

Tonogenesis and Reduplication in Balsas River Nahuatl of Central Guerrero, Mexico



Jonathan D. Amith, Research affiliate
Gettysburg College and National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution
Workshop on the Sound Systems of Mexico and Central America
Yale University, 4 to 6 April 2014

Overview

- ❑ Embedded in a Nahuatl-speaking region of central Guerrero, Mexico, are seven historically related villages that have developed three distinct manifestations of a hybrid stress and tone system from a breathy-voiced coda segment [h]. This segment has been shown to lower F0 in a tautosyllabic vowel, creating a H-L F0 contour beginning on the preceding syllable.
 - ❑ Group 1: Ahuelicán (prehispanic migrants from Oapan)
 - ❑ Group 2: Oapan, Tula del Río (19th c. migrants from Oapan), Analco (recent offshoot of Oapan)
 - ❑ Group 3: Ameyaltepec (prehispanic “barrio” of Oapan); Oacacingo (unknown historical status)

- ❑ Two of the three groups (Ahuelicán and Oapan) have also developed an unusual pattern of reduplication. Nahuatl languages manifest three patterns of reduplication:
 - ❑ μ - (monomoraic),
 - ❑ μh - (monomoraic with a fixed coda segment)
 - ❑ $\mu\mu$ - (bimoraic)

All other Nahuatl languages reduplicate stem material. These two groups prefer, when possible, to use material left of the stem (S or O prefixes, directional on-, incorporated nouns), lengthening a short vowel (adding μ) or (Oapan group), simply marking a preceding long vowel with high tone.

- ❑ This presentation explores the history and phonology of tone and reduplication, particularly innovative use in two of the three groups: (1) Oapan Nahuatl and (2) Ahuelicán Nahuatl. The Ameyaltepec group has apparently lost (or had never developed) any tonogenetic phenomena.

Three patterns

☐ Ahuelican (conservative tonogenesis)

- retention of **h* the trigger for a phonologized high-low F0 contour beginning on the syllable preceding that with coda [h]
- low both inhibits stress and fails to interact in a "clash avoidance" pattern with tonogenetic F0 excursions on the adjacent syllable
- reduplication: C-initial stems realize μ - and μh - reduplication by lengthening preceding short vowels in preceding open and closed syllables; **h* of μh - is lost in closed syllables preceding the stem

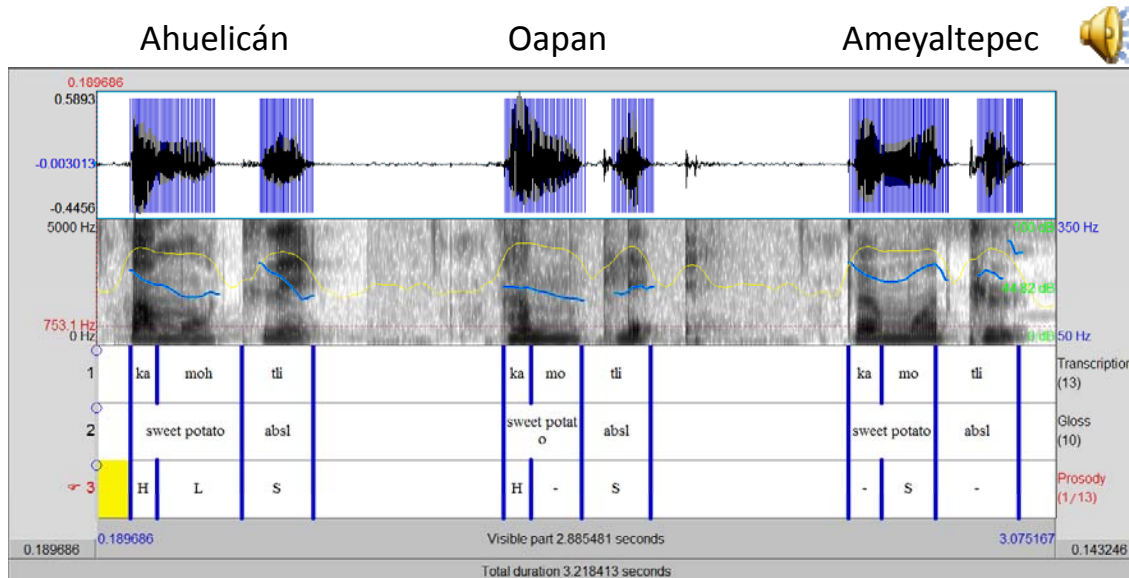
☐ Oapan (highly innovative tonogenesis)

- trigger, **h*, has been lost and, along with it, specification of low on a tautosyllabic nucleus
- tone and stress interact in a mora-based "clash avoidance" pattern, resulting in a rightward shift of the latter (except in at least one case of leftward shift)
- reduplication: C-initial stems realize μ - and μh - reduplication by lengthening short vowels in preceding syllables, both open and close. V-initial stems manifest reduplication by lengthening and assigning H to short vowels and simply assigning H to long vowels.
- reduplication: on $C_1V_1C_1V_1$ stems infixation $C_1V_1\mu hC_1V_1$ overrides reduplication on elements preceding the stem

☐ Ameyaltepec (loss of **h* and hypothesized "regularization" of stress; non-tonogenetic)

- prehispanic offshoot of Oapan (as is Ahuelicán) embedded in the lands of Tetelcingo, a non-tonogenetic village that has retained **h* and has no marked F0 excursions.
- same word-internal loss of **h* as its parent village, Oapan, but without the F0 excursions that mark the Nahuatl of its two sister villages, Oapan and Ahuelicán
- reduplication: no innovations from expected historical patterns

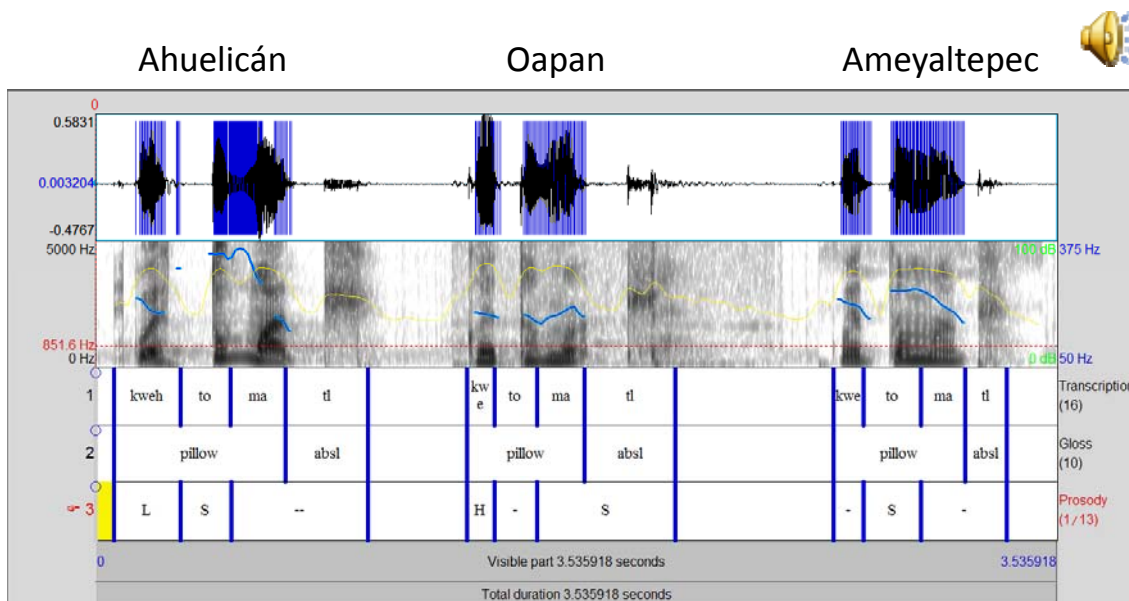
*Tonogenetic Nahuatl: *h in trisyllabic words comparing *h coda on second vs. first syllable*



#1 | Coda **h* in the second syllable of a trisyllabic word produces a H-L pattern on the first two syllables. Stress is syllable final though analysis differs for each variant:

Ahuelicán: middle syllable is specified L and precludes stress.

Oapan: stress clashes with H and shifts right to final syllable.

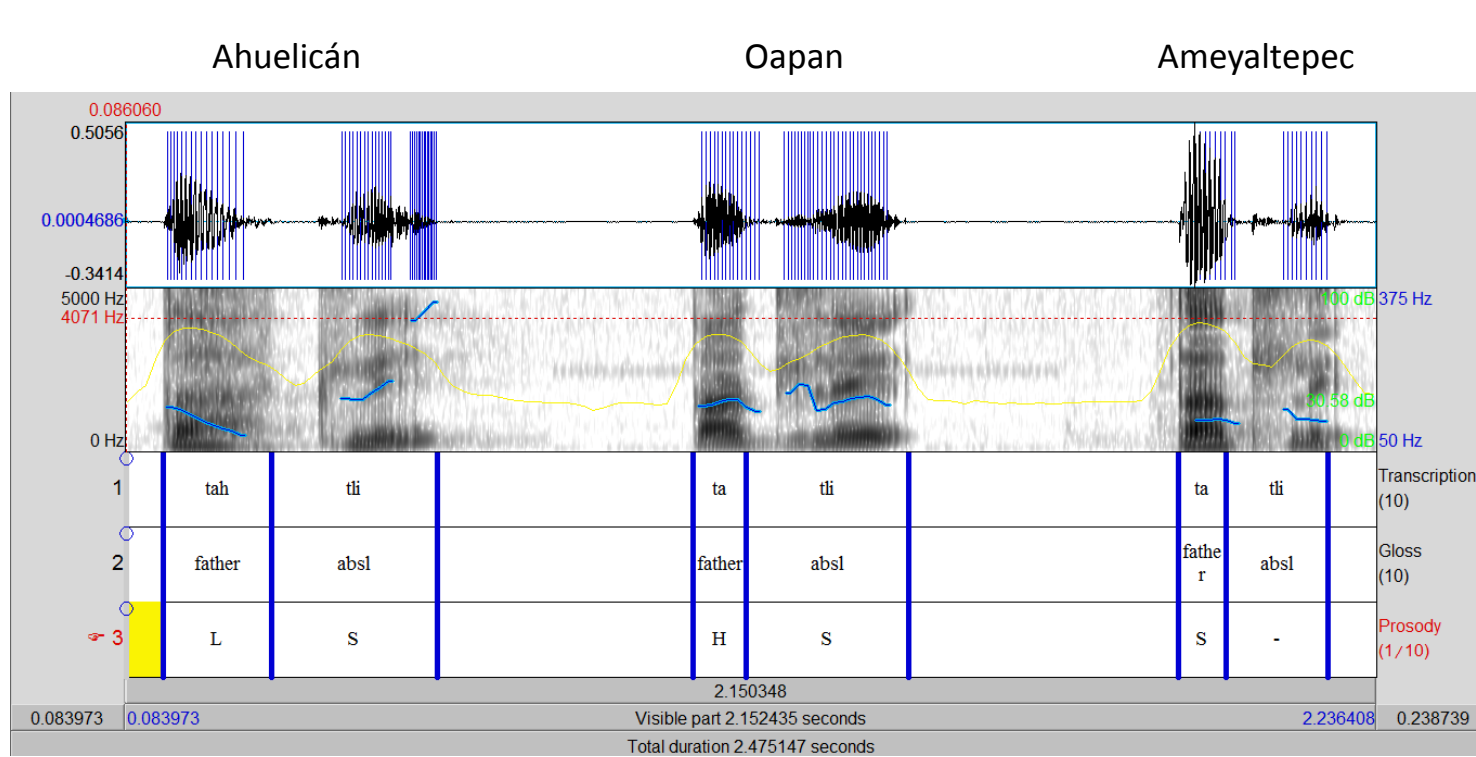


#2 | Coda **h* in the first syllable produces divergent patterns:

Ahuelicán: initial syllable is specified L and stress is realized on second syllable. No H tone.

Oapan: now free from its motivating context (overt coda **h*) initial syllable with coda **h* is realized as H; stress shifts to final syllable.

