucamá:n	tapucamá:nali̦	kinka:tapucamá:n	ka:tapucamá:n	tapucamá:nali̦ / ka:pucáma:

Table 21: Paradigm for Class 1 *pucá* 'look for' (tr)

For class 1 transitive verbs, the most notable differences from the intransitive paradigms involve the suffix *-n* which marks second-person objects and is part of the syncretic agreement constructions for second- and first-person plural objects. This suffix protects the imperfective suffix from syncope in second person- and first person plural-object forms (i.e., 1>2 IMPF: *kpucayá:n*),[36] and causes a loss of the visible exponent for the perfective (which is therefore zero marked as in 1>2 PFV *kpucán*). The perfect aspect is fairly regular, although note an interesting parallel where a shortened form of the perfect *-nį:tá → nį:* appears in the same context that the imperfective suffix is syncopated, but the longer form appears where the suffix is protected. The progressive aspect is also fairly regular, although a longer form *-mą:nan* occurs with plural subjects. The aspectual suffix *-mą:* originates from posture verb *mą:* 'be lying down' which, like other stative verbs, takes the suffix *-nan* to agree with plural subjects. This suffix continues to appear with aspectual marker *-mą:* within the progressive paradigm.

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[36] Quasi-inflectional markers act the same way to protect the imperfective suffix: i.e., for *kpucá* 'I look for it' the imperfective is expressed by final stress, but with the distal marker *–čaʔ*, the imperfective suffix reappears: *kpucaya:čáʔ* 'I look for him there'.

Class 2 tu̲ks- 'hit'

IMPERFECTIVE		OBJECT					
		1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
SUBJECT	1SG		ktu̲ksá:n	ktú̲ksa		ka:tu̲ksá:n	ka:tú̲ksa
	2SG	kintú̲ksa̲		tú̲ksa̲	kila:tu̲ksá:w		ka:tú̲ksa̲
	3SG	kintú̲ksa	tu̲ksá:n	tú̲ksa	kinka:tu̲ksá:n	ka:tu̲ksá:n	ka:tú̲ksa
	1PL EXC		ka:tu̲ksá:n	ktu̲ksá:w		ka:tu̲ksá:n	ka:tu̲ksá:w
	1PL INC			tu̲ksá:w			ka:tu̲ksá:w
	2PL	kila:tu̲ksá:w		tu̲ksá:tit	kila:tu̲ksá:w		ka:tu̲ksá:tit
	3PL	kintatú̲ksa	tatu̲ksá:n	tatú̲ksa	kinka:tatu̲ksá:n	ka:tatu̲ksá:n	tatú̲ksa ka:tú̲ksa

PERFECTIVE		OBJECT					
		1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
SUBJECT	1SG		ktú̲ksni̲	ktú̲ksli̲		ka:tú̲ksni̲	ká:tu̲ksli̲
	2SG	kíntu̲ksti̲		tú̲ksti̲	ki:la:tú̲kswi̲		ká:tu̲ksti̲
	3SG	kíntu̲ksli̲	tú̲ksni̲	tú̲ksli̲	kinka:tú̲ksni̲	ka:tú̲ksni̲	ká:tu̲ksli̲
	1PL EXC		ka:tú̲ksni̲	ktú̲kswi̲		ka:tú̲ksni̲	ka:tú̲kswi̲
	1PL INC			tú̲kswi̲			ka:tú̲kswi̲
	2PL	ki:la:tú̲kswi		tú̲kstit	ki:la:tú̲kswi		ka:tú̲kstit
	3PL	kintátu̲ksli̲	tatú̲ksni̲	tátu̲ksli̲	kinka:tatú̲ksni̲	ka:tatú̲ksni̲	tátu̲ksli̲ ká:tu̲ksli̲

PERFECT		OBJECT					
		1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
SUBJECT	1SG		ktu̲ksní̲:tán	ktu̲ksní̲:		ka:tu̲ksní̲:tán	ka:tu̲ksní̲:
	2SG	kintu̲ksní̲:ta̲		tu̲ksní̲:ta̲	kila:tu̲ksní̲:táw		ka:tu̲ksní̲:ta̲
	3SG	kintu̲ksní̲:	tu̲ksni̲:tán	tu̲ksní̲:	kinka:tu̲ksni̲:tán	ka:tu̲ksni̲:tán	ka:tu̲ksní̲:
	1PL EXC		ka:tu̲ksni̲:tán	ktu̲ksni̲:táw		ka:tu̲ksni̲:tán	ka:tu̲ksni̲:táw
	1PL INC			tu̲ksni̲:táw			ka:tu̲ksni̲:táw
	2PL	kila:tu̲ksni̲:táw		tu̲ksni̲:tátit	kila:tu̲ksni̲:táw		ka:tu̲ksni̲:tátit
	3PL	kintatu̲ksní̲:	tatu̲ksni̲:tán	tatu̲ksní̲:	kinka:tatu̲ksní̲:tán	ka:tatu̲ksni̲:tán	tatu̲ksní̲: ka:tu̲ksní̲:

PROGRESSIVE		OBJECT					
		1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
SUBJECT	1SG		ktu̲ksmá:n	ktú̲ksma̲:		ka:tu̲ksmá:n	ka:tú̲ksma:
	2SG	kintú̲kspa̲:t		tú̲kspa̲:t	kila:tu̲ksma̲:náw		ka:tu̲kspá:t
	3SG	kintú̲ksma̲:	tu̲ksmá:n	tú̲ksma̲:	kinka:tu̲ksmá:n	ka:tu̲ksmá:n	ka:tú̲ksma:
	1PL EXC		ka̲:tu̲ksmá:n	ktu̲ksma̲:náw		ka:tu̲ksmá:n	ka:tu̲ksma:náw
	1PL INC			tu̲ksma̲:náw			ka:tu̲ksma:náw
	2PL	kila:tu̲ksma̲:náw		tu̲kspa̲:nántit	kila:tu̲ksma̲:náw		ka:tu̲kspa̲:nántit
	3PL	kintatu̲ksmá:nali̲	tatu̲ksmá:n	tatu̲ksmá:nali̲	kinka:tatu̲ksmá:n	ka:tatu̲ksmá:n	tatu̲ksmá:nali̲ ka:tú̲ksma̲:

Table 22: Paradigm for Class 2 *tu̲ks-* 'hit' (tr)

In Class 2 there is another portmanteau affix: *-ni̲* 'second-person object; perfective'.

IMPERFECTIVE

	OBJECT					
SUBJECT	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
1SG		klạqciná:n	klạqcín		ka:lạqcín	ka:lạqcín
2SG	kilạqcíyạ		lạqcíyạ	kila:lạqciná:w		ka:lạqcíyạ
3SG	kilạqcín	lạqciná:n	lạqcín	kinka:lạqciná:n	ka:lạqciná:n	ka:lạqcín
1PL EXC		ka:lạqcín	klạqciná:w		ka:lạqcín	ka:lạqciná:w
1PL INC			lạqciná:w			ka:lạqciná:w
2PL	kila:lạqciná:w		lạqciná:tit	kila:lạqciná:w		ka:lạqciná:tit
3PL	kintalạqcín	talạqciná:n	talạqcín	kinka:talạqciná:n	ka:talạqciná:n	talạqcín ka:lạqcín

PERFECTIVE

	OBJECT					
SUBJECT	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
1SG		klạqcín	klạqcíli̜		ka:lạqcín	ka:lạqcíli̜
2SG	kiláqci̜		láqci̜	kila:lạqcíw		ka:láqci̜
3SG	kilạqcíli̜	lạqcín	lạqcíli̜	kinka:lạqcín	ka:lạqcín	ka:lạqcíli̜
1PL EXC		ka:lạqcín	klạqcíw		ka:lạqcín	ka:lạqcíw
1PL INC			lạqcíw			ka:lạqcíw
2PL	kila:lạqcíw		lạqcíntit	kila:lạqcíw		ka:lạqcíntit
3PL	kintalạqcíli̜	talạqcín	talạqcíli̜	kinka:talạqcín	ka:talạqcín	talạqcíli̜ ka:lạqcíli̜

PERFECT

	OBJECT					
SUBJECT	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
1SG		klạqcini̜:tán	klạqcini̜:		ka:lạqcini̜:tán	ka:lạqcini̜:
2SG	kilạqcini̜:tạ		lạqcini̜:tạ	kila:laqcini̜:tá:w		ka:lạqcini̜:tạ
3SG	kilạqcini̜:	lạqcini̜:tán	lạqcini̜:	kinka:lạqcini̜:tán	ka:lạqcini̜:tán	ka:lạqcini̜:
1PL EXC		ka:lạqcini̜:tán	klạqcini̜:tá:w		ka:lạqcini̜:tán	ka:lạqcini̜:tá:w
1PL INC			lạqcini̜:tá:w			ka:lạqcini̜:tá:w
2PL	kila:laqcini̜:tá:w		lạqcini̜:tátit	kila:laqcini̜:tá:w		ka:lạqcini̜:tátit
3PL	kintalạqcini̜:	talạqcini̜:tán	talạqcini̜:	kinka:talạqcini̜:tán	ka:talạqcini̜:tán	talạqcini̜: ka:lạqcini̜:

PROGRESSIVE

	OBJECT					
SUBJECT	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
1SG		klạqcimá:n	klạqcímạ:		ka:lạqcimá:n	ka:lạqcímạ:
2SG	kilạqcímpạ:t		lạqcímpạ:t	kila:lạqcimạ:náw		ka:lạqcímpạ:t
3SG	kilạqcímạ:	lạqcimá:n	lạqcímạ:	kinka:lạqcimá:n	ka:lạqcimá:n	ka:lạqcímạ:
1PL EXC		ka:lạqcimá:n	klạqcimá:w		ka:lạqcimá:n	ka:lạqcimá:w
1PL INC			lạqcimá:w			ka:lạqcimá:w
2PL	kila:lạqcimạ:náw		lạqcimpạ:nántit	kila:lạqcimạ:náw		ka:lạqcimpạ:nántit
3PL	kintalạqcimá:nali̜	talạqcimá:n	talạqcimá:nali̜	kinka:talạqcimá:n	ka:talạqcimá:n	talạqcimá:nali̜ ka:lạqcímạ:

Table 23: Paradigm for Class 3 *lạqcín* 'see' (tr)

Class 3 verbs resemble class 2 in the imperfective and class 1 in the perfective.

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Irregular dynamic paradigms

There are three irregular paradigms in Coahuitlán Totonac, based on verbs *ạn* 'go', *min* 'come', and *tamạ:* 'lay down'. Each of these is primarily distinguished by suppletive second-person forms, though some have additional irregularities.

The first irregular paradigm includes the verbs *ạn* 'go', *čạ:n* 'arrive there', and all verbs derived from them (Beck 2011 calls this the p-paradigm). These verbs have suppletive stems with /p/ (*pịn* 'you go' and *čipị* 'you arrive there') that occur with second-person subjects:

		IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	PERFECT	PROGRESSIVE
	1SG	kạn	kạł	kạnị́:	kámạ:
	2SG	pína	pịt	pịnị́:tạ	pịmpạ:t
	3SG	ạn	alị	ạnị́:	amạ:
SUBJECT	1PL EXC	kạná:w	kạw	kạnị:tá:w	kạmạ:náw
	1PL INC	ạná:w	ạw	ạnị:tá:w	ạmạ:náw
	2PL	pịná:tit	pítit	pịnị:tátit	pịmpạ:nántit
	3PL	taʔan	táʔalị	taʔạ:nị́:	taʔạmá:nalị

Table 24: Paradigm for irregular p-paradigm *ạn* 'go'

In the perfective form of multi-syllabic stems, *pịt* is realised as *pị*, thus the second-person singular perfective of *čạ:n* is *čípị* 'you arrived there'.

The second includes *min* 'come', *čịn* 'arrive here', and all verbs derived from them (Beck 2011's t-paradigm). These verbs have suppletive stems with /t/ (*tạn* 'you come' and *čịtan* 'you arrive here') that occur with second-person subjects:

		IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	PERFECT	PROGRESSIVE
	1SG	kmín	kmílị	kminị́:	kmímạ:
	2SG	tána	tát	tạnị́:tạ	támpạ:t
	3SG	mín	mílị	minị́:	mímạ:
SUBJECT	1PL EXC	kminá w	kmíw	kminị:táw	kmimạ:náw
	1PL INC	miná w	míw	minị:táw	mimạ:náw
	2PL	tạná tit	tátit	tạnị:tátit	tạmpạ:nántit
	3PL	tamín	támilị	taminị́:	tamimá:nalị

Table 25: Paradigm for irregular t-paradigm *min* 'come'

In the perfective form of multi-syllabic stems, *tạt* is realised as *-tạ*, thus the second-person singular perfective of *čịn* is *čịtạ* 'you arrived here' and that of *li:mín* 'is *lí:tạ* 'you brought it'.

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The third paradigm (Beck 2011's m-paradigm) includes *tamą́:* 'lay down' and verbs derived from it. In the second-person forms, /mą:/ is replaced with /pą:/:

		IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	PERFECT	PROGRESSIVE
SUBJECT	1SG	ktamá:	ktámą:lị	ktamą:nị́:	ktamá:mą:
	2SG	tapá:yą	tápą	tamą:mą:nị́:tą	tapá:pą:t
	3SG	tama:	támą:lị	tamą:nị́:	tamá:mą:
	1PL EXC	ktamą:yá:w	ktamą́:w	ktamą:nị́:táw	ktamą:mą:ná:w
	1PL INC	tamą:yá:w	tamą́:w	ktamą:nị́:táw	tamą:mą:ná:w
	2PL	tapą:yá:tit	tapá:tit	tapą:nį̣:tátit	tapą:pą:nántit
	3PL	tatamá:	tatámą:lị	tatama:nị́:	tatamą:má:nalị

Table 26: Paradigm for irregular m-paradigm *min* 'come'

This m-paradigm includes verbs derived from stative verb *mą:* 'be lying down' which shows a similar suppletive pattern (see below). This pattern (*mą:* → *pą:*) also occurs in second-person forms in the progressive aspect which shares an origin in *mą:* 'be lying down'.

Stative verbs
Stative verbs inflect for tense and mood like other verbs, but do not inflect for aspect. These verbs, referring to states, postures, and physical configuration, are further split into two sub-classes: the first, larger group has what appears to be imperfective morphology and the second group, containing four posture verbs, has traces of perfective morphology. The first group includes a small handful monomorphemic verbs (21) and another handful of bimorphemic verbs which combine bound stems and bodypart prefixes. These bimorphemic verbs take advantage of the relational properties of bodypart terms to express an array of physical configurations (22).

(21)   lakí: 'be open'
        cumá: 'be full'

(22)   -nu: 'inside, in (horizontal); wear'
                lakanú: (face–in)   'be looking inside'
                makanú: (hand-in) 'have one's hand inside'
        -štu 'out (horizontal)'
                lakaštú   (face-out)   'have one's head outside'
        -ta 'down, ground'
                aktá   (head-down) 'be on the ground, fallen'
                tu:tá   (foot-down)   'have one's feet on the ground'

Stative verbs have two productive derivations to create dynamic forms: the first is decausative or

inchoative, and the second is causative. The decausative produces a verb describing a subject

entering or coming into the state expressed by the stative verb, while the causative form

describes a subject causing an object to be in the state expressed by the verb root (23).

(23)   ta- 'decausative'
                talakanú: 'have a look inside; put something on one's face'
                taktá 'go down; fall'
                talakaštú   'stick one's head outside (a door or window)'
        ma:- 'causative'
                ma:lakanú: 'put a harness on a horse'
                ma:ktí: 'let down, lower'

These derivational affixes also occur directly with the bound stative stems (24).

(24)   -nu: 'inside, in (horizontal); wear'
                tanú: 'enter, go in'
                ma:nú: 'put in'
        -štu 'out (horizontal)'
                taštú 'go out, leave'
                ma:štú   'take out'
        -xu: 'in (vertical)
                taxú: 'go in'
                ma:xú: 'put in, set inside'
        -kutú   'out (vertical)
                takutú   'come up out of'
                ma:kutú   'take out of'

When derived with the decausative or causative, the resulting verbs are dynamic and must be inflected for aspect.

The second group of stative verbs is a closed class of four posture verbs, Table 27.

		WÍː 'SIT'	YÁː 'STAND'	MÁ̰ː 'LIE'	WÁKA̰ 'BE HIGH'
SUBJECT	1SG	kwíː	kyáː	kwmáː	kwáka̰
	2SG	wíːla̰	yáːtḭ	pá̰ːt	wáka̰
	3SG	wíː	yáː	má̰ː	wáka̰
	1PL EXC	kwiːlánáːw	kyaːnáw	kma̰ːnáw	kwaka̰náw
	1PL INC	wiːlanáw	yaːnáw	ma̰ːnáw	waka̰náw
	2PL	wiːlanántit	yaːnántit	pa̰ːnántit	waka̰nántit
	3PL	tawiːlánalḭ	tayáːnalḭ	tamá̰ːnalḭ	tawakánalḭ

Table 27: Stative posture verbs

Although a small class, these verbs are quite frequently used. Posture verbs, although inherently imperfective like all stative verbs, show traces of perfective morphology. In neighbouring Upper Necaxa Totonac, perfective morphology is still present in the stems: *wiːł* 'sit', *yaːł* 'stand', *maːł* 'lie', and *waká̰ł* 'be high'; however, in Coahuitlán Totonac, elements of perfective morphology only remain in a few word forms, including the third-person plural forms (i.e., *tamá̰ːnalḭ*), second-person singular for *yaː* 'stand' and *ma̰ː* 'lie' (i.e., *yáːtḭ, pá̰ːt*), and also with the repetitive (5.2.3.8), where stative verbs use the portmanteau *-paː* 'perfective and repetitive' as in *šwilapáː* 'there was again; there was another'. A unique feature of these posture verbs is a stative plural agreement suffix *-nan* used with plural subjects. The same suffix is seen the progressive aspect forms with plural subjects, which are formed by compounding the verb stem with the stative posture verb *ma̰ː*.

Each of the posture verbs has three different forms: the stative as seen in Table 27, an inchoative form which denotes assuming the posture—corresponding to the detransitive or inchoative typical of stative verbs—and a dynamic form that inflects for all aspects though the

meaning is roughly the same as the stative posture verb. The three forms for each posture verb is shown in Table 28 (cf. Table 33 in Beck 2011:37).

