

Copyright
by
Susan Smythe Kung
2007

The Dissertation Committee for Susan Smythe Kung Certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

A Descriptive Grammar of Huehuetla Tepehua

Committee:

Nora C. England, Supervisor

Carlota S. Smith

Megan Crowhurst

Anthony C. Woodbury

Paulette Levy

James K. Watters

A Descriptive Grammar of Huehuetla Tepehua

by

Susan Smythe Kung, B.A.; M.A.

Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin

May 2007

Dedication

For the Tepehua people of Huehuetla, Hidalgo, Mexico,
and especially for Nicolás.

If it were not for their friendship and help,
I never would have begun this dissertation.

If it were not for their encouragement of me,
as well as their commitment to my project,

I never would have finished it.

Acknowledgements

My first and largest debt of gratitude goes to all of the speakers of Huehuetla Tepehua who contributed in some way to this grammar. Without them, this volume would not exist. I want to thank the Vigueras family, in particular, for taking me into their home and making me a part of their family: don Nicolás, his wife doña Fidela, their children Nico, Tonio, Mari, Carmelo, Martín, Lupe, and Laurencio, and their daughter-in-law Isela. Not only do I have a home here in the U.S., but I also have a home in Huehuetla with them. There was also the extended family, who lived in the same courtyard area and who also took me in and gave me free access to their homes and their lives: don Nicolás' mother doña Angela, his two brothers don Laurencio and don Miguel, their wives doña Fidela and doña Juana, and all of their children.

My deepest and most heart-felt thanks are for my husband, Jon, and our son, Shaun. Without their love, support, patience, and endless sacrifices, I never would have been able to finish this grammar. I also want to thank my mom and dad, who never failed to express their pride, and my father-in-law, a Ph.D. himself, who continually encouraged my progress.

I have so many additional people to thank that I'm going to thank them in chronological order, from the start of my graduate career. My fellow cohort members: Carrie Clarady, Lynda Olman Walsh, David Quinto-Pozos, and Kim Mellon Kight, for sharing both the good and the bad during the early years; I wouldn't have made it to candidacy without their friendship. Heidi Johnson, for being a mentor to me every step of the way. Terry Kaufman and John Justeson, for hiring me to work on the Project for the Documentation of the Languages of Mesoamerica; they are responsible for my decision to work on Huehuetla Tepehua and not on some other language. Mark Ferguson, for knowing the location of the appendix in the human body, for insisting that I see a doctor, and for, essentially, saving my life. Terry Kaufman (again), for teaching me how to do lexical field work the "right way" and Roberto Zavala, for teaching me to do it the fun way. Tony Woodbury, for serving as the principle investigator on my NSF Dissertation Improvement grant, and for providing invaluable advice and support while I was applying for fellowships. Thomas Smith Stark at the Colegio de México and Roberto Herrerra Herrerra, formerly of the Universidad de las Américas – Puebla, for serving as co-sponsors for my Fulbright-García Robles fellowship. Roberto Herrerra Herrerra (again) and Mandy Holzrichter, for easing my culture shock during my time in Cholula. Thom Smith Stark (again), his wife María, my fellow Fulbrighter Jennifer Jolly, and her husband Chris Gonzales, for providing me with two homes in Mexico City away from the field where I could go to decompress (and speak English!). Dottie Herzog, for sharing her unpublished Tepehua dictionary, as well as other unpublished data that she had

compiled on the language, and also for sharing her workspace in Huehuetla while mine was being built. Mark Sicolli, for being there in Catemaco. Christina Willis and Lynda de Jong Boudreault, for being two of the best friends that I've had during this long gradual process, and for being my only two friends who could really, fully understand the journey. Suzanne Johnson, for showing me that there was more to life than just graduate school and linguistics (with or without the kids in tow).

My fieldwork was funded by the following sources, and I thank them all: Fulbright IIE (Fulbright-García Robles Fellowship for scholars), the National Science Foundation (NSF Grant No. 0078453 with Anthony C. Woodbury, PI), the Pan American Round Tables of Texas (Melba Brunno Dawson Scholarship), and the Project for the Documentation of the Languages of Mesoamerica.

Most importantly, I want to thank my committee: Nora England, Carlota Smith, Megan Crowhurst, Tony Woodbury, Jim Watters, and Paulette Levy for all of their helpful comments, advice, encouragement, and words of praise (those kept me going more than anything!), not to mention their time, especially since this grammar turned out to be a lot longer than I had anticipated. My biggest thanks go to Nora, who has been the best supervisor and mentor that I could have hoped for! Most importantly, she insisted that this grammar be a thorough treatment of the language since it might be the only treatment that Huehuetla Tepehua will ever get.

A Descriptive Grammar of Huehuetla Tepehua

Publication No. _____

Susan Smythe Kung, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2007

Supervisor: Nora C. England

This dissertation is a comprehensive description of the grammar of Huehuetla Tepehua (HT), which is a member of the Totonacan language family. HT is spoken by fewer than 1500 people in and around the town of Huehuetla, Hidalgo, in the Eastern Sierra Madre mountains of the Central Gulf Coast region of Mexico. This grammar begins with an introduction to the language, its language family, and its setting, as well as a brief history of my contact with the language. The grammar continues with a description of the phonology of HT, followed by morphosyntactic and syntactic description of all of the major parts of speech, including verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and numbers; the grammar concludes with a description of the sentence-level syntax. A compilation of interlinearized texts appears in the appendix.

HT is a polysynthetic, head-marking language with complex verbal morphology. Inflectional affixes include both prefixes and suffixes for which a

templatic pattern is difficult to model. In addition to inflectional and derivational morphology, HT verbs are also host to a large number of aspectual derivational morphemes, each of which alters the meaning of the verb in a very specific way. Plural marking on both nouns and verbs for any third person argument is optional and determined by an animacy hierarchy, which is also used to determine verbal argument marking in various morphosyntactic constructions. HT nouns are completely unmarked for case, and certain nouns, including kinship terms and parts of a whole, are obligatorily possessed. The order of the major constituents is pragmatically determined, with a tendency towards VSO order in the absence of pragmatic or contextual clues and SVO order in context-rich textual examples.

HT is an under-documented moribund language that is at imminent risk of extinction within the next two-to-three generations. Thus, this dissertation is a major contribution not only to the field of linguistics, but also to the Tepehua people who might one day be interested in the language of their grandparents.

Table of Contents

List of Tables.....	xix
List of Figures	xxi
List of Illustrations	xxii
List of Abbreviations.....	xxiii
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 Introduction to the Language	1
1.2 My Research: The History, Setting, and Methodology.....	8
1.3 Huehuetla Tepehua and the Totonacan Language family	20
1.4 Review of the Literature.....	24
1.5 Overview of the Grammar.....	27
Chapter 2: Phonology.....	30
2.1 Phonemic Inventory	30
2.1.1 Consonants	30
2.1.2 Vowels.....	31
2.1.3 Practical Orthography	32
2.2 Phonemic Description	36
2.2.1 Consonants	36
2.2.1.1 Stops	36
2.2.1.2 Fricatives	41
2.2.1.3 Affricates.....	43
2.2.1.4 Liquids and Rhotics.....	44
2.2.1.5 Nasals	46
2.2.1.6 Approximants	48
2.2.2 Vowels.....	50
2.2.2.1 High Vowels.....	51

2.2.2.2	Mid Vowels	53
2.2.2.3	Low Vowel	55
2.2.2.4	HT Vowel Space	56
2.2.3	Phonemic Contrasts	59
2.2.3.1	Consonants	59
2.2.3.2	Vowel Quality	62
2.2.3.3	Vowel Length	64
2.2.3.4	Stress	65
2.2.4	Distinctive Features of Phonemes	65
2.3	Sound Change in Progress (/q/→/?/)... ..	67
2.4	Syllable Structure	78
2.4.1	Syllable Onsets	83
2.4.2	Syllable Nuclei	87
2.4.3	Syllable Codas	89
2.4.4	Medial Consonant Clusters	92
2.4.5	Syllabification	96
2.5	Stress	104
2.5.1	Stress in Native, Non-ideophonic Words	105
2.5.1.1	Stress in Verbs	107
2.5.1.2	Stress in Adjectives	112
2.5.1.3	Stress in Non-ideophonic Adverbs	115
2.5.1.4	Stress in Nouns	116
2.5.2	Stress in Ideophonic Adverbs	122
2.5.3	Stress in Spanish Loanwords	123
2.6	Phonological Rules and Processes	124
2.6.1	Word-Final Short Vowel Weakening	124
2.6.1.1	Word-Final Short Vowel Devoicing	124
2.6.1.2	Word-Final Short Vowel Deletion	126
2.6.2	Liquid Neutralization	126

2.6.3 Glottal Stop Insertion	129
2.6.4 [a]-Epenthesis.....	130
2.6.5 Place Assimilation.....	132
2.6.5.1 Nasal Assimilation	133
2.6.5.2 Velar Assimilation.....	133
2.6.6 Phonological Processes Affecting Velars	135
2.6.6.1 Velar Metathesis.....	135
2.6.6.2 Velar Spirantization (Place Dissimilation).....	137
2.6.7 Coda Consonant Deletion.....	138
2.6.7.1 Identical Consonant Deletion	138
2.6.7.2 Glottal Stop Deletion.....	140
2.6.8 Compensatory Lengthening	142
2.6.9 /h/-Deletion.....	143
2.6.10 Sound Symbolic Phonemic Alternations.....	146
2.6.10.1 The Diminutive and Augmentative	147
2.6.10.2 Affectionate Speech	149
2.6.10.3 Lexical Sets	153
2.6.10.4 Phonemic Alternation in Body Part Prefixes	154
2.7 Morphophonemics.....	157
2.7.1 Second Person Subject Marking	157
2.7.2 Epenthesis.....	159
2.7.2.1 Suffix [a]-Epenthesis.....	159
2.7.2.2 Prefix [a]-Epenthesis	161
2.7.2.3 [ʔi]-Epenthesis	161
2.7.3 Coda Nasal Deletion from a Prefix	163
2.7.4 Vowel Harmony	165
2.7.5 Strident Assimilation.....	167
2.7.6 Perfective Aspect Morphophonemic Rules.....	168
2.7.6.1 Perfective Lateral Neutralization	169

2.7.6.2 Perfective Lateral Deletion.....	171
2.7.6.3 Perfective Nasal Deletion.....	172
Chapter 3: Verbs and Verbal Morphology	174
3.1 Inflection	174
3.1.1 Person and Number Marking	174
3.1.1.1 Nominative Marking	177
3.1.1.2 Multiple Plural and Distributive Marking.....	183
3.1.1.3 Indefinite Subject Marking.....	186
3.1.1.4 Accusative Marking	190
3.1.1.5 Indefinite Object, Plural Indefinite Object, and Plural Indirect Object Marking	199
3.1.1.6 Double Object Marking.....	208
3.1.1.7 Speech Act Participant Marking	214
3.1.1.8 Split-intransitivity.....	215
3.1.1.9 Summary of Person Marking Inflection.....	221
3.1.2 Tense, Aspect, and Mood.....	225
3.1.2.1 Tense	225
3.1.2.2 Aspect.....	230
3.1.2.3 Mood	241
3.2 Derivation.....	255
3.2.1 Valency-Changing Affixes.....	255
3.2.1.1 Reflexive -kan	256
3.2.1.2 Reciprocal laa-.....	258
3.2.1.3 Dative -ni.....	259
3.2.1.4 Causative maa-.....	262
3.2.1.5 Instrumental puu-	267
3.2.1.6 Comitative t'aa-	269
3.2.1.7 Applicative lhii-.....	272
3.2.1.8 Body Part Prefixes.....	276

3.2.2 Compound Verbs.....	285
3.2.3 Aspectual Derivational Affixes.....	286
3.2.3.1 Inchoative ta-.....	286
3.2.3.2 Imminent ti-.....	289
3.2.3.3 Roundtrip kii-.....	289
3.2.3.4 Ambulative -t'ajun.....	290
3.2.3.5 Begin -tzuku.....	291
3.2.3.6 Desiderative -putun.....	292
3.2.3.7 Repetitive -pala.....	293
3.2.3.8 Again -choqo.....	297
3.2.3.9 All -qoju.....	298
3.2.3.10 Distal -chaa and Proximal -chii.....	300
3.3 Existentials, Posture and Location Verbs, and the Copula.....	302
3.3.1 Existentials.....	302
3.3.2 Posture and Location Verbs.....	304
3.3.3 Copula.....	313
3.3.3.1 Predicate Nominals.....	321
3.3.3.2 Predicate Pronominals.....	326
3.3.3.3 Predicate Adjectives.....	327
3.4 Periphrastic Constructions.....	331
3.4.1 Infinitival phrases.....	331
3.4.1.1 Periphrastic Future.....	334
3.4.1.2 Progressive Aspect.....	335
3.4.1.3 Inchoative Aspect.....	335
3.4.2 Can <i>laa-</i>	336
Chapter 4: Nouns and Nominal Morphology.....	341
4.1 Inflection.....	341
4.1.1 Pluralization.....	341
4.1.1.1 Plural Prefixes.....	345

4.1.1.2 Plural Suffixes	347
4.1.1.3 Stress Pattern Change	352
4.1.2 Possession	352
4.1.2.1 Person of the Possessor	353
4.1.2.2 Impersonal Possessor	357
4.1.2.3 Plural Possessor	358
4.1.2.4 Obligatory Possession	360
4.2 Derivation	363
4.2.1 Agent Nominalizer <i>-nV7</i>	364
4.2.2 Non-agentive Nominalizers <i>-ti</i> and <i>-nti</i>	365
4.2.3 Deverbalizer <i>-n</i>	369
4.2.4 Instrumental Prefixes <i>paa-</i> and <i>lhaa-</i>	369
4.2.5 Locative Prefix <i>puu-</i>	372
4.2.6 Applicative Prefix <i>lhi-</i>	375
4.2.7 Comitative Prefix <i>t'aa-</i>	377
4.2.8 Body-Part Prefixes	378
4.2.9 Compound Nouns	381
4.3 Noun Phrases	383
4.3.1 Definiteness and Specificity of Noun Phrases	384
4.3.1.1 Definite Article	385
4.3.1.2 Indefinite Article	385
4.3.1.3 Vocative Article	387
4.3.2 Modified Nouns	388
4.4 Relational Nouns	389
4.5 Pronouns	395
4.5.1 Personal Pronouns	395
4.5.2 Possessive Pronouns	398
4.5.3 Reflexive Pronouns	400
4.5.4 Demonstratives	400

Chapter 5: Modifiers	403
5.1 Adjectives.....	403
5.1.1 Derivation.....	408
5.1.1.1 Deverbalizer -n.....	408
5.1.1.2 Adjectivizer -k'V	409
5.1.1.3 Body Parts	413
5.1.2 Inflection	417
5.1.2.1 Pluralization	417
5.1.2.2 Restrictive Modification with xaa-.....	419
5.2 Quantifiers.....	421
Chapter 6: Adverbs.....	426
6.1 Temporal Adverbs.....	426
6.2 Locative Adverbs	430
6.3 Manner Adverbs.....	434
6.3.1 Ideophonic Manner Adverbs.....	434
6.3.2 Non-ideophonic Manner Adverbs.....	446
6.4 Other Adverbs	448
6.4.1 Emphatic <i>naa</i>	448
6.4.2 Evidential and Epistemic Adverbs	451
6.4.2.1 Evidential ‘Reportative’ <i>maa</i>	451
6.4.2.2 Epistemic ‘Believe’ <i>kaa</i>	454
6.4.3 Temporal Adverbial Clitics.....	457
6.4.3.1 ‘Already’ + <i>ch</i>	457
6.4.3.2 ‘Just’ + <i>ka7</i>	467
6.4.4 Quantifiers as Adverbs.....	469
6.5 Derived Directional Adverbs (Applicative <i>lhii-</i>)	471
6.6 Prepositions	472
6.6.1 Locative/Comitative <i>laka-</i>	472
6.6.2 Extent <i>tuus</i>	477

Chapter 7: Numbers	479
7.1 Cardinal Numbers	479
7.2 Ordinal Numbers	485
7.3 Numeral Classifiers	489
7.3.1 Numeral Classifiers and Their Usage.....	490
7.3.1.1 Semantics and Typology of Numeral Classifiers.....	490
7.3.1.2 Morphosyntax of Numeral Classifiers	516
7.3.1.3 Pragmatics of Numeral Classifiers	520
7.3.2 Body Parts and Numeral Classifiers.....	525
7.4 Numeral Inflection	529
7.4.1 (An)other <i>7a</i> -.....	529
7.4.2 Each <i>-(V)n</i>	530
7.5 Counting Units of Days.....	531
Chapter 8: Syntax	535
8.1 Word Order of Major Clausal Constituents	535
8.2 Focus	549
8.2.1 Focus Constructions	549
8.2.2 Focus Particle <i>waa</i>	554
8.3 Interrogative Structures	564
8.3.1 Yes/No Questions.....	564
8.3.2 <i>Wh</i> -Questions	567
8.3.3 Omission of Interrogative Pronouns	574
8.3.4 Tag Questions.....	575
8.4 Negation	578
8.5 Comparative and Superlative Constructions	584
8.6 Complex Clauses.....	588
8.6.1 Subordination	588
8.6.1.1 Relative Clauses	589
8.6.1.2 Complement Clauses.....	599

8.6.1.3 Adverbial Clauses	605
8.6.1.4 Conditional Clauses.....	612
8.6.2 Coordination.....	615
Appendix: Huehuetla Tepehua Texts	626
Text 1: The Millipede (T0003).....	626
Text 2: The Shape-shifter is a Woman Tiger (T0020).....	632
Text 3: The Two Friends (T0055).....	640
Text 4: The History of Huehuetla (T0057)	657
Text 5: Peter and the Crawdad (T0058).....	678
Text 6: The Two Brothers (T0063)	689
Bibliography.....	705
Vita	726

List of Tables

Table 1: HT Consonant Phonemes.....	30
Table 2: HT Vowel Phonemes	32
Table 3: HT Practical Orthography.....	33
Table 4: F1 & F2 Means and Standard Deviations of HT Vowels	58
Table 5: Distinctive Features of HT Consonants	66
Table 6: Distinctive Features of HT Vowels.....	66
Table 7: List of Lexemes Containing /q/, /q'/, and/or /ʔ/	69
Table 8: Age-graded Grouping of HT Consultants.....	75
Table 9: Sound Symbolic Phonemic Alternations	146
Table 10: Diminutive and Augmentative	148
Table 11: Phoneme Changes in Affectionate Speech	153
Table 12: Alternating Body Part Prefixes	155
Table 13: Nominative Affixes.....	221
Table 14: Accusative Affixes.....	222
Table 15: Affix Configurations: Intransitive Verbs & Transitive Verbs with Third Person Singular Objects	223
Table 16: Transitive Verb Affix Configurations.....	223
Table 17: Huehuetla Tepehua Body Parts.....	284
Table 18: HT Posture Verbs, Present Tense: <i>maalh</i> and <i>wiilh</i>	307
Table 19: HT Posture Verbs, Present Tense: <i>yaa</i> and <i>juk'alh</i>	307
Table 20: HT Location Verbs, Present Tense: <i>tanuun</i> and <i>tajun</i>	312
Table 21: HT Possessive Affixes	353

Table 22: HT Relational Nouns	394
Table 23: Huehuetla Tepehua Personal Pronouns.....	395
Table 24: HT Numerals 1-111	480
Table 25: HT Numeral Classifiers, Alphabetical Listing.....	492
Table 26: Prefix is a Classifier, Not a Part.....	527
Table 27: Homophonous Prefix, but Different Meaning	527
Table 28: Prefix is a Part, Not a Classifier	528
Table 29: Part & Classifier Have Related Meanings	528
Table 30: Part Can Be Used as Classifier	528
Table 31: Word Order in Intransitive Clauses	540
Table 32: Word Order in Transitive Clauses	541
Table 33: WO in Transitive Clauses with One Additional Constituent.....	542
Table 34: Major Constituent WO in Transitive Clauses.....	543
Table 35: Pronominal Order (Pronoun = Predicate, Subject, or Object)	547
Table 36: Pronominal Order when Pronoun is Subject.....	547
Table 37: Pronominal Order when Pronoun is Object	548
Table 38: Pronominal Order in Nonverbal Pronominal Predications and Copular Constructions.....	548
Table 39: Interrogative Pronouns	567

List of Figures

Figure 1: INALI Totonac-Tepehua Divisions	21
Figure 2: The Totonacan Language Family	22
Figure 3: Two Mergers.....	68
Figure 4: Categorization of HT Numeral Classifiers	491
Figure 5: <i>puumaqa-</i>	523
Figure 6: <i>7aqa-</i>	524
Figure 7: <i>7aklh-</i>	524

List of Illustrations

Illustration 1: Map of Totonacan Languages within Mexico	1
Illustration 2: Map of Tepehua Languages	2
Illustration 3: Huehuetla, Hidalgo, Mexico.....	5
Illustration 4: Angela Patricio Tolentino, Wearing Traditional Tepehua Dress, Huehuetla, Hidalgo, Mexico, May 2005	7
Illustration 5: Micaela Santiago Plata and Susan Smythe Kung, Hotel Playa Cristal, Catemaco, Veracruz, Mexico, June 1999	10
Illustration 6: Nicolás Viguera Patricio and Susan Smythe Kung, Hotel Playa Cristal, Catemaco, Veracruz, Mexico, July 1999.....	11
Illustration 7: Antonio Viguera Huerta and Susan Smythe Kung, Hotel Playa Cristal, Catemaco, Veracruz, Mexico, July 2000.....	14
Illustration 8: Building a “Linguistic Facility”	15
Illustration 9: Participant Observer: The Linguist (left) and Dance Partner, Dressed as “Huehues” for Mardi Gras (Carnaval) 2001	16
Illustration 10: Mean HT Vowel Space.....	58

List of Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ADJ	adjective
ADJZ	adjectivizer
ADV	adverb
AGAIN	again
AGNM	agent nominalizer
ALD	already
AMB	ambulative
APPL	applicative
ART	article
ART.IN	indefinite article
AS	affectionate speech
AUX	auxiliary verb
BLV	belief (epistemic)
CAUS	causative
CL	classifier
CLT	clitic
COM	comitative
COMP	complementizer, subordinator
DADJ	demonstrative adjective
DAT	dative
DIS	distributive action
DM	discourse marker
DO	direct object
DESID	desiderative
DST	distal
DTR	detransitivizer
DVB	deverbalizer
EMP	emphatic, emphasis
EPE	epenthetic
EVI	evidential
EXCL	exclusive
FOC	focus
FUT	future
ID	ideophone
IMM	imminent
IMPFV	imperfective aspect

INCH	inchoative
INF	infinitive
INO	indefinite object
INS	indefinite subject
INST	instrumental
IPOS	impersonal possessor
IRR	irrealis
JST	just
LOC	locative
NEG	negative
NOM	nominalizer
OBJ	object
PAST	past tense
PFV	perfective aspect
PL	plural
PL.POS	plural possessor
PM	possessum
POS	possessive/possession
PR	possessor
PREP	preposition
PRES	present
PRN	pronoun
PRT	particle
PRX	proximal
Q	interrogative pronoun
RC	relative clause
RCP	reciprocal
REL	relativizer, relative pronoun
RELCL	relative clause
REP	repetitive
RFL	reflexive
RHET	rhetorical
RPT	reported speech (evidential)
RT	round trip
s	noun (sustantivo)
SG	singular
SPEC	specifier
sr	relational noun (sustantivo relacional)
SUB	subject
TAM	tense/aspect/mood
va	auxiliary verb (verbo auxiliary)
vi	intransitive verb (verbo intransitivo)

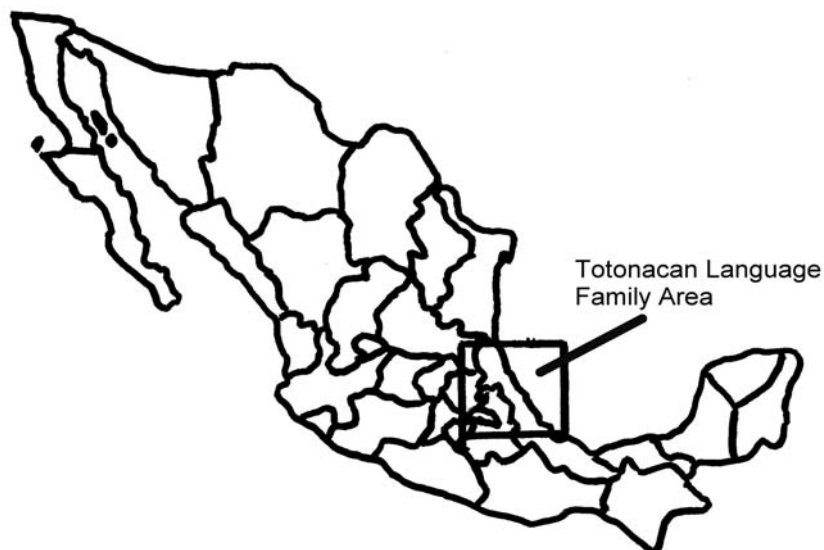
VOC	vocative
vt	transitive verb (verbo transitivo)
XXX	unidentified morpheme or word
-	affix boundary
+	clitic boundary
=	compound boundary
#	word boundary
*	reconstructed form
**	ungrammatical, unattested form
??	questionable grammaticality

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE LANGUAGE

Tepehua is an under-documented, moribund, indigenous language that is spoken in the Mexican towns of Huehuetla, Hidalgo and Mecapalapa Puebla. Tepehua belongs to the Totonacan language family, which has two branches: Tepehua and Totonac.¹ The Totonacan languages are spoken in the Eastern Sierra Madre mountain chain in the Central Gulf Coast region of Mexico where the contiguous states of Hidalgo, Veracruz, and Puebla fit together like pieces of a jigsaw puzzle. Illustration 1 is a map the geographical location of the Totonacan language family within Mexico.

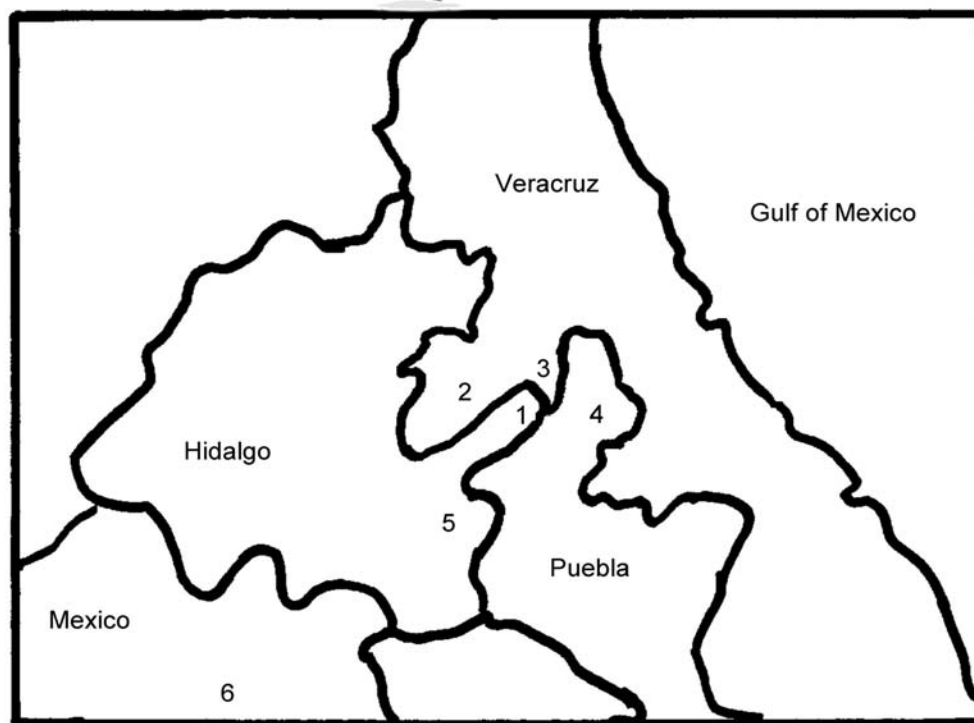
Illustration 1: Map of Totonacan Languages within Mexico



¹ Two versions of the Totonacan family tree are shown in Figures 1 and 2 in section 1.3.

There are three varieties of Tepehua: Huehuetla Tepehua (HT), Pisaflores Tepehua (PT), and Tlachichilco Tepehua (TT). Illustration 2 shows the four locations where the Tepehua languages are spoken: in and around the towns of Tlachichilco and Pisaflores, Veracruz, in Huehuetla, Hidalgo, and in Mecapalapa, Puebla. This map also shows the cities of Tulancingo, Hidalgo and Mexico City for reference. The variety of Huehuetla Tepehua that is spoken in Huehuetla, Hidalgo is the topic of this grammar.

Illustration 2: Map of Tepehua Languages



1 = Huehuetla, Hidalgo 2 = Tlachichilco, Veracruz 3 = Pisaflores, Veracruz
4 = Mecapalapa, Puebla 5 = Tulancingo, Hidalgo 6 = Mexico City

According to Ethnologue, all three Tepehua varieties combined are spoken by approximately 10,000 people (Gordon 2005). The Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Información (INEGI), the organization responsible for the census in the United States of Mexico, reported 8,325 speakers of Tepehua (all three varieties) over 5 years old in the 1980 census and 8,120 speakers in the 1990 census. Of the 8,120 Tepehua speakers reported in the 1990 census, 2,001 of them lived in the state of Hidalgo (MacKay 1999), meaning that they were most likely speakers of HT. In the most recent census of 2005, INEGI reported 8,321 total Tepehua speakers, 1,470 of which were living in Huehuetla, Hidalgo (INEGI 2005) and were most likely speakers of Huehuetla Tepehua and not one of the other two varieties.

The town of Huehuetla is quite remote, even by Mexican standards. To get there, one must begin in Mexico city and travel north-east (by car or bus) on a divided highway for one-and-a-half to two hours to the small city of Tulancingo, Hidalgo. From Tulancingo, one must first travel east on a two-lane highway for about 30 minutes, then travel north and north-east on two- or one-lane mountainous roads for three to four hours. The roads are quite treacherous in places, and the scenery in the mountains is breathtaking. The climate and environment make two dramatic changes during the trip. The area around Tulancingo is dry and arid, with lots of maguey, cacti, and scrub brush. As the elevation increases, the climate becomes quite cold, and the flora gradually changes to pine forest. After cresting the mountain range and upon descent on the other side, the flora becomes dense and tropical, and the climate becomes hot and

humid. Huehuetla is the last community on the road and the last stop on the bus route.

The town of Huehuetla is the county seat of Huehuetla County (Municipio de Huehuetla). It lies at the bottom of a deep valley, beside a river whose name I never learned because the people in Huehuetla call it simply *el río* or *juu lakxkaan* [ˌhuː lak.ˈʃkaːn] ‘the river’. From looking at maps of the area, I have decided that this river is the River Pantepec. My consultants described the town as being made up of approximately half Tepehua and half people of non-indigenous descent. The HT-speakers call the non-indigenous population *Laawaan* [la.ˈβaːn], or ‘Spanish people’, even though many of them are descendants of a German family who at one time owned a local coffee exportation business.

HT is spoken in the town of Huehuetla, the nearby communities of Barrio Atzlán and Linda Vista (Mirasol), and in the more distant town of Mecapalapa, Puebla. Both Barrio Atzlán and Linda Vista are a short ten- to fifteen-minute walk from downtown Huehuetla, while Mecapalapa is about a day’s walk down-river from Huehuetla. I visited the two nearby communities often, but I never went to Mecapalapa. Totonac is the principle indigenous language spoken in Mecapalapa, and the Tepehua speakers there are immigrants (or their descendants) from Huehuetla (Kryder 1987).



Illustration 3: Huehuetla, Hidalgo, Mexico

Almost all HT-speakers are bilingual in Spanish. At the time of my fieldwork, I met two women who were monolingual in HT; both of them were in their 90s, and both of them lived in the remotest part of Barrio Atzlán. Everyone else I met was bilingual in HT and Spanish, and many of the older men were multilingual in HT, Spanish, Totonac, and Otomí. With respect to the younger generations, I met only two teenagers who actively spoke HT (as well as Spanish) in the home: a 14 year old girl and a 15 year old boy. I do not mean to imply that these two teenagers were Tepehua-dominant, because they were not; they used Tepehua (as well as Spanish) only with their parents and grandparents, and they switched to Spanish with everyone else. All of the other young adults, teenagers, and children that I met chose to speak only Spanish in the home, even though many or most of them understood HT.

I met only one HT-dominant couple who spoke to their young toddler and pre-school aged children in HT; everyone else addressed their children and grandchildren in Spanish. Since I left the village, a teacher's college has been constructed there, which has caused the non-HT-speaking population to increase and has led to even more intermarriage between Tepehua and non-Tepehua, thereby reducing even more the likelihood that HT will be passed on to future generations. English—but not Tepehua—is taught in the local middle and high schools, and more and more people want to learn English in order to emigrate to the United States of America.

Otomí is spoken in many of the ranches and towns that are a part of the Huehuetla Municipio. On Market day, when people come from the outlying areas to do business, it is quite common to hear Otomí, as well as Tepehua, spoken in the town. The town of Huehuetla is a Tepehua island surrounded by a sea of Otomí. Outside the Huehuetla Municipio boundaries, going east towards the Gulf Coast, both Totonac and Nahuatl are spoken. Many of the older Tepehua men who had left Huehuetla to work (and then returned) were multilingual in Totonac, Otomí, Tepehua, and—of course—Spanish. However, I did not meet an HT speaker who claimed to know Nahuatl, too.

The HT autonyms are *Maqalhqama7* [ma,qaʔqa'maʔ] 'Tepehua people' and *Lhiimaqalhqama7* [ʔi:ma,qaʔqa'maʔ] 'Tepehua language'. In general, HT speakers are not aware that there are two other varieties of Tepehua or that there are Tepehua speakers in or around Tlachichilco or Pisaflores, both of which are in the state of Veracruz. Both of these groups have their own autonyms to refer to

their language: *Lhiimaasipijni* /ʔi:ma:sipihni/ or *Liimaasipijni* /li:ma:sipihni/ in Tlachichilco Tepehua and *Lhichiwin* /ʔitʃiwin/ in Pisaflores Tepehua (INALI 2006, Watters p.c.). According to Watters (1988), the word *Tepehua* is an exonym from Nahuatl: *tepe-* ‘mountain’ and *hua* ‘dweller, owner’ (p. 4). The word *Huehuetla* ‘place of the old people’ is also of Nahuatl origin, and there are two possible etymologies: (i) *huehue* ‘old person’ and *-tla* ‘place of’ and (ii) *huehuetzotl* ‘old god’ or ‘god of the town’ (Palacios 1993).²



Illustration 4: Angela Patricio Tolentino, Wearing Traditional Tepehua Dress, Huehuetla, Hidalgo, Mexico, May 2005

Farming is the dominant economic activity of the Tepehua people in Huehuetla. They cultivate and sell coffee and corn. They cultivate squash, peppers, palm, and tomatoes for personal use. Unlike the Totonac of Papantla, the Tepehua do not traditionally cultivate vanilla. The Tepehua do not participate in community

² See also the INEGI Archivo Histórico de Localidades: Huehuetla, Hidalgo. Downloaded from: <http://mapserver.inegi.gob.mx/dsist/ahl2003/general2.cfm?clavegeo=140024>.

farming. Each family has a plot of land outside the village where they grow the above-mentioned crops. During the time of my fieldwork (2000-2001), the price of coffee had dropped so low that many of the Tepehua had decided that it was not worth the effort to pick the beans from the coffee bushes. Instead many of the men found work in Tulancingo or Mexico City, and some crossed over into the United States in search of work.

The people of Huehuetla are predominantly Catholic with a large protestant community, as well. I did not observe any protestant ceremonies, but I did observe, record, and participate in several of the traditional Catholic ceremonies that the town of Huehuetla celebrates, including Candlemas (Candelaria) in February and Mardi Gras (Carnaval), which fell in early March the year that I was there. All of the names of the ancient deities have been lost, but the spiritual practices and rituals have been syncretically blended with Catholicism. Though the Candlemas celebration (fiesta de Candelaria), for example, is a Catholic one, more importance is placed on the celebrations officiated over by the *brujos*, ‘male witches’ or ‘shamen’, than on the mass held at the parish church. There is a strong belief in shamanism and witchcraft that goes beyond mere superstition.

1.2 MY RESEARCH: THE HISTORY, SETTING, AND METHODOLOGY

My first contact with HT was in the summer of 1999 when I began working on the Project for the Documentation of the Languages of Mesoamerica (PDLMA), directed by Dr. Terrence Kaufman, Dr. John Justeson, and Dr. Roberto Zavala Maldonado, in Catemaco, Veracruz. When he hired me, Dr.

Kaufman gave me a choice between Zapotec, which is a tone language, and Tepehua, which is not. I chose Tepehua.

During the nine-week field summer in 1999, I worked with two native speaker consultants of HT conducting mainly one-on-one lexical elicitation. For the first three weeks, I worked with Micaela Santiago Plata, who was 23 years old at the time; for the last six weeks, I worked with Nicolás Viguera Patricio, who was 44 years old at the time. Under Dr. Kaufman's tutelage, I established the practical phonemic orthography that I have used in all of my subsequent fieldwork and that appears in this grammar.³

Micaela's first language was HT; she began speaking Spanish when she started primary school. Micaela was immensely proud of her heritage and her language, and she spoke only Tepehua in the home and with her extended family. However, she was studying in Tulancingo, Hidalgo to be a teacher, and she had not lived in Huehuetla continuously since graduating from secondary school. She had attended high school in another town, where Spanish and Otomí were spoken. During the time that she worked with me, she was on vacation from her teacher-training school. She was new to linguistic consultation, and I was new to linguistic elicitation; we trained each other.

For those readers who know something of my medical history during my field work, it was while I was working with Micaela during our second week in Catemaco that I came down with appendicitis. After watching me struggle through our elicitation sessions for four days, she finally insisted that I see a

³ Please see Chapter 2, section 2.1.3 for an explanation of the practical orthography.

doctor. The next day—a Friday—I was operated on for a ruptured appendix in a small hospital in the nearby town of San Andrés Tuxla, Veracruz. I spent the weekend in the hospital, went back to the Hotel Playa Cristal (the PDLMA headquarters) on Sunday afternoon, and was back at work on Wednesday morning. Micaela and I worked together for another week and a half before she had to go back to school.



Illustration 5: Micaela Santiago Plata and Susan Smythe Kung, Hotel Playa Cristal, Catemaco, Veracruz, Mexico, June 1999

Micaela returned to Huehuetla on her way back to Tulancingo to find a replacement for herself and to visit her family. Her HT-dominant mother recommended someone, but when Micaela got to his house, she found that he was out of town, but that his brother was willing to join the

PDLMA in his stead.

By the time Nicolás Viguera Patricio joined the project, I had a better understanding of what I was doing (with respect to the lexical elicitation and how to use different elicitation techniques, such as the mirror image analogy). He

proved to be one of the best consultants that I've had the opportunity to work with. He, too, had learned HT as his first language, and—like Micaela—had not learned Spanish until he started school. Unlike Micaela, he had not had the opportunity to pursue an education. As the son of poor farmers, he had left school to work after completing the sixth grade.

Don Nicolás loved working with me as a linguistic consultant, and he never grew bored or impatient with the repetition. He is a farmer by birth and a musician by trade, and he has a strong, clear speaking voice. He also proved to be a highly creative HT-speaker. He rarely said that a word did not exist in HT; instead, he found a way to say it, even if we had to resort to a Spanish dictionary to figure out what a particular prompt meant. He was immensely patient with my less-than-perfect Spanish. He claims, with pride, that he taught me both Tepehua *and* Spanish.



Illustration 6: Nicolás Vigueras Patricio and Susan Smythe Kung, Hotel Playa Cristal, Catemaco, Veracruz, Mexico, July 1999

I returned to Mexico to work for PDLMA in the summer of 2000. During the eight-week (June-July) field season that was again held in Catemaco, Veracruz, I worked with Nicolás Vigueras Patricio for a second time, but only for

one week. Dr. Kaufman decided that we needed an older speaker of HT, someone whose idiolect still retained vestiges of the uvular stops that he hypothesized were found in Proto-Tepehua; sadly, there was no trace of the historic uvular stop or glottalized uvular stop in the idiolects of either don Nicolás or Micaela. Don Nicolás was gracious beyond expectation. He took me to his village, introduced me to dozens of HT speakers older than himself, and even made me feel like an honored guest in his home. After two days in Huehuetla, during which time I had met many older speakers (older than 60) who retained plain uvular stops, I had found no one who was willing to return to Catemaco to work with me at the PDLMA headquarters. Just as I was about to leave, we met don Nicolás' uncle, Antonio Viguera Huerta, who had just returned to town and who was more than willing to work with me in Catemaco.

At this point in my fieldwork, I was planning to continue my own grammatical research on HT in the town of Huehuetla after the PDLMA field summer was over. Knowing this, don Nicolás invited me to stay with him and his family for the duration of my fieldwork even though I had to replace him with another, older consultant that summer.

I worked with don Antonio Viguera Huerta for the final seven weeks of the 2000 field summer. It was only after working with don Antonio that I fully appreciated what a dedicated linguistic consultant don Nicolás was. Don Antonio was 76 years old that summer. He tired easily, and he was somewhat hard of hearing, both of which made him lose patience easily with the repetitious root-dictionary task that Dr. Kaufman had assigned to us. Don Antonio was missing

most of his front teeth, which made him difficult for me to understand, and he spoke an antiquated, agrarian Spanish that I was not familiar with. He could not see well enough to be able to identify photos and drawings of flora and fauna, a lexical task that Dr. Kaufman had assigned us. We ended up spending most of the summer going on long walks during which I carried a mini-disk recorder and microphone to record in HT anything that he saw, identified, and cared to tell me. We also spent many hours in the project's sound room, recording him talking about any subject that came to his mind. However, the most important task that we did that summer was to go through the HT lexemes that I had elicited from Micaela and don Nicolás, with me re-eliciting the same forms from don Antonio to see if they contained a uvular stop or a glottal stop in his idiolect.

Even though don Antonio did not enjoy the work of a linguistic consultant, he did enjoy working with me. I became closer to him than I was to either of my own grandfathers, and I know that he felt the same towards me. Several months later, when I was living in Huehuetla with don Nicolás' family, I discovered that don Antonio had spent the entire summer speaking to me in the register that don Nicolás later dubbed "affectionate speech"; please see Chapter 2, section 2.6.10.2 for a description of this register. Don Antonio passed away in October 2005, may he rest in peace.

The data resulting from my first two field summers (1999 and 2000) working for PDLMA fill three file slip boxes, approximately 700 notebooks pages, and approximately 10 hours of audio-recordings. The direct elicitation tasks that I conducted with Micaela, don Nicolás, and don Antonio include

elicitation using vocabulary lists (Kaufman's short vocabulary list (220 words), his lexical list (651 words), and his long lists (4300 words)) and the Bouquiaux Questionnaire; elicitation of male and female names; and elicitation of ethnobotanical and ethnozoological terms by means of taking walks and looking at botanical and zoological books. I also recorded, transcribed, and translated narrative texts in HT from all three consultants.



Illustration 7: Antonio Viguera Huerta and Susan Smythe Kung, Hotel Playa Cristal, Catemaco, Veracruz, Mexico, July 2000

After briefly returning to Texas for 3 weeks, I went back to Mexico in late August of 2000, this time with funding from a Fulbright García-Robles fellowship and an NSF Dissertation Improvement grant (#0078453 with Anthony C. Woodbury, PI). After spending a week in Mexico City and another five weeks in Cholula, Puebla at the Universidad de las Americas – Puebla, I established myself in Huehuetla, Hidalgo in October of 2000, in the home of my principal consultant, Nicolás Viguera Patricio. Though I maintained an apartment in Cholula until January 2001, I lived primarily with the Viguera family from October 2000 through early July 2001.

For the first three months, I shared a room with several of the family members. However, I needed a more private space in which to be able to conduct my research and store my equipment, so rather than moving into my own house, I decided to build a room onto the Vigueras' home. Construction of the room began in November 2000, and I was able to move into it full-time in January 2001.



Illustration 8: Building a “Linguistic Facility”

During my time in Huehuetla, I utilized a discourse-centered approach to data collection (Sherzer 1987) in order to understand how and for what purposes HT-speakers use their language in their daily lives. I tried to be a participant in, as well as an observer of, the community; I took my mini-disk recorder with me everywhere that I went (along with several of my NSF consent forms), and

recorded as often as possible. A discourse-centered approach to research is a crucial component of descriptive linguistic research because one-on-one elicitation does not produce naturally occurring speech.



Illustration 9: Participant Observer: The Linguist (left) and Dance Partner, Dressed as “Huehues” for Mardi Gras (Carnaval) 2001

However, I quickly learned that it is very difficult to be a participant-observer when all anyone was interested in doing was observing *me*. With my fair, freckled skin and my strawberry blond hair, I stood out like a sore thumb in the indigenous community. I couldn’t go anywhere alone without being followed by a crowd, and I never quite got used to being stared at constantly. Nevertheless, as time passed, it became easier to integrate myself into the community, especially since the Viguera family had adopted me as one of their own.

I worked primarily with don Nicolás, and my first task was to teach him to read and write my HT practical orthography. We spent much of the nine months that I was there recording narratives and conversations with various community members, then transcribing them and translating them into Spanish.

In a rural village, the mornings are the busiest time of the day for the town's people, who rise early to begin their daily tasks. The men go off to the fields to work, while the women see their children off to school and hurry to get some of the never-ending housework done before the children come home again in the early afternoon. Thus, the mornings were never a good time for me to search out consultants because no one—except don Nicolás—had time to work with me.

Thus, don Nicolás and I spent our mornings transcribing and translating texts. The first step in this process involved transcribing an entire HT text. Next don Nicolás translated the HT text loosely into Spanish. Finally, we completed a word-for-word translation together; this allowed me to analyze the words as we worked and to conduct impromptu grammatical and semantic tests when I encountered new forms.

In the early afternoons, there was a period of about two hours that fell after most of the chores were done but before the children came home from school. During these two hours, the whole town was very peaceful, and the adults were resting. This was the best time of the day for me to go visiting other people in the community in search of HT consultants. Thus, most afternoons, don

Nicolás and I would venture out into the town to record texts and word lists with various community members.

In addition to transcribing and translating texts with don Nicolás, I also conducted straight lexical and grammatical elicitation with him, often involving one to three additional HT speakers in the sessions. I organized the grammatical elicitation sessions based on topics suggested in Payne (1997) and issues that came up during text transcription and translation.

Even though I worked with 50 different HT-speakers during the course of my fieldwork, the bulk of the grammatical judgments on which this grammar are based belong to don Nicolás; thus, this dissertation could be considered to be a descriptive grammar of his idiolect, to some extent.

I used a Sony MZ-R30 portable mini-disk recorder and a Sony DCR-TRV11 Digital Handycam to record digital video onto mini-DVs. I also used a Marantz PMD222 Portable Cassette Recorder to copy and play back audio data, and a dictophone transcription machine and foot pedal to transcribe the recorded discourse. I used the SIL computer program *Shoebox 1.0* (the DOS version that was still used by the PDLMA) to database the collected data and to interlinearize the texts, and I used *Speech Analyzer* (version unknown) to make spectrograms in the field.

In addition to audio-recording narratives, texts, and conversation, I video recorded the events of several of the town's major holidays, including Candlemas (Candelaria) and Mardi Gras (Carnaval). The data from my time in Huehuetla include 53 transcribed and translated texts that vary in length from one to sixty

minutes and that fill over 800 notebook pages; seven untranscribed narrative recordings; approximately 700 pages of notes from grammatical and lexical elicitation sessions; 16 hours of audio recordings; and 12 hours of video recordings.

In the summer of 2005, I returned to Catemaco to complete my third and final summer for the PDLMA. This time, because of family obligations at home in Texas, I spent only five weeks working on the project. Once again, don Nicolás was my principal consultant. During this time, I finished direct elicitation of the Bouquiaux Questionnaire. I tested all of the ethnobotanical and ethnozoological terms in the database, then don Nicolás sorted them all into taxonomies. We went through Melissa Bowerman's Topological Picture Series (no date), which produced positional verbs, relational nouns, and prepositional phrases. I elicited color terms using a color chart (Hoogshagen and Hoogshagen 1993), and I elicited smells using those listed in Enríquez (2004) for Papantla Totonac. We used a large toolbox full of tools typically found in Mexican farming communities to generate words for all of the various tools. I used the existing ethnozoological terms in the database to elicit words for animal cries, noises, and movements. We did not record any texts at all that summer, nor did we do any transcription or translation. This was the first field summer that I did not work with notebooks. To save time, I entered most of the data directly into the database, resorting to file slips only occasionally.

In all I spent 14 months conducting field work on Huehuetla Tepehua. I have so much data in notebooks, on file slips, on mini-(audio)-disks, on video,

even on random scraps of paper, that I feel like I will never have enough time to analyze it all. After I returned from the field in 2001, it took me three years to organize the small portion of the data that I have used to write this grammar.⁴ Even though I felt compelled to continue adding to the dictionary and interlinearizing texts, I reached a point when I had to stop organizing and start analyzing and writing. There are many gaps in the analyzed data presented here, but I am sure that answers to the questions left by these gaps can be found somewhere in the volumes that I have collected, if only I knew where to look. Cecil Brown recently told me that it is only after the Ph.D. is done that the real work begins. I know that I have my work cut out for me for years to come.

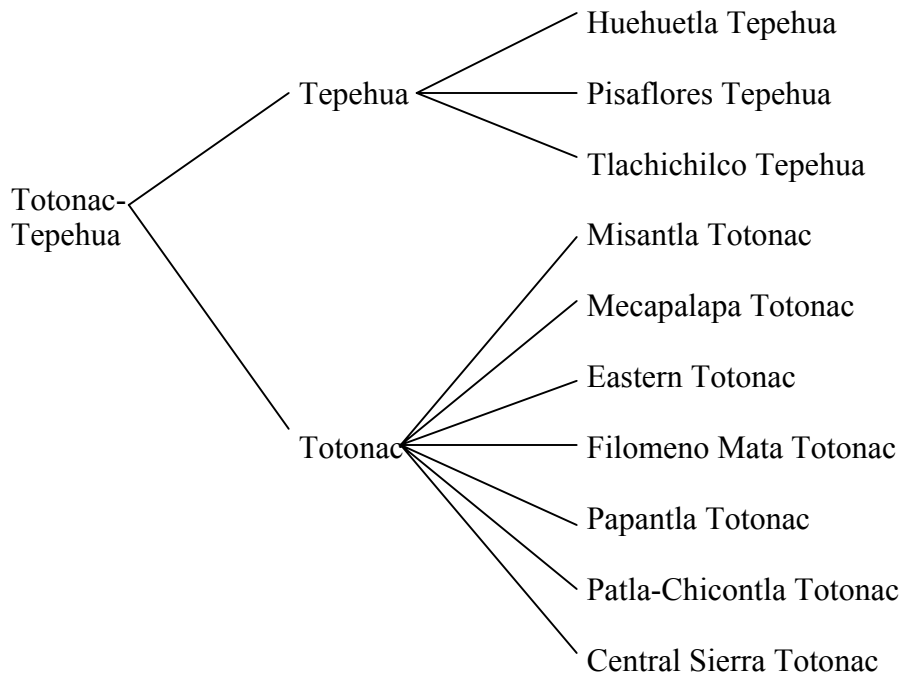
1.3 HUEHUETLA TEPEHUA AND THE TOTONACAN LANGUAGE FAMILY

Huehuetla Tepehua is a member of the Tepehua branch of the Totonacan language family, which has only two branches, Tepehua and Totonac (see Figures 1 and 2 below). The Totonacan languages are spoken in the Mexican states of Veracruz, Puebla, and Hidalgo, and the Totonac and Tepehua branches are mutually unintelligible (MacKay 1999). Because so little documentation exists for the Totonacan languages, it has not been possible to determine if this language family is a linguistic isolate or if it is related to Mayan and Mixe-Zoquean, as suggested by Greenberg (1987) and McQuown (1940, 1942). However, Kaufman (2003) argued that the lexical cognates that exist between Totonacan and Mixe-Zoquean are the result of contact rather than genetics.

⁴ Unfortunately, I was not able to database or interlinearize the collected data while I was in Huehuetla because of frequent power-outages and a faulty computer that overheated in the hot, humid climate.

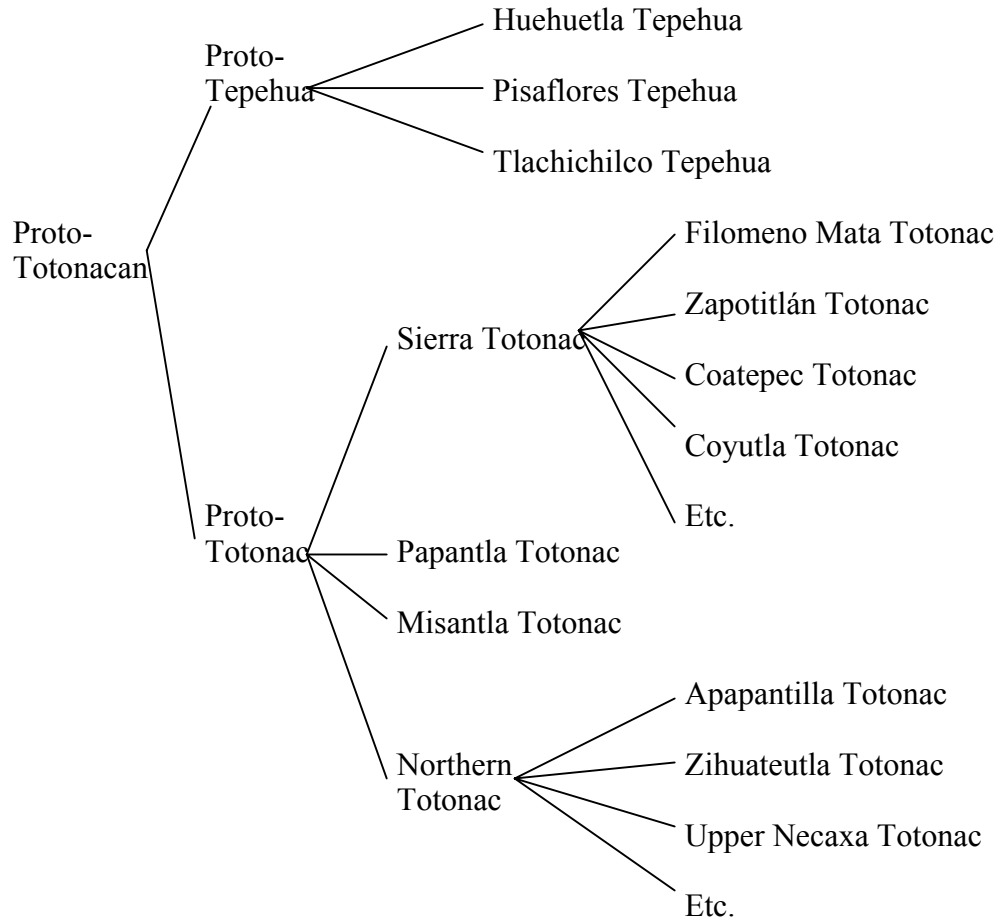
Figures 1 and 2 below are two versions of a Totonacan family tree. The Tepehua branch of both of these trees is exactly the same; it has three members: Huehuetla Tepehua, Pisaflores Tepehua, and Tlachichilco Tepehua, all of which are named after a community in or around which the language is spoken. There are many more Totonac varieties than Tepehua varieties, and many of the Totonac varieties remain largely undocumented. Thus, it is much more difficult to determine the members and branchings of the Totonac branch of the language family, and for this reason, I give two different versions of the tree.

Figure 1: INALI Totonac-Tepehua Divisions⁵



⁵ Tree compiled based on INALI 2006

Figure 2: The Totonacan Language Family⁶



The HT speakers, as a whole, are unaware that Tepehua is spoken in and around the towns of Pisaflores or Tlachichilco, Veracruz. Both of these communities are separated from Huehuetla by both distance and mountain ranges so that the three groups have no contact. However, there is a community—Mecapalapa, Puebla—where both HT and Totonac are spoken. Mecapalapa is down-river from Huehuetla, about a day’s walk away. The HT speakers in this community are, for the most part, relatives or descendents of the HT speakers in

⁶ Tree compiled based on MacKay 1999; Beck 2003; and McFarland 2005.

Huehuetla (Kryder 1987). Although there is considerable movement between the two communities, the Huehuetla natives nevertheless consider the speech of the Mecapalapa natives to be less grammatical than their own, and they recognize slight differences in the HT speech of the two communities.

HT is in serious danger of extinction because it is being rapidly replaced by Spanish. During the nine months that I spent in Huehuetla, I observed that it was spoken by very few adults under the age of 30 and that almost no children were learning to speak it. If this pattern continues, the language likely will be dead in the next two-to-three generations (Krauss 1992).

HT is a polysynthetic, head-marking (Nichols 1986) language with complex verbal morphology. Inflectional affixes include both prefixes and suffixes for which a templatic pattern is difficult to model. Third person singular is not marked on the verb, but—for reasons that are enumerated in Chapter 3—cannot be analyzed as a zero marker occupying a given slot in a verbal template. In addition to inflectional and derivational morphology, the HT verbs are also host to a large number of aspectual derivational morphemes, each of which alters the meaning of the verb in a very specific way.

Nominals can be divided into lexical nouns and derived nouns. A derived noun may include body part prefixes, compounded nouns, and nominalized verbs. Plural marking is not obligatory, though human nouns tend to be marked for number, while nonhuman nouns tend not to be. HT nouns are completely unmarked for case. Certain nouns, including kinship terms, honorifics, and parts of a whole are obligatorily possessed.

In addition to verbs and nouns, HT also has a separate class of both adjectives and adverbs, some of which are full words, but others of which are particles.

HT is interesting from a phonological perspective for at least two reasons. There is a word-final process of devoicing that affects not only vowels, but also the liquid /l/, which is prohibited from occurring in coda position. When morphophonological processes occur that would force /l/ into a coda position, it neutralizes with the voiceless lateral fricative phoneme /ɬ/. Next, a second person subject is marked on the verb through the laryngealization of stops and affricates; in some cases, a second person subject is doubly marked by laryngealization as well as suffixation.

1.4 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

MacKay (1999) provides a thorough review of all of the linguistic literature on Totonac and Tepehua spanning from the colonial vocabularies and grammars of Olmos (1547) and Zambrano Bonilla (1752) and ending with her own work from the 1990s. Because her review is so thorough, I refer the reader to that source for reference to anything written before 1997 about Totonac, Tepehua, or the Totonacan language family. This review of the literature picks up where MacKay's left off.

In fact, since the publication of MacKay's (1999) grammar of Misantla Totonac, we seem to have entered the golden age of Totonacan research, especially with respect to the Tepehua branch of the family. Just two decades ago, the only member of the Tepehua branch to have been documented was the

Tlachichilco variety (Watters 1980, 1984, 1987, 1988, 1994, 1996a, 1996b). The only published materials on Huehuetla Tepehua were a 1976 translation of the New Testament by the Liga Bíblica Mundial de Hogar, several short stories written by SIL consultants and published by the SIL, Kryder's (1987) Masters thesis, which is a sketch of the HT phonology and morphology, and three short linguistics articles by SIL linguists that either describe or analyze HT numerals (Bower 1948), HT sentences (Bower and Erickson 1967), and HT verbal inflection (Herzog 1974).

My own work on HT includes acoustic analysis of uvular stops, glottal stops, and vowels (Smythe 2000, 2002), reconstruction of uvular stops (Smythe 2003), description and analysis of "affectionate speech", sound symbolism, and ideophones in HT (Smythe 2003; Smythe Kung 2005a, 2005c), external possession or possessor ascension (Smythe Kung 2004), Spanish loanwords (Smythe Kung 2005b), numeral classifiers (Smythe Kung 2006a, 2007), and split intransitivity (Smythe Kung 2006b).

Pisaflores Tepehua was a completely undocumented language two decades ago, but today the work on this language includes not only Hernández Sierra's (1986) ENAH thesis on the history of the Tepehua people of Pisaflores and the phonemes of the language, but also several SIL-published stories in the language that are available on-line through the SIL and Ethnologue websites, as well as two forthcoming linguistic descriptions of the language: a grammatical sketch (MacKay and Trechsler, to appear c) and a phonological sketch (MacKay and Trechsel, to appear a).

The last decade has been fruitful for four members of the Totonac branch: Papantla Totonac, Upper Necaxa Totonac, Misantla Totonac, and Filomeno Mata Totonac. The closed ‘parts’ class in Papantla Totonac has been the particular focus of attention by Levy (1999a, 1999b, 2003, 2004), who has also analyzed applicatives (2002a), specifiers and determiners (2002b), and relational nouns (2006) in the language. Enriquez (2004) categorized words for odors in Papantla Totonac.

Upper Necaxa Totonac (UNT)—also known as Patla-Chicontla Totonac—is now widely documented due to the Upper Necaxa Field Project II: The Structure and Acquisition of an Endangered, Indigenous Language, directed by Dr. David Beck and funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Publications and presentations that have resulted from Dr. Beck’s research on UNT include a grammatical sketch of the language (Beck 2004), an analysis of UNT adjectives (Beck 1999, 2000, 2002), verbal paradigms and person-marking hierarchies (Beck 2003), diachronic and synchronic phonetic and phonological analysis of a rare class of ejective fricatives found in UNT (Beck 2006b), agreement in multi-object constructions (Beck 2006a, 2006c), ideophones and adverbs (Beck to appear a, to appear b), and an investigation of extreme head-marking patterns within the language (Beck 2007). Other publications or presentations that have resulted from Beck’s project include an examination of language loss (Beck and Lam in press) and first language acquisition of locative constructions (Varela 2006).

Recent work on Misantla Totonac includes a grammatical sketch (MacKay and Trechsel 2005b) and an analysis of symmetrical (double) objects (MacKay and Trechsel, to appear b). The same duo focused their attention on the Totonacan language family at large in their analysis of the Totonacan reciprocal marker *laa-* (MacKay and Trechsel 2003) and in symmetrical object-marking in Totonacan (MacKay and Trechsel 2005a, 2006).

Finally, Teresa McFarland is writing a detailed overview of the phonology and morphology of Filomeno Mata Totonac for her Ph.D. dissertation at the University of California at Berkeley (in progress). She has analyzed the inflectional system (2005) and the templatic morphology of ideophones (2006, to appear).

1.5 OVERVIEW OF THE GRAMMAR

Chapter 2: Phonology presents the Huehuetla Tepehua phonemes and their allophones, the practical orthography that I use to represent HT in all subsequent chapters, a phonemic merger that is currently taking place in the language, the syllable structure, rules for primary and secondary stress assignment, general phonological processes that occur in the language, and morphophonemic processes that affect the boundaries of particular morphemes.

I have put everything having to do with verbs into *Chapter 3: Verbs and Verbal Morphology*. This chapter covers verbal inflectional morphology (including person-marking and tense/aspect/mood), verbal derivational morphology (including valence-changing affixes, verb-compounding, and aspectual derivational affixes), existential verbs, positional and postural verbs, the

copula, periphrastic verbal constructions such as the auxiliary-like verb *laa* ‘can’ and infinitival phrases that are used to convey the periphrastic future and the progressive and inchoative aspects.

Similarly, I have put everything to do with nouns into *Chapter 4: Nouns and Nominal Morphology*. Not only does this chapter include nominal inflectional morphology (pluralization and possession) and derivational morphology (deriving nouns from nouns and nouns from verbs), it also includes syntactic information relevant to the noun phrase, relational noun constructions, and pronouns.

Chapter 5: Modifiers is quite small. It includes discussion of the HT quantifiers and adjectives. The adjective section is subdivided further into adjectival inflection and adjectival derivation.

Chapter 6: Adverbs includes quantifiers used adverbially, prepositions, and adverbs. Sub-topics under adverbs include temporal, locative, and manner adverbs, adverbial particles, and adverbial clitics. Manner adverbs can be further divided into ideophonic and non-ideophonic manner adverbs. Finally, this chapter includes discussion of the derivational prefix *lhii-*, which creates a directional adverb from an adverb or adjective.

Numbers and numeral affixes are discussed in *Chapter 7: Numbers*. Subtopics in this chapter include cardinal numbers, ordinal numbers, numeral classifiers, numeral inflection, and the counting of days.

Syntactic analysis of HT is found in *Chapter 8: Syntax*. Topics discussed in this chapter include word order of major constituents, focus, interrogation, negation, comparative and superlative constructions, and complex clauses. The

complex clauses are divided into coordination and subordination, the latter of which is further divided into relative clauses, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, and conditional clauses.

Finally, the grammar concludes with an appendix that consists of six fully interlinearized and analyzed HT narrative texts.

Though I have tried to include as much information about Huehuetla Tepehua as possible in this grammar, there will always be more that could be added. However, the most obvious omission from this grammar is an analysis of HT discourse. Because of time constraints, I have chosen not to include a chapter dedicated to discourse. However, if one reads the other chapters closely, s/he will find bits of information about the discourse dispersed throughout the grammar.

Chapter 2: Phonology

2.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

There are twenty-six consonants (section 2.1.1) and five vowels (section 2.1.2) in the phonemic inventory of Huehuetla Tepehua. In this chapter, I use both IPA and a practical orthography—which I explain in section 2.1.3—to write HT. In subsequent chapters, I use only the practical orthography.

2.1.1 Consonants

There are twenty-one native HT consonant phonemes. Two phonemes (/ɾ/ and /r/) occur only in ideophones⁷ and Spanish loan words, and three phonemes (/b/, /d/, /g/) occur only in Spanish borrowings and as allophones of their voiceless counterparts. The twenty-six consonants are charted in Table 1.

Table 1: HT Consonant Phonemes

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Lateral	Palato-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stop	p (b)	t (d)				k (g)	q	
Glottalized Stop	p'	t'				k'		ʔ
Nasal	m	n						
Fricative		s	ɬ	ʃ				
Affricate		ts		tʃ				
Glottalized Affricate		ts'		tʃ'				
Liquid			l					
Trill & Flap		r ɾ						
Approximant	w				j			h

⁷ See Chapter 6, section 6.3.1 for more information on HT ideophones.

As can be seen from Table 1, there is a gap in the class of glottalized stops due to the absence of a glottalized uvular /q'/ phoneme. According to Bower (1948), Herzog (1974), Kryder (1987), and Watters (1988), HT has a glottalized uvular stop that corresponds to the other glottalized stops, /p'/, /t'/, and /k'/; however, in my own fieldwork, I found no evidence of a glottalized uvular. I also found that the plain uvular had already merged with /ʔ/ in the speech of the younger (i.e., <76 years old) speakers.⁸ Whenever I had the opportunity to check a lexeme with an older speaker, I did so. Unfortunately, I was not able to test all lexical items with older speakers. If one speaker pronounced a word with a uvular stop and another pronounced it with a glottal stop, I noted both pronunciations in the database. The transcriptions in this chapter reflect the speech of the eldest speaker who gave me the particular lexeme.

2.1.2 Vowels

Historically, Proto-Totonacan had a three-vowel system, consisting of /i/, /u/, and /a/, plus their long counterparts (Arana 1953; Watters 1988). Today, HT has a five-vowel system, due both to the influence of Spanish bilingualism and to the loss of the uvular stops (/q/ and *q') that condition the lowering of /i/ and /u/ to /e/ and /o/, respectively. Vowel length is phonemic. The HT vowels are charted in Table 2.

⁸ See section 2.3 for more information on this merger.

Table 2: HT Vowel Phonemes

	Front	Central	Back
High	i(:)		u(:)
Mid	e(:)		o(:)
Low		a(:)	

2.1.3 Practical Orthography

When I began my work on HT under the auspices of the Project for the Documentation of the Languages of Mesoamerica, Dr. Terrence Kaufman, the director of the PDLMA, instructed me to create a practical (i.e., typewriter friendly) orthography for writing HT. Under his guidance, I did so, and I have used this orthography for all of my subsequent fieldwork, as well as in my dictionary and textual databases. Therefore, I continue to use the practical orthography in this current work. Table 3 is a conversion chart showing the HT phonemes in the characters of my practical orthography followed by IPA characters in parentheses only where the two orthographic systems differ.

Table 3: HT Practical Orthography

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Lateral	Palato-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stop	p	t d				k g	q	
Glottalized Stop	p'	t'				k'		ʔ (ʔ)
Nasal	m	n						
Fricative		s	lh (ɬ)	x (ç)				
Affricate		tz (ts)		ch (tʃ)				
Glottalized Affricate		tz' (ts')		ch' (tʃ')				
Liquid			l					
Trill & Flap		rr (r) r (ɾ)						
Approximant	w				y (j)			j (h)

The characters used in my practical orthography come from five different sources: the typewriter keyboard, the IPA, the Americanist phonetic system, modern Spanish, and 16th century grammars of indigenous Mexican languages. My overarching concern was that all of the characters of the practical orthography be characters that are found on a standard typewriter. Since no one in Huehuetla owned a computer (at the time I began my fieldwork) and since many people owned or had access to typewriters, I could not use any special characters, such as the glottal stop /ʔ/ or the esh /ɬ/. Next, I wanted to follow the IPA as closely as possible. Thus, where the IPA character matched a typewriter character, I used it (p, p', t, t', k, k', q, m, n, s, l, w).

However, there are three IPA characters that correspond to keyboard characters that I chose not to use, and they are /h/, /j/, and /ɾ/. Since I use the character <h> in my practical orthography in the digraphs <ch> and <lh> for /tʃ/

and /ʎ/, respectively, and since there are situations in which the phoneme /h/ might be contiguous with the <ch> or the <lh>, I chose to represent this phoneme with the character <j>, because it is the character that modern Spanish uses for /x/, and because [x] is an allophone of /h/ in Tepehua.

Since I used the <j> to represent /h/, I chose to represent /j/ as <y>, following the Americanist phonetic system. I chose to represent /r/ as the doubled consonant <rr> and thus, /ɾ/ as <r> because /r/ and /ɾ/ are new sounds in Tepehua that do not occur in native non-ideophonic words. Since these two sounds are borrowed from Spanish, I chose to represent them using the modern Spanish orthography.

The use of <x> for /ʃ/, <ch> for /tʃ/, <tz> for /ts/, and <lh> for /ʎ/ all date back to the 16th century grammars of Mexican indigenous languages. First, in 16th century Spanish orthography, <x> was used to represent /ʃ/, and <ch> was used to represent /tʃ/,⁹ so this orthographic practice was continued by the missionary friars in their indigenous grammars (Smith Stark 2005). The use of <tz> for /ts/ goes back to Molina's 1571 and to Carochi's 1645 grammars of Nahuatl (Smith Stark 2005). I chose to use <tz> rather than <ts> so that this sound would not be confused with a consonant cluster comprised of /t/ and /s/. I chose to represent the ejective counter parts to <ch> and <tz> as <ch'> and <tz'>, respectively, mirroring the use of <'> by the IPA to indicate glottalization. The digraph <lh> was first used to represent /ʎ/ by Olmos in his 1547 grammar of Nahuatl, while the digraph <hl> was used later by Romero in his 17th century grammar of Totonac

⁹ Of course, <ch> still represents /tʃ/ in modern Spanish orthography, while, <x> is now used only for the consonant cluster /k+/s/.

(Smith Stark 2005). I chose to use <lh> since this is commonly used today to represent /ɬ/ in the practical orthographies of other Totonacan languages (e.g., Aschmann 1973, 1983 [1962]; Herzog no date; Reid 1991; Reid and Bishop 1974).

Finally, I chose to use a <ʔ>, rather than <'>, to represent /ʔ/ because I wanted to emphasize the fact that the glottal stop is a phoneme in its own right and not just a quality of other phonemes, as is indicated by the <'> on the glottalized stops and affricates.

My practical orthography differs from that of the SIL missionaries to Huehuetla (Bethel Bower and Dorothy Herzog) in the following ways. Where I use <q> to represent the uvular phoneme, they use <k> (Herzog 1974, no date) or <g> (Bower 1948). Where I use <k> to represent the velar phoneme, Herzog uses <c> and <qu> (1974, no date). Where I use <tz>, they use <ts> (Herzog 1974, no date) and <c> (Bower 1948).

Choosing a way to represent the HT vowels in my practical orthography was less problematic since there are only five that are qualitatively distinct: /i, e, a, o, u/. I chose to represent vowel length by doubling the vowel character—as in *xkaan* ‘water’—rather than by following the vowel with a colon—as in *xka:n*. This was a purely aesthetic decision on my part, based first on my principal consultant’s dislike for the vowel-colon combination and secondly on my own tendency to read a colon as in <i> when reading Tepehua words that were handwritten.

2.2 PHONEMIC DESCRIPTION

The HT consonants and vowels are described in sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2, respectively. Examples of phonemic contrasts appear in section 2.2.3, and distinctive feature charts are given in section 2.2.4.

2.2.1 Consonants

The HT native consonantal inventory includes plain and glottalized voiceless stops, voiceless fricatives, plain and glottalized voiceless affricates, laterals, and approximates. The trill and flap occur in Spanish loan words and a very few ideophones.

2.2.1.1 Stops

HT has a series of both plain and glottalized voiceless stops, /p, t, k, q/ and /pʰ, tʰ, kʰ/, respectively. Glottal stop /ʔ/ is phonemic. The voiced stops /b, d, g/ occur only in Spanish borrowings; they do not have glottalized counterparts.

Plain Voiceless Stops /p/, /t/, /k/, /q/

The plain voiceless stops (/p/, /t/, /k/, /q/)¹⁰ occur syllable (and word) initially (1a), syllable (or word) finally (1b), and inter-vocalically (1c). They may occur in a two-consonant cluster in which the other consonant is a sibilant fricative, /s/, /x/, or /lh/. In an onset consonant cluster, the stops occur as the second consonant, or C2, as seen in the example in (1d). In a coda consonant cluster, they may occur as the first consonant, or C1, as seen in (1e).

¹⁰ The pronunciation of /q/ varies greatly, dependent on the speaker's age (see section 2.3 on the merger of /q/ and /ʔ/). However, in the speech of the older speakers who still retain the phoneme /q/, its distribution mirrors that of its class (i.e., the plain stops /p/, /t/, and /k/).

(1)	a.	juumpay	[hu:m.'pai]	'dragonfly'
		kilhtu7	[kɪɫ.'tuʔ]	'edge'
		tankilhak	[,taŋ.ki.'ɬak]	'chest'
		maqalhqama7	[ma.,qɑɫ.qɑ.'maʔ]	'Tepehua'
	b.	maqalipni7	[ma.,ʔa.liɸ.'niʔ]	'lightening'
		ch'alhkatna7	[,tʃ'ɑɫ.kat.'naʔ]	'worker'
		7amakxtal	[,ʔa.mak.'ɬɑɫ]	'trash'
		soqnik'a	[sɔq.'ni.k'ɑ]	'straight'
	c.	lapanak	[la.'pa.nak]	'person', 'man'
		maatuupik	[ma:.'tu:ɸik]	'butterfly'
		7alukut	[ʔa.'lu.kut]	'bone'
		chaqa7	[tʃa.'qaʔ]	'house'
	d.	stapu	['sta.pu]	'bean'
		sqet	['sqet]	'spark'
		juukxpi	['hu:k.ɸpi]	'alligator'
		xkaan	['ɬka:n]	'water'
		lhpaw	['ɬpaw]	'fruit species'
	e.	k'aks	['k'aks]	'kite'
		nipx	['nipɸ]	'squash'
		tiichutlh	[ti:.'tɬutɬ]	'cap', 'stopper'
		lhqap'aqlh	[ɬqa.ɸaqlɬ]	'spoon'

In word final position, the stops are optionally unreleased (2).

(2)	ch'ap	['tʃ'ap] ~ ['tʃ'apʔ]	'palm'
	chu7ut	['tʃu.ʔut] ~ ['tʃu.ʔutʔ]	'saliva'
	7asiiwiik	[ʔa.'si:βi:k] ~ [ʔa.'si:βi:kʔ]	'vein', 'vine'
	chaq	['tʃaq] ~ ['tʃaqʔ]	'thrush'

In connected speech, when /p/, /t/, or /k/ occurs between two voiced sounds, such as a nasal and a vowel or a vowel and a vowel, it is optionally voiced (3). I do not have any examples in which /q/ is voiced in this environment.

- (3) kimpay [kim.'p̄ay] ~ [kim.'b̄ay] 'my father'
 juntaa ['hun.ta:] ~ ['hun.d̄a:] 'where'
 jii kumpaalii [hi:kum.'pa.li:] ~ [hi:gum.'ba.li:] 'VOC compadre'

The stop /q/ may also occur as the first member of a two-consonant syllable-final cluster in which the other member is an affricate, /tz, ch/. The following examples in (4) account for *all* such examples in my database. I have no examples in which /q/ co-occurs with a glottalized affricate.

- (4) soqch [sɔqtʃ] 'straight'
 7aqtz [ʔaqtʃ] 'pillow'
 jaqtz [ʔaqtʃ] ID: 'sobbing sound'
 loqtz [lɔqtʃ] ID: 'sound of applause'

The alveolar stop /t/ is articulated as the dental stop [t̪] word initially, word finally, and intervocalically, as seen below in (5).

- (5) a. tamp'uktz'ulh [t̪am.ʔuk.'ts'uɫ] 'belly button'
 b. 7alhunut [ʔa.'ɬu.nuɫ̪] 'heart'
 c. tiitamp'in [ti:t̪am.'ɬm] 'buttocks'

Glottalized Stops /pʔ/, /tʔ/, and /kʔ/

The HT /pʔ/ and /tʔ/ are phonetically closer to the implosive stops [ɓ] and [ɗ], respectively, while the /kʔ/ is a voiceless ejective stop [kʰ].

The glottalized stops may occur syllable (or word) initially (6a), intervocalically (6b), and as the second member of a syllable (or word) initial consonant cluster in which /s/, /x/, or /lh/ is the first member (6c).

- (6) a. **p'in** [pʰm] 'pepper', 'salsa'
ch'amp'aas [tʃʰam.ʰa:s] 'callous (on the foot)'
t'akt'a [tʰak.ʰa] 'ear of corn'
k'a7ulh [kʰa.ʔulʰ] 'plate'
- b. **paap'alh** [pa:ʰaʰ] 'broom'
puut'ijooqat [pu:ʰi:ho:qat] 'father-in-law'
ch'ak'an [tʃʰa.kʰan] 'ladder'
- c. **maklh'ak** [mak.ʰʰak] 'liver'
lakat'ikst'i [la.ka.ʰfik.sʰi] 'small', 'little'
xk'ip'it [xkʰi.ʰit] 'scale' (e.g., fish scale)

The distribution of the glottalized stops differs from that of the plain stops in that the glottalized stops may not occur syllable or word finally, either alone or in a consonant cluster.

Glottal Stop /ʔ/

In the speech of an older Tepehua speaker, the distribution of the glottal stop is limited to word initial (7a), word final (7b), and intervocalic (7c) positions.

- (7) a. **7aay** [ʰa:y] hair
b. **maqalhqama7** [ma.ʰqaʰ.qa.ʰmaʰ] Tepehua
c. **cha7aan** [tʰa.ʰa:n] ant

However, the glottal stop and the uvular stop are in the process of merging (see section 2.3). Although the uvular stop /q/ is still found in the speech of the older HT speakers, it has been replaced by glottal stop in the speech of the younger HT speakers. Thus, in the speech of the younger Tepehua, the distribution of the glottal stop is not limited to that given in (7). Essentially,

anywhere that a /q/ appears in the speech of an older HT speaker, a glottal stop may occur in its place in the speech of a younger HT speaker. In example (8a), it is the second element in a syllable initial consonant cluster; in example (8b), it is the first element in a syllable final consonant cluster.

- (8) a. x7ooy [ʔo:i] ‘dog’
 b. ma7x [ʔmaʔ] ‘left (hand)’
 so7ch [ʔsoʔtʃ] ‘straight’

Voiced Stops /b/, /d/, /g/

The voiced stops /b, d, g/ are mainly found in recent Spanish borrowings and in ideophones,¹¹ and they occur very seldom. They occur at the beginning of a word (9), intervocalically (10), and after a continuant (11). They are not found word-finally. Note that both /b/ and /d/ pattern like Spanish /b/ and /d/ intervocalically in that they occur as /β/ and /ð/, respectively, in this environment; however, /g/ has no intervocalic allophone.

(9) *Word-initially*

buutak	[ʔbu:tak]	‘type of chair’	‘butaque, sillón’
barra	[ʔba:ra]	ID: ‘sound of a frog’	
duulsii	[ʔdu:l.si:] ¹²	‘candy’	‘dulce’
durr	[ʔdur]	ID: ‘sound of stomach grumbling’	
gaanchu	[ʔga:n.tʃu]	‘hook’	‘gancho’
gwaw	[ʔgwau]	ID: ‘sound of a dog barking’	

¹¹ The ideophones seen here in (9), (10), and (11) were the only ideophones that I found that contained these phonemes. It is possible that these particular ideophones were borrowed from Spanish; however, I cannot be sure.

¹² In native HT words, a syllable final liquid lateral is neutralized to a voiceless lateral fricative, as discussed in section 2.6.2.

(10) *Intervocally*

7abon ^h alaa	[ʔa.βo.'na.la:]	'fertilize'	'abonar'
7abud ^h iiyas	[ʔa.βa'ði:.jas]	male name	'Abadías'
borre ^h guu	[bo.'re:.gu:]	'sheep'	'borrego'

(11) *After a continuant*

7alaamb ^h rii	[ʔa.'la:m.βri:]	'wire'	'alambre'
saand ^h iiyak	[sa:n.'di:.jak]	'watermelon'	'sandía'
7oong ^h oos	[ʔo:n.ɡo:s]	'mushroom'	'hongo'
7aarrees ^h gaalaa	[ʔa:re:s.'ga:.la:]	'take a chance'	'se arriesga'

2.2.1.2 Fricatives

The HT fricatives are /s/, /ʃ/, and /ʔ/. They may occur syllable (or word) initially (12a), syllable (or word) finally (12b), and intervocally (12c).

(12) a.	teensuun	[ʔe:n.su:n]	'goat'
	kikxix	[kɪk.'ʃɪ]	's/he is thirsty'
	kuk ^h ilh	[kuk.'ʔɪ]	'avocado'
b.	chaas	[ʔtʃa:s]	'spark'
	ch'aaqawaxt'i	[,tʃa.qa.'βaʃ.d̥i]	'Totonac'
	kil ^h makchat	[kɪ.'mak.tʃat]	'rainbow'
c.	qesiit	[ʔqe.sit]	'nail' (of the finger or toe)
	lhiixin	[ʔi:.'ʃɪn]	'nose'
	kil ^h hij	[kɪ.'ʔɪh]	'lace'

The fricatives may occur as the first member of a syllable initial consonant cluster in which the second member is a plain or glottalized stop (13a), a nasal (13b), the lateral /l/ (13c), or the approximant /w/ (13d). The two lateral consonants, /lh/ and /l/, may not form a consonant cluster together.

- (13) a. 7aqstu [ʔaq.stu]¹³ ‘alone’
 sp'ililinti [sβi.li.'lin.ti] ‘plant sp.’
 juukxpi ['hu:k.ʃpi] ‘alligator’
 kikxt'aqa [kɪk.'ʃɬa.qa] ‘lip’
 lhk'ak [ʔk'ak] ‘ashes’
- b. smalaq [sma.'laq] ‘black’
 xnapap [ʃna.'pap] ‘white’
 lhman [ʔman] ‘long’
- c. slulh [ʔsluʔ] ‘lizard’
 kikxlawti [kɪk.'ʃlau.ti] ‘drool’
 **lh]
- d. swilink'inti [sβi.liŋ.'k'in.ti] ‘swirl shape’
 xwaat'i [ʔwa:ɬi] ‘metate’ (grinding stone)
 laqlhwaqnin [laq.ʔwaq.'nin] ‘dismember’

Finally, all of the fricatives may occur as the second member of a syllable final consonant cluster in which the first member is a stop (14).

- (14) laqpuuluks [laq.pu:.'luks] ‘sty (on eye)’
 ch'oqx [ʔt'ɔqʃ] ‘net’
 tiichutlh [ti:.'tʃutʔ] ‘bottle cap’

The voiceless lateral fricative /lh/ is a dental phoneme that is articulated with the tip of the tongue touching the back of the upper teeth, (15).

- (15) lhaklh [ʔak.ʔi] ‘bitter-sweet’

¹³ The syllabification rules favor onset consonant clusters and disfavor coda consonant clusters at syllable boundaries. Please see section 2.2.4.

2.2.1.3 Affricates

HT has a series of both plain and glottalized voiceless affricates, /ts, tʃ/ and /tsʰ, tʃʰ/, respectively.

Plain Affricates /tʃ/ and /ts/

The plain affricates /tʃ/ and /ts/ may occur syllable (or word) initially (16a), syllable (or word) finally (16b), and intervocalically (16c).

- (16) a. 7awilh**ch** [ʔa.βiɬ.ʰtʃan] ‘day’
 chiwinti [tʃi.βim.ti] ‘word’
 tampuk**tz**ulh [tam.βuk.ʰtsuɬ] ‘navel’
- b. lhii7i**ich** [ɬi.ʔi:tʃ] ‘heat’
 najat**z** [na.ʰats] ‘nine’
- c. kachupin [ka.ʰtʃu.pin] ‘gringo’
 tat**z**alat [ta.ʰtsa.lat] ‘tooth’

Both affricates may occur as the second member of a syllable final consonant cluster; however /tʃ/ may occur with a wider range of consonants than /ts/. While /tʃ/ may occur following the nasals (17a), the fricatives (17b), and /q/ (17c), /ts/ may follow /q/ only (17c).

- (17) a. 7uxam**ch** [ʔu.ʰʃamtʃ] ‘the day before yesterday’
 yu7un**ch** [ju.ʰʔuntʃ] ‘they’ (3rd person plural pronoun)
- b. k’uus**ch** [k’u:stʃ] ‘pretty’
 qox**ch** [qɔʃtʃ] ‘well’, ‘good’
 mil**ch** [mɪtʃ] ‘s/he already came’

- | | | | |
|----|--------------|-----------------------|------------|
| c. | soqch | [¹ sɔqtʃ] | ‘straight’ |
| | loqtz | [¹ loqts] | ‘applause’ |

Glottalized Affricates

The glottalized affricates /ts’/ and /tʃ’/ are ejective phonemes, unlike the glottalized alveolar stop /t’/, which is implosive [ɗ].

/ts’/ and /tʃ’/ may occur syllable (or word) initially (18a) and intervocalically (18b). They do not occur syllable finally or in consonant clusters.

- | | | | |
|---------|---------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (18) a. | tz’alh | [¹ ts’aɬ] | ‘boy’ |
| | laqtz’in | [laq. ¹ ts’in] | ‘s/he sees it/him/her’ |
| | ch’ap’a | [¹ tʃ’a.βa] | ‘palm’ |
| | laqch’iiti | [¹ laq.tʃ’i:ti] | ‘cover’ |
| b. | katz’aluunas | [ka.ts’a.lu:nas] | ‘chicharrones’ (fried pork skins) |
| | tach’iin | [ta.tʃ’i:n] | ‘prisoner’ |

2.2.1.4 Liquids and Rhotics

HT has one liquid consonant, the lateral /l/, and two rhotic consonants, the flap /r/ and the trill /r/.

The Liquid /l/

The HT phoneme /l/ is a true alveolar lateral (i.e., it is not palatal) made with the tip of the tongue touching the alveolar ridge. This phoneme has a very limited distribution, and it always precedes a vowel. It occurs syllable (or word) initially (19a), intervocalically (19b), and as the second member of a consonant cluster in which the first member is /s/ or /x/ (19c).

- (19) a. **luw** [ˈlu:] ‘snake’
 ch'anlukut [tʃʰan.ˈlu.kut] ‘leg bone’
- b. **chamulu7** [tʃa.mu.ˈluʔ] ‘cartilage’
- c. **sluh** [ˈsluʔ] ‘lizard’
 kik.xlawti [kɪk.ˈʃlau.ti] ‘drool’

/l/ may not occur syllable or word finally. In syllable and word final position, /l/ neutralizes to /ɻ/ (see section 2.6.2), as can be seen in (20), where *milh* ‘thousand’ is a borrowed from the Spanish word *mil*.

- (20) **milh** [ˈmɻʔ] ‘mil’ ‘thousand’

Occasionally, the first person subject prefix *k-* precedes /l/, and this combination forms a consonant cluster, as seen in the elicited in (21).

- (21) [k_lla.ka.ˈkʰu:nʔ]
 /k-laka-kʰu:n-li/
 1SUB-BODY-swell-PFV
 ‘I swelled up’

However, in naturally occurring speech, a /k+/l/ consonant cluster is frequently broken up by syllabifying the /k/ as the coda of a preceding vowel-final syllable, as seen in (22).

- (22) [βa:k_l.la:hu.ˈnautʃ]
 /wa: k-la:-hun-aw+tʃ/
 FOC 1SUB-RCP-say(IMPFV)-1PL.SUB +ALD
 ‘I tell you all’

The Rhotics /rr/ and /r/

The two rhotic phonemes—the trill /r/ and the flap /r/—occur only in Spanish loan words (23a) and in ideophones, shown in (23b). In fact, these ideophones *might* be borrowed from Spanish.

- (23) a. karrilh [ka.'rɾɪ] ‘lane’ from *carril*
 kumpaarii [kum.'pa:ri:] ‘compadre’
- b. tarr ['tar] ID: ‘running motion’
 turrun ['tu.,run]¹⁴ ID: ‘sound of thunder’
 chur ['tʃur] ID: ‘the sound of trickling water’

2.2.1.5 Nasals

HT has two nasal consonants, /m/ and /n/, which occur syllable (or word) initially (24a), syllable (or word) finally (24b), intervocalically (24c), and as the second member of a syllable initial consonant cluster in which a fricative [s, x, lh] is the first member (24d).¹⁵

- (24) a. laxmaka7 [,laʃ.ma.'kaʔ] ‘handrail’
 tzaasnaati ['tsa:s.na:tɨ] ‘iron’
- b. puumpu7 [pu:m.'puʔ] ‘clothes’
 jaantu ['ja:n.tu] ‘no’
- c. siimaqat [si:.'ma.qat] ‘tongue’
 ʔakanit [ʔa.'ka.nit] ‘flesh’

¹⁴ I suspect that this ideophone is borrowed from Spanish because its stress pattern mirrors that of Spanish and not that of the native HT ideophones. Please see sections 2.5.2 and 2.5.3 on stress.

¹⁵ I have no examples of a [lhn] syllable initial consonant cluster, but I think that this is an accidental gap in the data.

d.	lhman	[^h lman]	‘long’
	smalaq	[sma. ^h laq]	‘black’
	7ajilaqsⁿin	[ʔa. ^h hi.laq. ^h snin]	‘hiccups’
	talaqx^milh	[ta. ^h laq. ^h miɬ]	‘bean tamales’
	moqxⁿu7	[mɔq. ^h ʃnuʔ]	‘owl’

The place of articulation of the alveolar nasal varies depending of the place of articulation of the following consonant. When it precedes a vowel, an alveolar consonant, or a glottal stop, it is articulated at the alveolar ridge, as seen below in (25a). When /n/ precedes a velar consonant, it is articulated at the velum, as shown in (25b). When it precedes a uvular consonant, it is pronounced as [N], as seen in (25c). When it precedes a palatal consonant, it is palatalized [ɲ], as seen in (25d). When /n/ precedes a bilabial consonant, its pronunciation varies depending on the speed of speech. In slow careful speech it is articulated at the alveolar ridge, but in fast speech, it is bilabial, as seen in (25e).

(25) a.	ch'anaxtaqa	[^h tʃ'a.naɬ. ^h taqa]	‘callous (on foot)’
	ch'anlukut	[^h tʃ'an. ^h lu.kut]	‘leg bone’
	ch'antanuuti	[^h tʃ'an. ^h ta.nu: ^h tʃi]	‘shoe’
	ch'an7akanit	[^h tʃ'an.ʔa. ^h ka.nit]	‘flesh or muscle of the leg’
b.	ch'ankat	[^h tʃ'aŋ.kat]	‘sugar cane’
c.	ch'anqesiit	[^h tʃ'aN. ^h qe.si:t]	‘toe nail’
d.	ch'anchaja7	[^h tʃ'aɲ.tʃa. ^h haʔ]	‘leg’
e.	ch'anpa7at	[^h tʃ'an. ^h pa.ʔat] ~ [^h tʃ'am. ^h pa.ʔat]	‘crack in skin of foot’

2.2.1.6 Approximants

HT has three approximant consonants: bilabial /w/, palatal /j/, and glottal /h/.

The bilabial Approximant /w/

The bilabial approximant /w/ is realized as the voiced bilabial fricative [β] when it occurs inter-vocalically (26a), syllable (or word) initially (26b), or as the second element of a syllable (or word) initial consonant cluster, in which the first member is a fricative (26c).

- (26) a. awiy [ʔa.βi:] ‘mouse’
b. waati [βa.t̚i] ‘tortilla’
 kukwiitii [kuk.βi.ti:] ‘horse tail plant’
c. xwaat'i [ʃβa:d̚i] ‘grinding stone’
 hɰwak [ʔwak] ID: ‘sawing sound’

When /w/ occurs after a vowel, it behaves as a glide, forming the second vowel in a diphthong (27).

- (27) chiiwx [tʃ'i:uɰ] ‘rock’
 skaw [skau] ‘rabbit’

Even though /w/ acts as a semi-vowel in order to form a diphthong, it is not a true vowel, as seen in the following examples. In (28a), the /w/ is pronounced as the second member of a diphthong in the word *k'iw* ‘wood’. However, *k'iw* is the root of *k'iwin* ‘trees’ in (28b), and in *k'iwin* the /w/ is pronounced as a bilabial fricative [β].

- (28) a. k'iw [k'iu] 'wood', 'stick'
 b. k'iwin [k'i.βin] 'trees'

The Palatal Approximant /j/

The palatal approximant /j/ occurs syllable (or word) initially (29a) and intervocalically (29b).

- (29) a. ya7a7 [ja.'ʔaʔ] 'white person'
 moqyaw [mɔq.'jau] 'fungus species'
- b. maalhiyut [ma:hi.'jut] 'spider'
 juuyuu ~ kuuyuu [hu:.ju:]~[ku:.ju:] 'armadillo'

Word-finally after a vowel, /j/ behaves as a glide, acting as the second vowel in a diphthong, as seen in (30).

- (30) xqooy [ʃqɔ:i] 'dog'
 xqoy [ʃqɔi] 'leaf'

The Glottal Approximant /h/

The glottal approximant /h/ is articulated as [h] syllable initially (31a), syllable finally (31b), and intervocalically (31c).

- (31) a. takjuwin [tak.hu.βin] 'pulse'
 juu [hu:] 'definite article'
- b. chaj7iit [tʃah.ʔi:t] 'hail'
 xkaj [ʃkah] 'tamale'
- c. ch'aja7 [tʃ'a.'haʔ] 'foot'

In word initial position, /h/ is optionally pronounced as the voiceless palatal fricative [ç] before the front vowels /i/ and /e/, as seen in (32a), and as the

voiceless velar fricative [x] before the back vowels /u/ and /o/ and before the low vowel /a/, as seen in (32b).

(32) a.	jip	[¹ çɪp] ~ [¹ hɪp]	‘fire’
	jenew	[çɛ.ˈnɛu] ~ [jɛ.ˈnɛu]	‘dark brown color’
b.	juuki	[¹ xu:kj] ~ [¹ hu:kj]	‘deer’
	jooʔat	[¹ xo:ʔat] ~ [¹ ho:ʔat]	‘male’, ‘manly’
	jaap'ati	[¹ xa:6a.tj] ~ [¹ ha:6a.tj]	‘japa plant’

2.2.2 Vowels

Proto-Totonac had a three vowel system /i, a, u/ (Arana 1953)¹⁶ that is still preserved in many of the modern Totonacan languages, including Coatepec Totonac (McQuown 1990b), Misantla Totonac (MacKay 1999), and Sierra Totonac (Aschmann 1983 [1962]). Other modern Totonacan languages now have five-vowel system that includes the mid vowels /e, o/; these five-vowel languages include Xicotepec de Juárez Totonac (Reid and Bishop 1974), Upper Necaxa Totonac (Beck 2004), and Tlachichilco Tepehua (Watters 1988). In the three-vowel Totonacan systems, the presence of a uvular stop produces a lowering of the contiguous high vowels /i, i:/ and /u, u:/ to [ɛ, e:] and [ɔ, ɔ:], respectively (as seen in MacKay 1999, among others).

HT currently has a five-vowel system that includes the mid vowels /e/ and /o/. At the time of my fieldwork, the uvular stop was in the process of merging with the glottal stop in HT; this sound change is described in detail in section 2.3.

¹⁶ Arana was not the only researcher to propose a three-vowel system for proto-Totonac. Watters (1988) writes, “Proto-Totonacan and even Proto-Tepehua clearly had only three vowel positions” (p. 497).

The older HT speakers (>64) still retained a contrast between /q/ and /ʔ/, which conditioned the lowering of /i, i:/ and /u, u:/ to [ɛ, ɛ:] and [ɔ, ɔ:], respectively, in their speech. Thus, mid vowels were in complementary distribution with high vowels in the environment of a uvular stop. Sadly, all of the elder speakers with whom I worked have since passed away. Today I would be hard-pressed to find a native HT speaker for whom [ɛ, ɛ:] and [ɔ, ɔ:] are in complementary distribution with /i, i:/ and /u, u:/.

However, at the time of my fieldwork, the younger HT speakers (<64) had already lost the distinction between /q/ and /ʔ/, the environment which conditioned the vowel lowering. In their speech, the mid vowels were contrastive with the high vowels. Furthermore, the mid vowels were found in Spanish loanwords and in some native ideophones of speakers of all ages.

Vowel length is contrastive in HT, though it is difficult to perceive because stressed vowels are also lengthened.¹⁷

This section is divided into high vowels (section 2.2.2.1), mid vowels (section 2.2.2.2), and the low vowel (section 2.2.2.3).

2.2.2.1 High Vowels

HT has two high vowels: the front vowel /i, i:/ and the back vowel /u, u:/. The short high front vowel /i/ is perceived as tense [i] in two environments: (i) when it is followed or preceded by a sonorant consonant or vowel and (ii) at the end of a non-ideophonic word, as seen in (33a). Everywhere else /i/ is perceived

¹⁷ I have a very difficult time distinguishing the short and long vowels in isolated words, and I cannot distinguish vowel length at all in fast, connected speech. I spent many long hours in the phonetics lab measuring vowel length, and I found that a vowel that receives primary stress is long, regardless of its phonemic length.

as lax [ɪ], including word-finally in an ideophone, as seen in (33b). The long high front vowel /i:/ is perceived as tense [i:], as seen below in (34).

(33) a.	k'iw	[^h k'iu]	'tree'
	p'in	[^h ʔin]	'chili'
	xixniwaati	[^h ʃiʃ.ni.'wa:.t̥]	'dried bread'
	xkaanilaata	[^h ʃka:.ni.'la:.t̥]	'juicy'
	xkiwti	[^h ʃkiu.t̥]	'black ant'
	xqolit'i	[ʃqɔ.'li.t'j]	'millipede'
b.	ch'ix	[^h tʃ'ɪʃ]	'white sapote (tree sp.)'
	jip	[^h ʧɪp]	'fire'
	xix	[^h ʃɪʃ]	'dry'
	xk'ip'i	[^h ʃk'ɪβɪ]	ID: 'sound/movement of centipede'
	xk'ita	[^h ʃk'ɪt̥]	'bat'
(34)	awiy	[ʔa ^h βi:]	'mouse'
	jii	[^h hi:]	'vocative article'
	kaalhmiiluu	[kaɬ.'mi:.lu:]	'borrego'
	lhii7iiych	[^h i:.'ʔi:tʃ]	'hot'
	lhii7uti	[^h i:.'ʔut̥]	'fruit'
	miistu7	[mi:s.'tuʔ]	'cat'
	xiiwaan	[^h ʃi:.wa:n]	male name 'John'

Examples of the short and long high back vowel /u, u:/ are shown in (35). I did not perceive a tense/lax distinction with respect to this phoneme.

(35)	7aklhunti	[ʔak.'ɬun.t̥]	'cold, illness'
	7alhunut	[ʔa.'ɬu.nut]	'heart'
	7achup	[ʔa.'chup]	'hummingbird'
	puumpu7	[pu:m.'puʔ]	'clothing'
	stapu	[^h sta.pu]	'bean'
	7aqxuunuuk	[ʔa.'ʃu:.nu:k]	'bug sp.'

kuchiiluu	[ku.'tʃi:lu:]	‘knife’
luw	[lu:]	‘snake’
puutamaan	[₁ pu:ta.'ma:n]	‘bed’
t'uun	[¹ du:n]	‘earth, dirt’

2.2.2.2 *Mid Vowels*

As I mentioned above, at the time of my fieldwork, the mid vowels /e, e:/ and /o, o:/ were in complementary distribution with the high vowels /i, i:/ and /u, u:/ in the environment of (preceding or following) a uvular stop, but only in the speech of the older HT speakers. However, even in their speech, the mid vowels were still found in ideophones and in Spanish borrowings. For this section only, I include three sets of examples for each vowel quality, /e, e:/ and /o, o/: non-ideophonic lexemes, ideophones, and Spanish loanwords.¹⁸

The short mid front vowel /e/ is perceived as lax [ɛ] in HT lexemes, while the long mid front vowel /e:/ is perceived as tense [e:]. Examples of non-ideophonic native HT lexemes are shown below in (36); examples of HT ideophones are shown in (37); and examples of Spanish loanwords in HT are shown in (38).

(36) *Non-ideophonic lexemes /e/, /e:/*

ʔachenʔe	[ʔa.'tʃɛn.ʔɛ]	‘toasted’
ʔalhʔepx	[ʔaʔ.'ʔɛpʃ]	‘ant sp.’
ʔeeliis	[¹ ʔe:li:s]	‘parrot sp.’
qex	[¹ qɛʃ]	‘rock wall’, ‘dam’
siileq	[¹ si:lɛq]	‘cricket’

¹⁸ The Spanish loanwords shown in (38) and (41) show varying levels of phonemic integration into the HT sound system. While some mid vowels have been raised, others have not. The history of Spanish loanwords and their integration into HT is a fascinating topic that is outside the scope of this description.

ch'oolew	[tʃ'o:.leu]	‘multi-colored’
malhte7aa	[ma:t. 'te:.ʔa:]	‘it opened it’
maaxteewan	[ma:f. 'te:.wan]	‘brown tadpole’
teensuun	['te:n.su:n]	‘goat’

(37) *Ideophones /e/, /e:/*

me7e	['mɛ.ʔɛ]	ID: ‘smell of raw milk and beef’
ch'eq	['ch'ɛq]	ID: ‘chirping sound’
lhme7	['ʎmɛʔ]	ID: ‘sound of a sheep’
lhte7e	['ʎtɛ.ʔɛ]	ID: ‘creak of a door’
7eli	['ʔɛ.li]	ID: ‘head & leg motion of turtle walking’
seenik	['se:.nik]	ID: ‘sound of a tree falling’
teen	['te:n]	ID: ‘sound of something big falling’
tiitiili7ee	['ti:.ti:.li:.ʔe:] ¹⁹	ID: ‘cock-a-doodle-doo’

(38) *Loanwords /e/, /e:/*

kaapeen	[ka:. 'pe:n]	‘coffee’	‘café’
7ensayalaa	[ʔɛn.sa. 'ja.la:]	‘he rehearsed’	‘ensayar’
7espiirituu	[ʔɛs. 'pi:.ri.tu:]	‘spirit’	‘espírito’
duseenaa	[du. 'se:.na:]	‘dozen’	‘docena’
koneejuu	[ko. 'ne:.ju:]	‘rabbit’	‘conejo’

Both /o/ and /o:/ are perceived as slightly lower [ɔ] and [ɔ:] in the context of a uvular stop. There is no perceptual tense/lax difference between the short and the long mid back vowels /o/ and /o:/. Non-ideophonic lexemes are shown in (39); ideophones are shown in (40), and Spanish loanwords are shown in (41).

(39) *Non-ideophonic lexemes /o/, /o:/*

joo7at	['ho:.ʔat]	‘male’
xqoy	['ʃqɔi]	‘leaf’
xqooy	['ʃqɔ:i]	‘dog’

¹⁹ This ideophone is most likely borrowed from Spanish because its stress pattern mirrors that of Spanish, not HT. See sections 2.5.2 and 2.5.3.

7oqxqew	[ʔoq.ʃqɛu]	‘yucca’, ‘casava’
tz'oqo	[ʔts'ɔ.qɔ]	‘bird’
7aqalhoona7	[ʔa.qa.ʔo:'naʔ]	‘thief’
7atook'analuw	[ʔa.to:.'k'a.na.'lu:]	‘snake sp.’
choola7	[ʔfo:.'laʔ]	‘turkey’
ch'oolew	[ʔf'o:'leu]	‘multi-colored’
ch'ooqx	[ʔf'ɔ:q]	‘net’
puutook'a	[pu:.'to:k'a]	‘horse’

(40) *Ideophones /o/, /o:/*

moq	[ʔmɔq]	ID: ‘nauseous sensation’
p'oqot	[ʔbɔ.qɔt]	ID: ‘sensation of walking in mud’
qoli	[ʔqɔ.li]	ID: ‘snake-like motion’
qoom	[ʔqɔ:m]	ID: ‘sound of dirt being thrown’
qooni7	[ʔqɔ:.'niʔ]	ID: ‘very slow gait’
lht'oo	[ʔʔɔo:]	ID: ‘jumping motion’
lootz	[ʔlo:ts]	ID: ‘snapping sound, like a rubber band’
loomp'a	[ʔlo:m.ʔa]	ID: ‘sound of a buzzard’s wings flapping’

(41) *Loanwords /o/, /o:/*

kompaalii	[kom.'pa:li:]	‘compadre’	‘compadre’
koneejuu	[ko.'ne:ju:]	‘rabbit’	‘conejo’
atoolii	[ʔa.'to:li:]	‘corn drink’	‘atole’
sapootii	[sa.'po:ti:]	‘fruit sp.’	‘zapote’
choorruu	[ʔʔo:ru:]	‘trickle’	‘chorro’

2.2.2.3 Low Vowel

There is one low central vowel /a/. It may be long or short. Examples are shown in (42)

(42) 7achaakxk'u	[ʔa.'ʔa:k.ʔk'u]	‘herb sp.’
7ach'ananti	[ʔa.ʔʔa.'nan.tʔ]	‘garden’
7akanit	[ʔa.'ka.nit]	‘flesh’, ‘meat’

ʔakapiyaʔ	[ʔa.,ka.pi.'jaʔ]	‘uvula’
chaʔaan	[tʃa.'ʔa:n]	‘ant’
chamuluʔ	[,tʃa.mu.'luʔ]	‘cartilage’
chaqaʔ	[tʃa.'qaʔ]	‘house’
jaantu	['ha:n.tu]	‘no’
juk'aa	['hu.k'a:]	‘hanging’
maak'uk'aʔ	[,ma:k'u.'k'aʔ]	‘pack animal’, ‘beast of burden’
skaw	['skau]	‘rabbit’
stay	['stai]	‘squirrel’
xaanti	['ʃa:n.ti]	‘flower’
waakax	['βa:.kaʃ]	‘cow’, ‘cattle’

2.2.2.4 HT Vowel Space

After my first summer of field work on HT, and before returning to the field the following summer, I measured a small sample of HT vowels in a phonetics laboratory in order to determine the acoustics of the HT vowel space.²⁰ The data used for this study were taken from several tape recordings that I made during the summer 1999. The speaker on all tapes is don Nicolás, who was 44 years old at the time. Each tape-recording was made in a cinder block room using a Sony TCM-EV cassette recorder. At the time that I made these recordings, I did not plan to use them for acoustic analysis; therefore, I made no attempt either to elicit the words in a frame or carrier sentence or to control the phonetic environment around the vowels. Furthermore, there is a good deal of background noise on the recordings.

²⁰ I did this work as a conference course directed by Scott Myers. The final lab report appears in Smythe 2000.

I digitized each lexical item using the computer program Sound Scope (version unknown), in which I used 6 dB pre-emphasis and set the other spectrogram settings as follows: 1024 FFT points, filter at 184 Hz (8ms) for a man's voice, and 0.000 to 3.000 kHz display range.

I spread each waveform out to 50 msec before making a spectrogram of it. I then measured F1 and F2 for every occurrence of each vowel. In order to take F1 and F2 measurements, I estimated the center point (in both time and frequency) of F1, and took a measurement there. Next I estimated the mid-point in Hz of F2 and took the measurement directly above the mid-point where I had taken the F1 measurement (i.e., along the same time line). After measuring the F2 mid-point, I also measured the beginning and end times of F1. I saved all measurements in a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, grouped by phoneme.

After I had completed digitizing and measuring the data, I ended up with 94 tokens of /a/ (the most commonly-occurring vowel in the data set), 22 tokens each of /i/ and /u/, 20 tokens of /o/, and 14 tokens of /e/ (the least commonly-occurring vowel in the data set). I arbitrarily decided to limit the data to 20 tokens of each of the vowels /i/, /a/, /o/, and /u/ and 14 tokens of the vowel /e/.

Table 4 shows the mean and the standard deviation of each of the five HT vowels. The means of the five vowels are plotted in Illustration 10.

Table 4: F1 & F2 Means and Standard Deviations of HT Vowels

HT Vowel	F1 Mean	F1 St Dev	F2 Mean	F2 St Dev
i	406	54	2063	158
e	499	62	1793	135
a	612	53	1394	120
o	525	28	1077	153
u	426	38	1140	192

In the vowel chart shown in Illustration 10, F1 is shown on the vertical axis, and F2 is shown on the horizontal axis. The axes cross in the upper right corner, following Ladefoged (1993). Numbers along both axes represent Hertz (Hz). This illustration shows that the HT vowel space is a symmetrical five vowel system.

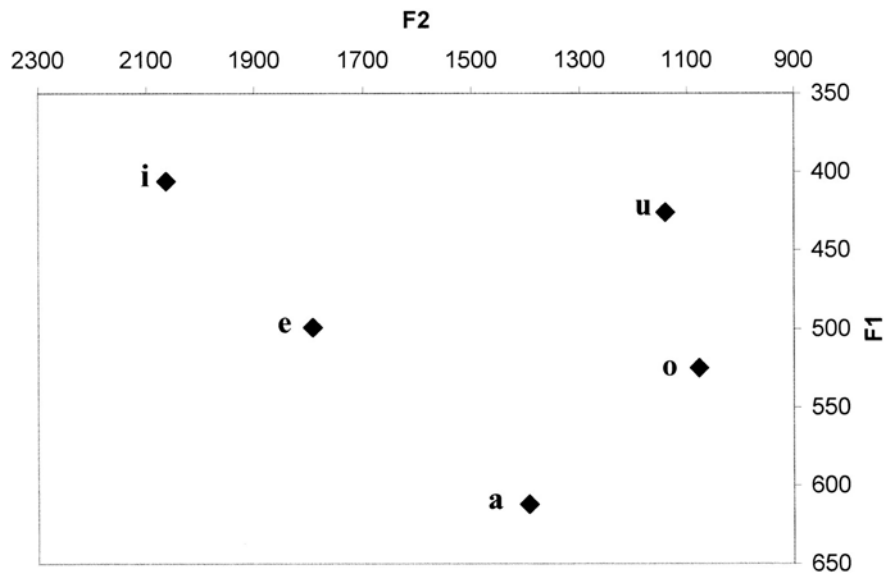


Illustration 10: Mean HT Vowel Space

2.2.3 Phonemic Contrasts

The following are minimal pairs or near minimal pairs showing free variation between phonemes in HT. I do not include /b, d, g/ or /r, r/ since they are non-native phonemes.

2.2.3.1 Consonants

p — p'

paax	[¹ pa:]	‘s/he bathes’
p'ax	[¹ βa:]	‘pig’

p — m

xputu	[¹ ʃpu.tu]	‘tadpole’
xmut	[¹ ʃmut]	PA: ‘the sound a cow makes when chewing’

p — w

paa-	[¹ pa:]	Instrumental prefix
waa	[¹ βa:]	focus particle

p' — m

p'in	[¹ βin]	‘pepper’, ‘chili’, ‘salsa’
min	[¹ min]	‘s/he comes’

p' — w

witilh	[¹ βi.tiɬ]	‘she somersaulted’
p'it'ilh	[¹ βi.dɪɬ]	‘she scrubbed it’

m — w

milh	[¹ miɬ]	‘s/he came’
wiilh	[¹ βi:ɬ]	‘seated’

t — t' — s — x — ch — ch' — k' — ʔ — tz

tuun	[¹ tu:n]	ID: ‘splat’
t'uun	[¹ ɬu:n]	‘earth’
suun	[¹ su:n]	‘bitter’
xuun	[¹ ʃu:n]	ID: ‘smell of burnt food’

chuun	[¹ tʃu:n]	‘fish sp.’
ch'uun	[¹ tʃ'u:n]	‘buzzard’
k'uun	[¹ k'u:n]	‘it swells’
ʔuun	[¹ ?u:n]	‘wind’
tzuum	[¹ tsu:m]	‘smoke’

t — tz — tz'

tukulun	[¹ tu.ku. ¹ lun]	‘rheumatism’
tzukulh	[¹ tsu.kuɬ]	‘it began’
tz'ukunk'u	[¹ ts'u.kuŋ.k'u]	‘cold’

t' — tz'

t'a7ax	[¹ ɬa.ʔaɕ]	‘sticky’, ‘gummy’
tz'a7am	[¹ tʃ'a.ʔam]	‘dried shaft of corn stalk’

t — tz — tz' — s — ch' — m — k — j — p — n

taw	[¹ tau]	ID: ‘sound of a guitar’
tzaw	[¹ tsau]	‘edible greens’
tz'aw	[¹ ts'au]	ID: ‘buzzing sound, e.g., of flies’
saw	[¹ sau]	ID: ‘smell of a rotting corpse’
maw	[¹ mau]	ID: ‘meow’
kaw	[¹ kau]	‘ten’
jaw	[¹ hau]	ID: ‘howl’
paw	[¹ pau]	ID: ‘bark’
ch'awti	[¹ tʃ'au.ti]	‘body hair’, ‘pubic hair’
naaw	[¹ na:u]	ID: ‘swinging motion’

t — ch

xaanti	[¹ ʃa:n.ti]	‘flower’
xaanchi	[¹ ʃa:n.tʃi]	‘general greeting, hello’

s — x

p'as	[¹ ʃas]	‘she shells it (corn)’
p'ax	[¹ ʃaɕ]	pig

7ukstín	[ʔuk.ˈstin]	‘green fly’
7ukxtín	[ʔuk.ˈʃtin]	‘boss’, ‘mayor’, ‘president’

s — n — t — tz

sii	[ˈsi:]	‘pure’
nii	[ˈni:]	complementizer
tii	[ˈti:]	‘road’
lhii-	[ˈʔi:]	applicative prefix
tziitzii	[ˈtsi:.tsi:]	‘rain’

lh — l — n

lhuu	[ˈʔu:]	‘much’, ‘many’
luw	[ˈlu:]	‘snake’
nuu	[ˈnu:]	‘be inside’

lh — x — s

xkuluk'u	[ʃku.ˈlu.k'ʉ]	‘wart’
lhkuluk	[ˈʔku.luk]	‘crooked’, ‘twisted’
skuluk	[ˈsku.luk]	‘sip’

n — w — m

nati	[ˈna.t̥i]	‘mother’
waati	[ˈβa:.t̥i]	‘tortilla’
matiʔ	[ma.ˈtiʔ]	‘nothing’

k — k'

kukat	[ˈku.kat]	‘oak tree’, ‘acorn’
k'uk'ata	[k'ʉ.ˈka.t̥a]	‘he had carried it’
kachuchu	[ˈka.t̥ʉ.t̥ʉ]	ID: ‘sound of flautas being eaten’
k'achuchu	[ˈk'a.t̥ʉ.t̥ʉ]	ID: ‘sound of walking through dry leaves’

q — ʔ

qaay	[¹ qai]	‘hog plum tree’ ²¹
ʔaay	[¹ ʔai]	‘hair’

q/ʔ — k

qay ~ ʔay	[¹ qai] ~ [¹ ʔai]	‘big’ ²²
kay	[¹ kai]	ID: ‘very slow gait’
makakan	[ma.ka. ¹ kan]	‘someone/they throw(s) it’
makaʔan	[ma.ka. ¹ ʔan]	‘he throws it away’

h — k

kuuk	[¹ ku:k]	‘uncle’
juuki	[¹ hu:kj]	‘deer’

h — ʔ

najun	[na. ¹ hun]	‘he says it’
naʔun	[na. ¹ ʔun]	‘you say it’

h — y

kuukuu	[¹ ku:ku:]	‘sand’
kuuyuu	[¹ ku:ju:]	‘armadillo’

2.2.3.2 Vowel Quality**i — u**

kachichi	[¹ ka.tʃi.tʃi]	ID: ‘sound of a mountain lion’
kachuchu	[¹ ka.tʃu.tʃu]	ID: ‘sound of flautas being eaten’

i — e

tiin	[¹ ti:n]	ID: ‘sound of something falling on the (cement) floor’
teen	[¹ tɛ:n]	ID: ‘sound of a tree falling’

²¹ This lexeme *qaay* ‘hog plum’ was pronounced with a uvular stop only in the speech of my eldest consultants (>76) at the time of my fieldwork. Younger speakers pronounced it [ʔai], making it homophonous with *ʔaay* ‘hair’. See section 2.3 on the sound change in progress.

²² Younger speakers pronounced this as [ʔai], and older speakers pronounced it [qai].

tz'uuliw	[ts'u:.liu]	‘black and white’
ch'olew	[tʃ'o:.leu]	‘multi-colored’

i — o

kiin	['ki:n]	‘aunt’
qoon ~ 7oon	['qɔ:n] ~ ['ʔo:n]	‘fat’
tz'i7	['ts'ɪʔ]	‘mole’, ‘birthmark’
tz'oqo	['ts'ɔ.qɔ]	‘bird’

a — e, a — i

7aax ~ qaax	['ʔa:] ~ ['qa:]	‘gourd’
7ex ~ qex	['ʔe:] ~ ['qe:]	‘rock wall’, ‘dam’
saala7	[sa:.laʔ]	‘clean’
siile7 ~ siileq	['si:.leʔ] ~ ['si:.leq]	‘cricket’
7intach	['ʔin.tatʃ]	‘approximately’
7antach	['ʔan.tatʃ]	‘he had already gone’

a — u

kalakx	['ka,.lakʃ]	ID: ‘sound of a horse walking’
kalukx	['ka,.lukʃ]	ID: ‘sound of a gun firing’
taran	[ta:.ran] ²³	ID: ‘clang’, ‘sound of a bell’
turun	[tu:.run]	ID: ‘sound of a clap of thunder’
jaak	['ha:k]	‘banana’
juuki	['hu:.ki]	‘deer’

a — o

x7aay	['ʃʔa:i]	‘his/her hair’
x7ooy	['ʃʔo:i] ~ ['ʃqo:i] ²⁴	‘dog’

²³ The stress pattern in this pair of ideophones indicates that both ideophones are probably borrowed from Spanish. See sections 2.5.2 and 2.5.3.

u — o

pututu	[pu.'tu.tu]	‘a ball’
pototo	[po.'to.to]	‘a bigger ball’
tz'uuliw	[ts'u:.'liu]	‘black and white’
ch'oolew	[tʃ'o:.'leu]	‘multi-colored’

2.2.3.3 Vowel Length**i — i:**

7in	[ʔin]	‘you go’
7iilh	[ʔi:ɬ]	‘he got it’
7it'it	[ʔi.dit]	‘you all went’
7iit'it	[ʔi:dit]	‘you all brought it’

u — u:

tzuunun	[tzu:.'nun]	‘he always puts it out (e.g., a fire)’
tanuun	[ta.'nu:n]	‘it is inserted (horizontally)’

e — e:

7achen7e	[ʔa.'tʃɛn.ʔɛ]	‘toasted’
tiitiilii7ee	[ʔti:ti:li:.,ʔe:]	ID: ‘cock-a-doodle-doo’
teensuun	[ʔte:n.su:n]	‘goat’
taliten7e	[,ta.li.'ten.ʔɛ]	‘cylindrical’

o — o:

xqooy	[ʔqoi] ²⁵	‘leaf’
xqooy	[ʔqo:i] ²⁶	‘dog’

²⁴ Younger speakers pronounced this as [ʔʔo:i], while older speakers pronounced it as [ʔqo:i] at the time of my fieldwork.

²⁵ Younger speakers pronounced this as [ʔʔoi], while older speakers pronounced it as [ʔqoi] at the time of my fieldwork

²⁶ See footnote 24.

a — a:

qay ~ 7ay	[¹ qai] ~ [¹ ?ai] ²⁷	‘big’
7aay	[¹ ?ai]	‘hair’
chaa7an	[tʃa:. ¹ ?an]	‘he arrives there’
cha7aan	[tʃa:. ¹ ?a:n]	‘ant’

2.2.3.4 Stress

The first member of each of the following pairs is a derived verb form, while the second member of each pair is an un-derived form. I include them to show that a change in stress can signal a change in meaning.

7alamaa	[?a.la. ¹ ma:]	‘lying spread eagle’
7alamaa	[?a. ¹ la.ma:]	‘ocean’, ‘sea’
luuluu	[¹ lu:.lu:]	‘submerged’
luuluu	[lu:. ¹ lu:]	‘soft’
lhii7iich	[¹ ʔi:. ¹ ?i:tʃ]	‘Bring it!’ (command)
lhii7iych	[ʔi:. ¹ ?i:tʃ]	‘hot (weather)’

2.2.4 Distinctive Features of Phonemes

The distinctive features of the HT consonants are shown in Table 5, and the distinctive features of the HT vowels are shown in Table 6. With respect to the consonants, I have assigned the feature [+son] to the glottal approximant /h/ and the glottal stop /ʔ/ (following MacKay 1999) because these two phonemes pattern like the other sonorant consonants in that they attract stress in word-final position (please see section 2.5). I have assigned the features [-son][+cont] to the voiceless

²⁷ Younger speakers pronounced this as [ʔai], while older speakers pronounced it as [qai] at the time of my fieldwork.

lateral fricative /ɬ/ because it patterns like the other fricatives with respect to syllable structure and stress assignment ([-son][+cont] consonants do not attract primary stress); please see sections 2.4 and 2.5, respectively.

Table 5: Distinctive Features of HT Consonants²⁸

	p	p'	t	t'	k	k'	q	s	ʃ	ʒ	ts	ts'	tʃ	tʃ'	m	n	l	r	ɾ	w	j	h	ʔ
cons	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
son	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
cont	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
strid	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
nas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
lat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
lab	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
cor	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
ant	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
dist	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
dor	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
back	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
high					+	+	-													+	+	-	-
vd	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
sprd glot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
cnstr glot	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+

Table 6: Distinctive Features of HT Vowels

	i	i:	e	e:	a	a:	o	o:	u	u:
High	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
Low	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
Back	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Round	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+

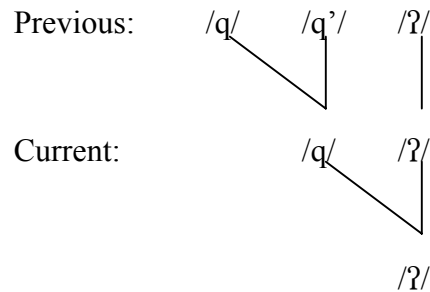
²⁸ The abbreviations in this table are the following: cons=consonant, son=sonorant, cont=continuant, strid=strident, nas=nasal, lat=lateral, lab=labial, cor=coronal, ant=anterior, dist=distributed, dor=dorsal, vd=voiced, sprd glot=spread glottis, and cnstr glot=constricted glottis.

2.3 SOUND CHANGE IN PROGRESS (/q/→/?/)

At an diachronically earlier stage of the language, the phonemic inventory of Huehuetla Tepehua included a glottal stop, a plain voiceless uvular stop, and a glottalized voiceless uvular stop; these three phonemes have been documented in Arana 1953; Bower 1948; Herzog 1974, no date; Kryder 1987; and Watters 1988. Of these researchers, Bower, Herzog, and Kryder conducted linguistic fieldwork on HT; Arana got her HT data from Bower, while Watters got his HT data from Herzog. I have no doubt that there was a three-way distinction between /ʔ/, /q/, and /qʰ/ in HT at the time that Bower and Herzog began their fieldwork just after World War II. However, by the time that Kryder began her fieldwork in 1984, the merger had already begun. In an appendix to her 1987 master's thesis, Kryder includes a list of approximately 400 HT lexical roots, some of which contain a uvular stop /q/, but none of which contains a glottalized uvular stop /qʰ/.

During the course of my own fieldwork on HT that began in June 1999 and concluded in July 2005, I found no perceptible evidence of a glottalized voiceless uvular stop /qʰ/. Furthermore, I perceived the plain voiceless uvular stop /q/ only in the speech of the oldest speakers; and I noticed that where the oldest speakers had a /q/, younger speakers had a /ʔ/. This empirical evidence led me to two conclusions: first, the glottalized uvular stop most likely had already merged with the plain uvular stop (prior to my first contact with the language), and, second, the plain uvular stop was in the process of merging with the glottal stop. The mergers are shown below in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Two Mergers



In order to test this conclusion, I conducted a sociolinguistic survey in Huehuetla in the spring of 2001; I first reported the results of this survey in a unpublished presentation that I gave at the 2002 Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas (Smythe 2002), and I summarize them here. Using a small set of sources (Arana 1953; Herzog no date; and Kryder 1987), as well as my own field notes, I created a list of 44 lexemes that contained either a glottal stop, a plain uvular stop, and/or a glottalized uvular stop. This list of lexemes, along with the source where I found each lexeme, is shown below in Table 7. I recorded this list of words with 24 native HT speakers between the ages of 15 and 82 (8 males and 16 females). I recorded each word two times with each speaker so that I would have two tokens of each lexeme. My findings are summarized below the table.

Table 7: List of Lexemes Containing /q/, /q'/, and/or /ʔ/

Token Number	Tepehua Lexeme ²⁹	Gloss	HT Lexeme and Source(s) ^{30, 31}
L03:01 a/b	[^l qai] ~ [^l ʔai]	hog plum tree (tree sp.)	--- (A) /q'a/ (H) --- (K)
L03:02 a/b	[^l qai] ~ [^l ʔai]	big	--- (A) /q'ay/ (H) / ^l qahi/ (K)
L03:03 a/b	[^l qaʃ] ~ [^l ʔaʃ]	gourd	--- (A) /q'aʃ/ (H) / ^l ʔaʃ/ (K)
L03:04 a/b	[^l ʔai]	hair	--- (A) /ay/ (H) / ^l ʔay/ (K)
L03:05 a/b	[^l ʔu:n]	wind	/ ^l ʔu:n/ (A) /un/ (H) /u:n/ (K)
L03:06 a/b	[^l qoʃ] ~ [^l ʔoʃ]	good, well	--- (A) /q'oʃ/ (H) --- (K)
L03:07 a/b	[^l ha:n.tuʃ tu.ʔuʔ]	you are welcome, nothing	--- (A) /hantʃ tuʔuʔ/ (H) / ^l hantu tuʔu/ (K)
L03:08 a/b	[tso.'qot] ~ [tso.'ʔot]	knee	/ts'uqut/ (A) /tsoqotni/ (H) / ^l tsoqot/ (K)

²⁹ The lexemes in this column come from my own field notes. The spellings are phonemic, using IPA. Multiple entries represent different pronunciations given to me by different speakers.

³⁰ The following abbreviations are used for the sources: (A)=Arana 1953, (H)=Herzog no date, (K)=Kryder 1987. Arana does not mark stress. Herzog does not mark vowel length or stress.

³¹ Because the transcriptions differ in each of these sources, I have used IPA, instead of the original transcription, to phonemically (not phonetically) represent each lexeme.

L03:09 a/b	[la.ka.mu.nut.'paʔ] ~ [la.ka.mu.nuʔ.'paʔ]	world	--- (A) /lakamunutpaʔ/ ~ /lakamunuʔpaʔ/ (H) --- (K)
L03:10 a/b	[tʃa.'qaʔ] ~ [tʃa.'ʔaʔ]	house	/tʃaqaʔ/ (A) /tʃaqaʔ/ (H) /tʃa'ʔaʔ/ (K)
L03:11 a/b	[pa.'paʔ] ~ [po.'paʔ]	man	--- (A) /papaʔ/ (H) /pa'paʔ/ (K)
L03:12 a/b	[tʃa.'ʔa:n]	ant	/tʃaʔa:n/ (A) /tʃaʔan/ (H) /tʃa'ʔan/ (K)
L03:13 a/b	[yu.'ʔuntʃ ta.-'ʔuy]	they 3PL.SUB-eat_it	--- (A) /juʔuntʃ ta-ʔuy/ (H) /ju'ʔuntʃ/ (K)
L03:14 a/b	[mi:s.'tuʔ]	cat	--- (A) /mistuʔ/ (H) /mi:s'tuʔ/ (K)
L03:15 a/b	[ʔaq.'ts'i:s] ~ [ʔaʔ.'ts'i:s]	flea	/ʔaqtʃ'i:s/ (A) /aqtʃ'i:s/ (H) /aq'tʃ'i:s/ (K)
L03:16 a/b	[ʃqo:.'ja:m] ~ [ʃʔo:.'ja:m]	coal, charcoal	/ʃquya:m/ (A) /ʃqoyam/ (H) /ʃqo'ya:m/ (K)
L03:17 a/b	[ʔpaq.tʃi] ~ [ʔpaʔ.tʃi]	tomato	/paqtʃ/ (A) /paqtʃu/ ~ /paqtʃi/ (H) /paqtʃ/ (K)
L03:18 a/b	[ʔsaq.sj] ~ [ʔsaʔ.sj]	sweet	/saqs/ (A) --- (H) /saqs/ (K)

L03:19 a/b	[¹ pa:q.ʃq̩a] ~ [¹ pa:ʔ.ʃʔa]	skillet	/pa:ʃq'a/ (A) /paqʃq'a/ (H) --- (K)
L03:20 a/b	[puʔ.ʔom] ~ [puʔ.ʔom] ~ [puʔ.ʔum] ~ [puʔ.ʔam]	mud	/puʔqum/ (A) /puʔq'om/ (H) --- (K)
L03:21 a/b	[qo:.ʔeqs t'a.ʔkuʔ]	inch worm	--- (A) --- (H) --- (K)
L03:22 a/b	[¹ seq] ~ [¹ seʔ] ~ [¹ saq]	silent, calm	--- (A) /seq/ (H) --- (K)
L03:23 a/b	[ʔas.ʔa.t'a] ~ [ʔas.ʔa.t'a]	child	--- (A) /asq'at'a/ (H), /as'ʔat'/ (K)
L03:24 a/b	[ʔas.qa.t'an] ~ [ʔas.ʔa.t'an]	children	--- (A) /asq'at'an/ (H) --- (K)
L03:25 a/b	[¹ p'aʔ.la:t̩] ~ [¹ p'aq.la:t̩]	coffin, box	--- (A) /p'aqlat/ (H) --- (K)
L03:26 a/b	[ʔaq.ʔa.nu:t̩] ~ [ʔaʔ.ʔa.nu:t̩]	hat	/ʔaqtanu:t/ (A) /aqtanut/ (H) --- (K)
L03:27 a/b	[ʔa.qaʃ.ʔoʔ] ~ [ʔa.ʔaʃ.ʔoʔ]	ear	/ʔa:qaʃkuʔ/ ³² (A) /aq'aʃq'oʔ/ (H) /aʔaʃoʔ/ (K)
L03:28 a/b	[¹ ʃʔo.pat]	pinole ³³	/ʃqapat/ (A) --- (H) --- (K)

³² The /k/ in this transcription is most likely the result of a sound symbolic phonemic alternation that occurs in certain discourse contexts, including “affectionate speech”. Please see section 2.6.10 for more information.