Impact of *h in disyllabic words: Three variants

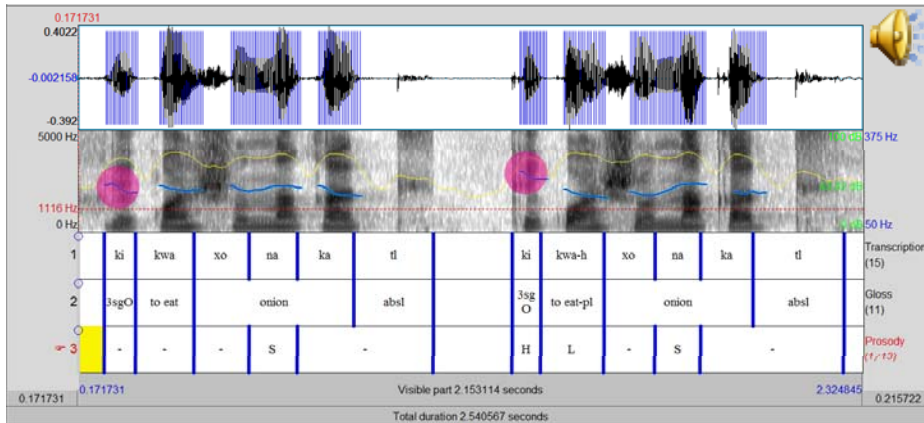


Ahuelicán: *h coda creates falling pitch on initial syllable (specified L) and stress shifted to final syllable

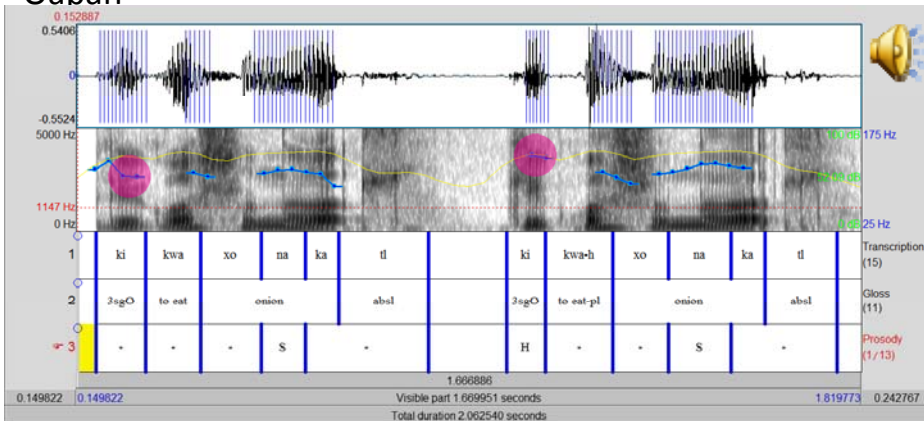
Oapan: *h coda yields H on tautosyllabic nucleus and stress shifted to final syllable

Ameyaltepec: *h coda has left no reflex; pattern is penultimate stress typical of Nahuatl

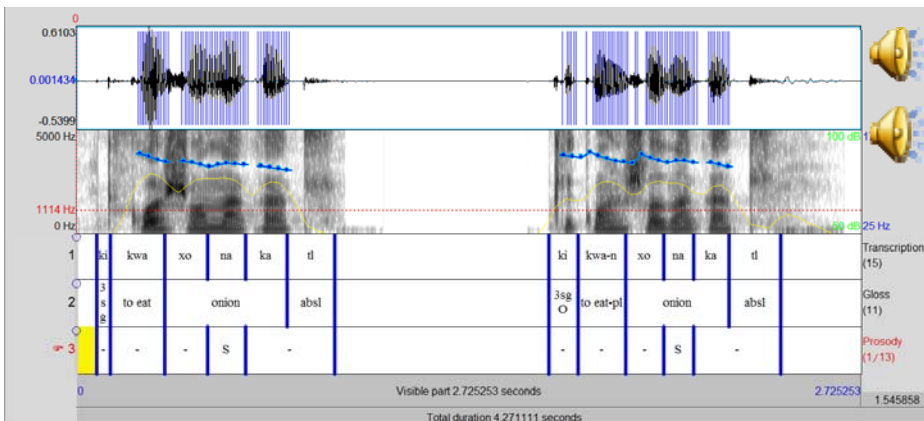
Ahuelicán



Oapan



Ameyaltepec



Realization of phrase-internal coda **-h* plural marker in three variants

Historically, the plural marker is **-h*.

- In the tonogenetic variants (Oapan and Ahuelicán) the plural marker *-h* in non-phrase final position has the expected reflex of a H-L sequence ending on the nucleus tautosyllabic to **-h*. The pitch contour, not the final underlying *-h* plural marker, is the most salient feature of plural subject.
- In the non-tonogenetic variant (Ameyaltepec) the plural marker *-h* has shifted to a nasal (*-n*). In the absence of tonogenesis this nasal is the most salient marker of subject plurality. There is no notable pitch excursion to accompany plurality.

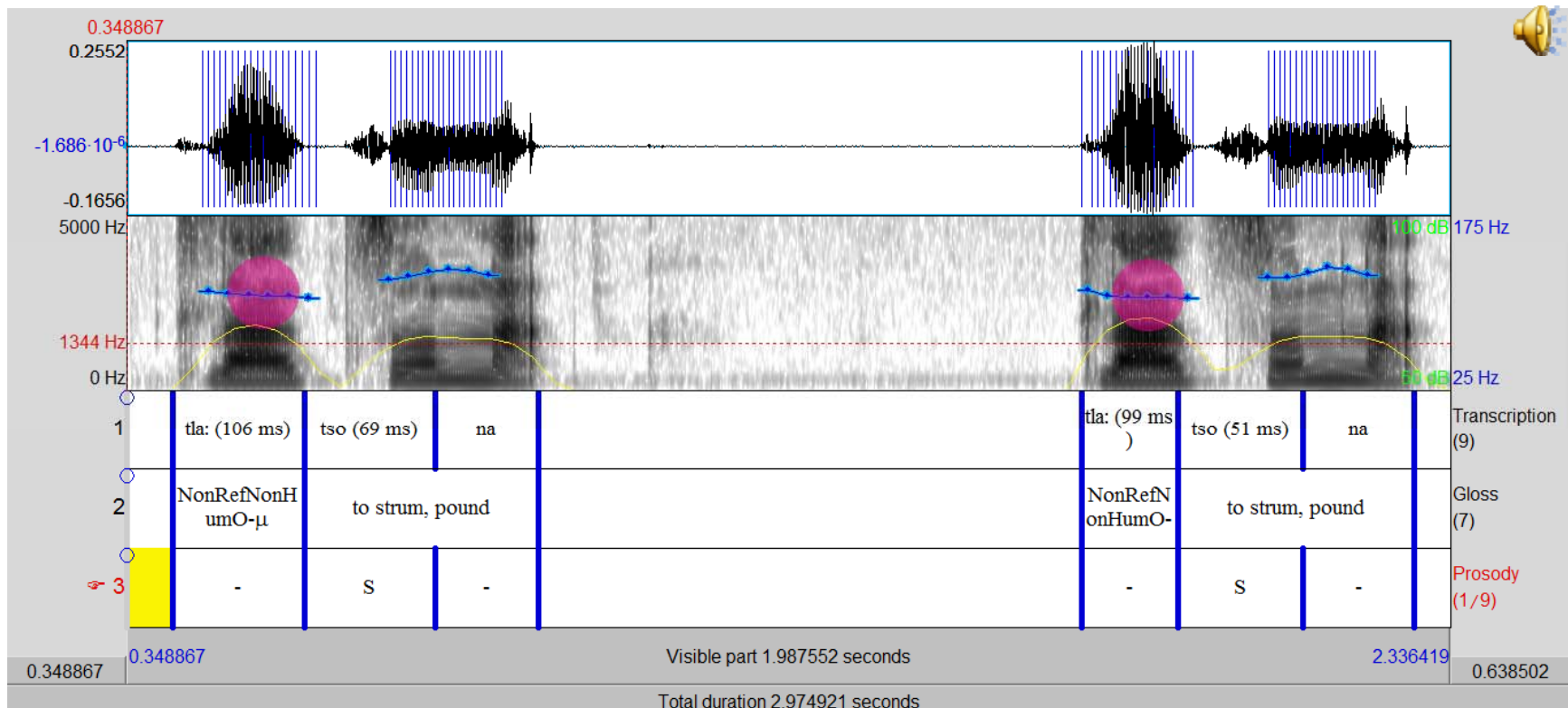
Summary of *h and tonogenesis

- ❑ Coda *h lowers the pitch on the tautosyllabic nucleus. This is an acoustic phenomenon that is manifested in all Balsas Nahuatl variants, tonogenetic and non-tonogenetic (note that surface /h/ from geminates (kk > hk) are not considered *h although they have the same effect on pitch)
- ❑ Although an explanation of tonogenesis posits compensation for loss of *h coda through phonologization of tone (in Oapan group variants) Ahuelicán has both retained the trigger and developed pitch excursions (tone) that is beyond the simple effect of breathy-voiced coda segment [h̥].
- ❑ Ahuelicán: Syllable with breathy-voiced coda segment [h̥] is always L and is never stressed. Adjacent syllables (light or heavy) may be stressed
- ❑ Oapan: *h (historical breathy-voiced coda segment [h̥]) lost in all but phrase-final position.
- ❑ H tone has become disassociated from its historical position tautosyllabic to *h. The nucleus tautosyllabic to *h is now often, not always, H (depending on word syllable structure). When H it cannot be stressed.

Monomoraic reduplicant with no coda segment: μ -

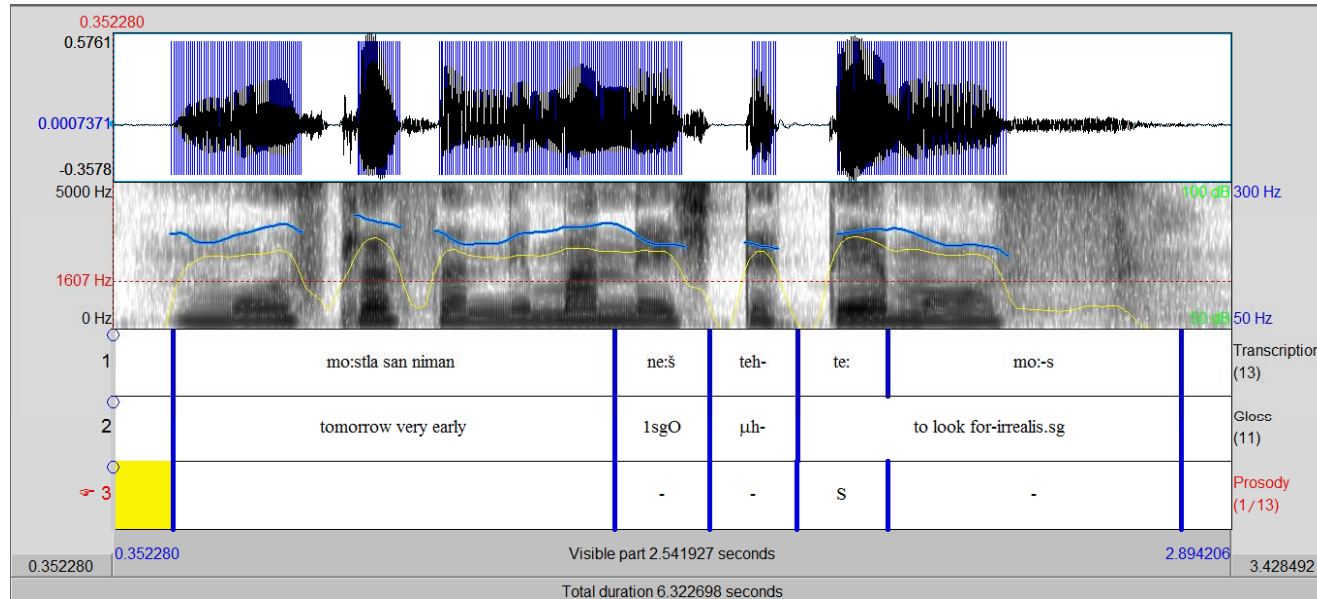
Tla-tso-tsona ('to play music') is realized in Oapan and Ahuelicán as *tlātsona* with melody for μ taken from the non-referential non-human marker *tla-*, the vowel of which is lengthened.