STATIVE	INCHOATIVE	DYNAMIC
wiː	toː	toːla
yaː	tayaː	tayaː
mạ̄ː	tamạ̄ː	tamạ̄ː
wakạ̄	tóːka	toːká

Table 28: Posture verbs: stative, inchoative, and dynamic forms

The loss of perfective morphology results in greater syncretism in these forms: the inchoative and dynamic forms of 'stand' are both *tayaː*, compared with Upper Necaxa Totonac inchoative *tayáːł* and dynamic *tayáː*.

5.2.2.2   Tense

Coahuitlán Totonac makes three tense distinctions: past, present and future. The expression of tense is regular for all verbs: past and future are marked with prefixes, *š-* and *na-* respectively, while the present tense is zero-marked:

		PRESENT	PAST	FUTURE
	1SG	ktaštú	šaktaštú	nạktaštú
	2SG	taštúyạ	štaštúyạ	nataštúyạ
	3SG	taštú	štaštú	nataštú
SUBJECT	1PL EXC	ktaštuyáːw	šaktaštuyáːw	nạktaštuyáːw
	1PL INC	taštuyáːw	štaštuyáːw	nataštuyáːw
	2PL	taštuyáːtit	štaštuyáːtit	nataštuyáːtit
	3PL	tataštú	štataštú	natataštú

Table 29: Tense marking (indicative, imperfective)

First-person subjects in past and future tenses are marked with portmanteaux morphemes: *šak-* 'PAST:1SG.SUBJ' and *nạk-* 'FUTURE:1SG.SUBJ'. Additionally, the past prefix has allomorphs: /s-/ before /c/, and /k-/ before /s, š, ł/ (described in 2.4.3). The only other idiosyncrasies occur in the irrealis mood, and are discussed below.

5.2.2.3   Mood

Coahuitlán Totonac marks four moods: indicative, optative, potential, and irrealis. The indicative mood is used for factual statements, and expressed by a morphological zero (i.e., the absence of

other mood signifiers signifies indicative). The optative mood is expressed by the prefix *ka-*.

Optative mood is used with verbs to indicate desired states or outcomes (25)a and is the normal

way of expressing imperatives (25)b.

(25) a. *y cukuli̧ tą̄saní que katáxu:li̧ nakštampún šťą́qnu̧*
     y   cuku–li̧   tą̄saní   *que*   ka–taxu:–li̧   nak=š–tampun   š–tą̄qnu̧
     and   begin–PFV   call.sby   COMP   OPT–go.in–PFV   LOC=3PO–below   3PO–hat
     'and (the man) started calling to (the rabbit) that he should get under his hat'

<div align="right">Presto:14</div>

    b. *čo: tawaní pus la: kaxí:kwanti̧*
      čo: ta–waní   pus   la: ka–xi:kwan–ti̧
      PTCL   PL.SUBJ–say.to **INTJ**   NEG   OPT–be.afraid–PFV:2SG.SUBJ be
      'they said to him "don't be frightened" '

<div align="right">Tigrecito:21</div>

In a, the verb *katáxu:li̧* expresses the man's desired outcome: the man is a magician trying to get

his rabbit to come into his top hat to get ready for their magic trick. In b the verb with optative

mood does not express what the addressee is doing, but an action desired of the addressee.

Requests, directions, and commands are expressed using the optative mood, combined with

second person subject marking. The aspectual inflection of such expressions is predominantly

perfective.

     With plural first person subjects the optative mood expresses an exhortative 'let us'

(26).

(26) *lu: lá: ce: titaštučá kacą̄qsa:paɾáw*
    lu: la: ce: ti–taštu–Ø–ča?   ka–cą̄qsa:–paɾa–Ø–w
    very   NEG   good   POT–turn.out–PFV–DIST   OPT–try–RPT–PFV–1PL.SUBJ
    'his transformation didn't turn out very well, let's try again'

<div align="right">Zorillo:27</div>

In (58), a group of *naguals*, people who can use magic to transform themselves into animals, is

helping someone transform for his first time: instead of a jaguar, he turns into an opossum, but

the *naguals* say *kacą̄qsa:paɾáw* 'let's try again'.

The potential mood is marked by the prefix *ti-*. Potential mood shows unrealised states and events that are considered possible or likely; like the irrealis (see below), they are untrue at the time of reference, but differ in having the potential to be realised (27).

(27) a.   y tikí:te:lị̆ xo: peɾo pus la: u: *galleta*
          y   ti–ki:–te:–lị̆   xo: peɾo   pus   la: u: galleta
          and   POT–RT–take–PFV   **PTCL** but   well   NEG **DEM** cookie
          'he went to catch it, but it isn't a cookie'

                                                                           Ormie:45

      b.   la: ticạ:lá ạqmạqčo:nú:
          la: ti–cạ:la   ạq–mạq–čo:–nu:
          NEG   POT–flee   head–body–close–in
          'he isn't going to run away, he's closed inside and covered'

                                                                            Conejo:62

      c.   kwé sa ktiwayá:n
          kweɾsa   k–ti–wa–ya:–n
          it.must.be   1SG.SUBJ–POT–eat–IMPF–2OBJ
          'I've got to eat you'

                                                                           Conejo:141

Each of the examples in (27) deal with events that are not in fact happening: however, in each event, the unreal action is a real possibility: in (27)a. the character of the story is trying to catch a cookie out of a large number of falling objects: it very easily could have turned out that he did catch the cookie, but in fact he caught something else. In (27)b., a man and his friend the fox are discussing the rabbit, which the man has caught. The man tells the fox to watch the rabbit so it doesn't escape: the rabbit isn't running away, but he could easily escape. Of course, the rabbit does escape, and in (27)c. the fox catches him again, and explains he is so angry he must eat the rabbit. He hasn't yet, but the possibility is very real.

The irrealis mood has a more complicated paradigm:

		PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE
SUBJECT	1SG	ša̱ktitáštuli̱	ša̱ktáštuli̱	katitáštuli̱
	2SG	štitáštu̱	štáštu̱	katitáštu̱
	3SG	štitáštuli̱	štáštuli̱	katitáštuli̱
	1PL EXC	ša̱ktitaštúw	ša̱ktaštúw	katitaštúw
	1PL INC	štitaštúw	štaštúw	katitaštúw
	2PL	štitaštútit	štaštútit	katitaštútit
	3PL	štitatáštuli̱	štatáštuli̱	katitatáštuli̱

Table 30: Irrealis mood paradigm of taštú 'leave'

The essential pattern for the expression of irrealis mood is that the signifier is a phraseme: a non-compositional combination of other inflectional affixes (Beck & Mel'čuk 2011). In the past tense, the pattern is composed of signifiers for past tense, potential mood, and perfective aspect, for example, *štitáštuli̱* 'he could have left'. In the third person singular, this form uses past *š-*, potential *ti-*, and perfective *-li̱*. As we see in Table 30, the expression of perfective that goes into this phraseme follows the predictable rules of the perfective aspect in combination with person-morphology. Present tense irrealis is expressed by signifiers for past tense and perfective mood, and future tense irrealis uses signifiers for optative and potential moods and perfective aspect. Examples from the texts for each tense are given here: past (28)a, present (28)b, and future (28)c. The representation used here parses the affixes involved in marking irrealis mood, with an added subscript in the gloss to show the individual combining elements (see section 5B for a fuller discussion).

(28)   a. pero la: štilátit
       pero   la: š–ti–la–Ø–tit
       but   NEG   PAST:IRR_PAST–PAST:IRR_POT–do–PAST:IRR_PFV–2PL.SUBJ
       ' "but you couldn't have done so!" '

Tigrecito:38

       b. *porque* camá ščišit pał šmá:su̱:ł štama:pal̪áli̱
          porque   cama   š–čišit   pał   š–ma:su̱:–li̱
          porque   that   3PO–hair   if   PRS:IRR_PAST–show–PRS:IRR_PFV

             š–ta–ma:–pal̪á–li̱
             PRS:IRR_PAST–3PL.SUBJ–CS–change–PRS:IRR_PFV
       'because if he showed them the hide, they would transform it (and bring it back to life)'

Nagual and hunter:35

       c. katacéqa̱ katite:taštúqe̱:li̱ ta̱la:tna? mat wan
          ka–tace̱q–a̱   ka–ti–te:taštu–qe̱:–li̱   ta̱la:tna̱?
          OPT–hide–PFV:2SG.SUBJ   FUT:IRR_OPT–FUT:IRR_POT–pass.by–DEB–FUT:IRR_PFV   hunter
       'hide yourself so that the hunter will pass by'

Debedor:130

The use of this mood involves non-factual events that are not realisable at the time of reference.

Although there are numerous cases of present irrealis in the texts, c is the only past irrealis example I have, and future irrealis is also rare, although there are a handful of cases where it appears with the negative *la:*, to indicate negative future (29).

(29)   y čú:nca či̱škú̱? la: katílonqli̱
       y   ču:nca   či̱šku̱?   la: ka–ti–lonq–li̱
       and   thus   man   NEG   FUT:IRR_OPT–FUT:IRR_POT–be.cold–FUT:IRR_PFV
       'and so the man won't be cold'

In the Debedor text, irrealis mood is found in lines 77, 80, and 99 which is given above in (28)a. The other two examples, lines 77 and 80, show the irrealis used in requests.

5.2.3   Quasi-inflectional categories

Coahuitlán Totonac, as other Totonac languages, has a set of quasi-inflectional affixes. These affixes are similar to inflectional morphology in being highly frequent and combining freely with many verb stems, yet they do not express elements of obligatory categories. In some ways, they are also similar to derivational morphology in their diverse array of meanings, yet they do not

create new lexemes (Beck & Mel'čuk 2011). This section does not present an exhaustive list, but includes the most common quasi-inflectional affixes found in my collected texts. These include affixes with meanings of motion and direction (transitative, round trip, ambulative, distal, and proximal), mood-like meanings (desiderative and debitative), and aspect-like meanings (repititive, totalitive).

5.2.3.1   Transitative teː-

The prefix *teː-* 'in passing (TRANSIT)' frames the action of the verb as an interruption during a larger trip. This affix has been given various names in descriptions of Totonac languages, a problem compounded by semantic shift in its use across languages, but I have followed McQuown (1940:107) in calling it transitative.

(30)   laː wiš tiː teːwayaní̠ːta̠ ká̠ːta̠ca
        laː   wiš   tiː   teː–wayan–ni̠ːta̠   ka̠ːta̠=ca
        NEG you   HREL   TRANSIT–eat–PERF:2SG.SUBJ year=now
        'wasn't it you who came by to eat a year ago?'
                                                            Arriero:54

(31)   uː tiː teːwaní qáɬwat
        uː   tiː   teː–wa–ní   qaɬwat
        DEM HREL   TRANSIT–eat–BEN:IMPF egg
        'the one who passed by and ate an egg'
                                                      Arriero:112

This prefix occurs with various verbs in my text (e.g., *wayán* 'eat', *šo̠qó* 'pay somebody', *šte̠q-* 'leave something' and *a̠n* 'go'), and frequently with the verb *taštu* 'to leave' (32).

(32)   ma̠qtím *arriero* šteːtaštúma̠ː naka̠qtím ka̠ːčikín
        ma̠q–tim   arriero   š–teː–taštu–ma̠ː   nak=a̠q–tim   ka̠ːčikin
        CLF–one merchant PAST–TRANSIT–leave–PROG LOC=CLF–one village
        'once, a merchant was passing through a village'
                                                           Arriero:1

All of the examples in this section come from a story where a merchant passes through a village on his way to a larger town The larger journey is the background for a small misadventure that occurs as he stops along the way to try and get something to eat.

5.2.3.2   Round trip ki:-

The prefix *ki:-* 'round trip' adds a motion event to the verb: the subject travels to another place to perform the verb's action and then returns.

(33)   ki:pucapá: amali tu: nalaktayá
      ki:–puca–pa: amali   tu: na–laktayá
      RT–look.for–RPT:PFV   **PTCL**   NREL   FUT–stand:IMPF
      'he went again to look for something he could stand on'

                                                  Ormie:10

(34)   ́ali̱ plazanán ki:lakto:qǫ́:li̱
      a̱n–li̱   plazanan   ki:–lakto:–qǫ:–li
      go–PFV   market.square   RT–waste–TOT–PFV
      'he went to the square and wasted everything'

                                                  Debedor:46

(35)   ka̱:ki̱wín naki:wayán tastu̱nú:t
      ka̱:ki̱wi̱n   na–ki:–wayan   tastu̱nu:t
      forest   FUT–RT–eat   midday
      'he goes to have lunch at midday, up in the woods'

                                        Daily chores:25

This affix has also been called various names ("regressive" in McQuown 1940, "intentional" in MacKay 1999 "return" in Watters (1988) and "roundtrip" in Beck 2011). In this case, more recent authors seem to prefer Beck's "round trip" (Smythe-Kung 2007, McFarland 2009). The round trip affix occurs frequently with *te:* 'take' and *le̱:n* 'bring' for verbs of fetching, but is also commonly found on many other verbs.

5.2.3.3   Ambulative te:ła-

The suffix *te:ła-* 'ambulative' describes an action carried out while the subject moves along a path.

(36) ́ašni xo: qašmáta mako:nteɫá casánką

ą̊šni   xo: qašmat–a   mako:n–teɫá   casanką
when   **PTCL**   hear–IMPF   make.noise–AMB:IMPF   wild.boar

'When he heard a wild boar, coming along making a noise'

<div align="right">Nagual and hunter:2</div>

(37) tala:toqɫteɫá *porque* taxi:kwąšní:n

ta–la:–toqɫ–teɫá   porque   ta–xi:kwan–šni:n
3PL.SUBJ–RCP–push–AMB:IMPF   because   3PL.SUBJ–be.afraid–exceed

'they leave pushing each other because they were very afraid'

<div align="right">Pollito:42</div>

While the transitative affix is used to insert an action into a larger trip, the ambulative affix portrays an action carried out during motion. In each of these examples, the ambulative adds a description of motion along a path: in (36), a man is out hunting when he hears a boar heading along a path making noise. In (37), a group of animals pushes each other as they run from place to place in fear.

5.2.3.4   Distal -čaʔ

The distal suffix -*čaʔ* indicates the action takes place at a distance from the speaker.

(38) čo: minparačáʔ čú:nca lapá: waparaqó̠:lį

čo: mín–para–Ø–čaʔ   ču:nca   la–pa: wa–para–qo̠:–lį
PTCL   come–RPT–PFV–DIST   thus   do–RPT:PFV   eat–RPT–TOT–PFV

'and he came back there again, and so he did it again, he spent it all'

<div align="right">Debedor:66</div>

(39) xo: talakáspi̠tlį mat q́atą lú:wa can wilačáʔ

xo: ta–laka–spit–lį   mat   q́atą   lu:wa   can   wila=čaʔ
PTCL   DCS–face–turn–PFV   QUOT   big   snake   **IDPH**   sit=DIST

'and he turned his head around, a big snake was sitting there'

<div align="right">Pitón:9</div>

The distal marker has suppletive forms when it occurs with second-person subjects. In the singular, -*čiʔ*, as in (40).

(40) taštuya:číʔ
      taštu–ya:–číʔ
      leave–IMPF–DIST:2SG.SUBJ
      'you~SG~ leave from there'

This form is very similar to the proximal *-či* (see below), but are reliably differentiated by stress:

the final glottal stop makes this syllable heavy attracting word-final stress. For second-person

plural subjects, the distal takes the form *-čipi*, (41).

(41) taštuya:čipítit
      taštu–ya:–čipi–tit
      leave–IMPF–DIST:2PL.SUBJ–2PL.SUBJ
      'you~PL~ leave from there'

This form suggests a connection to the verb *čạ:n* 'arrive there'; *čạ:n* takes a suppletive form *čípi̠*

in the second-person singular subject.

5.2.3.5   Proximal -či
The proximal suffix *-či* indicates the action takes place in proximity to the speaker.

(42) ́ašni mat xo: taštúči šúlup lakat́aqa malákči̠
      ạšni   mat   xo: taštu–či   šulup   laka–tạq–a   malakči̠
      when   QUOT   PTCL   leave–PROX cockroach face–strike–IMPF door
      'and that's when the cockroach showed up and knocked on your door'
                                                                        Debedor:84

(43) xo: tayá:či čo: šti:lán, kḻạqmimá:n
      xo: taya:–či   čo: šti:lan   k–lạqmin–mạ:–n
      PTCL   stand.up–PROX   PTCL   hen   1SG.SUBJ–come.visit–PROG–2OBJ
      'and the chicken showed up and said hello (lit. "I come to you")'
                                                                        Debedor:100

Like the distal, the proximal marker has suppletive forms for second-person subjects. In the

singular, *-či̠*, as in (44).

(44) taštuyá:či̠
      taštu–ya:–či̠
      leave–IMPF–PROX:2SG.SUBJ
      'you~SG~ leave from there'

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The second-person plural takes the form -*čįtan*, (45)

(45)   taštuyaːčįtántit
        taštu–yaː–čįtan–tit
        leave–IMPF–PROX:2PL.SUBJ–2PL.SUBJ
        'you_PL leave from there'

This form suggests a connection to the verb *čįn* 'arrive here' which takes a suppletive form *čįtán*

in the second-person singular subject.

5.2.3.6   Desiderative -kutun

The desiderative suffix -*kutun* expresses the desire of the subject for the event expressed by the

verb to take place.

(46)   kạnkutun liːplazanan mat wan
        k–ạn–kutun   liːplazanan   mat   wan
        1SG.SUBJ–go–DSD market.square   QUOT   say
        ' "I want to go to the square" he says'

                                              Debedor:40

(47)   kinqọ́ːča mat tạːtoːlakutún mincųmạxáːt
        kin–qọːča mat   tạː–toːla–kutun   min–cųmạxaːt
        1PO–boy QUOT   COM–sit.down–DSD   2PO–girl
        'my son wants to marry your daughter'

                                      Muchacho flojo:19

In these examples, the verb marked with the desiderative describes a desired event: in (46),

Rabbit is looking for money because he wants to go shopping in the market; in (47), a young

man wants to marry and has sent his mother to speak with the girl's parents.