³³ *Pinole* is toasted, sweetened ground corn that is eaten dry or mixed into a beverage.

L03:29 a/b	[ʃʔoi] ~ [ʃqoi]	leaf	--- (A) /ʃq'oy/ (H) /ʃʔoy/ (K)
L03:30 a/b	[ʃʔoi] ~ [ʃqoi]	dog	--- (A) /ʃq'oy/ (H) /ʃʔoy/ (K)
L03:31 a/b	[ma.ʔa.'liʔ]	rich (person)	--- (A) /maq'alit/ ~ /maqalit/ (H) --- (K)
L03:32 a/b	[ma.ʔaʔ.ʔa.'maʔ] ~ [ma.ʔaʔ.ʔa.'maʔ]	Tepehua (person)	--- (A) /maq'aʔq'amaʔ/ (H) /maʔaʔa'maʔ/ ~ /maʔaʔa'mat/ (K)
L03:33 a/b	[ts'o.'ʔon] ~ [ts'o.'qon]	Otomí (person)	--- (A) /ts'oq'on/ (H) /ts'o'ʔon/ (K)
L03:34 a/b	[tʃa.ʔa.'waf.dʒi] ~ [tʃa.ʔa.'waf.dʒi]	Totonaco (person)	--- (A) --- (H) /tʃaʔa'wafʃt/ (K)
L03:35 a/b	[la.'ʔaw] ~ [la.'qaw]	brother	--- (A) --- (H) /la'ʔaw/ (K)
L03:36 a/b	[ʔo.'ʔoʔ] ~ [ʔo.'qoq]	hollow	--- (A) --- (H) /puʔa'ʔoʔ/ (K)
L03:37 a/b	[ts'o.'ʔo] ~ [ts'o.'qo]	bird	--- (A) /ts'oq'o/ (H) /ts'oʔ/ (K)
L03:38 a/b	[wɛn.qɛn] ~ [wɛn.ʔɛn]	frog	/--- (A) /wɛnq'en/ (H) /wɛnqɛn/ (K)
L03:39 a/b	[maq.ti.'liʔ] ~ [maʔ.ti.'liʔ]	wild cat	--- (A) /maqtiliʔ/ (H) --- (K)

L03:40 a/b	[si:.'leq] ~ [si:.'leʔ]	cricket	--- (A) /sileq/ (H) /si'laq/ (K)
L03:41 a/b	[¹ qo:n.ta] ~ [¹ ?o:n.ta]	fat	--- (A) /q'onta/ (H) /qo:nt/ (K)
L03:42 a/b	[po.qo.'ʔuʔ] ~ [po.'ʔo.'ʔuʔ]	old man	--- (A) /poqoʔuʔ/ (H) /poqo'ʔuʔ/ (K)
L03:43 a/b	[qo:.'qeʔ] ~ [ʔo:.'ʔeʔ]	firefly	--- (A) --- (H) /o'qeʔ/ (K)
L03:44 a/b	[¹ ʃqan] ~ [¹ ʃqen] ~ [¹ ʃʔen]	fly	--- (A) /ʃq'an/ ~ /ʃq'en/ (H) /ʃqan/ (K)

The contrastive environments for /q, q'/ versus /ʔ/ that are represented by the words on the list are shown in (43). All three phonemes can appear word initially, intervocalically, and word finally.

(43) Contrastive Environments: /q, q'/ vs. /ʔ/

(a) Word initial

(i) #__ a [qai] 'hog plum tree'
 [ʔai] 'hair'

(ii) #__ u/o [qo:.'qeʔ] 'firefly'
 [ʔun] 'wind'

(b) Intervocalic

(i) a __ a [tʃa.'qaʔ] 'house'
 [tʃa.'ʔa:n] 'ant'

- (ii) o __ o [ts'ɔ.'qɔn] 'Otomí (person)'
 u __ u [tu.'ʔuʔ] 'something'

(c) Word final

- ['si:.ləq] 'cricket'
 [ma.ʔa.'liʔ] 'rich (person)'

There were also words on the list that historically contained either a /q/ or /q'/ in environments where /ʔ/ did not occur. These non-contrastive environments are shown below in (44). In the prevocalic position, they are found as the second member of a syllable initial consonant cluster and in syllable onset (non-word-initial) position. Post-vocally, they occur syllable finally in coda position or as the first member of a syllable-final consonant cluster.

- (44) Non-contrastive Environment: historically /q/ or /q'/ only
- (a) Second consonant in syllable-initial cluster (CqV)
- /ʃq'oi/ (H) 'dog'
 /ʃqapat/ (A) 'pinole'
- (b) Word-internal, syllable initial (C.qV)
- /wenq'en/ (H) 'frog'
 /putqum/ (A) 'mud'
- (c) Syllable final consonant cluster (VqC.)
- /saqs/ (A) 'sweet'
- (d) Word-internal, syllable final (Vq.C)
- /p'aqlat/ (H) 'coffin'

I chose a subset of six male speakers based on their ages and the quality of the recordings. They ranged in age from 15 to 80 years old. I did not initially divide these speakers into groups. Using the computer program Speech Analyzer, I made spectrograms of all of the individual tokens for each of the six speakers. I

examined the spectrograms of the “uvular” words for phonetic evidence of uvular phonemes, and I compared the spectrograms of these “uvular” words with the spectrograms of the words that indisputably contained glottal stops. On a spectrogram, a stop produces a gap in the pattern formed by the formants of the vowels. The locus of closure of a glottal stop does not effect the formant structures of the contiguous vowels; thus, a glottal stop between two vowels is transparent to the transition between those two vowels. A uvular stop, on the other hand, *does* affect the formant structures of the contiguous vowels by producing a narrowing of the distance between formant 1 (F1) and formant 2 (F2), with a high F1 frequency and a low F2 frequency, at the beginning of a following vowel or at the end of a preceding vowel’s formants (Bessell 1998).

Comparison of all of the spectrograms revealed that there were three different age-groups representing three different pronunciation patterns. The speakers, their ages, and their groupings are shown in Table 8.

Table 8: Age-graded Grouping of HT Consultants

GROUP	CONSULTANT	AGE
1	EDS	80
	AVH	76
2	LRM	62
3	LVP	44
	ASG	30
	NGG	15

Group 1, with two members, represents the oldest group, with speakers ranging in age from 76 to 80 years old. Group 2, with only one member, is the middle group; the sole member was 62 years old at the time of recording. Group

3, the youngest group, has three members who ranged in age from 15 to 44 years old.

The speech patterns that I found were the following: the plain uvular stop was still present in all environments (both contrastive and non-contrastive) in the speech of the members of Group 1; however, it consistently alternated with the glottal stop. When uttering the lexemes that historically contained a uvular stop, each member of Group 1 consistently pronounced the first token of each lexeme with a *glottal* stop. When I asked him to repeat himself, he pronounced the second token of that lexeme with a *uvular* stop. Thus, the uvular and glottal stops were in free variation in the speech of Group 1.

For Group 2, I found that in both the contrastive and the non-contrastive environments, /q/ was only sporadically and unpredictably maintained *pre-vocally*, while it never occurred post-vocally. Furthermore, the uvular stop never manifested itself in the first token, only in the second, repeated, token, and sometimes not even then. Thus, /q/ and /ʔ/ are in free variation pre-vocally, and /q/ has merged with /ʔ/ post-vocally in the speech of the sole member of Group 2.

Finally, there was no spectrographic evidence of a uvular stop in any of the tokens uttered by members of Group 3. In their speech, the uvular stop had been completely replaced by /ʔ/.

Unfortunately, it is virtually impossible to distinguish a plain from a glottalized stop using spectrograms, and I am told that the test to distinguish plain stops from glottalized ones is quite invasive (Scott Myers p.c.). I was limited to

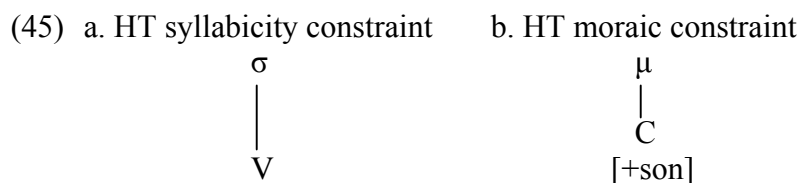
using my ear to distinguish a plain uvular stop from a glottalized one. The 76-year-old speaker AVH spent a summer working with me on the Project for the Documentation of the Languages of Mesoamerica. During that summer neither I, nor any of the more experienced linguists with whom I worked on the PDLMA (including Terrence Kaufman, Roberto Zavala, and Thom Smith Stark), could detect a glottalized uvular stop in his speech.

In conclusion, the uvular stop is merging with the glottal stop and is retained only sporadically in the speech of the oldest (older than 60) HT speakers. Today, the presence of a plain uvular stop in an HT speaker's phonemic inventory falls on an age-graded continuum: the younger the speaker, the less likely he is to have uvular stops in his phonemic inventory. In the speech of the younger HT speakers, the uvular stop has been completely replaced by the glottal stop.

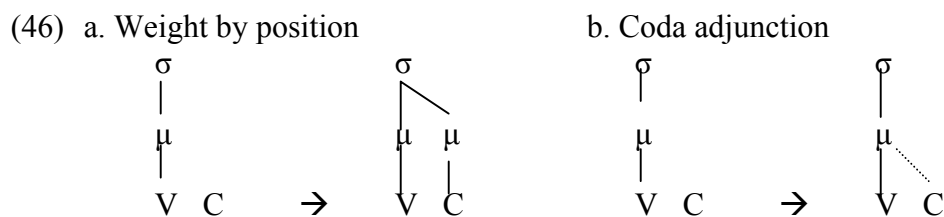
This merger has two consequences for the HT: first and most obviously, the uvular stop is no longer a separate phoneme because (i) it is in free variation with glottal stop in the speech of the older speakers and (ii) it is no longer a part of the phonemic inventory of "younger" HT speakers. Second, in Proto-Totonacan and in some present-day Totonac languages, the presence of a contiguous uvular stop conditions the lowering of /i, i:/ and /u, u:/ to [ɛ, ɛ:] and [o, o:], respectively. In these languages, /i(:), u(:)/ are in complementary distribution with [ɛ(:), o(:)] (Arana 1953; MacKay 1999; among others). However, even though the HT speakers have lost the uvular stop, they have retained the mid vowels in the lexemes that historically contained uvular stops. Thus, in modern HT, the mid vowels are contrastive with the high vowels.

2.4 SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

In Huehuetla Tepehua, only vowels are syllabic (i.e., only a vowel may serve as the nucleus of a syllable), while both vowels and sonorant consonants may be moraic (i.e., both vowels and sonorant consonants add weight to the syllable). These constraints on the syllable are schematized in (45), following Zec (1995: 115, ex. 77).



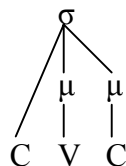
The fact that sonorant consonants in HT are moraic while non-sonorant consonants are not means that HT has both light and heavy closed syllables such that a light closed syllable has a non-sonorant consonant in the coda while a heavy closed syllable has a sonorant consonant in the coda. According to Hayes (1989, 1995) a syllable coda may be assigned a mora and incorporated into the syllable by virtue of weight by position, as seen in (46a). If the coda is not assigned a mora, then it is an adjunct to the syllable, as seen in (46b).



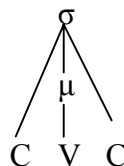
Zec (1995) models the difference between a moraic and a non-moraic coda by adjunction of the non-moraic coda directly to the *syllable*, as seen below in (47). I follow Zec's model hereafter because it makes a clearer distinction

between a moraic coda, which is associated directly with a mora, and a non-moraic coda, which is associated with the syllable and not with a mora.

(47) a. Heavy closed syllable

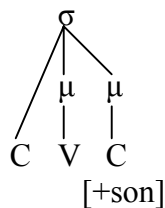


b. Light closed syllable

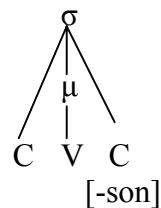


In HT only a sonorant consonant is moraic in coda position and, thus, adds weight to the syllable, as seen in (48a). A non-sonorant consonant in coda position is an adjunct to the syllable, as seen in (48b).

(48) a. HT heavy closed syllable
(Weight by position)



b. HT light closed syllable
(Coda adjunction)



In addition to demonstrating the above sonority constraints on the syllable, HT also demonstrates edge constraints (Itô 1989) that affect the structure of the syllable. First, there are two constraints on the coda in HT. The first coda constraint prevents the sonorant lateral [l] from occurring in syllable final position; the constraint is shown in example (49). When there is an underlying /l/ in coda position, it neutralizes to the non-sonorant [ɭ], as discussed in section 2.6.2. Since this phone is underlyingly sonorant, it still contributes weight to the syllable, as can be seen in the example [ʔa.mak.ɭtaɭ] ‘trash’, which is underlyingly /ʔamakʃtal/, based on the primary stress pattern discussed in section 2.5.

- (49) Lateral coda constraint
 $* [+son, +lat]]_{\sigma}$

The second coda constraint prevents a glottalized consonant /p', t', k'/ from occurring in coda position; the constraint is shown below in (50).

- (50) Glottalized C coda constraint
 $* [-son, +constr]]_{\sigma}$

There is one onset constraint that specifies that a syllable must have a consonant in the onset; the constraint is shown below in (51). If a syllable does not have an onset, a glottal stop is inserted, as discussed in section 2.6.3.

- (51) Onset constraint
 $*_{\sigma} [-cons]$

Finally, there is an edge constraint that affects both edges of the syllable: the onset and the coda. This constraint specifies that only coronal consonants may occur as the first member of an onset consonant cluster and as the last member of a coda consonant cluster. The constraint in (52a) specifies that a non-coronal consonant may not precede another consonant in onset position, while the constraint in (52b) specifies that a non-coronal consonant may not follow another consonant in coda position. It is typologically quite common for coronal consonants to occur at the edges of syllables; in fact, it is reminiscent of English (M. Crowhurst, p.c.).

- (52) a. Coronal onset constraint

$$*_{\sigma} [\begin{array}{c} C \ C \\ | \\ [-cor] \end{array}]$$

- b. Coronal coda constraint

$$* \begin{array}{c} C \ C \\ | \\ [-cor] \end{array}]_{\sigma}$$

Nevertheless, there is one exception to the onset constraint given in (52a). The first person subject marker *k-* may occur as the first member of a syllable-initial

consonant cluster preceding any other consonant. However, the language utilizes various techniques to break up this [k]+C cluster; please see the discussion in section 2.4.5.

Other constraints on the syllable include a constraint against two contiguous laterals in a consonant cluster, as seen in (53), and a constraint against two contiguous sonorant consonants in either onset (54a) or coda position (54b).

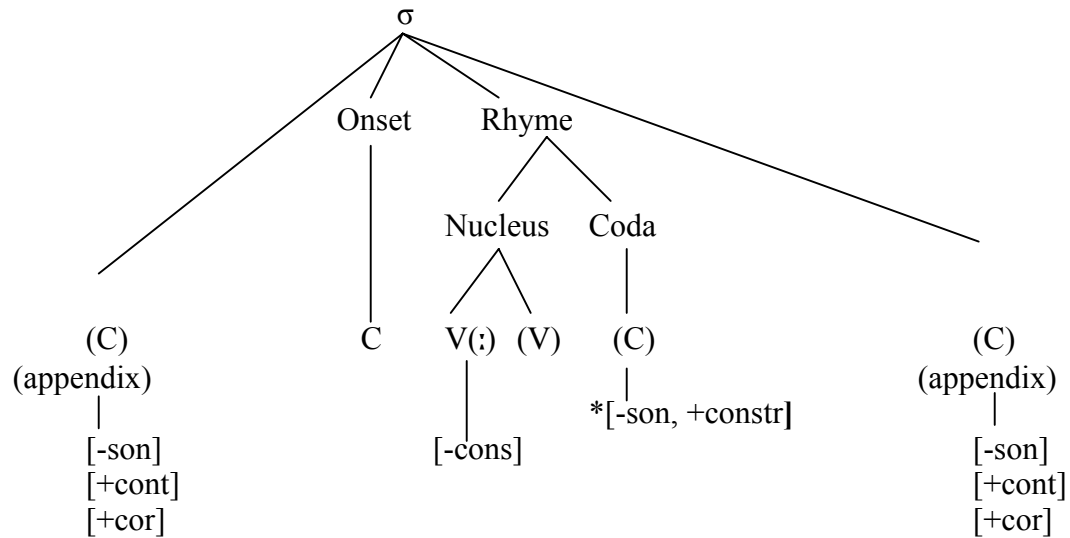
(53) * [+lat] [+lat]

(54) a. *_σ [+son, +cons] [+son, +cons]

b. * [+son, +cons] [+son, +cons]]_σ

In HT, a syllable minimally consists of a consonant and a vowel: CV. The maximal syllable is (C)CV(:)(V)(C)(C). The syllable structure is shown below in (55). Note that this model does not include moras, which I have omitted here in order to make the diagram as general and inclusive as possible. I return to the issue of syllable weight in the discussion of stress (section 2.5).

(55) Huehuetla Tepehua syllable structure



Attested syllable structures are shown below in example (56). With respect to syllables that end in consonant clusters, the syllable type CVCC, shown in example (56q), is quite common, while the other CC-final syllable types, CV:CC, CVVCC, CCVCC, CCV:CC, and CCVVCC, are not. Two possible CC-final syllable types, CV:VCC and CCV:VCC, are not attested at all.

(56) Attested syllables

a.	CV	[tʃa.ˈqaʔ]	‘house’
b.	CV:	[ˈti:]	‘road’
c.	CVV	[tʃau.ˈlaʔ]	‘turkey’
d.	CV:V	[ˈla:i]	‘s/he can’
e.	CCV	[ʔaʔ.ˈsna.ti]	‘female turkey’
f.	CCV:	[ʃpa:ˈhah]	‘flat’
g.	CCVV	[ˈʃqoi]	‘leaf’
h.	CCV:V	[ˈʃqo:i]	‘dog’
i.	CVC	[kuk.ˈʃiʔi]	‘avocado’
j.	CV:C	[ˈʃa:n.tʃi]	‘flower’
k.	CVVC	[ˈta.mauʔ]	‘s/he bought it’

l.	CV:VC	[<u>tʃi:u</u> f]	‘stone’, ‘rock’
m.	CCVC	[<u>ʃmu</u> t]	‘gourd for holding liquid’
n.	CCV:C	[<u>ʃka:n</u> .ti]	‘measurement’
o.	CCVVC	[<u>ʃkait</u> ʃ]	‘it already hurts’
p.	CCV:VC	[<u>ʃma:u</u> tʃ]	‘we (INCL) were lying down’
q.	CVCC	[<u>ʃak</u> t]	‘sour-sweet taste’
r.	CV:CC	[<u>ts’i:nk</u>]	‘heavy’
s.	CVVCC	[<u>ta.mau</u> tʃ]	‘s/he already bought it’
t.	CCVCC	[<u>ʃmit</u> ʃ]	‘s/he would have come already’
u.	CCV:CC	[<u>ʃka:ʃt</u> ʃ]	‘s/he measured it already’
v.	CCVVCC	[<u>ʃjau</u> tʃ]	‘s/he would have stopped’

I have found only one form that has a three-member consonant cluster in the coda, shown below in (57). I have found no onsets that consist of three consonants.

(57) CCC cluster in coda

[ʔakstʃ] ‘when’

2.4.1 Syllable Onsets

Any single HT consonant may occur at the beginning of a syllable. The phonemes /r/ and /r/ occur syllable-initially only in ideophones and Spanish loanwords. Examples are shown below in (58).

(58) Consonants in onset position

[ʔa.βi:] ‘mouse’
 [pu:t.t’uh] ‘water frog’
 [tak.hu.βin] ‘pulse’
 [kan] ‘delicious’
 [qah] ‘nettle’
 [tʃa.ʔa:n] ‘ant’
 [p’aq.la.tʃ] ‘chest’, ‘coffin’

[t' ak.t'a]	'ear of corn'
[k' u.tʃ'u]	'remedy', 'cure'
[s a:s.ti]	'new'
[ʔ u:]	'much', 'many'
[ʃ ʃ]	'dry'
[tsa.'hi:n]	'eight'
[tʃa.'βai]	'now', 'today'
[ts' aʔ]	'boy'
[hi:.'tʃ'aʔ.kat]	'work', 'job'
[la:.'tʃah]	'fighting cock'
[m ah.qot]	'palm sp.'
[n ipʃ]	'zucchini', 'squash'
[β a:.ti]	'tortilla'
[j utʃ]	'third person pronoun'
[h u:]	'definite article'
[r un]	ID: 'buzz of a bee', 'sound of a motor'
[ʔa.ku:m.'pa:.ri:]	'compadre relationship', 'compadrazgo'

The following types of consonant cluster are allowed in the syllable onset position: (a) [fricative] + [nasal], (b) [fricative] + [stop], (c) [fricative] + /w/, and (d) [fricative] + [liquid]. All four types of consonant cluster have in common the fact that the first member must be a fricative: /ʔ/, /ʃ/, or /s/, all of which are coronals. Additionally, all four types of consonant cluster may occur at a morphophonemic boundary, as well as in root lexemes. The fourth type (/s/ + /l/) never occurs at a morphophonemic boundary. Examples are shown below in (59).

(59) Onset consonant clusters

a. Fricative + nasal

[ʔ man]	'long'
[aq.ʃ mu.ti]	'arch', 'bow'
[sma. 'laq]	'dark-skinned'

[ʎ na.kak]	‘laughingly’
[ʃ na.t̥j]	‘his/her/its mother’
[ʎ ak.sni:]	‘when’

b. Fricative + stop

[kik. ʎ pa.kat̥]	‘harelip’
[₁ ʔoʔ. ʃ pa. ¹ lan]	‘plant (orchid or lily) sp.’
[maq. ¹ spa ʔ]	‘outside’
[ʎ bu. ¹ duʔ]	‘scar’
[₁ ʃ a.t̥at̥. ¹ nun]	‘hammer’
[₁ s bi.li. ¹ liʔ]	‘plant/orchid sp.’
[ʎ tu. ₁ ku.ni. ¹ niʔ]	‘beetle’
[¹ ʃ ta:n]	‘opossum’
[¹ st ai]	‘squirrel’
[₁ ʎ di.lin. ¹ k ^ʔ int̥j]	‘fin’
[¹ ʃ da.qa]	‘skin’, ‘leather’
[₁ kik. ʎ ka. ¹ win.k ^ʔ i]	‘handlebar mustache’
[¹ ʃ ka:n]	‘water’
[¹ ski .ti.t̥j]	‘dough’
[¹ ʎ k ^ʔ ak]	‘ashes’
[¹ ʃ k ^ʔ a.piʔ]	‘s/he locked it’
[sk ^ʔ i:k. ¹ luu]	‘eel’
[¹ ʎ qa.ʔaqaʔ] ³⁴	‘spoon’
[₁ ʃ qa.pa. ¹ ʔa:t̥j] ³⁵	‘bread’
[¹ sq ah] ³⁶	‘rotten’

c. Fricative + /w/

[s ʔa: ¹ qai]	‘s/he regrinds it’
[¹ ʃ ʔa: ¹ d̥i]	‘grinding stone’

³⁴ In the speech of the “younger” speakers: [**ʎ**ʔa.ʔaʔ].

³⁵ In the speech of the “younger” speakers: [**ʃ**ʔa.pa.¹ʔa:t̥j].

³⁶ In the speech of the “younger” speakers: [**s**ʔah].

[ʃβa:t̩] ‘his/her-tortilla’
 [ʃβa.da.'lan.t̩] ‘scaly’

d. Fricative + liquid³⁷

[ʃluʔ] ‘lizard’
 [ʃli.'βiu] ‘elliptical’
 [ʃla.'puʔ] ‘red’
 [ʃla.'k'a.βu] ‘down (feather)’
 [ʃla.'ʔa.t̩] ‘bird sp.’
 [ʃlitʔ] ‘she ironed it’

The consonant clusters shown in (59a) and (59d) conform to the Sonority Sequencing Principle (SSP) that states that within a syllable, the sequence up to the peak must be rising in sonority, and the sequence after the peak must be falling in sonority (Selkirk 1984). In the [fricative] + [nasal] clusters shown in (59a), the nasal is more sonorous than the fricative that precedes it. It is also the case that the liquid lateral /l/ is more sonorous than the fricatives /s/ and /ʃ/ that precede it in the examples shown in (59d). The clusters in (59b) and (59c) do not violate the SSP because stops and fricatives—both being obstruents—are of equal sonority. Note that the forms in (59c) vary with the pronunciation of the speaker. Some older HT speakers pronounce the glide /w/ as a true bilabial approximant [w] when it occurs in an onset position, while all younger speakers and most older speakers pronounce it as a bilabial fricative [β] in onset position.

³⁷ The constraint *[+lat][+lat] discussed in the previous section prevents combinations of the lateral fricative followed by the liquid.

2.4.2 Syllable Nuclei

All ten of the HT vowels may occur as the syllable nucleus. Examples are shown in (60).

(60) Vowels in nucleus position

[puʃ.ˈlim.t̩]	‘nephew’
[ˈfiː.ma.ˌqaʃ.qa.ˈmaʔ]	‘Tepehua language’
[ˈtʃˈe.qɛ]	‘thrush’
[maʃ.ˈteː.qaː]	‘s/he opened it’
[tsˈa.ˈʔam]	‘dried corn stalk’
[ˈʃqaːm]	‘corn husk’, ‘corn shuck’
[ˈfiː.ˈqo.ða.ti]	‘drink (N)’
[ˌta.mak.ˈpoː.qa.t̩]	‘space between the fingers’
[ˈsluʃ]	‘lizard’
[ˈhuː.k̩]	‘deer’

The only diphthongs in the language are those that are formed (i) by the combination of a vowel followed by one of the glides /w/ or /j/, or (ii) by deletion of an intervocalic /h/ (see section 2.6.9). There are eight possible diphthongs: [a(:)i], [a(:)u], [u(:)i], [o(:)i], [o(:)u], [e(:)u], [ei], and [i(:)u]. With the exception of [ei], the first member of each diphthong may be short or long. The lack of an example of [e:i] might be the result of an accidental gap in the data; however, instances of [ei], [ou], and [o:u] are extremely rare. Examples are shown below in (61).

(61) Diphthongs

[ai] and [a:i]	
[ˈqai]	‘big’
[ˈʔai]	‘hair’

[au] and [a:u]		
	[ʔaʔ.ˈʃla <u>u</u> .t̩]	‘sap’
	[ʔaʔ.ˈʃa <u>u</u>]	‘large pot with handles’ (tinaja)
[ui] and [u:i]		
	[ˈʔ <u>ui</u>]	‘s/he eats it’
	[ˈtʃ <u>ui</u>]	‘large basket used for fishing’
[oi] and [o:i]		
	[ˈʃq <u>oi</u>]	‘leaf’
	[ˈʃq <u>o:i</u>]	‘dog’
[ou] and [o:u]		
	[,ʔak.ʃ <u>ou</u> .ˈkai]	‘it hops’
	[ˈsk <u>o:u</u> .ro:]	‘chisel’
[eu] and [e:u]		
	[ʔoq.ˈʃq <u>eu</u>]	‘yucca’, ‘sweet potato’
	[spe: <u>u</u>]	‘mirror’
[ei]		
	[ʔa.ˈʔe <u>i</u> .ta:]	‘tree sp.’
[iu] and [i:u]		
	[ˈkʰ <u>iu</u>]	‘tree’, ‘wood’, ‘stick’
	[ˈkʰi: <u>u</u>]	‘chayote’ (edible plant sp.)

The diphthongs [au] and [ai] are optionally pronounced [o:] and [e:] by HT speakers. Examples are shown in (62).

(62) [au] ~ [o:] and [ai] ~ [e:]

/tʃawlaʔ/	[tʃ <u>au</u> .ˈlaʔ]	~	[tʃ <u>o:</u> .ˈlaʔ]	‘turkey’
/kaw-tam/	[k <u>au</u> .ˈtam]	~	[k <u>o:</u> .ˈtam]	‘eleven’
/ʔa-qałaju-nVʔ/	[ʔa.ˌqa.ł <u>au</u> .ˈnaʔ]	~	[ʔa.ˌqa.ł <u>o:</u> .ˈnaʔ]	‘thief’
/tajuk’a-lh/	[ˈt <u>au</u> .k’ał]	~	[ˈt <u>o:</u> .k’ał]	‘he went up’
/wahin-putun/	[,w <u>aim</u> .puˈtun]	~	[,w <u>e:m</u> .puˈtun]	‘he wants to eat it’ ³⁸

³⁸ This is the only clear example of [ai] ~ [e:] that I found in my database, and I did not test this in the field.

When the glide /w/ follows the high, back vowel /u/ or /u:/, the results is [u:], and when the glide /j/ follows the high, front vowel /i/ or /i:/, the result is [i:]. Examples appear in (63).

(63) /uw/ → [u:] and /ij/ → [i:]

/ju:kiluw/	[,hu:ki.'lu:]	‘boa constrictor’
/k-ʔu-w/	[k'u:]	‘we (EXCL) eat it’
/awij/	[ʔa.'βi:]	‘mouse’
/hun-ni-j/	[hu:ni:]	‘he says it’

2.4.3 Syllable Codas

The glottalized consonants /p', t', k', ts', tʃ'/ (i.e., C [-son, +constr gl]) do not occur in the coda position, but all other consonants—including the glottal stop /ʔ³⁹—do occur in the coda. Examples are shown below in (64). Note that there is a phonological rule that neutralizes /l/ to [ɬ] in coda position (see section 2.6.2).

(64) Consonants in coda position

[hɪp]	‘fire’
[,ɬak.tʃa.'ʔat]	‘envy’
[hɑ:k]	‘banana’
[sɪ.leq]	‘cricket’
[tʃ'a.'haʔ]	‘foot’
[ʔa:li:s]	‘parrot’, ‘parakeet’
[taŋ.'k'aʃ]	‘fer-de-lance’ (snake sp.)
[,ma:ɬa.'βa:kaɬ]	‘basket used to harvest corn’ (tancolote)
[na.'hats]	‘nine’
[qa.'ʔitʃ]	‘half-burned log’ (tizón)

³⁹ Glottal stop differs from the glottalized consonants in that it is [+son] while they are [-son]. When a glottal stop occurs in word-final position, it attracts primary stress to the ultimate syllable, as do the other sonorant consonants. Non-sonorant consonants do not attract stress. Please see section 2.5.

[ts'a.ʔam]	‘dried corn stalk’
[,tan.ta.ʔan]	‘fire ant’
[ʔar]	ID: ‘running action’
[ʔʃur]	ID: ‘gurgling sound’
[tsa:.'pu:h]	‘caterpillar’, ‘bug’

Far fewer consonant clusters occur in coda position than occur in onset position. The following types of consonant cluster are found in coda position: (a) [stop] + [fricative] or /ts/, (b) /n/ + /tʃ/, and (c) C + temporal clitic (+*ch* ALD). Examples are shown below in (65).

(65) Coda consonant clusters

a. Stop + fricative or /ts/

[a:.'k'i:lukʃ]	‘frog sp.’ (rana pinta)
[ʔmutsaqs] ~ [ʔmutsaʔs]	‘camote’, ‘sweet potato’
[ʔk'i.liptʃ]	ID: ‘action/sound of turtle hiding in shell’
[ti:.'tʃutʃ]	‘lid’, ‘cap’
[tan.'duktʃ]	‘small fish sp.’
[ʔtoqtʃ] ~ [ʔtoʔʃ]	ID: ‘burning’
[ʔaʔ.'ʔepx]	‘ant sp.’
[ʔʔukx]	‘surface’
[ʔmaqʃ]	‘left’
[ʔdaʔx]	ID: ‘sound of footsteps’
[ʔloqts]	ID: ‘sound of applause’
[ʔsi:.'laʔts]	ID: ‘flashing’ (e.g., lightning)

b. Nasal + /tʃ/

[ju:.'ʔʌntʃ]	‘third person plural pronoun’
[ʔantʃ]	‘where’
[ku:.'ta:ntʃ]	‘yesterday’
[ʔu:.'ʃamtʃ]	‘day before yesterday’

c. C + <i>ch</i> (temporal clitic ALD)	
[¹ miʔtʃ]	‘s/he came already’
[na. ¹ huɲtʃ]	‘s/he says’
[la. ₁ pa.nak. ¹ niɲtʃ]	‘person-PL’
[¹ ni:ɲtʃ]	‘nearby’
[¹ soqʔtʃ]	‘straight’
[¹ ʔakstʃ]	‘when’

With respect to the first type of consonant cluster, [stop] + [fricative] or /ts/, shown above in (65a), there are several gaps in the paradigms: while /k/, /q/, and /ʔ/ occur before /s/, /p/ and /t/ do not; all stops except /t/ occur before /ʃ/; and only /q/ and /ʔ/ precede /ts/. All stops occur before /ʃ/, making its paradigm the only complete one. Furthermore, there are no lexical examples at all in which a stop is followed by /tʃ/ in the coda. I do not know if these gaps in the paradigm represent disallowed consonant cluster combinations or if they represent gaps in my data.

Though I have found no lexicalized forms that end in a [stop] + /tʃ/ cluster, there are many lexicalized forms that end in a [nasal] + /tʃ/, as seen in the examples in (65b). However, I have found no examples of a [nasal] + /ts/ cluster in the coda.

The temporal clitic +*ch* (ALD), shown above in (65c), may follow inflected verbs ending in /ʃ/ or /n/ and words of other classes that end in /n/. I have found the temporal clitic +*ch* on two other lexemes—one ending in /q/, *soqch* ‘straight’, and one ending in /s/, *ʔaksch* ‘when’. This last form, *ʔaksch*, is the only example that I have found of a three-member consonant cluster.

2.4.4 Medial Consonant Clusters

Medial consonant clusters can be divided into those comprised of two members, shown below in (66), and those comprised of three members, shown below in (67). With respect to the two-member consonant clusters, all combinations of [sonorant], [stop], [fricative], and [affricate] are attested. With respect to the three-member clusters, there are some restrictions. First, the middle member must be a fricative, while the external members may be stops or sonorants; the combinations include [stop] + [fricative] + [sonorant], [stop] + [fricative] + [stop], [sonorant] + [fricative] + [stop], and [sonorant] + [fricative] + [sonorant]. Finally, an affricate never appears in a three-member medial cluster.

(66) *Two-member medial consonant clusters*

a. Stop + Sonorant

[kuk.βi:ti:]	‘horse tail plant’
[la.pa.nak.niŋtʃ]	‘person-PL’
[laq.ɬwaq.nin]	‘dismember’
[ma.ʔa.lip.niʔ]	‘lightening’
[mɔq.jau]	‘fungus species’
[sk'i:k.lu]	‘eel’
[sɔq.ni.k'a]	‘straight’
[tak.hu.βin]	‘pulse’
[tʃ'aɬ.kat.naʔ]	‘worker’

b. Stop + Stop

[ta.mak.po:qa.tʃ]	‘space between the fingers’
[laq.pu.luks]	‘sty (on eye)’
[ʃqop.tatʃ]	‘tired’
[tʃ'an.kat.paɬ]	‘plant sp.’
[ʔa.maq.taj.naʔ]	‘fire’
[pa.ɬit.kan.ta]	‘bruised’

[ʔak. 'ti.jak]	‘weed’
[mak. 'ba.qaʔ]	‘he peeled (dead skin off) his hand’
[,pa:laq. 'baqx]	‘ax’
[,ʔaq.dʔaʔ. 'man]	‘bean tortilla’
[,pa:ʃ.k'it. 'k'in]	‘comb’
[la.ka. 'dʔik.dʔi]	‘small’

c. Stop + Fricative

[ʔaʔ. 'ʃa:u]	‘large pot with handles’ (tinaja)
[ʔak. 'ʃun.tʔi]	‘cold, illness’
[,ʔa.mak. 'ʃtaʔ]	‘trash’
[ʔaq. 'ʃu:nu:k]	‘bug sp.’
[kuk. 'ʃɾɾ]	‘avocado’

d. Stop + Affricate

[kɾɾ. 'mak.tʃat]	‘rainbow’
[,ʃak.tʃa. 'ʔat]	‘envy’
[laq. 'ts'in]	‘s/he sees it/him/her’
['laq.tʃ'i:tʔi]	‘cover’
[,tam.ʃuk. 'tsuʔ]	‘navel’

e. Fricative + Sonorant

[kaʔ. 'mi:lu:]	‘sheep’
[kɾɾ. 'mak.tʃat]	‘rainbow’
[,laʃ.ma. 'kaʔ]	‘handrail’
[puʃ. 'lim.tʔi]	‘nephew’
['tsa:s.na:tʔi]	‘iron’
[,ʃiʃ.ni. 'wa:tʔi]	‘dried bread’

f. Fricative + Stop

[ʔa. 'ʔeiʃ.ta:]	‘tree sp.’
[ʔaʔ. 'ʔepx]	‘ant sp.’
[kɾɾ. 'tuʔ]	‘edge’
[,ʔi:ma. ,qaʔ.qa. 'maʔ]	‘Tepehua language’

[maʔ.te:qa:]	‘s/he opened it’
[ma.ɬaʔ.qa.'maʔ]	‘Tepehua’
[ma:ʃ.'te:wan]	‘brown tadpole’
[mi:s.'tuʔ]	‘cat’
[,tʃa.qa.'βaʃ.dʒi]	‘Totonac’
[,tʃ'aʔ.kat.'naʔ]	‘worker’
[,tʃ'a.naʃ.'taqɑ]	‘callous (on foot)’

g. Fricative + Fricative

[ʃa.ɬoʃ.ʔa:ʃ.'βa:n]	‘plant species’ (chichicastle)
[ʔaʔ.spu.tu.'tun.tʃi]	‘bean fritter’ (tamalate)

h. Fricative + Affricate

[,ʔa.βiʔ.'tʃan]	‘day’
[,ti:s.tʃa.'βaitʃ]	‘who’
[pa:qoʃ.'tʃaq.ʃni]	‘unworked land’
[,ʔaʔ.tsa.'hin]	‘plant sp.’ (dormilona)

i. Sonorant + Stop

[ʔa.'tʃɛn.ʔɛ]	‘toasted’
[kau.'tam] ⁴⁰	‘eleven’
[,ja:n.tu]	‘no’
[pu:m.'puʔ]	‘clothes’
[,tam.βuk.'tsuʔ]	‘navel’
[taŋ.'k'aʃ]	‘fer-de-lance’ (snake sp.)
[,waim.pu'tun]	‘he wants to eat it’
[,sβi.liŋ.'k'in.tʃi]	‘swirl shape’
[,tʃ'aŋ.kat]	‘sugar cane’
[tʃ'aN.'qɛ.si:t]	‘toe nail’

j. Sonorant+ Fricative (no /m/ exs)

[,te:n.su:n]	‘goat’
--------------	--------

⁴⁰ From /kaw-tam/.

[laq .ʃtan. ʃaʔ]	‘cheek’
[tʃ ʼan. ʃa : ʃaʔ]	‘barefoot’

k. Sonorant + Affricate

[pu:. tan .tsu. pi .pi]	‘horizontal corner’
[bu:. ʃam . tʃa :ʃan]	‘twenty-six’
[bu:. ʃam . tsa .ʃin]	‘twenty-eight’
[du:. ʃam . tʃitʃ]	‘day before yesterday’
[tʃ ʼan. ʃa .ʃaʔ]	‘leg’

l. Sonorant + Sonorant

[tʃ ʼan. ʔa .ka.nit]	‘flesh or muscle of the leg’
[tʃah .ʔit]	‘hail’
[tʃau .ʃaʔ] ⁴¹	‘turkey’
[tʃ ʼan. ʃu .kut]	‘leg bone’

(67) *Three-member medial consonant clusters*

a. Stop + Fricative + Sonorant

[ʔaʔ. ʃ lau.tʃi]	‘sap’
[ʔa. hi .laq. ʃ nin]	‘hiccups’
[aq . ʃ mu.tʃi]	‘arch’, ‘bow’
[kɪk. ʃ lau.tʃi]	‘drool’
[laq . ʃ waq. ʃ nin]	‘dismember’
[mɔq. ʃ nuʔ]	‘owl’
[ta. ʃ laq. ʃ miʃ]	‘bean tamales’

b. Stop+Fricative+Stop

[ʔak .ʃtu. ʃ kai]	‘it hops’
[ʔaq .ʃtu]	‘alone’
[hu:k .ʃpi]	‘alligator’
[kɪk . ʃ ka. ʃ win.kʔi]	‘handlebar mustache’
[kɪk. ʃ pa.kat]	‘harelip’

⁴¹ From /tʃawlaʔ/,

[kɪk.ʃdɑ.qɑ]	‘lip’
[maq.ʃpaʔ]	‘outside’
[,ʔoʔ.ʃpa.ʃlan]	‘plant (orchid or lily) sp.’
[ʔoq.ʃqeu]	‘yucca’, ‘sweet potato’

c. Sonorant+Fricative+Stop

[,tʃʰan.ʃdɑ.ʃqan]	‘sandals’
[,pa:tan.ʃtuk.ni]	‘fishing spear’
[ʔa.ʃtan.ʃdo:ʃqon.tʃ]	‘knife-wound’

d. Sonorant+Fricative+Sonorant

[laq.ʃtan.ʃwi:h.ʃkan]	‘he shaves’
[tan.ʃwi.lin.ʃkʰin.tʃ]	‘swirl of the belly button’

2.4.5 Syllabification

Syllabification of phonemes into syllables follows the sequence of rules shown in (68).

(68) Syllabification Rules:

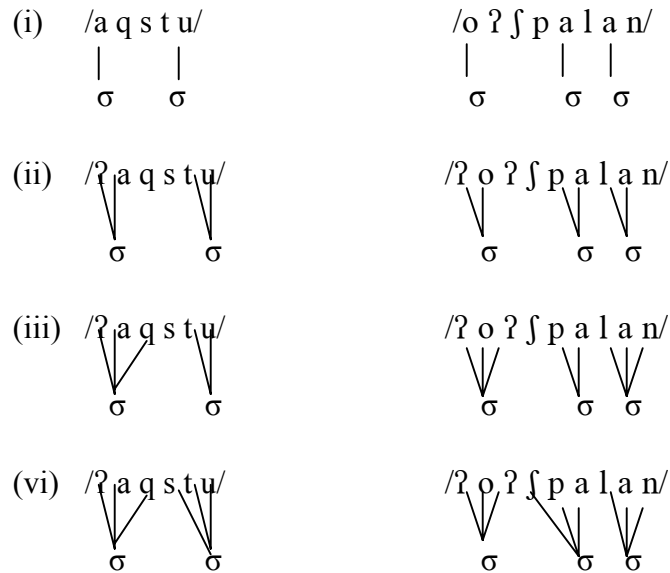
- (i) first establish the vocalic nucleus, then
- (ii) establish a consonant onset,⁴² then
- (iii) establish a consonant coda, then
- (iv) assign any pre-vocalic unsyllabified consonant that is [-son] [+cont] [+cor] to the Left (Onset) edge of the syllable, and/or
- (v) assign any post-vocalic unsyllabified consonant that is [-son] [+cont] [+cor] to the Right (coda) edge of the syllable, and/or
- (vi) if an unsyllabified segment falls between a coda and an onset, assign it to the following onset (favor onsets over codas).

These syllabification rules favor onset consonant clusters and disfavor coda consonant clusters at syllable boundaries, based on the constraint that all syllables must have an onset (see example (51) in section 2.4). For example, following these syllabification rules, the word *ʔaqstu* ‘alone’ is syllabified as

⁴² If a root is vowel initial, a glottal stop is inserted as the onset. See section 2.6.3.

[¹ʔaq.stu] and not as [¹ʔaqs.tu]. Unfortunately, I have not found a good test for syllable constituency in HT to reinforce these syllabification rules. The derivation of the syllable structures of [¹ʔaqs.tu] ‘alone’ and [₁ʔoʔ.ʃpa.lan] ‘lily species’ are shown below in (69).

(69) Syllabification of [¹ʔaq.stu] ‘alone’ and [₁ʔoʔ.ʃpa.lan] ‘lily species’



There are three prefixes which, when added to a consonant-initial stem, have the potential to create an onset consonant cluster that does not conform to the syllable structure given in (55). These prefixes are the first person subject prefix *k-* that occurs on verb stems, the past tense prefix *x-* that also occurs on verb stems, and the homophonous third person possessor prefix *x-* that occurs on noun stems.

The first person subject prefix *k-* (1SUB) may precede any consonant except /k/⁴³ and /q/.⁴⁴ The examples below show *k-* preceding a stop (70a), a nasal

⁴³ Please see section 2.6.7.1 on identical consonant deletion at morphophonemic boundaries.

(70b), a fricative (70c), an affricate (70d), the liquid (70e), an approximant (70f), the glottal stop (70g), and a vowel (70h).

(70) *k*- (1SUB) + C

a. *k*- + stop

[ktaʃ.ˈtʰui]

/k-taʃtu-y/

1SUB-go.out-IMPV

‘I go out’

[kɬa.ˈhun]

/k-tʰahun/

1SUB-be

‘I am X-ing’

b. *k*- + nasal

[kna.ˈβi:]

/k-nawii-y/

1SUB-make-IMPV

‘I do/make it’

c. *k*- + fricative

[kʰi.ˈʔan.ta]

/k-ʰi:ʔan-ta/

1SUB-wear-PF

‘I wear it’

d. *k*- + affricate

[kʰtʃa.βa.ˈni:]

/k-tʃawani-y/

1SUB-be.hungry-IMPV

‘I am hungry’

⁴⁴ Of all of the uvular-initial verb stems in the database, almost none of them include first person subject examples. The ones that do were uttered by younger speakers who do not retain the uvular stop; I transcribed these examples with /kʰ/, e.g. [kʰo:nlitʃ] from /k-qo:nlitʃ/ ‘I got fat’.

e. *k-* + liquid

[**k**la.ka.'ʔi:]
/k-lakaʔii-y/
1SUB-believe-IMPFV
'I believe it'

f. *k-* + approximant

[**kh**u.'nau]
/k-hun-aw/
1SUB-say(IMPFV)-1PL.SUB
'we say'

[kβa.'hin] ~ [kwa.'hin]
/k-wahin/
1SUB-eat(IMPFV)
'I eat'

g. *k-* + /ʔ/

[**k**'ak.ʔd̪uŋ.'k'u.t̪a]
/k-ʔak-ʔt'unk'u-ta/
1SUB-HEAD-carry-PF
'I had carried it on my head'

h. *k-* + V

[**k**am.pu.'tun]
/k-ʔan-putun/
1SUB-go-DESID(IMPFV)
'I want to go'

Though the above examples in (70) are attested forms, the onset consonant cluster produced by the prefixation of *k-* (1SUB) to a consonant-initial stem does not conform to the syllable structure shown above in (55) because the /k/ is neither a continuant, nor a coronal. Speakers resolve this conflict in one of four ways: (i) they allow the cluster, as seen in the examples above in (70), which are exceptions to the coronal edge constraint, (ii) they syllabify the /k/ of the first

person prefix as the coda of a preceding vowel-final particle or word, (iii) they insert an epenthetic [ʔi-] before the [k], or (iv) they omit the *k*- prefix entirely.

Examples of syllabification as a coda of the first person subject prefix *k*- are shown below in (71). In (71a), the /k/ has been syllabified as the coda of the preceding adverb, and in (71b), the /k/ has been syllabified as the coda of the preceding particle. Evidence for syllabification of the prefix as a coda is found in the form of an audible release after the [k] in both forms in (71). In these examples, the [k] behaves more like a word-final stop (in that it is released) than a word-initial stop (which is not released). In contrast, the word-initial [k] in the examples shown in (70) above is not released preceding another consonant in onset position. This process of syllabifying the *k*- prefix as the coda of the preceding word or particle conforms to the syllabification rules shown above in (68) in that an unsyllabified consonant will be put into coda position before it will be put into a consonant cluster in onset position.

- (71) a. [ʔjun.ta:k. ta.pa:sa.'jau]
 /junta: k-ta-pa:sa-j-aw/
 where 1SUB-INCH-pass-IMPFV-1PL.SUB
 ‘where we pass’ [T0022:051]
- b. [βa:k. ,ta.ta.'nan]
 /wa: k-talhanan/
 FOC 1SUB-be.scared(IMPFV)
 ‘I am scared.’ [T0054: 034]

The elder speaker with whom I worked closely, don Antonio, would sometimes resolve the conflict by inserting an epenthetic [ʔi-] before the [k], so

that /k/ became the coda and not the onset of its syllable, as seen in the example in (72). This process, too, conforms to the syllabification rules given in (68).

- (72) [ʔik.ˈmak.tʃaːt hu: ˈfiː.ʔutʃi]
 /ʔi-k-maktʃaː-li hu: fiːʔuti/
 EPE-1SUB-ripen(VT)-PFV ART fruit
 ‘I let the fruit ripen.’ [ELIEX1: 002 (AVH)]

While I was eliciting verb paradigms, I noticed that all of my consultants frequently omitted the first person subject prefix on consonant-initial verb stems. The example in (73a) is from don Nicolás, my 46-year-old consultant, the one in (73b) is from Micaela, my 23-year-old consultant, and the example in (73c) is from don Antonio, my 76-year-old consultant.⁴⁵ However, if the first person subject prefix is omitted, then the verb is ambiguous and may be (mis)interpreted as having a third person singular subject. The translations in these examples reflect this ambiguity.

- (73) a. [ta.ˈnu:i]
 /tanuː-j/
 enter-IMPV
 ‘I enter.’ / ‘S/he enters.’ [MNB16: 99 (NVP)]
- b. [na.ˈβi: ˈβaːtʃi]
 /nawiː-j waːti/
 make-IMPV tortilla
 ‘I make tortillas.’ / ‘S/he makes tortillas.’ [MNB6: 355 (MSP)]
- c. [ˌta.qeʔ.ˈta.huʔtʃ]
 /taqeʔtahu-li+tʃ/
 get.off-PFV+ALD
 ‘I got off.’ / ‘S/he got off’ (e.g., the bus). [MNB16: 30 (AVH)]

⁴⁵ These were their ages at the time of elicitation.

Only after I asked the speaker to repeat him- or herself, would he or she include the first person prefix, and it usually took more than one emphatic repetition before the [k]+C combination was auditorily perceptible, especially when *k*-preceded another stop. In the emphatic repetition, don Nicolás and Micaela both would use the *k*- prefix, (74a) and (74b), respectively. Don Antonio, on the other hand, would use *ʔik*- in such environments, as seen in (74c).

(74) a. [kta.'nu:i]
 /k-tanu:-j/
 1SUB-enter-IMPV
 'I enter.' [MNB16: 99 (NVP)]

b. [kna.'βi: 'βa:t̩i]
 /k-nawi:-j wati/
 1SUB-make-IMPV tortilla
 'I make tortillas.' [MNB6: 355 (MSP)]

c. [ʔik.,ta.qeɬ.'ta.juɬt̩]
 /ʔi-k-taqeɬtahu-li+t̩/
 EPE-1SUB-get.off-PFV+ALD
 'I got off (e.g., the bus).' [MNB16: 30 (AVH)]

Furthermore, the *k*- prefix is frequently omitted even when it could have been syllabified with the preceding particle, as seen in the example in (75). In this example, the focus particle *waa* precedes the verb. It is frequently the case that *k*- is syllabified as the coda of this particle, as seen in (71b) above. However, in the clause shown here in (75), the *k*- is simply omitted. Though the gloss says 'I killed it', the verb *maqniilhch* ['maqni:ɬt̩] is not marked for first person and literally means 'He killed it'. This process of omission does not fall out from the syllabification rules given in (68).

- (75) [ʼpu:s βa: ʼmaɣni:tʃ ,kaʔuʼja:utʃ]
 /pu:s wa: maɣni:-li+tʃ ka-ʔu-yaʔ-w+tʃ/
 well FOC kill-PFV+ALD IRR-eat-FUT-1PL.SUB+ALD
 ‘Well, I killed it and we are going to eat it.’ [T0059: 013]

The other two prefixes, the verbal past tense marker *x-* and the nominal third person possessor marker *x-*, are homophones, and they are syllabified in exactly the same way. Though they do conform to the syllable structure given in (55), they create consonant clusters such as [fricative] + [fricative] or [fricative] + [affricate] that are not otherwise attested. They are syllabified in the same way that the first person subject prefix *k-* is: either as the coda of a preceding word or particle, as seen in the examples in (76), or as the coda of an epenthetic [ʔɪ], as seen in the examples in (77). However, unlike the *k-* prefix, these two prefixes are never omitted.⁴⁶

In the example in (76a), the possessive prefix *x-* is syllabified as the coda of the preceding article *juu*. In the example in (76b), the past tense prefix *x-* is syllabified as the coda of the preceding focus particle *waa*.

- (76) a. [hu:ʃ tʃa.ʼqaʔ]
 /hu: ʃ-tʃaqaʔ/
 ART 3POS-house
 ‘his/her house’
- b. [βa:ʃ ,tʃu.tʃu.ʼʔuitʃ]
 /wa: ʃ-tʃutʃu=ʔu-j+tʃ/
 FOC PAST-suck=eat-IMPFV+ALD
 ‘S/he sucked it.’

⁴⁶ Occasionally, the past tense marker *x-* is omitted in the narrative past, much like it is in English, e.g. “So I *say* to him . . .” instead of “So I *said* to him . . .”. This is a narrative style that is independent of syllabification.

When there is no preceding vowel-final word or particle, an epenthetic [ʔɪ] is inserted before the prefix *x-*, and [ʃ] is syllabified as the coda of this syllable, as seen in the examples in (77).

- (77) a. [ʔɪx.tʃa.'qaʔ]
 /ʔi-ʃ-tʃaqaʔ/
EPE-3POS-house
 'his/her house'
- b. [ʔɪʃ.tʃu.tʃu.'ʔuitʃ]
 /ʔi-ʃ-tʃutʃu=ʔu-j+tʃ/
EPE-PAST-suck=eat-IMPV+ALD
 'S/he sucked it.'

Comparing epenthesis of [ʔɪ] before these two *x-* prefixes to epenthesis of [ʔɪ] before the first person subject prefix *k-*, I found one important difference: whereas only the eldest of my three principal consultants used the epenthesis strategy to syllabify the *k-* prefix, all three of them (as well as other speakers with whom I worked in Huehuetla) used the epenthesis strategy to syllabify the two *x-* prefixes.

2.5 STRESS

Huehuetla Tepehua displays three stress patterns: one pattern for native words, including verbs, adjectives, non-ideophonic adverbs, and nouns (section 2.5.1), a second pattern for ideophonic adverbs (section 2.5.2), and a third pattern for loanwords from Spanish (section 2.5.3).

2.5.1 Stress in Native, Non-ideophonic Words

HT has two degrees of stress: primary and secondary. Stress is assigned from right to left. Primary stress may fall on the ultimate, penultimate, or antepenultimate syllable of the word, depending on syllable codas, word length, and word class. Secondary stress is assigned to alternate syllables in the morphological word, moving from right to left starting at the syllable bearing primary stress. The primary stress rule is as follows: stress the final syllable if it ends in a sonorant (i.e., moraic)⁴⁷ consonant or glide, otherwise, stress the penult. The sonorant consonants are /m, n, l, r, ɾ/ and the glides are /h, ʔ, w, j/.⁴⁸ Note that /ʔ/ is included in this group even though it is not typically considered to be a sonorant; it is included in the sonorant class because it patterns like the other sonorant consonants in that it adds weight to a syllable. Furthermore, it behaves differently from the glottalized consonants /p', t', k'/, which do not occur syllable-finally and which do not add weight to a syllable. Certain morphemes are extrametrical and may not bear primary stress; these include the body part prefixes, the third person plural subject and object markers (*ta-* and *lak-*, respectively), the instrumental prefix *paa-*, and the nominalizing suffix *-ti*. These prefixes may bear secondary stress, but the suffix never does.

An alternative way to state the stress rule is to specify that primary stress falls on the final syllable only if that syllable has a moraic coda; otherwise, stress

⁴⁷ Recall from section 2.4 that the sonorant consonants are moraic when they occur at the end of a syllable.

⁴⁸ Though the rhotics /r, ɾ/ are included in the group of sonorants, I do not have any evidence that they do or do not attract stress. They occur only in a few ideophones and in Spanish loan words, both of which have different stress patterns from the pattern discussed here. Please see sections 2.5.2 and 2.5.3. respectively.

falls on the penult (or antepenult in the case of some nominalized forms, see section 2.5.1.4). Recall from section 2.4 that HT has both heavy and light closed syllables: CVS and CVO,⁴⁹ respectively, because sonorants in coda position are moraic, while obstruents in coda position are not. Since vowel length is distinctive in HT, the language also has both heavy and light opened syllables: CVV and CV. What is interesting and unique about the HT stress pattern is that the heavy opened syllable CVV behaves like the light syllables CV and CVO with respect to stress assignment in that none of these three syllable types attracts primary stress. Only the heavy *closed* syllable CVS attracts primary stress. Cross-linguistically, it is typically the case that if a heavy closed syllable attracts stress, then a heavy opened syllable will also attract stress (Zec 1995). However, this is not the case in HT, and I do not know of any other language which exhibits this unusual stress assignment pattern. Examples showing the contrast in stress between words ending in CVS versus words ending in CVV, CVO, and CV are given in each of the following subsections.

Examples of words from which an intervocalic /h/ has been deleted provided evidence that primary and secondary stress assignment do not happen simultaneously.⁵⁰ Instead, /h/-deletion happens after primary stress assignment and before secondary stress assignment. Simultaneous assignment of primary and secondary stress, shown in the derivation in (78), produces ungrammatical forms in which either (i) /h/-deletion fails to happen, which is the case with the first example in this derivation or (ii) the secondary stress assignment is incorrect,

⁴⁹ S stands for ‘sonorant’ and O stands for ‘obstruent’, following Zec (1995).

⁵⁰ Please see section 2.6.9 for more information on /h/-deletion.

which is the case with the second example in this derivation. In the derivation in (79), primary stress assignment precedes /h/-deletion, which in turn precedes secondary stress assignment, and the outputs are grammatical.

(78) *Simultaneous stress assignment*

Underlying Rep	/wahin-putun/	/ʔa-qaʔahu-nan/
N-assimilation	/wahim-putun/	-----
1° stress	/wahim-pu'tun/	/ʔa-qaʔahu-'nan/
H-deletion	/waim-pu'tun/	/ʔa-qaʔau-'nan/
2° stress	/ ₁ waim-pu'tun/	/ʔa-qaʔau-'nan/
Surface Rep	[₁ waimpu'tun]	[ʔa,qaʔau'nan]
Gloss	'he wants to eat'	'he steals'

(79) *Ordered stress assignment*

Underlying Rep	/wahin-putun/	/ʔa-qaʔahu-nan/
N-assimilation	/wahim-putun/	-----
Stress	/wa ₁ him-pu'tun/	/ ₁ ʔa-qa,ʔahu-'nan/
H-deletion	-----	/ ₁ ʔa-qa,ʔau-'nan/
Surface Rep	**[wa. ₁ him.pu.'tun] ⁵¹	** [₁ ʔa.qa.,ʔau.'nan]

The rest of this section is organized as follows: verbal stress is covered in section 2.5.1.1, adjectival stress in 2.5.1.2, adverbial (non-ideophonic) stress in 2.5.1.3, and nominal stress in 2.5.1.4.

2.5.1.1 Stress in Verbs

The assignment of stress in a verb is quite straight-forward: if the final syllable ends in a sonorant consonant or glide, it receives primary stress; otherwise the penultimate syllable receives primary stress. Secondary stress is assigned to every other syllable from right to left starting at the syllable bearing

⁵¹ A double asterisk (**) indicates an ungrammatical or unattested form; a single asterisk (*) indicates a reconstruction.

the primary stress. Verbs that bear primary stress on the final syllable are shown below in (80), and verbs that bear primary stress on the penultimate syllable are shown in (81). If a verb consists of a single syllable, it receives primary stress, even if the syllable ends in a non-sonorant consonant; examples are shown below in (82).

(80) *Verbs: Primary stress on ultimate syllable*

7akminaaw	[,ʔak.mi.'na:u]	/ʔa-k-min-aʔ-w/	'we (EXCL) will come'
chaa7an	[tʃa:.'ʔan]	/tʃa:-ʔan/	'he arrives there'
chawaniiy	[,tʃa.βa.'ni:]	/tʃawani:-j/	'he is hungry'
7iknawiiy	[,ʔik.na.'βi:]	/ʔi-k-nawi:-j/	'I do/make it'
7ixchuchu7uy	[ʔɪ.ʃ.tʃu.tʃu.'ʔui]	/ʔɪ-ʃ-tʃutʃu-ʔu-j/	'S/he sucked it.'
junaw	[hu.'nau]	/hun-aw/	'we (INCL) say it'
ka7ana7	[,ka.ʔa.'naʔ]	/ka-ʔan-aʔ/	's/he will go'
k'anchooqoya7	[k'an.ʔʃo.qo.'jaʔ]	/k-ʔan-tʃoqo-jaʔ/	'I will go again'
k'anputun	[,k'am.pu.'tun]	/k-ʔan-putun/	'I want to go'
laka7iiy	[,la.ka.'ʔi:]	/lakaʔi:-j/	'he believes it'
laqlhwaqnin	[,laq.ʔβaq.'nin]	/laq-ʔwaq-nin/	'to dismember'
laqtz'in	[laq.'ts'in]	/laqts'in/	's/he sees it/him/her'
tanuuy	[ta.'nu:i]	/tanu:-j/	'S/he enters.'
taxtuy	[taʃ.'tui]	/taʃtu-j/	'he goes out'
t'ajun	[da.'hun]	/t'ahun/	'he is X-ing'
wajin	[βa.'hin]	/wahin/	'he eats'

(81) *Verbs: Primary stress on penultimate syllable*

7anawii'ti	[,ʔa.na.'βi:.dʒi]	/ʔa-nawi:-t'i/	'(you SG) do it!'
k'i7ut'i	[k'i.'ʔu.dʒi]	/ki-ʔu-t'i/	'you eat me'
k'uk'ata	[k'u.'ka.ta]	/k'uka-ta/	'he has carried it'
lhii7anta	[ʔi:.'ʔan.ta]	/ʔi:ʔan-ta/	'he wears it'
malhtee7aa	[ma:ʔ.'te:ʔa:]	/ma:ʔte:ʔa:-li/	'it opened it'
nawiiyat'it	[,na.βi:.'ja.dʒit]	/nawi:-j-at'it/	'you all do/make it'
p'it'ilh	[p'i.'dʒi]	/p'it'i-li/	'she scrubbed it'

taqelhtajulh	[₁ ta.qeɬ.'ta.huɬ]	/taqeɬtaju-li/	'S/he got off'
tzukulh	[₁ tsu.kuɬ]	/tsuku-li/	'it began'
witilh	[₁ βɪ.trɬ]	/witi-li/	'she somersaulted'
xk'aapilh	[₁ ʃk'a:prɬ]	/ʃk'a:pi-li/	's/he locked it'

(82) *Single syllable verbs*

min	[₁ min]	/min/	'he comes'
milh	[₁ miɬ]	/min-li/	'he came'
7uy	[₁ ?ui]	/u-j/	'he eats'
7ulh	[₁ ?uɬ]	/u-li/	'he ate'

As discussed above, a heavy CVS syllable attracts primary stress in word-final position while the other syllable types (heavy CVV, light CVO, and light CV) do not attract stress in word-final position. Examples demonstrating this contrast appear below in (83) and (84). The examples in (83) all end in a heavy CVS syllable, and they all have primary stress on the ultimate syllable. All of the examples in (84) have penultimate stress: the examples in (84a) end in a heavy opened syllable, CVV; the examples in (84b) end in a light closed syllable, CVO; and the examples in (84d) end in a light opened syllable, CV.

(83) *Final heavy CVS syllable bears ultimate stress*

junaw	[hu.'nau]	/hun-aw/	'we (INCL) say it'
ka7ana7	[₁ ka.ʔa.'naʔ]	/ka-ʔan-aʔ/	's/he will go'
k'anputun	[₁ k'am.pu.'tun]	/k-ʔan-putun/	'I want to go'
tanuuy	[ta.'nu:i]	/tanu:-j/	'S/he enters.'

(84) *Final syllable types that do not bear ultimate stress*

a. *Heavy CVV*

malhtee7aa	[ma:ɬ.'te:ʔa:]	/ma:ɬte:ʔa:-li/	'it opened it'
maaqeswaa	[ma:.'qes.βa:]	/ma:qeswa:-li/	'it scared him/her'
talaamaqanii	[₁ ta.la:.'maq.ni:]	/ta-la:-maqni:-li/	'they killed each other'

b. *Light CVO*

nawiiyat'it	[₁ na.βi:.'ja.dɪt]	/nawi:-j-at'it/	'you all do/make it'
xk'aapilh	[¹ ʃk'a:piɬ]	/ʃk'a:pi-li/	's/he locked it'

d. *Light CV*

7anawii'ti	[₁ ?a.na.'βi:.dɪ]	/?a-nawi:-t'i/	'(you SG) do it!'
lhii7anta	[ɦi:.'?an.ta]	/ɦi:ʔan-ta/	'he wears it'

Certain verbal affixes do not bear primary stress. These include body part prefixes (BPPs) and subject and object third person plural markers. Examples of verbs bearing body part prefixes are shown below in (85). In (85a) the stress falls on the penultimate syllable of a three-syllable word because the final syllable ends in a non-sonorant consonant. The first syllable of this word is a body part prefix. In (85b), the word has been reduced to two syllables by the removal of reflexive suffix *-kan*; the first syllable is a body part prefix, which may not bear primary stress. Thus, in this example, the primary stress must occur on the final syllable, even though it ends in the non-sonorant consonant [ɬ]. Additional examples of primary stress on verbs bearing body part prefixes are shown in (85c). Though the BPPs are extrametrical with respect to primary stress assignment, they may bear secondary stress, as seen in the final two examples in (85c).

(85) *Body part prefixes*

- a. [**tan**.¹ʃdu.ka:ɬ]
 /**tan**-ʃt'uk-kan-li/
TORSO-button-RFL-PFV
 'Someone buttoned his shirt.'
- b. [**tan**.¹ʃdu:kɬ hu: ʔiʃ.pu:m.'puʔ hu: 'ʃi:βan]
 /**tan**-ʃt'uk-li hu: ʔiʃ-pu:mpuʔ hu: ʃi:wan/
TORSO-button-PFV ART 3POS-shirt ART John
 'John buttoned his shirt.'
- [PDLMA05]

- c. **7aqxt'aqlh** [ʔaq.ˈʃdaqʰ] /ʔaq-ʃt'aq-li/ 'he covers it'
kikxix [kɪk.ˈʃɪʃ] /kik-ʃiʃ/ 's/he is thirsty'
ch'anch'aqay [tʃ'an.tʃ'a.ˈqai] /ch'an-tʃ'aqa-j/ 'he washes his feet'
makxakay [mak.ʃa.ˈkai] /mak-ʃaka-j/ 'he cleaned his hands'

Person prefixes that indicate a third person plural subject (*ta-*) and object (*lak-*) do not bear primary stress, as seen in the examples below in (86). According to the stress rule, if the word does not end in a sonorant consonant, the penultimate syllable should carry the primary stress. However, in each example in (86), the verb ends in two non-sonorant consonants, and the final syllable bears the primary stress even though we would expect the stress to fall on the penultimate syllable. In (86a) the third person plural subject prefix *ta-* is the penult, but it may not bear primary stress, and in (86b) the third person plural object prefix *lak-* is the penult, but it may not bear primary stress either.

(86) *Subject and object person marking prefixes*

- a. [hu: su.sa.ˈni.ta hu: ʔo.ˈta.ɲatʃ **ta.**ˈʃuʃʰ]
 /hu: susan-ita hu: otaña+tʃ ta-p'ʉʃ-li/
 ART Susan-DIM ART Otaña+ALD **3PL.SUB**-pick-PVF
 [hu: ʔa:ˈla:ʃu:ʃ]
 /hu: ʔa:la:ʃu:ʃ/
 'Susanita and Otaña picked the oranges.'
- b. [hu: su.sa.ˈni.ta **lak.**ˈʃuʃʰ hu: ˌla.k'a:ˈla:ʃu:ʃ]
 /hu: susan-ita **lak-p**'ʉʃ-li hu: lak-ʔa:la:ʃu:ʃ/
 ART Susan-DIM **3PL.OBJ**-pick-PFV ART PL-orange
 'Susanita picked the oranges.' [PDLMA05]

When the root consists of a single syllable that is prefixed with a person marker or a body part prefix that may not bear primary stress, the perfective

aspect suffix /-li/ may be preserved (i.e., it does not neutralize [ɬ]) as seen in the examples in (87).⁵²

- (87) a. [hu: su.sa.'ni.ta lak.'ʂuʃ.li hu: ,la.k'a:.'la:ʃu:ʃ]
 /hu: susan-ita lak-p'uʃ-li hu: lak-ʔa:la:ʃu:ʃ/
 ART Susan-DIM 3PL.OBJ-pick-PFV ART PL-orange
 'Susanita picked the oranges.' [PDLMA05]
- b. [ti:.'puj.li ʔiʃ.ti:.'k'iu hu: 'puʃ.ki]
 /ti:-puj-li ʔiʃ-ti:-k'iw hu: puʃki/
 BUTT-dig.up-PFV 3POS-BUTT-tree ART maguey
 'He dug up the maguey plant.' [PDLMA05]

2.5.1.2 Stress in Adjectives

Primary stress is assigned to an adjective in the same way it is assigned to a verb. If the final syllable ends in a sonorant consonant or glide, it receives primary stress; otherwise the penult receives primary stress. Secondary stress is assigned to alternate syllables from right to left starting at the syllable bearing the primary stress. Adjectives that bear primary stress on the final syllable are shown below in (88), and adjectives that bear primary stress on the penult are shown in (89).

(88) Adjectives: Primary stress on ultimate syllable

ch'oolew	[tʃ'o:.'leu]	/tʃ'o:lew/	'multi-colored'
saalaʔ	[sa:.'laʔ]	/sa:laʔ/	'clean'
sliwiw	[sli.'βiu]	/sliwiw/	'elliptical'
tz'uuliw	[ts'u:.'liu]	/ts'u:liw/	'black and white'
xpaajaj	[ʃpa:.'hah]	/ʃpa:hah/	'flat'

⁵² Please see section 2.7.6.1 on perfective lateral neutralization.

(89) *Adjectives: Primary stress on penultimate syllable*

7achen7e	[ʔa.'tʃɛn.ʔɛ]	/atʃɛn-q'V/	'toasted'
kuliknik'a	[,ku.lɪk.'ni.k'ə]	/kulik-ni-k'a/	'curvy'
k'ayank'a	[k'a.'jaŋ.k'ə]	/k'aja-n-k'V/	'painful'
lalhank'a	[la.'ʔaŋ.k'ə]	/laʔa-n-k'V/	'hanging'
laman7a	[la.'man.ʔə]	/laman-q'V/	'sticky'
lhkuluku	[ʔku.'lu.ku]	/ʔkuluku/	'crooked', 'twisted'
pututu	[pu.'tu.tu]	/pututu/	'round'
smalaqa	[sma.'la.qə]	/smalaqa/	'dark-skinned', 'black'
soqnik'a	[sɔq.'ni.k'a]	/soq-ni-k'a/	'straight'
st'ilik'a	[sɔi.'li.k'ə]	/st'ili-k'a/	'standing'
taliten7e	[ta.li.'tɛn.ʔɛ]	/talite-n-q'V/	'cylindrical'
xnapapa	[ʃna.'pa.pə]	/ʃnapapa/	'white'

In the previous subsection on verbal stress, we saw that a heavy CVS syllable is the only type of syllable that attracts primary stress in word-final position; verbs ending in any of the other syllable types (CVV, CVO, and CV) have penultimate stress. This stress pattern is not so obvious with respect to the class of adjectives because the final syllable of an adjective may belong to one of only two syllable types: the heavy type CVS, as seen in the examples in (90), or the light type CV, as seen in the examples in (91). The other two possible syllable types (CVO and CVV) do not occur word-finally in adjectives. The CVS-final adjectives have ultimate stress, while the CV-final adjectives have penultimate stress.

(90) *Final heavy CVS syllable bears ultimate stress*

k'ilhij	[k'i.'ʔih]	/k'ih/	'stiff'
maqaqaj	[,ma.qa.'qai]	/maqaqaj/	'wide'
slawa7	[sla.'βaʔ]	/slawaʔ/	'slippery'
slaajan	[sla.'han]	/sla:han/	'soft'

tzasaw	[tsa.'sau]	/tsasaw/	'bald'
waqtam	[βaq.'tam]	/waq-tam/	'together'

(91) *Final light CV syllable does not bear ultimate stress*

lhkili'k'i	[ħki.'li.k'i]	/ħkili-k'V/	'trashy'
matzatnik'a	[,ma.tsat.'nik'a]	/matsat-ni-k'a/	'salty'
sluyon7o	[slu.'jon.ʔo]	/slujo-n-q'V/	'extended'
sqoqo	[sʔo.ʔo]	/sqoqo/	'salty'
spututu	[spu.'tu.tu]	/spututu/	'round'

Though body part prefixes do occur on adjectives, I have found no examples in which a final syllable ending in something other than a sonorant consonant was stressed in order to avoid stressing the BPP. The only single-syllable adjective that I found which may be prefixed with a BPP is *qay* /qaj/ 'big', which ends in a sonorant consonant, so it receives primary stress. In all other examples of adjectives prefixed with BPPs that I have found, the adjective is at least two syllables long, so there is no stress conflict. Examples are shown in (92).

(92) *Adjectives: Primary stress and body part prefixes*

7aktzasan	[,ʔak.tsa.'san]	/ʔak-tzasan/	'gray-headed'
kiksmulunk'u	[,kɪk.smu.'luŋ.k'ʊ]	/kik-smulu-n-k'V/	'thick-lipped'
lakat'ikst'i	[,la.ka.'dɪk.sɔ̃]	/laka-t'ikst'i/	'small-bodied'
laqxtiixqawaaw	[laq.ʃti:ʃ.qa.'βa:u]	/laqʃti:-ʃqwa:w/	'blond-haired'
maqaqay	[,ma.qa.'qai]	/maq-aqaj/	'wide'
puutanqay	[,pu:.'tan.'qai]	/pu:-tan-qaj/	'tall'

2.5.1.3 Stress in Non-ideophonic Adverbs

Non-ideophonic adverbs⁵³ follow the same primary stress rule as verbs and adjectives: stress the final syllable if it ends in a sonorant consonant or glide; otherwise stress the penult. Secondary stress is assigned to every other syllable from right to left starting at the syllable bearing the primary stress. Examples of word-final stress appear in (93), and examples of penultimate stress appear in (94). Body part prefixes do not occur on adverbs.

(93) Adverbs: Primary stress on ultimate syllable

7aali7	[ʔa:.'lɪʔ]	/a:liʔ/	‘more’
chaway	[tʃa.'βai]	/tʃawaj/	‘now’
ch'ayaaw	[tʃ'a.'ja:u]	/tʃ'aja:w/	‘sweet flavor/scent’
kuutanch	[ku:.'ta:ntʃ]	/ku:.ta:n+tʃ/	‘yesterday’
laanij	[la:.'ni:h]	/la:ni:h/	‘truly’, ‘really’
palay	[pa.'lai]	/palaj/	‘more’, ‘better’
p'ulhnan	[βuʔ.'nan]	/p'uʔnan/	‘first’
tawanan	[,ta.βa.'nan]	/tawanan/	‘never’
tunkajun	[,tuŋ.ka.'hun]	/tunkahun/	‘daily’

(94) Adverbs: Primary stress on penultimate syllable

7aksnii	[.'ʔak.sni:]	/aksni:/	‘when’
7aqstu	[.'ʔaq.stu]	/aqstu/	‘alone’
juntaa	[.'hun.ta:]	/hunta:/	‘where’
laqasii	[la.'qa.si:]	/laqasi:/	‘first’
maqanchi	[ma.'qɑn.tʃi]	/maqantʃi/	‘long time’
palata	[pa.'la.tɑ]	/palata/	‘more’, ‘better’
tzakaa	[.'tsa.ka:]	/tsaka:/	‘heavily’
tz'isich	[.'ts'i:sitʃ]	/ts'i:si+tʃ/	‘last night’
7uwiint'i	[ʔu.'βi:n.dʒi]	/uwi:nt'i/	‘over there’
waataach	[.'βa:ta:tʃ]	/wa:ta:tʃ/	‘always’

⁵³ Please see Chapter 6, section 6.3.1 for information on ideophonic adverbs.

With respect to syllable weight and stress, we once again find the pattern in which a heavy CVS syllable attracts primary stress in word-final position while the other three syllable types (CVV, CVO, and CV) do not. All of the examples of words with ultimate stress in (93) end in a sonorant consonant (CVS), while all of the examples of words with penultimate stress in (94) end in one of the other syllable types.

2.5.1.4 Stress in Nouns

Nouns follow the same primary stress rule as the other word classes: stress the final syllable if it ends in a sonorant consonant, otherwise stress the penult. Secondary stress is assigned to alternate syllables from right to left, starting at the syllable bearing primary stress. Examples of nouns with word-final stress appear in (95), and examples of nouns with penultimate stress appear in (96). Once again, we see the stress pattern in which the CVS syllable behaves differently in word-final position than the other syllable types do. All of the words in (95) end in a sonorant consonant (CVS), and they all have ultimate primary stress. The words in (96) end in one of the other three syllable types (CVV, CVO, CV), and these words all have penultimate stress.

(95) Nouns: Primary stress on ultimate syllable

ʔamakxtal	[,ʔa.mak.'ʃtaʃ]	/ʔamakʃtal/	'garbage'
ʔaqalhoonaʔ	[ʔa.,qa.ʔo:.'naʔ]	/ʔa-qalahun-nVʔ/	'thief'
ʔawiy	[ʔa.'βi:]	/awij/	'mouse'
ch'alhkatnaʔ	[,tʃ'aʃ.kat.'naʔ]	/tʃ'aʃkat-nVʔ/	'worker'
juumpay	[hu:m.'pai]	/hu:mpaj/	'dragonfly'
kilhij	[ki.'ʃih]	/kiʃih/	'lace'
k'iwin	[k'i.'βin]	/k'iw-Vn/	'trees'

miistu7	[mi:s.'tuʔ]	/mi:stuʔ/	‘cat’
7oqxqew	[ʔoq.'ʃqɛu]	/oqʃqew/	‘yucca’, ‘cassava’
puulht'uj	[pu:ʔ.'dɪh]	/pu:ʔt'uh/	‘water frog’
puutamaan	[,pu:ta.'ma:n]	/pu:-ta-ma:-n/	‘bed’
sk'iikluw	[sk'i:k.'lu:]	/sk'i:k-luw/	‘eel’
tach'iin	[ta.'tʃ'i:n]	/ta-tʃ'i:-n/	‘prisoner’
tukulun	[,tu.ku.'lun]	/tukulun/	‘rheumatism’
tzaapuuj	[tsa:.'pu:h]	/tsa:pu:h/	‘caterpillar’
tz'a7am	[ts'a.'ʔam]	/ts'aʔam/	‘dried corn stalk’
7ukstin	[ʔuk.'stin]	/ukstin/	‘green fly’
ya7a7	[ja.'ʔaʔ]	/jaʔaʔ/	‘white person’

(96) *Nouns: Primary stress on penultimate syllable*

7a7eyxtaa	[ʔa.'ʔeɪf.ta:]	/aqejʃta:/	‘tree sp.’
7aak'iiluks	[ʔa:.'k'i:luks]	/a:k'i:luks/	‘frog sp.’
7aalaaxuux	[ʔa:.'la:ʃu:f]	/a:la:ʃu:f/	‘orange’
7asiiwiik	[ʔa:.'si:βi:k]	/asi:wi:k/	‘vein’, ‘vine’
chu7ut	[ʔtʃu.ʔut]	/tʃuʔut/	‘saliva’
ch'aqawaxt'i	[ʔtʃa.qa.'βaʃ.t'i]	/tʃaqawaʃt'i/	‘Totonac’
joo7at	[ʔho:.'ʔat]	/ho:ʔat/	‘male’
juuyuu ~ kuuyuu	[ʔhu:.ju:]~[ʔku:.ju:]	/hu:ju:~/ku:ju:/	‘armadillo’
katz'aluunas	[,ka.ts'a.'lu:nas]	/kats'alu:nas/	‘fried pork skin’
kukat	[ʔku.kat]	/kukat/	‘oak tree’, ‘acorn’
kuklhilhi	[kuk.'hiʔi]	/kukhiʔi/	‘avocado’
kukwiitii	[kuk'.βi:ti:]	/kukwi:ti:/	‘horse tail plant’
kuukuu	[ʔku:ku:]	/ku:ku:/	‘sand’
lapanak	[la.'pa.nak]	/lapanak/	‘person’, ‘man’
lhqapaq	[ʔʔa.paʔ]	/ʔqapaq/	‘walking stick bug’
maalhawaakalh	[,ma:ʔa.'βa:kaʔ]	/ma:ʔawa:kaʔ/	‘large basket’
maalhiyuk	[ma:.'hi.juk]	/ma:hijuk/	‘spider’
maatuupik	[ma:.'tu:pik]	/ma:tu:pik/	‘butterfly’
mutzaqs	[ʔmu.tsaqs]	/mutsaqs/	‘camote’, ‘sweet potato’
puxlimti	[puʃ.'lim.ti]	/puʃlimti/	‘nephew’

puut'ijooqat	[₁ pu:ɬi: 'hɔ:qat]	/pu:t'i:ho:qat/	'father-in-law'
qesiit	[¹ qɛ.si:t]	/qesi:t/	'nail' (finger, toe)
siileq	[¹ si:lɛq]	/si:leq/	'cricket'
siimaqat	[si: 'ma.qat]	/si:maqat/	'tongue'
talaqxmiłh	[ta: 'laq.ʃmił]	/talaqʃmił/	'bean tamales'
tziitzi	[¹ tʃi:tsi:]	/tʃi:tsi:/	'rain'

Body part prefixes affixed to nouns may bear secondary stress, but not primary stress. Examples of nouns affixed with body part prefixes are shown in (97). If the noun root is longer than one syllable, the addition of the body part prefix does not cause a conflict in stress assignment, as seen in the examples in (97a). However, if the noun root consists of a single syllable, it will bear the primary stress, even if it does not end in a sonorant consonant, as seen in the examples in (97b).

(97) *Nominals bearing BPPs*

a. *Noun roots larger than one syllable*

7aq xlawti	[ʔaʔ. 'ʃlau.ti]	/ʔaq-ʃlawti/	'sap'
7aq xuunuu	[ʔaq. 'ʃu:nu:]	/ʔaq-ʃu:nu:/	'bug sp.'
ch'an 7akanit	[₁ tʃ'an.ʔa: 'ka.nit]	/tʃ'an-ʔakanit/	'leg flesh or muscle'
ch'an chawti	[tʃ'ɑn. 'tʃau.ti]	/tʃ'an-tʃawti/	'leg hair'
ch'an lukut	[tʃ'an. 'lu.kut]	/tʃ'an-lukut/	'leg bone'
ch'an qesiit	[tʃ'an. 'qɛ.si:t]	/tʃ'an-qesi:t/	'toe nail'
kik łhkawink'i	[₁ kik.łka. 'βiŋ.k'i]	/kik-łkawin-k'V/	'handlebar mustache'
kik xlawti	[kik. 'ʃlau.ti]	/kik-ʃlawti /	'drool'
kik xt'aqa	[kik. 'ʃɬa.qa]	/kik-ʃt'aqa/	'lip'

b. *Single syllable noun roots*

ch'an p'aas	[tʃ'am. 'bɑ:s]	/tʃ'an-p'a:s/	'callous (on foot)'
laq puuluks	[₁ laq.pu: 'luks]	/laqpu:-luks/	'sty (on eye)'
tant' ukłh	[tan. 'ɬukł]	/tan-t'ukł/	'small fish sp.'
ti ichutłh	[ti: 'tʃutł]	/ti:-tʃutł/	'lid', 'cap'

tiitanp'in [ti: .tam. '6in] /ti:-tan-p'in/ 'buttocks'

Similarly, the instrumental prefix *paa-* may bear secondary stress, but not primary stress; examples of nouns bearing the instrumental prefix are shown in (98). These nouns are actually comprised of a verb root, plus the instrumental prefix. If the verb root is longer than one syllable, there is no conflict with the stress rule, as seen in the examples in (98a). However, if the root consists of a single syllable, that syllable will bear the primary stress, even if it does not end in a sonorant consonant; examples with single syllable roots appear in (98b).

(98) *Nominals bearing the instrumental prefix paa-*

a. *Multi-syllable roots*

paachiwin	[pa: .tʃi. 'βin]	/pa:-tʃiβin/	'telephone'
paach'apa	[pa: .tʃ' a. pa]	/pa:-tʃ'apa/	'pliers'
paak'uch'un	[pa: .k' u. 'tʃ' un]	/pa:-k' utʃ' u-n/	'hospital'
paalakch'uk'un	[pa: .lak. tʃ' u. 'k' un]	/pa:.-lak-tʃ' uk' u-n/	'saw'
paat'alan	[pa: .da. 'lan]	/pa:-t'ala-n/	'pistol', 'gun'
paatz'oqo	[pa: .ts' ɔ. qɔ]	/ pa:-ts' ɔqɔ/	'pencil', 'pen'

b. *Single syllable roots*

paalhkaan	[pa: ɬ. 'ka:n]	/pa:-ɬka:n/	'ruler'
paalhoq	[pa: .ɬoq]	/pa:-ɬoq/	'plow'
paalhwaj	[pa: ɬ. 'βah]	/ pa:-ɬβah/	'toothbrush'
paap'alh	[pa: .ɬaɬ]	/pa:-p' aɬ/	'broom'
paaxoq	[pa: .ɬoq]	/pa:-ɬoq/	'shovel'
paaxqan	[pa: ʃ. 'qan]	/ pa:-ʃqan /	'reaper'
paaxtuk	[pa: ʃ. 'tuk]	/pa:-ʃtuk/	'fish-hanging pole'

There are several noun forms that violate the primary stress rule. Among these are nouns that end in the nominalizing suffix *-ti* [-tj#], examples of which appear below in (99). The examples in (99a) all have *antepenultimate* stress,

where the stress rule would predict *penultimate* stress because the final syllable does not end in a sonorant consonant. However, not all nominals ending in *-ti* actually violate the stress rule; the nominalized examples shown in (99b) do not end in a sonorant consonant, and they exhibit the expected penultimate stress. The examples in (99a) do not follow the stress rule because the nominalizing suffix *-ti* is extrametrical with respect to primary stress assignment. Since $\langle -ti \rangle$ is invisible to stress assignment, the assignment of primary stress will begin with the *penultimate* syllable, which is the *final* syllable disregarding $\langle -ti \rangle$. If that syllable does not end in a sonorant consonant, as is the case for the examples in (99a), then the antepenultimate syllable is stressed. If the penultimate syllable ends in a sonorant consonant, as is the case for the examples in (99b), then it is stressed.

(99) *Nominalized forms suffixed with -ti*

a. *Antepenultimate stress*

ch'anka<ti>	[tʃʼaŋ.kat̚]	/tʃʼan-kan-ti/	‘sugarcane’
lhii7u<ti>	[ʰi:ʔu.t̚]	/ʰi:-ʔu-ti/	‘fruit’
laqchʼii<ti>	[ʰlaq.tʃʼi:t̚]	/laq-tʃʼi:-ti/	‘cover’
pʼaqlaa<ti>	[ʰbaq.laa.t̚]	/pʼaq-laa-ti/	‘trunk’, ‘coffin’
xla7a<ti>	[ʰʃla.ʔa.t̚]	/ʃlaʔa-ti/	‘bird sp.’

b. *Penultimate stress*

7achʼanan<ti>	[ʔa.tʃʼa.nan.t̚]	/ʔa-tʃʼan-nan-ti/	‘garden’
chiwin<ti>	[tʃi.βin.t̚]	/tʃiwin-ti/	‘word’
lhakcha7an<ti>	[ʰak.tʃa.ʔan.t̚]	/ʰaktʃa-ʔan-ti/	‘envy’

Additional nouns that violate the stress rule are shown below in (100). The examples in (100a) show word-final stress where the stress rule predicts penultimate stress. The first form *lapanak* ‘people’ is a lexicalized form from an older form *lapanakni* [la.pa.nak.ni], which bears a nominalizing suffix *-ni* that is

cognate in other Totonacan languages and that is falling into disuse in modern HT; this older, nominalized form does show the expected stress pattern. Furthermore, the singular form *lapanak* [la.'pa.nak] ‘person’ also exhibits the expected stress pattern. The second form *tankilhak* [ˌtaŋ.ki.'ʔak] has an older form, *tankilhakni* (Herzog no date), that also ends in the nominalizing suffix *-ni*; the stress pattern is retained from this older form. The final form *najatz* ‘nine’ has lexical stress.

(100) *Noun forms that violate the stress rule*

a. *Final stress instead of penult stress*

<i>lapanak</i>	[ˌla.pa.'nak]	/lapanak-ni/	‘people’
<i>tankilhak</i>	[ˌtaŋ.ki.'ʔak]	/tankiʔak(-ni)/	‘chest’
<i>najatz</i>	[na.'hats]	/nahats/	‘nine’

b. *Penult stress instead of final stress*

<i>maaxteewan</i>	[ma:ʃ.'te:βan]	/ma:ʃte:wan/	‘brown tadpole’
<i>teensuun</i>	[ˈte:n.su:n]	/te:nsu:n/	‘goat’
<i>lhqapan</i>	[ˈʔqa.pan]	/ʔqapan/	‘horse’
<i>xtiilaan</i>	[ˈʃti:la:n]	/ʃti:la:n/	‘green cockroach’

The examples in (100b) show penultimate stress where the stress pattern predicts word-final stress. The first two forms, *maaxteewan* ‘brown tadpole’ and *teensuun* ‘goat’, do not sound like native HT words to me because of their [e:] phones (as well as their stress patterns), and I suspect that they loanwords, though I do not know their origins.⁵⁴ As will be seen in the next section, when loanwords are incorporated into HT, their native stress pattern is maintained—at least when

⁵⁴ The goat is not native to the Americans; it was introduced after the Spanish Conquest.

the loanword is of Spanish origin. If these two words are loanwords, their stress pattern most likely reflects that of the origin words.

The last two examples in (100b), *lhqapan* ‘horse’ and *xtiilan* ‘green cockroach’, do sound like native HT words. Though the horse species is not native to the Americas and was introduced by the Spanish, there is an ideophone *qapa*, the refers to the sound made by a horse’s hooves. The word for horse, *lhqapan*, is clearly derived from the ideophone, and it seems to retain the stress on the initial syllable found in the ideophone. I have no explanation for the stress pattern found in *xtiilan* ‘green cockroach’, and I have no alternative but to claim that this form has lexical stress.

2.5.2 Stress in Ideophonic Adverbs

The assignment of both primary and secondary stress in ideophonic adverbs, or simply ideophones, is completely different from stress assignment in the other word classes. In ideophones, primary stress is assigned to the first syllable of the word. Secondary stress is assigned to all subsequent syllables from left to right. Examples are shown in (101).

(101) *Ideophones: initial syllable stress*

chilili	[¹ tʃi.li.li]	‘sensation of fear’
kulhuk	[¹ ku.ɬuk]	‘action of entering’
k'achuchu	[¹ k'a.tʃu.tʃu]	‘sound of walking through dry leaves’
lapaq	[¹ la.paq]	‘the motion of moving like a snake’
ʔot'it'i	[¹ ʔo.ɖi.ɖi]	‘sensation of being upset or bothered’
kixixi	[¹ ki.ʃi.ʃi]	‘hiss’, ‘sound a snake makes’
maqeqe	[¹ ma.ʔe.ʔe]	‘sensation of being sick to the stomach’
taqaqa	[¹ ta.ʔa.ʔa]	‘the cry of a hen that is going to lay an egg’
qolo	[¹ ʔo.lo]	‘the cry of a male turkey’

lhkuku [ʰku.,ku] ‘purring of a cat’

2.5.3 Stress in Spanish Loanwords

Primary stress in a Spanish loanword falls on the syllable that corresponds to the stress-bearing syllable in the origin word, regardless of its class (verb or noun). Secondary stress is assigned to alternate syllables from right to left, beginning at the syllable bearing primary stress. Examples of HT loanwords from Spanish are shown in (102). In these examples, I have underlined the stressed syllable of each of the Spanish words.

(102) *Loanwords from Spanish*

ʔabonalaa	[ʔa.βo.'na.la:]	‘ <u>abona</u> r’	‘fertilize’
ʔalaambrii	[ʔa.'la:m.bri:]	‘ <u>alambre</u> ’	‘wire’
ʔaarreesgaalaa	[,ʔa:.re:s.'ga:.la:]	‘ <u>arresgar</u> ’	‘take a chance’
atoolii	[ʔa.'to:.li:]	‘ <u>atole</u> ’	‘corn drink’
buutak	[ʰbu:.tak]	‘ <u>butaque</u> ’	‘type of chair’
choorruu	[ʰtʃo:.ru:]	‘ <u>chorro</u> ’	‘trickle’
duulsii	[ʰdu:l.si:]	‘ <u>dulce</u> ’	‘candy’
duseenaa	[du.'se:.na:]	‘ <u>docena</u> ’	‘dozen’
ʔensayaalaa	[,ʔen.sa.'ja:.la:]	‘ <u>ensayar</u> ’	‘he rehearsed’
ʔespiirituu	[ʔes.'pi:.ri.tu:]	‘ <u>espí</u> rito’	‘spirit’
gaanchu	[ʰga:ŋ.tʃu]	‘ <u>gancho</u> ’	‘hook’
jaa'ati	[ʰha:.βa.tʃ]	‘ <u>japa</u> ’	‘plant sp.’
kachuupiin	[ka.'tʃu:.pi:n]	‘ <u>gachupin</u> ’	‘gringo’
kaapeen	[ka:.'pe:n]	‘ <u>café</u> ’	‘coffee’
karrilh	[ka.'rrɪ]	‘ <u>carril</u> ’	‘lane’
koneejuu	[ko.'ne:.ju:]	‘ <u>conejo</u> ’	‘rabbit’
kuchiiluu	[ku.'tʃi:.lu:]	‘ <u>cuchillo</u> ’	‘knife’
kumpaalii	[kum.'pa:.li:]	‘ <u>compadre</u> ’	‘compadre’
ʔoongoos	[ʰʔo:ŋ.go:s]	‘ <u>hongo</u> ’	‘mushroom’
saandiiyak	[sa:n.'di:.jak]	‘ <u>sandía</u> ’	‘watermelon’

sapootii	[sa.'po:.ti:]	'zapote'	'sapote' (fruit sp.)
waakax	[¹βa:.kaʃ]	' <u>vacas</u> '	'cow', 'cattle'
borreeguu	[bo.'re:.gu:]	' <u>borrego</u> '	'sheep'

2.6 PHONOLOGICAL RULES AND PROCESSES

HT phonological rules include word-final short vowel weakening (section 2.6.1), liquid neutralization (section 2.6.2), glottal stop insertion (section 2.6.3), epenthesis (section 2.6.4), consonant place assimilation (section 2.6.5), velar metathesis and spirantization (section 2.6.6), coda consonant deletion (section 2.6.7), compensatory lengthening (section 2.6.8), /h/-deletion (section 2.6.9), and sound symbolic alternations (section 2.6.10). Derivations showing critical ordering of particular rules are given within the relevant sections.

2.6.1 Word-Final Short Vowel Weakening

Word-final short vowels undergo two weakening processes when they occur phrase-finally: they are always devoiced in this context (section 2.6.1.1), and they are optionally deleted (2.6.1.2). The second process is a stronger version of the first.

2.6.1.1 Word-Final Short Vowel Devoicing

Word-final short vowels are devoiced when they occur utterance-finally; the rule is shown in (103) and examples appear in (104) and (105).

$$(103) \quad V \rightarrow V / _ \#]_{XP} \\ \quad \quad \quad [-voice]$$

(104) *Word-final devoiced short vowels*

juukxpi	[¹hu:k.ʃpɨ]	/hu:kʃpi/	'alligator'
staku	[¹sta.ku]	/staku/	'star'

7achaakxk'u	[ʔa.tʃa:k.jk'u]	/atʃa:kʃk'u/	‘a type of edible green’
7ilht'i	[ʔiʃ.dʒi]	/iʃt'i/	‘excrement’
nati	[ʔna.tʒi]	/nati/	‘mother’
k'usi	[k'u.sʒi]	/k'usi/	‘pretty’

(105) *Voiceless utterance-finally*⁵⁵

[jii kiinati] _{NP}	[jii kiinati] _{NP}
[hi: ki:.'na.tʒi,	hi: ki:.'na.tʒi]
/hi: kin-natʒi,	hi: kin-natʒi/
VOC 1POS-mother, VOC 1POS-mother	
‘Mother! Mother!’ [Someone calling for his mother]	

When the word occurs as a non-final element within a larger phrase (e.g., a noun phrase), the short vowel is voiced, as seen in the examples in (106).

(106) *Voiced phrase internally*

- a. [juu 7ilht'i t'akt'a]_{NP}
 [hu: 'ʔiʃ.dʒi 'dʌk.dʒa]
 /hu: ʔiʃt'i t'akt'a/
 ART excrement ear.of.corn
 ‘corn smut’, ‘huitlacoche’
- b. [juu nati xqooy]_{NP}
 [hu: 'na.tʒi 'ʃqo:i]
 /hu: nati ʃqo:j/
 ‘female dog’
- c. [juu 7ilht'i p'aax]_{NP}
 [hu: 'ʔiʃ.dʒi 'ʔa:ʃ]
 /hu: ʔiʃt'i ʔa:ʃ/
 ART excrement pig
 ‘pig excrement’

⁵⁵ In the examples in (105) and (106), the first line is written in practical orthography, and the square brackets indicate constituency, not phonetic representation. The second and third lines are phonetic and phonemic representations, respectively.

2.6.1.2 Word-Final Short Vowel Deletion

When a word ending in a short vowel occurs at the end of its phrase (e.g., a predicate phrase), the final short vowel is optionally deleted; the rule is given in (107) and examples appear in (108).

(107) $V \rightarrow \emptyset / _ \#]_{XP}$

(108) *Optional phrase final short V deletion*⁵⁶

a. *No phrase-final short V deletion*

[[naa	k'usi] _{PRED}	[juu	ʔatziʔ] _{NP}] _S
[na:	'k'u.si	hu:	ʔa.'tziʔ]
/na:	k'usi	hu:	atziʔ/
EMP	pretty	ART	girl
'The girl is very pretty.'			

b. *Phrase-final short V deletion*

[[naa	k'us] _{PRED}	[juu	ʔatziʔ] _{NP}] _S
[na:	'k'us	hu:	ʔa.'tziʔ]
/na:	k'usi	ju:	atziʔ/
EMP	pretty	ART	girl
'The girl is very pretty.'			

2.6.2 Liquid Neutralization

The voiced, sonorant, lateral liquid /l/ neutralizes to the voiceless, non-sonorant, lateral fricative [ɬ] in syllable final (i.e., coda) position. This rule is formulated in (109); examples appear in (110), (111), and (112). This rule crucially follows word-final short vowel deletion (section 2.6.1.2).

⁵⁶ See footnote 55.

- (109) C → C / __]σ
 [+lat] [-son]
 [+son]

The examples in (110) show the singular form and the plural form of *tz'al* ‘boy’. When the plural suffix *-Vn* follows the noun, the /l/ acts as syllable onset for the suffix, and it does not neutralize, as seen in (110a). Without the suffix, /l/ occurs in coda position and neutralizes to [ɬ], as seen in (110b). Furthermore, one elderly speaker gave me the singular form in (110c).

- | | | | | | |
|---------|----------------------|----|----------|----|-------------|
| (110)a. | [ts'a.ˈlan] | b. | [ˈts'aɬ] | c. | [ts'a.ˈlaʔ] |
| | /tz'al-Vn/ | | /ts'al/ | | /ts'alaʔ/ |
| | boy-PL ⁵⁷ | | boy | | boy |
| | ‘boys’ | | ‘boy’ | | ‘boy’ |

In the example in (111a), the adjective *7at'ili* ‘old’ occurs in the middle of the phrase; in this position, the word-final short vowel is not deleted (see section 2.6.1), so the /l/ acts as a syllable onset and not a syllable coda. In the examples in (111b), the adjective is in phrase-final position, so the word-final short vowel may be deleted, and the /l/ neutralizes to [ɬ].

- | | | | | |
|---------|------|--------------------|------------|------------------|
| (111)a. | [juu | 7at'ili | puumpuʔ] | NP ⁵⁸ |
| | [hu: | ʔa.ˈdi.li | pu:m.ˈpuʔ] | |
| | /hu: | at'ili | pu:mpuʔ/ | |
| | ART | old | clothing | |
| | | ‘the old clothing’ | | |

⁵⁷ The unspecified vowel of the suffix harmonizes with the last vowel of the noun root. Please see Chapter 4, section 4.1.1.2.

⁵⁸ See footnote 55.

- b. [naa 7at'ih]_{PREP} [juu puumpu7]_{NP}
 [na: ʔa.'dɪ] hu: pu:m.'puʔ]
 /na: at'ili hu: pu:mpuʔ/
 EMP old ART clothing
 'The clothing is very old.'

In the example in (112a), the adjective *wiik'ili* 'wrinkled' is affixed with a nominalizing suffix *-nti*, which preserves the word-final short vowel, causing the /l/ to occur in onset—not coda—position. In the example in (112b), there is no suffix to preserve the word-final short vowel, so it may be deleted and the /l/ neutralizes to [ɬ] or the vowel may be retained, bleeding the liquid neutralization rule.

- (112)a. lakpuuwii'ilinti
 [lak.pu:βi:k'i.'lin.ti]
 /lakpu:-wi:k'ili-nti/
 FACE-wrinkled-NOM
 'wrinkled face'
- b. lakawiik'ilh ~ lakawiik'ili
 [la.kɑ.βi:k'i.ɬ] [la.kɑ.βi:k'i.i]
 /laka-wi:k'ili/ /laka-wi:k'ili/
 BODY-wrinkled BODY-wrinkled
 'wrinkled' 'wrinkled'

Examples of words borrowed from Spanish, shown in (113), demonstrate the liquid neutralization rule quite well. Where the Spanish word has the syllable-final liquid [l], the HT word has [ɬ], and where the Spanish word has a syllable-initial lateral [l], the HT word also has [l].

- (113) *Spanish borrowings*
- | | | |
|-------|---------|------------|
| HT | Spanish | English |
| [mɪɬ] | 'mil' | 'thousand' |

[¹ kaɬ]	‘cal’	‘lime’
[ka.ˈrɪɬ]	‘carril’	‘lane’
[ku.ˈtʃiː.luː]	cuchillo	‘knife’
[ʔa.ˈlaːm.briː]	‘alambre’	‘wire’
[mu.ˈlaː.tuː]	‘mulato’	‘mulato’

The derivation in (114) shows that stress assignment precedes short-vowel deletion and that short-vowel deletion precedes liquid-neutralization.

(114) Underlying Rep	/wi:k’ili-nti/	/wi:k’ili/	/slapulu/	/kukʰiti/
Stress Assign	/ ₁ wi:k’i’li-nti/	/wi:ˈk’ili/	/slaˈpulu/	/kukʰiti/
V-deletion	----	/wi:ˈk’il/	/slaˈpul/	/kukʰiɪ/
L-neutralization	----	/wi:ˈk’iɪ/	/slaˈpuɪ/	----
Surface Rep	[₁ βi:k’i.ˈlin.t̩]	[wi:ˈk’iɪ]	[sla.ˈpuɪ]	[kukʰiɪ]
Gloss	‘wrinkle’	‘wrinkled’	‘red’	‘avocado’

2.6.3 Glottal Stop Insertion

Every HT syllable must have an onset.⁵⁹ If the syllable is stem-initial and begins with a vowel, a glottal stop is inserted to act as the onset of the syllable. The rule is shown in (115) and examples are shown in (116).

(115)	∅ → C	/# __ V
	[+sonorant]	
	[+constr glot]	

(116) ʔach’itin	[₁ ʔa.tʃ’i.ˈtin]	/atʃ’itin/	‘herb’
ʔiismilh	[₁ ʔiːs.miɪ]	/iːsmiɪ/	‘watercress’
ʔuklik	[₁ ʔuk.lik]	/uklik/	‘gum tree’
ʔan	[ʔan]	/an/	‘he goes’

This rule must happen before a vowel-initial verb stem is inflected or else it will not happen at all (which is the case in many attested examples). In the

⁵⁹ See the onset constraint in example (51) in section 2.4 on the syllable.

example in (117a), inflection happens before glottal stop insertion. The first person subject prefix *k-* serves as the onset for the vowel-initial root *an* ‘go’, thus preventing the glottal stop insertion rule from happening. In (117b), a glottal stop is inserted as the onset of the vowel-initial root before inflection, and the glottal stop is co-articulated with the /k/ of the first person subject prefix, producing a glottalized velar.

(117) a. [k₁kam.pu.^htun]
 /k-an-putun/
 1SUB-go-DESID(IMPFV)
 ‘I want to go’

b. [k₁k^ham.pu.^htun]
 /k-ʔan-putun/
 1SUB-go-DESID(IMPFV)
 ‘I want to go’

2.6.4 [a]-Epenthesis

Epenthesis happens both as a phonological process and a morphophonemic process. The phonological process is described here, and the morphophonemic processes of epenthesis are described in section 2.7.2.

When a uvular or velar stop occurs syllable-finally following the low vowel and preceding another stop or affricate, low-vowel epenthesis may optionally occur between the two consonants. The epenthetic vowel is an echo copy of the low vowel that precedes the uvular or velar stop. The rule is formulated in (118). This process is optional because speakers both produce and accept the utterance with or without epenthesis, as seen in the following examples in (119).

(118) $\emptyset \rightarrow V \quad / \quad V \quad C \underline{\quad} C$
 [+low] [+low] [-son] [-son]
 [+back]

(119)a. ['ʔaq.tsuʔ] ~ ['ʔa.qa.tsuʔ]
 /aqtsʔ/
 'head'

b. [lak.pa.li.'pi.pi] ~ [la.ka.pa.li.'pi.pi]
 /lakpa:lipipi/
 HEAD-bald
 'bald-headed'

Epenthesis happens after stress assignment because the epenthetic vowel is never stressed. A derivation is shown in (120). Glottal stop insertion is not crucially ordered with stress assignment.

(120) Underlying Rep	/aqt <u>s</u> ʔ/	/lakpa:l <u>i</u> pipi/
Stress Assign	/'aqt <u>s</u> ʔ/	/lakpa:li'pipi/
[a]-epenthesis	/'a <u>q</u> ats <u>s</u> ʔ/	/laka,pa:li'pipi/
Surface Rep	['ʔa.q <u>a</u> .tsuʔ]	[la.k <u>a</u> .pa.li.'pi.pi]
Gloss	'head'	'bald-headed'

I have found one example, shown below in (121), of [a]-epenthesis that intervenes between a prefix and a root where the prefix ends and the root begins with the same sound. Ordinarily, when like consonants are contiguous at a morpheme boundary, one of them is deleted to avoid a sequence of two identical consonants (see section 2.6.7.1). However, in this particular case, deletion of one of the consonants would cause ambiguity. In (121a), the epenthetic [a] intervenes between the body part prefix *ʔaks-* and the root *saa* 'hit'; together the prefix and the root mean 'hit on the shoulder'. If one of the alveolar fricatives were to be

deleted, the result would be the attested form in (121b) *ʔaksaay* [ʔak.'sa:i] ‘he hits him on the head’. The lack of secondary stress on the example in (121a) indicates that this epenthetic process happens after stress assignment.

- (121) a. [ʔak.sa.'sa:i]
 /ʔaks-a-sa:-j/
 SHOULDER-EPE-hit-IMPV
 ‘he pats him on the back’
- b. [ʔak.'sa:i]
 /ʔak-sa:-j/
 HEAD-hit-IMPV
 ‘he hits him on the head’

This is the only attested example that I have found of [a]-epenthesis being used to break up a sequence of two identical consonants; however, I assume that it would happen whenever the body part prefix *ʔaks-* ‘shoulder’ precedes a root that begins with /s/ because deletion of an /s/ causes ambiguity between *ʔaks-* ‘shoulder’ and *ʔak-* ‘head’. Thus, even though this process is very similar to the process shown above in (118), it would be best to view this particular case as a morphophonemic alternation between *ʔaks-* and *ʔaksa-* ‘shoulder,’ where the latter occurs before /s/ and the former occurs elsewhere.

2.6.5 Place Assimilation

Assimilation in HT happens from right to left within the morphological word. Nasals assimilate in place to a following contiguous consonant (section 2.6.5.1) and velars assimilate in place to a following uvular (section 2.6.5.2).

2.6.5.1 Nasal Assimilation

A nasal consonant assimilates to the place of articulation of a following consonant. The rule is formulated in (122) and examples appear in (123).

$$(122) \quad \begin{array}{c} C \\ [+nasal] \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} C \\ [\alpha \text{ place}] \end{array} / \text{ ___ } \begin{array}{c} C \\ [\alpha \text{ place}] \end{array}$$

(123) *Nasal assimilation*

ʔanputun	[,ʔam.pu.'tun]	/an-putun/	‘he wants to go’
kinpay	[kim.'pai]	/kin-pay/	‘my father’
kinkanaa	[kiŋ.'kana:]	/kin-kana:/	‘my right hand’
ʔanta	[ʔan.tə]	/an-ta/	‘he has come’
kin'tuun	[kin.'dʊ:n]	/kin-t'u:n/	‘my land’
kinqaqch'awti	[kiN.qaq.'tʃ'au.ti]	/kin-qaq-tʃ'au-ti /	‘my beard’

2.6.5.2 Velar Assimilation

The alternation between /k/ and /q/ discussed in section 2.6.10 goes beyond sound symbolism. In non-symbolic language, a velar stop in certain morphemes will assimilate in place to an adjacent uvular stop across morphemic boundaries. The rule is formulated in (124), and examples are shown in (125). Note that neither the first person subject prefix *k-* nor the first person possessor prefix *kin-* is affected by this rule, as seen in (125d) and (125e), respectively.

$$(124)a. \quad k \rightarrow q / \text{ ___ } (V)_{STEM} [\dots q$$

$$b. \quad \begin{array}{c} C \\ [+high] \\ [+back] \\ [-son] \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} C \\ [-high] \\ [+back] \\ [-son] \end{array} / \text{ ___ } (V)_{STEM} [\dots \begin{array}{c} C \\ [-high] \\ [+back] \\ [-son] \end{array}$$

- (125) a. [ta.la**q**.¹ʔaʔ]

/ta-lak-p¹ʔaʔ-li/

3PL.SUB-DIS-break(VI)-PFV

'They all broke.'
- b. [la.**q**a.tʃa.¹ʔaʔ]

/la**ka**-tʃa¹ʔaʔ/

PREP-house

'in the house'
- c. [la**q**.ʔʔaʔ.nin]

/la**k**-ʔʔaʔ-nin/

DIS-dismember-INF

'to dismember it.'
- d. [wa:**k**. ma**q**.tʃ¹a.ʔai]

/wa: **k**-ma**k**-tʃ¹aʔa-j/

FOC 1SUB-HAND-wash-IMPV

'I wash my hands'
- e. [la.**ki**.la.¹q.a.tʃa.¹ʔan]

/la**ka**-**kin**-laqatʃaʔan/

PREP-1POS-village

'in my town'

Because the uvular stop has merged (is merging) with the glottal stop in HT (see section 2.3), the younger speakers will optionally assimilate the velar to the glottal stop that has replaced the uvular stop. In the example in (126a), the velar stops have assimilated to the stem internal glottal (*q) stop, but in the example in (126b), the velar stops did not assimilate.

- (126) a. [la.¹ʔa.¹laʔ.tʃa.¹ʔaʔ]

/la**ka**-la**k**-tʃaʔaʔ/

PREP-PL-house

'in the houses'

- b. [l₁a.k₁.lak.tʃa.'ʔaʔ]
 /laka-lak-tʃaqaʔ/
 PREP-PL-house
 'in the houses'

2.6.6 Phonological Processes Affecting Velars

Phonological processes affecting velar consonants include metathesis (section 2.6.6.1) and spirantization (section 2.6.6.2).

2.6.6.1 Velar Metathesis

When a velar stop follows the low vowel and precedes the approximant /h/, metathesis occurs and the /k/ and the /h/ change places. I have not found this process to happen when /k/ follows any other vowel. The rule is formulated in (127) and the examples appear in (128).

(127)a. kh → hk / a ____

- b. C C → C C / V ____
 [-son] [+son] [+son] [-son] [+low]
 [+back] [+sprd glot] [+sprd glot] [+back]
 [+high] [+high]

(128)a. [ʃah.ku.'ni:tə]
 /ʃa-k-hun-ni:ta/
 PAST-1SUB-be-PF
 'I was'

- b. [ʔah.ku.'naʔ]
 /ʔa-k-hun-aʔ/
 IRR-1SUB-be-FUT
 'I will be'

- c. [ʃah.ku.'ni:]
/ʃa-**k-hun**-ni-j/
PAST-1SUB-say-DAT-IMPV
'I would tell him'
- d. [ʔiʃ.ɿlah.ku.'ni:tə]
/ʔi-ʃ-l**ak-hun**-ni:ta/
EPE-PAST-DIS-be-PF
'they (inanimate) were'

The examples in (129) show contexts in which metathesis does not occur. In (129a), *k-* is word-initial (it does not follow /a/), and metathesis does not happen. In (129b), there are intervening phones between the /k/ and the /h/.

- (129)a. [**kh**u.'nau]
/k-hun-aw/
1SUB-say(IMPV)-1PL.SUB
'We say it.'
- b. [ʃa.ɿ**ki.hu**.'ni:]
/ʃa-kin-hun-ni-j/
PAST-1OBJ-say-DAT-IMPV
'he would say to me'

A derivation is shown in (130). Though metathesis precedes [ʔi]-epenthesis in this derivation, they are not crucially ordered.

(130) Underling Rep	/k-hun-ni-j/	/ʔa-k-hun-aʔ/
Metathesis	----	/ʔa- h-kun -aʔ/
[ʔi]-epenthesis	/ʔi k-hun -ni-j/	----
Surface Rep	[ɿʔi k.hu .'ni:]	[ɿʔ ah.ku .'naʔ]
Gloss	'I tell him'	'I will be'

2.6.6.2 *Velar Spirantization (Place Dissimilation)*

A velar stop /k/ spirantizes and becomes the approximant /h/ when it is preceded by a vowel and followed by a velar or uvular stop /k, k', q/. The rule is formulated in (131) and examples are shown in (132).

(131)a. /k/ → [h] / V ___ {k, k', q}

b. C → C / V ___ C
 [-son] [+son] [-son]
 [+back] [+sprd glot] [+back]
 [+high]

(132) *Velar spirantization*

a. [ɿʔa.lah.kɪk.na.'βi:]
 /ʔa-lak-kiknawi:-j/
 PL-3PL.OBJ-flatter-IMPV
 'he flatters them'

b. [ɿlah.kɪɬ.tu.sa:.'ma:i]
 /lak-kɪɬtu-sa:ma:-j/
 DIS-edge-smooth-IMPV
 'he smoothes all the edges'

c. [na:h. 'k'u.sj]
 /naa k-k'usi/
 EMP 1SUB-pretty
 'I am very pretty.'

d. [lah.'k'u.sj]
 /lak-k'usi/
 DIS-pretty
 'they are pretty'

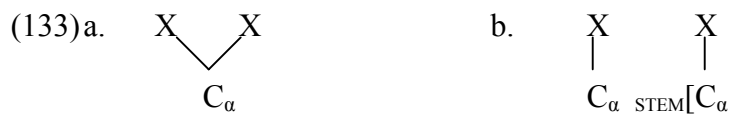
- e. [laq.ʃtan.ʃβi:h.'kan]
 /laqʃtan-ʃwi:k-kan/
 JAW-shave-RFL(IMPFV)
 'he shaves himself (on the face)'
- f. [tan.'ʃdʊh.katʃ]
 /tan-ʃt'uk-kan-li/
 TRUNK-button-RFL-PFV
 'He buttoned his shirt.'
- g. [lah.'k'a.ʔutʃ]
 /lak-k'aʔutʃ/
 PL-dish
 'dishes'
- h. [kɪh.'k'iu]
 /kik-k'iw/
 MOUTH-wood
 'jawbone'
- i. [mah.'qɛ.sitʃ]
 /mak-qesitʃ/
 HAND-nail
 'fingernail', 'claw'

2.6.7 Coda Consonant Deletion

Processes of coda consonant deletion include identical consonant deletion (2.6.7.1) and word-final glottal stop deletion (2.6.7.2).

2.6.7.1 Identical Consonant Deletion

HT has no true geminate consonants, such as that shown in (133a). However, a fake geminate may result from morpheme concatenation when two identical consonants end up next to each other, as seen in (133b).



When a sequence of two identical consonants results from morpheme concatenation, the first of the two consonants is deleted. The rule is shown in (134), and examples appear in (135). We know that it is the first consonant that is deleted and not the second one based on evidence provided by the sonorant consonants, which are moraic in coda position.⁶⁰ When the first of the two identical consonants is a sonorant consonant, as is the case in examples (135a) through (135c) below, deletion of this consonant leaves behind a mora, and the preceding vowel is compensatorily lengthened. Thus, this rule must precede the compensatory lengthening rule discussed in section 2.6.8.

(134) $C_\alpha \rightarrow \emptyset / _ \text{STEM}[C_\alpha$

- (135)a. [ʔa.lak.hu.ˈni:]
 /ʔa-lak-hun-ni-j/
 PL-3PL.OBJ-say-DAT-IMPV
 ‘he says it to them’
- b. [ʔaː.qa.ma.ˈnan]
 /ʔaːqaman-nVn/
 waste-INO(IMPV)
 ‘he (habitually) wastes (stuff)’
- c. [miː.ˈna.t̚j]
 /min-nati/
 2POS-mother
 ‘your mother’

⁶⁰ Please see sections 2.4 and 2.5 for discussion of the moraicity of sonorant consonants.

- d. [ʔa,qa.ʔo:.'naʔ]
 /ʔa-qalahn-nVʔ/
 PL.INO-steal(VT)-AGNM
 ‘thief’
- e. [kɪʔ.k'a.'ts'ai]
 /**k**-kiʔ-k'atz'a-j/
 1SUB-MOUTH-know-IMPFV
 ‘I taste it’
- f. [t'a:.'qo.t'i]
 /t'a:-qo**t**-t'i/
 COM-drink-2SG.SUB.PFV
 ‘you drank with him’

Identical consonant (ID-C) deletion occurs after nasal assimilation and velar spirantization, as seen in the derivation in (136). Nasal assimilation and spirantization are not crucially ordered with each other. Identical consonant deletion precedes compensatory lengthening (see section 2.6.8).

(136) Underlying Rep	/kin-makaʔ/	/kin-nanaʔ/	/k-katuch'i:-ʔ/	/kik-k'iw/
Nasal Assimilation	/kimmakaʔ/	----	----	----
Vel Spirantization	----	----	----	/kih-k'iw/
ID-C Deletion	/kimakaʔ/	/kinanaʔ/	/katuch'i:ʔ/	----
Comp Length	/ki:makaʔ/	/ki:nanaʔ/	----	----
Surface Rep	[kɪ:ma.'kaʔ]	[kɪ:na.'naʔ]	[ka.'tu.tʃ'i:ʔ]	[kɪh.'k'iu]
Gloss	‘my hand’	‘my elder woman’	‘I yoke them’ (e.g. oxen)	‘jawbone’

2.6.7.2 Glottal Stop Deletion

A stem-final glottal stop is deleted before a suffix or an enclitic. The rule is shown in (137); examples appear in (138) and (139).

(137) C → Ø / — { -suffix }
 [+sonorant] { +clitic }
 [+constr glot]

(138) *Glottal stop deletion before an enclitic*

- a. [maq.ti.'li:tʃ]
 /maqtiliʔ+tʃ/
 'wild animal'
- b. [ʔa.'nu:tʃ]
 /anuʔ+tʃ/
 'that'
- c. [pa.'pa:tʃ]
 /papaʔ+tʃ/
 'man'
- d. [ka.ʔa.'na:tʃ]
 /ka-ʔan-aʔ+tʃ /
 IRR-go-FUT+ALD
 'he will go'

(139) *Glottal stop deletion before a suffix*

- a. [da.ku:.'nin]
 /t'akuʔ-nin/
 'woman-PL'
- b. [maq.ti.'li:n]
 /maqtiliʔ-n/
 'wild animal-PL'
- c. [tʃi:.'la:n]
 /tʃi:laʔ-n/
 'chicken-PL'

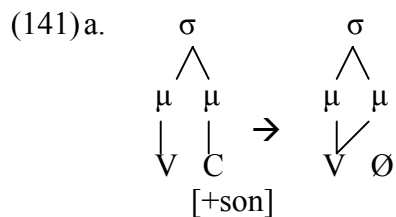
- d. [ka.la.qo.fi.'jaau]
 /ka-laqoʃi-jaʔ-w/
 IRR-fix-FUT-1PL.SUB
 'we (INCL) will fix it'
- e. [ʔak.mi.'na:u]
 /ʔa-k-min-aʔ-w/
 IRR-1SUB-come-FUT-1PL.SUB
 'we (EXCL) will come'

Stress assignment must precede glottal stop deletion, and glottal stop deletion precedes compensatory lengthening (see section 2.6.8). The derivation is shown in (140).

(140) Underlying Rep	/t'akuʔ-tʃ/	/t'akuʔ-nin/	/ka-ʔan-aʔ-tʃ/
Stress assign	/t'a'kuʔ-tʃ/	/t'akuʔ-'nin/	/ka-ʔa'n-aʔ-tʃ/
ʔ-del	/t'a'ku-tʃ/	/t'aku-'nin/	/ka-ʔa'n-a-tʃ/
Comp length	/t'a'ku:-tʃ/	/t'aku:-'nin/	/ka-ʔa'n-a:-tʃ/
Surface Rep	[t'a.'ku:tʃ]	[t'a.ku:.'nin]	[ka.ʔa.'na:tʃ]
Gloss	'woman'	'women'	'he will go'

2.6.8 Compensatory Lengthening

Compensatory lengthening (Hayes 1989) of a syllable nucleus happens in HT after a sonorant (moraic) consonant has been deleted from coda position (see section 2.6.7). The vowel is lengthened to fill the timing gap left by the moraic coda. The rule is formulated two ways in (141). Please see sections 2.4 and 2.5 for a discussion of moraic codas.



b. $V C \rightarrow V: \emptyset$
 $[+son]$

Compensatory lengthening follows both of the consonant deletion rules discussed in section 2.6.7 (identical consonant deletion and glottal stop deletion), as well as the coda nasal deletion rules discussed below in sections 2.7.3 and 2.7.6.3. Derivations appear below in (142) and above in (136) and (140).

(142) Underlying Rep	/kin-wayti/	/kin-lak-makaʔ/	/kin-nati/	/t'akuʔ-nin/
ID-C-del	----	----	/ki-nati/	----
Nasal-del	/ki-wayti/	/ki-lak-makaʔ/	----	----
ʔ-del	----	----	----	/t'aku-nin/
Comp length	/ki:-wayti/	/ki:-lak-makaʔ/	/ki:-nati/	/t'aku:-nin/
Surface Rep	[ki:. ¹ βai.t̩]	[ki:. ₁ lak.ma. ¹ kaʔ]	[ki:. ¹ na.t̩]	[₁ d̩a.ku:. ¹ nin]
Gloss	'my food'	'my hands'	'my mother'	'women'

2.6.9 /h/-Deletion

An intervocalic /h/ in a stem is deleted when the following vowel is not stressed. The rule is formulated in (143), and examples appear in (144).

(143) $C \rightarrow \emptyset / V \text{ ____ } V$
 $[+sprd \text{ glot}] \quad \quad \quad [-stress]^{61}$

⁶¹ Stress here is not a distinctive feature. Here [-stress] is simply an abbreviation to indicate that this vowel must not bear stress.

(144) /h/-deletion

- a. [qa.'ʔauʔ] **[qa.'ʔa.huʔ]⁶²
/qa'ʔa**h**u-li/
steal-PFV
'he stole it'
- b. [ʔa.₁qa.ʔau.'nan] **[₁ʔa.qa.₁ʔa.hu.'nan]
/ʔa-qa'ʔa**h**u-nan/
PL-steal-INO(IMPV)
'he steals (habitually, unspecified object)'
- c. [mak.'taiʔʔ] **[mak.'ta.hiʔʔ]
/makt**h**i-li+ʔʔ/
flame-PFV+ALD
'it (a fire) flamed'
- d. [₁ʔak.βai.'na:u] **[ʔak.₁βa.hi.'na:u]
/ʔa-k-w**h**in-aʔ-w/
IRR-1SUB-eat-FUT-1PL.SUB
'We (EXCL) will eat'
- e. [₁ta.miN.'qo:ʔʔ]
/ta-min-qo**h**u-li+ʔʔ/
3PL.SUB-come-ALL-PFV+ALD
'they all came'

If the vowel following the /h/ is stressed, then the /h/ is not deleted, as seen in the examples in (145).

(145) No /h/-deletion

- a. [₁qa.ʔa.'**h**ui]
/qa'ʔa**h**u-j/
steal-IMPV
'he steals it'

⁶² A double asterisk ** indicates an ungrammatical form (whereas a single asterisk indicates a reconstructed form).

- b. [na.'hun]
 /nahun/
 say(IMPV)
 'he says it'
- c. [ɿmak.ta.'hi:]
 /maktahi-j/
 flame-IMPV
 'it (the fire) flames'
- d. [βa.'hin.tatʃ]
 [wa'hin-ta+tʃ]
 eat-PF+ALD
 'he has eaten'

Derivations are shown below in (146) and (147). This rule interacts crucially with the primary stress rule. In fact, it provides evidence that primary and secondary stress assignment do not happen simultaneously. Primary stress assignment precedes /h/-deletion, and secondary stress assignment follows /h/-deletion (specifically, see the last example in (146) and the first and last examples in (147)). Perfective nasal-deletion must precede both primary stress assignment and /h/-deletion.

(146) URep	/qaʃahu-j/	/qaʃahu-ʃ/	/ʔa-qaʃahu-nan/
1° stress	/qaʃa'hju-j/	/qaʃahu-ʃ/	/ʔa-qaʃahu-'nan/
H-del	----	/qaʃau-ʃ/	/ʔa-qaʃau-'nan/
2° stress	/,qaʃa'hju-j/	----	/ʔa-,qaʃau-'nan/
S rep	[,qa.ʃa.'hui]	[qa.ʃauʃ]	[ʔa.,qa.ʃau.'nan]
Gloss	'he steals it'	'he stole it'	'he steals'

(147)U Rep	/wahin-putun/	/ʔa-k-wahin-aʔ-w/
N-assim	/wahim-putun/	----
1° stress	/wahim-pu'tun/	/ʔa-k-wahi'n-aʔ-w/
ʔ-del	----	/ʔa-k-wahi'n-a-w/
Comp leng	----	/ʔa-k-wahi'n-a:-w/
H-del	/waim-pu'tun/	/ʔa-k-wai'n-a:-w/
2° stress	/ ₁ waim-pu'tun/	/ ₁ ʔa-k-wai'n-a:-w/
S Rep	[₁ waim.pu'tun]	[₁ ʔak.βai.'na:u]
Gloss	'he wants to eat it'	'We (EXCL) will eat'

2.6.10 Sound Symbolic Phonemic Alternations

Sound symbolic phonemic alternations⁶³ are found in five areas of the Tepehua lexicon: the diminutive and augmentative (section 2.6.10.1), affection speech (section 2.6.10.2), lexical sets (section 2.6.10.3), phonemic alternations in body part prefixes (section 2.6.10.4), and ideophones (see Chapter 6, section 6.3.1). Verbs, nouns, adjectives, and adverbs may undergo sound symbolic phonemic alternations. The sound symbolic phonemic alternations are summarized below in Table 9 and in greater detail in the subsequent subsections.

Table 9: Sound Symbolic Phonemic Alternations

s ~ ʃ ~ ʂ
ts, ts' ~ tʃ, tʃ'
k, k' ~ q/ʔ, *q'/ʔ
i, u ~ e, o

⁶³ Sound symbolic phonemic alternations have also been called *consonant ablaut* (Langdon 1971; Sapir 1911), *consonant symbolism* (Haas 1970), and *consonant- and vowel-shifts* (Nichols 1971).