Moreover, in Oapan **tla+ μ +tsona* is never realized as *tlatsotsona* always as *tlātsona*

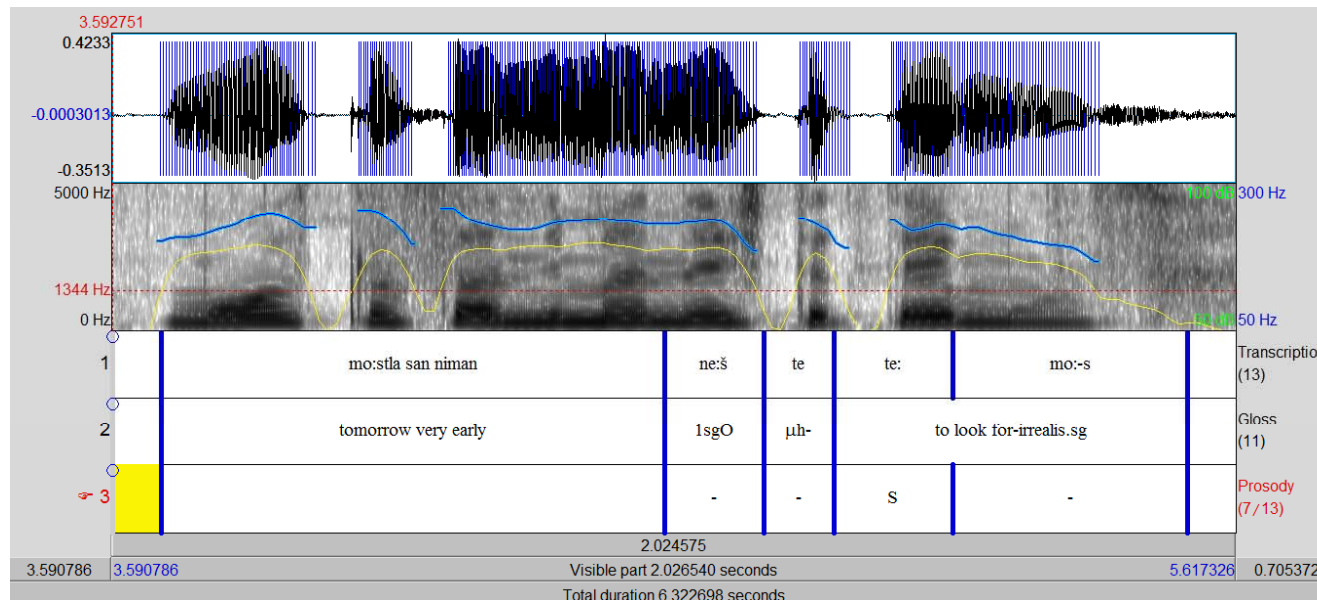


Monomoraic reduplicant with coda segment μh - with consonant-initial stems: Non-tonogenetic Nahuatl

San Miguel



Amey.



S. Miguel

Tecuiciapan:

**h* is retained in all contexts, here as the fixed coda segment in the monomoraic reduplicant μh -

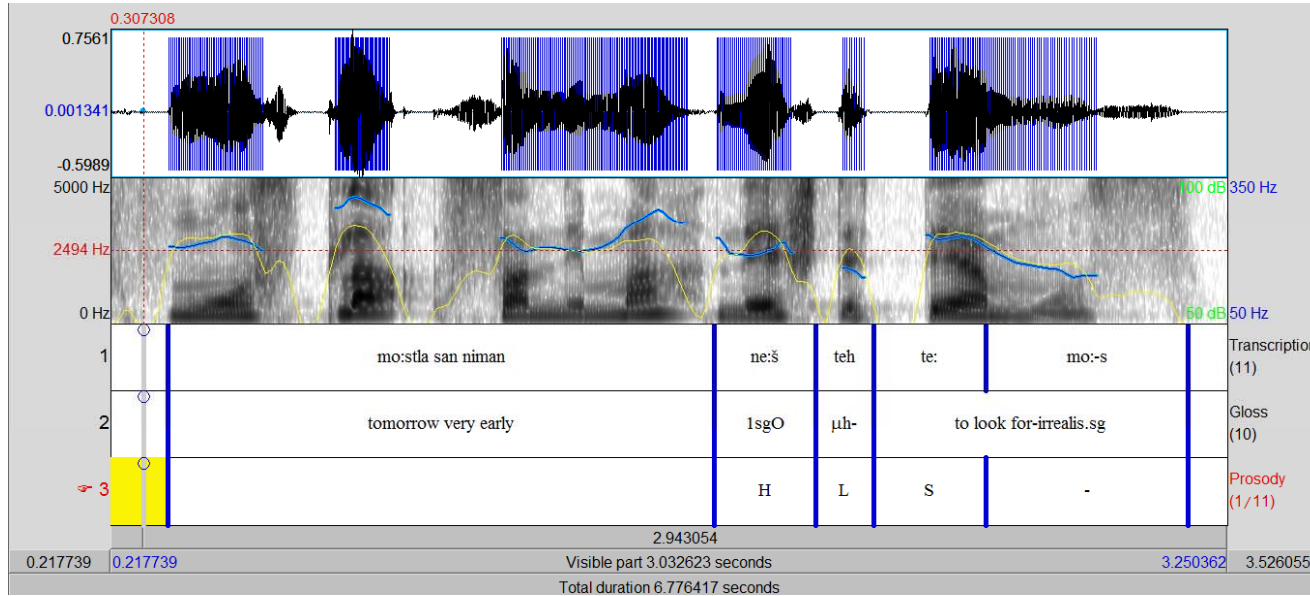


Ameyaltepec:

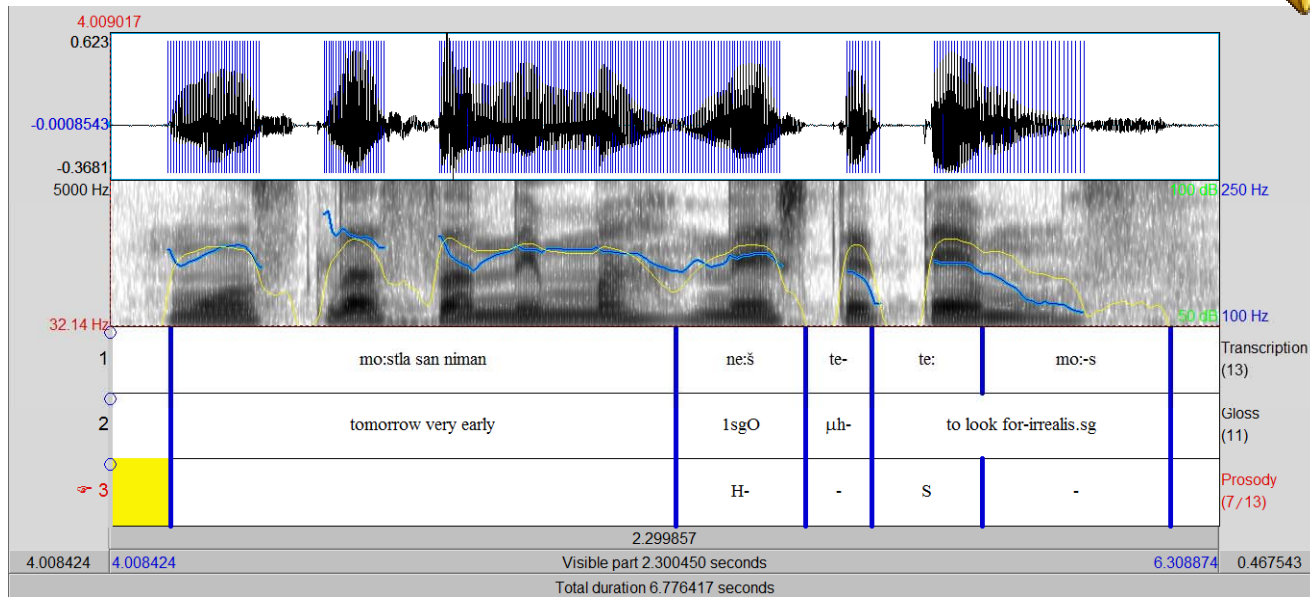
Historically related to Oapan, Ameyaltepec loses **h* in all word-internal contexts though without any tonogenetic implications.

Monomoraic reduplicant with coda segment (μh -) with consonant-initial stems and long vowel in syllable preceding stem: Tonogenetic Nahuatl

Ahuel.



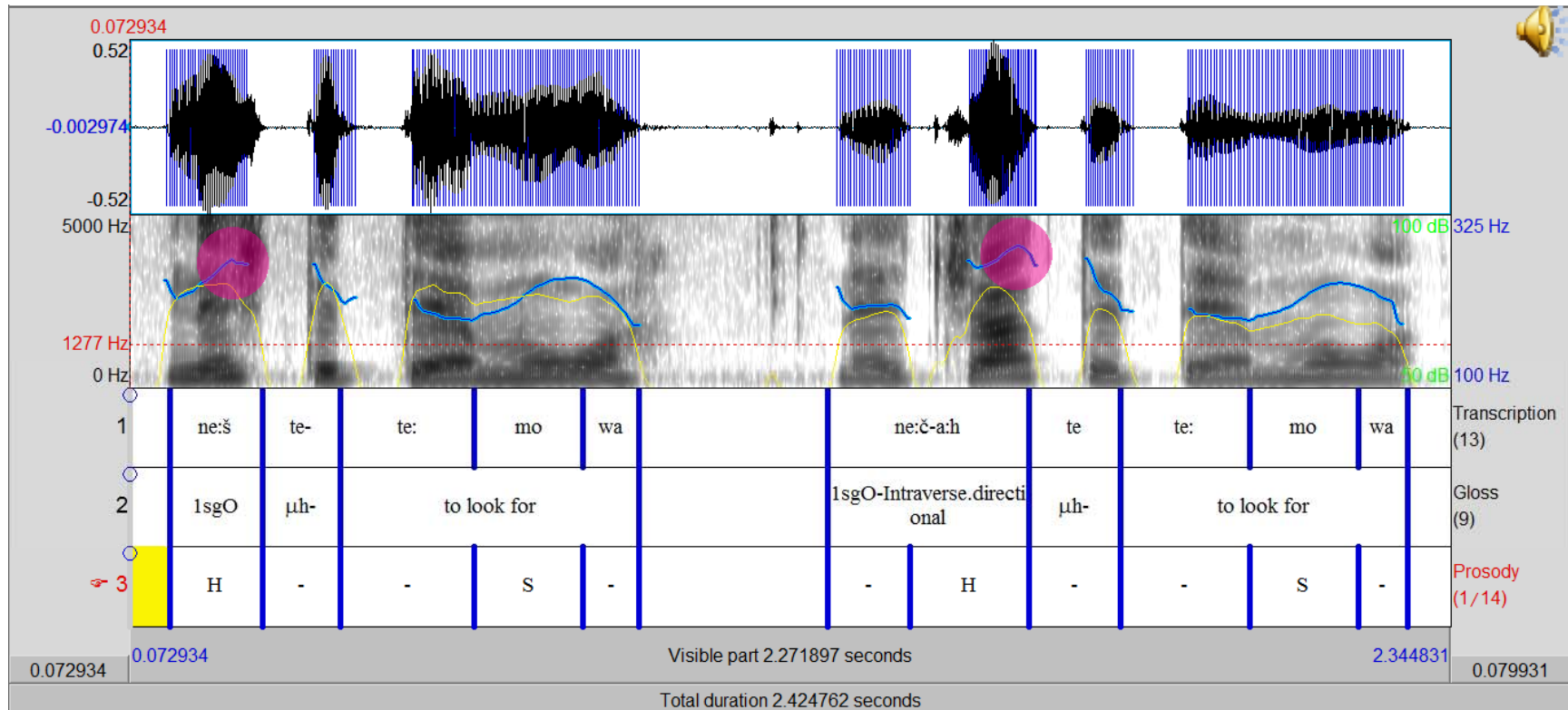
Oapan



Ahuelicán and Oapan:

With few exceptions, when the syllable preceding the reduplicant is heavy the μh - reduplicant is realized by taking melody from the stem and the H-L sequence ends with a L on the nucleus tautosyllabic with coda *h.

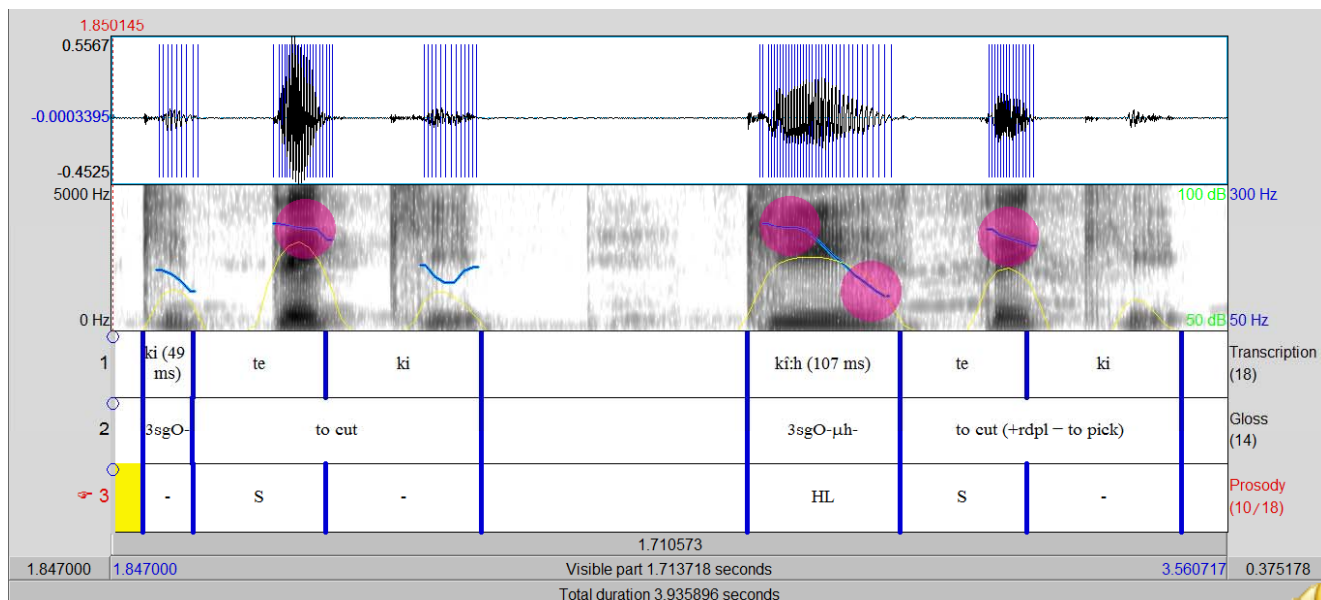
Oapan H tone preceding reduplicant **teh-tēmowa* 'to look for'