5.2.3.7   Debitative -qẹː

The debitative suffix -*qẹ̃ː* indicates the subject has a need or obligation to conduct the action of

the verb.

(48) qałiqé: ciná: mat wan
      qałí–qȩ:   cina: mat   wan
      wait–DEB   small   QUOT   say
      ' "you need to wait a moment" he said '

<div align="right">Debedor:11199</div>

In (48) the meaning is very similar to an imperative. The debitative occurs frequently with the optative mood.

(49) *amigo* katacȩqé: nakštampin ca̧ma a̧qayúxnu̧
      amigo   ka–tacȩq–qȩ:   nak=š–tampin   ca̧ma   a̧qayuxnu̧
      friend   OPT–hide–DEB   LOC=3PO–bottom   **DEM**   fallen.leaves
      'friend, hide yourself underneath the branches'

<div align="right">Debedor:96</div>

(50) wiš či̧šku̧ʔ katan̯qé: wani–kan […] katát
      wiš   či̧šku̧ʔ   ka–ta̧n–qȩ:   wan–ni–kan   ka–ta̧t
      you   man   OPT–go:2SG.SUBJ–DEB   say–BEN–INDEF   OPT–go:2SG.SUBJ:PFV
      ' "you, man, come!" they said "come!" '

<div align="right">Arriero:53</div>

In (50) a merchant is summoned twice, once with and once without the debitive. In some cases, the debitative is used to add emphasis (51).

(51)   a.   kto:qȩní: pu‍ro la:na cáqca
              k–to:–qȩ:–ni: pu‍ro   la:na   ca̧qca
              1SG.SUBJ–do–DEB–PERF   but   not.yet   *elote*
              'of course I did (plant) it, but the corn isn't ready to eat yet'

<div align="right">Debedor:74</div>

    b.   a̧šni mat sqó̧qali̧ pus maqka̧cí:qe:li̧ xo: šmáqni
              a̧šni   mat   sqo̧qa–li̧   pus   maqka̧ci:–qe:–li̧   xo: š–maqni
              when   QUOT   hug–PFV   well   feel–DEB–PFV   **PTCL**   3PO–body
              'then (the ghost) embraced him, and he really felt its body'

<div align="right">Llorona:18</div>

In these two examples, the debitative is used to reinforce assertions made: in (51)a, Rabbit, a trickster, claims that he has planted corn though he hasn't. In (51)b, the assertion is that a young man truly felt the ghost's embrace.

5.2.3.8 Repetitive -paɾa
The repetitive suffix -paɾa indicates that an action is repeated.

(52)   pus na̡klakatu̡ksparayáːn aːma̡qátu
         pus   na̡k–laka–tu̡ks–para–yaː–n   aː–ma̡qa–tu
         well   FUT:1SG.SUBJ–face–hit–RPT–IMPF–2OBJ   ADD–hand–other.part
         'well, I'll hit you in the face again, with my other hand'

<div align="right">Conejo:31</div>

When the repetitive affix immediately precedes perfective -li̡, both perfective and repetitive are

marked by a truncated portmanteau allomorph -paː (53).

(53)   maški̡ːpáː
         maški̡ː–paː
         give–RPT:PFV
         'he/she returned it to sby'

The same truncation process occurs with verbs inflected for progressive aspect; I treat the

form -ma̡ːpaː as a portmanteau 'PROG:RPT' (54).[37]

(54)   šteːtaštuma̡ːpá
         š–teː–taštu–ma̡ːpaː
         PAST–TRANSIT–leave–PROG:RPT
         'he was passing by (the same village) again'

<div align="right">Arriero:49</div>

The use of the truncated form of -paɾa here is likely due to the historical use of perfective

marking on stative verbs; the progressive construction originating from the stative verb ma̡ː 'be

lying' (5.2.2).

5.2.3.9 Totalitative/terminative -qo̡ː
The suffix -qo̡ː gives a meaning of 'all; completely' that refers to the verb or its arguments.

Referring to verbs, -qo̡ː has two meanings: it may add a terminative aspectual meaning to verbs,

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[37] This parallels the glossing of indefinite subject agreement, which undergoes a similar truncation in contact with perfective -li̡ (for indefinite subjects, see Beck 2011).

i.e., the action of the verb is complete (55), or *-qo̧:* may act more like an intensifier, expressing that the action is done exhaustively or thoroughly (56).

(55) maksį́tqo̧:lị, cukulị lakčụkú, *cuando̧*šni lakčụkúqo̧:lị *papas*, ki:té:lị k*sarten*
      mak–sit–qo̧:–lị   cuku-lị   lak-čụkú   *cuando*+a̧šni   lak–čụkụ–qo̧:–lị
      body–peel–TOT–PFV   begin–PFV DTB–slice:IMPF   when+when   DTB–slice–TOT–PFV

      papas   ki:–te:–lị   k–*sarten*
      potatoes   RT–take–PFV   3PO–pan
      'he finished peeling, he started to slice them, and when he finishes slicing them, he goes to get the pan'

(56) a. qałštuqo̧:lị šlí:kụnị
          k–qał–štu–qo̧:–lị   š–li:–kụn–nị
          1SG.SUBJ–mouth–out–TOT–PFV   3PO–GNC–swell–NOM
          'I pulled it (the snake) all the way out by its thick middle (*lit. thickness*)'
                                                                              Serpiente:39
      b. λinkłλinkł ka̧ká̧: nakša̧qša:q xo: ni:qǫ́:lị
          λinkłλinkł   k–a̧k–ka̧:   nak=š–a̧qša:q   xo: ni:–qo̧:–lị
          IDPH   1SG.SUBJ–head–chop   LOC=3PO–head   **PTCL**   die–TOT–PFV
          'and I hit him on the head and he died completely'
                                                                              Serpiente:40

In (55), *-qo̧:* is used to keep track of where the subject is as he advances through a series of actions. Compare the examples in (56) where the action of the verb is carried out to completion. This example comes from a first-hand acount of a very quotidian encounter with a snake: my consultant comes across a snake and tries to kill it. The snake hides in a hole, where my consultant stabbed at it several times with a sharpened stick. Finally, in a., a forked branch is used to pull the snake all the way out of the hole. In b., the snake has already been stabbed, but just in case, the machete is used to finish killing the snake.

When *-qo̧:* refers to the arguments, it gives a totalitative reading: 'all of' the subject or object. Typically *-qo̧:* refers to the subject of intransitive verbs (57) and the object of transitive verbs (58).

(57) a. tatamakpu̲lúqo̲:li šmakčíšit
        ta–ta–mak–pułu–qo̲:–li̲   š–makčišit
        3PL.SUBJ–DCS–body–pluck–TOT–PFV   3PO–feather
        'all of the (little birds') feathers were plucked out'

<div align="right">For the birds:25</div>

    b. ta̲:wama̲:qó̲: *carros*
        ta̲:wan–ma̲:–qo̲:   *carros*
        walk.around–PROG–TOT   cars
        'all the cars are driving around'

<div align="right">Out of sight:53</div>

The verb in (57)a is intransitive: *tamakpu̲lú* 'fall out, be plucked out (feathers)'; with the subject being *šmakčíšit* 'their feathers'.

(58) a. a̲qapú:n laktiná ta̲:ktáma̲: nakinka̲:qta̲la̲qo̲:yán
        a̲qapu:n laktina: ta̲:kta–ma̲:   na–kin–ka̲:–a̲q–ta̲la̲–qo̲:–ya̲:–n
        sky   little.bit go.down–PROG   FUT–1OBJ–PL.OBJ–head–strike–TOT–IMPF–2OBJ
        'the sky is falling bit by bit, it's going to hit all of us in the head'

<div align="right">Pollito:43</div>

    b. naka:ma̲qni:qó̲: tantím tantím
        na–ka:–ma̲qni:–qó̲:   tan–tim   tan–tim
        FUT–PL.OBJ–kill–TOT:IMPF   **CLF**–one   **CLF**–one
        'I'm going to kill them all one by one'

<div align="right">Pollito:58</div>

In (58)a, the verb *a̲qta̲lá̲* 'strike the top or head' takes a first-person plural object (marked non-compositionally by 1OBJ, PL.OBJ, and 2OBJ). The story, a version of Chicken Little, describes a group of animals going around a farm warning everyone that the sky will soon collapse: a peril the whole group shares. In (58)b, the group of animals has reached the fox, who in this version tries to take advantage of their fears to kill them all and eat them.

5B   Representing inflectional morphology

Representation of Coahuitlán Totonac's inflectional morphology involves three areas of special concern: non-segmental morphology, morphological zeroes, and morphological idioms. Non-segmental morphology refers to processes where meaning is expressed by modifications to the stem. Because interlinear glossing generally relies on separating meaningful elements, the representation of non-segmental morphology is a challenge without strings of segments to parse. Morphological zeroes are used when the absence of an overt morphological signifier of an obligatory category signifies a value of that category; by definition this gives nothing to parse in the representation. Finally, morphological idioms (also called morphophrasemes) describe a number of forms where a series of affixes form a pattern and together take a non-compositional meaning, paralleling the construction of lexical idioms. Because the meaning of an idiom is non-compositional, these represent a challenge to interlinear representation where compositionality is assumed.

5.3   Non-segmental morphology

An important goal of interlinear glossing is showing how meaning is expressed in a language by dividing utterances into words and words into smaller meaningful elements, which are formally separated by hyphens (cf. Leipzig glossing rule 2; n.b. I use n-dash instead of hyphen in examples for greater legibility). Interlinear glosing is particularly suited to concatenative morphology; however, non-segmental morphology poses a challenge to this representation as meaning is encoded in phonological alternations. I describe two non-segmental processes in Coahuitlán Totonac: in accentual apophony, imperfective aspect is expressed by a departure from lexical stress to the final-stress pattern; in laryngeal apophony, the final vowel of the stem is both shortened and laryngealised–this change signifies agreement with a second-person subject.

One convention used to represent non-segmental morphology is to parse the form undergoing alternation as a portmanteau.[38] Mel'čuk defines a portmanteau as a sign which is semantically decomposable but formally indecomposable (2006:24); an example is the prefix *šak̯-* (59).

(59) šak̯aní:
      šak̯–an̯–ni̯:
      PAST:1SG.SUBJ–go–PERF
      'I had gone'

The prefix *šak̯-* is the signifier for both past tense and singular first-person subject agreement. Non-segmental morphology can be represented in the same way (60).

(60) kpucá
      k–pucá
      1SG.SUBJ–look.for:IMPF
      'I look for it'

This example shows accentual apophony: the form *pucá* shows a departure from the default lexical stress pattern where a short final vowel should indicate penultimate stress. Following the definition of apophony—a sign whose signifier is an alternation—from Mel'čuk (2006:24, 304), the alternation from the expected stress to final stress is the expression of imperfective aspect. The form *pucá* can be considered a portmanteau combining the lexical meaning 'look for' with the imperfective aspect and thus be parsed 'look.for:IMPF'. Mel'čuk in fact divides portmanteaux (using his prefered term "megamorph") into strong and weak (2006:401); the strong corresponds to the usual usage of portmanteau and the example in (59), where several categories are expressed in one sign. The weak refers to a non-elementary sign that can be represented in terms

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[38] Non-segmental morphology is not explicitly discussed in the Leipzig glossing rules; it falls generally under their rule 4 on one-to-many correspondences; Lehmann (2004) includes apophony in a group of "other morphological processes" and uses the backslash sign < \ > to indicate a separate kind of morphological process.

of other elementary signs but is linearly indivisible, as with apophony. This definition, showing a similarity between portmanteau and apophony, indirectly supports the representation of these two situations with the same convention.

  While the convention described above is used throughout this dissertation, I wanted to expand the representation of non-segmental morphology for the two inflectional processes discussed in this chapter. My goal is to include the nature of the alternation in the representation and to make clear what change from the underlying form of the stem expresses the meaning. To represent this alternation in the interlinear gloss, I use one aspect of Mel'čuk's notation of apophony (2006:24, 304). Embedded within his notation of the linguistic sign, Mel'čuk uses a double arrow < ⇒ > to show phonological alternations, as in *foot ~ feet* /u/ ⇒ /i/. For accentual apophony, the representation of stress is somewhat reminiscent of the notation used for metrical scansion: lines depict syllables < _ >, and a graphical accent is placed over the line for stressed syllables < _́ >; the hashtag < # > is used to designate word boundaries, as is familiar from phonology. This can be seen in his description of a process in Tagalog, where an alternation between penultimate and final stress is the signifer of 'passive' adjective formation [sic]: the noun *ínit* 'heat' becomes the adjective *inít* 'heated'. The process is given in this notation as: / _́ _ /# ⇒ / _ _́ /#. I have adapted this notation for my interlinear gloss: in the parse, the alternation is given with this notation, appended to the stem with a backslash < \ >; the gloss is likewise offset with a backslash to distinguish it from the n-dash of morpheme boundaries. For accentual apophony, instead of a line < _ >, I use < x > for greater clarity in the gloss (61).

(61) kpucá
      k–puca\xx#⇒xx#
      1SG.SUBJ–look.for\IMPF
      'I look for it'

The process of accentual apophony is thus represented: xx#⇒xx# 'imperfective'. Although it is possible to describe the stress patterns of the other aspects with this notation (i.e., xxx#⇒xxx# 'perfective'; xx⇒xx 'progressive'), I have not included these in the interlinear gloss for the simple reason that the alternation of stress is only part of the expression in perfective and progressive, while it is the sole expression of imperfective.

In Mel'čuk's example of accentual apophony, the alternation is described with the stress pattern shown before and after the alternation; in my parse, I have opted to show stress only in the result of the alternation (i.e., xx#⇒xx# instead of xx#⇒xx#). This is primarily because I consider stress assignment to take place after morphological processes; it is the weight of the final syllable of the morphologically complete word that receives lexical stress. Further, although the perfective aspect is accompanied by a pattern of antepenultimate stress, monosyllabic stems, once they have been inflected with -lị̦ 'perfective', become two-syllable words and take penultimate stress: túkslị̦ 'he or she hit it'. The addition of prefixes may provide an additional syllable and allow antepenultimate stress: tátụkslị̦ 'they hit hit', kíłtụkslị̦ 'he or she hit it in the mouth'. A further consideration for showing stress in the result of the alternation is the expression of imperfective aspect on verb stems that, unlike *puca* 'look for', end in a heavy syllable. These verbs, for example *mạqni:* 'kill' and *lạqcin* 'see', would take lexical stress on the final heavy syllable; nonetheless, I have chosen to treat the imperfective accentual apophony in the same way for these stems (62).

(62) kḷ̥ąqcín   kmąqní:
      k–lḁqcin\xx#⇒xx#   k–mąqni:\xx#⇒xx#
      1SG.SUBJ–see\IMPF   1SG.SUBJ–kill\IMPF
      'I see it'   'I kill it'

Considering stress to be assigned after morphological processes, I treat the signifier of these

words the same as for stems with a light final syllable, and regard it as a coincidence that regular

phonological stress-assignment rules would stress these forms the same way. An alternative

treatment would be to consider imperfective to be expressed with a zero sign for heavy final-

syllable verb stems.

One further benefit of this notation is that it clearly shows that accentual apophony is an

independent process applied to the right edge of the word (63).

(63) a.   waní
            wan–ni\xx#⇒xx#
            say–BEN\IMPF
            'he or she speaks to someone'
      b.   pu:npaɾá
            pu:n–paɾa\xx#⇒xx#
            think–RPT\IMPF
            'he thinks again'
      c.   kạnkutún
            k–ạn–kutun\xx#⇒xx#
            1SG.SUBJ–go–DSD\IMPF
            'I want to go'

In these cases, glossing the final morpheme of the word as a portmanteau (i.e., BEN:IMPF,

RPT:IMPF, DSD:IMPF) could give the impression that the form of the morpheme given is involved

with the expression of imperfect aspect (cf. the set of portmanteau that express perfective aspect:

-nḭ 'PFV:2OBJ', *-tḭ* 'PFV:2SG.SUBJ', *-wḭ* 'PFV:2SG.SUBJ', *-kạ* 'PFV:INDEF', etc.). The notation used in

this chapter acheives greater clarity by clearly showing the nature of the alternation, and

separating the process from whichever morpheme happens to be rightmost in the word.

The flexibility of this notation is also quite suitable for laryngeal apophony; especially because the alternation here includes vowel shortening, and not simply laryngeal phonation (64).

(64) a. púca̱
          puca\a⇒a̱
          look.for\PFV:2SG.SUBJ
          'you looked for it'
      b. kawáni̱ minqó̱:ča
          ka–wan–ni\i⇒i̱   min–qo̱:ča
          OPT–say–BEN\PFV:2SG.SUBJ   2PO–boy
          'go tell your son'

<div align="right">Muchacho flojo:34</div>

      c. máqni̱   (cf. ma̱qní: 'he/she kills (someone)')
          ma̱qni:\i:⇒i̱
          kill\PFV:2SG.SUBJ
          'he/she killed (someone)'

In these examples, the alternation of modal to laryngeal (a and b), and long modal to short laryngeal (in c) are clearly represented.

5.4 Zero exponence

The term "morphological zero" or "zero sign" describes a linguistic sign whose signifier is empty. Mel'čuk describes them as meaningful absences: "it is in fact the ABSENCE of an overt signifier in a position where a signifier of a particular inflectional category is otherwise expected" (2006:469). Given the potential power of zeroes as a theoretical tool, the need for caution is well known. Mel'čuk restricts zeroes to obligatory inflectional categories by definition, and further suggests three conditions to ensure zero is used as a genuine linguistic sign: expressiveness (zero must carry meaning), exclusiveness (zero must be the only possible signifier), and contrastiveness (zeroes must be contrastive with non-zero signs in their category). Accordingly, morphological zeroes are used when the absence of an overt morphological signifier of an obligatory category signifies a value of that category (65).

(65) a. kpucayá:n
            k–puca–ya:–n
            1SG.SUBJ–look.for–IMPF–2OBJ
            'I look for you'
      b.   kpucán
            k–puca–Ø–n
            1SG.SUBJ–look.for–PFV–2OBJ
            'I looked for you'

In *kpucayá:n* 'I look for you', imperfective aspect is expressed with the suffix *-ya:*. In *kpucán* 'I looked for you', there is no overt expression of aspect. Because aspect is an obligatory category, the very absence of overt expression is meaningful: the signifier of perfective aspect is zero. Morphological zeroes are part of the inflection of agreement, tense, mood, and aspect in Coahuitlán Totonac; no zeroes appear for non-obligatory derivational or quasi-inflectional categories.