The consonantal phonemic alternations exist in many, if not all, of the Totonacan languages. The alternations involve at least three different phonemic sets, /s ~ ʃ ~ ʃ/, / ts, ts' ~ tʃ, tʃ' /, and / k, k' ~ q, q' /, and usually distinguish semantic extension, affection, or variations in intensity (McQuown 1940; Aschmann 1973; Bishop 1984; Levy 1987; MacKay 1999). However, as MacKay (1999) points out, phonemic alternation is not always accompanied by a change in meaning. McQuown (1940) was the first to note the phonemic alternation between /k/ and /q/ in words derived from the same root in Coatepec Totonac, but he gave only one example and did not extend his analysis to the other phonemic sets. In the subsequent literature, these phonemic alternations have been called *juego simbólico* ‘symbolic set’ by Aschmann (1973) and *simbolismo fonético* ‘phonetic symbolism’ by Levy (1987) for Papantla Totonac; *consonant play* by Bishop (1984) for Apapantilla (Northern) Totonac; and *sound symbolism* by MacKay (1999) for Misantla Totonac. This phenomenon in HT has been described by Herzog (1987), Smythe (2003), and Smythe Kung (2005a, 2005c, 2006c).

2.6.10.1 The Diminutive and Augmentative

In the Tepehua diminutive, the palato-alveolar fricatives and affricates are fronted to alveolars; the uvular stops are fronted to velars; and the mid-vowels /e/ and /o/ are raised to /i/ and /u/, respectively. In the augmentative, we find the reverse pattern: the alveolar fricative /s/ and the alveolar affricates are backed to become palato-alveolars; the velar stops are backed to uvular stops; and the high-vowels are lowered to mid-vowels. Thus, in Huehuetla Tepehua, alveolar and

velar consonants and high vowels are associated with small size, while palato-alveolar and uvular consonants and mid-vowels are associated with large size. These alternations are summarized in Table 10, and examples (in practical orthography) appear in (148)

Table 10: Diminutive and Augmentative

Alternation	Diminutive	Augmentative
s ~ ʃ ~ ʦ	ʃ, ʦ → s	s → ʃ, ʦ
ts, ts' ~ tʃ, tʃ'	tʃ, tʃ' → ts, ts'	ts, ts' → tʃ, tʃ'
k, k' ~ q/? , *q'/?	q/? , *q'/? → k, k'	k, k' → q/? , *q'/?
i, u ~ e, o	e, o → i, u	i, u → e, o

(148) Normal Speech ~ Diminutive ~ Augmentative

-
- a. **lhoqoqo** ~ **sukuku**
 'something hollow'
- b. **lhpututu** ~ **spututu** ~ **pototo**
 'round thing' 'small, round thing' 'large, round thing'
- c. **tz'alh** ~ **ch'alh**
 'boy' 'big boy'
- d. **kilh** ~ **qelh**
 'mouth' 'big mouth'
- e. **ch'aay** ~ **tz'aay**
 'ripened' 'small and ripened'

According to Hinton, Nichols, and Ohala (1994), the *Frequency Code* is the linguistic phenomenon according to which

high tones, vowels with high second formants (notably /i/), and high-frequency consonants are associated with high-frequency sounds, small

size, sharpness, and rapid movement; low tones, vowels with low second formants (notably /u/), and low-frequency consonants are associated with low-frequency sounds, large size, softness, and heavy, slow movements” (p. 10).

All of the phonemic alternations found in the HT diminutive and augmentative correspond to the Frequency Code with the exception of the alternation between /o/ and /u/.

2.6.10.2 Affectionate Speech

“Affectionate speech,” or “el habla con cariño,” is the name that my principal consultant, don Nicolás, gave to this speech style, which is similar to baby talk in its social use. According to don Nicolás, affectionate speech can be used when an older speaker is addressing someone much younger than him/herself and when the speaker wants to indicate affection towards the addressee; for example, it is used when a parent or grandparent talks to a young adult or child. I observed both men and women using affectionate speech in Huehuetla, but I actually noticed more men than women using it. However, I did not hear this speech style used very often, and, according to don Nicolás, affectionate speech is used much less today than it was in the past. I presume that this is because, as I observed, the Tepehua people mostly speak to their children and grandchildren in Spanish now.

HT speakers usually translate affectionate speech into the Spanish diminutive, but it is not the equivalent of the Spanish diminutive for two reasons. First, the Spanish diminutive is a morphological process, while affectionate

speech is a phonological process. And, second, when I tried to elicit affectionate speech using the Spanish diminutive, I was given the HT equivalent of *little X*. For example, if I asked for *birdy*, or *pajarito*, I was given [ˌlakaˈdɪkstʰi ˈtsʰoʔ], which literally means ‘little bird’ or ‘pájaro pequeño’. I found that I had to elicit affectionate speech by requesting that the speaker pretend to be talking to a child.

Bishop (1984) describes “baby talk” in Apapantilla (Northern) Totonac as follows: “Some fronting of the /ch/ has been observed in baby-talk (adults to babies)” (p. 31); however, she mentions no other phonological examples.

In HT, affectionate speech involves four sets of phonemic changes. First, the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative and affricates front to the corresponding alveolar consonants, as shown below in (149).

- (149) Change 1: Palato-alveolar fronting: [ʃ, tʃ, tʃʰ] → [s, ts, tsʰ]
- a. xaanti [ˈʃaːn.t̥i] → [ˈsaːn.t̥i] ‘flower’
 - b. paqachu [pa.ˈqa.tʃu] → [pa.ka.ˈtsu] ‘wing’
 - c. kikwinch’u [kɪk.βin.tʃʰu] → [kɪk.βin.tsʰu] ‘whiskers’

In example (149a), the /ʃ/ in *xaanti* ‘flower’ fronts to /s/. In example (149b), the /tʃ/ in *paqachu* ‘wing’⁶⁴ fronts to /ts/. And in example (149c), the glottalized /tʃʰ/ in *kikwinch’u* ‘whiskers’ fronts to glottalized /tsʰ/. Note that the quality of glottalization on the palato-alveolar affricate is carried over to the alveolar affricate.

⁶⁴ The word *paqachu* ‘wing’ is pronounced as [paqatʃu] by the older speakers who still retain a uvular stop and as [paʔatʃu] by the younger speakers who do not.

Second, the voiceless lateral fricative delateralizes only after a long vowel and at the beginning of a word, shown below in (150), where a double asterisk ** indicates an unacceptable or unattested form.⁶⁵

- (150) Change 2: Delateralization: [ɬ] → [s] / $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} V: _ \\ \# _ \end{array} \right\}$
- | | | | | | | |
|----|-------------|-------------------|---|---------------------|--|-----------|
| a. | puulhtuj | [pu:ɬ.'tuh] | → | [pu:s.'tuh] | | 'toad' |
| | lhoqoqo | [ɬo.'qo.qo] | → | [su.'ku.ku] | | 'hollow' |
| b. | talhpa | [t'atɬ.pə] | | **[t'as.pə] | | 'hill' |
| | pulhqom | [puɬ.'qom] | | **[pus.'k(')um] | | 'mud' |
| | maqalhqama7 | [ma.,qaɬ.qa.'maʔ] | | **[ma.,kas.ka.'maʔ] | | 'Tepehua' |

In the examples in (150a), the /ɬ/ follows a long vowel or begins the word, and it delateralizes to /s/. However, in the examples in (150b), the /ɬ/ follows a short vowel, and it cannot not delateralize.

Third, the voiceless uvular stop front to a voiceless velar stop, shown below in (151).

- (151) Change 3: Uvular fronting: *q, *q' [q/?, ?] → [k, k']
- | | | | | | | |
|----|--------|------------|---|------------|-----------|---------|
| a. | chaqa7 | [tʃa.'qaʔ] | → | [tʃa.'kaʔ] | **chak'ak | 'house' |
| b. | xqan | [ʃʔan] | → | [sk'an] | **xkan | 'fly' |

Example (151a) is revealing because the word *chaqa7* 'house' contains both a plain uvular stop between the vowels and a glottal stop at the end of the word. In regular speech, the older HT speakers pronounce the word as [tʃaqaʔ], with a plain uvular stop and a glottal stop, while the younger speakers pronounce the word as [tʃa.'ʔaʔ], with two glottal stops. In affectionate speech, everyone fronts the first stop to a velar, but no one fronts the word-final stop to a velar, which

⁶⁵ A single asterisk indicates a reconstructed form.

indicates that this particular glottal stop was not historically a uvular. Also, no one fronts the first stop to a glottalized velar, implying that the underlying uvular was historically [-constricted glottis] **chaqa*⁷. In example (151b), the word *xqan* ‘fly’ contains a plain uvular stop, [ʃqan], in the speech of the older HT speakers and a glottal stop, [ʃʔan], in the speech of the younger HT speakers. In affectionate speech, speakers of all ages front this sound to a *glottalized* velar, *xk’an*. Recall from the discussion of (149), above, that the quality of glottalization on the palato-alveolar affricate carried over to the alveolar affricate in palato-alveolar fronting; assuming that the same pattern is to be found in uvular fronting, the reconstructed form of this word would be **xq’an* in Proto-HT.

Finally, the mid vowels raise to high vowels. According to Watters (1988), Tepehua previously had a three vowel system, /i, u, a/, and the mid vowels /e, o/ appeared only in the context of a uvular stop and at certain morpheme boundaries. The mid vowels have since become phonemic, but they are still scarce except in some loan words, at certain morpheme boundaries, and in the context of a glottal stop that was historically a uvular stop. Below in (152a), the mid vowels in *tz’oqon*⁶⁶ ‘Otomí’ raise to high vowels in [ts’u.k’un]. Based on the glottalized velar in [ts’u.k’un], I would reconstruct **tz’uq’un* in Proto-HT. In (152b), the /e/ in *teensuun* ‘goat’ raises to /i/ in affectionate speech. Since goats were not native to the Americas, I do not attempt to reconstruct this word.

(152) Change 4: Mid vowel raising: /e, o/ → [i, u]

a. *tz’oqon* [ts’ɔ.qɔn] → [ts’u.k’un] ‘Otomí’

⁶⁶ The word *tz’oqon* is pronounced as [ts’ɔ.qɔn] by the older speakers and as [ts’o’ʔon] by the younger speakers.

b. teensuun [ˈte:n.su:n] → [ˈti:n.su:n] ‘goat’

A summary of the sound changes involved in affectionate speech is given in Table 11.

Table 11: Phoneme Changes in Affectionate Speech

Regular Speech	Affectionate Speech	Sound Change Rule
ʃ	s	Palato-alveolar fronting
tʃ	ts	Palato-alveolar fronting
tʃʰ	tsʰ	Palato-alveolar fronting
ʒ	s	Delateralization
ʔ	k	Uvular fronting
ʔ	kʰ	Uvular fronting
q/ʔ	k	Uvular fronting
qʰ/ʔ	kʰ	Uvular fronting
o	u	Mid-vowel raising
e	i	Mid-vowel raising

2.6.10.3 Lexical Sets

In addition to signaling the diminutive, the augmentative, and/or affectionate speech, all of the above mentioned phonemic alternations are also found in HT lexical sets that are based on the same root. In all of the lexical sets in (153), a phonemic alternation corresponds to a slight change in meaning.

(153) HT lexical sets

- a. **xax** [ˈʃaxʃ]~[ˈʃaʔʃ] ‘fig tree’
 saqs [ˈsaqs]~[ˈsaʔs] ‘candy, sweet’

b.	ch'aqa 7iy	[₁ tʃ 'a.qa.'ʔi:]~[₁ tʃ 'a.ʔa.'ʔi:]	'he breaks it apart with his hand (e.g. bread)'
	tz'ak'a 7iy	[₁ ts 'a.k'a.'ʔi:]	'he bites it apart'
c.	7alo qot	[ʔa.'lɔ.qɔt]~[ʔa.'lɔ.ʔɔt]	'horn'
	7al ukut	[ʔa.'lu.kut]	'bone'
d.	sput utu	[spu.'tu.tu]	'round and small'
	lhput utu	[ɬpu.'tu.tu]	'round and medium'
	pot oto	[po.'to.tɔ]	'round and large'
e.	k'uk' ay	[k'u.'k'ai]	'he carried it'
	7o7ay (* q'oq' ay)	[ʔo.'ʔai]	'he carried it' (some-thing heavy)
f.	x qaqal hch	[₁ ʃ qa.qaɬʃ]~[₁ ʃ ʔa.ʔaɬʃ]	'[the day] cleared up'
	sk akal hch	[₁ ska .kaɬʃ]	'[the day] warmed up'

Note that in the examples in (153f), the temporal clitic *+ch* [tʃ] does not vary, even when other phonemes within the word do.

What is interesting about all of the examples in (153) is that some reflect a difference in size, while others do not. Furthermore, it is almost impossible to determine which word in each set reflects the root.

2.6.10.4 Phonemic Alternation in Body Part Prefixes

Though this section deals with a particular set of morphemes (the body part prefixes), I have chosen to include it here because it is a continuation of the theme of the sound symbolic alternations that was explored in the last three subsections.

Many of the body part prefixes (BPPs) show alternating forms based on the phonemic alternations discussed in this section. The relevant BPPs are shown below in table 12. For a complete list of all of the BPPs, please see Chapter 3, section 3.2.1.8.

Table 12: Alternating Body Part Prefixes

Body Part Prefix (practical orthography)	Full Noun	Gloss
7aq- ~ 7ak- ~ lacuna-	7aqtzulh	head
7aqx(a)- ~ 7aks(a)- ~ 'aqxp'in- ch'an- ~ tz'an-	7aqxp'un ch'aja7	shoulder, upper back, flat surface foot, leg, paw
kik- ~ kilhtu- ~ qelh-	kilh	mouth, edge
kinka- ~ ka-	kinkati7	tip, point
kinka- ~ kanka- ~ kanqa-	lhiixin	nose
laka- ~ lak- ~ laqa- ~ laq-	lakatunaj	body
lakpuu- ~ laq(a)puu- ~ laq- ~ lak-	7ukxpu7	face
lakpuu- ~ laq(a)puu- ~ laq- ~ lak-	laqchulh	eye
maq- ~ maq-	maka7	hand, arm
qaq- ~ kaq- ~ laq(a)xtan	laqxtan	cheek
qaq- ~ kaq-	kaalhtz'an	jaw

The choice between alternate forms of a BPP can be resolved in one of two ways: (i) the BPP may be symbolic of the size of a noun to which it attaches or (ii) the BPP may harmonize with a root consonant.

The first option is very similar to the distinction between the augmentative and the diminutive, which was seen above in section 2.6.10.1. An example is shown below in (154). This example is unique because it is the only example that I have found of an alternation between /i/ and /a/. Note that while the place of the second stop alternates between velar and uvular, the place of the first stop does

not alternate. Note, also, that it is not the size of the ‘nose’ that is relevant, but rather the size of the ‘hair’.

- (154) a. [ᵛ₁**kaŋ.qa**.¹tʃ^oau.ti̯]
- /**kanqa**-tʃ^oawti/
 NOSE-hair
 ‘mustache’
- b. [ᵛ₁**kaŋ.ka**.¹tʃ^oau.ti̯]
- /**kanka**-tʃ^oawti/
 NOSE-hair
 ‘tentacle/filament on a bug’s face’
- c. [ᵛ₁**kiŋ.ka**.¹tʃ^oau.ti̯]
- /**kinka**-tʃ^oawti/
 NOSE-hair
 ‘nose hair’

The second type of alternation found in the BPPs is dependent on the place of articulation of the consonants within the root. When a BPP has more than one allomorph, the allomorph whose consonants are the most similar to the consonants found in the root will be chosen. In other words, the consonants of the BPP will harmonize with the consonants of the root. Examples are shown below in (155) and (156). In (155a), the root contains a velar consonant, and the BPP *ʔak*- ‘head’ harmonizes with that consonant. In (155b), the root contains a uvular consonant, and the BPP *ʔaq*- ‘head’ harmonizes with it. In (156a), the root contains a uvular stop, so the BPP *ʔaqx*- ‘shoulder’ that contains a uvular stop is used. In (156b), the root contains an alveolar fricative /s/, the BPP *ʔaks*- ‘shoulder’ that contains an alveolar fricative is used.

- (155) a. [kʰak.ɬdɔŋ.ʰkʰu.tatʃ]
 /k-ʰak-ɬtʰunkʰu-ta+tʃ/
 1SUB-HEAD-carry-PF+ALD
 ‘I carried it on my head.’
- b. [ʔaq.ɬdaq.pu.ʰtun]
 /ʔaq-ɬtʰaq-putun/
 HEAD-cover-DESID(IMPFV)
 ‘he wants to cover (the top of) it’
- (156) a. [ʔaq.ɬqo.ʰqa.tatʃ]
 /ʔaq-ɬqoqa-ta+tʃ/
 SHOULDER-throw-PF+ALD
 ‘He threw it on his shoulder.’
- b. [ʔaks.sa.ʰsai]
 /ʔaks-a-sa:-j/
 SHOULDER-EPE-hit-IMPFV
 ‘he pats him on the back’

2.7 MORPHOPHONEMICS

In this section, I briefly examine the morphophonemic patterns found in the HT morphology. A more detailed discussion of each morpheme and any allomorphs it might have is found in the chapter to which that morpheme pertains. For example, verbal inflectional affixes are discussed in Chapter 3 on verbs, and nominal inflectional affixes are discussed in Chapter 4 on Nouns. Any cross-over morphemes are cross-referenced in the relevant chapters.

2.7.1 Second Person Subject Marking

A second person subject (both singular and plural) is indicated primarily by means of glottal constriction on all stops and affricates in the verbal stem, and a stem-internal glottal approximate /h/ becomes a glottal stop /ʔ/. Additionally, a

second person singular subject is co-referenced by the suffix *-t'i* in the perfective aspect, and a second person plural subject is co-referenced with the suffix *-t'it*. Comparison of the examples in (157) shows that (in the imperfective aspect) the only difference between a third person singular subject (157a) and a second person singular subject (157b) is the glottalization of the (non-nasal) stops in the stem; this glottalization indicates a second person subject.

- (157) a. [lah.₁kɪk.na.¹βi:]
 /lak-kiknawi:-j/
 3PL.OBJ-flatter-IMPFV
 'he flatters them'
- b. [lah.₁k'ɪk'.na.¹βi:]
 /lak-kiknawi:-j [+constr glot]/
 3PL.OBJ-flatter-IMPFV
 'you flatter them'

The alternation between /h/ and [ʔ] in second person is shown in the examples in (158). The verb in (158a) has a third person singular subject, and the /h/ of the verb root is retained as [h]. The verb in (158b) has a second person singular subject, and the /h/ of the root surfaces as a glottal stop [ʔ].

- (158) a. [ʃta.hu:¹ni:ta̯]
 /ʃ-hun-ni:ta/
 PAST-be-PF
 'he was'
- b. [ʔiʃ.ʔu:¹ni:ɬa̯]
 /ʔi-ʃ-hun-ni:ta [+glot constr]/
 EPE-PAST-be-PF
 'you (SG) were'

For more examples of second person subject glottalization, please see Chapter 3, sections 3.1.1.1 and 3.1.2.2.

2.7.2 Epenthesis

There are three types of morphophonemic epenthesis in HT: [a]-epenthesis between a stem and a suffix (section 2.7.2.1), [a]-epenthesis between a prefix and a stem (section 2.7.2.2), and [ʔi-]-epenthesis before a prefix (section 2.7.2.3).

2.7.2.1 Suffix [a]-Epenthesis

An epenthetic [a] occurs between a verb stem that ends in a consonant and a suffix that begins with a consonant. The suffixes that demonstrate this type of allomorphy include the first person plural subject suffix (-w ~ -aw), the second person plural subject suffix (-t'it ~ -at'it), and the second person object suffix (-n ~ -an). The consonant-initial allomorph of each of these prefixes occurs after a stem-final vowel, and the vowel-initial allomorph occurs after a stem-final consonant. The rule is shown in (159), and examples appear in (160), (161), and (162). It is not possible to make the environment of this rule more general because there are numerous consonant-initial verbal suffixes to which this rule does not apply, including second person singular subject (perfective aspect only) -t'i, reflexive/unspecified subject -kan, indefinite object -nVn, infinitive -nin, etc.

$$(159) \quad \emptyset \rightarrow \begin{matrix} \text{V} \\ [+low] \end{matrix} / \text{C}]_{\text{STEM}} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} -w \\ -t'it \\ -n \end{array} \right\}$$

(160) *First person plural subject*

- a. [ʃah.kun.'tau]
/ʃ-a-k-hun-ta-**w**/
PAST-EPE-1SUB-be-PF-1PL.SUB
'we (EXCL) were'
- b. [ʃa.ku:ʃ.tu.'jau]
/ʃ-a-k-ku:ʃtu-j-**a-w**/
PAST-EPE-1SUB-cultivate.corn-IMPV-EPE-1PL.SUB
'we (EXCL) cultivated corn'

(161) *Second person plural subject*

- a. [ʔa.ts'a.'la.dɪt]
/ʔatzala-**t'it** [+constr glot]/
run(PFV)-2PL.SUB
'you (PL) ran'
- b. [dʌ.ʃai.ni.'ja.dɪt]
/tapajni-j-**a-t'it** [+constr glot]/
ask.forgiveness-IMPV-EPE-2PL.SUB
'you (PL) ask forgiveness'

(162) *Second person object*

- a. [ta.ki:pu:ʃ.ka.'jun]
/ta-ki:-pu:xkaju-**n**/
3PL.SUB-RT-search.for(PFV)-2OBJ
'they went looking for you (and came back)'
- b. [ʃa.tʃo:.'jan]
/ʃ-a-tʃahu-j-**a-n**/
PAST-EPE-fall.on-IMPV-EPE-2OBJ
'it would fall on you'

For more information on these suffixes, please see Chapter 3, sections 3.1.1.1 and 3.1.1.4.

2.7.2.2 Prefix [a]-Epenthesis

A second type of [a]-epenthesis applies only to the past tense prefix *x-* when it precedes the first person subject prefix *k-* and the first person object prefix *kin-*. In these two contexts, an epenthetic [a] occurs between the past tense prefix and the first person prefixes. The rule is formulated in (163), and examples are shown in (164).

- (163) a. $/ʃ/ \rightarrow /ʃa/ / \text{---} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} k- \\ kin- \end{array} \right\}$
- b. $\emptyset \rightarrow V \quad / \quad C \text{---} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} k- \\ kin- \end{array} \right\}$
 [+low] [+strid] [+cont] [-ant]

(164) a. *Past tense + first person subject*

[ʃak.tʃʰaʔ.kat.na.'naw]

/ʃ-a-k-tʃʰaʔkat-nVn-a-w/

PAST-EPE-1SUB-work-INO(IMPFV)-EPE-1PL.SUB

'we worked'

b. *Past tense + first person object*

[ʃa.ki.hu.'ni:]

/ʃ-a-kin-hun-ni-j/

PAST-EPE-1OBJ-say-DAT-IMPFV

'he would say it to me'

Please see Chapter 3, section 3.1.2.1 for more information on the past tense prefix.

2.7.2.3 [ʔi-]-Epenthesis

A third type of epenthesis—[ʔi-]-epenthesis—occurs when the addition of a prefix to a stem creates a word-initial onset consonant cluster that does not

conform to the syllable structure given in (55). This type of epenthesis happens only with the addition of the following prefixes: (i) the first person subject prefix *k-* that occurs on verb stems, (ii) the past tense prefix *x-* that occurs on verb stems, and (iii) the third person possessor prefix *x-* that occurs on noun stems.

The [ʔi-]epenthesis rule is formulated below in (165), and examples appear in (166), (167), and (168). The addition of word-initial [ʔi-] allows the following prefix to act as a syllable coda rather than as a syllable onset. Please see section 2.4.5 for discussion of syllabification of these prefixes.

$$(165) \quad \emptyset \rightarrow \begin{matrix} \text{ʔ} & \text{V} \\ [+high] \\ [-back] \end{matrix} / \# _ \left. \begin{matrix} \text{k C,} \\ \int \text{C} \\ [-son] \\ [+cont] \end{matrix} \right\}$$

(166) *Before k- 1SUB*

- a. [ʔik. 'ta.ma:ʔ]
 /ʔi-k-tama:-li/
EPE-1SUB-lie.down-PFV
 'I laid down.'
- b. [ʔik.ʃtaq. ni.pu. 'tun]
 /ʔi-k-ʃtaq-ni-putun/
EPE-1SUB-give-DAT-DESID(IMPFV)
 'I want to give it to him'

(167) *Before x- PAST*

- a. [ʔiʃ. 'tʃa: ta]
 /ʔi-ʃ-tʃa:-ta/
EPE-PAST-ripe-PF
 'it was ripe'

- b. [ʔiʃ.ˈda.ʔa]
 /ʔi-ʃ-tʔaq-ʔa/
 EPE-PAST-give/gush-IMPV
 ‘it (e.g., a liquid) would gush’

(168) *Before x- 3POS*

- a. [ʔiʃ.ˈtsiʔ]
 /ʔi-ʃ-tsiʔ/
 EPE-3POS-girl
 ‘his/her daughter’
- b. [ʔiʃ.ˈqoi]
 /ʔi-ʃ-qoj/
 EPE-3POS-leaf
 ‘its leaf (e.g., of a plant or tree)’

2.7.3 Coda Nasal Deletion from a Prefix

The second type of nasal deletion applies to the first and second person possessive prefixes, *kin-* and *min-*, respectively, and to the first person object prefix *kin-*. When *kin-* 1OBJ, *kin-* 1POS, or *min-* 2POS precedes either of the approximants /w/ or /h/, it is deleted. Unfortunately there is a gap in my data with respect to the behavior of these prefixes preceding the other approximant /j/. The rule is formulated in (169) and examples are shown in (170). Nasal deletion is followed by compensatory lengthening; please see section 2.6.8.

(169) *Prefix N-deletion before an approximant*

$$C \rightarrow \emptyset / \begin{array}{c} _ C \\ [+son] \\ [-nasal] \end{array}$$

[+nasal]

- (170)a. [ki:.'βai.t̥i]
 /kin-wajti/
 1POS-food
 'my food'
- b. [mi:.'βa:kaʃ]
 /min-wa:kaʃ/
 2POS-cow
 'your cow'
- c. [,ki.hu.'ni:]
 /kin-hun-ni-j/
 1OBJ-say-DAT-IMPV
 'he says it to me'

When the first and second person possessive prefixes *kin-* and *min-* and the first person object prefix *kin-* precede the liquid /l/ or the glottal stop /ʔ/, the /n/ of the prefix is optionally deleted. This rule is formulated in (171) and examples are shown in (172). If this rule applies, then compensatory lengthening follows it (see section 2.6.8).

(171) *Optional prefix N-deletion before /l/ and /ʔ/*

$$C \rightarrow \emptyset / _ \begin{matrix} \{C & , & C\} \\ [+nasal] & & [+son] \\ & [+lateral] & [+constr glot] \end{matrix}$$

- (172)a. [kin.'ʔaq.tsuʔ] ~ [ki:.'ʔaq.tsuʔ]
 /kin-ʔaqtsuʔ/
 1POS-head
 'my head'
- b. [kin.lak.ma.'kaʔ] ~ [ki:lak.ma.'kaʔ]
 /kin-lak-makaʔ/
 1POS-PL-hand
 'my hands'

- c. [ᵀ**kin**.la.'qo.ʃɪʔ] ~ [ᵀ**ki**:.la.'qo.ʃɪʔ]
 /kin-laqoxi-li/
 1OBJ-cure-PFV
 'he cured me'

2.7.4 Vowel Harmony

There are several suffixes which have a vowel that is unspecified for quality; the unspecified vowel harmonizes with the last vowel of the stem to which the suffix attaches. These suffixes include the adjectivizing suffixes $-k'V$ and $-7V$ ($*-q'V$), the indefinite object suffix $-nVn$, the infinitive suffix $-nV7$, the plural nominal suffix $-Vn$, and the agent nominalizing suffix $-nV7$. Vowel harmony spreads from left to right from the stem to the suffix. The rule is formulated in (173), and examples appear in (174), (175), (176), (177), and (178).

(173)
$$V \rightarrow V \quad / \quad V \dots]_{STEM} \text{-(C)} \text{ ___}$$

 [-place] [α place] [α place]

(174) *Adjectivizer* $-k'V$

- a. [la.'ʔaŋ.k'ᵂ]
 /laʔa-n-k'V/
 XXX-DVB-ADJZ⁶⁷
 'hanging'
- b. [tsi.'hiŋ.k'ᵀ]
 /tsihi-n-k'V/
 XXX-DVB-ADJZ
 'serrated'

⁶⁷ The abbreviation XXX indicates an unknown root. Please see the list of abbreviations.

- c. [ts'u.kuŋ.k'u]
 /ts'uku-n-k'V/
 be.cold-DVB-ADJZ
 'cold'

(175) *Indefinite object –nVn*

- a. [ʃta.ʔa.maq.pa.'nan]
 /ʃ-ta-ʔa-maqpa-nVn/
 PAST-3PL.SUB-PL-wash-INO(IMPFV)
 'they were washing'
- b. [ta.ʔaɬ.duh.'nun]
 /ta-ʔaɬ'uh-nVn/
 3PL.SUB-jump-INO(IMPFV)
 'they jump'
- c. [kma.laq.'tʃ'i.niɬ]
 /k-ma:laqtʃ'i:-nVn-li/
 1SUB-get.dressed-INO-PFV
 'I got dressed'

(176) *Infinitive –nV?*

- a. [ma:ʔa.'naʔ]
 /ma:ʔan-nV?/
 throw-INF
 'to throw it'
- b. [tan.ʃdu.du.'nuʔ]
 /tan-ʃt'ut'u-nV?/
 TORSO-suck-INF
 'to nurse'
- c. laqtz'iniʔ
 [laq.ts'i.'niʔ]
 /laqts'in-nV?/
 see-INF
 'to see it'

(177) *Plural noun –Vn*

- a. [ts'a.'lan]
/ts'aI-Vn/
boy-PL
'boys'
- b. [ts'o.qo.'nun]
/ts'oqon-Vn/
*ts'uq'un-Vn
Otomí-PL
'Otomí people'
- c. [ʔa.tsi.'ʔin]
/atsiʔ-Vn/
girl-PL
'girls'

(178) *Agent nominalizer –nVʔ*

- a. [tʃ'aʔ.kat.'naʔ]
/tʃ'aʔkat-nVʔ/
work-AGNM
'worker'
- b. [ʔa.k'u.tʃ'u.'nuʔ]
/ʔa-k'uʔʃ'u-nVʔ/
PL-cure-AGNM
'healer', 'doctor'
- c. [ʔi:'niʔ]
/ʔi:-n-ʔ/
bring-AGNM
'servant'

2.7.5 Strident Assimilation

The strident continuant non-anterior consonant /ʃ/ in the third person possessive inflectional prefix *x-* becomes anterior when there is a following

anterior non-lateral strident consonant /s/ in the stem. The rule is formulated in (179), and examples appear in (180).

(179)	C	→	C	/	_____	STEM[. . . C
	[+strid]		[-ant]			[+strid]
	[+cont]					[+cont]
	[+ant]					[-ant]
	[-lat]					[-lat]

(180) *Strident Assimilation*

<u>s</u> asqat'a	[sas.'qa.t'a]	/ʃ-asqat'a/	'his child'
ʔi <u>t</u> ampuu <u>s</u>	[s'tam.pu:s]	/ʃ-tampu:s/	'its middle'
<u>ʔ</u> isawaw	[ʔi.sa.'βau]	/ʃ-sawaw/	'his muscle'

The derivation shown in (181) demonstrates that strident assimilation precedes both [ʔi]-epenthesis (section 2.7.2.2) and identical consonant deletion (section 2.6.7.1).

(181) Underlying Rep	/ʃ-sawaw/	/ʃ-tʃ'ahaʔ/	/ʃ-tampu:s/
Strident Assim	/s-sawaw/	----	/s-tampu:s/
[ʔi]-epenthesis	/ʔi-s-sawaw/	/ʔiʃ-tʃ'ahaʔ/	----
ID-C deletion	/ʔi-Ø-sawaw/	----	----
Surface Rep	[ʔi.sa.'βau]	[,ʔiʃ.tʃ'a.'haʔ]	[s'tam.pu:s]
Gloss	'his muscle'	'his foot'	'its middle'

2.7.6 Perfective Aspect Morphophonemic Rules

Three morphophonemic rules are specific to the perfective aspect only. They are perfective lateral neutralization (section 2.7.6.1), perfective lateral deletion (section 2.7.6.2), and perfective nasal deletion (section 2.7.6.3).

2.7.6.1 Perfective Lateral Neutralization

The perfective aspect suffix *-li* neutralizes to *-lh* in all environments *except* when it occurs between a consonant-final stem and the temporal enclitic *+ch* (ALD). In other words, perfective lateral neutralization occurs in two environments: (i) when *-li* follows a vowel *and* precedes a word boundary or the temporal clitic *+ch*, and (ii) when *-li* occurs word-finally after a consonant or glide; this rule is shown below in (182).

$$(182) \quad -li \text{ PFV} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} -lh / V _ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \# \\ +ch \text{ ALD} \end{array} \right\} \\ -lh / C _ \# \end{array} \right\}$$

The examples in (183) demonstrate that *-li* always neutralizes to [ɬ] following a vowel. In (183a), *-li* occurs between a stem-final vowel and a word boundary. In (183b), *-li* occurs between a stem-final vowel and the temporal clitic *+ch*. In both cases, *-li* neutralizes to [ɬ].

(183)a. [ʼtsu.kuɬ]
 /tsuku-**li**##/
 begin-PFV
 ‘it began’

b. [ʔa.ʼtsʼa.laɬtʃ]
 /atsʼala-**li**+tʃ/
 run-PFV+ALD
 ‘he ran’

The examples in (184) demonstrate the outcome of the rule when *-li* follows a consonant. In (184a), *-li* occurs between a stem-final consonant and a word boundary, so it changes to [ɬ]. In (184b) it occurs between a stem-final consonant and the temporal clitic *+ch*, and it does not change.

- (184) a. [ˈtas.pitɬ]
 /taspit-**li**##/
 return-PFV
 ‘he returned’
- b. [tas.ˈpit.liɬ]
 /taspit-**li**+tʃ/
 return-PFV+ALD
 ‘he already returned’

This rule feeds the perfective lateral deletion rule that is discussed in the next section. A derivation that shows this rule ordering is given there in (188).

Perfective lateral neutralization differs from the liquid neutralization rule that was discussed in section 2.6.2 in that the liquid neutralization rule (i) is not limited to the perfective aspect and (ii) must follow both primary stress assignment and short-vowel deletion. Perfective lateral neutralization, on the other hand, (i) is limited to the perfective aspect, and (ii) it occurs *before* stress assignment, and (iii) it bleeds both short-vowel deletion and liquid neutralization. A derivation showing this ordering appears in (185).

(185) Under Rep	/wi:k’ili/	/taspit-li/	/taspit-li+tʃ/	/tsuku-li+tʃ/
PFV L-Neut	----	/taspit-ɬ/	----	/tsuku-ɬ+tʃ/
1° Stress	/wi:k’ili/	/ˈtaspit-ɬ/	/tasˈpit-li+tʃ/	/ˈtsuku-ɬ+tʃ/
V-Del	/wi:k’il/	----	----	----
L-Neut	/wi:k’iɬ/	----	----	----
Surface Rep	[wi:k’iɬ]	[ˈtas.pitɬ]	[tas.ˈpit.liɬ]	[ˈtsu.kuɬtʃ]
Gloss	‘wrinkled’	‘he returned’	‘he already returned’	‘he already began’

2.7.6.2 Perfective Lateral Deletion

After the application of the perfective lateral neutralization rule (previous section), the resulting allomorph [-ɬ] may then optionally undergo word-final lateral deletion in a polysyllabic word when it occurs between a vowel and a word boundary. The rule is formulated in (186), examples are shown in (187), and a derivation is shown in (188). This is an optional process that seems to be age-graded; the younger the speaker, the more likely s/he is to delete the word-final perfective [-ɬ].

(186) -ɬ PFV → Ø / V __#

(187) a. [ma:.'qɛs.βa:ɬ] ~ [ma:.'qɛs.βa:]
/ma:-qɛswaa-li/
CAUS-be.scared-PFV
'He scared her.'

b. ['maq.ni:ɬ] ~ ['maq.ni:]
/maqni:-li/
kill-PFV
'He killed it.'

This rule crucially follows perfective neutralization. If a form undergoes /h/-deletion,⁶⁸ then it will not undergo perfective lateral deletion, even though the former neither feeds nor bleeds the latter.

⁶⁸ Please see section 2.6.9 of this chapter.

(188) Underlying Rep	/maqni:-li/	/maqni:-li/	/tamaju-li/	/ma:qeswa:-li/
PFV L-Neut	/maqni:-ɬ/	/maqni:-ɬ/	/tamaju-ɬ/	/ma:qeswa:-ɬ/
Stress	/'maqni:/	/'maqni:-ɬ/	/ta'majuɬ/	/ma:'qeswa:-ɬ/
H-del	----	----	/ta'mauɬ/	----
PFV Lat-Del	/maqni:/	----	----	/ma:'qeswa:/
Surface Rep	['maq.ni:]	['maq.ni:ɬ]	[ta.'mauɬ]	[ma:.'qes.wa:]
	'he killed it'	'he killed it'	'he bought it'	'it scared her'

2.7.6.3 Perfective Nasal Deletion

A stem-final nasal is deleted in the perfective aspect only. The rule is formulated in (189), and examples are shown in (190).

(189) $C \rightarrow \emptyset / __]_{STEM} -PFV$
 [+nasal]

(190) *Stem-final nasal deletion, perfective aspect*

- a. ['miɬtʃ]
 /min-li+tʃ/
 come-PFV+ALD
 'He already came'
- b. [laq.'ts'ij.kaɬ]
 /laqts'in-kan-li/
 see-INS-PFV
 'someone saw him'
- c. [kla.'kau]
 /k-lak-an-w/
 1SUB-DIS-go(PFV)-1PL.SUB
 'We (EXCL) all went'
- d. [?u.'pu.tu:ɬtʃ]
 /u-putun-li+tʃ/
 eat-DESID(PFV)-PFV+ALD
 'he wanted to eat it'

Perfective nasal deletion must precede perfective lateral neutralization in order to create a vowel-final environment in which perfective lateral neutralization can happen. Also, perfective nasal deletion must precede stress assignment in order for the penult to bear stress in the perfective aspect⁶⁹ and to feed the /h/-deletion rule. It is followed by compensatory lengthening, which assigns the mora of the deleted moraic /n/ to the preceding vowel. Derivations appears in (191).

(191)U Rep	/ta-ʔan-li+tʃ/	/laqts'in-kan-li/	/nahun-li/	/ʔa-k-lak-ʔan-w/
PFV N-Del	/ta-ʔa-li+tʃ/	/laqts'in-ka-li/	/nahu-li/	/ʔa-k-lak-ʔa-w/
Comp Leng	/ta-ʔa:-li+tʃ/	/laqts'in-ka:-li/	/nahu:-li/	/ʔa-k-lak-ʔa:-w/
PFV L-Neut	----	/laqts'in-ka:-ɬ/	/nahu:-ɬ/	----
1° Stress	/ta- ¹ ʔa-li+tʃ/	/laq ¹ ts'in-ka:-ɬ/	/ ¹ nahu:-ɬ/	/ʔa-k-lak- ¹ ʔa:-w/
H-Del	----	----	/ ¹ nau:-ɬ/	----
2° Stress	----	----	----	/ ₁ ʔa-k-lak- ¹ ʔa:-w/
S Rep	[ta ¹ ʔalitʃ]	[laq. ¹ ts'in.ka:ɬ]	[¹ nau:ɬ]	[₁ ʔaklak ¹ ʔa:w]
Gloss	'they left'	'they saw it'	'he said it'	'we could go'

⁶⁹ The penultimate stress is a salient features of the perfective aspect; see Chapter 3, section 3.1.2.2

Chapter 3: Verbs and Verbal Morphology

3.1 INFLECTION

Inflectional categories in HT include nominative and accusative person and number, as well as tense, aspect, and mood. Inflection is accomplished by means of affixation, glottalization, deletion, and suppletion of the verb stem.

3.1.1 Person and Number Marking

Person and number are co-referenced on the Tepehua verb by prefixation, suffixation, glottalization, and suppletion. Person marking consists of first, second, and third; number consists of singular, simple plural, multiple plural, and first person plural inclusive and exclusive. The categories of third person and singular are not marked overtly on the verb; instead they are the default readings when there is no overt person or number morphology on the verb stem. Given that there is no case marking on the noun in HT and that there is only one set of free pronouns, grammatical relationships in HT are distinguished by means of word order of the major constituents, discourse pragmatics, and pronominal cross-referencing on the verb. The word order (which is both pragmatic and relatively fixed) is discussed in chapter 8, section 8.1. Pronominal cross-referencing is the topic of this section.

Person marking in Tepehua follows a predominantly accusative pattern. On a transitive verb, nominative person markers co-index subjects: a first person subject is shown in the example in (192a), a second person subject is shown in (192b), and a third person plural subject is shown in (192c).

- (192)a. **k'**aqlhteyjuuy juu t'aku7
k-7aqlhteyjuu-y juu t'aku7
1SUB-help-IMPFV ART woman
 'I help the woman.'
- b. 7aqlht'ey7uut'**i** juu t'aku7
 7aqlhteyjuu-**t'i** juu t'aku7
help-2SG.SUB. PFV ART woman
 'You helped the woman.'
- c. **ta**7aqlhteyjuuy juu t'aku7
ta-7aqlhteyjuu-y juu t'aku7
3PL.SUB-help-IMPFV ART woman
 'They helped the woman.' [3QI]

Accusative person markers co-index objects on transitive verbs, as seen in the examples in (193). A first person object is shown in (193a), a second person object is shown in (193b), and a third person plural object is shown in both (193c) and (193d).

- (193)a. **ki(n)**7aqlhteyjuuy
ki(n)-7aqlhteyjuu-y
1OBJ-help-IMPFV
 'He helps **me**.' [3QI]
- b. k'aqlhteyjuuy**anch**
 k-7aqlhteyjuu-y-**an**+ch
1SUB-help-IMPFV-2OBJ+ALD
 'I help **you**.' [3QI]
- c. maa yuuch **laktitaymay** juu t'akuunin
 maa yuuch **lak-titayma-y** juu t'aku7-nin
 RPT PRN.3SG **PL-chase-IMPFV** ART woman-PL
 'It [the snake] chases after the women.' [T0003: 005]
- d. xata**laqp'**aqx7ulaay juu xlhiiisaan7an
 xa-ta-**lak-p'**aqx7ulaa-y juu x-lhiisan-7an
PAST-3PL.SUB-PL-break(VT)-IMPFV ART 3POS-instrument-PL.POS
 'They broke their musical instruments.' [T0063: 086]

indicating that the object is third person plural. However, the presence of the first person independent pronoun *kit'in* makes it emphatically clear that the subject is first person singular.

- (196) a. puus waa maqniilhch ka7uyaawch
 puus waa maqnii-li+ch ka-7u-ya7-w+ch
 well FOC kill-PFV+ALD IRR-eat-FUT-1PL.SUB+ALD
 'Well, I killed it and we are going to eat it.' [T0059: 013]
- b. juu kit'in jaantu 7alaqkiknawiiy
 juu kit'in jaantu 7a-laq-kiknawii-y
 ART PRN.1SG NEG PL-3PL.OJB-flatter-IMPFV
 'I do not flatter them.' [T0066: 049]

Second person

A second person singular subject is indicated on the verb by means of glottalization of any stops and affricates that occur in the stem, as seen below in (197a). The glottal approximate /h/ <j> becomes a glottal stop /ʔ/ <7> when the subject is second person, shown in (197b). When the word has no glottal approximates or plain stops or affricates, there is no indicator of second person in the imperfective aspect, as seen in (197c). In these instances, the subject of the clause is ambiguous between second and third person singular given that third person singular is not overtly marked on the verb.

- (197) a. t'amak'oomp'ut'unch
 tamakajun-putun+ch
 stay-DESID(IMPFV)+ALD
 'You want to stay.' [T0055: 065]
- b. t'at'akuunin 7unt'at'it
 t'at'akuun-in jun-ta-t'it
 witch-PL be(2SUB.IMPFV)-PF(2SUB)-2PL.SUB
 'You (PL) are witches.' [PDLMA05]

- c. 7ap'alhnan
 7ap'alhnan
 sweep(IMPV)
 'You sweep.'
 'She sweeps.' [MSW]

In the perfective aspect, second person singular is marked either by the suffix *-t'i*, shown in (198a), or it is morphologically unmarked, as seen in (198b). Please see the Section 3.1.2.2 on the Perfective Aspect for more information regarding second person marking in the perfective aspect. Note that the example in (198a) is doubly marked for a second person subject: may means of glottalization of the stop [k'], as well as by the suffix *-t'i*.

- (198)a. lhk'aat'i
 lhk'aan-t'i
 measure(2SUB.PFV)-2SG.SUB.PFV
 'You measured it.' [TPWDB]
- b. laqtz'i
 laqtz'in.PFV.2SG.SUB
 'You saw him.' [Q3I]

A *plural* second person subject is co-indexed by the suffix *-t'it*, as seen below in (199a). This suffix is used regardless of tense, aspect, or mood. The allomorph *-at'it* occurs after a semi-vowel or consonant, as seen in (199b) and (199c), respectively.

- (199)a. jaantuch waa 7atz'alaat'it
 jaantu+ch waa 7atz'alaa-t'it
 NEG+ALD FOC run(IMPV)-2PL.SUB
 'Don't run away!' [T0055: 081]
- b. jaantu tapayniyat'it
 jaantu tapaynin-y-at'it
 NEG ask.forgiveness-IMPV-2PL.SUB
 'You all don't ask for forgiveness.' [T0054: 055]

- c. 7ap'alhnanat'it
 7ap'alhnan-**at'**it
 sweep(IMPFV)-2PL.SUB
 'You (PL) sweep.' [MSW]

A plural second person subject is additionally marked in the future tense by the suffix *-7i*, which occurs after the future suffix and before *-t'it*, as seen in the examples in (200a) and (200b). According to Watters (1988), both singular and plural second person subjects are co-indexed by *-p'i* in Tlachichilco Tepehua in the future tense. Furthermore, he states that this suffix occurs as *-7i* in the singular in Tlachichilco Tepehua, but that it occurs as *-p'i* in Huehuetla (p. 317). I did not find this to be the case. The HT speakers with whom I worked never used *-p'i*, and they used *-7i* only with *plural* second person subjects and never with *singular* ones. The example in (200c) shows that *-7i* does not occur when the subject is second person *singular*.

- (200)a. lhi7 7at'anaa**7it'**it
 lhi7 7a-min-a7-**7i-t'**it
 tomorrow IRR-come(2SUB)-FUT-**2PL.SUB.FUT**-2PL.SUB
 'You (PL) will come tomorrow.' [Q3I]

- b. 7alhk'aanaa**7it'**it
 7a-lhk'aan-a7-**7i-t'**it
 IRR-measure-FUT-**2PL.SUB.FUT**-2PL.SUB
 'You (PL) will measure it.' [TPWDB]

- c. 7at'ana7 lhi7
 7a-min-a7 lhi7
 IRR-come(2SUB)-FUT tomorrow
 'You (SG) will come tomorrow.' [Q3I]

A small set of verbs have suppletive forms—shown below in (201)—when the subject is second person singular or plural. All of these verbs belong to the semantic field of coming or going.

- (201) a. *ʔan* ‘he goes’ *ʔin*⁷¹ ‘you go’
 b. *min* ‘he comes’ *t’an* ‘you come’
 c. *chaaʔan* ‘he arrives here’ *ch’it’an* ‘you arrive’

Third person

A lack of subject marking on the Tepehua verb indicates a singular third person subject, as shown below in (202).

- (202) a. *muujuuy juu waati lakap'aaqxqa*
muujuu-y juu waati laka-p'aaqxqa
 throw-IMPV ART tortilla PREP-griddle
 ‘She throws the tortillas on the griddle.’ [TPWDB]
- b. *juu pumatam lapanak niilh*
juu puma-tam lapanak nii-li
 ART CL:human-one person die-PFV
 ‘A person died.’ [T0009: 001]

A *plural* third person subject is indicated by the prefix *ta-*, as seen below in the examples in (203). This same prefix is also used to co-index a plural first or second person *object* when the subject of the verb is third person (singular or plural); please see examples (216) and (217) in section 3.1.1.4 on accusative marking.

- (203) a. *tanawiiych juu yu7unch juu waati*
ta-nawii-y+ch juu yu7unch juu waati
 3PL.SUB-make-IMPV+ALD ART PRN.3PL ART tortilla
 ‘They make tortillas.’ [TPWDB]

⁷¹ Jim Watters (p.c.) brought it to my attention that this form is unique to HT and that the cognate is *p'in* in other varieties of Totonac and Tepehua.

- b. y luego nii takujchalhch
y luego nii ta-kuj-chaali+ch
and then COMP 3PL.SUB-awaken(VI)-DIST-PFV+ALD
- juu 7aqalhoonin talaqtz'inch
juu 7aqalhoona7-nin ta-laqtz'in+ch
ART thief-PL 3PL.SUB-see(VT)(IMPFV)+ALD
'And later, when the thieves woke up, they see him.' [T0055: 074]
- c. waa naa naa tarr **talak**7atz'alay
waa naa naa tarr **ta-lak**-7atz'ala-y
FOC EMP EMP ID:run 3PL.SUB-**PL**-run(VI)-IMPFV
'They take off running.' [T0055: 077]
- d. ta7alhch tamuku7ulaaqolhch
ta-7an-li+ch ta-muku7ulaa-qoju-li+ch
3PL.SUB-go(VI)-PFV+ALD 3PL.SUB-leave.behind(VT)-ALL-PFV+ALD
- juu xtuumiin7an
juu x-tuumiin-7an
ART 3POS-money-PL.POS
'They went and they left all of their money.' [T0055: 079]

Another possible analysis of the examples in (207a) and (207c) is that the prefix *lak-* does not indicate multiple plurality of the verb's argument here, but that instead it indicates distributive action of the verb in which the action applies equally to all members of the plural argument. Furthermore, it seems that the argument does not need to be plural in order for the action to be distributive, as seen in the examples in (208). In both of these examples, the action of the verb applies to the entirety of the sole verbal argument.

- (208) a. **lak**lhkulh juu t'aku7?
lak-lhku-li juu t'aku7
DIS-burn(VI)-PFV ART woman
'Did the woman burn (all over)?' [T0057: 067]

- b. **lak**paatajuqoo
lak-paataju-qoju
DIS-fall(VI)-ALL.PFV
 ‘It (her skin) all fell off.’ [T0057: 079]

The distinction between simple and multiple plural has not been documented in any of the other members of the Totonacan language family. However, the use of a cognate morpheme to indicate distributive verbal action is widely documented within the family (e.g., Upper Necaxa Totonac (Beck 2004), Papantla Totonac (Levy p.c.), Misantla Totonac (MacKay 1999), Coatepec Totonac (McQuown 1990)).

3.1.1.3 Indefinite Subject Marking

An indefinite subject in Huehuetla Tepehua is indicated by the suffix *-kan*.⁷² Though native speakers of both HT and Spanish sometimes translate the HT indefinite subject construction into the reflexive passive construction in Spanish, it is more often the case that they translate it as the impersonal or indefinite third person plural subject ‘they’. Whereas the passive construction promotes an object argument to the subject position, the indefinite subject construction in Tepehua serves to *foreground* the object and *background* the subject without changing their semantic roles, as seen below in the example in (209). In this example, the prefix *lak-* (which is underlined) co-references a third person plural object, and *-kan* (which is in bold type) co-references an indefinite subject.

⁷² The same suffix is used to indicate the reflexive; however, since the reflexive is a separate operation, its use is covered in Section 3.2.1.1.

(209) jaantuch laay xlakmaaxtukanta
 jaantu+ch laa-y x-lak-maaxtu-**kan**-ta
 NEG+ALD can- IMPFV PAST-PL-take.out-INS-PF

juu laktaxtoqta naa lhuu
 juu lak-taxtoqta naa lhuu
 ART PL-thing EMP many
 ‘Many things could not be taken out.’ Or
 ‘They could not take out many things.’

[T0018: 005]

Unlike the passive construction in English, the indefinite subject construction in HT does *not* decrease the valency of the verb; the object retains its object status, and the subject retains its subject status. However, this construction does serve to foreground the object while backgrounding the subject, as seen below in the examples in (210). In (210a), the verb bears the indefinite subject suffix, *and* the clause has an overt object (*juu xaniin lapanák* ‘the dead people’), as well as an overt subject (*juu lapanák* ‘the people’). Similarly, in (210b), the verb bears the indefinite subject suffix, and the clause has an overt subject (*juu 7anu7 lapanak* ‘that person’), an overt direct object (*juu lhiich'alhkat* ‘a job’), and an indirect object (‘me’) that is co-referenced on the verb by first person *subject* inflection, which is underlined in the example.

(210)a. nii waa muujuukalhch [juu lapanák]_{SUB}
 nii waa muujuu-**kan**-li+ch juu lapanák
 COMP FOC throw-INS-PFV+ALD ART people

[juu xaniin lapanák]_{OBJ} juu lakxkaan
 juu xa-nii-n lapanák juu laka-xkaan
 ART IPOS-die-DVB people ART PREP-water

‘Because the people threw the dead people into the river.’ [T0057: 083]

- b. [juu 7anuu lapának]_{SUB} xakxta^uni^halhch
 juu 7anuu lapanak xa-k-xtaq-ni-**kan**-li+ch
 ART DADJ person PAST-1SUB-give-DAT-**INS**-PFV+ALD
- [juu lhiich'alhkat]_{OBJ}
 juu lhiich'alhkat
 ART job
 'That person gave me a job.' [ELIEX2: 010]

When a first or second person foregrounded object occurs with an indefinite subject, it is co-indexed on the verb by nominative—not accusative—person markers, as seen in the examples below in (211) and above in (210b).

- (211) a. k'asmatnikan
k-qasmat-ni-kan
1SUBJ-hear-DAT-**INS**(IMPFV)
 'They/someone hear/s me.'
- b. qasmatnik**anaw**
 qasmat-ni-**kan-aw**
 hear-DAT-**INS**(IMPFV)-1PL.SUBJ
 'They/someone hear/s us.'
- c. qasmat'nik'an
 qasmat-ni-**kan**
 hear-DAT-**INS**(IMPFV)
 'They/someone hear/s you (SG).'
- d. qasmat'nik'anat'it
 qasmat-ni-**kan-at'it**
 hear-DAT-**INS**(IMPFV)-2PL.SUBJ
 'They/someone hear/s you (PL).' [Qlak1]

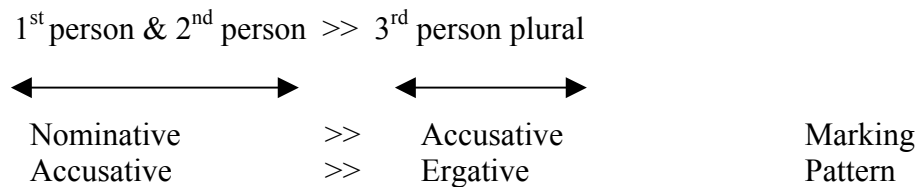
However, when the foregrounded object in an indefinite subject construction is third person plural, it is co-indexed on the verb by a combination of two plural object markers *7a-* and *lak-*, as seen in the example in (212).⁷³

⁷³ The plural indefinite object (PL.INO) prefix *7a-* is discussed in more detail in Section 3.1.1.5.

(212) 7alak’asmatnikan
7a-lak-qasmat-ni-kan
PL.INO-PL-hear-DAT-INS(IMPV)
‘They/someone hear/s them.’ [Qlak1]

The indefinite subject construction is one of several places in the HT grammar in which a distinction is drawn between first and second person versus third person. Whereas the morphosyntax predominately follows a nominative-accusative pattern, there are certain points in the grammar in which first and second persons follow an accusative pattern, while third person follows an ergative pattern. This division or split in the alignment system can be modeled by the person hierarchy shown in (213).

(213) Person Hierarchy and Indefinite Subject



In this hierarchy, first and second person are equal to each other, and they both outrank third person plural. The pivot point between nominative and accusative person-marking (and between an accusative and an ergative pattern) occurs between the division between first and second persons on one side and third person plural on the other side. Since third person singular is not overtly marked on the verb, it is not involved in this hierarchy.

Finally, I want to justify my decision to name this construction the “indefinite subject construction”, especially in light of the fact that both of the examples in (210) have a definite subject that is introduced by the article *juu*.

Perhaps ‘indefinite subject’ is not the best name for this morpheme; however, I have chosen to follow the example of other Totonacanists in naming it. McQuown (1990: 162) and MacKay (1999: 191) also call the cognate Totonac morpheme the ‘indefinite subject’. Beck calls it the ‘indefinite agent’ (2003: 46) and the ‘indefinite actor’ (2004: 31).⁷⁴ The difference between the HT construction and the cognate construction in the Totonac languages described by MacKay and Beck is that in the Totonac languages, the indefinite subject/actor/agent really is indefinite, unspecified, non-overt, or non-referential, while in HT, the subject that corresponds to the *-kan* suffix can be definite, specified, overt, and referential, as seen above in the examples in (210). For this reason, I have analyzed this construction as backgrounding (and not demoting) the subject. However, examples such as those in (210) are rare in HT, and the vast majority of the HT examples of this construction do *not* have a definite, specified, overt, or referential subject, as is the case in the examples in (211) and (212). Thus, I follow the Totonacan tradition of calling this suffix the ‘indefinite subject’.

3.1.1.4 Accusative Marking

HT accusative marking consists of first person singular and plural, second person singular and plural, and third person plural. There is no first person inclusive/exclusive distinction in the accusative, nor is there any overt marking for third person singular.

⁷⁴ Watters (1988: 203) calls this construction ‘passive’ in Tlachichilco Tepehua.

First Person

A first person object—regardless of its number—is indicated on the verb with the first person object prefix *kin-* (~ *ki-*, *kim-*). Before the dental and alveolar phonemes /t/, /t'/, /lh/, /ch/, and /ch'/, *kin-* occurs as [kiŋ-] and [kin-], respectively, and before the velar phoneme /k/, it occurs as [kiŋ-], all of which are represented orthographically by *kin-*, shown below in (214a). The allomorph *kim-* occurs before /p/ and /p'/, shown below in (214b). Everywhere else, the first person object morpheme may optionally appear as the reduced form *ki-* [ki-], (214c).

- | | | |
|---------|--|--|
| (214)a. | kin- lhiisk'awatz'alat'i
kin- takiknawii
kin- ch'an7ulh
kin- kalhawlh | 'You ran me off.'
'They flattered me.'
'It smashed me on the foot.'
'It infected me.' |
| b. | kim- puukilhch'uch'uy | 'He kisses me.' |
| c. | jaantu k'i- 7ut'i
xa- ki- juuniy
ki- laqoxipaa
ki- maqlhtaylh | 'Don't eat me!'
'He would tell me.'
'He cured me.'
'He received me.' / 'He saw me.' |

First person accusative marking varies depending on the person of the subject and the *number* of the first person object. When a transitive verb has a third person subject, and the first person object is singular, all that is needed is the *kin-* prefix, as seen below in (215).

- | | | | |
|---------|---|--|--------------|
| (215)a. | kin t'ajunch
kin- t'ajun+ch
1OBJ-be(IMPV)+ALD
'He was telling me . . .' | juunini7
jun-ni-nV7
tell-DAT-INF | [T0066: 039] |
|---------|---|--|--------------|

- c. juu yu7unch **kintalhiist'ak'an**
 juu yu7unch **kin-ta-lhiist'ak-7a-n**
 ART PRN.3PL **1OBJ-3PL.SUB-care.for-IMPFV-2OBJ**
 ‘They take care of us.’ [Q31]

When a first person singular object occurs with a second person singular subject, the person marking is straight-forward. The first person singular object is co-indexed by the prefix *kin-*, and the second person singular subject is indicated by the glottalization of stops and affricates in the stem and (in the perfective aspect) by the suffix *-t'i*, as seen in the example in (218).

- (218) **kiqaqlht'ey7uut'i**
ki-qaqlhteyjuu-t'i
1OBJ-help-2SG.SUB.PFV
 ‘You (SG) helped me.’ [Q31]

A first person plural object combined with a second person singular subject is indicated on the verb by the combination of the first person object prefix *kin-*, the reciprocal prefix *laa-*, and the first person plural subject suffix *-w*, as seen below in example (219); however, the usual process of glottalization of stops and affricates that is used to indicate a second person subject does not occur in this context (i.e., when both arguments are speech act participants *and* when one or both of these SAP arguments is/are plural). This same combination of prefixes is used in two other contexts: (i) a first person plural object with a second person plural subject, and (ii) a first person singular object with a second person plural subject. Just as the process of glottalization does not occur to indicate a second person subject, nor does the second person plural subject suffix *-t'it* occur.

Thus, a three-way ambiguity—shown below in the glosses of (219a)—results from this person configuration of *kin-laa-V-w* (1SUB-RCP-V-1PL.SUB).⁷⁵

- (219) a. **kilaalhiist'ak'aw**
ki-laa-lhiist'ak-7a-w
1OBJ-RCP-care.for-IMPV-1PL.SUB
 ‘You (SG) take care of us.’
 ‘You (PL) take care of us.’
 ‘You (PL) take care of me.’
- b. juu 7ixint'i **kilaalhiist'ak'aw**
 juu 7ixint'i **ki-laa-lhiist'ak-7a-w**
 ART PRN.2SG **1OBJ-RCP-care.for-IMPV-1PL.SUB**
 ‘You (SG) take care of us.’
- c. juu 7uxijnan **kilaalhiist'ak'aw**
 juu 7uxijnan **ki-laa-lhiist'ak-7a-w**
 ART PRN.2PL **1OBJ-RCP-care.for-IMPV-1PL.SUB**
 ‘You (PL) take care of us.’
 ‘You (PL) take care of me.’ [Q3I]

Second Person

A singular second person object is marked on the verb by the suffix *-n*, as seen below in (220); the allomorph *-an* occurs after a consonant or semi-vowel, as seen in (221a) and (221b), respectively.

- (220) ka7u⁷yaan juu Siiliyyaa
 ka-7u-ya⁷-n juu Siiliyyaa
 IRR-eat-FUT-**2OBJ** ART Cecilia
 ‘Cecilia is going to eat you (SG).’ [T0058: 031]

- (221) a. jaantu xaklaqtz'inputunan
 jaantu xa-k-laqtz'in-putun-an
 NEG PAST-1SUB-see-DESID(IMPV)-**2OBJ**
 ‘I did not want to see you (SG).’

⁷⁵ See also Section 3.1.1.7 on speech act participant marking.

- b. k'aqlhteyjuuyan
 k-7aqlhteyjuu-y-an
 1SUB-help-IMPV-2OBJ
 'I help you (SG).' [Q31]

Second person accusative marking, like first person accusative marking, varies depending on the person of the subject and the number of the object. The combination of a third person singular subject and a second person singular object is shown above in (220). When the subject is third person, a *plural* second person object is indicated by the suffix *-n*, plus the prefix *ta-*, which is used to co-index (i) a third person plural subject (see above in section 3.1.1.1), (ii) a first person plural object with a third person (singular or plural) subject, and (iii) a second person plural object with a third person (singular or plural) subject. Examples that have a plural second person object are shown below in (222).

- (222)a. juu Siiliyaa kata7uwaan
 juu Siiliyaa ka-ta-7u-ya7-n
 ART Cecilia IRR-3PL.SUB-eat-FUT-2OBJ
 'Cecilia is going to eat you (PL).' [Q31]

- b. juu minati7an naa tamaapaayniyan
 juu mi-nati-7an naa ta-maapaayni-y-an
 ART 2POS-mother-PL.POS EMP 3PL.SUB-love-IMPV-2OBJ
 'Your (PL) mother loves you (PL).' [Q31]

Note that when the verb is marked with the prefix *ta-* and the suffix *-n*, there is a three-way ambiguity—shown in (223)—resulting from the multiple uses of the prefix *ta-*.

- (223) **talhiist'ak'an**
ta-lhiist'ak-7a-n
3PL.SUB-care.for-IMPV-2OBJ
 ‘They take care of you (SG).’
 ‘They take care of you (PL).’
 ‘He takes care of you (PL).’ [Q3I]

Though the person-marking on the verb is straight-forward when the subject is first person, the object is second person, *and* both arguments are singular—as seen above in the examples in (b)—ambiguities arise when one or both of the speech act participants (first and second persons) is plural, as seen below in (224). In this example, the first person prefix *k-* occurs with the reciprocal prefix *laa-* and the first person plural subject suffix *-(a)w*. Please see Section 3.1.1.7 for more information on speech act participant marking.

- (224) **naa klaamaapaayniyaw**
naa k-laa-maapaayni-y-aw
EMP 1SUB-RCP-love-IMPV-1PL.SUB
 ‘I love you (PL).’
 ‘We love you (PL).’
 ‘We love you (SG).’⁷⁶ [Q3I]

Third Person

Just as a lack of subject marking on the Tepehua verb indicates a third person singular subject, a lack of object marking on a transitive verb signals a third person singular patient or object argument, as seen below in (225), where the verb *laqtzaman* ‘fill’ is completely unmarked for person.

⁷⁶ There is yet another (fourth) gloss for example (224): the purely reciprocal interpretation ‘We love each other’.

(228) (**lak**)ch'apamaalh juu chiila7 xasqat'an
 (**lak-**)ch'apa=maa-li juu chiila7 x-7asqat'a-n
 (**PL-**)touch=lying-PFV ART chicken 3POS-child-PL
 'The hen covered her chicks.' [TPWDB]

(229) (**lak**)puulhkuh juu 7ixstapu juu t'aku7
 (**lak-**)puu-lhku-li juu 7ix-stapu juu t'aku7
 (**PL-**)INST-burn-PFV ART 3POS-bean ART woman
 'The woman burned the beans.' [ELIEX14: 005]

Examples containing two third person plural arguments (subject and object) are shown in (230).

(230) a. **xatalaqp'**aqx7ulaay juu xlhiiisaan7an
 xa-ta-lak-p'aqx7ulaa-y juu x-lhiisan-7an
 PAST-**3PL.SUB-PL-break**(VT)-IMPFV ART 3POS-instrument-PL.POS
 'They broke their musical instruments.' [T0063: 086]

b. **talak**7ulaatach juu lhuu
 ta-lak-7ulaa-ta+ch juu lhuu
 3PL.SUB-PL-place-PF+ALD ART much
 'They put in a lot (of money).' [T0055: 054]

c. **talak**lhkaa
 ta-lak-lhkaan
 3PL.SUB-PL-measure(PFV)
 'They measured them.' [TPWDB]

In some cases, it is not clear if the prefix *lak-* co-indexes a plural third person object or if it indicates distributive action of the verb. The glosses for both of the examples in (231) were given to me with singular direct objects—'onion' in the case of (231a) and 'tortilla' in the case of (231b); however, when I tested the glosses with *plural* direct objects—'onions' and 'tortillas'—both glosses were accepted. Thus, in these sentences, the prefix *lak-* co-indexes either distributive, repeated action of the verb or third person plural objects. Of course, even if both of these objects started out in one (singular) piece (i.e., one onion and one

tortilla), they would end up in many (plural) pieces as a result of the action of their respective verbs.

(231) a. **lakch'uk'u7ulaay** juu 7icebolla juu laxkuchiiluu
lak-ch'uk'u=7ulaa-y juu 7ix-cebolla juu laka-x-kuchiiluu
DIS-cut=place-IMPFV ART 3POS-onion ART PREP-3POS-knife
 ‘She cuts the onion(s) into pieces with her knife.’ [ELIEX3: 011]

b. **laktz'akay** juu wati
lak-tz'aka-y juu wati
DIS-chew-IMPFV ART tortilla
 ‘She chews the tortilla(s).’ [ELIEX3: 037]

3.1.1.5 Indefinite Object, Plural Indefinite Object, and Plural Indirect Object Marking

The indefinite object suffix in HT is *-nVn* (INO). This suffix serves three functions: (i) it backgrounds the object argument of a transitive verb; (ii) in the imperfective aspect, it produces a habitual reading of both transitive and intransitive verbs; and (iii) when combined with the plural indefinite object prefix *7a-* and attached to an ideophone,⁷⁷ it creates an intransitive verb whose meaning is related to that of the ideophone. I discuss the morphophonemics of the suffix after discussing the first two of these uses. The third use of this morphemes is covered in Chapter 6, Section 6.3.1.

I follow Levy (1999b: 329), MacKay (1999: 321), and McQuown (1990: 168) in calling this suffix the ‘indefinite object’ marker. Beck (2004: 64) calls the cognate suffix in Upper Necaxa Totonac a ‘detransitivizer’, and Watters (1988: 210) calls the Tlachichilco Tepehua cognate the ‘antipassive’.

⁷⁷ For information on ideophones, please see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.1.

- b. lhaaqamanan [juu xtuumiin]_{OBJ} juu 7anu7 lapanak
 lhaaqaman-nVn juu x-tuumiin juu 7anu7 lapanak
 waste-INO(IMPFV) ART 3POS-money ART DADJ person
 ‘That man wastes (habitually) his money.’ [ELIEX4: 037]

I did not test this construction while I was in the field to see if I could get a habitual reading of a transitive verb with a specific object.

A habitual reading is also possible when *-nVn* co-occurs with the plural indefinite object prefix *7a-* (discussed below) in the imperfective aspect, as seen below in (234).

- (234) maa xta7amaqpanan juu papaanin
 maa x-ta-7a-maqpa-nVn juu papa7-nin
 RPT PAST-3PL.SUB-PL.INO-wash.clothes(VT)-INO(IMPFV) ART elder-PL
 ‘The elders washed clothes (habitually).’ [T0022: 002]

The indefinite object suffix may also be added to an intransitive verb to produce a habitual reading in the imperfective aspect, as seen in example (235).

- (235) lakaxixnin juu chaway maalhkiyu7
 laka-xix-nVn juu chaway maalhkiyu7
 CL:place-dry-INO(IMPFV) ART now month
 ‘This month is habitually dry.’ [ELIEX3: 024]

Unfortunately, I have no other HT examples of the habitual use of the indefinite object suffix. However, this usage of the cognate suffix in other Totonacan languages has been documented by Beck (2004: 64), Beck (to appear b: 14), MacKay (1999: 321), and Watters (1988: 214).

The unspecified vowel of the indefinite object suffix *-nVn* harmonizes with the final vowel of the verb stem. It occurs as *-nan* following an /a/, as seen in (232), (233b), and (234) above; it occurs as *-nin* following /i/, as seen in (235) above; and it occurs as *-nun* after a root containing /u/, as seen in (236) below.

The prefix *7a-* is also found on many lexicalized nominals that were derived from transitive verbs, as seen in the examples in (239).

- (239) a. **7a**qalhoona7
7a-qalhajun-nV7
PL.INO-steal(VT)-AGNM
 ‘thief’
- b. **7a**maanawiin
7a-maa-nawii-n
PL.INO-CAUS-do-DVB
 ‘owner’
- c. x**7a**tz'akanti
 x-**7a**-tz'aka-nti
 3POS-**PL.INO**-bite(VT)-NOM2
 ‘its [a snake’s] bites’

[T0009: 015]

Morphological ordering indicates that the plural indefinite object prefix is more closely attached to the stem than other inflectional affixes. In (240a), the plural prefix *lak-*, which co-indexes a third person plural object, precedes the comitative prefix *t'aa-*; *lak-* and its corresponding nominal *milhpaati* ‘song’ are both underlined once, while *t'aa-* and its corresponding nominal *Weensis* ‘Lawrence’ are both underlined twice. However, in (240b), the plural indefinite object prefix *7a-* occurs on a detransitivized verb, and it *follows* the comitative prefix.

- (240) a. juu ki7in klakt'aasaay
 juu ki7in k-lak-t'aa-saa-y
 ART PRN.1SG 1SUB-PL-COM-play-IMPV
- juu milhpaati juu Weensis
 juu milhpaati juu Weensis
 ART song ART Lawrence
 ‘I play the songs with Lawrence.’

- b. juu ki7in kt'aa7asaanan juu Weensis
 juu ki7in k-t'aa-7a-saa-nVn juu Weensis
 ART PRN.1SG 1SUB-COM-PL.INO-play-INO(IMPFV) ART Lawrence
 'I play with Lawrence.' [TPWDB]

Another example of the combined indefinite object suffix *-nVn* and the plural indefinite object prefix *7a-* is shown in (241). An overt plural object (*juu kuux*, *juu stapuch*, *y juu nipxch* 'the corn, the bean(s), and the squash') is co-indexed on the verb by *lak-* in (241a), while in (241b) there is no overt object, and the verb is affixed with the indefinite object suffix *-nVn* and the plural indefinite object prefix *7a-*.

- (241)a. lakch'an juu kuux, juu stapuch,
 lak-ch'an juu kuux, juu stapu+ch,
 PL-plant(IMPFV) ART corn, ART bean+ALD
- y juu nipxch juu la7ixkuuxtu
 y juu nipx+ch juu laka-7ix-kuuxtu
 and ART squash+ALD ART PREP-3POS-cornfield
 'He plants corn, beans, and squash in his cornfield.' [TPWDB]
- b. 7ach'anan juu lakat'uun
 7a-ch'an-nVn juu laka-t'uun
 PL.INO-plant-INO(IMPFV) ART PREP-ground
 'He plants (seeds) in the ground.' [ELIEX1: 066]

Plural Indirect Object

The prefix *7a-* is also used to co-index a plural *indirect* object. In most—but not all—of these cases, it co-occurs with the plural prefix *lak-*. In all of these examples, *7a-* precedes *lak-*, indicating that it is *not* co-indexing a plural indefinite object in these instances. Most of the cases in which *7a-* and *lak-* co-occur involve ditransitive verbs of telling—such as *jun* 'tell', *sakmin* 'ask', and *lhijun* 'order'—that have a plural third person *indirect* object, shown below in

(242). Note that when the third person indirect object is singular, “tell” verbs are not marked with either *7a-* or *lak-*, as seen in the examples in (243).

(242) a. “ki7in ki7in!” maa **7alaksakmich**
 ki7in ki7in maa **7a-lak-jun-ni-y+ch**
 PRN.1SG PRN.1SG RPT **PL.INO-PL-tell-DAT-IMPV+ALD**
 ‘“It’s me, it’s me!” he says to **them**.’ [T0055: 082-3]

b. maa **7alaksakmich** . . .
 maa **7a-lak-sakmin+ch**
 RPT **PL.INO-PL-ask(PFV)+ALD**
 ‘He asked **them**, “. . .”’ [T0055: 060]

c. waa naa **7alakhiijuuniy** ki7in
 waa naa **7a-lak-lhiijun-ni-y** ki7in
 FOC EMP **PL.INO-PL-order-DAT-IMPV** PRN.1SG
 ‘I order (beer) for **them**.’ [T0066: 056]

(243) a. “. . .” maa juuniy ch juu xkumwaree
 “. . .” maa jun-ni-y+ch juu x-kumwaree
 “. . .” RPT tell-DAT-IMPV+ALD ART 3POS-compadre
 ‘ “. . .” his compadre tells him.’ [T0055: 009]

b. maa kasakminaach juu xaapay
 maa ka-sakmin-a7+ch juu xaa-pay
 RPT IRR-ask-FUT+ALD ART IPOS-father
 ‘The father will ask her, “. . .”’ [T0059:011]

c. waa kintalhiijuunilh p'uulhnan
 waa kin-ta-lhiijun-ni-li p'uulhnan
 FOC 1OBJ-3PL.SUB-order-DAT-PFV first
 ‘They ordered (beer) for me first.’ [T0066: 052]

The combination of *7a-* and *lak-* also occurs in constructions that have only one object; in these constructions, the object argument is less animate than the subject argument. The animacy hierarchy shown in (244) is based on the Person Hierarchy first introduced in example (213) of Section 3.1.1.3. The animacy hierarchy is almost identical to the person hierarchy, but it further

is relevant not just with respect to distinguishing the subject and the object, but the indirect object as well (see also Section 3.1.1.6 on Double Object Marking).

When the animacy of the indefinite subject is unknown (or not relevant), the prefixes *7alak-* and *lak-* may be used interchangeably, as seen below in (246). Both of these examples come from the same story, and they both were uttered by the same consultant. In the story, the ‘someone’ who removed the protagonists from the cave is some sort of quasi-human devil or spirit whose animacy is questionable.

- (246) a. **laktantamakxtuukalhch**
lak-tan-ta-makxtuu-kan-li+ch
PL-TORSO-INCH-take.out-INS-PFV+ALD
‘Someone removed them (from the cave).’ [T0063: 079]
- b. **7alaktantamakxtuukalhch**
7a-lak-tan-ta-makxtuu-kan-li+ch
PL.INO-PL-TORSO-INCH-take.out-INS-PFV+ALD
‘Someone removed them (from the cave).’ [T0063: 085]

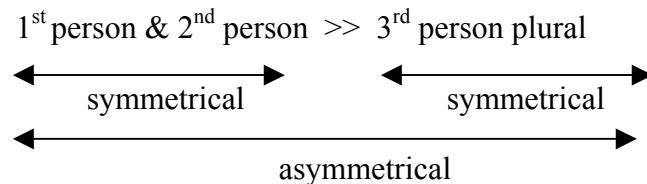
I should note that my analysis of *7a-* and *lak-* differs from that found in Watters 1988 (pp. 329-331). According to Watters, the prefix *7a-* is the default to co-index a plural third person object in HT, and the prefix *lak-* only co-occurs with *7a-* in HT. However, my analysis of HT *7a-* and *lak-* is more consistent with Watters’ analysis of the cognate prefixes in Tlachichilco Tepehua, where “*lak-* marks ‘third plural (syntactic) object’, while *ha:-* marks ‘third plural unspecified object’” (p. 331). Watters goes on to state that *ha:-* in Tlachichilco Tepehua additionally indicates “multiple action” of the verb, but my data indicate that *lak-* and not *7a-* indicates distributive or repeated action of the verb in HT.

3.1.1.6 Double Object Marking

One of the differences among the various languages in the Totonacan language family has to do with how the object arguments of a ditransitive verb are co-indexed on the verb; some Totonacan languages exhibit symmetrical object marking in which both objects are marked on the verb, while others exhibit asymmetrical object marking in which only one object is marked on the verb, and yet other languages exhibit some combination of symmetrical and asymmetrical object marking (MacKay and Trechsler 2005, 2006). HT displays both symmetrical and asymmetrical object marking, which I describe below.

HT double object marking can be modeled using the person hierarchy that was introduced above in example (213) of Section 3.1.1.3, and which is repeated below in (247).

(247) Person Hierarchy and Object Marking



In this hierarchy, the speech act participants (SAPs)—that is, first and second persons—are equal to each other, and they outrank all third person object arguments. A plural third person object outranks a singular third person object by virtue of the fact that a singular third person object is never overtly marked on the verb. When both objects are SAPs, object marking is symmetrical. When both objects are third person plural, object marking is also symmetrical. However,

when a SAP object co-occurs with a third person plural object, the object marking on the verb is asymmetrical. Specific examples follow.

The examples in (248) show that when both objects are speech act participants, the object marking is symmetrical: both first and second person object affixes appear on the verb. Note that the verb in (248a) is exactly the same as the verb in (248b) and that the example sentences are ambiguous with respect to the thematic roles of the objects: either object may be the patient and either object may be the benefactive/recipient argument.

- (248) a. waatach xakimaa7axtaqniy**anch**
 waatach xa-**ki**-maa7axtaq-ni-y-**an**+ch
 always PAST-**1OBJ**-hand.over-DAT-IMPV-**2OBJ**+ALD

juu kinati
 juu ki-nati
 ART 1POS-mother
 ‘My mother always handed **me** over to **you**.’
 ‘My mother always handed **you** over to **me**.’

- b. waatach xakimaa7axtaqniy**anch**
 waatach xa-**ki**-maa7axtaq-ni-y-**an**+ch
 always PAST-**1OBJ**-hand.over-DAT-IMPV-**2OBJ**+ALD

juu minati
 juu mi-nati
 ART 2POS-mother
 ‘Your mother always handed **you** over to **me**.’
 ‘Your mother always handed **me** over to **you**.’ [Q3I]

The examples in (249) and (250) show that when one of the objects is a SAP and the other is a plural third person, object marking is *asymmetrical*: only the SAP is marked on the verb, regardless of its thematic role. In both (249a) and (250a), the SAP is the recipient or benefactive argument (the indirect object),

which is indicated by the valence-increasing dative suffix *-ni* (which is underlined in both examples). In both (249b) and (250b), the SAP is the patient argument (the direct object) as evidenced by the lack of the dative suffix *-ni* on either of these two verbs. Also in each of these two examples, there is an overt plural third person nominal that co-references the benefactive argument (the indirect object); however this argument is not registered on the verb.

(249) a. juu ki7in xakimaa7axtaqniych
 juu ki7in xa-**ki**-maa7axtaq-ni-y+ch
 ART PRN.1SG PAST-**1OBJ**-hand.over-DAT-IMPFV+ALD

juu 7itz'alan juu t'aku7
 juu 7i-tz'al-an juu t'aku7
 ART 3POS-boy-PL ART woman
 'The woman (always) handed over her sons to **me**.'

b. juu ki7in xakimaa7axtaq'ach
 juu ki7in xa-**ki**-maa7axtaq-7a+ch
 ART PRN.1SG PAST-**1OBJ**-hand.over-IMPFV+ALD

juu kinati juu 7atzi7in
 juu ki-nati juu 7atzi7-in
 ART 1POS-mother ART girl- PL
 'My mother handed **me** over to the girls.'

[Q31]

(250) a. waatach xakmaa7axtaqniy**anch**
 waatach xa-k-maa7axtaq-ni-y-**an**+ch
 always PAST-1SUB-hand.over-DAT-IMPFV-**2OBJ**+ALD

juu kintz'alan juu 7ixint'i
 juu kin-tz'al-an juu 7ixint'i
 ART 1POS-boy-PL ART PRN.2SG
 'I always handed over my sons to **you**.'

- b. waatach xakmaa7axtaq'an^{ch}
 waatach xa-k-maa7axtaq-7a-n+ch
 always PAST-1SUB-hand.over-IMPV-**2OBJ**+ALD

juu 7ixint'i juu 7atzi7in
 juu 7ixint'i juu 7atzi7-in
 ART PRN.2SG ART girl-PL
 'I handed **you** over to the girls.'

[Q31]

The examples in (251) show that when one of the objects is third person *plural* and the other is a third person *singular*, the plural object is co-indexed on the verb, regardless of its thematic role.⁷⁹ Note, however that the prefix used to co-index a plural third person object varies depending on the thematic role of the argument. In (251a), the plural third person patient argument is co-indexed on the verb by the prefix *lak-*, while in (251b), the plural third person benefactive argument is co-indexed on the verb by the prefix *7a-*, which is also used to indicate an understood plural object on a detransitivized verb (see Section 3.1.1.4). In both cases, the dative suffix *-ni* occurs on the verb, as well.

- (251) a. juu ki7in xak**laq**maa7axtaqniy
 juu ki7in xa-k-**lak**-maa7axtaq-ni-y
 ART PRN.1SG PAST-1SUB-**PL**-hand.over-DAT-IMPV

juu **kintz'alan** juu 7atzi7
 juu kin-tz'al-an juu 7atzi7
 ART 1POS-boy-PL ART girl
 'I used to hand over my **sons** to the girl.'

⁷⁹ Remember that a singular third person object is never co-indexed on the verb.

- b. juu ki7in xak**7**amaa7axtaqniy
 juu ki7in xa-k-**7a**-maa7axtaq-ni-y
 ART PRN.1SG PAST-1SUB-**PL.INO**-hand.over-DAT-IMPV
- juu kintz'alh juu **7atzi7in**
 juu kin-tz'al juu 7atzi7-in
 ART 1POS-boy ART girl-PL
 'I used to hand over my son to the **girls.**' [Q3I]

Finally, when both objects are third person and plural, object marking is *symmetrical*, as seen in (252), where both third person plural objects are co-indexed on the verb. Here the patient argument is co-indexed by *lak-*, and the benefactive/recipient argument is co-indexed by *7a-*.

- (252) juu ki7in xak'**al**aqmaa7axtaqniy
 juu ki7in xa-k-**7a-lak**-maa7axtaq-ni-y
 ART PRN.1SG PAST-1SUB-**PL.INO-PL**-hand.over-DAT-IMPV
- juu **kintz'alan** juu **7atzi7in**
 juu kin-tz'al-an juu 7atzi7-in
 ART 1POS-boy-PL ART girl-PL
 'I used to hand my sons over to the **girls.**' [Q3I]

Despite the very neat examples shown in (251) and (252), it is important to note that these readings are potentially the result of the overt nominals. When I tested the three verbs in isolation (i.e., without overt nouns or pronouns to clarify the plurality of the objects), each verb was ambiguous with regard to the three possible readings, as seen in (253).

- (253)a. xak**la**qmaa7axtaqniy
 xa-k-**lak**-maa7axtaq-ni-y
 PAST-1SUB-**PL**-hand.over-DAT-IMPV
 'I used to hand him over to them.'
 'I used to hand them over to him.'
 'I used to hand them over to them.'

- b. xak7amaa7axtaqniy
 xa-k-7a-maa7axtaq-ni-y
 PAST-1SUB-3PL.INO-hand.over-DAT-IMPFV
 ‘I used to hand him over to them.’
 ‘I used to hand them over to him.’
 ‘I used to hand them over to them.’
- c. xak'alaqmaa7axtaqniy
 xa-k-7a-lak-maa7axtaq-ni-y
 PAST-1SUB-PL.INO-PL-hand.over-DAT-IMPFV
 ‘I used to hand him over to them.’
 ‘I used to hand them over to him.’
 ‘I used to hand them over to them.’ [Q31]

The Spanish glosses provided by my principal consultant helped me to disambiguate the co-indexing of the third person plural arguments in the examples shown in (251) and (252) above, as well as in (254) below. For each of the examples in (254), I provided the HT clause, and my consultant approved the clause and provided a Spanish gloss. In example (254a), the prefix *lak-* co-indexes the patient argument *milhpaati* ‘song(s)’ on the transitive verb. In (254b) the verb is made ditransitive by the addition of the comitative prefix *t'aa-*, and the new argument *Weensis* ‘Lawrence’ is singular; the gloss of the patient argument is still ‘songs’, and this argument is still co-indexed on the verb by the prefix *lak-*. In (254c), the comitative argument is the third person plural pronoun *yu7unch*, and the gloss of the patient argument *milhpaati* is now the *singular* argument ‘music’, indicating that it is no longer the argument which is co-indexed by *lak-*; instead the plural comitative argument is co-indexed by *lak-*.

- (254)a. juu ki7in klaksaay juu milhpaati
 juu ki7in k-lak-saa-y juu milhpaati
 ART PRN.1SG 1SUB-PL-play(VT)-IMPFV ART song
 ‘I play the **songs**.’

- b. juu ki7in klakt'aasaay
 juu ki7in k-lak-t'aa-saa-y
 ART PRN.1SG 1SUB-PL-COM-play(VT)-IMPFV
- juu milhpaati juu Weensis
 juu milhpaati juu Weensis
 ART song ART Lawrence
 'I play the **songs** with Lawrence.'
- c. klakt'aasaay juu milhpaati juu yu7unch
 k-lak-t'aa-saa-y juu milhpaati juu yu7unch
 1SUB-PL-COM-play(VT)-IMPFV ART music ART 3PRN.PL
 'I play the music with them.' [Q3I]

3.1.1.7 Speech Act Participant Marking

The reciprocal marker *laa*⁸⁰ is used in a non-reciprocal way when both the subject and the object of the verb are first or second person *and* either or both arguments are plural, as seen below in (255). In these instances, the prefix *laa* indicates that both participants are speech act participants and that one or both is/are plural; it does not indicate mutual, reciprocal action. In (255a), a first person subject is acting on a second person object, and in (255b), a second person subject is acting on a first person object. The only difference in the two conjugations is in the first prefix, which is *k-* if the *subject* is first person—as in (255a)—and *ki(n)-* if the *object* is first person—as in (255b).

- (255) a. **klaat'**alhnuyyaaw
k-laa-t'alhnu-ya7-w
1SUB-RCP-jail(VT)-FUT-1PL.SUB
 'We're going to throw you (SG) in jail!' [T0055: 038]
 'We're going to throw you (PL) in jail!' [Q3I]
 'I'm going to throw you (PL) in jail!' [Q3I]

⁸⁰ See section 3.2.1.2 for information on the reciprocal use of *laa*-.

- b. **kilaat'**alhnuyaw
ki-laa-t'alhnuyaw**-w**
1OBJ-RCP-jail(VT)-FUT-1PL.SUB
 'You (SG) are going to throw us in jail!'
 'You (PL) are going to throw us in jail!'
 'You (PL) are going to throw me in jail!' [Q3I]

If both the subject and the object are *singular*, the reciprocal marker is not used, as seen below in (256).

- (256) a. kaa laay xak'ampaalhchaan
 kaa laa-y xa-k-7an-pala-chaan
 BLV can-IMPV PAST-1SUB-go-REP.PFV-DST-2OBJ
 'I think I would have been able to meet you there.' [T0066: 023]
- b. juu 7uxint'i ki7aqlht'ey7uut'i
 juu 7uxint'i ki-7aqlhteyjuu-t'i
 ART PRN.2SG 1OBJ-help(2SUB)-2SG.SUB.PFV
 'You helped me.' [Q3I]

The use of the reciprocal morpheme in this non-standard reciprocal context in which SAPs are acting on each other is common to the Totonacan language family (MacKay and Trechsel 2003).

3.1.1.8 *Split-intransitivity*

Though the HT alignment system is predominantly an accusative (i.e., not ergative) one, there seems to be an emerging system of split intransitivity (Dixon 1994; Merlan 1985; Mithun 1991) in which the split involves only third person plural arguments, and it is determined by the animacy of the noun referent of the argument. If the third person plural argument of an intransitive verb is *animate*, as is *juu lapanák* 'the people' in (257a), it is co-indexed on the verb with the prefix *ta-*, the nominative third person plural subject marker. However, when the argument is *inanimate* like *juu 7alhhik* 'the paper' in (257b), it is co-indexed on the

verb by the prefix *lak-*, which is used both to co-index multiple plurality of the argument of an intransitive verb and to co-index an accusative third person plural object.

(257) a. maa 7anch xtawiiłanah juu lapanák
 maa 7anch x-ta-wii-łanah juu lapanák
 RPT there PAST-**3PL.SUB**-seated(IMPV)-3PL.STV ART people
 ‘The people lived/were there.’ [T0057: 006]

b. juu 7alhił **laktanuun** juu lakapaaxtuk
 juu 7alhił **lak-tanuun** juu laka-paaxtuk
 ART paper **PL**-inserted(IMPV) ART PREP-point
 ‘The papers are on the point.’
[In the image, a pointed instrument is stuck through the middle of the papers, like an old-fashioned paper holder.] [MB22]

Split intransitivity in HT is not limited to stative verbs, but is also found with intransitive verbs that refer to uncontrolled events, as seen in the examples in (258). The animate noun in (258) a), *juu tz'alan* ‘the boys’, is co-referent with the nominative prefix *ta-*, while in (258b) the inanimate noun *juu xlakmaka7 juu k'iw* ‘the tree branches’ is co-referent with the prefix *lak-*.

(258) a. **tapaatajuu** juu tz'alan
ta-paatajuu juu tz'al-an
3PL.SUB-fall(VI)(PFV) ART boy-PL
 ‘The boys fell.’

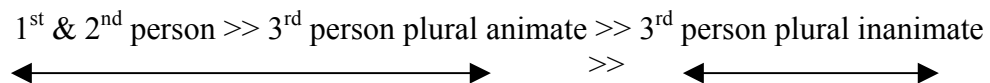
b. **lakpatajuu** juu xlakmaka7 juu k'iw
lak-patajuu juu x-lak-maka7 juu k'iw
PL-fall(VI)(PFV) ART 3POS-PL-hand ART tree
 ‘The tree branches fell.’ [Qlak1]

Further examples in which a third person plural subject of an intransitive verb is co-indexed by the prefix *lak-* are shown below in (259).

- (259) a. waa lakt'ikt'i 7ix**lak**juuniita juu chiiwx
 waa lak-t'ikt'i 7ix-**lak**-jun-niita juu chiiwx
 FOC PL-small PAST-**PL**-be-PF ART rock
 'The rocks were small.' [Qlak1]
- b. **lak**lhkulkh juu kistapu
lak-lhku-li+ch juu ki-stapu
PL-burn(VI)-PFV+ALD ART 1POS-bean
 'My beans burned.' [TPWDB]
- c. x**lak**p'uks juu paamata
 x-**lak**-p'uks juu paamata
 PAST-**PL**-stink(ID)(IMPFV)ART fish
 'The fish (PL) stunk.' [TPWDB]

HT split intransitivity can be modeled using the animacy hierarchy that was introduced in example (244) of Section 3.1.1.5 and that is repeated below in (260). First and second persons are equal to each other, and they outrank third person animate arguments, which in turn outrank third person inanimate arguments. With respect to split intransitivity, the pivot point occurs between third person animate and inanimate; first, second, and third plural animate subjects are co-indexed on the verb by nominative morphology, while third person plural inanimates are co-indexed on the verb by the “accusative” prefix *lak-*.

(260) HT Animacy Hierarchy and Split Intransitivity



Above I called this pattern an “emerging” one because I believe that this is relatively new pattern in HT for various reasons. First, no other documented Totonacan language exhibits patterns of syntactic or morphosyntactic split

alignment or split intransitivity; instead they are all documented as being strictly accusative in their syntax and morphology.

Second, the pattern of split intransitivity in Huehuetla Tepehua is an elusive one because inanimate nominals are not obligatorily marked for plurality nor are inanimate arguments obligatorily co-indexed on the verb. Furthermore, though the pattern manifested itself in utterances that were spontaneously produced by my consultants, it did not always emerge from—or withstand the test of—elicited grammaticality judgments. I first found the split-intransitive pattern in sentences that were spontaneously produced by my consultants; when I tried to test the pattern during elicited grammaticality judgments, I found that in most cases, both patterns (a strictly accusative one and a split one) were acceptable. For example, my consultant had given me the example in (261a), in which the intransitive verb is marked with *lak-*. Later, I offered the example in (261b), in which the same verb is marked with *ta-*, and the example in (261c), in which the verb is marked with both *ta-* and *lak-*. My consultant accepted both examples, and he told me that all three have the same meaning.

(261) a. juu jaak **lak**chaay
 juu jaak **lak**-chaa-y
 ART banana **PL**-ripen(VI)-IMPFV
 ‘The bananas ripen.’ [PDLMA2005]

b. juu jaak **tach**aay
 juu jaak **ta**-chaa-y
 ART banana **3PL.SUB**-ripen(VI)-IMPFV
 ‘The bananas ripen.’ [Qlak1]

- c. juu jaak **talak**chaay
 juu jaak **ta-lak**-chaa-y
 ART banana **3PL.SUB-PL**-ripen(VI)-IMPFV
 ‘The bananas ripen.’ [Qlak1]

The same consultant told me the sentence in (262a) when describing a drawing from Melissa Bowerman’s Topological Picture Series. Here the intransitive verb is marked with *lak-*. When I changed the subject to ‘rocks’, my consultant produced the example in (262b), with the same verb again marked with *lak-*. When I tested the sentence in (262c), in which the same verb is marked with *ta-*, he rejected it. Of course, this set of examples raises the question of why the examples in (261b) and (261c) are grammatical while the example in (262c) is not. And, if I asked the same set of questions of the same consultant on a different day, would the answers still remain the same? These are questions for which I currently do not have answers.

- (262)a. **laj**kilhtay juu puumpu7
lak-kilhta-y juu puumpu7
PL-hanging(VI)-IMPFV ART clothing
 ‘The clothing is hanging (e.g., to dry).’ [MB37-1]
- b. **laj**kilhtay juu chiiwx juu laktalhpa
lak-kilhta-y juu chiiwx juu lak-talhpa
PL-hanging(VI)-IMPFV ART rock ART PREP-hill
 ‘The rocks hang from the hill.’ [Qlak1]
- c. ***tak**ilhtay juu chiiwx juu laktalhpa
ta-kilhta-y juu chiiwx juu lak-talhpa
3PL.SUB-hanging(VI)-IMPFV ART rock ART PREP-hill
 Target: ‘The rocks hang from the hill.’ [Qlak1]

Third, as is pointed out in the literature on grammaticalization, polysemous morphemes may give rise to grammatical change in a language (e.g., Heine, Claudi, and Hünemeyer 1991; Hopper and Traugott 2003). The prefix

lak- exhibits more polysemy than any other morpheme in Huehuetla Tepehua: this prefix is used (i) to indicate multiple plurality of the subject of an intransitive verb, as seen above in section 3.1.1.2, (ii) to indicate distributive action of a verb, also seen in section 3.1.1.2, (iii) to co-index a third person plural object, as seen in section 3.1.1.4, (iv) to mark plurality on inanimate and animate nouns (see Chapter 4), and (v) to marked plurality on adjectives (see Chapter 5).

Fourth, the use of the prefix *lak-* as a verbal plural marker overlaps with the use of *ʔa-* as a verbal plural marker. There is evidence from Watters 1988 that in Huehuetla Tepehua, the prefix *ʔa-* was the default prefix to co-index a third person plural object and that the prefix *lak-* sometimes co-occurred with *ʔa-* and sometimes did not. In my own data, the reverse is true in that (i) *lak-* co-indexes a plural third person object, (ii) *ʔa-* co-indexes an understood plural object on a detransitivized verb and an indirect object, (iii) the two co-occur to co-index a plural third person indirect object and/or a plural third person direct object if it outranks the subject in animacy, and (iv) the two frequently co-occur without any overt change in the meaning. Next, the use of *lak-* as a marker of distributivity overlaps with the meanings of two HT suffixes: *-pala*, which marks repetitive action of the verb (see Section 3.2.3.7) and *-qoju*, which indicates that the action of the verb is distributed equally over all members of either the subject or object argument, depending on the transitivity of the verb (see Section 3.2.3.9).

Finally, HT is a moribund language. The children are not learning it, their parents do not use it, and their grandparents address them in Spanish and speak Tepehua only amongst themselves. Once a language falls into disuse, the rate of

grammatical and phonological change escalates. I believe that this is what is happening in HT. Given the polysemy of the morpheme *lak-*, plus the fact that HT has other morphemes that provide similar (or the same) meanings as *lak-*, it is quite possible that HT is undergoing a grammatical change that might result in an unquestionable split in its alignment system.

3.1.1.9 Summary of Person Marking Inflection

The nominative person marking affixes are summarized in Table 13, and the accusative affixes are summarized in Table 14. Note that several of the affixes have one meaning when used for nominative inflection and a slightly different meaning when used as accusative inflection; these affixes are shown in bold in the tables.

Table 13: Nominative Affixes

Nom Affix	Meaning(s)
k-	1 st person singular subject, 1 st person plural exclusive subject
-w	1st person plural subject
-t'i	2 nd person singular subject in the perfective aspect with 3 rd person or 1 st person singular object
-t'it	2 nd person plural subject with 3 rd person object
-7i	2 nd person plural subject in the future tense
ta-	3rd person plural (animate) subject
lak-	multiple plural subject of intransitive verb, 3rd person plural (inanimate) subject
-kan	indefinite subject

Table 14: Accusative Affixes

Acc Affix	Meaning
kin-	1 st person object
-w	1st person plural object with 2nd person subject, 2nd person plural object with 1st person singular subject
-n	2 nd person object, 1 st person plural object with 3 rd person subject
laa-	SAP acting on SAP
ta-	1st person plural object with 3rd person subject, 2nd person plural object with 3rd person subject
lak-	distributive, 3rd person patient (direct) object
7a-	plural indefinite object, 3 rd person plural benefactive (indirect) object
-nVn	indefinite object

The affixal configurations for an intransitive verb are shown in Table 15. These affixal configurations are also used on a transitive verb that has a third person singular object, which is not overtly marked on the verb.

Table 15: Affix Configurations: Intransitive Verbs & Transitive Verbs with Third Person Singular Objects⁸¹

Subject	Singular	Plural
first	k-V	inclusive: V-w exclusive: k-V-w
second	V' V'-t'i (perfective aspect)	V'-t'it V'-7i-t'it (future tense)
third	V	ta-V (animate) lak-V (inanimate)
indefinite	V-kan	---

The affix configurations for a transitive verb are shown in Table 16. Note that the configurations involving a third person singular object are included in this table as well as in Table 15.

Table 16: Transitive Verb Affix Configurations⁸²

Persons	Affixal Configuration
1SG SUB > 3PL OBJ	k-lak-V
1PL INCL SUB > 3PL OBJ	(7a-)lak-V-w
1PL EXCL SUB > 3PL OBJ	k-lak-V-w
1SG SUB > 2SG OBJ	k-V-n
1SG SUB > 2PL OBJ	k-laa-V-w
1PL SUB > 2SG OBJ	k-laa-V-w
1PL SUB > 2PL OBJ	k-laa-V-w
1SG SUB > INO	k-V-nVn
1SG SUB > PL.INO	k-7a-V-nVn
1PL INCL SUB > INO	V-nVn-aw
1PL INCL SUB > PL INO	7a-V-nVn-aw
1PL EXCL SUB > INO	k-V-nVn-aw
1PL EXCL SUB > PL INO	k-7a-V-nVn-aw
2SG SUB > 1SG OBJ	ki-V'(-t'i)
2PL SUB > 1SG OBJ	ki-laa-V-w
2SG SUB > 1PL OBJ	ki-laa-V-w
2PL SUB > 1PL OBJ	ki-laa-V-w

⁸¹ V stands for 'verb'.

⁸² V stands for 'verb'.

2SG SUB > 3PL OBJ	(7a-)lak-V'
2PL SUB > 3PL OBJ	(7a-)lak-V'(-7i)-t'it
2SG SUB > INO	V'-nVn(-t'i)
2SG SUB > PL INO	7a-V'-nVn(-t'i)
2PL SUB > INO	V'-nVn(-7i)-t'it
2PL SUB > PL INO	7a-V'-nVn(-7i)-t'it
3SG SUB > 1SG OBJ	kin-V
3SG/PL SUB > 1PL OBJ	kin-ta-V-n
3SG SUB > 2SG OBJ	V-n
3SG/PL SUB > 2PL OBJ	ta-V-n
3SG SUB > 3SG OBJ	V
3SG SUB > 3PL OBJ	(7a-)lak-V
3PL SUB > 3PL OBJ	ta-lak-V
3SG SUB > INO	V-nVn
3SG SUB > PL INO	7a-V-nVn
3PL SUB > INO	ta-V-nVn
3PL SUB > PL INO	ta-7a-V-nVn
INS > 1SG OBJ	k-V-kan
INS > 1PL OBJ	V-kan-aw
INS > 2SG OBJ	V'-kan(-t'i)
INS > 2PL OBJ	V'-kan(-7i)-t'it
INS > 3SG OBJ	V-kan
INS > 3PL OBJ	(7a-)lak-V-kan

The HT system of person and number inflection allows for a remarkable amount of ambiguity. At times, it seems that instead of clarifying or disambiguating the roles of verbal arguments, the inflectional system serves to confuse and ambiguatize them. Normally, in such a situation, we would expect discourse pragmatics to disambiguate the argumental roles, and this is true of HT, in which the roles of the arguments are made clear by the discourse context of the utterances.

- (266) a. **katat'alhnuuyaach**
 ka-ta-t'alhnuu-**ya7**+ch
 IRR-3PL.SUB-jail-FUT+ALD
 'They will put him in jail.' [T0055: 030]
- b. **maa ka7anaach** **laqtz'ini7** **juu xnati**
 maa ka-7an-**a7**+ch laqtz'in-nV7 juu x-nati
 RPT IRR-go-FUT+ALD see-INF ART 3POS-mother
 'It [the millipede] goes to see its mother.' [T003: 010]
- c. **kchaqxa7** **laqatam** **xmaqpu**
 k-chaqx-**a7** laqa-tam x-maqpu
 1SUB-cut.down-FUT CL:general-one 3POS-branch
 'I will cut down one branch.' [TPWDB]

When the subject is either third person or first person plural inclusive (i.e., not marked with the first person prefix *k-*), the future tense is accomplished through the combination of the future suffix *-ya7* (~ *-a7*) and the irrealis mood prefix *ka-*, as seen in (267).

- (267) a. **naa k'uusch** **katasuya7**
 naa k'uus+ch **ka-tasu-ya7**
 very pretty+ALD IRR-look-FUT
 'It is going to be pretty.' [T0069: 275]
- b. **kalaqoxiyaawch** **lakapaaxpit**
ka-laqoxi-ya7-w+ch laka-paaxpit
 IRR-fix-FUT-1PL.SUB+ALD PREP-jack.plane
 'We will fix it with a jack plane.' [T0069: 133]

However, when the subject is first person singular, first person plural exclusive (i.e., it is marked with *k-*), or second person (singular or plural), the irrealis prefix appears as *7a-*, as seen in (268a), (268b), and (268c), respectively.

⁸⁴ Note that there is a phonological rule that deletes a word- or suffix-final glottal stop when it is followed by a suffix or enclitic; after the glottal stop is deleted, the preceding vowel undergoes compensatory lengthening (see Chapter 2, section 2.6.7.2 and 2.6.8).

- (268) a. **7**akpuutay7ulaayaach
7a-k-puu-tay7ulaa-ya7+ch
IRR-1SUB-INST-begin-FUT+ALD
‘I’m going to begin here.’ [T0069: 237]
- b. waa tz’iisin **7**akminaaw
waa tz’iisin **7a**-k-min-a7-w
FOC early **IRR**-1SUB-come-FUT-1PL.SUB
‘We are going to come early.’ [T0060: 241]
- c. toqoxaay **7**awayna7
toqoxaay **7a**-wajin-a7
later **IRR**-eat-FUT
‘You (SG) will eat later.’ [Q31]

Furthermore, when the subject is first person singular, first person plural exclusive, or second person, the *7a*- allomorph frequently is omitted altogether, as seen in (269a), (269b), and (269c), respectively. One consultant told me that omission of the *7a*- prefix is the fast way of speaking, and that it is more correct to pronounce the prefix.

- (269) a. wachu7 k7anchoqoya7
wachu7 k-7an-choqo-ya7
also 1SUB-go-AGAIN-FUT
‘I’m going to go again, too.’ [T0055: 099]
- b. klaat’alhnuyuayaawch
k-laa-t’alhnuu-ya7-w+ch
1SUB-RCP-jail-FUT-1PL.SUB+ALD
‘We are going to put you in jail.’ [T0055: 0038]
- c. waa lhk’a7iiya7 juu 7anii
waa lhkan-7ii-ya7 juu 7anii
FOC measure(2SUB)-bring-FUT ART here
‘Are you (SG) going to measure it from here?’ [T0069: 304]

Additionally, when the *object* is first person, the irrealis prefix does not occur,⁸⁵ as seen in (270).

(270) *nii* *k'i7uya7* *ka7uyaan* *juu* *Siiliiyaa*
nii *kin-7u-ya7* *ka-7u-ya7-n* *juu* *Cecilia*
 COMP 1OBJ(2SUB)-eat-FUT IRR-eat-FUT-2OBJ ART Cecilia
 ‘If you eat me, Cecilia is going to eat you.’ [T0058: 031]

A plural second person subject is always doubly marked for future tense by the suffix *-7i* that occurs after the future suffix *-ya7* (~ *-a7*) and before the second person plural subject suffix *-t'it*, as seen below in (271).

(271) a. *7inaa7it'tit* *juu* *lakxkaan*
7an-a7-7i-t'tit *juu* *lakxkaan*
 go(2SUB)-FUT-2.PL.SUB.FUT-2PL.SUB ART river
 ‘You all will go to the river.’ [Q3I]

b. *toqoxaay* *7awaynaa7it'tit*
toqoxaay *7a-wajin-a7-7i-t'tit*
 later IRR-eat-FUT-2PL.SUB.FUT-2PL.SUB
 ‘You all will eat later.’ [Q3I]

The negative future is accomplished by means of the combination of the irrealis prefix *ka-*, the negative future prefix *ti-*, and the perfective aspect, as seen below in (272b). I have found no other construction in which the negative future prefix *ti-* occurs.

(272) a. *kachina7* *juu* *lhi7* *juu* *Xiiwan*
ka-chin-a7 *juu* *lhi7* *juu* *Xiiwan*
 IRR-arrive.here-FUT ART tomorrow ART Juan
 ‘Juan will arrive here tomorrow.’ [Q3I]

⁸⁵ According to Watters (1988), the irrealis prefix *ka-* and the first person object prefix *kin-* have the same morphological order and may not co-occur (p. 265).

refer to an event (and not a state) may be inflected for imperfective aspect, and these events are temporally bounded within an initial and a final endpoint.

The perfective aspect in Huehuetla Tepehua is morphologically marked by the suffix *-li* and its allomorph *-lh*.⁸⁶ More importantly, however, perfective aspect is indicated phonologically by a stressed penultimate syllable, and I will return to this point below. The allomorph *-lh* is phonologically derived from the allomorph *-li* by means of neutralization.⁸⁷ The allomorph *-li* surfaces only when (i) it is followed by the temporal clitic *+ch*, and (ii) it follows a consonant or semi-vowel (*-li* never follows a vowel). Examples are shown in (275).

- (275) a. **kujlich**
 kuj-**li+ch**
 wake.up-PFV+ALD
 ‘He already woke up.’ [ELIEX2: 072]
- b. **ch’itlich** juu 7alaxux juu Xiiwan
 ch’it-**li+ch** juu 7alaxux juu Xiiwan
 squeeze-PFV+ALD ART orange ART John
 ‘John squeezed the orange.’ [ELIEX1: 103]
- c. **ta7aqpaxlich**
 ta-7aqpax-**li+ch**
 3PL.SUB-baptize-PFV+ALD
 ‘They were baptized.’ [T0050: 023]
- d. **maa taqalhapataylich**
 maa ta-qalhapatay-**li+ch**
 RPT 3PL.SUB-intercept-PFV+ALD
 ‘They intercepted it.’ [T0020: 018]

⁸⁶ The suffix *-li* is cognate with the perfective aspect marker in most of the other Totonacan languages; see for example, Beck 2003; MacKay 1999; Watters 1988.

⁸⁷ Please see Chapter 2, section 2.7.6.2.

The allomorph *-lh* always occurs in the one environment in which *-li* does not: after a stem-final vowel, as seen in the examples in (276).

- (276) a. jaantu7as xtaqnilh juu tuumiin
 jaantu+7as xtaq-ni-li juu tuumiin
 NEG+TAGQ give-DAT-PFV ART money
 ‘Didn’t he give her the money?’ [T0054: 015]
- b. tzukulh maa laqaxqotnu7
 tzuku-li maa laqaxqot-nV7
 begin-PFV RPT unload-INF
 ‘He began to unload it.’ [T0055: 095]
- c. maa laqtz’ilh juu lapanak
 maa laqtz’in-li juu lapanak
 RPT see.PFV-PFV ART person
 ‘He saw the person.’ [T0022: 028]

However, *-li* and *-lh* are *not* in complementary distribution because they both occur after consonants and semi-vowels. Examples of *-li* are shown above in (275), and examples in which *-lh* follows a consonant or semi-vowel are shown below in (277).

- (277) a. taspitlh
 taspit-li
 return-PFV
 ‘He returned.’ [T0022: 031]
- b. chachakxlh juu k’iw juu lapanak
 chachakx-li juu k’iw juu lapanak
 puncture-PFV ART tree ART person
 ‘The man tapped the tree.’ [ELIEX1: 006]
- c. lhiitamawlh laqatam xlaqpuutanuti
 lhii-tamaju-li laqa-tam x-laqpuutanuti
 APPL-buy-PFV CL-one 3POS-mask
 ‘He bought himself a mask.’ [T0055: 048]

- d. kalhtay**lh** juu lhasakminin
kalhtay-**li** juu lhasakmin-in
respond-**PFV** ART question-PL
‘He responded to the questions.’ [ELIEX2: 032]

Furthermore, both *-li* and *-lh* may be followed by the temporal clitic *+ch*, as seen above in (275) and below in (278).

- (278)a. ʔatz'alal**hch** y tanuuchal**hch** juu laktalɰpa
ʔatz'ala-**li+ch** y tanuu-chaa-**li+ch** juu lak-talɰpa
run-**PFV+ALD** and enter-**DST-PFV+ALD** ART PREP-hill
‘It ran and went into the cave.’ [T0020: 020]

- b. taʔal**hch**
ta-ʔan-**li+ch**
3PL.SUB-go-**PFV+ALD**
‘They left.’ [T0055: 079]

To complicate matters further, the overt perfective aspect marker *-lh* may optionally be omitted from a polysyllabic word when it follows a stem-final vowel and precedes a word boundary, as seen in the examples in (279) where the (a) example is marked with the perfective aspect suffix, while the (b) example is not.⁸⁸ This omission seems to be age-graded in that the younger the speaker is, the more likely he or she is to omit the overt perfect aspect marker *-li* ~ *-lh*.

- (279)a. waa **maaqeswaa**lhch**** juu ʔatziʔ
waa maqaeswaa-**li+ch** juu ʔatziʔ
FOC scare-**PFV+ALD** ART girl
‘He scared the girl.’ [T0054: 003]

- b. maa **maaqeswaa** juu pumatam papaʔ
maa maqaeswaa juu puma-tam papaʔ
RPT scare(**PFV**) ART CL.HUM-one gentleman
‘It scared an old man.’ [T0022: 054]

⁸⁸ Please see Chapter 2, section 2.7.6.3.

However, loss of the perfective aspect marker does not correlate with a loss of distinction between the perfective aspect and the imperfective aspect (which is the unmarked aspect for a continuant-final stem) for two reasons: first, though continuant-final stems are unmarked in the imperfective aspect, they are marked in the perfective aspect, as seen below in the examples in (280).

(280) a. **qex** juu xpuumpu7 juu kiinati
 qex juu x-puumpu7 juu kin-nati
 rip(**IMPFV**) ART 3POS-cloth ART 1POS-mother
 ‘My mother rips the cloth.’

b. waa **qexlh** juu xpuumpu7
 waa qex-li juu x-puumpu7
 FOC rip-**PFV** ART 3POS-clothing
 ‘His clothing ripped.’ [TPWDB]

Second, the two aspects differ with respect to primary stress assignment in polysyllabic words. In the perfective aspect, the primary stress rule⁸⁹ ensures that the primary stress always falls on the penultimate syllable of polysyllabic verbs with third person (singular or plural) or first or second person singular subjects. Similarly, the primary stress rule ensures that primary stress falls on the final syllable of these verbs in the imperfective aspect, as seen in (281). In the imperfective example in (a), the final syllable of the verb *xtamaqníy* ‘they would kill it’ receives primary stress because the word ends in a sonorant consonant [j]. In the perfective example in (b), the penultimate syllable of the verb *talaamáqnii* ‘they killed each other’ receives primary stress because the word does not end in a sonorant consonant.

⁸⁹ Please see Chapter 2, section 2.5 for more information on stress in HT.

(281) a. **xtamaqníy** xta7uych
 x-ta-maqnii-y x-ta-7u-y+ch
 PAST-3PL.SUB-kill-**IMPFV** PAST-3PL.SUB-eat-**IMPFV+ALD**
 ‘They would kill it and they would eat it.’ [T0059: 041]

b. waa **talaamáqnii**
 waa ta-laa-máqnii
 FOC 3PL.SUB-RCP-kill(**PFV**)
 ‘They killed each other.’ [TPWDB]

In the perfective aspect (irregardless of tense or mood or the person of the subject), nasal-final stems undergo deletion of the stem-final nasal, as seen below in (282).⁹⁰ Frequently, this nasal-deletion is the only indication of perfective aspect, as seen in the (b) example below.

(282) a. maa **milhch** 7awilhchan nii lhiitajukalh
 maa **min-li+ch** 7awilhchan nii lhiitaju-kan-li
 RPT come-**PFV+ALD** day COMP find-**INS-PFV**
 ‘The day came that they found it.’ [T0020: 013]

b. waa laaych **7aklak7aw** paxnin
 waa laa-y+ch 7a-k-lak-**7an-w** pax-nin
 FOC can-**IMPFV+ALD** IRR-1SUB-PL-go.**PFV-1PL.SUBJ** bathe-**INF**
 ‘If only we were able to go bathe.’ [Q3I]

c. nii **laqtz'ínkalh** lhtuj **xaqatajikalh**
 nii laqtz'in-**kan-li** lhtuj xaqataji-**kan-li**
 COMP see-**INS-PFV** ID:pull pull.out-**INS-PFV**
 ‘When they saw her, they pulled her out (of the fire).’ [T0054: 080]

Second person singular is marked in two different ways in the perfective aspect. First, the suffix *-t'i* marks second person singular subject in the perfective aspect when the root ends in a long vowel or non-nasal consonant, as seen in (283a) and (283b), respectively. The suffix *-t'i* is also used when a monosyllabic root ends in a short vowel, as seen in (283c). Note that in (283d), the stem-final

⁹⁰ Please see Chapter 2, section 2.7.6.1.

nasal consonant is deleted in the perfective aspect, leaving a stem-final long vowel to which *-t'i* is suffixed.

- (283) a. **k'imaaqeswaat'i**
 kin-maa-qeswaa-**t'i**
 1OBJ-CAUS-be.scared-**2SG.SUB.PFV**
 'You scared me.' [T0054: 030]
- b. tiis chawaych juu t'aa7ot'i?
 tiis chaway+ch juu t'aa-qot-**t'i**
 Q now+ALD REL COM-drink-**2SG.SUB.PFV**
 'Who did you drink with now?' [T0066: 292]
- c. jaantu k'i7ut'i
 jaantu ki-7u-**t'i**
 NEG 1OBJ-eat-**2SG.SUB.PFV**
 'Don't eat me!' [T0058: 028]
- d. **lhk'aat'i**
lhk'aan-t'i
 measure.PFV-**2SG.SUB.PFV**
 'You measured it.' [TPWDB]

Second, when a polysyllabic root ends in a short vowel, there is no overt suffix that co-indexes a second person singular subject in the perfective aspect, as seen below in (284). Note that if there are plain stops or affricates in the root, they are glottalized, as seen in (284a). In (284b), the stem-final nasal consonant is deleted in the perfective aspect, leaving a stem-final short vowel, to which *-t'i* does not affix.

- (284) a. **ch'ap'ach** juu 7anii
chapa+ch juu 7anii
 grab(2SUB.IMPFV) +ALD ART here
 'You grab it here.' [T0069: 082]

- b. laqtz'i
 laqtz'in(2SUB.PFV)
 'You saw him.' [Q3I]

Perfective aspect is not overtly marked when the subject is either first or second person plural. The stress rule does not distinguish imperfective and perfective aspects when the subject is first person plural because the word-final suffix *-(a)w* that marks this person/number ends in a sonorant consonant that always attracts stress to a final syllable. Nor does the stress rule distinguish the two aspects when the subject is second person plural because this word-final suffix *-t'it* ends in a non-sonorant consonant, so the syllable preceding it always receives the primary stress.

A stem-final nasal is deleted in the perfective aspect, as seen in the examples below in (285), (286), and (287). Examples with a first person plural subject are shown in (285), examples with a second person plural subject are shown in (286), and examples with a third person plural subject are shown in (287). The (a) examples are imperfective aspect and the (b) examples are perfective aspect.

- (285)a. laqtz'inaw
 laqtz'in-aw
 see(IMPFV)-1PL.SUB
 'We see him.'
- b. laqtz'iw
 laqtz'in-w
 see(PFV)-1PL.SUB
 'We saw him.' [3QI]

- (286) a. laqtz'inat'it
 laqtz'in-at'it
 see(IMPFV)-2PL.SUB
 'You (PL) see him.'
- b. laqtz'it'it
 laqtz'in-t'it
 see(PFV)-2PL.SUB
 'You (PL) saw him.' [3QI]
- (287) a. talaqtz'in
 ta-laqtz'in
 3PL.SUB-see(IMPFV)
 'They see him.'
- b. talaqtz'ilh
 ta-laqtz'in-li
 3PL.SUB-see(PFV)-PFV
 'They saw him.' [3QI]

Perfect Aspect

Perfect aspect in HT corresponds to Smith's (1997) definition: "Perfect sentences locate a situation prior to Reference Time.⁹¹ They have a stative value, and they ascribe to the subject a property based on participation in the prior situation" (p. 186).

The perfect aspect in HT is marked on the verb by the suffix *-ta*. Examples are shown below in (288). This suffix has one allomorph *-niita*, which—according to Watters (1988)—occurs only with the verb *jun* 'be' and comes from the Totonac perfect aspect suffix *-ni:ta* (p. 57, ft. 7).

- (288) a. puus kaa yuuch juu 7ixtaqnitach
 puus kaa yuuch juu 7ix-xtaq-ni-ta+ch
 well BLV PRN.3SG REL PAST-give-DAT-PF+ALD
 'Well, I think it was he who she had given it to.' [T0054: 016]

⁹¹ "Reference Time is the temporal standpoint of a sentence" (Smith 1997: 101).

b. juu yuuch waa xt'alalhwa7**tach**
 juu yuuch waa x-t'alalhwa7-**ta+ch**
 ART PRN.3SG FOC PAST-distribute-**PF+ALD**
 'She had divided it (the money) up.' [T0054: 018]

c. maa xkiitasp'**itach** x7ast'**aanta**
 maa x-kii-tasp'**it-ta+ch** x-7a-st'**aa-nVn-ta**
 RPT PAST-RT-return-**PF+ALD** PAST-PL.OBJ-sell-**INO-PF**

juu pumatam xkumwarii
 juu puma-tam x-kumwarii
 ART CL:human-one 3POS-compadre
 'One compadre had returned from selling.' [T0055: 003-4]

Perfect aspect occurs in the present (morphologically unmarked) tense, as well as the past tense, as seen below in (289). It does not occur in the future tense.

(289)a. maa **niita** yaa juu laka7uun
 maa **nii-ta** yaa juu laka-7uun
 RPT **die-PF** standing ART PREP-air
 'He has died/is dead in the air.' [T0022: 010]

b. **xniitach** juu maqtili7
x-nii-ta+ch juu maqtili7
PAST-die-PF+ALD ART wild.animal
 'The wild animal had died/was dead.' [T0020: 023]

The stative verb *jun* 'be' usually occurs in the perfect aspect when describing a past state, as seen below in (290). The allomorph *-niita* appears on the (b) and (c) examples.

(290)a. xakjuntaw vecinos
 xa-k-jun-**ta-w** vecinos
 PAST-1SUB-be-**PF-1PL.SUB** neighbors
 'We were neighbors.' [T0022: 046]

show very little cross-linguistic variation in their use of irrealis modality, while imperatives, futures, questions, and negations show much more cross-linguistic variation with regard to irrealis mood (p. 376). Whereas counterfactuals and conditionals cross-linguistically fall into the realm of “nonactualization”, languages vary with regard to whether or not they treat imperatives, futures, questions, and negation as actualized or nonactualized (384-6).⁹³ Furthermore, Palmer (2001) acknowledges that “the idea that notional features of realis and irrealis are grammaticalized as the typological categories of Realis and Irrealis is a useful one” (p. 2).

In the following discussion of mood, I draw a mood distinction between realis and irrealis, and I use the term ‘irrealis’ for three reasons. First, there is only one particular prefix, *ka-* and its allomorph *ʔa-*, which is common to all but one of the contexts in which the “irrealis” mood occurs. Second, all of the contexts in which this prefix appears are included in both Chafe’s (1995) and Mithun’s (1995) lists of irrealis contexts, and all of the structures in which it occurs are contexts which are non-actualized in HT. Third and finally, “irrealis” is the name used most frequently for the cognate prefix in other Totonacan languages (e.g., MacKay 1999; Watters 1988).⁹⁴

⁹³ However, following Givón’s (1994) explication of the irrealis, all of the above mentioned researchers—Bybee et al (1994), Chafe (1995), and Mithun (1995)—are mistaken in their association of ‘realis’ with ‘real’ and ‘irrealis’ with ‘unreal’. He writes, “One unfortunate legacy of the logic-bound approach to modality is the definition of the contrast between realis and irrealis as a contrast between, respectively, ‘real’ and ‘unreal events’” (p. 268-9). For Givón, the difference between realis and irrealis is a cognitive difference in “subjective certainty” and a communicative difference in “socially-negotiated meaning” (p. 269).

⁹⁴ I should note that the grandfather of Totonacan linguistics, Norman McQuown, did not actually give this prefix a name in his grammar of Coatepec Totonac (1990: 156).

Realis Mood

The realis mood is morphologically unmarked; it is distinguished from the irrealis mood by the absence of the irrealis prefix. The realis mood includes such modalities as the indicative (factual, specific, or habitual action), desire (without a change in subject), ability, and strong possibility or belief. The realis mood co-occurs with present and past tenses, as well as imperfective, perfective, and perfect aspects. Not all realis events are actualized events: for example, negation of the realis modalities mentioned above is also part of the realis mood in HT; examples are shown below.

The indicative examples in (291) show the realis mood occurring with the present imperfective in (a), the past imperfective in (b), and the perfective aspect in (c).

(291) a. juu Xiiwaan saay juu lhiisaan
juu Xiiwaan saa-y juu lhiisaan
ART Juan play-IMPFV ART guitar
'Juan plays the guitar.'

b. juu Xiiwaan 7isaay juu lhiisaan
juu Xiiwaan 7i-saay juu lhiisaan
ART Juan PAST-play-IMPFV ART guitar
'Juan played the guitar.'

c. juu Xiiwaan saalh juu lhiisaan
juu Xiiwaan saa-li juu lhiisaan
ART Juan play-PFV ART guitar
'Juan played the guitar.'

[QMMES]

Corresponding negative indicative examples are shown below in (292).

- (292) a. juu Xiiwaan jaantu saay juu lhiisaan
 juu Xiiwaan jaantu saa-y juu lhiisaan
 ART Juan NEG play-IMPFV ART guitar
 ‘Juan does not play the guitar.’
- b. juu Xiiwaan jaantu 7isaay juu lhiisaan
 juu Xiiwaan jaantu 7i-saa-y juu lhiisaan
 ART Juan NEG PAST-play-IMPFV ART guitar
 ‘Juan did not play the guitar.’
- c. juu Xiiwaan jaantu saalh juu lhiisaan
 juu Xiiwaan jaantu saa-li juu lhiisaan
 ART Juan NEG play-PFV ART guitar
 ‘Juan did not play the guitar.’ [QMMES]

The modality of desire, when there is no change in subject, is expressed by means of the desiderative suffix (see Section 3.2.3.6) and the realis mood. Similarly, negative desire also falls under the realm of the realis mood. Examples are shown in (293).

- (293) a. juu Xiiwaan saaputun juu lhiisaan
 juu Xiiwaan saa-putun juu lhiisaan
 ART Juan play-DESID(IMPFV) ART guitar
 ‘Juan wants to play the guitar.’
- b. juu Xiiwaan jaantu saaputun juu lhiisaan
 juu Xiiwaan jaantu saa-putun juu lhiisaan
 ART Juan NEG play-DESID(IMPFV) ART guitar
 ‘Juan does not want to play the guitar.’ [QMMES]

Ability is expressed by means of the auxiliary verb *laa* ‘can’ (Section 3.4.2). Both positive and negative ability are expressed by means of the realis mood, as seen below in (294).

- (294) a. juu Xiiwaan laay saay juu lhiisaan
 juu Xiiwaan laa-y saay juu lhiisaan
 ART Juan can-IMPFV play-IMPFV ART guitar
 ‘Juan can (is able to, knows how to) play the guitar.’

- b. juu Xiiwaan tuu laay saay juu lhiisaan
 juu Xiiwaan jaantu laa-y saay juu lhiisaan
 ART Juan NEG can-IMPV play-IMPV ART guitar
 ‘Juan can not (is unable to, does not know how to) play the guitar.’ [QMMES]

Strong possibility also falls within the realm of the realis mood. Like ability, strong possibility is expressed by means of the auxiliary verb *laa* ‘can’, as seen in the examples in (295). Additionally, examples of strong possibility contain some sort of qualifying expressed such as *taxniy* ‘probably’ or *klhuulay* ‘I think’.

- (295)a. juu Xiiwaan taxniy laay saaputun juu lhiisaan
 juu Xiiwaan taxniy laa-y saa-putun juu lhiisaan
 ART Juan probably can-IMPV play-DESID(IMPV) ART guitar
 ‘Juan probably wants to be able to play the guitar.’ [QMMES]

- b. taxniy klhuulay juu Xiiwaan
 taxniy k-lhuula-y juu Xiiwaan
 probably 1SUB-think-IMPV ART Juan

 nii laay saay juu lhiisan
 nii laa-y saa-y juu lhiisan
 COMP can-IMPV play-IMPV ART guitar
 ‘I think that Juan can play the guitar.’ [QMMES]

- c. taxniy klhuulay juu Xiiwaan
 taxniy k-lhuula-y juu Xiiwaan
 probably 1SUB-think-IMPV ART Juan

 nii tuu laay saay juu lhiisan
 nii jaantu laa-y saa-y juu lhiisan
 COMP NEG can-IMPV play-IMPV ART guitar
 ‘I think that Juan can not play the guitar.’ [QMMES]

Irrealis Mood

In all modalities but one, the irrealis mood is morphologically marked by the prefix *ka-* or its allomorph *ʔa-*. According to Watters (1988), in Huehuetla

Tepehua, the irrealis prefix *ka-* is used when the subject is third person or first person plural inclusive, and the allomorph *ʔa-* is used when the subject is first person singular, first person plural exclusive, and second person (p. 273). I, too, found that the allomorph *ʔa-* can be used when the subject is first person singular, first person plural exclusive, or second person; however it is frequently the case that no irrealis prefix at all occurs with these persons. My consultant, don Nicolás, told me that it is more correct to include the *ʔa-* prefix, but that it is usually omitted in fast speech. In fact, I found that it almost never occurs in naturally occurring speech, but that it is always accepted when presented during elicitation.

Irrealis modalities include the future tense (both positive and negative) and obligation, imperative and hortative commands, permission, the optative (wishes), the conditional, and the dubitative (doubt or uncertainty on the part of the speaker). The irrealis prefix does *not* occur on the verb when any of these modalities occur in the past; the past tense prefix *x-* occurs on the verb instead.