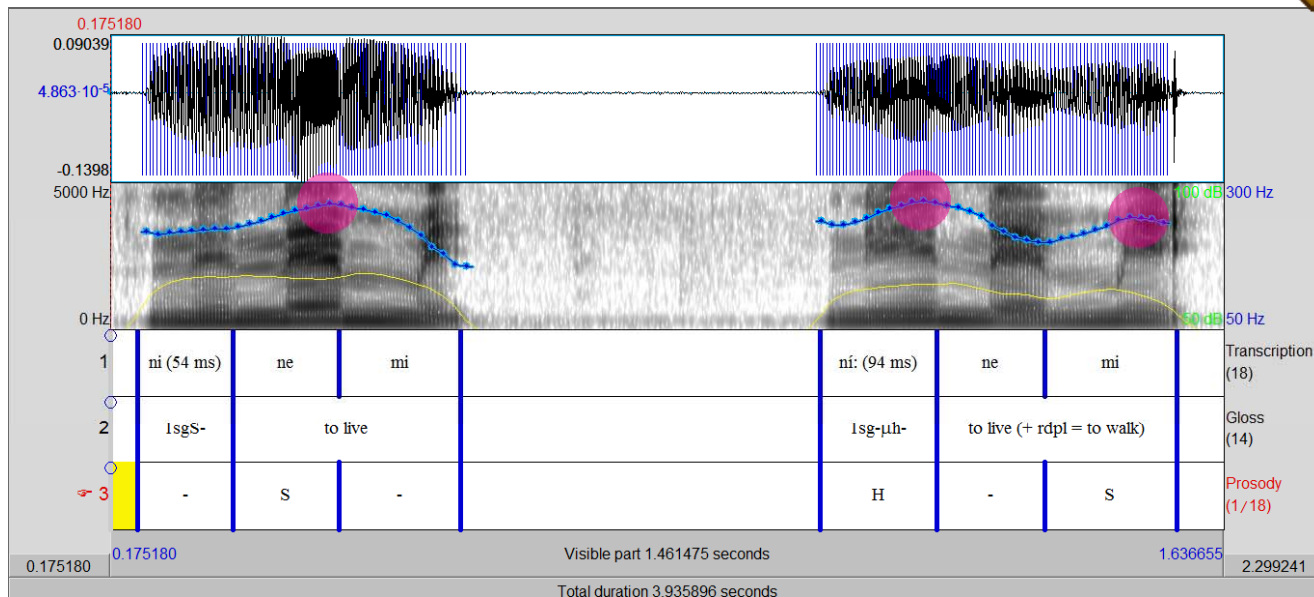
Single word with reduplicant *μh-* elicited in isolation, the H-L sequence ending on the reduplicant is clear.

Monomoraic reduplicant with coda segment μh - with consonant-initial stems and short vowel in preceding open syllable (*ki-*, *ni-*): Tonogenetic Nahuatl

Ahuel.



Oapan



Ahuelicán:

C-initial stem and a preceding open light syllable, μh - lengthens the vowel preceding the stem and retains coda /h/. The portmanteau pitch is HL, the effect of the breathy voiced coda.

Notes: No rightward stress shift. Long vowel + underlying /h/ is limited to this portmanteau morpheme.

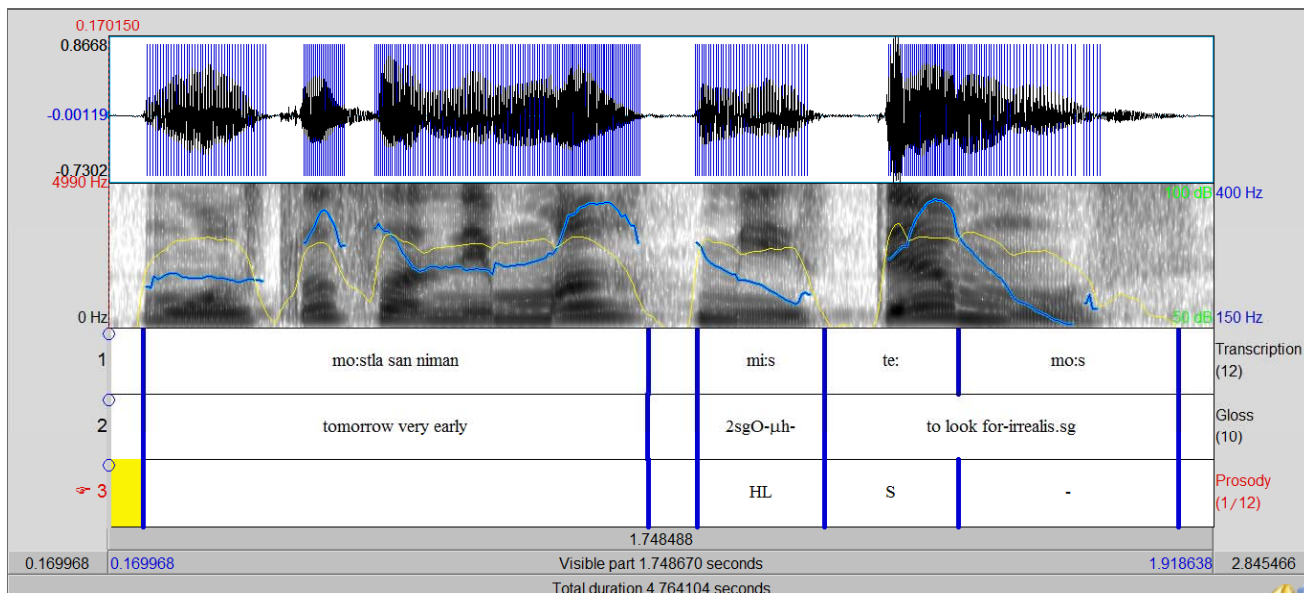
Oapan:

Similar to Ahuelicán but

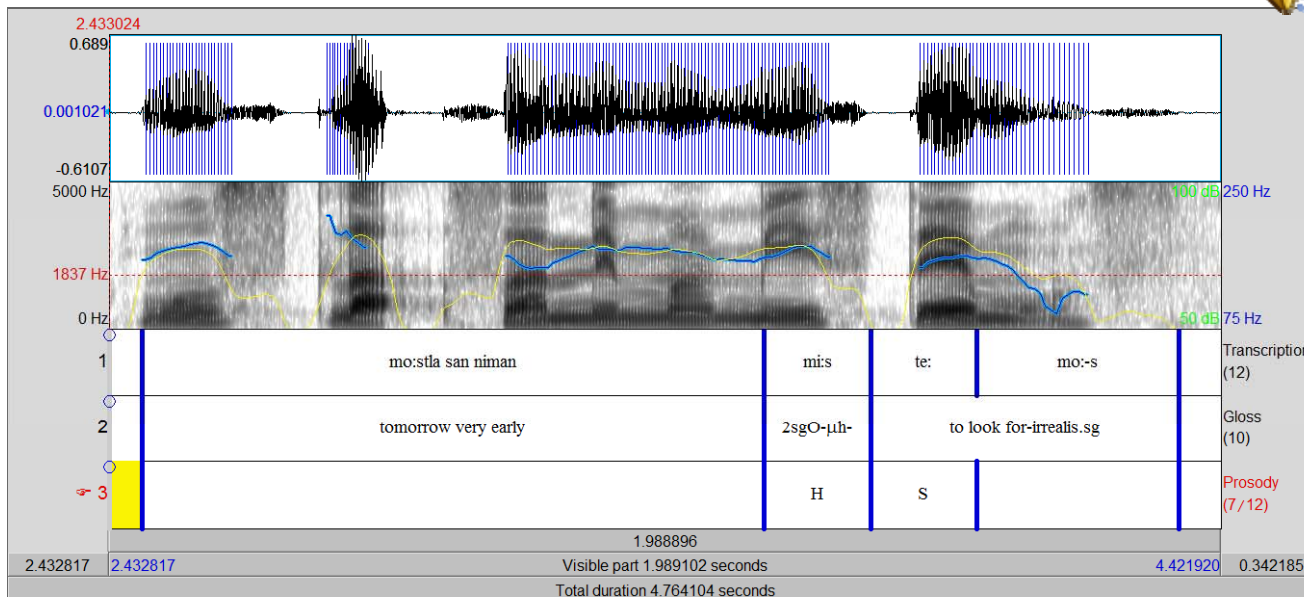
- the coda /h/ is lost,
- tone is H (rising),
- stress (high pitch) shifts rightward.

Monomoraic reduplicant with coda segment μh - with consonant-initial stems and short vowel in preceding closed syllable (*mits-*): Tonogenetic Nahuatl

Ahuel.



Oapan



Ahuelicán:

The μh - reduplicant is realized lengthening the short vowel to the left of the stem which acquires a HL pitch

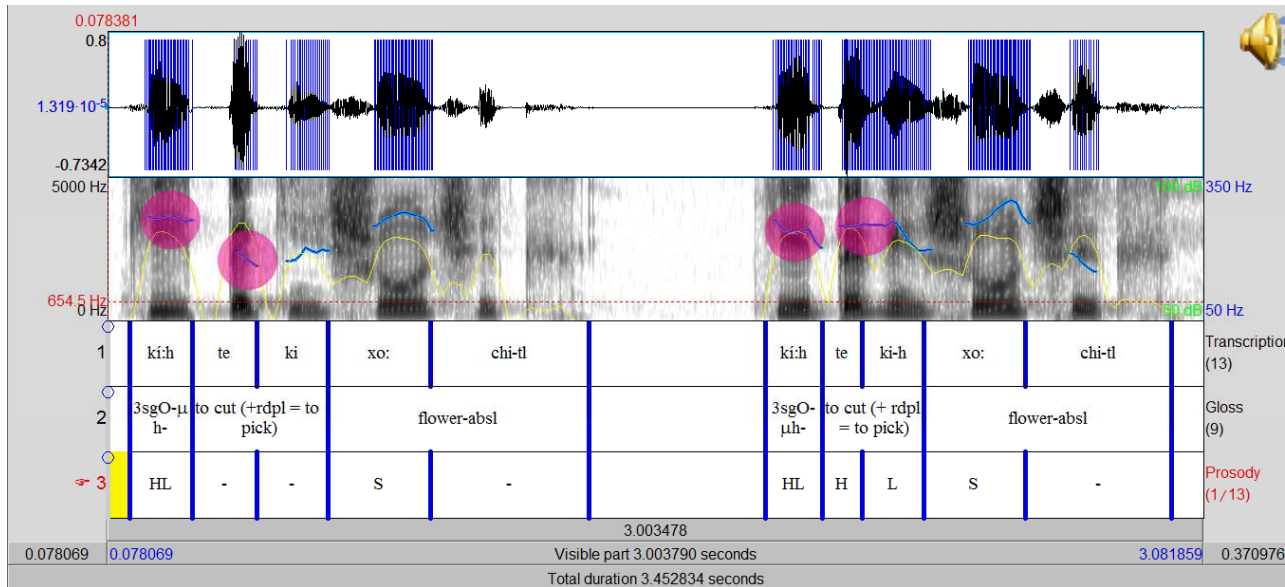
Note: Perhaps given phonotactic constraints on CC codas, the trigger ($*h$) for tonogenesis is lost.