In terms of representation, zeroes present a difficulty somewhat like non-segmental morphology where there is no string of segments to parse and gloss; however, the symbol <Ø> is widely used to represent morphological zeroes, as above in (65). Placing morphological zeroes in the parse does necessitate some discussion as to ordering of affixes. Affix ordering in Totonac languages has received some attention, particularly an article on the variable ordering of affixes in Upper Necaxa Totonac (Beck 2008). Table 31 gives a quick overview of inflectional and quasi-inflectional affixes for Coahuitlán Totonac (cf. Figure 1 in Beck 2008).

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0
I							QI	
FUT PAST OPT	1SG.SUBJ	1OBJ	POT	PL.OBJ	3PL.SUBJ	RCP	RT TRANSIT	**STEM**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
QI				I		QI		I	QI	I	
AMB	**RPT**	DSD DEB	**TOT**	PERF IMPF PROG	ST.PL	**RPT**	**TOT**	INDEF	DIST PROX	1PL.SUBJ 2SG.SUBJ 2PL.SUBJ 2OBJ	PFV

Table 31: Affixal template for inflection (I) and quasi-inflection (QI)

These affixes and their relative ordering are fairly similar to Upper Necaxa Totonac (and across the family). The order is given in positions numbered from the stem outwards, with negative values indicating prefixes and positive values indicating suffixes. These positions are given as a convenient way to discuss the relative ordering of affixes; affixes given in bold indicate morphemes which may occur in either position, as in (66).

(66)   a.   talakčo:qọ:nị́: ma:lákčị̱
              talakčo:–qọ:–nị: ma:lakčị̱
              close–TOT–PERF   door
              'the door had been shut tight'
       b.   li:wána makča:nị̱:qọ:kán
              li:wana   makča:–nị̱:–qọ:–kan
              well   cook–PERF–TOT–INDEF
              'they had cooked this one really well'

Tigrecito:17

The totalitative -*qọ:* can appear in position 4 or 8; in these examples, it is shown on either side of the perfect -*nị:* in position 5.

Part of the convention used for zero signs is to place the zero in the same position as its analogical non-zero counterparts; for tense and mood, this is fairly straightforward: past and future tense are marked with prefixes in the rightmost position -8; it is here that I place present tense as well (67).

(67)　　a.　　špucá
　　　　　　　š–pucá
　　　　　　　PAST–pucá:IMPF
　　　　　　　'she or he looked for it'

　　　　b.　　pucá
　　　　　　　Ø–pucá
　　　　　　　PRS–pucá:IMPF
　　　　　　　'she or he looks for it'

　　　　c.　　napucá
　　　　　　　na–pucá
　　　　　　　FUT–pucá:IMPF
　　　　　　　'she or he will look for it'

This follows the convention of placing zeroes with their non-zero counterparts, and feels very natural. Setting aside the phrasemic expression of the irrealis (see below), the expression of mood is slightly more distributed in the template. The optative *ka-* occurs in position -8 and the potential *ti-* occurs in position -5; I place the zero for indicative mood in this same position (68).

(68)　　a.　　pucá
　　　　　　　Ø–Ø–pucá
　　　　　　　PRS–IND–pucá:IMPF
　　　　　　　'she or he looks for it'

　　　　b.　　tipucá
　　　　　　　Ø–ti–pucá
　　　　　　　PRS–POT–pucá:IMPF
　　　　　　　'she or he can look for it'

Verbs in the optative mood do not express tense so the optative prefix *ka-* never co-occurs with tense affixes (cf. Table 16); however, verbs in both indicative and potential mood do express tense, so the zero for indicative mood fits better in position -5 with the potential.

　　　　Aspect presents a slightly more challenging problem. Perfective aspect is expressed by a zero in several class 1 word forms where the suffix *-lị* is truncated, as in (65) above where the form *kpucán* 'I looked for you' has no overt expression of aspect. The perfective suffix *-lị* occupies position 12, the rightmost position in the Coahuitlán Totonac verb; however, I have chosen to place the perfective zero sign in position 5 with the other aspectual suffixes (69).

(69) a. **Perfective**
          kpucán
          k–puca–Ø–n
          1SG.SUBJ–look.for–PFV–2OBJ
          'I looked for you'
      b. **Imperfective**
          kpucayá:n
          k–puca–ya:–n
          1SG.SUBJ–look.for–IMPF–2OBJ
          'I look for you'
      c. **Progressive**
          kpucamá:n
          k–puca–ma̱:–n
          1SG.SUBJ–look.for–PROG–2OBJ
          'I look for you'
      d. **Perfect**
          kpucani̱:tán
          k–puca–ni̱:ta–n
          1SG.SUBJ–look.for–PERF–2OBJ
          'I look for you'

Although ultimately perhaps a matter of preference, I have two motivations for this choice: the first has to do with the placement of all non-perfective aspects in position 5. Given the definition of zero as a meaningful absence, in *kpucán* it is the lack of any morph in position 5 that expresses the perfective aspect, and the placement of the perfective zero in position 5 adds this contrast to the representation. The second motivation has to do with the representation of juncture phenomena. Juncture phenomena take place on the right edge of words, and so they appear in the parse and gloss (3A). When perfective aspect is zero marked, placing the zero in position 12 results in juncture phenomena being marked inside the string of affixes; placing this zero in position 5 with the other aspectual markers avoids this (70).

(70)   a.   **Position 12**
           tanu:čá nakɫų́kų
           tanu:–čá–Ø   nak=ɫu̜ku̜≡₀
           go.in–DIST:JNC–PFV   LOC=cave ≡JNC
           'he went into his cave'
       b.   **Position 5**
           tanu:čá nakɫų́kų
           tanu:–Ø–čá   nak=ɫu̜ku̜≡₀
           go.in–PFV–DIST:JNC   LOC=cave ≡JNC
           'he went into his cave'

In this example, the two options are shown: my choice to place the perfective zero in position 5 avoids embedding the juncture phenomenon and shows a contrast with the imperfective form of this verb (*tanu:ya:čá*).

The placement of zero signs that mark agreement also presents a challenge, due to the complex expression of agreement of person and number with both subject and object. There are three zero signs involved: third-person singular subjects, third-person object, and singular object. Taking subject agreement first, I have placed third-person singular subject agreement in slot -3 with the third-person plural subject (71).

(71)   a.   tataštú
           ta–taštú
           3PL.SUBJ–leave:IMPF
           'they leave'
       b.   taštú
           Ø–taštú
           3SG.SUBJ–leave:IMPF
           'he or she left'

These examples show the parralel between over *ta-* 'third-person plural subject' and zero *Ø-* 'third-person singular subject' with an intransitive verb, *taštú* 'leave'. For transitive verbs, object agreement is also inflectional, but the expression of number and person argeement is separate (72).

(72) a. ka:tapucayá:n
          ka:–ta–puca–ya:–n
          PL.OBJ–3PL.SUBJ–look.for–IMPF–2OBJ
          'they look for you~PL~'
      b. tapucayá:n
          Ø–ta–puca–ya:–n
          SG.OBJ–3PL.SUBJ–look.for–IMPF–2OBJ
          'they look for you'

In (72)a the prefix *ka:-* expresses number agreement with a plural object, independently of person agreement which is expressed with *-n* 'second-person object' in both examples (cf. 5.2.1). Single object agreement is expressed with a zero, which I have placed in position -4 alongside plural object agreement. I chose to place the third-person object agreement zero sign in position -6 with the first-person prefix (73).

(73) kpucá
      k–Ø–Ø–pucá
      1SG.SUBJ–3.OBJ–SG.OBJ–look.for:IMPF
      'I look for him or her'

First- and second-person object markers appear in very different positions: first-person *kin-* is a prefix in position -6 while second-person *n-* a suffix in position 12; however, there is little to motivate a choice between these positions, so my decision was somewhat arbitrary.

The affixal template is given again in Table 32 with the inclusion of categories marked with a zero exponent.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0
				I			QI	
FUT PAST OPT *PRS*	1SG.SUBJ	1OBJ *3OBJ*	POT *IND*	PL.OBJ *SG.OBJ*	3PL.SUBJ *3SG.SUBJ*	RCP	RT TRANSIT	**STEM**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	QI				I		QI		I	QI	I
AMB	**RPT**	DSD DEB	**TOT**	PERF IMPF PROG *PFV*	ST.PL	**RPT**	**TOT**	INDEF	DIST PROX	1PL.SUBJ 2SG.SUBJ 2PL.SUBJ 2OBJ	PFV

Table 32: Affixal template for inflection (I) and quasi-inflection (QI) including zero signs

Bold again indicates the possibility of variable ordering, while categories marked with a zero exponent are given in italics. Although zero signs are commonly left out of transcriptions to reduce visual clutter (a practice I follow in the other chapters of this dissertation), with the focus on inflectional morphology, there is a clear benefit to carefully transcribing zeroes to fully elucidate the analysis.

5.5   Morphological idioms

Morphological phrasemes or idioms are constructions where meaning is expressed by non-compositional, idiomatic combinations of affixes and other morphological signifiers (Beck & Mel'čuk 2011). Coahuitlán Totonac has a number of inflectional forms in the categories of mood and agreement that show this kind of non-compositional morphology (74).

(74)   šĺaqcilị̌
         š–lạqcin–lị̌
         PRS:IRR–see–PRS:IRR
         'he would have seen it; (if) he'd seen it'

The verb *lạqcín* 'see' is inflected in (74) for present tense and irrealis mood; the expression of these categories is signified by a non-compositional construction consisting of two affixes: *š-* 'past' and *-lị̌* 'perfective'. Beck & Mel'čuk, in their paper on morphological phrasemes, take care

to point out parallels to phrasal idioms (phrasemes): in multi-word phrases, words with individual meanings can combine to express a meaning different from the sum of these individual meanings. For example, *kick*, *the*, and *bucket* are English words; however, the phraseme *kick the bucket* means 'to die', a meaning which is not deducible from the individual meaning of each word. Morphological phrasemes are likewise non-compositional: morphemes in such a construction lose their individual meanings and collectively express a meaning that does not come from the sum of its parts (2011:177). The past *š*- and the perfective *-lį* do not express past perfective in (74); in fact, Coahuitlán Totonac verbs do not inflect for past tense in the perfective aspect (cf. Table 16). Instead, they are components of a construction that expresses the non-compositional meaning of present irrealis.

Representing non-compositional patterns in interlinear glossing presents a challenge because an idiom can be represented in two ways: the meaning of the idiom can be glossed, 'present irrealis' as in (74), or the individual signifiers which collectively express that meaning: 'past' + 'perfective'. Beck & Mel'čuk advocate for recognition of morphological phrasemes, and suggest glossing the combined meaning more clearly represents these constructions. This recommendation is in the context of a strong tendency they recognise in the literature of language documentation to "treat each recognizable portion of a word form as a sign and gloss it according to its inherrent meaning" with the resulting representation focused more on etymology than synchronic processes (2011:204). However, there are reasons in favour of either choice. Focus on the meaning is probably most helpful to the reader in most cases: it gives greater clarity, and is more focused on synchronic morphology. Focus on the individual signifiers will obviously be of interest if we are considering diachronic morphology. Beck & Mel'čuk (2011:225, footnote 27) also note that for inflectional idioms, glossing the individual signifiers

represents a considerable formal economy. In the case of their discussion of Upper Necaxa Totonac (which in this respect is like Coahuitlán Totonac), the expression of perfective aspect is complex, and the full range of morphophonological and morphological expression is duplicated in present irrealis. Representing the individual signifiers of past and perfective can be beneficial because it allows the reader to recognise how these categories are expressed. Finally, it is worth mentioning that representing the individual signifiers in the interlinear gloss follows the pattern of putting the most basic sense of a word in the gloss, and allowing the translation line to show the meaning (cf. Lehmann 2004, rule 8).

Holden (2009:5) gives an excellent discussion of this problem for Athabaskan languages, noting that current practice tends towards "breaking polysynthetic wordforms into the smallest identifiable bits", as described in Beck & Mel'čuk (2011). This tendency leads to a confusing variety of glossing, with wide differences in how far wordforms are broken down and glossed, "depending on the analyst's knowledge of and interest in etymologies". Holden's approach is fully realised in a collection of Dene Sųłiné texts (2013). This approach balances the representation of meaning and signifiers, beginning with a distinction between discontinuous stems and morphological idioms. Discontinuous stems in Dene Sųłiné are verb stems that consist of two or more strings of segments which do not occur immediately beside each other in an inflected verb form: for example, the discontinuous stem *ha+hone+łten* 'teach' (imperfective) appears inflected as *hasųnełten* 'she or he taught me' (2012:449 example 8). Although certain parts of a discontinuous stem may represent the kind of "smaller identifiable bits" mentioned above, they are synchronically monomorphemic, and the components "are not considered here as units of analysis in modern Dene because they do not exist independently of each other with a stable meaning. They must therefore be considered stem elements rather than prefixes and

independent stems." (2012:448). Morphological idioms, on the other hand, "appear to be linearly divisible, although their meanings are unpredictable." (2012:444). Holden introduces a convention in his glossing of using italics to represent learned parts of verb forms: unanalyzable verb stems and morphological idioms. Discontinuous stems are thus italicised (75).

(75) hasu̧nełten
    ha–se–*hone*–Ø–*ł•ten*
    teach–1OB–*teach*–3.IPFV–*teach*:IPFV
    's/he taught me'

<div align="right">Example 8 from Holden 2013</div>

Each part of *ha+hone+łten* is glossed 'teach', and parse and gloss are italicised. To further distinguish discontinous stems, each part is also underlined. Morphological idioms likewise appear in italics, but Holden parses them in the interlinear gloss.

(76) honek'áth
    ho–ne–Ø–*k'áth*
    AR–NCN–3.IPFV–*be.cold*
    'it [area] is cold'

<div align="right">Example 5 from Holden 2013</div>

(77) hoba
    ho–Ø–*ba*
    AR–3.IPFV–*be.grey*
    'it is barely light outside', lit. "it [area] is grey"

<div align="right">Example 6 from Holden 2013</div>

Examples (76) and (77) both show the prefix *ho-* 'areal', used to express the subject in impersonal expressions describing a situation or place. In (76), this is an inflectional affix, but in (77) it is part of a morphological idiom with ba 'be.grey'. By parsing and glossing ho+ba with italics, this representation shows the individual parts, but signals that they are part of a learned or idiomatic expression.

    My goal for the representation of morphological idioms is to make clear both the elements involved and the non-compositional meaning of the construction as a whole.

Accordingly, individual components of phrasemic expressions are separated in the parse line, each is glossed with the meaning of the whole construction. The literal or individual meaning of each component is indicated in subscript alongside the gloss (78).

(78) šĺaqcilị
      š–lạqcin–lị
      PRS:IRR$_{PAST}$–see–PRS:IRR$_{PFV}$
      'he would have seen it; (if) he'd seen it'

The present irrealis is expressed by the combined expression of past and perfective. In this representation, the non-compositional meaning of present irrealis appears in the gloss; the components of this expression (past prefix *š-* and perfective suffix *-lị*) are parsed and indicated in a subscript.

Irrealis mood is likewise expressed by a morphological idiom in past and future tense (79).

(79) a. **Past Irrealis**
          štiĺaqcilị
          š–ti–lạqci–lị
          PAST:IRR$_{PAST}$–PAST:IRR$_{POT}$–see–PAST:IRR$_{PFV}$
          'he would have seen it; (if) he'd have seen it'
      b. **Future Irrealis**
          katiĺaqcilị
          ka–ti–lạqci–li
          FUT:IRR$_{OPT}$–FUT:IRR$_{POT}$–see–FUT:IRR$_{PFV}$
          'he would have seen it; (if) he'll have seen it'

Irrealis in each tense uses signifiers of perfective aspect; past irrealis adds past tense and potential mood, while future irrealis adds optative and potential mood.

As noted above, morphological idioms express meaning by an idiomatic combination of signifiers. This means that all of the allomorphs of the perfective and all of the portmanteaus that include it can be part of these idioms, in the appropriate contexts (80).

(80)　a.　peɾo ti: šaklą̣qąnpá:

　　　　peɾo　　ti:　　šak–lą̣qąn–pa:
　　　　but　　HREL　PRS:IRR_PAST:1SG.SUBJ–go.visit–RPT:PRS:IRR_PFV
　　　　' "now who could I go see?" '

<div align="right">Debedor:48</div>

　　　b.　peɾo la: štila:tít

　　　　peɾo　　la:　　š–ti–la–Ø–tit
　　　　but　　NEG　PAST:IRR_PAST–PAST:IRR_POT–do–PAST:IRR_PFV–2PL.SUBJ
　　　　' "but you couldn't have done so!" '

<div align="right">Tigrecito:38</div>

Each of these examples gives a verb form inflected for irrealis mood. In (80)a, present irralis is expressed on *lą̣qąn* 'go visit' with past and perfective: both of these categories are expressed with portmanteaux: the signifier for past is *šak-* 'past and first-person singular subject', while the signifier for perfective aspect is *-pa:* 'repetitive and perfective'. In (80)b, future irrealis is expressed on *la* 'do' with the past prefix *š-* and a zero sign for perfective.

　　　The other morphological idioms in Coahuitlán Totonac involve three agreement forms: the first is first-person plural exclusive (81).

(81)　**First-person plural exclusive**
　　　k–lą̣qcin–a:–w
　　　1PL.EXC.SUBJ_1SG.SUBJ–see–IMPF–1PL.EXC.SUBJ_1PL.SUBJ
　　　'we (but not you) see it'

First person plural subjects mark clusivity in Coahuitlán Totonac: the suffix *-w* marks first-person plural inclusive. Combined with *k-* 'first person singular', this suffix expresses agreement with first-person plural exclusive subjects. The second and third morphological idioms are the two syncretic forms (cf. 5.2.1.3) involving first and second persons acting on one another where one argument is plural (82).