The irrealis mood maker *ka-* combines with the future suffix *-yaʔ* (~ *-aʔ*) to form the future tense (see the subsection on Future Tense in Section 3.1.2.1). Though the future tense is not necessarily a modality, obligation is, and it happens that the future tense and obligatory mood are the same in HT. Positive examples are shown in (296).

- (296) a. juu Xiiwaan **kasaayaʔ** juu lhiisaan
 juu Xiiwaan **ka-saa-yaʔ** juu lhiisaan
 ART Juan **IRR-play-FUT** ART guitar
 ‘Juan will play the guitar.’
 ‘Juan must play the guitar.’

- b. juu Xiiwaan **kamina7**
 juu Xiiwaan **ka-min-a7**
 ART Juan **IRR-come-FUT**
 ‘Juan will come.’
 ‘Juan must come.’
- c. juu Xiiwaan laay katapasaya7 juu lakxkaan
 juu Xiiwaan laay **ka-tapasa-ya7** juu lakxkaan
 ART Juan can **IRR-pass-FUT** ART river
 ‘Juan is going to be able to cross the river.’
 ‘Juan must be able to cross the river.’ [QMMES]

The negative future/obligation is not morphologically marked by the future suffix; instead it bears the perfective aspect suffix *-lh*. Additionally, it requires the irrealis prefix *ka-* and the negative future prefix, *ti-*. Examples are shown in (297).

- (297)a. juu Xiiwaan jaantu **katisaalh** juu lhiisaan
 juu Xiiwaan jaantu **ka-ti-saa-li** juu lhiisaan
 ART Juan NEG **IRR-NEG.FUT-play-PFV** ART guitar
 ‘Juan is not going to (will not) play the guitar.’ [QMMES]

- b. porque nii kata7uya7
 porque nii ka-ta-7u-ya7
 because COMP IRR-3PL.SUB-eat-FUT
- jaantuch **katitaxtulh**
 jaantu+ch **ka-ti-ta-taxtu-li**
 NEG+ALD **IRR-NEG.FUT-3PL.SUB-leave-PFV**
 ‘Because if they ate it, they would not be able to leave.’
 [T0063: 066-067]

- c. juu Xiiwaan tuu laay **katitapasalh**
 juu Xiiwaan jaantu laa-y **ka-ti-tapasa-li**
 ART Juan NEG can-IMPV **IRR-NEG.FUT-pass-PFV**
- juu lakxkaan
 juu lakxkaan
 ART river
 ‘Juan is not going to be able to cross the river.’ [QMMES]

The imperative, hortative, permissive, optative, conditional, potential, and dubitative modalities are all morphologically marked in the same way: they are prefixed with the irrealis marker *ka-* and suffixed with the perfective aspect marker *-lh*. If they occur in the past tense, the irrealis prefix is replaced by the past tense prefix *x-*. Even though there is no grammatical difference in these modalities, there is a slight semantic difference. Examples of each modality follow.

As stated above, the imperative mood is formed by the combination of the irrealis prefix and the perfective suffix. The irrealis prefix occurs as *ʔa-* in the imperative (i.e., a second person command). The prefix is omitted frequently in regular speech, though (i) forms that bear the prefix are always accepted during elicitation, and (ii) these irrealis forms are considered to be more correct. Examples of second person singular commands are shown in (298), and examples of second person plural commands are shown in (299). Note that any stops or affricates in the stem are glottalized.

- (298) a. *maap'uup'uut'i*
 maa-puupuu-t'i
 CAUS-boil(2SUB)-2SG.SUB.PFV
 ‘Boil it!’ [TPWDB]
- b. *seq ʔulaat'i* *juu ʔasqat'a*
 seq ʔulaa-t'i *juu ʔasqat'a*
 quiet put-2SG.SUB.PFV ART child
 ‘Calm down the child!’ [TPWDB]
- c. *ʔasaat'i* *chiniich*
 ʔa-saa-t'i *chini+ch*
 IRR-play.instrument-2SG.SUB.PFV like.this+ALD
 ‘Play it like this.’ [T0066: 224]

- d. **7asó7o**
7a-so7o
IRR-be.quick(2SG.SUB.PFV)⁹⁵
 ‘Be quick!’ [Q3I]

There is no overt aspect marking when the subject is second person plural. If there are stops or affricates in the stem, they are glottalized. As with the second person singular commands, the irrealis prefix is optionally omitted from the second person plural commands, as seen in the following examples.

- (299)a. **maamiixiit’it** juu jip
maa-miixii(PFV)-t’it juu jip
CAUS-go.out-2PL.SUB ART fire
 ‘Put out the fire, you all!’ [TPWDB]

- b. **maat’alhk’ut’it** juu jip
maa-talisku-t’it juu jip
CAUS-stir(2SUB.PFV)-2PL.SUB ART fire
 ‘You all stir the fire!’ [TPWDB]

- c. **7aso7ot’it**
7a-so7o-t’it
IRR-be.quick(PFV)-2PL.SUB
 ‘Be quick, you all!’ [Q3I]

Unfortunately, I have only one example of a first person hortative command, shown below in (300). The hortative is morphologically marked by the irrealis prefix and the perfective aspect suffix. In this example, perfective aspect is indicated by deletion of the stem-final nasal. Given the fact that the prefix *ka-* occurs on the verb, this is an example of the first person *inclusive* since the irrealis allomorph *7a-* occurs with first person prefix *k-* [ʔak-] to form the *exclusive*.

⁹⁵ When the stem ends in a short vowel, the second person perfective prefix *-t’i* does not occur (see the subsection on Second Person in Section 3.1.1.1 and the subsection on Perfective Aspect in Section 3.1.2.2).

(303) tuulaay katilakchiwinpalaw
 tuu+laa-y ka-ti-lak-chiwin-pala-w
 NEG-can-IMPV IRR-NEG.FUT-PL-talk(IMPV)-REP-1PL.SUB
 ‘We (INCL) may not talk.’ [T0066: 139]

The optative mood is used to express wishes or desires; the verb is marked by the irrealis prefix and the perfective aspect, as seen in the examples in (304). The past optative is formed by means of the past tense plus the perfective aspect, as seen in the example in (305).

(304)a. juu Xiiwaan **kanawii**
 juu Xiiwaan **ka-nawii**
 ART Juan IRR-do(VT)(PFV)
 ‘If only Juan would do it.’ [QMMES]

b. waa lakask'in nii
 waa lakask'in nii
 FOC wish/want(IMPV) COMP

katz'i7ilh juu 7ixtz'alh juu Xiwaanaa
ka-tz'i7in-li juu 7ix-tz'al juu Xiwaanaa
 IRR-laugh(PFV)-PFV ART 1POS-son ART Juana
 ‘Juana wants her son to laugh.’ [ELIEX3: 019]

c. jaantu klakask'in nii **7amiilhp'at'i**
 jaantu k-lakask'in nii **7a-miilhpa-t'i**
 NEG 1SUB-want(IMPV) COMP IRR-sing(2SUB)-2SG.SUB.PFV
 ‘I don’t want you to sing.’ [QMMES]

(305) juu Xiiwaan **7ixnawii**
 juu Xiiwaan **7ix-nawii**
 ART Juan PAST-do(VT)(PFV)
 ‘If only Juan would have done it.’ [QMMES]

Conditional modality, too, is marked by the irrealis prefix and the perfective aspect, as seen in the examples in (306).

- (306)a. *porque nii maa katamáqnii maa 7aks*
porque nii maa ka-ta-maqnii maa 7aks
 because COMP RPT IRR-3PL.SUB-kill(PFV) RPT same
- naa naa 7awilhcha maa kaniilh juu 7anch t'aku7*
naa naa 7awilhcha maa ka-nii-li juu 7anch t'aku7
 EMP EMP day RPT IRR-die-PFV ART there woman
 ‘Because if they kill it, that very same day the woman would
 die there.’ [T0003: 18-20]
- b. *maas kamilh juu Xiiwaan*
maas ka-min-li juu Xiiwaan
 although IRR-come-PFV ART Juan
- juu ki7in 7aktamokoona7*
juu ki7in 7a-k-tamakajun-a7
 ART PRN.1SG IRR-1SUB-remain-FUT
 ‘Even if Juan were to come, I will stay.’ [QMMES]
- c. *nii kamilh kaa laay 7aktamakawlh*
nii ka-min-li kaa laa-y 7a-k-tamakajun-li
 COMP IRR-come-PFV BLV can-IMPV IRR-1SUB-remain-PFV
 ‘If he were to come, I think that I could stay.’ [QMMES]

Like the past optative, the past conditional is expressed by means of the past tense plus the perfective aspect. Furthermore, the evidential particle *kaa*, which I gloss as BLV or ‘belief’, occurs in all of the examples of past conditional clauses in my database. Examples are shown in (307).

- (307)a. *nii xakmaamaa juu tuumin*
nii xa-k-maamaa juu tuumin
 COMP PAST-1SUB-have(PFV) ART money
- kaa laay xaktamawlh*
kaa laa-y xa-k-tamaw-li
 BLV can-IMPV PAST-1SUB-buy-PFV
 ‘If I had had the money, I think that I would have bought it.’

- b. nii **7ixmilh** kaa laaych
 nii **7ix-min-li** kaa laa-y+ch
 COMP **PAST-come-PFV** BLV can-IMPFV +ALD

xaktamakawlh
xa-k-tamakajun-li
PAST-1SUB-remain-PFV
 ‘If he were to have come, I think I would have stayed.’ [QMMES]

Potential modality is similarly indicated by the irrealis prefix and the perfective aspect, as seen in the examples in (308) below.

- (308)a. juu Xiiwaan laay **kanáwii**
 juu Xiiwaan laa-y **ka-nawii**
 ART Juan can-IMPFV **IRR-do(VT)(PFV)**
 ‘Juan could do it.’ [QMMES]

- b. nii waa naa laay **7aknawii-paa**
 nii waa naa laa-y **7a-k-nawii-paa**
 COMP FOC EMP can-IMPFV **IRR-1SUB-do-REP.PFV**
- ritmo guaracha
 ritmo guaracha
 rhythm guaracha
 ‘I could do it in the guaracha rhythm.’ [T0066: 062]

The dubitative modality is grammatically marked using the same pattern that was seen above for the imperative, the optative, the conditional, and the potential modalities: the irrealis prefix and perfective aspect. The use of the dubitative modality reflects doubt or uncertainty on the part of the speaker about the veracity of the information. Examples are shown in (309).

- (309) a. juu Xiiwaan jaantu klhuulay
 juu Xiiwaan jaantu k-lhuula-y
 ART Juan NEG 1SUB-think-IMPV
- nii laay **kasaalh** juu lhiisaan
 nii laa-y **ka-saa-li** juu lhiisaan
 COMP can-IMPV **IRR-play-PFV** ART guitar
 ‘I don’t know if (think that) Juan can play the guitar.’
- b. jaantu k'atzay nii **kamaamaa** juu tuumin
 jaantu k'atza-y nii **ka-maamaa** juu tuumin
 NEG know-IMPV COMP **IRR-have(PFV)** ART money
 ‘I don’t know (he doesn’t know) if she has the money.’ [QMMES]

The dubitative modality differs from the other irrealis modalities in one major way: it is optionally used based on the speaker’s attitude toward the information being conveyed, as demonstrated by the examples in (310) and (311). In the example in (310a), the speaker is not sure if the person in question will come, and he uses the dubitative modality. In the example in (310b), the speaker is more confident that the person in question will come, which is reflected by his use of the future tense.

- (310) a. kaa laay **kamilh**
 kaa laa-y **ka-min-li**
 BLV can-IMPV **IRR-come-PFV**
 ‘I think he might be able to come.’ [QMMES]
- b. kaa laay kamina7
 kaa laa-y ka-min-a7
 BLV can-IMPV IRR-come-FUT
 ‘I think he will be able to come.’ [QMMES]

The examples in (311) are elicited examples based on Spanish subjunctive examples from Givón (1994: 296, ex. 70). In (311a), the Spanish prompt used the indicative mood, and the resulting Tepehua sentence is in the realis mood. In

3.2.1.1 Reflexive *-kan*

The reflexive suffix *-kan* is homophonous with the indefinite subject suffix *-kan*. However, the reflexive suffix decreases the valency of the verb, as seen below in (312). Both (312a) and (312b) have separate agent and patient arguments; however, the reflexive suffix *-kan* in the clause in (312c), indicates that the agent and the patient arguments have the same referent.

- (312) a. kakalhkaayaawch
ka-ka-lhkaa-ya7-w+ch
IRR-TIP-measure-FUT-1PL.SUB+ALD
'We (INCL) are going to measure it.' [T0069: 308]
- b. klaklhkaayaw
k-lak-lhkaa-y-aw
1SUB-PL-measure-IMPV-1PL.SUB
'We (EXCL) measure them.' [TPWDB]
- c. klakalhkaakan
k-laka-lhkaa-kan
1SUB-BODY-measure-RFL(IMPV)
'I take my measurements.' [TPWDB]

First and second person arguments of the reflexive verb are co-indexed on the verb stem with nominative morphology, as seen below in (313), while third person plural arguments are co-indexed with accusative morphology, as seen below in (314). This is the same pattern that is found with the indefinite suffix marker.⁹⁶ In (313a) the verb stem is affixed with the first person subject prefix, the first person plural subject suffix, and the reflexive suffix. The verb in (313b) is affixed with the second person plural subject suffix, and the stop consonants are glottalized to indicate a second person subject. In (314a) the verb is affixed with

⁹⁶ This is also the split between first and second person nominative marking versus third person absolutive marking to which I refer in footnote **Error! Bookmark not defined.**

the reflexive suffix, but no person marking since the agent is third person singular. When the agent of the reflexive verb is third person plural, it is co-indexed on the reflexive verb stem by the plural indefinite *object* prefix *ʔa-*, as seen in (314b), and *not* by the third plural *subject* prefix *ta-*, as seen in (314c).

- (313)a. **klaqxtanxwiikaw**
k-laqxtan-xwii-kan-aw
1SUB-CHEEK-shave-RFL(IMPV)-1PL.SUB
 ‘We shave ourselves.’
- b. laqxt’anxwiik’at’it
 laqxtan-xwii-**kan-t**’it
 CHEEK-shave-**RFL(IMPV)-2PL.SUB**
 ‘You all shave yourselves.’ [Qlak1]
- (314)a. laqxtanxwiikalhch juu lapanak
 laqxtan-xwii-**kan-li+ch** juu lapanak
 CHEEK-shave-**RFL-PFV+ALD** ART man
 ‘The man shaved.’ [ELIEX4: 004]
- b. **ʔa**laqxtanxwiikalh juu papanin
ʔa-laqxtan-xwii-**kan-li** juu papa-nin
PL.INO-CHEEK-shave-RFL-PFV ART man-PL
 ‘The men shaved themselves.’
- c. ****ta**laqxtanxwiikalh juu papanin
ta-laqxtan-xwii-kan-li juu papa-nin
3PL.SUB-CHEEK-shave-RFL-PFV ART man-PL
 Target: ‘The men shaved themselves.’ [Q3D]

The split in person marking between nominative and accusative morphology can be modeled using the person hierarchy that was presented in example (213) of Section 3.1.1.3, which is repeated below in (315)

- b. waa tanajunch kintata7
 waa ta-najun+ch kin-tata7
 FOC 3PL.SUB-say(IMPFV)+ALD 1POS-elder
- nii xtalakilhun
 nii x-ta-**laa**-kilhun
 COMP PAST-3PL.SUB-**RCP**-chat(IMPFV)
 ‘My elders would say, when they were chatting with each other, . . .’
 [T0022: 020-021]

The reciprocal prefix frequently co-occurs with the comitative *t'aa-*; see Section 3.2.1.6 for details and examples.

The reciprocal prefix is used in a non-reciprocal manner when first and second person (speech act participant) arguments are acting on each other; see Section 3.1.1.6.

3.2.1.3 Dative *-ni*

The dative suffix *-ni* increases the valency of the verb by adding a benefactive (or malefactive) object argument. In all of the examples in this section, the dative suffix *-ni* is shown in bold type, the patient argument (be it an overt nominal, an affix, or both) is underlined twice, and the benefactive argument is underlined once.

Below, the transitive verb root *lhiist'ak* ‘take care of’, ‘guard’ appears in (318a) with a single patient object argument *sasqat'a* ‘child’. In (318b), the same verb root is affixed with the dative suffix *-ni*, and in addition to the patient argument *sasqat'a* ‘child’, there is also an additional benefactive object argument *t'aku7* ‘woman’.

- (318) a. lhiist'ak'a juu sasqat'a
 lhiist'ak-7a juu s-7asqat'a
 care.for-IMPV ART 3POS-child
 'She] takes care of the child.'
- b. lhiist'akniy juu sasqat'a juu t'aku7
 lhiist'ak-ni-y juu s-7asqat'a juu t'aku7
 care.for-DAT-IMPV ART 3POS-child ART woman
 'She] takes care of the child for the woman.' [TPWDB]

The examples shown below in (319) and (320) all involve a transitive verb root that is made into a ditransitive verb stem by the addition of *-ni*.

- (319) a. waa maach'ixtaqnialhch juu tuumiin
 waa maach'ixtaq-ni-kan-li+ch juu tuumiin
 FOC loan-DAT-INS-PFV+ALD ART money
- juu liijuuntoo Teewan Atarraya
 juu liijuuntoo Teewan Atarraya
 ART deceased Stephen Net
 'They lent the money to the deceased Stephen Net.' [T0054: 019]
- b. tam maqali7 kamaach'ixtaqninch juu tuumiin
 tam maqali7 ka-maach'ixtaq-ni-n+ch juu tuumiin
 ART.IN rich.person IRR-loan-DAT(PFV)-2OBJ+ALD ART money
 'A rich person could lend you the money.' [T0054: 024]
- (320) a. waa kintalhiijuunilh p'ulhnan
 waa kin-ta-lhiijun-ni-li p'ulhnan
 FOC 1OBJ-3PL.SUB-order-DAT-PFV first
 'They ordered [a drink] for me first.' [T0066: 052]
- b. 7astan waa naa 7alaklhiijuuniy kit'in
 7astan waa naa 7alak-lhiijun-ni-y kit'in
 afterwards FOC EMP PL-order-DAT-IMPV PRN.1SG
 'Afterwards, I order [a drink] for them.' [T0066: 056]

In the examples below in (321), the dative suffix *-ni* is added to an intransitive verb root to derive a new verb stem. Again, the added benefactive/malefactive argument is underlined.

- (321) a. qox xa7aniyan
 qox xa-7an-**ni**-ya-n
 well PAST-go-**DAT**-IMPV-2OBJ
 ‘It went well for you.’ [T0055: 098]
- b. xpaatajuniy juu lajqay juu xakanit juu lapanák
 x-paataju-**ni**-y juu lajqay juu xa-7akanit juu lapanák
 PAST-fall-**DAT**-IMPV ART huge ART IPOS-flesh ART people
 ‘Huge chunks of flesh fell from the people.’ [T0057: 011]
- c. juu 7anuuch xkupu7 chiwinilh
 juu 7anuu+ch xkupu7 chiwin-**ni**-li
 ART DADJ+ALD crowdad speak-**DAT**-PFV
 ‘That crowdad spoke to him.’ [T0058: 026-027]

Please see section 3.1.1.6 on Double Object marking for more examples of the dative suffix.

In certain examples the addition of the dative suffix *-ni*, encodes the affectedness of the possessor of the patient object. In the examples in (322), the possessor of the patient argument is the benefactive/malefactive verbal argument. This is a type of external possession in which the possessor of a verbal argument also acts as an argument of the same verb. More examples of external possession in HT are found in Section 3.2.1.8 on body part prefixes.

- (322) a. kixkaniy juu kilakatunaa
kin-xka-**ni**-y juu kin-lakatunaa
1OBJ-hurt-**DAT**-IMPV ART 1POS-body
 ‘My body hurts (me).’ [ELIEX3: 021]
- b. lhii7anilhch juu 7ispiiriituu
 lhii7an-**ni**-li+ch juu x-spiiriituu
 take-**DAT**-PFV+ALD ART **3POS**-spirit
 ‘It [the devil] took his spirit from him.’ [T0054: 012]

3.2.1.4 Causative *maa-*

The causative prefix *maa-* increases the valency of the verb by adding a new agent argument, which is co-indexed by subject marking on the verb. The understood subject (either agent or patient) of the root verb is co-indexed by object marking on the verb stem. In the example in (323), the causative subject is second person, while the causative object (which is the argument that would be co-indexed by subject marking in a non-causative clause) is first person.

- (323) k'imaaqeswaat'i
 ki-**maa**-qeswaa-t'i
 1OBJ(2SUB)-CAUS-be.scared-2SG.SUB.PFV
 'You made me scared!'
 'You scared me!' [T0054: 030]

The causative prefix *maa-* may appear on both intransitive and transitive verbs. Examples of causative forms of intransitive verb roots are shown in (324) and (325); the causative form of a transitive root is shown in (326); and the causative form of a posture verb root is shown in (327).

- (324)a. 7atz'alaalh juu Piitalu7
 7atz'alaa-li juu Piitalu7
 run-PFV ART Pedro
 'Pedro ran.' [TPWDB]

- b. **tamaa**7atz'alaaych juu xkupu7
 ta-**maa**-7atz'alaa-y+ch juu xkupu7
 3PL.SUB-CAUS-run-IMPV+ALD ART crawdad
 'They ran off the crawdad.' [T0058: 066]

- (325)a. juu Maalhtiin tz'anqaa juu lakak'iwin
 juu Maalhtiin tz'anqaa juu laka-k'iw-in
 ART Martin get.lost(PFV) ART PREP-wood-PL
 'Martin got lost in the woods.' [MNB13: 40]

- b. juu Maalhtiin **maat**z'anqaa
 juu Maalhtiin **maa**-tz'anqaa
 ART Martin CAUS-get.lost(PFV)
- juu xpaatz'oq juu lakak'iwin
 juu x-paatz'oq juu laka-k'iw-in
 ART 3POS-pencil ART PREP-wood-PL
 'Martin lost his pencil in the woods.' [MNB13: 41]

- (326)a. k'uk'ay juu xk'iw juu kinana7
 k'uk'a-y juu x-k'iw juu kin-nana7
 carry-IMPFV ART 3POS-wood ART 1POS-grandmother
 'My grandmother carries her wood.' [MNB13: 14]

- b. juu Xiiwaan **maak**'uk'ay
 juu Xiiwaan **maa**-k'uk'a-y
 ART Juan CAUS-carry-IMPFV
- juu xk'iw juu xmaak'uk'a7
 juu x-k'iw juu x-maak'uk'a7
 ART 3POS-wood ART 3POS-pack.animal
 'Juan carries wood with his pack animal.'
 'Juan makes his pack animal carry the wood.' [MNB13: 13]

- (327)a. maalh juu lapanak
 maalh juu lapanak
 lying(IMPFV) ART person
 'The person is lying down.' [TPWDB]

- b. 7aqt'uych **kama**amaayaaw
 7aqt-t'uy+ch ka-**maa**-maa-ya7-w
 CL:flat-two+ALD IRR-CAUS-lying-FUT-1PL.SUB
 'We're going to put down two [boards].' [T0069: 064]

In the causative construction in which the added subject argument is indefinite (and, thus, is marked with *-kan*), there is a split in the person marking of the demoted subject; first and second person demoted subjects are co-indexed with *subject* marking—shown in (328), while third person demoted subjects are co-indexed with *object* marking—shown in (329). The first and second person

construction. However, note that the third person plural marker *ta-* may co-occur with the causative prefix in other causative constructions, as seen above in example (324b).

- (329) a. **maalaknawiinikan**
maa-lak-nawii-ni-kan
 CAUS-PL-do-DAT-INS(IMPV)

juu Xiiwaan juu laklhiich'alhkat
 juu Xiiwaan juu lak-lhiich'alhkat
 ART Juan ART PL-job
 'They made Juan do the jobs.'
 'Juan was made to do the jobs.'

- b. 7alakmaanawiinikan
7alak-maa-nawii-ni-kan
 PLINO.PL-CAUS-do-DAT-INS(IMPV)

juu lapanák juu lhiich'alhkat
 juu lapanák juu lhiich'alhkat
 ART people ART job
 'They made the people do the job.'
 'The people were made to do the job.'

- c. 7alakmaalaknawiinikan
7alak-maa-lak-nawii-ni-kan
 PLINO.PL-CAUS-PL-do-DAT-INS(IMPV)

juu lapanák juu laklhiich'alhkat
 juu lapanák juu lak-lhiich' alhkat
 ART people ART PL-job
 'They made the people do the jobs.'
 'The people were made to do the jobs.'

- d. ** xtamaanawiinikan faena
 x-ta-maa-nawii-ni-kan faena
 PAST-3PL.SUB-CAUS-do-DAT-INS(IMPV) labor
 Target: 'They made them do labor.'
 Target: 'They were made to do the labor.'

[Q3D]

Note that in all of the above examples in which the root verb has a plural object—that is, examples (328b), (328c), (329a), and (329c), the object marker is closer to the root than the causative suffix *maa-* is; the causative suffix intervenes between “subject” and object marking.

The causative prefix can be used to form negative expressions that mean ‘not to let someone do something’ or ‘to make someone not do something’, as seen in (330).

- (330) *maa* *jaantu* **maapaasaa** *wachu7*
 maa *jaantu* **maa-paasaa** *wachu7*
 RPT NEG CAUS-pass.by(PFV) also

juu *liijuuntuu* *don Pedro Islas*
juu *liijuuntuu* *don Pedro Islas*
 ART deceased don Pedro Islas

‘He did not let the deceased don Pedro Islas pass by either.’ [T0022: 041]

There are many examples of lexemes that are frozen forms containing the causative prefix. In many of these lexicalized forms, the causative prefix is *maq-*, as seen below in (331) and (332), though *maa-* also occurs, as seen below in (333).

- (331)a. *sqoliy* *juu* *lapának*
 sqoli-y *juu* *lapának*
 whistle-IMPV ART person
 ‘The person whistles.’

[TPWDB]

- b. *xakmaqsqoliyka7*
 xa-k-maqsqoli-y+ka7
 PAST-1SUB-play-IMPV+JST
 ‘I still played (an instrument).’

[T0054: 052]

- (332) a. niilhch juu lapának
 nii-li+ch juu lapának
 die-PFV+ALD ART person
 ‘The person died.’ [TPWDB]
- b. 7ak**maqni**ya7 juu p'aax juu chaway
 7a-k-**maqni**-ya7 juu p'aax juu chaway
 IRR-1SUB-**kill**-FUT ART pig ART today
 ‘I am going to slaughter the pig today.’ [TPWDB]
- (333) a. puus maa jaantuch 7alh
 puus maa jaantu 7an-li
 well RPT NEG go(PFV)-PFV
 ‘Well, he didn’t go.’ [T0022: 030]
- b. maa waa **tamaa**7alhch
 maa waa ta-**maa**7an-li+ch
 RPT FOC 3PL.SUB-**throw.away**(PFV)-PFV+ALD
 ‘They threw it away.’ [T0020: 036]

3.2.1.5 Instrumental puu-

The verbal prefix *puu-* adds an instrumental argument to a clause. In the example below in (334a), the root verb *7ii* ‘bring’ is transitive, and there are two overt nominals in the clause—an agent *kinati* ‘my mother’ and a patient *tz'aw* ‘quelite’ (a type of greens). In (334b), the instrumental prefix *puu-* is affixed to the same root verb, creating a ditransitive stem, and the clause has three overt nominals—an agent *Xiiwaan* ‘Juan’, a patient *xtaxtoqta* ‘stuff’, and an instrument *paatii* ‘boat’.

- (334) a. 7iyy juu tz'aw juu kinati
 7ii-y juu tz'aw juu kin-nati
 bring-IMPFV ART quelite ART 1POS-mother
 ‘My mother brings the quelite.’ [MNB13: 18]

- b. **puu**7iiy juu xtaxtoqta juu Xiiwaan juu paatii
puu-7ii-y juu x-taxtoqta juu Xiiwaan juu paatii
INST-bring-IMPV ART 3POS-thing ART Juan ART boat
‘Juan brings his stuff by boat.’ [MNB13: 19]

For any clause containing an instrumental argument which is co-indexed on the verb stem by the prefix *puu-*, there is a corresponding clause in which the verb is not affixed with *puu-* and the instrumental argument appears as an oblique object of a prepositional phrase. Examples are shown in (335), (336), and (337). The (a) examples show the instrumental verb stem, and the (b) examples show the corresponding prepositional phrase.

- (335)a. juu Susan **puu**7aqalhoonalh juu paat’alan
juu Susan **puu**-7a-qalhaju-nVn-li juu paat’alan
ART Susan INST-PL.INO-steal-INO-PFV ART pistol
‘Susan stole with a pistol.’

- b. juu Susan 7aqalhoonalh juu lakapaat’alan
juu Susan 7a-qalhaju-nVn-li juu laka-paat’alan
ART Susan PL.INO-steal-INO-PFV ART PREP-pistol
‘Susan stole with a pistol.’

- (336)a. **puu**7alht’ilitnin juu 7alhik juu 7uun
puu-7alht’ilitnin juu 7alhik juu 7uun
INST-fly(IMPV) ART paper ART air
‘The paper flies in the air.’

- b. 7alht’ilitnin juu 7alhik juu **laka**7uun
7alht’ilitnin juu 7alhik juu **laka**-7uun
fly(IMPV) ART paper ART PREP-air
‘The paper flies with the air.’ [MNB13: 8]

- (337)a. **puu**lakxixlh juu puumpu7 juu 7uun
puu-lak-xix-li juu puumpu7 juu 7uun
INST-PL-dry-PFV ART clothing ART air
‘The clothing dried in the air.’

comitative arguments (both overt nominals and prefixes) are underlined. In these examples, the verb is affixed with the indefinite object suffix *-nVn*, which suppresses the direct object.⁹⁸ The third person comitative object in (340a) is singular and, thus, not co-indexed on the verb stem. The plural third person comitative argument *pumat'uy lapanak* 'two people' in (340b) is co-indexed on the verb by the plural prefix *lak-*; however, the same plural comitative argument in (340c) is not co-indexed on the verb.

(340) a. juu ki7in kt'aa7asaanan juu Weensis
 juu ki7in k-t'aa-7a-saa-nVn juu Weensis
 ART PRN.1SG 1SUB-COM-PL.INO-play-INO(IMPFV) ART Lawrence
 'I play [music] with Lawrence.'

b. juu ki7in klakt'aa7asaanan
 juu ki7in k-lak-t'aa-7a-saa-nan
 ART PRN.1SG 1SUB-PL-COM-PL.INO-play-INO(IMPFV)

pumat'uy lapanak
puma-t'uy lapanak
CLS-two person
 'I play [music] with two people.'

c. juu ki7in kt'aa7asaanan
 juu ki7in k-t'aa-7a-saa-nVn
 ART PRN.1SG 1SUB-COM-PL.INO-play-INO(IMPFV)

pumat'uy lapanak
puma-t'uy lapanak
CLS-two person
 'I play [music] with two people.'

[Q3D]

When the comitative verb stem is transitive, only one object is co-indexed on the verb, as seen below in (341). The transitive, non-comitative verb stem in (341a) has a first person object (underlined), which is co-indexed on the verb by

⁹⁸ In these examples, I have included the direct object [*music*] in the glosses for clarity.

kin-. The transitive comitative verb stem in (341b) has two objects—a first person singular patient argument and a third person plural comitative object, but only the first person patient object is co-indexed on the verb.

- (341) a. kinmaapaayniy [juu kinati]_{SUB}
 kin-maapaayni-y juu kin-nati
 1OBJ-love-IMPV ART 1POS-mother
 ‘My mother loves me.’
- b. kin**t'aa**maapaayniy [juu kinati]_{SUB}
 kin-t'aa-maapaayni-y juu kin-nati
 1OBJ-COM-love-IMPV ART 1POS-mother
- [juu ki7amachaqa7 juu kintz'alh]_{COM OBJ}
 juu kin-7amachaqa7 juu kin-tz'alh
 ART 1POS-wife ART 1POS-son
 ‘My mother, along with my wife and my son, loves me.’ [Q3D]

The comitative prefix *t'aa-* may co-occur with the reciprocal prefix *laa-*,⁹⁹ as seen below in the examples in (342). This combination of morphemes also occurs in Sierra Totonac, but it is not known to occur in any other Totonacan language (MacKay and Trechsel 2003).¹⁰⁰ In (342b) the plural comitative argument *xqooyun* ‘dogs’ is co-indexed on the verb by the plural prefix *lak-* (underlined twice).

- (342) a. **t'aa**laataylaj7an juu xqooy juu maqtili7
t'aa-laa-taylaj7an juu xqooy juu maqtili7
 COM-RCP-attack(IMPV) ART dog ART wild.animal
 ‘The dog and the wild animal attack each other.’ [TPWDB]

⁹⁹ See Section 3.2.1.2 for more information on the reciprocal prefix.

¹⁰⁰ According to Watters (1988), this combination of prefixes is not productive in Tlachichilco Tepehua, though there is a lexicalized form meaning ‘enemy’ in which these prefixes co-occur: t'a:-la:-xkay (COM-REC-hate) (p. 444).

- b. juu maqtili7 lakt'aalaataylaj7alh
 juu maqtili7 lak-t'aa-laa-taylaj7an-li
 ART wild.animal PL-COM-RCP-attack-PFV
- juu laqat'uy xqooyun
 juu laqa-t'uy xqooy-un
 ART CLS-two dog-PL
 'The wild animal and the two dogs attacked each other.' [Q3D]

3.2.1.7 *Applicative lhii-*

The applicative prefix *lhii-* (APPL) adds an additional argument to the clause. I have chosen the rather generic name of 'applicative' for this prefix because the additional argument that it licenses may play several different roles.¹⁰¹ First, there are examples in which *lhii-* co-indexes an inanimate comitative argument;¹⁰² these examples are shown below in (343) and (344). Next there are examples in which *lhii-* co-indexes a patient; these examples are shown below in (345). Finally, there are examples in which *lhii-* co-indexes the argument that provides the motivation for the action of the verb; these examples are shown below in (346).

In all of the examples below in (343) and (344), *lhii-* co-indexes an inanimate comitative argument. Both examples in (343) also have an overt nominal that corresponds to the applicative *lhii-*, and this overt nominal happens to be *kapen* 'coffee' in both examples. In (344), the (a) example shows applicative *lhii-* prefixed to the verb, as well as an overt corresponding nominal *7asaqsi7*

¹⁰¹ Watters calls the Tlachichilco cognate prefix *lhii-* the 'directional' (1988: 157). McQuown (1990: 185), MacKay (1999: 273), and Beck (2004: 60) all call the Totonac cognate prefix *lhi-* the 'instrumental'.

¹⁰² An *animate* comitative argument is co-indexed on the verb by the comitative prefix *t'aa-*; see Section 3.2.1.6.

‘sugar’. The (b) example shows the corresponding clause in which the applicative argument *7asaqsi7* occurs as an oblique object of a prepositional phrase *laka7asa7si7* ‘with sugar’.

(343) a. **lhii**ch'ampaxaa juu kapen
lhii-ch'an-paxaa juu kapen
 APPL-FOOT-bathe(PFV) ART coffee

juu Miikii juu xtzi7
 juu Miikii juu x-7atzi7
 ART Miguel ART 3POS-girl
 ‘Miguel (accidentally) bathed his daughter’s foot
 with coffee.’ [MNB13: 2]

b. **lhii**kikchalh juu xkapen juu 7atzi7
lhii-kik-cha-li juu x-kapen juu 7atzi7
 APPL-MOUTH-burn-PFV ART 3POS-coffee ART girl
 ‘The girl burned her lip with the coffee.’ [ELIEX4: 051]

(344) a. **lhii**yajuy juu 7asaqsi7 juu xkaan juu Fidela
lhii-yajuy-y juu 7asaqsi7 juu xkaan juu Fidela
 APPL-mix-IMPFV ART sugar ART water ART Fidela
 ‘Fidela mixes the water with sugar.’ [MNB13: 5]

b. yajuy juu xkaan juu Fidela juu laka7asa7si7
 yaju-y juu xkaan juu Fidela juu laka-7asa7si7
 mix-IMPFV ART water ART Fidela ART PREP-sugar
 ‘Fidela mixes the water with sugar.’ [MNB13: 5]

The examples shown below in (345) all have an applicative argument that corresponds to the patient of the action of the verb occurs. In the case of example (a), the intransitive verb root *7atz'ala* ‘run’ is transitivized by the addition of the applicative *lhii-*. In the (b) example, the (lack of third person) morphology does not make it clear that there is an additional applicative object (that is, an applicative object in addition to the direct object *laqpuutanuuta* ‘mask’), but the gloss does. What is especially interesting about these directional applicative

examples is that the language has other, more specific, morphemes that could have been used instead: the causative in the case of the (a) example and the reflexive in the case of the (b) example; however, the speakers chose to use the applicative morpheme.

- (345) a. taas kin**lhii**sk'awatz'alat'i
 taas kin-**lhii**-skaw-7atz'ala-t'i
 since 1OBJ-**APPL**-rabbit-run-2SG.SUB.PFV
 'Since you ran me off like a rabbit, . . . ' [T0054: 029]
- b. lhiitamawlh laqatam xlaqpuutanuuta
lhii-tamaju-li laqa-tam x-laqpuutanuuta
APPL-buy-PFV CL:general-one 3POS-mask
 'He bought himself one mask.' [T0055: 048]

Finally, there are examples in which the argument that is co-indexed by applicative *lhii*- is actually the motivation for the action of the verb, as seen in the examples below in (346).

- (346) a. puus yuuch lhiijunkan Huehuetla
 puus yuuch **lhii**-jun-kan Huehuetla
 well PRN.3SG **APPL**-call-INS(IMPFV) Huehuetla
 'Well, that is why they called it Huehuetla.' [T0057: 040]
- b. yuuch maa lhiitalhawaych juu qayxkaan
yuuch maa **lhii**-talhawa-y+ch juu qayxkaan
PRN.3SG RPT **APPL**-flood-IMPFV+ALD ART river
 'That is why the river floods.' [T0057: 085]
- c. lhiitz'i7inawlhch
lhii-tz'i7in-aw-li+ch
APPL-laugh-1PL.SUB-PFV+ALD
 'We laugh because of it.' [T0066: 115]

There are many lexicalized examples of verb stems affixed with *lhii*-, three of which are shown below in (347).

- (347) a. **lhii**maqniy
lhii-maqni-y
 APPL-kill-IMPV
 ‘She poisons him.’
 LIT: ‘She kills him with X.’ [TPWDB]
- b. **klhii**7anta kimpuumpu7
 k-**lhii**-7an-ta kin-puumpu7
 1SUB-APPL-go-PF 1POS-clothing
 ‘I’m wearing my clothing.’
 LIT: ‘I have gone with my clothes.’ [TPWDB]
- c. **lhii**milh juu 7ixkuux juu lapának
lhii-min-li juu 7ix-kuux juu lapának
 APPL-come-PFV ART 3POS-corn ART person
 ‘The man brought his corn.’
 LIT: ‘The man came with his corn.’ [TPWDB]

There are some examples of compound verbs in which the applicative prefix *lhii-* intervenes between the two verb roots; all such examples have either *tzuku* ‘begin’ or *t’ajun* ‘go around X-ing’¹⁰³ as the second verb in the compound, as seen below in (348) and (349), respectively. It is clear that these are indeed compound verbs because the entire two-verb stem is enclosed by person- and TAM-marking prefixes and suffixes.

- (348) a. puxkool**hiit**zukulalh
 puxkaju=**lhii**-tzuku-kan-li
 search.for=APPL-BEGIN-INS-PFV
 ‘They began to search for it.’ [T0020: 012]
- b. nii xatalaqaqal**hiit**zukuych juu 7anch
 nii xa-ta-laqaqa=**lhii**-tzuku-y+ch juu 7anch
 COMP PAST-3PL.SUB-drag=APPL-BEGIN-IMPV+ALD ART there
 ‘When they began to drag her around there, . . .’ [T0063: 058]

¹⁰³ Please see Sections 3.2.3.4 and 3.2.3.5 for more information on the ambulative *-t’ajun* and ‘begin’ *-tzuku*, respectively.

- (349) a. 7anch juu xtalaqxaqa**lhiit'**ajunch
 7anch juu x-ta-laqxaqa=**lhii-**t'ajun+ch
 there REL PAST-3PL.SUB-drag=**APPL**-AMB(IMPFV)+ALD
 'There where they went around dragging her.' [T0063: 056]
- b. maa waa talaqxaqa**lhiit'**ajun juu Maliyaa
 maa waa ta-laqxaqa=**lhii-**t'ajun juu Maliyaa
 RPT FOC 3PL.SUB-drag=**APPL**-AMB(IMPFV) ART María
 'They just went around dragging María.' [T0063: 071]

3.2.1.8 Body Part Prefixes

Huehuetla Tepehua has a set of lexical prefixes (Mithun 1997), the majority of which are reduced forms of nouns that refer to body parts or to metaphorical extensions of body parts. These body part prefixes (hereafter, BPPs) may be affixed to verbs, nouns, and adjectives.¹⁰⁴ In HT, a body part may occur in a noun phrase separate from the verb, as in (350a) or it may occur as a verbal prefix, as in (350b). In all of the following examples, BPPs are shown in bold type, while corresponding body part nominals are underlined.

- (350) a. ch'aqay juu xmaka7
 ch'aqa-y juu x-maka7
 wash-IMPFV ART 3POS-hand
 'She washes her hands.'
- b. **makch'**aqalh
mak-ch'aqa-li
HAND-wash-PFV
 'She washed her hands.' [TPWDB]

The BPP and the verb form a stem which is then inflected for person, tense, aspect, and mood, as seen below in (351).

¹⁰⁴ Please see Chapter 4, Section 4.2.8 for information on BPPs affixed to nouns, and see Chapter 5, Section 5.1.3 for information on BPPs affixed to adjectives.

c. **laqpuutaqanqay** juu laxlaqchulh
laqpuu-taqanqa-y juu laka-x-laqchulh
 EYE-sick-IMPV ART PREP-3POS-eye
 ‘He has an illness in his eyes.’ [ELIEX3: 071]

(353) waa **lakpuuxakay** ** [juu xlaqchulh]
 waa **laqpuu-xaka-y** [juu x-laqchulh]
 FOC EYE-clean-IMPV [ART 3POS-eye]
 ‘S/he cleans his/her eyes.’ [TPWDB]

Similarly, if the nominal body part represents the part and the BPP represents the whole in a part-whole relationship, then the overt nominal must appear as an oblique object of the preposition, as seen below in (354). In this example, the overt nominal *tz'anqesiit* ‘toenail’ is a part of the whole BPP *ch'an* ‘foot’. This type of construction in which the BPP is the whole and the nominal is the part in a part-whole relationship rarely occurs.

(354) juu Susan **ch'anmaniy** juu lastz'an7esiit
 juu Susan **ch'an-mani-y** juu laka-x-tz'anqesiit
 ART Susan FOOT-paint-IMPV ART PREP-3POS-toenail
 ‘Susan paints her toenails.’ [MNB13: 68]

However, if the BPP is a part of a larger whole, then the nominal that represents the whole is an argument of the verb stem, as seen below in (355). In this construction, the BPP represents a part, and the full nominal represents the whole in a part-whole relationship. For example, in (a), the BPP *laqapuu-* ‘surface’ is a part of the larger whole *miixaa* ‘table’. In (b), *kik-* ‘mouth’ indicates the blade part of the whole knife *paalakch'uk'un*. In (c) the BPP *kilhtu-* ‘edge’ is a part of the whole *skumilh* ‘pot’.

(355) a. **laqapuuch'aqalhch** juu miixaa juu t'aku7
laqapuu-ch'aqa-li+ch juu miixaa juu t'aku7
 SURFACE-wash-PFV+ALD ART table ART woman
 ‘The woman washed the table.’ [ELIEX3: 057]

subject *skaw* ‘rabbit’. However, in (357b), the BPP *puu-* ‘insides’ is affixed to the verb, and *paaloqoy* ‘cage’ is a verbal object argument, rather than an oblique object of the preposition. In this example, the BPP *puu-* ‘insides’ is a part of the whole cage.

(357) a. juu skaw tanuun juu lakapaaloqoy
 juu skaw tanuun juu laka-paaloqoy
 ART rabbit inserted ART PREP-cage
 ‘The rabbit is in the cage.’ [MB54-2]

b. juu skaw **puu**tanuun juu paaloqoy
 juu skaw **puu**-tanuun juu paaloqoy
 ART rabbit **INSIDES**-inserted ART cage
 ‘The rabbit is inside the cage.’ [MB54-3]

In the above example (357b), the ‘rabbit’ *skaw* is the patient/subject of the clause, and the ‘cage’ *paaloqoy* is a verbal argument by virtue of external possession,¹⁰⁶ that is, it is an argument because (i) it is the possessor of the BPP that is affixed to the verb and (ii) it is the whole of which the BPP is a part. There are many such examples in which the possessor of the part that is co-indexed by the BPP is promoted to a verbal argument, some of which are shown in (358) and (359). In the example in (358a), the noun *lapanak* ‘person’ is a clausal argument because it is the external possessor of the BPP *kih-* ‘mouth’; in (358b) *lapanák* ‘people’ is a clausal argument because it is the external possessor of the BPP *laka-* ‘body’; and in (358c) *lapanak* ‘person’ is a clausal argument because it is the external possessor of the BPP *mak-* ‘hand’.

¹⁰⁶ External possession constructions are those constructions in which (i) a possessor of a possessed nominal (the possessum) is a core argument of the clause, not simply a dependent of the possessum, and (ii) the possessor is not included in the argument frame of the lexical verb root. External Possession has also been referred to as possessor raising and possessor ascension (Payne and Barshi 1999).

- (358) a. **kílh**tanuun juu 7ix7ukx7uti juu lapanak
kílh-tanuun juu 7ix-7ukx7uti juu lapanak
MOUTH-inserted(IMPV) ART 3POS-cigarette ART person
‘The cigarette is in the person’s mouth.’ [MB39]
- b. maa waa **lakap**'uch'ilh juu lapanák
maa waa **laka**-p'uch'i-li juu lapanak
RPT FOC **BODY**-rot-PFV ART people
‘The people’s **bodies** rotted.’ [T0057: 010]
- c. pumatam lapanak **mak**chilikx7uta
puma-tam lapanak **mak**-chilikx7u-ta
CL:human-one person **HAND**-go.numb-PF
‘One person’s hand went to sleep.’ [ELIEX1: 033]

If the possessor of the body part that is co-indexed on the verb is first person, than it is co-indexed on the verb by subject (and not object) marking, as seen below in (359).¹⁰⁷

- (359) k**lakak**'uunlh juu chaway
k-**laka**-k'uun-li juu chaway
1SUB-**BODY**-swell-PFV ART today
‘I swelled up today.’ [ELIEX3: 012]

In many instances, however, the BPP does not actually change the valency of the verb; instead, it is in a part-whole relationship with an existing argument. In the following examples in (360), the BPP is in a part-whole relationship with the agent/subject; in these examples, the BPPs are shown in bold type and the agent/subjects are underlined. In (360a) the BPP *7aq-* ‘head’ is a part of the whole, which is a first person agent/subject. In (360b), the BPP *7aqx-* ‘shoulder’

¹⁰⁷ I presume that the same would be true for a second person possessor, too, given the person-marking hierarchy in (247) in which SAP objects outrank third person objects with respect to double object marking on the verb. Also, see Chapter 6, Section 6.1 on Predicate Nominals and Section 6.3 on Predicate Adjectives, where a split in person-marking is discussed.

- b. lootz kilaqxtansaa
 lootz ki-laqxtan-saa
 pow 1OBJ-JAW-hit(PFV)
 ‘Pow! He hit me in the **jaw**.’ [ELIEX4: 020]
- c. 7aksch juu xalaktantamakxtukan
 7aks+ch juu xa-lak-tan-tamakxtu-kan
 when+ALD ART PAST-PL-TORSO-take.out-INS(IMPFV)
 ‘That is when someone took them outside.’ [T0063: 078]
- d. kakatiilasoqnik'ayaaw
 ka-**ka-tii**-lasoqnik'a-ya7-w
 IRR-**TIP-BUTT**-straighten-FUT-1PL.SUB
 ‘We are going to straighten it [a board] on the **top** and **bottom**.’ [T0069: 115]

Note that in the examples above in (360) and (361), all of the BPPs are glossed with prepositional phrases in the English free translations.

The BPPs may co-occur with other valency-increasing morphology, as seen in the examples in (362); in these examples, both the valency-increasing prefixes and the corresponding nominal arguments are underlined, while the BPPs are in bold type. Below in (a), the applicative prefix *lhii-* promotes the nominal *kapen* ‘coffee’ to the status of object argument. In (b), the causative prefix *maa-* adds licenses the addition of the agent nominal *Tziiku7* ‘Frank’.

- (362)a. lhii**kik**chalh juu xkapen juu 7atzi7
lhii-kik-cha-li juu x-kapen juu 7atzi7
APPL-MOUTH-burn-PFV ART 3POS-coffee ART girl
 ‘The girl burned her lip with/on the coffee.’ [ELIEX4: 051]

- b. jaantu waa ch'uk'uqalhtajukan
 jaantu waa **ch'uk'u=qalhtaju**-kan
 NEG FOC **split=lower**-INS(IMPV)
 'It can't be split downwards.' / 'No se corta para abajo.' [T0069: 145]
- c. kaa 7akch'uk'up'uxnilhch p'ulhnan
 kaa 7a-k-**ch'uk'u=p'ux**-ni-li+ch p'ulhnan
 BLV IRR-1SUB-**split=cut**-DAT-PFV+ALD first
 'I think that I have to cut it first.' [T0069: 196]
- d. laksak7uy juu xkuux juu chiila7
 lak-**sak=7u**-y juu x-kuux juu chiila7
 PL-**lift=eat**-IMPV ART 3POS-corn ART chicken
 'The chicken picks up its corn and eats it.' [TPWDB]

3.2.3 Aspectual Derivational Affixes

In HT the aspectual derivational affixes include the inchoative (3.2.3.1), the imminent (3.2.3.2), the roundtrip (3.2.3.3), the ambulative (3.2.3.4), a second type of inchoative that I call 'begin' (3.2.3.5), the desiderative (3.2.3.6), two types of repetitive action affixes that I call 'repetition' (3.2.3.7) and 'again' (3.2.3.8), an affix that indicates a complete set that I call 'all' (3.2.3.9), and the distal and the proximal (3.2.3.10).

3.2.3.1 Inchoative *ta-*

The inchoative prefix *ta-* indicates that the subject of the clause is entering into a state or beginning an action. It may occur on both transitive and intransitive verbs, and it occurs in all tenses, aspects, and moods, as seen in the examples below in (365).

- (365)a. maa naa xtamaaqantalhanantach
 maa naa x-**ta**-maaqantalhanan-**ta**+ch
 RPT EMP PAST-**INCH**-frighten-PF+ALD
 'she had been frightened' [T0003: 031]

- b. *katalakpaxayaaw*
 ka-**ta**-lak-paxay-a7-w
 IRR-**INCH**-DIS(?)-move-FUT-1PL.SUB
 ‘We (INCL) are going to move.’ [T0057: 013]
- c. waa **tat**'eqelh juu mimprensa
 waa **ta**-t'eqe-li juu min-prensa
 FOC **INCH**-break-PFV ART 2POS-vise
 ‘Your vise broke?’ [T0069: 123]
- d. nii *katarresgalalhch*
 nii ka-**ta**-arresgala-li+ch
 COMP IRR-**INCH**-risk-PFV+ALD
 ‘if she will risk it.’ [T0069: 432]

According to Watters (1988), in Tlachichilco Tepehua, only stative verbs (and verbs of destruction) “may serve as the base for the inchoative prefix *ta-*” (p. 42). Though the majority of textual examples involving the inchoative prefix do occur on stative verbs in Huehuetla Tepehua as well, this prefix appears on the non-stative verb in (365b) above. However, according to Watters (p.c.), in Tlachichilco Tepehua, the root *paxay* is a stative verb meaning ‘X is different, changed’. Further semantic testing needs to be done on this HT verb to confirm if it is or is not a stative.

When the inchoative prefix *ta-* precedes a body part prefix, as seen below in the examples in (366b) and (366c), it is acting as a fully productive morpheme. When it follows a body part prefix, as seen below in the examples in (367), the inchoative prefix and the verb root form a lexicalized frozen form that is no longer productive. In (367), *tanuu* ‘insert’ is a lexicalized stem, whereas *tajuu* ‘insert’ in (366), is a productive stem composed of *ta-* and the verb *jun* ‘to be’,

between which a lexical prefix may intervene. In all of these examples, the inchoative *ta-* is in bold type and the BPPs are underlined.

- (366) a. **ta**juulhch juu lapanak juu lakxkaan
ta-jun-li+ch juu lapanak juu lak-xkaan
INCH-be-PFV+ALD ART person ART PREP-water
 ‘The man got into the water.’
- b. **ta**tiijuulhch juu t'aku7 lakaxkaan
ta-tii-jun-li+ch juu t'aku7 laka-xkaan
INCH-BUTT-be-PFV+ALD ART woman PREP-water
 ‘The woman sat down in the water.’
- c. **ta**qaqjuulhch juu 7asqat'a lakaxaaluu
ta-qaq-jun-li+ch juu 7asqat'a laka-xaaluu
INCH-MOUTH-be-PFV+ALD ART child PREP-pitcher
 ‘The child stuck his mouth in a pitcher.’ [TPWDB]
- (367) a. katutanuuputun juu 7ix7atusliyuti juu t'aku7
katu-tanuu-putun juu 7ix-atusliyuti juu t'aku7
ear-insert-DESID(IMPFV) ART 3POS-earring ART woman
 ‘The woman wants to put in her earrings.’
- b. piixtanuulhch juu 7ixmilhpu7uti juu t'aku7
piix-tanuu-li+ch juu 7ix-milhpu7uti juu t'aku7
neck-insert-PFV+ALD ART 3POS-necklace ART woman
 ‘The woman put on her necklace.’ [TPWDB]

The inchoative prefix precedes other derivational prefixes, such as the causative prefix *maa-*, shown below in (368).

- (368) lhiikilhch juu lapanak juu qayxkaan
 lhiiki-li+ch juu lapanak juu qayxkaan
 dam-PFV+ALD ART person ART river
- juu **tama**axixikan
 juu **ta**-maa-xixi-kan
 REL **INCH-CAUS**-dry(VT)-RFL(IMPFV)
 ‘The man dammed the river to dry it up.’ [ELIEX4: 042]

3.2.3.2 *Imminent ti-*

The imminent prefix *ti-* is homophonous with the negative future prefix (see Section 3.1.2.3 on Mood), but the two prefixes have very different meanings. The imminent prefix indicates that the subject argument is about to perform the action of the verb. This prefix is relatively rare; examples are shown in (369).

- (369) a. **k****ti**7anchoqoych
k-**ti**-7an-choqo-y+ch
1SUB-**IMM**-go-AGAIN-IMPV+ALD
'I'm about to leave again.' [T0066: 282]
- b. chaa **k****ti**7iiy
chaa k-**ti**-7ii-y
over.there 1SUB-**IMM**-bring-IMPV
'I'm about to go over there to get it.' [T0069: 373]

3.2.3.3 *Roundtrip kii-*

The roundtrip prefix *kii-* indicates that the subject of the clause went somewhere else to perform the action of the verb and returned again. The cognate prefix in other Totonacan languages has been called the “regressive” (McQuown 1990: 184), the “intentional” (MacKay 1999: 327), “return” (Watters 1988: 248), and “roundtrip” (Beck 2004: 77). As there is no consensus in the literature, I follow Beck because “roundtrip” is both descriptively accurate and easy to abbreviate as RT. Given that the notion of going and returning implies completion of the action, the roundtrip prefix occurs only in the past tense imperfective aspect, the perfect aspect, and the perfective aspect, as seen in the examples below in (370).

- (372) a. maa x7alhtanat'**ajun** juu laxtaanqaa
 maa x-7alhtanan-**t'ajun** juu laka-x-taanqaa
 RPT PAST-walk-**AMB**(IMPFV) ART PREP-3POS-bottom
- juu lakilakakapenan
 juu laka-kin-lakakapen-an
 ART PREP-1POS-coffee.field-PL
 'He went around walking below my coffee fields.' [T0022: 029]
- b. talhiimukunt'**ajun**
 ta-lhii-mukun-**t'ajun**
 3PL.SUB-APPL-take.along-**AMB**(IMPFV)
 'They go around carrying her along.' [T0063: 017]
- c. tiix laqxtuch juu lhiit'aqap'**at'a7un**
 tiix laqxtu+ch juu lhii-t'aqap'**a-t'ajun**
 why alone+ALD REL APPL-get.drunk-**AMB(2SUB)**(IMPFV)
 'Why do you go around getting drunk?' [T0066: 091]

I have chosen to analyze the ambulative *t'ajun* as a verb-verb compound (rather than as a derivational suffix) because in the ambulative construction, the verbal applicative prefix *lhii-* may intervene between the two verbs, as if it were prefixed to the second verb *t'ajun*, as seen below in (373).

- (373) 7anch juu xtalaqxaqal**lhii't'ajunch**
 7anch juu x-ta-laka-xaqa-**lhii-t'ajun**+ch
 there REL PAST-3PL.SUB-BODY-pull-**APPL-AMB**(IMPFV)+ALD
 'It was there that they went around pulling her.' [T0063: 056]

3.2.3.5 *Begin -tzuku*

Like the verb *t'ajun*, the verb *tzuku* occurs alone as a main verb, as part of a verb-verb compound, and as part of a periphrastic construction. Interestingly, the verb-verb compound formed with *tzuku* and the periphrastic construction formed with *tzuku* both have the same meaning, which is one of inchoative aspect.

However, I label this verb as ‘begin’ so as not to confuse it with the inchoative prefix *ta-*. The periphrastic use of *tzuku* is discussed in Section 3.4.1.3.

When *tzuku* occurs alone as a main verb, it means ‘to be born’, as seen in the example below in (374).

- (374) *tzukulh* juu 7asqat'a
tzuku-li juu 7asqat'a
be.born-PFV ART child
 ‘The child was born.’ [TPWDB]

When *tzuku* occurs as the second verb in a verb-verb compound, the construction means ‘begin to X’, as seen in the examples below in (375). This is clearly a compound construction because the person and TAM marking enclose both verbs in (375b). Also, note that the applicative prefix *lhii-* intervenes between the two verbs in this same example.

- (375) a. 7uksunt**tzukulh** laqaxix
 7uksun=**tzuku-li** laka-xix
 walk=**begin**-PFV PREP-dry
 ‘It began to walk along in the dried [riverbed].’ [T0058: 039]
- b. xatalaqxaqalhiit**tzuku**choqoych
 xa-ta-laka-xaqa=*lhii-tzuku*-choqo-y+ch
 PAST-3PL.SUB-BODY-pull=APPL-**begin**-again-IMPV+ALD
 ‘They began to pull her again.’ [T0066: 028]

3.2.3.6 Desiderative *-putun*

The desiderative suffix *-putun* is affixed to the stem of the verb, producing the meaning ‘want to X’. The desiderative stem is inflected for person and TAM, as seen in the examples below in (376). The suffix *-putun* does not occur alone as a main verb.

- (376)a. wachuuch waa ktamakoom**putun** 7ani7
 wachuu+ch waa k-tamakajun-**putun** 7ani7
 also+ALD FOC 1SUB-stay-**DESID**(IMPFV) here
 ‘I want to stay here, too.’ [T0055: 063]
- b. jaantu xaklaqtz'**inputunan**
 jaantu xa-k-laqtz'**in-putun-an**
 NEG PAST-1SUB-see-**DESID**(IMPFV)-2OBJ
 ‘I did not want to see you.’ [TPWDB]
- c. maa naa lhuu jaantuch xtamin**putun**
 maa naa lhuu jaantu+ch x-ta-min-**putun**
 RPT very many NEG+ALD PAST-3PL.SUB-come-**DESID**(IMPFV)
 ‘Many [people] did not want to come.’ [T0057: 027]

In the perfective aspect, the final /n/ in *-putun* is deleted before the *-lh* perfective suffix, as seen below in example (377).

- (377)a. juu 7u**putulhch** kaa 7ulhch
 juu 7u-**putun-li+ch** kaa 7u-li+ch
 REL eat-**DESID**-PFV+ALD BLV eat-PFV+ALD
 ‘Whoever wanted to eat it, he ate it, I think.’ [T0020: 034]
- b. naa k'**uputulh**
 naa k-7u-**putun-li**
 FOC 1SUB-eat-**DESID**-PFV
 ‘I wanted to eat it.’ [Q3D]

In the perfective aspect, when the subject is second person singular, *-putun* is reduced to *-p'u*, as seen below in (378).

- (378)naa 7u**p'ut'i**
 naa 7u-**putun-t'i**
 EMP eat-**DESID**(PFV.2SUB)-2SG.SUB.PFV
 ‘You wanted to eat it.’ [Q3D]

3.2.3.7 Repetitive *-pala*

The repetitive suffix *-pala* may be affixed to a verb root or stem, and it indicates repeated or repetitive action of the verb. It frequently is translated as

‘again’; however it implies that the action of the verb is repeated frequently, either repetitively or on various occasions or regular intervals. The suffix *-pala* has two allomorphes, *-paa* and *-palh*. The full form *-pala* occurs in the imperfective and perfect aspects and the future tense, shown below in (379), and the two allomorphes *-paa* and *-palh* occur in the perfective aspect, shown in (381) and (382), respectively.

- (379)a. nii yuuch jaantu lhiimimpalay juu 7ani7
 nii yuuch jaantu lhii-min-pala-y juu 7ani7
 COMP PRN.3SG NEG APPL-come-REP-IMPVART here
 ‘That is why I never come here.’
 (‘That is why I repeatedly do not come here.’) [T0054: 033]
- b. nii kaa waa p'atz'ik xqot'palata
 nii kaa waa p'atz'ik x-qot'-pala-ta
 COMP BLV FOC a.little PAST-drink-REP-PF
 ‘I think that you were a little drunk.’
 (Implying that addressee was frequently drunk) [T0054: 032]
- c. kasaapalaaw juu 7anuu laqatam juu San Bartolo
 ka-saa-pala-a7-w juu 7anuu laqa-tam juu San Bartolo
 IRR-play-REP-FUT-1PL.SUB ART DADJ CL-one ART San Bartolo
 ‘We are going to play this one from San Bartolo.’ [T0066: 116]
 (These are musicians practicing, so they will play the piece repeatedly)

The suffix *-pala* may co-occur with other aspectual derivational suffixes, as seen below in (380). When this occurs, *-pala* is the next-to-last suffix on the stem to which the person and TAM markers are affixed; the only suffixes that may follow it are the distal and proximal ones, an example of which is shown below in the example in (382a).

- (380)a. juu 7asqat'a kalinchoqopala7
 juu 7asqat'a ka-7alin-choqo-pala-a7
 ART child IRR-there.is-AGAIN-REP-FUT
 ‘There will be more children.’ [T0059: 014]

- b. wachu7 naa xtipastakt'**oonpalay** tachuu 7ani7
 wachu7 naa x-ti-pastak-t'**ajun-pala-y** tachuu 7ani7
 also EMP PAST-IMM-think-AMB-REP-IMPFV like DADJ
 'He (repeatedly) went around thinking like this, too.' [T0069: 041]
- c. 7amputump**alay** wachu7 juu Susan
 7an-putun-**pala-y** wachu7 juu Susan
 go-DESID-REP-IMPFV also ART Susan
 'Susan wants to go, too.' [T0069: 429]

The reduced form *-paa*, shown in the examples in (381) occurs only word-finally and only in the perfective aspect. It is derived phonologically and analogically from *-pala*. The word-final short vowel is deleted, the /l/ neutralizes to /ʎ/, which is then deleted by analogy with perfective lateral deletion (see chapter 2, sections 2.6.1.2, 2.6.2, and 2.7.6, respectively). The dilemma here is why this happens at all. Since this suffix *precedes* the aspectual suffixes (as seen above, we would expect for the perfective marker *-li* to occur after *-pala*, which would prevent *-pala* from undergoing final short-vowel deletion, which would bleed the other two rules. However, the perfective suffix—for reasons that I am unable to determine—does not co-occur with *-pala*.

- (381)a. kilaqoxi**paa** juu doctor
 kin-laqoxi-**pala** juu doctor
 1OBJ-fix-REP.PFV ART doctor
 'The doctor cured me.'
 (Implying that it took several doctor visits to be cured.) [T0054: 044]
- b. waa k'atzay nii maa 7amp**aa** Pachuca
 waa k-k'atza-y nii maa 7an-**pala** Pachuca
 FOC 1SUB-know-IMPFV COMP RPT go-REP.PFV Pachuca
 'I know that he went to Pachuca again.' [T0069: 202]

The intermediate form *-palh* also occurs only in the perfective aspect, where perfective *-li* and *-pala* do not co-occur. I have only two examples of this allomorph, which are shown below in (382). In the (a) example, *-palh* is followed by the distal suffix *-chaa*, and in the (b) example it is followed by the temporal clitic *+ch*. There is a dilemma with respect to this form, too: why is the final /a/ of *-pala* deleted when it is not word final?¹⁰⁹

(382) a. kt'aaween**palh**chaa
 k-t'aa-wajin-**pala**-chaa
 1SUB-COM-eat-**REP**.PFV-DST
 'We ate there again.' [T0069: 242]

a. milh 7awilhchan nii kaa
 min-li 7awilhcha nii kaa
 come-PFV day COMP BLV

lhii7an**palh**ch juu maa p'aax
 lhii7an-**pala**+ch juu maa p'aax
 take-**REP**.PFV+ALD ART RPT pig
 'The day came when it carried off a pig again.' [T0020: 016]

Watters (1988) quotes a personal communication from Dorothy Herzog regarding the use of *-pala* in Huehuetla Tepehua to indicate “an unexpected turn of events” (p. 242). Such examples of this use of *-pala* are rare in my own data, though they do occur. Examples are shown below in (383).

(383) a. waa ni**paa** juu xnatic juu 7atzi7
 waa ni-**pala** juu x-nati+ch juu 7atzi7
 FOC die-**REP**.PFV ART 3POS-mother+ALD ART girl
 'The girl's mother died (unexpectedly).' [T0054: 004]

¹⁰⁹ The deletion of the final /a/ in *-pala* triggers liquid neutralization.

- b. maa toq^{lh} 7an**paa** juu lakajip
 maa toq^{lh} 7an-**pala** juu laka-jip
 RPT ID:burning go-**REP**.PFV ART PREP-fire
 ‘She (unexpectedly) jumped into the fire.’ [T0054: 074]

The cognate suffix has several different names in the Totonacan literature, including ‘repetitive’ (Aschmann and Wonderly 1952: 134; Beck 2004: 73), ‘again’ (Watters 1988: 240), and ‘reiterative’ (McQuown 1990: 183).

3.2.3.8 *Again -choqo*

The suffix *-choqo* may be affixed to a verb stem to produce the meaning ‘do the action (or achieve the state) of the verb again’ or ‘re-do the action (or re-achieve the state) of the verb’. The new stem is then inflected for person and TAM. HT examples are shown in (384).

- (384)a. maa min**choqo**lhch juu lakatii
 maa min-**choqo**-li+ch juu laka-tii
 RPT come-**AGAIN**-PFV+ALD ART PREP-road
 ‘He returned (came again) by the road.’ [T0055: 049]

- b. wachu7 k'an**choqo**ya7
 wachu7 k-7an-**choqo**-ya7
 also 1SUB-go-**AGAIN**-FUT
 ‘I’m going to go again, too.’ [T0055: 099]

The suffix *-choqo* may co-occur with other aspectual derivational suffixes, as seen below in (385). In (385a), *-choqo* precedes the distal suffix *-chaa*. In (385b), *-choqo* precedes the repetitive suffix *-pala*.

- (385)a. nii maa taspit**choqo**chaa
 nii maa taspit-**choqo**-chaa
 COMP RPT return-**AGAIN**-DST.PFV
 ‘When he returned there again, . . .’ [T0055: 045]

- b. 7entons maa pastak**choqopalakalh**
 7entons maa pastak-**choqo-pala**-kan-li
 then RPT think-**AGAIN-REP-INS-PFV**
 ‘Then they rethought it again.’ [T0057: 021]

Watters (1988) calls the cognate suffix in Tlachichilco Tepehua the ‘repetition’ suffix, and he says that it “is apparently a Tepehua innovation” (1988: 235).

The meaning of the suffix *-choqo* is very similar to that of the suffix *-pala*.¹¹⁰ However, while *-choqo* indicates that an action or state is repeated once, *-pala* indicates that the action is frequently or iteratively repeated. In fact, the two morphemes frequently co-occur, as seen above in (385b).

3.2.3.9 All *-qoju*

The suffix *-qoju* adds the meaning of ‘all’ or ‘completely’ to a clause. When it occurs on an intransitive verb, its presence indicates either that all members of a plural subject participated in the action of the verb, as seen in example (386a), or that the action of the verb was entirely completed, as seen in example (386b). When *-qoju* occurs on a transitive verb, it indicates that all members of a plural object were affected by the action of the verb, as seen in example (387). The full form *-qoju* occurs only in the imperfective aspect, shown in (388), while the reduced allomorph *-qoo* occurs in the perfective aspect—shown in (386) and (387)—and in the future tense, shown in (389). Given its denotation of completion, this suffix tends to occur most frequently with the perfective aspect, though it does occur with other tenses and aspects, as well. This

¹¹⁰ Note that my names for the suffixes *-choqo* and *-pala* are the opposite of those used for the cognate Tlachichilco Tepehua suffixes found in Watters 1988.

The cognate of this suffix has a variety of names in the Totonacan literature, including ‘terminative’ (McQuown 1990: 183), ‘completive’ (Watters 1988: 226; MacKay 1999: 335), and ‘all, completely’ (Beck 2004: 74).

3.2.3.10 *Distal -chaa and Proximal -chii*

Distal (distant from speaker, ‘there’) and proximal (close to speaker, ‘here’) location may be indicated on the verb by the suffixes *-chaa* and *-chii*, respectively.¹¹² The distal *-chaa* historically comes from the verb *chaa7an* ‘arrive there’. While the root verb *chaa7an* indicates motion away from the speaker or some reference point already established in the discourse, the suffix *-chaa* refers to a location distant from the speaker. Similarly, the proximal *-chii* historically comes from the verb *chin* ‘arrive here’. The verb *chin* indicates motion towards the speaker or some reference point already established in the discourse, while the suffix *-chii* indicates a location close to the speaker.

There is conflicting data in HT regarding the morphological order of these suffixes. Some of HT examples indicate that *-chaa* and *-chii* follow the aspectual markers, as seen below in the examples in (390). Other examples indicate that *-chaa* and *-chii* precede the perfective aspectual suffix, shown below in (391). In yet other examples, it is not possible to determine morpheme order because perfective aspect is not overtly marked, as seen below in (392).¹¹³

¹¹² Interestingly, distal *-chaa* occurs more frequently in my data than proximal *-chii* does.

¹¹³ Jim Watters has suggested to me that the distal and proximal suffixes follow the perfect aspect marker (*-ta*), the imperfective aspect marker (*-y ~ -a*), and the future tense marker (*-ya7 ~ -a7*). Though I would tend to agree with him, I do not have the necessary data to back this analysis up. The example in (390a) has the morpheme *-palh*, which is an allomorph of *-pala* REP that occurs only in the perfective aspect. However, this morpheme is not an aspect marker, and it is most likely the case that this example reflects the order of the distal suffix *-chaa* with respect to the repetitive marker *-pala* and not with respect to perfective aspect.

- (390)a. kt'aaweenpalh**cha**a
k-t'aa-wajin-pala-**cha**a
1SUB-COM-eat-REP.PFV-DST
‘We ate there again.’ [T0069: 242]
- b. maamaata**cha**a7as
maa-maa-ta-**cha**a+7as
CAUS-lying-PF-DST+TAGQ
‘He has it over there, right?’ [T0069: 406]
- (391)a. tanu**cha**alhch juu lakatalhpa
tanuu-**cha**a-li+ch juu laka-talhpa
enter-DST-PFV+ALD ART PREP-hill
‘It went into the cave.’ [T0020: 020]
- b. pero 7aksanii maa tanu**chi**ilh juu comunismo
pero 7aksanii maa tanuu-**chi**i-li juu comunismo
but then RPT enter-PRX-PFV ART communism
‘But then communism came here.’ [T0057: 060]
- c. juu pumatam lapanak kila**achi**ilh
juu puma-tam lapanak ki-laa-**chi**i-li
ART CL:human-one person RT-can-PRX-PFV
7ani7 maa lakaMiikiixkaan
7ani7 maa laka-Miikii-xkaan
here RPT PREP-Miguel-water
‘One person came here along Miguel’s Water.’ [T0058: 015-016]
- d. juu lapanak juu 7ixaja**achi**ilh
juu lapanak juu 7ix-xajaan-**chi**i-li
ART person REL PAST-exit-PRX-PFV
‘the person who came out of there’ [T0057: 060]
- (392)a. juu kmukoon**icha**a juu Kosee
juu k-muku-ni-**cha**a juu Kosee
ART 1SUB-leave-DAT-DST(PFV?) ART José
‘I left it with José.’ [T0069: 402]

- b. waa **7alin** talhpa
 FOC **there.is**(IMPFV) hill
 ‘There is a hill . . .’ [T0022: 051]
- c. **7alilh** laqatam 7awilhchan
7alin-li laqa-tam 7a-wilhchan
there.is-PFV CL:general-one CL:another-day
 ‘There was one day . . .’ [T0055: 001]
- d. nii talaklhtatalhch
 nii ta-lak-lhtata-li+ch
 COMP 3PL.SUB-DIS-sleep-PFV+ALD
- nii naa waa x**7alinch** juu xqen
 nii naa waa x-**7alin**+ch juu xqen
 COMP EMP FOC PAST-**there.is**(IMPFV)+ALD ART fly
- naach maa waa kaw x**7alin** juu xqen
 naa+ch maa waa kaw x-**7alin** juu xqen
 EMP+ALD RPT FOC noise PAST-**there.is**(IMPFV) ART fly
 ‘When they fell asleep, there were a lot of flies, and the flies
 made a lot of noise.’ [T0055: 069-71]
- e. juu 7asqat'a **kalinchoqopala**7
 juu 7asqat'a ka-**7alin**-choqo-pala-a7
 ART child IRR-**there.is**-AGAIN-REP-FUT
 ‘There will be another child again.’ [T0059: 014]
- (395)a. maa xt'**oon**palay juu maqtili7
 maa x-**t'ajun**-pala-y juu maqtili7
 RPT PAST-**be**-REP-IMPVFV ART wild.animal
- juu waa niinch laqachaqaan tawii xkaan
 juu waa niin+ch laqachaqaan tawii xkaan
 REL FOC near+ALD town seated water
 ‘There was an animal that (repeatedly) was near the town,
 in the water.’ [T0020: 002]

- b. juu papanin juu kaa waa
 juu papa-nin juu kaa waa
 ART old.man-PL REL BLV FOC
- lakak'iwin xtat'**ajun**
 laka-k'iw-in x-ta-**t'ajun**
 PREP-tree-PL PAST-3PL.SUB-**be**(IMPFV)
 'the old people who lived in the woods.' [T0022: 003]
- c. pero maa tat'**ajun**
 pero maa ta-**t'ajun**
 but RPT 3PL.SUB-**be**(IMPFV)
 'But, they do exist.' [T0022: 024]
- d. k'atzay juu Xiiwaan junt'aa **t'ajun** juu Kuulax
 k'atza-y juu Xiiwaan junt'aa **t'ajun** juu Kuulax
 know-IMPFV REL John where **be**(IMPFV) REL Nicholas
 'John knows where Nicholas is.' [ELIEX2: 086]

3.3.2 Posture and Location Verbs

Huehuetla Tepehua has what Grinevald (2005) calls the four basic *posture verbs* (sit, stand, lie, hang). The four posture verbs in HT are *maa(lh)* 'lying' (in a horizontal position), *wii(lh)* 'seated' (seated, hunched, or crouched), *yaa* 'standing' (in a vertical position), and *juk'alh* 'suspended' (up in the air, or simply above something else). Though the posture verbs indicate the posture or position of a person or thing, all four of them may be glossed simply by the English verb 'be'. The HT posture verbs have inherent imperfective aspect, and they occur only in present (unmarked) and past tenses. Examples of posture verbs are shown below in (396) through (399). Just as the perfective suffix *-lh* weakens to nothing word-finally after a vowel, so too does the final /lh/ of *maalh* and *wiilh*. It is quite possible that something similar happens with *yaa*; however, no instances of *yaalh* (nor environments in which it might occur) appear in my database.

(396) *maa(lh)* ‘lying’

a. **maa** juu lhk'ak
lying(IMPFV) ART ashes
 ‘There are ashes.’ [ELIEX4: 083]

b. waa jaantu kijumpaa **xmaa**
 waa jaantu kin-jun-pala **x-maa**
 FOC NEG 1OBJ-tell-REP.PFV PAST-**lying**(IMPFV)
 ‘He didn’t tell me where it was.’ [T0069: 377]

c. talaqtz'inch nii maa
 ta-laqtz'in+ch nii maa
 3PL.SUB-see(IMPFV)+ALD COMP RPT

lakapoolhokok**maalhch** juu 7anu7 lapanak
 laqapuu-lhoqoq=**maalh**+ch juu 7anu7 lapanak
 EYE-hollow=**lying**(IMPFV)+ALD ART DADJ person
 ‘They see that hollow-eyed person lying there.’ [T0055: 075-076]

(397) *wii(lh)* ‘seated’

a. 7ani7 **kwii**
 7ani7 k-**wii**
 here 1SUB-seated(IMPFV)
 ‘I sit/live/am here.’ [ELIEX2: 079]

b. maa waa 7ix**wii**
 maa waa 7ix-**wii**
 RPT FOC PAST-**seated**(IMPFV)
 ‘It was sitting down.’ [T0022: 036]

c. juntaa **xwiilhch** juu xkumwarii
 juntaa x-**wiilh**+ch juu x-kumwarii
 where PAST-**seated**(IMPFV)+ALD ART 3POS-compadre
 ‘where his compadre lived.’ [T0055: 090]

(398) *yaa* ‘standing’

- a. *nii jaantu yuuch juu 7anu7 yaachaa*
nii jaantu yuuch juu 7anu7 yaa-chaa
COMP NEG PRN.3SG REL DADJ **standing**(IMPFV)-DIST

laqatam lhii7uwint'i
laqa-tam lhii-7uwint'i
CL:general-one APPL-over.there

‘If not that one standing there, then the other one, over there.’ [T0069: 328]

- b. *juu 7awilhchan yaa xpuulakan qay 7atapuutz*
juu 7awilhchan yaa x-puulakan qay 7atapuutz
ART sun **standing**(IMPFV) 3POS-back big cloud
‘The sun is behind a big cloud.’ [TPWDB]

- c. *maa niita yaa juu laka7uun*
maa nii-ta yaa juu laka-7uun
RPT die-PF **standing**(IMPFV) ART PREP-air
‘He was dead (vertical) in the air.’ [T0022: 010]

(399) *juk'alh* ‘suspended’, ‘up high’

- a. *talaklhman juk'alh juu maalhiyuk*
ceiling suspended(IMPFV) ART spider
‘The spider is on the ceiling.’ [MB7-1]¹¹⁵

- b. *kikjuk'alh juu waayti juu kuchiiluu*
kikjuk'alh juu waayti juu kuchiiluu
EDGE-**suspended**(IMPFV) ART food ART knife
‘The food is on the knife’s blade.’ [MB12]

- c. *7alin laqatam campana juu 7ani7*
7alin laqa-tam campana juu 7ani7
there.is(IMPFV) CL:general-one bell ART here

juk'alh juu lakapuujitat
juk'alh juu laka-puujitat
suspended(IMPFV) ART PREP-church
‘There is a bell here hanging in the church.’ [T0057: 045]

¹¹⁵ In the drawing that generated this clause, the spider is on the ceiling, not suspended from or on a web.

The four posture verbs are somewhat irregular. The present tense conjugations of *maa(lh)* and *wii(lh)* are shown below in Table 18, and those of *yaa* and *juk'alh* are shown in Table 19.

Table 18: HT Posture Verbs, Present Tense: *maalh* and *wiilh*

	maa(lh)	wii(lh)
1 SG	kmaa	kwii
2 SG	maat'i	wiilht'i
3 SG	maa	wii
1 SIMPLE PL INCL	MISSING DATA	MISSING DATA
1 MULTIPLE PL INCL	MISSING DATA	MISSING DATA
1 SIMPLE PL EXCL	kmaaw	kwiihaw
1 MULTIPLE PL EXCL	klakmaaw	klakwiihaw
2 SIMPLE PL	maat'it	wiilat'it
2 MULTIPLE PL	lakmaat'it	lakwiilat'it
3 SIMPLE PL	tamaa	tawiihanalh
3 MULTIPLE PL	talakmaa	talakwiihanalh

Table 19: HT Posture Verbs, Present Tense: *yaa* and *juk'alh*

	yaa	juk'alh
1 SG	kyaa	kjuk'alh
2 SG	yaat'i	ʔuk'a
3 SG	yaa	juk'alh
1 SIMPLE PL INCL	MISSING DATA	MISSING DATA
1 MULTIPLE PL INCL	MISSING DATA	MISSING DATA
1 SIMPLE PL EXCL	kyaaw	kjuk'aw
1 MULTIPLE PL EXCL	klakyaaw	klakjuk'aw
2 SIMPLE PL	yaat'it	ʔuk'at'it
2 MULTIPLE PL	lakyaat'it	lak'uk'at'it
3 SIMPLE PL	tayaanalh	tajuk'alh
3 MULTIPLE PL	talakyaanalh	talakjuk'alh

The posture verbs may stand alone as main verbs, as seen in the examples above, or they may be compounded with another verb in order to add positional information to that verb, as seen in the examples below in (400) and (401). The

posture verb *maa(lh)* ‘lying’ occurs in more compounds than any of the others do, and I did not find any examples of *juk'alh* ‘suspended’ in a compound.

- (400) a. k'ay k'ay kilhuumaa
 k'ay k'ay kilhuu=**maa**
 ID:moan ID:moan complain=**lying**(IMPFV)
 ‘He is moaning, lying down.’
- b. k'ay k'ay kilhuuyaa
 k'ay k'ay kilhuu=**yaa**
 ID:moan ID:moan complain=**standing**(IMPFV)
 ‘He is moaning, standing up.’ [MNB13: 15]
- c. k'ay k'ay kilhuuwii
 k'ay k'ay kilhuu=**wii**
 ID:moan ID:moan complain=**seated**(IMPFV)
 ‘He is moaning, sitting down.’ [MNB13: 15]
- (401) a. maa tatzukulh lakat'alh**maanin**
 maa ta-tzuku-li laka-t'alh=**maa-nin**
 RPT 3PL.SUB-begin-PFV BODY-stone=**lying**-INF
 ‘They began to stone it.’ [T0020: 019]
- b. ch'**imaalhch** juu lapanak juu xtz'alh
 ch'i=**maa-li+ch** juu lapanak juu x-tz'alh
 tie=**lying**-PFV+ALD ART person ART 3POS-boy
 ‘The man already tied up his son.’ [ELIEX1: 099]
- c. 7anchach tanu**maachaa** laktalhpa
 7anch+ach tanuun=**maa-chaa** laka-talhpa
 there+ALD inserted=**lying**(IMPFV)-DIST PREP-hill
 ‘She is stuck in the hill, there.’ [T0063: 072]
- d. muujuuy**aa** juu t'aku7 juu x7amaqpanti
 muujuu-**yaa** juu t'aku7 juu x-7amaqpanti
 wash-**standing**(IMPFV) ART woman ART 3POS-washing
 ‘The woman washes clothes.’ [MNB13: 48]

The posture verbs frequently occur with body part prefixes as seen in the examples in (396c), (399b), and (401a) above, as well as in (402) below.

(402) a. yuuch maa tiiwii juu lakatalhpa
 yuuch maa tii-wii juu laka-talhpa
 PRN.3SG RPT BUTT-seated(IMPFV) ART PREP-hill
 ‘She is still sitting in the cave.’ [T0054: 065]

b. 7uksjuk'alh juu 7aqtooloqontalhna7 juu luw
7uks-juk'alh juu 7aqtooloqontalhna7 juu luw
SURFACE-suspended(IMPFV) ART tree.trunk ART snake
 ‘The snake is on the tree trunk.’ [MB43]

When a posture verb is combined with the inchoative prefix *ta-*, the new stem means ‘get into the position’ or ‘assume the posture’, as seen below in (403).

The inchoative stem may be marked for any tense or aspect.

(403) a. tamaalhch lhtatayach
ta-maa-li+ch lhtata-ya+ch
INCH-lying-PFV+ALD sleep-IMPFV+ALD
 ‘He laid down and is sleeping.’ [ELIEX4: 102]

b. laqatayaalhch
 laqa-ta-yaa-li+ch
 BODY-INCH-standing-PFV+ALD
 ‘He stood up in front of her.’ [T0054: 008]

c. ch'antayaay juu xqoop'aalh
 ch'an-ta-yaa-y juu xqoop'aalh
 FOOT-INCH-standing-IMPFV ART tick

 juu laxch'aja7 juu lapanak
 juu laka-x-ch'aja7 juu lapanak
 ART PREP-3POS-foot ART person
 ‘The tick stands up on the person’s foot.’ [TPWDB]

d. tatawiilh juu papanin
 ta-ta-wii-li juu papa-nin
 3PL.SUB-INCH-seated-PFV ART man-PL
 ‘The men sat down.’ [TPWLEX: tawii]

When the causative prefix *maa-* is combined with the posture verb *maa* ‘lying’, the meaning of the derived verb is ‘lay something down’, as seen in

(405) *tanuun* ‘inserted horizontally’

- a. laka7anii taa **xtanuunch**
 laka-7anii taa x-**tanuun**+ch
 PREP-here where PAST-**inserted**(IMPFV)+ALD
- 7ixchaqaach juu lhakatikuruu
 7ix-chaqaa+ch juu lhakatikuruu
 3POS-house+ALD ART devil
 ‘There where she was stuck in the devil’s house.’ [T0063: 051-2]

- b. mak**tanuun** juu laxqeliiliimaka7
 mak-**tanuun** juu laka-x-qeliilii=maka7
 HAND-**inserted**(IMPFV) ART PREP-3POS-digit=hand
- juu xmaktanuuti
 juu x-mak-tanuu-ti
 ART 3POS-HAND-insert-NOM
 ‘Her ring is on her finger.’ [MB10]

- c. xtaampuus miixaa **tanuun** juu miistu7
 x-taampuus miixaa **tanuun** juu miistu7
 3POS-middle table **inserted**(IMPFV) ART cat
 ‘The cat is under the middle of the table.’ [MB31-1]

(406) *tajun* ‘contained’, ‘inserted vertically’

- a. xpuulakskuumilh **tajun** juu paamata
 x-puulak-skuumilh **tajun** juu paamata
 3POS-INSIDE-pot **contained**(IMPFV) ART fish
 ‘The fish is inside the pot.’ [MB32]

- b. maa kulhuk paata**jun**ch juu xpuumpu7
 maa kulhuk paa-**tajun**+ch juu x-puumpu7
 RPT INSIDE LOC-**contained**(IMPFV)+ALD ART 3POS-clothing
 ‘Inside there is her clothing.’ [T0020: 027]

- c. juu lhii7ut **tajun** juu lakaqaax
 juu lhii7ut **tajun** juu laka-qaax
 ART fruit **contained**(IMPFV) ART PREP-bowl
 ‘The fruit is in the bowl.’ [MB2-1]

The conjugations of *tanuun* and *tajun* are less irregular than the conjugations of the posture verbs. The present tense forms of each verb are shown below in Table 20.

Table 20: HT Location Verbs, Present Tense: *tanuun* and *tajun*

	tanuun	tajun
1 SG	ktanuun	ktajun
2 SG	t'anuun	ta7un
3 SG	tanuun	tajun
1 SIMPLE PL INCL	MISSING DATA	MISSING DATA
1 MULTIPLE PL INCL	MISSING DATA	MISSING DATA
1 SIMPLE PL EXCL	ktanuumaw	ktajumaw
1 MULTIPLE PL EXCL	klaktanuumaw	klaktajumaw
2 SIMPLE PL	t'anuumat'it	t'a7umat'it
2 MULTIPLE PL	lakt'anuumat'it	lakt'a7umat'it
3 SIMPLE PL	tatanuun (animate) laktanuun (inanimate)	tatajumanalh (animate) laktajumanalh (inanimate)
3 MULTIPLE PL	talaktanuun (both)	talaktajumanalh (both)

Both *tanuun* and *tajun* have corresponding active verb forms, *tanuu-* ‘enter’ or ‘insert’ and *taju-* ‘get into (water or a container)’, respectively. Given that *tajun* is derived from *ta-jun* (INCH-be), it would follow that *taju-* is then derived from *tajun*; however this process of derivation (i.e., deleting an *-n* from a stative verb to create an active stem) is not a productive one, and I have found no other examples in which it is used.

The location verb *tanuun* frequently co-occurs with body part prefixes, as seen above in (405b) and below in (407).

- (407) a. ch'an-tanuun juu laxch'aja7 juu xch'antanuuti
ch'an-tanuun juu laka-x-ch'aja7 juu x-ch'antanuuti
 FOOT-**inserted**(IMPFV) ART PREP-3POS-foot ART 3POS-shoe
 ‘The shoe is on his foot.’ [MB21]

- b. juu lapanak 7aqtanuun juu xaqtanuuti
 juu lapanak 7aq-tanuun juu x-7aqtanuuti
 ART person head-inserted(IMPFV) ART 3POS-hat
 ‘The man wears his hat.’ [MB5-1]
- c. kilhtanuun juu 7ix7ukx7uti juu lapanak
kilh-tanuun juu 7ix-7ukx7uti juu lapanak
mouth-inserted(IMPFV) ART 3POS-cigarette ART person
 ‘The man has his cigarette in his mouth.’
 ‘The man’s cigarette is in his mouth.’ [MB39]

Though I have no examples in which *tajun* ‘contained’ co-occurs with a body part prefix, I do, however, have examples in which *taju-* ‘get into’ appears with BPPs. These examples appear in Section 3.2.3.1 example (366), and they are repeated below in (408). Interestingly, in these examples, the BPP intervenes between the inchoative *ta-* and the stative verb *jun* ‘be’.

- (408) a. tajulhch juu lapanak juu lakxkaan
taju-li+ch juu lapanak juu lak-xkaan
get.into-PFV+ALD ART person ART PREP-water
 ‘The man got into the water.’
- b. tatiijuulhch juu t'aku7 lakaxkaan
ta-tii-jun-li+ch juu t'aku7 laka-xkaan
INCH-BUTT-be-PFV+ALD ART woman PREP-water
 ‘The woman sat down in the water.’
- c. takaqjuulhch juu 7asqat'a lakaxaaluu
ta-qaq-jun-li+ch juu 7asqat'a laka-xaaluu
INCH-MOUTH-be-PFV+ALD ART child PREP-pitcher
 ‘The child stuck his mouth in a pitcher.’ [TPWDB]

3.3.3 Copula

In HT, present tense, imperfective aspect, singular subject predicate nominal, predicate adjectival, and predicate pronominal constructions are non-verbal constructions. However, when these constructions occur in any other tense

or aspect or have a plural subject, they require the copula *jun* ‘be’ to bear the tense, aspect, mood, and plural person marking morphology. A present tense paradigm is shown below in (409). In this present tense predicate nominal construction, the person-marking for first and second person singular is affixed directly to the nominal element, as seen in (a) and (b), respectively; the relevant person-marking affixes are underlined in the examples. There is no singular third person marking in Tepehua to affix to the nominal element in (c), nor is a copula used. However, a copula is present in the plural person examples in (d), (e), and (f). In all of these present (i.e., morphologically unmarked) tense examples, the copula appears in the perfect aspect, and it bears the appropriate person-marking morphology. In all examples in this section, the copula appears in bold type.

- (409) a. juu ki7in kt'aku7
 juu ki7in k-t'aku7
 ART PRN.1SG 1SUB-woman
 ‘I am a woman.’
- b. juu 7uxint'i t'akuu7ata
 juu 7uxint'i t'aku7-7ata
 ART PRN.2SG woman-2SG.SUB
 ‘You (SG) are a woman.’
- c. juu yuuch t'aku7
 juu yuuch t'aku7
 ART PRN.3SG woman
 ‘She is a woman.’
- d. juu kijnan t'akuunin **kjuntaw**
 juu kijnan t'aku7-nin **k-jun-ta-w**
 ART PRN.1PL woman-PL 1SUB-**be**-PF-1PL.SUB
 ‘We (EXCL) are women.’

e. juu 7uxijnan t'akuunin **7unt'at'it**
 juu 7uxijnan t'aku7-nin **jun-ta-t'it**
 ART PRN.2PL woman-PL **be(2SUB)-PF-2PL.SUB**
 'You (PL) are women.'

f. juu yu7unch t'akuunin **tajuuniita**
 juu yu7unch t'aku7-nin **ta-jun-niita**¹¹⁷
 ART PRN.3PL woman-PL 3PL.SUB-**be**-PF
 'They are women.'

[PDLMA2005]

It is important to note that the second person subject suffix *-7ata* that appears on the noun in example (409b) above occurs only on predicate nominal and adjectival constructions. It is not used anywhere else in the morphosyntax (that I have found). Furthermore, neither the /k/ nor the final /t/ are glottalized in this noun, which indicates that only verbs (and not nouns or adjectives) can undergo the process of glottalization of stops and affricates that occurs when the subject is second person. When there is no nominal or adjectival element to which the suffix *-7ata* may affix, the copula is used instead, as seen below in (410).

(410) puus kaa 7aqtz'iyanch chunch
 puus kaa 7aqtz'iyanch chun+ch
 well BLV always+ALD like.so+ALD

juu **7uuniit'a** juu 7uxint'i
 juu **jun-niita** juu 7uxint'i
 REL **be(2SUB)-PF(2SUB)** ART PRN.2SG
 'Well, I think that you have always been like that.' [T0054: 028]

Below in example (411) is the past tense paradigm that corresponds to the present tense paradigm shown above in (409). Since a nominal element may not bear tense, aspect, or mood morphology, the copula is required for all persons and

¹¹⁷ According to Watters (1988), the perfect aspect allomorph *-niita* occurs only on this verb *jun*, and it comes from the Totonac perfect suffix *-ni:ta* (p. 57, ft 7). In my own notes, the *-niita* suffix appears on the verb *jun* only in the first and second person singular and third person singular and plural forms; it does not co-occur with first or second person plural.

numbers. Note that the copula bears all person-marking morphology as well as the TAM morphology, even in the first and second person singular examples shown in (a) and (b).

- (411) a. juu ki7in t'aku7 **xajkuuniita**
 juu ki7in t'aku7 xa-k-**jun**-niita
 ART PRN.1SG woman PAST-1SUB-**be**-PF
 'I was a woman.'
- b. juu 7uxint'i t'aku7 **7ix7uuniit'a**
 juu 7uxint'i t'aku7 7ix-**jun**-niita
 ART PRN.2SG woman PAST-**be(2SUB)**-PF(2SUB)
 'You (SG) were a woman.'
- c. juu yuuch t'aku7 **7ixjuuniita**
 juu yuuch t'aku7 7ix-**jun**-niita
 ART PRN.3SG woman PAST-**be**-PF
 'She was a woman.'
- d. juu kijnan t'akuunin **xajkuntaw**
 juu kijnan t'aku7-nin xa-k-**jun**-ta-w
 ART PRN.1PL woman-PL PAST-1SUB-**be**-PF-1PL.SUB
 'We (EXCL) were women.'
- e. juu kijnan t'akuunin **7ixjuntaw**
 juu kijnan t'aku7-nin 7ix-**jun**-ta-w
 ART PRN.1PL woman-PL PAST-**be**-PF-1PL.SUB
 'We (INCL) were women.'
- f. juu 7uxijnan t'akuunin **7ix7unt'at'it**
 juu 7uxijnan t'aku7-nin 7ix-**jun**-ta-t'it
 ART PRN.2PL woman-PL PAST-**be(2SUB)**-PF(2SUB)-2PL.SUB
 'You (PL) were women.'
- g. juu yu7unch t'akuunin **xtajuuniita**
 juu yu7unch t'aku7-nin x-ta-**jun**-niita
 ART PRN.3PL woman-PL PAST-3PL.SUB-**be**-PF
 'They were women.'

[PDLMA2005]

- b. juu pumakiis lapanak papaaninch
 juu puma-kiis lapanak papa7-nin+ch
 ART CL:human-five people old.man-PL+ALD

xtajun

x-ta-jun

PAST-3PL.SUB-be(IMPFV)

The five people became old men.'

[BeQ]

There are three textual examples in my database in which the copula appears in the imperfective aspect; these examples are shown below in (414), and either gloss ('was/were' or 'became') is appropriate for the gloss.

- (414)a. nii maa qaych **xjun** juu sasqat'a7an
 nii maa qay+ch **x-jun** juu x-7asqat'a-7an
 COMP RPT big+ALD PAST-**be**(IMPFV) ART 3POS-child-PL.POS
 'When their child was/became big, . . . ' [T0059: 006]

- b. matiich juu xliiich'alhkat7an **xajun**
 mati7+ch juu x-lhiich'alhkat-7an **xa-jun**
 nothing+ALD ART 3POS-job-PL.POS PAST-**be**(IMPFV)
 'Their work became nothing.'
 'There was no work.' [T0063: 029]

- c. maa xta7anch 7amaqpanin
 maa x-ta-7an+ch 7a-maqpa-nin
 RPT PAST-3PL.SUB-go **xtajun** +ALD PL.INO-wash.clothes-INF

porque maa lapanak juu **tajun**
 porque maa lapanak juu **ta-jun**
 because RPT lapanak REL 3PL.SUB-**be**(IMPFV)

juu tat'asaay juu maqalipni7
 juu ta-t'asaa-y juu maqalipni7
 REL 3PL.SUB-call-IMPFV ART lightening
 'They went to wash because they were/became human, the ones who call the lightening.' [T0022: 016]

The copula *jun* has an irregular, suppletive form *waa* when it occurs in any irrealis modality other than the future tense or the conditional mood.¹¹⁸ This suppletive form is cognate with the Totonac copula *wan* ‘become’ (Watters p.c.). Examples in which the copula appears as *waa* in the irrealis mood appear in (415); examples in which the copula appears as *jun* in the irrealis mood appear in (416).¹¹⁹

(415) *Copula waa, Irrealis Mood*

a. *Optative*

klakaskin	nii	kawaa	7ukxtin	juu	Xiiwaan	
k-lakaskin	nii	ka- waa	7ukxtin	juu	Xiiwaan	
1SUB-want	COMP	IRR- be (IRR)	president	ART	John	
‘I want John to be president.’						[BeQ]

b. *Negative Optative*

jaantu	talakask'in	juu	lapanak			
jaantu	ta-lakask'in	juu	lapanak			
NEG	3PL.SUB-want	ART	people			
nii	kawaa	7ukxtin				
nii	ka- waa	7ukxtin				
COMP	IRR- be (IRR)	president				
‘The people do not want him to be president.’						[ELIEX2: 008]

c. *Negative Future*

jaantu	7ukxtin	katiwaa	juu	Xiiwaan		
jaantu	7ukxtin	ka-ti- waa	juu	Xiiwaan		
NEG	president	IRR-NEG.FUT- be (IRR)	ART	John		
‘John will not be president.’						[BeQ2]

¹¹⁸ The relationship between the copula *jun* and the focus particle *waa* as discussed further in Chapter 8, section 8.2.2. The examples here are the same as the examples there.

¹¹⁹ For more information on the irrealis mood, please see Section 3.1.2.3.

d. *Dubitative*

jaantu k'atz'ay nii 7ukxtin
 jaantu k-k'atz'a-y nii 7ukxtin
 NEG 1SUB-know-IMPV COMP president

kawaa juu Xiiwaan
 ka-waa juu Xiiwaan
 IRR-be(IRR) ART John
 'I don't know if John is/will be president.'
 'I doubt that John will be president.'

[BeQ2]

e. *Permission, Possibility*

kaa laay **kawaa** 7ukxtin juu Xiiwaan
 kaa laa-y ka-waa 7ukxtin juu Xiiwaan
 BLV can-IMPV IRR-be(IRR) president ART John

'John may be president.'
 'John can be president.'
 'It is possible that John is president.'

[BeQ2]

(416) *Copula jun, Irrealis Mood*

a. *Future*

7ukxtin kajuna7 juu Xiiwaan
 7ukxtin ka-jun-a7 juu Xiiwaan
 president IRR-be-FUT ART John

'John will be president.'

[BeQ2]

b. *Conditional*

7ukxtin kajuna7 juu Xiiwaan nii kalhtajuya7
 7ukxtin ka-jun-a7 juu Xiiwaay nii ka-lhtaju-ya7
 president IRR-be-FUT ART John COMP IRR-win-FUT

'John will be president if he wins.'

[BeQ2]

Finally, there is one example in my database in which a aspectual derivational morpheme occurs on the copula; this example is shown below in (417). In this example, the repetitive suffix *-pala* is affixed to the root *jun*, creating a stem to which the perfect aspect suffix *-ta* is attached. In this context, the use of the repetitive suffix implies that the action/occurrence was unexpected.

(417) **jumpalata** kaa waa cosa maalampalata
jun-pala-ta kaa waa cosa maalan-pala-ta
be-REP-PF BLV FOC thing bad-REP-PF
 ‘It was (unexpectedly) like a bad thing.’ [T0054: 010]

In the following subsections, I discuss predicate pronominal (section 3.4.3.1), predicate nominal (section 3.3.3.2), and predicate adjective (section 3.3.3.3) constructions in more detail.

3.3.3.1 Predicate Nominals

As mentioned in the preceding discussion of the copula, the copular element is needed in a present tense predicate nominal construction only when the patient/subject is plural. If the patient/subject in a *present tense* predicate nominal construction is third person singular, then there is no person marking, nor is there a copula, as seen below in the examples in (418) and (419).

(418)a. **t'aku7** ‘woman’
 b. juu yuuch **t'aku7**
 juu yuuch **t'aku7**
 ART PRN.3SG **woman**
 ‘She is a woman.’ [PDLMA2005]

c. maa waa **t'aku7**
 maa waa **t'aku7**
 RPT FOC **woman**
 ‘It [a wild beast] is a woman.’ [T0020: 029]

(419)a. **lapanak** ‘person’
 b. juu yuuch **lapanak**
 juu yuuch **lapanak**
 ART PRN.3SG **person**
 ‘He is a person.’ [PDLMA2005]

- c. maa jaantu ta7uputunpalay juu xaa7akanit
 maa jaantu ta-7u-putun-pala-y juu xaa-7akanit
 RPT NEG 3PL.SUB-eat-DESID-REP-IMPFV ART IPOS-flesh
- nii waa **lapanak**
 nii waa **lapanak**
 COMP FOC **person**
 ‘They didn’t want to eat any more meat because it was human.’
 [T0020: 032]
- d. jaantu **lapanak**
 NEG **person**
 ‘It is not human / a person.’ [T0054: 009]

If the patient/subject in a predicate nominal construction is first or second person *singular*, the person markers are affixed directly to the nominal, as seen in the examples above in (409a) and (409b) and below in (420) and (421). In the examples in (420), the first person prefix *k-* is affixed to the nouns, and in the examples in (421), the second person singular suffix *-7ata* is affixed to the nouns. None of the stops in the nouns in the examples in (421) are glottalized, which indicates that only verbs—and not nouns—undergo glottalization of the stops and affricates when the subject is second person.

- (420)a. juu ki7in kt'aku7
 juu ki7in k-t'aku7
 ART PRN.1SG 1SUB-woman
 ‘I am a woman.’
- b. juu ki7in klapának
 juu ki7in k-lapának
 ART PRN.1SG 1SUB-person
 ‘I am a person.’ [PDLMA2005]
- (421) a. juu 7uxint'i t'akuu7ata
 juu 7uxint'i t'aku7-7ata
 ART PRN.2SG woman-2SG.SUB
 ‘You (SG) are a woman.’

- b. juu 7uxint'i lapanak7ata
 juu 7uxint'i lapanak-7ata
 ART PRN.2SG person-2SG.SUB
 'You (SG) are a person.' [PDLMA2005]

The above predicate nominal constructions occur in the present (unmarked) tense only. In any other tense, a copula must occur to bear the tense and aspect markers, as seen below in (422). In these examples, the copula, which appears in bold type, bears the past tense prefix and the perfect aspect suffix, as well as the first and second person affixes.

- (422)a. juu ki7in t'aku7 **xájkuuniita**
 juu ki7in t'aku7 xa-k-**jun**-niita
 ART PRN.1SG woman PAST-1SUB-**be**-PF
 'I was a woman.'

- b. juu 7uxint'i t'aku7 **7ix7uuniit'a**
 juu 7uxint'i t'aku7 7ix-**jun**-niita
 ART PRN.2SG woman PAST-**be(2SUB)**-PF(2SUB)
 'You (SG) were a woman.'

- c. juu yuuch t'aku7 **7ixjuuniita**
 juu yuuch t'aku7 7ix-**jun**-niita
 ART PRN.3SG woman PAST-**be**-PF
 'She was a woman.' [PDLMA2005]

Plural subject arguments do not affix directly to nominals; instead they require a copula, as seen in the examples below in (423) and (424). The examples in (423) have present tense copulas, while the examples in (424) have past tense copulas. Note, also, that in all of the examples, the noun is marked for plurality; since the noun may not bear plural verbal person-marking morphology—presumably because nouns have their own set of plural markers—the copula is required in the present tense to bear the plural verbal person-marking morphemes.

- (423) a. juu kijnan t'akuunin **kjuntaw**
 juu kijnan t'aku7-nin **k-jun-ta-w**
 ART PRN.1PL woman-PL 1SUB-**be**-PF-1PL.SUB
 'We (EXCL) are women.'
- b. juu kijnan t'akuunin **juntaw**
 juu kijnan t'aku7-nin **jun-ta-w**
 ART PRN.1PL woman-PL **be**-PF-1PL.SUB
 'We (INCL) were women.'
- c. juu 7uxijnan t'akuunin **7unt'at'it**
 juu 7uxijnan t'aku7-nin **jun-ta-t'it**
 ART PRN.2PL woman-PL **be(2SUB)**-PF(2SUB)-2PL.SUB
 'You (PL) are women.'
- d. juu yu7unch t'akuunin **tajuniita**
 juu yu7unch t'aku7-nin **ta-jun-niita**
 ART PRN.3PL woman-PL 3PL.SUB-**be**-PF
 'They are women.' [PDLMA2005]
- (424) a. juu kijnan t'akuunin **xajkuntaw**
 juu kijnan t'aku7-nin **xa-k-jun-ta-w**
 ART PRN.1PL woman-PL PAST-1SUB-**be**-PF-1PL.SUB
 'We (EXCL) were women.'
- b. juu kijnan t'akuunin **7ixjuntaw**
 juu kijnan t'aku7-nin **7ix-jun-ta-w**
 ART PRN.1PL woman-PL PAST-**be**-PF-1PL.SUB
 'We (INCL) were women.'
- c. juu 7uxijnan t'akuunin **7ix7unt'at'it**
 juu 7uxijnan t'aku7-nin **7ix-jun-ta-t'it**
 ART PRN.2PL woman-PL PAST-**be(2SUB)**-PF(2SUB)-2PL.SUB
 'You (PL) were women.'
- d. juu yu7unch t'akuunin **xtajuuniita**
 juu yu7unch t'aku7-nin **x-ta-jun-niita**
 ART PRN.3PL woman-PL PAST-3PL.SUB-**be**-PF
 'They were women.' [PDLMA2005]

Interestingly, the first person prefix *k-* does not occur on an inalienably possessed noun, as seen below in (425a), where the copula bears the first person prefix instead. Presumably the possessive prefix and the first person prefix occupy the same morphological slot, so a copula is required to bear the person-marking. However, when the argument is second person, as seen in (425b), the second person subject suffix *does* occur on the noun since it does not occupy the same slot as the possessive prefix.

- (425) a. juu ki7in xaakin **kjuuniita**
 juu ki7in xaa-kin k-**jun**-niita
 ART PRN.1SG IPOS-aunt 1SUB-**be**-PF
 ‘I am an aunt.’
- b. juu 7uxint'i xaakin7ata
 juu 7uxint'i xaa-kin-7ata
 ART PRN.2SG IPOS-aunt-2SG.SUB
 ‘You (SG) are an aunt.’ [PDLMA2005]

When a nonverbal predicate nominal is negated, the negative particle *jaantu* precedes the nominal, as seen below in the examples in (426). In the example in (a), *jaantu* immediately precedes the noun, while in the example in (b), it precedes the noun phrase.

- (426) a. juu 7uxint'i **jaantu** lapanak7ata
 juu 7uxint'i **jaantu** lapanak-7ata
 ART PRN.2SG **NEG** person-2SG.SUB
 ‘You are not a [good] person.’ [PDLMA2005]
- b. porque **jaantu** [naa naa sii maqalhqama7 laqachaqaan]_{NP}
 porque **jaantu** naa naa sii maqalhqama7 laqachaqaan
 because **NEG** EMP EMP pure Tepehua town
 ‘Because this is not a pure Tepehua town.’ [T0057: 035]

When two nominals are juxtaposed with each other, the copula is not required in the present tense, as shown below in (427a), but it is required in the past tense, as shown in (427b).

(427) a. maa [lapanák]_{NP1} maa [lakt'ikt'i lapanák]_{NP2}
 RPT people RPT little people
 'The little people are Christians/humans/people' [T0022: 018]

 b. pero waa [xch'ajaach chiila7]_{NP1}
 pero waa x-ch'ajaa+ch chiila7
 but FOC 3POS-foot+ALD chicken

 xjuuniita [juu xch'aja7]_{NP2}
 x-jun-niita juu x-ch'aja7
 PAST-be-PF ART 3POS-feet
 'But her feet were chicken feet.' [T0063: 054-55]

3.3.3.2 Predicate Pronominals

An HT personal pronoun may stand alone as a present tense, nonverbal predicate, as seen below in the examples in (428). In both the (a) and (b) examples, the entire clause consists of a single personal pronoun. In (428c), the clause consists of a pronoun that is modified by a relative clause¹²⁰

(428) a. **ki7in ki7in**
 PRN.1SG PRN.1SG
 'It is I! It is I!' [T0055: 082]

 b. yuuchach
 yuuch+ach
 PRN.3SG+ALD
 'It is she.' [T0054: 063]

¹²⁰ See section 8.4.1.1 for more information about relative clauses

affixes occur directly on the adjective in (430a) and (430b), respectively. Third person singular is not marked on the adjective, and no copula is required, as seen in (430c). In the first and second person plural forms, a copula is required to bear the person-marking affixes, as seen in (430d), (430e), and (430f). Finally, in (430g), the plural prefix occurs directly on the adjective, as discussed above.

- (430) a. naa jk'usi juu ki7in
 naa k-k'usi juu ki7in
 EMP 1SUB-pretty ART PRN.1SG
 ‘I am very pretty.’
- b. juu 7uxint'i naa k'usi7ata
 juu 7uxint'i naa k'usi-7ata
 ART PRN.2SG EMP pretty-2SG.SUB
 ‘You (SG) are very pretty.’
- c. naa k'usi juu 7atzi7
 EMP pretty ART girl
 ‘The girl is very pretty.’
- d. juu kijnan naa lajk'usin **kjuntaw**
 juu kijnan naa lak-k'usi-n¹²¹ k-**jun**-ta-w
 ART PRN.1PL EMP PL-pretty-PL 1SUB-**be**-PF-1PL.SUB
 ‘We (EXCL) are very pretty.’
- e. juu kijnan naa lajk'usin **juntaw**
 juu kijnan naa lak-k'usi-n **jun**-ta-w
 ART PRN.1PL EMP PL-pretty-PL **be**-PF-1PL.SUB
 ‘We (INCL) are very pretty.’
- f. juu 7uxijnan naa lajk'usin **7unt'at'it**
 juu 7uxijnan naa lak-k'usi-n **jun**-ta-t'it
 ART PRN.2PL EMP PL-pretty-PL **be(2SUB)**-PF(2SUB)-2PL.SUB
 ‘You (PL) are very pretty.’

¹²¹ The adjective *k'usi* ‘pretty’ is unusual in that it is marked for plural by both the distributive prefix *lak-* and the nominal plural suffix *-n*. Most adjectives do not take the *-n* suffix.

- g. juu 7atzi7in naa lajk'usin
 juu 7atzi7-in naa lak-k'usi-n
 ART girl-PL EMP PL-pretty-PL
 'The girls are pretty.' [PDLMA2005]

In the past tense, a copula is required to bear the tense and aspect affixes for all persons, as seen below in (431).

- (431) a. juu ki7in naa k'usi **xajkuuniita**
 juu ki7in naa k'usi xa-k-**jun**-niita
 ART PRN.1SG EMP pretty PAST-1SUB-**be**-PF
 'I was very pretty.'
- b. juu 7uxint'i naa k'usi **7ix7uuniit'a**
 juu 7uxint'i naa k'usi 7ix-**jun**-niita
 ART PRN.2SG EMP pretty PAST-**be(2SUB)**-PF(2SUB)
 'You (SG) were very pretty.'
- c. naa k'usi **7ixjuuniita** juu 7atzi7
 naa k'usi 7ix-**jun**-niita juu 7atzi7
 EMP pretty PAST-**be**-PF ART girl
 'The girl was very pretty.'
- d. juu kijnan naa lajk'usin **xajkuntaw**
 juu kijnan naa lak-k'usi-n xa-k-**jun**-ta-w
 ART PRN.1PL EMP PL-pretty-PL PAST-1SUB-**be**-PF-1PL.SUB
 'We (EXCL) were very pretty.'
- e. juu kijnan naa lajk'usin **7ixjuntaw**
 juu kijnan naa lak-k'usi-n 7ix-**jun**-ta-w
 ART PRN.1PL EMP PL-pretty-PL PAST-**be**-PF-1PL.SUB
 'We (INCL) were very pretty.'
- f. juu 7uxijnan naa lajk'usin **7ix7unt'at'it**
 juu 7uxijnan naa lak-k'usi-n 7ix-**jun**-ta-t'it
 ART PRN.2PL EMP PL-pretty-PL PAST-**be(2SUB)**-PF(2SUB)-2PL.SUB
 'You (PL) were very pretty.'

this construction has the same meaning as the BEGIN construction discussed in Section 3.2.3.5.

- (442) a. maa [tatzukulh lakat'alhmaanin]
 maa ta-tzuku-li laka-t'alh=maa-nin
 RPT 3PL.SUB-begin-PFV BODY-stone=lying-INF
 'They began to stone it.' [T0020: 019]
- b. [tzukulh trawajalana7] juu lakaropa
 tzuku-li trawajala-nV7 juu laka-ropa
 begin-PFV work-INF ART PREP-clothing
 'He began to work in clothing [i.e., to sell clothing].' [T0054: 022]

The reportative evidential clitic *maa* may intervene between the two verbs in the inchoative aspect, as seen below in the examples in (443). Furthermore, *tzuku* may be inflected with other verbal affixes, as seen in (443b), where *-choqo* 'again' is suffixed to the first verb.

- (443) a. tzukulh maa laqaxqotnu7
 tzuku-li maa laqaxqot-nV7
 begin-PFV RPT unload-INF
 'He began to unload it.' [T0055: 022]
- b. tatzukuchoqolhch maa 7asaanin
 ta-tzuku-choqo-li+ch maa 7a-saa-nin
 3PL.SUB-begin-AGAIN-PFV+ALD RPT PL.INO-play-INF
 'They began to play again.' [T0063: 070]

3.4.2 Can *laa-*

The verb *laa-*'can' may stand alone as a main verb, or it may co-occur with a matrix verb in a periphrastic construction. When *laa-* acts as the main verb, it is inflected for person, plus tense, mood, and/or aspect, and it means 'can', 'do', or 'go', as seen in the examples below in (444).

- (444)a. jaantuch chun xalaakan
jaantu+ch chun xa-**laa**-kan
NEG+ALD like.so PAST-**can**-INS(IMPV)
‘It was not done like that anymore.’ [T0059: 021]
- b. juu 7ani7 naa qox **laay** juu kapen
juu 7ani7 naa qox **laa-y** juu kapen
ART here EMP good **can**-IMPV ART coffee
‘Around here coffee really does well.’ [MNB13: 45]
- c. taki**laa**qoolhch
ta-kii-**laa**-qoju-li+ch
3PL.SUB-RT-**can**-ALL-PFV+ALD
- chuux juu 7anu7 ki7ananan7an
chuux juu 7anu7 kin-7a-nana-n-7an
all ART DADJ 1POS-PL-grandmother-PL-PL.POS
‘All of our grandmothers went and returned.’ [T0058: 051]
- d. kalaalh nii waa t'amak'oomp'ut'unch
ka-**laa**-li nii waa tamakajun-putun+ch
IRR-**can**-PFV COMP FOC stay(2SUB)-DESID(IMPV.2SUB)+ALD
‘Stay if you want to.’ [T0055: 065]

When *laa-* is the main verb, it may be affixed with aspectual derivational morphemes, as seen above in (444c) and below in (445).

- (445) ki**laa**choqopaa juu kit'in
kii-**laa**-choqo-pala juu kit'in
RT-**can**-AGAIN-REP.PFV ART PRN.1SG
‘I went again (and came back).’ [T0066: 021]

The verb *laa-* frequently occurs in certain adverbial constructions involving affect words (see Chapter 6, section 6.3.1 for more information on affect words). In such constructions, *laa-* either occurs as a free-standing—but essentially meaningless—verb, as seen below in (446), or it is suffixed to the end of the affect word to create a verb that means to perform the action of the affect word, as seen below in (447).

- (446) a. lapaq lapaq **laay** juu skikluw
 lapaq lapaq **laa-y** juu skikluw
 ID:snake ID:snake can-IMPFV ART eel
 ‘The eel snakes along.’
 ‘The eel goes *lapaq lapaq*.’ [TPWDB]
- b. lam lam **laay** juu maklhku
 lam lam **laa-y** juu maklhku
 ID:flicker ID:flicker can-IMPFV ART light
 ‘The light flickers.’
 ‘The light goes *lam lam*.’ [TPWDB]
- (447) a. xaklhat**laay**
 xa-k-lhat-**laa-y**
 PAST-1SUB-biting(ID)-**can**-IMPFV
 ‘I used to bite.’ [TPWDB]
- b. xaklhulula**ay**
 xa-k-lhulu-**laa-y**
 PAST-1SUB-sweating.droplets(ID)-**can**-IMPFV
 ‘I would sweat droplets.’ [TPWDB]

When *laa-* acts as an auxiliary verb, it is always inflected for imperfective aspect (i.e., it only manifests as *laay*), and it precedes a main verb, which is inflected for person, as well as tense, aspect, and mood, as seen in the examples below in (448).

- (448) a. jaantuch **laay** xlakmaaxtukanta
 jaantu+ch **laa-y** x-lak-maaxtu-kan-ta
 NEG+ALD **can**-IMPFV PAST-PL-take.out-INS-PF
- juu laktaxtoqta
 juu lak-taxtoqta
 ART PL-thing
 ‘They could not take out the things.’ [T0018: 005]

- b. waa jaantuch **laay** xtalhiitajuy
 waa jaantu+ch **laa-y** x-ta-lhiitaju-y
 FOC NEG+ALD **can-IMPV** PAST-3PL.SUB-find-IMPV
- juu lhiich'alhkat
 juu lhiich'alhkat
 ART work
 'They could not find work.' [T0063: 009]
- c. nii **laaych** kalaalh
 nii **laa-y+ch** ka-**laa**-li
 COMP **can-IMPV+ALD** IRR-**can**-PFV
 'If it can be done.' [T0069: 067]
- d. nii **laaych** kach'uk'ulh juu paalakch'uk'un
 nii **laa-y+ch** ka-ch'uk'u-li juu paalakch'uk'un
 COMP **can-IMPV+ALD** IRR-cut-PFV ART knife
- kamaakikxtuuch waa tzaj
 ka-maa-kik-xtuu+ch waa tzaj
 IRR-CAUS-EDGE-be.sharp(PFV)+ALD FOC frequently
 'He must sharpen the knife frequently so that it will cut.' [MNB13: 50]

In the periphrastic construction, *laa-* may or may not be inflected for person, as seen below in (449).

- (449)a. klaay knawiiy
k-**laa**-y k-nawii-y
1SUB-**can**-IMPV 1SUB-do-IMPV
 'I can do it.' [ELIEX3: 001]
- b. **laay** xaknawiiy juu kit'in
laa-y xa-k-nawii-y juu kit'in
can-IMPV PAST-1SUB-do-IMPV ART PRN.1SG
 'I could do it.' [ELIEX3: 004]

Adverbs may intervene between *laa* and the main verb, as seen below in (450). Note, also, in this example that the repetitive suffix *-paa* occurs on the main verb, not on *laa-*.

(450) **laaych** chunch ʔaklaqoxipaa juu ʔanuʔ
laa-y+ch chun+ch ʔa-k-laqoxi-pala juu ʔanuʔ
can-IMPV+ALD like.so+ALD IRR-1SUB-arrange-REP.PFV ART DADJ
‘I can arrange this one [a song] like this.’ [T0066: 178]

Finally, in certain constructions, such as the infinitival construction shown below in (451), *laa-* precedes two verbs.

(451) ʔanch juu maa **laaych** ʔanch makoonaʔ
ʔanch juu maa **laa-y+ch** ʔan+ch makajun-nV7
there REL RPT **can-IMPV+ALD** go(IMPV)+ALD leave.it-INF
‘That is where he can go to leave it.’ [T0003: 028]

Chapter 4: Nouns and Nominal Morphology

This chapter describes the inflectional and derivational morphosyntactic processes that nouns may undergo (sections 4.1 and 4.2, respectively), noun phrases (section 4.3), relational nouns (section 4.4), and pronouns (section 4.5).

4.1 INFLECTION

Morphosyntactic processes that utilize nominal inflectional morphology include pluralization of nouns (section 4.1.1) and possession of nouns (section 4.1.2). There is no case, gender, or class marking on the nouns.

4.1.1 Pluralization

HT nouns are not obligatorily marked for plurality in either elicited or naturally occurring speech. If a verbal argument is indeed plural, this feature is made obvious either by person marking on the verb,¹²⁵ by numerals or quantifiers, or by the context of the utterance. Each of these instances is addressed below.

It is frequently the case in both naturally occurring and elicited speech that the verb is inflected for a plural argument, even when the corresponding overt nominal is not inflected for plurality. In the following example in (452), the overt subject nominal *kintata7* ‘my elder’ is *singular*, while both verbs are inflected for *plural* subjects.

¹²⁵ See chapter 3, section 3.1 for more information on verbal inflection.

(452) waa **tanajunch** kintata7
waa **ta-najun+ch** kin-tata7
FOC **PL.SUB-say**(IMPFV) +ALD 1POS-elder

nii **xtalaakilhun**
nii **x-ta-laa-kilhun**
COMP PAST-**PL.SUB-RCP-chat**(IMPFV)
‘My elders would say, when they were chatting with each other, . . .’
[T0022: 021]

In (453), the plural object is marked on the verb by the plural prefix, even though the object nominal is not marked for plurality.

(453) **laklhii7**alhch juu chaqa7
lak-lhii7an-li+ch juu chaqa7
PL-take-PFV+ALD ART house
‘It [the flooded river] carried away the houses.’ [T0057: 067]

Three variations on plural marking appear below in (454). In the (a) example, the plurality of the object *7aalaaxuux* ‘oranges’ is marked only on the verb. In the (b) example, the plurality of the object is marked both on the verb and on the noun; interestingly, this causes a change in meaning from the clause in (a). In the (c) example, neither the verb nor the noun is marked for plurality; instead the object is understood to be plural because it is modified by a numeral.

(454) a. juu Susanita **lakp'uxlh** juu 7aalaaxuux
juu Susanita **lak-p'ux-li** juu 7aalaaxuux
ART Suzie **PL-pick-PFV** ART orange
‘Suzie picked oranges.’

b. juu Susanita **lakp'uxlh** juu **lak7aalaaxuux**
juu Susanita **lak-p'ux-li** juu **lak-7aalaaxuux**
ART Suzie **PL-pick-PFV** ART **PL-orange**
‘Suzie picked oranges *from several different orange trees.*’

- c. juu Susanita p'uxlh laqat'uy 7aalaaxuux
 juu Susanita p'ux-li laqa-t'uy 7aalaaxuux
 ART Suzie pick-PFV CL:GEN-two orange
 'Suzie picked two oranges.' [NVP05]

In the clause in (455), the numeral—the classifier of which specifies the shape of the object, even though the object nominal is omitted¹²⁶—is the only semantic indication that the object argument is plural.

- (455) 7aqxt'uych kamaamaayaaw
 7aqx-t'uy+ch ka-maa-maa-ya7-w
 CL:flat-two+ALD IRR-CAUS-lying-FUT-1PL.SUB
 'We're going to lay down two [boards]' [T0069: 064]

Quantifiers are also used to indicate that a verbal argument is plural, as seen below in (456). In this example, neither the verb nor the object is marked for plurality, and the only indication that the object argument is plural is the presence of the quantifier *lhuu* 'many'.¹²⁷

- (456) maa naa naa lhuu juu xkupu7 lhii7alh
 maa naa naa lhuu juu xkupu7 lhii7an-li
 RPT EMP EMP many ART crawdad take-PFV
 'He took a lot of crawdads.' [T0058: 019]

There are many instances of naturally occurring speech in which, pragmatically, a noun is understood to be plural, even though there is no plural marking on the noun or the verb, nor are there numerals or quantifiers to modify the argument. Such an instance is seen below in (457). Even though the noun *7aqtzulh* 'head' is singular, the noun's possessor is plural, which produces a pragmatically plural noun.

¹²⁶ See Chapter 7, section 7.3 for more information on numeral classifiers.

¹²⁷ See Chapter 5, section 5.4 for more information on quantifiers.

simplicity, clarity, and organization, I divide the affixes into prefixes (section 4.1.1.1) and suffixes (section 4.1.1.2) below.

4.1.1.1 Plural Prefixes

There are two prefixes that are used to mark plurality of nouns: *lak-* and *ʔa-*. The plural prefix *lak-* is the default prefix used to mark plurality on an *inanimate* noun, as seen in the examples in (459). This prefix is quite likely related to the verbal prefix *lak-* that serves to co-index three similar concepts: a third person plural object, a multiply plural argument, and the distributive action of the verb.¹³¹ This prefix does not participate in primary stress assignment.

- (459) a. laqchaqʔ (~ lakchaqʔ)¹³²
lak-chaqʔ
PL-house
'houses'
- b. lakxqaam
lak-xqaam
PL-corn.husk
'corn husks'
- c. laqmaqpu
lak-maqpu
PL-branch
'branches'
- d. lak'uch'un
lak-k'uch'u-n
PL-cure-DVB
'cures', 'remedies', 'medicines'

¹³¹ See Chapter 3, sections 3.1.1.2 and 3.1.1.4.

¹³² See Chapter 2, section 2.6.5.2 and 2.6.10 for information on the alternation between /k/ and /q/.

Though most of the members of the class of nouns that are pluralized by means of the prefix *lak-* are inanimate, this class also includes some human nouns, shown below in (460).

- (460) a. xalajkiin
 xa-lak-kiin
 IPOS-PL-aunt
 ‘their aunts’
- b. laklhii7aynaqmaqti
 lak-lhii7aynaqmaqti¹³³
 PL-slave
 ‘slaves’

The prefix *7a-* appears on only three nouns in my database, all of which are shown below in (461). This plural prefix is polysemous with the verbal prefix *7a-* that co-indexes a plural indefinite or indirect object on a transitive verb (see Chapter 3, section 3.1.1.5). Furthermore, it is most likely cognate with the prefix *ha:-* in the Chintipán dialect of Tlachichilco Tepehua that marks both plurality of action on verbs and plurality of unpossessed potential kinship terms (Watters 1988: 402). In the examples in (461), both the (a) and (b) examples also bear the plural suffix *-n*, while the (c) example bears no other plural affix. I have not been able to determine why this affix is needed on the plural forms of the lexemes in (a) or (b), or why it is the only plural marker to appear on the lexeme in (c).

- (461) a. ki7ananaan
 kin-7a-nana7-n
 IPOS-PL-elder.woman-PL
 ‘my (female) elders’

¹³³ *Lhii7aynaqmaqti* is a derived nominal: lhii-qay-naq-maa-ti (APPL-big-hit.it-lying-NOM1).

- b. 7amaaxkawaniniin¹³⁴
 7a-maaxkawanini7-n
 PL-hunter-PL
 ‘hunters’
- c. 7apapanti¹³⁵
 7a-papanti
 PL-grandson
 ‘grandsons’

4.1.1.2 Plural Suffixes

Almost all *animate* HT nouns—as well as many inanimate ones—are pluralized by means of one of the numerous plural suffixes: *-nin*, *-nan*, *-ni*, *-n*, *-an*, *-in*, and *-un*. It is immediately obvious that the common denominator in all of the plural suffixes is the phoneme /n/. Furthermore, all of the suffixes—with the exception on *-ni*—carry primary stress according to the stress assignment rule.¹³⁶ These suffixes can be divided into two groups: the first group consists of *-nin*, *-nan*, and *-ni*; the second group is comprised of allomorphs of *-(V)n*, (that is, *-n*, *-an*, *-in*, and *-un*).

The first group of suffixes includes *-nin*, *-nan*, and *-ni*. Of these three suffixes, *-nin* is by far the more commonly occurring. In fact, *-nan* and *-ni* are so rare, that I suspect that they are earlier forms of the plural that have been preserved on a very small number of lexemes, all of which are shown below in (462) and (463), respectively.

¹³⁴ *Maaxkawaninii* is a derived noun: maa-xkawa-ni-nV7 (CAUS-hunt-DAT-AGNM).

¹³⁵ *Papanti* is also a derived noun: papa-nti (man-NOM2)

¹³⁶ See Chapter 2, section 2.5.

The only occurrence of *-nan* that appears in the dictionary is *ʔatapakxatnan* ‘animals’, shown in (462a). The (b) and (c) examples, *kijnan* and *ʔuxijnan* are both frozen plural forms of the personal pronouns.