Oapan:

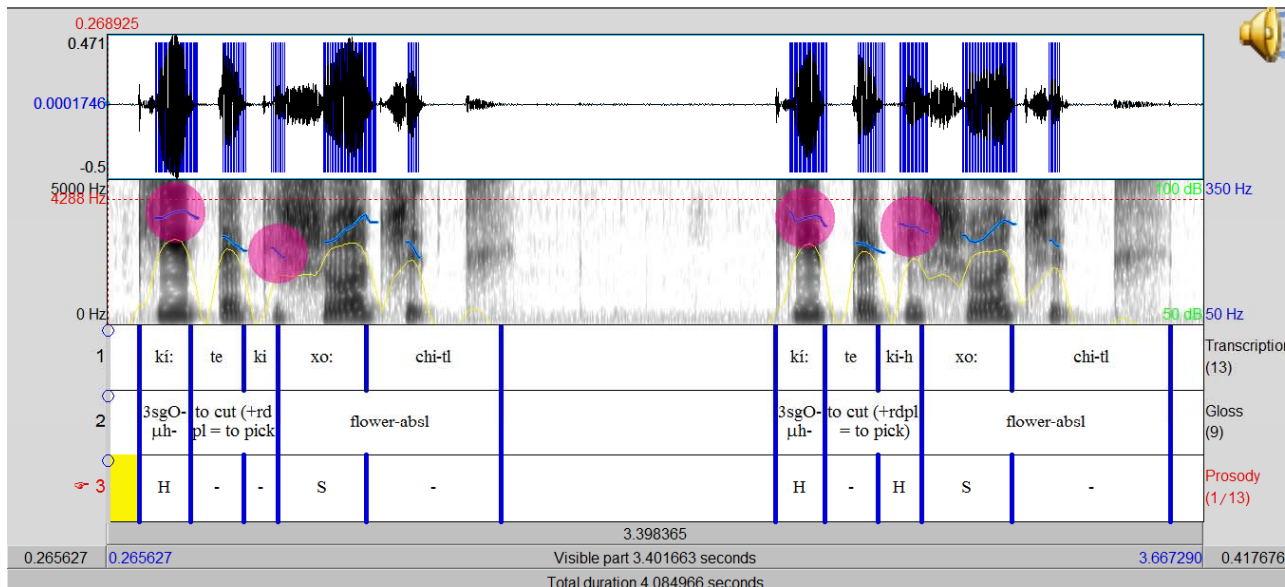
Process mirrors Ahuelicán with a key difference: the pitch of the bimoraic lengthened vowel is not falling. A penultimate bimoraic syllable retains stress, not so a monomoraic syllable.

Monomoraic reduplicant with coda segment μh - (consonant-initial stem and preceding short vowel) comparison of singular and plural : Tonogenetic Nahuatl

Ahuel.



Oapan



The plural marker (second clause) on the verb *teki* ‘to cut’ creates a high tone not present in the singular (first clause).

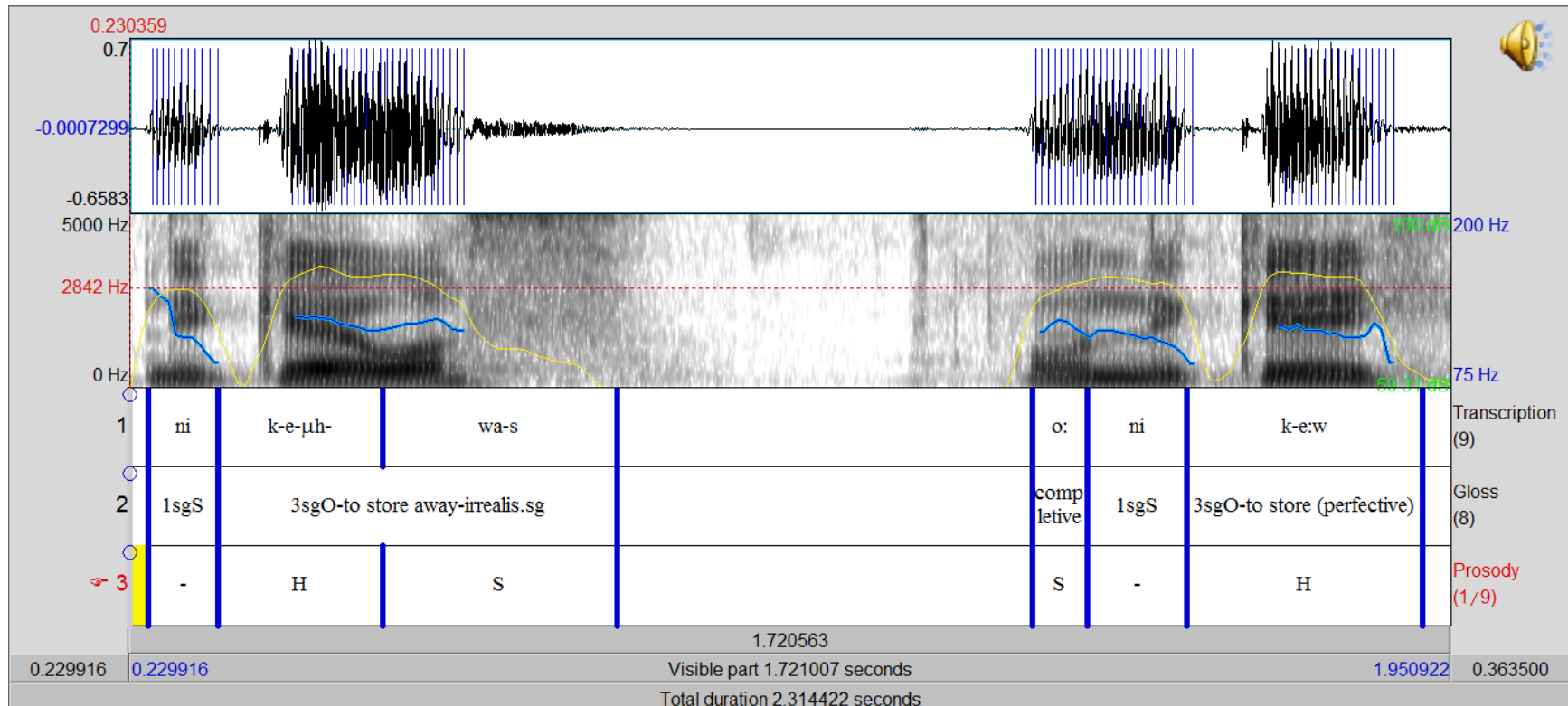
Ahuelicán and Oapan differ in placement of the H related to the plural marker.

Ahuelicán: “Plural” H maintained on syllable preceding that with *-h*, perhaps facilitated by *HL contour*.

Oapan: “Plural” H shifted right.

Note: Both stress (*ní:nemí*) and tone (*kí:tekih*) shift in Oapan.

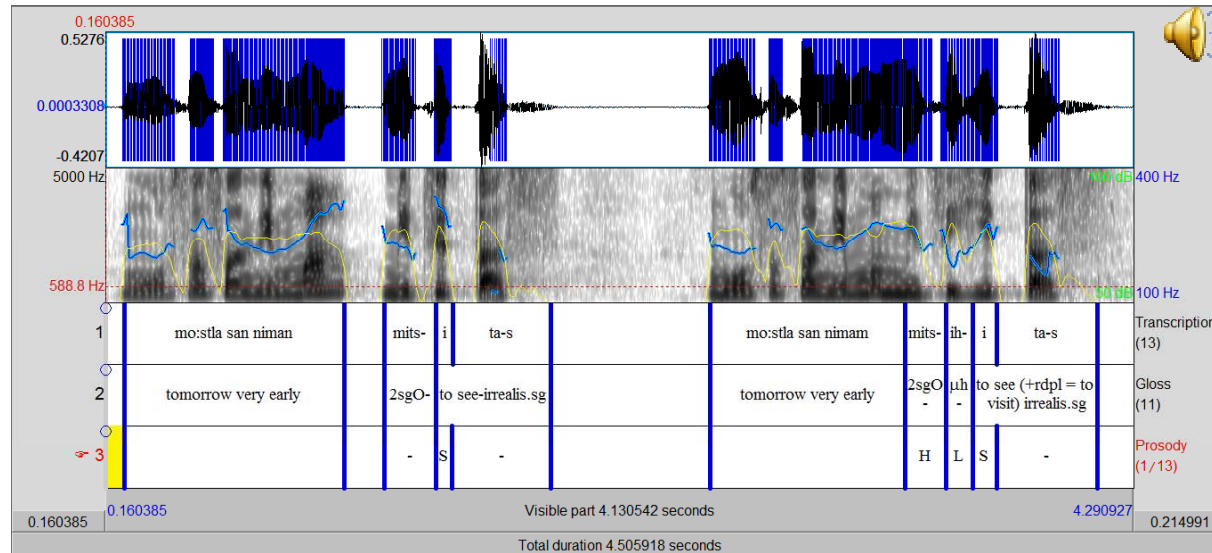
Leftward shift of stress in rare case(s) of reduplicant manifested on final syllable



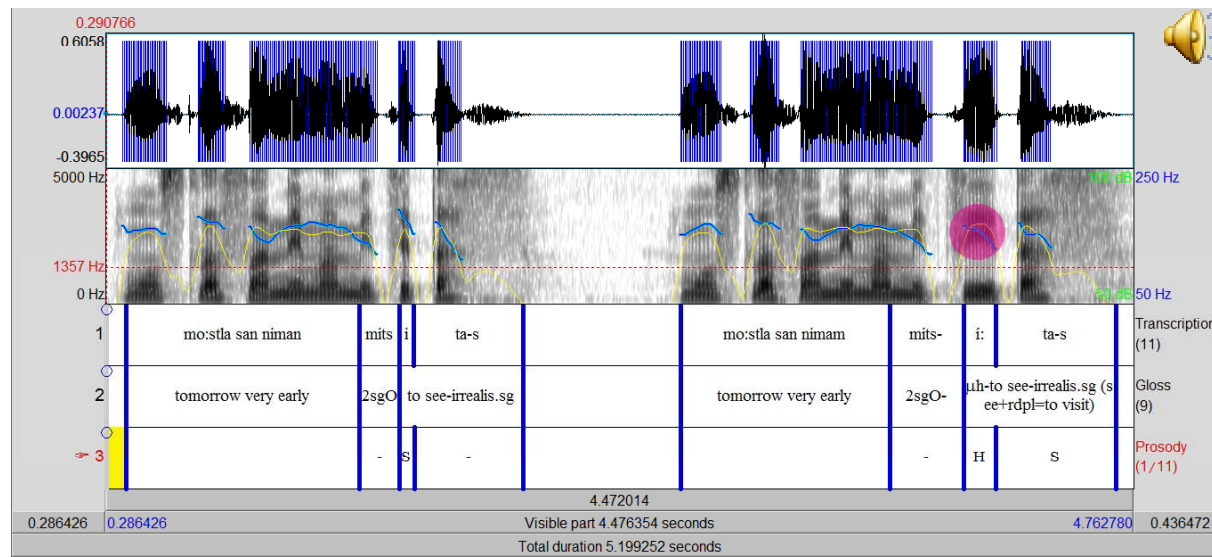
Note: Stress shift away from reduplicant H long vowel occurs in two directions depending on the morphology and syllable structure of the word in question. The primary direction of shift is rightward, as demonstrated by *niké:was* in which the syllables *ni* and *was* are both adjacent to the reduplicant. However, in *o:niké:w* stress shifts leftward from the penultimate, which would clash with syllable-final H, to the antepenultimate.

Monomoraic reduplicant with coda segment μh - on stems with short initial vowel:

Ahuel.



Oapan



Ahuelicán:

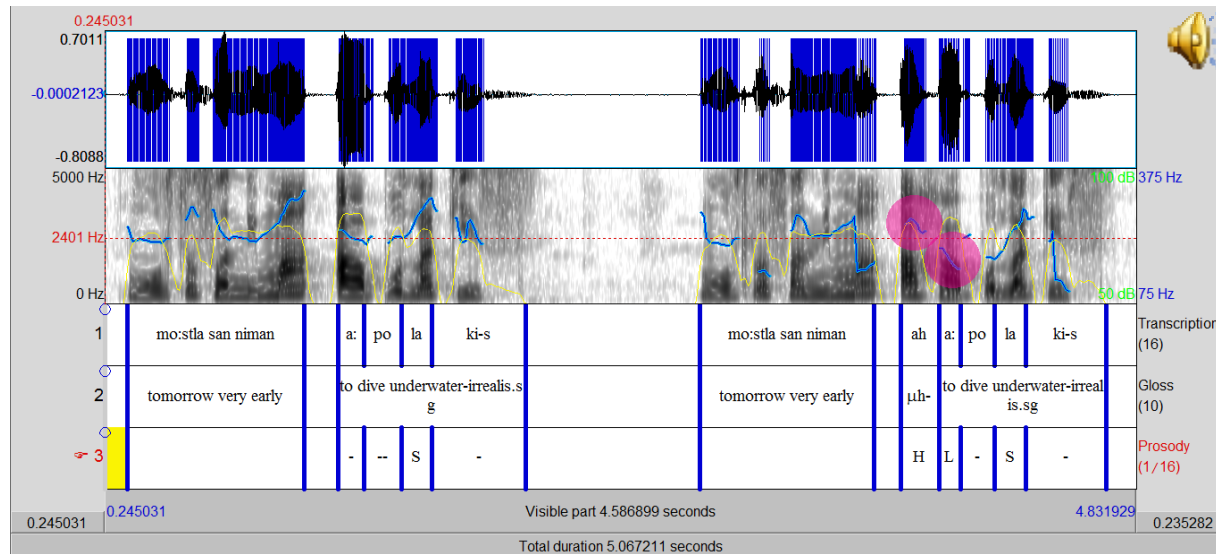
Regardless of the preceding elements, the reduplicant utilizes melody from the stem. This process is identical to that found in other Nahuatl languages.