(82) a. **First-person subject on second-person object, at least one is plural (1>2)**
          k–kạ:–lạqcin–áʹ –n
          1>2$_{\text{1SG.SUBJ}}$–1>2$_{\text{PL.OBJ}}$–see–IMPF–1>2$_{\text{2OBJ}}$
          'I see you$_{\text{PL}}$', 'We see you$_{\text{SG}}$', 'We see you$_{\text{PL}}$'
      b. **Second-person subject on first-person object, at least one is plural (2>1)**
          ki–la:–lạqcin–a:–w
          2>1$_{\text{1OBJ}}$–2>1$_{\text{RCP}}$–see–IMPF–2>1$_{\text{1PL.SUBJ}}$
          'You$_{\text{SG}}$ see us', 'You$_{\text{PL}}$ see me', 'You$_{\text{PL}}$ see us'

The 1>2 form in (82)a is compositional for the meaning 'I see you$_{\text{PL}}$' with first-person singular

subject agreement, plural-object agreement, and second-person object agreement; however, this

combination of markers also gives the other non-compositional meanings expressed by this form.

In (82)b, the 2>1 form combines first-person object agreement, first person plural subject

agreement, and reciprocal *la:-*, that by itself indicates reciprocity of subject and object (i.e.,

tala:tựksa 'they fought each other').

5C Texts

5.6 Conejo debedorΔ

Antonio Jiminéz Santiago

This story, recorded 17 September 2015, is another Conejo *cuento*. In this story, Rabbit is up to his tricks, getting into trouble and then finding a way out of it. Paulette Levy recorded a text that begins with a very similar narrative, told by Natalio García García in Papantla Totonac (appearing in Levy & Beck 2012). The basic premise of both stories is the same, though in that version, Rabbit tries to sell real not pretend corn, and the story procedes in a slightly different way (the Papantla version is much longer, continuing into another narrative after the place where Don Antonio's version ends).

(1)   mat šwí: tantím *conejo*
       mat   š–Ø–wi:\xx#⇒xx#   tan–tim   *conejo*
       QUOT   PAST–3SG.SUBJ–sit\IMPF   **CLF**–one   rabbit
       'había un conejo'
       'There was a rabbit'

(2)   mat lu: sqalála peɾo šačú:nca
       mat   lu: sqalala   peɾo   šaču:nca
       QUOT   very   clever   but   mischievous
       'muy sabio y travieso'
       'He was very clever, but mischievous'

(3)   mą̨qtím čo: šlakaskị́mạ: tu:mín
       mą̨q–tim   čo: š–Ø–Ø–Ø–lakaskịn–mą: tu:min
       CLF–one   **PTCL**   PAST–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–want–PROG   money
       'una vez queria dinero'
       'one time, (Rabbit) wanted some money'

(4)   mat lakpu:ntó:lalị tí: šákalị kmą̨qskį̣n štu:min
       mat   Ø–Ø–lakpu:n–to:la–lị   ti: šak–ạn–lị
       QUOT   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–think–sit–PFV   HREL   PRS:IRR_PAST:1SG.SUBJ–go–PRS:IRR_PFV

       Ø–k–Ø–Ø–mą̨qskį̣n\xx#⇒xx#   š–tu:min
       PRS–1SG.SUBJ–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–ask\IMPF   3PO–money
       'pensó en sí "¿quién podría ir a pedirle su dinero?" '
       'he was sitting and thinking, "who could I go ask for money?" '

(5) šakli:tama:wánaḻi lu: la:tu: xo: kintu:mín mat pú:n *conéjo*
    šak–li:–tama:wanan–li̲   lu: la:tu: xo: kin–tu:min
    PRS:IRR_{PAST}:1SG.SUBJ–INSTR–go.shopping–PRS:IRR_{PFV}   very   nothing   **PTCL**   1PO–money

        mat   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–pu:n\xx#⇒xx#   *conejo*
        QUOT   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–think\IMPF   rabbit
    ' "para comprarlo porque no tengo nada mi dinero" pensó el conejo'
    ' "so that I could go shopping, because I have absolutely no money" thought Rabbit'

(6) pus čo: lakapa:staktó:laḻi na̲k̄an skḭní šúlup
    pus   čo: Ø–Ø–lakapa:stak–to:la–li̲
    well **PTCL** PRS–3SG.SUBJ–think.about–sit–PFV

        na̲k–an\xx#⇒xx#   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–ski̲n–ni\xx#⇒xx#   šulup
        FUT:1SG.SUBJ–go\IMPF   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–ask.for–BEN\IMPF cockroach
    'pues sentado pensó "voy a pedirle la cucaracha" '
    'well, he's sitting there thinking "I'll go ask Cockroach (for money)" '

(7) nakima:sa̲:kwaní: pu:n
    na–kin–Ø–ma:sa̲:kwani:\xx#⇒xx#   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–pu:n\xx#⇒xx#
    FUT–1OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–lend\IMPF   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–think\IMPF
    ' "que me prestara" pensó'
    ' "(Cockroach) will lend me some" (Rabbit) thinks'

(8) pus áḻi ĺaqča:ḻi cukuḻi lakataq́a ma:lákčḭ
    pus   Ø–Ø–a̲n–li̲   Ø–Ø–la̲qča̲:n–li̲
    well   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–go–PFV   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–arrive–PFV

        Ø–Ø–cuku–li   Ø–Ø–la̲qataq́–a   ma:lakči̲
        PRS–3SG.SUBJ–begin–PFV   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–knock–IMPF   door
    'pues se fue, llegó, empezó a tocar la puerta'
    'So he left, he arrived (at Cockroach's house), and began to knock at the door'

(9) ló:la̲ šúlup kla̲qmimá:n
    Ø–lo:la\a⇒a̲   šulup
    PRS–be.seated\PFV:2SG.SUBJ   cockroach

        Ø–k–Ø–la̲qmin–ma̲:–n
        PRS–1SG.SUBJ–SG.OBJ–come.visit–PROG–2OBJ
    ' "estas cucaracha, vengo a usted" '
    ' "There you are cockroach, I'm coming to you" '

(10)   ca̧ kintima:sa̧:kwáni̧ tu:min la:tu: kli:tama:wanán

    ca̧   Ø–kin–Ø–ti–ma:sa̧:kwani:\i:⇒i̧   tu:min
    PTCL   PRS–1OBJ–SG.OBJ–POT–lend\PFV:2SG.SUBJ   money

        la:tu: Ø–k–li:–tama:wanan\xx#⇒xx#
        nothing   PRS–1SG.SUBJ–INSTR–buy.things\IMPF
    ' "no podriás prestarme el dinero no tengo con que comprar" '
    ' "do you want to lend me some money? I have nothing to buy things with" '

(11)   škimáški̧ ču tiná̗ škimasakwáni̧

    š–kin–Ø–maški\i⇒i̧
    PRS:IRRPAST–1OBJ–SG.OBJ–give\PRS:IRRPFV:2SG.SUBJ

        ču   tina: š–kin–Ø–ma:sa̧:kwani:\i:⇒i̧
        PTCL   small   PRS:IRRPAST–1OBJ–SG.OBJ–lend\PRS:IRRPFV:2SG.SUBJ
    ' "dame aun que sea poco, prestame" '
    ' "if you could give me, even if it's just a little, you could give it to me" '

(12)   šakmaškín kinkúši a̧šni šláli̧

    šak–Ø–maški–Ø–n   kin–kuši
    PRS:IRRPAST:1SG.SUBJ–SG.OBJ–give–PRS:IRRPFV–2OBJ   1PO–corn

        a̧šni   š–Ø–la–li̧
        when   PRS:IRRPAST–3SG.SUBJ–do–PRS:IRRPFV
    ' "te doy mi maíz cuando cosecho" '
    ' "and I'd give you my corn when it's ready" '

(13)   kča̧ní: kinkúši mat wán

    Ø–k–Ø–Ø–čan–ni̧:   kin–kuši
    PRS–1SG.SUBJ–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–sow–PERF   1PO–corn

        mat   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–wan\xx#⇒xx#
        QUOT   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–say\IMPF
    ' "he sembrado mi maíz" '
    ' "I've planted my corn" he says'

(14)   puɾo la:tú: la: ka:ná: la:tu: ča̧ní: kúši ca̧ li:wán

    puɾo   la:tu: la: ka:na   la:tu: Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–čan–ni̧:
    but   nothing NEG   truly   nothing   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–sow–PERF

        š–kuši   ca̧   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–li:wan\xx#⇒xx#
        3PO–corn **PTCL**   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–speak.badly\IMPF
    'pero no era cierto, no habia sembrado su maíz como dice'
    'but it wasn't true, he hadn't planted any corn like he said'

(15) xo: ka:ná:le:li̯ šla šúlup
    xo: Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–ka:na:le:–li̯   šla   šulup
    PTCL PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–believe–PFV   3SG   cockroack
    'lo creyó la cucaracha'
    'but Cockroach believed him'

(16) pus ma:sa̯:kwáni:li̯ tu:mín
    pus   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–ma:sa̯:kwani:–li̯   tu:min
    pus   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–lend–PFV   money
    'pues le presta dinero'
    'so he loaned him the money'

(17) ce: kmaškiyá:n maškíka
    ce: Ø–k–Ø–maški–ya:–n   Ø–Ø–Ø–maški–ka
    good   PRS–1SG.SUBJ–SG.OBJ–give–IMPF–2OBJ   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–give–INDEF:PFV
    ' "bien, te doy" y le dieron'
    ' "okay, I'll give it to you" and they gave it to (Rabbit)'

(18) peɾo cuando:šni lakto:qó̯:li̯ čo: lakacukupá: la:ca tu: wanpaɾá
    peɾo   cuando:šni   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–lakto:–qo̯:–li̯
    but   when   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–waste–TOT–PFV

        čo: Ø–Ø–lakacuku–pa: la:=ca   tu: wan–paɾa\xx#⇒xx#
        PTCL PRS–3SG.SUBJ–begin–RPT:PFV   NEG=now NREL   COP–RPT\IMPF
    'pero cuando se le acabo, comenzó otravez, ya no tenia otravez'
    'but when he'd run out, he started again, there was nothing again'

(19) ti: xo: šakĺaqa̯li̯
    ti: xo: šak–la̯qa̯n–li̯
    HREL   PTCL   PRS:IRR_{PAST}:1SG.SUBJ–go.visit–PRS:IRR_{PFV}
    ' "ahora a quien voy?" '
    ' "now who should I go to?" '

(20) ču lu: kmakasputpaɾaqó̯:li̯ mat pú:n
    ču   lu: k–Ø–Ø–makasput–paɾa–qo̯:–li̯
    PTCL   very   1SG.SUBJ–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–run.out–RPT–TOT–PFV

        mat   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–pu:n\xx#⇒xx#
        QUOT   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–think\IMPF
    ' "porque he gastado todo" pensó'
    ' "because I've wasted it all" (Rabbit) thinks'

(21) na̯kla̯qán amali šti:lán
    na̯k–Ø–Ø–la̯qa̯n\xx#⇒xx#   amali   šti:lan
    FUT:1SG.SUBJ–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–go.visit\IMPF   PTCL   hen
    'voy a ver la gallina'
    'I'll go see Chicken'

(22)   *a ver* paɬ nakimaškí pus ɬáqčạ:lị
        a.ver   paɬ   na–kin–Ø–Ø–maški\xx#⇒xx#   pus   Ø–Ø–ɬạqčạ:n–lị
        let's.see   if   FUT–1OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–give\IMPF   well   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–arrive–PFV
        ' "a ver si me da" y llegó'
        ' "to see if he will give me" so (Rabbit) arrives'

(23)   ló:lạ mat wan
        Ø–lo:la\a⇒ạ   mat   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–wan\xx#⇒xx#
        PRS–be.seated\PFV:2SG.SUBJ   QUOT   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–say\IMPF
        ' "estas" le dice'
        ' "There you are (Chicken)" (Rabbit) says'

(24)   kló: kató:lạ mat waní šti:lán xo: máškilị laktó:ɬ
        Ø–k–lo:\xx#⇒xx#   Ø–ka–to:la\a⇒ạ
        PRS–1SG.SUBJ–be.seated\IMPF   PRS–OPT–sit.down\PFV:2SG.SUBJ

            mat   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–wan–ni\xx#⇒xx#   šti:lán
            QUOT   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–say–BEN\IMPF   hen
        ' "sí sientase" dice la gallina'
        ' "yes I'm here, sit down" says Chicken'

(25)   xo: máškilị laktó:ɬ
        xo: Ø–Ø–maški–lị   lakto:ɬ
        PTCL   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–give–PFV   seat
        y le dió asiento
        'and (Chicken) gives (Rabbit) a seat'

(26)   la: ča: kintima:sạ:kwaní:yạ mintu:mín
        la: ča: Ø–kin–Ø–ti–ma:sạ:kwani:–yạ   min–tu:min
        NEG   PTCL   PRS–1OBJ–SG.OBJ–POT–lend–IMPF:2SG.SUBJ   2PO–money
        ' "no podrias prestarme tu dinero" '
        ' "couldn't you lend me some money" '

(27)   cạ lu: la:tu: kli:tama:wanán mat wan
        cạ   lu: la:tu: Ø–k–li:–tama:wanan\xx#⇒xx#
        PTCL   very   nothing   PRS–1SG.SUBJ–INSTR–buy.thing\IMPF

            mat   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–wan\xx#⇒xx#
            QUOT   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–say\IMPF
        ' "no tengo con quien comprar" '
        ' "I don't have anything to buy things with" he says'

(28) pus šakmaškín kúši kto:ní a̦šni nalá na̦kmaškiyá:n

    pus   šak–Ø–maški–Ø–n   kuši   Ø–k–to:–ni̦:

    well   PRS:IRR_PAST:1SG.SUBJ–SG.OBJ–give–PRS:IRR_PFV–2OBJ   corn   PRS–1SG.SUBJ–do–PERF

          a̦šni   na–Ø–la\xx#⇒xx#   na̦k–Ø–maški–ya:–n

          when   FUT–3SG.SUBJ–do\IMPF   FUT:1SG.SUBJ–SG.OBJ–give–IMPF–2OBJ

    ' "te doy me maíz he trabajado cuando cosecho le voy a dar" '

    ' "I'd give you the corn I've worked, when it's ready, I'll give it to you" '

(29) pus maškíka pus mat

    pus   Ø–Ø–Ø–maški–ka   pus   mat

    well   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–give–INDEF:PFV   well   QUOT

    'pus le dieron'

    'so they gave it to (Rabbit)'

(30) čo: wapaɾáqo̦:li̦

    čo: Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–wa–paɾa–qo̦:–li̦

    PTCL   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–eat–RPT–TOT–PFV

    'y gasto todo'

    'and he ate it all up'

(31) lakto:paɾaqó̦: tu: máškili̦ šti:lán

    Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–lakto:–paɾa–qo̦:\xx#⇒xx#

    PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–waste–RPT–TOT\IMPF

          tu: Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–maški–li̦   šti:lan

          NREL   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–give–PFV   hen

    'y gasto todo lo dió la gallina'

    '(Rabbit) wasted what Chicken had given him'

(32) či čo: šlí:lati̦ če:má

    či   čo: š–li:–la–ti̦   če:ma:

    how   **PTCL**   PRS:IRR_PAST–INSTR–do–PRS:IRR_PFV:2SG.SUBJ   thus

    ' "y ahora que se puede hacer" '

    ' "what can be done now?" '

(33) ču lu: la:ca tu: wanpaɾáca klakto:paɾaqó̦:li̦

    ču   lu: la:=ca   tu: wan–paɾa\xx#⇒xx#=ca

    PTCL very   NEG=now NREL   COP–RPT\IMPF=now

          Ø–k–Ø–Ø–lakto:–paɾa–qo̦:–li̦

          PRS–1SG.SUBJ–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–waste–RPT–TOT–PFV

    ' "ya he gastado otra vez todo" '

    ' "there's nothing again, I've already wasted it all again" '

(34)   ti: šák<u>a</u>l<u>i</u> ksk<u>i</u>ní če:má: mat pu:npaɾá
         ti: šak–<u>a</u>n–l<u>i</u>   Ø–k–Ø–Ø–skin–ni\xx#⇒xx#
         who PRS:IRR_{PAST}:1SG.SUBJ–go–PRS:IRR_{PFV}   PRS–1SG.SUBJ–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–ask–BEN\IMPF

                če:ma: mat   Ø–Ø–pu:n–paɾa\xx#⇒xx#
                thus   QUOT   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–think–RPT\IMPF
         ' "a quíen puedo ir a pedirle" pensó otravez'
         ' "who could I go ask?" he thought again'

(35)   mat ́al<u>i</u> l<u>a</u>q<u>a</u>npá: mat *coyote*
         mat   Ø–Ø–an–l<u>i</u>   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–l<u>a</u>q<u>a</u>n–pa:
         QUOT   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–go–PFV   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–go.visit–RPT:PFV

                mat   *coyote*
                QUOT   coyote
         'fue con coyote'
         '(Rabbit) went to visit Coyote'

(36)   kl<u>a</u>qmím<u>a</u>:n *coyote*, ló:l<u>a</u>
         Ø–k–Ø–l<u>a</u>qmin–m<u>a</u>:–n   *coyote* Ø–lola\a⇒<u>a</u>
         PRS–1SG.SUBJ–SG.OBJ–come.visit–PROG–2OBJ   coyote PRS–be.seated\PFV:2SG.SUBJ
         ' "vengo a usted coyote, alla estas?" '
         ' "I'm coming to you coyote, are you there?" '

(37)   kató:l<u>a</u> mat waníka
         ka–to:la\a⇒<u>a</u>   mat   Ø–Ø–Ø–wan–ni–ka
         OPT–sit.down\PFV:2SG.SUBJ   QUOT   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–say–BEN–INDEF:PFV
         ' "sientase le dijeron" '
         ' "sit down" they say to (Rabbit)"

(38)   pus kl<u>a</u>qmím<u>a</u>:n špa:lakáta ca škima:s<u>a</u>:kwán<u>i</u>
         pus   Ø–k–Ø–l<u>a</u>qmin–m<u>a</u>:–n   š–pa:lakata
         well   PRS–1SG.SUBJ–SG.OBJ–come.visit–PROG–2OBJ   3PO–reason

                c<u>a</u>   š–kin–Ø–ma:s<u>a</u>:kwani:\i:⇒<u>i</u>
                PTCL   PRS:IRR_{PAST}–1OBJ–SG.OBJ–lend\PRS:IRR_{PFV}:2SG.SUBJ
         ' "vengo a usted, por cause si me prestaras su dinero" '
         ' "well, I'm coming to you to see if you'd lend some to me" '