- (462) a. ʔatapakxat-**nan**
 animal-PL
- b. **kijnan**
 ‘we’, PRN.1PL
- c. ʔuxij**nan**
 ‘you all’, PRN.2PL

The only two examples I have found in which *-ni* forms the nominal plural are shown in (463). The plural form *lapanakni* in example (a) is being replaced by *lápanák*.¹³⁷ The native Tepehua word for ‘bride’, *ʔask'inintij*, in the (b) example is being replaced by the Spanish borrowing *novia*.

- (463) a. lapanak-**ni**
 person-PL
- b. ʔask'ininti-**ni**
 bride-PL

The plural suffix *-nin* is the most commonly occurring of all of the nominal plural suffixes. It may pluralize any kind of noun, including a human noun (464a), an animate, non-human noun (464b), an inanimate noun (464c), a derived noun (464d), and a human noun borrowed from Spanish (464e). The suffix *-nin* occurs on both vowel- and consonant-final roots and stems, as can be seen in the examples below.

¹³⁷ See the next section, 4.1.1.3.

- (464) a. t'aku**unin**
 t'aku7-**nin**
 woman-**PL**
 'women'
- b. muux-**nin**
 monkey-**PL**
 'monkeys'
- c. qaaxwaat-**nin**
 egg-**PL**
 'eggs'
- d. puutayaanin
 puu-tayaa-n-**nin**
 LOC-stand.up-DVB-**PL**
 'stirrups'
- e. doctor-**nin**
 doctor-**PL**
 'doctors'

The suffix $-(V)n$, whose allomorphs are $-n$, $-an$, $-in$, and $-un$, forms the plural on human, animate, and inanimate nouns, but not on derived nominals. The vowelless allomorph, $-n$ suffixes to a root ending in a vowel or a glottal stop that is deleted,¹³⁸ as seen below in (465). The other allomorphs are suffixed to roots ending in consonants; the unspecified vowel of the suffix harmonizes with the preceding root vowel to produce $-an$ (466), $-un$ (467), and $-in$ (468). Only the allomorph $-in$ may occur after the approximant consonants, irregardless of the quality of the preceding root vowel. The allomorph $-un$ occurs in only two examples, one of which is a frozen form.

¹³⁸ See Chapter 2, section 2.6.7.2 on glottal-stop deletion.

(465)-n

- a. Ch'aqawaxt'i-**n**
Totonac-**PL**
'Totonacs'
- b. chiilaan
chiila7-**n**
chicken-**PL**
'chickens'
- c. kuuxtu-**n**
cornfield-**PL**
'cornfields'

(466)-an

- a. tz'al-**an**
boy-**PL**
'boys'
- b. laawaan-**an**
Spaniard-**PL**
'Spaniards'
- c. ch'aaxpa7-**an**
waist-**PL**
'waists'

(467)-un

- a. tz'oqon-**un**
Otomí-**PL**
'Otomís'
- b. yu7**unch**
PRN.3PL

(468)-in

- a. paamaalhik-**in**
nest-**PL**
'nests'
- b. k'iw-**in**
tree-**PL**
'trees'

- c. xalajqajin
xa-lakqay-**in**
IPOS-boss-**PL**
'bosses'
- d. xa-laqaw-**in**
IPOS-sibling-**PL**
'siblings'

The question of how to determine which noun takes which plural affix remains unanswered. I suspect that at one time nouns belonged to different noun classes, each of which required a different plural affix. However, I believe that the use of the prefix *lak-* is becoming the norm for pluralization, and that the suffixes are slowly falling out of use. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that many nouns that form their plurals with *-nin* or *-(V)n*, may alternately form the plural by means of *lak-*, as seen below in the (a) and (b) examples of (469) and (470), or even by means of both affixes, as seen in (470c).

- (469)a. kilh**nin**
kilh-**nin**
mouth-**PL**
'mouths'
- b. **laj**kilh
lak-kilh
PL-mouth
'mouths'
- (470)a. k'iw-**in**
tree-**PL**
- b. **laj**k'iw
lak-k'iw
PL-tree
'trees'

- c. lajk'iwin
lak-k'iw-in
 PL-tree-PL
 'trees'

4.1.1.3 Stress Pattern Change

The commonly used plural form of the noun *lapának* [la.'pa.nak] 'person' is produced by means of a change in the stress pattern of the word: *làpanák* [l̥la.pa.'nak] 'people'. However, *làpanák* is likely a truncated form of the older plural form *làpanákni* [l̥la.pa.'nak.ni] (see example (471) below). In my database, *làpanákni* occurs only twice, and both occurrences are from a narrative about the history of Huehuetla.

- (471) *lapának* [la.'pa.nak] 'person'
làpanákni [l̥la.pa.'nak] 'people'
làpanák [l̥la.pa.'nak.ni] 'people'

When the plural noun *làpanák* is co-indexed with a verbal argument, the verb may be marked for a plural subject, as seen in (472a), or it may be unmarked, as seen in (472b).

- (472) a. juu tachu làpanák toontakuj **ta-7a-t'inin**
 ART all people all.day.long **PL.SUB-PL-dance(IMPV)**
 'All of the people dance all day.' [T0066: 161]
- b. naa lhuu nii-li juu làpanák
 EMP many die-PFV ART people
 'Many people died.' [T0057: 008]

4.1.2 Possession

The pattern for possession in HT is head-marking (Nichols 1986): the possessive affixes appear on the head noun (the possessum) rather than on the

dependent noun (the possessor). When there is an overt nominal possessor, it follows the possessum, as seen in (473).

(473)	PM	PR	
	juu	[x-chaqá7	Kú:lax]
	ART	3POS-house	Nicolás
	'Nicholas' house'		
			[GN5: 53]

The possessive affixes are shown below in Table 21.

Table 21: HT Possessive Affixes

	Singular	Plural
1	kin-	kin- -7an
2	min-	min- -7an
3	7ix-	7ix- -7an
Impersonal Possessor	xaa-	(not possible)

The person of the possessor is marked by means of prefixes on the possessum (section 4.1.2.1 and 4.1.2.2) and the number of the possessor is marked by means of a suffix on the possessum (section 4.1.2.3). Certain Tepehua nouns are obligatorily possessed, while others are optionally possessed (section 4.1.2.4).

4.1.2.1 Person of the Possessor

First, second, and animate third person possessors (PR) are co-indexed on a possessed noun (PM) by means of the possessive prefixes *kin-*, *min-*, and *7ix-* respectively.

A first person possessor is indicated by the possessive prefix *kin-* and its allomorphs *ki-* and *kim-*, and a second person possessor is indicated by the

possessive prefix *min-* and its allomorphs *mi-* and *mim-*. The distributions of both the first and second person allomorphs are exactly the same: *ki-* and *mi-* occur before nasals and glides (474); *kim-* and *mim-* occur before /p/ and /p'/ (475); and *kin-* and *min-* occur everywhere else (476). *kin-* and *ki-* are in free variation before /ʃ/ and a lateral consonant as seen in example (477).

- (474) a. **kimaka7**
ki-maka7
1POS-hand
 ‘my hand’
- b. **minana7**
mi-nana7
2POS-old.woman
 ‘your elder’, ‘your old woman’
- c. **kiwayti**
ki-wayti
1POS-food
 ‘my food’
- (475) a. **mimpay**
mim-pay
2POS-father
 ‘your father’
- b. **kimp'isaqa**
kim-p'isaqa
1POS-younger.sibling
 ‘my younger brother/sister’
- (476) a. **kintata7**
kin-tata7
1POS-old.man
 ‘my elder’, ‘old man’

- b. **kin**'uun
kin-t'uun
1POS-land
 'my land'
- c. **min**skumilh
min-skumilh
2POS-pot
 'your pot'
- d. **mintz**'alh
min-tz'alh
2POS-child
 'your child'
- e. **kin**kiin
kin-kiin
1POS-aunt
 'my aunt'
- (477) a. **min**7aqtzúlh ~ **mi**7aqtzúlh
min-7aqtzúlh
2POS-head
 'your head'
- b. **kin**lakch'aja7 ~ **kil**lakch'aja7
kin-lak-ch'aja7
1POS-PL-foot
 'my feet'

The third person human possessive prefix is *7ix-*; its allomorphs are *x-*, *7is-*, *s-*, and *7i-*. The prefixes *7ix-* and *x-* are in free variation, as seen below in (478). If the noun contains an /s/, then *7ix-* and *x-* may optionally harmonize with that phoneme, as seen in (479). Finally, *7ix-* reduces to *7i-* before /s/, as seen in (480). In one case, that of *7aqtzúlh* 'head', there are two acceptable possessive prefixes: *7ix-* and *tz-*, as seen in (481); I have found no other word for which *tz-* is an acceptable indicator of third person possession.

- (478) a. **7ix-chaqa7** ~ **x-chaqa7**
3POS-house
‘his/her house’
- b. **7ix-nati** ~ **x-nati**
3POS-mother
‘his/her mother’
- c. **7ix-7ukxtin** ~ **x-7ukxtin**
3POS-boss
‘his/her boss’
- (479) a. **x7asqat'a7an** ~ **sasqat'a7an**¹³⁹
x-7asqat'a-7an
3POS-child-PL.POS
‘their children’
- b. **7ix-tampus** ~ **7is-tampus**
3POS-middle
‘his/her middle’
- (480) a. **7isawaw**
7ix-sawaw
3POS-muscle
‘his/her muscle’
- b. **7ispiiriituu**
7ix-spiiriituu
3POS-spirit
‘his/her spirit’
- (481) **7ix7aqtzúlh** ~ **tzaqtzúlh**
7ix-7aqtzúlh
3POS-head
‘his/her head’

¹³⁹ Please see Chapter 2, section 2.6.3 on stem-initial glottal stop insertion, which must happen before inflection; if it does not happen before inflection, it does not happen at all.

4.1.2.2 Impersonal Possessor

The impersonal possessor prefix *xaa-* is used instead of the third person possessor prefix under two circumstances: First, when an *obligatorily possessed* noun¹⁴⁰ has no possessor, it is prefixed with *xaa-*. Second, when the possessor of an *optionally possessed* noun¹⁴¹ is *inanimate*, the possessum may be affixed with *xaa-* instead of the third person possessive prefix, *7ix-*.

The examples in (482) demonstrate that when an *obligatorily possessed* noun has no possessor, it bears the impersonal possessor prefix. The examples in (a) and (b) demonstrate that the noun *pay* must bear a possessive prefix. The (c) example is taken from a text in which the child of the father to which *pay* refers is deceased; since there is no longer an entity to possess the father, *pay* bears the unspecified possessor prefix.

- (482) a. ******(juu) pay
 (ART) father
 Target: ‘(the) father’
- b. lakmaapaayniy juu 7ixtz’alh juu **7ixpay**
 lak-maapaayni-y juu 7ix-tz’alh juu **7ix-pay**
 PL-love-IMPV ART 3POS-boy ART **3POS-father**
 ‘The father loves his children.’ [TPWDB: maapaayni]
- c. juu **xaapay** maa jaantu xtalh7aman
 juu **xaa-pay** maa jaantu x-talh7aman
 ART **IPOS-father** RPT NEG PAST-get.mad(IMPV)
 ‘The father would never get mad.’ [His child is deceased] [T0059: 029]

The examples in (483) demonstrate that when an *optionally possessed* noun’s possessor is *inanimate*, the possessum may bear the impersonal possessor

¹⁴⁰ See section 4.1.2.4 on obligatory possession.

¹⁴¹ Again, see section 4.1.2.4.

- b. mintz'alh7an
min-tz'alh-7an
2POS-boy-PL.POS
'your (PL) boy'
- c. sasqat'a7an
7ix-7asqat'a-7an
3POS-child-PL.POS
'their child'

When both the possessor *and* the possessum are plural, the possessive affixes are added to the stem of the possessum *after* the plural noun marker, as seen below in (485).

- (485) a. kinchaqa7an
kin-lak-chaqa7-7an
1POS-PL-house-PL.POS
'our houses'
- b. mintz'alan7an
min-tz'al-an-7an
2POS-boy-PL-PL.POS
'your (PL) boys'
- c. sasqat'an7an
7ix-7asqat'a-n-7an
3POS-child-PL-PL.POS
'their children'

However, the possessum does not have to be marked for plurality to be understood to be plural, as seen below in (486).

- (486) a. kin7aqtzulh7an
kin-7aqtzulh-7an
1POS-head-PL.POS
'our heads'

- b. kɪnʔaqtzuhlɲinʔan
 kin-ʔaqtzuhl-**nin**-ʔan
 1POS-head-**PL**-PL.POS
 ‘our heads’

4.1.2.4 *Obligatory Possession*

A closed set of Tepehua nouns are *obligatorily* possessed, meaning that they never occur without one of the four possessive prefixes seen above in sections 4.1.2.1 and 4.1.2.2. These nouns are what Nichols (1988) calls ‘bound nouns’, in that they “*must* be formally possessed” (p. 563). What I am calling ‘obligatory possession’ has been called many things in the linguistic literature, including ‘inalienable’ and ‘inherent’ possession.¹⁴² I have chosen to use the term ‘obligatory’ instead of ‘inherent’ to describe this set of nouns in Tepehua because I use the term ‘inherent’ to describe a *lack* of overt person marking on verbs,¹⁴³ while what is seen on the HT nouns is *not* a lack of person marking. I do not use the term ‘inalienable’ because the use of this term implies that ‘inalienable’ nouns are treated differently from ‘alienable’ nouns either syntactically or morphosyntactically, which is not the case in Tepehua.

Tepehua also has an open set of nouns that are *optionally* possessed; that is, they are free morphemes because they are not required to occur with the possessive morphology.

The same set of possessive affixes is used on both obligatorily and optionally possessed nouns. The difference is that the obligatorily possessed

¹⁴² See Nichols 1988 (pp. 568-576) for a discussion of the semantics of what she calls the ‘alienability opposition’; and see Nichols 1988 (p. 561) and Heine 1997 (pp. 10-16) for a discussion of the various terminology used in the linguistic literature to denote this phenomenon.

¹⁴³ See Chapter 3, section 3.1.1.

nouns are bound and may only appear with the possessive morphology, while the optionally possessed nouns are free and may appear with or without the possessive morphology, depending on context.

The set of obligatorily possessed nouns in Tepehua includes kinship terms (487), honorifics (488), human body parts and excretions (489), plant and animal body parts and excretions (490), parts of a whole (491), and one of the two words meaning ‘tortilla’ (492).

(487) Kinship terms

- a. chach xmilh juu **kinati7an**
 cha+ch x-min-li juu kin-nati-7an
 ABL+ALD PAST-come-PFV ART 1POS-mother-PL.POS
 ‘If only our mother would come.’ [T0066: 015]
- b. juu **ki7asqat’ach** maa kanoonaach
 juu kin-7asqat’a+ch maa ka-najun-a7+ch
 ART 1POS-child+ALD RPT IRR-say-FUT+ALD
 ‘”My child?” he would say.’ [T0059: 012]
- c. juu **kinkuuk 7ixlaqaw** juu **kinati**
 juu kin-kuuk 7ix-laqaw juu kin-nati
 ART 1POS-uncle 3POS-brother ART 1POS-mother
 ‘my maternal uncle’ or
 ‘my uncle, my mother’s brother’ [ELIEX2: 076]

(488) Honorifics

- a. juu 7anuuch purowii **xkumwarii**
 juu 7anu7+ch purowii x-kumwarii
 ART DADJ+ALD pitiful 3POS-compadre
 ‘That pitiful compadre . . .’ [T0055: 010]
- b. juu liijuntoo **kintata7an** Riik’ii
 juu liijuntoo kin-tata7-7an Riik’ii
 ART deceased 1POS-male.elder-PL.POS Enrique
 ‘the deceased old man (elder) Enrique’ [T0066: 078]

(489) Human body parts and excretions

- a. kixkaniy juu **kilakatunaj**
kin-xka-ni-y juu kin-lakatunaj
1OBJ-hurt-DAT-IMPFV ART 1POS-body
'My body hurts.'
[ELIEX3: 021]
- b. maa waa lakaxajpalachiilh **xlakatz'itz'i**
maa waa laka-xaj-pala-chii-li x-laka-tz'itz'i
RPT FOC body-break.out-REP-ADL-PFV 3POS-body-bump
'Supposedly she broke out in bumps.'
[T0069: 218]
- c. laqat'uy lhk'awink'i **7ixtatzalat**
laqa-t'uy lhk'awink'i 7ix-tatzalat
CL:general-two long 3POS-tooth
'two long teeth'
[ELIEX4: 084]
- d. katu7iilh juu lapanak juu **7ix7aay**
katu-7ii-li juu lapanak juu 7ix-7aay
ear-bring-PFV ART person ART 3POS-hair
'The man pulled the hair out of his ear.'
[ELIEX2: 050]

(490) Plant and animal parts

- a. juu nimaa waa laqatam juu **7ixwootoon**
juu nimaa waa laqa-tam juu 7ix-wootoon
ART this.one FOC CL:general-one ART 3POS-knot
'This one [a piece of wood] has one knot.'
[T0069: 353]
- b. cha7iputun juu **x7alhtukunu7** k'iw juu lapanak
cha7i-putun juu x-7alhtukunu7 k'iw juu lapanak
remove-DESID(IMPFV) ART 3POS-thorn tree ART person
'The man wants to remove the tree's thorns.'
[ELIEX1: 030]
- c. **7ix7apamat** juu tz'oq
7ix-7apamat juu tz'oq
3POS-feather/fur ART bird
'bird's feathers'
[TPWDB: 7apamat]
- d. maa tzukulh maa maaxtoqnu7 juu **x7ilht'i** p'aax
maa tzuku-li maa maaxtoq-nV7 juu 7ix-7ilht'i p'aax
RPT begin-PFV RPT gather-INF ART 3POS-excrement pig
'He began to collect pig excrement.'
[T0055: 100]

(491) Parts of a whole

a. juu **xmaalhka** yuuch juu nimaa
juu x-maalhka yuuch juu nimaa
ART 3POS-measurement PRN.3SG ART this.one
'This one is the measurement.'
[T0069: 055]

b. waa yuuch juu **xpuutawlan**
waa yuuch juu x-puutawlan
FOC PRN.3SG ART 3POS-base
'This is the base [of a cabinet].'
[T0069: 279]

c. chinich ka7anaa juu **xatornillo**
chinich ka-7an-a7 juu xa-tornillo
like.so IRR-go-FUT ART IPOS-screw
'Will the screw go like this?'
[T0069: 030]

(492) tortilla (*ni7* in (a) is obligatorily possessed, but *waati* in (b) is not)

a. tz'alukulh juu **7ixni7** juu 7atzi7
tz'aluku-li juu 7ix-ni7 juu 7atzi7
make.tortilla-PFV ART 3POS-tortilla ART girl
'The girl made the tortilla(s).'
[TPWDB: tz'aluku]

b. tz'alukuy juu **waati** juu t'aku7
tz'aluku-y juu waati juu t'aku7
make.tortilla-IMPFV ART tortilla ART woman
'The woman makes the tortilla(s).'
[TPWDB: tz'aluku]

4.2 DERIVATION

In HT, nouns may be derived from verbs by means of suffixation and from nominals or deverbal stems by means of prefixation. The deverbalizing processes include agent nominalization (section 4.2.1), non-agentive nominalization (section 4.2.2), and deverbalization (section 4.2.3). The prefixes involved in noun derivation include instrumentals (section 4.2.4), the locative (section 4.2.5), the applicative (section 4.2.6) the comitative (section 4.2.7), and the body part

prefixes (section 4.2.8). Finally noun-noun and adjective-noun compounding is covered in section 4.2.9.

4.2.1 Agent Nominalizer *-nV7*

When the agent nominalizing suffix *-nV7* (AGNM)¹⁴⁴ is added to an action verb, the result is an agentive nominal that refers to the person or thing that performs the action of the verb, as seen in the examples in (493). The /n/ at the beginning of this suffix is most likely the deverbalizing suffix *-n* (see section 4.2.3). The unspecified vowel of the suffix *-nV7* harmonizes with the right-most vowel of the stem. The process of agent nominalization is highly productive in HT.

- (493) a. maak'uk'ana7
 maak'uk'a-nV7
 carry.on.back-AGNM
 'porter, loader'
- b. piixiiyalhna7
 piixiiyalh-nV7
 stroll-AGNM
 'navigator'
- c. 7amaqpana7
 7amaqpa-nV7
 wash.clothing-AGNM
 'laundress'
- d. lakxuknu7
 lak-xuk-nV7
 PL-carve-AGNM
 'wood-carver'

¹⁴⁴ This suffix is homophonous with the infinitival suffix. See Chapter 3, section 3.4.1 on infinitives.

- e. laqchaqxna7
laq-chaqx-nV7
PL-chop-AGNM
'wood choppper' (a person)
- f. 7iini7
7ii-nV7
bring-AGNM
'servant'
- g. qaya7ana7
qaya7a-nV7
burn-AGNM
'embers'
- h. maaxnapapana7
maaxnapapa-nV7
make.white-AGNM
'bleach'

4.2.2 Non-agentive Nominalizers *-ti* and *-nti*

There are two nominalizing suffixes that are widely and productively used in HT to form non-agentive nouns from verbs: *-ti* (NOM1) and *-nti* (NOM2). To summarize Watters (1988: 416-423), in Tlachichilco Tepehua, intransitive action verbs form nominals by means of the suffix *-ti*, while transitive action verbs form nominals by means of the suffix *-nti* (the indefinite object suffix *-nVn*, plus *-ti*). Though both suffixes are found in HT, as well, the conditioning factors in this language are not so cut-and-dried. While there *are* nominalizations of intransitive action verbs formed by means of *-ti*, as seen below in (494), there are also nominalizations of *transitive* action verbs formed by the same suffix, as seen below in (495); however, there are far fewer of the transitive examples than there are of the intransitive examples. Next, there are nominalizations of both transitive

and intransitive verbs formed by means of the suffix *-nti*, as seen below in (496) and (497), respectively. Furthermore, the verb does not have to be an action verb to participate in this type of nominalization, as demonstrated by the example in (497d). On the whole, *-ti* is far more productive and occurs on many more nouns than *-nti* does; however, given the broad range of both nominalizing suffixes, the conditions that determine the use of one over the other have yet to be determined.

(494) intransitive verbs ending in *-ti* NOM1

- a. miilhpaati
miilhpaa-**ti**
sing- **NOM1**
'song'
- b. mak-tanuu-**ti**
hand-enter- **NOM1**
'ring', 'glove'
- c. ch'an-tanuu-**ti**
foot-enter- **NOM1**
'shoe'
- d. 7aq-tanuu-**ti**
head-enter- **NOM1**
'hat'
- e. katu-tanuu-**ti**
ear-enter- **NOM1**
'earring'
- f. taqanqa-**ti**
get.sick- **NOM1**
'illness'
- g. talht'aja-**ti**
sweat- **NOM1**
'sweat'

- h. 7ach'ananti
7a-ch'an-nVn-ti
PL-sow-INO- **NOM1**
'garden', 'plants'

- i. 7ak'atzananti
7a-k'atza-nVn-ti
PL-know-INO- **NOM1**
'knowledge', 'intelligence'

- j. laa-saa-ti
RCP-hit-**NOM1**¹⁴⁵
'fight', 'battle'

- k. waati
wajin-ti
eat(vi)- **NOM1**
tortilla

- l. wayti
wajin-ti
eat(vi)- **NOM1**
food, meal

- m. tzulunti
tzulun-ti
urinate-**NOM1**
'urine'

- n. qamanti
qaman-ti
play(VI)-**NOM1**
'game', 'Carnaval'

- o. chiwinti
chiwin-ti
speak-**NOM1**
'word'

¹⁴⁵ The reciprocal prefix *laa-* reduces the valency of the verb by one argument.

p. 7asaanti
 7asaanan-**ti** 7a-saa-nVn-**ti**
 play.instrument- **NOM1** PL-hit-INO-**NOM1**
 ‘gig’, ‘tocada’

q. talhanti
 talhanan-**ti**
 be.afraid-**NOM1**
 ‘fright’, ‘espanto’

(495) transitive verbs ending in *-ti* **NOM1**

a. skititi
 skiti-**ti**
 grind-**NOM1**
 ‘dough’

b. lhiimaap'aqa-**ti**
 explode-**NOM1**
 ‘explosives’, ‘firecracker’

(496) transitive verbs ending in *-nti* **NOM2**

a. x7amaqpanti
 x-7amaqpa-**nti**
 3POS-wash.clothes-**NOM2**
 ‘her washing’, ‘her washed clothing’

b. maalaqch'ii-**nti**
 dress(VT)-**NOM2**
 traditional clothing

(497) intransitive verbs ending in *-nti* **NOM2**

a. tayaanti
 tayaa-**nti**
 stand.up(VI)-**NOM2**
 ‘slope’

b. talhawanti
 talhawa-**nti**
 flood-**NOM2**
 ‘flood’

- c. 7a-xt'aja-**nti**
PL-melt-NOM2
'lead'
- d. lht'aqala-**nti**
be.flat-NOM2
'board'

4.2.3 Deverbalizer *-n*

The deverbalizing suffix *-n* (DVB) is used in the derivation of nouns from verbs and adjectives from unproductive, adverb-like roots. I follow Beck (2004: 83) in calling it a deverbalizer rather than a nominalizer.¹⁴⁶ A derived noun that bears the deverbalizer suffix additionally always bears one of the following nominal derivational prefixes: the instrumental prefix *paa-* or *lhaa-* (section 4.2.4), the locative prefix *puu-* (section 4.2.5), or the applicative prefix *lhii-* (section 4.2.6). Since a deverbalized noun never occurs without one of these prefixes, examples of derived nouns bearing the deverbalizer suffix are found in the above listed sections.

4.2.4 Instrumental Prefixes *paa-* and *lhaa-*

Instrumental nouns in HT are derived by means of prefixation of one of two prefixes, *paa-* or *lhaa-*, to a deverbal form or to a verb. Derivation of an instrumental noun by means of the first instrumental suffix *paa-* (INST1) is highly productive. The prefix *paa-* almost always co-occurs with the deverbalizer suffix *-n*, as seen below in (498), but there are also a few—probably lexicalized—examples in which the prefix occurs without the suffix, as seen in (499).

¹⁴⁶ See Chapter 5 section 5.1.1.1 for information on the use of the deverbalizer on adjectives.

(498) paa-Verb-n

- a. **paak'apin**
paa-k'api-n
INST1-use.lever.on-DVB
'lever'

- b. **paalakch'uk'un**
paa-lak-ch'uk'u-n
INST1-PL-cut-DVB
'saw'

- c. **paamuujuun**
paa-muujuu-n
INST1-put.in-DVB
'saddlebag'

- d. **paamispaan**
paa-mispaa-n
INST1-know- DVB
'sign', 'signal'

- e. **paamaaxt'uun** tzaasnaat
paa-maaxt'uu-n tzaasnat
INST1-mine(VT)- DVB iron
'iron mine'

(499) paa-Verb

- a. **paalaqchaqx**
paa-laq-chaqx
INST1-PL-cut.down
'axe'

- b. **paach'apa**
paa-ch'apa
INST1-grab
'pincer'

- c. **paach'it**
paa-ch'it
INST1-squeeze
'[sugarcane] press'

- d. **paalaktu7**
paa-laktu7
INST1-XXX
 ‘colander’

The following example demonstrates that there is some lexicalization of the instrumentals formed with *paa-*. In both examples in (500), *paa-* is prefixed to the intransitive verb *7alhtanan* ‘walk’. In both examples, the indefinite object suffix *-nVn* has been dropped, and, in the (b) example only, the root *7alhtan*¹⁴⁷ has been further truncated to *lhtan*.

- (500)a. **paa7alhtan**
paa-7alhtanan
INST1-walk
 ‘motor’
- b. **paalhtan**
paa-7alhtanan
INST1-walk
 ‘vehicle’ (e.g., car, bus, bicycle)

The second HT instrumental prefix *lhaa-* (INST2) is cognate with what MacKay (1999: 387) calls the comitative prefix *laa-* in Misantla Totonac. In HT *lhaa-* always co-occurs with the deverbalizing suffix *-n*. The process of instrumentalization of a verb by means of *lhaa-* is less productive than instrumentalization by means of *paa-*. Examples appear in (501).

- (501)a. **lhaamanin**
lhaa-mani-n
INST2-paint-DVB
 ‘varnish’, ‘paint’, ‘ink’, ‘color’

¹⁴⁷ The root *7alhtan* does not occur as a transitive verb in HT.

- b. **lhaasakminin**
lhaa-sakmin-i-n
INST2-ask-EPE-DVB
'question'
- c. **lhaaqaman**
lhaa-qaman-n
INST2-play-DVB
'toy'
- d. **lhaak'uch'un**
lhaa-k'uch'u-n
INST2-cure-DVB
'balm', 'ointment'
- e. **lhaalaqoxin**
lhaa-laqoxi-n
INST2-make.good-DVB
'spice'

4.2.5 Locative Prefix *puu-*

The locative prefix *puu-* (LOC) most likely comes from the body part prefix *puu-* meaning 'inside',¹⁴⁸ and it is closely related to the verbal instrumental prefix *puu-*.¹⁴⁹ I follow MacKay (1999: 388) in calling this the 'locative' prefix.¹⁵⁰ This prefix may be affixed to a noun or a deverbal stem. When it is affixed to a noun, the resulting noun means "the place where the noun is found", as seen below in (502).

- (502) a. **puuni7**
puu-ni7
LOC-tortilla
'guaje', 'tortilla holder'

¹⁴⁸ See Chapter 3, section 3.2.1.8.

¹⁴⁹ See Chapter 3, section 3.2.1.5.

¹⁵⁰ Jim Watters points out to me that MacKay is not the only Totonacanist to call this the 'locative' prefix and that this name goes all the way back to Zambrono (1752).

- b. **puukapen**
puu-kapen
LOC-coffee
'coffee field'
- c. **puustapu**
puu-stapu
LOC-bean
'bean plot'
- d. **puuchiila7**
puu-chiila7
LOC-chicken
'chicken coop'
- e. **puu7ukxtiin**
puu-7ukxtiin
LOC-boss
'municipal building'
- f. **puujip**
puu-jip
LOC-fire
'brazier'
- g. **puuskititi**
puu-skititi
LOC-corn.dough
'corn grinder'

When the locative prefix occurs on a verb, it is always accompanied by the deverbalizer suffix *-n* (DVB). The resulting noun refers to the place where the action of the verb takes place. Examples appear in (503).

- (503)a. **puulajch'in**
puu-lak-ch'i-n
LOC-PL-tie-DVB
'jail'

- b. **puutayaan**
puu-tayaa-n
LOC-stand.up-DVB
'stirrup', 'pedal'
- c. **puumaaskakan**
puu-maa-skaka-n
LOC-CAUS-be.hot-DVB
'forge'
- d. **puutapalhun**
puu-tapalhu-n
LOC-trap(VT)-DVB
'trap (N)'

The prefix *puu-* also occurs on deverbal stems that bear the indefinite subject suffix *-kan*,¹⁵¹ as seen below in (504). In these examples, it is debatable as to whether prefix *puu-* is the locative nominal prefix or the instrumental verbal prefix.

- (504) a. **puu7iikan**
puu-7ii-kan-n
LOC-bring-INS-DVB
'bucket'
- b. **puumakxto7kan**
puu-mak-xtoq-kan-n
LOC-hand-gather-INS-DVB
'rake'
- c. **puumanikan**
puu-mani-kan-n
LOC-paint-INS-DVB
'paintbrush'

¹⁵¹ See Chapter 3, section 3.1.1.3.

- d. **puumaqniikan**
puu-maqni-kan-n
 LOC-kill-INS-DVB
 ‘slaughter house’

4.2.6 Applicative Prefix *lhii-*

The verbal applicative prefix¹⁵² *lhii-* may be used to derive a noun from a deverbal stem or a noun from a noun. When it functions to nominalize a deverbal form, it always co-occurs with some other deverbalizing/nominalizing morpheme, such as the deverbalizer suffix *-n* (505) and (507), the nominalizer suffix *-ti* (506), or the indefinite subject suffix *-kan* (507).

- (505) a. **lhiniin**
lhii-nii-n
 APPL-die-DVB
 ‘poison’
- b. **lhisaan**
lhii-saa-n
 APPL-hit-DVB
 ‘musical instrument’, ‘guitar’
- (506) a. **lhiiqot'ati**
lhii-qot'-a-ti
 APPL-drink-EPE-NOM1
 ‘a drink’
- b. **lhik'atzati**
lhii-k'atza-ti
 APPL-know- NOM1
 ‘news’
- c. **lhiiist'aati**
lhii-st'aa-ti
 APPL-sell- NOM1
 ‘merchandise’

¹⁵² See Chapter 3, section 3.2.1.7.

- (507) a. **lhiimanikan**
lhi-manikan-n
 APPL-paint-INS-DVB
 ‘coloring agent’, ‘paint’
- b. **lhiik'uch'ukan**
lhi-k'uch'u-kan-n
 APPL-cure-INS-DVB
 ‘cure’
- c. **lhiilakpaach'iikan**
lhi-lakpaa-ch'ii-kan-n
 APPL-head-tie-INS-DVB
 ‘headscarf’

The applicative prefix *lhi-* also can be used to derive a new noun from a another noun. Specifically, it is used to derive a language name from the name of a group of people (508), in references to time,¹⁵³ (509), in references to general location (510), and in one lexicalized kinship term (511).

- (508) a. **lhiimaqalhqama7**
lhi-maqalhqama7
 APPL-Tepehua
 ‘Tepehua language’
- b. **lhiikachupin**
lhi-kachupin
 APPL-Gringo
 ‘English language’
- (509) a. **lhiiyaxich**
lhi-yaxi+ch
 APPL-moment+ALD
 ‘a little while ago.’

[T0066: 118]

¹⁵³ Not coincidentally, the HT word that means ‘tomorrow’ is *lhi7*. When a word or stem ends in a glottal stop, the glottal stop is deleted and the vowel is lengthened before a suffix or clitic. See Chapter 2, section 2.6.7.2.

- b. **lhii**tuumiinku
lhii-tuumiinku
 APPL-Sunday
 ‘Sunday’
- (510)a. **lhii**7uwint'i
lhii-7uwint'i
 APPL-there
 ‘over there’ [T0069: 328]
- b. **lhii**7aniich
lhii-7ani7+ch
 APPL-there+ALD
 ‘around here’ [T0054: 54]
- (511) **lhii**laqaw
lhii-laqaw
 APPL-sibling
 ‘cousin’

4.2.7 Comitative Prefix *t'aa*-

The verbal comitative prefix *t'aa*- (COM) is affixed to a noun to derive a different noun. Though this is a productive process in Tlachichilco Tepehua (Watters 1988: 408), it is not in Huehuetla Tepehua. All of the forms in (512) are lexicalized.

- (512)a. **t'aa**lapanak
t'aa-lapanak
 COM-person
 ‘friend’
- b. **t'aa**tawlhna7
t'aa-tawii-li-nV:
 COM-sit.down-PFV-AGNM
 ‘neighbor’

- c. **t'aat'**akuun
t'aa-t'akuu-n
 COM-woman-PL
 'witch'
- d. **t'aa**7ulut
t'aa-7ulut
 COM-XXX
 'compadre', 'father-in-law'

4.2.8 Body-Part Prefixes

The same body part prefixes (BPPs) that are used on the verbs¹⁵⁴ may also occur on noun roots. When a BPP occurs on a noun root, it may produce one of two results: (i) a different noun or (ii) a more specific noun.

In the first case, a different, derived noun results from the combination of a BPP and a noun root, as seen below in (513). These examples are mostly lexicalized, and—in some cases—their meanings cannot be easily discerned from their parts.

- (513) a. **7akskítit**¹⁵⁵
7ak-skítit
head-dough
 'cerebrum', 'brains'
- b. **7aqaloqot**
7aq-7alukut
head-bone
 'horn', 'antler'

¹⁵⁴ See Chapter 3, section 3.2.1.8.

¹⁵⁵ All BPPs that contain a /k/ or /q/ exhibit a size-symbolic phonemic alternation between these two phonemes, dependent on the size of the noun (see Chapter 2, section 2.6.10).

- c. **lakpaa**xkaan
lakpaa-xkaan
head-water
‘fontanel’, ‘soft spot’

- d. **lakapaal**ipipi
lakapaa-lipipi
head-bald
‘bald spot’

- e. x**ch'an**pututunti
x-**ch'an**-pututu-nti
3POS-**foot**-round-NOM2
‘paw pad’

- f. **lakapuuk**'íw
lakapuu-k'íw
face-tree
‘cheekbone’

- g. x**laqapu**utanuuti
x-**laqapuu**-tanuu-ti
3POS-**face**-put.on-NOM1
‘his mask’

- h. **maktzaas**naat
mak-tzaasnaat
hand-iron
‘horseshoe’

- i. **tasak**'íw
tasa-k'íw
tooth-tree
‘gums’

In the second case, the BPP is affixed to a body part root to create a more specific body part, as seen in the examples in (514) and (515).

(514) **xlakatz'itz'i**
x-**laka**-tz'itz'i
3POS-**body**-pimple
'bumps or rash on the body'

In each example in (515), the noun *ch'awti* 'hair' is prefixed with a different BPP to demonstrate that this is a productive process.

- (515) a. **7akch'awti**
7ak-ch'awti
head-hair
'tiny hairs (or filaments) on a small creature, such as an insect'
- b. **ch'anch'awti**
ch'an-ch'awti
foot-hair
'leg or foot hair'
- c. **ch'anqésit**
ch'an-qésit
foot-nail
'toenail', 'claw'
- d. **katuch'awti**
katu-ch'awti
ear-hair
'hair in or around ears'
- e. **kikch'awti**
kik-ch'awti
mouth-hair
'whisker', 'mustache', 'beard'
- f. **kinkach'awti**
kinka-ch'awti
nose-hair
'nose hair'

- h. **makch'awti**
mak-ch'awti
hand- hair
 'hair on the hand'

The examples in (516) show two different words for 'pelvis', both of which are prefixed with the BPP *puu-* 'insides'. The (a) example is an older, lexicalized (and not necessarily transparent) form, and the (b) example is a productive form.

- (516)a. **puuqaax**
puu-qaax
insides-gourd
 'pelvis'

- b. **puulukut**
puu-7alukut
insides-bone
 'pelvis'

4.2.9 Compound Nouns

In a noun-noun compound, the two nouns are joined by an epenthetic /i/, as seen below in (517). The second (or right-most) element is the head.

(517) Noun-noun compounds

- a. juukiluw
 juuk-i-luw
 deer-EPE-snake
 'boa constrictor'
- b. jiniluw
 jin-i-luw
 smoke-EPE-snake
 'rat snake'

- c. p'inik'uch'u
p'in-i-k'uch'u
chile-EPE-medicine
'ginger'
- d. xkaanit'aaxkati
xkaan-i-t'aaxkati
water-EPE-honey
'maguey juice'
- e. t'ini7ach'ananti
t'in-i-7ach'ananti
seed-EPE-garden
'seed bed'

Adjectives and nouns are also compounded to form nouns. The adjective precedes the noun, and the two elements are conjoined by an epenthetic vowel that harmonizes with the final vowel of the adjectival root. The noun (the right-most element) is the head. Examples are shown in (518).

(518) Adjective-noun compounds

- a. smarrawaluw
smarraw-V-luw
black-EPE-snake
'black-snake'
- b. xnapapacha7aan
xnapap-V-cha7aan
white-EPE-ant
'white-ant' (a type of ant)
- c. tz'uulikichiila7
tz'uulik-V-chiila7
striped-EPE-chicken
'striped chicken' (a type of chicken)

When the adjective simply modifies the noun, there is no epenthetic vowel that joins them, and they do not form a compound, as seen below in (519).

(519) Adjectives modifying nouns

- a. smarrow luw
black snake
- b. xnapáp cha7aan
white ant
- c. tz'uulík chiila7
striped chicken

4.3 NOUN PHRASES

A noun phrase in HT consists minimally of a head noun (520a) and maximally of an article, a demonstrative pronoun, a modifier,¹⁵⁶ and the head noun, as seen in (520b). The article is the left-most element of the noun phrase, and the head—the noun—is the right-most element.

- (520) a. waa [lapanak]_{NP}
FOC person
'it is human' [T0020: 032]
- b. [juu 7anuuch purowii xkumwarii]_{NP}
juu 7anu7+ch purowii x-kumwarii
ART that+ALD pitiful 3POS-compadre
'that pitiful compadre' [T0055: 010]

Generally speaking, overt NPs (both definite and indefinite) in HT are referential. Non-referential overt nouns appear in predicate nominal constructions,¹⁵⁷ such as in (520a), and as body parts prefixed on verbs.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ Only one modifier (either quantitative or qualitative) may occur in a noun phrase; see Chapter 5, section 5.1.

¹⁵⁷ See Chapter 3, section 3.3.3.1.

¹⁵⁸ See Chapter 3, section 3.2.1.8.

- b. [qox tachapun lapanak]
 qox tachapun lapanak
 good strong person
 ‘a strong, healthy man.’ [T0009: 017]

4.3.1.1 *Definite Article*

As mentioned above, the definite article *juu* is always the first element in a definite noun phrase. The same particle is also used as a relativizer in a relative clause, as well as a marker of definiteness in locative and temporal adverbial phrases; these uses are covered in Chapter 8 (section 8.3.2.1) and Chapter 5 (sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2), respectively. Examples of *juu* used as a definite article are seen in (523).

- (523)a. [juu luw]
 ART snake
 ‘the snake’
- b. [juu 7anu7 luw]
 ART that snake
 ‘that snake’ [T0003: 005]
- c. [juu Teewanch] junkan
 juu Teewan+ch jun-kan
 ART Esteban+ALD call-INS(IMPV)
 ‘They call him Stephen.’ [T0054: 005]

4.3.1.2 *Indefinite Article*

The numeral *tam* ‘one’ serves as an indefinite article in HT, similar to the Spanish *un(a)*. When the numeral acts as an indefinite article, it may occur with or without a numeral classifier. In the examples in (524), the classifier-*tam* combination acts as an indefinite article.

- (524) a. lhiitamawlh [laqatam xlaqpuutanuti]
 lhii-tamaw-li laqa-tam x-laqpuutanuti
 APPL-buy-PFV CL:general-one 3POS-mask
 ‘He bought himself a mask’ [T0055: 048]
- b. milh [laqatam maa taqanqati]
 min-li laqa-tam maa taqanqati
 come-PFV CL:general-one RPT illness
 ‘An illness came.’ [T0057: 009]
- c. maa chunch nawita [pumatam kintata7]
 maa chun+ch nawi-ta puma-tam kin-tata7
 RPT like.so+ALD do-PF CL:human-one 1POS-elder
 ‘That is what an old man did.’ [T0003: 029]

The examples in (525), show that the numeral *tam* does not require a numeral classifier prefix when it acts as an indefinite article.

- (525) a. waa naa ksk'in [tam cartón] wachu7
 waa naa k-sk'in tam cartón wachu7
 FOC EMP 1SUB-order(IMPFV) one box also
 ‘I order a box [of beer], too.’ [T0066: 043]
- b. [tam maqali7] kamaach'ixtaqniynch juu tuumiin
 tam maqali7 ka-maach'ixtaq-ni-y-n+ch juu tuumiin
 one rich.person IRR-loan-DAT-IMPFV-2OBJ+ALD ART money
 ‘A rich person might loan you the money.’ [T0054: 024]
- c. juu x7ulaata [tam p'aqlati tuumiin]
 juu x-7ulaa-ta tam p'aqlati tuumiin
 REL PAST-put-PF one chest money
 ‘[He] who had a chest of money.’ [T0054: 060]

Not all noun phrases containing the numeral *tam* are indefinite. The examples in (526) show that when the classified *tam* is preceded by the definite article *juu*, it acts as a numeral—not an indefinite article—and the noun phrase is definite.

(526) a. [juu **laqatam** wilhchan]
 juu laqa-tam wilhchan
 ART CL:general-one day
 ‘one day’ [T0020: 001]

b. [juu **7alaqatam** wilhchan]
 juu 7a-laqa-tam wilhchan
 ART CL:other- CL:general-one day
 ‘the other day’ [T0058: 001]

Finally, the example in (527) contrasts the use of *tam* as a numeral with its use as an indefinite article. The first NP is definite, and *tam* is used as a numeral; the second NP is indefinite, and *tam* is used as an indefinite article.

(527) maa xkitasp'it'ach x7ast'aanta
 maa x-ki-tasp'it'-ta+ch x-7a-st'aa-nVn-ta
 RPT PAST-RT-return-PF+ALD PAST-PL-sell-INO-PF

[juu **pumatam** xkumwarii]_{NP1}
 juu puma-tam x-kumwarii
 ART CL:human-one 3POS-compadre

[**laqatam** laqachaqaqan]_{NP2}
 laqa-tam laqachaqaqan
 CL:general-one town
 ‘One friend had returned from selling in a town.’ [T0055: 003]

4.3.1.3 Vocative Article

The vocative article *jii* precedes the noun that names or refers to the addressee, as seen in the examples in (528). In the (a) example, the addressee is a proper name; in the (b) example, it is a quasi-kinship term; in the (c) example, it is a kinship term; and in the (d) example, it is a noun. Neither Tlachichilco Tepehua nor Pisaflores Tepehua has a vocative article (J. Watters, p.c.).

- d. jaantu naa naa [sii **maqalhqama7** laqachaqaan]
 jaantu naa naa sii maqalhqama7 laqachaqaan
 NEG EMP EMP pure Tepehua town
 ‘this is not a pure Tepehua town.’ [T0057: 035]

If the head noun is modified by both a demonstrative and an adjective, the demonstrative precedes the adjective, as seen in (530).

- (530) juu **7anuuch** **purowii** xkumwarii
 juu 7anu7+ch purowii x-kumwarii
 ART that+ALD pitiful 3POS-compadre
 ‘That pitiful compadre . . .’ [T0055: 010]

For more information about modifiers, see Chapter 5.

4.4 RELATIONAL NOUNS

In HT, free noun roots that express locations or parts of a whole (including body parts) may form a relational noun construction with another noun, in which the location/part noun is possessed by the second noun, as seen below in (531). In these examples, the relational noun is indicated by bold face type, and the relational noun phrase is enclosed in brackets.

- (531) a. [juu **xlakayat** laqachaqaan]
 juu x-lakayat laqachaqaan
 ART 3POS-**middle** town
 ‘the middle of town’ [T0057: 089]
- b. [juu **xtantiilakan** tz'aqtzulh]
 juu x-tantiilakan x-7aqtzulh
 ART 3POS-**behind** 3POS-head
 ‘The back of his head.’
- c. [juu **xtanqaapu7** xch'aja7]
 juu x-tanqaapu7 x-ch'aja7
 ART 3POS-**bottom** 3POS-foot
 ‘the bottom of its foot’

- d. [juu x**paqaxti**7 juu puutamaan]
 juu x-**paqaxti**7 juu puutamaan
 ART 3POS-**side** ART bed
 ‘the side of the bed’

- e. yaachaa [x**puulakan** chaqa7]
 yaa-chaa x-**puulakan** chaqa7
 standing-DST 3POS-**behind** house
 ‘He is (standing) behind a house.’ [MNB8: 492]

Syntactically, the relational noun construction acts a locative adverbial modifier, much like a prepositional phrase. When the relational noun phrase modifies a non-positional verb, it generally is preceded by the preposition *laka-*; conversely, when the relational noun phrase modifies a positional or locational verb,¹⁵⁹ it generally is *not* preceded by the preposition. Compare the examples in (532), which exhibit non-positional verbs and the truncated preposition *la-*, with the examples in (533), which exhibit positional verbs, but no preposition.¹⁶⁰

- (532)a. kulhunch 7ulaa [juu lax**lakaytat** laqachaqaan]
 kulhun+ch 7ulaa juu laka-x-**lakaytat** laqachaqaan
 piled.up+ALD put(PFV) ART PREP-3POS-**middle** town
 ‘He piled it up in the middle of town’ [T0055: 021]
- b. naa 7aqtzamanta xkaan [juu lax**puulak** juu nipx]
 naa 7aqtzaman-ta xkaan juu laka-x-**puulak** juu nipx
 EMP fill-PF water ART PREP-3POS-**inside** ART squash
 ‘Water fills the inside of the squash.’ [MNB7: 449]
- (533)a. [7ix**tan7aapu**7 makt'ook'a] maa juu paaxoqo
 7ix-**tan7aapu**7 makt'ook'a maa juu paaxoqo
 3POS-**below** napkin lying(IMPFV) ART spoon
 ‘The spoon is (lying) underneath the napkin.’ [MB24]

¹⁵⁹ Please see Chapter 3, section 3.3.2 for more information on positional and locational verbs.

¹⁶⁰ For more information on the preposition *laka-* ~ *la-*, see Chapter 6, section 6.6.1.

- b. juu 7awilhchan yaa
 juu 7awilhchan yaa
 ART sun standing(IMPV)
- [xpuulakan qay 7atapuutz'i]
 x-puulakan qay 7atapuutz'i
 3POS-**behind** big cloud
 'The sun is behind a big cloud.' [MNB8: 492]
- c. [xtampuus miixaa] tanuun juu miistu7
 x-tampuus miixaa tanuun juu miistu7
 3POS-**middle** table inserted(IMPV) ART cat
 'The cat is in the middle of the table.' [MB31-1]
- d. [7ix7uksni7 k'iw] juk'alh juu luw
 7ix-7uksni7 k'iw juk'alh juu luw
 3POS-**surface** tree hanging(IMPV) ART snake
 'The snake is lying across the top of the tree trunk.' [MB23]
- e. [xpuulak skuumilh] tajun juu paamata
 x-puulak skuumilh tajun juu paamata
 3POS-**inside** pan inserted(IMPV) ART fish
 'The fish is inside the pan.' [MB32]

However, this subcategorizational difference between the positional and non-positional verbs seems to be in the process of leveling. In the examples in (534), the preposition *laka-* co-occurs with a positional verb.

- (534)a. [laxtantu7 chaqa7] juk'alh juu paamaakilhtan
 laka-x-tantu7 chaqa7 juk'alh juu paamaakilhtan
 PREP-3POS-**wall** house hanging(IMPV) ART hook
 'The hook is (hanging) in the wall of the house.' [MB50]
- b. juu 7asqat'a wii [juu laxpaqaxti7 jip]
 juu 7asqat'a wii juu laka-x-paqaxti7 jip
 ART child sitting(IMPV) ART PREP-3POS-**beside** fire
 'The child is sitting beside the fire.' [MB38]

- c. [lax**tantu7** k'iw] *tanuun* juu moqxnu7
 laka-x-**tantu7** k'iw *tanuun* juu moqxnu7
 PREP-3POS-**wall** tree *inserted*(IMPFV) ART owl
 'The owl is in (a hole in) a tree.' [MB67]

- d. juu lhii7ut *tajun* [juu lax**puulak** qaax]
 juu lhii7ut *tajun* juu laka-x-**puulak** qaax
 ART fruit *inserted*(IMPFV) ART PREP-3POS-**inside** gourd
 'The fruit is inside the gourd.' [MB2-2]

The HT relational nouns are not bound morphemes. Relational nouns frequently occur without possessive prefixes (or possessors) when they express more general locations, as seen in (535). In the (a) example, *smaqspa7* 'outside' is possessed by *chaqa7*, while in the (b) example it is a free-standing word.

- (535)a. [**smaqspa7** chaqa7] wii juu xqooy
 x-**maqspa7** chaqa7 wii juu xqooy
 3POS-**outside** house sitting(IMPFV) ART dog
 'The dog is (sitting) outside of the house.' [MB6-2]

- b. **maqspa7** wii juu xqooy
maqspa7 wii juu xqooy
outside sitting(IMPFV) ART dog
 'The dog is (sitting) outside.' [MB6-1]

The possessor of the relational noun may also be possessed, as seen below in (536). In this example, the noun *chaqa7* 'house' bears the first person possessive prefix, and it is the possessor of the possessed relational noun *smaqspa7* 'outside'.

- (536) [**smaqspa7** kinchaqa7] wii juu xqooy
 x-**maqspa7** kin-chaqa7 wii juu xqooy
 3POS-**outside** 1POS-house sitting(IMPFV) ART dog
 'The dog is (sitting) outside of my house.' [MB6-3]

The relational noun and its possessor may form a discontinuous constituent, the parts of which are separated by other clausal elements, as seen in

the examples in (537). In the (a) example, the possessed relational noun *7ixtampuus* ‘middle’ and its possessor *7amuuntzaanaas* ‘apple’ are side-by-side. In the (b) example, the two constituents are separated from each other by the rest of the clause.

- (537) a. [**7ixtampuus 7amuuntzaanaas**] tanuun juu paqt'alan
 7ix-**tampuus** 7amuuntzaanaas tanuun juu paqt'alan
 3POS-**middle** apple inserted(IMPFV) ART arrow
 ‘The arrow is stuck in the middle of the apple.’ [MB30-2]
- b. **7ixtampuus** tanuun juu paqt'alan **7amuuntzaanaas**
 7ix-**tampuus** tanuun juu paqt'alan 7amuuntzaanaas
 3POS-**middle** inserted(IMPFV) ART arrow apple
 ‘The arrow is stuck in the middle of the apple.’ [MB30-1]

Given that the relational construction in HT is based on a part-whole relationship and that most body parts may be incorporated onto a verb in the form of body part prefixes,¹⁶¹ it should come as no surprise that a relational noun may appear prefixed to the verb, as seen below in (538). In the (a) example, the possessed relational noun *xtantu7* ‘wall’ and its possessor *chaqa7* ‘house’ form a constituent. In the (b) example, the relational noun is prefixed to the verb, and its possessor is a clausal argument. The presence of the plural verbal prefix *lak-* to the left of the relational noun is evidence of incorporation.

- (538) a. [**xtantu7 chaqa7**] lakjuk'alh juu tzaapuuj
 x-tantu7 chaqa7 lak-juk'alh juu tzaapuuj
 3POS-wall house PL-hanging(IMPFV) ART worm
 ‘The worms are on the wall of the house.’ [MB52-2]

¹⁶¹ See Chapter 3, section 3.2.1.8 for more information on body part prefixes and verbs.

- b. laktantujuk'alh juu tzaapuuj juu **chaqa7**
lak-tantu-juk'ah juu tzaapuuj juu chaqa7
PL-wall-hanging(IMPFV) ART worm ART house
‘The worms are on the wall of the house.’

[MB52-1]

The HT relational nouns are shown below in Table 22.

Table 22: HT Relational Nouns

Relational Noun	Gloss
7aqsti7	top , roof, crest
kinkati7	tip, point
lakata	reason, topic, fault
lakaytat	center, middle
maqastu7	corner
maqspa7	outside
paqaxtu7, paqaxti7	side, beside
puulak	inside
puulakan	behind, back
tampus	center, middle
tantu7	wall, side
tan7aapu7	below, underneath
tantiilakan	behind
7ukx ~ 7ukxni7 ~ 7ukxpu7	top, surface, face

4.5 PRONOUNS

Topics covered in this section include the personal pronouns (section 4.5.1), possessive pronouns (section 4.5.2), reflexive pronouns (section 4.5.3), and demonstrative pronouns (section 4.5.4).

4.5.1 Personal Pronouns

Huehuetla Tepehua has only one set of personal pronouns, listed in Table 23. Syntactically, the personal pronouns behave as nominals, and they may co-index the subject or object of a verb, as well as the possessor of a noun; they do not distinguish case, class, or gender. Given that verbal participants are marked on every HT verb—either overtly or inherently—overt pronominal participants are not obligatory and are primarily used for emphasis.

Table 23: Huehuetla Tepehua Personal Pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1	<i>ki7in</i> ~ <i>kit'in</i>	<i>kijnan</i>
2	<i>7uxint'i</i> ~ <i>7ixint'i</i>	<i>7uxijnan</i>
3	<i>yuuch</i>	<i>yu7unch</i>

The variation in pronunciation of the first and second person singular pronouns is age-gradient. The “younger” speakers—that is, speakers who were younger than 70 years of age at the time of my fieldwork—invariably produced *ki7in* and *7uxint'i*, while the older speakers—speakers who were older than 70 at the time of my fieldwork—produced *kit'in* and *7ixint'i*.

The plural personal pronouns appear to have been derived from the singular forms, given that all three plural forms are phonologically similar to their corresponding singular forms and that they all bear a frozen form of the plural nominal suffixes (*-nan* and *-un*).¹⁶²

The first person singular and plural personal pronouns and the second person singular personal pronoun bear some similarity to the verbal person marking affixes. A first person singular subject and a first person exclusive plural subject are marked on the verb by the prefix *k-*, and a first person object (singular or plural) is co-indexed by the prefix *kin-*. Clearly, both the *k-* of the subject prefix and the first two phonemes, *ki-*, of the object prefix are reflected in the roots of both the singular and plural first person pronouns. The second person singular pronoun *ʔuxint'i* bears the suffix *-t'i*, which marks a second person singular subject on a verb in the perfective aspect. The third person pronouns bear no resemblance whatsoever to the third person verbal affixes.

The following are examples of all of the HT personal pronouns.

(539) **1SG ki7in ~ kit'in**

- a. nii kaa naa waa xtaqalhiniyanch
 nii kaa naa waa x-taqalhi-ni-y-a-n+ch
 COMP BLV EMP FOC PAST-ruin-DAT-IMPV-EPE-2OBJ+ALD
- juu mi7aqtzulh knajun juu **kit'in**
 juu min-7aqtzulh k-najun juu **kit'in**
 ART 2POS-head 1SUB-say(IMPV) ART **PRN.1SG**
 ‘I say that it [alcohol] messed up your head.’ [T0054: 048]
- b. **ki7in ki7in**
 PRN.1SG PRN.1SG
 ‘It is I! It is I!’ [T0055: 082]

¹⁶² See section 4.1.1 for information on plural nominal affixes.

(540) **2SG 7uxijnt'i ~ 7ixijnt'i**

- a. puus kaa 7aqtz'iyanch chunch
puus kaa 7aqtz'iyanch chun+ch
well BLV always+ALD like.so+ALD

juu 7uuniit'a juu **7uxijnt'i**
juu 7un-niita juu **7uxijnt'i**
REL be(2SUB)-PF(2SUB) ART **PRN.2SG**
'Well, I think that *you* have always been like that.'

[T0054: 028]

- b. tachu **7ixijnt'i**
like **PRN.2SG**
'like you'

[T0054: 023]

(541) **3SG yuuch**

- a. maa **yuuch** juu laay kalhii7alh maqata
maa **yuuch** juu laa-y ka-lhii7an-li maqata
RPT **PRN.3SG** REL can-IMPV IRR-take-PFV far
'It is *he* who can take it far away . . .'

[T0003: 026]

- b. juu x7atz'akanti juu **yuuch**
juu 7ix-7a-tz'aka-nti juu **yuuch**
ART 3POS-PL-bite-NOM ART **PRN.3SG**
'its bite' [*it* = the snake]

[T0009: 015]

- c. laqtz'ilh juu **yuuch**
laqtz'in-li juu **yuuch**
see-PFV ART **PRN.3SG**
'He saw him.'
'Él lo vió.'
'Vió a él'

[T0022: 047]
[NVP05]

- d. 7entons taas t'alaych juu **yuuch**
7entons taas t'ala-y+ch juu **yuuch**
then Q do-IMPV+ALD ART **PRN.3SG**
'Then what did he do?'

[T0054: 001]

(542) **1PL kijnan**

- a. juu **kijnan** (la)k'uyaw manku
juu **kijnan** (lak-)k-7u-y-aw manku
ART **PRN.1PL** (3PL.OJB-)1SUB-eat-IMPV-1PL.SUB mango
'We are eating mangos.' [NVP05]
- b. kanaawch juu **kijnan** juu sabado
ka-7an-a7-w+ch juu **kijnan** juu sabado
IRR-go-FUT-1PL.SUB+ALD ART **PRN.1PL** ART Saturday
'We will go on Saturday.' [ELIEX2: 041]

(543) **2PL 7uxijnan**

- a. **7uxijnan** 7inaa7it'it juu sabat
7uxijnan 7in-a7-7i-t'it juu sabat
PRN.2PL go(2SUB)-FUT-2PL.SUB.FUT-2PL.SUB ART Saturday
'You all will go on Saturday.' [NVP05]
- b. juu **7uxijnan** 7oqoot'it chuux juu jaak
juu **7uxijnan** 7u-qoju.PFV-t'it chuux juu jaak
ART **PRN.2PL** eat-all-2PL.SUB all ART banana
'You all ate all of the bananas.' [NVP05]

(544) **3PL yu7unch**

- a. juu **yu7unch** kata7ana7 juu sabat
juu **yu7unch** ka-ta-7an-a7 juu sabat
ART **PRN.3PL** IRR-PL.SUB-go-FUT ART Saturday
'They will go on Saturday.' [NVP05]
- b. juu **yu7unch** ta7ulh juu lhiiway
juu **yu7unch** ta-7u-li juu lhiiway
ART **PRN.3PL** PL.SUB-eat-PFV ART meat
'They ate the meat.' [NVP05]

4.5.2 Possessive Pronouns

Possessive pronouns are formed by combining the possessive person prefixes and the possessive plural suffix with the demonstrative pronoun *7anu7* 'that', as seen in (545).

- (545) a. ki(n)-7anu7 'X is mine'
 b. mi(n)-7anu7 'X is yours (SG)'
 c. 7ix-7anu7 'X is his/hers/its'
 d. ki(n)-7anu7-7an 'X is ours'
 e. mi(n)-7anu7-7an 'X is yours (PL)'
 f. 7is-7anu7-7an 'X is theirs'

If the possessum is plural, than the plural prefix *lak-* is optionally added to the possessive pronoun, as seen in (546b).

- (546) a. ki7anu7 juu chaanaa
 ki-7anu7 juu chaanaa
 1POS-that ART planting.pole
 'The planting pole is mine.'
- b. kilak7anu7 juu chaanaa
 ki-lak-7anu7 juu chaanaa
 1POS-PL-that ART planting.pole
 'The planting poles are mine.'

When both the possessor and the possessum are plural, as seen below in (547b), the plural prefix *lak-* co-indexes the possessum, and the plural suffix *-7an* co-indexes the possessor.

- (547) a. ki7anuu7an juu chaanaa
 ki-7anu7-7an juu chaanaa
 1POS-that-PL ART planting.pole
 'The planting pole is ours.'
- b. kilak7anuu7an juu chaanaa
 ki-lak-7anu7-7an juu chaanaa
 1POS-PL-that-PL ART planting.pole
 'The planting poles are ours.'

4.5.3 Reflexive Pronouns

The reflexive pronouns are formed by adding the possessive prefixes to the adjective *7aqstu* ‘alone’, as seen below in (548). Plurality of the pronoun is indicated by the plural suffix *-7an*.

- | | | |
|----------|------------------|--------------|
| (548) a. | ki(n)-7aqstu | ‘myself’ |
| b. | mi(n)-7aqstu | ‘yourself’ |
| c. | 7ix-7aqstu | ‘himself’ |
| d. | ki(n)-7aqstu-7an | ‘ourselves’ |
| e. | mi(n)-7aqstu-7an | ‘yourselves’ |
| f. | 7ix-7aqstu-7an | ‘themselves’ |

When the reflexive pronoun is preceded by the focus particle *waa*, the resulting meaning is ‘X is alone’ or ‘X is a widow(er)’.

- | | | | | |
|-----------|---|-----|---------|-----------------|
| (549) waa | saqstu | juu | lapanak | |
| waa | 7ix-7aqstu | juu | lapanak | |
| FOC | 3POS-alone | ART | person | |
| | ‘The man is alone’, ‘The man is a widower.’ | | | [TPWDB: 7aqstu] |

4.5.4 Demonstratives

Huehuetla Tepehua has two demonstrative pronouns: *nimaa* ‘this’ or ‘these’ refers to items within the reach of the speaker, while *7anu7* ‘that’ or ‘those’ refers to items outside the speakers reach, and possibly even outside of the speaker’s field of vision. The demonstrative pronouns are always preceded by the definite article *juu*, as seen in the following examples. They may modify a noun, as seen in (550), or they may stand alone as a nominal, as seen in (551).

- | | | | | | | |
|----------|----------------------|------|------|--------------|----------|---------|
| (550) a. | naa | qox | [juu | nimaa | paamata] | |
| | EMP | good | ART | this | fish | |
| | ‘This fish is good.’ | | | | | [NVP05] |

- b. [juu **nimaa** lapának] naa qox
 ART this person EMP good
 ‘This person is good.’ [NVP05]
- c. [juu **7anu7** luw]
 ART that snake
 ‘that snake’ [T003: 005]
- d. taspitlh nii laqtz'ilhch [juu **7anuuch** lapanak]
 taspit-li nii laqtz'in-li+ch juu 7anu7+ch lapanak
 return-PFV COMP see-PFV+ALD ART that +ALD person
 ‘He returned when he saw that person’ [T0022: 031]
- (551)a. [juu **nimaa**] laay 7akch'uk'unilh 7ani7
 juu nimaa laa-y 7a-k-ch'uk'u-ni-li 7ani7
 ART this can-IMPFV IRR-1SUB-cut-DAT-PFV here
 ‘I could cut this one here.’ [T0069: 337]
- b. [sii xlak7aparaatuuch] [juu **nimaa**]
 sii 7ix-lak-7aparaatuu+ch juu nimaa
 pure 3POS-PL-machine+ALD ART these
 ‘These are all her machines.’ [T0066: 237]
- c. pus [juu **7anu7**] nii kaa x7anch
 pus juu 7anu7 nii kaa x-7an+ch
 well ART that COMP BLV PAST-go(IMPFV) +ALD
 ‘Well, that one, I believe that he went.’ [T0020: 038]
- d. laklhkulh [juu **7anu7**?]
 lak-lhku-li juu 7anu7
 DIS-burn-PFV ART that
 ‘Did that one get burned?’ [T0054: 066]

Frequently, the adverb *7anii* ‘here’ is substituted for *nimaa* ‘this/these’, as seen below in (552).

- (552)a. [juu **7ani7** x7ilht'i p'aax]
 juu 7ani7 7ix-7ilht'i p'aax
 ART this 3POS-excrement pig
 ‘this pig excrement’ [T0055: 024]

- b. kaa soqnik'a [juu 7ani7]
kaa soq-ni-k'a juu 7ani7
BLV btraight-DVB-ADJZ ART this
'This one is straight, I think.'

[T0069: 080]

Chapter 5: Modifiers

Modifiers in Huehuetla Tepehua include adjectives, numbers, non-numerical quantifiers, and adverbs. Adjectives and non-numerical quantifiers are covered in this chapter in sections 5.1 and 5.2, respectively. Adverbs are discussed in Chapter 6, and numbers and the numeral classifiers are covered in Chapter 7.

5.1 ADJECTIVES

Adjectives in Huehuetla Tepehua occur in both predicative and modificational syntactic positions. They form a distinct word class from nouns, verbs, and adverbs, though they share features in common with members of each of these classes. When adjectives occur in a predicative position, they pattern like nouns; predication of adjectives is addressed in Chapter 3, section 3.3.3.3. Adjectives pattern like both nouns and verbs with regard to the inflectional and derivational affixes that they accept,¹⁶³ though there is one derivational suffix that is unique to adjectives. Adjectives differ from adverbs in that adjectives may accept inflectional affixes, while adverbs never do. Thus, since adjectives are neither completely noun-like, completely verb-like, nor completely adverb-like, I analyze them as a separate word class.

When an adjective modifies a noun within a noun phrase (i.e., in a modificational position), the adjective immediately precedes the noun, as seen in

¹⁶³ Nouns, verbs, and adjectives may all be suffixed with the body part prefixes and the plural prefix *lak-*. Verbs and adjectives may be suffixed with the deverbalizer *-n-*. Nouns and adjective may be prefixed with the impersonal possessor prefix *xaa-*.

the examples below in (553). If the noun is possessed, the possessive marker occurs only on the noun, and not on the adjective, as seen in (553a).

- (553) a. waa ktamawputun [juu **saasti** kinch'antanuti]_{NP}
 waa k-tamaw-putun juu **saasti** kin-ch'antanuti
 FOC 1SUB-buy-DESID(IMPFV) ART **new** 1POS-shoe
 'I want to buy the new shoes.' [TPWDB: ch'antanuuta]
- b. 7aks [juu **maqaniyaa** lapanak]_{NP} tanajun
 7aks juu **maqaniyaa** lapanak ta-najun
 then ART **old** people 3PL.SUB-say(IMPFV)
 'Then the people from before (the ancestors) say . . . ' [T0057: 048]
- c. porque juu maa noomputun juu Huehuetla
 porque juu maa najun-putun juu Huehuetla
 because REL RPT say-DESID(IMPFV) ART Huehuetla
- [**maqaniyaa** laqachaqaan]_{NP}
maqaniyaa laqachaqaan
old town
 'Because "Huehuetla" means "old town".' [T0057: 041]
- d. juu ki7in naa [k'usi 7atzi7]_{NP}
 ART PRN.1SG EMP **pretty** girl
 'I'm a very pretty girl.' [PDLMA2005]
- e. klaqtz'in [juu **k'usi** 7atzi7]_{NP}
 k-laqtz'in juu **k'usi** 7atzi7
 1SUB-see(IMPFV) ART **pretty** girl
 'I see a/the pretty girl.' [PDLMA2005]
- f. klaqtz'in [juu **slapulh** paatz'oq]_{NP}
 k-laqtz'in juu **slapulh** paatz'oq
 1SUB-see(IMPFV) ART **red** pencil
 'I see the/a red pencil.' [PDLMA2005]

g. [juu **qay** serrootii]_{NP},
 juu qay serrootii
 ART big saw

waa kijuunilh [juu **lijuuntuu** mimpay]_{NP}
 waa ki-jun-ni-li juu **lijuuntuu** mim-pay
 FOC 1OBJ-tell-DAT-PFV ART **deceased** 2POS-father

nii naa **qoxich** juu serrootii
 nii naa qoxi+ch juu serrootii
 COMP EMP good+ALD ART saw

‘The big saw, your deceased father told me that the saw is/was good.’
 [T0069: 383-5]

The sentence in (553g) contains three adjectives. The first two—*qay* ‘big’ and *lijuuntuu* ‘deceased’—occur in the modificational position immediately before the head noun in their respective noun phrases. The third adjective—*qoxi* ‘good’—occurs in a predicative position; note that in this example, the article *juu* intervenes between the predicative adjective *qoxich* and the noun *serrootii* ‘saw’.

When a demonstrative pronoun modifies a noun phrase, it occurs immediately after the article, and it precedes all other modifiers, including both qualitative adjectives, as seen below in (554a), and numbers, as seen below in (554b).¹⁶⁴

(554)a. 7entons juu **7anuuch** purowii xkumwarii
 7entons juu **7anu7+ch** purowii x-kumwarii
 then ART **that+ALD** pitiful 3POS-compadre

nii maa naa waa xkilhpatiych
 nii maa naa waa x-kilhpati-y+ch
 COMP RPT EMP FOC PAST-be.poor-IMPV+ALD

‘Well, that pitiful compadre, he was very poor.’ [T0055: 010-11]

¹⁶⁴ For more information on demonstrative pronouns and numbers, please see Chapter 4, Section 4.5.4 and Chapter 7, respectively.

- b. juu **7anu7** xt'iyun7an lapanák
 juu **7anu7** x-t'iyun-7an lapanák
 ART **that** 3POS-two-PL.POS people
 'those two people' [T0063: 004]

Only one adjective occurs in a noun phrase. If an additional descriptive adjective is used, it occurs in a complement clause, as seen above in (554a). In fact, the majority of adjectives occurring in narrative texts occur in predicative position; there are very few textual examples in which an attributive adjective modifies a noun within a noun phrase. The four predications (each of which occurs within brackets) shown below in (555) demonstrate how multiple nominal and adjectival predications can be strung together in HT without once making use of nominal modification within a noun phrase:

(555) [waa naa papa7]
 waa naa papa7
 FOC EMP old.man

[maa naa **kiklhman**],
 maa naa kik-lhman
 RPT EMP mouth-long

[maa naa naach waa **lakpuulhalhaa**],
 maa naa naa+ch waa lakpuu-lhalhaa
 RPT EMP EMP+ALD FOC face-hairy

[maa **laqlhman** juu xlaqpuuch'awti]
 maa laq-lhman juu x-laqpuu-ch'awti
 RPT face-long ART 3POS-face-hair
 'He was an old man, he was long-bearded, he was very, very long-bearded,
 his beard was long.' [T0022: 037-040]

A particle may intervene between an adjective and a head noun, as seen below in (556), in which the reportative particle *maa* intervenes between the numeral modifier *laqatam* 'one' and the noun *taqanqati* 'disease'.

- (556) maa waa milh [laqatam maa ta7an7ati]
 maa waa min-li laqa-tam maa taqanqati
 RPT FOC come-PFV CL:general-one RPT disease
 ‘A disease came.’ [T0057: 009]

Adverbs may precede and modify an adjective within a noun phrase, as seen in the examples in (557). In these examples, the adverbs are underlined, and the adjectives are in bold type.

- (557) a. [qox **tachapun** lapanak]
good **strong** person
 ‘a good and strong person’
 ‘a very/really strong person’ [T0009: 017]
- b. jaantu naa naa [sii **maqalhqama7** laqachaqaan]
 NEG EMP EMP purely **Tepehua** town
 ‘It is not a purely Tepehua town.’
 (Meaning that not everyone in town is Tepehua) [T0057: 035]
- c. maa naa naa [qox **qay** maqtili7]
 RPT EMP EMP good **big** wild.animal
 ‘It was a very/really big animal.’ [T0020: 028]

Finally, adjectives may undergo the same sound symbolic alternations that are found elsewhere in the language.¹⁶⁵ Examples are shown in (558).

- (558) a. yuuch juu **weeqeli/wiik’ili**¹⁶⁶ ingeniero
 PRN.3SG ART wrinkled engineer
 ‘Him, the wrinkled engineer.’ [T0066: 294]
- b. **lhoqoqo** ~ **lhukuku** ‘hollow’

¹⁶⁵ Please see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.11.

¹⁶⁶ The forms *weeqeli* and *wiik’ili* alternate with *weeqelh* and *wiik’ilh*; the former occur phrase-internally and the latter occur phrase-finally (see Chapter 2, section 2.6.2). The forms *weeqeli* ~ *weeqelh* are considered to be quite rude (and, thus, provoke laughter), while the forms *wiik’ili* ~ *wiik’ilh* are not rude and do not provoke laughter.

5.1.1 Derivation

Derivational morphology on adjectives includes the deverbalizer *-n* (section 5.1.1.1), the adjectivizer *-k'V* (section 5.1.1.2), and body part prefixes (section 5.1.1.3).

5.1.1.1 Deverbalizer *-n*

As mentioned in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.3, the deverbalizing suffix *-n* (DVB) appears on nouns and adjectives that have been derived from verbs. Additionally, the deverbalizer is used to derive an adjective from an adverb. When the deverbalizer *-n* or its allomorph *-ni* is used to derive an adjective from a verb or adverb, it is usually followed by the adjectivizing suffix *-k'V*, which is discussed in the next section. The only example that I have found in which an adjective bears the dervabalizer *without* also being suffixed with the adjectivizer is shown below in example (559).

(559)

nii	waa	muujuukalhch	juu	lapanak
nii	waa	muujuu-kan-li+ch	juu	lapanak
COMP	FOC	throw-INS-PFV+ALD	ART	person

[juu **xaaniin** lapanak]_{NP} juu lakxkaan
 juu xaa-nii-**n** lapanak juu laka-xkaan
 ART IPOS-die-**DVB** person ART PREP-water
 ‘because the people threw the dead people into the river.’ [T0057: 083]

However, the above example differs from examples that bear *-k'V* in that here the derived adjective modifies an noun within a noun phrase, while the examples that bear the adjectivizer occur in a present tense predicative position only, as will be seen in the following section.

derverbalizer, the unspecified vowel of the suffix harmonizes with the final vowel of the stem, as seen in the examples below in (562), where the last vowel in the stem is underlined.

- (562) a. k'ayank'a
 k'aya-n-k'a
 painfully-DVB-ADJZ
 'painful' [TPWDB: k'ayank'a]
- b. lhk'awink'i
 lhk'awi-n-k'i
 crossing-DVB-ADJZ
 'long, crossing' [TPWDB: lhk'awink'i]
- c. 7at'ilhen7e
 7at'ilhi-n-q'i
 wear.out-DVB-ADJZ
 'worn out, worn down' (e.g., a house in disrepair)
 [TPWDB: 7at'inlhen7e]
- d. spulunk'u
 spulu-n-k'u
 crunchy(ADV)-DVB-ADJZ
 'crunchy' [TPWDB: spulunk'u]
- e. lhpupu7o
 lhpupu-n-q'u
 sparking(ADV)-DVB-ADJZ
 'freckled' [TWPDB: lhpuponq'o]

Given the phonetic similarity between the root *spulu* 'crunching' in (562d)—which is suffixed with *-k'u*—and the root *lhpupu* 'sparking' in (562e)—which is suffixed with *-7o*, the two variations of this suffix do not seem to be in complementary distribution. I did not explicitly test for this morpheme during my field work, so I do not have enough examples of either of the variants to be able to determine what conditions their variation. Also, I have a strong sense that many

of these adjectives are lexicalized because I cannot identify the root in the majority of the examples that I have. An obvious explanation for the variation between *-k'V* and *-7V* (**-q'V*) is one of a symbolic phonemic variation between /k/ and /q/ (see Chapter 2, section 2.6.10), given the prevelant use of symbolic phonemic variation within the language; however, my database does not contain any instances of both variations being used on the same stem. The same variation between “allomorphs” of this cognate suffix is found in Papantla Totonac. While Levy does not offer an explanation for the variation, she has found contrasting lexical minimal pairs involving the two cognate variants (1992: 276), indicating that in PT, at least, the variants are not allomorphs and that symbolic phonemic variation alone can not explain the variation.

When the adjectivizer follows the *-ni* allomorph of the derverbalizer, it always occurs as *-k'a*, as seen in the examples in (563).

- (563) a. paaqluut'ujnik'a
 paaq-luut'uj-ni-k'a
 armpit-oval-DVB-ADJZ
 'oval-shaped' [TPWDB: paaqluut'ujnik'a]
- b. p'oqotnik'a
 p'oqot-ni-k'a
 thickly(ADV)-DVB-ADJZ
 'thick, dense' (ADJ) [MNB13: 94]

The following set of examples shown in (564) are all derived from the adverb *soq* 'straight', which is shown in (564a). The adjectival form, *soqnik'a*, and its derivation are shown in (564b). The example in (564c) shows *soqnik'a* as

a non-verbal predicate adjective.¹⁶⁷ In example (564d), I attempted to use *soqnik'a* as an attributive adjective modifying a head noun in a noun phrase; my consultant found this usage to be grammatically questionable, but he did not reject it outright. When I tried to inflect *soqnik'a* with the third person plural subject marker *ta-*, my consultant rejected the example, shown in (564e). The example in (564f) shows that the predicative adjective is pluralized by means of the plural prefix *lak-* when the subject of the predicate is plural. The examples in (564g) and (564h) are interesting because they demonstrate that when the copula is used, the adverbial form *soq* is used instead of the adjectival form *soqnik'a*; this could be due to a restriction on the part of speech of words that may precede a verb given that the syntactic position immediately before the verb is normally occupied by an adverb, an adverbial particle, a noun, or a discourse marker.

- (564) a. **soq** 7an juu paalhtan
 straight go(IMPFV) ART car
 ‘The car goes straight.’ [TWPDB: soq]
- b. **soqnik'a**
 soq-ni-k'a
 straight(ADV)-DVB-ADJZ
 ‘(be) straight’ (ADJ) [TWPDB: soqnik'a]
- c. **soqnik'a** juu k'iw
 straight ART stick
 ‘The stick is straight.’ [PDLMA2005]
- d. ??juu **soqnik'a** k'iw
 ART straight stick
 ‘straight stick’ [PDLMA2005]

¹⁶⁷ A copula is not needed in the present tense. See Chapter 3, section 3.3.3 on copular and non-verbal predicate constructions.

- e. ****tasoqnik'a** juu k'iw
 ta-soqnik'a juu k'iw
 3PL.SUB-straight ART stick
 Target: 'The sticks are straight.' [PDLMA2005]
- f. naa **lajsoqnik'a** juu paatz'oqni
 naa lak-soqnik'a juu paatz'oqni
 EMP PL-straight ART pencil
 'The pencils are straight.' [PDLMA2005]
- g. naa naach waa **soq** kajuna7
 naa naa+ch waa soq ka-jun-a7
 EMP EMP+ALD FOC straightIRR-be-FUT
 'It will remain straight.' [T0069: 310]
- h. **kasq** xajunpalay
 ka-soq xa-jun-pala-y
 tip-straight PAST-be-REP-IMPV
 'It remained straight.' [T0069: 254]

5.1.1.3 Body Parts

The use of body part prefixes on adjectives—both lexical and derived—is one of the most common ways of deriving new adjectives in HT.¹⁶⁸ There is a very small subset of adjectives that are bound morphemes that must co-occur with a body part prefix; examples of body part prefixes occurring on the bound root *t'ikst'i*¹⁶⁹ 'small' are shown below in (565). Note that the prefix *tz'a-* in (565d) and the prefix *7aksa-* in (565e) are prefixes that I have not found in any other context; I assume that they are body part prefixes given that they pattern like the other body part prefixes on this root.

¹⁶⁸ Please see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.1.8 and Chapter 4, Section 4.2.8 for discussion of body part prefixes used on verbs and nouns, respectively.

¹⁶⁹ The bound root *t'ikst'i* has several alternations, including *t'iks*, *t'ik*, and *t'ikt'i*.

- b. **puuqay**
puu-qay
insides-big
‘wide’, ‘roomy’, ‘spacious’, ‘amplio’ [TPWDB: puuqay]
- c. **puutanqay**
puu-tan-qay
insides-torso-big
‘tall’ [TPWDB: puutanqay]
- d. **qalhtanqay**
qalh-tan-qay
edge-torso-big
‘wide’, ‘grueso’ [TPWDB: qalhtanqay]
- e. **maqaqay**
maq-qay
XXX-big
‘thick’, ‘grueso’ [TPWDB: maqaqay]
- f. **7aqxaqay** xjuuniita juu xtuuch'iti
7aqxa-qay x-jun-niita juu x-tuuch'iti
XXX-big PAST-be-PF ART 3POS-skirt
‘Her skirt is wide.’ [TPWDB: 7aqxaqay]

In the following examples in (567), lexical color terms are prefixed with body parts.

- (567) a. **7aktzasan**
7ak-tzasan
head-grey
‘grey-haired’ [TPWDB: 7aktzasan]
- b. **lakpaasmarraw**
lakpaa-smarraw
head-black
‘black-haired’ [TPWDB: lakpaasmarraw]

- c. **laqxtiixqawaaw**
laqxtii-xqawaaw
 crown-yellow
 ‘blond’ [TPWDB: laqxtiixqawaaw]
- d. naa qox **tanjuukspi** 7asqat'a
 naa qox **tan-juukspi** 7asqat'a
 EMP good **trunk**-striped child
 ‘The child’s stomach is good and striped with dirt and sweat.’
 [TPWDB: juukspi]

The examples in (568) show that body part prefixes may be affixed to derived adjectives as well as to the lexical ones, which were seen in the previous examples.

- (568) a. juu **kiksmulunk’uch**
 juu **kik-smulu-n-k’u+ch**
 ART mouth-thickly-DVB-ADJ+ALD
 ‘the thick-lipped guy’ [T0066: 036]
- b. **lakpaaswilink’i**
lakpaa-swili-n-k’i
head-swirl(ADV)-DVB-ADJ
 ‘cowlicked’ [ELIEX3: 033]

The following example in (569) is interesting because the prefix *laka-* on the adjective *t’ikst’i* could be interpreted as the body part prefix meaning ‘body’ or as the classifier meaning ‘place’, given that the nominal *laqachaqaan* that this adjective modifies means ‘town’. However, since I have no other examples in which a classifier is prefixed to an adjective, I must assume that the correct analysis is that of the body part prefix.

(569) porque juu 7ani7 laqachaqan
 porque juu 7ani7 laqachaqan
 because ART here town

waa	lakat'ikst'i	xjuuniita,	lakat'ikst'i;
waa	laka-t'ikst'i	xjuniita	laka-t'ikst'i
FOC	body-small	PAST-be-PF	body-small
	CL:place-small		CL:place-small

juu chaway naa qaych
 juu chaway naa qay+ch
 ART now EMP big+ALD

'Because here the town was small, very small; now it is very big'

[T0057: 086-87]

5.1.2 Inflection

Adjectival inflection is limited to pluralization (section 5.1.2.1) and restriction (section 5.1.2.2).

5.1.2.1 Pluralization

HT adjectives are marked for plurality by the plural prefix *lak-*, which is also used to mark plurality on nouns (see Chapter 4, section 4.1.1.1), multiple plurality and distributive action (Chapter 3, section 3.1.1.2), and third person plural objects on verbs (see Chapter 3, section 3.1.1.4). Examples of plural adjectives are as seen below in (570), (571), and (572).¹⁷⁰

(570) a. juu **lakst'ak'alh** chiiwx
 juu **lak-s'ak'alh** chiiwx
 ART **PL-flat** rock
 'the flat rocks'

[MNB15: 40]

¹⁷⁰ Note that the usual morphophonemic rules apply at this morpheme boundary; see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.

- b. maa lakachiiwx maa
 maa laka-chiiwx maa
 RPT PREP-rock lying
- naa **lajqay** xkupu7 juu x7aknuuy
 naa **lak-qay** xkupu7 juu x-7ak-nuu-y
 EMP **PL-big** crawfish REL PAST-head-insert-IMPFV
 ‘In the rocks were big crawfish whose heads were stuck in.’
 [T0058: 020-1]
- c. **laqjenew** xjuuniita juu 7ix7aay juu lapának
lak-jenew x-jun-niita juu 7ix-7aay juu lapának
PL-dark.brown PAST-be-PF ART 3POS-hair ART person
 ‘The person’s hair is dark brown.’ [TWPDB: jenew]

When the modified nominal is *inanimate* and plural, it is often the case that the only morphological indication of plurality occurs on the adjective given that an inanimate noun in Tepehua is not obligatorily marked for plurality, nor is an inanimate noun obligatorily coindexed on the verb. In the example in (571a), the plurality of the head noun is not indicated on either the noun or the verb; though it is indicated on the adjective. In (571b), the adjective again is marked for plurality, and so too is the verb, which also bears the prefix *lak-*, indicating a third person plural object.

- (571)a. klaqtz’in juu **laqslapulh** paatz’oqo
 k-laqtz’in juu **laq-slapulh** paatz’oqo
 1SUB-see(IMPFV) ART **PL-red** pencil
 ‘I see the red pencils.’ [PDLMA2005]
- b. **klaqlaqtz’in** juu **laqslapulh** paatz’oqo
 k-**laq-laqtz’in** juu **laq-slapulh** paatz’oqo
 1SUB-**PL-see**(IMPFV) ART **PL-red** pencil
 ‘I see the red pencils.’ [PDLMA2005]

One adjective in my database additionally takes the nominal plural suffix *-n*, as seen in the example below in (572). According to Beck (2000: 236), some

adjectives in Upper Necaxa Totonac that denote human characteristics also follow this double-plural marking pattern. It is possible that other HT adjectives that describe human characteristics follow this pattern as well; however, I cannot be sure of this since I have no other examples.¹⁷¹

(572)	naa	lajk' usin	xtajuuniita	juu	7atzi7in	
	naa	lak-k' usi- n	x-ta-jun-niita	juu	7atzi7-in	
	EMP	PL -pretty- PL	PAST-3PL.SUB-be-PF	ART	girl-PL	
		'The girls were very pretty.'				[PDLMA2005]

5.1.2.2 Restrictive Modification with *xaa-*

When the impersonal possessive prefix *xaa-* (IPOS) is affixed to an adjective, it serves to restrict the modification of the noun to a certain subset of that noun. Levy (1992) calls the cognate prefix in Papantla Totonac a “specifying determiner,” and she argues that when it occurs on an adjective modifying a noun, it means “of X [the elements that are possible in a context], the one that Y” (p. 280).¹⁷² Beck (2000) seems to be the first to have called this “restrictive modification” in comparison to “qualificative modification” in which the adjective is not prefixed with *xaa-* (p. 229).

While Levy and Beck both give examples of *xaa-* prefixed to lexical adjectives, I have found the prefix *xaa-* on derived adjectives only in my own data; however, I did not explicitly test for it on any adjectives—lexical or derived—during my fieldwork.

¹⁷¹ Unfortunately, I overlooked this pattern during my fieldwork.

¹⁷² Beck (2000) quotes an unpublished, undated manuscript of Levy to which I do not have access: “of the Ns, the Adj one” (p. 229)

In the example below in (573), the derived adjective *niin* ‘dead’ is prefixed with *xaa-*, and the adjective modifies the head noun *lapának* ‘person’ within a noun phrase. The prefix restricts the set of people to just the dead ones.

(573) *nii* *waa* *muujuukalhch* *juu* *lapának*
 nii *waa* *muujuu-kan-li+ch* *juu* *lapának*
 COMP FOC throw-INS-PFV+ALD ART person

[*juu xaa****niin*** *lapának*]_{NP} *juu* *lakxkaan*
*juu xaa****nii-n*** *lapának* *juu* *laka-xkaan*
 ART **IPOS-die-DVB** person ART PREP-water
 ‘Because the people threw the dead people into the water.’ [T0057:083]

The prefix *xaa-* may occur on an adjective in a predicative position, as well as on an adjective in a modificational one. In the examples in (574), *xaa-* is prefixed to the derived adjective *chaan* ‘ripe’. In (574a), the adjective *xaachaan* occurs in the predicative position, following the noun phrase *juu t’aaxkati* ‘the honey’ and preceding the copula. In (574b), *xaachaan* occurs within the noun phrase, after the article and before the head noun *lhii7uti* ‘fruit’, in a modificational position.

(574)a. [*juu t’aaxkati*]_{NP} [***xaachaan***] *7ixjuuniita*
 juu t’aaxkati ***xaa*-*chaa-n*** *7ix-jun-niita*
 ART honey **IPOS-ripe-DVB** PAST-be-PF
 ‘The honey was ripe/done/ready-to-eat.’ [PDLMA2005]

b. *klaqtz’in* [*juu xaa****chaa-n*** *lhii7uti*]_{NP}
 k-laqtz’in *juu xaa****chaa-n*** *lhii7uti*
 1SUB-see(IMPFV) ART **IPOS-ripe-DVB** fruit
 ‘I see the ripe fruit.’ [PDLMA2005]

Finally, the prefix *xaa-* is found on an adjective that occurs in a lexicalized, idiomatic noun phrase, shown in the examples in (575). The combination of *xaaqay* ‘big’ with *pay* ‘father’ creates the lexeme ‘grandfather’,

- d. maa naa naa **lhuu** [juu xkupu7]_{NP} lhii7alh
 maa naa naa **lhuu** juu xkupu7 lhii7an-li
 RPT EMP EMP **many** ART crayfish take-PFV
 ‘He took a lot of crayfish (crawdads).’ [T0058: 019]

Quantifiers may act as predicate adjectives, as seen in the examples below in (577). The examples shown in (a) and (b) are unmarked for tense and do not have a copula,¹⁷⁴ while the examples in (c) and (d) are marked for past tense and, therefore, must have a copula to bear the tense and aspect markers.¹⁷⁵

- (577) a. [waa **lakatz’unin**]_{PREDADJ} [juu maqalhqaman]_{NP}
 waa lakatz’unin juu maqalhqama-n
 FOC few ART Tepehua-PL
 ‘The Tepehua [people] were few.’ [T0057: 055]

- b. puus [yuuch juu puutaxtulh
 puus [yuuch juu puutaxtu-li
 well [PRN.3SG REL survive-PFV

waa juu 7anii laqachaqaan]_{NP}
 waa juu 7anii laqachaqaan
 FOC ART DADJ town

[waa **lakatz’unin**]_{PREDADJ}
 waa **lakatz’unin**
 FOC **few**
 ‘Well, those who survived here in the town were few.’ [T0057: 053]

- c. [7ixjuuniita]_{COP} [juu lapanak]_{NP} maa [jaantu **lhuu**]_{PREDADJ}
 7ix-jun-niita juu lapanak maa jaantu **lhuu**
 PAST-be-PF ART person RPT NEG **many**
 ‘The people were not many.’ [T0057: 054]

¹⁷⁴ The English free translations for the (a) and (b) examples in (577) are in the past tense even though the HT clauses are unmarked for tense because the past tense context was already established in previous clauses.

¹⁷⁵ See Chapter 3, Section 3.3.3 for more information on predicate adjectives and copulas.

Such an example is seen below in (579), and further discussion is found in Chapter 6, section 6.3.2.

(579) maa naa naa **lhuu** niilh
maa naa naa **lhuu** nii-li
RPT EMP EMP **many** die-PFV

[juu lapanak]_{NP} juu 7aksnich
juu lapanak juu 7aksnich
ART person ART then
'Many people died then.'

[T0057: 020]

Chapter 6: Adverbs

The adverb class in Huehuetla Tepehua is a catch-all class of words and particles that (i) modify other words, (ii) may not be inflected, and (iii) do not fall into any of the other word classes. Adverbs may be loosely divided into three subclasses: temporal (section 6.1), locative (section 6.2), and manner (section 6.3). Manner adverbs may be further divided into those that are ideophonic or symbolic in nature (section 6.3.1) and those that are not (section 6.3.2). Other, more specific adverbs are treated in section 6.4; these include: the emphatic adverb *naa* (section 6.4.1), the evidential and the epistemic adverbs (section 6.4.2), temporal adverbial clitics (section 6.4.3), quantifiers used as adverbs (section 6.4.4). Prepositions are discussed in section 6.6. HT Adverbs form a distinct word class from nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Unlike the other words classes, adverbs may not be inflected; they do, however, accept the applicative derivational prefix *lhii-*, which may also appear on verbs and nouns (section 6.5). Finally, adverbs may undergo a phonological process of reduplication that does not apply to the other word classes; this process is addressed along with the ideophonic adverbs in section 6.3.1.

6.1 TEMPORAL ADVERBS

Temporal adverbs and temporal adverbial clauses are always clause- or sentence-level modifiers.¹⁷⁷ They usually occur pre-verbally, either at the beginning of the sentence or immediately before the verb, as seen in the examples

¹⁷⁷ Please see Chapter 8, Section 8.6.1.3 for information on the internal structure of adverbial clauses.

in (580). In (580a), the adverbial phrase *juu maqanchich* ‘a long time ago’ occurs at the beginning of the sentence; it is separated from the verb by the subject *juu xqatii* and the emphatic adverbial particle *naa*, which is reduplicated. In (580b), the adverbial clause (*juu chaway nii naa lhuuch juu lapanak laay chiwinin lhiilaawaan* ‘now that the people can speak Spanish’) is sentence-initial, and it is separated from the verb phrase by the discourse marker *puus* ‘well’. In (580c), the adverbial phrase *juu p’ulhnan* occurs immediately before the verb *and* at the beginning of the sentence. In (580d), the adverbial phrase *chuux lhiituumiinku* ‘every Sunday’ follows the subject and precedes the verb.

(580) a. [juu maqanchich]_{ADVP} [juu xqatii]_{SUB} naa naa
 juu maqanchi+ch juu xqatii naa naa
 ART long.time+ALD ART creek EMP EMP

[xlaktanooqojuy]_v juu lakalakchaqa7
 x-lak-tanuu-qoju-y juu laka-lak-chaqa7
 PAST-3PL.OBJ-enter-ALL-IMPV ART PREP-PL-house

naa naa juu lapanak
 naa naa juu lapanak
 EMP EMP ART people

‘Before, the creek flooded the houses of all the people.’ [T0057: 069]

b. [juu chaway nii naa lhuuch juu lapanak laay
 juu chaway nii naa lhuu+ch juu lapanak laa-y
 ART now COMP EMP many+ALD ART people can-IMPV

chiwiinin lhiilaawaan]_{ADVCL} puus [laaych qalhtayanan]_{VP}
 chiwin-nin lhii-laawaan puus laa-y+ch qalhtaya-nVn
 speak-PL.INFAPPL-Spanish well can-IMPV+ALD defend-INO

‘Now that many people can speak Spanish, well,
 they can defend themselves.’

[T0057: 097-098]

- c. [juu p'ulhnan]_{ADV} [tuu laay 7ixchiwinin]_V
 juu p'ulhnan tuu laa-y 7ix-chiwin-nin
 ART first NEG can-IMPV PAST-speak-PL.INF
- [juu maqalhqama7]_{SUB} [juu lhiilaawaan]_{OBJ} naa qox
 juu maqalhqama7 juu lhii-laawaan naa qox
 ART Tepehuas ART APPL-Spanish EMP good
 'At first, the Tepehua could not speak Spanish very well.' [T0057: 097]
- d. [juu Miikii]_{SUB} [chuux lhiituumiinku]_{ADV} t'aqap'aych
 juu Miikii chuux lhii-tuumiinku t'aqap'a-y+ch
 ART Michael all APPL-Sunday get.drunk-IMPV+ALD
 'Michael gets drunk every Sunday.' [T0066: 104]

It is less common for a temporal adverb or adverbial clause to occur post-verbally or post-predicatively, but examples do occur, as seen below in (581). In both (581a) and (581b), a single temporal adverb—*chaway* 'now' and *tz'iisich* 'last night', respectively—follows the verb. In (581c), the adverbial clause *7aksni soqch 7an* 'when it goes straight' follows the verb; and in (581d), the adverbial clause *7aksni 7atz'akanan juu tzaapuj* 'when the worm bites' follows the predicate nominal construction *yuuchach juu xak'uch'u* 'that is the cure'.

- (581)a. [laktantamakxtuukalhch]_V [chaway]_{ADV}
 lak-tan-ta-makxtuu-kan-li+ch chaway
 PL-TORSO-INCH-take.out-INS-PFV+ALD now
 'They were taken out then.' [T0063: 079]
- b. [k'ilaach'oqo7as]_V [tz'iisich]_{ADV?}
 ki-laa-choqo+7as tz'iisich
 RT(2SUB)-can-AGAIN(2SUB.PFV)+TAGQ last.night
 'Did you go out again last night?' [T0066: 020]

- c. jaa chunchi7as [nawiikanch]_V
 jaa chun+chi+7as nawii-kan+ch
 Q like.so+ALD+TAGQ make-INS(IMPV)+ALD
- [7aksni soqchi 7an]_{ADVCL}
 7aksni soq+chi 7an
 when straight+ALD go(IMPV)
 ‘Is this how they do it when it goes straight?’ [T0069: 168]
- d. [yuuchach juu xak’uch’u]_{PREDNOM}
 yuuch+ach juu xa-k’uch’u
 PRN.3SG+ALD ART IPOS-cure
- [7aksni 7atz’akanan juu tzaapuj]_{ADVCL}
 7aksni 7a-tz’aka-nVn juu tzaapuj
 when PL-bite-INO(IMPV) ART worm
 ‘That is the cure when the worm bites’ [T0009: 010-011]

When the temporal adverb refers to a specific chronological or sequential time, it may or may not be preceded by the definite article *juu*, as seen below in the examples in (582). In (582a), the specific adverb *7aksniich* ‘then’ is preceded by *juu*, while in (582b), it is not. Other examples of a specific adverb that is preceded by *juu* include (580a), (580b), and (580c); other examples of a specific adverb that is *not* preceded by *juu* include (581a) and (581b).

- (582)a. maa naa naa lhuu niilh
 maa naa naa lhuu nii-li
 RPT EMP EMP many die-PFV
- juu lapanak [juu 7aksniich]_{ADV}
 juu lapanak juu 7aksnii+ch
 ART people ART then+ALD
 ‘Many people died then.’ [T0057: 020]
- b. [7aksniich]_{ADV} maa tanuuchilh juu comunismo
 7aksnii+ch maa tanuu-chi-li juu comunismo
 then+ALD RPT enter-PROX-PFV ART communism
 ‘Then communism entered [the village].’ [T0057: 060]

Conversely, when the time to which the temporal adverb refers is not specific, it is *never* preceded by the definite article *juu*, as seen above in (580d) and (581d).

6.2 LOCATIVE ADVERBS

Locative adverbs and locative adverbial phrases may be either clause-level or phrase-level modifiers, as seen in the examples below in (583). In (583a), the locative adverb *juu 7anch* ‘there’ and the locative prepositional phrase *juu lakilaqachaqaan* ‘in my village’ both have scope over the entire clause, while in (583b) the locative adverb *ma7at* ‘far away’ has scope only over the verb phrase *laay kalhii7alh* ‘can take it’.

- (583)a. puus [juu 7anch]_{ADVP} [juu lakilaqachaqaan]_{ADVP}
 puus juu 7anch juu laka-ki-laqachaqaan
 well ART there ART PREP-1POS-village
- wachu7 [talaknajun]_v
 wachu7 ta-lak-najun
 also 3PL.SUB-PL-say(IMPV)
 ‘Well, there in my village, they talk about . . .’ [T0003: 001-2]
- b. maa yuuch juu [laay kalhii7alh]_{VP} [ma7at]_{ADV}
 maa yuuch juu laa-y ka-lhii7an-li ma7at
 RPT PRN.3SG REL can-IMPV IRR-take-PFV far.away
 ‘He is (the one) who can take it far away.’ [T0003: 026]

The locative adverbial may occur pre- or post-verbally. Compare (583a) above, in which the two clause-level adverbial phrases occur before the predicate, to (584a) below, in which the same two clause-level adverbials occur after the predicate. Also compare (583b) above, in which the phrase-level adverb occurs post-verbally, to (584b) below, in which the phrase-level adverb occurs pre-verbally.

- (584) a. puus chunch juu [noonkan]_V
 puus chun+ch juu najun-kan
 well like.SO+ALD REL say-INS(IMPV)
- [juu 7anch]_{ADV} [juu lakilaqachaqaan]_{ADV}
 juu 7anch juu laka-ki-laqachaqaan
 ART there ART PREP-1POS-village
 ‘Well, that is what they say there in my village.’ [T0003: 033]
- b. puus juu 7anu7 kweentuu waa [7anchach]_{ADV} [tamaktay]_V
 puus juu 7anu7 kweentuu waa 7anch+ach tamakta-y
 well ART that story FOC there+ALD end-IMPV
 ‘Well, that story ends there.’ [T0058: 055]

A locative adverb may occur as a predicative element, as seen in the examples below in (585). In (585a), the locative adverb *nin* ‘near’ acts as a predicative adverb within the relative clause, which modifies the nominal *maqtili7* ‘wild animal’. In (585b), the adverb *7anch* ‘there’ is the predicative head of the following relative clause.¹⁷⁸

- (585) a. maa xt’oonpalay juu maqtili7 [juu waa
 maa x-t’ajun-pala-y juu maqtili7 juu waa
 RPT PAST-be-REP-IMPV ART wild.animal REL FOC
- niinch** laqachaqaan, taa wii xkaan]_{RELCL}
 nin+ch laqachaqaan taa wii xkaan
 near+ALD town where seated(IMPV) water
 ‘There was a wild animal that was near the town, by the pond.’
 [T0020: 002]
- b. [7anch]_{ADV} [juu maa laaych 7anch mukoona7]_{RELCL}
 7anch juu maa laa-y+ch 7an+ch muku-nV7
 there REL RPT can-IMPV+ALD go+ALD leave-INF
 ‘It is there that he can go to leave it.’ [T0003: 028]

¹⁷⁸ Please see Chapter 8, Section XXX for more information on relative clauses.

(587) a. pero [7anch]_{ADV} Maliyaa Senisyeentaach xajunkan
 pero 7anch Maliyaa Senisyeentaach xa-jun-kan
 but there Mary Cinderella PAST-call-INS(IMPFV)

[juu 7anch]_{ADV} juu laka7ani7 taa
 juu 7anch juu laka-7ani7 taa
 ART there REL PREP-here where

xtanuunch
 x-tanuun+ch
 PAST-inserted(IMPFV)+ALD
 But there, Mary was called Cinderella, there where she was.’
 [T0063: 049-050]

b. [7ani7]_{ADV} kimaaqeswaat’i, taa
 7ani7 kin-maa-qeswaa-t’i taa
 here 1OBJ-CAUS-be.scared-2SG.SUB.PFV where

wii minana7 Seepaa
 wii min-nana7 Seepee
 seated(IMPFV) 2POS-old.woman Josefa

minkanch [7ani7]_{ADV}
 min-kan+ch 7ani7
 come-INS+ALD here
 ‘You scared me here, where old lady Josephine lives,
 coming here.’ [T0054: 036-037]

In the following example in (588), *7anch* ‘there’ refers to a figurative location: the end of the story. This phrase—or one very similar to it—occurs repeatedly in the stories that I recorded, and *7anch* is never preceded by *juu* in this context.

(588) a. puus juu 7anu7 kweentuu waa [7anchach]_{ADV} tamaktay
 puus juu 7anu7 kweentuu waa 7anch+ach tamakta-y
 well ART that story FOC there+ALD end-IMPFV
 ‘Well, that story ends there.’ [T0058: 055]

- b. [7anchach]_{ADV} 7aklay juu xkweentuu?
 7anch+ach 7akla-y juu x-kweentuu
 there+ALD end-IMPV ART 3POS-story
 ‘Does the story end there?’ [T0054: 083]

Finally, a less specific locative adverb is not preceded by the definite article, as seen in the examples below in (589). In (589a), the locative adverb *maqspa7* ‘outside’ refers to a general location, as does the adverb *ma7at* ‘far away’ in (589b), which is repeated from (583b) above; neither adverb is preceded by the definite article *juu*.

- (589)a. xakt'aawiilhpaa juu papa7 [maqspa7]_{ADV}
 xa-k-t'aa-wiilh-paa juu papa7 maqspa7
 PAST-1SUB-COM-seated-REP.PFV ART old.man outside
 ‘I was sitting outside with the old man.’ [T0066: 025]

- b. maa yuuch juu laay kalhii7alh [ma7at]_{ADV}
 maa yuuch juu laa-y ka-lhii7an-li ma7at
 RPT PRN.3SG REL can-IMPV IRR-take-PFV far.away
 ‘He is (the one) who can take it far away.’ [T0003: 026]

6.3 MANNER ADVERBS

The class of manner adverbs is made up of two subclasses: the ideophonic adverbs (section 6.3.1) and the non-ideophonic adverbs (section 6.3.2).

6.3.1 Ideophonic Manner Adverbs

Many of the manner adverbs form a subclass of ideophonic words that I have called *affect words* elsewhere (Smythe Kung 2005a, 2005c, 2006), following England (2004) and Kaufman (1988); however, in keeping with recent work on ideophones in other Totonacan languages (Beck in press a, in press b; McFarland 2006, to appear), I now call them *ideophones* in order to maintain consistency within the Totonacan language family. HT ideophonic words are symbolic of

action, sound, taste, smell, and sensation. Though many ideophones are onomatopoeic, the majority are not. Some examples of ideophones are shown below in (590). The words *loqo* in (590a) and *chalan* in (590b) are onomatopoeic and symbolic of sound; *lapaq* in (590c) is symbolic of movement; *lhulh* in (590d) is symbolic of taste; *chiix* in (590e) is symbolic of smell; and *chilili* in (590f) is symbolic of sensation.

- (590) a. **loqo loqo** najun juu chiila7
loqo loqo najun juu chiila7
 ID ID say(IMPFV) ART chicken
 ‘The chicken clucks.’
 [*loqo* ‘the cluck of a chicken’] [TPWDB: loqo]
- b. **chalan chalan** makat’ajun juu kuux
chalan chalan makat’ajun juu kuux
 ID ID sound(IMPFV) ART corn
 ‘The (dried) corn goes *chalan chalan*.’
 [*chalan* ‘a ringing sound’] [TPWDB: chalan]
- c. **lapaq lapaq** laay juu skikluw
lapaq lapaq laa-y juu skikluw
 ID ID can-IMPFV ART eel
 ‘The eel snakes along.’
 [*lapaq* ‘the motion of moving like a snake’] [TPWDB: lapaq]
- d. **lhulh lhulh** 7uy juu lapanak juu 7aalaaxuux
lhulh lhulh 7u-y juu lapanak juu 7aalaaxuux
 ID ID eat-IMPFV ART person ART orange
 ‘The person savors his orange.’
 [*lhulh* ‘a sweet, savory flavor’] [TPWDB: lhulh]
- e. **chiix chiix** 7akamin juu lapanak
chiix chiix 7akamin juu lapanak
 ID ID smell(IMPFV) ART person
 ‘The person smells of urine.’
 [*chiix* ‘the smell of urine’] [TPWDB: chiix]

- f. **chilili** k'atzalh juu Susana
chilili k'atzan-li juu Susana
 ID know(PFV)-PFV ART Susan
- nii cha7alh juu Kuulaax
 nii chaa7an-li juu Kuulaax
 COMP arrive.there-PFV ART Nicholas
 'Susan felt fear when Nicholas arrived there.'
 [*chilili* 'sensation of fear'] [TPWDB: chilili]

Ideophones differ phonologically from non-expressive vocabulary in two important ways: stress and short vowel devoicing. The first syllable of an ideophone receives primary stress and all subsequent syllables (from left to right) receive secondary stress, as seen in (591a). The first syllable of non-ideophonic lexemes is *not* systematically stressed; instead the final syllable receives primary stress if it ends in a sonorant consonant, otherwise the penultimate syllable receives primary stress. Secondary stress in non-ideophonic lexemes is assigned to alternate syllables from right to left, as seen in (591b).¹⁷⁹ Primary stress is indicated by an acute accent mark (´), and secondary stress is indicated by a grave accent mark (`). Please see Chapter 2, section 2.5 for more information on stress.

(591)a. Primary and secondary stress in ideophones

chililì	‘sensation of fear’
kúlhùk	‘action of entering’
k’áchùchù	‘sound of walking through dry leaves’
lápàq	‘the motion of moving like a snake’
7ót’it’ì, 7ót’ì	‘sensation of being upset or bothered’

b. Primary and secondary stress in non-ideophonic lexemes

chawáy	‘now’
p’ulhnán	‘first’
xkulúk’u	‘wart’
maqàlhqamá7	‘Tepehua person’

¹⁷⁹ Please see Chapter 2, section 2.5.

Ihiiimaqàlhqamáʔ ‘Tepehua language’

Next, word-final short vowels are *devoiced* in non-ideophonic lexemes, as seen in (592a), while in ideophones, word final short vowels are *voiced*, as seen in (592b).

(592) a. Word final short vowel devoicing in non-ideophonic lexemes

juuki	[ʰu:.k̚j]	‘deer’
xanchi	[ʰʃaŋ.tʃ̚i]	‘hello, goodbye’
ʔach'enq'e	[ʔa.'tʃ'en.ʔ̚e]	‘toasted’
talhpa	[ʰtaɬ.p̚a]	‘hill’
tz'oqo	[ʰts'o.ʔ̚o]	‘bird’
makhku	[ʰmak.ɬ̚k̚u]	‘light’

b. Word final short vowel voicing in ideophones

kixixi	[ʰki.ʃi.ʃi]	‘hiss’, ‘sound a snake makes’
maqeqe	[ʰma.ʔe.ʔe]	‘sensation of being sick to the stomach’
taqaqa	[ʰta.ʔa.ʔa]	‘the cry of a hen that is going to lay an egg’
qolo	[ʰʔo.ʔo]	‘the cry of a male turkey’
lhkuku	[ʰɬku.ku]	‘purring of a cat’

Another common phonological feature of ideophones is their salient ability to be reduplicated. Other (non-ideophonic) adverbs may be reduplicated for emphasis, as seen below in the examples in (593). In (593a) the temporal adverb *chaway* ‘now’ is repeated, while in (593b), the entire adverbial phrase *naa qox* ‘very good’ is reduplicated. The only pattern of reduplication that is available for use with a non-ideophonic adverb is the pattern of complete reduplication. Also, it is important to note that non-ideophonic adverbs do not commonly appear in reduplicated form and that this reduplication is marked.

- (593) a. [chaway]_{ADV} [chaway]_{ADV} k'ananta
 chaway chaway k-7an-an-ta
 now now 1SUB-go-XXX-PF
 'I'm going now, *now*.' [TPWDB: chaway]
- b. [naa qox]_{ADVP} [naa qox]_{ADVP} kixkaniy
 naa qox naa qox kin-xka-ni-y
 EMP good EMP good 1OBJ-hurt-DAT-IMPV
 'I hurt very, *very* badly.' [TPWDB: naa qox]

Ideophones, on the other hand, appear in reduplicated form more often than they appear in non-reduplicated form. Furthermore, ideophones exhibit three different patterns of reduplication: (i) complete reduplication, (ii) a single reduplication of an open final syllable, and (iii) reiterative reduplication of an open final syllable. The example in (594a), in which the ideophone *lapaq* appears twice, is an example of complete reduplication. Single reduplication of the last syllable of an ideophone is shown in (594b), and reiterative reduplication of the final syllable is shown in (594c). In these examples, the reduplicated elements are underlined.

- (594) a. lapaq lapaq laay juu xkaan
lapaq lapaq laa-y juu xkaan
 ID ID can-IMPV ART water
 'Lapaq lapaq goes the water.'
 [lapaq 'snake-like (curved) motion'] [TPWDB: lapaq]
- b. k'achuchu makat'ajun juu xaxqoy kapen
k'achuchu makat'ajun juu xa-xqoy kapen
 ID sound(IMPV) ART IPOS-leaf coffee
 'The coffee leaves make the noise *k'achuchu*.'
 [k'achu 'the sound of dried leaves'] [TPWDB: k'achuchu]
- c. lhk'ulululu maa juu xkaan
 ID lying(IMPV) ART water
 'The water goes *lhk'ulululu*.'
 [lhk'ulu 'sound of the creek'] [TPWDB: lhk'ululu]

Some, but not all, ideophones may exhibit more than one type of reduplication, as seen below in the examples in (595). In (595a) *7ot'i* is fully reduplicated, and in (595b) only the final syllable is reduplicated.

- (595) a. **7ot'i 7ot'i** k'atz'an juu kimpajan
7ot'i 7ot'i k'atz'an juu kim-pajan
 ID ID know(IMPFV) ART 1POS-stomach
 'My stomach is upset.'
- b. **7ot'it'i** k'atz'an juu kimpajan
7ot'it'i k'atz'an juu kim-pajan
 ID know(IMPFV) ART 1POS-stomach
 'My stomach is upset.'
 [*7ot'i* 'sensation of being upset or bothered'] [PDLMA2005]

Regarding the semantics of reduplication, a single occurrence of the affect word corresponds to a single action, sound, or sensation, as seen in (596a), where one occurrence of *la7a* indicates one pop of the speaker's neck. Whole-word reduplication indicates that the sound, action, or sensation happened more than once, as seen in (596b), where *la7a la7a* indicates that the speaker's neck popped multiple times.

- (596) a. **la7a** makat'awlh juu kimpixtu7
la7a makat'ajun-li juu kin-pixtu7
 ID sound(PFV)-PFV ART 1POS-neck
 'My neck popped once.'
- b. **la7a la7a** makat'awlh juu kimpixtu7
la7a la7a makat'ajun-li juu kin-pixtu7
 ID ID sound(PFV)-PFV ART 1POS-neck
 'My neck popped several times.'
 [*la7a* 'popping noise'] [TPWDB: la7a]

Final syllable reduplication indicates that the action, sound, or sensation is long or continuous, as in (594b), (594c), and (595b) above. Multiple reduplicants of the

- b. juu chunch naa naach waa **qam qam** kamakat'awlh
 juu chun+ch naa naa+ch waa **qam qam** ka-makat'ajun-li
 ART like.so+ALD EMP EMP+ALD FOC ID ID IRR-sound-PFV
 'Like this, it would sound very deep.'
 [*qam* 'a deep or hollow sound'] [T0066: 137]

The evidential clitic *maa* may intervene between the ideophone and the verb, as seen in the example below in (599).

- (599) **lhtoolhtoo** maa 7atz'alatzukulhch
lhtoolhtoo maa 7atz'ala-tzuku-li+ch
 ID ID RPT run-begin-PFV+ALD
- puuxkajuna7 juu x7ilht'i p'aax
 puuxkaju-nV7 juu x-7ilht'i p'aax
 search-INF ART 3POS-excrement pig
 'He began to run around searching for pig excrement.'
 [*lhtoo* 'manner of running round frantically searching'] [T0055: 012-13]

Finally, two ideophones may occur side-by-side preceding the verb, as seen in the example below in (600).

- (600) **lhkukun kulhuk** tanuu juu laxpaamaalhik juu kuuyuu
lhkukun kulhuk tanuu juu laka-x-paamaalhik juu kuuyuu
 ID ID enter(PFV) ART PREP-3POS-nest ART armadillo
 'The armadillo ran and hid in its nest.'
 [*lhkukun* 'the action of running']
 [*kulhuk* 'action of entering'] [PDLMA 2005]

Ideophones themselves may not be inflected; however, they may act as roots for new verbal stems, which may then be inflected. I have found five productive morphological frames in HT in which an ideophone may act as the root; these five frames are shown in (601), and they are discussed in the following paragraphs.

- (601) i. 7a-ID-nVn
 PL.INO-ID-INO

- ii. ID-*laa*
ID-*can*
- iii. ID-*nawii*
ID-*do*
- iv. ID-*similar.verb*
- v. *maa*-ID-*ni*
CAUS-ID-DAT

The first morphological frame derives an intransitive verb stem from an ideophone by means of affixation of the indefinite object suffix *-nVn*, plus the plural indefinite object prefix *7a-*; the meaning of the derived verb is based on that of the affect word. The frame is shown above in (601i). Beck (in press b: 13) lists some examples of intransitive verbs comprised of affect words bearing the *-nVn* suffix in Upper Necaxa Totonac, so this process is not unique to Huehuetla Tepehua. HT examples are shown below in (602) and (603). In example (602a), the ideophone *jaw* ‘howl’ appears in the adverbial position immediately preceding the verb *najun* ‘say’; in example (602b) the same ideophone is used as the verb root, to which the indefinite object prefix and suffix are affixed.

- (602) a. **jaw jaw** najun juu xqooy
 ID ID say(IMPV) ART dog
 ‘The dog says, “howl howl.”’
 [*jaw* ‘howling of an dog’]
- b. ta7**jaw**nan juu xqooyun
 ta-7a-**jaw**-nVn juu xqooy-un
 3PL.SUB-PL.INO-**ID**-INO(IMPV) ART dog-PL
 ‘The dogs howl.’ [TPWDB: jaw]

Similarly, in example (603a), the ideophone *p'uks* 'stink' modifies the verb *ʔakamin* 'smell' or 'have an odor', while in example (603b), the affect word is affixed with the indefinite object prefix and suffix.

(603)a. **p'uks p'uks** ʔakamin juu lhiway
ID ID smell(IMPFV) ART meat
 'The meat stinks.'
 [*p'uks* 'a strong and stinky odor, e.g., rotten meat']

b. ʔap'uksnun juu makxtalh
 ʔa-p'uks-nVn juu makxtalh
 PL.INO-ID-INO(IMPFV) ART garbage
 'The garbage stinks.' [TPWDB: p'uks]

The second morphological frame creates a transitive or intransitive verb stem by compounding an ideophone and the auxiliary verb *laa* 'can'; the frame is shown above in (601ii). The resulting derived verb stem means to perform the action of the ideophone. The valency of the verb is dependent on pragmatic constraints of the ideophone. It is clear from the examples below in (604) and (605) that the ideophone and the auxiliary verb form a compound unit because they are prefixed with the past tense marker *xa-* ~ *x-* and suffixed with the imperfective aspect marker *-y*.

(604)a. **lhat lhat** ʔatz'iy
lhat lhat ʔatz'i-y
ID ID bite-IMPFV
 'He bites and bites large chunks.'
 [*lhat* 'action of biting large chunks or pieces']

b. xak**lhat**laay
 xa-k-**lhat**-laa-y
 PAST-1SUB-ID-can-IMPFV
 'I would bite (off chunks of) it.' [TPWDB: lhat]

- (605) a. **lomp'a lomp'a** laay juu 7uulii
lomp'a lomp'a laa-y juu 7uulii
ID ID can-IMPV ART tarp
 'The tarp goes *lomp'a lomp'a*.'
 [*lomp'a* 'motion of something (e.g., tarp, sheets) flapping in the wind']
- b. **xlomp'alaay** juu 7uulii juu laka7uun
x-lomp'a-laa-y juu 7uulii juu laka-7uun
 PAST-**ID**-can-IMPV ART tarp ART PREP-wind
 'The tarp would move in the wind.' [TPWDB: lomp'a]

In the third morphological frame, the ideophone is compounded with the verb *nawii* 'do' or 'make' to form either a transitive or an intransitive stem, according to the pragmatic constraints of the ideophone. The template is shown above in (601iii), and examples are shown in (606) and (607). The resulting *ID-nawii* stem has a meaning that is the same as or nearly the same as the meaning as the *ID-laa* stem (compare (606) to (604b) and compare (607) to (605b)). The verbs *laa* 'can' and *nawii* 'do, make' are both semantically general, and both can be described as 'light' or 'empty' verbs that have very little inherent meaning. Regardless of the semantics of *laa* and *nawii*, in all of these examples, the derived stem means to perform some sort of action based on the meaning of the ideophone. Furthermore, these two frames may be used only with ideophones that refer to actions.

- (606) **xaklhatnawiiy**
 xa-k-**lhat**-nawii-y
 PAST-1SUB-**ID**-do-IMPV
 'I would bite it.' [TPWDB: lhat]

- (607) **xlomp'anawiiy** juu 7uulii juu 7uun
x-lomp'a-nawii-y juu 7uulii juu 7uun
 PAST-**ID**-do-IMPV ART tarp ART wind
 'The wind would move the tarp.' [TPWDB: lomp'a]

ideophone that describes a sound may not be used in Frame 2 (ID-laa) or Frame 3 (ID-nawii), as seen in the examples below in (611). Furthermore, I found no corresponding morphological frame in which only sound-based (onomatopoeic) ideophones may be used. To date, I have not investigated the pragmatics of ideophones and their morphological frames beyond this rather general observation regarding the ideophones based on sound and action.

(611) *t'oq* 'the sound of a horse's hooves on concrete or rock'

- a. **t'oq t'oq** xnawiiy juu puutook'a
t'oq t'oq x-nawii-y juu puutook'a
ID ID PAST-do-IMPV ART horse
 'The horse goes *t'oq t'oq*.'

- b. ** **xt'oqlaay** juu puutook'a
x-t'oq-laa-y juu puutok'a
 PAST-**ID**-can-IMPV ART horse

- c. ** **xt'oqnawiiy** juu puutook'a
x-t'oq-nawii-y juu puutook'a
 PAST-**ID**-do-IMPV ART horse

[PDLMA2005]

6.3.2 Non-ideophonic Manner Adverbs

Like the ideophonic manner adverbs, non-ideophonic manner adverbs also precede the verb, as seen in the examples below in (612). Both the (a) and the (b) examples are acceptable word orders because the adverbial phrase *naa k'us* 'very pretty' precedes the verb; the (c) example is unacceptable because the adverbial phrase follows the verb without occurring clause-finally.

- (612) a. [**naa k'us**]_{ADVP} [tasuy]_V [juu talhpa]_{SUBJ}
 naa k'us tasu-y juu talhpa
 EMP pretty look(VI)-IMPV ART hill
 'The hill looks very pretty.'

- b. [juu talhpa]_{SUBJ} [naa k'us]_{ADVP} [tasuy]_V
 'The hill looks very pretty.'
- c. *[tasuy]_V [naa k'us]_{ADVP} [juu talhpa]_{SUBJ} [MNB13: 40]
 (Intended reading: 'The hill looks very pretty.')

However, the pre-verbal word order of the non-ideophonic manner adverbs is not as strict as that of the ideophonic adverbs. If another adverb occurs in the position immediately preceding the verb, the manner adverb may occur at the end of the clause. The example in (613a) shows the manner adverbial phrase *naa qox* 'very well' in the pre-verbal position. In (613b) a temporal adverb, *p'ulhnan* 'first', occurs in this pre-verbal position, and the manner adverbial phrase *naa qox* occurs at the end of the clause.

- (613)a. [naa qox]_{ADVP} [st'aakan]_V [juu x7ilht'i p'aax]_{SUBJ}
 naa qox st'aa-kan juu x-7ilht'i p'aax
 EMP well sell-INS(IMPFV) ART 3POS-excrement pig
 'The pig excrement sells really well.' [T0055: 092-093]
- b. [juu p'ulhnan]_{ADVP} [tulaay 7ixchiwinin]_{VP}
 juu p'ulhnan tuu+laa-y 7ix-chiwin-nin
 ART first NEG+can-IMPFV PAST-speak-PL.INF
- [juu maqalhqama7]_{SUBJ} [juu lhiilaawaan]_{OBJ} [naa qox]_{ADVP}
 juu maqalhqama7 juu lhi-laawaan naa qox
 ART Tepehuas ART APPL-Spanish EMP good
 'At first, the Tepehua could not speak Spanish very well.'
 [T0057: 097]

A manner adverb may intervene between an auxiliary verb and a main verb, as seen below in (614).

(614) laaych [chunch]_{ADV} ʔaklaqoxipaa
 laa-y+ch chun+ch ʔa-k-laqoxi-paa
 can-IMPV+ALD like.so+ALD IRR-1SUB-arrange-REP.PFV

juu ʔanuʔ
 juu ʔanuʔ
 ART that
 ‘I can arrange that one like this.’ [T0066: 178]

Unlike temporal and locative adverbs, manner adverbs (both ideophonic and non-ideophonic) may never be preceded by the definite article *juu*.

6.4 OTHER ADVERBS

Topics covered in this section include the emphatic adverb *naa* (section 6.4.1), the evidential and the epistemic adverbs (section 6.4.2), temporal adverbial clitics (section 6.4.3), and quantifiers used as adverbs (section 6.4.4).

6.4.1 Emphatic *naa*

The emphatic adverbial particle *naa* intensifies the meaning of the adverb, verb, or predicate that it modifies. In the examples in (615), *naa* modifies an adverb; in the examples in (616), *naa* modifies a verb; and in the examples in (617), it modifies a predicate adjective and a predicate nominal.

(615) a. nii ʔan **naa** qay xtalhawata juu xkaan
 nii ʔan **naa** qay x-talhawa-ta juu xkaan
 COMP go(IMPV) **EMP** big PAST-flood(VI)-PF ART water
 ‘because the [river] water had flooded very high.’ [T0018: 006]

b. **naa** qox k’asníy juu kit’in
 naa qox k-ʔasni-y juu kit’in
 EMP good 1SUB-be.cold-IMPV ART PRN.1SG
 ‘I’m *really* cold.’ [TPWDB: ʔasni]

- (616)a. juu kuchíyuu **naa** kikxtúy
 juu kuchíyuu **naa** kikxtu-y
 ART knife **EMP** sharp-IMPV
 ‘The knife is *very* sharp.’ [TPWDB: kikxtu]
- b. 7astan waa **naa** 7alakhiijuuniy kit’in
 7astan waa **naa** 7alak-lhiijun-ni-y kit’in
 afterwards FOC **EMP** PL-order-DAT-IMPV PRN.1SG
 ‘Afterwards, *I* ordered [drinks] for them.’ [T0066: 056]
- c. waa **naa** maa laqapuutanuuy xlaqapuutanuuta
 waa **naa** maa laqapuu-tanuu-y x-laqapuutanuuta
 FOC **EMP** RPT FACE-insert-IMPV 3POS-mask
 ‘He puts on the mask.’ [T0055: 073]
- (617)a. waa **naa** papa7
 waa **naa** papa7
 FOC **EMP** old.man
 ‘He was a very old man.’ [T0022: 037]
- b. **naa** kan juu lhiiway 7ixjuuniita juu kutanch
naa kan juu lhiiway 7ix-jun-niita juu kutanch
EMP delicious ART meat PAST-be-PF ART yesterday
 ‘The meat was delicious yesterday.’ [ELIEX2: 038]

Like other adverbs, the adverbial particle *naa* may be reduplicated for added emphasis, as seen in the examples below in (618).

- (618)a. maa **naa naa** lhuu niilh
 maa **naa naa** lhuu nii-li
 RPT **EMP EMP** many die-PFV

 juu lapanak juu 7aksnich
 juu lapanak juu 7aksni+ch
 ART people ART then+ALD
 ‘*Many, many* people died then.’ [T0057: 017]
- b. **naa naa** saqtzamanta juu xkaan
naa naa x-7aqtzaman-ta juu xkaan
EMP EMP PAST-fill-PF ART water
 ‘The water filled it.’ [T0018: 004]

- c. jaantu **naa naa** sii maqalhqama7 laqachaqan
 NEG EMP EMP pure Tepehua town
 ‘It is not a *purely* Tepehua town.’ [T0057: 035]

Like other adverbs, the emphatic particle *naa* may not be inflected. However, it may be cliticized with the temporal clitic *+ch*, as seen in the examples below in (619).

- (619)a. y luego waa naa maa 7alakt'aatoolay
 y luego waa naa maa 7alakt-t'aa-toola-y
 and then FOC EMP RPT PL-COM-stay-IMPV
- y waa **naach** nii talaklhtatalhch
 y waa **naa+ch** nii ta-lak-lhtata-li+ch
 and FOC EMP+ALD COMP 3PL.SUB-DIS-fall.asleep-PFV+ALD
 ‘And then he stayed with them, and they all fell asleep.’ [T0055: 067-68]

- b. **naa naach** waa soq kajuna7
naa naa+ch waa soq ka-jun-a7
 EMP EMP+ALD FOC straight IRR-be-FUT
 ‘It will be very straight.’ [T0069: 310]

The focus particle *waa* and the evidential particle *maa* may intervene between the emphatic particle *naa* and the adverb, verb, or predicate that it modifies, as seen in the following examples in (620).