In the same context **Oapan** apparently lengthens the stem-initial vowel, which receives H tone.

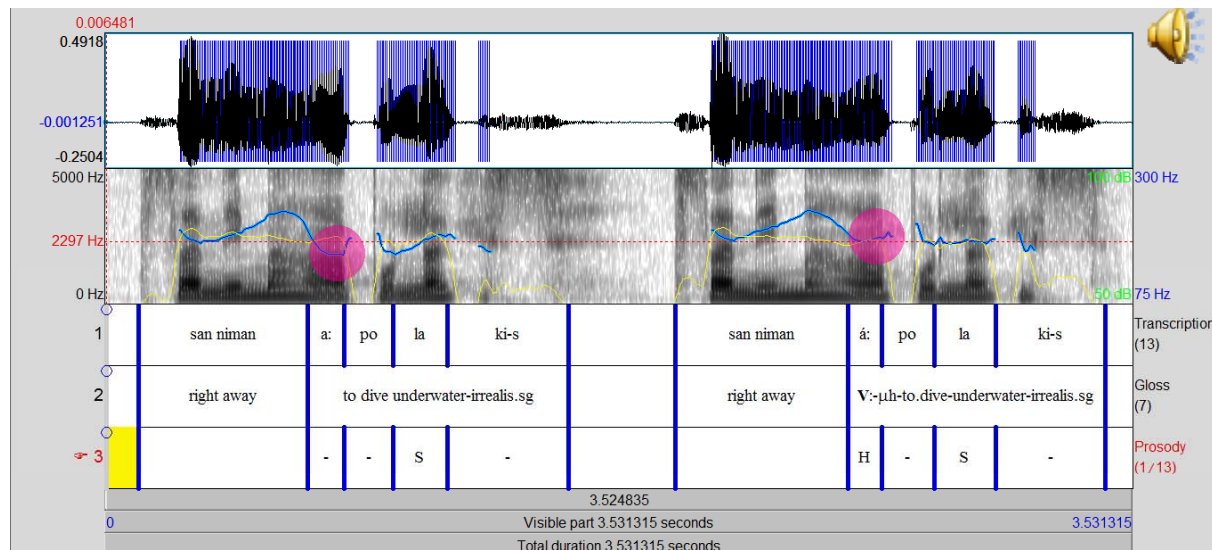
Note: It is possible that the analysis is best understood as μh -V followed by loss of *h and vowel degemination ($i:i > i:$). But such degemination does not occur with $\mu\mu$ -reduplication.

Monomoraic reduplicant with coda segment μh - on stems with long initial vowel Tonogenetic Nahuatl

Ahuel.



Oapan



Ahuelicán:

Overt manifestation of the μh - reduplicant with material from the stem. There is a clear H-L contour spread across the reduplicant and stem-initial vowel.

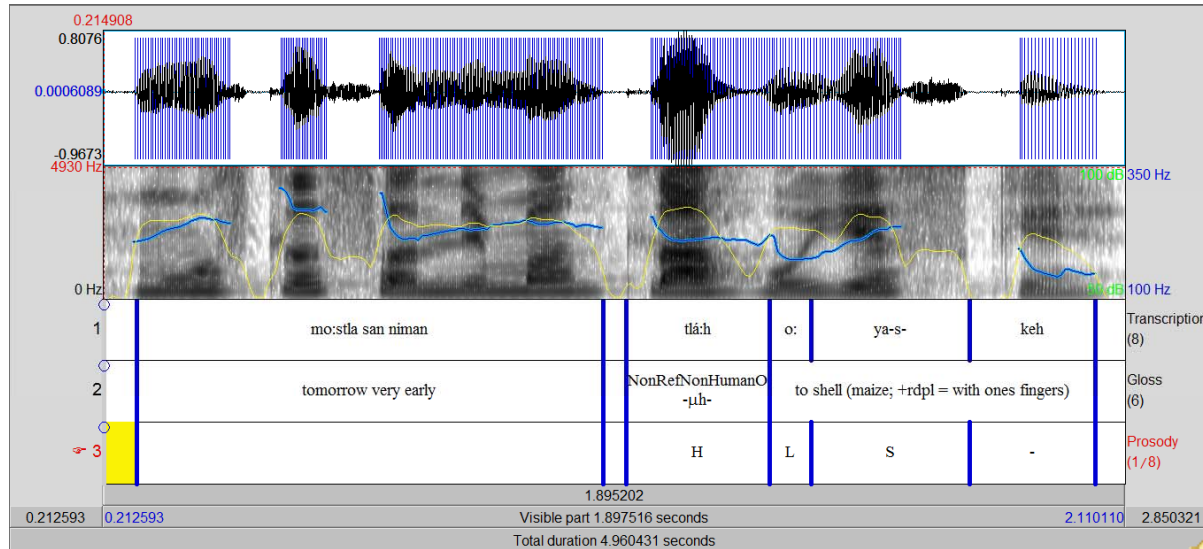
Oapan:

No overt segmental manifestation of the μh - reduplicant such as a double (e.g., $a\bar{a}$) or extra long vowel. Reduplicant manifested simply by H tone.

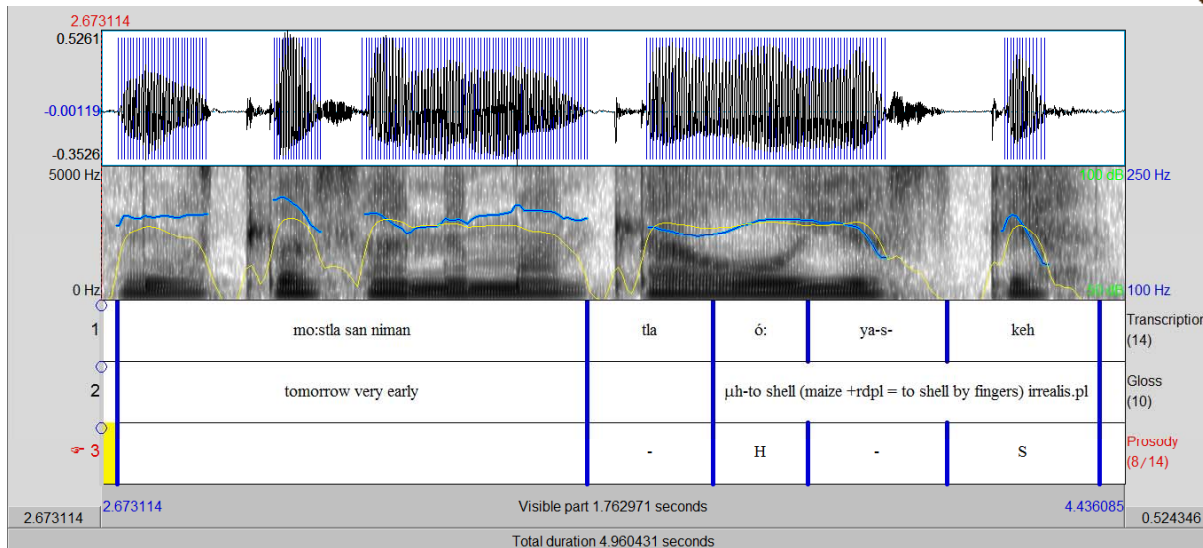
Note: Although $*h$ in Ahuelicán follows the first vowel, it is the second that is low in the $ah\bar{a}$... sequence.

Monomoraic reduplicant with coda segment μh - on stems with long initial vowel and preceding short vowel prefix in open syllable: Comparison of *tla* - μh - *ōya* 'to shell corn' in Ahuelicán and Oapan

Ahuel.



Oapan



Ahuelicán:

The μh - reduplicant is manifested on the nonreferential nonhuman object prefix *tla*- (lengthened and H-L pitch excursion).

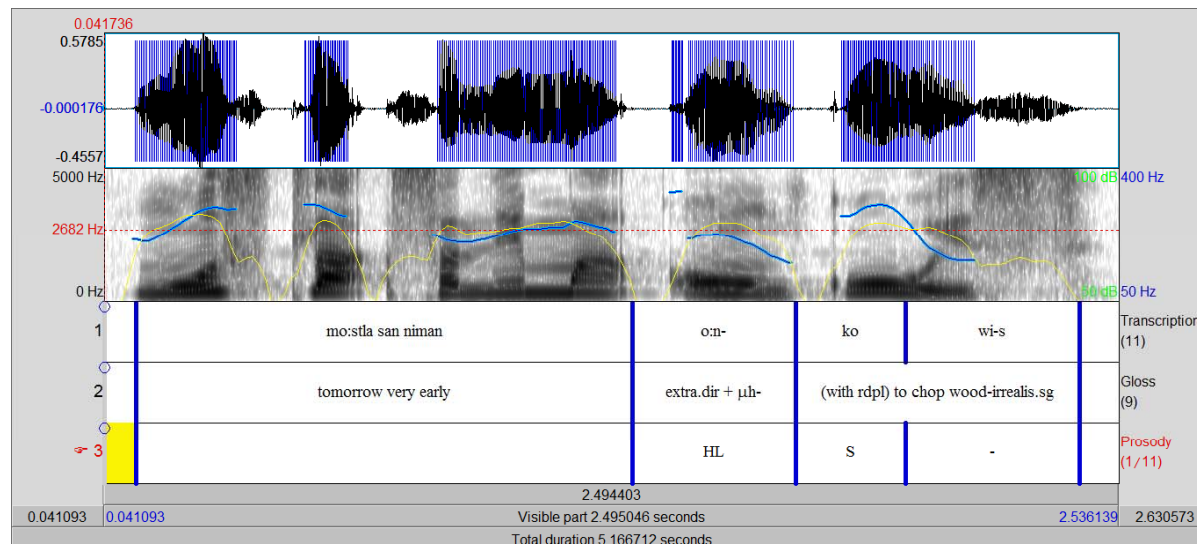
Note: *Mitsihita* shows no manifestation of reduplication on the prefix while *tlá:hōyaskeh* does.

Oapan:

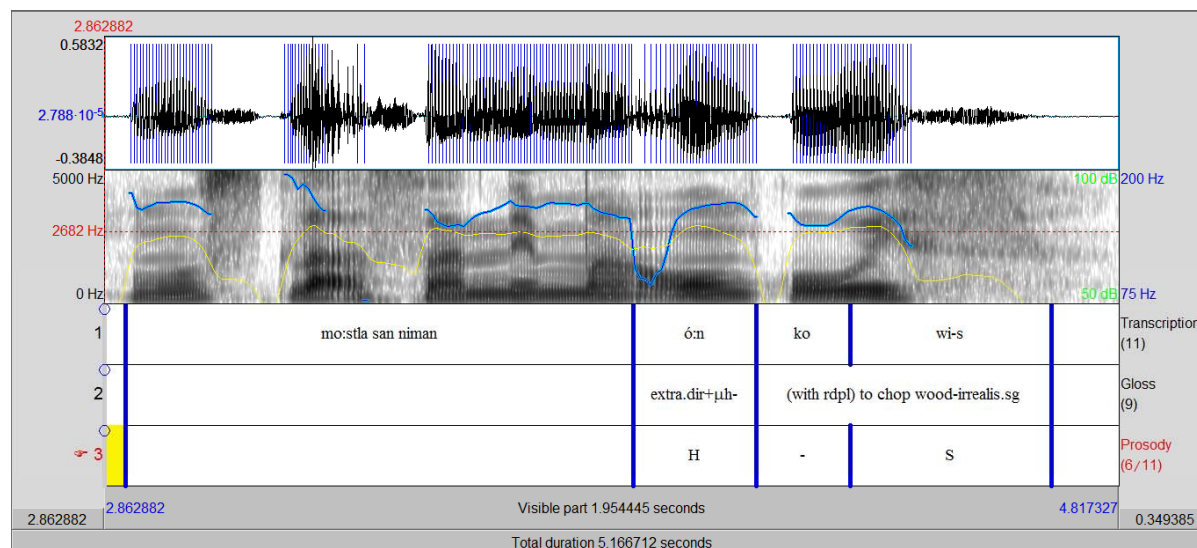
On vowel-initial stems, Oapan favors μh -reduplication on the stem-initial vowel. It thus produces a surface form quite distinct from Ahuelicán

Monomoraic reduplicant with coda segment $\mu h-$ on stems preceded by extraverse directional $on-$

Ahuel.