(39)   la:tu: xo: tu: kli:tama:wanán
         la:tu: xo: tu: Ø–k–li:–tama:wanan\xx#⇒xx#
         nothing   **PTCL**   NREL   PRS–1SG.SUBJ–INSTR–buy.things\IMPF
         ' "no tengo con que comprar" '
         ' "I don't have anything to buy things with" '

(40) kạnkutún li:*plaza*nán mat wán
     Ø–k–ạn–kutun\xx#⇒xx#   Ø–li:–*plaza*nan\xx#⇒xx#
     PRS–1SG.SUBJ–go–DSD\IMPF   PRS–INSTR–buy.things\IMPF

        mat   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–wan\xx#⇒xx#
        QUOT   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–say\IMPF
     ' "quiero ir en la plaza" '
     ' "I want to go buy things in the plaza" he says'

(41) nạkmaškiyá:ni kinkuši ạšni nalá
     nạk–Ø–maški–ya:–n   kin–kuši   ạšni   na–Ø–la\xx#⇒xx#
     FUT:1SG.SUBJ–SG.OBJ–give–IMPF–2OBJ   1PO–corn when FUT–3SG.SUBJ–do\IMPF
     ' "te doy mi maíz cuando lo cosecho" '
     ' "I'll give you my corn when it's ready (when it gives fruit)" '

(42) kto:ní: kinkúši
     Ø–k–Ø–Ø–to:–ni̲:   kin–kuši
     PRS–1SG.SUBJ–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–do–PERF   1PO–corn
     ' "lo sembré" '
     ' "I've planted my corn" '

(43) peɾo qátạ kạ:kušín či wí:
     peɾo   qátạ   kạ:–kuši–n   či   Ø–Ø–wi:
     but   big   PLC–corn–PL how   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–sit
     ' "pero muy grando el milpa es" '
     ' "the cornfield is really big" '

(44) pus ma:lakpu:ní:ka *coyote* máškili̲
     pus   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–ma:lakpu:ni:–ka   *coyote*
     well   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–convince–INDEF:PFV   coyote

        Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–maški–li̲
        PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–give–PFV
     'lo convenció, y le dió'
     '(Rabbit) convinced Coyote, and (Coyote) gave it to him'

(45) pus minčáʔ
     pus   Ø–Ø–min–Ø–čaʔ
     well   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–come–PFV–DIST
     'pues se vinó'
     'then he came there'

(46) ́ali̯ plazanán ki:lakto:qó:li̯
    Ø–Ø–a̯n–li̯   Ø–Ø–*plaza*nan\xx#⇒xx#
    PRS–3SG.SUBJ–go–PFV   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–buy.things\IMPF

        Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–ki:–lakto:–qo̯:–li̯
        PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–RT–waste–TOT–PFV
    'fue a la plaza y lo gastó todo (fue a gastar todo)'
    'he went shopping in the plaza and wasted everything'

[Account of visit to coyote is repeated]

(47) čo: cukuli̯ xo: lakapa:stakpaɾa
    čo: Ø–Ø–cuku–li̯   xo:
    PTCL   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–begin–PFV   **PTCL**

        Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–lakapa:stak–paɾa\xx#⇒xx#
        PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–think.about–RPT\IMPF
    'y comenzó a pensar otra vez ahora'
    'and he started to think again'

(48) peɾo ti: šakla̯qa̯npá: če:má: ca̯ klakto:paɾaqó̯:li̯
    peɾo   ti: šak–Ø–Ø–la̯qa̯n–pa: če:ma:
    but   HREL   PRS:IRR$_{PAST}$:1SG.SUBJ–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–go.visit–RPT:PRS:IRR$_{PFV}$ thus

        ca̯   Ø–k–Ø–Ø–lakto:–paɾa–qo̯:–li̯
        PTCL   PRS–1SG.SUBJ–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–waste–RPT–TOT–PFV
    ' "a quien voy porque lo he gastado todo" '
    ' "now who could I go see since I've wasted it all" '

(49) na̯kla̯qán coyote
    na̯k–Ø–Ø–la̯qa̯n\xx#⇒xx#   coyote
    FUT:1SG.SUBJ–3OBJ–SG.OBJ– go.visit\IMPF   coyote
    ' "voy a ir al coyote" '
    ' "I'll go visit Coyote" '

(50) kima:sa̯:kwaní: šla mat pú:n
    Ø–ki–Ø–Ø–ma:sa̯:kwani:\xx#⇒xx#   šla   mat   Ø–Ø–pu:n\xx#⇒xx#
    PRS–1OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–lend\IMPF   3SG   QUOT   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–think\IMPF
    'me va a prestar el pensó'
    ' "(Coyote) will lend me some" (Rabbit) thought'

(51) mat la̯qa̯npá: šla *coyote*
    mat   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–la̯qa̯n–pa: šla   *coyote*
    QUOT   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–go.visit–RPT:PFV   3SG   coyote
    'y fue al coyote'
    'so he went to visit Coyote'

(52) klạqmimá:n *amigo coyote*
Ø–k–Ø–lạqmin–mạ:–n   *amigo*   *coyote*
PRS–1SG.SUBJ–SG.OBJ–come.visit–PROG–2OBJ   friend   coyote
'vengo a ti amigo coyote'
' "I'm coming to you, my friend Coyote" '

(53) ča: la: tó:yạ li:ɬá:n
ča: la: Ø–Ø–Ø–to:–yạ   li:ɬa:n
PTCL   NEG   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–do–IMPF:2SG.SUBJ   favour
'no podrias hacerme un favor'
' "couldn't you do me a favour?" '

(54) škima:sạ:kwáni̲ qó: mintu:mín
š–ki–Ø–ma:sạ:kwani:\i:⇒i̲   qo: min–tu:min
PRS:IRR~PAST~–1OBJ–SG.OBJ–lend\PRS:IRR~PFV~:2SG.SUBJ   buddy   2PO–money
'me presta su dinero'
' "friend, could you lend me some money?" '

(55) ktačí: lu: ktaxuɾunín čo:
Ø–k–tači:\xx#⇒xx#   lu: Ø–k–taxuɾunin\xx#⇒xx#   čo:
PRS–1SG.SUBJ–be.tied\IMPF   very   PRS–1SG.SUBJ–be.defeated\IMPF   **PTCL**
'estoy muy preso (me encuentro cero, no tengo nada), estoy vencido (no tengo nada)'
' "I'm in a bind (literally: 'I am tied up'), I'm defeated" '

(56) peɾo la:tu: tu:n kli:ʔi̲:nikán
peɾo   la:tu: tu: Ø–k–li:–ʔi̲:–ni–kan\xx#⇒xx#
but   nothing   NREL   PRS–1SG.SUBJ–INSTR–buy–BEN–INDEF\IMPF
'pero no hay con que comprarmelo'
' "but I have nothing to buy things with for myself" '

(57) lu: kli:wanankutún mat wán
lu: Ø–k–li:–wanan–kutun\xx#⇒xx#
very   PRS–1SG.SUBJ–INSTR–eat.well–DSD\IMPF

    mat   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–wan\xx#⇒xx#
    QUOT   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–say\IMPF
' "quiero comer bien" '
' "I want to eat well" he said'

(58) pus ce: nạkmaškiyá:n
pus   ce: nạk–Ø–maški–ya:–n
well   good   FUT:1SG.SUBJ–SG.OBJ–give–IMPF–2OBJ
' "esta bien, te doy" '
' "well okay, I'll give it to you" '

(59) peɾo tu: nakimáškị̣ mat wanika xo:
  peɾo   tu: na–ki–Ø–maški\i⇒ị̣
  but   what   FUT–1OBJ–SG.OBJ–give\PFV:2SG.SUBJ

      mat   Ø–Ø–Ø–wan–ni–ka   xo:
      QUOT   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–say–BEN–INDEF:PFV   **PTCL**
  ' "pero que me vas a dar" le dijeron'
  ' "but what will you give me?" they say to (Rabbit)'

(60) kto:nị̣: qó: kinkúši
  Ø–k–Ø–Ø–to:–nị̣:   qo: kin–kuši
  PRS–1SG.SUBJ–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–do–PERF   buddy   1PO–corn
  ' "he hicho mi milpa" '
  ' "I have worked my corn" '

(61) la: lá lú:kutca šá:wat
  la: Ø–Ø–la\xx#⇒xx#   lu:=kut=ca   ša:wat
  NEG   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–do\IMPF   very=yet=now   *milpa*
  ' "pero es muy tierno todavia. es puro milpa todavia" '
  ' "it's not ready. right now, the corn seeds haven't grown yet" '

(62) lu:ca páqɫmạ̣:kut mat wanpaɾá
  lu:=ca   Ø–Ø–pạ̣qɫ–mạ̣:=kut
  very=now   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–bloom–PROG=yet

      mat   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–wan–paɾa\xx#⇒xx#
      QUOT   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–say–RPT\IMPF
  'apenas esta floreando le dice otra vez'
  ' "it's just on the point of blooming" he tells him again'

(63) puɾo la:tu: skuxnị̣:
  puɾo   la:tu: Ø–Ø–skux–nị̣:
  but   nothing   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–work–PERF
  'pero no ha trabajado (nada)'
  'but he hadn't worked anything'

(64) pus ma:lakpu:waníka *coyote*
  pus   Ø–Ø–Ø–ma:lakpu:ni:–ka   *coyote*
  well   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–convince–INDEF:PFV   coyote
  'pues, lo convencieron el coyote'
  'so they convinced Coyote'

(65) máškilị̣ tu:mín xo: *conejo*
  Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–maški–lị̣   tu:min   xo: *conejo*
  PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–give–PFV   money   **PTCL**   rabbit
  'le dio dinero al conejo'
  'and (Coyote) gave the money to Rabbit'

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(66) čo: minparačá? čú:nca lapá: wapaɾaqǫ́:lị
     čo: Ø–Ø–min–paɾa–Ø–ča?   čuːnca   Ø–Ø–la–pa:
     PTCL PRS–3SG.SUBJ–come–RPT–PFV–DIST   thus   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–do–RPT:PFV

        Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–wa–paɾa–qǫ:–lị
        PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–eat–RPT–TOT–PFV
     'y se vinó (regreso) otra vez y así otra vez le paso, lo gasto todo'
     'and he comes back again,'

[End of repeat]

(67) cuandó:šni lakapa:stakpá:
     cuando:šni   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–lakapa:stak–pa:
     when   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–think.about–RPT:PFV
     'cuando penso otra vez'
     'when he thinks again'

(68) ti: xo: šaklạqanpá:
     ti: xo: šak–Ø–Ø–lạqan–pa:
     HREL **PTCL**   PRS:IRR_PAST:1SG.SUBJ–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–go.visit–RPT:PRS:IRR_PFV
     'quien voy otra vez a ir (a pedirle)'
     ' "who could I go visit this time?" '

(69) nạklạqán tạla:tná?
     nạk–Ø–Ø–lạqan\xx#⇒xx#   tạla:tnạ?
     FUT:1SG.SUBJ–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–go.visit\IMPF   hunter
     'voy con el cazador'
     " 'I'll go visit the hunter" '

(70) ạ:ca mat wán xo: lạqanpá: tạla:tná?
     ạ:cạ   mat   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–wan\xx#⇒xx#   xo:
     here   QUOT   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–say\IMPF   **PTCL**

        Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–lạqan–pa: tạla:tnạ?
        PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–go.visit–RPT:PFV   hunter
     'se fue con el cazador'
     'he said that, and he goes again to visit the hunter'

(71) klạqmimá:n *amigo* tạla:tná?
     Ø–k–Ø–lạqmin–mạ:–n   *amigo*   tạla:tnạ?
     PRS–1SG.SUBJ–SG.OBJ–come.visit–PROG–2OBJ friend   hunter
     ' "vengo a usted mi amigo cazador" '
     ' "I'm coming to you, friend hunter" '

(72) la: ča: katitó:yạ li:łán škima:sạ:kwánị tu:mín

    la: ča: Ø–ka–Ø–Ø–to:–ya̱   li:łan

    NEG   **PTCL**   PRS–OPT–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–do–IMPF:2SG.SUBJ   favour

        š–ki–Ø–ma:sạ:kwani:\i:⇒i̱   tu:min

        PRS:IRRPAST–1OBJ–SG.OBJ–lend\PRS:IRRPFV:2SG.SUBJ   money

    ' "no vas a hacerme un favor de prestarme tu dinero?" '

    ' "aren't you going to do me a favour to loan me some money?" '

(73) lu: la:tu: tu: kli:tamawá kinkuši

    lu: la:tu: tu: Ø–k–Ø–Ø–li:–tama:wa\xx#⇒xx#   kin–kuši

    very   nothing   NREL   PRS–1SG.SUBJ–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–INSTR–buy\IMPF   1PO–corn

    ' "no tengo con que comprar mi maíz" '

    ' "I don't have anything to buy my corn[39] with" '

(74) kto:qe̱:ní: puɾo la:na c̓a̱qca

    Ø–k–Ø–Ø–to:–qe̱–ni: puɾo   la:na   ca̱qca

    PRS–1SG.SUBJ–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–do–DEB–PERF   but   not.yet   *elote*

    ' "lo tengo pero no hay todavia elote" '

    ' "I've planted (some corn), but it isn't ready to eat yet" '

(75) a:má:kut šmukúku mat wán a:

    a:ma:=kut   šmukuku   mat   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–wan\xx#⇒xx#   a:

    DEM=yet   yellow   QUOT   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–become\IMPF   **INTJ**

    'a penas va poner recio (amarillo)'

    'It's just barely become yellow (another stage of growth cf. recio 'stiff')'

(76) a̱šni xo: šaksta:lị kinkuši he:su ca šakmášk̠i kinkuši

    a̱šni   xo: šak–Ø–Ø–sta:–lị   kin–kuši

    when   **PTCL**   PRS:IRRPAST:1SG.SUBJ–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–sell–PRS:IRRPFV   1PO–corn

        xe:su   ca̱   šak–Ø–maški–Ø–n   kin–kuši

        or   **PTCL**   PRS:IRRPAST:1SG.SUBJ–SG.OBJ–give–PRS:IRRPFV–2OBJ   1PO–corn

    ' "cuando lo vende yo mi maís, o te doy me maís" '

    ' "when I'll sell it, or I guess I could give you the corn," '

(77) šakli:lakšoqonín mat wan xo:

    šak–Ø–li:–la̱qšo̱qoni–n

    PRS:IRRPAST:1SG.SUBJ–SG.OBJ–INSTR–pay:PRS:IRRPFV–2OBJ

        mat   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–wan\xx#⇒xx#   xo:

        QUOT   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–say\IMPF   **PTCL**

    ' "te lo pagaré" '

    ' "I'll pay you back" (Rabbit) says'

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[39] Refering to corn for eating, not his alleged crop.

(78) ceː mat wan xoː ta̰laːtnáʔ

    ceː   mat   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–wan\xx#⇒xx#   xoː   ta̰laːtna̰ʔ

    good   QUOT   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–say\IMPF   **PTCL**   hunter

    'esta muy bien dice le cazador'

    ' "that's good" the hunter said'

(79) maškiparáka xoː waparaqǫ́ːlḭ

    Ø–Ø–Ø–maški–paɾa–ka   xoː

    PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–give–RPT–INDEF:PFV   **PTCL**

        Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–wa–paɾa–qǫː–lḭ

        PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–eat–RPT–TOT–PFV

    'y le dieron y le gastó todo otra vez'

    'and they gave it to (Rabbit), and he spent it all again'

(80) a̰šni čoː waní

    a̰šni   čoː   <u>wan–ni</u>

    when   **PTCL**   say–BEN

    'cuando…'

    'so then…'

(81) *ahora* pus lakpuːwiːlapáː

    ahora   pus   Ø–Ø–lakpuːn–wiːla–paː

    now   well   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–think–sit–RPT:PFV

    'y otravez estaba en su casa pensativo'

    'he was sitting and thinking again'

(82) ca̰ la̰ː ču šanparakutun

    ca̰   la̰ː   ču   š–Ø–a̰n–paɾa–kutun\xx#⇒xx#

    PTCL where **PTCL** PAST–3SG.SUBJ–go–RPT–DSD\IMPF

    'donde queria ir otravez'

    'about where he wanted to go another time'

(83) tiː šakla̰qa̰npáː mat puːn

    tiː   šak–Ø–Ø–la̰qa̰n–paː

    HREL   PRS:IRR~PAST~:1SG.SUBJ–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–go.visit–RPT:PRS:IRR~PFV~

        mat   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–puːn

        QUOT   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–think\IMPF

    ' "a quién voy" pensó'

    ' "who could I visit again?" he thought'

(84) ašni mat xo: taštúči šúlup lakataqa ma:lákči

      ašni   mat   xo: Ø–Ø–taštu–Ø–či   šulup

      when   QUOT   PTCL   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–leave–PFV–PROX   cockroach

           Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–laka–táq–a   ma:lakči

           PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–face–strike–IMPF   door

      'y ese momento llegó la cucaracha y toca a su puerta'

      'that's when Cockroach showed up and knocked on the door'

(85) xo: šlakpa:stáka

      xo: š–Ø–Ø–Ø–lakpa:stak–a

      PTCL   PAST–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–think.about–IMPF

      'pensaba'

      'he was thinking'

(86) la:ca mat lakapa:stákqo:li la: ču xo: nanpará

      la:=ca   mat   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–lakapa:stak–qo:–li

      NEG=now   QUOT   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–think.about–TOT–PFV

           la: ču   xo: na–Ø–an–para\xx#⇒xx#

           where   PTCL   PTCL   FUT–3SG.SUBJ–go–RPT\IMPF

      'y ya no terminó de pensar por donde iba a ir'

      'he hadn't finished thinking where he will go'

(87) xo: mat wan šúlup

      xo: mat   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–wan\xx#⇒xx#   šulup

      PTCL   QUOT   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–say\IMPF   cockroach

      'y dice la cucaracha'

      'and Cockroach says,'

(88) klaqmíma: xo: tu:mín lá:na minkúši

      Ø–k–Ø–Ø–laqmin–ma: xo: tu:min   la:na   min–kuši

      PRS–1SG.SUBJ–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–come.visit–PROG   PTCL   money   not.yet   2PO–corn

      'vengo por el dinero no tienes todavia?'