- (620)a. porque tuuka7 **naa** waa maqan
 porque tuu+ka7 **naa** waa maqan
 because NEG+JST EMP FOC long.time
 ‘Because not very long ago . . .’ [T0022: 025]
- b. **naa naach** maa waa kikhhalhaa
naa naa+ch maa waa kik-lhalhaa
 EMP EMP+ALD RPT FOC MOUTH-bearded
 ‘he was very bearded’ [T0022: 032]

- c. nii kaa **naa** waa xtaqalhiniyanch
 nii kaa **naa** waa x-taqalhi-ni-y-an+ch
 COMP BLV **EMP** FOC PAST-spoil-DAT-IMPV-2OBJ+ALD
- juu mi7aqtzulh
 juu min-7aqtzulh
 ART 2POS-head
 ‘It destroyed your head.’ [T0054: 048]
- d. waa **naa** maa tarr talak7atz’alay
 waa **naa** maa tarr ta-lak-7atz’ala-y
 FOC **EMP** RPT ID:running 3PL.SUB-DIS-run-IMPV
- ‘They took off running.’ [T0055: 077]

6.4.2 Evidential and Epistemic Adverbs

HT displays a lexical evidential and epistemic strategy (or information source) rather a grammatical one (Aikhenvald 2003). The system is comprised of two particles: the evidential *maa* (RPT) indicates reported speech (section 6.4.2.1), while the epistemic *kaa* (BLV) indicates the speaker’s belief or opinion (section 6.4.2.2). No other source of information is grammatically marked in HT. The two particles do not co-occur.

6.4.2.1 Evidential ‘Reportative’ *maa*

The evidential particle *maa* (RPT) indicates that the speaker does not have first-hand knowledge of the information. Speakers use *maa* to recount events that they did not actually witness or to convey the information that they got from another source, such as events or stories that they heard from someone else. The addition of this particle is the equivalent of adding ‘they say’ to a statement in English or ‘dicen que’ or ‘según’ to a statement in Spanish.¹⁸⁰ It is important to

¹⁸⁰ The reportative particle *maa* is also used to coordinate two clauses; please see the section 8.6.2 on “Coordination” in Chapter 8 for more information on this use of *maa*.

note that the use of *maa* is not obligatory and that omission of *maa* does not imply first-hand knowledge of the information conveyed by the utterance.

The reportative particle is ubiquitous in narratives and in conversation. Though *maa* most frequently occurs in the slot immediately preceding a verb (the adverbial slot), it may occur anywhere in a clause or even in a phrase. In the example in (621a) *maa* precedes a verb phrase. The example in (621b) has two occurrences of *maa* in the same clause: the first one precedes a pronoun and the second one precedes a noun. The example in (621c) also has two occurrences of *maa* in the same clause: the first instance of *maa* precedes a prepositional phrase, and the second instance precedes the adverbial particle *naa*, which modifies the plural adjective *lajqay* ‘big (ones)’.

- (621) a. **maa** tzúkulh ch’apana7
 maa tzuku-li ch’apa-nV7
 RPT begin-PFV grab-INF
- maa** laqtzamalhch juu xcubeta
 maa laqtzaman-li+ch juu x-cubeta
 RPT fill-PFV+ALD ART 3POS-bucket
 ‘Supposedly, he began to grab, and he filled his bucket.’ [T0058: 022-023]
- b. puus juu 7anu7 luw **maa** yuuch laktitaymay
 puus juu 7anu7 luw **maa** yuuch lak-titayma-y
 well ART that snake RPT PRN.3SG PL-chase-IMPFV
- juu t’akunin **maa** papaaninch juu mati7 sasqat’a7an
 juu t’aku-nin **maa** papa7-nin+ch juu mati7 x-7asqat’a-7an
 ART woman-PL RPT man-PL+ALD REL none 3POS-child-PL
 ‘Well, that snake, it chases after the women and men who
 have no children.’ [T0003: 005-006]

- c. **maa** lakachiiwx **maa** naa lajqay
maa laka-chiiwx **maa** naa lak-qay
RPT PREP-rock **RPT** EMP PL-big
‘Supposedly, in the rocks, there were really big ones [crowdads].’
[T0058: 020]

Maa co-occurs with verbs in all tenses: the past is shown in the example in (622a); the present tense—which is formally unmarked—is shown in (621b); and the future tense is shown in (622b). *Maa* also occurs with verbs in all aspects—the imperfective (621b), the perfective (623a), and the perfect (623b)—as well as with verbs in the irrealis mood (624).

- (622)a. entonces 7aksnii **maa** xch’apaputunch
entonces 7aksnii **maa** x-ch’apa-putun+ch
then when **RPT** PAST-grab-DESID(IMPFV)+ALD
‘Then when he wanted to grab it . . .’
[T0058: 024]

- b. **maa** kakumpliilaya7 7ixk’aata juu 7ixtz’i7
maa ka-kumpliila-ya7 7ix-k’aata juu 7ix-tz’i7
RPT IRR-finish-FUT 3POS-year ART 3POS-daughter
‘Supposedly, it will be her daughter’s birthday.’
[T0069: 420]

- (623)a. **maa** jaantu ch’apalh
maa jaantu ch’apa-li
RPT NEG grab-PFV
‘He didn’t grab it.’
[T0058: 042]

- b. **maa** niita yaa juu laka7uun
maa nii-ta yaa juu laka-7uun
RPT die-PF standing ART PREP-air
‘He was dead, standing in the air.’
[T0022: 010]

- (624) maa jaantu qox nii **maa** katamaqnii
 maa jaantu qox nii **maa** ka-ta-maqnii
 RPT NEG good COMP **RPT** IRR-3PL.SUBJ-kill(PFV)
- juu 7anuuch lapanak maa laktitaymay
 juu 7anu7+ch lapanak maa lak-titayma-y
 ART that+ALD people RPT PL-pursue-IMPFV
- porque nii **maa** katamaqniiy
 porque nii **maa** ka-ta-maqnii-y
 because COMP **RPT** IRR-3PL.SUBJ-kill-IMPFV
- maa 7aqstu naa naa 7awilhchan **maa** kaniilh
 maa 7aqstu naa naa 7awilhchan **maa** ka-nii-li
 RPT same EMP EMP day **RPT** IRR-die-PFV
- juu 7anuuch t'aku7
 juu 7anu7+ch t'aku7
 ART that+ALD woman
 'It is not good for the people who it chases to kill it because, if they kill it,
 that very same day the woman Would die.' [T0003: 016-020]

6.4.2.2 Epistemic 'Believe' *kaa*

The use of the epistemic particle *kaa* indicates that the statement expressed by a clause is the opinion of the speaker, e.g, 'I believe' or 'in my opinion'. It is only used in the first person context and never in the second or third person contexts. *Kaa* occurs quite commonly in both Tlachichilco Tepehua and Pisaflores Tepehua; in both varieties it means 'probably' (Jim Watters, p.c.)

The epistemic particle *kaa* is not as ubiquitous as the evidential reported speech particle *maa*; in fact, it occurs in fewer than one-eighth of the clauses in the text database (whereas *maa* occurs in more than half of the clauses). Like *maa*, *kaa* occurs most frequently before verbs, though it may occur anywhere in the clause. Examples are shown below in (625). In (625a), *kaa* occurs before the

negative marker *jaantu*, which has scope over the verb; in (625b), *kaa* precedes the predicate nominal phrase *waa maqtiiich*; in (625c) it occurs before the predicate pronominal *yuuch*, which is the head of the following relative clause; and in (625d) and (625e), *kaa* precedes the adverbs *7aqtz'iyanch* and *7ani7*, respectively.

- (625) a. **kaa** jaantu xaktz'o7a
kaa jaantu xa-k-tz'o7-7a
BLV NEG PAST-1SUB-mark-IMPV
 'I think that I didn't mark it.' [T0069: 107]
- b. **kaa** waa maqtiiich
kaa waa maqtii7+ch
BLV FOC wild.animal+ALD
 'I believe it was a wild animal.' [T0020: 041]
- c. puus **kaa** yuuch juu 7ixtaqnitach
 puus **kaa** yuuch juu 7ix-xtaq-ni-ta+ch
 well **BLV** PRN.3SG REL PAST-give-DAT-PF+ALD
 'Well, I believe it is he who had given it to her.' [T0054: 016]
- d. puus **kaa** 7aqtz'iyanch chunch
 puus **kaa** 7aqtz'iyanch chunch
 well **BLV** always+ALD like.so+ALD
- juu 7uuniit'a juu 7uxint'i
 juu jun-niita juu 7uxint'i
 ART be(2SUB)-PF(2SUB) ART PRN.2SG
 'Well, I think *you* have always been like that.' [T0054: 032]
- e. 7ani7 juu xatz'o7a **kaa** 7ani7
 7ani7 juu xa-tz'o7-7a **kaa** 7ani7
 here REL PAST-mark-IMPV **BLV** here
 'It is here that you marked it, I think it is here.' [T0069: 108]

The epistemic particle may co-occur with verbs in any tense or aspect. Examples of the (unmarked) present tense are shown above in (625b) and (625d);

examples of the past tense are shown above in (625a), (625c), and (625e); and an example of the future tense is shown below in (626a). Examples of the imperfective aspect are shown above in (625a) and (625e); examples of the perfect aspect are shown above in (625c) and (625d); and an example of the perfective aspect is shown below in (626b). Finally, the particle *kaa* may occur with both the realis and irrealis moods; examples of the realis mood are seen in (625) and (626), while examples of the irrealis mood are seen in (627).

(626)a. **kaa** waa chunchach ka7ana7
kaa waa chunch+ach ka-7an-a7
BLV FOC like.so+ALD IRR-go-FUT
 ‘I think it will go like this.’ [T0069: 068]

b. juu 7uputlhch **kaa** 7ulhch
 juu 7u-putun-li+ch **kaa** 7u-li+ch
 REL eat-DESID-PFV+ALD **BLV** eat-PFV+ALD
 ‘He who wanted to eat it, I believe he ate it.’ [T0020: 034]

(627)a. **kaa** laay xak7ampaalhchan taymanaan
kaa laa-y xa-k-7an-paalh-chaan tayma-nV7-n
BLV can-IMPV PAST-1SUB-go-REP.PFV-ABL-2OBJ catch-INF-2OBJ
 ‘I think that I would have been able to catch you.’ [T0066: 023]

b. katast’aaya7 juu puukapen
 ka-ta-st’aa-ya7 juu puukapen
 IRR-3PL.SUB-sell-FUT ART coffee.plantation

maas **kaa** jaantuch 7ixlakaskilh juu xaata7
 maas **kaa** jaantu+ch 7ix-lakaskin-li juu xaa-tata7
 although **BLV** NEG+ALD PAST-want-PFV ART IPOS-grandfather
 ‘They will sell the coffee plantation even if the grandfather were to have opposed it.’ [QMMES]

6.4.3 Temporal Adverbial Clitics

There are two temporal adverbial clitics in HT: *+ch* (ALD) ‘already’ and *+ka7* (JST) ‘just’. I analyze these two morphemes as clitics rather than affixes following criteria offered by Zwicky and Pullum (1983). First, these two clitics “exhibit a low degree of selection with respect to their hosts” (p. 503); they may affix to nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and negative particles. These clitics are affixed to words only after all morphosyntactic (derivational and inflectional) operations have applied. And unlike inflectional and derivational affixes, these clitics do not have a morphophonemic effect on the words to which they cliticize. The clitic *+ch* (ALD) ‘already’ is discussed below in section 6.4.3.1, and *+ka7* (JST) ‘just’ is discussed in section 6.4.3.2.

6.4.3.1 ‘Already’ +ch

The temporal adverbial clitic *+ch* (ALD) is used more frequently than any other clitic or affix in the language, occurring in approximately one-third of the clauses in the text database. It may cliticize onto verbs in any aspect, as well as onto adverbs, nouns, predicative adjectives, demonstrative pronouns, and the negative particle. However, its meaning is not transparent. Though I have labeled it (ALD) for ‘already’, it adds this temporal meaning to a verb only in the perfect aspect, as seen below in the examples in (628).

(628) Perfect Aspect

- a. **xniitach** maqtili7
x-nii-ta+ch maqtili7
PAST-die-PF+ALD wild.animal
‘The wild animal had already died.’

[T0020: 023]

- b. juu yuuch waa **xt'alalhwaqtach**
 juu yuuch waa x-t'alalhwaq-ta+**ch**
 ART PRN.3SG FOC PAST-distribute-PF+**ALD**
 'He had already distributed it [the money].' [T0054: 018]
- c. maa naa **xtamaaqantalhanantach**
 maa naa x-ta-maaqantalha-nVn-ta+**ch**
 RPT EMP PAST-INCH-scare-INO-PF+**ALD**
 'It had already scared her.' [T0003: 031]
- d. puus juu lapanak maa **niitach**
 puus juu lapanak maa nii-ta+**ch**
 well ART person RPT die-PF+**ALD**
 'Well, the person had already died.' [T0022: 014]

When it occurs on a verb in the perfective aspect, *+ch* indicates that the action represented by that verb had already been completed by the time of the past which is being narrated. Examples are shown in (629).

(629) Perfective Aspect

- a. maa **milhch** 7awilhchan
 maa min-li+**ch** 7a-wilhchan
 RPT come-PFV+**ALD** CLS:other-day
- nii lhiitajukalh tanch juu tanuun
 nii lhiitaju-kan-li tanch juu tanuun
 COMP discover-INS-PFV where REL inserted
 'Another day (already) came when they discovered where it was.' [T0020: 013]
- b. **laqaxuk'alhch** maa **tapaach'uk'ulhch**
 laqa-xuk'a-li+**ch** maa ta-paa-ch'uk'u-li+**ch**
 body-skin(VT)-PFV+**ALD** RPT 3PL.SUB-insides-open-PFV+**ALD**
 'They skinned it and they opened it up.' [T0020: 026]

The clitic *+ch* may occur on both present and past tense verbs marked for the imperfective aspect. A narrative feature of HT is that the narrative past may be indicated by a combination of (i) the unmarked present tense or the past tense

marker *x-*, (ii) the *imperfective* aspect suffix, and (iii) the clitic *+ch*. Present tense examples are shown below in (630), and past tense examples are shown in (631). The choice between past and present tense seems to be a stylistic, personal one. Note that for all of the examples in (630) and (631), we would expect these verbs to be marked for the *perfective* aspect.

(630) Imperfective Aspect, present tense

- a. maa **juuniych** juu xkumwarii
 maa jun-ni-y+ch juu x-kumwarii
 RPT say-DAT-IMPV+ALD ART 3POS-compadre
 ‘... his compadre says [said] to him.’ [T0055: 007]
- b. **lakch'apayajuych**
 lak-ch'apayaju-y+ch
 PL-detain-IMPV+ALD
 ‘He stops [stopped] them.’ [T0055: 084]
- c. yuuch maa **lhiitalhawaych** juu qayxkaan
 yuuch maa lhii-talhawa-y+ch juu qayxkaan
 PRN.3SG RPT APPL-flood-IMPV+ALD ART river
 ‘That is why the river floods [flooded].’ [T0057: 085]
- d. **tamaa7atz'alaych** juu xkupu7
 ta-maa-7atz'ala-y+ch juu xkupu7
 3PL.SUB-CAUS-run-IMPV+ALD ART crawdad
 ‘They run [ran] off the crawdad.’ [T0058: 066]

(631) Imperfective Aspect, past tense

- a. nii **xaniiych** juu sp'isaqa7an
 nii xa-nii-y+ch juu x-p'isaqa-7an
 COMP PAST-die-IMPV+ALD ART 3POS-younger.sibling-PL.POS
 ‘When their sister died, ...’ [T0063: 012]

- b. 7anch juu **xatalhiitajuich**
 7anch juu xa-ta-lhiitaju-y+ch
 there REL PAST-3PL.SUB-meet-IMPFV+ALD

juu xp'isaqa7an
 juu x-p'isaqa-7an
 ART 3POS-younger.sibling- PL.POS
 'It was there that they met their little sister.' [T0063: 047]

- c. kaa **x7uych** juu yuuch juu lhiway
 kaa x-7u-y+ch juu yuuch juu lhiway
 BLV PAST-eat-IMPFV+ALD ART PRN.3SG ART meat
 'I think he ate the meat.' [T0020: 038]

However, in some examples in which *+ch* cliticizes onto a past tense imperfective aspect verb, it seems to indicate that the action or state of that verb began or was achieved *prior to* the past action of another verb in the clause. For example, in (632a), the compadre was already very poor *before* he began to run around; in (632b), the people already liked Zicatlán [place name] *prior to* the circumstance arising in which they did not want to come [to Huehuetla].

- (632)a. 7entons juu 7anuuch puruwii xkuumwarii
 7entons juu 7anu7+ch puruwii x-kuumwarii
 then ART that+ALD pitiful 3POS-compadre

nii maa naa waa **xkilhpatiych**
 nii maa naa waa x-kilhpati-y+ch
 COMP RPT EMF FOC PAST-be.poor-IMPFV+ALD

lhtoo lhtoo maa 7atz'alatzukulhch
 lhtoo lhtoo maa 7atz'ala-tzuku-li+ch
 ID ID RPT run-begin-PFV+ALD
 'Then, that pitiful compadre, who was very poor,
 began to run around *lhtoo lhtoo*.' [T0055: 010-012]

b. maa naa lhuu jaantuch xtaminputun
 maa naa lhuu jaantu+ch x-ta-min-putun
 RPT EMF much NEG+ALD PAST-3PL.SUB-come-DESID(IMPFV)

porque maa naa **xtaqachaniych**
 porque maa naa x-ta-qacha-ni-y+ch
 because RPT EMF PAST-3PL.SUB-like-DAT-IMPFV+ALD

juu Siikalhan
 juu Siikalhan
 ART Zicatlán
 ‘Many [people] did not want to come [to Huehuetla] because they
 liked Zicatlán.’ [T0057: 027-028]

Finally, there are some examples in which *+ch* cliticizes to past tense imperfective aspect verbs without any apparent change in their past habitual meaning, as seen in the examples in (633).

(633)a. kaa naa waa **xtaqalhiniyanch**
 kaa naa waa x-taqalhi-ni-y-an+ch
 BLV EMP FOC PAST-mess.up-DAT-IMPFV-2OBJ+ALD

juu mi7aqtzulh
 juu mi-7aqtzulh
 ART 2POS-head
 ‘I think it would mess up your head.’ [T0054: 048]

b. laaych xtamaqniiy
 laa-y+ch x-ta-maqnii-y
 can-IMPFV+ALD PAST-3PL.SUB-kill-IMPFV

xta7uych
 x-ta-7u-y+ch
 PAST-3PL.SUB-eat-IMPFV+ALD
 ‘They would kill it, and they would eat it.’ [T0059: 041]

- c. y luego nii maa **kachinaach** juu xaapay,
y luego nii maa ka-chin-a7+**ch** juu xaa-pay
and then COMP RPT IRR-arrive-FUT+ALD ART IPOS-father
- maa **ka7uyaach**, **kamaawaakanaach** juu puulaq
maa ka-7u-ya7+**ch** ka-maa-wajin-kan-a7+**ch** juu puulaq
RPT IRR-eat-FUT+ALD IRR-CAUS-eat-INS-FUT+ALD ART tamale
‘And later, when the father was going to arrive, he was going to eat it,
she was going to make him eat the tamale.’ [T0059: 009-010]
- d. t'asanikalhch nii
t'asa-ni-kan-li+ch nii
yell-DAT-INS-PFV+ALD COMP
- kaxtaqnkanaach** juu lhiich'alhkat
ka-xtaq-ni-kan-a7+**ch** juu lhiich'alhkat
IRR-give-DAT-INS-FUT+ALD ART job
‘The yelled that they were going to give him a job.’ [T0063: 042]

Additionally, the clitic *+ch* may cliticize to adverbs (635), nouns (636), predicate adjectives (637), demonstrative pronouns (638), and the negative particle (639). In the predicate nominal construction in (636b) and in the predicate adjective constructions in (637), the clitic adds the meaning of ‘already’ to the clause. In the other examples, the clitic does not seem to change the meaning of any of the clauses in any obvious way, and it seems to be used stylistically. Note that the temporal clitic does *not* cliticize to an attributive adjective in a modificational position within a noun phrase.

(635) Adverbs

- a. maa xt'oonpalay juu maqtili7 juu
maa x-t'ajun-pala-y juu maqtili7 juu
RPT PAST-be-REP-IMPFV ART wild.animal REL
- waa **niinch** laqachaqaan taa wii xkaan
waa **niin+ch** laqachaqaan taa wii xkaan
FOC near+ALD town where seated(IMPFV) water
'There was a wild animal that was near the town, in the water.'
[T0020: 02]

- b. pero naa **naach** maa waa
pero naa **naa+ch** maa waa
but EMF EMP+ALD RPT FOC
- talaqxaqalhiit'ajun juu Maliiyaa
ta-laqxaqa-lhii-t'ajun juu Maliiyaa
3PL.SUB-drag-APPL-AMB(IMPFV) ART Mary
'But they go around really dragging Mary.'
[T0063: 071]

- c. **7aksch** juu xalaktantamaakxtukan
7aks+ch juu xa-lak-tan-tamaakxtu-kan
when+ALD REL PAST-PL-TORSO-take.out-INS(IMPFV)
'That is when they were taken out.'
[T0063: 078]

- d. **chunch** tapuu7afinalaych
chun+ch ta-puu-7afinala-y+ch
like.so+ALD 3PL.SUB-INST-tune-IMPFV+ALD
- chuux juu 7anu7 maestro
chuux juu 7anu7 maestro
all ART that master
'All the masters tune like this.'
[T0066: 009]

(636) Nouns

- a. juu **luwch** kjunaw
juu **luw+ch** k-jun-aw
ART snake+ALD 1SUB-say(IMPFV)-1PL.SUB
'We call it "snake".'
[T0009: 012]

- b. **papaach** waachu7 xjuuniita
 papa7+**ch** waachu7 x-jun-niita
 old.man+ALD also PAST-be-PF
 ‘He was already old.’ [T0022: 055]
- c. waa niipaa juu **xnatic** juu 7atzi7
 waa nii-paa juu x-nati+**ch** juu 7atzi7
 FOC die-REP.PFV ART 3POS-mother+ALD ART girl
 ‘The girl’s mother died unexpectedly.’ [T0054: 004]
- d. juu Teewanch junkan
 juu Teewan+**ch** jun-kan
 ART Stephen+ALD call-INS(IMPV)
 ‘He was named Stephen.’ [T0054: 005]
- e. puus juu anu7 luw,
 puus juu anu7 luw,
 well ART that snake
- maa yuuch laktiitaymay
 maa yuuch lak-tiitayma-y
 RPT PRN.3SG PL-follow-IMPV
- juu t'akuunin maa **papaaninch**
 juu t'aku7-nin maa papa7-nin+**ch**
 ART woman-PL RPT man-PL+ALD
- juu mati7 sasqat'a7an
 juu mati7 s-7asqat'a-7an
 REL none 3POS-child-PL.POS
 ‘Well, that snake, it follows women and men who have no children.’
 [T0003: 005-007]

(637) Predicate Adjectives

- a. pero maa **xaaniinch**
 pero maa xaa-nii-n+**ch**
 but RPT IPOS-die-DVB+ALD
 ‘But it was already dead.’ [T0020: 022]

b. waa **puu7aqstuch**, tz'ink7a
 waa puu-7aqstu+**ch** tz'ink-7a
 FOC INST-alone+**ALD** be.heavy-IMPV
 'Alone, it is heavy.' [T0069: 012]

c. juu chaway waa **lakatz'uninch**, jaantu?
 juu chaway waa lakatz'unin+**ch** jaantu
 ART now FOC little.bit+**ALD** NEG
 'Now there is a little bit, isn't there?' [T0069: 151]

(638) Demonstrative Pronouns

a. juu **7anuuch** 7amanawinin
 juu 7anu7+**ch** 7amanawin-nin
 ART that+**ALD** hill.owner-PL
 'those hill-owners mythical people' [T0022: 011]

b. juu **7aniich** xpaqaxti7 ka7ana7?
 juu 7ani7+**ch** x-paqaxti7 ka-7an-a7
 ART this+**ALD** 3POS-side IRR-go-FUT
 'This one will go on this side?' [T0069: 025]

(639) Negative Particle

a. **jaantuch** laay xlakmaaxtukanta
 jaantu+**ch** laa-y x-lak-maaxtu-kan-ta
 NEG+**ALD** can-IMPV PAST-PL-take.out-INS-PF

juu laktaxtoqta naa lhuu
 juu lak-taxtoqta naa lhuu
 ART PL-thing EMP much(ADV)
 'They could not take out the things.' [T0018: 005]

b. juu 7uputulhch kaa 7ulhch;
 juu 7u-putun-li+**ch** kaa 7u-li+**ch**
 REL eat-DESID-PFV+**ALD** BLV eat-PFV+**ALD**

juu **jaantuch** kaa **jaantuch**
 juu jaantu+**ch** kaa jaantu+**ch**
 REL NEG+**ALD** BLV NEG+**ALD**
 'He who wanted to eat, I believe he ate; he who did not [want to eat],
 I believe he didn't [eat].' [T0020: 035]

The clitic *+ch* has two allomorphes: *+ach* and *+chi*. The allomorph *+ach* occurs when the clitic cliticizes to a word or particle that ends in /ch/, as seen in the examples below in (640). The allomorph *+chi* occurs before a following glottal stop, as seen in the examples below in (641).

(640) a. **yuuchach** juu xaak'uch'u
 yuuch+**ach** juu xaa-k'uch'u
 PRN.3SG+**ALD** ART IPOS-cure
 'That is the cure.' [T0009: 010]

b. waa **7anchach** juu seqjun juu maqtili7
 waa 7anch+**ach** juu seqjun juu maqtili7
 FOC there+**ALD** REL hide(IMPV) ART wild.animal
 'It was there that the wild animal hid.' [T0020: 011]

(641) jaa **chunchi7as** nawiikanch
 jaa chun+**chi**+7as nawii-kan+ch
 Q like.so+**ALD**+TAGQ make-INS(IMPV)+ALD

7aksni **soqchi** 7an
 7aksni soq+**chi** 7an
 when straight+**ALD** go
 'Is this how they do it when it goes straight?' [T0069: 168]

The use of the temporal clitic and expressions of time is discussed in Chapter 7, Section 7.5.

6.4.3.2 'Just' +ka7

Whereas the clitic *+ch* is ubiquitous in HT, its semantic counterpart *+ka7* (JST) occurs very seldomly in comparison; in fact, it appears in only nine clauses in the text database. When combined with the perfective aspect, it carries the meaning of 'just' or 'barely', as seen below in (642a). When combined with the imperfective aspect, it means 'still', as seen below in (642b).

(642)a. waa milh**ka7**
 waa min-li+**ka7**
 FOC come-PFV-**JST**
 ‘He just arrived.’ [ELIEX2: 053]

b. xakmaqsqoliy**ka7**
 xa-k-maq-sqoli-y+**ka7**
 PAST-1SUB-CAUS-whistle-IMPfV+**JST**
 ‘I still played [music].’ [T0054: 052]

The clitic *+ka7* occurs most frequently on verbs, as seen above in (642), and the negative particle *jaantu ~ tuu*, as seen below in (643a). When *ka7* cliticizes to the negative particle, it means ‘did not yet V’ or ‘still did not V’. The clitic *+ka7* occurs much less frequently on nouns, shown in (643b), and adjectives, shown in (643c).

(643)a. porque tuu**ka7** xta7aqpaaX
 porque tuu+**ka7** x-ta-7aqpaaX
 because NEG+**JST** PAST-3PL.sub-baptize(IMPfV)
 ‘because they still didn’t baptize.’ [T0059: 004]

b. nii mati**ka7** 7ixjuuniita saantaaw
 nii mati7+**ka7** 7ix-jun-niita saantaaw
 COMP none+**JST** PAST-be-PF money
 ‘because there was barely any money.’ [T0069: 396]

c. juu waa lakt’ikt’i**ka7** juu waakax
 juu waa lakt’ikt’i+**ka7** juu waakax
 REL FOC small+**JST** ART cow
 ‘The cows that are still small’ [T0020: 008]

The clitic *+ka7* attracts primary stress because it ends in a sonorant consonant.¹⁸¹ When it cliticizes to a host, the stress pattern of the host changes so that the primary stress falls on the final syllable, as seen in the examples in (644).

¹⁸¹ Please see Chapter 2, section 2.5 on stress assignment.

- (644) a. 7àtziiká7
 7atzí7 +ka7
 girl+JST
 ‘unmarried (young) woman’ [TPWDB]
- b. tz’alhká7
 tz’ál +ka7
 boy+JST
 ‘unmarried (young) man’ [TPWDB]
- c. milhká7
 mílh +ka7
 min-li+ka7
 come-PFV-JST
 ‘He just arrived.’ [ELIEX2: 053]
- d. xàkmaqsqòliyká7
 xakmàqsqolíy +ka7
 xa-k-maq-sqoli-y+ka7
 PAST-1SUB-CAUS-whistle-IMPV+JST
 ‘I still played [music]’. [T0054: 052]

6.4.4 Quantifiers as Adverbs

A quantifier may act as an adverb in Tepehua. The most commonly occurring adverbial quantifiers are *lakatz’unin* ‘few, a little’ and *lhuu* ‘many, a lot’; examples are shown below in (645) and (646), respectively. Though these two adverbial quantifiers perform the same function in the clause, they occur in different locations within the clause: *lakatz’unin* occurs clause-finally, while *lhuu* occurs immediately before the verb. In the English free translations of several of these clauses—(646a) and (646c), in particular—“many” acts as an adjective modifying a noun; however, in the HT clauses, *lhuu* is separated from the nouns and occurs in an adverbial position within the clauses.

- (645) a. 7anu7 p'in juu 7ulh **lakatz'unin**
 7anu7 p'in juu 7u-li **lakatz'unin**
 that salsa REL eat-PFV **a.little**
 'She ate a little of that salsa.'
 Literally: 'That salsa, of which she ate a little.' [T0069: 229]
- b. 7akxp'it7ach **lakatz'unin**
 7a-k-xp'it-7a+ch **lakatz'unin**
 IRR-1SUB-sand-IMPV+ALD **a.little**
 'I'm going to sand it a little.' [T0069: 076]
- (646) a. 7alilh laqatam 7aqmuxtuti
 7alin-li laqa-tam 7aqmuxtuti
 there.is-PFV CL:general-one flood
- nii naa **lhuu** xalhii7an juu chaqa7
 nii naa **lhuu** xa-lhii7an juu chaqa7
 COMP EMP **many** PAST-carry(IMPV) ART house
 'There was a flood that carried away many houses.' [T0018: 002-3]
- b. maa naa naa **lhuu** niilh
 maa naa naa **lhuu** nii-li
 RPT EMP EMP **many** die-PFV
- juu lapanak juu 7aksniich
 juu lapanak juu 7aksnii+ch
 ART person ART then+ALD
 'Many people died then.' [T0057: 020]
- c. entonces juu 7aksniich maa
 entonces juu 7aksnii+ch maa
 then ART when+ALD RPT
- naa **lhuu** 7aqxixta maa
 naa **lhuu** 7aqx-xix-ta maa
 EMP **much** FLAT-dry.up-PF RPT
 'Then when the river dried up, . . . ' [T0058: 012]

When a classified numeral behaves as an adverbial quantifier, it occurs either before the verb, as seen below in (647), or it occurs at the end of the clause, as seen below in (648).

- (647) a. **7aqt'utuch** xaktapasay juu chunch
7aq-t'utu+ch xa-k-tapasa-y juu chun+ch
CL:times-three+ALD PAST-1SUB-pass-IMPV ART thus+ALD
 'I passed it like this three times.' [MNB15: 43]
- b. **paqt'utuch** xaktzantiilay
paq-t'utu+ch xa-k-tzantiila-y
CL:trips-three+ALD PAST-1SUB-slip-IMPV
 'I slipped three times.' [MNB15: 43]
- (648) maalach'ap'ay juu 7alhik **puu7aqt'uy**
 maa-lach'ap'a-y juu 7alhik puu-7aqt-t'uy
 CAUS-glug-IMPV ART paper INST-CL:flat-two
 'He glues the paper in two places.' [MNB13: 96]

6.5 DERIVED DIRECTIONAL ADVERBS (APPLICATIVE *lhii-*)

The applicative prefix *lhii-* may affix to a lexical adverb or adjective, in addition to nouns and verbs. When prefixed to an adverb or adjective, it derives a adverb with a directional meaning, as seen in the examples in (649) and (650). In the examples in (649a) and (649b), *lhii-* is prefixed onto the lexical locative adverbs *7ani7* 'here' and *7uwiint'i* 'there', respectively, resulting in derived adverbs with the meanings 'around here' and 'over there'.

- (649) a. juu **lhii7aniich**
 juu **lhii-7ani7+ch**
 ART APPL-here+ALD
 'around here' [T0054: 054]
- b. **lhii7uwiint'i7as**
lhii-7uwiinti+7as
APPL-there+TAGQ
 'Over there, right?' [T0066: 029]

In the example in (650), *lhii-* is prefixed to the adjective *maqaqay* ‘wide’, creating the adverb *lhiimaqaqay*, which roughly means ‘width-wise’ or ‘in the direction of the width’.

(650)	kaa	laay	ʔatamaknuunilh	waa	chunch	lhii maqaqay
	kaa	laa-y	ʔa-tamaknuu-ni-li	waa	chun+ch	lhii -maqaqay
	BLV	can-IMPV	IRR-insert-DAT-PFV	FOC	like.so+ALD	APPL -wide
	‘I think it could go in this way, width-wise.’					[T0069: 098]

Finally, the prefixation of *lhii-* to the third person singular pronoun *yuuch* derives the adverb *lhiiyuuch* ‘therefore’, as seen below in (651). This adverb is most likely lexicalized.

(651)	lhii yuuch	
	lhii -yuuch	
	APPL -PRN.3SG	
	‘therefore’, ‘that is why’	[T0003: 022]

6.6 PREPOSITIONS

There are only two prepositions in HT *laka-*, which expresses locative and comitative relationships (section 6.6.1), and *tuus*, which expresses relationships of extent (section 6.6.2). Other prepositional-like relationships are expressed by relational nouns in HT.¹⁸²

6.6.1 Locative/Comitative *laka-*

The HT prepositional prefix *laka-* affixes to a head noun and marks locative and comitative noun phrases; examples appear below in (652). If the head noun is definite, the definite article *juu* precedes the preposition. In the following examples, the prepositional phrase is enclosed in brackets, and the preposition

¹⁸² Please see Chapter 4, Section 4.4 for more information on the relational nouns.

- e. waa xtalhii7anch
waa x-ta-lhii7an+ch
FOC PAST-3PL.SUB-take(IMPFV)+ALD
- [juu **lak**awaylii]_{pp} juu 7atzi7
juu **laka**-waylii juu 7atzi7
ART **PREP**-dance ART girl
‘They would take the girl to the dance(s).’ [T0063: 021]
- f. [**lakak**'aatanch]_{pp} xtalhii7anch
laka-k'aata-n+ch x-ta-lhii7an+ch
PREP-party-PL+ALD PAST-3PL.SUB-take(IMPFV)+ALD
‘They would take her to parties.’ [T0063: 023]
- g. lhkutach juu puulhkuy juu **laq**achaqa7
lhku-ta+ch juu puulhkuy juu **laka**-chaqa7
burn-PF+ALD ART light ART **PREP**-house
‘The light is lit in the house.’ [ELIEX4: 081]
- h. [**lakap**'inkin]_{pp} laaqoxikan
laka-p'inkin laaqoxi-kan
PREP-alcohol prepare-INS(IMPFV)
‘They make it with alcohol.’ [T009: 008]
- i. tzukulh trawajalana7 [juu **laka**ropa]_{pp}
tzuku-li trawajala-nV7 juu **laka**-ropa
begin-PFV work-INF ART **PREP**-clothing
‘He began to work with/in clothing.’ [T0054: 022]

When the preposition *laka-* affixes to a possessed nominal, it is truncated to *la-* and it precedes the possessive prefix, as seen in the examples below in (653).

- (653)a. juu **lax**kuchiiluu
juu **laka**-x-kuchiiluu
ART **PREP**-3POS-knife
‘with her knife.’ [ELIEX3: 011]

- b. juu **lak**ilaqachaqaan
 juu **laka**-kin-laqachaqaan
 ART **PREP**-1POS-town
 ‘in my town’ [T0003: 013]
- c. juu **lak**impututunti
 juu **laka**-kin-pututu-nti
 ART **PREP**-1POS-round-NOM2
 ‘on my ball’ [MNB13: 97]
- d. juu **lax**lakaytat laqachaqaan
 juu **laka**-x-lakaytat laqachaqaan
 ART **PREP**-3POS-center town
 ‘in the center of town’ [T0055: 021]
- e. juu **lax**lakaytat qay k’iwin
 juu **laka**-x-lakaytat qay k’iw-in
 ART **PREP**-3POS-center big tree-PL
 ‘in the middle of the woods’ [T0055: 051]

When the preposition *laka-* precedes a human proper name, it is truncated to *lak-*, as seen in (654). It does not truncate to *lak-* when it precedes a place name, as seen in the example above in (652b).

- (654)a. 7aksnii maqalhtajuu **lak**don Juaquin juu t’uun
 7aksnii maqalhtajuu **laka**-don Juaquin juu t’uun
 when fall.down(PFV) **PREP**-mister Juaquin ART earth
 ‘When the land came down at Don Juaquin’s [place].’ [T0058: 006]
- b. waa **lak**José Pollo
 waa **laka**- José Pollo
 FOC **PREP**- José Pollo
 ‘[I was] at José Pollo’s [place].’ [T0066: 024]

Two prepositions may occur in the same clause, as seen below in the examples in (655).

(655) a. ch'ixt'aqlich juu lapanak
 ch'i=xt'aq-li+ch juu lapanak
 tie=cover-PFV+ALD ART person

laxchaqa7 juu **lakalaasuu**
laka-x-chaqa7 juu **laka-laasuu**
PREP-3POS-house ART **PREP-rope**
 'The person tied up his house with rope.' [ELIEX1: 108]

b. maa x7alhtanant'ajun juu **laxtaanqaa**
 maa x-7alhtanan-t'ajun juu **laka-x-taanqaa**
 RPT PAST-walk-AMB(IMPFV) ART **PREP-3POS-bottom**

juu **lakilakakapenan**
 juu **laka-ki-lakakapen-an**
 ART **PREP-1POS-coffee.field-PL**
 'He would go walking around down below in my coffee fields.' [T0022: 029]

There are PREP-N combinations that have been lexicalized, as seen in the following examples in (656). This is not an exhaustive list of lexicalizations formed on *laka-*.

- (656) a. lakakuuxtu
 laka-kuuxtu
 PREP-corn
 'cornfield'
- b. lakakapen
 laka-kapen
 PREP-coffee
 'coffee field'
- c. lakak'iwin
 laka-k'iw-in
 PREP-wood-PL
 'forest'
- d. lakamunutpa7
 laka-munutpa7
 PREP-XXX
 'world'

- e. lakxkaan
laka-xkaan
PREP-water
'river', 'pond'
- f. laktalhpa
laka-talhpa
PREP-hill
'mountain'

Note that the possessive prefix *precedes* the lexicalized form, as seen above in the second prepositional phrase in (655b), repeated below in (655b'). In this prepositional phrase, the preposition occurs twice: the truncated form *la-* precedes the possessive prefix *ki-*, which in turn precedes the lexicalized PREP-N form *lakakapen* 'coffee field'.

(655b') juu lakil**lakakapen**an
juu laka-ki-**lakakapen**-an
ART PREP-1POS-**coffee.field**-PL
'in my coffee fields.' [T0022: 029]

6.6.2 Extent *tuus*

The preposition *tuus* is translated as English 'until' or 'up to' and Spanish 'hasta', as seen below in the examples in (657). Watters (1988) named this the "extent" preposition because it "marks its complement as the spatial or temporal extent of the state or event" (p. 478). Also, according to Watters, *tuus* differs from the preposition *laka-*, in that *tuus* is not a clitic, and it precedes its entire complement noun phrase, including articles and demonstratives. However, the only examples of *tuus* found in my Huehuetla Tepehua database occur before *chaway* 'now, today' (657a) and *7ani7* 'here' (657b), both of which act a nouns

rather than adverbs in these examples, and both of which are the sole members of their respective noun phrases. Thus, I have no evidence regarding the position of *tuus* within a larger noun phrase.

- (657) a. [tuus chaway]_{PP} jaantuch talhaway juu xqatii
 tuus chaway jaantu+ch talhawa-y juu xqatii
 PREP today NEG+ALD flood-IMPFV ART creek
 ‘Up till now [until today], the creek does not flood.’ [T0058: 057-58]
- b. [tuus 7ani7]_{PP} maalach'apakan juu serrote
 tuus 7ani7 maa-lach'apa-kan juu serrote
 PREP here CAUS-hit-INS(IMPFV) ART saw
 ‘The saw hits it up to here.’ [T0069: 139]

Chapter 7: Numbers

Topics covered in this chapter include cardinal and ordinal numbers (sections 7.1 and 7.2, respectively), numeral classifiers and body parts used as classifiers (section 7.3), numeral inflection (section 7.4), and methods of counting units of days (section 7.5).

7.1 CARDINAL NUMBERS

The Huehuetla Tepehua numeral system is vigesimal (i.e., it is based on the number twenty). A list of HT numbers from one to 111 appears in Table 24. Primary stress falls on the final syllable of the word unless marked otherwise. The numbers one through 39 are bound stems and cannot occur without a numeral classifier.¹⁸³ Numbers greater than 39 may appear without a classifier, at least in the exercise of counting. At the time of my fieldwork (1999-2001), most Tepehua speakers could count from one to ten in HT, but almost no one could count higher than ten. There is evidence (Bower 1948) that HT speakers used to be able to count at least to 1000, but no one that I met more than 50 years later was able to count above 111. In fact, I met only two men who could consistently count higher than ten; they both have since passed away. Fluent speakers use the HT numbers one through five daily, and they use Spanish borrowings for numbers greater than five. I never heard anyone use a number greater than ten except during elicitation tasks.

¹⁸³ See section 7.3 for information on the numeral classifiers.

Table 24: HT Numerals 1-111

1	tam	57	t'u-p'uuxam-kaw-tujun two-twenty-ten-seven
2	t'uy	58	t'u-p'uuxam-kaw-tzajin two-twenty-ten-eight
3	t'utu	59	t'u-p'uuxam-kaw-najatz two-twenty-ten-nine
4	t'ati	60	t'utum-p'uuxam three-twenty
5	kiis	61	t'utum-p'uuxam-tam three-twenty-one
6	chaaxan	62	t'utum-p'uuxam-t'uy three-twenty-two
7	tujun	63	t'utum-p'uuxam-t'utu three-twenty-three
8	tzajin	64	t'utum-p'uuxam-t'ati three-twenty-four
9	najátz	65	t'utum-p'uuxam-kiis three-twenty-five
10	kaw	66	t'utum-p'uuxam-chaaxan three-twenty-six
11	kaw-tam ten-one	67	t'utum-p'uuxam-tujun three-twenty-seven
12	kaw-t'uy ten-two	68	t'utum-p'uuxam-tzajin three-twenty-eight
13	kaw-t'utu ten-three	69	t'utum-p'uuxam-najatz three-twenty-nine
14	kaw-t'ati ten-four	70	t'utum-p'uuxam-kaw three-twenty-ten
15	kaw-kiis ~ koo-kiis ten-five	71	t'utum-p'uuxam-kaw-tam three-twenty-ten-one
16	kaw-chaaxan ten-six	72	t'utum-p'uuxam-kaw-t'uy three-twenty-ten-two
17	kaw-tujun ten-seven	73	t'utum-p'uuxam-kaw-t'utu three-twenty-ten-three
18	kaw-tzajin ten-eight	74	t'utum-p'uuxam-kaw-t'ati three-twenty-ten-four
19	kaw-najátz ten-nine	75	t'utum-p'uuxam-kaw-kiis three-twenty-ten-five

20	p'uuxam
21	p'uuxam-tam twenty-one
22	p'uuxam-t'uy twenty-two
23	p'uuxam-t'utu twenty-three
24	p'uuxam-t'ati twenty-four
25	p'uuxam-kiis twenty-five
26	p'uuxam-chaaxan twenty-six
27	p'uuxam-tujun twenty-seven
28	p'uuxam-tzajin twenty-eight
29	p'uuxam-najátz twenty-nine
30	p'uuxam-kaw twenty-ten
31	p'uuxam-kaw-tam twenty-ten-one
32	p'uuxam-kaw-t'uy twenty-ten-two
33	p'uuxam-kaw-t'utu twenty-ten-three
34	p'uuxam-kaw-t'ati twenty-ten-four
35	p'uuxam-kaw-kiis twenty-ten-five
36	p'uuxam-kaw-chaaxan twenty-ten-six
37	p'uuxam-kaw-tujun twenty-ten-seven
38	p'uuxam-kaw-tzajin twenty-ten-eight
39	p'uuxam-kaw-najátz twenty-ten-nine

76	t'utum-p'uuxam-kaw-chaaxan three-twenty-ten-six
77	t'utum-p'uuxam-kaw-tujun three-twenty-ten-seven
78	t'utum-p'uuxam-kaw-tzajin three-twenty-ten-eight
79	t'utum-p'uuxam-kaw-najatz three-twenty-ten-nine
80	t'ati-p'uuxam four-twenty
81	t'ati-p'uuxam-tam four-twenty-one
82	t'ati-p'uuxam-t'uy four-twenty-two
83	t'ati-p'uuxam-t'utu four-twenty-three
84	t'ati-p'uuxam-t'ati four-twenty-four
85	t'ati-p'uuxam-kiis four-twenty-five
86	t'ati-p'uuxam-chaaxan four-twenty-six
87	t'ati-p'uuxam-tujun four-twenty-seven
88	t'ati-p'uuxam-tzajin four-twenty-eight
89	t'ati-p'uuxam-najatz four-twenty-nine
90	t'ati-p'uuxam-kaw four-twenty-ten
91	t'ati-p'uuxam-kaw-tam four-twenty-ten-one
92	t'ati-p'uuxam-kaw-t'uy four-twenty-ten-two
93	t'ati-p'uuxam-kaw-t'utu four-twenty-ten-three
94	t'ati-p'uuxam-kaw-t'ati four-twenty-ten-four
95	t'ati-p'uuxam-kaw-kiis four-twenty-ten-five

40	t'u-p'uuxam two-twenty
41	t'u-p'uuxam-tam two-twenty-one
42	t'u-p'uuxam-t'uy two-twenty-two
43	t'u-p'uuxam-t'utu two-twenty-three
44	t'u-p'uuxam-t'ati two-twenty-four
45	t'u-p'uuxam-kiis two-twenty-five
46	t'u-p'uuxam-chaaxan two-twenty-six
47	t'u-p'uuxam-tujun two-twenty-seven
48	t'u-p'uuxam-tzajin two-twenty-eight
49	t'u-p'uuxam-najatz two-twenty-nine
50	t'u-p'uuxam-kaw two-twenty-ten
51	t'u-p'uuxam-kaw-tam two-twenty-ten-one
52	t'u-p'uuxam-kaw-t'uy two-twenty-ten-two
53	t'u-p'uuxam-kaw-t'utu two-twenty-ten-three
54	t'u-p'uuxam-kaw-t'ati two-twenty-ten-four
55	t'u-p'uuxam-kaw-kiis two-twenty-ten-five
56	t'u-p'uuxam-kaw-chaaxan two-twenty-ten-six

96	t'ati-p'uuxam-kaw-chaaxan four-twenty-ten-six
97	t'ati-p'uuxam-kaw-tujun four-twenty-ten-seven
98	t'ati-p'uuxam-kaw-tzajin four-twenty-ten-eight
99	t'ati-p'uuxam-kaw-najatz four-twenty-ten-nine
100	kiis-p'uuxam five-twenty
101	kiis-p'uuxam-tam five-twenty-one
102	kiis-p'uuxam-t'uy five-twenty-two
103	kiis-p'uuxam-t'utu five-twenty-three
104	kiis-p'uuxam-t'ati five-twenty-four
105	kiis-p'uuxam-kiis five-twenty-five
106	kiis-p'uuxam-chaaxan five-twenty-six
107	kiis-p'uuxam-tujun five-twenty-seven
108	kiis-p'uuxam-tzajin five-twenty-eight
109	kiis-p'uuxam-najatz five-twenty-nine
110	kiis-p'uuxam-kaw five-twenty-ten
111	kiis-p'uuxam-kaw-tam five-twenty-ten-one

Numbers may precede and modify a noun, as seen below in (658); they may stand alone as an anaphoric expression, as seen in (659); or they may stand alone as a complete predicate, as seen below in (660). In the first example, the number *pumatam* ‘one’ modifies the noun *lapanak* ‘person’.

(658) [juu **pumatam** lapának] niilh
 juu puma-tam lapanak nii-li
 ART CL:human-one person die-PFV
 ‘One person died.’ [T0009: 001]

In example (659), the number *laqat'uy* ‘two’ stands alone as the object of the verb, and it anaphorically refers to the beer that was mentioned earlier in the discourse.

(659) qotlich **laqat'uy**
 qot-li+ch laqa-t'uy
 drink-PFV+ALD CL:general-two
 ‘I drank two (beers).’ [T0066: 055]

In the present tense, a number can stand alone as a complete predicate, as seen in (660a). This example bears nominal morphology: *x-* ‘third person possessor’ and *-7an* ‘plural possessor’, indicating that it is a predicate nominal.¹⁸⁴ The third person and plural possessive morphology co-index the argument of the predicate. As in other HT predicate nominal constructions, a copula is used for past tense constructions, as seen in (660b).

(660) a. xpumat'utu7an
 x-puma-t'utu-7an
 3POS-CL:human-three-PL.POS
 ‘they are three (people)’
 ‘there are three of them’ [T0063: Notes, p. 1]

b. xpumat'utu7an xtajuuniita
 x-puma-t'utu-7an x-ta-jun-niita
 3POS-CL:human-three-PL.POS PAST-3PL.SUB-be-PF
 ‘They were three (people).’
 ‘There were three of them.’ [Q7]

¹⁸⁴ For more information on predicate nominals and predicate adjectives, see Chapter 3, section 3.3.3.

does not occur, this stem can be used only to enumerate humans. Though the expected form—*pumat'uy*—is accepted during elicitation tasks (see (663d) below), it does not appear in naturally occurring speech.

(663) a. *xt'iyun7an*
x-t'iyun-7an
 3POS-two-PL.POS
 ‘They are two people.’
 ‘There are two of them.’ [T0063: Notes, p. 1]

b. *xt'iyun7an* *xtajuuniita*
x-t'iyun-7an *x-ta-jun-niita*
 3POS-two-PL.POS PAST-3PL.SUB-be-PF
 ‘They were two people.’
 ‘There were two of them.’ [Q7]

c. *juu 7anu7 xt'iyun7an lapanak*
juu 7anu7 x-t'iyun-7an lapanak
 ART that PAST-two-PL.POS people

waa xta7asaan
waa x-ta-7asaan
 FOC PAST-3PL.SUB-play.instrument(IMPV)
 ‘Those two people played instruments.’ [T0063: 004]

d. *kimpumat'uy7an*
kim-puma-t'uy-7an
 1POS-CL:human-two-PL.POS
 ‘We are two people.’
 ‘There are two of us.’ [Q7]

7.2 ORDINAL NUMBERS

Ordinal numbers are quite difficult to elicit because they are not used very often (maybe not at all), and most people do not know them. Ordinal numbers other than ‘first’ are morphologically formed on classified numbers, as seen below in (664). The human classifier *puma-* is used in the (a) example, and

this number can refer only to human entities. The general classifier *laqa-* is used in the (b) example, and this number can refer to all entities, including humans.

(664) a. x^hhiipumat'uych
 x-lhii-**puma**-t'uy+ch
 3POS-APPL-CL:**human**-two+ALD
 'second (person)'

b. x^hhiilaqat'uych
 x-lhii-**laqa**-t'uy+ch
 3POS-APPL-CL:**general**-two+ALD
 'second'

[Q7]

The morphological pattern shown in (664) is used to derive the ordinal numbers 'second' through 'tenth'. I did not find an HT speaker who could form ordinal numbers higher than 'tenth', so I do not know if this pattern can be used to derive higher ordinals. A list of the HT ordinal numerals 'second' through 'tenth', formed with the general classifier *laqa-*, appears in (665). All of these derived ordinal numbers may be used both adjectivally and adverbially, as seen in examples (666) and (667) below.

(665) a.	x ^h hiilaqat'uych	'second'
b.	x ^h hiilaqat'utuch	'third'
c.	x ^h hiilaqat'atich	'fourth'
d.	x ^h liilaqakiisch	'fifth'
e.	x ^h hiilaqachaxaanch	'sixth'
f.	x ^h hiilaqatajuunch	'seventh'
g.	x ^h hiilaqatz'ajinch	'eighth'
h.	x ^h hiilaqanajatzich	'ninth'
i.	x ^h hiilaqakawch	'tenth'

In the following examples in (666), the ordinal number is used as an adjective modifying the noun *ki7asqat'a* 'my child' in a predicate nominal construction.

- (666)a. juu yuuch waa **xlhiilaqat'uych** ki7asqat'a
 juu yuuch waa x-lhii-laqa-t'uy+ch ki-7asqat'a
 ART 3PRN.SG FOC 3POS-APPL-CL:general-two+ALD 1POS-child
 'S/he is my second child.'
- b. juu yuuch waa **xlhiilaqat'utuch** ki7asqat'a
 juu yuuch waa x-lhii-laqa-t'utu+ch ki-7asqat'a
 ART 3PRN.SG FOC 3POS-APPL-CL:general-three+ALD 1POS-child
 'S/he is my third child.' [Q7]

The ordinal number is used as an adverb in the examples in (667).

- (667)a. juu yuuch **xlhiipumat'uych** xachiiwinin
 juu yuuch x-lhii-puma-t'uy+ch xa-chiiwinin
 ART 3PRN.SG 3POS-APPL-CL:human-two+ALD PAST-speak(IMPV)
 'S/he spoke second.'
- b. juu yuuch **xlhiipumat'utuch** xachiiwinin
 juu yuuch x-lhii-puma-t'utu+ch xa-chiiwinin
 ART 3PRN.SG 3POS-APPL-CL:human-three+ALD PAST-speak(IMPV)
 'S/he spoke third.' [Q7]

The concept of 'first' in HT is expressed by means of three different words: the derived form *laqatamka7* may be used only adjectivally, while the lexical forms *p'ulhnan* and *laqasii* may be used only adverbially. Below in example (668), *laqatamka7* 'first (ADJ)' is used in the (a) example in which the ordinal number behaves as an adjective modifying the noun *ki7asqat'a* 'my child' in a predicate nominal construction. Note that there is no form meaning 'first' that is derived using the morphological template shown above in (664) and (665) that is used for the other ordinal numbers. The lexical form *p'ulhnan* 'first (ADV)' is used adverbially in the (b) example in (668).

- (668)a. juu yuuch waa **laqatamka7** ki7asqat'a
 juu yuuch waa laqa-tam-ka7 ki-7asqat'a
 ART 3PRN.SG FOC CL:general-one-JST 1POS-child
 'S/he is my first child.' [Q7]

- b. juu yuuch **p'ulhnan** xachiiwinin
 juu yuuch p'ulhnan xa-chiiwinin
 ART 3PRN.SG first PAST-speak(IMPFV)
 'S/he spoke first.' [Q7]

Though the adjectival form *laqatamka7* is derived (and easily analyzed), this form is lexicalized and the process that derived it is not a productive one in HT. Its morpheme breakdown is shown in (668a). Note that this morphological pattern is quite different from the pattern exemplified by the other derived ordinal numbers, shown above in (664); however both patterns include a numeral classifier and a cardinal number.

The two adverbial lexemes, *p'ulhnan* and *laqasii*, differ slightly in meaning: *p'ulhnan* can mean 'first' (669a), 'at first' (669b), and 'before' (669c), while *laqasii* can mean only 'first', shown in (670).

- (669)a. too waa kintalhiijuunilh **p'ulhnan**
 too waa kin-ta-lhiijun-ni-li **p'ulhnan**
 NEG FOC 1OBJ-3PL.SUB-order-DAT-PFV first
 'No, they ordered (drinks) for me first.' [T0066: 052]

- b. juu **p'ulhnan** tuulay 7ixchiwinin
 juu **p'ulhnan** tuu+la-y 7ix-chiwin-nVn
 ART first NEG-can-IMPFV PAST-speak-PL.INF

juu maqalhqama7 juu lhiilaawaan naa qox
 juu maqalhqama7 juu lhii-laawaan naa qox
 ART Tepehua ART APPL-Spanish EMP well
 'Before (at first), the Tepehua could not speak Spanish very well.'
 [T0057: 092]

- c. jaantuch chun tachu **p'ulhnan**
 jaantu+ch chun tachu **p'ulhnan**
 NEG+ALD thus like first
 'It's not like it was before.' [T0059: 036]

- (670) a. **laqasii** 7anu7 7anawii'tich juu wayti
laqasii 7anu7 7a-nawii-t'i+ch juu wayti
 first um PL-make-2SG.SUB.PFV+ALD ART food
 'First, um, make the food.' [T0066: 245]
- b. **laqasii** nawiiy
laqasii nawii-y
 first make-IMPFV
 'He does it first.' [ELIEX3: 060]

7.3 NUMERAL CLASSIFIERS

Huehuetla Tepehua has a rich system of numeral classifiers; however, today the numeral classification system is falling into disuse, with more and more HT speakers using only the two most common classifiers: the general classifier *laqa-* and the human classifier *puma-*. The HT classifier system is prototypical (Aikhenvald 2000) in many respects: a classifier forms a constituent with a number or quantifier, and it serves to categorize the entity or action that the number or quantifier modifies according to its shape, humanness, or some other criteria; there is a 'generic' classifier that can be used instead of a more specific one; there is no obligatory plural agreement marking on nouns or verbs; and there are both sortal and mensurative classifiers.

In the exercise of counting, HT classifiers are obligatory on the numbers one through 39, and they are optional beginning with the number 40. According to Aikhenvald (2000), it is quite common for numeral classifier to be used obligatorily with "small" numbers and optionally with "larger" numbers (p. 100). Given that only the native HT numbers one through five occur in my field recordings, I am unable to determine if the classifiers are obligatory on numbers greater than five in contexts *other* than counting.

The HT numeral classifier system has been described previously by Bower (1948); however, I found the meanings associated with many of the classifiers to be slightly different than those given in Bower 1948. Additionally, I found several classifiers that Bower did not mention.¹⁸⁵ I suspect that the numeral classifier system was once larger and more productive than either Bower or I found it to be. The classifiers and their usage are presented in section 7.3.1 and the use of body part prefixes as classifiers is discussed in section 7.3.2.

7.3.1 Numeral Classifiers and Their Usage

The semantics and typology of the HT numeral classifier system is presented in section 7.3.1.1, the syntactic behavior of the classifiers is discussed in section 7.3.1.2, and the pragmatics of the use of classifiers is examined in 7.3.1.3.

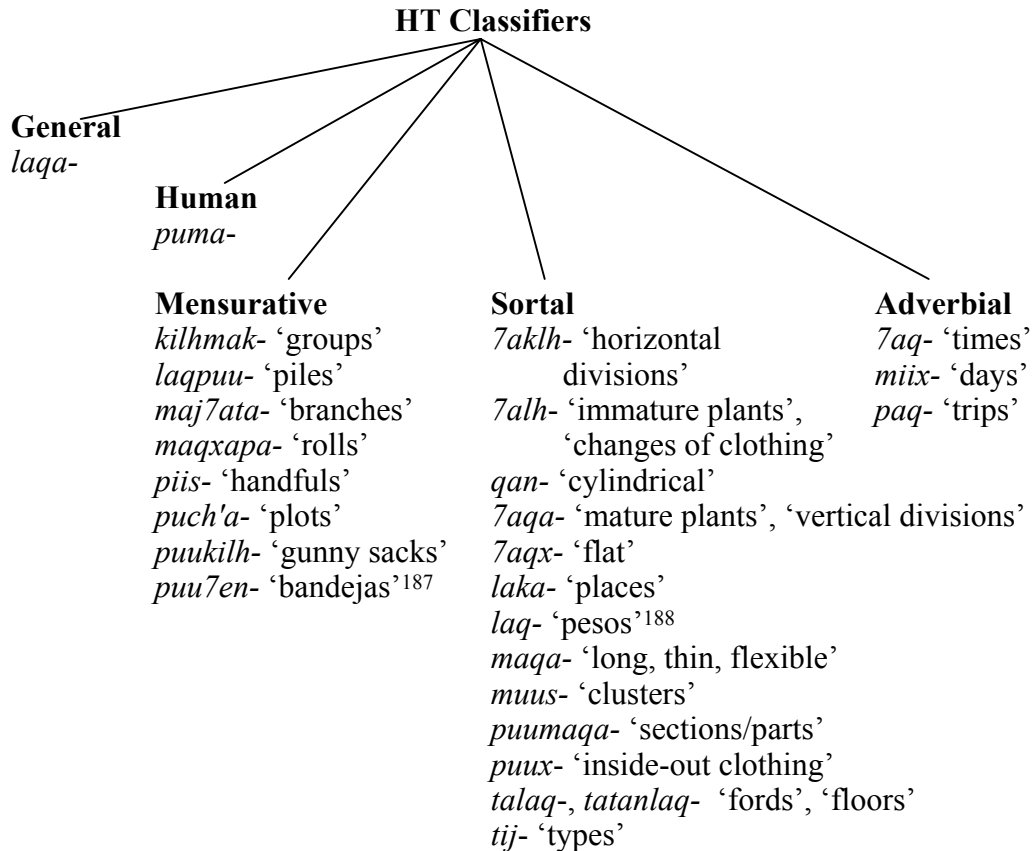
7.3.1.1 Semantics and Typology of Numeral Classifiers

Many researchers have made typologies of the classification of nouns, including Allan (1977), Aikhenvald (2000, 2004), and Grinevald (2000). I have not strictly adopted any one of these typologies, but rather I have been influenced by aspects of each of them in the categorization of the HT classifiers. The HT classifiers can be divided into five groups: (i) the general classifier *laqa-*, which can be used in place of any of the other classifiers; (ii) the human classifier *puma-*, which is the default classifier to use with any human entity; (iii) classifiers that measure entities (the Mensuratives); (iv) classifiers that sort entities based on their inherent characteristics (the Sortals); and (v) classifiers that function only

¹⁸⁵ Bower (1948) lists only nine distinct numeral classifiers, while I have found 26 (see Table 2).

adverbially (the Adverbials).¹⁸⁶ Figure 4 demonstrates the categorization of the classifiers. A complete, alphabetical list of the classifiers is given in Table 25.

Figure 4: Categorization of HT Numeral Classifiers



¹⁸⁶ The name ‘adverbial’ is somewhat misleading because it implies that the other classifiers do not function adverbially, which is not the case. Rather, these three classifiers function *only* adverbially, and not adjectivally or anaphorically.

¹⁸⁷ A *bandeja* is a unit of measure in Mexico that is used to weigh dry, pourable substances like coffee beans or black beans. It used to be a small, square box; today the box has been replaced by a large, oval-shaped tuna can that is believed to hold the same amount that the box did.

¹⁸⁸ The monetary unit of Mexico.

Table 25: HT Numeral Classifiers, Alphabetical Listing

Classifier	Gloss/Meaning	Categorization
7aklh-	horizontal division of N	Sortal
7alh-	immature plants or bushes; change(s) of clothing	Sortal
qan-	rigid, cylindrical N	Sortal
7aq-	number of times action of verb was performed	Adverbial
7aqa-	mature trees, bushes, plants; vertical division	Sortal
7aqx-	flat N	Sortal
kilhmak-	groups or teams of people	Mensurative
laka-	places	Sortal
laq-	pesos	Sortal
laqa-	general, all-purpose classifier that can be used in place of any other classifier	General
laqpuu-	piles of N (ADJ); places (ADV)	Mensurative
maj7ata-	branch, armful	Mensurative
maqa-	long, thin, flexible N	Sortal
maqxapa-	a roll of N	Mensurative
miix-	days	Adverbial
muus-	cluster, bunch	Sortal
paq-	number of trips made, completed outcome of verb	Adverbial
piis-	handfuls of N or bundles of N tied with string	Mensurative

puch'a-	plots or fields of N	Mensurative
puma-	human N	Human, Sortal
puukilh-	gunny sack, a measure of about 25 kg	Mensurative
puumaqa-	sections, parts, or pieces of a whole N	Sortal
puu7en-	pitcher-sized (bandeja, jicarada) container of N	Mensurative
puux-	inside-out articles of clothing	Sortal
talaq- ~ tantalaq-	floor, ford	Sortal
tij-	different types or classes of N	Sortal

What follows is a brief discussion—with examples—of each of the classifiers listed in Table 25.

The sortal classifier *7aklh-* refers to horizontal divisions or sections of a noun, as seen in the examples in (671). Bower (1948) transcribes this classifier as *k'aklh-* ‘pieces’ (p. 21). In the (a) and (b) examples, the classifier appears on a number; in the (c) example it appears on the quantifier *chuux* ‘how many’; and in the (d) example, it appears on the quantifier *lhuu* ‘many’.

- (671) a. **7aklht'uy** lht'aqálaak'iw
7aklh-t'uy lht'aqálaa-k'iw
CL:horizontal-two board-wood
‘two pieces of a board, cut horizontally’ [MNB15: 42]

- b. waa **7aklhtam** lapanak **7aklhtam** maqtili7
 waa **7aklh-tam** lapanak **7aklh-tam** maqtili7
 FOC **CL:horizontal**-one person **CL:horizontal**-one wild.animal
 ‘It is half human, half animal.’ [either the top half or the
 bottom half is human] [MNB16: 50]
- c. taas **7aklhchuuxch**
 taas **7aklh-chuux+ch**
 Q **CL:horizontal**-how.many+PUNT
- juu 7alin juu lht'aqalaak'iw?
 juu 7alin juu lht'aqalaa-k'iw
 REL there.are(IMPV) ART board-tree
 ‘How many pieces of board are there?’ [Q7]
- d. naa **7aklhuu** juu lht'aqalaak'iw
 naa **7aklh-lhuu** juu lht'aqalaa-k'iw
 EMP **CL:horizontal**-many ART board-tree
 ‘There are a lot of pieces of board.’ [Q7]

The sortal classifier *7alh-* refers to an immature plant or bush, as seen in (672), and it corresponds to Bower’s (1948) *galh-* [qaɬ-], “things that approximate a hill of growing things” (p. 21). This classifier has an antonym *7aqa-*, which refers to mature plants, as seen in the examples in (677). The example in (672e) demonstrates that the replacement of *7alh-* with the general classifier *laqa-* results in a change of meaning.

- (672)a. **7alhtam** jaak
7alh-tam jaak
CL:im.plant-one banana
 ‘one immature banana tree’ [MNB15: 30]
- b. **7alht'uy** kapén
7alh-t'uy kapén
CL:im.plant-two coffee
 ‘two immature coffee plants’ [MNB15: 30]

- (674) a. **qant'uy** k'iw
qan-t'uy k'iw
CL:cylinder-two tree
'two sticks'
- b. **qantam** jaak
qan-tam jaak
CL:cylinder-one banana
'one banana'
- c. **qankiis** makqeliilii
qan-kiis mak-qeliilii
CL:cylinder-five hand-digit
'five fingers' [MNB15: 29]

(675) maa talaxtaqnilhch juu xtaqanqat7an
maa ta-laxtaqni-li+ch juu x-taqanqat-7an
RPT 3PL.SUB-contract-PFV+ALD ART 3POS-illness-PL.POS

juu **qantam** **qantam** lapanak
juu **qan-tam** **qan-tam** lapanak
ART **CL:cylinder-one** **CL:cylinder-one** people
'The people, one-by-one, contracted the illness.' [T0057: 019]

The adverbial classifier *7aq-* refers to the number of times that the action of the verb was performed, though not necessarily completed (see *paq-* in examples (695) and (696)). Examples of *7aq-* are shown below in (676); this classifier does not appear in Bower 1948. In the (b), (c), and (d) examples, the classified number modifies the verb.¹⁸⁹

- (676) a. **7aqt'utu**
7aq-t'utu
CL:times-three
'three times', 'thrice' [MNB15: 43]

¹⁸⁹ The syntactic behavior of the classifiers is presented in more detail in section 7.3.1.2.

- d. naa **7aqal**huu juu 7alin juu jaak
naa **7aqa**-lhuu juu 7alin juu jaak
EMP **CL:mat.plant**-many REL there.is(IMPFV) ART banana
‘There are many mature banana trees.’ [Q7]

The classifier *7aqa-* can also indicate a vertical division, as seen in (678). This is most likely a semantic extension from its ‘mature tree’ reading, since most mature trees are vertical.

- (678) **7aklht**'uy lht'aqalaak'iw
7aklh-t'uy lht'aqalaa-k'iw
CL:vertical-two board-tree
‘two pieces of board, vertically cut from the same board’

The sortal classifier *7aqx-* refers to flat entities, as seen in the examples in (679) and (680). This classifier is homophonous with the body part prefix *7aqx-* meaning ‘shoulder’. The example in (679f) demonstrates that *7aqx-* cannot be used to count a non-flat noun. According to Bower (1948), the classifier *ʔagx-* [*ʔaqx-*] refers to “complete, separate things” (p. 21).

- (679)a. **7aqxt**'utu chiiwx
7aqx-t'utu chiiwx
CL:flat-three rock¹⁹⁰
‘three flat stones’ [MNB15: 40]
- b. **7aqxtam** 7alhik
7aqx-tam 7alhik
CL:flat -one paper
‘one piece of paper’ [MNB15: 31]
- c. **7aqxt**'utu lht'aqalaak'iw
7aqx-t'utu lht'aqalaa-k'iw
CL:flat-three board-wood
‘three boards’ [MNB15: 31]

¹⁹⁰ The word *chiiwx* refers to a stone or rock of any shape, but my consultant specifically said that he meant flat stones, like those used to make a walkway and that we know the stones referred to here are flat because of the classifier *7aqx-*.

- d. taas **7aqx**chuuxch juu 7alin juu 7alhik?
 taas **7aqx**-chuux+ch juu 7alin juu 7alhik
 Q **CL:flat**-how.many+ALD REL there.is(IMPV) ART paper
 ‘How many sheets of paper are there?’ [Q7]
- e. naa **7aqx**lhuu
 naa **7aqx**-lhuu
 EMP **CL:flat**-many
 ‘There are many.’ [Q7]
- f. ** 7aqxt’utu jaak
 7aqx-t’utu jaak
CL:flat-three banana
 (Intended reading: ‘three bananas’) [Q7]

In the example in (680), the classified number is prefixed with the locative prefix *puu-*, and it acts as an adverbial modifier.

- (680) maalach'ap'ay juu 7alhik puu**7aqxt**'uy
 maa-lach'ap'a-y juu 7alhik puu-**7aqx**-t'uy
 CAUS-glug-IMPV ART paper LOC-**CL:flat**-two
 ‘He glues 2 pieces of paper together.’
 [on top of each other or end to end] [MNB13: 96, Q7]

The mensurative classifier *kihlmak-* refers to groups or teams of people as seen in (681). Bower (1948) transcribes this classifier as *kiilhmaa-* (p. 21).

- (681)a. **kihlmakt**'uy
kihlmak-t'uy
CL:groups-two
 ‘two groups of people’, ‘two teams’ [MNB15: 30]
- b. **kihlmakt**'uy xataqamanan juu qamanti
kihlmak-t'uy xa-ta-qamanan juu qaman-ti
CL:groups-two PAST-PL.SUB-play(IMPV) ART play-NOM
 ‘Two teams would play the game.’ [Q7]

- c. **kilhmak**lhuu t'aku7
kilhmak-lhuu t'aku7
CL:groups-many woman
 'many groups of women.' [Q7]

The sortal classifier *laka-* refers to a 'place' or 'location', as shown in the examples in (682); it is cognate with the Totonac classifier *laka-*, which also means 'places' or 'areas' (Beck 2004: 27; Levy 2004: 280; McQuown 1990: 136). This classifier is homophonous with the HT locative prepositional prefix *laka-* (see Chapter 6, section 6.6.1). Bower (1948) does not include the classifier *laka*.¹⁹¹ Below in (682b) the classified number modifies the noun *laqachaqan* 'town', while in (682c), it modifies the verb *toolay* 'lives'.

- (682)a. **lakat'**uy
laka-t'uy
CL:places-two
 'two places', 'two locations' [MNB14: 23]
- b. **lakat'**uy laqachaqan wii
laka-t'uy laqachaqan wii
CL:places-two town seated(IMPV)
 'He lives in two towns.' [Q7]
- c. waa **lakatam lakatam toolay**
 waa **laka-tam laka-tam toola-y**
 FOC **CL:place**-one **CL:place**-one live-IMPV
 'He goes living in one place after another.' [MNB13: 12]

According to Bower (1948), the classifier *laq-*, was used only for counting pesos or reales, an older monetary unit that was still used by the Tepehua at the

¹⁹¹ The locative preposition in most of the Totonacan languages is *nak* (Beck 2004: 13; McQuown 1990: 125; Reid and Bishop 1974: 100) or *naka* (MacKay 1999: 435), but it is *laka-* in HT, *laka:* in Tlachichilco Tepehua (Watters 1988: 473), and [laka] in the Yecuatla dialect of Misantla Totonac (MacKay 1999: 435). The question is this: is the preposition *laka(a)* an innovation in these languages based on a Proto-Totonacan classifier *laka-*, or does the preposition *laka(a)* reflect the Proto-Totonacan locative preposition, while the Totonac *nak* is the innovation?

time that she published her article. More than 50 years later, I did not encounter any use of reales, but I did find the sortal classifier *laq-* to be used specifically to count pesos, as seen in the examples in (683).

- (683) a. **laqp'**úuxamkáw péexuu
laq-p'uuxam-kaw péexuu
CL:peso-twenty-ten peso
 'thirty pesos' [MNB15: 39]
- b. waa naa maa xtaqnikan **laqkiis** peexuu
 waa naa maa xtaq-ni-kan **laq-kiis** peexuu
 FOC EMP RPT give-DAT-INS(IMPV) **CL:peso**-five peso
 'Then they gave him five pesos.' [T0055: 043]

The classifier *laqa-*, shown in the examples in (684), (685), and (686), functions as a general classifier that can be used with any noun. It is the most commonly occurring classifier in my database, and it is the classifier that is normally used during the exercise of counting. Furthermore, *laqa-* (along with *puma-*, the human classifier) is one of the only two classifiers that is regularly used by younger speakers. Bower (1948) calls this classifier the “general prefix” (p. 20).

- (684) a. **laqat'**uy 7amaaxtaqnuuti
laqa-t'uy 7amaaxtaqnuuti
CL:general-two pile
 'two piles' [MNB15: 30]
- b. lhiitamawlh **laqatam** xlaqpuutanut
 lhii-tamaw-li **laqa-tam** x-laqpuutanut
 APPL-buy-PFV **CL:general**-one 3POS-mask
 'He bought himself a mask.' [T0055: 048]
- c. **laqat'**uy walhtiilaa kapen
laqa-t'uy walhtiilaa kapen
CL:general-two cuartillo coffee
 'two cuartillos of coffee' [MNB15: 30]

- d. **laqat'**uy maalhkiyu7
laqa-t'uy maalhkiyu7
CL:general-two month
 '(in) two months' [MNB15: 35]

The general classifier *laqa-* may be used with human entities, as seen in (685), even though there is a more specific human classifier *puma-* (see example (699) below).

- (685) a. **talaq**achuux lápanák
 ta-laqa-chuux lápanák
 3PL.SUB- **CL:general**-how.many people

 xtamin?
 x-ta-min
 PAST-3PL.SUB-come(IMPFV)
 'How many people would come?' [ELIEX1: 055]

- b. **laqat'**utu lápanák
 laqa-t'utu lápanák
CL:general-three people
 'three people' [Q7]

The general classifier *laqa-* may be used to classify other, non-human nouns for which a more specific classifier exists. For example, *laqa-* is used in (686a) even though *laq-* is the classifier that is used specifically for counting pesos (see examples (683) above), and *laqa-* is used in (686b) even though *qan-* is the classifier typically used with cylindrical nouns (see example (674) above).

- (686) a. **laqatam** peexuu
laqa-tam peexuu
CL:general-one peso
 'one peso' [MNB15: 30]

- b. **laqat'**utu jaak
laqa-t'utu jaak
CL:general-three banana
'three bananas' [Q7]

The mensurative classifier *laqpuu-* is homophonous with the body part prefix meaning 'face' or 'eye'. The classifier *laqpuu-* refers to a 'place' when it is used as an adverb, as seen in example (687a), but it refers to 'piles' of a noun when it is used as an adjective, as seen in example (687b).¹⁹²

- (687)a. tuulay waa **laqpuutam** xtoolay
tuu+la-y waa **laqpuu-tam** x-toola-y
NEG+can-IMPV FOC **CL:pile-one** PAST-stay-IMPV
'He could not stay (live) in one place.' [MNB13: 12]

- b. **laqpuut'**uy lhii7ut
laqpuu-t'uy lhii7ut
CL:pile-two fruit
'two piles of fruit' [Q7]

The mensurative classifier *maj7ata-* indicates a 'branch' or an 'armful' of a particular noun, as seen in the examples in (688).¹⁹³ Though the (b) example might lead one to believe that this is a sortal classifier, it is clear from the (a) example that it is actually mensurative. Comparison of the (c) example with the (b) example demonstrates how the meaning changes if the general classifier *laqa-* is used instead of *maj7ata-*.

¹⁹² See section 7.3.1.2 for more information on the syntactic behavior of the classified numerals.

¹⁹³ Given the phonological rule of velar spirantization before a uvular (see Chapter 2, section 2.4.5), I propose that this classifier was either **makqata-* or **makq'ata-* at an earlier stage (i.e., before the loss of the uvular stops).

- (688)a. lhii7iiych **maj7atatam** 7atz'in
 lhii7ii-y+ch **maj7ata-tam** 7atz'in
 take-IMPFV+ALD **CL:branch-one** tall.grass
 'He takes an armful of tall grass.'
- b. **maj7atat'uy** kapen
 maj7ata-t'uy kapen
 CL:branch-two coffee
 'two branches of (a) coffee (bush)' [Q7]
- c. **laqat'uy** kapen
 laqa-t'uy kapen
 CL:general-two coffee
 'two coffee beans' [Q7]

The sortal classifier *maq-* is used to categorize nouns that are long, thin, and flexible, such as snakes, rope, thread, hair, cables, intestines, worms, and the like. Examples are shown in (689). This classifier is not listed in Bower 1948.

- (689)a. **maqatam** xuunuuk
 maqa-tam xuunuuk
 CL:flexible-one rope
 'one rope'
- b. **maqatam** sijjunti
 maqa-tam sijjunti
 CL:flexible-one thread
 'one thread', 'one fiber'
- c. **maqat'uy** luw
 maqa-t'uy luw
 CL:flexible-two snake
 'two snakes'

The mensurative classifier *maqxapa-* refers to things that are rolled or bundled up, as seen in the examples in (690). This classifier is not mentioned in Bower 1948.

- (690) a. **maqxapatam** k'iw
maqxapa-tam k'iw
CL:roll-one tree
 'one roll of firewood'
- b. **maqxapat'uy** 7alhik
maqxapa-t'uy 7alhik
CL:roll-two paper
 'two rolls of paper'
- c. **maqxapat'uy** paatz'oqo
maqxapa-t'uy paatz'oqo
CL:roll-two pencil
 'two rolls of pencils'
- d. taas **maqxapachuuxch** juu puumpu7 juu 7alin?
 taas **maqxapa-chuux+ch** juu puumpu7 juu 7alin
 Q **CL:roll-how.many+ALD** ART clothing REL there.is(IMPFV)
 'How many rolls of clothing are there?'
- e. **maqxapat'uy** puumpu7
maqxapa-t'uy puumpu7
CL:roll-two clothing
 'Two rolls of clothing.' [Q7]

The adverbial classifier *miix-*, which Bower (1948) transcribes as *mix-*, is used for counting days. When used alone with a number, the resulting meaning is 'in X days', as seen in (691a). When combined with the temporal clitic *+ch(ich)*, the meaning is 'X days ago', as seen in (691b).

- (691) a. **miixkiís**
miix-kiis
CL:days-five
 'in five days'
- b. **miixkiíschich**
miix-kiis+chich
CL:days-five-+ALD
 'five days ago' [MNB15: 34]

My younger consultants (< 70 years old) would accept the use of *miix-* only with numbers that correspond to weeks for them, i.e., ‘seven days’ for ‘one week’ (692a) and ‘fifteen days’ for ‘two weeks’ (692b). They rejected the use of this classifier with other numbers, as seen in (692c), saying that this usage was strange, but that the meaning was understandable.

- (692) a. **miix**tujún
miix-tujun
CL:days-seven
‘in seven days’ ≈ ‘in one week’
- b. **miix**kookiis
miix-kaw-kiiis
CL:days-ten-five
‘in fifteen days’ ≈ ‘in two weeks’
- c. ?? **miix**kiís
miix-kiiis
CL:days-five
(Intended reading: ‘in five days’)
(Rejected by younger speakers; accepted by older speakers.)

Nevertheless, older speakers (> 70 years old) readily accepted *miix-* followed by any number except the number one (693b), presumably because the lexical items *lhi7* ‘tomorrow’ and *kutanch* ‘yesterday’ are used instead. For more information on counting days, see section 7.5.

- (693) a. **miix**t'uy (wilhchan)
miix-t'uy (wilhchan)
CL:days-two (day)
‘in two days’
(Rejected by younger speakers; accepted by older speakers.)

[MNB15: 34]

- b. ** **miixtam**
miix-tam
CL:days-one
(Intended reading: ‘in one day’) [MNB15: 35]

The sortal classifier *muus-* refers to ‘clusters’ or ‘bunches’ of fruit or flowers growing together, as seen in the examples in (694). This classifier is not mentioned in Bower 1948.

- (694) a. **muustam** jaak
muus-tam jaak
CL:cluster-one banana
‘one bunch of bananas’
- b. **muustati** kapen
muus-tati kapen
CL:cluster-four coffee
‘four clusters of coffee (beans)’ [Q7]

The adverbial classifier *paq-* refers to the number of completed trips or tasks indicated by the action of the verb, for example the number of trips someone makes to carry water (695), the number of times a fire was lit (696a), or the number of cleared plots of land (696b). Like the classifier *ʔaq-* in example (676), the classifier *paq-* behaves as an adverb, modifying a verb rather than a noun. These two classifiers are so similar, both phonologically and semantically, that it is possible that they are variants of each other. In fact, one speaker used them interchangeably and claimed that they were the same.

(695) a. **paqt'**utuch xalaay
paq-t'utu+ch xa-laa-y
CL:trips-three+ALD PAST-can-IMPFV

juu 7atzi7 juu 7ixkaan
juu 7atzi7 juu 7ix-xkaan
ART girl ART 3POS-water
‘The girl would make three water trips.’
‘The girl would get water three times.’

b. taas **paq**chuuxch xa7iiy
taas **paq-**chuux+ch xa-7ii-y
Q **CL:trips**-how.many+ALD PAST-bring-IMPFV

juu 7ixkaan juu 7atzi7
juu 7ix-xkaan juu 7atzi7
ART 3POS-water ART girl
‘How many water trips would the girl make?’
‘How many times would the girl bring water?’

c. naa **paql**huuch xalaay
naa **paq-**lhuu+ch xa-laa-y
EMP **CL:trips**-many+ALD PAST-can-IMPFV
‘She would make many trips.’

[Q7]

(696) a. **paqt'**utuch xaxaway juu jip
paq-t'utu+ch xa-xawa-y juu jip
CL:trips-three+ALD PAST-light-IMPFV Art fire
‘He would light the fire three times.’

[MNB15: 43]

b. juu lapanak **paqt'**uych xamaaxtuy
juu lapanak **paq-**t'uy+ch xa-maaxtu-y
ART person **CL:trips**-two+ALD PAST-take.out-IMPFV

juu xlhiiitay
juu x-lhiiitay
ART 3POS-plot
‘The man would clear two plots.’

[Q7]

The mensurative classifier *piis-* categorizes either a handful of loose entities (e.g., beans) or a handful of an entity that is bundled together and tied

it that I tried. The (c) and (e) examples show that *puch'a-* cannot be used with a lexical noun that refers specifically to a tree; instead it occurs with nouns that refer to a cultivated field or plot of land, as seen in the other examples in (698).

- (698) a. **púch'**at'úy lhiitáy
puch'a-t'uy lhiitay
CL:plot-two plot
 'two plots'
- b. **púch'**at'úy xalhiitáy 7aláxux
puch'a-t'uy xa-lhiitay 7aláxux
CL:plot-two IPOS-plot orange
 'two plots of orange trees'
- c. ** **púch'**at'úy 7aláxux
puch'a-t'uy 7aláxux
CL:plot-two orange
 (Intended reading: 'two plots of orange trees') [MNB15: 29]
- d. **puch'**at'uy xalhiitay k'iw
puch'a-t'uy xalhiitay k'iw
CL:plot-two IPOS-plot tree
 'two plots of trees'
- e. ** **puch'**at'uy k'iw
puch'a-t'uy k'iw
CL:plot-two tree
 (Intended reading: 'two plots of trees')
- f. **puch'**akiis xaawti
puch'a-kiis xaawti
CL:plot-five cornfield
 'five cornfields'
- g. taas **puch'**achuuxch xaawti juu 7alin?
 taas **puch'**a-chuux+ch xaawti juu 7alin
 Q **CL:plot-how.many+ALD** cornfield REL there.is(IMPFV)
 'How many cornfields are there?' [Q7]

The sortal, human classifier *puma-* is used only to count human entities, as seen in (699). It is the second most commonly occurring numeral classifier in my database, after the general classifier *laqa-*. According to Bower (1948), it can be used to count animals as well as humans; however, my consultants rejected the use of *puma-* with any noun that was not human, as seen in examples (699b) and (699c).

- (699) a. **púmat'**utu lápanák
puma-t'utu lápanák
CL:human-three people
'three people' [MNB15: 30]
- b. ** **pumat'**uy maqtili7
puma-t'uy maqtili7
CL:human-two wild.animal
(Intended reading: 'two wild animals') [Q7]
- c. ** **pumakiis** 7atapakxat
puma-kiiis 7atapakxat
CL:human-five animal
(Intended reading: 'five animals') [Q7]
- d. taas **pumachuux** lapanák katamina7?
taas **puma-chuux** lapanák ka-ta-min-a7
Q **CL:human-how.many** people IRR-PL.SUB-come-FUT
'How many people will come?' [Q7]
- e. naa **pumalhuu** katamina7
naa **puma-lhuu** ka-ta-min-a7
EMP **CL:human-many** IRR-PL.SUB-come-FUT
'Many people will come.' [Q7]

- f. taas **pumachuuxch** lapanak
 taas **puma-chuux+ch** lapanak
 Q **CL:human**-how.many person
- juu jaantu xatamin?
 juu jaantu xa-ta-min
 REL NEG PAST-PL.SUB-come(IMPV)
 ‘How many people would not come?’ [Q7]

The mensurative classifier *puukilh-* measures ‘arrobas’, a measure of about 25 kilograms that is typically measured using a gunny sack or burlap bag. Examples are shown in (700). The noun that is measured must be a pourable solid, which explains the ungrammaticality of (700d). This classifier can be analyzed as *puu-kilh* (LOC-mouth) ‘inside the mouth’ or ‘via the opening’. Bower 1948 does not list this classifier.

- (700)a. **puukilht'uy** t'uun
puukilh-t'uy t'uun
CL:sack-two dirt
 ‘two sacks (arrobas) of dirt’ [MNB15: 37]
- b. **puukilhkiis** kapen
puukilh-kiis kapen
CL:sack -five coffee
 ‘five sacks (arrobas) of coffee’ [MNB15: 36]
- c. **puukilhkiis** xaanti
puukilh-kiis xaanti
CL:sack -five flower
 ‘five sacks of (dried) flowers’ [MNB15: 37]
- d. ** **puukilhkiis** puumpu7
puukilh-kiis puumpu7
CL:sack -five clothing
 ‘five sacks of clothing’ [MNB15: 37]

The sortal classifier *puumaqa-* classifies parts or pieces of a whole noun, as seen below in (701). Bower (1948) specifies that *puumaga-* [pu:maqa-] refers

to “sections of a whole *round* noun” (p. 21).¹⁹⁴ However, example (701d) indicates that the noun does not have to be round. According to my consultants, the main criteria for the use of this classifier is that the parts come from the *same* whole.

- (701) a. **puumaqat'uy** xapawáti
puumaqa-t'uy xapawáti
CL:piece-two bread
‘two pieces of bread (from the same loaf)’ [MNB15: 30]
- b. **puumaqat'utu** jaak
puumaqa-t'utu jaak
CL:piece-three banana
‘three pieces of a banana’ [MNB15: 30]
- c. **puumaqakiis** 7aláxux
puumaqa-kíis 7aláxux
CL:piece-five orange
‘five sections of orange’ [MNB15: 30]
- d. **puumaqat'uy** lhtaqálaak'íw
puumaqa-t'uy lhtaqálaa-k'íw
CL:piece-two board-tree
‘two boards cut from the same original board’ [MNB15: 42]

The mensurative classifier *puu7en-* measures pourable solids, as seen in the examples in (702). It is semantically similar to *puukilh-*, shown in example (700), and some speakers used these two classifiers interchangeably. Bower (1948) says that *puug'in-* [pooq'in-] is “used for counting multiples of three cuartillas of corn” (p. 21). My consultants called the containers that correspond to *puu7en-* ‘bandejas’ and ‘jicaradas’, both of which are roughly the size of a half-gallon pitcher.

¹⁹⁴ Emphasis mine.

(702)a. **puu7entam** sakán
puu7en-tam sakán
CL:bandeja-one nixtamal
‘one bandeja of boiled corn’ [MNB15: 30]

b. **puu7enkiis** kapén
puu7en-kiis kapén
CL:bandeja-five coffee
‘five containers of coffee beans’ [MNB15: 38]

The sortal classifier *puux-* refers to articles of clothing that are turned inside-out, as see below in (703). Bower (1948) does not mention this classifier.

(703)a. **puuxt'uy**
puux-t'uy
CL:reversed-two
‘two articles of clothing inside-out’

b. **puuxt'uy** 7ay7uun
puux-t'uy 7ay7uun
CL:reversed-two traditional.pants
‘two pairs of inside-out pants’

c. **puuxt'uy** tuuch'iti
puux-t'uy tuuch'iti
CL:reversed-two traditional.skirt
‘two inside-out skirts’ [Q7]

The sortal classifier *talaq-* and its free variant *tántalaq-* categorize ‘floors’ or ‘levels’ of a building and ‘fords’ of a river, seen below in (704a). The presence of an overt noun clarifies the usage, as seen in (704b) and (704c). Comparison of the examples in (704) with those in (705) demonstrates that there is an extreme change in meaning if *talaq-* is replaced by the general classifier *laqa-*. The classifier *tantalaq-* has exactly the same meaning as *talaq-*, as seen in (706), and neither classifier is mentioned in Bower 1948.

- (704) a. **talaqt'uy**
talaq-t'uy
CL:floor/ford-two
'two fords (of a river)', 'two floors' [MNB13: 41]
- b. **talaqt'uy** xkaan
talaq-t'uy xkaan
CL:ford-two water
'two fords of a river' [Q7]
- c. **talaqt'uy** chaqa7
talaq-t'uy chaqa7
CL:floor-two house
'two-story house' [Q7]
- (705) a. **laqat'uy** xkaan
laqa-t'uy xkaan
CL:general-two water
'two rivers', 'two bodies of water' [Q7]
- b. **laqat'uy** chaqa7
laqa-t'uy chaqa7
CL:general-two house
'two houses'
- (706) a. **tantalaqt'uy** xkaan
tantalaq-t'uy xkaan
CL:ford-two water
'two fords of a river' [Q7]
- b. **tantalaqt'uy** chaqa7
tantalaq-t'uy chaqa7
CL:floor-two house
'two-story house' [Q7]

The sortal classifier *tij-* indicates that the classified nouns are of different types or classes, as seen in (707). Bower (1948) transcribes this classifier as *tiih-* and states that it is “used for things different from others as to color and class” (p. 21).

- (707) a. **tij**t'utu puumpú7
tij-t'utu puumpú7
CL:type-three clothing
'three (different) types of clothing' [MNB15: 29]
- b. **tij**t'úy 7atapákxat
tij-t'uy 7atapákxat
CL:type-two animal
'two types of animal' [MNB15: 29]
- c. **tij**t'úy xqooy
tij-t'uy xqooy
CL:type-two dog
'two types of dog' (can refer to breeds, sizes, colors, etc.) [Q7]
- d. taas **tij**chuuxch xqooy juu 7alin?
taas **tij**-chuux+ch xqooy juu 7alin
Q **CL:type-how.many+ALD** dog REL there.is(IMPFV)
'How many types of dog are there?' [Q7]
- e. naa **tij**lhuu xqooy
naa **tij**-lhuu xqooy
EMP **CL:type-many** dog
'[There are] many types of dog.' [Q7]

7.3.1.2 Morphosyntax of Numeral Classifiers

When a classifier categorizes its prototypical referent, the noun may be omitted, as seen in example (708), where both *pumat'uy lapanák* and *pumat'uy* mean 'two people'.

- (708) a. **puma**-t'uy lapanák
CL:human-two people
'two people'
- b. **puma**-t'uy
CL:human-two
'two people'

However when a classifier categorizes a noun that is not its prototype, omission of the noun results in a change in meaning, as seen in example (709), where *ʔant'uy lapanák* means ‘two people’, but *ʔant'uy* does not.

- (709) a. **qan-t'uy** lapanák
 CL:cylinder-two people
 ‘two people’
- b. **qan-t'uy**
 CL:cylinder-two
 ‘two cylindrical things’
 NOT: ‘two people’

Similarly, omission of the noun when the classifier is the general classifier *laqa-* can result in a lack of meaning, as seen in example (710). While *laqat'uy lapanák* means ‘two people’, *laqat'uy* does not.

- (710) a. **laqa-t'uy** lapanák
 CL:general-two people
 ‘two people’
- b. **laqa-t'uy**
 CL:general-two
 ‘two X’
 NOT: ‘two people’

Classified numerals and quantifiers play three different syntactic roles: they may behave as (i) an adjective, (ii) an anaphoric expression, or (iii) an adverb. Three of the classifiers (*ʔaq-*, *miix-*, and *paq-*) occur *only* as adverbs. All of the other classifiers may occur in any of the three syntactic positions.

When the classified numeral or quantifier behaves as an adjective, it precedes the head noun of a noun phrase, as seen below in (711).¹⁹⁵ In (711a), the

¹⁹⁵ For more information on adjectives and quantifiers, see Chapter 5, sections 5.1 and 5.2, respectively.

classified numeral *laqkiis* modifies the head noun *peexuu*. In (711b) the classified quantifier *pumachuux* modifies the head noun *lapanák*.

- (711)a. waa naa maa xtaqnikan [laqkiis peexuu]_{NP}
 waa naa maa xtaq-ni-kan laq-kiis peexuu
 FOC EMP RPT give-DAT-INS(IMPFV) CL:peso-five peso
 ‘Then they gave him five pesos.’ [T0055: 043]
- b. taas [pumachuux lapanák]_{NP} katamina7?
 taas puma-chuux lapanák ka-ta-min-a7
 Q CL:human-how.many people IRR-PL.SUB-come-FUT
 ‘How many people will come?’ [Q7]

Classified numerals and quantifiers can occur as anaphors that refer to some previously mentioned noun. According to Aikhenvald (2004), “all classifiers are used anaphorically, that is, as proforms, for tracking referents in discourse” (p. 110). In (712c), the classified quantifier *pumalhuu* is an anaphoric expression that refers back to the noun *lapanák* that was mentioned in the question in (711b); in (712b), the classified number *laqat'uy* anaphorically refers to the beer that is the topic of the conversation from which this example is taken; and in (712c), *laqlhuu* (a predicate adjective) anaphorically refers back to some pesos (money) that were previously mentioned in the discourse.

- (712)a. naa pumalhuu katamina7
 naa puma-lhuu ka-ta-min-a7
 EMP CL:human-many IRR-PL.SUB-come-FUT
 ‘Many people will come.’ [Q7]
- b. qot'lich laqat'uy
 qot'-li+ch laqa-t'uy
 drink-PFV+ALD CL:general-two
 ‘I drank two [beers].’ [T0066: 055]

- c. 7entoons tuuka7 **laqlhuu** 7ixjuuniita
 7entoons tuu+ka7 laq-lhuu 7ix-jun-niita
 then/so NEG+JST **CL:peso-many** PAST-be-PF
 ‘So it was not expensive (inexpensive).’ [T0069: 389]

When the classified numeral or quantifier behaves as an adverb, it occurs either immediately before the verb [CL-NUM V], as seen in (713), or at the end of the sentence [V . . . CL-NUM], as seen in (714).¹⁹⁶

- (713)a. **7aqt'utuch** xaktapasay juu chunch
 7aq-t'utu-ch xa-k-tapasa-y juu chun+ch
CL:times-three-ALD PAST-1SUB-pass-IMPV ART thus+ALD
 ‘I would pass it like this three times.’ [MNB15: 43]

- b. **paqt'utuch** xaktzantiilay
 paq-t'utu+ch xa-k-tzantiila-y
CL:trips-three+ALD PAST-1SUB-slip-IMPV
 ‘I would slip three times.’ [MNB15: 43]

- (714) maalach'ap'ay juu 7alhik **puu7aqt'uy**
 maa-lach'ap'a-y juu 7alhik puu-7aqx-t'uy
 CAUS-glug-IMPV ART paper LOC-**CL:flat-two**
 ‘He glues the paper in two places.’ [MNB13: 96]

Finally, when counting mensurative nouns for which there is no classifier that corresponds to the container, a specific word order is used in which the nominal that refers to the container occurs in the adjectival position between the number and the noun, as seen below in (715). Examples of this word order are shown in (716).

- (715) NUMBER { CONTAINER } HEAD NOUN
 { ADJECTIVE }

¹⁹⁶ See Chapter 6 for more information on adverbs.

(716)a.	NUMBER	CONTAINER	HEAD NOUN	
	laqakiis	puuwaaqaax	kapen	
	laqa-kiis	puuwaaqaax	kapen	
	CL:general-five	guaje ¹⁹⁷	coffee	
	'five guajes of coffee'			[MNB15: 38]

b.		NUMBER	CONTAINER	HEAD NOUN	
	juu x7ulaata	tam	p'aqlati	tuumiin	
	juu x-7ulaa-ta	tam	p'aqlati	tuumiin	
	REL PAST-put-PF	one	chest	money	
	'The one who had a chest of money'				[T0054: 060]

In a similar construction, a descriptive adjective occurs in the adjectival position between the number and the head noun. The numeral classifier may be either the general classifier, as seen in (717a), or a more specific classifier that describes the form of the head noun, as seen in (717b).

(717)a.	laqat'uy	<u>lakst'ak'alh</u>	chiiwx	
	laqa-t' uy	<u>lak-st'ak'alh</u>	chiiwx	
	CL: general -two	PL- <u>flat</u>	rock	
	'two flat rocks'			
b.	7aqxt'uy	<u>lakst'ak'alh</u>	chiiwx	
	7aqx-t' uy	<u>lak-st'ak'alh</u>	chiiwx	
	CL: flat -two	PL- <u>flat</u>	rock	
	'two flat rocks'			
				[MNB15: 40]

7.3.1.3 Pragmatics of Numeral Classifiers

HT nouns are not rigidly divided into different classes; instead, different classifiers can be used to highlight different characteristics of the noun that are relevant to a given context. Aikhenvald (2000) notes that when different classifiers are used with the same noun, the resulting noun phrases show varying degrees of semantic similarity, as will be seen in the HT examples below.

¹⁹⁷ A *guaje* is a round container that is used to store tortillas. In the past, the Tepehua made *guajes* from hollow, dried gourds (*qaax*), but today most *guajes* are made of plastic.

In (718) the noun is *lapanak* ‘person’.¹⁹⁸ The classifier in example (a), *puma-*, is the default human classifier. Although the same noun *lapanak* also appears in (b), the classifier *qan-* modifies a long, cylindrical noun; here the use of *qan-* instead of *puma-* communicates the fact that the people are lying down, more dead than alive. The example in (c) also contains the human noun *lapanak*, and here it is modified by the classifier *7aklh-*, which indicates that the noun is divided along a horizontal axis. The use of the classifier *7aklh-* indicates that the division between the human half and the animal half is horizontal, not vertical, and this information is more important to the context than the fact that the noun *lapanak* is human.

- (718)a. juu **pumatam** lapának niilh
 juu **puma-tam** lapának nii-li
 ART CL:**human**-one person die-PFV
 ‘One person died.’ [T0009: 001]
- b. maa talaxtaqnilhch juu xtaqanqat'an
 maa ta-laxtaqni-li+ch juu x-taqanqat-7an
 RPT 3PL.SUB-contract-PFV+PUNT ART 3POS-illness-PL.POS
- juu **qantam** **qantam** lapanak
 juu **qan-tam** **qan-tam** lapanak
 ART CL:**cylinder**-one CL:**cylinder**-one person
 ‘The people contracted the illness one by one.’ [T0057: 019]
- c. waa **7aklhtam** lapanak **7aklhtam** maqtili7
 waa **7aklh-tam** lapanak **7aklh-tam** maqtili7
 FOC CL:**horizontal**-one person CL:**horizontal** -one wild.animal
 ‘It is half person, half wild animal.’ [MNB16: 50]

¹⁹⁸ The only difference between *lapának* ‘person’ and *lapanák* ‘people’ is in the stress of the two words.

The six examples in (719) demonstrate the use of various classifiers that describe arrangements or measurements of the noun *k'iw* ‘tree’. All of these examples are of sortal classifiers with the exception of examples (e) and (f), which are mensurative. The examples in (a) and (b) use the general classifier *laqa-* and the cylindrical classifier *qan-*, respectively, in order to form the noun phrase ‘two trees’. The classifier in (c), *tij-*, indicates ‘types’ of trees, and *kinka-* in (d) indicates that the trees are pointy.¹⁹⁹ The classifiers in examples (e) and (f)—*puch'a-* and *maqxapa-*, respectively—measure the noun by ‘plots’ and ‘rolls’.

- (719) a. **laqa-t'uy** k'iw
 CL:general-two tree
 ‘two trees’
- b. **qan-t'uy** k'iw
 CL:cylinder-two tree
 ‘two trees’
- c. **tij-t'uy** k'iw
 CL:types-two tree
 ‘two types of tree’
- d. **kinka-t'uy** k'iw
 CL:point-two tree
 ‘two pointy trees’
- e. **puch'a-t'uy** k'iw
 CL:plot-two tree
 ‘two plots of trees’
- f. **maqxapa-t'uy** k'iw
 CL:roll-two tree
 ‘two rolls of firewood’

¹⁹⁹ The prefix *kinka-* is a body part prefix. The use of parts as classifiers is discussed in section 7.3.2.

The examples in (720) form a set using the compound noun *lht'aqalaa-k'iw*, meaning ‘board’. In (a) the classifier *ʔaqx-* simply indicates that the board is flat, while the classifiers in (b), (c), and (d) indicate the form of the division between the parts of the board. In (b) *puumaqa-* indicates that the parts all come from the same board, though it does not actually specify information about the shape of the division. The arrows in the drawing in Figure 5 indicate that the division can be in any part of the rectangle. The classifier *ʔaqa-* in example (c) indicates that the division in the board is vertical, as seen in the drawing in Figure 6. Finally, the classifier *ʔaklh-* in (d) indicates that the division is horizontal, as seen in the drawing in Figure 7.

- (720) a. **ʔaqx-t'uy** *lht'aqalaa-k'iw*
CL:general-two flat-tree
‘two boards’
- b. **puumaqa-t'uy** *lht'aqalaa-k'iw*
CL:pieces-two flat-tree
‘two parts of a board’ (cut from the same board)
- c. **ʔaqa-t'uy** *lht'aqalaa -k'iw*
CL:vertical-two flat-tree
‘two vertical sections of board’ (cut from the same board)
- d. **ʔaklh-t'uy** *lht'aqalaa-k'iw*
CL:horizontal-two flat-tree
‘two horizontal sections of board’ (cut from the same board)

Figure 5: *puumaqa-*

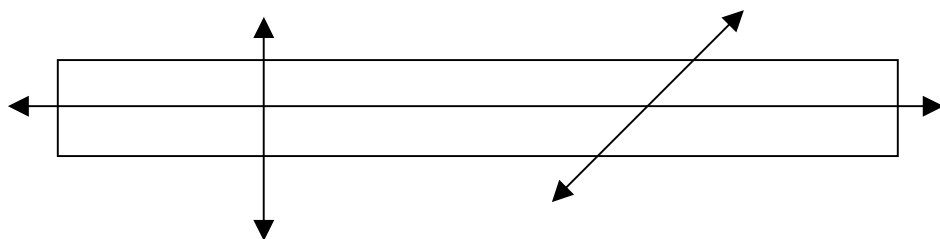


Figure 6: *ʔaqa-*

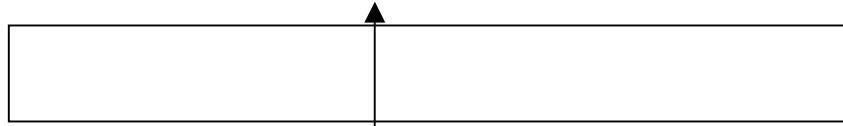
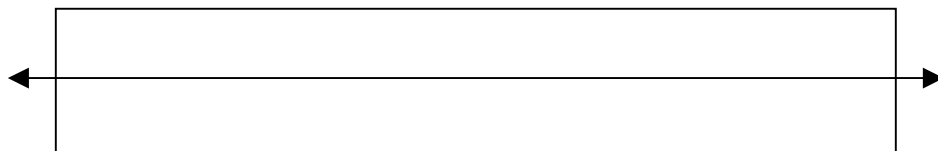


Figure 7: *ʔaklh-*



The examples in (721) are all based on the noun *kapen* ‘coffee’. Here the classifiers in examples (a) through (e) are sortal, while the example in (f) is mensurative. The general classifier is shown in (a), *laqat’ati kapen* ‘four coffee beans’. In (b) *ʔalh-* refers to an immature plant that is just beginning to grow; in (c) *ʔaqa-* refers to a mature plant that is already fully grown and ready for harvesting; in (d) *májʔata-* refers to a branch of the plant, and in (e), *muus-* indicates a cluster of the fruit of the plant. The classifier *puuʔen-* in (f) measures the coffee beans by *bandejas*, which is the unit used to measure coffee (and other pourable, dry, non-count nouns) in the Mexican market place.

- (721) a. **laqa-t’ati** kapen
CL:general-four coffee
‘four coffee beans’
- b. **ʔalh-t’ati** kapen
CL:im.plant-four coffee
‘four immature coffee bushes’

- c. **7aqa-t'**ati kapen
CL:mat.plant-four coffee
 'four mature coffee bushes'
- d. **makqata-t'**ati kapen
CL:branch-four coffee
 'four branches of a coffee bush'
- e. **muus-t'**ati kapen
CL:cluster-four coffee
 'four clusters of coffee beans'
- f. **puu7en-t'**ati kapen
CL:bandeja-four café
 'four bandejas of coffee beans'

7.3.2 Body Parts and Numeral Classifiers

Body part prefixes²⁰⁰ can and do occur on numerals in HT. When this happens, the meaning is a literal combination of the body part and the number, as seen in the examples in (722). However, for any part-numeral construction, there is a corresponding analytical construction involving a classified numeral and a lexical body part, as seen in (723). I cannot say which expression is the more commonly occurring in natural speech, but I did find the analytical expressions to be more readily accepted during elicitation tasks.

- (722)a. **lakpuu-tam**
eye-one
 'one eye' or 'one-eyed' [MNB13: 13]
- b. **lakpuu-t'uy**
eye-two
 'two eyes' [MNB13: 13]

²⁰⁰ The HT class of Body Part Prefixes is discussed in detail in Chapter 3 (section 3.2.1.8) and Chapter 4 (section 4.2.8).

- c. **ch'an-t'ati**
foot-four
'four feet' [Q7]
- (723)a. laqa-tam laqchulh
CL:general-one eye
'one eye' or 'one-eyed' [Q7]
- b. laqa-t'uy laqchulh
CL:general-two eye
'two eyes' [Q7]
- c. laqa-t'ati ch'aja7
CL:general-four foot
'four feet' [Q7]

According to Levy (2004), *all* of the classifiers in Papantla Totonac historically come from the class of parts, and the two classes (classifiers and parts) are semantically distinct. The situation in HT is not so cut-and-dried because there is very little clear semantic overlap between the classifiers and the HT body part prefixes, even though there is a great deal of homophony due to the sound symbolic phonemic alternations to which the body parts are subject.²⁰¹ Thus, there are far more examples of dissimilarity between the HT classifiers and body parts than there are examples of similarity. The dissimilarities are shown in Tables 26, 27, and 28. Table 26 is a list of HT classifiers that bear no similarities (either homophonously or semantically) to any of the members of the parts class. The classifiers in Table 27 are homophonous with members of the class of body parts, but have different, unrelated meanings. Finally, the body part prefixes in Table 28 bear no similarities to any of the classifiers.

²⁰¹ All of the body part prefixes that have a /k/ or /q/ and some of the parts that have a /ʔ/ participate in phonemic alternations that are symbolic of size and/or affection, e.g. *ʔaq-* ~ *ʔak-* 'head' ~ 'small head' or 'head (spoken affectionately)' (Smythe Kung 2006c).

Table 26: Prefix is a Classifier, Not a Part

Prefix	Part Meaning	Classifier Meaning
7aklh-	---	horizontal division of N
7alh-	---	immature plant; change of clothing
7aqa-	---	mature plant; vertical division
kihlmak-	---	group or team of people
maj7ata-	---	branch
maqa-	---	long, thin, flexible N
maqxapa-	---	roll of N
miix-	---	day or week
paq-	---	trip
piis-	---	handful of N
puch'a-	---	plot of N
puma-	---	human
puumaqa-	---	part of N
puu7en-	---	bandeja of N
puux-	---	inside-out clothing
qan-	---	cylindrical N
talaq- ~ tatanlaq-	---	floor of a building; ford of a river
tij-	---	type of N

Table 27: Homophonous Prefix, but Different Meaning

Prefix	Part Meaning	Classifier Meaning
7aq-	head	# times action of V completed
laka-	body	place
laq-	body	peso
laqa-	body	general
laqpuu-	face, eye	pile of N

Table 28: Prefix is a Part, Not a Classifier

Prefix	Part Meaning	Classifier Meaning
ʔak-	head	---
ka-	nose, tip	---
lak-	body	---
lakpuu-	face, eye	---
muuntz'a-	forehead	---
tamp'us-	belly	---
tzoqot-	knee	---

Though there are many semantic differences between the classifiers and the class of parts, there are some similarities, shown in Tables 29 and 30. Table 29 lists three instances in which phonologically identical or similar body parts and classifiers have transparently related meanings. Table 30 is a list of body parts which may be used as classifiers while still retaining their part meaning.

Table 29: Part & Classifier Have Related Meanings

Prefix	Part Meaning	Classifier Meaning
ʔaqx-	shoulder, upper back	flat
muusa-, muus-	groin	cluster
puu-, puukilh-	innards, insides	gunny sack, abt 25 kg

Table 30: Part Can Be Used as Classifier

Part Prefix	Part & Classifier Meaning
ch'an-	foot, paw
kapii-	palate (of mouth)
katu-	ear
kik-	mouth, beak, edge
kilhtu-	edge
lakapaa-	head
laqxtan	cheek, jaw
laqxtii-	crown of the head
mak- ~ maq-	hand
maqaxtu-	elbow, corner

- d. puus juu 7alaqatam wilhchan
 puus juu 7a-laqa-tam wilhchan
 well ART CL:other-CL:general-one day
 ‘Well, the other day . . .’ [T0058: 001]

7.4.2 Each $-(V)n$

When numbers are used to refer to a situation in which each person receives a quantity of the noun, the number is affixed with the plural nominal suffix $-(V)n$.²⁰³ In this instance, the suffix has three allomorphs: $-n$, $-an$, and $-in$. If the number ends in a vowel, it is suffixed with $-n$; if it ends in the consonant /n/, it is suffixed with $-an$; and if it ends in a consonant other than /n/, it is suffixed with $-in$. Examples are shown in (725).

- (725) a. laqtamin peexuu pumatamin
 laq-tam-Vn peexuu puma-tam-Vn
 CL:peso-one-PL peso CL:human-one-PL
 ‘one peso for each person’
- b. laqt'iyun (peexuu)
 laq-t'iyu-n (peexuu)
 CL:peso-two-PL (peso)
 ‘two pesos each’
- c. laqt'utun
 laq-t'utu-n
 CL:peso-three-PL
 ‘three pesos each’
- d. laqt'atin
 laq-t'ati-n
 CL:peso-four-PL
 ‘four pesos each’

²⁰³ See Chapter 4, section 4.1.1.2 for more information on this plural nominal suffix.

- e. laqkiis**in**
laq-kiis-**Vn**
CL:peso-five-**PL**
'five pesos each'
- f. laqchaxanan
laq-cháxan-**Vn**
CL:peso-six-**PL**
'six pesos each'
- g. laqtujunan
laq-tújun-**Vn**
CL:peso-seven-**PL**
'seven pesos each'
- h. laqtzajinan
laq-tzajin-**Vn**
CL:peso-eight-**PL**
'eight pesos each'
- i. laqnajatz**in**
laq-nájatz-**Vn**
CL:peso-nine-**PL**
'nine pesos each'
- j. laqkaw**in**
laq-kaw-**Vn**
CL:peso-ten-**PL**
'ten pesos each'

[MNB15: 31, Q7]

7.5 COUNTING UNITS OF DAYS

In HT there are two ways to count units of days (i.e., 'days from now'). The first method involves the use of the adverbial classifier *miix-* that was described above in section 7.3.1.1 (see the discussion above examples (691), (692), and (693)). An additional example appears below in (726).

(726) **miix**chaaxan
miix-chaaxan
CL:days-six
 ‘in 6 days’

[MNB 15: 34]

The second method for counting ‘days from now’ involves the use of the general classifier *laqa-* and the lexical noun *wilhchan* ‘day’, as seen below in (727). This construction seems to be replacing the *miix*-construction, given that it is more commonly used by the younger speakers (< 70 years old) than the *miix*-construction is. The *laqa*-# *wilhchan* construction appears to be modeled on the construction that is used to express other units of time, such as ‘months’ and ‘years’, as seen in (728).

(727) a. **laqat'**ati wilhchan
laqa-t'ati wilhchan
CL:general-four day
 ‘in 4 days’

[Q7]

b. **laqakiis** wilhchan 7aklaqtz'inaan
laqa-kiis wilhchan 7a-k-laqtz'in-a7-n
CL:general-five day IRR-1SUB-see-FUT-2OBJ
 ‘I’ll see you in 5 days’

[Q7]

(728) a. **laqat'**ati maalhkiyu7
laqa-t'ati maalhkiyu7
CL:general-four month
 ‘in 4 months’

[Q7]

b. **laqat'**ati k'aata
laqa-t'ati k'aata
CL:general-four year
 ‘in 4 years’

[Q7]

The primary means of expressing of the passage of days (i.e., ‘days ago’) is by the addition of the temporal clitic *+ch(ich)* ALD to either of the two constructions listed above. The allomorph *+chich* occurs on the *miix*-construction,

which is shown in (729), and the allomorph *+ch* occurs on the *laqa*-construction, which is shown in (730).

(729)a. **miixkiischich**
 miix-kiis+**chich**
 CL:days-five+ALD
 ‘five days ago’ [MNB15: 34]
 (accepted by older speakers, rejected by younger speakers)

b. **míxtujunchich**
 miix-tujun+**chich**
 CL:days-seven+ALD
 ‘one week ago’, ‘seven days ago’ [MNB15: 34]

(730)a. **laqat’utuch** wilhchán
 laqa-t’utu+**ch** wilhchán
 CL:general-three+ALD day
 ‘three days ago.’ [Q7]

b. **laqat’atich** wilhchán
 laqa-t’ati+**ch** wilhchán
 CL:general-four+ALD day
 ‘four days ago.’ [Q7]

In the *laqa*-construction, the copula *jun* ‘be’ can be used instead of the temporal clitic *+ch*, as shown below in (731).

(731)a. **laqakiis** wilhchan **xajun**
 laqa-kiis wilhchán **xa-jun**
 CL:general-five day PAST-**be**.IMPFV
 ‘five days ago’

b. **laqat’uy** k’aata **xajun**
 laqa-t’uy k’aata **xa-jun**
 CL:general-two year PAST-**be**.IMPFV
 ‘two years ago’ [Q7]

HT has lexemes to express the concepts of yesterday (*kutanch* ~ *kutanchich*), tomorrow (*lhi7*), and three days (*t’uuxam*). Note that when *t’uuxam*

occurs alone, it means ‘in three days’ or ‘the day after tomorrow’, but when it occurs with the temporal clitic +*chich*, it means ‘three days ago’ or ‘the day before yesterday’, as seen in (732).

(732) a. t'uuxam
 ‘in three days’, ‘the day after tomorrow’ [MNB15: 30]

 b. t'uxaam**chich**
 t'uxaam+chich
 three.days+ALD
 ‘three days ago’, ‘the day before yesterday’ [MNB15: 34]

Chapter 8: Syntax

This chapter discusses the syntax of Huehuetla Tepehua, including the following topics: the word order of the major clausal constituents (section 8.1), focus (section 8.2), interrogation or question formation (section 8.3), negation (section 8.4), comparative and superlative constructions (section 8.5), and complex clauses (section 8.6).

8.1 WORD ORDER OF MAJOR CLAUSAL CONSTITUENTS

In this section, I examine the word order of the major clausal constituents—subject, object, and verb—in HT. The order of the words in specific types of phrase are discussed in the relevant chapters on verbs, nouns, modifiers, adverbs, and numbers—chapters 3 through 7, respectively (e.g., the word order within a noun phrase is discussed in Chapter 4: Nouns and Nominal Morphology).

While in the field, I found that during elicitation, the word order of my probe clause—be it in Spanish or Tepehua—would influence the word order of the HT clause of my consultant's response. Thus, when I elicited the example shown in (733a) with SVO word order, my consultant gave me an HT clause with SVO word order. When I then tested all six possible word orders, my consultant accepted all of them and claimed there was no difference in meaning. The example is shown in its entirety below in (733).

(733) Variable WO

a. SVO

[juu 7anu7 lapanak] _{SUB}	[jaantu 7uy] _{VERB}	[juu qajin] _{OBJ}
juu 7anu7 lapanak	jaantu 7u-y	juu qajin
ART that person	NEG eat-IMPV	ART turtle
‘That person does not eat the turtle.’		[NVP99/MNB7: 469]

b. SOV

[juu 7anu7 lapanak] _{SUB}	[juu qajin] _{OBJ}	[jaantu 7uy] _{VERB}
------------------------------------	----------------------------	------------------------------

c. VSO

[jaantu 7uy] _{VERB}	[juu 7anu7 lapanak] _{SUB}	[juu qajin] _{OBJ}
------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------

d. VOS

[jaantu 7uy] _{VERB}	[juu qajin] _{OBJ}	[juu 7anu7 lapanak] _{SUB}
------------------------------	----------------------------	------------------------------------

e. OSV

[juu qajin] _{OBJ}	[juu 7anu7 lapanak] _{SUB}	[jaantu 7uy] _{VERB}
----------------------------	------------------------------------	------------------------------

f. OVS

[juu qajin] _{OBJ}	[jaantu 7uy] _{VERB}	[juu 7anu7 lapanak] _{SUB}
‘That person does not eat the turtle.’		[NVP99/MNB7: 469]

The fact that all of the word orders shown in (733) are acceptable is problematic given that case is not marked on nouns in HT. However, given the pragmatics of the clausal constituents, it is not difficult to determine that *juu 7anu7 lapanak* ‘that person’ must be the subject and *juu qajin* ‘the turtle’ must be the object since it is highly improbable that a turtle would eat a person. Word order is not needed to determine the syntactic roles in this example.

However, the pragmatics of clausal constituents are not always so enlightening, and it is easy to find a clause in which the meaning of the constituents does not pragmatically or culturally influence the assignment of syntactic roles. Two such clauses are shown below in (734). I want to point out that the clauses in (734) were volunteered by a speaker with whom I did not

perform word order tests; I elicited the verb and requested that he give me an example clause using the verb. In each of these examples, the verb *saa* ‘hit’ co-occurs with two nominals that are culturally equal.²⁰⁴ It is neither more nor less likely that John would hit a man than it is that a man would hit John. The clausal pragmatics do not help to determine the syntactic roles of subject and object; therefore a fixed word order is needed, and this word order is VSO.

(734) *Fixed VSO WO*

- a. [saalhch]_{VERB} [juu lapanak]_{SUB} [juu Xiiwaan]_{OBJ}
 saa-li+ch juu lapanak juu Xiiwaan
 hit-PFV+ALD ART person ART John
 ‘The person hit John.’ [AVH00]
- b. [lakasaamaa]_{VERB} [juu Xiiwaan]_{SUB} [juu Piitalu7]_{OBJ}
 laka-saa=maa juu Xiiwaan juu Piitalu7
 BODY-hit=lying(PFV) ART John ART Pedro
 ‘John hit Pedro.’ [NVP05]

To further check the word order, I took the clause in (734a), and I rearranged its constituents to create six different clauses; I read all six HT clauses to a native speaker and asked him to translate them into Spanish. The results are shown in (735). When the verb was clause-initial, the clause-final nominal was interpreted to be the object, as seen in (735) a) and (735b). When the verb was in

²⁰⁴ By culturally equal, I mean that one nominal is not expected to hit the other, unlike the examples shown here in (i) and (ii) in which it is culturally expected that an adult would hit a child, but not that a child would hit an adult. Note that the word order is VSO in (i), but VOS in (ii).

- (i) [tiitalaalh]_{VERB} [juu lapanak]_{SUB} [juu 7ixasqat’a]_{OBJ}
 tii-ta-laa-li juu lapanak juu 7ix-7asqat’a
 BUTT-INCH-can-PFV ART person ART 3POS-child
 ‘The man hit his child on the bottom.’ [AVH00]
- (ii) [saanilh]_{VERB} [juu 7ixtzi7 Loolaa]_{OBJ} [juu lapanak]_{SUB}
 saa-ni-li juu 7ix-tzi7 Loolaa juu lapanak
 hit-DAT-PFV ART 3POS-girl Loolaa ART person
 ‘The man hit Lola’s daughter.’ [AVH00]

medial position, the clause-final nominal again was interpreted to be the object, as seen in (735c) and (735d). However, when the verb was in clause-final position, either nominal could be interpreted as the object, as seen in the pair of clauses shown in (735e) and (735f).

(735) a. VSO

[saalhch] _{VERB}	[juu lapanak] _{SUB}	[juu Xiiwaan] _{OBJ}	
saa-li+ch	juu lapanak	juu Xiiwaan	
hit-PFV+ALD	ART person	ART John	
‘The person hit John.’			[WOQ]

b. VSO

[saalhch] _{VERB}	[juu Xiiwaan] _{SUB}	[juu lapanak] _{OBJ}	
	‘John hit the person.’		[WOQ]

c. SVO

[juu lapanak] _{SUB}	[saalhch] _{VERB}	[juu Xiiwaan] _{OBJ}	
‘The person hit John.’			[WOQ]

d. SVO

[juu Xiiwaan] _{SUB}	[saalhch] _{VERB}	[juu lapanak] _{OBJ}	
‘John hit the person.’			[WOQ]

e. OSV/SOV

[juu lapanak]	[juu Xiiwaan]	[saalhch] _{VERB}	
‘John hit the person.’			
‘The person hit John.’			[WOQ]

f. SOV/OVS

[juu Xiiwaan]	[juu lapanak]	[saalhch] _{VERB}	
‘John hit the person.’			
‘The person hit John.’			[WOQ]

In analyzing the statistical frequency of various word order possibilities in Huehuetla Tepehua, I looked only at clauses from natural discourse (i.e., clauses from the text database), and I did not include any of the examples that came from elicitation sessions. Of the 1393 entries in the text database, only 940 predications

were used to determine basic word order. The remaining entries were not used because they were clausal fragments, one-word questions or answers, nonverbal predicates (i.e., present tense predicate nominal or adjectival constructions that do not require a copula), incomprehensible utterances, or solitary discourse markers, or they were uttered entirely in Spanish.

Of the 940 usable clauses, 371 were intransitive and 569 were transitive. Since there were so few samples with which to work, I looked at word order in both transitive and intransitive clauses. Tables 31 through 34 describe the statistical frequency of the word orders that I found.

Table 31 shows the various possible word orders in an intransitive clause. The first column shows the possible word order combinations in an intransitive clause: V-only, VS, and SV. The second column shows the statistical frequency of all three types of intransitive clause. Of the 371 intransitive clauses 61.7% consisted of a verb only. The subject followed the verb in 30.5% of the clauses, and it preceded the verb in only 7.8% of the clauses. The third column subtracts the V-only examples, and shows the frequency of the VS and SV examples. Of the 142 intransitive clauses that contain an overt subject, 79.6% show the VS word order, while only 20.4% show the SV word order. Thus, there is a strong tendency for a subject nominal to follow an intransitive verb.

Table 31: Word Order in Intransitive Clauses

Total intransitive clauses: 371
 Total intransitive clauses with 1 argument: 142

WO	% of Intransitive Clauses	% of Intransitive Clauses with 1 nominal argument
V only	229/371 = 61.7 %	
V S	113/371 = 30.5 %	113/142 = 79.6%
S V	29/371 = 7.8 %	29/142 = 20.4%

Table 32 shows the various possible word orders in a transitive clause, including verb-only clauses, clauses with just one other constituent (either the subject or the object), and clauses with two constituents (both the subject and the object). The first column shows all of the possible word order combinations in a transitive clause: V-only, VO, OV, VS, SV, SVO, VSO, OVS, VOS, OSV, and SOV. The second column shows the statistical frequency of all 11 types of transitive clause. Out of 569 transitive clauses of naturally occurring speech, 45.7% consisted of a verb only. The next most frequently occurring transitive clause type consisted of a verb followed by an object; this word order occurred in 31.1% of the sample. In comparison, none of the other word orders represented in Table 32 is statistically significant, and the frequencies of clauses with two overt arguments are extremely low. The contents of this table are broken down further in Tables 33 and 34 below.

Table 32: Word Order in Transitive Clauses

Total transitive clauses = 569

WO	% Transitive Clauses
V only	260/569 = 45.7%
V O	177/569 = 31.1%
O V	49/569 = 8.6%
V S	28/569 = 4.9%
S V	17/569 = 3%
S V O	15/569 = 2.6%
V S O	13/569 = 2.3%
O V S	5/569 = 0.9%
V O S	4/569 = 0.7%
O S V	1/569 = 0.2%
S O V	0

Table 33 shows the percentages of transitive clauses with one overt constituent in addition to the verb. The possible word order combinations are shown in the first column: VO, OV, VS, SV. The numbers in the second column are the same as the ones in Table 32 for these word orders; these percentages show the statistical frequency of these transitive clause types compared to all other transitive clause types. The third column shows the statistical frequency of transitive clauses with just two constituents compared to other two-constituent transitive clauses, of which there are 271. These numbers show that when just one argument co-occurs with the verb, it is usually the object, not the subject. As for the word order in these single-argument transitive clauses, there is a strong tendency towards the VO order, which occurs in 65.3% of the clauses. The other orders occur much less frequently: the OV order occurs in only 18.1% of the clauses, the VS order occurs in only 10.3%, and the SV order occurs in only 6.3% of the clauses. The fact that there are many more two-constituent clauses

containing an object than there are clauses containing a subject is not surprising since, cross-linguistically, it is typically the case that a nominal representing new information is introduced into the discourse as an object.

Table 33: WO in Transitive Clauses with One Additional Constituent

Total transitive clauses: 569
Total transitive clauses with 1 argument: 271

WO	% of Transitive Clauses	% of Transitive Clauses with 1 Nominal Argument
V O	177/569 = 31.1%	177/271 = 65.3%
O V	49/569 = 8.6%	49/271 = 18.1%
V S	28/569 = 4.9%	28/271 = 10.3%
S V	17/569 = 3%	17/271 = 6.3%

Table 34 shows the percentages of transitive clauses with two overt arguments; of the 569 transitive clauses, only 38 contain two overt arguments. The possible word order combinations are shown in the first column: SVO, VSO, OVS, VOS, OSV, and SOV. The numbers in the second column are the same as the ones in Table 32 for these word orders; these percentages show the statistical frequencies of these transitive clause types compared to all other transitive clause types. The third column shows the statistical frequencies of only transitive clauses with two additional arguments. Again there is a strong tendency for the object to follow the verb, as seen in the SVO (39.5%), VSO (34.2%), and VOS (10.5%) orders; the object precedes the verb in the OVS order in 13.2% of the clauses. Note that of the two possible verb-final word orders, OSV occurs only once and SOV does not occur at all.

Table 34: Major Constituent WO in Transitive Clauses

Total transitive clauses: 569

Total transitive clauses with 2 arguments: 38

WO	% Transitive Clauses	% Transitive Clauses with 2 Nominal Arguments
S V O	15/569 = 2.6%	15/38 = 39.5%
V S O	13/569 = 2.3%	13/38 = 34.2%
O V S	5/569 = 0.9%	5/38 = 13.2%
V O S	4/569 = 0.7%	4/38 = 10.5%
O S V	1/569 = 0.2%	1/38 = 2.6%
S O V	0	0

After considering the statistics shown above in Tables 31 through 34, it is clear that, (i) given the high percentage of clauses in which the only major constituent is a verb, the other constituents (i.e., the subject and object) are not obligatory in HT; (ii) when there is only one nominal constituent (be it subject or object) there is a strong tendency for it to follow the verb, (i.e., there is a strong tendency for the verb to occur in a non-final position in the clause with an overt nominal); (iii) there is also a strong tendency for the object to follow the verb; and (iv) when there are two nominal constituents in addition to the verb, there is a strong tendency for the object to occur in clause-final position.

Pragmatically neutral clauses collected during elicitation follow the VSO word order; word order tests indicate that both VSO and SVO are dominant orders; and statistical analysis indicates a slight preference for the SVO word order, followed closely by the VSO order. Thus, HT has VX word order, where X may be a subject or an object. Furthermore, it is clear that HT is strongly influenced by pragmatics, including focus, which is the topic of the following section (8.2). In the rest of this section, I first discuss examples of the five three-

constituent word orders found in HT natural discourse, then I examine the order of pronouns in HT discourse.