Oapan



Ahuelicán and Oapan: Any element with a final light syllable (open or closed) preceding a consonant-initial stem can manifest the monomoraic reduplicant (e.g., extraverse directional $on-$, incorporated noun stem)

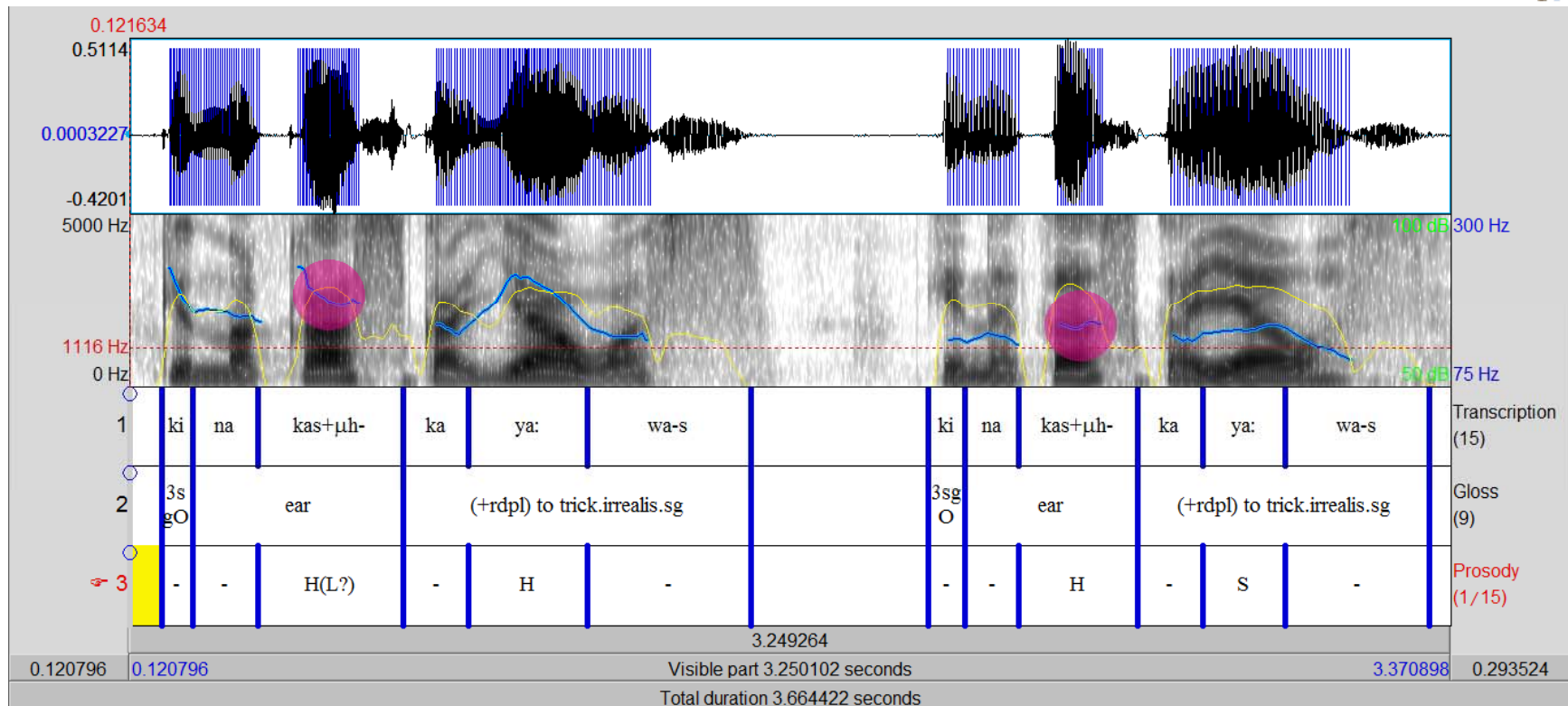
Note: Ahuelicán manifests a falling tone and no rightward shift of stress. Oapan has a high tone and rightward shift of stress.

HL realization in Ahuelicán might avoid “clash” and make shift unnecessary

Monomoraic reduplicant with coda segment μh - on stems with preceding incorporated noun
(*nakas* 'ear') with light final syllable

Ahuelicán

Oapan

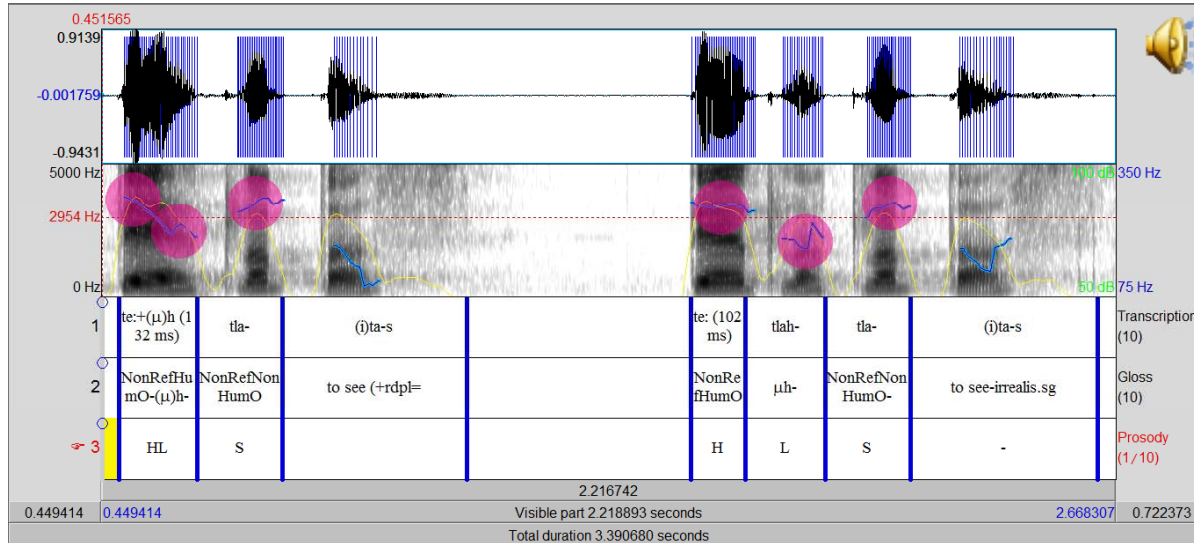


As with the object marker *mits-* (2sgO), infixation of a reduplicant in a closed syllable impedes surface realization of underlying /h/, which would otherwise occur in Ahuelicán.

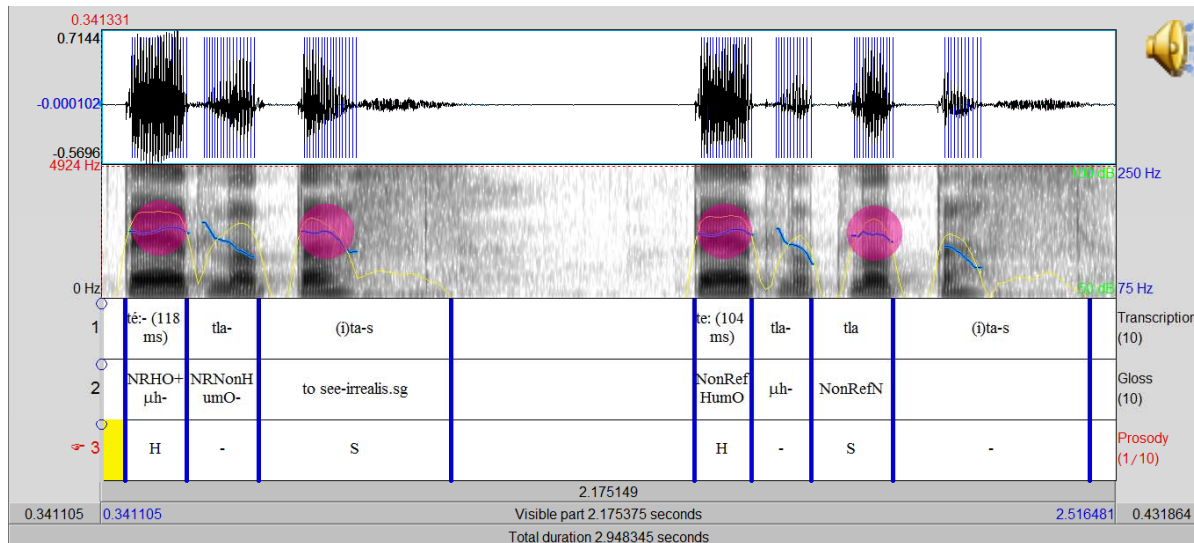
Note: Despite loss of trigger in a closed syllable the Ahuelicán pitch contour is still falling and quite distinction from the Oapan pattern.

Monomoraic reduplicant with coda segment μh - manifested on long vowels in syllables preceding the “reduplicated” stems (limited manifestation)

Ahuel.



Oapan



Reduplicant realized on *te:-* Nonreferential human object

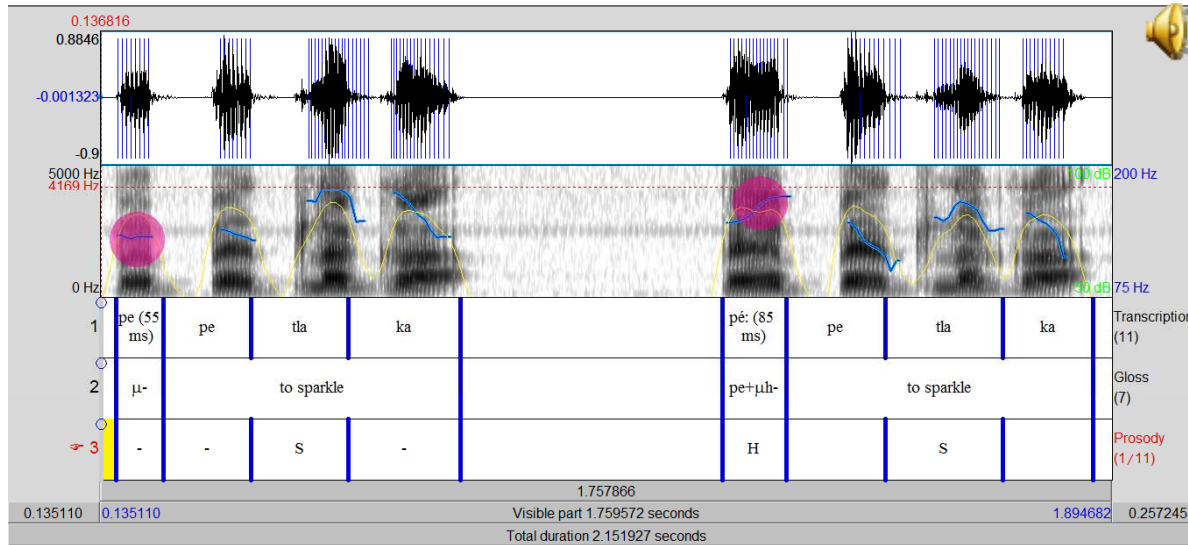
Ahuelicán:
Te: + μh - yields slightly longer /e:/, falling pitch. No rightward stress shift in trisyllabic forms.

Note: Lengthened *te:h-* might represent effect of contour tone.

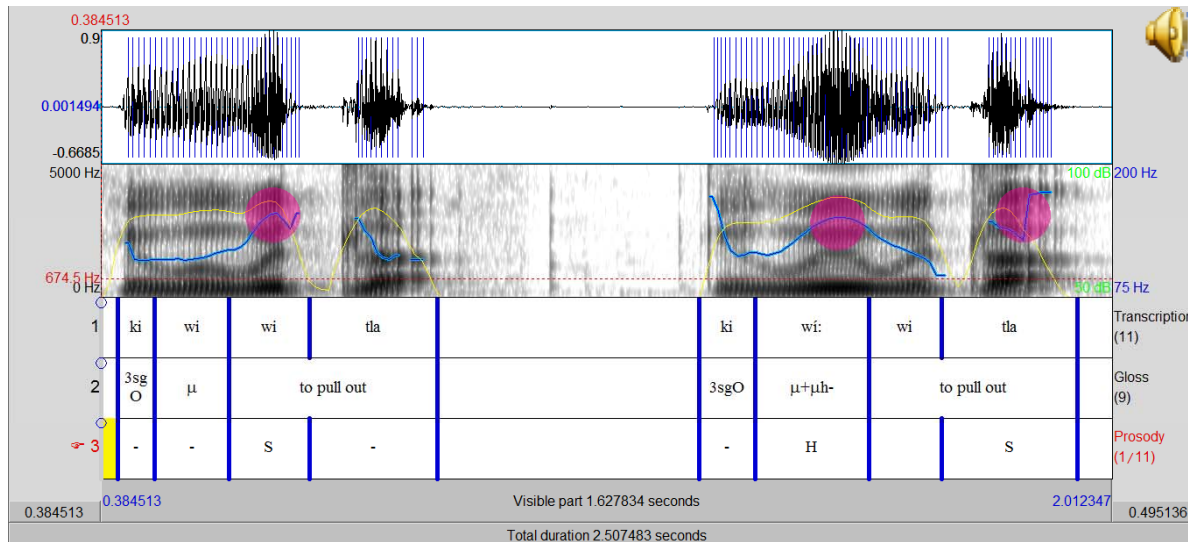
Oapan:
Te: + μh - yields no apparent difference in comparison to the /e:/ followed by an overt stem μh - reduplicant. Rightward shift of stress in trisyllabic form.