      ' "I'm coming for the money, is your corn ready yet?" '

(89) xo: špít kimaškíya pał lálica

      xo: š–pit   Ø–ki–Ø–maški–ya

      PTCL   PRS:IRRPAST–go:PRS:IRRPFV:2SG.SUBJ   PRS–1OBJ–SG.OBJ–give–IMPF:2SG.SUBJ

           pał   Ø–Ø–la–li=ca

           if   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–do–PFV=now

      ' "si puedes ir a darme si ya hay" '

      ' "could you go give it to me, if (the corn) is ready?" '

(90)   a: u: tiláqtạ u: klạqmín

        a: u: Ø–ti–Ø–Ø–lạqta\a⇒ạ

        INTJ DEM PRS–POT–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–come.visit\PFV:2SG.SUBJ

            u: Ø–k–Ø–Ø–lạqmín

            DEM   PRS–1SG.SUBJ–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–come.visit\ IMPF

    ' "ah a ese vinó?" "sí a ese vengo" '

    ' [Rabbit:] "oh, you came for that?" [Cockroach:] "yes, that's why I'm coming" '

(91)   mat luntu talakáštulị xo: qe:pú:n

        mat   luntu Ø–Ø–talakaštu:–li   xo: qe:pu:n

        QUOT   **IDPH** PRS–3SG.SUBJ–stick.head.out–PFV   **PTCL**   outside

    'y se asomó afuera'

    'and he peeked his head out'

(92)   laká:n cé:nu laká:n cé:nu

        Ø–Ø–lakạ:n\xx#⇒xx#   cẹ:nu   Ø–Ø–lakạ:n\xx#⇒xx#   cẹ:nu

        PRS–3SG.SUBJ–look\IMPF   over.there   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–look\IMPF   over.there

    'mira de esa lado y mira del otra lado'

    '(Rabbit) looks this way and he looks that way'

(93)   ạ:cá mat min šti:lán

        ạ:cạ   mat   Ø–Ø–min\xx#⇒xx#   šti:lan

        here   QUOT   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–come\IMPF   hen

    'y viene la gallina'

    'Chicken is coming'

(94)   u: kintiláqtạ mat wanika xo: šúlup u:

        u: Ø–kin–ti–Ø–lạqta\a⇒ạ

        DEM   PRS–1OBJ–PREV–SG.OBJ–come.visit\PFV:2SG.SUBJ

            mat   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–wan–ni–ka   xo: šulup   u:

            QUOT   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–say–BEN–INDEF:PFV **PTCL** cockroach **DEM**

    ' "a ese vinó" le dicen a la cucaracha, "sí" '

    ' "you came to me for that" they said and Cockroach said "yes" '

(95)   pus kwaniyá:n *amigo*

        pus   Ø–k–Ø–Ø–wan–ni–ya:–n   *amigo*

        well   PRS–1SG.SUBJ–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–say–BEN–IMPF–2OBJ   friend

    ' "te digo amigo" '

    ' "I'm telling you friend" '

(96)   katacẹqé: nakštampín cạma ạqayúxnụ

        ka–Ø–tacẹq–qẹ:\xx#⇒xx#   nak=š–tampin   cạma   ạqayuxnụ

        OPT–3SG.SUBJ–hide–DEB\IMPF LOC=3PO–bottom   **DEM**   fallen.leaf

    ' "escondate de bajo de las ramas" '

    ' "hide yourself underneath the branches" '

(97) cą̧ mín ští:lan la: nawayá:n

    cą̧   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–min\xx#⇒xx#   šti:lan

    PTCL PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–come\IMPF   hen

        la: na–Ø–Ø–wa–ya:–n

        NEG   FUT–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–eat–IMPF–2OBJ

    ' "viene la gallina no le va a comer" '

    ' "Chicken is coming, he isn't going to eat you" '

(98) xo: xí:kwanlį̧ šúlup

    xo: Ø–Ø–xi:kwan–lį̧   šulup

    PTCL   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–be.afraid–PFV   cockroach

    'y tuvo miedo la cucarcha'

    'and Cockroach was afraid'

(99) tánu:lį̧ nakštampín páłma

    Ø–Ø–tanu:–lį̧   nak=š–tampin   pałma

    PRS–3SG.SUBJ–enter–PFV   LOC=3PO–bottom   leaf

    'y entro a bajo de las hojas'

    'and went under the leaves'

(100) xo: tayá:či čo: šti:lán klą̧qmimá:n

    xo: Ø–Ø–taya:–či   čo: šti:lan

    PTCL   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–stand.up–PROX   **PTCL**   hen

        Ø–k–Ø–lą̧qmin–mą̧:–n

        PRS–1SG.SUBJ–SG.OBJ–come.visit–PROG–2OBJ

    'y llegó la gallina, "vengo a ti (buenas)" '

    'and Chicken showed up, "I'm coming to you" '

(101) maš lálį̧ca xo: minkúši škimáškį̧ xo:

    maš   Ø–Ø–la–lį̧=ca   xo: min–kuši

    maybe PRS–3SG.SUBJ–do–PFV=now   **PTCL**   2PO–corn

        š–kin–Ø–maški\i⇒į̧   xo:

        PRS:IRR_{PAST}–1OBJ–SG.OBJ–give\PRS:IRR_{PFV}:2SG.SUBJ   **PTCL**

    ' "ya hay maiz si me puedes dar ahora" '

    ' "maybe your corn is ready now if you can give it to me?" '

(102) či tili:law šatu:min a: puɾo nak

    či   ti–li:–la–Ø–w   ša–tu:min   a: puɾo

    how PREV–INSTR–do–PFV–1PL.SUBJ   DTV–money   **INTJ** but

    'lo que te preste el dinero'

    ' "that which we agreed for that money" [Rabbit:] "Ahh, but…" '

(103) la:tu: la:tu: tu: wakutúnpạ:t čeːmáː
   la:tu: la:tu: tu: Ø–Ø–Ø–wa–kutun–pạ:t   čeːma:
   nothing nothing NREL PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–eat–DSD–PROG:2SG.SUBJ thus
   'no quieres comer algo?'
   ' "there's nothing that you want to eat?" '

(104) pu:li katíwạ ceːnu tanúːmaː tu: wákan
   pu:li   ka–ti–Ø–Ø–wa\a⇒ạ
   first   FUT:IRR_OPT–FUT:IRR_POT–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–eat\FUT:IRR_PFV:2SG.SUBJ

    ceːnu   Ø–Ø–tanu:–mạ: tu: Ø–Ø–Ø–wa–kan\xx#⇒xx#
    over.there PRS–3SG.SUBJ–enter–PROG NREL PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–eat–INDEF\IMPF
   ' "allí hay que comer de bajo" '
   ' "there's something inside over there that one can eat" '

(105) kakáːšwạqtị̈ mat wan šwạqšwạq mat ka:tó:
   ka–Ø–ka:–šwạq–tị̈   mat Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–wan\xx#⇒xx#
   OPT–3OBJ–PL.OBJ–scratch–PFV:2SG.SUBJ QUOT PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–say\IMPF

    šwạqšwạq mat   Ø–Ø–ka:–Ø–to:\xx#⇒xx#
    IDPH   QUOT   PRS–3OBJ–PL.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–do\IMPF
   'rascalos, y empezo a rascarlos'
   ' "scratch them up" (Rabbit) says, and (Chicken) went peck peck'

(106) ạšni máːqẹːlị̈ šúlup mat
   ạšni Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–ma:qẹ:–lị̈   šulup   mat
   when PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–uncover–PFV cockroach QUOT
   'y lo destapó la cucaracha'
   'when he uncovered Cockroach'

(107) mat káːčuxlị̈ wáka wáka šúlup
   mat Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–kạ:čux–lị̈   Ø–Ø–Ø–wa–ka
   QUOT PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–peck–PFV PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–eat–INDEF:PFV

    Ø–Ø–Ø–wa–ka   šulup
    PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–eat–INDEF:PFV cockroach
   'picotió y lo comieron la cucaracha'
   '(Chicken) pecked him. They ate him, they ate Cockroach'

(108) kiłcukupáː xo: štiːlán
   Ø–Ø–kiłcuku–pa: xo: šti:lan
   PRS–3OBJ–start.speaking–RPT:PFV **PTCL** hen
   'y comenzó a hablar otravez la gallina'
   'and Chicken started to speak again'

(109) pus u: kwán ktiĺáqmili̠
      pus   u: Ø–k–Ø–Ø–wan\xx#⇒xx#
      well **DEM** PRS–1SG.SUBJ–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–say\IMPF

         Ø–k–Ø–Ø–ti–la̠qmin–li̠
         PRS–1SG.SUBJ–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–PREV–come.visit–PFV
      ' "bueno, a ese vengo" '
      ' "well, this is why I've come" '

(110) šwanima̠:náw tu: tili:la:kašláw šla kúši
      š–Ø–Ø–wan–ni–ma̠:–nan–w
      PAST–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–say–BEN–PROG–ST.PL–1PL.SUBJ

         tu: ti–Ø–Ø–li:–la:kašla–Ø–w   šla   kuši
         NREL   POT–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–INSTR–arrange–PFV–1PL.SUBJ 3SG   corn
      ' "lo que estabamos hablando de la maize" '
      ' "we had been saying, what we agreed on about the corn" '

(111) a: uyi *cobro* qaɬiqé̠: ciná: mat wán
      a: uyi   *cobro*   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–qa̠ɬi–qe̠:\xx#⇒xx#   cina:
      INTJ   INTJ payment   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–wait–DEB\IMPF small

         mat   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–wan\xx#⇒xx#
         QUOT   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–say\IMPF
      ' "ah si, espero un momento" '
      ' "ahh yes, the collection has to wait a little" (Rabbit) says '

(112) talakaštupá:
      Ø–Ø–talakaštu–pa:
      PRS–3SG.SUBJ–stick.head.out–RPT:PFV
      'y se asoma'
      'and he stuck his head out the door'

(113) a̠:ca̠ mina:čáʔ *coyote*
      a̠:ca̠   Ø–Ø–min–a:–ča ʔ   *coyote*
      here   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–come–IMPF–DIST   coyote
      'y por alli venia el coyote'
      'and Coyote is coming'

(114) pus wí: u: xo: tiwánti̠ šwanípa̠:t
      pus   Ø–Ø–wi: u: xo: Ø–Ø–ti–Ø–wan–ti̠
      well   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–sit   **DEM** **PTCL** PRS–3OBJ–POT–SG.OBJ–say–PFV:2SG.SUBJ

         š–Ø–Ø–wan–ni–pa̠:t
         PAST–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–say–BEN–PROG:2SG.SUBJ
      ' "pero a ese le decias" '
      ' "well, that's what you'd said, what you had been talking about" '

(115) pero ca lu kmaqli:waná:n
 pero ca lu: Ø–k–Ø–maqli:wan–a:–n
 but **PTCL** very PRS–1SG.SUBJ–SG.OBJ–take.care–IMPF–2OBJ
 ' "pero me ocupo mucho de ti" '
 ' "but I'll take good care of you" '

(116) kataxúqe̯:ti̯ čáštu ca̯ mín *coyote*
 ka–taxu–qe̯:–ti̯ čaštu ca̯ Ø–Ø–min\xx#⇒xx# *coyote*
 OPT–get.in–DEB–PFV:2SG.SUBJ basket **PTCL** PRS–3SG.SUBJ–come\IMPF coyote
 ' "métete en mi canastu allí viene el coyote" '
 ' "Get in my basket, Coyote is coming" '

(117) la: nawayá:n
 la: na–Ø–Ø–wa–ya:–n
 NEG FUT–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–eat–IMPF–2OBJ
 ' "no te vaya a comer" '
 ' "he's not going to eat you" '

(118) pus xí:kwanli̯ šti:lán táxuli̯ nakaná:stu pus
 pus Ø–Ø–xi:kwan–li̯ šti:lan
 well PRS–3SG.SUBJ–be.afraid–PFV hen

    Ø–Ø–taxu–li̯ nak=kana:stu pus
    PRS–3SG.SUBJ–get.in–PFV LOC=basket well
 'pus tuvo miedo la gallina y entró en la canasta'
 'and Chicken was afraid and went into the basket'

(119) čo: míli̯ *coyote* xo: wan *coyote*
 čo: Ø–Ø–min–li̯ *coyote* xo: Ø–Ø–wan\xx#⇒xx# *coyote*
 PTCL PRS–3SG.SUBJ–come–PFV coyote **PTCL** PRS–3SG.SUBJ–say\IMPF coyote
 'y llegó el coyote y dice'
 'and Coyote came and says'

(120) u: ktila̯qmili mintu:min xo:
 u: Ø–k–Ø–ti–Ø–la̯qmin–li̯ min–tu:min xo:
 DEM PRS–1SG.SUBJ–3OBJ–POT–SG.OBJ–come.visit–PFV 2PO–money **PTCL**
 'vengo por tu dinero'
 ' "I'm coming for your money" '

(121) pał cina:kú:t škimáški̯
 pał cina:=ku:t š–kin–Ø–maški̯:\i̯:⇒i̯
 if small=yet IRR.PRSPAST–1OBJ–SG.OBJ–give\IRR.PRSPFV:2SG.SUBJ
 ' "si me puedas dar ahora" '
 ' "if you could give it to me now, even just a little" '

(122) la:natu: škíɬtaca xo: če:má: mat wán

      la:natu: škiɬta=ca   xo: če:ma: mat   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–wan\xx#⇒xx#

      nothing.yet on.time=now **PTCL** thus   QUOT PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–say\IMPF

      ' "ya es justo, ya es la hora." '

      ' "now it's that time" (Coyote) says '

(123) a: u: tiláqtạ

      a: u: Ø–Ø–ti–Ø–lạqtạ

      INTJ **DEM** PRS–3OBJ–POT–SG.OBJ–come.visit:PFV:2SG.SUBJ

      ' "Ah por eso vino" '

      'so that's why you've come'

(124) pus talakaštupá: nakma:lákčị

      pus   Ø–Ø–talakaštu–pa: nak=ma:lakčị

      well   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–stick.head.out–RPT:PFV   LOC=door

      'y se asumo par la puerta'

      'and he stuck his head out of the door'

(125) laqcínca mina:čáʔ talaʔná

      Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–lạqcín\xx#⇒xx#=ca   Ø–Ø–min–a:–čaʔ   talaʔnáʔ

      PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–see\IMPF=now   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–come–IMPF–DIST hunter

      'y vió que venia la cazador'

      'and saw the hunter coming away off'

(126) pa:šuwá čo tánu:lị

      Ø–Ø–pa:šuwá   čo: Ø–Ø–tanu:–lị

      PRS–3SG.SUBJ–be.happy:IMPF   **PTCL**   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–enter–PFV

      'muy contento entro'

      'he was happy'

(127) talạqspịtpá: to:lapá: *conejo*

      Ø–Ø–talạqspịt–pa: Ø–Ø–to:la–pa: *conejo*

      PRS–3SG.SUBJ–turn.around–RPT:PFV   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–sit–RPT:PFV   rabbit

      'se dio vuelta y se sento otra vez el conejo'

      'so Rabbit went back in, turned around and sat down again'

(128) pus u: tiláqtạ waníka xo: coyote ụ:

      pus   u: Ø–Ø–ti–Ø–lạqtạ

      well   **DEM** PRS–3OBJ–POT–SG.OBJ–come.visit:PFV:2SG.SUBJ

          Ø–Ø–Ø–wan–ni–ka   xo: coyote   u:

          PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–say–BEN–INDEF:PFV   **PTCL** coyote   **DEM**

      ' "pues a ese vino" el dijeron al coyote, "sí" '

      ' "Oh, so that's why you came" they said to Coyote (who said) "yes" '

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(129) lu kiamigo wiš katacéqa̱ nakšmakni kinčík
      lu: kin–amigo   wiš   ka–tace̱q–a̱   nak=š–makni   kin–čik
      very 1PO–friend you   OPT–hide–IMPF:2SG.SUBJ LOC=3PO–body   1PO–house
      'eres muy mi amigo, escondate tras de mi casa'
      ' "you're my good friend, hide behind my house" '

(130) ca̱ katacéqa̱ katite:taštuqé:n ta̱la̱ʔná̱ʔ
      ca̱   ka–tace̱q–a̱
      PTCL   OPT–hide–IMPF:2SG.SUBJ

          ka–ti–te:–taštu–qe̱:–Ø–n   tala̱ʔná̱ʔ
          FUT:IRR_{OPT}–FUT:IRR_{POT}–PATH–leave–DEB–FUT:IRR_{PFV}–2OBJ   hunter
      'escondate, que pasa el cazador'
      ' "hide, let the hunter pass you by" '

(131) mat wan cá:lali̱ xo: coyote
      mat   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–wan\xx#⇒xx#   Ø–Ø–ca̱:la–li̱   xo: coyote
      QUOT PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–say\IMPF PRS–3SG.SUBJ–flee–PFV   **PTCL** coyote
      'le dice, y se fue el coyote''
      '(Rabbit) said, and Coyote fled'

(132) a̱li̱ nakšmákni čik a̱:ca̱ mín xo: ta̱la:ʔná̱ʔ
      Ø–Ø–a̱n–li̱   nak=š–makni   čik
      PRS–3SG.SUBJ–go–PFV   LOC=3PO–body   house

          a̱:ca̱   Ø–Ø–min\xx#⇒xx#   xo: ta̱la:ʔna̱ʔ
          here   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–come\IMPF **PTCL** hunter
      'fue atras de la casa, y vinó el cazador'
      'he went behind the house, and there comes the hunter'

(133) kla̱qmimá:n wan ho ta̱la:ʔná̱ʔ
      Ø–k–Ø–la̱qmin–ma̱:–n   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–wan\xx#⇒xx#
      PRS–1SG.SUBJ–SG.OBJ–come.visit–PROG–2OBJ   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–say\IMPF

          xo: ta̱la:ʔna̱ʔ
          PTCL   hunter
      ' "vengo a usted" dijó el cazador'
      ' "I'm coming to you" said the hunter'