The example in (736) shows the most statistically frequent narrative word order: SVO. This story is about a poor man who tries to sell pig excrement in a neighboring town. This is the first reference in the text to the townspeople *juu lapanak*. Pragmatically, word order is not necessary to disambiguate the grammatical roles.

(736) SVO

pero	[juu	lapanak]	SUB	[tzukulhch	7utaynin]	VERB
pero	juu	lapanak		tzuku-li+ch	7utay-nin	
but	ART	people		begin-PFV+ALD	smell-PL.INF	

[juu	xaakamiti	juu	7ani7	x7ilht'i	p'aax]	OBJ
juu	xa-7akamiti	juu	7ani7	x-7ilht'i	p'aax	
ART	IPOS-odor	ART	um	3POS-excrement	pig	

'But the people began to smell the odor of the pig excrement.'

[T0055: 023-24]

The example in (737) shows the second most frequent narrative word order: VSO. This narrative is about a flood that occurred in the village the year before the time of telling. Once again the pragmatics of the clause influence the determination of the syntactic roles of the constituents.

(737) VSO

[tamaqatz'anqaa]	VERB	[juu	lapanak]	SUB	[juu	xlaktaxtoqta]	OBJ
ta-maqatz'anqaa		juu	lapanak		juu	x-lak-taxtoqta	
3PL.SUB-lose(PFV)		ART	people		ART	3POS-PL-thing	

'The people lost their things.'

[T0018: 006]

The clause in example (738) shows the third most frequent word order: OVS. Again, there is only one possible interpretation of the grammatical roles; while a donkey can take two sacks, the reverse is not possible. Furthermore, the

sacks are more important to the context than the donkey because they illustrate the quantity of pig excrement that the poor man took to sell.

(738) OVS

[laqat'uy	kuuxtaa]	OBJ	[lhii7alhch]	VERB	[juu xpuurruu]	SUB
laqa-t'uy	kuuxtaa		lhii7an-li+ch		juu x-puurruu	
CL:general-two	sack		take(PFV)-PFV+ALD	ART	3POS-donkey	

‘His donkey took two sacks (of pig excrement).’ [T0055: 016]

The example in (739) shows the fourth most frequent word order: VOS. This narrative tells how the Tepehua people came to live in Huehuetla. Again, word order is not necessary to determine the grammatical roles of the constituents because people can wash clothes, but clothes cannot wash people.

(739) VOS

maa	[laay	katamaqpaya7]	VERB	[juu xpuumpu7an]	OBJ
maa	laa-y	ka-ta-maqpa-ya7		juu x-puumpu7-7an	
RPT	can-IMPFV	IRR-3PL.SUB-wash-FUT		ART	3POS-clothes-PL.POS

[juu lapanak]	SUB
juu lapanak	
ART people	

‘The people would be able to wash their clothes.’ [T0057: 025]

The example in (740) shows the only textual example of the OSV word order. I should note that when I transcribed and translated this text with the help of don Nicolás, he claimed that this clause was somewhat awkward. Furthermore, the pragmatics of the constituents once again influence the determination of their syntactic roles.

(740) OSV

[juu xburruu] _{OBJ}	[juu yuuch] _{SUB}
juu x-burruu	juu yuuch
ART 3POS-donkey	ART PRN.3SG

[tzakaach	maa	maak'uk'aa] _{VERB}
tzakaa+ch	maa	maak'uk'aa
heavily+ALD	RPT	load(PFV)

'He heavily loaded his donkey.'

[T0055: 088]

With respect to the order of pronouns, elicited examples indicate that they may occur pre- or post-verbally, as seen in the examples below in (741).

(741) a. [juu yuuch]_{SUB} [kaana7]_{VERB} [juu sabat]_{ADV}
juu yuuch ka-7an-a7 juu sabat
ART PRN.3SG IRR-go-FUT ART Saturday

b. [kaana7]_{VERB} [juu yuuch]_{SUB} [juu sabat]_{ADV}

c. [juu sabat]_{ADV} [kaana7]_{VERB} [juu yuuch]_{SUB}
'He will go on Saturday.'

[PDLMA05]

Statistical analysis of the pronouns occurring in natural discourse is summarized in Tables 35 through 38. Table 35 shows the occurrence of all pronouns, including those acting as subjects, objects, and pronominal predications. Out of 107 total pronominal clauses, the pronoun precedes some other clausal element (be it a verb, copula, noun, adjective, adverb, or relative clause) in 61.7% of them. In 28% of the clauses, the pronoun followed some other clausal element, and 10.3% of the clauses consisted of a pronoun only. These percentages show a strong tendency for the pronoun to precede the predicate.

Table 35: Pronominal Order (Pronoun = Predicate, Subject, or Object)

WO	Total Clauses = 107
Prn X	66/107 = 61.7%
X Prn	30/107 = 28%
Prn Only	11/107 = 10.3%

Table 36 shows the word order of pronouns acting in the grammatical role of subject of a verb (but not a copula). When acting as the subject, the pronoun precedes the verb in 55.6% of the clauses, and it follows the verb in 44.4% of the clauses. Here, the difference in statistical frequencies is not as dramatic as that found in Table 35, though there is a slight tendency for the pronoun to occur pre-verbally.

Table 36: Pronominal Order when Pronoun is Subject

WO	Total Clauses = 27
Prn V	15/27 = 55.6%
V Prn	12/27 = 44.4%

However, the opposite word order is found when the pronoun acts as object of the clause. Table 37 below shows the word order frequencies when the pronoun is the object of a transitive verb. It precedes the verb in only 43.7% of the clauses, and it follows the verb in 56.3% of them. Thus, when the pronoun is an object, there is a slight tendency for it to *follow* the verb.

Table 37: Pronominal Order when Pronoun is Object

WO	Total Clauses = 16
Prn V	7/16 = 43.7%
V Prn	9/16 = 56.3%

Finally, the statistical word order frequencies of pronominal predications are shown in Table 38. In these clauses, the pronoun precedes the other clausal element (which may be a noun, adjective, adverb, relative clause, or copula) in 83% of the examples, while it follows the other element in only 17%. Thus, there is a strong tendency for the pronoun to *precede* its predication when the predication is nonverbal.

Table 38: Pronominal Order in Nonverbal Pronominal Predications and Copular Constructions

X = noun, adjective, adverb, relative clause, copula

WO	Total Clauses = 53
Prn X	44/53 = 83%
X Prn	9/53 = 17%

The word order of the major constituents in a matrix clause is summarized as follows: when there is neither context nor pragmatic cues (e.g., elicited data), the volunteered word order is VSO, and the order SVO is readily accepted by speakers. All other orders are problematic in such situations. However, in texts that have ample context and pragmatic cues, the order SVO is somewhat more

frequent than the order VSO, and all other word orders (except SOV) are possible, though considerably less frequent than SVO or VSO.

8.2 FOCUS

Huehuetla Tepehua has two strategies by which a clausal element may be focused. I use the term ‘focus’ here to mean prominence rather than contrastive emphasis. The first strategy involves syntactic focus constructions, specifically left-dislocation and clefting (section 8.2.1). The second strategy is morphosyntactic, involving the use of the focus particle *waa* (section 8.2.2).

8.2.1 Focus Constructions

In HT, when a clausal constituent is focused, it occurs in the clause-initial position. Several different constructions in HT may be analyzed as focus constructions, including left-dislocation, topicalization, clefting, and answers to questions. The first three constructions are addressed in this section, and focused answers are discussed in sections 8.2.2 and 8.3 below.

In an HT left-dislocation construction, a focused noun or noun phrase occurs in the clause initial position, and it is co-referential with a pronoun in the matrix clause. Examples are shown in (742); here the clause-initial noun (phrase) is enclosed in square brackets, and subscripted <i> indicates co-reference. In all of the examples of left-dislocation that I have found, the clause-initial noun (phrase) is co-referential with the subject of the clause. I have found no examples in which it is co-referential with the object of the clause.

(742) *Left-dislocation*

- a. [juu xmaalhka]_i, yuuch_i juu niimaa
juu x-maalhka yuuch juu niimaa
ART 3POS-measure PRN.3SG ART this
'Its measurement, *it* is this.'²⁰⁵ [T0069: 055]
- b. puus, [juu 7anu7 luw]_i, maa yuuch_i laktiitaymay
puus, juu 7anu7 luw, maa yuuch lak-tiitayma-y
well ART that snake RPT PRN.3SG PL-chase-IMPV
- juu t'akuunin maa papaaninch juu mati7 sasqat'a7an
juu t'aku7-nin maa papa7-nin+ch juu mati7 s-7asqat'a-7an
ART woman-PL RPT man-PL+ALD REL none 3POS-child-PL.POS
'Well, that snake, *it* chases women and men who have no children.'
[T0003: 005-6]
- c. [juu laay ch'apay juu luw]_i,
juu laa-y ch'apa-y juu luw
ART can-IMPV grab-IMPV ART snake
- yuuch_i juu kintata7, juu tam tapopaan
yuuch juu kin-tataa juu tam tapopaan
PRN.3SG ART 1POS-old.man ART one male.witch
'The one who can grab the snake, *he* is an old man, a witch.'
[T0003: 024-025]

In an HT topicalized construction, a noun, noun phrase, or pronoun that is the topic of the clause occurs in clause-initial position. When the topic is also the subject of the matrix clause, it is separated from the rest of the clause by the complementizer *nii*, as seen below in the examples in (743). I assume that *nii* intervenes between the subject and the verb in order to distinguish a topicalized construction from a normal clause with SVO word order. In these examples, the topicalized element is enclosed in square brackets, and the complementizer appears in bold type.

²⁰⁵ I would like to thank Jim Watters for suggesting this analysis to me.

(743) *Subject Topicalization*

- a. 7entons [juu 7anuuch purowii xkumwarii]
7entons juu 7anu7+ch purowii x-kumwarii
then ART that+ALD pitiful 3POS-compadre
- nii** maa naa waa xkillhpatiych
nii maa naa waa x-killhpati-y+ch
COMP RPT EMP FOC PAST-be.poor-IMPFV+ALD
'Well, that pitiful compadre, he was very poor.' [T0055: 010-11]
- b. [juu maqtli7] **nii** waa xlhii7an juu p'aax
juu maqtlii **nii** waa x-lhii7an juu p'aax
ART wild.animal **COMP** FOC PAST-take(IMPFV) ART pig
'The wild animal, it would take pigs.' [T0020: 006]
- c. [waa yuuch] **nii** lhuuch kalhii7ana7 juu k'iw
waa yuuch **nii** lhuu+ch ka-lhii7an-a7 juu k'iw
FOC PRN.3SG **COMP** much+ALD IRR-take-FUT ART wood
'This one, it will take a lot of wood.' [T0069: 276]

I have found only one clear instance in which an object is topicalized, shown below in (744). Here there is no morphosyntactic indicator of topicalization; instead intonation in the form of a pause after *7ani7*, as well as object-initial word order, indicates that the object has been topicalized.

(744) *Object Topicalization*

- [yuuch juu 7ani7], kch'uk'upaklht'iyuta p'ulan
yuuch juu 7ani7 k-ch'uk'u=paklht'iyu-ta p'ulhnan
PRN ART this 1SUB-cut.open=XXX²⁰⁶-PF first
'This one here, I cut open first.' [T0069: 057]

Finally, a subject, object or adverb may be clefted in HT. The clefted element occurs in clause-initial focus position, and it is followed by the main predication in the form of a relative clause. Examples of clefted subjects are shown in (745), examples of clefted objects are shown in (746), and examples of

²⁰⁶ XXX indicates that the meaning of this morpheme is not know. Please see the List of Abbreviations at the beginning of this grammar.

clefted adverbs are shown in (747). In these examples, the relative clause is enclosed in square brackets, and subscripted <i> indicates co-reference between the focused element and the following relative clause. Note that in all of the examples in (746), the clefted object is preceded by the focus particle *waa*, which is discussed in the next section.

(745) *Cleft Constructions Relativized on a Subject*

- a. maa yuuch_i [juu laay kalhii7alh ma7ata]RC_i
 maa yuuch juu laa-y ka-lhii7an-li maqata
 RPT PRN.3SG REL can-IMPV IRR-take-PFV far
 ‘He is the one [who can take it far away].’ [T0003: 026]
- b. 7ani7, yuuch_i [juu palaych lhiijun]RC_i
 7ani7 yuuch juu palay+ch lhiijun
 this PRN.3SG REL better+ALD order(IMPV)
 ‘This, it is [what makes it (a snake bite) better].’ [T0009: 013]

(746) *Cleft Constructions Relativized on an Object*

- a. 7anu7 p'in_i [juu 7ulh lakatz'unin]RC_i
 7anu7 p'in juu 7u-li lakatz'unin
 that salsa REL eat-PFV a.little
 ‘She ate a little of that salsa.’
 Literally: ‘It was that salsa [that she ate a little bit of].’ [T0069: 229]
- b. naach waa yuuch_i
 naa+cch waa yuuch
 EMP+ALD FOC PRN.3SG
- [juu x7amaapalhkan juu lakalhiisaan]RC_i
 juu x-7a-maapala-kan juu laka-lhiisaan
 REL PAST-PL.INO-pay-INS(IMPV) ART PREP-gig
 ‘It is [what they were paid at (music) gigs].’ [T0063: 033]
- c. waa yuuch_i wachu7 [juu talakask'inpalay]RC_i
 waa yuuch wachu7 juu ta-lakask'in-pala-y
 FOC PRN.3SG also REL 3PL.SUB-want-REP-IMPV
 ‘It, also, is [what they want].’ [T0066: 045]

d. waa lhiiway_i [juu 7upaa]RC_i
 waa lhiiway juu 7u-paa
 FOC meat REL eat-REP.PFV
 ‘Meat is [what she ate again].’ [T0069: 226]

e. waa lhiiwaych_i [juu x7uy]RC_i
 waa lhiiway+ch juu x-7u-y
 FOC meat+ALD REL PAST-eat-IMPV
 ‘Meat is [what it would eat].’ [T0020: 040]

(747) *Cleft Constructions Relativized on an adverb*

a. *Temporal Adverb*

7aksch_i [juu xalaktantamaakxtukan]RC_i
 7aks+ch juu xa-lak-tan-tamaakxtu-kan
 when+ALD REL PAST-PL-TORSO-take.out-INS(IMPV)
 ‘Then is [when they were taken out].’
 ‘It was then [that they were taken out].’ [T0063: 078]

b. *Manner Adverb*

puus kaa 7aqtz'iyanch chunch_i
 puus kaa 7aqtz'iyanch chun+ch
 well BLV always+ALD like.so+ALD

[juu 7uuniit'a juu 7uxint'i]RC_i
 juu jun-niita juu 7uxint'i
 REL be(2SUB)-PF(2SUB) ART PRN.2SG
 ‘Well, I think like that is [how you have always been].’
 ‘Well, I think it is like that [that you have always been].’ [T0054: 028]

d. *Manner Adverb*

puus chunch_i [juu noonkan
 puus chun+ch juu najun-kan
 well like.so+ALD REL say-INS(IMPV)

juu 7anch juu lakilaqachaqaqan]RC_i
 juu 7anch juu laka-ki-laqachaqaqan
 ART there ART PREP-1POS-village
 ‘Well, like that is [how they talk there in my village].’
 ‘Well, it is like that [that they talk in my village].’ [T0003: 033]

d. *Locative Adverb*

ʔaniʔi [juu xatz'oʔa]RC_i
ʔaniʔ juu xa-tz'oʔ-ʔa
here REL PAST-mark-IMPV
'Here is [where you marked it].'
'It is here [that you marked it].' [T0069: 108]

e. *Locative Adverb*

waa ʔanchach_i [juu seqjun juu maqtiliʔ]RC_i
waa ʔanch+ach juu seqjun juu maqtiliʔ
FOC there+ALD REL hide(IMPV) ART wild.animal
'There is [where the wild animal hides].'
'It is there [that the wild animal hides.]' [T0020: 011]

8.2.2 Focus Particle *waa*

The HT focus particle *waa* precedes a pragmatically emphasized element in a clause without directly influencing the element's location within the clause. It serves to highlight or draw attention to a clausal constituent. It most commonly occurs before a verb, before a predicate nominal or adjective, and before the answer to a *wh*-word question. However, it also occurs before other clausal elements, as will be seen below.

The most obvious place in which one finds a focused element is in the answer to a *wh*-word question. The focused constituent of the answer is the part of the clause or phrase that plays the same grammatical role as the *wh*-word in the corresponding question, as seen in the examples below in (748) through (751).²⁰⁷ These answers are actually doubly focused because they are preceded by *waa* and they occur in clause-initial focus position. In the question in (748a), one person asks another where he was. The answer in (748b), *lak José Pollo* 'at José Pollo's

²⁰⁷ Please see Section 8.3 of this chapter for more information on interrogative structures.

place’, is preceded by the focus particle *waa*, which appears in bold type. In this question and answer pair, the *wh*-word of the question corresponds to the focused locative adverb of the answer.

(748) a. tanchach juu xt'anuun?
 tanch+ach juu x-tanuun
 where+ALD REL PAST-inserted(IMPFV)
 ‘Where were you?’ [T0066:022]

b. **waa** lak José Pollo
waa laka-José Pollo
FOC PREP-José Pollo
 ‘At José Pollo’s [place].’ [T0066: 024]

In the question in (749a), the speaker asks what someone did. In the answer in (749b), the predicate that answers the question is preceded by the focus particle *waa*.

(749) a. 7entons taas t'aalaaych juu yuuch?
 7entons taas t'aa-laa-y+ch juu yuuch
 then how COM-can-IMPFV+ALD ART PRN.3SG
 ‘Then what did *he* do?’ [T0054: 001]

b. **waa** maaqeswaalhch juu 7atzi7
waa maa-qeswaa-li+ch juu 7atzi7
FOC CAUS-be.scared-PFV+ALD ART girl
 ‘He scared the girl.’ [T0054: 003]

In the question in (750a), one compadre asks another where he went. The second compadre’s answer in (750b) does not actually answer *where* he went, but rather *what* he did; again the predicate that answers the question is preceded by the focus particle *waa*.

- (750)a. tanch xak'ilaay, jii kumwarii
 tanch xa-ki-laa-y jii kumwarii
 where PAST-RT(2SUB)-can-IMPV VOC compadre
- maa juuniych juu xkumwarii
 maa jun-ni-y+ch juu x-kumwarii
 RPT say-DAT-IMPV+ALD ART 3POS-compadre
 ‘‘Where did you go, compadre?’’ his compadre says to him.’
 [T0055:006-7]
- b. **waa** kist'aa juu x7ilht'i p'aax
waa k-ki-st'aa juu x-7ilht'i p'aax
FOC 1SUB-RT-sell(PFV) ART 3POS-excrement pig
 ‘I went and sold pig excrement.’ [T0055: 008]

The question in (751a) asks what a group of people is doing. The answer in (751b) has two parts: first the group answers ‘nothing’, but then the group answers the question with a predication. The focus particle precedes the predicate, the second part of the answer.

- (751)a. tiijuuch juu nawiiyat'it?
 tiijuuch+ch juu nawii-y-at'it
 what+ALD REL do-IMFPV-2PL.SUB
 ‘What are you all doing?’ [T0055: 058]
- b. jaantuch tu7u7, **waa** k7astaknantawch
 jaantu+ch tu7u7 **waa** k-7astaknan-ta-w+ch
 NEG+ALD something **FOC** 1SUB-rest-PF-1PL.SUB+ALD
 ‘Nothing, we are resting.’ [T0055: 059]

Though most answers to *wh*-word questions include the focus particle *waa*, it is not a requirement of the grammar, as can be seen in the examples below in (752) and (753). Even though the focus particle does not occur in the clause in (752b), the adverbial answer to the question does occur in the clause-initial focus position.

- (752)a. tanch jii kinkiin?
 tanch jii kin-kiin
 where VOC 1POS-aunt
 ‘Where, aunt?’ [T0054: 035]
- b. 7ani7 kimaageswaat'i
 7ani7 ki-maa-qeswaa-t'i
 here 1OBJ-CAUS-be.scared-2SG.SUB.PFV
 ‘Here you scared me.’ [T0054: 036]
- (753)a. tiis junkanch juu yuuch?
 tiis jun-kan+ch juu yuuch
 how say-INS(IMPV)+ALD ART PRN.3SG
 ‘What is this one called?’ [T0066: 123]
- b. xaachoola7
 xaa-choola7
 IPOS-turkey
 ‘The turkey.’ [T0066: 124]

The use of the focus particle *waa* is not limited to focusing the answer of a *wh*-word question. It can be used to pragmatically focus any constituent or adjunct in any declarative clause that introduces new information or a new idea to the discourse. When it appears in a clause that is *not* an answer to a question, it precedes the clausal element in situ; that is, a focused clausal constituent is not required to occur in clause-initial focus position in this construction if it is not the answer to a question. The following examples demonstrate that *waa* may focus in situ a predicate (754); a noun or a predicate nominal (755), a predicate adjective (756), an adverb (757), a prepositional phrase (758), and a number (759).

(754) *Predicate Focus*

- a. **waa** takiknawiin 7uu **waa** lajk'ik'nawii?
waa ta-kiknawii-n 7uu **waa** lak-kiknawii
FOC 3PL.SUB-flatter(PFV)-2OBJ or **FOC** PL-flatter(PFV)
 ‘Did they flatter you or did you flatter them?’ [T0066:051]

- b. juu 7aks maa **waa** xminta pumatam lapanak
 juu 7aks maa **waa** x-min-ta puma-tam lapanak
 ART then RPT **FOC** PAST-come-PF CL:human-one person
 ‘Then one person had come . . .’ [T0022: 035]
- d. kalaalh nii **waa** t'amak'oomp'ut'unch
 ka-laa-li nii **waa** tamakajun-putun+ch
 IRR-can-PFV COMP **FOC** stay(2SUB)-DESID(IMPFV)+ALD
 ‘You can if you want to stay.’ [T0055: 065]
- e. entonces juu Sireenaa **waa** talhqamalhchi
 entonces juu Sireenaa **waa** talhqaman-li+ch
 then ART goddess **FOC** get.angry-PFV+ALD
 ‘Then the goddess got angry.’ [T0057: 084]

(755) *Nominal Focus*

- a. maa **waa** t'aku7
 maa **waa** t'aku7
 RPT **FOC** woman
 ‘It was a woman.’ [T0020:029]
- b. maa **waa** xaakanit lapanak
 maa **waa** xaa-7akanit lapanak
 RPT **FOC** IPOS-flesh person
 ‘It was human flesh.’ [T0020: 037]
- c. **waa** xukxpu7?
waa x-7ukxpu7
FOC 3POS-face
 ‘Her face?’ [T0054: 078]
- d. pero **waa** xch'ajaach chiila7
 pero **waa** x-ch'aja7+ch chiila7
 but **FOC** 3POS-foot+ALD chicken
- xjuuniita juu xch'aja7
 x-jun-niita juu x-ch'aja7
 PAST-be-PF ART 3POS-foot
 ‘But her feet were chicken feet.’ [T0063: 054-55]

(756) *Adjectival Focus*

- a. **waa** lakt'ikt'ika7 juu waakax
waa lakt'ikt'i-ka7 juu waakax
FOC small-JST ART cow
'The cows were still small.' [T0020:008]
- b. juntaa **waa** puut'ikst'i laktalhpaa
juntaa **waa** puut'ikst'i lak-talhpaa
where **FOC** narrow PL-hill
'Where the hills are narrow.' [T0022: 052]
- c. **waa** lakatz'unin juu maqalhqamaan.
waa lakatz'unin juu maqalhqamaa-n
FOC few ART Tepehua-PL
'The Tepehua people were few.' [T0057: 055]
- d. porque juu 7ani7 laqachaqaan **waa** lakat'ikst'i,
porque juu 7ani7 laqachaqaan **waa** lakat'ikst'i,
because ART here village **FOC** small
- xjuuniita lakat'ikst'i
x-jun-niita lakat'ikst'i
PAST-be-PF small
'Because the town here was small, it was small.' [T0057: 086]

(757) *Adverbial Focus*

a. *Locative Adverb*

- maa xt'oonpalay juu maqtili7
maa x-t'ajun-pala-y juu maqtili7
RPT PAST-be-REP-IMPF ART wild.animal
- juu **waa** niinch laqachaqaan, taa wii xkaan
juu **waa** niin+ch laqachaqaan taa wii xkaan
REL **FOC** near+ALD town where sitting(IMPFV) water
'There was an animal that was near the town, by the water.' [T0020:002]

b. *Non-ideophonic Manner Adverb*

- waa** chunch 7anawii'ti, tachu nawiiy sexta
waa chunch 7a-nawii-t'i tachu nawii-y sexta
FOC like.so IRR-do-2SG.SUB.PFV how do-IMPFV guitar
'Do it like this, the way you do the sexta guitar.' [T0066: 134]

c. *Ideophonic Manner Adverb*

waa xk'ululu xukxumaa juu xkaan
waa xk'ululu x-7ukxu=maa juu xkaan
FOC ID:trickle PAST-go.down=lying(PFV) ART water
 'The water trickled down.' [T0057: 059]

d. *Temporal Adverb*

waa tz'iisin 7akminaaw
waa tz'iisin 7a-k-min-a7-w
FOC early IRR-1SUB-come-FUT-1PL.SUB
 'We will come early.' [T0069: 241]

(758) *Prepositional Focus*

a. maa xta7amaqpanan juu papaanin
 maa x-ta-7a-maqpa-nVn juu papa7-nin
 RPT PAST-3PL.SUB-PL.INO-wash-INO(IMPFV) ART men-PL

 juu kaa **waa** lakak'iwin xtat'ajun
 juu kaa **waa** laka-k'iw-in x-ta-t'ajun
 REL BLV **FOC** PREP-tree-PL PAST-3PL.SUB-live(IMPFV)
 'The men who were living in the woods would wash.' [T0022: 002-3]

b. **waa** laktalhpa taa xaqamanuukan.
waa laka-talhpa taa xaqama=nuu-kan
FOC PREP-hill where drag=insert-INS(IMPFV)
 'They are dragged into the cave.'
 LIT: 'Into a hill is where they are dragged.' [T0063: 044]

(759) *Number Focus*

a. **waa** laqatam juu 7ixwootoon
waa laqa-tam juu 7ix-wootoon
FOC CL:general-one ART 3POS-knot
 'It has only one knot.'
 LIT: 'Its knot is only one.' [T0069: 353]

b. **waa** laqat'uy lht'aqalak'iw kaa wachu7 palata
waa laqa-t'uy lht'aqalak'iw kaa wachu7 palata
FOC CL:general-two board BLV also more
 'There are two more boards also, I think.' [T0069: 070]

Though the HT particle *waa* serves to focus a particular member of a clause, it does not occur in every clause. In fact, only 17% of the 1393 records (including questions and answers) in the HT text database include the focus particle.

Above I mentioned that the focus particle does not influence the word order of the clause. Though it is possible to find examples of clauses that both contain the focus particle *waa* and deviate from the standard VO word order, such as the clause in (760a), these examples are less numerous than those which contain the focus particle and exhibit the standard word order, as in (760b).

(760) *CF WO*

- a.
- | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|-----|-------------------|------------|-----------------------|
| | | OBJ | | VERB |
| juu | maa | x7asqat'a7an | waa | xta7uy |
| juu | maa | x-7asqat'a-7an | waa | x-ta-7u-y |
| ART | RPT | 3POS-child-PL.POS | FOC | PAST-3PL.SUB-eat-IMPV |
| 'They would eat their children.' | | | | [T0059: 003] |
- b.
- | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|------------|------------------------|-----|---------------------|
| | | VERB | | OBJ |
| maa | waa | x7ukanch | | juu ki7asqat'a7an |
| maa | waa | x-7u-kan+ch | | juu ki-7asqat'a-7an |
| RPT | FOC | PAST-eat-INS(IMPV)+ALD | ART | 1POS-child-PL.POS |
| 'They would eat our children.' | | | | [T0059: 028] |

According to Jim Watters (p.c.), the Tepehua focus particle *waa* is most likely cognate with the Totonac copula *wan* 'become'. Typologically, it is not unusual for a focus particle to be historically derived from a copula (Drubig 2000),²⁰⁸ and the HT focus particle does indeed seem to act like a copula in predicate nominal and adjectival constructions, such as those shown above in the examples in (755a), (755b), and (756). Furthermore, there are a two examples,

²⁰⁸ I must thank Jim Watters for pointing this reference out to me.

shown below in (761), in which the focus particle occurs clause-finally and not preceding a focused element. In these examples *waa* seems to behave more like a copula than like a focusing element.

(761) *Focus Particle in Clause-final Position*

a. juu xqatii naa naa lhuu **waa**.
 ART creek EMP EMP much **FOC**
 ‘The creek rose a lot.’ [T0058: 003]

b. pero juu 7anu7 lapanak juu xaqaalhii7an
 pero juu 7anu7 lapanak juu x-xaqa-lhii7an
 but ART that person REL PAST-pull=take(IMPV)

jaantu qoxiyaa lapanak **waa**.
 jaantu qoxiyaa lapanak **waa**
 NEG good person **FOC**
 ‘But that person who was pulling them along is not a good person.’
 [T0063: 038-39]

Further evidence that the HT focus particle is derived from an older form of the copula is found in third person examples in the irrealis mood. In all irrealis modalities except the conditional modality and the future tense, the copula is *waa* (phonetically identical to the focus particle *waa*). Examples are shown below in (762). In these examples, *waa* is prefixed with the irrealis prefix *ka-*, and in the case of (762c), the negative future prefix *ti-*. However, when the copula is used in the future tense of the irrealis mood or in the conditional modality, it occurs as the standard form *jun*, as seen below in (763).²⁰⁹

²⁰⁹ For more information on the irrealis mood, please see Section 3.1.2.3 of Chapter 3.

(762) *Copula waa, Irrealis Mood*

a. *Optative*

klakaskin nii **kawaa** 7ukxtin juu Xiiwaan
k-lakaskin nii ka-**waa** 7ukxtin juu Xiiwaan
1SUB-want COMP IRR-**be**(IRR) president ART John
'I want John to be/become president.' [BeQ]

b. *Negative Optative*

jaantu talakask'in juu lapanak
jaantu ta-lakask'in juu lapanak
NEG 3PL.SUB-want(IMPFV) ART people

nii **kawaa** 7ukxtin
nii ka-**waa** 7ukxtin
COMP IRR-**be**(IRR) president
'The people do not want him to be/become president.' [ELIEX2: 008]

c. *Negative Future*

jaantu 7ukxtin **katiwaa** juu Xiiwaan
jaantu 7ukxtin ka-ti-**waa** juu Xiiwaan
NEG president IRR-NEG.FUT-**be**(IRR) ART John
'John will not be president.' [BeQ2]

d. *Dubitative*

jaantu k'atz'ay nii 7ukxtin
jaantu k-k'atz'a-y nii 7ukxtin
NEG 1SUB-know-IMPFV COMP president

kawaa juu Xiiwaan
ka-**waa** juu Xiiwaan
IRR-**be**(IRR) ART John
'I don't know if John is/will be president.'
'I doubt that John will be president.' [BeQ2]

e. *Permission, Possibility*

kaa laay **kawaa** 7ukxtin juu Xiiwaan
kaa laa-y ka-**waa** 7ukxtin juu Xiiwaan
BLV can-IMPFV IRR-**be**(IRR) president ART John
'John may be president.'
'John can be president.'
'It is possible that John is president.' [BeQ2]

(763) *Copula jun, Irrealis Mood*

a. *Future*

7ukxtin kajuna7 juu Xiiwaan
 7ukxtin ka-jun-a7 juu Xiiwaan
 president IRR-be-FUT ART John
 ‘John will be president.’

[BeQ2]

b. *Conditional*

7ukxtin kajuna7 juu Xiiwaan nii kalhtajuya7
 7ukxtin ka-jun-a7 juu Xiiwaay nii ka-lhtaju-ya7
 president IRR-be-FUT ART John COMP IRR-win-FUT
 ‘John will be president if he wins.’

[BeQ2]

8.3 INTERROGATIVE STRUCTURES

All questions in HT are characterized by rising intonation. In addition, there are various interrogative pronouns and tags that are used in the formulation of questions.

8.3.1 Yes/No Questions

A yes/no question in HT is always formed using rising intonation. Additionally, there is an interrogative pronoun *jaa* that occurs in the focus position at the beginning of a clause, as seen below in the examples in (764) and (765). The example in (764a) shows a declarative clause, and the example in (764b) shows the corresponding interrogative version of the same clause.

(764)a. laktamaqstalh juu kinkúuxtaa juu Karmeeluu.
 lak-tamaqsta-li juu kin-kuuxtaa juu Karmeeluu
 PL-load.up-PFV ART 1POS-sack ART Carmelo
 Carmelo loaded up my sacks.

b. **jaa** laktamaqstalh juu kinkuuxtaa juu Karmeeluu?
jaa lak-tamaqsta-li juu kin-kuuxtaa juu Karmeeluu
Q PL-load.up-PFV ART 1POS-sack ART Carmelo
 Did Carmelo load up my sacks? [MNB15: 51]

- (765) a. **jaa** laay k'alakt'aatamakajuu?
jaa laa-y k-7a-lak-t'aa-tamakajun
Q can-IMPV 1SUB-PL.INO-DIS-COM-stay(PFV)
 'May I stay with them?' [T0055: 061]
- b. **jaa** chunchi7as nawiikanch
jaa chun+chi+7as nawii-kan+ch
Q like.so+ALD+TAGQ do-INS+ALD
- 7aksni soqchi 7an?
 7aksnii soq+chi 7an
 when straight+ALD go(IMPV)
 'Is this how they do it when they straighten it?' [T0069: 168]
- c. **jaa** yuuch juu niimaa?
Q PRN.3SG ART this
 'Is it this one?' [MNB15: 41]

More often than not, there is no interrogative pronoun in a yes/no question at all. In these cases, the question is identical to a declarative clause except for the intonation. Examples of yes/no questions without *jaa* are shown below in (766).

- (766) a. yuuch juu maqtili7?
 PRN.3SG ART wild.animal
 'Is he the devil?' [T0054: 011]
- b. laklhkulh juu t'aku7?
 lak-lhku-li juu t'aku7
 DIS-burn-PFV ART woman
 'Did the woman burn (to death)?' [T0054: 067]
- c. jaantu p'aast'ak'a?
 jaantu paastak-7a
 NEG remember(2SUB)-IMPV
 'Don't you remember?' [T0058: 007]
- d. takipuuxkajuun?
 ta-ki-puuxkajun-n
 3PL.SUB-RT-look.for(PFV)-2OBJ
 'They went looking for you?' [T0066: 018]

- c. laqen nii tantz'iktz'ik jumpalhkan juu xqawaw?
 laqen nii tantz'iktz'ik jun-pala-kan juu xqawaw
 Q:RHET COMP yellow.breast say-REP-INS(IMPFV) ART yellow
 'Don't you know that 'yellow breast' [type of bird] is called 'yellow'?'
 [T0069: 239]

8.3.2 *Wh*-Questions

All of the interrogative pronouns (i.e., *wh*-words) are listed in Table 39. The interrogative pronoun always occurs in the focus position at the beginning of a clause. The different pronouns have different restrictions regarding what type of clause may follow; therefore, I discuss each interrogative word below.

Table 39: Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative Pronoun	Gloss	Following Clause
jaa	what, did, pardon	matrix clause
tawanáanch	when	matrix clause
taamálh	which	missing data
taanch	where	relative clause, matrix clause
taas	how	matrix clause, relative clause
tíjuuch	what, why	relative clause
tiis	what	matrix clause
tiischawaych	who, whom	relative clause
tiichii ~ tuchii	who, whom	relative clause
tiix	why	relative clause

(770) **taamálh** chaqaʔ?
which house
 ‘Which house?’ [MNB5: 308]

The interrogative pronoun *tanch* ‘where’ is always followed by a subordinate clause that is introduced by the relativizer *juu*. Examples are shown below in (771). In one example—shown below in (772)—there is no relativizer; this is possibly a performance error.

(771) a. **taanchach** [juu xtanuun]_{RELCL}?
taanch+ach juu x-tanuun-n
where+ALD REL PAST-put.in(PFV)-2OBJ
 ‘Where did he put you?’ [T0066: 088]

b. **taanch** [juu wii juu papaʔ]_{RELCL}?
where REL seated(IMPV) ART old.man
 ‘Where is the old man?’ [MNB3: 75]

c. **taanch** [juu t'i7in]_{RELCL}?
taanch juu ti-7an
where REL IMM(2SUB)-go(2SUB.IMPV)
 ‘Where are you going?’ [MNB14: 12, 13 (NVP)]

(772) **taanch** xak'ilaay, jii kumwaarii?
taanch xa-ki-laa-y jii kumwaarii
where PAST-RT-can-IMPV VOC compadre
 ‘Where did you go, compadre?’ [T0055: 006]

The interrogative pronoun *taas* ‘how’ is used in two contexts: (i) to question the manner in which an action is performed, and (ii) when followed by a quantifier, to question a quantity, as in ‘how much’ or ‘how many’. In the first context—that of questioning an action—*taas* is followed by a matrix clause, as seen in the examples in (773).

(773) a. **taas** ʔak'omp'anyalaaych juu niimaa?
taas ʔakompanya-laa-y+ch juu niimaa
how accompany(2SUB)-can-IMPV+ALD ART this.one
 ‘How do you accompany (musically) this one?’ [T0066: 061]

b. ʔentons, **taas** t'alaaych juu yuuch?
 ʔentons, **taas** t'alaay+ch juu yuuch
 then, **how** do-IMPV+ALD ART PRN.3SG
 ‘Then, how does *he* do it?’ [T0054: 001]

In the second context in which *taas* occurs—that of questioning a quantity—*taas* is immediately followed by a quantifier, as seen in the examples below in (774) and (775). However, there is some variation regarding the type of clause that it introduces. Though *taas* is usually followed by a subordinate clause that is introduced by the relativizer *juu*, as seen in the examples in (774), there are some examples in which the relativizer is omitted, making the following clause a matrix clause, as seen in the examples in (775).

(774) a. **taas** piischuuxch [juu xalhiit'an
taas piis-chuux+ch juu xa-lhiit'an
 QUAN CL:bundle-how.many+ALD REL PAST-bring(2SUB.IMPV)

 juu stapu]RELCL?
 juu stapu
 ART bean
 ‘How many bundles/handfuls of beans would you bring?’ [Q7]

b. **taas** ʔaqxchuuxch
taas ʔaqx-chuux+ch
 QUAN CL:flat-how.many+ALD

 [juu ʔalin juu ʔalhik]RELCL?
 juu ʔalin juu ʔalhik
 REL there.is(IMPV) ART paper
 ‘How many sheets of paper are there?’ [Q7]

c. **taas** maqxapachuuxch [juu puumpu7 juu 7alin]_{RELCL?}
taas maqxapa-chuux+ch juu puumpu7 juu 7alin
QUAN CL:roll-how.many+ALD ART clothing REL there.is(IMPFV)
 ‘How many rolls of clothing are there?’ [Q7]

d. **taas** pumachuuxch lapanak
taas puma-chuux+ch lapanak
QUAN CL:human-how.many person
 [juu jaantu xatamin]_{RELCL?}
 juu jaantu xa-ta-min
 REL NEG PAST-PL.SUB-come(IMPFV)
 ‘How many people did not come?’ [Q7]

(775)a. **taas** paqchuuxch xa7iiy
taas paq-chuux+ch xa-7ii-y
QUAN CL:trips-how.many+ALD PAST-bring-IMPFV
 juu 7ixkaan juu 7atzi7
 juu 7ix-xkaan juu 7atzi7
 ART 3POS-water ART girl
 ‘How many water trips would the girl make?’
 ‘How many times would the girl bring water?’ [Q7]

b. **taas** pumachuux lapanák katamina7?
taas puma-chuux lapanák ka-ta-min-a7
QUAN CL:human-how.many people IRR-PL.SUB-come-FUT
 ‘How many people will come?’ [Q7]

The interrogative pronoun *tijuuch* corresponds to both ‘what’ and ‘why’, and it is always followed by a subordinate clause introduced by the relativizer *juu*. Examples appear below in (776).

(776)a. **tijuuch** [juu kanawiiya7 juu chaway]_{RELCL?}
tijuuch juu ka-nawii-ya7 juu chaway
what REL IRR-do-FUT ART now
 ‘What will he do now?’ [TPWDB]

b. **tiijuuch** [juu lakask'in juu 7ixnati juu 7atz'i7]_{RELCL?}
tiijuuch juu lakask'in juu 7ix-nati juu 7atz'i7
why REL want(IMPV) ART 3POS-motherART girl
 'Why did the girl want her mother?' [TPWDB]

c. **tiijuuch** [juu 7ulh]_{RELCL?}
tiijuuch juu 7u-li
what REL eat-PFV
 'What did she eat?' [T0069: 225]

The interrogative pronoun *tiis* is used specifically when asking what something or someone is called, as seen in the examples below in (777), in which the interrogative pronoun is followed by a matrix clause. I have one example, shown in (778), in which it is used to ask the time.

(777)a. **tiis** xjunkanch?
tiis x-jun-kan+ch
what PAST-say-INS(IMPV)+ALD
 'What was he called?'
 'What was his name?' [T0054: 061]

b. **tiis** junkan juu lhiimaqalhqama7?
tiis jun-kan juu lhii-maqalhqama7
what say-INS(IMPV) ART APPL-Tepehua
 'How is it said in Tepehua?' [T0066: 204]

c. **tiis** junkanch juu yuuch?
tiis jun-kan+ch juu yuuch
what say-INS(IMPV) ART PRN.3SG
 'What is this one [a song] called?' [T0066: 123]

(778) **tiis** 7oorach?
tiis 7ooraa+ch
what hour+ALD
 'At what time?' [T0066: 285]

There are two distinct interrogative pronouns that correspond to 'who': (i) *tiischawaych* and (ii) *tiichii ~ tuuchii*. I do not have a sense of what determines

the use of one over the other. *Tiischawaych* ‘who’ can be analyzed as *tiis=chaway+ch* ‘what=now+ALD’. It is followed by a subordinate clause introduced by the relativizer. Examples appear in (779).

- (779) a. **tiischawaych** [juu xachin juu tz'iis]_{RELCL?}
tiischawaych juu xa-chin juu tz'iis
who REL PAST-arrive(IMPV) ART night
 ‘Who arrived last night?’ [TPWDB]
- b. **tiischawaych** [juu t'aaqot'i]_{RELCL?}
tiischawaych juu t'aa-qot-t'i
who REL COM-drink-2SG.SUB.PFV
 ‘With whom did you drink?’ [T0066: 292]
- c. **tiischawaych-7ata?**
who-2SG.SUB
 ‘Who are you?’ [MNB5: 308]

The second interrogative pronoun meaning ‘who’ is *tiichii*, and it has an alternate form: *tuuchii*. I have only one example in which *tuuchii* appears, so it might be a simple speech error. Examples appear in (780). The interrogative pronoun is followed by a subordinate clause, as seen in (780c).

- (780) a. **tiichii** [juu lapanak]_{RELCL?}
who REL man
 ‘Who is the man?’ [TPWDB]
- b. juu 7atz'i7 jaantu mispaay **tiichii** [juu lapanak]_{RELCL}
 juu 7atz'i7 jaantu mispaa-y **tiichii** juu lapanak
 ART girl NEG know-IMPV **who** REL man
 ‘The girl does not know who the man is.’ [TPWDB]
- c. **tuuchiich** [juu lhiit'aqap'aych]_{RELCL?}
tuuchiich+ch juu lhiit'aqap'a-y+ch
who+ALD REL APPL-get.drunk-IMPV+ALD
 ‘For whom are you getting drunk?’ [T0066: 097]²¹⁰

²¹⁰ This clause is a lyric from a Spanish song that the speakers translated into HT.

I have only one example of the interrogative pronoun *tiix* ‘why’, shown below in (781). This interrogative word is followed by a subordinate relative clause.

- (781) **tiix** laqxtuch [juu lhiit'aqap'at'a7un]_{RELCL?}
tiix laqxtu+ch juu lhii-t'aqap'a-tajun
why alone+ALD REL APPL-get.drunk-AMB(2SUB.IMPV)
 ‘Why do you go around getting drunk all alone?’
 ‘Why are you alone when you go around getting drunk?’ [T0066: 090]²¹¹

8.3.3 Omission of Interrogative Pronouns

The omission of the interrogative word *jaa* from yes/no questions is quite common, as discussed above in Section 8.3.1. However, omission of the interrogative pronoun is not limited to yes/no questions; it also occurs to a much lesser extent in either/or, quantity, and open-ended questions, as seen in the examples in (782), (783), and (784), respectively. In all examples, the interrogative nature of the clauses is indicated by rising intonation.

(782) *Either/or*

- a. waa takiknawiin 7uu waa laqk'ik'nawii?
 waa ta-kiknawii-n 7uu waa lak-kiknawii
 FOC 3PL.SUB-flatter(PFV)-2OBJ or FOC PL-flatter(2SUB.PFV)
 ‘Did they flatter you or did you flatter them?’ [T0066: 051]
- b. p'aax 7uu waakax?
 pig or cow
 ‘Pork or beef?’ [T0069: 228]

(783) *Quantity*

- a. talaqachuux lapanák xtamin?
 ta-laqa-chuux lapanák x-ta-min
 3PL.SUB-CL:general-how.many people PAST-3PL.SUB-come(IMPV)
 ‘How many people came?’ [ELIEX1: 055]

²¹¹ This clause is a lyric of a Spanish song that the speakers translated into HT.

(784) *Open-ended*

- a. 'juu ki7asqat'achi?' maa kanoonaach
juu ki-7asqat'a+chi maa ka-najun-a7+ch
ART 1POS-child RPT IRR-say-FUT+ALD
'"My child?" he will say.' [T0059: 012]
- b. talaaniych?
ta-lani-y+ch
INCH-read-IMPV+ALD
'How does it (a tune) go?' [T0066: 117]

8.3.4 Tag Questions

A tag question may be formed in one of three ways: (i) using the tag particle *ta7as*, (ii) using the tag clitic *+7as*, or (iii) using the negative particle *jaantu*. The full form of the tag question *ta7as* occurs only clause-finally, as seen below in the examples in (785), and it adds a tag question onto the end of the clause.

- (785)a. tataqoxchoqoy **ta7as**
ta-ta-qox-choqo-y **ta7as**
3PL.SUB-INCH-bad-AGAIN-IMPV **TAGQ**
'They mess up, don't they?' [T0066: 236]
- b. juu 7ani7 **ta7as**
ART this.one **TAGQ**
'This one, right?' [T0069: 111]
- c. kinana7 juu laqxawlh **ta7as?**
ki-nana7 juu lak-xaju-li **ta7as**
1POS-old.lady REL DIS-burn-PFV **TAGQ**
'The old lady who burned (to death), right?' [T0054: 059]
- d. Pero sí se escuchaba bien, **ta7as?**
'But, yes, it sounded good, didn't it?' [T0066: 195-6]

Though the tag question clitic *+7as* is a reduced form of the full tag *ta7as*, its distribution is different. Whereas *ta7as* occurs only clause-finally, *+7as* cliticizes onto the end of verbs (786), adverbs (787), and the negative particle *jaantu* (788) regardless of their positions within the clause. When the tag question cliticizes onto a verb or adverb, it may be translated as a tag question, e.g., ‘didn’t it?’, ‘doesn’t it?’, or as ‘right?’ in English and ‘¿verdad?’ in Spanish. When *+7as* cliticizes onto the negative particle, the result is a negative question, ‘didn’t + clause’. Neither variant (*ta7as* or *+7as*) is used more frequently than the other, and the choice of which to use seems to lie with the speaker.

(786) *Verb + 7as*

- a. k'ilaach'oqoo**7as** juu tz'iisich?
 ki-laa-choqo+**7as** juu tz'iisich
 RT-can-AGAIN.PFV-TAGQ ART last.night
 ‘You went again last night, didn’t you?’ [T0066: 020]
- b. naa laay**7as** ch'uk'uy?
 naa laa-y+**7as** ch'uk'u-y
 EMP can-IMPFV-TAGQ cut-IMPFV
 ‘It can really cut, can’t it?’ [T0069: 436]
- c. maamaatacha**7as**?
 maa-maa-ta-chaa+**7as**
 CAUS-lying-PF-DIST+TAGQ
 ‘He has it over there, doesn’t he?’ [T0069: 406]

(787) *Adverb + 7as*

- a. chunchi**7as** nawiikanch
 chun+chi+**7as** nawii-kan+ch
 like.so+ALD+TAGQ make-INS(IMPFV)+ALD
- 7aksni soqch 7an
 7aksni soqch 7an
 when straight+ALD go(IMPFV)
 ‘This is how it is done when it is straightened, isn’t it?’ [T0069: 168]

b. juu 7ani7 wachuu7as
 juu 7ani7 wachu7+7as
 ART this.one also+TAGQ
 ‘This one, too, right?’ [T0069: 249]

c. lhii7uwiint'i7as
 lhii-7uwiinti+7as
 APPL-there+TAGQ
 ‘Over there, right?’ [T0066: 029]

(788) *Negative + 7as*

jaantu7as xtaqnilh juu xtuumiin?
 jaantu+7as xtaq-ni-li juu x-tuumiin
 NEG+TAGQ give-DAT-PFV ART 3POS-money
 ‘Didn’t he give her his money?’ [T0054: 015]

The negative particle *jaantu*, or its reduced form *too*, may be used as a negative tag, ‘no’, as seen in the examples below in (789). It always occurs clause-finally when it is used in this capacity.²¹²

(789)a. maa taminqoolhch chuux, **jaantu?**
 maa ta-min-qoju-li+ch chuux **jaantu**
 RPT 3PL.SUB-come-ALL-PFV+ALD all NEG
 ‘They all went, no?’ [T0058: 045]

b. juu yuuch, kaa waa chunchach kakana7, **jaantu?**
 juu yuuch kaa waa chunch-ach ka-7an-a7 **jaantu**
 ART PRN.3SG BLV FOC like.so+ALD IRR-go-FUT NEG
 ‘This one, I think it will go like this, no?’ [T0069: 068]

c. Lakhiimaacha7, **too?**
 Lakhiimaacha7 **jaantu**
 San Guillermo NEG
 ‘San Guillermo (place name), no?’ [T0066: 206]

²¹² For more information on negation, please see Section 8.4.

8.4 NEGATION

The HT negative particle *jaantu* ['ha:n.tu] is used to negate both clauses and phrases. The full form *jaantu* may be truncated to *tuu*. Examples are shown in (790). The two variants occur in free variation.

(790)a. maa **jaantu** laay 7alin sasqat'a7an
maa **jaantu** laa-y 7alin s-7asqat'a-7an
RPT NEG can-IMPV there.is(IMPV) 3POS-child-PL.POS
'He/she can not have children.' [T0003: 007]

b. juu p'ulhnan **tuu** laay 7ixchiwinin
juu p'ulhnan **tuu** laa-y 7ix-chiwin-nin
ART first NEG can-IMPV PAST-speak-PL.INF

juu maqalhqama7 juu lhiilaawaan naa qox
juu maqalhqama7 juu lhii-laawaan naa qox
ART Tepehuas ART APPL-Spanish EMP good
'At first, the Tepehua could not speak Spanish very well.'
[T0057: 097]

When *jaantu* has scope over the verb phrase, it occurs in the adverbial position immediately preceding the verb, as seen in the examples above in (790) and below in (791).

(791)a. juu doktornin **jaantu** tamispaay
juu doktor-nin **jaantu** ta-mispaay
ART doctor-PL NEG 3PL.SUB-know-IMPV

juu xlak'uch'un7an
juu x-lak-k'uch'u-n-7an
ART 3POS-PL-cure-DVB-PL.POS
'The doctors do not know their cures.'
[T0009: 014]

b. pero juu xaapay maa **jaantu** xtalh7aman
pero juu xaa-pay maa **jaantu** x-talh7aman
but ART IPOS-father RPT NEG PAST-get.angry(IMPV)
'But the father would not get angry.'
[T0059: 029]

If the verb is modified by a manner adverb, *jaantu* precedes the adverb, which in turn occurs immediately before the verb. Examples are shown in (792); adverbs are underlined.

(792) a. **jaantuch** qox qaasmatkan
jaantu+ch qox qaasmat-kan
 NEG+ALD well hear-INS(IMPFV)
 ‘They can not hear well.’ [T0066: 059]

b. **jaantuch** chun xalaakan
jaantu+ch chun xa-laa-kan
 NEG+ALD like.so PAST-can-INS(IMPFV)
 ‘They would not do it like that.’ [T0059: 021]

c. **jaantu** waa lhtuku lhtuku 7anawii'ti
jaantu waa lhtuku lhtuku 7a-nawii-t'i
 NEG FOC ID ID IRR-do-2SG.SUB.PFV

 juu mimaka7
 juu mi-maka7
 ART 2POS-hand
 ‘Don’t tense up your hand.’
 [*lhtuku* ‘tense or rigid motion’] [T0066: 130]

The focus particle *waa* may follow *jaantu*, as seen in the example in (793a), or it may precede *jaantu*, as seen in the example in (793b). *Waa* is underlined.

(793) a. xakijuuniy
 xa-ki-jun-ni-y
 PAST-1OBJ-tell-DAT-IMPFV

 “**jaantu** waa 7a7it'i juu waa tz'iisi”
jaantu waa 7a-7an-t'i juu waa tz'iisi
 NEG FOC IRR-go-2SG.SUB.PFV ART FOC night
 ‘He would say to me, “Don’t go at night.”” [T0022: 049]

- b. porque maa waa **jaantu** xta7aqpaaaxta
 porque maa waa **jaantu** x-ta-7aqpaaax-ta
 because RTP FOC NEG PAST-3PL.SUB-baptize-PF
 ‘Because they had not been baptized.’ [T0059: 039]

The negative particle may also have scope over a predicate nominal or adjective, as seen in the examples below in (794). If the predication requires a copula, the negative particle precedes the predicated element, rather than the copula, as seen in the example in (794c).

- (794)a. **jaantu** lapanak
jaantu lapanak
 NEG person
 ‘He was not a person/human.’ [T0054: 009]

- b. maa **jaantu** qox
 maa **jaantu** qox
 RPT NEG good
- nii maa katamaqnii
 nii maa ka-ta-maqnii
 COMP RPT IRR-3PL.SUB-kill(PFV)
 ‘It is not good for them to kill it.’ [T0003: 016]

- c. 7ixjuuniita juu lapanak maa **jaantu** lhuu
 7ix-jun-niita juu lapanak maa **jaantu** lhuu
 PAST-be-PF ART person RPT NEG many
 ‘The people were not numerous.’ [T0057: 054]

When the negative particle has scope over the entire clause, it occurs at the beginning of the clause, as seen below in the examples in (795). Both the full form and the truncated form may be used in this context; however, when either of the two forms occurs as the first element of the clause, the final high-back vowel [ɤ] or [u:] becomes [o:]. Note that the underlying form [jantu] occurs as the

second negative in (795c), presumably because it does not occur as the first element in the clause.

- (795) a. **jaantoo**, 7akxp'it'achi lakatz'unin
jaantu 7a-k-xp'it-7a+ch lakatz'unin
 NEG IRR-1SUB-sand-IMPV+ALD a.little
 'No, I should sand it a little bit.' [T0069: 076]
- b. **too**, waa kintakiknawii
jaantu waa kin-ta-kiknawii
 NEG FOC 1OBJ-3PL.SUB-flatter(PFV)
 'No, they flattered me.' [T0066: 048]
- c. **too**, **jaantu**, juu yuuch xlakaytat
jaantu jaantu juu yuuch x-lakaytat
 NEG NEG ART PRN.3SG 3POS-middle
 'No, no, this one [goes in] the middle.' [T0069: 026]

When a subordinate clause—but not its matrix clause—is negated, the negative particle occurs after the complementizer and before the subordinate verb and the adverb if there is one, as seen in the examples below in (796).

- (796) a. juunikalh [nii **jaantu** kalaknawlh]_{COMPCL}
 jun-ni-kan-li nii **jaantu** ka-lak-najun-li
 tell-DAT-INS-PFV COMP NEG IRR-PL-say-PFV
 'They told him not to talk.' [QMMES]
- b. [nii **jaantuch** soq kajuna7]_{CONDCL}
 nii **jaantu+ch** soq ka-jun-a7
 COMP NEG+ALD straight IRR-be-FUT
- kalaqoxiyaawch lakapaaxpit
 ka-laqoxi-ya7-w+ch laka-paaxpit
 IRR-fix-FUT-1PL.SUB+ALD PREP-jack.plane
 'If it does not straighten out, we can fix it with a jack plane.'
 [T0069: 132-133]

When the matrix clause is negated, the negative particle precedes the matrix verb, as seen in the example below in (797).

- (797) a. **jaantu** klakask'in [nii 7amiilhp'at'i]_{COMPCL}
jaantu k-lakask'in nii 7a-miilhpa-t'i
 NEG 1SUB-want(IMPFV) COMP IRR-sing(2SUB)-2SG.SUB.PFV
 'I don't want you to sing.' [QMMES]
- b. **jaantu** k'atzay [nii kamaamaa juu tuumiin]_{COMPCL}
jaantu k'atza-y nii ka-maamaa juu tuumiin
 NEG know-IMPFV COMP IRR-have(PFV) ART money
 'He doesn't know if she has the money.' [QMMES]

The negative particle may be used as a tag question, as seen below in the examples in (798). It always occurs at the end of the clause when it is used for this purpose.

- (798) a. maa taminqoolhch chuux **jaantu?**
 maa ta-min-qoju-li+ch chuux **jaantu**
 RPT 3PL.SUB-come-ALL-PFV+ALD all NEG
 'Everybody came, no?' [T0058: 045]
- b. Lakhiimaacha7, **too?**
 San Guillermo NEG
 'San Guillermo (place name), no?' [T0066: 206]

A negative question is formed by means of the negative particle *jaantu* plus the tag question clitic +7as, as seen below in (799).²¹³ Note that the negative particle precedes the verb. I found no examples in the texts in which the truncated form *tuu* is cliticized with the tag question clitic +7as.

- (799) **jaantu7as** xtaqnilh juu xtuumiin?
jaantu+7as xtaq-ni-li juu x-tuumiin
 NEG+Q give-DAT-PFV ART 3POS-money
 'Didn't he give her his money?' [T0054: 015]

²¹³ Please see Section 8.3.4 for more information on tag questions.

- b. pero juu ʔaniʔ juu chaway
 pero juu ʔaniʔ juu chaway
 but ART here ART now
- jaantuch** tuʔuʔ ʔamaaqesqaanan
 jaantu+ch tuʔuʔ ʔa-maaqesqaa-nVn
 NEG+ALD something PL.INO-scare-INO(IMPFV)
 ‘But around here nowadays nothing scares.’ [T0054: 058]
- c. **jaantu** laqlhuu
 NEG expensive
 ‘cheap, inexpensive’ [TPWDB: jaantu laqlhuu]
- d. **jaantu** k'usi
 NEG pretty
 ‘ugly, unattractive’ [TPWDB: jaantu k'usi]

8.5 COMPARATIVE AND SUPERLATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Comparative and superlative constructions are formed in the same way in HT, using the marker *palay* ‘more’, ‘better’. The only comparative or superlative examples that I found in natural discourse are from a continuous passage of conversation, shown below in example (803). In these examples, the marker *palay* is shown in bold type, and the quality being compared is shown in italics. The marker of comparison always precedes the quality being compared. Note that none of these examples contains a standard to which the object in question (in this case, a wooden board) is being compared. All other examples in this section are from elicitation.

(803)a. *Speaker 1:*

juu 7ani7 waa **palay** st'ak'ak'a,
juu 7ani7 waa **palay** st'ak'ak'a
ART this FOC **more** thin

juu 7anu7 yaachaa
juu 7anu7 yaa(IMPFV)-chaa
ART that standing-DIST

'This one is thinner, that one standing over there.'

[T0069: 325]

b. *Speaker 2:*

jaa **palay** st'ak'ak'a?
Q **more** thin
'Is it thinner?'

[T0069: 326]

c. *Speaker 1:*

palay st'ak'ak'a
more thin
'It is thinner.'

[T0069: 327]

d. *Speaker 1:*

nii jaantu yuuch juu 7anu7 yaachaa,
nii jaantu yuuch juu 7anu7 yaa-chaa
COMP NEG PRN.3SG REL that standing(IMPFV)-DST

laqatam lhii7uwint'i
laqa-tam lhii-7uwint'i
CL:general-one APPL-over.there

'If not that one that is standing there, then the
other one over there.'

[T0069: 328]

e. *Speaker 2:*

saalaa, kaa **palay** qoxi
really BLV **more** good
'Really, I think it is better.'

[T0069: 329]

f. *Speaker 1:*

saalaa, **palay**
really **more**
'Really, it is better'

[T0069: 330]

g. *Speaker 2*:

palay *qox* juu 7ani7, yuuch juu 7ani7
more *good* ART this PRN.3SG ART this one
'This one is better, this one is.' [T0069: 331]

When a standard for comparison is included, one of two possible constructions may be used. In the first construction, two complete clauses are juxtaposed with each other, as seen below in (804a). The second construction, shown in (804b), includes a standard of comparison, which is preceded by *kuuyuuch* 'than'. Together *kuuyuuch* and the standard (which are underlined) follow the marker and quality being compared. If a copula is needed to bear tense and aspect morphology, it intervenes between the qualitative adjective and the standard of comparison, as seen below in (804c).

(804)a. juu Weensis **palay** *qonta*,
ART Laurencio **more** *fat*

juu Kuulaax **palay** *lakamakata'ikt'i*.
ART Nicholas **more** *thin*
'Laurencio is fatter than Nicholas.'
'Nicholas is thinner than Laurencio.' [MNB15: 53, QComp]

b. juu Kuulaax **palay** *lakamakata'ikt'i*
juu Kuulaax **palay** *lakamakata'ikt'i*
ART Nicholas more thin

kuuyuuch juu Weensiis.
kuu-yuuch juu Weensiis
than ART Lawrence
'Nicholas is thinner than Lawrence.' [QComp]

- c. juu Kuulaax **palay** *lakamakāt'ikt'i* 7ixjuuniita
 juu Kuulaax **palay** *lakamakāt'ikt'i* 7ix-jun-niita
 ART Nicholas more thin PAST-be-PF

kuuyuuch juu Weensiis.
kuu-yuuch juu Weensiis
than ART Lawrence
 'Nicholas was thinner than Lawrence.' [QComp]

To form the superlative, the standard of comparison is simply omitted, as seen below in (805).

- (805) juu Kuulaax **palay** *lakamakāt'ikt'i* (7ixjuuniita)
 juu Kuulaax **palay** *lakamakāt'ikt'i* (7ix-jun-niita)
 ART Nicholas more thin (PAST-be-PF)
 'Nicholas is (was) the thinnest.' [QComp]

The form *kuuyuuch* may be substituted with the Spanish *que* 'than', as seen below in (806).²¹⁴

- (806)a. juu xqooy **palay** *qay* que miistu7
 ART dog **more** *big* than cat
 'The dog is bigger than the cat.' [QComp]
- b. juu Kuulaax **palay** *jaantu 7ixqonta* que Weensiis
 juu Kuulaax **palay** *jaantu 7ix-qon-ta* que Weensiis
 ART Nicholas **more** *NEG PAST-fat-PF* than Lawrence
 'Nicholas was less fat than Lawrence.' [QComp]

Finally, when two items are considered to be equal, the adjective *st'alakatz'un* 'equal' acts as marker and quality, and it is followed by *que* 'than'. Examples appear in (807). Note that this adjective—unlike *lakamakāt'ikt'i* shown above in examples (804) and (805)—may bear tense and aspect morphology, so a copula is not needed.

²¹⁴ I assume that *kuuyuuch* can be analyzed as *kuu-yuuch*, where *yuuch* is the singular third person pronoun. I suspect that *kuu-* is a harmonized borrowing of Spanish *que* [ke], but I do not have concrete evidence to support this suspicion.

- (807) a. juu xchaqa7 Kuulaax waa naa *st'alakatz'un*
 juu x-chaqa7 Kuulaax waa naa *st'alakatz'un*
 ART 3POS-house Nicholas FOC EMP *equal*

que juu xchaqa7 Weensis
que juu x-chaqaa Weensis
than ART 3POS-house Lawrence

'Nicholas' house is the same size as Lawrence's house.' [MNB15: 54]

- b. juu xqooy *xt'alakatz'unta* que miistu7
 juu xqooy *x-st'alakat'zun-ta* que miistu7
 ART dog *PAST-equal-PF* than cat
 'The dog is the same size as the cat.'

[QComp]

8.6 COMPLEX CLAUSES

A complex clause in HT may involve subordination (section 8.6.1) or coordination (section 8.6.2) of clauses.

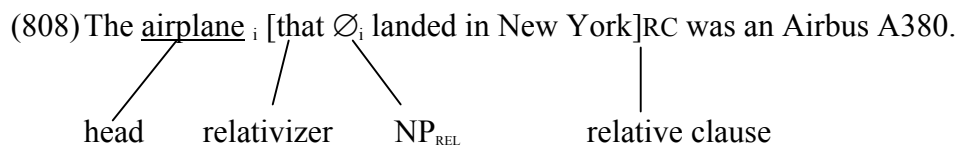
8.6.1 Subordination

Subordinate clauses in HT have in common three features: (i) the subordinate clause is always introduced by a complementizer, relativizer, or adverbial relative pronoun,²¹⁵ (ii) the verb of the subordinate clause is always finite, and (iii) no particular or special morphology is associated with subordination, either on the matrix or the subordinate verb. Types of subordinate clause found in HT and covered in this section include relative clauses (8.6.1.1), complement clauses (8.6.1.2), adverbial clauses (8.6.1.3), and conditional clauses (8.6.1.4). The word order of the major constituents is the same in the subordinate clause as it is in the matrix clause; that is, the two preferred word orders are VSO and SVO.

²¹⁵ Except when a direct quotation functions as a complement of the matrix verb.

8.6.1.1 Relative Clauses

Before discussing HT relative clauses, I want to first explain the notational conventions that I use in the examples in this section. The external head of the relative clause is underlined, the relativizer appears in bold type, and the relative clause is enclosed in square brackets. Note that in HT there is no overt relativized noun or pronoun within the relative clause that is co-referential with the external head noun. In order to avoid confusion, I model this absent relativized element using a zero. In a post-nominal relative clause, the zero is co-indexed with the external head of the relative clause. The schematic shown in (808) of a relative clause in English demonstrates these notational conventions.



HT has both post-nominal and headless relative clauses. The post-nominal relative clause always follows the noun that it modifies, as seen below in (809a). The headless relative clause does not modify a nominal, but itself acts as a verbal complement, as seen below in (809b); it may occur either clause-initially or clause-finally. A relative clause is usually introduced by the relativizer *juu*,²¹⁶ but it may also be introduced by the locative relative pronoun *juntaa* ‘where’ or its truncated form *taa*.

²¹⁶ The relativizer *juu* is homophonous with the definite article *juu*.

(809)a. *Post-nominal Relative Clause*

maa	xta7amaqpanan				juu	<u>papaanin</u> _i
maa	x-ta7amaqpan-nVn				juu	papa7-nin
RPT	PAST-3PL.SUB-wash.clothes-INO(IMPFV)				ART	man-PL

[juu	kaa	waa	lakak'iwin	xtat'ajun		Ø _i]RC
juu	kaa	waa	lakak'iwin	x-ta-t'ajun		
REL	BLV	FOC	woods	PAST-3PL.SUB-live(IMPFV)		

‘The men [that were living in the woods] would wash.’ [T0022: 002-003]

b. *Headless Relative Clause*

[juu	7uputulhch	Ø _i]RC _i	kaa	7ulhch;
juu	7u-putun-li+ch		kaa	7u-li+ch
REL	eat-DESID-PFV+ALD		BLV	eat-PFV+ALD

[juu	jaantuch	Ø _i]RC _i	kaa	jaantuch
juu	jaantu+ch		kaa	jaantu+ch
REL	NEG+ALD		BLV	NEG+ALD

‘[Whoever wanted to eat it] ate it; [whoever did not] didn’t.’
[T0020: 034-035]

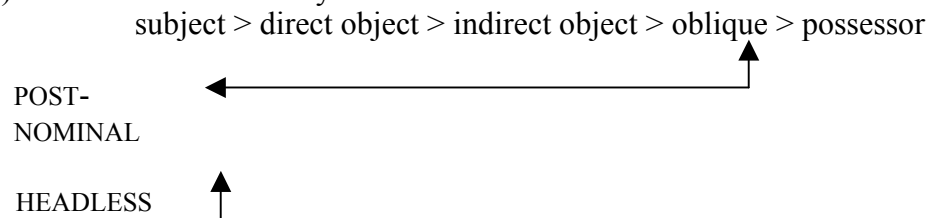
In (809a), *papaanin* ‘men’ is the head of the relative clause; it is the noun that is being modified by the relative clause. The head is co-indexical with the non-overt subject of the dependent verb, ‘live’, and this grammatical relationship is marked on the dependent verb by the third person plural subject prefix *ta-*. The relativizer *juu* introduces the relative clause.

In (809b), there are actually two relative clauses—*juu 7uputulhch* ‘whoever wanted to eat it’ and *juu jaantuch* ‘whoever did not’—neither of which modifies a head noun or noun phrase; instead the relative clause *juu 7uputulhch* ‘whoever wanted to eat it’ acts as the subject argument of the matrix verb *7ulhch* ‘ate it’ and the relative clause *juu jaantuch* ‘whoever did not’ acts as the subject of the elided verb of the negative verb phrase *jaantuch* ‘did not’. There are no

distinct relative pronouns in HT, and the relativizer *juu* introduces both relative clauses.²¹⁷

The Relativization Hierarchy in (810) shows the hierarchy of grammatical roles (in a subordinate clause) that may be relativized in the world's languages.²¹⁸ All languages that have relative clauses allow relativization of the subordinate subject. Different languages allow different grammatical roles to be relativized. The grammatical roles in this hierarchy are ordered such that if a language allows relativization of a particular role, it will also allow relativization of all of the roles to the left of it on the hierarchy. For example, if the possessor in a subordinate clause (in a particular language) may be relativized, then all grammatical roles to the left of the possessor on the hierarchy may also be relativized in that language.

(810) Relativization Hierarchy



In HT, the two types of relative clause (the post-nominal and the headless) behave differently with respect to which grammatical role within the relative (i.e., subordinate) clause may be relativized. In the HT post-nominal relative clause, an oblique argument—and all argument types to the left of it on the hierarchy—may be relativized as a post-nominal relative clause. Of all of the post-nominal relative

²¹⁷ The headless relative clause is a subtype of both relative clauses and complement clauses. For more information on complement clauses, please see the next section.

²¹⁸ Hierarchy proposed by Keenan and Comrie (1977), as cited in Payne (1997: 335).

clauses, those that are relativized on subjects of the subordinate verb occur far more frequently than those that are relativized on direct objects of the subordinate verb, which in turn occur more frequently than those that are relativized on indirect or oblique objects within the relative clause. I have found no instances of a possessor being relativized in HT. With respect to the headless type of relative clause, these may be relativized only on subjects of the subordinate verb in HT.

I am not aware of any type of hierarchy that ranks the grammatical roles of the head of the relative clause (i.e., the argument in the matrix clause that is co-indexical with the relativized argument in the subordinate clause). The determination of such a hierarchy would require cross-linguistic comparison of many different languages from diverse language families and, thus, is outside the scope of this analysis of the HT relative clause. Suffice to say that in HT, only the subject or the object of the matrix clause may be the head of a relative clause.

Examples of different types of post-nominal relative clause appear in the following examples. These examples are ordered with respect to the grammatical role of the relativized element (i.e., the grammatical role of the “relativized” zero element in the matrix clause). Relativized subjects of subordinate verbs are shown in the examples in (811), relativized objects in (812), relativized indirect objects in (813), and relativized oblique objects in (814). Further examples of headless relativized subjects are shown below in (815).

In each of the examples in (811), the non-overt relativized element is the subject of its relative clause. In the examples in (811a) and (811b), the heads of the relative clauses, *maqtili7* and *yuuch*, respectively, are the subjects of their

respective matrix clauses, as well as the subject of their relative clauses. In (811c), the head of the relative clause *lapanak* ‘person’ is the *object* of the matrix clause and the *subject* of the relative clause. The matrix clause in (811d) is a fragment in which the speaker cut himself off after the relative clause and began a new clause with the discourse marker *entonces* ‘then’; however, since the head of the relative clause, *juu pumatam lapanak* ‘one person’, occurs in clause-initial position, it would most likely have been the grammatical subject of the clause, given the VSO and SVO word order tendencies in this language.

(811) *Post-nominal Relativized Subjects*

- a. maa xt'oonpalay juu maqtili7 ;
 maa x-t'ajun-pala-y juu maqtili7
 RPT PAST-be-REP-IMPV ART wild.animal

[juu Ø_i waa niinch laqachaqaan taa wii xkaan]RC
juu waa niin+ch laqachaqaan taa wii xkaan
REL FOC near+ALD town where seated(IMPV) water
 ‘There was a wild animal [that was near the town, by the pond].’
 [T0020: 002]

- b. maa yuuch ; [juu Ø_i laay kalhii7alh maqata]RC
 maa yuuch **juu** laa-y ka-lhii7an-li maqata
 RPT PRN.3SG **REL** can-IMPV IRR-take-PFV far
 ‘It is *he* [who could take it far away].’²¹⁹ [T0003: 026]

²¹⁹ This is a clefted focus construction. Please see section 8.2.1.

- c. tanajunch juu kintata7 nii
 ta-najun+ch juu kin-tata7 nii
 3PL.SUB-say(IMPFV)+ ALD ART 1POS-elder COMP
- xtalaakilhun toolay
 x-ta-laa-kilhun toola-y
 PAST-3PL.SUB-RCP-chat(IMPFV) stay-IMPFV
- nii xtalaqtz'in
 nii x-ta-laqtz'in
 COMP PAST-3PL.SUB-see(IMPFV)
- juu lapanak ; [**juu** 7ixajaachiilh Ø_i]RC
 juu lapanak **juu** 7ix-xajaan-chii-li
 ART person **REL** PAST-exit-DST-PFV
 ‘My elders would say, when they sat around chatting,
 that they would see the person [that came out of there].’ [T0022: 020-022]
- d. juu pumatam lapának ;
 juu puma-tam lapanak
 ART CL:human-one person
- [**juu** kilaachiilh Ø_i 7ani7 maa lakaMiikiixkaan]RC
juu ki-laa-chi-li 7ani7 maa laka-Miikii-xkaan
REL RT-can-ADL-PFV here RPT PREP-Miguel-water
 ‘One person [that came along Michael's Water (place name)] . . .’
 [T0058: 015-6]

In each of the examples in (812), the non-overt relativized element is the object of its relative clause. In the first two examples in (812), the head of each relative clause, *kustumwree* ‘ritual’ in (812a) and *tuumiin* ‘money’ in (812b), is the object of the matrix clause. In (812c), the head of the relative clause, *p'in* ‘salsa’, is the subject of the predicate nominal construction that makes up the matrix clause.

(812) *Post-nominal Relativized Objects*

- a. juu 7ali7 jaantu talaka7iiy
 juu 7ali7 jaantu ta-laka7ii-y
 ART others NEG 3PL.SUB-believe-IMPFV
- juu kustumwree_i [**juu** talaknawiiy
 juu kustumwree **juu** ta-lak-nawii-y
 ART ritual REL 3PL.SUB-PL-make-IMPFV
- juu tz'oq'onun juu maqalhqamaan Ø_i]RC
 juu tz'oq'on-un juu maqalhqamaa-n
 ART Otomi-PL ART Tepehua-PL
 'the others do not believe (in) the rituals
 [that the Otomi and Tepehua do].' [T0058: 060-61]
- b. tzakaank'a talak7ulaatach juu lhuu
 tzakaank'a ta-lak-7ulaa-ta+ch juu lhuu
 heavily 3PL.SUB-PL-lie-PF+ALD ART much
- juu tuumiin_i [**juu** xtakii7alhajutach Ø_i]RC
 juu tuumiin **juu** x-ta-kii-qalhaju-ta+ch
 ART money REL PAST-3PL.SUB-RT-steal-PF+ALD
 'Heavily they had placed the large amount of the money
 [that they had gone and stolen].' [T0055: 054-55]
- c. 7anu7 p'in_i [**juu** 7ulh lakatz'unin Ø_i]RC
 7anu7 p'in **juu** 7u-li lakatz'unin
 that salsa REL eat-PFV a.little
 'She ate a little of that salsa.'²²⁰
 Literally: 'It was that salsa [that she ate a little bit of].' [T0069: 229]

In the example in (813), too, the matrix clause consists of a predicate pronominal construction. The head of the relative clause *yuuch* 'he' is the subject of the predicate nominal.

²²⁰ This is also a clefted focus construction. Please see section 8.2.1.

(813) *Post-nominal Relativized Indirect Object*

puus kaa yuuch_i [**juu** ʔixtaqnitach Ø_i]RC
puus kaa yuuch **juu** ʔix-xtaq-ni-ta+ch
well BLV PRN.3SG REL PAST-give-DAT-PF+ALD
'Well, I think it was *he* [to whom she had given it].' [T0054: 016]

In the example in (814), the non-overt relativized element is an oblique object within its subordinate clause. The matrix clause consists only of a question word, which is the head of the relative clause and which is co-indexed with the oblique comitative argument that is licensed by the comitative morpheme *t'aa-* on the subordinate verb within the relative clause.

(814) *Post-nominal Relativized Oblique Object*

a. tiischawaych_i [**juu** t'aaʔot'i Ø_i]RC?
tiischawaych **juu** t'aa-qot-t'i
Q:who REL COM-drink-2SG.SUB.PFV
'With whom was it [that you drank]?' [T0066: 292]

Examples of headless relative clauses appear in (815). As mentioned above, only a subordinate subject may be relativized in a headless relative clause. Furthermore, the headless relative clause, which is also a complement clause, may act only as the subject of the matrix verb, as seen in the examples in (815a) and (815b). The example in (815c) is a fragment in which the speaker is trying to establish the identity of a ghost that used to scare people in the vicinity of his home.

(815) *Headless Relativized Subjects*

- a. [juu tatamokoonchalhch Ø_i 7anch]RC_i
 juu ta-tamakajun-chaali+ch 7anch
 REL 3PL.SUB-stay-DIST-PFV+ALD there
- maa taniiqoo
 maa ta-nii-qoju
 RPT 3PL.SUB-die-ALL.PFV
- [juu tamilhch Ø_i 7ani7 laqachaqaan]RC_i
 juu ta-min-li+ch 7ani7 laqachaqaan
 REL 3PL.SUB-come-PFV+ALD here village
- tapuutaxtulhch
 ta-puutaxtu-li+ch
 3PL.SUB-survive-PFV+ALD
 ‘[Those who stayed there] all died. [Those who came to the village
 here] were saved.’ [T0057: 031-32]
- b. 7alin juu 7ani7 [juu lhiistak'a Ø_i lakatii]RC_i
 7alin juu 7ani7 juu lhiistak-7a laka-tii
 there.is ART here REL guard-IMPV PREP-road
 ‘Here there is (someone) [who guards (in) the road].’ [T0022: 050]
- c. [juu x7ulaata Ø_i tam p'aqlati tuumiin]RC_i
 juu x-7ulaa-ta tam p'aqlati tuumiin
 REL PAST-put-PF one chest money
 ‘(The one) [who had a chest of money]’ [T0054: 060]

A locative element within the subordinate/relative clause may be relativized to modify a noun in the matrix clause; examples are shown in (816). In this type of relative clause, the relativizing element is not the relativizer *juu*, but rather the locative relative pronoun *juntaa* ‘where’ or its truncated form *taa*. The relative pronoun (*juntaa* or *taa*) is also co-referential with the noun that is being modified. In this construction *juntaa/taa* fulfills two roles: (i) it introduces the relative clause and (ii) it is the relativized element. In the example in (816a), the relative clause *juntaa ktapaasayaw* ‘where we pass’ modifies the noun *talhpa*

‘hill’, which is the subject of the matrix clause. In the example in (816b), the relative clause *juntaa xwiilhch juu xkumwarii* ‘where his compadre lived’ modifies the noun *laqachaqaan* ‘town’. The matrix verb *chin* ‘arrive there’ is a transitive verb that takes a location as its object; *laqachaqaan* is the object of the matrix clause. In the example in (816c), *taa kch’alhhkatnanaw* ‘where we worked’ modifies the locative demonstrative pronoun *7anch* ‘there’. And in the example in (816d) the relative clause *taa wii miinana7 Josefa* ‘where old lady Josephine lives’ modifies the locative demonstrative pronoun *7ani7* ‘here’. In this example, the relative clause does not immediately follow the pronoun that it modifies; I believe this is an afterthought construction.

(816) *Locative relative clause*

- a. waa 7alin talhpa ; [juntaa; ktapaasayaw]RC
 waa 7alin talhpa juntaa k-tapaasa-y-aw
 FOC there.is hill where 1SUB-pass-IMPV-1PL.SUB
 ‘There is a hill where we pass . . .’ [T0022: 051]
- b. juu xburruu juu tuumiin chilhch juu
 juu x-burruu juu tuumiin chin-li+ch juu
 ART 3pos-donkey ART money arrive.there-PFV+ALD ART
 laqachaqaan ; [juntaa; xwiilhch juu xkumwarii]RC
 laqachaqaan juntaa x-wiilh+ch juu x-kumwarii
 town where PAST-seated(IMPV)+ALDART 3POS-compadre
 ‘The donkey and the money arrived in the town
 where his compadre lived.’ [T0055: 090]
- c. laqtz’ilh wachu7 juu 7anch ;
 laqtz’in-li wachu7 juu 7anch
 see-PFV also ART there
 [taa; kch’alhhkatnanaw]RC
 taa k-ch’alhhkat-nVn-aw
 where 1SUB-work-INO(IMPV)-1PL.SUB
 ‘He saw him, too, there, where we would work.’ [T0022: 043-44]

- d. $\frac{7}{7}$ ani7 kimaaqeswat'i,
 $\frac{7}{7}$ ani7 kin-maa-qeswa-t'i
 here 1OBJ-CAUS-be.scared-2SG.SUB.PFV
- [**taa** wii miinana7 Seepaa]_{ADVCL}
taa wii min-nana7 Seepee
where seated(IMPV) 2POS-old.woman Josefa
- minkanch $\frac{7}{7}$ ani7
 min-kan+ch $\frac{7}{7}$ ani7
 come-INS+ALD here
 'You scared me here, [where old lady Josephine lives],
 coming here.' [T0054: 036-037]

8.6.1.2 Complement Clauses

In HT, a finite complement clause may act as an argument of a matrix clause. In general, complement clauses are introduced by the generic complementizer *nii*, and they almost always occur clause-finally, as seen in the examples below in (817). In these examples, the complementizer that introduces the complement clause is in bold type and the complement clause is enclosed in square brackets. The only example that I have found in which the complement clause does not occur at the end of matrix clause is shown below in (817e). Unfortunately, I did not test these clauses to see if they could be moved or not.

- (817)a. lhiiyuuch jaantu qox
 lhii-yuuch jaantu qox
 APPL-PRN.3SG NEG good
- [**nii** katamaqniiy juu $\frac{7}{7}$ anu7 luw]_{COMPCL}
nii ka-ta-maqnii-y juu $\frac{7}{7}$ anu7 luw
COMP IRR-3PL.SUB-kill-IMPV ART that snake
 'Therefore, [that they kill that snake] is not good.' [T0003: 022]

- b. waa tza tza xtajuuniych
waa tza tza x-ta-jun-ni-y+ch
FOC repeatedly PAST-3PL.SUB-tell-DAT-IMPV+ALD
- [nii maa waa x7anch tanxt'ut'unu7
nii maa waa x-7an+ch tan- xt'ut'u-nV7
COMP RPT FOC PAST-go(IMPV) +ALD torso-nurse-INF
- juu xqolit'i]COMPCL
juu xqolit'i
ART millipede
'They repeatedly told her [that the millipede was going to nurse].'
[T003: 032]
- c. talakask'inch [nii 7alaqkiknawii]COMPCL
ta-lakask'in+ch nii 7a-lak-kiknawii
3PL.SUB-want(IMPV)+ALD COMP PL.INO-PL-flatter(PFV)
'They want [to be flattered].'
[T0066: 046]
- d. nii yuuch lhiitak'inipalay
nii yuuch lhii-tak'ini-pala-y
COMP PRN.3SG APPL-need-REP-IMPV
- [nii 7ak7ensayalaa]COMPCL
nii 7a-k-7ensayalaa
COMP IRR-1SUB-practice(PFV)
'Therefore, it is necessary [that I practice].'
[T0066: 073]
- e. waa lakask'in [nii
waa lakask'in nii
FOC wish/want(IMPV) COMP
- katz'i7ilh juu 7ixtz'alh]COMPCL juu Xiwaanaa
ka-tz'i7i-li juu 7ix-tz'alh juu Xiwaanaa
IRR-laugh-PFV ART 1POS-son ART Juana
'Juana wants [her son to laugh].'
[ELIEX3: 019]

The majority of the complement clauses that appear in the text database are the direct objects of speech and cognition verbs, as seen in the examples

below in (818) and (819), respectively. The matrix verbs are underlined. However, complement clauses can also function as subjects, as in (817a).

The direct object complement of a verb of speaking is always introduced by the complementizer *nii*, as seen in the examples in (818). Note that the clause in (818c) contains an adverbial clause that modifies the matrix clause, a complement clause that acts as the direct object of the matrix verb, and a relative clause within the complement clause.

- (818)a. t'asanikalhch
 t'asa-ni-kan-li+ch
 call-DAT-INS-PFV+ALD
- [**nii** kaxtaqnkanaach juu lhiich'alhkat]_{COMPCL}
nii ka-xtaq-ni-kan-a7+ch juu lhiich'alhkat
COMP IRR-give-DAT-INS-FUT+ALD ART job
 'Someone yelled to them [that he would give them a job].'
 [T0063: 42]

- b. waa kijuunilh juu liijuuntuu mimpay
 waa ki-jun-ni-li juu liijuuntuu mim-pay
 FOC 1OBJ-say-DAT-PFV ART deceased 2POS-father
- [**nii** naa qoxich juu serrootii]_{COMPCL}
nii naa qoxi+ch juu serrootii
COMP EMP good+ALD ART saw
 'Your deceased father told me [that it was a good saw].'
 [T0069: 384-385]

that also means ‘where’; this example is interesting because the complement clause consists of a relativized adverbial.²²¹

- (819) a. 7entons tapaastaklich
 7entons ta-paastak-li+ch
 then 3PL.SUB-remember-PFV+ALD
- [**nii** 7anu7 nii 7alin juu Dios]_{COMPCL}
nii 7anu7 nii 7alin juu Dios
COMP um COMP there.is(IMPFV) ART God
 ‘Then they remember [that, um, that there is a God].’
 [T0063: 076-077]
- b. waa kpaastak'ach [7aksnii 7anu7
 waa k-paastak-7a+ch 7aksnii 7anu7
 FOC 1SUB-remember-IMPFFV+ALD **when** um
- nii** naa lhuu xminta juu t'uun]_{COMPCL}
nii naa lhuu x-min-ta juu t'uun
COMP EMP much PAST-come-PF ART earth
- [7aksnii maqalhtajuu lak don Juaquin juu t'uun]_{COMPCL}
 7aksnii maqalhtajuu lak don Juaquin juu t'uun
when slide.down(PFV) PREP don Juaquin ART earth
 ‘I remember [when, um, that a lot of mud had come down],
 [when the land slid down at don Juaquin’s place].’
 [T0058: 004-006]
- c. k'atz'ay juu Xiiwaan [**juntaa** t'ajun juu Kuulax]_{COMPCL}
 k'atz'a-y juu Xiiwaan **juntaa** t'ajun juu Kuulax
 know-IMPFFV ART John **where** be(IMPFV) ART Nicholas
 ‘John knows [where Nicholas is].’ [ELIEX2: 086]
- d. jaantu xk'atz'akan [**tanch** [juu minaachaa]_{RELCL}]_{COMPCL}
 jaantu x-k'atz'a-kan **tanch** juu min-a7-chaa
 NEG PAST-know-INS(IMPFV) **where** REL come-FUT-DIST
 ‘They did not know [where it was that (the animal) would come out].’
 [T0020: 005]

²²¹ Please see the previous section on relative clauses for more information about relativized adverbs.

- (821) a. xakijuuniy [jaantu waa 7a7it'i
 xa-ki-jun-ni-y jaantu waa 7a-7an-t'i
 PAST-1OBJ-say-DAT-IMPFV NEG FOC IRR-go-2SG.SUB.PFV
- juu waa tz'iisi]DIRQUOTE
 juu waa tz'iisi
 ART FOC night
 'He would say to me, ["Don't go at night."]' [T0022: 049]
- b. [tanch xak'iilaay jii kumwarii?]DIRQUOTE
 tanch xa-kii-laa-y jii kumwarii
 where PAST-RT-can-IMPFV VOC compadre
- maa juuniych juu xkumwarii
 maa jun-ni-y+ch juu x-kumwarii
 RPT say-DAT-IMPFV+ALD ART 3POS-compadre
 '["Where did you go, Compadre?"] his compadre asks him.' [T0055: 006-007]

8.6.1.3 Adverbial Clauses

For the purpose of this analysis, an adverbial clause is any non-conditional subordinate clause that acts as an adjunct—and not as a complement—to the matrix verb. In HT, adverbial clauses are those adjunct clauses that express time, location, and motive or purpose. I found no examples of adverbial clauses expressing manner in the texts; I suspect that this is because most of the manner adverbs are ideophonic.

A temporal adverbial clause is introduced either by the generic complementizer *nii* or by the temporal relative pronoun *7aksanii* 'when', as seen in the examples below in (822). Given the phonetic similarity between *7aksanii* and *nii*, it is possible either that the *nii* is a truncation of *7aksanii* or that *7aksanii* may be analyzed as *7aks+nii*. However, while *nii* is used to introduce various types of

complement, adverbial, and conditional clause—and, thus, can be translated in various ways, including ‘that’, ‘when’, ‘because’, and ‘if’—*7aksnii* introduces only temporal adverbial clauses and is translated only as ‘when’. A temporal adverbial clause may follow its matrix clause, as seen in (822a), (822b), and (822c); it may precede its matrix clause, as seen in (822d); or it may intervene between major clausal constituents, as seen in (822e), where the adverbial clause follows the subject *kintata7* ‘my elders’ and precedes the direct object complement clause. Subordinating elements appear in bold, and the adverbial clauses are enclosed in square brackets.

(822) *Temporal adverbial clauses*

- a. juu pumatam lapanak niilh
 juu puma-tam lapanak nii-li
 ART CL:human-one person die-PFV
- [**nii** tz'akalh juu luw]_{ADVCL}
nii tz'aka-li juu luw
COMP bite-PFV ART snake
 ‘A person died [when a snake bit him].’ [T0009: 001-002]
- b. yuuchach juu xaak'uch'u
 yuuch+ach juu xaa-k'uch'u
 PRN.3SG+ALD ART IPOS-cure
- [**7aksnii** 7atz'akanan juu juu tzaapuj]_{ADVCL}
7aksnii 7a-tz'aka-nVn juu juu tzaapuj
when PL.INO-bite-INO(IMPFV) ART ART worm
 ‘That is the cure [when the worm bites].’ [T0009: 010-011]

- c. maa naa naa qox qay maqtili7
 maa naa naa qox qay maqtili7
 RPT EMP EMP good big wild.animal
- y maa waa t'aku7
 y maa waa t'aku7
 and RPT FOC woman

[7aksnii tapaach'uk'ulhch]_{ADVCL}
 7aksnii ta-paa-ch'uk'u-li+ch
 when 3PL.SUB-INSIDE-cut.open-PFV+ALD
 'It was a great big wild animal, and it was a woman inside
 [when they cut it open].' [T0020: 028-030]

- d. [nii maa tachincha] _{ADVCL}
 nii maa ta-chin-cha
 COMP RPT 3PL.SUB-arrive-DIST(PFV?)

puus juu lapanak maa niitach
 puus juu lapanak maa nii-ta+ch
 well ART person RPT die-PF+ALD
 '[When they arrived there], well, the man had already died.'
 [T0022: 013-014]

- e. tanajunch juu kintata7 [nii
 ta-najun+ch juu kin-tata7 nii
 3PL.SUB-say(IMPFV)+ALD ART 1POS-elder COMP

xtalaakilhun toolay]_{ADVCL}
 x-ta-laa-kilhun toola-y
 PAST-3PL.SUB-RCP-chat(IMPFV) stay-IMPFV

[nii xtalaqtz'in
 nii x-ta-laqtz'in
 COMP PAST-3PL.SUB-see(IMPFV)

juu lapanak [juu 7ixajaachiilh]_{RELCL}COMPCL
 juu lapanak juu 7ix-xajaan-chii-li
 ART person REL PAST-exit-DST-PFV
 'My elders would say, [when they sat around chatting], that they
 would see the person that came out of there.' [T0022: 020-022]

- c. waa 7alin talhpa [juntaa ktapaasayaw]RC
 waa 7alin talhpa juntaa k-tapaasa-y-aw
 FOC there.is hill where 1SUB-pass-IMPV-1PL.SUB

[**juntaa** waa puut'ikst'i laktalhpa]_{ADVCL}
juntaa waa puu-t'ikst'i lak-talhpa
where FOC INSIDE-small PREP-hill

'There is a hill where we pass, where it is narrow in the mountains.'
 [T0022: 051-52]

An adverbial clause that expresses motive or purpose is introduced by the generic complementizer *nii*, as seen in the examples below in (824). This type of adverbial clause always occurs at the end of the matrix clause.

(824) *Motive/Purpose with nii*

- a. maa jaantu ta7uputunpalay juu xa7akanit
 maa jaantu ta-7u-putun-pala-y juu xa-7akanit
 RPT NEG 3PL.SUB-eat-DESID-REP-IMPV ART IPOS-flesh

[**nii** waa lapanak]_{ADVCL}
nii waa lapanak
 COMP FOC person

'They did not want to eat the meat anymore [because it was human].'
 [T0020: 032]

- b. kaa x7uych juu yuuch juu lhiiway
 kaa x-7u-y+ch juu yuuch juu lhiiway
 BLV PAST-eat-IMPV+ALD ART PRN.3SG ART meat

[**nii** waa lhiiwaych juu x7uy]_{ADVCL}
nii waa lhiiway+ch juu x-7u-y
 COMP FOC meat+ALD ART PAST-eat-IMPV

[**nii** kaa waa maqtiliich]_{ADVCL}
nii kaa waa maqtili7+ch
 COMP BLV FOC wild.animal+ALD

'I think *he* ate the meat [because it was meat that it ate],
 [because it was a wild animal].'
 [T0022: 039-041]

- c. maa talhqamalh juu sireenaa
 maa talhqama-li juu sireenaa
 RPT get.angry-PFV ART goddess
- [**nii** waa muujuukalhch juu lapanak
nii waa muujuu-kan-li+ch juu lapanak
COMP FOC throw-INS-PFV+ALD ART people
- juu xaaniin lapanak juu lakxkaan]_{ADVCL}
 juu xaa-nii-n lapanak juu lak-xkaan
 ART IPOS-die-DVB people ART PREP-water
 ‘The goddess got angry [because the people threw the
 dead people into the river].’ [T0057: 081-83]
- d. naa x7alinch juu xliich'alkhat'an
 naa x-7alin+ch juu x-lhiich'alkhat-7an
 EMP PAST-there.is(IMPV)+ALD ART 3POS-job-PL.POS
- [**nii** maa waa xtalhii7anch]_{ADVCL}
nii maa waa x-ta-lhii7an+ch
COMP RPT FOC PAST-3PL.SUB-take(IMPV)+ALD
 ‘They had (musical) gigs [because they would take her along].’
 [T0063: 026-27]
- e. tz'iink'a [**nii** waa k'aks]_{ADVCL}
 tz'iink-7a **nii** waa k'aks
 be.heavy-IMPV **COMP** FOC pine.wood
 ‘It’s heavy [because it is pine wood].’ [T0069: 014]
- f. 7awayna7 [**nii** laaych 7atz'uk'u]_{ADVCL}
 7a-wajin-a7 **nii** laa-y+ch 7a-tzuku
 IRR-eat-FUT **COMP** can-IMPV+ALD IRR-live(2SUB.PFV)
 ‘You must eat in order to live.’ [QMMES]

It is quite common for the Spanish conjunction *porque* ‘because’ to be used either in place of or in addition to the HT complementizer *nii* in order to express purpose or motive, as seen in the examples below in (825). In (825a), *porque* is used instead of the native *nii* to introduce the adverbial clause; in

(825b), *porque* is used with of *nii*; and in (825c), *porque* introduces the first two adverbial clauses, and *nii* introduces the third one.

(825) *Motive/Purpose with porque*

- a. maa xta7anch 7amaqpanin
 maa x-ta-7an+ch 7a-maqpa-nin
 RPT PAST-3PL.SUB-go(IMPFV)+ALD PL.INO-wash.clothes-PL.INF

[**porque** maa lapanak juu tajun]_{ADVCL}
porque maa lapanak juu ta-jun
because RPT person REL 3PL.SUB-be(IMPFV)
 ‘They would go to wash because they were human.’ [T0022: 015-16]

- b. maa waa tamaqalhch
 maa waa ta-maqan-li+ch
 RPT FOC 3PL.SUB-throw.out-PFV+ALD

[**porque** **nii** maa waa xaakanit lapanak]_{ADVCL}
porque **nii** maa waa xaa-7akanit lapanak
because **COMP** RPT FOC IPOS-flesh person
 ‘They threw it out [because it was human flesh].’
 [T0020: 036-37]

- c. puus juu maa tataxtuchaalhch juu 7anch
 puus juu maa ta-taxtu-chaali+ch juu 7anch
 well REL RPT 3PL.SUB-leave-DIST-PFV+ALD ART there
- [**porque** maa naa lhuu
porque maa naa lhuu
because RPT EMP many
- jaantuch xtaminputun
 jaantu+ch x-ta-min-putun
 NEG+ALD PAST-3PL.SUB-come-DESID(IMPV)
- [**porque** maa naa xtaqachaniych
porque maa naa x-ta-qacha-ni-y+ch
because RPT EMP PAST-3PL.SUB-like-DAT-IMPV+ALD
- juu Siikalhan [**nii** maa 7alheeqaych juu 7anch]]_{ADVCL}
 juu Siikalhan **nii** maa 7alheeqay+ch juu 7anch
 ART Zicatlán **COMP** RPT spacious+ALD ART there
 ‘Well, those who left there, [because many didn’t want to come
 [because they liked Zicatlán [because it was spacious there]].’
 [T0057: 026-29]

8.6.1.4 Conditional Clauses

In HT a conditional clause is a subtype of a subordinate clause in that (i) the conditional clause is introduced by a complementizer, (ii) the subordinate verb is fully inflected for person, number, tense, aspect, and mood, and (iii) there is no special morphology that marks subordination. However, a conditional clause differs from the other types of subordinate clause in that the conditional clause is always inflected for irrealis mood, whether hypothetical or counter-factual (93e). A conditional clause may be introduced by the complementizer *nii*, as seen in the examples in (826), or by the conjunction *maas* ‘even if’, as seen in the examples in (827). The resulting clause has no special structure. In HT, the conditional clause tends to occur at the beginning of the sentence, as seen in most of the

- d. [nii maa katamaqnii]_{CONDCL}
 nii maa ka-ta-maqnii
 COMP RPT IRR-3PL.SUB-kill(PFV)
- maa 7aqstu naa naa 7awilhchan
 maa 7aqstu naa naa 7awilhchan
 RPT same EMP EMP day
- maa kaniilhch juu 7anuuch t'aku7
 maa ka-nii-li+ch juu 7anu7+ch t'aku7
 RPT IRR-die-PFV+ALD ART that+ALD woman
 ‘[If they kill it], that same day the woman will die.’ [T0003: 018-020]

- e. [nii xakmaamaa juu tuumiin]_{CONDCL}
 nii xa-k-maamaa juu tuumiin
 COMP PAST-1SUB-have(PFV) ART money

kaa laay xaktamawlh
 kaa laa-y xa-k-tamaw-li
 BLV can-IMPV PAST-1SUB-buy-PFV
 ‘[If I had had the money], I think that I would have bought it.’

[QMMES]

- (827) a. [maas kamilh juu Xiiwaan]_{CONDCL}
 maas ka-min-li juu Xiiwaan
 although IRR-come-PFV ART Juan

juu ki7in 7aktamokoon7
 juu ki7in 7a-k-tamakajun-a7
 ART PRN.1SG IRR-1SUB-remain-FUT
 ‘Even if Juan were to come, I will stay.’

[QMMES]

- b. katast'aaya7 juu puukapen [maas kaa
 ka-ta-st'aa-ya7 juu puukapen maas kaa
 IRR-3PL.SUB-sell-FUT ART coffee.farm although BLV

jaantuch kalakaskilh juu xaatata7]_{CONDCL}
 jaantu+ch ka-lakaskin-li juu xaa-tata7
 NEG+ALD IRR-want-PFV ART IPOS-grandfather
 ‘They will sell the coffee farm [even if the grandfather
 were to oppose it].’

[QMMES]

8.6.2 Coordination

Coordination in HT is accomplished by means of juxtaposition of clauses or phrases, with or without a coordinator. The coordinators used in HT include the reportative particle *maa*, the complementizer *nii*, and the borrowed Spanish coordinators *y* ‘and’ and *pero* ‘but’. Examples and discussion follow.

A common way to coordinate clauses in HT is to juxtapose two clauses without using a coordinator, as seen in the examples below in (828) and (829). In these examples, each independent clause appears within square brackets. In all of the examples in (828), the two clauses have the same subject, and this subject is marked on each matrix verb. However, in the examples in (829), each clause has a different subject, which is also marked on each matrix verb.

(828) *Juxtaposition of 2 clauses with the same subject:*

- a. [ta7alhch]
 ta-7an-li+ch
 3PL.SUB-go-PFV+ALD
- [tamuku7ulaaqoolhch juu xtuumiin7an]
 ta-muku=7ulaa-qoju-li+ch juu x-tuumiin-7an
 3PL.SUB-leave=put-ALL-PFV+ALD ART 3POS-money-PL.POS
 ‘[They went off] and [left behind all of their money].’ [T0055: 079]
- b. [xtamaqniiy] [xta7uych]
 x-ta-maqnii-y x-ta-7u-y+ch
 PAST-3PL.SUB-kill-IMPV PAST-3PL.SUB-eat-IMPV+ALD
 ‘[They would kill it], and [they would eat it].’ [T0059: 041]

- c. [chaqə7ilh juu xqapawati juu tz'alh]
 chaqayi-li juu x-qapawati juu tz'alh
 divide-PFV ART 3POS-bread ART boy
- [kaxtaqnilhch juu xp'isaqa]
 ka-xtaq-ni-li+ch juu x-p'isaqa
 TIP-give-DAT-PFV+ALD ART 3POS-younger.sibling
 ‘[The boy divided his bread], and [he gave some to his
 younger sibling].’ [ELIEX1: 021]

(829) *Juxtaposition of 2 clauses with different subjects:*

- a. puus [waa maqniilhch] [ka7uyaawch]
 puus waa k-maqnii-li+ch ka-7u-ya7-w+ch
 well FOC 1SUB-kill-PFV+ALD IRR-eat-FUT-1PL.SUB+ALD
 ‘Well, [I killed it], and [we are going to eat it].’ [T0059: 013]
- b. [juu Susanita p'uxlh laqat'uy 7aalaaxuux]
 juu Susanita p'ux-li laqa-t'uy 7aalaaxuux
 ART Suzie pick-PFV CL:general-two orange
- [juu Otaña waachu7 p'uxlh laqat'uy 7aalaaxuux]
 juu Otaña waachu7 p'ux-li laqa-t'uy 7aalaaxuux
 ART Otaña also pick-PFV CL:general-two orange
 ‘[Suzie picked two oranges], and [Otaña also picked two oranges].’ [Q3I]
- c. [tam maqali7 kamaach'ixtaqninch juu tuumiin]
 tam maqali7 ka-maa-ch'ixtaq-ni-n+ch juu tuumiin
 one rich.person IRR-CAUS-loan-DAT-2OBJ+ALD ART money
- [jaantu qoxiyaa tuumiin palata]
 jaantu qoxiyaa tuumiin palata
 NEG good money better
 ‘[A rich person could loan you money],
 but [it isn't good money].’ [T0054: 024-025]

I have only one clear example in which juxtaposition is used to coordinate two verbs, shown below in (830). Only the first verb is marked for person. Either this is a speech error, or it is not necessary to mark the second (or third) verb in a conjoined verb phrase for person.

(830) taxkoyawlich maasoqoch kamaqalh
 ta- xkoyaw-li+ch maa-soqon+ch ka-maqan-li
 3PL.SUB-pull-PFV+ALD CAUS-hurry(PFV)+ALD IRR-throw.away-PFV
 ‘They pulled him and made him hurry to throw it away.’ [T0055: 028]

Juxtaposition is also used to coordinate two nouns, as seen in the examples below in (831). Each noun is preceded by the definite article *juu*.

(831) *Juxtaposition of 2 nouns*

- a. **juu Xiiwaan juu Piitalu7** taqasmatniy
 juu Xiiwaan juu Piitalu7 ta-qasmat-ni-y
 ART John ART Peter 3PL.SUB-hear-DAT-IMPFV
- juu 7ixlaktataa7an
 juu 7ix-lak-tata7-7an
 ART 3POS-PL-old.man-PL.POS
 ‘*John and Peter* listen to their grandparents.’ [Q31]
- b. ka7awch waynin **juu 7ixint'i** **juu ki7in**
 ka-7an-w+ch wajin-nin **juu 7ixint'i** **juu ki7in**
 IRR-go(PFV)-1PL.SUB+ALD eat-PL-INF ART PRN.2SG ART PRN.1SG
 ‘*You and I* are going to eat.’ [Q31]
- c. kawaynaaw **juu ki7in** **juu Aantuun**
 ka-wajin-a7-aw **juu ki7in** **juu Aantuun**
 IRR-eat-FUT-1PL.SUB ART PRN.1SG ART Anthony
 ‘*Anthony and I* will eat later.’ [Q31]

According to Herzog (no date), the HT conjunction is *chay*, and it is used between nouns and between clauses. I did not specifically test this particle. However, *chay* appears only once in my textual database, and my consultant translated it as *también* ‘also’. This example is shown below in (832).

(832) waa soq paaxtoqpaa juu 7ani7 Antonio Sevilla
 waa soq paaxtoq-pala juu 7ani7 Antonio Sevilla
 FOC straight meet-REP.PFV ART um Antonio Sevilla

chaych juu ingeniero 7ani7 Pulido
chay+ch juu ingeniero 7ani7 Pulido
also+ALD ART engineer um Pulido

‘I met um Antonio Sevilla, also the engineer um Pulido.’ [T0066: 030-031]

In my own data, HT clauses are frequently coordinated by means of what appears to be the evidential reportative particle *maa*.²²⁵ Nora England (p.c.) suggests to me that this instance of *maa* is actually a conjunction that is similar to the evidential clitic *maa* due either to homophony or to some historical change that is not clear from a synchronic point of view. This could be the case because when my consultant loosely translated passages that contained the particle *maa*, he would translate *maa* as either *y* ‘and’ or *segun* ‘according to’. However, when I asked for a specific translation of *maa*, he always translated it as *segun*. When I explicitly tried to elicit a conjunction using conjoined clauses or phrases in Spanish, my consultant would either use the Spanish conjunction *y* in the HT clause or he would juxtapose the two clauses or phrases. He never used *maa* in elicited examples. For this reason, I continue to gloss *maa* as the evidential particle RPT in the examples that appear below in (833) and (834).

Setting aside the question of whether or not the particle *maa* is or is not the evidential clitic, examples in which *maa* is used to coordinate two clauses with the same subject are shown below in (833), and examples in which it is used to coordinate two clauses with different subjects are shown below in (834). In all

²²⁵ Please Chapter 6, Section 6.4.2.1 for more information on the evidential reportative particle *maa*.

of these examples, separate clauses are enclosed in square brackets, and *maa* appears in bold face. The particle *maa* intervenes between the two clauses in all examples. Depending on the context, *maa* may be translated as ‘and’ or ‘but’.

(833) *maa* used to coordinate 2 clauses with the same subject:

- a. [lhiiminkalh] **maa** [tz'ukukalhch laqaxuk'a.]
 lhiimin-kan-li **maa** tz'uku-kan-li+ch laqaxuk'a
 bring-INS-PFV **RPT** begin-INS-PFV+ALD skin
 ‘[They brought it back], and [they began to skin it].’ [T0020: 025]
- b. [maamak'utulhch] **maa** [7aqxqoqatach]
 maa-mak'utu-li+ch **maa** 7aqx-qoqa-ta+ch
 CAUS-unload-PFV+ALD **RPT** SHOULDER-carry-PF+ALD
 ‘[He unloaded it], and [he threw it over his shoulder].’ [T0055: 019]
- c. [chiwinilh] **maa** [najunch]
 chiwin-ni-li **maa** najun+ch
 speak-PFV **RPT** say(IMPV)+ALD
 ‘[It spoke to him], and [it says, “...”].’ [T0058: 027]

(834) *maa* used to coordinate 2 clauses with different subjects:

- a. [laqaxuk'alhch] **maa** [tapaach'uk'ulhch.]
 laqaxuk'a-li+ch **maa** ta-paa-ch'uk'u-li+ch
 skin-PFV+ALD **RPT** 3PL.SUB-INSIDE-cut.open-PFV+ALD
 ‘[He skinned it], and [they cut it open].’ [T0020: 026]
- b. [milh 7awilhchan nii kaa
 min-li 7a-wilhchan nii kaa
 come-PFV CLS:other-day COMP BLV

 lhii7ampaalhch juu maa p'aax]
 lhii7an-palh+ch juu maa p'aax
 take-AGAIN.PFV+ALD ART RPT pig

maa [tataymaa lhii7alhch.]
maa ta-taymaa lhii-7an-li+ch
RPT 3PL.SUB-follow(PFV) APPL-go-PFV+ALD
 ‘[Another day came when it carried off a pig again],
 and [they followed it].’ [T0020: 016-017]

- c. [waa naa papa7] **maa** [naa kiklhman]
 waa naa papa7 **maa** naa kik-lhman
 FOC EMP man **RPT** FOC MOUTH-long
- maa** [naa naach waa lakpuulhalhaa]
maa naa naa+ch waa lakpuu-lhalhaa
RPT EMP EMP+ALD FOC FACE-beard
- maa** [laqlhman juu xlaqpuuch'awti].
maa laq-lhman juu x-laqpuu-ch'awti
RPT FACE-long ART 3POS-FACE-hair
 ‘[He was an old man], and [(he had a) very long beard],
 and [(he had a) very long beard],
 and [his facial hair was long.]’ [T0022: 037-040]
- d. [tatzukulhch laqlhwaqnin]
 ta-tzuku-li+ch lak-lhwaq-nin
 3PL.SUB-begin-PFV+ALD PL-dismember-PL.INF
- maa** [jaantu ta7uputunpalay]
maa jaantu ta-7u-putun-pala-y
RPT NEG 3PL.SUB-eat-DESID-REP-IMPFV
 ‘[They began to dismember it], but [they did not want to eat it.]’
 [T0020: 031-032]
- e. [lakch'apayajuych] **maa** [jaantu tataspitlh]
 lak-ch'apayaju-y+ch **maa** jaantu ta-taspit-li
 PL-stop-IMPFV+ALD **RPT** NEG 3PL.SUB-return-PFV
 ‘[He (tried to) stop them], but [they didn’t return.]’ [T0055: 084-085]

I have found only one example—shown below in (835)—in which *maa* is used to coordinate two nouns. In this example, *maa* intervenes between the two nouns. Note that the first noun *t'akuunin* ‘women’ is preceded by the definite article *juu* while the second noun *papaaniin* ‘men’ is not.

(835) *maa used to coordinate two nominals:*

Pus	juu	7anu7	luw,	maa	yuuch	laktitaymay
pus	juu	7anu7	luw	maa	yuuch	lak-titayma-y
well	ART	that	snake	RPT	PRN.3SG	PL-chase-IMPV

juu	t'akuunin	maa	papaaninch]
juu	t'aku7-nin	maa	papa7-nin+ch
ART	woman-PL	RPT	man-PL+ALD

juu	mati7	sasqat'a7an
juu	mati7	s-7asqat'a-7an
REL	none	3POS-child-PL.POS

'Well, that snake, it chases the women and men
who don't have children.'

[T0003: 005-6]

In some examples from the text database, the complementizer *nii* is used to conjoin two clauses that have a common argument. The clauses conjoined by *nii* fall into one of two types: (i) the second clause sequentially follows the first clause or (ii) the second clause expresses some sort of exception to the first clause. Examples of sequential coordination appear in (836) below, and examples of exceptional coordination appear in (837). The complementizer intervenes between the conjoined clauses, which are enclosed in square brackets.

(836) *Complementizer nii used to conjoin 2 sequential clauses:*

a. [kimaaqeswaat'i]
kin-maa-qeswaa-t'i
1OBJ-CAUS-get.scared-2SG.SUB.PFV

nii	[kaa	waa	p'atz'ik	xqotp'alata]
nii	kaa	waa	p'atz'ik	x-qot-pala-ta
COMP	BLV	FOC	a.little	PAST-drink-REP-PF

'You scared me, and I think that you were a little drunk.'

[T0054: 032]

- b. [chiniich waa klaalh]
 chinii+ch waa k-laay-li
 like.so+ALD FOC 1SUB-can-PFV
- nii** [naa xakpiixtuxkapalata]
nii naa xa-k-piixtu-xka-pala-ta
COMP EMP PAST-1SUB-NECK-hurt-REP-PF
 ‘That’s what I did, and then my neck hurt badly.’ [T0054: 043]
- c. lhiitamawlh laqatam xlaqpuutanuti
 lhii-tamaw-li laqa-tam x-laqpuutanuti
 APPL-buy-PFV CL:general-one 3POS-mask
- nii** maa minchoqolhch juu lakatii
nii maa min-choqo-li+ch juu laka-tii
COMP RPT return-AGAIN-PFV+ALD ART PREP-road
 ‘He bought himself a mask, and then he returned along the road.’
 [T0055: 048049]
- d. y luego waa naa maa 7alakt'aatoolay
 y luego waa naa maa 7a-lak-t'aa-toola-y
 and then FOC EMP RPT PL.INO-PL-COM-stay-IMPV
- y waa naach **nii** talaklhtatalhch;
 y waa naa+ch **nii** ta-lak-lhtata-li+ch
 and FOC EMP+ALD **COMP** 3PL.SUB-DIS-sleep-PFV+ALD
- nii** talaklhtatalhch
nii ta-lak-lhtata-li+ch
COMP 3PL.SUB-DIS-sleep-PFV+ALD
- nii** naa waa x7alinch juu xqen
nii naa waa x-7alin+ch juu xqen
COMP EMP FOC PAST-there.is(IMPV)+ALD ART fly
 ‘And then he stayed with them, and soon they all fell asleep;
 when they had fallen asleep, then there were a lot of flies.’
 [T0055: 067-70]

(837) *Complementizer nii used to conjoin 2 “exceptional” clauses:*

- a. [naa k'uusch katasuya7, waa yuuch,]
naa k'uus+ch ka-tasuy-a7 waa yuuch
EMP pretty+ALD IRR-look-FUT FOC PRN.3SG
- nii** [lhuuch kalhii7ana7 juu k'iw]
nii lhuu+ch ka-lhii7an-a7 juu k'iw
COMP much+ALD IRR-take-FUT ART wood
‘It is going to look pretty, it is, but it is going to take a lot of wood.’
[T0069: 275-276]
- b. [juu 7aks juu k'aatan nii xkilaalh juu Gavino],
juu 7aks juu k'aatan nii x-ki-laa-li juu Gavino
REL when ART festival COMP PAST-RT-go-PFV ART Gavin
- nii** [waa jaantu kijumpaa]
nii waa jaantu ki-jun-paa
COMP FOC NEG 1POS-say-REP.PFV
‘It was during the festival that Gavin went to, but he didn’t tell me.’
[T0069: 378-379]

The Spanish conjunctions *y* ‘and’ and *pero* ‘but’ may be used to conjoin two clauses that have the same subject. Examples appear in (838) below.

(838) *y, pero used to coordinate 2 clauses with the same subject:*

- a. [7atz'alalhch] y [tanuuchaalhch
7atz'ala-li+ch y tanuu-chaa-li+ch
run-PFV+ALD **and** enter-DIST-PFV+ALD
- juu laktalhpa]
juu laka-talhpa
ART PREP-hill
‘It ran and it went into the cave.’ [T0020: 020]

- b. [juu ki7in klaqtz'in] y
 juu ki7in k-laqtz'in-n y
 ART PRN.1SG 1SUB-see(PFV)-2OBJ and

[jaantu xaklaqtz'inputunan]
 jaantu xa-k-laqtz'in-putun-an
 NEG PAST-1SUB-see-DESID(IMPFV)-2OBJ
 I saw you, and I didn't want to see you.

[Q31]

- c. [saksayooputunch juu lakalaasoo]
 xa-k-sayaw-putun(IMPFV)+ch juu laka-laasoo
 PAST-1SUB-lift-DESID+ALD ART PREP-rope

pero [ktask'inipalay vigas]
pero k-task'in-ni-pala-y vigas
but 1SUB-need-DAT-REP-IMPFV beams

'I wanted to lift it with rope, but I need beams.' [T0069: 008-009]

The Spanish conjunction *pero* 'but' may also be used to conjoin two clauses that have different subjects, as seen below in the examples in (839). However, I have found no examples in which *y* is used to conjoin two clauses that have different subjects.

(839) *pero* used to coordinate two clauses with different subjects:

7anch juu kixaqaxtukalhch
 7anch juu ki-xaqaxtu-kan-li+ch
 there REL RT-take.out-INS-PFV+ALD

pero maa xaaniinch
pero maa xaa-nii-n+ch
but RPT IPOS-die-DVB+ALD

'It was there where they went and removed it [the animal],
 but it [the animal] was already dead.' [T0022: 021-022]

The Spanish conjunction *y* 'and' is used to conjoin nouns within a noun phrase, as seen below in the examples in (840). Note that in these examples, when the noun phrase is definite, only the first noun is preceded by the definite article *juu*.

(840) *Nouns coordinated by y:*

- a. de Muuniixkaan, Pisaflores, San Francisco **y**
from Mecapalapa Pisaflores, San Francisco **and**
- 7ani7+ch laqachaqañ Huehuetla
here+ALD town Huehuetla
'from Mecapalapa, Pisaflores, San Francisco y here,
the town of Huehuetla.' [T0057: 039]
- b. waa 7anchach tamaktay
waa 7anch+ach tamakta-y
FOC there+ALD end-IMPFV
- juu xkweentuu juu Piitalu7 **y** Siliyyaach
juu x-kweentuu juu Piitalu7 **y** Siliyyaa+ch
ART 3POS-story ART Peter **and** Cecilia+ALD
'There ends the story of Peter and Cecilia.' [T0058: 055-056]
- c. juu Xiiwaan **y** Kuulaax ta7aqlhteyjuuy
juu Xiiwaan **y** Kuulaax ta-7aqlhteyjuu-y
ART John **and** Nick 3PL.SUB-help-IMPFV
- juu 7ixpay7an
juu 7ix-pay-7an
ART 3POS-father-PL.POS
John and Nick help their father. [Q3I]
- d. juu ki7in **y** Aantuunch
juu ki7in **y** Aantuun+ch
ART PRN.1SG **and** Anthony+ALD
- k'anaw juu lakxkaan
k-7an-aw juu laka-xkaan
1SUB-go(IMPV)-1PL.SUB ART PREP-water
'Anthony and I go to the river.' [Q3I]
- e. taantuu como t'akuunin **y** papaanin
taantuu como t'aku7-nin **y** papa7-nin
as.much as woman-PL **and** man-PL
'women as well as men.' [T0003: 0008]

Appendix: Huehuetla Tepehua Texts

TEXT 1: THE MILLIPEDE (T0003)

This text was narrated by Micaela Santiago Plata on June 29, 1999 in Catemaco, Veracruz, Mexico. It recorded and transcribed by Susan Smythe Kung, translated by Micaela Santiago Plata and don Nicolás Viguera Patricio, and interlinearized by Susan Smythe Kung. The audio recording is to be archived with the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America²²⁶ under the language name “Tepehua de Huehuetla”.

T0003: 001

puus	juu	7anch	juu	lakilaqachaqaan
puus	juu	7anch	juu	laka-kin-laqachaqaan
well	DET	there	DET	PREP-1POS-town

Well, in my town

T0003: 002

wachu7	talaknajun
wachu7	ta-lak-najun
also	3PL.SUB-DIS-say(IMPFV)

they talk

T0003: 003

juu	xlakata	7anii
juu	xlakata	7anii
DET	about	this

about

²²⁶ <http://www.ailla.utexas.org>

T0003: 004

juu luw juu maa junkan xqolit'i .
 juu luw juu maa jun-kan xqolit'i
 DET snake REL RPT say-RFL(IMPV) millipede
a snake called millipede.

T0003: 005

Puus juu 7anu7 luw, maa yuuch
 puus juu 7anu7 luw maa yuuch
 well DET that snake RPT PRN.3SG

laktiitaymay juu t'akuunin
 lak-tiitayma-y juu t'aku7-nin
 3PL.OBJ-chase-IMPV DET woman-PL
Well, that snake, it chases after the women

T0003: 006

maa papaaninch juu mati7 sasqat'a7an
 maa papa7-nin+ch juu mati7 x-7asqat'a-7an
 RPT man-PL+ALD REL nothing 3POS-child-PL.POS
and men who don't have children;

T0003: 007

maa jaantu laay 7alin sasqat'a7an
 maa jaantu laa-y 7alin x-7asqat'a-7an
 RPT NEG can-IMPV there_is 3POS-child-PL.POS
whoever can't have children

T0003: 008

tantuu como t'akuunin y papaanin.
 tantuu como t'aku7-nin y papa7-nin
 as_much as woman-PL and man-PL
the women as well as the men.

T0003: 009

Puus juu 7anu7 luw matach juu paytatz'iisi
 puus juu 7anu7 luw mata+ch juu paytatz'iisi
 well DET that snake XXX+ALD DET midnight
Well, at midnight that snake

T0003: 010

maa ka7anaach laqtz'ini7 juu xnati
 maa ka-7an-a7+ch laqtz'in-nV7 juu x-nati
 RPT IRR-go-FUT+ALD see-INF DET 3POS-mother
goes to see its mother,

T0003: 011

juu 7anuuch t'aku7 tiichiichawaych
 juu 7anu7+ch t'aku7 tiischawaych
 DET that+ALD woman who

juu maa tiitaymaych
 juu maa tiitayma-y+ch
 REL RPT chase-IMPV+ALD
that woman who it chases

T0003: 012

maa tanxt'ut'uych.
 maa tan-xt'ut'u-y+ch
 RPT torso-nurse-IMPV+ALD
and it nurses.

T0003: 013

Puus juu 7anu7 chunch juu laknoonkanch
 puus juu 7anu7 chun+ch juu lak-najun-kan+ch
 well DET that thus+ALD REL PL-say-INS(IMPV)+ALD

juu lakilaqachaqaan porque
 juu laka-kin-laqachaqaan porque
 DET PREP-1POS-town because
Well, that's what they say in my town because

T0003: 014

laqlaqtz'in maa laqtz'inkanka7
 lak-laqtz'in maa laqtz'in-kan+ka7
 PL-see(IMPV) RPT see-INS(IMPV)+JST
they have seen it.

T0003: 015

Puus juu 7anu7 luw
 puus juu 7anu7 luw
 well DET that snake
Well, that snake

T0003: 016

maa jaantu qox nii maa katamaqnii
 maa jaantu qox nii maa ka-ta-maqnii
 RPT NEG good COMP RPT IRR-3PL.SUB-kill(PFV)
it is not good for

T0003: 017

juu 7anuuch lapanak maa laktiitaymay
 juu 7anu7+ch lapanak maa lak-tiitayma-y
 DET that+ALD person RPT 3PL.OBJ-chase-IMPFV
the people who it chases to kill it

T0003: 018

porque nii maa katamaqnii
 porque nii maa ka-ta-maqnii
 because COMP RPT IRR-3PL.SUB-kill(PFV)
because if they kill it,

T0003: 019

maa 7akstu naa naa 7awilhchan
 maa 7aqstu naa naa 7a-wilhchan
 RPT same EMP EMP CL:another-day

maa kaniilh juu 7anuuch
 maa ka-nii-li juu 7anu7+ch
 RPT IRR-die-PFV DET that+ALD
that very same day, the woman will die

T0003: 020

juu 7anch t'aku7
 juu 7anch t'aku7
 DET there woman
that woman

T0003: 021

juu 7ixnatich nawiiy.
 juu x-nati+ch nawii-y
 REL POS-mother+ALD make-IMPFV
who it has made its mother.

T0003: 022

lhiiyuuch jaantu qox nii
 lhiiyuuch jaantu qox nii
 therefore NEG good COMP

katamaqnii juu 7anu7 luw
 ka-ta-maqnii juu 7anu7 luw
 IRR-3PL.SUB-kill(PFV) DET that snake
Therefore, it is not good to kill that snake.

T0003: 023

Puus juu laay
 puus juu laa-y
 well REL can-IMPFV
Well, the one who can

T0003: 024

juu laay ch'apay juu luw
 juu laa-y ch'apa-y juu luw
 REL can-IMPFV grab-IMPFV DET snake
the one who can grab the snake,

T0003: 025

yuuch juu kintata7 juu tam tapopan
 yuuch juu kin-tata7 juu tam tapapaan
 PRN.3SG DET 1POS-old_man DET one witch
he is an old man, a witch.

T0003: 026

Maa yuuch juu laay kalhii7alh ma7ata
 maa yuuch juu laa-y ka-lhii7an-li ma7ata
 RPT PRN.3SG REL can-IMPFV IRR-take-PFV far
It is he who can carry it away

T0003: 027

taa	kamaa7anantach	juu	taa
taa	ka-maa7an-nVn-ta+ch	juu	taa
where	IRR-throw-INO-PF+ALD	REL	where

taqay7iixt'oq7ach	juu	tii
ta-qay7iixt'oq-7a+ch	juu	tii
INCH-join-IMPV+ALD	DET	road

where he is going to throw it, where the roads meet (at the crossroads).

T0003: 028

7anch	juu	maa	laaych	7anch	mukoona7
7anch	juu	maa	laa-y+ch	7an+ch	makajun-nV7
there	REL	RPT	can-IMPV+ALD	go(IMPV)+ALD	leave-INF

That is where he can go to leave it.

T0003: 029

Maa	chunch	nawiita	pumatam	kintata7
maa	chun+ch	nawii-ta	puma-tam	kin-tata7
RPT	thus+ALD	do-PF	CL:human-one	1POS-old_man

That's what an old man did

T0003: 030

porque	juu	7anu7	kinana7
porque	juu	7anu7	kin-nana7
because	DET	that	1POS-old_woman

because that old woman

T0003: 031

maa	jaantuch	xlakask'in,
maa	jaantu+ch	x-lakask'in
RPT	NEG+ALD	PAST-want(IMPV)

maa	naa	xtamaaqantalhanantach,
maa	naa	x-ta-maaqantalha-nan-ta+ch
RPT	EMP	PAST-INCH-frighten-INO-PF+ALD

maa	jeqs	x7uy
maa	jaqs	x-7u-y
RPT	bore	PAST-eat-IMPV

did not want it, she was afraid, she was fed up

T0003: 032

nii maa waa tza tza xtajuuniych
 nii maa waa tza tza x-ta-jun-ni-y+ch
 COMP RPT FOC ID:repeatedly PAST-3PL.SUB-say-DAT-IMPV+ALD

nii maa waa x7anch tanxt'ut'unu7 juu xqolit'i.
 nii maa waa x-7an+ch tan-xt'ut'u-nV7 juu xqolit'i
 COMP RPT FOC PAST-go(IMPV)+ALD torso-nurse-INF DET millipede
because every little while they told her that the millipede was going to nurse.

T0003: 033

Puus chunch juu noonkan
 puus chun+ch juu najun-kan
 well thus+ALD REL say-INS(IMPV)

juu 7anch juu lakilaqachaqaan.
 juu 7anch juu laka-kin-laqachaqaan
 DET there DET PREP-1POS-town
Well, that's what they say in my town.

TEXT 2: THE SHAPE-SHIFTER IS A WOMAN TIGER (T0020)

This text was narrated by don Antonio Viguera Huerta on July 8, 2000, in Catemaco, Veracruz, Mexico. It was recorded and transcribed by Susan Smythe Kung, translated by don Nicolás Viguera Patricio, and interlinearized by Susan Smythe Kung. The audio recording is to be archived with the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America under the language name “Tepehua de Huehuetla”.

T0020: 001

juu laqatam wilhchan juu maa maqanchich
 juu laqa-tam wilhchan juu maa maqanch+ich
 DET CL:general-one day DET RPT long_time+ALD
One day, a long time ago,

T0020: 002

maa xt'oonpalay juu maqtili7 juu waa niinch
 maa x-t'ajun-pala-y juu maqtili7 juu waa niin+ch
 RPT PAST-be-REP-IMPV DET animal REL FOC near+ALD

laqachaqaan taa wii xkaan.
 laqachaqaan taa wii xkaan
 town where seated.IMPV water
there was an animal that was near the town by the water,

T0020: 003

Lakalhpaw junkan
 Lakalhpaw jun-kan
 Pagua say-RFL(IMPV)
It's called the Pagua.

T0020: 004

maa 7ixtaxtuy juu laktalhp
 maa x-taxtu-y juu laka-talhp
 RPT PAST-leave-IMPV DET PREP-mountain
It went out in the mountain(s),

T0020: 005

jaantu xk'atz'akan tanch juu minachaa.
 jaantu x-k'atz'a-kan tanch juu min-cha
 NEG PAST-know-INS(IMPV) where REL come-DST.PFV
but it was not known where the animal came out.