Oapan only (not in Ahuelicán): Monomoraic reduplicant with coda segment μh - on stems with $C_1V_1C_1V_1$ (*pepetlaka* 'to sparkle' and (*wiwitla* 'to pull out')

Oapan



Oapan



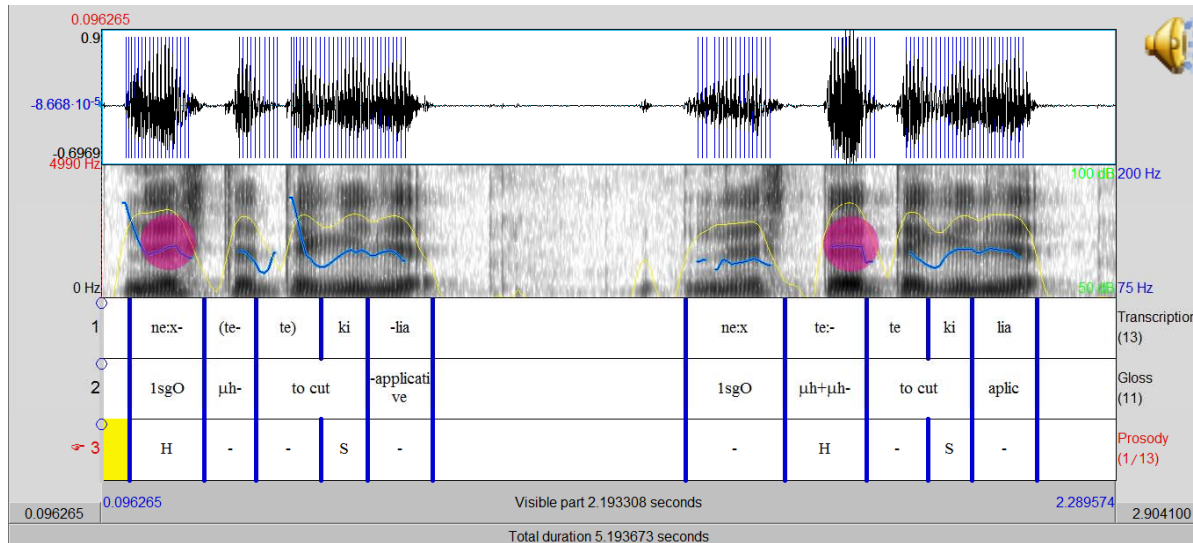
Oapan: $C_1V_1C_1V_1$ stems “infix” the monomoraic reduplicant: lengthening initial syllable and assigning H tone. Cognate process has not developed in Ahuelicán though one speaker Tetelcingo speaker did give *pehpepetlaka* ‘to sparkle in places’.

Note: Stems $C_1V_1C_1V_1$ do not allow infixation of the reduplicant μh -. Thus *ne:chpi:pitsowa* ‘s/he kisses me’ reduplicates through prefixation to the stem: *né:chpipi:pitsowa*

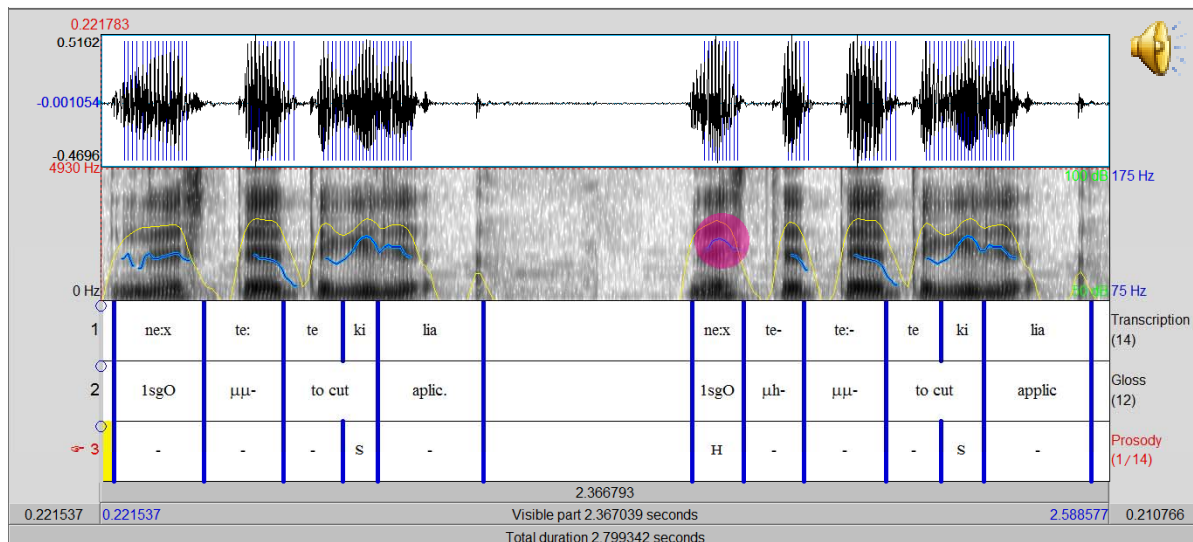
Note: $C_1V_1C_1V_1$ stem *pepetla* can be analyzed as μh -*petla*-*ka* and *pé:petlaka* as μh - μh -*petla*-*ka*

Multiple reduplicants can be manifested in “overlapping” fashion given the morphological processes innovated in Oapan and Ahuelicán:

a
Oapan



b
Oapan

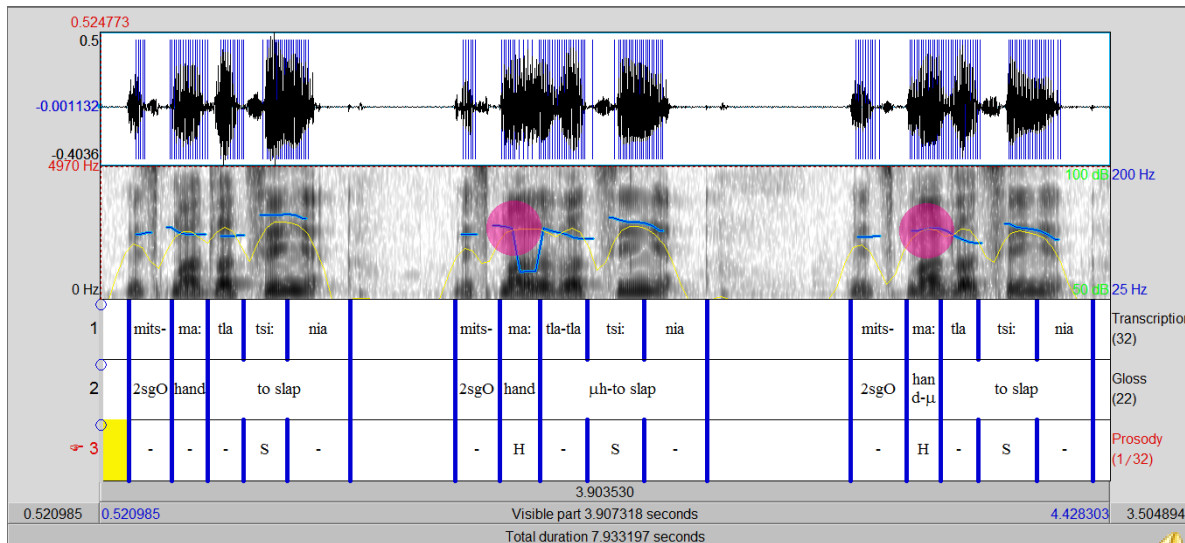


Oapan: “Infixation” of $C_1V_1C_1V_1$ occurs regardless of the morphological structure of the $C_1V_1C_1V_1$ pattern. It is often the case, however, that the first syllable is a synchronically productive reduplicant ($\mu h-$ or $\mu-$). Form a2: $\mu h-\mu h-$ is realized as a long vowel reduplicant with H tone.

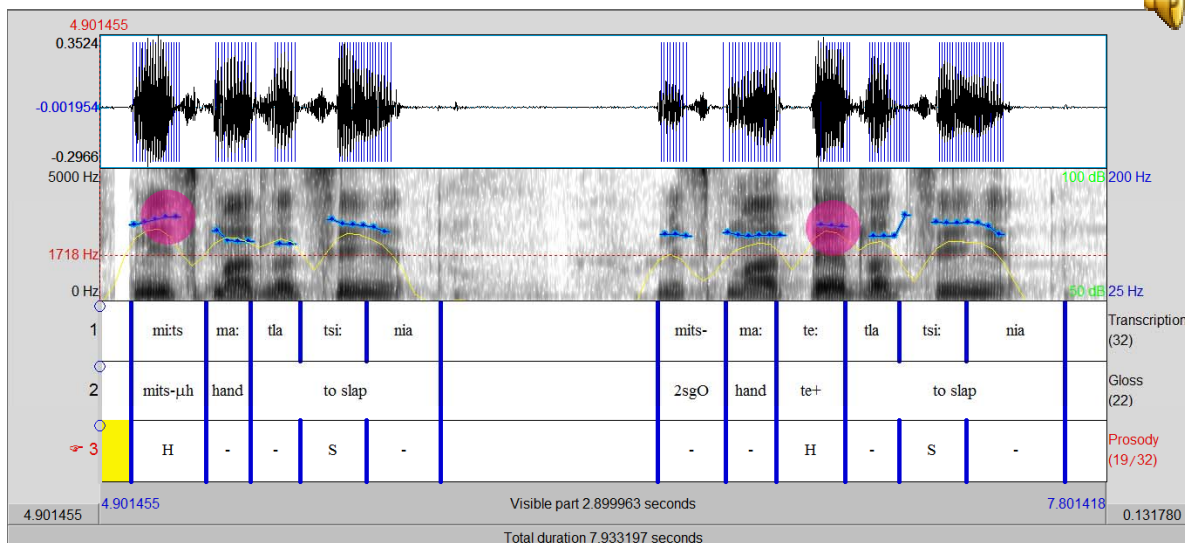
For bimoraic reduplicants ($\mu\mu-$) the initial pattern is $C_1V_1:C_1V_1$ and the $\mu h-$ reduplicant is either expressed overtly (b2) or, if there is a preceding short vowel, with lengthening and high tone on the stem-preceding syllable: *mí:ste:tekliá* $\{(mits+ \mu h)-(\mu\mu-tekilia)\}$.

If a heavy syllable precede the reduplicated stem μh - reduplicant may be realized in various manners: (1) overt stem material; (2) tone on heavy syllable; (3) tone and lengthening on prefix; (4) dummy morpheme *-te-*

a
Oapan



b
Oapan



Multiple realizations of μh -reduplicant on transitive compound *ma:tlatsi:nia* ('hand + slap') :

a2) overt stem reduplicant

a3) tone on heavy syllable of incorporated noun *ma:* (common on body part incorporation)

b1) lengthening and tone on object prefix *mits-* (in this case the *ma:-* noun stem is reduplicated, not the verb stem)

b2) insertion of semi-dummy morpheme *te-* (intensifier) to carry lengthening and tone

Summary of reduplication and tonogenesis: Ahuelicán and Oapan variants

- ❑ **μ- reduplicant** is realized as lengthening on short vowels preceding the stem or reduplication of stem material (C)V- if there is no stem preceding vowel or the vowel is long
- ❑ **Consonant initial stems:** μh - reduplicant is realized as lengthening on short vowels preceding the stem or reduplication of stem material (C)V- if there is no stem preceding vowel or the vowel is long (certain exceptions in Oapan, mostly body part incorporation, *te:-*)
- ❑ **Vowel initial stems:** Ahuelicán manifests expected stem reduplication with intervocalic /h/. Vowel preceding /h/ is H, following vowel L > HL pattern but without coda *h
- ❑ **Vowel initial stems:** Oapan manifests lengthening and H on stem-initial vowels irregardless of material to the left of stem. HL on the reduplicant seems to be a phonetic development from Stress on adjacent syllable [mits í: 'ta] but is absent in other cases [á: po 'la ki]
- ❑ **Oapan innovation:** $\mu h + \mu h$ - reduplication is realized as a H and lengthened vowel of reduplicated stem material: *ki- $\mu h + \mu h$ -teki* > *kité:teki*. Cf. *ki- $\mu h + \mu \mu$ -teki* > *kí:te:teki*.
- ❑ **Oapan innovation:** $\mu h - C_1 V_1 C_1 V_1$ > $C_1 \acute{V} :_1 C_1 V_1$ probably derived from $\mu h + \mu h$ - despite lack of productivity in stem forms such as *pepetlaka* (frequentative)
- ❑ **Oapan:** multiple manifestations of reduplicant patterns may occur when target vowel (left of stem) is long (cf. *ma:tlatsi:ntla*). Note that in general long vowels do not carry reduplicant. Thus *ni-k-on- μh -te:mowa* > (1) *nikó:nte:mowa* or (2) *nó:ntete:mowa* (loss of intervocalic /k/).

In memory of Susan Guion