(134) u: ktiláqmili̱ minkúši xo:
      u: Ø–k–Ø–ti–Ø–la̱qmin–li̱   min–kuši   xo:
      DEM PRS–1SG.SUBJ–3OBJ–PREV–SG.OBJ–come.visit–PFV 2PO–corn   **PTCL**
      ' "vengo por tu maíz" '
      ' "I've come about your corn" '

(135) pał škimáškįca

   pał   š–kin–Ø–maškį:\į:⇒į=ca
   if   IRR.PRS_PAST–1OBJ–SG.OBJ–give\IRR.PRS_PFV:2SG.SUBJ=now
   ' "si me puedas dar" '
   ' "if you can give it to me" '

(136) xo: ktimáškį tu:min mat wanikán

   xo: k–Ø–ti–Ø–maškį:\į:⇒į
   PTCL   1SG.SUBJ–3OBJ–PREV–SG.OBJ–give\PFV:2SG.SUBJ

      tu:min   mat   Ø–Ø–Ø–wan–ni–kan\xx#⇒xx#
      money   QUOT   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–say–BEN–INDEF\IMPF
   ' "por la que te di dinero" le dijeron'
   ' "which I gave you money for" they said'

(137) pus u:yí pero la: ču katimakastuxwatnántį cę:nu

   pus   u:yi   pero   la: ču
   well   PTCL   but   NEG   PTCL

      ka–ti–maka–stuxwatnan–tį   cę:nu
      FUT:IRR_OPT–FUT:IRR_POT–hand–practice–FUT:IRR_PFV:2SG.SUBJ over.there
   ' "ah si, pero no quieres praticar de tirar?" '
   ' [Rabbit:] "ahh yes, well, don't you want to practice shooting?" '

(138) cę:nu yá: misín

   cę:nu   Ø–Ø–ya: misin
   over.there   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–stand   animal
   ' "hay acá un animal" '
   ' "there's an animal" '

(139) pus lą: ču cę:nu yá: kama:tu:wáką mili:kán

   pus   lą: ču   cę:nu   Ø–Ø–ya:
   well   where   PTCL   over.there   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–stand

      ka–Ø–Ø–ma:–tu:–wąką   mi–li:kan
      OPT–3SG.OBJ–SG.OBJ–CS–foot–be.high:PFV:2SG.SUBJ 2PO–rifle
   ' "a dondé?" "dale seguro tu arma" '
   ' [Hunter:] "where?" [Rabbit:] "it's over there! get your rifle ready" '

(140) lu kapo:ʔ kilakawílį cé:nu láyą mat wankán

   lu: kapo:ʔ ki:–laka–wili:\į:⇒į   cę:nu   Ø–la–yą
   very   IDPH   RT–face–put\PFV:2SG.SUBJ   over.there   PRS–do–IMPF:2SG.SUBJ

      mat   Ø–Ø–Ø–wan–kan\xx#⇒xx#
      QUOT   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–say–INDEF\IMPF
   ' "vé y pegarle en su cara, por allá está" '
   ' "go and shoot him in the face, he's over there" they say'

(141) ma:nca talakáštuli̠ kšqe:čoqo čík ta̠la:ʔnáʔ

      ma:n=ca   Ø–Ø–talakaštu–li̠   nak=š–qe:čoqo

      only=now   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–stick.head.out–PFV   LOC=3PO–back.of.house

            xo: čik   ta̠la:ʔnaʔ

            PTCL   house   hunter

      'se asomó a tras de la casa el cazador'

      'the hunter poked his head out behind the house'

(142) stukníka̠ qošaca *coyote*

      Ø–Ø–Ø–stuk–ni–ka̠   qošáca   coyote

      PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–point–BEN–INDEF:PFV   poor   coyote

      'lo apuntó el pobre coyote'

      'they pointed out the poor coyote'[40]

(143) a̠šni ki:lakawilí:ka

      a̠šni   Ø–Ø–Ø–ki:–lakawili:–ka

      when   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–RT–hit–INDEF:PFV

      'cuando le fueran a pegar'

      'when they went to shoot him'

(144) tanyo:ka̠ ma̠qní:ka̠

      Ø–Ø–Ø–tan–yo:–ka̠   Ø–Ø–Ø–ma̠qni–ka̠

      PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–butt–stand–INDEF:PFV   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–kill–INDEF:PFV

      'se calló muerto'

      'he fell down, they killed him'

(145) xo: wan ta̠la:ʔná ʔ

      xo: Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–wan\xx#⇒xx#   ta̠la:ʔná ʔ

      PTCL   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–say\IMPF   hunter

      'y dice el cazador'

      'and the hunter says,'

(146) pus u: ktila̠qmili minkuši pał kili:šoqóni̠ xo:

      pus   u: Ø–k–Ø–ti–Ø–la̠qmin–li̠   min–kuši

      well   **DEM** PRS–1SG.SUBJ–3OBJ–PREV–SG.OBJ–come.visit–PFV   2PO–corn

            pał   Ø–ki–Ø–li:–šoqoni:\i:⇒i̠   xo:

            if   PRS–1OBJ–SG.OBJ–INSTR–pay.sby\PFV:2SG.SUBJ   **PTCL**

      ' "pues vengo por tu maiz si me puedes pagar por eso" '

      ' "well, I'm here for your corn if you can pay me for that" '

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[40] Ambiguous whether Rabbit is pointing out where Coyote is, or whether the hunter is aiming at the coyote

(147) a: u: tiláqtạ pus

      a: u: Ø–Ø–ti–Ø–lạqtạ   pus

      INTJ DEM   PRS–3OBJ–PREV–SG.OBJ–come.visit:PFV:2SG.SUBJ   well

      ' "ah a eso vino" '

      ' "Ahh, so you came for that" '

(148) pero lu: máqat wi:lačáʔ kinkúši

      pero   lu: maqat   Ø–Ø–wi:la–Ø–čaʔ   kin–kuši

      but   very   far   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–sit–PFV–DIST   1PO–corn

      ' "pero tengo muy lejos mi maiz" '

      ' "but my corn is very far away" '

(149) napínạ ču nạkán nạkán mat wán

      na–pinạ   ču   nạk–an\xx#⇒xx#

      FUT–come:PFV:2SG.SUBJ PTCL   FUT:1SG.SUBJ–go\IMPF

            nạk–an\xx#⇒xx#   mat   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–wan\xx#⇒xx#

            FUT:1SG.SUBJ–go\IMPF   QUOT   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–say\IMPF

      ' "vas a ir?" "si voy, voy" dice'

      ' [Rabbit:] "Are you coming?" [Hunter:] "Yes, I'll come, I'll come" he says'

(150) pero *como* lu: sqalála *conejo*

      pero   *como* lu: sqalala   *conejo*

      but   like   very   clever   rabbit

      'pero como el conejo es muy sabio'

      'but as Rabbit is very clever'

(151) ški:lakčị:wạkaní: čo: laktiná: púčịt

      š–Ø–Ø–Ø–ki:–lak–čị:+wạka–ní: čo: lak–tina: pụčịt

      PAST–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–RT–DTB–tie+be.high–PERF PTCL   PL.ADJ–small rotten.log

      'habia ido a amararlos palos viejos'

      'he had gone to tie up the old logs'

(152) mat šạqspa:qoskán tałpán

      mat   š–Ø–Ø–ạqspa:qos–kan\xx#⇒xx#   tałpan

      QUOT   PAST–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–jump.over–INDEF\IMPF   ravine

      'se brincaba la ladera (como un puente)'

      'they spanned the ravine (like a bridge)'

(153) la: lu: lakapi:qátạ šwaní:

      la: lu: lakapi:qạtạ   š–Ø–Ø–Ø–wan–nị:

      NEG   very   wide   PAST–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–say–PERF

      'no era muy ancho'

      'it wasn't very wide'

(154) *nomás pero cincos metros* šli:lakapi:cúną cą̧ lakapu:skan

nomás.peɾo.cincos.metros š–li:–lakapi:cuna:\a:⇒ą̧ cą̧ lakapu:skan
only.five.metres 3po–instr–narrow\NOM **PTCL** valley

'como cinco metros del anchura no se podia brincarselo'
'about five meters wide, you couldn't (jump over) the deep valley'

(155) pus áːcą̧ čoː láːna la: kaːnáː mat wán

pus ą̧:cą̧ čoː la:na la: ka:na:
well here **PTCL** no.more NEG truly

mat Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–wan\xx#⇒xx#
QUOT PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–say\IMPF

' "y por aqui por donde vamos a ir?" '
' "It can't be here" (the hunter) says'

(156) áːcą̧ mat wán

ą̧:cą̧ mat Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–wan\xx#⇒xx#
here QUOT PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–say\IMPF

' "si por aqui!" '
' "It's here" (Rabbit) says'

(157) čoː la: kqoscanqáː mat wan talaʔná

čoː la: Ø–k–qos+canqa:\xx#⇒xx#
PTCL NEG PRS–1SG.SUBJ–fly+be.lost\IMPF

mat Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–wán talaʔnáʔ
QUOT PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–say\IMPF hunter

'me voy a sumir dice el cazador'
' "I'm going to fall and disappear" the hunter says'

(158) la: katiqoscánqą̧

la: ka–ti–qos+canqa:\a:⇒ą̧
NEG FUT:IRR_OPT–FUT:IRR_POT–fly+be.lost\FUT:IRR_PFV:2SG.SUBJ

'no te vas a caer'
' "you're not going to fall and disappear" '

(159) xeː či ką̧n ikit, katą̧t xeː či

xeː či Ø–k–ą̧n\xx#⇒xx# ikit ka–tą̧t xeː či
PTCL how PRS–1SG.SUBJ–go\IMPF I OPT–go:PFV:2SG.SUBJ **PTCL** how

' "mira como yo ando, ven! mira" '
' "look how I'm going! Come, look!" '

(160) peɾo mat cą̄qsá: xuruxuru minpaɾá ą̄npaɾá minpaɾá lá

    peɾo   mat   Ø–Ø–cą̄qsa: xuruxuru   Ø–Ø–min–paɾa\xx#⇒xx#
    but   QUOT   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–try\IMPF   **IDPH**   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–come–RPT\IMPF

        Ø–Ø–ą̄n–paɾa\xx#⇒xx#   Ø–Ø–min–paɾa\xx#⇒xx#   Ø–Ø–la\xx#⇒xx#
        PRS–3SG.SUBJ–go–RPT\IMPF   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–come–RPT\IMPF   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–do\IMPF
    'pero pratica y corre por alli por aca'
    'but (Rabbit) tried it, and he went flying back and forth across'

(161) cą̄ kató:ką̄ca mat wanikán

    cą̄   ka–ta–waką̄=ca   mat
    PTCL   OPT–DCS–be.high:PFV:2SG.SUBJ=now   QUOT

        Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–wan–ni–kan\xx#⇒xx#
        PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–say–BEN–INDEF\IMPF
    'sientalo (el cazador) le dicen'
    ' "go up now" (Rabbit) says'

(162) xo: laktayá: xo: *primer*

    xo: Ø–Ø–lak–taya:\xx#⇒xx#   xo: *primer*
    PTCL   PRS–3SG.SUBJ–foot–stand\IMPF   **PTCL**   first
    'piso su primer paso'
    'so he takes his first step'

(163) ma:n či lakatím štantún

    ma:n   či   laka–tim   š–tantun
    only   how   **CLF**–one   3PO–foot
    'dió un paso'
    'just one foot'

(164) xe: pałą̄ kị́wị̄ kmo:kaní: mat wán

    xe: pałą̄   kị̄wị̄   Ø–k–Ø–Ø–ma:–waka–nị̄:
    PTCL   hard   tree   PRS–1SG.SUBJ–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–CS–be.high–PERF

        mat   Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–wan\xx#⇒xx#
        QUOT   PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–say\IMPF
    ' "mira he puesto una madera fuerta, duro" '
    ' "look, I've placed strong wood" he says'

(165) peɾo šlakitá:t ẃaka šapučiwaca šmo:kaní

    peɾo   š–lakita:t   Ø–Ø–wą̄ka   ša–pučiwa=ca
    but   3PO–half   prs–3sg.subj–be.high   DTV–rotten=now

        š–Ø–Ø–Ø–ma:–waka–nị̄:
        PAST–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–CS–be.high–PERF
    'pero por el medio, hay puesto los podridos, que habia puesto'
    'but in the middle, there were the rotten ones. he had placed them there before'

(166) pus malakpuwáni:lį talaʔnáʔ

pus	Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–ma:–lak–puwan–ni:–lį	talaʔnáʔ
well	PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–CS–INTENS–think–CS–PFV	hunter

'pues se animó el cazador'
'well, he convinced the hunter'

(167) ašni čǎ:lį lu: nakšitá:t ašni č̣ęqé talákštulį

ašni	Ø–Ø–čạ:n–lį	lu:	nak=š–ita:t
when	PRS–3SG.SUBJ–arrive–PFV	very	LOC=3PO–half

ạšni	Ø–Ø–Ø–Ø–čęqe\xx#⇒xx#	Ø–Ø–ta–lak–štu–lį
when	PRS–3OBJ–SG.OBJ–3SG.SUBJ–split\IMPF	PRS–3SUBJ–DCS–foot–out–PFV

'cuando llegó en la mitad, se partió, y calló'
'when he arrived in the middle, he split (the logs), and he fell'

(168) ạna:čáʔ talaʔná *hasta* pu:ɫmán ras taxučáʔ šaní:n

Ø–Ø–ạn–a:–čaʔ	talạnáʔ	*hasta*	pu:ɫman
PRS–3SG.SUBJ–go–IMPF–DIST	hunter	until	deep

ras	Ø–Ø–ta–xu–Ø–čaʔ	ša–ni:n
IDPH	PRS–3SG.SUBJ–DCS–in–PFV–DIST	DTV–dead.person

'se fue el cazador muy ondo calló muy fuerte y muerto'
'the hunter took off, he went in deep, falling loudly. He's a dead man'

(169) peɽo cúkulį linksilinksilinksi ti: *conejo*

peɽo	Ø–Ø–cuku–lį	linksilinksilinksi	Ø–Ø–ti:\xx#⇒xx#	*conejo*
but	PRS–3SG.SUBJ–begin–PFV	**IDPH**	PRS–3SG.SUBJ–dance\IMPF	rabbit

'y empezó a brincar, bailando, estaba muy contento'
'but the rabbit started dancing, leaping about happily'

(170) ạnca spútqọ:lį šma:tạ:xi:nanín

ạnca	Ø–Ø–sput–qọ:–lį	š–ma:tạ:xi:nan–niʔ–n
there	PRS–3SG.SUBJ–end–TOT–PFV	3PO–collect.loan–AGT–PL

'allí se acabaron los cobradores'
'and that was the end of his collectors'

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6   Conclusion

This dissertation aims to show a practical example of how decisions behind representations can be made at different levels of analysis. This includes language-specific challenges to representation in Coahuitlán Totonac. The sketch of phonology describes phonological and morphophonological processes: these processes become the focus of the representation of Chapter 2 texts. The transcription of these texts is given at phonetic, phonemic, and morphophonemic levels; the differences between the first two lines reveal phonological processes, and morphophonological processes are visible between the second and third lines. Coahuitlán Totonac prosody is important to describe both phrase-level accent and a number of salient segmental processes that are conditioned by the boundaries of prosodic structures, called juncture phenomena. To represent these features, prosodic units are fully elaborated in Chapter 3 texts using a system adapted from Levy (2015). One unexpected benefit of these representations is the utility in representing different types of intonational phrases. Morphology is described in two chapters: derivational and inflectional. Derivational morphology presents questions about etymology vs. productive derivation. Word formation is represented with additional lines that elaborate each step of the process. These lines are given for morphologically complex words, and come in pairs of parse and interlinear gloss describing each step of word-formation. Inflectional morphology in Coahuitlán presents a number of interesting phenomena which pose challenges for representation, including non-concatenative morphology, morphological zeroes, and morphological idioms.

Aside from the specific style of each chapter, the work of defining different styles for each chapter allows a finer control in describing the amount of detail in each: for example, juncture phenomena are completely absent from both morphological chapters, which doesn't pose a problem for documentation and description of these features because they are shown in

detail in the prosody chapter. Further, in the phonology chapter, where the salience of segmental juncture phonemena demands some attention, I am able to mark juncture phenomena in a less detailled way, again because of the prosody chapter.

The grammatical sketch included in this dissertation represents ongoing descriptive work in Coahuitlán Totonac. The focus on textual representation and limitations of the thesis format prevented an exhaustive sketch of Coahuitlán Totonac grammar: thus, many obvious paths of research are presented in questions not fully explored. One unfortunate limitation is the absence of chapters on syntax and discourse, an obvious directions for further research. Some of the lacunae in the grammatical sketch are features common to Totonacan languages, and there is research in other Totonac languages giving at least a partial view: a description of the deictic/demonstrative system of Upper Necaxa Totonac is given in Beck (2011). The deictics and demonstratives used in my Coahuitlán Totonac texts (glossed 'DEM' in this work) appear to fit into this system, but it is unclear if the whole system is still productive. For another example, partonymic relationships of bodyparts in Totonacan languages are discussed in Levy (1999), and discussed in some of the grammars as well. Other lacunae are more specific to Coahuitlán Totonac. Of particular interest is the prosodic system of juncture phenomena, which appears to have been borrowed from neighbouring Sierra languages. Among the many grammatical particles appearing in the text, there are two of particular interest: *xo:* and *čo:* are highly frequent yet their meaning is not understood.

Outside the possiblities for further work concering the documentation and description of Coahuitlán Totonac, I hope that the discussion of representational choices is just beginning,

joining recent works, such as Holden (2013) and Lindley & Lyon (2016),[41] which show the possibilities available to those willing to explore innovational conventions; and further exemplify community outreach. Further, the pairing of text and grammar by level of analysis seen in the chapters of this dissertation suggest an interesting new possibility to move texts from out of appendices into a more prominent position in descriptive and documentary work. This dissertation might serve as a proof-of-concept for a new format of grammatical sketch built around small texts analysed with special representations for each level of analysis.

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[41] And older: McQuown's work on prosodic units in Coatepec Totonac texts is an illustrative example of an innovative and rationalised approach to a unique problem (cf. Levy 2015).

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