T0020: 006

juu maqtili7 nii waa xlhii7an juu p'aax,
 juu maqtili7 nii waa x-lhii7an juu p'aax
 DET animal COMP FOC PAST-take(IMPV) DET pig
The animal would take pigs,

T0020: 007

xlhii7an juu borrego waakax.
 x-lhii7an juu borrego waakax
 PAST-take(IMPV) DET sheep cow
it would take sheep, cows,

T0020: 008

juu waa lakt'ikt'ika7 juu waakax
 juu waa lakat'ikst'i+ka7 juu waakax
 DET FOC small+JST DET cow

The cows were little,

T0020: 009

juu maa xlhii7an.
 juu maa x-lhii7an
 REL RPT PAST-take(IMPFV)

the ones that would take.

T0020: 010

juu tanch maqanch maqanch
 juu tanch maqanch maqanch
 DET where long_time long_time

Little by little

T0020: 011

maa talhiitajuu maa waa 7anchach
 maa ta-lhiitajuu maa waa 7anch+ach
 RPT 3PL.SUB-find(PFV) RPT FOC there+ALD

juu seqjun juu maqtili7.
 juu seqjun juu maqtili7
 REL hide(IMPFV) DET animal

they found out that the animal was hiding there.

T0020: 012

puuxkoolhiitz'ukukaalh puuxkoolhiitz'ukukaalh
 puuxkaju=lhii-tzuku-kan-li puuxkaju=lhii-tzuku-kan-li
 look_for=APPL-begin-INS-PFV look_for=APPL-begin-INS-PFV

They began to search and search for it.

T0020: 013

y maa milhch 7awilhchan
y maa min-li+ch 7a-wilhchan
and RPT come-PFV+ALD CL:another-day

nii lhiitajuukaalh tanch juu tanuun
nii lhiitajuu-kan-li tanch juu tanuun
COMP find-INS-PFV where DET inserted(IMPFV)
But the day came when they found where it was.

T0020: 014

kaa x7alinch juu 7aksnii
kaa x-7alin+ch juu 7aksnii
BLV PAST-there_is(IMPFV)+ALD REL when

laaych xat'alan.
laa-y+ch xa-t'ala-nVn
can-IMPFV+ALD PAST-shoot-INO
Then there was a lot of shooting.

T0020: 015

puus tap'akxan taylhiitzukulhch
puus ta-p'akxan ta-lhii-tzuku-li+ch
well 3PL.SUB-spy.on(IMPFV) 3PL.SUB-APPL-begin-PFV+ALD
Well, they began to wait for it.

T0020: 016

milh 7awilhchan nii kaa lhii7ampaalhch
min-li 7a-wilhchan nii kaa lhii7an-pala-li+ch
come-PFV CL:another-day COMP BLV take-REP-PFV+ALD

juu maa p'aax
juu maa p'aax
DET RPT pig
Another day came when it carried off another pig.

T0020: 017

maa tataymaa lhii7alhch.
maa ta-taymaa lhii-7an-li+ch
RPT 3PL.SUB-follow(PFV) APPL-go(PFV)-PFV+ALD
and they followed it.

T0020: 018

maa taqalhaputaylich
 maa ta-qalhaputay-li+ch
 RPT 3PL.SUB-intercept-PFV+ALD
They intercepted it.

T0020: 019

maa tatz'ukulh lakat'alhmaanin.
 maa ta-tzuku-li laka-t'alh=maa-nin
 RPT 3PL.SUB-begin-PFV body-stone=lying-PL.INF
They began to stone it.

T0020: 020

7atz'alalhch y tanuuchaalhch juu laktalhpa.
 7atz'ala-li+ch y tanuu-chaali+ch juu laka-talhpa
 run-PFV+ALD and enter-DST-PFV+ALD DET PREP-mountain
It ran into the cave.

T0020: 021

7anch juu kiixaqaxtukaalhch,
 7anch juu kii-xaqaxtu-kan-li+ch
 there REL RT-pull_out-INS-PFV+ALD
They went and pulled it out of there,

T0020: 022

pero maa xaaniinch
 pero maa xaa-nii-n+ch
 but RPT IPOS-die-DVB+ALD
but it was already dead.

T0020: 023

xniitach juu maqtili7.
 x-nii-ta+ch juu maqtili7
 PAST-die-PF+ALD DET animal
The animal had died.

T0020: 024

7aksnii lhiiminkaalhch
 7aksnii lhiimin-kan-li+ch
 when bring-INS-PFV+ALD

nii kaa lhiilhuuch lapanak
 nii kaa lhiilhuu+ch lapanak
 COMP BLV various+ALD person
When they brought it back, they were various people,

T0020: 025

juu kaa lhiiminkaalh, maa
 juu kaa lhiimin-kan-li maa
 DET BLV bring-INS-PFV RPT

tz'ukukaalhch laqaxuk7a
 tzuku-kan-li+ch laka-xuk-7a
 begin-INS-PFV+ALD body-carve-IMPFV
they brought it back and they began skinning it.

T0020: 026

laqaxuk'alhch maa tapaach'uk'ulhch.
 laqaxuk'a-li+ch maa ta-paa-ch'uk'u-li+ch
 skin-PFV+ALD RPT 3PL.SUB-inside-split_open-PFV+ALD
They skinned it and they cut it open.

T0020: 027

maa kulhuk paatajunch juu xpuumpu7.
 maa kulhuk paa-tajun+ch juu x-puumpu7
 RPT inside INST1-inserted(IMPFV)+ALD DET 3POS-clothing
Inside there was clothing.

T0020: 028

maa naa naa qox qay maqtili7
 maa naa naa qox qay maqtili7
 RPT EMP EMP good big wild_animal
It was a very big animal,

T0020: 029

y maa waa t'aku7
 y maa waa t'aku7
 and RPT FOC woman
and it was a woman

T0020: 030

7aksnii tapaach'uk'ulhch.
 7aksnii ta-paa-ch'uk'u-li+ch
 when 3PL.SUB-inside-split_open-PFV+ALD
when they cut it open.

T0020: 031

tatzukulhch laqlhwaqnin,
 ta-tzuku-li+ch lak-lhwaq-nin
 3PL.SUB-begin-PFV+ALD DIS-dismember-PL.INF
They began to dismember it,

T0020: 032

maa jaantu ta7uputunpalay
 maa jaantu ta-7u-putun-pala-y
 RPT NEG 3PL.SUB-eat-DESID-REP-IMPFV

juu xaa7akanit nii waa lapanak.
 juu xaa-7akanit nii waa lapanak
 DET IPOS-flesh COMP FOC person
but they didn't want to eat the meat because it was human flesh.

T0020: 033

puus takaa tanawiilhch.
 puus takaa ta-nawii-li+ch
 well I_don't_know 3PL.SUB-do-PFV+ALD
Well, I don't know what they did.

T0020: 034

juu 7uputulhch kaa 7ulhch
 juu 7u-putun-li+ch kaa 7u-li+ch
 REL eat-DESID-PFV+ALD BLV eat-PFV+ALD
I think that whoever wanted to eat it, ate it,

T0020: 035

juu jaantuch kaa jaantuch.
 juu jaantu+ch kaa jaantu+ch
 REL NEG+ALD BLV NEG+ALD
and whoever didn't, didn't.

T0020: 036

maa waa tamaa7alhch
 maa waa ta-maa7an-li+ch
 RPT FOC 3PL.SUB-throw-PFV+ALD
Some threw it out

T0020: 037

porque nii maa waa xaakanit lapanak.
 porque nii maa waa xaa-7akanit lapanak
 because COMP RPT FOC IPOS-flesh person
because it was human flesh.

T0020: 038

puus juu 7anu7 nii kaa x7anch nii
 puus juu 7anu7 nii kaa x-7an+ch nii
 well DET that COMP BLV PAST-go(IMPFV)+ALD COMP

waa yuuch nii xkii7iiych juu lhiiway.
 waa yuuch nii x-kii-7ii-y+ch juu lhiiway
 FOC PRN.3SG COMP PAST-RT-bring-IMPFV+ALD DET meat
Well, everybody who went only went to get meat.

T0020: 039

kaa x7uych juu yuuch juu lhiiway
 kaa x-7u-y+ch juu yuuch juu lhiiway
 BLV PAST-eat-IMPFV+ALD DET PRN.3SG DET meat
I think that he ate the meat

T0020: 040

nii waa lhiiwaych juu x7uy
 nii waa lhiiway+ch juu x-7u-y
 COMP FOC meat+ALD REL PAST-eat-IMPFV
because it was meat that she (the animal) would eat

T0020: 041

nii kaa waa maqtiliich.
 nii kaa waa maqtili7+ch
 COMP BLV FOC animal+ALD
because she was an animal.

TEXT 3: THE TWO FRIENDS (T0055)

This text was narrated by don Laurencio Viguera Patricio on November 8, 2000, in Huehuetla, Hidalgo, Mexico. It was recorded and transcribed by Susan Smythe Kung, translated by don Nicolás Viguera Patricio, and interlinearized by Susan Smythe Kung. The audio recording is archived with the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America under the language name “Tepehua de Huehuetla” and the identifier number TPW001R055.

T0055: 001

7alilh laqatam 7awilhchan
 7alin-li laqa-tam 7a-wilhchan
 there_{is}-PFV CL:general-one CL:another-day
One day

T0055: 002

maa soq talaalhiitajuu juu 7akumwarii
 maa soq ta-laa-lhiitajuu juu 7akumwarii
 RPT straight 3PL.SUB-RCP-find(PFV) DET friend

juu laxchaqa7an
 juu laka-x-chaqa7-7an
 DET PREP-3POS-house-PL.POS
two friends met in their houses.

T0055: 003

maa 7anii maa xkiitasp'it'ach x7ast'aanta
 maa 7ani7 maa x-kii-taspit-ta+ch x-7a-st'aa-nVn-ta
 RPT here RPT PAST-RT-return-PF+ALD PAST-PL-sell-INO-PF
Now, one of the friends had

T0055: 004

juu pumatam xkumwarii laqatam laqachaqaan
 juu puma-tam x-kumwarii laqa-tam laqachaqaan
 DET CL:human-one 3POS-friend CL:general-one town
returned from selling in another town.

T0055: 005

y luego nii 7ani talaapaaxtoqlieh
 y luego nii 7ani ta-laa-paaxtoq-li+ch
 and then COMP here 3PL.SUB-RCP-meet-PFV+ALD
And then when they met,

T0055: 006

“tanch xak'iilaay, jii kumwarii?”
 tanch x-kii-laa-y jii kumwarii
 where PAST-RT(2SUB)-can-IMPFV VOC friend
“Where did you go, Friend?”

T0055: 007

maa juuniych juu xkumwarii
 maa jun-ni-y+ch juu x-kumwarii
 RPT say-DAT-IMPFV+ALD DET 3POS-friend
his friend said to him.

T0055: 008

“waa kiist'aa juu x7ilht'i p'aax,”
 waa k-kii-st'aa juu x-7ilht'i p'aax
 FOC 1SUB-RT-sell(PFV) DET 3POS-excrement pig
“I went to sell pig excrement,”

T0055: 009

maa juuniych juu xkumwaree.
 maa jun-ni-y+ch juu x-kumwarii
 RPT say-DAT-IMPFV+ALD DET 3POS-friend
his friend said to him.

T0055: 010

7entons juu 7anuuch purowii xkumwarii
 7entons juu 7anu7+ch purowii x-kumwarii
 then DET that+ALD pitiful 3POS-friend
Well, that pitiful friend,

T0055: 011

nii maa naa waa xkilhpatiych
 nii maa naa waa x-kilhpati-y+ch
 COMP RPT EMP FOC PAST-be_poor-IMPV+ALD
he was very poor.

T0055: 012

lhtoo lhtoo maa 7atz'alatzukulhch
 lhtoo lhtoo maa 7atz'ala-tzuku-li+ch
 ID:running ID:running RPT run-begin-PFV+ALD

xpuuxkajuk'a
 x-puuxkaju-k'a
 PAST-search_find-ADJZ
He ran around and around here looking for

T0055: 013

juu 7ani7 juu x7ilht'i p'aax
 juu 7ani7 juu x-7ilht'i p'aax
 DET here DET 3POS-excrement pig
pig excrement

T0055: 014

maa maak'uk'alhch juu xburruu
 maa maak'uk'a-li+ch juu x-burruu
 RPT load-PFV+ALD DET 3POS-donkey
and he loaded his donkey.

T0055: 015

7alhch maak'uk'alhch laqat'uy kuxtaa.
 7an-li+ch maak'uk'a-li+ch laqa-t'uy kuxtaa
 go-PFV+ALD load-PFV+ALD CL:general-two burlap_sack
He left carrying two sacks

T0055: 016

lhii7alhch juu xpurruu
 lhii7an-li+ch juu x-purruu
 take-PFV+ALD DET 3POS-donkey
The donkey took them.

T0055: 017

7alhch	sast'aanta	juu	laqachaqaan
7an-li+ch	x-st'aa-nVn-ta	juu	laqachaqaan
go-PFV+ALD	PAST-sell-INO-PF	DET	town

He went selling in the town.

T0055: 018

nii	chaa7anch	juu	laqachaqaan
nii	chaa7an+ch	juu	laqachaqaan
COMP	arrive_there(IMPV)+ALD	DET	town

And when he arrived in the town,

T0055: 019

maa	maak'utulhch	maa	7aqxqoqatach
maa	maak'utu-li+ch	maa	7aqx-qoqa-ta+ch
RPT	unload-PFV+ALD	RPT	shoulder-carry-PF+ALD

juu	xburruu	jii
juu	x-burruu	jii
DET	3POS-donkey	VOC

he unloaded the burro and threw the load on his shoulder

T0055: 020

kulhunch	7ulaa
kulhun+ch	7ulaa
pile+ALD	put(PFV)

and he piled it

T0055: 021

juu	laxlakaytati	laqachaqaan
juu	laka-x-lakaytati	laqachaqaan
DET	PREP-3POS-middle	town

in the middle of the town

T0055: 022

tzukulhch	maa	7ast'aana7.
tzuku-li+ch	maa	7a-st'aa-nV7
begin-PFV+ALD	RPT	PL-sell-INF

and he began to sell it.

T0055: 023

pero juu lapanak tzukulhch 7utaynin
 pero juu lapanak tzuku-li+ch 7utay-nin
 but DET people begin-PFV+ALD smell-PL.INF
But the people began to smell it

T0055: 024

juu xaakamiti juu 7anii x7ilht'i p'aax
 juu xaa-7akamiti juu 7anii x-7ilht'i p'aax
 DET IPOS-odor DET this 3POS-excrement pig
the odor of the pig excrement.

T0055: 025

nii ta7utaynilh
 nii ta-7utay-ni-li
 COMP 3PL.SUB-smell-DAT-PFV
And it smelled really horrible

T0055: 026

nii maa naa qox 7akamin
 nii maa naa qox 7akamin
 COMP RPT EMP good smell(IMPV)

juu 7anuuch juu 7ulaata
 juu 7anu7+ch juu 7ulaa-ta
 DET that+ALD REL place-PF

juu porowii juu lapanak
 juu purowii juu lapanak
 DET pitiful DET person
that which the pitiful person had put there.

T0055: 027

puwanaa tachaa7an juu pulasiyaa
 puwanaa ta-chaa7an juu pulasiyaa
 but_then 3PL.SUB-arrive_there(IMPV) DET police
But later the police arrived,

T0055: 028

nii 7ani7 taxkoyawlich
 nii 7ani7 ta-xkoyaju-li+ch
 COMP here 3PL.SUB-pull-PFV+ALD

maasoqoch kamaa7alh
 maa-soqon+ch ka-maa7an-li
 CAUS-hurry(IMPFV)+ALD IRR-throw-PFV
and they pulled him and made him hurry to discard

T0055: 029

juu 7anu7 t'ajun st'aana7 juu 7ani7
 juu 7anu7 t'ajun st'aa-nV7 juu 7ani7
 REL that be(IMPFV) sell-INF DET here
what he was selling here

T0055: 030

porque nii jaantu, katat'alhnuyaach.
 porque nii jaantu ka-ta-t'alhnu-ya7+ch
 because COMP NEG IRR-3PL.SUB-jail-FUT+ALD
because if he didn't, they would throw him in jail.

T0055: 031

luego juu purowii lapanak
 luego juu purowii lapanak
 then DET pitiful person
Then the pitiful person

T0055: 032

waa naa 7alakjuuniy juu pulasiyaa
 waa naa 7a-lak-jun-ni-y juu pulasiyaa
 FOC EMP PL-3PL.OBJ-say-DAT-IMPFV DET police
told the police

T0055: 033

nii 7anii waa xjuunita juu xkumwarii
 nii 7anii waa x-jun-ni-ta juu x-kumwarii
 COMP um FOC 3POS-say-DAT-PFV DET 3POS-friend
that his friend had told him

T0055: 034

maa naa qox st'aakan juu x7ilht'i p'aax
 maa naa qox st'aa-kan juu x-7ilht'i p'aax
 RPT EMP good sell-RFL(IMPFV) DET 3POS-excrement pig
that pig excrement sold very well.

T0055: 035

yuuchach xlhii7antach st'aana7.
 yuuch+ch x-lhii7an-ta+ch st'aa-nV7
 PRN.3SG+ALD PAST-take-PF+ALD sell-INF
That was why he had brought it to sell.

T0055: 036

7entons juu pulasiyaa p'aas xtajuuniy
 7entons juu pulasiyaa p'aas x-ta-jun-ni-y
 then DET police hard PAST-3PL.SUB-say-DAT-IMPFV
Then the police demanded,

T0055: 037

“7int'ich soqon maa7ana7!
 7an-t'i+ch soqon maa7an-nV7
 go(2SUB)-2SG.SUB.PFV+ALD hurry throw-INF
“Hurry up and throw it out!”

T0055: 038

nii jaantu, klaat'alhnuuyaaweh!
 nii jaantu k-laa-t'alhnuu-ya7-w+ch
 COMP NEG 1SUB-RCP-jail-FUT-1PL.SUB+ALD
If you don't, we're going to throw you in jail!

T0055: 039

nii jaantu, waa 7aniich t'amuk'oona7!”
 nii jaantu waa 7ani7+ch tamakajun-a7
 COMP NEG FOC here+ALD stay(2SUB)-FUT
If you don't, you can't stay around here!”

T0055: 040

maa tajuuniych
 maa ta-jun-ni-y+ch
 RPT PL.SUB-say-DAT-IMPFV+ALD
they told him.

T0055: 041

entonces nii najunch wachu7
 entonces nii najun+ch wachu7
 then COMP say(IMPFV)+ALD also

Then they also told him that

T0055: 042

juu lapanak juu waa xoqxchoqota
 juu lapanak juu waa x-7oqxchoqo-ta
 DET person REL FOC PAST-trick-PF

juu xkumwarii.
 juu x-kumwarii
 DET 3POS-friend

the person who had tricked him was his friend.

T0055: 043

waa naa maa xtaqnikan laqkiis peexuu.
 waa naa maa xtaq-ni-kan laq-kiis peexuu
 FOC EMP RPT give-DAT-INS CL:money-five peso

Then they gave him five pesos.

T0055: 044

y luego 7alhch maa7ana7 juu x7ilht'i p'aax.
 y luego 7an-li+ch maa7an-V7 juu x-7ilht'i p'aax
 and then go-PFV+ALD throw-INF DET 3POS-excrement pig

And then he went to throw out the pig excrement.

T0055: 045

nii maa taspitchoqochaa,
 nii maa tasp'it-choqo+chaa
 COMP RPT return-REP-DST.PFV

And when he returned again,

T0055: 046

milhch maa tamoonaa7 laqatam xmaaskaraa
 min-li+ch maa tamaju-nV7 laqa-tam x-maaskaraa
 come-PFV+ALD RPT buy-INF CL:general-one 3POS-mask

he came to buy a mask

T0055: 047

juu laqkiis peexuu xtaqnikaalh.
 juu laq-kiis peexuu xtaq-ni-kan-li
 DET CL:money-five peso give-DAT-INS-PFV
with the five pesos that they gave him.

T0055: 048

lhiitamawlh laqatam xlaqpuutanuti
 lhii-tamaw-li laqa-tam x-laqpuutanuti
 APPL-buy-PFV CL:general-one 3POS-mask
And he bought himself a mask

T0055: 049

nii maa minchoqolhch juu lakatii.
 nii maa min-choqo-li+ch juu laka-tii
 COMP RPT come-AGAIN-PFV+ALD DET PREP-road
and he returned along the road.

T0055: 050

nii chilhch juu qayk'iwin,
 nii chin-li+ch juu qayk'iwin
 COMP arrive-PFV+ALD DET mountain
When he arrived at the mountain,

T0055: 051

laxlakaytat qayk'iwin
 laka-x-lakaytat qayk'iwin
 PREP-3POS-middle mountain
in the middle of the mountain

T0055: 052

topenqe maa tawiilanalhch juu 7aqalhoonin.
 topenqe maa ta-wiilanalh+ch juu 7aqalhoona7-nin
 bunch RPT 3PL.SUB-seated.PL(IMPV)+ALD DET thief-PL
was a bunch of thieves.

T0055: 053

tzakaa ta7ulaatach juu tuumiin laxmaletin7an,
 tzakaa ta-7ulaa-ta+ch juu tuumiin laka-x-maletin-7an
 heavily 3PL.SUB-put-PF+ALD DET money PREP-3POS-suitcase-PL.POS
They had a suitcase heavy with money,

T0055: 060

maa ʔalaksakmich,
 maa ʔa-lak-sakmin+ch
 PRT PL-3PL.OBJ-ask(IMPFV)+ALD
And he asked them,

T0055: 061

“jaa laay kʔalakt'aatamakajuu?
 jaa laa-y k-ʔa-lak-t'aa-tamakajuun
 Q can-IMPV 1SUB-PL-PL-COM-stay(PFV)
“Can I stay with you all?”

T0055: 062

naa waa taqoxalhch.
 naa waa taqoxa-li+ch
 EMP FOC get_late-PFV+ALD
It got late on me.

T0055: 063

wachuuch waa ktamakoomputun ʔaniʔ,”
 wachuʔ+ch waa k-tamakajun-putun ʔaniʔ
 also+ALD FOC 1SUB-stay-DESID(IMPFV) here
I want to stay here, too,”

T0055: 064

maa ʔalakjuunich juu lakatii.
 maa ʔa-lak-jun-ni-y+ch juu laka-tii
 RPT PL-3PL.OBJ-say-DAT-IMPV+ALD DET PREP-road
he told them from the road.

T0055: 065

“ʔaa kalaalh nii waa
 ʔaa ka-laa-li nii waa
 Oh IRR-can-PFV COMP FOC
 t'amak'oomp'ut'unch,”
 tamakajun-putun+ch
 stay(2SUB)-DESID(2SUB.IMPV)+ALD
“Oh, stay if you want to,”

T0055: 066

maa tajuuniych.
 maa ta-jun-ni-y+ch
 RPT 3PL.SUB-say-DAT-IMPFV+ALD
they told him.

T0055: 067

y luego waa naa maa 7alakt'aatoolay
 y luego waa naa maa 7a-lak-t'aa-toola-y
 and then FOC EMP RPT PL-3PL.OBJ-COM-stay-IMPFV
And then he stayed with them

T0055: 068

y waa naach nii talaklhtatalhch
 y waa naa+ch nii ta-lak-lhtata-li+ch
 and FOC EMP+ALD COMP 3PL.SUB-DIS-sleep-PFV+ALD
and soon they all went to sleep.

T0055: 069

nii talaklhtatalhch,
 nii ta-lak-lhtata-li+ch
 COMP 3PL.SUB-DIS-sleep-PFV+ALD
And when they all had fallen asleep,

T0055: 070

nii naa waa x7alinch juu xqen,
 nii naa waa x-7alin+ch juu xqen
 COMP EMP FOC PAST-there_is(IMPFV)+ALD DET fly
there were a lot of flies,

T0055: 071

naach maa waa kaw x7alin juu xqen.
 naa+ch maa waa kaw x-7alin juu xqen
 EMP+ALD RPT FOC noise PAST-there_is(IMPFV) DET fly
and the flies made a lot of noise.

T0055: 072

y luego maa 7ani7 jaqs 7amaawaay juu xqen.
 y luego maa 7ani7 jaqs 7amaawaa-y juu xqen
 and then RPT here bother bother-IMPFV DET fly
And then the flies bothered him a lot.

T0055: 073

waa naa maa laqapuutanuuy xlaqapuutanuuti.
 waa naa maa laqpuu-tanuu-y x-laqpuutanuuti
 FOC EMP RPT face-insert-IMPFV 3POS-mask

He put on the mask.

T0055: 074

y luego nii takujchaalhch juu 7aqalhoonin,
 y luego nii ta-kuj-chaali+ch juu 7aqalhoona7-nin
 and then COMP 3PL.SUB-wake_up-DST-PFV+ALD DET thief-PL

And then when the thieves woke up,

T0055: 075

talaqtz'inch
 ta-laqtz'in+ch
 3PL.SUB-see(IMPFV)+ALD

they saw

T0055: 076

nii maa lakapoolhokok maalhch
 nii maa laqpuu-lhoqoq maalh+ch
 COMP RPT eye-hollow lying(IMPFV)+ALD

juu 7anu7 lapanak,
 juu 7anu7 lapanak
 DET that person
that hollow-eyed person lying down

T0055: 077

waa naa maa tarr talak7atz'alay
 waa naa maa tarr ta-lak-7atz'ala-y
 FOC EMP RPT ID:running 3PL.SUB-DIS-run-IMPFV

xtalhanti7an,
 x-talhanti-7an
 3POS-fright-PL.POS
and they began to run in fright,

T0055: 078

juu 7aqalhoonin, jaantu.
 juu 7aqalhoona7-nin jaantu
 DET thief-PL NEG
the thieves, no.

T0055: 079

ta7alhch tamukuu7ulaaqoolhch
 ta-7an-li+ch ta-makajun=7ulaa-qoju-li+ch
 3PL.SUB-go(PFV)-PFV+ALD 3PL.SUB-leave=put-ALL-PFV+ALD

juu xtuumiin7an.
 juu x-tuumiin-7an
 DET 3POS-money-PL.POS
They went off and left all of their money.

T0055: 080

y luego juu 7anuuch purowii lapanak,
 y luego juu 7anu7+ch purowii lapanak
 and then DET that+ALD pitiful person
And then the pitiful person,

T0055: 081

“jaantuch waa 7atz'alat'it!
 jaantu+ch waa 7atz'ala-t'it
 NEG+ALD FOC run(PFV)-2PL.SUB
“Don't run away!”

T0055: 082

kit'in! kit'in!
 ki7in ki7in
 PRN.1SG PRN.1SG
It's me! It's me!”

T0055: 083

maa 7alakjuuniych
 maa 7a-lak-jun-ni-y+ch
 RPT PL-3PL.OBJ-say-DAT-IMPV+ALD
he said to them.

T0055: 084

lakch'apayajuych,
 lak-ch'apayaju-y+ch
 3PL.OBJ-stop-IMPV+ALD
He wanted to stop them,

T0055: 085

maa jaantu tataspilh.
 maa jaantu ta-taspit-li
 RPT NEG 3PL.SUB-return-PFV
but they didn't return.

T0055: 086

maa tamukoo7ulaa juu xtuumiin7an
 maa ta-makajun=7ulaa juu x-tuumiin-7an
 RPT 3PL.SUB-leave=put(PFV) DET 3POS-money-PL.POS
The left their money.

T0055: 087

waa naa maa tzakaa tamak'uk'ay.
 waa naa maa tzakaa ta-mak'uk'a-y
 FOC EMP RPT heavily 3PL.SUB-carry-IMPV
They left their heavy load.

T0055: 088

juu xburruu juu yuuch
 juu x-burruu juu yuuch
 DET 3POS-donkey DET PRN.3SG

tzakaach maa maak'uk'aa.
 tzakaa+ch maa maak'uk'aa
 heavily+ALD RPT load(PFV)
He loaded his donkey heavily.

T0055: 089

juu xburruu juu tuumiin
 juu x-burruu juu tuumiin
 DET 3POS-donkey DET money

chilhch juu laqachaqaan
 chin-li+ch juu laqachaqaan
 arrive-PFV+ALD DET town

The donkey and the money arrived in the town

T0055: 090

juntaa xwiilhch juu xkumwarii.
 juntaa x-wiilh+ch juu x-kumwarii
 where PAST-seated(IMPV)+ALD DET 3POS-friend
where his friend lived.

T0055: 091

waa naa maa juuniy juu xkumwarii
 waa naa maa jun-ni-y juu x-kumwarii
 FOC EMP RPT say-DAT-IMPV DET 3POS-friend
He said to his friend,

T0055: 092

“waa salh7as, jii kumwarii, naa qox st’aakan
 waa salh7as jii kumwarii naa qox st’aa-kan
 FOC really VOC friend EMP good sell-RFL(IMPV)
“Really, friend, pig excrement

T0055: 093

juu x7ilht'i p'aax
 juu x-7ilht'i p'aax
 DET 3POS-excrement pig
sells very well.

T0055: 094

naa qox xakist'aay.”
 naa qox xa-ki-st'aa-y
 EMP good PAST-1OBJ-sell-IMPV
It sold well for me.”

T0055: 095

tzukulh maa laqaxqotnu7,
 tzuku-li maa laqaxqot-nV7
 begin-PFV RPT unload-INF
He began to unload,

T0055: 096

qaqmixqaa juu maletin.
 qaqmixqaa juu maletin
 uncover(PFV) DET suitcase
he uncovered the suitcase.

T0055: 097

maa naa naa sii tuumiin
 maa naa naa sii tuumiin
 RPT EMP EMP pure money

juu tzakaa kalhii7anta.
 juu tzakaa ka-lhii7an-ta
 REL heavily IRR-take-PF
It was full of money.

T0055: 098

y luego, waa naa 7ani7, cabrón,
 y luego waa naa 7ani7 cabrón
 and then FOC EMP here damn

kaa waa salh7as, jii kumwarii
 kaa waa salh7as jii kumwarii
 BLV FOC really VOC friend

qox xa7aniyan.
 qox xa-7an-ni-y-n
 good PAST-go-DAT-IMPV-2OBJ
And then, "Damn, honestly, friend, it really it went well for you.

T0055: 099

wachu7 k7anchoqoya7."
 wachu7 k-7an-choqo-ya7
 also 1SUB-go-AGAIN-FUT
I'm going to go back, too."

T0055: 100

maa	tzukulh	maa	maaxtoqnu7	juu	x7ilht'i	p'aax
maa	tzuku-li	maa	maaxtoq-nV7	juu	x-7ilht'i	p'aax
RPT	begin-PFV	RPT	gather-INF	DET	3POS-excrement	pig

He began to collect pig excrement.

T0055: 101

waach	7anqalhiy	jaantuch
waa+ch	7anqalhii-y	jaantu+ch
FOC+ALD	return-IMPV	NEG+ALD

He still hasn't returned,

T0055: 102

tawanan	taspitlh
tawanan	taspit-li
never	return-PFV

he never returned.

TEXT 4: THE HISTORY OF HUEHUETLA (T0057)

This text was narrated by don Nicolás Viguera Patricio on January 27, 2001, in Huehuetla, Hidalgo, Mexico. It was recorded and transcribed by Susan Smythe Kung, translated by don Nicolás Viguera Patricio, and interlinearized by Susan Smythe Kung. The audio recording is archived with the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America under the language name “Tepehua de Huehuetla” and the identifier number TPW001R057.

T0057: 001

pues	juu	maa	maqanchich	maa	7anuu
pues	juu	maa	maqanch+ich	maa	7anuu
well	DET	RPT	long_time+ALD	RPT	um

Well, a long time ago, um,

T0057: 002

maa	waa	tamilh		juu	lapanak
maa	waa	ta-min-li		juu	lapanak
RPT	FOC	3PL.SUB-come-PFV		DET	people

de Pisaflores, Muuniixkaan,
 de Pisaflores Muuniixkaan
 from Pisaflores Mecapalapa
the people came from Pisaflores, Mecapalapa,

T0057: 003

maa	7anuu	maachaqanch	Pisaflores.
maa	7anuu	maachaqan+ch	Pisaflores
RPT	um	town+ALD	Pisaflores

that town Pisaflores.

T0057: 004

7entons	maa	de	San Franciscoch	wachu7
7entons	maa	de	San Francisco+ch	wachu7
then	RPT	from	San Francisco+ALD	also

Then from San Francisco, too.

T0057: 005

maa	naa	lhuu	tataqayxtoqlh
maa	naa	lhuu	ta-taqayxtoq-li
RPT	EMP	many	3PL.SUB-gather-PFV

juu	lapanak	juu	Siikalhan.
juu	lapanak	juu	Siikalhan
DET	people	DET	Zicatlán

Many people gathered together in Zicatlán.

T0057: 006

maa	7anch	xtawiilanalh		juu	lapanak
maa	7anch	x-ta-wiilanalh		juu	lapanak
RPT	there	PAST-3PL.SUB-seated.PL(IMPFV)		DET	people

The people lived there.

T0057: 007

pero maa milh laqatam wilhchan
 pero maa min-li laqa-tam wilhchan
 but RPT come-PFV CL:general-one day

But there came a day [when]

T0057: 008

juu maa naa lhuj niilh juu lapanak.
 juu maa naa lhuu nii-li juu lapanak
 DET RPT EMP many die-PFV DET people

many people died.

T0057: 009

maa waa milh laqatam maa taqanqati
 maa waa min-li laqa-tam maa taqanqati
 RPT FOC come-PFV CL:general-one RPT sickness

There was an illness,

T0057: 010

maa waa lakap'uch'ilh juu lapanak.
 maa waa laka-p'uch'i-li juu lapanak
 RPT FOC body-rot-PFV DET people

the bodies of the people rotted.

T0057: 011

maa naa naa xpatajuniy
 maa naa naa x-pataju-ni-y
 RPT EMP EMP PAST-fall-DAT-IMPV

juu lajqay juu xaakanit juu lapanak.
 juu lak-qay juu xaa-7akanit juu lapanak
 DET PL-big DET IPOS-flesh DET people

Large chunks of flesh fell off of the people.

T0057: 012

entonces maa tapastaklich
 entonces maa ta-pastak-li+ch
 then RPT 3PL.SUB-think-PFV+ALD

juu maqaniyaa lapanaknich nii maa
 juu maqaniyaa lapanak-ni+ch nii maa
 DET old person-PL+ALD COMP RPT
Then the people from before thought that

T0057: 013

nii maa “katalakpaxayaaw
 nii maa “ka-ta-lak-paxay-a7-w
 COMP RPT IRR-INCH-PL-move-FUT-1PL.SUB
that “We are going to move

T0057: 014

porque nii jaantu, kaniiqooyaaw,”
 porque nii jaantu ka-nii-qoju-ya7-aw
 because COMP NEG IRR-die-ALL-FUT-1PL.SUB

maa tanajunch.
 maa ta-najun+ch
 RPT 3PL.SUB-say(IMPFV)+ALD
because if not, we're all going to die,” they said.

T0057: 015

entonces maa talhiipastaklichi
 entonces maa ta-lhii-pastak-li+ch
 then RPT 3PL.SUB-APPL-think-PFV+ALD
Then they thought about

T0057: 016

maa tatoolhpaa
 maa ta-tawiilh-paa
 RPT 3PL.SUB-sit_down-REP.PFV

maa laka Sqatan junkan.
 maa laka Sqatan jun-kan
 RPT PREP Ciruelo say-RFL(IMPFV)
settling down in Ciruelo, it was called.

T0057: 017

maa waa naa waa chun.
 maa waa naa waa chun
 RPT FOC EMP FOC thus

But the same thing happened.

T0057: 018

maa t'ajun niini7 juu lapanakni
 maa t'ajun nii-nV7 juu lapanak-ni
 RPT be(IMPFV) die-INF DET person-PL

The people were dying.

T0057: 019

maa talaxtaqnilhch juu xtaqanqat7an
 maa ta-laxtaqni-li+ch juu x-taqanqat-7an
 RPT 3PL.SUB-contract-PFV+ALD DET 3POS-sickness-PL.POS

juu qantam qantam lapanak.
 juu qan-tam qan-tam lapanak
 DET CL:long-one CL:long-one person

The people one by one contracted the disease.

T0057: 020

maa naa naa lhuu niilh
 maa naa naa lhuu nii-li
 RPT EMP EMP many die-PFV

juu lapanak juu 7aksniich.
 juu lapanak juu 7aksnii+ch
 DET person DET then+ALD

Many people died then.

T0057: 021

7entons maa pastakchoqopalakaalh.
 7entons maa pastak-choqo-pala-kan-li
 then RPT think-AGAIN-REP-INS-PFV

Then, they thought about it again

T0057: 022

entonces maa tanajunch
 entonces maa ta-najun+ch
 then RPT 3PL.SUB-say(IMPFV)+ALD
then they said

T0057: 023

nii maa 7anii katanawiiya7 juu laqachaqaan
 nii maa 7ani7 ka-ta-nawii-ya7 juu laqachaqaan
 COMP RPT here IRR-3PL.SUB-make-FUT DET town
that they would make the town here

T0057: 024

porque juu 7anii maa waa niin juu lakxkaan
 porque juu 7ani7 maa waa niin juu lakxkaan
 because DET here RPT FOC near DET river
because this place was near the river.

T0057: 025

maa laay katamaqpaya7
 maa laa-y ka-ta-maqpa-ya7
 RPT can-IMPFV IRR-3PL.SUB-wash_clothes-FUT

juu xpuumpu7an juu lapanak.
 juu x-puumpu7-7an juu lapanak
 DET 3POS-clothing-PL.POS DET people
The people could wash their clothes.

T0057: 026

puus juu maa tataxtuchaalhch juu 7anch
 puus juu maa ta-taxtu-chaali+ch juu 7anch
 well REL RPT 3PL.SUB-leave-DST-PFV+ALD DET there
Well, those who left there,

T0057: 027

porque maa naa lhuu
 porque maa naa lhuu
 because RPT EMP many

jaantuch xtaminputun
 jaantu+ch x-ta-min-putun
 NEG+ALD PAST-3PL.SUB-come-DESID(IMPFV)
because many didn't want to come,

T0057: 028

porque maa naa xtaqachaniych
 porque maa naa x-ta-qacha-ni-y+ch
 because RPT EMP PAST-3PL.SUB-like-DAT-IMPFV+ALD

juu Siikalhan
 juu Siikalhan
 DET Zicatlán
because they liked Zicatlán

T0057: 029

nii naa 7alheeqaych juu 7anch.
 nii naa 7alheeqay+ch juu 7anch
 COMP EMP spacious+ALD DET there
because it was very spacious there.

T0057: 030

puus maa 7anch xtanawiiputunch
 puus maa 7anch x-ta-nawii-putun+ch
 well RPT there PAST-3PL.SUB-make-DESID(IMPFV)+ALD

juu xlaqachaqaan7an.
 juu x-laqachaqaan-7an
 DET 3POS-town-PL.POS
Well, they wanted to build their town there.

T0057: 031

pero juu tatamokoonchaalhch
 pero juu ta-tamakajun-chaali+ch
 but REL 3PL.SUB-stay-DST-PFV+ALD

7anch maa taniiqoo.
 7anch maa ta-nii-qoju
 there RPT 3PL.SUB-die-ALL.PFV
But the ones who stayed there all died.

T0057: 032

juu tamilhch 7anii laqachaqaan
 juu ta-min-li+ch 7ani7 laqachaqaan
 REL 3PL.SUB-come-PFV+ALD here town

tapuutaxtulhch.
 ta-puutaxtu-li+ch
 3PL.SUB-survive-PFV+ALD
The ones who came here to the town survived.

T0057: 033

entonces 7anuu chunchach kaa 7anuu lakatz'unin 7anuu.
 entonces 7anuu chunch+ach kaa 7anuu lakatz'unin 7anuu
 then um thus+ALD BLV um a_little um
Then, well, there were very few, um.

T0057: 034

waa lhiiyaa juu maqalhqama7 juu lhiich'aqawaxt'i
 waa lhii-yaa juu maqalhqama7 juu lhii-ch'aqawaxt'i
 FOC APPL-standing(IMPFV) DET Tepehua DET APPL-Totonac
The Tepehuas are mixed in with the Totonacs

T0057: 035

porque jaantu naa naa sii
 porque jaantu naa naa sii
 because NEG EMP EMP pure

maqalhqama7 laqachaqaan
 maqalhqama7 laqachaqaan
 Tepehua town
because it is not a pure Tepehua town,

T0057: 036

waa lhiiyaa juu lapanak
 waa lhii-yaa juu lapanak
 FOC APPL-standing(IMPFV) DET people
the people are all mixed in together.

T0057: 037

juu 7anuu
 juu 7anuu
 DET um
um

T0057: 038

lakatamin laqachaqaan
 laka-tamin laqachaqaan
 PREP-each town
They came from different towns,

T0057: 039

de Muuniixkaan, Pisaflores, San Francisco y
 de Muuniixkaan Pisaflores San Francisco y
 from Mecapalapa Pisaflores San Francisco and

7aniich laqachaqaan Huehuetla.
 7ani7+ch laqachaqaan Huehuetla
 here+ALD town Huehuetla

from Mecapalapa, Pisaflores, San Francisco and from here, the town of Huehuetla.

T0057: 040

entonces puus yuuch lhijunkan Huehuetla
 entonces puus yuuch lhii-jun-kan Huehuetla
 then well PRN.3SG APPL-say-RFL(IMPFV) Huehuetla
Then, well, that is why it is called Huehuetla

T0057: 041

porque	juu	maa	noomputun	juu	Huehuetla
porque	juu	maa	najun-putun	juu	Huehuetla
because	DET	RPT	say-DESID(IMPFV)	DET	Huehuetla

“maqaniyaa laqachaqaan.”

maqaniyaa laqachaqaan

old town

because Huehuetla means “old town.”

T0057: 042

7entoons	kaa	maa	7intach	quinientos	años
7entoons	kaa	maa	7intach	quinientos	años
7entoons	BLV	RPT	like	five_hundred	years

o trescientos años.

o trescientos años

or three_hundred years

So the town has been here about 500 or 300 years,

T0057: 043

pakxaanta	juu	7aniich	laqachaqaan
pakxaan-ta	juu	7ani7+ch	laqachaqaan
have-PF	DET	here+ALD	town

[see line 042]

T0057: 044

maqanchich

maqanch+ich

long_time+ALD

a long time.

T0057: 045

porque	7alin	laqatam	kampaanaa	juu	7ani7
porque	7alin	laqa-tam	kampaanaa	juu	7ani7
because	there_is(IMPFV)	CL:general-one	bell	REL	here

juk'alh juu lakapuujitat

juk'alh juu laka-puujititi

be_above(IMPFV) DET PREP-church

Because there is a bell that hangs here in the church

T0057: 046

maa de año dieciseis, año siglo dieciseis.
 maa de año dieciseis año siglo dieciseis
 RPT from year sixteen year century sixteen
from the year 16, the 16th century.

T0057: 047

juu laqatam siglo dieciocho.
 juu laqa-tam siglo dieciocho
 DET CL:general-one century eighteen
Another one from the eighteenth century.

T0057: 048

7aks juu maqaniyaa lapanak tanajun
 7aks juu maqaniyaa lapanak ta-najun
 then DET old people 3PL.SUB-say(IMPFV)
Then the people from before said

T0057: 049

nii maa nii maqanchich
 nii maa nii maqanch+ich
 COMP RPT COMP long_time+ALD
that the bells

T0057: 050

juu lakjuk'alh juu 7anuu
 juu lak-juk'alh juu 7anuu
 REL PL-be_above(IMPFV) DET um

juu lakapuujitat juu kampaanaa.
 juu laka-puujitati juu kampaanaa
 DET PREP-church DET bell
have hung in the church for a long time.

T0057: 051

Hace como trescientos años.²²⁷
 it_makes about three-hundred years
It's been about 300 years.

²²⁷ This line is entirely in Spanish.

T0057: 052

entonces juu laka7iilhchi
 entonces juu laka7ii-li+ch
 then REL believe-PFV+ALD

milhch 7anii toolhna7
 min-li+ch 7ani7 toola-nV7
 come-PFV+ALD here live-INF

So the ones who believed came here to live.

T0057: 053

puus yuuch juu puutaxtulh
 puus yuuch juu puutaxtu-li
 well PRN.3SG REL survive-PFV

waa juu 7anii laqachaqaan waa lakatz'unin.
 waa juu 7ani7 laqachaqaan waa lakatz'unin
 FOC DET here town FOC few

Well, those who survived here in the town were few.

T0057: 054

7ixjuuniita juu lapanak maa jaantu lhuu.
 x-jun-niita juu lapanak maa jaantu lhuu
 PAST-be-PF DET person RPT NEG many

There weren't many people.

T0057: 055

waa lakatz'unin juu maqalhqaman.
 waa lakatz'unin juu maqalhqama7-(V)n
 FOC few DET Tepehua-PL

The Tepehuas were very few.

T0057: 056

entonces nii tzukulh talhawana7 juu lapanak.
 entonces nii tzuku-li talhawa-nV7 juu lapanak
 then COMP begin-PFV increase-INF DET person

Then the population began to grow.

T0057: 057

puus juu xqatii maa jaantu xtalhaway,
 puus juu xqatii maa jaantu x-talhawa-y
 well DET creek RPT NEG PAST-increase-IMPFV

nii yuuch juu qayxkaan.
 nii yuuch juu qayxkaan
 COMP PRN.3SG DET river

Well the creek didn't flood, and neither did the river.

T0057: 058

waa lakt'ikt'i.
 waa lakt'ikt'i
 FOC little

They stayed small.

T0057: 059

waa sk'ululu xukxumaa juu xkaan
 waa sk'ululu x-7ukxun=maa juu xkaan
 FOC ID:trickle PAST-move=lying(IMPFV) DET water

The water trickles along.

T0057: 060

pero 7aksnii maa tanuuchiilh juu comunismo,
 pero 7aksnii maa tanuu+chii-li juu comunismo
 but then RPT insert-PRX-PFV DET communism

But then communism came,

T0057: 061

chuux juu guerrilla juu 7alilh juu laasata.
 chuux juu guerrilla juu 7alin-li juu laasata
 all DET war REL there_is-PFV DET fight

then the war, there was the fighting.

T0057: 062

puus juu 7anuu tzukukaalh maqniiy
 puus juu 7anuu tzuku-kan-li maqniiy
 well DET um begin-INS-PFV kill-IMPV

maa7ank'a juu lapanak
 maa7an-k'a juu lapanak
 throw-ADJZ DET person

Well, then, they began to killing and throwing out the people,

T0057: 063

maa xmuujuukanch juu lakxkaan.
 maa x-mujuu-kan+ch juu lakxkaan
 RPT PAST-throw-INS(IMPV)+ALD DET river

and they were thrown into the river.

T0057: 064

entonces juu tachu tanajunch
 entonces juu tachu ta-najun+ch
 then REL how 3PL.SUB-say(IMPV)+ALD

juu maqaniyaa lapanak,
 juu maqaniyaa lapanak
 DET old people

Well, like the old people say,

T0057: 065

juu xaa- xaa7ukxtinch 7anuu xkaan
 juu xaa- xaa-7ukxtin+ch 7anu7 xkaan
 DET IPOS IPOS-boss+ALD that water

juu 7alamaa maa waa talhqamalhchi.
 juu 7alamaa maa waa talhqaman-li+ch
 DET sea RPT FOC get_mad-PFV+ALD

the god of the water, of the sea, got angry.

T0057: 066

y luego milhch 7awilhchan
 y luego min-li+ch 7a-wilhchan
 and then come-PFV+ALD CL:another-day

And then, there came a day (when)

T0057: 067

talhawalhch juu qayxkaan
 talhawa-li+ch juu qayxkaan
 flood-PFV+ALD DET river

lhii7alhch laklhii7alhch juu chaqa7.
 lhii7an-li+ch lak-lhii7an-li+ch juu chaqa7
 take-PFV+ALD 3PL.OBJ-take(PFV)-PFV+ALD DET house
the river flooded and it carried away the houses.

T0057: 068

7anuu lhii7alhch lapanak
 7anuu lhii7an-li+ch lapanak
 um take(PFV)-PFV+ALD people

juu 7ali7 chun juu xqatii.
 juu 7ali7 chun juu xqatii
 DET others thus DET creek
It carried away the people, and the creek (carried off) the rest.

T0057: 069

juu maqanchich juu xqatii naa naa
 juu maqanch+ich juu xqatii naa naa
 DET long_time+ALD DET creek EMP EMP

xlaktanooqojuy juu lakalakchaqa7
 x-lak-tanuu-qoju-y juu laka-lak-chaqa7
 PAST-DIS-insert-ALL-IMPFV DET PREP-PL-house

naa naa juu lapanak.
 naa naa juu lapanak
 EMP EMP DET people
Before, the creek flooded the houses of all the people.

T0057: 070

juu 7aqtam paastak
 juu 7aq-tam paastak
 DET CL:times-one remember(IMPFV)
I remember one time

T0057: 071

jaantuka7 naa waa maqan,
jaantu+ka7 naa waa maqan
NEG+JST EMP FOC long_ago
not so long ago

T0057: 072

kaa 7intach veinte años
kaa 7intach veinte años
BLV like twenty years
it's been about twenty years,

T0057: 073

7aksnii laqmuuxtukaalh waa naa juu
7aksnii lak-7aqmuuxtu-kan-li waa naa juu
when DIS-flood-INS-PFV FOC EMP DET

7anii laqxqatii Arroyo Negro
7ani7 laka-xqatii arroyo negro
here PREP-creek creek black
when it flooded here in Black Creek,

T0057: 074

Agua de Miguel junkan
agua de Miguel jun-kan
water of Michael say-RFL(IMPFV)

maa bueno juu lhiimaqalhqama7 Miikiixkaan.
maa bueno juu lhii-maqalhqama7 Miikiixkaan
RPT okay DET APPL-Tepehua Michael's_water
it's called Michael's Water; well, in Tepehua, Michael's water.

T0057: 075

7entons nii paastaklich juu 7ukxtin
7entons nii paastak-li+ch juu 7ukxtin
then COMP think-PFV+ALD DET boss
Then the mayor thought

T0057: 076

nii kanawiiya7 juu barda.
 nii ka-nawii-ya7 juu barda
 COMP IRR-make-FUT DET wall
that he was going to build a wall.

T0057: 077

puus 7ulaakaalhch juu qex.
 puus 7ulaa-kan-li+ch juu qex
 well put-INS-PFV+ALD DET wall
Well, they built the wall.

T0057: 078

entonces juu chaway
 entonces juu chaway
 then DET today
Well, until today,

T0057: 079

puus chaway matich tu7u7 7aqmuuxtuta,
 puus chaway mati7+ch tu7u7 7aqmuuxtu-ta
 well today nothing+ALD something flood-PF
there haven't been any floods,

T0057: 080

palaych 7astaknanta.
 palay+ch 7astaknan-ta
 more+ALD rest-PF
it has been very calm.

T0057: 081

yuuch talhiinajunch juu maqaniyaa lapanak
 yuuch ta-lhii-najun+ch juu maqaniyaa lapanak
 PRN.3SG 3PL.SUB-APPL-say(IMPFV)+ALD DET old people
That's why the old people say

T0057: 082

nii maa talhqamalh juu sireenaa
 nii maa talhqaman-li juu sireenaa
 COMP RPT get_mad-PFV DET goddess
that the goddess got angry

T0057: 083

nii	waa	muujuukaalhch	juu	lapanak
nii	waa	muujuu-kan-li+ch	juu	lapanak
COMP	FOC	throw-INS-PFV+ALD	DET	people

juu	xaaniin	lapanak	juu	lakxkaan.
juu	xaa-nii-n	lapanak	juu	laka-xkaan
DET	IPOS-die-DVB	people	DET	PREP-water

because the people threw the dead into the river.

T0057: 084

entonces	juu	Sireenaa	waa	talhqamalhchi.
entonces	juu	sireenaa	waa	talhqaman-li+ch
then	DET	goddess	FOC	get_mad-PFV+ALD

So the goddess got mad.

T0057: 085

yuuch	maa	lhiitalhawaych	juu	qayxkaan.
yuuch	maa	lhii-talhawa-y+ch	juu	qayxkaan
PRN.3SG	RPT	APPL-flood-IMPV+ALD	DET	river

That's why the river floods.

T0057: 086

porque	juu	7anii	laqachaqaan	waa	lakat'ikst'i,
porque	juu	7ani7	laqachaqaan	waa	lakat'ikst'i
because	DET	here	town	FOC	small

xjuuniita	lakat'ikst'i.
x-jun-niita	lakat'ikst'i
PAST-be-PF	small

Because here the town is small, it was small.

T0057: 087

juu	chaway	naa	qaych	ya	naa
juu	chaway	naa	qay+ch	ya	naa
DET	today	EMP	big+ALD	now	EMP

lhuuch	juu	7ix-7anuu
lhuu+ch	juu	x-7anuu
many+ALD	DET	3POS-um

Now it is very big with its . . .

T0057: 088

laqachaqa	barrio	nii	Barrio	Atzlan,
laqachaqa	barrio	nii	barrio	Atzlan,
town	neighborhood	COMP	neighborhood	Atzlan

Barrio	Cuautemoc,	Barrio	Mirasol,
barrio	Cuautemoc,	barrio	Mirasol,
neighborhood	Cuautemoc	neighborhood	Mirasol

Barrio	El Carril	y	Arroyo	Negro.
barrio	el Carril	y	arroyo	negro
neighborhood	the Carril	and	creek	black

*towns, neighborhood Atzla*n, Cuautemoc, Mirasol, el Carril, and Arroyo Negro.*

T0057: 089

entonces	juu	7anuu	juu
entonces	juu	7anuu	juu
then	DET	um	DET

xlakaytat	laqachaqa	7anchach	juu	7anii,
x-lakaytat	laqachaqa	7anch+ch	juu	7ani7
3POS-center	town	there+ALD	DET	here

Well, the center of town is there,

T0057: 090

taa	tawiilanalh	juu	laawaanan,
taa	ta-wiilanalh	juu	laawaan-(V)n
where	3PL.SUB-live.PL(IMPV)	DET	Spanish-PL

juu	palaych	maqaliinin.
juu	palay+ch	maqali7-nin
DET	more+ALD	rich_person-PL

Where the Spanish people live, the richest people.

T0057: 091

maqanchich	y	luego	maa	naa
maqanch+ich	y	luego	maa	naa
long_time+ALD	and	then	RPT	EMP

Before, and then . . .

T0057: 092

bueno naa juu p'ulhnan tuu laay 7ixchiwinin
 bueno naa juu p'ulhnan tuu laa-y x-chiwin-nin
 well EMP DET first NEG can-IMPFV PAST-speak-PL.INF

juu maqalhqama7 juu lhiilaawaan naa qox.
 juu maqalhqama7 juu lhii-laawaan naa qox
 DET Tepehua DET APPL-Spanish EMP good
Well, at first, the Tepehua people couldn't speak Spanish very well.

T0057: 093

lakmaamaqalhqajnikan,
 lak-maa-maqalhqaj-ni-kan
 3PL.OBJ-CAUS-suffer-DAT-INS(IMPFV)
They were punished

T0057: 094

xlakmaanawiinikan faena
 x-lak-maa-nawii-ni-kan faena
 PAST-3PL.OBJ-CAUS-do-DAT-INS(IMPFV) labor
they were forced to do labor,

T0057: 095

xlakmaalhii7anikan
 x-lak-maa-lhii7an-ni-kan
 PAST-3PL.OBJ-CAUS-take-DAT-INS(IMPFV)

maa xwayti7an xaalajqajin
 maa x-wayti-7an xaa-lak-qay-(V)n
 RPT 3POS-food-PL.POS IPOS-PL-big-PL
they were made to bring food for the chiefs

T0057: 096

juu tachu gobernador tachu xaa7ukxtin Tenaanku,
 juu tachu gobernador tachu xaa-7ukxtin Tenaanku,
 DET how governor how IPOS-boss Tenango

xaa7ukxtin 7anuu San Bartolo.
 xaa-7ukxtin 7anuu San Bartolo
 IPOS-boss um San Bartolo
like the governor, like the mayor of Tenango, the mayor of San Bartolo.

T0057: 097

pero juu chaway nii naa lhuuch juu lapanak
 pero juu chaway nii naa lhuu+ch juu lapanak
 but DET now COMP EMP many+ALD DET people

laay chiwinin lhiilaawaan,
 laa-y chiwinin-nin lhi-laawaan
 can-IMPV talk-PL.INF APPL-Spanish
But now that many people can speak Spanish,

T0057: 098

puus laaych qalhtayanan
 puus laa-y+ch qalhtaya-nVn
 well can-IMPV+ALD defend-INO
well, they can defend themselves,

T0057: 099

jaantuch waa lhiilaqa7iiy.
 jaantu+ch waa lhiilaqa7ii-y
 NEG+ALD FOC be_humiliated-IMPV
they are not humiliated.

T0057: 100

puus waa 7anchach 7aklaay juu xaa-
 puus waa 7anch+ch 7aklaa-y juu xaa-
 well FOC there+ALD end-IMPV DET IPOS-

juu xaa7istooryaa laqachaqaan
 juu xaa-7istooryaa laqachaqaan
 DET IPOS-history town
Well, there ends the story of the town

T0057: 101

7aksanii naa kilhpatini7 7ixjuuniita juu lapanak
 7aksanii naa kilhpatini7 x-jun-niita juu lapanak
 when EMP poor PAST-be-PF DET people
when the people were very poor.

TEXT 5: PETER AND THE CRAWDAD (T0058)

This text was narrated by don Nicolás Viguera Patricio on January 27, 2001, in Huehuetla, Hidalgo, Mexico. It was recorded and transcribed by Susan Smythe Kung, translated by don Nicolás Viguera Patricio, and interlinearized by Susan Smythe Kung. The audio recording is archived with the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America under the language name “Tepehua de Huehuetla” and the identifier number TPW001R058.

T0058: 001

puus	juu	7alaqatam		wilhchan
puus	juu	7a-laqa-tam		wilhchan
well	DET	CL:other-CL:general-one		day

Well, the other day

T0058: 002

7anuu	waa	milh	juu	xtalhawanti
7anuu	waa	min-li	juu	xtalhawanti
um	FOC	come-PFV	DET	flood

there was a flood,

T0058: 003

juu	xqatii	naa	naa	lhuu	waa.
juu	xqatii	naa	naa	lhuu	waa
DET	creek	EMP	EMP	many	FOC

the creek rose a lot.

T0058: 004

waa	kpaastak'ach		7aksnii
waa	k-paastak-7a+ch		7aksnii
FOC	1SUB-remember-IMPFV+ALD		when

I remember when

T0058: 005

7anuu nii naa lhuj xminta juu t'uun
 7anuu nii naa lhuu x-min-ta juu t'uun
 um COMP EMP many PAST-come-PF DET earth
a bunch of mud came,

T0058: 006

7aksnii maqalhtajuu lak don Joaquín juu t'uun.
 7aksnii maqalhtajuu laka-don Joaquín juu t'uun
 when come_down(IMPFV) PREP-don Joaquin DET earth
when the land came down at don Joaquín's [place].

T0058: 007

jaantu p'aast'ak'a?
 jaantu paast'ak-7a
 NEG remember(2SUB)-IMPFV
Don't you remember?

T0058: 008

naa naa lhuj xminta
 naa naa lhuu x-min-ta
 EMP EMP many PAST-come-PF

 juu t'uun waa naach
 juu t'uun waa naa+ch
 DET earth FOC EMP+ALD
A lot of ground came at that

T0058: 009

7aks waa naa laklhii7alh juu chaqa7.
 7aks waa naa lak-lhii7an-li juu chaqa7
 then FOC EMP 3PL.OBJ-take-PFV DET house
time, it carried away the houses.

T0058: 010

pero taaxtu7u7 7anuu sii pulhqom,
 pero taaxtu7u7 7anuu sii pulh7um
 but something um pure mud
But . . . something . . . pure mud,

T0058: 011

jaantu jaantu qoxiyaa t'uun.
 jaantu jaantu qoxiyaa t'uun
 NEG NEG good earth
but it wasn't good earth.

T0058: 012

entonces juu 7aksniich maa
 entonces juu 7aksnii+ch maa
 then DET when+ALD RPT

naa lhuu 7aqxixta,
 naa lhuu 7aqx-xix-ta
 EMP many flat-dry-PF
Well, this time the river also dried up,

T0058: 013

maa juu paamata 7anuu xkupuuch.
 maa juu paamata 7anuu skupu7+ch
 lying DET fish um crawdad+ALD
there were fish, crawdads lying around..

T0058: 014

y luego milh laqatam wilhchan
 y luego min-li laqa-tam wilhchan
 and then come-PFV CL:general-one day
And then a day came

T0058: 015

juu 7anii juu pumatam lapanak
 juu 7ani7 juu puma-tam lapanak
 DET here DET CL:human-one person
that a person

T0058: 016

juu kiilaachiilh 7anii maa lakaMiikiixkaan.
 juu kii-laa-chii-li 7ani7 maa laka-Miikii-xkaan
 REL RT-can-PROX-PFV here RPT PREP-Michael-water
came along Michael's Water.

T0058: 017

entonces maa soq lhiitajuu laqatam
 entonces maa soq lhiitajuu laqa-tam
 then RPT straight find(PFV) CL:general-one
Then he met a . . .

T0058: 018

bueno maa xt'ajunch ch'apana7 juu xkupu7.
 bueno maa x-t'ajun+ch ch'apa-nV7 juu skupu7
 well RPT PAST-be(IMPFV)+ALD grab-INF DET crawdad
Well, he was grabbing crawdads.

T0058: 019

maa naa naa lhuju juu xkupu7 lhii7alh.
 maa naa naa lhuu juu skupu7 lhii7an-li
 RPT EMP EMP many DET crawdad take-PFV
And he took a lot of crawdads.

T0058: 020

maa lakachiiwx maa naa lajqay juu xkupu7
 maa laka-chiiwx maa naa lak-qay juu xkuupu7
 RPT PREP-stone lying(IMPFV) EMP PL-big DET crawdad
In the rocks there were big crawdads

T0058: 021

juu x7aknuuy.
 juu x-7ak-nuu-y
 REL PAST-head-insert-IMPFV
whose heads were stuck in (the rocks).

T0058: 022

entonces maa tzukulh ch'apana7,
 entonces maa tzuku-li ch'apa-nV7
 then RPT begin-PFV grab-INF
Then he began to grab them,

T0058: 023

maa laqtzamalhch juu xkuweetaa.
 maa laqtzaman-li+ch juu x-kuweetaa
 RPT fill-PFV+ALD DET 3POS-bucket
and he filled his bucket.

T0058: 024

entonces 7aksnii 7anuu maa
 entonces 7aksnii 7anuu maa
 then when um RPT

xch'apaputunch maa laqatam,
 x-ch'apa-putun+ch maa laqa-tam
 PAST-grab-DESID(IMPFV)+ALD RPT CL:general-one
Then when he wanted to grab one,

T0058: 025

maa naa naa qox qay.
 maa naa naa qox qay
 RPT EMP EMP good big
it was a really big one.

T0058: 026

entonces juu 7anuuch xkupu7
 entonces juu 7anu7+ch skupu7
 then DET that+ALD crawdad
then that crawdad

T0058: 027

chiwinilh maa najunch,
 chiwin-ni-li maa najun+ch
 talk-DAT-PFV RPT say(IMPFV)+ALD
spoke to him and told him

T0058: 028

maa xa7alalhch, “jaantu k'i7ut'i!
 maa xaqala-li+ch jaantu ki-7u-t'i
 RPT talk_to-PFV+ALD NEG 1OBJ(2SUB)-eat-2SG.SUB.PFV
It said, “Don't eat me!

T0058: 029

jaantu k'i7ut'i!" maa juuniych.
 jaantu ki-7u-t'i maa jun-ni-y+ch
 NEG 1OBJ(2SUB)-eat-2SG.SUB.PFV RPT say-DAT-IMPFV+ALD
Don't eat me!" it told him.

T0058: 030

“jaantu k'i7ut'i
 jaantu ki-7u-t'i
 NEG 1OBJ(2SUB)-eat-2SG.SUB.PFV
 “Don't eat me!”

T0058: 031

nii k'i7uya7, ka7uyaan juu Siliiyaa,”
 nii ki-7u-ya7 ka-7u-ya7-n juu Siliiyaa
 COMP 1OBJ(2SUB)-eat-FUT IRR-eat-FUT-2OBJ DET Cecilia

maa juuniych.
 maa jun-ni-y+ch
 RPT say-DAT-IMPFV+ALD
If you eat me, Cecilia is going to eat you,” it told him.

T0058: 032

juu 7anu7 7anu7 xkupu7 7anuu
 juu 7anu7 7anu7 skupu7 7anuu
 DET that that crawdad um

maa x7alin 7ix7ukxtin
 maa x-7alin x-7ukxtin
 RPT PAST-there_is(IMPFV) 3POS-boss
That crawdad had a boss

T0058: 033

juu maa Siliiyaa junkan.
 juu maa Siliiyaa jun-kan
 REL RPT Cecilia say-RFL(IMPFV)
that was named Cecilia.

T0058: 034

“nii k'i7uya7, jii Piitalu7,
 nii ki-7u-ya7 jii Piitalu7
 COMP 1OBJ(2SUB)-eat-FUT VOC Peter
 “If you eat me, Peter,

T0058: 035

ka7uayaan juu Siliiyaa,” maa juuniych.
ka-7u-ya7-n juu Siliiyaa maa jun-ni-y+ch
IRR-eat-FUT-2OBJ DET Cecilia RPT say-DAT-IMPFV+ALD
Cecilia is going to eat you,” it told him.

T0058: 036

luego juu 7anu7 xkupu7 juu 7anuu
luego juu 7anu7 skupu7 juu 7anuu
then DET that crawdad DET um
Then that crawdad,

T0058: 037

puus, maa jaantu 7atz'alay.
puus maa jaantu 7atz'ala-y
well RPT NEG run-IMPFV
well, it didn't run away.

T0058: 038

maa 7uksuntz'ukulh, maa lhkapapa.
maa 7ukxun-tzuku-li maa lhkapapa
RPT walk-begin-PFV lying(IMPFV) ID:crawling
It began to walk like this, crawling.

T0058: 039

7uksuntz'ukulh laqaqxix taach tu7uch 7anuu
7ukxun-tzuku-li laka-7aqx-xix taach tu7u7+ch 7anuu
walk-begin-PFV PREP-flat-dry like something+ALD um
It walked that way along the dry river bed like something . . .

T0058: 040

bueno waa maaqeswaaputunch
bueno waa maaqeswaa-putun+ch
well FOC scare-DESID(IMPFV)+ALD
Well, it wanted to scare

T0058: 041

juu 7anu7 lapanak.
juu 7anu7 lapanak
DET that person
that person.

T0058: 042

7anuu puus maa jaantu ch'apalh,
 7anuu puus maa jaantu ch'apa-li
 um well RPT NEG grab-PFV
Well, he didn't grab it,

T0058: 043

maa 7alh juu xkupu7
 maa 7an-li juu skupu7
 RPT go-PFV DET crawdad
and the crawdad left.

T0058: 044

y luego maa 7alh 7awisalaana7 juu lapanak
 y luego maa 7an-li 7awisalaa-nV7 juu lapanak
 and then RPT go-PFV warn-INF DET people
And then he (Peter) went to warn the people.

T0058: 045

maa taminqoolhch chuux, jaantu?
 maa ta-min-qoju-li+ch chuux jaantu
 RPT 3PL.SUB-come-ALL-PFV+ALD all NEG
Everybody went, didn't they?

T0058: 046

y luego juu 7anuu "xalaqtz'in sireenaa
 y luego juu 7anuu xa-laqtz'in sireenaa
 and then DET um PAST-see(IMPFV) goddess
And then, "You saw the goddess,

T0058: 047

yuuchach juu xaa7ukxtin juu xqatii
 yuuch+ch juu xaa-7ukxtin juu xqatii
 PRN.3SG+ALD DET IPOS-boss DET creek
who is the boss of the creek.

T0058: 048

yuuch talhiilaaych juu xqatii
 yuuch talhiilaa-y+ch juu xqatii
 PRN.3SG flood-IMPFV+ALD DET creek
Because of her the creek rises," (the people said to Peter).

T0058: 049

7entons taqayxtoqlich chuux juu lapanak
 7entons taqayxtoq-li chuux juu lapanak
 then gather-PFV all DET people
Then all the people gathered

T0058: 050

nawiinikaalhch juu 7ixkustumwree.
 nawii-ni-kan-li+ch juu x-kustumwree
 make-DAT-INS-PFV+ALD DET 3POS-ritual
and they performed her ritual for her.

T0058: 051

takiilaaqoolhch chuux juu 7anu7
 ta-kii-laa-qoju-li+ch chuux juu 7anu7
 3PL.SUB-RT-can-ALL-PFV+ALD all DET that

ki7ananaan7an 7anuu
 kin-7a-nana7-(V)n-7an 7anuu
 1POS-PL-grandmother-PL-PL.POS um
All of our grandmothers went, well

T0058: 052

juu tanawiiy juu tatiich'iiy xaanti
 juu ta-nawii-y juu ta-tii-ch'ii-y xaanti
 REL PL.SUB-make-IMPV REL 3PL.SUB-butt-tie-IMPV flower
the ones who make the floral wreaths.

T0058: 053

juu brujos 7alakjuncan, jaantu?
 juu brujos 7a-lak-jun-kan jaantu
 DET witches PL-3PL.OBJ-say-INS(IMPV) NEG
They call them "witches," right?

T0058: 054

tatapayninihch juu sireenaa.
 ta-tapaynin-ni-li+ch juu sireenaa
 3PL.SUB-ask_forgiveness-DAT-PFV+ALD DET goddess
They asked the goddess for forgiveness.

T0058: 055

puus juu 7anu7 kweentuu waa 7anchach tamaktay
 puus juu 7anu7 kweentuu waa 7anch+ch tamakta-y
 well DET that story FOC there+ALD end-IMPV
Well, that story ends there,

T0058: 056

juu xkweentuu juu Piitalu7 y Siliyaach
 juu x-kweentuu juu Piitalu7 y Siliyaa+ch
 DET 3POS-story DET Peter and Cecilia+ALD
the story of Peter and Cecilia.

T0058: 057

tuus chaway jaantuch talhaway juu xqatii
 tuus chaway jaantu+ch talhawa-y juu xqatii
 since today NEG+ALD flood-IMPV DET creek
Until today, the creek does not flood

T0058: 058

juu naa waa lhuuch kawaa.
 juu naa waa lhuu+ch ka-waa
 DET EMP FOC much+ALD IRR-be(IRR)
as much as before.

T0058: 059

talhawaych, pero waa laktz'uninch kiitalhaway
 talhawa-y+ch pero waa lakatz'unin+ch kii-talhawa-y
 flood-IMPV+ALD but FOC a_little+ALD RT-flood-IMPV
It floods, but it just floods a little bit and goes back down.

T0058: 060

porque tachu noonkanch
 porque tachu najun-kan+ch
 because como say-INS(IMPV)+ALD

juu 7ali7 jaantu talaka7iiy
 juu 7ali7 jaantu ta-laka7ii-y
 DET others NEG 3PL.SUB-believe-IMPV
Because like they say, the others don't believe in

T0058: 061

juu kostumwree juu talaknawiiy
 juu kostumwree juu ta-lak-nawii-y
 DET ritual REL 3PL.SUB-3PL.OBJ-do-IMPFV
the rituals done by

T0058: 062

juu tz'oq'onun maqalhqamaan
 juu tz'oq'on-(V)n maqalhqama7-(V)n
 DET Otomí-PL Tepehua-PL
the Otomí and Tepehua.

T0058: 063

pero 7aqtamixnin kalhitapalay porque
 pero 7aqtamix-nin kalhita-pala-y porque
 but sometimes-PL work-REP-IMPFV because
But sometimes it works because

T0058: 064

tuus chaway jaantuch talhaway
 tuus chaway jaantu+ch talhawa-y
 since today NEG+ALD flood-IMPFV
until today the creek has not flooded

T0058: 065

juu xqatii naa waa lhuu kawaa.
 juu xqatii naa waa lhuu ka-waa
 DET creek EMP FOC many IRR-be(IRR)
like before.

T0058: 066

y 7anchach 7aklaay juu taa
 y 7anch+ch 7aklaa-y juu taa
 and there+ALD end-IMPFV REL where

 tamaa7atz'alaych juu xkupu7
 ta-maa-7atz'ala-y+ch juu skupu7
 3PL.SUB-CAUS-run-IMPFV+ALD DET crawdad
And here ends the story where they ran off the crawdad.

TEXT 6: THE TWO BROTHERS (T0063)

This story was told primarily by doña Josefa Tolentino Aparicio, with some interjections made by her daughter, doña Elena Barragán Tolentino. All utterances made by doña Elena are marked with [H] at the beginning of the line. The text was recorded on April 2, 2001, in Huehuetla, Hidalgo, Mexico. It was recorded and transcribed by Susan Smythe Kung, translated by don Nicolás Viguera Patricio, and interlinearized by Susan Smythe Kung. The audio recording is to be archived with the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America under the language name “Tepehua de Huehuetla”.

T0063: 002²²⁸

waa	xmaa	7anii	waa	klaajunawch
waa	x-maa	7ani7	waa	k-laa-jun-aw+ch
FOC	PAST-RPT	here	FOC	1SUB-RCP-say(IMPFV)-1PL.SUB+ALD

Here I'm going to tell you all

T0063: 003

maa	taas	7ixlaaych	juu	lapanak
maa	taas	x-laa-y+ch	juu	lapanak
RPT	how	PAST-can-IMPFV+ALD	DET	person

about what that person did,

T0063: 004

juu	7anu7	xt'iyun7an	lapanak
juu	7anu7	xt'iyun-7an	lapanak
DET	that	two-PL.POS	people

waa	xta7asaan.
waa	x-ta-7asaan
FOC	PAST-3PL.SUB-play(instrument)(IMPFV)

those two people who played instruments.

²²⁸ This text begins with reference number 002.

T0063: 005

waa xta7asaanan y luego
 waa x-ta-7asaanan y luego
 FOC PAST-3PL.SUB-play(instrument)(IMPFV) and then
They played, and then

T0063: 006

jaantuch laay
 jaantu+ch laa-y
 NEG+ALD can-IMPFV
they couldn't . . .

T0063: 007

7aaj jaantuch 7aknawlh juu yuuch?
 7aaj jaantu+ch 7a-k-najun-li juu yuuch
 oh NEG+ALD IRR-1SUB-say-PFV DET PRN.3SG
Oh, I'm not going to say that?

T0063: 008

waa xta7asaanan
 waa x-ta-7asaanan
 FOC PAST-3PL.SUB-play(instrument)(IMPFV)
They played (instruments)

T0063: 009

waa jaantuch laay xtalhiitajuuy
 waa jaantu+ch laa-y x-ta-lhiitajuuy
 FOC NEG+ALD can-IMPFV PAST-3PL.SUB-find-IMPFV

juu 7anuu juu lhiich'alkh'at.
 juu 7anuu juu lhiich'alkhkat
 DET um DET work
because they couldn't find work.

T0063: 010

Y luego waa niilhch juu sp'isaqa7an.
 y luego waa nii-li+ch juu x-p'isaqa-7an
 and then FOC die-PFV+ALD DET 3POS-younger_sibling-PL.POS
And then their little sister died.

T0063: 011

7aaj waa niilhch juu sp'isaqa7an.
 7aaj waa nii-li+ch juu x-p'isaqa-7an
 oh FOC die-PFV+ALD DET 3POS-younger_sibling-PL.POS
Oh, their sister died.

T0063: 012

nii xaniiych juu sp'isaqa7an
 nii x-nii-y+ch juu x-p'isaqa-7an
 COMP PAST-die-IMPV+ALD DET 3POS-younger_sibling-PL.POS
And when their sister was dead . . .

T0063: 013

[H] jaantu chun puutay7ulaay
 [H] jaantu chun puu-tay7ulaa-y
 [H] NEG like_that INST-begin-IMPV
[H] It doesn't start like that.

T0063: 014

jaantu chun?
 jaantu chun?
 NEG like_that
Not like that?

T0063: 015

[H] 7a7aj.
 [H] 7a7aj
 [H] yes
[H] Yes.

T0063: 016

waa waa niilh juu xlaqaw7an
 waa waa nii-li juu x-laqaw-7an
 FOC FOC die-PFV DET 3POS-sibling-PL.POS

 juu sp'isaqa7an.
 juu x-p'isaqa-7an
 DET 3POS-younger_sibling-PL.POS
Their sister, their little sister died.

T0063: 017

[H] talhiimukunt'ajun.
 [H] ta-lhiimukun-t'ajun
 [H] 3PL.SUB-take-AMB(IMPFV)
 [H] *They always took her.*

T0063: 018

7um7um 7aaj maa p'uulan
 7um7um 7aaj maa p'uulan
 yes oh RPT first
Yes. Oh, first

T0063: 019

xthalhiimukunt'ajun
 x-ta-lhiimukun-t'ajun
 PAST-3PL.SUB-take-AMB(IMPFV)
they would take her

T0063: 020

nii maa waa xta7asaanan.
 nii maa waa x-ta-7asaanan
 COMP RPT FOC PAST-3PL.SUB-play(instrument)(IMPFV)
when they played.

T0063: 021

nii waa xtalhii7anch
 nii waa x-ta-lhii7an+ch
 COMP FOC PAST-3PL.SUB-take(IMPFV)+ALD

juu lakawaylii juu 7atzi7.
 juu laka-waylii juu 7atzi7
 DET PREP-dance DET girl
Because they would take the girl to the dances.

T0063: 022

[H] lakak'aatan.
 [H] laka-k'aatan
 [H] PREP-party
 [H] *To the parties.*

T0063: 030

waa ta7astaknalhch.
 waa ta-7astaknan-li+ch
 FOC 3PL.SUB-rest-PFV+ALD
They rested.

T0063: 031

nii xata7astaknanchi,
 nii xa-ta-7astaknan+ch
 COMP PAST-3PL.SUB-rest(IMPFV)+ALD
When they rested,

T0063: 032

matiich juu kata7ulh maa wachu7
 mati7+ch juu ka-ta-7u-li maa wachu7
 nothing+ALD DET IRR-3PL.SUB-eat-PFV RPT also
they didn't eat anything either

T0063: 033

nii naach waa yuuch
 nii naa+ch waa yuuch
 COMP EMP+ALD FOC PRN.3SG

juu x7amaapalhkan juu lakalhiisaan.
 juu x-7a-maapala-kan juu laka-lhiisaan
 REL PAST-PL-pay-INS(IMPFV) DET PREP-gig
because they lived off of what they earned from their gigs.

T0063: 034

ta7alhch puuxkoonin juu lakxkaan
 ta-7an-li+ch puuxkaju-nin juu lakxkaan
 3PL.SUB-go-PFV+ALD look_for-PL.INF DET river
They went to look in the river,

T0063: 035

maa ta7alhch paxnin.
 maa ta-7an-li+ch pax-nin
 RPT 3PL.SUB-go-PFV+ALD bathe-PL.INF
they went to bathe.

T0063: 036

tapaaxtoqlich juu juu 7anuuch lapanak
 ta-paaxtoq-li juu juu 7anu7+ch lapanak
 3PL.SUB-meet-PFV DET DET that+ALD person
They met that person

T0063: 037

juu maa xaqalhii7an.
 juu maa xaqa=lhii7an
 REL RPT pull=take(IMPFV)
who took them.

T0063: 038

pero juu 7anu7 lapanak xaqalhii7an
 pero juu 7anu7 lapanak xaqa-lhii7an
 but DET that person pull-take(IMPFV)
But that person who took them

T0063: 039

jaantu qoxiyaa lapanak waa.
 jaantu qoxiyaa lapanak waa
 NEG good person FOC
was not a good person

T0063: 040

waa maqtili7.
 waa maqtili7
 FOC evil
He was evil.

T0063: 041

ta7alhch.
 ta-7an-li+ch
 3PL.SUB-go-PFV+ALD
They left,

T0063: 042

t'asanikaalhch nii
 t'asa-ni-kan-li+ch nii
 call-DAT-INS-PFV+ALD COMP

kaxtaqnikanaach juu lhiich'alhkat.
 ka-xtaq-ni-kan-a7+ch juu lhiich'alhkat
 IRR-give-DAT-INS-FUT+ALD DET work
They were told that they would be given work.

T0063: 043

ta7alhch 7asaanin,
 ta-7an-li+ch 7a-saa-nin
 3PL.SUB-go-PFV+ALD PL-play-PL.INF
They went to play,

T0063: 044

y waa laktalhpa taxaqamanuukan.
 y waa laka-talhpa ta-xaqama=nuu-kan
 and FOC PREP-mountain INCH-drag=insert-INS(IMPFV)
and they were dragged into a cave.

T0063: 045

tacha7alhch juu 7anch
 ta-chaa7an-li+ch juu 7anch
 3PL.SUB-arrive_there-PFV+ALD DET there
They arrived there

T0063: 046

tatzukulhch 7asaanin.
 ta-tzuku-li+ch 7a-saa-nin
 3PL.SUB-begin-PFV+ALD PL-play-PL.INF
and began to play.

T0063: 047

7anch juu xatalhiitajuuych
 7anch juu xa-ta-lhiitajuu-y+ch
 there REL PAST-3PL.SUB-find-IMPV+ALD

juu xp'isaqa7an, juu Maliiyaa.
 juu x-p'isaqa-7an juu Maliiyaa
 DET 3POS-younger_sibling-PL.POS DET Mary
There they found their little sister, Mary.

T0063: 048

Maliiyaa xjunkan.
 Maliiyaa x-jun-kan
 Mary PAST-say-RFL(IMPV)
Her name was Mary.

T0063: 049

Pero 7anch Maliiyaa Seniseentaach xajunkan,
 pero 7anch Maliiyaa Seniseentaa+ch xa-jun-kan
 but there Mary Cinderella+ALD PAST-say-RFL(IMPV)
But there Mary was called Cinderella,

T0063: 050

juu 7anch juu laka7anii,
 juu 7anch juu laka-7ani7
 DET there DET PREP-here
there where she was,

T0063: 051

laka7anii taa xtanuunch,
 laka-7ani7 taa x-tanuun+ch
 PREP-here where PAST-inserted(IMPV)+ALD
in there where she was stuck,

T0063: 052

taa xtanuunch
 taa x-tanuun+ch
 where PAST-inserted(IMPFV)+ALD

7ixchaqaach juu lhakatikuuruu.
 x-chaqa7+ch juu lhakatikuuruu
 3POS-house+ALD DET devil
where she was stuck in the devil's house.

T0063: 053

7anchach xtamaat'uniych,
 7anch+ch x-ta-maa-t'uni-y+ch
 there+ALD PAST-3PL.SUB-CAUS-dance-IMPFV+ALD
There they made her dance,

T0063: 054

pero waa xch'ajaach chiila7
 pero waa x-ch'aja7+ch chiila7
 but FOC 3POS-foot+ALD chicken
but her feet

T0063: 055

xjuuniita juu xch'aja7.
 x-jun-niita juu x-ch'aja7
 PAST-be-PF DET 3POS-foot
were chicken feet.

T0063: 056

7anch juu xtalaqxaqalhiit'ajunch
 7anch juu x-ta-laqxaqa-lhii-t'ajun+ch
 there REL PAST-3PL.SUB-drag-APPL-AMB(IMPFV)+ALD
There they went around dragging her

T0063: 057

juu puulak nii laktalhpa.
 juu puulak nii laka-talhpa
 DET inside COMP PREP-mountain
inside the cave.

T0063: 058

nii xatalaqxaqalhiitzukuych juu 7anch,
 nii xa-ta-laqxaqa=lhii-tzuku-y+ch juu 7anch
 COMP PAST-3PL.SUB-drag=APPL-begin-IMPV+ALD DET there
When they began to drag her around there,

T0063: 059

7alakmaawaputunkanch juu xaalaqawin,
 7a-lak-maa-wajin-putun-kan+ch juu xaa-laqaw-(V)n
 PL-3PL.OBJ-CAUS-eat-DESID-INS(IMPV)+ALD DET IPOS-sibling-PL
they wanted to feed the brothers,

T0063: 060

nii maa waa katawaylich.
 nii maa waa ka-ta-wajin-li+ch
 COMP RPT FOC IRR-3PL.SUB-eat-PFV+ALD
so that they would eat.

T0063: 061

lak7ulaanikaalhch juu 7anuu p'in
 lak-7ulaa-ni-kan-li+ch juu 7anuu p'in
 3PL.OBJ-put-DAT-INS-PFV+ALD DET um chile
They were served salsa,

T0063: 062

juu 7alaqoxintich lhiiway choola7.
 juu 7alaqoxintich lhiiway choola7
 DET mole meat turkey
turkey mole.

T0063: 063

pero maa xachilhch juu Maliiyaa
 pero maa xa-chin-li+ch juu Maliiyaa
 but RPT PAST-arrive-PFV+ALD DET Mary
But Maria arrived,

T0063: 064

nii maa xajuuniych juu xlaqaw
 nii maa xa-jun-ni-y+ch juu x-laqaw
 COMP RPT PAST-say-DAT-IMPV+ALD DET 3POS-sibling
and told her brothers

T0063: 065

nii jaantuch kata7ulh
 nii jaantu+ch ka-ta-7u-li
 COMP NEG+ALD IRR-3PL.SUB-eat-PFV
not to eat it

T0063: 066

porque nii nii kata7uya7,
 porque nii nii ka-ta-7u-ya7
 because COMP COMP IRR-3PL.SUB-eat-FUT
because if they ate it,

T0063: 067

jaantuch katitataxtulh.
 jaantu+ch ka-ti-ta-taxtu-li
 NEG+ALD IRR-IMM-3PL.SUB-leave-PFV
they wouldn't be able to leave.

T0063: 068

jaantuch xata7uy.
 jaantu+ch xa-ta-7u-y
 NEG+ALD PAST-3PL.SUB-eat-IMPFV
They didn't eat it.

T0063: 069

nii jaantuch xata7uy.
 nii jaantu+ch xa-ta-7u-y
 COMP NEG+ALD PAST-3PL.SUB-eat-IMPFV
They didn't eat it.

T0063: 070

tatzukuchoqolhch maa 7asaanin.
 ta-tzuku-choqo-li+ch maa 7a-saa-nin
 3PL.SUB-begin-AGAIN-PFV+ALD RPT PL-play-PL.INF
They began to play again.

T0063: 071

pero	naa	naach	maa	waa
pero	naa	naa+ch	maa	waa
but	EMP	EMP+ALD	RPT	FOC

talaqxaqalhiit'ajun	juu	Maliyyaa
ta-laqxaqa-lhii-t'ajun	juu	Maliyyaa
3PL.SUB-drag-APPL-AMB(IMPFV)	DET	Mary

But they just went around dragging Maria,

T0063: 072

7anchach	tanuumaachaa	laktalhpa.
7anch+ch	tanuu-maa-chaa	laka-talhpa
there+ALD	insert-lying(IMPFV)-DST	PREP-mountain

there where she is stuck in the cave.

T0063: 073

nii	xatalaqxaqalhiitzukuchoqoych,
nii	xa-ta-laqxaqa=lhii-tzuku-choqo-y+ch
COMP	PAST-3PL.SUB-drag=APPL-begin-AGAIN-IMPFV+ALD

When they began to drag her again,

T0063: 074

t'asalhchi	juu	chiila7.
t'asa-li+ch	juu	chiila7
cry-PFV+ALD	DET	chicken

the cock crowed.

T0063: 075

t'asalhchi	juu	chiila7.
t'asa-li+ch	juu	chiila7
cry-PFV+ALD	DET	chicken

The cock crowed.

T0063: 076

7entons	tapaastaklich	nii	7anuu
7entons	ta-paastak-li+ch	nii	7anuu
then	3PL.SUB-remember-PFV+ALD	COMP	um

Then they remembered that

T0063: 077

nii 7alin juu Dios.
 nii 7alin juu Dios
 COMP there_is(IMPFV) DET God
that there is a God.

T0063: 078

7aksch juu xalaktantamaakxtukan.
 7aks+ch juu xa-lak-tan-ta-maaxtu-kan
 when+ALD REL PAST-3PL.OBJ-torso-INCH-take_out-INS(IMPFV)
That is when they were taken outside.

T0063: 079

laktantamakxtuukaalhch
 lak-tan-ta-maxtu-kan-li+ch
 3PL.OBJ-torso-INCH-take_out-INS-PFV+ALD

chaway jaantuch 7anuu
 chaway jaantu+ch 7anuu
 now NEG+ALD um
They were taken outside then; oh, no . . .

T0063: 080

jaantuch xalakask'inkan nii katatanuu
 jaantu+ch xa-lakask'in-kan nii ka-ta-tanuu
 NEG+ALD PAST-want-INS(IMPFV) COMP IRR-3PL.SUB-enter(PFV)
they weren't wanted inside

T0063: 081

nii waa xtapaastak'ach juu Dios.
 nii waa x-ta-paastak-7a+ch juu Dios
 COMP FOC PAST-3PL.SUB-remember-IMPFV+ALD DET God
because they remembered God.

T0063: 082

7anii xtapaastak'ach
 7anii x-ta-paastak-7a+ch
 this PAST-3PL.SUB-remember-IMPFV+ALD

juu kimpay7an.
 juu kin-pay-7an
 DET 1POS-father-PL.POS
They remembered Our Father.

T0063: 083

vaya juu lhiimaqalhqamaach.
 vaya juu lhii-maqalhqama7+ch
 it_goes DET APPL-Tepehua+ALD
It goes like that in Tepehua.

T0063: 084

noonkanch nii kimpay7an
 najun-kan+ch nii kin-pay-7an
 say-INS(IMPFV)+ALD COMP 1POS-father-PL.POS

juu kintalhiist'aktan.
 juu kin-ta-lhiistak-ta-n
 REL 1OBJ-3PL.SUB-care_for-PF-2OBJ
They say that it is Our father who watches over us.

T0063: 085

7alaktantamakxtuukaalhch.
 7a-lak-tan-ta-maxtu-kan-li+ch
 PL-3PL.OBJ-torso-INCH-take_out-INS-PFV+ALD
They were taken outside.

T0063: 086

puus 7aksniich xatalaqp'aqx7ulaay
 puus 7aksnii+ch x-ta-lak-p'aqx7ulaay
 well when+ALD PAST-3PL.SUB-3PL.OBJ-shatter-IMPFV

juu xlhiiisaan7an
 juu x-lhiiisaan-7an
 DET 3POS-musical_instrument-PL.POS
Well, after that they broke their musical instruments

T0063: 087

porque waa takiilaqtz'ilhch
porque waa ta-kii-laqtz'in-li+ch
because FOC 3PL.SUB-RT-see-PFV+ALD

juu xlaqaw7an,
juu x-laqaw-7an
DET 3POS-sibling-PL.POS
because they went to see their sister,

T0063: 088

juu xp'isaqa7an juu taa tanuun.
juu x-p'isaqa-7an juu taa tanuun
DET 3POS-younger_sibling-PL.POS DET where inserted(IMPFV)
their little sister, where she was stuck.

T0063: 089

talaqp'aqx7ulaalhch
ta-lak-p'aqx7ulaa-li+ch
3PL.SUB-3PL.OBJ-shatter-PFV+ALD

juu xlhsaan7an.
juu x-lhsaan-7an
DET 3POS- musical_instrument-PL.POS
They broke their instruments.

T0063: 090

laaqoolhch.
laa-qoju-li+ch
can-all-PFV+ALD
The end.

Bibliography

- Acsni patajuh ju t'iyán*. 1958. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Agustín Santiago Cuervo, Carolyn J. MacKay, and Frank R. Trechsel. 2005. *An kuchú (La cotorra)*. Muncie, Indiana: Ball State Printing Service.
- Agustín Santiago Cuervo, Carolyn J. MacKay, and Frank R. Trechsel. 2005. *¿Chu ajín an mináti? (¿Es una tortuga tu mamá?)*. Muncie, Indiana: Ball State Printing Service.
- Agustín Santiago Cuervo, Carolyn J. MacKay, and Frank R. Trechsel. 2005. *¿Dáni da'úncha, mistú? (¿Dónde estás, gatito?)*. Muncie, Indiana: Ball State Printing Service.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2000. *Classifiers: A typology of noun categorization devices*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2003. Evidentiality in typological perspective. In Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon (eds.), *Evidentiality* (pp. 1-31). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2004. Nominal classification: Towards a comprehensive typology. *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* 57 (2/3), 105-116.
- Aissen, Judith. 1987. *Tzotzil Clause Structure*. Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing Co.
- Allan, Keith. 1977. Classifiers. *Language*, 53 (2), 285-311.
- Allot, Robin. 1995. *Sound symbolism*. Retrieved November 5, 2004, from <http://www.percepp.demon.co.uk/soundsmb.htm>
- An malhe'nij burroj (Un burro flojo)*. 2004. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Arana Osnaya, Evangelina. 1953. Reconstrucción del proto-totonacano. In Ignacio Bernal and Eusebio Dávalos Hurtado (eds.), *Huastecos, totonacos y sus vecinos. Revista mexicana de estudios antropológicos* 13 (2/3), 123-130. México, D.F.: Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología.

- Aschmann, Herman P. 1946. Totonaco phonemes. *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 12 (1), 34-43.
- Aschmann, Herman P. 1973. *Diccionario totonaco de Papantla*. México D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Aschmann, Herman P. 1983 [1962]. *Vocabulario totonaco de la Sierra*. México D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Aschmann, Herman, and William L. Wonderly. 1952. Affixes and implicit categories in Totonac verb inflection. *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 18 (3), 130-145.
- Aschmann, Pedro. 1953. Los dos niveles de composición en el verbo totonaco. In Ignacio Bernal and Eusebio Dávalos Hurtado (eds.), *Huastecos, totonacos y sus vecinos*. *Revista mexicana de estudios antropológicos* 13 (2/3), 119-122. México, D.F.: Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología.
- Beck, David. 1999. The typology of parts of speech systems: The markedness of adjectives. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Toronto.
- Beck, David. 2000. The Syntax, semantics, and typology of adjectives in Upper Necaxa Totonac. *Linguistic Typology* 4, 213-250.
- Beck, David. 2002. *The typology of parts of speech system*. New York: Routledge.
- Beck, David. 2003. Person-hierarchies and the origin of asymmetries in Totonac verbal paradigms. *Linguistica Atlantica* 23, 35-68.
- Beck, David. 2004. *Upper Necaxa Totonac*. Munich: Lincom.
- Beck, David. 2006a. Control of agreement in multi-object constructions in Upper Necaxa Totonac. In Atsushi Fujimori and Maria Amelia Reis Silva (eds.), *Proceedings of the 11th Workshop on Structure and Constituency in the Languages of the Americas*. Vancouver: UBC Working Papers in Linguistics.
- Beck, David. 2006b. The emergence of ejective fricatives in Upper Necaxa Totonac. In Robert Kirchner (ed.), *University of Alberta Working Papers in Linguistics* 1.

- Beck, David. 2006c. Voice and agreement in multi-object constructions in Upper Necaxa Totonac. Paper presented at the IX Encuentro Internacional de Lingüística en el Noroeste, Universidad de Sonora, November 15-17, 2006.
- Beck, David. 2007. Argument quantification and qualification in Upper Necaxa Totonac. Paper presented at the 33rd Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistic Society, University of California, Berkeley, February 9-11, 2007.
- Beck, David. To appear a. Ideophones, adverbs, and predicate qualification in Upper Necaxa Totonac. *International Journal of American Linguistics*.
- Beck, David. To appear b. What to do with the ideophones? A problem in lexical classification from Upper Necaxa Totonac. In L. Wanner (ed.), *Festschrift for Igor Mel'čuk*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Beck, David, and Yvonne Lam. In press. Language loss and linguistic suicide: A case study from the Sierra Norte de Puebla, México. In Sarah Cummins, Brigit Janoski, and Patricia A. Shaw (eds.), *All the things you are: A festschrift for Jack Chambers*. Toronto: Toronto Working papers in Linguistics.
- Bessell, Nicola. 1998. Local and non-local consonant-vowel interaction in Interior Salish. *Phonology*, 15,1-40.
- Bishop, Ruth. 1984. Consonant play in lexical sets in Northern Totonac. *SIL Working Papers in Linguistics* 5, 24-31.
- Bloomfield, Leonard. 1984 [1933]. *Language*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Boas, Franz. 1911. Introduction: Handbook of American Indian Languages. *Bureau of American ethnology, Bulletin* 40, (pp. 1-85). Washington: Smithsonian Institution.
- Boilés, Charles L. 1967 [1990]. Tepehua thought-song: A case of semantic signaling. Originally published in 1967 in *Ethnomusicology* 11 (3), 267-292. Reprinted in 1990 in Kay Kaufman Shelemay (ed.), *The Garland library of readings in ethnomusicology, vol. 7* (pp. 171-196). New York: Garland.

- Bouquiaux, Luc, and Jacqueline M. C. Thomas (eds.). 1971. *Etnolingüística: Metodología y encuestas para el trabajo de campo* (Perla Petrich and Jesús García Ruíz, Trans.). Paris: Selaf-Peeters.
- Bower, Bethel. 1948. Stems and affixes in Tepehua numerals. *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 14 (1), 20-21.
- Bower, Bethel, and Barbara Erickson. 1967. Tepehua sentences. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 9, 25-37.
- Bowerman, Melissa. No date. *Melissa Bowerman's Topological Picture Series*. Ms. Max-Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen.
- Brown, Roger. 1958. *Words and Things*. New York: Free Press.
- Bybee, Joan, Revere D. Perkins, and William Pagliuca. 1994. *The evolution of grammar: Tense, aspect, and modality in the languages of the world*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Carochi, Horacio. 1645. *Arte de la lengua mexicana con la declaracion de los adverbios della*. México: Iuan Ruyz.
- Chafe, Wallace. 1995. The realis-irrealis distinction in Cado, the Northern Iroquoian languages, and English. In Joan Bybee and Suzanne Fleischman (eds.), *Modality and grammar in discourse (Typological studies in language 32* (pp. 349-365). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 1994. African ideophones. In Leanne Hinton, Johanna Nichols, and John Ohala, (eds.). *Sound symbolism* (pp. 178-204). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Coe, Michael D. 1994. *Mexico: From the Olmecs to the Aztecs* (4th ed.). London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd.
- Comrie, Bernard and Norval Smith. 1977. Lingua descriptive series: Questionnaire. *Lingua*, 42, 1-72.
- Cowan, George M. 1952. El idioma silbado entre los mazatecos de Oaxaca y los tepehuas de Hidalgo, México. *Tlatoani* 1, 31-33.
- Cowan, George M. 1972. Segmental features of Tepehua whistle speech. In A. Rigault and R. Charbonneau (eds.), *Proceedings of the Seventh*

- International Congress of Phonetic Sciences, Montreal, 1971* (pp. 695-698). *Janua Linguarum, series maior*, 57. The Hague: Mouton.
- Cowan, George M. 1976. Whistled Tepehua. In Thomas A. Sebeok and Donna Jean Umiker (eds.), *Speech surrogates: A reader; vol. 1 Drum and whistle systems* (pp. 1400-9). *Approaches to Semiotics*, 23. The Hague: Mouton.
- Cowan, George M. 1981. Whistled communication. *Notes on Linguistics* 20, 22-24.
- Craig, Colette. 1986. Introduction. In Colette Craig, (ed.), *Noun classes and categorisation* (pp. 1-10). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Press.
- Diffloth, Gerard. 1972. Notes on expressive meaning. In Paul M. Peranteau, Judith N. Levi, and Gloria C. Phares (eds.), *Papers from the Eighth Regional Meeting Chicago Linguistic Society* (pp. 440-7). Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Diffloth, Gerard. 1976. Expressives in Semai. In Philip N. Jenner, Laurence C. Thompson, and Stanley Starosta (eds.), *Austroasiatic Studies: Part I, Vol. 1* (pp. 249-264). Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.
- Dixon, R. M. W. 1994. *Ergativity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Doke, Clement M. 1935. *Bantu linguistic terminology*. London: Longmans, Green, y Co.
- Drubig, Hans Bernhard. 2000. Towards a typology of focus and focus constructions, MS.
- Dryer, Matthew S. 1986. Primary objects, secondary objects, and antidative. *Language*, 62 (4), 808-845.
- Edmonson, Barbara W. 1988. *A Descriptive Grammar of Huastec (Potosino Dialect)*. Doctoral Dissertation, Tulane University.
- England, Nora. 1983. *A grammar of Mam, a Mayan language*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- England, Nora. 2004. Entrando y saliendo de una posición: Palabras afectivas en Mam. Paper presented at *Lengua y Mantenimiento Cultural en Mesoamérica: Un Simposio*. The University of Texas at Austin.

- England, Nora. 2006. El papel de palabras afectivas en la narración en Mam (Maya). In María del Carmen Morúa (ed.), *Memorias del VIII Encuentro Internacional de Lingüística en el Noroeste* (pp. 157-171). Hermosillo, Sonora, México: Editorial UniSon.
- Enríquez, Héctor. 2004. La categorización de los olores en totonaco. *Dimensión Antropológica, Año 11, Vol. 30 enero/abril*, 103-128.
- Fudge, Erik. 1970. Phonological structure and 'expressiveness'. *Journal of Linguistics*, 6 (2), 161-188.
- García Ramos, Crescencio. 2000. *Vocabulario bilingüe totonaco castellano*. Jalapa, Veracruz: Ediciones Cultura de Veracruz.
- García Vidal, Félix, and Fernando Augusto García García. 1981 [1972]. *Manuel del dialecto totonaco de la región de Papantla, Veracruz* (2nd ed.). México, D.F.: Unknown publisher.
- Gerds, Donna B. 1998. Incorporation. In Andrew Spencer and Arnold M. Zwicky (eds.), *The handbook of morphology* (pp. 84-100). Malden, Mass.: Blackwell.
- Gessain, Robert. 1938. Contribution a l'étude des cultes et des cérémonies indigènes de la région de Huehuetla (Hidalgo): les <<muñecos>> figurines rituelles. *Société des Américanistes (Reconnue d'utilité publique). Nouvelle série, Tome XXX* (pp. 343-369). Paris: Au Siège de la Société.
- Givón, Talmy. 1994. Irrealis and the subjunctive. *Studies in Language* 18 (2), 265-337.
- Gordon, Raymond G., Jr. (ed.). 2005. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World* (15th ed.). Dallas, Tx.: SIL International.
- Greenberg, Joseph. 1987. *Languages of the Americas*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.
- Grenoble, Lenore, and Lindsay J. Whaley (eds.). 1998. *Endangered languages: Current issues and future prospects*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grinevald, Colette. 2000. A morphosyntactic typology of classifiers. In Gunter Senft, (ed.), *Systems of nominal classification* (pp. 50-92). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Grinevald, Colette. 2005. *The expression of static location in a typological perspective: A perspective from American languages*. Presentation delivered to the University of Texas at Austin, Department of Linguistics Colloquium, Austin, May 5, 2005.
- Guerrero Domínguez, Francisco, and Dorotea Herzog S. 1983. *Tuchi ju iclact'atapasata ju quin'amigojni ju lakt'ict'i atapacxat (Mis aventuras con algunos animales amigos)*. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Guerrero Domínguez, Francisco, and Dorotea Herzog S. 1984. *Tas lhi'aklhtaijui ju quinlacatuna'an ju uyau*. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Guerrero Domínguez, Francisco, and Dorotea Herzog S. 1985. *Ixcuento ju venk'en ju ixtapalai atsi' (El cuento de la rana que se convertía en una muchacha)*. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Guerrero Domínguez, Francisco, and Dorotea Herzog S. 1986. *Acsni tataclh ju Mexico: Cuando México tembló*. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Haas, Mary. 1970. Consonant symbolism in Northwestern California: A problem in diffusion. In Earl H. Swanson, Jr. (ed.), *Languages and cultures of western North America: Essays in honor of Sven S. Liljeblad* (pp. 86-96). Pocatell, ID: Idaho State University Press.
- Hayes, Bruce. 1989. Compensatory lengthening in moraic phonology. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20 (2), 253-306.
- Hayes, Bruce. 1995. *Metrical stress theory: Principles and case studies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Heine, Bernd. 1997. *Possession: Cognitive sources, forces, and grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heine, Bernd, Ulrike Claudi, and Friederike Hünemeyer. 1991. *Grammaticalization: A conceptual framework*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hengeveld, Kees. 1992. *Non-verbal predication: Theory, typology, diachrony. Functional Grammar Series 15*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

- Hernández Sierra, Guadalupe Trinidad. 1986. Los tepehuas a través de la historia y su sistema fonémico (Pisaflores, Veracruz). Bachelors thesis, Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia, México, D.F.
- Herzog, Dorothy. 1974. Person, number, and tense in the Tepehua verb. *SIL Mexico Workpapers 1*, 45-52.
- Herzog, Dorothy. 1987. Ideophones in Huehuetla Tepehua. Ms., Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Herzog, Dorothy. No date. Tepehua Dictionary. Ms., Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Hinton, Leanne. 1994. *Flutes of fire: Essays on California Indian languages*. Berkeley: Heyday Books.
- Hinton, Leanne, Johanna Nichols, and John Ohala. 1994. Introduction: Sound-symbolic processes. In Leanne Hinton, Johanna Nichols, and John Ohala, (eds.). *Sound symbolism* (pp. 1-12). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hoogshagen, Searle, and Hilda Hoogshagen. 1993. *Diccionario mixe de Coatlán. Serie de vocabularios y diccionarios indígenas "Mariano Silva y Aceves"*, 32. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Hopper, Paul J., and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: CUP.
- Hornberger, N. H. 1998. Language policy, language education, language rights: Indigenous, immigrant, and international perspectives. *Language in Society*, 27, 439-458.
- Huerta Santiago, Antonio, and Dorotea Herzog S. 1982. *Calaktz'iu (Leamos)*. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Huerta Santiago, Antonio, and Dorotea Herzog S. 1983. *Lakat'ui cuento junta ta'alhajan an ju lact'icst'i atapacxat (Dos cuentos en los que los animales pequeños ganan)*. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Huerta Santiago, Antonio, and José Refugio Victoriano. 1981. *Ixcuento'an ju mak'aniya lapanakni (Cuentos de los antepasados)*. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

- Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática. 2005. *Principales resultados por localidad*, como parte del programa de divulgación de resultados del II Censo de Población y Vivienda 2005. México, D.F.: Author.
- Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas. 2006. Talleres de análisis de la diversidad lingüística para la elaboración del *Catálogo de las lenguas indígenas mexicanas*: Foro de análisis totonaco-tepehua. Papantla, Veracruz, México, September 11-12, 2006.
- Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas. To appear. *Catálogo de las lenguas indígenas mexicanas*. México, D.F.: Author.
- Itô, Junko. 1989. A prosodic theory of epenthesis. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 7, 217-260.
- Jespersen, Otto. 1922. *Language: Its nature, development and origin*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Ju Anita (Ana)*. 1957. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Ju chila' chai ju xat'in cux*. 1956. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Ju k'avi va is'akstu ixt'ajun (El ratoncito huerfanito)*. 1955. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Ju scau chai ju lhvakna' (El conejo y el lobo)*. 1957. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Justeson, John, and Terrence Kaufman. 1993. A decipherment of Epi-Olmec hieroglyphic writing. *Science*, 259 (5102), 1703-1711.
- Kaufman, Terrence. 1988. Seminar notes from *Sound Symbolism*. University of Pittsburgh.
- Kaufman, Terrence. 2003. The linguistic prehistory of Teotihuacan. Lecture delivered at the University of Texas at Austin, March 5, 2003.
- Kaufman, Terrence. 2005. Sound symbolism in Mesoamerica. Presentation delivered at the Symposium on Mesoamerican Indigenous Languages, University of Texas at Austin.
- Kaufman, Terrence. No date. The long list, Ms., University of Pittsburgh.

- Keenan, Edward L., and Bernard Comrie. 1977. NP accessibility and universal grammar. *Linguistic inquiry*, 8, 63-100.
- Kouwenberg, Silvia, and Eric Murray. 1994. *Papiamentu*. München: Lincom Europa.
- Krauss, Michael. 1992. The world's languages in crisis. *Language*, 68 (1), 4-10.
- Kryder, Nancy J. 1987. A phonological and morphological sketch of Tepehua. Masters thesis, University of Montana.
- Ladefoged, Peter. 1993. *A course in phonetics* (3rd ed.). Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers.
- Langdon, Margaret. 1971. Sound symbolism in Yuman languages. In Jesse Sawyer (ed.), *Studies in American Indian languages. University of California publications in linguistics vol. 65* (pp. 149-173). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Levy, Paulette. 1987. *Fonología del totonaco de Papantla, Veracruz*. México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Levy, Paulette. 1990. *Totonaco de Papantla, Veracruz*. Archivo de lenguas indígenas de México. México, D.F.: Colegio de México.
- Levy, Paulette. 1992. Adjectives in Totonac: Descriptive statement and typological considerations. *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 53 (3), 269-298.
- Levy, Paulette. 1994. La base verbal en totonaco. In Carolyn J. MacKay and Verónica Vázquez (eds.), *Investigaciones lingüísticas en Mesoamérica* (pp. 227-262). México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Levy, Paulette. 1999a. From 'part' to 'shape': Incorporation in Totonac and the issue of classification by verbs. *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 65 (2), 127-175.
- Levy, Paulette. 1999b. "Where" rather than "what": Incorporation of 'parts' in Totonac. In Doris L. Payne and Immanuel Barshi (eds.), *External possession* (pp. 325-338). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Levy, Paulette. 2002a. El aplicativo dativo/benefactivo en totonaco de Papantla. In Zarina Estrada Fernández and Rosa María Oriz Ciscomani (eds.),

Memorias del VI Encuentro Internacional de Lingüística en el Noroeste (pp. 175-194). Hermosillo, Sonora, México: Departamento de Letras y Lingüística, Universidad de Sonora.

- Levy, Paulette. 2002b. Cuando un especificador funciona como determinante: El caso del totonaco. In Paulette Levy (ed.), *Del cora al maya yucateco: Estudios lingüísticos sobre algunas lenguas indígenas mexicanas* (pp. 403-436). México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Levy, Paulette. 2003. *Traduttore, traditore: La construcción lingüística de espacio en totonaco de Papantla*. Paper presented at the Conference on Indigenous Languages of Latin America, University of Texas at Austin.
- Levy, Paulette. 2004. Parts in Papantla Totonac and the genesis of systems of numeral classification. *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* 57 (2/3), 280-299.
- Levy, Paulette. 2006. Los sustantivos relacionales en el totonaco de Papantla. Paper presented at the IX Encuentro Internacional de Lingüística en el Noroeste, Universidad de Sonora, November 15-17, 2006.
- Liga Bíblica Mundial del Hogar. 1976. *El nuevo testamento en el idioma tepehua de Huehuetla, Hidalgo*. México, D.F.: United Bible Society.
- MacKay, Carolyn J. 1991. A grammar of Misantla Totonac. Doctoral dissertation, University of Texas at Austin.
- MacKay, Carolyn J. 1994a. Dyadic structure in a Totonac narrative. In Carolyn J. MacKay and Verónica Vázquez (eds.), *Investigaciones lingüísticas en Mesoamérica* (pp. 263-299). México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- MacKay, Carolyn J. 1994b. A sketch of Misantla Totonac phonology. *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 60 (4), 199-248.
- MacKay, Carolyn J. 1999. *A grammar of Misantla Totonac*. Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press.
- MacKay, Carolyn J., and Frank R. Trechsel. 2003. Reciprocal /laa-/ in Totonacan. *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 69 (3), 275-306.
- MacKay, Carolyn J., and Frank R. Trechsel. 2005a. Symmetrical objects in Totonacan: A comparative perspective. Paper presented at the Annual

Meeting of the Society for the Study of Indigenous Languages of the Americas, Oakland, CA.

MacKay, Carolyn J., and Frank R. Trechsel. 2005b. *Totonaco de Misantla, Veracruz*. Archivo de lenguas indígenas de México. México, D.F.: Colegio de México.

MacKay, Carolyn J., and Frank R. Trechsel. 2006. Panorama preliminar de las lenguas simétricas totonaco-tepehuas. Paper presented at the IX Encuentro Internacional de Lingüística en el Noroeste, Universidad de Sonora, November 15-17, 2006.

MacKay, Carolyn J., and Frank R. Trechsel. To appear a. The phonology of Pisaflores Tepehua. In Thomas Smith-Stark and Roberto Zavala (eds.), *Festschrift for Terrence Kaufman*.

MacKay, Carolyn J., and Frank R. Trechsel. To appear b. Symmetrical objects in Misantla Totonac. *International Journal of American Linguistics*.

MacKay, Carolyn J., and Frank R. Trechsel. To appear c. *Tepehua de Pisaflores, Veracruz*. Archivo de Lenguas Indígenas de México. México D.F.: Colegio de México.

Maffi, Louisa. 1990. Tzeltal Maya affect words: Psychological salience and expressive functions of language. In D. J. Costa (ed.), *Proceedings of the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society: Special Session on General Topics in American Indian Linguistics* (pp. 61-72). Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistics Society.

McFarland, Teresa. 2005. The inflectional system of Totonaco de Filomeno Mata. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, Oakland, CA, January 2005.

McFarland, Teresa. 2006. Ideophones and templatic morphology in Totonac: Páks páks tamakawán. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, Albuquerque, NM, January 2006.

McFarland, Teresa. To appear. Ideophones and templatic morphology in Filomeno Mata Totonac. *Proceedings of the Rara and Rarissima Conference*, Leipzig, Germany.

McFarland, Teresa. In progress. Topics in the morphology of Filomeno Mata Totonac. Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.

- McQuown, Norman A. 1940. A Totonac grammar. Doctoral dissertation, Yale University.
- McQuown, Norman A. 1942. Una posible síntesis lingüística macro-mayence. *Mayas y Olmecas 2* (pp. 37-38). Tuxtla Gutierrez, Chiapas: Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología.
- McQuown, Norman A. 1955. The indigenous languages of Latin American. *American Anthropologist 57*, 501-570.
- McQuown, Norman A. 1956. Evidence for a synthetic trend in Totonacan. *Language, 31 (1)*, 78-80.
- McQuown, Norman A. (ed). 1990a. *Arte de la lengua totonaca*, unknown author. Facsimile edition of the original manuscript. México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- McQuown, Norman A. 1990b. *Gramática de la lengua totonaca (Coatepec, Sierra Norte de Puebla)*. México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Mel'čuk, Igor A. 1993. The inflectional category of voice: Towards a more rigorous definition. In Bernard Comrie and María Polinsky (eds.), *Causatives and transitives* (pp. 1-46). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Merlan, Francesca. 1985. Split intransitivity: Functional oppositions in intransitive inflection. In Johanna Nichols and Anthony C. Woodbury (eds.), *Grammar inside and outside the clause* (pp. 324-362). Cambridge: CUP.
- Miqui*. 1956. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Mithun, Marianne. 1982. The synchronic and diachronic behavior of plops, squeaks, croaks, sighs, and moans. *International Journal of American Linguistics, 48 (1)*, 49-58.
- Mithun, Marianne. 1984. The evolution of noun incorporation. *Language 60 (4)*, 847-894.
- Mithun, Marianne. 1991. Active/agentive case marking and its motivations. *Language, 67 (3)*, 510-546.

- Mithun, Marianne. 1992. 'Is basic word order universal?' In Doris L. Payne, (ed.), *Pragmatics of word order flexibility* (pp. 15-61). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Mithun, Marianne. 1995. On the relativity of irrealis. In Joan Bybee and Suzanne Fleischman (eds.), *Modality and grammar in discourse. Typological studies in language 32* (pp. 367-388). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Mithun, Marianne. 1997. Lexical affixes and morphological typology. In Joan Bybee, John Haiman, and Sandra A. Thompson, (eds.), *Essays on language function and language type* (pp. 357-371). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Molina, Alonso de. 1571. *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana; Vocabulario en lengua mexicana y castellana* (augmented and corrected version of the first edition of 1555). México: Casa de Antonio de Spínosa.
- Newman, Stanley S. 1946. The Yawelmani dialect of Yokuts. In Harry Hoijer (ed.), *Linguistic structures of native America. Viking fund publications in anthropology number 6* (pp. 222-248). New York: Wenner-Gren.
- Nichols, Johanna. 1971. Diminutive consonant symbolism in western North America. *Language*, 47 (4), 826-848.
- Nichols, Johanna. 1986. Head-marking and dependent-marking grammar. *Language*, 62 (1), 56-119.
- Nichols, Johanna. 1988. On alienable and inalienable possession. In William Shipley (ed.), *In honor of Mary Haas: From the Haas Festival Conference on Native American Linguistics* (pp. 557-609). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Nichols, Johanna, and D. A. Peterson. 1996. The Amerind personal pronouns. *Language*, 72 (2), 336-371.
- Nida, Eugene A. 1946. *Morphology: The descriptive analysis of words*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Nuckolls, Janis B. 1999. The case for sound symbolism. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 28, 225-252.
- Olmos, Andrés de. 1547. *Arte para aprender la lengua mexicana*. Ms. First published version appeared in 1875 as *Grammaire de la langue nahuatl ou*

mexicaine, composée, en 1547, par le franciscain André de Olmos, et publiée avec notes, éclaircissements, etc. par Rémi Siméon. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.

- Palacios Jiménez, Elsa (ed.). 1993. *Monografía del estado de Hidalgo, primera edición, tomo I.* México, D.F.: Instituto Hidalguense de la Cultura.
- Palmer, F. R. 2001. *Mood and Modality* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Payne, Doris L., and Immanuel Barshi. 1999. External possession: What, where, how, and why. In Doris L. Payne and Immanuel Barshi (eds.), *External possession* (pp. 3-29). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Payne, Thomas E. 1997. *Describing morphosyntax: A guide for field linguists.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pitalu' scau (Pedro conejo).* 1957. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Reid, Aileen A. 1991 *Gramática totonaca de Xicotepec de Juárez, Puebla.* México D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Reid, Aileen A., and Ruth G. Bishop. 1974. *Diccionario totonaco de Xicotepec de Juárez.* México D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Ríos López, Gulmaro, Liesa Allen, and Juanita Watters. 2004. *An ch'e'lhi yu kikxixa (El tordo que tenía sed, first edition).* México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Romero, Eugenio. 1st third of 17th century. *Arte de la lengua totonaca.* Published as Norman A. McQuown, introduction, transliteration corrected and normalized, and indices of lexical and grammatical content, 1990, *Arte de la lengua totonaca* by unknown author, facsimile of the original manuscript and with an opinion on a possible author by Miguel León-Portillo. Bibliotheca classica. Centro de Lingüística Hispánica, Instituto de Investigaciones Filológicas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México, D. F.
- Samarin, William J. 1967. *Field linguistics: A guide to linguistic field work.* New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston.

- Santiago Barragán, Juan, and Dorotea Herzog S. 1985. *Ixcuento ju ixlanini' ixt'aca tacos (El cuento del que aprendió a vender tacos)*. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Santiago Barragán, Juan, and Dorotea Herzog S. 1986. *Mak'aniya xa'atxucunti Huehuetla, Hgo. (Como vivían antiguamente en Huehuetla, Hgo.)*. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Santiago Barragán, Juan, Cristina García de Santiago, and Dorotea Herzog S. 1983. *Ixcuento'an ju purru chai ju p'axni (El cuento del burro y el cerdo)*. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano..
- Santiago Barragán, Juan, Cristina García de Santiago, and Dorotea Herzog S. 1984. *Tas ju laich k'ox catsucualh ju ak'atam chaka'*. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Sapir, Edward. 1911. Diminutive and augmentative consonant symbolism in Wishram. In Franz Boas (ed.), *Handbook of American Indian languages: Bureau of American Ethnography, Vol. Bull. 40, Part 1* (pp. 638-646). Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian.
- Saussure, Ferdinand de. 1966. *Course in General Linguistics*. [Wade Baskin, Trans.]. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Schultze-Berndt, E. 2001. Ideophone-like characteristics of uninflected predicates in Jaminjung (Australia). En F. K. Erhard Voeltz y Christa Kilian-Hatz (eds.). *Ideophones. Typological studies in language 44* (pp. 355-373). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Selkirk, Elisabeth. 1984. On the major class features and syllable theory. In Mark Aronoff and Richard Oehrle with Frances Kelley and Bonnie Wilker Stephens (eds.), *Language sound structure: Studies in phonology. Presented to Morris Halle by his teacher and students* (pp. 107-136). Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Sherzer, Joel. 1987. A discourse-centered approach to language and culture. *American Anthropologist*, 89, 295-309.
- Silverstein, Michael. 1976. Hierarchy of features and ergativity. In R. M. W. Dixon (ed.), *Grammatical categories in Australian languages* (pp. 112-171). Canberra: Australian Institute for Aboriginal Studies.

- Smith, Carlota S. 1997 [1991]. *The parameter of aspect* (2nd ed.). Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Smith, Carlota S. 2004. The domain of tense. In Jacqueline Guéron and Jacqueline Lacarme (eds.), *The syntax of time*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Smith, Carlota S. 2005. Aspectual entities and tense in discourse. In Paula Kempchinsky and Roumyana Slabakova (eds.), *Aspectual inquiries. Studies in natural language and linguistic theory, Vol. 62*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Smith Stark, Thomas C. 2005. Phonological description in New Spain. In Otto Zwartjes and Maria Cristina Salles Altman (eds.), *Missionary linguistics II = Lingüística misionera II: Orthography and phonology. Selected papers from the Second International Conference on Missionary Linguistics, Sao Paulo, 10-13 March 2004* (pp. 3-64). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Smythe, Susan. 2000. Vocalic and uvular phonemes in Huehuetla Tepehua: The acoustic evidence. Ms, University of Texas at Austin.
- Smythe, Susan. 2002. 'The loss of uvular stops in Huehuetla Tepehua.' Presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Indigenous Languages of the Americas, San Francisco, CA.
- Smythe, Susan. 2003. Reconstructing lost phonemes in Huehuetla Tepehua using "affectionate speech". In Inger Mey, Ginger Pizer, Hsi-Yao. Su, and Susan Szmania, (eds.), *Texas Linguistic Forum 45: SALSA 10* (pp. 167-176). Austin: University of Texas Linguistics Dept.
- Smythe Kung, Susan. 2004. External Possession in Huehuetla Tepehua. In Lea Harper and Carmen Jany (eds.), *Proceedings from the Seventh Workshop on American Indigenous Languages: Santa Barbara Papers in Linguistics, vol. 15* (pp. 25-39). Santa Barbara: Department of Linguistics, University of California, Santa Barbara.
- Smythe Kung, Susan. 2005a. Entre el simbolismo sonoro y las palabras afectivas: El lenguaje expresivo en el tepehua de Huehuetla. Paper presented at the VIII Congreso Nacional de Lingüística Asociación Mexicana de Lingüística Aplicada y la Universidad de las Américas - Puebla, Cholula, Puebla, México, May 2005.

- Smythe Kung, Susan. 2005b. Préstamos del castellano en el tepehua de Huehuetla, Hidalgo. Paper presented at the Loanwords Workshop, Project for the Documentation of the Languages of MesoAmerica, Catemaco, Veracruz, July 22, 2005.
- Smythe Kung, Susan. 2005c. Sound symbolism and expressive language in Huehuetla Tepehua. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas, Oakland, Ca., January 2005.
- Smythe Kung, Susan. 2006a. Clasificadores numerales en lhiimaqalhqama' (el tepehua de Huehuetla). *Memorias del Congreso de Idiomas Indígenas de Latinoamérica – II*, University of Texas at Austin, October 2005. Available from http://www.ailla.utexas.org/site/cilla2_toc.html.
- Smythe Kung, Susan. 2006b. La intransitividad mixta en el Tepehua de Huehuetla (familia Totonacana). Paper presented at the IX Encuentro Internacional de Lingüística en el Noroeste, Universidad de Sonora, November 15-17 2006.
- Smythe Kung, Susan. 2006c. Simbolismo sonoro y lenguaje expresivo en el tepehua de Huehuetla. In María del Carmen Morúa (ed.), *Memorias del VIII Encuentro Internacional de Lingüística en el Noroeste* (pp. 331-354). Hermosillo, Sonora, México: Editorial UniSon.
- Smythe Kung, Susan. 2007. Numeral classifiers in Lhiimaqalhqama'. In Douglas S. Bigham, Frederick Hoyt, Nikki Seifert, Alexandra Teodorescu, Jessica White (volume eds.), and Stephen Wechsler (series ed.), *Topics in the Morphosyntax of Underrepresented Languages: Papers from the 9th Texas Linguistics Society Conference, Austin, Texas, November 4-6, 2005*. Stanford, Ca.: CSLI Publications. Available from <http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/TLS/>.
- Tellez Guzmán, Juan, Cecilia Cruz Vigueras, Gulmaro Ríos López, Mario Rodríguez San Juan, and Juanita Watters. 2004. *Pumatam lapanak yu junkan Sini'* (*Un hombre llamado Sini'*). México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Tellez Guzmán, Juan, Gulmaro Ríos López, Cecilia Cruz Vigueras, Cathy Marlett, and Juanita Watters. 2004. *Yu sawalh s'alalh jas'at'a borrego* (*El borreguito muy inteligente*). México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

- Tellez Guzmán, Juan, Gulmaro Ríos López, Cecilia Cruz Vigueras, Mario Rodríguez San Juan, and Juanita Watters. 2004. *An skaw yu alhawnikalh ix'a'alo'ot (El conejo al que le robaron sus cuernos)*. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Tellez Guzmán, Juan, Gulmaro Ríos López, Cecilia Cruz Vigueras, and Juanita Watters. 2004. *An jakilhpatinij vakaj (Una vaca pobre)*. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Tellez Guzmán, Juan, Gulmaro Ríos López, Mario Rodríguez San Juan, and Juanita Watters. 2004a. *T'aku yu ixtapalay ch'ot'o' (La mujer que se convertía en cigüeña)*. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Tellez Guzmán, Juan, Gulmaro Ríos López, Mario Rodríguez San Juan, and Juanita Watters. 2004b. *Xakwentoj la'atam ja'o'xcho'onuj skaw (Un cuento de un conejo engañador)*. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Varela, Vianey. 2006. Entre espaldas, cabezas y panzas: Adquisición de construcciones locativas básicas en totonaco del Río Necaxa. Paper presented at the IX Encuentro Internacional de Lingüística en el Noroeste, Universidad de Sonora, November 15-17, 2006.
- Voeltz, Friedrich Karl Erhard and Christa Kilian-Hatz. 2001. Introduction. En F. K. Erhard Voeltz y Christa Kilian-Hatz (eds.), *Ideophones* (pp. 1-8). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- von Fintel, Kai, and Sabine Iatridou. 2005. Anatomy of a modal. Ms, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- von Fintel, Kai, and Sabine Iatridou. To appear. Anatomy of a modal construction. *Linguistic Inquiry*.
- Watahomigie, Lucille J., Jorigine Bender, Philbert Watahomigie, Sr., and Akira Y. Yamamoto with Elnor Mapatis, Malinda Powskey, and Josie Steele. 2001. *Hualapai reference grammar* (Revised and expanded edition). Osaka, Japan: Endangered Languages of the Pacific Rim.
- Watters, James K. 1980. Aspects of Tlachichilco Tepehua (Totonacan) phonology. *SIL Mexico Workpapers* 4, 85-129.
- Watters, James K. 1984. Notas sobre el aspecto en Tepehua. *SIL Mexico Workpapers* 5, 130-145.

- Watters, James K. 1987. Underspecification, multiple tiers, and Tepehua phonology. In Anna Bosch, Barbara Need, and Eric Schiller (eds.), *CLS 23: Papers from the 23rd Annual Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society. Part 2: Parasession on autosegmental and metrical phonology* (pp. 388-402). Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Watters, James K. 1988. Topics in Tepehua grammar. Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.
- Watters, James K. 1994. The form and function of second person verb morphology in Tepehua. In Carolyn J. MacKay and Verónica Vázquez (eds.), *Investigaciones lingüísticas en Mesoamérica* (pp. 211-226). México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Watters, James K. 1996a. Frames and the semantics of applicatives in Tepehua. In Eugene H. Casad (ed.), *Cognitive linguistics in the redwoods: The expansion of a new paradigm in linguistics* (pp. 971-996). New York: Mouton.
- Watters, James K. 1996b. The interpretation of deverbal nouns in Tepehua. In Masayoshi Shibatani and Sandra A. Thompson (eds.), *Grammatical constructions: Their forms and meaning* (pp. 321-339). Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Wilkins, David. 1992. Linguistics research under aboriginal control: A personal account of fieldwork in central Australia. *Australian Journal of Linguistics*, 12, 171-200.
- Woodbury, Anthony C. 1993. A principled defense of the proposition, "When a language dies, a culture dies". *Texas Linguistic Forum 33: Proceedings of the First Annual Symposium About Language and Society Austin* (pp. 101-129). Austin: University of Texas Linguistics Dept.
- Woodbury, Anthony C. 1997. Seminar notes from the Native Languages of North America. The University of Texas at Austin.
- Woodbury, Anthony C. 1998. Documenting rhetorical, aesthetic, and expressive loss in language shift. In Lenore Grenoble and Lindsay J. Whaley (eds.), *Endangered languages: Current issues and future prospects*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zambrano Bonilla, Joseph. 1752. *Arte de la lengua totonaca*. Published with D. Francisco Domínguez.

- Zavala, Roberto. 1999. External possessor in Oluta Popoluca (Mixean): Applicatives and incorporation of relational terms. In Doris L. Payne and Immanuel Barshi (eds.), *External possession* (pp. 339-372). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Zec, Draga. 1995. Sonority constraints on syllable structure. *Phonology*, 12 (1), 85-129.
- Zepeda, Ofelia, and Jane H. Hill. 1991. The condition of Native American languages in the United States. In Robert H. Robins and Eugenius M. Uhlenbeck (eds.), *Endangered languages*, (pp. 135-156). New York: Berg.
- Zwicky, Arnold M., and Geoffrey K. Pullum. 1983. Cliticization vs. inflection: English *n't*. *Language*, 59 (3), 502-513.

Vita

Susan Smythe Kung was born and raised in western North Carolina. She attended the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, where she graduated *Magna Cum Laude* with a Bachelor of Arts degree in Spanish and a minor in German. Thereafter, she entered the graduate school at the University of Texas at Austin, where she received a Master of Arts degree in Linguistics before beginning work on her Ph.D. She has worked as a Teaching Assistant and as an Assistant Instructor (Instructor of Record) in both the Linguistics Department and the Spanish and Portuguese Department at the University of Texas at Austin.

Permanent address: 11201 Oak Knoll Drive, Austin, Texas 78759

This dissertation was typed by Susan Smythe Kung.